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The Red Atlantic

Transoceanic Cultural Exchanges

JACE WEAVER

O, Wonder!
How many goodly creatures are there here!
How beauteous mankind is! O brave new world,
That has such people in't.
Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, 5.1

I. PROLOGUE

The roots of Georgia, the place where I have plied my trade for the past nine years, were planted long ago and far away across the Atlantic Ocean. That is hardly surprising. James Oglethorpe, its founder, was born in London and reared in Surrey. The deepest roots of Georgia, however, stretch back not to England but to Africa.

In 1730 a merchant named Ayuba Suleiman Diallo, the son of a Muslim imam, was captured on the Gambia River by Mandinkas (those formerly called Mandingoes) and sold to British slavers, who in turn sold him to the owner of a Maryland tobacco plantation. Diallo was himself a devout Muslim. In Maryland, he was befriended by Rev. Thomas Bluett of the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Bluett convinced the plantation owner to allow his slave to write a letter to his father. Written in Arabic, the letter eventually found its way into the hands of Oglethorpe during the summer of 1732, a few months prior to the founding of the Georgia colony. Oglethorpe had served briefly as deputy governor of the Royal African Company, a corporation set up to exploit the West African slave trade. He sent the letter to Oxford to

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be translated. When he read the translation, he was greatly moved by the enslaved African's story. He arranged to purchase him and have him sent to England, where the African was manumitted.

Although he never met him, the Diallo incident greatly affected Oglethorpe. He sold his stock in the Royal African Company and severed all ties with it. He established Georgia as an antislavery colony. Only after his governorship, in 1750, did Georgia reverse itself and legalize the peculiar institution.

During his twelve-month sojourn in England, Job ben Jalla (as Diallo was known there) became what one document refers to as "a roaring lion" of English society. He helped Sir Hans Sloane, founder of the British Museum, organize its large collection of Arabic manuscripts, and he was sponsored into membership in the Gentleman's Society of Spalding, a club whose members included some of the country's most distinguished scholars. (Sir Isaac Newton had been a member until his death five years earlier; Alexander Pope was a current member.) Finally, he returned to his father in Gambia in July 1734, a free man.[1]

That's the story of Ayuba Suleiman Diallo. To borrow from my Cherokee friend Thomas King in his book *The Truth about Stories*: It's yours. Take it. Do with it what you will. Tell it to friends. Forget it. But don't say in the years to come that you would have lived your life differently if only you had heard this story. You've heard it now.[2]

In the early 1990s, British scholar Paul Gilroy defined the "black Atlantic," examining the diasporic peregrinations of Africans around the Atlantic basin. Ayuba Suleiman Diallo, though not discussed by Gilroy, would seem to be a paradigmatic case study. Gilroy looks at the cultural imbrications between Europe and its peoples, on the one hand, and the peoples they encountered as they sallied forth, on the other. He writes:

> If this appears to be little more than a roundabout way of saying that the reflexive cultures and consciousness of the European settlers and those of the Africans they enslaved, the "Indians" they slaughtered, and the Asians they indentured were not, even in situations of the most extreme brutality, sealed off hermetically from each other, then so be it. This seems as though it ought to be an obvious and self-evident observation, but its stark character has been systematically obscured by commentators from all sides of political opinion.[3]

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It is certainly true, as I have written before, that all of us, as scholars and as human beings, have our own particular blinders. It begs saying, however, that in the processes of colonization and empire, it was not only "Indians" who were slaughtered, Asians not the only ones indentured, and Africans not the only ones enslaved. Gilroy may not mention Diallo, but he does reference Crispus Attucks "at the head of his 'motley rabble of saucy boys, negroes, mulattoes, Irish teagues and outlandish jack tars'" at the Boston Massacre.[4] Yet he fails to note that Attucks was Native, his mother a Massachuset.

In 2001 historian David Armitage wrote:

> Until quite recently, Atlantic history seemed to be available in any color, so long as it was white. To be sure, this was the history of the North Atlantic rather than the South Atlantic, of Anglo-America rather than Latin America, and of the connections between North America and Europe rather than of those between both Americas and Africa. The origins of this history of the white Atlantic have been traced back to anti-isolationism in the United States during the Second World War and to the internationalism of the immediate postwar years, when historians constructed histories of "the Atlantic civilization" just as politicians were creating the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The Atlantic Ocean was the Mediterranean of a western civilization defined as Euro-American and (for the first time, in the same circles) as "Judeo-Christian." It was therefore racially, if not necessarily ethnically, homogeneous. Such uniformity was the product of selectivity. Like many genealogists, these early proponents of Atlantic history overlooked inconvenient or uncongenial ancestors. Students of the black Atlantic, from W. E. B. Du Bois to C. L. R. James and Eric Williams, were not recognized as fellow practitioners of the history of the Atlantic world, just as Toussaint L'Ouverture's rebellion was not an event in R. R. Palmer's *Age of Democratic Revolution*.[5]

The development of Armitage's "white Atlantic" history thus parallels the Cold War origins of American studies with its mission to define and promote "American culture" or "American civilization." Gilroy's *The Black Atlantic*, published nearly fifty years later, served as a necessary corrective.

Armitage's statement leads his review of Peter Linebaugh and Marcus

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Rediker's important *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic*. In the piece, he refers to the "red Atlantic," by which he means "red" as in radical.[6]

In Native American/American Indian studies, I have been identified, both by others and by self-profession, as a "nationalist." In this essay, without abandoning, rejecting, or betraying my nationalism in any way (and I'll return to this in my conclusion), I want to take a cosmopolitan turn. I want to posit and discuss the "Red Atlantic."

Gilroy subtitles his monograph *Modernity and Double Consciousness*. It has long ago become a commonplace—though a much contested one—that the year 1492, with the Catholic monarchs' expulsion of the Moors (and subsequently Jews) from the Iberian Peninsula, the resultant rise of the nation-state, and Columbus's first voyage, marks the beginning point of modernity.[7] There is a reason, as much as some passionately argue to reject the term, that the Americas were called the "New World." For those who came to the Western Hemisphere from Europe, it was, to borrow a Disney-musical expression, "a whole new world." Today, almost half of the world's table vegetables originated in this hemisphere and were cultivated and eaten by indigenes of the Americas. Algonkian Indians had to show English colonists how to cultivate corn (one of those vegetables). Incans had to perform the same service with potatoes for Spanish conquistadors. And there were twenty-pound lobsters washing up on New England beaches as the Pilgrims starved until Indians showed them how to eat them. (But as I always tell my students, the Pilgrims contributed melted butter, so it was a fair cultural exchange.)[8]

Beyond fruits and vegetables or foodstuffs more generally, America's peoples provided chocolate and tobacco, to which Europeans adapted themselves in great number. The looted American wealth fueled the development of a resource-depleted Europe. Not only colonists but those who remained in the newly minted "Old World" came to define themselves by comparison with, and in opposition to, the indigenous Other. While Natives were not part of a Triangle Trade, as were black Africans, and while they experienced nothing in transoceanic shipment as horrific as the Middle Passage, they were nonetheless enslaved and shipped abroad in numbers that are startling to most. Many died in the process. And the Atlantic became a multilane, two-way bridge that American indigenes traveled back and forth in surprising numbers.

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In his book *Indians in Unexpected Places*, Phil Deloria discusses "expectations" and "anomalies." Focusing on the non-Native expectations at the turn of the twentieth century, he asks "how we might revisit the actions of Indian people that have been all too easily branded as anomalous. . . . I want to make a hard turn from anomaly to frequency and unexpectedness."[9] While I appreciate this interpretative maneuver, I want to go further and suggest that from the earliest moments of European/Native contact in the Americas to 1800 and beyond, Indians, far from being marginal to the Atlantic experience, were, in fact, as central as Africans. Native resources, ideas, and peoples themselves traveled the Atlantic with regularity and became among the most basic defining components of Atlantic cultural exchange.

Turning again to Georgia, Oglethorpe, unlike most colonialists, had a reputation for fair dealing with the Indians. Because of a treaty between Carolina and the Muscogee providing that no white settlements would be made south of the Savannah River without permission, Oglethorpe knew he needed to gain Indian consent. In early 1733, after selecting a site for his new colony, he traveled to meet the Yamacraw mico Tomochichi. Presumably a veteran of the 1715 Yamassee War, the chief was less than ecstatic to see new Englishmen arriving but ultimately agreed to let them settle on Yamacraw Bluff, founding Savannah.

Early the following year, circumstances forced Oglethorpe to return to England. The Board of Trustees of Georgia invited Tomochichi to accompany him for the formal ratification of the Articles of Friendship and Commerce, the treaty Oglethorpe had negotiated with the mico. Bundles of eagle feathers, representing all the Lower Creek towns, were prepared for Tomochichi to present to the English king. On April 7, Oglethorpe and the Indian delegation, composed of Tomochichi, his wife, his nephew, Hillispilli (war chief of the Lower Creeks), Umphechi (Tomochichi's brother-in-law and a Yuchi chief), and five other chiefs, their entourage, and an interpreter, set sail on the man-of-war HMS *Aldborough*.[10]

The group arrived in England on June 16, 1734, visited Oglethorpe's home in Surrey, and then proceeded to the royal capital. According to one of Tomochichi's biographers, "When the party arrived in London the city provided a festive welcome. Bells rang in honor of the colorful visitors; there was a tremendous bonfire; and many demonstrations of welcome. Their every move was reported by the newspapers. They received gifts, invitations and even salutations in poetry."[11]

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The delegation met with the Trustees. On August 1, they were formally presented to King George II and Queen Caroline at Kensington Palace. They visited William Wake, archbishop of Canterbury. Tomochichi and Toonahowi, his nephew and adopted son, were painted by William Verelst, and the portrait hung for many years in the offices of the Trustees. Prince William gave the boy a gold watch. According to Carolyn Thomas Foreman in her 1943 book, *Indians Abroad*, "Nothing was spared by the British government to impress the Indians with the strength of England."[12] In all, more than a thousand pounds were spent on gifts and support for the Natives while in England.

The Indian diplomats, minus one of their number who had expired of smallpox, weighed anchor in England on October 31, 1734, arriving in Savannah on December 28. Helen Todd writes: "Londoners, much impressed with the dignity, conduct, and intelligence of the Indians, no longer considered them savages."[13] Yet by the time Tomochichi and his compatriots made their round-trip Atlantic voyage, Indians were already old hands at oceanic travel, having been sailing to Europe for at least seven hundred years, many voluntarily but many more less so.

II. SLAVES, SAILORS, AND RED COSMOPOLITANS

Jack Forbes, in his important and provocative monograph *Africans and Native Americans*, notes a curious incident reported by Pliny the Elder in his *Naturalis historiae* on the authority of Cornelius Nepos. Pliny states that Quintus Metellus Celer, who was the colleague of Lucius Afranius in the consulship of Rome, while in Gaul received a gift of Indos, "who on a trade voyage had been carried off their course [from India] by storms to Germany," from a Germanic chieftain.[14] Forbes says that the event, which would have taken place around 60 B.C.E., and the presence of Indians in Germany would have been explicable to Pliny because he believed a sea connected the Indian Ocean with the Baltic. Such a waterway is, of course, fictitious. Forbes writes, "We know, however, that the only way that people looking like 'Indians' could have been driven by a storm to northern Europe would have been across the Atlantic from America."[15] He speculates that these might have been Olmecs or "the builders of Teotihuacan."[16]

Tantalizing hints and speculations aside, the first North American indigenes to reach Europe were almost certainly Beothuks.

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A. Slaves

Leif Eriksson sighted the northern coast of North America in approximately 1000 C.E., calling it Vinland. Shortly thereafter, around 1003, the Vikings founded a settlement in present-day L'Anse aux Meadows, Newfoundland. They encountered "Red Indians" (as distinguished from the Inuit), whom they called *skrælings*, an archaic word of uncertain meaning but commonly assumed to mean something like "wretches." These encounters are recorded in the Icelandic sagas.

According to the *Grælendinga Saga*, encounters with the Natives were initially friendly. Despite the language barrier, trade is opened, but the relationship soon turns hostile.[17] In *Eirik's Saga*, we learn that Leif's brother Thorvald was struck by an arrow in the groin in one skirmish with the skrælings. As he pulls the arrow out, he poetically and tragically says, "This is a rich country we have found; there is plenty of fat around my entrails." Then he expires—nobly.[18]

Controversial historian Jayme Sokolow summarizes: "The Vikings treated the *Skrælings* as they would any other outsiders. When the opportunity arose, they killed the adults and enslaved their children. On other occasions, they traded bolts of red cloth for furs."[19] After Thorvald Eriksson's death, the Vikings flee. They spot five Natives, "a bearded man, two women, and two children."[20] Though the adults manage to escape, Thorfinn Karlsefni and his men capture the boys, whom they take with them. The boys are taught Norse and baptized.[21] These orphans from Newfoundland were undoubtedly either Beothuk or Micmac. Thus in 1009, Indian captives were taken to Norway (and perhaps Iceland).[22] The Vikings "continued visiting the North American coast in search of timber and furs, but after 1300 the climate grew colder and travel became more difficult."[23] Later, circa 1420, Inuit captives were taken to Scandinavia. Their kayaks were displayed in the cathedral in Tromsø.[24]

Though the two nameless Indian brothers (their mother and father are recorded as Vætild and Ovægir, respectively; Jennings Wise and Vine Deloria Jr. say that the boys were christened Valthof and Vimar) may have become the first Amerindian cosmopolitans, the Vikings departed for their homelands and felt no need to explain either the presence of peoples in the new land, nor did they have any continued colonial presence that needed justification.[25] And while we can speculate

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wildly about Chinese warriors reaching the Pacific coast or Irish monks or Welsh princes reaching the East, the next foreign explorers that we can say definitively reached the Western Hemisphere faced both issues.

In March 1493, the church was confronted with a serious problem. In that month, Columbus arrived back in Europe. Like Karlsefni, he brought with him a number of captives who appeared to be human. Their presence presented no issue for the Admiral of the Ocean Sea, since he believed he had reached the Indies, that is to say, Asia. He died, thirteen years later, constant in that belief. He was the only one.

Others were clear that rather than finding a westward passage to the East, Columbus had discovered a previously unknown land. The problem was that biblical exegesis of the time held that there were only three continents—Europe, Africa, and Asia—each one populated by the progeny of a different son of Noah after the Deluge (Japheth, Europe; Shem, Asia; Ham, Africa). Eventually, this would result in theologically justified racism, considering African slavery justified because of the curse of Ham and believing that Native Americans were the Lost Tribes of Israel. That is, however, to get ahead of the story.

The immediate question was, Who were these new people, and how were they to be accounted for, given the biblical narrative? At stake was their very humanity. Were they human beings and thus eligible for salvation, or were they merely human in appearance but more like the beasts of the forest? If the former, then the church had some say in what happened to them. If the latter, there were no strictures on their treatment.

Although Pope Alexander VI's papal bull *Inter Cætera*, issued in May 1493, with its hope that the "barbarous nations be overthrown and brought to the faith itself," and the *Requerimiento* that flowed from it provided for conversion to Christianity, they did not actually address the underlying question of Native humanity.[26] Debate raged on for almost twenty more years, until in 1512 Julius II declared that Indians were indeed human beings, descended from Adam and Eve through the Babylonians.[27] It thus became the first attempt in literary terms by which Europeans defined themselves in opposition to the indigenous peoples of the Americas. Choctaw historian Homer Noley writes sardonically: "So the Native people, by declaration of the church, were human and therefore eligible for salvation."[28] Their common humanity was affirmed, but also their difference from Christian Europeans who look upon themselves as heirs to the Israelites.

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Among those present in Seville to witness Columbus's return with his seven surviving Taino captives was a young Bartolomé de Las Casas. In November 1493, the boy's father, Pedro de Las Casas, and three of his uncles shipped out with Columbus on his second voyage to the Indies.

On that second voyage, Columbus became a serious slaver. According to Michele de Cuneo, an Italian nobleman on the voyage, 1,600 men, women, and children were rounded up. The 550 best were placed aboard ship for shipment to Spain. By the time the expedition dropped anchor in Cadiz, 200 had died, their bodies thrown overboard. Half of the remainder was sick. Cuneo attributed it to "unaccustomed air, colder than theirs." Only a handful survived. Cuneo concluded that "they are not working people and they very much fear cold, nor have they long life."[29] One of those who did survive was a Taino whom they called Juanico. Pedro de Las Casas gave him as a present to his son Bartolomé. The gift has variously been described as one of a "companion," a "servant," even a "pet." Regardless of how he has been characterized, he was by any definition a captive and a slave.

Queen Isabella was reportedly enraged that her Indian subjects were being enslaved. After judicial proceedings, by royal decree, the surviving Natives were ordered released and returned to their homeland. Among those who set sail in June 1500 was Juanico.

In 1502, when he was eighteen years old, Bartolomé immigrated with his father to Hispaniola with the expedition of Nicolás de Ovando. His experience with Juanico and the brutality he witnessed in the Indies turned him into an implacable foe of Indian slavery. In 1514 he freed the slaves of his *encomienda*.[30] He thus became part of a small, but vocal and influential, *indigenista* movement who engaged in theojuridical debates spanning four decades, defending the indigenes of the Americas. Beyond Las Casas, probably the best known was his friend Alonso de la Vera Cruz, who became the first professor of the University of Mexico.[31]

In 1537 Pope Paul III felt compelled to revisit once again the humanity of Indians, supposedly settled by his predecessor fifteen years earlier, in his bull *Sublimis Deus*. He noted that it had come to his attention that some aver that "the Indians of the West and South, and other people of whom We have recent knowledge should be treated as dumb brutes created for our service, pretending that they are incapable of receiving the Catholic Faith."[32] He went on to declare that "the Indians are truly men and that they are not only capable of understanding the Catholic Faith

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but, according to our information, they desire exceedingly to receive it."[33] That information came from *indigenistas*. He concluded:

> Notwithstanding whatever may have been or may be said to the contrary, the said Indians and all other people who may later be discovered by Christians, are by no means to be deprived of their liberty or the possession of their property, even though they be outside the faith of Jesus Christ; and that they may and should, freely and legitimately, enjoy their liberty and possession of their property; nor should they be in any way enslaved; should the contrary happen, it shall be null and have no effect.[34]

Under pressure from King Carlos I of Spain (Holy Roman Emperor Charles V), the pope revoked the bull the following year.[35]

Las Casas returned to Spain in 1540 and joined with other clergy in advocating for Indian rights. In 1542 he finished his *Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies* and presented it to the royal court. The same year, Carlos I promulgated the *leyes nuevas*. These New Laws prohibited Indian slavery and sought to end the *encomienda* system by providing that these holdings could not be passed down by inheritance. Though the provision phasing out *encomiendas* was rescinded in 1545, the New Laws led to the emancipation of thousands of enslaved indigenes.

Yet Las Casas's record remains ambiguous and tainted. Though he opposed expropriation of Native lands and Indian slavery, he remained a man of his time. His vision was ultimately of colonies without colonists, with the Indians as vassals of the king of Spain under the tutelage of the church. In addition, in order to protect his beloved Indians, he was an early advocate of African slavery in the Americas, thus forging an unbreakable link between black and Red Atlantics.

The Spaniards enslaved tens of thousands of Natives. Most of these were kept in situ, where they were worked to death. In Guatemala, for instance, the Spaniards had a saying, "Who needs horses, when you have Indians?" Others were shipped abroad. Amerigo Vespucci, for instance, is reported to have brought 222 Indians to Cádiz for sale during his 1501 voyage.[36]

Despite, however, the "black legend" of Spanish cruelty, it would be incorrect and unfair to suggest that they were the only ones to engage in such practices. Carolyn Thomas Foreman, among others, has cataloged this trade, and it deserves still further serious study. Within the cramped

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ambit of this short prolegomenon to a larger work-in-progress, it is impossible to do the subject justice. It must suffice to say that among the explorers who captured Natives in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were the Portuguese Gaspar Cortreal, the Englishman Sebastian Cabot, and Giovanni da Verrazzano and Jacques Cartier, both in the service of Francis I of France.[37]

The first permanent English settlement in North America was Jamestown, founded in 1607. Plimouth Plantation was established in "North Virginia" in 1621. Prior to that time, however, English explorers regularly visited the Grand Banks and the New England coast. Martin Pring visited the area in 1603. George Weymouth came in 1605, John Smith in 1614. Smith established a fishing camp on Monhegan Island off the coast of Maine. It was fishermen at Monhegan who taught the Abenaki sachem Samoset enough English that he was able, according to William Bradford, to address the startled Pilgrims he met with the greeting, "Hello, Englishmen."[38]

Weymouth anchored off Monhegan on May 17, 1605. Welcomed by the local Indians, he lured five aboard his vessel, where they were seized. Tisquantum (Squanto), Manida, Dehamda, Skettwarroes, and Assacumet were taken to England aboard the *Archangel*. On July 18, the ship arrived in Plymouth. It is here that an important figure enters their lives. Sir Ferdinando Gorges commanded the harbor in Plymouth. According to him, "it so pleased our great God" that Weymouth came to his anchorage. He immediately took charge of the captives, sending Dehamda and Assacumet to Sir John Popham, the Lord Chief Justice, and keeping the other three.[39]

Though for the most part forgotten today, Sir Ferdinando looms large in our story. He was deeply interested in settlement in the New World and (among those who do know of him) is sometimes referred to as the father of English colonization in North America. According to Foreman, the New England captives had a profound effect on him:

> Gorges, who devoted himself to learning all he could from the Indians, came to the conclusion their country was well worth developing. He found that the Indians in his care were inclined to follow the manners of the better sort of people and they displayed more civility than common English people. He kept them three years and had them describe the rivers in their land and men of

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> note who lived on them; how powerful they were, how allied, and what enemies they had.[40]

As noted above about the later visit of Tomochichi, the English were fascinated by these exotic strangers, all the more so because at this early date they were such a rarity. Crowds followed them to gawk as they moved through the streets. In *The Tempest*, William Shakespeare has the jester Trinculo marvel, "When they will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian."[41]

The stories of the involuntary indigenous guests so inflamed the imaginations of their captors that Gorges and Popham joined with others to form the Plymouth Company in 1606. They financed and outfitted an expedition to further explore the region, which departed in August of that year. Manida and Assacumet accompanied them. Unfortunately, the ship was intercepted by the Spanish and never reached its destination. A second vessel, captained by Pring, was sent out two months later with Dehamda and Skettawarroes onboard as guides.[42]

Based upon this reconnaissance, the company founded the so-called Popham Colony at the mouth of the Kennebec River in Maine in June 1607, only a few months after the settlement at Jamestown in the south. The colony lasted only a year, abandoned in 1608. Ironically, it failed because the colonists were unable to secure the help of the local indigenes. The Indians were unwilling because they remembered the captives taken by Weymouth in 1605.

Much about Tisquantum's life is uncertain and conjectural. It is surmised that he returned to North America in 1612 with John Smith. Attempting to return to his Patuxet people, he was, however, intercepted and captured by Thomas Hunt. Hunt, an associate of Smith's, took twenty-four Nauset and Patuxet captive, sailing to Málaga in Spain to sell them into slavery. Smith and Gorges had hoped to establish a lucrative fur trade with the Indians, but Hunt's slaving spoiled those desires. Sir Ferdinando wrote:

> One Hunt (a worthless fellow of our nation) set out by certain merchants for love of gain; who (not content with the commodity he had by the fish, and peaceable trade he found among the savages) after he had made his dispatch, and was ready to set sail, (more savage-like than they) seized upon the poor innocent creatures, that in confidence of his honesty had put themselves into his hands.

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With the help of some friars, Squanto apparently made it back to England, where it is believed he was indentured to John Slaney, the treasurer of the Newfoundland Company.

The kidnappings of captives by Weymouth, Hunt, and others enraged Natives up and down North America's northern Atlantic coast. Europeans were "no longer welcomed with profitable beaver trade, as an unwitting French captain and crew would discover in 1617, when their ship was burned and almost everyone killed (a few were enslaved) by the Nauset."[43]

In 1610 the Newfoundland Company established a colony at Cupers Cove. According to Caleb Johnson, Squanto, already the premiere Red Atlantic cosmopolitan, was sent by Slaney to Newfoundland

> and worked there with Captain John Mason, governor of the Newfoundland Colony. While in Newfoundland, Tisquantum encountered a ship's captain by the name of Thomas Dermer, who had worked with Captain John Smith, perhaps even on the 1614 mapping expedition in which Squanto had been originally taken. Dermer was employed by the New England Company, headed by Sir Ferdinando Gorges; they still had hopes to profit from beaver trade with the Indians of Massachusetts: but this would not be possible as long as hostilities remained. Thomas Dermer recognized that Tisquantum, who had now been living with Englishmen for a number of years, could act as an interpreter and peacemaker between the English and the still-enraged Indians of Patuxet and Nauset. He sent a letter off to Sir Ferdinando Gorges expressing the good use Tisquantum could be put to, and Gorges had them come back to England to discuss their plans.[44]

In 1619, in the company of Dermer, Squanto embarked on what was presumably his sixth transatlantic voyage in an attempt to reestablish peaceable relations and the fur trade with coastal tribes. Tragically, upon his return to Patuxet, he discovered that the most numerous and virulent European colonizers—germs—had exterminated his people. His tribesmen were dead, and his village was deserted.[45]

Squanto's experience on his return home was all too common. Virgin soil plagues, diseases brought by Europeans for which American indigenes had no immunity, ravaged Native nations and depopulated the landscape. Embracing the providential theory of empire, the English

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saw in this inadvertent biological warfare the hand of God, clearing the new "Promised Land." In this unfolding drama, they cast themselves as the new Israelites, the Chosen People given the land, and the Indians as the Canaanites, impeding the possession of that which was rightfully theirs.[46] A week after Samoset greeted the suffering Pilgrims in their own language, he returned with Tisquantum, who spoke it fluently. The peripatetic Squanto settled with the colonizers on the site of his former village.

Though tensions sometimes flared, once permanently established in their *New England* through aid provided by Squanto and Massasoit, the colonizers enjoyed more than a decade of peace with the Native nations. Settlers and settlements proliferated. By the mid-1630s, Indians occupied the shaky middle ground between the English in Connecticut and the Dutch in New Amsterdam. Efforts by the English to control the fur trade and to break the Pequot monopoly in wampum escalated tensions until war broke out in 1636. The massacre of six hundred or more Pequots at Mystic Fort by settlers and their Mohegan and Narragansett allies on May 26, 1637, effectively ended Pequot resistance, though the war dragged on until the autumn of the following year. A remnant of approximately two hundred Pequot survivors was given into slavery. Most were dispersed among the Mohegan and Narragansett. Some were forced into servitude in colonial households. A small group was transported as slaves to Bermuda and the West Indies. John Mason, the commander of the Connecticut militia at Mystic, once again recognized divine intervention, writing, "Let the whole Earth be filled with his Glory! Thus the LORD was pleased to smite our Enemies in the hinder Parts, and to give us their Land for an Inheritance."[47]

Native survivors of King Philip's War in 1676 endured similar fates. Hundreds were carried away into bondage, 178 to Spain and even a few to Morocco. Most, including Metacomet's wife and son, were dispatched to the Caribbean, where they were sold. Rev. John Cotton cried out:

> What was the fate of Philip's wife and child? They surely did not hang them? No. That would have been mercy. They were sold into West-Indian slavery! An Indian princess and her child sold from the breezes of Mount Hope, from the wild freedom of a New England forest, to gasp under the lash beneath the blazing sun of the tropics! Bitter as death! Ay, bitter as Hell![48]

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Throughout the seventeenth century, war captives supplanted the randomly snatched Natives of the "Age of Discovery" as transportees into slavery. They served in the galleys of France and were shipped to Europe, the Bahamas, Barbados, Bermuda, Curaçao, and Trinidad. Refugees from the Yamassee War in Georgia in 1715 fled south into Spanish-held Florida. Some eventually wound up in Cuba. Some of these Natives would be lucky enough to find their way back across the ocean. Most would not. Like the progeny of HMS *Bounty* mutineers on Pitcairn Island, descendants of these wayward Indians can be found in these places to this day.

One who did make it back was Ourehouaré, or Tawerahet, a Cayuga chief. On June 17, 1687, Jean Bochart de Champigny, the intendant of Nouvelle France, captured a group of Cayuga warriors near Fort Frontenac at the mouth of the Cataraqui River. He reportedly lured others into the fort, promising a feast but imprisoning them instead. Separately, Jean Peré, another member of the expedition, captured Ourehouaré and several others near Montreal, transporting them to the fort. According to the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, "the tribesmen, numbering 51 braves, were stripped, and tied to stakes in the compound of the fort, where they underwent torture at the hands of the French and their Indian allies. On the return of the invading French army [from Iroquoia], the captives were transported down the St. Lawrence River to Québec City, leaving behind them 150 helpless women and children."[49]

Pierre François-Xavier Charlevoix, in his 1744 *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, reports that King Louis XIV instructed Joseph-Antoine Le Febvre de la Barre, the governor-general of New France, to reduce the number of Haudenosaunee warriors by sending captives to France as galley-slaves. De la Barre's successor, Jacques-René de Brisay de Denonville, ordered the Iroquois from Fort Frontenac transported to France for the king's galleys, Ourehouaré among them. The action made the French hated among the Iroquois.[50]

Shipped to Marseilles, Ourehouaré spent two years at the oars on the Mediterranean. The savage warfare that resulted from the Fort Frontenac incident terrified the French. In August 1689 Haudenosaunee warriors attacked at Lachine, cutting off the fort. Brisay abandoned the fort and ordered it torched. Louis recalled Brisay, replacing him with Louis de Baude de Frontenac, governor-general previously from 1672 to 1682. Comte Frontenac arrived in Quebec City on October 15. With him, on

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orders of Louis, were the thirteen surviving Cayugas, including Ourehouaré, "gorgeously clad in French attire."[51]

In Ourehouaré, we see the dark side of cosmopolitanism and the Red Atlantic. According to Francis Parkman, Frontenac, hoping that the respected chief could be useful in reaching an accommodation with the Haudenosaunee, worked on him during the voyage, gaining his confidence and goodwill. Arriving in Quebec, Ourehouaré, the former galley-slave, disembarked in his French frippery, a victim of what modernly we would call Stockholm syndrome. Frontenac lodged him in a fine apartment in the Château Saint-Louis and generally "treated him with such kindness that the chief became his devoted admirer and friend."[52] Parkman writes:

> [Frontenac] placed three of the captives at the disposal of the Cayuga, who forthwith sent them to Onondaga [the central fire of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy] with a message which the governor dictated, and which was to the following effect: "The great Onontio [Frontenac], whom you all know, has come back again. He does not blame you for what you have done, for he looks upon you as foolish children and only the English, who are the cause of your folly and have made you forget your obedience to a father who has always loved and never deceived you. He will permit me, Ourehaoué, to return to you as soon as you will come to ask for me—not as you have spoken of late, but like children speaking to a father."[53]

Frontenac also dispatched an Iroquois Christian convert named Cut Nose, carrying enough wampum to express the seriousness of Onontio's intent. This messenger took an even tougher line. Proffering the wampum, he declared, "Ourehaoué sends you this. By it he advises you to listen to Onontio, if you wish to live."[54]

Frontenac overestimated his own popularity among the Haudenosaunee. He and Ourehouaré both misjudged the chief's influence with his people after a two-year absence. Everyone underestimated the sophistication of the Indians. The Grand Council formally responded to them:

> Ourehaoué, the whole council is glad to hear that you have come back. Onontio, you have told us that you have come back again,

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> and brought with you thirteen of our people who were carried prisoners to France. We are glad of it. You wish to speak with us at Cataraqui [Fort Frontenac]. Don't you know that your council fire there is put out? It is quenched in blood. When our brother Ourehaoué is returned to us, then we will talk with you of peace. You must send him and the others home this very winter. . . . You are not to think, because we return you an answer, that we have laid down the tomahawk. Our warriors will continue the war till you send our country men back to us.[55]

Uncomprehending the clear message of the Iroquois Grand Council, Comte Frontenac asked Ourehouaré, whose devotion to his patron-savior "never wavered," to send another message. The chief sent four representatives "with a load of wampum belts, expressing his astonishment that his countrymen had not seen fit to send a deputation of chiefs to receive him from the hands of Onontio, and calling upon them to do so without delay, lest he should think that they had forgotten him."[56] Parkman continues the story:

> Along with the messengers, Frontenac ventured to send the Chevalier d'Aux . . . with orders to observe the disposition of the Iroquois, and impress them in private talk with a sense of the count's power, of his good-will to them, and of the wisdom of coming to terms with him, lest, like an angry father, he should be forced at last to use the rod. The chevalier's reception was a warm one. They burned two of his attendants, forced him to run the gauntlet, and, after a vigorous thrashing, sent him prisoner to [the English].[57]

Ourehouaré, undoubtedly enjoying his ambassadorial status and his vastly increased lifestyle from the bilge to comfortable boudoir, angered by the failure of the Iroquois to ransom him upon demand, and loyal to Frontenac and the French, who made these things possible, "took up the hatchet" against his own people, participating in a series of retaliatory raids. Though he recrossed the Atlantic to return to North America, he never returned home. He was pensioned by the Sun King, died at Quebec City, and was "mourned by Frontenac and eulogized by the church."[58]

While Ourehouaré and his fellow Cayugas were captured by Frenchmen and shipped across the Atlantic, one should not think that Natives were totally without agency in the Indian slave trade as it helped create

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the Red Atlantic. In his excellent article, "'A Little Flesh We Offer You': The Origins of Indian Slavery in New France," Brett Rushforth writes:

> Between 1660 and 1760, the colonists of New France pursued two seemingly contradictory policies toward their Indian neighbors. Through compromise, gift giving, and native-style diplomacy they negotiated the most far-reaching system of Indian alliances in colonial North America. At the same time, they also developed an extensive system of Indian slavery that transformed thousands of Indian men, women, and children into commodities of colonial commerce in French settlements.[59]

The key word in the above quote, as Rushforth himself makes clear, is, of course, "seemingly." French policy was not schizophrenic. The two systems were not divorced one from another but rather integrally related to each other.

As part of diplomacy with Native nations, the French learned early on to accept gifts of Indian captives from their Indian allies as a way of cementing alliances and as retribution for depredations by tribes against the French. Over time, this evolved into a system of Indian slavery. According to Rushforth, "Although these slaves never constituted more than 5 percent of the colony's total population, they performed essential labors in the colonial economy as domestics, farmers, dock loaders, millers, and semi-skilled hands in urban trades."[60] These workers became so essential that Louis XIV was compelled to legalize Indian slavery in New France when it was illegal in Louisiana and the French Caribbean.

Most of these Native slaves found their way to Québec and Montreal. Yet, Rushforth writes, "Indian slaves did not always travel to the St. Lawrence [Valley]," noting that "French and Indian traders . . . often sold slaves to the much more developed markets of English Carolina, where thousands of Indian slaves either labored on plantations or embarked for the Caribbean."[61]

The colonists of New France and their system of Indian allies were not the only sources for these thousands of slaves. In New England, however, as in New France, the Haudenosaunee played a central role. Historian Robbie Ethridge states:

> The trade in Native American slaves first began in the Northeast. The Iroquois, seeking access to European goods and war captives whom they adopted into their kin groups to replace their dead,

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> began doing business with English, French, and Dutch traders in the first few decades of the seventeenth century. Almost immediately this trade created a shatter zone of regional instability from which shockwaves radiated out for hundreds of miles.[62]

From New England, the trade moved south. In the Southeast, in particular, opportunistic "coalescent societies" or recombinant neotribes like the Westos became slavers, raiding neighboring groups.[63] Alan Gallay estimates that more than fifty thousand Native slaves passed through South Carolina between 1670 and 1715.[64]

Ourehouaré was an involuntary passenger when he was transported to France with his fellow tribesmen. Certainly, his service in the Mediterranean, shackled to an oar, was even less volitional. There were, however, many Indians who voyaged the Red Atlantic voluntarily.

B. Sailors

It is not coincidental that Herman Melville named his whaling vessel with its mixed-race crew in his novel *Moby Dick* the *Pequod*. Pequots, Wampanoags, and other Natives, particularly those of mixed African ancestry, crewed the whalers that sailed out of New London, New Bedford, Nantucket, and other New England ports in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A primary route to the maritime trade was indenturing.[65] The experience of Wampanoags on Nantucket is exemplary.

In 1690 Ichabod Paddock of Yarmouth visited Nantucket and taught the island's settlers how to kill and process whales. According to Mark Nicholas, in his article "Mashpee Wampanoags of Cape Cod, the Whalefishery, and Seafaring's Impact on Community Development," "island colonists soon formed their own companies and launched their own vessels. To create a steady labor force, Nantucket merchants reaped the benefit of a trade with local Native Americans. In order to pay off debts to Englishmen, Indians from the island filled the lowest positions of Nantucket whaling crews up until the early 1770s."[66] Nicholas continues:

> By the mid-eighteenth century, whaling expeditions from Nantucket, in search of cetaceans forty to fifty miles offshore, also grew dependent on Indians, men of African descent, and whites from the mainland and Martha's Vineyard to work aboard their vessels. At midcentury, Nantucket fleets led the burgeoning Amer-

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> ican industry of hunting whales in the deep waters of the Atlantic. The deep-sea whalefishery was more lucrative, and island merchants had the necessary capital and connections to outfit their vessels with the proper equipment and reliable workers. By the 1750s, islanders had installed on-deck tryworks on their vessels that allowed blubber to be boiled at sea. Nantucket had the largest whaling fleet in the world in 1775 that brought in thirty thousand barrels of oil. To meet the international demands for oil, ships in search of the profitable sperm whales moved farther away from New England, pursuing these cetaceans in waters from Canada to South America. . . . By the 1770s, more than one hundred Nantucket whaling vessels, set for voyages of four months or longer, competed for laborers from an almost extinct Native population from the island. Men from the island and the Vineyard-blacks, Indians, and Yankees—thus came to fulfill most of the labor of an industry in which captaincies and mateships were the "exclusive preserve" of white Nantucketers.[67]

New England Natives not only provided the labor for the whaling industry, but they were also shaped by their participation in the wage economy and by their travels around the Red Atlantic. One of those so molded was Paul Cuffe. Though not discussed by Paul Gilroy, Cuffe, like Crispus Attucks, represents a quintessential participant in both the black and Red Atlantics, demonstrating the inextricable intertwining of the two.

Paul Cuffe was born on January 17, 1759, on Cuttyhunk Island, Massachusetts. His father was Cuffe Slocum, an Ashanti from Ghana originally called Kofi, who was transported to America as a slave at ten years old and who later purchased his freedom. His mother was Ruth Moses, a Gayhead Wampanoag. At sixteen, Paul shipped out as an ordinary seaman on a whaling bark to the Gulf of Mexico. He made subsequent voyages on whalers and cargo vessels. According to his biographer,

> Cuffe's horizons as well as his knowledge of seamanship expanded enormously because of these youthful experiences. He not only became familiar with the navigational hazards normally encountered in the Gulf of Mexico, in the Caribbean, among the West Indies, off South America, and the like, but he was introduced to different societies and their mores. These early voyages served as a

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kind of apprenticeship period for Paul Cuffe. He was learning his trade under the watchful eye of professionals; he was also acquiring knowledge concerning the white man's prejudice as it related to the black-skinned inhabitants of the Western Hemisphere.[68]

Captured and imprisoned by the British for three months in 1776, Cuffe resumed his sailing career in 1778. The following year, he and his brother built a small boat and plowed the coastal trade, perhaps engaging in blockade running as well. From that first open skiff, he expanded throughout the 1780s and 1790s until, by 1806, he had a fleet of ocean-going ships, including the 268-ton sloop *Alpha*. He excelled as a captain, both whaling and hauling cargo. Most of the time, he sailed with a crew composed solely of blacks and Natives. He married a woman from his mother's tribe. In 1780 he engaged in what might be termed tax resistance, petitioning the Massachusetts government concerning his unpaid taxes because, as an Indian, he was not enfranchised, and it was thus taxation without representation.[69]

Cuffe became the wealthiest man of color in the country. He counted among his friends and supporters Benjamin Rush, Albert Gallatin, and William Wilberforce. In 1812 he achieved another first, when he met with President James Madison at the White House, becoming the first black man so received—but not the first Native (Indian delegations had been meeting with U.S. executives since George Washington).

Sheldon Harris, in his biography, writes of Cuffe's early "racial perplexity" as a mixed-race person in colonial and early republican America. In 1808 Cuffe underwent a Christian conversion and joined the Quaker meeting in Westport, Massachusetts. After that, he became increasingly dedicated to the cause of Africa. Harris says that in this he resolved his "racial ambiguity." There is no evidence, however, that Cuffe ever turned away from his Indianness.[70]

The Algonkian Wampanoag were matrilineal. As the son of a Gayhead woman, Cuffe had a clan within the tribe. In this regard, his marriage to a Wampanoag woman is significant. It ensured that his children would have the same status.

Sierra Leone had been established by the British beginning in 1787 as a place to resettle self-emancipating enslaved Africans who had fled the American colonists and black sailors captured during the American Revolution. By 1806, however, the Sierra Leone Company was bordering

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on bankruptcy, and in 1807 the British took it over as a crown colony. Cuffe first sailed there in early 1811 to survey conditions. From there, he traveled to England, where he took in the sights and met with the leading figures of the day. His plan was to transport skilled freedmen to Africa as a leaven to raise the level of African civilization and carry back African resources and goods to pay for the enterprise. He purchased a home in Freetown but held no hope of moving there permanently because his Wampanoag wife refused to relocate.[71]

By 1816 Cuffe came to believe that large-scale black relocation was the only hope for African Americans. According to Harris,

> many forces and influences that worked on him over the years coalesced in 1816 to convince Cuffe that the only hope—nay, the only prospect for salvation—for Negroes was their complete removal from this country and subsequent relocation elsewhere. He did not abandon the notion of saving Africa, but now the plight of the black man in the United States assumed first place in his hierarchy of priorities. If he was not the father of black nationalism, by this decision Paul Cuffe became a leading contender for the distinction.[72]

Even in his espousal of contemporary African recolonization, Cuffe was ahead of his time. He advocated for not one but two relocation venues. Harris explains: "A site somewhere in Africa would offer a welcome for those blacks searching for an African identity, while another center could be established along the western fringes of the Louisiana Purchase for Negroes disinterested in an African return. In this fashion a black could have freedom of choice in selecting the setting for his exile."[73] In this, he anticipated those who saw Oklahoma as a future situs for red and black resettlement and cohabitation.

Cuffe died on September 7, 1817, his dreams of mass resettlement of African Americans largely unfulfilled. His son, Paul Jr., followed him to sea, shipping out as a harpooner on whalers.

C. Red Diplomats and Other Cosmopolitans

In the summer of 1564, the French established Fort Caroline on the Atlantic coast of North America under the auspices of Adm. Gaspar de Coligny, a Burgundian nobleman. The local Timucua welcomed them.

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Twice, when the colonists were short on food, Outina, a Timucuan chief, coaxed the French into participating in attacks on villages of his rival, Potano, to seize surplus corn. In the spring of 1565, again starving, the French requested corn and beans from Outina. The chief refused, saying they needed their stocks for seed. According to anthropologist Jerald Milanich, "To force French demand, Chief Outina was taken hostage and held for a ransom of food, which the Indians said they could not pay. After two tense weeks of skirmishes and one all-out battle, Outina was released."[74] Within a few months of Outina's liberation, the colony at Fort Caroline was massacred by the Spaniards.

The destruction of Fort Caroline prevented any of Outina's tribesmen from enjoying the same "hospitality" at the hands of the French or being taken to France. The failure of the French colony, however, set the stage for the first red diplomats to travel to England.

With French designs on North America temporarily thwarted, the only challengers to English settlement on the lower Atlantic coast were the Spanish, who established Saint Augustine the same year that Fort Caroline perished. Spaniards had, in fact, been exploring the mainland of North America since 1513, when Ponce de León claimed the region for the Spanish crown. In order to stake their own claim to temporal primacy on the continent, Elizabethans invented the myth of Prince Madoc, a Welsh nobleman who shipwrecked in Mobile Bay in 1170 and trekked with his crew through what is today the American Southeast. The first complete account of this fictive expedition is told in Humphrey Llwyd's 1559 *Cronica Walliae*. The story quickly took hold. A petition for a royal charter was submitted to Queen Elizabeth in 1580, which stated that "the Lord Madoc, sonne to Owen Gwynned, Prince of Gwynned, led a Colonie and inhabited in Terra Florida or thereabouts" in 1170. George Peckham picked the story up in his *A True Report of the late Discoveries of the Newfound Landes* in 1583, and David Powel repeated it the following year in *Historie of Cambria*. Richard Hakluyt followed suit in *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation* in 1589.

The same year that Powel's treatise appeared, Sir Walter Raleigh, not Madoc, was granted a royal patent to settle North America. In the spring of that year, he dispatched an exploratory expedition, commanded by Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe. The explorers investigated Pamlico and Abermarle Sounds and identified Roanoke Island as a preferred location for settlement. The Englishmen were well received by the local

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Indians, and "to prove the truth of their reports," Amadas and Barlowe returned to England with two Croatoan sachems, Manteo and Wanchese, curious to see this other land.[75]

Manteo was dubbed "Lord of Roanoke," "the first and only red American to be so honored in England."[76] The two came back to North America after a brief visit, only to return to the British Isles in 1586. Records are unclear. At least, Manteo completed his second circumnavigation of the nascent Red Atlantic in April 1587.[77] The two chiefs were only the first of a steady stream of Natives traversing the Atlantic to conduct diplomacy and investigate the opposite shore.

Raleigh established his colony on Roanoke in 1587. Sometime between then and 1590, it disappeared, going down in history as the "Lost Colony." The Virginia Company received a new patent from James I in 1606, establishing Jamestown the following year. Jamestown was the first successful British colony in North America.

Much has been written about Pocahontas, even if she has often remained less than three-dimensional. In 1614 she married John Rolfe. In 1616 Sir Thomas Dale organized a delegation from the Virginia Colony to England, where it was hoped they could raise additional funds for their venture. Among those accompanying him was the rechristened Lady Rebecca Rolfe. In her biography, the late Paula Gunn Allen writes:

> With Pocahontas, Indian paragon of missionary zeal and cash crop, indicator of solid investment opportunity, firmly in tow, Sir Dale [*sic*] must have anticipated a warm welcome and highly successful outcome. . . . The aptly named *Treasurer* set sail in 1616, carrying its precious cargo: Lady Rebecca, her husband, and their son, Thomas, and her dozen or so attendants.[78]

While in England, she met with Samuel Purchas, George Percy, and Walter Raleigh. She had audiences with King James and Queen Anne. She was reunited with John Smith. Allen notes: "The entry of Lady Rebecca—first Christian, Anglicized Indian princess, a model of what they called 'civilizing'—was choreographed to maximize public interest in the venture and secure the means [for Virginia] to expand."[79] Believing Pocahontas to be a genuine "princess," James I was reportedly extremely displeased with Rolfe for marrying her. He feared Rolfe might have some future claim on his Virginia colony for having married royalty.[80]

Unfortunately, the Powhatan princess never returned home. Taken

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ill, she died in Gravesend before she could set sail. Her cause of death is unknown, but the most likely cause seems influenza.[81]

Red diplomats and cosmopolitans crisscrossed the Atlantic with such frequency and in such numbers in the eighteenth century that it must be beyond the scope of this brief essay to discuss them all. Haudenosaunee, Cherokee, and Muscogee delegations visited England. Osage, Otoe, and Missouria deputations traveled to France. By 1800, among the notables who had come to Europe (in addition to those already discussed) were Oconostota (Ground Hog Sausage), Ostenaco (Mankiller), Attakullakulla (Little Carpenter), Joseph Brant, and Samson Occum.

I want briefly to discuss only the first of these, Oconostota. His story brings us back to Prince Madoc and says something important about the sophistication of Native travelers of the Red Atlantic.

Oconostota was a war chief of Chota. As in other cases, there is confusion here. Oconostota is often confused with Cunne Shote (Stalking Turkey), Cunne Gadoga (Standing Turkey), even with Ostenaco (Mankiller). Foreman notes that there are differing accounts as to whether and when he traveled to England. We do know that Oconastota was in New Orleans when Ostenaco, Woyi, and Cunne Shote sailed for Britain. After Ostenaco returned from participating in that 1762 Cherokee delegation that met with George III, Oconostota and Attakullakulla (who had been part of the 1730 deputation that met George II) requested permission to go to Britain, but their request was refused.[82] Even so, there is evidence that Oconostota did visit Britain, where he was fitted with a pair of spectacles.[83] When his grave was excavated in the 1970s to move it before completion of the Tellico Dam flooded the site of Chota, he was found buried with a large knife and those eyeglasses.

Throughout the early 1760s, the Cherokee suffered frequent raids by the Haudenosaunee. In October 1765 Oconostota's nephew, Go-ohsohly, was taken prisoner near Fort Pitt (the former Fort Duchesne). James Kelly explains: "Sir William Johnson, British Superintendent for Northern Indian Affairs, was asked to arrange a peace conference between the Cherokees and the six tribes of the Iroquois Confederacy. Oconostota, Attakullakulla, and their sons were escorted to Charleston."[84]

On November 27, 1767, Oconostota ventured forth onto the Red Atlantic, whether for the first time or otherwise. He, his cousin Attakullakulla, and six other Cherokee (but not including their sons) boarded the sloop *Sally* for New York City. Kelly continues:

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> After a brief stay there, where they saw a performance of *Richard III*, the party set for Johnson Hall, which they reached on sledges on December 29. Oconostota, white wampum in hand, told Johnson they had come by water for fear of the over-land route. They had come, he said, "from the White Council House, which is at Chota, and here is our Emperor's belt to you, to shew you that we are fully empowered by him and all our people to come and treat about Peace, and crave your assistance."[85]

The chief proffered eight more belts of white wampum: one for each of the Six Nations, one from Cherokee women to their Haudenosaunee counterparts, and one from Cherokee children to Iroquois youth. A peace was concluded on March 17, 1768, and Oconostota departed for Charleston, arriving on April 28.[86]

During the American Revolution, Oconostota was instrumental in negotiating peace with the new nation. In 1782 Col. John Sevier rampaged through Cherokee country, burning towns to punish the Chickamaugas. According to Joel Koenig, in his *Cherokee Chronicles, 1540–1840*, "After a lopsided battle at Lookout Mountain, they proceeded to destroy abandoned towns, including Spring Frog, Ustenali, Ellijay, and Coosawatie. Sevier did not find the newer Chickamauga towns and instead headed back to Chota. He met with Oconostota, Old Tassel, and Hanging Maw before heading back to Nolichucky."[87]

More than twenty-five years after that parlay, in 1810, Sevier wrote to Amos Stoddard, reporting:

> In the year 1782 I was on campaign against some part of the Cherokee; during the route I had discovered traces of very ancient, though regular fortifications. Some short time after the expedition I had an occasion to enter into a negotiation with the Cherokee Chiefs for the purpose of exchanging prisoners. After the exchange had been settled, I took an opportunity of enquiring of a venerable chief called Oconostota, who was then, as he had been for nearly sixty years the ruling chief of the Cherokee Nation, if he could inform me what people it had been which had left fortifications in their country. . . . The old chief immediately informed me: "It was handed down by the Forefathers that the works had been made by the White people who formerly inhabited the country now called Carolina; that a war existed between the two nations for several years. . . ." I then asked him if he had ever heard any of

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his ancestors saying what nation of people these Whites belonged to. He answered: "He had heard his Grandfather and Father say they were a people called Welsh; that they had crossed the Great Water and landed first at the mouth of the Alabama River near Mobile and had been drove up to the heads of the waters until they arrived at Highwassee River by the Mexican Indians who had been drove out of their own Country by the Spaniards."[88]

At first blush, this letter is preposterous. Oconostota's narrative neatly parallels Robert Southey's 1805 epic poem, "Madoc." According to Sevier, the chief also told him of a Cherokee woman named Peg who had in her possession an old book given to her by one of the Welsh tribe. Unfortunately, before Sevier could himself examine the tattered text (which would have been produced nearly three hundred years before the Gutenberg press), it was destroyed when Peg's house burned to the ground.

Why would an elderly Cherokee chief, in the immediate wake of prisoner negotiations, engage in cordial conversation about a fictional Welsh explorer? Let us assume, however, that Sevier did not make up his story out of whole cloth. By the time Oconostota sat down with Sevier in 1782, Oconostota had possibly been to Britain himself. Regardless, he knew both Attakullakulla and Ostenaco, who unquestionably had, quite well. He had sat in the audience in New York and watched William Shakespeare's *Richard III*, which culminates with the Welshman Henry Tudor (who becomes Elizabeth I's grandfather, Henry VII) defeating Richard on Bosworth Field. During these and other encounters with English colonialists, I would claim that it is probable that the Cherokee became well acquainted with their fascination with Prince Madoc and a dreamt-of British primacy in North America. Sevier's conversation, as limned in the Stoddard letter, suggests the chief following Sevier's leading questions perfectly. Whether Oconostota was enjoying a joke at the colonial soldier's expense or playing to his prejudice for strategic effect, we cannot know.

III. Fireside Travelers, Armchair Adventurers, and Apocryphal Voyages

Shakespeare completed *Richard III* around 1592, and it was first published in 1597.[89] Though it was penned five years after the establishment of the Roanoke colony and two years after its discovered catastrophic

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failure, Shakespeare saw no need to try to deal with the settlement of the New World. There was at the time no permanent, successful English colony whose existence needed justifying. There is nary a mention of the Elizabethans' favorite hero, the wayward Prince Madoc. Within a similar amount of time following the founding of Jamestown, however, Shakespeare became the first to attempt to come to terms literarily with English colonization and the indigenes of the Americas. *The Tempest* was first produced in 1611.

While most today tend to think of the play as set on some vaguely identified or totally imaginary island, it in fact takes place on "*Bermoothes*" (i.e., Bermuda). Caliban, the dark indigene whom Prospero and Miranda dispossess of his island (and who the former desperately fears will sexually violate the latter), is identified in the dramatis personae as "a salvage [i.e., savage] and deformed slave." His name is an anagram of "canibal" (the contemporary spelling of "cannibal"), which is, in turn, a corruption of "Carib," the indigenous people who lent their name to the Caribbean (that they were far to the south of Bermuda, which is off the coast of the Carolinas and nowhere near the Caribbean, is of little import). One of Shakespeare's inspirations was the 1609 shipwreck of the ship *Sea Venture* on Bermuda. The vessel was bound for Jamestown, and after she went aground, survivors (including John Rolfe) were stranded for nine months.

Others, in particular the late Ronald Takaki in his essay "The 'Tempest' in the Wilderness: The Racialization of Savagery" and Peter Hulme in "Prospero and Caliban" in his *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492–1797*, have written extensively about *The Tempest* in this context.[90] Takaki notes:

> Although the theatergoers [in 1611] were given the impression that Caliban could be acculturated, they received a diametrically opposite construction of his racial character. They were told that Caliban was "a devil, a born devil" and that he belonged to a "vile race." "Descent" was determinative: his "race" signified an inherent moral defect. On the stage, they saw Caliban, with long shaggy hair, personifying the Indian.[91]

He also writes:

> Like Caliban, the native people of America were viewed as the "other." European culture was delineating the border, the hierar-

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> chical division between civilization and wildness. Unlike Europeans, Indians were allegedly dominated by their passions, especially their sexuality. . . . To the theatergoers, Caliban represented what Europeans had been when they were lower on the scale of development. To be civilized, they believed, required denial of wholeness—the repression of the instinctual forces of human nature. A personification of civilized man, Prospero identified himself as mind rather than body. His epistemology was reliant on the visual rather than the tactile and on the linear knowledge of books rather than the polymorphous knowledge of experience. With the self fragmented, Prospero was able to split off his rationality and raise it to authority over the "other"—the sensuous part of himself and everything Caliban represented.[92]

Much more can and should be discussed about Shakespeare's drama and commentaries on it. Space dictates, however, that it must wait. In the remainder of this essay, I want to examine two fascinating eighteenth-century novels that are significant to the construction of the Red Atlantic: *The Female American* (1767) and *Reuben and Rachel* (1798). The first was published in England. The second was first published in the United States, making it among the earliest American novels. Both novels, like *The Tempest*, portray Indians as an ineluctable Other. Yet both, written 150 to almost 200 years after Shakespeare's play, unlike Shakespeare's text, propose a new and different hybridized American identity. In both, European characters immigrating to the Americas are merely returning indigenous bloodlines to the hemisphere, contrapuntally indigenizing Europeans and cosmopolitizing Indians. In discussing them, I will also make (necessarily brief) references to contemporary Native American texts.

A. The Female American

In 1719 Daniel Defoe published *Robinson Crusoe*, sometimes thought of as the first English novel. The book's eponymous hero is on a slaving voyage to Africa when he is shipwrecked and castaway on an Atlantic island, where he spends twenty-seven years. His companion is Friday, an indigene captive whom he saves from cannibals, teaches English, and converts to Christianity. By his presence and in his actions, Crusoe thus

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unites white, black, and Red Atlantics. Defoe based his novel, at least in part, on true-life accounts of Alexander Selkirk, a Scottish sailor who was put ashore and marooned on Masatierra in the Juan Fernández Archipelago in the Pacific for more than four years in 1704.

Defoe's novel was a sensation, inspiring so many imitators that its title was adapted to describe a genre, "Robinsonades." Often these castaway accounts bent gender, substituting a feminine protagonist. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there were no fewer than twenty-six "female Robinsonades" published in America, England, France, Germany, and Holland.[93] *The Female American* was one such work.

Just as *Robinson Crusoe* purported to have been "written by himself," *The Female American* is ascribed to its heroine, Unca Eliza Winkfield, "compiled by herself."[94] Michelle Burnham, a professor of English at Santa Clara University, brought the novel back into print in a critical edition in 2001. Despite her best investigations, it proved impossible to determine actual authorship. According to Burnham, the author "articulated for readers on both sides of the Atlantic an often radical vision of race and gender through an account of a biracial heroine who is able to indulge in a kind of 'rambling' mobility and 'extraordinary' precisely because she is, as the title declares, an American female."[95] Published originally in England, there is no intimation and very little possibility that the novel's author was Native American, let alone a female one.

The "biracial heroine" of whom Burnham speaks, the purported author, Unca Eliza Winkfield, is truly of transnational heritage. The novel begins with a stylized and sexualized recapitulation of the Pocahontas–John Smith story. The first-person narrator's father is the son of Edward Maria Wingfield (or Winkfield), the first president of the Virginia Colony.[96] William Winkfield, captured by Indians during the Jamestown massacre of 1622, is brought before a Powhatan-style figure for torture and execution. He is, however, saved by the chief's daughter, who claims the Englishman for her spouse. Despite the duress and incomprehension of their meeting, the two fall deeply in love and conceive a daughter. The father goes on, with his wife's family's largesse, to become prosperous in Virginia.

When the Native mother, also named Unca, is murdered by her jealous sister, desirous, too, of the captive Englishman, father and child decamp for England. Ultimately, however, William Winkfield returns across the Atlantic, and his crossblood daughter joins him. After his

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death, despite Unca Eliza's claim of America as her "native country," she decides to abandon the continent. She writes: "Having paid my father every funeral honour I could, and having nothing now to attach me to this country, and the bulk of my great fortune lying in England, I determined to embark for that kingdom, and to conclude my days with my uncle's family."[97]

On the voyage "home," however, our heroine rejects the extortionate advances of the ship's captain. When she does, he puts her ashore on an uninhabited Atlantic island, condemned like Crusoe or his real-life model Selkirk to live out a solitary existence, slowly to expire. But just like both those marooned seafarers, she not only survives but thrives.

John Smith, when he first saw the island named for him in what is today Maryland, declared, "The land is kind," by which he meant that he had never seen a place more fit for human habitation.[98] Forsaken on her island prison, Unca survives because she finds an apparently recently abandoned habitation of another castaway containing a supply of edible root vegetables. As these run out, she must search for more food, and she, like Smith, comments on the fecundity of the land. She states:

> My next care was to provide a new stock of roots, as those I found in the cell were nearly consumed. It was not long before I found plenty; these I roasted on a fire, and laid them up. If I was now rich in provisions, I was quickly more so; almost every day . . . there was not only plenty of shell-fish on the shore, all of them wholesome, except the black flesh kind, but that every tide left great numbers of other fishes in the holes and shallows. I soon tasted some of each sort, and found them very delicious; particularly, a shell-fish, like what are called oysters in England, and which needed no dressing; others were of the lobster and crab kind; the shells of the latter, being large, were very useful. Besides fish and flesh, I could also help myself to birds of various kinds, particularly some like larks. . . . From several of the trees issued a kind of glutinous matter, which I gathered and besmeared the little low brambles and bushes with it, and by that means catched [*sic*] a great many small birds, that used to eat the berries of them. . . . What a plentiful table was here, furnished only at the expense of a little trouble!

At length, however, worry about her plight gives way to fear: Unca becomes feverish and delirious. She has only the strength to drag herself to

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a stream and drink. Still weak, she sees a female goat, crawls to her, and suckles. Gradually, she regains her strength.

Burnham correctly points to the incident as a rebirth, writing: "After undergoing a kind of inadvertent baptism in the island's river, she recovers her strength by nursing from the dugs of a she-goat. As her health returns and she regains the ability to walk, Winkfield is figuratively reborn on this New World island. But that rebirth also increasingly resembles something more like a resurrection."[99] Such a statement is true as far as it goes, but it does not go far enough. It is literally suckling at the teats of the Americas that gives Winkfield reborn life. Initially, the milk's very richness and unfamiliarity make her ill. She vomits violently, but the milk nonetheless helps cure and *purify* her, as she herself testifies: "For notwithstanding the milk had made me sick, yet I believe it contributed to my recovery, by clearing my stomach." Significantly, the second time she drinks the milk, it agrees with her.

Burnham writes: "*The Female American* ought . . . to be considered with the extraordinary transnational tradition of early eighteenth-century fiction produced about America and its social and cultural possibilities."[100] For the novel's author, as for Defoe, but also more broadly, England can only be defined in relationship to the colonial world, which, at that historical moment, meant America. Published in 1767, the same year as the passage of the Stamp Act, the book stresses the New World as a place of opportunity for reinvention. The previous castaway left a journal, which, with its details about the island, gives Unca the wherewithal to subsist. In narrating his life, the hermit notes that his first thirty years pre-island were profligate and crime-ridden, leading to the loss of his liberty and his transport to the colonies. The shipwreck leaves him imprisoned on the island, but in that event he ironically regains his freedom. America is a place of *liberty*. The island is contrasted to Jamestown, where, prior to his return to England, Unca's father was compelled to conceal the wealth he has received from his Indian in-laws "as many of the colony were not only persons of desperate fortunes, but most of them such whose crimes had rendered them obnoxious in their native country."

Equally if not more important for the author of *The Female American*, however, was the Indian as constitutive of American identity. The figure of the Native looms large in literature popular in Great Britain at the time.[101] In *Regeneration through Violence: The Mythology of the*

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American Frontier, 1600–1860, Richard Slotkin details how "the Indian comes to represent a symbolic distillation of actual or potential American virtues."[102] Unca's island is uninhabited but is utilized for ceremonial purposes by nearby mainland Indians. These Natives have a written language and are apparently her mother's people, because, when Unca finds their inscriptions, she can read them. For the author, Indians are one people—one *American* people.

The attitude toward Natives and colonialism in the novel is one of ambivalence—what one would expect from a book whose protagonist is both colonizer and colonized. Before her father's original departure for Virginia, his elder brother, a clergyman, warns him: "We have no right to invade the country of another, and I fear invaders will always meet a curse; but as your youth disenables you from viewing this expedition in that equitable light that it ought to be looked on, may your sufferings be proportionally light! for our God is just, and will weigh our actions in a just scale." Later, after the father is captured in the Indian attack on Jamestown, the Powhatan figure echoes the sentiment, addressing him: "Our god is not angry; the evil being who made you has sent you into our land to kill us; we know you not, and have never offended you; why then have you taken possession of our lands, ate our fruits, and made our countrymen prisoners? Had you no lands of your own?"

Despite the expression of, by contemporary standards, such enlightened sentiments, the novel also offers up a sense of patronizing entitlement regarding the Natives and the wealth of their world. In spite of her filiation with the Natives who use the island, Unca considers the island her own and refers to the Indians in the third person, thus separating herself from them. Yet she does the same with "Europeans." The offspring of an English colonizer and an Indian princess, Unca Eliza Winkfield is a new creation, a hybrid—an American in the modern, Western sense.

As noted above, mainland Indians use the island for ritual. Once a year, they come in large numbers, apparently on the summer solstice, to worship the sun. Discovering their temple with its hollowed-out idol, Unca devises a scheme of religious imperialism. She will secrete herself within the statue when the Natives come. From this hiding place, she will use her superior knowledge and reasoning to control and convert them. She declares, "I imagined hundreds of Indians prostrate before me with reverence and attention, whilst like a law-giver, I uttered pre-

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cepts, and, like an orator, inculcated them with a voice magnified almost to the loudness of thunder."

By this subterfuge, she introduces herself to the Indians not simply as a missionary but as a direct messenger of the Christian god sent to instruct them. She refers to herself as an apostle, waited upon with every need attended to by subservient Natives: "How greatly was my situation changed! From a solitary being, obliged to seek my own food from day to day, I was attended by a whole nation, all ready to serve me." She translates the Bible and the Anglican Book of Common Prayer into the Indian language, teaching the latter to their priests, who, in turn, instruct the indigenous children.

Finally, Unca is found by her cousin John Winkfield. He vows to stay with her, learn the Indian tongue, and help her evangelize the indigenes (for he has been ordained since they last saw each other). The narrator marries her kinsman-rescuer. Unlike Robinson Crusoe, they—and the sea captain who brings him—decide to stay among the savages. But first she strips what she calls "my island" of its abundant gold. She and her new British husband go off to settle their estates in the Old World, buy books, table linens, and place settings, and then return with the first colonists to this Indian community, re-creating the initiative moment of Jamestown.

The cultural exchange is complete. The hybrid progeny of America and Europe recrosses the Red Atlantic bearing civilization. Joining with a pure European son, she remains to finish the project of colonialism. If Unca Eliza Winkfield's return to the New World brings back the united genetic pool of the Powhatan princess and the first president of colonial Virginia, Susanna Rowson in *Reuben and Rachel*, published thirty years later, accomplishes an even more amazing reunion within the expanse of the Red Atlantic.

B. Reuben and Rachel

Unlike *The Female American*, which first appeared in Britain, *Reuben and Rachel* was published in Boston in 1798 and reprinted in London the following year. Its author, Susanna Haswell Rowson, was best known for *Charlotte Temple*, the most popular novel in America until Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* appeared more than fifty years later. Born in Portsmouth in 1762, she first came to America five years later,

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living in Massachusetts until 1778, when she and her British naval officer father returned to England. She published *Charlotte Temple* in 1791 and came back to the United States in 1793 as part of an acting troupe. In the ensuing period, she produced a number of disparate works, including a musical farce based on the 1794 Whiskey Rebellion. Stung by criticism that her work was not American, she wrote *Reuben and Rachel* as a defense of the fact that she is, in fact, a true Republican.[103]

The novel begins in sixteenth-century Wales, the homeland of Prince Madoc, where Isabelle Arundel lives with her daughter, Columbia, and Indian maid, Cora. The aptly named Columbia Arundel is the perfect ancestor for Americans. Goaded by Columbia, Cora reveals the family's hidden history. If Unca, in her journey to North America, brings back the genes of a Jamestown founder, in her text Rowson goes one better: Columbia is the descendant of the Admiral of the Ocean Sea himself.

As Rowson tells the story, Cora possesses a bundle of documents, commencing with an October 1490 letter from Columbus to his wife, Beatina, outlining his plans for a transatlantic voyage. After his initial 1492 exploration, Columbus travels back to the Americas with their son Ferdinando. The youth falls in love with an Incan princess, Orrabella. This Native woman becomes the ancestor of Columbia's mother, Isabelle.

Historically, Fernando was Columbus's son by his mistress Beatriz Enríquez de Arana. He accompanied his father on his fourth and final voyage to the Western Hemisphere. The closest the pair came, however, to Peru, the site of Ferdinando's meeting with his beloved Orrabella, is as a statue in Lima, depicting the father holding the hand of a kneeling, submissive, and bare-breasted Indian maiden.

According to Joseph Bartolomeo, professor of English at the University of Massachusetts Amherst, in Rowson's fiction Columbus "becomes the original founder not only of a new nation, but of the extended family that the novel represents through ten generations. Rowson's treatment was part of the widespread attention to the Columbian origins of American identity in the early Republic, which attempted to distance the United States from Britain by tracing the genealogy back to Columbus."[104]

Columbia Arundel, the product of both Old and New Worlds, marries Sir Egbert Gorges. She gives birth to five children, including a son named for the Columbian ancestor, Ferdinando. With his birth, the colonial enterprise begins to come full circle.

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Just as Unca Eliza Winkfield brings her indigenous mother's bloodline, commingled with that of colonialist Edward Maria Wingfield, back to the Americas, Susanna Rowson posits that Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the father of colonization of North America, was the direct descendant of Columbus and a South American indigene. According to Rowson, Gorges's grandson, Edward, "delighted in conversing" with one of Sir Ferdinando's Indian "servants": "His little heart would bound with transport at the description of vast oceans, immeasurable continents, and climes yet unexplored by Europeans; and seized with an irresistible desire to visit the new world in America, in the year 1632, embarked for New-England." The circle is closed: with Edward Gorges's passage across the Red Atlantic, an heir to Columbus and to American indigenes returns both their bloodlines to the New World.

In its storyline, *Reuben and Rachel* anticipates by almost two hundred years a novel by a prominent Native American author. In 1991, in the run-up to the quincentennial of the Columbus event, Anishinaabe writer Gerald Vizenor penned *The Heirs of Columbus*.[105] In Vizenor's vision, like Jack Forbes's "Indos" in Pliny's text, Mayans traverse the Atlantic in prehistoric times. According to Vizenor's character Stone Columbus, "The Maya brought civilization to the savages of the Old World and the rest is natural. . . . Columbus escaped from the culture of death and carried our tribal genes back to the New World, back to the great river; he was an adventurer in our blood and he returned to his homeland." Vizenor's novel was itself, in part, a satire of *The Crown of Columbus* by Michael Dorris and Louise Erdrich, published the same year.[106]

Rowson's novel continues through the generations, through King Philip's War and beyond as the "returning" Native/colonists cohabit again with Native Americans. Even so, these colonials and their descendants distance or divorce themselves from their indigenous roots. Indian ancestry makes them "true-born Americans," but European blood makes them superior. "Real" Americans are Europeans, indigenized by intermarriage with Natives. In such a context, the Indian, for American colonists and Europeans alike, reemerges as savage, "wreaking havoc on Euro-American farmers who are no longer figured as ruthless colonizers but as virtuous and productive colonists."[107] Joseph Bartolomeo concludes: "And while the conception of transatlantic exchange may be narrowed, the process of exchange remains essential to the novel's vision of what it means to be an American."[108]

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IV. CONCLUSION

Imagine a prosperous Dutch shipping merchant sitting in a coffee house in Amsterdam. He is smoking tobacco and sipping chocolate. His wealth has been fueled by the Indian and African slaves shipped to Willemstad and working plantations in the Antilles. This cosmopolitan is but a single, obvious beneficiary of both Red and black Atlantics.[109]

Ships are a central organizing image for Paul Gilroy in *The Black Atlantic*. He writes:

> The image of the ship—a living, micro-cultural system in motion—is especially important for historical and theoretical reasons. . . . Ships immediately focus attention on the middle passage, on the various projects for redemptive return to an African homeland, on the circulation of ideas and activists as well as the movement of key cultural and political artefacts: tracts, books, gramophone records, and choirs.[110]

Sailing vessels naturally also figure prominently in Linebaugh and Rediker's *The Many-Headed Hydra*, their history of the "revolutionary Atlantic." They are no less important to the Red Atlantic. They carried the wealth of the Americas away to Europe, and they transported Indians in a variety of capacities back and forth. Yet they also provided for the circulation of Native ideas and technologies (like quinine and aspirin) around the basin. They carried Native words for these things into English, Spanish, and French—hammock, poncho, canoe, tomato, potato, hurricane, barbecue.

Equally important, these ships brought European ideas, goods, and technologies to the indigenes of the Western Hemisphere, from the "red cloth" that Vikings traded to *skrælings* to myths about a shipwrecked Welsh prince that reached the ears of a Cherokee chief. This, too, is part of the story of the Red Atlantic.

In *The Black Atlantic*, Gilroy decries "ethnic absolutism" and "cultural insiderism." He writes:

> The essential trademark of cultural insiderism which also supplies the key to its popularity is an absolute sense of ethnic difference. This is maximised so that it distinguishes people from one another and at the same time acquires an incontestable priority over

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> all other dimensions of their social and historical experience, cultures, and identities. Characteristically, these claims are associated with the idea of national belonging or the aspiration to nationality and other more local but equivalent forms of cultural kinship. The range and complexity of these ideas in English cultural life defies simple summary or exposition. However, the forms of cultural insiderism they sanction typically construct the nation as an ethnically homogeneous object and invoke ethnicity a second time in the hermeneutic procedures deployed to make sense of its distinctive cultural content.[111]

As I hope I have made clear, Red and black Atlantics were not hermetically sealed off one from the other. Crispus Attucks, Paul Cuffe, Bartolomé de Las Casas, even Ayuba Suleiman Diallo each participated in various ways and to varying degrees in both, each playing his part.

In my book *American Indian Literary Nationalism* (written with Craig Womack and Robert Warrior), I make clear that, in discussing the story of European/Native encounter, hybridity is simply a given. Yet I also point out that too often hybridity is seen as "unidirectional": "For Europeans or Amer-Europeans to hybridize with Natives is to become more American, more indigenized. For Natives, it seems, it is to become less Native."[112] Unca Eliza Winkfield and Sir Ferdinando Gorges in *Reuben and Rachel* are Native Americans by virtue of their genealogies regardless of where their sentiments may lie. Yet when Oconostota accepts a pair of spectacles, Tisquantum learns English, or William Apess converts to Christianity, an imaginary cultural purity is destroyed, and they are judged to be inexorably sliding down the slippery slope of assimilation.

While I agree with much of Gilroy's argument, I fear that, as a black Englishman seeking inclusion for diasporic Africans within the British story, he becomes ensnared in that trap. Where I part company with him is in his "attacks" on nationalisms.

I stated in the introduction to this essay that, while exploring cosmopolitanism here, I am not betraying my nationalist position. Lest folks think I am abandoning willy-nilly all my prior work, I would remind them that in *American Indian Literary Nationalism* I label Squanto the first American cosmopolitan (oblivious of the two orphaned Beothuk brothers referenced in the "Slaves" section above), and in *That the People*

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Might Live I rely for part of my theoretical framework on Dutch-Javanese crossblood Rob Nieuwenhuys. The idea of the Red Atlantic does not negate nationalism. On a recent trip to Cuzco, I purchased a Peruvian cookbook. The recipe for *lomo saltado* calls for soy sauce. Does that make it inauthentic? Does the fact that Samuel Beckett wrote in French or that some Australian woman living in Valencia loves paella threaten Irish or Australian sovereignty?

As I have written before, the only cultures that don't change are dead cultures. In dealing with Native cultures, one is dealing with highly adaptive peoples. When Oconostota put on his spectacles to see clearly during prisoner negotiations with John Sevier, when William Apess turned the rhetoric of evangelical Christianity on its head to try to shame whites into equal treatment for people of color, and when the Master of Life told Tenskwatawa that the People must give up all they have gotten from whites, *except* guns and horses, all of them were engaged in *deeply* Native acts.

In articulating the Red Atlantic, I am restoring Indians as actors in the transoceanic story. In helping create the Red Atlantic, they were integrated into—and integrated themselves into—the nascent world economy. Not merely slaves and victims (though they were that, too), they were self-determined and not simply selves-determined. By the time James Oglethorpe came to Georgia in 1733, Native nations were already well on their way to full integration. As Ethridge writes, he encountered "societies quite experienced in dealing with Europeans. Their societies had been shaped by their experiences with Europeans and in response to the new world economy in which they were now enmeshed."[113]

Certainly some participants in the Red Atlantic, like Ourehouaré, were seduced into collaboration. But what separates the individuals mentioned above from someone like Ourehouaré is that they used the European-supplied tools—eyeglasses, English, Christianity, horses, guns—to promote the interests of their people.

I began this essay by relating the stories of Ayuba Suleiman Diallo and Tomochichi. The accounts I gave you, however, were incomplete.

I told you that Diallo was a Muslim merchant, but I did not tell you what he sold.

Slaves. He was a slaver. Does that change his story? Not really. What happened to him was still wrong. Slavery was still wrong. And simply

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because the universe has an ironical sense of humor and can ultimately turn evil into good, that does not justify what happened to him.

Tomochichi led a very different life. As part of his Georgia experiment, inspired in part by Diallo, Oglethorpe brought John and Charles Wesley, the future founders of Methodism, to minister to the colonists and evangelize the Indians (they were miserable failures at both). Tomochichi lived a long and happy life. At nearly one hundred years old, he fell ill. Both John Wesley and George Whitefield visited him on his deathbed. Wesley wrote in his journal that he, the Anglican missionary, was "ill with grief" at the condition of the great chief.[114]

Oglethorpe was traveling at the time, but as soon as word reached him, he set out for New Yamacraw. Before he could reach the chief's village, the old man expired. His tribesmen told the arriving white man that Tomochichi's dying wish was: "Bury me in the white men's town, in the land which my people gave them and in the home which I helped them build."[115] Oglethorpe transported the mico's body back to Savannah, where it was buried. He acted as a pallbearer.[116]

Both Diallo and Tomochichi played roles in the Red Atlantic, the first involuntarily and only very tangentially, the second with much more intentionality. Some, like Joseph Brant and Oconostota, negotiated the Red Atlantic with great sophistication. Others, like the countless slaves carted to Willemstad or the ironically named Freetown in the Bahamas, were merely pawns, unwilling and unwitting participants.[117] Still others, like Ourehouaré, misunderstood its dynamic and fell victim to its seductive charms.

In the interest of space, I have limited this essay to the years up until 1800. While these certainly were the defining years of the Red Atlantic, its story could easily be brought forward (and will be in the longer work that I am developing). The perambulations of information, material goods, and Native people around the Atlantic basin did not suddenly halt at the turn of the nineteenth century—as I have already indicated. Peter Jones, George Henry, and George Copway traveled through Europe to Britain, Belgium, France, and Germany. E. Pauline Johnson performed for British monarchs. And horseback-riding "savages" accompanied Buffalo Bill Cody as part of his Wild West spectacle to entertain continentals. The transatlantic exchange continues right through Phil Deloria's era of Indians in unexpected places and beyond. North American Natives fought in World Wars I and II, for both the United States

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and Canada, in numbers far disproportionate with their percentage of those populations.

To conclude, however, let us once again reset the wheel. From the very beginning, Indians demonstrated sophistication in many ways greater than the Europeans they encountered. In 1691 Father Christien Le Clerq, in *New Relations of Gaspesia*, related a conversation between a Micmac and a Frenchman. The Frenchman extols the greatness of his homeland. At length, the Indian replies, inquiring why the French condemn the Natives' wigwams as inadequate. Why, he asks, do men of five to six feet in height, like the French, need dwellings sixty to eighty feet tall? He then presses on:

> Thou reproachest us, very inappropriately, that our country is a little hell in contrast with France, which thou comparest to a terrestrial paradise, inasmuch as it yields thee, so thou sayest, every kind of provision in abundance. Thou sayest of us that we are the most miserable and most unhappy of all men, living without religion, without manners, without honour, without social order, and, in a word, without any rules, like the beasts in our woods and our forests, lacking bread, wine, and a thousand other comforts which that hast in superfluity in Europe. . . . For if France, as thou sayest, is a little terrestrial paradise, art thou sensible to leave it? And why abandon wives, children, relatives, and friends? Why risk thy life and thy property every year, and why venture thyself with such risk, in any season whatsoever, to the storms, and tempests of the sea in order to come to a strange and barbarous country which thou considerest the poorest and least fortunate of the world? Besides, since we are wholly convinced of the contrary, we scarcely take the trouble to go to France, because we fear, with good reason, lest we find little satisfaction there, seeing, in our own experience, that those who are natives thereof leave it every year in order to enrich themselves on our own shores.[118]

Like the Powhatan chieftain in *The Female American* who interrogated his English captives, "Had you no lands of your own?," the Native hones in on the Frenchman's chauvinism: If France is a paradise on Earth, why are you here in my country, when we have no desire to go to yours? This unnamed Micmac discussant understood very well the Red Atlantic, and by rejecting it, he nonetheless participated in it.

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NOTES

1. Michael Thurmond, *Freedom: Georgia's Antislavery Heritage, 1733–1865* (Atlanta: Longstreet Press, 2002), 13–15.

2. See, e.g., Thomas King, *The Truth about Stories: A Native Narrative* (Toronto: House of Anansi Press, 2003), 29.

3. Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 2.

4. Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*, 13.

5. David Armitage, "The Red Atlantic," *Reviews in American History* 29, no. 4 (2001): 479.

6. Armitage, "The Red Atlantic," 479–80. See also Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2000).

7. See Enrique Dussel, *The Invention of the Americas: Eclipse of "the Other" and the Myth of Modernity* (New York: Continuum, 1995).

8. See generally Sophie D. Coe, *America's First Cuisines* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994).

9. Philip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004), 6.

10. Helen Todd, *Tomochichi: Indian Friend of the Georgia Colony* (Atlanta: Cherokee Publishing Company, 1977), 62.

11. Todd, *Tomochichi*, 63.

12. Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Indians Abroad, 1493–1938* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1943), 60.

13. Foreman, *Indians Abroad*, 75.

14. Jack D. Forbes, *Africans and Native Americans: The Language of Race and the Evolution of Red-Black Peoples*, 2nd ed. (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 12–13.

15. Forbes, *Africans and Native Americans*, 13.

16. Forbes, *Africans and Native Americans*, 13.

17. Magnus Magnusson and Hermann Pálsson, trans., *The Vinland Saga: The Norse Discovery of America* (New York: Penguin Books, 1965), 65–67.

18. Magnusson and Pálsson, *Vinland Saga*, 102.

19. Jayme Sokolow, *The Great Encounter: Native Peoples and European Settlers in the Americas* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2002), 49. I say controversial simply because he was accused of plagiarism.

20. Magnusson and Pálsson, *Vinland Saga*, 102.

21. Magnusson and Pálsson, *Vinland Saga*, 102.

22. Sokolow, *Great Encounter*, 49; Jack D. Forbes, *Columbus and Other Cannibals* (New York: Autonomedia, 1992), 37.

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23. Sokolow, *Great Encounter*, 49.

24. Forbes, *Columbus*, 37.

25. Jennings C. Wise, *The Red Man in the New World Drama*, rev. and ed. Vine Deloria Jr. (New York: Macmillan, 1971), 7.

26. Alexander VI, *Inter Cætera* (May 3–4, 1493).

27. Homer Noley, *First White Frost: Native Americans and United Methodism* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1991), 18.

28. Noley, *First White Frost*, 18.

29. David E. Stannard, *American Holocaust: The Conquest of the New World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 66–69.

30. Gustavo Gutiérrez, *Las Casas: In Search of the Poor of Christ* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1992), 51–53.

31. See Ernest J. Burrus, ed., *Defense of the Indians: Their Rights*, vol. 1, *The Writings of Alonso de la Vera Cruz: II* (Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1968).

32. Paul III, *Sublimis Deus* (May 29, 1537).

33. Paul III, *Sublimis Deus*.

34. Paul III, *Sublimis Deus*.

35. Gustavo Gutiérrez disagrees. He contends that only the *Pastorale Officium*, the letter that accompanied the bull and specified punishments, was revoked. Yet without the implementing details of the *Pastorale Officium*, what was *Sublimis Deus* but a weak statement of policy? Gutiérrez, *Las Casas*, 308–10.

36. Foreman, *Indians Abroad*, 7.

37. Foreman, *Indians Abroad*, 7–9.

38. There is some dispute over whether these wondrous words were spoken by Squanto or Samoset. In *American Indian Literary Nationalism*, I attribute them to the former. Bradford, however, says the latter.

39. Foreman, *Indians Abroad*, 15–16.

40. Foreman, *Indians Abroad*, 16–17.

41. William Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, 2.2.

42. Foreman, *Indians Abroad*, 17. The two Natives returned to England with the ship.

43. Caleb Johnson, "Tisquantum, Massasoit, and Hobbamock," http://www.mayflowerhistory.com/History/indians4.php (March 1, 2010).

44. Johnson, "Tisquantum."

45. The common culprit is assumed to be smallpox. Another candidate is tuberculosis. Most recently, it has been speculated that it was leptospirosis.

46. See Alfred Cave, "Canaanites in a Promised Land: The American Indian and the Providential Theory of Empire," *American Indian Quarterly* (Fall 1988).

47. John Mason, *Narrative of the Pequot War* (Boston: S. Kneeland and T. Green, 1736), 3:31.

48. Quoted in Foreman, *Indians Abroad*, 31.

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49. H. C. Burleigh, "Ourehouare," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 1 (1000–1700), http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?BioId=34565 (March 16, 2010).

50. Foreman, *Indians Abroad*, 32.

51. Francis Parkman, *The Battle for North America*, ed. John Tebbel (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1948), 341.

52. Parkman, *Battle*, 342.

53. Parkman, *Battle*, 342.

54. Parkman, *Battle*, 342–43.

55. Francis Parkman, *Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1894), 199–200.

56. Parkman, *Count Frontenac*, 200–201.

57. Parkman, *Count Frontenac*, 201.

58. Foreman, *Indians Abroad*, 33.

59. Brett Rushforth, "'A Little Flesh We Offer You': The Origins of Indian Slavery in New France," *William and Mary Quarterly* 60, no. 4 (2003): 777.

60. Rushforth, "'A Little Flesh,'" 777.

61. Rushforth, "'A Little Flesh,'" 799.

62. Robbie Ethridge, "English Trade in Deerskins and Indian Slaves," in *The New Georgia Encyclopedia*, http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/nge/Article.jsp?id=h-585 (March 24, 2010). See also Robbie Ethridge and Sheri M. Shuck-Hall, eds., *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009).

63. Ethridge, "English Trade." Ethridge explains that she calls them "coalescent" because these new constellations of identity were all, in varying degrees, coalescences of people from different societies, cultures, and languages. I tend to use the latter term. Either way, a prime example is the Seminole, originally Georgia and Alabama Creeks who drifted south into Spanish Florida, absorbing into themselves the shattered remnants of a number of Florida peoples. They did not "coalesce" as a tribe until around 1700.

64. Alan Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of English Empire in the American South, 1670–1717* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), 299.

65. Mark A. Nicholas, "Mashpee Wampanoags of Cape Cod, the Whalefishery, and Seafaring's Impact on Community Development," *American Indian Quarterly* 26, no. 2 (2002): 165–97, 165.

66. Nicholas, "Mashpee Wampanoags," 165.

67. Nicholas, "Mashpee Wampanoags," 165.

68. Sheldon H. Harris, *Paul Cuffe: Black America and the African Return* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972), 18–19.

69. Harris, *Paul Cuffe*, 18–21, 35–36.

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70. Harris, *Paul Cuffe*, 37–38.

71. Harris, *Paul Cuffe*, 50–57.

72. Harris, *Paul Cuffe*, 66.

73. Harris, *Paul Cuffe*, 69.

74. Jerald T. Milanich, *Florida's Indians from Ancient Times to the Present* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998), 149–52.

75. Lee Miller, *Roanoke: Solving the Mystery of the Lost Colony* (New York: Arcade Publishing, 2002), ix; Foreman, *Indians Abroad*, 15.

76. Foreman, *Indians Abroad*, 15.

77. Miller, *Roanoke*, 63.

78. Paula Gunn Allen, *Pocahontas: Medicine Woman, Spy, Entrepreneur, Diplomat* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2003), 270–71.

79. Allen, *Pocahontas*, 277–78.

80. Foreman, *Indians Abroad*, 24.

81. Allen, *Pocahontas*, 297.

82. Duane King, personal communication, March 24, 2010.

83. Brett H. Riggs, personal communication, February 20, 2010.

84. James C. Kelly, "Oconostota," *Journal of Cherokee Studies* 3, no. 4 (1979): 227–28.

85. Kelly, "Oconostota," 227–28.

86. Kelly, "Oconostota," 228.

87. Joel Koenig, *Cherokee Chronicles, 1540–1840: From First Contact to the Trail of Tears* (Chattanooga: Town & Country Publishing, 2003), 147.

88. John Sevier to Amos Stoodard, Knoxville, TN, October 9, 1810.

89. I am indebted to Percy Adams's wonderful *Travelers and Travel Liars, 1660–1800* (New York: Dover Publications, 1980) in thinking through this section.

90. Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492–1797* (London: Routledge, 1986), 89–134.

91. Ronald Takaki in his essay "The 'Tempest' in the Wilderness: The Racialization of Savagery," in *A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 1993), 36.

92. Takaki, "The 'Tempest,'" 31–32.

93. Michelle Burnham, introduction to *The Female American* (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2001), 13.

94. The full title is *The Life and Strange Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe of York, Mariner: Who lived Eight and Twenty Years, all alone in an uninhabited Island on the coast of America, near the Mouth of the Great River of Oroonoque; Having been cast on Shore by Shipwreck, where-in all the Men perished but himself. With An Account how he was at last as strangely deliver'd by Pyrates. Written by Himself.*

95. Burnham, introduction, 24.

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96. In reality, Wingfield had no offspring.

97. The reference is to her father's brother's family, with whom they had resided in England.

98. William Least Heat Moon [William Trogdon], *Blue Highways: A Journey into America* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1982), 388–89.

99. Burnham, introduction, 17.

100. Burnham, introduction, 27.

101. Burnham, introduction, 27.

102. Richard Slotkin, *Regeneration through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600–1860* (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1973), 236.

103. Joseph F. Bartolomeo, introduction to *Reuben and Rachel* by Susanna Haswell Rowson (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2009), 10–12.

104. Bartolomeo, introduction, 12–13.

105. Gerald Vizenor, *The Heirs of Columbus* (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1991).

106. Michael Dorris and Louise Erdrich, *The Crown of Columbus* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1991).

107. Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Subject Female: Authorizing American Identity," *American Literary History* 5 (1993): 500.

108. Bartolomeo, introduction, 32.

109. Though I have played with it and amplified it, I am indebted to my colleague Claudio Saunt for sticking this indelible image in my mind's eye.

110. Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*, 4.

111. Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*, 3.

112. Jace Weaver, Craig Womack, and Robert Warrior, *American Indian Literary Nationalism* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006), 28.

113. Ethridge, "English Trade."

114. Todd, *Tomochichi*, 135–36.

115. Todd, *Tomochichi*, 137.

116. This is, for me, another one of those "too-good-to-be-true" stories. As Oglethorpe approaches New Yamacraw, the aged mico dies. His people tell the white man of the chief's dying wish, which the settler-colonizer fulfills. I like to think Tomochichi's people, immediately after his death, said to each other, "This is the one who gave away our land: Let him go be buried with his white friends."

117. I am deliberately employing an anachronism here. Freetown was so named because it was the place slaves were first freed in 1834.

118. Christien Le Clerq, *New Relations of Gaspesia*, quoted in Jace Weaver, ed., *American Journey: The Native American Experience* (Meriden, CT: Research Publications, 1998).

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