

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial Commission Final Performance Report

Project Title: 1619: The Making of America”

Project Directors - Cassandra Newby-Alexander and Eric Claville

Grantee Institution - Norfolk State University and Hampton University

Submission Date – December 9, 2014



1619 - 2019

Narrative Description

The NEH-funded project, "Observing 1619," provided the foundational support for us to host our second 1619: Making of America conference was held on September 18-19, 2014 at Norfolk State University and Hampton University.

Planning this conference and accompanying programming targeting teachers has resulted in the creation of a broad-based partnership among various institutions, including the Hampton History Museum and the City of Hampton, our primary partners for 2013-2014. Moreover, our other partners included the College of Liberal Arts at Norfolk State University, Creative Services and Distance Learning at NSU, the NSU Foundation, Student Affairs at Norfolk State University, WHRO, the Fort Monroe National Monument (National Park Service), the Virginia Arts Festival Hampton University, Old Dominion University, Media Park at ODU, the Nottoway Indian Tribe of Virginia, Virginia Wesleyan College, the College of William and Mary's Lemon Project, the Sankofa Project, the NSU Honors College, and the Intelligence Community Center for Academic Excellence at NSU.

In addition, over the past two years, the project has received funding from the Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial Commission, Cox Communications, Dominion Resources, the Fort Norfolk Plaza, Bedford/ St. Martin's Publishing, Pearson Publishing, the Fort Monroe National Monument (National Park Service), the NSU Foundation, Student Affairs at Norfolk State University, the College of Liberal Arts at Norfolk State University, and the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities.

Project Accomplishments

On September 18-19, 2014, the Joseph Jenkins Roberts Center for African Diaspora Studies at Norfolk State University partnered with the Civil Rights Institute at Hampton University to sponsor the third annual conference, *1619: The Making of America*. Three major events occurred in 1619 that insured that the British American colonies would continue and thrive 12 years after the founding of Jamestown. Those events included the arrival of Africans to colonial North America, the founding of America's first legislative body, the House of Burgesses, and the establishment of a viable economy based on tobacco. Preparing for the 400th anniversary, this annual conference series, which continues in September 2015, asks the important question: *When did we become Americans?*

The conference was attended by approximately 1,000 people (with 80 who registered to attend both days; the remainder were allowed to attend sessions on a day-pass) who had an opportunity to hear experts on related topics in law, medicine, history, political science, geography, genetics, and literature. We also had teachers from Newport News, Norfolk, Portsmouth, Isle of Wight, Richmond, and Virginia Beach. In addition, we had students from all of our partner universities attending the conference.

We also worked with Hidden Heritage Education to sponsor a special 3-hour credit class that included a tour of historic sites in Hampton was held for teachers who wanted a more in-depth approach. We have tailored this class so that teachers can assist us in developing lesson plans and feedback on the preliminary *1619 Teachers Guide* and the conference. Currently, we are at work editing and expanding the *Teachers Guide*. Our preliminary *Guide* that was distributed to teachers, who attended the conference, is being evaluated and expanded. The class that we developed in conjunction with this conference with our partner, Hidden Heritage Education, includes teachers from the Hampton Roads and Richmond areas of Virginia. This class worked on lesson plans and short essays developed to assist teachers who want to use this information in their classrooms [see attached example]. And because many of the textbooks used by teachers do not include information about the theme “1619” in the narrative, we are collecting primary documents that will be available to teachers in the *Guide* that will be in print and electronic form (hosted on our 1619 website). The *Teachers Guide* has been included in the appendix section.

We were successful in getting word disseminated about the conference through our university’s website and through our partners’ channels. We have included examples of these contacts in our appendix. Additionally, we anticipate that we will have even more notice about our conference because of expected support from Cox Communications. We have received word that Cox Communications will support additional programming in the form of Roundtable Discussions that will be filmed for distribution.

We also enlisted the aid of Cox Communications, Hampton University, WHRO the local PBS affiliate, the Hampton History Museum, the Hampton Visitors' Bureau, the Fort Monroe National Monument that is part of the National Park Service, and the Virginia Arts Festival to assist us in promoting the conference, targeting teachers and the general public.

Conference Highlights:

2014 CONFERENCE PROGRAMMING

The advantages of the Hampton University-Norfolk State University partnership far outweighed the inconvenience of two venues separated by a 30-minute ride. This arrangement permitted the inclusion of resources and scholars from both schools; and it allowed for greater participation from the Hampton Roads community. Professor Eric Claville of the Hampton University Civil Rights Institute and his team did yeoman’s duty in their preparations. The success of this episode has confirmed our intention to continue and enhance this partnership in our future 1619 conferences.

As the conference opened, attendees were treated to a riveting talk about the African Diaspora, presented by New York University professor Michael Gomez, one of the pioneers of the Diaspora approach to studying black history and culture. Following this, there were several panel discussions focusing on Native American culture, black

enslavement, and colonial Virginia history. Professor Lisa Brooks of Amherst University spoke about “Making Native Space in American Literature,” and later Professor Paul Finkelman of Albany Law School reprised his 2013 conference contributions with a talk on the use of religion in proslavery thought. Popular also were panel papers about ideas of racial extermination, slave funerals, Hollywood’s perception of early minorities, and “Banjos, Bluegrass, and Southern Blackness.”

Our students, faculty, and guests connected especially with a session on the Diaspora of Dance, which featured Virginia Johnson, Artistic Director of the Dance Theater of Harlem, Glendola Mills-Parker, Associate Professor at Morgan State University (and formerly at Norfolk State), and Kariamu Welsh, Professor and the Department of Dance Chairperson at Boyer College of Music and Dance, Temple University. Each of the discussants was formerly a professional dancer; and Virginia Johnson has expressed an interest in a continuing relationship with our conference agendas, perhaps culminating with a commissioned dance performed by her company.

Equally exciting to the participants was the presentation of California State University Professor Benjamin Bowser, who discussed the African influences on the hip-hop movement and compared this movement with the focus on Gangster Rap.

New to our conference this year were the spoken word presentations and contest, which enlisted creative contributions from both college and pre-college students. In addition to sessions on teaching colonial history, our conference highlighted early foodways. Donna Gabaccia, Professor of History, University of Toronto, discussed “The Culinary Dynamics of Natives and Newcomers: Is Colonization Different?” and Harold Caldwell, African American History Interpreter at Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, supported his presentation with samples of colonial foods, which were happily accepted by the audience. And our sessions culminated with an emotional performance by the Native American Dance and Drumming Corps. After two days of presentations and discussions, the 1619 conference sponsored a bus and boat tour of early historical sites in Hampton Roads. “Waterways to Freedom Tour of Historic Hampton” was extremely popular as it had the advantage of four tour guides who are authorities on local history.

Additional Support Secured

We were able to secure additional funding to support our expanded program from the following entities:

- A grant from the Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Commission
- Corporate support from Cox Communications
- a grant from the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities
- institutional support from Norfolk State University’s Student Activities Division (they supported lunches for our 50 volunteers who worked on Friday)
- Norfolk State University Foundation (supported a Friday reception for conference attendees)
- City of Hampton (supported a Thursday reception for conference attendees)
- Hidden Heritage Education
- Individuals, such as William E. Ward and Algje Howell

Conference Highlights

The emphasis in 2014 was on exploring the cultural underpinnings of American society beginning in 1619. Scholars examined this from the perspective of dance, music, literature, and the culinary arts. Four special sessions—dance, foodways, Native music, and spoken word were organized that engaged the audience in understanding how three culture groups helped develop a unique and complex American culture.

Kariamuw Welch, Glendola Mills-Parker, and Virginia Johnson were scholars of dance who discussed how cultures converged to create dance forms that reflected the major cultures that converged in America. They looked at the methodology of performance and the role of African-American dance as an artistic medium for interpreting the complexities of race and culture in an increasingly globalized world. The presenters enhanced their presentation with demonstrations of dances, such as the evolution of the ring dance and modern dance.

Donna Gabaccia and Harold Caldwell discussed how migration created a hybrid culture that developed a unique American cuisine and foodways culture. Native Americans raised corn, sweet potatoes, squash, pumpkins and beans when the Europeans arrived. The English brought with them pigs, cattle, chicken and sheep, as well as wheat flour, onions, carrots and a variety of greens and beans. African cuisine transported to America included peanuts, rice, yams, bananas, and peas. These food groups, both native and foreign, and the foodways practices were highlighted in this session. Capping this session was the special food presentation and sampling during the conference that included hominy grits, turkey, turnip greens, and black-eyed peas. The food sampling enhanced audience excitement, understanding, and engagement.

Following the foodways presentation was a presentation on Native American music that demonstrated how European and African music forms were incorporated into their culture, especially drumming. The audience was engaged by participating in a group dance similar to the ring shout discussed during the earlier dance presentation. This complemented the previous day's presentation by the Sankofa Projects, a community-centered organization, which creates educational and cultural programs that focus on the richness and diversity of the African Diaspora and the Beauty for Ashes Contemporary School of Dance that showcased West African dance themes.

The final special session entitled, "*Echoes of the Diaspora Spoken Word*" invitation. Earlier in the day, Benjamin Bowser provided an exciting presentation about the history of rap music and how that music was co-opted into gangsta rap. According to Bowser, rap music had its roots in West African initiation ceremonies that developed into a unique African American literary form. To engage students, we invited the New Bedford Whaling National Monument Youth Ambassadors Program and 3rd Eye Education, which is a partnership project between the National Park Service and 3rd Eye Youth Empowerment Inc., that encourages teens to communicate national park themes through hip-hop culture, live events, and social media outreach. Representatives from this group demonstrated how these literary traditions have a modern resonance. To complement this presentation, students from Norfolk State University and Hampton

University submitted theme-based poetry that was judged by experts. The three top entries were chosen to be performed.

And finally, on the third day of the programming, the Visitors Bureau in Hampton, the Hampton History Museum, and the Fort Monroe National Monument sponsored a special tour for selected conference attendees to visit special historic sites in Hampton that highlighted the important places that related to the arrival of Africans at Point Comfort and the importance of Fort Monroe to that complicated history. Special tour guides took guests on a tour that included the waterways with a ride on the Miss Hampton, Fort Monroe, Emancipation Oak, the Hampton History Museum that included a special contraband exhibit, a live archeological site of the Grand Contraband Camp, and downtown Hampton.

Evaluation Report:

Comments from students, faculty, and other guests again were almost entirely in the excellent-to-very good categories. Attendees reveled in the issues raised and information provided by scholars who were accessible and congenial. As one participant stated, "The presentations were very enlightening for me. There are many mixed feelings brought forth plus many questions to be researched for better understanding as a non-history student." Participants' constructive comments suggested that, in a few cases, there were too many presentations per session, which did not allow for adequate discussion and audience participation. They further offered that more presenters should have included PowerPoints and other visuals to illustrate their talks. Obviously the situation of two venues was an inconvenience to some, even with shuttles provided, but it allowed for greater participation and community involvement among several localities. These ideas will be informative as we prepare for the 2015 edition of our 1619 project. It may be that targeting a single day with sequential rather than concurrent presentations would be wiser; this could be combined with an additional 1619 production during the year. The success of the Civil Rights Roundtable in 2013 might be instructive.

Another suggestion was to have two-to-three people as presenters in each of the roundtable sessions instead of three-to-four. Some commented that fewer presenters would allow more time for discussion. In addition to these suggestions, we employed two evaluators to provide an unbiased perspective about the 1619 conference and overall project. We asked that these evaluators focus on assessing what we did right and what can be improved. Because we have additional funding to plan one more conference in 2014, we will be able to incorporate their recommendations into this programming.

The 2014 *1619: Making of America* conference replicated the successes of the previous conference both in terms of presentation and reception. The co-sponsorship of the Hampton University Civil Rights Institute and Joseph Jenkins Roberts Center for African Diaspora Studies at Norfolk State University and the choice of the two venues allowed greater and more diverse participation than at the previous conference. The organizers made a point of reaching out to the community and inviting college and pre-college

students from the area's schools. The result was that more than 1000 persons attended the conference's presentations and roundtables. Further, the experiences of 2012 and 2013 were edifying in suggesting specific topics that would engage a variety of constituents. More than previously, the 2014 conference focused on elements of culture, especially foodways, dance, and spoken word events. A highlight of this conference was a bus and boat tour of Hampton Roads sites that have been part of the black experience.

Comments from students, faculty, and other guests were almost entirely in the very good-to-excellent categories. Attendees reveled in the issues raised and information provided by scholars who were accessible and congenial. As one participant stated, "We need this conference continued to add to our basis of knowledge for African American history." Another, reacting to the popular session on dance, stated: "I learned more about my ancestors...how dance has been influenced by African slaves..." Responses suggest that, by focusing on such cultural elements as dance, hip-hop, and race, attendees often had strong emotional identification with the subjects discussed. Participants' constructive comments last year offered that, in a few cases, there were too many presentations per session, which did not allow for adequate discussion and audience participation. They further offered that more presenters should have included PowerPoints and other visuals to illustrate their talks. As we did reduce the number of concurrent sessions and panelists, and as there were more visuals included, we had few such complaints in 2014. We shall continue to focus on these concerns as we plan for the next conferences.

The conference and its accompanying activities have served to bring "town and gown" together in sometimes amazing ways to discuss the most interesting historiography of our time. The project has led to connections between people who would have never met before, building bridges between museums, parks, universities, schools, foundations, and municipal governments to explore the history of America's allegedly "first region." In that sense, it is public history in its finest sense, getting educated citizens to engage in the revision and debate of historical interpretations that many had assumed had been settled in stone years ago.

APPENDICES

The appendices begin on the following pages. They are titled:

1. Publicity for 1619 Programming
2. Spoken Word Prize Recipients
3. 1619 Report

Publicity for 1619 Programming

Virginia Foundation for the Humanities' "With Good Reason" included a discussion from speakers from the *1619 Making of America* conference in September 2014. Join us for a sampler of **Norfolk State University's [1619: The Making of America conference](#)**, including the myths and truths behind the lives of two native women—Pocahontas and Tituba—by **Page Laws (Norfolk State University)**, a brief history of human slavery by **Paul Finkelman (University of Pennsylvania)**, and three remarkable enslaved women in Canada who fought back by **Maureen Elgersman Lee (Hampton University)**.



<http://withgoodreasonradio.org/2014/11/pocahontas-tituba-and-the-beautiful-savage-myth/>

Show: *Cox Connections*



[Connections Episode 710 C – 1619: The Making of America](#)

The 3rd annual 1619, the Making of America Conference took place at Norfolk State University. Professor of History and committee chair, Dr. Cassandra L. Newby-Alexander visits Cox studios to discuss the importance of this great conference.

Norfolk State University 1619 Symposium



<http://www.cox11.com/norfolk-state-university-1619-symposium/>

Hot Ticket previews the Norfolk State University 1619 Symposium on “The Making of America.” Speakers such as Professor Michael Gomez, Professor Benjamin Bowser, who will speak on the effects of Hip-Hop and Gangsta Rap, Professor Donna Gabaccia, who will speak of culinary traits. With focuses on Indian relations, the first Africans to come to America, and a tour of Fort Monroe, this one promises to be very informative.

VIRGINIA GENERAL ASSEMBLY
DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. MEMORIAL COMMISSION

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Commission Lincoln Bicentennial and Emancipation Proclamation Virginia's Response Brown v. Board of Education Meetings Commission & Subcommittees



Thursday, September 18, 2014
Student Center, Hampton University
 On-site Registration Begins at 9:00 a.m.

Friday, September 19, 2014
Student Center, Norfolk State University
 On-site Registration Begins at 9:00 a.m.

Saturday, September 20, 2014
"Waterways to Freedom"
Bus & Boat tour of historic Hampton
 Tour begins at 9:00 a.m. at the Hampton History Museum

[SEE ALL EVENTS »](#)

Upcoming EVENTS

September 18-20, 2014
1619: The Making of America - For more information or to register online, visit www.1619MakingofAmerica.com

October 2014
To Be Sold: Virginia and the American Slave Trade. An exhibition presented by the Library of Virginia exploring the state's role in the

Support the COMMISSION

The Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial Commission and Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Subcommittee work together ensure that King's famous dream of a "Beloved Community" becomes a reality in Virginia. The Sesquicentennial of the Emancipation Proclamation is their largest joint project, focusing attention to one of the most important documents in United States' history.

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"When did we become Americans?"

Thursday, September 18, 2014
 McGrew Towers, Hampton University
 On-site Registration Begins at 9 a.m.

Friday, September 19, 2014
 Student Center
 Norfolk State University
 On-site Registration Begins at 9 a.m.

Saturday, September 20, 2014
"Waterways to Freedom"
Bus & Boat tour of historic Hampton
 Tour Begins at 8:30 a.m.

[See Schedule >](#)

NSU to Host 1619 Making of America Conference
 (NSU NEWSROOM--Aug. 28, 2014)--The Joseph Jenkins Roberts Center at Norfolk State University will host an upcoming three-day, "1619 Making of America" conference and historic tour in September that will explore cultural foundations, music, foods, law and how we became Americans.

The Center will host, “1619 Making of America: When Did We Become Americans?” from Sept. 18-20 on the campuses of Norfolk State University, Hampton University and the Hampton History Museum. The conference will include performances, scholarly presentations, workshops and a spoken-word contest for students. It is the third major event delving into the question of the genesis of American life and culture. Some of the signature events will include roundtable discussions about what it means to be American, the origins of American cuisine, migration networks in the early Atlantic, musical and spoken word legacies such as hip-hop music in American society and native peoples in colonial America.

Dr. Cassandra Newby-Alexander, an NSU History professor who is the lead organizer for the conference, said this year’s theme will focus on culture. It was in 1619 that America would see the formation of a culture that blended components of American, African, and European identities, foodways, customs, and practices. The event will kick off on Sept. 18 at Hampton University’s McGrew Tower. On Sept. 19, the conference will be held at Norfolk State University’s Student Center. Registration on both days will begin at 9 a.m.

The program offers a special event targeting those who are involved in poetry and spoken word. A Spoken Word Invitational for secondary and college-age students focusing on “Being American: What Is Your True Identity?” will be one of the highlighted events for this year’s conference.

Special presentations by the New Bedford Whaling Youth Ambassadors and the Hampton Performing Arts Program will conclude each day’s activities. Foodways and African American Interpreter with Colonial Williamsburg, Harold Caldwell, will provide a special demonstration on the foodways transformations in colonial America. During the final day of the conference, in Hampton, participants have the opportunity to take a historic bus and boat tour of the city that will include visits to Fort Monroe, the 1619 landing site, Emancipation Oak, the Grand Contraband Camp (an active archeological site), Fort Wool and other locations.

Some of the conference guest speakers will include Benjamin Bowser of California State University East Bay, Virginia Johnson of the Dance Theatre of Harlem, Glendola Mills-Parker of Morgan State University, Lisa Brooks of Amherst College, Paul Finkelman of Albany Law School, Michael Gomez of New York University, Donna Gabaccia of the University of Toronto and Kariam Welsh of Temple University. Pre-registration for the conference is \$40 per day for attendees and \$25 for students. On-site registration is \$45 per day for attendees and \$30 for students. Students can receive a free pass to attend individual sessions. The cost of the historic tour of Hampton is \$20 per person. For more information about the conference or to register online, visit 1619MakingofAmerica.com.



Panel Urges Students To Be Engaged In Communities

(NSU NEWSROOM--April 19, 2014)--The Joseph Jenkins Roberts Center at Norfolk State University held a roundtable discussion on April 17 about the Civil Rights Act of 1964 where legal experts and scholars talked about the history of America and how it has impacted citizens of color.

The panel featured speakers **(right to left)** Southern University Law Center Vice Chancellor John Pierre, Hampton University Professor Eric Claville, radio host and moderator Barbara Hamm Lee, Campbell University Law Professor Amos Jones, and the Hon. John Charles Thomas, a retired justice of the Virginia Supreme Court.

The panelists each shared their views about civil rights in America and how it relates to today's issues. They urged young people to be engaged in their communities so they could help create solutions to problems such as recidivism and mass incarceration, education, unemployment and poverty.

Dr. Cassandra Newby-Alexander, an NSU history professor and lead organizer, said she thought the event was successful and she hopes the roundtable encourages more dialogue about civil rights. She said the roundtable was a part of the NSU's 1619 Making of America project.

"I think the panel was a success," Dr. Newby-Alexander said. "They really dissected the laws in America of inequality that we are still struggling with today."

The roundtable was sponsored and filmed by Cox Communications and the NSU College of Liberal Arts. The discussion will be aired on Cox Channel 11 at 7 p.m. on April 20. It will also be available on Cox On Demand.



NSU Hosts 2nd '1619' History Conference

Wednesday, 16 October 2013 11:45 font size Print Email

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By Dr. Cassandra Newby-Alexander

Special to the
New Journal and Guide

Scholars, historians, students, and observers convened recently at Norfolk State University and Hampton Convention Center to discuss the historic events of 1619. Preparing for the 400th anniversary of the nation in 2019, this was the second annual conference in a series to ask the important question: "When did we become Americans?" The series continues in September 2014.

This year's conference was entitled "1619: The Making of America" and highlighted three major historic events that insured the survival and success of the British American colonies 12 years after the founding of Jamestown.

These events were the first arrival of African slaves in North America, the establishment of the first legislative body, the House of Burgesses; and the establishment of a viable economy based on tobacco.

Cassandra Newby-Alexander, conference chair and Director of the Roberts Center at Norfolk State University, noted that this year's program was funded by grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities, and the City of Hampton. In addition, Norfolk State partnered with the Hampton History Museum and the City of Hampton to host the two-day program that invited nationally-renowned scholars to discuss these topics from various perspectives.

According to Newby-Alexander, a professor in Norfolk State's History Department, the conference offered an interdisciplinary platform to discuss important issues that define new interpretations about the influence of 1619 on early American history.

Over 1,000 conference attendees heard experts speak on the topics related to law, medicine, history, political science, geography, genetics, and literature. Simon Ortiz, the Regents Professor of English and American Indian Studies at Arizona State University, and a leading figure in Native American literary renaissance, was specially invited by the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities to discuss the topic, "The Future Is Not A Long Time Ago" as part of the panel, "Representing Native Peoples."

A related panel highlighted the intersection of African and Indian peoples and featured, Arica L. Coleman, assistant professor, University of Delaware. Coleman's presentation "Black and Red Bodies on the Auction Block: The African American and Native American Slave Trade in Early Virginia," explained how the slave trade was not relegated to Africans only.

On Thursday evening, attendees heard a riveting discussion by some of America's leading legal scholars: "Deconstructing Race in the American Legal System: From 1619 to Trayvon Martin." Henry L. Chambers, Jr. (professor at the University of Richmond School of Law), John Pierre (vice chancellor and professor of law at Southern University's Law Center), Paul Finkelman (President William McKinley Distinguished Professor of Law at Albany Law School

The role of race was also discussed in "Foodways and Emerging Diseases," the focus of a panel of medical experts led by Michael Blakey, professor of anthropology and anatomy and director of the Institute for Historical Biology, College of William and Mary, and Camellia Okpodu, director, Intelligence Community Center for Academic Excellence and director, Group for Microgravity and Environmental Biology, Norfolk State.

Other panelists, who explored the complex topic of medical conditions and genome diversity that emerged after 1619, included Keith Newby (founder, president, and chief cardiologist of Fort Norfolk Medical Plaza), Frederick Quarles (founder and president of Quarles Dermatology and former chair of National Medical Association's Dermatology), and Myron Williams (associate professor of chemistry at Clark Atlanta University's Center for Cancer Research and Therapeutic Development).

For those who missed the conference, video podcasts will be available online at www.1619makingofamerica.com beginning in November. Next year, the conference will focus on culture, history, religions, and the visual and performing arts.



NEW THIS WEEK

Community News

- Nov. 16 Cornland School Foundation Board to Hold First School Reunion
- High Black turnout gives Governor-elect McAuliffe historic win, Black women key
- The Urban League of Hampton Roads Offers Free Seminars on Homebuying and Foreclosure Prevention
- Annual Week Unites Greeks In Work and Play
- Councilwoman Ella Ward Speaks before Capacity Crowd at Camelot Civic League Banquet

Church

- It's Simply a Matter of Choice
- Words Make People
- The Mercies Of God

Sports

- Three title game berths TBD
- FAMU 16, NSU 6; Spartans Lose Homecoming

Other News

- Last Vegas
- Virginia boy's KKK Halloween costume sparks controversy

Advertisements and Videos on the 1619: Making of America Conference (September 26-27, 2013)

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e92Te0_WyM4&feature=youtu.be



The image is a screenshot of a web browser displaying a YouTube video. The browser's address bar shows the URL http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b8f_wUktcEI. The browser's menu bar includes "File", "Edit", "View", "Favorites", "Tools", and "Help". The address bar also shows several open tabs, including "Cengage Learning Produc...", "Norfolk State University O...", "WHRO presents The Afric...", "After Slavery Introductory...", and "Days at Sea - aka C day". The YouTube logo is visible in the top left corner of the page. Below the logo is a search bar and an "Upload" button. The video player itself shows a man in a light blue shirt and glasses speaking to a woman in a purple floral shirt. The video title is "1619: Making of America - 2013 NSU Conference". The channel name is "NorfolkTV" with 915 videos. The video has 114 views, 1 like, and 0 dislikes. There is a "Subscribe" button with 673 subscribers. The video progress bar shows 0:18 / 4:13.



GUIDE



1619: Making of America - 2013 NSU Conference

NorfolkTV - 915 videos
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Published on Sep 3, 2013

The Joseph Roberts Jenkins Center at Norfolk State University and the Hampton History Museum are hosting a conference focusing on 1619: The Making of America on September 26-27, 2013. This



Making of America: 1619 - 2013 NSU Conference

vb http://www.visitvirginiabeach.com/Listings/Wh... When did We Become Ame... X

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Beyond The Beach

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When did We Become Americans? 1619: The Making of America
08/26/2013 8:00 AM – 5:00 PM
09/27/2013 8:00 AM – 5:00 PM

Area: Beyond The Beach

Hampton Roads Convention Center
1610 Coliseum Drive
Hampton, VA 23666

Phone:
(757) 820-3265

When did we become Americans? 1619: The Making of America, a conference to be held September 26, 2013 at the Hampton Roads Convention Center and September 27 at Norfolk State University's Student Center, continues the national dialogue and reinterpretation of major questions that began in 1619.

This conference offers something for everyone, including an interdisciplinary platform to discuss important issues that define new integrations about the influence of 1619 on early American history. Teachers attending can earn continuing education credits and acquire lesson objectives that meet Virginia's SOL requirements. A special 3-hour undergraduate class accompanying this conference is also available for those interested in a more in-depth approach.

Presenters include American Indians, prominent local physicians, area historians, National Park Service officials, and nationally known scholars from a number of universities.

Website:
<http://www.1619thelivingofAmerica.com>



http://interpretivechallenges.wordpress.com/2013/09/1619: The Making of America... x

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Interpretive Challenges

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Understanding People Across Centuries →

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SEPTEMBER 23, 2013 · 5:05 PM

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1619: The Making of America Conference

Dear Readers,

I mentioned a while back that I would be speaking at the 1619: The Making of America conference taking place Thursday and Friday, September 26-27, 2013. My 15 minute morning presentation will be "Reflections on Interpreting Hidden Voices" where I will mainly be focused on work that I have done or observed in the presentation of including the voices of people of African descent in 18th, 19th, and to some small degree early 20th century America. As is usual, my presentation time constraints will not allow me to present everything but I hope the question and answer period will allow for some good discussion with me and the other panelists.

You can STILL register for this conference by 11:59PM tomorrow OR pay an extra \$5 at the door on the day of the conference.

The link for the conference is here: <http://1619.us/> and for registration: http://1619.us/index.php?option=com_civicrm&task=civicrm/event/register&id=1&reset=1. It's \$75 for both days, \$40 for a single day, student registration is either \$50 for both days or \$25 for one day. The evening programs are FREE and open to the general public. On Friday evening I will be doing a first person portrayal of a runaway slave turned US Colored soldier, Peter Churchwell just ahead of the conference's final speaker.

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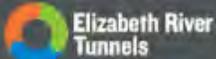
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- Upcoming Conversations about History
- Black Participation in the Civil War 150th anniversary
- 12 Years a Slave from Memoir to Movie
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When Did We Become Americans? 1619: The Making of America

EDUCATION | TALKS AND READINGS | CONFERENCES & TRADE SHOWS

All Day, Sep 27, 2013 

NORFOLK, Va. – When did we become Americans? 1619: The Making of America, a conference to be held September 26, 2013 at the Hampton Roads Convention Center and September 27 at Norfolk State University's Student Center, continues the national dialogue and reinterpretation of major questions that began in 1619. Three events marked a significant transformation in the history of the nation 12 years after the founding of Jamestown: The arrival of Africans to colonial North America; the founding of America's first legislative body, the House of Burgesses; and the establishment of a viable economy based on tobacco. A year later, white women arrived in the colony, triggering the perception that the British were here to stay, thus creating a self-generating population.

This conference offers something for everyone, including an interdisciplinary platform to discuss important issues that define new interpretations about the influence of 1619 on early American history. Teachers attending can earn continuing education credits and acquire lesson objectives that meet Virginia's SOL requirements. A special 3-hour undergraduate class accompanying this conference is also available for those interested in a more in-depth approach.

Topics covered during the conference range from Thursday's 5 p.m. contemporary panel, "Deconstructing Race in the American Legal System: From 1619 to Trayvon Martin," to what it means to be an American according to "Race, Law, and Slavery in Early America." Race also plays a role in "Foodways and Emerging Diseases." The latter panels will run concurrently on Friday at 3:30 p.m. at NSU's Student Center. The conference also includes historical interpreters and a special Liberian Quilt display, bringing history alive for attendees.

Presenters include American Indians, prominent local physicians, area historians, National Park Service officials, and nationally known scholars from universities such as Johns Hopkins, Boston, Albany, South Carolina, Virginia, Hampton, Norfolk State, the College of William and Mary, Old Dominion, Virginia Wesleyan College, Delaware, and Wisconsin. To register and for more information, visit www.1619MakingofAmerica.com

Cost: \$40 per day, \$25 per day for students, or \$75 for the 2 days (regular admission) or \$50 for 2 days for students.

Phone:  (757) 823-2268

Event url: www.1619themakingofamerica.com

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Norfolk State University

700 Park Avenue

Norfolk, VA 23504

Norfolk

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1619: The Making of America Conference

< September 2013 >

Su	M	T	W	Th	F	Sa
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30	1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12

Time (Multi-Day Event)
2:00 AM - 2:00 AM

Location
(Off Campus) - Hampton Roads Convention Center, Student Center at Norfolk State University

Fee
\$5

Description
Please join us for 1619: The Making of America's 2013 conference to be held at the Hampton Convention Center in Hampton, Virginia on September 28 and Norfolk State University on September 27. This interdisciplinary conference seeks to place the events stemming from 1619 within the context of Atlantic migration, culture, and race, and will emphasize the wide-ranging, familiar, and mobile character of the African Diaspora. The overarching point is that Chesapeake society was part of a hybrid and global culture predicated on intimate and overlapping encounters among Africans, Native Americans, Western Europeans, and other cultures from around the globe. Featured speakers for the conference include Michael Blakey (Director of the Institute for Historical Biology and the National Endowment for the Humanities Professor, College of William and Mary), Paul Finkelman (President William McKinley Distinguished Professor of Law and Public Policy and Senior Fellow, Government Law Center, Albany Law School), Linda Heywood (Professor of History and African American Studies at Boston University), James Sweet (Vilas Distinguished Achievement Professor of History at the University of Wisconsin), John Thornton (Professor of African and African Diaspora History at Boston University), and Ben Vinson III (Herbert Baxter Adams Professor of Latin American History and Vice Dean of Centers and Interdepartmental Programs, Krieger School of Arts and Sciences, Johns Hopkins University). ODU's Andrew Lopezina (English) and Timothy Robinson (English) are participants in the event, hosting panels about literary and popular cultural depictions of 1619 and Native American and African American culture. Other conference panels and presentations will treat aspects of biology, law, society, race and gender as they shaped the region's history. Day one will include a Tour of Historic Sites in Hampton, beginning at Hampton University Museum and then proceeding to Emancipation Oak and Fort Monroe (Headquarters No. 1 and 1619 Landing site). The tour will conclude at the Hampton History Museum next to the historic cemeteries. The conference is sponsored in part, by the National Endowment for the Humanities. For details about the initiative and for the conference schedule, please visit <http://www.1619.us/>.

[Download event as ICS file](#)



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College of Arts & Letters
9000 Batten Arts & Letters
Norfolk, VA 23529
757-883-3925 (office)
757-883-5746 (fax)

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- [ODU Concert Choir Performance](#)
11/10/2013 3:00 PM - 11/10/2013 4:00 PM
- [Old Dominion University Symphony Orchestra: Requiem](#)
11/10/2013 3:00 PM - 11/10/2013 8:00 PM
- [Business and Arts & Letters Internship Orientation](#)
11/12/2013 12:30 PM - 11/12/2013 1:30 PM

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Conference at NSU will focus on issues of 1619

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 By Denise M. Watson
 The Virginian-Pilot
 © September 24, 2013

NORFOLK

A conference called "1619: The Making of America" is planned for Thursday and Friday by the Joseph Roberts Jenkins Center at Norfolk State University and the Hampton History Museum.

The conference will follow up on several issues raised at last year's event and tackle questions about biology, literature, law, society, race and gender.

Speakers will discuss major events in 1619 that were pivotal in American history: the arrival of Africans to colonial North America, the founding of America's first legislative body, the House of Burgesses in Virginia, and the establishment of a viable economy based on tobacco.

Conference topics include what it means to be an American according to "Race, Law, and Slavery in Early America" and "Deconstructing Race in the American Legal System: From 1619 to Trayvon Martin."

Registration for both days is \$75, or \$40 for one day; fees for students are \$50 for both days, or \$25 for one.

For more information, visit

www.1619makingofamerica.com.



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Grant Funds Programs Around 1619 Arrival of Africans in the New World

The National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) has awarded the Joseph Jenkins Roberts Center for African Diaspora Studies at NSU a \$69,000 grant, which will fund two years of programming for the 1619 conference series. The first conference will take place on Sept. 26 at the Hampton Roads Convention Center and September 27 at the NSU Student Center. The series focuses on the arrival of Africans at Old Point Comfort (Fort Monroe). Dr. Cassandra Newby-Alexander, professor of history and director of the Center, is serving as the principal investigator.

NSU News



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"We have created a consortium of faculty from several universities and organizations to support this initiative," said Dr. Newby-Alexander. The consortium includes Old Dominion University, the College of William and Mary, Virginia Wesleyan College, Hampton University, the Nottoway Indians of Virginia, Project 1619, Contraband Society, Hampton History Museum, Hampton Visitors Bureau and the Legacy of Weyanoke.

Last year, "1619: The Making of America" began exploring the question of when we became Americans. The year 1619 is considered a pivotal one in the history of America because of the first documented arrival of Africans in colonial America, the founding of the first limited representative body, later called the House of Burgess, and the establishment of an economy based on tobacco. In addition, the following year, white women began arriving as groups in the colony, a signal that the British planned to stay.

The Joseph Jenkins Roberts Center for African Diaspora Studies, named in honor of the Virginian who became the first president of Liberia, has a mission to research, publish and disseminate works on the history, culture and contributions of African people across the globe and their impact on America and Virginia.

Complementing its focus on the importance of 1619, the Roberts Center has spent the past 3 years engaged in developing a prototype gaming program on the Underground Railroad and public programs that inform the public about the Underground Railroad in Hampton Roads.



A screenshot of a Twitter post by Molly Joseph Ward (@mollyjosephward). The post text reads: "NSU's 1619 The Making of America conference going on now at the HRCC @cityofhampton". Below the text are interaction options: Reply, Retweet, Favorite, and More. The post shows 4 retweets and 1 favorite, with small profile pictures of the users who interacted. The timestamp is 7:29 AM - 28 Sep 13.

 **Molly Joseph Ward**
@mollyjosephward Follow

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conference going on now at the HRCC
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"When did we become Americans?"

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Published on Sep 16, 2013
"When did we become Americans?" is the theme of a conference sponsored by the Hampton History Museum and Norfolk State University Sept. 26-27. The first Africans arrived in the British New
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When did we become Americans? 1619: The Making of America'

Category: [Community and Civic](#)

When:

Location: [Hampton Roads Convention Center](#)
1610 Coliseum Drive
Hampton, VA 23669
315-1610

Contact: [757/727-8311](#)

Price: \$75.00 Both Days-
Regular; \$40 Thursday-
Regular; \$40 Friday-
Regular; \$50 Both Days
- Student; \$25.00
Thursday-
Student; \$25.00 Friday-
Student

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FROM THE PROMOTER:

When did we become Americans? 1619: The Making of America, a conference to be held September 26 at the Hampton Roads Convention Center and September 27 at Norfolk State University's Student Center, continues the national dialogue and reinterpretation of major questions that began in 1619. Three events marked a significant transformation in the history of the nation 12 years after the founding of Jamestown: The arrival of Africans to colonial North America; the founding of America's first legislative body, the House of Burgesses; and the establishment of a viable economy based on tobacco. A year later, white women arrived in the colony, triggering the perception that the British were here to stay, thus creating a self-generating population.

This conference offers something for everyone, including an interdisciplinary platform to discuss important issues that define new interpretations about the influence of 1619 on early American history. Teachers attending can earn continuing education credits and acquire lesson objectives that meet Virginia's SOL requirements. A special three-hour undergraduate class accompanying this conference is also available for those interested in a more in-depth approach.

Topics covered during the conference range from Thursday's 5:00 p.m. contemporary panel, "Deconstructing Race in the American Legal System; From 1619 to Trayvon Martin," to what it means to be an American according to "Race, Law, and Slavery in Early America." Race also plays a role in "Foodways and Emerging Diseases."

The latter panels will run concurrently on Friday at 3:30 p.m. at NSU's Student Center. The conference also includes historical interpreters and a special Liberian Quilt display, bringing history alive for attendees.

Presenters include American Indians, prominent local physicians, area historians, National Park Service officials, and nationally known scholars from universities such as Johns Hopkins, Boston, Albany, South Carolina, Virginia, Hampton, Norfolk State, the College of William and Mary, Old Dominion, Virginia Wesleyan College, Delaware, and Wisconsin.

Thursday, September 26
Hampton Roads Convention Center
1610 Coliseum Drive
Hampton, VA 23666
8:30 a.m. – 9:00 p.m.

Friday, September 27
Student Center, Norfolk State University
700 Park Avenue
Norfolk, VA 23504
8:30 a.m. – 9:00 p.m.

Cost
\$75.00 Both Days- Regular
\$40 Thursday- Regular
\$40 Friday- Regular

Call for Papers Announcement

http://www.h-net.org/announce/show.cgi?ID=205455 1619: The Making of America

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1619: The Making of America
 Location: [Virginia, United States](#)
 Conference Date: 2013-09-26 ([Archive](#))
 Date Submitted: 2013-07-27
 Announcement ID: 205455

The Joseph Jenkins Roberts Center of Norfolk State University (NSU), in partnership with the Hampton History Museum, is hosting a two-day conference, 1619: Making of America conference that will be held in Hampton and Norfolk, VA on September 26-27, 2013. This conference will offer scholars and participants from various disciplines a unique platform to engage in dialogue about important issues defining new interpretations of 1619 in American history.

This conference seeks to place the events stemming from 1619 within the context of Atlantic migration, culture, and race, and will emphasize the wide-ranging, familiar, and mobile character of the African Diaspora. The overarching point is that Chesapeake society was part of a hybrid and global culture predicated on intimate and overlapping encounters among Africans, Native Americans, Western Europeans, and other cultures from around the globe.

Featured speakers for the conference include Michael Blakey (Director of the Institute for Historical Biology and the National Endowment for the Humanities Professor, College of William and Mary), Paul Finkelman (President William McKinley Distinguished Professor of Law and Public Policy and Senior Fellow, Government Law Center, Albany Law School), Linda Heywood (Professor of History and African American Studies at Boston University), James Siveet (Vilas Distinguished Achievement Professor of History at the University of Wisconsin), John Thornton (Professor of African and African Diaspora History at Boston University), and Ben Vinson III (Professor of History and Dean, George Washington University's Columbian College of Arts and Sciences). The conference is sponsored in part by the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Roundtable Discussions: The Enduring Questions

What It Means to Be an American
 Creolization in the Atlantic World
 The Black Atlantic World
 Foodways, Emerging Diseases, Pandemics, and Haplotyping in 1619
 Dimensions of the African Diaspora in the Modern Era
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 Student Registration: \$25 per day (Includes lunch and snacks)
 *Note: \$25 pre-registration cost for students with a valid I.D.; \$30 registration cost for students on-site

For more information or to register online, visit www.1619MakingofAmerica.com

Professor Patrick Mbajekive
 Department of History
 Norfolk State University
 700 Park Avenue
 Norfolk, VA 23504
 (757) 822-3823
 Email: pumbajekive@nsu.edu
 Visit the website at <http://www.1619MakingofAmerica.com>

SPOKEN WORD PRIZE RECIPIENTS

First Place

Jarred Frazier

MADE IN PARADISE

Drums beat like Earth's heart pumping praise through the atmosphere
 I stand amongst a circle of Me's dancing
 Sisters shake like snakes as they wind
 Pleasure in the presence of my people
 Oxygen fueled fire at the center of community
 Raised an offering to God for all his glory
 Abruptly alarm clock quaked me awake

7:30 a.m and I wiggle my toes
 Hit the floor said a prayer for my foes
 Brush my teeth then shine my gold
 Get dressed in these white man's clothes
 Pack my books and walk into the world cold

Whistle a sweet tune down the hall
 Step slow to see all
 the birds, trees, and beetle crawling under me
 While women sparkle like gems reflecting truths of society
 With the strength of a pillar, brothers stand bearing the weight of losing financial aid
 Entering the education hall as a wall of air conditioning shocks my system
 Arrived to class 5 minutes past 8
 Lecture on electrons and conductivity took my energy
 Drowsy and dizzy I doze off

Open my eyes to a daydream
 Someplace where rust tinged clay covers my soles
 Class was held under the Moringa tree
 An elder grabs a fistful of Earth
 As I sit on these stocky roots he says
 "From dirt Obatala made paradise,
 and with water he made mankind"
 He's then passed me a cup and instructs
 "Take a sip of life, cherish this sacred gift"

Such a kind classmate, she taps my knee just in time
 Stunts my slumber with her soft touch
 Ten minutes later I was set free from the clutch
 of circuit analysis
 Yet still in a mental bind

Took the day with ease as hours squeeze through my grip
 In a since uncertainty is the monster that plagues my fears
 Unidentified emotions leave me on the verge of tears
 Meditation seems to be a simple escape
 Pupils peer into the abyss

Darkness
 Indigenous Indigo Tinted Skins
 Ancestors
 Serpentine Worshipping Saints
 Pythons
 Oracle's observe evil anchoring the oceanfront
 Remote Viewing, visions of a distant land left all restless
 Africa
 Diaspora
 Scattered like dead flesh in the wind
 Wavering and wondering waiting for a gust
 Kidnapped travelers
 Soon to be traded like poke'mon cards during lunch
 Family sent abroad
 Black skins set sail at the bottom of a boat
 Boiling hot humidity, stifling
 Suffocated by fumes of bodily fluids
 Sea sick souls soar home, thrown overboard
 Bow buried in the sand of the shore
 1619

4:19 pm
 21 minute meditation season ended with a vision of my ancestor in Estill, South Carolina
 Where cotton pickers were replaced by tractors
 Left me to ask did I inherit this wind America
 Lagged from jet stream current coming from the east.
 A product of the Low Country
 Born the son of a drug dealing high school dropout that turned his life around,
 Who's the son of a longshoreman,
 Who was the son of a share cropper,
 Who was the son of a slave

Decedents Wake Up
 Igbo children Ignorant of a true science of self
 Angered by the reality they've built on our back
 Situated in a community where solidarity is a sanctuary
 Purpose lost to the poison of pop culture programing
 Obligated to obstruct the oppression
 Raising fist in unity, Black Hand holding black hands
 African Americans searching for the legacy of our Ancestors

2nd Place**David Woods****ARE WE AMERICAN YET??**

Are we American yet
 Since we landed in the country to build the towns
 and cutting the ropes to see our bodys fall down

Are we American yet
 Running through woods up through the coastline
 Having to fight off hounds who thought it was lunchtime

Are we American yet
 Since we fight each other for American green
 Since we've been in every war for the American dream

Are we American yet
 Creating trends, lingo, and culture taken by the world
 Since we've traded our precious girls for diamonds and pearls

Are we American yet
 Since we have been replaced by our Asian Americans in class and Hispanic Americans take
 away from our labor math

Are we American yet
 Seeing leader after leader lying dead on tv and now
 Since we don't have any more you're aiming at me

Are we American yet
 Since we pledged to the flag
 Still can't get a cab
 But we can get charged for ANYTHING
 Just like our dads

Are we American yet
 Nothing urgent im just asking
 Since we in another civil war
 which flah will you place on our caskets

Are we American yet
 Because we have been waiting for so long
 And if we aren't American yet
 Then can we go back home.

Third Place
Sheldon Doss
Do you have change?

Do you have change?
 I see you
 Fresh best dressed to impress
 And I'm here
 Musty, busty, finger nails crusty living my days dusty
 But...
 Do you have change?
 I was you before
 Youthful
 Full of hope
 Dreams
 Complaining about change
 Capable to capture change
 But confined to lust
 I walked past me too
 Stunting, flossing
 Rolling my eyes at my empty hands
 Clowning with the crew
 Final ideas seldom on eluding the debt
 Lay-offs and bankruptcies that'd break my back while I'm breaking necks
 Yeah I was that top dog too
 Shoosing the flies away from my dirty skin
 Me puppy eye'ing for a dime while You
 I mean I walked with plenty to spare
 But refused
 Common excuse
 "All plastic bruh, sorry"
 I never thought about me as an under bridge
 Side street park bench resident with
 Cockroaches for neighbors
 My only homie being a runaway retriever named **TIME**
 Since he never goes away, regardless of how I feel
 "Naw..not I" I said
 I'm too fly for the flies
 Too much a stud for the mud
 I'm Too handsome I'm too fine
 I'm...too careless
 See that's the problem with you I mean me
 We cherish the image and run away from the reality
 Try so hard to be everything but what the mirror shows us

And become consumed by materialistic consumptions
Bag this one to bang that one
Whose banging this one because they bagged that one
Death over designer
Life in the physical yes but
Black suits for the brain
Tombstones for the future
I sit here at this 7-11 watching you I mean I
And think "If I knew then what I know now"
If I understood capitalistic America
I would have capitalized on my time
And not on my lust
I would have taken every single
God-Forsaken I mean
God-given gift that I had
And gave myself the opportunity to be somebody great
Instead of somebody envied
Somebody admired for my ambitions
And not for my attributes
I would have taken every moment to grow head on without hesitation
I would have avoided temptation aside from a few slip ups
And charged behind my dreams and not behind behinds
Son what I am saying is
This life that you live is temporary
But this hole I lay in is forever
And there is nothing
Nothing I could ever do to climb out
All because I I mean you did not take advantage of precious youth

So I ask you...
Do you have change?
If so...keep it
It may be all you have one day



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1619

THE MAKING OF AMERICA

www.1619makingofamerica.com

ADDRESSING THE ESSENTIAL QUESTION:
WHEN DID WE BECOME AMERICANS?

Led by Cassandra Newby-Alexander, Director of the Joseph Jenkins Roberts Center at Norfolk State University and Eric Claville, Director of the Civil Rights Institute at Hampton University, the 1619 Making of America program has spearheaded scholarly discussions about 1619 as part of the 400th Anniversary Commemoration.

Our programming has been the recipient of numerous grants, including the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial Commission, and the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities.



Cassandra Newby-Alexander, Ph.D.
 Professor of History



Eric Claville, J.D.
 Assistant Professor of Political Science

The Roberts Center and the Civil Rights Institute have developed a well-established initiative and instituted important partnerships with a host of other affiliates including the Hampton History Museum, the City of Hampton, Fort Monroe National Monument, Virginia Wesleyan College, Old Dominion University, the Lemon Project at the College of William and Mary, Cox Communications, and WHRO, a local PBS affiliate.

Our broad-based project has already established an important **educational conference and roundtable series** focusing on the transformative power when three culture groups—Native, European, and African—intersected in America during the early 17th century. Scholars have discussed how the political, social, cultural, and economic foundations of America can be traced to events beginning in 1619.



NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE
Humanities





The Joseph Jenkins Roberts Center for African Diaspora Studies (Roberts Center) at Norfolk State University (NSU) and the Civil Rights Institute (CR Institute) at Hampton University (HU) have partnered to jointly host the 1619 Making of America programming series.

Since 2012, this series has commemorated early North American history and culture by focusing on the melding of European, African, and Native American societies. Gathering scholars from across America and Canada, the program has begun to explore how 1619 prompted the development of an American culture to teachers, students, and the general public.

SEPTEMBER 18-19, 2014

HAMPTON UNIVERSITY &
NORFOLK STATE UNIVERSITY

1619 MAKING OF
AMERICA CONFERENCE



Michael Gomez
Professor of History
and Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies
New York University



Kariamuw Welsh
Professor and the Department of Dance Chairperson
at the Boyer College of Music and Dance
Temple University



Lisa Brooks
Associate Professor of English and American Studies
Co-Chair, Five College Native American Indian
Studies Certificate Program
Amherst College



Virginia Johnson
Artistic Director
Dance Theater of Harlem



Benjamin Bowser
Professor Emeritus
Department of Sociology and Social Services
California State University, East Bay



Glendola Mills-Parker
Associate Professor of Health
and Physical Education
Morgan State University

*Presentation on
The Diaspora of Dance*

Scholars during this session discussed how cultures converged to create dance forms reflecting the major cultures that converged in America the methodology of performance and the role of African-American dance as an artistic medium for interpreting the complexities of race and culture in an increasingly globalized world.



Paul Finkelman
President William McKinley
Distinguished Professorship of Law
Albany Law School

JOSEPH JENKINS
ROBERTS CENTER



FOR AFRICAN DIASPORA STUDIES

Norfolk State University
700 Park Avenue
Norfolk, VA 23504

HAMPTON
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Civil Rights Institute
Hampton University
Hampton, VA

NSU
NORFOLK STATE UNIVERSITY.



1619 MAKING OF AMERICA CONFERENCE



Presentation on Culinary Dynamics of Natives and Newcomers to America

Donna Gabaccia
Harold Caldwell

SEPTEMBER 18-19, 2014

HAMPTON UNIVERSITY &
NORFOLK STATE UNIVERSITY

Three culture groups created a hybrid culture through foodways and the development of American cuisine. Native Americans raised corn, sweet potatoes, squash, pumpkins and beans when the Europeans arrived. The English brought with them pigs, cattle, chicken and sheep, as well as wheat flour, onions, carrots and a variety of greens and beans. African cuisine transported to America included peanuts, rice, yams, bananas, and peas. A special food presentation and sampling during the conference included hominy grits, turkey, turnip greens, and black-eyed peas.



Presentation on Literary and Music Traditions

Scholars during this session discussed how cultures converged to create music and literary forms reflecting the major cultures that converged in America. Native musical and African American literary traditions were featured including an "Echoes of the Diaspora Spoken Word" invitation that included high school and college students.

TOURS OF THE HAMPTON AREA

These tours introduced conference attendees and the general public to many of the events associated with 1619 and its aftermath.



“Constructing Citizenship From 1619 to the 1964 Civil Rights Act” Roundtable Discussion

The 2014 panel discussion that was broadcast on Cox Channel 11 was a follow-up to the 2013 conference panel, “Deconstructing Race in the American legal System: From 1619 to Trayvon Martin.” Some of America’s leading legal scholars at the 2013 Conference who discussed the topic included Henry L. Chambers, Jr. (University of Richmond School of Law), John Pierre (Southern University School of Law), Paul Finkelman (Albany Law School), and Alex Johnson (University of Virginia Law School).



April 17, 2014

Broadcast on Cox Channel 11

- John Pierre, Vice Chancellor and Professor of Law, Southern University Law Center – Panelist
- Eric Claville, Assistant Dean and Assistant Professor, School of Liberal Arts, Hampton University - Panelist
- Barbara Hamm-Lee, Executive Producer and Host of *Another View* on WHRV Public Radio - Moderator
- John Amos, Assistant Professor of Law at Norman Adrian Wiggins School of Law, Campbell University – Panelist
- The Honorable John Charles Thomas, Retired Justice of the Supreme Court of Virginia and Senior Partner with Hunton & Williams - Panelist

Second 1619 Making of America Conference

September 26-27, 2013



Scholars, historians, students, and observers convened recently at Norfolk State University and Hampton Convention Center to discuss the historic events of 1619. Preparing for the 400th anniversary of the nation in 2019, this was the second annual conference in a series to ask the important question: “When did we become Americans?”

The 2013 Conference was sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities, Norfolk State University, Hampton History Museum, Hampton University, and the City of Hampton.

Over 1,000 conference attendees heard experts speak on the topics related to law, medicine, history, political science, geography, genetics, and literature. Simon Ortiz, the Regents Professor of English and American Indian Studies at Arizona State University, and a leading figure in Native American literary renaissance, was specially invited by the VFH to discuss the topic, “The Future Is Not A Long Time Ago” as part of the panel, “Representing Native Peoples.”

The role of race was also discussed in “Foodways and Emerging Diseases,” the focus of a panel of medical experts led by Michael Blakey, professor of anthropology and anatomy and director of the Institute for Historical Biology, College of William and Mary, and Camellia Okpodu, director, Group for Microgravity and Environmental Biology, Norfolk State. Other panelists, who explored the complex topic of medical conditions and genome diversity that emerged after 1619, included Keith Newby (founder, president, and chief cardiologist of Fort Norfolk Medical Plaza), Frederick Quarles (founder and president of Quarles Dermatology and former chair of National Medical Association’s Dermatology), and Myron Williams (associate professor of chemistry at Clark Atlanta University’s Center).



First 1619 Making of America Conference

September 21-22, 2012



This initial conference addressed the “Enduring Questions” of 1619 that included such topics as the impact of creolization and the Columbian Exchange on America. Scholars from Boston University, the College of William and Mary, Johns Hopkins University, Old Dominion University, Norfolk State University, and Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, and independent scholars engaged with the community roundtable discussions.

The conference’s reception by attendees was overwhelmingly positive. Comments included, “Enlightening;” “Interesting indeed;” “Great concepts and thoughts;” “More, more, more;” “Very interesting discussion touching on global effects of the Diaspora and forgiveness for it;” and “Sessions were informative with a lot of new information for me. Enlightening and relevant.”

The conference was a model for social networking and involved renowned scholars such as Linda Heywood, John Thornton, Peter Wallenstein, and Ben Vinson.



Thursday, September 18, 2014
McGrew Towers, Hampton U
On-site Registration Begins at 9:00 a.m.

Friday, September 19, 2014
Student Center, Norfolk St
On-site Registration Begins at 8:00 a.m.

Saturday, September 20,
"Waterways to Freedom"
Bus & Boat tour of hist
Tour begins at 8:30 a.m. at the Ham



September 26, 2013
Hampton Roads
Convention Center
Onsite Registration
Begins at 9 a.m.

September 27, 2013
Student Center,
Norfolk State
University
Onsite Registration
Begins at 9 a.m.

When did we become An

Featured Speakers



Benjamin Bonner
Professor of Strategic
Studies, California
State University San
Diego

Lisa Brinkley
Associate Professor of
English, Middle College
of Ohio, The College
of Wooster

Paul Finkleman
President, William McKinley
Distinguished Professor of
Law and History

Thomas Cushman
Professor of History,
University of Toledo

Michael Gomez
Professor of History and
African Studies, Hunter
College, New York University

Glenn Felder
Associate Professor of
Health and Physical
Education, Virginia State
University

Kenneth White
Chairman and Professor
of Black, African American
and African Studies, Norfolk
State University

Join us for

- Performances
- Scholarly Presentations
- Workshops
- Teaching Materials
- Spoken Word Contest

Historic Tour

- Registration: \$20 (includes plane ride to the Atlantic)
- Only 45 spaces available!
- The tour will include:
 - Professional tour guides
 - Guided visits to Fort Monroe, the 1619 Landing site, the Hampton History Museum, the Hampton University Museum, Emancipation Oak, historic cemeteries, the archaeological site of the Grand Contraband camp in downtown Hampton and excursion to Fort Norfolk on the Mica Hampton
 - Opportunity to receive academic credit through a special 3-hour undergraduate course

Register Today

- Pre-registration: \$40 per day (\$75 for 2 days)
- On-site Registration: \$45 per day
- Student Registration: \$25 per day
- Includes lunch and snacks

For more information
or to register online
www.1619MakingofAmerica.com

Follow us @1619america

www.1619MakingofAmerica.com

THANKS TO OUR COOPERATING PARTNERS: College of Liberal Arts, Norfolk State University; Contraband Society; Hampton University; Legacy of Weyanoke; Middle Passage Project and 1619 Initiative; The Lemon Project; A Journey of Reconciliation; College of William and Mary; Nottoway Indians Project; Old Dominion University; Project 1619; Virginia Wesleyan College



Featured Speakers



Dr. Michael Blakey
Director of the Institute for
Historical Biology, College
of William and Mary

Paul Finkleman
President William McKinley
Distinguished Professor of Law and
Public Policy and Senior
Fellow, Government Law Center,
Albany Law School

Dr. Linda Heywood
Professor of African American
Studies and History,
Boston University

James Sweet
Vice Distinguished Achievement
Professor of History at the
University of Wisconsin

Dr. John Thornton
Professor of African American
Studies and History,
Director of Graduate Studies,
Boston University

Dr. Ben Vinson, III
Professor of Latin American
History, Herbert Baxter Adams
Professor of Latin American
History, John Hopkins University

"When did we become Americans?"

Roundtable Discussions: The Enduring Questions

- What it Means to Be an American
- Creolization in the Atlantic World
- The Black Atlantic World
- Foodways, Emerging Diseases, Pandemics, and Haplotyping in 1619
- Dimensions of the African Diaspora in the Modern Era
- Negotiating Leadership Through Diaspora Networks
- Authorship of History and 1619
- Native America at 1619
- Slaveholding Institutions: Reconciling with the Past
- Race, Law, and Slavery in Early America

Join us for

- Performances
- Scholarly Presentations
- Historic Site Tours
- Workshops
- Teaching Materials

Register Today

- Pre-registration: \$40 per day (\$75 for 2 days)
 - On-site Registration: \$45 per day
 - Student Registration: \$25 per day*
 - Includes lunch and snacks
- *Note: \$25 pre-registration cost for students with a valid I.D.; \$30 registration cost for students on-site

For more information
or to register online, visit
1619MakingofAmerica.com

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Facebook.com/HistoryNSU

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September 21-22, 2012 • 9 a.m.
Registration Begins at 8 a.m.

Norfolk State University • Student Center
Join us for a discussion of the significance
of 1619 and its importance in making
American society and culture.



"When did we become Americans?"

JOIN US FOR

- Performances
- Scholarly Presentations
- Special Remembrance Ceremony
- Workshops

FOR EVERYONE

- Scholars
- Educators
- Students
- History Lovers

REGISTER TODAY

- Pre-registration: \$35 per day
- On-site Registration: \$40 per day
- Student Registration: \$25 per day
- Includes continental breakfast and lunch

Note: \$25 pre-registration cost for students with a valid I.D.; \$30 registration cost for students on-site

For more information or to register, visit
1619makingofamerica.com

Follow us @1619america for updates



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Saturday, September 20, 2014
“Waterways to Freedom”
Bus & Boat tour of historic Hampton
 Tour begins at 8:30 a.m. at the Hampton History Museum

When did we become Americans?

Featured Speakers



Benjamin Bowser
 Professor Emeritus,
 Department of Sociology and
 Social Services, California
 State University East Bay



Lisa Brooks
 Associate Professor of
 English and American
 Studies, Amherst College
 Co-chair, Five College Native
 American Indian Studies
 Certificate Program



Paul Finkelman
 President William McKinley
 Distinguished Professor of
 Law, Albany Law School



Donna Gabaccia
 Professor of History,
 University of Toronto



Michael Gomez
 Professor of History and
 Middle Eastern and Islamic
 Studies, New York University



**Glendola
 Mills-Parker**
 Associate Professor
 of Health and Physical
 Education, Morgan State
 University



Kariamuwelsh
 Chairperson and Professor
 of Dance, Boyer College of
 Music and Dance, Temple
 University

Join us for

- ◆ Performances
- ◆ Workshops
- ◆ Spoken Word Contest
- ◆ Scholarly Presentations
- ◆ Teaching Materials

Historic Tour

- ◆ Registration: \$20 *(lunch on your own aboard the Miss Hampton)*
- ◆ Only 45 spaces available!
- ◆ The tour will include:
 - * Professional tour guides
 - * Guided visits to Fort Monroe, the 1619 Landing site, the Hampton History Museum, the Hampton University Museum, Emancipation Oak, historic cemeteries, the archeological site of the Grand Contraband camp in downtown Hampton and an excursion to Fort Wool on the *Miss Hampton*.
 - * Opportunity to receive academic credit through a special 3-hour undergraduate course

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*Note: \$25 pre-registration cost for students with a valid I.D.; \$30 registration cost for students on-site
- ◆ Includes lunch and snacks

For more information
 or to register online, visit
www.1619MakingofAmerica.com

Roundtable Discussions: The Enduring Questions

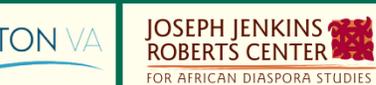
- ◆ What it Means to Be an American
- ◆ Foodies, Food Culture, and the Origins of American Cuisine
- ◆ Migration Networks in the Early Atlantic
- ◆ Musical Legacies in American Society
- ◆ Land Rights, Legal Ownership, and the Evolution of American Wealth
- ◆ Native Peoples in Colonial America
- ◆ The Transatlantic Trade: Foodways, Disease, Goods, Wealth, Parasites, and Vegetation
- ◆ Reassessing America's Legal and Representative System and Rule of Law
- ◆ Remembering America's Cultural Foundations
- ◆ Intersections of Race and Culture in Colonial America

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“When did we become Americans?”

JOIN US FOR

- Spoken Word Performances and Invitational Contest
- Scholarly Presentations
- Teacher Workshops offering academic and CEU credits
- Food Demonstration
- Discussion with Experts on Dance

REGISTER TODAY

- Pre-registration: \$40 per day
- On-site Registration: \$45 per day
- Student Registration: \$25 per day
- Registration cost includes lunch and afternoon snacks
- Historic Tour of Hampton: \$20

Note: \$25 pre-registration cost for students with a valid I.D.; \$30 registration cost for students on-site

FOR EVERYONE

- Scholars
- Educators
- Students
- History Lovers

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Teacher Credits for 1619: The Making of America Conference

*Hidden
Heritage*
EDUCATION



When did we
become Americans?

HIS 490X – 1619 and the Making of America
(3 credit hours – Undergrad/Grad) \$399
Undergraduate Credit/ \$499 Graduate Credit

Featured Speakers



Benjamin Bowser
Professor Emeritus, Department
of Sociology and Social Services,
California State University East Bay



Lisa Brooks
Associate Professor of English and
American Studies, Amherst College
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Kariamuwelsh
Chairperson and Professor of Dance,
Boyer College of Music and Dance,
Temple University

This course provides an in-depth and local perspective of the critical period in American history beginning in 1619. Teachers will learn about the impact of early Africans on the development of the Virginia colony and the emergence of a limited legislative body. They will also learn about the impact the English settlers had on the American Indians in Virginia.

Offered in partnership with Norfolk State University featuring:

- One day tour (Saturday)
- Access to podcasts from the conference
- On-site evening participation in the September conference (Thursday or Friday)
- Printed Teachers' Guide to Historical Documents and Lesson Plans

**Continuing Education Unit Credits
for Hampton History Tour**
(7 hours - \$105 for credits and \$20 for tour)

This course provides an in-depth and local perspective of the critical period in American history beginning in 1619. Teachers will learn about the impact of early Africans on the development of the Virginia colony and the emergence of

a limited legislative body. They will also learn about the impact the English settlers had on the American Indians in Virginia.

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Bus & Boat tour of
historic Hampton
Tour Begins at 8:30 a.m.

For more information about the program, contact Bruce Williams.

757-570-4463

hiddenheritageeducationllc@gmail.com

HiddenHeritageEducation.com



“When did we become Americans?”



1619MakingofAmerica.com

September 18 & September 19, 2014 • 9:30a.m.

Hampton University, McGrew Towers • Norfolk State University, Student Center

September 20, 2014 • 8:30a.m.

Hampton History Museum • Waterways to Freedom Tour





JOSEPH JENKINS ROBERTS CENTER



FOR AFRICAN DIASPORA STUDIES

The Joseph Jenkins Roberts Center for African Diaspora Studies is designed to create opportunities for Norfolk State University to enhance the strength of its humanities programs. Named in honor of a Virginian whose legacy as the first President of Liberia embodies globalism, the Center is dedicated to the exploration and analysis of the history and culture of the African Diaspora.

One of the Center's primary goals is to facilitate public access to history through public programs such as the *1619: Making of America* conferences.



Welcome to the 3rd Annual 1619: Making of America Conference

The Joseph Jenkins Roberts Center at Norfolk State University, the Hampton History Museum, and the City of Hampton would like to welcome each of you to the third annual conference on the making of America beginning in 1619.

This year we have some exciting programming that focuses on the cultural transformations that defined us as American, beginning in 1619. We hope you will enjoy this year's focus and the exceptional program we have organized.

The 1619 Making of America conference would not have been possible without the generous support of our sponsors and partners. We would like to especially acknowledge Hampton University's co-leadership with this year's conference along with Norfolk State University.

Our conference website (www.1619makingofamerica.com) continues to be an important resource for our ongoing discussions about what began in 1619. Podcasts of each session will be posted on our website following the conference.

The conference organizers will be tweeting at **@1619America** and we will be following along at **#1619**, please tag your tweets with **#1619** so we can see them! The conference blog on our website will be updated both days of the conference; please check it for reflections on discussions and talks and any news announcements.

859 Benwood Road
Norfolk, VA 23502

September 10, 2014

Dear Conference Participants and Friends:

As the honorary co-chair of the first 1619: Making of America conference, it is my pleasure to welcome you to Norfolk State University.

I am proud that through the leadership of Joseph Jenkins Roberts Center for African Diaspora Studies at Norfolk State University and the Civil Rights Institute at Hampton University have decided to continue the scholarly discussion on the topic of 1619, exploring how that period established the cultural, political, economic, and demographic foundations of America.

I am excited that the organizers of this conference at Norfolk State University, the College of William and Mary, Old Dominion University, Project 1619, and the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities recognized the need to plan the first of a series of important conferences that will explore how America evolved beginning in 1619 and the cultural fusion that emerged. I am also grateful to NSU and Dominion Resources for their financial support.

This conference is not just be a scholarly event. Presentations, discussions, ceremonies, and performances will help to educate and engage the entire community and enhance our general knowledge about what happened when the Virginia colony organized the first representative legislature, developed an economy that would be based on tobacco, and witnessed the arrival of the first Africans (twenty individuals taken from Angola).

Please join me in congratulating Norfolk State University, Hampton University, and all of the conference planners in providing an extraordinary opportunity to learn about 1619 and its transformation of America.

Sincerely,



Algie T. Howell, Jr.
1619 Making of America Honorary Co-Chair
Vice Chair, Virginia Parole Board
Commonwealth of Virginia

CONFERENCE PROGRAM

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 18 - A Big, Familiar, and Mobile World - Hampton University

MCGREW TOWERS

9:00 a.m. Registration

9:30 a.m. Opening Session

Greetings and Welcome

· Cassandra Newby-Alexander, Conference Chair and Director of the Joseph Jenkins Roberts Center for African Diaspora Studies, Norfolk State University

· Eric Claville, Director of the Civil Rights Institute and Assistant Professor of Political Science and History, Hampton University

· Linda Malone-Colon, Dean, Hampton University School of Liberal Arts

10:00 a.m. Morning Presentation

· Introduction by William Alexander, Professor of History, Norfolk State University

· Michael Gomez, Professor of History and Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, New York University “Writing the History of Africa and Its Diaspora: Interpretations and Contestations”

10:45 a.m. Concurrent Roundtable Sessions

Panel A1 *Deconstructing the Complicated History of Native Americans*

· Moderator: Kay Lewis, Assistant Professor, Norfolk State University

· Ashley Barnett, Old Dominion University, “Captive Corn”

· Page Laws, Norfolk State University, “Pocahontas versus Tituba – Round II: Whitening and Blackening America’s Mythic Foremothers”

· James E. Seelye, Jr., Kent State University at Stark, “Native American Lessons from Jamestown: Was it Genocide?”

▸ Drew Lopenzina, Old Dominion University, “The Wedding of Pocahontas and John Rolfe: Keeping the Thrill Alive After 400 Years”

Panel A2 *Hampton History Museum Panel, “...the still small voice of conscience.”*

▸ Moderator: Stephanie Richmond, Assistant Professor, Norfolk State University

▸ Maureen Elgersman Lee, Hampton University, “Unyielding Spirits: Black Women and Slavery in Early Canada and Jamaica”

▸ Antonio Bly, Appalachian State University, “Wheatley’s Nsibidi: Authorial Control as Voice in Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral”

12:15 p.m. Lunch Break

1:15 p.m. Afternoon Presentation

▸ Introduction by Drew Lopenzina, Professor of Early American and Native American Literature, Old Dominion University

▸ Lisa Brooks, Associate Professor of English and American Studies, Amherst College and Co-chair, Five College Native American Certificate Program

1:45 p.m. Concurrent Roundtable Sessions

Panel B1 *Intersections of Culture*

▸ Moderator: Khadijah Miller, Associate Professor and Department Chair of History & Interdisciplinary Studies, Norfolk State University

▸ Rebecca Hooker, Virginia Wesleyan College, “Translating ‘People of Color:’ David Walker and William Apess”

▸ Martha Katz-Hyman, Curator, Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation, “In the Middle of This Poverty Some Cups and a Teapot”: The Material Culture of Slavery in Eighteenth-Century Tidewater Virginia”

▸ Tiara Davis, Norfolk State University, “Race and the Law: Becoming the Exception to the Rule in Colonial Virginia”

Panel B2 *Charting the World of Early Americans*

▸ Moderator: Patrick Mbajekwe, Associate Professor of History, Norfolk State University

▸ Frankie Hammonds, Jr., Regent University, “Letters From Ma’: A Primary Source Analysis of Seventeenth Century Familial Correspondence between Britain and the Virginia Colony”

▸ Leah Thomas, Independent Scholar, “Reading John Smith’s 1606 Map of Virginia as a Native American Text”

▸ Emily M. Rose, Independent Scholar, “Viscounts in Virginia: a Proposal to Create American Noblemen (1619)”

3:15 p.m. Break

HAMPTON UNIVERSITY MUSEUM

3:30 p.m. Afternoon Presentation

▸ Introduction by Eric Claville, Director of the Civil Rights Institute and Assistant Professor of Political Science and History, Hampton University

▸ Paul Finkelman, Senior Fellow in Penn Program on Democracy, Citizenship, and Constitutionalism, University of Pennsylvania - “Did God Bless Slavery? The Use of Religion in Proslavery Thought, 1630-1860?”

4:00 p.m. Traditional African Drumming Procession by

▸ The Sankofa Projects, accompanied by Beauty for Ashes Contemporary School of Dance and Riddick Dance

4:15 p.m. Being American: What is Your True Identity?

▸ Spoken Word Program with the National Park Service, New Bedford Whaling Youth Ambassadors, the City of Hampton Performing Arts Program

▸ Spoken Word Invitational Program and Awards Ceremony for recipients from secondary-level and college Students

7:00 p.m. Reception at Hampton University Museum and Archives following awards ceremony for Spoken Word contest recipients

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 19 - Creole and Cosmopolitan - Norfolk State University

9:00 a.m. Registration

STUDENT CENTER

9:30 a.m. Opening

Greetings and Welcome

- Cassandra Newby-Alexander, Conference Chair and Director of the Joseph Jenkins Roberts Center for African Diaspora Studies, Norfolk State University
- Eric Claville, Director of the Civil Rights Institute, Hampton University
- The Honorable Algie T. Howell, Jr., Honorary Co-Chair
- Belinda Anderson, Dean of the College of Liberal Arts, Norfolk State University

10:00 a.m. Concurrent Roundtable Sessions

Panel A1 “African American Culture and the Quest for Empowerment”

- Moderator: Charles Ford, Professor of History, Norfolk State University
- Kay Wright Lewis, Norfolk State University, “This Crime Against Humanity: Racial Extermination and The Power of Black Manhood”
- James Padilioni, Jr., College of William and Mary, “Embracing What has Always Been ours to Begin With’: Banjos, Bluegrass, and Southern Blackness”
- Jamie Warren, Indiana University Department of History, “Rethinking Slave Funerals and the Politics of Resistance”

Panel A2 “History by Hollywood: The Mangled Reality of Early American Life and Culture”

Panelists include:

- William Hart, Norfolk State University
- Cathy M. Jackson, Norfolk State University
- Page Laws, Norfolk State University
- Lorene M. Wales, Regent University

Panel A3 “Memory, Culture, and Identity”

- Moderator: Jody Allen, Assistant Professor of History, College of William and Mary
- William Wiggins, CEO Cliosult, “Africans and Native American Indians in 17th Century English North America: Parallels and Juxtapositions”
- Jason Sawyer, Norfolk State University, “Grassroots Organizing for Community Memory: History, Post-Colonialism, and Urban Removal”
- Angela Shuttlesworth, Norfolk State University, “Love Is What We Do: Proposing Reciprocal Research to Empower Black Families”

11:30 a.m. Morning Presentations

- Introduction by William Ward, Professor Emeritus of History, Norfolk State University
- Benjamin Bowser, Professor Emeritus, Department of Sociology and Social Services, California State University East Bay - “What Has Been the Cost of Gangster Rap? What History and Social Research Have to Say”

12:15 p.m. Lunch Break

Afternoon Panel Discussion – The Diaspora of Dance

- Moderator: Tarin Hampton, Associate Professor of Health, Physical Education, and Exercise Science, Norfolk State University
- Virginia Johnson, Artistic Director, Dance Theatre of Harlem - “A Repertoire that Speaks American: Forty-Five Years of the Dance Theatre of Harlem”
- Glendola Mills-Parker, Associate Professor of Health and Physical Education, Morgan State University - “Dance as Text: The Emergence of Early American Dance Formations”
- Kariamuwelsh, Professor and the Department of Dance Chairperson at Boyer College of Music and Dance, Temple University - “The Dancing Ground in Early America: Field Hollers, Pinksters and the Ring Shout”

2:45 p.m. Concurrent Roundtable Sessions

Panel B1 *Foodways, Disease, and Material Culture in Colonial America*

- Moderator: Jelmer Vos, Assistant Professor, African History, Old Dominion University
- Ywone Edwards-Ingram, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation and Department of Architectural and Archaeological Research, “Slave Foodways and Medicinal Practices in Colonial Virginia”
- Rosalie Kiah, Norfolk State University, “Disease and the Transatlantic Trade”
- Tomiko Shine, University of Maryland Baltimore County, “Lest We Never Forget: Construction/Reconstruction of Memory and African/Black Identity through Material Culture”

Panel B2 *Mirror, Mirror: The Big Screen Glorification of the Wilmington Massacre*

Panelists include:

- James Curiel, Norfolk State University
- Robert Perkins, Norfolk State University
- Mike McMullen, University of Houston, Clearlake

Panel B3 *Teaching Early Colonial History*

Panelists include:

- Andy Mink LERN, NC
- Helen Martin, Secondary Teacher, Maury High School
- Stephanie Richmond, Assistant Professor of History, Norfolk State University
- Matthan Wilson, Secondary Teacher, Woodside High School

4:15 p.m. Afternoon Presentation

- Introduction by Delores B. Phillips, Assistant Professor, Postcolonial Literature and Theory Department of English, Old Dominion University
- Donna Gabaccia, Professor of History, University of Toronto - “The Culinary Dynamics of Natives and Newcomers: Is Colonization Different?”

- 5:00 p.m.** **Educational Interpretive Session – “Foodways and the Diaspora in Colonial America”**
· Introduction by Maura Hametz, Professor of History and Graduate Program Director, Old Dominion University
· Foodways Interpreter with Harold Caldwell, African American History Interpreter at Colonial Williamsburg Foundation
- 6:15 p.m.** **Presentation by Vincent Schilling and presentation by Native American Dance and Drumming Corps**
- 6:45 p.m.** **Being American: What is Your True Identity?**
· Spoken Word Program with the National Park Service, New Bedford Whaling Youth Ambassadors, the City of Hampton Performing Arts Program
· Spoken Word Invitational Program and Awards Ceremony for recipients from secondary-level and college Students University of Virginia
- 8:15 p.m.** **Reception at Norfolk State University Student Center**
following awards ceremony for Spoken Word contest recipients

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 20 - Waterways to Freedom Tour of Historic Hampton, Hampton History Museum

Tours will be led by Calvin Pearson, Eola Dance, Michael Cobb, and Cassandra Newby-Alexander with a special presentation by Chauncey Brown

- 8:30 a.m.** **Guided tour will begin at the Hampton History Museum.**
- 9:00 a.m.** Guests will depart the Museum on buses and taken to Fort Monroe where they will be directed to viewing the site of Fort Algernon, the 1619 Landing site, Headquarters No. 1, the Casemate Museum, and other relevant Civil War sites.
- 10:30 a.m.** Guests will board the Miss Hampton for a tour of Fort Wool. This site was previously called the “Rip Raps” and was used as an inspection station for officials looking for fugitive slaves during the antebellum period. Lunch will be provided.
- 2:00 p.m.** Guests will journey to the campus of Hampton University where they will view Emancipation Oak, the Red Cottage, and the Hampton University Museum. (We had someone read the Emancipation Proclamation at the Oak for a special presentation.
- 3:30 p.m.** Guests will depart Hampton University and then taken to view the historic cemeteries and the archeological site of the Grand Contraband camp in downtown Hampton.

The tour will conclude at the Hampton History Museum at 4:30 p.m.

**Participation in the tour will provide an opportunity to receive academic credit through a special 3-hour undergraduate course (an additional \$399 for the course) or Continuing Education Credits (CEU) (8 hours - \$120) for teachers.

CONFERENCE SPEAKERS



DR. BENJAMIN BOWSER

Professor Emeritus of Sociology at California State University East Bay

Dr. Bowser is a prolific scholar whose most recent publications include *Gangster Rap and Its Social Cost: Exploiting Hip Hop and Using Racial Stereotypes to Entertain America* and with Paul Lovejoy (eds.) *The Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery: New Directions in Teaching and Learning*. In addition, his first co-written textbook, *Understanding Alcohol and Drug Abuse: Global Views*, was based on years of teaching and research on HIV/AIDS and drug abuse prevention.



DR. LISA BROOKS

Associate Professor of English and American Studies at Amherst College

Dr. Brooks is the author of *The Common Pot: The Recovery of Native Space in the Northeast* with the University of Minnesota Press. She is considered to be one of the top scholars in Native Studies at the moment and her work breaks a lot of new ground in regards to bringing indigenous perspectives to bear on colonial history. DR. PAU



DR. PAUL FINKELMAN

Senior Fellow of Penn Program on Democracy, Citizenship, and Constitutionalism at the University of Pennsylvania

Dr. Finkelman is the author of more than 150 scholarly articles and more than 25 books with op-eds. He is the author of numerous books, including *Slavery and the Founders: Race and Liberty in the Age of Jefferson* and *Law of Freedom and Bondage: A Casebook* (New York University School of Law Series in Legal and Constitutional History).



DR. DONNA GABACCIA

Professor of History at the University of Toronto Scarborough

Dr. Gabaccia's most notable book, *We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans* (1998), examines the topic, Foodies, Food Culture, and the Origins of American Cuisine. A prolific scholar of 15 books, Gabaccia is a leading scholar of International migration studies and the history of the worldwide Italian diaspora.



DR. MICHAEL GOMEZ
Professor of History, Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies at
New York University

Dr. Gomez specializes in African Diasporic history and as the author of numerous articles and books he explores postmodern interventions for the African Diaspora a multidisciplinary perspective. Gomez is the author of *Diasporic Africa: A Reader*, *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South*, and *Reversing Sail: A History of the African Diaspora* (New Approaches to African History).



MS. VIRGINIA JOHNSON
Artistic Director, Dance Theatre of Harlem

Ms. Johnson was a founding member and principal ballerina of Arthur Mitchell's Dance Theatre of Harlem, dancing in roles as diverse as Sanguinic in Balanchine's *Agon*, Blanche DuBois in *A Streetcar Named Desire*, *Giselle*, and the lead in Glen Tetley's *Voluntaries*. After a long career (28 years), Johnson served as editor-in-chief of a new ballet magazine, *Pointe*, until returning to the Dance Theatre of Harlem as its artistic director in 2009.



DR. GLENDOLA MILLS-PARKER
Associate Professor of Dance at Morgan State University

Dr. Mills-Parker is a scholar of African American dance publishing articles on African and African American aesthetics and dance with an emphasis on the image and function of dance in literature and popular culture. Her creative works include choreography and reconstruction of African and Umfundalai dance works on professional companies.



DR. KARIAMU WELSH
Professor and Chair of the Department of Music and Dance
at Temple University

Dr. Welsh is a scholar of cultural studies including performance and culture within Africa and the African Diaspora. Dr. Welsh serves as the Director of the Institute for African Dance Research and Performance. She is the author of two recently published books by Africa World Press, Trenton, NJ: *Zimbabwe Dance: Rhythmic Forces, Ancestral Voices* and *An Aesthetic Analysis and Umfundalai: An African Dance Technique*.

SPECIAL PRESENTATIONS



HAROLD CALDWELL
AFRICAN AMERICAN FOODWAYS
LEAD INTERPRETER WITH COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG Experience a sampling of traditional foods that came together in Colonial Virginia that represented three cultures: American, African, and European. Guests will be able to experience a tasting of these food traditions, prepared by History Interpreter, Chef and Gardener Harold Caldwell at Colonial Williamsburg. The tasting menu features hominy stew with meat, gumbo, black eyed peas, and turnip greens.



NEW BEDFORD WHALING NATIONAL MONUMENT YOUTH AMBASSADORS PROGRAM AND 3RD EYE EDUCATION The Youth Ambassador Program (YAP!) is a partnership project between the National Park Service and 3rd Eye Youth Empowerment Inc. where teens communicate national park themes through hip-hop culture, live events, and social media outreach.

American Dreams explores the stories of individuals who came to this country by choice, and by force. Written and performed in collaboration with the African Burial Ground National Monument, Statue of Liberty National Monument (Ellis Island), and the Schooner Ernestina.



CITY OF HAMPTON PARKS AND RECREATIONS/PERFORMING ARTS PROGRAMS: POWERHOUSE POETS The Powerhouse Poets write and perform spoken word poetry, to share their intel-lect, thoughts, opinions, and experiences in a positive and insightful way that leave their audiences entertained, en-lightened and inspired.

*Marie St. Clair, Performing Arts Programs Coordinator
Performing Arts Programs
City of Hampton Parks and Recreation*



BEAUTY FOR ASHES CONTEMPORARY SCHOOL OF DANCE (BFACSD) This performing arts organization includes a repertory dance theater company (Riddick Dance). Both build bridges of understanding through the presentation, instruction and celebration of choreographic works, focusing on under-served communities while also addressing the broader public. “Bringing the true spirit of dance to Hampton Roads,” is realized as we develop a strong performing arts center and conservatory to prepare youth for 21st century challenges.



THE SANKOFA PROJECTS

This community-centered organization creates educational and cultural programs that focus on the richness and diversity of the African Diaspora as seen through the lens of history and the beauty of the arts. The Sankofa Projects provide lectures, offer school based educational and cultural programs, traditional African drumming classes, film and lecture series, and facilitate community centered multi-generational programs. Through its programs, *The Sankofa Projects* hope to inspire others to *reach back and claim their history and culture* because we believe as Chinua Achebe said that, “Until the lions have their own historians, the history of the hunt will always glorify the hunter.”

SPECIAL SPOKEN WORD PROGRAMMING has been provided courtesy of the Fort Monroe National Monument and the Fort Monroe Authority. Special thanks go to the following people who made this possible.



Kirsten Talken-Spaulding
Glenn Oder
Eola Dance
Robin Reid
Veronica Gallardo
Robert Kelley
Darcy Nelson
Kris Barrow

PRIMARY DOCUMENTS [EXCERPTS] ON 1619 AND 1622

John Rolfe Reports on Virginia to Sir Edwin Sandys,

John Rolfe, who first went to Virginia in 1609, became one of the most prominent people involved in the colony. Many of his letters provide important snapshots of the life and workings of the colony. Rolfe wrote the following letter to Sandys in 1619. Its intent was to update Sandys on happenings in Virginia. What is Rolfe's overall estimation of the prosperity of the colony? What insights into the colony's life and circumstances does Rolfe's letter reveal?

The original documents is available in the Thomas Jefferson Papers. This can also be viewed online on the Library of Congress website.

About the latter end of August, a Dutch man of Warr of the burden of a 160 tunnes arriued at Point-Comfort, the Comando^r name Capt Jope, his Pilott for the West Indies one M^r Marmaduke an Englishman. They mett wth the Trēr in the West Indyes, and deternyned to hold consort shipp netherward, but in their passage lost one the other. He brought not any thing but 20. and odd Negroes, w^{ch} the Governo^r and Cape Marchant bought for victuallē (whereof he was in greate need as he p^ltended) at the best and easyest ratē they could. He hadd a lardge and ample Comysson from his Excellency to range and to take purchase in the West Indyes.

How the Massacre Was Good for the Plantation, 1622

Edward Waterhouse reported to the Virginia Company at some length concerning the massacre of 1622. In that latter part of his relation, he argues that the massacre was actually a good thing for the colony.

Because those commodities which the Indians enjoyed as much or rather more than we, shall now also be entirely possessed by vs. The Deere and other beasts will be in safety, and infinitely increase . . . The like may be said of our owne Swine and Goats, whereof they haue vsed to kill eight in tenne more than the English haue done. . . . Because the way of conquering them is much more easie then of ciuillizing them by faire meanes, for they are a rude, barbarous, and naked people, scattered in small companies, which are helps to Victorie, but hinderances to Ciuilitie: Besides that, a conquest may be of many, and at once; but ciuility is in particular, and slow, the effect of long time, and great industry. Moreover, victorie of them may bee gained many waies; by force, by surprize, by famine in burning their Corne, by destroying and burning their Boats, Canoes, and Houses . . . By these and sundry other wayes, as by driuing them (when they flye) vpon their enemies, who are round about them, and by aimating and abetting their enemies against them, may their ruine and subiection be soone effected.

Implementing the Great Charter in Virginia, 1619

Having thus prepared them he [the Speaker of the General Assembly] read over unto them [the Burgesses] the greate Charter, or commission of privileges, orders and laws, sent by Sir George Yeardley out of Englande. . . .

Here begin the lawes drawn out of the Instructions given by his Ma^{ties} Counsell of Virginia in England to my lo: la warre, Captain Argall and Sir George Yeardley, knight.

By this present General Assembly be it enacted that no injury or oppression be wrought by the English against the Indians whereby the present peace might be disturbed and antient quarrells might be revived.

. . . .

Against Idlenes, Gaming, drunkenes and excesse in apparell the Assembly hath enacted as followeth:

First, in detestation of Idlenes be it enacted, that if any man be founde to live as an Idler or renagate [perhaps referring to a colonist who lived as an Indian], though a freedman, it shalbe lawful for that Incorporation or Plantation to which he belongeth to appoint him a Mr [master] to serve for wages, till he shewe apparant signes of amendment.

. . . .

As touching the instruction of drawing some of the better disposed of the Indians to converse with our people and to live and labour amongst them, the Assembly who knowe well their dispositions thinke it fitte to enjoin, least to counsell those of the Colony, neither utterly to reject them nor yet to drawe them to come in. . . . they are a most trecherous people and quickly gone when they have done a villany. . . .

Be it enacted by this present assembly that for laying a surer foundation of the conversion of the Indians to Christian Religion, eache towne, city, Borrough, and particular plantation do obtaine unto themselves by just means a certine number of the natives' children to be educated by them in true religion and civile course of life

As touching the business of planting corne this present Assembly doth ordain that yeare by yeare all and every householder and householders have in store for every servant he or they shall keep, and also for his or their owne persons . . . one spare barrell of corne, to be delivered out yearly . . . For the neglecte of which duty he shalbe subjecte to the censure of the Governor and Counsell of Estate. Provided always that the first yeare of every newe man this lawe shall not be of force.

Special thanks to the entire 1619: Making of America conference team for their hard work.

This conference would not have been possible without our collaborative team of hardworking scholars and community leaders. We would like to thank all of our sponsors and supporters who helped to make this conference a success.

Special thanks to Hampton University, the National Endowment for the Humanities, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial Commission, Fort Monroe National Monument, the Hampton History Museum, the City of Hampton, the NSU Honors College, the College of Liberal Arts at Norfolk State University, Creative Services and Distance Learning at Norfolk State University, the Norfolk State University Foundation, Student Affairs at Norfolk State University, the Sankofa Projects, Old Dominion University, the Nottoway Indian Tribe of Virginia, Virginia Wesleyan College, and the College of William and Mary's Lemon Project.

We would like especially thank Sheldon Collins, Eric Claville, Eola Dance, Marie St. Clair, Vincent Schilling, Cynthia Aponte, Thomas Taverner, Stephanie Richmond, William Alexander, Cathy Jackson, Tarrye Venable, Matthan Wilson, Helen Martin, Andy Mink, Julia Winguard, Philip Sherrill, Kelvin Arthur, Michael Crawford, Crystal Square-Williams, and Idalcy Fischer, for their hard work in making sure that we have a successful conference. We would also like to thank our honorary co-chairs—the Honorable Mamie Locke and the Honorable Algie T. Howell Jr.—who have provided unending support for this program.

A special thank you is extended to the National Park Service, the Hampton Recreational Bureau, and the Sankofa Projects for supporting our *Spoken Word Program*, *Echoes of the Diaspora*.

Shonda Buchanan	Daniel Pearlman	Rebecca Hooker
Nashid Madyun	Geoffroy deLaforcade	Jamatha Watson
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Eric Claville, Conference Co-Chair and Assistant Professor of History and Political Science, Hampton University

Hampton History Museum



Toward Freedom: Hampton and the Contraband

October 5, 2013-January 30, 2014



120 Old Hampton Lane
Hampton, VA 23669
757-727-1610

On May 25, 1861, three courageous young men, Shepard Mallory, Frank Baker, and James Townsend, seized the moment, ceased working as slaves, escaped to union-held Fort Monroe near Hampton, and petitioned for their freedom. Maj. Gen. Benjamin F. Butler, the commander of Union forces in the area, accepted their plea, proclaiming them “contraband of war.” Soon, thousands followed.

Trace the steps of escaped men, women and children en route to “Freedom’s Fortress” in the early days of the Civil War. One of the period’s most compelling, and little-known tales of intrigue, the heroic story of the “Contraband” is a must see.

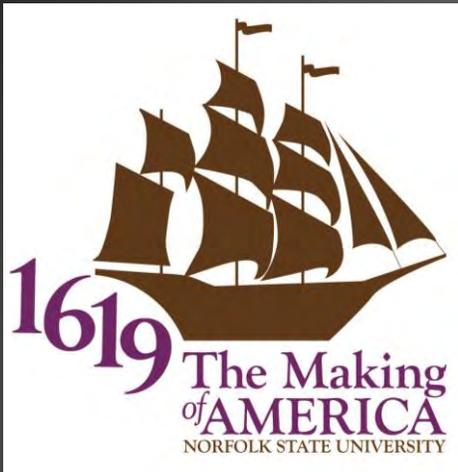


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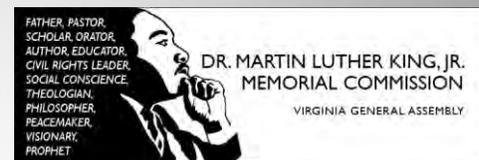
Teachers Guide for 1619 Making of America conference



*Funded with the generous support of
National Endowment for the Humanities
Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial Commission
Virginia Foundation for the Humanities
Joseph Jenkins Roberts Center for African Diaspora
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**JOSEPH JENKINS
ROBERTS CENTER** 
FOR AFRICAN DIASPORA STUDIES

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Discover the Future*
Virginia Foundation for the Humanities



**JOSEPH JENKINS
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FOR AFRICAN DIASPORA STUDIES

The Joseph Jenkins Roberts Center for African Diaspora Studies is designed to create opportunities for Norfolk State University to enhance the strength of its humanities programs. Named in honor of a Virginian whose legacy as the first President of Liberia embodies globalism, the Center is dedicated to the exploration and analysis of the history and culture of African Diaspora.

One of the Center's primary goals is to facilitate public access to history through public programs such as the *1619: Making of America* conferences.

This Teachers Guide was constructed as a resource for teachers to help their students think critically, analytically, and historically.

By highlighting the processes of how historians think, the Guide uses published and unpublished historical interpretations by scholars to assist teachers in understanding American history that began in 1619. We understand the trepidation teachers may have in teaching material that is not included in the textbook. Therefore, we selected acclaimed historians whose works provide an important insight to this complicated history.

All the materials included in this Teachers Guide are covered in the Standards of Learning (SOL). We believe that this information will engage teachers and students in a discussion that will enhance learning and produce better results on the standardized exams.

The approach this Guide takes focuses on the **two questions**:

What were you told?

What actually happened?

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INTRODUCTION: MAKING SENSE OF 1619

American educators have come far in the last two generations by acknowledging the role of slavery and racism in the making of American culture. Even the much-debated national and state-mandated Standards of Learning for K-12 education make reference to African slaves. This project that hosts the *1619: Making of America conferences* contend that it is no longer enough to assert the contribution of different cultures to American history. There is a need to go beyond the fixed identities of multiculturalism – the anachronistic ‘Red, White & Black’ of colonial American history – to assert the *hybrid* and *global* character of American race relations. Doing so will sharpen students’ analytical skills, stimulate their interest in the humanities, broaden their cultural and historical perspective, and prepare them for life in an interconnected twenty-first-century world.

The difficulty in most K-through-12 textbooks is positioning the formation of American society and culture within the context of international trade, migration, and exploration and the American indigenous societies. The connecting thread lies in the concepts of personhood, citizenship, and nation, which from the outset, were imagined to belong within gendered and racialized borders. Only white men were actualized as legal persons and therefore America’s “first citizens.” And while Africa and the transatlantic slave trade are central to the narrative, the involvement of Europe, the Atlantic world, and the Americas is vital to understanding the emergence of this early American culture that would deprive non-Europeans of these essential qualities, traits that were the basis for justifying colonization and enslavement.

The approaching 400th anniversary of the arrival of twenty-odd West-Central Africans to Virginia colony provides the perfect opportunity to make this point. Each conference will approach the anniversary from a different scholarly vantage. In 2013, we will focus on the context of the African Diaspora in the Atlantic World. The next year in 2014 will emphasize the cultural and global background and significance of these migrants.

These conferences discuss the topic of 1619 and its connections through the period of the Civil War, with an emphasis on themes that include the impact of 1619 on food-ways and customs, the lives and family associations of Native Americans, Africans and African Americans, the practice of religion, Early American literary and popular culture, and the ways that 1619 has been represented in the modern era.

The year 2019 will mark the 400th anniversary of the arrival of “twenty-and-odd” West-Central Africans to Virginia colony, the establishment of Virginia’s first legislative body (which later became the House of Burgesses), the appropriation of Native American people and sites as American, and the establishment of white families with the arrival of single English women who helped create the foundation for a British American society. Following the entrenchment of white families in America, concepts of whiteness and an American society based on Anglo-Atlantic culture would emerge. Yet, there is no scholarship that specifically explains how 1619 created a watershed that framed the cultural and political milieu of British America from a global context, although this dynamic has been implied in historical studies about the Atlantic World.

The Importance of 1619

As one of the chief gateways to the earliest exploration and settlement of North America, Virginia was the subject of much imaginative thought and practical scrutiny. Virginia Company officials and English Virginians understood their colonization project within an imperial context, for which the Spanish and Portuguese provided the most relevant and copied model. Therefore, the English appropriated and transformed the native people's political and economic structures to serve the process of colonization. Spanish officials in South America and Mesoamerica modified the political structures of the Inca and Mexica (Aztec) empires, converting political categories like the Inca *curaca* (secondary chief, often a younger brother) into Iberian positions like *segunda* persona (second in command). Following their lead, seventeenth-century English colonizers appropriated and transformed native peoples' political and economic structures to serve the interests of their own emerging empire of the Atlantic world.

- **The arrival of Africans to America at Point Comfort (site of Fort Monroe) has been fraught with contention by historians over the question of whether they arrived as enslaved or as *unfree* people.** Today, historians agree that their arrival heralded the beginnings of a history that would take these *unfree* people and eventually transform the majority into America's enslaved population by the 1660s.
- At the same time, **the birth of a limited government would be important in establishing the concept of a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people."** Composed of twenty-two delegates who met in July 1619, the House of Burgesses began constructing a society that allowed people to have a share in their government.
- Ironically, two hundred and forty-two years later in 1861, **the site where these early Africans arrived is where General Benjamin Butler issued his declaration that allowed enslaved men, who were used by the Confederacy to fight against the Union, to be classified as "contrabands of war."** This eventually would lead to the Emancipation Proclamation and the Thirteenth Amendment.

Thus, 2019 promises to be an important benchmark for a nation that has come full circle from a society that pledged freedom through its Declaration of Independence but established inequality, to one that has repositioned itself to allow opportunity to all its citizens. By framing this history within a more complex context, our objective is to provide a broad-based understanding of how events beginning in 1619 permanently altered British America and created a complex culture and society that would eventually cohere around the notion of "*Americanness*."

Eastern Native Culture

Virginia Places (Geography of Virginia) by Charles A. Grymes

The Three Linguistic Groups of Colonial Virginia

The three separate languages spoken by different tribes offer the best way to distinguish the Native Americans present in Virginia at the time of "first contact" with Europeans over 400 years ago. However, our understanding of those languages is warped and incomplete. The first Virginians never developed writing, unlike the cultures in Central America. As a result, our interpretation of Native American words (especially place names) is

based on records from the first English settlers, later conversations with Native Americans whose culture had been altered by contact with Europeans,... or from myth. For example, the standard definition for the place name "Shenandoah" is that it means "Daughter of the Stars" - but evidence for that claim is thin. "Shenandoah" may mean "spruce stream," or it may mean "deer," or it may mean many other things.

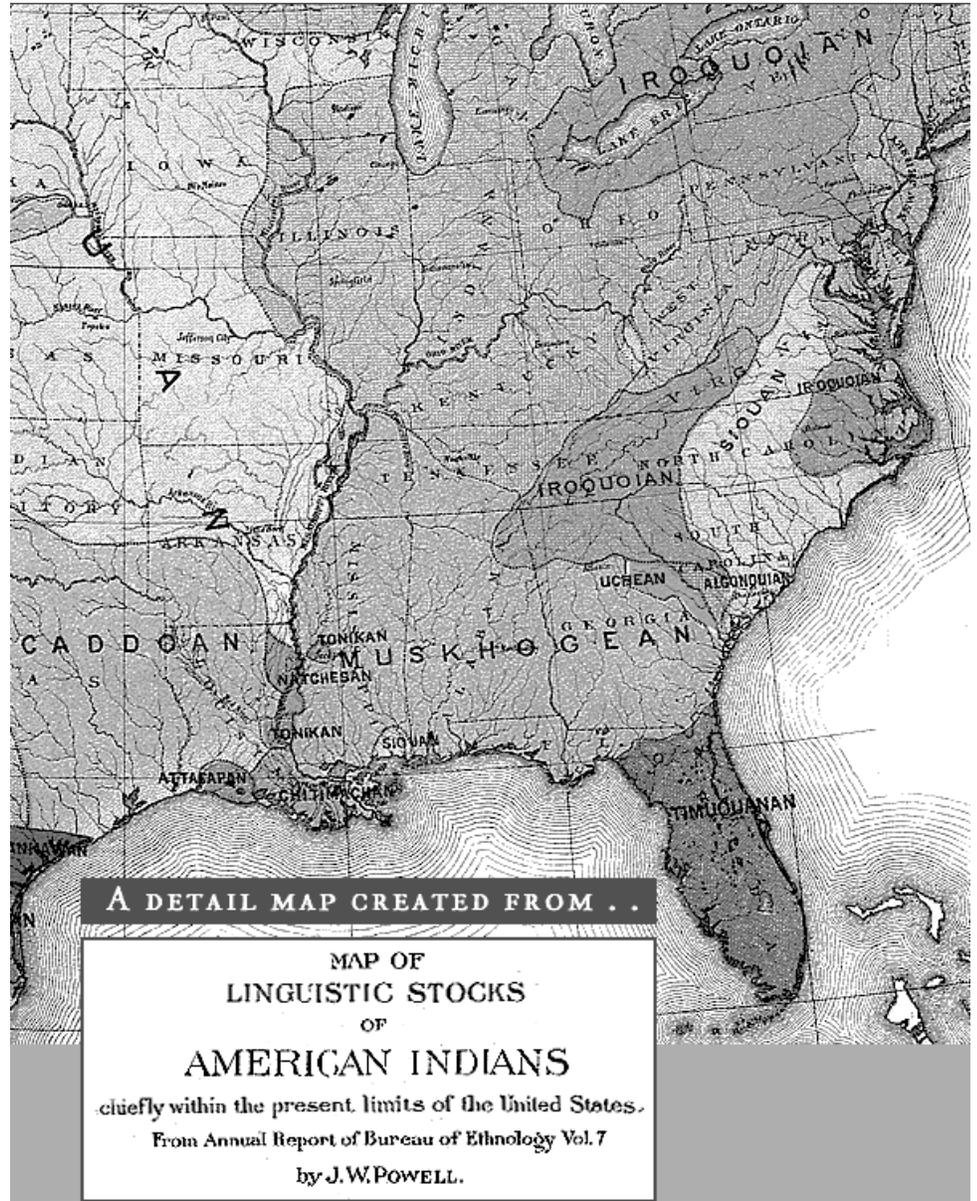
In Saratoga County, New York, the Shenendehowa High School students call themselves the Plainsmen because they content that "Shenendehowa" means "great plains." Other stories suggest the Shenandoah Valley (and river) were named for Chief Sherando, who supposedly led an Iroquoian-speaking tribe.¹

We don't know for sure if the word was Algonquian, Siouan, or Iroquoian; you have to decide on the etymology for yourself. Henry Heatwole's solution for the origin of Shenandoah, after examining various options, was "*I choose pleasing over plausible.*"²

Algonquian-Speaking Native Americans in Virginia
 Siouan-Speaking Native Americans in Virginia
 Iroquoian-Speaking Native Americans in Virginia

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- <http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=Shenandoah>; "Sports," Shenandoah Central Schools (New York), <http://www.shenet.org/grapevine/Archives/sports.htm> (last checked September 21, 2013)
2. "Guide to Shenandoah National Park and Skyline Drive," Shenandoah National Park Association, <http://www.guidetosnp.com/web/Information/ShenandoahNationalPark.aspx> (last checked September 21, 2013)

Algonquian-Speaking Native Americans in Virginia

Between the time the Spanish arrived in 1570 and the English came to stay in 1607, Powhatan established control over many - but not all - tribes east of the Fall Line.

The Algonquian-speaking tribes in Virginia are often treated as if they were all part of Powhatan's "paramount chiefdom." However, the Potomacks, Dogue, and other groups north of the Rappahannock River were only marginally under Powhatan's control, or remained completely free from any obligation to pay taxes to him.

Powhatan inherited control (from his mother rather than his father, in accord with his cultural tradition) of just four-six tribes. He conquered another 30 or so, and exerted control over many Algonquian-speaking Native Americans in Virginia when the *Godspeed*, *Discovery*, and *Susan Constant* sailed between the capes at the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay.

Those Algonquian-speaking tribes were all located east of the Fall Line. Powhatan ruled between the Falls of the James (today the site of Richmond) and the Atlantic Ocean. Powhatan dominated tribes on the southern part of the Eastern Shore, which could be reached only by canoe until the Europeans brought a new technology - sailing ships. Powhatan's power extended south to the Blackwater River and today's Virginia Beach, and north to Potomac and Aquia Creeks.

North of the Rappahannock, his control was weak. The Potomack tribe, who lived at the mouth of Aquia Creek, actually sold Powhatan's daughter Pocahontas to the English in 1613. She had been in the area ensuring the corn tax would be paid to her father, but ended up instead as a captive (sold for a copper kettle).

Further north in Virginia, from the Occoquan River to the Little Falls of the Potomac River, Powhatan exerted no power. Instead, he tried to block the English from dealing with those tribes outside his control. The Algonquian-speaking Taux (Dogue or Doeg's) were allied to Piscataway and other Maryland tribes, and the capital of their leader or "tyac" was located in Maryland.

Many of the place names of Virginia are based on the place names used by the Algonquian tribes, such as Chesapeake and Occoquan and Accomack. Such names are common east of the Fall Line, but tribes belonging to the Siouan and Iroquoian linguistic groups dominated the area west of the Fall Line.

“The Powhatan Indian World”

By Sarah J Stebbins

NPS Seasonal, March 2011

Available online through the National Park Service is *A Study of Virginia Indians and Jamestown: THE FIRST CENTURY* by Danielle Moretti-Langholtz, Ph.D.

When the English arrived in Virginia in 1607 and created the first permanent English settlement in North America at Jamestown, they did not encounter an uninhabited land. An estimated 50,000 Virginia Indians had called what is now the Commonwealth of Virginia home for more than 12,000 years. The tribes the English encountered first, and most often, belonged to the powerful Powhatan Chiefdom. The land occupied by the Powhatan Indians encompassed all of Tidewater Virginia, from the Potomac River in the north to south of the James River, and parts of the Eastern Shore. This area, which they called Tsenacommacah, was about 100 miles long from north to south and about 100 miles wide from southeast to northwest. Before the arrival of foreigners, and their unknown diseases, the Powhatan Indians were estimated to have numbered 25,000.

By 1607, the Powhatan Chiefdom numbered approximately 15,000. Chief Powhatan, whose given name was Wahunsunacock, was the *mamanatowick* (paramount chief) of the Powhatan Chiefdom.



Figure 1: The Powhatan Chiefdom in 1607. Courtesy Helen C. Rountree



Figure 2: What a Powhatan Village may have looked like. NPS image

In the sixteenth century, he inherited six tribes from his mother or someone related to her; Powhatan society was matrilineal so descent was passed through the mother's line. By 1607, the Powhatan Chiefdom had more than 30 different tribes, each of which had its own chief (*weroance/weroansqua*). All had been gained through marriage alliance or coercion and were "ruled" by and had to pay "tribute" to Powhatan.

The Powhatan Indians lived in towns located on high ground near rivers, which were sources of food and transportation. The

Powhatan also used the rivers to bathe every morning. Sometimes the towns were palisaded, which usually meant they were closer to enemy territory. The towns consisted of from two to a hundred houses with six to twenty people living in each dwelling, according to Captain John Smith. These houses, called *yehakins*, were typically scattered and interspersed between the trees.

The *yehakins* were made from saplings bent and lashed together at the top to form a barrel shape. Woven mats or bark were placed on top of the saplings and space left for an entrance at each end of the house and an open hole at the center of the roof for smoke to escape. The size of the house varied, but someone like Chief Powhatan, as the *mamanatowick*, had a larger house than most - it even had separate corridors! In summer, when heat and humidity increased, the mat walls could be rolled up or removed for better air circulation. Inside the house, bedsteads were built along both walls. One or more mats were placed on top for bedding, with more mats or skins for blankets. A rolled mat served as a pillow. During the day, the bedding was rolled up to save space.

Yehakins were constructed by the women (who may have also owned them). Women provided most, if not all of the fuel, and much of the food as well. Besides building the houses, and everything associated with them, Powhatan women cooked and prepared food, gathered firewood (which was kept constantly going), collected water for cooking and drinking, reared the children (with help from the men when they were home), made the clothing, farmed (planting and harvesting), and made baskets, pots, cordage, wooden spoons, platters and mortars. Many tasks took them away from not only their houses, but the towns as well. They also collected edible plants - which meant women needed to be able to identify the various useful plants in all seasons and terrains. Women were barbers for the men and would process any meat the men brought home, as well as tan hides used to make clothing. They were constantly doing something. To acquire the varied knowledge and skills necessary to be an adult, Powhatan girls' education began at an early age.

Powhatan men had fewer jobs than the women, but they were especially demanding. Their world revolved around always being prepared to kill enemy people and animals efficiently. Besides hunting and war, men built dugout canoes (used by men and women), fished, and cleared garden plots. They fished mostly in the spring and hunted mostly in the fall; it was the man's responsibility to provide animals, for food, clothing and tools. Hunting was a taxing job, requiring mental concentration, extended bursts of physical energy, and an intimate knowledge of the terrain and plant cover that attracted animals. Hunting methods necessitated the men's unique hairstyles. They wore the left side of their hair long and tied in a knot, decorated with various trophies from wars or feathers, and shaved the right side, so as not to get their bow strings caught in their hair. The intensiveness of hunting required periods of rest. During their "rest time" men also cleared land for garden



Figure 3: A Powhatan man ready to hunt.
Unknown British Museum

plots, built and repaired fishing weirs and hunting gear, and exchanged information with other men.

Men's work was different than women's, but both were important and benefited Powhatan society as a whole. In fact, if a Powhatan family had at least one adult male and one adult female it could live comfortably entirely by its own labor. Powhatan children learned how to be adults, and to do adults' work, from both of their parents. At first, both boys and girls were taught mostly by their mothers; fathers helped rear the children when they were not hunting or fishing. Once boys were old enough, agile enough, good enough runners, and were an accurate shot with a bow and arrow, they were taken hunting and fishing by their fathers. These same hunting skills also helped the boys learn the art of war and vice versa.

Between the ages of ten and fifteen boys had learned all necessary skills to be a man in Powhatan society and were initiated as men. They began to dress like men, wearing a breechclout passed between the legs and attached to a cordage belt, and leggings or moccasins when in the woods to protect against scratches that could become easily infected. Girls, of course, continued to learn women's work from their mothers. They became women once they reached puberty, which was by about the age of thirteen. They then wore a deerskin apron, hung on a cordage belt, and grew their hair out (they wore no clothing before puberty and shaved their hair except for a strand in the back that was usually braided). Like men, they wore leggings and moccasins when in the woods. The women wore their hair in a variety of ways: hanging loose, braided into a plait with bangs, or cut short in a uniform length.

Marriage in Powhatan society meant that a man was able to be a provider for his wife and family - which had to be proven to the prospective in-laws. Marriage indicated a man had truly reached maturity and that a woman was able to bear children. Once a man found a woman he wanted to marry, he had to attract her interest and, if she still lived with her parents, gain their approval. He did so through gifts of food, which showed his ability to provide. Once an agreement was reached, the man negotiated and paid a bride wealth to her parents, as a way of compensating her family for their loss of valuable labor and for her child-bearing potential. The bride wealth served as a public declaration of the chosen woman's value. Soon after the man procured the necessary household items (a house, mortar and pestle, mats, pots, and bedding) and the bride wealth was paid, the bride was brought to the groom's house. There, her father, guardian or "chief friend" joined the couple's hands together. A string of beads was measured to the man's arm length and then broken over the couple's hands (the beads were given to the person who brought the bride). The couple were now married, and expected to be for life, and a celebration took place. Divorce was possible, however, in which case any children were possibly split between their parents according to their sex.

Another type of marriage, a marriage by contract, was a temporary agreement made between a Powhatan man and woman that usually lasted one year. Each year, the contractual union was either renewed or ended and the two were free to marry others. If, however, the allotted time passed without the union being ended or re-negotiated the couple were married permanently.

Chief Powhatan, and possibly other chiefs, were in a position to not only choose whom they wanted to marry on a grander scale, but could pay whatever bride wealth they saw fit with no negotiation (they outranked their prospective in-laws). Marrying the paramount chief

was considered an honor. However, unlike other Powhatan Indian marriages, Powhatan's wives were not allowed to have extramarital relations, which were permitted in the rest of Powhatan society if the wife had her husband's permission. As the paramount chief, Powhatan was able to afford more wives than the average man (multiple wives were allowed so long as they could all be supported); he was recorded as having had more than one hundred wives. Once one of his wives had a child by him, Powhatan sent her with their baby back to her home town, where they were supported by Powhatan. Once the child was old enough, he or she was sent back to live with Powhatan's other children. The mother was then considered divorced from Powhatan and free to marry another. For all Powhatan Indians, marriage was considered a child-rearing arrangement. Love, if it materialized during the course of a marriage, was welcomed but not expected, as the worlds of men and women were so different and separate.

Besides being taught the differences in their worlds, Powhatan boys and girls learned how to properly

act. They were taught to be respectful in public; self-control was one of the greatest virtues. This served a functional purpose as well, since there was no law enforcement. Even chiefs sometimes did not have the right to intervene in quarrels between people. It was best to follow the policy that "proper human beings" simply were not supposed to be openly hostile with each other. Instead, a non-interfering and non-preaching stance was taken to avoid insulting anyone. This respectful public attitude was especially important when Powhatan Indians encountered non-relatives or someone they did not trust or like. This was one of many causes of the misunderstandings with the English, who took the Powhatan's polite listening as a sign of agreement. It wasn't. It was simply normal public behavior towards outsiders - you tolerated them until you couldn't stand them.

Differing cultural standards, behaviors, languages, and attitudes caused many of the conflicts between the Powhatan Indians and the English. At first, the Powhatan Indians tried to help the newcomers, but the English overstayed their welcome and overstepped the Powhatan's hospitality. By 1609, Chief Powhatan was tired of the constant English demands for food and officially told his people not to help them. The relationship deteriorated between the two peoples. It was not mended until Powhatan's favorite daughter Pocahontas was



Figure 4: English depiction of paramount chief Powhatan. *Courtesy John Smith's Map of 1612.*

captured by the English in 1613. While in captivity, she met John Rolfe. According to English accounts, the two fell in love and wanted to get married. Powhatan gave his approval and, after she was converted and renamed Rebecca, peace was solidified by the marriage of Pocahontas and John Rolfe in April 1614. Within a year the couple had a son, Thomas. In 1616, the Virginia Company paid to send the Rolfe family to England to gain more English interest in Jamestown.

While in England, Pocahontas became sick and died of an unknown illness in 1617. The following year, her father died. The chiefdom then passed, briefly, to Powhatan's younger brother, Opitchapam, before being passed to his next younger brother, Opechancanough. At first, the peace endured, but John Rolfe's tobacco experiments started to flourish, becoming the cash crop that the Virginia Company, which had funded the Jamestown settlement, had long anticipated. More and more English came to Virginia and began pushing Powhatan Indians from their lands. The Powhatan Indians had been respectful and helpful to the English because it was their way, but their patience began to wear thin.

In March of 1622, Opechancanough coordinated an attack against all English settlements. Because of a young Indian boy's warning, Jamestown was spared. Many outlying settlements were attacked. Of a population of about 1,200 English settlers, about 350-400 were killed. Afterwards, the Powhatan Indians withdrew, as was their way, waiting for the English to learn their lesson or pack up and leave. The English, instead, retaliated and more conflicts arose and continued on and off for the next ten years, until a tenuous peace was reached.

By 1644, the English numbered about 8,000 and continued to encroach upon Powhatan Indian lands. Opechancanough planned a second attack - though some of the members of the Powhatan Chiefdom decided to side with the English. As in 1622, 350-400 English were killed. By 1646, Opechancanough, then almost one hundred years old, was captured by the English. While in captivity at Jamestown, he was shot in the back - against orders - and killed. Opechancanough's death began the death of



Figure 5: Map of Powhatan reservation lands lost. *Courtesy Helen C. Rountree*

the Powhatan Chiefdom; it was eventually reduced to tributary status.

Opechancanough's successor Necotowance signed the first treaties with the English in 1646. The treaties set up clear boundaries between what was considered English-owned lands and Powhatan-owned lands. The Powhatan Indians were not permitted on English lands

unless conducting official business and had to wear striped coats (later badges) that denoted it. In 1677, more Virginia Indians signed a second treaty, as a result of Bacon's Rebellion. This treaty set up more reservation lands for the Powhatan and Virginia Indians. It also reinforced yearly tribute payments to the English of fish and game. The Powhatan Indians were now relegated to small reservations and were fully subjects of the English.

In the eighteenth century, Powhatan Indian lands dwindled more as many lost their reservations. The Rappahannock lost theirs shortly after 1700, the Chickahominy in 1718, and the Nansemond sold theirs in 1792. These tribes then faded from public view (many of the tribes had been reported extinct by 1722). They became invisible as a means of survival. The only Powhatan tribes that maintained their reservations were the Pamunkey, Mattaponi and the Gingaskin. Some traditional ways were still practiced, but, after decades of interactions with the English, many Powhatan Indians were identifying themselves as Christians and speaking English. By the end of the century, many of the native languages were no longer heard.

In the nineteenth century, the Powhatan Indian tribes with reservations were pressured again for their lands. The whites also wanted to end the Virginia Indian's legal status as tribes. Many of the tribes were very poor and surrendered to legal pressure; they sold their reservation lands for profit. The Pamunkey and Mattaponi, though also poor, withstood the attempts at termination and refused to give up their reservations, which they still hold today. They also maintained their tribal structure and treaties with the Commonwealth of Virginia.

More trouble came for all Virginia Indians in the twentieth century in the form of Walter Ashby Plecker. Walter Plecker was a white supremacist and a follower of the eugenics movement. He was the first Registrar of the Bureau of Vital Statistics in Virginia from 1912 to 1946. He believed there were no "true" Virginia Indians left. If any of them had one-sixteenth African ancestry, or, by 1923 any trace, he or she was labeled as "colored." Plecker said those trying to use the term "Indian" by "'sneaking' in their birth certificates through their own midwives" were "like rats when you are not watching" and perpetuating a "racial falsehood." He wanted all official documents, such as birth certificates, death certificates, marriage licenses, and voter registration books to reflect his views by not using the term "Indian." Plecker himself admitted, though, that he had "been doing a good deal of bluffing, knowing all the while that it could never be legally sustained" as he had no science to back up his claims.

In 1924, the Racial Integrity Act was passed. Walter Plecker's "paper genocide" became easier. He was an advocate for the Act as he wanted to keep the "white" "master race" pure. He believed Virginia Indians, whom he called "mongrels," wanted to escape "negro status" so they could go to white schools and marry whites. To escape Plecker's aggressive campaign, many Virginia Indians left the state. Others stayed, trying to hide until the storm passed. Many people grew up unaware of their Virginia Indian heritage. The Racial Integrity Act was finally repealed on June 12, 1967 in the United States Supreme Court case *Loving v. Virginia*. Virginia Indians were now able to marry whom they chose and, more importantly, to change their birth certificates to accurately show they were Indians. Prior to 1997, when Delegate Harvey Morgan's bill passed waiving it, a fee was required to change the records.

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Historical Summary of North America When British Arrived

At the beginning of the seventeenth century all the eastern portions of North America that afterward became the thirteen original colonies, were known as Virginia. Three important events marked a significant transformation for the history of the nation, twelve years after the founding of Jamestown. According to the most recent scholarship, Virginia was a land for the taking. April Hatfield observed in her 2003 article, "Spanish Colonization Literature, Powhatan Geographies" that the early English colonists saw Virginia in terms of the Chesapeake geography that was predetermined by their reading of Spanish colonization literature. For these early colonists, the Spanish provided the best model for "the appropriation and transformation of indigenous political and economic structures to serve the process of colonization." Once the English established treaties with the Powhatan Confederation, which they believed was the central power in Virginia, they worked to justify their power through political marriages with Native American women as a way to appropriate land and title. In 2011, William Goldman's "Spain and the Founding of Jamestown" explained how critical Spain's decision "to allow Jamestown's survival" emerged from the birth of a new Atlantic world that was framed by the European empires' struggle for control of continents.

These early colonists hoped that by appropriating indigenous community structures, they could follow Spanish successes in other areas of the Americas. After they learned the socioeconomic and political structures of over thirty Algonquian-speaking chiefdoms and six chiefdoms on the upper James River and the Pamunkey and Mattaponi Rivers, the English engaged in a successful power struggle that was both political and physical. Patricia Seed highlighted in *American Pentimento* (2001) that the English appropriated land while the Spanish and Portuguese stripped human dignity from Native Americans. All of these European powers, however, deprived native peoples of their distinct heritage.

After the conclusion of the first war with the Powhatans in 1614 and John Rolfe's first success at growing marketable tobacco that same year, the English colony expanded, especially along the James River. Hatfield argued that because Rolfe specifically identified tobacco as a Spanish crop, noting that he acquired it from the Spanish Caribbean. This may have contributed to Virginia being viewed from a European colonial context and deprived of its Native American heritage. In fact, beginning in 1615, Virginia's English settlements were all on former towns of the Algonquians. At the conclusion of the second Indian War in 1622, each of the thirty-two Powhatan kingdoms (about the size of an English shire) that had a town located on one of the Virginia rivers became a colonial Virginia township. Since these lands had shipping access and were already cleared and developed, it was easy for the English to appropriate this space, reconstructing the memory of these Native American landmarks as essentially English.

In the same way the English used the Spanish colonial model of appropriation, causing the native peoples to disappear as a recognizable entity during the first century, the Africans who arrived in the British American colonies came without clearly-defined rights or status. This allowed their cultural identity to fade and their rights, even if they became free people, to be circumscribed. For example, a year after the 1667 Virginia Assembly declaration removing any prohibition about enslaving African American Christians, free blacks were prohibited from enjoying full identity as Englishmen. In 1691, Virginia expanded its control over free blacks by requiring all recently manumitted blacks to leave the colony. In 1705 and 1723, Virginia passed statutes making blacks ineligible for public office and barring them from the polls, respectively.

White fear of an African rebellion, as reflected in Virginia's statutes passed during the latter seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, stands as a testament to the price White colonists paid for their religious and economic freedom to the exclusion of anyone else. What was most ironic was that the proverbial domino effect began with the elimination of any religious hindrances to enslavement.

Historians investigating the early colonial period and its impact on American society have done so only within the context of British America and within the paradigms of slavery and democratic governance. Left out of the investigation has been the global and multi-ethnic complexities. This was particularly true about Native American colonial history. Earlier interpretations either celebrated the rapid triumph of Euro-American "civilization" over Indian "savagery" or deplored the decimation of native peoples through military defeat and disease. In both versions, native peoples figured primarily as passive victims. Recent studies in the field of Native American historiography have focused on the "new world" paradigm created by contact between these two cultures. More importantly, some of these accounts draw attention to the enduring Indian resistance to white domination and the

emergence of multiple forms of cultural adaptation and accommodation that took place on both sides of the moving frontier. Our initiative seeks to recapture the complexity of this particularly fraught cultural terrain.

The First Africans Who Arrived in 1619

Nearly three quarters of the Africans disembarking in the lower-Chesapeake (York and Upper James Basin) came from more southerly parts of Africa from the Bight of Biafra (Present day eastern Nigeria) and West Central Africa, then called Kongo and Angola.

In the 1570 and 1580s most of the slaves shipped from Africa to the Spanish colonies came from the regions of modern day Senegal, Gambia and Guinea, but in 1575 the Portuguese built a colonial base for the slave trade in Angola, in faraway West Central Africa. From their bases in Angola, the Portuguese waged near constant war against their African neighbors, capturing thousands and exporting them both to the Portuguese sugar colony in Brazil and to the Spanish colonies around the Caribbean and in Peru. The Angola trade was lucrative, and as a result the Spanish government gave the governors of Angola the right to the *asiento*, the exclusive right to deliver slaves to the American colonies.

While the governors of Angola captured slaves in their wars, these wars were not simply raids that had immediate and constant success. The African powers that surrounded Angola were strong; the Kingdom of Kongo to the north was fully capable of defeating Portuguese armies and did so in 1622. Ndongo, the main target of Portuguese aggression managed to fend Portugal off, and by 1600 the war there was at a stalemate. But in 1617, the Portuguese had a breakthrough. They were able to recruit the Imbangala, rootless bands of warriors who had been raiding and pillaging the lands south of the Portuguese colony to fight for them as mercenaries. Governor Luis Mendes de Vasconcelos brought these bands into action in 1619, and using them, was able to smash the defenses of Ndongo. They pillaged and sacked the country, took the capital city of Kabasa and forced its king to flee to a fortified set of islands in the Kwanza River. Mendes de Vasconcelos was able to capture and export more than 60,000 people during the three years of his governorship.

Dozens of ships took these newly enslaved people to Brazil and the Spanish Indies to work the sugar estates and the various industries and enterprises of America. Among those ships was the *São João Bautista*, captained by Manuel da Cunha. In July 1619 his ship took on some 350 captives from the wars of Mendes de Vasconcelos and the Imbangala and set sail for Vera Cruz in Mexico. They would probably be set to work growing sugarcane in the estates around Vera Cruz or to work in service and industry in Mexico City or other Spanish towns.

The *São João Bautista*'s voyage was longer than usual and mortality was high. The master decided to off load nearly 50 slaves who were seriously ill in Jamaica, and let the remaining captives rest before continuing. It was as they were passing the town of Campeche (in the Yucatan) that the ship was intercepted by the two English privateers, who took about 60 of the cargo off from the ship before allowing it to complete its journey to Vera Cruz.

As for the Angolans now in the possession of the English captains, their journey was still more complicated. Both vessels made their way to Jamestown, where in August the *White Lion* arrived and sold "twenty and odd" of its share of the spoils to the labor-hungry colonists. Thanks to holding a letter of marque from a Dutch official, the ship itself was considered by the settlers in Jamestown to be a Dutch vessel. But when the *Treasurer* arrived

a bit later, Captain Elfrith discovered that the Duke of Savoy had changed sides in the war and his letter of marque was not considered valid and he was sent away. Elfrith sailed to Bermuda, which was the hub of privateering activity in the Caribbean at the time, and left the slaves there. Subsequently, as residence in Bermuda had perhaps “purified” his cargo, the *Treasurer* returned to Virginia early in 1620, delivered another lot of captives and then, the tired and worn ship sank in a creek off the James River.

Only one of the *São João Bautista*’ captive cargo is known to us certainly by name, and that is “Angelo” a “Negro woman” who was raising pigs when Virginia Company officials made a muster list of the inhabitants of the Virginia Colony in 1625, who was specifically stated to have come to Virginia on the *Treasurer*. In all probability all the others came from the same Portuguese slaver, but their further path is unknown.

The Angolans brought with them a culture that had already been in contact with Europe for a century when they crossed the ocean, and in varying degrees, they had embraced some components of it. Most visibly many, including probably Angelo, had embraced Christianity. The Kingdom of Kongo in particular had become more or less completely a Christian country by the middle of the sixteenth century, with the baptism and Christian instruction of effectively the entire population through a remarkable locally established and staffed ecclesiastical organization funded by the Kongo state. Kongolese bore Portuguese names, and knew Christian prayers and hymns, though they said them in their own language. A civil war was raging in Kongo at the time of the wars of Mendes de Vasconcelos and it is quite possible that Kongolese were among the people enslaved and sold in Luanda from there.

The majority of the people captured in 1619, however, were probably from Ndongo, and their engagement with Western culture was far less well established than that of Kongo. Nevertheless, Christianity had also penetrated in Ndongo, and complaints lodged against Mendes de Vasconcelos specified that his Imbangala allies had enslaved “more than four thousand baptized Christians” or more than a quarter of all exports for the year, in that war. The presence of Christians from Ndongo among the enslaved may explain why so many Africans in early Virginia had Christian names in Portuguese form. But many were also outside the Christian world, as was the region around Kabasa, capital of Ndongo, which had been the scene of heavy fighting and probably the majority of the slaves, had had priests in it but their impact was relatively limited.

As historian Engel Sluiter argued, the West-Central Africans who disembarked from the slave ship, *São João Bautista*, and onto Chesapeake shores in August 1619, did so into a very big world. In *Central Africans, Atlantic Creoles, and the Foundation of the Americas*, John Thornton and Linda Heywood discovered that the Portuguese slaver which then carried them across the Atlantic was originally headed for Veracruz (Mexico), when two ships attacked, robbing the ship of about sixty captives. The *White Lion*,¹ and the English ship, *Treasurer*, then pulled into Old Point Comfort (Fort Monroe, VA), where the *White Lion* traded some of its human cargo for provisions. That year, John Rolfe wrote to the Virginia Company that the governor purchased “20. and odd” Africans for supplies. The *Treasurer* then set out for Bermuda to unload more slaves, returning to Jamestown a few months later to unload the remaining ten or so African captives where it later sank.

¹ The *White Lion* was an English ship although it carried a letter of marque from the Duke of Savoy.

The Chesapeake shores onto which these Africans disembarked were also very familiar. Africans had been present on the southeastern coast of North America for quite some time before 1619. In 1527, at least one-hundred African slaves were sold as soldiers to the Spanish colonizer Lucas Vazquez de Ayllón, who tried to set up the failed Spanish settlement of San Miguel de Gualdupe (modern-day coastal South Carolina and Georgia). Africans probably accompanied Pedro de Menéndez de Avilès in the early 1560s, when Spain unsuccessfully sought to establish the first permanent European settlement within the borders of modern-day Virginia.

Regardless, the Africans who arrived on the *White Lion* reflected the complexity of the early modern African Diaspora. As Thornton noted, the *São João Bautista* originally departed from the Angolan kingdoms of Ndongo and Kongo (modern-day Angola and Congo). Its human cargo thus came from literate societies united through the Bantu family of languages. These peoples were expert at rock salt mining, notable for their durable kin structure, and possessed a supple economic system that used shells as currency. They were most certainly familiar with Christianity, and many of the original twenty or so migrants to arrive on the Chesapeake shores were probably baptized into the Catholic faith. The Kongo kingdom had converted to Catholicism in 1491. Some rulers of the Ndongo kingdom were also baptized into this religion, though most subjects of this principality had not yet converted to the Roman Catholic faith when the twenty-odd Angolans made their way to Jamestown.

The status of these migrants further illuminates the mobile character of this world. The legal transition to slavery in British America was neither simple nor predestined. Rather, it was a complex process that drew on multiple legal traditions, labor practices, and occupational statuses. In Virginia's early years, Africans possessed multiple 'unfree' and 'free' statuses. It is unknown whether the "20. and odd" were sold as slaves or indentured servants. The fact that some of them may have been Christian complicated their sale into bondage. Records from 1623 and 1624 list some of them as servants, a portion of whom would then go on to secure their freedom and marry in the Anglican Church. Other African migrants of the era, such as Anthony Johnson, also completed their contracts and went on to acquire land and servants. By the 1650s, Johnson owned a 250-acre plantation upon which servants and slaves grew tobacco crops.

Of course, the flexible Chesapeake environment into which Johnson, the Angolans, and other West and West-Central Africans of this age lived and worked did not last forever. By 1640, colonial Virginians began to turn to slaves as their chosen source of labor. After 1660, a legal system began to emerge that codified and policed this labor force, in the process designating African peoples to be inferior under law. Fearing these changes would affect his and his family's status, Johnson sold most of his land in 1665 and moved his family to Somerset County, Maryland hoping to secure better land and a more inviting political environment. By his death circa 1670, a Maryland court had seized Johnson's land and declared him an alien because of his African background. Emphasis on 1619 therefore provides a glimpse into a settler society unlike that associated with the rigid and discriminatory legacy of settler colonialism associated with later eras of American history.

Were the First Documented Africans in British America Enslaved?

When Jamestown was established in 1607, there was not a plan for establishing an economy or society based on slavery, nor did the settlers intend to import Africans as slaves

for their work force. For almost sixty years the colony of Virginia struggled to survive and was constantly depleted of manpower because of the high death rate. So while the founders of the colony had no plan to make Virginia in the image of Barbados (another English colony dependent on enslaved African labor), it desperately accepted any laborers who came their way.

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About the latter end of August, a Dutch man of Warr of the burden of a 160 tunes arriued at Point-Comfort, the Comandor name Capt Jope, his Pilott for the West Indies one Mr Marmaduke an Englishman. They mett wth the Trer in the West Indyes, and determynd to hold consort shipp hetherward, but in their passage lost one the other. He brought not any thing but 20. and odd Negroes, wth the Governor and Cape Marchant bought for vietualle (whereof he was in greate need as he p'tended) at the best and easyest rate they could. He hadd a largge and ample Comysion from his Excellency to range and to take purchase in the West Indyes.

Twenty Africans aboard the English ship *White Lion* were sold in exchange for food and some were transported to Jamestown, where they were sold again, likely into slavery. Historians have long believed these Africans to have come to Virginia from the Caribbean, but Spanish records suggest they had been captured in the Portuguese colony of Angola, in West Central Africa. They probably were Kimbundu-speaking people from the kingdom of Ndongo, and many of them may have been urban dwellers with some knowledge of Christianity. While aboard the *São João Bautista* bound for Mexico, they were stolen by the *White Lion* and another English ship, the *Treasurer*.

There were both men and women in this first group of Africans. Three or four days later, a second ship arrived. One additional African woman disembarked in Virginia.

Records of 1623 and 1624 list them as servants, and indeed later records show increasing numbers of free blacks, some of whom were assigned land. On the other hand, records from gatherings do not indicate the marital status of the Africans (Mr., Miss, etc.) and, unlike white servants, no year is associated with the names -- information vital in determining the end of a servant's term of bondage. Most likely some Africans were slaves and some were servants. At any rate, the status of people in bondage was very confusing, even to those who were living at the time.

Two years after that letter a man referred to only as "Antonio a Negro" arrived in Virginia. Although Antonio was Angolan, evidently he was assimilated because he spoke Spanish and was a Christian. Later, Antonio named himself Anthony Johnson and was put to work on a tobacco plantation belonging to the Bennetts, a wealthy White family. Fortunately for Johnson, another assimilated Angolan arrived in Virginia in 1622 and was purchased by the Bennetts, "Maria." In spite of the rarity of African women in the seventeenth century slave trade, the renamed Mary and Anthony would later marry, have four children, and somehow survive both the rigors of early Virginia life which was plagued by the Powhatan Indian War beginning in 1622, and the diseases that ravaged the colony until the 1660s.

Anthony Johnson: African Servant and Virginia Farmer

When Jamestown was established in 1607, there was not a plan for establishing an economy or society based on slavery, nor did the settlers intend to import Africans as slaves for their work force. For almost sixty years the colony of Virginia struggled to survive and was constantly depleted of manpower because of the high death rate. So while the founders of the colony had no plan to make Virginia in the image of Barbados (another English colony dependent on enslaved African labor), it desperately accepted any laborers who came their way.

We do not know when the first Africans actually arrived in the colony. The earliest documentation we have is a brief reference in John Rolfe's 1619 letter to John Smith stating that "About the last of August came in a dutch man of warre that sold us twenty Negars." It seems that this Dutch vessel attacked and seized all the cargo of the *São João Bautista*, a Portuguese slave ship bound from Luanda, Angola to Mexico, somewhere in the West Indies. This recorded, off-handed reference to the transportation of Africans by Dutch pirates to America landing at Point Comfort, in present-day Hampton, implied that these were not the colony's first African immigrants. In fact, a March 1619 colony census listed thirty-two people of color in the service of Virginia planters.

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Throughout the 17th century, and prior to the development of colony-built vessels, Virginians increasingly utilized Dutch traders who transported pirated enslaved Africans from Luanda, the Portuguese colony located on the coast of Angola, and the Kongo. Cultural evidence suggests that the majority of the earlier Africans who were brought to Virginia came from Angola, similar to Anthony and Mary Johnson, whose common identity helped them to create a unique subculture in early Virginia. Interestingly, a grandson of the Johnsons named his Eastern Shore estate, in 1766, "Angola."

Colonial lawmakers evidently viewed Africans differently because court cases showed that African servants were held longer than the typical seven year service and they were punished more severely than English men and women if accused of crimes. Anthony Johnson labored for nearly twelve years until he earned enough money to complete his and his wife's service and eventually purchase 250 acres of farmland and several servants, a rarity in Virginia. For the next few decades the Johnsons thrived in Accomack County until prejudice caught up with them.

Across all classes of white colonial society, negative feelings toward Africans in Virginia began to intensify and for those arriving in the colony after 1640, freedom was a rare commodity. Even the children of the African men and women were held in bondage, making this the beginning of slavery. The very existence, even without the law, of Black slavery

provided a sense of separateness and unity to whites of gentry, middling, or commoner classes. Beginning in 1661, Virginia leaders passed a law mandating that all Africans were slaves upon entry into the colony. Other similar laws followed which restricted their rights as Virginia citizens and as human beings. Notwithstanding economic advancements made by some colonial African American, prejudice and discrimination became the rule. Attempt had been sought by their White neighbors to seize their lands. And while it is not known if these obstacles resulted in the Johnsons moving in 1665 to Somerset County, Maryland, it was fortunate because in 1670 efforts made by some of the Johnson's White neighbors to seize their lands met with success. A Virginia court ruled that because Anthony Johnson "was a Negro and by consequence an alien," his land belonged to the Crown. The Johnsons continued living on their leased property of 300 acres of land, called "Tonies Vinyard" even after Anthony died in 1670. Mary Johnson and her children would renegotiate the lease of the land for another 99 years.

The story of the Johnsons, while somewhat sad, was unusual because most people who came to Virginia without freedom died poor. It was even worse for the Africans, especially after the 1640s, because most never gained their freedom. Once slavery became the rule in Virginia, demand increased and the colonists brought in enslaved Africans arrived from Sengambia (e.g., Wolof, Mandinka, and Bambara peoples), the Gold Coast (e.g., Akan and Fetu peoples), Niger Delta (e.g., Fon, Yoruba, and Igbo peoples), Angola (e.g., Bakongo and Mbundu peoples), and Madagascar. Those from Senegambia, a primarily Muslim region by the early 1700s, were well-trained in tobacco and rice production. Many were also familiar with river trade, creating a unique trade language derived from the Mande-group of languages. So these people came into the Chesapeake at a propitious time for the white Chesapeake settlers who were largely unfamiliar with cultivating, curing and processing tobacco, and plying the rivers for trade.

The people from what are today Nigeria and the Cameroons (those from the Bights of Benin and Biafra, and peoples such as the Igbo, Efik, Moko and Ibibio) were tobacco farmers, wood carvers, carpenters as well as root crop farmers, raising yams, okra, eggplant, pumpkins, peppers, beans, melons and gourds. At first, the Africans were purchased by large plantation owners whose land was located along the rivers because they developed the larger units of cultivation which made tobacco lucrative. The result was that large plantations were self-contained, manufacturing much of what was needed and importing the rest. Slaves were chosen or trained to be the skilled artisans, working as carpenters, coopers, wheelwrights, sawyers, shipwrights, and in the salt mines and rope works. As slavery became more profitable, and the plantation system expanded, Africans were purchased by middling-sized tobacco farmers and utilized in tobacco cultivation, root crop cultivation, and maritime work and in craft activities.

The Evolution of the American Culture

Scholars such as Ira Berlin have depicted these and other Atlantic migrants as part of a unique culture drawn from coastal and inland regions of West-Central Africa. These Atlantic Creoles were *not* notable for their birthplace or race, however, but for their linguistic, religious, and other cultural skills and practices. James Sweet described them as "multilingual, culturally flexible, and socially agile" peoples who traded in Western European languages, Christianity, and other knowledge to thrive and survive in Virginia and elsewhere.

For instance, Randy Sparks demonstrated how language and religion aided the Robin Johns, two West African princes sold into slavery in a later century, as they mediated their bonded status, forged bonds with antislavery networks in England, and returned to their homeland as free men.

The emphasis on Atlantic Creoles depicts early Chesapeake society as a hybrid culture grounded in the messy exchange of rituals, skills, and cultural inventions and practices, rather than a society predicated on fixed and impenetrable racial categories of ‘Red, White & Black.’ For Sweet, a unitary ‘African’ identity was a construct, a by-product of Atlantic commerce and prejudice, but not a static entity imported with Africans across the Atlantic. Other scholars can in turn adopt this flexible framework to depict the folklore, music, and food ways so vital to the retention of African culture in the Americas as part of an evolving and creative dialogue in which slaves traded in these imagined traditions and customs, both amongst themselves and with their European counterparts, to form an original, interconnected web of Atlantic values and identities.

Native Americans also participated in this lively network of cultural exchanges. The idea of a ‘red,’ or unitary, Indian culture was a fiction of eighteenth-century warfare and diplomacy, as Alden Vaughan pointed out. This construct has obscured the nuanced give-and-take that existed among European settlers and surrounding indigenous peoples, particularly on the subject of political culture. Interestingly, 1619 was also the year in which the Virginia House of Burgesses met for the first time. Often viewed as a watershed in the history of representative government, the truth is that twenty-two delegates who met in July were participating in a broad cross-cultural political dialogue that fused familiar freeborn English ideals and institutions to newfound practical knowledge of Native American political culture. The Powhatan confederacy would influence settler thinking on non-monarchical forms of government. Further to the north, the Iroquois would expose British America to a limited form of representative government.

The fact that these dialogues and exchanges were also occurring beyond the Atlantic suggests that the “20. and odd” were cosmopolitan in their reach and significance. Placing emphasis on cultural dialogue extends the significance of these migrants beyond the Atlantic rim, and across the world. Allison Games notes that English traders were in Madagascar a few years before the *White Lion* arrived in Jamestown, where they interacted with East African rulers and traders, as well as other Western European pilots and merchants, as they sought to repair their ships, purchase provisions, and partake of local cuisines. The layered culture forged by these multiple contacts and encounters situates the African Diaspora within a global framework that spanned the coastal territories cultures of both the Atlantic and Indian Ocean rims.

The Pacific Rim and southwestern North America also had ‘1619’ moments. The Berber soldier-explorer Estevancio accompanied explorers such as Marcos de Niza across the Rio Grande (1531), and other Creoles traveled with Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo (1542) to San Francisco Bay. In 1605, the first documented African to arrive in New France, Mathieu de Costa, acted as a translator between Micmac Indians and French traders at the colony of Port Royal, Acadia. The significance of these soldiers, travelers, and translators is that Africans were pivotal to forging a broad, familiar, and mobile Atlantic and global culture not easily summed up by well-worn trichotomies of ‘Red, White & Black.’

Native American Peoples and the Impact of British Intrusion

There are between 140 and 160 different American Indian nations. There is no single Native American language. Twenty-seven states derive names from Indian languages. Native Americans turned wild plants such as corn, potatoes, pumpkin, yams, and lima beans into farm crops for human consumption. More than half of modern American farm products were grown by Native Americans before British colonization.

Most natural herbs used for medicinal purposes in the modern world had also been used by Native Americans before European contact. Archaeologists have learned that North American Indians made salt by evaporation and mined a great many minerals including copper, lead, and coal.

Most Native American nations practiced some form of slavery before the European introduction of African slavery into North America; but none exploited slave labor on a large scale. Indian groups frequently enslaved war captives whom they used for small-scale labor and in ritual sacrifice. Most of these so-called Indian slaves tended to live, however, on the fringes of Indian society. Although not much is known about them, there is little evidence that they were considered racially inferior to the Indians who held power over them. Nor did Indians buy and sell captives in the pre-colonial era, although they sometimes exchanged enslaved Indians with other tribes in peace gestures or in exchange for their own members. In fact, the word "slave" may not even accurately apply to these captive people.

Once Europeans arrived as colonialists in North America, the nature of Indian slavery changed abruptly and dramatically. Indians found that British settlers, especially those in the southern colonies, eagerly purchased or captured Indians to use as forced labor in cultivating tobacco, rice, and indigo. More and more, Indians began selling war captives to whites rather than integrating them into their own societies. And as the demand for labor in the West Indies became insatiable, whites began to actively enslave Indians for export to the so-called "sugar islands." The resulting Indian slave trade devastated the southeastern Indian populations and transformed Native American tribal relations throughout the region.

It is not known how many Indians were enslaved by the Europeans, but they certainly numbered in the tens of thousands. It is estimated that Carolina merchants operating out of Charles Town shipped an estimated 30,000 to 50,000 Indian captives between 1670 and 1715 in a profitable slave trade with the Caribbean, Spanish Hispaniola, and northern colonies. Because of the higher transportation costs of bringing blacks from Africa, whites in the northern colonies sometimes preferred Indian slaves, especially Indian women and children, to blacks. Carolina actually exported as many or even more Indian slaves than it imported enslaved Africans prior to 1720. Until late in the 18th century, Indian slaves worked on English plantations alongside African slaves and even, occasionally, white indentured servants. Women and children frequently were used as menial laborers or domestic servants.

First Representative Assembly in British America

The first charter of the Virginia Company, signed by King James I on April 10, 1606, planted the first seed for the future evolution of our constitutional values. The charter proclaimed that:

all and everie the parsons being our subjects which shall dwell
and inhabit within everie or anie of the saide severall Colonies
and plantacions and everie or anie of their children . . . shall

have and enjoy all liberties, franchises and immunities as if they had been abiding and borne within this our realme of England.

Between the years of 1606 and 1619, two significant trends were evolving that would later determine the political character of the colony. First was the growing recognition that a colonial settlement should be more than just a commercial enterprise. Unlike the Popham colony in present-day Maine (which was granted under the same charter of 1606), Jamestown showed promise of developing into a permanent settlement, and men such as Sir Edwin Sandys soon grasped the idea that in order to have a prosperous colony, one must also have a populated colony with women and children, and not just eager adventurers in constant need of supplies from home.

The second trend was that the power to make laws regulating the colony was becoming more and more decentralized. In 1609 the King, unwilling to shoulder the financial burden of the colony from the royal treasury, signed a second charter which allowed for the sale of company stocks to the public. James I thereby reluctantly surrendered his absolute control over the colony in an effort to solicit the support of as many investors as possible. This trend towards decentralization of power did not initially result in greater rights and privileges for the colonists. The rigid punitive code known as "Laws Divine, Morall and Martiall," which began around 1611, was, if anything, a major setback. By 1618, however, martial law was abolished, the legislative assembly created, and some of the power of government finally trickled into the hands of the settlers. Together, the two trends explained above accelerated the overall trend towards a colony less commercial, and more political in character.

When Governor George Yeardley arrived in April 1619, he announced that the Company had voted to abolish martial law and to create a legislative assembly. This assembly would be held no more than once a year, "wherat were to be present the Governor and Counsell with two Burgesses from each Plantation freely to be elected by the inhabitants thereof." The mandatory presence of the Governor and the appointed Council restricted freedom of debate.

The names of the settlements and their elected representatives included:

- Captain William Powell and Ensign William Spense - James City
- Samuel Sharpe and Samual Jordan - Charles City
- Thomas Dowse and John Polentine - city of Henrico
- Captain William Tucker and William Capp – Kecoughtan
- Mr. Thomas Davis and Mr. Robert Stacy – Martin Brandon-Capt. John Martin's Plantation
- Captain Thomas Graves and Mr. Walter Shelley – Smith's Hundred
- Mr. John Boys and John Jackson - Martin's Hundred
- Mr. (Captaine Thomas) Pawlett and Mr. (Edward) Gourgaing - Argall's Guiffe
- Ensigne (Edmund) Roffingham and Mr. (John) Jefferson - Flowerdieu Hundred
- Captain Christopher Lawne and Ensigne Washer - Captain Lawne's Plantation
- Captain Warde and Lieutenant Gibbes - Captain Warde's Plantation

Other members of this assembly included John Pory as Secretary and Speaker, John Twine as Clerk of the Assembly and Thomas Pierse as Sergeant at Armes. The Governor's Council consisted of the Governor, John Pory, Captain Frances West, John Rolfe, Captain Nathaniel Powell and Samuel Maycock.

The 22 burgesses, together with Governor Yeardley and the Council, met on July 30, 1619 in the church at Jamestown, because it was "the most convenient place . . . they could finde to sitt in." For the important role of Speaker the assembly elected John Pory, who had at one time served as a member of English Parliament.

During the six-day meeting, the assembly petitioned for some minor changes in the settlement of land tenure and then approved the "greate Charter" of 1618, which had allowed for its creation. Next, the assembly adopted measures against drunkenness, idleness, and gambling. Other legislation discussed on Monday, August 2, included protection against the Indians, baptizing the Indians, and planting trees and crops. On August 3, the assembly discussed "a thirde sorte of laws suche as might proceed out of every man's priuate conceipt." Here lies the power of the individual burgess to initiate legislation, and not simply to pass those laws proposed from above. The burgesses initiated and passed more legislation regulating relations with the Indians and the personal affairs of the colonists. The assembly even passed a law requiring compulsory church attendance. Also on August 3 the assembly took on a judicial character as it tried one of the servants of a landowner for improper conduct. Finally, on August 4, the assembly approved its first tax law. This was a poll tax requiring that every man and servant in the colony pay the officers of the assembly "one pound of the best Tobacco" for their services during this hot, midsummer season.

As the assembly made preparations to close its first meeting, John Pory, in his final petition on behalf of the assembly, asked the Company in London to excuse the assembly for its rather abrupt decision to adjourn the meeting early.

This first meeting represented a modest beginning and served as a precedent for later constitutional developments in America. Interestingly, this assembly was not modeled after Parliament, but rather after the assembly of Virginia Company stockholders in London (similar to a board of directors); and second, any legislation passed by the assembly was subject to unrestrained Company veto.

Story of the Peanut as an Allegory of the Transatlantic Trade

Peanuts originated in South America, probably in Brazil and Peru and were grown as far north as Mexico by the time the Spanish and Portuguese began their exploration of the New World. When the explorers returned to Spain and Portugal, they brought peanuts with them.

Later, traders were responsible for spreading peanuts to Africa and Asia in the early 1560s. Although the legumes are not native to Africa, it appears that Africans began incorporating peanuts into their foods, especially their stews. From there, variations on the stew began appearing throughout West Africa, especially Nigeria, the Gambia, and Senegal.

When enslaved Africans were brought to North America and the Caribbean, peanuts came with them. Enslaved Africans were recorded as planting peanuts throughout the southern United States. Peanuts were so associated with Africans that the Congo terms for peanuts, "goober," a derivative of nguba, became a common term. In the 1700's, peanuts, then called groundnuts or ground peas, were studied by botanists and regarded as an excellent food for pigs. Records show that peanuts were grown commercially in South Carolina around 1800 and used for oil, food and a substitute for cocoa.

The first notable increase in U.S. peanut consumption came in 1860 with the outbreak of the Civil War. Northern soldiers, as well as Southern, used the peanut as a food. During the

last half of the 19th century, peanuts were eaten as a snack, sold freshly roasted by street vendors and at baseball games and circuses. While peanut production rose during this time, peanuts were harvested by hand which left stems and trash in the peanuts. Thus, poor quality and lack of uniformity kept down the demand for peanuts.

However, until 1900 peanuts were not extensively grown, partially because they were regarded as food for the poor, and because growing and harvesting were slow and difficult until labor-saving equipment was invented around the turn of the century.

The Arrival of the First Marriageable English Women in America

The Virginia Company of London seemed to agree that women were indeed quite necessary. They hoped to anchor their discontented bachelors to the soil of Virginia by using women as a stabilizing factor. They ordered in 1619 that "...a fit hundredth might be sent of women, maids young and uncorrupt, to make wives to the inhabitants and by that means to make the men there more settled and less movable...." Ninety arrived in 1620 and the company records reported in May of 1622 that, "57 young maids have been sent to make wives for the planters, divers of which were well married before the coming away of the ships."

Fifty-seven unmarried women sailed to Virginia under the auspices of the Virginia Company, who paid for their transport and provided them with a small bundle of clothing and other goods to take with them. A colonist who married one of the women would be responsible for repaying the Virginia Company for his wife's transport and provisions. The women traveled on three ships, *The Marmaduke*, *The Warwick*, and *The Tyger*.

Many of the women were not "maids" but widows. Some others were children, for example Priscilla, the eight-year-old daughter of Joanne Palmer, who travelled with her mother and her new stepfather, Thomas Palmer, on the *Tyger*. Some were women who were traveling with family or relatives: Ursula Clawson, "kinswoman" of ancient planter Richard Pace, traveled with Pace and his wife on the *Marmaduke*. Ann Jackson also came on the *Marmaduke*, in the company of her brother John Jackson, both of them bound for Martin's Hundred. Ann Jackson was one of the women taken captive by the Powhatans during the Indian Massacre of 1622. She was not returned until 1630. The Council ordered that she should be sent back to England on the first available ship, perhaps because she was suffering from the consequences of her long captivity.

Some of the women sent to Virginia did marry. But most disappeared from the records—perhaps killed in the massacre, perhaps dead from other causes, perhaps returned to England. In other words, they shared the fate of most of their fellow colonists.

Foodways in Colonial America

Foodways are not just what we eat or how often we eat. It is an extension of culture. It includes the activities of preparing and ingesting foods and the ceremonies surrounding that consumption and it is filled with cultural, psychological, emotional, and even religious significance.

The culinary traditions that would be considered uniquely America was the result of hybridity, as people from different cultures clashed, shared, and participated jointly to survive. The development of a American culinary tradition is part of the making of America and is a reflection of the historic impact of global trade in the early Atlantic world. One

example of this emerging culinary tradition is the story of sugar and its impact on the creation of a plantation system, slavery and abolition, consumption and production, food, commodity exchange, natural history, and ecology has pointed the way to related but distinct areas of inquiry.

Foods were part of the diaspora that produced our New World societies and cultures. As Alfred Crosby and others have told us, food crops were integral to the global migrations that included peoples, animals, technology, and diseases. The earliest European settlers in Americas depended on Native American foodstuffs and preparation techniques, and soon thereafter the transplanted foodways of Africa were crucial for colonial survival as they were for many who had to endure the horrific Middle Passage. The migration of crops and melding of these three food traditions between the 16th and 19th centuries prepared the Western hemisphere for a population surge unlike any other in human history.

Foodways should be understood as more than the mixing of food resources and patterns of consumption. From early history, food has been an important element of such social activities as greetings, rituals, and celebrations, and ceremonies. In West Africa, Kola nuts were shared in hospitality situations; in the Middle Passage they served as a sweetening additive to stagnant water; in Brazil they have been used in candomble religious practices; and currently they are also used in thirst-quenching drinks. The use of palm-wine in libations, the roles of corn and yams in religious ceremonies and festivals, and the ever-present Thanksgiving turkey are reminders of the importance of colonial foodways.

Culinary offerings also reflect social class both as concerns the preparation of food and the variety of the foods, or the lack thereof. In colonial times, the one-pot meals of enslaved peoples and lower classes (consisting of soups, stews, grain porridges) stood in contrast to the varied and multiple courses of the gentry and upper classes.

Beyond these social functions, study of foodways reveals just how important the production, preparation, and consumption of foods have been to the shaping of colonial identities. “Food gives material expression to the ways exiles commemorate the past and shape new identities amid alien cultures, diets, and languages.” (Carney)

Slave cooks maintained cultural continuity with West African cuisine, and adapted this to the new environment with stews based on rice or corn or greens, like gumbo based on okra or similar stews using edible greens and called callalou.

Various crops of Asian origin had become staples of African agriculture before the later 15th Century: bananas, cowpeas, some forms of rice. Maize and manioc from the New World became popular in Africa by the 15th century; also such fruits as papaya, guava, pineapple, and avocado.

Foods popular in Africa:

Rice	Sheep, goats, cattle	Cassava
African Pearl Millet	Guinea fowl and poultry	Malegueta pepper
Sorghum	Watermelon	Sweet potatoes
Plantain	Palm oil	Bananas
Yams (West African and Caribbean)	Vegetables (beans, chickpeas, groundnuts)	

Foods popular in the Americas:

Maize	Chocolate	Coffee
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Manioc	Sugar	A vast variety of beans
Potatoes	Manioc	Tomatoes

The Diaspora of Dance

Dance, like all forms of cultural expression, according to Luke C. Kahlich in his 2011 article entitled "Dance," reflects the society in which it exists. American dance emanated from the rich pool of diverse forms. The ballerina, for example, is the popular image of dance, yet, in the United States, ballet choreography "embraced and incorporated individual, cultural, and stylistic elements in an ever-changing kaleidoscope that draws from and contributes to artistic, social, religious, cultural, and even political realms."

In the Chesapeake region, which included Virginia, Maryland, and much of North Carolina, the tri-racial cultural interchange produced American dance forms. For example, captive Africans from numerous societies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, drew on the "grammar of culture" shared across much of Western and Central Africa. A regional African Chesapeake dance tradition emerged in the minds of the English colonists, and within two generations, a creolized African form crystallized that contained elements of European dances.

Based on the limited pictorial record, the typical African practice of bending emphatically at the waist and hips gave way to a more upright, European like style. This may have reflected the African practice of carrying heavy loads on the head, which requires a strong, balancing spine. Black dancing continued with strong preferences of other African characteristics such as angularity and asymmetry of body positions, multiple body rhythms or polyrhythms, and a low center of gravity. The jig and the clog have been attributed to African Americans, although clearly these are dances that merged styles from various cultural ethnicities.

Another example of the influence of African descendants in American dance was what occurred in New Orleans' Congo Square in the nineteenth century. Enslaved and free blacks developed new instruments and styles of movement to bypass efforts by whites to discourage communication among blacks. What emerged were new coded musical and dance forms that we know today as the soft shoe, tap dance, and jazz dance.

For Native Americans, the role of music and dance are connected with ceremonial rituals. In other words, according to Charles Hamm's 1983 work, *Music in the New World*, "[m]usic is viewed as having god-given magical properties." The purposes of music and dance are "to invoke this magic in operation for the benefits of the person or persons making the music or other participants and onlookers." In other words, the primary function of music is to accompany ceremony or rituals such as, "dances, religious rites, tribal ceremonies and celebrations, healing rituals, games, or personal and private rites." In ceremonial rituals of this type, the songs are performed by medicine men.

Not surprisingly, each Native American group differed in the specific expressions of dance. The Choctaws, for example used a call-and-response tradition in their music and dance, similar to a number of West African groups, with the performance using an improvisational and rhythmic pattern. They also performed "house dances, the Choctaw version of the French quadrille or the Anglo-American square dance." Another performance practice used by this tribe is that before the dancers enter the dance floor, they march in a procession to the area by the beating of a snare drum. The same method is used for exiting the

performance area. But all the different Native groups used drums as one of their most significant accompaniment instruments; and singing and dancing were always performed together and as part of their ceremonial rituals.

In the 1994 book, *Bodies of the Text: Dance as Theory, Literature as Dance*, Ellen W. Goellner and Jacqueline Shea Murphy observed that past discussions of dance have ignored the infusions from both Africa and Native America in the emerging American dance forms from the colonial to the modern period. This was particularly true in ballet and other dance forms that were seen as uniquely European. However, recent scholarship has challenged this interpretation, highlighting the dance forms that are both commonly human and uniquely cultural in origin. For example, Sally Bane examined the influences that infused George Balanchine's ballets during a 1992-93 symposia in her paper, "Balanchine and African American Dance." Bane argued that Balanchine's contact with African American and Afro Caribbean dances in the 1910s-1920s and with black dancers such as Katherine Dunham influenced his infusion of these forms in his choreography. This reticence to unveil the non-European influences in European dance forms has until recently hindered the intellectual discussion about the intricacies of dance and culture in American society.

Dance has been a part of American dance since the colonial period, reflecting the many cultural influences of the times. Deconstructing the nuances of American dance clearly highlights the connections between various cultural dance forms in American society.

"Jazz Dance and American Culture"

By Jacqueline Nalett, University of Houston

The varieties of jazz dance reflect the diversity of American culture. Jazz dance mirrors the social history of the American people, reflecting ethnic influences, historic events, and cultural changes. Jazz dance has been greatly influenced by social dance and popular music. But, like so much that is "from America", the history of jazz dance begins somewhere else.

The origins of jazz music and dance are found in the rhythms and movements brought to America by African slaves. The style of African dance is earthy; low, knees bent, pulsating body movements emphasized by body isolations and hand-clapping. As slaves forced into America, starting during the 1600's, Africans from many cultures were cut off from their families, languages and tribal traditions. The result was an intermingling of African cultures that created a new culture with both African and European elements. The Slave Act of 1740 prohibited slaves from playing African drums or performing African dances, but that did not suppress their desire to cling to those parts of their cultural identity. The rhythms and movements of African dance: the foot stamping and tapping, hand-clapping and rhythmic vocal sounds were woven into what we now call jazz dance.

In the 19th century, American whites decided that they enjoyed the music and dance the slaves had created. In minstrel shows, white entertainers parodied their conception of slave life and popularized the African style of dance and music. With white dancers as the star performers of the minstrel and vaudeville show, it was difficult for a black dancer to gain stature as part of a dance troupe. Because of this, many black performers migrated to Europe, where they introduced the newly emerging forms of jazz music and jazz dance. In Europe,

these talented and innovative performers were more well-received than in America. The minstrel show evolved and was eventually absorbed into the 20th century musical comedy.

Through the end of the 1920's, Dixieland jazz music, with its fast ragtime beat, spread from New Orleans to Chicago and New York. The growth of jazz dance was directly influenced by this musical genre. In 1923, the Charleston was introduced and Americans were quick to adopt it. In the Charleston, dancers used body isolations for the first time in a social dance, and the hand-clapping and foot-stamping that it incorporated were a direct link to the dance's African origin.

This was also the era of Bill "Bojangles" Robinson, a black tap dancer who achieved world fame through the clean and clear percussive rhythms of his feet. The early forms of tap dance evolved from the Irish jig, which incorporated limited upper body movements. As the movements of the tap dance became more flexible, the lightness of Robinson's style influenced the future of tap dance by changing the placement of the tap steps from the full foot to the ball of the foot. Bill Robinson was seen performing on Broadway, in Hollywood films, and in shows that toured the country.

During the Depression of the 1930's, people escaped into dance competitions in hopes of winning a cash prize. The sound of jazz music started to change due to the "symphonic jazz" of Paul Whiteman. He brought full orchestration to his music and made syncopation a part of every song he played. (Syncopation places the accent or emphasis on normally unaccented beats of music. It adds to the surprise and spontaneity of jazz dance.) The music of the black American bands of Duke Ellington and Louis Armstrong gave birth to swing music. The "Swing Era" also termed the "Big Band Era", generated well-known dances such as the Lindy Hop and the Boogie Woogie.

During the 1920's, Fred Astaire had been a vital part of Broadway, but in 1933 when musicals found their fame in Hollywood, he became the leading man for movie musicals. Astaire created a unique dance style that brought elegance to the dancer's image. He blended the flowing steps of ballet with the abruptness of jazz movements and was the first dancer at that time to dance every musical note so that the rhythmic pattern of the music was mirrored in the dance steps.

Just when social dancing was at its height, World War 2 put a stop to its popularity. Lack of attendance, plus the intricate rhythmic patterns of modern jazz music, which were too complex for social dancing, led to the closing of dance halls and ballrooms. With the demise of social dance, the growth of jazz dance as a professional dance form began. During the 1940's, jazz dance was influenced by ballet and modern dance. By blending the classical technique of ballet with the natural bodily expression of modern dance, jazz developed a sophisticated artistic quality. Unlike early jazz dance, which was performed by talented entertainers without formal training, modern jazz dance was performed by professionals trained in ballet and modern dance.

It was during this time that man who later came to be known as the "Father of Theatrical Jazz Dance", Jack Cole, was busy developing his technique. Jack Cole had studied modern, ballet, and ethnic dance, had been a student at Denishawn and had done choreographic work in the nightclub scene. In the 1940's there was a serious demand for groups of trained dancers for film work and Jack Cole was the one who started developing these trained jazz dancers for the Hollywood movie musicals. Also, during this time Gene Kelly, began making his mark as a dancer in Hollywood musicals. His impact on jazz was his

individual, energetic dance style that combined athletic, gymnastic qualities with jazz and tap.

During the 1950's, Rock and Roll music, which had been played by black musicians for many years already at this point, became popular with teenage audiences and thus new kinds of social dances were created to go with this type of music. During this decade, the influence of Latin American music and dance enriched jazz dance as was seen in the landmark Broadway production of *West Side Story*, choreographed by Jerome Robbins. It was also during this time that Matt Mattox, who had been a dancer of the Jack Cole style in many Hollywood musicals, began to develop his own teaching and performing style. He was another dancer who had studied ballet, modern, and tap and then found his love of jazz in his late 20s. Matt Mattox went on to teach dance in New York for many years before moving to Europe in the 1970s and developing his school and style based on what he calls "Freestyle" although many people still label him as a jazz dance teacher and choreographer.

With the 1960's came the twist, as easy to perform, overnight craze which brought adults back to the social dance floor. At this point, Motown was the new hot musical craze. It came out of Detroit and the groups featured choreographed routines mostly done by Charles "Cholly" Atkins. This idea of the lead singer being spotlighted in front while the backup singers performed choreographed moves, was new and is credited to Mr. Atkins, who was brought in to Motown to work with these groups and give them a uniform look onstage. His work can be seen on Motown groups such as The Supremes, Smoky Robinson and the Miracles, and The Temptations. On the dance floor in the clubs, just as we do today, people copied those dance steps they saw the singers doing, which in turn popularized that style of dance. It carried through the 70's, 80's, and 90's in groups like En Vogue, The Jacksons, The Backstreet Boys, N'Sync, and is still strong today in all the vocal stage choreography you see where a singer has backup dancers.

During the 1960's, two other names emerged among the ranks of professional jazz dance greats: Luigi and Gus Giordano. Luigi developed his technique as a result of an auto accident that left him paralyzed on the right side. Doctors claimed he would never walk, let alone dance again, but he persisted through operations, physical therapy, and his own study of body development based on dance exercise, and eventually was able to not only walk again, but to dance and to teach. The technique he developed is influenced by ballet and is very lyrical. His technique requires that the body be exercised to its fullest to develop the strength necessary for muscle control, yet still look beautiful. Gus Giordano's style is classical but greatly influenced by the natural and freer body movements of modern dance. His technique teaches isolation movements, emphasizing the head and torso and creating an uplifted look of elegance. Yoga is incorporated into Giordano's technique as a means of relaxation.

In the 1970s Bob Fosse became the outstanding name in jazz dance. He performed on Broadway and in films, but his true success was as a choreographer. His work includes the films *All That Jazz* and *Sweet Charity*, the Broadway hit *Dancin'*, and the television special *Liza With a Z*, among many other famous works. He choreographed a reproduction of *Chicago* in 1975. Fosse's style was distinct; it was highly creative and often included bizarre movements; it was slick, erotic and intense. He was a one man jazz phenomenon whose style continued to make its mark on the Broadway stage and in Hollywood throughout the 1980s.

The 1970s also saw the huge impact of John Travolta in *Saturday Night Fever*, which boosted the image of the male dancer; of Michael Bennett's production of *A Chorus Line*; and

the notable jazz production of *Grease*. But another major influence on jazz dance came not from a person, but from an area. Out of the ghetto neighborhoods of New York City came the dance phenomenon called breakdancing.

Breakdancing is an umbrella term for all forms of modern street dance: breaking (specific moves done on or close to the floor); freestyle (gymnastic moves and partner lifts); electric boogie (flowing movements that enter one part of the body and exit another); popping (any staccato movement); Egyptian (an imitation of Egyptian style art); and floating (steps such as the moonwalk, in which the feet seem to float across the floor). These dance styles can be traced to the West African cultures of Mali, Gambia, and Senegal. In the late 1960s, many West African dancers came to America and settled in the South Bronx. Breakdancing emerged not as an entertainment form, but as a competition, as a means of attaining superiority in street corner fraternities; it was an alternative to gang warfare. In the 1980s, breakdancing exploded out of the ghettos and into mainstream American dance culture. In this same period of time, jazz dance further expanded its horizons when it combined with physical fitness classes to make exercise more fun and sociable. The result was a new hybrid; aerobic dance classes.

The most prominent name in the 1980s musical theatre was Andrew Lloyd Webber, who is acclaimed for shifting the focus of the Broadway musical from America to the London stage. His musical hits include *Jesus Christ Superstar*, *Phantom of the Opera*, and the hottest musical of the 1980s, *Cats*, with choreography by Gillian Lynne. Jazz dance in the 1980s received a tremendous boost from prominent movies of the decade: *Fame*, *Flashdance*, *Footloose*, *Staying Alive*, *Breaking* and *Dirty Dancing*. Attendance in jazz dance classes skyrocketed with students eager to conquer this exciting dance form. American businesses noticed the large audience appeal of jazz dance and moved in quickly to capitalize on the craze. As never before, jazz dance appeared in television commercials for Panasonic, Coca-Cola, and many fast food chains.

The 1980s also saw the introduction of MTV a new medium for dance and professional dancers. When MTV began broadcasting in 1981, music videos combined high-energy jazz, ballet, street dance and social dance in striking and innovative ways. Some major choreographers of the period were Michael Peters, Jeffrey Hornaday, Lester Wilson, Toni Basil, Paula Abdul, Madonna, and Janet Jackson. The supreme video star of the 1980s was of course, Michael Jackson. Michael Jackson made a major impact on the direction of jazz dance with his creative dance steps, his videos, his presentation and his choreography, most of which was done by Michael Peters, or by Jackson and Peters as a team.

Two other names to add to the list of professional instructors who have influenced the development of jazz dance are Frank Hatchett and Joe Tremaine. Entertainers, students, and dance teachers from all over the world come to study with Frank Hatchett. Frank continuously tours the country giving master classes, and making special guest appearances. In addition, Frank is one of the featured master teachers for the annual *Jazz Dance World Congress*. The Frank Hatchett style is a blend of strength, funk, and individual interpretation, with an emphasis on selling your performance. Associated exclusively to Frank Hatchett, his unique energy and spirit have come to be called VOP. Joe Tremaine started studying in New York in the 1960s and later appeared in many television specials and variety shows. His teaching style is comparable to his style on the dance floor; up to the minute, fast, flashy, and funky. The variety of techniques he brought from New York are also a part of his unique style

which many refer to as “West Coast Jazz” or “L.A. Jazz”. This style is driven by current musical trends, is rhythmic and jazzy. He has channeled his enthusiasm for dance in another direction as well; his own dance conventions and competitions.

In the 1990s jazz dance world, the buzz words in training centers were street dancing, street funk, and hip hop. Street dance is inner city dance taken directly from the street corners with performers using “boom boxes” as their accompaniment. The *Fly Girls* dancers featured on the early 1990s hit show *In Living Color*, gave many primetime viewers their first look at street dance. Choreographer Rosie Perez is credited with developing this style of jazz which mixed street moves with technical ballet and jazz moves. Street dancing may be considered an umbrella dance term that encompasses funk, popping, breakdancing, and hip hop. Hip hop dance is done to hip hop music. The dance style uses the whole body including complex footwork, body isolations, breakdancing and gymnastic moves. Hip hop is a style of clothing, attitude, dance and music.

Jazz dance in the new century continues to both look back to the classics for inspiration and move forward to create new dance performances. In film, jazz dance, hip hop and ballet fused in the box office success *Center Stage*. In some ways, *Center Stage* is reminiscent of *Flashdance* in storyline and also in that dance was given a tremendous boost and dancers yet again realized the importance of training in wide varieties of dance styles. The current jazz dance performance world has sought a wider variety of performance platforms, including cabaret and lounge shows, cruise ship entertainment, and touring dance companies. Concert shows with musical superstars feature dancers as an integral part of their concert entertainment. Jazz dance, and in particular musical comedy, has become a primary theme park entertainment. Music videos, major television productions, such as award presentation galas, and industrials (promotional business shows) still prominently use jazz dance. The history of jazz dance has evolved in pace with the music and moods of each decade. African American culture has been a huge influence on the development of jazz dance. For example, the Charleston, Lindy Hop, Jitterbug, Swim, Watusi, Breakdancing, and Hip Hop all grew out of the full-bodied, free- spirited music and dance heritage of African American culture. Today jazz dance is recognized as a uniquely American contribution to dance art.

Afterthought.....

There is a contradiction today between the high level of technical training received in class and the apparent abandonment of technique in some current choreography. For example, hip hop is a popular style of dancing in music videos. It is very aerobic, but not technical in the historical dance sense. Consequently, the rigorous and specialized training of the traditional jazz dance class may seem unnecessary and irrelevant to the young dancer is used to seeing “street dancing” in so many music videos.

Don't Be Fooled.

The flexibility needed for professional dance, including Hip Hop, can only be developed systematically and thoughtfully; stamina and the ability to bear weight on many body parts take intensive strength training, and sufficient coordination is needed for the complexities of choreography. Though it's not evident in every step, conscientious and directed training is necessary to safely achieve the physical prowess, athleticism, and precision necessary for all types of jazz dance.

*NOTE: This brief overview has been simplified to give the dance student who is new to jazz dance history an overview. Students are encouraged to look further into the styles and prominent figures mentioned here for their own educational enrichment. For a complete and detailed jazz dance history, as well as jazz dance technique lessons, and all other basics a jazz dance student needs to know, look for the book *Jump Into Jazz*, Fifth Edition, 2005, by Minda Goodman Kraines and Esther Pryor, published by McGraw Hill.*

“John Rolfe and the Real Pocahontas”

By Page Laws, Norfolk State University

The popular retelling of the founding of America has been more often shrouded in myth and conjecture than in fact. Page Laws examines how white Americans reinvented Pocahontas as a transitional, transformative figure to justify their claims of ownership of North America. Over the years, the iconic Pocahontas bore little resemblance to the historical one, symbolizing her importance in framing the mainstream American identity. This issue of remaking Pocahontas into a European was crucial in the creation of a racially-acceptable image of Eastern Indians. This transformation accompanied the emergence of racialism in American society.

The romanticizing of the interactions between the Jamestown colonists and the Algonquins, particularly the role of Pocahontas, has been captured in films and plays for centuries. Terrence Malick’s film, *The New World* (2005) was the most recent to revitalize the myths about Pocahontas. Castigated by critics worldwide as rife with stereotypes, Malick attempted to give voice to the Algonquins in Virginia, impuning a body language and vernacular that merely reinvents the noble savage motif, but this time from a European perspective.

The four-hundred-year-old story of Pocahontas is, not surprisingly, rife with gaps, and even the generally agreed-upon “facts” of her life have become sites for contending interpretations. We cannot even agree on which of her names to call her by: Amonute, Matoaka, her father’s pet name Pocahontas, or her Christian name Rebecca. Scholars are fond of pointing out that Rebecca in the Bible—Genesis 26:22—held “two nations” in her womb, the elder of whom (perhaps Native America?) was destined to serve the younger (perhaps the newly arrived Europeans?).

Smith and Rolfe were both characters in and documenters of the Pocahontas story; accordingly, their objectivity and veracity are suspect from the get-go. There is a notorious nine-year gap between the time John Smith says his famous “rescue” by Pocahontas took place (1607) and the first of eight times he mentions it in his 1616 letter to Queen Anne. The other colonial sources, Ralph Hamor and William Strachey, are also sketchy.

How old WAS Pocahontas when she met John Smith? Was she ten, eleven, twelve or thirteen—pubescent or pre-pubescent? Did the Rescue ever even happen? Was it perhaps John Smith’s “self-serving fabrication” or what Stephen Greenblatt calls his “Renaissance self-fashioning”? Helen Rountree, the leading scholar on Powhatan life and customs, seems skeptical that an adoption ritual that Smith described in his accounts ever existed.

Was Pocahontas, at the time of the Rescue, a virgin, sexually experienced, or perhaps already married to an Indian man named Kocoum, who figures in the Disney version some centuries later? The *Belle Sauvage* myth strongly privileges virginity, a virginity to be taken by the colonizer just as he inseminates the previously “wasted” and fallow virginal land.

Was she beautiful or plain? John Rolfe, in his letter to the Governor requesting permission to marry Pocahontas, swears that he has no lust for her, that he could certainly find a woman “more pleasing to the eye.” If that is so, why is the epithet “belle” so firmly associated with her? Was she ever raped by the colonists who held her hostage? The answers to the questions seem firmly fixed in the eye of the beholder and the time of the beholding. As Frederic Gleach points out in his article “Controlled Speculation and Constructed Myths: The Saga of Pocahontas and Captain John Smith,” “Stereotypical myths change to reflect their times and Pocahontas may be the most vivid North American example of this process.” Gleach notes that the speculation about Pocahontas having been raped coincides with the rise of postcolonial criticism in the academy. The nineteenth-century antebellum version of Pocahontas was similarly affected by the preoccupations of that era when some southerners idealized and romanticized their Indian Princess to remind the North of the “primacy of Southern settlements” in early America.

America’s schizophrenic relationship with race is coeval with its Jamestown founding. For some,” Jamestown represents an Edenic, pre-racist (though not pre-classist) time when Rolfe could have gotten in much more trouble for marrying above his station (Pocahontas was considered a princess) without his king’s permission than for marrying a woman of color. So successful and prominent were the Rolfe descendants that they *might* have even set a trend of intermarriage that *might* have rapidly led to a more or less brown-skinned America today. This did not, of course, happen.

Governor Dale of Jamestown did immediately try to follow Rolfe’s example. He asked Powhatan for Pocahontas’ sister in marriage, but was denied. Perhaps this refusal was the fatal moment when intermarriage derailed as an acceptable practice in Virginia. In 1612 this same Gov. Dale executed a white man for trying to run off and join the Indians. He seems to have decided that ‘Going Native’ was just too great a threat, too great a temptation for the fragile colony. The whites could have been swallowed up a red tide – one presumed fate of Raleigh’s Lost Colony. By the time that Thomas Jefferson wrote his assimilationist statement above in the epigraph, the tide of power and color had clearly turned. He was no longer worried about mixing a few drops of Indian blood into the oceanic wave of white immigration.

“Myths and Misconceptions: Slavery and the Slave Trade”

By Steven Mintz

The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History

LESSON PLAN STARTERS

SLAVERY AND WORLD HISTORY

Myth: Slavery is a product of capitalism.

Fact: Slavery is older than the first human records.

Myth: Slavery is a product of Western Civilization.

Fact: Slavery is virtually a universal institution.

Myth: Slavery was an economically backward and inefficient institution.

Fact: Many of the most progressive societies in the world had slaves.

Myth: Slavery was always based on race.

Fact: Not until the 15th century was slavery associated primarily with people of African descent.

ENSLAVEMENT AND THE SLAVE TRADE

Myth: New World slaves came exclusively from West Africa.

Fact: Half of all New World slaves came from central Africa.

Myth: Europeans physically enslaved Africans or hired mercenaries who captured people for export or that African rulers were "Holocaust abettors" who were themselves to blame for the slave trade.

Fact: Europeans did engage in some slave raiding; the majority of people who were transported to the Americas were enslaved by Africans in Africa.

Myth: Many slaves were captured with nets.

Fact: There is no evidence that slaves were captured with nets; war was the most important source of enslavement.

Myth: Kidnapping was the usual means of enslavement.

Fact: War was the most important source of enslavement; it would be incorrect to reduce all of these wars to slave raids.

Myth: The Middle Passage stripped enslaved Africans of their cultural heritage and transformed them into docile, passive figures wholly receptive to the cultural inputs of their masters.

Fact: Slaves engaged in at least 250 shipboard rebellions.

SLAVERY IN THE AMERICAS

Myth: Most slaves were imported into what is now the United States

Fact: Well over 90 percent of slaves from Africa were imported into the Caribbean and South America.

Myth: Slavery played a marginal role in the history of the Americas

Fact: African slaves were the only remedy for the labor shortages that plagued Europe's New World dominions.

Fact: Slave labor made it profitable to mine for precious metal and to harvest sugar, indigo, and tobacco; slaves taught whites how to raise such crops as rice and indigo.

Myth: Europeans arrived in the New World in far larger numbers than did Africans.

Fact: Before 1820, the number of Africans outstripped the combined total of European immigrants by a ratio of 3, 4, or 5 to 1.

Myth: The first slaves arrived in what is now the U.S. in 1619

Fact: Slaves arrived in Spanish Florida at least a century before 1619 and a recently uncovered census shows that blacks were present in Virginia before 1619.

SLAVE CULTURE

Myth: The slave trade permanently broke slaves' bonds with Africa.

Fact: Slaves were able to draw upon their African cultural background and experiences and use them as a basis for life in the New World.

Myth: Plantation life with its harsh labor, unstable families, and high mortality, made it difficult for Africans to construct social ties

Fact: African nations persisted in America well into the 18th century and even the early 19th century.

Myth: Masters assigned names to slaves or slaves imitated masters' systems of naming.

Fact: In fact, slaves were rarely named for owners. Naming patterns appear to have reflected African practices, such as the custom of giving children "day names" (after the day they were born) and "name-saking," such as naming children after grandparents.

Myth: Slaveholders sought to deculturate slaves by forbidding African names and languages and obliterating African culture.

Fact: While deculturation was part of the "project" of slavery, in fact African music, dance, decoration, design, cuisine, and religion exerted a profound, ongoing influence on American culture.

Fact: Slaves adapted religious rites and perpetuated a rich tradition of folklore.

“Making Native Space in American Literature”

Lisa Brooks

Associate Professor of English and American Studies, Chair, Five College Native American and Indigenous Studies Program, Amherst College

Through this talk, I hope to draw conference participants into Native space, the network of relationships, waterways and places that constitute the Indigenous northeast.



Figure 6: Trade routes: wampum and beaver

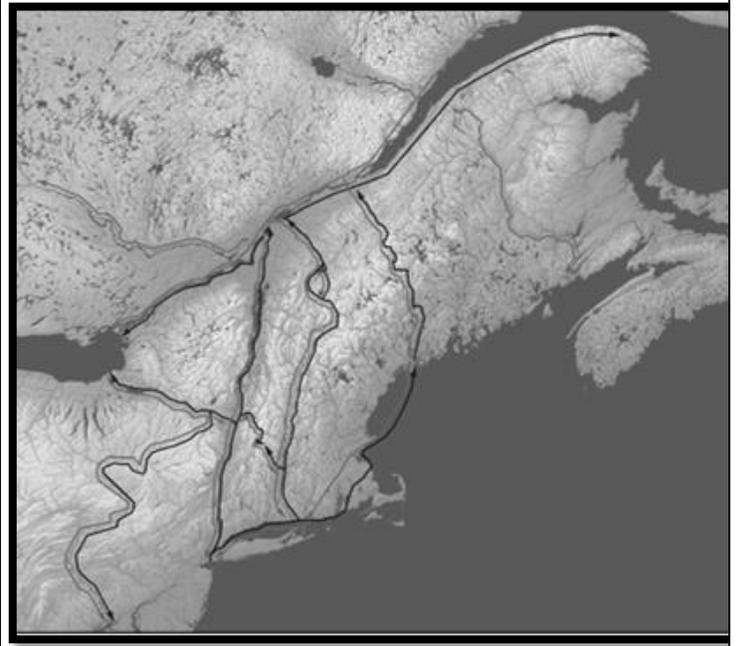


Figure 7: Native Space

Most importantly, I will strive to offer an alternative perspective on the narratives of “discovery” and colonization by reading “early American literature” through indigenous cultural, linguistic and geographic frameworks. I will frame the stories of “encounter” through indigenous oral traditions, and relay the perspectives of the male and female Wabanaki leaders who strove to incorporate English, Dutch and French explorers into their networks of exchange.

We will consider explorers’ and captives’ accounts as works of early American literature and complicate the ways in which historians use those narratives as foundational documents. Maps will enable us to see the ways in which both English and French cartographers represented the America and the ways in which indigenous place names and navigation represent the same geography quite differently. The attached PowerPoint presentation shows some of the maps that I will use in the talk.

A key facet of the talk will explore the ways in which captivity and the slave trade played an early influential role in the colonization of the Northeast. We will consider diplomatic expeditions to France, in which Native leaders were willing participants, and the

frequent capture and enslavement of Native peoples on the eastern coast, which fostered deep suspicion of English fishermen, explorers and settlers.

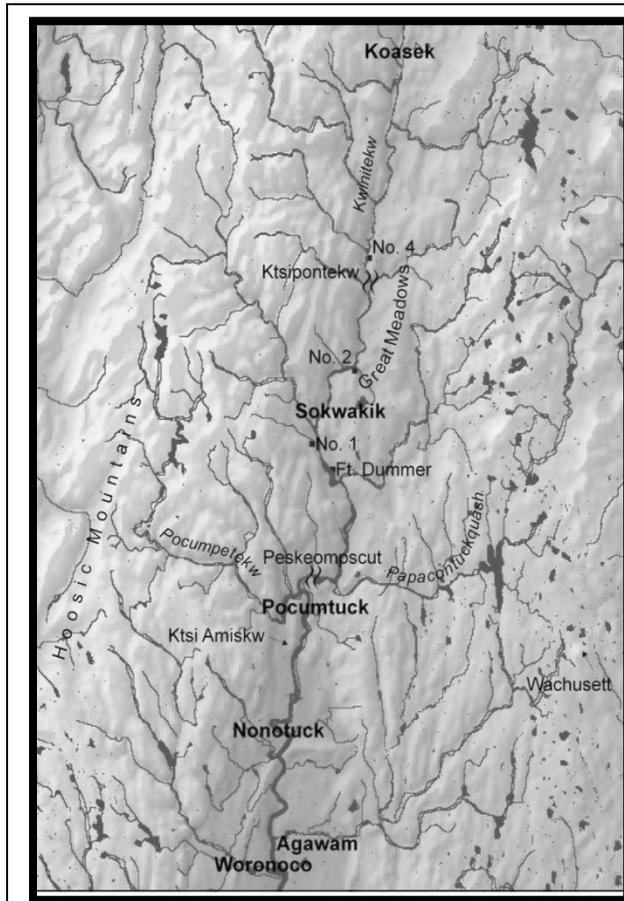


Figure 3: Kwinitekw closeup showing Native homelands, fishing falls and Ktsi Amiskw (the great beaver)

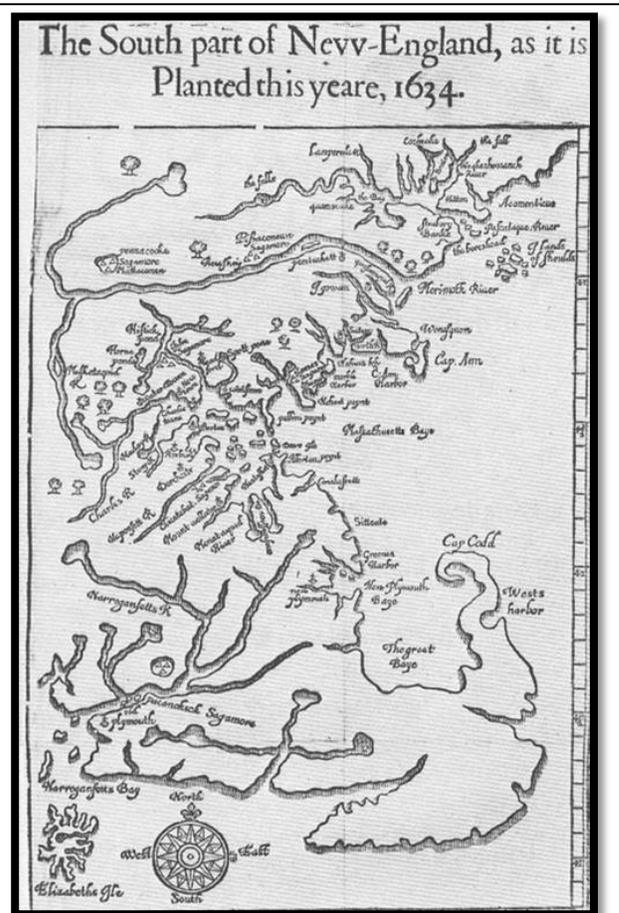


Figure 4: William Wood, Map of New England, 1634

If time permits, I would also like to consider the captivity narrative of Mary Rowlandson, one of the earliest texts published by an English woman in the colonies, and her journey through Native Space. I will also provide some context for King Philip's War, during which Rowlandson was taken captive, and which initiated the wholesale effort to dispossess Native people through the slave trade. During the war, countless people, including many mothers and their children, were taken as "prisoners" and sold as slaves, transformed into commodities and displaced, often permanently, from their indigenous homelands. This became a significant form of "redemption" for the colonial economy and also cleared colonial titles to Native territories, even as it also formed a significant foundation for the slave trade in New England.

The talk will focus in particular on the seventeenth century, including significant dates relevant to the year 1619 and the conference's central themes. I hope to make clear the importance of centering Native space in reframing early American literature.

“What Has Been the Cost of Gangster Rap? What History and Social Research Have to Say”

Benjamin P. Bowser, Professor Emeritus

Department of Sociology and Social Services, California State University East Bay

Based upon B.P. Bowser (2012) *Gangster Rap and Its Social Cost: Exploiting Hip Hop and Using Racial Stereotypes to Entertain America*. Amherst, N.Y.: Cambria Press.

Major Premises

1. Hip Hop is a social movement that has not been studied as such by academic and journalistic writers.
2. Hip Hop and gangster rap are diametrical opposites of each other in philosophy, values and approach. Gangster rap is a commercialization of Hip Hop, intent on exploiting an insatiable audience appetite for music with hardened gangster themes among white listeners.
3. Hip Hop music can be distinguished from gangster rap and should be viewed as an independent genre. It is essential for gangster rap to be seen as an intrinsic part of Hip Hop to obscure and justify its controversial content.
4. When studied independent of Hip Hop, one will find that gangster rap is the source of much of the controversy in Hip Hop music. Critics and supporters alike acknowledge that gangster rap lyrics are characterized by misogyny, pandering to racial stereotypes and rely extensively on use of the N-word and B-word.
5. Finally, sufficient evidence has developed to say that gangster rap music and videos have potentially negative effects on the psychological well-being and life-course of many young listeners and have reinforced racism in American public life.

Origins

What is Hip Hop? I mention the well-known narrative of the origins of Hip Hop in the South Bronx dating from the late 1970s and the spread of the movement and its music to other New York Boroughs. Particular attention was given to the evolution of Hip Hop values and beliefs. I have added to this narrative some missing social context for how and why particular values developed. Hip Hop is a social movement and should be characterized as such. In its present form it is viable national and international underground.

Commercialization

There have been stages in the increasing commercial exploitation of rap music. Suge Knight, Dr. Dre and everyone involved in the initial development of gangster rap were caught completely by surprise by the popularity of their music among white youth and then moved quickly to develop them as a market. All of the major music media corporations were swept in at this time. An essential part of “gangsta” music is its “hardness” and consistent focus on specific themes. It is this thematic difference that distinguishes gangster rap lyrics from Hip Hop lyrics. The two can in fact be easily distinguished.

From the standpoint of aspiring rappers, the rap music business exists as a pyramid of increasingly stringent contractual agreements that weeds out black artists with ethical and race conscious alliances to black communities. The progressive basis of selection reflects the

values, worldview and priorities of music corporation executives. Top performers are carefully selected based largely on their willingness to produce and propagate music based upon what the corporate backers are willing to market. What becomes commercially successful rap is totally detached from community and artists' priorities and dominated by what can be marketed and will sell the most among white listeners. Gangster rap, ironically, becomes Hip Hop's closest and most potential competition.

The so-called independent labels are in fact middle-men whose role it is to deflect attention away from the real control in the business. They minimize corporate responsibility and legitimize gangster rap music as black music by black artists for black people and whoever else wants to listen. This claim needs to be assessed. Fortunately, there are several national surveys that address audience size and characteristics by music preference, including Hip Hop and rap. White listeners are gangster rap's primary audience and market for the music; black and other listeners are secondary and account for only a small share of the market.

Why is Gangster Rap So Attractive?

Why is gangster rap so marketable to its largely white audience and a virtual cash-cow for corporate sponsors? If it were all about violence and profanity, heavy metal should sell as well but it does not. What distinguishes gangster rap and makes it so attractive is its underlying minstrel imagery. Here again numerous commentators have noted this but have not explored this point further. I look at nineteenth century minstrel images and shows their parallel presentation in gangster rap arts' images. The use of "nigger," the N-word, is essential to the success of these images. Without racially stereotypic schemata, gangster rap would not be attractive to white audiences. The tragedy of this imagery is that some gangster rappers are not doing this intentionally; they are simply uninformed. Those who manage them know the nature of the images they reflect, but they are making too much money to "school" their performers. In order to avoid this criticism about their craft, it is absolutely essential to have gangster rap as strongly associated with Hip Hop, black people and black culture as possible.

The most contentious issue in Hip Hop and rap is the question of whose music is it? Is it not authentically black? And who best represents black people and black culture? There is no direct answer to the question of authenticity. The fact that the question is raised at all is significant. The importance of this issue has more to do with convincing white audiences unfamiliar with black culture that each artist's minstrel representations are "authentically" black. Also reflected in gangster rap's authentic images of black communities is the very small segment of the community engaged in illegal drug dealing that existed in the 1990s at the height of the street-level crack cocaine epidemic. Based upon interviews and focus groups with drug dealers and pimps then and now, a very different picture emerges. The real lives and experience of the people rappers claim to represent do not fit their minstrel imagery and would not make for marketable rap. The claim that gangster representations accurately reflect black culture is seriously in error.

Use of the N Word

In the short history of the origin of the word, "nigger," there are eight different meanings ascribed to the word and the ways that it is used. Gangster rappers claim to have given the word a different and positive meaning. They also claim that black people should

take control of the word and use it in public thereby negating its meaning as a racial epithet. A closer examination of their lyrics shows that they in fact use the term with its exact historical meaning as a racial epithet. Ice-T pointed out that without the N-word (in its historical meaning) their music would be indistinguishable from popular music and would not sell. Ironically, a preliminary analysis found no correlation between the frequency of use of the N-word and the gangster rap best-sellers. This finding suggests a tragic possibility. The music would still sell without the N-word resulting in the use of the N-word, and the subsequent fallout from its use, totally unnecessary.

The Social Cost

In one case study city, San Jose, California, civil authorities found no issue with anyone calling older black adults “niggers” on the streets. They reasoned that since young black people used the term and enjoy it in their music, the N-word was normalized, passé as a racial epithet and that anyone could use it. This gave cover to anyone with ill-intent toward a black person or to black people as a class. There was an epidemic in cases of racial harassment; every case that was investigated led back to gangster rappers as the excuse for such license. This is an important case study that by no means is isolated to one city in California.

Besides the minstrel imagery, there is something in the psychology of gangster rappers that makes it attractive to its largely young white male audiences. It is my thesis that gangster rappers have hit on the crisis of male identity portrayed in particular among black men. This is why gangster rappers have sought models of strong black men in the illegal underground among pimps, drug dealers, hustlers and gangsters. They are attracted by their hype about controlling women, having independence and making money. The problem is that this world is not really as the hype describes it, nor does it afford the vast majority of men in this world with advantages. In fact, the “street” notion of patriarchy mimicked by gangster rappers turns on itself and opens these men to abuse of each other and to racial self-hatred which is self-evident in their music.

There is now research on the psychological impact of rap music on its listeners and video watchers. First, Gangster rap primes its listeners toward violence. For African American pre-adolescents and adolescents, the more gangster rap they listen to or watch the worse the outcome on a range of measures. These young people are more apt to use drugs, commit petit crimes, assault teachers, assault one another, engage in unprotected sex, and believe that going to jail is an affirmation of self and toughness, and that they will not live beyond thirty. Gangster rap is not harmless and is, in particular, toxic in terms of the racial stereotypes it teaches Whites.

Solutions

First of all, censorship of music and artists would be neither effective nor consistent with constitutional rights. It turns out that the Achilles heel of the whole enterprise is at the level of major investors, shareholders and the board of directors of the major media companies responsible for financing and marketing gangster rap. They have a moral and legal responsibility to cause no harm. Without their backing, the rappers and so-called independent labels would be on their own – something they have claimed to be all along. They would be unable to market with their current profitability and with corporate legal cover. Meanwhile, there are a range of things that can be done to help develop the energy and potential in Hip

Hop and to bring it to the fore through non-profit promotional labels. Hip Hop needs to be supported and encouraged once it is separated from the underlying social problems posed by its association with gangster rap. There are also a series of research projects that will further advance our knowledge of rap's effects.

“Pro-Slavery Religion”

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Any discussion of slavery and religion begins with the understanding that slavery – the ownership of other human beings – has existed in virtually every culture of the world. Slavery was found throughout the ancient world. While in most places foreigners – often captured in battle or taken away as wartime booty – were the most likely to be enslaved, there were “Greek slaves in Greece [and] Italian slaves in Rome ...”³ Similarly, there were Chinese slaves in China, Igboes enslaved by other Igboes (as well as by other West Africans), Mayans held by other Mayans, and Babylonians held as slaves in Nineveh. On the Island of Oahu, native Hawaiians served as slaves to the royal family centuries before Captain James Cook became the first European to set foot on the Islands. From native Egyptians held by their own Pharaohs to Germans slaving for the Nazis and Russians being worked to death in the Gulags, slavery has been a ubiquitous feature of human society, found in virtually every culture and in every geographic area.⁴ Russians enslaved by other Russians. Europeans enslaved each other throughout the ancient world and well into the modern period.

In all these societies, and indeed, in all societies where slavery existed before the Eighteenth Century, existing religious institutions never denounced slavery and often supported it. In some places churches owned slaves; in some places slaves were sacrificed in religious ceremonies. Occasionally some religious leaders or members of the clergy argued against slavery on religious grounds, but these were rare and mostly ineffectual. The most famous early denunciation of slavery came from the sixteenth century Dominican friar, Bartolomé de las Casas, who later became the Bishop of Chiapas. The Medieval Roman Church proscribed the enslavement of fellow Christians, but by the 15th century the Church justified the enslavement of Africans and New World natives on the grounds that they were heathens, and then approved of their continued enslavement after they were baptized. By the end of the Sixteenth Century the enslavement of Africans was common throughout the Spanish and Portuguese empires of the New World, and virtually no one questioned the system. It was in this intellectual and cultural atmosphere that Protestant settlers from Great Britain and the Netherlands came to the New World in the early Seventeenth Century.

² The author thanks Rabbis Lance Sussman, Eliezer Finkelman, and Rick Brody for their help with translations, other Biblical questions, and issues of Jews and slavery in the South.

³ M.I. Finley, *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology* (New York: Viking Press, 1980) 118.

⁴ The only exception seems to be among the aboriginals of Australia and the Eskimo and Inuit people of the polar region. See Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982).

By the mid-1660s the British and Dutch had established slavery in what would become the United States.

Religion and the Creation of Slavery in Virginia

From their first encounters, religion affected interactions between British settlers and Africans in what would eventually become the United States. In the early seventeenth century some Africans converted to Christianity and were accepted as members of the community. In 1624, for example, an African named John Phillip was allowed to testify in a court case involving whites, in part because he had been “Christened in *England*” 12 years earlier. In 1641 a black indentured servant arranged for his son to be “made a christian and be taught and exercised in the church of *England*.” This African-born father clearly understood that conversion would help protect his son’s freedom. Meanwhile, as British settlers formally adopted slavery in the 1660s they used religion to justify reducing Africans to the status of property, on the grounds that they were not Christians. Indeed, from their first encounters with Africans, whites in Europe and later America would argue that it was legitimate to enslave Africans because they were heathens. A Virginia statute from 1661-62 providing punishments for runaway servants made a distinction between “negroes” and “christian servants.” Another law from 1662 provided fines when “any christian shall committ ffornication with a negro man or women.” In the minds of these early Virginians, religious difference seems to have been at least as significant as racial difference.

As more Africans came to the colony Anglican priests tried to convert them, which masters opposed on the grounds that this would free their slaves. In 1667 the House of Burgesses, the legislature in colonial Virginia, specifically dealt with this problem, declaring that “the conferring of baptisme doth not alter the condition of the person as to his bondage or ffreedome; that diverse masters, ffreed from this doubt, may more carefully endeavour the propagation of christianity by permitting . . . slaves . . . to be admitted to that sacrament.”

From this point on whites in the American colonies used Christianity to help control slaves. While most slaves would end up in the South, even in the North the clergy saw scripture as a vehicle for supporting slavery. In Massachusetts, Rev. Cotton Mather urged the conversion of slaves to control them, and he named his own slave Onesimus, after the New Testament slave who Paul returned to his owner.⁵ In the South, Anglican priests from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel evangelized among slaves in Virginia and South Carolina, trying, with some success, to convince masters that Christian slaves would be more obedient and less likely to run away or revolt.

The clergy, whether in New England, the Middle Colonies, or the South relied on Christian doctrines, focusing on poverty, humility, and obedience to provide a narrative for preaching to slaves. Matthew 5:5 – “Blessed *are* the meek: for they shall inherit the earth” – was a perfect text to stress to blacks that their eternal salvation would be secured if they were obedient slaves. Similarly, if it was “easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God,” (Matthew, 19:24) then obedient slaves were more likely to get heaven than their masters. This was reinforced by other New Testament verses, such as Ephesians 6:5: “Servants, be obedient to them that are *your* masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling.” Southern ministers used these texts and doctrines to

⁵ David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture*, 217.

urge slaves to be meek and obedient. Southern masters doubtless liked to hear sermons that extolled the virtues of obedient slaves. It is hard to know how many slaves accepted these doctrines, although some probably did. Most slaves, when on their own, probably preferred to hear the retelling of the story of the Exodus, with its implicit condemnation of bondage.

Religion and Biblical text were also used to justify slavery to slaveowners and in debates with non-slaveowners. By the 1670s the British had established slavery in all their New World colonies. New colonies, like Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and later North Carolina, had slavery from their inception.⁶ Most European settlers had accepted both the necessity of importing Africans and the legitimacy of doing so, even if in some parts of British America, like most of New England, there was actually very little slavery. Virtually everyone in the colonies and the metropolis accepted the morality and legitimacy of slavery. This was consistent with cultural, religious, and political views at the time.

Since antiquity there had been few condemnations of slavery. Plato assumed there would be slavery in his ideal Republic. The devoutly religious Thomas More located his *Utopia* in America, and his ideal, imaginary society would have contained “a fully developed slave system.”⁷ When John Locke, the philosopher of liberty, wrote drafted The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina he protected slavery at the same time he provided an almost unheard of amount of religious liberty. Sections 109 and 110 of the proposed constitution provided:

109th. No person whatsoever shall disturb, molest, or persecute another, for his speculative opinions in religion, or his way of worship.

110th. Every freeman of Carolina, shall have absolute power and authority over his negro slaves, of what opinion or religion soever.

Thus, in this new colony free people (white people) were free to worship any faith they wanted, and they could all own black slaves, even if those slaves had been baptized. Religious freedom in the New World went hand-in-hand with bondage. Indeed, before the mid-Eighteenth Century no significant philosophers, theologians, or political leaders in Britain spoke out against slavery.

Religion and Antislavery

Before the mid-Eighteenth Century a few religiously motivated people were beginning to question the legitimacy of slavery. In 1688 German settlers in Pennsylvania issued the first significant protest against slavery in the British colonies. These Mennonites (they are also sometimes referred to as Quakers), argued that “though they are black, we cannot conceive there is more liberty to have them slaves as it is to have other white ones.” They argued that “we should do to all men like as we will be done ourselves; making no difference of what generation, descent, or colour they are.” This religious denunciation of slavery argued that

⁶ In the 18th century the philanthropists who founded the colony of Georgia banned slavery, not because they thought it was immoral or because it violated Christian doctrine, but because they wanted to the settlers (most of whom were poor) to work for themselves and avoid the “demoralizing” example of slavery. Very quickly, however, the colonists successful demanded the right to own slaves.

⁷ David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966) 107. Thomas More, *Utopia* (1516).

the practice of separation husbands and wives was akin to committing adultery, that bringing men and women from Africa against their will was akin to stealing, and that people must “avoid to purchase such things as are stolen.” They complained that “the Quakers do here [in Pennsylvania] handel men as they handel ... cattle” in Europe. The Germantown Protest Against Slavery had little immediate effect on slavery in British America. Nor did Judge Samuel Sewall’s *The Selling of Joseph*, published by a Massachusetts Puritan in 1700, have much of an impact. But both of these publications began a slow, but persistent, attack on the morality of slavery, based in part on religious values.

In the early 1730s the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting faced internal turmoil between its many slaveholding members and critics of slavery. Starting about 1735 the Quaker Benjamin Lay publicly attacked slaveholding among the Friends, but by 1737 he was being banned from some meetings in New Jersey and Philadelphia as a "frequent Disturber" and a "disorderly person." These condemnations resulted from his open and forceful condemnation of slavery. That year he wrote *All Slave-keepers That Keep the Innocent in Bondage, Apostates Pretending to Lay Claim to the Pure & Holy Christian Religion*, which Benjamin Franklin anonymously published, to avoid an open breach with the wealthy and powerful Quaker leadership in Philadelphia. The fierce denunciations of slavery in Lay’s book led to his expulsion from the Society of Friends, which had prohibited all members of the faith from publishing antislavery tracts. In 1758, a year before Lay’s death, the Philadelphia meeting finally condemned trafficking in slaves.

Lay scandalized his fellow Quakers, and his often intemperate language alienated many in the community, but he set the stage John Woolman’s profoundly important *Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes* (1754) and the writing and preaching of Anthony Benezet. In the 1760s there were still many Quaker slaveowners and in Rhode Island many were still actively involved in the African slave trade. But, by the end of the American Revolution most Quaker meetings in the country had condemned slavery and many Quakers were committed to manumitting their own slaves.

By the time of the American Revolution, John Wesley, the founder of the new denomination, the Methodist church, had also publicly condemned slavery with his pamphlet, *Thoughts Upon Slavery*, which was published in England in 1774 and reprinted in Philadelphia in 1776. Initially Methodists were not allowed to own slaves, but this proved impractical, and after 1808 the national church no longer monitored slaveholding, with a tacit understanding that the national leadership would not own slaves. Similarly, early Baptists opposed slavery, but by 1800 this opposition had disappeared in the South. However, in 1844 the church would divide over slavery, sparking by the demand the Bishop James O. Andrew of Georgia resign his episcopal duties because of his and his wife’s ownership of slaves. At the time of the Revolution many Baptists opposed slavery, although this opposition quickly disappeared in the South but would remerge in the 1840s. In 1845 the General Convention of the national Baptists refused to confirm the appointment of a slaveholding minister at a missionary to the Cherokee in Georgia, and this led to a schism in the church and the formation of the Southern Baptist Convention.

Most older and mainstream churches – Episcopalian (formerly the Anglican Church), Presbyterian, Lutheran, Dutch Reformed, and Catholic churches – continued to urge baptism for slaves, but saw no inconsistency with slavery and Christianity. During and immediately after the Revolution all of the New England states either abolished slavery or set its demise in

motion through gradual emancipation acts. Congressional (former Puritan) and Unitarian churches did actively not support slavery, but neither did most of them actively oppose the institution on theological grounds.

The politics of the Revolution – the ideology of liberty – fatally weakened or immediately ended slavery in the North. During and after the Revolution Abolition Societies throughout the North (and very small short-lived ones in Maryland, Kentucky, Delaware, and Virginia), focused mostly on ending slavery in their own states, providing schools and other facilities for recently emancipated slaves, and ending the African slave trade. Illustrative of this “local” approach to slavery was the decision of the General Conference of the Methodist church in 1808 to no longer take a stand on slaveholding. Some members of these early Abolition societies were religiously motivated, but many were also stimulated by the ideology of the Revolution. Similarly some masters in the South privately manumitted their slaves for religiously motivations – most notably the prominent Virginia Baptist, Robert "Councillor" Carter III, who manumitted more than 450 slaves because he found owning them was incompatible with his religious beliefs. But other masters who freed their slaves, like George Washington and Edward Coles (James Madison private secretary who later become the governor of Illinois), did so because of their commitment to Revolutionary ideas.

Most importantly, before the 1830s there were few open calls to end slavery in the South and most religious leaders and their congregants accepted the legitimacy of the institution. But, this changed with the emergence of the American Anti-Slavery Society and the publication of William Lloyd Garrison’s newspaper, *The Liberator*. Garrison and his followers directed numerous attacks on slavery, arguing that it violated the principles of the American Revolution, was dangerous, and that it was economically harmful to the nation. Most of all, however, the Garrisonians and other abolitionists from the 1830s focused on the immorality of slavery and its fundamental hostility to Christianity. The great abolitionist speaker Wendell Phillips argued that “the clients” of the antislavery movement were “three millions of Christian slaves, standing . . . at the threshold of the Christian world.” Phillips argued that the abolitionists were fighting against “a professedly Christian nation denying, by statute, the Bible to every sixth man and woman of its population.”⁸ Many of the leaders of the new antislavery movement were ministers and almost all were evangelical Christians, whose opposition to slavery was rooted in their religious beliefs, as well as their cultural commitment to the concepts of liberty and equality found in the Declaration of Independence. Their arguments generally centered around notions of Christian charity, support for the least fortunate in society, and the admonition that you should “Do to others as you would have them do to you” (Luke, 6:31.) In addition, abolitionists argued that slavery led to vast immorality. Phillips declared that slavery led to “daily robbery, systematic prostitution, and murder.” Abolitionists often pointed to the large number of mulattoes in the South, noting that the offspring of mixed race sexual encounters were almost always the result of southern masters exploiting their female slaves – and in the process committing fornication, rape, and adultery. Wendell Phillips argued that the South was “one great brothel, where half a million of women are flogged to prostitution, or, worse still, are

⁸ Wendell Phillips, “The Abolition Movement,” (1853), reprinted in Wendell Phillips, *Speeches, Lectures and Letters* (Boston: Lee and Shephard, 1881) 106, 107

degraded to believe it honorable.”⁹ Abolitionists persistently pointed out that slaves were denied the right to legally marry, even when their nuptials were performed by an ordained minister. Because these marriages were not recognized by the law, slave husbands and wives could be sold away from each other on the whim of a master or a creditor, thus forcing slaves to choose between adultery or celibacy for the rest of their lives. Slavery, in other words, was a frontal assault on Christian morality, the Ten Commandments, and the professed values of the evangelical majority in the North and the nation.

Proslavery Religious Thought and Race

In response to this new antislavery moment, as well as in response to other intellectual currents, southern ministers developed a religious argument that supported slavery and the subordination of blacks as slaves. Southern ministers also responded to current notions of science and anthropology with a religious argument. This issue is directly tied to the racial basis of American slavery.

Following the Revolution the first generation of American scientists began to speculate about the origins of the different races. Most Europeans and their American cousins believed in the Biblical story of creation, and simply accepted that somehow some people had become different. The first statute aimed at ending slavery – the Pennsylvania Gradual Abolition Act of 1780 – reflected this understanding as it asserted: “It is not for us to enquire why, in the creation of mankind, the inhabitants of the several parts of the earth were distinguished by a difference in feature or complexion. It is sufficient to know, that all are the work of an Almighty hand.”

But, scientists were not ready to accept such an answer. In a pre-Darwinian world – before genetics or natural selection were understood – anthropologists and biologists speculated that the different races of the world were the result of what scientists called “separate creation.” These scientists did not directly challenge the idea of divine creation (although some of them were overtly atheist or deist), but did argue that humanity did not come from a single creation, as set out in the story of Adam (Gen. 1:26-27; Gen. 2-25; Ge. 3:20). Rather, accepting the notion of divine creation, these scientists argued that God created the races separately, which explained not only their different physical appearance, but only their differences in ability and intelligence, as these scientists understood and explained things. In the three decades before the Civil War some scientists articulated a theory of race which asserted that the races were separately created, that whites were more intelligent than non-whites, with Indians and Asians being smarter than people of African ancestry. Scientists known as “craniologists” collected skulls from around the world which they used to “prove” that whites had a larger cranial capacity than people of other races, and were thus smarter than member of the other races.

A number of southern physicians also argued that the physiology of blacks was different from whites. Dr. Samuel A. Cartwright of New Orleans, a noted specialist in “Negro diseases,” argued that blacks suffered from a number of maladies that did not affect whites. One of these diseases, which he named “Dysaesthesia Aethiopia,” caused slaves to misbehave. Thus he provided a medical explanation for what masters and overseers called “rascality.” Another special “Negro disease,” which he called “Drapetomania,” affected the minds of

⁹ Ibid., 116, 108.

slaves “causing negroes to run away.” This was known as “the running away disease.” Similarly, physicians like Cartwright and Josiah Nott argued that the organs and flesh of blacks were fundamentally different from whites.¹⁰

These mid-century southern scientists reflected the conclusions of the South’s most famous scientific observer (and deist), Thomas Jefferson, who wrote in his *Notes on the State of Virginia*, that blacks' ability to "reason" was "much inferior" to whites, while "in imagination they are dull, tasteless, and anomalous," and "inferior to the whites in the endowments of body and mind." Jefferson conceded blacks were brave, but this was due to "a want of forethought, which prevents their seeing a danger till it be present." Jefferson similarly observed other biological and mental differences, asserting "they secrete less by the kidneys, and more by the glands of the skin, which gives them a very strong and disagreeable odor." While thinking that black women were "more ardent" he doubted blacks capable of a serious relationship: "love seems with them to be more an eager desire, than a tender delicate mixture of sentiment and sensation." Like the scientists of the antebellum period, he suspected blacks might be "originally a distinct race, or made distinct by time and circumstances" and that because of this they were "inferior to the whites in . . . body and mind." A scientist and naturalist, he nevertheless accepted and repeated absurdly unscientific and illogical arguments about the racial characteristics of blacks, speculating that blackness might come "from the colour of the blood" or that blacks might breed with the "Oran-ootan."¹¹

A minority of these scientists even suggested that blacks might form a separate species between humans and the great apes. The leading proponent of this idea was Dr. Nott, who argued that blacks were a separate species that God had created solely to be the slaves of whites. Such arguments gained little traction among scientists and physicians because they were clearly contrary the obvious evidence that blacks were in fact fully human. Dr. Cartwright, tried to finesse the scientific and religious issues, by arguing that blacks were among the “other creatures” that God put in the Garden of Eden before he created Adam. Cartwright, thus accepted the Biblical creation story without having the concede that blacks and whites were all descendants of Adam. However, Cartwright strayed from Biblical literalism on one point, arguing that a snake did not give Eve the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge, but rather, it was handed to her by a black gardener.

These scientific arguments (even those like Cartwright’s that tried to also support the Bible) mostly failed to attract a following in the South because they contradicted the Biblical creation story, which does not discuss the creation of any other races. However, southern clergymen were fully up to the task of explaining how people of different races emerged through Biblical analysis. Southern theologians focused on the story of Noah who cursed his grandson, Canaan, after Canaan’s father, Ham, exposed Noah’s nakedness while he was drunk. (Gen. 9: 23-27). The curse, as translated in the King James Version of the Bible reads as follows:

¹⁰ Samuel A. Cartwright, “Report on the Diseases of and Physical Peculiarities of the Negro Race ,” *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*, 7 (May 1851) 691-715, reprinted in Finkelman, *Defending Slavery*, 157-73.

¹¹ William Peden, ed., *Notes on the State of Virginia*, by Thomas Jefferson (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954), 138-39. For more discussion of Jefferson’s racist science, see Paul Finkelman, *Slavery and the Founders: Race and Liberty in the Age of Jefferson*, 3rd ed. (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2014), Chaps. 7 and 8.

²⁴ And Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger son had done unto him.

²⁵ And he said, Cursed *be* Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.

²⁶ And he said, Blessed *be* the LORD God of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant.

²⁷ God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant.¹²

Generations of southern clergymen explained that this passage justified the enslavement of Africans and their descendants. The “curse of Canaan” was that Canaan became black and the he and his descendants were doomed to be “servants’ or slaves of other people. This story explained the mystery of racial difference while justifying slavery.

Similarly, for Southerners, the story of Job illustrated the righteousness of slaveholding. Job, for example “was perfect and upright, and one that feared God, and eschewed evil” (Job 1:1). He also who owned large numbers of slaves. As part of a test of his faith Job lost all his slaves, and in his redemption he ended up with more slaves. “The LORD gave Job twice as much as he had before.” (Job: 42:1) Southerners readily saw his story as proof that God sanctioned their “peculiar institution” and rewarded the faithful with more slaves.

Slavery and the Old Testament

One or two lines about Noah and Canaan or the references to slavery in *Job* were not enough, however, to defend slavery. By the 1840s antislavery clergymen relentlessly condemned slavery on moral and religious grounds. Southern Clergymen responded with detailed discussions of the Old and New Testaments to justify human bondage.

Southerners started by stressing the holiness of ancient Israel and the connections to slavery found in the stories of the great patriarchs of the Old Testament and the Biblical rules and laws for regulating slaveholding. Abraham owned the slave Hagar, who was from Egypt and thus perhaps a black African. When Sarah could not bear children, Abraham fathered a child with Hagar. This part of the Bible (Gen. 16:3-4) implied that sexual relations between masters and their slave women were not entirely wrong. While southern ministers would always condemn fornication with slaves, they did so lightly, since many of their flock were likely to be having sexual relations with their slaves. The story of Hagar contained two other lessons for southern slaveowners. After Hagar gave birth to Ishmael, Sarah became angry and jealous of Hagar. Meanwhile while Hagar was insolent towards Sarah. This led Abraham’s wife to complain that she was “despised in her [Hagar’s] eyes.” (Gen. 16:5)

¹² The translations of the Hebrew in the King James Bible are often incorrect. The team translating the Bible used the term “servant” when the Hebrew was “slave.” Thus, the correct translation of this would be:

25. And he said, "Cursed be Canaan; he shall be a slave among slaves to his brethren."

26. And he said, "Blessed be the Lord, the God of Shem, and may Canaan be a slave to them."

27. May God expand Japheth, and may He dwell in the tents of Shem, and may Canaan be a slave to them."

http://www.chabad.org/library/bible_cdo/aid/63255/jewish/The-Bible-with-Rashi.htm

An alternative modern translation illustrates the proslavery nature of these verses.

25 he said, "Cursed be Canaan! The lowest of slaves will he be to his brothers." 26 He also said, "Blessed be the LORD, the God of Shem! May Canaan be the slave of Shem. 27 May God extend the territory of Japheth; may Japheth live in the tents of Shem, and may Canaan be his slave." <http://www.biblestudytools.com/genesis/9.html>

Abraham responded by permitting Sarah “to do to her as it pleaseth thee.” Sarah responded by beating and abusing Hagar. Countless white women in the South would emulate Sarah when they discovered relationships between slaves and their husbands. Like Sarah, these white southern women could not control the behavior of their husbands, but they could take out their frustrations and anger on the slave women, who were thus doubly victimized – by the slave owner and by his wife. The Bible implicitly sanctioned such behavior.

In response to Sarah’s beatings, Hagar ran away. Abraham did not go after the fugitive slave Hagar. Instead, the Lord sent an angel to seek out Hagar. The interaction was central to the defense of slavery (Gen. 16: 7-9):

⁷ And the angel of the LORD found her by a fountain of water in the wilderness, by the fountain in the way to Shur.

⁸ And he said, Hagar, Sarai’s maid, whence camest thou? and whither wilt thou go? And she said, I flee from the face of my mistress Sarai.

⁹ And the angel of the LORD said unto her, Return to thy mistress, and submit thyself under her hands.

For Southern clergymen these verses demonstrated the morality of slavery and just as important, the morality of returning fugitive slaves. In the 1850s the return of fugitives to the South led to scores of published northern sermons (and probably hundreds if not thousands of unpublished ones) condemning slave catchers as “manstealers” and “kidnappers.” But, southerners had a ready answer. Slave catchers were the servants of the Lord, retrieving fugitive slaves just as the angel of the Lord retrieved Hagar. As one southerner summarized this story: “We are then told, that, when Sarai dealt hardly with her she fled from her face into the wilderness—there the angel of the Lord found her; but, instead of relieving her distresses, and sending her to some free country, he told her to return and submit to her mistress.” This author noted that “When the angel of the Lord interfered between Sarai and Hagar, it was to cause the slave to submit to the punishment inflicted by her mistress. Under like circumstances, our slaves are persuaded to go to Canada.”¹³

Just a few chapters later Abraham had his encounter with Abimelech, misleading him into believing Sarah was Abraham’s sister and not his wife. Abimelech then took Sarah into his house, but, according to the story God prevented Abimelech from having sex with Sarah and thus committing a moral sin. When God revealed the truth of Sarah’s marital status, which Abraham confirmed, Abimelech recompensed Abraham in this manner: “And Abimelech took sheep, and oxen, and menservants, and women servants, and gave *them* unto Abraham, and restored him Sarah his wife.” (Gen. 20:14). The message of the passage for the antebellum South was clear: God approved of slaveholding and an appropriate compensation to Abraham for Abimelech’s sinful behavior was to give Abraham slaves. Jacob, Abraham’s grandson, would measure his wealth in servants as well as his sheep, goats, and other animals. Jacob would have children with two of his slave women (Gen. 35:25-26) and Jacob’s oldest son, Reuben, would also sleep with one of these slave women (Gen. 35:22). Southern ministers did not of course dwell on these details of the sex lives of the Biblical patriarchs, but the

¹³ “Slavery and the Bible,” *De Bow’s Review* 9 (Sept. 1850): 281-86, reprinted in Paul Finkelman, *Defending Slavery: Proslavery Thought in the Old South* (Boston: Bedford Books, 2003) 110-11.

stories were powerful evidence of the holiness of slavery and the fact that sexual relations with slaves were not necessarily immoral.

The story of the selling of Joseph was used by abolitionists to illustrate the immorality of slavery, but for southerners there was another meaning. Joseph, a (presumably) white Israelite, was wrongly sold into slavery and thus he was ultimately redeemed. Joseph was not an appropriate slave, but the story of Joseph, and even the exodus from Egypt did not entirely condemn slavery. As the Israelites are preparing to leave, the Lord orders them to eat unleavened bread (matzo) for seven days. The text details who is required to eat matzo and who is not (Ex. 12:43-45):

⁴³ And the LORD said unto Moses and Aaron, This *is* the ordinance of the passover: There shall no stranger eat thereof:

⁴⁴ But every man's servant that is bought for money, when thou hast circumcised him, then shall he eat thereof.

⁴⁵ A foreigner and an hired servant shall not eat thereof.

Thus, even as the Israelite slaves were released from their presumably unlawful bondage, through divine intervention, the Lord confirmed the right of the Israelites to own other people “that is bought for money.” This verse also implied an obligation to convert (or in the Christian context baptize) slaves. If the Israelites could circumcise their purchased slaves, and still hold them as slaves, then it was permissible for Christians to baptize Africans and hold them as slaves. Equally important, the text implied a distinction between purchased slaves and hired servants.¹⁴

Exodus, Chapters 20 and 21, set out rules for treating slaves and included rules on how to sell one’s own daughter into slavery. Similarly, Leviticus 25 contained numerous rules for slaveholding. The most important was the following, from Leviticus 25:44-46, which allowed for enslaving foreigners and holding them as inheritable property.

⁴⁴ Both thy bondmen, and thy bondmaids, which thou shalt have, *shall be* of the heathen that are round about you; of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids.

⁴⁵ Moreover of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that *are* with you, which they begat in your land: and they shall be your possession.

⁴⁶ And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit *them* for a possession; they shall be your bondmen for ever: but over your brethren the children of Israel, ye shall not rule one over another with rigour.

One Southern commentator noted that at this time the Israelites “had no slaves, but were themselves, in a manner fugitive slaves” but nevertheless God “provided laws for

¹⁴ Although the King James Version of the Bible used “servant” for both verses, the Hebrew words are different. Verse 44 used the word “eved-eesh” [] which literally translated means, “slave of a man,” while verse 45 use the term “sacheer” [] which means someone who is hired and receives a wage. Thus, while southern ministers and their flock might not have understood the Hebrew distinctions, southern religious scholars would have.

bringing in, buying, inheriting, and governing slaves, in the land unto which they were to be brought at the end of forty years.” This author argued that the Biblical laws for the treatment of slaves were “worse, for the slave, than the laws of any southern state” but nevertheless God provided them “for his chosen people.” Because these laws were “given by inspiration from God” the very existence of these Biblical codes “prove[d] that in buying selling, and holding slaves, there is no moral guilt.” While individual mistreatment of slaves might be wrong, or even criminalized, “the relation [of slavery], in itself, is good and moral.”¹⁵

Slavery and the New Testament

The antebellum white South was overwhelmingly Protestant and evangelical, with a substantial number of Catholics in Louisiana and some in Missouri and in Baltimore. There were at most 25,000 Jews across the South, who, with the exception of a few politicians (like Senators Judah P. Benjamin and David Yulee), generally avoided any public debates over slavery. Most southern Jews supported the Confederacy and some were slaveowners, but no southern rabbis published proslavery tracts¹⁶ the way their Protestant counterparts did. Except for a dwindling number of southern Quakers and Moravians, the overwhelming majority of the southern churches, whether Protestant or Catholic, supported slavery. As evangelical Christians, they needed a New Testament argument to support slavery to counter the antislavery religious argument that slavery violated the basic Christian principles of love, charity, and the admonitions of Mark, Luke, and James: “and the second [is] like, [namely] this, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. There is none other commandment greater than these” Mark 12:31); “And as ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise” (Luke 6:31); and “Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself, ye do well” (James 2:8).

The Southern response to such arguments was rooted in the aspects of New Testament scripture. First, was the theme of obedience and respect for hierarchy. Second, were the admonitions that Christians should obey the laws of the state, as Jesus noted: “And Jesus answering said unto them, Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's” (Mark 12:17). Finally there was the powerful story of the fugitive slave Onesimus, set out in Paul's Letter to Philemon. That letter detailed how Paul was returning the runaway slave Onesimus to his owner (Philemon), and how Philemon in turn should treat his wayward slave kindly. This was the essence of Christian support for slavery – divine authority of owning slaves, the demand of obedience from the slave, and the need for the master to be kind and caring.

Rev. Thornton Stringfellow, one of the most important southern defenders of slavery, cited numerous portions of the New Testament to show that slavery was not incompatible

¹⁵ “Slavery and the Bible,” *De Bow's Review* 9 (Sept. 1850): 281-86, reprinted in Paul Finkelman, *Defending Slavery: Proslavery Thought in the Old South* (Boston: Bedford Books, 2003) 113.

¹⁶ The only proslavery tract by a Jew was *The Bible View of Slavery* (1861) written by a rabbi in New York City, Dr. Morris J. Raphall, of Congregation B'nai Jeshurun. Rabbi David Einhorn, who held a pulpit at Har Sinai in Baltimore, responded to this pamphlet with a strong rebuttal and was forced to flee that proslavery city in April 1861 because of his open opposition to slavery. He then went to Philadelphia, serving as the Rabbi at Keneseth Israel until 1866. Michael Heilprin, a Jewish immigrant journalist and scholar – but not a rabbi or even a member of synagogue – also published a rebuttal to Raphall in New York's most important Republican paper, *The New York Tribune*.

with Christianity. He quoted Peter, who warned all Christians to “Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord’s sake: whether it be to the king, as supreme” (Pet. 2:13). In Stringfellow’s eyes this included all laws supporting slavery, which southern whites and blacks slaves had to obey, but also northerners were required to support. Thus, slaves should “render unto Caesar” by being good slaves, and northerners should do the same by returning fugitive slaves (as Paul had done with Onesimus). Peter specifically provided support slavery, declaring: “Servants, be subject to your masters with all fear; not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward” (1 Pet. 2:18). This dovetailed with the text of Corinthians, “Art thou called being a servant? care not for it: but if thou mayest be made free, use it rather” (1 Cor. 7:21). Stringfellow concluded that “danger to the cause of Christ was on the side of *insubordination among the servants*, and a *want of humility with inferiors*, rather than *haughtiness among superiors* in the church.”¹⁷

Other ministers agreed that the need for obedience and hierarchy in Christianity was a key to understanding the Biblical and religious support for slavery. In an essay titled “Duties of Christian Masters” the Georgia minister A.T. Holmes focused on New Testament support for obedient slaves and the reciprocal obligation of masters to treat their slaves humanely.¹⁸ He reminded his readers of Paul’s letter to the Ephesian Church, where the apostle set the standard for slaves: “Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ; Not with eyeservice, as menpleasers; but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart” (Eph., 6: 5-6). Paul noted that obedience was a requirement for anyone, including slaves, seeking salvation: “Knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free” (Eph. 6:7). Holmes also focused on similar versus in Colossians. That book famously admonished wives to “submit yourselves unto your own husbands” and Children to “obey your parents in all things” (Col. 3:18, 20). Slaves came next: “Servants, obey in all things your masters according to the flesh; not with eyeservice, as menpleasers; but in singleness of heart, fearing God” (Col. 22). Proslavery ministers supported a humane and even a “just” slavery, reminding masters of the admonition in Colossians 4:1, “Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal; knowing that ye also have a Master in heaven.” Holmes, like other southern ministers and supporters of slavery, saw a master as a father figure, noting that the “Christian master, therefore, should be known among his servants as frowning, uniformly upon vice, and smiling upon virtue” all “to improve the moral condition of his servants.”¹⁹

One duty of the Christian master was to provide a church wedding for slaves. Under southern law no slaves were ever legally married. A marriage, after all, was a contract and slaves could never sign a contract. Furthermore, masters always had the right to dispose of slaves through sale, gift, to settle debts, or as inheritance. Thus, slave “marriages” might be broken for the economic reasons or as punishment. In 1859 the Episcopal Church of South

¹⁷ Thornton Stringfellow, “The Bible Argument: OR, Slavery in the Light if Divine Revelation,” in E.N. Elliot, *Cotton is King, and Proslavery Arguments* (Augusta, Ga.: Prchard, Abbott & Lomis, 1860), 461-521, excerpted n Finkelman, ed., *Defending Slavery*, 121-28, quoted at 127-28.

¹⁸ A.T. Holmes, “The Duties of Christian Masters,” in Holland N. Mcyeire, ed., *Duties of Masters to Servants* (Charleston, S.C.: Southern Baptist Publication Society, 1851), *reprinted in* Finkelman, ed., *Defending Slavery*, 96-107.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, reprinted at 100.

Carolina published the report of a special committee chaired by Christopher Gustavus Memminger, on *The Duty of Clergymen in Relation to Marriage of Slaves*. The committee argued that if slaves voluntarily abandoned their spouses they could not remarry because that would be adultery. But, when “the husband or wife have been removed by legal authority from the neighborhood of each other” without any “agency” on their part, “the refusal to allow a second marriage would often produce much evil and hardship.” Thus, in such circumstances, slaves would be allowed to remarry. The committee of the church urged masters to avoid separating slave spouses, but recognized that this was not always possible, and when slave marriages ended by sale or other permanent separation, the slaves were “entitled to sympathy and consideration.”²⁰

Conclusion

In a world where the vast majority of whites were evangelical Christians, it is not surprising that religion played a vital role in the creating and perpetuating slavery. While abolitionists condemned slaveholding as immoral, southern whites knew better. Their Bible taught them, over and over again, that slavery was ordained by God and that God had created blacks solely to be their slaves. In hundreds of printed sermons, and in thousands of sermons delivered in countless churches, Southern white clergymen of almost every denomination, defended slavery and their right to hold their fellow human beings in bondage. If asked whether they were upholding the “Golden Rule,” these southern divines would have undoubtedly said that by treating their slaves firmly, but fairly, with Christian kindness, and by baptizing their slaves and sending them to church, they were in fact doing “unto” them precisely as they would wish to be treated, if they too were an inferior race, created by God solely for the purpose of being slaves.

“1619: The Culinary Dynamics of Natives and Newcomers”

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Scholars imagine invasion, colonization, immigration and slavery as significantly different categories of human mobility;²¹ given such differences it is plausible to expect their cultural consequences, too, will be radically different. During American colonization European newcomers held the balance of power, militarily and technically; they used their power to impose their own cultures and practices on natives, pushing them to the margins of society and the brink of extinction while capturing large populations of Africans as slaves and coercing impoverished Europeans into work as temporarily unfree indentured servants. During the later, more voluntary movements that built the U.S. as a “nation of immigrants,” natives instead expected the newcomers to assimilate and to adopt their own cultures and

²⁰ Reprinted in Finkelman, *Defending Slavery*, at 114-121, quoted at 119-21. Memminger, who would become the Secretary of the Treasury for the Confederacy, was the chair.

²¹ Patrick Manning, *Migration in World History* (London, New York: Routledge, 2013), 2nd ed.; Dirk Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact: World Migrations in the Second Millennium* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011, c. 2002).

practices. These two options create contrasting ideal types of the relations of natives and newcomers.

However, even the briefest exploration of the culinary dynamics surrounding the pivotal year of 1619 reveals greater similarities in native-newcomer relations than the differentiation of colonization and immigration suggests. The history of food provides teachers and students with concrete and often quite surprising perspectives on colonial America. While scholars sometimes dispute whether or not the United States today has a national cuisine comparable to that of France or Italy almost no one in or outside the academy disputes that Americans' eating habits have multiple roots that reach deep into the early modern histories of native America, Europe, Africa and Asia. Some of the most compelling illustrations of the American "melting pot" that Israel Zangwill much later imagined as the result of intermarriage and interethnic reproduction among immigrants²² emerged from the pots of desperate or curious colonial cooks and cultivators.

Viewed from the perspective of culinary history, the significance of 1619 begins not with the first meeting of the House of Burgesses but with the first documented arrival of slaves with roots in Africa and the Caribbean. Their arrival initiated a culinary encounter among three of the four largest cultures engaged around the world in what Alfred Crosby famously termed "the Columbian Exchange." Rebecca Earle, in her contribution to the *Oxford Handbook of Food History*, defines the Columbian exchange as "the flow of plants, animals, and microbes across the Atlantic Ocean and beyond, set in motion by Columbus's arrival in the Americas in 1492."²³ To this list the culinary historian might also add flows of knowledge about agriculture and the preparation and processing of foods that the societies of Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas had produced and refined over millennia. Because it occurred within the context of conquest, the expansion of slavery and colonization, early modern culinary encounters were rarely encounters of equals. Nevertheless, Crosby's description of change as exchange--rather than as invasion, conquest, or assimilation—is appropriate. Focusing on food forces us to understand in new ways both power and its exercise in colonial contexts. Culinarily, the powerful may not be as powerful as they seem; culinarily and the powerless may enjoy surprising advantages.

Whether in Britain's southeastern colonies or elsewhere, the culinary Columbian exchange was characterized largely by the introduction to the Americas and Australia of European animals, large and small (think horses, sheep, cattle, pigs, and chickens), and the export to Africa, Asia and Europe of the vegetable crops of the Americas (peppers, tomatoes, corn, potatoes, pineapples, tobacco etc.). Historians agree that the Columbian exchange dramatically transformed agriculture, eating, and cooking practices on every continent. Nevertheless, the timing and nature of specific culinary encounters could produce quite diverse outcomes in particular times and place.

Thus, for example, histories of the Columbian Exchange have revealed evidence of both cultural conservatism or resistance and the rapid acceptance and incorporation of new plants and animals by natives in both old and new worlds. The belated acceptance of potatoes by northern Europeans and tomatoes by Italians is well known as is the uneven and thin

²² Zangwill, *The Melting Pot: Drama in Four Acts* (New York: Macmillan, 1909).

²³ Rebecca Earle, "The Columbian Exchange," in *The Oxford Handbook of Food History*, ed. Jeffrey M. Pilcher (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

cultivation of maize as a food crop throughout Europe.²⁴ Native Americans, too, were almost everywhere resistant to most (although not quite all—fruits gained acceptance) of the crops and large, edible animals introduced by Europeans. (The proliferation of sheep in Mexico, horses in North America and rabbits in Australia reflected not only the absence of natural predators and the decline in human populations²⁵ but also by natives' unwillingness to incorporate these animals—compared to pigs and chickens, for example—into their agricultural and culinary repertoire.)

Yet Spanish newcomers in Central America are also described—for example by Rebecca Earle—as disliking and disdaining many of the foods of Natives, and especially flat breads made of corn. Elsewhere, by contrast, the same Europeans who hesitated to consume new American vegetables like potatoes, corn, and tomatoes at home, often rather quickly adopted them as newcomers to America. How to explain this difference? In her comparison of the very different rates of acceptance of new world crops by the natives of India and China, Sucheta Mazumdar pointed to the powerful influence of hunger and famine.²⁶ In Europe, and in native America, too, populations had fallen sharply prior to or during the Columbian exchange; while epidemic disease (bubonic plague in Europe, smallpox, throughout the Americas) could result in catastrophic temporary collapses in food production, the much reduced remaining populations could usually subsequently feed themselves without fear of scarcity. Hunger mattered to newcomers too. The famous starving time in New England and the recently documented episode of starvation and cannibalism that occurred in Virginia had long term consequences and no real parallel among the Spanish further south.²⁷

In almost all cases, Europeans and natives adopted new food items by preparing them in familiar ways, often with familiar technologies, creating hybrid cultures. In the culinary realm neither conquest nor complete assimilation was common among either natives or newcomers. The European incorporation of pumpkin and native nuts into pies is well known, as is the blending of corn with other grains in the preparation of European style breads. Natives adopted chickens and somewhat later pigs in part for their feathers and fats, not just their meat but cooked both in traditional ways.²⁸

Natives clearly possessed vastly superior horticultural knowledge of their local environments, giving them real advantages in their encounters with newcomers who were unfamiliar with local ecologies and who often experienced catastrophic results when cultivating old world plants (notably wheat, but sometimes also rye). Europeans were also quick to learn from natives' local knowledge not only when hungry but also when they saw opportunities to turn imperial profits through intensive cultivation of native crops on

²⁴ David Gentilcore, *Pomodoro! A History of the Tomato in Italy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010); William H. McNeill, "The Introduction of the Potato into Ireland," *Journal of Modern History* 21, 3 (1948): 218-22.

²⁵ Elinor G.K. Melville, *A Plague of Sheep: Environmental Consequences of the Conquest of Mexico* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

²⁶ Mazumdar, "The Impact of New World Food Crops on the Diet and Economy of China and India, ca. 1600-1900" in *Food in Global History*, ed. Raymond Grew (Boulder: Westview Press, 1999), 58-78.

²⁷ Michael A. LaCombe, "'a continuall and dayly Table for Gentlemen of fashion': Humanism, Food, and Authority at Jamestown, 1607-1609," *American Historical Review*, 115 (2010): 669-687.

²⁸ Gabaccia, "Colonial Creoles," *We are What we Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998).

plantations with the coerced labor of slaves and indentured servants. Tobacco—widely ingested in a variety of forms in all native societies in the Americas, became the only new world crop successfully adapted to early modern plantation production by Europeans in the Americas; that cultivation had begun before 1619 but expanded exponentially with the onset of the transatlantic trade in African slaves.²⁹ The fact that both Europeans and natives intensively associated and sometimes even conflated smoking (“eating smoke”) with food, along with the addictive qualities of tobacco (much like sugar and rum, those other critically important plantation products) suggests the degree to which European could quickly adopt but again also transform native crops and their cultivation.³⁰ Overall, the habits of the natives were not eradicated and the foods and horticultures of Europe did not replace those of America among European newcomers.

More disputed, however, is the impact of the African slave trade on the transformation of agriculture and diets in British North America. Judith Carney and others have made a powerful argument for the African origins of the kinds of rice cultivated in America and of African origins of the rice growing technologies and cooking techniques used in the Carolinas and elsewhere.³¹ Those who study the African slave trade dispute that influence, noting that slaves carried from rice-growing areas of Africa to the coastal Carolinas arrived too late and in much too small numbers to influence the development of rice cultivation.³² Others point instead to the influence of African origin cooks and horticulturalists the central place of fried foods okra, yams, sesame and greens and preferences for spicy, hot tastes within the emerging, and decidedly hybrid cuisines of the colonial southeast of North America.³³ But while the encounter of European and Africans in the plantation south has generated considerable scholarly controversy, the encounter of natives and Africans (in so-called maroon communities or in frontier regions) still awaits its historical synthesis. Lacking both the colonial entitlements of the Europeans and the local ecological knowledge of the natives, it was African slaves’ central position as producers and processors and cooks of food that allowed them to leave their own mark within the Columbian Exchange.

²⁹ Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg by the University of North Carolina, 1986).

³⁰ Marcy Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures: A History of Tobacco and Chocolate in the Atlantic World* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2008).

³¹ Judith Carney, *Black Rice: The African Origins of Rice Cultivation in the Americas* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2001); Karen Hess, *The Carolina Rice Kitchen: The African Connection* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1992).

³² David Eltis, Philip Morgan and David Richardson, “Agency and Diaspora in Atlantic History: Reassessing the African Contribution to Rice Cultivation in the Americas,” *The American Historical Review* Vol. 112, 5 (Dec., 2007): 1329-1358.

³³ Jessica B. Harris, *High on the Hog: a Culinary Journey from Africa to America* (NY: Bloomsbury, 2011).

“Writing the History of Africa and Its Diaspora: Interpretations and Contestations”

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As trends in recent Africanist scholarship have developed, they have also informed the scholarship on the African diaspora. This is entirely appropriate, but it is also a concern in that recent Africanist scholarship tends to take contemporary problems and concerns and “historicize” them by locating their origin in some antecedent time before the present. And this literature takes direct aim at Africa and Africans, resituating causality within the continent as opposed to outside of it. As the slave trade in Africans and colonial rule are facts around which it is difficult to maneuver, this approach does not deny European involvement, as it cannot. In the name of escaping such expended categories as those of victimization and dependency, however, such scholarship instead calls for envisioning an African past in which decisions and regimes of oppression were co-authored, jointly developed. In this way, and in the cause of restoring “agency” to the African, the latter is depicted as fully participatory in not only the slave trade but also colonialism itself. What has become prominent in the collective literature is an emphasis on entanglement, contingency, malleability, interdependency, negotiation, and accommodation, wherein Africans emerge as veritable equal players in processes that are ultimately not in their interest. In the name of all that is anti-teleological, these related approaches have become a kind of mantra, seemingly mindlessly, or at least carelessly repeated.

In response to developments in the Africanist literature, the scholarship on the African diaspora, on the Atlantic world, and in slavery studies all have examples that follow suit. To some extent this is a consequence of the fact that it is Africanists who are writing some of the Atlantic materials, and they are simply importing a perspective honed in Africa across the pond. But there are others, non-Africanists, who read what Africanists write and, wittingly or not, adopt their positions with respect to questions involving the history of experiences of the African-descended in the Americas. As such, the literature on the Americas begins with the premise that Africans were fully participatory in the transatlantic trade, and goes on to weave tales whose effect is to argue that, although enslaved and otherwise oppressed, the African-descended had substantial if not enormous say over the circumstances of their lives. The entanglement, contingency, malleability of the African lexicon is replaced with such concepts as nuance, reverse agency, collaboration, indeterminacy, on so on, but the vocabulary employed on both sides if the Atlantic is clearly very similar.

This is not to say that these concepts have no validity, or are of little utility. Rather, it is to say that we participate in a culture of euphemisms. It makes sense that historical relationships ensued in which there were elements of contingency, accommodation, and agency, but we do violence to the historical reality or set of realities when we employ these euphemisms to mean that there were **equivalencies** between those empowered and those disempowered, such that power and privilege were entirely the consequence of negotiation between equals. This applies especially to the transatlantic trade in human beings, where a strong case has been made that Europeans and Africans were equal commercial partners. They were not equal partners – they were not equal in seafaring experience, capitalizing the slaving venture, or controlling the terms of the trade, and they certainly were not equals with respect to the trade’s benefits

The historian of the Americas, looking to improve her knowledge of Africa, needs to therefore understand that, as is true of any other field, there are differences of interpretation and emphasis. And one of the areas that I believe is key to our understanding the intersection of Africa and the Americas is the question of the African herself, and whether she is depicted and treated as a whole person, or as simply a slave, and it is from the latter characterization that we must create some distance, embracing the former. In the effort to address this issue, Americanists seem to fall into three camps. The first consists of those who make no effort whatsoever at understanding the cultural, social, and political contexts out of which the enslaved were extracted, and in their writings, some of which remain quite influential, the African does not emerge with much humanity at all, but rather is treated like an insignificant cog in a much larger and more important wheel – their very presence is begrudgingly acknowledged. At the other end of the spectrum are those who take the question of African culture and society seriously, and attempt to understand the enslaved as whole persons, in the same way as they understand the Irish and the Germans and the Dutch and the English – as communities with substantial histories and significant cultures.

But then there is a third group, an interstitial consortium that resides between the two polarities, who have developed a different approach. These scholars have fashioned a “third way” of viewing the enslaved population that draws heavily from earlier anthropological models that place the accent on what develops as a consequence of North-South interaction, as opposed to what precedes it. These creolization theorists hold that all along the Atlantic littoral, and in particular West Africa, there emerged communities that, as a consequence of European-African interaction, were multiracial and/or multicultural, communities that invariably spoke Portuguese and French and English, and that these communities formed a charter or foundational generation from which subsequent enslaved populations were produced. Ipso facto, the African cultural and social component of these charter generations is far less important than the *mezcla* that results. But the unavoidable inference here is that you can ignore what is African, and focus instead on what is essentially European, thereby allowing you to remain in your comfort zone.

Of course, the other pushback to the stress on learning something about Africa and Africans is the notion of social and cultural atomization, and this comes from the **Africanist** literature. Those invested in the idea that *ethnogeneity is only located at the colonial encounter*, that all group identity is the consequence of efforts to organize individuals for the purpose of controlling or taxing them, are making critical mistakes. To say a thing is not to prove a thing, even if you repeat it severally, incessantly, or insistently. Rather than *demonstrating* the position, it now passes as a kind of truism, and it has the effect of identifying Europe at the source of African identity.

The embrace of ethnogeneity as a function of colonialism also has the effect of obviating the need to *recover whatever forms of collective identity existed prior to the encounter*, and this is lamentable. In lieu of serious research, we are simply and repeatedly told that most Africans formed small-scale societies, that they were in various, undefined aggregations, with explanations that take as much as a page, though usually only half that. The author does not know what transpired prior to the encounter, and does not seem terribly interested. Altogether, the effect is one of erasure, of silencing, and it is unfortunate. Africa is too complex to be reduced to formulaic, simplistic notions solely derived, myopically, from some distant corner of the continent.

In revising our curricula for the Americas, and in making more capacious our individual research agendas, let us become more mindful of the ways in which our current renderings of geopolitics and culture often continue to exclude and occlude. We can be more innovative in our teaching, offering more transnational courses that place into conversation populations and ideas that normally are kept separate and viewed as distinct. We can do the same with respect to publications, and in both journals and edited volumes bring together scholarship that is not just transnational but transcultural as well. In discussing slavery, let us endeavor to present the enslaved as full human beings, and bestow upon them the dignity so long denied. In discussing the Age of Revolution, let us include Haiti as not simply a high-end slave revolt, but as a veritable revolution itself, arguably one of the boldest attempts at fundamental political and social change this hemisphere has ever witnessed.

There was a time when there was no such thing as African history; it was a contradiction in terms. As the field developed, we learned much more about Europeans in Africa than about Africans themselves, and that from a decidedly orientalist gaze. It was at that moment, precisely during the 1960s and 70s, when the call went forth to find or recover African voices and perspectives, to at least help balance the scale. But given the most recent wave of Africanist scholarship, we seem to have arrived at a very different place, where the prior call to include the African voice is now seen as anachronistic, limited, and even racist.

“The Atlantic World and the African Diaspora: The Case of Queen Njinga in Brazil”

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Queen Njinga Mbandi, also known as Ana de Sousa, was born into the ruling family in the Ndongo kingdom which during Njinga’s life covered the modern provinces of Cuanza Norte and Malange as well as some parts of the provinces of Cuanza Sul and Bengo. Njinga was born in 1582 and died on 17th December 1663, and her life has been the subject of history, legend, and theatre in Angola, Europe, and Brazil. In Brazil, a major slave trading Portuguese colony during Njinga’s life, received millions of African captives from Angola beginning in the mid-to-late 1500’s who were put to work as slaves on mines, plantations, cities and other locations. In Brazil, references to the history of this region of African are prominent in Afro-Brazilian folk rituals, some of which mention Njinga. References to Njinga appear in many Afro-Brazilian folk celebrations which today are known as *autos de Congo*, *Congadas*, *Cucumbis*, *Mozambiques*, *Candombés*, and the like. Moreover, Njinga has been depicted in Brazilian dramas and the famous Carnival of Rio de Janeiro and her story will appear in a television miniseries scheduled to shown in Brazil in fall 2013.

Afro-Brazilian folk performances which eventually included direct references to Queen Njinga first appeared in the cultural practices of enslaved and free central Africans and their descendants in Northeast Brazil (Pernambuco, Recife, and Salvador) during the middle and last decades of the 17th century and early years of the 18th century. Understanding how Africans in Northeast Brazil created cultural practices which preserved the memory of major historical figures like the King of Kongo and Queen Njinga and which have evolved over time

to represent one of the major cultural traditions of contemporary Brazil is an understudied dimension of the African Diaspora.

The Central African background of Afro-Brazilian Culture

During Njinga's life, her people, the Mbundus, faced relentless wars that the Portuguese waged in their efforts to conquer the kingdom of Ndongo and to establish a permanent foothold in this region of West Central Africa. The wars began in 1575 when Njinga's grandfather ruled and continued until the 1670s by which time the Portuguese had managed to capture a significant part of the western part of the kingdom. They called the parts of Ndongo that they captured Angola, a name they took from the title of the ruler of Ndongo who was called the Ngola. During their wars of conquest Portuguese armies the major allies of the Portuguese were the notorious armies of mostly child soldiers called Jagas or Imbangalas. The Imbangalas had a reputation of not living in permanent settlements, but forming bands of young soldiers completely loyal to their captains, invading settled territories and destroying everything in their path, as well as practicing cannibalism and making it easy for the Portuguese to capture innocent villages who they enslaved. In addition to the captives they obtained in the wars they made against Ndongo, the Portuguese also obtained captives in the form of tribute sent by regional rulers who submitted to them. They also developed markets where they purchased hundreds of thousands of slaves. The Portuguese exported the captives and slaves to Brazil and elsewhere in the Americas. Indeed, between 1601 and 1650 when Njinga joined the resistance against the Portuguese, an astounding 564,700 or 92.8% of all Africans who were exported as slaves to the Americas came from this region of Africa.³⁴

When Njinga became ruler of Ndongo in 1624, she waged relentless wars of resistance against the Portuguese and their allies. The wars she fought during her rule expanded into neighboring territories, especially into the kingdom of Kongo which lay to the north of Ndongo. The wars of resistance against the Portuguese resulted in the depopulation of large areas of Ndongo territory as well as the death and enslavement of hundreds thousands of Ndongo subjects (Mbundus). In the slave port of Luanda which served as the capital of the Portuguese Kingdom of Angola Mbundu captives joined the hundreds of thousands of their counterparts from the Kingdom of Kongo and elsewhere to make the dreaded Middle Passage voyage as slaves to the Americas. Although some of these central Africans, like the "Twenty and odd Negars" who were sold in Virginia in 1619³⁵ eventually ended up in Jamestown, Virginia, the majority of the captives went to Northeast Brazil, especially to the regions of Pernambuco and Salvador. After Njinga's death in 1663, and up to the end of the Atlantic slave trade, captives from Angola, Ndongo, Matamba, and Kongo continued to dominate the slave trade between Angola and Brazil. In the 18th and 19th century they went not only to northeastern Brazil, but also to the major slave port of Rio de Janeiro. Indeed, during the entire period of the Atlantic Slave Trade (1501-1867), Angola accounted for 45.5% of the 12,

³⁴ Joseph C. Miller, "Central Africans During the Era of the Slave Trade" in Linda Heywood, ed. *Central Africans and Cultural Transformations in the Atlantic Diaspora* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 67.

³⁵ Linda Heywood and John Thornton, *Central Africans, Atlantic Creoles, and the Making of the Americas* (Cambridge, 2007).

521,000 total number of enslaved Africans who were transported from Africa to the Americas.³⁶

The Portuguese did not capture all the Africans who ended up as slaves in Brazil during the period of Njinga's life. Njinga and the rulers in the Kongo Kingdom, along with local chiefs, captured many people who they sold as slaves to the Portuguese. In addition, Njinga as other rulers sent people as tribute or gifts to the Portuguese and used captives to purchase imported items as well. Despite her role in the slave trade, Njinga gained a reputation as a brave resister to Portuguese aggression. During her life however, the many successful wars she fought against the Portuguese, her many military adventures and spectacular escapades, the diplomatic relations she forged with the Portuguese, Kongo, Dutch, and other local African rulers gained her much notoriety. The most important strategy she adopted was to join an Imbangala band, become a captain and adopt their unorthodox lifestyle, conquer the eastern territory of Matamba and join it to the parts of Ndongo that she still controlled to rule one of the largest regions in pre-colonial west-central Africa. She also converted to Catholic Christianity in the large years of her life and made peace with the Portuguese to ensure that Ndongo/Matamba remain free of Portuguese control. During her life the political, diplomatic and religious agendas she followed dominated the central Africa in ways that Njinga could hardly have imagined. Her remarkable actions as the leader of her army even when she was over seventy years old, her continued refusal to become a vassal of the Portuguese, and her success in maintaining parts of Ndongo and conquering the territory of Matamba made her a legend even while she was alive. Italian missionaries who lived in her court as well as the Portuguese governors and military officials who unsuccessfully sought to destroy her recorded her life and deeds. Her remarkable life not only guaranteed that she became an object of fascination and distrust by Europeans who read the biography that the Capuchin missionary published in 1658, but guaranteed that her memory would be preserved among central Africans who went as slaves to Brazil.

Njinga's relationship with the neighboring kingdom of Kongo loomed large in the story of how she came to be remembered in the folk culture that central African captives in Northeast Brazil developed. The rulers of the Kongo kingdom had long claimed Ndongo as a dependent territory. In fact, in 1517 the Ndongo ruler at the time sent an embassy to the king of Portugal to develop his own direct contact with Europe and to reduce Kongo's role as a middleman between Portugal and Ndongo. Kongo kings, however, continued to include Ndongo as one of the territories they ruled. Kongo King Pedro II who ruled from 1622-1624 asserted in his title that he was "King of the most ancient kingdom of Congo, Angola, Matamba...[and] Lord of all the Ambundos [Ndongo]..."³⁷ Once Njinga took power in Ndongo in 1624, she rejected Kongo's claims of overlordship. Indeed at the height of her power which came only a few years after King Pedro had penned his title, she challenged Kongo's claim. During her reign her armies invaded several of Kongo's provinces, yet she also developed close diplomatic relations with the rulers of Kongo, and once pronounced that the only ruler in the region who was her equal was the king of Kongo. The rulers of Ndongo/Matamba who followed Njinga--who had identified themselves as "*rei Njinga*/King Njinga--"maintained diplomatic and other ties with Kongo as well.

³⁶ David Eltis and David Richardson, *Atlas of the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Yale, 2010), 18-19.

³⁷ King Don Pedro II, King of Congo to Monsignor Viues. Sent 1622, received 5 July 1623, *MMA* 7: 33-38.

The histories of the Kingdom Ndongo and Kongo were intertwined in other ways as well. Mbundus and Kongo's spoke Bantu languages (Kimbundu and Kikongo) which early observers described as being similar Portuguese and Spanish. Both peoples also believed in governance by royal descent. Rulers were only considered legitimate if they could claim descent from eligible ruling families. Moreover, both peoples were familiar with the teachings of Catholic Christianity. Kongo rulers had converted to Christianity in 1491 and by 1540s the entire kingdom was Christian. Ndongo's rulers were exposed to Christianity through contacts with Kongo and in 1575 when the Portuguese began their conquest of the kingdom, some Ndongo elites and ordinary Mbundus became Christians as well. Njinga accepted baptism in Luanda in 1622 as a political strategy to help bring about peace between the Portuguese and Ndongo, but she and her people only officially accepted the teachings of the Catholic Church after she obtained a peace treaty with the Portuguese in 1656.

Many of the captives who came from the kingdoms of Ndongo/Matamba and Kongo (called Kongos and Angolas in Brazil) during Njinga's time arrived in northeast Brazil to labor in the cities and the plantations thus came with ideas of rule by kings/queen, knowledge of the diplomatic relations and military relations that characterized ties between Ndongo/Matamba and Kongo, and with some knowledge of Catholic Christianity as well. Some of the captives from the region were fully baptized and practicing Catholics, carried Iberian and Kikongo or Mbundu names, either spoke or understood Kimbundu or Kikongo, and might even speak and understand Portuguese as well. Those who had been exposed to Catholic rituals brought with them the memory of public celebrations centered around Catholic saints. Celebrations of the Saint's day occurred on designated days set by the church. In Kongo, Angola, and Matamba, secular and religious officials underwrote the expenses for building the churches and chapels to honor particular saints. In central Africa the most important institution in the church was the *Irmandade de Nossa Senhora de Rosario* (Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary). The members of the brotherhood were responsible for the annual public celebrations associated with the Saints Day. In Kongo the king and members of the elite defrayed the cost of the brotherhoods, while in Ndongo/Matamba Queen Njinga during the last years of her life underwrote the expenses associated with the Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary which she helped to establish. The members of the brotherhoods up-kept the chapels and organized the celebrations which took place after the religious services on the Saints day.

Searching for Njinga's Memory in Brazil

Enslaved Kongo's and Mbundus who arrived in northeast Brazil used the store of cultural knowledge that they brought with them from central Africa as a vehicle to preserve the memory of the diplomatic, military and other activities of the king of Kongo and Queen Njinga. The hundreds of thousands of central Africans who arrived in Northeast Brazil during Njinga's life and afterwards, all brought with them ideas of royalty and Catholic Christian beliefs and practices. In northeast Brazil during the mid-to-late 1600s and the early 1700's, masters allowed free and enslaved central Africans (as well as Africans from west Africa who were baptized in Brazil) to have their own public celebrations on the day identified as the birthday of Our Lady of the Rosary or Saint Benedict. During this same period, free and enslaved Kongos, Angolans and later other Africans sought and obtained permission from royal and church authorities, to establish their own Catholic brotherhoods "as was done in

Angola and São Tomé.” These public celebrations from the very beginning included not only slaves from central Africa, but those from “Guiné” (mainly captives from Dahomey who were called *Minas*) as well. The earliest recorded celebrations (during the 1670s) included the election of a king, called “the King of Kongo” and a queen. Eventually, the queen was identified as “Njinga,” and the heroic Njinga took her place alongside the King of Kongo as the leading figures in the evolving Afro-Brazilian folk performances which came to be called *autos de Congo* (*Congada*), *autos de Congo*, *Maracutas* and the like. These folk rituals, some of which made specific reference to Queen Njinga, dramatized, and still do, actual historical events --diplomatic relations between Queen Njinga and subsequent rulers in Ndongo/Matamba who carried the title “*reis Njingas/ King/Queen Njinga*”—and the King of Kongo.³⁸

Queen Njinga entered Afro-Brazilian folk memory because of the presence in Northeast Brazil from the 1600s to the 1700’s of enslaved central Africans (Kongos and Mbundus) who had may have actually participated in the central African wars and were also participants in the cultural practices of the region. In addition to electing a “King of Kongo” during the folk dramas that they developed, Queen Njinga is the only African ruler mentioned by name in the earliest folk lyrics of the *Congadas*, *Cucumbis*, *Maracuta* and other Afro-Brazilian public dances and performances. Her name and exploits continue to generate new songs and dramatization by contemporary Brazilians.

Kongos and Angolas and their descendants in Northeast Brazil who made up the majority of the enslaved population founded the earliest Brotherhood of the Rosary in the region and were responsible for the earliest recorded folk festivals which occurred from the 1650s. After the religious celebrations which took place in the chapel, the Kongos and Angolas presided over a secular celebration that included core aspects of life as they remembered it in central Africa. For those Kongos and Angolas who did not escape to the bush “*mato*” to recreate the real military world of the independent *quilombos* that had become ubiquitous in central Africa during Njinga’s time and long afterwards, these celebrations became the center of life outside of the rigors of the plantations. The official sanction that Brazilian political and secular authorities gave to the celebrations provided the needed the space for the central Africans to construct a memory of Kongo and Njinga in Brazil.

Describing the celebrations as they were performed in 19th century Rio, one author wrote that the Africans there:

Annually elected a king and a queen in her sorority, organized... a celebration that consisted of a procession where sovereigns publically paraded in public with all the court. Saving costumes of bygone eras, the parade obey a plot in which is remembered through songs and dances, ancient battles fought in the past, between King and Congo enemy tribes [Mbundus], the procession was divided into two wings, one of King of the Congo and

³⁸ Gustavo Barbosa argued that these memories surfaced among Africans in the early 18th century. He also noted that white Brazilians had forgotten this history. See, Gustavo Barrosa “O Brasil e a restuaração de Angola,” *Anais da Academia Portuguesa de História*, VII (1942), 43-60; -----, *Ao Son da Viola* new ed. (Rio de Janeiro: 1949), 170.

one from an enemy tribe and the ambassadors between the two... accompanied the *Congada* black music with its native percussion instruments, all of them of Angola-Congolese origin. The *Congada* of the Rosary was the most popular party in Rio Colonial...

In an attempt to figure out how these celebrations came to preserve the memory of historical events from central Africa, we might turn to an essay on memory that Alon Confino wrote a few years ago. Confino argued that memory referred to the ways in which people construct the past, people's desire to make the past a "a shared cultural knowledge." He also suggested that successive generations find different vehicles for locating memory such as "books, films, commemorations" and the like.³⁹ Enslaved Angolans in colonial northeast Brazil (Recife and Salvador) as well as in Rio de Janeiro and elsewhere did precisely this. They used the public Catholic celebrations associated the feast of Our Lady of the Rosary and other saints that some of them had been accustomed to celebrating in Catholic religious brotherhoods that were present in central Africa to recreate the institution and practices in Brazil. These practices first emerged in northeast Brazil during the mid-to late 1600s and served as a vehicle to preserve the memory of the King of Kongo and Queen Njinga.

During the course of the late nineteenth and twentieth century, and indeed in Brazil today, this "shared cultural knowledge" became visible in many of the *Congada*, *Maracutas*, and other folk celebrations associated with Afro-Brazilians. These elaborate public dramas, performed in communities from the Amazon in the north to Porto Alegre in the south, invariably included, and still do, participants singing in an African idiom. The celebrations usually focus on the court of the King of Kongo and his queen, and dramatize verbal and physical combat between the King of Kongo and the ambassador of Queen Njinga. Some of the songs that are dramatized might include words that link Queen Njinga with specific actions and characteristics. Most *Congadas* also contain references to race, slavery, labor, and take place on Holy days dedicated to specific saints, especially Our Lady of the Rosary and Saint Benedict.

Excerpts from some of the *Congadas* and *Maracutas* portray quite dramatically the central role of the King of Kongo. A song from a 20th *Maracuta* performance asserted the authority of the King of Kongo in the following words:

Eu sou Rei! Rei!Rei
Rei do meu Reinado!
Maracuta la do Congo
La do Congo
Nêle foi corado!⁴⁰
(I am king, king, king.

³⁹ Alon Confino, "Collective History and Cultural Memory: Problems of Methods," *American Historical Review*, Vol. 102, no. 5 (1997), 1386.

⁴⁰ Vanda Cunha Albieri Nery, Maryely Cornélia Eliciano, Vanessa Faria Firmino, "Dança Conga: o ritual sagrado de uma tradição milenar" *Intercom-Sociedade Brasileira de Estudos Interdisciplinares da Comunicação XXVI Congresso brasileiro de Ciências da Comunicação-BH/MG* 2 a 6 Set 2003, 21

King of my kingdom
 Maracuta of the Kongo
 I was crowned there).

Moreover, some of the popular refrains in many *Congadas* leave no doubt as to who the dominant female figure was elected as Queen. In one of the *Congadas*, the performers chant:

Mando matar Rei meu Senhor
 E quem mando foi Rainha Njinga
 (She order me to kill My Lord
 It was Queen Njinga who order me.)
 In another part of the *Congada* Njinga appears in all her power:
 Senhora, Rainha Njinga, mulher of Camumbira
 de Moxaritatiguari, Senhora Dona Flor de Cambange
 que passeai em terras de gentes Gines
 e faz anos que nao vem cá.⁴¹
 (Lady, Queen Njinga, woman of Camumbira
 Of Moxaritatiguari, Lady Dona Flor of Cambange
 Who traveled through the lands of Guiné
 It's been many years since you have come here.)

Despite the clear historical evidence of the Central African origins of the various Afro-Brazilian based folk celebrations, earlier scholars sought the roots in Portugal, while some recent scholarship, although noting that they represent “recollections of social memory,” argue that they are ideological weapons that contemporary Afro-Brazilians use to “critique their present experience.” Indeed, in a recent article on the *Congadas* from the southern region of Minas Gerais, Suzel Ana Riley has gone so far as to argue that the *Congadas* have retained their potency because for Afro Brazilians they are “a forum for collectively negotiating the past as a means of constructing critiques of their present experience.”⁴² This racializing and politicizing of the *Congadas*, *Maracutas*, *Cucumbis* and other manifestations of Brazil’s folk culture is yet another way of marginalizing Afro-Brazilians and disregarding the historical connections that bound Africa and Brazil together. This link provided the building blocks for the “cultural knowledge” that all Brazilians share. More research on the historical roots of the *Congadas*, *Maracutas*, *Cucumbis* and the later *Candombes* and *Mozambiques* would allow for a better understanding about how these folk dramas became the vehicles through which Afro-Brazilians constructed memory of the past. Refining the techniques for more critical interrogations of the folk dramas can help link Brazilian history more directly with African history. Such an exercise will provide more critical and nuanced analyses of race, color and class in contemporary Brazil. More important, however, knowledge of the African background of captives and their role in preserving African history and culture in Brazil will go a long way

⁴¹ Albieri Nery et al. “Dança Conga: o ritual sagrado de uma tradição milenar”, 21-32.

⁴² See for example, Suzel Ana Reily, “To Remember Captivity: The Congadas of Southern Minas Gerais,” *Latin American Music Review*, 22.1 (Spring/Summer 2001): 4-31.

in bringing a more historical approach to the study of growth of African Diasporic culture in the Americas.

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“Slavery, Freedom and Fort Monroe”

Gil Klein

Colonial Williamsburg, Winter 2010

Stand on the Shore of Old Point Comfort and look over the water, across Hampton Roads, where the James River flows into the Chesapeake Bay. Here, in 1609, two years after the founding of the Jamestown colony, English settlers established a rude fort to guard the river’s approach.

Imagine the consternation of the watch when an unknown ship appeared in late August 1619. It was a privateer, the *White Lion*, flying a Dutch flag but manned by Englishmen. Weeks before, they had waylaid a Portuguese ship loaded with captive Africans heading from Angola to slavery in Spanish Mexico. Now, the *White Lion*’s captain wanted to trade his perishable human cargo to surprised but willing Virginia colonists for supplies.

Writer Tom Hanshaw calls the *White Lion* “the African Mayflower,” because it brought the first blacks to British North America. And with them came the beginning of slavery in what would become the United States.

Turn around away from the water. You see the stone walls and gun ports of Fort Monroe, the last bastion surrounded by a moat still in active United States Army service. Built mostly by slave labor, beginning in 1819, Fort Monroe was the nation's largest coastal fortification when it was completed in 1884. Critical to the defense of the Union, federal troops garrisoned it when the Civil War began, and President Abraham Lincoln hastily ordered General Benjamin to reinforce it soon after.

The night of May 23, 1861, five weeks after Virginia seceded; three runaway slave men risked the lash and worse to seek sanctuary at the fort. Acting on no authority but his own, Butler declared them “contraband of war,” and refused their master’s appeal for their return. They were the first fugitive slave freed in the War Between the States.

Slaves called Fort Monroe “the freedom fort.”

Just by turning around, you have seen where in America slavery began, and began to end. Now, Fort Monroe is to be decommissioned by 2011. What will happen to this property? How to commemorate its history?

“I talk about this fort like it’s a human being,” said Heather McCann. A civilian employee at the fort, she is married to an army officer. “A lot of people have that kind of strong connection because it is such a historic and beautiful place.”

Here a young Lieutenant Robert E. Lee learned leadership and engineering skills, and celebrated the birth of his first child. Here Edgar Allan Poe penned early poetry as he plotted how to get out of the army. Here President Lincoln met with his generals to plan an attack on Norfolk, across the Roads. Here Clara Barton and Harriett Tubman tended the war’s wounded. Here, after Appomattox, captured Confederate President Jefferson Davis was confined in a cell with a metal cot, a desk, a Bible, and a huge American flag that still hangs on the wall.

And here the history of the United States Army has been traced through the careers of thousands of soldiers who protected the nation’s coastline, practice gunnery, and, in more recent years, planned military training.

But it’s the stories of the beginning and ending of slavery that define this spot in American history.



Figure 9: The sign documenting the arrival of Africans in British America in 1649. Union soldier Robert Sneden’s map, opposite, of “Fortress Monroe”—the president’s name misspelled—where the first fugitive slaves were declared contraband of war and freed.



Figure 5: A moat surrounds the stone walls of the fort compound, the last such military outpost in active service, but the fort closes in 2011. Courtesy Dave Doody

The origins of these first Africans are told by John Thornton and Linda Heywood, husband and wife historians at Boston University. Thornton was born at Fort Monroe; his grandfather commanded its hospital. Heywood was born in the West Indies of African descent.

For much of the history, the 1619 Africans were known only as “20 and odd Negroes,” as John Rolfe, the widower of Pocahontas, wrote at the time they arrived. He said they came on a Dutch ship.

Thornton and Heywood dug into Portuguese colonial records and found that in 1618 and 1619 the Portuguese, allied with bands of African mercenaries known as the Imbangala, thrust into central African from their base in Luanda near the mouth of the Kwanza River in present-day Angola.

“This was a big war; it was not just a raid,” Thornton said. “The outcome of the war was the king of Ndongo was driven from his capital. His wives were captured, and enslaved.” Many of the captured Africans had lived close to Portuguese colonialists for generations, were sophisticated urban dwellers, and had adopted European customs. “We think those people who went to Virginia, the twenty and odd and others, some of them were literate in Portuguese,” Heywood said. “Many of them had Portuguese names. We think a good percentage were Christian.”



About 350 of these captured Africans were loaded aboard the *Sao Joao Bautista* bound for Vera Cruz, Mexico, as part of a trade with Spanish colonies that attracted privateers commissioned by Spain's enemies.



Figure 10: Fortress Monroe at Old Point Comfort with its Hygeia Hotel guarded the James River-route to Richmond, the Confederate capital. Courtesy Library of Congress

Tim Hashaw, who traces his ancestors to the first Africans brought to Virginia, discovered the names of the privateer, the *White Lion*, and of its captain, John Colyn Jope. Through the Internet he found a descendant, Hugh Jope of Connecticut, who had researched his privateer ancestor.

“The colony was not counting on the Africans to arrive,” Hashaw said. “It was totally unexpected.”

At the same time, England’s King James I sought peace with Spain. English privateers defied him and sailed under flags of countries still at war with the Spanish. The *White Lion* hoisted the Dutch flag, and its companion, the *Treasurer*, sailed under the banner of the Duke of Savoy. The ships came across the *Sao Joao Bautista* off the coast of Campeche, Mexico. Winning a fierce fight, the English were disappointed to find their prey cargoes not with Spanish gold but with Africans.

Figured how much food they had, and how long it would take them to sail to Virginia and the nearest English port, they divided about sixty of the healthiest African men, women, and children between them and sailed north. The *White Lion* arrived first, Rolfe wrote:

At the latter end of August 1619 a Dutch man of war of the burden of a 160 tons arrived at Point Comfort . . . brought not anything but 20 and odd Negroes, which the Governor and Cape Merchant bought for victuals . . . at the best and easiest rate they could.

The Jamestown colonists had to decide the status of these Africans. With no experience in slavery, their colony had no laws or policy to govern it. Some of the colonists treated the Africans as slaves, others as indentured servants. They had not determined whether the status of “slave” was for a term of years, or lifelong or inheritable.

The museum at the Jamestown Settlement chronicles the life of an African woman, Angelo, captured in Angola and among the first to arrive in Virginia. By 1625, Angelo belonged to planter William Pierce, who also owned the indentures of English servants. It is not known if Angelo, like the other servants, regained her freedom at the end of a term of service.

A historic marker on the shore tells about two of the first Africans—Antony and Isabell—who were purchased by William Tucker, commander of the Old Point Comfort fort. Their son, William, likely was the first black child born in British America.

As Christians who could speak Portuguese, some of these first Africans had an easier time asserting their freedom and blending in with the European colonists, Hashaw said. With an ability to farm and raise cattle often superior to that of their English masters, some bought their freedom and blended into European society. One, John Pedro, purchased a plantation.

Because only an occasional privateer brought blacks to the English colonies, the number of Africans stayed small, and their status remained undefined, for nearly forty years. But the demand for labor became great, and after Charles II came to power in 1660, he licensed the Royal African Company, and it began importing Africans by the shipload.

Slavery, codified and regulated, became big business.



Figure 11: Courtesy Library of Congress

Fast forward to May 1861. Virginia's secession left Fort Monroe, the citadel of North America, in enemy territory. To command it, Lincoln chose Butler, a Massachusetts lawyer and politician with no military experience. Butler raised a regiment during the winter before First Manassas. He pulled strings to get himself appointed brigadier general of the Massachusetts troops, quick-timing to Washington to protect the capital.

In these delicate opening days of the war, Lincoln sought to coax such border states as Maryland to stay in the Union, treating them with as much mildness as could under the circumstances be mustered. When Butler reached Baltimore, he declared martial law in defiance of orders, vowed to arrest every legislator who voted for secession, and took into custody the mayor and chief of police and into possession the state's Great Seal so no legislation could be enacted without his approval.

General Winfield Scott, commander of the Union armies, wanted to fire Butler. Instead, Lincoln promoted him to major general. The president knew he needed Butler, a prominent Democrat, so that the war did not look like too Republican a venture. But what to do with this new major general?

"You could say he was banished by Lincoln," Paul Morando, director of the Casemate Museum at Fort Monroe, said. "He was stirring up all kinds of trouble in Baltimore. Lincoln thought he would send him to Fort Monroe to keep him out of trouble."

On the evening of May 28, two days after Butler arrived, three slave men, who had been working on Confederate fortifications at nearby Sewell's Point, fled to Fort Monroe. Robert Engs, a University of Pennsylvania historian, identifies them as Shepard Mallory, Frank Baker, and James Townsend.



Library of Congress
In May 1862, President Lincoln stayed at a building at Fort Monroe, top, planning the Battle of Norfolk. He had placed Benjamin Butler in command of the fort, in part, to prevent the kind of trouble he had caused earlier in Southern-leaning Baltimore.



Figure 7:
Headquarters No. 1 where General Benjamin Butler's office was located.

Lincoln initially portrayed the war as a struggle exclusively to preserve the Union, Engs said. What happened at Fort Monroe changed that.

“Right there in May of 1861, these three slaves told America—whether nor not America was willing to listen—this war is about slavery and freedom.”

The next morning the slaves were brought face to face with Butler. They told Butler they were about to be taken by their master, Confederate Colonel Charles Mallory, to North Carolina as laborers for the rebel army. Major John Carey of the Virginia Artillery appeared at the fort under a flag of truce to demand the slaves be returned under the Fugitive Slave Act.

If Butler declared the slaves free, he again would defy orders and undermine Lincoln’s strategy. But if he returned them to their master, he would outrage abolitionists, especially in Massachusetts, where he had political ambitions.

“Butler struck upon a shrewd plan that turned Southerners’ insistence that slaves were chattel property—just like pigs and cows—on its head.” Engs wrote, “The three fugitives, Butler decreed, were ‘contraband of war,’ enemy property that could be employed in waging war against the Union. Under his wartime powers, Butler had the right to seize such property so as to deny its use to the enemy.”

Butler told Carey the Fugitive Slave Act could not apply if Virginia, as it claimed, was no longer part of the United States. Mallory could get his slaves back only if he came to the fort and swore allegiance to the Union.

Word spread among slaves that freedom could be found at the fort. They made their way to it as their white masters fled from the Union army. On May 25 another eight slaves appeared, and the next day forty-seven more showed up. Union patrols would find blacks asking, “Which way to the freedom fort?” By the end of the war, about 20,000 former slaves were living in squalid camps in the fort’s vicinity. Lincoln was uneasy about Butler’s actions, but he did not countermand the order. And when Lincoln wrote the Emancipation Proclamation, he used Butler’s contraband reasoning to justify freeing slaves in rebel territory, through the Constitution still protected slavery.

For years the army fought to keep Fort Monroe open, but it was axed in the latest round of base closings in 2005. The army is to leave in 2011, the property to revert to the state of Virginia.

The fort is not just the sixty-three acres chockablock with historic buildings inside moat-encircled walls. It covers 570 acres on a peninsula that includes 2.8 miles of undeveloped shoreline and 190 historic buildings and features. Residents around the fort fear developers, if given the chance, would build high-rise waterfront condominiums.

“People are very emotional about historic sites that have national significance,” said Conover Hunt, deputy director of the Fort Monroe Federal Area Development Authority. “They react emotionally.”

No high rises will be constructed, she said. The authority will sign a legally binding agreement with Virginia, preservation groups, the army, and the National Park Service that says the historic nature of the fort must be preserved.

She said the authority, which is planning the fort’s future, looks at Colonial Williamsburg as a model of what can be done to make a town with a large, historic property into an attraction that teaches history. Fort Monroe could join Jamestown and Yorktown as a fourth historic destination in this part of Virginia.

Preserving so many historic buildings will be expensive. Key to their preservation will be finding new uses for them before they deteriorate. The authority sees a mixed use of

residences; retain businesses, historic sites, and recreational facilities. Exteriors of the buildings are to be kept historically accurate. The interiors are to be updated.

Hunt sees festivals and historic and cultural programs attracting tourists and driving economic growth. Colonial Williamsburg has its Grand Illumination at Christmas. Fort Monroe could take advantage of its Poe connection, as well as a myriad of ghost stories, to become a Halloween destination.

“There are multiple ghosts in this building,” Hunt said. She looks around her office in the fort’s oldest structure, where Lincoln stayed. “There are very few buildings here that don’t have a ghost. When all is done in twenty years, we will own Halloween.”

Ghosts or not, Fort Monroe has been a survivor. Obsolete soon after its completion, it has been adapted to the changing technologies of warfare. Now it faces a new test.

“So many things that define American history happened there,” Engs said. “It really should be a national park. Because black freedom started there makes it all the more urgent that it should be opened to everybody.”

Virginia-based journalist Gilbert Klein was a national correspondent in Media General Service’s Washington bureau. And is a past president of the National Press Club. This is his first contribution to the Colonial Williamsburg journal.

Suggestions for further reading:

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“The Angolan Connection and Slavery in Virginia”

Archibald Andrews Marks

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The first Africans in Virginia in the 17th century came from the Kongo/Angola regions of West Central Africa. They were part of a large system established by the Portuguese in Africa to capture and supply slaves to the Spanish colonies in Central and South America. Two privateering vessels raiding in the Caribbean took some of the Africans from a Portuguese ship and brought them to Virginia,



where they sold them. The status of these early Africans as either servant or slave in Virginia is unknown. They did go to work for tobacco planters, laboring side by side with English indentured servants. After the 1622 war that the English fought against the Powhatan Indians, however, fewer English servants were willing to immigrate into Virginia. Certainly by the 1650s the excess population in England began to be reduced and more job opportunities arose there for impoverished English workers. But because the tobacco economy was labor-intensive, Virginia planters increasingly had to rely more on people from Africa.



brought people primarily from Kongo/Angola. Now ships brought them from the coast of West Africa. These people were taken from different parts of West Africa, and so had diverse cultural backgrounds. The slave trade system created by Europeans in

Africa was much more damaging to African societies than the traditional forms that already existed in Africa. The people were exploited and their families were divided. In the middle of the century there was no organized, systematic trade in slaves between Africa and Virginia. Slaves arrived in the colony at irregular intervals, usually when slave ships trading in the Caribbean area or Central Africa made unplanned stops in Virginia. In 1672 the Royal African Company was chartered by the English government to bring slaves to Virginia. The Company was involved in the triangle trade in the Atlantic. English manufactured goods were sold to Africa for gold, ivory and slaves, and Africa was a ready market for these products. The slaves were then taken to Virginia to be sold to planters. The planters' tobacco was picked up and taken to England for sale for goods and services the planters needed. By the 1680s the Royal African Company was bringing several hundred slaves to Virginia each year.

Most of these slaves landed at either Jamestown or Yorktown. The Royal African Company maintained a factor or business agent at Jamestown to oversee the sale of the slaves. Several prominent Virginians served as the Company's agent at Jamestown, including Colonel Nathaniel Bacon and Colonel John Page, both members of the

In the 1630s the Dutch seized control of the African slave trade from Portugal, which had maintained it for many years. The Dutch built or took over fortified trading posts which the Portuguese had established along the coast of West Africa, closer to supplies of gold and ivory. But the Dutch did not keep control very long, as other European powers competed for the lucrative trade. By the 1660s there was a clear demand for slaves in Virginia, and slave ships began to arrive more frequently. They no longer



Governor's Council.

Africans formed a very small part of Virginia's population and at first lived much as indentured servants did. Slaves sometimes lived with white servants, and they worked alongside white servants and white masters in the fields. Toward the end of the 17th century as populations of slaves increased, slave owners began to create separate quarters for the enslaved people to live together. Slave quarters varied in size, and the number of enslaved people who lived in a particular quarter might range from a single individual or family group to more than a dozen unrelated people. The people in the quarter might be strangers who came from different West African cultures and spoke different languages. When family groups did form in the colony, slave owners did not necessarily respect ties of marriage and kinship, and families might not get to live together in the same quarter.

Slavery was not the inevitable fate of all the Africans who arrived in Virginia in the 17th century. By the middle of the century about a third of all Africans in the colony were *free persons*. *Most had been either slaves or indentured servants at some time in their lives*, although a few had come as free persons or had been born there to free parents. Until the late 17th century there were no restrictions on free Africans in Virginia, and they lived similar lives to those of their English neighbors. Although most were poorer than other free persons, some did prosper and acquire their own plantations. Free persons could even own slaves and, until 1670, they had the legal right to purchase white indentured servants. As the century progressed, however, some of the rights and status of free persons were reduced, and some of them were forced onto marginal lands, while others moved from Virginia to colonies to the north.

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“The Twenty and NOT So Odd: Africans in the Atlantic World, 1441-1619”

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In 1619, the Portuguese ship *São João Bautista* departed from Angola, bound for Veracruz, New Spain (present-day Mexico), carrying 350 slaves. Like tens of thousands of Africans who had preceded them to Spanish and Portuguese colonies in the Americas, most of these Angolans were destined for back-breaking labor on the sugar plantations that dotted the countryside around Veracruz. However, the Atlantic passage of the *São João Bautista* was not an easy one. As many as 150 Africans died of hunger, dehydration, and disease during the crossing. The ship’s desperate captain, Manuel da Cunha, was forced to land at Jamaica where he exchanged 24 African boys for food, water, and other provisions. Though depleted of much of its human cargo, the *São João Bautista* eventually continued on to Mexico. As it approached the coast near Campeche, a combined force of Dutch and English privateers captured the ship and plundered its cargo. The privateers confiscated around 55 slaves before releasing the ship and sending it on its way. When da Cunha finally landed at Veracruz, only 122 of his original cargo of 350 Africans remained.

Meanwhile, the 55 Africans stolen from the *São João Bautista* were split between two British ships, the *White Lion* and the *Treasurer*. These ships immediately set sail for the colony of Virginia, where one of the *Treasurer*’s owners, Virginia governor Samuel Argall, awaited their arrival. In late August, the *White Lion* landed at Point Comfort near Jamestown, having lost touch with its partnership. There, the ship sold “20. and odd Negroes” to several merchants who transported the slaves to Jamestown for auction. Just four days later, the *Treasurer* arrived at Point Comfort, where its captain Daniel Elfrith learned that his patron, Argall, had been removed as governor of the colony. Moreover, Elfrith learned that peace had been made with Spain, thereby rendering his entire venture an illegal act of piracy. Fearing for his life, Elfrith fled for Bermuda, where he eventually sold the 29 Angolans onboard the *Treasurer*.¹

Though the Africans that arrived in Jamestown became the slaves of English colonists, they arrived in Virginia as a result of variable, overlapping patterns of slaving in the seventeenth-century circum-Caribbean and Atlantic world. As the first episode of British North American slave history clearly demonstrates, the “twenty and odd” Virginia Africans were caught up in imperial rivalries and alliances involving Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, and British. Moreover, these Africans left behind ship mates, and perhaps even direct kin, in places as far flung as Jamaica, Mexico, and Bermuda. Like their predecessors, these enslaved Africans would attempt to create new communities of belonging, shaped by immediate memories of their African pasts, yet constrained by the new social conditions that they faced. Ultimately, there was nothing exceptional about the processes that landed the first Africans in Virginia. On the contrary, their arrival was a predictable outcome of historical patterns in African slave trading that were already deeply entrenched in the seventeenth-century Atlantic world. Seen from an Atlantic perspective, what seems to be a peculiar North American “beginning” was a familiar episode in much broader historical drama that began as early as the fifteenth century on the Iberian Peninsula.

Iberian Beginnings

Scholars now estimate that between 1441 and 1521 as many as 156,000 African slaves arrived in Iberia and the Atlantic islands. When combined with the roughly 400,000 Africans that arrived in the Americas between 1502 and 1619, we can see that more African slaves had already been dispersed across the Atlantic world than would arrive in the United States for the entire history of the slave trade to that region.² The evolution of racial slavery, first in Europe, then in the Atlantic islands, and finally in the Americas was a cumulative process in which knowledge and customs passed from one group of Europeans to another.

During the earliest phase of Atlantic slaving between 1441 and 1518, Africans engaged in a variety of labors. In urban areas like Lisbon, they worked as household servants, apprentices, fishermen, porters, and dockworkers. In rural areas of Spain and Portugal, they worked as herdsmen, grape pickers, and in the production of olive oil. For the most part, Africans toiled in close proximity to their masters, often isolated from other Africans. Nevertheless, evidence suggests that slaves sought one another out, congregated, and socialized when and where they could. Throughout the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, authorities in Portugal complained about gatherings of blacks that occurred on Sundays and feast days. Slaves allegedly stole food, money, and liquor from their masters in order to facilitate their merry-making. Worse, they used these occasions to plot their escapes from slavery. In 1559, the Crown finally prohibited all enslaved and freed blacks from holding dances or other social activities within a 3.5 mile radius of central Lisbon.³

Just as would eventually unfold in places like Virginia, attempts to legislate the behavior of slaves were a reflection of their increasing prominence in society. Estimates suggest that nearly ten percent of Lisbon's population were African slaves by the middle of the sixteenth century. Despite laws aimed at restricting black life, slaves continued to build small yet vibrant communities. By the 1550s, the majority of Africans in Lisbon were identified as *Jolofos*, a reference to the Wolof Kingdom in Senegambia. The majority of these *Jolofos* slaves practiced some form of Islam and shared mutually intelligible languages. In Lisbon, they came together with "white" Mouriscos and "Turks" to observe their Islamic beliefs. In this way, religion sometimes became a gathering point for Lisbon's enslaved, both white and black.

In other instances small groups of *Jolofos* built upon African understandings of age and kinship obligations to forge new communities in Lisbon. For example, in 1566 a group of four *Jolofos* came together in an attempt to hire a boat and flee to freedom in North Africa. Among this group were two middle-aged men who affectionately referred to one another as "brother," a thirteen-year-old girl who had arrived in Lisbon at the same time as one of the men, and a recently-arrived older gentleman who begged to go along with them. Ultimately, their plan to escape failed, but their story, along with those of countless other *Jolofs*, point to the ways that isolated, alienated Africans built upon their pasts, even as they adapted to their new environments, building new communities of belonging and resistance even in sixteenth-century Portugal.

Africans in the Atlantic, c. 1619

The Spanish were the first European slavers in the Americas, taking Native American captives almost immediately upon their arrival. Indeed, Columbus himself commented that the Natives were the "color of Canarians" and would make "good servants." The first African

slave in the territory that would become the United States, Esteban de Dorantes, also known as Estevanico, arrived with his Spanish master on Pánfilo de Narváez's ill-fated exploration of Florida in 1527. Though the original Spanish expedition to Florida was a disaster, by 1565 the Spanish established a permanent settlement at St. Augustine. In 1606, on the eve of the British arrival at Jamestown, there were already one hundred African slaves in Florida, forty belonging to the Spanish Crown. Yet these small numbers of Africans on North American soil paled in comparison to the rest of the Americas, where African slaves often outnumbered their European masters by wide margins. In 1570, the population of Mexico consisted of 20,569 Africans and just 6,644 Europeans, a ratio of more than 3:1.4 By the time the first Africans arrived at Jamestown in 1619, Africans outnumbered Europeans in Lima, Cartagena, and Panama City as well.⁵ In Havana, the numbers of whites and blacks was almost even. And in Brazil, estimates suggest that a rapidly expanding African population was already beginning to exceed the fifty thousand Portuguese residents in the colony.⁶ Altogether then, the Americas of 1619 were much more African than they were European. This fact alone should help us reframe the experiences of the first "20. and odd." But who were these hundreds of thousands of Africans in the Americas? Where did they come from and what were they doing? Until around 1580, the majority of Africans arriving into the Americas came from the same region as the early *Jolofos* in Iberia, that is to say the Senegambia region. Roughly 100,000 of these Senegambians scattered across the Atlantic world between 1501 and 1600. Just as in Lisbon, these American *Jolofos* worked together, adapting ideas and understandings from their African pasts to their new conditions as slaves. In Santo Domingo, for example, runaway *Jolofos* capitalized on cavalry skills learned in their homelands, stealing Spanish horses and attacking colonial settlements with ruthless ferocity over the first three decades of the sixteenth century.⁷

By the late sixteenth century, the provenance of America's African immigrants began a decisive shift away from Senegambia. Between 1600 and 1625 more than 253,000 West Central Africans were forcibly transported to the Americas as slaves. These Africans, most often referred to as "Kongos" and "Angolas," represented more than 90% of all Africans who made their way to the Americas during this 25-year period. When combined with the data on the preponderance of Africans in the overall population of the Americas, we can safely conclude that West Central Africans dominated the immigrant population of the Americas by the time of the arrival of the first Africans at Jamestown. As a result, communities such as Cartagena (New Granada) and Salvador (Brazil) were more deeply influenced by the Kimbundu language than by Spanish or Portuguese, more definitively shaped by spirit possession rituals known as *calundu* than by Catholic ritual, and often more responsive to the political and economic demands of Luanda than of Lisbon or Madrid. In short, the idioms and cultures of West Central Africa profoundly shaped seventeenth-century American history in ways that have scarcely been considered in a historiography that emphasizes European colonialism.

When the first handful of Angolans arrived in Jamestown, not only did they share much in common with their shipmates who ended up in Jamaica, Mexico, and Bermuda; they also bore affinities with the hundreds of thousands of others who arrived in the Americas in the immediate twenty years prior to 1619. Recently, scholars of colonial American history have gravitated toward the notion that the earliest Africans in Virginia were cosmopolitan, multi-cultural "Atlantic creoles." Indeed, the argument that the first Africans in British

North America were Atlantic Creoles has now become a standard part of the early colonial American narrative. Though the broad, Atlantic approach of this recent scholarship is commendable, the notion that these first Africans were somehow exceptions is overdrawn. These scholars argue that the first slaves in the Chesapeake had adopted European language, dress, religion, and political outlooks through a creolization process that started in West Africa. In describing the transitional experiences of Virginia's first Africans, for example, Ira Berlin has argued that: "Atlantic creoles found the settlement around Chesapeake Bay little different from those they had left along the Atlantic rim...[and] found themselves very much at home in the new environment."⁸

John Thornton and Linda Heywood have argued that Atlantic Creole knowledge of European culture, especially Christianity, "made it easy for them to integrate into the colonial environment."⁹ In these renderings the first Africans in the Americas—the so-called Charter Generations—were practically equal partner with their masters—in work, in education, in cosmopolitan savvy.

Unfortunately, the evidence does not square with the arguments. First, the assertion that the earliest slaves in North America arrived as "Atlantic Creoles" is simply not sustainable. Scholarly discussions of Luso-African traders in Senegambia, Angola, and so on, while interesting, have little bearing on the those hundreds of thousands of slaves from whom the first Chesapeake Africans were drawn. Scholars emphasize the social, cultural, and racial ambiguity of these Atlantic Creoles, but they never establish that any of them actually arrived in the Americas as slaves. To start, their numbers were relatively small and isolated primarily to African coastal regions. More importantly, we must remember that the majority were TRADERS in slaves; not slaves themselves. Indeed, their skills as "middle (wo)men"¹⁰ were crucial for Europeans and Africans desiring to engage in trade. To that end, Luso-Africans, *lançados*, *tango-mãos* were indispensable for both parties. This is not to say that there were not isolated incidences where "Atlantic Creoles" were enslaved and carried to the Americas; however, the vast majority of slaves came from African societies whose exposure to European culture was mostly limited.

Historians rely heavily on the names given to these so-called "Atlantic Creoles," names like Anthony Longo, Francisco a Negro, etc. They argue that these names were indicative of acculturation in the broader Atlantic world, either in Europe or the Americas. However, across the Americas, names like António Loango and Francisco Negro were commonly given to first-generation African slaves, sometimes even before their departure from Africa. Indeed, baptism of slaves along the African coast was not at all uncommon, but the mechanics of these one-off ceremonies often did not lend themselves to anything more than superficial knowledge of European culture and Christianity. For example, baptismal ceremonies in early seventeenth-century coastal Angola entailed a simple three-part process. One day before departure for the Americas, several hundred slaves were gathered in the plaza of the city of Luanda. Without any catechism or teaching about God, they were given Christian names, written down on a piece of paper by the priest so the slaves would not "forget." They were then administered salt on their tongues. Finally, water was cast on their heads, often in a collective fashion. This was the essence of their "Atlantic creolization."¹¹

When these Africans arrived in the Americas, some attempted to explain their understanding of the baptismal ceremony. In the early seventeenth century, Jesuit priest Alonso de Sandoval recorded testimony from slaves arriving in Cartagena, Colombia (New

Granada), testimonies that were delivered in Kikongo or Kimbundu. The majority interpreted their Angolan baptisms as a form of witchcraft. Some believed that the water was to prepare them to be eaten; others thought they were going to be turned into gunpowder; and still others believed that the baptismal ceremony was to prevent them from rising against the whites on board the slave ship. None understood baptism as a washing away of sin.¹²

Even after several years in the Americas, many Africans still had only a fragmented understanding of European culture. Jesuit priests in northeast Brazil commented on the difficulties of proselytizing African slaves. In 1617, just two years before the arrival of the first Africans at Jamestown, a missionary report from Bahia noted that: “The people from Angola who come to these parts of Brazil are mostly unenlightened in the doctrine and the things that pertain to their salvation.... There are no priests who know their language who can teach them and administer the sacraments of matrimony, confession, and communion...they are lacking everything necessary for their salvation. And even if they were baptized in Angola...rarely or never does one find that [the slave] knows what he received in the baptism and to what he is obligated to God, and they are totally ignorant of everything that pertains to the substance of the mysteries of Our Holy Faith; and thus with this blindness they persevere after coming from Angola among the Christians, and in the face of the Church for a space of many years, after being 4, 5, and 6 years in the house of their masters, without knowing what is necessary for their salvation.”¹³

From the perspective of Europeans, it is clear that the vast majority of slaves who arrived in the Americas were “unacculturated” Africans. For those few who were exposed to European life ways, there is little evidence to indicate that they became “creolized” to the extent that some scholars are now suggesting. When we recall that the first Africans that arrived in Jamestown were part of a much larger cargo of Angolans with a destination similar to that of northeast Brazil (i.e. Veracruz), the claims for their cultural exceptionalism begin to disappear.

A far more plausible explanation for the apparent racial/cultural fluidity of seventeenth century Chesapeake lies in the isolation and atomization of these first slaves. For the handfuls of slaves who arrived in the Chesapeake before 1640, there were few options in attempting to reconstruct the social fabric of their African pasts. In these “societies with slaves,” there was not an African “community” to speak of. Indeed, most Africans were thrust into communities dominated by indentured servants.¹⁴ As such, slaves integrated into a world where they were forced to adapt to the language, culture, and social aspirations of English servants.¹⁵

When viewed from the larger context of the Atlantic world, it seems that many scholars have telescoped the experiences of early Chesapeake slaves--both geographically and chronologically--obscuring the reality of a slave society *in formation*. The Chesapeake, circa 1620s, was witnessing the birth of yet another node in the Atlantic system of racial slavery. In this regard, it was no different than Lisbon in the 1460s, Mexico in the 1530s, or Bahia in the 1540s. Each of these had become fully-realized “slave societies”¹⁶ at various junctures prior to the 1620s, but in their infancy they were not unlike the Chesapeake, with handfuls of isolated Africans in a sea of Europeans and/or indigenous peoples. Some of these Africans apparently made slender connections to their African pasts, through friendships, marriage choices, and memories passed on to their children and grandchildren. Others capitalized on the dependency of their masters in frontier Virginia, eventually earning their freedom and an

economic foothold in colonial society. Many others simply died. Whatever their ultimate fates, these mostly Angolan-born Africans were exceptional only insofar as they landed in Virginia's economic backwater. They didn't arrive by an accident of British history. They didn't arrive as "Atlantic Creoles." And they didn't imagine themselves distinct from the hundreds of thousands of Angolans that went to Brazil, Mexico, Jamaica, or Bermuda. Rather, they were small drops in stream of Africans arriving in the Americas, all trying to survive and searching for new communities of belonging.

Endnotes

1 Engel Sluiter, "New Light on the '20 and Odd Negroes' Arriving in Virginia." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 54 (1997): 395-398; Linda Heywood and John Thornton, *Central Africans, Atlantic Creoles, and the Foundation of the Americas, 1585-1660*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

2 On the numbers of Africans in Iberia and the Atlantic islands see Ivana Elbl, "The Volume of the Early Atlantic Slave Trade, 1450-1521," *Journal of African History*, 38 (1997), 31-76. Estimates for the number of Africans arriving in the Americas in the sixteenth century are contested. The Transatlantic Slave Trade Database estimates that 368,669 Africans disembarked in the Americas between 1502 and 1619; however, these figures underestimate a substantial unlicensed contraband trade, especially between 1521 and 1590. For this period alone, Toby Green suggests that 262,000 Africans departed West Africa for the Americas. If one takes these figures, accounts for 29% losses in the Middle Passage, and plugs them into the estimates for the slave trade data base, the figures for 1502-1619 increase to 424,145. Toby Green, *The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa, 1300-1589* (Cambridge, 2012), 7-8, 189-199.

3 AC de CM Saunders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal, 1441-1555* (Cambridge, 1982), 106-107.

4 Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, *La población negra de México, 1519-1810* (Mexico City, 1972), 234.

5 Peru: from viceroy's census of 1614—10,386 Africans; 9,616 Spaniards from Kenneth Mills, William B. Taylor, Sandra Lauderdale Graham, eds. *Colonial Latin America: A Documentary History* (Lanham, MD), 185-186; Panama City: from 1610 census—3,500 Africans; 1,007 whites from John Berry Biesanz and Mavis Hiltunen Biesanz, *Panamá y su pueblo* (Panama City, 1961), 21; Cartagena: 3,500 Africans; 2,000 Spaniards from Maria Cristina Navarrete, "La provincial de Cartagena y su area de influencia en el siglo XVII. Espacio y población." *Huellas: Revista de la Universidad del Norte (Baranquilla)* 47-48 (1999), 37; Havana in 1610: 9,800 whites; 8,900 blacks from estimates of Governor Ruiz de Pereda taken from Pezuela y Lobo, *Historia de la isla de Cuba* (Madrid, 1868).

6 Brazil: Newitt writes that by 1620 there were fifty thousand Portuguese in Brazil and "as many African slaves and Indians." Malyn Newitt, *A History of Portuguese Overseas Expansion 1400-1668*, (New York, 2004), 168. Between 1600 and 1625, the TSTD shows that more than 156,000 Africans arrived in Brazil, more than 6,200/year.

7 Carlos Esteban Deive, *La esclavitud del Negro en Santo Domingo (1492-1844)*, 2 vols. (Santo Domingo, 1980), II, 445-454. On the importance of horses in Senegambia, see Ivana Elbl, "The Horse in Fifteenth-Century Senegambia," *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, XXIV (1991), 85-110. For references to Jolofos in other parts of the Americas, see Frederick P. Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524-1650* (Stanford, 1974); and Colin A. Palmer, *Slaves of the White God: Blacks in Mexico, 1570-1650* (Harvard, 1976).

8 Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Camb., MA, 1998), 40.

9 Thornton and Heywood, *Central Africans, Atlantic Creoles, and the Foundation of the Americas, 1585-1660* (Cambridge, 2007), 2.

10 Many of these mixed-race traders were women, another crucial element that works against Berlin's argument. The vast majority of slaves taken to the Americas, especially prior to the eighteenth century, were men.

11 Alonso de Sandoval, *De Instauranda Aethiopia Salute: El Mundo de la Esclavitud Negra en America* (Bogotá, 1956), 348.

12 Sandoval, 349, 363-64.

13 Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Brasilia (I); Vatican Film Library, Roll 159, ff. 250-51

14 The 1624-25 Virginia census shows an adult population of 608 free people, 487 indentured servants, and 21 Africans. Thus, indentured servants constituted 44% of all adults in the colony.

15 On the exchanges between Africans and English indentureds, see John C. Coombs, "Building the Machine: The Development of Slavery and Slave Society in Early Colonial Virginia," PhD Dissertation, William and Mary University, 2003.

16 My definition of "slave societies" here builds on the work of Sherwin Bryant, who argues that slave societies are determined less by quantitative factors (i.e. numbers of slaves) than by their importance in shaping ideas about Atlantic and colonial governance. Once "slaves" became a fundamental part of the political and judicial process, a slave society was born. Bryant, *Rivers of Gold, Lives of Bondage: Governing through Slavery in Colonial Quito* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2013).

"The Twenty and Odd Negars"

John K. Thornton

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The "twenty and odd" Africans who arrived at Port Comfort in 1619 came to Virginia via a long and complicated process that involved war, pirates, and many nations.

In 1619, Europe was just entering the first phases of the Thirty Years' War. Although the Thirty Years' War's main battles and well known action was fought in Central Europe (mostly Germany) it was also a phase in a longer war (often called by Dutch historians the Eighty Years' War) for control over the mouth of the Rhine River. These first phases had been fought in what would become the Netherlands and Belgium, between Spain, who claimed the region by the inheritance of the Hapsburg family; and rebel towns of the Lower Rhine. England was deeply involved in the first phase as well, anxious to keep Spain's ambitions in northern Europe in check, and one of the results of this was the battle in the English Channel between the Spanish Armada and Queen Elizabeth's new Royal Navy in 1588.

England and her Dutch allies knew very well that Spain had been able to keep its hold on the Low Countries primarily by deploying a substantial army to fight the Dutch; and that army was financed by the flow of silver from the colonies in the New World. Silver was the lubricant that made war possible in Europe, much as oil would be in wars in the twentieth century, and both the English and the Dutch hoped to be able to staunch the flow from American mines that underwrote Spanish armies in the Low Countries. The famous Potosí silver strike, first made in 1560, was sending out tons of precious metal by the early seventeenth century. The Spanish silver flowed across the Atlantic to Seville and then laboriously across the continent to the Low Countries by a long and complicated series of transports. When Spain absorbed Portugal in 1580, the flow of silver was joined by Brazil's profitable trade in sugar as another source of wealth that could be transformed into pay for the troops.

What Spain's enemies hoped to do was to stop that flow, or better yet to capture it. In the 1580s both the English and the Dutch began naval warfare aimed at capturing the Spanish silver fleet, or failing that, at least to stop or intercept other lucrative colonial exports like sugar. Lacking the resources to float warships themselves, both countries used privateers to augment their naval forces. Privateers were merchants who were commissioned by special government documents called letters of marquee, to attack enemy shipping and inflict as

much financial hardship on Spain as possible. The English Sea Dogs and the Dutch Sea Rovers were mostly privateers, and men like Sir Francis Drake or Walter Raleigh made names for themselves by attacking Spanish shipping on the high seas, taking away their cargoes and draining profits from the Spanish treasury.

The first phase of this war ended in the Twelve Years' Truce, and when war broke out again in Europe in 1618, privateers began their work again. While their biggest goal was to capture the Spanish silver fleet, a feat that was actually achieved by the Dutch admiral Piet Heyn in 1628, they also planned to inflict lesser losses on Spain by attacking all the American exports that made Spain rich. When Spain absorbed Portugal into its empire, the mighty Portuguese fleet and all of Portugal's American empire entered the game, both as profits for Spain's ambitions and targets for the English and Dutch privateers.

In 1619, the Dutch leader William of Orange issued a letter of marque to Daniel Elfrith, captain of the ship *Treasurer* to do damage to Spanish and Portuguese shipping wherever he found it; and the same year the Duke of Savoy, part of the complicated anti-Spanish alliance that contested the Thirty Years' War, issued a similar letter to John Colin Jope, captain of the *White Lion*, an English ship with a mixed Anglo-Dutch crew to the same end. These two ships would ultimately be the source of the first Africans to come to Virginia.

Among the many items of wealth that English and Dutch privateers sought from Spanish shipping were slaves. Initially, in the earlier phase of the war, they had captured slaves from Portuguese ships bound from Africa to the Spanish colonies in the America and sold them to Spanish colonists whose demands for enslaved workers were being denied by the managers of the tightly controlled slave trade. But in the early 1600s both England and the Netherlands were actively building colonies in the New World, and they became the buyers of the African captives taken from Portuguese ships on the high seas. Privateers had already delivered slaves to Walter Raleigh's colonists in Trinidad in the 1590s and even to the fledgling Roanoke colony in Virginia; the target of this latest set of privateers was the revived Virginia colony on the James River.

In the 1570 and 1580s most of the slaves shipped from Africa to the Spanish colonies came from the regions of modern day Senegal, Gambia and Guinea, but in 1575 the Portuguese built a colonial base for the slave trade in Angola, in faraway West Central Africa. From their bases in Angola, the Portuguese waged near constant war against their African neighbors, capturing thousands and exporting them both to the Portuguese sugar colony in Brazil and to the Spanish colonies around the Caribbean and in Peru. The Angola trade was lucrative, and as a result the Spanish government gave the governors of Angola the right to the *asiento*, the exclusive right to deliver slaves to the American colonies.

While the governors of Angola captured slaves in their wars, these wars were not simply raids that had immediate and constant success. The African powers that surrounded Angola were strong; the Kingdom of Kongo to the north was fully capable of defeating Portuguese armies and did so in 1622. Ndongo, the main target of Portuguese aggression managed to fend Portugal off, and by 1600 the war there was at a stalemate. But in 1617, the Portuguese had a breakthrough. They were able to recruit the Imbangala, rootless bands of warriors who had been raiding and pillaging the lands south of the Portuguese colony to fight for them as mercenaries. Governor Luis Mendes de Vasconcelos brought these bands into action in 1619, and using them, was able to smash the defenses of Ndongo. They pillaged and sacked the country, took the capital city of Kabasa and forced its king to flee to a fortified set

of islands in the Kwanza River. Mendes de Vasconcelos was able to capture and export more than 60,000 people during the three years of his governorship.

Dozens of ships took these newly enslaved people to Brazil and the Spanish Indies to work the sugar estates and the various industries and enterprises of America. Among those ships was the *São João Bautista*, captained by Manuel da Cunha. In July 1619 his ship took on some 350 captives from the wars of Mendes de Vasconcelos and the Imbangala and set sail for Vera Cruz in Mexico. They would probably be set to work growing sugarcane in the estates around Vera Cruz or to work in service and industry in Mexico City or other Spanish towns.

The *São João Bautista's* voyage was longer than usual and mortality was high. The master decided to off load nearly 50 slaves who were seriously ill in Jamaica, and let the remaining captives rest before continuing. It was as they were passing the town of Campeche (in the Yucatan) that the ship was intercepted by the two English privateers, who took about 60 of the cargo off from the ship before allowing it to complete its journey to Vera Cruz.

As for the Angolans now in the possession of the English captains, their journey was still more complicated. Both vessels made their way to Jamestown, where in August the *White Lion* arrived and sold "twenty and odd" of its share of the spoils to the labor-hungry colonists. Thanks to holding a letter of marque from a Dutch official, the ship itself was considered by the settlers in Jamestown to be a Dutch vessel. But when the *Treasurer* arrived a bit later, Captain Elfrith discovered that the Duke of Savoy had changed sides in the war and his letter of marque was not considered valid and he was sent away. Elfrith sailed to Bermuda, which was the hub of privateering activity in the Caribbean at the time, and left the slaves there. Subsequently, as residence in Bermuda had perhaps "purified" his cargo, the *Treasurer* returned to Virginia early in 1620, delivered another lot of captives and then, the tired and worn ship sank in a creek off the James River.

Only one of the *São João Bautista's* captive cargo is known to us certainly by name, and that is "Angelo" a "Negro woman" who was raising pigs when Virginia Company officials made a muster list of the inhabitants of the Virginia Colony in 1625, who was specifically stated to have come to Virginia on the *Treasurer*. In all probability all the others came from the same Portuguese slaver, but their further path is unknown.

The Angolans brought with them a culture that had already been in contact with Europe for a century when they crossed the ocean, and in varying degrees, they had embraced some components of it. Most visibly many, including probably Angelo, had embraced Christianity. The Kingdom of Kongo in particular had become more or less completely a Christian country by the middle of the sixteenth century, with the baptism and Christian instruction of effectively the entire population through a remarkable locally established and staffed ecclesiastical organization funded by the Kongo state. Kongolese bore Portuguese names, and knew Christian prayers and hymns, though they said them in their own language. A civil war was raging in Kongo at the time of the wars of Mendes de Vasconcelos and it is quite possible that Kongolese were among the people enslaved and sold in Luanda from there.

The majority of the people captured in 1619, however, were probably from Ndongo, and their engagement with Western culture was far less well established than that of Kongo. Nevertheless, Christianity had also penetrated in Ndongo, and complaints lodged against Mendes de Vasconcelos specified that his Imbangala allies had enslaved "more than four thousand baptized Christians" or more than a quarter of all exports for the year, in that war.

The presence of Christians from Ndongo among the enslaved may explain why so many Africans in early Virginia had Christian names in Portuguese form. But many were also outside the Christian world, as was the region around Kabasa, capital of Ndongo, which had been the scene of heavy fighting and probably the majority of the slaves, had had priests in it but their impact was relatively limited.

Perhaps one of the more unusual characteristics of the first Africans in Virginia came from their residence around Kabasa, meaning that a good many would have come from an urban environment. The city was never rebuilt and its location is only vaguely known today, but sixteenth century reports put its population in the tens of thousands, where it would have been possible to capture many people at one time. The urban population undoubtedly had a larger percentage of people who practiced non-agricultural trades, and in many ways resembled the Englishmen they worked beside, who had often resided in English cities on their way to the New World.

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A Larger World of Blackness than We Once Knew: 1619 and the State of the Afro-Latin American World: *A Slave Story?*

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Just how did blacks arrive in the New World? Contrary to popular belief, the dawn of African arrivals in the West is not solely a slave story. Beginning as early as the late 1490s and extending into the opening decades of the 16th century, small streams of blacks began landing on the shores of Latin America as auxiliaries to the Spanish missions of conquest and discovery. Many did not migrate directly from Africa, but had spent significant time being seasoned in Europe. Many became part of several scattered black Iberian communities. By the early 1500s, cities such as Seville and Lisbon, as well as hinterland areas, including the Spain's Rio Tinto region (between Huelva and Malaga) were home to surprisingly robust black populations. By the 1550s, as much as 10% of Lisbon's population was black. From a smattering of the literary works and paintings, we are also aware that some blacks in Spain were occasionally able to achieve considerable renown, including the scholar Juan Latino, who became a university professor and chair at the University of Granada in the 1500s, having been born a slave and accompanied his master to class (where he learned Latin through taking notes for his less than academically capable owner). By the 1490s, the nearly eight-hundred years of sustained contact with the Moors essentially further meant that Spain and its culture had been deeply imprinted by blacks, who were undeniably woven into the

fabric of the social landscape. That some of these blacks would journey to the New World should not require a stretch of the imagination.

We can postulate that in 1490s, most were likely to have been free, accompanying the missions of discovery, with many being at least minimally armed. In this period of initial European contact, with few people of any race traveling across the Atlantic, these initial cohorts of blacks probably numbered no more than several dozen. From 1502-1510 (corresponding roughly to the culmination of early exploratory expeditions in the Caribbean), the pace of black migration increased, with blacks coming by the hundreds. 1502 marked a pivotal year, since it was then when Queen Isabella formally appointed a governor over the island of Hispaniola—what is today Haiti and the Dominican Republic. This act acknowledged that Spain would begin significant colonization and settlement efforts in the Americas, instead of relying upon establishing trading posts in the New World to procure profits. As the new operational changes took effect, blacks streamed into the Americas in new capacities; as merchant's agents, supervisors of indigenous mining and labor gangs, and as personal servants who themselves occupied a laundry list of professions. During the 1510s, the era of Spanish exploration grew more markedly, focusing on active military conquests that increased in scope and scale during the 1520s and 30s. Scholars writing about blacks during this period consider them to have been virtually indispensable to the Spanish mission.

Beginning with Mexico in 1519, and then moving to Peru in the 1530s, black freedmen and slaves participated in the overhaul and restructuring of native regimes, while also providing the physical labor that resulted in the construction of key Spanish institutions, forts, and buildings. In the conquest of Peru, several thousand blacks were employed this way. On the military front, the forces of Pedro Alvarado assembled 200 blacks in 1534, among them Juan Valiente, a heroic figure in the conquest of Chile. Some of these conquistadors received great benefits for their services, including gold and land in amounts that were typically reserved for elite Spaniards and noblemen. In Mexico's Yucatan peninsula, black conquistadors were routinely used as translators. Perhaps the best known of these polyglots was Estebanico, known in America as Black Stephen. Speaking seven languages, he helped explore significant portions of what is today the southwestern United States. Unfortunately, for the vast majority of the black conquistadors, whatever wealth and status they had been able to acquire in the earliest years of Spanish conquest were subject to rapid demise, as white Spaniards fought vigorously to seize their land and material riches. Even those who had been able to bequeath some of their earnings to their progeny, as did Juan Garrido, one of the better documented black conquistadors of Mexico, by the 1619 these individuals and their families had largely faded from the historical record. Regardless, their role and prominence in establishing the colonial regime is undeniable and worthy of remembrance.

Rising Slavery and Cultural Factors

Returning now to the other side of the Atlantic, by the mid-1500s, the trade in African slaves was increasing, bringing in new and substantially more diverse ethnic populations into the Americas. As slavery began to take off in the 16th century, it did so exponentially in volume over time, ultimately flowing to the New World with a vengeance by the late 18th century. By the end of slavery, with its final abolition in Brazil in 1888, some have estimated between 10-15 million Africans had crossed the Atlantic. These were impressive numbers in

the overall story of New World migration. Before 1820, nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ of all people who had entered the Americas were black slaves; of these just over 4% landed in what became the United States. The remainder sailed to Brazil (35%) the Caribbean (37%), and the Spanish mainland (12%).

By and large, the trans-Atlantic slave trade followed a pattern that drew slaves in progressively greater increments as one moved southward along the western portion of the African continent. If we divide Africa into four main regions, *Upper Guinea*, stretching from the Senegal River to territories in modern Liberia, *Lower Guinea*, extending from the western Ivory Coast to Cameroon, *Angola*, encompassing territory from the coast of modern Angola into Zaire, and finally, Mozambique, the initial zone exploited for slaves was Upper Guinea, among the closest regions to Spanish America. Shipping and trade was conducted primarily on Portuguese vessels, since they were the first major European explorers of the African coastline. The early Portuguese preeminence among European slave traders was quickly challenged. In the 17th century the Dutch, British, and French eased their way into the trade, eventually becoming the primary motors of slave commerce in the 18th century. One strategy they utilized to gain a foothold in Africa was to outflank the Portuguese monopoly by driving trade further southward, bringing Lower Guinea into the fold as a result. Not to be outdone, the Portuguese set up trading posts in Lower Guinea, Angola, and Mozambique by the 17th century. Some of these became hotly contested; in the heat of combat the Dutch even successfully seized some ports in the 1630s, precipitating full-fledged war with the Portuguese in Angola.

The dangerous game of geopolitics played by African and European nations meant that by the 17th century, and certainly during the rise of the great plantation economies of the British and French Caribbean, West Central Africa, or Angola, would become a major departure point for slaves, bearing an important cultural imprint on the Americas. Certainly in the 18th century, attempts were made by various nations to reestablish a strong trade with Upper Guinea; however, they were met with limited success at best. During the 1700s, perhaps the greatest century in terms of the transshipment of human cargoes in the New World, Lower Guinea (notably the Bight of Benin) and Angola were the veritable pillars of the trade. With occasional shifts due to the availability of slaves in African markets, the general trend would define the Atlantic slave trade through the period of recorded voyages until 1867.

The slaves arriving in the Americas, although representing a multitude of different dialects, cultural experiences, and nationalities, shared a number of important commonalities that helped bind them together in the New World. To begin with, while there is some scholarly debate on the issue, the West African cultural regions from which the majority of slaves were drawn seem to have conformed to the 4 major zones I just identified. While a number of internal differences created further subdivisions, the broad similarities of the inhabitants within these zones meant that when Africans arrived in the Americas, they were not immediately thrust into a world that was completely unfamiliar. Although the demography and physical surroundings of the New World may have been strange and new, at the very least, some shared the commonality of language.

The Kwa and Bantu language families predominated in Lower Guinea and West Central Africa (what I'm calling Angola), and the Mande and West Atlantic language families predominated in Upper Guinea, thereby compressing the intricate network of African nations

and ethnicities to just a few who were loosely intelligible to one another. As slaves crossed the Atlantic they began to recognize familiar speech patterns and communicate amongst themselves. Slaves also took advantage of a fragile sense of cohesion that had been developing among West African nations, cultivated by inter-African trade networks that served as bridges for cultural exchange. As Africans used interlocking systems of waterways and roads to visit, barter, negotiate, and exchange goods with each other, or used a common language, such as Yoruba, to facilitate trade, they translated and interpreted their respective languages and customs. In some instances, the styles, wares, and practices of one's neighbors even acquired inter-regional popularity. As the ebb and flow of cultural exchange transpired in Africa, and as various ethnicities borrowed from one another, processes of cultural hybridity took place. While the process of African cultural integration on the continent should not be overemphasized, neither should the diversity of Africa be exaggerated.

Significantly, the circumstances of the Atlantic slave trade did not completely disrupt this pattern. Even if slave ships loaded cargoes from various ports along the African coast (which did not happen frequently in the Atlantic slave trade), it was unlikely that they drew substantial numbers of slaves from more than one of the primary cultural zones. This meant that slave ships arrived with cargoes of individuals who shared important cultural similarities. Additionally, given that at various moments during the Atlantic trade certain regions provided greater numbers of slaves than others, the overall heterogeneity of the slave population was restricted by availability of the supply.

Certainly, some slave owners sought to diversify their slave holdings, based on the belief that having too great a concentration of a particular ethnic group might foment resistance and rebellion. Yet many of these masters found their plans foiled by the simple lack of variety among slaves crossing the Atlantic. Others made due with the situation at hand. Some believed that having more homogenous slave populations actually encouraged slave "satisfaction," thereby creating a better work environment that could improve productivity and even stimulate procreation. A few believed that attracting concentrations of slaves of the same ethnicity facilitated the rapid induction of new arrivals, since they could be quickly taught the routine of slave life by those who spoke their language and knew their customs. Still other masters selectively sought slaves who they believed possessed special skills that were valuable to their enterprises. Africans from the Gold Coast and Senegambia's Bambuk and Buré mining regions were apparently preferred by mine owners in Brazil and Colombia, while Africans from Upper Guinea, who were known to be excellent rice cultivators, were favored in places like Georgia.

So, it has become increasingly clear that African slaves probably arrived to the New World in clusters. This is to say that at certain moments in time, slaves from particular regions of Africa nucleated in specific parts of the Americas. Apart from the factors I just described, there were several other reasons for this. On the one hand, the simple realities of geography helped dictate the patterns of trade. The flows of Atlantic wind currents and the distance from African ports to New World shipping points meant that certain regions were simply more accessible for some seaborne vessels than others. Two broad transport systems developed—a North Atlantic system that linked Upper Guinea with areas like the United States, northeastern Brazil, and the Caribbean, and a South Atlantic system that integrated West Central Africa and Angola with southeastern Brazil. To some degree, the practice of

transshipping slaves within the ports of the New World affected the integrity of these systems, but it did not eliminate the principal thrust of their flows.

The ethnic composition and clustering of African slaves in various parts of the Americas was also influenced by the response of individual African kingdoms to the slave trade. Not all polities sought to be included in transatlantic commerce and resisted the impulse to sell slaves. Others used their military and political power to enter and exit the trade at will.

The outflow of slaves was further conditioned by the tastes of African merchants and consumers. For example, European traders realized that the sweet and strong tobacco produced in Brazil was not appealing to all African markets. In Lower Guinea, for instance, the market was divided into polities that liked Virginia tobacco versus Brazilian tobacco—slaves exchanged for each product differed as a result.

The restrictions, preferences, flows, and patterns of the slave trade nucleated New World slaves such that, broadly speaking, in the 18th century slaves from the so-called Slave Coast, or the eastern part of Lower Guinea were visibly clustered in the French colonies, while so-called Gold Coast slaves (Western Lower Guinea) could be found heavily in Jamaica. West Central Africans or Angolans could be found everywhere in the Americas, but interestingly, those brought to North America and the Caribbean in the 18th century tended to be shipped from the Loango Coast and were Kikongo speakers, while those arriving in Brazil tended to be Kimbundu speakers. Meanwhile, Yoruba slaves arrived to Brazil and Cuba in large numbers during the 19th century, and to Haiti after 1780.

Imagining a Story Less Told: Slavery From the Islands to the Spanish Main

It is worth pausing here to reiterate that the Spanish slave trade in particular, took decades to develop, being initially tested informally on the island of Hispaniola (Santo Domingo). The trade became formalized by royal decree in 1518, nearly 30 years after the discovery of the New World, and proceeded to take off rapidly from there. Slavery then followed a variety of routes into the Spanish world, typically using the Caribbean as an anchor. But pathways were also carved into places like Argentina and Peru, sometimes flowing through the southern port of Buenos Aires, which could be conveniently reached by ships from Africa in just seventy days. With vessels landing into the ports of Buenos Aires, Veracruz (Mexico), Portobello (Panama), and Cartagena (Colombia), by the end of the 1500s, slaves were gradually appearing in what today we might consider the unlikeliest of places, including Bolivia, Paraguay, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Chile, and Ecuador. Especially in the mountainous Andes, importation costs (covering travel over remote terrain and high mountains) tended to significantly increase the value of African slaves to tremendous heights, but local elites insisted on having African slaves at all costs. Before 1619 and up to the year 1650, Mexico and Peru were the world's leaders in slave imports, collectively attracting a quarter of a million people. Black slaves in both colonies were highly valued for their symbolic worth, and owning slaves improved one's rank and honor. Some owners provided their slaves with fine clothes, shoes, stockings, jewelry, and even weapons, particularly in public settings, so as to elevate society's perception of their positions as patrons and masters. Slaves also played key roles in the major Peruvian and Mexican industries, such as mining, sugar cultivation, and viticulture, as well as in skilled and unskilled domestic and urban labor. Slaves in both colonies learned European trade crafts, such as shoemaking, blacksmithing,

tailoring and weaving, essentially becoming experts in colonial industries that generated substantial profits for their masters. Some slaves were rented out to entrepreneurs, or they were given charge over small shops where they lived independently, with the expectation that they would regularly send remittances back to their master at allotted times and days. Mexican slaves, more than their Peruvian counterparts, worked in textile sweatshops (*obrajes*), especially as the government struggled in deliberating whether to allow Indians to labor in these harsh factories where people frequently lost limbs.

Black slaves were seen as very efficient workers within the Mexican *obraje* industry, enhanced by the fact that slavery transformed them into a unique workforce, conditioned to bear the exploitation of the working environment. *Obrajes* may have been so critical in helping sustain Mexican urban slavery during the 18th century that when the textile industry finally transitioned to free wage labor after 1750, Mexican slavery declined quickly. At its peak in the middle of the 1600s, Mexican slaves numbered between 40-80,000 individuals; in Peru, where slavery grew stronger throughout the 1600s, there were almost 100,000 slaves in residence throughout the 1700s, representing between 10-15 percent of the colony's entire population for much of a century.

Outside of the two major mainland colonial economies of Spanish America rested smaller areas of settlement that also witnessed an influx of Africans in the 16th and 17th centuries. Central America was prominent among these; perhaps as many as 20,000 slaves resided throughout Central America by 1650. Being settled in 1502 before either Peru or Mexico, Panama became the pioneering slave market on the mainland. Generally, the scale of slavery was small, and rarely did any Panamanian slaveholder prior to the 1550s possess more than eight slaves. When the conquest of Peru uncovered tremendous riches in mineral wealth in South America, the isthmus of Panama utterly transformed itself into a passageway for transporting goods back and forth to Spain. By hook and by crook, Africans quickly established a presence in this emerging Panamanian transportation industry. Not only did they haul goods, but in places like Panama City, municipal funds were used to purchase slave teams to inhabit huts outside of the city, from which slaves monitored, paved, and cleaned the royal roads. By the 1550s, African slaves in Panama were working in rock quarries, hammering and breaking stones for seemingly endless construction projects, particularly fortresses. Slaves additionally represented a critical element of colony's hospital workforce, working in nearly every available staff position available in Panama City's hospital, short of becoming doctors and surgeons themselves. Despite the hustle and bustle of activity that defined early colonial Panama, Europeans were not coming in droves. But blacks steadily were. The result was a virtual black economic transformation of the economy. Near the end of the 16th century African slaves were employed in almost as many occupations as one could count--muleteers, gardeners, pearl divers, cattle rustlers, loggers, sailors, clerks, and the like. Whereas Mexico and Peru developed quite differently, generating enough wealth and population to engineer the launch of true seigniorial societies, replete with Spanish feudal lords, Indian tribute labor, and rich mining economies; Panama never reached such a stage of development. Instead, early colonial Panama was an ad hoc world lacking many basic stabilities and conveniences. Food supplies could be scarce, hunting for native slaves was commonplace, significant inter-racial and inter-class conflict existed, and ultimately, blacks came to saturate the population. By the late 16th century, blacks and mulattoes accounted for 70% of all of Panama's residents. And as blacks, slave and free, found voice in this restless

society—virtually no one could have anticipated or envisioned the extent to which blacks would become the essential conduit for a place where the very nexus of commerce linking the Atlantic world and Europe would reside.

In contrast to Panama, which was economically vital to the empire, but relatively weak politically, the colony of Guatemala emerged as one of the most politically powerful regions in Central America, being home to an *audiencia*, or regional high court, replete with robed royal magistrates. But Guatemala's relatively weak economy adversely impacted the importation of Africans into its borders, keeping numbers low. Almost at no point in the 16th and 17th century did more than 200 slaves enter the colony per year. In some ways, the trickling flow of slavery is a mirage, because low numbers did not devalue the African slave presence or their importance to the colony. In fact, the handful of slaves in Guatemala, particularly in urban environments, performed almost the same variety of tasks that could be found in Peru and Mexico. And the greater scarcity of Africans in Guatemala certainly made them costlier, up to four times more expensive than in neighboring Mexico. Perhaps the great lesson to draw from Guatemala's slave experience is that scarcity and high prices could produce favorable outcomes for slave treatment and occupational roles. For instance, black Guatemalan slaves were seldom subjected to the horrors of branding in the 16th century. Moreover, black bondsmen and women entered the agricultural labor arena only gradually (appearing after the 1550s) and seldom worked in chain gangs. When black slaves did work in large groups, they tended to do so in the most profitable enterprises that ironically, could sometimes yield profits for slaves too, who occasionally stashed away the goods for themselves. In agriculture, slaves in the colony primarily cultivated cacao and indigo prior to the late 17th century, which produced solid and lasting revenues, with less intense harvesting duties and schedules than other cash crops grown in the New World.

Black slaves in Guatemala also found themselves supervising Indian labor to a great degree, rather than doing the brunt of the fieldwork themselves. Guatemala's extensive native population further provided a robust pool of marriage and sexual partners for black men, who comprised the bulk of the colony's African slaves. In the general social hierarchy, low ranking native-American women viewed black men, even slaves, as a social upgrade, since their unions with them would produce children of mixed race who were more coveted by colonial society than pure Indians. From the standpoint of the slave men, they found these unions equally enticing because by having an Indian mother, their children would be born into freedom, since in Spanish society slave status followed that of the mother. Also, their connections with Indian women gave these black men partial access to the world of the free, as well as influence in the world of native affairs. Of course, the Spanish authorities chagrined this access and status. Particularly in the Pacific coast regions, where blacks actually outnumbered whites and natives, the imperial magistrates feared that too much proximity between natives and blacks threatened the health and stability of the colony. The government decreed that instead of interfering with native communities and their businesses, blacks would be better off if they had a municipality of their own that they could be confined. It was in this way that the town of Gomera was founded in the early 17th century, a black haven that would persist in Guatemala for decades to come. It was one of many such towns that came to populate the Spanish empire in the 1600s and 1700s. By the early 18th century, conditions throughout Guatemala started to change. Sugar cultivation became a more prominent feature of the economy, demanding stronger labor routines from the slaves who worked on sugar estates.

The rise in the number of mulatta and free black women further impacted the marriage market for black slave men, providing them with new alternatives beyond native women. Yet, the overall lessons for us from Guatemala are very instructive. There were a host of societies that were greatly resembled the colony—and in the majority of these, blacks came to impact the landscape of the Spanish colonial world in greater proportions than their numbers insinuated.

Further south from Guatemala, the weakness the Costa Rican economy in the 16th and 17th centuries translated into a few important differences in its slavery. Perhaps the biggest difference was that in an economy that was perennially facing cash shortages, slaves became an important investment property that were transacted in business deals and used for dowries. The reliance on slaves as a capital, collateral, and cash supplements was probably more marked here than in many other Central American colonies. One can postulate that this feature of Costa Rican slavery may have impacted slave treatment, inviting less harsh work regimes and more domestic service. Of course, when the Costa Rican economy began to pick up significantly in the 1680s after the introduction of cacao as a major export product, slave numbers increased accordingly, as did their work regimen. However, still by 1700, only 2,415 blacks and mulattos lived in Costa Rica, which had a total population of 19,293. The lack of having a legally recognized port, combined with general economic malaise relegated Costa Rica to a secondary, or even tertiary slave market and governed the type of slave that was featured in the colony. The robust *bozales*, who were directly imported from Africa were rarely seen, being saved for more vigorous slave centers. Costa Rica's 17th century slaves were overwhelmingly creoles, born in the New World, and frequently of mixed racial origins.

The rest of Spanish Central American slavery in the 16th and 17th centuries resembled the basic patterns featured in Guatemala, Mexico, Costa Rica, and Panama. As in Mexico, mining served as an important catalyst to the importation of Africans into Honduras. Arriving in the port of Puerto Cabellos, which would emerge as a key supplier of black slaves for Central America, nearly 1,500 blacks toiled in the gold mines of Olancho and the Guayape River by 1545. Gold deposits would decline substantially within a decade, but slaves remained important. Silver was discovered in the region of Tegucigalpa towards the end of the century and with it, African slaves quickly came to play an important role here as well. Because the mining industry never reached the magnitude of either Mexico or Peru, the long-term use of slaves in the Honduran export economy was limited. Instead, as in Costa Rica and Guatemala, slaves in the 17th century acquired greater importance as elements of the internal economy, serving as agriculturists for local markets, domestic laborers, and even as capital and currency. In neighboring Nicaragua, the slave market was probably one of the smallest in Central America in the 16th century. In 1583 the governor Francisco Casco wrote a letter to king explaining the dire labor situation in his colony. The depletion of Indians in Nicaragua had been exacerbated by years of widespread hunting for native slaves, who were rapidly sold and exported. Without natives, Casco stressed the pressing need for African slaves to help serve as workers, especially in cultivating indigo. He submitted to the Crown what seemed a modest proposal for 200 African slaves. Unfortunately, he received no reply. Instead, slaves staggered sporadically into the colony as they always had.

The black presence in Nicaragua enjoyed a markedly different history along the Caribbean coast. In a region known as the Mosquito coast, which extends into Honduras, the native population successfully resisted domination by the Spaniards in the 16th century. In

the early 17th century, these Indians began intermingling with African runaway slaves and freedmen. In 1641, fugitive British slaves who were fleeing a shipwreck in nearby Providence island, accounted for hundreds more blacks entering the Mosquito zone. As they settled in the area, many worked themselves deeply into the local culture. The result was a unique African-native population that thrived at the fringes of the major European colonies. The newly categorized “Miskitu Indians” possessed both an Africanized branch (zambos) and a native branch (Tawira) that jockeyed for power and influence, and which made strategic alliances with multiple European states. The zambos aligned with the British, who began establishing themselves as a power in the Caribbean during the mid 17th century and had started entering Nicaragua by the 1630s. The Tawira, on the other hand, favored the Spanish. By the 1720s, however, they had become a weak voice in the Caribbean coast region, making the zambo branch the dominant group.

South of Central America and outside of Peru rested a number of important slave systems that exhibited features revealing additional nuances in Spanish American mainland slavery. Prominent among these was the kingdom of Quito, conforming roughly to the territory of modern Ecuador, but encompassing areas in southern Colombia and northern Peru. An Andean region with a highland geography, Quito, like Peru, retained a strong native presence that would not be eclipsed by African slaves. Nevertheless, as elsewhere, black slaves seeped quickly into the colony’s urban areas, largely to serve as status markers for the elite, but also to perform a range of urban labor tasks. In the countryside, slaves worked as lumberjacks, polemen, and agriculturalists, but profitable gold mining quickly arrested the attention of colonists. Unlike Central America, Quito’s gold mines were among the most profitable in the Spanish kingdom, accounting for nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ of all the gold registered in the Spanish port of Seville between 1535 and 1660. Gold mining production surged even higher in the second half of the 18th century. Slaves came early to work in Popoyán, a four hundred mile region in the northern reaches of Quito. By 1592, Quito’s officials were requesting shipments of 1,000 Africans between the ages of seventeen and forty. Far fewer arrived. In the three major Quiteño slave-holding regions, including Guayaquil, Popoyán, and Ibarra, slaves rarely amounted to more than 12,000 out of a population of 430,000 during the colonial period.

The relatively low numbers have not discouraged some from describing Quito as a slave society, despite the fact that the colony may not fit the classic definition usually associated with slave societies found in larger plantation economies. The observation rests on a few simple principles. First, slavery was vital to Quito’s economic vigor. Although the anchor of the colony’s economy until the 18th century was textile production, which generally did not utilize slave labor, the institution of slavery still helped underwrite profits in the textile industry, since clothing items were frequently purchased by masters to be used by their slaves. Moreover, in the 18th century, the decline of the colony’s textile industry reinvigorated the role of African slavery, causing what some have called an “Africanization” of the Quiteño economy. Nearly 20% of all slaves entering the port of Cartagena during the 18th century would be brought to Quito. A second element helping to situate Quito amongst the New World’s slave societies is that the colony was a place where African slavery fundamentally affected social hierarchies and socio-political relations. Quite simply, the master-slave relationship comprised an important component of what it meant to be elite, and

a large percentage of the elite owned at least one or two slaves, if only to solidify their social position.

When stepping back and pondering the broad strokes behind the development of early colonial slavery in Mexico, Peru, Central America, and South America, it is possible to schematize and define a distinct, mainland Spanish American system of slavery that differed from later Caribbean and Brazilian plantation society models. One characteristic of the Spanish mainland system was that among its principal tasks was reconciling the African presence with an influential, pre-existing indigenous heritage. In cases where the native population was large and developed into complex social systems, African slavery filled specialty roles in colonial economic development, often supplementing and compensating for the effects of native demographic decline. In zones where the native population was scattered and minimally organized, African slavery enjoyed a more prominent position as a principal economic force. However, because mainland economies tended to be multi-faceted, the character of slavery tended to be equally multivalent, even in areas with small native populations. Although slaves could dominate certain individual economic sectors at times, such as mining, they were distributed simultaneously into so many other arenas that attempting to singularly characterize a mainland colony by a dominant type of slave production was nearly impossible.

Because early Spanish populations were so small, and the task of managing conquered territories was so great, another way of thinking about mainland African slaves is as “auxiliaries” to white and mestizo colonists. Auxiliary slavery contrasts with plantation slavery, where the emphasis of slave life was on heavy production for a market economy, and where slave units of production tended to be larger. Most Spanish mainland slavery in the 16th and 17th century was small scale, with households having just a handful of slaves. Also, rather than being centered on rural estates, Spanish mainland slavery was heavily urban, located precisely in the cities and towns where the majority of white and mestizo colonists were concentrated. As auxiliary slaves, blacks augmented the Spanish urban presence in both number and function. Apart from menial labor, slaves were found performing tasks where there simply weren't enough whites to do the job. Consequently, as we have seen throughout Central and South America, they became artisans, apprentices and vendors. Slave labor sometimes blurred with the jobs of the free to the extent in a number of societies, free blacks, whites and mestizos worked in many of the professions that were also staffed by skilled slaves. In the countryside, especially in remote sections of Mexico and Guatemala, the slave's position as a Spanish auxiliary oftentimes meant that they were charged with managing and supervising free-wage Indian labor. Contract Indian labor on the mainland was frequently cheaper than black slaves, and in many cases, more expendable. Valuable African slaves therefore, supplemented the Spanish presence by serving as the nucleus and organizers of broader teams of labor.

Of course, the mainland Spanish American slave system did not completely differ from other New World slave societies. In places such as Brazil and late 18th and 19th century Cuba, the importance of urban slavery and the liberties which characterized auxiliary slavery were definitely evident, although subsumed within the larger dynamics of the plantation complex. Similarly, sugar plantations and other large-scale commercial agricultural estates did exist within the mainland Spanish colonies as well. However, unlike in the classic slave

societies, the economic activities on these agricultural estates fell short of defining the slave experience.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that the nature of slavery on the Spanish mainland exhibited a unique chronology that differed from the colonies held by other European powers. By and large, the majority of slave imports came in the 16th and 17th centuries, particularly during the era of the Portuguese monopoly from 1580-1640. Consequently, slavery on the mainland had a strong impact on the development of Spanish American societies, especially during the early phases of growth where patterns of governance and legal structures were still being molded. Considerably more slaves arrived than Europeans during these years. Just 188,000 Spaniards crossed the Atlantic, as opposed to 289,000 slaves in the period of the Portuguese monopoly. Subsequent decades would bring more parity, as 141,000 slaves and 158,000 Spaniards landed in Spanish New World destinations from 1640-1700. But the period of 1700-1760 would once again witness a renewal of slave imports, as 271,000 slaves and 193,000 Spaniards arrived. The flow of these slaves would change pattern in the 18th century. Mainland slaves were channeled away from the dominant Spanish colonial economies of Mexico and Peru, and into the secondary economies of places such as Quito, Costa Rica, Venezuela, and Colombia. Their proximity to Cartagena, which would become the principal legal port of the Spanish slave trade in the 18th century, and their access to illegal slaves brought from the French, Dutch, and British colonies, provided a rich labor stimulus to their renewed economies.

STANDARDS OF LEARNING

These SOLs focus on the development of knowledge and skills in dance reflecting cultural diversity in American society, fostered cultural awareness, or explicitly outcomes related to dance activities for interdisciplinary study specifically related to social studies.

Virginia Standards of Learning:

Investigate the evolution of British America and the intersection of Africans with Europeans beginning with 1619.

History SOLs: K.1, 3.2, 3.3, 3.4, 3.7, 3.8, 3.11, 3.12, VS.1, VS.2, VS.3, VS.4, VS.5, CE.1, CE.2, CE.12, USI.1, USI.4, USII.5, VUS.1, VUS.2, VUS.3, WG.1, WHII.4, WHII.5.

Geography SOLs:

Fine Arts SOLs: DM.12, DM.13, DM.14, DM.19, DM.20, DII.19, K.8, K.11, K.12, 2.6, 2.8, 2.9, 2.11, 3.8, IAR.24, CAR.15.

Physical Education SOLs: 4.1.B, 4.4.D, 6.1.C, 8.2.C, 9.1.A&B, 9.4.B, 10.11.A, 11/12.2.B, 11/12.5

**These SOLs focus on the development of knowledge and skills in dance reflecting cultural diversity in American society, fostered cultural awareness, or explicitly outcomes related to dance activities for interdisciplinary study specifically related to social studies.*

National Council for the Social Studies Standards

1. Provide a framework for selecting and organizing knowledge and modes of inquiry for purposes of teaching and learning to meet these same goals.
2. **Culture:** The student knows and understands how people are affected by culture and cultural diversity.
2. **Time, Continuity and Change:** The student knows and understands the ways that people views themselves in and over time.
3. **People, Places and Environments:** The student knows and understands the interrelationships among people, places and environments.
4. **Individual Development and Identity:** The student knows and understands individual development and social, cultural influences that shape personal identity.
5. **Individuals, Groups and Institutions:** The student knows and understands the interactions among individuals, groups and institutions as well as the integral role they play in a person's life.
6. **Power, Authority and Governance:** The student knows and understands how people create and change structures of power, authority and governance.
7. **Production, Distribution and Consumption:** The student knows and understands why and how people organize for the production, distribution and consumption of goods and services.
8. **Science, Technology and Society:** The student knows and understands the relationship among science, technology and society.
9. **Global Connections:** The student knows and understands global connections and interdependence.

10. Civic Ideals and Practices: The student knows and understands the ideals, principals, and practices of citizenship in a democratic republic.

History SOLs: K.1, K.2, 2.2, 3.2, 3.3, 3.4, 3.5, 3.7, 3.8, 3.11, 3.12, VS.1, VS.2, VS.3, VS.4, VS.5, CE.1, CE.2, CE.12, USI.1, USI.4, USII.5, VUS.1, VUS.2, VUS.3, VUS.4, WG.1, WHII.4, WHII.5.

- K.1 The student will recognize that history describes events & people of other times & places by
a) identifying examples of past events in legends, stories, and historical accounts of Powhatan, Pocahontas, George Washington, Betsy Ross, and Abraham Lincoln;
- K.2 The student will describe everyday life in the present and in the past and begin to recognize that things change over time.
- 2.2 The student will compare the lives and contributions of three American Indian cultures of the past and present, with emphasis on the Powhatan of the Eastern Woodlands, the Lakota of the Plains, and the Pueblo peoples of the Southwest.
- 3.2 The student will study the early West African empire of Mali by describing its oral tradition (storytelling), government (kings), and economic development (trade).
- 3.3 The student will study the exploration of the Americas by
a) describing the accomplishments of Christopher Columbus, Juan Ponce de León, Jacques Cartier, and Christopher Newport;
b) identifying the reasons for exploring, the information gained, the results of the travels, and the impact of the travels on American Indians.
- 3.4 The student will develop map skills by
a) locating Greece, Rome, and West Africa;
b) describing the physical and human characteristics of Greece, Rome, and West Africa;
c) explaining how the people of Greece, Rome, and West Africa adapted to and/or changed their environment to meet their needs.
- 3.5 The student will develop map skills by
a) positioning and labeling the seven continents and five oceans to create a world map;
b) using the equator and prime meridian to identify the Northern, Southern, Eastern, and Western Hemispheres;
c) locating the countries of Spain, England, and France;
d) locating the regions in the Americas explored by Christopher Columbus (San Salvador in the Bahamas), Juan Ponce de León (near St. Augustine, Florida), Jacques Cartier (near Quebec, Canada), and Christopher Newport (Jamestown, Virginia);
e) locating specific places, using a simple letter-number grid system.
- 3.7 The student will explain how producers in ancient Greece, Rome, and the West African empire of Mali used natural resources, human resources, and capital resources in the production of goods and services.
- 3.8 The student will recognize that because people and regions cannot produce everything they want, they specialize in what they do best and trade for the rest.
- 3.11 The student will explain the importance of the basic principles that form the foundation of a republican form of government by
a) describing the individual rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and equality under the law;
c) recognizing that Veterans Day and Memorial Day honor people who have served to protect the country's freedoms,
d) describing how people can serve the community, state, and nation.

- 3.12 The student will recognize that Americans are a people of diverse ethnic origins, customs, and traditions, who are united by the basic principles of a republican form of government and respect for individual rights and freedoms.

Virginia Studies

- VS.1 The student will demonstrate skills for historical and geographical analysis and responsible citizenship, including the ability to
- a) identify and interpret artifacts and primary and secondary source documents to understand events in history;
 - b) determine cause-and-effect relationships;
 - c) compare and contrast historical events;
 - d) draw conclusions and make generalizations;
 - e) make connections between past and present;
 - f) sequence events in Virginia history;
 - g) interpret ideas and events from different historical perspectives;
 - h) evaluate and discuss issues orally and in writing;
 - i) analyze and interpret maps to explain relationships among landforms, water features, climatic characteristics, and historical events.
- VS.2 The student will demonstrate knowledge of the physical geography and native peoples, past and present, of Virginia by
- a) locating Virginia and its bordering states on maps of the United States;
 - b) locating and describing Virginia's Coastal Plain (Tidewater), Piedmont, Blue Ridge Mountains, Valley and Ridge, and Appalachian Plateau;
 - c) locating and identifying water features important to the early history of Virginia (Atlantic Ocean, Chesapeake Bay, James River, York River, Potomac River, Rappahannock River, and Lake Drummond and the Dismal Swamp);
 - d) locating three American Indian language groups (the Algonquian, the Siouan, and the Iroquoian) on a map of Virginia;
 - e) describing how American Indians related to the climate and their environment to secure food, clothing, and shelter;
 - f) describing how archaeologists have recovered new material evidence at sites including Werowocomoco and Jamestown;
 - g) identifying and locating the current state-recognized tribes.
- VS.3 The student will demonstrate knowledge of the first permanent English settlement in America by
- a) explaining the reasons for English colonization;
 - b) describing how geography influenced the decision to settle at Jamestown;
 - c) identifying the importance of the charters of the Virginia Company of London in establishing the Jamestown settlement;
 - d) identifying the importance of the General Assembly (1619) as the first representative legislative body in English America;
 - e) identifying the importance of the arrival of Africans and English women to the Jamestown settlement;
 - f) describing the hardships faced by settlers at Jamestown and the changes that took place to ensure survival;
 - g) describing the interactions between the English settlers and the native peoples, including the contributions of Powhatan to the survival of the settlers.
- VS.4 The student will demonstrate knowledge of life in the Virginia colony by

- a) explaining the importance of agriculture and its influence on the institution of slavery;
 - b) describing how the culture of colonial Virginia reflected the origins of European (English, Scots-Irish, German) immigrants, Africans, and American Indians;
 - c) explaining the reasons for the relocation of Virginia's capital from Jamestown to Williamsburg to Richmond;
 - d) describing how money, barter, and credit were used;
 - e) describing everyday life in colonial Virginia.
- VS.5 The student will demonstrate knowledge of the role of Virginia in the American Revolution by
- a) identifying the reasons why the colonies went to war with Great Britain, as expressed in the Declaration of Independence;
 - b) identifying the various roles played by whites, enslaved African Americans, free African Americans, and American Indians in the Revolutionary War era, including George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and James Lafayette;
 - c) identifying the importance of the Battle of Great Bridge, the ride of Jack Jouett, and the American victory at Yorktown.
- VUS.7 The student will demonstrate knowledge of the Civil War and Reconstruction Era and their importance as major turning points in American history by
- a) evaluating the multiple causes of the Civil War, including the role of the institution of slavery as a principal cause of the conflict;
 - b) identifying the major events and the roles of key leaders of the Civil War Era, with emphasis on Abraham Lincoln, Jefferson Davis, Ulysses S. Grant, Robert E. Lee, and Frederick Douglass;
 - c) analyzing the significance of the Emancipation Proclamation and the principles outlined in Lincoln's Gettysburg Address;
 - d) examining the political and economic impact of the war and Reconstruction, including the adoption of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the Constitution of the United States;
 - e) examining the social impact of the war on African Americans, the common soldier, and the home front, with emphasis on Virginia;
 - f) explaining postwar contributions of key leaders of the Civil War.

Civics and Economics

- CE.1 The student will develop the social studies skills responsible citizenship requires, including the ability to
- a) examine and interpret primary and secondary source documents;
 - b) create and explain maps, diagrams, tables, charts, graphs, and spreadsheets;
 - c) analyze political cartoons, political advertisements, pictures, and other graphic media;
 - d) distinguish between relevant and irrelevant information;
 - e) review information for accuracy, separating fact from opinion;
 - f) identify a problem, weigh the expected costs and benefits and possible consequences of proposed solutions, and recommend solutions, using a decision-making model;
 - g) formulate an informed, carefully reasoned position on a community issue;
 - h) select and defend positions in writing, discussion, and debate.

- CE.2 The student will demonstrate knowledge of the foundations of American constitutional government by
- explaining the fundamental principles of consent of the governed, limited government, rule of law, democracy, and representative government;
 - explaining the significance of the charters of the Virginia Company of London, the Virginia Declaration of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom, and the Constitution of the United States, including the Bill of Rights;
 - identifying the purposes for the Constitution of the United States as stated in its Preamble;
 - identifying the procedures for amending the Constitution of Virginia and the Constitution of the United States.
- CE.12 The student will demonstrate knowledge of the structure and operation of the United States economy by
- describing the types of business organizations and the role of entrepreneurship;
 - explaining the circular flow that shows how consumers (households), businesses (producers), and markets interact;
 - explaining how financial institutions channel funds from savers to borrowers;
 - examining the relationship of Virginia and the United States to the global economy, with emphasis on the impact of technological innovations.

United States History to 1865

- USII.2 The student will use maps, globes, photographs, pictures, or tables for
- explaining how physical features and climate influenced the movement of people westward;
 - explaining relationships among natural resources, transportation, and industrial development after 1865;
 - locating the 50 states and the cities most significant to the historical development of the United States.
- USII.4 The student will demonstrate knowledge of how life changed after the Civil War by
- identifying the reasons for westward expansion, including its impact on American Indians;
 - explaining the reasons for the increase in immigration, growth of cities, and challenges arising from this expansion;
 - describing racial segregation, the rise of “Jim Crow,” and other constraints faced by African Americans and other groups in the post-Reconstruction South;
 - explaining the impact of new inventions, the rise of big business, the growth of industry, and life on American farms;
 - describing the impact of the Progressive Movement on child labor, working conditions, the rise of organized labor, women’s suffrage, and the temperance movement.
- USII.5 The student will demonstrate knowledge of the changing role of the United States from the late nineteenth century through World War I by
- explaining the reasons for and results of the Spanish American War;
 - describing Theodore Roosevelt’s impact on the foreign policy of the United States;
 - explaining the reasons for the United States’ involvement in World War I and its international leadership role at the conclusion of the war.

- USI.9 The student will demonstrate knowledge of the causes, major events, and effects of the Civil War by
- describing the cultural, economic, and constitutional issues that divided the nation;
 - explaining how the issues of states' rights and slavery increased sectional tensions;
 - identifying on a map the states that seceded from the Union and those that remained in the Union;
 - describing the roles of Abraham Lincoln, Jefferson Davis, Ulysses S. Grant, Robert E. Lee, Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson, and Frederick Douglass in events leading to and during the war;
 - using maps to explain critical developments in the war, including major battles;
 - describing the effects of war from the perspectives of Union and Confederate soldiers (including African American soldiers), women, and enslaved African Americans.

World History and Geography

- WG.1 The student will use maps, globes, satellite images, photographs, or diagrams to
- obtain geographical information about the world's countries, cities, and environments;
 - apply the concepts of location, scale, map projection, or orientation;
 - develop and refine mental maps of world regions;
 - create and compare political, physical, and thematic maps;
 - analyze and explain how different cultures use maps and other visual images to reflect their own interests and ambitions.
- WHII.4 The student will demonstrate knowledge of the impact of the European Age of Discovery and expansion into the Americas, Africa, and Asia by
- explaining the roles and economic motivations of explorers and conquistadors;
 - describing the influence of religion;
 - explaining migration, settlement patterns, cultural diffusion, and social classes in the colonized areas;
 - describing the Columbian Exchange, including its impact on native populations;
 - mapping and explaining the triangular trade;
 - describing the impact of precious metal exports from the Americas.
- WHII.5 The student will demonstrate knowledge of the status and impact of global trade on regional civilizations of the world after 1500 A.D. (C.E.) by
- describing the location and development of the Ottoman Empire;
 - describing India, including the Mughal Empire and coastal trade;
 - describing East Asia, including China and the Japanese shogunate;
 - describing Africa and its increasing involvement in global trade;
 - describing the growth of European nations, including the Commercial Revolution and mercantilism.

Civics SOLs: 1.12, 3.10, 3.11, 3.12

- 1.12 The student will recognize that communities in Virginia

- a) have local governments;
 - b) benefit from people who volunteer in their communities;
 - c) include people who have diverse ethnic origins, customs, and traditions, who make contributions to their communities, and who are united as Americans by common principles.
- 3.10 The student will recognize the importance of government in the community, Virginia, and the United States of America by
- a) explaining the purpose of rules and laws;
 - b) explaining that the basic purposes of government are to make laws, carry out laws, and decide if laws have been broken;
 - c) explaining that government protects the rights and property of individuals.
- 3.11 The student will explain the importance of the basic principles that form the foundation of a republican form of government by
- a) describing the individual rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and equality under the law;
- 3.12 The student will recognize that Americans are a people of diverse ethnic origins, customs, and traditions, who are united by the basic principles of a republican form of government and respect for individual rights and freedoms.

Economics SOLs: 3.8, 3.9

- 3.8 The student will recognize that because people and regions cannot produce everything they want, they specialize in what they do best and trade for the rest.
- 3.9 The student will identify examples of making an economic choice and will explain the idea of opportunity cost (what is given up when making a choice).

Geography SOLs: 2.2, 2.5, 3.4, 3.5

- 2.4 The student will develop map skills by
- a) locating the United States, China, and Egypt on world maps;
 - b) understanding the relationship between the environment and the culture of ancient China and Egypt;
 - c) locating the regions of the Powhatan, Lakota, and Pueblo Indians on United States maps;
 - d) understanding the relationship between the environment and the culture of the Powhatan, Lakota, and Pueblo Indians.
- 2.5 The student will develop map skills by
- a) locating the equator, the seven continents, and the five oceans on maps and globes;
 - b) locating selected rivers (James River, Mississippi River, Rio Grande, Huang He, and Nile River), mountain ranges (Appalachian Mountains and Rocky Mountains), and lakes (Great Lakes) in the United States and other countries.
- 3.4 The student will develop map skills by
- a) locating Greece, Rome, and West Africa;
 - b) describing the physical and human characteristics of Greece, Rome, and West Africa;
 - c) explaining how the people of Greece, Rome, and West Africa adapted to and/or changed their environment to meet their needs.
- 3.5 The student will develop map skills by
- a) positioning and labeling the seven continents and five oceans to create a world map;
 - b) using the equator and prime meridian to identify the Northern, Southern, Eastern, and Western Hemispheres;

- c) locating the countries of Spain, England, and France;
- d) locating the regions in the Americas explored by Christopher Columbus (San Salvador in the Bahamas), Juan Ponce de León (near St. Augustine, Florida), Jacques Cartier (near Quebec, Canada), and Christopher Newport (Jamestown, Virginia);

Fine Arts SOLs: K.8, K.11, K.12, 2.6, 2.8, 2.9, 2.11, 3.8, 3.11, HS.1, HS.5, IAR.24, CAR.15.

- K.8 The student will recognize and demonstrate expressive qualities of music: fast/slow and loud/soft.
- K.11 The student will exhibit respect for the contributions of self and others in a music setting.
 - 1. Contribute to a group effort of making music.
 - 2. Contribute to a group effort of listening to music.
 - 3. Participate in music activities that involve sharing, taking turns, and other ways of demonstrating good citizenship.
- K.12 The student will recognize the relationships between music and other disciplines
- 2.6 The student will recognize form in music.
 - 1. Identify like and unlike melodic phrases.
 - 2. Identify and perform music in AB and ABA forms.
 - 3. Identify the beginning and end of phrases.
- 2.8 The student will identify selected orchestral and folk instruments, using sight and sound.
- 2.9 The student will identify melodic patterns that move upward, downward, and remain the same.
 - 1. Use the voice, instruments, and movement.
 - 2. Use music terminology.
 - 3. Use the seven letters of the music alphabet.
- 2.11 The student will identify and discuss the relationships between music and other disciplines.
- 3.8 The student will identify and perform sets of beats that are grouped in twos and threes, using descriptive terminology to identify which beats are strong and which beats are weak.
- 3.11 The student will explore the music of world cultures through song, dance, and movement.
 - 1. Study folk tales and musical settings of folk tales.
 - 2. Listen to examples of instruments not traditionally found in bands or orchestras.
 - 3. Interpret music through movement.
 - 4. Perform traditional dances.
- HS.1 The student will participate in a variety of music experiences.
 - 1. Develop skills in music individually and in groups.
 - 2. Listen and respond to music.
- HS.5 The student will investigate the role of music in the human experience.
 - 1. Explore the development and function of music in diverse cultures throughout history through oral and written traditions.
 - 2. Explore various opportunities to experience music in the community.
 - 3. Identify the various uses of music.
 - 4. Discuss the role of technology in the development of music.
- IAR.24 The student will analyze concepts common to music and other disciplines.
 - 1. Identify how the characteristic qualities of sound, visual stimuli, other stimuli, movement, and human interrelationships can influence the fine arts.
 - 2. Describe interrelationships between music and other disciplines.
- CAR.15 The student will articulate the relationship of music to the other fine arts and to disciplines outside the arts.

1. Identify and describe the correlation between vocal/choral music and other disciplines.
2. Research careers in music as related to the other fine arts.

Physical Education SOLS's: 4.1, 4.4, 6.1, 8.2, 9.1

- 4.1 The student will refine movement skills and demonstrate the ability to combine them in increasingly complex movement activities.
- a) Demonstrate moving to a rhythm (e.g., perform a variety of educational dances with different international and regional American formations; create educational dances with apparent beginning, middle, and end, combining shapes, levels, pathways, and locomotor patterns).
- 4.4 The student will demonstrate positive interactions with others in cooperative and competitive physical activities.
- b) Demonstrate appropriate etiquette and application of rules and procedures.
- 6.1 The student will demonstrate competence in locomotor, non-locomotor, and manipulative skill combinations and sequences in dynamic game, rhythmic, and fitness activities.
- c) Demonstrate incorporating movement sequences into a rhythmic activity.
- 8.2 The student will perform skills in several game/sport, dance, and recreational activities.
- c) Demonstrate moving to a rhythm (e.g., devise and perform dance sequences, using set patterns and changes in speed, direction, and flow).
- 9.1 The student will perform all basic movement skills and demonstrate competence in at least two self-selected, lifelong, skill-related physical activities from individual, dual, or team game/sport, dance, and recreational pursuit categories.
- a) Apply competencies in all locomotor, non-locomotor, and manipulative skills to appropriate game/sport, dance, and recreational activities.
- b) Design, implement, evaluate, and modify a plan for at least two self-selected, lifelong, skill-related physical activities. Key concepts include analysis of performance, application of principles of movement and training, and focus on goal setting and improvement of personal skills.

Classroom Activities with 1619 Documents:

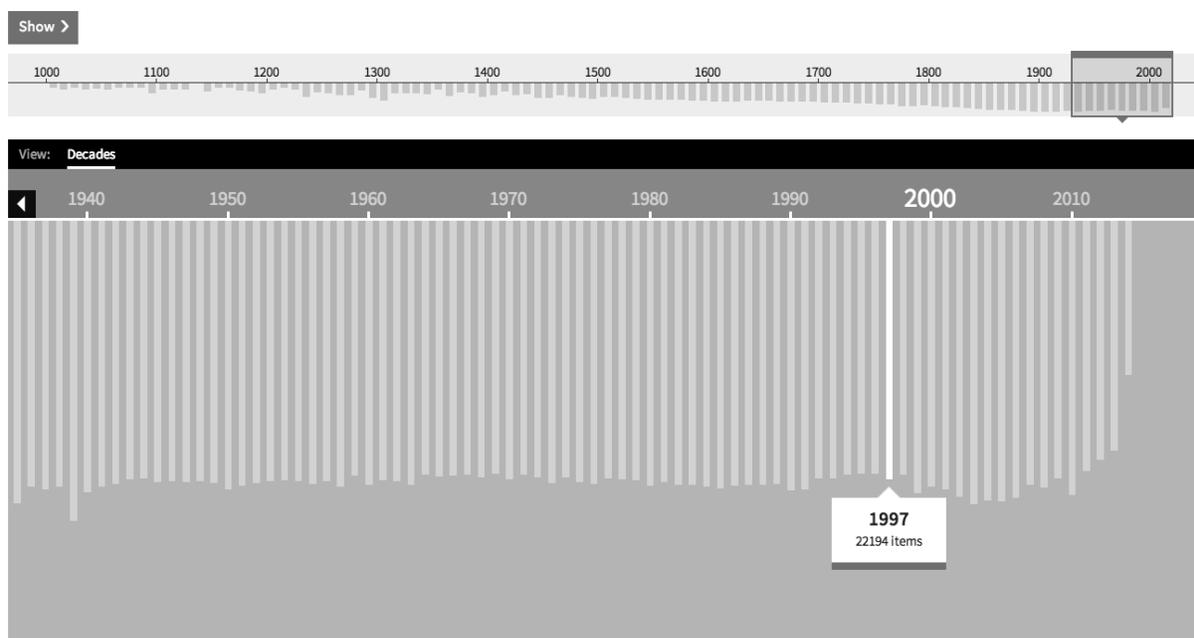
The DPLA and Information Literacy and Research Skills

Finding accessible and well-documented primary sources on the internet for use in the classroom is difficult and time consuming. Recently, the Digital Public Library of America was founded to provide open access to library materials to everyone in the United States. The collection is not only free and available for teachers to use, but also displays search results in ways that can be useful in the classroom for talking about how to look at historical information and how to conduct research. The DPLA displays search results in four ways: as a list, as a timeline, as a bookshelf, and on a map marking location of the archive where the document is located. The timeline, bookshelf and map displays provide the opportunity to discuss how we think about primary sources, where these items can be found, their relationships to one another and the importance of time in the production of first-hand accounts.

The DPLA website is <http://dp.la>

Timeline

Your search returned 7,118,663 results. Only results with time data are shown below.



Activity:

In groups or individually, have students explore the DPLA website for information about Virginia in 1619.

- Direct students to search for “Virginia” in the timeline view, and scroll back through the timeline to 1600. Look at the numbers and types of documents that appear. What documents do you find? Who created these documents? What was Virginia like according to the authors of these documents?
- Switch to the map view for the same search (you may have to reenter the search terms). Where are these documents archived? Are any of them here in Virginia? Why do you think they would up in the libraries and archives they are in?
- Switch to the bookshelf view and explore the various ways to sort your bookshelf. Examine the related images to the items you find. What sorts of images exist of Virginia in 1619? Who is depicted in these images? Why?
- Have the students search for other terms related to the events of 1619 (slavery, Africans, Anthony Johnson, House of Burgesses, London Company, Virginia Company) and repeat the exercise.

After searching the DPLA website, students should be able to reflect on the following questions:

- What different kinds of documents do historians use to learn about 1619?
- What kinds of documents exist on the internet about the past? How do you determine what is reputable information and what is not?
- How does the way in which information is organized and displayed on a website help you to understand the topic?
- What are some of the problems you may encounter when conducting online research rather than going to the library?

TEACHING WITH PRIMARY DOCUMENTS ON 1619 AND BEYOND

John Rolfe Reports on Virginia to Sir Edwin Sandys,

John Rolfe, who first went to Virginia in 1609, became one of the most prominent people involved in the colony. Many of his letters provide important snapshots of the life and workings of the colony. Rolfe wrote the following letter to Sandys in 1619. Its intent was to update Sandys on happenings in Virginia. What is Rolfe's overall estimation of the prosperity of the colony? What insights into the colony's life and circumstances does Rolfe's letter reveal?

About the latter end of August, a Dutch man of Warr of the burden of a 160 tuñes arriued at Point-Comfort, the Comando^r name Capt Jope, his Pilott for the West Indies one M^r Marmaduke an Englishman. They mett wth the Trēr in the West Indyces, and determyned to hold consort shipp hetherward, but in their passage lost one the other. He brought not any thing but 20. and odd Negroes, w^{ch} the Governo^r and Cape Marchant bought for victuallē (whereof he was in greate need as he pitended) at the best and easyest ratē they could. He hadd a lardge and ample Comysson from his Excellency to range and to take purchase in the West Indyces.

The original documents is available in the Thomas Jefferson Papers. This can also be viewed online on the Library of Congress website.

How the Massacre Was Good for the Plantation,

Edward Waterhouse reported to the Virginia Company at some length concerning the massacre of 1622. In that latter part of his relation, he argues that the massacre was actually a good thing for the colony.

Because those commodities which the Indians enjoyed as much or rather more than we, shall now also be entirely possessed by vs. The Deere and other beasts will be in safety, and infinitely increase . . . The like may be said of our owne Swine and Goats, whereof they haue vsed to kill eight in tenne more than the English haue done. . . . Because the way of conquering them is much more easie then of ciuilizing them by faire meanes, for they are a rude, barbarous, and naked people, scattered in small companies, which are helps to Victorie, but hinderances to Ciuilitie: Besides that, a conquest may be of many, and at once; but ciuility is in particular, and slow, the effect of long time, and great industry. Moreouer, victorie of them may bee gained many waies; by force, by surprize, by famine in burning their Corne, by destroying and burning their Boats, Canoes, and Houses . . . By these and sundry other wayes, as by driuing them (when they flye) vpon their enemies, who are round about them, and by aimating and abetting their enemies against them, may their ruine and subiection be soone effected.

The original documents is available in the Thomas Jefferson Papers. This can also be viewed online on the Library of Congress website.

Implementing the Great Charter in Virginia,

Some historians date the beginning of colonial self-rule from the application of the so-called great charter of the Virginia Company to the Virginia colony. The great charter

was clearly an attempt to revise the near-dictatorial powers of the colony's governor and to provide important input from residents into running the colony. According to John Pory (the author of the report from which the following excerpts came), what were some of the issues on the agenda of the first assembly of Burgesses in the colony? What kinds of laws did the assembly enact? How would you compare these to the provisions of the 1611 Lawes Devine, Morall, and Martiall?

Having thus prepared them he [the Speaker of the General Assembly] read over unto them [the Burgesses] the greate Charter, or commission of privileges, orders and laws, sent by Sir George Yeardley out of Englande. . . .

Here begin the lawes drawn out of the Instructions given by his Ma^{ties} Counsell of Virginia in England to my lo: la warre, Captain Argall and Sir George Yeardley, knight.

By this present General Assembly be it enacted that no injury or oppression be wrought by the English against the Indians whereby the present peace might be disturbed and antient quarrells might be revived. . . .

Against Idlenes, Gaming, drunkenes and excesse in apparell the Assembly hath enacted as followeth:

First, in detestation of Idlenes be it enacted, that if any man be founde to live as an Idler or renagate [perhaps referring to a colonist who lived as an Indian], though a freedman, it shalbe lawful for that Incorporation or Plantation to which he belongeth to appoint him a Mr [master] to serve for wages, till he shewe apparant signes of amendment.

Against gaming at dice and Cardes be it ordained by this present assembly that the winner or winners shall lose all his or their winnings and both winners and losers shall forfeite ten shillings a man, one ten shillings whereof to go to the discoverer, and the rest to charitable and pious uses in the Incorporation where the faulte is comitted.

Against drunkenness be it also decreed that if any private person be found culpable thereof, for the first time he is to be reprooved privately by the Minister, the second time publicly, the thirde time to lye in boltes 12 howers in the house of the Provost Marshall and to paye his fee.

As touching the instruction of drawing some of the better disposed of the Indians to converse with our people and to live and labour amongst them, the Assembly who knowe well their dispositions thinke it fitte to enjoin, least to counsell those of the Colony, neither utterly to reject them nor yet to drawe them to come in. . . . they are a most trecherous people and quickly gone when they have done a villany. . . .

Be it enacted by this present assembly that for laying a surer foundation of the conversion of the Indians to Christian Religion, eache towne, citty, Borrough, and particular plantation do obtaine unto themselves by just means a certine number of the natives' children to be educated by them in true religion and civile course of life . . .

As touching the business of planting corne this present Assembly doth ordain that yeare by yeare all and every householder and householders have in store for every servant he or they shall keep, and also for his or their owne persons . . . one

spare barrell of corne, to be delivered out yearly . . . For the neglecte of which duty he shalbe subjecte to the censure of the Governor and Counsell of Estate. Provided always that the first yeare of every newe man this lawe shall not be of force.

About the plantation of Mulberry trees, be it enacted that every man as he is seatted upon his division, doe for severn yeares together, every yeare plante and maintaine in growte six Mulberry trees at the least . . .

For hempe also both English and Indian and for English flax and Aniseeds, we do require and enjoine all householders of this Colony that have any of those seeds to make tryal thereof the nexte season.

Moreover be it enacted by this present Assembly, that every householder doe yearly plante and maintaine ten vines untill they have attained to the art and experience of dressing a Vineyard either by their owne industry or by the Instruction of some Vignerons. . . .

Be it further ordained by this General Assembly . . . that all contractes made in England between the owners of the lande and their Tenants and Servantes which they shall sende hither, may be caused to be duely performed, and that the offenders be punished as the Governour and Counsell of Estate shall thinke just and convenient.

Be it established also by this present Assembly that no crafty or advantagious means be suffered to be put in practise for the inticing awaye the Tenants or Servants of any particular plantation from the place where they are seatted. And that it shalbe the duty of the Governor and Counsell of Estate most severely to punish both the seducers and the seduced, and to returne these latter into their former places. . . .

A thirde sorte of lawes, suche as may issue out of every man's private concepte. It shalbe free for every man to trade with the Indians, servants onely excepted, upon paine of whipping . . .

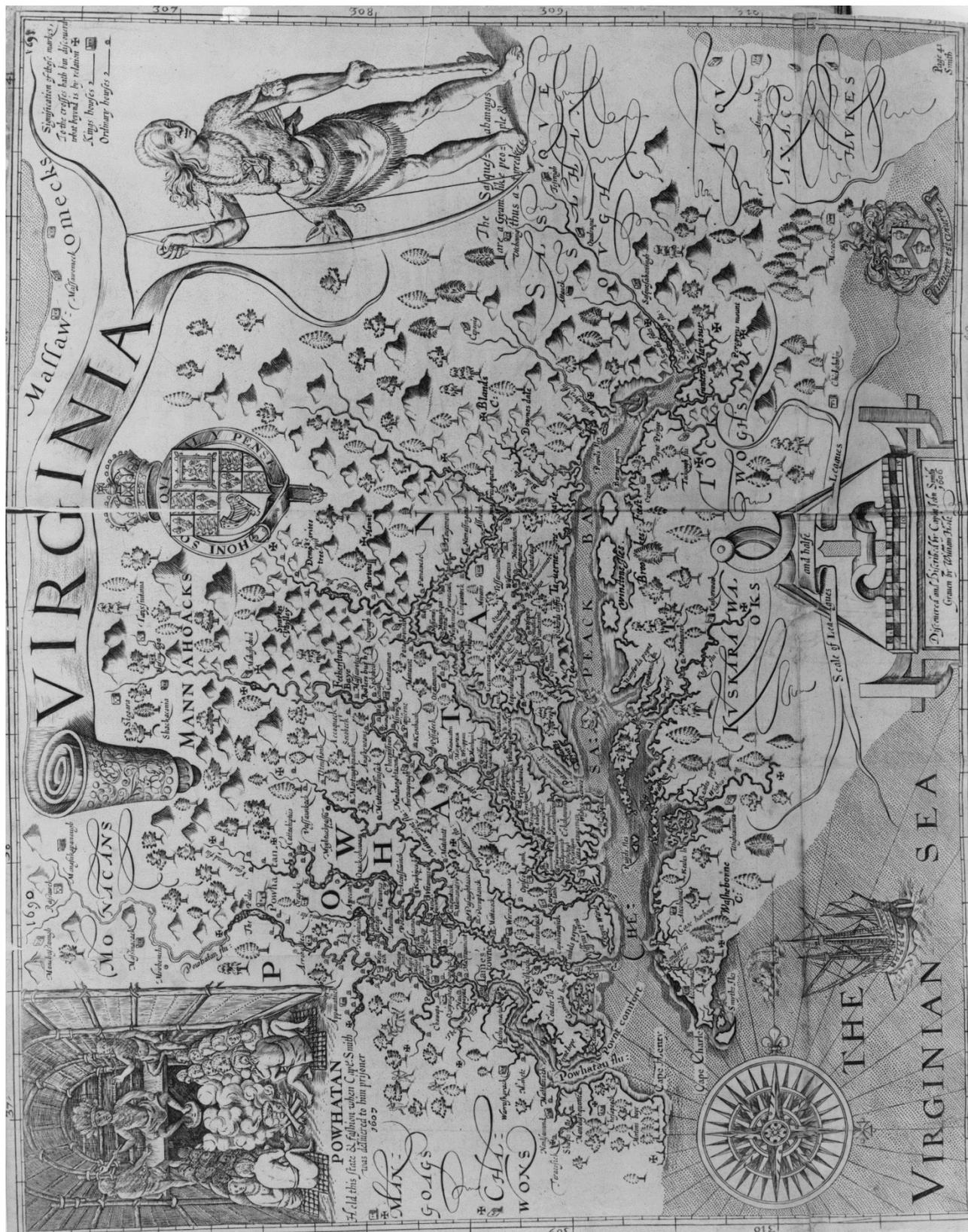
That no man doe sell or give any of the greater howes to the Indians . . .

That no man do sell or give any Indians any piece shott or boulder, or any other armes, offensive or defensive upon paine of being held a Traytour to the Colony, and of being hanged as soon as the facte is proved, without all redemption.

That no many may go above twenty miles from his dwelling-place, nor upon any voiage whatsoever shalbe absent from thence for the space of seven dayes together without first having made the Governor or comaunder of the same place acquainted therwith . . .

That no man shall purposely goe to any Indian townes, habitations or places or resortes without leave from the Governor or comaunder of that place wher he liveth . . .

All persons whatsoever upon the Saboath daye shall frequente divine service and sermons both forenoon and afternoon, and all suche as beare armes shall bring their pieces swardes, poulder and shotte. And every one that shall transgresse this lawe shall forfaitie three shillinges a time to the use of the churche, all lawful and necessary impediments excepted. But if a servant in this case shall wilfully neglecte his Mr's comande he shall suffer bodily punishmente.



Map of Virginia, as described by Captain John Smith [1606 [?]]. The map engraver was William Hole [1624]. This 1606 map of Virginia as described by John Smith showing the Chesapeake Bay, Potomac River, other geographic features, and a vignette of the Native leader, Powhatan, in council.

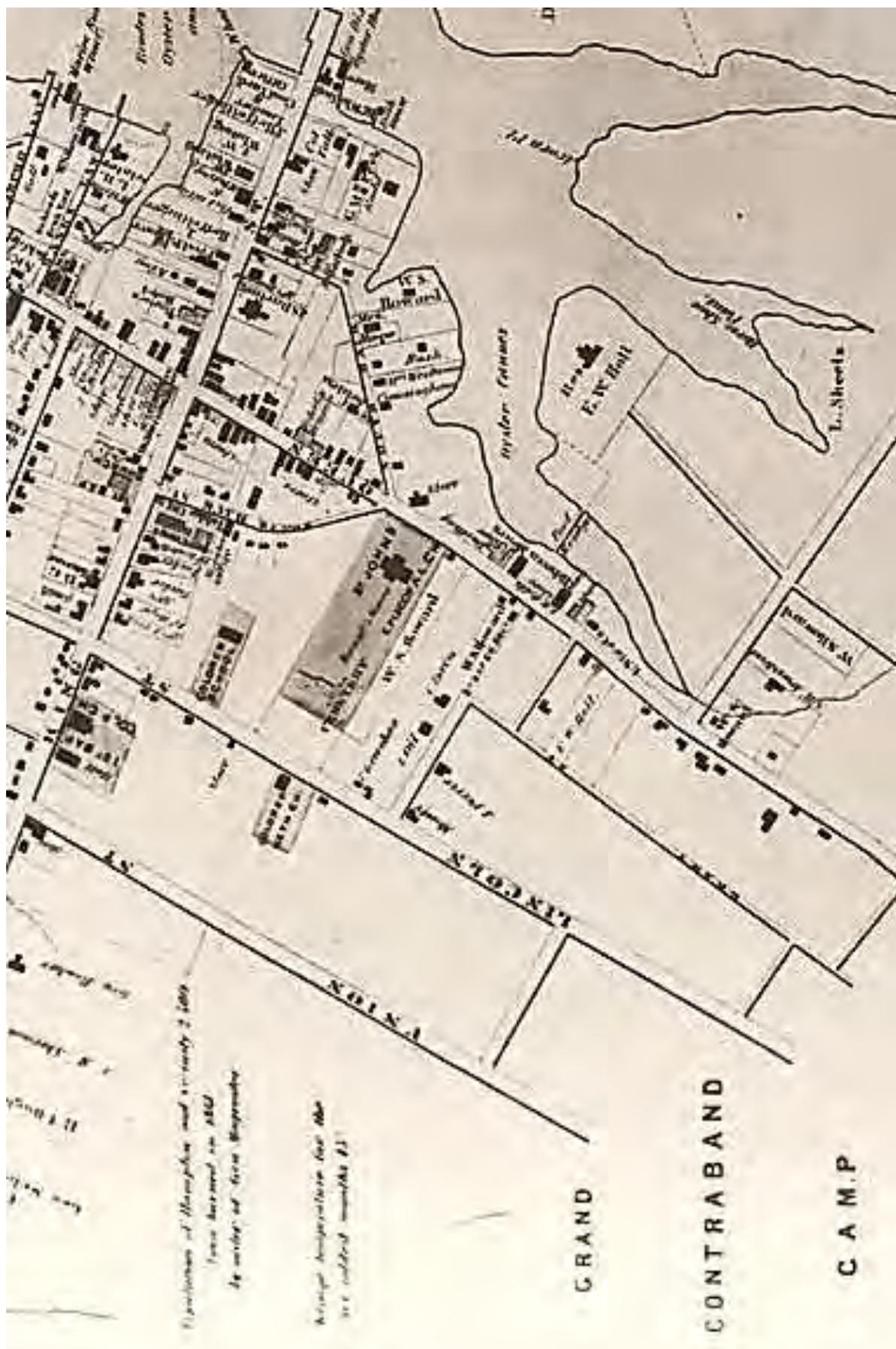


Figure 12: Matoaka als Rebecka daughter to the mighty Prince Powhatan, Simon Van dePasse, engraver, 1624. The original illustration portrait of Pocahontas as Mrs. John Rolfe was taken from a portrait painting done in London, England, 1616. *Courtesy Library of Congress*

Point Comfort

A detail from John Smith's map published in his *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles* (1624) shows "Poynt comfort" at the southern end of the Virginia peninsula where the James River empties into the Chesapeake Bay. The locations of a number of nearby Virginia Indian groups, including the Kecoughtan, the Chesapeake, and the Nansemond, are also visible on Smith's map. Original Author: William Hole based on John Smith's description. Created: Compiled 1608; first printed 1612; this edition 1624. *Courtesy of Library of Virginia*





This detail from an 1878 Hampton map shows the location of the Grand Contraband Camp just northwest of Lincoln and Queen Streets. As many as 7,000 refugee slaves lived there during the Civil War. The new dig is being conducted at the south end of the block bounded by Union and Lincoln Streets. (Courtesy of the Hampton History Museum)

LESSON PLAN SUGGESTIONS

We suggest using the following approach when teaching 1619 and beyond to your students:

SCIM-C Explanation: A Strategy for Interpreting History

Grounded within research on teaching and learning history (see Wineburg, 1991) and building upon Riley's layers of inference model to support teaching evidential understanding (1999), the SCIM-C strategy was developed to provide teachers with a tool to help students develop the knowledge and skills necessary to interpret historical primary sources and reconcile various historical accounts, in order to investigate meaningful historical questions.

The SCIM-C strategy focuses on five broad phases:

1. Summarizing
2. Contextualizing
3. Inferring
4. Monitoring and
5. Corroborating.

When students examine an individual source, they move through the first four phases (i.e., summarizing, contextualizing, inferring, and monitoring) and then, after analyzing several individual sources, they compare the sources collectively in the fifth phase (i.e., corroborating).

Within each phase there exists a series of four spiraling analyzing questions that serve to scaffold a concerted level of engagement with each source in order to allow students time to linger and learn from the source in light of the historical question being asked.

When preparing to use this Teachers Guide, consider the following approaches:

1. Engage students with primary sources.

Draw on students' prior knowledge of the topic.

Ask students to closely observe each primary source.

- Who created this primary source?
- When was it created?
- Where does your eye go first?

Help students see key details.

- What do you see that you didn't expect?
- What powerful words and ideas are expressed?

Encourage students to think about their personal response to the source.

- What feelings and thoughts does the primary source trigger in you?
- What questions does it raise?

2. Promote student inquiry.

Encourage students to speculate about each source, its creator, and its context.

- What was happening during this time period?
- What was the creator's purpose in making this primary source?
- What does the creator do to get his or her point across?
- What was this primary source's audience?
- What biases or stereotypes do you see?

Ask if this source agrees with other primary sources, or with what the students already know.

- Ask students to test their assumptions about the past.
- Ask students to find other primary or secondary sources that offer support or contradiction.

3. Assess how students apply critical thinking and analysis skills to primary sources.

Have students summarize what they've learned.

- Ask for reasons and specific evidence to support their conclusions.
- Help students identify questions for further investigation, and develop strategies for how they might answer them.

Analysis tools and thematic primary source sets from the Library offer entry points to many topics.

Summarizing

Students should attempt to identify the source's subject, author, purpose, and audience, as well as the type of historical source (e.g., letter, photograph, cartoon). In addition, the student should look for key facts, dates, ideas, opinions, and perspectives that appear to be immediately apparent within the source. The four analyzing questions associated with the summarizing phase include:

1. What type of historical document is the source?
2. What specific information, details and/or perspectives does the source provide?
3. What is the subject and/or purpose of the source?
4. Who was the author and/or audience of the source?

Contextualizing

Contextualizing begins the process of having students spend more time with the source in order to explore the authentic aspects of the source in terms of locating the source within time and space. The teacher needs to emphasize that it is important to recognize and understand that archaic words and/or images from the period may be in a source. The four analyzing questions associated with the contextualizing phase include:

1. When and where was the source produced?
2. Why was the source produced?
3. What was happening within the immediate and broader context at the time the source was produced?
4. What summarizing information can place the source in time and place?

Inferring

Inferring is designed to provide students with the opportunity to revisit initial facts gleaned from the source and to begin to read subtexts and make inferences based upon a developing understanding of the context and continued examination of the source. The four analyzing questions associated with the inferring phase include:

1. What is suggested by the source?
2. What interpretations may be drawn from the source?
3. What perspectives or points of view are indicated in the source?
4. What inferences may be drawn from absences or omissions in the source?

Monitoring

Monitoring is the capstone stage in examining individual sources. Here students are expected to question and reflect upon their initial assumptions in terms of the overall focus on the historical questions being studied. The four analyzing questions associated with the monitoring phase include:

1. What additional evidence beyond the source is necessary to answer the historical question?
2. What ideas, images, or terms need further defining from the source?
3. How useful or significant is the source for its intended purpose in answering the historical question?
4. What questions from the previous stages need to be revisited in order to analyze the source satisfactorily?

Corroborating

Corroborating only starts when students have analyzed a series of sources, and are ready to extend and deepen their analysis through comparing the evidence gleaned from each source in light of the guiding historical questions. What similarities and differences in ideas, information, and perspectives exist between the analyzed sources? Students should also look for gaps in their evidence that may hinder their interpretations and the answering of their guiding historical questions. When they find contradictions between sources, they must investigate further, including the checking of the credibility of the source. The four analyzing questions associated with the corroborating phase include:

1. What similarities and differences between the sources exist?
2. What factors could account for these similarities and differences?
3. What conclusions can be drawn from the accumulated interpretations?
4. What additional information or sources are necessary to answer more fully the guiding historical question?

Sample High School Daily Lesson Plan

Matthan Wilson

Woodside High School, Newport News Public Schools

When did We become Americans?

Topic or Main Ideas:

Most textbook histories of United States citizenship portray a participatory democracy with a long tradition of extending citizenship rights broadly across a diverse population. Some acknowledge that—early on prior to when the Constitution was being written the Virginia General Assembly granted citizenship to only property-owning white men which constituted a relatively small percentage of the total population of the new United States. Most U.S. history textbooks then trace a progressive arc over the next 200 years during which citizenship rights were extended to an ever broader cross-section of Americans. In the 1830s, the vote was extended to all white men, in 1868 to black men, in 1920 to women, in 1972 to eighteen year olds in a steady progression. In many texts, the progressive expansion of citizenship rights seems to be automatic, leading inevitably toward a fully democratic present day, when all who reside in the U.S. are entitled to the same rights and protections. But it is not true that expansions of citizenship rights came easily or naturally. There were glaring inequities enshrined in U.S. law and custom from the earliest days of the republic that excluded large swaths of the population from enjoying the full rights and protections of citizenship, calling themselves Americans. The 1790 Alien Naturalization Act warned immigrants that non-whites could never be Americans. *Only "a free white person, who shall have resided within the limits and under the jurisdiction of the United States for the term of two years, may be admitted to become a citizen thereof,"* These legal restrictions both drew on and reinforced popular beliefs and prejudices about just who was entitled to call himself an American.

Objectives:

At the end of this lesson the student will be able to analyze and interpret primary and secondary source documents as evidenced by creating a “When did we become Americans timeline”. (Just a suggestion assignment this can be and will be changed)

Standards:

- USI.1 The student will demonstrate skills for historical and geographical analysis and responsible citizenship, including the ability to
- identify and interpret primary and secondary source documents to increase understanding of events and life in United States history to 1865;
 - make connections between the past and the present;
 - sequence events in United States history from pre-Columbian times to 1865;

- d) interpret ideas and events from different historical perspectives;
- e) evaluate and discuss issues orally and in writing;
- f) analyze and interpret maps to explain relationships among landforms, water features, climatic characteristics, and historical events;
- g) distinguish between parallels of latitude and meridians of longitude;
- h) interpret patriotic slogans and excerpts from notable speeches and documents;
- i) identify the costs and benefits of specific choices made, including the consequences, both intended and unintended, of the decisions and how people and nations responded to positive and negative incentives.

Materials: The Documents

The 14th Amendment to the Constitution was ratified on July 9, 1868, and granted citizenship to “all persons born or naturalized in the United States,” which included former slaves recently freed. In addition, it forbids states from denying any person "life, liberty or property, without due process of law" or to "deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.” By directly mentioning the role of the states, the 14th Amendment greatly expanded the protection of civil rights to all Americans and is cited in more litigation than any other amendment.

<http://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/ourdocs/14thamendment.html>

Alien and Sedition Acts: Primary Documents of American History (Virtual Programs & Services ...

Alien and Sedition Acts: Primary Documents of American History (Virtual Services and Programs, Digital Reference Section, Library of Congress)

Article: An Act to Establish an Uniform Rule of Naturalization (Naturalization Act)
United States Naturalization Law of March 26, 1790

<http://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/ourdocs/Alien.html>

Activity:

After reading “An Act to Establish an Uniform Rule of Naturalization” (Naturalization Act): Students will create a timeline which will explain how different groups of people who came to America received the rights of U.S. Citizenship.

Define: American Citizenship

Essay “What is an American?”

Suggested Assessment Questions:

1. How did the early government of Virginia view citizenship?
2. Why was citizenship denied to some groups?
3. What were the benefits of being a citizen?
4. How can the fourteenth amendment affect immigration policy today?

Sample High School Daily Lesson Plan

Learning to Write Document Based Essays: Violent versus Non-Violent Agency among Enslaved African Americans, 1619-1863

TEACHERS: Helen Martin and Colleen Ujiie

SUBJECT: Virginia and United States History

GRADE(S): 10th and 11th

LEVEL: Honors

DURATION: Three 90 minute class periods

APPLICABLE VIRGINIA STANDARDS OF LEARNING:

- The student will demonstrate skills for historical and geographical analysis and responsible citizenship, including the ability to identify, analyze, and interpret primary and secondary source documents, records, and data, including artifacts, diaries, letters, photographs, journals, newspapers, historical accounts, and art, to increase understanding of events and life in the United States (VUS.1A)
- The student will demonstrate skills for historical and geographical analysis and responsible citizenship, including the ability to evaluate the authenticity, authority, and credibility of sources (VUS.1B)
- The student will demonstrate skills for historical and geographical analysis and responsible citizenship, including the ability to formulate historical questions and defend findings, based on inquiry and interpretation (VUS.1C).
- The student will demonstrate skills for historical and geographical analysis and responsible citizenship, including the ability to interpret the significance of excerpts from famous speeches and other documents (VUS.1E)
- The student will describe how early European exploration and colonization resulted in cultural interactions among Europeans, Africans, and American Indians (VUS.2).
- The student will describe how the values and institutions of European economic and political life took root in the colonies and how slavery reshaped European and African life in the Americas (VUS.3).
- The student will demonstrate knowledge of the major events from the last decade of the eighteenth century through the first half of the nineteenth century by describing the cultural, economic, and political issues that divided the nation, including tariffs, slavery, the abolitionist and women's suffrage movements, and the role of the states in the Union (VUS.6E).
- The student will demonstrate knowledge of the Civil War and Reconstruction Era and their importance as major turning points in American history by examining the social

impact of the war on African Americans, the common soldier, and the home front, with emphasis on Virginia (VUS.7E).

LEARNER OUTCOME/OBJECTIVE: (Skilled based, Measurable, Observable)

- The students will be able to define *agency*.
- The students will be able to identify enslaved African American agency in Hampton, Virginia and beyond between 1845 and 1863.
- The students will be able to evaluate the historiography of enslaved African Americans with emphasis on non-violent agency as opposed to violent agency.
- The students will be able to evaluate and analyze a large body of primary and secondary source documents presented in the form of a Document Based Question (DBQ).
- The students will be able to write a five-paragraph, argumentative, thesis-driven essay that incorporates evidence from the primary and secondary source documents found within the DBQ.

MATERIALS:

- Butcher Paper or Chalkboard / Whiteboard
- Markers
- Copies of Document Based Question for each student
- Copies of Essential Question / Summary hand-out for each student.
- Copies of DBQ Outline Packet for each student
- Copies of Essay Grading Criteria for each student
- Cut-up DBQs, laminated, and gathered in bundles for group portion of assignment (4 – 6 bundles depending on size of class).

DESCRIPTION OF ANTICIPATORY SET: (15 minutes)

- At the beginning of class, the teacher will either use large sheets of butcher paper or the chalkboard / whiteboard at the front of the room to complete a “Graffiti Wall” on enslaved African Americans.
- The purpose of the “Graffiti Wall” is to activate the students’ prior knowledge and engage students in kinesthetic learning.
- The teacher will write “**Slavery in America**” in large letters and will encourage the students to write as many key words or phrases as possible within a 5 minute period of time.
- Students are encouraged to use different colored markers or chalk. They are also encouraged to use non-verbal representations wherever possible. All students must get up from their seats and move around the room in order to participate
- At the end of 5 minutes time, the students will return to their seats and view the results of their highly visual “Graffiti Wall.”
- The teacher will lead the class in a discussion of the information that has been presented: What information is accurate? What information is inaccurate? What can we add? What can we take away?

- Upon completion of class discussion, the teacher will introduce the concept of **agency**. The teacher will ask the class how much control enslaved African Americans had over their individual lives. Based on student input, the teacher may use a red marker to circle the key words that relate to **agency**.

PROCEDURE:

Activity 1: Unpack the Question (15 minutes)

- The teacher will distribute the DBQ packets.
- The teacher will read the background information to the DBQ aloud.
- The teacher will read the DBQ task aloud.
- In reference to the background excerpt, the teacher will ask the class: Why is this collection of documents and the accompanying essay important to the historiography of enslaved African Americans? Discuss with class.
- Using the chalkboard, write the beginning of the three-pronged thesis using information from the question. After reading the ten sources, students should be able to devise 3 broad categories that will encompass non-violent agency and complete the three-pronged thesis.

Activity 2: Working with the Documents (60 minutes)

- Students will each receive an “Essential Question / Summary” graphing organizer worksheet.
- Students will read through each of the ten documents and devise an essential question that covers the main idea of each document. For this portion of the lesson, the teacher may opt to use cooperative learning or flexible grouping.
- Students will write the essential question for each document in the second column of the graphic organizer.
- Once the essential question has been written, students will answer each essential question in a succinct, well-crafted sentence in the third column of the graphic organizer.

Activity 3: Developing Broad Categories and Organizing the Documents (45 minutes)

- Once students have developed a working knowledge of the content of each source, students will be arranged into groups of four.
- Each group will receive a set of the ten documents and three context documents used in the DBQ. These documents, however, have been cut out and laminated so that they can be physically manipulated by the students.
- Within the groups, students will try to identify the three broad categories that the sources can be divided into: Religion, Education, and Law. If students are having extreme difficulty, the teacher may opt to assist students with “discovering” the categories via modeling.
- Once the three broad categories have been identified, the students will begin sorting. Within their groups, students will discuss the source cut-outs and physically arrange them according to category. The teacher may ask the students to glue their documents to a poster board, make neat piles on a large desk, or affix the documents to the

<u>Differentiation of Instruction</u>	<u>Modalities Addressed</u> 123
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> By Content (different material by depth or interest)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Visual (see)
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> By Process (different grouping and ways to present material)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Auditory (hear)
<input type="checkbox"/> By Product (different forms of assessment)	<input type="checkbox"/> Tactual (touch)
	<input type="checkbox"/> Kinesthetic (perform)

chalkboard via magnets. The product for this portion of the lesson is completely left to the discretion of the teacher.

- Once complete, students will record the three headings on a three-column graphic organizer and identify the documents by letter or number that best fit under each heading.

Activity 4: Complete Outline (45 minutes)

- Each student will receive a detailed DBQ outline worksheet.
- Students will use the organized data from Activity 3 to complete their outlines individually.
- The teacher will collect student outlines and provide timely feedback.

Activity 5: Write the First Draft of the Essay (45 minutes)

- Students will use their outline to transform their ideas into a five-paragraph essay.
- Depending upon the availability of technology, the teacher may have students use a computer lab at school during class time to write their essay. Alternatively, the teacher may assign students the task to complete at home.

Activity 6: Peer Editing (45 minutes)

- Once students have completed their five-paragraph essays, they will participate in a peer-editing workshop.
- The teacher will distribute a copy of the “Five-Paragraph Grading Criteria” worksheet.
- The teacher will teach the students what the terminology on the Grading Criteria sheet means and how to use it to assess essays. The teacher may use a sample of a previously completed five-paragraph essay and demonstrate to the class how to assess an essay via modeling.
- The grades that peers assign to the essay will not be counted. This portion of the lesson is designed to provide students with feedback on the readability of their essay as well as the soundness of their evidence.
- Students will be required to have two classmates read and evaluate their essays. “Grading Criteria” worksheets should be filled out by each peer and submitted to the teacher with the first draft of the essay.

Closure: (time)

- Armed with multiple brainstorming activities, a summary activity, a sorting activity, a detailed outline, a rough draft, and at least two peer reviews, the teacher will assign students the task of writing the final draft of their essay.

DESCRIPTION/PROCEDURE OF DIFFERENTIATED LESSON:

- Students will have the opportunity to learn through a variety of modalities: discussion and listening, questioning, summarizing, sorting, note-taking, reading, non-linguistic representation (Graffiti Wall), writing, and analysis of primary source documents. The teacher will model each activity to class, assess students via questioning and oral discussion, listen in on small group discussions, provide answers (in this case, the three broad themes) to struggling students as a means of support, and provide timely written feedback on the written portions of the assignment, including the outline and first draft.

QUESTIONS TO ENGAGE STUDENTS/HIGHER LEVEL QUESTIONS: (at least three)

1. What is agency?
2. Evaluate the historiography of enslaved African-Americans.
3. How does participation in Christian churches in the South (despite the 1667 decree that Baptism does not exempt African Americans from slavery) reflect non-violent agency among enslaved Africans Americans?
4. How do the efforts of Mary S. Peake and her desire to teach African American children and newly freed men at Fort Monroe despite laws like the Revised Slave Code of 1819 reflect non-violent agency among enslaved African Americans?
5. How did enslaved African Americans at Fort Monroe work within the parameters of established law to seize their freedom and demonstrate non-violent agency?

EVIDENCE OF LEARNING (Assessment/Evaluation)

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Questioning | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Teacher Observation |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Rubric | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Application of Learning |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Project | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Group Product |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Reflective Journal | <input type="checkbox"/> Quiz |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Test | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |

HOMEWORK: text worksheet other none

Complete first and final drafts of essay at home per teacher's directions.

ADDITIONAL READINGS RECOMMENDED TO TEACHERS:

Clancy, Paul. "Gaining freedom under the name 'contraband.'" *The Virginian-Pilot*. 13 October 2013.

Harvey, Eleanor Jones. "Painting Freedom." *The New York Times*. 30 October 2013.

Document Based Question: Violent versus Non-Violent Agency among Enslaved African Americans

Background:

High school students in the state of Virginia who are enrolled in “Virginia and United States History” as a required course for graduation learn about the horrors associated with the conditions of slavery as well as the physical, emotional, and psychological trauma endured by enslaved African Americans. Students also learn that enslaved African Americans were not merely objects of oppression, but human beings who refused to willingly accept their conditions of enslavement. Enslaved African Americans possessed agency, or the power to shape the world around them. This agency was intentional, purposeful, and goal-directed. According to the Virginia Standards of Learning: “Slave revolts in Virginia, led by Nat Turner and Gabriel Prosser, fed white Southerners’ fears about slave rebellions and led to harsh laws in the South against fugitive slaves. Southerners who favored abolition were intimidated into silence (6E).” This reference to enslaved African American agency, however, is the *only* reference to enslaved African American agency within the entire scope of the “Virginia and United States History” curriculum. By focusing on violent uprisings and omitting non-violent conduits of resistance from the high school social studies curriculum, the Virginia Standards of Learning present an incomplete understanding of African American enslaved agency that fails to highlight the religious, spiritual, intellectual, social, and cultural lives of enslaved African Americans.

Student Task:

Part I. Documents A, B, and C provide historical context for the remaining documents. Please answer the short-answer question(s) that accompany each document in a complete, succinct sentence.

Part II. Using the primary and secondary source documents D-M as well as your own prior knowledge, please answer the following question in a well-organized, thesis-driven, five-paragraph essay:

Document A

(Context)

September 1667-ACT III. An act declaring that baptisme of slaves doth not exempt them from bondage.

[The passage of this statute indicates that Christianity was important to the concept of English identity. Legislators decided that slaves born in Virginia could not become free if they were baptized, but masters were encouraged to Christianize their enslaved laborers.]

WHEREAS some doubts have risen whether children that are slaves by birth, and by the charity and piety of their owners made partakers of the blessed sacrament of baptisme, should by vertue of their baptisme be made free; It is enacted and declared by this grand assembly, and the authority thereof, that the conferring of baptisme doth not alter the condition of the person as to his bondage or freedom; that diverse masters, freed from this doubt, may more carefully endeavour the propagation of Christianity by permitting children, though slaves, or those of greater growth if capable to be admitted to that sacrament.

Source: Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large*, vol. 2, p. 260.

The passage above implies that enslaved Africans who were baptized used to be exempt or excused from slavery. This is no longer the case. Why, by 1667, are enslaved Africans who are baptized no longer exempt or excused from being slaves?

Document B

(Context)

That all meetings or assemblages of slaves, or free negroes or mulattoes mixing and associating with such slaves at any meeting-house or houses, &c., in the night; or at any SCHOOL OR SCHOOLS for teaching them READING OR WRITING, either in the day or night, under whatsoever pretext, shall be deemed and considered an UNLAWFUL ASSEMBLY; and any justice of a county, &c., wherein such assemblage shall be, either from his own knowledge or the information of others, of such unlawful assemblage, &c., may issue his warrant, directed to any sworn officer or officers, authorizing him or them to enter the house or houses where such unlawful assemblages, &c., may be, for the purpose of apprehending or dispersing such slaves, and to inflict corporal punishment on the offender or offenders, at the discretion of any justice of the peace, not exceeding twenty lashes.

Excerpt from Virginia Revised Slave Code of 1819

According to the above passage it is illegal to teach enslaved African Americans how to _____ and _____.

Why was this law written?

Document C

(Context)

May 27 /61

Sir

Since I wrote my last dispatch the question in regard to slave property is becoming one of very serious magnitude. The inhabitants of Virginia are using their negroes in the batteries, and are preparing to send the women and children South. The escapes from them are very numerous, and a squad has come in this morning to my pickets bringing their women and children. Of course these cannot be dealt with upon the Theory on which I designed to treat the services of able bodied men and women who might come within my lines and of which I gave you a detailed account in my last dispatch. I am in the utmost doubt what to do with this species of property. Up to this time I have had come within my lines men and women and their children---entire families---each family belonging to the same owner. I have therefore determined to employ, as I can do very profitably, the able-bodied persons in the party, issuing proper food for the support of all, and charging against their services the expense of care and sustenance of the non-laborers, keeping a strict and accurate account as well of the services as of the expenditure having the worth of the services and the cost of the expenditure determined by a board of Survey hereafter to be detailed. I know of no other manner in which to dispose of this subject and the questions connected therewith. As a matter of property to the insurgents it will be of very great moment, the number that I now have amounting as I am informed to what in good times would be of the value of sixty thousand dollars. Twelve of these negroes I am informed have escaped from the erection of the batteries on Sewall's point which this morning fired upon my expedition as it passed by out of range. As a means of offence therefore in the enemy's hands these negroes when able bodied are of the last importance. Without them the batteries could not have been erected at least for many weeks. As a military question it would seem to be a measure of necessity to deprive their masters of their services. How can this be done? As a political question and a question of humanity can I receive the services of a Father and a Mother and not take the children? Of the humanitarian aspect I have no doubt. Of the political one I have no right to judge. I therefore submit all this to your better judgment, and as these questions have a political aspect, I have ventured---and I trust I am not wrong in so doing---to duplicate the parts of my dispatch relating to this subject and forward them to the Secretary of War.

Benj. F. Butler

Letter from Benjamin F. Butler to George Winfield Scott.

<http://www.learner.org/workshops/primarysources/emancipation/docs/bbutler.html>

Benjamin F. Butler was the Commanding Officer of Fort Monroe, a Union stronghold during the Civil War. According to the above passage, what problem does Benjamin F. Butler face?

Document D

In the Southern states beginning in the 1770s, increasing numbers of slaves converted to evangelical religions such as the Methodist and Baptist faiths. Many clergy within these denominations actively promoted the idea that all Christians were equal in the sight of God, a message that provided hope and sustenance to the slaves. They also encouraged worship in ways that many Africans found to be similar, or at least adaptable, to African worship patterns, with enthusiastic singing, clapping, dancing, and even spirit-possession. Still, many white owners and clergy preached a message of strict obedience, and insisted on slave attendance at white-controlled churches, since they were fearful that if slaves were allowed to worship independently they would ultimately plot rebellion against their owners. It is clear that many blacks saw these white churches, in which ministers promoted obedience to one's master as the highest religious ideal, as a mockery of the "true" Christian message of equality and liberation as they knew it.

In the slave quarters, however, African Americans organized their own "invisible institution." Through signals, passwords, and messages not discernible to whites, they called believers to "hush harbors" where they freely mixed African rhythms, singing, and beliefs with evangelical Christianity. We have little remaining written record of these religious gatherings. But it was here that the spirituals, with their double meanings of religious salvation and freedom from slavery, developed and flourished; and here, too, that black preachers, those who believed that God had called them to speak his Word, polished their "chanted sermons," or rhythmic, intoned style of extemporaneous preaching. Part church, part psychological refuge, and part organizing point for occasional acts of outright rebellion (Nat Turner, whose armed insurrection in Virginia in 1831 resulted in the deaths of scores of white men, women, and children, was a self-styled Baptist preacher), these meetings provided one of the few ways for enslaved African Americans to express and enact their hopes for a better future.

Maffly-Kipp, Laurie F. *An Introduction to the Church in the Southern Black Community* University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Press, 2001

Document E



Bibb, Henry. *Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Henry Bibb, an American Slave, Written by Himself.* New York: 1849.

Document F



O Let My People Go

The Lord, by Moses, to Pharaoh said: Oh! let my people go.

If not, I'll smite your first-born dead—Oh! let my people go.

Oh! go down, Moses,

Away down to Egypt's land,

Although usually thought of as a Spiritual, this song became the rallying cry for the contrabands at Fort Monroe. It was originally recorded by Reverend Lewis C. Lockwood who heard it sung in Virginia circa 1853. It was later published as sheet music and entitled: "O Let My People Go: The Song of the Contrabands." It was published by Horace Waters and arranged by Thomas Baker.

Document G

"I did not, when a slave, fully understand the deep meaning of those rude and apparently incoherent songs. I was, myself, within the circle, so that I could then neither hear nor see as those without might see and hear. They breathed the prayer and complaint of souls overflowing with the bitterest anguish. They depressed my spirits and filled my heart with ineffable sadness...The remark in the olden time was not unfrequently made, that slaves were the most contented and happy laborers in the world, and their dancing and singing were referred to in proof of this alleged fact; but it was a great mistake to suppose them happy because they sometimes made those joyful noises. The songs of the slaves represented their sorrows, rather than their joys. Like tears, they were a relief to aching hearts."

Douglass, Frederick. The Essential Frederick Douglass. Wilder Publications, 2008.

Document H



Eastman Johnson "The Lord is My Shepard," 1863.

Document I

On May 23, 1861, Major General Benjamin F. Butler accepted three runaways seeking their freedom, declaring they were “contraband of war.” The men, purported to have been Shepard Mallory, Frank Baker, and James Townsend, were from the Hampton plantation of Col. Charles King Mallory. Mallory’s slaves complained to Butler that they were being forced to work on the construction of nearby Confederate fortifications at Sewell’s Point.

Butler argued that since the men were being treated as chattel property and since their labor was being used to enhance the enemy’s military strength, they fit the definition of contraband and could be confiscated. Butler refused to uphold the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. After all, Virginia had seceded from the Union and, as a foreign country, was no longer subject to American law. Butler determined the three men would not be returned to Mallory.

News of this extraordinary development spread. The policy was adopted by other post commanders who were eventually supported by the federal government. Hampton’s Fort Monroe quickly earned the nickname “Freedom’s Fortress.” Within two months, over 900 enslaved people had escaped to Fort Monroe. Thousands more would follow.

“Family Tree: A Guide to African American Heritage Sites in Hampton, Virginia” *Hampton Convention and Visitor Bureau. p. 5*

Document J



Lockwood, Rev. Lewis C. *Mary S. Peak – The Colored Teacher at Fortress Monroe*. Hampton, Virginia: 1863, p. 56.

Document K

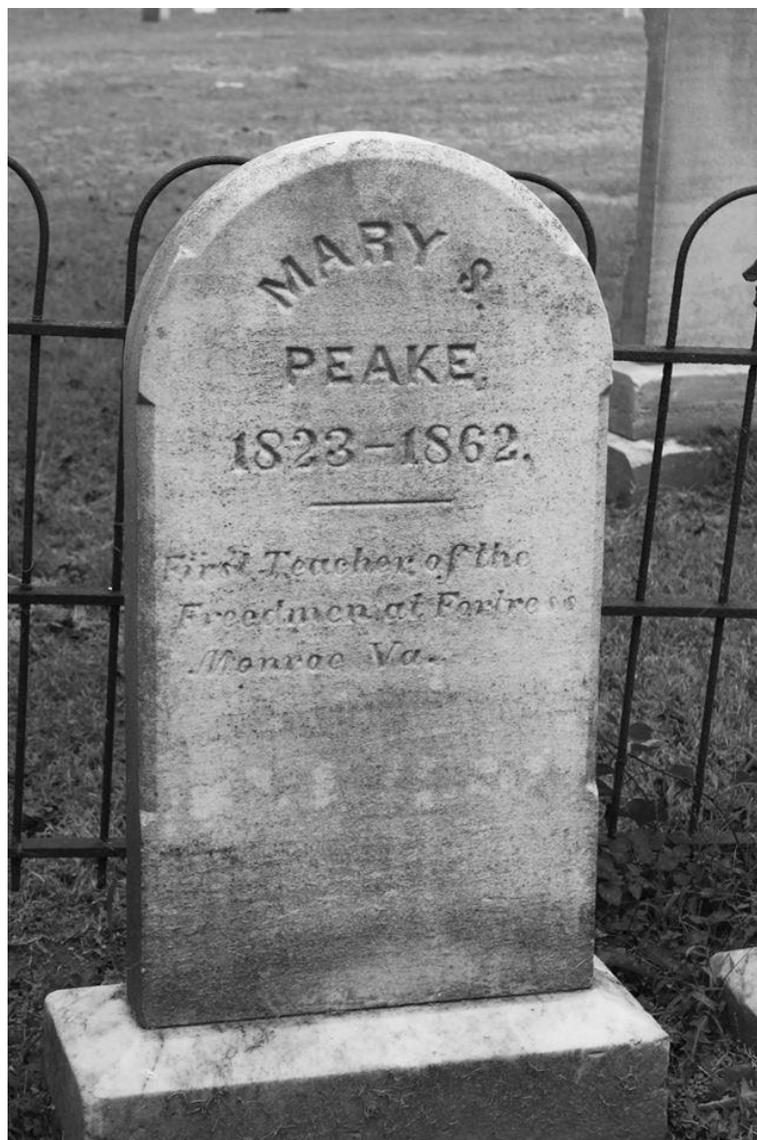
The religious and educational part of the mission has been one of blessedness and promise. And in this, as in everything else, I have aimed to teach self-development. In connection with the gathering of the people in religious meetings, I proposed to commence Sabbath and week-day schools, with such teachers as I had at hand. Meanwhile, some of the children of the vicinity, getting perhaps some hint of my intention, or prompted by an impulse from on high, called on Mrs. Peake, and requested her to teach them, as she had taught the children in Hampton.

It was with much gratification that I learned this request. I soon found from observation, as well as information, that we had in her a teacher of the choicest spirit, and of peculiar qualifications. She was happy in having pupils as ready to learn as to request instruction. Her school numbered at first only about half a dozen, but in a few days she had between fifty and sixty. These scholars were found to have generally very fair intellectual capabilities, and a few evinced quite rare talents. Among these was her own little daughter, five years old, named Hattie, but familiarly called by the pet name of Daisy. She learned to read simple lessons fluently in a very short time. Others also exhibited a precocity which from day to day rewarded and stimulated the ardor of this devoted teacher.

Mrs. Peake was not satisfied with the ordinary routine of the week-day school room, but felt that the teacher of a mission school should aim to educate the children for eternity as well as for time. She found great assistance in the primer, catechism, and other elementary religious books, with which she had been furnished. She felt that the teachings of the week-day school ought to be largely preparatory to the rehearsals of the Sabbath school. What an impression for good would be made upon the rising generation, were this course universally pursued

Lockwood, Rev. Lewis C. *Mary S. Peak – The Colored Teacher at Fortress Monroe. Hampton, Virginia: 1863, p. 30-33.*

Document L



“The First Teacher of the Freedmen at Fortress Monroe, VA”

Ujii, Colleen. Photograph of Mary S. Peake’s Grave Marker. October 27, 2013

Document M

Newbern, North-Carolina, and Hampton, Virginia, were the two cities of refuge to which they fled, their lives in their hands, as the Israelites of old fled from the avengers of blood. Fortress Monroe and its guns offered tangible protection, and the spirit of the officers in command promised a surer protection still; so that in little squads, in families, singly, or by whole plantations, the negroes flocked within the Northern lines, until the whole area of ground protected by the Union encampments was crowded with their little hurriedly-built cabins of rudely-split logs. A remnant of these still remains in a suburb of Hampton, numbering about five hundred inhabitants, and known by the significant name of Slabtown, and another called more euphoniously Sugar Hill--on some principle of *lucus a non lucendo*, it must be, as it is situated on a dead level, and certainly has no appearance of offering much literal or figurative sweetening to the lives of its inhabitants.

How these people lived was and still is a mystery, for the rations issued them from the army and hospital establishment were necessarily insufficient, and those at the North who would gladly have welcomed the newcomers with practical assistance were already overburdened with the paramount claims of army work. However, all through that long first summer of the war, we find occasional evidence that these new-born children of freedom were not altogether forgotten; and in October of the same year, we know that organized work was begun among them.

This work was initiated by the officers of the American Missionary Association, who, in August, 1861, sent down as missionary to the freedmen, the Rev. C. L. Lockwood, his way having been opened for him by an official correspondence and interviews with the Assistant Secretary of War and Generals Butler and Wool, all of whom heartily approved of the enterprise and offered him cordial cooperation. He found the "contrabands" quartered in deserted houses, in cabins and tents, destitute and desolate, but in the main willing to help themselves as far as possible, and of at least average intelligence and honesty. There was, of course, little regular employment to offer them, and they subsisted upon government rations, increased by the little they could earn in one way and another. Mr. Lockwood's first work was the establishment of Sunday-schools and church societies, and his own words show the spirit in which the assistance he was able to give was offered and received. He says, in one of his first letters to the American Missionary Association, "I shall mingle largely with my religious instruction the inculcation of industrious habits, order, and good conduct in every respect. I tell them that they are a spectacle before God and man, and that if they would further the cause of liberty, it behooves them to be impressed with their own responsibility. I am happy to find that they realize this to a great extent already."

This was certainly encouraging, and he goes on to report that he finds little intemperance, and a hunger for books among those who can read, which is most gratifying. He appeals at once for primers, and for two or three female teachers to open week-day schools; and recommends that, in view of the imperativeness of the need, the subject should be brought before the public through the daily press and by means of public meetings. At the same time, he describes the opening of the first Sunday-school in the deserted mansion of ex-President Tyler, in Hampton, and, from his personal observation, declares that many of the colored people are kept away from the schools by want of clothing, a want which he looks to the North to supply. A little later in the year, he writes that, on November 17th, the first day-school was opened with twenty scholars and a colored teacher, Mrs. Peake, who, before the war, being free herself, had privately instructed many of her people who were still enslaved, although such work was not without its dangers.

From this time, schools were established as rapidly as suitable teachers could be found and proper books provided; but it must be noted that these teachers were working almost *without compensation*, their sole motive being a desire for the elevation of the race. As a proof of the quick awakening of the ex-slaves to a sense of the duties of freedom, Mr. Lockwood mentions that marriages were becoming very frequent, and that although the fugitives lived in constant fear of being remanded to slavery, they did not remit their efforts to obtain education and to raise themselves from the degradation of their past.

WORKING WITH THE MAIN IDEA

GRAPHIC ORGANIZER

Directions: For each document included in the DBQ, develop one essential question that targets the main idea of the document. Record the essential question in the column labeled “Essential Question.” Once you have written an essential question for each document, write a succinct, one-sentence response.

	Document	Essential Question	Answer/ Summary
A	Document		
B	Document		
C	Document		
D	Document		
E	Document		
F	Document		
G	Document		
H	Document		
I	Document		
J	Document		
K	Document		
L	Document		
M	Document		

Category 1 First Prong of Thesis Statement: <hr/> <hr/>	Category 2 Second Prong of Thesis Statement: <hr/> <hr/>	Category 3 Third Prong of Thesis Statement: <hr/> <hr/>

ORGANIZING THE DOCUMENTS

Directions: Now that you have read and identified the main ideas associated with each document, what are the three broad categories that emerge? Remember, your thesis must include three prongs; the broad categories that you identify will become your three prongs. Please write each category in one of the three columns below. Indicate which documents best support each category by recording them in the appropriate column.

DBQ Outlining Guide

Honors Virginia and United States History

Introductory Paragraph

Historical Background: (Consider the information provided in the DBQ background section, the context documents, and your own prior knowledge.)

Problem / Twist: (How have historians previously viewed enslaved Africans? Is there a problem with this way of thinking? Why? Use information from DBQ background section.)

Three-Pronged Thesis Statement: (Use the categories in the question to write your thesis statement.)

Enslaved Africans in Hampton, Virginia and beyond demonstrated non-violent agency through _____, _____, and _____.

Use a highlighter or marker to accentuate your above thesis statement! You will be referring back to your thesis throughout the essay!

Body Paragraph # 1

Topic Sentence # 1: (Re-state the first prong of your thesis)

- **Support Statement # 1 (Provide a reason that supports your topic sentence.)** **Document:** _____

- **Evidence #1 Quote or paraphrase the facts / opinions stated in a document that support your statement above.)**

- **Analysis / Explanation # 1: (Explain how your evidence supports the topic sentence.)**

- **Support Statement # 2 (Provide a reason that supports your topic sentence.)** **Document:** _____

- **Evidence #2 Quote or paraphrase the facts / opinions stated in a document that support your statement above.)**

- **Analysis / Explanation # 2: (Explain how your evidence supports the topic sentence.)**

- **Support Statement # 3 (Provide a reason that supports your topic sentence.)** **Document:** _____

- **Evidence # 3 Quote or paraphrase the facts / opinions stated in a document that support your statement above.)**

- **Analysis / Explanation # 3: (Explain how your evidence supports the topic sentence.)**

Concluding Sentence for Body Paragraph 1: (Re-state your topic sentence)

Body Paragraph # 2

Topic Sentence # 2: (Re-state the second prong of your thesis)

- **Support Statement # 1 (Provide a reason that supports your topic sentence.) Document: _____**

- **Evidence #1 Quote/paraphrase the facts/opinions stated in a document that support your statement.)**

- **Analysis / Explanation # 1: (Explain how your evidence supports the topic sentence.)**

- **Support Statement # 2 (Provide a reason that supports your topic sentence.) Document: _____**

- **Evidence #2 Quote or paraphrase the facts / opinions stated in a document that support your statement above.)**

- **Analysis / Explanation # 2: (Explain how your evidence supports the topic sentence.)**

- **Support Statement # 3 (Provide a reason that supports your topic sentence.) Document: _____**

- **Evidence # 3 Quote or paraphrase the facts / opinions stated in a document that support your statement above.)**

- **Analysis / Explanation # 3: (Explain how your evidence supports the topic sentence.)**

Concluding Sentence for Body Paragraph 2: (Re-state your topic sentence)

Body Paragraph # 3

Topic Sentence # 3: (Re-state the third prong of your thesis)

- **Support Statement # 1 (Provide a reason that supports your topic sentence.) Document: _____**

 - **Evidence #1 Quote or paraphrase the facts / opinions stated in a document that support your statement above.)**

 - **Analysis / Explanation # 1: (Explain how your evidence supports the topic sentence.)**

 - **Support Statement # 2 (Provide a reason that supports your topic sentence.) Document: _____**

 - **Evidence #2 Quote or paraphrase the facts / opinions stated in a document that support your statement above.)**

 - **Analysis / Explanation # 2: (Explain how your evidence supports the topic sentence.)**

 - **Support Statement # 3 (Provide a reason that supports your topic sentence.) Document: _____**

 - **Evidence # 3 Quote or paraphrase the facts / opinions stated in a document that support your statement above.)**

 - **Analysis / Explanation # 3: (Explain how your evidence supports the topic sentence.)**

- Concluding Sentence for Body Paragraph 3: (Re-state your topic sentence)**

Concluding Paragraph

Summarize argument:

Re-state thesis:

Leave an idea for the reader to ponder:

Name: _____

Bell: _____

VIRGINIA AND UNITED STATES HISTORY
FIVE-PARAGRAPH ESSAY - GRADING CRITERIA

Criteria	Points Possible	Points Earned
Opening / Introduction:		
The introduction introduces the topic	10	
Includes a three-pronged thesis statement	10	
Thesis statement appears as the last sentence of the introduction	10	
Body Paragraphs:		
There are three body paragraphs	6	
The body paragraphs are written in the order of the thesis	3	
Each body paragraphs includes a topic sentence that introduces the main idea of the paragraph	9	
Each body paragraph has at least three major details	9	
Each major detail is supported by at least one minor detail (evidence for the major detail!)	9	
Minor details are logical, historically accurate, and well-explained.	9	
Student makes use of all 10 documents.	10	
Student provides transitions between major and minor details	6	
Conclusion:		
Includes a topic sentence	3	
Summarizes the main argument	3	
Re-states the thesis	3	
	Total Points Possible: 100	Total Points Earned: