

Annotated Bibliography

General References:

The following references are foundational to all of my interpretation dealing with the institution of slavery, enslaved people, and free African-Americans in and around Harpers Ferry.

The Institution of Slavery

Blassingame, John W. *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972)

This book establishes the presence of an African-American culture influenced by African culture and that also influenced white culture. It describes African survivals such as foodways, musical instruments, and tools. It discusses the institution of slavery in terms of family, resistance, and social hierarchy. It is valuable for the interpreter in that it provides evidence for the presence of African-American culture and the significant influence of that culture on white society.

Campbell, D.C. Jr. and Kym S. Rice, eds. *Before Freedom Came: African-American Life in the Antebellum South* (Charlottesville: The Museum of the Confederacy and the University Press of Virginia, 1991)

This book, an accompanying volume to an exhibit by the same name, provides illustrations, primary source material, and interpretation that describes the African-American experience in the pre-Civil War South. The book provides insight on different geographical areas, rural and urban experiences, as well as the practices, traditions, and evolutions of the institution of slavery. This source is helpful interpretively primarily for its primary source material and graphics that illustrate many of the workings of the institution of slavery and African-American life.

Elkins, Stanley M. *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1959)

This book provides a discussion of the historiography of slavery up until the 1950s. It presents an argument that the institution was so terrible that it can only be compared to Nazi concentration camps and psychologically destroyed enslaved peoples' ability to resist and made them dependent on their masters. These ideas have been repeatedly refuted by later scholars but made a large contribution by provoking a larger examination of the culture of enslaved people as well as by describing slavery as a harsh and negative experience—at that time a largely unrecognized view. This book is helpful interpretively as it helps the reader understand the relatively recent departure from an interpretation that slavery was an unprofitable and necessary evil in which African-Americans were usually treated well and benefited from their relationships with whites. Such traditions and interpretations have educated many visitors.

Fogel, Robert, and Stanley Engerman. *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* (Boston: Little Brown, 1974) This book used quantitative analysis or cliometrics to analyze the economic aspects of the institution of slavery. While many historians disagree with both its conclusions and methodology, the authors concluded that slaveowners made an ideological and economic choice when investing in slaves. They also make the argument that slavery was a profitable system for many. The book is valuable interpretively because it has been commonly read by audiences who are interested in the subject. It also addresses, to the satisfaction of many, the argument that slavery was unprofitable.

Genovese, Eugene D. *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Vintage Press, 1972) This book explores the complex culture enslaved people created to survive the institution as well as their relationships with slaveowners. Using Marxist analysis, Genovese describes, among other things, religious life, family life, and work life of enslaved peoples. He also raises awareness of the role of paternalism in the institution of slavery and ways in which the institution can only be understood by considering the relationship of the enslaved and slaveowners as essentially a struggle that had profound effects on both. This book is valuable to the interpreter because it makes clear the richness and complexity of the relationship between enslaved and owners. It can help the interpreter and the visitor to consider historical events from additional perspectives.

Gutman, Herbert G. *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom 1750-1925* (New York: Vintage Press, 1976) This book explores the African-American family and argues the presence of more male primacy than most previous historians. Gutman provides a wealth of analysis and information and is persuasive that though many slave families were divided by the institution, many slave families had a two-parent structure. It is important for the interpreter because it provides a great deal of evidence for the presence of a complex and vibrant African-American culture in which family played a critical part.

Perdue, Charles L., Jr., Thomas E. Barden, and Robert K. Philips, eds. *Weevils in the Wheat: Interviews with Virginia Ex-Slaves* (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1976) This book is a collection of ex-slave interviews with an introduction that describes how these interviews were collected as well as general guidance for how they might be read. The book is of use interpretively as it provides primary evidence for much scholarship about slavery, it provides potential immediate interest to the interpreter, and it provides potential immediate interest to visitors.

Stampp, Kenneth M. *The Peculiar Institution* (New York: Vintage Press, 1956) This book encouraged later historians to consider the origins of the institution of slavery, the profitability of the institution, the motives of slaveowners,

the harshness of the system, and ways in which enslaved African-Americans effected the institution. This book uses descriptions of specific events that illustrate the broader workings, behaviors, attitudes, practices, relationships, and evolution of the institution of slavery throughout the southern United States. For example, Stamp discusses: strategies slaveowners used to try and control those they enslaved; the diet and workloads of enslaved people; the role, opportunities, and limitations to freedom experienced by free African-Americans; and ways in which enslaved people resisted their owners and the institution in general. This book is extremely valuable to the interpreter because it provides baseline and critical information as to the workings of the institution of slavery. It acts, in effect, as a basic textbook on the subject.

Stevenson, Brenda E. *Life in Black and White: Family and Community in the Slave South* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) This book is a chronicle of the relationships of African-Americans and whites in Loudoun County Virginia. It is a scholarly work that utilizes primary sources such as public records, diaries, and correspondence to describe how enslaved people, white people, and the community as a whole functioned in and around and were effected by the institution of slavery. The book is an example of regional studies that have become more available in the last ten or fifteen years. It is especially valuable to interpreters at Harpers Ferry as Loudoun County borders the park and had a great deal of interaction with the town before the Civil War.

Related Sources

Free African-Americans

Fields, Barbara Jeanne. *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland during the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985) Not an easy book to read, nonetheless, it is full of important information and descriptions of both enslaved people and free African-Americans in Maryland. The explanation of the ability of free African-Americans to negotiate with farmers at wheat harvest time in western Maryland relates directly to Harpers Ferry.

Russel, John H. *The Free Negro in Virginia 1619-1865* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1913) This book chronicles the opportunities, limitations, and circumstances confronting free African-Americans in Virginia. It describes ways in which African-Americans became free, reasons why and examples of some owners who freed enslaved people, the legal status of free African-Americans, as well as the social status of free African-Americans. Interestingly, this book made many of the same points that later authors would not popularize until the 1960s and 70s. It is valuable to interpreters in that it describes much that is directly relevant to Harpers Ferry Virginia before the Civil War. There was a substantial free African-American population both in the town and the surrounding area.

Berlin, Ira. *Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South* (Oxford, New York, Toronto, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1974) Similar to John H. Russel's *The Free Negro in Virginia*, but larger in scope, this book describes the economic, social, and legal opportunities, limitations, and circumstances of free African-Americans throughout the South. It provides the interpreter a foundational knowledge of that subject.

Racism, Prejudice, and Bias

National Park Service Interpretive Development Program, Module 201 "Identifying and Removing Bias from Interpretive and Educational Programming," <http://www.nps.gov/idp/interp/201/index.htm> This module provides definitions of prejudice and bias, strategies for identifying and eliminating bias in interpretive programs, resources for learning more about bias, and exercises for developing skills and implementing strategies.

Allport, G.W. *The Nature of Prejudice*. New York: Doubleday, 1958. This work describes the elements of prejudice and is foundational to an understanding of racism. Prejudice, according to Allport, is present when one judges individuals and groups according to pre-suppositions and racial generalizations rather than forming judgements about individuals according to the circumstances in which an encounter takes place. Allport also discusses strategies for allowing for exceptions to generalizations or "re-fencing," defense mechanisms and methods for rationalizing prejudice, as well as ways in which prejudice can be re-enforced.

Katz, Judith H. *White Awareness: Handbook for Anti-Racism Training*. Norman and London: Oklahoma University Press, 1978. This book defines racism as a problem created and sustained by whites. It defines racism, prejudice, and bias and stresses the value of whites working with whites to identify and combat racism. Primarily an architecture for training, the book provides exercises for identifying racism, recognizing and dealing with the feelings associated with racism, and strategies for eliminating racism.

Site Specific Sources

Barry, Joseph. *The Strange Story of Harpers Ferry (Martinsburg, WV: Thompson Brothers, 1903)* This history of Harpers Ferry was written by a resident who knew many of the people and witnessed many of the events he wrote about. Barry's history is largely anecdotal and is often supported by other pieces of evidence. Barry provides some incidental description of the institution of slavery in Harpers Ferry as well as of African-Americans who lived there. He also provides a context of the social, economic, and political structure of the town.

Shakel, Paul A. and David L. Larsen. "Labor, Racism, and the Built Environment in Early Industrial Harpers Ferry" in *Lines That Divide*:

***Historical Archeologies of Race, Class, and Gender*, James A. Delle, Stephen A. Mrozowski, and Robert Paynter eds. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2000)** This chapter describes class, economic, and social relationships particularly as they pertain to enslaved and free African-American people in antebellum Harpers Ferry.

Smith, Merritt Roe. *Harpers Ferry and the New Technology: The Challenge of Change* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1977) This book is foundational to any description of the Harpers Ferry community and its evolution. Smith describes the central role of the United States armory as the town's source of employment, patronage, and change. The social history of Harpers Ferry can be viewed as one of constant challenge and conflict as new technology and industrial perspectives were introduced to a community largely entrenched in a traditional and patriarchal way of life. The institution of slavery played an important part of that tradition and patriarchy. While Smith does not address slavery to a great degree, he provides an insightful analysis of the town and a backdrop for an understanding of the institution of slavery and free African-Americans in the town.

Jefferson County West Virginia Public Records 1800-1860 (Jefferson County Courthouse, Jefferson County, West Virginia) Both the deeds and wills of the citizens of Jefferson County since 1800 have been maintained at the Jefferson County Courthouse in Charlestown, West Virginia. These records provide a wealth of information about the economic, social, and legal status of enslaved people, free African-Americans, and the white community. Very often, this information can be tied to other sources and representative stories emerge illustrating economic practices, social structure, and resistance to name a few. The county's criminal and civil cases are not nearly as complete as the deeds and wills but also provide some valuable insight. These stories about individuals play a critical role for the interpreter as they make abstractions about the institution of slavery more immediate and easy to relate to.

National Archives Record Groups 217 and ? (get the proper citation form as well as the proper citation) Much of Harpers Ferry's history is influenced by the existence of a weapons factory there owned and operated by the federal government from the late 1790s to 1861. Many of the records generated by the factory are located in the National Archives and some reveal information about hiring practices, economic, and social circumstances for free African-Americans, enslaved people, and the white community. These records contribute to the specific stories that interpreters use to tell the larger story of slavery and the community in Harpers Ferry as well as specifically illustrate abstractions about the institution and the community.

***The Virginia Free Press 1827-1861* (Microfilm available at Harpers Ferry National Historical Park)** This is a critical source for the interpretation of the institution of slavery, as well as for many other things, in Harpers Ferry. This

county newspaper was published weekly and contains accounts of events involving specific slaveowners, enslaved people, and free African-Americans. It also contains advertisements for the hiring and sale of enslaved persons as well as notifications of runaways.

United States Census 1800-1860 (Microfilm available at Harpers Ferry National Historical Park) The United States Census provides names of slaveowners, the number of enslaved people in an identified household, and the names of free African-Americans. In the years 1850 and 1860 it also identifies the occupations of many slaveowners and free African-Americans. This information is valuable in and of itself, but for the years 1850 and 1860 it also allows researchers to identify individuals with specific buildings in town. Thus we know that African-Americans and whites often lived in the same homes throughout this period. This information helps the interpreter tie specific stories and events to tangible locations. Names provided by the census have also been checked in the public records which has, in turn, provided additional stories and understanding.

Basic Interpretive Content

All interpretation of the institution of slavery in Harpers Ferry requires a description of: the town as a busy industrial place (Barry, Smith); the population of 3,000—300 of whom were African-American, 150 enslaved and 150 free (United States Census, 1850); work performed by African-Americans (Delle et al); the physical integration of whites and African-Americans (compiled data from United States Census 1850 and 1860 with annotations by Charles Snell, and 1850 Historic Base Map of Harpers Ferry available at the Harpers Ferry National Historical Park Library); and laws pertaining to African-Americans i.e. the town ordinance that established a 10:00pm curfew (By Laws and Ordinances of the Corporation of Harpers Ferry, *Virginia Free Press*, August 7, 1851).