

“As the Beasts that Perish”
Examining Primary Sources on the Experience of Slavery in
Colonial Massachusetts
Kara Gleason

What was the experience of slavery in colonial Massachusetts, and how did it shape the lives of enslaved, slave-holding and non-slave-holding whites, and the economy, culture, and society of early New England?

Advertisements.

☞ Ran-away from his Master Mr. James Lubbock of Boston, Chocolate-Grinder, on the 28th of last Month, A Young Negro Man-Servant, about 20 Years of Age, a short Fellow, speaks pretty good English, has thick Lips, battle-ham'd, and goes something waddling: he had on an old Hat, no Coat, a blue baze Jacket, a white Ozenbriggs Shirt, open knee'd long Canvas Breeches, pretty large Shoes, with a slit in the side of one of them. Whoever shall take up the abovesaid Runaway, & him safely convey to his abovesaid Master, living n^r Mr. Colman's Meeting-House, shall have *Three Pounds* Reward, and all necessary Charges paid. *Boston, Sept^r, 4th. 1727.*

From: Run-Away Slave Ad. The New England Weekly Journal, September 4th, 1727, page 2. In Chocolate: A Readex Sampler By Louis E. Grivetti, Professor of Nutrition, Emeritus, University of California, Davis. <http://www.readex.com/blog/chocolate-readex-sampler-louis-e-grivetti>.

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Reading Memorial High School
9th Grade Integrated U.S. and World History – Honors Level
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Prepared as part of the African Americans in the Making of Early New England,
Landmarks National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Workshop

Massachusetts History and Social Science Curriculum Standards Addressed:

5.12 Explain the causes of the establishment of slavery in North America. Describe the harsh conditions of the Middle Passage and slave life, and the responses of slaves to their condition. Describe the life of free African Americans in the colonies.

WHI.20

Describe the development and effects of the trans-African slave trade to the Middle East from the 8th century on, and the trans-Atlantic slave trade to the Western Hemisphere from the 16th century on.

Introduction/Connections to African Americans in Early New England (NEH):

This inquiry and document-based lesson for 9th grade students is directly related to content and learning from the 2017 National Endowment for the Humanities Landmarks Summer Workshop “African Americans in the Making of Early New England.” Primary sources abound on this topic and were presented throughout the workshop in readings and in sessions with scholars, especially Professors Joanne Melish and Jared Ross Hardesty. Sources introduced in the African Americans in the Making of Early New England workshop form the crux of this lesson and the basis for the essential question that students will grapple with throughout.

Introduction for Students:

(Note: This introduction will also serve as the anticipatory set and will be read aloud to students. Most of the text was taken directly from the sources cited below.)

Many people have pre-ordained “assumptions about what American slavery was, where it was, how it ended and what it meant.” Many see “the North as a white bastion of freedom, and the South as a realm of black unfreedom.” As such most people believe that “the only connection between the northern states and slavery was their opposition to it.”¹ This lesson aims to debunk those myths.

In this lesson we will consider slavery in the North, particularly Massachusetts. “Slaves were brought into New England throughout the entire colonial period, and slavery existed throughout the colonies before the American Revolution.” Slaves accounted for as much as 30 percent of the population in South Kingston, Rhode Island, and were a significant presence in Boston (10%).” “Massachusetts remained the principal American slave trading colony until 1700 [when] Rhode Island became the center of the slave trade.” “The Atlantic slave trade undergirded the development of the banking and insurance industries, along with shipbuilding, iron-making, sail-making, and other important industries, in the Northern states, especially in New England and in New York.”²

¹ Joanne Melish, “Northern Slavery and Its Legacies.” In *Understanding and Teaching American Slavery* edited by Bethany Jay and Cynthia Lynn Lyerly. (Madison, WI; The University of Wisconsin Press, 2016), 115-116.

² Ibid.

We know about this history of slavery in the north from the vast variety of sources that remain. For this lesson you will have the opportunity to work like a historian to examine primary source records related to slavery in the north. Some of these sources are very local, including from our own town of Reading, Massachusetts. These sources should be examined so as to consider the question: *What was the experience of slavery in colonial Massachusetts, and how did it shape the lives of enslaved, slave-holding and non-slave-holding whites, and the economy, culture, and society of early New England?*

Teacher Note on Classroom Set-Up: A large component of this lesson will require that students be situated in groups or stations to examine documents. So as to streamline this process the room should be set up accordingly and student groups created in advance. Unless you are a BYOD school, the teacher should also place a laptop or iPad at some of the stations for access to links to podcasts or websites.

Essential Question:

- What was the experience of slavery in colonial Massachusetts, and how did it shape the lives of enslaved, slave-holding and non-slave-holding whites, and the economy, culture, and society of early New England?

Learning Objectives:

At the end of this lesson, students will be able to:

- Summarize information about slavery in colonial Massachusetts
- Analyze primary sources related to slavery in colonial Massachusetts
- Evaluate the experience of slavery in colonial Massachusetts
- Articulate ideas using documentary evidence in a discussion seminar on the topic of slavery in colonial Massachusetts
- Produce a written piece on the topic of slavery in colonial Massachusetts which incorporates documents and document analysis

Learning Activities:

1. **Hook/Activator: What Did Slavery Mean to Slaves Themselves?** (10 minutes):

Students will examine Felix’s 1773 petition on behalf of a group of slaves to the Massachusetts governor. Using teacher guidance regarding sourcing and annotating, they will complete the “Observe, Reflect, Question” analysis tool.

Technology Integration Option: <http://www.loc.gov/teachers/primary-source-analysis-tool/>. (Students can complete an online version of the analysis tool and email it to their teacher.)

2. **Introduction/Anticipatory Set** (less than 5 minutes):

See above. After the hook, the teacher will read this aloud so as to set up the lesson and its content for students. Alternatively the teacher may decide to present the introduction at the start of the lesson.

3. **Establishing Context: Brief Background on Slavery in New England**: (~15 minutes):

Present the context sources listed below and guide students' viewing and reading with the questions attached. Lead a follow-up discussion about the information presented.

Context Sources in Suggested Order:

A) Video Clip: "Slavery in the North." 2014. Finding Your Roots. PBS. <https://ny.pbslearningmedia.org/resource/fyr12.socst.us.1950pres.slavnorth/slavery-in-the-north/#.WWZyRGeRV0x>. (Note: this is a short clip: watch from beginning to 00:50.)

B) **Background Essay**: "Introduction: Slavery in the North."

C) Video Clip: "What Role did Slavery and Enslaved People Play in the Northern Colonies of the Present-Day United States?" 2017.

<https://video.choices.edu/media/what-role-did-slavery-and-enslaved-people-play-northern-colonies-present-day-united-states>.

D) Video Clip: "Why Should High School Students Learn about the Experiences of Black People in Colonial and Early America?" 2017. The Choices Program. Watson Institute for International Studies. Brown University.

<https://video.choices.edu/media/why-should-high-school-students-learn-about-experiences-black-people-colonial-and-early>.

Technology Integration Option: Use the flipped classroom model and have students complete the background reading and video clip viewing at home. If the viewing and reading is done at home the teacher could use this point of the lesson to review understandings and examine student questions instead of using class time for viewing and reading.

4. **Document Stations (50+ minutes)**: Documents related to New England slavery will be set up at stations around the room. Each station will contain a folder with a handout for each student. Students should start at the station where they are seated. Each group will move up in number with station ten moving to station one. Students will keep rotating every 5-10 minutes until they have experienced all of the stations. The teacher should act as the "guide on the side" as students work on the documents and notify students when it is time to rotate.

Students should work through the documents at each station as follows:

A) **Sourcing/Contextualizing**: Annotate the bibliographic information in the document using the following questions:

- Who wrote this? What is his/her/their background?
- What is the author's perspective/point of view?
- Why was it written?
- When was it written? (How close to the event? What was going on in history at the time?)
- Where was it written?
- Where is the bias/potential bias? Is this source reliable? Why? Why not?

Note: Students and teachers should consider becoming familiar with the tools of “Reading Like a Historian” by the Stanford History Education Group at <https://sheg.stanford.edu/rh>

B) Complete a Close Read of the Text: Students should be guided to annotate each source. Alternatively they might utilize the “Think Aloud” strategy where they verbalize their thinking aloud while reading a source orally (see http://www.readingrockets.org/strategies/think_alouds).

(Regarding annotations: My students are familiar with annotating texts/primary sources as they read. Sources useful for teaching students to annotate include: “12 Ways to Mark Up a Book.” Open Loops: http://hwebbjr.typepad.com/openloops/2006/02/twelve_ways_to_.html, “Briefly Noted: Practicing Useful Annotation Strategies.” Teaching and Learning with The New York Times: <http://learning.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/03/07/briefly-noted-practicing-useful-annotation-strategies/>, and this [Annotate! handout](#).)

C) Answer the Guiding Questions

D) Consider How the Source Helps Answer our Key Question: *What was the experience of slavery in early New England, and how did it shape the lives of enslaved, slave-holding and non-slave-holding whites, and the economy, culture, and society of early New England?*

5. Processing Activities:

A) Chalk Talk (10-15 minutes):

Advanced Set-Up: Every student should have a marker and chart paper should be posted on the wall of the classroom.

Chalk Talk is a silent way to do reflection, generate ideas, and check on learning. The teacher should very briefly explain the instructions: ‘Chalk talk is a silent activity. No one may talk at all and anyone may add to the chalk talk as they please. You can comment on other people’s ideas simply by drawing a connecting line to the comment.’ See guidelines from the National School Reform Facility as needed: https://www.nsrffharmony.org/system/files/protocols/chalk_talk_0.pdf.

Utilize the following Guiding Questions to be posted on the board:

- What do you think about the information regarding slavery in Massachusetts? In other words, what are your responses to this information and these documents? (Cite specific resources.)
- Why is knowing this history important?

B) Socratic Seminar (25+ minutes): Lead students in a Socratic Seminar discussion on the documents. See the guidelines from Facing History and Ourselves as needed: <https://www.facinghistory.org/resource-library/teaching-strategies/socratic-seminar>.

Question 1 (Round Robin – all students reply): Think of a bumper sticker slogan, hashtag, or title for this set of documents that could represent the history of slavery in Massachusetts.

Question 2: What was the experience of slavery in colonial Massachusetts, and how did it shape the lives of enslaved, slave-holding and non-slave-holding whites, and the economy, culture, and society of early New England?

Question 3: What current connections might you make to the history of slavery in Massachusetts and the issues brought up in the documents?

6. Assessment/RAFT Writing Assignment: Students will be assessed on their completion of document annotations and questions, their participation, engagement, and level of analysis in the Socratic Seminar discussion (see [rubric](#)). They will also complete a RAFT writing assignment. The task for the RAFT is to write a carefully-crafted, evidence-based, analytical, and original writing creation for one of the RAFT formats.

7. Extension Ideas, Activities, and Resources:

A) Film Viewing and Discussion: Traces of the Trade: A Story from the Deep North. <http://www.tracesofthetrade.org>.

B) Take Part in a field trip or school program at the Royall House and Slave Quarters. <http://www.royallhouse.org/home/education/school-groups>.

C) Guide students to engage in biographical research and presentations about African Americans from colonial Massachusetts and New England including but not limited to:

Abijah Prince	Paul Cuffe
Agrippa Hull	Peter Fleet
Belinda Sutton	Peter Salem
Chloe Spear	Phillis Wheatley
Crispus Attucks	Prince Hall
Elizabeth ‘Mum Bett’ Freeman	Quock Walker
Lucy Terry Prince	Venture Smith
Ona Judge	Wentworth Cheswill

8. [Bibliography](#)

ACTIVATOR
What Did Slavery Mean to Slaves Themselves?
What Was Slavery “Like?”

Source: Excerpts from Felix's Petition for Freedom (January 6, 1773).

This petition was written by a slave named Felix and sent on behalf of a group of Boston slaves to the governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony, Thomas Hutchinson, the governor’s council, and the House of Representatives. It is available online at http://www.wwnorton.com/college/history/america7/content/multimedia/ch06/research_01a.htm.

...How many of that Number have there been, and now are in this Province, who have had every Day of their Lives embittered with this most intollerable Reflection, That, let their Behaviour be what it will, neither they, nor their Children to all Generations, shall ever be able to do, or to possess and enjoy any Thing, no, not even Life itself, but in a Manner as the Beasts that perish....

We have no Property. We have no Wives. No Children. We have no City. No Country....

It would be impudent, if not presumptuous in us, to suggest to your Excellency and Honors any Law or Laws proper to be made, in relation to our unhappy State, which, although our greatest Unhappiness, is not our Fault; and this gives us great Encouragement to pray and hope for such Relief as is consistent with your Wisdom, justice, and Goodness.

We humbly beg Leave to add but this one Thing more: We pray for such Relief ... to us will be as Life from the dead.

Signed,
FELIX

Observe (List Details & Observations)	Reflect (Make Meaning of those Details, Consider the Key Question, Make Inferences)	Question (What questions do you have? What questions does this source provoke?)

Introduction: Slavery in the North

In the United States, slavery is often thought of as a Southern institution. Many people today are unaware of the extent of slavery in the eighteenth and nineteenth century North, particularly New England. Long thought of as the birthplace of the anti-slavery movement, New England has a more complex history of slavery and slave trading than many realize.

In the four hundred years after Columbus first sailed to the New World, some twelve million Africans were brought to the Americas as slaves. About 500,000 of these people came to mainland North America, what is now the United States. The first Africans to arrive in the colonies came in 1619, when a Dutch ship sold twenty slaves to people living in the Virginian colony of Jamestown. But slavery was not confined to the South. It existed in all thirteen American colonies and for a time in all thirteen of the first states.

The transatlantic slave trade was history's first great global industry. Ships from Spain, Portugal, Britain, France, Holland, and Denmark traveled to the African coast to load their holds with people. The risks of such trade were many—storms, pirates, disease, and rebellions were common—but the profits were great. Much of the wealth of modern western nations flows, either directly or indirectly, from the trade in human cargo: slaves.

What was the Triangular Trade?

Colonial North American ships began to participate in the slave trade as early as the 1640s. Almost all of colonial America's slave ships originated in New England. Confronted with a landscape and climate unsuitable for large-scale commercial farming, New Englanders looked to the sea for their livelihood.

As a result, in the eighteenth century, New Englanders developed what came to be known

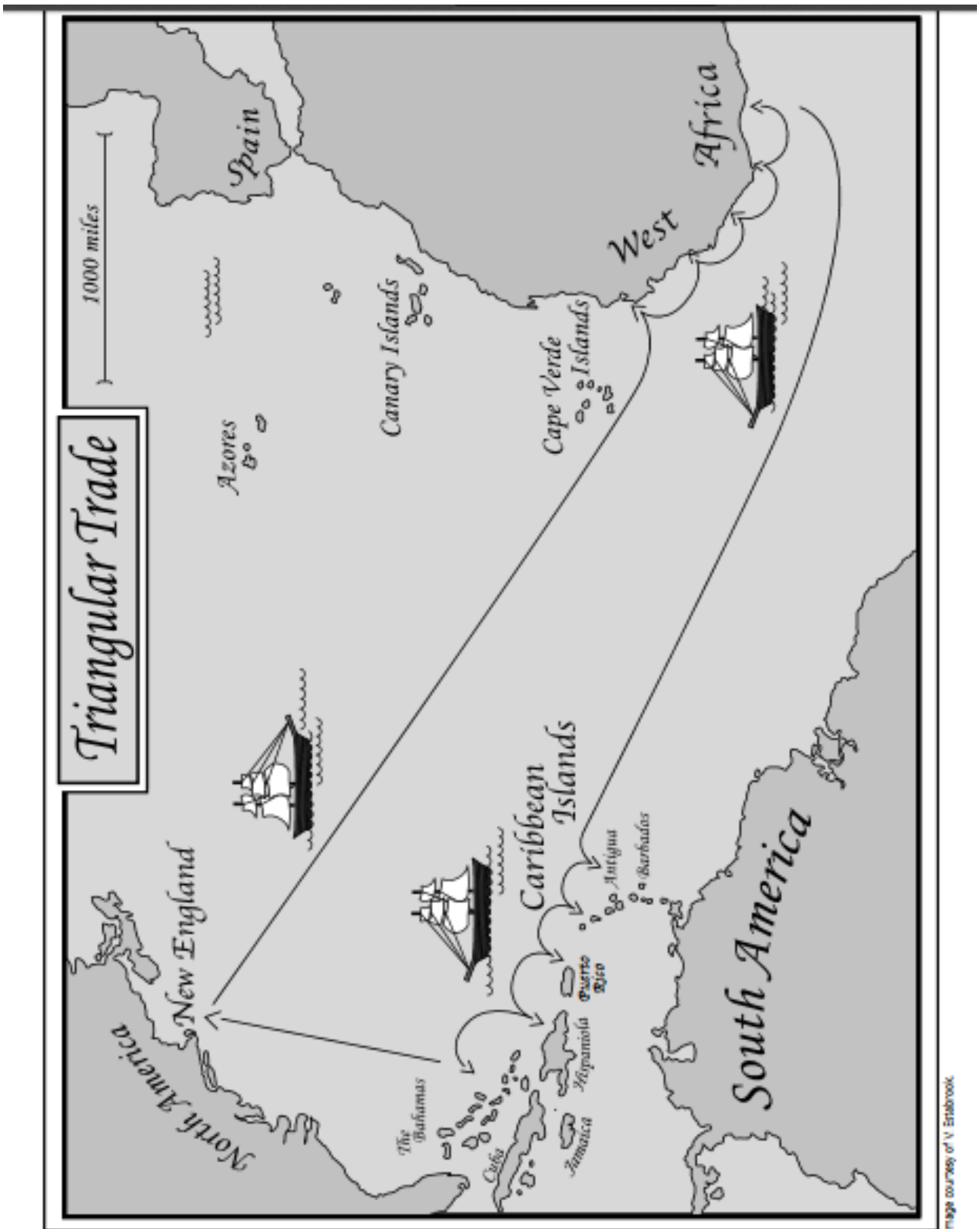
as the Triangular Trade. Ships carried sugar and molasses from the plantation colonies of the Caribbean to New England where colonists distilled it into rum. Merchants then shipped this rum to Africa where it was exchanged for slaves, who were carried back to the Caribbean to produce more sugar.

Some Africans were brought back to New England. Because paid employees were often unavailable or too expensive to use profitably, many New Englanders chose to purchase enslaved Africans. Though the vast majority of the slaves were carried to the sugar colonies of the Caribbean and South America, by 1755, more than thirteen thousand enslaved people were working in New England.

The slave trade became especially important to Rhode Islanders. By the middle of the eighteenth century, upwards of twenty ships per year sailed for Africa from the tiny colony, most of them from the city of Newport. Two-thirds of Rhode Island's fleet was engaged in the slave trade.

What is this reading about?

This reading will explore the effects of the slave trade and slavery in New England. It focuses especially on Rhode Island because of that colony's heavy involvement in the Atlantic slave trade. Part I addresses the economy of the trade. Part II addresses slavery in New England—often forgotten or overlooked today—and the various individuals and groups that argued for its continuation or its abolition following the Revolution. The readings and activities will introduce you to prominent families and individual slaves and their owners. As a central activity you will reenact Rhode Island's debate of 1783-84 on whether to abolish slavery and the slave trade. An epilogue will explain the outcome of the actual debate.



Source of the Introduction Reading & Map: "A Forgotten History: The Slave Trade and Slavery in New England." 2005. The Choices Program. Watson Institute for International Studies, scholars at Brown University.

Establishing Context: Brief Background on Slavery in New England

Sources in Suggested Order:

- A) Video Clip: "Slavery in the North." 2014. Finding Your Roots. PBS. <https://ny.pbslearningmedia.org/resource/fyr12.socst.us.1950pres.slavnorth/slavery-in-the-north/#.WWZyRGeRV0x>. (Note this is a short clip: Watch from beginning to 00:50.)
- B) [Background Essay](#): "Introduction: Slavery in the North."
- C) Video Clip: "What Role did Slavery and Enslaved People Play in the Northern Colonies of the Present-Day United States?" 2017. <https://video.choices.edu/media/what-role-did-slavery-and-enslaved-people-play-northern-colonies-present-day-united-states>.
- D) Video Clip: "Why Should High School Students Learn about the Experiences of Black People in Colonial and Early America?" 2017. The Choices Program. Watson Institute for International Studies. Brown University. <https://video.choices.edu/media/why-should-high-school-students-learn-about-experiences-black-people-colonial-and-early>.

Guiding Questions:

"Slavery in the North." Video Clip

1. What evidence is provided to support the claim that "slavery in the north was widespread?" 2+

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2. Why do you think "people are unaware of" or "don't fully understand" slavery in the north?

"Introduction: Slavery in the North." Background Essay

1. Where did slavery exist in North America?

2. According to this reading, the transatlantic slave trade was history's _____
_____. [And,] much of the wealth of modern western
nations flows, either directly or indirectly from _____
_____.

3. List 3+ New England connections to the triangular trade.

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4. Provide 2+ statistics about slavery or the slave trade in New England

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“What Role did Slavery and Enslaved People Play in the Northern Colonies of the Present-Day United States?” Video Clip

1. Give 3+ examples of New England connections to “the Business of Slavery.”

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2. In what types of jobs are enslaved people working? 3+

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“Why Should High School Students Learn about the Experiences of Black People in Colonial and Early America?” Video Clip

1. Using your own words, summarize Professor Christy Clark-Pujara’s points.

2. What is your response to her ideas?

ANNOTATE!

Annotate: to supply with critical or explanatory notes; comment upon in notes

Be an active reader and **annotate** (mark your text) as you read and reread!

You **annotate** by underlining, circling, **and** writing in the margins or on sticky notes. In the end, your page should be marked up with numerous notes in the margins or on sticky notes.

What to annotate:

- Sourcing & context information
- Thoughts on the essential question(s)
- Summaries of key points and ideas
- Central ideas (thesis)
- Important details, sentences or phrases
- Thoughts on the source's meaning
- Words or ideas you don't know, language
- Connections to other texts, self, world
- Questions of the author and text
- Notes on the source's organization
- Ideas on the author's purpose
- Critical evaluation of the text and author

Annotations help to show your thinking about the reading. Your annotations will also allow you to review the reading before and during each discussion.

Document 1: Massachusetts Body of Liberties, 1641

91 There shall never be any bond slaverie, villinage or Captivitie amongst vs. unless it be lawfull Captives taken in just warres, & such strangers as willingly selle themselves or are sold to us. And these shall have all the liberties & Christian usages which the law of god established in Israell concerning such persons doeth morally require. This exempts none from servitude who shall be Judged thereto by Authoritie.

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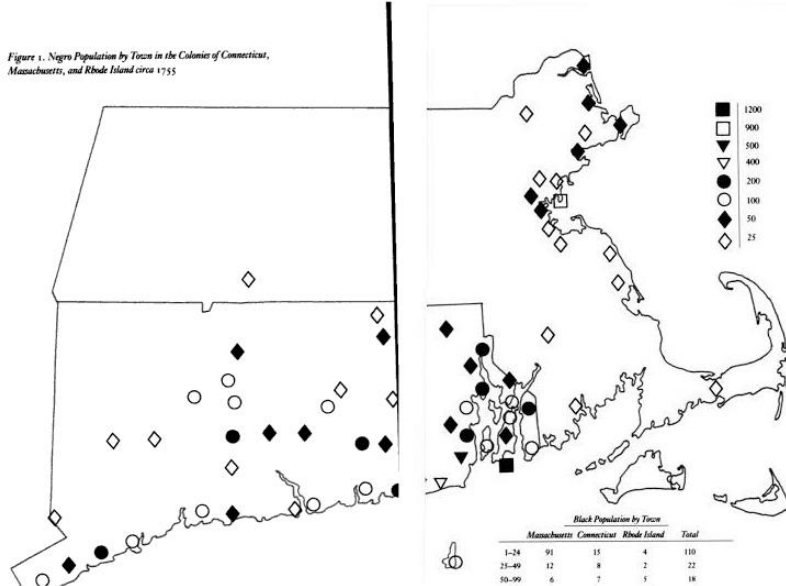
Source: *A Biographical Sketch of the Laws of the Massachusetts Colony from 1630 to 1686. In which are included the Body of Liberties 1641.* Boston: Rockwell and Churchill City Printers, 1890. <http://www.mass.gov/anf/docs/lib/body-of-liberties-1641.pdf>

1. Highlight/underline the exceptions to the “there shall never be any bond slaverie amongst us **unless**” law.
2. Who was allowed to be enslaved? In other words who might be considered “captives taken in just wars” or “strangers...as are sold to us?”
3. How would you explain the section that explains that the slaves “shall have all the liberties and Christian usages which the law of god established...doeth morally require?” What does this show about how Massachusetts leaders viewed slavery?

How does the document help answer the question: *What was the experience of slavery in colonial Massachusetts, and how did it shape the lives of enslaved, slave-holding and non-slave-holding whites, and the economy, culture, and society of early New England?*

Document 2: Slave Populations in CT, MA, RI, and Boston circa 1755

A) Negro Population by Town in the Colonies of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island circa 1755. In Pierson, William. *Black Yankees: The Development of an Afro-American Subculture in Eighteenth-Century New England*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988.



1. What patterns do you notice? Where do most of the slaves seem to be located? Do you recognize any of the towns where slaves seem to be located?
2. Why do you think slaves are located where they are?

Part B: Covart, Liz and Hardesty, Jared. Episode 83: “Unfreedom: Slavery in Colonial Boston.” *Ben Franklin’s World*. Podcast audio, 2016. <http://tinyurl.com/BostonSlavery>. Play 2:35 – 2:47, 8:20 – 9:03.

1. By the middle of the 1700s approximately what percentage of the population of the town of Boston was enslaved?	2. How many households owned slaves in Boston and how many slaves did slaveholders own?	3. How many slaves did Boston slaveowners tend to own?

How do the documents help answer the question: *What was the experience of slavery in colonial Massachusetts, and how did it shape the lives of enslaved, slave-holding and non-slave-holding whites, and the economy, culture, and society of early New England?*

Document 3: Slaves in Reading, Massachusetts as Reported in the 1754 Massachusetts Slave Census

Report of Reading, Massachusetts in the 1754 Massachusetts Slave Census.

In 1754, Governor William Shirley had ordered that an enumeration of all slaves, both male and female, over the age of sixteen be completed by each town. ...In total, the records of 119 towns have been preserved with a total of 2,720 slaves being counted. According to the Massachusetts Legislative House Reports...the records of many of the towns were not preserved. The report does not say if something happened to the missing records, such as being destroyed by fire, or if they were simply lost over time. It could also be a possibility that some towns just did not forward their records as they had been instructed to do.

- Go to: <http://primaryresearch.org/the-1754-slave-census>
- Scroll to **Search the 1754 Census by Town or County**. Enter **Reading**.

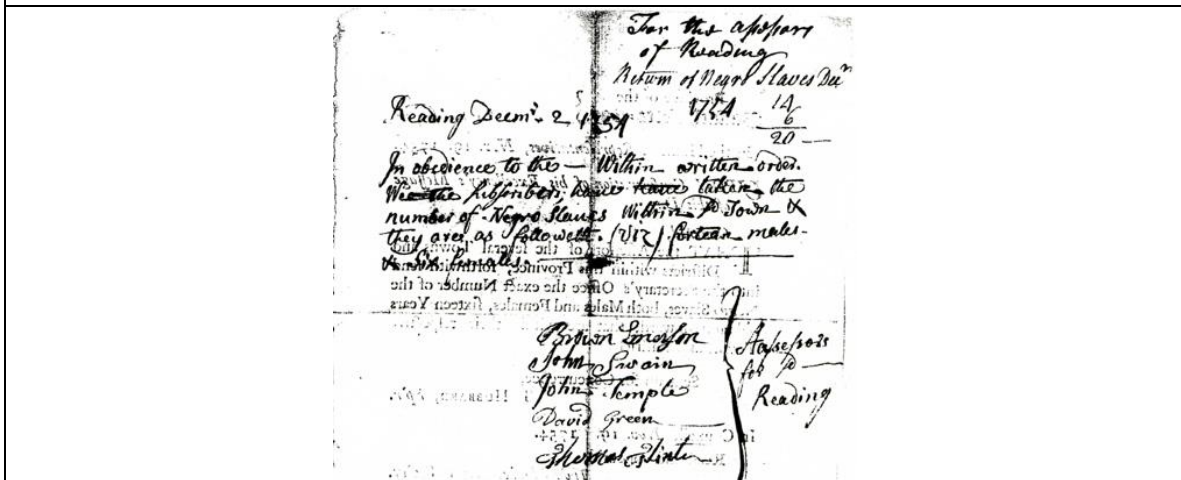
1. Reading Slave Census Data:

Males:

Females:

Total:

2. Did you know that Reading had slaves? What is your reaction to this knowledge?



2. Look up 2+ other towns. What are their totals? How do they compare to Reading?

How do the documents help answer the question: What was the experience of slavery in colonial Massachusetts, and how did it shape the lives of enslaved, slave-holding and non-slave-holding whites, and the economy, culture, and society of early New England?

Document 4: New England Slave Narratives / Memoirs

A) I WAS born at Dukandarra, in Guinea, about the year 1729....

...I was then taken... All of us were then put into the castle, and kept for market. On a certain time I and other prisoners were put on board a canoe, under our master, and rowed away to a vessel belonging to Rhode-Island, commanded by capt. Collingwood, and the mate Thomas Mumford. While we were going to the vessel, our master told us all to appear to the best possible advantage for sale. I was bought on board by one Robertson Mumford, steward of said vessel, for four gallons of rum, and a piece of calico, and called VENTURE, on account of his having purchased me with his own private venture. Thus I came by my name. All the slaves that were bought for that vessel's cargo, were two hundred and sixty.

Source: Venture Smith. *A Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Venture, a Native of Africa: But Resident above Sixty Years in the United States of America. Related by Himself.* 1798. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/venture/venture.html>.

1. What was Venture bought for?	2. What colony was the slave ship from?	3. How did Venture get his name?

B) About seventy years ago, on the coast of Africa, the subject of the following memoir, in company with four neighbouring children, herself the youngest... resorted to the shore for amusement, either by bathing in the cooling stream, or other playful sports to which they were accustomed, with the full expectation of returning to their several homes, as usual, after such seasons of childish diversion.

While engaged in these innocent and healthful recreations, they were suddenly surprised by the appearance of several persons, who had secreted themselves behind the bushes: they knew not what to imagine they were, having never seen a white man; from whose frightful presence they attempted to shrink away, but from whose cruel grasp they found it impossible to escape. Notwithstanding the piteous cries and tears of these poor defenceless children, they were arrested by cruel hands, put in to a boat, and carried to the dismal Slave Ship, which lay off a few miles in the river, the horrid receptacle of a living cargo, stolen from its rightful soil, by barbarous hunters of human prey for the purposes of traffic. Terror and amazement, as may be supposed, took full possession of their minds. Every thing around them was as novel as it was dreadful. A ship, they had never before seen; the language of these strange intruders was perfectly unintelligible to them and their intentions they were unable to comprehend: and no tender mother, no avenging father near, to know or to alleviate their wretchedness.

Source: By a Lady of Boston. *Memoir of Mrs. Chloe Spear, A Native of Africa, Who was Enslaved in Childhood and Died in Boston, January 3, 1815...Aged 65 Years.* Boston: Loring Publishing, 1832.

1. Under what circumstances was Chloe Spear captured? 3+ details

C) PHILLIS WHEATLEY was a native of Africa; and was brought to this country in the year 1761, and sold as a slave.

She was purchased by Mr. John Wheatley, ... of Boston. ...Mrs. Wheatley wished to obtain a young negress, with the view of training her up under her own eye, that she might... secure to herself a faithful domestic in her old age. She visited the slave-market, that she might make a personal selection from the group of unfortunates offered for sale. There she found several ... females, exhibited at the same time with Phillis, who was of a slender frame, and evidently suffering from change of climate. She was, however, the choice of the lady... The poor, naked child (for she had no other covering than a quantity of dirty carpet about her like a fillibeg) was taken home in the chaise of her mistress... She is supposed to have been about *seven years old, at this time, from the circumstance of shedding her front teeth.*

Source: Odell, Margaretta Matilda. *Memoir and Poems of Phillis Wheatley, a Native African and a Slave.* 1834.

1. Who purchased Phillis Wheatley and why?
2. Provide a description (age, physical) of Phillis when she is purchased.

Overall: What inferences can you make about the experience of capture and sale, especially as experienced by Venture, Chloe, and Phillis? 3+

How do the documents help answer the question: *What was the experience of slavery in colonial Massachusetts, and how did it shape the lives of enslaved, slave-holding and non-slave-holding whites, and the economy, culture, and society of early New England?*

Document 5: Slave-for-Sale Ads

"Advertisements." Boston Gazette. July 8, 1728. In Desrochers, Robert E. "Slave-for-Sale Advertisements and Slavery in Massachusetts, 1704-1781." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 59, no. 3 (2002): 623-64. doi:10.2307/3491467.

Note: Robert Desrochers Jr. counted 1477 for-sale notices offering enslaved Africans and Indians in Boston newspapers for the first few decades of the 1700s.

Advertisements.

A Choice Parcel of St. Christophers Sugars, and St. Thomas's Cotton; As likewise some very likely Negro Boys & Girls, duly Imported, to be Sold by Mr. George Cradock, at his Warehouse in Dr. Coock's Buildings.

A Very convenient Still-House, with Out-Houses, and other appurtenances, Situate in Orange Street Boston, to be Let, Enquire of Rebeckah Amory, Administratrix of Thomas Amory deceased.

A Young Indian Woman to be Sold by John Brewster, at the End of Cross-Street Boston.

A Lusty Negro Man fit for either Town or Country, has been in the Country above two Years, and speaks good English, to be Sold Enquire at the Post-Office.

A Likely Negro Boy and Girl, and a Negro Woman to be Sold at Mr. Samuel Waldo's House, or enquire at the Post-Office.

Several very likely Young Negroes of each Sex just Arriv'd, to be Sold by Mr. Hugh Hall, Merchants on Credit with good Security.

RUN away the 10th of this Instant June, from Andrew Bradford of the City of Philadelphia, Printer, a Servant Man, named Nicholas Claffon, a Printer by Trade, and a sprightly young Fellow about 21 Years of Age, fresh Complexion, much Pocket-money, and has a grey Drugges Coat lin'd and trim'd with Black, a white Demity Jacket, also a white Fustian Coat with Mottle Buttons, and faced in the Neck with red Velvet, a Pair of Leather Breeches, and a Pair of striped Linnen home-spun Breeches, he wears a short bob Wigg, he has several other Cloaths with him, and good Shoes and Stockings. Whoever takes up said Servant and brings him to his said Master, or to the Post-Office in Boston, or to William Bradford in New-York, or William Parks in Annapolis, shall have Three Pounds Reward, and reasonable Charges, paid by me.
Andrew Bradford.

Choice good Bohea Tea, to be Sold by Mrs. Stirling, in Summer Street near the New-South Meeting-House.

Very good New-York Gammons of Bacon, and Super Fine Snuff in Canisters, to be Sold by Zechariah Jo-

hounot, at his House in Long-Lane.
TO be Sold at Henry Whitton's near the Royal Exchange Tavern in Boston, Good White Wine Vineger, by Wholesale or Retail, New-York Flower, Good Mul-cavado Sugar in Barrels.
ANY Person that has Occasion for good Beef in Barrels, or half Barrels, well pickled, may be Supply'd by Robert Temple, at Noddles-Island.

1. Approximately how many slaves are listed for sale in the newspaper on this one day in July of 1728?
2. What types of people are being sold as slaves?
3. List 3 places one could go to buy a slave.
4. What else is being sold in the advertisements section? 4+
5. Make 2+ inferences about this list of advertisements in the Boston Gazette.

How does the document help answer the question: *What was the experience of slavery in colonial Massachusetts, and how did it shape the lives of enslaved, slave-holding and non-slave-holding whites, and the economy, culture, and society of early New England?*

Document 6: Slave Labor in Boston, Massachusetts

Hardesty, Jared Ross. "The Negro at the Gate: Enslaved Labor in Eighteenth-Century Boston." *New England Quarterly*. March 2014.

Boston's requirements were, however, quite different from those of other regions of the Americas, where bound laborers worked primarily in agriculture. The town had a sophisticated economy that depended upon skilled workers who could provide specialized services such as shipbuilding (which employed around thirty different trades), blacksmithing, coopering and printing. Artisans and merchants trained their slaves to do such skills.

The labor of Boston's slaves fell into four broad categories: domestic (household) servitude; unskilled work; artisanal work, and seafaring...

In the colonial context, household tasks could include spinning yarn and other thread, waving cloth, making and mending clothes, soap and candle making, gardening, child care, tending livestock (most Bostonians kept pigs and sometimes, cows), brewing, and food preparation and cooking.

Black slave sailors, like white sailors, manned and hoisted sails, worked bilge pumps, made repairs, secured cargo, responded to the onerous demands of the captain, and, if they could cook, prepared food for the crew.

1. What types of work were Boston slaves doing? 5+
2. How does this compare to what most people normally think of when they consider slave labor?
3. What inferences can be made about slave labor in an urban city like Boston? 3+

How does the document help answer the question: *What was the experience of slavery in colonial Massachusetts, and how did it shape the lives of enslaved, slave-holding and non-slave-holding whites, and the economy, culture, and society of early New England?*

Document 7: The Brutality of Slavery

A) In the year 1755, a black slave named Mark Codman [of Charlestown, Massachusetts] plotted to kill his abusive master. A God-fearing man, Codman had resolved to use poison, reasoning that if he could kill without shedding blood, it would be no sin. Arsenic in hand, he and two female slaves poisoned the tea and porridge of John Codman repeatedly. The plan worked — but like so many stories of slave rebellion, this one ended in brutal death for the slaves as well. After a trial by jury, Mark Codman was hanged, tarred, and then suspended in a metal gibbet on the main road to town, where his body remained for more than 20 years.

Source: Latour, Francie. “New England’s Hidden History.” *The Boston Globe*. 26 September 2010.

B) Toney, a “Negro Servant” to Samuell Clarke of Milford, Connecticut, was charged in 1688 with impregnating Sarah Smith, another of Smith’s servants, but English. Both parties confessed, Smith testifying that she “never had to doe with any other man.” The court sentenced Toney to pay eighteen pence a week and to be lashed on his bare body twenty times.

Source: Warren, Wendy. *New England Bound: Slavery and Colonization in Early America*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company Ltd., 2016.

C) In 1661, a jury of inquest in the Massachusetts Bay Colony presented its findings in the matter of the unexplained death of a slave, John, a “negro of Mr. Henry Bartholomew.” The jury members had investigated the place “wheare the neagroe was found lying and a gun lying by him.” They had also heard the testimony of varyious witnesses from the scene, and then viewed the corpse, observing that a “shot went into his body being about or Just beneath his short ribs on his leaft side, and came partly through about his shoulder blad behind.” The angle of the bullet led the jurors to agree “that [John] did willingly contrive & was the only acter in his owne death by the shooting of the sayd Gun into his own body.” In other words the man had stood the butt of the gun on the ground, put the muzzle against the bottom of his ribs and pulled the trigger.

Source: Warren, Wendy. *New England Bound: Slavery and Colonization in Early America*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company Ltd., 2016.

D) 1681, September 22. There were 3 persons executed in Boston. An Englishman for a rape. A negro man for burning a house at Northampton & a negro woman who burnt 2 houses in Roxbury on July 12 – in one of which a child was burnt to death. The negro woman was burned to death – the first that has suffered such a death in New England.

Source: Mather, Increase (Puritan minister). *Diary*. 22 September 1681. *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*. P. 332.

1. List the crimes and corresponding punishments that are included in this selection.
2. How might the experience of slavery contribute to brutality on both the part of the slave and the master?

How do the documents help answer the question: *What was the experience of slavery in colonial Massachusetts, and how did it shape the lives of enslaved, slave-holding and non-slave-holding whites, and the economy, culture, and society of early New England?*

Document 8: Slavery in Individual Legal Records

A

Table 7.3 Estate division of Isaac Royall, Sr.'s slave holdings in 1739, derived from his will, initial probate inventory of 1739, and retroactive inventory of 1752 (Middlesex County Probate 1739).

Anne and Robert Oliver	Penelope Royall	Elizabeth Royall	Isaac Royall, Jr.
Black Betty	Abba	Peter	Fortune
Abba	Robin	Trace	Barron
Quacoe	Coba		Ned
Diana	Walker		House Peter
John	Nuba		Cuffe
Nancy	Trace		Smith
Betty	Tobey		Phillip
George	Girl Present		Robin
Sarah			Quamino
Jacob			Ruth
Jemmy			Sue
			Jonto
			One old Negro Man about 70 years of age
			George about 45 years old
			Captain, Infirm
			Santo Lame & 50 years old
			Old Cook
			Girl 6 years of age

Extra Time?: Check out the original will at: <http://tinyurl.com/IsaacRoyallWill>. (p.2-10)
Try to find reference to these slaves. Note the language used.

1. Who is Isaac Royall Sr. (look him up)? Where is he from?

2. How many slaves did Isaac Royall Sr. leave in his will? Make 3+ observations about these people.

3. Now that the slaves have been willed to others what would happen to their living situation?

B

An Inventory of the Real and Personal Estate of Joshua Eaton, 1772.

To the Hon^{ble} Samuel Danforth Esq. Judge of Probate for the County of Middlesex 85^{rs}
 An Inventory of y^e Real and Personal Estate of Joshua Eaton
 Gentleman late of Reading Descend^t: taken by us the Subscribers the
 fifth Day of June: 1772

To the waiving apparit. and the wack 14:8:4
 To military arms 1:4:0
 To ^{four} Beds Bedsteads and Cots and other furniture } 22:0:0
 thereunto belonging
 To the Case of Drows Chores and Looking Glass available 3:12:7
 To a Desk and trunk 2:16:0
 To Peter and Books 2:15:4
 To the Iron ware trawels Cattel Pits Knives and forks 85^{rs} 2:11:8
 To wooden ware and Earthen ware and a spinning wheel } 1:6:0
 and a wooden wheel and a small looking Glass
 to tables and Chests 0:10:0
 to sheets table linen Napkins and Pillow cases 4:11:4
 to flax meal Chests and Baskets and meal Bags
 to Provisions in the house and Soap and Sygar and Sygar 16^{rs} } 4:0
 Boards and Bone huts washing huts and Fry cook: tobacco
 To the Quick Black Horses oxen cows 85^{rs} Swine 85^{rs} 69:15:8
 To one Negro man named Cato 60:0:0
 To the husbandry Utensils cart and wheel Flour Chones 11:7:4
 and horse furniture
 To Coppers tools Drilling Irons and Bats and half an iron } 0:18:0
 harrow:
 To English hay and meadow hay 5:18:8
 To the Real Estate (viz): about 70 acres of Land Part } 186:13:4
 meadow land and Part Part Pasturing Land Lying in
 Reading being Part of the Estate that was formerly
 of John Sawaine and Part of a Barn appraised by
 Deed at
 To four acres of Salt marsh Lying in Medford appraised } 32:0:0
 by Deed at

Witness my hand and Seal the fifth Day of June 1772
 S. Danforth Judge

Brown Emerson
 John Gardiner
 Jones Parlier } Committee

Need to read the transcript? Go to: <http://tinyurl.com/EatonProbate>.

1. What connections does Joshua Eaton Sr. have to the town of Reading?
2. According to his probate inventory, where is there evidence of Joshua Eaton owning a slave?
3. Comparatively, what was “the negro man named Cato” worth?
4. These documents show that slaves were willed to family members and counted for tax purposes. What does this show about how colonial society viewed enslaved people?

How do the documents help answer the question: *What was the experience of slavery in colonial Massachusetts, and how did it shape the lives of enslaved, slave-holding and non-slave-holding whites, and the economy, culture, and society of early New England?*

Document 9: Runaway Slave Ads

Source: Bly, Antonio T. "A Prince among Pretending Free Men: Runaway Slaves in Colonial New England Revisited." *Massachusetts Historical Review* 14 (2012): 87-118. doi:10.5224/masshistrevi.14.1.0087.

Ran-way from Capt. *Nathanael Cary*, of *Charlstown*, on *Saturday* the 17th Current, a well set middle sized *Maddagascar* Negro Woman, called *Penelope*, about 35 years of Age: With several Sorts of Apparel; one whereof is a flowered damask Gown: She speaks English well. Whoever shall take up said Negro Servant, and her Convey to her above-said Master, shall have sufficient Reward.²⁴

Ran-away on Wednesday the 26th Day of May last at Beverly, from his Master *Joseph Tuck*, A Negro Man-Servant, Named *Peter*, a slim Fellow not very Tall, goes a little Lame, lost his Fore-upper Teeth, has on close-bodied Coat, and Pale Copper-coloured Jacket, Coat and Jacket tarr'd in some Places, white Worsted Stockings, Leather Breeches, and French fall Shoe, the heels goes much back: He was formerly Servant to Mr. *Pepperel* of Kittery, Mr. *Boreman* Tanner in Cambridge. Mr. *Morecock* in Boston, and Mr. *Hubbard* of Middleton.

Whoever shall apprehend the said Run-away, and him safely Convey to his said Master, or to Mr. Nathan Howell Merchant in Boston, or give any true Intelligence of him so as his Master may have him again, shall be Sufficiently Rewarded, besides all necessary Charges paid.²⁵

RAN away the 4th Instant from Mr. George Tilley of Boston, a Negro Fellow, named Bristol, aged about 35 Years, he is tall and slim, walks very upright, speaks broken English, he had on when he went away, a Felt Hat, a homespun striped Jacket, and a striped Linen Breeches a Cotton and Linen Shirt, no Stockings, a pair of old Shoes. N.B. He has lately been seen with a Frock and Trouzers on. Whoever shall take up the said Runaway and him safely convey to his abovesaid Master in Boston aforesaid, shall have Twenty Shillings Reward, and all necessary Charges. And all Masters of Vessels are hereby cautioned against concealing or carrying off said Servant on Penalty of the Law in that Case made and provided.²⁷

RAN-away from his Master, *Ebenezer Webster*, of *Bradford* in the County of *Essex*, a black Slave, Native of the *East-Indies*, named *James*; speaks good *English*, about 21 Years of Age, wears long bushy Hair, of middling Stature, has a Scar on the left side of his Forehead which enters under his Hair: Had on a light Oznabrigs Coat, a brown homespun Jacket, with brass Buttons, black plush Breeches, a pair of new Pumps, a new Felt Hat, and a white Linnen Shirt.—He formerly belong'd to Mr. *Elijah Collins* of *Boston*.

Whoever has taken up the said Servant, or may take him up, and convey him to his said Master, or to Mr. *Benjamin Harred*, of *Boston*, shall have Three Dollars Reward, and all necessary Charges paid.—

Ran away from *John Hunt* of *Watertown*, on Tuesday last, a Negro Man named *Prince*, a tall streight Fellow, walks with a small Hitch. He is about 33 Years old, has been used to farming Business, is a handy Fellow on most Accounts, talks pretty good English.—Had on when he went away a striped Jacket, a Frock & Trowsers almost new.—His Design was to get off in some Vessel so as to go to England, under the Notion if he could get there he should be Free. Whoever takes up and secures said Fellow so that his Master receives him again shall be well rewarded for their Trouble. He carried with him a good Pair of Deerskin Breeches.

All Masters of Vessels are cautioned against carrying off said Servant, as they would avoid the Penalty of the Law.

August 19, 1771.

JOHN HUNT.⁵¹

TABLE 8: PERCENTAGES OF RUNAWAYS ADVERTISED TO THE ENSLAVED POPULATION

	<i>Massachusetts</i>		
	<i>Slave Population</i>	<i>Slaves Advertised</i>	<i>% of Population</i>
1730s	2,780	67	2.4
1740s	3,035	111	3.7
1750s	4,075	103	2.5
1760s	4,566	104	2.3
1770s	4,756	125	2.6

1. Who are the runaway slaves depicted in these ads?

Names	Ages	Locations	National Origins	Physical Descriptions	Clothing

2. What skills do these runaway slaves have? Consider language ability, jobs, etc.?

3. Do the ads show any possible indications of violence toward slaves or injuries?

4. Make 3+ inferences about the situation of slavery and enslaved people based on these slave ads.

5. Approximately what percentage of Massachusetts slaves ran away? What inferences might you make about slaves running away? 2+

How do the documents help answer the question: *What was the experience of slavery in colonial Massachusetts, and how did it shape the lives of enslaved, slave-holding and non-slave-holding whites, and the economy, culture, and society of early New England?*

Document 10: Anti-Slavery Petitions

A

To his Excellency Thomas Gage Esq Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over This Province... To the Honourable his Majestys Council and the Honourable House of Representatives in General Court assembled may 25 1774

The Petition of a Grate [Great] Number of Blackes of this Province who by divine permission are held in a state of Slavery within the bowels of a free and Christian Country Humbly Shewing That your Petitioners apprehend we have in common With all other men a naturel [natural] right to our freedoms without Being depriv'd of them by our fellow men as we are a freeborn Pepel [People] and have never forfeited this Blessing by aney [any] compact or agreement whatever. But we were unjustly dragged by the cruel hand of power from our dearest frinds [friends] and others sum [some] of us stolen from the bosoms of our tender Parents and from a Populous Pleasant and plentiful country and Brought hither to be made slaves for Life in a Christian land Thus are we deprived of every thing that hath a tendency to make life even tolerable... We therfor [therefore] Bage [Beg] your Excellency and Honours will give this it its deu [due] weight and consideration and that you will accordingly cause an act of the legislative to be pessed [passed] that we may obtain our Natural right our freedoms and our Children be set at lebetty [liberty]

Source: Petition for freedom to Massachusetts Governor Thomas Gage, His Majesty's Council, and the House of Representatives. 25 May 1774. Massachusetts Historical Society.

1. Who are the authors of this petition? Who is Thomas Gage? What is going on in Massachusetts in the 1770s?
2. Summarize this petition in your own words.
3. What reasons do the “Grate [Great] Number of Blackes of this Province” give for why they should be granted their freedom? 2+
4. What do you think was the response to this petition? (Have extra time? Try to find out.)

B

Commonwealth of Massachusetts

To the Honourable the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled.
The Petition of Belinda an Afffrican, humbly shews:

...Fifty years her faithful hands have been compelled to ignoble servitude for the benefit of an Isaac Royall, untill, as if Nations must be agitated, and the world convulsed for the preservation of that freedom which the Almighty Father intended for all the human Race, the present war was Commenced – The terror of men armed in the Cause of freedom, compelled her master to fly...

The face of your Petitioner, is now marked with the furrows of time, and her frame feebly bending under the oppression of years, while she, by the Laws of the Land, is denied the enjoyment of one morsel of that immense wealth, apart whereof hath been accumulated by her own industry, and the whole augmented by her servitude.

WHEREFORE, casting herself at the feet of your honours, as to a body of men, formed for the extirpation of vassalage, for the reward of Virtue, and the just return of honest industry – she prays, that such allowance may be made her out of the estate of Colonel Royall, as will prevent her and her more infirm daughter from misery in the greatest extreme, and scatter comfort over the short and downward path of their Lives – and she will ever Pray.

Boston 14th February 1783

the mark of Belinda

Source: Belinda Sutton's Petition to the Massachusetts General Court. February 14, 1783.

1. Who is Belinda and what was her situation?
2. Who was Belinda's owner and what happened to him?
3. What impact did slavery have on Belinda? On Isaac Royall?
4. What is Belinda asking for?

How do the documents help answer the question: *What was the experience of slavery in colonial Massachusetts, and how did it shape the lives of enslaved, slave-holding and non-slave-holding whites, and the economy, culture, and society of early New England?*

Name _____ Block _____ Date _____

Socratic Seminar Discussion Rubric

	Meets/Exceeds Expectations	Approaches Expectations	Needs Improvement
Speaking & Depth of Thought	I contributed several meaningful comments to the whole group discussion based on evidence from the text, without dominating the conversation. All of my comments showed deep understanding and original, profound thought (4)	I contributed one meaningful comment to the whole group discussion based on evidence from the text; or my comments did not make use of evidence from the text. Some of my comments showed deep understanding and original, profound thought(2-3)	I did not contribute to the group discussion at all; Or, My comments did not show very deep thought (1)
Listening	I listened carefully and respectfully to my classmates all of the time (3)	I listened carefully and respectfully to my classmates some of the time. (2)	I spaced out a lot during our discussion and/or interrupted the speaker.(1)
Expectations/ Norms	I followed all of our class expectations (looking at the speaker, trying to move the conversation forward, getting involved, not dominating, respecting others' points of view, etc) for the entire time. (3)	I followed some of our class expectations but broke some, too. (2)	I did not follow many or most of the expectations (1)

MY TOTAL: ____/10

TEACHER TOTAL: ____/10

Your Explanation for the Grade Total:

Adapted from: "Discussion Rubric." Edutopia Education Resources.

<https://www.edutopia.org>.

RAFT Writing Assignment
Examining Primary Sources on the Experience of
Slavery in Colonial Massachusetts

What was the experience of slavery in colonial Massachusetts, and how did it shape the lives of enslaved, slave-holding and non-slave-holding whites, and the economy, culture, and society of early New England?

<p>R = ROLE A = AUDIENCE F = FORMAT T = TOPIC</p>
--

Task: Write a carefully-crafted, evidence-based, analytical, and original writing creation for one of the RAFT formats listed below.

	Role	Audience	Format	Topic
RAFT A	Textbook Author	High School Students	Textbook Section	Write a section of a U.S. history textbook on Slavery in Colonial Massachusetts
RAFT B	Documentarian	Producer/ Film Viewers	Script	Write a script for a documentary about slavery in Massachusetts
RAFT C	Journalist or Concerned Citizen	Newspaper Readers	Newspaper Editorial	What Massachusetts residents should know about the history of slavery in the state and why that history is important
RAFT D	You decide	You decide	You decide	The experience of slavery in colonial Massachusetts, and how did it shape the lives of enslaved, slave-holding and non-slave-holding whites, and the economy, culture, and society of early New England

Pay attention to:

- Tone – What type of mood or emotion (or lack of emotion) do you want to portray in order to accomplish the goal of the writer?
- Language – What types of words or phrases do you want to use to make the piece historically and situationally accurate?
- Analysis – How can one make meaning, and interpret and understand the facts, examples and sources?
- Evidence – What facts, examples, and sources will you use to support your reasoning and claims?

Grading Criteria:

____ **History Content & Analysis:** The RAFT shows accurate, well developed, detailed historical content information on the select topic. The writer makes meaning and presents interpretations and understandings of the facts, examples and sources.

____ RAFT Format: Writer's voice is reflective of the role and audience chosen and voice was consistent throughout writing; the writing flows with rich detail and a personal touch; the format was consistently followed.

____ Writing Style: Writing is at a high school level and there are no issues where writing clarity hinders the reader's understanding; it has been edited for spelling and grammar.

____ RAFT Formatting: The appropriate role, audience, format and task have been completed.

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