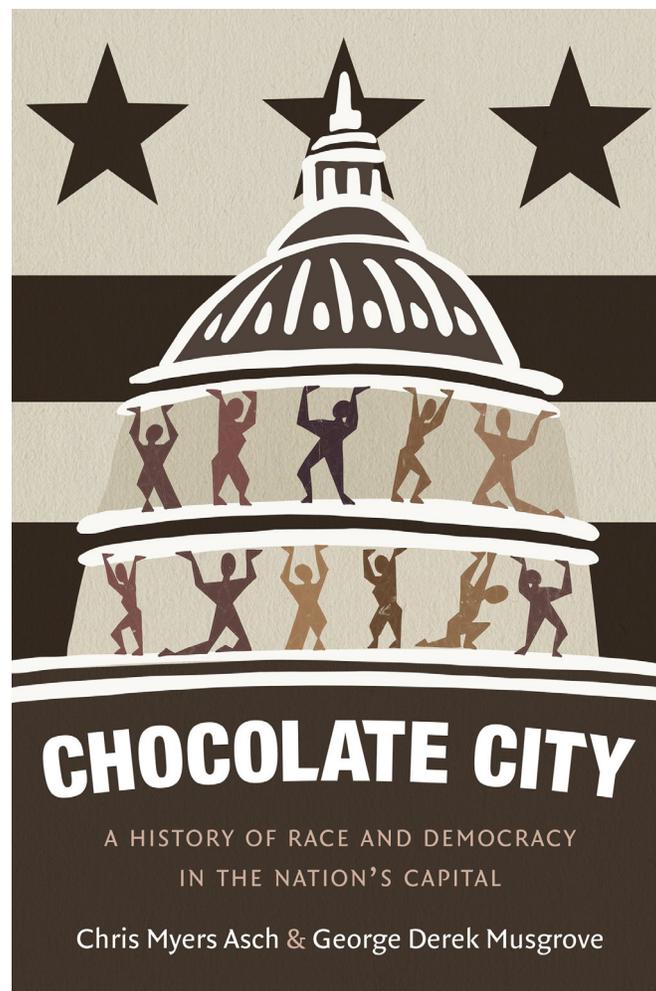


Chocolate City: A History of Race and Democracy in the Nation's Capital

By Chris Myers Asch and George Derek Musgrove

Reading and Discussion Guide

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CHAPTERS 1-2

Additional Resources:

1. [Chocolate City Interactive Map](#)

2. [Chocolate City Spiritual Reflections Map](#)

Chapter 1: *Your Coming is Not for Trade, but to Invade My People and Possess My Country: A Native American World Under Siege, 1608-1790*

Chapter Overview: Beginning with the arrival of white settlers, Asch and Musgrove explore the interactions between Native Americans who originally called the DMV area home and a developing economy which drove the violent seizure of native lands, a booming transatlantic and local slave trade, and set the stage for the DC area to become the nation's Federal district.

Comprehend

- Why did Lord Baltimore (Cecilius Calvert) create “The Reserve?” (pg. 12) What was the impact of this decision on the Piscataway and Nacostine people?
- In what ways did the introduction of tobacco cultivation change the relationship of white colonists to their Native American neighbors? In what ways did this economic shift influence the development of white settlements in the region?
- White settlers leveraged their relationships with individual tribes to secure their place and protect their settlements. How did this impact inter-tribal relationships or impact Native American presence in the region?

Respond

- By the time Thomas Jefferson inquired about the Native Americans who lived along the Eastern Branch (Anacostia River), local residents could not remember their names (pg. 18). How might Native American erasure have benefitted white settlers and in what ways does our ignorance of local Native American history benefit us today?
- The authors detail the development of local economies, largely driven by indentured servitude and slavery, that allowed wealthy landowners to dominate local elected offices and politics well into the 1800s. How did the early economic history of our region set the stage for regional and national policies related to slavery, race, and self-governance?

Reflect

- Political, economic, and social forces influence the stories we tell about ourselves, articulate our intentions, and examine our motivations. What did you learn this week about our region and nation that surprised you? How have political, economic, and social forces in your own life encouraged or discouraged you from knowing, learning, or engaging with the history you've learned this week? How might lack of knowledge or engagement with this early history benefit you personally today?

Chapter 2: *Of Slaving Blacks and Democratic Whites: Building a Capital of Slavery and Freedom, 1790-1815*

Chapter Overview: Beginning with the compromise of 1790, the authors explore the political and social landscape which informed the selection of this region for the Federal district, and the early political developments which dictated the lives of its free and enslaved black residents.

Comprehend

- How did the Compromise of 1790 and the resulting Residence Act of 1790 impact the selection and development of Washington, D.C.? What were its impacts on free and enslaved black residents?
- What were the reasons behind the embrace of slave labor for constructing the nation's capital? How did this decision impact the lives of free and enslaved black workers in the District and influence race relations between white and black workers?
- How did the loss of self-governance impact D.C.'s white residents vs. its black residents? How did this disenfranchisement influence conversations about race, slavery, and national policies related to both blacks and whites?

Respond

- The authors note on p. 17 that "...from its inception Washington embodied the contradiction endemic to America itself, the paradoxical juxtaposition of freedom and slavery...the world's first republic in more than a millennium--and a city where slave labor was integral to economic life." How is this juxtaposition still present in Washington, D.C. today? What would be different about Washington, D.C. if slavery were illegal at its founding?
- The economic success of black residents, such as Aletheia Browning Tanner, fueled white Washingtonians' racial fears and encouraged the development of D.C.'s Black Codes (1808 and 1812) that were meant to disenfranchise black residents and prevent the development of black power. How are modern racial fears embedded in and revealed by D.C. policies, practices, and budgets and in what ways do they continue hindering us from dismantling policies which target and disenfranchise people of color?

Reflect

- In the Compromise of 1790, the Federalist party abandoned its abolitionist roots for the sake of securing debt assumption, a decision that continues to have an impact on the lives of black Washingtonians. Have you, either individually or as part of an institution, made decisions that resulted in abandoning commitments for the sake of something else? What has been the outcome (spiritually, socially, emotionally) for you and others as a result?

Key Terms, Names, and Definitions

CHAPTERS 1-2

Chapter 1: *Your Coming is Not for Trade, but to Invade My People and Possess My Country: A Native American World Under Siege, 1608-1790.*

Nacostine Tribe: The tribe of Native Americans who lived at the confluence of the Potomac and Anacostia Rivers. They served as intermediaries between the northern Algonquian-speaking tribes and the southern Iroquoian tribes.

Nacotchtank: The primary village of the Nacostine tribe; located near Joint Anacostia-Bolling Base.

Tidewater: Culturally the Tidewater region usually refers to the low-lying plains of southeast Virginia, northeastern North Carolina, southern Maryland, and the Chesapeake Bay.

Susquehannock Tribe: A tribe of Native Americans who lived north of the Nacotchtank village and staged frequent raids on it and other villages in the Tidewater.

Massawomeck Tribe: A tribe of Iroquois Native Americans, primarily located in modern-day Maryland, West Virginia, and Pennsylvania. The group was highly mobile, often conducting raids against other tribes in the area.

Piscataway Tribe: A tribe of Native Americans who lived in what is now Prince George's County, MD, and who provided protection to the Nacostine in exchange for tribute.

Mayone: Capital of the Piscataway Tribe; located where Piscataway Creek empties into the Potomac River.

Powhatan (Wahunsenacawh): A *mamanatowick*, or paramount chief of the Algonquian people of eastern Virginia, who allied over 30 tribes and 15,000 people in the 16th and 17th centuries. Powhatan was one of the first native leaders to initiate trade agreements with English settlers, including John Smith, in Jamestown in 1607.

Powhatan Confederacy: Confederacy of tribes named after its leader, Powhatan, which was comprised of 30 subject tribes and 15,000 people; rival to the Piscataways.

John Smith: an early English colonizer who helped to found and later lead the colony at Jamestown. He was a leader of the Virginia Colony between September 1608 and August 1609, and he led an exploration along the rivers of Virginia and the Chesapeake Bay, during which he became the first English explorer to map the Chesapeake Bay area. Smith was one of the first English colonists to engage the Nacostine and Piscataway and fought in both the First and Second Powhatan wars.

First Powhatan War (1609-1614): The First Powhatan War pitted the English settlers at Jamestown against an alliance of Algonquian-speaking Virginia Native Americans led by Powhatan (Wahunsenacawh). After the English arrived in Virginia in 1607, they were unable to adequately provide for themselves and pressured the tribes of the Powhatan Confederacy for relief. This led to a series of conflicts along the James River that intensified in the autumn of 1609. Powhatan ordered something like a siege of the English fort, which lasted through the winter of 1609-1610.

The English survived and, after the arrival of reinforcements, viciously attacked. Using terror tactics borrowed from Queen Elizabeth's conquest of Ireland, English soldiers burned villages and towns and executed women and children. After two years, Captain Samuel Argall captured Powhatan's daughter Pocahontas in the spring of 1613 and turned his prisoner into the leverage necessary to make peace, ultimately marrying her to English settler John Rolfe. Many argue it to be England's first Native American war in America.

Second Powhatan War (1622-1632): The Second Powhatan War was fought from 1622 until 1632, pitting English colonists in Virginia against the Algonquian-speaking Native Americans of the Powhatan Confederacy, led by Powhatan's brother, Opechancanough. After the First War (1609–1614), ended with the marriage of Pocahontas and John Rolfe, the English colony began to grow.

The headright system begun in 1618 granted land to new immigrants who, in turn, sought to make their fortunes off tobacco. As English settlements pressed up the James River and toward the fall line, Native American leaders devised a plan to push them back and, in so doing, assert their supremacy over the newcomers. On March 22, 1622, Opechancanough led a series of coordinated surprise attacks that concentrated on settlements upriver from Jamestown and succeeded in killing nearly a third of the English population.

What followed, then, was a ten-year war in which the English repeatedly attacked the Native American food supply. After the conflict's only full-scale battle, fought in 1624, colonists estimated that they had destroyed enough food to feed 4,000 men for a year. A final Powhatan Confederacy offensive, launched in 1644, resulted in the capture and assassination of Opechancanough.

St. Mary's City: Originally Yacomoco, an abandoned Piscataway village that was granted to English settlers by Piscataway Chief Wannas in 1634. St. Mary's City was the first English-settled site in modern-day Maryland and home to the Maryland Assembly. It was expanded rapidly with the introduction of tobacco cultivation as a primary economic driver.

Opechancanough: Younger brother of Powhatan (Wahunsenacawh) who assumed leadership of the Powhatan Confederacy after Powhatan's death; launched large-scale attacks against English settlers during 1622 and 1644 as part of the Second Powhatan War.

The Virginia Company: Refers collectively to two joint-stock companies chartered under Britain's King James I on April 10, 1606 with the goal of establishing settlements on the coast of North America. The Virginia Company was largely responsible for the introduction of tobacco production in North America, as well as being an early driver of slave trade and indentured servitude. The Virginia Company failed in 1624, but the right to self-government was not taken from the colony.

Patawomeke Tribe: An independent Native American tribe, located near modern-day Quantico, VA, who allied with English settlers during the Second Powhatan War with the agreement that the English also declare war against the Nacostine and Piscataway.

The Reserve: An 860-acre tract of land, granted by Lord Baltimore and the Maryland Assembly, to be centered around Mayone, reserved for the Nacostine and Piscataway tribes. The creation of the Reserve necessitated Nacostine removal from Nacotchtank, but several Nacostines moved to Analostan (Roosevelt) Island and remained there until at least 1763.

Analostan Island: An island in the Potomac River now known as Roosevelt Island. Home to Nacostine refugees following their forced removal from Nacotchtank in 1663.

Indentured Servitude: A form of labor in which a person (an indenture) agrees to work without salary for a specific number of years through a contract for eventual compensation or debt repayment. Between one-half and two-thirds of European immigrants to the American colonies between the 1630s and the American Revolution came under indentured service agreements.

Prince George's County: Created in 1692 out of upper Charles County in order to increase tobacco production; it encompassed land originally given to the Piscataway and Nacostine in The Reserve.

Hunting Creek Warehouse: A settlement and warehouse established in 1730 to gather and prepare tobacco crops for shipment. Later incorporated as the town of Alexandria in 1749.

George Town: Colloquial name for a tobacco inspection station and warehouse established by George Gordon in 1745. Officially chartered as present-day Georgetown by the Maryland legislature in 1789.

Chapter 2: Of Slaving Blacks and Democratic Whites: Building a Capital of Slavery and Freedom, 1790-1815

The Confederation Congress: The Congress of the Confederation, or the Confederation Congress, formally referred to as the United States in Congress Assembled, was the governing body of the United States of America from March 1, 1781, to March 4, 1789. It was created by the Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union in 1781.

The Congress of the Confederation was succeeded by the Congress of the United States as provided for in the new United States Constitution, proposed September 17, 1787, in Philadelphia and adopted by the United States in 1788.

Mason-Dixon Line: The Mason–Dixon line, also called the Mason and Dixon line or Mason’s and Dixon’s line, is a demarcation line separating four U.S. states, forming part of the borders of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, and West Virginia (part of Virginia until 1863). Named for surveyors Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, the largest, east-west portion of the Mason–Dixon line along the southern Pennsylvania border later became known, informally, as the boundary between the Northern free states and Southern slave states.

The New York Society for Promoting the Manumission of Slaves: One of several early anti-slavery organizations that emerged in the 1780s. Alexander Hamilton was one of its founding members.

Pennsylvania Abolition Society: Another early anti-slavery organization, the Pennsylvania Abolition Society submitted a proposal to Congress in 1790 that would have ended slavery in the U.S. This proposal, along with others calling for an end to the slave trade, triggered significant Congressional backlash which stiffened Southern resolve to place the nation’s seat of government within the slave-owning South.

Manumission: Manumission, or enfranchisement, is the act of freeing enslaved people by their owners. Enslaved people could sometimes arrange manumission by agreeing to “purchase themselves” by paying their master an agreed amount. Some masters demanded market rates; others set a lower amount in consideration of service.

Regulation of manumission began in 1692, when Virginia established that to manumit an enslaved person, one had to pay the cost for them to be transported out of the colony. A 1723 law stated that enslaved people may not “be set free upon any pretense whatsoever, except for some meritorious services to be adjudged and allowed by the governor and council”. In some cases, a master who was drafted into the army would send an enslaved person instead, with the promise of freedom if he survived the war. The new government of Virginia repealed the laws in 1782 and declared freedom for enslaved people who had fought for the colonies during the American Revolutionary War of 1775-1783. The 1782 laws also permitted masters to free enslaved people of their own accord; previously, a manumission had required obtaining consent from the state legislature, which was arduous and rarely granted.

(Debt) Assumption: The Hamiltonian/Federalist policy in which the Federal government assumed states’ unpaid Revolutionary War bonds in order to spur the national economy and which resulted in a greatly expanded regulatory and economic role for the federal government. Vehemently opposed by Western farmers and many Southern states who’d previously paid their war debts. Major opponents included future Presidents Thomas Jefferson and James Madison.

The Compromise of 1790: The deal in which Jefferson and Madison agreed to Hamilton's proposal that the federal government assume responsibility for state's Revolutionary War debt; it also secured the site of the nation's capital along the Potomac, guaranteeing influence over it by the slave-holding South.

57 Maiden Lane, Manhattan, New York: Home of Thomas Jefferson in which the Compromise of 1790 was reached.

Residence Act of 1790: The Residence Act of 1790, officially titled An Act for Establishing the Temporary and Permanent Seat of the Government of the United States is a U.S. federal statute adopted during the second session of the First United States Congress and signed into law by President George Washington on July 16, 1790. The Act provided for a national capital and permanent seat of government to be established at a site along the Potomac River and empowered President Washington to appoint commissioners to oversee the project. The Residence Act is the legislative result of the Compromise of 1790.

James Hoban: The Irish immigrant and architect responsible for designing the White House and supervising construction of the U.S. Capitol building. Hoban employed multiple enslaved people in the construction of both buildings and was a staunch proponent of slave labor in the construction of federal buildings in Washington, D.C.

Federalists/Federalist Party: The Federalist Party was the first political party in the United States. It became a minority party while keeping its stronghold in New England and made a brief resurgence by opposing the War of 1812. It then collapsed with its last presidential candidate in 1816. The party appealed to businesses and to conservatives who favored banks, national over state government, manufacturing, an army and navy, and in world affairs preferred Great Britain and opposed the French Revolution. The party favored centralization, federalism, modernization, and protectionism.

Democratic Republicans/Democratic-Republican Party: Also referred to as the Jeffersonian Republican Party, the Democratic-Republican Party was an American political party founded by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison in the early 1790s that championed republicanism, political equality, and expansionism. They emerged as strong opponents of President George Washington, and Alexander Hamilton. Their views on the abolition of slavery were split along North-South state lines. The Democratic-Republicans later splintered during the 1824 presidential election. The majority faction of the Democratic-Republicans eventually coalesced into the modern Democratic Party.

Patowmack Company: Created in 1785 to make improvements to the Potomac River and its navigability for commerce. It had an early and immediate goal of improving the navigability of the Potomac River by building canals and navigations around a succession of blocking rapids or falls of the lower and middle Potomac River. Eventually, the Patowmack Company surrendered its charter to the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company in 1828, resulting in the completion of the C&O Canal in 1831.

Andrew Ellicott: An American land surveyor who helped map many of the territories west of the Appalachians, surveyed the boundaries of the District of Columbia, and completed Pierre (Peter) Charles L'Enfant's work on the plan for Washington, D.C.

Benjamin Banneker: A free African American almanac author, surveyor, landowner, and farmer who had a largely self-taught knowledge of mathematics, natural history, and astronomy. He earned the respect of white Washingtonians and City Commissioners for assisting Major Andrew Ellicott in a survey that established the original borders of the District of Columbia. Banneker attempted to leverage his status and knowledge to challenge President Thomas Jefferson to end slavery.

Commissioners: A position established by the Residence Act of 1790, the commissioners created laws and policies for the construction, oversight, and management of the District of Columbia. By law, commissioners

were selected by the sitting President of the United States.

Pierre Charles L'Enfant: A French-American architect and military engineer appointed by President George Washington to design the original city plan for Washington, D.C. Although L'Enfant created the original plan for Washington as we know it today, he was ultimately dismissed by President Washington and surveyor Andrew Ellicott took over the task.

Anna Thornton: Wife of architect William Thornton (who designed the original U.S. Capitol), Anna Thornton refused to follow her husband's wishes to free the enslaved people in his possession upon his death. Thornton, and one of the enslaved people in her possession, Arthur Bowen, later became the center of an incident which ultimately resulted in the 1835 Snow Riots.

Organic Act: An act of Congress which establishes a territory of the United States and specifies how it is to be governed. The District of Columbia Organic Act of 1801 established Washington, D.C. It formally placed the District of Columbia under the control of the United States Congress and organized the territory within the District into two counties: Washington County to the north and east of the Potomac River and Alexandria County to the west and south. The charters of the existing cities of Georgetown and Alexandria were left in place and no change was made to their status. The common law of both Maryland and Virginia remained in force within the District.

Mechanics: A colloquial name for Irish workers and artisans, who made up about half of Washington, D.C.'s white population in 1800. Mechanics, representing a largely economically oppressed white class in D.C., regularly clashed with enslaved persons as they fought over work in the District. The mechanics' long-simmering resentment towards enslaved persons would later spur riots and lynch mobs.

Great Falls Canal: A canal, built by the Patowmack Company, that bypasses the steep falls in what is now Great Falls National Park. Construction begun in 1785 and took seventeen years to complete - six years longer than the time required to locate, build, and populate Washington, D.C. This project employed about 200 Irish workers, many of whom arrived as indentured servants.

Center Market: An open-air market on the corner of 7th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue NW where vendors--including enslaved and free black Washingtonians--sold vegetables and household goods. Part of Center Market was also used to purchase and sell enslaved people throughout the mid-1800s.

Mina Queen: One of several enslaved women in the early 1800s who attempted to win her freedom through the local courts by arguing that she was entitled to freedom because her great-grandmother was free. Represented by local attorney Francis Scott Key, Queen's case was ultimately heard by the Supreme Court who dismissed it because she was unable to produce written documentation proving her great-grandmother's status. This 1813 ruling by the Court undermined the ability of enslaved people to petition for freedom through the courts.

Francis Scott Key: A Washington attorney and slaveowner who regularly represented individual enslaved people in court as they petitioned for freedom. While willing to represent enslaved people, Key himself believed that abolition was a "cruelty" because enslaved people who were freed could not flourish in America. Key later became a supporter of resettling enslaved people who were freed in modern-day Liberia.

D.C. Black Code (1808 and 1812): Passed by D.C. City Commissioners, this code regulated the movement and access of free and enslaved black persons in D.C. First passed with Congress' tacit approval in 1808 and broadened in 1812, the code stipulated that free black people give "satisfactory evidence" of their freedom to register; prohibited black people from assembling "in a disorderly or tumultuous manner"; and imposed a curfew (10 p.m. during the spring and summer, 9 p.m. in the fall and winter) on all black people, free and enslaved. Enslaved people who violated the code faced up to thirty-nine lashes, while free black people could be imprisoned or fined \$20. This was enforced alongside the slave laws of Maryland and Virginia, both of which were in effect in the portions of those states ceded during the creation of the federal district.