



## Interview with Dr Carver Clark Gayton

By Liya Liu

To cite this article: By Liya Liu (2020): Interview with Dr Carver Clark Gayton, a/b: Auto/Biography Studies, DOI: [10.1080/08989575.2020.1775985](https://doi.org/10.1080/08989575.2020.1775985)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/08989575.2020.1775985>



Published online: 11 Aug 2020.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 2



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)

## Interview with Dr Carver Clark Gayton

By Liya Liu

### ABSTRACT

Dr. Gayton recounted part of his family history which was interwoven with national history. The final part of this interview involves a series of providential incidences that led to Dr. Gayton's discovery of his great-grand father's first narrative and his reevaluation of the significance of his great-grand father's two narratives.

### KEYWORDS

Lewis G. Clarke; slave narratives; Frederick Douglass; Uncle Tom's Cabin

I conducted this interview with Dr Carver Clark Gayton on 21 October 2017, on the terrace outside the Tewksbury Lodge in Buffalo. Dr Gayton is a great-grandson of Lewis George Clarke, a black abolitionist from the nineteenth century and the author of two slave narratives, *Narrative of the Sufferings of Lewis Clarke* and *Narratives of the Sufferings of Lewis and Milton Clarke*.<sup>1</sup> Dr Gayton was invited to speak as a panelist at the conference "Reclaiming Our Ancestors: Community Conversations about Racial Justice and Public History."<sup>2</sup> On this occasion and with his kind consent, I had the opportunity to interview him.

In 1853, reacting to the accusation that the cruelty of slavery depicted in her influential novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was made up and unreal, Harriet Beecher Stowe published *A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin*,<sup>3</sup> in which she related the experience of her characters to those of real slaves, including Lewis Clarke. Yale professor John Blassingame states that "[t]he publication of Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1852 led to renewed interest in all salve autobiographies, and especially those of Josiah Henson, Lewis Clarke and Douglass."<sup>4</sup> Stowe directly points out in *A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin* that Lewis Clarke is an acquaintance of the writer. Soon after his escape from slavery, he was received into the family of a sister-in-law of Stowe and there educated. Stowe went on to say that "parallel facts from ... our

personal acquaintance [with Lewis Clarke]” were used in depicting George Harris.<sup>5</sup>

Frederick Douglass’s role as a promoter of the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* sheds light on Clarke’s potential influences on Douglass and his narrative. In 1841, Douglass was designated to promote the journal with Mr George Foster.<sup>6</sup> In 1842, Lydia Maria Child, the journal’s editor, devoted an article entitled “Leaves from a Slave’s Journal of Life” to two of its issues in October.<sup>7</sup> The article essentially encapsulates critical accounts from Clarke’s speech about his life as a slave. It is likely that, as a victim of slavery, an abolitionist, and a devoted promoter of the journal, Douglass read this article.

**Liya Liu:** *Did your mom talk about her grandfather, Lewis Clarke, when you were a kid?*

**Carver Clark Gayton:** At a very early age, my mother would read from the book called *A Key to Uncle Tom’s Cabin*. It was written in 1853, a year after *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* was written. In my book *When Owing a Shilling Costs a Dollar*,<sup>8</sup> I indicated that when her [Harriet Beecher Stowe’s] book came out, there were a lot of people who didn’t believe the stories that were reflected in *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*. That those things happened to the slaves was just her imagination. She felt compelled to write *A Key to Uncle Tom’s Cabin* that gave the names of individuals, real names of individuals or prototypes of her characters in *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*. Lewis Clarke was the real, live individual where she got information that she used in creating George Harris. In her book, George Harris was the rebellious quadroon slave. There’s a large section in *A Key to Uncle’s Cabin* which was taken from Lewis Clarke’s narrative that he dictated in 1842. So, my mother would read this, and we said, “Well, this is interesting that the character George Harris is based on the life of my mother’s grandfather.” But we considered it basically family lore and we didn’t think it was that important. Because, for example, after my mother was reading these stories to us and when I went on to school, I would think that teachers would have brought it up in the history lessons that we had in our schools, but none of that was brought out. So, I didn’t think his life was very important. As a result of that, we decided it was an interesting family story and we just kept it within the family and really didn’t tell other people about it at all. So, that was pretty much the way it was for many years.

**Liya Liu:** *Did your mom recount her grandfather’s story?*

**Carver Clark Gayton:** I didn’t ask. There were eight children in the family and I was toward the end of the family age-wise. So, I had to get in line to ask questions. But outside of *A Key to Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, the only thing that she mentioned was that her father, the son of Lewis

Clarke, would say from time to time that Lewis was kind of a rolling stone. I never met my grandfather because he died two years before I was born. In other words, Lewis wasn't really close to the family and he'd go around making speeches throughout the country and in Canada. The children, like my grandfather, didn't get a chance to see him very often. When Lewis Clarke's wife Emiline died, the family split up and he was up in age. I think he was around sixty when his wife died. My mother mentioned that there was an Aunt Laura, a sister of Emiline, who looked after my great-grandfather's son Cyrus. As a child, I should say that my grandfather didn't realize the importance of him as a public figure. Since he was asked to speak in different places around the country, it was very difficult for him to look after all the children after Emiline passed away. Aunt Laura in essence took Emiline's place to care for the children. I really couldn't connect anything more than that about her. But there wasn't a real positive perspective that my mother's father, Cyrus, had of his father, Lewis, at that time. Like any child, he wanted to see his father and wanted to have a connection with him. But there wasn't that much of a connection because of the death of his mother. What Lewis had to do was try to make enough money to support the family. He did give money to the family for education. I found out later that he gave a lot of money to help several of his children, if not most of his children, to be able to go to school. Obviously, his children probably didn't know that much about the fact that he was doing that.

**Liya Liu:** *Is Emiline the grandmother of your mother? Was she Lewis Clarke's first wife?*

**Carver Clark Gayton:** Yes, Emiline was my mother's grandmother. No, she was not his first wife. He was married in 1850 to a lady named Catherine Storum of Busti, New York. She died a year later. Interestingly, that was the same year when the fugitive slave law came out. Lewis had been living in Cambridge, Massachusetts, at the home of Harriet Beecher Stowe's sister-in-law for a number of years. With that law coming out, that meant that the slave-catchers were going to be coming all over the country to look for escaped slaves. Lewis could have paid for his freedom as he was making money in the 1840s, speaking at different anti-slavery gatherings and so on. But he felt as if he paid his owners for his freedom, that would give some credence to the institution of slavery. He didn't believe any man had the right to own another. So, he would not pay for his freedom. On the other hand, Frederick Douglass did pay for his freedom, because he believed that his owner was coming after him after his narrative came out.<sup>9</sup> I'm kind of going off-subject here, but Frederick Douglass's narrative had come out after Lewis's narrative had come out in 1845.<sup>10</sup> John Blassingame, a professor from Yale University, wrote *The*

*Frederick Douglass Papers* and one of the things indicated in his foreword was that Frederick Douglass used Lewis's narrative as a model for what he was going to do for his narrative.<sup>11</sup> Lewis's was one of about three or four other slave narratives that he looked at before he wrote his. So, again, Lewis's narrative came out first; Frederick Douglass's came out later. But about the whole issue of paying for your freedom, Frederick Douglass had a different perspective of what he wanted. In fact, Frederick Douglass had gone on to England to market his narrative and raised a lot of money. Before he came back to the United States, he paid "his owner" for his freedom and that stopped the slave-catchers to seek him out. But Lewis was not going to pay his owners at all.<sup>12</sup> They kept after him. That's probably one of the reasons why he escaped to the state of New York because slave-catchers were coming all the way up to the Boston area looking for escaped slaves. That's been documented. So, he was convinced to come up into Chautauqua County, New York, to be a conductor of an Underground Railroad there. The first year he arrived there, he came in contact with Catherine Storum, who he married. Tragically, she died one year after the marriage. But he owned property in the area. In fact, I just visited there two days ago. I talked to the property-owners down there and they know all about Lewis Clarke and what he did as a conductor of the Underground Railroad in that area. In fact, there's a historical marker on the property that relates to that whole thing. So, to answer your direct question—"Was he married before?"—he was married for one year and she passed away—a tragedy.

**Liya Liu:** *So your mother's grandmother is Emiline?*

**Carver Clark Gayton:** That's right. It's interesting that we, the family, had not known that Emiline had been buried. In fact, we only found out in 1970 that Clarke was buried in Oberlin, Ohio. He went there after he left Canada in 1874 to come back to the United States because of the discrimination he saw in Canada. He also thought his children would be able to get a better education in Oberlin. So they stayed there for some time. At least two of the children, if not more, which probably included Cyrus Clarke, my grandfather, had gone to Oberlin College, which was the first college to admit blacks and women in the United States.<sup>13</sup> As a result, there were a number of children, as well as Emiline and Clarke, that were buried in Oberlin. But I didn't know that Clarke had been buried in Oberlin until about 1970 when a cousin of my mother found that out and put a tombstone there for Lewis Clarke. But I didn't find out until two years ago when I came up here for this Kari Winter's conference in Buffalo, that I took time to visit Oberlin, Ohio, before I arrived here, to visit the cemetery and locate Emiline's burial site. I went to the cemetery, talked to the manager, and asked where Lewis's grave site was

because I had just read about and saw pictures of Lewis's gravestone. So he took me to that spot. But then I told him, "We have not been able to find that where Emiline had been buried. There are no markers near Lewis's gravestone." He said, "Well, let me check my records, and so on. I might be able to find something. Even though there are no gravestones there, I might be able to know exactly where she is." That's what happened. He found out exactly where Emiline was buried. Here we're talking from 1870 to now. He was able to locate Emiline's grave site. And so what, I talked to the folks at the cemetery and got a gravestone for her there, which was placed there just last year. But there were several other children of Lewis and Emiline who were buried there, too. But they didn't have a gravestone. There was a tendency across the country when it came to former slaves that they would be buried and that they would not place a gravestone or marker there at all. But at least I'll have a gravestone for Emiline, the first time she's had a gravestone there ever. So the family is very happy that that's going to happen.

**Liya Liu:** *How did you learn about your great-grandfather's narrative and that he wrote a book?*

**Carver Clark Gayton:** Well, that's a really good question because when you're looking at the book ... I should have brought it with me [*I brought out the book, Narrative of the Sufferings of Lewis Clarke, and showed it to Dr Gayton*]. OK, that's the first book. This is an interesting story. We had found out from this cousin; his name is Raymond Davis. It is not in this book but in my second book called *When Owning a Shilling Costs a Dollar*. I gave a detailed account of how we were able to find out about the books and all other aspects. It's interesting how this cousin found out and got in contact with my mother. He knew that he had a cousin up in Seattle but he didn't realize exactly where she was. The cousin was my mother. Give you a bit of background: Raymond Davis was talking to a gentleman over the years. His name was Lee Terry and he was a physician, and he would go to conferences of the First African Methodist Episcopal Church.<sup>14</sup> They would have regional conferences in the Midwest and East. He had been talking with this Lee Terry for years. I don't know how they began talking about people in other parts of the country. However, this cousin, his mother, was called Minnie Clarke Davis, was a daughter of Lewis Clarke. My mother stayed in contact with her for many years, until she passed away in 1947. But about this conversation that Dr. Terry and Raymond Davis had. They started talking about people that they knew. Evidently, Dr. Terry said that he had a friend that lived in Seattle. That friend was my mother. I didn't find out until my further research that my mother had been engaged to Dr. Terry while both of them were going to Howard University back in the 1920s. My

mother had to go back home from Howard University, which is in Washington, DC, to Vancouver, British Columbia, because her father, Cyrus Clark, was ill. The engagement evidently broke off because of the distance between the two. But my mother had maintained—Dr. Terry had gotten married later on—communication between Dr. Terry and his wife over the years. But what happened with the conversation that Davis had with Dr. Terry is that Dr. Terry told Davis, “Virginia Gayton, I know a lady out there named Virginia Clark Gayton. She and I were engaged years ago and my wife and I are still in contact with her.” He said he didn’t know exactly where she lived. He [Davis] said, “I know I had a cousin up there but I wasn’t quite sure how to reach her.” So Dr. Terry gave Davis all this information and that’s when this Raymond Davis came up to Seattle about 1970 and said that he had this information about a narrative that Clarke and his brother Milton had written. But the narrative that he had was the subsequent narrative to the book [*Narrative of the Sufferings of Lewis Clarke*], which came out in 1846 called *Narratives of the Sufferings of Lewis and Milton Clarke*.<sup>15</sup> None of us realized that there was this individual narrative that had come out about Lewis Clarke. But we did know of the second one, which included information on the first book but also added in Milton’s story more directly in relation to Lewis and Milton’s sister, which was Dahlia, who had a really tragic experience. She was a very attractive lady and she was really mistreated during her slave years. She was ultimately married a Frenchman and was taken down to Louisiana. But anyway, that was added to the Lewis and Milton book. That was the only book that we had. For some reason or other, my mother didn’t realize there had been any book that had been published. When *A Key to Uncle Tom’s Cabin* was read to us, we just thought that, well, maybe they were just stories that were passed down. We didn’t realize either one was in print.

So, that’s how that happened and, so, it was in 1970 that we found out about just one book. It was years later that I found out about the first book [*Narrative of the Sufferings of Lewis Clarke*]. When this Lewis and Milton Clarke book came out, we found out about that through Mr. Davis. I went to a professor that I had at the University of Washington and he was a history professor and I respected him a lot. His name was Thomas Pressly. I told him I had this book, *Narrative of the Sufferings of Lewis and Milton Clarke*. I told him about it. I said I was so happy that we had this book in our family. But he wasn’t too impressed, because he was of the opinion that books that were dictated by slaves to abolitionists would not tell the proper story because it was not written by the slave himself.<sup>16</sup> He said that if it was dictated, the abolitionists would probably build up these stories and the story would not come out as

truthfully as it should be than if it came directly from the slave writing it himself. So, when he found out about that book, that it was the name Joseph Lovejoy who took the dictation in Cambridge while Clark was at Harriet Beecher Stowe's sister-in-law's home, he said, well, this gentleman, Lovejoy, was very active in the abolitionist movement and so he probably just told a lot of things that were just to encourage the abolitionist movement. It really wasn't as truthful as one that had come directly from someone like Frederick Douglass, who wrote his own story. So, there were a lot of historians back in those days who followed all these so-called "legitimate" stories that were written directly by the slaves. But Lewis Clarke was born innately very intelligent. He didn't learn to read and write, just like ninety percent of slaves, because it was against the law to teach a slave to read and write. Clarke did not know how to read or write until he went to the home of Harriet Beecher Stowe's sister-in-law. It doesn't say anything about the legitimacy of the story by saying just because it was dictated that it was less valuable. My professor thought it was less valuable and he was disappointed. So, I didn't do any more research or anything because of what Professor Pressly had told me and because of the respect I had for him.

He helped me get my first job as a history teacher at Garfield High School in Seattle. That was when I was studying for my doctorate degree at the University of Washington. I finished my PhD in Political Science in 1976. I was hired as an assistant professor in the public administration department at Florida State University in Tallahassee in the fall of 1977. While I was down there, I used to go jogging with a gentleman who was a professor in the history department. His name was Peter Ripley.<sup>17</sup> I knew he was a historian but I was not aware of his area of focus. We were often jogging together for about two or three months. He was a good friend, a nice man. So, I finally asked him, "I know you are a historian, but what's your area of focus?" He said, "Well, the abolitionist movement, slavery, and the Civil War and so on." I said, "That's interesting. My great-grandfather was an escaped slave and an abolitionist, but you wouldn't be interested because his story is just a family lore." I just thought that was a good conversation we could have. I told him, "You wouldn't know who he would be." He said, "Well, why don't you try me? What was his name?" And I said, "Lewis Clarke." He said, "Lewis Clarke ... I have all sorts of information about Lewis Clarke. I'm working on a project with John Blassingame at Yale who is writing *The Douglass Papers* and one section that we have relates to black abolitionists and particularly those who went on to Canada." I became very interested in what Peter was saying because my great-grandfather was very active in Canada. While in Chautauqua County, New York, he ran an Underground

Railroad transferring escaped slaves from Chautauqua County on to Erie, Pennsylvania, which is right on the border there at Chautauqua County, and taking them into Essex County, Canada. So, anyway, he gave me all these papers and I just couldn't believe it. But the thing is that I was teaching and was trying to get tenure, all that sort of business, and so I didn't take the time to delve into the papers he gave me. I just put them in a box. Peter said, "He was a very important figure in the abolitionist movement and you should be aware of that." So, I had this renewed interest in Clarke and his importance. He really was a well-known figure and he was a colleague of Frederick Douglass. In fact, Lewis Clarke was related to Frederick Douglass through that marriage that he had with Catherine Storum.<sup>18</sup> So they were that close. Frederick Douglass came up to Chautauqua County often and spoke. I have information in my book about that there were many times that Frederick Douglass and Clarke were on the same speaking platforms to talk. Then, from just doing a cursory overview of the material that Peter Ripley had given me, I found out there was this first book. But I didn't know until then. So, we're talking about 1978 or 1979 that I found out about all of that. But then I never did keep delving into it. I put the box away because I was recruited out of Florida State University to work at the Boeing Company as their Corporate Director of Educational Relations and Training. So, I put everything aside. Anyway, that was a story that I had hoped to tell a little bit about yesterday.<sup>19</sup> But I didn't have time to. Anyway, that's how I found out about this second book through Peter Ripley. He was on a team of other academics that were gathering information for the project that John Blassingame had.

University at Buffalo

## Notes

1. Clarke, Lewis Garrard. *Narrative of the Sufferings of Lewis Clarke; Clarke, Lewis Garrard and Clarke, Milton; Narratives of the Sufferings of Lewis and Milton Clarke*.
2. The conference, which was held at the University at Buffalo Jacobs Executive Development Center from 19–21 October 2017, was attended by acclaimed scholars and descendants of former slaves. As Henry Louis Gates, Jr. elaborates in his important work *The Signifying Monkey*, intercontextualization among texts written by writers of African descent who may or may not live in the same era provides significant clues to the interpretations of these texts. Gates' statement proclaims African American literature's status as an independent literary group. He emphasizes the important role of oral history in African American literature, as well as the necessity for African American studies researchers to gain cultural

knowledge in order to study their subjects better. In the context of Gates' influential proposal, the importance of this conference is self-revealing. Descendants of former slaves were invited to recount their life stories that were interwoven with indirect involvements of their prominent ancestors, which is evidently part of oral history. As cultural insiders, their perspectives will also reveal what remained veiled owing to cultural outsiders' lack of related knowledge.

3. Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.
4. Douglass, Blassingame, and McKivigan, *The Frederick Douglass Papers*, xlv.
5. Stowe, *The Key*, 19.
6. Douglass, *My Bondage*, 360.
7. Child, "Leaves."
8. Gayton, *When Owing a Shilling Costs a Dollar*.
9. British abolitionists raised money to pay for Douglass's freedom.
10. Both narratives were published in 1845. Judging from the dates when the prefaces for the two narratives were written, Clarke's narrative was published less than one month ahead of Douglass's.
11. John W. Blassingame is the founding editor of *The Frederick Douglass Papers*. In his introduction to the *Papers*, he wrote, "Between 1838 and 1844 Douglass avidly read such antislavery publications as the *Liberator*, *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, *Liberty Bell*, *Emancipator*, *Anti-Slavery Almanac*, and *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter* that contained speeches, interviews, and autobiographies of dozens of fugitive slaves including Lunsford Lane, James Curry, Lewis Clarke, and the Amistad rebels. Equally significant, the abolition newspapers and magazines published reviews of the autobiographies of blacks and whites and furnished Douglass with further advice on the elements of the proper autobiography." Douglass, Blassingame, and McKivigan, *The Frederick Douglass Papers*, xxiii–xxiv.
12. Douglass escaped to avoid being recaptured and he networked with white abolitionists in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and marketed the Dublin edition of his *Narrative*, the first autobiography.
13. Oberlin College was the first predominantly white institution to admit African Americans.
14. The African Methodist Episcopal Church was one of the first institutions which were recognized for their racial distinctions. Since its founding, its leaders and members have pledged to advocate for equal human rights for African Americans. The African American Episcopal Church was founded in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in 1793 by the Right Reverend Richard Allen. It is the first independent black denomination in the US.
15. As Donovan Sanchez points out, the popularity of his first narrative seemed to be the major reason for Clarke to write his second narrative, where he agreed to include the content of his first narrative ("Summary").
16. This idea of the truth value (or lack thereof) was prevalent in a certain generation of historians working on African American literature and culture. Blassingame's work (among others) debunked these ideas.
17. C. Peter Ripley is Professor of History at Florida State University. He is the editor of *The Black Abolitionist Papers* volumes and *The Speeches of Frederick Douglass*. He is also the author of *Slaves and Freedmen in Civil War Louisiana* and *Conversations with Cuba*. "Ripley, C. Peter 1941- ."

18. William Storum, Lewis Clarke's father-in-law, was the grandfather of Helen Amelia Loguen, who married Lewis Douglass, son of Frederick Douglass. The Reverend J. W. Loguen married Carolyn Storum. Their child was Helen. Carolyn Storum was the sister of Lewis's wife, Catherine Storum.
19. He was referring to the "Reclaiming Our Ancestors: Community Conversations about Racial Justice and Public History" conference session on 20 October.

## Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

## Works Cited

- Child, Lydia Maria F. "Leaves from a Slave's Journal of Life." *Anti-Slavery Standard*, October 20 and 27, 1842: 78–79, 83. *Documenting the American South*. Accessed May 29, 2019. <https://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/clarke/support1.html>
- Clarke, Lewis Garrard. *Narrative of the Sufferings of Lewis Clarke, During a Captivity of More than Twenty-Five Years, Among the Algerines of Kentucky, One of the So Called Christian States of North America*. Dictated by Himself. Boston: DAVID H. ELA, PRINTER, 1845. *Documenting the American South*. 1999. University Library, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. 16 June 2020. <https://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/clarke/clarke.html>
- Clarke, Lewis Garrard and Clarke, Milton. *Narratives of the Sufferings of Lewis and Milton Clarke, Sons of a Soldier of the Revolution, During a Captivity of More than Twenty Years Among the Slaveholders of Kentucky, One of the So-Called Christian States of North America*. Dictated by Themselves. Boston: Bela Marsh, 1846. *Documenting the American South*. 1999. University Library, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. 16 June 2020. <https://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/clarkes/clarkes.html>
- Douglass, Frederick. *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave. Written by Himself*. Boston: Published at the Anti-Slavery Office, 1845. *Documenting the American South*. 1999. University Library, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. 16 June 2020. <https://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/douglass/douglass.html>
- . *My Bondage and My Freedom*. New York, NY: Miller, Orton and Mulligan, 1855. *Documenting the American South*. Accessed May 29, 2019. <https://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/douglass55/douglass55.html>
- Douglass, Frederick, John W. Blassingame, and John R. McKivigan. *The Frederick Douglass Papers: Series One*. New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 1979.
- Gates, Henry Louis. *The Signifying Monkey*. Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Gayton, Carver Clark. *When Owing a Shilling Costs a Dollar*. Xlibris Corporation, 2014.
- "Ripley, C. Peter 1941– ." *Encyclopedia.com*, 2019. <https://www.encyclopedia.com/arts/educational-magazines/ripley-c-peter-1941>
- Sanchez, Donovan. "Summary of *Narratives of the Sufferings of Lewis and Milton Clarke, Sons of a Soldier of the Revolution, During a Captivity of More than Twenty Years Among the Slaveholders of Kentucky, One of the So-Called*

*Christian States of North America*. Boston: Published by Bela Marsh, 1846.”  
*Documenting the American South*. Accessed April 28, 2019. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/clarkes/summary.html>

Stowe, Harriet Beecher. *The Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Boston, MA: John P. Jewett, 1854. <http://utc.iath.virginia.edu/uncletom/key/keyIt.html>

———. *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Produced by Judith Boss, An Anonymous Volunteer and David Widger, 2020. Project Gutenberg. <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/203/203-h/203-h.htm>