



**JAMESTOWN - JOURNEY OF DEMOCRACY**  
**WWW.JAMESTOWNJOURNEY.ORG**

**OFFICIAL CURRICULUM OF AMERICA'S 400<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY**  
**SPONSORED BY THE FEDERAL**  
**JAMESTOWN 400<sup>TH</sup> COMMEMORATION COMMISSION**



**The Great Irony of 1619: The Beginnings of Slavery**  
Prepared by the University of Virginia Center for Politics

**Purpose:** 1619 was the year that representative government began to take hold in Virginia. It was also the year that marked the arrival of the first Africans at Jamestown. Ironically, while certain freedoms were beginning to be granted to one population, they would systematically be denied to another. From scant records we can deduce that these first Africans did not arrive as slaves, yet European attitudes, fears, and economic concerns lead to the establishment of slavery in the colony. This lesson will introduce students to the process by which slavery was established in America. Materials provided also investigate current examples of citizen action in response to the denial of rights and freedoms.

**Objectives:**

1. Students will identify European attitudes about race in order to describe how those attitudes lead to the establishment of slavery at Jamestown.
2. Students will examine strategies citizens can use to overcome ethnocentrism and cultural bias in order to extend the freedoms of democracy to all citizens.
3. Students will debate current challenges to representative government.

**Key Terms:**

Franchise	Indenture	Ethnocentrism
Indentured Servant	Pluralism	

**Materials:**

1. Teacher Transparency, *A Relation from Master John Rolfe*
2. Student Resource, *The Path to Slavery* Adapted from, *The Old Dominion in the Seventeenth Century* by Warren Billings. Pages 148-155.
3. Student Resource, *Denial of Freedom: Racism or Economic Convenience?*
4. Student Resource, *The Emergence of Racism and Slavery in the American Colonies*
5. Teacher Resource, *Denial of Freedom: Cartoon Rubric*
6. Teacher Transparency, *The Composition of the 109<sup>th</sup> Congress*
7. Student Resource, *Land, Wealth and Power Within Shinnecock's Grasp; Tribe Debates Pursuit of Territorial Claim* (Reinholz, Mary. *The New York Times*, Nov. 21, 1999)

## Procedure:

1. **Warm Up/Motivation.** Ask the students to create two lists. The first list should include what they know about the first Africans to reach Virginia. In the second list, they should create a list of things that they would like to know about the first Africans in Virginia. Review the lists of the class and come to consensus about what the class would like to know about Africans at Jamestown.
2. Project the teacher transparency, *A Relation from Master John Rolfe*. After the students have read the quote, ask them to respond to the following questions:
  - What important events are recorded in the document?
  - What seem to be the major concerns of the English at Jamestown?
  - How do we know?
  - What effect do you think the arrival of Africans has on the settlement at Jamestown?
  - How are English attitudes towards the Indians reflected in this document?
3. Define the term **ethnocentrism** by placing the following definition on the board and asking the students to copy it into their notebooks.

**Ethnocentrism-** Belief in the superiority of one's own ethnic group.

Ask the students to brainstorm examples of **ethnocentrism**. Is ethnocentrism always a negative concept? Why or why not? How does this idea spread?

- Both the Powhatan and English had **ethnocentric** views of each other. How did this ruin the chance for cooperation during the critical first years of colonization at Jamestown?
  - To what extent do you think attitudes about the superiority of English culture affected English actions towards the Indians? Other groups of Europeans? Africans?
  - In 1619 the Virginia Assembly established a form of self-rule in Virginia. This was the same year that the first Africans arrived at the colony. From our knowledge of history, what makes this ironic?
4. Distribute the student resource, *The Path to Slavery*. Students should define the key terms identified in bold writing in the passage. As they are reading the students should create a flowchart that chronicles the process by which slavery came to be an institution in Virginia. Review the sequence of events by displaying the teacher resource, *Path to Slavery Flowchart*. Allow students the opportunity to alter their flowcharts so that they contain all necessary information.

- What evidence of English ethnocentrism is presented in the article?
  - How did the English attitudes towards non-whites affect the freedom of Africans? Indians?
  - To what extent did economic convenience deny the extension of freedom to Africans in Virginia?
5. Ask students to analyze historical documents regarding slavery by distributing the student resource, ***Denial of Freedom: Racism or Economic Convenience?*** Following the directions on the sheet students are asked to analyze and evaluate source documents in an effort to determine whether slavery arrives in Virginia as a result of economic convenience, ethnocentrism, or a combination of both.
  
  6. Distribute the student handout, ***The Emergence of Racism and Slavery in the American Colonies.*** Have the students complete research on one of the positions and prepare them to debate the causes of slavery. The point of the debate is to have students come to the conclusion that it was a combination of prejudice, ethnocentrism and economic convenience that allowed slavery to take root in Virginia.
  
  7. To summarize this activity have the students create a cartoon or illustration that supports their idea about the introduction of slavery in Virginia. Use the teacher resource, ***Cartoon Rubric*** to evaluate student work.
  
  8. As a transition ask the students to comment on the following questions:
    - Once slavery was established why was it difficult to abolish it?
    - Once abolished, why did rights and freedoms continue to be denied to African-Americans?
    - What is the responsibility of the citizen in a democratic society to extend freedoms to all?

Representative government begins at Jamestown with the first meeting of the Assembly in 1619. Based on what we have discussed, how representative do you think this body was? How representative is our government today?

Display the teacher transparency, ***The Composition of the 109<sup>th</sup> Congress.*** Students should compare and contrast the makeup of the Congress with the national population. Have the students debate whether or not our representative government is truly representative.

- What challenges to representative government are demonstrated by this resource?
- What strategies can we propose to make Congress more representative?

9. To broaden the discussion to extending rights and freedoms beyond the boundaries of the United States, have the students research groups that work to promote understanding and combat ethnocentrism. Students should compare the strategies used, ways in which citizens participate, and the challenges facing groups trying to extend freedom throughout the world. The sites below are examples of groups that work to extend freedom through better communication and understanding.

Sulha- [www.metasulha.org/sulha](http://www.metasulha.org/sulha) - An organization dedicated to promoting understanding between individuals of differing faiths by using the Middle Eastern reconciliation ceremony called sulha.

Seeds of Peace- [www.seedsofpeace.org](http://www.seedsofpeace.org) - Non-profit, non-political organization that helps teenagers from regions of conflict learn the skills of making **peace**.

Project Children- [www.projectchildrenni.com](http://www.projectchildrenni.com) - A group committed to ending religious and political conflict in Northern Ireland by bringing students from both sides together for a six week program in the United States.

The United Nations- [www.un.org](http://www.un.org)

10. To summarize the lesson have the students respond to the following quote:

“Those who expect to reap the blessings of freedom, must, like men, undergo the fatigues of supporting it.” Thomas Paine, *American Crisis*

- Why is it the responsibility of the citizen to protect the freedoms of not only himself/herself but of all citizens?
- In what ways can citizens promote freedom and tolerance in their communities? Around the world?
- How does this action strengthen American democracy?

### Extension Activity:

1. Have the students complete research about the Federal Recognition of the Indians. Discuss the process by which certain Indian tribes have been recognized, including the advantages of federal recognition. Have the students examine tribes that have not been formally recognized and the difficulties that this creates. Questions that should be addressed include:

- What are the advantages/disadvantages of federal recognition?
- Why don't all tribes seek federal recognition?
  - Why have some tribes been denied recognition?
  - What can citizens do to promote the recognition of Indian tribes?

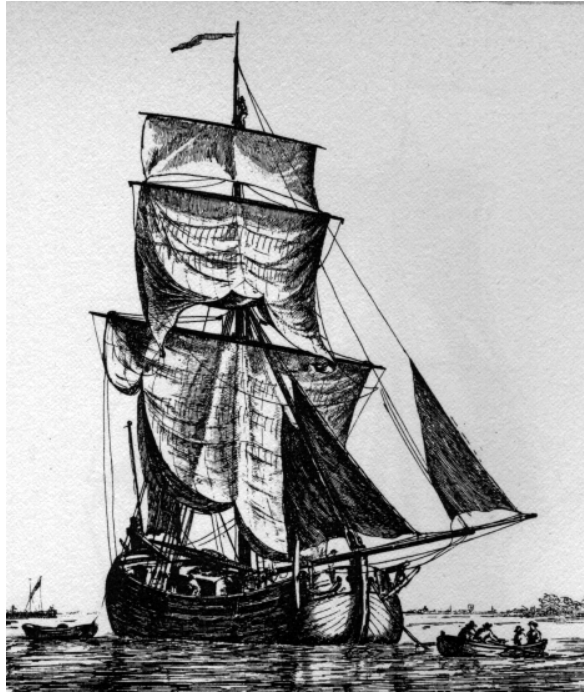
To develop the concept of extending freedoms and rights to all citizens, have students read the article contained on student resource, ***Land, Wealth and Power Within Shinnecock's Grasp; Tribe Debates Pursuit of Territorial Claim.*** (Reinholz, Mary. *The New York Times*, Nov. 21, 1999) Summarize the article by discussing the following:

- Describe the process by which the Shinnecock and other American Indian groups have sought to recover the rights denied them by the United States government.
- What rights have been denied to American Indians?
- How did the creation of Indian Reservations deny American Indians of their rights?
- What are the goals of the Indian groups mentioned in the article?
- What methods did the Shinnecock use to try to achieve their goals?
- How successful have the Shinnecock been in their efforts for Federal recognition?
- To what extent are race issues interfering with the restoration of rights for the American Indians?
- How is this struggle similar to that of African-Americans and other racial groups?

If time permits, have the students research other civil rights cases in which citizen action has extended freedom to Americans. This provides a great connection to a unit on the Civil Rights Movement and discussions of topics such as affirmative action.

## A Relation from Master John Rolfe

Source: Edward Arber and A.G. Bradley, eds., *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith, President of Virginia, and Admiral of New England, 1580-1631* (Edinburgh, 1910), II, 541.



... About the last of August (1619) came in a Dutch man of Warre that sold us twenty Negards: and Iapazour King of Patawomeck, came Jamestowne, to desire two ships to come trade in his river, for a more plentiful year of corne had not beene in a long time, yet very contagious, and by the treachery of one Poule, in a manner turned heathen, wee were very jealous the Salvages would surprize us.

...At the end of August 1619, a Dutch warship appeared carrying twenty negroes. Iapazour the werowance of the Potomac came to Jamestown desiring to trade corn for European goods since their supply of corn was great. We were very suspicious that we would be the victims of treachery by this chief in that the Savages (Indians) would attack.

- What important events are recorded in the document?
- What seem to be the major concerns of the English at Jamestown?
- How are European attitudes towards the Indians reflected in this passage?
- What effect do you think the arrival of Africans will have on the settlement at Jamestown?

## The Path to Slavery

Adapted from: *The Old Dominion in the Seventeenth Century* by Warren Billings. Pages 148-155.

The arrival of twenty Africans in 1619 did not signal the start of a massive black migration to Virginia or put an end to **indentured servitude**. By the middle of the seventeenth century there were three hundred settlers of African origin. By the end of the seventeenth century that number had grown to over six thousand.

Not all Africans who went to Virginia arrived as slaves. While it was not unusual for blacks to be held in slavery, many were treated as **indentured servants**. This meant that once their **indenture** was up they were regarded as free. Although their indentures were generally longer than English indentures, they were granted the same freedoms upon the end of their indenture.

A significant number of Africans who came to Virginia in 1619 never became slaves. Records of the first black Virginians are scarce, however it is plausible that some of the Africans had been free in the colonies from which they came (the Caribbean) and for them servitude in Virginia promised a chance for an improvement in lifestyle.

It has also been suggested that religion may have affected the status of Africans in Virginia. In examining the few records that exist, all free blacks had Christian names. In the early part of the seventeenth century, conversion to Christianity could release a man from slavery.

Free blacks enjoyed many of the same privileges and rights that belonged to Englishmen. They owned property, including, in at least one instance, servants and slaves, and a few acquired enough material wealth to leave wills at their deaths. They were active members of the community and had all the rights of other freemen. Free men also had access to the courts; they could sue, be sued and give evidence.

It is not certain if free blacks who met the **franchise** requirements were entitled to vote in elections for the Virginia Assembly. There is nothing to suggest that qualified blacks were prevented from casting their ballots. It was not until 1725 that laws were passed that specifically denied the vote to free blacks and no challenge to black voters has been found in the local records. It is perhaps safe to assume that if a black could qualify as a **freeholder**, he could vote.

There were, however, obvious distinctions that set free blacks apart from the English. Only “Negroes” were identified by race in court records. This reflects English **ethnocentrism** and indicates the inferior attitude with which the English regarded all foreigners. From 1640 black men were barred from serving in the militia or bearing arms. Black women were taxed, unlike their English counterparts, and by 1643 black men were prohibited from owning English servants. By 1660, the position of free blacks had greatly deteriorated but was still better than that of the enslaved blacks.

By 1660, White colonists began to perceive the few rights granted to blacks as threats to stability in the commonwealth. Building upon the few laws that already existed to hold blacks in servitude, the Assembly wrote the institution of slavery into Virginia Law. From that point on the few opportunities for slaves to escape their bondage rapidly disappeared. In examining Virginia laws created during the 1660s it can be seen that the freedom of Africans in Virginia was rapidly decreasing. In 1662 Virginia law established slavery by the condition of the mother, meaning that a child born of a slave was a slave. In 1667 Virginia law stated that baptism did not exempt a slave from bondage, thus removing another path to freedom. Killing a slave who was resisting a master was not a felony according to a 1669 statute. This change in attitude is probably attributable to a rising black population that increased the desire for whites to impose laws restricting the freedoms of blacks. Such action would remove doubts and inconsistencies about who was and who was not a slave and would eliminate the bases for black's claims to freedom.

The Assembly had formally stripped the Negro of his humanity and reduced him to a piece of property. He had neither a legal personality nor freedom of movement. The laws created throughout the 1660s accomplished three goals for the colony. First, they established who was a slave. Second, they established the master's rights over his slaves and finally they gave the colony authority to maintain discipline among the slaves. These laws would be formalized into Virginia's first slave code, which was written in 1705.

By the end of the seventeenth century indentured servitude (black and white) was still Virginia's dominate system of labor, but the English colonists had already set the course for replacing it with slavery. Contemporary English attitudes regarding race and the legislative process combined to create the idea that slavery was a viable alternative to indentured servitude and a way of solving the problem of race relations. The tragic result of that decision was a bitter heritage that has yet to run its course.

## Denial of Freedom: Racism or Economic Convenience

The following exercise will require that you think of the cause and effect relationship between the development of institutionalized slavery and racism in Virginia during the initial years of English settlement. You will be studying the development of bound servitude in Virginia and the development of racial prejudice through actual primary documents from 1619 to 1690. You will be expected to reach a conclusion as to whether you can determine whether slavery was a result of racism, economic convenience, or a combination of both.

Was the denial of freedom a result of racism or an economic convenience? If it was economic convenience, after continually seeing blacks in this degraded status, did Virginians begin to think of blacks as less human than whites? Or, did the Englishmen's attitudes of racial superiority towards blacks allow them to enslave the Africans from the beginning?

In completing the assignment, the following procedure is recommended:

1. **Translate** the documents from "old" English to contemporary English. Take the documents, read through them, and then summarize what they say. Write down your translation.
2. **Analyze** the document. Try to determine how it fits into the question being studied. Does the document reveal any of the racial attitudes of the people of Virginia? What does the document tell us about slavery in the colony? Again write this out.
3. **Evaluate** the value of the evidence presented in each document. Determine, as best you can, how **valid** the evidence is. Which documents seem to be the most reliable and valuable in answering the question? Put the evidence in its proper chronological order to see if there are any patterns in the attitudes and behaviors of the Virginian colonists that might reveal what was happening between slavery and racism. Prioritize your evidence according to its value in supporting your conclusion. For this section it might help to create a chart that reveals the relationships and patterns of evidence.
4. Write a paragraph in which you **state your conclusion**. Within this paragraph, you should list your evidence and explain how it supports your conclusion.

List of Sources:

1. An Act Preventing Negroes from Bearing Arms, 1640
2. From "Blacks in Virginia: a Note on the First Decade"
3. Estate Inventory of James Stone, 1648
4. Hugh Davis' Case, 1630
5. An Act Taxing Negro Women, March 1642-3
6. A Relation from Master John Rolfe
7. A Rising on the Northern Neck, 1680
8. Anthony Johnson's Servant, 1655
9. Punishment of a runaway slave, 1689

10. Susannah's Case, A Rising on William Pierce's Plantation, 1640

11. An Act declaring that Baptism does not bring freedom, 1667

### *The Arrival of the Negro in Virginia, 1619*

#### *1. An Act Preventing Negroes from Bearing Arms, 1640*

"Acts of General Assembly, Jan6, 1639-40," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ser., IV (1924), p. 147.

It is likewise enacted that all masters of families shall use their best endeavours for the furnishing of themselves and all those of their families which shall be capable of arms (excepting negroes) with arms both offensive and defensive that all persons shall provide themselves as aforesaid with armes offensive the ensueing year, and with half armes both offensive and defensive the following year in the year 1641 upon such penalty as shall be thought fitt by the Governor and council. And that for the present all persons shall cause their pieces to be fixed within three months upon such penalty as aforesaid.

#### *2. From "Blacks in Virginia: A Note on the First Decade"*

Alden T. Vaughn.

To his heirs Sir George left "goode debts, chattels, servants, negars, cattle or any other thing."

#### *3. Estate Inventory of James Stone, 1648*

Winthrop, D. Jordan, *Unthinking Decision*.

	lb. tobo
Thomas Groves, 4 yeares to serve	1300
Francis Bomley for 6 yeares	1500
John Thackstone for 3 yeares	1300
Susan Davis for 3 yeares	1000
Emaniell a Negro man	2000
Roger Stone 3 yeares	1300
Mingo a Negro man	2000

#### *4. Hugh Davis' Case, 1630*

William Waller Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, from the First Session of the Legislature in the Year 1619*. Richmond, 1809-23, I, p. 146.

September 17<sup>th</sup>, 1630. Hugh Davis to be soundly whipped, before an assembly of Negroes and others for abusing himself to the dishonor of God and shame of Christians, by defiling his body in lying with a negro; which fault he is to acknowledge next Sabbath day.

#### *5. An Act Taxing Negro Women, March 1642-3*

Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large*, I, p. 242.

Be it also enacted and confirmed That there be tenn pounds of tobacco per poll and a bushel of corne per poll paid to the ministers within the severall parishes of the colony for all tithable persons, that is to say, as well for all youths of sixteen years of age as upwards, as also for al negro woman at the age of sixteen years...

Edward Arber and A. G. Bradley, eds., *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith, President of Virginia, and Admiral of New England, 1580-1631*, II, p. 541.

...About the last of August (1619) came in a dutch man of warre that sold us twenty Negars: and Iapaxous King of Patawomech, came to James towne, to desire two ships to come trade in his River, for a more plentifull yeere of Corne had not beene in a long time, yet very contagious, and by the trechery of one Paule, in a manner turned heathen, wee were very jealous the Salvages would surprize us.

#### 6. *A Relation from Master John Rolfe*

Edward Arber and A.G. Bradley, eds., *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith, President of Virginia, and Admiral of New England, 1580-1631* (Edinburgh, 1910), II, 541.

... About the last of August (1619) came in Dutch man of warre that sold us twenty Negards: and Iapazour King of Patawomeck, came Jamestowne, to desire two ships to come trade in his river, for a more plentifull year of corne had not beene in a long time, yet very contagious, and by the trechery of one Poule, in a manner turned heathen, wee were very jealous the Salvages would suprize us.

At the end of August 1619, a Dutch Warship appeared carrying twenty Negroes. Iapazour the chief werowance of the Potomac came to Jamestown desiring to trade corn for European goods. We were very wary (suspicious) that we would be the victims of treachery by this chief in that the Savages (Indians) would attack the settlement.

#### 7. *A Rising on the Northern Neck, 1680*

H.R. McIlwaine and Wilmer L. Hall, eds., *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonia Virginia, Richmond 1925-1945*, I, p. 86-87.

His Excellency was pleased this day in Councill to acquaint the Councill that he had even then received from Mr. Secretary Spencer Intelligence of the Discover of a Negro Plott, formed in the Northern Neck for the Destroying and killing his Majesties Subjects the Inhabitants thereof, with a designe of Carrying in through the whole Collony of Virginia which being by Gods Providence timely discovered before any part of the designes were put in Execution, and thereby their whole Evill purposes for the present defeated, and Mr. Secretary Spencer having by his Board Seriously considered Have found fit so Order that the Negro Conspirators now in Custody be either safely Secured until the next Gen<sup>3</sup>erall Court, to the Intent they may then be proceeded against according to Law, or if it be found more Necessary for the present Safety of the Country that they be brought to a Speedy Tryall, that then his Excellency will be pleased to direct a Commision to Mr. Secretary Spencer, Col. Richard Lee, and Col. Isaac Allertaeon three of his Majesties Councill Inhabitants in the Northern Neck to Sitte heare and try

according to Law the Negro Conspirators, and to proceed to Sentence of Condemnations and Execution, or to Such other punishments as according to Law they shall be found Guilty off, by such examples of Justice to deter other Negroes from plotting or Contreveing either the Death wrongs or Injuries of any of his Majesties Subjects. And this Board having Considered that the great freedome and Liberty that has beene by many Masters given to their Negro Slaves for Walking on Broad Saterdays and Sundays and permitting them to meet in great Numbers in making and holding of Funeralls for Dead Negroes gives them the Opportunityes under the pretention of such publique meetings to Consult and advise for the carrying on of their Evill and Wichked purposes and Contrivances, for the prevention whereof for the future, It is by this Board though fitt that a Proclamation doe forthwith Issue, required a Strickt observance of the Severall Laws of this Collony relateing to Negroes, and to require and Comand all Masters of amilies having and Negro Salves, not to permit them to hold or make any Solemnity of Funeralls for any deceased Negroes.

8. *Anthony Johnson's Servant, 1655*

Northhampton County Order Book, 1655-1668, fol.10.

The deposition of Captain Samuel Goldsmith taken (in open court) the 8<sup>th</sup> of March Sayth, That beinge at the howse of Anthony Johnson Negro (about the beginninge of November last to receive a hogshead of tobacco) a Negro called John Casar came to this Deponent, and told him that hee came into Virginia for seaven or Eight yeares (per indenture) And that hee had demanded his freedome of his master Anthony Johnson; And further Johnson had kept him his servant seavcen yeares longer than hee ought, And desired that this deponent would see tha thee might have noe wronge, whereupon you Deponent demonded of Anthony Johnson his Indenture, hee answered, hee never sawe any; The said Negro (John Casor) replied, hee came for a certayne tyme and had an Indenture Anthony Johnson said hee never did see any But that hee had him for his life; Further this deponent saith That mr. Robert Parker and George Parker they knew that the said Negro had an Indenture An the said recover most of his Cowes of him; then Anthony Johnson was in a feare. Upon this his Sonne in lawe, his wife and his 2 sonnes pereswaded the said Anthony Johnson to sett the said John Casor free. More saith not.

Samuel Goldsmith

This is a court document recording the testimony of Samuel Goldsmith. In the testimony Mr. Goldsmith is asserting that Anthony Johnson denied John Casor, his indentured servant, his freedom after the terms of his indenture had ended. Anthony Johnson, a free black, asserted that John Casor was in fact a slave. This fact was refuted by the Parkers who testified that they knew the terms of Casor's indenture. Johnson realizes that he has no case to restrict Casor's freedom and releases him at the request of his wife and family.

*Susannah's Case, 1677*

Charles City County Order Book, 1677-79, 216.

Upon the petition of Susannah a free Negro-Woman that she may be exempted from paying Levyes (taxes) An Whereas the Worshipful Courte is informed of her strength and ability It is thereupon thought fit that she be not Exempted but pay Levyes.

9. *Punishment of a Runaway Slave, 1689*

Charles City County Order Book, 1687-1695, 262.

Will a Negro slave belonging to Mrs. Mary Clarke being a runaway thievish Rogue, and here accused of several injuries that he hath done to the People of the County in the tyme of his late absence from his service, It is ordered that he receive thirty-nine lashes well layd, on his bare back.

10. *Susannah's Case, A Rising On William Pierce's Plantation, 1640*

"Decisions of the General Court," 1640, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, V (1897-1898), 236-237.

July 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1640. Wherese complaint has been made to this Board by Captain William Pierce, Esquire that six of his servants and a negro of Mr. Reginald's has plotted to run away unto the Dutch plantation from their said masters, and idd assay to put the same in Execution upon Saturday night, being the 8<sup>th</sup> day of July, 1640 as appeared to the Board by the Examinations of Andrew Noxe, Richard Hill, Richard Cookeson and John Williams, and likewise by the confession of Christopher Miller, Peter Milcocke and Emanuel, the foresaid Negro, who had, at the foresaid time, taken the skiff of the said Capt. William Pierce, their master, and corn, powder and shot and guns to accomplish their said purposes, which said persons sailed down in the said skiff taking the same into consideration as a dangerous precedent for the future time (if left unpunished), did order that Christopher Miller, a Dutchman (a prime agent in the business), should receive t he punishment of whipping, and work with a shackle on his legg for one whole year and longer if said master shall see cause, and after his full time of service is Expired with his said master to serve the colony for seven whole years, and the said Peter Milcocke to receive thirty stripes and to be Burnt in the cheek with the letter R, and after his term of service is expired with his said master to serve the colony for three years, and the said Richard Cookson, after his full time Expired with his mastere, to serve the colony for two years and a half, and the said Richard Hill to remain upon his good behavior until the next offence, and the said Andrew Noxe to receive thirty stripes , and the said John Williams, a Dutchman and a surgeon after his full time of service is expired with his master, to serve the colony for seven years, and Emanuel, the Negro, to receive thirty stripes and to be burnt in the cheek with the letter R and to work in shackles one year or more as his master shall see cause, and all those who are condemned to serve the colony after their time are Expired with their masters then their said masters are required hereby to present to this board their said servants so condemned to the colony.

11. *An Act Declaring that Baptism Does Not Bring Freedom, September 1667*

Whereas some doubts have risen whether children that are slaves by birth, and by the charity and piety of their owners made pertakers of the blessed sacrament of baptisme, should by virtue 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 propogation of Christianity by permitting children, though slaves, or those of greater growth if capable to be admitted to that sacrament.

## The Emergence of Racism and Slavery in the American Colonies

Directions:

There has long been a heated historical debate over the early relationship between slavery and race in the English colonies. The following activity will require you to consider the cause and affect relationship between the development of institutionalized slavery and the evolution of racial prejudice in Virginia during the early years of settlement by the English (17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries.) You will be studying this topic through primary documents and scholarly secondary sources. The class will be divided into two groups to research and then debate the following controversy:

**Did slavery in Virginia evolve out of economic convenience that resulted in racial prejudice exhibited on the part of Europeans?**

**Or, did already existing racism lead to the enslavement of Africans in Virginia?**

Research stage:

In producing your arguments during the research stage, each team will be divided into groups. Each group will be responsible for the interpretation and analysis of several primary and secondary sources.

Team A's position: *Slavery developed out of economic convenience. Racism emerged largely as a result of slavery- it was not the cause of slavery.*

Team B's position: *The English's long held racist attitudes towards black Africans made it easier to enslave them in Virginia- racism therefore helped to create slavery in the Colonies.*

Forum Stage:

Each side will be allowed to place three members on the panel to argue its case. The debate will consist of the following:

- Opening Statement- 5 minutes. State your case and what you hope to prove.
- Rebuttal- 3 minutes to refute the other side's statement.
- Open Forum- remaining class members will debate points discussed in opening statement and rebuttal.

## **Denial of Freedom: Cartoon Rubric**

### **4 Points**

- Student used symbolism to illustrate the social and economic motivations for slavery.
- Student clearly understood the ideas behind the economic and social motivations of slavery.
- Student organized the information in an interesting fashion.

### **3 Points**

- Student clearly understood the ideas behind the economic and social motivations for slavery.
- Student made some attempt at symbolism to illustrate the motivations for slavery.
- Student organized the information.

### **2 Points**

- Student showed some understanding of the social and economic motivations for slavery.
- Student made some attempt at symbolism to illustrate the motivations for slavery.
- Some attempt at organizing the info.

### **1 Point**

- Student demonstrated little understanding of the social and economic motivations for slavery.
- Illustration made an attempt at symbolism.
- Little organization.

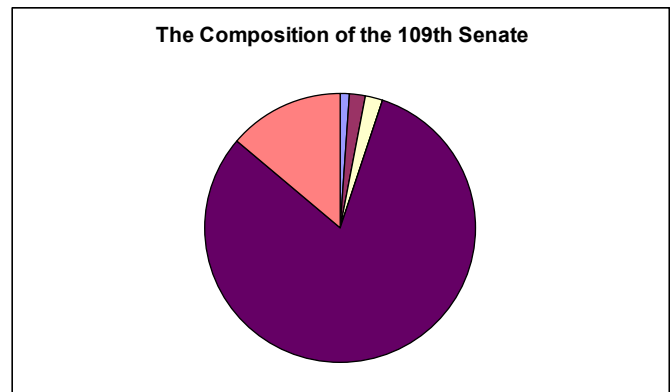
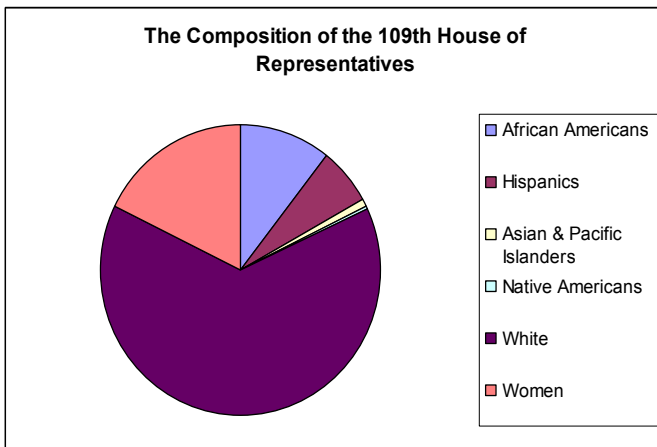
### **0 Points**

- Student did not demonstrate any understanding of the social and economic motivations for slavery.
- Illustration did not match the theme of the cartoon.

## The Composition of the 109<sup>th</sup> Congress

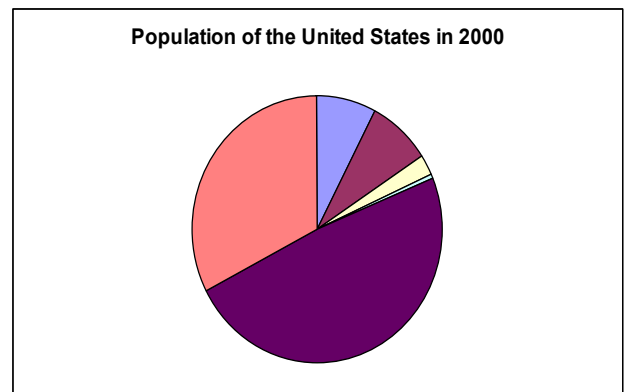
Part of the problem with Representative Government is that it is often not actually representative of the population of the nation it governs.

	House	Senate
<b>Total</b>	435 (R-232; D-202; I-1)	100 (R-55; D-44, I-1)
<b>African Americans</b>	40 (9%)	1 (1%)
<b>Hispanics</b>	23 (5.3%)	2 (2%)
<b>Asian &amp; Pacific Islanders</b>	3 (.7%)	2 (2%)
<b>Native Americans</b>	1 (.2%)	0 (0%)
<b>White</b>	237 (54%)	81 (81%)
<b>Women</b>	65 (15%)	14 (14%)



Compare these numbers to the population of the United States in 2000:

<b>Total Population</b>	281,421,906
<b>African Americans</b>	12.3%
<b>Hispanics</b>	12.5%
<b>Asian and Pacific Islanders</b>	3.7%
<b>Native Americans</b>	.9%
<b>White</b>	75.1%
<b>Women</b>	50.9%



Donald R. Wolfensberger, *Information on the 109<sup>th</sup> Congress*, The Woodrow Wilson International Center For Scholars, <http://wwics.si.edu/topics/docs/profile109.pdf>

*Profiles of General Demographic Characteristics*, 2000 Census of Population and Housing, US Census Bureau, <http://www.census.gov/prod/cen2000/dp1/2kh00.pdf>

## Land, Wealth and Power Within Shinnecoaks' Grasp; Tribe Debates Pursuit of Territorial Claim

By MARY REINHOLZ (NYT) 2717 words

Published: November 21, 1999

We grew up chasing trespassers off our land," said Margo Thunder Bird, a 47-year-old Shinnecock Indian who lived in Riverhead as a child but spent her summers at the Shinnecock reservation in Southampton. "That's how we made our political goals as children. We would throw stones at them and tell the non-Indian people to get off our land. We would say, 'You can't be here. This is Indian land.' Our grandmother raised us. She applauded our efforts."

Ms. Thunder Bird's confrontational attitude comes with a long pedigree. Ever since whites began settling the New World, their territorial claims have been challenged by the original owners, the native Americans. Long Island history is no different, and as elsewhere, Long Island whites have had a lopsided advantage in how such disputes have been resolved.

But that could change. A court ruling last year has opened the way for the Shinnecoaks to press a claim for 3,600 acres of prime Hamptons real estate that would more than quadruple the size of their reservation. It would also give the tribe a shot of income that could be used to raise the standard of living for the reservation's 450 inhabitants, or for a major capital project. Among the options: Long Island's first gambling casino.

The ruling concerned a half-acre waterfront parcel on Montauk Highway, which William Pell, a wealthy local marina owner, had purchased from a developer in 1992 for \$65,000, planning to build a home and pool. Nothing was heard from the Shinnecoaks until a contractor hired by Mr. Pell began clearing the land in October 1996.

Hearing a noise through the trees, Doreen Dennis-Arrindel, who lives on the reservation in a home facing Heady Creek, grabbed her infant granddaughter as she went to investigate and then sat down in the path of a bulldozer that was knocking down trees.

"I said to him, 'You can't do that. Would you please stop? This is private property,'" said Ms. Dennis-Arrindel, 46. "But he kept on and I just sat down in front of the bulldozer. He stopped because his other option was running me over.

"It was just automatic, spontaneous," she said of her action. "The land, the reservation mean so much to me. It's my heritage. The history here is part of my soul."

When the land clearing operation resumed a week later, Ms. Dennis-Arrindel sat down in front of a truck. But by then, tribal leaders had contacted the Suffolk County District Attorney, James A. Catterson Jr., whose office obtained a preliminary restraining order to stop the bulldozing. Mr. Catterson later brought a civil suit against Mr. Pell under a little-known provision of state law that requires county district attorneys to "eject intruders" from Indian land.

In 1997 Judge John J. Jones Jr. of Suffolk County Court in Riverhead ruled that “most, if not all” of the contested parcel belonged to the Shinnecocks. The Appellate Division of the State Supreme Court upheld the ruling in 1998.

The ruling covered only the half acre. But Karen Petterson, a former Suffolk prosecutor who worked on the Pell case, believes that it puts the Shinnecocks in a position to reclaim all the lands lost to them in 1859, when the state Legislature reduced their holdings from 3,600 acres to the current 800-acre reservation, which includes 750 acres on Shinnecock Neck and an additional 50 acres in Hampton Bays.

“They could make a case for other lands in the area belonging to them,” said Ms. Petterson, who is now in private practice in Manorville. “In our arguments in lower court, we specifically asked the court not to make boundaries because it was important to the tribe that they not be barred from taking further action if they wanted to. They have to determine within themselves if they want to seek federal redress to get back thousands of acres in Southampton.”

Mr. Catterson agreed with this assessment, noting that the lower court judge ruled only that the district attorney had proved his case and had lawfully ejected an intruder.

“He didn’t have to set a boundary,” Mr. Catterson said. “I think he was sensitive and didn’t want to preclude potential claims that anybody might have.”

Shinnecock leaders, famously wary of discussing internal politics with outsiders, declined to discuss land reclamation in any detail.

“That’s not up to the trustees to decide, that’s an issue for the tribe to decide as a whole,” said James Eleazer, 52, chairman of the three-member board of trustees, the reservation’s governing body. He said federal recognition of the tribe was its “main priority” in the next century.

But it is possible to chart the outlines of a possible Shinnecock strategy: first, get federal recognition; second, use federal recognition, which means ironclad legal standing and access to the legal services of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, to help win the territorial claim; and third, parlay the proceeds from a cash settlement of the land claim – or even from rents or tolls, if the Shinnecocks wind up as landlords – to build a casino to rival Foxwoods, the money machine of the Mashantucket Pequot nation in Connecticut.

Shinnecocks who would talk appear to be divided on how to proceed, with some hoping that the tribe will attempt to regain ownership of the Shinnecock Hills, now vastly lucrative terrain encompassing residential areas, the Southampton campus of Long Island University and three golf courses, among them the venerable Shinnecock Hills Golf Club, founded in 1891 and chosen for the U.S. Open in 2004.

“I’d like to see our original ownership recognized,” said Elizabeth Haile, 69, a member of the Shinnecock tribal council, which advises the board of trustees. “We live on a peninsula, but we had all the lands in the area before 1859.”

“The golf course is on our land,” Ms. Thunder Bird said. “We don’t have to throw them out. We could charge back rent. I’ll ride up on my horse and collect it every month,” she added with a mischievous tone in her quiet voice.

But John A. Strong, professor emeritus of history at the Southampton Campus of Long Island University and an authority on Shinnecock history, said that most Indian land claim cases resulted in financial settlements. “The notion of people having to move off the land or pay rent,” he said, “is a red herring used to scare white people who live in the adjacent areas to turn them against these land cases.”

The Rev. Michael Smith, pastor of the Shinnecock Presbyterian Church and a former tribal trustee, showed little enthusiasm for reclamation, remarking, “If the pump works, why fix it?” He works at the Shinnecock Hills Golf Club and grew up playing golf with some of its members. His brother Peter Smith, the former tribal chairman, is the grounds superintendent at the club, as was their father. Their grandfather was also employed there.

If the pump does work, it’s not putting out much water. Most houses on the reservation are modest, and many have been built piecemeal because the Indians cannot get mortgages for building on land held in common. Some buildings are rundown.

Michael Smith acknowledged that the Shinnecoaks were deeply concerned about hanging on to their lands.

“When you look at the real estate on the East End of Long Island, anybody in his right mind would be concerned,” he said. “Let’s face it, we’re on a lucrative piece of property. There were once 13 tribes on Long Island and now only two have maintained lands. The other 11 tribes have lost their lands through dishonesty and deceit on the part of those who came to colonize. That’s the history of colonization. It’s one of the sadder parts of American history, and it’s a reality that we live with every day.”

Archival documents show that in 1703 the colonial trustees of the Town of Southampton paid \$:20 to the Shinnecoaks for all of the land from the Village of Southampton to Canoe Place, on what is now the Shinnecock Canal. The whites then leased it back to the tribe, providing only that the property not be fenced in the winter, apparently so the whites could graze their livestock on the land.

The lease was to run 1,000 years. But in 1859, Southampton officials persuaded the state Legislature the Shinnecoaks were willing to break their lease on the 3,600-acre tract so the Long Island Rail Road could go through. In exchange, the Shinnecoaks were given title to the 750 acres on Shinnecock Neck.

In his 1996 book, “We Are Still Here! The Algonquin Peoples of Long Island Today,” Dr. Strong asserted that the Shinnecoaks were pressured into the 1859 deal, and documents from the era indicate that the Indian signatures on the contract were forged.

Dr. Strong wrote that the Shinnecoaks appear to have a “strong case for reclamation, but have been reluctant to undertake an expensive court battle.” In a recent interview, he said that federal recognition would help a reclamation effort because, he noted, “If they wanted to pursue land claims, they can get legal help.”

If a judge were to rule that the 1703 lease was broken illegally, it could be reinstated, making the Shinnecoaks the legal tenants for the next 704 years. The rent? According to the lease, one ear of corn per year. The value of the land? "Astronomical," Mr. Catterson said.

Officials at the Southampton campus of Long Island University said they are familiar with the Shinnecoaks' historic connection to their property. "Over the years, I've heard people saying that a good part of the land was tribal land, but I haven't heard any specific discussion of asserting a claim," said the provost, Timothy Bishop. "I believe we have clear title to the land we occupy. We would deal seriously and appropriately with any claim."

Elliot Vose, president of the Shinnecock Hills Golf Club, seemed taken aback by the idea of the Shinnecoaks reclaiming land on which the club sits. "We would question very strongly anybody's claim to the golf course," he said. "Nobody has ever in any serious way suggested there was a question about it."

Fred Thiele, the state assemblyman whose district includes the area, said he hadn't heard much about land claims by the Shinnecoaks. But he noted there has been "discussion" in the Southampton community of the possibility that the tribe might build a gambling casino on their land.

"That's a decision that is up to the tribal council and to date, there has been a mixed reaction to a gambling casino," said Mr. Thiele.

First, though, the tribe would have to win federal recognition. Under the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act of 1998, tribes not recognized by the federal government are barred from the gaming industry.

Lee Fleming, chief of the Branch of Acknowledgement and Research for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, said that the Shinnecoaks filed a letter of intent to seek federal recognition as far back as 1979. In September 1998, he said, the bureau received a formal petition from the reservation.

Rex Hacker, a spokesman for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, described the government recognition process as "very complicated and painful. But it's the prize tribes are striving for," he said.

The Shinnecoaks' petition was prepared by the Native American Rights Fund, headquartered in Boulder, Colo. Mark Tilden, a Navaho and the staff attorney on the case, said there were seven criteria that the Shinnecoaks must meet to obtain federal recognition, including documentation that the tribe has existed continuously as an American Indian entity, meaning that it must have an uninterrupted tribal organization, and that it had political authority "since the first European contact."

Because many Shinnecock family trees include intermarriages with other tribes or non-Indians – some people in Southampton derisively refer to the Shinnecoaks as more black than Indian – many outsiders seem to think that the Shinnecoaks may fall short of federal recognition on a blood-purity standard. Dr. Strong, however, dismisses that notion.

“There’s been this prejudice among some white people who will tell you that they’re not really Indians because they’re associating facial features with cultural identity, and those are two different things,” he said. “But the genealogy of the Shinnecoaks is very clear and easy to demonstrate.”

Mr. Tilden said that racial purity was not an issue for the federal government. Tribes across the country “have a sovereign prerogative” to decide on their own membership lists, he said. “Some tribes have blood quantum requirements,” he said, referring to ancestral blood lines of members. “Others do not.”

Ms. Haile said that members of the tribe had to prove that they were descended from Shinnecoaks but there was no blood purity requirement. “Everybody’s into numbers,” she said. “We just know who we are and how long we’ve been here.”

There are currently 555 federally recognized tribes in the United States, of which more than 150 have approved gambling agreements. The Pequots’ Foxwoods casino has been such a success that it not only provides full employment for the tribe, but also employs Indians from other tribes, including the Shinnecoaks. As a bonus, it provided \$193 million for a jewel of a museum celebrating Pequot culture.

A Shinnecoak casino would be closer to New York City, and the tribe is better organized than the Pequots were when they began moving toward gambling. But Mr. Smith, the Shinnecoaks’ pastor, described casinos on Indian reservations as a “two-edged sword.”

“People talk about what money can buy, but you don’t hear about social concerns, like the increase in alcoholism, drug abuse and domestic abuse that are issues on reservations,” he said. “People say organized crime isn’t involved anymore, but it is. The issues are compounded when you start bringing in huge amounts of cash.”

But he said that if the Shinnecoaks eventually decide to move in the direction of a casino, “the Town of Southampton would have nothing to say about it.”

Such an attitude would not sit well with many white residents of the town, where traffic congestion and rampant development are the No. 1 concern. Mr. Thiele said that the general attitude in East Hampton and Southampton is “overwhelming opposition to casinos.”

## Indian Territorial Ambitions, Part II

The Shinnecoaks are not the only Indians on Long Island with territorial ambitions. Harry Wallace, chief of the Unkechaug Indian nation, which owns the 55-acre Poospatuck Reservation in Mastic, said his tribe might apply for federal recognition next year as means of attaining “greater authority” in its quest to reclaim 1,000 acres from Eastport to Westhampton. The chief believes those properties were lost in land grabs and treaty violations over the last four centuries.

Mr. Wallace owns the Poospatuck Smoke Shop, one of several stores selling tax-free tobacco products on the reservation, a low-income enclave in a residential neighborhood. Many residents have built homes piecemeal or live in trailers because, like the

Shinnecoeks, they cannot obtain mortgages for housing on commonly held land. But the reservation, bounded on two sides by water, would be valuable on the open market, perhaps as a casino site.

“But building a gambling casino isn’t an item on the agenda for the tribe,” said the chief, resplendent in deerskins and a headdress of porcupine quills at a recent festival. “We’re certainly not going to put up a casino when we don’t have enough space for housing.”

MARY REINHOLZ