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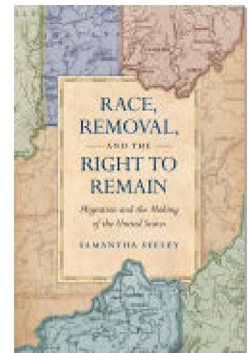
Race, Removal, and the Right to Remain

Seeley, Samantha



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INTRODUCTION

Free movement looms large as the defining story of the early national United States. Thousands of people took to the roads after the American Revolution to claim North American lands as their own or to seek out new opportunities in the nation's growing cities and towns. The story of migrants and immigrants on the move is part of the fabric of U.S. history. The idea of free movement has informed national myths and national policy. Yet many eastern North Americans experienced the early national period, not as one of free movement, but of removal.

This was true for Shawnee leader Kekewepellethe, who in 1786 summarized Shawnee opposition to U.S. demands for Native land, telling federal representatives that "God gave us this country, we do not understand measuring out the lands, it is all ours." Federal and state governments pursued removal against Native people across the new nation, but they made a concerted effort to dispossess Indigenous people north of the Ohio River. In 1791, George Washington told Miami emissaries that if they did not agree to land cessions, "Your doom must be sealed forever."[1]

While Kekewepellethe negotiated with federal agents, the Free African Union Society of Providence, Rhode Island—an African American mutual aid society—followed news of Sierra Leone, a West African colony for emancipated refugees of the American Revolution organized by British abolitionists in 1787. Society members hoped that Sierra Leone might give them "a portion of Land and the right of Citizenship," both of which were "denied them in America." Even after members of the society lost interest in Sierra Leone in the 1790s, some white Americans continued to pursue colonization as a scheme to whiten the nation. By the turn of the nineteenth century, Virginia governor John Page pressed his state's legislature to sponsor a colonization plan or to give free African Americans "some inducement to

1. "Gen. Butler's Journal, Continued," Jan. 30, [1786], in Neville B. Craig, ed., *The Olden Time, a Monthly Publication . . . ,* II (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1848), 522 ("God"); "The Message of the President of the United States to the Miami Indians," Mar. 11, 1791, TPP, LX, 41 ("Your").

leave the country." State legislatures across the South and the mid-Atlantic followed suit by making it difficult for free African Americans to live, work, or travel within and across state borders.[2]

Removal was one of the most enduring answers to social challenges in the Anglo-Atlantic world. It accompanied U.S. nation building. It took different forms—violent expulsion, voluntary departure, or coerced relocation. Legislators, reformers, intellectuals, and ordinary people proposed removal as a solution to the major debates of the post-Revolutionary period—debates over political disaffection, land hunger, war debts, and the limits of slavery, emancipation, and citizenship. Amid the upheavals of the late eighteenth century, eastern North America's diverse inhabitants were united in their determination to control territory and belonging by managing people and their movements. For the United States, that determination was particularly important. This book shows how, in the years after the American Revolution, the states and the federal government tried to exclude groups of people from the nation. Interrogating the roots of removal in the early United States recasts the story of the early Republic. Removal, as much as free migration, made the United States, by defining who should be part of it.[3]

The term *removal* is usually applied to the antebellum period. During Georgia's campaign to dispossess the Cherokees, the 1830 Indian Removal Act made the expulsion of eastern Native people beyond the Mississippi River federal policy. A little more than a decade earlier, southern slaveholders and northern reformers founded the American Colonization Society (ACS) to raise funds to send free Black men and women to a colony on the west coast of Africa called Liberia. More than ten thousand African Americans went to Liberia under the auspices of the ACS by force or by choice between 1820 and 1860. Eighty thousand Native Americans were displaced from their homelands east of the Mississippi River in the same

2. Zachary Macaulay to the Honorable the Chairman and Directors of the Sierra Leone Company, Jan. 31, 1795, CO 268/5/16, TNA ("portion"); John Page to the Speaker of the House of Delegates, Dec. 10, 1805, OSEC, box 9, folder 34 ("some inducement").

3. For the entire early national era as one of removal, see James H. Merrell, "American Nations, Old and New: Reflections on Indians and the Early Republic," in Frederick E. Hoxie, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert, eds., *Native Americans and the Early Republic* (Charlottesville, Va., 1999), 350–353; Stuart Banner, *How the Indians Lost Their Land: Law and Power on the Frontier* (Cambridge, Mass., 2007), 191–192; Nicholas Guyatt, *Bind Us Apart: How Enlightened Americans Invented Racial Segregation* (New York, 2016); John P. Bowes, *Land Too Good for Indians: Northern Indian Removal* (Norman, Okla., 2016), 4, 8–9, 17.

period. These familiar experiences of expulsion did not emerge suddenly in the 1820s and 1830s. Such projects proceeded rapidly and with devastating effects because they had been tried in more diffuse ways for decades beforehand. Different plans had long urged the removal of both Native Americans and African Americans from the states and the nation. Those plans were important to the formation of the United States from its inception.[4]

This book follows early national removal policies outside the walls of the council house, the offices of the War Department, and the doors of the state legislatures into the communities and homes of everyday people. It presents the experiences of Native Americans and African Americans in parallel to show how white Americans used exclusion to shape the racial geography of the nation. Connecting Native American and African American history also reveals that Indigenous and Black people were decisive participants in determining what kind of nation the United States would become. They shifted policy with their actions—by petitioning, going to court, cultivating new alliances and patrons, or waging war. Even individual choices to move or remain underscored the tenuousness of federal and state efforts to remove people from their homes or homelands. Free African Americans and Native Americans were "founding critics" of the nation who pushed back against removal as an idea and as policy. Most important, they pressed for the right to remain in place, arguing that a permanent home lay at the crux of freedom or sovereignty. Their responses helped to define both removal policy and the membership and borders of the nation itself.[5]

In 1785, a white migrant named John Emerson crossed north of the Ohio River and pinned a manifesto to a tree declaring that "all mankind agreeable to every constitution formed in America have an undoubted right to pass into any vacant country." Emerson celebrated his ability to go into "vacant country" and to take it for himself. He called on a "right to pass," invoking a long-standing Anglo-American tradition celebrated by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century writers of proclaiming one's rights in order to protect them. In the decades after the Revolution, migrants like Emerson believed

4. Eric Burin, *Slavery and the Peculiar Solution: A History of the American Colonization Society* (Gainesville, Fla., 2005), 170; Sean Wilentz, *The Rise of American Democracy: Jefferson to Lincoln* (New York, 2006), 425; Claudio Saunt, *Unworthy Republic: The Dispossession of Native Americans and the Road to Indian Territory* (New York, 2020), 42, 81.

5. For "founding critics," see Manisha Sinha, *The Slave's Cause: A History of Abolition* (New Haven, Conn., 2016), 131.

that free movement and access to Native lands were just rewards for a long and difficult war.[6]

Roads filled with people who turned their backs on the Atlantic and headed for the Appalachian Mountains were the wonder and pride of early national writers. Both foreign and domestic observers saw American migration as exceptional, likening it to "a species of mania" and a force of nature. Migrants were "Kentucky mad," wrote Baptist minister Morgan John Rhees. In 1782, French-born New Yorker J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur marveled at the extraordinary movement of Americans and "the boldness the undiffidence with which these new settlers scatter themselves, here and there in the bosom of such an extensive country, without even a previous path to direct their steps." Fifty years later, Alexis de Tocqueville could still wonder at "the avidity with which the American" moved west. "Ahead of him lies a continent virtually without limit, yet he seems already afraid that room may run out, and makes haste lest he arrive too late." The "spirit of emigration" that drove population growth seemed vital to U.S. nationalism.[7]

Migration is essential to understanding the early United States, though not in the way that Crèvecoeur or Tocqueville imagined it. Over the past fifty years, historians have asked readers to look east from the interior of North America to understand Euro-American migration as an invasion of Native homelands. They have reinterpreted the colonial period from the perspective of the enslaved, highlighting the experience of the Middle Passage for African captives and the scale of Native American bondage. They have shown how coverture limited women's property rights and thus also their ability to control where and when they moved. Forced migrants con-

6. John Emerson, "Advertisement," Mar. 12, 1785, JHP, II (quotations). For a discussion of popular rights traditions, see Hannah Weiss Muller, *Subjects and Sovereign: Bonds of Belonging in the Eighteenth-Century British Empire* (New York, 2017), 46–79.

7. John T. Griffith, *Rev. Morgan John Rhys, "The Welsh Baptist Hero of Civil and Religious Liberty of the 18th Century"* (Lansford, Pa., 1899), 115 ("species"); Morgan John Rhees, "Diary of Tour of United States," "Original Diary," Aug. 4, 1795, Morgan J. Rhees Papers, box 1, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York ("Kentucky mad"); J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer and Other Essays,* ed. Dennis D. Moore (Cambridge, Mass., 2013), 262 ("boldness"); Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America,* trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New York, 2004), 326 ("avidity"); Arthur St. Clair to John Jay, Dec. 13, 1788, ASCP, box 2, folder 6 ("spirit"). Scholars who have also emphasized the restlessness of Americans include Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Americans: The National Experience* (New York, 1965), 49–112; Robert H. Wiebe, *The Opening of American Society: From the Adoption of the Constitution to the Eve of Disunion* (New York, 1984), 147, 324–327, 330; Bernard Bailyn, *Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution* (New York, 1986).

nected the Atlantic world, planted the North American colonies, and built the United States. Whether historians have interpreted movement as free or forced, it has always been at the center of U.S. history.[8]

Migration was not spontaneous. The federal government and the states shaped and encouraged it. Veterans of the American Revolution saw unchecked movement as the spoils of war because the states recruited them into military service by promising enlistment bounties paid in land. Northern legislatures limited free African American migration by threatening to arrest and exile those who crossed state lines. Speculators became rich buying up lands in the trans-Appalachian West because they kept company with powerful men in government who speculated themselves.

Men and women who moved tore the bonds of family to threads and pulled at the fabric of the communities they left behind. They transformed the map of the nation with every road traveled. Within seven years of the ratification of the Constitution, thousands of enslaved and free people had laid out three new states—Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee—on Abenaki, Shawnee, Cherokee, and Chickasaw homelands. By the 1830s, the number of "slave" and "free" states in the union had doubled from thirteen to twenty-six. That doubling was the result of choices made by individuals

8. For "facing east," see Daniel K. Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America* (Cambridge, Mass., 2003). For invasion, see, for example, Jean M. O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees: Indian Land and Identity in Natick, Massachusetts, 1650–1790* (Lincoln, Neb., 2003); Alan Taylor, *The Divided Ground: Indians, Settlers, and the Northern Borderland of the American Revolution* (New York, 2006); Banner, *How the Indians Lost Their Land;* Susan Sleeper-Smith, *Indigenous Prosperity and American Conquest: Indian Women of the Ohio River Valley, 1690–1792* (Williamsburg, Va., and Chapel Hill, N.C., 2018). For the Middle Passage, see, for example, Alexander X. Byrd, *Captives and Voyagers: Black Migrants across the Eighteenth-Century British Atlantic World* (Baton Rouge, La., 2008); Marcus Rediker, *The Slave Ship: A Human History* (New York, 2007); Stephanie E. Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery: A Middle Passage from Africa to American Diaspora* (Cambridge, Mass., 2008); Sowande' M. Mustakeem, *Slavery at Sea: Terror, Sex, and Sickness in the Middle Passage* (Urbana, Ill., 2016). For Native slavery, see, for example, James F. Brooks, *Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (Williamsburg, Va., and Chapel Hill, N.C., 2002); Alan Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670–1717* (New Haven, Conn., 2003); Christina Snyder, *Slavery in Indian Country: The Changing Face of Captivity in Early America* (Cambridge, Mass., 2010); Brett Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance: Indigenous and Atlantic Slaveries in New France* (Williamsburg, Va., and Chapel Hill, N.C., 2014); Andrés Reséndez, *The Other Slavery; The Uncovered Story of Indian Enslavement in America* (New York, 2016). For coverture, see, for example, Marylynn Salmon, *Women and the Law of Property in Early America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1989); Linda K. Kerber, *No Constitutional Right to Be Ladies: Women and the Obligations of Citizenship* (New York, 1998), 3–46.

and early national governments to promote the free migration of some over others. Movement was not a given but a problem at the root of heated late-eighteenth-century debates about what kind of nation the United States might become.[9]

Removal was the foundation for the spirit of enterprise that laid out these new states and that was celebrated by eighteenth-century observers. It was rooted in early modern debates over the management of people. All sovereign people used their power to move others in order to assert their claims to territory or jurisdiction. The seventeenth-century Powhatan Confederacy, for example, dispersed people to identify insiders and outsiders, as did the Iroquois Confederacy. In the British Empire, managing people through removal was the king's prerogative. Seventeenth-century English monarchs and their ministers believed that the transportation of large groups of people to new places would reform convicts, suppress rebellion, support claims to territory, and ameliorate poverty. The king deported those who were convicted of crimes to the North American colonies and banished people who were potential enemies of the state. At the local level, Elizabethan poor laws gave localities the power to warn out indigent people and send them back to the place of their birth for poor support. These British precedents became the foundation for removal projects in the early United States.[10]

After the American Revolution, removal informed critical conversations about the formation of the United States at the highest levels of government and in the halls of local town councils and courts. When state statutes, local committees, and individual citizens legally banished or compelled the departure of sixty thousand loyalists during the war, citizens of the Republic were claiming what had been the king's prerogative—the power to remove people. White Americans turned to removal as a tool of postwar reconstruction as well. Because republican political power was derived from

9. Merrell, "American Nations, Old and New," in Hoxie, Hoffman, and Albert, eds., *Native Americans and the Early Republic,* 350.

10. Gwenda Morgan and Peter Rushton, *Eighteenth-Century Criminal Transportation: The Formation of the Criminal Atlantic* (New York, 2004); Christopher Tomlins, *Freedom Bound: Law, Labor, and Civic Identity in Colonizing English America, 1580–1865* (New York, 2010), 21–92. On the poor laws, see Ruth Wallis Herndon, *Unwelcome Americans: Living on the Margin in Early New England* (Philadelphia, 2001); Cornelia H. Dayton and Sharon V. Salinger, *Robert Love's Warnings: Searching for Strangers in Colonial Boston* (Philadelphia, 2017); Hidetaka Hirota, *Expelling the Poor: Atlantic Seaboard States and the Nineteenth-Century Origins of American Immigration Policy* (New York, 2017); Kristin O'Brassill-Kulfan, *Vagrants and Vagabonds: Poverty and Mobility in the Early American Republic* (New York, 2019).

the people, population formed the basis for representation, statehood, and political power. At the center of early national politics, then, was the question of who *the people* actually were. The departure of loyalists fostered the sense that those who remained supported the union. But the stories that white Americans used to garner support for the Revolution between 1776 and 1783—tales of Native violence and slave revolt—lingered and tested that notion of unanimity. Many early national writers saw removal as necessary to the republic based on whiteness that they wished to create. Removal could redraw belonging, excluding some people from their homelands or preempting claims to a permanent home based on race. These proposals were a means of working out who could be a member of the new nation.[11]

In the early national period, *removal* was a capacious term. People used it to refer to freely chosen movement from one town or county to another—as in, "I removed from Baltimore to New York." By the 1830s, removal was a gloss. In some cases, it meant deportation or expulsion. In others, it described what we might now call elimination or genocide. Removal as "self-deportation" was ubiquitous, too. Poor laws or restrictive settlement statutes did not always specify the mechanisms by which persons should leave. Rather, such legislation presumed they would remove themselves from territories or states through coercion. Many people—Irish immigrants, political dissidents prosecuted under the Alien and Sedition Acts, white squatters on federal lands, and Mormons—experienced some kind of forced relocation in the early Republic. All the same, state and federal officials most often directed removal toward free African Americans and Native Americans. They used it to draw the limits of belonging based on race. In the case of African Americans and Native Americans, removal's multiple meanings were intentional. As much as state or federal officials pursued removal, they also papered over its violence by calling it a benevolent project to protect free African Americans and Indigenous people from white Americans. Re-

11. Maya Jasanoff, *Liberty's Exiles: American Loyalists in the Revolutionary World* (New York, 2011), 357. For the myth of unanimity, see Douglas Bradburn, *The Citizenship Revolution: Politics and the Creation of the American Union, 1774–1804* (Charlottesville, Va., 2009), 58. For race and testing that myth, see Peter Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America* (New York, 2009); Alan Taylor, *The Internal Enemy: Slavery and War in Virginia, 1772–1832* (New York, 2014); Robert G. Parkinson, *The Common Cause: Creating Race and Nation in the American Revolution* (Williamsburg, Va., and Chapel Hill, N.C., 2016). For race making, see Nancy Shoemaker, "How Indians Got to Be Red," *American Historical Review,* CII (1997), 625–644; James Sidbury, *Becoming African in America: Race and Nation in the Early Black Atlantic* (New York, 2007); John Wood Sweet, *Bodies Politic: Negotiating Race in the American North, 1730–1830* (Philadelphia, 2006).

moval's broad tent hid its devastation. The purposeful occlusions and multiple meanings of the term are the subject of this book.[12]

Early national federal and state officials who debated the strength of Native nations had removal in mind. When the Revolution ended, U.S. officials reimagined Native lands in the West as a fund to pay the new nation's war debts. Along with speculators, migrants, and geographers, they hoped to replace eastern Native people with white families. To settle the new territories they claimed after independence, white Americans also had to "unsettle" them. The men at the helm of early federal Indian policy declared that removal was inevitable. But what they called unavoidable was the product of their own policies. In their reports, they scratched out plans—military campaigns, "civilization" plans, broken treaties—that made removal a fait accompli. Decades before Andrew Jackson's Indian Removal Act, Thomas Jefferson and then James Monroe pressured Native Americans east of the Mississippi River to exchange their lands for those west of it while state and territorial governments worked assiduously to do the same.[13]

Beginning in the 1770s, writers from New England to Virginia intertwined removal with debates about gradual emancipation and Black citizenship. Enslavers in the upper South hoped to exile a growing number of free African Americans whom they feared would challenge slavery. Mid-Atlantic Quakers embraced colonization because they thought it might bring about

12. On "self-deportation," see K-Sue Park, "Self-Deportation Nation," *Harvard Law Review,* CXXXII (2019), 1878–1941. I occasionally lean on terms such as *banishment* or *exile* or *expulsion* to illuminate the meaning of *removal* in its diverse contexts. On the inadequacy of the term *removal,* see Scott Richard Lyons, *X-Marks: Native Signatures of Assent* (Minneapolis, Minn., 2010), 8; Saunt, *Unworthy Republic,* xii–xiv. On genocide and elimination, see Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research,* VIII (2006), 387–409; Benjamin Madley, *An American Genocide: The United States and the California Indian Catastrophe* (New Haven, Conn., 2017); Jeffrey Ostler, *Surviving Genocide: Native Nations and the United States from the American Revolution to Bleeding Kansas* (New Haven, Conn., 2019). For benevolence, see Nicholas Guyatt, "'The Outskirts of Our Happiness': Race and the Lure of Colonization in the Early Republic," *Journal of American History,* XCV (2009), esp. 987–988; Susan M. Ryan, *The Grammar of Good Intentions: Race and the Antebellum Culture of Benevolence* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2003), 14–16; Bruce Dorsey, *Reforming Men and Women: Gender in the Antebellum City* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2002), 76–79.

13. Rob Harper, *Unsettling the West: Violence and State Building in the Ohio Valley* (Philadelphia, 2018); Andrew Lipman, *The Saltwater Frontier: Indians and the Contest for the American Coast* (New Haven, Conn., 2018), 5; James P. Ronda, "'We Have a Country': Race, Geography, and the Invention of Indian Territory," *Journal of the Early Republic,* XIX (1999), 739–755. For an overview of early national Indian policy, see David Andrew Nichols, *Red Gentlemen and White Savages: Indians, Federalists, and the Search for Order on the American Frontier* (Charlottesville, Va., 2008).

gradual emancipation. Meanwhile, African American emigrationists believed that a venture they controlled themselves could deliver independence and economic prosperity at a moment when both were uncertain. They partnered with white ministers in New England who saw colonization as a missionary movement aimed at West Africans. Depending on who controlled the venture, removal could symbolize exclusion or political autonomy.[14]

There were substantive differences between Native American and African American experiences of removal. North Americans understood the circumstances of free Black and Native peoples to be distinct from one another. Consequently, the underpinnings of exclusion varied for both. Federal and state officials used removal to expropriate Native territory. By contrast, colonizationists planned to remove free African Americans to preserve slavery and limit Black citizenship rights. Nevertheless, the plans echoed one another. For example, reformers and legislators hoped to send all removed people out of the nation with farm implements and spinning wheels, and Quakers sometimes worked in both fields simultaneously. Both efforts began from the presumption that Black and Indigenous people needed moral improvement and could not achieve it within the United States.[15]

When white Americans embraced removal, they were also debating the legal rights of free African Americans and chipping away at Native sovereignty. Removal was symptomatic of how, as Barbara Young Welke has written, "Legal exclusions marked borders of belonging within the territorial boundaries of the nation." Citizenship was ill-defined in the early national

14. For work on early colonization and emigration ideas in the United States before the ACS and its connections to Sierra Leone, see Peter S. Onuf, *Jefferson's Empire: The Language of American Nationhood* (Charlottesville, Va., 2000), 174–188; David Kazanjian, *The Colonizing Trick: National Culture and Imperial Citizenship in Early America* (Minneapolis, Minn., 2003), 89–138; Cassandra Pybus, *Epic Journeys of Freedom: Runaway Slaves of the American Revolution and Their Global Quest for Liberty* (Boston, 2006); Sidbury, *Becoming African in America,* 17–155; Byrd, *Captives and Voyagers,* 125–244; Christopher Cameron, *To Plead Our Own Cause: African Americans in Massachusetts and the Making of the Antislavery Movement* (Kent, Ohio, 2014), 100–113; Christa Dierksheide, *Amelioration and Empire: Progress and Slavery in the Plantation Americas* (Charlottesville, Va., 2014), 25–66; Guyatt, *Bind Us Apart.*

15. Patrick Wolfe, "Land, Labor, and Difference: Elementary Structures of Race," *American Historical Review,* CVI (2001), 866–905. These substantive differences include the inherent sovereignty of Native people; see Kevin Bruyneel, *The Third Space of Sovereignty: The Postcolonial Politics of U.S.-Indigenous Relations* (Minneapolis, Minn., 2007). For two scholars who have examined the overlap between African American colonization and Indian removal, see Guyatt, *Bind Us Apart;* Ikuko Asaka, *Tropical Freedom: Climate, Settler Colonialism, and Black Exclusion in the Age of Emancipation* (Durham, N.C., 2017).

period. Voting rights, property rights, and naturalization were controlled by the states and varied between them. When colonization's proponents argued that free African Americans should leave because they would never find equality within the union, they brought into sharp relief the limited set of rights available to free Black men and women at the state level in many places. Removal similarly revealed state and federal aspirations to dismantle Native sovereignty within the borders of the United States. When federal officials demanded that Native Americans dissolve tribal governments in return for citizenship, they held out dispossession as the alternative. States struggling to solidify their own jurisdiction similarly resisted overlapping and "tenacious pluaralities." As judges and legislators tried to redefine the status of tribal nations from sovereign powers to "domestic dependent nations" over the course of the early national period, removal made plain the stakes of the discussion. White Americans chose removal as one tool among many to cope with the precariousness of the new nation. They created a new racial geography in which Native Americans and African Americans only had rights in certain spaces.[16]

Removal projects appear totalizing when viewed from the desks of their most passionate advocates. As intellectuals and legislators observed the nation's rapid growth in the late eighteenth century, they hoped to manipulate the movements of abstract populations to strengthen the military and economic power of the states and territories. They wielded census data and maps to bring the nation into being from their offices and counting rooms. It was heady arithmetic.[17]

The view from the planner's desk is partial, however, and the arithmetic is deceiving. White Americans clamored for the idea of removal even though many of the proposals they put forward were impossible to enforce and

16. Barbara Young Welke, *Law and the Borders of Belonging in the Long Nineteenth Century United States* (New York, 2010), 181 ("Legal"); Lisa Ford, *Settler Sovereignty: Jurisdiction and Indigenous People in America and Australia, 1788–1836* (Cambridge, Mass., 2011), 3 ("tenacious"); Cherokee Nation vs. the State of Georgia, 30 U.S. (5 Pet.) 1 (1831) ("domestic"); Deborah A. Rosen, *American Indians and State Law: Sovereignty, Race, and Citizenship, 1790–1880* (Lincoln, Neb., 2009). For racial geography, see Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality* (Cambridge, 2008); Welke, *Law and the Borders of Belonging,* 26.

17. On population, state making, and ordering people, see James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven, Conn., 1998); Ford, *Settler Sovereignty,* 1; Caroline Winterer, *American Enlightenments: Pursuing Happiness in the Age of Reason* (New Haven, Conn., 2016), 110–141.

often contradictory. State power was limited in the early national period. By the late nineteenth century, the growth of the federal government—with its powers of surveillance, immigration control, licensing, passports, and border agents—allowed American officials to impose removal at the federal level with a degree of efficiency that was unimaginable in the early national period. After the American Revolution, the new United States struggled to make its people legible. In practice, early American governments could not control what the English jurist William Blackstone in his 1765 *Commentaries on the Laws of England* had called "the power of loco-motion." Migrants crossed borders and squatted on lands without regard for laws intended to keep them out. Locomotion was "power" and thus a problem to be managed. Early Americans treated it as such.[18]

Nonetheless, state power was not nonexistent. It simply operated in ways we might not recognize today. It was "out of sight," carried out by federal officials and everday people who had no official role in government. This was particularly true in the trans-Appalachian region, where federal officials relied on white migrants to wage war on Native settlements or tasked individual go-betweens with brokering peace agreements. The example of the extraordinary efforts taken by the federal government to expel Indigenous people might have led eastern colonizationists to believe that their projects were also realistic. Early American governments already protected property (including property in enslaved people), and they had an exclusive right to coercive force. Could they not also regulate mobility and settlement?[19]

It would be easy to see Native Americans and African Americans as casualties of these visions, but that is only part of the story. They were not just can-

18. William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England: A Facsimile of the First Edition of 1765–1769,* I, *Of the Rights of Persons* (Chicago, 1979), 130–133 (quotation, 130). For works that link Revolutionary-era removal and later histories of immigration, see Daniel Kanstroom, *Deportation Nation: Outsiders in American History* (Cambridge, Mass., 2007), ix–x; Kunal M. Parker, *Making Foreigners: Immigration and Citizenship Law in America, 1600–2000* (New York, 2015); Hirota, *Expelling the Poor;* Park, "Self-Deportation Nation," *Harvard Law Review,* CXXXII (2019), 1878–1941.

19. For work bringing the state back into the history of the early Republic, see, for example, Brian Balogh, *A Government Out of Sight: The Mystery of National Authority in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, 2009); William J. Novak, "The Myth of the 'Weak' American State," *American Historical Review,* CXIII (2008), 752–772; Max M. Edling, *A Hercules in the Cradle: War, Money, and the American State, 1783–1867* (Chicago, 2014). A cohort of Ohio Valley historians have debated the extent to which the federal government exercised power and was responsible for violence there. See Eric Hinderaker, *Elusive Empires: Constructing Colonialism in the Ohio Valley, 1673–1800* (New York, 1999); Patrick Griffin, *American Leviathan: Empire, Nation, and Revolutionary Frontier* (New York, 2008); Harper, *Unsettling the West.*

didates for removal. They also sought to control movement themselves. Free Black men and women championed emigration movements that led thousands of people to Sierra Leone, Haiti, and Canada to escape racism in the United States. Native nations had a clear conception of their territorial sovereignty, and they routinely forced intruders out of their lands. When Wyandot speakers or Odawa messengers pressed American officials to move white migrants back across the Ohio River, they were demanding the removal of white Americans. Facing west from the federal capital, U.S. military campaigns in Indian country look like removal efforts; facing east from Indian country, the same battles look like Native efforts to push out white interlopers.[20]

Borders were also both malleable and indistinct, Black and white Americans ignored state laws against migration, and Native Americans thwarted land dispossession. Free African Americans from the upper South traveled west in the early nineteenth century despite restrictive statutes that limited their movements. They settled alongside former neighbors, recreating their old neighborhoods in Ohio or Indiana. Native people forged paths away from dispossession that were outside the control of state and federal legislators. In the 1770s, some Shawnees and Delawares chose to move beyond the claims of the United States by crossing the Mississippi River at the invitation of the Quapaws and Spanish. White, Black, and Native migrants also had alternative understandings of geography that had little to do with the United States. Native nations retained power over their homelands even though the United States did not recognize their sovereignty. Enslaved people developed what Stephanie M. H. Camp has called a "rival geography"—an understanding of the space of the plantation, town, or swamp where they could find a modicum of freedom in a nation underpinned by slavery.[21]

20. For emigration, see Nikki M. Taylor, *Frontiers of Freedom: Cincinnati's Black Community, 1802–1868* (Athens, Ohio, 2005), 58–79; Pybus, *Epic Journeys of Freedom;* Sidbury, *Becoming African in America,* 17–155; Byrd, *Captives and Voyagers,* 125–244; Ada Ferrer, "Haiti, Free Soil, and Antislavery in the Revolutionary Atlantic," *American Historical Review,* CXVII (2012), 40–66; Sara Fanning, *Caribbean Crossing: African Americans and the Haitian Emigration Movement* (New York, 2015). For Native people removing others from their lands, see Sami Lakomäki, *Gathering Together: The Shawnee People through Diaspora and Nationhood, 1600–1870* (New Haven, Conn., 2014), 102–131, 143–152; Colin G. Calloway, *The Victory with No Name: The Native American Defeat of the First American Army* (New York, 2015).

21. For "rival geography," see Stephanie M. H. Camp, *Closer to Freedom: Enslaved Women and Everyday Resistance in the Plantation South* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2004), 7 (quotation); Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle* (Minneapolis, Minn., 2006), xxviii; Anthony E. Kaye, *Joining Places: Slave Neighborhoods in the Old South* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2009); Sylviane A. Diouf, *Slavery's Exiles: The Story of the American Maroons* (New York, 2014); Marisa J.

The heady arithmetic of early American planners notwithstanding, states were made by ordinary people. Individual choices to move transformed territories into states. They produced new understandings of space. With their decisions to move or to remain, people altered the political landscape of Indian country and of the United States as well as categories like "free state" and "slave state" on the ground. White migrants who went west also did the work of settler colonialism. Miamis who invited other Native people to live on their lands clarified their own borders in the process. By foregrounding the movements of everyday people, this book bridges the gap between political history and the rich social history of migration, crafting a history of state making from both above and below.[22]

Putting removal at the center of the story of the founding of the United States reveals another underexamined intellectual current in American life. Because removal was so common in the early Republic, African American

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Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence, and the Archive* (Philadelphia, 2016), 13–45. For African American western migration, see Stephen A. Vincent, *Southern Seed, Northern Soil: African-American Farm Communities in the Midwest, 1765–1900* (Bloomington, Ind., 1999); Cheryl Janifer LaRoche, *Free Black Communities and the Underground Railroad: The Geography of Resistance* (Urbana, Ill., 2014). For Shawnees and Delawares, see Kathleen DuVal, *The Native Ground: Indians and Colonists in the Heart of the Continent* (Philadelphia, 2007), 162–163, 175; John P. Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers: Eastern Indians in the Trans-Mississippi West* (New York, 2007), 19–52. Rashauna Johnson argues for the "confined cosmopolitanism" of enslaved people in the city of New Orleans. See Johnson, *Slavery's Metropolis: Unfree Labor in New Orleans during the Age of Revolutions* (New York, 2016), 6.

22. For scholarship on African American and Native American travel, see, for example, Camp, *Closer to Freedom;* Bowes, *Exiles and Pioneers;* Edlie L. Wong, *Neither Fugitive nor Free: Atlantic Slavery, Freedom Suits, and the Legal Culture of Travel* (New York, 2009); Elizabeth Stordeur Pryor, *Colored Travelers: Mobility and the Fight for Citizenship before the Civil War* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2016). For works that explore the transatlantic movement of Indigenous people, see Coll Thrush, *Indigenous London: Native Travelers at the Heart of Empire* (New Haven, Conn., 2016); Nancy Shoemaker, *Native American Whalemen and the World: Indigenous Encounters and the Contingency of Race* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2017); Jace Weaver, *The Red Atlantic: American Indigenes and the Making of the Modern World, 1000–1927* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2017). For white migrants, see Bethel Saler, *The Settlers' Empire: Colonialism and State Formation in America's Old Northwest* (Philadelphia, 2015); Laurel Clark Shire, *The Threshold of Manifest Destiny: Gender and National Expansion in Florida* (Philadelphia, 2016), 1, 4–5. For Native borders, see Taylor, *Divided Ground;* Juliana Barr, "Geographies of Power: Mapping Indian Borders in the 'Borderlands' of the Early Southwest," *William and Mary Quarterly,* 3d Ser., LXVIII (2011), 5–46; Sami Lakomäki, "'Our Line': The Shawnees, the United States, and Competing Borders on the Great Lakes 'Borderlands,' 1795–1832," *Journal of the Early Republic,* XXXIV (2014), 597–624.

and Indigenous communities staunchly protected their right to remain in their homes and homelands. In a period when the dislocations of revolution, state making, and expansion accelerated movement both forced and free, the pursuit of a permanent home mattered deeply to many people. History and the bonds of affection tied people to particular places. Most people in the early national period did not want unfettered migration—they hoped to remain in place.

In 1773, an enslaved man named Felix attested to the importance of the right to remain when he submitted an abolitionist petition to the Massachusetts House of Representatives. "We have no Property! We have no Wives! No Children! We have no City! No Country!" Felix cried. To be enslaved was to be deprived of land, possessions, family, and a permanent home. Within a decade of Felix's petition, a series of court cases brought by two enslaved people, Quock Walker and Elizabeth Freeman, helped to undermine slavery in Massachusetts. If he survived the war, Felix presumably claimed his freedom, too. And yet, some of Felix's laments also seemed pertinent to the experience of freedom. Between 1780 and 1804, thousands of enslaved people across the new nation became free as a result of gradual emancipation acts and the liberalization of manumission laws in individual states. As they did, states passed new laws restricting Black residency and travel. In 1811, Black sailmaker and Philadelphia leader James Forten echoed Felix's protest when he wondered of free African Americans, "Where shall he go? Shut every state against him . . . . Is there no spot on earth that will protect him!" Newly freed people pursued the right to remain by petitioning state governments and going to court. In the fifty years after the Revolution, the right to remain became central to African American activism.[23]

Similarly, Native Americans waged effective campaigns for the right to remain long before Indian removal gained national attention in eastern re-

23. Felix, Petition to Thomas Hutchinson, Jan. 6, 1773, reprinted in Gary B. Nash, *Race and Revolution* (Lanham, Md., 2001), 172 ("We have"); [James Forten], *Letters from a Man of Colour, on a Late Bill before the Senate of Pennsylvania* (n.p. [Pa., 1813]), 10–11 ("Where"). For Quok Walker and Elizabeth Freeman, see Arthur Zilversmit, "Quok Walker, Mumbet, and the Abolition of Slavery in Massachusetts," *William and Mary Quarterly,* 3d Ser., XXV (1968), 614–624; Joanne Pope Melish, *Disowning Slavery: Gradual Emancipation and "Race" in New England, 1780–1860* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1998), 64–65. For the right to remain, see Adrienne Monteith Petty, *Standing Their Ground: Small Farmers in North Carolina since the Civil War* (New York, 2013); Sydney Nathans, *A Mind to Stay: White Plantation, Black Homeland* (Cambridge, Mass., 2017); Martha S. Jones, *Birthright Citizens: A History of Race and Rights in Antebellum America* (New York, 2018), 4, 90; Christopher James Bonner, *Remaking the Republic: Black Politics and the Creation of American Citizenship* (Philadelphia, 2020), 13, 40.

form circles in the late 1820s. Seneca, Mohawk, Shawnee, and Miami chiefs traveled to the federal capital to press for U.S. recognition of their borders. Indigenous people from the Ohio Valley and lower Great Lakes met with British officials in Canada, they traveled across the Mississippi River to strengthen their ties to the Spanish, and they went south to Creek country. They also confederated to rival the United States, even as they struggled to speak with a unified message. In 1793, at the height of their resistance to the United States, confederated leaders met with U.S. commissioners in Detroit, where they demanded that white Americans remove from their lands north of the Ohio River. "We can retreat no further," they declared, insisting "we have therefore resolved, to leave our bones in this small space, to which we are now confined."[24]

United in their desire to remain, Native Americans and African Americans nonetheless pursued that goal differently. All used alliance building to their advantage, whether they sought out the patronage of powerful individuals or connections with neighboring towns, nations, and empires. As sovereign nations, Native people cemented these ties by acting collectively. A landscape of alliances with traders and British forts helped them determine their own futures amid colonialism. Free Black men and women fostered personal relationships with white and Black patrons to win customary rights that they did not enjoy under state law. Personal connections were important to people whose rights were only narrowly protected by the law because local jurisdiction ultimately mattered most. Removal for free Black people could mean losing intermediaries who formed communities of protection when early national state governments did not formally defend their rights. Increasingly in the early Republic, free Black men and women acted collectively as well. They formed independent churches, societies, and towns to secure their right to remain.[25]

24. "Message from the Western Indians to the Commissioners of the United States," Aug. 13, 1793, in *CJGS,* II, 20 (quotations). For confederation, see Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745–1815* (Baltimore, Md., 1993); Colin G. Calloway, *The Shawnees and the War for America* (New York, 2007); Lisa Brooks, *The Common Pot: The Recovery of Native Space in the Northeast* (Minneapolis, Minn., 2008), 106–162; Nichols, *Red Gentlemen and White Savages;* Stephen Warren, *The Shawnees and Their Neighbors, 1795–1870* (Urbanna, Ill., 2008), 13–42; Adam Jortner, *The Gods of Prophetstown: The Battle of Tippecanoe and the Holy War for the American Frontier* (New York, 2012); Calloway, *Victory with No Name;* Lakomäki, *Gathering Together,* 102–131, 143–152; Sleeper-Smith, *Indigenous Prosperity and American Conquest,* 218–320.

25. For collaboration and alliance building, see Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (1991; rpt.

Comparisons allow the terms of one field to illuminate those of another. Although remaining is at the center of Native American and Indigenous Studies, focusing on the right to remain in African American history of the early national period illuminates how often Black Americans also called for the same thing. Antoinette Burton writes that Native peoples who lived amid European and American empires in the nineteenth century "exhibited a keen sense of how history was being made at their expense." When African Americans argued against state policies that limited their rights and freedoms, they armed themselves with the same historical sensibility and "anticipatory posture" as Indigenous people. The public arguments for the right to remain that they disseminated influenced quieter moments of dissent that never reached beyond a few neighbors or correspondents. Together, these documents and speeches constitute an archive of Black and Indigenous efforts to secure the right to remain, although historians have seldom thought of it as one. Living in the midst of settler colonialism or in the shadow of slavery, those who dissented did not always ask to be part of the new United States. Oftentimes, they simply asked to be left alone.[26]

This book is national in scope, but it centers on the upper South, mid-Atlantic, and the Ohio Valley, where removal played a key role in U.S. state making. In an 1814 atlas, Pennsylvania publisher Mathew Carey pictured Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Kentucky, Ohio, and the territories of Indiana and Illinois together on a map that he labeled *The Middle States and Western Territories of the United States*. The designation "middle states" was not common in the early nineteenth century. Nonetheless, early Americans would have understood Carey's map as depicting

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New York, 2011); Colin G. Calloway, *Crown and Calumet: British-Indian Relations, 1783–1815* (Norman, Okla., 1987); Robert Michael Morrissey, *Empire by Collaboration: Indians, Colonists, and Governments in Colonial Illinois Country* (Philadelphia, 2015). For patronage, see Melvin Patrick Ely, *Israel on the Appomattox: A Southern Experiment in Black Freedom from the 1790s through the Civil War* (New York, 2005); Laura F. Edwards, *The People and Their Peace: Legal Culture and the Transformation of Inequality in the Post-Revolutionary South* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2009), 100–132; Kirt von Daacke, *Freedom Has a Face: Race, Identity, and Community in Jefferson's Virginia* (Charlottesville, Va., 2012), 41–112; Kimberly M. Welch, *Black Litigants in the Antebellum American South* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2018), 60–81. For collective action and institutions, see, for example, Leslie M. Harris, *In the Shadow of Slavery: African Americans in New York City, 1626–1863* (Chicago, 2004), 72–95; Erica Armstrong Dunbar, *A Fragile Freedom: African American Women and Emancipation in the Antebellum City* (New Haven, Conn., 2008), 48–69; Sinha, *Slave's Cause*, 130–144.

26. Antoinette Burton, "Introduction: Travelling Criticism? On the Dynamic Histories of Indigenous Modernity," *Cultural and Social History*, IX (2012), 492.

a coherent region, linked by migration from East to West. Long before the United States existed on any map, Native people also likely saw the area as connected. By the early eighteenth century, Delaware, Shawnee, and Haudenosaunee migrants pulled west by the Ohio River went to the Ohio Valley as refugees of eastern dispossession in the mid-Atlantic colonies. Anglo-Americans quickly followed. They also thought of the region as a corridor, perched on the edges of the Ohio River, which carried people and goods from West to East and back.[27]

Scholarship on removal has typically focused on the South or New England, but nowhere was early national removal more important than in Carey's middle states. Federal officials believed the division and sale of Native lands in the fertile region of the Ohio Valley was vital to the financial, political, and moral foundations of the nation. Many Native people who controlled the Ohio Valley had already experienced Anglo-American removal once, so they were even more resolute in their efforts to remain. By the post-Revolutionary period, the middle states shared common borders, but they pursued very different paths when it came to slavery. Virginia and Maryland held fast to the institution, Delaware's slaveholding elite reduced but did not eliminate their reliance on enslaved labor, and Pennsylvania gradually abolished bondage altogether. In the Ohio Valley, slavery was the foundation of Kentucky's prosperity, while north of the Ohio River, it was banned. The middle states were linked by migration, and the differences between them when it came to slavery and freedom led to a persistent debate about colonization and migration restriction.[28]

Carey's map is useful for showing how North Americans imagined the middle states as interconnected. It is also, in itself, a marker of the transformations that removal wrought in the upper South, mid-Atlantic, and Ohio Valley. North American consumers were discerning map readers. They knew that maps were as much expressions of the world their authors wished

27. Mathew Carey, *A General Atlas, Being a Collection of Maps of the World and Quarters . . .* (Philadelphia, 1814), Edward E. Ayer Collection, Special Collections, NL; Stephen Warren, *The Worlds the Shawnees Made: Migration and Violence in Early America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2014), 27–56.

28. For connections across the broader region around the Ohio River Valley, see, for example, Hinderaker, *Elusive Empires;* Lakomäki, *Gathering Together;* Warren, *Worlds the Shawnees Made;* Amy C. Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys: The Odyssey of the Delaware Indians* (Philadelphia, 2007). For slavery's borderland in the middle states, see Richard S. Newman, "'Lucky to Be Born in Pennsylvania': Free Soil, Fugitive Slaves, and the Making of Pennsylvania's Anti-Slavery Borderland," *Slavery and Abolition,* XXXII (2011), 413–430; Matthew Salafia, *Slavery's Borderland: Freedom and Bondage along the Ohio River* (Philadelphia, 2013).

FIGURE 1. *Mathew Carey, "The Middle States and Western Territories of the United States Including the Seat of the Western War," 1812. From Carey,* A General Atlas, Being a Collection of Maps of the World and Quarters . . . *(Philadelphia, 1814). Plate 6. Edward E. Ayer Collection, Special Collections. Courtesy Newberry Library, Chicago*

to create as reflections of the world as it was. As they perused the map of the middle states, Carey's subscribers might have noticed that it was a political project. The map envisioned the region as a blank canvas divided neatly into states awaiting incorporation into the union. Carey reproduced the rivers, mountain ranges, and towns of the middle states from earlier colonial maps, but he purposefully omitted Native place-names from his rendering of the region. Shawnees, Delawares, Wyandots, Odawas, Senecas, Miamis, Ojibwes, and Potawatomis had long controlled the middle states, though one would never know it from Carey's map. It made migration from East to West easy to imagine. This book shows how the broad region surrounding the Ohio Valley was linked by migration and rapidly carved into a set of states by removal. Carey's choices also facilitated that transformation.[29]

Although removal was uniquely important in the middle states, it was also a national project. Southern colonizationists corresponded with northeasterners about their plans. Black intellectuals and leaders in Massachusetts and Rhode Island led inquiries into the founding of a West African colony. Conversely, removal had its geographic limits. For much of the nineteenth century, most of North America was controlled by Native nations and empires for whom U.S. policy mattered little. North of the middle states in what would become Michigan and Wisconsin—both within Anishinaabewaki, or the territory of the Anishinaabeg—U.S. officials had no choice but to acknowledge Anishinaabe borders and customary law, and they depended on mixed-race families to prop up their claims to statehood. Removal proceeded very differently to the south, in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.[30]

29. For maps as tools of empire, see J. B. Harley, "Maps, Knowledge, and Power," in Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels, eds., *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design, and Use of Past Environments* (1988; rpt. Cambridge, 1989), 277–312; Harley, "Rereading the Maps of the Columbian Encounter," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* LXXXII (1992), 522–536; Gregory H. Nobles, "Straight Lines and Stability: Mapping the Political Order of the Anglo-American Frontier," *Journal of American History,* LXXX (1993), 9–35; Michael Witgen, "The Rituals of Possession: Native Identity and the Invention of Empire in Seventeenth-Century Western North America," *Ethnohistory,* LIV (2007), 639–668; Barr, "Geographies of Power," *William and Mary Quarterly,* 3d Ser., LXVIII (2011), 5–46.

30. Michael Witgen, "Seeing Red: Race, Citizenship, and Indigeneity in the Old Northwest," *Journal of the Early Republic,* XXXVIII (2018), 581–611. Witgen writes that "there are too few histories of nineteenth-century North America that tell the story of the numerically significant and politically independent Native peoples who controlled the majority of continent's territory, and who helped to shape the historical development of the modern American, Canadian, and Mexican nations." See Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations: How the Native New World Shaped Early North America* (Philadel-

Before the 1830s, very few people compared Native American and African American struggles for the right to remain. When they did, they set the broad sins of the new nation next to each other on a global stage. A writer using the pseudonym Othello compared the immorality of American slavery and Native dispossession to the captivity of American sailors by the Barbary states, concluding that "the Algerines are no greater pirates than the Americans." Mohican diplomat Hendrick Aupaumut reported that Delawares and Shawnees in the Ohio Valley celebrated news of the Haitian Revolution in 1792. They cautioned that U.S. policy would reduce them to bondage, too. A speaker for the United Indian Nations claimed that "if we have peace with [Americans], they would make slaves of us." Fear of bondage was a consistent refrain of Indigenous orators in the Ohio country from the mid-eighteenth century onward, and for good reason. The enslavement of Native people had been important to colonial economies and politics.[31]

White reformers and ministers writing in the 1790s compared the experiences of Native Americans and African Americans to critique U.S. history. In a defense of the Haitian Revolution, Connecticut Republican Abraham Bishop denounced the United States, where Black men and women were enslaved, Natives were pushed from their lands, "and we glory in the equal rights of men, provided that *we white men can enjoy the whole of them.*" Bishop's Yale classmate Zephaniah Swift similarly suggested that Native peoples and those of African descent "have long mourned the day, when Columbus sailed from Europe." Baptist minister Rhees warned his white countrymen that "Indians and Negroes will rise up in judgment against you, if you do not exert your influence to emancipate the one and send messengers of peace to the other."[32]

phia, 2012), 16. For scholarship that does address Native control over the continent, see DuVal, *Native Ground;* Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven, Conn., 2008); Anne F. Hyde, *Empires, Nations, and Families: A History of the North American West, 1800–1860* (Lincoln, Neb., 2011); Michael A. McDonnell, *Masters of Empire: Great Lakes Indians and the Making of America* (New York, 2015).

31. Othello, "Essay on Negro Slavery," *American Museum; or, Repository of Ancient and Modern Fugitive Pieces, etc.; Prose and Poetical* (Philadelphia), December 1788, 510 ("Algerines"); "A Narrative of an Embassy to the Western Indians, from the Original Manuscript of Hendrick Aupaumut, with Prefatory Remarks by Dr. B. H. Coates," *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania,* II (Philadelphia, 1827), 128 ("if we have"); Gregory Evans Dowd, *Groundless: Rumors, Legends, and Hoaxes on the Early American Frontier* (Baltimore, Md., 2015), 77–78, 116, 125–143.

32. Abraham Bishop, "Rights of Black Men," in Tim Matthewson, "Abraham Bishop, 'The Rights of Black Men,' and the American Reaction to the Haitian Revolution," *Journal of Negro History,* LXVII (1982), 151 ("we glory"); Zephaniah Swift, *An Oration on Domestic Slavery; Delivered at the North Meeting-House in Hartford, on the*

Nods to these solidarities, however, were rare. They were not always easy for contemporaries to see because Native American and African American histories themselves entailed unequal power relationships. Native people had experienced slavery, but they also enslaved and trafficked people of African descent. By the early nineteenth century, free African Americans forced out of southern states carved out autonomous towns on Native homelands in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois alongside their white neighbors. They participated in the settler-colonial project of creating "free states" but not under terms of their own making, nor with the same rights and investments as white migrants. The disjuncture between these histories shows the limits of the dichotomy between terms like *settler* and *Indigenous.*[33]

Some readers may wonder why these two stories that are so fundamentally connected by the end of the book are told separately at its beginning. After all, the similarities between colonization and Indian removal are easy to see when the letters, reports, and pamphlets scratched out by the men at the helm of removal policy are set side by side. In the local and regional contexts where Black and Indigenous people waged struggles for self-determination, however, these stories often played out separately. Even when these histories do clearly overlap, as in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois by the War of 1812, the differences between them invite sustained attention to each on its own terms as well as together.

By the 1830s, the prevalence of early national removal projects did inspire some Native Americans and African Americans to see their histories as linked. Removal reached a fever pitch by the antebellum period, and

12th Day of May, A.D. 1791; at the Meeting of the Connecticut Society for the Promotion of Freedom, and the Relief of Persons Unlawfully Holden in Bondage (Hartford, Conn., 1791), 9 ("have long mourned"); Morgan John Rhees, "To the Ministers of Religion in the United States of America," in Griffith, *Rev. Morgan John Rhys,* 52 ("Indians"). For further context, see Sinha, *Slave's Cause,* 10, 60; François Furstenberg, "Beyond Freedom and Slavery: Autonomy, Virtue, and Resistance in Early American Political Discourse," *Journal of American History,* LXXXIX (2003), 1320–1321.

33. For Native slaveholders, see Tiya Miles, *Ties That Bind: The Story of an Afro-Cherokee Family in Slavery and Freedom* (Berkeley, Calif., 2005); Claudio Saunt, *Black, White, and Indian: Race and the Unmaking of an American Family* (New York, 2006); Barbara Krauthamer, *Black Slaves, Indian Masters: Slavery, Emancipation, and Citizenship in the Native American South* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2015). For African Americans and the "settler-Native" divide, see Miles, "Beyond a Boundary: Black Lives and the Settler-Native Divide," *William and Mary Quarterly,* 3d Ser., LXXVI (2019), 417–426; Jodi A. Byrd, *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism* (Minneapolis, Minn., 2011), xix. For these entanglements in the 1830s, see Natalie Joy, "The Indian's Cause: Abolitionists and Native American Rights," *Journal of the Civil War Era,* VIII (2018), 215–242.

persistent proposals for exclusion transformed interracial dissent against such measures. Radicals and reformers began to view removal as unique to American politics because of the near simultaneous rise of the ACS and the passage of the 1830 Indian Removal Act. Many free Black men and women protested the ACS shortly after its establishment. Within a little more than a decade, their protest inspired the Black convention movement and spurred the activism of Black and white leaders from Richard Allen to William Watkins to William Lloyd Garrison.[34]

Meanwhile, with the passage of the Indian Removal Act in 1830, President Andrew Jackson solidified federal power over the removal of Native nations and declared his intention to expel them beyond the Mississippi River. The passage of the act came at a time when eastern Native Americans were under mounting pressure to leave their homelands. Many people resisted dispossession, but the Cherokees made their battle visible on a national stage by lobbying the federal government and forming a constitutional government. Although the Cherokee struggle became a cause célèbre among northeastern reformers, Native nations across both the North and South also sought to thwart removal.[35]

Increasingly, activists identified removal as a national project. At a New York convention called in 1831, Black attendees denounced the state's auxiliary colonization society and demanded that "those who have so eloquently pleaded the cause of the Indian, will at least endeavor to preserve consistency in their conduct" and reject the ACS as well. When Black Baltimorean activists Watkins and Jacob Greener urged Garrison to abandon the ACS, Garrison also called on white Americans in his 1832 volume *Thoughts on Colonization* to withdraw their support from colonization and Indian removal.[36]

34. For the ACS, see Claude A. Clegg, III, *The Price of Liberty: African Americans and the Making of Liberia* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2004); Burin, *Slavery and the Peculiar Solution;* Marie Tyler-McGraw, *An African Republic: Black and White Virginians in the Making of Liberia* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2007); Beverly C. Tomek, *Colonization and Its Discontents: Emancipation, Emigration, and Antislavery in Antebellum Pennsylvania* (New York, 2011); Ousmane K. Power-Greene, *Against Wind and Tide: The African American Struggle against the Colonization Movement* (New York, 2014); Tomek and Matthew J. Hetrick, eds., *New Directions in the Study of African American Recolonization* (Gainesville, Fla., 2017).

35. William G. McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic* (Princeton, N.J., 1986); Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green, *The Cherokee Nation and the Trail of Tears* (New York, 2008).

36. *Resolutions of the People of Color, at a Meeting Held on the 25th of January, 1831; with an Address to the Citizens of New York, in Answer to Those of the New York Coloniza-*

Removal moved so rapidly and with such devastation by the 1830s because its foundations had been prepared over the proceeding decades. The antebellum expulsions of Indigenous people and African Americans were anomalous in their scale, destruction, speed, and organization. They rested, however, on a firm foundation of exclusion with roots in the waning years of the American Revolution. In *Thoughts on Colonization,* Garrison considered the power of "FIGURING" in this new political landscape. Garrison asked his readers to picture the "philanthropic arithmeticians" with their slates and pencils. "In fifteen minutes they will clear the continent of every black skin; and, if desired, throw in the Indians to boot." This was "the surpassing utility of the arithmetic," he wrote wryly. Garrison's arithmetician might as well have been Thomas Jefferson, who imagined the neat exchange of eastern Native lands for those west of the Mississippi River as early as 1803, or his fellow Virginian, jurist St. George Tucker, who proposed Black colonization to the state legislature in the 1790s. Both laid the groundwork for the age of removal in the 1830s.[37]

The philanthropic arithmetician was a powerful symbol of the period. In the post-Revolutionary era, many people envisioned a republic in which the expansion of white freedom of movement and security of property would be assured through the banishment of African Americans and Native Americans. By the 1830s, the Black convention movement and writers like Garrison pointed out what many people had known and experienced for decades — removal was already woven into the fabric of the nation itself.

tion Society (New York, 1831), in Dorothy Porter, ed., *Early Negro Writing: 1760–1837* (Boston, 1971), 285 (quotation); W[illia]m Lloyd Garrison, *Thoughts on African Colonization: or, An Impartial Exhibition of the Doctrines, Principles, and Purposes of the American Colonization Society; Together with the Resolutions, Addresses, and Remonstrances of the Free People of Color* (Boston, 1832).

37. Garrison, *Thoughts on African Colonization,* 155 (quotations); Thomas Jefferson to Pierre Samuel Du Pont de Nemours, Nov. 1, 1803, in Julian P. Boyd et al., eds., *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson,* 43 vols. (Princeton, N.J., 1950–), XLI, 647–648; St. George Tucker, *A Dissertation on Slavery: With a Proposal for the Gradual Abolition of It, in the State of Virginia* (Philadelphia, 1796).