

# Mass Moments

Wednesday, March 16, 2011

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TO BE SOLD,

On THURSDAY the third Day  
of AUGUST NEXT,

A CARGO  
OF  
NINETY-FOUR  
PRIME, HEALTHY  
NEGROES

## First Slaves Arrive in Massachusetts

February 26, 1638

On this day in 1638, a ship returned to Salem from the West Indies after a seven-month voyage. Its cargo included cotton, tobacco and, as far as we know, the first African slaves to be imported into Massachusetts. When the Pequot Indians lost a war with the English in 1638, the fate of the vanquished was to be enslaved by the victors. The defiant Pequots...

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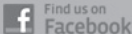
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## First Slaves Arrive in Massachusetts

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## TEACHING RESOURCES

# Exhuming Hidden History: Sources for Teaching about Slavery in New England

DAVID LUCANDER



*Abstract: The role of slavery in New England remains a neglected topic. This teaching resources article offers a comprehensive survey of some of the most recent teaching materials that cover the theme of slavery in the North and also traces the general history of African Americans in this region from the colonial era through the antebellum period. Particularly useful for high school teachers are the specific start/stop times for documentaries and the appendix, which points readers towards websites that are useful for classroom purposes. Author David Lucander recently earned his PhD from the W.E.B. Du Bois Department of Afro-American Studies at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst.*

\* \* \* \* \*

New England in general, and Massachusetts in particular, has a rich African American heritage that offers an intricate story of slavery and emancipation. In Massachusetts alone, a truncated list of prominent African Americans who called the Bay State home during the Revolutionary and antebellum years includes Crispus Attucks, Sojourner Truth, Frederick Douglass, Maria Stewart, and David Walker. These eighteenth- and nineteenth-century icons represent a small sampling of African Americans in New England at a time when the region transformed from a society with slavery into a place where slavery was illegal.<sup>1</sup>

Teaching about slavery in New England is complicated by a number of factors, perhaps most significant among these is that the region's story is uniquely full of nuance—and nuance is difficult historical material. To be certain, no reasonable observer could confuse colonial New England with Virginia or parts of South Carolina. During this time, the proportion of Black people residing in Massachusetts and Connecticut peaked at under four percent, while New Hampshire had fewer than 1,000 African Americans on the eve of the American Revolution. Conversely, during this



Whip and manacles reportedly found at The Mount, the mansion originally built by James DeWolf in Bristol, Rhode Island.

Credit: Tom DeWolf

era Black people comprised more than half of the population in Virginia and the South Carolina low country.<sup>2</sup>

Unlike slaves on the massive sugar, rice, tobacco, and cotton plantations in the South, enslaved African Americans in New England lived in a primarily White world. Masters and their families typically worked, ate, slept, and socialized in common residence with their one or two slaves. Small slave holdings, frequent inter-racial contact, English language acquisition and cultural acculturation, access to a modicum of education, and the relatively small number of Black people in northern society characterized the experience of slavery in New England.<sup>3</sup> Just as the sheer magnitude of Southern agri-business shaped African American lives and the development of Black American culture, demographics and patterns of land use impacted Black New Englanders, albeit in different ways.

History is the story of people, and people are complicated. As history teachers, we implicitly inculcate critical thinking skills that help our students interpret and analyze events. We also teach students about how to think with complexity, recognize variables, and pay attention to ways that subtle differences make large impacts. In short, we give students the tools to help make sense out of a chaotic world.

Teaching about slavery in New England fits this scenario because it is a curriculum that challenges the simplified way enslavement is depicted in popular culture. Instead of massive impersonal plantations, slavery in New England was on a much more intimate scale. While the Civil War shattered America's "peculiar institution" in the South, racial slavery ended in New England through decades of state legislative, judicial, and constitutional action.

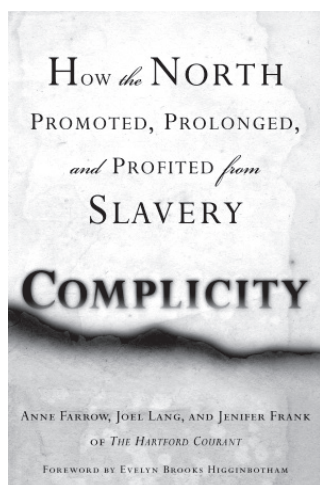
A lifetime of training in sound-bite analysis and a natural human inclination to erroneously simplify complicated events undoubtedly shapes the way our students think. This leaves them better prepared to understand the Emancipation Proclamation and the Massachusetts 54th Regiment than to appreciate the intricacy of Quock Walker suing for his freedom in a 1783 court case that ultimately abolished slavery in Massachusetts.<sup>4</sup> Knowledge of the patience required for navigating America's legal labyrinth is an important skill, and individuals like Walker exemplify the quiet heroism that many of our students will need at some point in their own lives.

Scholars have long recognized the presence of an enslaved population in New England, but public interest in the 1991 discovery of an African burial ground in New York City contributed to a historiographical surge that teachers can draw from to enrich lesson plans.<sup>5</sup> Although many of

these studies are highly specialized and well beyond the grasp of high school and introductory level college students, the past few years have witnessed a flurry of developmentally appropriate teaching resources that distill this information into comprehensible formats that clearly explain how the institution of slavery worked in New England.<sup>6</sup> Three of these, one book and two documentaries, are reviewed below.

Each of these sources was developed for a general audience, is widely available through libraries, and is appropriate for high school and introductory level college classes. To streamline lesson planning, this teaching resource essay cross-references page numbers of books and start/stop times of DVDs where important events or themes intersect. This allows teachers to find short video clips without muddling through hours of documentary footage and to directly refer to sections of a text without wading through an entire volume. This article concludes with an annotated list of web sites that are useful for directing students to read for homework, computer lab assignments, and research papers.

***Complicity: How the North Promoted, Prolonged, and Profited from Slavery.* By Anne Farrow, Joel Lang, and Jenifer Frank. New York: Random House, 2006. 269 pages. \$15.95 (paperback).**



Technocrats, department chairs, deans, and sometimes even students push college professors and high school teachers to utilize technology in the classroom. For all of its usefulness in instructing a generation raised on YouTube, 3D cinema, and disturbingly lifelike video games, high technology has not supplanted the book as a pedagogical cornerstone. It remains a necessary instructional method because it teaches students to sit, concentrate, and complete a task. Old-fashioned bibliophiles will be delighted with *Complicity* because of its hybrid nature, which uses a magazine-style layout to draw readers into a very

serious text. The weighty eighteenth-century-style title, *Complicity: How The North Promoted, Prolonged, and Profited From Slavery*, sounds more like a tract from Quaker reformer Anthony Benezet than an informative but accessible book designed for a general audience.<sup>7</sup> Judging a book by

its cover may be erroneous, but it is usually accurate to judge a book by its title. In this case, *Complicity* is reminiscent of perfectionist tracts authored by radical abolitionists who zealously made a case for reform through their writings.

It is noteworthy that a team of *Hartford Courant* journalists, not a cadre of highly credentialed academics, authored one of the most useful books for teaching about slavery in New England. Led by Anne Farrow, this team tells a compelling story by using sentence and paragraph structures that are more complicated than typical newspaper articles but much easier for an advanced high school or college undergraduate to read than many books designed for a literate but not specialized audience. My experience using *Complicity* along with Ira Berlin's *Generations of Captivity: A History of African-American Slaves* (2004) as required readings in an introductory African American History course illustrates this well.<sup>8</sup>

I was surprised, and somewhat dismayed, that students avoided reading Berlin's book. Even though *Generations of Captivity* offers more accessible prose than most publications coming out of Harvard University Press, the blocky paragraphs and paucity of illustrations seemed to paralyze this class of college students who were seeking to fulfill a general education requirement. Conversely, these same students responded quite well to *Complicity*. They eagerly spoke up in class, and weekly quiz scores were higher whenever selections from this text were featured readings. I am a bit of a pedagogical curmudgeon who prefers to teach with a chalk board and good book, but the lesson was clear: history is most effectively taught when it is presented as a morally charged story of well-developed characters making hard decisions . . . and it has lots of images.

*Complicity* accurately depicts slavery as a phenomenon that propelled the national economy long after this pernicious method of hyper-exploitation was abolished in the North. The authors convincingly argue, "The North shared in the wealth it [slavery] created, and in the oppression it required" (xxv). The theme of globalization emerges through the example of Mid-Atlantic and New England states, which ascended economically during the first half of the nineteenth century because they grew and shipped food that nourished enslaved Africans working for cash crop plantations throughout the West Indies (45-55). On a national scope, the extent that slavery permeated institutions throughout the American North is presented through the rise of New York City. Shippers, bankers, merchants, and insurance magnates based in Manhattan all benefited immensely from cotton trading and associated industries.



Closer to home for many readers of this journal, Massachusetts' trademark textile factories depended on a torrent of cotton cultivated by some four million enslaved African Americans (3-6, 11-37). Even the jobs that lured thousands of immigrants and farm girls into textile towns for the opportunity to earn an honest dollar were intertwined with chattel slavery in the American South, for their low-wage factory jobs existed in order to transform the raw materials produced by enslaved laborers. *Complicity* is an asset here, because it uses easy to understand examples to explain how deeply slavery was entrenched in America's economy.

The quality, quantity, and appropriate placement of images allow students to comprehend and interpret *Complicity* more easily. *Hartford Courant* Associate Editor Cheryl Magazine located and secured permission to reproduce material from the Chicago Historical Society, Connecticut Historical Society, Library of Congress, Virginia's Mariners' Museum, and literally dozens of other archives and libraries. This book has a portrait of nearly every historically relevant individual mentioned in its pages, which range from Yale graduate and cotton gin inventor Eli



**The Oliver Smith House (1761)**

Venture Smith lived and worked here until buying his freedom.

Credit: Historic Buildings of Connecticut

Whitney to David Ruggles, a New York City abolitionist and publisher of one of America's early Black newspapers. There are also high-quality reproductions of primary documents, such as nineteenth-century broadsides, antebellum newspaper articles, and excerpted pages from thankfully obscure but once highly regarded scholarly treatises on "race science" like Josiah Clark Nott's *Types of Mankind* (1855). Just as impressive is the array of contemporary photographs, which give substance to subjects of the book. Examples of this are a detailed picture of slave shackles housed in the Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art and the gravestone of "Venture Smith, an African" in one of Connecticut's many Congregational church cemeteries (74, 109). The extensive use of visual media allows students to connect with the curriculum in a way that their digital age reading habits have trained them to absorb content.

*Complicity* gives students insight into the ambitions, religious worldviews, work, activism, and leisure activities of African Americans in the antebellum North. The authors use a silhouetted profile of "a certain Negro Wench named Flora" on her 1796 bill of sale "as a metaphor for Northern slavery: the thousands of enslaved people who lived in the North remain in the shadows" (62). Despite the methodological problem of relatively scarce source material, readers are acquainted with, among others, Venture Smith and Sojourner Truth. Smith and Truth are not studied in isolation. Instead, their lives and experiences are presented as emblematic of their generation. Free after a lifetime of being owned amongst several small slaveholdings, Truth searches for a dignified way to live and earn a living in a world of unequal opportunities (66-67).<sup>9</sup>



**Venture Smith's Tombstone  
in Connecticut**

Credit: Beecher House Center for the  
Study of Equal Rights



Smith, a Connecticut slave born in Rhode Island, buys his freedom with earnings accrued through Yankee thrift and years of hard labor. These same values, and the relative loosening of slavery in New England, afford Smith the chance to buy his wife and son's freedom as well (61-75).<sup>10</sup> This is accessible history that allows students to see how moments in individual lives are representative of broader human experiences. This is what *Complicity* does so well—it makes history engaging to a generation of readers increasingly difficult to reach when it comes to presenting substantive material.

***Traces of the Trade: A Story From the Deep North.* Directed by Katrina Browne. Cambridge, MA: Ebb Pod Productions, 2008. 86 minutes. \$49.95 high school and public library rate (1 DVD).**



At nearly an hour and a half, this documentary weighs in a bit long to screen in its entirety during a high school or college classroom, but *Traces of the Trade* features a few segments that are handy supplements for lessons about how vertically integrated slavery and the slave trade was in America's developing economy.<sup>11</sup> *Traces of the Trade* explores the history of filmmaker Katrina Browne's family's involvement with what some historians benignly refer to as the Triangular Trade. If lineage confers

authenticity, few can match Browne, whose New England roots date back to Mark Anthony DeWolf's 1744 arrival in Rhode Island. Over the span of three generations, the DeWolf family transported an estimated 10,000 Africans to the New World, mostly by way of Havana and Charleston. The DeWolf family's success was a major reason why Rhode Island dominated the trans-Atlantic slave trade to such an extent that up to ninety percent of America's trade in Africans can be traced to the Ocean State. The DeWolfs were much more than merchants bankrolling international transactions involving people's bodies, they were ambitious businesspeople who successfully incorporated nearly every element of the slaving industry into their portfolio. In addition to owning a small fleet of ships, the

DeWolfs established a bank that sold shares to Bristol's adult males, ran an insurance business, and built a distillery to produce rum made with raw materials grown by enslaved workers on five Cuban plantations as late as 1875, a full decade after slavery ended in the United States.

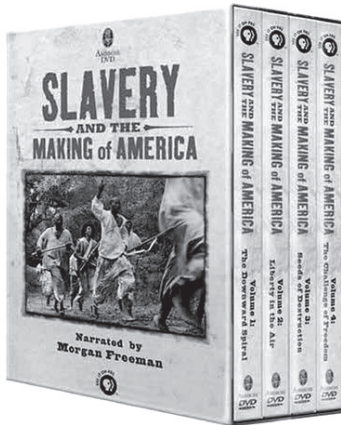
Browne asked over 200 members of the DeWolf family to accompany her in re-tracing the historic trade route from Rhode Island to Ghana and Cuba. After plenty of polite rejections, a little outright hostility, and a lot of indifferent or tactful silence, ten of her family members enlisted in the voyage. The silent majority's aversion to discussing the past is understandable considering that Browne was recruiting family members to join her on a three-week international trek accompanied by a film crew. The "Family of Ten," as they called themselves, sought racial reconciliation by opening dialogue with Africans and African Americans. *Traces of the Trade* is sometimes frustrating or awkward, and at its worst is a sentimental travelogue illuminating the feelings of White Americans (nine of whom hold Ivy League degrees) coming to terms with the legacy of privilege, but at its best this documentary has the potential to prime classrooms for a discussion about race in contemporary America.

This documentary is at its best when demonstrating that one Rhode Island town, Bristol, was like countless others along New England's seaboard. Bristol's economy of coopers, blacksmiths, ship builders, and distillers all shared a common link to the slave trade. Many of Bristol's artisans continued to profit from the Atlantic slave trade long after the United States forbade international human trafficking in 1808. This was accomplished by international commerce, the domestic slave trade, and paltry enforcement of the ban on importing slaves. Simple real world examples of artisans and merchants in Bristol demonstrate that economies impact people and demonstrate that the North was economically bound to slavery (14:04-20:53). To borrow language from Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner, *Traces of the Trade* demonstrates the old abolitionist adage that the "lords of the loom" were intertwined with the "lords of the lash."<sup>12</sup>

*Traces of the Trade* minces no words about the evil of slavery and its place at the foundation of the DeWolf family's economic success. Browne nudges viewers towards thinking creatively about the process of reparations, asking, "What could we do as DeWolf descendants to help repair the enormous harm that our ancestors caused?" This prompt is an opportune moment for a silent, five-minute writing exercise followed by one-minute verbal presentations summarizing the students' opinions. The complexity of possible responses indicates that slavery and its legacy

warped institutions, shaped cultures, and influenced the multi-generational process of accumulating wealth.<sup>13</sup>

***Slavery and the Making of America*. Series Produced by Dante J. James. New York: Thirteen/WNET, 2005. 240 minutes. \$79.99 (4 DVDs).**



As a four DVD set with an accompanying optional textbook, *Slavery and the Making of America* might be the *Eyes on the Prize* of resources for teaching about African American enslavement.<sup>14</sup> Narrated by Morgan Freeman, each of these hour-long discs is peppered with incisive commentary by leading historians such as James Oliver Horton, Deborah Gray White, and Ira Berlin. With exacting detail, *Slavery and the Making of America* presents an intricate account of how slavery worked and what

enslavement tells us about the human experience. Building upon previous success in slavery documentary film making with *Africans in America* (2000), *Slavery and the Making of America* makes the complicated story of slavery in the United States accessible by using common language, crisp cinematography, and historical reenactments that steer clear of melodrama.<sup>15</sup>

This is accomplished by Freeman's expert narration while scenes play out in the background. By limiting dialogue amongst actors, this documentary makes the footage a visual prop to an already compelling story. The history is well told, with the lives of African Americans from the colonial, Revolutionary, and plantation generations taking center stage. Viewers learn that individuals are unique, but many of their experiences are representative of a broader historical experience. Perceptive students get the subtle message that there is not *one* slave experience, but rather a multitude of intersecting experiences shared by enslaved African Americans.

This four-hour documentary is indispensable for high school and college level survey courses in United States History and African

American History, especially those focusing on the seventeenth century through the Civil War and Reconstruction. *Slavery and the Making of America* does not intend to draw special attention to New England's importance in the story of American slavery—which is understandable considering the proportionality of Africans and African Americans living in the region compared to New York, South Carolina, and Mississippi. Since its emphasis is on the lives of enslaved people, the film discusses the Massachusetts 54<sup>th</sup> Regiment, the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act's impact on free Blacks, and the cultural hybridity of eleven company slaves laboring in New Amsterdam in such a way that one could reasonably present the information as themes of a broader Black American experience.

Specific to New England, *Slavery and the Making of America* presents the region's notoriously rocky soil as a seedbed for the abolitionist movement. The second disc of this four-volume set has a thirteen-minute section (Disc 2, 40:09-53:42) featuring Boston's David Walker and Maria W. Stewart.<sup>16</sup> Stewart was the first woman in the United States to address a mixed gender audience about a political issue, while Walker authored arguably the most important document of the abolitionist movement, *David Walker's Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World* (1829).<sup>17</sup> As co-workers in the struggle to "uplift the race," Walker and Stewart are sometimes forgotten as major figures in antebellum New England. While students are relatively familiar with the extraordinary lives of Frederick Douglass and Sojourner Truth, they should also be familiar with the Black New Englanders who contributed to the twin births of Black Nationalism and the abolitionist movement in the United States.<sup>18</sup>

By making examples of Walker and Stewart, *Slavery and the Making of America* enriches the pantheon of teachable individuals—even if one of those individuals was mysteriously killed before his political maturation and the other spoke from the periphery of power. Their inclusion in the story of slavery in New England is necessary, for they reveal that radical abolitionism has deep New England roots. Some teachers might have trouble adding figures to the historical canon, thus complicating an already messy narrative and confusing students with more names and facts. What would we say, however, about a class on the Civil Rights Movement that discussed Martin Luther King and Rosa Parks but completely left out Stokely Carmichael, Fannie Lou Hamer, Malcolm X, and Daisy Bates? If nothing else, students would get the point that young people, non-Christian religious leaders, and local people from various social strata all drove the Civil Rights Movement. The same can be said about the story of slavery, and *Slavery and the Making of America* is full of examples

like that of Walker and Stewart. Historically esoteric when discussed in isolation, these individuals are transformed into representative figures of a broader experience when handled by skillful historians. This documentary demonstrates that ordinary people, full of frailty and heroism, found ways to survive and sometimes resist the pernicious experience of chattel slavery.

## INTERNET RESOURCES FOR TEACHING ABOUT SLAVERY

### **Africans in America**

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/>

The companion web site to the 2000 PBS documentary of the same name features teacher's resources, images, documents, and a transcript of the two-disc, six-hour documentary.

### **Abolition Map**

<http://americanabolitionist.liberalarts.iupui.edu/maps.htm>

This web page offers a clearly presented state-by-state map of American Abolition. Clickable by state, each page offers an easy to read, bulleted synopsis of that state's history of slavery and emancipation.

### **Beyond Complicity**

[www.courant.com/slavery](http://www.courant.com/slavery)

*Hartford Courant's* companion web page to the book *Complicity*, which was authored by a team of investigative journalists, argues that Connecticut has as much of a stained past to confront as any southern state. Most useful for educators is a narrated slide that allows one to either brush up on facts or put together a productive substitute plan.

### **Gilder Lehrman Center Online Documents**

<http://www.yale.edu/glc/archive/index.html>

This collection includes more than two hundred primary sources compiled in an accessible format, such as transcripts of Frederick Douglass's speeches in England, Ireland, and Scotland.

### **Gilder Lehrman Center Online Resources**

<http://www.yale.edu/glc/info/links.html>

This resource offers annotated links to dozens of web sites related to slavery. Many of these sites have documentary sources and images that enhance slideshow presentations.

**National Park Service: Boston African American Historic Site**

<http://www.nps.gov/boaf/>

This website offers information about a national park that encompasses nearly two dozen physical sites on Beacon Hill. Educators within proximity of Boston could make an urban field trip, making use of National Park Service Rangers who lead guided walks throughout the site. These buildings are among the oldest extant antebellum Black-owned properties in the United States. Many of the structures were regionally important to the developing abolitionist movement and the Underground Railroad.

**Slavery and the Making of America**

<http://www.pbs.org/wnet/slavery/index.html>

This companion web site to the documentary discussed in this article includes a virtual museum, interactive time-line, in-depth historical readings, and standards-based lesson plans for elementary, middle, and high school.

**Slavery in the North**

[www.slavenorth.com](http://www.slavenorth.com)

This web page offers short narratives of slavery, emancipation, abolitionism, and race relations for every state between Wisconsin and New Hampshire. This web page is most valuable for students doing research papers and educators brushing up on lecture notes.

**Traces of the Trade**

[www.tracesofthetrade.org](http://www.tracesofthetrade.org)

For teachers who choose to view the documentary *Traces of the Trade* in its entirety, this companion web site offers easily followed links to a teacher's module.

**Venture Smith Teaching Module**

<http://www.teachersdomain.org/resource/adlit08.soc.sasmith/>

This is a basic lesson plan (grades 5-12) for teaching about how Venture Smith resisted slavery and freed his family.

**Notes**

<sup>1</sup> Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North*



*America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 8. Berlin distinguishes between a *society with slaves* and a *slave society*. In a society with slavery (such as eighteenth-century New England), slavery was one of several forms of labor. In a slave society (antebellum South Carolina), “slavery stood at the center of economic production” and the master-slave relationship was the model on which all social relations were structured.

<sup>2</sup> Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, 54; Glenn A. Knoblock, *Strong and Brave Fellows: New Hampshire’s Black Soldiers and Sailors of the American Revolution, 1775-1784* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2003), 7. Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stone Rebellion* (New York: Norton, 1974), 152 features a forty-year graph demonstrating the impact of sugar and rice cultivation on South Carolina’s racial demographics.

<sup>3</sup> James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton, *In Hope of Liberty: Culture, Community and Protest Among Northern Free Blacks, 1700-1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 16, 75.

<sup>4</sup> Leon Litwack, *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 9-11.

<sup>5</sup> Francie Latour, “New England’s Hidden History,” *Boston Globe*, September 26, 2010.

<sup>6</sup> Brown University recently developed an innovative curriculum, CHOICES, that addresses the history of slavery in New England. Already in use in over 2,000 classrooms, this program is an outstanding arena for professional development. For more information visit <http://www.choices.edu/resources/detail.php?id=47>

<sup>7</sup> Anthony Benezet, *Observations on the inslaving [sic], importing and purchasing of Negroes. With some advice thereon, extracted from the Epistle of the yearly-meeting of the people called Quakers held at London in the year 1748*. 2nd edition (Germantown, 1760).

<sup>8</sup> Ira Berlin, *Generations of Captivity: A History of African American Slaves* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003).

<sup>9</sup> Publications about Truth are a veritable cottage industry, but two recent works stand out: Nell Irvin Painter, *Sojourner Truth: A Life, A Symbol* (New York: Norton, 1996); Margaret Washington, *Sojourner Truth’s America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009). Painter’s volume is especially interesting because it investigates how Truth exploited the treacherous terrain of race and gender in order to carve a niche for herself. This theme is also explored in Augusta Rohrbach, “Profits of Protest: The Market Strategies of Sojourner Truth and Louisa May Alcott” in *Prophets of Protest: Reconsidering the History of American Abolitionism*. eds. Timothy Patrick McCarthy and John Stauffer (New York: The New Press, 2006), 235-255. For a web-based outline of Truth’s life see [http://www.pbs.org/thisfarbyfaith/people/sojourner\\_truth.html](http://www.pbs.org/thisfarbyfaith/people/sojourner_truth.html).

<sup>10</sup> A great teaching supplement for presenting Venture Smith as emblematic of Black life in early New England is the documentary *Africans in America: America’s Journey Through Slavery*, DVD, series produced by Orlando Bagwell

(Boston: WGBH, 2000), Disc 1, 11:50-17:34, 60:00-64:00. These clips portray Smith as possessing unique personal characteristics, but also as an enslaved worker who purchases his freedom, making his story representative of opportunities that African Americans had for legally attaining emancipation. For a facsimile of Smith's autobiography accompanied by scholarly analysis, see Chandler B. Saint and George A. Krimsky, *Making Freedom: The Extraordinary Life of Venture Smith* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2009); also of interest are articles compiled in James Brewer Stewart, ed., *Venture Smith and the Business of Slavery and Freedom* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2010). PBS's *Africans in America* project offers full text of Smith's narrative online at <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part2/2h5t.html>. A radio program on Venture Smith, "Venture Smith: The Black Paul Bunyan," September 18, 2006, is archived online at <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=6096911>.

<sup>11</sup> Beyond the United States, slavery drove industries and economies in the increasingly globalizing marketplace. This phenomenon is clearly laid out in Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944); also see Ibrahim Sundiata, "Capitalism and Slavery: 'The Commercial Part of the Nation'" in *Capitalism and Slavery Fifty Years Later: Eric Eustace Williams – A Reassessment of the Man and His Work*, eds. Heather Croteau and S.H.H. Carrington (New York: Peter Lang, 2000), 121-136.

<sup>12</sup> Sumner's "The Crime of Slavery," unleashed Preston Brooks's violent wrath two days later. For more on Sumner see David Herbert Donald, *Charles Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War* (Naperville, Illinois: Sourcebooks, 2010 - originally published 1960); William James Hull Hoffer, *The Caning of Charles Sumner: Honor, Idealism, and the Origins of the Civil War* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010); <http://www.nps.gov/long/historyculture/charles-sumner.htm>.

<sup>13</sup> Those wishing to explore this theme in greater detail should consult Thomas Norman DeWolf, *Inheriting the Trade: A Northern Family Confronts Its Legacy as the Largest Slave-Trading Dynasty in U.S. History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2008).

<sup>14</sup> James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton, *Slavery and the Making of America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005). This book's \$37.95 price tag could put it out of range for classroom distribution, but it is a worthwhile resource for educators.

<sup>15</sup> Orlando Bagwell (producer), *Africans in America: America's Journey through Slavery* [DVD] (Boston: WGBH, 2000).

<sup>16</sup> Walker is covered, albeit in less depth, in *Africans in America* (Disc 2), 2:12-3:25.

<sup>17</sup> Walker's publication called on Black readers to unite and fight for the immediate abolition of slavery. Some have credited the tract with radicalizing the abolitionist movement. Peter P. Hinks, ed., *David Walker's Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press,

2000); excerpted highlights from David Walker's Appeal are easily accessed at <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part4/4h2931t.html>.

<sup>18</sup> Walker came to Boston by way of Charleston, South Carolina, in the wake of political hysteria wrought by rumors of a slave rebellion planned by Denmark Vesey. For more on David Walker see Herbert Aptheker, *One Continual Cry: David Walker's Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World, 1829-1830* (New York: Humanities Press, 1965); Peter P. Hinks, *To Awaken My Afflicted Brethren: David Walker and the Problem of Antebellum Slave Resistance* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997); Darryl Scriven, *A Dealer of Old Clothes: Philosophical Conversations with David Walker* (Latham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007); James S. Peters, *The Spirit of David Walker: The Obscure Hero* (Latham, MD: Latham Books, 2002). For full-text of two of Stewart's speeches see Shirley Wilson Logan, ed., *With Pen and Voice: A Critical Anthology of Nineteenth-Century African-American Women* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1995), 1-16. Marilyn Richardson, ed., *Maria W. Stewart: America's First Black Woman Political Writer* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987) reprints Stewart's work and offers an appraisal of her place in the abolitionist movement. [http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/lincolns/filmmore/ps\\_stewart.html](http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/lincolns/filmmore/ps_stewart.html) reprints Stewart's poem "The Negro's Complaint" and Stewart's 1832 speech in Boston's Franklin Hall, is extensively excerpted at <http://www.blackpast.org/?q=1832-maria-w-stewart-why-sit-ye-here-and-die>.