

## Panel Two: Black Atlantic Lives

1. Barbara McCaskill, U of Georgia [[bmccaski@uga.edu](mailto:bmccaski@uga.edu)]

Masculinity and Migration: The Black Atlantic Lives of Henry Highland Garnet and Peter Thomas Stanford

Rev. Henry Highland Garnet (1815-82) and Rev. Peter Thomas Stanford (c. 1860-1909) were nineteenth-century African American ministers whose dramatic lives intersected. Both descended from enslaved black southerners; both emerged as charismatic preachers in Brooklyn, New York's radical antislavery community; and, predating the innovative work of W. E. B. Du Bois (1868-1963), both became passionate advocates for providing access for talented African American youth to a classical and liberal arts education beyond the grammar school level. Garnet was one of Stanford's spiritual and political mentors, and helped place him in summer jobs to finance his college education.

For this meeting of the International Auto/Biography Association, I will focus on how Garnet and Stanford constructed notions of gender and race as part of a collective project of shaping a political and economic agenda for African Americans in the decades after the Civil War. They are no longer household names among Anglophone readers, yet each of their stories marked milestone moments in early African American print culture. *The Sketch of the Life and Labors of Rev. Henry Highland Garnet* (1865), as told by the abolitionist James McCune Smith, was in fact commissioned for printing in Washington, DC, by the US Congress after Garnet became the first black man invited to speak there. Nearly one-half century later, Stanford's firsthand memoir *From Bondage to Liberty* (1889) highlighted his historic appointment as the first black minister of a church in the working class city of Birmingham, England. These texts, I argue, subvert conventional discussions of black masculinity and citizenship in order to facilitate post-Emancipation goals of educational opportunities, political suffrage, and transnational antiracist collaborations. Similarly, the hybrid forms of their stories, which challenge the aesthetics of ex-slaves' narratives, reflect a new post-Emancipation agenda for African Americans.

Masculinidade e migração: as vidas dos afro-americanos Henry Highland Garnet e Peter Thomas Stanford

Henry Highland Garnet (1815-82) e Peter Thomas Stanford (c. 1860-1909) foram dois pastores protestantes afro-americanos cujas vidas dramáticas se cruzaram no século XIX. Ambos descendiam de Afrodescendentes escravizados no Sul; ambos se tornaram notórios por suas pregações carismáticas no Brooklyn, à época uma comunidade radicalista e antiescravocrata de Nova York; e, antecedendo o trabalho inovador de W. E. B. Du Bois (1868-1963), ambos defendiam com fervor que jovens afro-americanos talentosos tivessem acesso à educação clássica e nas artes liberais, além da escola secundária. Garnet era um dos mentores espirituais e políticos de Stanford e ajudava o pupilo a conseguir trabalhos temporários para financiar seus estudos na universidade.

Neste encontro da International Auto/Biography Association [Associação Internacional de (Auto)biografia, em tradução livre], me concentrarei em como Garnet e Stanford construíram noções de gênero e raça como parte de um projeto coletivo de formação de uma pauta política e econômica para os afro-americanos nas décadas que se seguiram à Guerra Civil Americana. Eles podem não ser mais tão famosos entre os leitores anglófonos, mas suas histórias marcaram momentos basilares no início da “cultura do impresso” afro-americana. ‘The Sketch of the Life and Labors of Rev. Henry Highland Garnet’ [Esboço da vida e da obra do reverendo Henry Highland Garnet] (1865), escrito pelo abolicionista James McCune Smith, recebeu do Congresso americano autorização para ser impresso em Washington, D.C., depois que Garnet se tornou o primeiro homem Afrodescendente a ser convidado para discursar na capital. Quase meio século depois, o livro de memórias de Stanford ‘From Bondage to Liberty’ [Da escravidão à liberdade] (1889) destacou seu compromisso histórico como primeiro pastor Afrodescendente de uma igreja de Birmingham, cidade da Inglaterra povoada pela classe trabalhadora. Esses textos, eu argumento, subvertem as discussões convencionais sobre a masculinidade e cidadania negra para facilitar, pós-Independência, as oportunidades educacionais, sufrágio político e colaborações transnacionais antirracistas. De maneira similar, as formas híbridas de suas histórias, que desafiam a estética nas narrativas de ex-escravos, refletem uma nova pauta para os afro-americanos pós-Independência.

Barbara McCaskill is Professor of English and Co-Director of the Civil Rights Digital Library at the University of Georgia. She has published a monograph titled *Love, Liberation, and Escaping Slavery: William and Ellen Craft in Cultural Memory* (UGA Press, 2015) and a teaching edition of the Crafts’ 1860 memoir *Running a Thousand Miles for Freedom* (UGA Press, 1999). Additionally, she has co-edited two essay collections: *Multicultural Literature and Literacies: Making Space for Difference* (SUNY Press, 1993); and *Post-Bellum, Pre-Harlem: African American Literature and Culture, 1877-1919* (NYU Press, 2006). Her major works-in-progress include a co-edited volume of essays on African American Literature, 1880-1900, for Cambridge University Press’s series titled African American Literature in Transition, and a co-edited edition of the selected writings of Rev. Peter Thomas Stanford. She served as the 2012 Fulbright Visiting Research Chair in Society and Culture at Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

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2. Eric D. Lamore, U of Puerto Rico at Mayagüez [[eric.lamore@upr.edu](mailto:eric.lamore@upr.edu)]

William Aldridge’s and Samuel Whitchurch’s Competing Versions of John Marrant’s Life Story

In this presentation, I maintain that book history offers important ways to trace the packaging, circulation, and consumption of early black Atlantic texts and lives. To begin a more comprehensive interdisciplinary initiative that fuses archival work, book history, and early black Atlantic literature, I attend to the key differences in various prose and verse editions of the best-selling conversion and captivity narrative, *The Narrative of the Lord’s Most Wonderful Dealings with John Marrant, A Black*, published both during and after the itinerant preacher’s lifetime (1755-1791). Specifically, I analyze relevant parts from the authorized fourth edition of Marrant’s narrative along with the unauthorized prose and verse editions written by the

Methodist ministers, William Aldridge and Samuel Whitchurch. Aldridge and Whitchurch created versions of Marrant's life based on his oral remarks on his conversion at his ordination in a Huntingdonian chapel in Bath. The differences found in Aldridge's and Whitchurch's respective texts underscore an editorial tension in the consistent repackaging of Marrant's life story. Whereas Aldridge's prose editions document Marrant's captivity by and sustained interactions with the Cherokees, Whitchurch's poem, *The Negro Convert* (c. 1785), boasts that the speaker of his poem will not "sing" of "Indians." For Whitchurch, the sea and sailors—not the North American landscape and Native American peoples—provided a more realistic space for pursuing Marrant's commitment to Christianity following conversion. This presentation also attends to parts of Whitchurch's neglected poem, *David Dreadnought, the Reformed English Sailor* (1812). Whitchurch's poem focuses on the maritime adventures of David Dreadnought, John Marrant, and David Henderson and the conversion narratives of this diverse group of mariners. Whitchurch wrote *Dreadnought*—and used Marrant's life—to frame empire building as a providential act with the absorption of blacks (and Scots) and established a specific type of "imagined community" for early-nineteenth-century British readers.

Título: "Versões Concorrentes da História de Vida de John Marrant por William Aldridge e Samuel Whitchurch"

Nesta apresentação, sustento que a história do livro oferece meios importantes de rastrear o formulação, circulação e consumo dos primeiros textos e vidas do Atlântico Afrodescendente. Para iniciar uma iniciativa interdisciplinar mais compreensiva que um trabalho de arquivo, história do livro e os primórdios da literatura Atlântica negra, sigo as diferenças chave em várias edições em prosa e verso de narrativas de sucesso sobre conversão e prisão, A Narrativa dos Negócios Mais Fantásticos do Senhor com John Marrant, Um Afrodescendente, ambos publicados durante e após a vida itinerante do pregador (1755-1791). Mais especificamente, analiso partes relevantes da quarta edição autorizada da narrativa de Marrant junto com as edições não autorizadas em prosa e verso escritas pelos ministros pastores metodistas William Aldridge e Samuel Whitchurch. Aldridge e Whitchurch criaram versões da vida de Marrant baseadas em seus comentários orais sobre sua conversão e sua ordenação numa capela huntingdoniana em Bath. As diferenças encontradas nos respectivos textos de Aldridge e Whitchurch destacam uma tensão editorial na constante reformulação da história de vida de Marrant. Ao passo que as edições em prosa de Aldridge documentam o cativo e as constantes interações de Marrant, ambos com os Cherokees; o poema de Whitchurch, *The Negro Convert* (c. 1785), gaba-se de que o eu-lírico do poema não "cantará" sobre "índios". Para Whitchurch, o mar e os marinheiros - não a paisagem norte-americana e os povos nativos americanos - forneciam um espaço mais realista para a procura do compromisso de Marrant com a cristandade seguida da conversão. Este trabalho também trata de partes do poema negligenciado de Whitchurch, *David Dreadnought, the Reformed English Sailor* (1812). O poema de Whitchurch foca nas aventuras marítimas de David Dreadnought, John Marrant e David Henderson, e das histórias de conversão deste grupo diverso de marinheiros. Whitchurch escreveu *Dreadnought* - e utilizou a vida de Marrant - para estruturar a construção do império como um ato providencial com a absolvição dos Afrodescendentes (e escoceses) e estabelecer um tipo específico de "comunidade imaginada" para os leitores britânicos do início do século XIX.

[Traduzido por: Lucas Victor de Oliveira]

Eric D. Lamore is an associate professor in the Department of English at the University of Puerto Rico at Mayagüez, where he teaches courses in early American literature, eighteenth-century-British literature, and African American literature. He is the coeditor of *New Essays on Phillis Wheatley* as well as the editor of *Teaching Olaudah Equiano's Narrative: Pedagogical Strategies and New Perspectives* and *Reading African American Autobiography: Twenty-First-Century Contexts and Criticism*. He recently contributed a chapter on early black Atlantic life writing for Joycelyn K. Moody's forthcoming Cambridge University Press book, *The History of African American Autobiography*. Currently, he is working on a project fusing the fields of book history, archival studies, and early black Atlantic literature.

3. Daysha Paola Pinto, U of Puerto Rico at Mayagüez [daysha.pinto@upr.edu](mailto:daysha.pinto@upr.edu)

### Phillis Wheatley's Imagined Community Through Feminist Letter Writing

Cynthia Huff argues that theoretical approaches to women's life writing have demonstrated how this genre has sought to integrate existing elements of dominant culture into the creation of new, imagined communities. The creation of this feminine imagined safe space allows opportunities to discuss issues of memory, identity, and positionality among marginalized populations (*Women's Life Writing* 7-8). One of the methods through which these communities are organically crafted is through letter writing. Margaret Jolly believes that "[l]etters reveal a powerful assumption of both identity and mutual care between women. They are part of a culture of relationship...theorized as special to women's values and communities...in terms of the feminist philosophy-of-care ethics" (*In Love and Struggle* 3).

This presentation will examine the ways in which Phillis Wheatley, the first African American woman to publish a book in the English language, crafted a transatlantic imagined female community through letter writing. Specifically focused on charting the life cycle found in Wheatley's correspondence, this analysis traces an initial stage of rebirth through Christian faith, securing new female familial relationships, and the acceptance of physical loss and loss of health, which brings about collective grief. Letter writing provided private, secret spaces through which Wheatley and her imagined community could negotiate and heal trauma. This community aided her attempts to overcome the effects of what Orlando Patterson refers to as "social death," in which enslaved peoples are violently removed from their status quo and forcefully inserted into the colonizer's milieu.

### La Comunidad Imaginada de Phillis Wheatley a Través de la Correspondencia

Cynthia Huff argumenta que los enfoques teóricos aplicados a la escritura de vida femenina han demostrado cómo este género ha buscado la integración de elementos existentes de una cultura dominante en la creación de nuevas comunidades imaginadas. La creación de este espacio femenino imaginado provee oportunidades para discutir asuntos de memoria, identidad y posicionalidad entre poblaciones marginalizadas (*Women's Life Writing* 7-8). Uno de los métodos mediante los cuales estas comunidades son elaboradas orgánicamente es la correspondencia. Margaret Jolly opina que "las cartas revelan una suposición poderosa acerca de

la identidad y el cuidado mutuo entre mujeres. Son parte de una cultura de relaciones...teorizada como especiales para los valores y comunidades de mujeres...en términos de ética de filosofía de cuidado feminista” (In Love and Struggle 3).

Esta presentación examinará las maneras en las cuales Phillis Wheatley, la primer mujer Afro Americana en publicar un libro en inglés, construyó una comunidad femenina transatlántica a través de la correspondencia. El enfoque de este análisis busca trazar un ciclo de vida en las cartas de Wheatley, un ciclo que comienza en una etapa inicial de renacimiento mediante la fe cristiana, busca asegurar nuevas relaciones femeninas y finalmente concluye con la aceptación de pérdida física y de salud, las cuales provocan duelo colectivo. Las cartas proveyeron espacios privados y secretos mediante los cuales Wheatley y su comunidad imaginada pudiese negociar y sanar heridas. Esta comunidad asistió a Wheatley en sus esfuerzos de sobreponerse a los efectos de lo que Orlando Patterson denomina como “muerte social,” en las cuales personas esclavizadas son removidas violentamente de su “status quo” e insertadas forzosamente en el ambiente del colonizador.

Daysha Pinto is an English Education graduate student at the University of Puerto Rico in Mayagüez. Her thesis examines the ways in which Phillis Wheatley constructed imagined communities through her writing. She is particularly interested in the intersections between Early American and Women’s Studies. She will begin doctoral studies at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro this autumn.