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### African Americans and Native Americans in Hartford 1636-1800: Antecedents of Hartford's Nineteenth Century Black Community

Barbara J. Beeching  
*Trinity College*

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Trinity College  
HARTFORD CONNECTICUT

African Americans and Native Americans in Hartford 1636-1800:  
Antecedents of Hartford's Nineteenth Century Black Community

Barbara J. Beeching  
Professor Pfeiffer  
Social Studies 637  
November 29, 1993

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## Introduction

Steiner tells of a Negro in Hartford, Connecticut, who was killed by his Dutch master in 1639 . <sup>1</sup>

The social life of the black and white communities in [nineteenth century] Hartford developed along separate lines. . . . The Black community maintained its own sense of social and political identity. . . . <sup>2</sup>

Forgotten chapters of Hartford's history lie along the path that led from the murdered slave of 1639 to the middle-class Black community of the nineteenth century. In this paper I have tried to take the first step along that path by compiling a list of African American and Native American individuals in Hartford during the Colonial period, roughly until the year 1800.

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<sup>1</sup> Lorenzo J. Greene, The Negro in Colonial New England 1620-1776 (New York: Columbia UP, 1942) 18.

<sup>2</sup> James Miller, "Charles Ethan Porter and the Hartford Black Community" in Charles Ethan Porter 1847-1923, Ed. Helen J. Fusscass et. al. (Marlborough: The Connecticut Gallery Inc., 1987), 92.

The idea of exploring the origins of Hartford's nineteenth century Black society grew out of an interest in Rebecca Primus, who in a sense represented its high point. In 1865, sponsored by the Freedmen's Association, she left Hartford for Royal Oak, Maryland where she founded and taught in a school for Black students. Her letters home, now in the Connecticut Historical Society collection, are rich with insights into the life and thoughts of a truly remarkable woman.

Rebecca's father, Holdridge Primus, although employed as a porter, was a respected leader in the Black community, a founder and Deacon of the Talcott Street Church, the third Negro Congregational Church organized in America.<sup>3</sup> Her mother, Mehitabel Jacobs, who worked as a seamstress, was the granddaughter of the cobbler Jeremiah Jacobs, said to have been the first free Black resident of Hartford. According to James Miller he arrived in 1765 and bought land on Wyllys Street in the South Green area.<sup>4</sup> In her letters Rebecca refers to the Mitchells, the Platos, the Cleggetts, and others who were part of a network of friends and associates that made up an active and recognized community.

In the belief that the origins of the community would have to be pieced together out of a limited number of available facts, I began by searching for people in Hartford who might have made the transition to freedom if not equality.

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<sup>3</sup> King Hayes, "Historical Profile of Fifteen Black Churches of Hartford, Connecticut."

<sup>4</sup> Miller, 89. While the Native American population in colonial Hartford was negligible, it is of some interest to see that Scipio, "an Indian boy" was deeded four acres of land in 1714 by the will of Sarah Onepenny. Whether Scipio was free I did not discover, but his land holding does predate that of Jeremiah Jacobs.

The list which follows represents an unknown fraction of those who belong here; more can and should be found. Individuals are listed alphabetically, each name accompanied by all the citations I have located so far. While this arrangement makes for a cumbersome listing, it serves to clarify relationships among individuals, and in some cases lends validity to anecdotes passed on by writers working in later years. Because census records do not give names of slaves, identification of such individuals depends on associating them with their masters. Therefore I have added a separate alphabetical list of slaveholders.

The sources I have used are records kept by a population to whom African Americans and Native Americans were not of vital interest. In the nineteenth century, the history of slavery in New England became an embarrassment, and while attitudes towards those who had been enslaved remained unchanged, the fact of their enslavement was conveniently forgotten.

Nevertheless in census reports, church records, court proceedings, town meeting reports, and private papers, bits of information await discovery. There are occasional bonanzas, such as the portion of an 1805 Negro Census of Hartford in the Kingsbury papers at the Stowe-Day Foundation, but for the most part the data are scattered and sketchy.

I have produced, I hope, a helpful compendium of facts relating to Black and Native American residents of Hartford, both slave and free, up to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Native Americans are included because they were marginalized along with

Blacks and often the two groups were not differentiated in population totals.

### Sources and What They Tell

This discussion covers only the sources used in preparing the lists that follow. Similarly, I have tried to limit myself to background immediately connected with the lists; a full treatment of slavery and emancipation in Hartford would require a great deal of additional material.

#### Census Reports

To get an overall view of the extent of slavery and an idea of the numbers of slaves **and** freemen in Hartford in the colonial period, I began with census reports. The earliest of these give statistics only, but those for 1790 and 1800 also name householders. In the earliest count that I found, in 1680, the colony sent word to British Lords of the Council that not more than 30 slaves were found in Connecticut, that three or four Blacks a year were brought to the colony from "Barbadoes" and sold "usually at the rate of 22 pounds a piece"; and finally that there were no figures on the numbers of Blacks and Mulattoes born each year, "but fewer blacks; and but two Blacks christened, as we know of."<sup>5</sup> The earliest town-by-town counts are for 1756 and 1774. In fact I found references to only four slaves before 1700, two of them identified as "Indians."

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<sup>5</sup> Colonial Records III, 298

Hartford.	Connecticut	Population		
	Whites	Negroes*	Indians'	Total
1756 <sup>6</sup>	2,926	101	0	3,027
1774 <sup>7</sup>	4,881	145	5	5,031
1790	4,110	142 <sup>+</sup>		4,090
1800	5,105	242 <sup>**</sup>		5,347
1805 <sup>8</sup>		238		

\* Terms are as found in census reports

+ Includes free Native Americans, free Blacks, and 48 slaves

\*\*Includes free Native Americans, free Blacks, and 18 slaves

For an idea of relative numbers, the census of 1790 shows that Blacks made up 2.3 percent of the state's population, and that 3.8 percent of Connecticut families held slaves. Greene says "Connecticut, unlike Rhode Island and Massachusetts, had little active connection with the slave trade. Yet, on the eve of the Revolutionary War, Connecticut contained more Negroes than any other New England Colony."<sup>9</sup> He notes that the most dramatic increase in Connecticut's Black population took place between 1749 and 1756, when the figure rose from 1,000 to 3,587. The number of Blacks in Connecticut fell 16 percent between 1774 and 1790, dropping from 6,464 to '5,419.'<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Colonial Records X, 617.

<sup>7</sup> Colonial Records XIV, 485.

<sup>8</sup> Negro Census in Kingsbury Collection, Stowe-Day Foundation.

<sup>9</sup> Greene, 89.

<sup>10</sup> Greene, 90.



In 1790, the first U.S. Census provides names of free persons (including free Blacks) and numbers of slaves. While white households are broken down into sex and age categories, no such detail is given for slaves or for Others--meaning free African Americans and Native Americans.

The following householders appear in both the 1790 and 1800 reports as Others. (some are labeled Negro, some are not) and for this reason I am considering them either Blacks or Native Americans.

Alford	Alpheus
Boston	in 1790 Boston and Boston, Junior; in 1800 Boston,
	Robbert
Hull	Prince <sup>11</sup>
Popp	(in 1800, <u>Pop</u> )

The fragment of the 1805 census in the Kingsbury Papers lists two of the four names:

Alfred:	Alpheus, John, Jeremiah
Boston:	Robert, Mary, Erastus, David, Catherine Boston (2) and Boston Nichols
No Hull	
No Popp	

Since the 1805 manuscript is not complete, it is possible that Hulls and Pops appear in the lost portions. The value of this document is that it provides names not found in either of the federal censuses, and that it shows for each individual: age, former master, former place of abode, residence in Hartford (length of time), present master, and character (assessment!). The information,

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<sup>11</sup> A Revolutionary War pensioner, and according to White, p. 59, the only Hartford Black to serve in that War.

particularly on age and length of residence in Hartford, helps to connect families and generations. In' this document, free Blacks list a "present master," suggesting that the term was interchangeable with "employer." This information should help in determining where individuals lived, slave or free, since it is accepted among scholars that Negroes often lived with the whites for whom they worked.

Regarding the growth in numbers of free Black householders between 1790 and 1800, one cause may well be the 1784 law calling for a gradual ending of slavery. No negro or mulatto born after March 1 of that year was to be enslaved after reaching the age of 25. In 1797 the age was changed to 21, making the effective date 1805.<sup>12</sup> It may also reflect both changing attitudes on slavery and developments in the economy that made slavery less attractive.

### Church Records

Hartford Church records are a helpful if imperfect source. Because' the First Church records for the first 52 years, up to 1685, were lost, they had to be reconstructed from other documents; and another block of records, 1772 to 1818, is missing? Records show church members, baptisms, deaths, and marriages--although marriage was a civil arrangement among the Puritans and ministers were not allowed to officiate at weddings until 1686<sup>14</sup>. The Second Church, separated in 1670, records causes of death as well as dates. Invariably the baptismal records of slaves included the public

<sup>12</sup> Weld, Ralph F., "Slavery in Connecticut," 13]

<sup>13</sup> Historical Catalogue of the First Church in Hartford 1633-1885 Introduction.

<sup>14</sup> Greene, 192.

promise of the master that the individual would be brought up in the Christian religion.

Looking back three centuries, we see contradictions in the role of the church in the lives of slaves. White notes the irony of Puritan writers of the time justifying the slave trade as a means of bringing heathen Africans to Salvation, and then cites Greene's contention that as late as 1776 "the majority of slaves in New England were still not Christians."

Perhaps the following helps explain why slaves were slow to embrace Christianity. In a volume of Hartford town votes dated Dec. 14, 1640 is this:

It is ordered ye men shall send theare searvants ye best and ye worst and if any be defective aparently they are to be sent home or allotted; these are to be impled abought gitting pipe staves; those are to attend ye searvis upon two days warning: from ye time they goe out to ye time they come homr is to be tenn howers.<sup>15</sup>

One is tempted to speculate that a ten-hour sermon might bring into the conversion process the law of diminishing returns.

An additional irony is the philosophical puzzling over whether slaves, once converted, could still be held in bondage. Sermons directed at slaves, White continues, stressed their duty to be "submissive to their owners." Furthermore, Blacks and Native Americans, slave and free, were seated out of sight in segregated

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<sup>15</sup> Hartford Town Votes 1635-1716, CSL Archives. Transcribed by C. J. Hoadley, p. 53 of Town Record; p. 31 of Hoadley's ledger book.

pews.<sup>16</sup> The formation of separate churches for Blacks began in Connecticut early in the nineteenth century, and seemed to signal at once the embrace of Christianity by Blacks, and their rejection of their treatment by whites.

One further curiosity is the discovery that pastors and ministers were often slaveholders. White explains that ministers were not adequately paid, and needed to find additional income. Since farming could provide nourishment for the family as well as income, he says, pastors used slave labor to farm and thus were able to support themselves and minister to the congregation.<sup>17</sup>

#### Other Sources

Among unexpected sources was Apprentices of Connecticut 1637-1900, by Kathy Ritter, which includes among the apprentices some servants "bound for life as slave[s]." This seems to illustrate Greene's statement that the distinction between servant and slave was not clear to the transplanted English at first. He says that "In accordance with the Jewish conception of slavery, especially in the seventeenth century, many slaves were freed after six years of faithful service." As another result of this uncertainty, he points out that slaves were sometimes considered property, sometimes persons.<sup>18</sup> The confusion was further confounded by the fact that slaves had rights in law, and could and did on occasion, sue for their freedom (see Abda in listing of Blacks and Native Americans).

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<sup>16</sup> Greene, 15.

<sup>17</sup> White, 14.

<sup>18</sup> Greene 168, 169.

Ritter's records give the researcher information not found elsewhere regarding Peleg, one of the Black Governors, said to have belonged to Jeremiah Wadsworth. The record confirms this fact, stating that Peleg was bound to Jeremiah Wadsworth of Hartford "forever as a slave." Additional information is given as well: Ritter records that Elisha Brewster of Worthington, Mass., sold a family of Negroes: Peleg, his wife Lucy, son Peter and daughter Peggy as of Aug 23, 1787.<sup>19</sup> For more on Peleg see my listing for Nott, Peleg.

Among local documents, Hartford land records have been helpful. They contain some but by no means all manumissions, and also show property bought by and in a few cases from Blacks and Native Americans.

The earliest pertinent land transfer I found was May 3, 1714, when four acres of Sarah Onepenny's land was deeded to Scipio "an Indian boy" according to instructions in her 'will.<sup>20</sup>

One of Connecticut's Black Governors was Boston, who was freed, along with his wife Rose in 1774 by their owner, James Nichols. The document, which gives us the ages of Boston and Rose, also contains a caution:

.. And by these presents I do Release and forever Relinquish all Right and Title I have to their or either of their future Services upon this express condition that they shall and do provide for and support themselves, but if they or either of them shall fail to provide a sufficient support for themselves by any mismanagement or bad Husbandry, and thereby become

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<sup>19</sup> Ritter 157.

<sup>20</sup> Hartford Land Records Vol. III p. 26.

& To all People to whom these presents shall come or may come  
 James Nichols of Hartford in the County of Hartford and  
 Colony of Connecticut in New England sends greeting Know ye that

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 That for diverse good causes and considerations moving one honest man  
 especially for and in consideration of the long and faithful services done  
 to Me by my Negro Woman named Boston one of the Age of about thirty  
 years and my Negro Woman named Rose Wife of the said Boston of  
 the Age of about thirty three years both Slaves for Life Slave and by  
 these presents do fully freely and absolutely give and Grant unto them and  
 Boston and Rose and to each of them their full and free Manumission  
 and Freedom from their Slavery from and after the date of these presents  
 provided during the Term of their or either of their natural Lives provided  
 they can and do maintain and support themselves And by these presents I  
 do Release and forever Relinquish all Right and Title I have to their or  
 either of their future services upon this express condition that they shall  
 and do provide for and support themselves but they or either of them shall  
 fail to provide a sufficient support for themselves by any mismanagement  
 or bad Husbandry and thereby become chargeable to and a burthen and  
 expense to me or my Heirs then this present Indenture and every Clause  
 and Article therein contained shall be absolutely null and void and  
 it shall be lawfull for me or my Heirs to remove them and each of them  
 into service again and to sell and dispose of said Slaves as fully and  
 Ample to all intents and purposes as if this Indenture had never been  
 made that any thing therein contained to the contrary notwithstanding  
 In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and seal this 29 day  
 of April 1774

signed sealed & delivered  
 In presence of  
 Jonathan Fayal  
 Nathaniel Fayal

James Nichols (Seal)

All December 9<sup>th</sup> 1783 and here Recorded Test George Wylllys August 13

Manumission of Boston and Rose by James Nichols April 29, 1774.

From Hartford Land Records v.16, p. 317.

chargable to and a burthon or expense upon me or my Heirs then this present instrument and every Clause and Article therein contained shall be absolutely null and Void, and it shall be lawful for me or my Heirs to remand them and each of them into Service again, and to sell or dispose of said Slaves as fully and amply to all Intents and purposes as if this Instrument had never been Executed any thing herein contained to the Contrary notwithstanding. In Witnefs whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal this 29 day of April Anno Dom 1774.<sup>21</sup>

Nichols seemed to have in mind a law passed in 1702, which stated that if a former slave became destitute, his former owner was responsible for his care. A question for more study arises from the fact that the document was dated 1774, but not entered into the public record until 1783.

Another interesting manumission, dated July 8, 1760, contains a standard statement by Mary Olivey, who is freeing her "Negro Man Neptune and Priss his wife a Negro woman, dutiful and loving servants." She adds:

that . . . Neptune may better provide for himself his wife and such children as they may hereafter have in their State of Freedom, I do give grant make over and deliver unto him . . . all the implements Tools and ~~utenfels~~ [utensils] of his Trade of a Barber in which he has long Occupied and served to be his own forever.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Hartford Land Records Vol. 16 p. 317.

<sup>22</sup> Hartford Land Records Vol. II p. 37.

This confirms the statements in Stuart and Greene regarding Neptune, who served as one of Hartford's Black Governors. He appears again in another context in the following document, also from the Hartford Land Records:

Whereas Neptune a Negro and Priscilla his wife both Free persons and Dwelling in this Town having now Moved to us the Subscribers to be made free and full Inhabitants of said town of Hartford and observing that they are industrious and of good Conversation Do therefore allow and admit the said Neptune and Priscilla to abide and dwell within the said Town of Hartford and to be full and free Inhabitants within the same.

Samuel Talcott

Isaac Sheldon

Select Men

Thomas Wadsworth

Thomas Seymour

Rec. September 4, 1767 and here recorded George Wyllys,  
Registrar<sup>23</sup>

This provides the proper name of Neptune's wife, but beyond that it appears to be a document with an agenda. Fifty years earlier, in 1717, Connecticut passed a law forbidding free Blacks to buy property or live in town, and furthermore rescinded any prior property sales. Greene notes that Free Negroes were not to "carry on any business, without first obtaining the consent of the town." He adds that "while the law was probably never enforced, its presence on the statute books . . . served further to impress upon the free blacks the insecurity of their existence" (Greene 312, 313). A brief

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<sup>23</sup> Hartford Land Records Vol. II p. 45.



Know all Men by these Presents That I Daniel Edwards  
of Hartford in y<sup>e</sup> County of Hartford & Colony Connecticut for Divers  
good Causes & Considerations in the Premises Moving, More Especially for  
y<sup>e</sup> Love and good Will I bear to my Son in law Mr George Lord and  
his Wife Sarah my Daughter, Have Given, Granted & made over And  
do hereby fully and absolutely Give, Grant and convey unto them my  
Said Son and Daughter, My Negro Boy named Dick (being on some  
Day in this present Month of January of y<sup>e</sup> age of seven years) to have  
& to hold to & for y<sup>e</sup> Sole use, Benefit & Service of my S<sup>d</sup> Son & Daughter  
as their Servant & Slave perpetual. During his Life, free & clear of all  
further claim or Challenge by or from me or any other from or under me  
In Witness Whereof I have Hereby Set my Hand & Seal this first Day  
of January Anno Domini 1763

Daniel Edwards

Mary Mott  
Ann Key  
mark

Listed as a "sale," actually a gift of the "Negro Boy named Dick" to  
George and Sarah Lord, by Daniel Edwards, father of Sarah; 1763.  
The wording is particularly ironic.

From Connecticut Archives, Connecticut State Library.

chronology of such laws is in the Appendix section, based on the Colonial Records and other State documents.

Writings of Ezra Stiles, Joshua Hempsted, and Venture Smith are additional primary resources, as are private papers. The Wyllys Papers, Vol. XXI of the Colonial Records, contain at least one manumission and other references to slavery. In addition, the various libraries devoted to historical and genealogical research hold manuscripts with pertinent material.

Examination of these private documents seems to indicate that sales of slaves at least on some occasions were legally prepared and witnessed agreements between individuals and not necessarily recorded in public records.. in the Connecticut Archives, the Talcott papers contain three separate transactions involving Samuel Talcott--selling slaves to Daniel Bacon of Woodstock, CT in 1759, to Elisha Fullam of Walpole, NH in 1786; and buying a slave from Holland Weeks of Litchfield in 1789 (for more information see Talcott in list of slaveholders).

In the State Library manuscript collection I found, besides the Talcott papers, such items as a "bill of sale" signed by Daniel Edwards for a slave named Dick, and most spectacularly a 1790 map of Hartford.

The map locates streets, churches, businesses, a still, inns, homes, rivers, wharves, swamps, millsites, and shows on Cole Street two squares, each labeled "Negro House." Here is a chance to combine sources. A story recounted by Stuart states that Boston,

one of the Black Governors, "lived in Cole St."<sup>24</sup> When James Nichols freed Boston, his slave, on Oct. 22, 1783, he conveyed to him an 1188 square foot piece of land on the corner of his own lot and a building on it.<sup>25</sup> The 1790 map shows Nichols' lot at the corner of Cole Street and Lower Ferry Road; one of the Negro Houses is adjacent--surely it is Boston?.

Among the households identified on the map are those of a dozen or more slaveholders. Such geographic placement may prove valuable in examining living patterns as the city developed and Negroes were freed, by statute or manumission.

### Secondary Sources

Of the secondary sources I consulted, Greene's is certainly the most comprehensive treatment. White and Weld provide information specific to Connecticut. These works were especially enlightening in two areas, occupations of slaves and the phenomenon of the Black Governors.

As the households in the early settlements were required to be more or less self sufficient, slaves in New England, according to Greene and others, were expected to be versatile, working in the house, on the farm and in stills, mills and smithys. They are described plowing, haying, building fences and tending animals, along with their masters rather than under remote supervision. They were carpenters, coopers, ship builders, sailors, and ropemakers.

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<sup>24</sup> Stuart, 40

<sup>25</sup> Hartford Land Records Vol. 16 p. 113.

<sup>26</sup> Greene, 111-114.]

Within the homes Negroes were cooks, maids, nurses, valets, butlers, coachmen and attendants.<sup>27</sup> Venture Smith relates his service on loan in Hartford:

After some trial of my honesty, Mr. Edwards placed considerable trust and confidence in me. He put me to serve as his cup bearer and waiter. When there was company at his house, he would send me into his cellar and other parts of his house to fetch wine and other articles occasionally for them.

When I had been with him some time, he asked me why my master wished to part with such an honest negro . . . <sup>28</sup>

I found no specific treatment of female slaves; they appeared to work with the women of the household, and in that way might find themselves helping with the crops as well as the cooking.

One New England practice that seemed to flourish in Hartford was the election of a Black Governor. Greene describes this custom as an occasion for the Black population to hold a festival, enjoy a party, and mimic the governmental ceremonies of the whites. Generally on the Saturday following the general election, slaves donned finery given them by their owners, and came in borrowed carriages to vote for a Governor. Following the election, the results were announced, the loser joined the winner with a toast, and a party was held, in a public tavern, all with the consent and approval of white Hartford.<sup>29</sup> One of the best aspects of this colorful event is that it was noted and **described** by contemporaries and historians.

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<sup>27</sup> Greene, 321.

<sup>28</sup> Smith, Narrative, 18.

<sup>29</sup> Greene, 250-251.]

Their accounts give names of individual slaves who were elected and who must be considered important members of the Black community. The mention of a celebration being held in Knox tavern in 1776 offers more insights.<sup>30</sup> It would appear that Blacks used white facilities for these white-sanctioned gatherings, possibly because segregation as such was not practised or in any case there was no Black Inn. The emphasis in the accounts on the festival aspect of Black election day emphasizes the fact that there was a society forming among Blacks.

### Conclusions

I have identified some 270 individuals, Black and Native American, who were in Hartford in the colonial period. In fact fewer than half a dozen are dated before 1700; most of the list represents eighteenth century Hartford. No doubt there are many more. For a next step, probate and court records, military service and pension rolls should be examined. To locate the remaining pages of the Kingsbury census would be an enormous help. On the portion of the document available was the note that in 1803, when the first Hartford Negro census was taken, there were 169 Negroes in Hartford, and in 1805, there were 238. Existing pages at the Stowe-Day Foundation Library give 107 names, most of them unlisted elsewhere; 131 are missing.

Once the list of names is completed, analysis can begin, and additional research to trace the progress toward a middle class society.

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<sup>30</sup> Stuart, 329.]

Since this study represents a beginning only, conclusions have a tentative quality. It is clear at the start that the search cannot be confined to Hartford alone. Black and white, people in colonial times moved more freely and more frequently than we imagine. For further work, the category Others in the early census reports should be examined--for numbers if nothing else--with the idea that many freed Blacks lived with their employers.

Regarding my starting point, so far I have found Primuses and Jacobs in the early documents, but no sign of Mitchells, Platos or Cleggetts. The origins of the nineteenth century Black community still await discovery.

An examination of the names of Hartford slaves and siaveholders emphasizes a history that has been buried. As the numbers of slaves grow through the eighteenth century, it also suggests that the Puritan conscience, struggling for sanctity, succumbed rather early to the inroads of capitalism. Participation in the slave trade led to participation in the practice of slavery. Our notions of equality were unknown to the patriarchal early settlers of New England, and in the words of Kenneth M. Stamp, "Slavery was clearly one of the legacies of antiquity."<sup>31</sup> Still, the fact that there were laws as early as 1690 to restrict slaves' movements in the community suggest that the struggle for equity began early, or at the very least that tension accompanied the practise of owning one's fellow humans. The examples cited on the first page of this paper demonstrate the nature of the relationship between the races.

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<sup>31</sup> Kenneth M. Stamp, The Peculiar Institution, 15.

The fact of slavery in Colonial New England, in Hartford, is acknowledged in varying degrees in many histories of the times, and while some information exists on how the slaves gained their freedom, the harder questions deal with how they lived afterward, in Hartford or elsewhere, and how they worked together to form networks and communities.

While a full treatment of the lives of individual Blacks and Native Americans in early Hartford may be out of the question, it should be possible to trace the origins and growth of the cohesive Black society that existed in the mid-nineteenth century, to gauge its size and its purposes, and to follow its course into the twentieth century. I believe that a careful compilation of facts, together with sensible analysis, can throw new light on the role of these groups in the growth and development of the city of Hartford..

AFRICAN AMERICANS AND NATIVE AMERICANS, SLAVE AND FREE,  
RECORDED IN HARTFORD 1636-1800

KEY TO SOURCES (for complete citation see Bibliography):

Dates 1790 **and** 1800 refer to federal census reports from those years.

**Brown** refers to "Blacks in Connecticut: A Historic Profile" pamphlet by J. E. Brown.

CHS refers to the Connecticut Historical Society.

CSL refers to the Connecticut State Library.

Greene refers to The Negro in Colonial New England 1620-1776 by Lorenzo J. Greene.

First Church refers to Historical Catalogue of the First Church in Hartford 1633-1885.

Hobby refers to "Blacks in Middletown Around the 1790's" paper by Matt Hobby.

NC refers to Negro Census in Kingsbury papers, Stowe-Day Foundation.

*Second Church* refers to Parker's History of the Second Church of Christ in Hartford 1670-1892.

**Platt** refers to "Negro Governors" by Orville H. Platt.

**Ritter** refers to Apprentices of Connecticut 1637-1900 by Kathy A. Ritter.

*Stuart* refers to Hartford in the Olden Time: its First 30 Years by I. W. Stuart.

**Walker** refers to History of the First Church in Hartford 1633-1883 by George Walker.

*White* refers to Connecticut's Black Soldiers 1775-1783 by David O. White.

(?) denotes questionable reading of manuscript.

I have kept the wording of the originals where possible.

**Note:** In the early days of the colony a distinction was drawn in church membership between those who "owned [embraced] the covenant" and those who were full members or communicants, hence the differing designations.

Abbot, Flora, age 38. Former master William Gullar, Springfield; in Hartford 4 mo. (NC 1805).

Abda, "mulatto slave belonging to Thomas Richards . . . was son of Negro woman and a white man. In 1702, Abda ran away and went to live with Capt. Wadsworth. . . ." Richards sued Wadsworth for return of his property; Abda "lodged a countersuit for damages against his master for having detained him in bondage for a year, claiming that because of his white blood there could be no legal grounds for his enslavement." Inferior Court declared him a freeman; Richards appealed; General Assembly ruled child has the status of his



mother. Important precedent regarding legality of enslavement of mulattoes (Greene 182-1 83).

Alford, Alpheus, Black, free, 5 others in household (1800, 273).  
Alfred, Alpheas, age 52 yr. 4 mo; free. In Hartford 48 yr. (NC 1805).

(I am assuming these two citations refer to the same individual.)

Alpheus Alford has three listings in the Grantee index of Hartford Land Records that indicate he held both land and buildings in Hartford, left him by his former owner Elisha Butler. The documents state Alford had served him "from a child" and "done business" for him. Two are quitclaims, 13 June 1782 (vol. 14 p. 371), and 17 November 1786 (vol. 17 p. 483). Two parcels of land are mentioned, one adjacent to lands of Samuel Olcott and Daniel Butler's heirs, and the other is in the North Meadows. An additional warrantee with Hezekiah Seymour as Grantor is dated 17 October 1794 (vol. 19 p. 288).

Alfred, Jeremiah, age 22, free. In Hartford 22 yrs. (NC 1805).

Alfred, John, age 14, free. In Hartford 14 yr. (NC 1805).

Anderson, Flora, age 44. Former Master, McCuster, Enfield; in Hartford 5 mo.  
(NC 1805).

Anderson, Jane, age 7, free. In Hartford 5 yrs. (NC 1805).

Anderson, James, age 45. Former master Ashbel Anderson, Enfield; in Hartford 5 mo. (NC 1805).

Andrew, negro, baptized 8 May 1715 (First Church 190). See listings for Tamar, Lydia, Isabella.

Andrew, negro, married Tamar, negro, 18 May 1721 (First Church 242).

Atis, Kitt, a Negro boy about 12 years old, sold 15 May 1789 by Holland Weeks of Litchfield to Samuel Talcott for 40 pounds, according to a bill of sale in CSL archives (CT Miscellaneous Papers #28).

Bartee, Flora, age 15, free. Formerly in Gilford; in Hartford 6 yr; present master Doct(?) Hempsted (NC 1805).

Betty, negro servant to Daniel Edwards, Esq., owned the covenant. and was baptized 26 Oct. 1760 (First Church 34, 223).

Blackstone, Jack, Black, 7 others in household (1800, 247).

Boaidman, Jemima, age 36. Former master Levi Hayton, Windsor; in Hartford 10 yr. (NC 1805).

Boardman, Tutlin, age 70. Former master, Boardman, Hartford; in Hartford 70 yr. (NC 1805).

Boston, Negro Child, servant to Captain James Nichols, baptized 5 July 1761. On the same day, Peter and Caesar, servants to Capt. Nichols, were also baptized (First Church 224).

Boston, age about 40 years, manumitted along with his wife Rose, by James Nicholls 29 April 1774, according to Hartford Land Records Vol. 16 p. 317. A copy accompanies this paper. The document reads:

To all People to whom these presents shall come or may concern.

James Nichols of Hartford in the County of Hartford and Colony of Connecticut in New England sendeth greeting. Know ye that for divers good Causes and Considerations moving me hereunto more especially for and in Consideration of the long and faithfull Service done to Me by my Negro Man named Boston now of the Age of about Forty Years and my Negro Woman named Rose Wife of the said Boston of the Age of about Thirty three years both Slaves for Life Have and by these Presents do fully freely and absolutely give and Grant unto them aforesaid Boston and Rose and to each of them their full and free Manumission and Freedom from their Slavery from and after the date of these presents for and during the Term of their or either of their natural Lives provided they can and do maintain and support themselves, And by these presents I do Release and forever Relinquish all Right and Title I have to their or either of their future Services upon this express condition that they shall and do provide for and support themselves, but if they or

either of them shall fail to provide a sufficient support for themselves by any mismanagement or bad Husbandry, and thereby become chargable to and a burthon or expense upon me or my Heirs then this present instrument and every Clause and Article therein contained shall be absolutely null and Void, and it shall be lawful for me or my Heirs to remand them and each of them into Service again, and to sell or dispose of said Slaves as fully and amply to all Intents and purposes as if this Instrument had never been Executed any thing herein contained to the Contrary notwithstanding. In Witnefs whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal this 29 day of April Anno Dom 1774.

Signed sealed & delivered  
In presence of  
Benjamin Payne  
Catherine Payne

James Nicholls

On 22 October 1783, Nichols conveyed to "Boston, free negro, for five pounds," a parcel of land approximately 1188 square feet on a corner of Nichols' lot adjoining that of Jeremiah Platt, and with it "the building thereon." The piece of ground was described as being approximately 54 by 22 feet (Hartford Land Records vol. 16 p. 113).

In a subsequent action on 18 Sept 1792, Ebenezer Barnard quitclaimed the same piece of ground for the consideration of four pounds 14 shillings (Hartford Land Records vol. 19 p. 397).

Boston (Negro) / Both listed as freemen (heads of household)  
Boston, Junior / in 1790 Census

(It seems reasonable to guess that the Boston baptized in 1761 was the son of the Boston freed in 1774, and that both appear in the 1790 census. The NC 1805, lists Boston and Rose Nichols q.v.)

Boston, described by Stuart (40) as "belonging to a Mr. Nichols, who left him a handsome estate," was one of the black governors. Stuart continues, "He lived in Cole St. and was a genuine African." (Coles St. is now Governor St., which connects Wyllys and Sheldon, crossing Charter Oak). He reports that Boston died in the 1810's, and was buried with his

"cocked hat and sword on his coffin." A service was held at the South Congregational Church and Dr. Flint "pronounced a sort of funeral eulogy over his remains, which were afterwards deposited in Centre Burying Ground." He had a son, Roman, who according to Stuart was described as "crazy" and unkempt.

Boston, Catherine, age 32, free. Formerly in Wethersfield; in Hartford 4 yr. (NC 1805).

Boston, Catherine, age 10, free. Formerly in Wethersfield; in Hartford 4 yr. (NC 1805).

Boston, David, age 36. Former master Nichols, Hartford; in Hartford 36 yr. (NC 1805).

Boston, Erastus, age 13, free. In Hartford 13 yr. (NC 1805).

Boston, Mary, age 43. Former master, Burington of New London; in Hartford 23 yr. (NC 1805).

Boston, Robbert, Black, free, 3 others in household (1800, 270).

Boston, Robert, age 46. Former master, Nichols, Hartford; in Hartford 46 yrs (NC 1805). (These two are possibly the same individual.)

Browning, William, age 23. Former master John Shepard, Hartford; in Hartford 23 yr; present master John Dodd (NC 1805).

Butler, Delira, age 1; former master Jonathan Butler, Hartford; in Hartford 1 yr.; present master Jonathan Butler (NC 1805).

Butler, Peggy, age 17; former master Jonathan Butler, Hartford; in Hartford 17 yr.; master Jonathan Butler (NC 1805).

Caesar, Negro Child, servant to Captain James Nichols, baptized 5 July 1761. On the same day, Boston and Peter, servants to Capt. Nichols, were also baptized (First Church 224).

Candace, a Negro Servant child, born in ye house of Mrs. Abigail Woodbridge, was baptized 28 June 1741 (First Church 207).

Candace is the subject of a bill of sale quoted by Hooker (334):

"Know all men by these presents that I, Samuel Talcott Junr. of Hartford, for the consideration of twenty-six pounds, ten shillings, to me paid or secured to be paid, have bargained and sold to James Wadsworth of Farmington one negro girl about the age of six years, named Candace, warranted sound and healthy and free from any claim of other person or persons, and the same warranted a slave for life. Dated at Hartford, September 30th, 1763"

Carney, Silvia, age 22. Former master Capt. Mortimer, Middletown; in Hartford 21 yr.; present master Henry Seymour (NC 1805.)

Carrington, Welthy, age 19, free. Formerly in Wethersfield; in Hartford 2 days; master Thomas Tisdale (NC 1805).

Castle, Ruben, Black, free, 6 others in household (1800 246).

Cato "who belonged to Esq. Buckingham" is a member of Second Church and appears in its 1771 rate list (Second Church 137).

Catoe, negroe, valued at 22 pounds, is part of the estate of Ann Foster's father, who died without a will (no date given). Ann Foster, who in her will, 1764, manumitted five slaves: Cato, Paul, Prince, Zippora and Nanny. It is not clear where she lived; her second husband was a pastor in Kensington, Rev. William Burnham (Walker, 219 n, 220 n).

Cesar, negro baptized 14 Apr. 1717 "T. Woodbridge engaging . that he should be trained up in ye Christian faith." His name appears in the record as follows: Diego: *Isabella & Cesar*, negroes (First Church 191).

Chirchibel, Cale, age 52. Former master Capt. Heath, Hartford; in Hartford 46 yrs; master Samuel Wyllys; Character: Good (NC 1805).

Cook, Cloe, age 42. Former Master Joseph Webb, Wethersfield; in Hartford 1 yr. (NC 1805).

Cook, Joseph, age 45, free. In Hartford 2 yr. (NC 1805).

'Cuff' was elected Negro Governor of Connecticut in 1766. According to Stuart (41) he succeeded "Col<sup>d</sup> Willis's [Wyllys] Niegor " who had died. Cuff sought to resign after ten years for health' reasons, and "appointed" John Anderson "Governor" of Connecticut in 1776. (also related in Morgan 259). This precipitated a controversy because John Anderson was the slave of Governor Phillip Skene, a British officer on parole at Hartford (252). Because the Revolutionary War was getting under way, there was fear of a plot to enlist the help of Negroes against Colonists.

A document contained in the report investigating possible political or military motives behind the appointment of Anderson as Black Governor contains information that helps to fix the successsion of Black Governors. It is signed by what appears to be a list of influential Blacks of the day, (Pratt 328) presumably all of them fellow Blacks--and/or Native Americans--of Connecticut if not Hartford. The document covers the appointment under scrutiny:

I, Governor Cuff of the Niegro's in the province of Connecticut, do Resign my Governmentshipe to John Anderson, Niegor Man to Governor Skene.

And I hope that you will obeye him as you have Done me for this ten years past, when Colonel Willis' Niegor Dayed I was the next. But being weak and unfit for that office di Resine the said Governmentshipe to John Anderson.

I: John Anderson having the honour to- be apointed Governor over' you I will do my utmost to serve you in Every Respect, and I hope you will obey me accordingly.

John Anderson, Governor  
over the Niegors in Connecticut

Witnesses present,  
Gov. Cuff of Hartford  
Quackow  
Petter Wadsworth  
Titows  
Pomp Willis (Wyllys?)  
John Jones  
Fraday.  
May, 1776.

(Pratt 327-328)

Know all Men by these Presents that We John Haynes Lord and Rachel  
Lord of Hartford in the County of Hartford of the State of Connecticut, for the  
consideration of One hundred pounds money to us in Hand paid by Sally Cuff  
of said Hartford our Maid Servant to our full Satisfaction the receipt whereof we  
do hereby acknowledge Have remised and released, and forever Quitted and discharged  
and by these Presents for our selves and Heirs do fully clearly and absolutely  
Release and forever Quitty and discharge unto the said Sally Cuff all our  
Right Title Interest and demands whatsoever that we the said John Haynes Lord  
and Rachel Lord had or ought to have in or to the Person Service or Person of  
the said Sally Cuff so that she is intirely set free and clear from us our Heirs  
Executors and Administrators forever, and at her own Liberty to <sup>act and</sup> conduct for her  
self in all matters whatsoever so that neither we nor our Heirs nor any other  
Person for or in our, or their Names nor in the name right or stead of any of them  
shall or will by any way or means hereafter have claim challenge or demand  
any Right Title or Interest of in or to the said Sally Cuff but from all and every  
Action Right Title Estate Interest and Demand of in or to the said Sally Cuff they  
and every of them shall be utterly excluded and barred forever by these Presents  
In Witness whereof We have hereunto set our Hands and Seals the 7<sup>th</sup> day of  
June Anno Domini 1782.

signed sealed and delivered  
in Presence of  
William Lord  
Priddy Chancellor

John H. Lord, Test  
Rachel Lord, Test

Attest June 8<sup>th</sup> 1782. and here Recorded, Test, George Wyllie, Register

Manumission of Sally Cuff by John Haynes Lord, June 7, 1782.  
From Hartford Land Records, v. 4, p. 291.

Cuff, a negro child born in the home of Deacon Sheldon, baptized 23 Aug. 1730 along with George and Susanna; to be brought up in the Christian faith by Sheldon (First Church 199).

Cuff, Sally, was freed by her owner, John Haynes Lord and his wife Rachel on 7 June 1782, according to Hartford Land Records vol. 14 p. 291. See copy of the document on the page following).

Curtiss, Betsey, Negro, died July 1791, age 60. (Second Church, Parker 377).

Curtiss, Aaron, age 80. Former master Merrills, Hartford- in Hartford 80 yr. (NC 1805). (See listing for Cutas, Aaron below; it may refer to the same person.)

Curtiss, Lyda, Free. Master listed as Nathaniel Patten (NC 1805).

Cutas, Aaron, is listed as a freeman, head of family in the 1790 census (47), with 2 (free persons) in the household. A 1790 census transcription slip in CSL lists 5 in the family.

Daniel, Indian, owned the Covenant, 8 Dec. 1695 (First Church 25).

Daniel, Negro Servant to John Haynes Lord died 28 May 1761 (First Church 268).

Dee, Racheal, age 21, free. Formerly in Wintonbury; in Hartford 21 yr.; present master Elisha Babcock (NC 1805).

Dege (Negro) is listed as a freeman, head of family, with 3 others in the household (1790, 47).

Dego, Negro Servant to John Haynes Lord died 9 June 1756 (First Church 264).

Demarant, Jack Black, 8 others in household (1800, 246).

Dic, Negro Servant to William Gooderl died 3 July 1766 (First Church 272).

Dick, Negro Child belonging to Daniel Edwards, Esq., baptized 12 Oct. 1760. On the same date London, Dick, Jethro and Mima were all baptized (First Church 222).



According to a bill of sale in CSL archives, Dick was given to Edwards' daughter and son-in-law, George and Sarah Lord, 1 Jan. 1763. Document, see copy, gives his age as seven years.

Dick, born Jul 14, 1791. Slave of Joseph Pratt, according to Barbour's Vital Records V FFS. p. 87. Joseph Pratt is listed in the 1790 Census as owner of one slave (46).

Diego: Isabella & Cesar, negroes, baptized 14 Apr. 1717, with note that T. Woodbridge, Pastor engages "for Cesar that he should be trained up in ye Christian faith." (First Church 191).

Dige, Caty, age 11, free. In Hartford 11 yr. (NC 1805).

Dige, Negro, died 13 Oct. 1799 age 56 years, of asthma (Second Church 384).

Dige, Racheal, age 33. Former master Samuel Olcott, Hartford; in Hartford 33 yr. (NC 1805).

Dinah, a Servant Negro Child belonging to Mrs. Abigail Woodbridge, baptized Church 3 Oct. 1732, Mrs. Woodbridge "Ingaging to bring her up in the Christian faith" (First Church 204).

Dinah, negro servant to Dr. William Jepson died 7 Sept. 1760 (First Church 267).

Dinah, Negro Child servant to John H. Lord, baptized 14 Aug 1768; Salle was baptized on the same day (First Church 230).

Doe, Somber (?), Black, head of household; 5 others (1800, 272).

Dolphin, \_\_\_\_\_ A child of Edward Dolphin, Negro, died 8 June 1793 age 4 months, of canker (Second Church 378).

\_\_\_\_\_ A child of Edward Dolphin, Negro, died 20 Oct. 1794 age 4 months (Second Church 380).

Dolphin, Chritington, age 17, free. In Hartford 17 yr. (NC 1805).

Dolphin, Edward, age 13, free. In Hartford 13 yr. (NC 1805).

Dolphin, Ester, age 7, free. In Hartford 7 yr. (NC 1805).

Dolphin, Eathan, age 10, free. In Hartford 10 yr. (NC 1805).

Dolphin, Fanny, free (NC 1805).

Dolphin, Ned, Black, 8 others in household (1800, 265).

Dolphin, Ned, free (NC 1805).

Dolphin, Polly, age 8, free. In Hartford 8 yr. (NC 1805).

Dyer, Jerre, Black, 3 others in household (1800, 254).

Dyer, Jeremiah, Jr., age 5, free. In Hartford 5 yr. (NC 1805).

Dyre, James, age 21, free. Formerly in Lisbon; in Hartford 1 yr;  
master Henry Hudson (NC 1805).

Dyre, Thomas, age 23, free. Formerly in Lisbon; in Hartford 8 yr.;  
master, Theodore Dwight (NC 1805).

Ebbons, Wanton, age 3, free. Formerly in Providence; in Hartford 4  
mo. (NC 1805).

Ebeau(?) Jenney, age 23. Free; formerly in Jersey; in Hartford 12 yr;  
master Peter W. Gallordet (NC 1805).

Edwards, Simeon, Negro died 25 Sept. 1799 age 35 years, of fever  
(Second Church 384).

Elias, "servant formerly" of William Lotham, was awarded about 3  
pounds owed him by Mr. Lotham according to instructions in  
Lotham's will dated 21 Mar. 1645 (Col. Rec. I, 473).

Eliot, Hager(?). Former master Col. Elliott, G[u]ilford; in Hartford 3  
yr; master James Ward; Character: Very Good (NC 1805).

Finny, Ausula (?), age 22, free. Formerly in Glostenbury; in Hartford  
6 yr; master Thomas Y. Seymour (NC 1805).

Fitch, Josephas, Black, 4 others in household (1800, 247).

Freem, Joshua, Black, 2 others in household (1800, 251).

Freeman, Cuff, age 56. Former master Phenno, Middletown; in Hartford 13 yr. (NC 1805).

Freeman, Henrietta, age 26. Former master Cot. Talcott, Middletown; in Hartford one day; master, Avery; Character: Good (NC 1.805).

Freeman, Jane, age 41. Former master Samuel Foster, Wethersfield; in Hartford 13 yr. (NC 1805).

Freeman, Jordan is a Negro from Hartford who died at the Battle of Groton Heights Sept. 6, 1781 (Brown 6). Brown also reports that an all-Black Company was formed in Connecticut and attached to Meigs Regiment under Col. David Humphreys.

Frelly, Strephon, Black, 3 others in household (1800, 255).

Gad, Negro Servant to Sam Mattocks, was baptized privately 9 Mar. 1771 (First Church 233).

Gad, Negro Servant to **Samuell** Mattocks died 9 Mar. 1771 (First Church 274).

**Gashion**, John. Dead. Age 24, free. Formerly in West Indies, in Hartford 3 wk.; present master John. J. Wells (NC 1805).

George, a negro child born in the home of Deacon Sheldon, baptized 23 Aug. 1730 along with Cuffy and Susanna (First Church 199).

Gibson, Samuel, Negro, died 16 Oct. 1795 age 34 of fever (Second Church, 381).

Grey, Dinah, age 23. Former master Swan of Suffield; in Hartford one yr; present master Henry **Newbury** (NC 1805).

Gray, Ira, age 18, free. Formerly in New London; in Hartford 5 yr. (NC 1805).

Hagar, maid servant to Mr. Haynes Lord, by letter from ye church at Groton was received to communion by Rev. Edward Dorr 5 Jun. 1748 (First Church 50).

Hagar, maid servant to John Haynes Lord died 28 May 1760 (First Church 267).

Hagar, negro servant to John. H. Lord owned the covenant 14 Aug. 1768 (First Church 36).

Halsey, Cloe, age 27, free. Formerly in Glastonbury; in Hartford 4 yr.; master Ashbel Wells (NC 1805).

Halsey, Ransom, age 24, free. In Hartford 4 yr; master Ashbel Wells (NC 1805).

Hazerd, Fathy, age 13, free. In Hartford 13 yrs. (NC 1805).

Hazerd, Hendis, age 6, free. Former master George Pitkin, East Hartford; in Hartford 1 yr. (NC 1805).

Hazerd, William, age 5, free. In Hartford 5 yrs. (NC 1805).

Hazerd, Rose, age 49. Former master, George Pitkin, East Hartford; in Hartford 20 yrs. (NC 1805).

Haza(o)rd, Rose, Black, 6 others in household (1800, 246).

Heber, a servant to Capt. Joseph Cook, baptized 5 Nov. 1732, (First Church 201).

Henry, William, age 30, free. In Hartford 6 mo. (NC 1805).

Hero, Hagor, age 57. Former master, Samuel Olcott, Hartford; in Hartford 57 yrs. (NC 1805).

Hull, Prince appears as a freeman and head of family in the 1790 Census, with 3 others (free) in the household (47). He is also in 1800 census (247) with 4 others in the household; in 1820 with 2 in the household, and in this case his age is given: 45+. White (59) lists Prince Hull as a Revolutionary War pensioner, with service in 1777.

Isabella, negro, baptized 14 Apr. 1717. Appears in listing as follows: **Diego: Isabella and Cesar**, with note that T. Woodbridge, pastor, engages "for Cesar that he should be trained up in ye Christian faith." (First Church 191).

Isabella, daughter to Andrew, negro, baptized 10 Aug. 1724 (First Church 196) See listings for Andrew, Tamar, Lydia.

Jack, Black, 2 others in household (1800, 273).

Jacob, a servant boy, born in the house of Mrs. Abigail Woodbridge, was baptized 22 July 1739 (First Church 206).

Jacobs, Aaron, age 22, free. In Hartford 22 yr. (NC 1805).

Jacobs, James, age 16, free. In Hartford 16 yr. (NC 1805).

Jacobs, Jerry, age 19, free. In Hartford 19 yr. (NC 1805).

Jacobs, Mabel, age 52, free. Formerly in Wethersfield; in Hartford 38 yr. (NC 1805.)

Jacobs, Reace, age 50, free. Formerly on Long Island; in Hartford 36 yr. (NC 1805).

Jemimah, Negro; her infant child died 21 Mar. 1798, no age given (Second Church, 383).

Jethro, Negro Child belonging to Daniel Edwards, Esq., baptized 12 Oct. 1760. On the same date London, Dick, Jethro and Mima were all baptized (First Church 222).

Jo, Mr. Richard Lord's negro man died 14 June 1710 (First Church 257).

Johnson, Charlotte, age 5, free. Formerly in Bedford; in Hartford 3 yr. (NC 1805).

Johnson, Delila, age 11, free. Formerly in Bedford; in Hartford 3 yr. (NC 1805).

Johnson, Gift, Black, 4 others in household (1800, 258).

Johnson, Juda, age 28; free. Formerly in Bedford; in Hartford 3 yr. (NC 1805).

Johnson, Nancy, age 8, free. Formerly in Bedford; in Hartford 3 yr. (NC 1805).

Johnson, Samuel, age 30; free. Formerly in Boston; in Hartford 3 yr. (NC 1805).

Johnson, Samuel Jr., age 3, free. Formerly in Hartford [stet]; in Hartford 3 yr. (NC 1805).

Johnston, John, age 36 yr. 5 mo., free. Formerly in Oster Bay; in Hartford 13 yr. (NC 1805).

Johnston, John Jr., age 5, free. In Hartford 5 yrs. (NC 1805).

Johnson, Silva, age 26. Former master, Jas. Pitkin, East Hartford; in Hartford 9 yr. (NC 1805).

Johnston, Charles, age 30, free. In Hartford 16 yr. (NC 1805).

Johnston, Lucy, age 19, free. Formerly in Colchester; in Hartford 10 mo.; master, Chauncey Goodrich (NC 1805).

Joseph, Indian, owned the covenant and was baptized 27 Jan. 1722/23 (First Church 27, 195).

Jude, Mulatto, according to Ritter (155) is sought through a newspaper notice which states that he ran away from Stephen Sedgwick of Hartford. Jude is age 23, 5'8" tall. Reward \$20 (unidentified newsp. dated 28 Jan. 1783).

Kate, described by Greene as "a Hartford Negro" was found guilty of infanticide and sentenced to death Sept. 12, 1743. Greene (214) cites Jeremiah Wadsworth, who in his diary describes attending court sessions in the case and praying with Kate (Diary, pp. 100, 106).

Kent, Bola, age 38. Free; formerly in Westfield; in Hartford 14 yrs; present master listed as Ephraim Root; Character: Good (NC 1805).

Kent, Cato, age 41. Former master Maj. Kent, Suffield; in Hartford 15 yrs; owner Ephraim Root; Character: Good (NC 1805).

Lambert, Jonah, Black, 3 others in household (1800, 252).

Lambert, Jonah, age 31; former master, Moore, New London: in Hartford 8 yrs. (NC 1805).

Lambert, Lettice, age 39; former master Gen. Huntington, Norwich; in Hartford 8 yrs. (NC 1805).

Lambert, Mary, age 7, free: Formerly in Norwich; in Hartford 7 yrs. (NC 1805).

Langworthy, Stephen, Apprentice to Capt. Daniel Bull; "being dangerously sick, was baptized privately [11 Sept. 1763] after having declared his faith in Christ and belief of the principal Doctrines of the Gospel, he promising at the same time if providence ever gave him opportunity, publicly to recognize his baptismal obligation" (First Church 226).

London, Negro child belonging to Captain Daniel Goodwin, baptized 12 Oct 1760. On the same date Dick, Jethro and Mima were all baptized (First Church 222).

Lucy was granted her freedom by Jeremiah Wadsworth on 15 November 1792 along with Peleg her husband (Hartford Land Records vol. 19 p. 405).

Lydia, daughter to Andrew and Tamar, negroes, was baptized 23 Oct. 1720 (First Church 94).

Lydia, Negro child, servant of Governour Talcott, baptized 14 June 1741 (with York), (First Church 207).

Lydia, negro servant to Capt. James Nicholls, baptized 26 Aug 1764 (First Church 227).

Lysander, son of Sylva, negro servant woman (q.v.) to Pastor Edward Dorr, baptized 19 Nov. 1758; Dorr "publicly engaging to educate him in the Christian faith" (First Church 220).

Lysander, infant negro Child servant to E. Dorr died 20 Sept. 1759 (First Church 266).

Margaret, an Indian woman, baptized 1 Oct. 1732 (First Church 201).

Margery, negro, baptized 29 June 171 1/12 (First Church 188).

Mark, Negro, bound to Jeremiah Wadsworth for life. Mark was sold by Freman Kilborn. Indenture date Feb. 1789. (Ritter p.155--CHS-0 16)

Mark, Negro, aged about 13, bound to Freman Kilborn of Hartford for life as slave. Mark sold by Benjamin Concklin of Hartford. Ind. Date 11 Aug. 1788) (Ritter p.155-CHS-014). (see entry for Sally.)

Merandy, Peter, age 50. Former Master, William, Northford; in Hartford 36 yr. (NC 1805).

Merandy, Rhoda, age 46. Former master Jonathan Wells, Wethersfield; in Hartford 13 yr. (NC 1805).

Mima, Negro Child belonging to Daniel Edwards, Esq., baptized 12 Oct 1760. On the same date London, Dick, Jethro and Mima were all baptized (First Church 222).

Mime, Negro servant to Capt. James Nichols "being sick was baptized privately" 26 June 1767 (First Church 229).

Mime, as described above, died 1 July 1767 (First Church 272).

Mumford, Phillis, age 37; former master John Mumford, New London; in Hartford 4 yr.; master Thomas Seymour (NC 1805).

Negro, Cato, as member of Second Church, appears on the rate list 1771 (Parker 137).

Negro, Prince as member of Second Church, appears on the rate list 1771 (Parker 137).

Nelson, Isaac, Free. No other information given (NC 1805).

Neptune (Squire Nep) is the subject of an anecdote in Stuart (44). A Hartford Negro "guilty of thieving, is taken before Jonathan Bull, Esq. for trial." Bull sent him to Squire Nep for punishment. Nep was, Stuart says, a black justice of the peace and barber "noted for integrity, sternness and influence with



those of his own color." He sentenced the prisoner to give up tobacco and his gun for restitution, and receive 30 lashes for punishment. The sentence was carried out on the South Green by candlelight. Greene believes it more likely that the sentence was only administered, not determined, by the Black Governor (Greene 254-5).

Orville Pratt notes that Black Governors sometimes appointed a Lieutenant Governor as well as Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace, and that at least in some instances the Black Governors wielded real power which was utilized by white in assuring that order was maintained (Pratt 320). Greene elaborates on this theme, in outlining the various benefits to whites of permitting the blacks' mock government (Greene 255)

To determine when Neptune was Governor, I would offer this: According to information in the Descendants of Thomas and Susannah Bull of Hartford. CT, Judge Jonathan Bull lived from 5 Nov. 1746 to 5 Oct. 1825, dying at the age of 79. He was Judge of the County Court from 1798 to 1807; Justice of the Peace, Clerk and Judge of Probate from 1790 to 1808.

Nep, Squire, is elsewhere referred to in Greene as a free black who "followed the barber's trade (306; cites Roberts, Historic Towns of the Connecticut Valley p. 218).

In the Hartford Land Records on 8 July 1760, the Negro Man Neptune and "Prifs his wife a Negro woman, dutiful and loving servants" are manumitted by Mary Olivey. The document continues, "that the [said] Neptune may better provide for himself his wife and such children as they may hereafter have in their State of Freedom, I do give grant make over and deliver unto him . . . all the implements Tools and utenfels [utensils] of his Trade of a Barber in which he has long Occupied and served to be his own forever . . ." (Hartford Land Records vol.11 p. 37).

Another document regarding Neptune, and the only one of its kind I found, is in the Hartford Land Records for 4 September 1767:

"Whereas Neptune a Negro and Priscilla his wife both Free persons and Dwelling in this town having now Moved to us the Subscribers to be made free and full Inhabitants of said town of Hartford--and observing that they are industrious and of

good Conversation Do therefore allow and admit the said Neptune and Priscilla to abide and dwell within the said Town of Hartford and to be full and free Inhabitants within the same.

Samuel Talcott	
Isaac Sheldon	Select Men
Thomas Wadsworth	
Thomas Seymour	

(Above from Hartford Land Records vol. 11 p. 45.)

No Neptune is listed in the 1790 census.

Neptune, Negro, died 15 Nov, 1796 age 74 of dropsy (Second Church, 382).

Nichols, Boston, Black, 3 others in household (1800 262).  
(see also under Boston These two, 'Rose', appear to be known under both names.)

Nichols, Boston, age 70. Former master Capt. Nichols, Hartford; in Hartford 52 yr. (NC 1805).

Nichols, Rose, age 60. Former, master Capt. Nichols, Hartford; in Hartford 60 yr. (NC 1805).

Nott, Peleg, slave of Col. Jeremiah Wadsworth of West Hartford, 'who "drove a provision cart in the American Revolution," was one of the Negro Governors (Greene 252).

Further Documentation: Peleg, Negro, bound to Jeremiah Wadsworth of Hartford term "forever" as slave. Elisha Brewster of Worthington, MA, sold family of Negroes--Peleg, wife Lucy, son Peter and daughter Peggy. Indenture date 23 Aug 1787 (Ritter 157--CHS-018).

Stuart relates this story (40): "Peleg met Col. Wadsworth one day and the following conversation took place (it is reported):  
'Massa, me want to be free.'  
'What do you want to be free for?'  
'Oh Massa, freedom's sweet.'  
'Well then, I'll make you free.'  
'When will you make me so?'

'Now. You are free from this day.'  
And he became so."

This story is supported by the Hartford Land Records, in which on 15 November 1792, Peleg and his wife Lucy are freed by Jeremiah Wadsworth (Vol. 19 p. 405).

Nott, Peleg, Black, 2 others in household, 1800 Census ( 271).

Otis, Betsy, age 26, Free. Formerly in Branford; in Hartford 1 yr; master, Henry Hudson (NC 1805).

Otis, Ezekiel, age 20; former master Jacob Thompson, North Branford; in Hartford 10 mo. (NC 1805).

Pagatoon, John (Indian Man), his wife Sarah and son Sampson bound to Joseph Bigelow of Hartford for a term of five years for John and Sarah, 19 years for Sampson (until he reaches age 21). --"John Pagatoon claimed to have the consent of his master Thomas Reaves of Southold on Long Island. Examination of John Pagatoon dated 13 July 1723. Thomas Reaves of Southold claimed said Indians to be runaways. [This case is continued in Hartford County Court Record Book Vol. 4 p. 138, dated Nov. 1723. Court denied Reaves claim on Indians.] Indenture date is 12 July 1723." (Ritter p. 156--CHS-017 & CSL-060)

Pagatoon, Sarah, see listing for John Pagatoon.

Pagatoon, Sampson, see listing for John Pagatoon.

Peggy, a Negro, died 9 Mar. 1798 age 48, of Dropsy, Complex (Second Church 383).

Peggy, master Asa Hopkins (NC 1805).

Peleg was freed, along with Lucy his wife by Jeremiah Wadsworth on 15 November 1792 (Hartford Land Records vol. 19 p. 405). See Nott, l e g .

Peter, Negro Servant to Robert Nevins died 19 May 1751 (First Church 261).

Peter, Negro Child, servant to Captain James Nichols, baptized 5 July 1761; On the same day, Boston and Caesar, also servants to Capt. Nichols, were also baptized (First Church 224).

Peter, negro servant to Edward Dorr, pastor, owned the covenant 11 Apr. 1762 (First Church, 34).

Peter, a Negro boy valued at 55 pounds, listed along with a Negro woman Sikey, in the will of Mr. Dorr, pastor of Hartford's First Congregational Church. The will is dated 2 Jan. 1770 (Walker 332n).

Peter,. Negro, died Sept. [no day given] 1770 (First Church 273).

Peter, Hannah, Negro died 18 June 1800 age 33 years, of dropsy (Second Church 384).

Peter, Samuel, age 21. Former master Col. Chapin, Springfield; in Hartford 2 wk. 1 day; master, John Caldwell; Character: Good (NC 1805).

Peters, Charlotte, age 15, free. In Hartford 15 yrs. (NC 1805).

Petor, Black, 8 others in household (1800, 265).

Phillys, negro Servant to Captain Jno Lawrence died 11 June 1766 (First Church 272).

Phyllis, Negro Servant to Edward White died 4 Apr. 1762 (First Church 269).

Pomeroy, Phillis Dead. Age 60. Former master Samuel Bull, Middletown; in Hartford 14 yr. (NC 1805).

Pomp and Susannah, Negro Servants to Capt. William. Nicholls were married 15 Nov. 1750 at the desire of ye master (First Church 249).

Pomp, Negro Servant to Mrs. Hepzibah Collyer died 4 May 1767 (First Church 272).

Pomp, Negro Servant of Joseph Sheldon, died 31 May 1794 age 15 of Epilepsy. (Second Church 379).

Popp is listed as a freeman, head of family, with 2 others in the household (1790, 47).

Pop, Black, 2 others in household (1800, 268).

Prime, Negro died 28 Jan 1765 (First Church 271).

Prime, Negro man who belonged to Samuel Talcott and was sold, according to a bill of sale in CSL archives, to Elisha Fullam of Wallpole, NH 12 April 1786. Prime, described as about 48 years of age "hath lately eloped and is supposed to bee at No. 4 in S. Newhampsheur"; it is not clear whether Fullam is befriending a runaway or purchasing a servant.

Primos, Peggy, age 26 yr. 1 mo. Former master Thomas Rogers, Branford; in Hartford 1 mo. 1 wk; master Daniel Hopkins (NC 1805).

Primus, Black, 6 others in household (1800, 259).

Prin, Joseph, Black, 4 others in household (1800 Census 270).

Priscilla, negro, owned the covenant and was baptized, 25 Mar. 1744 (First Church 31, 209) The same event was noted in the Rev. Daniel Wadsworth's diary, p. iii, noted in Greene 280.

Priscilla, negro Servant to ye Wido Cook died 9 Dec. 1751 (First Church 262).

Priscilla, wife of Neptune, died Aug. 1792 of Negro Consumption age 65 years (Second Church 378).

Priscilla, wife of Eli, died 26 April, 1795 age 26 of Negro Consumption (Second Church 381).

Quanimo, age 70. Former master Jonathan Otis, Newport; in Hartford 13 yr.; master Capt. Bigelow (NC 1805).

Quaw, slave of George Wyllys, was elected Governor by the Negroes of the state, and according to Pratt's account, he was "one of the stiffest and proudest 'darkies' [the old gentleman being interviewed] ever saw. (325).

Stuart named Wyllys as owner of Quaw, whom he describes as one of most colorful Black Governors of Hartford. In discussing the Anderson controversy, Stuart notes that in May of 1776, at the end of his ten-year stint as governor, Cuff appointed John Anderson, slave of the tory Philip Skene, to the post. Cuff, he says, succeeded "Col. Willis's Niegor who had died" (41). This would place Quaw's death around 1766.

Quintus, A Negro man servant to Samuel Drake, died 23 Feb 1760 (First Church 267).

Random, Prince, Black, 5 others in household (1800, 264).

Reave, Jack, Black, 5 others in household (1800, 261).

Rese, Willobe is listed in the 1790 census as a freeman, head of family, with 6 others in the household (47).

Richard, a servant boy belonging to Capt: Cyprian. Nickols, was baptized 29 June 1740 (First Church 206).

Robbins, Levi. "A Negro Child, belonging to ----" died 30 Mar. 1799 age 2 years (Second Church, 383).

Robert, negro, baptized 8 May 1715 (First Church 190).

Rose, "one old negro woman named -----," from the will of the Rev. Daniel Wadsworth in 1746, list of holdings (White 11).

Rose, child about 14 months sold to Samuel Talcott along with Silvie 24 Jan. 1759 (See Silvie entry).

Rose, wife of Boston, manumitted with him by James Nicholls on 29 Apr 1774, according to Hartford Land Records Vol. 16 p. 317.

Sabina, a Negro belonging to Rev. Mr. Boardman, died Dec. 1791 age 24. (Second Church 377).

Salle, negro servant to Capt. John Keith owned the covenant First Church 25 Apr. 1762 (First Church 34).

Salle, Negro Child servant to John H. Lord, baptized 14 Aug 1768.  
Dinah was baptized on the same day (First Church 230).

Sally, Negro, daughter of Mark, died 1 Jan. 1797 age 2 years, of  
consumption (Second Church 382)  
According to other church records, Sally was baptized 31 Dec.  
1796, being sick.

Sam, Negro Servant to Capt. John Keith died 16 Sept 1750 (First  
Church 260).

Sarah, Negro Servant Child belonging to Captain William Nichols died  
1 May 1752 (First Church 262).

Sarah, Negro, her infant child died 24 Sept. 1794 age six weeks  
(Second Church, 380).

Sarah, Negro, her infant child died 4 July 1796 age 5 days (Second  
Church, 381).

Sarah, Negro, died 23 July 1797, age about 35 years, of fever  
(Second Church, 382).

Scipio, an Indian boy, received four acres of land in the distribution  
of the will of Sarah Onepenny 3 May 1714 (Hartford Land  
Records).

Scott, Mima, Black 4 others in household (1800, 255).

Scott, Richard, age 12. Former and present master, John Dodd,  
Hartford; in Hartford 12 yr. (NC 1805).

Scott, Sarah, age 29 yr. 4 mo., free. In Hartford 29 yr. 4 mo. (NC  
1805).

Seabury, Samuel, age 20, free. Formerly in New London; in Hartford  
10 yr.; present master Thomas Y. Seymour (NC 1805).

Sheldon, Prince, is listed in the 1790 census as a freeman, head of  
family, with 6 others in the household (47).

Sikey, a Negro woman, valued at 15 pounds, listed along with Peter  
a Negro boy, in the will of Mr. Dorr, pastor of Hartford's First

Congregational Church 1748-1772. His will, which also listed a horse valued at 10 pounds, was dated 2 Jan. 1770 (Walker 332n).

Silva, age 22. Former master Ebeneser Sage, Middletown; master, Theodore Dwight (NC 1805).

Silvia, Negro, age 23, is named in a bill of sale dated 2 Sept. 1777; Joseph Stocking of Middletown seller, George Wyllys of Hartford buyer (Wyllys Papers 456).

George Wyllys manumitted Silvia 20 Dec. 1781. The document, in Middletown Land Records, refers to his having bought her from Joseph Stocking of Middletown, and notes that she has "well and truly served" him "the term of four years" (Hobby 11). This phrasing suggests that the original intention in this case at least was service for a set length of time.

Silvie was sold to Samuel Talcott 24 Jan. 1759, by Daniel Bacon of Woodstock, CT, for 50 pounds. According to the handwritten bill of sale in CSL archives, Silvie was about 21 years. Sold with her was a child, Rose, "about 14 months" and both were sold as "servants or slaves for their lifetime" (CT Miscellaneous Papers #25).

Smart, Black, 5 others in household (1800, 264).

Smith, Tom Black, 4 others in household (1800, 246).

Smith, Venture. According to his own Narrative, he was offered for sale [apparently meaning for resale] to Joseph Hooker who asked Smith "whether I would go to the German Flats' with him. I answered, No. He said I should, if not by fair means I should by foul. If you will go by no other measures I will tie you down in my sleigh. I replied to him, that if he carried me in that manner, no person would purchase men, for it would be thought that he had a murderer for sale. After this he tried no more and said he would not have me as a gift." Smith continues that his master then "pawned" him to David Edwards, also in Hartford, for ten pounds. Smith served Edwards over a period not specified, and impressed him with his honesty and reliability. Edwards in fact was reluctant to let him go, but



did, and even lent Smith a horse to get him back to his master in Stonington, a Mr. Miner (Narrative, 17).

Spencer, Noble, age 36, free. Formerly in Boston; in Hartford 2 wk. (NC 1805).

Susanna, a negro child born in the home of Deacon Sheldon, baptized 23 Aug. 1730 along with George and Cuffy (First Church 199).

Susannah and Pomp, Negro Servants to Capt. William Nicholls were married 15 Nov. 1750 at the desire of ye master (First Church 249).

Sylva, negro servant to Edward Dorr (Pastor) owned the covenant and with her son Lysander was baptized 19 Nov. 1758 (First Church 34, 206).

Tamar, negro maid, owned the covenant, 18 May 1705 (First Church 26). See listings for Andrew, Lydia, Isabella.

Andrew, negro, married Tamar, negro 18 May 1721 (First Church 242).

Thomas, negro, baptized 27 Jan. 1722/23, Pastor T. Woodbridge "engaging for him" (First Church 195).

Thomas, a "molatto belonging to Joseph Cooke" was baptized 3 May 1729 (First Church 199).

Thomas, Julia, age 23. Former master Capt. Nichols, Hartford; in Hartford 23 yr. (NC 1805).

Thomas, Lydia, age 2, free. In Hartford 2 yr. (NC 1805).

Thomas, Titus, age 25. Former master Johnson, Tolland; in Hartford 6 yt. (NC 1805).

Thorn, a Negro Boy about 13 years of age, was sold 15 July 1723, to Elizabeth Wilson for 56 pounds, according to a note (255) in Walker.

Timothy, age 35, free. In Hartford 6 mo. (NC 1805).

Toby, Cato, Negro, as church member, appears in 1771 rate list (Second Church 137).

Tom, a Negro Boy was given by Elizabeth Wilson to her daughter Abigail Woodbridge on 16 July, 1723. Abigail is instructed to give the boy in the future to one of her sons.  
See the entry above for Thorn. One day after Elizabeth Wilson bought Thorn she gave Tom to her daughter. One suspects that Thorn and Tom could be the same person.

Tom, Negro Servant to Capt. James Nichols, baptized 20 June 1762 (First Church 225).

Tony, negro Servant to Dr. Normand Morison died 23 Jan. 1761 (First Church 267).

Vibert, Elizabeth, servant to Aaron Cooke, baptized 8 Sept. 1717 (First Church 191). Not designated as to race: possibly born to an indentured servant, possibly a slave.

Warren, William, age 20. Former master C.. Smith, Molborough; in Hartford one month; master, Thomas Seymour (NC 1805).

Waubin, John, Indian servant of Timothy Woodbridge, pastor of Hartford's First Church 1683-1732. Woodbridge baptized him 10 Aug 1711, noting in the record "I publicly engaged that I would take care he should be brought up in the Christian Religion (188). In Woodbridge's will, 21 years later, Waubin is still indentured (Walker 255).

Will, Negro Servant to Charles Cadwell died 6 May 1764 (First Church 270).

Willson, Thomas, age 2. Former master George Phillips, Middletown: in Hartford 15 yrs; master Ralph Pomeroy; Character: Good (NC' 1805).

William, Indian, owned the covenant 8 Dec. 1695 (First Church 25).

Williams, Easter, age 46, free. In Hartford 7 yr; former master Rev. Nathan Strong (NC 1805).

Williams, London, age 56, free. In Hartford 7 yr; former master Rev. Nathan Strong (NC 1805).

Wills, William, age 18, free. Formerly in Wethersfield; in Hartford 1 yr; master William Chadwick (NC 1805).

York, Negro child, servant of Governour Talcott, was baptized 14 June 1741 (with Lydia) (First Church 207).

York, negro Servant to Captain John Talcott died 18 Jan. 1755 (First Church 263).

Yuk. "Indian lad commonly called --- belonging to Irene Prents" baptized 15 Oct. 1721 (Second Church 325).

Ziba, negro servant to Major Talcott, baptized 4 May 1718; Talcott "publicly engaging for his instruction in ye Christian faith" (First Church 192).

Zipporah, Negro Woman died 7 Oct. 1795 age 80 years, of old age and dropsy (Second Church 381). See note in Catoe listing above; Ann Foster Burnham manumitted a Zippora in 1764.

\* . \* . \*

#### SERVANTS AND SLAVES RECORDED WITHOUT NAME

Boy Servant of Thomas Scott, who died leaving an incomplete will. As of 6 Jan, 1643, he executors decided "that the boy searuant shall continue with the relict of the said Thomas, dureing his time" (Col Rec. I, 455).

\_\_\_\_\_. "A Neager Maide" In Mr. Chester's inventory "about 1650," valued at 25 pounds (Bingham 111).

A Negro who belonged to a New York master "criminally assaulted the wife of Ephraim Andrews, in Hartford, according to Connecticut Archives. Crimes and Misdemeanors 1737-55. Vol. IV, 71, 73.

An infant negro child, Servt. to Captain Daniel Goodwin died 10 Jan. 1753 (First Church 262).

An infant Negro Child, Servant to William Tiley died 26 Oct. 1761  
not baptized (First Church 268).

Infant Negro Child, Servant to Edward White, was still-born 25 Mar.  
1762 (First Church 269).

Infant child of Jude, Negro, Daughter of Boston died 8 Nov. 1798. Age  
given as one week; cause, fits (Second Church 383).

A Negro Infant female Child, servant to Doctor Jepson died 9 Apr.  
1764 (First Church 270).

A Negro female Child, Servant to Captain Keith died 21 July 1764  
(First Church 270).

A Negro boy Servant to Captain William Nichols died 13 Oct. 1766  
(First Church 272).

A Negro Male Child, Servant to Doctor Jepson died 29 Aug. 1767  
(First Church 272).

An infant Negro Child, Servant to Samuel Olcott died 28 Dec. 1767  
(First Church 273).

Child at A. Hopkins, age one yr; free. (NC 1805).

## NAMES OF SLAVEHOLDERS IN HARTFORD BEFORE 1800

Aquant, John M., 8 slaves. 1800 ( 272).

Avery. Owner of Henrietta Freeman (NC 1805).

Avery, John, 1 slave. 1790.

Babcock, Elisha. Master of Racheal Dee (free) (NC 185).

Barnard, Cyprean, 1 slave. 1800 (262).

Bigelow, Capt. Master of Quanimd (NC 1805).

Bigelow, Joseph held indentures on the family of John Pagatoon  
(q.v.): 5 years service for John and Sarah; 19 years for  
Sampson, their son (Ritter 156).

Boardman, Rev. Benjamin, 3 slaves. 1790.

Pastor of Second Church (see Sabina in listing of Blacks and  
Indians).

CSL Cemetery inscription: 8 Feb. 1802, age 70; Hartford  
Courant obituary 15 Feb. 1802 p. 127.

in Second Church records, owner of the negro Sabina, who was  
baptized Dec. 1791

Bull, Amos, 1 slave. 1790.

Bull, Daniel, whose apprentice Stephen Langworthy was baptized  
Sept. 1763 (First Church 226).

Bull, James, 1 slave. 1790.

Bull, David, 1 slave. 1790.

Brunson, Isaac, 2 slaves. 1790.

Butler, Jonathan, 3 slaves. 1790.

Butler, Jonathan. Master of Peggy and Delira Butler (NC 1805).

Cadwell, Charles, whose Negro Servant, Will, died 6 May 1764 (First Church 270).

Caldwell, John. Master of Samuel Peter (NC 1805).

Chadwick, William. Master of William Wills (NC 1805).

Collins, Seth, 1 slave. 1790.

Collyer, Mrs. Hepzibah, whose Negro Servant Pomp died 4 May 1767 (First Church 272).

Concklin, Benjamin, sold Mark, presumably age 13, to Freman Kilborn 11 Aug. 1788 (Ritter 155).

Colt, Peter, 1 slave. 1790.

Cooke, Aaron, whose servant Elizabeth Vibert was baptized 8 Sept. 1717 (First Church 192).

Cooke, Joseph, whose molatto, Thomas was baptized 3 May 1729 (First Church 199).

Capt. Joseph Cook's servant, Heber, was baptized 5 Nov. 1732 (First Church 201).

Cook, ye Wido, whose negro Servant Priscilla died 9 Dec. 1751 (First Church 262).

Dodd, John. Master of William Browning and Richard Scott (NC 1805).

Dorr, Rev. Edward, Pastor of First Church 1748-72.  
Sylva, negro servant of Edward Dorr, owned the covenant 19 Nov. 1758 (First Church 34) and was baptized the same day (220).

Her son, Lysander, was also baptized 19 Nov. 1758 (First Church 220).  
Lysander died 20 Sept. 1759 (266).

Dorr's will 2 Jan 1770, notes a Negro woman called Sikey (valued at) 15 pounds, and

a Negro boy called peter, 55 pounds, a horse 10 pounds (Walker 332n); Peter owned the covenant 11 Apr. 1762 (First Church 34).

Drake, Sam, whose Negro man servant **Quintus** died 23 Feb. 1760 (First Church 267).

Dwight, Theodore. Master of Thomas Dyre and Silva (no last name given) (NC 1805.)

Edwards, Daniell Esq., owner of Dick, Jethro, and Mima, Negro children who were baptized 12 Oct. 1760, and who Edwards publicly engaged to bring up in the knowledge of the Christian religion (First Church 222).

Edwards was also owner of Betty who owned the covenant 26 Oct. 1760 and was baptized the same day (First Church 34, 223).

On January 1, 1763, Edwards gave a "negro boy, Dick," to his son-in-law, George Lord and Lord's wife, Edwards' daughter Sarah, according to a ms. in CSL (CT Miscellaneous Papers #26). It seems reasonable to assume that this could be the Dick who was baptized in 1760.

Edwards, David, was for a time master of Venture Smith, who was "pawned" to him by Mr. Miner, Smith's owner in Stonington. information is from Venture Smith's narrative (17).

Foster, Ann, owned Catoe (see below). Married, in the First Church Rev. Thomas Buckingham of the Second Church 5 Feb. 1698/99 (First Church 42). After his death she married Rev. William Burnham of Kensington who died in 1750. In her will 23 Aug 1764, she manumitted five slaves, Cato, Paul, Prince, Zippora, Nanny (Walker 219n).

Foster, Rev. Isaac, father of Ann. He willed the Negro Catoe to her (Walker 220n).

Gallordet, Peter W. Master of Jenney Ebeau(?) (NC 1805).

Gooden, William, whose Negro Servant Dic died 3 July 1766 (First Church 272).

Goodrich, Chauncey. Master of Lucy Johnston (NC 1805).

Goodwin, Captain Daniell, whose infant negro servant child died 10 Jan. 1753 (First Church 262)

Goodwin was owner of negro child, London, who was baptized First Church 12 Oct. 1760 (First Church 222).

Gravnoe, John C., 5 slaves. 1800 (271).

Hempsted, Doct(?) Master of Flora Bartee (NC 1805).

Hopkins, Asa Master of Peggy and of unnamed child (NC 1805).

Hopkins, Daniel. Master of Peggy Primos (NC 1805).

Hudson, Henry. Master of James Dyre and Betsy Otis (NC 1805).

Hunt, Alexander, 5 slaves. 1790.

~~OSL 28 Aug 1790~~ 21 Aug, 1790, age 60. American Mercury

Janes, Jonathan, 1 slave. 1790.

Jepson, Dr. William, whose negro servant Dinah died 7 Sept. 1760 (First Church 267).

Jepson' servant Negro Infant female Child died 9 Apr. 1764 (First Church 270).

His Servant, a Negro Male Child died 29 Aug. 1767 (First Church 272).

Jones, Daniel, 1 slave. 1790.

Jones, Pantry, 1 slave. 1790.

Keith, Capt. John, whose Negro Servant Sam died 6 Sept. 1750 (First Church 260).

Keith's negro servant Salle owned the covenant 25 Apr. 1762 (First Church 34).



Keith's servant Negro female Child died 21 July 1764 (First Church 270).

Keyes, Amasa, 1 slave. 1790.

Kilborn, Freman, bought Mark. age 13, from Benjamin Concklin (Hartford); indenture date 11 Aug. 1788. Kilborn sold Mark to Jeremiah Wadsworth (all from Ritter 155).

Lawrence, Captain John, whose negro Servant Philly died 1 June 1766 (First Church 272).

Ledlie, Samuel, 1 slave. 1800 (256).

Lord, John Haynes, whose negro servant Hagar owned the covenant and was admitted to the First Church by letter from ye church at Groton and was received to communion by Rev. Edward Dorr 5 June 1748 (First Church 50).

Lord's Negro servant Dego died 9 June 1756 (First Church 264).

His maid servant Hagar died 28 May 1760 (First Church 267).

His Negro Servant Daniell died 28 May 1761 (First Church 268).

Hagar, servant of Lord, owned the covenant 14 Aug. 1768 (First Church 36).

Lord's Negro Servant children Dinah and Salle were baptized 14 Aug. 1768 (First Church 230).

On 7 June 1782, John Haynes Lord and his wife, Rachel, freed Sally Cuff for the "consideration of one hundred pounds money to us in hand paid by Sally Cuff" (Hartford Land Records vol. 14 p. 291).

Lord, George and his wife, Sarah, were given given Dick, a negro boy, as a gift by Daniel Edwards, Sarah's father, 1 Jan. 1763 (CSL CT Miscellaneous Papers #26).

Lord, Richard, whose negro man Jo died 14 June '1710 (First Church. 257).

Merrill, George, 1 slave. 1790.

Marsh, John, 1 slave. 1790.

Mattocks, Sam, whose Negro Servant Gad was baptized privately 9 Mar. 1771 (First Church 233). Gad died the same day (274).

Morison, Dr. Normand, whose negro Servant Tony died 23 Jan 1761 (First Church 267).

Newbury, Henry. Master of Dinal Grey (NC 1805).

Nichols, \_\_\_\_\_. Owner of Boston, onetime Black Governor according to what appears to be oral history, recorded by Stuart (40). This information is confirmed and elaborated on as follows under James Nichols listings.

Nichols, Captain James, whose Negro servant children Peter, Caesar and Boston were baptized 5 July 1761 (First Church 224).

Nichols' Negro Servant Tom was baptized 20 June 1762, First Church (225).

Nichols' negro servant Lydia was baptized 26 Aug 1764 (First Church 227).

Nichols' Negro servant Mime, being sick, was baptized privately 26 June 1767 (First Church 229). Mime died 1 July 1767 (272).

On 20 April, 1774, James Nichols manumitted Boston and Boston's wife, Rose.

On 22 October 1783, Nichols conveyed to "Boston, free negro, for five pounds," a parcel of land approximately 88 square feet on a corner of Nichols' lot adjoining that of Jeremiah Platt, and with it "the building thereon." The piece of ground was described as being approximately 54 by 22 feet (Hartford Land Records vol. 16 p. 113).

In a subsequent action on 18 Sept 1792, Ebenezer Barnard quitclaimed the same piece of ground for the consideration of four pounds 14 shillings (Hartford Land Records vol. 19 p. 397).

Nicholls, Capt. William, whose Negro Servants Pomp & Susannah were married 15 Nov. 1750 at the desire of ye master (First Church 249).

Nichols, owner of Negro Servant Child Sarah, who died 1 May 1752 (First Church 262).

His Servant, A Negro boy, died 13 Oct. 1766 (First Church 272).

Nickols, Capt. Cyprian, his servant boy Richard was baptized 29 June 1740 (First Church 206).

Olcott, Samuel, whose Servant, an infant Negro Child died 28 Dec. 1767 (First Church 273).

Olcott noted with 2 slaves. 1790.

Olivey, Mary, freed her slaves Neptune and his wife Priscilla 8 July 1760, according to Hartford Land Records vol. 1 1, p. 45.

Onepenny, Sarah, in her will left four acres to Scipio, May 3, 1714 (Hartford Land Records vol. 3 p. 26).

Patten, Nathaniel. Master of Lyda Curtifs (free) (NC 1805).

Perkins, Caleb, 1 slave. 1790.

Pomeroy, Ralph, 2 slaves. 1790

Barbour records in CSL give 1792 as date of his death. V FFS p. 8 5 .

Master of Thomas Willson (NC 1805).

Pratt, Joseph, 1 slave. 1790.

Raphael, Fontaine, 1 slave. 1800 (268).

Richards, Thomas. Owner of Abda, mulatto who sued for his freedom and lost (Greene 182-3).

Root, Ephraim. Owner of Cato and Bola Kent (NC 1805).

Root, Jesse, 1 slave. 1790.

Root, Jesse Jr., 1 slave. 1790.

Sedgwick, Stephen, advertised for Jude, a Mulatto runaway 23 Jan 1783. Jude is described as age 23, 5'8" tall; reward of \$20 is offered (Ritter 155).

Seymour, Henry. Master of Silvia Carney (NC 1805).

Seymour, Thomas. Master of William Warren and Phillis Mumford (NC 1805).

Seymour, Thomas Y. Master of Ausula Finney and Samuel Seabury (NC 1805).

Sheldon, Deacon offered George, Cuffy and Susanna, negroe children born in his house to baptism (First Church 199).

Skinner, Daniel, 2 slaves. 1790.

In Barbour records, a son of Daniel Skinner was born 1689, died 1691.

Skinner, John, 1 slave. 1790.

Skinner, Nathaniel, 1 slave. 1790.

Skinner, William, 2 slaves, 14 total in household. 1800 (256).

Strong, Rev. Nathan. Master of London and Easter Williams (NC 1805).

Talcott, Major, whose negro servant **Ziba was baptized 4 May 1718**, (First Church 192).

Talcott, Governour (Joseph), his Negro servant children were baptized 14 June 1741 (Talcott died in office 11 Oct 1741).

Talcott, Capt. John, whose negro Servant York died 18 Jan. 1755 (First Church 263).

Talcott, Samuel. Sylvie, age 21 and Rose, age 14 months, were sold for 50 pounds to Samuel Talcott by Daniel Bacon of Woodstock CT on 24 Jan. 1759 (CSL Archives, Miscellaneous Papers #25).

On 12 April 1786, Talcott transfers, in a bill of sale, a Negro man, Prime, about 48 years of age to Elisha Fullam of Wallpole, NH. Prime "hath lately eloped and is Supposed to be at No. 4 in S. Newhampheur" (CSL CT Miscellaneous Papers #27).

On 15 May, 1789, Samuel Talcott bought Kitt Atis, about 12 years old, from Holland Weeks of Litchfield for 40 pounds, according to CSL ms. (CT Miscellaneous Papers #28).

Owner of 1 slave. 1790.

Talcott, Joseph, 1 slave. 1790.

Tiley, William, whose servant infant Negro Child died not baptized 26 Oct. 1761 (First Church 268).

Tisdale, Thomas. Master of Welthy Carrington (free) (NC 1805).

Wadsworth, Rev. Daniel, in 1746, the inventory in his will includes "one old negro woman named Rose" among livestock listings (White 11).

Wadsworth, Jeremiah, 4 slaves. 1790. (See Mark and Peleg in listing of Blacks and Indians).

He freed Peleg and Lucy on 15 Nov. 1792 (Hartford Land Records vol. 19 p. 405).

CSL records give Wadsworth's date of death "Monday last" age 60, from a Hartford Courant notice 2 May 1804. p. 141.

Wadsworth, Sam. 3 slaves. 1790.

CSL records report his death Aug. 20, 1832, with articles in the Hartford Times of that date, p. 236,

Ward, James. Master of Hager Elliott (NC 1805).

Wells, Ashbel. Master of Ransom and Cloe Halsey (free) (NC 1805).

Wells, John J. Master of John Gashion (NC 1805).

White, Edward, whose Servant Infant Negro Child was still-born 25 Mar. 1762 (First Church 269).

His Negro Servant Phyllys died 4 Apr. 1762 (First Church 269).

Wilson, Elizabeth, bought a "Negro Boy named Thorn about 13 years of age" from Rev. Woodbridge 15 July 1723, and the next day gives Tom to her daughter, Abigail Woodbridge (Walker 255n).

Woodbridge, Abigail, wife of Rev. Timothy, recipient of Negro Boy Thorn 16 July 1723, gift of her mother, Elizabeth Wilson (Walker 255n).

Her negro child servant, Dinah, was baptized 3 Oct. 1732 (First Church 204).

Her servant boy, Jacob, born in her house, was baptized 22 July 1739 (First Church 206).

Her Negro Servant child, Candace, born in her house, was baptized 28 June 1741 (First Church 207).

Woodbridge, Timothy, Pastor of Hartford's First Church 1683-1732, baptized his Indian servant John Waubin 10 Aug 1712 (188). Woodbridge was "interested in the education [conversion] of Indians" (Walker 255n).

Woodbridge baptized Cesar, negro, 14 Apr. 1717 (First Church 191).

Woodbridge baptized Thomas, negro 27 Jan 1722/23 (First Church 194).

Wyllys, George, 1 slave. 1790.

According to Greene, "George Wyllys, Secretary of the State of Connecticut, paid 30 pounds in 1777 for a Negro woman" (45). Silvia, age 23, was sold to him by Joseph Stocking of Middletown.

Wyllys was Secretary of State of Connecticut for 61 years, 1735-96.

Wyllys, Col. is named as owner of Quaw, one of most colorful Black Governors of Hartford by Stuart. In his discussion of the Anderson controversy, Stuart notes that Governor Cuff appointed Anderson Governor at the end of his (Cuffs) ten-year stint as governor. Cuff succeeded "Col. Willis's Niegor who had died" (Stuart 41).

Wyllys, Samuel- Master of Cale Chirchibel (NC 1805).

## Appendix I

### Chronology Relating to Status of Slaves and Others in Hartford

- 1503 Beginning of slave trade (Stiles Lit. Diary 101).|
- 1556 British enter slave trade (Stiles Lit. Diary 101).
- 1638 introduction of slavery into New England (Greene 18).
- 1660 Act of General Court states "neither Indian nor Negar servants shall be required to traine, watch or ward, in this Colony" (Col. Rec. I, 349). Greene attributes this to "colonists' fear of Indian-Negro uprisings" (127).  
By this date "Black codes" were in force: Blacks were required to carry passes when they travelled; inns were forbidden to serve intoxicating drinks unless their owners gave permission. White notes that by this time whites believed "negroes had become numerous, quarrelsome and turbulent . . ." (White 11).|
- 1662 Virginia passes a status "invoking the Roman Law regarding slavery" making the status of a child follow that of the mother. Under British Common Law the child's status derived from the father. While New England states did not pass similar laws, Greene finds that "*partuus sequitur ventrem*" became the custom in Connecticut and throughout the region.
- 1670 Founding of Second or South Congregational Church by John Whiting. Separated from First or North Church.
- 1702 "Former owners of freed slaves were **made** responsible for them should they become infirm or destitute" -(White 11).
- 1708 General Assembly passes law forbidding slaves from selling goods to whites--to prevent slaves from stealing from their owners.  
Slaves were forbidden to strike or argue with whites, or to be on the streets later than 9 p.m. (White 11).
- 1717 CT law prohibits any free Negro or mulatto from residing in any town in the colony (CT Archives, Miscellaneous 1662-I 789, First Series, II, Doc. 42. no date on ms., prob passed May, 1717.  
Also invalidated any purchases of land and dwelling already on the books (Greene 313).



- 1730 By this date, according to White, slaves were forbidden to speak harshly to free persons (12).
- 1750-l 820 Approx. Period of Black Governors.
- 1774 Act of Legislature Oct. 12: "No Indian, Negro, or Molatto Slave shall, at any time hereafter be brought or imported into this Colony, by Sea or Land, from any Place or places whatsoever, to be disposed of, left, or sold within this colony" (Weld 12).
- 1777 "Emancipation by individual masters . . . permitted in CT" (Bingham 389).
- 1781 Ail-Black (Rev. War) company formed in CT, attached to Meigs Regiment under Col. David Humphries (Brown 6).
- 1784 ". . . no negro or molatto child" born after 1 Mar 1784, shall be held in servitude after age 25." Act of Legislature (Weld 13). Effective 1809. Amended in 1797: age changed to 21 (Weld 13). Effective 1805.
- Hartford became a city by act of legislature "last Saturday", entry of 1 June 1784 in Stiles' Lit. Diary 124).
- 1788 Slave trade "specifically prohibited" (Bingham 390).
- 1790 Abolition movement under way in CT and elsewhere. Society formed to work towards abolition; national petition sent to Fed. Govt.
- 1792 Legislature "specified that permission could be obtained to liberate a slave who was not less than 25 nor more than 45 . . ." (Bingham 389).
- 1803 Hartford Common Council passes law that no lighted candle or unprotected light will be carried into any barn, stable, or hayloft . . . and adds, If any minor, apprentice or slave shall be guilty of any Breach of this By Law, the Parent, Guardian or Master shall be liable to pay the penalty . . . 15 Jan. 1803. (Court of Common Council 1784-l 811, p. 238-239).
- 1818 CT Constitution excluded Negroes from franchise.
- 1833 Talcott Street Congregational Church established. North African School, at Talcott St. Church, operating.
- 1840 Rev. James W. C. Pennington named Pastor of Talcott St. Church. South African School opens at Zion Methodist Church.
- 1848 Formal end of slavery in CT by specific act of Legislature (Weld 29-30).
- 1869 Blacks allowed the right to vote in Connecticut (White 7).

## Appendix II

## Names of Free Blacks in Hartford

**FREE BLACKS IN HARTFORD, 1790 census**

~~Boston~~ Alpheus 5\* (designated Black in 1800, but not in 1790)

Boston, Junior	3
Cutas, Aaron	2
Dege	3
Hull, Prince	3 •
Popp	2
Rese, Willobé	6
Sheldon, Prince	6

Households: 9

Free Blacks: 36

• Numbers indicate "other free persons in household"

\*\* White fists Prince Hull as a Revolutionary War pensioner, with service in 1777 (59).

**FREE BLACKS IN HARTFORD, 1800 census:**

Afford, Alpheus	5	(individuals in household)
Blackstone, Jack	7	
Boston, Robbert	3	
Castle, Ruben.	6	
Demarant, Jack	8	
Doe, Somber	5	
Dolphin, Ned	8	
Dyer, Jerre	3	
Fitch, Josephas	4	
Freem, Joshua	2	
Frelly, Strephon	4	
Hazard, Rose	6	
Hull, Prince	4	
Jack	2	
Johnson, Gift	4	
Lambert, Jonah	3	

Nichols, Boston	3	
Nott, Peleg		2
Petorl	8	
Popl	2	
Primus	6	
Prin, Joseph	4	
Random, Prince'	5	
Reave, Jack	5	
Scott, Mima	4	
Smart	5	
Smith, Tom	4	

Households: 27

Free Blacks in Hartford: 149

## FREE BLACKS IN INCOMPLETE NEGRO CENSUS, 1805,

**Kingsbury ms.**

Alfred, Alpheas  
 Alfred, Jeremiah  
 Alfred, John  
 Anderson, Jane  
**Bartee**, Flora  
 Boston, Catherine (age 32)  
 Boston, Catherine (age 10)  
 Boston, Erastus  
 Carrington, Welthy  
 Cook, Joseph  
 Curtiss, Lyda  
 Dee, Racheal  
 Dige, Caty  
 Dolphin, Chritington  
 Dolphin, Eathan  
 Dolphin, Edward  
 Dolphin, Ester  
 Dolphin, Fanny  
 Dolphin, Ned  
 Dolphin, Polly  
 Dyer, Jeremiah Jr.  
 Dyre, James  
 Dyre, Thomas  
 Ebbons, Wanton

Ebeau, Jenney  
 Finney, Ausula  
 Gashion, John (dead)  
 Gray, Iral  
 Halsey, Cloe  
 Halsey, Ransom  
 Hazerd, Fathy  
 Hazerd, William  
 Henry, William  
 Jacobs, Aaron  
 Jacobs, James  
 Jacobs, Jerry  
 Jacobs, Mabel  
 Jacobs, Reace  
 Johnson, Charlotte  
 Johnson, Delila  
 Johnson, Juda  
 Johnson, Nancy  
 Johnson, Samuel  
 Johnson, Samuel Jr.  
 Johnston, Charles  
 Johnston, John  
 Johnston, John Jr.  
 Johnston, Lucy  
 Kent, Bola  
 Lambert, Mary  
 Nelson, Isaac  
 Otis, Betsy  
 Peters, Charlotte  
 Scott, Sarah  
 Seabury, Samuel  
 Spencer, Noble  
 Thomas, Lydia  
 T i m o t h y  
 Williams, Easter  
 Williams, London  
 Wills, William  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Child at A. Hopkins

## Appendix III

## Slaveholders in Hartford

**Hartford Slaveholders, 1790 Census, and number of slaves**

Avery, John	1		
Boardman, Rev. Benjamin	3		
Bull, Amos	1		
Bull, David	1		
Bull, James	1		
Brunson, Isaac	2		
Butler, Jonathan	3		
Collins, Seth	1		
Colt, Peter	1	1	
Hunt, Alexander	5		
Janes, Jonathan	1		
Jones, Daniel	1		
Jones, Pantry	1		
Keyes, Amasa	1		
Merrill, George	1		
Marsh, John	1		
Olcott, Samuel	2		
Perkins, Caleb	1		
Pomeroy, Ralph	2		
Pratt, Joseph	1		
Root, Jesse	1	1	
Root, Jesse Jr.	1		
Skinner, Daniel	2		
Skinner, John	1		
Skinner, Nathaniel	1		
Talcott, Joseph	1		
Talcott, Samuel	1		
Wadsworth, Jeremiah	4		
Wadsworth, Samuel	3		
Wyllys, George	1		

**Hartford Slaveholders, 1800 Census**

Aquant, John M.	8
Barnard, Cyprean	1
Gravnoe, John C.	5
Ledlie, Samuel	1
Raphael, Fontaine	1
Skinner, William	2

**Hartford Slaveholders, Incomplete 1805 Census**

Avery	1
Bigelow	1
Butler, Jonathan	2
Caldwell, John	1
Dwight, Theodore	1
Hopkins, Daniel	1
Pomeroy, Ralph	1
Root, Ephraim	1
Seymour, Thomas	2
Ward, James	1
Wyllys, Samuel	1

## Appendix IV

## Pastors of Hartford Churches

7 633-7 800

**Pastors of First Church, Hartford**

Thomas Hooker	pastor	77 Oct. 1633	d. 7 July 7647
age 67			
Samuel Stone	teacher	77 Qt. 7633	d. 20 July 7 663
age 67			
John Whiting		1660 to 7 67	(exact date unknown)
Joseph Foster	co-pastor	7 664 d. 24 May 679	age 38
		7 680 d. 20 Aug.	
7682 age 30			
Timothy Woodbridge	pastor**	1685-7 732'	
Daniel Wadsworth	pastor**	28 Sept 7732	d. 72 Nov. 7747 age 43
Rev. Edward Dorr	pastor**	5 Jan. 7 774	d. 25 Dec. 7876 age 69
Nathan Strong	pastor	5 Jan. 7 774	d. 25 Dec. 1816 age 69

+ colleague of Stone, then co-pastor with Haynes

\* served church from 7682

# left 22 Feb. 7 670 to help found Second Church, died Nov. 7689 age 50.

\*\* Slaveholders (see listing)

**Pastors of Second Church, Hartford**

John Whiting	1670-1689
Thomas Buckingham	7694-7737
Elnathan Whitman, D.D.	7 732-7 777
William Patten	7 767-7773 (colleague of Mr. Whitman)
Benjamin Boardman	1784-1802

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