

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Seville Heritage Plantation, St. Ann's Bay, Jamaica. Recreated models of slave houses on the site of this former sugar plantation show that dirt was frequently banked around the cabins as a sort of foundation and barrier to keep out rain, rodents, and snakes. Visited in July 2004.
2. These dates cover the first documented West Indian slave narrative in 1709 and concludes with the abolition of slavery and apprenticeship in the British West Indies. Second, throughout this project I use the term "British West Indies" rather than Anglophone Caribbean to acknowledge the specific colonial context of these narratives. Finally, when I'm discussing elements common to the wider Caribbean, I use the term "Caribbean," and British West Indies to refer specifically to the Anglophone, British-held Caribbean colonies.
3. See Dwight McBride (2001).
4. See Costanzo (1993); Ferguson, especially "Introduction." In *The History of Mary Prince, A West Indian Slave* (1998); Handler (1998); Paquet (1992); and Warner-Lewis (2007).
5. In "Capturing the Captivity Narrative," Rafia Zafar (1991) discusses the ways in which many early black narrators, slave and free, manipulated the conventions of the captivity narrative to reflect their differently racialized experiences of captivity.
6. See Zafar (1991) and Armstrong and Tennenhouse (1993).
7. See Aravamudan (1999).
8. Like any genre, its texts not only share many similarities but also exhibit compelling and explicit distinctions.
9. Other elements include beginning with some version of "I was born," including descriptions of violence and the separation of families, a slave sale, descriptions of masters and mistresses and other whites, and so forth. See also James Olney (1980).
10. See Blassingame (1972), Berline (1974/1992), and Genovese (1974/1976).
11. See Andrews's *To Tell a Free Story: The First Century of Afro-American Autobiography* (1986); Foster's *Witnessing Slavery: The Development of Ante-Bellum Slave Narratives* (1979); and Stepto's *From Behind the Veil: A Study of Afro-American Narrative* (1979).

12. See Clarke (2005).
13. Here is just a sampling: *The History of Mary Prince* (1831), *A Narrative of Events Since the First of August, 1834 by James Williams, an Apprenticed Labourer in Jamaica* (1836), *Negro Slavery Described by a Negro: Being the Narrative of Ashton Warner, A Native of St. Vincent* (1831), *Memoir of the Life of the Negro-Assistant Salome Cuthbert* (1831), *Archibald Monteith: Native Helper & Assistant in the Jamaica Mission at New Carmel* (1853) (ed. Geissler/Kummer), *The History of Abon Beer Sadika* (1835; in Robert Madden's *A Twelvemonths Residence in the West Indies*), *A Dreadful Account of a Negro Who for Killing the Overseer of a Plantation in Jamaica Was Placed in an Iron Cage Where He Was Left to Expire* (1834), *Autobiography of a Cuban Slave: Juan Francisco Manzano* (n.d. 1830–1850s), *Autobiography of a Runaway Slave* (1963), *Seven Slaves and Slavery: Trinidad 1777–1838* by Firmin, Jonas, Daaga, Jaquet, Laurence, Charles (Ed. De Verteuil 1992).
14. The British occupied Guadeloupe several times during the eighteenth century, and although the apprenticeship period is technically not a period of enslavement, as scholars note, there was essentially no difference in terms of its reality. See Paton.
15. See Nicole von Germeten (2008).
16. See Catherine Gallagher (1996).
17. See Krise's *Caribbeana* (2000).
18. Edward Donlan/Abu Bakr al-Sadiki's name is spelled several different ways throughout Madden's narrative. In this book, I will refer to him by his standardized Arabic name—Abu Bakr al-Sadika.
19. In 1772, Lord Mansfield, Chief Justice of England, delivered a decision in the famous case of James Somerset the Black vs. Charles Stewart, which mandated that slaves willingly brought to England were considered free in England and could not be forced to return to the West Indies without their prior consent. The decision highlights the paradoxical assertions of distinctions between Colonial and Common law, whereby an activity that would be illegal in England could be legal in England's colonies. See Cover for an extended discussion of this paradox.
20. The article was written by James MacQueen and appeared in the November 1831 edition of *Blackwell's Magazine*, which was published by Thomas Cadell. Pringle sues *Blackwood's Magazine*, accusing Cadell of libeling him in a caustic review of Prince's narrative. The Court found for Pringle and the publisher had to pay him £5. A few months later, Mr. Woods sues Pringle, accusing Pringle of libeling him via Prince's narrative. The court finds for the Woods and Pringle has to pay them £25.
21. Britain passed a partial Emancipation Act in 1833, which mandated that on August 1, 1834, a graduated Emancipation period would begin to conclude in 1840 with full Emancipation. Until that time slaves were now apprentices, they still owed work to their masters but that work

- was limited to a set number of hours per week, physical punishment was taken away from individual slave owners, and regulated by the prison and workhouse system.
22. See Beckles and Shepherd (2000), Drescher (1999), Mintz (1974), and Mintz and Price (1976).
 23. See Beckles and Shepherd (2000), Drescher (1999), Mintz (1974), and Mintz and Price (1976).
 24. For example, the “Speech of a Black from Guardaloupe [*sic*]” is about the “French” island of Guadeloupe and Juan Manzano’s narrative, transcribed by British Special Magistrate Robert R. Madden, focuses on Cuban slavery.
 25. See H. M. Cooper (1996) and Lenta (1999).
 26. The Mansfield Decision of 1772 held that Caribbean slaves willingly brought to England were not slaves in England because it was not explicitly articulated within British Common Law. And consequently, once “free” in England, West Indian slaves could not be forced to return to enslavement in the West Indies (where local island parliamentary laws did legally establish slavery).
 27. Juan Manzano’s narrative was originally written in Spanish, translated into English by Robert Madden, and published in England. Although it spoke specifically about Cuban slavery, the narrative circulated as a commentary on Caribbean slavery as a whole. In addition, the British tried to invade Cuba for many years beginning in the early eighteenth century, occupying it between 1762 and 1763.
 28. I arrived at this number by going through Starling’s bibliography. The numbers are vague because a significant number of slave narrators could read but not write, so although someone else transcribed the narrative, they were able to read it for “accuracy.” Also, some of the narratives circulated as broadsides and pamphlets, and their identification as singular texts might be tenuous.
 29. See Rodriguez (1999).
 30. There are also problems with the assumption that the slave’s voice is the one in control. As Poey points out, “To ignore the role of the editor in the production of a testimonio [...] becomes a form of recolonization by reproducing the dubious assumption that the ‘Other’s’ discourse can be rendered transparent and knowable in a decontextualized, ahistorical space where hierarchies and positions of privilege and oppression either play no significant role or go unquestioned” (2002: 46–47).
 31. See Beverly (1999), Krupat (1985), Murray (1988), Sommer (1993).
 32. See Olney (1980).
 33. *Louisa Piquet: The Octoroon* (1861) and *The Confessions of Nat Turner* (1831).
 34. See Fulton (1998).
 35. See Horwitz (1999).
 36. See Sekora (1994).

37. See Feal (1990). Although she connects the two in an article, she does not emphasize their structural and rhetorical connections as I do here, but instead focuses on the narratives as propagandistic documents. See also McBride.
38. See Beverly (1993).
39. See Retamar (1989) and Patterson (1969).
40. See Gould (2000).
41. See Veal (2007) and Hebdige (2000).
42. Briefly, Parliament's 1833 Abolition of Slavery Act, scheduled to be enacted on August 1, 1834, mandated gradual not immediate emancipation. Slaves over six were now "apprentices" and were required to work on plantations in exchange for shelter and food.
43. See Aravamudan (1999).
44. The texts also speak to definitions of subjectivity, sovereignty, political and religious organization, gender conventions, class issues, and so forth—many of the same issues, but concerning a different context, as the U.S. narratives.

1 THE FORMS OF CREOLE TESTIMONY: A POETICS OF FRAGMENTATION

1. See Andrews (1986), Foster (1994), and Starling (1988).
2. This number was arrived at by looking at the Starling bibliography and counting the number of texts that were written by the slave narrator and published as a separate document. The difference in the numbers owes to the fact that some texts were not book-length but rather brief pamphlets and that some texts while not written by the slave were dictated and then read over by the slave. The slave narrator could read but could not write. Finally, I could not physically get to all the archives Starling examined and had to rely on the titles.
3. See Foster (1994), Costanzo (1986, 1993), and Sharpe (2003).
4. See Johnson (1999).
5. John Saillant n. 44 page 312: Two periodical versions are "Quashi, of the Desperate Negro," *Massachusetts Magazine, or Monthly Museum of Knowledge and Rational Entertainment* 5 (1793): 583–584; and "Quashi the Negro, a True Story," *Vergennes Gazette* 1 (October 18, 1798); A pamphlet version is *The Story of Quashi; or The Desperate Negro* (Newburyport, MA, 1820). (328).
6. A slave who is in charge of all the other field slaves.
7. Indeed, one can argue that all slave narratives, even all texts, are mediated. In the case of all slave narratives, they were written not for other slaves but primarily for white audiences.
8. See Krise *Caribbeana*.
9. See Cassidy (2007).
10. The Inkle and Yarico story tells the tale of a relationship between a white merchant and a young Native American or slave woman. It first appeared

- in an issue of the *Spectator* magazine in London in 1716. For a fuller discussion, see Sandiford (2000).
11. See Sollors (1998).
 12. The narrative is listed on the *Documentary the American South* website under the “North American Slave Narratives” Collection. < <http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/stedman/menu.html>>
 13. See Veal (2007).
 14. See Stoler (2002) and Sharpe (2003).
 15. The published narrative claims Joanna’s mother presented her to him but the diary suggests otherwise. See Price (1998).
 16. See Price (1998).
 17. Suriname changed hands frequently between the Dutch and the British during much of the seventeenth century and though the Treaty of Breda formalized Suriname as a Dutch colony in 1667, the British continued their involvement with the colony. And though technically speaking, Suriname was a Dutch, not a British, colony while Stedman was there, it did become a British protectorate between 1799 and 1816.
 18. According to Richard and Sally Price, the editor ruined Stedman’s text. They felt the editor made Stedman romanticize and clean up the narrative, including his relationship with Joanna.
 19. See Hebdige (2000) and Veal (2007).
 20. See Burnhard (2003).
 21. His favorite punishment to inflict on insolent slaves was to force another slave to defecate in the transgressor’s mouth, after which a gag would be placed over the mouth of the punished slave.
 22. See Sharpe.
 23. The loss of the American colonies had an adverse effect on the economies of the British West Indies.
 24. See Benitez-Rojo (1996).
 25. See W. Harris (1995).
 26. Parliament passed a partial emancipation act in 1832 (enacted in 1833). Slaves under six were freed; all others had to work 40.5 hours a week for their former masters.
 27. See Austin (1984).
 28. The slaves of the “Amistad” are just one prominent example.
 29. See Gilroy (1993).
 30. See Handler (1998, 2002).
 31. See Beckles (1999), Drescher (1999), Mair (1995), and Mintz (1974).
 32. See, for example, “The Narrative of John Talbot Campo Bel,” a fictionalized Caribbean slave narrative by a proslavery advocate in Krise *Caribbeana*.

2 THE CREOLE VOICES OF WEST INDIAN SLAVE NARRATIVES

1. Former Jamaican Prime Minister P. J. Patterson coined the term “I-man,” an appropriation of a Rastafarian term for the representation

- of the common man. The term was intended rather specifically, to call attention to Patterson Brown's skin, which though similar to that of the vast majority of the Jamaican population, marks him as the first Jamaican Prime minister who did not look phenotypically white. The term is also often used by Rastafarians to refer to themselves as representatives of the common sufferer.
2. See Moten (2003), especially "Resistance of the Object: Aunt Hester's Scream."
 3. See Barthes (1967).
 4. See Foucault (1994).
 5. Of the more than 6,000 narratives documented by Marilyn Starling and others, only 150–200 are self-written.
 6. See Stepto *From Behind the Veil* (1979/1991: 256).
 7. See Spivak (1988), Johnson (1999), and Chaudhuri et al. (2010).
 8. See Foucault (1994).
 9. As I mention in the Introduction, probably the first text to record the black voice in the Americas is Fr. Alonso de Sandoval's *De Instauranda Aethiopum salute* (1627, translated as *Treatise on Ethiopian Slavery*). This was not an explicitly abolitionist text, as Sandoval never directly challenged the institution in the text though Sandoval, like his mentee, Pedro Claver, "The Saint of the Negros," felt that Africans were not merely beasts but human beings worthy of god's grace. Sandoval's texts recorded interviews he conducted at the docks of Cartagena, Colombia, with slaves recently arrived from Africa.
 10. See Jones (1990). Although the passage certainly draws on the fictional device of early novels that asserts connects with "reality," scholars have also discovered that Behn may actually have spent time in Suriname.
 11. See Krise *Caribbeana*.
 12. *The Narrative of Job Ben Solomon*, a learned African who arrived in Africa, and the Jamaican poet, Francis Williams, are but two examples of educated blacks. We can also add William Ansah Sessaroko and Olaudah Equiano to this list.
 13. And, of course, as many others have argued, all texts are mediated. So, we can talk of degrees of mediation with the understanding that notions of "purity" and "authenticity" are inherently unstable. In other words, "authenticity" is a function of history and reading, not something that is textually inherent.
 14. see Krise *Caribbeana*.
 15. See Krise "True Fiction, Novel History"
 16. The timing of 1729–1739 of the First Maroon War corresponds to the date of the speech (1736).
 17. Cudjoe was leader of the larger group of Leeward Maroons, and considered the primary leader of both groups of Maroons. He was illiterate, however, and the speaker here claims he was educated.

18. Although they say “the slave,” they are talking about those slave narratives that were written by former slave speakers of the American Anti-Slavery Society.
19. See especially Gates *The Signifying Monkey* (1990).
20. Douglass scholars have explored the ways in which one can actually see the influence of Garrison’s writing on Douglass’s first narrative and that he sought to shake off this influence with the writing of *My Bondage and My Freedom* in 1855. See Sekora.
21. When Britain abolished slavery in all its Caribbean colonies, it replaced the institution with a period of gradual abolition, in which slaves over the age of 5 became “apprentices.” They continued to work for their former masters without pay but had two days off. Masters were also no longer allowed to physically punish apprentices. The apprenticeship period was intended to remain in place until 1840 after which all apprentices would be freed. Gradual abolition was intended as a compromise with plantation owners. However, because so many former masters continued to abuse apprentices, the apprenticeship program was ended four years early by Parliament in 1836.
22. Indeed, John Castello, a free man of color and editor of the liberal *Falmouth Post*, transcribed all the narratives given before the court, and then sold copies of the testimonies in a 119-page pamphlet in which each testimony was written in the first-person, like most of the slave narratives (Paton 2001: xliv).
23. See Valerie Smith (1990). Also, though scholars now understand, thanks to Jean Fagin Yellin, that *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* was actually the autobiography of Harriet Jacobs and communicated her specific, individual experiences.
24. In addition, this passage illuminates the ways in which abolitionist women sought to speak for the slave woman. The iconography of the female slave sanctioned by the Ladies’ Anti-Slavery Society in its dissemination of the female version of the famous Wedgwood Medallion, “Am I Not a Man and a Brother,” “Am I Not a Woman and a Sister?” draws strongly on the colonialist rhetoric of passive womanhood. The roundel features a half-dressed slave woman, her breasts exposed, wearing chains on her ankles and wrists, kneeling to a fully dressed white woman. The white woman extends one hand, as in a blessing to the slave woman who grasps it in supplication. In the other hand, the white woman holds the scales of Justice. Encircling the images is the text “Am I Not a Woman and a Sister” and “Let us break their bands asunder and cast away their cords.” The roundel was available for sale and appeared on brooches and pottery and as an engraving. In her treatment of the medallion, Mellor draws attention to the fact that the “black slave woman *kneels to* the European woman,” and argues that
 [w]ithin their common slavery, the European woman assumes a superior position, standing rather than kneeling. She is implicitly

- equated with the power of both Justice (she carries the scales of Justitia) and Christian scripture: “Let *us* break *their* bands asunder and cast away *their* cords” (Mellor’s italics). . . . The roundel clearly suggests that slave women are dependent upon European women for their freedom; European women are here portrayed as having both the political ability and the moral responsibility to help their less fortunate sisters. (318–319)
25. See Bhabha, especially “Of Mimicry and Man” (1994: 85–92).
 26. Scholars often focus on the fact that Prince was unable to be explicit about her sexual abuse. This seems pretty explicit.
 27. See also Bauer and Mazzotti’s very useful terminological history of “creole” in the Introduction to their edited volume, *Creole Subjects in the Colonial Americas* (2009).
 28. See Cassidy (2007).
 29. Richard Alsopp lecture in Barbados at Barbados Community College, January 1998.
 30. This is common in other slave narratives as well, such as those from Harriet Jacobs and Douglass.
 31. See Handler (1998: 133).
 32. There is a tradition of representing Creole dialect in the texts of Bryan Edwards, Edward Long, Monk Lewis, and Lady Nugent.
 33. Taylor is prescient here and effectively makes the same argument Gayatri Spivak makes regarding the appearance of subaltern speech in the records of the colonizer.
 34. Creole word meaning “master.”
 35. See Mair (1975/1992) and Lazarus-Black (1991, 1992).
 36. I will expand on this quasi-legal identity in the next chapter.
 37. See Foucault (1994).
 38. See also Gould (2007), and “Free Carpenter, Venture Capitalist” (2000).

3 “GOING TO LAW”: LEGAL DISCOURSE AND TESTIMONY IN EARLY WEST INDIAN SLAVE NARRATIVES

1. Caribbean historians have documented many instances of slaves in British West Indian legal arenas. See Beckles (1999), Goveia, Higman (1998), Lazarus-Black (1993), Mair (1975), Paton, and Zacek. For a perspective on early Spanish America, see Chaves.
2. See Lazarus-Black (1993), Zacek, and Chaves.
3. See Franklin “The Benefit of Going to Law” in *Poor Richard’s Almanack* (1733).
4. See Davis (1999) and Brown (2006).
5. See Greene (2000).
6. See Beckles (1999) and Goveia. Lazarus-Black cites Eugene Genovese who suggests “US slaves found in law evidence of white hypocrisy

- and few protections, and therefore: 1) slaves in US accorded the law little respect; and 2) they searched instead for human protectors” (1991: 254).
7. The exception here is Lucy Delaney’s narrative. However, I see a distinction between the freedom suit narrative and the West Indian narratives. Although both sets of narratives ultimately make the political argument that because all individuals are inherently free and consequently slavery is contrary to moral and positive law, and both characterize slave law in particular as oppressive, the West Indian narratives also include more explicit legal rhetoric and include descriptions of positive engagements with the legal system. See the Eric Gardner essay for discussion of the freedom suit narratives.
 8. Several historians have tracked the distinctions and similarities between slavery in the West Indies and the American south. Among the primary distinctions: large number of absentee landlords in the West Indies, larger number of plantations with 50 or more slaves, larger number of African, rather than creole (born in New World), slaves, a settler versus a plantation culture. See Beckles (1999), Mintz, and Price, and so forth. For arguments about other national slave narrative traditions, see articles by Clarke (2005) and Kang.
 9. For example, Helen Thomas analyses religious discourse and Romanticism, while Jenny Sharpe focuses on subjectivity.
 10. Although Greene and others claim that Godwyn is primarily characterized by a sense of morality and Christian ethics, the text, like the narratives at hand, also explicitly draws upon legal language and imagery. Godwyn calls himself an “advocate,” which can be read as a lawyer or counselor, who intends to sue for inclusion of blacks and Native Americans as Christians.
 11. As Diana Paton points out in her “Introduction” to the recent reissue of Williams’s narrative, the fact that the narrative is “authorized” by black as opposed to white men is remarkable.
 12. See Sekora and Andrews.
 13. See Dickson (2001).
 14. This document seems to have disappeared.
 15. See, for example, *Substance of the Debate in the House of Commons, on the 15th of May, 1823 on a motion for the Mitigation and Gradual Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Dominions with a Preface and Appendices, Containing facts, reasonings illustrative of Colonial Bondage and Report from the Select Committee on the Extinction of Slavery, 1831–1832* (British Parliamentary Papers).
 16. See Goveia (1970) and Lazarus-Black (1991, 1993).
 17. Dr. Madden is responsible for transcribing the slave narratives of the Jamaican Edward Donlan/Abu Bakr al-Sadiqa and the Cuban Juan Francisco Manzano.
 18. Merry (1990) defines legal consciousness as “the way people understand and use law.... Legal consciousness is expressed by the act of going

- to court as well as by talk about rights and entitlements” (5). Dwight McBride offers a similar definition of “testimonial moments”: “By ‘testimonial moments,’ I mean those passages in the text that appear to be aware of themselves as testimony, aware of the discursive situation in which they are participating, and often even preoccupied with providing evidence for their own political cause” (McBride 2001: 186, note 1).
19. Madden documents the existence of slave-only courts in which “the headmen elect themselves into a sort of bench of justice, which sits and decides privately, and without the knowledge of the whites, on all disputes and complaints of their fellow slaves” (Patterson 1967: 230–231).
 20. Genovese argues that the slave system in the United States was much more paternalistic than that in the West Indies.
 21. The Consolidated Slave Law was passed as part of the 1798 Amelioration Act wherein the severe maltreatment of a slave became a criminal offense, and a person accused of causing the death of a slave was tried as if the deceased were a free person. The act also set up councils of protection for slaves presided over by magistrates, as well mandating “humane” treatment, and regulating physical punishment.
 22. This is a reference to the infamous Captain Kimber case. See Moira Ferguson’s account of this and the mobilization of women’s abolitionist groups in *Subject to Others*. Sadiya Hartman also discusses it in *Lose Your Mother*.
 23. Customary law is understood as traditional or common practices that are an intrinsic part of a community and are given the same status as written or “official” laws.
 24. See Nicholson.
 25. See Paton, especially the “Introduction.”
 26. The apprenticeship program began August 1, 1834. According to the new program, planters were reimbursed £20 million for the loss of slave labor, all children under 6 were to be freed, all slaves above six were now called apprentices and had to work 40.5 hours a week without pay for their former masters for a period of six years. A system of local magistrates appointed in England was employed, and these magistrates were responsible for regulating and meting out the punishment of apprentices. The magistrates also saw to it that slave masters could not punish their own slaves and they also created the prices by which a slave could buy himself.
 27. See Accomando (1998).
 28. See Paton.
 29. See Paton.
 30. The editor of the *Falmouth Press*, a free mixed-race man, John Castello, collected these narratives and published them as a collection of slave narratives.
 31. Although Strickland does argue in her Introduction and editorial notes that slavery as an institution is illegal, this language does not appear within the body of the narrative in “Warner’s voice,” his first-person narration of events.

4 ZOMBIE TESTIMONY: CREOLE RELIGIOUS DISCOURSE IN WEST INDIAN SLAVE NARRATIVES

1. See H. Thomas (2000).
2. The connection between the white European poor and black slaves was one that was readily made in England at this time. Indeed, at this time, poor blacks, slaves, and poor whites worked alongside each other as menial labor. They also, as many of Hogarth's and other prints and paintings from that time attest, lived and entertained together. This connection became tenuous during the contraction of the English economy during the late eighteenth century.
3. See Turner (1998).
4. See "The Epistle of Paul to Philemon." 4–21. In *The Bible*.
5. See Thomas (2000) and Ferguson (1992).
6. See Brown (2006).
7. Cf. Godwyn (1680), Tryon (1684), and Samuel Sewall (1700). See Thomas (2000).
8. The veracity of William's narrative was also proved during the testimonials given later during the fact-finding court session into the abuses of the apprenticeship program precipitated by the publication of Williams's narrative (Williams/Paton 2001: xx).
9. See Austin (1984).
10. All missionaries and religious personnel had to apply to colonial authorities in order to hold official meetings.
11. See Turner (1998) for a full discussion of the Christmas rebellion and its causes and effects.
12. The treadmill was a horrible punishment where slaves would be chained to a large flywheel and forced to step to keep up with the wheel. Apprentices who could not keep up had their legs bruised by the steps on the wheel and were also often beaten by the jailors.
13. See Thompson (1984).
14. See Handler (2001) and Olmos and Paravisini (1997).
15. Edward Long, Lady Maria Nugent, Matthew "Monk" Lewis, and other writers document obeah tales in their narratives.
16. The most notorious "example" is Annie Palmer, the supposed "White Witch" of Rose Hall Plantation in Jamaica. She is supposed to have killed three husbands and threatened her slaves with obeah.
17. See Stewart (2005).
18. See Gates (1990).
19. Even if Equiano borrowed heavily from Benezet, the representation of the Ibo is still an incredibly positive one.
20. Russ Castronovo in a paper at University of Miami Caribbean Literary Studies Group conference in March 2000 argued that Douglass's disavowal of the power of the root was evidence of his suspicion of nature.

21. See, for example, anything by Fernando Ortiz and Zora Neal Hurston, *Mules and Men*. New York, NY: Perennial, 1990 (reissue).
22. See especially Ackermann and Gauthier (1991) for a full discussion of the zombi beliefs.
23. See Comaroff (2002), who also argues that compromised workers in Capitalistic societies also draw on the zombi metaphor.

5 CONCLUSION

1. After the narrative of Alabama slave driver James Williams, which appeared in 1838 and was dictated to John Greenleaf Whittier, was found to have included some exaggeration and details that could not be independently corroborated, the American Abolitionists society decided to withdraw the narrative from publication. After 1838, slave narratives written in the United States would be rigorously vetted and only those written by the slave narrators could be published.
2. Venture Smith, *A Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Venture, a Native of Africa: But Resident above Sixty Years in the United States of America, Related by Himself* (1798); Olaudah Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of Oladah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa* (1789); Nat Turner, *The Confession of Nat Turner: The Leader of the Southampton Rebellion* (1831); Douglass, *The Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave, Written by Himself* (1845) and *My Bondage and My Freedom* (1855); J. D. Green, *The Narrative of J.D. Green* (1864); Jacobs, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (1861); Juan Manzano, *Poems by a Slave in the Island of Cuba, Recently Liberated... with the History of the Early Life of the Negro Poet* (1840); Mahomah Baquaqua, *Biography of Mohommah Baquaqua* (1854); Booker T. Washington, *Up from Slavery* (1901); the WPA narratives (1936–1938); and Mende Nazer, *Slave* (2003).
3. See for example, Patterson 1969.

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