

DEMONIZING, DEHUMANIZING, AND WHITEWASHING:
LINGUISTIC EXAMINATION OF
THE CONNECTICUT COURANT'S COVERAGE OF SLAVERY

by

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A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts in English

Middle Tennessee State University
May 2012

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DEDICATION

This work is first dedicated to the Lord and Savior of my life, Jesus Christ. Then to my wonderful husband Darryl and our four children: Joshua, Kara, Jonah and Micaiah who steadfastly endured the continuation of my education.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my appreciation to my thesis advisor, Dr. Albakry, for his patience, assistance, encouragement, and faith in my journey. I am also thankful to Dr. Dubek, who provided invaluable expertise in the development of the topic, and Dr. Peter Cunningham for his support of my research trip to the University of Connecticut.

On a personal level, I would like to express my heartfelt appreciation to my family, my friends, and my church family, who all contributed prayers and words of encouragement throughout this process.

ABSTRACT

Slavery and racism existed in the American Northeast as in the South. New England, however, did not suffer the same negative representations for its involvement in slavery or the slave trade, and some of its states tried to whitewash their contributions to the revolts of their African American population. This study analyzes a corpus from the historical newspaper *The Connecticut Courant (TCC)*, which spans 70 years (1764-1827). It utilizes van Dijk's (2006) ideological discourse analysis model and his socio-cognitive approach (2009) to determine how African Americans were represented in *TCC*. The results indicate that racist discourse in *TCC* was used to reproduce social domination and to magnify the brutality of slave treatment in southern states in order to overshadow its region's involvement in slavery. A significant contribution of this study is combining empirical linguistic data with the CDA paradigm to shed light on the Northeast's complicity in colonial America's racist ideology.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CDA- Critical Discourse Analysis	3
CDS- Critical Discourse Studies	41
CL- Corpus Linguistics	3
<i>HM</i> - Higher Melanin	45
MI- Mutual Information	46
NM- Negro Man	60
NW- Negro Woman	60
RT- Reference Terms	49
<i>TCC- The Connecticut Courant</i>	1

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the Study

This thesis examines the linguistic strategies that the New England colonists used to whitewash slavery, which resulted in the partial erasure of African slave history in the Northeast. While the emphasis is on the strategies found in the linguistic analysis of *The Connecticut Courant (TCC)*, it is essential to note that, contrary to public perception, slavery was extensively used in the Northeast despite the deliberate attempts to conceal its existence.

Foreshadowing Problem

Although slavery existed in all of the thirteen British American colonies, New England, or the Northeast, held a renowned reputation of being morally superior anti-slavery Free States. In reality, however, New Englanders built ships for the purposes of acquiring, selling, and trading Africans. Indeed, according to Greene (1974), New England colonies in the eighteenth century became “the greatest slave-trading section of America” and were included in the famous triangular slave trade along with Africa, and the West Indies as its focal points (p. 24). New England historians, however, did not include the region’s major involvement with the Atlantic slave trade nor its financial dependency on African slave labor. Many of these historians opted to overlook records of slave ships, human cargoes, and auctions. For instance, Howe (1899) insisted, “the very atmosphere of Massachusetts was always uncongenial to slavery” (p. 99) and Palfrey (1860) asserted, “in fact no person was ever born into legal slavery in

Massachusetts” (p. 50). Other historians wrote volumes on New England’s history and only briefly mentioned the New England slave trade (Lambert, 1833; Adams, 1921; Osgood, 1930). Still other historians like Weeden (1890) dedicated a whole chapter to slavery and the Atlantic slave trade in New England, while simultaneously justifying slavery. For example, in his introductory chapter, Weeden (1890) claimed that all involved in the slave trade were ignorant to the effect of human enslavement: “Looking backward one and a half or two and a half centuries” he states, “we are amazed and humiliated when we consider how little people knew what they were doing” (p. 450). Surmising that the world at the time was unconscious of the inhumane offenses perpetuated against Africans, Weeden provided a mitigating excuse for the use of slavery.

In addition to rewriting and omitting key historical facts about Africans residing in the North, the descendants of the New England residents also extensively highlighted the cruelty of the South while extenuating their own actions. For example, when Elson (1904) compared the treatment of slaves in the northern, middle, and southern colonies, he reported that slaves in New England “were instructed in religion and morals and were not infrequently admitted to the family circle” (p. 198) while the slaves in the South “were brought in great numbers from Africa or the West Indies, and where, under the lash of the taskmaster, they wore away their lives” (p.198). In other words, the historian portrayed Northern slaves as family members who willingly served their gentle religious masters, while Southern “stolen” Africans solely existed under harsh slave owners. Cunningham (2007) addressed New England’s involvement with the Atlantic slave trade and its “slave-based economy that helped build this country” (p. 97). As the New

England states legalized slavery, surmised Cunningham (2007), “scholarly attention turned to the South and the new western territories” and New Hampshire’s role in “American slavery was all but forgotten” (p. 98), a specific case that was also true for Connecticut and most of New England.

Significance of the Study

While there has been a great deal of studies documenting evidence of whites palliating their involvement in slavery through language in newspapers, books, and obituaries (Gerzina 2008; Chan 2007; Brown 2003; Cottrol 1998; and Berlin 1998), a dearth of studies apply a linguistic approach to the discourse of Northern colonial American discourse. Zach, Knapp, and Pallua (2008) apply a notable example of a synchronic and diachronic analysis using deconstructive postcolonial reading practices and critical discourse analysis to find argumentative patterns in abolitionist English Literature from 1772-1834 (p. 1). However, this is the first time such a linguistic examination of *The Connecticut Courant* as a representation of the ideology in New England is undertaken. This discourse-oriented analysis is an example of the “development of discursive strategies that present negative views of outgroups as reasonable and justified while at the same time protecting the speaker from charges of racism and prejudice” (Augoustinos & Every, 2007, p. 123).

Corpus-Based Approach

This corpus-based study combines Corpus Linguistics (CL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) broadening the existing research on whitewashing Negro

history in America through the media and contributing to the understanding of an ideological context that has promoted racism. The main source of media between 1764 and 1827 in colonial America that whites used to define and evaluate Negroes was the newspaper for this study *The Connecticut Courant (TCC)*. The significance of the study is that it sheds more light on the perception and attitude towards slavery in the Northeast. Furthermore, this study exposes how this New England newspaper from 1764-1827 was implicated in the reality of slavery and in projecting a racist ideology.

An examination of Northeastern colonial slavery discourse in 18th century American media is deficient in the linguistic community. The closest linguistic examination of media pertaining to slavery during the Atlantic Slave Trade is the aforementioned study by Zach, Knapp, and Pallua (2008), which used a critical discourse analysis (CDA) stance to focus on aspects of argumentative strategies employed in a corpus of British newspapers, periodicals, and parliamentary debates for the abolition of slavery. This study combines the theoretical framework of corpus linguistics (CL) and critical discourse analysis (CDA) to respectively uncover ideologies in *TCC* and analyze the newspaper from a critical perspective focusing on power and domination. Studies that have used CL to inform CDA are: Santa Ana (1999) who identified dehumanizing metaphoric representations of U.S. immigrants in a corpus of 107 articles, and Baker and McEnery (2005) who diachronically compared the collocational analyses of the words *refugee* and *asylum* in corpora from a British newspaper and a website. This study does the same and combines the quantitative form or patterns of CL and the qualitative meaning found in the structures and strategies of CDA. Corpus linguistics is not a

methodology, but “rather it utilizes a collection of different methods which are related by the fact that they are performed on large collections of electronically stored, naturally occurring texts” (Baker et al., 2008, p. 274). Just as CDA is also not a methodology, but “a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context” (van Dijk, 2001, p.352). Although the “qualitative methods of CDA are obviously at odds with the quantitative methodology of Corpus Linguistics” (Orpin, 2005, p. 38) and some CL studies “might not be explicitly informed by CDA theory” (Baker et al., 2008, p. 275), several studies have successfully combined CL and CDA and influenced this study: Caldas-Coulthard and Moon, (1999); Mallinson & Brewster, (2005); Teo (2000); Flowerdew and Li (2002); and Richardson (2007). Critics like Widdowson (2004) have suggested that CDA studies that analyze a small collection of texts without textual analysis infer significance from isolated textual features or “provide interpretations which claim, implicitly or explicitly, to be based on a close analysis of textual features but which are actually pretextually motivated” (p.109-110). A corrective to pretextual assumptions is text analysis (Stubbs, 2001).

Corpus linguistics is a type of text analysis that uses a methodical inquiry into the structure and uses of language via the analysis of collected texts to uncover ideologies and define patterns in the text to examine further. The corpus-based analysis provides a compilation of used language, the empirical data, which is then dissected for patterns. According to Widdowson (2004), corpus linguistics causes patterns to emerge: “by means of electronic technology, corpus linguistics can reveal detailed patterning on the

textual surface itself” (p.125), and corpus linguistics “provides for an ‘empirical semantics’ (Stubbs, 2001, p. 162) based not on intuited encoded abstraction but on actually attested lexicogrammatical regularity” (p.123). Analyzing the patterns can reveal the interaction, behaviors, and organization of the society, as well as the extent of and variability of the patterns. In 1961 the Brown University Corpus, the first computerized corpus, and the London-Oslo/Bergen Corpus were printed and used to represent American and British writing (Finegan, 2008). Some studies have focused mainly on either CL or CDA with contributions to the other framework or references to the other in the same study (Fairclough, 2000; Hardt-Mautner, 1995; Stubbs, 1996), and others combined CL and CDA. For example, Orpin (2005) answered the request of Stubbs (1996) by examining lexical choice and collocation in a 323 million word corpus from the *Bank of English* on the word *sleaze*. Caldas-Coulthard (2010) claimed that “premodification associated with the two types of newspapers in Britain and their lexical choices produce differential judgmental stances that have social effects” (p. 99). Huang (2008) revealed how the representation of social actors in 58 texts over 50 years reflects a change in Chinese social relations. Each of these studies was able to combine the quantitative aspects of CL with the qualitative works of CDA in a complimentary manner.

The methodological notions of CL used to dissect the patterns were semantic prosody and collocation. Semantic prosody is prevalent in CL studies such as: Stubbs 1996; Channell 2000; Sinclair 2004. Gabrielatos and Baker (2008) uses the example of the string *sat through* and determines that the simple word phrase “attributes a negative

semantic/discourse prosody to its collocates, as it often occurs in constructions that describe situations where people are made to endure long and boring events” (p. 12). Clear semantic associations exist between *sat through* and the context in which it is found. Sinclair (1991) defines collocation: “The occurrence of two or more words within a short space of each other in a text” (p.170). Prosodies express the meaning or attitude of the collocations. Louw (1993) relates semantic prosody and collocation: “Semantic prosody is the consistent aura of meaning with which a form is imbued by its collocates” (p.157). Consequently, collocation and semantic prosody are related notions that are used as methodological tools in the CL analysis.

Critical discourse analysis is used to interpret the significance of the patterns found in the corpus, identifying discursive strategies associated with CDA. According to van Dijk (2001), “CDA can be combined with any approach and sub-discipline in the humanities and the social sciences” (p.96) because the aim of CDA is to “deal primarily with the discourse dimensions of power abuse and the injustice and inequality that result from it” (van Dijk, 1993b, p. 252). Once patterns are realized, they then can be analyzed based on critical discourse strategies. Theoretically, the relationship between dominance and discourse can only exist “through the enactment of dominance in text and talk in specific contexts, and more indirectly through the influence of discourse on the minds of others” (van Dijk, 1993b, p. 279). Dominance is enacted in text when the elite group or dominant group denies or restricts access to influential discourses, which allows the elite to have access to the minds of others, and hence to exercise persuasive power” (van Dijk, 1993, p. 109). Access to the minds of others is gained from presenting discourse that has

its origin solely from the elite. Manipulation of the audience's mental models through discursive structures and strategies causes the audience to then prefer social cognitions that are in the interest and to the benefit of the elite (van Dijk, 1993b, p. 279). Applying the CDA paradigm to text involves finding discourse properties that are "geared towards the production or activation of an episodic mental model about ethnic minorities in such a way that this model will in turn confirm negative attitudes and ideologies in the audience" (van Dijk, 1993b, p. 263). The association of a minority group with a negative mental model is especially effective over lengthy time periods, and they are also necessary to maintain social dominance. Van Dijk (1993c) identified the following as strategies that resulted in social dominance and racial inequality: denial, mitigation or concealment of dominance.

To recognize discourse that uses denial or mitigation to promote racial inequality and social dominance, van Dijk (1998) identified the implementation of the "ideological square" (p.33), which is discourse that mitigates the bad actions of the dominant racial group (in-group) and the good actions of the dominated group (out-group) while simultaneously emphasizing the good actions of "us" and the bad actions of "them..". Some of the studies that utilized CDA and van Dijk's ideological square of discursive group polarization in newspapers include: Thetela (2001), who depicted South African views of military intervention in Lesotho by using an "us versus them" binary opposition between the two rival social groups; Teo (2000), who compared two different reports of Vietnamese gangs dealing drugs, one from white Australians and the other from Vietnamese, in search of language that revealed racism and marginalization of

Vietnamese immigrants through “evidence of systematic ‘othering’ and stereotyping of the ethnic community by the white majority (p. 7); and Moore (2002), who collected a corpus of 100 obituaries to determine how the *Economist* constructed and projected an ideology that had a political and economic spin. Critical discourse analysis is suitable for this study because it is a multidisciplinary approach that incorporates the historical racist relationship between blacks and whites, and it “is particularly well suited to studying the treatment of people of color and other minority populations in the press” (Harding, 2006, p. 4). Additionally, CDA can detect implicit or explicit dominance and inequality from the frequency of the empirical data. According to Baker et al., 2008, the benefits of CDA and CL are as follows:

The results gain from the explanatory power of the CDA theoretical framework. The non-theory specific categories emerging from the large-scale data analysis can inform the adaptation/expansion of existing CDA categories. The approximate quantification usually used in CDA studies (especially through the use of frequency adverbs) can be made more specific through (relative) frequency counts and statistical measures. (p.7)

The empirical nature of CL complements the qualitative nature of CDA, and allows the intuitive and the statistical data to merge into credible hypotheses. According to McEnery and Gabrielatos (2006), “the observations of empirical facts lead to the formulation of hypotheses and generalizations, which are then unified in a theoretical statement” (p.34). Critical Discourse Analysis detects how values and ideologies are represented in the text,

and those values and ideologies are emphasized via CL. Therefore, the corpus data is collected, stored, and managed via a computer program. The relative frequency or statistical measures computed from the data yield theoretical statements, and those statements are critically analyzed for embedded social, political and historical ideologies and values.

Research Questions

- What are the most frequent terms of references for colonial Africans and the semantic prosody of those references?
- What are the frequent topics discussed in *The Connecticut Courant* that pertain to people of African descent between 1764 and 1827?
- What discursive strategies and major discourse categories are used in their representation in *The Connecticut Courant* between 1764 and 1827?

CHAPTER II: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Beginning of Slavery in America

According to Williams (1994), Indian labor and white indentured servants worked the sugar cane fields of the West Indies for at least 100 years; however, the future staples of the New World (sugar and cotton) required strength which the Indians were perceived to lack (p. 9). The Indians, therefore, were replaced by Africans, whose labor was cheaper. Such low-cost labor became necessary for capitalism and large scale productions of tobacco, sugar, and cotton (Williams, 1994, p.19). The first black slaves from Africa arrived in southern Jamestown, Virginia on a Dutch slaver in 1619 (Spears, 1900; Brawley, 2001; Painter, 1996), and by 1629 the Dutch had decided they “would supply the colonists with as many blacks as they conveniently can” (Brawley, 2001, p. 8). Though lucrative, the slave trade was deadly. The horrors of the Middle Passage as described by Pope-Hennessey (1968) resulted in “15 million men, women, and children of African blood ...[being] delivered into transatlantic slavery, under conditions so hideous that another nine million are estimated to have died” (p. 2).

Britain brought the first slaves to the West Indies when Sir John Hawkins sold African people to the Spanish in 1562, and by 1645 there were 5,680 Negro slaves in Barbados (Williams, 1994, p. 30). After the War of 1812, Britain did not control American products. The colonies were able to ship and receive from Africa. Thus, New York, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Maryland began capturing Negro men, women, and children from the West coast of Africa, selling them as slaves to southern and northern plantations, and reaping the benefits from the cotton they turned into clothing.

According to Painter (1998), blacks in 1683 “worked for Dutch farmers in areas where as many as 30 to 60 percent of white households owned slaves (p. 6). The Dutch influence was evident in the introduction of slavery to New England. Britain’s Parliament declared slavery “beneficial.” Queen Elizabeth’s support of slavery resulted in slave-ship ports in London, Bristol, Newport, Liverpool, and New York Harbor with the New England colonies leading in the slave trade. New England colonies like Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and Virginia built over 100 slave ships each, and by 1758 Americans were filling schooners with at least 400 Negroes at one time in rotten boats, with fevers and death reigning (Spears, 1900, p. 28).

Socio-Political Aspects of Slavery

With the invention of the cotton gin, the demand for Black labor increased, thereby resulting in rising slave populations. Cotton, sugar, and tobacco became the cash crop of the South while shipping, fur trading, lumbering, metal working and trading slaves transformed the economy in the North. The socio-political context of slavery in the North begins with a type of Middle Passage Triangle that extends into the interior North of the United States instead of stopping in Barbados or the South. According to Farrow, Lang, and Frank (2006), Massachusetts and Vermont supplied plantations in the South, as well as northern states like Connecticut and Rhode Island with food, clothing, and wood so that the slaves were fed and clothed in “negro cloth,” cotton woven by Northern textile manufacturers, and “sold to plantation owners to clothe their slaves” (p. 26). The slaves then picked the cotton, used the wood to make barrels to hold the cotton, and then shipped the cotton to the Northern textile mills (Farrow et al., 2006, p. 18).

The North clothed and fed the slaves which allowed the South to focus on the production of cotton. Once the cotton was in a manageable state, the North reaped the benefits by using the textile industry to ship and sell clothing. In other words, slaves were the backbone of the developing colonial economy. Without Negro labor, the Southern economy would not have sustained the need of the Northern cotton textile industry; Farrow et al. (2006) indicates that “By 1850 mills in New England used 150 million pounds of Southern cotton a year ... New England mills produced a full 75% of the nation’s total: 850 million yards of cloth” (p. 26). The wealth amassed from the “...472 cotton mills, built on rivers and streams throughout the [New England] region” allowed the colonists to deal internationally and become financially independent (Farrow et al., 2006, p. 5).

Because the North had an indirect involvement with the utilization of slaves for cotton textile mills, their connection to the slave trade and their use of slaves hid in relative obscurity. Southerners, however, did not have a liaison that could conceal the wealth attained from Negro slavery. Burnham (2007) describes New England’s enablement of slavery thus: “Their complicity in passing laws that enabled the South to keep slavery alive secured the Massachusetts’ elite and their quest for amassing more wealth and power while still keeping their home state slave-free” (p. 25). Despite the importance of Negro slaves to the economy, the social position of a slave was at the lowest level and continued at the same inferior level throughout the colonial period. Slaves lacked authority politically, socially, and economically. White colonists realized their superiority over the uprooted Africans, who could not speak or write the English

language, and used their power to ensure perpetual servitude for their needed laborers. Seeming to forget the low positions they left behind in Britain, the new colonists had to be reminded of their own slavery by one of the anonymous writers who wrote under the pseudonym Cato. The author recognized the colonial need for slave labor, but he questioned the colonists' fight for freedom for themselves and their enslavement of others: "The only advantage that can be hoped from this is that it will rouse the most indolent of us to a sense of our slavery and make us use our strongest efforts to be free" (1765 Aug. 26 *TCC*). "Cato" recounted the use of tyranny and oppression that was familiar to the colonists in their mother country in order to dissuade the practice of slavery. However, the colonies were already following Britain and utilizing slave labor. Opposition to slavery and the slave trade was frequently published in *The Connecticut Courant*: 1765, Aug. 26; 1767, April 13; 1774, Sept. 13; 1792, Jun. 25; 1799, May 6; 1810, Apr. 25; 1814, April 5; 1824, Nov. 30. This opposition went unheeded by many of the colonists because of the need to build an infrastructure and survive in the new world. According to Cato, the colonies were "now ripe for slavery, and incapable of freedom" (1765 Aug. 26 *TCC*).

Puritans and Slavery in New England

Puritans wanted to purify the Church by forming a Presbyterian government and changing the idea that parishioners had to have a bishop or priest in order to hear from God. King James I rejected the idea of a Presbyterian government because the absence of a bishop threatened his position as King. Consequently, the Puritans were granted

permission by the King to start Plymouth in the New World, and each town had a self-governing, Presbyterian congregation (Reich, 1998, p.53).

Under the threat of Anglican policies being enforced in new charters, the Plymouth colonists used permission from Charles I to form another territory under Puritan jurisdiction, the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1630 (Reich, 1998, p. 53). John Winthrop, a previously indebted lawyer and landowner in England, consecrated the Massachusetts Bay Colony as a holy commonwealth with the laws of the colony being governed and enforced by divinely selected men. Winthrop stated that “We shall be as a city upon a hill, the eyes of all people are upon us ... Men shall say of succeeding plantations, the Lord make it like that of New England” (Labaree, 1979, p. 71). From thenceforth New Englanders were known for striving to uphold Biblical standards and Puritan values. With such a holy reputation, the descendants saw a conflict between the Puritan values and enslavement; the settlers of the Massachusetts Bay Colony and Plymouth, however, rationalized the use of slavery through the legal system.

Although a large component of daily life in the New England colonies was based on Negro labor, some historians minimized its use. According to Reich (1998) “slaves worked in lumber yards and ship yards, on the docks and aboard ships, and as servants for wealthy merchants” (p. 132), which portrays chattel slavery in New England minimally and as more urbanized. Lebaree (1979) briefly mentions that the merchants in Massachusetts used the molasses trade in “every branch of business among us, such as the fishing, the lumber trade, and shipbuilding” (p. 223), but the horses and “blacks from Africa in seemingly unending numbers for field hands” were used in the development of

the West Indies (p. 93). Other historians were more forward about the daily use of black chattel slavery in New England. McManus (1973) described the diverse uses of African slave labor in New England: as early as 1626 New Netherland used negro slaves “to clear the forests, build roads, construct dwellings, and produce the food that made the colony viable” (p. 3); black slaves “raised food for the garrison at New Amsterdam, and they also kept the military works around the town in repair” (p. 4); “In 1664 Delaware settlers made a contract with the company [the Dutch West India Company] to transport hither a lot of Negroes for agricultural purposes” (p. 4); William Penn is noted for stating that he would rather buy slaves for the rest of their lives than contract to white servants (p. 5); the planting of New Jersey as a colony was the result of proprietors offering 60 acres of land for imported slaves to help their economy in 1664 (p. 5); in 1646 the New England Confederacy agreed that male warrior Indians were to be “transported to the West Indies and exchanged for Negro slaves” (p. 6); and agricultural and commercial counties like Essex, Plymouth, Hartford, and Newport used a large number of slaves to conduct business (p. 7). Negro slave labor was a reckoning force in the colonial period. Slavery helped develop the colonies and make them continually viable. Without the free labor of Negro slaves the productivity of the whole nation would have suffered and stagnated according to Farrow, Lang, and Frank (2006):

It is obvious that at the very least, America’s extraordinary ascent into the world arena would have taken far longer than it did. At the birth of a nation, the unpaid labor of millions of human beings was a catapult, enabling America to develop, thrive, and compete with older, more

established countries in a relatively short period of time. And the complicity of the North, the deep dependence of the country's economic engine on this huge pool of unpaid labor—on slavery—allowed this to happen. (p. 215)

Many of the colonies did not prosper until stolen Negroes literally cleared the pathway for commerce as slaves, not indentured or paid servants. An accurate synopsis, although downplayed, is that Negroes greatly contributed to the economic development of colonial America. Greene (1973) explicitly proves that the main occupation of black slaves in the North was not as a house servant:

Negroes were identified with every phase of New England's economy and, as a consequence, slave labor was highly diversified. The very character of New England's economic development rendered inevitable a variety of slave occupations. Naturally employment of the slaves depended upon the business of their masters, and Negroes accordingly were taught and followed whatever calling their owners pursued, whether farming, lumbering, trading, fishing, whaling, manufacturing or privateering. (p. 103)

Black servants worked in all facets of New England life. The culture of the new colonies was not conducive to black servants solely working in houses because the main occupations of the whites were outside in agriculture or commercial industries. One of the many unpaid and forced occupations of black servants in Connecticut, Rhode Island,

and Massachusetts was to work on the grounds or in the houses of prominent families as cooks, laundresses, maids, nurses, spinners, knitters, weavers, cooks, coachmen, attendants, butlers and valets (Greene, 1974, p. 109). The black slaves who worked daily outside of the home with their masters were almost like apprentices. For instance, blacksmiths, tanneries, carpenters, printers, helpers, porters, ditch diggers, coopers, bakers, fisherman, whalers, traders, doctors, buyers, store managers, and store operators essentially had to teach black servants in order to employ them (Green, 1974). White indentured servants were more expensive and were not as readily available as black servants who were made to be slaves for their entire lives. According to McManus (1973) Negro slave labor was necessary to transform the new colonies:

Every colony became a slave colony because only compulsion could maintain the stable labor force needed to provide the capital accretion for transforming the early settlements into a viable society. Slavery was the ultimate means of compelling labor that could not be obtained by voluntary incentives. And the manpower supporting the system inevitably had to come from Africa, for no other source of exploitable labor was then available. Negroes were technically and culturally superior to the Amerindians in the English colonies and therefore better able to contribute to economic development. The amount of compulsion employed and the forms it took varied according to differences in climate, geography, and the level of economic development. But all the colonies in their early

stages shared a common dependence upon the exploitation of subject people to achieve a measure of prosperity. (p. 2)

McManus (1973) concludes that Negro slave labor was used in all of the different regions of New England and was contingent on the needs of the area. In the 17th century the New England Colonies of British America consisted of the Massachusetts Bay Colony (which included Maine), Connecticut Colony, Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations and the Province of New Hampshire. Exploiting Negro slaves yielded the colonists prosperous industries that continued even after the abolition of slavery. In essence, Negro slavery was an integral part of the developing American colonies, and whether historians admit to the impact or not, as Greene (1974) substantiates, “Negroes were a valuable and essential part of New England’s labor supply and ... they unquestionably played a role in the commercial and industrial development of that section” (p. 123). Without African slaves, the early settlements of America would either have transformed into a viable society at a much slower rate or not at all.

Because of the region’s dependency on slavery, laws were established to govern the practice, which made Massachusetts the first colony to legally authorize slavery via the “Body of Liberties” in 1641 (McManus, 1973, p. 59). The “Body of Liberties,” also known as Codes of Law, was a document used to govern the Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth colony and ultimately it made concessions for slavery. Greene (1974) noted that the “Body of Liberties” is commonly cited by New England historians as evidence of their forefathers’ stance against slavery because of language used in the document:

There shall never be any bond slaverie, villeinage or Captivitie amongst us, unless it be lawful Captives taken in just warres, and such strangers as willingly sell themselves or are sold to us. And these shall have all the liberties and Christian usages which the law of God established in Israel concerning such persons doth morally require. This exempts none from servitude who shall be Judged thereto by Authoritie (p. 42).

Although the purified church of the New World recorded their beliefs on slavery in the Body of Liberties, the records on how they applied those beliefs were left up to individual interpretation.

Ambiguous words and phrases such as “a just war” or “strangers” eventually permitted the “Authoritie” to capture, enslave, and sell Negroes. The rhetoric of the statute allowed the participation in slavery with vague preconditions. Consequently, when Negro labor proved to be astronomically profitable in building the infrastructure and economy of New England, slavery and “villeinage” became lawful. Neither the Body of Liberties nor the possibility of tainting a morally upright reputation dissuaded the New England settlers from participating in the Atlantic slave trade. Higginbotham (1978) addressed the misconception that Puritans were against slavery and explained how money was the catalyst that combined Puritanism and slavery: “How repugnant could slavery have been to the Puritans if they allowed members of their closely controlled colony to participate in the lucrative slave trade?” (p. 62). Apparently, the pursuit of money inhibited the moral conflict between the right and wrong of slavery. Puritans

determined that slave labor was needed for the economy and wealth of the colony, and thus morality became second to financial prosperity.

Puritanism and chattel slavery were not incomprehensible to the Puritans, but they became so to the descendants due to the increasing negative connotations and realities of slavery. The idea of Northern moral superiority has been crafted since the establishment of Plymouth, the first New England colony. For example, Pierson (1996) described the New England stereotype as “the home of the town-meeting democracy and Puritanical Christianity” (p. 55). Essential to the settlers and descendants of New England, therefore, was the maintenance of a moral reputation. Admitting to engaging in slavery and the slave trade would taint the image of the North’s moral superiority, so the descendants of the New Englanders tried to absolve their ancestor’s reputation by whitewashing the historical records.

In order to maintain an air of superiority, New England historians emphasized favorable facts about their ancestors such as the small number of slaves in the North and deemphasized facts they deemed derogatory such as New England being the most active slave trading area in America in the early 1800s. Few testimonials are found of ships being built for slaving in New England, let alone of an active participation in the Atlantic slave trade. Over time, the North’s slaving activities were deleted from history. The brutalities involved with chattel slavery caused the descendants of the early New England settlers to rewrite history, disassociating their ancestors from their involvement with slavery, especially slavery in the South.

The South in the Spotlight

Slave narratives that document beatings with horse whips, rapes by masters, and stories of overworked and underfed slaves in the South has allowed the North to exonerate, hide, negate and conceal their involvement with the very same atrocities of which the South was accused. Southern slave overseers, drivers, and masters had the reprehensible reputation of brutally treating their African slaves (Wood, 2005; Kolchin, 1993; Hadden, 2001; Switala, 2001). In 1740 South Carolina passed the comprehensive Negro Act, which made it “illegal for slaves to move abroad, assemble in groups, raise food, earn money, and learn to read English. Owners are permitted to kill rebellious slaves if necessary” (Draper, n.d.). Graham (1920) traced the behavior of African slaves and the white slave masters from the inception of Negro slavery to the 20th century and reported some of the actions used by Southerners: “by flogging and rape and inhuman callousness did the white South express its reaction to black slavery. There were also burnings, demoniacal tortures, flogging to death, and every imaginable human horror” (p. 11). Accounts of Harriett Tubman (Clinton, 2004) leading slaves on a perilous journey on the Underground Railroad from the unbearably cruel taskmasters of the southern slave plantations, where the runaways hid from slave catchers, to the free welcoming North, have overshadowed the North’s complicity in slavery and the slave trade. Boggis (2007) clearly defines the biased view of slavery in the North and South:

The second myth that would fade away was the belief that our town, like the rest of the North, had been a safe haven for blacks and that its inhabitants were kinder than their Southern counterparts. I had always

heard Milford as a ‘major stop’ on the Underground Railroad and a ‘hotbed’ for abolitionism. This notion was reinforced in George A. Ramsdell’s book, *The History of Milfred*. He wrote, ‘It can truthfully be said that in no town in New Hampshire were the seeds of opposition to the institution of African slavery earlier planted than in the town of Milford.’ But here was a second story of our town, a story that could have come from the slaveholding South. (p. 229)

A native of New Hampshire, the author had first-hand experience with the rediscovery of Harriet Wilson’s novel *Our Nig or Sketches from the Life of a Free Black, In a Two Story White House, North. Showing that Slavery’s Shadows Fall Even There*. The novel reveals the daily life and racial abuse of Harriet, a bi-racial slave in New Hampshire in the 19th century. Boggis uses the surfacing of the forgotten novel as evidence of the “systematic forgetting of the complex racial history of the region, especially in town histories and other local institutions (Boggis et al., 2007, p. xxiii).

The tenacity, strength, and endurance of African Negroes in any climate and any state made them the most valuable labor in the North and South. However, the differences in the treatment, community, and services of Negroes caused the depiction of Southern slavery to be the face of slavery for the American colonies. Painter (1996) stated that the corrupt and malicious reputation of Southern slave owners caused Northern colonists to exempt themselves from their involvement in slavery, thereby creating a false polarization of reality that resulted in a “facile symbolic opposition: slave South and free North” (p. 9). Furthermore, Painter affirmed that the North was viewed

and viewed itself as morally superior to the South: “mutatis mutandis [with the respective differences having been considered]- northerners preened themselves in their moral superiority to the slave drivers of the South, as though their own section had remained innocent of involuntary servitude” (1996, p. 10). Analyses of the New England colonists’ minds, which is defined by Miller (1953) as “what was said and done publicly” (p. x), reflects how the new found religiously free colonists applied their interpretation of living holy lives consecrated to God in laws, occupations, discipline, family and daily activities (Miller, 1953; Axtell, 1974; Morison, 1956, Murdock, 1949; Adams, 1921; Lockridge, 1974; and Peirce, 1976). Yet, as intricately woven into the social, political, and religious lives of the New England colonies as Negroes were, the authors either failed to mention the thesaurus of terms used for blacks (Negroes, Africans, slaves, and blacks), or the brief use of one of the terms was incredibly minimal and insignificant compared to the extreme reliance the white colonists had on Negro slaves and the effect of Negro slavery on the New England economy. Peirce (1976) reiterates and re-establishes the fabricated face of New England that has been widely accepted by many:

And in New England, the moral flame lit by the Puritans has yet to be extinguished. The persecuted and rejected zealots of Old England in the 17th century, the Puritans came to the New World objecting to the formalism of the Church of England and intent on building a more pure Christian commonwealth on these uncharted shores. ... Out of the Puritan culture and the harsh physical environment grew the legendary New England traits of character. Here, historian James Truslow Adams

observed, ‘the gristle of conscience, work, thrift, shrewdness, duty, became bone.’ The Yankees became known as a people proud, willful, tenacious, stubborn, often taciturn, always self-reliant, men and women who demanded terribly much of themselves. They believed, with Henry David Thoreau, that the individual’s first duty was ‘to live his life as his principles demand.’ The tradition of nonconformity that had given the culture its birth lived on, too—a perverse independence of mind that would cultivate the flames of the American Revolution (starting with Massachusetts’ famed Committee of Correspondence) and lead the Abolitionist cause in the years preceding the Civil War. For 200 years, New England’s Puritan-Yankee stock remained virtually undiluted, permitting the development of a remarkably homogenous culture. (pp. 16-17)

Peirce’s use of the terms “homogenous culture” and “undiluted Puritan-Yankee stock” reflect the New England ideology of white racial purity. The 200 years of undiluted Puritan-Yankee stock that permitted the “development of a remarkably homogenous culture” is questionable considering the Puritan religion was permeated with African slavery, which obviously muddled the Puritan’s moral principles. The moral flame of New England that “has yet to be extinguished” is portrayed as an established truth concerning New England, as well as the “more pure Christian ideology” that is associated with Yankees. According to McManus (1973) miscegenation “threatened and confused the premises of the white hegemony” (p. 64), and separation by pigmentation was key in

keeping an undiluted “Puritan-Yankee stock” or a “homogenous culture.” If Peirce (1976) was referring to religion, then the derogated belief that Negroes were an inferior race seems to be supported: “Some New Englanders gave the Calvinist doctrine of election a sociobiological interpretation and argued that Negroes were an accursed people condemned by God to serve the whites” (p. 65). It is the citation of historian James Truslow Adams (1921) that sheds a penetrating light on Peirce’s abolitionist and moral view of New England’s history. Adams portrayed a colonial New England that did not interweave or even acknowledge the lives and contributions of Negroes. So, his biased view of New England’s history is blaringly evident. It also reveals the negative effect of the intentional whitewashing of history and its effect on future historical documents.

Although Adams (1921) presents biased information, it is difficult to believe that Peirce (1976) and his publishers researched Adams (1921) and missed Pope-Hennessey (1967), who falsely asserts that “Boston slaves were wholly domestic and that the New England attitude to their own slaves was, we may surmise, more humane than that of most Southerners” (p. 230). Pope-Hennessey (1967) does, however, provide evidence of New England slavers and their involvement in the Atlantic slave trade:

On the other hand, the Negro slaves on Yankee ships suffered more on the Middle Passage because the ships were so small. Slaves on these brigs and sloops were only released from their chains to work the pumps in a crisis, for many of the New England ships were so unseaworthy that ‘you could see daylight all around the bows under the deck.’ The eighteenth century *Boston News Letter*, which carried frequent advertisements of slaves for

sale on Beacon Street or Summer Street, also recorded melancholy details of successful ship-board mutinies--as for example, an uprising on board a Rhode Island ship, Captain Beer commanding, which was lying off Cape Coast Castle in the winter of 1746. This ship was already loaded with ‘a number of negroes, and a considerable quantity of gold dust on board; the said slaves found an opportunity to rise against the Master and men and killed the said Master and all the crew, except the two Masters [Mates] who by jumping overboard and swimming ashore saved their lives (p. 232)

New England vessels were described as the worse vessels of the Middle Passage. Pope Hennessey (1967) provides historical documentation of slave uprisings in New England as well as the intimate involvement of New England in the Middle Passage. If this condemning piece of historical documentation was whitewashed in the 20th century, then the moral façade perpetrated by New England historians would have been possibly upheld.

Whitewashing

Whitewashing is defined as the concealment of unpleasant facts or a coordinated attempt to hide them, especially in a political context. It is also used to gloss over or cover up unpleasant information by presenting biased views. As Boggis (2007) argues “[s]mall numbers of blacks does not equal any blacks. Who was responsible for this whitening of history?” (p. 229). A native of New Hampshire, Boggis reveals the

purposeful deletion of black history in the north. This whitewashing gave whites credit for accomplishments or “firsts” that belonged to blacks. Heneghan (2003) exposes writers who presented segregation as not only acceptable but ideal in her book, *Whitewashing America: material culture and race in the antebellum imagination*. The author argues that, James Fennimore Cooper and John Pendleton Kennedy were able to gloss over racial injustices and inequalities by insisting on the inferiority of Negroes, endorsing segregation, and refusing to acknowledge the darker side of racism (p. 55). *Harriet Wilson’s New England: Race Writing, and Region* is an entire book on the attempts of white colonists to whitewash or exclude other ethnicities and races from the “prevailing vision of the region’s cultural and commercial geography” (Boggis et al., 2007, p. xxi).

The subject of this study is whitewashing slavery in New England. Historically, New England has been associated with whitewashing because 18th and 19th century historians tried to erase the shame and embarrassment of their involvement with the selling of human beings through the denial of and silence on slavery in their writing. For instance, Gerzina (2008) points out that the puritan leader and historian of Deerfield Massachusetts, George Sheldon, published glowing remarks about the first Negro poetess, Lucy Terry Prince. Because of his regret over his family’s participation in the New England Slave Trade and as an attempt to whitewash history, Sheldon presented Lucy as the “sole African American resident of Deerfield” (p. 70). Melish (1998) argues that the amnesia whites have about slavery in New England has been apparent since the arrival of slaves in the North (p. xiii), and that there was an effort by whites to efface and

erase the history of slavery in New England (p. 2). These claims are substantiated by Gerzina (2008), who calls the moral battle of slavery and righteousness a “moral schizophrenia” to the modern mind. Brown (2003) also questions the language used in the description of slaves mentioned in print, especially obituaries, the omission of their African heritage, and the omission of Negro enslavement or slavery. As Brown states, “whites used favorable language about African Americans in obituaries to disconnect people of color from their historical experience of oppressive enslavement in the New England states” (2003, p. 45). The portrayal of Negroes as Americans instead of African slaves, Brown points out, was evidence of an “insidious whitewashing of Negro history, an attempt to efface the indigenous experience of slavery” (p. 44). Cottrol (1998) compiles a book of narratives that included a quote from James Mars’ *A Slave Born and Sold in Connecticut* as an emphatic reminder of slavery in the North. Mars states that he wanted “to remind the New England public that slavery had existed in that region as well as the South” (p. 50).

CHAPTER III: *THE CONNECTICUT COURANT*

History

The Connecticut Courant (TCC), the oldest newspaper continuously published in the United States, and one of the premiere historical newspapers of New England, began in Hartford Connecticut. Retaining the name of *The Connecticut Courant* from 1764-1774, the newspaper has changed names seven times: *Connecticut Courant and Hartford Weekly Intelligencer* (1774-1778), *Connecticut Courant* (1778-1778), *Connecticut Courant and Weekly Intelligencer* (1778-1791), *Connecticut Courant* (1791-1837), *Daily Courant* (1837-1839), *Hartford Daily Courant* (1840-1887), *Hartford Courant* (1887-current) (Brigham, 1976). For the purposes of this paper the title *The Connecticut Courant* encompasses the years 1764-1827. Other broadsides, newspapers and pamphlets produced earlier than *TCC* include the *New Hampshire Gazette*, established in 1756, and the *Newport Mercury*, established in 1758; however, *TCC* is known as the oldest continuously published newspaper in colonial history, chronicling the historical and socio-political aspects of American life for over two centuries.

According to Smith (1970), Thomas Green issues a prospectus for *TCC* on October 29, 1764 in Hartford, Connecticut that states the weekly newspaper would continue on November 19, 1764 for the purposes of news, entertainment, and advertising. He notifies the readers where they could place subscriptions and begins the newspaper that would be published for centuries. A seasoned printer, editor, and publisher, Green was also from a lineage of printers that included the great-grandson of the printing press operator in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, Samuel Green (p. 3). He uses his previous

experience to solely guide the production, financial management and editing of the newspaper for three years during a time when paper neither paper nor the type pieces for the printing press were easily accessible.

Production

Green's first productions consist of four pages of two to three columns each on bluish-grey, "thick, strong, and absorbent, rough in texture, and frequently deckle-edged paper... that varied between 11.5 to 14 inches in length and 6.75 to 9 inches in width" (Smith, 1970, p. 5). The newspaper contained news "not only from Boston, New York, the West Indies, and London, but from Naples, Cadiz, Genoa, Paris, Stockholm, Hamburg, Lisbon and Amsterdam" (Smith, 1970, p. 6) and was brought to Green by post riders. Transportation of news by sea, horse, or traveler caused the news to be months old at times. News from other newspapers, foreign and domestic, government documents and proceedings, travelers and local conversations were gathered without a systematic process, but presented "in order to keep residents informed about what was going on in their community and in the world at large" (Sloan & Williams, 1994, p. 207).

Due to a strong political bent and interests in empire trade, Green brought news from Boston or New York printers who had "reported events in their own localities and funneled the news from letters from the southern and foreign papers, and from sea captains" (Smith, 1970, p. 6). Important local events in Hartford were oftentimes heard via word of mouth at local venues or from the post riders. Smith (1970) determines that only a small amount of news was local for Green:

The news the [*Courant*] carried was presumably the sort that Green thought his subscribers wished to read. Little of it, oftentimes none, pertained to Hartford or the nearby towns---an occasional death notice of more than ordinary interest, the ordination of a minister, the convening or adjournment of the General Assembly, the commencement of New Haven, election results, etc (p. 6).

According to Smith (1970), the political news from abroad outweighed the practical. However, Copeland (1997) continually reiterated different sentiments: “the colonial newspapers in the middle of the eighteenth century were, as this study has shown, anything but pure political machines....they addressed local concerns” (p. 270). Local concerns are evident in *TCC* when advertisements for lost wallets, runaway slaves, runaway horses, and the selling of a 14 year old girl as a breeder (1773, Mar. 16. *CC*) were made.

Financial Management

Gathering news from abroad brought advertisers for land developments in other colonies, merchants selling goods from England and India, and advertisements for “‘vendue’ or public auction cards, lost, found, and want ads, runaway slave, apprentice, tax, and bankruptcy notices....occupied a third of the *Courant*’s space” (Smith, 1970, p. 7). Production, then, was made possible by merchants purchasing advertisements and subscriptions. *The Connecticut Courant* connected the small towns close to Hartford through country produce and cash subscriptions and had advertisements in

Massachusetts, Vermont and other colonies; however, how many colonies and communities *TCC* touched is unknown according to Smith (1970):

How widely the [*Courant*] circulated during Green's three years in Hartford or how many copies the printer pulled from his press each week or how much he worried over collecting his debts will probably never be known. The extant issues reveal none of his boasts and few complaints (p. 7)

Green's labor as a printer in Hartford was realized by the continued use of the newspaper as a type of colonial bulletin board and expression of new ideas. Thomas Green, then Hudson and Goodwin, were the publishers and printers of *TCC*, and all of them used the shop "as a bookstore and stationer's where Hartford people could buy primers...and other household items" (McNulty, 1964, p. 3). The household items available for purchase included slaves to some colonial Americans. When Negroes were advertised for sale or wanted by a patron in *TCC*, "see the printer Ebenezer Watson" (1773 Dec. 14) was located at the end of the article McNulty (1964), however, does not mention slavery and the newspaper until 1836, nor does he mention the practice of selling slaves via the printer of *TCC*. Chattels were inanimate household items though, so it is plausible that the author placed the slaves under the label of goods. Considering subscriptions and advertisements were from surrounding towns and vital to the success of *TCC*, the content contained in the advertisements was a rich source of socio-political actualities of the 18th century North Eastern public.

Editing

Green had a vested interest in the production and financial managing of *TCC*, but writing editorials was done by publicly screened writers who used pseudonyms like “Cato,” “Euclates,” or “Alexander Windmill,” instead of him. According to Sloan and Williams (1994), publishers were motivated by “a variety of factors, including not only income but also political sentiments, religious beliefs, concern for their communities, and a myriad of other interests” (p. 13). Publishers were members of a community and a Republic that was connected by the newspaper. Editors were not employed during the 18th century because the publisher was, for many of the newspapers, the editor, printer, and publisher combined (p. 13)

Mostly, Green selected articles from mainly political or practical topics allowing the reader to be unfettered by headlines, captions or his comments (Smith, 1970, p. 6). A loyalist, Green used *TCC* to express his disagreement with the British crown and with trade laws like the Stamp and Molasses Act of the 1760’s. By 1770 Green had sold *TCC* to the patriotic Ebenezer Watson, who implemented a uniform size 10” by 6.5” paper, proofreading, and a demand for the names of the writers who submitted articles.

The birth of America as a nation catapulted this small “rebel” newspaper into a political and social voice for the American people (Spaulding, 1930). When the Revolutionary War interrupted posts, Congress directed that the posts start moving again. In 1777 when the newspaper was produced under Watson’s widow, Hannah, and George Goodwin, the General Assembly authorized a public lottery that raised 1500 pounds to

help restart *TCC* (Smith, 1970, p. 9). In 1778 the cost of the newspaper was 10 silver shillings or the price equivalent and 8000 copies were produced per week (Smith, 1970, p. 15). In 1779 the renowned partnership of Hudson and Goodwin was formed when Hannah Watson's new husband, Barzillai Hudson joined Goodwin (Smith, 1970, p. 17). *The Connecticut Courant* was recognized as media in colonial life, which demanded more responsibilities from the editors.

Hudson and Goodwin

Hudson and Goodwin were writers, publishers, business managers and editors. Both rejected Green and Watson's idea of allowing more of the editorials to be written by essay writers. Although they had a writer named Noah Webster that gave frequently to the newspaper, Goodwin and Hudson used *TCC* as a platform to express their political leanings. "In the 1780's and 1790s they had been accused repeatedly of being grossly 'partial', a charge which they countered by extolling the patriotic and unbiased nature of their press" (Smith, 1970, p. 126). Patriotism and strong opinions were accepted by those on the same party lines of Hudson and Goodwin; however, the rejection of articles by anti-Federalists revealed a political bias that eventually extended into personal unwillingness by the publishers to reveal negative press about themselves or their writers (Smith, 1970, p. 129). The use of the press to delineate party lines and portray a positive self-image was evident in *TCC* in the late 18th century and has continued to present day.

Hudson and Goodwin continued with Green's original plan to sell goods advertised in *TCC*, but they elevated the business to printing, binding, and publishing

items like Noah Webster's spelling books, Bibles, "a variety of works on law, history, theology, medicine, surgery, travel, philosophy, biography, and poetry" (Smith, 1970, p. 129). From disputes at *TCC* over publishing rights by other authors, the General Assembly adopted laws that gave rights to publishers for 14 years. *The Connecticut Courant* was the catalyst of the printing and publishing movement in Hartford. By accepting subscriptions from surrounding towns, colonies, and abroad and selling advertisements, Hudson and Goodwin were able to continually profit from Green's original vision for the Hartford newspaper. According to Smith (1970) stages traveling from Georgia to Portsmouth kept news flowing between the southern and northern colonies (p. 28). Boasting four blue-grey pages with five columns on the 13 by 19.5" pages and being published on different days of the week in different periods, *TCC* had 3500 subscribers in 1795, 5000 in 1799, and in 1823 they claimed "to have a larger circulation than any other Connecticut paper" (Smith, 1970, p. 185). With the largest circulation or second place to a different newspaper, *TCC*, as a continuously published newspaper, was an influential tool throughout the history of America. According to Spaulding (1930) it was "...the most effective mirror of life and thought of its community. Of such journals none reflected more accurately the ideals, the heart-throbs, and the disappointments of its neighborhood than did the venerable [*Courant*]" (p. 443). By analyzing the "mirror of the life and thought" of New England society, a compilation of ideologies and beliefs can be revealed. During the 18th century, colonial newspapers contained information from the surrounding colonies and Europe, as well as content pertaining to politics, discoveries, weather, social news, natural events, entertainment,

agriculture, slaves, crime, and issues of the sea (Copeland, 1997). How information was presented in colonial newspapers like *TCC* influenced the ideologies that were embraced or discarded. When Smith (1970) discusses crime news, he uses the terms property and runaway slaves in his explanation of colonial crime:

Most of the [*Courant's*] crime news, much of it in the advertisement columns took cognizance of offenses against property in one form or another. Runaway slaves from New York and Connecticut frequently headed northward to Boston and their masters posted substantial rewards to get them back. (p. 45)

Runaway slave articles were in advertisement columns where most of the crime news was located. Associations between crime and runaways can be formed when consistently placed together or when slaves are primarily associated with running away, and not found in areas of the newspaper that are outside of crime. The circulation of readers was high, and “the information and knowledge that colonists acquired through the press...did influence them...Americans of the eighteenth century had a strong belief in the importance of the role the press played in the affairs of society” (Sloan & Williams, 1994, p. 209). The press is a formidable influence even today, and Americans, then, valued the information attained in their newspapers. The influence of the Hudson and Goodwin family on the lives of 18th and 19th century readers via *TCC* “helped to shape public opinion throughout the state and far beyond its borders” (McNulty, 1964, p. 44). The power of the newspaper on public opinion was recognized early in colonial life.

Hudson and Goodwin used selective editing for politics and personal leanings and probably for other undesirable revelations as well.

For this study, text extracts from 1764 to 1827 of *TCC* were collected and scrutinized. The social inequality, negative stereotyping, and ethnocentrism that have been practiced by some New England whites are traceable through the content, structures, and strategies of representation in *TCC*. This ideological discourse has perpetrated racism, division, hatred, prejudice, demonization and dehumanization toward Negroes, who were initially forbidden to read, write, or communicate on the same level as whites. Using the newspaper as a medium to promote racism, which enforced the socio-cognitive belief in the predestination of Negroes as slaves, the New England colonists then attempted to use *TCC* to erase their use, dependency on, and treatment of slaves by whitewashing the news. Instead of continually writing about Negroes living in the New England communities as nannies, servants, caretakers, or fellow citizens, publishers of *TCC* celebrated their history as abolitionists living in a welcoming “free” North.

CHAPTER IV: THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

The approach used in this study consisted of the methodological synergy of CL and CDA. The corpus-based aspect of this project was mainly informed by the notion of semantic prosody in collocational analysis via computer software and hand analysis, while the other involved a close critical discourse analysis of the texts that expressed distinct semantic prosody. The notion of van Dijk's ideological square was utilized when grouping collocates of the reference terms and during the critical analysis because it is specifically known to illuminate racist and dominant discourse.

Semantic prosody

Stubbs (2001) states that "there are always semantic relations between node and collocates, and among the collocates themselves" (p. 25), and these relationships are called semantic prosodies. Collocational analysis was used to pinpoint words and phrases that reveal semantic prosodies and signify particular discursive strategies. Semantic prosody occurs when neutral words are perceived with positive or negative associations through frequent occurrences with particular collocations. According to Sinclair (1996) a semantic prosody "shows how the rest of the item is to be interpreted functionally. Without it, the string of words just 'means' – it is not put to use in a viable communication" (p. 87). Stubbs (2001) defines how meaning is determined in semantic prosody: "meaning is typically dispersed over several word-forms which habitually co-occur in text and these co-occurring word-forms 'share' semantic features (p. 63).

Collocating words affect the meaning of each word and share semantic attributes. Sinclair (2003) interprets the meaning of semantic prosody:

A corpus enables us to see words grouping together to make special meanings that relate not so much to their dictionary meanings as to the reasons why they were chosen together. This kind of meaning is called a semantic prosody; it has been recognized in part as connotation, pragmatic meaning and attitudinal meaning. (p. 178)

The choice of word clusters is not ambiguous; they hold pragmatic and attitudinal meaning. Words are affected by the words surrounding them. Collocational analysis places the data in a format that highlights the node and the collocates, which emphasizes the connotations of the words individually and communicatively, whether they relate positively or negatively: “A pleasant or favorable affective meaning was labeled as positive while an unpleasant or unfavorable affective meaning was judged as negative” (McEnery and Xiao, 2006, p. 105). Louw (1993) determines “build up a” as a positive prosody and “build up of” as a negative prosody. This paper will utilize the same format as McEnery with the same contextual meanings. The evaluative aspects of semantic prosody are easily recognizable when it is diffused quantitatively in a concordance with computer software like the Wordsmith Tools version 5, developed by Scott (2007). The collocational analysis and semantic prosody can stress linguistic means used in employing discursive strategies. The use of negative prosodies stimulates the development of mental models. According to Baker & Gabrielatos (2008) “simply put,

through their collocational and, consequently, prosodic choices, newspapers make and communicate sociopolitical choices” (p. 14). Determining the meaning of the word clusters and phrases used to communicate in the newspaper, the choices can be labeled with a tool like the CDA paradigm.

The Ideological Square and Corpus Analysis

According to van Dijk (1995a), the ideological square is used when “any property of discourse that expresses, establishes, confirms or emphasizes a self-interested group opinion, perspective or position, especially in a broader socio-political context of social struggle” (p. 23). The elitist group uses discourse to present themselves positively and the unrepresented group negatively. Van Dijk (1995a) suggests that the following discourse structures are used in the ideological square by elitists to legitimize dominance or justify concrete actions of power abuse: syntax, surface structures, lexicalization, and local semantics. The use of these structures, which is not an exhaustive list, enforces dominant and racial ideologies and influences socio-cognitive functions of society by producing mental models. This critical discourse study adheres to the methods and theoretical foundation of critical discourse analysis (CDA) described and applied by Teun A. van Dijk (2006, and 2009). Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) is a term preferred by van Dijk (2009) that describes a critical approach to discourse that “not only involves critical *analysis*, but also critical *theory*, as well as critical *applications*” (p. 62). Van Dijk employs the principles that CDS illustrates in a sociocognitive discourse analysis to examine how “cognitive phenomena are related to the structures of discourse, verbal

interaction, communicative events and situations, as well as societal structures, such as those of domination and social inequality,” (2009, p. 64). The aim of CDS is to “deal primarily with the discourse dimensions of power abuse and the injustice and inequality that result from it” (van Dijk, 1993d, p. 252). Theoretically, the relationship between dominance and discourse can only exist “through the enactment of dominance in text and talk in specific contexts, and more indirectly through the influence of discourse on the minds of others” (van Dijk, 1993d, p. 279).

Dominance is enacted in text when “the elite group or dominant group denies or restricts access to influential discourses, which allows the elite to have access to the minds of others, and hence to exercise persuasive power” (van Dijk, 1993c, p. 109). Access to the minds of others is gained from presenting discourse that has its origin solely from the elite. Manipulation of the audience’s mental models through discursive structures and strategies causes the audience to then prefer social cognitions that are in the interest and to the benefit of the elite (van Dijk, 1993d, p. 279). Applying a critical analysis to text using the CDA paradigm involves finding discourse properties that are “geared towards the production or activation of an episodic mental model about ethnic minorities in such a way that this model will in turn confirm negative attitudes and ideologies in the audience” (van Dijk, 1993d, p. 263). Van Dijk (1993b) identified the following as strategies that resulted in social dominance and racial inequality: denial, mitigation or concealment of dominance (p.123). An additional strategy that is crucial to this study is white speakers using “strategies of positive self-presentation in order to be able credibly to present the others in a negative light,” which van Dijk (1993a) terms

“social face-keeping, so that ingroup members are able to come to terms with their own prejudices” (p. 193). More specific examples of “positive self-presentation and negative other representation” are dehumanizing and demonizing. The denial or omission of the facts about slavery in Northern newspapers reveals the construction of reality the editors of the newspapers wanted to perpetuate, thereby maintaining their social dominance and prejudice.

Critical discourse analysis is suitable for this study because it is a multidisciplinary approach that incorporates the historical dimension and “is particularly well suited to studying the treatment of people of color and other minority populations in the press” (Harding, 2006, p. 4). Other studies pertaining to a critical discourse analysis of newspapers include: Thetela (2001), who depicts South African views of military intervention in Lesotho by using an “us versus them” binary opposition between the two rival social groups; Teo (2000), who compares two different reports of Vietnamese gangs dealing drugs, one from white Australians and the other from Vietnamese, in search of language that revealed racism and marginalization of Vietnamese immigrants through “evidence of systematic ‘othering’ and stereotyping of the ethnic community by the white majority (p. 7); and Moore (2002), who utilizes a corpus of 100 obituaries, CDA and Systematic Functional Grammar to determine how the *Economist* constructed and projected an ideology that had a political and economic spin. The mental models are replicated and enforced until another group dominates the media.

Corpus linguistics can highlight these structures by exposing negative and positive prosodies as well as the collocates of the reference terms, so that the qualitative findings of CDA are initiated by quantitative results instead of only induction. In addition, CL validates the claims of CDA and vice versa, so the data is triangulated (Baker et al 2008, p. 295). This study begins with CL analysis; however, the CDA informed the findings of the CL analysis later in the research. Combining CDA and CL triangulates the data. A “pattern map” from a collocational analysis can magnify more embedded ideologies that can be studied through CDA, just as emergent themes from CDA can be more thoroughly studied using the quantification methods in CL. Inductive meets deductive and a “virtuous research cycle” (Baker et al 2008, p. 296) yields a well-informed product. Diachronic developments from the compiled linguistic elements reveal specific periods of interests, and the CDA can identify particular areas of interest or study.

Data: Reference Terms as Node Words

The reference terms, black, Negro, Africa, and slave, were chosen for analysis as node words because of their historical significance during the Atlantic slave trade. In order to analyze semantic-prosodic relationships, two articles from each year in each decade from 1764-1827 (a party who was not associated with the data chose the two articles from every year in order to keep the integrity of the research) were isolated by copying two sentences above and beneath all reference terms into a Word document, which resulted in a sub-corpus of 127 articles (1764 only yielded one article in the entire

study), 7,881 words, 132 Negro*, 133 slave*, 26 black* and 41 African*. To minimize confusion with the reference terms, people of African descent will be called Higher Melanin (*HM*) people for this section and the remainder of the paper. The reference terms of the sub-corpora were then quantitatively examined with WordSmith5 Scott (2007), to facilitate the identification of collocations and phrasal frequencies.

Procedure

The corpus is comprised of historical newspapers that were electronically stored as pictures. In order to change the pictures to text, each article underwent a conversion process that included:

- Recognizing the article with OCR in Adobe Acrobat
- Exporting the file format to .tif
- Converting the .tif file to a Unicode text file .txt using Omnipage
- Proofreading and editing the .txt file in notepad.

During the conversion process from tiff to txt, the Omnipage program allowed editing; however, 18th century newspaper editors used some letters of type that are currently nonexistent resulting in illegible letters and words. Words that were able to be recognized were changed; however, many are in 18th century form and are indistinguishable.

Additionally, the newspaper articles were printed in columns. The conversion process transferred the text in lines instead of columns in notepad. Consequently, sentence lines are distorted, which causes the nodes to be represented at very high levels and at the

lowest levels when measuring the t-score. To offset these setbacks, each article was also analyzed by hand for collocations, semantic prosodies, and discursive strategies.

Collocates, T-Scores, and MI Values

Unique to this project is the utilization of collocational analysis on historical newspapers and the effect on the t-score and Mutual Information (MI) values. Sinclair (1991) defined collocation as “two or more words co-occur within a short space of each other in a text” (p. 170) and it is approached statistically. Statistical tests used to measure collocational strength are the t-score, z-score, and MI values. According to Clear (1993), “t-score measures the strength of association between two items, and in particular the confidence with which we claim that there is some association (p. 281), while Baker (2006) states that MI “tends to favor low frequency words” (p. 102). This study uses the t-score, which basically measures the more frequent collocates with non-random associations, to determine statistical significance of the co-occurrence and all words associated with the reference terms, and MI values, which focuses on technical terms, fixed phrases, and compounds, because “the items that have MI values are idiosyncratic instances peculiar to the corpus” (Clear, 1993, p.281). Strong collocations for this research are measured by t-scores higher than 2 and high MI values because a “t-score of 2 or higher is normally considered to be statistically significant” (McEnery, Xiao, & Tono, 2006, p. 56) and “high positive mutual information scores are more likely to constitute characteristic collocations” (McEnery & Wilson, 2001, p. 86). The statistical

data from Wordsmith5 for each reference term in the corpus highlights areas of the analysis to explore.

Collocations and Context

Lines of concordance data and text articles are analyzed by hand in order to identify qualitative themes that did not emerge in the quantitative collocational analysis. Concurrently, CDA research informed by the ideological square as a tool was performed on syntax and local semantics to analyze the context surrounding the collocations. The corpus-based analysis involved identifying the keywords associated or used to define *HM* people in the colonial period of *TCC*: black, slave, Negro or African. Next, the reference terms in the context of the article were quantitatively analyzed with Wordsmith and by hand for semantic prosody. CDA research was then used to identify context categories. Terms were investigated diachronically by noting their absence or continued use and the context of their use. The aim of this quantitative and qualitative study is to identify and characterize emergent themes and answer the research questions: what are the frequent topics discussed in *TCC* that pertain to *HM* people between 1764 and 1827 and what discursive strategies and major discourse categories are used in their representation in *TCC* between 1764 and 1827?

CHAPTER V: ANALYSIS 1: CORPUS ANALYSIS AND RACIST CONTEXTUAL STRATEGIES

The analysis is divided into two sections. The first section analyzes semantic prosodic relationships in the corpus, CDA context categories identified during the gradual decline of tolerance for Negro slavery, and the promotion of racist ideologies between 1764 and 1812. The second section of the analysis focuses on the CDA context categories identified with articles that whitewash the Northeast's involvement with Negroes and slavery from 1812 to 1827.

Analysis of Reference Terms

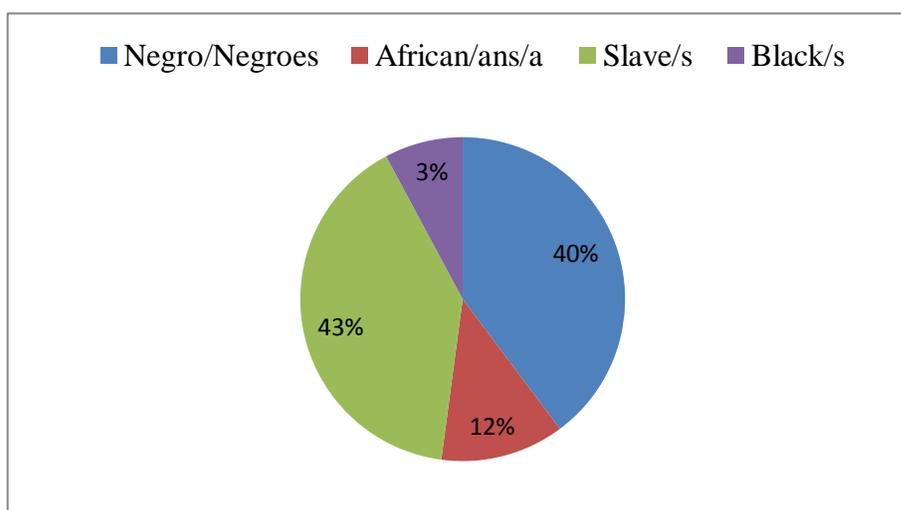


Figure 1: Quantification of Reference Terms

The quantification of each individual term answers the research questions: what are the most frequent terms of reference for *HM* people, and how do those references

affect social and economic ideologies and practices in colonial America? In Figure 1, the use of the reference terms (*RT*) Negro and Slave are almost identical, which can possibly be attributed to the essentiality of Negro slaves to the American economy. The Portuguese word Negro denoted blackness, and the African Slave Trade was unwillingly dominated by blacks or Negro slaves, which eventually led to the shortening of Negro slaves to Negroes (hence the negative connotation of Negro today). America adopted Portugal's use, attainment, and name of slaves, so all forms of the *RTs* slave and Negroes would inundate colonial newspaper discourse. Both terms peaked simultaneously at the height of slavery as well (see Figure 2). From the data in Figure 1 and the history, the two *RTs* seem interchangeable. However, each term yielded different prosodies when analyzed separately, which alerted the researcher to possible ideologies embedded in the prosodies that could inform the CDA research and emergent themes. The discussion of those prosodies is in the next section.

It is possible that Africa was used less than Negro because of the mental models associated with Africa. Van Dijk (2006) determines that "understanding a news report or a story involves the construction of such a (subjective) mental model by the recipients" (p. 367). White readers and publishers of *TCC* would not have wanted to continually construct the mental models of the African Slave Trade. Using the *RTs* slave or Negro disassociates the enslavement of Negroes from the manner in which they became slaves resulting in a deficient use of African to refer to Negroes. The *RT* Negro is also a type of renaming of Africans. The enslavement of Africans began in Portugal in 1441 (Russell-Wood, 1978), and the adjective black in Portuguese is negro. Consequently, the use of the

word negro for black may have been applied during the slave trade and utilized in every country involved, including the British colonies. Although the term was used before the colonization of America, according to Russell-Wood (1978), the Portuguese also wanted to disassociate their use of slavery from raiding the African coast and to distinguish black slaves from white slaves (p. 21). Renaming Africans to Negroes was done and accepted by the elite without involvement or input from the deracinated Africans. Whites were dominant over Africans, so changing the name of Africans to Negroes in discourse suggests that dominance was utilized to disconnect the enslavers from the slave owners and Africans from Africa.

Africa is used as little as and even less than blacks from 1800 to 1810 in Figure 2. Hand analysis and Wordsmith5 reveal that the *RT* black was not a common synonym for a *HM* person during the period of this study. Out of the 26 uses of the *RT* black, only 8 referred to a *HM* person, while the other uses were adjectives of miscellaneous objects. Between 1810 and 1820 there is a sudden peak in the *RT* Africa. According to Draper (n.d.), “The United States Bans Slave Trade Importing African slaves is outlawed, but smuggling continues” (p.7), and in 1807, Jan. 14 *TCC* noted that the American Colonization Society was “trying to amend the bill to prohibit the slave trade which has now been debated, committed, re-debated, and re-committed.” Intolerance of the African Slave Trade increased in northeastern society and discourse, but as noted earlier in this study, the smuggling of *HM* people and the dependence on slavery was still very apparent. Efforts by the Northeast to disassociate from their complicity in the African Slave Trade can be inferred by the increase of the *RT* Africa in Figure 2; the formation of

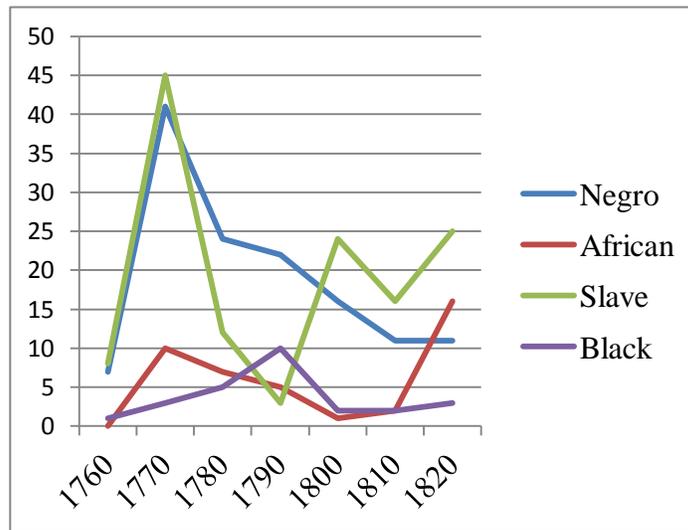


Figure 2: Diachronic Use of Reference Terms

the American Colonization Society in 1816 which was for the sole purpose of sending freed slaves back to Africa (Harper, 2003) substantiates the presupposition.

Although the *RTs* slave and Negro peak together in 1770, each term declines abruptly from 1780 to 1790. The difference between the two terms is the use of *RT* Negro is on a continual decline, while the *RT* slave declines and spikes again from 1790 to 1800. Abolitionists overwhelmed the media with cries against slavery during this time. There are more references against slavery in *TCC* between 1780 and 1790 which may account for the decline, but then the invention of the cotton gin in 1794 caused a huge demand in slave labor in the North. The booming textile industry of the Northeast would have been non-existent without “King Cotton” (Farrow et al., 2006) delivered from the South to the North. Finally, in Figure 2 there is another increase in the use of *RT* slave from approximately 1810 to 1827, the end of the corpus. Articles during this period reflect

more information on the Northeast as abolitionists and the South as highly dependent on slavery:

The northern receive no advantage, the middle but a trifle if any and the southern a very important advantage, from the representation for slaves. The following table exhibits the decrease of slaves in the northern and middle, and their increase in the southern states for ten years. The slaves in the northern states have decreased from 3,886 to 1,339, almost in the ration of 2 to 3. Increased in the southern from 645,023 to 832,992, nearly one third of the original number, or in the ratio of 832 to 645. (1805, Jun. 19, *TCC*)

This article is dated five years before the increase in the use of the *RT* slave in Figure 2. By 1812, Northern states have passed laws that southern slave states have 3/5ths representation for slaves in Congress. Slaves are noted in the census and the results are used to exonerate the North from slavery and the enslavement of Africans, as well as an infrastructural and economical dependency on slave labor. Slaves were perpetually owned for life, and the Northeast enforced this philosophy until the abolition of slavery. Analyzing the semantic prosody of each term with the CDA paradigm in the next section uncovers more information on the ascent and descent of each term.

*Reference Term Negro**

Most of the collocates for Negro are inherently negative. In Appendix A: RT Negro* MI Values and T-Scores, the high MI values and t-scores alerted the researcher to

the particular collocates: *named, return, man, boy, whoever, subscriber, mulatto and said*. When the collocates were diffused in the Wordsmith5 concordance in Appendix B: RT Negro*Concordance, the semantic prosody of the *RT Negro* exposed negative formats of violence; 1: *Negro Boy helped her **beat him***, 3: *will **apprehend** said Mulatto Negro and return him*, 8: ***criminal** conversation with a Negro*; and *Whoever shall **take up***; placed Negroes as attackers. Additionally, the *RT Negro* referred to the deprecating term chattel: ***To be sold** this county born Negro Wench, **Classified ad** Run away Negro Male 10 dollars*, 11: ***run away** from the subscriber a Negro man named Prince had on*. The presentation of Negroes in criminal acts and as chattel cemented prevalent racial ideologies amongst the dominant class and enforced disparaging mental models of the inferior class.

Negroes as Chattel

Chattel slavery in the New England colonies greatly attributed to the racist ideology believed and practiced by white colonists toward blacks. According to Reich (1998):

Massachusetts taxed slaves as both persons and property, while Rhode Island and New Hampshire assessed them as livestock. New Jersey and Pennsylvania included them in the ordinary lists of ratable property, and New York, when it taxed them at all, did so by capitation. In wills and estates accounts slaves were inventoried as chattels in the same manner as tool, household goods, and other personal property. Even the extinction of

private rights over slaves did not alter their status as chattels. If the master died without heirs, his slaves would escheat to the colony along with the rest of his property. (p. 62)

The Northeast had to make provisions for blacks in their laws and taxes. Whitewashing slavery would have had to begin in documents for property rights. Slave owners accounted for slaves in their wills and financial paper. For example, the honorable George Washington ordered “his negroes to be free after the death of Mrs. Washington, who during her life, retain[ed] possession of the whole estate” (1800, Jan. 20 TCC). The treatment of Negroes as chattels or inanimate property without mortal souls or human rights was legally recognized in North America (Reich, 1998, p. 130) from President Washington to Thomas Jefferson, who “on the 15th of January, at Monticello, the whole of the residue of the personal estate of Mr. Jefferson, consist[ed] of 130 negroes, stock, crop, and household and kitchen furniture” (1826, Nov. 20). In other areas of the world, such as Latin America for instance, slaves, “...under the protection of the Catholic Church and Roman Law, were considered human beings with immortal souls and human rights (p. 130).

Slave codes or laws were implemented in North America to preserve these beliefs and legally enforce a racist ideology. According to Davis, (n.d.) the slave codes were categorized state by state, but the provisions “prevail[ed] in nearly all of the states” (p. 2). Consequently, the slave codes were titled the American Slave Codes, and “every colony had laws to guarantee white supremacy” (McManus, 1973, p. 67). Led by the Massachusetts Bay Colony, laws were made to make Negroes slaves perpetually enslaved

(Greene, 1974, p. 124). Connecticut State Law prohibited slaves from joining the military in 1660 (Taylor, 2007), which socially segregated the two races while enforcing the treatment of Negroes as property. In order to deflect the obvious ethical and moral issues surrounding the entrapment, enslavement, and selling of Negroes, whites had to formulate laws that would excuse their inhumane behavior and practices. Goddell (1853), an anti-slavery author, compiled the slave laws in one book to expose the actual verbiage used to justify the criminality and immorality of slavery:

The slave has no rights. Of course he, or she, cannot have the rights of a husband, a wife. The slave is a chattel, and chattels do not marry. The slave is not ranked among sentient beings, but among things and things are not married. Slaves are not people, in the eye of the law. (p. 110)

The slave is one who is in the power of a master to whom he belongs. The master may sell him, dispose of his person, his industry, and his labor. He can do nothing, possess nothing or acquire anything, but what must belong to his master. (p. 29)

The master may sell him. Slaves shall be sold. Sold, transferred, or pawned as goods, or personal estate, for goods they were, and as such they were esteemed. (p. 50)

Slaves being held as Property, like other domestic animals, their Offspring are held as Property, in perpetuity, in the same manner. (p.255)

The Slave, being held as a Chattel, is held by a tenure which excludes any legal recognition of his rights as a thinking and religious being. (p. 257)

Slaves as Property, may be used, absolutely, by their Owners at will, for their own profit or pleasure. (p. 62)

Rape committed on a female slave is an offense not recognized by law. (p. 93)

Assortments of diseased, damaged, and disabled negroes, deemed incurable and otherwise worthless, are bought up, it seems, (cheap, no doubt like old iron), by medical institutions, to be experimented and operated upon, for purposes of medical education and the interest of medical science. (p. 93)

The repercussions of the aforementioned slave laws embed racism toward the Negro slave into the cognitive, social, and political practices of colonial whites. Cognitively, the white colonists deemed slaves, which were predominately Negroes at the time, as non-sentient things, inhuman and animals; however, the ability to marry, possess goods, think, have religion or be raped are clearly human characteristics. Unless marrying, proselytizing, and raping animals was common in the culture of white colonists, of which there is no evidence, there would not be a need to address the human aptitude and qualifications of slaves, affirming knowledge of their humanity. Labeling slaves as “chattel,” “property” and “not people” by law assuaged the convictions of the inhumane treatment of *HM* people, so that socially, slave owners could still be considered

upstanding in society instead of immorally depraved outcasts. Politically, some slave owners were in high position, so writing laws granting white colonists the right to own humans as “property like other domestic animals” would further disassociate the sadistic treatment of *HM* people from consciousness and enhance the economy. The mentality that Negroes were “not people” has been embedded socially, cognitively, and politically for centuries. The negative mental models colonial whites continually perpetrated toward Negroes yielded a congenital racism that would require generational encephalotomies to unlearn. In order to embrace Negro slaves as humans, history had to be erased or whitewashed.

Negroes as Servile Animals

By casting Negroes as the other, whites were able to rape, dissect, and use Negroes “absolutely” and “at will for their own profit or pleasure.” The ideological square of whites promoting their own superiority (self), because they were not chattel or animals, over the Negro (other), who were considered chattel and animals, is realized in the discourse of *TCC*. Once a superior race, in theory, was established, then the perpetration of that theory became easier. For instance, white publishers used the same format for the capture of a Negro slave as they did for horses and other animals. The similarity and location between the runaway slave articles and the runaway horse articles represented the belief that the Negro slave and the horse were equal. Runaway Negroes were represented like obtuse servile animals. For example, the articles of runaway horses are quite similar to the description of Negro runaway slaves. On August 20, 1770 the description of a horse that was stolen or strayed from his master included:

Strayed or stolen, from the subscriber, living at Wallingford, on the 8th day of August, a brown HORSE, 15 hands high, if he has any brand it is on the left shoulder, he went from the subscriber at Litchfield---Whoever will take up said Horse, and convey him to the subscriber at Wallingford or to Mr. Miles Beach in Lithchfield, if he be stayed shall have Two Dollars reward, and all necessary charges paid, and if the horse is stolen, he that brings the horse and secures the thief shall have Ten dollars and charges as above....(1770, Aug. 20 *TCC*)

The format used to describe the strayed or stolen horse begins with the town of the owner and a brief description of the horse's physical attributes that include color, height, deformities, and brandings. Next, an award is offered to the person who will secure and return the animal. Finally, if the person accrued charges during the apprehension of the horse, then the subscriber of the article would also pay those expenses. Similarly, articles describing Negroes that escaped from their white masters used an almost identical format:

Runaway from the subscriber a Negro Man about 40 years of age, about 5 feet 4 inches high, the grill of his nose is out, and the top sunk in. Whoever will take up said run away and confine him so that his master can have him again shall have one hundred dollars reward, and all necessary charges paid by Abraham Case (1779, Sept. 19)

In this advertisement the subscriber listed the runaway as a Negro man instead of a strayed or stolen horse. Similar to the listing of the horse's brand is the distinct malformation of the slave's nose, which was purposely identified as a unique characteristic that pertained to that particular slave. The description of the slave's nose, "the grill of his nose is out, and the top sunk in," resembled the characteristics of an animal instead of a human being.

In addition to the listing of distinguishable physical characteristics is the phrase, "Whoever will take up said..." animal or slave. Many of the articles relating to runaway animals use the phrase to entice bounty hunters or neighbors to help in the return of their property. The person, who returned the horse or slave, would have a monetary reward and additional monies for any troubles incurred while securing the slave. In the article above, the slave was highly important to the master because he offers a 100 dollar award for the slave's capture, confinement, and return so that he "can have him again." Rewards for runaway slaves ranged from a penny to 300 dollars. Indirectly, "whoever will take up said" animal or slave established a relationship between runaway slaves and animals. The similarity associated between the horse and slave did not fail to yield an accepted belief that slaves were equivalent to animals and unequal to whites, especially mentally. Consequently, Negroes were classified as inanimate and without a soul. This classification enabled slave owners to own another human being and treat them as humanely or as in most cases as inhumanely as they desired without the fear of repercussion from the law or the God they claimed to serve.

Negroes “To Be Sold”

The negative collocates of the *RT* Negro thus far consist of *beat*, *apprehend*, *criminal*, *take up*, *to be sold*, *classified ad*, and *run away*. Further collocational analysis of the nodes rendered details concerning negative semantic prosody with the right nodes. In Appendix C: *RT* Negro Nodes (see), “Named” (line 8) was listed to the right of the *RT* Negro a total of 18 times. More specifically, the second word to the right of the *RT* Negro was “named” 12 times, which included the pattern, “Negro man named” or “Negro woman named” or “Negro boy named” etc. When “named” was 1 word to the right of the *RT* Negro only twice, the pattern became a “Negro named Robert” and a “Negro named Somerset.” The difference between “Negro man named” and “Negro named Somerset” is “Negro man named” denotes chattel, and “Negro named Somerset” denotes humanity. As shown in Appendix C, the delineation of gender was mainly used throughout the whole corpus as a description of merchandise “To Be Sold” like that of a horse or a mule. Many of the articles began with “To Be Sold” and ended with the name of the seller after advertising the specific characteristics of the property. Negro people could be sold with household items and dogs, or they could be bought, loaned, or bartered.

Below in Table 1, On December 16, 1783 a Negro man (NM) and a Negro Woman (NW) are to be sold with other items (*TCC*), or on March 3, 1766, the printer stated that the “Negro may be seen” because prospective buyers were allowed to inspect the “merchandise” before buying. The previous statements are oxymoronic because Negro men and women were not items; however, the colonists supported an ideology that

stated otherwise. Slave laws written by white people described Negroes as chattel, so references in Table 1 of lending Negroes, (1787, Aug. 20 *TCC*) and bartering flour for Negroes (1787, Jun 11 *TCC*) were a part of everyday colonial life. The printers and the subscribers did not discriminate against youth or sex. Pregnant women, young girls and boys, and children were sold between colonists. On Jun.8 1779, the printer offered to sell the children of a pregnant black woman: “This country born Negro Wench, 24 years old now pregnant, and bids fair to make four recruits for Lord Dunmore” (*TCC*) was given a bidding price and offered as if she were a dog with pups.

Table 1: Negroes "To be Sold"

To be sold, healthy, likely, good natured Negro boy, about 15 yrs old	(1765, May 6 <i>TCC</i>) in CT
To be sold for want of employ a likely Negro Boy ABT 14 yrs old, has been in country 1yr inquire of said Austin	(1765, July 8 <i>TCC</i>) in CT
To be sold a likely Negro man healthy lively who understands the art of making porash. Any person inclined to purchase may apply to David Todd where the Negro may be seen	(1766, Mar 3 <i>TCC</i>) in CT
1 Negro Boy 17 yrs old 2 Negro Girls for cash, beef, pork, or grain will be accepted for cash	(1766, Oct. 13 <i>TCC</i>) in CT
Along with material items and dogs Negro Boy of 14 yrs old	(1766, Dec. 22 <i>TCC</i>) in CT
a very likely negro 18/19 yrs old also a Negro woman 24 with a girl about 5 yrs old for which he would take produce	(1768, Dec.5 <i>TCC</i>) in CT
To Be Sold This country born Negro Wench, 24 years old now pregnant, and bids fair to make four recruits for Lord Dunmore... Any person or family where that is esteemed no fault can make an early bargain with her present mistress. Enquire of the Printers	(1779, Jun.8 <i>TCC</i>) in CT

Table 1: Negroes "To be Sold"

Negro Boy 16th year and Negro Girl 8years	(1787, Apr 23 <i>TCC</i>)
Will take good flour or likely Negroes will be taken in payment	(1787, Jun 11 <i>TCC</i>)
some Indians carried off a Negro, the property of Mr. Lang	(1787, Jul 16 <i>TCC</i>)
I would lend what Negroes I have	(1787, Aug 20 <i>TCC</i>)
Negro man, his wife and 2children	(1788, Sept 29 <i>TCC</i>)
Negro Girl 12 yrs old	(1790, Nov 22 <i>TCC</i>)
Want ads a negro to dispose of	(1782, Sept 17 <i>TCC</i>)
An old NM would not be 10\$ but a reasonable price.	(1782,Oct. 29 <i>TCC</i>)
Negro Man and Negro Woman are to be sold with other items	(1783, Dec 16 <i>TCC</i>)

The health and disposition of the Negroes offered were consistently placed in the advertisements as “healthy, likely” Negroes. Subscribers to *TCC* added insurance to their goods by describing them. Older Negroes were not as valuable as young healthy men and women, so the subscriber emphasized the health of the specimens; for instance on October 29, 1782: “an old NM would not be 10\$ but a reasonable price” (*TCC*). The economic value of slaves was their ability to work. When they were unable to work because of age or infirmity, they became burdens to their master, and they were sold cheaper than younger slaves. “To Be Sold” articles were derogatory, but articles similar to that of Sept. 17, 1782 (in Table 1) in which a subscriber referred to “a Negro to be

disposed of” (*TCC*) conveyed the congenital racism whites held for Negroes. The contextual and discursive strategies unearthed in the analysis of “To Be Sold” articles are dehumanizing.

Negroes as Vicious Runaways

Although the negative semantic prosody was dominant on the right side of the *RT* Negro, an in depth hand analysis of the first through fourth nodes on the left side were not lacking in violent collocations Appendix D: *RT* Negro Left Nodes Hand Analysis), and included: *drowned, conspiracy, deserter, murder, loath, overpowered, and plundering*. However, four or more nodes from the *RT* Negro revealed more intensely violent negative prosodies included in Appendix E: *RT* Negro* 4 or More Nodes: *butchered whites, massacre, nefarious, pillage, seize, whipped, flogged with knives, punishment, lawless, cruelty, floating dungeon, dead, death, and horrid tragedy*. The majority of the previously listed terms were extrapolated from run-away articles. In this paper, articles that use the term runaway for Negroes as a lead-in for the advertisement or in the headlines are labeled runaway articles.

Runaway articles almost formed a new genre that would be used for an extended period of time to dehumanize and demonize *HM* people and portray them as volatile animals. If not a genre, a formula was implemented that listed the characteristics of runaway slaves like horses who ran away from their white masters. These types of articles as a whole seemed to represent the white belief system that Negroes were ruthless killers, animals and objects to be sold. Human qualities, emotions, and oftentimes names

for slaves were nonexistent in the animal-like descriptions. The runaway articles were placed in the classified section along with things that had been stolen, animals that had strayed from their masters, and household items for sale. Negroes displayed their resistance to chattel living by running away from their masters in hope of finding reprieve from their harsh reality and the freedom to exist in a society void of enslavement. Conversely, colonists suffered financially when slaves escaped to freedom, so they placed advertisements in *TCC* for the return of their property, as well as to warn fellow colonists about the danger of the escapees. The warnings helped establish negative associations with runaways. In the following excerpt, the subscribers to *TCC* helped develop derogatory mental models toward runaway Negroes:

Mr. Armstrong, a carpenter, who first leaped out, was shot and fell; on which one of the runaways ran a bayonet up through his throat, which pierced the upper part of his skull. Mr. Harton, an over seer, received a shot on leaping out and was cleft down through the skull; and Mr. Lifle, another overseer was shot as he was standing at the window, preparing to leap out....for at this moment the murderers rushed in and shot him. Mr. Gamble reeled on his bed, and fell down on it, on which the savage leader, Congoree, with a leer of brutal satisfaction, said, "That is what I wanted, you are now in your grave—now my boys set fire." This after plundering the house, they performed---Humanity revolts at the shocking sequel.... Congoree, with a party, had gone down to the bay, and begun to spread fire and desolation around him Congoree then exultingly displaying a

lock of hair, said, “See there your manager’s hair—go look at him now—how he looks—Your father killed my son---but him myself dispatched” Then they set fire to the shore near the crane, and continued doing the same to all the other buildings till the whole, except the dwelling house, and two or three of small importance were entirely consumed. They continued to riot and plunder till ten o’clock the next day, when they departed---leaving an estate, in point of buildings, one of the first in the island, a heap of ruins. Mr. Armstrong’s body was found at some distance, to which he ran before he fell—they had heaped trash on it, and endeavored to consume it with fire---and the mangled remains exhibited a shocking spectacle. (1786, Mar. 13 *TCC*)

In the example above, runaway Negroes were portrayed as brutal, vengeful killers. They put bayonets through the skull of their white victims or shot them in cold-blood. The representation of Negroes harboring vengeance against white settlers was reported in the accepted dialogue between the runaway and the victims: “That is what I wanted; you are now in your grave—now my boys set fire” (1786, Mar. 13 *TCC*). Rebellious Negroes were feared because the majority of the articles pertaining to runaways maintained and replicated the ideology that runaways were vengeful fire starters. Fire was hazardous to the entire community because of wood buildings. White settlers feared fire and in turn were fearful or wary of angry Negro fire starters. It could have been deduced from this article that runaways wanted their masters dead and all of their belongings consumed in fire, which would further widen the gulf between the races.

White settlers did not expect chattel to read, write, or articulate truth concerning news worthy events, so in this article and many like it, the Negro voice was silent. They were not able to defend their actions or give an account of the devastation slavery wreaked on their lives. The information in the article was validated by a fellow white citizen, who may have embellished the dialogue. The actual story could have been accurate; however, the exclusion of another testimony about the situation (especially a Negro employee that survived) was not represented. Literacy amongst Negroes was typically non-existent, so not only were their beliefs, customs, or thoughts unrepresented, but the representation of Negroes presented to the white inhabitants was beyond unfavorable, slanderous, and vilifying. Publishers fueled the belief that Negroes were evil, vengeful, cold blooded killers via publications similar to the article above. By publishing articles that painted runaways in a horrid light (see Appendix F: Vicious Runaways), negative connotations were established and the mental story associated with the term runaway would make “humanity revolt” and a “shocking spectacle” to the white media starved colonists. The violent acts associated with the *RT* Negro in runaway articles and throughout the study, as well as the articles that advertised the disposal of another human being were not viewed as inappropriate in the social context of colonial times by the dominant hegemony. Runaway articles associated Negroes with fire starters, killers, and animals, thus demonizing and dehumanizing an entire people.

*Reference Term Slave**

The semantic prosody of the *RT Slave** is negative. After the collocational analysis the terms further analyzed were *sold, keeping, trade, and other*. In Appendix G: *RT Slave** Left and Right Nodes, the negative prosody is in the left and right nodes with more left nodes than right. Violence permeates the nodes that span across 4 or more collocations: *bloody wars, burned, death, murder, convicts, and banished*. However, the other collocates to the *RT slave* are negative to the class structure of slaves: *stupidity, condemned, illicit, guilty, shackled, defeated, nakedness, repugnant and dog*. Portraying *HM* people as violent inferior chattel continued to establish and maintain diabolic mental models toward Negro slaves.

Slaves as Violent

In context, the associations of the *RT slave* with inferior terms or violent semantic prosodies are blatant. For example, a slave became a murdering “other” and was found guilty by the “respectable and worthy gentlemen of Kent” (self). The colonists were then warned that “horrid Murders” might happen again if slaves were free:

Horrid Horrid Murders! Most respectable and worthy of gentlemen of Kent found guilty of murder of a child of one of her fellow slaves which she destroyed with Laudanum. Humanity shudders at the guilt of this atrocious wretch, by condemnation she has acknowledged to have destroyed three other children. Her motive for this most horrid act appears

to have been an expectation of being free, She had been informed that in a clause of the will that all his slaves would be free if he should die. The children expired in excruciating tortures. The hellish purpose had not been arrested where it was. Let this serve as a solemn warning to those who are disposed to the testamentary liberation of their slaves. The story of this dreadful affair is truly shocking. (1797 May 1 *TCC*)

Not only does the article contain a negative report of a female slave poisoning another slave, but “the atrocious wretch” also killed three other children. And if that were not enough, her reason for making humanity or “the white self” shudder was conveniently linked to an expectation of freedom. After the “truly shocking” and “dreadful affair” was recounted and the motive was said to have been freedom for the slaves if the master was dead, the writer “solemnly warned” the subscribers of the lurking evil of “the other,” slaves and the benefit of keeping that evil bound instead of liberated.

Portraying slaves as violent, uncontrollable murderers caused colonial whites to fear Negro slaves. The fear-induced social environment furthered the racial rift between whites and slaves. Slaves were portrayed in *TCC* as indiscriminate animals that would kill easily, and runaway slaves or slaves in groups were considered the most dangerous. Consequently, whites tried to capture or turn in slaves considered runaways, and Negroes feared running away because of the harsh laws developed by the dominant social class and even harsher punishments. Colonial America became a melting pot of racist fear

increasing on both sides. Negro slaves were afraid of harsh punishments or death by their masters or any white colonists, while the white colonists were afraid of angry, revolting runaways or black slaves. Baxter and Wallace (2009) define demonizing in newspapers as discourse that “prejudicially typecasts....stirs up moral panic in readers.... and redefin [es] the membership between ‘you’ and ‘us’” (p. 415). Whites had the dominant power to make laws against Negroes and dispose of them at will: “The slave is one who is in the power of a master to whom he belongs. The master may sell him; dispose of his person, his industry, and his labor. He can do nothing, possess nothing or acquire anything, but what must belong to his master” (Goddell, 1853, p. 29). Laws written in a similar manner as the aforementioned resulted in a lack of conviction toward the execution of slaves. The Negro slave had the “sentient” to rebel against the slave law mentality that allowed women to be raped, children and families to be sold, and material ownership and marriage to be revoked- resulting in a run, hide, kill or be killed mentality.

The scare tactics used in classified articles to maintain power in colonial times were crucial for continued control over Negroes. At the end of the article on May 4, 1767, the printer warned the colonists about the laws against stealing or helping slaves: “All masters of vessel are forbid carrying off said Negro, or concealing of him upon the peril of the law” (*TCC*) or “All persons are forbid to harbor, conceal or carry him off” (1768, Feb. 15 *TCC*). Due to the lengthy span of time at sea, slaves would stow away on ships, or they would be abducted by captains as free labor. Some white colonists were abolitionists, and would help black slaves escape to freedom, so they also received warnings that vilified the slaves:

And was put in the hands of John W. Schermerhorn from whom he made his escape the same afternoon. He is cunning, subtle, plausible fellow, and very capable of deceit: he cannot with any kind of truth, affect any cause of running away, except his being too kindly treated by his master, from whom he never received any kind of punishment---no, not so much as a single stroke, nevertheless, he robbed Mr. Duncan of sundry articles, at his departure, some of which he left at Mr. Schermerhorn's when he made his escape from thence. From these facts it is hoped that no honest man will give him any countenance or employ, but on the contrary, it is requested that he be immediately apprehended and secured in some goal, so that, on notice, he may be fit for his master, for which the sum of five pounds.

(1787, Oct. 8 *TCC*)

After reading how cunning the slave was and how kind the owner was to the slave, the printers and the subscribers wanted fellow white colonists to apprehend the runaway. According to the owner, the slave did not have a just cause to runaway and further, he robbed him. The slave's account was not recorded because he was considered "to be fit for his master," not a separate vocal entity. The subscriber also indirectly questioned the honesty of anyone who would employ the runaway slave or showed him kindness. By stating that the slave was cunning, untrustworthy, and a thief, the subscriber slanted the story against the slave to cause additional fear amongst the colonists. A negative representation of (the other) slaves occurred on October 27, 1772 in the Dutch colony of Suriname:

This colony is in the greatest distress, occasioned by an insurrection of the Slaves; they are assembled 1000 strong, very formidable, supplied with arms and ammunition, and have defeated our soldiers and taken some six pounders from them, with which they have fortified themselves on an island, committing great depredation and annoying and terrifying the inhabitants daily. We have made several ineffectual attempts to subdue them and about three months ago they defeated our efforts against them.

(TCC)

Clearly, the inhabitants (self) are distressed by an insurrection of the slaves (other). The author of the article did not write an unbiased account of the events because the absenteeism of causes for the insurrection forever lies forgotten. However, the trepidation of the colonists for the slaves or the monstrous other still screams from the pages of the article. “The Other” was formidable, causing annoyances, devastation, and terror throughout the land, a Grendel. The imagery of the slaves terrorizing the land might have been difficult to forget and possibly formed a mental story with the colonists. An insurrection from slaves could result in the distress of the whole colony, so the colonists developed a fear of slaves rebelling instead of an understanding of the deep-seated emotions surrounding a deracinated people.

Runaway Slaves and Scare Tactics

Runaway slaves were negatively stereotyped as fire starters, thieves, and murderers. By reiterating those qualities and playing on the need for the colonists to

protect their families against runaways, the printer or subscriber could scare the colonists into revealing the slave's whereabouts or have him jailed faster. The phrase "under the penalty of law" was used in 1767, 1768, and 1824 (see Appendix H: Runaway Articles with Scare Tactics.) In Appendix I: Runaway Articles with Scare Tactics 2, run away articles exist from the beginning of the study until the end. Throughout the study, more than half of the runaway articles contained scare tactics, and the length of time they were used was congruent with the findings in Appendices H and I. Threats involving the local authorities were used almost as much as monetary rewards.

The majority of the runaway articles in this study used a monetary reward as an incentive to capture, jail, or return slaves. An incentive for bounty hunters became a tool of fear for runaway slaves. Money on the head of a fugitive slave alerted the community, subscribers of the newspaper, and the colonists interested in money for returning slaves. The slaves received information by word of mouth and used sympathetic whites and Negroes to stay hidden. However, the fear associated with the knowledge of a monetary reward was a powerful scare tactic employed in ninety-nine percent of the runaway articles. One hundred percent of the articles offered rewards that ranged from one cent to three hundred dollars. The more the owner was willing to pay for the return of the slave, the more dangerous freedom became for the slave. As the tolerance for slavery decreased, the amounts of the rewards decreased as well. Unfortunately, slaves were sold and enslaved in the black market beyond the date of this study (Farrow et al. 2006, p. 144). So, the lack of advertising for slaves did not mean the end of capturing and enslaving free or runaway Negroes. It meant the beginning of kidnapping Negroes in what became

known as “the other underground railroad,” a slave trade consisting of Negroes being kidnapped from the North for slavery in the South. (Farrow et al., 2006, p. 139).

More laws were needed to enforce civility toward free slaves. According to Farrow et al., (2006), “By 1799, blacks in Philadelphia felt sufficiently threatened by kidnappings that they submitted a petition to Congress equating them with the African slave trade” (p. 143). Free Northern Negroes were scared of being kidnapped and made to work in the South. Ultimately, the use of reward money ignited the “other underground railroad” because bounty hunters became an accepted part of society, which inherently excused the behavior of kidnapping Negro chattel. Again, the voice of the slave did not outweigh a master’s claim, so captured Negro were seen as runaways being returned to their masters. The actual process of return, however, was not questioned until the end of the 19th century.

Demonizing Slaves and Scare Tactics

Prediction of social unrest by escaping runaways scares the dominant group, but an uprising or revolt that results in a massacre produces a terror that demands the “other” reside in bondage or stay in an inferior position. Public concern for the welfare of the community increased when articles of terror were printed and cemented slavery as an institution that protected society from the male, female, and child Negro killers. Scare tactics are also known as demonizing the other and are used in discriminatory and racial discourse (Baxter & Wallace, 2009, Chiang & Duann, 2007).

Table 2: Demonizing Scare Tactics

‘A Negro Girl (carried Mrs Epp's Son to the River Side with a Pretence to divert him, but when she got there, she struck him several times on the head with a stave, until he was stunned and then flung him into the water’	(1766, Aug.4 TCC)
Cudjo’s negroes are actually in rebellion-- Capt. James our resident there upon the first battle fired among them, which irritated them to such a degree, that they all rushed upon him: God knows what may be his fate.	(1771, May 21 TCC)
Sunday last a negro woman threw her newborn child into a necessary (dumpster) in Gray’s Alley, where its cries attracted the attention of two persons who knew the mother. They immediately took up the miserable little victim, but not time enough to save its life, as the inhuman wretch had buried the child’s head, and otherwise so much injured it, that it died soon after. The woman was committed to goal.	(1785, Aug. 22 TCC)
DIABOLICAL CONSPIRACY IN HAVANA--Negroes and mulattoes were to commence on Saturday in a general massacre of their masters.	(1823, Sept. 16 TCC)
Mr. Harrison called to the Negro to remain where he was, or he would shoot him. The Negro instantaneously fired at Mr. Harrison and the enormous load of the gun went through his body and what is wonderful, he made a step, fired at the Negro and shot him in the neck, so that he expired in a few minutes!	(1805, July 31 TCC)
Cannibalism among 3 Negro sailors	(1803, June 8 TCC)

In these articles Negroes sound dastardly and despicable. Their voice is not heard. The hegemony has portrayed Negroes as ruthless, “inhuman,” killers that will revolt and plot a massacre of the white community without cause. Discriminatory discourse like this is representative of the hegemony exercising dominance over the social and political aspects of the newspaper at the time (Richards, 2007). Masters are represented as victims negatively affected by the demonic actions of Negroes of all ages. Young Negroes murder white children, Negro men murder white men and start rebellions, and Negro women murder their own children. In the examples above, the Negro does not have a name. When a Negro ran away, he or she had a name. When they are considered as mindless animals that will kill without provocation, they are not named, and referenced merely as Negroes. The “other” is defined as a killer, which attaches negative social representations of Negroes and contributes to social inequality.

Slaves as Inferior

Semantic prosodies depicting inferiority resulted from the social class of slaves and the acceptance by the majority of the white class that slaves were chattel. Historically, inferiority and even a fear of slaves were perpetrated prior to 1764 when the Northeastern states began to implement more oppressive slave codes. For example, some of the states had Fugitive Slave Laws (laws that allow for the return of runaway slaves from one state to other), and laws that were blaringly racist and used to ostracize blacks:

- 1703 Connecticut assigns the punishment of whipping to any slaves who disturb the peace or assault whites.

- 1705 Massachusetts makes marriage and sexual relations between blacks and whites illegal.
- 1706 Connecticut requires that Indians, mulattos, and black servants gain permission from their masters to engage in trade.
- 1708 Rhode Island requires that slaves be accompanied by their masters when visiting the homes of free persons.
- 1715 Maryland declares all slaves entering the province and their descendants to be slaves for life.
- 1760 New Jersey prohibits the enlistment of slaves in the militia without their master's permission (Draper, n.d.).

Slave codes were used to keep slaves in an inferior class that was equivalent to house pets or household things. The laws leading up to 1764, the beginning date of *TCC*, allowed whites in Connecticut to publicly whip Negroes for disturbing the peace of whites, and in Maryland, slaves and their children were forced to be slaves for life. Additionally, laws governing trade, night visitations among Negroes and joining the militia were used against Negroes to keep them submitted to their masters. Thus, whites exercised blatant racism toward Negroes in their actions and laws. Racism was actually lawful in the colonial period against Negroes. Evidence from the aforementioned slave code in 1705 proves that Negroes were specifically targeted by whites when laws were made to keep Negroes and whites from engaging in sexual relations.

By representing Negro slaves as animals in the media, the white hegemony was able to widen the seemingly insurmountable barrier between the races. Whites could not fathom Negroes having a voice or working alongside them on an intellectual level because they were considered to be like horses. The Biblical account of Balaam talking to a donkey (Numbers 22:21-35, King James Version) would be accepted over Negroes participating in intellectual conversations or politics. When a white master placed a classified ad for a runaway in a credible source such as the newspaper, and claimed the runaway slave as his own, questions of ownership, freedom papers or ethics were unnecessary for validation. For example, in Appendix I on the article dated October 8, 1787 the master was able to report that the slave did not have any reasons to runaway and “that no honest man will give him any countenance or employ, but on the contrary, it is requested that he be immediately apprehended and secured in some goal” (*TCC*). The master of the slave was believed because the article was published in his favor. The slave, however, did not have a voice to contradict the master’s account. The differentiation between ‘us’ and ‘them,’ according to Achugar (2004), helps construct an ideology: “The identities of social actors in the texts are mostly constructed and defined as members of groups when the emphasis is placed on representing the Other as different, deviant or as a threat” (p. 295).

The rights of white masters were not questioned because they were literate and among the white hegemony. Slaves, on the other hand, were not represented in the advertisements, so stories of abusive treatment, inadequate living quarters, or the separation of Negro families was not included or useful to the advertised request.

Essentially, runaway classifieds of the *TCC* cemented the negative ideology and continued treatment of Negroes as animals that did not have a voice or place in civilized society. Consequently, laws or slave codes were ultimately wielded to keep slaves inferior to whites. In addition to violence, the negative prosodies of *RT* slave are fear and inferiority.

*Reference Term Africa**

Collocates that collocate one to three nodes away from the *RT Africa** are mainly negative. First, second, and third left nodes include the word string: *poor, transported from, bondage, passage from, insurrection, and groaning*. Words that were more than four or more nodes away contained *pity, continually perish, sickness, suicide, absolute property, and vessel*. Some of the articles referred to abolition and the injustices of slavery; however, when studying the collocations, the nodes were still negative. In an article with the *RT Africa*, the writer details the parallels of the African slave trade in Maryland and the coast of Africa:

On the African coast some have been bought with money and some kidnapped in Africa; and so they have here. Certain persons make it a business to carry on the traffic in human flesh, in Africa: and so they do here. (1825 Aug. 9 *TCC*)

The left collocates of the *RT Africa* in the example above equal kidnapped and human flesh. So, although the writer is against the enslavement of Africans, the semantic prosody of Africa is negative. Africa collocates are a mixture of evil; *marked upon their*

breasts, chains, murder; fear; burning, blood, stolen from, and barbarous, and chattel; suspended by thumbs, selling, whip, and open market Appendix J: RT Africa* (Left and Right Nodes) due to the horrors of the Atlantic slave trade. The African Slave Trade began the demonizing of Africans to the Portuguese first and then to the British and finally to the American Colonies.

The appearance of Africans made discrimination against the “Negro” class noticeably easy, although some Negroes were brown, light brown, and tan. Unlike poor white servants who could blend in with fellow white people and possibly escape rejection, Negroes were “marked” by the color of their skin as inferior animals. Haslam (2006) further stated that research has revealed the negative characteristics associated with dehumanization and the representation of ethnic and racial others:

... Ethnic and racial others have been represented as barbarians who lack culture, self-restraint, moral sensibility, and cognitive capacity. Excesses often accompany these deficiencies: The savage has brutish appetites for violence and sex, is impulsive and prone to criminality, and can tolerate unusual amounts of pain. (p. 252)

In colonial America, African features attributed to barbarians, especially after the terror of runaways prevailed in discourse. By emphasizing the identity of the self-group, the dominant power advances the agenda that benefits their group. Van Dijk (2001) similarly terms the same phenomenon of polarizing in-groups and out-groups through positive emphasis on “us” and a negative emphasis on “them,” as demonizing. In this study,

demonizing will be used to broadly cover discourse that polarizes outsiders and insiders via “us” and “them,” prejudicial typecasting, moral panic; also, delegitimization articles that labeled Negroes as barbarians and savages who are prone to criminality, “who lack culture, self-restraint, moral sensibility, and cognitive capacity,” and who have “brutish appetites for violence and sex” (Haslam, 2006, p. 295) will be included:

Table 3: Demonizing

The rebellious negroes are still very troublesome at that place, they received advice of several plantations being cut off by them.	(1765, Jul. 15 <i>TCC</i>) in NY
A negro man killed a woman, Mr. Trail's housekeeper with a blow to the head, she expired He concealed himself in a haystack where he was found (by us) in a haystack. B/c he is not one of us he was tried by 3 justices of the peace and ordered to be burnt and the sentence was put in execution last week	(1766, Jan. 22 <i>TCC</i>) in NY
Negroes and force such to join them and have already killed many white people at different plantations in a cruel manner	(1766, Mar. 3 <i>TCC</i>) in CT
20 to 30 of "the Negroes" in the night time, arose, set some houses on the skirts of town on fire with a design to alarm the white people, and in the confusion to have murdered them, Mr. Beness having first appeared, the Negroes fell on him and butchered him. the black rascals quarreled amongst each other which rose to such a height that they killed one another, and only two escaped the general slaughter	(1766, Apr. 14 <i>TCC</i>) in Philly
A house fire destroys the city and the comment is made that "the Negroes" tried to set the remainder of the town on fire 3 times	(1766, Jun. 23 <i>TCC</i>) in Pa.
Venus , NW breaking into the shop of John Forbes and robbing the same found guilty and sentenced to death the same day	(1767, Feb. 2 <i>TCC</i>) in Boston
insurrection of slaves killed captain and 4 others, took over slave ship Cooper and second mate hide and when the pilot that is held captive lands they recover 12 out of 137	(1767, Oct. 12 <i>TCC</i>) in Lond.
The Negro murdered Teura. He received recompense for killing by being burnt	(1767, Nov.2 <i>TCC</i>) in NY/CT

Table 3: Demonizing

<p>The rebellion: was to happen in an instant on the night of St. Patrick. Occasioned by a most horrid and deep laid plot of the Negroes for cutting off all the white inhabitants. When "the people were engaged in balls" the plot was discovered by a poor white woman. The fellow who informed her was apprehended, tortured for confession. 50 in custody in ships and they were scared they would not have but a few Negro men on the Island of Montsserat. He has not had 10 hrs sleep in 7 days because of the Negroes</p>	<p>(1768, May 9 <i>TCC</i>) in CT</p>
<p>Talkative whore, impudent negro lazy drunken puppy</p>	<p>(1767, Nov.7 <i>TCC</i>) in CT</p>
<p>We informed you of the sentence passed on the 36 N sent from this to Fort Royal to be tried for being concerned in the insurrection which sentence I put in execution A drummer went round the town commanding all negroes under pain of 50 lashes, not to be in the streets from 3 to 7pm and ordering out all the militia to guard the streets and avenues leading into town as it was feared the country negroes would attempt to rescue. the seven which were to be hung. They had all made choice of white wives, others whipped and burned, others in the gallies for life. Mark it was you who put us up to them and he was made to look at them as they were hung the slave is thrown off of the ladder and the hangman jumps on him until he breaks his neck The rack is a piece of iron 3ft long with a blunt edge and weighs about 20lb each bone is broken the N lived for 1hr 38min tired they strangled him, his carcass rolled on a wheel for a guard to watch all night, in the morning all of their heads were taken off and distributed among trees at all the entrances into the town</p>	<p>(1790, May 10 <i>TCC</i>)</p>

The “other” or the Negro was also a killer. Many articles portray Negroes ruthlessly killing whites. The silence of the Negro voice in the articles seems to validate the punishment whites gave blacks. On January 22, 1766 a Negro man killed a woman, Mr. Trail's housekeeper (she is given an identity and the fact that she was Mr. Trail's housekeeper shows humanness and relationship with the community, whereas the Negro is a killer) with a blow to the head; she expired. He concealed himself in a haystack

where he was found (by us) in a haystack. (Because he is not one of us) He was tried by three justices of the peace and ordered to be burnt and the sentence was put in execution last week (*TCC*). Again, the other is the Negro, his execution is warranted, and the white colonists helped catch a criminal. Negroes were consistently reported to be brutal, cold-blooded killers. On May 10, 1790 thirty-six Negroes were sentenced to death because “they had all made choices of white wives” and were a part of an insurrection. Death for some included being whipped, burned, or sent to the gallies for life, while one slave was “thrown off of the ladder and the hangman jumps on him until he breaks his neck The rack is a piece of iron three feet long with a blunt edge and weighs about 20 lbs, each bone is broken” (*TCC*). Since one particular Negro did not die after an hour and thirty-eight minutes on the rack, “they strangled him, his carcass rolled on a wheel for a guard to watch all night, in the morning all of their heads were taken off and distributed among trees at all the entrances into the town” (1790, May 10 *TCC*). Because the town “feared the country Negroes would attempt to rescue the seven which were to be hung,” all Negroes could not be in the streets from 3pm to 7pm and the militia guarded the streets and avenues leading into town (*TCC*). The white majority was not implicated for wrong doing in the article, and the crimes of the Negroes are summarized with insurrection and marrying white women. Negro slaves had become punishable outsiders and outcasts. The following article gruesomely describes the killing of an elderly white man by six Negro sailors:

Six Negro sailors were executed, they designed to assassinate the Captain, an elderly white man, which with the connivance of the cabin boy, a

Negro about 13yrs old, they soon carried into execution. On a signal being given by this youth that their intended victim was asleep; Two of them entered his cabin, and after plunging a pomard twice into his breast, threw him overboard. Notwithstanding the wound he had received, he made an attempt to save himself by seizing a rope which hung over the stern, but one of the villains soon disengaged him by chopping off his hands with an axe, when he instantly went down but fortunately at last falling in with a French vessel off Martinique to some person on board of which they were speedily tried and condemned. Their sentence was that their right hands should be cut off by the wrist, their arms legs and backs to be broken and while still alive that they should be thrown into the fire to be consumed to ashes. The boy on account of his youth, was only sentenced to be hung and his body burnt. (1785 Jan. 8 *TCC*)

The elderly white man happened to be a captain sailing off of the coast of Port au Prince, yet the white hegemony did not paint the “elderly white man” as a wretched captain who intentionally participated in the deadly Atlantic slave trade. Instead, the captain was represented as an “elderly white man” who bravely tried to save himself after being stabbed in the chest by villainous Negro pirates. His untimely death at the hand of killers was recompensed by breaking the legs and arms of the six Negroes while they were alive and then burning them, including a thirteen year old Negro boy. Yet, because he was a boy on the “other” side, his death and burning were a part of a message to Negroes who kill those represented on the “self” side. Self-representation exalts the

positive aspects of the dominant class, but demonizes the “other.” In the above article, the knowledge that many captains of slave schooners cut off the hands of Negro slaves during the deadly water passage from freedom to slavery to keep them from revolting was not stressed. The elderly white man who struggled to save his life from six Negroes was stressed in order to demonize the “other” while using a positive ‘self’ representation for the white colonists. More examples of the Negro as the outsider are in Table 3:

Table 3: Demonizing (cont.)

A respectable gentleman informs us that advices are received at Philly by a young gentleman from his father a resident at Guadaloupe, acquainting him with a second insurrection having broke out there and that a severe contest had ensued between the whites and negroes, in which 9000 of the latter and 300 of the former were killed. No particulars were mentioned.	(1798, Feb. 26 <i>TCC</i>)
a gentleman of the name of Cort came in a boat with 4 negroes, to assist them, but was overset by several of the people from the wreck jumping into her and the whole were drowned	(1799, Apr 29 <i>TCC</i>)
The negroes concerned in the conspiracy and condemned the day before to be hanged were executed at the gallows near this city. Yesterday five more were executed at the gallows near this city Several other have received sentences of death and willl be executed in a few days. The trial are still going on.	(1800, Sept. 29 <i>TCC</i>)

Between 1774 and 1803 the *TCC* descriptions become more disturbing concerning the death of rebellious Negroes or Negroes in general. The increase in articles that promoted racism by demonizing blacks can be explained by the need to establish racial lines of dominance and inferiority in the social class structure and a part of that establishment was to place everyone in the colonies in their rightful place socially. Racism was necessary to keep negativity toward Negroes for continuous labor from the

Atlantic slave trade. On December 14, 1803 a settler of Ohio memorialized the importance of slavery by stating “If persons migrating here are not permitted to bring Negroes with them, it will be many years before we become a state” (*TCC*). Demonizing blacks by referring to them as “the other” was a tool used to justify enslaving humans and perpetual servitude. To humanize the articles or add compassion would not directly benefit the slavers or the colonists. To dehumanize the Negroes in the articles via the fuel of racism allowed the continued usage of Negroes as animate chattel for clearing and preparing the land. The next article decried that alarming articles were used by the writers of the *TCC* to scare or amuse the colonists:

It is certainly to be expected that the readers of the next Sunday’s paper, being the last (which the majority of them will receive) before the Incumbent’s meeting, will be furnished with some curious and alarming fiction, for their amusement and edification. It is said that half a dozen Negroes have escaped from the French ships at New-York and are now on the Jersey shore---Would it not be possible for Mr. Hudson and Goodwin, of one of the inspectors of their press, to make out a plausible story to amuse their strong, and alarm their weak and wavering readers? (1802, Sept. 13 *TCC*)

The writer of the article asked for a plausible story to amuse their strong and alarm their weak readers, and the escape of half a dozen Negroes labeled as curious and alarming fiction would furnish adequate results. Insinuating that the articles were fiction and made to be alarming for the weak readers substantiates the idea that the media had an agenda.

Whether the agenda was to keep the social status of the Negro equivalent with chattel or an economic agenda to keep slavery in the culture via racist discourse, the use of the newspaper to fulfill that agenda was recognizable even in the early 1800s.

Decades of continuous dehumanizing ideologies in the media resulted in generations of division, racism, and hatred between Negroes and whites. An ideology became a reality to many of the whites involved in the African slave trade and the American slave trade. Negro slave labor was entwined with the success of the Northeastern colonies. To maintain that success it was incumbent upon the dominant white class to continually oppress Africans by any means.

*Reference Term Black**

The collocational analysis of the *RT Black* revealed more instances of black and material items than black denoting a human. Below in Table 4: *RT Black Left and Right Nodes*, eight of the twenty-six articles refer to the *RT Black* or approximately one-third of the articles. Considering nodes over a span 4 or 5, a negative semantic prosody is recognized amongst the eight references to black people. In Appendix K: *RT Black Concordance*, “Very Black” (line 12 and 18) reference a description of a runaway Negro, but only has positive collocates. When the *RT Black* denotes humans the collocates include: *Negroes, mulattoes, flight, affair, robbed, slaves, condemned, and ordered*. The noun collocates for *RT Black*, *Negroes, mulattoes, and slaves* represent chattel in colonial America, and the verbs are *robbed, condemned and ordered*, which are also negative as well as fearful connotations.

Table 4: *RT* Black Left and Right Nodes

Left	1 node	2 nodes	3 nodes	4 or more nodes
	worthy		man	White
	very			
	free			
	several			Condemned
Right	1 node	2 nodes	3 nodes	4 or more nodes
	government	robbed		Flight
	man	white	troops	Mulattoes
	gentry	ordered		Negroes
	slaves	intimated	intention	Requisition
	implemented			Affair

Newspaper subscribers and advertisers were aware of the humanness of Negro people, but labeling them as chattel served greater purposes. By printing prejudiced articles continually, the advertisers of *TCC* helped sustain the xenophobic philosophy that Negroes were chattel, which influenced the continued employment of Negroes as slaves for the American infrastructure and economy. Slaves were seen as property: “This faithful slave, hearing Mr. Gamble call for assistance forced his way through the runaways into the house, as did also a negro named Robert, the property of Mr. Gamble” (1786, Mar. 13, *TCC*). To colonial whites, animals and slaves were analogous; their lack of rights, inability to speak, and diminished mental capacity were nonequivalent to the superiority of their masters. When colonists who were exasperated with colonial government decided to “... show their opinions of courts of justice, they took from his chains a Negro that had been executed some time and placed him at the lawyer's bar, and filled the judge's seat with human excrement...” (1770, Nov. 11 *TCC*). The purpose of

the article was not the treatment of the Negro human by the white colonists as an outrage, but the use of the Negro's dead body and human excrement as a tool to show the "derision and contempt of the characters that fill these respectable places" (1770 Nov. 11 CC). The placement of Negroes on the same level as an animal in the newspapers indirectly substantiated their enslavement and dehumanization, and subsequently desensitized the white audience to acts of violence and injustice against black skin color.

Black Differences

Advertisements that portray horses and slaves similarly seem to be done innocently. The accepted view of slaves among the majority of the white class was that they were property, so the writers for the local newspaper would naturally construct references to chattel similarly. However, the daily interaction with slaves in conversation and community, abolitionists' commentary and the large number of bi-racial or mulatto residents in the colonial period clearly suggested differently: "Runaway from the subscriber in Canterbury, on the night following the 26th a mulatto slave named Samson, about 5 feet 8 inches high, and thirty years of age" (1774, Jul. 12 TCC). The term mulatto was used for slaves who were fair skinned. If white masters truly thought that slaves were animals, then there would not have been a population of mulattoes. It was not a secret amongst the colonists that white masters and Negro slaves had sexual relations, so the laws and beliefs declaring that Negroes were animals were not only blatant hypocrisy, but also an ideology perpetrated to ensure slavery perpetually.

On April 16, 1770, in an article admonishing the colonists to be Americans intolerant of the King's tyranny and enslavement of them, the colonial interpretation of slavery was revealed:

Surely tis beneath us, who are the posterity of such Heroes, to live when liberty is dead! Or even to survive it a day!—To be a Slave, is far below the character of a gentleman and is every disgrace to human nature.
(TCC)

As independence from the British Crown became imminent, articles against the Crown enslaving the white colonists increased. The colonists were not willing to relinquish their freedom for a day, and they considered slavery “every disgrace to human nature”; yet enslaving Negroes, having slave communities, and capturing runaways were hypocritically accepted because Negroes were considered animals of labor. On June 25, 1771 a runaway article states that if the Negro returns on his own after hearing the runaway article about himself, he can return without corporeal punishment: “If said Negro hears of this advertisement and returns to his duty within one month from the date, he shall be received into his master's service, without corporal punishment” *(TCC)*. In this instance the slave is treated like an animal *and* a human. He was advertised like a runaway animal, but his ability to comprehend his master's leniency was a human quality. The subscriber to the article did not say if he read the advertisement because slaves were not taught to read; however, by addressing the slaves through the advertisement, the master and subscriber were aware that slaves were human and

comprehended better than other animate chattel. The awareness of Negro humanity did not cease the practice of slavery. As long as the dominant white class was not being enslaved, slavery was acceptable. To keep Negroes in subjection to the laws of slavery and unaware that they were “the posterity of Heroes” as well, whites continually perpetrated the idea that Negroes were untrustworthy chattel.

Black and Negro Runaways

Runaway articles classified Negroes as untrustworthy or thieving chattel by describing the clothing stolen from the slave masters. So, the description of the clothing could possibly mean that the slave stole the clothes as he or she ran away, which signifies another negative connotation toward blacks. Not only were they chattel that was prone to shirk their duties and runaway, but they were also thieves. Considering the following article, white subscribers reported slaves stealing the listed items described in the runaway article:

Fifteen Dollars Reward, Runaway from the subscriber of Hebron on the evening after the 10th, a negro man named Tuney, about 6 feet high, very black, talkative, and of a springy countenance, about 24 or 25 years old--- carried away with him 1 brown loose coat, yellow binding. 1 coat and vest, mixed red and white no lining one sleeveless vest brown plaincloth , a striped tow shirt...Also supposed to be in company with said Negro, one Samuel Gilbert of New Canaan, in the province of New York, hired man to the subscriber, about 19 years of age dark brown hair and eyes about 5

feet and 8 inches high, had with him 1 large grey coat, dark brown broad cloth lapele'd vest, 2 short jackets for every day...sundry of the above articles were stolen by one or both of the described fellows. Whoever will take up said negro servant and return him to his master, or shall confine him in any of his majesty's goals shall have ten dollars reward, and necessary charges paid. For the said Gilbert, five dollars reward, and all necessary charges paid, by me, Samuel Gilbert. (1773, Jun. 22 *TCC*)

The runaway article begins with the amount of the reward and a physical description of the Negro. After listing the clothing of the slaves, the subscriber stated that the articles of clothing were stolen. Like the article above, clothing was painstakingly listed by the subscribers to seemingly remind the colonists that the slaves were escapees and thieves. In addition to stealing clothing, slaves were suspected of forging passes, "it is suspected said Negroes have got a forg'd pass" (1770, Aug. 13 *TCC*); changing their names, "he is a handy fellow, and pretty good carpenter; tis likely he may have a pass, and change his name from Primms to Charles (1771, Nov. 19 *TCC*); and spreading fires and devastation, "Yesterday evening, about 7 o'clock, a party of run-aways came down to the Rosaly Estate, where they carried their usual attendants fire and devastation" (1786, Mar. 13 *TCC*). The usual attendants of runaway slaves were reported to be fire and devastation. The majority of the runaways listed are slaves. Therefore, associating the previously reported nature of runaways to Negro slaves was indigenous to colonial life. Masters used the trepidation associated with runaways to construct articles that would try to scare

people from harboring slaves and entice them with money to capture and return their property. Owners not only tracked runaway slaves, but they also bought, sold and traded their property at will. Some articles represent dehumanization and the treatment of slaves as property without the use of To Be Sold. For example, on 1765, Dec. 31 800 slaves were used for a job.

At the special slave court held at Port Antonio on Sat 3 NM the property of Rudd are on trial for the murder of their master and mistress on Skiddow plantation on the Sept last when they were all found guilty on the clearest evidence. They were executed hanged and head severed. 2 heads were put on poles on Skiddow plantation and the third on one road leading to it. None them could on trial, assign any reason for the commission of this horrid act of cruelty. (1803, Nov. 30 *TCC*)

The silence of the Negro male resounds in the November 30, 1803 article. The words of the Negro males are not written because as property they would have been represented by Rudd or not at all. In many of the articles the Negroes are not given names. They are represented in masses, as slaves or Negroes when there are more than a few, however, when an accident happened to a small number of Negroes or a single Negro person they were not labeled by name, but as “two mulattoes and two negro boys were also wounded,” or “Negro man drowned,” or “slave trade upwards of 6600 slaves were imported.” By omitting the names of Negroes when they were classified as murderers or on trial, writers in *TCC* were able to continually reference them as property. Assigning

names to the slaves when they were about to be killed for a crime would humanize the event, so ambiguity helped dehumanize the slaves further. On November 30, 1803, “three Negro males, the property of Rudd were on trial, for the murder of their master and mistress” (*TCC*). The use of the term *property* was common when referencing slaves and masters at this time. Combining slaves with property in the same sentence was a constant reminder that Negroes were chattel. The three Negroes were chattel, and according to *TCC* the “clearest evidence” proved them to be guilty, yet that evidence was not written in the article. Also, while on trial, the black murderers could not “assign any reason for the commission of this horrid act of cruelty.” With such clear evidence and without any reason for killing their master and mistress, the execution, hanging, and posting of the three Negroes heads on posts appeared to be warranted. The Negroes without names were silenced and the Negro race was once again dehumanized and demonized.

Emergent Semantic Categories from Semantic Prosodies

A common aspect found in each *RT* analysis was the right nodes were more negatively descriptive than the left nodes. Informed by CDA and the semantic sets that associated overall with the *RTs*, three semantic prosodic categories emerged: sources of evil, objects of commerce, and inferiority. Examples of collocates used to determine the categories of the *RTs* are included in Table 5 below.

Table 5: CDA Informed Categories from Collocates

Category	Definition and Examples
Sources of Evil and Fear	Used to provoke fear in the white colonists by describing evil characters and actions. Ex. diabolical, wanton, barbarous, insurgents, terrifying, condemned, illicit, guilty, very formidable, cruelty, blood, depredation, mutinying, execution, criminal, wretches, perish, fatal, insurrection, murder, kill, execution,
Chattel of Commerce	Used to refer to enslaving, buying, selling and holding property. Ex. Object, money value, exchanged, cargo, property, gold, purchased, importing, marked upon their breasts with a red hot iron, cargo, perpetual, worthy, poor, transported from, stolen from, valuable, employ, floating dungeon
Inferiority	Used to refer to an inadequate, poor, lower class Ex. Stupidity, melancholy, victims, pity, nakedness, sold, emancipated, annoying, carried off, defeated, flight, groaning, overpowered, intoxicated, deserters

Sources of evil and fear stem from mainly nouns and verbs collocating with Negro. Throughout the analysis of the sub-corpus, Negroes were portrayed murdering white masters, white children, or each other. In order to negatively portray Negroes, adjectives like *barbarous*, *diabolical* and *nefarious* were used, but the majority of the semantic prosodies were nouns and verbs. Verbs included words like *mutinying*, *terrifying*, *condemned*, *pillage*, *kill*, and *butchered*. Common nouns were *insurgents*, *depredation*,

cruelty, robbery, massacre, enemy, outrage, and miscreants. Although most collocates for Negro were centered on fear and evil, the *RT* had collocates in all three categories.

Understandably, slave had collocates mainly in chattel of commerce and inferiority. Socially, slaves were the lowest class in colonial society. The use of slave for commerce was not uncommon; however, the term was rarely used in connotations or denotations outside of chattel and commerce. *Voyage, irons, shackled, traffic, carried off, furnish, estates, perpetual, Portuguese, employed, and Negro*, resemble words associated with the Atlantic slave trade. Christian, abolish and emancipated were terms in the sub-corpus that were associated with slaves and should have been positive, yet positive semantic prosody is lost in a sea of negativity:

I and others were coupled together as convicts and carried seventy miles into the country, and sold for slaves; and after having been exchanged and sold many times, I am now in the province of Pennsylvania, where I am kept worse than a Christian would keep a dog (1769, May 8 *TCC*)

Although Christian is in the semantic prosody of the *RT* slave, the negative connotation of Christian in the statement coupled with being kept like a dog minimizes the positivity. The statements “African colony emancipating slaves” (1827, December 3) and “February 16 the English abolish the slave trade” (1794, May 19) are both positive statements; however, the semantic prosody is with commerce and slavery again, as if slaves did not marry or give birth or help save lives. The elements of positivity were almost non-existent. Commerce and slavery were intertwined and the low existence of collocates for

slaves compared to Negroes was unexpected. Slave should have yielded more collocates because of the slave trade, yet there were more for Negro. Notwithstanding, slave also had evil and fearful collocates like, *burn, ammunition, die, bloody, wars, drowned, and evil.*

Africa collocates are a mixture of evil, fear, and chattel of commerce. Collocates speak of countries, people, and history riddled with horror. Regardless of the association, the semantic prosody, or the race, the happenings in Africa from the 14th century to the 18th century are mirrored in its semantic prosodies: *voyages, sickness, suicide, continually perish, wanton cruelty, chains, murder, barbarous, stolen from, streams of blood follow every stroke, stripes, trade, slaves, company, suspended by thumbs, burning, tyranny, open market selling, unbound avarice, sufferers, wretches, absolute property, and pity.* The emergent themes and corpus analysis reveal a continuation of racist tactics to keep Negroes separated from and inferior to whites, and identifies dehumanizing and demonizing as compatible CDA strategies.

CHAPTER V: ANALYSIS PART 2: LACK OF RACIST CONTEXTUAL
STRATEGIES 1812-1827

Diachronic Change

The racist contextual strategies found in part one of the analyses dominated *TCC* from 1764 to 1812. A racial line of demarcation was set between Negroes and whites socially, and advertisements written by white colonists enforced a negative representation of Negroes that is personified in the article below:

Our American prisoners (to the number of 31) are confined in the common goal of Halifax (a lousy, filthy, unwholesome place) and are treated in the most inhuman and barbarous manner possible, having nothing to live upon but salt provisions (and that very scant) thrown in among Negroes, robbers, &c and are told they know no distinction between them. (1776, Sept. 9 *TCC*)

Negroes are associated with “lousy, filthy, unwholesome places.” Negroes are “treated in the most inhuman and barbarous manner possible, having nothing to live upon but salt provisions (and that very scant).” Negroes and robbers are a common fit, and Negroes are not “our Americans.” The article above is clear about what the subscribers thought of Negroes in *TCC*, a sociopolitical tool of influence in colonial society. Beginning publication in 1764, *TCC* presented, substantiated, and persisted with a racist ideology of Negroes. On August 13, 1770 runaway headlines were big and descriptive with Negro males running away more than the females. In 1773, the white colonists placed advertisements for slaves born in the states instead of abroad, and they still considered 20

year old male Negroes as boys. In 1792, the term *black* is used with African or Negro and there were rewards ranging from \$100 for prime Negroes to \$2 for a 50 year old Negro (1775 Jan. 1) in *TCC* classifieds. Racially prejudiced articles dominated the 18th century, but around 1812 a steady decline in runaways, classifieds, and demonizing articles was noted (see Figure 3).

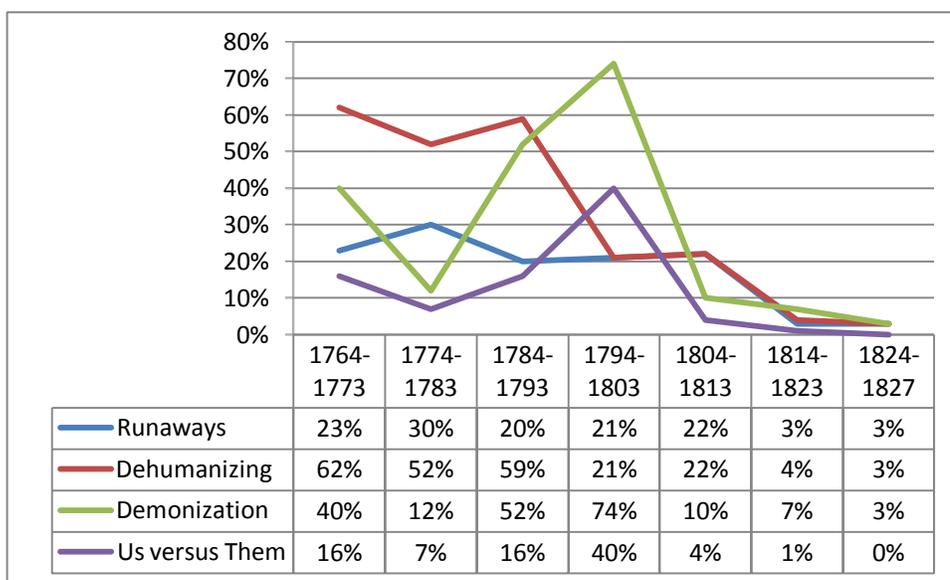


Figure 3: Decline in Racial Contextual Articles

The graph above shows that Negroes were heavily dehumanized from 1764 to 1813. There were more demonization articles when *TCC* was first published and again in 1784-1793. All of the articles peak in negativity between 1784 and 1804. Then, by 1827 the racial contextual articles equal 0 to 3%. There were so few articles pertaining to runaways, dehumanizing and demonization in the corpus after 1812 that by 1827 they were at very low percents. Contained in that low percentile were articles that demonized

southern slave owners and the Negroes they owned. Initially, the racist contextual strategies were centered on demonizing Negroes and excused the culpability of all white colonists involved in the slave trade. After 1812 *TCC* started blatantly indicting Southern slave owners as the only culprits involved in slavery and exonerating the Northeast.

Northern Anti-slavery Articles and Southern Demonization

In order to erase slavery from the oracles of Northeastern history, the *CC* began claiming that the North was always against slavery, while simultaneously printing articles that demonized the South. An article on July 21, 1812, hinted of the new language used in *TCC*:

In the northern section of the Union slavery is almost unknown. The few black and colored people are as free and have the same rights as the white. The idea of slavery, in the southern sense of the word, is lost from the minds of the people. The courts are as open and justice is as speedily executed in favor of the poor as of the rich. The children of the poor are instructed by a common expense, and the path of preferment is open to their industry and good moral conduct. Everyone is owner of the soil on which he lives, and is supported by the labor of himself and family— There are no great families, which from generation to generation have been supported by the labor of slaves. The many, who are rich, have made themselves so by industry in some reputable business. (*TCC*)

According to the subscriber of *TCC*, the North did not know slavery in the same sense of the word as the South, and the North had a justice and education system that was open to

“their industry and good moral conduct,” that is to the poor. The great families were not supported by the labor of slaves but by a reputable business. The current and previous research has revealed these statements to be deliberately false.

The Northeastern colonies participated in the full spectrum of enslavement and slavery; however, erroneous articles like the article above were used to create a distance between Northeastern whites and their complicity in slavery. A scapegoat was needed, and the southern states matched the prototype:

On the 22nd of July the family of Mr. Herre Doucet of the county of Opelousas, New Orleans, Mr. D and his eldest son being absent from home) were murdered by a Negro man a slave on the plantation. Madam Doucet from the window observed the negro sharpening a broad axe on the grind stone. The fellow entered sometime after with his weapon, and advanced upon his mistress with such rapidity that, notwithstanding her alarm he instantly cleaved open her skull, and repeated his blows across her face and in other directions, without her doing any more than to scream...the daughter received the same fate. The son ...was pursued by the Negro to the adjacent fence and there put to death. The Negro then returned to the house murdered the little children in their sleep and collected all the victims into one pile. His being sentenced to the gallows in two hours...he would not wait and they let him jump—which he did!!
(1812, Oct. 6 *TCC*)

Premeditated murder in Louisiana compared to the reputable and moral North. Both articles were in 1812 and the contrast became very noticeable in *TCC*. With Negroes “on a plantation” brutally “cleaving open the skull” of their mistress, the North could use the same pen that built racism between Negroes and whites to build a new self image. In Table 6 the articles are about baptism, and preventing the extension of slavery; however, the new pen, excluded them from admitting to owning, selling, raping or using Negroes.

Table 6: Anti-Slavery North

we are sinking deeper and deeper in the degradation of slavery	(1814, Apr 5 <i>TCC</i>)
the Lord is carrying on gracious work among the poor Negroes who are being baptized, marrying, church	(1819, Jan. 19 <i>TCC</i>)
New England suffers with the slave states if commerce is annihilated	(1814, Dec 27 <i>TCC</i>)
Boston the slave trade and slavery in the new states	(1819, Nov. 16 <i>TCC</i>)
prevent the farther extension of slavery	(1819, Dec. 7 <i>TCC</i>)
From Boston patriot to Africa the US cleared the coast of every slaver	(1820, June 18 <i>TCC</i>)
Ohio abolition of slavery	(1824, Nov. 30 <i>TCC</i>)
New York abolition of slavery	(1827, July 9 <i>TCC</i>)

Dehumanizing, demonizing, and scare tactics were replaced with negative articles about Negroes in other countries, “Eight negroes have been condemned to be hanged in Mathew’s county for personating Englishmen in the night, and robbing Mr. John Ripley” (1813, April 13 *TCC*), an article pertaining to the English. Although the Negro was still demonized in the previous article, the demonization was stressed that it was in the South instead of the North. Articles pertaining to “diabolical” Negroes were based in other states or countries. The Northeast was not implicated. Articles listed in Table 7 reveal the “horrid” stories associated with the South and slavery.

Table 7: Demonizing South

black slaves taken from southern states to Jamaica brought back many died on voyage had to be returned to Jamaica	(1815, July 26 <i>TCC</i>)
Nashville TN 2 men murdered by Negroes on board the boat several of the n are free, on the passage committed the murder	(1818, Jan. 27 <i>TCC</i>)
premium for murder an inhuman fello in NC has advertised a reward of \$200 for head, severed body of his N slave Isaac	(1818, May 10 <i>TCC</i>)
General Mitchell dismissed by the president of the US on account of illicit trade in the intro of African slaves in AL territory	(1821, Apr. 17 <i>TCC</i>)
declaring the number of slaves in the North and distinguishing the low number of slaves and the 3/5 of a person	(1822, Jan. 29 <i>TCC</i>)
maintaining 180 Africans in Georgia	(1827, Mar 5 <i>TCC</i>)

The Connecticut Courant printed more stories about abolition and morality in the Union, while demonizing insurrections and rebellions in the South, Havana, the West Indies, Morocco, and Portugal. Consequently, *TCC* used the established vehicle of racism against Negroes in the North and South in its favor. By sympathizing with the hardships and immorality of slavery, the North added more exposure of slavery in the South. The result of outrage and indignation against the South hid the North's collusion for decades.

CHAPTER VI: RESULTS

Research Answers

The discursive strategies that identified whitewashing in *TCC* can be summarized under dehumanizing and demonizing. Whites dehumanized Negroes by placing advertisements in *TCC* to sale, trade and capture their property. In all of the runaway articles, the subscribers failed to place an advertisement that showed the capture of a slave. The colonists also demonized Negroes by printing articles that presented whites innocently and Negroes as killers, thieves, or ‘the other.’ According to van Dijk “There are two major forms of racist discourse: 1. racist discourse *directed at* ethnically different Others; 2 racist discourse *about* ethnically different Others” (p. 351). *The Connecticut Courant* used discourse to ostracize Negroes when the dark color of their skin separated them from whites naturally. Negroes were the other socially, physically and economically.

Although Northerners desired to distance themselves from the aforementioned legalized rape, forced medical inquiry, forced labor, and eternally owning another human being, it would have been admirable if they had chosen that mindset in the beginning. Whitewashing their involvement only adds fabricating history to the litany of criminal acts committed with owning Negroes. Some Whites, such as the second President of the United States were opposed to the entire system of slavery. Greene (1974) noted that John Adams “...never owned a slave...” (p. 109). Some opposition to the injustices of the slave trade and slavery were voiced by sympathetic or religious whites; albeit, on

many occasions these articles did not address discrimination against Negroes or challenge the belief that whites were intrinsically superior to Negroes. At the same time, the “Negro” voice was seldom heard under the dominance of the white race because property and domestic animals did not speak. The socio-cognitive construction of racism by whites toward Negroes was developed, practiced and recited for 200 years via chattel slavery and slave codes. According to McManus (1973), the perpetration of Negroes as inferior people has resulted in a generational racism that has not yet broken:

This conception of race entered deeply into the consciousness of white Americans to poison the wellsprings of national life. Out of it came that fatal infatuation with color that has blighted countless lives and bequeathed to the present a legacy of racial discontent. (p.188)

Congenital racism toward Negroes resulted in whites trying to send Negroes back to Africa and instituting laws that prohibited them from residing in New England in the early years of the 19th century (McManus, 1973, p. 183). Prior to the 1830s, the Negro slave system was unashamedly the dominant form of labor with governing slave codes to keep decency and order. When the harsh reality of slavery was exposed, inspected, and identified over time, the descendants of the white hegemony wanted to erase their involvement with slavery. The power of the pen was evident in that the only media source portrayed the New England colonies as pure, moral abolitionists untainted by associations with slavery and having only a few Negroes residing in their colonies.

The motive suggested from the racist contextual strategies explored in this thesis was to keep Negroes in an inferior position of servitude so that free labor could continue. The need of the colonists to survive, cultivate the land, and build an infrastructure in the colonies outweighed the moral depravity associated with the enslavement of another human being. The frequent topics discussed in *The Connecticut Courant* pertaining to the black minority are: sources of evil and fear, chattel of commerce, and inferiority. The discourse in runaway articles was used to dehumanize Negroes in the media. White advertisers of *TCC*, helped establish, cement, and further racist ideologies toward Negroes via content that instilled inferiority, fear, and oppression. The majority of the runaway articles were located in the classified section of the newspaper. In addition to the classifieds being used to advertise the latest goods offered (including slaves) and available for pick up at the print shop, there was the blatant, yet disregarded, enforcement of negative dehumanizing ideologies that helped establish a racist ideology toward Negroes amongst many of the white inhabitants who read and trusted the media. The actual use of the classified section in *TCC* to advertise African men and women running from English men identified the dominant race. In order for the English to pursue and capture Africans, knowledge of dominance and authority by both sides was necessary. The immorality of advertising for the capture of another human being for the purposes of subjugating him or her to a life of bondage was lost in a world accustomed to dehumanizing Negro slaves. None of the articles analyzed or expressed indignation over the use of the classifieds to request the return of Negro humans to their masters. The culture of the Northeastern colonies classified Negroes as property that was overseen by a

white master. As a result, the inferiority of the Negro slave was not typically questioned: it was known. Because Negro men were considered to be inferior to white men, the demand for the apprehension and return of the Negro slave was equivalent to losing animals or property. Using the CDA methodology, demonization and dehumanization were surmised. When sources of evil and fear emerged from the linguistic analysis, the manifested topoi of fear ruling the slaves and the colonists were deduced. Fear ruled the Negro and white community alike. The colonists were in fear of the slaves rebelling, and their unfamiliarity in a new world, while Negroes were in fear of slavery, masters, and lack of basic necessities in a new world. Fear reverberates throughout the topics and subtopics of this study. The topics revealed by the linguistic analysis suggest negative discourse was predominantly linked to the nodes that collocate to the right of the reference terms; *Africa, slave, Negro, and black*. The methodology of CDA suggests the representation of 'self' and 'other' in the media. According to van Dijk (2004) passive phrases are implemented when projecting a positive self-image, and direct active voice is used when discussing 'the other' (p.353). The result yields right nodes in an example like the Negroes butchered the children. The sub corpus has many direct active voices when describing the reference terms. Therefore, by representing a positive self-image and a negative 'other,' the white colonists used active words that further demonized the Negro. Combining semantic prosodies and CDA revealed that "through their collocational and consequently prosodic choices, newspapers make and communicate sociopolitical choices. After demonizing and dehumanizing Negroes, an "insidious whitewashing" began when Negroes were proven to be human and the white colonists

had to co-exist with them. Laws and ordinances freed Negroes and labeling Negroes 3/5ths of a man or trying to send them back to Africa or to Southern states, did not cease the truth that Negroes were humans. The next topos revealed was that of humanity. If Negroes are humans and not chattel then the North committed a crime against humanity, which translated to shame, embarrassment, guilt, and attempts to perpetuate lies to cover the truth about slavery.

Whitewashing

The main form of weekly media during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century was the newspaper: social inequality was perpetrated by New England Whites toward Blacks throughout the newspapers through the use of runaway headlines, scare tactics, and self/other presentations. "BLACKS OF SOUTH CAROLINA," the insurrections and rebellious Negroes were reported in *TCC* but the actual uprisings were not in the Northern states. The 'other' or Blacks were in Maryland, or South Carolina or the Indies. The implication is that Negroes were nonexistent or were content in the North, but discontented in the southern states. The fact is that whereas New York and Connecticut finally abolished slavery completely in 1827 and 1848 respectively, "the rest of the North settled for gradualism" (McManus, 1973, p. 181). Gradualism allowed slave owners to lease their slaves without freedom or sell them back to the South or circumvent manumission laws illegally.

Slavery in the North and in Connecticut did not end until 1830, but the portrayal, that exists even today, was that the Northern states were against slavery and were always Free states. However, the "kidnapping of free blacks from the North was so rampant

before the Civil War that abolitionists decried it as a slave trade unto itself” (Farrow et al., 2006, p. 139). At the same time the portrayal cements the ideology that Negroes were dangerous killers not to be trusted and omits or whitewashes the truth by having the ‘other’ in this case being Negroes in other states, but not the Negroes in the North. For example, Melish (1998) located symbolic representations of prejudice in white discourse by representing Blacks “as ridiculous or dangerous strangers in anecdotes, cartoons, and broadsides, emphasizing slavery and race as a southern problem.” In addition to emphasizing the degraded position of Black people, the American Colonization Society held a campaign “to demonize free people of color and raise funds to ship them to Africa” (p. 2). By enforcing a discriminatory ideology toward Blacks and omitting the voice of Negroes in the media, the white hegemony was portrayed as defenders of their welfare against blacks and justified in keeping Blacks enslaved under indentured law until after 1830. The North’s complicity in slavery was whitewashed through the use of discriminatory discourse. The extensive process of whitewashing an 18th century home parallels the degree to which writers of *TCC* went to whitewash their involvement of slavery in the Northeast:

The walls are in a few minutes stripped of their furniture... This ceremony completed, and the house thoroughly evacuated, the next operation is to smear the walls and ceilings of every room and closet with brushes, dipped in a solution of lime, called whitewash; to pour buckets of water over every floor and scratch all the partitions with rough brushes wet with soap suds, and dipped in stone cutters sand. Those smearing and

scratching, washings and dashings, being duly performed the next ceremonial is to cleanse and replace the distracted furniture. The misfortune is that the sole object is to make things clean: It matters not how many useful, ornamental, or valuable articles are mutilated or suffered death under the operation; a mahogany chair and carved frame undergo the same discipline; they are to be made clean at all events; but their preservation is not worthy of attention. For two or three weeks after the operation the family are usually afflicted with sore eyes or sore throats, occasioned by the caustic quality of the lime; or with severe colds from the exhalations of wet floors and damp walls. (1787, May 7 *TCC*)

The objective of whitewashing a house was to vigorously clean it from any residue of dirt. It did not matter to the cleaners or the writers or the colonists “how many useful, ornamental, or valuable articles are mutilated or suffered death under the operation...” (*TCC*). Mutilation and death plagued humans with black, or brown skin that was ‘other’ than white, because they were considered useful articles or chattel. The ignominious residue left by the deracination and enslavement of the Negro was “to be made clean at all events” and the preservation of human life was “not worthy of attention.” Colonial whites in the Northeast vigorously brushed a pen of lime with ink consisting of racism and denial to whitewash their incalculable debt to Negroes. The result of decades of whitewashing stripped Negroes of their new heritage in the colonies just like the furniture and paintings were stripped and made ready. Unfortunately, just as the “family was afflicted with sore eyes or sore throats, occasioned by the caustic quality of the lime; or

with severe colds from the exhalations of wet floors and damp walls,” the Negro has been afflicted with generational bondage, impoverishment, and racism. A major distinction in the parallel though, is Americans stopped whitewashing their homes.

Recommendations and Implications for Further Directions

After discussing demonizing, dehumanizing and whitewashing Negroes, a method to describe the effects of racism on a people without demonizing and dehumanizing the perpetrators is necessary, if it is possible. More analysis can be carried out on the text. Instead of a sub corpus for the semantic prosody section, diachronic trends of the entire corpus could be used. Finally, determining the validity of the stories through cross referencing sources could shed light on the depth of racism or other factors.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: RT Negro* MI Values and T-Scores

N	Word 1	Freq.	Word 2	Freq.	MI	T Score
1	NEGRO	76.0	NAMED	22.0	10.8	4.5
2	NEGRO	76.0	RETURN	11.0	10.5	2.8
3	NEGRO	76.0	MAN	27.0	10.4	4.2
4	NEGRO	76.0	BOY	11.0	10.3	2.6
5	NEGRO	76.0	EVENING	9.0	10.1	2.2
6	NEGRO	76.0	TAKE	16.0	10.0	2.8
7	NEGRO	76.0	WHOEVER	15.0	9.9	2.6
8	NEGRO	76.0	ABOUT	30.0	9.5	3.3
9	NEGRO	76.0	SAID	28.0	9.3	3.0
10	NEGRO	76.0	YEARS	22.0	9.3	2.6
11	NEGRO	76.0	WILL	33.0	8.9	2.8
12	NEGRO	76.0	HIM	35.0	8.8	2.8
13	NEGRO	76.0	AWAY	36.0	8.8	2.8
14	NEGRO	76.0	WHO	36.0	8.6	2.6
15	NEGRO	76.0	SUBSCRIBER	29.0	8.4	2.2
32	NEGROES	56.0	MULATTOES	5.0	11.4	2.2
33	NEGROES	56.0	ARE	41.0	9.2	3.0
34	NEGROES	56.0	SAID	28.0	9.2	2.4
35	NEGROES	56.0	THEM	35.0	8.9	2.4
36	NEGROES	56.0	WHO	36.0	8.6	2.2
37	NEGROES	56.0	HAVE	37.0	8.5	2.2
38	NEGROES	56.0	WAS	41.0	8.4	2.2
39	NEGROES	56.0	AT	43.0	8.3	2.2
40	NEGROES	56.0	THAT	87.0	8.3	3.2

Appendix B: RT Negro*Concordance

N	Concordance	Set
1	upon which, with the help of a Negro Boy helped her beat him	V
2	ld for want of employ a likely Negro Boy ABT 14 yrs old, has	V
3	er will apprehend said Mulatto Negro and return him to the s	V
4	, the negro talking freely the negro suddenly faced round, s	V
5	ont page for the murder of his negro man slave named Prosper	V
6	and is fact treated like a VA negro . Indeed an hundred inst	V
7	gain 9-28-1803 Article a small Negro girl was drowned 6-27-1	V
8	r criminal conversation with a Negro . Whoever shall take up	V
9	5 someone took away a valuable negro man-slave and a till fr	V
10	rs To be sold this county born Negro Wench, 24 years old now	V
11	run away from the subscriber a Negro man named Prince had on	V
12	swimming away with Mr. King's negro man, who was on shore a	V
13	es . Whoever will take up said Negro and return him to the s	V
14	ad Wanted to purchase a lively Negro Boy or Girl about 14 ye	V
15	r will take up and return said Negro shall have ten dollars	V
16	ge in the political state of a negro . That the plantation la	P
17	ngs of the embargo 48 bales of negro cotton on board, which	N
18	the evening after the 8th, two Negro men, one named Beston a	N
19	20-1809 Classified ad Run away Negro Male 10 dollars from th	C
20	udges of that court, between a Negro named Somerset against	P
21	e? That the relation between a Negro and his owner might be	P
22	er on the evening of the 9th a negro man servant named Peter	A
23	for elephants teeth, Gold and Negro slaves, intended for Ba	A
24	ened in Chesterfield County. A Negro girl carried Mrs. Epps	A
25	r. Rogers and Mr. Kinney and a Negro man belonging to the ca	A
26	ry, the night after the 19th a Negro man and woman named Rob	A
27	sday night the 2nd of July the Negro cook leapt from the raf	A
28	from the raft and was lost The Negro cannot respond. 12-31-1	A
29	day the 15th of Nov. a mulatto Negro about 26 years of age a	A
30	m subscriber the 29th of May a negro man named Lew or Lewis	A
31	subscriber the 18th of June a Negro Man named Dick has on a	A
32	subscriber a few days since, a Negro boy named cush, about 2	A
33	s into the house as did also a Negro named Robert the proper	A
34	er in Colchester on the 17th a Negro Man, named Quam about 3	A

Appendix C: RT Negro* Nodes

N	Word	With	Rel	Ttl		L3	L2	L1	Ctr	R1	R2	R3
				Lt	Rt							
1	NEGRO	negro	0	1	1	0	0	0	76	0	0	0
2	NEGROES	negroes	0	1	1	1	0	0	56	0	0	1
3	THE	negro	0	37	21	9	0	14	0	0	3	6
4	THE	negroes	0	35	16	6	4	20	0	0	5	3
5	A	negro	0	40	1	0	8	30	0	0	0	0
6	OF	negro	0	21	9	5	8	1	0	0	2	0
7	AND	negroes	0	11	18	3	2	2	0	9	0	3
8	NAMED	negro	0	1	18	0	0	0	0	2	12	3
9	MAN	negro	0	0	18	0	0	0	0	18	0	0
10	TO	negroes	0	6	10	0	2	0	0	0	1	2
11	TO	negro	0	2	12	0	0	0	0	2	2	2
12	A	negroes	0	3	8	1	0	0	0	1	1	2
13	ABOUT	negro	0	0	10	0	0	0	0	1	3	0
14	TAKE	negro	0	6	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
15	WHO	negroes	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	3	0	1
16	OR	negro	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
17	MULATTOES	negroes	0	3	2	0	2	0	0	0	2	0
18	IS	negroes	0	3	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
19	SUBSCRIBER	negro	0	3	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	1
20	RETURN	negro	0	3	5	0	3	0	0	0	5	0
21	BY	negroes	0	6	1	2	3	1	0	1	0	0
22	WHO	negro	0	1	6	0	0	0	0	2	3	1
23	WAS	negro	0	2	5	1	0	0	0	0	2	2
24	YEARS	negro	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
25	UP	negro	0	7	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0
26	WILL	negro	0	6	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
27	BOY	negro	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	7	0	0
28	AWAY	negro	0	7	0	2	2	1	0	0	0	0
29	FROM	negro	0	4	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
30	WITH	negroes	0	4	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
31	THEM	negroes	0	4	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
32	WHOEVER	negro	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
33	FOR	negro	0	5	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1

Appendix D: RT Negro* Left Nodes Hand Analysis

Left	1 node	2 nodes	3 nodes	4 or more nodes
	A number	afraid	Buyers	A number
	boat	converting	conspiracy	Classified
	female	defection	contention	committed
	hurt	drowned	Criminal	diabolical
	inland	employ	deserters	died
	Likely	likely	Intoxicated	enemy
	manned	Political state	loath	hut
	midwives	preserve	murder	killed
	mountain	rising	murdered	Master
	mulatto	ship	overpowered	overseer
	runaway	Spiriting away	Plundering	secure
	said	suspected	Prohibit importation	swamps
	sent	To purchase	sellers	To be sold
	valuable	Treatment of		
	Virginia	Wolves/bears		
	young			

Appendix E: RT Negro* 4 or More Nodes

Right	4 or more nodes	4 or more nodes	4 or more nodes	4 or more nodes	4 or more nodes
	Beat	Catherine	Abundance	barbarous	Conquered in war
	Dead/death died	Destroying Drums	Baptized charges	Butchered whites cruelty	criminal devastation
	Divert	fecundity	Condemn	enemy	field
	Floating dungeon	Horrid tragedy	freedom	harbor	forbid
	Flung	Inebriety	Good breeder	herd	foreigner
	leaped	Killed	Intermarry	Lawless	Gentlemen sarcastically
	Made off	Knife	Master	Murder	Massacre
	Monetary value	miscreants	misery	Offender	Monsters
	Pretence prevented	payment Plunder	Nation of mulattoes No restraint	outrage punishment	nefarious perished
	Runaway	property	Perpetual service	Robbery	Perpetual
	Stave	Riot	Prevented	slavery	Pillage
	Struck	Robert	servant	Speaks good English	Seize
	Stunned	Wench	slave	unhappy	Take up
	Very black	Wounded	To be sold	Whipped flogged with knives	

Appendix F: Vicious Runaway Articles

<p>Run away from the Subscribers in Plainfield, in Connecticut, the evening after the 8th two Negro Men, one name Boston, about 30 years old , a thin well fed fellow of a middle stature, very black, carried with him one check'd linen shirt, one streaked ditto, one old fine Holland ditto, one Pair leather breeches, one pair streaked long breeches 4 pair stockings of divers colours, one old beaver hat, velvet wristcoat, snuff coloured horn buttons, one other ditto something worn, strait body'd coat, brownish, a new great coat, brownish colour, trim'd with flower'd metal buttons—The other named Newport, a well fed fellow, not quite so tall as the former, and about 24 years old, red broadcloth waistcoat, crimson trim'd, lincey wooley strip'd ditto, a strip'd row shires, frock and trousers. 1 pair cotton stockings seem'd, pair mix'd seem'd ditto, 2 pair shoes, a good felt hat, tow silk handkerchiefs. Whoever will take up said fellos, and secure thim in am of his majesty's goals so that we can receive said Negroes, shall have a reward of SIX DOLLARS, and all necessary charges paid by us, Isaac Coit, Robert Kinsman NB It is suspected said Negroes have got a forg'd pass</p>	<p>1770, Aug. 13 CC [article repeated in subsequent classifieds]</p>
<p>RUN-AWAY From their master, Benjamin Hale of Glastenbury, the night after the 29th. A Negro Man about forty years of age of a middling stature, strait limb'd; carried away with him one dark brown coat, one great coat light blue, blue jackets, one white cotton ditto, one beaver hat, 5 shirts, 2 pair of breeches and sundry other clothes—The Negro woman about 34 years of age of a middling size, carried away with her 4 gowns and white one, one wollen strip'd, a shaftoon quilt of a light blue, a pair of stays and many other things. They both speak good English. Whoever shall take up said Run aways and return them to their Master shall have Twenty shillings reward paid by Benjamin Hale</p>	<p>1770, Sept. 13 CC</p>

Appendix F: Vicious Runaway Articles

<p>Includes a picture of a runaway. On Tuesday evening the 25th ran away from my Tan Works, my Negro Man Jack, aged about 24 years, about 5 feet and half high, marked with a large gash across on each cheek, and part of his scalp taken off the back part of his head, he can't straighten his right little finger---Whoever will take up said servant and return him to me or confine him in some hail, shall have all necessary charges paid and be handsomely rewarded. Thomas Denny. Any intelligence about the Negro sent either to Mr. Joseph Webb or me at Wethersfeld, will be thankfully acknowledged.</p>	1785, Oct. 31
<p>Ranaway on Sunday evening, the 16th day of the present month of August from John Duncan ... a Negro named Caesar, about 56 years of age very stout fellow though of middle stature, his legs rather small in proportion---has remarkable large feet---speaks good English. He was near New-London, in Connecticut, and lived a considerable time with Ralph Isaacs, merchant in New London; about eight years ago, was sold by said Isaacs together with his wife, to one Samuel Howe, who brought them to Claverack...It is well known he is gone to or at least towards some of the eastern states, as he was apprehended about 25 miles to the eastward of Albany, the day after he ranaway, and was put in the hands of John W. Schermerhorn from whom he made his escape the same afternoon. He is cunning, subtle, plausible fellow, and very capable of deceit: he cannot with any kind of truth, affect any cause of running away, except his being too kindly treated by his master, from whom he never received any kind of punishment---no, not so much as a single stroke, nevertheless, he robbed Mr. Duncan of sundry articles, at his departure, some of which he left at Mr. Schermerhorn's when he made his escape from thence. From these facts it is hoped that no honest man will give him any countenance or employ, but on the contrary, it is requested that he be immediately apprehended and secured in some goal, so that, on notice, he may be fit for his master, for which the sum of five pounds,</p>	1787, Oct. 8

Appendix F: Vicious Runaway Articles (cont.)

<p>Runaway from the subscriber on the night of the 21st an indented boy named William Miller after being detected in stealing a number of articles broke from his keepers and fled. Whoever will take up said run-away and bring him to me shall have six cents reward and charges paid. David Soper All persons are forbid harboring or trusting him on penalty of the law: he wore away a blue coat, black vest, white shirt, nankeen trousers, a good napt hat, and shoes.</p>	1799, Nov. 11
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Appendix G: RT Slave* Left and Right Nodes

Left	1 node	2 nodes	3 nodes	4 or more nodes	4 or more nodes
	#s 2-800	sold	property	Ship	bloody wars
	against	cargo	stupidity	Convicts	Burned
	their	insurrection	guns	very formidable	Enemies
	galley	master	estates	ammunition	Voyage
	keeping	against	furnish	Defeated	Irons
	Christian	purchase of	condemned	Taken	Shackled
	mulatto	keeping	guilty	fortified themselves	Debated
	said	importing	illicit	depredation	Committed
	Negro	eternal		Traffic	re-debated
	perpetual	gold		melancholy	re-committed
	faithful	emancipation		insurgents	Mutinying
	abolish	enumeration		carried off	
	holding	prohibit		Owner	
	live and die	trade		Annoying	
	apprentice	3/5th		Terrifying	
Right	1 node	2 nodes	3 nodes	4 or more nodes	4 or more nodes
	employed	binding	Africa	Sold	Banished
	drowned		contradiction	Portuguese	Death
	triumphant			Factory	Liberty
				money value	Object
				exchanged	Evil
				Sold	Sloping
				Dog	Eloped
				nakedness	Murder
				Fainted	Horses
				Dropped	
				Hoeing	
				repugnant	
				escaping	
				emancipated	
				protected	
				crimes	

Appendix H: Runaway Articles with Scare Tactics

<p>FOUR DOLLARS REWARD</p> <p>Run away from the subscriber in September last, a negro man named Stephen, born in Lebanon, in the colony of Connecticut, is a stout fellow, frouzled hair, is part Indian hath remarkable scars made by the king's evil breaking under his ears and chin, had with him an old fine black broad cloth coat. Any person that will bring him to me, or confine him in any of his majesty's goals shall have the above reward, and all reasonable charges paid by Roswell Hopkins of the nine partners</p> <p>N.B. All persons are forbid to harbor, conceal or carry him off.</p>	1768, Feb. 15 CC
<p>Runaway from the subscriber, a Negro or Molatto Girl, named Hannah of , but assumes the name of Hannah Watson, had on a calico bonnet, and other thin cloths, middling size, with long black hair, was the property Thomas Phillips of Salisbury, from whom she presents an emancipation in writing, but tis an illegal one. It is supposed she intends to reside in Farmington or to Rhode Island where said Phillips bought her. Whoever will secure said Girl, so that the subscriber can get her, shall be entitled to three dollars reward and reasonable charges paid on notice where she is secured. Adonijah Strong</p>	1784, Aug. 24
<p>We are informed, from undoubted authority, that on Wednesday evening last, Jack Bowler, alias Jack Dircher, for whom a reward of three hundred dollars was offered by the Governor, surrendered himself to the civil authority, as being considered as being a chief in the insurrection lately mediated by the Negroes. Gabriel, who was condemned to be hung on Tuesday last, received a respite from the Governor until today; when he together with fifteen others, five at the Brook, near this place, five at Four Mile Creek, and six including Gabriel at the Richmond Gallows, will be executed.</p>	1800, Oct. 27

Appendix H: Runaway Articles with Scare Tactics

<p>Fifty Dollars reward Ran away from the subscriber on the 3rd a negro sir named Hendrick, aged 30, of a very yellow complexion, about five feet one inch high, had on when he went away a blue long coat...Whoever will take up said run-away and bring him to the subscriber, or to Poughkeepsie jail shall receive the above reward form me Philip Lefwer in the town of Newpathy, county of Ulster and state of New York.</p>	1811, Jun 6
<p>Run Away from the subscriber on the evening of the 27th October last an indented Negro Boy, named William Warren, nineteen years old. Whoever will return said Boy shall be entitled to one cent reward, and no charges. All persons are hereby forbid harboring or trusting said Boy on penalty of the law. Abner M. Ellsworth</p>	1824, Nov. 23

Appendix I: Runaway Articles with Scare Tactics

<p>Runaway from the widow Elizabeth Porter of Hadley , a Negro Man named Zebulon Prut, about 30 years, about five feet high, a whitish complexion, supposed to have a squaw in company; carried away with him, a light brown Camblet Coat, lined and trimmed with the same color—blue paint cloth coat, with metal buttons, without lining—a new reddish brown, plain cloth coat, with plate buttons, no lining —a light brown waistcoat, and a dark brown ditto, both without sleeves—a pair of checkered and a pair of tow trousers—a pair of blue yarn stockings, and a pair of thread ditto—two pair of shoes—two hats—an old red duffel great coat—whoever will take up said negro, and bring him to Mrs. Porter, or to Oliver Warner, of said Hadley, shall have ten dollars reward, and all necessary charges paid, by Oliver Warner</p>	<p>1766, Sept. 15 CC</p>
<p>Runaway from the subscriber of Salisbury, on the night of the 13th Instant, a Negro Man named Thomas, about 24 years of age, he had on a double breasted bearskin jacket of a mixed color over the other with Mathew man buttons; said Negro is about five foot eight inches high. Whoever takes up said Negro, and secures him, or returns him to the subscriber, shall have Two dollars reward and all reasonable charges paid by</p> <p>Jonathan Moore</p> <p>N.B. All masters of vessel are forbid carrying off said Negro, or concealing of him upon the peril of the law.</p>	<p>1767, May 4 TCC</p>

Appendix I: Runaway Articles with Scare Tactics

<p>Run away from the Subscribers in Plainfield, in Connecticut, the evening after the 8th two Negro Men, one name Boston, about 30 years old , a thin well fed fellow of a middle stature, very black, carried with him one check'd linen shirt, one streaked ditto, one old fine Holland ditto, one Pair leather breeches, one pair streaked long breeches 4 pair stockings of divers colours, one old beaver hat, velvet wristcoat, snuff coloured horn buttons, one other ditto something worn, strait body'd coat, brownish, a new great coat, brownish colour, trim'd with flower'd metal buttons—The other named Newport, a well fed fellow, not quite so tall as the former, and about 24 years old, red broadcloth waistcoat, crimson trim'd, lincey wooley strip'd ditto, a strip'd row shires, frock and trousers. 1 pair cotton stockings seem'd, pair mix'd seem'd ditto, 2 pair shoes, a good felt hat, tow silk handkerchiefs. Whoever will take up said fellos, and secure thim in am of his majesty's goals so that we can receive said Negroes, shall have a reward of SIX DOLLARS, and all necessary charges paid by us, Isaac Coit, Robert Kinsman NB It is suspected said Negroes have got a forg'd pass</p>	<p>1770, Aug. 13 CC [article repeated in subsequent classifieds]</p>
<p>RUN-AWAY From their master, Benjamin Hale of Glastenbury, the night after the 29th. A Negro Man about forty years of age of a middling stature, strait limb'd; carried away with him one dark brown coat, one great coat light blue, blue jackets, one white cotton ditto, one beaver hat, 5 shirts, 2 pair of breeches and sundry other clothes—The Negro woman about 34 years of age of a middling size, carried away with her 4 gowns and white one, one wollen strip'd, a shaftoon quilt of a light blue, a pair of stays and many other things. They both speak good English. Whoever shall take up said Run aways and return them to their Master shall have Twenty shillings reward paid by Benjamin Hale</p>	<p>1770, Sept. 13 CC</p>

Appendix J: RT Africa* Left and Right Nodes

Left	1 node	2 nodes	3 nodes	4 or more nodes
	poor	Transported from	insurrection	forts
	bondage	Passage from	groaning	
Right	1 node	2 nodes	3 nodes	4 or more nodes
	Trade	To American	To the colonies	pity
	slaves	Whip	Open market	Continually perish
	company	Streams of blood	selling	On board
		Tyranny	Stolen from	Vessel
		stripes	perish	Convey them
		Suspended by thumbs	coffee	West Indies
		African		Absolute property
		burning		Sickness
		blood		suicide
		stroke		Voyages to America
				victims
				Marked upon their breasts
				Wretches
				Unbound avarice
				Wanton cruelty
				sufferers
				Chains
				murder
				Tyranny
				barbarous
				red hot iron

Appendix K: RT Black Concordance

N	Concordance
1	ticle He therefore ordered the black Venus to stand in requi
2	and in requisition. Got dam my black crop. In order that the
3	about 21 years of age, a round black felt hat. Any person wh
4	nox, yesterday in afternoon, a black mare, saddle and bridle
5	21-1795 Interesting vomiting a black stuff is said to be a d
6	d even from the borders of the black sea. A letter from Caye
7	ad on when he went away an old black velvet pair of overalls
8	wing viz: Denmark vesey a free black man; slaves of governor
9	yas; Peter the slave of Thomas Blackwood were unanimously
10	been condemned. Several of the blacks implemented in the af
11	Male 10 dollars from the goal black , blue, bottle green 7-1
12	out 5to 7feet inches high very black , a long under lip, had
13	nt away, a light short coat, a black velvet vest. Whoever wi
14	his master a half worn hat, a black and white hat two shirt
15	783 Classified Ad Most elegant black satin for ladies. Twent
16	short brown coat, one pair of black and blue stockings. Who
17	1765—classified ad—To be sold black lead pots. To be sold f
18	ow of a middling stature, very black , carried with him one c
19	We are apprehensive that these black gentry will visit us in
20	enclosure of the subscriber, a black steer calf marked with
21	im a felt hat, high crown, two black jackets. Whoever will t
22	e island will continue under a black government The white tr
23	p boarded by a white man and a black man together with the f
24	d on a calico bonnet with long black hair was the property o
25	if he brought it. This worthy black then intimated an inten
26	by tow fellows, a white and a black , and robbed of her mone

