

Finding Last Middle Passage Survivor Sally ‘Redoshi’ Smith on the Page and Screen

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Abstract: This article identifies for the first time the last living Middle Passage survivor, Sally ‘Redoshi’ Smith (ca. 1848–1937), and traces her life story across a range of archival sources, including the only known film footage of a female transatlantic slavery survivor. These texts collectively provide an exceptionally detailed account of a female Middle Passage survivor’s transatlantic experiences and, equally significantly, evidence both on the page and the screen how a woman born in West Africa battled not only to survive, but also to retain her cultural heritage in the United States.

Keywords: *Clotilda*; last Middle Passage survivor; African kidnapping narratives; slavery in cinema; Alabama; Amelia Boynton Robinson; Zora Neale Hurston

In 1927, African American writer and anthropologist Zora Neale Hurston travelled to Alabama to interview Oluale Kossola/Cudjo Lewis (ca. 1840–1935), who was the last recorded survivor of the transatlantic slave trade. Kossola was one of approximately 116 West African children and young people who comprised the human cargo of the *Clotilda*, the last slave ship to reach the U.S., which docked in Mobile Bay, Alabama, in 1860.¹ Hurston documented part of his life story in *Barracoon*, a book-length study that is one of just a tiny number of Middle Passage narratives and which was eventually published in 2018. But Kossola was not the only *Clotilda* survivor that Hurston encountered during her trip, as she admitted in a July 1928 letter to fellow African American writer Langston Hughes: ‘Oh! almost forgot. Found another one of the original Africans, older than Cudjoe about 200 miles up state on the Tombig[b]ee river. She is most delightful, but no one will ever know about her but us. She is a better talker than Cudjoe’.²

Hurston’s discovery was seismic: Kossola was not the only living transatlantic slavery survivor after all. Yet she was apparently unwilling to acknowledge her encounter to anyone but Hughes. Such behaviour suggests that Hurston had no plans to write a second slavery narrative, but instead may have viewed the elderly woman’s stories as source material for a fictional portrait of black Southern culture that she planned to write with Hughes.³ Hurston interviewed Kossola at the behest of her white benefactor, Charlotte Osgood Mason. However, Hurston’s letters reveal that her chief interest in the South was not to document slavery, or explore its impact after emancipation, but rather to gather oral material for her fiction and stage work, and she chose not to make revisions to *Barracoon* that might have led to its publication in her lifetime.⁴

Sylviane A. Diouf has lamented Hurston's failure to record the experiences of or even publicly to acknowledge the existence of a second living transatlantic slavery survivor. Diouf observes that,

This person's testimony would have proved priceless, since there are no known accounts by deported African women of their experience before, during, and after the Middle Passage. If she was not from the same region as Cudjo, her story prior to capture would have added greatly to our knowledge. The fact that she did not live in an African community in Alabama, contrary to Cudjo, would also have been instructive as to issues of cultural continuity. But she remained anonymous, her life unknown.⁵

Diouf's assertion that there are no female Middle Passage narratives is only slightly an exaggeration. Historians record just a 'scant few' accounts that are 'much shorter than those by their male counterparts and scarcely provide enough material for a full biographical study'.⁶ If Hurston had chosen to document her interviewee's story, her work would have added significantly to our understanding of transatlantic slavery as a lived experience. Hurston's suggestion to Hughes that her interviewee was a 'better talker' than Kossola emphasises the extent to which Hurston's encounter had the potential to generate new historical knowledge. The implication was that the woman's remembrances of her West African childhood and Middle Passage experience were more detailed and comprehensible to an English-speaking interviewer than the fairly brief account that Kossola provided.

Hurston's encounter with an anonymous African-born woman therefore has been seen as a lost opportunity to give a meaningful literary voice to a female Middle Passage survivor. Describing the archive as a 'death sentence, a tomb' for enslaved women, Saidiya Hartman suggests that 'numbers, ciphers, and fragments of

discourse' are 'as close as we come to a biography of the captive and the enslaved'.⁷ The absence of enslaved women's voices is such that scholars such as Marisa Fuentes have begun to read mainstream sources against the grain to 'eke out' the 'extinguished and invisible'.⁸ However, by drawing first on Hurston's writings to uncover crucial biographical details about this woman, this article establishes that not only can this female transatlantic slavery survivor be identified after all, but also that it is possible to create a composite narrative of her life. The study uncovers a range of archival sources in which the woman appeared, including the only known footage of a female transatlantic slavery survivor, and by piecing together and interrogating these materials, finds evidence of her authorship and begins to tell her story. In doing so, the article establishes that Hurston's interviewee outlived Kossola by two years and should now be recognised as the last living Middle Passage survivor.

This woman, who was renamed Sally, or Sallie, Smith in the US, but whose West African name was recorded posthumously as 'Redoshi', appeared in various materials: in Hurston's unpublished writings; in an interview for the *Montgomery Advertiser*; in the educational film *The Negro Farmer: Extension Work for Better Farming and Better Living* (1938); and in U.S. Civil Rights Movement leader Amelia Boynton Robinson's (1911–2015) memoir, *Bridge across Jordan* (1979).⁹ This study examines these texts collectively to create an exceptional portrait of a female Middle Passage survivor's life experiences and, equally significantly, to provide evidence both on the page and the screen on how a woman born in West Africa battled not only to survive, but also to retain her cultural heritage in the United States. Much like Kossola's remembrances, Redoshi's story reveals the Middle Passage's ongoing impact as a psychological trauma well into the twentieth century. Yet, unlike

Hurston's portrait of Kossola, close scrutiny of Redoshi's literary and cinematic archive reveals resistance as well as suffering.

Unfortunately, the surviving cinematic and textual records of Redoshi's life are fragmentary, frequently contradictory, and consequently often raise more questions than they answer. The gaps and inconsistencies across these materials help to underscore the inexpressibility of transatlantic slavery as a lived experience. Each source is a mediated document of Redoshi's life that reveals as much about its author's biases and the wider political and social concerns that led to its conception as about its subject. However, while it is necessary to be mindful of their limitations, a collective study of such materials provides a compelling starting point for considering how West African women adapted to their forced transplantation to the Americas, and how they resisted their mistreatment. The now-available texts may be deeply flawed as histories, but equally they are exceptionally rare personal accounts of transatlantic slavery and its aftermath, so much so that comparative study of such materials offers an unprecedented opportunity to consider in detail the Middle Passage, enslavement, and the limits of emancipation from a West African woman's perspective.

The 'mediated' memoirs of other formerly enslaved U.S. women such as Sojourner Truth and Harriet Tubman offer a helpful framework for interpreting Redoshi's literary and cinematic archive. For as Jean McMahan Humez acknowledges, although the content of such texts is compromised by the presence of a white writer and editor, 'Valuable oral historical material . . . has been embedded within this framework'.¹⁰ Humez calls for a careful investigation of such narratives by suggesting that, 'A critical awareness of how the texts were created allows us to understand just what kind of truths these texts can tell'.¹¹ Much like Truth and Tubman's texts, literary and cinematic portraits of Redoshi are highly mediated, but

the personal insights that such texts contain invite us to reflect on, and can even serve as correctives to, the distortions and elisions of mainstream histories. Considering the unreliability of the WPA Slave Narrative Collection (1936–1938), which is the largest collection of interviews with formerly enslaved men and women, Sharon Ann Musher argues that such narratives have value despite their inaccuracies because they document something equally important: formerly enslaved people’s ‘self-perceptions and subjective understanding of their own experiences’.¹² Building on Musher’s assertion, this study establishes that textual and cinematic records of Redoshi’s life are significant as much for their psychological and intellectual insights as for their historical content. They help to show how Redoshi, and by extension other West African-born women and girls, adapted to their experiences and fought to exercise control over their homes and identities in the Americas.

The recovery of Redoshi’s life story presents very different challenges from Truth’s and Tubman’s narratives, however, for it is not contained within a single text, but instead is spread across a number of sources that vary in form and in date. In response to such challenges, this article adopts a methodological approach that is indebted to Jon Sensbach’s call to ‘redefine the very concept of narrative to include the kinds of archival fragments by and about African American women’, given that, ‘these kinds of shards, assembled into some kind of narrative coherence, can open up women’s lives to literary archaeology . . . These relatively few lives can speak volumes about the many’.¹³ Mindful of their shortcomings as historical sources, this study first identifies and then gives individual attention to these shards to construct a literary and cinematic portrait of Redoshi. The essay pays particularly close attention to references within these texts to non-traditional sources including material culture, which Sensbach argues is ‘often just as valuable as more straightforward memoirs’

because ‘Many of these sources are unscripted, improvised, spontaneous, and thus in some cases less guarded and more candid than a formal autobiographical structure allows’.¹⁴ Largely because such material was recorded unintentionally and without awareness of its importance, it is in these sources that we find the most compelling evidence of Redoshi’s authorship, including her religious beliefs, artistry, and lifelong effort to retain control of her West African identity and heritage.

Taken together, such visual and textual shards help to create a broad picture of Redoshi’s life both during and after her enslavement. Each fragment on its own has considerable historical significance. The *Montgomery Advertiser*’s 1932 interview with Redoshi is apparently the only newspaper article that is devoted to the experiences of a female Middle Passage survivor. Moreover, the article reveals important biographical information about Redoshi by establishing that she was from the same West African community as Kossola. *The Negro Farmer* (1938) contains a remarkable visual portrait of Redoshi that shows that Hurston’s film of Kossola was not the only cinematic document of a Middle Passage survivor, as scholars have previously, but erroneously, maintained.¹⁵

The Negro Farmer was conceived to promote a white paternalist and segregationist agenda, but nevertheless reveals not only the poverty that Redoshi suffered, but also her decades of endurance and retention of West African cultural traditions. *Bridge across Jordan* (1979) also shows that Redoshi’s West African cultural and spiritual practices continued to inform her life in the United States. A far more frank account than the *Montgomery Advertiser* article of the physical and psychological violence that Redoshi suffered under slavery as well as the poverty that she endured after her emancipation, Boynton Robinson’s text also reveals that, exceptionally for a Middle Passage survivor, Redoshi bore witness to the activist

beginnings of the U.S. Civil Rights Movement. *Bridge across Jordan* also acknowledges Redoshi's achievement in raising a family in the United States as well as her positive psychological response to a meeting, a year before her death in 1937, with an African university graduate.

Despite Hurston's apparent unwillingness to acknowledge Redoshi to anyone other than Hughes, the first archival fragment containing clues about the Middle Passage survivor's identity can be found elsewhere in her writings. Hurston interviewed more than 120 black men, women, and children during her journey through the South as an anthropologist in the late 1920s. A number of their stories would eventually be published in her ethnographic narrative, *Mules and Men* (1935), although the vast majority of the material that she collected, including the conversation with Redoshi to which she alluded in a letter to Hughes, is now thought to be lost. Nevertheless, Hurston wrote a separate manuscript containing nearly 500 of her interviewees' stories and in its appendix recorded important biographical details about them, including their age, birthplace, residence, and occupation. Hurston eventually abandoned this text, which remained hidden in the archive for 50 years before finally being recovered and published posthumously under the title *Every Tongue Got to Confess: Negro Folk-tales from the Gulf States* in 2001.¹⁶

Although not yet remarked on by historians, one of the interviewees listed in this text's appendix is 'Mrs. Sally Smith: Born in Tarkwa, Gold Coast. Brought to America in 1859'.¹⁷ Redoshi is not a featured interviewee in the main body of Hurston's manuscript. Yet the appendix contains some important clues about Redoshi's life. 'Tarkwa' was the name that Hurston and other historians gave as Kossola's birthplace and 1859 was the approximate year of the *Clotilda's* arrival in West Africa, which all but confirms that she arrived on the last U.S. slave ship and

was from the same West African community as Kossola, two details not revealed in Hurston's letter to Hughes. The appendix also notes that Smith had a son called Jessie Smith who was a farmer in Bogue Chitto, Dallas County, Alabama. Hurston may have misunderstood Redoshi, whose only child was a daughter and whose name was recorded variously on census and marriage data as Leasy, Luth A., Lethe, Lethia, Letia, and Lethy.¹⁸ Thus, Hurston did leave a biographical record of the second Middle Passage survivor that she encountered, but such a record is brief and unreliable, and we must look to other sources to give a voice to this woman and recover her experiences.

Hurston's fleeting textual acknowledgement nevertheless is significant for disclosing Redoshi's name and approximate residence and therefore for making it possible to assemble a far more substantial biographical portrait from other sources. Crucially, it facilitates her identification across census data, which reveals that Redoshi lived with her daughter in Bogue Chitto, an unincorporated black township in the Black Belt, a major-cotton producing region of Alabama, and that Redoshi had a husband known as 'William' or 'Billy' who was also African-born, before she was widowed in the 1910s or 1920s.¹⁹ Census records list two other African-born 'Smiths', Jinnie/Jenny and Cuffy/Cuffee, who lived alongside Redoshi and her husband, William/Billy, in the 1870s and 1880s.²⁰ Jinnie/Jenny and Cuffy/Cuffee too were husband and wife, and given their location and shared surname, we can assume that they were very probably fellow *Clotilda* survivors. Cuffy is a variant spelling of the Akan name Kofi, but no further biographical information about the pair can be deduced. The couple disappears from available records after the 1880 census.

These fleeting glimpses of Redoshi and three of her likely fellow *Clotilda* survivors across census data provide few meaningful clues about the two couple's

lives. Birth years are inconsistent across the data and a number of records are missing. Nevertheless, one census record from 1910 hints at the trauma and loss that Redoshi and her husband endured as Middle Passage survivors. The census notes that ‘Sallie’, ‘William’, and their parents were all born in ‘Africa’.²¹ ‘Alabama’ has been stamped across almost all of the listings to record birthplace data. Yet ‘Sallie’, ‘William’, and their parents’ birthplaces are handwritten in a poignant disruption to such ordered documentation, and which draws attention to the couple’s physical displacement and geographical isolation in Alabama. Situated amidst this birthplace information is an additional handwritten note, which states ‘does not know which part [of Africa]’, and which thus underscores the length and permanence of their separation. Their homeland is a place that they can no longer identify, or which is inexpressible to a census-taker familiar only with colonial framings of Africa, and not with specific ethnicities or languages.

Such a note reveals a human voice within the census data. Yet it also exemplifies the limitations of mainstream historical sources. This brief communication from the formerly enslaved, recorded second-hand, does not document human experience so much as call attention to the silences of mainstream archives. There is no space within the spatial confines of the census page beyond these brief handwritten notes to consider transatlantic slavery as a lived experience or to acknowledge the complex West African societies from which Redoshi and her husband originated. Corrections to the document point up its limitations as a historical source. The couple’s arrival in the U.S. was originally recorded as ‘1836’, but in a sign that the census-taker guessed or estimated the date, the year has been amended to ‘1839’, 21 years before the *Clotilda* docked in Alabama. Such an error perpetuates a decades-long elision of the *Clotilda* and its human cargo from historical accounts of

U.S. slavery, and more broadly, obscures just how recently the U.S.'s involvement in the slave trade ended.²²

Yet while census data reveal little more than do Hurston's letter and appendix note about Redoshi, the information contained in these documents makes it possible to identify far more personal literary and visual records of her life. Together, these sources create an exceptionally detailed biographical portrait of a female Middle Passage survivor that shows how she comprehended and navigated her experiences during and following her enslavement. The earliest of these biographical fragments is a 1932 *Montgomery Advertiser* article authored by white journalist S. L. Flock. This text appears to be the only surviving contemporaneous interview with Redoshi and, by extension, the only full-length newspaper interview with a female Middle Passage survivor. The article reveals that Bogue Chitto plantation owner and Bank of Selma founder Washington Smith purchased Redoshi on her arrival in the United States. Washington Smith was part of a group that sought to make Selma the capital of the new Confederate States of America, which led to the city's becoming a major weapons centre during the U.S. Civil War.

In important respects, Flock's article is a highly limited and flawed document of Redoshi's life that reflects its white interviewer's romantic fantasies of the African continent. The account is based on the journalist's imaginings of a 'dark, supple princess . . . imbued with the love of life in the jungles' who apparently had a dream about being taken across the water the night before she was kidnapped.²³ Redoshi's story is told 'Amid smiles and laughter', which contrasts starkly with the unhappy accounts given elsewhere by her fellow *Clotilda* survivors.²⁴ Redoshi's apparent joviality hints at the interviewer's superficial attitude to his interviewee as a historical curiosity rather than as a survivor of injustice, which highlights the article's

shortcomings as a document of her experiences. Flock's text also reinforces the customary pre-Civil Rights era depictions of U.S. slavery as a benevolent, 'civilising' practice. Flock records Redoshi as stating that the *Clotilda* survivors were 'Weak when we get here, but white folks in this country good and we get strong soon'.²⁵ Smith apparently was a 'good man' who 'no let anybody whip us'.²⁶ When slavery ended, Redoshi and her husband 'stay on Smith place, where we know folks be good to us', and when Smith died, 'we stay with Mistress Smith. We love her and no want to leave'.²⁷

While it is possible that Redoshi's enslavers were not physically abusive, at the very least such a statement obscures slavery's assault on her freedom and dignity, her forced separation from her homeland, and the economic servitude and poverty that she endured throughout her life in the United States. Karlyn Forner refers specifically to Washington Smith's widow, Susan Smith, to provide evidence of the extensive economic control that white plantation owners wielded over black tenants in the Black Belt. Forner draws on letters to and by 'Mistress Smith' to establish that she was a 'shrewd, prickly woman with a keen eye for profit' who held tight control over her tenants' crops and afforded them 'no say over how their debts were settled at the end of a season'.²⁸ The Smith family lived in a Greek Revival mansion. By contrast, as Amelia Boynton Robinson observed of 1930s Dallas County, 'Little or no transportation, bad roads, and lack of freedom to go whenever and wherever the farm hands wanted to go made the blacks in the rural district "slaves" to the plantation owner'.²⁹

Redoshi's apparent gratitude to her former enslavers highlights potentially significant discrepancies between her remembrances and Flock's recorded interview. Such discrepancies might partly be explained by communication difficulties. Flock's

article supports Hurston's observation that Redoshi was a 'better talker than Cudjo' by noting that, 'Advanced age has not dulled the keen intelligence of her mind and she graphically relates the incidents concerning her capture'.³⁰ Yet Redoshi's story, according to Flock, is 'told in halting, broken phrases', and while she knows the first name of her kidnapper, William Foster, she cannot pronounce the double 'l' in 'William'.³¹ Perhaps similarly to Hurston, who may have passed off a 1914 interview with Kossola as her own work because she could not understand his accent, comprehension issues might have led Flock to make up elements of Redoshi's story.³² Alternatively, like many of the WPA Narrative Collection interviewees, Redoshi may simply have felt compelled to lie to a white interviewer about the poverty and suffering that black people endured in the segregated South.³³ Although it is unclear if Redoshi lied because she feared repercussions from white authorities, it seems that such fears were justified, for Flock reveals at the end of the interview that he consulted Washington and Susan Smith's daughter, Mrs W. W. Quarles, to confirm Redoshi's account.³⁴ Such white oversight suggests that the article has greater value for showing how Redoshi strategically navigated around white authorities than for uncovering her experiences of U.S. slavery and its aftermath.

Nevertheless, that article does reveal some vital biographical information about Redoshi. The text establishes that she still lives on the plantation on which she was enslaved and records the period of her enslavement fairly accurately as five years and six months. The reader learns that her community knows her as 'Aunt Sally Smith', that her husband, 'Uncle Billy', was a *Clotilda* survivor who was purchased alongside her, and that the couple was forced to work in both the house and the field during their years of enslavement.³⁵ The article claims that Redoshi was a married woman of 25 when she was kidnapped and appears to establish that she was a

member of the Yorùbá community who was captured in the same raid as Kossola. Remarkably, Redoshi claims in the interview to be still in touch with Kossola and even to have seen him about a month previously.³⁶ Redoshi refers twice in her interview to her hometown of ‘Tarkar’, although Flock appears to have borrowed the spelling of this location from a 1931 *Literary Digest* interview with Kossola, so it is unclear where exactly in West Africa she meant.³⁷ Redoshi asserts that the journey from her home to the Ouidah slave port where she was sold took four days, which was slightly shorter than the eight days that Kossola remembered, but helps to situate her home town in what is now south Benin. Like Kossola, Redoshi remembers a night raid on her town, although unlike Kossola the article records no details of its violence beyond a brief allusion to the killing of her husband. Her description of her Dahomean kidnappers as ‘bad people. No work. Lay in sunshine at day and do devilment at night’ supports Kossola’s remembrance that his town was attacked in the early hours of the morning.³⁸

One remembrance in particular points to the ways in which Redoshi sought psychologically to come to terms with the horror and the loss that she endured. She claims in the interview that the Dahomean warriors who kidnapped her wet her community’s guns before attacking it to ensure that it was powerless to defend itself. Such a claim is strikingly similar to West African oral accounts of the sacking of Ouidah in 1727, in which Na Geze, the daughter of King Agaja of Dahomey, supposedly wet the stores of gunpowder at Ouidah to disarm its citizens and enable her father to capture the port.³⁹ Such similarities do not establish the accuracy of Redoshi’s remembrance. Kossola suggested that the Dahomean warriors’ arrival took his community by surprise and Redoshi may in fact have framed her account of her community’s kidnap through allusion to this earlier event, which in turn is historically

disputed. Yet as Edna G. Bay notes, although Na Geze's story 'describes details of events that almost certainly never happened, it resonates with the truths of popular conceptions and offers insights about history'.⁴⁰ In turn, Redoshi's remembrance hints at the sense of betrayal that the raid's survivors felt at being kidnapped and sold into slavery and how they sought psychologically to rationalise the sudden and brutal destruction of their communities.

Flock's article provides few specific details of the horrors of the Middle Passage, although it acknowledges, 'That hell-hole in which the captive slaves were stuffed to make the voyage to America was graphically described by Aunt Sally'.⁴¹ Flock does at least record that the captives were 'locked in sixes and eights . . . and put in hold' where there is 'Water' – presumably a reference to the all-encompassing sound of the ocean – and which is 'dark – dark'.⁴² Redoshi intimates that the captives spent a lot of time on deck, which supports Kossola's remembrance that, unusually for human cargo during the illegal slave trade, they spent much time on deck after the first 13 days at sea.⁴³ Redoshi remembers that a Dahomean warrior boarded the ship and was enslaved with the other captives, which matches what is known about one of the *Clotilda* survivors. This person was originally called Gumpa but renamed Peter in the U.S. and was accepted by the other *Clotilda* survivors despite being a member of the ethnic group that kidnapped them. After their emancipation from slavery, Gumpa joined Kossola and other *Clotilda* survivors in establishing Africatown, the first U.S. town to be run continuously by black people and the only one to be founded by Africans. Redoshi also suggests that a young girl and a fellow 'Tarkar' man died on board the ship and were thrown out to sea. Kossola gave inconsistent information about the number of fatalities on board the *Clotilda*. Emma Langdon Roche, the author of a 1914 book on the slave ship and its captives, made no mention of deaths

aboard the ship; equally, Kossola apparently informed Hurston that ‘nobody ain sick and nobody ain dead’.⁴⁴ However, he told an interviewer on at least one occasion that there were two deaths during the voyage.⁴⁵ The fact that his recollection so precisely matched the death toll that Redoshi cited lends support to her assertion that a child and ‘Tarkar’ man did not survive the Atlantic journey.

Nevertheless, Redoshi almost certainly exaggerated the length of her transatlantic captivity. Flock records that the journey took ‘four long months’, significantly longer than a voyage that Sylviane Diouf has calculated as lasting for 45 days and much longer even than the 70 days that Kossola repeatedly asserted.⁴⁶ However, even if Redoshi’s remembrance was historically inaccurate, it still sheds light on the physical and psychological suffering that she and her fellow human ‘cargo’ endured on board the slave ship, which must have made the journey seem endless, and which may have led her to believe that it had taken about 120 days to reach the United States. Other aspects of her account match what we know of the *Clotilda* survivors’ arrival, including that they were moved up river and hidden in an effort to ensure that their illegal transportation went undetected by the authorities. The article hints at the dehumanising way in which their kidnappers treated the captives, as Flock suggests that they were ‘herded’ like animals up the river.⁴⁷ Redoshi’s captivity narrative ends here, however. Flock’s brief newspaper interview provides no sense of the despair that other *Clotilda* survivors expressed when recalling the group’s sale and separation, or of the ways in which Redoshi adapted to her new life in the United States.

Flock’s interview with Redoshi contains revelations about her kidnapping and Middle Passage experience that sheds light on the suffering that she endured and corresponds with the remembrances of Kossola and other *Clotilda* survivors. Yet it is

a fragmentary and mediated literary narrative that appears actively to occlude the suffering that she endured on U.S. soil as part of a deliberate effort to reinforce a benign portrait of black and white relationships in the South during and after slavery. However, it is not the only contemporaneous record of Redoshi's experiences, for this study has identified a celluloid portrait of the Middle Passage survivor, which whilst fraught with its own problems of documentation and representation, helps to fill in some of the gaps in Flock's account and create a much more plausible portrait of the poverty that she endured and ways in which she adapted to her life in the United States.

In 1938, the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) released an instructional film, *The Negro Farmer: Extension Work for Better Farming and Better Living*, which was made in conjunction with the Tuskegee Institute, a leading black agricultural college located in Tuskegee, Alabama, 100 miles east of Bogue Chitto. That 23-minute production, which was shot mainly in Alabama and Georgia, was devised as a sound-era update to the silent film *Helping Negroes Become Better Farmers and Homemakers* (1921), which for 17 years had been promoting the work of the USDA's county extension agents, whose mission was to teach black Southern farmers how to improve the health of their crops and homes.⁴⁸ Approximately two minutes into the 1938 film, the viewer is introduced to a Middle Passage survivor called 'Aunt Sally Smith'. This black-and-white footage of Redoshi is only 18 seconds long, carefully staged, and silent. Yet the recording is still extremely historically significant, for it is the first known footage of a female Middle Passage survivor yet to be identified. Moreover, it is the only cinematic record of a female U.S. slavery survivor that it has been possible to trace.⁴⁹ *The Negro Farmer's* portrait

of Redoshi postdates and the footage is clearer than Hurston's recording of Kossola, which is the only other known film of a Middle Passage survivor.

As archaeologists continue to search Mobile Bay for the remains of the *Clotilda*, the film serves as further material evidence of its survivors' existence and adds to our understanding of their fate, not least because its narrator records that the last of them, and therefore presumably the last Middle Passage survivor, died in 1937, and not in 1935 as current scholarship suggests.⁵⁰ The film presents a paternalistic portrait of black rural life as part of its agenda to halt a mass migration to the urban north by black people, who were a key source of Southern farm labour. Yet much like Hurston's Kossola recording, the 1938 film affords Redoshi a measure of self-representation that in key ways serves as a corrective to Flock's mediated textual representation, which reinforced a romantic white portrait of the segregated South. Instead, the film reveals the circumstances in which she lived, how she dressed, and also hints at the high esteem in which her community regarded her.

Film scholars have largely overlooked *The Negro Farmer*, which explains why the footage of Redoshi has not previously been identified. The production belongs to an early documentary cinema genre that was extremely technologically sophisticated for its day – the USDA was the best-equipped federal filmmaking department – and which was targeted specifically at black Southern audiences and screened more widely in the South than were commercial films.⁵¹ Such USDA productions were intended and appear to have been shown at schools, churches, lodge halls, and theatres. Early histories of cinema position the medium as an urban experience and pay little attention to government-sponsored filmmaking. In the process, non-commercial films such as those targeted at rural black communities have largely been ignored.⁵² And yet, such films ostensibly avoided the racist visual codes

of mainstream commercial cinema, in which black artistry was exploited for white entertainment. As Noah Zweig notes, the purpose of such films was ‘education rather than titillation’.⁵³ In contrast to the representation of black people in most commercial films of the era, *Redoshi* is not framed as a spectacle for the consumption of Northern white viewers, as *The Negro Farmer*’s primary purpose was to appeal to rural black Southerners.

Yet while the 1938 film was targeted at black audiences, most of its production team was white. Consequently, it promotes a white paternalistic agenda that upholds the perceived social inferiority of rural black communities.⁵⁴ As J. Emmett Winn observes, *The Negro Farmer* ‘avoids overtly racist images of African Americans’, but its scenes of ‘rundown one-room shacks, poor farms, and unsanitary living conditions’ reinforce ‘the racist ideology that maintains that blacks are docile and unintelligent’.⁵⁵ Winn shows that white people comprised a ‘large part’ of the audience for *Helping Negroes*, *The Negro Farmer*’s silent predecessor, even if they were not the film’s target audience, and suggests that, for this reason, the film sought to avoid a narrative that could be interpreted as a challenge the South’s racial status quo.⁵⁶ Building on Winn’s contention, Zweig asserts that, ‘In the producing and exhibiting of patronizing, instructional narratives like *Helping Negroes*, USDA film served to further the segregation and segmentation of rural, southern audiences’.⁵⁷ For Zweig, educational films aimed at black farmers did not simply placate white Southern audiences, but moreover reinforced racial inequalities by naturalising them on the cinema screen. *The Negro Farmer* goes even further than *Helping Negroes* in this regard. In contrast to its predecessor, no white people are shown in the film; the African American South is imagined here as socially isolated, seemingly to reassure white audiences that black people pose no social threat to them.

The film's staging of Redoshi implicates her in its racist agenda. In the footage, Redoshi sits wrapped in a quilt in a rocking chair on the porch of her cabin and is shown in conversation with a black man in dungarees. A voiceover by white narrator George G. Farrington provides basic biographical details. The viewer learns that Redoshi was born in Africa and that she was supposedly more than 110 years of age when she died in 1937, a year before *The Negro Farmer* was first screened. Redoshi's very early appearance in the film underlines her function: to serve as evidence of the home demonstration service's 'success'. The narrator claims that Smith lived long enough to 'see the hard lot endured by her generation and that of her children in some measure bettered by [the USDA's] campaign to help Negroes help themselves'.

In the only critical study of the sequence, but which does not engage with Redoshi's West African origins or status as a freedwoman, Winn observes that, 'The film thus offers Sally Smith as a visual testimonial that the USDA's extension service programs improved the hard life of southern African American farm families by attributing this opinion to Sally Smith through voice-over narration'.⁵⁸ Much like Flock's narrative, which presents U.S. slavery as a 'civilising' practice, the 1938 film draws on tropes of black abjection by suggesting that Redoshi has been 'rescued' by white intervention. Her old age is emphasised to underscore her apparent vulnerability. Redoshi therefore is exploited onscreen to promote a pro-segregationist agenda; she functions as visual evidence that agricultural conditions will improve with USDA intervention and thus that migration north is unnecessary.

That Redoshi appears onscreen posthumously calls unintended attention to her exploitation by the filmmakers and her apparent lack of agency over her cinematic representation. Redoshi is first shown on her porch alongside her male companion.

The camera is then repositioned to show her face in close-up as she speaks to her interviewer. There is a break in the footage before Redoshi is again shown in close-up as she looks directly at and appears to pose for the camera. Such a staged posture recalls the visual language of ethnographic display, which suggests that the filmmakers viewed her as a historical curiosity to document. Redoshi speaks on screen, but there is no audio recording and so her voice goes unheard; the camera is interested only in presenting her as a visual spectacle. Smith is not allowed to tell her own story and it is unclear how well she understands the cinematic technology that is being used to film her. The viewer cannot be sure of the extent to which this very elderly woman submits willingly to the camera's gaze.

But a counter-reading of the footage that gives voice to Redoshi and highlights her humanity and resilience is possible. The narrative records that Redoshi died before the film was screened. In so doing, it acknowledges that the USDA's extension service has arrived only in her final days and suggests that she has survived on the harsh Black Belt soil for decades without outside help. The film therefore unwittingly undermines the narrative of black abjection and white redemption that it seeks to convey because its footage of Redoshi simultaneously reveals decades of physical and psychological endurance. Equally, Redoshi's unidentified male companion is framed as an audience surrogate whose welcomed presence permits the viewer to intrude on this elderly woman on her porch. The man leans on the porch and looks up at Redoshi and away from the camera. His upward gaze objectifies Redoshi by signalling how the viewer is meant to perceive her: as a historical curiosity, a final living relic of the transatlantic slave trade. However, his deference – he is seated below Redoshi – simultaneously affords her the respect owed to a community elder, which hints at the high social status that she holds in her community.

The film also records the outside of the cabin that Redoshi inhabited throughout her life in the United States. The basic wooden structure serves as visual evidence of the poverty that she endured. As Winn observes, ‘Sally Smith’s cabin together with several other shacks and cabins highlighted in *Negro Farmer* visually underscores the poor housing conditions under which many rural black farm families lived’.⁵⁹ Smith is not clad in rags, however; instead, she wears a patterned quilt that displays skilled craftsmanship and careful attention to her appearance. Such costuming reveals a measure of self-authorship and, again, allows her to speak against the film’s narrative of abjection. The footage is an extremely rare visual document of interwar black Southern women’s quilting practices that is some of the best available evidence of connections between such practices and West African traditions.

The brevity and poor quality of the film footage limit scrutiny of Redoshi’s artistry. The film is in black-and-white, which means that her fabric and colour choices are unclear and the patterns are only partially discernible. Yet the material is still highly revealing of her creative self-fashioning. Gladys-Marie Fry has identified quilting as a ‘survival mechanism – a type of emotional and social release that provided enslaved individuals with the means by which they recorded and preserved their experiences ... It was their personal and communal history, recorded not on *paper* but on *fabric*’.⁶⁰ Redoshi’s quilt thus affords her authorship within a film – and a society more broadly – that otherwise renders her voiceless. Most of the quilt is made of patches and therefore recycled material, which conveys her poverty but also her ingenuity. Fry speculates that patchwork quilts may have been influenced by West African strip weaving, which hints at cultural continuities between Redoshi’s West African past and her U.S. present.⁶¹ Moreover, Redoshi has embroidered the edges of the fabric with a striped pattern, which demonstrates her artistry and the pride that she

takes in her appearance. Significantly, Kossola also took pride in his patched clothing, which underscores the psychological significance for Middle Passage survivors of West African textual practices and their efforts to retain such practices, and therefore a semblance of their previous identities, in the Americas.⁶²

The Negro Farmer is an extremely limited document of Redoshi. Yet the film complicates its own narrative of black abjection and affords her a measure of authorship within this framework by acknowledging the extreme poverty that she endured in Alabama's Black Belt, while at the same time highlighting her success in navigating such a hostile environment, the importance of her West African artistry, and the apparent high esteem in which her black Alabaman community regarded her. The film represents a tiny snapshot of Redoshi at the very end of her life, however, and provides no information about her experiences of slavery. This study therefore now turns to a second posthumous representation of Redoshi – this time on the page – that engages with her experiences of slavery and Reconstruction, and whose black female authorship imbues it with a radically different agenda from the white paternalism that underpinned Flock and the film's accounts of her life.

Forty-one years after *The Negro Farmer* was released, Bogue Chitto-based voting rights activist Amelia Boynton Robinson published her memoir, *Bridge across Jordan*. Boynton Robinson was a leading figure in the U.S. Civil Rights Movement. She and her husband Samuel Robinson arrived in Bogue Chitto as USDA county extension and home demonstration agents, but they were driven by the futility of such work to seek to effect more meaningful social change. Together with her husband and six others, Boynton Robinson founded the Dallas County Voters League and spent 30 years spearheading a black voter recruitment drive in Selma, Alabama. Her invitation to Martin Luther King, Jr. to visit Selma in 1963 culminated in the Selma to

Montgomery marches, which in turn helped lead to the Voting Rights Act. Boynton Robinson was one of the marchers beaten by state police for attempting to cross the Edmund Pettus Bridge during the first Selma to Montgomery march. A photograph of her unconscious body was published around the world, which helped to galvanise international support for the marchers' campaign.

In her memoir, Boynton Robinson recalled her encounters in the mid-1930s with a Middle Passage survivor called 'Aunt Sally'. Alston Fitts has already recognised that 'Aunt Sally' and Hurston's interviewee were the same person. His 1989 book, *Selma: A Bicentennial History* (revised and updated in 2017), records her West African name and even includes a photograph of Redoshi and her husband, whom he names as Yawith.⁶³ However, Fitts gives only fleeting attention to Boynton Robinson's text in his much broader study of Selma's history and does not acknowledge that Redoshi was on board the last U.S. slave ship or that Boynton Robinson recorded her as still being alive in 1936, a year after Kossola's death.

This study explores this text in detail for the first time to highlight its value while at the same time acknowledging its limitations as a record of Redoshi's experiences. Such a record is fragmentary and based on four-decades-old remembrances. Yet it still serves as an incredibly rare female account of the Middle Passage and of enslavement in the Americas. Robinson's text challenges the benign portrait of enslavement that Flock presents by documenting the sexual exploitation, physical abuse, and poverty that Redoshi endured as an enslaved woman, but also by describing her resistance to such abuse. Much like *The Negro Farmer*, the text serves as further evidence of Redoshi's determination to retain her West African heritage. Yet Robinson's book provides a much more nuanced portrait of the Black Belt society in which Redoshi lived, countering the film's presentation of her township as an

abject community reliant on external help by showcasing its efforts to achieve political rights.

Inconsistencies between Redoshi and other *Clotilda* survivors' remembrances mean that it is necessary to approach Boynton Robinson's account with care. Redoshi's story is doubly mediated; not only is it a second-hand narrative, but also it is a memory of another person's life experiences. Moreover, Boynton Robinson's recollections of Redoshi are confined to just five pages of a 200-page memoir. Most of the account was based on an afternoon spent with Redoshi in the early 1930s, when she was probably in her mid- to late- 80s and more than 70 years after she was kidnapped. Boynton Robinson did not publish her memoir until 1979, 42 years after Redoshi's death. The memoir claims, incorrectly, that Redoshi was born in Sierra Leone and provides very little other identifying information. She is listed simply as 'Aunt Sally'.

According to Boynton Robinson's account, there were many deaths on board the slave ship, including an act of infanticide: 'Baby was born, mother threw him out to the fishes'.⁶⁴ Yet Redoshi and Kossola both suggested elsewhere that two deaths occurred. Although Redoshi claimed in her earlier remembrance with Flock that one of the deceased was a child, she noted that the child was a girl, not a boy as Boynton Robinson suggests here. She also asserted that both victims died of poor health and were thrown overboard by the ship's crew.⁶⁵ These observations are not intended to downplay the fatalities to which Redoshi and Kossola both alluded, but instead to highlight the unreliability of Boynton Robinson's account as a second-hand remembrance of Redoshi's experiences. Boynton Robinson also reports that the *Clotilda* initially disembarked in Virginia, nearly 1,000 miles north of Mobile, where

it picked up more enslaved men and women, an assertion that deviates starkly from the historical record of the slave ship's voyage.

Nevertheless, census and other historical data help to validate other key aspects of Redoshi's story. Nor should the problems of mediation and distortion in other accounts of enslavement be overlooked. By far the most comprehensive record of slavery was the WPA Slave Narrative Collection, whose 2,000 interviews were conducted around the same time as Boynton Robinson's 1930s encounter with Redoshi. Much like Boynton Robinson's account, these interviews relied on memory and were subjected to extensive mediation. As Sharon Ann Musher has noted, WPA interview material passed through several channels. The federal writers' handwritten notes were first interpreted by typists, then modified by state editors, then arranged by national administrators, and edited again into publishable material by scholars and folklorists.⁶⁶ Despite the questions of reliability that such mediation raises – as Catherine Stewart observes, 'the ex-slave narratives served different functions for various authors involved in their production' – these narratives nevertheless have been mined extensively for clues about formerly enslaved men and women's experiences.⁶⁷

Bridge across Jordan also presents a very different perspective on slavery from comparable sources. The vast majority of the WPA Slave Narrative Collection interviewees were white. By contrast, Redoshi told her story to an African American woman who was embedded in her community and who devoted her life to challenging black Alabamans' poverty and disenfranchisement. Equally significantly, Boynton Robinson's encounter with Redoshi was not initially recorded for publication. She was merely an interested young listener to an elderly woman who volunteered her life story. The reader learns that Boynton Robinson simply was invited to spend time with

her: ‘Aunt Sally asked me to keep her company before the crowd gathered for my monthly club meeting’.⁶⁸ Redoshi’s story is not told under duress; she is not even being interviewed. Such interaction was very different from the WPA narratives, whose subjects may have been seeking to placate mainly white interviewers who they thought were spies or relief workers, much like Redoshi appears to have done during her encounter with Flock.

Consequently, Boynton Robinson’s narrative contains an unusual level of intimacy and frankness. We learn of the tears that ‘stream down her face’ as Redoshi recalls her decades-long separation from her homeland and the suffering that she has endured in the United States.⁶⁹ Redoshi’s peaceful existence in West Africa, where her community lives ‘together like one family’, is contrasted starkly with the world of ‘beatings’, ‘whippings’, and ‘killings’ that she endures and witnesses at the hands of white men.⁷⁰ Redoshi’s description of a peaceful African home set aflame adheres to Kossola’s account of his town’s destruction. She also recalls the agony of being chained on the slave ship for ‘many weeks’.⁷¹ The transatlantic passage feels to her so long that it ‘might be a year’ and she is so sick on the boat that ‘I could die, and I wanted to die’.⁷² She asserts that the smell of human excrement by the time the ship reached the U.S. ‘was enough to kill you’.⁷³

Redoshi does not acknowledge – or Boynton Robinson does not record – that *Clotilda* captives were forced to lie naked for the duration of the Atlantic voyage.⁷⁴ Yet the text is open about other brutalising aspects of their enslavement. We learn that their enslavers ‘made animals out of us’ and forced them to eat grass on their arrival in Mobile before separating Redoshi from most of her fellow captives and selling her to the Smith plantation in Selma.⁷⁵ In a harrowing acknowledgement of the ways in which female Middle Passage survivors were sexually exploited by their enslavers,

she also divulges that her captors forced her to become a child bride: ‘I was 12 years old and he was a man from another tribe who had a family in Africa. I couldn’t understand his talk and he couldn’t understand me . . . They put us on block together and sold us for man and wife’.⁷⁶

The likelihood that the *Clotilda*’s human cargo were selected as ‘breeding’ couples has yet to be remarked on by historians but, unusually, half of them were women and girls, which was roughly double the average amount for this period in slaving history.⁷⁷ Notably, Jinnie/Jenny and Cuffy/Cuffee were also married, which suggests that they too were sold arbitrarily to Washington Smith as ‘man and wife’. Redoshi’s assertion that she was 12 years old when she was kidnapped contrasts with Flock’s claim that she was a woman of 25 and *The Negro Farmer*’s suggestion that she was well past her 110th year when she was interviewed. Census data are inconsistent, which makes it impossible to determine her actual birth year. However, her extreme longevity in the U.S. supports the younger age, as does the fact that half of the women on board the *Clotilda* were children.

Boynton Robinson’s observations provide even more forceful evidence than does the film footage of the extent of Redoshi’s poverty, but in contrast to the footage those observations also hint at Redoshi’s effort to turn her enforced U.S. dwelling into a home. By extension, they offer rare insight into ways in which enslaved women sought to exercise control over their domestic spaces. There are few detailed descriptions of slave quarters that shed light on how people of African descent in the Americas organised their homes.⁷⁸ Boynton Robinson’s description of Redoshi’s yard postdates slavery by many decades, yet it should still be recognised as a literary record of a slave quarter as it had been the elderly woman’s residence since 1860. She lives in a ‘dark’ and ‘tiny one-room and kitchen hut’, but it is adorned with a picket

fence.⁷⁹ She has also covered up her home's dark boards with newspaper to improve its appearance. Smith's effort to decorate her home demonstrates her self-sufficiency and ingenuity and serves to counter the film's assertion that she is in need of outside aid. By contrast, Boynton Robinson presents herself, a home demonstration agent, as redundant to Redoshi's needs. Struck by the neatness of the wallpaper, Boynton Robinson is informed by Redoshi that she used flour and water combined with copper sulphate to deter cockroaches and mice, and recognises such ingenuity as evidence of how much she can learn from the Bogue Chitto community.⁸⁰

Boynton Robinson's description of Redoshi's home also provides clues about the latter's spiritual beliefs and her retention of West African cultural traditions. Boynton Robinson notes that the elderly woman's yard is 'immaculate' and that 'flowers were painted in circles surrounded by half-buried bottles in geometrical formation'.⁸¹ Bottles were commonly used to border African American yards in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and Robert Farris Thompson has interpreted the planting of such bottles as an African survival associated in particular with but not limited to Kongo practices and whose purpose was to deter evil spirits.⁸² Grey Gundaker identifies four recurring themes in diasporan Africans' efforts to assert their own will over the land: 'protection and safekeeping, personal virtuosity, community improvement, and honor to family and ancestors'.⁸³ Gundaker's observation sheds light on the psychological significance of Redoshi's yard activities: within a context of violent separation, cultural isolation, dispossession, and dehumanisation, Redoshi has found a way to impose personal order and to stake belonging to U.S. soil on her own terms. She is asserting ownership over her land, re-establishing ancestral connections, and upholding spiritual practices.

Boynton Robinson's account also provides insights into Redoshi's understanding of the world around her, which indicate that she has retained a West African worldview and elements of a West African belief system. Redoshi suggests that cats' eyes can be used to determine the function of the moon, sun, and tide and that, because of this, 'We always tell when tide is coming in in Africa'.⁸⁴ She also predicts that heavy rain will soon fall, which she attributes to a female moon deity:

You know what the moon bring us? Not what you call a lady all the time. She do lot controlling. Moon come up, big and full, then she get fuller, then she get down. She take all she can from earth's surface and us. Then she turns this way and that way. When you see her ends up, she's full of water and on her back. Soon much rain come, she let it out and keep on 'til she point to the earth. Then her cup is empty and upside down and start picking up more water. The sun help too, picking up much water the moon drop.⁸⁵

Redoshi may have been referring here to Yemoja, water deity and mother spirit of the Yorùbá people. At the very least, Redoshi's interpretation of the solar system suggests that, much like Kossola and other *Clotilda* survivors, she did not convert fully to Christianity in the United States, but also held onto her West African spiritual beliefs. For Redoshi, there was no single, male Creator, but instead both female and male deities. Redoshi's recollection is an extremely rare account by a West African-born formerly enslaved woman of spiritual beliefs carried over from her homeland and therefore invaluable evidence of ways in which female Middle Passage survivors in the U.S. sought to hold onto their cultural heritages. That Redoshi retained such a worldview is especially remarkable given that she was isolated from other *Clotilda* survivors and appears to have been married to a man from a different ethnic group.

Boynton Robinson's account also reveals the economic exploitation that Redoshi and Yawith endured following their emancipation, but also the ways in which they resisted their mistreatment. Plantation owners and merchants deliberately underestimated the amount of cotton produced by black farmers in Alabama's Black Belt to ensure that they could not meet their rent payments and remained perpetually indebted to white landlords.⁸⁶ *Bridge across Jordan* documents such calculated indebtedness, but it also records Yawith's astute response:

[Redoshi] told me how her husband had used his wisdom to keep up with the cotton he sold . . . He found that his cotton bales were not being counted correctly, but what the correct amount of counting was, he did not know. He began to keep up with the number of bales by putting a grain of corn in a jar each time he took a bale to the white man's gin. At the end of the gathering season he would not ask the plantation owner how much cotton he had made, he would get someone else to count the grains of corn he had laid aside and tell the planter that he had so many bales ginned.⁸⁷

Such ingenuity provides evidences of ways in which Redoshi and her husband resisted their social and political marginalisation and economic exploitation. In turn, it challenges both the film's portrait of abjection and the article's benign description of black-white Southern relations. Boynton Robinson underlines such achievements by highlighting the successful family that Redoshi and Yawith have raised on U.S. soil. She records that Redoshi has just one daughter but many great grandchildren, some of whom are now public school teachers and ministers.⁸⁸ Thus, Redoshi and her husband may have been forced into slavery and denied civil rights, but through hard work they have created a platform for their descendants to achieve a measure of social mobility.

Such achievements help to situate Redoshi and her husband within a wider community resistance to racial inequality. Boynton Robinson records that Yawith worked as a sharecropper after slavery. However, we can deduce that the couple eventually became landowners because they lived in Bogue Chitto, which was an unincorporated town owned and managed by freedpeople and their descendants. Boynton Robinson portrays Bogue Chitto as an industrious community and recalls that black people in surrounding areas nicknamed the town 'Freetown' because its members were not bound physically to their employers, but instead could travel where and when they pleased.⁸⁹ She also suggests that they welcomed the county agents' intervention and had already worked to create their own food distribution project well before the federal government's intervention.⁹⁰

Boynton Robinson does not ignore Redoshi's poverty. As she notes, although Bogue Chitto had once been a thriving community, a fall in the price of cotton had left it a shell of its former self by the 1930s. Yet she links the causes not to an ignorant black community in need of white guidance, but instead to disenfranchisement and to dependence on a single crop. Boynton Robinson claims that almost every man in the community was a registered voter during Reconstruction, but that white authorities stuffed and swapped ballot boxes to ensure that their votes were in vain.⁹¹ She also explores Bogue Chitto's investment in reclaiming such voting rights from the 1930s onwards.⁹² Her portrait of community radicalism draws attention to the racial injustices that Redoshi and Yawith endured throughout their lives in Bogue Chitto, but it also hints at Redoshi's remarkably close association as a Middle Passage survivor with the early stages of the U.S. Civil Rights Movement.

In her final remembrance of Redoshi, Boynton Robinson records the elderly woman's 1936 meeting with Daniel Kato, an African migrant and former classmate of

Samuel Boynton at Tuskegee Institute. Such a meeting, as recorded in the memoir, points up the unreliability of the civil rights leader's narrative. Nevertheless, it still serves as an important revelation of the lasting psychological trauma left on Middle Passage survivors by geographical displacement and family separation as well as their efforts to hold onto their previous identities despite such losses. According to Boynton Robinson, Redoshi and Kato conversed in the same language and discovered that they were from the same community in Africa. Recalling the experience, Boynton Robinson noted that,

We took [Kato] to meet Aunt Sally, and they began to talk about Africa in general. Suddenly she screamed with delight, the two of them were from the same tribe! This was the first time she had met anyone from Africa who could speak and understand her language since she had left her home more than 80 years before. She was filled with joy. As they talked about their country, the village, the nearby rivers, speaking many times in their own language, I sobbed aloud with happiness for her.⁹³

In this remarkable scene, Redoshi appears to enjoy an unexpected encounter with a man from her birthplace. Her unlikely psychological reunion with her lost homeland after 76 years of separation causes her such intense pleasure that even the witness to the event is overcome by emotion.

That such a meeting took place between Redoshi and an African student is supported by historical evidence. Records show that there was a student called Daniel, or more precisely Danieri, Kato at Tuskegee Institute in the 1920s. He was the first of his countrymen to study at the Institute and he spent about 10 years in Alabama. His overseas education formed part of a wider African interest in black U.S. institutions of learning as a model for achieving independence from European rule.⁹⁴ Black African

leaders' recognition of the parallels between colonialism and slavery in the Americas explains why a meeting with Redoshi would have interested Kato. But Kato was an East African from Uganda, not the western coastal nation of Sierra Leone as Boynton Robinson suggested. Nor is there any evidence to suggest that Redoshi came from Sierra Leone, which is more than 1,000 miles away from the slave port at Ouidah.

Kato was a member of the Ganda people and spoke a Bantu language. There is a small possibility, at most, that Redoshi may also have spoken a form of Bantu. However, this would have meant that she was from West Central Africa, not the west coast as her interview with Flock suggested, and that she somehow ended up at a slave port thousands of miles northwest of her birthplace. Even if Redoshi spoke a form of Bantu, it is also important to recognise that, as Ericka Albaugh and Kathryn De Luna note, 'The documentation, translation, and even creation of African languages were key parts of the process of inventing African tribes in the colonial era' and that 'language was a key component in identifying and classifying populations onto which identities like "Bantu" were forced'.⁹⁵ In essence, there are hundreds of Bantu 'languages' that are spoken throughout Sub-Saharan Africa. To assume that Redoshi and Kato were able to communicate in a meaningful way because they were both Bantu speakers risks perpetuating a colonial legacy that has led to the homogenisation of diverse African languages.

Yet regardless of whether or not any form of direct communication took place, Redoshi's joy at meeting a fellow African surely was real. The scene therefore hints at the value that she placed on language as a Middle Passage survivor. Given that language plays a crucial role in shaping a person's identity, its loss is symbolic of the geographical dislocation and dehumanisation that Middle Passage survivors endured. As noted previously, Hurston's letter to Hughes stressed that Redoshi was a 'better

talker than Cudjo'. Such ability to communicate well in English bleakly highlights her brutal acclimatisation to her U.S. environment. Boynton Robinson records that the new language was quite literally beaten into her: 'The slave masters and overseers beat us for every little thing when we didn't understand American talk'.⁹⁶

Yet as Boynton Robinson also acknowledges, Redoshi's old language was not beaten out of her. Redoshi lapses into her own language when talking of her father and has passed on her mother tongue to her daughter and some of her grandchildren. She has worked actively to hold onto her cultural heritage and identity in the United States. Redoshi's encounter with Kato therefore highlights the psychological significance of language retention for Middle Passage survivors, despite Boynton Robinson's fictionalised or misremembered record of this encounter. Redoshi has had to work particularly hard to retain her language as she was separated from most of the other *Clotilda* survivors and her husband appears to have been from a different ethnic group. No matter how limited was Redoshi and Kato's communication, we can therefore conclude that hearing another person speak confidently and fluently in an African language, possibly for the first time in decades, had such a powerful psychological effect on her that Boynton Robinson misremembered the scene years later as an actual encounter with a man from the land of Redoshi's birth.

Redoshi's literary and cinematic archive is highly mediated and represents merely a snapshot of 80 years in the life of a Middle Passage and U.S. slavery survivor. But such materials nevertheless are of considerable historical significance because they are incredibly rare, and in some cases exceptional, documents of a female Middle Passage survivor's experiences. Not only do they reveal crucial information about Redoshi's birthplace, ethnicity, appearance, politics, and spiritual beliefs, but they also establish that she was the last living Middle Passage survivor. In

turn, they give voice to a woman whose identity has for decades been obscured and serve as unprecedented opportunities to meaningfully consider transatlantic slavery from a West African-born woman's perspective. Despite their elisions and inaccuracies, such accounts call attention to the Middle Passage as a lifelong trauma, but they also shed vital light on the humanity and resilience of a formerly enslaved woman.

¹ In my article on *Barracoon*, I mistakenly give 1859 as the date of the *Clotilda*'s landing, although Sylviane Diouf provides compelling evidence to suggest that the ship docked in Mobile in 1860. In the recently published edition of *Barracoon*, the editors replicate my mistake. See Hannah Durkin, 'Zora Neale Hurston's Visual and Textual Portrait of Middle Passage Survivor Oluale Kossola/Cudjo Lewis'. *Slavery & Abolition* 38, no. 3 (2017): 602; Sylviane A. Diouf, *Dreams of Africa in Alabama: The Slave Ship Clotilda and the Story of the Last Africans Brought to America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 69; and Zora Neale Hurston, *Barracoon: The Story of the Last 'Black Cargo'* (New York: Amistad, 2018).

² Zora Neale Hurston, 'Letter to Langston Hughes, July 10, 1928', in *Zora Neale Hurston: A Life in Letters*, ed. Carla Kaplan (New York: Anchor Books, 2003), 194.

³ Hurston and Hughes used her field trip material to write *Mule Bone: A Comedy of Negro Life*, a play about black Southern culture. However, they fell out and never finished their collaboration.

⁴ Rebecca Panovka makes these points. See Rebecca Panovka, 'A Different Backstory for Zora Neale Hurston's "Barracoon"', *Los Angeles Review of Books*, July 7, 2018. Available at: <https://lareviewofbooks.org/article/different-backstory-for-zora-neale-hurstons-barracoon/#!> (accessed November 7, 2018).

⁵ Diouf, *Dreams of Africa*, 247.

⁶ Jon Sensbach, 'Black Pearls: Writing Black Atlantic Women's Biography', in *Biography and the Black Atlantic*, eds. Lisa A. Lindsay and John Wood Sweet (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 99. There are approximately seven recorded female Middle Passage testimonies written in English, but these are all extremely brief. The most detailed of these accounts is a 1906 *Harper's Magazine*'s interview with a third *Clotilda* survivor, Abache/Clara Turner, although it is still to be recognised as a female narrative in its own right as it comprises only a small section of a magazine article. Across eight sentences, Abache describes her kidnapping in West Africa, as well as the 'filth and darkness' and 'hot hold' of the ship, which left the captives 'gasping for breath, praying for a drop of water'. See S. H. M. Byers, 'The Last Slave-Ship', *Harper's Magazine* (October 1906): 743. Elsewhere, Jerome S. Handler identifies two page-long narratives and one petition by African-born women in the Americas. Of these three documents, only the petition mentions the Middle Passage and only in a single sentence that alludes vaguely to the 'most excruciating torments'. See Jerome S. Handler, 'Survivors of the Middle Passage: Life Histories of Enslaved Africans in British America', *Slavery & Abolition* 23, no. 1 (2002): 43 & 46; 'The Petition of Belinda an Affrican', February 14, 1783. Available at: http://www.royallhouse.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/Belindas_Petition.pdf (accessed September 17, 2018). Randy M. Browne and John Wood Sweet have also recovered Akeiso/Florence Hall's four-page 'Memoirs', which records the 'dark', 'chains', 'sparing' and 'bad' food, and 'frequent and sever[e]' punishment that characterised her journey to Jamaica, in which death was a 'frequent' occurrence. See Randy M. Browne and John Wood Sweet, 'Florence Hall's "Memoirs": Finding African Women in the Transatlantic Slave Trade', *Slavery & Abolition* 37, no. 1 (2015): 206–21; 'Memoirs of the Life of Florence Hall', Powel Family Papers, collection 1582, box 46, folder 9, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (hereafter HSP), Philadelphia, PA. <http://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00014732/00001> (accessed September 17, 2018). The Angolan origins, kidnapping, and transatlantic passage of Jamaican missionary Catherine Mulgrave Zimmermann were recorded secondhand in a letter written by her husband, Johannes Zimmermann. See 'Appendix A:

Zimmermann to Basel Mission Headquarters, dated 18 November 1852, Usu [Accra]’, trans. Peter Haenger, in Paul E. Lovejoy, ‘The Provenance of Catherine Mulgrave Zimmermann: Methodological Considerations’, Harriet Tubman Seminar, October 12, 2010. Available at: http://www.tubmaninstitute.ca/sites/default/files/Lovejoy_Provenance_of_Catherine_Mulgrave_Zimmermann.pdf (accessed November 3, 2018). Finally, brief – if sometimes outlandish – personal details of a West African childhood and subsequent kidnapping can be found in an antebellum text that Eric Gardner speculates may have been authored by a real West African-born woman. See Eric Gardner, ‘The Complete Fortune Teller and Dream Book: An Antebellum Text “By Chloe Russel, a Woman of Colour”’, *New England Quarterly* 78, no. 2 (2005): 263–5.

⁷ Saidiya Hartman, ‘Venus in Two Acts’, *Small Axe* 12, no. 2 (2008): 2–3.

⁸ Marisa Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence, and the Archive* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 7.

⁹ The name ‘Redoshi’ does not exist in West Africa, and so the woman’s real name is unclear. Emory University’s African Origins Project records 13 women and girls with names similar to ‘Redoshi’ in its database of 91,491 Middle Passage survivors, although the ethnic origins of most of them is still to be determined. See *African Origins*, n.d., <http://www.african-origins.org/african-data/> (accessed September 18, 2018). Nevertheless, I refer to the Middle Passage survivor as ‘Redoshi’ throughout this article because she appears to have held onto her birth name and therefore her West African identity throughout her life, and also because ‘Sally Smith’ reflected slavery’s dehumanising naming practices. ‘Smith’ was her master’s surname and ‘Sally’ was not a full name but merely a diminutive of ‘Sarah’ and was intended to signal her low social status.

¹⁰ Jean McMahon Humez, *Harriet Tubman: The Life and the Life Stories* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003), 140.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 140.

¹² Sharon Ann Musher, ‘The Other Slave Narratives: The Works Progress Administration Interviews’, in *The Oxford Handbook of the African American Slave Narrative*, ed. John Ernest (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 112. The WPA Slave Narrative Collection was a project undertaken in the U.S. South by the Federal Writers’ Project of the Works Progress Administration. Redoshi was still alive when the project began, but she was not interviewed for the collection.

¹³ Sensbach, ‘Black Pearls’, 107.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 107.

¹⁵ Sylviane Diouf identifies Hurston’s footage as the only film of a Middle Passage survivor. Sylviane Anna Diouf, ‘Cudjo Lewis at the UN’, *Sylviane Anna Diouf: Historian of the African Diaspora*, March 30, 2009. <http://www.sylvianediouf.com/blog.htm?post=588810> (accessed September 17, 2016). I repeat this assumption in my article on *Barracoon*. Durkin, ‘Zora Neale Hurston’s Visual and Textual Portrait’, 601.

¹⁶ For information about this manuscript and its eventual rediscovery, see Carla Kaplan, ‘Introduction’, in Zora Neale Hurston, *Every Tongue Got to Confess: Negro Folk-Tales from the Gulf States*, ed. and with an introduction by Carla Kaplan (New York: Harper Collins, 2001), xxi–xxxii.

¹⁷ Hurston, *Every Tongue Got to Confess*, 263.

¹⁸ ‘Leasy Smith’, 1870 U.S. Census, Harrell’s Crossroads, Dallas, Alabama, image 53 of 96. *FamilySearch*, n.d. Available at: <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HT-XXN3-F41> (accessed September 8, 2018); ‘Luth A. Smith’, 1880 U.S. Census, Mitchells, Dallas, Alabama, image 5 of 45. *FamilySearch*, n.d. Available at: <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33SQ-GYB3-9TXZ?i=4&cc=1417683> (accessed September 8, 2018); Alfred Hunter and Lethe Smith marriage license, Dallas, Alabama, United States, County Probate Courts, Alabama, December 13, 1883, image 73 of 695. *FamilySearch*, n.d. Available at: <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:939Z-YR9B-37?i=72&cc=1743384> (accessed September 8, 2018); ‘Lethia Hunter’, 1900 U.S. Census, Precinct 35 Mitchell’s (west & north part), Dallas, Alabama, image 2 of 32. *FamilySearch*, n.d. Available at: <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HT-XCS9-Y4Z?cc=1325221> (accessed September 8, 2018); ‘Letia Hunter’, 1910 U.S. Census, Mitchell, Dallas, Alabama, image 15 of 16. *FamilySearch*, n.d. Available at: <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33SQ-GRVJ-YWH?i=14&cc=1727033> (accessed September 8, 2018); ‘Lethe Hunter’, 1930 U.S. Census, Precinct 35, Dallas, Alabama, image 9 of 36. *FamilySearch*, n.d. Available at: <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33S7-9R77-9839?i=8&cc=1810731> (accessed September 8, 2018).

¹⁹ I have been unable to locate a record for Redoshi and her husband in the 1920 census.

²⁰ ‘Cuffy and Jinnie Smith’, 1870 U.S. Census, Harrell’s Crossroads, Dallas, Alabama, image 54 of 96. *FamilySearch*, n.d. Available at: <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HT-XXN3-XKQ?i=53&cc=1438024> (accessed September 8, 2018); ‘Cuffee and Jenny Smith’, 1880 U.S. Census,

Brown's Point, Dallas, Alabama, image 26 of 28. *FamilySearch*, n.d. Available at: <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33S7-9YB3-SMPP?i=25&cc=1417683> (accessed September 8, 2018).

²¹ 1910 U.S. Census, Mitchell, Dallas, Alabama, image 15 of 16.

²² Sylviane Diouf notes that the *Wanderer*, which reached Georgia in 1858, was still listed as the last U.S. slave ship as recently as 2006. Diouf, *Dreams of Africa in Alabama*, 2 and 251 n.2.

²³ S. L. Flock, 'Survivor Of Last Slave Cargo Lives On Plantation Near Selma', *Montgomery Advertiser*, January 31, 1932, 13.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 13. For example, Emma Langdon Roche observed of the *Clotilda* survivors more than 50 years after their kidnap that, 'None have gotten over the shock of their early experience. When these are referred to there comes into Kazoola's and Abaché's faces unspeakable and indescribable anguish. Poleete's is like a mask, unchanging, unscrutable, except for the eyes, and these – small, deep-set, watchful – are almost uncanny'. Emma Langdon Roche, *Historic Sketches of the South* (New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1914), 125.

²⁵ Flock, 'Survivor Of Last Slave Cargo', 13.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 13.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 13.

²⁸ Karlyn Forner, *Why the Vote Wasn't Enough for Selma* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017), 19.

²⁹ Amelia B. Robinson (as Amelia Platts Boynton), *Bridge across Jordan*, (New York: Carlton Press, 1979), 21. See also Forner, *Why the Vote Wasn't Enough for Selma*, 19–20.

³⁰ Flock, 'Survivor Of Last Slave Cargo', 13.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 13.

³² Robert Hemenway estimated that Hurston plagiarised her 1927 article 'Cudjo's Own Story of the Last African Slaver' from Roche's *Historic Sketches of the South* because she could not understand Kossola's accented English. Robert E. Hemenway, *Zora Neale Hurston: A Literary Biography* (1977; Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980), 96–8. See also Zora Neale Hurston, 'Cudjo's Own Story of the Last African Slaver', *The Journal of Negro History* 12, no. 4 (1927): 648–63.

³³ Catherine A. Stewart, *Long Past Slavery: Representing Race in the Federal Writers' Project* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2016), 4–5.

³⁴ Flock, 'Survivor Of Last Slave Cargo', 13.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 13.

³⁶ Roche also recorded that Kossola and his community of *Clotilda* survivors received occasional news from two married survivors living in Selma, who were almost certainly Redoshi and her husband. Roche, *Historic Sketches*, 100.

³⁷ See 'Honoring Cudjo Lewis: America's Last Piece of African "Black Ivory"', *The Literary Digest*, November 21, 1931, 36–7.

³⁸ Flock, 'Survivor Of Last Slave Cargo', 13.

³⁹ Edna G. Bay, *Wives of the Leopard: Gender, Politics, and Culture in the Kingdom of Dahomey* (1998; repr., Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012), 59–60.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 59.

⁴¹ Flock, 'Survivor Of Last Slave Cargo', 13.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 13.

⁴³ Diouf, *Dreams of Africa in Alabama*, 63.

⁴⁴ Roche, *Historic Sketches*, 90; Hurston, *Barracoon*, 56.

⁴⁵ James Saxon Childers, 'From Jungle to Slavery – and Freedom', *The Birmingham News Age Herald*, December 2, 1934. Cited in Diouf, *Dreams of Africa in Alabama*, 64.

⁴⁶ Flock, 'Survivor Of Last Slave Cargo', 69.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁴⁸ J. Emmett Winn, *Documenting Racism: African Americans in U.S. Department of Agriculture Documentaries, 1921–42* (New York: Continuum, 2014), 36.

⁴⁹ As I note in my article on *Barracoon*, African Americans' absence from pre-sound-era cinema was such that actor Harry Gray, who appeared in black-cast Hollywood production *Hallelujah* (1929), is the only other survivor of U.S. slavery that I have been able to identify on screen. Durkin, 'Zora Neale Hurston's Visual and Textual Portrait', 615, n.3.

⁵⁰ Archaeologists were continuing to search for the wreckage of the *Clotilda* in Mobile Bay as of July 2018. See Joel K. Bourne, Jr., 'Expedition Hopes to Solve Mystery of 'Last American Slave Ship'', *National Geographic*, July 16, 2018. Available at:

<https://www.nationalgeographic.com/science/2018/07/clotilda-slave-ships-mobile-alabama-africatown-archaeology/> (accessed November 3, 2018).

⁵¹ Noah Zweig, 'Foregrounding Public Cinema and Rural Audiences: The USDA Motion Picture Service as Cinematic Modernism, 1908–38', *Journal of Popular Film and Television* 37, no. 3 (2009): 124.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 118.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 121.

⁵⁴ Although black extension agent pioneer Thomas Monroe Campbell served as a key adviser on the film, its director was Raymond Evans, the white head of the USDA's Motion Picture Service.

⁵⁵ Winn, *Documenting Racism*, 57.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁵⁷ Zweig, 'Foregrounding Public Cinema', 124.

⁵⁸ Winn, *Documenting Racism*, 39.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁶⁰ Gladys-Marie Fry, *Stitched from the Soul: Slave Quilts from the Antebellum South* (1990; Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2002), viii. Emphasis in the original.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 12–13.

⁶² For Kossola's pride in his appearance, see Roche, *Historic Sketches of the South*, 124; Diouf, *Dreams of Africa in Alabama*, 228.

⁶³ Alston Fitts III, *Selma: Queen City of the Black Belt* (Selma, AL: Clairmont Press, 1989), 10. See also Alston Fitts III, *Selma: A Bicentennial History* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2017), 13–14. My sincere thanks to Keith Cartwright, author of *Reading Africa into American Literature: Epics, Fables, and Gothic Tales* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2002), for drawing my attention to this photograph. My sincere thanks, too, to Professor Fitts for answering my queries about this image and Redoshi's West African name. Unfortunately, it is not clear where this photograph is currently located.

⁶⁴ Robinson, *Bridge across Jordan*, 32.

⁶⁵ S. L. Flock, 'Survivor Of Last Slave Cargo', 13.

⁶⁶ Musher, 'The Other Slave Narratives', 106.

⁶⁷ Stewart, *Long Past Slavery*, 6–7. For specific concerns about the collection's reliability, see, for example, John W. Blassingame, 'Using the Testimony of Ex-Slaves: Approaches and Problems', *Journal of Southern History* 41, no. 4 (1975): 481–7, and Norman R. Yetman, 'Ex-Slave Interviews and the Historiography of Slavery', *American Quarterly* 36, no. 2 (1984), 187–9

⁶⁸ Robinson, *Bridge across Jordan*, 30.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 32.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁷⁴ Hurston, *Barracoon*, 54–5.

⁷⁵ Robinson, *Bridge across Jordan*, 32.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 33.

⁷⁷ Diouf, *Dreams of Africa in Alabama*, 65.

⁷⁸ Grey Gundaker, 'Introduction: Home Ground', in *Keep Your Head to the Sky: Interpreting African American Home Ground*, ed. Grey Gundaker with the assistance of Tynes Cowan (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1998), 3.

⁷⁹ Robinson, *Bridge across Jordan*, 31.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 30.

⁸² Grey Gundaker and Judith McWillie, *No Space Hidden: The Spirit of African American Yard Work* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2005), 114; Robert Farris Thompson, 'Bighearted Power: Kongo Presence in the Landscape and Art of Black America', in *Keep Your Head to the Sky*, ed. Gundaker, 56–7.

⁸³ Grey Gundaker, 'Introduction: Home Ground', in *Keep Your Head to the Sky*, ed. Gundaker, 14.

⁸⁴ Robinson, *Bridge across Jordan*, 31.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁸⁶ Forner, *Why the Vote Wasn't Enough for Selma*, 19.

⁸⁷ Robinson, *Bridge across Jordan*, 33.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 33.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 29.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 29.

⁹¹ Ibid., 29–30.

⁹² Ibid., 29–30. Selma Voting Rights leader Bernard LaFayette, Jr. emphasised Bogue Chitto's significance to his campaign's success. He recalled that 'Freetown', which was renowned for its pride and independence, was selected as the location of a voting registration drive when application numbers in Selma began to drop and that the township responded so enthusiastically that more Selma residents were inspired to register. Bernard LaFayette Jr. and Kathryn Lee Johnson, *In Peace and Freedom: My Journey in Selma* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2013), 82.

⁹³ Robinson, *Bridge across Jordan*, 34.

⁹⁴ Although many would become disillusioned with the limited educational opportunities that they offered, African independence leaders turned to all-black colleges such as Tuskegee because they viewed them as key symbols of black power and pride. Kenneth J. King, 'African Students in Negro American Colleges: Notes on the Good African', *Phylon* 31, no. 1 (1970): 26.

⁹⁵ Ericka A. Albaugh and Kathryn Michelle De Luna, 'Toward an Interdisciplinary Perspective on Language Movement and Change', in *Tracing Language Movement in Africa*, eds. Ericka A. Albaugh and Kathryn Michelle De Luna (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 9–10.

⁹⁶ Robinson, *Bridge across Jordan*, 33.

Acknowledgements

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