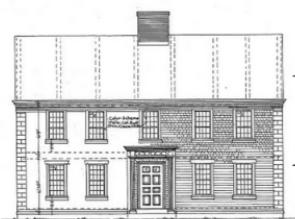
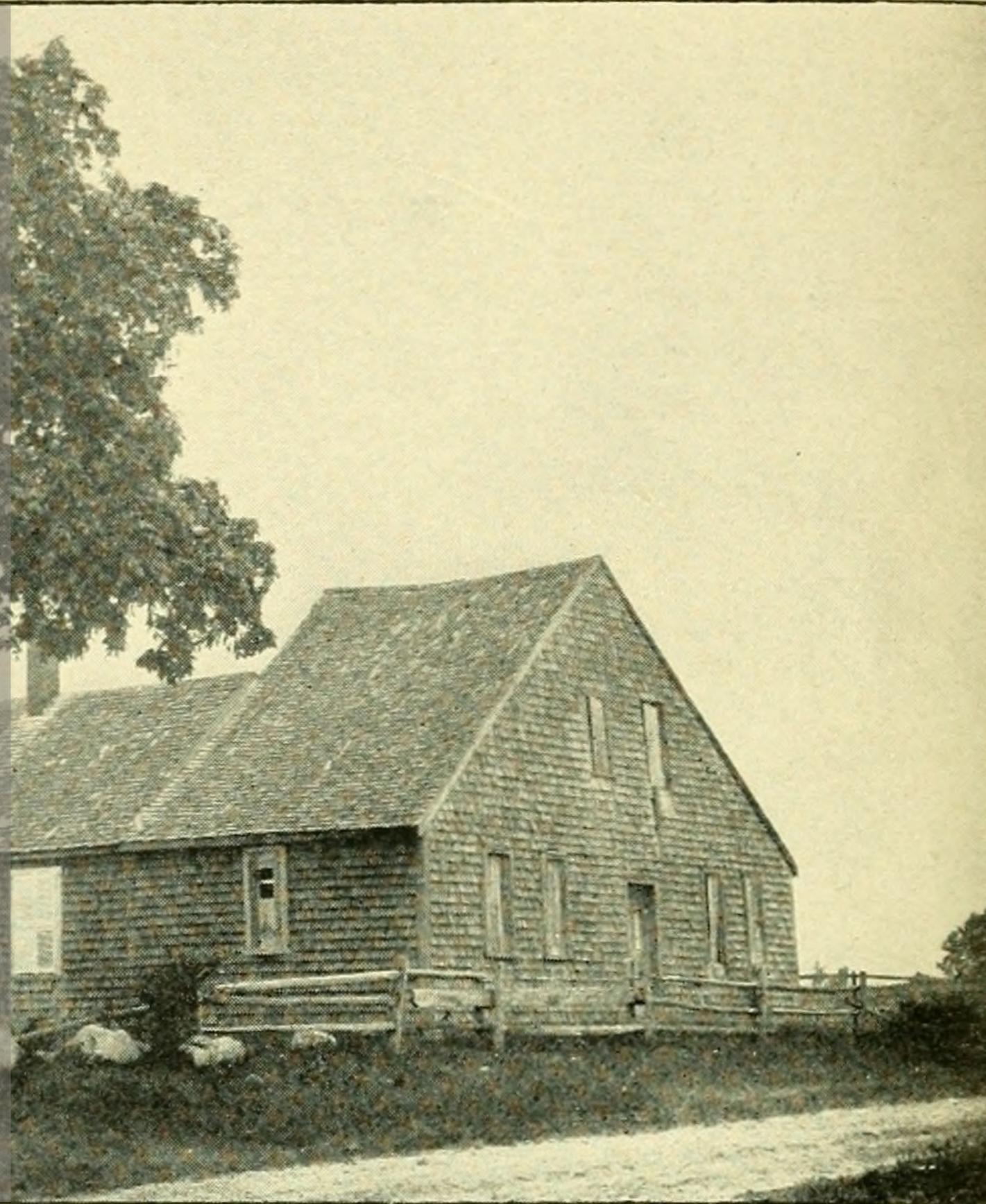


Research Guide



HANOVER  
HISTORICAL  
SOCIETY EST. 1928

# Slavery in Hanover, Massachusetts 1727-1783



THE JOB TILDEN HOUSE, WINTER STREET

# Slavery in Hanover, Massachusetts

## 1727-1783

A research guide prepared for the Hanover Historical Society



First Edition, February 2022

Prepared by Wayne Tucker

© Copyright 2022 Wayne Tucker and the Hanover Historical Society

*May not be reproduced or transmitted for commercial use.*

# Table of Contents

*Deacon Joseph Stockbridge*

---

- 4      Introduction
- 10     Slavery at Incorporation
- 12     Slavery and the Hanover Congregational Church
- 16     Quakers Matthew Estes and His Daughter Sarah
- 18     Enslaved Women and the Invisible Economy
- 20     The Job Tilden House
- 23     Cuffee Josselyn and Slavery's Aftermath
- 27     Hanover Revolutionary War Soldiers of Color
- 30     Appendix A: Hanover Slavery Census
- 35     Appendix B: Bibliography
- 38     Contact

---

*Museum of Fine Arts, Americas Collection. (1768). Deacon Joseph Stockbridge Beaker, "Gift of the First Congregational Church, Hanover." Boston, MA: Artist: Joseph Edwards.*

# Introduction

To imagine yourself a resident of pre-Revolutionary War Hanover is to imagine yourself having enslaved African American neighbors. Or, to imagine yourself residing in pre-Revolutionary Hanover is to imagine yourself amongst the 3% of the population who were enslaved. And if you imagine yourself as a white resident of Hanover, not only would you have to imagine yourself as having enslaved neighbors, but you would also have to imagine yourself as a slaveholder. 36 Hanover households between incorporation in 1727 and abolition in 1783 were slaveholding households at one time or another.<sup>1</sup>

Are you the church-going type? Hanover's first two ministers Benjamin Bass and Samuel Baldwin were slaveholders. Are you good with your hands? Slavery was

In the Name of God Unius this fourth Day  
of August in the Year of our Lord Christ Seventeen  
hundred & Eighty seven Joseph Applegat of Hanover  
in the County of Plymouth Esq: Being Aged and  
taking into Consideration that it is Appointed  
for all Men Once to Die & that often Death  
Comes with the Judgment preparing for a Resurrection  
to Eternal Life Through our Saviour my Saviour  
I recommend my Soul to God who gave it And  
my Body to the Earth to decent Christian Burial  
at the Discretion of my Executor hereafter named  
and as touching such worldly Estate as it hath  
I give God to be the Law upon me in this  
Life & give to Joseph Applegat of the same in Hanover  
and form following vizt.

Admissions to full Communion

Oct. 26. Othniel & Deborah. Pratt

April 4<sup>th</sup>. 1767. Benjamin Torrey Bass

June 7<sup>th</sup>. Mary the Wife of Shubael Morn

Rachel Torrey, The Wife of Stephen Torrey

July 5<sup>th</sup>. Solomon & Elizabeth Bryant

Sibyl Hatch. Son and wife

August 2<sup>nd</sup>. Ruth Curtis

Deborah Peterson

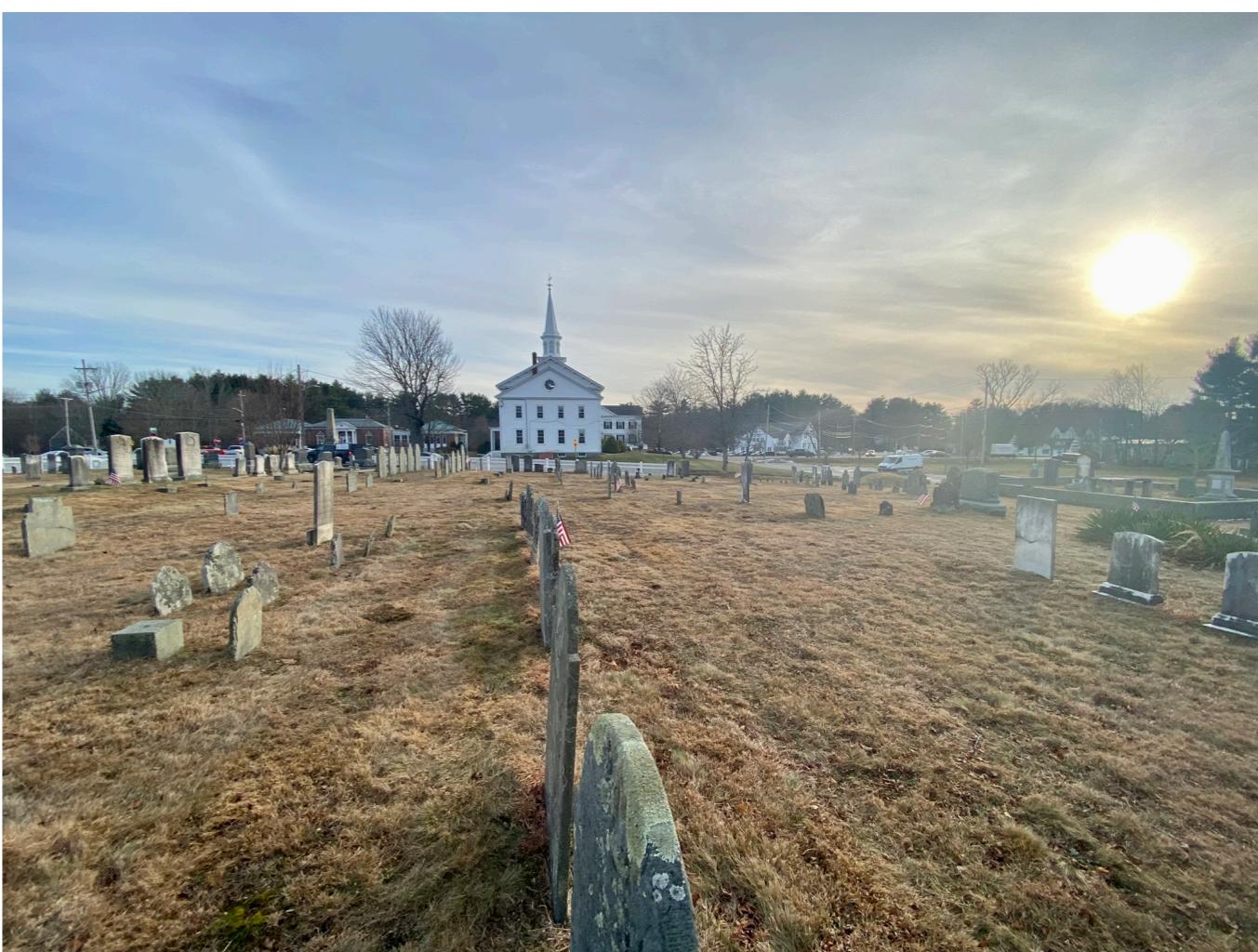
January 10. 1768. Theophilus & Freeloce Withorell

June 5<sup>th</sup>. Cuba, a Negro Woman belonging to Sam<sup>o</sup>.  
upon Recommendation for  
the 2<sup>d</sup> Church in Situate, from W.  
her Relation was Transferred

July 31. Jane Stockbridge, The Wife of  
Stockbridge

Sep<sup>r</sup>. 4<sup>th</sup>. Jonathan and Lucy Pratt

April 2. 1769. Mercy Remondell, The Wife of  
Remondell, her Relation being  
Transferred from The Church in



an attractive labor supplement for well-known shipwrights like Nathaniel Sylvester and saddle makers like Matthew Estes. Are you an attorney? David Stockbridge, Esq., the most active Hanover attorney in Plymouth County courts, enslaved Pompey and an un-named woman who may have been Pompey's mother. Are you an entrepreneur? Job Tilden is said to have "raised slaves for the market"; he was in the business of the slave trade. And the white women of Hanover, although restricted to their own category of bondage by living under laws of coverture, benefited from the domestic labor of enslaved women living in their households. The point being: slaveholding crossed class and professional lines.

Slavery in Hanover was not the slavery of films such as *The Color Purple* or PBS documentaries. The images of the Southern plantation are seared into our memory—images, for example, depicting scores of enslaved people hoeing fields or picking cotton; these images need to be relegated to the South. New England farms were not high-volume cash crop plantations designed to harvest tobacco or cotton.



*Slaveholders Deacon Joseph Stockbridge and wife Anna, as rendered on their headstone*

Indeed, some enslaved Massachusetts residents did work on farms. But enslaved farmworkers here either worked alongside their enslaver or, unintuitively, the slaveholder who held a white-collar job such as magistrate or legislator left enslaved laborers to manage the farm themselves.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, although the Harvard-educated class of ministers, lawyers, and physicians were slaveholders in

Massachusetts, many of the enslaved people worked in trades such as the afore-mentioned shipbuilding and saddle making, but also in blacksmith shops like that of Amos Sylvester and in tanneries like that of Simeon Curtis. Some families, such as that of John Bailey (b. 1673) and his descendants, were multi-generational enslavers and enslaved several people of African descent over decades. But most

Massachusetts enslavers never held more than one or two enslaved people at a time.

Children were frequently trafficked. Tradesmen sought 12 and 13-year-olds who can be trained as apprentices that could never strike out on their own; but if the master so chose, he also had the later option to liquidate his skilled laborer for cash. Additionally, infants were considered by slaveholders an encumbrance. Rev. Jeremy Belknap, who founded the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1791, once observed that “when weaned, [enslaved children] were given away like puppies.”

We see instances of infants being ripped from their parents in Hanover. In the First Parish Church records we find first this baptism announcement: “July 17, 1748: Briton, a negro; infant born in the house of Mr. Edward Jenkins of Scituate, and given to Mr. John Studley, of Hanover, soon after its birth.” Six months later we find: “January 23, 1749: Briton, a negro child of John & Elizabeth Studley,” has died. John and Elizabeth Studley may not be Hanover’s most prolific slaveholders, but the story of little Briton is a common cruelty found in colonial Massachusetts and must not be overshadowed.

Because New Englanders look back at our colonial past through the prism of 19th Century abolitionism, we tend to grow up with the distorted view that chattel slavery was the exclusive purview of the South when, in fact, slavery was legal in Massachusetts for a decade longer than it was in the colony/state of Georgia. Massachusetts was the first colony to legalize slavery in its 1641 Massachusetts Body of Liberties.

And although New England as a region featured an enslaved population of 2%-4% of its total, at the height of slavery, places like Boston hosted a population where enslaved people made up 12%-14% of inhabitants and in Newport, Rhode Island, the figure was 25%. Furthermore, at slavery’s zenith, 25% of Boston households housed enslaved people. In Hanover, the number of households containing enslaved people probably peaked at around 10%.<sup>3</sup>

Due to the finite term of English servitude and a stagnation in the Great Puritan Migration in the 1640s during the English Civil War, we see New Englanders pivot to a more “sustainable” source of labor: chattel slavery of African people. And Hanover certainly had its enslaved population; my Slavery Census identifies 64 enslaved individuals and 36 Hanover slaveholders.

Hanover incorporated in 1727 and Massachusetts prohibited slavery in 1783—via the courts, albeit not in practice—when local son and slaveholder Justice William Cushing of Scituate<sup>4</sup> wrote his now-famous jury instructions in Commonwealth v. Jennison, the final trial in a state-wide series of freedom suits. Hanover was originally settled as part of Scituate and slavery existed in Scituate before Hanover’s incorporation, but this Research Guide focuses primarily on the 56 years between incorporation and supposed abolition. 1783, it is worth noting, is also the year that the Treaty of Paris was signed between the nascent United States and Great Britain, formally closing hostilities in the War of Independence.

Before reviewing the findings of the Hanover Slavery Census, it's worth discussing three further topics. Space prevents me from doing these topics justice; still, they mustn't go unacknowledged.

The first topic is the role of Native peoples. English settler-colonists of the North River region capitalized on seized land originally inhabited by Wampanoag and Massachusetts people. The genesis of the slave trade in colonial Massachusetts started with colonists trafficking Indian captives of the 1636 Pequot War to places like Barbados and selling them into slavery. This practice continued and ramped up during 1675's King Philips War. The English benefited from this system in two ways: colonists were able to eliminate the threat of attack by trafficking Indian men out of the region and they were able to import enslaved people to backfill shortages of labor. By the same token, Indian women and children were forced into servitude and distributed amongst the English as one of the spoils of war. The Native peoples of what became Hanover surely deserve their own treatment.

Secondly, it's useful to note that although indentured servitude was crucial to the founding of New England, early colonists found the system unsustainable and quickly supplanted it with enslaved African labor. By the 1670s, the decade in which Scituate shipbuilder Walter Briggs purchased a child named Maria in Boston and also the decade of King Philip's War, enslaved African labor accounted for 78% of bound labor appearing in Suffolk County probate inventories; European-descended laborers accounted for less than 10%.<sup>5</sup> That 10% continued to shrink as the year of Hanover's founding, 1727, approached. Notably, the Hanover records are silent on

indentured servitude. Indentured servitude appears to have been inconsequential in the colonial Hanover labor market.

Over and above that, it should go without saying that local indentured servants, even those who faced grueling and violent labor conditions such as the Scottish prisoners of war who were brought to New England in the 1650s, were not slaves and enjoyed key advantages denied to enslaved Africans. European servants had more freedom to marry and live with their spouses, yet enslaved Africans and African Americans often needed permission to marry and spouses lived separately in the houses of their respective masters. In fact, in Exeter, New Hampshire, Scottish POW Alexander Gordon married Mary Lissen, the daughter of his master. Contrast that with Plymouth County court records which bear witness to white women, such as Scituate women Sarah Boyce and Sarah Curtice, and Black men, such as Jo, ordered to be whipped publicly for interracial sexual relationships.<sup>6</sup> This shatters any illusion that an enslaved man could marry the master's daughter the way Alexander did. What's more, due to the practice of *partus sequitur ventrem*, translated "that which is born follows the womb," any child born to an enslaved woman was the property of the mother's slaveholder. European servants, conversely, never had to worry about their children being born enslaved, ripped away, and sold out of the family. And perhaps most importantly, European forms of bound laborers such as POWs, indentures, and apprentices (some of which were abusive; ask Ben Franklin why he fled Boston), were not "servants for life," rather their service all had fixed expiration dates. European laborers were afforded the hope of striking out on one's own,

REV. BENJAMIN BASS,

*first pastor of the*

*Congregational church in Hanover,*



May 24, 1756,

Æ. 61.

*Erected by his friends 1852.*

*W. Flory, Concord, N.H.*

## Slavery in Hanover, Massachusetts

owning one's own labor, owning one's own property and being master of one's own family.

Thirdly, this guide only explores enslaved life in Hanover. It does not examine Hanover's connection to the West Indian trade, the provisioning of Caribbean slave labor camps, and the region's dependency on the importation of West Indian goods. Evidence implicates several Hanover men investing in West Indian-bound voyages, and West Indian rum and sugar can be found in numerous probate inventories. The notorious Isaac Royall, known to us in the present because a Medford, Massachusetts, museum centering local ties to slavery bears his name, was one of several Caribbean planters who owned ships built on the North River. The business of slavery dominated the economy of colonial Massachusetts.<sup>7</sup> To boot, most of the slaves trafficked into Massachusetts did not come directly from Africa; rather, they arrived via ships from the West Indies. Local family genealogies show there was both travel and migration between the North River region and the West Indies, and maintained family connections could be one source of African-descended people trafficked into the region.

With all that said, this research guide is designed to both answer questions and stimulate dozens more. What follows is a collection of seven topics that provide deeper context to the lives of Hanover's enslaved population. Following those stories is a 3-page spreadsheet that compiles the names of enslaved people, their slaveholders, and excerpts from the source material pertinent to further research. Finally, I hope questions raised by this research guide will prompt readers to engage the bibliography and explore this history further; I am excited to learn what you find after examining the material with fresh eyes.

## Notes

1. Refer to Appendix A: Slavery Census
2. For a discussion on slave labor and farming in Massachusetts, see Jared Hardesty's "Creating an Unfree Hinterland: Merchant Capital, Bound Labor, and Market Production" in Eighteenth-century Massachusetts in Early American Studies. online: JSTOR
3. For a discussion on the cited demographics, see Jared Hardesty's 2019 book "Black Lives, Native Lands, White Worlds: A History of Slavery in New England."
4. The book "Old Scituate" published in 1921 by the DAR and is widely available online is one source detailing Judge William Cushing slaveholding proclivities.
5. Gloria Whiting discusses the decade-by-decade shift in Suffolk County from European indentured labor to African enslaved labor in "Power, Patriarchy, and Provision: African Families Negotiate Gender and Slavery in New England" in the The Journal of American History. (2016) online: JSTOR
6. The trials involving Sarah Boyce, Sarah Curtice, and Jo can be found in Plymouth Court Records, 1686-1859.
7. Eric Kimball's data-driven 2009 Ph.D. dissertation "An Essential Link in a Vast Chain: New England and the West Indies, 1700-1775" thoroughly establishes the that New England's colonial economy was almost entirely dependent on the business of slavery. Available online at pitt.edu.

See page 34 for the full bibliography for this research guide.

Hanover Slavery Census by the Numbers 1727-1783	
<b>64*</b>	Number of enslaved residents of Hanover identified*
<b>46</b>	Names of enslaved Hanover residents recovered
<b>36</b>	Number of individual slaveholders identified
<b>28</b>	Identified enslaved males
<b>27</b>	Identified enslaved females
<b>14</b>	Identified enslaved children
<b>9</b>	Children identified via death records, no name or sex given
<b>17</b>	Enslaved population of Hanover, over 16 years of age, in the 1754 Massachusetts Slave Census (10 female, 7 male).
<b>184</b>	Total number of Hanover Households in 1790 U.S. Census
<b>1,084</b>	Total population of the Town of Hanover in 1790

*\*The names Cuba and Jupiter appear twice in the Slavery Census. They are likely the same people, but it is not confirmed. There are certainly more enslaved people that don't appear in the record. The record keeping was excellent, but still imperfect for free people. Marginalized people such as the enslaved certainly fell through the cracks or were intentionally excluded. Birth records that indicate the slaveholding family but not the enslaved woman or the father of the child imply enslaved people not accounted for. It is possible that, due to the transactional nature of slavery, enslaved people could have lived for a time in Hanover, but because they were born in and died in other communities, they were never captured in Hanover records.*

# Slavery at Incorporation

ALTHOUGH NOT INCORPORATED until 1727, Hanover was settled as part of Scituate and was inhabited by English settlers as early as 1649. Slavery soon followed, and one of the best early records of slavery in the region is North River shipbuilder Walter Briggs's purchase of a child named Maria in 1673, who was purchased in Boston from the widow of a Boston Mariner. Local historian L. Vernon Briggs discusses Maria at length in *History of Shipbuilding on North River*.

And even though other Scituate slaveholders and enslaved people can be tracked between 1673 and 1727, it's hard to pinpoint who the first enslaved people and slaveholders were inside the modern borders of Hanover. But we can infer that enslaved people were in town pre-incorporation as the earliest appearances of enslaved people in the records are two women in Joseph Barstow's 1728 probate inventory. It notes "1 bond for a Negro woman...80 [pounds]; 1 Negro woman named Rose...68 [pounds]". The "bond" may indicate that the unnamed woman was already transferred out of the Barstow household under a purchase and sale agreement and the estate was entitled to collect £80.

**"Item To 1 Bond for a negro woman.....80.00**

**Item To 1 negro woman named Rose.....68.00"** 

Plymouth County, "MA: Probate File Papers, 1686-1881". CASE NUMBER:1187  
Joseph Barstow. 1728.

Item. To Wooden ware meet Tub, Chin Pail, Washing Tub, e/	5. 1. 0.
bread Sives old hogheads, old Barrels, Chayhops, Cold Lumber -	3. 0. 0.
Item To a Large Cross cut saw	22. 0. 0.
Item To a Hundred Gallons of Rum	0. 10. 0.
Item To 10 Gall. of Brandy Wine	1. 14. 0.
Item Several Glasses, and other Glasses 14. Tobacco 1	2. 10. 0.
Item To a Iron. Stole and Chest 16/ c 19 Chair, 1/14	2. 10. 0.
Item To 3 Tables, in Parlors	2. 10. 0.
Item. To a Clock	17. 0. 0.
Item To a Looking Glass, in the Parlour 8/ Tow brushes, a hat 6/12. 0. 12. 0.	0. 12. 0.
Item To a Pair of Green Curtains, 1 L. p. of Floward Ditto 10/	1. 10. 0.
Item To a p. of Red Curtains, 3 of Six remenants of New Cloth 7/19	10. 19. 0.
Item To 24 napkins 2/9 c Tow Towel, 1/5	3. 14. 0.
Item To 24. Sheets 20. 15. Towled Towell, 1. 6.	22. 1. 0.
Item To 4 Table Cloths, 2. 19	2. 19. 0.
Item To a pair of Drawers & a Round Table 1. 10.	9. 10. 0.
Item a Chest with draws 18/ a Trunk 12 c Six Cedar, 2. 15.	9. 5. 0.
Item a Looking Glass in y. Parlour Chamber 8/	0. 8. 0.
Item To 45 L of Sugar 2/3 8 Bushels of wheat 3/12	5. 15. 0.
Item To Indian Corn 7/8 To 7 bushells, c 1/2 of Rye 2/12	10. 0. 0.
Item To Bisket 1. 3. Togingerbread 3/ Pipp, 7/	1. 13. 0.
Item To 7 Bushells, of oats 1. 4. 0 To 16 Chair, 1. 8. 0	2. 12. 0.
Item To two Blanketts 1. 10. 0 To Sheep's wool 4. 10.	6. 0. 0.
Item To a Rallot bed Stand 5. To a Large Chest 10/	0. 15. 0.
Item To a white Chest 6/ To an Old Chest 3. Three Chest, my wif Chest 6/12. 1. 1. 0.	1. 1. 0.
Item To a Cen 5. Corn basketts, & other basketts, 10	1. 10. 0.
Item To two Saddle, 2 tridles, 5. 10. an old side saddle 10.	6. 0. 0.
Item In ox yokes, horse trair, Syls, Chain, axes 4; Iron Crodd, fods Spadot and old Iron 8. 18.	8. 18. 0.
Item two carts, pr. sled wheel, a sled and a pair of flops	8. 5. 0.
Item Six oxen 5 Cows 1 Bull 3 year old 104.	104. 0. 0.
Item one Horse one mard and colt	32. 0. 0.
Item 30 Sheep c Ten Lamb,	15. 0. 0.
Item To about 20 Load of fresh hay & 8 loads of English hay	60. 0. 0.
Item To 1 Swine 1. 10. 0 And 4 hives of bees 1. 10.	3. 0. 0.
Item To 1 Henn 1. 10. c Pottery 3. 10.	5. 0. 0.
Item To 1 Bond for a negro woman	80. 0. 0.
Item To 1 Negro woman Named Rose	68. 0. 0.
Item To a Rafter and home	0. 10. 0.
Item To a p. of blew Curtains	1. 5. 0.



# Slavery and the Hanover Congregational Church

HANOVER'S 1727 INCORPORATION was contingent on the settlement of a minister. The town's first minister Rev. Benjamin Bass was a slaveholder, as was the second minister, Rev. Samuel Baldwin. Both men trained for the ministry at Harvard. Furthermore, deacons Bass, Brooks, and Stockbridge were noted as enslavers.

Here we see Rev. Bass noting in his own handwriting the 1742 baptism of a boy he enslaved named Titus. In the 1754 Massachusetts slave census, Bass is listed as the slaveholder of a 17-year-old male; if that was Titus, then it indicates he was age 5 at the time of this baptism.

*"Titus my Negro Boy"*

*"Church Records, 1728-1818, in the Hanover, Mass. First Congregational Church."  
The Congregational Library & Archives, Boston, MA.*

Baptisms  
August 15. 1742. at Newbury.  
I baptised Walthaea Bass 254.  
daughter of Moses Bass of  
Kingster. —  
October 26. 1742 Joshua 255  
Wistley son of John and  
Titus my Negro Boy. 256.  
also Titus my Negro Boy. 257  
October 3. 1742 Joseph  
Barstow son of John and Elizabeth 258  
Barstow they making a publick  
Confession of their violation of the  
seventh commandment.  
October 10. 1742 Joseph Cornish 259  
son of Joseph & Patience Cornish.  
also Rachel Torey & wife 260  
of Stephen Torey with  
Stephen Torey and 261  
Ruth Torey their children 262.  
the Parents making Confess  
sion of their violation of the  
seventh commandment.  
October 17. 1742annah Fairfield  
a young woman brought up by  
Mr James Steele 263  
also Abner Turner son of  
Abner & Mary Turner 264  
and Susanna Lambert daughter  
of Isaac & Deborah Lambert 265  
October 24. 1742 Rhoda Torey 266  
daughter of Samuel & Torey  
and Honolly Robbins son of Nella 267  
and Mannah Robbins.

## Marriages in

13 May 25<sup>th</sup> 1760. Newport & Kate Two Negro Slaves belonging to Nath'l Sylvester both of Hanover in Pme Sam'l Baldwin Pastor

14 June 5<sup>th</sup> 1760. Robert Gardner of Rengham & Sarah Man of Hanover. Pme Samuel Baldwin Pastor

15 August 3<sup>rd</sup> 1760. Joshua Baker of Rochester & Lydia Clark of Hanover. Pme Samuel Baldwin Pastor

16 Nov. 27. 1760. David Cudworth of Scituate & Rebecca Stetton of Hanover. Pme Sam'l Baldwin Past

17 Jan 9<sup>th</sup> 1761. Joseph Bates & Widow Elizabeth Curtis both of Hanover. Pme Sam'l Baldwin Past

18 May 25. 1761. Joseph House & Widow Hannah Randall both of Hanover. Pme Samuel Baldwin Past

19 Sept 7<sup>th</sup> 1761. Nath'l Turner of Pembroke & Luinda Turner of Hanover. Pme Samuel Baldwin Past

20 Nov. 12<sup>th</sup> 1761. Tho: Rose Jr. & Rhoda Rogers both of Hanover. Pme Samuel Baldwin Pastor

21 Abner Sylvester & Susanna Stetton

22 Decem<sup>r</sup> 3. 1761. John Stetton & Thankfull Curtis & Steven Hatch & Ruth Prior. all of Hanover. Pme Samuel Baldwin Past

23 John Willmette & Content Conway —

24 Decem<sup>r</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> Joshua Curtis & Abigail House — all of Hanover Pme Sam'l Baldwin Past

25 Joshua Dwelly & Avis Amesdale both of Hanover Pme Sam'l Baldwin Past

"Newport & Kate the Negro Slaves belonging to Nath'l Sylvester both of Hanover...Pr'md Samuel Baldwin Pastor"

Enslaved people appeared frequently in well-kept church records. Massachusetts court and church records are amongst the best primary sources for 18th Century enslaved life in the English-speaking world, and Hanover's church records are top tier. Here we see the 1760 marriage of Newport and Kate, two people enslaved by "Builder" Nathaniel Sylvester, a shipwright who built at the Barstow Yard adjacent to the Old Washington Street Bridge.

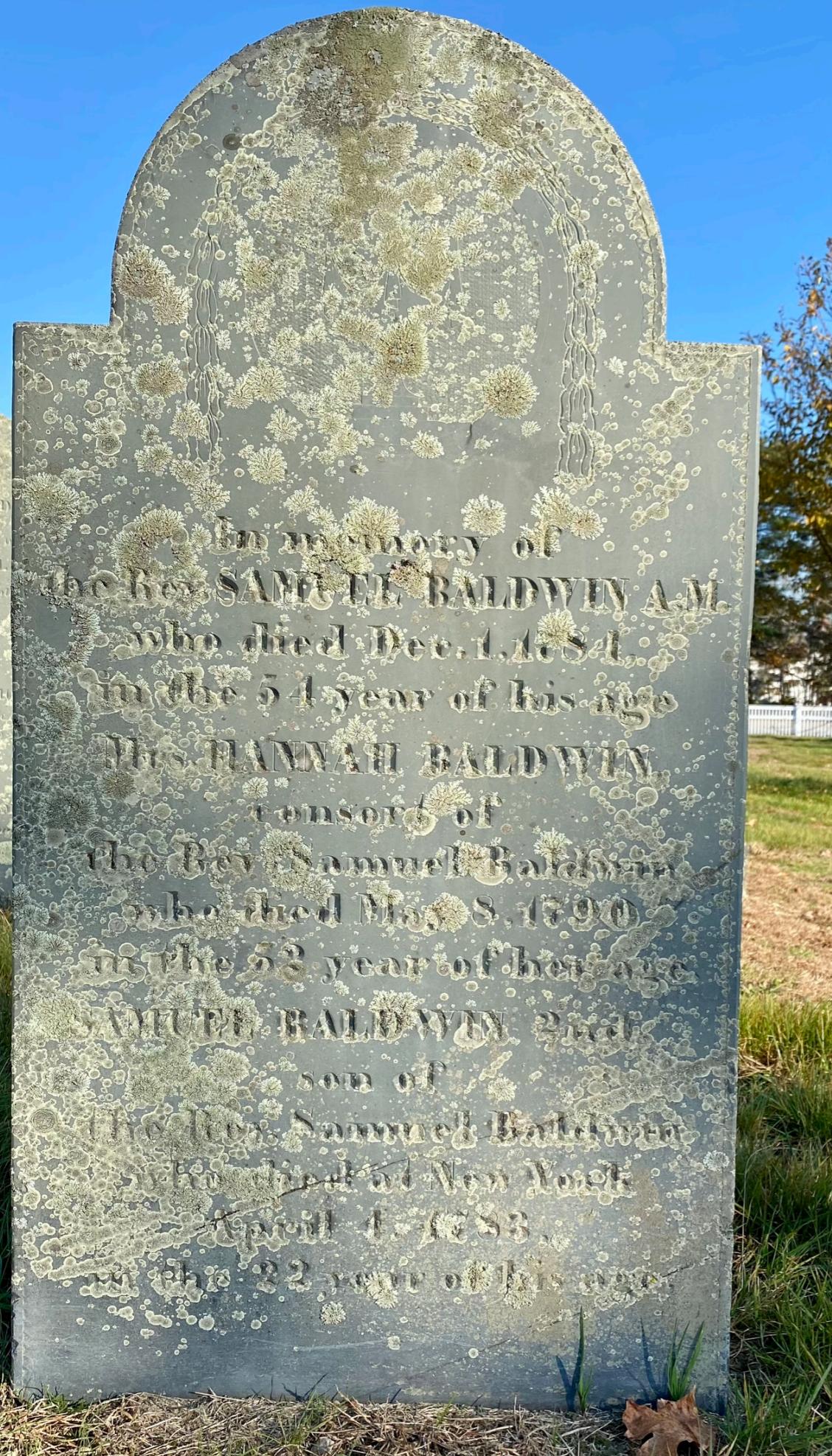
Enslaved woman Cuba is noted in the church diary in 1768 as receiving full admission to communion. Cuba was already admitted to the Second Parish Church in Scituate (today's First Parish Church in Norwell). We don't know why Cuba originally joined the church as not every enslaved person was a member. But we do know the extremely common practice of enslaved people joining the church was driven by a range of motivations—from true belief, to

"Cuba, a negro woman, belonging to Sam'l Curtis upon recommendation from the 2d Church in Scituate from whence her relation was transferred."



Admissions to full Communion	
Admissions	
64	Octo <sup>r</sup> 26. Othniel & Deborah. Pratt —
65	
66	April 4 <sup>th</sup> 1767. Benjamin & Mercy Bass —
67	
68	June 7 <sup>th</sup> the Mary the wife of Shubael Munroe
69	Rachel Torrey, The wife of Stephen Torrey
70	July 5 <sup>th</sup> Solomon & Elisabeth Bryant
71	Sibyl Hatch — <i>laid wife</i>
72	
73	August 2 <sup>nd</sup> Samuel & Ruth Curtis
74	Deborah Peterson
75	
76	January 10. 1768 Theophilus & Freeloce Witherell —
77	
78	June 5 <sup>th</sup> Cuba, <sup>A Negro Woman belonging to Sam'l Curtis</sup> upon Recommendation from the 2 <sup>d</sup> Church in Scituate, from whence her Relation was Transferred —
79	July 31. Jane Stockbridge, The wife of David Stockbridge <sup>Wig</sup> —
80	Sept <sup>r</sup> 4 <sup>th</sup> Jonathan and Lucy Pratt —
81	
82	April 2 <sup>nd</sup> 1769. Mercy Remondell, The wife of Joseph Remondell, her Relation being Transferred from the Church in Duxbury —

## Slavery and the Hanover Congregational Church



coercion, to gaining access to community and literacy, or perhaps it was to gain favor with an enslaver.

It's worth mentioning that the only enslaved woman named Cuba who appears in the Second Parish records had previously lived in the Scituate household of Isaac Turner (d. 1770). If this is the same Cuba, her move from the Scituate church may indicate that she was sold. While in Scituate, Cuba married Jupiter, an enslaved man held by Matthew Estes of Hanover in 1741. The couple had three children: Richard, Thomas, and Katherine. The fate of Cuba's children is unknown (although we do see a Kate marrying Newport); if they survived and were not immediately given away, they would have resided with Cuba at least until they were old enough to labor, between ages 9 and 12. Jupiter may not have survived to see Cuba move to Hanover; a man named Jupiter enslaved by John Curtiss died in 1747.

Seeing records of marriages, baptisms, and church admissions of enslaved people demonstrates that African Americans were visible in Hanover. Every resident of the town was required to attend church, and the Black Community stood before the congregation for religious sacraments, worshiped on Sundays in segregated pews, and were full members of the faith community. Hanover residents knew these people and knew who their slaveholders were; and it was impossible for residents to be unaware of their enslaved neighbors. Despite being invisible to our contemporary memory, enslaved residents of Hanover were not invisible to their white contemporaries.

# Quakers Matthew Estes and His Daughter Sarah

HERE WE SEE an image showing the last will and testament of Hanover resident Matthew Estes. Estes, the saddle maker mentioned earlier, was both a slaveholder and a Quaker. Although Quakers were famously ahead of the trend on abolition, many 17th and 18th Century Quakers were slaveholders. My Slavery Census shows that Estes enslaved five people. In 1774 Estes bequeathed his "negroes" to his widowed daughter Sarah Estes Sylvester. Two years later, however, Sarah evolves.

*"I will and Bequeath to my Daughter Sarah Sylvester...all of my Live Stock out of Doors and all of my house hold goods within doors and the Negroes."*

Plymouth County, "MA: Probate File Papers, 1686-1881".  
CASE NUMBER:7367. Matthew Estes. 1774

Item I Give him the said William One large Silver Spoon and the one half of my wareing apparel and the one Third part of all my Printed Books and all his Bonds Notes of hand that he hath Given me, He Paying his Mother yearly and every Year the sum of Six pounds of Silver for Interest untill her Marriage or Death But if she marrys again he to pay her the sum of Seventeen Pounds of Silver at her Marriage and he to Receive what I have willed him.

Item I will and Bequeath to my Daughter Sarah Sylvester after her Mother hath done with it all my Live Stock out of Doors & all my house hold goods within doors with the Negroes (Excepting my Saddle Horse and Furniture my writing Desk, Gun, and two large Silver Spoons, and Six Tea Spoons and two Thirds of my Printed Books, and wareing Apparel and one Bed, with blue and white ticking and two pair of Sheets and one Rugg & one Coverlid, and all the Shop and Farming tools) She paying her Mother if so be she marrys again the sum of Sixteen Pounds of Silver at the time of her marriage and then to Receive what I have Given her as above, but if she Should Die before her Mother my mind and will is that her Children Should have what I here will to her and if she Should Die without leaving any Child then it is to be Dividēd between her two Brothers William and Robert Estes.

Item I Give an Bequeath to my Son Robert Dots all my Lands (that I have not Disposed of with all the Buildings Standing thereon)

## Quakers Matthew Estes and His Daughter Sarah

Excerpted from: Dwelle, J., Simmons, J. F. (1910). "History of the Town of Hanover, Massachusetts: with family genealogies". [Hanover, Mass.]: Pub. by the Town of Hanover. (Genealogies pp. 176-177):

\* Sept. 25, 1776, this Sarah signed a document liberating her slave, which reads as follows: "Know all men by these presents that I, Sarah Sylvester of Hanover, widow. Know ye that, whereas my father, Matthew Estes, late of said Hanover, deceased, in his last will gave to me a certain negro girl whose name is Bilhah, aged about 30 years, and from Religious Scruples of Conscience in me with regard to the justice of keeping mankind as slaves, and in consideration of ye good will which I bear towards said Bilhah, I do hereby, for myself and my heirs, exonerate, acquit, and discharge her, ye said Bilhah, from me, my heirs, executors, and administrators, to all intents and purposes whatever. And from any demands of property in her said Bilhah. In

GENEALOGIES.

177

Testimony whereof I do hereunto set my hand and seal, this twenty-fifth day of the ninth month called September, Anno Domini, 1776."

In 1776, a symbolic year for American liberty, we find that widow Sarah Sylvester manumitted Bilhah, an enslaved woman, and perhaps the last of the five known people enslaved by her father Matthew Estes. On the other hand, some of Matthew Estes's enslaved people may be attested to by the 1790 U.S. Census as grandson Zaccheus Estes is shown housing four people of color.

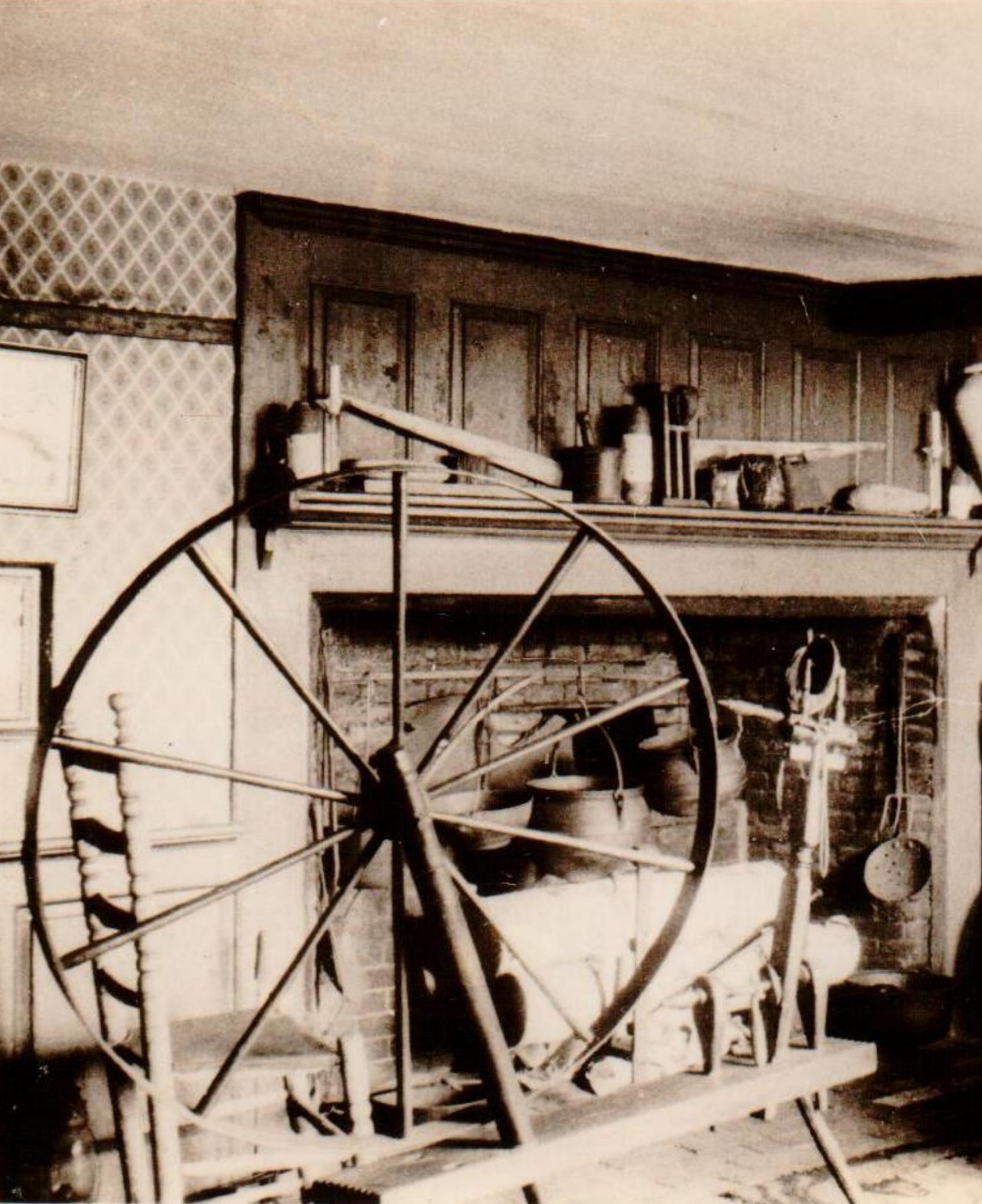
Sarah, a Quaker like her father, cites "religious scruples and conscience" in her objection to "keeping mankind as slaves." By this time, the Pennsylvania and New Jersey Friends societies were prohibiting members from slaveholding and abolitionist beliefs and activism were becoming entrenched in Quakerism.

(note: Caleb Barker was another Quaker slaveholder; the noted foundryman enslaved a woman named Daphne or Desiree.)

# Enslaved Women and the Invisible Economy

---

*"[T]he hum of the wheel and the clatter of the loom, tended by the goodwife, were heard in about every dwelling."*



DOMESTIC LABOR historically exists in an invisible economy; this is especially true with the labor of enslaved women. The Hanover records give little insight into the lives of local enslaved women, so we must look to what we know about other enslaved Massachusetts women. We know it was common for enslaved women to work in the trade of “houswifery,” i.e. performing the chores of cooking, cleaning, laundry and perhaps tending a garden for food. Childcare, for both their own family and their slaveholder's family, was another famous task for enslaved women. And sewing and mending clothes for farmworkers and tradesmen, both free and enslaved, were additional invisible ways in which enslaved domestic labor supported the agricultural and industrial production of colonial Hanover. Furthermore, just as white women were expected to perform nursing duties like tending to wounds or looking after the infirm, we should expect that enslaved women also performed the roles of nurse and health care aid.

Shown on the previous page is a large spinning wheel used to spin wool into yarn. Historians further mention that flax was commonly spun into cloth in Hanover homes. The Daughters of the American Revolution chose the spinning wheel as their original symbol because making yarn and fabric at home was seen as patriotic protest and a means to boycott heavily-taxed British imports. In the decade prior to the Revolution, colonial women gathered for “spinning bees” as both a social event and visible resistance. Furthermore, wearing garments made of homespun linen and wool was a symbolic marker of patriotic solidarity. Spinning was tedious, so of course, enslaved women would perform this labor—either instead of the mistress and her daughters or perhaps as a way to create a surplus to bring additional money into the household.

Below, excerpted from: Barry, J. Stetson. (1853). *A historical sketch of the town of Hanover, Mass., with family genealogies*. Boston: Published for the author by S. G. Drake. (pp. 37-38)

There was a time in the history of the town, when all our farmers kept their flocks of sheep, and raised, and spun their own

38

#### HISTORY OF HANOVER.

wool, and made their own cloth; and the hum of the wheel, and the clatter of the loom, tended by the *goodwife*, were heard in about every dwelling. Indeed, such was the esteem in which this branch of industry was held, that in 1732, the town “made choyce of Caleb Barker and Thomas Josselyun as agents to draw up a Town act for the Regulation of *Rames*,” to prevent them from running at large, to the injury of the flocks.

*“The maiden seamstress who went from house to house to make family clothing is also still remembered.”*

#### CLOTHING.

We have not mentioned the clothing business except incidentally in connection with the mills; but, in the early history of the town, nearly all the clothing was made from the wool sheared from the sheep or from the flax of the farmers own raising.

The loom and the spinning wheel were in use within the memory of men now living and the writer remembers when Mrs. Mary Dwelley spun the yarn and wove the cloth which she made into a dress, wearing the same for years.

The maiden seamstress who went from house to house to make the family clothing is also still remembered. Benjamin Franklin said, (he was 21 when our town was incorporated), “I was never prouder of any dress in my life than when I was clothed from head to foot in woolen and linen of my wife's manufacture.”

Above, excerpted from: Excerpted from: Dwelley, J., Simmons, J. F. (1910). *“History of the Town of Hanover, Massachusetts: with family genealogies”*. [Hanover, Mass.]: Pub. by the Town of Hanover. (Genealogies p. 212).

The one-story house on Winter street, known as the Job Tilden house, was probably constructed previous to 1740. Joseph Tilden, the father of Job, purchased this farm of one hundred and ten acres of Thomas Rogers. Presumably Mr. Rogers constructed the house.

Joseph Tilden, by his will dated November 8, 1763, gave to his son, Job Tilden, the improvement of this property. This son Job was a lieutenant in the Revolutionary War.

This house is presented as being especially interesting, because of the fact that slaves were raised here for the market.

While there was more or less buying and selling of slaves (as in the middle of the eighteenth century nearly all the wealthy families owned one or more), this was probably the only place in our town where the owner carried on the traffic for revenue. The writer has seen two bills of sale of slaves sold from this house. One was from Job Tilden to a Mr. Bailey of Scituate. "A negro child named Morrow, nine years of age, of good bodily health and with a kind disposition."

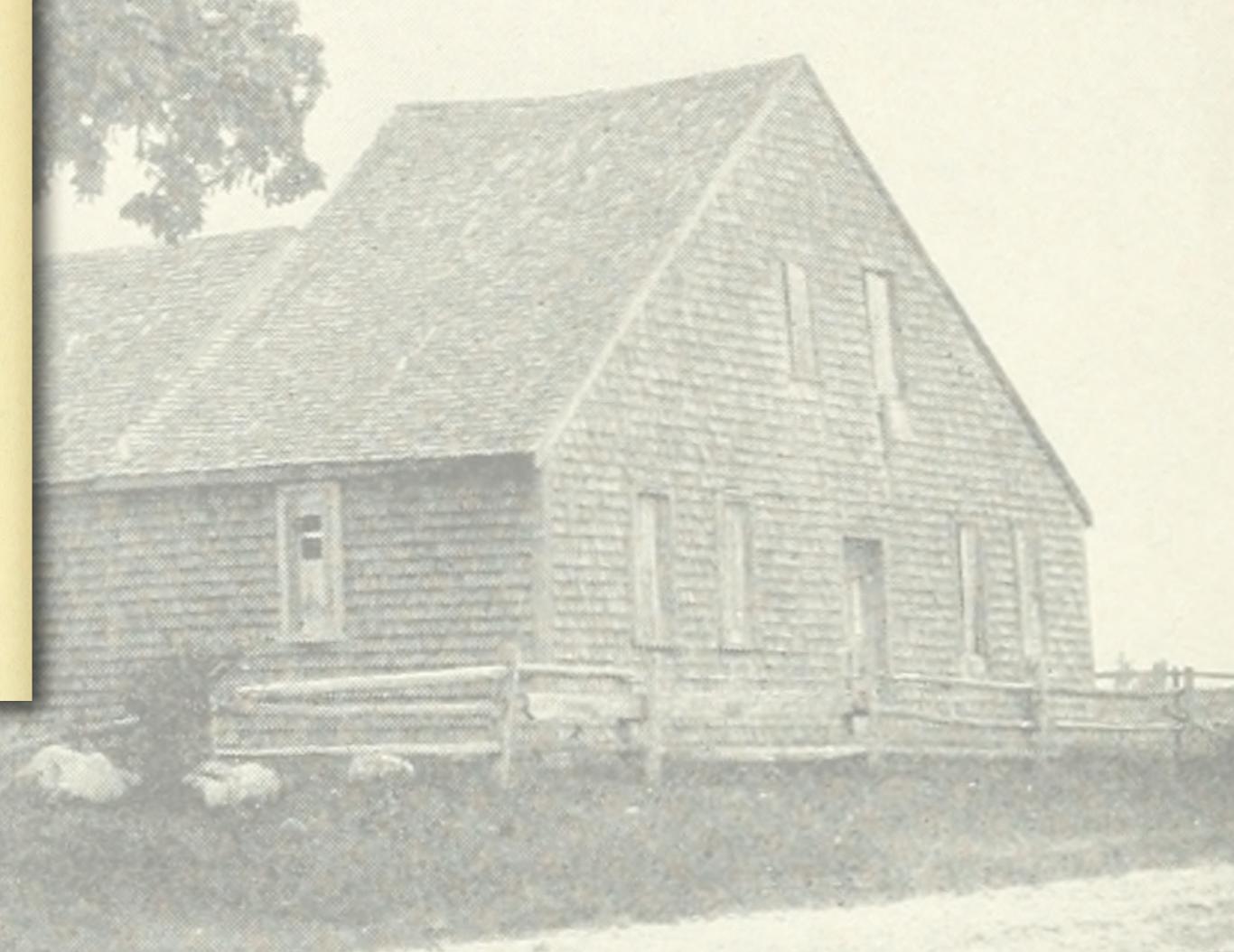
During the Revolutionary War, Mr. Tilden sent one of his slaves, named Cuffee, as a soldier in the Continental Army. He was with Col. Bailey and died at Valley Forge, and his enlistment gave him a second name; for henceforth he was known as Cuffee Tilden, and so the printed rolls inscribe him.

Sarah Tilden, a daughter of Job Tilden, granddaughter of Job, and great granddaughter of Joseph Tilden, died in this house, July 8, 1880, aged eighty-three years,—the premises having been occupied continuously by the Tilden family for more than one hundred and twenty years.

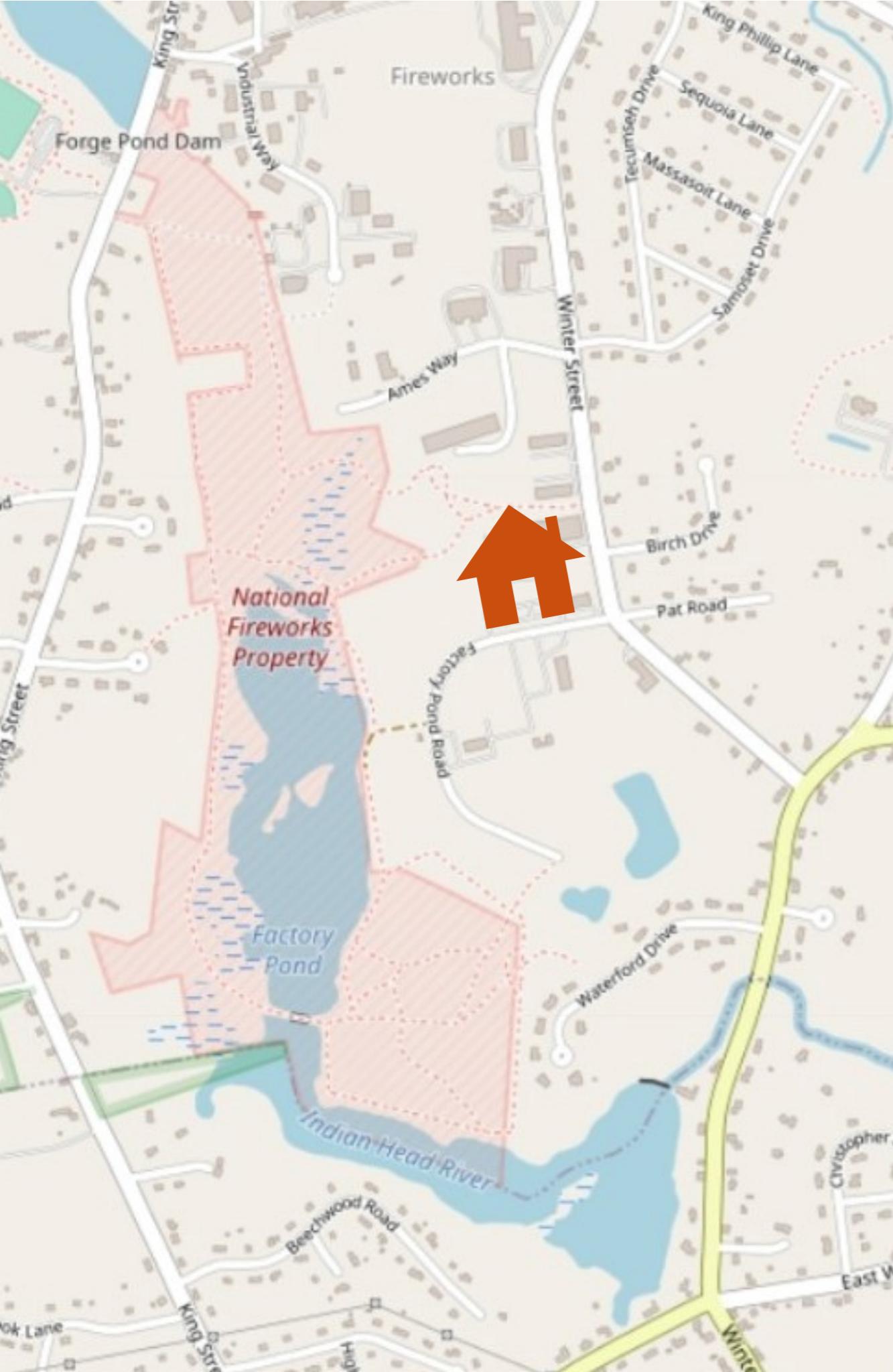
*Excerpted from: Dwelley, J., Simmons, J. F. (1910). "History of the Town of Hanover, Massachusetts: with family genealogies". [Hanover, Mass.]: Pub. by the Town of Hanover. (pp. 172, 261, & 262.)*

## The Job Tilden House

*"This house is presented as being especially interesting, because of the fact that slaves were raised here for the market."*



## The Job Tilden House



JOB TILDEN held at least six people in slavery at his residence which sat close to today's 325 Winter Street. We can locate this house via Whiting's 1849 "Map of Hanover, Mass." that depicts the house of "Widow Tilden."

Job Tilden was said to have "raised slaves for the market." This was a rare enterprise in New England. What's more, this means that Tilden saw enslaved people as more than just extra hands on the shipyard or as help around the house—he saw enslaved people as capital, a way to store, grow, and transfer wealth.

The obvious question is *how was Tilden planning to "raise slaves?"* Did Tilden's plan include rape and involuntary pregnancies? Job Tilden's enterprise recalls English travel diarist John Josselyn's visit to Samuel Maverick on Noddle's Island in Boston Harbor. The year was 1674 and Josselyn noted that an African woman came to the window of the room he was staying in, distressed but speaking a foreign language. When Josselyn inquired with Maverick about the incident, he learned that:

*"Mr. Maverick was desirous to have a breed of negroes; and therefore seeing she would not yield by persuasions to company with a negro young man, he had in his house, he commanded him, will'd she, nill'd she, to go to bed to her; which was no sooner done, but she kicked him out again. This she took in high disdain, beyond her slavery, and this was the cause of her grief."*

—John Josselyn, *An Account of Two Voyages to New England*, 1674

Currently, the mechanics of Tilden's scheme are lost to history and we don't have enough data to evaluate Tilden as a success or a failure. Perhaps there were more than the six known enslaved people at the Job Tilden House. However, if the six people that can be identified are the only enslaved people trapped in Tilden's racket, we find the endeavor wasn't viable as a main source of revenue.

Jack and Bilhah were married by Rev. Benjamin Bass in 1751 and are perhaps the same Jack and Bilhah later enslaved by foundryman Col. Aaron Hobart of Abington. The only confirmed example of a successful Job Tilden transaction is attested to by a bill of sale detailing Tilden selling a nine-year-old girl named Florrow. This bill of sale is transcribed in the 1921 book *Old Scituate*. It is unclear if Florrow (perhaps a misspelling of Flora) and the two enslaved children who died at Tilden's House, one in 1754 and the other in 1760, were the children of Jack and Bilhah. And it is unknown if the pregnancies that birthed these children were in any way coerced or forced.

The best-documented enslaved resident of Tilden's house was Cuffee Tilden, a soldier who served with Lt. Job in the Continental Army under Col. John Bailey in the 2nd Mass. Regiment. Cuffee died of disease during the notoriously harsh winter at Valley Forge. It was not unusual for a slaveholder to have garnished the bounty owed to an enslaved soldier for military service; this raises the question about who received Cuffee Tilden's salary and bounty? Was Cuffee able to keep his money come payday, or was Job Tilden paid twice, once for his own service and then again for the use of his property?

## An Interesting Bill of Sale

Know all men by these presents that I Job Tilden of hanover in the county of plymouth in new england, yeoman In Consideration of Thirty Three pounds in good silver monney to me in hand paid by Joseph Tilden J<sup>unr</sup>. of scituate in the county of plymouth in new england, yeoman the Receipt whereof I do hereby acknowledge have given granted assigned sett over and doe hereby give granted Said assign Sett over and deliver unto him the said Joseph Tilden J<sup>unr</sup>. my negre garl named florow being about nine years old and is a servant for life to have and to hold said floro unto him the sai Joseph Tilden J<sup>unr</sup>. his exesecuters and assigns and I do hereby covenant with said Tilden his Exscuters and assigns the said garl is sound and in good health and that I have good Right to make sale of her for Life as aforesaid and doe hereby warrant the said floro a servant for Life unto him the said Tilden his Exescuters and assigns witnessed my hand and seal

desember 14 1762 <sup>adomini</sup>

JOB TILDEN

Signed sealed and delivered In presence of

THOMAS BATES

JOSHUA BATES

(265)

# Cuffee Josselyn and Slavery's Aftermath

*"Also I give to my Said Wife the use of my Clock & the service of My Negro Man Cuffe during her Natural Life..."*

WEALTHY HANOVER RESIDENT Joseph Josselyn left an extensive will. His 1787 probate file is 74 pages long and on the second-to-last page we find the bequests to Josselyn's wife, including an item leaving her "the service of My Negro Man Cuffe during her Natural Life." This is a curious bequest: we are taught that the Massachusetts Constitution abolished slavery in 1783. Why, then, does a human appear in Josselyn's 1787 will?

Historian and Western Washington University professor Jared Hardesty provides an answer in his 2019 book, *Black Lives, Native Lands, White Worlds: A History of Slavery in New England*:

In the Name of God Amen this fourth Day of August in the Year of Our Lord Christ Seventeen hundred & Eighty seven Joseph Josselyn of Hanover in the County of Plymouth Esq<sup>r</sup> Being Aged and taking into Consideration that it is Appointed for all Men Once to Die & that after Death comes the Judgment hoping for a Resurrection to Eternal Life through Jesus Christ my Saviour Recommending my Soul to God who gave it And my Body to the Earth to decent Christian Burial at the Discretion of my Executor hereafter named And as touching such worldly Estate as it shall please God to bestow upon me in this Life I give devise & dispose of the same in manner and form following vizt.

Item I give and Devise to my Beloved Wife Mary Josselyn the Use and Improvement of the One half of the Dwelling House which she shall have Wherof I will give her the Use & Improvement of One half of the Barn & Other Buildings Adjacent and the Use & Improvement of all my Lands lying on the North Side of the Highway that lies by said Dwelling House to Barns, Garage & Cattle Bounded Eastwards on the Land I sold to Sally Stetson & the Land at Joseph Cushing Esq<sup>r</sup> Drinker's Road Westwards by said Cushing Land & the Land of John Read Josselyn to the Highway aforesaid During her Natural Life Reserving of the Use & Improvement of One half of the Orchards & Lands belonging to the same & also One half of the Use & Improvement of the Yards, Gardens, & Out houses to my Executor hereafter named. And I also Give & Devise to my Said Wife the Use Improvement during her Natural Life of about Six Acres of Land Lying on the Southwesterly Side of the Highway first mentioned Adjoining to said Way bounded Northwards on the Highway to said Land is now inclosed by fence by

At the same is now inclosed by fence by

near the Barns I have so called. Also Give to my Said Wife the Use of my Clock & the service of My Negro Man Cuffe During her Natural Life & also Give to my Said Wife Sixty the Second half of my house hold furniture & Two Carts to which she shall have Right of my Stock.

*"The Judicial and gradual approaches to emancipation in New England created gaps and loopholes that could be exploited by slave owners, kidnappers, and government officials. This problem was most clear in Massachusetts. The 1873 decision Commonwealth v. Jennison did not abolish slavery. Rather it stipulated that slavery was contrary to the Massachusetts constitution and had no standing in the law. Worded in such a way, judicial emancipation placed the onus of ending enslavement on the slaves themselves. If an enslaved person could not access the courts or run away, such as vulnerable children and the elderly, they remained effectively enslaved. Often owners would refer to the enslaved people living in their households as indentured servants, a category that was still legal. Although the 1790 U.S. Census did not enumerate any slaves for Massachusetts, evidence suggests that most enslavers just listed their slaves as servants or census takers did not bother to record them. This use of legal loopholes and subterfuge meant slavery lingered in Massachusetts until the mid 1790s if not later." (pp. 150-151)*

Hanover death records show that Joseph Josselyn held at least two other people in slavery: Phillis, who died in 1742, and an unknown person who died in 1756. Cuffee was the only human to appear as moveable property in Joseph Josselyn's will.

Mrs. Josselyn died in 1801 and it is unclear if Joseph Josselyn's bequest was enforced and if, without legal

resources to represent himself, Cuffee was coerced or convinced to stay as a servant in the widow Josselyn's household. Dwelley and Simmons do mention Cuffee further:

Cuffee Josselyn was a slave of Col. Joseph Josselyn's. He was captured on the Coast of Africa when a boy and died at the house of Thomas Damon about 1831 at the advanced age of more than one hundred years. He, also, served in the Continental Army.

*NB: Cuffee's military service is currently unverified. Further research is needed.*

And:

In 1817, it was voted that the overseers of the poor put out town paupers as they see fit. For two or three years previous to this, they were all kept by one person. In 1823, a committee consisting of Lemuel Dwelley, Joshua Mann, Stephen Jacobs, Melzar Curtis, Barker Ramsdell, John B. Barstow, and Amos Bates, were chosen to take into consideration the subject of a poorhouse. At a meeting held in May, 1825, the town voted "To empower the Selectmen and Overseers of the Poor to cause Mr. Isaac Perry, Benchar Clark, Eliza Wood and Cuffe Josselyn to be boarded where they think proper."

About 1827, a system of putting out the poor at auction to the lowest bidder was adopted. The auction, which was a public affair, was held at the meeting house at the Center. This system proved unsatisfactory to the town and was continued but a few

years. It was a barbarous custom but was quite common at this time in Massachusetts.

*Excerpted from: Dwelley, J., Simmons, J. F. (1910). "History of the Town of Hanover, Massachusetts: with family genealogies". [Hanover, Mass.]: Pub. by the Town of Hanover. (pp. 184, 188, & 189.)*

From being trafficked as a child out of his homeland, to slavery in Hanover, to "barbarous" pauper auctions: life was not easy for Cuffee.

Bidders at pauper auctions competed for two prizes. First, by agreeing to board and support the pauper for the year, the bidder received a sum of money from the town. Naturally, if the bidder did not spend the entire sum on food and support for the pauper, the bidder kept the surplus. Secondly, the bidder was entitled to the pauper's labor without having to pay her or him. This was made explicitly clear by the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court in 1822:

*"A town has undoubtedly a right to the services of a pauper to aid in his support. So has any person who may have become liable for his support by virtue a contract with the town."* (quoted in Klebner, p.13)

The period after the American Revolution was a time of recession. Add to that, many New England men were leaving farms to seek wages in more industrialized areas. White men were flooding the job market and racism was rampant. White workers at times resorted to violence to intimidate their Black competitors to protect job prospects. The segregation laws created during slavery stayed on the books for decades.<sup>†</sup> It is not surprising, then, that the formerly enslaved people who were often illiterate, landless, and competing against white men in a racist job market, people like Cuffee Josselyn, would end up on the pauper rolls.

This was the case in neighboring towns as well. A look at census records concerning the Scituate almshouse, which

stood at what is now the site of the Cushing Center in Norwell, we see that many of the Black families who appear in the colonial-era records of the town have members living in the almshouse in the early 1800s.

Unfortunately, the most widely-cited scholarly source for pauper auctions is Benjamin Klebaner's *Pauper Auctions: The "New England Method" of Public Poor Relief*, which was published in 1955. Rest assured that it did not take race into account nor did it acknowledge the proximity of the rise of pauper auctions to the decline of slavery in Massachusetts.

Pauper auctions were not a race-based practice. Still, the system of auctioning off people, splitting up families, and requiring paupers to perform labor that they did not own while enriching someone else plainly echos slavery and it was a system ripe for abuse.

Without additional scholarship, it is impossible to say if African Americans were over-represented on late 18th/early 19th Century Massachusetts pauper rolls. And we should certainly acknowledge the barbarity faced by white paupers, especially those in vulnerable categories such as children, the disabled, widowed mothers, and the elderly. But there is no reason to believe, until scholarship says otherwise, that, given the racial climate of the post-Revolutionary era, Black paupers did not face unique sets of challenges when navigating the slavery-to-pauper pipeline.

Taking what we learn from Cuffee Josselyn's story and Dr. Hardesty's analysis, we turn a critical eye to the 1790 U.S. Census data for Hanover. Here we learn:

<sup>†</sup> Joanne Pope Melish thoroughly explores this struggle in her book *"Disowning Slavery: Gradual Emancipation and 'Race' in New England, 1780-1860"*

## FIRST CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES.

The 1790 U.S. Census recorded 184 households in Hanover. Below is list of the 17 heads of households where free nonwhite people were enumerated.

Last	First	All "other free persons"
Bailey	Charles	3
Bailey	George	1
Bailey	Luther	1
Barker	Gideon	1
Bass, Jr.	Benjamin	1
Brooks	Jospeh	1
Clark	Nathaniel	1
Damon	Ezra	7
Dillingham	Henry	1
Ellis, Jr.	Mordacai	1
Estes	Zaccheus	4
Estes	Robert	1
Jacob	David	1
Nash	Samuel	1
Nicholson	Joseph	4
Smith	Albert	1
Sylvester	Jacob	1
Tilden	Job	3
Turner	Charles	1
<i>Total free nonwhite people:</i>		35

There are two households where both the head of household and all residents are people of color.

## PLYMOUTH COUNTY—Continued.

NAME OF HEAD OF FAMILY.	All other free persons.			NAME OF HEAD OF FAMILY.	All other free persons.		
	Slaves.	Free white males of 16 years and upward, including heads of families.	Free white males under 16 years.		Slaves.	Free white males of 16 years and upward, including heads of families.	Free white males under 16 years.
HANOVER TOWN—con.				HANOVER TOWN—con.			
Turner, Isaac.....		2	1	5			
Brooks, Samuel.....		1	.....	2	.....		
Gray, Sarah.....				Standish, David.....	1	.....	3
				Josselyn, Stockbridge..	1	3	4
				Josselyn, Isaac.....	2	7	2

- 17 out of 184 Hanover households housed people of color, or 9.2%.
- Only 2 households were solely people of color; Joseph Nicholson and his family of 4 and single man Charles Turner. The remaining 15 households listed a white man as head of household.
- 35 people out of a population of 1,084 were nonwhite, or 3.2%. This is more than double the state-wide population of people of color, 1.4%.

The overlap in surnames from the Slavery Census—Bailey, Barker, Bass, Brooks, Estes, Jacob, Sylvester, Turner, and Tilden—is conspicuous. Zaccheus Estes is the grandson of Quaker Matthew Estes who held 5 slaves. Remember that Estes bequeathed to his daughter Sarah his “negroes,” but Sarah manumitted only Bilhah. Zaccheus lived with 4 people of color. Slave Job Tilden housed 3 people of color; it strains credulity to believe he did so out of benevolence.

Ezra Damon housed 7 people of color; note with interest that Cuffee Josselyn died at the home of Thomas Damon. It seems the Damon family may have been in the pauper business. And what to make of the names of those who were boarding “other free persons” who do not appear in the slavery census? What is the relationship between the white head of household and the people of color living under the same roof? More research is required to determine who were paupers, who were compensated for their labor, and who suffered in conditions resembling de facto slavery.

# Hanover Revolutionary War Soldiers of Color

---

*"The Baroness von Riedesel, who was among a group of American-held prisoners being escorted through western Massachusetts in the fall of 1777, wrote in a letter, '...you do not see a regiment in which there is not a large number of blacks.'"*

*National Daughters of the American Revolution. (2012). "Forgotten Patriots: African American and American Indian Service in the Revolutionary War, 1775-1783". Washington, D.C. .pdf (p. 81)*

THE HANOVER HISTORICAL SOCIETY is currently working to recover the town's Black patriots as part of its 2022 programming, "Stories from the Revolution". The efforts were first announced at the society's October 2021 annual meeting when executive director Stephen O'Neill disclosed that the society had the privilege of holding a special document on a long-term loan. The document is an original bounty list—a list of soldiers receiving a cash bonus from the Town of Hanover for serving in the Revolutionary Army paid in addition to a soldier's regular salary. The historic and genealogical value of such a rare document is obvious, but it is the names of two enslaved men, Prince Bailey and Cuffee Tilden, that brings into focus the reality of the Revolution as a nexus for Black life in Massachusetts.

1783 is the year historians pinpoint as the year abolition takes hold in Massachusetts; it is also the year of the Treaty of Paris, the official end of hostilities in the American War of Independence. Institutional slavery in Massachusetts was fading in the past, while the arduous, deadly slog of asserting the promise that "all men are created equal" lay ahead. Some enslaved people took advantage of the chaos of war by abandoning their slaveholders' homes. Others benefited from Loyalists fleeing Massachusetts for friendlier climes. About 2.5% of the total number of Massachusetts's 68,000 Revolutionary veterans were Black or Native American; Revolutionary service earned many African American soldiers either emancipation or the money to buy their own freedom. For a smart overview of the contributions made by Black and Native Massachusetts men in the Revolution, see the introduction to the Massachusetts chapter in the Daughters of the American Revolution publication "Forgotten Patriots," available free online.

TILDEN, CUFF, Hanover. Private, Capt. Samuel King's co., Col. Josiah Whitney's regt.; service from July 17, 1776, 4 days preceding march, to Nov. 1, 1776, 3 mos. 14 days; roll dated Camp at Hull; *also*, Capt. Newcomb's (Independent) co.; muster return of four Independent cos. stationed at Hull, dated March 1, 1777; age, 21 yrs.; mustered by Daniel Souther, Muster Master; *also*, list of men raised to serve in the Continental Army from Col. John Cushing's (2d Plymouth Co.) regt.; residence, Hanover; engaged for town of Hanover; joined Capt. Drew's co., Col. Bailey's regt.; term, 3 years (also given during war); *also*, list of men mustered by Nathaniel Barber, Muster Master for Suffolk Co., dated Boston, March 30, 1777; Capt. Drew's co., Col. Bailey's regt.; reported received State bounty; *also*, 5th co., Col. John Bailey's regt.; Continental Army pay accounts for service from March 20, 1777, to Jan. 18, 1778; reported died Jan. 18, 1778; *also*, Capt. Seth Drew's (5th) co., Col. Bailey's regt.; company return dated Camp at Valley Forge, Jan. 24, 1778.

*excerpted from: Vol 15. (p.742)*

✓ BAILEY, PRINCE, Hanover. Return of men enlisted into Continental Army from 2d Plymouth Co. regt., dated Nov. 7, 1777; joined Capt. Seth Drew's co., Col. John Bailey's regt.; enlistment, 3 years; age, 28 yrs.; *also*, Private, 5th co., Col. Bailey's regt.; Continental Army pay accounts for service from March 27, 1777, to Dec. 31, 1779; *also*, Capt. Drew's co., Col. Bailey's regt.; return dated Camp at Valley Forge, Jan. 24, 1778; *also*, Continental Army pay accounts for service from Jan. 1, 1780, to March 27, 1780.

*Vol 1. (p. 459)*

VV PETER, JONATHAN, Hanover. Descriptive list dated West Point, Jan. 28, 1781; Capt. Luther Bailey's co., 2d Mass. regt.; stature, 5 ft.; hair, black; residence, Hanover; enlisted Jan. 1, 1780, by Capt. Bailey, at Hanover; enlistment, during war; reported a negro.

*Vol 12. (p. 239)*

CUSHING, PERO, Hanover. List of men enlisted or drafted into Continental Army from 2d Plymouth Co. regt., as returned agreeable to order of Council of Nov. 7, 1777; residence, Hanover; engaged for town of Hanover; joined Capt. Olden's (Alden's) co., Col. Baily's regt.; term, during war; age, 23 yrs.; reported mustered between March 5 and March 22, 1777, by James Hatch, Muster Master for Plymouth Co.; *also*, Private, 7th co., Col. John Bailey's regt.; Continental Army pay accounts for service from March 21, 1777, to May 16, 1778; reported died May 16, 1778; *also*, Capt. Judah Alden's (7th) co., Col. Bailey's regt.; company return dated Camp Valley Forge, Jan. 24, 1778.

*Vol 4. (p. 299)*

## MASSACHUSETTS

# SOLDIERS AND SAILORS

OF THE

## REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

---

### A COMPILATION FROM THE ARCHIVES,

PREPARED AND PUBLISHED BY THE

### SECRETARY OF THE COMMONWEALTH

IN ACCORDANCE WITH CHAPTER 100, RESOLVES  
OF 1891.

---

BOSTON:  
WRIGHT & POTTER PRINTING CO., STATE PRINTERS,  
18 POST OFFICE SQUARE.

1898.



The book contains an extensive bibliography and, most usefully, a roster of every soldier of color from our state that researchers could identify.

In Hanover, we know that Cuffee Tilden was enslaved by fellow soldier Lt. Job Tilden and he died at Valley Forge. Prince Bailey made it back to Hanover and married Hannah Wood Vineson (later spelled Benson). The couple moved to Maine shortly after the war. Both men served in the 2nd Massachusetts Regiment commanded by Hanover resident and slaveholder Col. John Bailey. Although Pvt. Prince Bailey shared a surname with the colonel, John does not appear to be Prince's enslaver. To whom Prince was bound remains a mystery.

Jonathan Peter appears to be a free person of color. His father was also named Jonathan Peter and served in the colonial militia during the 1730s. Plymouth County court records list Jonathan, Sr., as "a molotto man," indicating possible mixed African and Native heritage, and there are

further genealogical clues that hint that he was of Wampanoag descent, but more research must be done before that can be asserted. Jonathan's mother was Margaret (Frank) Peter and vital records show that he had 5 siblings. Jonathan served in Col. Bailey's 2nd Mass. Regiment. Beyond that, his life is a mystery.

Another man of mystery is Pvt. Pero Cushing. Pero appears on the same bounty list alongside Prince and Cuffee; he died while serving. Pero is a common surname for local Indians and a common first name for men of color. Pero's racial makeup is impossible to ascertain and he only appears in military records. It is doubtful that he was a son of the affluent local Cushing family given his very non-English first name and his absence in vital records. The well-connected Cusings were active church members and their family genealogy is well documented. It is fair to conclude that Pero was likely a person of color.



*Headstone of slaveholder Col. John Bailey at Hanover Center Cemetery*

## Appendix A:

Hanover Slavery Census - Enslaved People of Hanover, Mass., and their Slaveholders

# Slavery Census: Enslaved People of Hanover, Mass., and Their Slaveholders

compiled by: Wayne Tucker for the Hanover Historical Society

Revised: 01/21/2022

Slaveholder		Enslaved person	Source(s)						Comments from original sources, additional notes
Last	First		Cen	Bapt.	Mariage	Death	Dwel	Other	
unknown	unknown	Prince Bailey Dunsick							Kidnapped from Africa, 3-yr Revolutionary War vet, Moved to ME ~1780, petitioned for pension
Bailey, Sr, Jr, et. al.	John Sr., Ensign John, Col. John, Jonas, Maj. Bailey	Windsor		B	M				(1730) April 26 Windsor, son of Sarah JONAS; a black, his master, John BAILY promising to give him a religious education. (1749) March 9 Windsor JONAS, negro; and Mercy NEIL, Indian both of Hanover
		Dick	Cen		M		Dwel		(1741) December 25 Dick, Jonas BAILY'S negro; and Dassin (or Desire) Caleb BARKER'S negro; both of Hanover (1786) Dick, negro of Col. Bailey, and husband of Daphne, died Jan. 20, 1786, aged 90.
		(child)				D			(1751) August 7 A negro; child of Ensign John BAILY
		Ben (Indian)					Dwel		(1756) Ben, an Indian slave of John Bailey, died May, 1756
		Jonathan		B					(1789) June 21 Jonathan, a negro; man that lives with Major BAILEY
		Jack						Abi(M) +Hob	(1782) Jack, "negro man" of Hanover, and Sage Wood, "negro woman," int. Dec. 1, 1782 - Vital Records of Abington (Post Revolution) "Jack Bailey, who lived on Beach Hill, once a slave of a Mr. Bailey of Hanover" - Hobart's History of Abington [Perhaps different Jacks, but I thought it useful to combine here] (1798) Jack, Sept. 16, Bailey or Packanet, "a person of Colour". (Abi) [This leads me to believe that Jack was Indian or mixed African American and Indian]
							Dwel	Probate	Note in Dwel p. 184: "In 1773, John Bailey gave to his son John certain real estate on condition that "he shall comfortably support my two old negroes during their natural life."
Bailey	Jacob	Male, age 27						Probate	(1783) "1 Negroman about 27 years of age...8p". Jacob Bailey's March 1783 probate inventory
Baldwin	Rev. Samuel	Dinah						C&C	(1762) Dinah [listed as Dick erroneously, see original record at cong. library], slave of Rev. Samuel Baldwin, died Feb. 3, 1762
		Jesse Boos					Dwel		(1775) Jesse Boos, negro slave of Rev. Samuel Baldwin, died Oct. 5, 1775
Barker	Caleb	Dassin/Desiree/ Daphne	Cen		M		Dwel		(1741) December 25 Dick, Jonas BAILY'S negro; and Dassin (or Desire) Caleb BARKER'S negro; both of Hanover (1779) Daphne, an old negro, probably Col. Barker's slave, died March 10, 1779
Barstow	Joseph	Rose						Probate	(1728) Inventory of Barstow's estate lists "a negro woman named Rose" (See "unknowns" @ bottom of this sheet)
Barstow	Joshua	Bilhah	Cen			D			(1757) May 21 Bilhah, Mr. Joshua BARSTOW'S negro-woman (age 26, if Bilhah is the woman in the 1754 census.)
Bass	Rev. Benjamin	Titus	Cen	B			Dwel		(1742) September 26...TITUS my negro; boy
									Note in Dwel: Mr. Bass, the first minister, owned and baptized a slave named Titus. After the death of Mr. Bass his daughter Mary sold Titus to John Gould of Hull. The price paid was £-13 8s., and the following is a copy of said Bill of Sale : — 'Memorandum. That I have bought of Miss Mary Bass of Hanover her negro man Titus for the sum of £42 8s. I am to pay a pound down and give a note upon interest for £26 13s 4d, and one for £13 5s. 2d. She runs the risque of him till he shall come to Hull, and then at mine. The notes to be dated Nov., 1770; the bill of sale and notes to be made as soon as may be. Her mother and brother, Benjamin Bass, with her to sign the bill.' This was signed October 25, 1770, by John Gould and Mary Bass.
Bass	Dea. Benjamin	Susannah				D			(1792) May 2. Susannah, negro-woman of Dea. BASS aged 73. old age.
Brooks	(Deacon)	Cuba				D			(1795) March 25 Cuba: a negro-woman of Dea. BROOKS
Curtiss	John	Jupiter				D			(1747) Novb. or December Jupiter, a negro man of Mr. John CURTISS.
Curtis	Richard	Enumerated enslaved male, age 55	Cen						(1754) Richard Curtis is referenced in the 1765 Census as a Hanover Slaveholder
Curtis	Samuel	Cuba						C&C	(1768) [Adm to Church] June 5 Cuba, a negro woman, belonging to Sam'l Curtis upon recommendation from the 2d Church in Scituate from whence her relation was transferred. [NB: Samuel Curtis named one Joseph Brooks as executor to his will and bequeathed a substantial portion of his estate to Brooks. See Plymouth County Probate Papers. Is this Deacon Brooks above?]
Curtis	Simeon	Mingo					Dwel		(1791) Mingo, negro of Capt. Simeon Curtis, died April 7, 1791, aged 70. "He lived on Silver street, with his wife and child, and gave the name to Mingo's field."

Cushing, Esq	Elijah	(child)			D			(1736) March 4 A negro; child belonging to Elijah CUSHING, esq
		(child)			D			(1747) January or February A negro; child of Elijah CUSHING
		Boston				Dwel	Hans.	(1741) "Boston and Margaret, slaves of Elijah Cushing, were married the same year."
		Margaret						Elijah Cushing's home stood at the current 89 E. Washington St, Hanson, MA. For more see Hanson Historical Society: <a href="https://hansonhistoricalsociety.files.wordpress.com/2015/04/2014-tunk-fall.pdf">https://hansonhistoricalsociety.files.wordpress.com/2015/04/2014-tunk-fall.pdf</a>
Cushing		Capt.	(child)		D		Barry	(1744) July 30 Capt. CUSHING'S negro; child.

Dilly	(Mr.)	(unknown)			D			(1738) February A negro; of Mr. DILLY
-------	-------	-----------	--	--	---	--	--	---------------------------------------

Estes/Eastice	Mathew	Fred			D	Dwel		(1739) February A negro; of Matthew EASTICE'S/Fred, a negro of Matthew Estes, died Feb. 13, 1739.
		Jupiter					Sci	(1742) Jupiter "Negro; of Math". Estis of Hanover," and Cuba "Negro; of Isaac Turner," int. Sept. 4, 1742
		Enumerated enslaved female, age 26	Cen					(1754) Matthew Estes is listed as a Hanover slave holder in Gov. Shirley's 1754 slave census.
		Enumerated enslaved female, age 17	Cen					(1754) Matthew Estes is listed as a Hanover slave holder in Gov. Shirley's 1754 slave census.
		Bilhah (she would have been age 8 during the 1754 slave census that counted only enslaved people age 16 or older.)			Dwel			(1776) On Sept. 25 Sarah Estes Sylvester signed a document stating: "Know all men by these presents that I, Sarah Sylvester of Hanover, widow. Know ye that, whereas my father, Matthew Estes, late of said Hanover, deceased, in his last will gave to me a certain negro girl whose name is Bilhah, aged about 30 years, and from Religious Scruples of Conscience in me with regard to the justice of keeping mankind as slaves, and in consideration of ye good will which I bear towards said Billiah, I do hereby, for myself and my heirs, exonerate, acquit, and discharge her, ye said Bilhah, from me, my heirs, executors, and administrators, to all intents and purposes whatever. And from any demands of property in her, the said Bilhah."
Estis		Robert	Mary		D			(1794) March 20. Mary, negro-woman of Robert ESTIS, aged 76.

House	Samuel	Enumerated enslaved female, age 30	Cen					(1754) Samuel House is listed as a Hanover slave holder in Gov. Shirley's 1754 slave census.
		Pompey (Pomp)				Hans. + Hob		See: Hanson Historical Society's "Pomp's Orchard" online: <a href="https://hansonhistoricalsociety.wordpress.com/2014/02/16/object-of-the-month-february-2014-pomps-orchard/">https://hansonhistoricalsociety.wordpress.com/2014/02/16/object-of-the-month-february-2014-pomps-orchard/</a>
Jacob	David	Phebe			D			(1769) Jany. 8 Phebe, a Negro; girl, Slave to David and Hannah JACOB
		Rose			D			(1770) April 12. Rose, Negro; woman to David JACOB
		Jane			D			(1775) 28 Jane, Negro;-Servant to David and Hannah JACOBS

Joselyn	Capt. Joseph	Phillis			Dwel			(1742) Phillis, Captain Joselyn's negro, died Feb. 9, 1742.
		(unknown)		D				(1756) May 23 A negro; of Joseph JOSLYN
		Cuffe Joselyn			Dwel			(1831) Cuffee Joselyn was a slave of Col. Joseph Joselyn's. He was captured on the Coast of Africa when a boy and died at the house of Thomas Damon [715 Hanover St] about 1831 at the advanced age of more than one hundred years. He, also, served in the Continental Army. [Army service unverified; further research required]
					Probate			(1787) Despite slavery being abolished in Massachusetts in 1783, Josselyn bequeathed Cuffe's service to his wife covering her natural life.

Lambert	Uriah	Infant			D			(1746) August or September A negro; infant of Uriah LAMBERT
---------	-------	--------	--	--	---	--	--	---

Mellen	Rev. John	Bess*			D			*(1793) Sep 20 Our Negro-woman called BESS, 36 putrid fever [Perhaps bess sought work with the Mellens as a free adult? Perhaps she started with the family in slavery?]
--------	-----------	-------	--	--	---	--	--	--

Otis	Job	Hanibal		M				(1735) April 3 Hannibal and Bilhah; Mr. Job OTIS'S negroes
		Bilhah		M				

Ramsdale (Ramsdell)	Joseph	(child)				D			(1733) April 25 A negro; child of Joseph RAMSDALE
------------------------	--------	---------	--	--	--	---	--	--	---

Stockbridge	David	Pompey	Cen	B					(1774) Pompey, negro;-lad of Col. STOCKBRIDGE
		Enumerated enslaved female, age 23							(1754) David Stockbridge is listed as having 1 male and 1 female slave in Gov. Shirley's 1754 slave census. The male slave may or may not be Pompey.
Stockbridge	Dea. Joseph	Caesar				Dwel			(1728) Caesar, child of Deacon Stockbridge's slave, died June, 14, 1728
		Cuffy			D				(1736) January 18 Deacon STOCKBRIDGE'S negro; man Cuffy.
		Phillis				Clerk			(1805) Departed this life; a Negro woman of Mr Stockbridge (Listed in index as "a slave")

Studley	John	Briton		B		D			(1748) July 17 Briton, a negro; infant born in the house of Mr. Edward JENKINS of Scituate, and given to Mr. John STUDLEY, of Hanover, soon after its birth (1749) January 23 Briton, a negro; child of John & Elizabeth STUDLEY
---------	------	--------	--	---	--	---	--	--	---

Sylvester	Nathaniel	Newport	Cen		M				(1760) May 25 Newport and Kate two negro; slaves belonging to Nathl SYLVESTER
		Kate			M				
Sylvester	Amos	Dinah	Cen			D			(1756) February 19 Dinah, a negro;; Mr. Amos SYLVESTER'S servant.
Sylvester	Henchman	George Toto					Probate		(1758) A servant boye named George Toto. [This is an Indian young man as we see in a November 16 1750 church record "Mercy TOTO, an Indian woman and George Toto, her son, as also Rhoda Toto, her daughter ; the mother making confession of her repeated violation of the 7th commandment [fornication]."
Sylvester	Jacob	Jenny		B					(1771) Nov. 24 Jenny, a Negro;-child, servant to Jacob & Mary SYLVESTER

Tilden	Job	Bilhah	Cen			Dwel			(1751) Jack and Bilhah, Job Tilden's servants, were married February 8, 1751
		Jack				Dwel			[NB: Abington's Aaron Hobart is noted to have held slaves named Jack and Bilhah (Abi & Hob) Did Tilden Traffic them to Hobart?]
		(child)				Dwel			(1754) A negro child of Lieutenant Job Tilden, died Dec. 25, 1754
		(child)				Dwel			(1760) A negro child of Lieutenant Job Tilden, died February 12, 1760
		Florrow, aged 9				OS			(1762) Job Tilden sells Joseph Tilden, Jr of Scituate a "negre garl named florrow" [possibly "Flora"]
		Coffee Tilden				Dwel			(d. 1778) During the Revolutionary War, Job Tilden sent one of his slaves named Cuffee, as a soldier in the Continental Army. He was with Col. Bailey and died at Valley Forge, and the sacrifice gave him a second name, for henceforth he was known as Cuffee Tilden, and so the printed rolls inscribe him.
									Note from Dwel p 262: "Joseph Tilden, by his will dated November 8, 1763, gave to his son, Job Tilden...This house is presented as being especially interesting, because of the fact that slaves were raised here for the market...[T]his was probably the only place in our town where the owner carried on the traffic for revenue. The writer has seen two bills of sale of slaves sold from this house."

Turner	Capt Ezekiel	Jeffry	Cen		D				(1767) Apr 29 Jeffry, Negro; man of Coll. TURNER. Drowned in the Furnace Pond.
		London			D		Probate		(1773) I also give to my said wife my negro boy named London, about five years old to be at her own dispense forever, this in lieu of her right of dower in my estate. (1786) Jany 15. London, negro-man of Widow TURNER: about 19 years
Turner	Issac	Enumerated enslaved female, age 50	Cen						(1754) Isaac Turner is listed as a Hanover slave holder in Gov. Shirley's 1754 slave census.

Red indicates ambiguity. I don't know what the chain of custody was in the Bailey family. I don't know if Capt. Cushing is or is not the same person as Elijah, Esq. Caleb Barker may be different from Col. Barker (perhaps John Barker)

#### People with unknown white family affiliation/unknown freedom status

Abi(M) (1737) JONAS Sarah\* of Hanover, and Benjamin, negro, of Hanover, Mar. 17, 1737. (\*Sarah is listed as a "molatto" in 1730 church records. She is also Windsor Jonas's mother. Windsor was enslaved by John Baily.)

D (1754) December 26. A negro; Infant [Is this the same child who died Dec 25 at Job Tilden's house? Or was it two separate infants?]

B (1775) December 17 Mable, daugr of Kelah MINGO, negro; woman

D (1790) July 1. Shubael ROSE, a molatto; 80 old age and long infirmities. also same day

church records (1776) May 5. Shubael ROSE having made application to the Pastor on behalf of himself and Susanna his wife (who were members of the Church of England, but voluntarily dissented therefrom) for occasional communion. A representation was made by the Pastor of the state of their case, and of their request: A vote was called, and it past in the affirmative without any opposition, that they should be admitted to this privilege, agreeable to their Petition.

Note about Shubael Rose: He appears several times in the Plymouth County court records, often being "warned out" in various communities. It appears he has native american heritage.

D (1793) Oct 18 Daughter of Negro; named BRISTOL; 14 years old Dysentery. [Likely born enslaved]

D (1796) 13. Cloe, daughter of BRISTOL: negro; 19 years old. of a con- sumption. [Likely born enslaved]

Clerk (1808) Rose; a woman of Colour departed this life March 2d 1808 aged 89 (p. 200) Listed in index as "a slave"; Could be Joseph Barstow's Rose above, and noted as "Rhoda Rose" in Dwel.

#### Slavery Census Bibliography

Abreviation	Citation
Barry	<b>A Historical Sketch of the Town of Hanover, Mass., with family genealogies</b> (1853) Barry, J. Stetson . Boston: Published for the author by S. G. Drake.
B/M/D	<b>History and Records of the First Congregational Church, Hanover, Mass., 1727-1865...</b> (1895) Briggs, L. Vernon (Lloyd Vernon),, Hanover (Mass.). First Congregational Church. Boston, Mass.: W. Spooner, printer.
C&C	<b>The Church and Cemetery Records of Hanover, Mass</b> (1904) Briggs, L. Vernon (Lloyd Vernon). Boston, Mass.: Wallace Spooner.
Cen	<b>Early Census Making in Massachusetts, 1643-1765: with a reproduction of the lost census of 1765...</b> (1905) Benton, J. H. (Josiah Henry).. Boston: Charles E. Goodspeed.
Clerk	<b>A Copy of the Records of Births, Marriages, and Deaths and of Intentions of Marriage of the Town of Hanover</b> (1898) Hanover (Mass.) 1727-1857. Rockland [Mass.]: Press of the Rockland standard.
Dwel	<b>History of the Town of Hanover, Massachusetts: with family genealogies</b> (1910) Dwelley, J., Simmons, J. F. [Hanover, Mass.]: Pub. by the town of Hanover.
OS	<b>Old Scituate</b> (1921) Massachusetts Daughters of the American Revolution. Chief Justice Cushing chapter. [Scituate, Mass.]:
Hans.	<b>Hanson Historical Society</b> Links inserted into entry above
Abi	<b>Vital records of Abington, Massachusetts: to the year 1850</b> (1912) Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society
Sci	<b>Vital records of Scituate, Massachusetts: to the year 1850</b> (1912) Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society
Hob	<b>History of the town of Abington, Plymouth County, Massachusetts, from its first settlement</b> (1866). Hobart, Benjamin. Boston: T.H. Carter and son.
Probate	<b>Plymouth County, MA: Probate File Papers, 1686-1881</b> .Online database. AmericanAncestors.org. New England Historic Genealogical Society, 2015. (From records supplied by the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court Archives.)
Briggs	<b>History of Shipbuilding on North River</b> (1889) Briggs, L. Vernon (Lloyd Vernon) [quoted on other pages of this guide]
	<b>Plymouth Court Records</b> , 1686-1859. Boston, MA.: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 2002. Copyright, 2002, Pilgrim Society. (Online database. AmericanAncestors.org. New England Historic Genealogical Society, 2008.)
See also:	<b>Forgotten Patriot Project</b> Daughters of the American Revolution online: dar.org
<b>Footnote:</b>	I count ~34 known slaveholders and ~64 enslaved people, with a handful more people with ambiguous freedom statuses
<b>Resources</b>	Looking to learn more about the history of slavery in Massachusetts? I've compiled a list of videos, podcasts, books, and links here: <a href="https://eleven-names.com/massachusetts/">https://eleven-names.com/massachusetts/</a>

# Appendix B:

## Bibliography

\*Anything noted "online: HathiTrust.org" can usually also be found at the Internet Archive, Google Books etc.

1754 Massachusetts Slave Census. online:  
primaryresearch.org/slave-census/

A Copy of the Records of Births, Marriages, and Deaths and of Intentions of Marriage of the Town of Hanover, Mass. 1727-1857". Rockland [Mass.]: Press of the Rockland standard. online: HathiTrust.org

Barry, J. Stetson. (1853). A Historical Sketch of the Town of Hanover, Mass., with family genealogies. Boston: Published for the author by S. G. Drake. online: HathiTrust.org

Briggs, L. Vernon. (1895). The Church and Cemetery Records of Hanover, Mass: History and Records of the First Congregational Church, Hanover, Mass., 1727-1865, and inscriptions from the headstones and tombs in the cemetery at Centre Hanover, Mass., 1727-1894. United States: Wallace Spooner. online: HathiTrust.org

Briggs, L. Vernon (1938). History and Genealogy of the Briggs Family, 1254-1937.... United States: Priv. print., C. E. Goodspeed. online: HathiTrust.org

Briggs, L. Vernon. (1889). History of Shipbuilding on North River, Plymouth County, Massachusetts. Boston: Coburn Brothers, Printers. online: HathiTrust.org

Boles, Richard J. (2013). Documents Relating To African American Experiences Of White Congregational Churches In Massachusetts, 1773-1832. *The New England Quarterly*, 86(2), 310-323. online: JSTOR

Colonial Soldiers and Officers in New England, 1620-1775. (Online database: AmericanAncestors.org, New England Historic Genealogical Society, 2013).

Deane, S. (1831). History of Scituate, Massachusetts: From Its First Settlement to 1831. United States: J. Loring.

Dwelley, J., Simmons, J. F. (1910). History of the Town of Hanover, Massachusetts: with family genealogies". [Hanover, Mass.]: Pub. by the Town of Hanover (Mass.: Town). online: HathiTrust.org

Hainer, Pattie. (1996, Feb. 9). South Shore's Hidden History/ Prominent Citizens Were Slaveholders. *The Patriot Ledger*. Online: patriotledger.com

Hanover, Mass. Church Records in the Hanover, Mass. First Congregational Church, 1728-1818." The Congregational Library & Archives, Boston, MA. online: congregationallibrary.org

Hardesty, Jared. (2019). *Black Lives, Native Lands, White Worlds: A History of Slavery in New England*. United States: University of Massachusetts Press.

## Appendix B: Bibliography

Hardesty, Jared. (2017). Creating an Unfree Hinterland: Merchant Capital, Bound Labor, and Market Production in Eighteenth-century Massachusetts. *Early American Studies*, 15(1), 37-63. online: JSTOR

Hobart, Benjamin. (1866). *History of the Town of Abington, Plymouth County, Massachusetts, from Its First Settlement*. United States: T.H. Carter and son. online: HathiTrust.org

Josselyn, Thomas. (1674). *Account of Two Voyages to New-England*. United Kingdom: Giles Widdowes. online: [HathiTrust.org](#)

Kimball, Eric. (2009). *An Essential Link in a Vast Chain: New England and the West Indies, 1700-1775*. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Pittsburgh. online: pitt.edu

Klebaner, Benjamin. J. (1955). *Pauper Auctions: The "New England Method" of Public Poor Relief*. The Essex Institute. online: <https://primaryresearch.org/pauper-auction/>

Massachusetts Office of the Secretary of State. (1896-1908). "Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War: A compilation from the archives". Boston: Wright and Potter Printing Co., State Printers. online: HathiTrust.org

Massachusetts Daughters of the American Revolution. Chief Justice Cushing Chapter. (1921). *Old Scituate. [Scituate, Mass.]: Chief Justice Cushing Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution*. online: HathiTrust.org

Melish, Joanne P. (2016). *Disowning Slavery: Gradual Emancipation and "Race" in New England, 1780–1860*. United States: Cornell University Press.

National Daughters of the Revolution. (2012). *Forgotten Patriots: African American and American Indian Service in the Revolutionary War, 1775-1783*. Washington, D.C. .pdf

Newell, Margaret E. (2015). *Brethren by Nature: New England Indians, Colonists, and the Origins of American Slavery*. United States: Cornell University Press.

Plymouth County, MA: *Plymouth Court Records, 1686-1859*. CD-ROM. Boston, MA.: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 2002. Copyright, 2002, Pilgrim Society. (Online database. AmericanAncestors.org. New England Historic Genealogical Society, 2008.)

Plymouth County, MA: *Probate File Papers, 1686-1881*. New England Historic Genealogical Society, 2015. (From records supplied by the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court Archives.) online: AmericanAncestors.org. (Some of these files are also accessible at FamilySearch.org.)

Scituate, Massachusetts: *Second Church Records (in Abstract) 1645-1850*. (1909). United States: W.J. Litchfield.

Scituate (Mass.: Town). (1909). *Vital Records of Scituate, Massachusetts: to the Year 1850*. Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, at the charge of the Eddy town-record fund. online:HathiTrust.org

## Appendix B: Bibliography

Warren, Wendy. (2016). *New England Bound: Slavery and Colonization in Early America*. United States: Liveright.

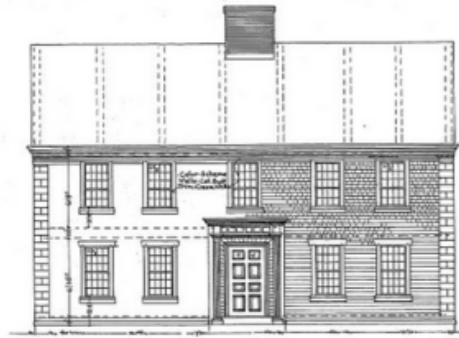
Warren, Wendy. (2007). “The Cause of Her Grief”: The Rape of a Slave in Early New England. *The Journal of American History*, 93(4), 1031–1049. online: JSTOR

Whiting, E. (1849). Map of Hanover, Mass [Map]. online: DigitalCommonwealth.org

Whiting, Gloria M. (2016). Power, Patriarchy, and Provision: African Families Negotiate Gender and Slavery in New England. *The Journal of American History*, 103(3), 583–605. online: JSTOR

Whiting, Gloria M. (2020). Race, Slavery, and the Problem of Numbers in Early New England: A View from Probate Court. *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 77 (3), 405-440. online: JSTOR

Original photography by Wayne Tucker



HANOVER  
HISTORICAL  
SOCIETY EST. 1928

## Contact

HANOVER HISTORICAL SOCIETY

[hanoverhistoricalsociety.com](http://hanoverhistoricalsociety.com)

[facebook.com/hanoverhistoricalsociety/](https://facebook.com/hanoverhistoricalsociety/)

[hanoverhistoricalsociety@gmail.com](mailto:hanoverhistoricalsociety@gmail.com)

P.O. Box 156, Hanover, MA 02339

*Photo: Hanover Historical Society*





# Contact

WAYNE TUCKER

[wayne.tucker@gmail.com](mailto:wayne.tucker@gmail.com)

[eleven-names.com](http://eleven-names.com)

[@elevennames \(twitter\)](https://twitter.com/elevennames)



*Historic home in Hanover, Massachusetts*