

# Scriptural Manipulations: Analysing Misrepresentation of Religious Texts

Bazila Ehsan,<sup>\*</sup> Sheenam<sup>†</sup>

*The misinterpretation and manipulation of religious texts have long been tools for justifying social hierarchies and maintaining power structures. This paper critically investigates the misrepresentation of religious doctrine by the dominant class in William Wells Brown's *Clotel: The President's Daughter*. The paper examines how such misinterpretations serve to naturalise slavery as divinely sanctioned, thereby obscuring its inherent violence and immorality in the antebellum United States. Through close textual analysis, the study reveals how slaveholders strategically distorted Christian teachings and biblical narratives to construct a moral framework that perpetuated white supremacy. By examining instances where religious texts are selectively misrepresented, this paper argues that Brown exposes the ideological machinations of a society that exploits religious doctrine to reinforce social and racial hierarchies. Furthermore, the analysis explores how these deliberate distortions affect both Black and White communities differently, highlighting divergent views on Christian doctrines within these groups.*

**Keywords:** Race, Class, Religion, Enslavement, Misinterpretation.

## Introduction

William Wells Brown (1814–1884) is a prominent African-American writer, abolitionist, and lecturer whose work provides a compelling critique of slavery and racial injustice. Born into slavery, he escaped to freedom and swiftly turned into an influential figure in the abolitionist movement. His literary contributions, including *Clotel: The President's Daughter* (1853), *The Narrative of William W. Brown, a Fugitive Slave* (1847), and *The Escape; or, A Leap for Freedom* (1858), offer a vivid investigation into the complexities of identity, race, and freedom in antebellum America. Brown's works often blend factual elements of his own experiences with fictionalised accounts, reflecting his broader critique of a society that perpetuates and rationalises racial oppression. His writings are significant not only for their autobiographical insights but also

---

<sup>\*</sup> Department of English, Central University of Kashmir

<sup>†</sup> Department of English, Central University of Kashmir

for their engagement with contemporary social issues, providing a critical perspective on the moral and political contradictions of his time. Through his extensive body of work, Brown contributed to the early discourse on race and slavery, challenging prevailing notions and advocating for justice and equality. His work, *Clotel: The President's Daughter*, published in 1853 is considered to be the first novel published by an African-American and is notable for its innovative narrative structure and its examination of racial passing, a theme that reveals the impact of racial categorisation on personal and societal identities. Set in the pre-Civil War South, the novel captures a period fraught with social and racial upheaval, marked by the entrenched institution of slavery and pervasive racial discrimination. Brown's narrative explores racial passing and the moral contradictions present in a society that espouses Christian values while systematically enforcing racial subjugation. The novel scrutinises the moral and ideological justifications employed by the dominant class to sustain their supremacy, revealing how religious doctrine is manipulated to reinforce the socio-political hierarchy. Brown's *Clotel* explores the dual functions of Christianity, illustrating how it serves both as an instrument of oppression wielded by White individuals and as a source of hope for Black people. These contradictory roles of Christianity in the United States reflect the insidious nature of slavery, highlighting how its harmful effects affected both Black and White racial groups. The concept of truth and its significance within the various representations of Christianity is presented throughout the narrative. It situates its characters within a nation whose inhabitants identify as Christians yet fail to acknowledge that their involvement in slavery fundamentally contradicts the core tenets of their faith.

During the antebellum period in America, religion played a multifaceted role in shaping both individual and societal values. Christianity was deeply embedded in daily life, with churches serving as central institutions in communities across the North and South. The religious landscape was marked by a diverse array of denominations and movements, including evangelical Protestantism, which emphasised personal piety, moral reform, and social justice. However, the relationship between religion and the institution of slavery was fairly contradictory. In the South, pro-slavery advocates frequently invoked Christian teachings to justify and maintain the practice of slavery. They contended that slavery was endorsed by the Bible and asserted that it constituted a positive institution that benefited both the enslaved and the enslavers. This argument was supported by distorted interpretations of biblical texts, which were employed to

rationalise the systemic exploitation and dehumanisation of African Americans. During the antebellum period, religious texts, particularly the Bible, were selectively cited by pro-slavery advocates to perpetuate this oppressive institution. The dominant class, seeking to rationalise and legitimise the systemic exploitation of African-American labourers, employed various biblical passages to construct a moral and theological framework that supported slavery as a divinely sanctioned institution. One commonly cited passage was Genesis 9:25-27, which describes Noah's curse upon Ham's son, Canaan, asserting that he would be "a servant of servants"<sup>1</sup> to his brothers. Pro-slavery proponents argued that this curse was a divine endorsement of slavery, specifically targeting African descendants. This interpretation ignored the broader biblical themes of impartiality and redemption and misapplied the passage to support racial hierarchies. Another frequently referenced text was Ephesians 6:5, which instructs slaves to "be obedient to those who are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling."<sup>2</sup> This verse was cited to argue that slavery was a natural and acceptable social order, with the Christian duty of obedience extending to enslaved individuals. Pro-slavery advocates also used a verse from the Epistle of Peter, which suggests slaves to "be subject to your masters with all fear,"<sup>3</sup> to bolster their claim that Christian doctrine supported the institution of slavery. Such interpretations were selectively employed to reinforce the existing power dynamics and social norms that upheld slavery. They were used to focus on the notion of submissiveness and duty while neglecting the broader biblical messages of justice, equality, and liberation. The selective use and misinterpretation of these passages served to obscure the inherent moral contradictions of slavery and perpetuate its legitimacy within a religious context. Thus, the dominant class reinforced racial and social hierarchies under the guise of divine sanction.

In *Clotel: The President's Daughter*, Brown weaves religious themes into his critique of antebellum American society, emphasising the moral hypocrisy and manipulation of religion by the dominant class to justify and sustain slavery. Through the use of biblical imagery and allusions, Brown underscores the ethical contradictions of a society that exploits religious teachings to perpetuate social and racial hierarchies. The novel's exploration of these themes critically interrogates the intersections of religion, race, and power, revealing the implications of religious manipulation for maintaining systemic injustice. The novel presents two divergent interpretations of Christianity: one that validates slavery as a divinely sanctioned institution and the other that endorses the sanctity of

impartiality and equality. This dichotomy within nineteenth-century Christianity is contrasted with the corrosive and destructive effects of slavery, which corrupts Black, as well as White individuals, within the novel. As depicted in *Clotel*, the practice of enslavement leads to the moral degradation of White individuals who endorse it, while simultaneously causing the disintegration of Black families, the erosion of Black welfare and safety, and the suppression of Black agency.

The novel begins, as is common in many slave narratives, with a depiction of a slave auction. At this event, slave traders forcibly separated mothers from their children, husbands from their wives, and entire families with a “degree of indifference... unknown in any other relation of life, except that of slavery.”<sup>4</sup> According to the *partus sequitur ventrem* laws adopted by Virginia in 1662, Clotel inherits the enslaved status of her mother, who was one of Jefferson’s slaves. After Jefferson’s death, Clotel, her mother, and her sister are sold to the highest bidder. Clotel’s beauty commands the highest price of the day, fifteen hundred dollars, and she is taken by Horatio Green, a White man who gives her the status of his common-law wife. Brown concludes this chapter, in which a human being is sold with the assurance of her being a “devoted Christian, and perfectly trustworthy”<sup>5</sup>, by including the anonymously published poem “The Slave Auction - A Fact”:

*“O God! my every heart-string cries,  
Doest thou these scenes behold  
In this our boasted Christian land,  
And must the truth be told?  
Blush, Christian, blush! for e’en the dark,  
Untutored heathen see  
Thy inconsistency; and lo!  
They scorn thy God, and thee!”*<sup>6</sup>

Much like Brown’s remarks in the novel’s preface, the poem critiques the moral inconsistency inherent in identifying as a Christian while simultaneously supporting the institution of slavery. Brown’s inclusion of this poem at the conclusion of the first chapter establishes a continuous appeal throughout the novel, urging a White audience to reconsider the contradictions within their own Christian morals. He implores them to acknowledge that, even in “a city thronged with churches, [self-professed Christians continue to believe that] slavery is a God-ordained institution”<sup>7</sup>. Slavery endures as a politically accepted institution, despite the fact that

the nation's purported Christianity, when practised in its "true light," fundamentally challenges and condemns its atrocities. In the fictional narrative of *Clotel*, and the socio-historical context of its publication, the institution of enslavement is intertwined with religion in a seamless manner that makes it challenging to separate the two. The readers are introduced to various Christian preachers and slave owners, who tend to invoke Christianity as justification for the institution of slavery.

*Clotel* marries Horatio Green, who purchased her at the auction, in a union described as "sanctioned by heaven, although not recognized on earth."<sup>8</sup> However, this marriage remains fundamentally imbalanced, grounded in the principles of slavery and the treatment of human beings as property, rather than in the true tenets of Christianity. Green's increasingly eroded morality underscores that slavery not only inflicts physical, mental, and emotional devastation upon Black individuals but also precipitates a religious and moral degradation among White individuals who try to justify the system. As his political career advances and he becomes more entrenched in a White, Christian society, Green marries a White woman who, in a fit of jealousy, compels him to sell *Clotel*. His wife then forces *Clotel*'s child to work as a slave in their household. Green's readiness to forsake his legally Black wife and daughter, for political gain and to appease a woman who engages in slavery out of spite, reflects a broader religious decay. Abandoning one's family directly contravenes Biblical teachings; as Timothy 5:8 states, "But if anyone does not provide for his own, and especially for those of his household, he has denied the faith and is worse than an unbeliever."<sup>9</sup> This suggests that Horatio engaged with Christianity selectively, embracing only those aspects that aligned with his personal interests while disregarding fundamental doctrines such as commitment to family and moral accountability.

The hypocrisy of professed Christianity is also mirrored in the character of Reverend John Peck, who acquires Curren. Prior to Peck's acquisition, Curren had worked as a laundress, with her wages going to Jefferson. Peck utilises her domestic skills in a similar fashion, relegating her to household and kitchen duties and thereby perpetuating her life of arduous labour. Viewing himself as a religious authority, Peck speaks to a school friend, Miles Carlton, regarding the relationship between the institution of slavery and Christianity. Carlton, an indifferent abolitionist, asserts that having studied the theories of Rousseau and other similar philosophers, he is unable to identify "difference[s] between White men and Black men as it regards liberty"<sup>10</sup> In an effort to engage Peck's sense of reason, Carlton

references the Declaration of Independence and its principles of self-evident human equality. Peck dismisses this argument, stating, “The Bible is older than the Declaration of Independence, and there I take my stand. . . Those who say that religious instruction is inconsistent with our peculiar civil polity are the worst enemies of that polity”<sup>11</sup>. Peck’s acknowledgement of a potential inconsistency in his reasoning only strengthens the resolve in his beliefs. Although Brown presents Peck’s narrow perspective on the two institutions unfavourably, he also critiques Carlton’s position, suggesting that the abolitionist has become too absorbed in abstract philosophy to fully appreciate the Bible and its teachings. Both Peck’s and Carlton’s views are deemed inadequate by Brown. He advocates for a dialectical approach that integrates practical insights into philosophy and governance with the transcendental comfort and hope that is offered by religion, suggesting a synthesis of the two ideals.

This synthesis is partially embodied by the character of Georgiana Peck, who represents a different kind of preacher compared to her father, John Peck. Georgiana’s fervent abolitionist spirit sparks a transformative influence on those she encounters, including Mr Peck and her future husband, Miles Carlton. Unlike the other preachers in the novel, Georgiana is fearless in her use of Biblical teachings and she utilises her individual interpretations of religious texts to refute the practice of enslavement. She establishes the novel’s initial argument by depicting Christianity and racial liberty as interconnected rather than contradictory. She asserts that “Whatever, . . . destroys, abridges, or renders insecure, human welfare is opposed to God’s will, and is evil, . . . True Christian love is of an enlarged, disinterested nature.”<sup>12</sup> This proclamation represents a significant departure from previous sentiments expressed in the novel. Brown employs Georgiana’s character and her moral stance to address his audience directly. As Dawn Coleman, an expert on nineteenth-century American literature, religion and spirituality, notes, Georgiana’s statements “affirm colour-blind love as a core Christian principle.”<sup>13</sup> This perspective challenges Peck’s rigid interpretation of Christianity and, through his daughter’s insights, he begins to perceive “Christianity in its true light.”<sup>14</sup>

The slaves on Peck’s plantation seem to possess their own understanding of Christianity, one aligned with this true light. When Peck invites Hontz Snyder, a missionary, to address the slaves during their Sunday meeting, Snyder perpetuates the distortion of the Bible to endorse the notion that

slavery is a divinely sanctioned and essential component of American society. He asserts that “it is the will of God.”<sup>15</sup> for Black people to be enslaved because he “knew that condition would be best for you.”<sup>16</sup> Snyder not only rationalises the atrocities of slavery but also suggests that the mental and physical suffering endured by the Black population is somehow beneficial. He continues, “Any discontent... is quarrelling with your heavenly Master.”<sup>17</sup> Snyder’s use of the term “Master” to refer to God is consistent with the language of those who defend slavery within the novel. Furthermore, he manipulates the theological concepts of God’s omnipotence and omniscience to sustain these systems of oppression. The enslavers’ interpretation of Christianity is deeply punitive and corrective, in stark contrast to the slaves’ use of Christianity as a source of hope and liberation. Brown reinforces this hypocrisy by incorporating John Greenleaf Whittier’s prose:

*“What! preach and enslave men?  
Give thanks-and rob thy own afflicted poor?  
Talk of thy glorious liberty, and then  
Bolt hard the captive’s door?”*<sup>18</sup>

Snyder also compels the slaves to answer why White individuals cannot be enslaved in the same manner as Black individuals, to which the answer given is, “Because the Lord intended the Negroes for slaves”<sup>19</sup>. This assertion, claiming to reveal God’s intentions, however, lacks any scriptural basis. Sylvester Johnson, author of *The Myth of Ham in Nineteenth-Century American Christianity*, argues that the Bible does not racialise slavery or assign a particular race to the enslaved. He explores how religious discourses were reshaped by colonial powers, influencing interpretations of Christianity that justified racial hierarchies. While biblical narratives address captivity and servitude, it was through the lens of colonialism that these themes were transformed into tools for racial oppression in the Atlantic world. This reinterpretation of religion under colonial frameworks allowed European societies to use Christianity as both a moral and political tool to rationalise slavery based on race, despite the Bible’s original focus on social, rather than racial, divisions. In *The Forging of Races*, Colin Kidd, a scholar of American history, argues that Christianity has frequently been employed as a screen for projecting racial attitudes, fears, and fantasies. The misuse of scripture in this way allowed both religious and secular authorities to reinforce racial hierarchies, manipulating theological narratives to justify slavery, segregation, and other forms of racial oppression. The interpreters of the Bible distort its

theological integrity, using Christianity “merely as a screen on to which ... [to] project their racial attitudes, fears and fantasies”<sup>20</sup>

Throughout the novel, Christianity remains an unstable entity. Following Snyder’s lecture, another manifestation of Christianity emerges in the form of a call-and-response performance reminiscent of Black spirituals. This ritual compels the slaves to recite answers affirming that God intended for Black individuals to be enslaved. The slaves comply without resistance, yet their responses lack any trace of enthusiasm. In a series of interviews concerning these Sunday sermons, former slave William Ward corroborates Brown’s depiction in the fictional narrative, stating:

*On Sundays, the slaves were permitted to have a religious meeting of their own... They sang spirituals which gave vent to their true feelings... There was one person who did the preaching. His sermon was always constructed according to the master’s instructions, which dictated that slaves must always remember they belonged to their masters and were intended to lead a life of loyal servitude. None of the slaves believed this, although they pretended to believe due to the presence of the White overseer.*<sup>21</sup>

This subversion allows the enslaved individuals to exercise agency over their private religious beliefs while avoiding further punishment from their enslavers. Christianity, as a religion, encompasses both internal belief and communal fellowship, so the enslaved people’s need for an authentic Christian community is only fulfilled when the overseer departs, granting them the freedom to speak and practice their religion as they wish. Simon, an older slave, quiets the dissenting voices questioning their participation in a religion that seems complicit in their systemic oppression. He asserts that “thars more in de Bible den dat, only Snyder never reads any other part to us...thar was more den what Snyder lets us hear.”<sup>22</sup> Instead of rejecting Christianity entirely, Simon advocates for a reevaluation of the religion’s role in the nation. One of the fundamental principles of Christianity, as outlined in Matthew 22:39, is to “You shall love your neighbour as yourself.”<sup>23</sup> a principle that is fundamentally incompatible with the act of enslaving, beating, and murdering one’s neighbour. Simon recognises that the Bible encompasses more than the narrow interpretation provided by Snyder and other enslavers.

Georgiana partially shares a similar understanding to that of Simon. She and Carlton extend their Christianity to the enslaved individuals they



inherited from her father. The slaves “appreciated the gospel when given to them in its purity”<sup>24</sup>, reflecting their desire to embrace Christianity in its true light. They benefit not only from a mistress who refrains from administering whippings but also from encouragement to practice Christianity according to their own understanding. In her final moments, Georgiana exemplifies her altruistic Christianity with her deathbed words to her slaves: “If ever there was a people who needed the consolations of religion to sustain them in their grievous afflictions, you are that people. You had better trust in the Lord than to put confidence in man”<sup>25</sup>. She does not use Christianity to practice the system of enslavement but rather successfully converts Miles Carlton, her husband “from infidelity to Christianity, from the mere theory of liberty to practical freedom”<sup>26</sup>. She recognises that Christianity, when true to its principles, must go beyond mere belief and involve actions as well. At its core, Christianity calls upon its followers to ensure that all of God’s children are protected from suffering. However, Georgiana’s affirmation of Christianity as a faith of hope and liberation is complicated by her role as a slave owner. As Brown observes, “the evils consequent on slavery are not lessened by the incoming of one or two rays of light.”<sup>27</sup> Despite her efforts to grant liberty to the enslaved and her advocacy for the “true light” of Christianity, she remains a participant of the very system she seeks to end. Georgiana’s religious and moral uncertainties reflect the wider complexities of the pre-Antebellum American setting. Although Christopher Stampone points out that Georgiana “represents Brown’s idealized version of the White abolitionist heroine par excellence”<sup>28</sup> and suggests that she symbolizes the potential for a new, abolitionist-driven generation, Georgiana’s character remains morally ambiguous and complex. This complexity challenges the simplistic moral dichotomies often projected onto this period of American history by critics and historians.

This anti-slavery sentiment, conveyed to a male figure through female intervention, reappears in the character of Henry Morton, a White physician. After marrying Clotel’s sister, Morton develops a personal stake in the abolition of slavery and becomes “obnoxious to private circles”<sup>29</sup> with his abolitionist views. He questions the legitimacy of the widespread and federally sanctioned ownership of human beings, asking, “Are we not then despots—despots such as history will brand and God abhor?”<sup>30</sup> In this inquiry, Morton appeals to both theological and political dimensions, highlighting the contradiction between the United States’ status as “the land of the free” and the reality of systemic oppression endured by an entire population. By invoking God, Morton suggests that

the ongoing distortion of the Bible and the nation's moral failings will ultimately lead to divine retribution and the nation's destruction.

The political outrage regarding the immorality of slave ownership extends beyond Morton to President Jefferson in the text, who addresses the issue of despots and the theological ramifications of slavery:

*With what execration should the statesman be loaded who, permitting one half the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots and these into enemies destroys the morals of the one part, and the amor patriae of the other!... Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever.*<sup>31</sup>

Jefferson's reflection on the justice of God and the moral degradation wrought by slavery underscores his awareness of the ethical contradictions inherent in the institution. However, the fact that his own daughter, Clotel, dies in slavery complicates his apparent alignment with abolitionist sentiment. His professed advocacy for freedom remains hollow and sanctimonious, mirroring the attitude of a nation that, despite its claims of Christian virtue, was deeply entangled in the system of slavery.

Described in the chapter titled "Death is Freedom," Clotel's suicide underscores the stark contrast between the Christianity of enslavers and that of the enslaved. After enduring years of physical and mental abuse, involuntary separation from her family, and constant fear, Clotel seeks to escape her life of bondage. Cornered on a bridge by slave hunters, she chooses an act of ultimate dissent: "She at the same time raised her eyes towards heaven, and begged for that mercy and compassion there, which had been denied her on earth; and then, with a single bound, she vaulted over the railings of the bridge, and sunk forever beneath the waves of the river."<sup>32</sup> The Potomac River consumes her body, and her death occurs within view of the White House, a symbol of the nation's democratic and Christian ideals. The narrative surrounding her death is infused with Christian imagery: she entrusts her soul to God, seeking the transcendental peace that eluded her throughout her life due to her race and status as a slave. Clotel's act represents a form of liberation through her Christianity, distinct from the version manipulated by enslavers to uphold their power. Her death highlights the moral degradation and hypocrisy of those who sustain the institution of slavery, revealing how their interpretation of Christianity not only undermines its true principles but also debases their claimed Christian nation.

## Conclusion

Brown's critique of moral hypocrisy permeates his novel, culminating in the concluding admonition: "Let no Christian association be maintained with those who traffic in the blood and bones of those whom God has made of one flesh as yourselves."<sup>33</sup> Jacob Olupona underscores this issue, noting that Christianity was "deeply culpable in the African slave trade, inasmuch as it consistently provided a moral cloak for the buying and selling of human beings"<sup>34</sup> He sought to obscure the harsh realities of slavery, including the commodification of humans, the destruction of families, and the violence inflicted upon men, women, and children. He emphasises that Christianity was not merely passively involved but actively complicit in the transatlantic slave trade. He explains that Christian institutions provided a theological justification commodification of African people, using the religion's teachings to legitimise these practices. Mary Kirkpatrick argues that "such marked inconsistency between slavery and the United States' founding ideals severely destabilizes the country's exalted place as the bastion of democracy"<sup>35</sup> The irony is evident in figures like Thomas Jefferson, who, despite authoring the Declaration of Independence with its promises of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,"<sup>36</sup> was directly involved in the institution of slavery that contradicted his own principles. Political figures like Horatio and Jefferson exemplify the nation's hypocrisy, highlighting the discord between the enslaved individuals' genuine adherence to Christianity and their masters' distorted practice of the same faith. In tragic figures such as Clotel and subtle rebels like Simon, the true light of Christianity is illuminated, contrasting sharply with the moral failures of their oppressors.

## References

---

<sup>1</sup>Genesis 9:25-27.

<sup>2</sup> Ephesians 6:5 (NIV).

<sup>3</sup> 1 Peter 2:18 (NIV).

<sup>4</sup> Brown, William Wells. *Clotel: or, The President's Daughter*. 1853. Penguin Classics, 2003, 48.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.*, 50.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.*,

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.*, 50.

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.*, 65.

---

<sup>9</sup> 1 Timothy 5:8.

<sup>10</sup> Brown, William Wells. *Clotel: or, The President's Daughter*. 1853. Penguin Classics, 2003, 73.

<sup>11</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> *ibid.*, 75.

<sup>13</sup> Coleman, Dawn. *Preaching and the Rise of the American Novel*. Columbus: Ohio State UP, 2013, 185.

<sup>14</sup> Brown, William Wells. *Clotel: or, The President's Daughter*. 1853. Penguin Classics, 2003, 75.

<sup>15</sup> *ibid.*, 77.

<sup>16</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> *ibid.*,

<sup>18</sup> *ibid.*, 5-8.

<sup>19</sup> *ibid.*, 81.

<sup>20</sup> Kidd, Colin. *The Forging of Races: Race and Scripture in the Protestant Atlantic World, 1600–2000*. Cambridge University Press, 2006.

<sup>21</sup> Ward, William. Qtd. in *Federal Writers' Project: Slave Narrative Project, Vol. 4, Georgia*, Part 4, Telfair-Young with combined interviews of others. 1936.

<sup>22</sup> Brown, William Wells. *Clotel: or, The President's Daughter*. 1853. Penguin Classics, 2003, 82.

<sup>23</sup> Matthew 22:39 (New International Version).

<sup>24</sup> Brown, William Wells. *Clotel: or, The President's Daughter*. 1853. Penguin Classics, 2003, 138.

<sup>25</sup> *ibid.*, 157.

<sup>26</sup> *ibid.*, 159.

<sup>27</sup> *ibid.*, 179.

<sup>28</sup> Stampone, Christopher. "[H]eroic Bravery in More than One Battle': The Creation of Heroes in William Wells Brown's Multi-Edition 'Clotel.'" *African American Review* 49, no. 2 (2016): 75–91. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26443793>.

<sup>29</sup> Brown, William Wells. *Clotel: or, The President's Daughter*. 1853. Penguin Classics, 2003, 151.

<sup>30</sup> *ibid.*, 153.

<sup>31</sup> *ibid.*, 131.

<sup>32</sup> *ibid.*, 185.

---

<sup>33</sup> *ibid.*, 209.

<sup>34</sup> Olupona, Jacob (2014). *African Religions: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p. 95. ISBN 978-0-19-979058-6.

<sup>35</sup> Kirkpatrick, Mary A. "Summary of *Clotel*." *Documenting the American South*. Chapel Hill: UNC UP, 2001, 6.

<sup>36</sup> Jefferson, Thomas. 1997. *Declaration of Independence*. Jackson, MS: Applewood Books.