Learning and Teaching the Hard History of Slavery in the North
New England’s Raison D'Être and Slavery (or New Englands Reason to Be and Slavery)
Specific Details Concerning the Prevalence of the West Indian Trade and Colonial Connecticut Economy Prior to the American Revolution
New England and the West India Trade:

EXPORTS

By Dr. Eric Bartholomew Kimball, 2009, adapted by Dr. Waurshauer, 2020.

“Inspector General’s Customs Reports” 1768-1772

Livestock Exported:
- 3 of every 4 horses came from CT (on average 31 horses on each vessel arriving from CT.)
- Horses 59% of value of all goods exp. from CT. (Worked in mills)
- 27,003 sheep for food and dung
- 4,512,860 lbs. of beef and pork

Other Farm Products from CT:
- Butter: 44,546 pounds of butter as sent to West Indies
- Cheese: 12,596 pounds of cheese exported to West Indies
- 74,470 pounds of tallow (rendered animal fat) sent to West Indies to make candles
New England and the West India Trade:

IMPORTS

By Dr. Eric Bartholomew Kimball, 2009, adapted by Dr. Waurshauer, 2020.

“Inspector General’s Customs Reports” 1768-1772

Most Common Items Imported:

- 1,488,032 lbs. of brown sugar
- 612,609 gallons of molasses
- 1,368 gallons of rum
- 450,936 bushels of salt

Imports from West Indies to Conn:

- New Haven
  - 407 or 47% of all ships
  - 16,699 tons or 54% of all tonnage
- New London
  - 567 or 33% of all ships
  - 25,391 or 46% of tonnage
Local Evidence of West Indian Trade:

From the “Sundry Advance-
ments of the Sloop Juno” (1790) with Eli Foote of Guilford, CT. (Eli is grandfather of H.B. Stowe.)

- 700 lbs of beef and tallow.
- Bushels of corn and oats.
- 4,600 red oak barrel staves.
- Pressed hay ............
- Three horses...........
- To one ox ..............
- To 4,600 culling staves
Transcription of Manifest for Sloop Juno, 1790

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>½ John Leatons Oxen, Grain &amp; Staves</td>
<td></td>
<td>£15.3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As per Note signed by Landon &amp; Foot</td>
<td></td>
<td>£6.7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>¾ Simon Chittenden Ditto &amp; Do</td>
<td></td>
<td>£2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thos. Griswold's Oxen</td>
<td></td>
<td>£13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>½ Timo Rossellers Do</td>
<td></td>
<td>£5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jabez Bentons Oxen, Deducting Hide &amp; Tallow</td>
<td></td>
<td>£3.13.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 of Silas Bentons Oxen</td>
<td></td>
<td>£6.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>½ of 700 H Beef &amp; Tallow of David Seward</td>
<td></td>
<td>£3.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 ½ bushel Oats of Elion Lee</td>
<td></td>
<td>£1.14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62 bushels Oats of Henry Hill</td>
<td></td>
<td>£4.2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 bushels D's of Field</td>
<td></td>
<td>£3.7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 barrels of Beef</td>
<td></td>
<td>£4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 New Hogheads</td>
<td></td>
<td>£7.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 old Ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td>£6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6½ bushel Potatoes of Sam'l Elliot</td>
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<td>£1.6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4600 Red Oak Staves</td>
<td></td>
<td>£9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1200 per m, per m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Days Lighter Hire</td>
<td></td>
<td>£3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Making 24 H Candles</td>
<td></td>
<td>£2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 _0_10 Press'd Hay</td>
<td></td>
<td>£3.15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 _0_10 D's, of Timy Hill</td>
<td></td>
<td>£2.12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash paid to Roadway for Advance Wages</td>
<td></td>
<td>£2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto - Smith</td>
<td></td>
<td>£1.3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto - Bishop</td>
<td></td>
<td>£5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Weeks Board of Hands</td>
<td></td>
<td>£2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Load Wood</td>
<td></td>
<td>£5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 bushel Beans</td>
<td></td>
<td>£5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49 bushels Oats of Dan'l Stanton</td>
<td></td>
<td>£3.5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Ditto d' of Christ'n Spencer</td>
<td></td>
<td>£2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>£98.9.82</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To paid Sam'l Landon for Board & Wages                                  | £1.16   |
To 20 bushel Oats of Silas Bentons                                    | 1.6.8   |
To 3 horses equal to average price of Oxen                            | £5.10.9 |
To Stalkings Ox                                                       | £6.15.2 |
To addition on Griswold's Oxen & half Chittendens & Rossaters         | 2.1.6   |
To bring them to 200 pr (C-h)                                         | 6.15.2  |
To 1 ox of Silas Benton                                               | £13.12  |
To 8 Gallons Rum                                                      | £1.19   |
To 10½ Quarts Rum to the People Loading                               | 6.10    |
To Gulping Staves                                                     | 4000     |
To ½ per m                                                           | £139.14.1|

Deduct part of the Horses + on Freight                                 | £5.3.11 |
Charg'd in Landon's Acc't                                               | 134.10.2|

To 31/10 % Addition in Silas Bentons Acc't                             | 1.11.10.4|

Total                                                                | £136.2.0.4|

Sup'd Cr by £5 & 3/16 of £197.19.3 Cargo on Board                     | 136.2   |
(Reminder of page missing)                                            |         |

Print
Foundational Work on Slavery and the West Indian Trade
How have we remembered the formerly enslaved?

Evidence of the Enslaved:
- Grave marker for Shem at Old North Guilford Cemetery
- Grave Markers for Candice Bush and Hester Mead at Union Cemetery, Greenwich.
- Hartford’s Ancient Burial Ground

Place Names Removed/Erased:
- North Street West of Church Street, Guilford - (N-Word Lane)
- Milford’s Walker Pond vs. Nig’s Pond
- Sowheag Rock vs. Negro Heads off the coast of Branford, CT
Less Obvious Places To Find the Enslaved

- Property Records: [Emancipation of Cull](#)
- Probate Records: [David Bush Probate Inventory](#)
- Ancestry.com: [CT Town Vital Records](#)
- Census Data: [Excerpt of U.S. Census By Author](#)
- Burgis Book of Mortality: [Excerpt from Burgis Book](#)
Evidence of Slavery in Norwalk from Nova Scotia Book of Negroes

Cato Cannon, 40, short stout fellow. Formerly slave to John Cannon, Norwalk, New England; left him about 6 years ago.,,,,,,
Evidence of Slavery in CT Church & Vital Records

East Haven Congregational Church Rec.

Greenwich Vital Records
Other sources providing records of persons of color during the colonial and early American periods:

Town Birth, death, & marriage Records
1774 Census of Hartford, CT

Hartford County
- 90 Indians
- 1125 Negroes (most were believed to be enslaved)
- 50,675 Whites

Hartford (City)
- 5 Indians
- 145 Negroes
- 4,881 Whites
“Teaching Hard History” or History in the Rough

Learning for Justice – Hard History
Podcasts (formerly Teaching Tolerance)

Episode 4, Season 1

“Dealing with Things as They Are: Creating a Classroom Environment”

Annotated Works Cited
The End of Slavery and Erasure
Disremembering African American History

If slavery was critical to the development of our country…
If slavery shaped the beliefs about race in our country…
If slavery was the main cause of the Civil War…
If the enslaved resisted their bonds and still contributed to the growth of our country...

How can we remember - restore the history of the enslaved?
What We Are Taught
In the North

- Slavery occurred in the South
- Racism began in the South
- Segregation happened in the South
- The South needs to solve the problems associated with racism

So how does knowing that:
- Slavery also began in the North,
- Racism also originated in the North, and
- Racial Segregation is present here change how we view our local society?

- Inspired by Stolpersteine Project in Berlin, Germany, and Central Europe.
- Research Enslavement
- Engage the Citizenry
- Educate Students
How can we engage our students with meaningful work if we use old textbooks, old techniques, and old understandings of the past? How can we ask them to go forth and change the world if they don’t know from whence they came?

*The Atlantic Magazine* article - “How Germany Remembers the Holocaust and What America can learn about atonement” discusses the Witness Stones Project as an example of how this can be done. (DEC 2022)

Clint: There are examples of communities in the U.S. that are not waiting for the government to tell them that they should build a memorial or they should create sites of public memory. I think one of the most compelling is a group in Connecticut that’s doing a Witness Stones Project, based on the stumbling-stones project in Germany. Middle- and high-school students are placing stones to mark the spaces where enslaved people lived, worked, and worshiped.
Student Activity - “Your group will use primary documents to prepare presentations…”

Recurring Themes.

1. Dehumanization; Enslaved as Property
2. Treatment of the Enslaved
3. Paternalism = Inequality
4. Economics of Slavery and Freedom
5. Human Agency and Resistance

Using jigsaw activity to develop understanding of the themes of slavery
Jigsaw Activity

To understand the institution of slavery and the lives of the enslaved in Connecticut, students must engage the associated primary documents.

This activity provides the tools – the Five Themes as lenses to use to understand and create meaning from these documents:

[Jigsaw Activity–Five Themes](#)
Treatment of Enslaved in the North

As told by White Owners and Historians:

- Lenient with many freedoms
- Paternalistic with masters guiding morals of slaves
- Treatment as part of family, care for life

According Slave Narratives by Venture Smith, James Mars, Jeffrey Brace, and Story of Gad Asher by grandson

- Whippings, beatings, Hog-tyings
- Double crossings and cheating
- Abandonment of aged, youth sold South
- Severe punishments for minor crimes
Telling Tamar’s Story - Showing Dehumanization with a bill of sale

TAMAR
1770 - 1810
"FRIEND TO EVERYONE"
ENSLAVED 1777 - 1798
BY LUTHER LOOMIS
BOUGHT & FREED BY
HUSBAND SOLOMON,
VENTURE SMITH’S SON
What is Human Agency?

Human Agency is how one displays their desire to take control of their lives. Agency can come in the form of resistance. It can also be demonstrated through one’s capacity to control their own circumstances.

Examples of human agency through resistance include:

- refusing to work,
- sabotaging work,
- or running away.

Other forms of agency:

- working hard,
- earning money,
- gaining/purchasing one’s freedom,
- having children
- and surviving captivity.
Project Information about Moses:
2. Delivery of One Slave Girl (Phillis) and One Slave Boy (Montros) to David Naughtye (Transcription) (See lines 9-11)(Hugh Hall Account Book, MassHist 1728), (Themes: Economics, Dehumanization)
3. Original Will of David Naughty (1738) (Transcribed) (See highlighted area) (Guilford Probate Court)(Themes, Agency, Paternalism)
4. Guilford Vital Records page 325 and page 32 (Themes: Dehumanization, Treatment)
5. The Indenture of Moses to Rev. Amos Fowler (Transcription) (Probate Court) (Dehumanization, Treatment, Economics)
6. Ruth Naughty’s Will (Transcription) (Probate Court) (Paternalism, Dehumanization, Economics)
7. Slave Kings/Governors
   a. Museum of CT History (Piascik) (Agency)
8. The Last Will and Testament of Rev. Amos Fowler, (Transcription) (Paternalism, Economics)

How can we use these documents to write a history about one person using the Five Themes?
(Theme of Agency.)

Moses who in death was known as Moses Montros showed his agency by what roles he held within the confines of slavery:

- Kept the Accounts
- Ran the Farm
- Rang the Church Bell
- Was a Factotum
- Sent Priest Fowler’s Son to College
- Was a King of the Locally Enslaved
- Chose to remain enslaved because he was king. (Other reasons too?)
Showing Agency through past and present successes

LTC Bertram W. Wilson

State Rep. Patricia Wilson Pheanious, 53rd Dist
Why is it Important to Remember the Past?

Pat Wilson Pheanious is a Connecticut state representative whose distant relatives are among the first to be
Teaching Local Slavery in Your Community!

- Partner with local historical societies and house museums to access archives.
- Find others in communities partners such as churches, local colleges, and NAACP who have begun the work.
- Research locally using:
  - Early Censuses
  - Church Records,
  - Vital Records
  - Early Histories
  - Runaway Advertisements
- For ideas, contact Dennis Culliton at Dennis@WitnessStonesProject.org.

A Map of Connecticut Communities Who have Engaged the Curriculum
Over 30 Communities
24 Schools - 10K Students
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Historical Organizations and Other Partners</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Killingly Historical Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florence Griswold Museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noah Webster House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ridgefield Historical Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historic Deerfield</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connecticut River Museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connecticut Explored</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old State House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norwich Historical Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCSU History Department</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT Council for Social Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Branford Historical Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Episcopal Diocese of Connecticut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greenwich Historical Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Haven Museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffield Historical Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilton Historical Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stoutsburg Sourlands Museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Essex Historical Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallingford Hist. Pres. Trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leffingwell House Museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyland House Museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Educational Resource Ctr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT League of Historical Orgs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middlesex County Historical Soc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More Churches and Societies</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Dennis,

I truly can't thank you enough for guiding us with this project. Seeing everything come together today was such a gratifying journey for me. In 15 years of teaching, this is the first experience like this that I have had. While exhausting, I am completely hooked and can't wait to do this again next year. Watching students grow through genuine historical inquiry has been my favorite part - sitting in a small group, debating who is related to who in order to piece together Lidia’s story moving from one family to another - these conversations are ones I will never forget with my students.

Excerpt from Middle School Teacher email (NOV 2022)
Sharing our Curriculum Across Connecticut

An Opportunity to Support Local Communities:

WSP can provide to our schools a diverse and inclusive curriculum that is focused on Connecticut slavery. This place based approach to history is in alignment with the Joint Statement on the of Importance of a Culturally Responsive Education (7/14/2021).

1766 Map of Colonial Connecticut with Six Counties!
Working in Response to: legislative mandates, district initiatives, and teacher requests:

WSP will continue to work with CCSU History Dept., CCSS, and SERC to support the new Black and Latino Studies course and the upcoming K-12 Social Studies Standards.
Historical Organizations

Historical perspective,

CUFEER
BORN IN AFRICA
PURCHASED IN BOSTON
1728
ENSLAVED HERE

PINK
MOTHER, WIFE &
LAND-OWNER
ENSLAVED HERE
BY AMOS MORRIS
EMANCIPATED 1800
DIED CIRCA 1850

JOUACHIM
FROM GUIADELOUPE
ENSLAVED HERE
1794
EMANCIPATED 1796
AT FRENCH CONSULATE,
NEW LONDON

The Plumb-Morris House
Morris Cove, Conn.
Learning Outcomes

Students will:

- Become consumers and producers of Information Literacy by conducting authentic research, analyzing online & print primary documents, and crafting narrative writing pieces
- Collaborate and Communicate with peers, local historians, teachers and researchers
- Present individual & shared understandings (Jigsaw activity)
- Build the foundation to discuss ‘hard history’ on the path towards Truth and Reconciliation!

“There is no vaccine for racism. We have to do the work!”

V.P. Kamala Harris

To learn more about the work being done across CT, email: Dennis@WitnessStonesProject.org