SLAVE TO THE BOTTLE AND THE PLOUGH: THE INNER AND OUTER WORLDS OF FREEDOM IN GEORGE MOSES HORTON'S POETRY[1]

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Abstract. George Moses Horton was the first enslaved poet to publish a book of poetry in the South. Although stereotypically depicted as a drunkard, he interacted with antebellum temperance discourses and performed poetry and orations at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. Whereas temperance reformers and abolitionists often imagined freedom as a private dimension of the self, subject to the resources of the human will and the moral virtues of the protestant work ethic, Horton's oratorical and poetic rhythms and temperament did not respond to the dominant ethos of reform. Instead, he adapted the republican rhetoric in his environment to develop of performative meaning of temperate freedom. His desire for public distinction and freedom depended upon a public, aesthetic space in which the inner freedom would be realized as part of the outer world. Horton's writings are expressive of a transcultural situation in which he began to define another mode and time of freedom than those offered in the future-oriented work ethic or in the nostalgic, hierarchical republican traditions of the South.

George Moses Horton was born an enslaved African American in Northampton County, North Carolina, in 1797. The Horton family consisted of George's mother, his seven sisters and one brother. Their first master, William Horton, owned a small and unprofitable tobacco plantation. As George Moses Horton recounted in 1845, when he was a few years old the Hortons moved to Chatham County to farm wheat, where he was a "cow-boy" for about a decade.[2] He claims to have composed many of his first poems "at the handle of the plough and retained them in [his] head" while young "gentlemen" transcribed his poems when he was "unable to write."[3] Horton expressed a dislike for manual labor and a love for the rhythms of poetry and music. His knowledge of rhyme and meter was enhanced by Wesley's hymns, performed in camp meetings and in Church, and by the New Testament.[4] He gained his initial fame by reciting orations and love poems to sell to male college students to give to their "belles." Because of the success of the sales of his poetry, in the early 1830s he was able to convince his master James Horton to let him hire

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out his time with profits from his poetry and his odd jobs around the university.[5]

He eventually learned to write, but he continued with his oratory, and Horton's distinction as an orator and poet early brought him to the attention of Caroline Lee Hentz, who sponsored the publication of *The Hope of Liberty* in 1829; poems from this book would appear later in abolitionist papers like *The Liberator.* Horton continued throughout his life to make appeals to others to help buy his freedom, including William Lloyd Garrison, though his letter of appeal was never sent, nor was any direct contact made.[6] He published another book in 1845 while still enslaved, titled *The Poetical Works*, and later, Captain William H.S. Banks helped Horton publish a book of poems devoted to the Civil War, titled *Naked Genius* in 1865.[7] To be acknowledged at all by the white Southern literary circles of his time was an anomaly.[8] Although all of his works are not widely available for distribution, Joan Sherman has done much to bring them to light in her collection, and a few poems have been anthologized. The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill has also published many of his works online. His presence in literary studies has been recognized by the creation of the George Moses Horton Society for the Study of African American Poetry in 1996. More recently, in February 2007, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill acknowledged the contribution he made "to the intellectual life of the university" by naming a residence hall after him.[9]

Many efforts to recover Horton's life and work are salutary but are complicated when one confronts either silence about or downplaying of an issue that preoccupied most earlier criticism of Horton's thwarted attempts at liberty: his well-known love of the bottle, and his backsliding from sobriety. Indeed, inebriety has been considered as both an impediment to his longed for liberty from chattel slavery, and the logical outcome of his continued captivity. For example, Horton's alcoholism and intemperance are understood as a stumbling block on the long road to liberty when his name appears in John Hope Franklin's, From Slavery to Freedom. Franklin, like many, surmises that after writing The Hope of Liberty (1829), his "interest in poetry diminished as he took to drink; perhaps he realized that for him there was no hope of liberty."10 In a completely different vein, Richard Walser's 1966 book claimed it was authentic, "the remarkable story (partly told by himself)" – George Moses Horton. Nonetheless, while Horton acknowledged he could be somewhat self indulgent, he would not likely have agreed with Walser, a romantic white Southerner, that he was "a man of pride [who used] drinking – whether heavily indulged in or not – [as] a scapegoat to support his self-conscious [literary] imperfections."11 Walser even alleges that Horton must have drank away the money saved from the publication of The Hope of Liberty, money that was supposed to buy Horton's freedom in order to send him to Liberia: "The curve of fortune aroused the old monster Drink which had been, if not asleep, at least dozing. His small savings, put by from The Hope of Liberty, were diverted from the manumission cache, the fund for the downpayment on that ticket to Liberia. Now they were drained into liquor…"12 Overlooking the rarity of manumissions, Walser patronizes in order to portray Horton as ultimately a "contented" slave and incapable of, or not really desiring, the absolute sobriety that seemed necessary for liberty.

No one denies Horton's love for the bottle, but even if some of Horton's money was spent on drink, Richmond clarifies that Horton would not have earned a large surplus. Joan Sherman notes that *The Hope of Liberty* in fact "earned scarcely any profit"; in about 1833 when he began to hire out his time at the University from James Horton, he was making "a substantial profit"[13] but still not enough to pay for his freedom, and he did have troubles convincing James to sell him, or anyone to assist him. Sherman is attentive to Walser's bias in his depiction of Horton as "an unenergetic loafer who drank, fished," and so on, and she faults Walser for "all but destroy[ing] the man's complex identity and poetic reputation," by his "hurl[ing of] epithets" like "sycophant, poseur, buffoon, troubadour in motley," etc.[14] Still, I would suggest that perhaps Sherman overcompensates by placing too much stress on Horton's longed-for liberty, and his eventual sobriety. Indeed, "liberty" as a "law of nature" overtakes Sherman's explanation of the "single theme" in his "antislavery verse" and in much of his work.[15]

Much of the available information about Horton, particularly his reputation as a drunkard and the role of alcohol in his life, add to the ambiguity of his life. Instead of clarifying, the facts often shadow his life in the same manner as the shroud of mystery accompanied his death. The known facts, also reflected in his poetry, include the following: 1) his love of the bottle and his alcoholism; 2) his enslavement; and 3) a desire to excel in the literary world, particularly shown through his interactions with the white students at the university. Certainly he hoped for "liberty," but liberty for him was deeply dependent on his peculiar situation as a poet-slave. His sense of freedom consistently implied a need for recognition of his literary effort by a circle of his peers. In the pages that follow, I consider the possibility that Horton's life and work is sometimes oversimplified or misrepresented partly because his unique meaning of American freedom and public space is too easily conflated with individualist notions of sobriety and temperance – freedom expressed as acts of will power and private genius. I place this discussion within the literary arena that has paid attention to the overlap of abolitionism, race, and temperance.

While Horton's appeals for help to obtain his outward liberty from chattel slavery before the Civil War never succeeded, even as a slave he negotiated a relative freedom and public persona, and he contributed to the meaning of culture at the university through his public performances and poetry. James Horton, his second owner in the Horton family, as Walser does point out, "did not want to part with his dithyrambic plough-boy."[16] This may be because Horton not only brought some money to his owners, but he gained some prestige as "poet Horton," or "the black bard," at the university. Even while a slave he was invited to give two July Fourth Commencement speeches; the first was only five minutes,[17] but in 1859 he was not so reserved. His "Address to Collegiates of the University of North Carolina: The Stream of Liberty and Science" is twenty-nine pages. It was performed orally, transcribed by the male students and has been preserved at the University of North Carolina archives.[18] His 1859 address will preoccupy much of this paper because his oratorical skills and his desire to perform while he remained enslaved suggest more than simply a desire to acculturate to a community. More significantly, his poetic and oratorical works show a longing to reshape the very meaning of American freedom, through the creation of a temperate, public space. In other words, although Horton has the ambiguous reputation as a drunkard who struggled with both inward and outward freedom, the complexity of his meaning of a space of freedom can be located in his interweaving of the rhetoric of temperance reform and that of neoclassical, republican, aristocratic virtue prominent in the culture of the University of North Carolina at the time.

After the Civil War, Horton continued to seek recognition for his poetry within a free African-American community. When Horton at the age of 68 gained his legal freedom, he did at last travel to Philadelphia where he hoped to be recognized as a poet, meeting with members of the Benjamin Banneker Institute – well-known teetotalers. However, he did not make any long-term literary contacts there. Reginald Pitts speculates that in Philadelphia Horton's negative reception by the African American elite of the Banneker Institute might have been for two main reasons. On the one hand, he may have "fortified himself with a drink of liquor" and this was a group of "teetotalers" with Northern "spiritual and temporal causes";[19] on the other, Horton had been raised in slavery and had spent his lengthy life in bondage, in another time and of a "generation of captivity," to use Ira Berlin's phrase.[20] In contrast, the Banneker Institute was comprised of many freeborn blacks,[21] who often looked down on those who too strongly represented the value of the "peculiar institution" of southern slavery.

When Horton was finally "freed," the facts of his life become vague. Reginald Pitts argues that Horton connected with the Pennsylvania Colonization Society and finally did repatriate to Liberia.[22] Other critics, like M. A. Richmond, think Horton probably died alone, perhaps drunk in Philadelphia; still others, like Walser, mused that Horton found his way "home" to Chapel Hill, North Carolina, realizing that he was better off as a slave.[23] It is believed that Horton died in 1883, but this claim is also uncertain.[24] We do not know where, when, or how he died, and no one has discovered a marker for his grave.

Though it is certain that Horton desired liberty and freedom, in his understanding such qualities entailed much more than liberty of movement. Walser's bias cannot be denied; yet there seems to be some basis for Saunders Redding's claim that a certain egotism emerged in Horton's poetry: "what seemed to anger Horton most was not the existence of slavery, so much as that a genius like himself was inconvenienced by it."[25] Sherman's and Richmond's criticisms are ethically preoccupied with presenting Horton as consistently longing for liberty, a liberty that is a law of nature, and for a similar concept of liberty that informs American Romantic and Rationalist beliefs in independence and self-sufficiency. But Horton was a man who spent 68 years as a slave, and he carved out the meaning of his life in an entirely different context – as a slave, yet performing his poems for the boys at the University of North Carolina and longing to be recognized by his peers. Like them, he understood freedom through the discourses of his time, particularly through anxieties around drink, slavery, and temperance. He participated in the temperance movement, but unlike many free temperance activists, he enacted another meaning of freedom that did not directly oppose itself to his immediate environment. His poetic freedom did not ultimately conform to the inward and private modes of liberty that suited many temperance reformers.

Scholars in literary studies have now made clear the overlap of movements of reform for liberty and freedom, particularly between abolition and temperance. In a 1997 collection of essays, for instance, entitled *The Serpent in the Cup*, many of the authors assess the interplay between temperance, slavery, race and freedom. John W. Crowley has, in previous works, considered the racialized and white masculine ideologies often expressed in temperance literature. In the collection, Crowley's essay, "Slavery to the Bottle: Gough's *Autobiography* and Douglass's *Narrative,"* concludes by hypothesizing that the temperance literature and popular novels in the 1840s may have had a "subtle bearing" on the form of slave narratives that would develop at the same time.[26] In a similar vein he considers the reference made to the American Revolution and the trope of freedom from British tyranny that influenced the temperance novel and the shape of freedom it desired.[27] Crowley uncovers an interplay between temperance forms of writings, with their metaphors and rhetoric of overcoming an inward "slavery to the bottle," and the slave narratives.[28] What needs to be stressed, however, is that nothing intensified the meaning of reform as an inward purity as did the presence of chattel slavery in a "free" Republic. Indeed, many of the essays in this collection highlight the "dark" metaphors and their overcoming and purging that accompany the passage to purity and presumably, whiteness, in temperance literatures of recovery. In that collection, Robert S. Levine's analysis of Brown's 1853 novel, *Clotel; or the President's Daughter: A Narrative of Slave Life in the United States*, unravels the problematic contiguity between the trope of "blacking," bondage and inebriety: blackness and the dependent state of slavery, as well as the excessive power of plantation owners, was often associated with inebriety.[29] Elsewhere, Levine has brought to light the interplays between rhetoric of temperance reform, Abolitionism and racial uplift, and their correspondence with values of thrift, self-reliance and industry.[30]

For many antebellum reformers the impact of legalized chattel slavery on the American cultural meaning of "freedom" expressed itself ambiguously within a civil, public space and rhetoric defined by a "progressive" ethos. The recurrent phrase, the pursuit of happiness, emphasized freedom as self-mastery, sobriety, self-control and restraint, and always sat uneasily next to any semblance of dependency. However, while the conflation of inebriety with slavery and freedom with sobriety has been considered, we do not read of a single instance where the author's situation remained defined by being enslaved as chattel as well as to the bottle, who was also aware of temperance movements, and was yet a published author. We confront such a person in George Moses Horton, and his peculiar situation allows us another imaginative and performative interpretation of a less self-reliant form of temperate freedom.

Horton has often been portrayed as the stereotypically "blackened" and "drunken" slave poet, longing for temperance and liberty. But his work offers another imagination and experience of captivity and bondage, thus expressing an alternative meaning of "temperate" freedom as spontaneous action expressed in public performances. His situation, poetry and speeches beg for us to reassess these dichotomies of drunken and pure, master and slave. Horton's particular situation of slavery in North Carolina and his attempts and failures in poetry and oratory identify a desire for a Republican and performative freedom that is lacking in most public spheres of the time – and in discourses of purity and self-restraint used by temperance reformers in North Carolina, and later, in Philadelphia.[31] Throughout his captivity and even in his eventual, but precarious "freedom," he kept striving for a public space in which the inner freedom of self could meet with an outwardly defined space as the expression of freedom as performative.

Generally, within the American Republic – particularly in the antebellum period – slavery had taken on two distinct meanings. In the first instance, it meant legalized ownership of other human beings (primarily Africans) as in the institution of chattel slavery. The other meaning that became prominent during the Second Great Awakening and in the rise of various American temperance movements referred to the bondage of the will to alcohol or any addictive substance or habit that prevented the free and independent exercise of one's faculties. The metaphor of being a "slave to the bottle," as I noted earlier, was popular with both Northern and Southern reformers. For instance, according to editor George Bungay of the reform journal *The Independent*, "there is more than one kind of slavery, and the man who is a drunkard, whether he is black or white, is a slave, and habit – the habit of drinking – is his master… You cannot see the chains which entangle him… because they are not outside – they are liquid chains, fetters so that he cannot walk… even his brain and tongue feel the effect of this degrading slavery."[32] Frederick Douglass agreed, along with other black abolitionists, that bondage to King Alcohol was as damaging, maybe more so, than bondage to outward chattel slavery. The self-reliant capacities for individual and moral improvement were presumably impeded by this damaging dependency. According to Douglass in his 1855 autobiography, *My Bondage and My Freedom*, "it was about as well to be a slave to *master*, as to be a slave to rum and *whisky.*"[33] However, while both Douglass and Horton confronted problems with discourses and actions of temperance societies, Douglass turned to more individualistic, self-reliant and moral virtues oriented to industry and the work ethic than did Horton, who remained a slave. This is a consequence of the different situations of slavery.

Temperance was vital for African Americans, enslaved and "free." It was one of the dominant public forums that emerged from various evangelistic movements of the Second Great Awakening. These religious spaces encouraged the spirit of freedom and salvation in the post-Revolutionary and early nationalist era. In another vein, they carried on, in revised and more purified form, the early expressions of freedom as salvation prior to the ambiguity created by the contradictory legal enslavement of African Americans and their conversion and recognition as equals before God within the revivalist forums. These are some of the issues that David Brion Davis, for instance, has dealt with in his work of the interrelated processes of reform and revolution.[34] The majority of black abolitionists were also proponents of temperance, as Benjamin Quarles's early study recognized.[35] Indeed, their struggle was often bound up with proving to the dominant white Christian public that the enslaved had the capacity for self-reliance, restraint, and Christian moral virtues. Douglass maintained this connection to temperance, but he ran up against resistance from white American temperance reformers because of his belief that the goals of temperance were bound to an antislavery stance and outward freedom. In another, more "secular" vein, Levine notes that among early white revolutionaries such as

> Franklin, Benjamin Rush, and Anthony Benezet, for example, it was regularly argued that British desires to maintain authority over colonial Americans were the desires of enslavers intoxicated by power. The conjoining of temperance and antislavery in Revolutionary rhetoric helped to make temperance reform particularly appealing to Northern free blacks, who formed some of the first temperance groups in the United States in the late eighteenth century.[36]

In many parts of the South, the situation of temperance reform was different and Southern reformers were of course reluctant to the point of resistance to equate its goals of purity and Christian virtue with antislavery, a point that makes Horton's use of temperance rhetoric even more complicated. Black temperance lodges, the Templars, would obtain charters later during Reconstruction in the late 1860s and 1870s, though white Southern Templars would not recognize them.[37] None of these forms of temperance associated with black freedom were prominent in Horton's milieu. As a matter of fact, white Southerners often viewed slavery as necessary for maintaining order and black sobriety. Sherman quotes Thomas Ruffin, who was chief justice of North Carolina's Supreme Court from 1853 to 1861. Ruffin defended slavery for its effects on "the moral and social condition of each race." According to Ruffin, "blacks... are physically suited to labor, and if freed they would soon sink into drunken, debauched savagery."[38] Nonetheless, Southern temperance did early on share an association with antislavery in the North, as Sylvia Frey points out. In contrast to the equation of evangelical conversion and evangelism with republican ideology, however, Southern temperance leaders adapted the discourse of purity and reform to suit a "hortatory moralism, whose aim was not to abolish slavery but to operate it in a moral manner."[39] As such, Horton's writings about temperance and alcohol were complicated because the former only remotely seemed to hold the promise of a public appearance and acceptance for him. While he often depicted drink as leading him to many vanities, ironically, it was also his first introduction to some minimal camaraderie with his masters and with students.

This ambivalence comes to the fore in his 1845 autobiographical preface to *The Poetical Works*.[40] Horton claims to be a supporter of the values of temperance having outgrown "the moral evil of excessive drinking."[41] We should note that he qualifies his critique of drink with "excessive," and not drinking *per se*. Sherman points out that temperance was legislated at the University in 1837 and the students had formed societies in the 1830s.[42] Horton wrote several poems on the issue – "The Tippler to His Bottle," in *The Poetical Works* (1845) and in *Naked Genius* (1865) he continued with "Songs of Liberty and Parental Advice," the more playful, "Snaps for Dinner, Snaps for Breakfast, and Snaps for Supper," and the "Intemperance Club." The latter poem begins,

> On smiling wealth, intemp'rance war began,
> Away young health and mother genius flew;
> And when from [health] the child and parent ran
> In stepped Dyspepsia belching, how do you do?[43]

The poem continues in a tone that seems like an exaggerated and parodic rendition of temperance literature of the time, with its focus on sensational themes of domestic violence and financial ruin.

Clearly, Horton came to recognize the so-called evils of excessive drinking, but none of his critics seem to believe he stayed sober; I am suggesting that though we can view him as "backsliding," perhaps he had another, less purified conception of the temperate personality. In his 1845 autobiographical preface, he recounts his introduction to drink and characterizes the people who gave him alcohol, his owner and the students. He notes that the students had "flattered [him] into the belief that it would hang [him] on the wings of new inspiration, which would waft [him] into the regions of poetical perfection."[44] The pursuit of perfection and private, vain, genius occurs for Horton throughout in his differentiation of the private and public modes of "genius." He recognizes here, just as he will warn the students later in his 1859 address, that drunkenness, rather than being a moral sin, can be a cause of public embarrassment.

Horton's plea for "temperance and regularity" in 1845 runs counter to the type of inward discourse of self-restraint and an inner freedom found in self-possession or rational control.[45] He had realized that his first introductions to alcohol with his owner functioned similarly to the types of "safety valves" that Frederick Douglass spoke of in his autobiographies – attempts to make an unbearable situation bearable and curb potential rebellions by deadening the mental capacities necessary for revolt.[46] According to Horton,

> often has he [his owner] called me with my fellow laborers to his door to get the ordinary dram, of which he was much too fond himself; and we, willing to copy the example, partook freely in order to brave the storms of hardship, and thought it an honor to be intoxicated. And it was then the case with most of the people; for they were like savages, who think little or nothing of the result of lewd conduct.[47]

Here, Horton reverses the fears of Judge Ruffin, quoted earlier, that blacks would fall into "savagery" and he shows how "dishonorable" the master race behaves. But Horton's point, unlike Douglass's, is not to take back that self-control and act as if he is in full possession of his will and private faculties. On the contrary, true "temperance" is to be expressed for Horton through participation in a public culture – the true public honor that he sees as disguised in drunken camaraderie. For instance, in his comments about his master's drinking, he complains that the master when drinking excessively did not handle his affairs in a "cultivated" manner, a value that will become increasingly important for Horton's sense of temperance and public freedom.

In the preface, Horton "lamented" the fact that he "was raised in a family or neighborhood inclined to dissipation," which served to "stifle the growth of uncultivated genius." He describes his "old master" as "an eminent farmer," possessing "prudence and industry," but problematically, his master "did not descend to the particularity of schooling his children at any high rate; hence it is clear that he cared less for the improvement of the mind of his servants."[48] Of course, Frederick Douglass and other abolitionists promoted a form of republican education but not quite in the same sense as Horton. Horton does not conflate the metaphor of drunkenness with the slave system and thus he presupposes a middle ground between slavery and freedom, drunkenness and purity. Reformers often tended to present extreme dichotomies between purity and sinfulness, freedom and slavery, and ironically this stance led many to give freedom an inward and moral locus. Levine notes that Douglass tended to use intemperance to describe the overseers, or those given to excess, but generally, to show how "the power to enslave intoxicates (and thereby degrades) the slave owner and their hirelings."[49] From another situation of slavery, Horton's criticism of the master's inclination toward "dissipation" is much different than a demonization of the slave system and alcohol's sinfulness, waged by the abolitionists who propounded temperance. He notes that his master, to be sure, possesses qualities of "prudence" and industry – these are not impeded by the slave system or alcohol – but he lacks culture, honor, and other rather aristocratic virtues. It is not the excess that is criticized so much as the manner in which inebriety allowed one to sacrifice public virtues for an individualistic locus for freedom. In contrast, Douglass, looking back, would characterize excess and drink as indicative of slave power, which inhibited the individual faculties and industry, though he overcame through his singular intellect and will.

For a person like Horton, enslaved for over sixty years, the issue of temperance posed a contradiction or at least a decided and intense ambiguity: if the enslaved person were addicted with his will in bondage, through temperance he would be able to free the will from bondage, yet he would remain enslaved with no proper spatial or temporal arena for the exercise of a free will. While Horton did write laments on his enslaved condition and continually struggled for his freedom, his poetry thematically emphasized public space and virtue and set critical limits on unbridled focus on individual liberty as the hallmark of freedom. Though Horton criticized slavery and sought freedom, through his poetic expression and performance in public space, he refused to identify the fundamental meaning of human freedom with the institutions of the society that had enslaved him. Like those communities of enslaved Africans who expressed new and alternative meanings of freedom from the rhetorical ranges of a biblical tradition, Horton, too refused to make the issue of freedom a purely futuristic project.

In his poetry and orations, Horton was influenced by neoclassical rhetoric transposed to Southern soil. He most commonly used heroic couplets, ballad forms, hymnal meters, blank verse, and many classical images that made his poetry similar to white Southerners of the time.[50] These Greco-Roman images, however, were consistently applied to Horton in has capacity as slave – Southerners liked to consider slave society as sharing many features with ancient slavery, particularly the Roman Republic.[51] Indeed, his patron Caroline Lee Hentz, originally portrayed him in her novel *Lovell's Folly* (1833) as having, "instead of the broad smile of the African, the mild gravity of a Grecian philosopher."[52] And in his 1859 address to the students, he praises the eloquence of the "orators of Greece, Athens, or Rome," suggesting that he is an "intended Washington, an expectant Napoleon," but "deplor[ing]" his "lot" to be in "the fields of uninterminable labor rather than in a repository of Belle Letters."[53] While this rhetoric can entail aristocratic hierarchy, Horton's use of neoclassical and revolutionary meanings of temperance as indicating the "golden mean," rather than inner purity and virtue, also brings to light that in its derivation, the word "temperance" is close to temporality and keeping time. This mode of temporality entails keeping time with others and could allow for the acknowledgment of one's worldliness and enmeshment in human sinfulness. In other words, in the address (1859) and in his autobiographical remarks (1845), this understanding of temperate freedom for his oratorical and poetic genius to shine needs a public space, composed of other diverse person, to place a limit upon what Horton sometimes sees as the dangers and the vanities of "abounding exalted faculties" associated the solitary egotism of excessive drink.[54]

Horton's tendency to situate freedom and genius in his present and bounded, if problematic, space also should indicate that genius is not simply "natural" or based on the faculty of will. In discussing Horton's concept of genius, both Sherman and Richmond allude to Emersonian concepts of natural genius. Sherman quotes Richmond on Horton's 1849 defense of nativist, "American" "genius" prompted by the Hungarian revolutionary leader, Louis Kossuth's, visit to the United States and his welcome in *The Raleigh Register*. Horton had written: "I am for developing our own resources, and cherishing native genius… As a North Carolina patriot, I ask, Why leave our own to stand on foreign soil?"[55] They compare Horton's call to acknowledge "poetry of native growth" to the Emersonian call for cultural nationalism. Again, Horton's conception of "genius" and public recognition are far from consistent with a cultural nationalism based on an individual or private creative power. In his initial response to Kossuth's visit, as Richmond does acknowledge, Horton's championing of a European Revolutionary shows his awareness of revolutionary action – the freedom of American slaves was one issue raised by the revolutions of 1848. Moreover, Horton clarifies that he is a "North Carolina patriot" and situates himself in a much more locally derived model of democratic Republicanism than Emerson would. Horton evidently longed for his poetry to "be circulated throughout the whole world,"[56] but his notion of genius is not solitary, transcendent or metaphysically derived. On the contrary, it is derived from the labor and construction required of an artificial craft and needs the public and the "world" for its endurance. As he puts it in one of his later poems from *Naked Genius*, "The Art of a Poet," "The diamonds water lies concealed, /Till polished it is ne'er revealed / Its glory bright to show."[57] Moreover, his concept of "native talent" does not stress the prototypical Emersonian disdain for European models of art as if he were calling for an "American poet," breaking with European forms. Rather, in its appeal to a "poetry of native growth," Horton's sense of "genius" was bound to public acknowledgment and performance in North Carolina, and particularly at the University. As a corollary, Horton's "public" itself was also far different from the emerging "voluntary" societies that were developing in parts of New England and the North, because his public was founded upon aristocratic hierarchies that situated genius as an issue of honor and appearance, rather than an idealistic and transcendent will. Horton's particular republican background needs to be considered because it helps us understand the alternative notions of public freedom available besides temperance and mainstream abolitionism.

One of the main paradigms of the word "genius" in Horton's more immediate milieu was the inheritance of the Jeffersonian natural aristocracy of geniuses, whose talents echoed Roman and classical statesman and philosophers – even for the Roman slaves.[58] The anonymous author of the introduction to Horton's *Poetical Works* in 1845 certainly acknowledged, almost as a direct response to Jefferson's dismissal of the possibility for "African" genius in his review of ancient forms of slavery, that Horton's poetry should "remove the doubts of cavalists with regard to African genius."[59] Whereas the anonymous author is careful to note that Horton is not actuated "by a desire for public fame," in fact, Horton consistently expressed his desire for this "public fame." The University of North Carolina, however, was considered a "poor relation" to the Jeffersonian neoclassical and Enlightenment ideals that founded the University of Virginia.[60] Though the students were "sons of wealthy planters," the general populations of North Carolina were uneducated and illiterate; the dominant setting is not of the larger Virginia or South Carolina plantations, and Horton, for instance, initially worked as a farmer "cow-boy" alongside his master's sons. Horton seemed to feel, legally right or not, that he was an unacknowledged but essential part to his first master's, William Horton's, family, when upon William's division of his estate, Horton writes not that he was bequeathed to James, but that "James fell heir to me."[61] Horton's relative liberty, compared to larger plantation slavery, is a result of being raised in a family that owned fewer slaves, as was the case with the majority of the North Carolina population.[62] In spite of the laws that forbade slave literacy and hiring out, following the fears of slave rebellions across larger plantation areas like Virginia, Horton was allowed to hire out his time and to read without being viewed as much of a threat by his owners. Possibly his owners did not share the same sense of the value of an aristocratic "culture" or the idea that liberty resulted from literacy.

While Horton always desired "liberty" and to be legally free, his situation of relative liberty and literacy occasioned deeper reflections on the meaning of genius, public appearance, and freedom of movement and expression than have been acknowledged. In his 1845 preface to *The Poetical Works*, Horton goes on to criticize the students for belittling him, and desiring him to "spout" or give an extemporaneous oration on various subjects. At first, Horton was "inspired" and felt an "enthusiastic pride," a pride that he equated with a "vain egotism, which always discovers the gloom of ignorance, or dims the luster of popular distinction."[63] He is aware of the difference between his private and privative egotistical "genius" and false flattery and public and institutional recognition of "distinction" – the inner and outer worlds of freedom.

Rather than focusing on this futuristic dream, a dream of liberty of movement and voluntarism that appeared as early as 1829 with Horton's poem "On Liberty and Slavery," in which he first appeared in the persona of his bird and his plea to "now bid the vassal soar," I am concerned with an appraisal of the "space" of slavery that Horton inhabited, a space that gave birth to his notion of "popular distinction," which will become "public distinction" in his 1859 address. This space was theatrical in several senses. American slavery as an institution might be seen as tragicomic. Though a legal institution, blessed by most of the founding fathers, neither the word "slave" nor "slavery" is mentioned in the American Constitution.[64] Slavery somehow seemed "necessary" to the meaning of "freedom" in the first of all modern nations born of a democratic revolution. This fundamental contradiction surrounding slavery evokes a certain sense of theatricality. Second, George Moses Horton, a literate enslaved African American spends most his time as servant/poet/companion with the young white college students at the University of North Carolina, earning monies from writing acrostics which they presented to their ladies as their own productions. As Richmond notes, "the story of a black man supplying the language of passion for courtship of white young ladies by white young gentlemen is enough to trigger a mind-blowing Freudian excursion."[65] And finally, this space of Horton's slavery becomes even more audacious when he is called upon to deliver two commencement addresses to his "companions" on July fourth. From this perspective we are able to understand Walser's characterization of Horton in the style of the "jester" and his situation as one of buffoonery; Horton himself realized he was often playing the "buffoon" for the white students. As he implies in his autobiographical preface, much earlier in the 1830s, he knew the early difference between true genius and buffoonery, "but I soon found it an object of aversion, and considered myself nothing but a public ignoramus. Hence I abandoned my foolish harangues, and began to speak of poetry."[66] The contradictory modes of the theatrical would evaporate into the ephemerality of the unique and odd if we left things there and did not see this situation within the totality of his context.

In giving an integral meaning to the facts of Horton's life, I interpret these facts symbolically and methodologically as a "body of time," a notion partially derived from his poetry and performances. From another perspective, this notion of a "body of time" can help situate Horton methodologically within what Mary Louise Pratt has referred to as the transcultural situation, coincidental to the meaning of a "contact zone." For her, contact zones are spaces of colonial encounters where persons of different backgrounds, possessing different valences of power are in relationship.[67] She aims to foreground the interactive, improvisational dimensions of these encounters and to see them not in binary terms but rather as copresent and interlocking understandings and practices. A great deal of interaction exists between the colonizers and the colonized, or in this case, the slave owners and the enslaved, but in most cases it is the colonized or the enslaved who are able to admit the full meaning and human dimensions of the total situation and from it undertake self conscious creative expressions. From the totality of his "body of time," Horton gave expression to the meanings of performance, memory, and freedom as the complex nexus of rhetorics and experiences of slavery that enable us to understand the actuality and vision rendered in his life.

It was Horton's professed desire to be remembered for the rhythmic enactment of voice within a public space of his peers. This rather classically derived Roman Republican ideal permeates all levels of his poetry and orations. In the case of his earliest writings, we are dealing with transcriptions because Horton could read but not write; until he learned to write Caroline Lee Hentz transcribed the early poems. As I noted in the opening pages, initially, Horton claims, the "acrostics I composed at the handle of the plough and retained them in my head (being unable to write) until an opportunity offered, when I dictated whilst one of the gentlemen would serve as my amanuensis."[68] While writing became important, this oral and performative mode continued for Horton. It can make one question, of course, the accuracy of the writings that were transcribed, but it also brings to light the public and situational context of Horton's identity – how he was perceived in combination with his own desires.

In the 1859 address, transcribed by students, his tone throughout is commanding and he chastises the students, asking them, "have you any regard for public distinction?"[69] He propounds Christian and republican "virtue," "civilization," "reason," and "temperance." In the case of temperance, Horton seems to be less concerned with the idea of inner purity than he is with the idea that "habitual atrocities" such as intemperance might lead to "public disgrace" and the "frowns of disgusted parents."[70] He finds a "diplomatic grace"[71] in temperate appearance, thus drawing more on that older sense of temperance as moderation and the "golden mean" between extremes in all public behavior. He appeals as a "sable orator" to the college graduates to "applaud the memorable deeds of your dead forefathers"[72] and warns them, lest they should forget the promise of revolution for liberty and freedom. He also recommends that rather than criticize, they should acknowledge the "mental eminence… in one of low birth [and] expand the narrow circle in which he stands." The narrow circle is their Christian-republican institutions.

Though this address is transcribed, and difficult to read, the tenor is one of command and empowerment in the moment of speech. The overarching mode of address is the command, and the subjunctive mood, quite common in neoclassical appeals to the muse, God or the public. As he commands the students, "you should endeavour more faithfully to enlarge the base of the pyramid of your independent republic which has stood the test of almost a century now tottering beneath the burden of the treacherous pillars of chance…"[73] His imperative wish is that they

> Let no time pass idly by
> With no needful service done.
> Seize the moments as they fly
> And count them life as dearly won.[74]

The use of the command form of address, which relies of the conditional and the subjunctive mood, corresponds with a situation of rupture and liminality, as theorized by Victor Turner in his discussion of social drama, rites of passage and theories of performance. Turner points out that the liminal is the state of being in-between a past that is no longer and a future that is not yet, such as this revolutionary possibility in an enslaved person delivering a fourth of July commencement address to those who would enslave him. In this performative moment, according to Turner, there can be a "doffing of masks, the stripping of status, the renunciation of roles, the demolishing of structures." It would seem that Horton is quite conscious of the revolutionary and ritualistic nature of the performance in taking the carnivaleque ("wearing the mask") further to the "subjunctive" mood, in which, Turner points out, new "structures are then generated, with their own grammars and lexica of roles and relationships."[75]

The constructed, rather than natural-metaphysical, nature of freedom as expressed in public performance and memorialization comes through in Horton's poetry as well. In poems such as "Memory" (1845) and "What is Time?" (1857), Horton stresses the uncertain nature of this worldly temporality; the latter poem in some respects puts forth a traditional *carpe diem* motif and he concludes his ballad with the command to "Improve [your time] while ye may." However, the choices posed for "improvement" do not express a concern for individualistic modes of self-reliance and purity that had become the traditional *carpe diem* of the romantic love ideal. Horton was himself married but he never referred to his marriage and by all accounts, his slave marriage seemed to be an unhappy one. Rather, Horton turns to a public space to be established in the moment, the spontaneous time of individual melody and freedom, then public harmony and aesthetic beauty, and a call to follow, in "What is Time?" "the eagle's wing" – a major symbol of American identity. According to the speaker, the choice of flight in this instant, in this world, is "either languish or to sing. / To sink or to ascend."[76] This freedom entails no simple or willful escape, or act of self-control.

Through memory and imagination, Horton had recourse to the neoclassical Roman Republican tradition – the same tradition that had been used by the founding fathers to legitimate their illegitimate democratic republic. Horton had the courage to forge an "other" meaning of freedom from this tradition while yet enslaved. In so doing, he undercut the prevailing meaning of temporality as assumed in a situation of domination. In situations of this kind the enslaved are supposed to occupy a "time of anticipation," for the real time is possessed by the masters and the owners – they possess the time of the existential "now." Through his notion of performance and the arena of public space, Horton created this space as a time of the free exercise of public virtue.

Horton took seriously a particular time of republican freedom understood as revolutionary time, an in-between moment of presentness and possibilities. To be sure, Horton's poems that deal more directly with time, such as, "What is Time?" and "Imploring to be Resigned at Death," show that time was not understood in the stadial sense of progress or as an arena for the "pursuit of happiness." Both poems highlight the present moment and the full character that the republican performer must display to be honored and remembered at death, as well as receive Christian salvation; the latter poem wishes for a "martial distinction" to be "display[ed] "and commands:

> Let me die, and my worst foe forgive,
> When death veils the last vital ray,
> Since I have but a moment to live,
> Let the last debt I pay,
> Go chanting away.[77]

The refrain throughout the five-stanza poem is the single line, "Go chanting away." Like his bird of freedom and also like the public bard, he understood the full public character as revealed in the moment of performance. As the meter slows down through pause and repetition, Horton's refrain becomes an enactment of public freedom in communal song and chant, rather than a future wish.

While self-mastery, freedom of the will, and progress seem the thrust of the goal for many northern abolitionists and temperance writers, Horton turns to ancient cultures and Southern ideals of republican virtue. Part of the reason for this also might be the odd predicament of hiring out through selling one's poems. Most slaves who hired out, would work in trades such as blacksmiths or on ships, or as hired hands, or in other odd jobs. Poetry and the performance of poems was a different matter. Horton dictated and performed much of his poetry to young students. In other words, his developing sense of independence was less connected to individual freedom as a structure of inwardness common with reformers than to the freedom to perform.

Culture for Horton was a public matter, but seen from a twenty-first century perspective, it may have a hint of snobbery and elitism in it. Indeed, Horton seemed to share a disdain for the illiterate condition that he, as a slave, had been thrown into. He also looked down on his masters for their lack of interest in poetry or republican public speaking and orations. It was he, rather than his masters, who tended towards the elitist ideal of culture. It was common for Southerners to look down on the rising popular culture and its materialist/individualist values propounded by the Northerners. But certainly, criticizing materialism and the shallowness of the rising American culture does not entail maintaining or reverting to the hierarchies of the "peculiar institution."

In contrast to the ideals of self-improvement, which put forth a progressivist and instrumentalist ideology of the work ethic, Horton was able to applaud the values of the dignity of work and economy, while pointing toward a culture that expressed an aesthetic freedom as the beautiful in the present time. The time of freedom for Horton, as already noted, was momentary and yet eternal; it is the fullness of the present and the expression of the individual in a public space. All of the contradictions expressed in the life of Horton defined another body of time – a time in between. This in-between time comes from a perspective that, though full of faith in the other worldly evoked in imagination and memory, places a ban on answering questions concerning the future, yet senses the inherent fallenness and creatureliness – the finitude and sinfulness of humanity. This is the realization that unleashes the desire to express the "whole duty of humanity" in manifesting the glory of God through free performances.

This desire for a worldly and performative role in the public is expressed in Horton's late (1865) poem, "One Generation Passeth Away and Another Cometh." Ironically and sadly, the fear of public obscurity expressed in this poem would come to pass (perhaps until recently), even after Horton was "free" and made his way north, "without a stone to show his grave." The title itself asserts the transitory and momentary state of the present generation. Taken from the Psalms, the maxim sometimes indicates the presumed wisdom of King Solomon that "all is vanity," and "there is nothing 'new' under the sun" – by implication, that his "genius" might not have anything novel to offer the world. Indeed, Horton's bird resurfaces as a "Vain bird." As he writes:

> Vain bird, a while think what am I,
> Here entering 'mid a hawk-like throng;
> Quickly hatched out, as quick to fly,
> And dare not tarry long.[78]

At first, he asserts the disdain for the novel, as mere egotistical vanity, and the bird of hope appears as "quickly hatched out, as quick to fly." But there is in this a longing for public glory and fame and a sense of despair when he ends the poem by asking if it is true that "the mighty and the stout / who lived this fading world to crave" might be "Left forever gone without / A stone to show their grave."[79] Horton finds his idea of freedom in public fame and memorialization of his public character. Again, this expression of freedom as public memory harks back to the Roman character of slavery. As Hannah Arendt pointed out, referring also to a Barrow's discussion of slaves in the Roman colleges, "the curse of slavery consisted not only in being deprived of freedom and of visibility, but also in the fear of these obscure people themselves 'that from being obscure they should pass away leaving no trace that they have existed.'"[80]

Horton began, however by turning to the dignity of a memory in the "fading world," and he framed the poem with the *carpe diem* motif – the actors in his world must "Break into time to gather fame," even if they "pass at once again."[81] While his time is transitority, the fullness of his public character should be eternally memorialized; implicitly, he moves away from the individualist and private locus of freedom that reformers used to eliminate the splendor of the public realm and "genius" for the enslaved. He departs from the evangelical distrust of worldly pleasure and the recommendation of will power or inner restraint to remove sinfulness. The reformed and pure body, mastering time in its instrumental manners, eliminated the sense of heterogeneity – and enlarged public space, harmony, beauty, and distinction – or the seemingly vain and novel.

George Moses Horton defines a strange position in early African American literature. While most of the literature of this tradition was created by free blacks and could be placed within the stylistics of abolitionism, his meaning of freedom as performance was not exhausted by the inwardness of moral purity nor expressed in the sinister sobriety of instrumental rationality. Horton inhabited a "contact zone" defined by slavery. Rather than either seeing his owners and masters as exemplars of a freedom, he sought, through his "performances" and his writings about the public performative act, to give expression to a "body of time" out of which a meaning of democratic and republican freedom was wrought within the very heart of slavery.

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Endnotes

1. I would like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their careful and encouraging comments on this article, which have helped to improve the structure and focus of the argument.

2. George Moses Horton, "Life of George Moses Horton: The Colored Bard of North Carolina," *The Poetical Works of George M. Horton: The Colored Bard of North Carolina: To Which is Prefixed the Life of the Author, Written by Himself* (Hillsborough [N.C.]: Printed by D. Heartt, 1845): vi. Available online at http://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/hortonpoem/menu.html.

3. Ibid., xiv.

4. See Joan R. Sherman, *The Black Bard of North Carolina: George Moses Horton and His Poetry* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997): 2-3, and Merle A. Richmond, *Bid the Vassal Soar: Interpretative Essays on the Life and Poetry of Phillis Wheatley (ca. 1753-1784) and George Moses Horton (ca. 1797-1883)* (Washington: Howard University Press, 1974): 85-91. Sherman's book has an introduction to Horton's life and poetry, and contains selections of his poems.

5. Sherman, *Black Bard*; 14-16.

6. Ibid., 20.

7. Ibid., 29.

8. See Julian Mason, "'To Be an Author': Letters of Charles W. Chesnutt 1889-1905," *The Mississippi Quarterly* 51 (1998), 717.

9. Jamie Schuman, "UNC dedicates dorm to Chatham slave, poet," *The Chapel Hill Herald*, February 11, 2007.

10. John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans*, Fifth Edition (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1980):172

11. Richard Walser, *The Black Poet: being the remarkable story (partly told my [sic] himself) of George Moses Horton a North Carolina slave* (NY: Philosophical Library, 1966): 28.

12. Ibid., 55.

13. Sherman, *Black Bard,* 14.

14. Ibid., 34.

15. Ibid., 40.

16. Walser, *Black Poet*, 39.

17. Richmond, *Bid the Vassal Soar,* 156.

18. Most of the autobiographical information on Horton can be found in his "Preface" to *The Poetical Works*. Richard Walser notes that the 1800 Census credits William Horton with eight slaves (p. 3); Joan Sherman also provides much biographical and contextual information in her introduction to Horton's selected poems. The address is difficult to read, as Sherman notes, because each pages seems to have been transcribed by a different hand and small parts are illegible. When I cite the address I am referring to my own deciphering of that handwriting. Unfortunately, there is no official published version or transcription of this address and it is only available at University of North Carolina Special Collections. "An Address. The Stream of Liberty and Science. To Collegiates of the University of N.C. By George M. Horton The Black Bard" (1859). North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Chapel Hill.

19. Reginald H. Pitts, "'Let Us Desert This Friendless Place': George Moses Horton In Philadelphia – 1866." *The Journal of Negro History* 80 (Fall 1995): 147.

20. Ira Berlin, *Generations of Captivity: A History of African-American Slaves* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003).

21. Pitts, "Let Us Desert This Friendless Place," 148.

22. Ibid., 151.

23. Walser, *Black Poet*, 106.

24. Richmond, *Bid the Vassal Soar,* 175.

25. Quoted in Blyden Jackson and Louis D. Rubin, Jr. *Black Poetry in America: Two Essays in Historical Interpretation* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1974): 7.

26. John W. Crowley, "Slaves to the Bottle: Gough's Autobiography and Douglass's Narrative," in *The Serpent in the Cup: Temperance in American Literature,* ed. Reynolds, David S. and

Debra J. Rosenthal (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts, 1997): 129.

27. Crowley, "Slaves to the Bottle," 122.

28. Glenn Hendler places the discussion within the transformations of the democratic "public sphere" by some African American authors, like Martin Delany. His book also draws attention to the Washingtonians and their sense of a sentimental public that was founded on a white male body politics. Hendler considers the "slave" metaphor as well and notes its various uses in Temperance discourses, by figures as diverse as Frederick Douglass and the famous Washingtonian, John B. Gough. By the time of the antebellum period, the two movements were "virtually synonymous" (quote from Donald Yacovone) and that a "sober public" epitomized the "rational, democratic and free" (Glenn Hendler, *Public Sentiments: Structures of Feeling in Nineteenth-Century American Literature,* [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001]: 40). See also Donald Yacovone, "The Transformation of the Black Temperance Movement, 1827-1854: An Interpretation," *Journal of the Early Republic* 8 (1988): 281-97.

29. Robert S. Levine, "'Whiskey, Blacking, and All': Temperance and Race in William Wells Brown's *Clotel,*" in Reynolds and Rosenthal eds., *The Serpent in the Cup,* 93-114.

30. Robert S. Levine, *Martin Delany, Frederick Douglass and the Politics of Representative Identity* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997), and "Disturbing Boundaries: Temperance, Black Elevation, and Violence in Fran J. Webb's *The Garies and their Friends,*" *Prospects: An Annual of American Cultural Studies* 19 (1994): 349-74. The latter paper also addresses the dominant rhetoric of temperance in Philadelphia in the 1840s.

31. Douglas W. Carlson argues that temperance reformers in the North and South used similar rhetoric in "'Drinks He to His Own Undoing': Temperance Ideology in the Deep South," *Journal of the Early Republic* 18 (1998): 659-91.

32. Quoted in Louis J. Kern, *An Ordered Love, Sex Roles and Sexuality in Victorian Utopias-The Shakers, The Mormons, and the Oneida Community* (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina Press, 1981): 27.

33. Frederick Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom* (New York: Arno Press, 1968): 256.

34. See, in particular, his early work, David Brion Davis, *The Idea of Slavery in an Age of Revolution 1770-1823* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1975).

35. Benjamin Quarles, *Black Abolitionists* (New York: Oxford UP, 1969).

36. Levine, *Martin Delany*, 104

37. David M. Fahey, *Temperance and Racism: John Bull, Johnny Reb, and the Good Templars* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1996): 69.

38. Sherman, *Black Bard,* 18.

39. Sylvia Frey, *Water From The Rock: Black Resistance in a Revolutionary Age* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991): 327.

40. Critics have depicted *The Poetical Works*, published in 1845, as more reserved and conservative about antislavery than Horton's first book, *In Hope of Liberty*. This is because of the series of laws passed following slave rebellions and the generally bleak prospect of obtaining legal freedom during this time (Edward W. Farrison, "George Moses Horton: Poet For Freedom," *CLA Journal* 14 (1971): 238). Nonetheless, Horton's dialogue with temperance continues in a similar manner long after the publication of the 1845 book, as the quoted poems suggest.

41. Horton, "Life of George Moses Horton," xvi.

42. Sherman, *Black Bard,* 7-8.

43. "The Intemperance Club," in Sherman, *Black Bard*, 154.

44. Horton, "Life of George Moses Horton," xiv.

45. Ibid., xvii.

46. See Levine, *Martin Delany* for a discussion of Douglass's use of the "safety valve" analogy in his autobiographies in an effort to contain the slaves' "revolutionary energies" and "dull the mind" (p. 117).

47. Horton, "Life of George Moses Horton," xii.

48. Ibid., xi-xii.

49. Levine, *Martin Delany*, 122.

50. Sherman, *Black Bard,* 38.

51. See, for instance, Elizabeth Fox Genovese and Eugene D. Genovese, *The Mind of the Mas-*

ter Class: History and Faith in the Southern Slaveholders' Worldview (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005), in which they discuss the often conflicting use of classical models of slavery with Christianity.

52. Quoted in Sherman, *Black Bard*, 10.

53. Horton, "An Address," 6.

54. Ibid., 8.

55. Sherman, *Black Bard,* 22.

56. Quoted letter petitioning the president of the University, David Swain, for his freedom in 1852, Sherman, *Black Bard,* 23.

57. "The Art of a Poet," in Sherman, *Black Bard,* 147.

58. See Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1787; repr., New York: Penguin, 1998).

59. Anonymous "Introduction" to Horton, *Poetical Works*, xxi.

60. Sherman, *Black Bard,* 6.

61. Horton, "Life of George Moses Horton," xiii.

62. Sherman notes the stricter laws against slave literacy and hiring out in North Carolina following Turner's rebellion (17). The greater population of slaves in North Carolina were located in "counties east of the fall line," and of course, all revolts, especially the Haitian Revolution, "Gabriel's Revolt of 1800 in Virginia and the great Vesey Plot of 1822 in South Carolina" (Frey, *Water From The Rock,* 58) were leading to greater fears in the areas, particularly about the potentially Republican and revolutionary insights that could be mobilized during the Second Great Awakening. Horton likely would have had more access to the camp meetings and revivals in his youth while he was on a tobacco plantation in Northampton. Temperance was an important outcome of the Second Great Awakening; Ralegh experienced a large revival in the 1840s and, as Sherman notes, "The evil of drink was so pervasive at the university that in 1829 students formed a Temperance Society, and an 1837 ordinance made it a dismissible offense to bring 'intoxicating liquor' into college building" (Sherman, *Black Bard,* 7-8). Of course, she clarifies that these laws did not seem to stop anyone from drinking.

63. Horton, "Life of George Moses Horton," xiv.

64. A. Leon Higginbotham makes this point in various ways through analyzing the law and how it deals with race and color in forming its early sense of freedom in the colonial period. A. Leon Higginbotham, *In the Matter of Color: Race and the American Legal Process* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).

65. Richmond, *Bid the Vassal Soar,* 83.

66. Horton, "Life of George Moses Horton*,"* xiv.

67. Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992): 6-7.

68. Horton, "Life of George Moses Horton," v.

69. Horton, "An Address," 4.

70. Ibid., 5.

71. Ibid., 6.

72. Ibid., 22.

73. Ibid., 15.

74. Ibid., 23.

75. Victor Turner, *The Anthropology of Performance* (New York: PAJ Publications, 1987): 107.

76. Quoted in Richmond, *Bid the Vassal Soar,* 148.

77. Horton, "Imploring to be Resigned at Death," *Poetical Works*, 102.

78. George Moses Horton, "One Generation Passeth Away and Another Cometh," (1865) in Joan Sherman, 133, lines 13-16.

79. Ibid., lines 17-20.

80. Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (1958, repr., Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1998).

81. Horton, "One Generation Passeth," lines 7-8.