The Gettysburg Historical Journal

Volume 23 Article 1

2024

Gettysburg Historical Journal 2024

Gettysburg Historical Journal 2024

Abstract

Complete Issue of the Gettysburg Historical Journal 2024

Keywords

Blues, Spirituals, Religion, Scientific racism, Polygenism, Henry Hotze, Samuel George Morton, Samuel Cartwright, Disability, Indigenous people, Federal-tribal relations, Americans with Disabilities Act

The Gettysburg Historical Journal
Volume XXIII | Spring 2024

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Letter from the Editors

We are proud to present the twenty-third edition of *The Gettysburg Historical Journal.* The journal embodies the History Department's dedication to diverse learning and excellence in academics. Each year, the journal publishes the top student work in a range of topics across the spectrum of academic disciplines with different methodological approaches to the study of history. This year, *The Gettysburg Historical Journal* received a plethora of submissions from both Gettysburg College students and other students around the country. The works accepted this semester focus on the diverse experiences of Americans throughout history, spanning from the American Civil War to the Americans with Disabilities Act.

The Gettysburg Historical Journal is a student-run organization, providing undergraduate students with an opportunity to gain valuable experience in reviewing, editing, and organizing academic articles for publication. In all cases, authors and editors have also had the opportunity to apply these skills to their future careers, or their work as graduate students. With the assistance of The Cupola, Gettysburg College's online research repository, and the distinguished college faculty, our authors' work has received both serious scholarly and national attention. Past authors have even published follow-up work in refereed journals

and presented their work at undergraduate and professional conferences.

The following works we have selected for this year's edition of *The Gettysburg Historical Journal* demonstrate the varied interests and abilities of undergraduate historians, as well as their dedication to examining history from different perspectives:

Guillem A. Colom's "Their Defense of the "Peculiar Institution": The Influence of European Scientific Racism," aims to demonstrate the historical continuity of racist beliefs that unite actors across borders to uphold white supremacy into modern times. The paper describes how, through the antebellum period and American Civil War, American and European race theorists exchanged ideas through correspondence and scientific explorations asserting the truth of scientific racism. Scientific racist beliefs posited the natural superiority of white people and inferiority of Black people based on what these theorists claimed were innate biological characteristics, and these beliefs served as a critical linkage between Europe and the United States. Through the work of propagandist Henry Hotze, the Confederacy sought to gain support among the European public, particularly in Great Britain, by promoting scientific racist ideas justifying the Confederacy's defense of slavery. Such ideas were assimilated from American race theorists like Samuel George Morton and Samuel Cartwright, along with European race theorists like Arthur de Gobineau.

Utilizing correspondence and journal entries, this paper shows that this exchange of scientific racist ideas significantly influenced the Confederacy's political thought and policy positions, especially foreign relations, through the Civil War and into modern times.

Carly A. Jensen's paper, "What They Sang: The Religious Roots of Spirituals and Blues investigates the religious themes in spirituals, the religious songs sung by enslaved people in America, and the blues, a predominantly Black genre from the early Twentieth century. This work aims to answer if spirituals influenced the lyrics and musical structure of the blues or if the two genres developed independently. The paper covers the origins of spirituals and the blues, their appearance in the WPA Slave Narratives, and concludes with a close analysis of the religious influence on the work of famous Blues artists. Primary sources referenced in this project include the WPA Slave Narratives, famous Blues songs, Library of Congress recordings, lyrics from early spirituals, and several secondary sources. A thorough thematic investigation of these sources revealed a clear connection between the two genres, as both take a strong influence from Christianity. Additionally, spirituals and blues follow similar lyrical patterns. While spirituals emerged as a way to reckon with the horrors of slavery, the blues spoke to the reality of sharecropping and poverty. Both spirituals and blues speak to

Southern Black Americans' resistance, achievements, and spirituality.

Theodore J. Szpakowski's "The Americans with Disabilities Act in the Borderlands" examines the supposed relationship between the United States federal government and Indigenous governments. However, it neither sufficiently ensured that Indigenous people were protected to the same extent as settlers nor fully released Indigenous governments to create their own protections. The results of this dynamic can be seen through examining civil rights legislation such as the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 (ADA). Although settler disability historians have tended to view the ADA as a unifying success, it did not legally or culturally account for disabled Indigenous people living on Indigenous land within the United States.

Carly Jensen and Emily Suter

Acknowledgments

The editors of *The Gettysburg Historical Journal* would like to thank all the professors of the History Department for encouraging our majors to produce excellent work. In particular, we would like to thank Professor Timothy J. Shannon for providing guidance to the journal staff as our faculty advisor. We also express our gratitude towards Mary Elmquist, Scholarly Communications Librarian at Musselman Library, and Kari Greenwalt, Administrative Assistant of the History Department, for helping the staff prepare this year's edition for publication. Additionally, we would like to thank Stefany Kaminski '24, who gave us permission to use her photography for our cover photo.

Featured Piece

This year's featured piece was written by Hannah Greenwald, an assistant professor in the History department. Professor Greenwald teaches classes on Latin American history, Atlantic history, and borderlands history. Her research focuses on Indigenous resistance, settler colonialism and nation-state formation.

The Historians of TikTok

Thank you to the editors of the Gettysburg Historical Journal for inviting me to write this year's featured piece. It is an honor to be asked! During my time at Gettysburg, I have been consistently impressed with students' historical research. In my classes, I have noted the thoughtfulness, rigor, creativity, and compassion that inform my students' research projects. The essays in this year's issue are certainly no exception.

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During the spring of 2020, during the height of COVID lockdown, I made a decision that may feel familiar to many readers: I downloaded TikTok. (And, in doing so, sacrificed countless hours of my free time for years to come.) Because I am a historian and an all-around nerd, it didn't take long for TikTok's algorithm to start filling my feed with history-related content. This content takes a myriad of forms. Sometimes it's absurd: for

example, comedy shorts about peasants partying during the Black Plague. Sometimes it's heartfelt: for example, imagined conversations between modern-day and ancient women commiserating over shared experiences. And sometimes it's purely informative: for example, deep dives into understudied figures in American history. I watch it all with interest and enjoyment. It genuinely warms my heart to see people engaging with history in creative ways, infusing it with feeling, humor, and present-day relevance.

At the same time, I have noticed a fascinating trend in the way that some history is narrated online—not just on TikTok, but also on YouTube, in podcasts, in blog posts, on Twitter, and elsewhere. Online content thrives on engagement: views, clicks, shares, comments, likes, retweets, and so on. In order to generate this engagement, content creators must present their narratives as sensationally as possible. And in the interest of obtaining and maintaining a loyal following, creators must position themselves as unique voices, able to impart exclusive knowledge that's unavailable elsewhere.

Recent studies have shown that negative emotions drive engagement more effectively than positive emotions, and so TikTokers and Youtubers have an incentive to share historical insights with an antagonistic edge. This often manifests in phrases like: "Why is nobody else talking about this?" or "I can't believe

nobody ever taught us this." What's more, content creators need to manage the short attention spans of online audiences, and thus might feel compelled to fall back on sensationalized twists to keep people engaged. ("You won't believe what happened next—keep reading for the shocking truth!") Frequently, all of this is positioned in direct opposition to an abstracted historical establishment. See, for example: "This is what the textbooks get wrong!" or "This is the stuff they don't want you to learn in history class!"

To be clear, my point here is not to roll my eyes at amateur historians, or to gripe about young people on the internet. The drive to democratize historical knowledge is highly important. The willingness to challenge received wisdom is a fundamental strength of historical thinking. I am glad that a wide variety of folks—trained historians and otherwise—are putting history content out there on the internet, and I hope that they keep doing so.

Rather, my concern lies with a media landscape that demands antagonism over collaboration, and sensationalism over nuance. The social media cliché of "Why is nobody else talking about this?" often silences conversations that are, indeed, already happening. The drive to be the first or only voice to weigh in on a particular topic compels content creators to reinvent the wheel rather than building upon what's already out there. And those

clickbait-y collections of “mind-blowing historical facts” often rely on a lack of context to make history seem as shocking as possible—but a key goal of historical study is to understand past events by contextualizing them. In other words, the fundamentals of online content creation seem to run counter to the fundamentals of history scholarship.

So, what do we do about this? Academic research is, of course, never going to stand in for punchy online content. (I could try uploading my conference presentations to TikTok, but something tells me they wouldn’t get a ton of views.) But nor should “TikTok history” stand in for measured, nuanced historical research. Each offers its own strengths, and each has a place and time. Certainly, historical researchers and history content creators can learn something from one another. Perhaps this new generation of history students—well-versed as they are in the ways of social media—can find a way to harness the best of both worlds, to everyone’s benefit.

In this regard, the articles in this year’s issue of the Gettysburg Historical Journal provide a great deal of promise. All three articles shift focus away from tired tropes of American history, directing our attention instead to understudied aspects of the nation’s past. Szpakowski uses the lens of Disability Studies to provide new insights on the crucial topic of state-Indigenous relations in modern U.S. history. Colom highlights transatlantic

exchanges in scientific knowledge to deepen our understanding of Confederate politics. And Jensen explores the influences of slavery and spirituals on the blues, thereby centering Africans and African Americans in the story of a quintessentially American genre of music. All three authors enter into existing conversations, listen closely, and emerge with new insights that reframe dominant narratives of American history. They embody the ethos of upending a traditional canon, as well as the spirit of careful historical analysis. The historians of TikTok and those of the academe should take note.

Their Defense of the "Peculiar Institution": The Influence of European Scientific Racism on the Confederacy

Guillem A. Colom **|** *Tufts University '25*

In March 1861, the Union arrived at a moment of grave peril. Following the 1860 presidential election of Republican Abraham Lincoln, Southern state governments subverted the Union through secession to protect slavery. From the pre-colonial period through the antebellum period, Southern states institutionalized a "slave society" that relied on the slave labor of over 1 million imported Africans to cultivate staple crops such as cotton.[1] Cotton cultivation accelerated through the early 1800s, which was fueled by American inventor Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin in 1793 and an increase in cotton prices from eight cents to eleven cents by 1847.[2] Declining trade protectionism with European powers further enabled the South to gain a large share of the international cotton marketplace based on their political

[1] Ian Tyrell, *Transnational Nation: United States History in Global Perspective Since 1789* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2015), 74.
[2] Matthew Karp, "King Cotton, Emperor Slavery: Antebellum Slaveholders and the World Economy," in *The Civil War as Global Conflict*, eds. David Gleeson and Simon Lewis (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2014), 38.

economy of slavery. This entrenchment of slavery and the institution's oppression of Black slaves became the fundamental sociocultural and political force driving the South. In the eyes of Southern politicians, Lincoln's record of abolitionism threatened this Southern institution and, thus, Southern civilization. By January 1861, Southern politicians channeled their anxieties through secession conventions across seven states.[3] These conventions resulted in proclamations, such as the 1860 South Carolina Declaration of Secession, that declared each Southern state to have control over the "right of property in slaves."[4]

One such politician who helped lead Southern secession was Vice President of the Confederacy Alexander Stephens. On March 21, 1861, Stephens delivered his "Cornerstone Speech" in Savannah, Georgia following the state's secession in January 1861. Speaking to a full-capacity audience of adoring supporters, Stephens vociferously defended Southern secession and the formation of the Confederacy. Stephens asserted that the Union established a constitutional system that was perversely influenced by the Founding Fathers, such as Thomas Jefferson, who believed

[3] Hudson Meadwell and Lawrence Anderson, "Sequence and Strategy in the Secession of the American South," *Theory and Society* 37, no. 3 (June 2008): 216, https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/40211035.pdf.
[4] "Declaration of the Immediate Causes Which Induce and Justify the Secession of South Carolina from the Federal Union" (Declaration, Charleston, 1860), 8. https://www.atlantahistorycenter.com/app/uploads/2020/11/SCarolina-Secession-p1-13.pdf.

that "the enslavement of the African was in violation of the laws of Nature."[5] Such a belief, according to Stephens, burdened Southerners by inhibiting their political sovereignty over their "peculiar" institution of slavery that served as the bedrock of their society.[6] The culmination of Stephens's speech was his stated opposition to egalitarianism. He claimed that the Confederacy's foundations were "laid… upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man" and that "slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and normal condition."[7] Stephen's claim that Black people possessed biological qualities justifying their oppression as an inferior class indicated a widespread acceptance of a virulent ideology among Southerners: scientific racism.

Scientific racism, a pseudoscientific group of belief asserting that certain racial groups possess innate physical, moral, and intellectual characteristics rendering them superior or inferior to other groups, greatly influenced Confederate political thought and policy. This influence did not emerge out of a vacuum. In fact, Southern race theorists assimilated scientific racist ideas that

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[5] Alexander Stephens, "Cornerstone Speech" (1861), in *The Civil War and Reconstruction: A Documentary Reader*, ed. Stanley Harrold (Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell, 2007), 61. http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/ows/seminars/civilwarrecon/cwcause/Stephens%20Cornerstone%20Speech.pdf.
[6] Stephens, 60.
[7] Stephens, 61.

European race theorists formulated during the Age of Enlightenment. This paper illustrates how these exchanges of ideas impacted debates and policies that influenced the direction of the Civil War and the future of American racial relations. Starting with the Age of Enlightenment and through the antebellum period, European and American race theorists exchanged scientific racist ideas through correspondence and pseudoscientific publications to justify slavery. The commencement of the Civil War not only accelerated these transatlantic exchanges of racist ideas, but these exchanges became instrumental in shaping Confederate foreign relations.

Through the work of propagandist Henry Hotze, the Confederacy sought to gain support among the European public, particularly in Great Britain, by promoting scientific racist ideas justifying the Confederacy's defense of slavery. Hotze further represented the political and financial sacrifices Confederate leaders and American and European race theorists made to protect an institution upholding white supremacy.

The Origins of European Scientific Racism: The Age of Enlightenment

European conceptions of scientific racism emerged out of

the theoretical and political debates of the Age of Enlightenment. Between the mid-seventeenth and late eighteenth centuries, European race theorists explored philosophical and scientific questions through the scientific method. The scientific method, which involved the empirical study of natural phenomena through experimentation and observation, motivated theorists to determine universal scientific truths rooted in human behavior.[8] Theorists' use of the scientific method generated newfound ideas on a global scale. As Janet Giltrow outlines, an "information explosion," fueled by mechanical innovations like the printing press, democratized mass media that reached Western elites and the larger public.[9] Such democratization enabled these theorists to transmit scientific ideas through correspondence, pamphlets, and academic journals. Taxonomic theories that involved the classification of animals, human remains, and living individuals were exchanged through a transatlantic network of colonial settlements and scientific explorations.[10] Humanity was no longer solely conceptualized through philosophical moralizations of

[8] Linda Burnett, "Collecting Humanity in the Age of Enlightenment: The Hudson's Bay Company and Edinburgh University's Natural History Museum," *Global Intellectual History* 8, no. 4 (2023): 387-388, https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/epdf/10.1080/23801883.2022.2074502?needAccess=true.
[9] Burnett, 388.

[10] Burnett, 388-389.

rationality that characterized classical intellectual debate. European race theorists shifted these debates to focus on scientific studies seeking to place humans within an empirically observed natural world.

These efforts to situate humanity within a natural context centered around the classification of racial groups, which served as the foundation for scientific racist theories. European race theorists united around three major beliefs that, as Richard Popkins outlines, were based on the findings of pseudoscientific studies on human physiology and social behavior. The first theory postulated that the "mental life of non-whites, especially Indians and Africans," was "significantly different from that of [Europeanized] whites."[11] The second theory negatively framed such mental differences as a sign of non-white inferiority, since the "normal, natural condition of man is whiteness" and being non-white was "a sign of sickness or degeneracy."[12] The third theory asserted that non-white people were not truly human. Rather, they were members of a subservient class who were "lower on the great chain of being."[13]

These assertions constituted a theoretical framework that promoted the pseudoscientific belief of polygenism. Polygenism,

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[11] Richard Popkins, "The Philosophical Basis of Eighteenth-Century Racism," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 3, no. 1 (1974): 247. https://muse.jhu.edu/article/789438/pdf.
[12] Popkins, 247.

[13] Popkins, 247.

as Terence Keel explains, argued that "each [racial] group possessed its own unique ancestor," which caused racial groups to be intellectually and morally different from each other.[14] European race theorists not only supported polygenism, but they wielded its claims to justify a racial hierarchy that was also based on religious conceptions of morality. Based on racially biased methodologies, these theorists framed white people as "being the best" race, while non-white people were degraded as "pre-Adamithic creations" who "never contained the [spirit] of genuine men."[15] Race theorists moralized their scientific racism through their invocations of Christian theology, which allowed them to claim that "[different] races of men were created [by God] before the birth of Adam" as part of God's intelligent design of humanity.[16] Thus, racial hierarchy upholding white supremacy served God's will and could not be altered.

Enlightenment figures further promoted scientific racist theories based on their expertise in various disciplines, including physiology. Franz Joseph Gall, a German physiologist, was one

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[14] Terence Keel, "Religion, Polygenism and the Early Science of Human Origins," *History of the Human Sciences* 26, no. 2 (2013): 4, https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0952695113482916?casa_token=6F2_98o-NIAAAAA:fXhcqY1XlV41cm7csWjRB0gTdPZG7amk3P0kAicGanQaTwHdaCYWtwchN4qeJyK30TtC8WMfWFnjbg.

[15] Popkins, "The Philosophical Basis of Eighteenth-Century Racism," 247.

[16] Keel, "Religion, Polygenism and the Early Science of Human Origins," 5.

such theorist. Gall conducted the first-known modern studies on the pseudoscience of phrenology, which posited a false association between scalp morphology and an individual's intellectual capacity.[17] In 1798, Gall published a letter in *Der neue Teutsche Merkur*, a pro-Enlightenment Weimar journal, where he presented his principles of phrenology. Gall claimed that the brain is the organ of the mind and the mind's qualities are "multiplied and elevated in direct ratio to the increase of the mass of [the] brain, proportionally to that of the body."[18] Certain brain areas were theorized to have specialized functions that were "distinct and independent of each other."[19] Individuals who were found to have "diseases and wounds" in such areas were "deranged, irritated, or suspended" from normal cognitive thinking.[20] Gall's conceptions enabled him to assert that Black people were "inferior to the [white] European intellectually" because they had "smaller heads

[17] Susan Branson, "Phrenology and the Science of Race in Antebellum America," *Early American Studies* 15, no. 1 (2017): 170, https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/90000339.pdf?casa_token=z0MBkN1OyjUAAAAA:Ykjp2OuzKxVbeXdK6FYYM qweR2kAcOnpr_S-g0kMRiYCIi9x1erjXbgQxPLEaJedlA4amZpZgH6FfkRA-VGPazi0UzmFsUG7Q8WGU-rrXoN 7ZvqywW4v.

[18] Franz Joseph Gall, "Letter from Dr. F. J. Gall, to Joseph von Retzer, upon the Functions of the Brain, in Man and Animals," *Der neue Teutsche Merkur* 3, no. 1 (December 1798): 320, http://www.historyofphrenology.org.uk/texts/retzer.htm.

[19] Gall, 320.

[20] Gall, 321.

and less cerebral mass than European inhabitants."[21] Based on his pseudoscientific analysis, Gall advocated for a racial caste system that consigned Black people to slave labor in service of white people.

As the future of slavery emerged as a leading political issue in Europe and the United States into the antebellum period, European race theorists built on Enlightenment theories of scientific racism. Figures including German naturalist Carl Vogt affirmed the theories of polygenism and phrenology through their globally distributed publications that popularized European scientific theories in elite circles.[22] Their academic work enabled them to find common cause with each other on the importance of upholding slavery. At the same time, these figures started exchanging their work with American race theorists who integrated their beliefs to manufacture their own justifications for slavery.

Samuel George Morton: The Father of the "American School" of Race Science

In the early 1800s, American physician Samuel George

[21] Franz Joseph Gall, *Research on the Nervous System*, in *The Invention of Race: Scientific and Popular Representations*, ed. Nicholas Bancel et al. (New York: Routledge, 2014), 55.
[22] J. MacGregor Allan, "Carl Vogt's Lectures on Man," *The Anthropological Review* 7, no. 25 (April 1869): 177-178. https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/3025075.pdf.

Morton incorporated European scientific racist ideas to generate his own theories that were used to defend Southern slavery. Morton started his career after he graduated from the University of Pennsylvania with a Doctor of Medicine in 1820 and the University of Edinburgh with an advanced degree in 1824. Morton developed an interest in anatomy based on his mother's experiences with physical ailments that were attended to by renowned Philadelphia physicians.[23] Utilizing his working relationships with these physicians, Morton became president of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, thereby cementing his status as an esteemed academic among his colleagues.[24]

Morton concentrated his work on craniological studies that sought to examine the size and structure of the human skull. The Enlightenment's promotion of the scientific method compelled Morton to frame human history as part of a natural history. As Ann Fabian outlines, Morton desired to answer questions that "comparative anatomists had asked about the shape and size of skulls of different animals" by conducting empirical studies

[23] George Bacon Wood, *A Biographical Memoir of Samuel George Morton* (Philadelphia: T.K. & P.G. Collins, 1853), 6.
[24] Wood, 9.

comparing the skulls of different racial groups.[25] Morton used polygenism and phrenological theories formulated by Gall to construct diagrammatic methods utilized to form a correlation between cranial capacity and intelligence. Morton claimed that larger cranial capacity signified a higher intelligence, while smaller cranial capacity denoted lower intelligence.[26] From this theorization, Morton established the "American school" of race science, a pseudoscientific movement asserting white intellectual superiority based on "empirical" findings that sought to differentiate the brain sizes between white and Black people.[27]

Morton publicized his scientific racist theories in phrenological examinations he conducted between the 1830s and 1840s. Starting in 1830, Morton regularly traveled to Brazil, Egypt, and Mexico to excavate archeological sites and exchange scientific information with other American race theorists, including

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[25] Marianne Sommer, "A Diagrammatics of Race: Samuel George Morton's 'American Golgotha' and the Contest for the Definition of the Young Field of Anthropology," *History of the Human Sciences* (2023): 3, https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/09526951221136771?casa_token=wn84YmCvV5YAAAAA:6l092Jl4 5TsEdaXCMbw4L8s_E8MnKFseTl7xDCk4dLV3x5EBR3zpgzRoYHBkq-BxqVwbWoF-o-g5Ag.

[26] Sommer, 3.

[27] Adam Dewbury, "The American School and Scientific Racism in Early American Anthropology," *Histories of Anthropology Annual* 3, no. 1 (2007): 121,https://muse.jhu.edu/article/250548/pdf?casa_token=SRnEbkiIdm0AAAAA:albgupKRxjFkcW2USCkXppW4X6Wi 8sh7n-J5CC-ct2UgDedEqNs9g5RfxW06yFp5IleR6R4T4Ec.

Josiah Nott and George Gliddon.[28] Morton accumulated a catalog of over 1,000 human specimens, including 600 intact human skulls that were housed at the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia. Named the "American Golgotha" as a reference to the location of Jesus's crucifixion and Morton's objective to determine how God created humanity, Morton's catalog became the world's largest collection of human skulls.[29] Morton used his increased international recognition to create widely distributed lithographs of skulls from different racial groups, and he published his findings in his 1839 book, *Crania Americana; or, A Comparative View of the Skulls of Various Aboriginal Nations of North and South America*, and 1844 book, *Crania Aegyptiaca; or Observations on Egyptian Ethnography, Derived from Anatomy, History and the Monuments*.[30]

In *Crania Americana*, Morton outlined the purportedly different physical qualities of the skulls of numerous racial groups. He classified humans into separate racial groups, including Caucasians and Black Ethiopians. Morton characterized Caucasian

[28] Stephen Jay Gould, "Morton's Ranking of Races by Cranial Capacity," *Science* 200, no. 4341 (1978): 503, https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/1746562.pdf?casa_token=UNtkqdR_qjMAAAAA:-x_NKA50FM1q4NOqRtFnAWi FfggAF524yrRqBE-Tfrd5NLGlm5ENkyqHBUv4mY7NMw9ZwbkvPKt-j4Gn8F-8aIvWy9G6gC1PSwpIaH4olaclF FnU3ty8.
[29] Gould, 503.
[30] Gould, 504.

people as fair skinned individuals with large skulls and the "highest intellectual endowments."[31] In contrast, he described Ethiopians as Black people who had long, narrow skulls, expressed a "joyous… and indolent disposition," and constituted the "lowest form of humanity."[32] To measure these alleged intellectual differences, Morton filled up skulls with BB-sized lead shot to calculate the average skull volumes of different racial groups.[33] Morton determined that Caucasian skull volumes averaged 87 cubic inches, while the skulls of Ethiopians, referred to as "Negros," averaged 78 cubic inches.[34] Because Black people were theorized to have smaller brains, he asserted they possessed lower intelligence that caused them to have "little invention."[35] However, Black people possessed "strong powers of imitation" that enabled them to succeed as slave laborers.[36] Thus, Morton claimed that a racial hierarchy subjugating Black people as slaves was necessary to exploit their labor for the benefit of white society.

Morton solidified his scientific racist beliefs in *Crania*

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[31] Samuel George Morton, *Crania Americana; or, A Comparative View of the Skulls of Various Aboriginal Nations of North and South America* (London: James Madden & Co., 1839), 5.
[32] Morton, 7.
[33] David Thomas, *Kennewick Man, Archaeology, And The Battle For Native American Identity* (New York: Basic Books, 1999), 40.
[34] Samuel George Morton, *Crania Americana*, 260.

[35] Morton, 88.
[36] Morton, 88.

Aegyptiaca. Examining the skulls of ancient Egyptians, Morton sought to further differentiate Caucasian and Black skulls. Morton employed a methodology comparable to the one in his *Crania Americana* study, but he instead classified Black people as "Negroid" because he viewed them as subhuman.[37] Like in *Crania Americana*, Morton concluded that Caucasian skulls were larger than those of Black people.

Caucasian skulls were determined to have an average volume between 78 and 80 cubic inches, while Black skulls were determined to have an average volume of 75 cubic inches.[38] He asserted that Caucasian and Black intellectual differences were so stark that they were indications that God created different racial groups meant to serve different purposes. According to Morton, Black people were created in Egypt to be suitable "as [slaves] or bearers of tribute to [Caucasian] Pharaohs."[39] This subordinate social position of Black people in ancient times was "the same… as in modern times."[40] By establishing this historical continuity of slavery, Morton argued that racial hierarchies relegating Black people to slavery were foundational to human societies. In his view, slavery emerged from natural differences in intelligence

[37] Samuel George Morton, *Crania Aegyptiaca; or Observations on Egyptian Ethnography, Derived from Anatomy, History and the Monuments* (London: James Madden & Co., 1844), 4.
[38] Morton, 22.
[39] Morton, 59.
[40] Morton, 59.

between racial groups, and he argued for the necessity to maintain slavery to adhere to what he claimed was God's design for humanity.

Morton's scientific racist work served as a significant influence on Confederate political thought. Eager to defend slavery for their political and economic self-interest, Southern slaveholding elites gravitated towards Morton's work and used his arguments to defend slavery. Upon Morton's death in 1851, the *Southern Medical Journal*, then a pro-slavery medical journal serving Southern slaveholding political leaders, published a tribute which stated that Southerners "should consider [Morton] as our benefactor, for aiding most materially in giving to the negro his true position as an inferior race."[41] Morton further contributed to the development of physical anthropology as an academic discipline, which was consistently cited by Confederate elites to defend slavery. His phrenological methodologies would be used by Confederacy-supporting race theorists such as Gliddon to defend slavery as rooted in the natural truths of white supremacy.[42] Morton linked European scientific racist ideas with the political

[41] Emily Renschler, "The Samuel George Morton Cranial Collection," Expedition Magazine, 2008, https://www.penn.museum/sites/expedition/the-samuel-george-morton-cranial-collection/.
[42] Dewbury, "The American School and Scientific Racism in Early American Anthropology," 128.

aims of Southern elites, and other American race theorists would continue this transatlantic exchange of ideas.

Samuel Cartwright and "Drapetomania": Black Existence as a Disease

At the same time Morton was conducting his pseudoscientific studies, American physician Samuel Cartwright began to advance theories of scientific racism that integrated aspects of European race science. Cartwright was first motivated to study physiology through his experiences as a soldier in the War of 1812, where he observed doctors' treatment of wounded soldiers.[43] After graduating with Doctor of Medicine from Transylvania University in 1823, Cartwright received acclaim for his 1824 essay, "An Essay on the Epidemic Fever of Monroe County, Mississippi, in the Summer and Autumn of 1822," in which he detailed how cholera caused an "inflammation in the cellular tissue that envelope[s] the kidneys."[44] His findings on cholera contributed to a growing literature on the development of human diseases and enabled Cartwright to bolster his reputation among fellow scientists. Harvard University's Boylston Medical Library

[43] Mary Louise Marshall, "Samuel A. Cartwright and State's Rights Medicine," *New Orleans Surgical and Medical Journal* 93, no. 2 (August 1940): 74-75.
[44] Samuel Cartwright, "An Essay on the Epidemic Fever of Monroe County, Mississippi, in the Summer and Autumn of 1822," *American Medical Observer* 7, no. 4 (October 1824): 667.

awarded Cartwright a gold medal for his research on the human cardiovascular system's response to cholera in 1826.[45] The Medical and Chirurgical Society of Maryland further awarded him a one-hundred-dollar prize for an 1826 essay he published on cholera.[46]

From the early 1820s onward, Cartwright based his physiological examinations on a reliance on Black bodies for autopsy. Citing Enlightenment principles of empirical research methods, Cartwright expressed a deep conviction in the importance of using human corpses for medical discovery that he believed could reveal universal natural truths about humanity.

Cartwright used his autopsies of Black corpses to track the progression of numerous diseases in the human body, including yellow fever, syphilis, and epilepsy.[47] Cartwright opportunistically sought to use his racially biased conclusions of these autopsies to frame Black people as physiologically deficient. He claimed that "almost every year of my professional life… I have made post mortem examinations of negros… and I have invariably found the

[45] Marshall, "Samuel A. Cartwright and State's Rights Medicine," 77-78.
[46] Marshall, 77-78.

[47] Christopher Willoughby, "Running Away from Drapetomania: Samuel A. Cartwright, Medicine, and Race in the Antebellum South," *Journal of Southern History* 84, no. 3 (August 2018): 588, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/699875/pdf?casa_token=OPX1m1T8-NAAAAAA:GCAqlPzCleJ5Lsnu81xKoA5ZsUwf lTDwMnuZT7x2rd1r5zcQ7RNou6tMb6lGMILYY0gd8qCe8VU.

darker color pervading the flesh and the membranes to be very evident in all those who died of acute diseases."[48] Cartwright's autopsies enabled him to integrate scientific racist theories promoted by his contemporaries that asserted the biological inferiority of Black people.

Cartwright also based his work on a trip to Europe he took between 1836 and 1837. Cartwright traveled across Europe to form professional networks with physicians who advanced the "French school" of medicine, which emphasized the study of internal medicine using surgical observation.[49] Cartwright revealed that "a team of medical men" traveled with him to Europe to study human evolution, writing that "conscious of our deficiencies, we have… taken the trouble to visit London, Rome and Paris, and gather from the store-houses of science… to assist" his studies.[50] Cartwright assimilated the scientific racist beliefs of French Enlightenment philosopher Voltaire, who claimed that Black people were "not capable of paying much attention… and do not appear to be made…for the advantages" of modern society.[51] Cartwright professed his new conviction in polygenism, claiming that "the

[48] Samuel Cartwright, "Philosophy of the Negro Constitution," *New Orleans Surgical and Medical Journal* 8, no. 1 (1852): 196.
[49] Samuel Cartwright, "Cannan Identified with the Ethiopian," *Southern Quarterly Review* 2, no. 4 (October 1842): 328.
[50] Cartwright, 321.
[51] Voltaire, *Essai Sur Les Moeurs Et L'esprit Des Nations* (Paris: Werden & Lequien, 1756), 84.

differences in organization" between white and Black people "are so evident… that in Paris, we found the savants denying the common origins of man."[52] Cartwright was "cordially received by the medical faculty of the principal [European] cities" based on an appreciation for his autopsies on Black corpses to evaluate diseases.[53] Encouraged by this transatlantic exchange of ideas, Cartwright returned to the U.S. to disseminate his theories of scientific racism.

Upon returning, the Louisiana State Medical Convention tasked Cartwright in the mid-1840s to investigate alleged diseases unique to Black slaves.[54] Cartwright's racially motivated studies led to his conception of "drapetomania." He articulated this theory through his 1851 paper, "Diseases and Peculiarities of the Negro Race," which was published in widely read pro-slavery Southern journals like the *Southern Medical Reports* and *DeBow's Review*.[55] Cartwright conceived drapetomania, or "Free Negro Insanity," as a mental illness that caused Black slaves to run away from their white masters. Cartwright claimed that drapetomania fostered

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[52] Cartwright, "Cannan Identified with the Ethiopian," 328.
[53] "Dr. Cartwright," *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal* 19, no. 3 (November 1866): 347.
[54] James Guillory, "The Pro-Slavery Arguments of Dr. Samuel A. Cartwright," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 9, no. 3 (1968): 212, https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/4231017.pdf.
[55] Willoughby, "Running Away from Drapetomania: Samuel A. Cartwright, Medicine, and Race in the Antebellum South," 593.

"mental alienation" in Black slaves, provoking them to experience mental schisms that falsely convinced them of their equality.[56] To quell this "rascality," Cartwright claimed to Southern slave owners that "with the advantage of proper medical advice… this troublesome practice of running away, that many negroes have, can be almost entirely prevented."[57] Such advice included whipping slaves with broad leather straps.[58] Through these methods, Cartwright claimed that slave owners could compel Black slaves to return to their natural position as subservient laborers. Any attempt by slaveowners to "oppose the Diety's will, by trying to make the Negro anything else than 'the submissive knee-bender'… by putting [white slaveowners] on an equality with the Negro" would result in slaves running away based on their delusional belief in their equality.[59] Cartwright conceived Black existence as a disease, and he asserted that this disease needed to be counteracted with violence to force Black slaves to adhere to God's will.

Cartwright's theories that incorporated European scientific racist ideas profoundly influenced Confederate political thought

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[56] Samuel Cartwright, "Diseases and Peculiarities of the Negro Race," *DeBow's Review* 11, no. 3 (1851): 331-333.
[57] Cartwright, 331.
[58] Samuel Cartwright, "Remarks on Dysentery Among Negroes," *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal* 11 (September 1854): 155.
[59] Cartwright, "Diseases and Peculiarities of the Negro Race," 331-333.

and policy. Cartwright was directly embraced by Confederate leaders, including Confederate President Jefferson Davis, who saw Cartwright as a leading intellectual aiding the Confederacy's cause. After reading Cartwright's "Diseases and Peculiarities of the Negro Race," Davis started corresponding with Cartwright from the late 1840s through the Civil War.[60] In their letters, both bonded over their shared belief in the virtues of slavery and their opposition to naturalization proposals seeking to make slaves American citizens amidst fallout over the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850.[61] Cartwright's friendship with Davis became so strong that in 1861, Davis introduced Cartwright to Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston and told Johnston that "as a physician [Cartwright] holds the first place in my estimation."[62] Through his relationships with Confederate elites, Cartwright cemented himself as a reliable resource who provided "empirical" findings to Confederate leaders to defend slavery.

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[60] Willoughby, "Running Away from Drapetomania: Samuel A. Cartwright, Medicine, and Race in the Antebellum South," 613.

[61] "Samuel A. Cartwright and Family Papers: Series 1, Professional Papers, 1826 - 1858," Louisiana State University Libraries Special Collections, Mss. 2471, 2499, 1826 - 1874, 5. https://lib.lsu.edu/sites/default/files/sc/findaid/2471m.pdf.

[62] Jefferson Davis to Joseph E. Johnston, September 6, 1861, Box 11, Folder 53, Series 3, Rosemond E. and Emile Kuntz Collection, Tulane University Digital Library Archives, Tulane University, New Orleans, LA.

Cartwright's scientific racist ideas also sparked the formation of a Southern medical movement that further supported the Confederacy's defense of slavery. Cartwright became a leader of the "state's rights medicine" movement, which framed Southern medicine as distinct from Northern medicine. Northern physicians, as Cartwright argued, distorted Enlightenment-era practices by encouraging doctors to treat patients as equal descendants of a common ancestor.[63] Northern medicine was thus inadequate to remedy the diseases of Black slaves that were theorized to be indicative of their subhuman status.[64] Based on these beliefs, Southern race theorists like Cartwright formed the movement to popularize racist ideas among Southern elites against Northern intellectuals, who were viewed as supporters for dangerous egalitarian ideas.

These physicians' advocacy for "state's rights medicine" directly influenced Confederate policy. The movement appealed to slave owners, who desired to exploit the most labor possible out of their slaves.[65] Confederate leaders like Davis cited the ideas of "state's rights" physicians in policies that incentivized slave

[63] John Duffy, "The Evolution of American Medical Education, Institutional Histories, and the Medical College of Georgia," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 71, no. 4 (1987): 623-624, https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/40581739.pdf.
[64] Duffy, 624.
[65] Samuel Cartwright, "How to Save the Republic, and the Position of the South in the Union," *DeBow's Review* 11, no. 2 (August 1851): 191.

owners to increase labor efficiency based, in part, on Cartwright's recommendations to treat drapetomania.[66] Cartwright's exchange of ideas with European race theorists and his incorporation of their theories into his work provided the foundation upon which he influenced Confederate policy and political thought.

Henry Hotze: Race Theorist and Confederate Propagandist

As the Confederacy waged war against the Union, Confederate leaders ordered Henry Hotze to promote scientific racist theories in Europe to increase public support among European elites and the public for the Confederacy's cause. After immigrating from Switzerland in 1855 and naturalizing as an American citizen in 1856, Hotze established himself as a prominent proponent of scientific racism in the United States.[67] Hotze constantly read Morton and Cartwright's work, and he expressed his support for their theories.[68] Josiah Nott, a "state's rights" physiologist revered by Southern academics, heard of

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[66] Willoughby, "Running Away from Drapetomania: Samuel A. Cartwright, Medicine, and Race in the Antebellum South," 613.

[67] Stephen Oates, "Henry Hotze: Confederate Agent Abroad," *The Historian* 27, no. 2 (February 1965): 133, https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/24438124.pdf.
[68] Robert Bonner, "Slavery, Confederate Diplomacy, and the Racialist Mission of Henry Hotze," *Civil War History* 51, no. 3 (September 2005): 291, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/186099/pdf?casa_token=aey0NNcaG-oAAAAA:UzgaSAEFF-elTrzZ2YOtnLchlC-5qIY jSv0rF_2wUY3ENR78OFr-YwICzAwr4wss3rcG7V6y7qk.

Hotze through acquaintances and decided to meet Hotze near his residence in Mobile, Alabama in 1854. Upon meeting Hotze, Nott "suggested [that Hotze's] knowledge of foreign languages" and his belief in scientific racism would be useful in translating the work of European race theorists into English.[69] He agreed, and they began establishing relationships with European race theorists to distribute and popularize their ideas among Confederate political leaders.

Hotze and Nott's most important joint endeavor involved their English translation of French aristocrat Arthur de Gobineau's 1855 work, *An Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races*. Gobineau first promoted scientific racist theories following the French Revolution of 1848 that resulted in the establishment of the French Second Republic. Viewing the Revolution as a subversion of traditional social hierarchy, Gobineau advocated for slavery as a mechanism to achieve social order and suppress egalitarian values.[70] Gobineau's anti-egalitarianism culminated in *An Essay*, in which he contended that Black people constituted a separate and intellectually inferior racial group. Black people were "mere savages" compared to white people, who exhibited a naturally

[69] Bonner, 291.
[70] Michelle Wright, "[Black] Peasants from France: Missing Translations of American Anxieties on Race and the Nation," *Callaloo* 22, no. 4 (1999): 833, https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/3299815.pdf.

superior ability to build civilizations.[71] Hotze and Nott read Gobineau's *An Essay* and decided to correspond with him to express their interest in working with him on the publication of his work. Hotze wrote to Gobineau that he viewed his work as "the light I had sought for so earnestly," and he vowed to be Gobineau's "first disciple" in promoting his scientific racist theories throughout the United States.[72]

Hotze and Nott distributed Gobineau's work in the United States through the mid-1850s and the beginning of the Civil War. As part of the publication process, Hotze wrote an introduction that framed Gobineau's work within the larger context of American debates over the future of slavery. He wrote that "[when] we contemplate the human family from the… view of the naturalist… the marked dissimilarity of the various [racial] groups" emerges as a driving force of human nature.[73] Black people demonstrated a uniquely "monstrous stagnation" in their intellectual development,[74] while white people showcased intellectual progress that proved they were "incontestably and

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[71] Arthur de Gobineau, *An Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races* (London: William Heinemann, 1853), 133.
[72] Henry Hotze to Arthur de Gobineau, January 1, 1856, in *Gobineau's Rassenwerk*, ed. Ludwig Schemann (Stuttgart: Sr. Srommanns Derlag, 1910), 196.
[73] Gobineau, *An Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races*, 22.
[74] Gobineau, 32.

avowedly superior."[75] Hotze's English translation of Gobineau's *An Essay* became widely read by the Confederacy's foremost leaders. When the Civil War commenced in 1861, Hotze joined the Confederacy's Mobile Cadets and traveled through Montgomery, Alabama, where he worked closely with Confederate Secretary of War Leroy Walker and befriended powerful Confederate politicians. One such politician was Davis, who met Hotze in Montgomery and told Hotze he liked his work with Gobineau.[76] Davis believed that Hotze's work signified his commitment to promote the Confederate cause for slavery, and he sensed an opportunity to increase popular support for the Confederacy abroad and pressure European powers to support them. Davis ordered Walker and Confederate Secretary of State Robert Hunter on November 14, 1861 to make Hotze a special agent.[77] Hotze would be using his editorial skills and transatlantic connections to implement a propaganda operation that promoted scientific racism to increase Confederate support in Europe.

Hotze arrived at Southampton, England on January 28, 1862 and stationed himself in London to begin his mission.[78] Hotze's first part of his mission required him to network with

[75] Gobineau, 33.
[76] Oates, "Henry Hotze: Confederate Agent Abroad," 134.
[77] Oates, 136.
[78] Oates, 135.

prominent British political figures, including Lord High Chancellor John Campbell, to generate elite support for the Confederacy. In February 1862, Campbell asked Hotze to prepare a section of a speech he would deliver to Parliament opposing the Union's blockade of Southern transatlantic trade through the Anaconda Plan.[79] Hotze succeeded, but he encountered his first challenges with his propaganda operation. Confederate supporters in Parliament showcased weak "demonstrations for [the Confederacy's] benefit."[80] In contrast, Confederate opponents depicted Southerners as animalistic supporters of slavery because it "grated on [Britons'] national conscience."[81] He articulated that although he "can be useful to [the Confederacy's] cause," he found it "difficult at times to restrain the expressions of pain… at the gross… and almost brutal indifference with which the great spectacle on the other hemisphere is viewed on this."[82] Hotze grew disillusioned with British elites' reluctance to support the Confederacy, fearing that he would fail to leverage European support to grant the Confederacy international legitimacy.

On February 20, 1862, Hotze ended his disillusionment by initiating the second phase of his mission. This phase involved him

[79] Oates, 136.
[80] Henry Hotze to Robert Hunter, March 11, 1862, in *King Cotton Diplomacy*, ed. Frank Owsley Jr. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2008), 361.
[81] Owsley Jr., 361.
[82] Owsley Jr., 361.

calling the editor of the London *Post*, Liberal British Prime Minister Henry John Temple's official publication, to obtain editorial space to publish an article he wrote that defended Confederate slavery based on his belief in polygenism.[83] Hotze's article exploded in popularity among British commoners, particularly those in Liberal urban coffee clubs who largely viewed Black people as inferior, and he used this newfound popularity to expand his propaganda operation.[84] By April 1862, Hotze wrote for the *Times*, *Standard*, and *Herald* in London, the former two being Liberal publications and the latter a Conservative publication.[85] He also wrote for the *Money Market Review*, which, as he explained in a letter to Hunter, possessed "great authority among [British] capitalists" who influenced British military appropriations policy.[86] He further gave his wages to staff writers to increase the production and distribution of pro-Confederate articles to British commoners and elites.[87]

Based on positive feedback from readers, Hotze wrote to Hunter on April 25, 1862 that he wanted to "establish a newspaper devoted to [Confederate] interests" that would be "exclusively

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[83] Oates, "Henry Hotze: Confederate Agent Abroad," 138.
[84] Oates, 138.
[85] Oates, 138.
[86] Henry Hotze to Robert Hunter, March 24, 1862, in *King Cotton Diplomacy*, ed. Frank Owsley Jr. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2008), 371.
[87] Oates, "Henry Hotze: Confederate Agent Abroad," 139.

under my control" through finances from Confederate leaders.[88] On May 1, 1862, Hotze issued the first edition of *The Index*, a 16-page weekly political journal promoting Confederate propaganda that employed scientific racist theories to defend slavery as a righteous institution.[89] *The Index* carried news from "leading [Confederate] papers and extracts from Southern speeches, laws, and decrees"[90] to appeal to British politicians of different political parties and function as a "channel through which [Confederate] arguments… can be conveyed… to the [British] Government."[91]

The Index became an instrumental force for Confederate foreign relations with the British government. The journal carried articles that promoted the necessity of defending slavery for the preservation of white supremacy. In terms of policy, these articles specifically advocated for the abolition of the trade blockade that stymied foreign cotton trade with Great Britain. Writers urged the British government to publicly denounce it as an illegal measure against Southern sovereignty and recognize the Confederacy as an independent nation-state.[92] On an ideological level, *The Index* emphasized purported similarities between British and Southern

[88] Henry Hotze to Robert Hunter, March 24, 1862, in *King Cotton Diplomacy*, ed. Frank Owsley Jr. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2008), 400.
[89] Oates, "Henry Hotze: Confederate Agent Abroad," 140.
[90] Oates, 140.
[91] Henry Hotze to Judah Benjamin, November 7, 1862, in "Henry Hotze: Confederate Agent Abroad," ed. Oates, 140.
[92] Oates, "Henry Hotze: Confederate Agent Abroad," 142.

culture. Staff writers cited Confederate leaders' promotion of scientific racist theories, including polygenism and phrenology, to demonstrate their support for ideas first developed by Enlightenment thinkers.[93] The Confederacy and Great Britain were framed as ideologically bounded societies that shared common scientific racist beliefs to safeguard white supremacy through slavery.

These articles left a positive impression on British elites. Many Liberal and Conservative leaders in Parliament contacted Hotze to express interest in *The Index*. One such leader was John Arthur Roebuck, a self-declared "independent" Member of Parliament who championed British recognition of the Confederacy. In a September 1862 meeting with Hotze, Roebuck promised him that by the spring of 1863, the British government would recognize the Confederacy as an independent nation due to pressure from Confederate-supporting media outlets like *The Index*.[94] Hotze's pressure on British elites and the government to support the Confederacy did not go unnoticed by Confederate leaders. Confederate leaders like Davis complimented Hotze as a "judicious and effective" representative of the Confederacy.[95] Confederate Secretary of State Judah Benjamin was so impressed

[93] Oates, 142.
[94] Oates, 144.
[95] Oates, 143.

by Hotze's propaganda operation that he awarded Hotze a $30,000 annual salary.[96] Hotze's propaganda operation to "make *The Index* a worthy representative in journalism of the highest ideal of that Southern civilization which is as yet only in its infancy" continued to expand, reaching the hands and minds of tens of thousands of British elites and commoners.[97]

However, Hotze's successes in implementing his Confederate propaganda campaign evaporated as quickly as they materialized. Lincoln's issuance of the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation on September 22, 1862, which changed the legal status of slaves in the Confederacy from enslaved to free, created political shockwaves throughout Great Britain. Initial reactions to the Proclamation from the *Times* were contemptuous.[98] The *Times* declared that the Proclamation was the "wretched makeshift of a pettifogging lawyer" who undermined natural law upholding the biological inferiority of Black slaves.[99] Hotze was ecstatic, writing to Benjamin that "more than I ever could have accomplished has been done by Mr. Lincoln's emancipation proclamation, which… appears to have awakened the fears of both Government and

[96] J.F. Jameson, "The London Expenditures of the Confederate Secret Service," *American Historical Review* 35, no. 4 (July 1930): 815.
[97] Henry Hotze to John Witt, August 11, 1864, in "Henry Hotze: Confederate Agent Abroad," ed. Oates, 141.
[98] Oates, "Henry Hotze: Confederate Agent Abroad," 145.

[99] Oates, 145.

people."[100] The British media, as Hotze claimed, "has been unanimous… in its condemnation" of the Proclamation and generated popular discontent that aided the Confederacy's efforts to gain European support.[101]

As Confederate-allied media published articles opposing the Proclamation, liberal journals fomented popular support for the Proclamation, which sparked the formation of mass liberal movements in Great Britain. Viewing the Proclamation as the liberation from an institution that traumatized the Union and Great Britain, British liberals published articles that appealed to middle-class Britons' fears of slavery.[102] Such fears stemmed from their experiences with slaveholders' marginalization of working-class laborers.[103] British liberals paired their publication of widely distributed articles with mass protests meant to convince the British public to support the Proclamation. Through the spring of 1863, hundreds of meetings were organized and led by a diverse liberal coalition of political radicals, women, racial minorities, and middle-class workers.[104] Liberals collaborated with organizations like the London Emancipation Society to send "scores of

[100] Henry Hotze to Judah Benjamin, January 17, 1863, in "Henry Hotze: Confederate Agent Abroad," ed. Oates, 145- 146.
[101] Oates, 145-146.
[102] Don Doyle, *The Cause of All Nations: An International History of the American Civil War* (New York: Basic Books, 2017), 242-243.
[103] Doyle, 242-243.
[104] Doyle, 246.

speakers… to meeting halls across the country to summon British men and women" to support the Proclamation.[105] This mobilization of popular liberal discontent ultimately compelled the British government to not intervene for the Confederacy through their potential recognition of Confederate independence.

Hotze's propaganda operation could not overcome this liberal mobilization of the British public. Outmaneuvered by liberals' coordinated efforts to distribute anti-Confederate literature, Hotze became resigned to his mission's inevitable failure. Writing to Benjamin in May 1863, Hotze claimed that Confederate recognition of nationhood by British leaders "is farther off than it was 18 months ago" due to liberals' successful pressure campaign to vilify Confederates' belief in scientific racism.[106] Hotze's hopelessness was further compounded by Roebuck's attempt on June 30, 1863 to pass a resolution through Parliament that sought to recognize the Confederacy. Roebuck's proposal ignited blistering condemnation from Liberal and Conservative lawmakers, who believed that Great Britain would damage its reputation if they supported a government opposed to egalitarian principles.[107] Roebuck subsequently withdrew the motion, but the damage was done. *The Index*'s popularity declined

[105] Doyle, 246.
[106] Henry Hotze to Judah Benjamin, May 9, 1863, in "Henry Hotze: Confederate Agent Abroad," ed. Oates, 147.
[107] Oates, "Henry Hotze: Confederate Agent Abroad," 148.

through the remainder of the Civil War.[108] Confederate defeats at Gettysburg and Vicksburg in 1863 further dissuaded British elites from working with Hotze, who they now largely viewed as a pathetic representative of a lost cause.[109] Writing in *The Index*, Hotze sullenly proclaimed that he "lost" the battle of British public opinion.[110] Despite all of the political and financial sacrifices he gave to defend slavery abroad, Hotze recognized that his operation had no future, and neither did the Confederacy.

Hotze's propaganda campaign officially ended when *The Index* published its last issue in August 1865, four months after Confederate General Robert E. Lee's surrender at Appomattox.[111] The end of his campaign left Hotze more uncompromising in his belief in scientific racism, as he corresponded with his American friends to warn about what he claimed was an "Africanization of the Union" caused by efforts to make former slaves equal citizens.[112] Reiterating his belief in polygenism, Hotze claimed that granting equal citizenship to a separate and unintelligent Black

[108] Oates, 152.
[109] Oates, 149.
[110] Oates, 149.
[111] Oates, 153.
[112] Henry Hotze to Benjamin Wood, April 21, 1865, in "Henry Hotze: Confederate Agent Abroad," ed. Oates, 153- 154.

slave class would enable the rise of a "centralized despotism" that undermined white supremacy and God's design for humanity.[113]

Although unsuccessful, Hotze's propaganda operation critically impacted Confederate foreign relations. Hotze's relationships with British elites enabled him to publish Confederate propaganda through *The Index* that influenced large swaths of the British public. Such propaganda centered around scientific racist theories that pressured the British government to support the Confederacy based on a perceived necessity to defend slavery. Hotze's work served as the culmination of transatlantic exchanges of scientific racist theories that began in the Age of Enlightenment and shaped Confederate foreign relations through the Civil War.

The Challenges of Transatlantic Exchanges of Scientific Racist Theories

Despite their successes in influencing Confederate political thought and policy, American and European race theorists confronted challenges that inhibited their transatlantic exchange of ideas. Strong public criticism inhibited their efforts to sway public opinion to support slavery.

Northern newspapers published articles deriding the scientific racist theories of theorists such as Cartwright. For

[113] Oates, 153-154.

example, the *Ripley Bee* reprinted a notice in 1854 that Cartwright supported the African slave trade. The *Ripley Bee*'s editors panned Cartwright's position as a byproduct of Southern pro-slavery ideology that threatened the political stability of the Union.[114] Northern medical reviews further publicly criticized these theories. In a review of Cartwright's paper on dysentery, physician Harty Wooten wrote that Cartwright's claim that Black slaves were more vulnerable to attract diseases than white people was incorrect. Cartwright, according to Wooten, relied on faulty data from politically biased pro-slavery sources that polluted his methodology.[115] This disagreement from academics and the general public limited the appeal of scientific racist ideas to Southern leaders who used such racism to justify slavery for their political and economic self-interests. Such limitations frustrated their attempts to achieve a broad-ranging national consensus that slavery was necessary to maintain a naturally rooted social order.

These limitations were exacerbated by a lack of organizational capacity that restricted the abilities of race theorists to influence public opinion and policy toward supporting slavery. While Confederate actors united with various European political figures on the necessity to preserve slavery, they lacked the

[114] Willoughby, "Running Away from Drapetomania: Samuel A. Cartwright, Medicine, and Race in the Antebellum South," 592.
[115] Willoughby, 599.

resource capacity needed to operate a successful long-term propaganda operation. After *The Index* launched in 1862 with subsidies from Confederate leaders, Hotze had to rely on funds from personal friends and random financiers he befriended in England to keep his operation afloat.[116] His salary of $30,000, although extremely high adjusted for inflation, did not adequately cover the expansive responsibilities of his operation. Such responsibilities included compensating *The Index*'s staff writers as full-time workers, paying for the publication and distribution of *The Index* across hundreds of British towns, covering work-related and personal transportation costs, and subsidizing lobbying efforts in Parliament.[117] While British liberals were jointly networking and pooling resources to influence public opinion, Hotze had to largely command his propaganda operation by himself with minimal support from Confederate leadership. This lack of coordination arose out of a weak capacity to establish interdependent activist networks, which weakened Confederate efforts to impact British public opinion and policy towards slavery.

However, these limitations did not stop American and European race theorists from affecting public opinion and policy in the short term. Rather than fragmenting, these theorists united on a commitment to defend slavery that they viewed as rooted in human

[116] Oates, "Henry Hotze: Confederate Agent Abroad," 140.
[117] Oates, 141-142.

nature. This commitment persisted even as their efforts encountered significant political challenges and it became clear that they would not achieve their goals. These actors recognized that they needed to exert a sizable impact on public opinion and policy in a limited amount of time. Their successes within this short window of time showcase the importance of transatlantic exchanges of ideas in supporting political efforts that can impact the long-term future of racial equality.

Conclusion

These transatlantic exchanges of ideas between European and American race theorists demonstrate how ideas generated in one part of the world can influence policy in another part of the world. European race theorists' ideas were integrated into the scientific racist ideas of American race theorists. These theorists included Morton and Cartwright, who used such ideas to justify Southern slavery. As the Civil War involved European powers, Confederate propagandists like Hotze led political propaganda operations that utilized racist ideas from European race theorists, including Gobineau, to promote the Confederacy's defense of slavery abroad. Such propaganda attempted to convince the European public to support the Confederacy based on the perceived necessity of maintaining white supremacy. In totality, scientific racism functioned as a critical linkage between Europe

and the United States that shaped Confederate political thought and policy, thereby impacting the direction of the Civil War.

The impacts of this transatlantic exchange of scientific racist ideas were not confined to the Civil War. The prominence of such theories directly contributed to the violent state of American racial relations through Reconstruction and Jim Crow. After Reconstruction ended with the Compromise of 1877 that ordered the withdrawal of federal troops from the South, Southern state governments escalated enforcement of systemically racist laws against African Americans. Jim Crow laws included the imposition of grandfather clauses and literacy tests that were implemented to marginalize African American political representation.[118] Despite violating the 14th and 15th Amendments that guaranteed African Americans equal protection and voting rights, Southern leaders justified Jim Crow by citing scientific racist ideas. White supremacist political leaders argued that African Americans possessed lower intelligence and were naturally more susceptible

[118] Brad Epperly et al., "Rule by Violence, Rule by Law: Lynching, Jim Crow, and the Continuing Evolution of Voter Suppression in the U.S.," *Perspectives on Politics* 18, no. 3 (September 2020): 761-762, https://www.cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/CBC6AD86B557A093D7E832F8D821978B/S1537592718003584a.pdf/rule-by-violence-rule-by-law-lynching-jim-crow-and-the-continuing-evolution-of-v oter-suppression-in-the-us.pdf.

to diseases, thereby rendering them incapable of exerting agency over important political decisions.[119]

Combined with the ascendency of Social Darwinism in the late nineteenth century, Jim Crow brutalized African Americans based on interconnecting racist beliefs. Social Darwinists asserted that wealthy ruling elites possessed superior levels of intelligence that enabled them to govern over poorer and unintelligent underclasses based on a pseudoscientific interpretation of Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*.[120] Southern leaders integrated Social Darwinist ideology to justify Jim Crow dehumanization, claiming that intelligent and wealthy white rulers deserved to govern over unintelligent African Americans based on Darwinian natural selection.[121] This intersectionality of Jim Crow racism demonstrates that scientific racist ideas never truly vanish. As previous attempts to defend racial hierarchy end, new efforts emerge that refashion previous pseudoscientific theories to justify the oppression of marginalized groups. Thus, this transatlantic

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[119] Andrea Patterson, "Germs and Jim Crow: The Impact of Microbiology on Public Health Policies in Progressive Era American South," *Journal of the History of Biology* 42, no. 3 (Fall 2009): 533, https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/20027786/.
[120] Rutledge Dennis, "Social Darwinism, Scientific Racism, and the Metaphysics of Race," *The Journal of Negro Education* 64, no. 3 (Summer 1995): 244, https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/2967206.pdf?casa_token=WjYDRD7VFSsAAAAA:VRrEJP6vC0Wl7ViXaAqXU MQUefunNmp_-K4t75LrLIZuzSaHK46SMjMG1MwlRUf_A_omnjvWKOXQcZj8Mvcc5hdN39VbHedZdyE8In-z vBlSr_CWjAZc.
[121] Dennis, 247.

exchange of scientific racist ideas showcases the historical continuity of racist beliefs that unite actors across borders to uphold white supremacy into modern times.

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What They Sang: The Religious Roots of Spirituals and Blues

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To listen to the blues is to hear pure human emotion. These songs tell stories of joy, suffering, love, and death through twangy guitar strings and sliding vocals. Blues music exploded in the early twentieth century in predominantly Black areas of the United States, such as Chicago, Mississippi, and Tennessee. Blues became a dynamic art form as singers often borrowed lyrics and tunes from others. These shared ideas created a uniquely American musical genre characterized by the sliding bottleneck guitar and longing lyrics that expressed dreams of better days. The blues reflect the continuing evolution of Black music after the end of slavery, despite tensions between secular and sacred themes, and the genre owes an obvious debt to the musical forms and lyrics of antebellum spirituals.

African American spirituals created during the antebellum period heavily influenced the early blues. Religion permeated African American culture through services, sermons, and songs. Music was the easiest way enslaved people could remember the Bible’s teachings through its call-and-response patterns since many could not read. One person could lead a group by singing a verse,

and the rest could join by echoing the lead singer. This method spread Christian ideas and a love for music throughout the community.

Scholars have connected the spirituals and blues through countless journal articles and books on the two subjects. Prominent literature includes James Cone's *The Spirituals and the Blues* and Adam Gussow's *Beyond the Crossroads.* However, much of the previous research does not incorporate the Work Progress Administration (WPA) Slave Narratives or thoroughly examine lyrics for religious themes. Therefore, this paper seeks to determine the extent of the relationship between these two genres based on testimonies from formerly enslaved people and lyrical analysis of spirituals and blues.

Singers wove many religious themes of earlier spirituals into early blues music. References to God, the devil, Heaven, and Hell are abundant. However, most African American communities viewed the blues as the devil's music and disapproved of the genre because singers played at brothels and juke joints. Additionally, blues lyrics often referenced taboo subjects like romantic relationships, adultery, and alcohol. Several blues singers admitted they felt torn between their love of Jesus and the blues. Despite this tension, it is clear that there is a strong religious presence in the blues, often reminiscent of antebellum spirituals.

James Cone, an American theologian, was the first Black scholar to highlight the similarities between the two genres. He asserted that the blues "depict the 'secular' dimension of the black experience" because they dealt with love, lust, and other human emotions.[1] Blues music contained the same passion and intensity as spirituals, but instead of praising the Christian God, they paid homage to the human experience. Historian Jon Michael Spencer echoed Cone's argument. He determined that the blues were not profane or immoral but "secular spirituals."[2] Spirituals followed similar structures and emotions but traded the religious ideology for secular problems. Spirituals are closely linked with the Black experience and the experiences of enslaved people. This argument for the connection between the two genres is compelling.

Despite the connection between Christian spirituals and the blues, some scholars argue that the latter musical genre does not encapsulate the African American experience. Historian Adam Gussow claims that the spirituals and, later, the blues evolved from West African spiritualism. Crossroads and deals with the devil were popular symbols in early blues music. Scholars like Gussow argue these symbols are reminiscent of the African trickster gods Esu and Legba. Enslaved people brought stories about them from

[1] James Cone, *The Spirituals and the Blues* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1991), 97.
[2] Jon Michael Spencer, *Blues and Evil* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1993), 38.

Africa, but they largely disappeared until after the Civil War. Esu and Legba are considered potential inspirations for a crossroad devil, but their origins are unclear. However, according to Gussow, it is unknown whether these stories' West African roots are the reason why southern Black Christians condemned the blues.[3] Therefore, scholars argue that there is a strained relationship between the blues and spirituals despite both their religious tones.

Putting these sources in conversation is crucial to fully understanding these genres. Cone and Gussow's analyses of how religion impacted the blues spirituals provide an essential framework for discussing songs from these eras. Additionally, the WPA Slave Narratives provide an abundance of information surrounding the lived experiences of formerly enslaved people. These stories offer crucial insight into the relationship with spiritual music.

Spirituals are religious songs developed during slavery that blend European hymns with African musical styles. These songs tell stories of perseverance, strength, and hope, and many enslaved people used them as an outlet to convey their pain. They were passed down orally from generation to generation, while the lyrics often evolved. Christianity helped shape these songs. Most songs chronicle the life or part of the life of a Biblical figure, such as

[3] Adam Gussow, *Beyond the Crossroads*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2017), 23.

Adam and Eve in the garden, Paul in jail with Silas, or Noah surviving the great flood on his ark.[4] These songs abounded in proverbs with lessons preachers could quickly transform into sermons in church.

Enslaved people brought their love of music with them from Africa. They quickly adapted their rhythm, voice, and instrumentation to create spirituals and field hollers.[5] Field hollers were work songs enslaved people sang while working in the fields. They used these songs to communicate, keep pace, and pass the time during the long hours they spent picking cotton, chopping wood, or completing other tasks on the plantation. These songs also contained Biblical references and veiled mockery of their masters. The pieces began with one person singing a verse and the rest of the group echoing it. Frederick Douglass recounted that "'Slaves are generally expected to sing as well as to work. A silent slave is not liked by masters or overseers.'"[6] These songs allowed enslaved people to communicate with each other slyly and share their love for music while appeasing their masters.

Religion was integral to American society, especially in the nineteenth century. Most people attended church and professed

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[4] Paul Oliver, *Songsters and Saints: Vocal Traditions of Race Records* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 148.
[5] Miles Mark Fisher, *Negro Slave Songs in the United States* (New York City: Carol Publishing Group, 1990), 10.
[6] Dena J. Epstein, *Sinful Tunes and Spirituals: Black Folk Music to the Civil War* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977), 162.

Christianity. Many northern Christians opposed slavery and used the Bible to attack the institution. However, southern Christians weaponized the sacred text to defend enslavement. The Second Great Awakening affected both White and Black communities as religion quickly spread across the United States.[7] Preachers became pinnacles of the Black community. Church, when allowed, gave enslaved people an outlet to escape the grim reality of their lives, seek refuge and strength with others, and sing.[8] They believed in a higher being who would one day free them from slavery, just as Moses led the Israelites to the Promised Land.

The spirituals sung at these churches reflected this view. For example, the spiritual "Remember Me" tells the story of an enslaved person pleading for his freedom and for God to have mercy on him. It follows the same musical pattern as a European hymn.[9] European hymns follow a simple structure of verses (usually rhymed) and a chorus, all focused on religious content. This is typical for a spiritual; it combines the desire for emancipation with a strong belief in a higher power, and singers perform it in a typical European fashion. This similarity to European hymns made spirituals appear less dangerous to overseers and masters because it was similar enough to their

[7] Mechal Sobel, *The World They Made Together: Black and White Values in Eighteenth-Century Virginia* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2021), 180.
[8] Giles Oakley, *The Devil's Music* (London: Da Capo Press, 1997), 49.
[9] Fisher, *Negro Slave Songs in the United States,* 15-16.

church music. Mass conversions to Christianity after the Second Great Awakening facilitated a renewed interest in music in the enslaved community. They began to sing hymns independently of their White masters. These songs took on a different meaning as enslaved people changed the lyrics to accommodate their lived experiences, added repeated refrains, and sped up the tempo.[10] Although spirituals began as a reflection of European hymns, African American influence transformed them into their own genre.

Spirituals continued to be an essential part of African American culture after emancipation. During the Great Depression, President Franklin D. Roosevelt founded the WPA as part of his New Deal program. One of the WPA's subsections was the Federal Writer's Project (FWP), which undertook a project called the Slave Narratives. Employees collected stories from formerly enslaved people in southern states through this project. This program focused on recording what life was like in slavery, and interviewees frequently discussed religion and music.

One compelling aspect of the Slave Narratives is that they highlight the differences in how masters treated the relationship between their enslaved people and religion. Some masters forbade religion altogether. One man recalled, "Master never 'lowed us

[10] Portia K. Maultsby, "Folk Spiritual," A History of African American Music, Carnegie Hall, 2021, https://timeline.carnegiehall.org/genres/folk-spiritual.

slaves go to church but they have big holes in the fields they gits down in and prays. They done that way 'cause the white folks didn't want them to pray. They used to pray for freedom."[11] This statement illustrates that White people did not force religion on enslaved people and that they sought religion and Christianity independently. Enslaved people used their labor to their advantage; they knew the landscape well enough to discover ditches where they could practice secretly. Another formerly enslaved man, Jak Aldredge, recounted, "No white folks didn't learn me to read and 'rite. Nobody didn't read the Bible to me. Us n[ ]s didn't go to school or hear no preachin down on Marsa Turnipseed's farm. Slaves worked Saturday afternoons same as other days. On Sundays we just set round de house. Marsa didn't low us to have no parties and picnics."[12] Aldredge's account is different because it does not address his belief in Christianity but implies that others on his plantation might have believed since his master forbade it. His testimony also highlights that masters kept enslaved people from learning to read and write. This prohibition was a significant barrier for those who wanted to understand Christianity from the Bible.

[11] *Federal Writers Project: Slave Narrative Project,* Volume One: From Sundown to Sunup The Making of the Black Community, 1936, 35.
[12] *Federal Writers Project: Slave Narractive Project,* Volume Six: Mississippi Volume One, 21.

However, many accounts in the Slave Narratives demonstrate the importance of religion in everyday life. For example, Jim Allen recounted, "I members lots of my favorite songs. Some of dem was, 'Am I Born to Die', 'Alas and Did My Saviour Bleed', 'Must I to de Judgement be Brought.' The preacher would say, 'Pull down de line and let the spirit be a witness, working for faith in de future from on high.'"[13] Allen's recollections reveal the power of spirituals. These songs' influence remained long after emancipation; Allen could recount the names of his favorite songs, all spirituals, even after seventy years. Manda Boggan also spoke about his experience with religion during his enslavement. He said, "De fields would be full o' slaves a wukin' hard. Us would look up an see Mars acomin' across de field wid his bible under his arm. He would walk along what us wuz a wukin' an' read a text, den us would sing an' pray. De song us leaked bes' wuz, 'De Day ob Jubilee es come.'"[14] This account is unusual because Boggan's master brought religion to the fields. Other reports only detail interactions between masters and enslaved peoples at Sunday services or holidays. Instead, Boggan's master chooses to evangelize in the fields. Additionally, Laura Clark, a formerly enslaved woman originally from North Carolina,

[13] *Federal Writers Project: Slave Narrative Project,* Volume Six: Mississippi Volume One, 59.
[14] *Federal Writers Project: Slave Narractive Project,* Volume Six: Mississippi Volume One, 156-157

recalled that “I can't read no songs to comfokt me, jes' ketch Ism from de preacher on de stan' and hole ' em, dat's de way I ketch larnin.'”[15] This also demonstrates the importance of religion on the plantation. Clark recalls that she had little formal schooling outside of religious education. For many enslaved people, listening to preachers speak about the Bible was the only way they could receive instruction.

The blues emerged in the early twentieth century, over fifty years after the end of slavery, although they bore a strong resemblance to spirituals. Southern Black field workers developed the genre, which gained popularity in the 1920s. The blues became a new voice in the black community, one that updated the social concerns and critical vernacular of African Americans.[16] Blues singers now sang about the trials of sharecropping, relationships, and unemployment. These songs became an outlet for Black men and women to express secular concerns involving debt and racial discrimination rather than those relating to their spiritual lives.

After the end of the Civil War, many newly freed Black men did not know where to go. Some moved off their plantation, while others stayed and farmed the land. This movement gave rise to sharecropping. In the years immediately following the war,

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[15] *Federal Writers Project: Slave Narractive Project,* Volume One: Alabama Volume One, 75.
[16] William Barlow, *Looking Up at Down: The Emergence of Blues Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2012), 3.

Black people still did not have rights such as citizenship and suffrage.[17] This meant many Black families had to find work wherever they could, which led them to sharecropping contracts. As they continued to farm, they fell further into debt because of crop failure or unfair landowners.

Many blues singers grew up in sharecropping families. For example, Robert Johnson's stepfather was an illiterate sharecropper.[18] These men grew up in the shadow of slavery, and they felt its effects generations after the Emancipation Proclamation. Their fathers and mothers worked long hours and often made them work in the fields with them for money. These dismal conditions inspired the heartfelt emotional lyrics of the early blues which reflected the bleak conditions of Black Southern farmers.

Religion remained an essential social pillar in Southern Black communities in the early twentieth century. Many early blues singers began as Christian preachers, and most singers attended church frequently. For example, famous blues singer Blind Lemon Jefferson did not play the blues on Sundays, and Charley Patton's stepfather was a preacher.[19] These men respected

[17] The 14th Amendment was not passed until 1868 and the 15th was ratified in 1869.
[18] Bruce M. Conforth and Gayle Wardlow. *Up Jumped the Devil: the Real Life of Robert Johnson* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2019), 45.
[19] Oliver, *Songsters and Saints,* 204.

religion and spent considerable time surrounded by it. The blues navigated a line between secular and religious subject matter. Many Christian singers used blues instruments and intonation in their spiritual music, while blues singers borrowed Christian themes and vocabulary.[20] Ideas surrounding the Devil, the prodigal son, and the two versions of the afterlife appear in almost all blues songs.

Additionally, almost all blues songs reference God through lyrics like "O Lord," "Good Lord," and "So help me God."[21] These constant references to a higher being illustrate some level of belief in the Christian God. Scholars also consider the blues a religious expression for Black people; they did not have the means to articulate their faith in "scholarly language" and instead used their vernacular to illustrate their belief.[22] However, many songs also discuss secular issues like relationships and drinking, which contradicts the Christian language in other songs.

References to sins such as sexual lust, jealousy, and adultery earned the genre the nickname "the devil's music." Additionally, many blues singers sang at juke joints. Older religious Black people disapproved of the juke joints because drinking, dancing, and other scandalous behaviors occurred there.

[20] Oliver, *Songsters and Saints,* 204.
[21] Spencer, *Protest and Praise,* 111-112.
[22] Spencer, *Protest and Praise,* 107.

Renowned blues artist Son House went to jail after shooting a man in self-defense at a juke joint. Many blues singers could not keep steady jobs either. They played music on the street, hoping a record company would notice their songs. The lyrical content, coupled with the venue, helped earn the devil moniker. However, blues artists disagreed with this assessment. One singer, Henry Townsend, said that the blues were "just as good as gospel" and that "the only difference is the gospel people singing about biblical days and what they done, but I'm not at biblical times."[23] He went on to say that he sang the "truth" and that "I just stick to the truth, and if you can condemn the truth, then I haven't got a chance, because that's all I'm telling. And the "devil's music"- I don't think the devil cares much for the truth."[24] Townsend viewed the blues as a form of gospel; although it did not praise God like a hymn, it spoke the truth about his experiences and beliefs.

Another blues singer, Mance Lipscomb, echoed Towsend's sentiments. He discussed how people told him he "ought not go to church" because of his occupation. Lipscomb argued that "'God knows everything. God knows why I'm doing this. He know I needs to pay my bills.' They say you can't serve the Devil and the Lord, too. But my belief about it is that God spared me and

[23] Gussow, *Beyond the Crossroads,* 18.
[24] Gussow, *Beyond the Crossroads,* 18.

brought me this far."[25] Lipscomb was making a living while the people who praised Jesus for spending time with adulteresses and prostitutes judged him.

The blues usually followed a simple lyrical structure. Most songs used the AAB structure, in which the second line repeats the first. An example is Robert Johnson's song "Cross Road Blues.": "I went to the crossroad, fell down on my knees/I went to the crossroad, fell down on my knees/Asked the Lord above, 'Have mercy, now, save poor Bob if you please."[26] This is different than the spiritual structures. Spirituals usually have two to three verses with a refrain. Blues songs do not have a repeating chorus, and each verse is different. However, the rhyming scheme is still prevalent in spirituals. An analysis done by Portia K. Maultsby reveals that most spirituals follow either an AAAB or ABAC form.[27] Although the lyrics have more lines, they still have a similar format. This reveals a direct connection between the two genres, supporting that the blues evolved from spiritual structures. Additionally, both lyrical structures are accessible for listeners to follow and eventually sing along to. Blues lyrics usually express an individual's feelings by repeating single lines, as seen in the AAB

[25] Gussow, *Beyond the Crossroads*, 41.
[26] Robert Johnson, vocalist, "Cross Road Blues," Vocalation Records, 1936, Audio.
[27] Portia K. Maultsby, "Black Spirituals: An Analysis of Textual Forms and Structures," *The Black Persepctive in Music* 4, no. 1 (1976): 61.

structure.[28] This repetition emphasizes the importance of the singer's feelings and invites the listener into their emotions.

The Library of Congress hired Mississippi native John Lomax during the Great Depression to travel across the American South to collect folk and blues songs. Lomax and his son Alan set off to record songs and hopefully preserve a dying part of American culture. They traveled to several state penitentiaries throughout the South, and recorded hundreds of songs sung by Black inmates. The Lomaxes documented how the spirituals and blues coexisted in prisons; inmates lived and worked in secular spaces (prisons), but their music retained their religious ideas.

The blues emerged as a genre around the same time of Lomaxs' travels. Interestingly, many of the songs the father-son duo recorded contained religious themes, and several were spirituals. John Lomax recalled in his biography a set of lyrics that stuck with him: "I'm troubled, Lord, I'm troubled/Troubled about my soul."[29] This set of lyrics follows the same structure as other spirituals, and they directly speak to God. The inmates in these prisons continued to turn to the Lord for assistance through song and prayer, demonstrating that their relationship with Christianity remained strong.

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[28] Giles Oakley, *The Devil's Music: A History of the Blues* (London: Da Capo Press, 1997), 37.
[29] John A. Lomax, *Adventures of a Ballad Hunter* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2017, 18.

Not all of the songs Lomax recorded were spirituals. The blues penetrated the prison walls and influenced the music inmates sang. For instance, Lomax captured a song performed by Steen Williams, Will Broadnax, J.D. Elliot, and Madison Green while he was at the state penitentiary in Parchman, Mississippi, called "The Dying Bed Maker." They sang, "He's a dying bed maker/Jesus gonna make up my bed."[30] This song may appear to be a spiritual at first, with its repetitive lyrics and reference to God, all aspects indicative of spirituals. Charley Patton and Blind Willie Johnson both recorded versions of this song later, where they included more secular themes, like adultery, in the lyrics.[31] This instance reveals how closely connected the two genres are; Patton and Johnson took a religious song and changed the lyrics to become a blues song. Additionally, the song "Be Ready When He Comes," performed by a large group of convicts, says, "Don't you let him catch you in the gamblin' room/ he's coming again so soon."[32] The "He" in the title refers to the second coming of Jesus, but the lyrics about gambling

[30] John Lomax, Avery, Steen Williams, Will Broadnax, J. D Elliott, and Madison Green, "The
Dying Bed Maker," Parchman, Mississippi, 1936, Library of Congress Reel 43 613B, n.d., Audio.
[31] Charley Patton, vocalist, "Jesus is a Dying Bed Maker," Paramount Records, 1930, Audio.
[32] John A. Lomax, Unidentified Negro Convicts, "Be Ready When He Comes," Parchman, Mississippi, Library of Congress Reel 43 621A3, n.d, Audio.

illustrate the secular ideas the singers are concerned with. This mix of secular and religious ideas is a clear mark of the blues genre.

One of the most famous blues singers was Muddy Waters, a blues giant. He grew up working on a plantation picking cotton in the Mississippi Delta.[33] He received little formal education, as he primarily focused on his fieldwork. However, the local Oak Ridge Baptist Church provided him an escape and a chance to learn. The church hymns also cultivated his love for music; he said, "In order to sing the blues you 'had to go to church to get this particular thing in your soul.'"[34] Religion provided him with the passion for music that listeners can feel through his songs. This initial introduction to music impacted Waters' music; his blues tunes often incorporated religious elements. Alan Lomax recorded his songs and speeches in 1941 and 1942 on a plantation in Clarksdale, Mississippi.

"I Be's Troubled" is one of the songs Lomax recorded. The lyrics harken back to Black Southern identity at the time. The first verse includes, "Lord I'm troubled, I'm all worried in mind/And I'm never being satisfied, and I just can't keep from crying."[35] Here, Waters calls to God for help, illustrating his continued trust in his faith. "I Be's Troubled" expresses the narrator's sorrow

[33] Rutkoff and Scott, "Preaching the Blues" 136.
[34] Rutkoff and Scott, "Preaching the Blues" 136.
[35] Muddy Waters, vocalist, "I Be's Troubled," Testament Records, 1966, Audio.

surrounding the loss of his girlfriend and his desire to travel to escape the situation. This song encapsulates the connection between secular and religious tones in blues music. Rutkoff and Scott assert that "songs about spiritual and physical weariness, about being troubled and wanting to travel beyond the present, nurtured the blues."[36] "I Be's Troubled" demonstrates weariness and a need for spiritual fulfillment during uncertain times. Waters puts his trust in God in this song, mirroring how spirituals were a way for Christians to illustrate their belief in the Lord through music.

Spirituals were a way for enslaved people to connect with God during slavery while demonstrating their anguish and sorrow. Through spirituals, they also praised God during the good times. The Bible gave enslaved people hope that their situations would improve one day. Additionally, spirituals allowed them to express themselves through music and connect with their African roots. The blues emerged about fifty years after the end of slavery. These songs included religious imagery, prayers, and the same joys and sorrows as spirituals. Blues singers performed outside the church, on street corners, and in juke joints. Early twentieth-century Black culture remained deeply religious and viewed the blues as the "devil's music" because it glorified drinking and openly discussed

[36] Rutkoff and Scott, "Preaching the Blues" 132.

romantic relationships. However, spirituals greatly influenced blues music as they followed similar lyrical structures and content.

There is a close connection between the two genres. The blues reflect the American South's changing social structures after the end of the Civil War but retain the same religious ideas as spirituals. While spirituals emerged as a way to reckon with the horrors of slavery, the blues spoke to the reality of sharecropping and poverty. However, religion remained a constant theme throughout this evolution, and both spirituals and blues speak to the Black Southern spirit.

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The Americans With Disabilities Act in the Borderlands

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Indigenous people on Indigenous land live both within United States borders and outside of them. In 1980, there were roughly five hundred thousand "Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts" who lived in "identified Indian areas" like reservations.[1] These people, the people of the modern settler colonial borderlands, were subject to some level of federal law, but were often outside of federal protections. Despite the lip service paid to sovereignty by the United States federal government, Indigenous governments were often viewed as child states rather than as fully independent and sovereign nations. The federal government claimed to work in partnership with Indigenous governments but failed to protect Indigenous people to the same extent as settlers and refused to fully release Indigenous governments to create their own protections. Examining civil rights legislation such as the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 (ADA) reveals this dynamic. Although settler disability historians have tended to view the ADA as a unifying success, it did not legally or culturally account for disabled Indigenous people living on Indigenous land within the United States.

[1] U.S. Congress, Office of Technology Assessment, "Indian Health Care," (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, April 1986), 4.

To understand why the Americans with Disabilities Act did not account for these Indigenous people, it is first important to understand what the ADA *did* accomplish and why it mattered so much to disabled settlers. The ADA consisted of five sections: Employment (Title I); Public Services (Title II); Public Accommodations and Services by Private Entities (Title III); Telegraphs, Telephones, and Radiotelegraphs (Title IV); and Miscellaneous Provisions (Title V). Title I prohibited discrimination in employment by employers who had "15 or more employees for each working day in each of 20 or more calendar weeks in the current or preceding calendar year," except "the United States, a corporation wholly owned by the government of the United States, or an Indian tribe; or a bona fide private membership club." Discrimination included both refusal to hire disabled people and failure to make reasonable accommodations for them. Title II prohibited state and local governments, associated entities, and transportation authorities from discriminating against disabled people or excluding them from "services, programs, or activities." Title III prohibited discrimination in "public accommodations," a category that includes businesses, non-profits, schools, places of lodging, and social service centers like food banks, homeless shelters, and senior centers. Title IV increased availability of telecommunications relay services for deaf, hard of hearing, and speech-disabled people within and between states. Finally, Title V

included miscellaneous clarifications and exclusions to earlier sections.[2] Together, these sections contributed to increased inclusion of disabled individuals in everyday life, both as employees and as consumers. Entities covered by the act made their locations, services, and processes accessible because failure to do so meant risking a lawsuit.

Because of these provisions, the Americans with Disabilities Act is characterized as the "high-water mark of the American disability rights movement."[3] More than just a legislative success, the ADA is hailed by activists and historians as a *unifying* success in a variety of ways. First, it was intended to reach "all Americans with disabilities."[4] The movement to pass the ADA was one of the first instances when disabled people organized beyond their disability or disability category. Oral history has charted how disabled people realized the importance of leaving no disability behind. This is best explained by activist Patricia Wright:

> Basically we said that we would not separate anyone from coverage under the act. Meaning, they couldn't decide that this week the disease of the month was AIDS or mental illness or lupus or whatever. It was going to be one for all

[2] U.S. Department of Justice Civil Rights Division, "Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990," ADA.gov.
[3] Fred Pelka, *What We Have Done: An Oral History of the Disability Rights Movement*, (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011), 413.0
[4] Pelka, *What We Have Done*, 413.

> and all for one. And that, unless you agreed to one for all and all for one, you shouldn't be a part of this coalition, because today you may be the favored disability, but, with Congress, tomorrow you may not be.[5]

AIDS was the most controversial disability at this time. Many conservative congresspeople did not want to vote for a bill that would provide rights for people with AIDS because much of the public associated it with queerness and promiscuity. However, the disability rights movement stuck to its established principles and the final bill included coverage for people with AIDS.[6]

The Americans with Disabilities Act also represented unification because it relied on cooperation between disability activists and other civil rights groups. The AIDS example represented solidarity between the disabled community and the gay community, but the ADA was more than that. It would not have happened—or at least would not have happened in 1990—if it were not for larger connections between the disability rights movement, the Black Civil Rights movement, and the feminist movement. These connections were built during a shared effort to pass the Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1987.[7] The Supreme Court had been ruling to limit rights for all of these communities, so they worked

[5] Pelka, *What We Have Done*, 477.
[6] Pelka, *What We Have Done*, 526.
[7] Pelka, *What We Have Done*, 449.

together to regain them. Prominent figures across the three movements interacted with and learned from each other as a result of this process. Then, disabled activists used the tactics they learned and connections they gained to pass the ADA.

However, despite the wide base that supported the ADA, it did not cover all disabled people living within the United States' borders. Indigenous people living on Indigenous land, like reservations, were not fully covered by the ADA or other civil rights laws because the ADA's enforcement mechanism was lawsuits. Individuals cannot sue Indigenous governments under United States federal law. This legal principle, known as sovereign immunity, came from a series of important court rulings on civil rights law and Indigenous sovereignty that started in 1959. The first was the case *Native American Church v. Navajo Tribal Commission* in which the United States Court of Appeals, Tenth Circuit, found that the First Amendment did not apply to Indigenous governments.[8] In response, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1968, which extended some of the Bill of Rights' clauses restricting the federal government (which were applied to the state governments through the Fourteenth Amendment and subsequent court rulings) to Indigenous governments.[9] Supporters focused on how this policy protected the

[8] Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 1106.
[9] Prucha, *The Great Father,* 1107.

rights of individual Indigenous people, while opponents focused on how this policy restricted Indigenous self-government.[10] Ultimately, the Supreme Court ruled in 1978 with the case *Santa Clara Pueblo v. Martinez* (about sex-based discrimination) that suits under the Civil Rights Act of 1968 were not legitimate because if enforced, the Act would restrict Indigenous self-government.[11] Under this doctrine of sovereign immunity, private individuals cannot sue Indigenous nations for violating federal law unless Congress has authorized the suit or the nation has waived its immunity.[12] Because the ADA has been mainly enforced by lawsuits, the doctrine of sovereign immunity means that it cannot be enforced against Indigenous nations in most cases, unless Indigenous nations pass the ADA themselves.[13]

Only the Oglala Sioux Tribe passed the entirety of the Americans with Disabilities Act, which it did August 18, 1994.[14] The Quad Squad, which a federal report described as “a grassroots

[10] Prucha, *The Great Father*, 1109.
[11] Prucha, *The Great Father*, 364.
[12] National Council on Disability, "People with Disabilities on Tribal Lands: Education, Health Care, Vocational Rehabilitation, and Independent Living," (Washington D.C.: National Council on Disability, August 1, 2003), 38.
[13] U.S. Department of Justice Civil Rights Division, "Enforcement," ADA.gov.
[14] LaDonna Fowler, Tom Seekins, Kathy Dwyer, Susan W. Duffy, Rodney L. Brod, and Carol Locust, "American Indian Disability Legislation and Programs: Findings of the First National Survey of Tribal Governments," *Journal of Disability Policy Studies* 10, no. 2 (March 2000): 83.

advocacy group for people with disabilities," led this effort.[15] Formed in 1989, one year before the federal passage of ADA, the Quad Squad's mission was "to develop and maintain a supportive network to help people with disabilities improve their lives."[16] Media coverage in 1992 characterized it as "a self-help group" and stated that "most [are] disabled for reasons that grow out of wine bottles and beer cans," but this characterization was inaccurate.[17] Firstly, the Quad Squad's work went beyond "self-help" and included significant advocacy work, fundraising, and case management for disabled Indigenous people.[18] Secondly, blaming elevated rates of disability among Indigenous populations on alcohol is a harmful and stereotypical misinterpretation. Alcohol abuse is an effect, not a cause. Alcoholism is one of multiple disabilities with a high incidence among Indigenous people due to "a sense of powerless and hopelessness" created by settler colonialism.[19] Although alcoholism is a significant problem, to see it as the only one obscures systemic factors that need addressing, perhaps as the Quad Squad addressed them. However, it is important

[15] National Council on Disability, "People with Disabilities on Tribal Lands," 77.
[16] Fowler et al., "American Indian Approaches to Disability Policy,"43.
[17] Don Phillips, "On Sioux Reservation, Transportation Literally Means Life or Death," *Washington Post*, November 22, 1992.
[18] National Council on Disability, "People with Disabilities on Tribal Lands: Education, Health Care, Vocational Rehabilitation, and Independent Living," 77.
[19] O'Connell, "A Study of the Special Problems and Needs of American Indians with Handicaps Both On and Off the Reservation. Volume I," 9.

to note that the Quad Squad do not speak for all Oglala Sioux. A respondent from the nation in a sociological study explained that the passage of the ADA that the Quad Squad spearheaded "had created a wide range of tensions over sovereignty, jurisdiction, and culture."[20] That may be why other Indigenous nations did not pursue the same path. Instead, many Indigenous nations have created their own disability laws or projects following other approaches.

The Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes approached disability rights by starting with incremental change and working towards legislation "in the same spirit as ADA."[21] After a two-day intensive workshop, the Flathead Reservation, where the government is located, created a Total Access Committee. The Committee immediately took action towards fixing some of the biggest accessibility challenges on the reservation, like installing a safe ramp in front of the Tribal Complex building after two people using mobility aids were harmed on the previous one.[22] They also immediately prohibited employment discrimination on the basis of disability. They then began long-term accessibility planning with the Housing Authority.[23] The most crucial disability justice

[20] Fowler et al., "American Indian Disability Legislation and Programs," 179.
[21] National Council on Disability, "People with Disabilities on Tribal Lands: Education, Health Care, Vocational Rehabilitation, and Independent Living," 73.
[22] Fowler et al., "American Indian Approaches to Disability Policy," 31.
[23] Fowler et al., "American Indian Approaches to Disability Policy," 32.

challenges were addressed immediately while the reservation worked towards passing an all-encompassing resolution.

Other nations have programs to coordinate services for disabled individuals but have not passed legislation. These programs were often focused on vocational rehabilitation, although they sometimes also included events like the Hopi Special Needs Activity Day or assistive technology like the Navajo Assistive Bank of Loanable Equipment Consortia.[24] These nations' reluctance to pass legislation enshrining disability rights may come from the way they view—or do not view—disability.

The Americans with Disabilities Act was culturally located in settler ways of looking at disability. The existence of an "Americans with Disabilities Act" presupposed the existence of "Americans with disabilities" as a salient category, assuming that there were specific people with disabilities and others without. It defined disabled individuals primarily as people with "a physical or mental impairment that substantially limits one or more major life activities."[25] This was consistent with how disability was viewed in United States settler culture, where disability, impairment, and limits were all tightly linked. However, Indigenous cultures did not

[24] National Council on Disability, "People with Disabilities on Tribal Lands," 74–75.
[25] U.S. Department of Justice Civil Rights Division, "Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990."

link these concepts in the same way.[26] One anthropological source explains that Lakota people were considered disabled for different reasons than settlers. Disability looked like a failure to fit into Lakota cultural norms through unacceptable behavior or showing a lack of balance. It was more connected to actions than inherent states of being. In contrast, what settler culture considered to be "impairments" were considered by Lakota people to be "possible variations of the human condition" that "are neither cause for concern nor bad."[27]

Another anthropological source confirmed that the Lakota's views were similar to those across many Indigenous belief systems. Wellness and unwellness were associated most closely with harmony and disharmony, not with physical conditions. Impairments could in many cultures be part of an individual's harmony, because harmony was simply "an attitude towards life that creates peace." It was not an impairment that created disability, but rather an inappropriate reaction to impairment.[28] If an individual

[26] It is important to note that while this paper is discussing Indigenous beliefs in the past tense, Indigenous people do still have distinct, unique cultures with associated spiritual beliefs today. The language used is not meant to imply that Indigenous cultures are extinct or assimilated, only that present beliefs fall outside of the scope of this paper.

[27] Lilah Morton Pengra and Joyzelle Gingway Godfrey, "Different Boundaries, Different Barriers: Disability Studies and Lakota Culture," *Disability Studies Quarterly* 21, no. 3 (Summer 2001): 36–53.

[28] Carol Locust, *American Indian Beliefs Concerning Health and Unwellness*, (Tucson, Arizona: Native American Research and Training Center, 1985), 12.

integrated their impairment into their life, they were in harmony and not considered disabled under this model. Conversely, someone without what settlers consider to be an impairment could be considered disabled if they lacked spiritual harmony.

Additionally, Indigenous individuals with impairments were often not limited by them when living on reservations. This contrasts with the settler association of disability and limitation. Locust illustrated this with the story of a mentally impaired water carrier named Bear Boy. Bear Boy did well when living on Indigenous land, but was removed to a residential facility by non-Indigenous officials and labeled "criminally insane" due to his negative reaction to removal. He eventually died away from his home from a broken heart.[29] Bear Boy was not limited by his impairment within Indigenous society, and only became limited when he was removed from it. His story also exemplifies how poorly the Americans with Disabilities Act applied to such contexts. On the reservation, Bear Boy did not meet the ADA's first two definitions of disability because he did not have "a physical or mental impairment that substantially limits one or more major life activities" or "a record of such impairment."[30] His village considered him to have "a respected

[29] Lavonna L. Lovern and Carol Locust, "Traditional Beliefs About Disabilities," in *Native American Communities on Health and Disability: Borderland Dialogues*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2013), 104.
[30] U.S. Department of Justice Civil Rights Division, "Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990."

place in society" and he was able to work as a water carrier—he was not substantially limited.[31] What might apply to Bear Boy is the ADA's third definition of disability, which states:

> An individual meets the requirement of "being regarded as having such an impairment" if the individual establishes that he or she has been subjected to an action prohibited under this chapter because of an actual or perceived physical or mental impairment whether or not the impairment limits or is perceived to limit a major life activity.[32]

Bear Boy or his legal representative could have argued that being removed from his home based on his impairment fell under this third category. However, having the legal power to sue for disability discrimination does not make a disability identity. Even though the law technically addressed Bear Boy's situation, accepting the law's solution would have meant conceding to the same cultural model of disability that harmed him in the first place. Indigenous people should not have to assimilate in order to receive the support they need, which is why nations like the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes have created their own legal protections.

Some scholars have argued that legal protections were unnecessary, because Indigenous culture inherently supported

[31] Lovern and Locust, "Traditional Beliefs About Disabilities," 104.
[32] U.S. Department of Justice Civil Rights Division, "Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990."

disabled people. In this vein, disabilities studies scholars wrote in 2001 that "it is unnecessary to ask how Lakotas with physical and intellectual variations can gain inclusion in Lakota society because they are not excluded."[33] However, other scholarship shows that this story of inclusion has not always been the case, and inclusion depended on the specific impairment and nation. Ethnographer Valerie Dively explored the lives of five Deaf Native people across three nations and found that they were often not able to fully participate in their Indigenous communities because of their deafness. Dively writes of two of her interviewees:

> In spite of the fact that Holly and Dan each have at least one hearing relative who can communicate in a signed language, they were not able to participate much in their Native communities and their ceremonies, initiations, and other events. They were deeply hurt and embarrassed at still being called by their baby names in their communities' aural/vocal Native languages (Hopi and Diné) since they have no means of completing their initiation in order to acquire an adult name. Both Holly and Dan apparently understood their families' and Native communities' good intentions in this matter.[34]

[33] Pengra and Godfrey, "Different Boundaries, Different Barriers," 12.
[34] Valerie L. Dively, "Contemporary Native Deaf Experience: Overdue Smoke Rising," in *Deaf World: A Historical Reader and Primary Sourcebook*, edited by Lois Bragg, (New York: University Press, 2001), 398.

Dively did not spell out these "good intentions," but an earlier part of the text mentioned that Holly could not have an interpreter due to Hopi customs; it seems likely the same was true for Dan.[35] Holly and Dan's stories showed that although in many cases Indigenous cultures accepted disabled people, they sometimes failed to meet all of a community member's needs. The federal government often tried to fill these gaps. However, its lack of understanding of Indigenous cultural norms and needs led to frequent failure.

Prior to the Americans with Disabilities Act, the conversation about Indigeneity and disability was centered around vocational rehabilitation programs. A 1987 report recommended that the federal government "address the cultural influences on rehabilitation service delivery."[36] There were six specific ways that the author recommended the government meet this goal: acknowledge and gather specific information on how culture could impact vocational rehabilitation, set culturally relevant rehabilitation goals, incorporate immediate and extended family, increase Indigenous communities' knowledge of rehabilitation's effectiveness, employ Indigenous people in rehabilitation programs, and train rehabilitation employees about "issues related to serving"

[35] Dively, "Contemporary Native Deaf Experience," 396.
[36] Joanne Curry O'Connell, "A Study of the Special Problems and Needs of American Indians with Handicaps Both On and Off the Reservation. Volume I: Executive Summary," (Flagstaff: Native American Research and Training Center, September 14, 1987), 16.

Indigenous people.[37] What was missing from these recommendations was that many Indigenous people were thinking about disability differently than the federal government was. Providing information about vocational rehabilitation to Indigenous communities would only have been worthwhile if it included information on who vocational rehabilitation was intended for. It would not have been enough to simply state that vocational rehabilitation was intended for disabled people without explaining what that meant in a federal legislative context, given that the federal government defined disability different than Indigenous communities.

As the conversation shifted from vocational rehabilitation programs to the Americans with Disabilities Act, the federal government continued to struggle with properly addressing Indigenous disabled people. A 2003 report by the National Council on Disability (NCD) took a paternalist stance in explaining how Indigenous nations should match the protections of the Americans with Disabilities Act.[38] This report attempted to include the words of Indigenous disabled people, but their beliefs were not fully incorporated. For example, Damara Paris of the Intertribal Deaf

[37] O'Connell, "A Study of the Special Problems and Needs," 17.
[38] National Council on Disability, "People with Disabilities on Tribal Lands," 20.

Council presented a complex view of how their Deaf and Indigenous identities intersected:

> "My disabilities are perceived by my American Indian and Alaska Native peers as a part of me. I do not feel as stigmatized as I do in mainstream society. At the same time, powwows and community tribal events are not sign language interpreted. How can I learn my traditions from my people without communication support?"[39]

Notably, Paris's words were set off from the main text, which did not acknowledge these complexities. The focus of the NCD report is how "American Indian/Alaska Native people with disabilities and advocates must be invited to the table" by federal and state governments.[40] This metaphor ignores the table that has already been built by Indigenous people with disabilities like Damara Paris and by Indigenous governments like the Tribal Council of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes.

A more successful example of addressing different cultural views of disability was the American Indian Disability Legislation (AIDL) Project. The AIDL Project's principal investigators, both of whom were Indigenous, recognized that Indigenous people think about health and disability through a different cultural framework

[39] National Council on Disability, "People with Disabilities on Tribal Lands," 11.
[40] National Council on Disability, "People with Disabilities on Tribal Lands," 20.

than non-Indigenous people in disability-related professions.[41] Thus, the first step they took towards establishing disability legislation with Indigenous governments was to bridge the gap between Indigenous and settler cultural beliefs about disability through a workshop model.[42] This is Indigenous led and culturally aware model led to the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes legislation.

As much as the Americans with Disabilities Act failed to account for Indigenous disabled people, Indigenous disabled people worked to account for their own needs through and outside of legislation. However, the historical record fails to capture what these projects have meant and the specific changes resulting from Indigenous legislation. Inclusion of Indigenous perspectives is largely limited limited to those already recorded in government reports and social science projects. An oral history project would allow for a broader understanding of what both the ADA and Indigenous disability legislation meant to Indigenous disabled communities. Two meaningful places to start would be the Oglala Sioux nation and the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes. Both of these groups have had significant disability advocacy that would provide ample material for an oral history project. Such a project would be useful not only to disability history but also to borderlands

[41] Fowler et al., "American Indian Approaches to Disability Policy."
[42] Fowler et al., "American Indian Approaches to Disability Policy," 22.

history, because it provides a case study of how Indigenous people adopt and adapt federal laws to suit their needs when supposedly unifying legislation leaves them out.

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