

Bibliography

Baumgartner, Alice. *South to Freedom: Runaway Slaves to Mexico and the Road to the Civil War*. New York, NY: Basic Books, 2020.

Alice L. Baumgartner—author, professor, and scholar— challenges traditional causations of the civil war by introducing the argument that Mexico’s antislavery laws contributed to a major outbreak and “sectional controversy” between the northern and southern states of the U.S.¹ The author pores through a series of Mexican National Archives that discusses its antislavery laws, the state of free blacks, citizenship and the paralleled events that took place along the border that shaped the beginnings of the civil war. While there was no official Underground Railroad to Mexico—according to the author, free blacks, ship captains and other fellows assisted African slaves to escape from their slaveholders in the United States.² This work highlights the missing link of Mexico’s role in the abolition of slavery in the United States and the sectional crisis created that ultimately led to the Emancipation Proclamation.

This book is essential to my project as it deviates from the traditional narrative of fugitive slaves who navigated north for freedom. This fresh perspective sheds light on the south that gave way to Mexico’s relevancy towards America’s civil war. This unique story adds to the argument that slaves navigated various roads to freedom that did not always consist of northern routes towards Canada or Western Europe. Mexico, who abolished slavery and freed slaves from the U.S. and other countries who “set foot on their soil,” adds 3,000 to 4,000 additional fugitive slaves to the antislavery movement who took advantage of Mexico’s strategic methods--intervening in the sectional crisis and as a result, led to the Emancipation Proclamation.

Buckmaster, Henrietta. “The Underground Railroad.” *The North American Review* 246, no. 1 (1938): 142–49. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25115012>.

Henrietta Buckmaster is an American civil rights activist, journalist, and novelists born in Cleveland, Ohio. Her most famed book, “*Let My People Go*,” discusses how the underground railroad was shrouded in such secrecy because of the lack of materials and documents available to the public. Within this context, this journal/article offers key insight into how many writers of abolition movement saw free blacks, enslaved blacks, and fugitive slaves as docile and meek, without any self-determination or bravery to take ownership of their own lives. In addition, this article sheds light on the idea of intellect, as Buckmaster viewed the agents of the UGRR as only Quakers and Calvinists who put “God’s law above the law of the land.” She did not, however, view free blacks and slaves as creative thinkers who in concert with white abolitionists navigated their way toward freedom. This article borrows from the book, the famous first chapter that gave way to the ideals of many white abolitionists and civil rights activists who prided themselves on freeing the meek and mild.

¹ Alice L Baumgartner, *South to Freedom* (Basic Books, 2020), 12.

² Alice L Baumgartner, 8.

This journal/article is essential to my project as it details the growth on how writings on the UGRR have changed over time. Scholars now have more insight and firsthand documentation that allow them to deviate from folklore, legend, and myth, while creating a healthy and substantial archive for African Americans. This article adds to my argument about access-- how many scholars and historians have access to these primary resources? Why are these primary resources buried in university libraries and national archives? While new research on this history tells us to date that the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 made matters worse regarding the UGRR, writers such as Buckman believed back then that the work of the underground railroad at the time this legislation was created was done and that fifteen to twenty thousand slaves were already free. This type of interpretation is dangerous and creates a false narrative that undermines the trials and tribulations African Americans endured post-Civil War.

Dallmer, Denise. “*An Innovative Summer Institute for Teachers: Examining the Underground Railroad.*” *The History Teacher* 35, no. 4 (2002): 491. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1512471>.

Denise Dallmar, author, and professor in the Master of Arts at Northern Kentucky University, with an M.A. and Ph.D. in Education Theory and Practice, posits that many historians who have written on The Underground Railroad often fail to debunk the myths that it was a well-connected system that consisted of a detail construction formulated under the auspices of white northern abolitionists who helped poor and ill-fated runaway slaves.³ The author recognizes the plight of misinformation while promoting a research seminar for grade schoolteachers in Kentucky and Ohio. According to the author, this research seminar was organized to bring to life a deep local history that embodies the very essence of both states. The pedagogical approach consisted of guest speakers, educational videos, website research and design techniques, field photography to document progress, and visits to local museums.

This work is important to my project as it is the inspiration that provided insight to Critical Race Theory and how black history is taught in grade school and at secondary level education in public schools. Examining the underground railroad for Dallmer provides missing links to a local history in Kentucky and Ohio. For my project, I will conclude by circling back to the idea of fresh perspectives of this history that debunk the myths of the UGRR by adding value and primary resources that allow students to understand how this movement helped shape legislation and challenged slavery before the civil war. In addition, these innovative institutions allow teachers to understand how fugitive slaves’ self-determination gave them the will to escape the atrocities of enslavement. Moreover, this work highlights a slew of new key players discovered in the archives such as William Still, Levi Coffin, and John Rankin that contributed to this movement towards freedom without discrediting heroes such as Harriet Tubman. Often the scholarship of the underground railroad fails to highlight the intricacies that involved a more complex

³ Denise Dallmer, “An Innovative Summer Institute for Teachers: Examining the Underground Railroad,” *The History Teacher* 35, no. 4 (2002): p. 491, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1512471>.

narrative of black migration and mobility, in which abolitionists, fugitive slaves and free blacks navigated together to free slaves from emancipation.

Franklin, John Hope, and Loren Schweninger. *Runaway Slaves Rebels on the Plantation*. Oxford, NY: Oxford Univ. Press, 2000.

John Hope Franklin, a scholar, historian, author, and professor argues that no discussion of plantation life can be complete without mentioning the severe punishments and brutality that slaves endured. From branding, mutilation, forced divisions of families, murder, rape, and the retaliation from slaves that participated in arson, stealing and escape, could not be summed up in the traditional romantic descriptions of plantation life. Many historians were beginning to take on the scholarship of slavery in a different view that negated past historians such as, Ulrich B. Phillips who described the plantation as a “smooth, well-managed operation.” In addition, Franklin negates the argument from Kenneth M. Stampp who posited that slaves were a “troublesome property” or “passive slaves” who lived in unrest and unhappiness, and in his words, often refused to obey “unreasonable demands” and in return ran away. Published in 1999, the author seeks to debunk the myths and legends of runaway slaves by highlighting not only the self-determination slaves that sought to free themselves from racial violence on plantations, but also, analyze the “motives and responses” from white southern plantation owners. This book is divided into eleven chapters, with sources that consist of newspaper advertisements for runaways, petitions to state legislatures and county courts to Virginia who urged for more strict laws for persons of color due to the number violence and evils they committed against whites and slaveholders. Furthermore, sources such as the computer-generated runaway slave database serves as model to trace the patterns of how the profile of slaves changed over time and they differed in various sections of the south.

This book is essential to my project as it discusses the central argument of traditional writings that romanticize slaves in folklore and myth. Franklin dives into a deep synthesis on how plantation life functioned regarding human property, violence, attitudes of masters, financial woes from slaves who abandoned plantation life, in concert with the profile of runaway slaves, their life on the run as well as their experiences in being hunted and captured. Furthermore, self-determination and the will of slaves to seek freedom are central to my argument for the sake of recording the narratives of slaves who participated in the complex journey towards freedom in the north. Many historians from my previous research have argued that Canada was a form of recolonization for African Americans, deeming New York as a place of uncertainty derived from the Fugitive Slave Act in 1850. In addition to the North, it was most impressive that the author highlighted Texas to Mexico as a road to freedom as well, a formative that led me to explore “Alice Baumgartner’s, *South to Freedom: Runaway Slaves to Mexico and the Road to the Civil War*. Franklin’s sources on the UGRR are the strengths of this book in which consists of secondary sources from authors such as, Larry Gara, legislative records and Petitions of San Antonio, and Harrold Stanley “Freeing the Weems Family,” just to name a few.

Foner, Eric. *Gateway to Freedom: The Hidden History of the Underground Railroad*. New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, 2016.

In this regional history of the underground railroad, according to Eric Foner, the author centers his study around the public efforts shrouded in secrecy and illicit maneuvers that aided runaway slaves in New York City. Primary sources used in this book are both black and white abolitionist's newspapers, papers written by fugitive slaves, published records of fugitives and secondary sources on the UGR. According to the author, past histories of the underground railroad fail to highlight the activities in the city in which cultivated Foner's research on the innerworkings of fugitive slaves and white abolitionists in New York's major metropolis--Manhattan and the Bronx. Foner's efforts, highlighting New York's protection of slavery as an institution in the south because of its investments in cotton, provide a much broader discourse of the Fugitive Slave Act passed by congress, September 18, 1850. This formative led to not only capturing fugitives, but also made way for the kidnapping of free black peoples (men, women, and children) and as a result, New York's decline of a black population derived from government policy and legislation. This book is divided into eight chapters with a slew of illustrations that highlight stereotypical haircuts that many slave-owners distributed among the populace. Illustrations also give insight to the bustling docks in which many fugitive slaves entered by ship and were hidden amongst and beneath the cargo. Eric Foner's work in this book debunks the fictional characters written by past novelists by replacing them with true accounts from fugitive slaves who told their stories to black and white abolitionists on their route to freedom.

Often, the underground railroad taught in public schools has been entrenched with Harriet Tubman and her fearless efforts that brought slaves to freedom in tandem with antislavery activist--mainly free blacks and white abolitionists. This book helps argue in my research the importance of legislation during this time, in concert with positing that this complex machine should be considered the first interracial civil rights movements during the antebellum era, long before the movement that led to the Civil Rights Act of 1883. Tubman was not just a major operator of the UGR, but also a political activist, among other valuable African Americans who used legislation to fight the institution of slavery. Furthermore, learning about regional histories of this movement should be highlighted on a national scale in grade school education that help debunk the myths and provide more substance to this history as an important framework that make up the true fabric of this country. Many historians have faced in the past lack of primary sources from African Americans and white abolitionists who were active in the underground railroad (a common theme among the UGR framework) due to the fear of federal prosecution after the Fugitive Slave Act was implemented. However, there has been more primary resources that has resurfaced but were initially buried in university libraries and national archives in efforts to silence the past.

Gara, Larry. *The Liberty Line: The Legend of the Underground Railroad*. Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1996.

"*The Liberty Line*" written by Larry Gara in 1961 pores through traditional resources of narratives and autobiographies from historian and educator, Wilbur H. Siebert's, "*The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom*." Gara's interpretation after careful examination concludes that the underground railroad was a combination of both fact and fiction. While praising the likes of Siebert and his valuable primary sources that details

legendary accounts of runaway slaves and abolitionists, the author sharply discredits Siebert's interpretation that slaves were passive in their roles toward freedom. In addition, Gara concludes that the UGR was not as organized and professional as Siebert claims in his monograph. This book is divided into eight chapters that discuss how past historians describe fugitive slaves as meek and docile while uplifting white abolitionists and Quakers as heroic men who made the great sacrifice in conducting the underground railroad. Scholars have often debated fact, interpretation and narratives that fantasize the truth as folklore.

Gara's position aligns with my goal to highlight that our national history of the underground railroad is shrouded in nothing less than exaggeration of the truth. Most impressive is the interpretation of Canada as a symbolism of recolonization due to the fear of kidnapping of free black peoples and fugitive slaves in New York who were caught and returned to their masters. Canada as a destination from many blacks who escaped enslavement, according to Gara, was a new life and settlement for political and economic opportunity. Gara's argument is predicated in self-reliance, courage, individual initiative, and confidence of fugitive slaves to carve their own lane towards freedom and not under the auspices of white abolitionists. In addition, he argues that many authors from the past and present have often borrowed from these folklore accounts that aid in the continuous myths of the UGR.

Kashatus, William C. *William Still: The Underground Railroad and the Angel at Philadelphia*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2021.

William Still, an African American activist and clerk during the antislavery movement had culminated the research of the underground railroad that places the individuals of the movement center stage for the first time. Past historians such as Eric Foner, John Hope Franklin and Larry Gara have used Still's primary sources in which consist of legal documents, transcribed speeches, sketches, and rewritings in which aid in debunking the traditional romanticized narratives written by white abolitionists during the eighteenth century. This work provides reality to the movement as a respected process that shed light on the intricacies and true representation of what slaves went through while negating, according to author William C. Kashatus, African Americans "incapacity for freedom. Published in 2021, Kashatus, who holds a Ph.D. in history from the University of Pennsylvania, tells the story of how important William Still is and posits that he is indeed an early civil rights advocate.

This book will assist towards building an argument that the underground railroad was one of the first Civil Rights Movements and how grade school education within public school systems from a national and regional perspective can benefit from this knowledge. In addition, this book highlights that an educated black man working as a clerk for the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery was also at the center of this cerebral movement who documented the lives of over 200 fugitive slaves who passed through Philadelphia. Furthermore, the underground railroad helped produce one of the most important pieces of legislation--the Fugitive Slave Act Law on September 18, 1850. How did we get here? Why was this legislation important? Do public schools teach this

legislation in tandem with the Declaration of Independence, the United States Constitution, and the Emancipation Proclamation. This book will help construct the connection of many roads travelled towards the deconstruction of slavery. While the past does not predict the future, it often reflects the present. Structures that were put in place do not simply go away; they are often recycled when needed. How important is the power of story if it is indeed derived from first account primary sources on both sides of the aisle in history books? Why does America tell only the stories of the victor and commemorate them? Why is American history a one-sided story?

Siebert, Wilbur Henry. *The Underground Railroad: From Slavery to Freedom*. United States: Wilbur Siebert, 2016.

Written in the late 1800s, Wilbur Siebert explores how the Underground Railroad operated within the realms of oblivion and secrecy. Siebert was an educator and historian born in 1866 from Columbus, Ohio where many abolitionists resided. Primary resources Siebert used for this book sheds light on this comprehensive history that travels through two generations, where Siebert challenges historians in the late eighteenth century to not neglect fifty years of secret engagements of abolitionists and fugitive slaves who travelled underground to Canada and other free states to gain freedom. Often, past historians, according to Siebert who focused on the antislavery movement failed to mention the interworking's of the underground railroad as a valuable resource. Before historians began to challenge how the Underground Railroad was written and researched during the late eighteenth century, as the subtitle implies--slavery to freedom was hotly contested. These polemical debates derived from leaving out agents, operators and key persons who were just as relevant to the destruction of slavery in tandem with legislation, war, and policy. This book is divided into eleven chapters, packed with research, letters, newspapers, map illustrations, sketches of operators, firsthand notes, testimonies of abolitionists, and secondary sources of how historians during this period approached topics of the antislavery movement. In addition, this book pores through the origins and methods of the UGR as well as the introduction to major characters they were able to explore from primary resources from abolitionists who took notes from fugitive slaves experiences. Furthermore, the book covers the legal consequences of men who were prosecuted for their participation in the UGR in concert with the politics, laws, and effects the underground system presented during a slave society in the antebellum era.

This book is important to my work and research as it provides a history of a history that allows me to travel back in time when historians began to unravel the infant stages of dissecting the Underground Railroad. Most helpful to the research that I will focus on are the chapters that include the UGR's origins and growth, politics, methods, prosecutions, and effects that help aid in the destruction of a slave society. More importantly, the illustrations of the maps will be helpful in comparison to that of the late eighteenth century that may have changed over a course of 100 years or how they were recycled by historians for research. As a critique, it should be noted that many of the romanticized letters could be the catalysts of future novelists and eighteenth-century abolitionists during this time who exaggerated on the UGR, pushing the narrative further away from fact and more into the legend and myth. It is also questionable in Siebert's work how many of the slaves who

escaped, according to his sources, were dependent on abolitionists alone and not from their own initiative to free themselves. From the outset of slavery, those who traveled the middle passage resisted and rebelled against bondage before and after demarcating from slave ships. The narrative that has been pushed since the antebellum era is that Africans and African Americans were meek and docile humans. Many scholars have worked to debunk that narrative by researching and investigating the legitimacy of these legends.

Trouillot, Michel Rolph. *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1997.

The content in this book, “*Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*,” written by Michel-Rolph Trouillot challenges how history is produced and how it works from the moment of creation—sources, archives, narratives, and the final instance of historical making—the four crucial moments of history production.⁴ The author claims that history is created in an unequal fashion and that silences of history can appear anywhere in the process. Trouillot has produced both academic and non-academic books about the history of Haiti, slavery, and the production of discourse and the role in which power intertwines throughout this discourse. Trouillot states that, “human beings participate in history both as actors and as narrators...the first meaning places the emphasis on the sociohistorical process, the second on our knowledge of that process or on a story about that process.”⁵ Trouillot posits that these silences of history embrace the ambiguity of the historical process when scholars eliminate other actors from the outset of historical production.

This work is essential to my project as it relates the ideas, I have crafted about critical race theory and education in public schools. *Silencing the Past* offers explanation on how American historiography curtails true interpretation of the past of what happened, or what is said to have happened. Grade school and secondary education in Texas for example, created a detailed curriculum of TEKS that are required for teachers to implement to students. In addition, Texas has also created a bill that limits how race, slavery and history are taught in Texas schools. Michel Rolph-Trouillot, author of *Silencing the Past* in his early writings offered explanation of Western history and how it is produced from the moment of creation, how history is stored in the archives, and later presented to the public as a one-sided story. The basic idea of history as an interpretation without proper facts or facts without proper interpretation about past events make the historical database in U.S history incomplete. Once told by my advisor Dr. Stephanie Cole in the history department at the University of Texas at Arlington--“we as historians have no choice but to use our imaginations to create fictions, as no two facts ‘belong’ together or can speak for themselves with our (scholarly informed) decision making.”

⁴ Michel Rolph-Trouillot, 2.

⁵ Michel Rolph-Trouillot, 2.

