

BLACK WILTONIANS, 1710s to 1930s

ENSLAVED PERSONS & IMMEDIATE DESCENDANTS

Abbott, Chloe, aka Clois, b. August 12, 1789, enslaved by Ebenezer Abbott II (d. 1821) of Sharp Hill (he owned houses at 51 Shadow Lane and 186 Sharp Hill, the latter of which is no longer standing), baptized at Wilton Congregational Church on June 4, 1795 at the same time as her sister Phillis (aka Phillis), also enslaved by Abbott. (NLR 17-219; RCCW 64) The girls were described in the church records as "Ethiopian servants" and both were daughters of Gin, also enslaved by Abbott. Ethiopian was used as a generic term meaning Black.

Abbott, Phillis, aka Gin, enslaved by Ebenezer Abbott II (d. 1821) of Sharp Hill (he owned houses at 51 Shadow Lane and 186 Sharp Hill, the latter of which is no longer standing). (RNS) Abbott called her Gin, but her granddaughter Jane Manning James knew her as Phillis. (QDN 7) Phillis had a number of children, but the only names known are Clois or Chloe (bap. June 4, 1795), Dorcas Brush, and Phillis Manning Treadwell. Besides Phillis Manning Treadwell's children, John C. Walley was another grandchild of Phillis Abbott's. According to Van Hoosear, the elder Phillis was imported from Guinea in West Africa. (WB 02-07-1990; RNS) Van Hoosear also asserts that she "was very proud of her color. When going to a dance she would grease her face to make it shine." (WB 02-07-1990) Van Hoosear's implication was that Phillis's skin was particularly dark. Assuming there is any truth to Van Hoosear's story, Phillis's apparent pride in her appearance precisely *because* of her color inspired the derision of local whites. The dances that Phillis would have attended were likely Black events held at the same time as, and somewhere near, parallel social events organized for white Wiltonians. (DC 30) Another Van Hoosear story about Phillis is that one night coming home late, she was frightened by a man on the road who she described to the Abbotts as a giant. When they pressed her to indicate exactly how tall he was, she said he was as tall as the cupboard. Following this incident, Wiltonians allegedly found great amusement in describing things as being "as tall as Gin's cupboard." Phillis was baptized by proxy along with her daughters Dorcas and Phillis Eliza, her granddaughter Angeline, and her great-granddaughters Harriet and Mary Jane, by her granddaughter Jane Manning James in Utah at Logan Temple in 1888. (QDN 107)

Amos, enslaved by Deacon Daniel Andrews (1714-1800) and wife Sarah Silliman Andrews (d. 1795) of Weston. Married Presence, a woman enslaved by Blackleach Jessup of Harris Ridge (now Sturges Ridge), at the Norfield Church in Weston on July 3, 1777. (WNC 1-131).

Amos, b. April 25, 1793, enslaved by Dr. Thaddeus Betts (d. 1807) and his third wife Helena, who owned land in Wilton (his name appears in the Wilton Land Records). (NLR 17-219) Amos was listed on Thaddeus's estate inventory at £50. (NPR 1-189)

Amos, b. March 9, 1800, son of Mary, enslaved by William St. John of Norwalk or Wilton. (NLR 17-219)

Amos, born sometime between 1784 and 1796. (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part II, 1797-1855, Box 18) Son of Tamar. He was enslaved by (1738-1826) and his wife Sarah Clark (1751-1821) of Redding Ridge, who lived diagonally across from the Christ Episcopal Church. Amos was sold to James Gray of Redding in February 1796. (CBT 229; FWB Redding) Although not a Wilton resident, Amos's story is particularly compelling and provides some details not found in Wilton records. Isaac Hillard of Redding sued Gray for illegally removing Amos to New York, and sued Stephen Betts of aiding and abetting Gray, and for having sold Tamar and Amos to Gray despite well knowing his intention of leaving the state. For details of the trial, see the entry for Tamar, daughter of Harry.

Anah, baptized at the Greenfield Church in Norwalk in 1760. (GCR 74) Enslaved by Thomas Merwin (1696-1769) and wife Mary Smith Merwin, parents of Mary "Molly" Merwin Raymond, the wife of Josiah Raymond (1737-1824). Molly is said to have brought several enslaved persons from her father's household with her into her new home when she married in 1764. (CMS 126) Anah may have worked at the farm now known as Ambler Farm, as Josiah built the houses there and gave the land to his son, Platt Raymond.

Andrew, b. ca. 1748, he was likely the son of Jack and Sarah I, and the brother of Sarah II. Andrew was three years old when he was listed in the probate inventory of John Copp (1673-1751) of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). Andrew was valued at £190. While John's will emancipated his parents, Andrew was not freed and remained enslaved. (FPR 10-241, 11-187)

Andrew, b. ca. 1782, enslaved by Dr. Thaddeus Betts (d. 1807), his second wife Elisabeth Maltby Betts (d. 1789), and his third wife Helena Betts, who owned land in Wilton (his name appears in the Wilton Land Records). Thaddeus's will directed that Andrew, "if he shall continue faithful until he shall arrive to the age of twenty six years which will terminate in November 1807 may have liberty to be set free in the way the law directs." (NPR 1-179) Andrew accordingly was emancipated in Norwalk in 1808, aged 26, by Stephen Lockwood and William Betts, who were acting for the estate of Thaddeus Betts. (NLR 21-198)

Anne, a free woman and head of a household of two in Wilton or Norwalk in 1790. (FC 1790-300)

Annis, enslaved by Gould Hoyt (d. 1803) of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton) and included in his inventory. (NPR 1-22) where she was valued at \$30.

Azur, enslaved by Daniel Belden of Wilton. Baptized at St. John's Episcopal Church in Stamford in August 29, 1784. (RNS)

Belinda, enslaved by Abijah Comstock and possibly by Abijah's father Moses before him. She is mentioned as a beneficiary in Cesar Comstock's will. (JAH 94)

Ben, enslaved by the Belden family. Married "a southern slave" named Grace. He may have died in New Canaan. (RNS) If so, then he is likely the Benjamin Smith who appears on the 1840 through 1870 censuses living in New Canaan with his wife, Grace Smith, who is listed as having been born in Africa. If he was this Benjamin Smith, then he was born ca. 1794 - 1802. This couple had at least three children, including a boy named George Smith, although it is unclear if any of their children made it to adulthood.

Bill, aka William, b. July 20, 1787, son of Nanny, aka Nance, enslaved by Stephen Betts II of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). (NLR 17-218; RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part I, 1790-1799, A-K, Box 11) Bill was allegedly sold by Betts in June 1789 to Benjamin Barlow of Stratford. In another case, Hillard's lawyer described Barlow as habitually transporting enslaved Blacks out of state, and in particular to Virginia, a Southern state where those entitled to freedom at a certain age (for those born after 1784 in Connecticut, that age was first 25 and later reduced 21) could instead be enslaved for life. (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part II, 1797-1855, He-Hoo, Box 18) Betts transported Bill, his mother, and a Black enslaved man named Cato, who was presumably Bill's father, to Old Well (South Norwalk) where Barlow's ship was at port. The boy and his parents were boarded onto the ship to be transported out of state, presumably somewhere the boy legally could be kept enslaved for life rather than being freed at the age of twenty-five, as was then mandated in Connecticut for those born after 1784. (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part I, 1790-1799, A-K, Box 11) The man who accused Betts of this illegal act several years after the fact (in 1797) was Isaac Hillard of Redding. Ninety acres of Betts's land located in Canaan parish, plus his house and other buildings, were attached as a surety against Hillard's claims. In the end, however, it appears that Hillard's case was deemed insufficient and he was ordered to pay Betts's court costs. (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part I, 1790-1799, A-K, Box 11)

Bett, woman enslaved by Moses Comstock (1685-1766) and wife Abigail Brinsmaide Comstock (1689-1766) of Silvermine. Moses gave Bett to Abigail in his will. (FPR 15-197) It is possible that Bett died ca. 1766 or was emancipated, as she is not listed in Comstock's inventory. (FPR 15-240 to 246)

Betty, b. ca. 1783, enslaved by Matthew Marvin VI (1764-1842) and wife Nancy St. John Marvin (1768-1808). Betty was emancipated in 1813 when she was 29. (WLR 2-571) Like other enslaved persons under the provisions of the 1784 law, she had to go before the Town selectmen and prove her health and fitness for freedom, as well as her desire to be free. She succeeded in convincing them she was ready and able.

Blackman, Sampson, b. ca. 1754. (NARA 53980423) He was a Revolutionary War veteran most likely from the Norwalk area, and possibly from Wilton itself. He enlisted on May 11, 1777 for the full term of the war, a fact which suggests that he was enslaved and hoped, through his service, to be freed. Sampson served in the 8th Regiment in Capt. Samuel Comstock's Company, which was initially recruited largely out of Wilton and adjoining areas. Sampson was at the Battle of Germantown and the Siege of Fort Mifflin in the autumn of 1777 and then suffered over the winter at Valley Forge. In June 1778, he may have participated in the Battle of

Monmouth, but this is uncertain. He is listed on the June muster roll as absent due to sickness, and in July he was "sick at Fishkill." In December 1778 and January 1779, he was absent (with leave) from General Putnam's winter camp at Redding. On January 16, 1779, he was discharged. (NARA 140193254) Forty years later, Sampson applied for an invalid pension. At the time, he was living in Danbury and, besides his clothing, owned a scythe and cradle, an "old" violin, an axe, spade, shovel, "bog hoe," knives and forks, six plates, three cups and saucers, a tub, two earthen and one iron pots, and a barrel. Sampson reported that he had no family. His occupation was "that of a ditcher," which explains his spade, shovel, and possibly his "bog hoe," a type of heavy field hoe. Capt. Samuel Comstock supported Sampson's pension application, confirming that his name appeared on muster rolls that were then in the Captain's possession in Wilton. As for Sampson himself, his statement was straightforward and merely listed his service, ending (with an editorial by whoever wrote it for him) thus "I am poor and destitute of property and stand in need of assistance from my country for support and further says not." Sampson was added to the Connecticut pension roll at \$8 per month. (NARA 53980423)

Bristol, enslaved by Capt. Matthew Seymour (1669-1735) of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton) and inherited by his wife Catherine Seymour. In Matthew's probate inventory, Bristol is valued at £55. His "bed and blankets" were valued at 10 shillings. (FPR 8-363)

BROWN-HICKS FAMILY

Brown, Dinah, or Diana, (1808-Nov. 16 or 20, 1835), daughter of Morris and Susan Brown. (SMC 2-438) She likely attended school as a child, as her father purchased a spelling book at Sherman Betts's store in 1816. (SBL 47) She is buried at St. Matthews.

Brown, Morris, b. ca. 1781 according to the Town's vital records. possibly born into slavery but a free man by 1815 at the latest. He first appears in the records in 1815 and 1816, making purchases at Sherman Betts's store. Morris's purchases indicate he was an avid smoker. Someone in his household, likely his wife Susan, was a competent seamstress, requiring a thimble, thread, silk, and button molds. A pair of baking dishes, candles, and a spelling book round out Morris's recorded purchases. The spelling book was likely for his daughters Susan, Dinah, and any other children he may have had. (SBL 32, 47) In 1820, he was still living in Wilton as head of a five person household. (FC 1820-294) To earn a living, Morris worked odd jobs for other Wilton residents. Thomas Hollinshead, Aurinda (or possibly Elizabeth or Esther) Lambert, Samuel P. Randle, Rufus Scofield, Charles Smith, and Edward Sturges all employed him, as did a firm by the name of Randle & Hollinshead (presumably owned by Stephen P. Randle and Thomas Hollinshead). We know this from their notes written to pay Morris with store credit (charged against their accounts) at the Betts Store in the 1810s and 1820s. (BRS 122, 130, 134, 138) In addition, Morris earned some of his money as a grave digger, providing this service for Jehiel Gregory in 1822. (JG 1822) Susan may have done some work related to the memorial preparations as well, as she was paid out of Jehiel's estate, too. (JG 1822) In 1820, the Brown family likely lived near the Jacob Brush family, as both appear on the same census page; this seems to have been in South Wilton. In 1830, the

census gave Morris's age as between 36 and 55. (FC 1830-426) Morris was confirmed at St. Matthew's Episcopal Church on June 22, 1835, the same day as his wife was confirmed there. (SMC 2-240) Morris also worked at St. Matthew's Church in 1833, 1834, and 1836, ringing the bell, sweeping, and making the fire. (SMC 4-np; SMC 1-50) He earned \$10 a year for the job in 1836. Either C. S. Todd or William Barlow was the Reverend at the time. In 1844, William Webb, administrator, paid Morris for "ringing and tolling [the] bell" at St. Matthew's for the memorial services of Matthias Comstock. (MC 1844) Morris was again on the Wilton census in 1840, now living next to John C. Walley, whose home was at 232 Danbury Road near St. Matthew's Episcopal Church. (FC 1840-338) Next to Morris's name in the St. Matthew's Episcopal Church list of communicants are the notations "removed, returned." (SMC 2-307) This indicates that Morris either left Wilton (or just left the church), and later returned and/or rejoined. Next to his wife Susan's name, it simply reads "removed." It is tempting to speculate that Morris and Susan were among those who became Mormon and left Wilton for Nauvoo in 1843, but then later returned. Indeed, Morris and his wife Susan (and/or their daughter, also named Susan) were friends of Jane Manning James, who (along with her then husband Frank Perkins) baptized them by proxy in Utah in 1875. (QDN 99) Proxy baptism is a Mormon ritual to ensure deceased individuals not baptized as Mormons during their lifetime, can accept Mormonism and join the proxy baptizer's family in eternity in the afterlife. In 1842, 1844, and 1845, Morris appears in Samuel F. Lambert's ledger. Morris received veal, flour, pork, beef, cider, salt, and "postage" for letters. In exchange, he did work for Samuel including mowing, cutting stalks, pulling turnips, raking buckwheat, shelling corn, digging potatoes, "opening vault AL" (a mysterious job completed in November 1843 and seemingly related to the recent death of Aurinda Lambert), and many additional days of work, where Samuel did not note down the nature of the jobs Morris performed. Morris also gave various articles to Samuel in exchange, including "[Morris's] part of [the] turnips" (evidentially Samuel and Morris grew their turnips jointly) and "six bushel ashes." Morris was also skilled as a shoemaker and made various footwear to help balance his account. He made "coarse" and "fine" boots," as well as a pair of boots specifically for Jane Ann Bedient King. He also mended shoes for Charles D. King. (Because the Kings also had an account with Samuel, Morris could pay off debt by doing work for them, too). Another bit of information about Morris contained in the Lambert ledger is the name and address of a likely relative, Joseph Brown of 24 Howe St., New Haven. (SLL 29) On the 1840 census, there is a Black man named Joseph Brown, head of a household of four, living in New Haven. (FC 1840-23) His age was between 24 and 36 - young enough to potentially have been Morris's son, but the exact nature of their relationship is unknown. Morris died on April 26, 1857 of dropsy, according to the Town's vital records. At the time of his death he was working as a gardener. He was buried April 30, 1857, by Rev. Levi Stimson, St. Matthew's. (SMC 2-442)

Brown, Sarah, born January 5, 1818, the daughter of Morris and Susan Brown. She died June 27, 1837, and is buried at St. Matthew's. (WSC)

Brown, Susan, b. ca. 1782, according to the Town's vital records of her age at death. She was the wife of Morris Brown. She was confirmed at St. Matthew's on June 22, 1835, the same day as her husband was confirmed there. (SMC 2-240) She may be the same Susan Brown, b. ca. 1785 in New York, who was living with Henry and Susan Dullivan in Wilton in 1860, after Morris's death. (FC 1860-8) It is also possible, given that her husband Morris worked for the Lambert family in the 1810s and 1820s, that this is the same Susan who worked for Aurinda, Elizabeth, or Esther Lambert in the same time period. (BRS 134) Notes written by one of the Lambert women instruct the Betts Store to pay Susan in credit on their account, in amounts ranging from .50 cents to \$1. Next to Susan's name in the St. Matthew's Episcopal Church list of communicants is the notation "removed." (SMC 2-307) This indicates that Susan either left Wilton (or just left the church). Next to her husband Morris's name, it reads "removed, returned." It is tempting to speculate that Morris and Susan were among those who became Mormon and left Wilton for Nauvoo in 1843, but then later returned to Wilton. Indeed, Morris and his wife Susan (and/or their daughter, also named Susan) were friends of Jane Manning James, who (along with her then husband Frank Perkins) baptized them by proxy in Utah in 1875. (QDN 99) Proxy baptism is a Mormon ritual to ensure deceased individuals not baptized as Mormons during their lifetime, can accept Mormonism and join the proxy baptizer's family in eternity in the afterlife. Susan died on March 19, 1864 in Wilton of rheumatism, according to the Town's vital records.

Hicks, George, husband of Susan Brown Hicks. (SMC 2-438)

Hicks, Susan Brown, (d. January 18 or 21, 1835), daughter of Morris and Susan Brown. She was a St. Mathews communicant. (SMC 2-307) She likely attended school as a child, as her father purchased a spelling book at Sherman Betts's store in 1816. (SBL 47) She married George Hicks. She likely died following childbirth, as her daughter, an infant also named Susan, died a few days after her. (SMC 2-438) She is buried at St. Matthew's. (WSC)

Hicks, Susan, daughter of George and Susan Brown Hicks. She died on January 27, 1835. She is presumably buried at St. Matthew's with her mother.

BRUSH-WALLEY FAMILY

Brush, Dorcas Abbott, aka Dark, b. ca. 1785 (around the same time her sisters Chloe and Phillis Eliza were born), wife of Jacob Brush, sister of Phillis Manning Treadwell, and maternal aunt of Jane Manning James. Her mother Phillis, aka Gin, was born in West Africa. (RNS; QDN 7, 8) Dorcas was born into slavery in the household of Ebenezer Abbott II (d. 1821) of Sharp Hill (he owned houses at 51 Shadow Lane and 186 Sharp Hill, the latter of which is no longer standing) and was presumably emancipated by him

around 1806. (RNS) No emancipation record has been found in either the Norwalk or the Wilton land records, however. According to Van Hoosear, Dorcas and Jacob lived at upper Stony Brook, Grumman Hill Road, in Norwalk. (WB 02-07-1990) Dorcas appeared on the Town's pauper list in 1832, listed as receiving \$1.50. (TR 6-7). In 1888, Jane Manning James baptized Dorcas, her step-daughter Harriot, and her mother Phillis (aka Gin) by proxy in Utah at Logan Temple. (QDN 107)

Brush, Doreen, her relationship to the other Brushes, if any, is unknown, but it is likely that Doreen was a relative of Jacob Brush, or perhaps, was Dorcas Brush by another name. Doreen was between 36 and 55 years old in 1830 and head of one person household in South Wilton. (FC 1830-454a and 454b) Perhaps she was in the Brush family home at upper Stony Brook, on Grumman Hill Road. (RNS)

Brush, Jacob, was a free man in 1810, when he was living as head of a household of four in Norwalk. (FC 1810-125) In 1820, he was in Wilton and was listed as being over 45 years old and was head of four person household. (FC 1820-294) In 1820, the Brush family likely lived near the Morris Brown family, as both appear on the same census page; this seems to have been in South Wilton. According to Van Hoosear, this would have been at upper Stony Brook, Grumman Hill Road, near the later Lewis and Clara Barnes residence. (RNS) Jacob's wife was Dorcas Abbott, aka Dark. Jacob's daughter (Dorcas's step-daughter) Harriot Brush accused Jacob of attempted rape in 1822. He was found guilty by the Superior Court in Fairfield and was sentenced to seven years in New Gate Prison. (RG17) He reportedly died during his imprisonment. (RNS) He was not imprisoned for theft, contrary to Van Hoosear's report. (WB 02-07-1990) Theft was allegedly a problem around the Brush residence, however, as Van Hoosear contended that after Jacob's removal, "thieving continued. Goods were missed by the neighbors. Hens and even pigs and chickens, vanished. So the people of the neighborhood decided to remove the den of iniquity." (WB 02-07-1990) Van Hoosear further stated "some of the neighbors furnished the money to procure the material for an immense torpedo in which they used 6 lbs. of powder - [it] was put in, and it was rolled up in the old shoemakers shop nearly opposite Washington Post's house on Grumman Hill." (RNS) Van Hoosear did not record whether or not the Brush house was damaged or if anyone was hurt.

Brush, William, likely a relative of Jacob Brush. He was head of a household of two and a next-door neighbor of Jacob in 1810 in Norwalk.

Brush, William, son of Jacob Brush and either the son or step-son of Dorcas Brush. (RNS) He went to Sullivan County, New York, to work for David Van Hoosear. There he was "sent in the field to dig potatoes, which was somewhat against his will. He sauntered down and began his digging, they were very large, and he soon became interested, when straightening up his aching back, he beheld, but a few feet away a black bear

sitting on a stump and watching his movements. He left without excusing himself, and at a better rate of speed than when he came.” (CGVH 32-33)

Walley, Betsey, born free in about 1839 in Wilton, daughter of Harriot Brush Walley and John C. Walley. She died in Bridgeport in 1852 and shares a headstone in Mountain Grove Cemetery with her mother.

Walley, Harriot Brush, aka Harriot Abbott, born in about 1808, daughter of Sylvey Mallin (MGC) and Jacob Brush; step-daughter of Dorcas Brush. According to Van Hoosear she was the wife of Lazarus. (RNS) Harriot was recorded as marrying John C. Walley in Wilton on January 3, 1830, with the ceremony officiated in Wilton by Rev. Origen P. Holcomb of St. Matthew's Episcopal Church. (TCVR 1-10) This suggests that Lazarus was the enslaved name of John C. Walley. Harriot was baptized along with her mother Dorcas and her grandmother Phillis (aka Gin) by proxy by Jane Manning James in 1888 in Utah at Logan Temple. (QDN 107) Harriot died in 1854 at age 46 and is buried with her daughter Betsey in Mountain Grove Cemetery in Bridgeport.

Walley, John C., aka Lazarus, born in Wilton in about 1803. He was between the ages of 24 and 36 in 1830, when he was head of a two person household in Wilton. (FC 1830-428a, 428b); his wife Harriot was likely the second person in the household. John's grandmother was Phillis (aka Gin), who was enslaved by Ebenezer Abbott II (d. 1821), whose home is still standing at 51 Shadow Lane. (RNS) It is unknown which of Phillis's children was John's mother (or possibly father), only that it was not Phillis Manning Treadwell, mother of the well-known Mormon pioneer, Jane Manning James. Like his grandmother, John was enslaved by Ebenezer Abbott II. Later, he was enslaved by Ebenezer's son Nathan Abbott. While enslaved, John was known as Lazarus. (RNS) According to late 19th century local historian David H. Van Hoosear, who had family connections with the Abbotts, John believed Nathan Abbott was “in league with the devil.” (RNS) John presumably was freed at age 21 as required by law, but no records have survived to confirm this. John married Harriot Brush in Wilton in late December 1829 in a civil ceremony conducted by Wilton Justice of the Peace, Erastus Sturges, then again in a religious ceremony on January 3, 1830 officiated by Rev. Origen P. Holcomb of St. Matthew's Episcopal Church. (TCVR 1-10) Harriot's step-mother was a daughter of John's grandmother Phillis; her name was Dorcas. This fact seems to have led to popular assumptions that Harriot and John were first cousins, when in fact Harriot's mother – as confirmed on Harriot's headstone – was Sylvey Mallin, about whom nothing is known besides her name. As a free man, John worked for Capt. Daniel Betts IV, whose home was across from and a little south of the intersection of Old Highway and Route 7 (it was later moved to 224 Danbury Road by the Wilton Historical Society). On March 10, 1838, John purchased a small plot of land and a dwelling house from Daniel (across the road from Daniel's homestead and adjacent to Daniel's own land and horse shed). (WLR 8-12; WLR 9-329) This house remained standing at 232 Danbury Road until late June 2025,

when it was demolished to make way for a new Wilton Volunteer Ambulance Corps station. Structural elements of the house original to John C. Walley's time were salvaged by the Wilton Historical Society at this time. In addition to working for Daniel, John was an employee of St. Matthew's Episcopal Church. He earned \$9 yearly for ringing the bell, sweeping, and lighting the fire. (SMC 4-52) Daniel died in March 1845 and, in his November 1844 will, bequeathed to John the same house and land that John had earlier purchased from him. (WPR 7-72, 73) Fortunately the deed was already in John's hands, as Daniel's estate was insolvent. Soon after Daniel's homestead and horse barn lot were auctioned off to pay his debts in 1847, John sold his home at 232 Danbury for \$412, which was approximately four times his original purchase price. (WLR 10-57) Inflation was negligible over the decade that John owned the property, and population pressure remained about the same, so neither appear to explain the high resale price. It is not known why Daniel originally sold the house to John for so little, but it may suggest a more complex relationship between the men than simply that of employer and employee. John may have found it difficult to get enough work in Wilton following the death and final settlement of his major employer's estates. Certainly there was much less to keep John in Wilton by 1848: nearly all of his relatives had converted and left town in the early 1840s, heading west to join the Mormons at Nauvoo, Illinois. John was among the very few who stayed behind and did not convert. Whatever the reason, John and his family moved to Bridgeport in 1848, renting a home close to a boarding house operated by Sarah Cam, a Black woman who may also have been Native American. Cam lived at the intersection of Washington Avenue and High Street, which has long since been removed to make way for Route 25. Her residence is marked on an 1850 map of Bridgeport, where she appears as "S. Scam." The 1850 Bridgeport census takers appear to have moved north along Washington Avenue, capturing heads of households shown on the 1850 map as well as several not shown on the map (listed here in italics) in the following order: Mrs. [Betsy] French, Patrick Dolan, *Bridget Fowler*, *John Waully*, Sarah Camm, *Edward Skarrett*, J. Rarson [possibly Titus Parsons]. This neighborhood in the 1840s and 1850s had a small community of African American and possibly Native American homeowners and renters, seemingly centered on businesswoman Sarah Cam, whose household included two other Black families who presumably rented from her. One of those families in 1850 ran an "eating house" out of Cam's residence. The neighborhood was about half a mile north of the much larger Little Liberia in southern Bridgeport, with its African Methodist Episcopal churches and bustling African American and Native American community. In 1852, John and Harriot's 13 year old daughter Betsey died. Besides Betsey, John and Harriot also had a son, Samuel, who was baptized in Wilton at St. Matthew's in 1841. Nothing is known of what happened to him. Harriot died in 1854, aged 46. John buried both in Mountain Grove Cemetery in Bridgeport, where they share a white marble headstone. None of John or Harriot's extended family in Connecticut had ever had the freedom or the finances to be able to honor their dead with a formal, carved headstone before. Today the headstone has fallen over and the

inscription is much eroded; it lies on an extremely steep section of ground at the edge of the cemetery. This was perhaps the only plot John could afford, or the only one the cemetery would sell him. Very unusually, Harriot and Betsey's headstone bears an inscription that names Harriot's mother, Sylvey Mallin. Sylvey must have been particularly important to Harriot, and John would have gone to extra expense to ensure she was named on the stone. It is easier to explain why Harriot's father Jacob Brush is not named on the headstone: as a young teenager, Harriot accused him of attempting to rape her. He was sentenced to Old Newgate Prison and reportedly died there, though original records from the prison have not survived to confirm that. The Brush household during Harriot's youth was on Grumman Hill near the upper reaches of Stony Brook. White neighbors believed the Brushes were responsible for a spate of small livestock thefts, and accused them of harboring drunken carousing and dancing late into the night. In retaliation, these neighbors fashioned a "torpedo," reportedly using six pounds of gunpowder, and bombed the Brush residence. No historical records remain to suggest how bad the damage was, or if anyone was injured. By mid-1858, John fell ill with tuberculosis. His sickness seems to have made it impossible to continue working and as a result money became tight. About six months before he died, John mortgaged many (or possibly all) of his belongings to Sarah Cam for \$33, doing so by an official deed recorded in the Bridgeport Land Records. This was a way of making Sarah the technical owner of John's possessions before his anticipated death, and a far more secure way of transferring his wealth to her than by a will, where her claims might lose out to the interests of other creditors. At the time of this transfer, John owned two feather beds, a French bedstead, bureau, clock, looking glass, stove with pipe and fixtures, seven quilts, a rocker, six chairs, table, wash stand, and a wood saw. That last item suggests he may have made his living in part as a wood cutter. However he earned his money, John had clearly succeeded in providing his family with the simple necessities of a comfortable life. John died in January 1859. He apparently had reserved no funds for a headstone for himself. His burial location is unknown.

Walley, Samuel, born free, son of John C. and Harriot Brush Walley. He was baptized November 1841, St. Matthew's. (SMC 2-117)

Bulkley, Boston, worked for the Lambert family in 1810, at the same time as the Fitch family. Notes written by John James Lambert instruct the Betts Store to pay Boston (charging the sum to David Lambert's account) amounts between 71 cents and \$22.31. The Betts Store even allowed Boston to purchase goods on his own account, and extended him credit as a sign of trust in his ability to repay. John James Lambert wrote one note showing this, instructing the Betts Store to transfer \$3.50 of Boston's debt at the store to the Lambert account. (BRS 114) Boston was an occasional customer of Daniel Betts's store on his own account, as well. In 1810, he purchased rum, tobacco, candles, molasses, tea, salt, muslin, pins, ribbon, and a bowl. In March of 1810, he purchased rum for his fellow Lambert employees, Cate Cuff and Drake Cuff, as well. (DBL 100, 106, 113, 114, 119, 122, 146, 150, 153, 158)

Caesar, Jonathan, a Revolutionary War veteran most likely from the Norwalk area, and possibly from Wilton itself. His relationship, if any, with William Caesar is unknown. Jonathan enlisted on March 4, 1777 for the full term of the war, a fact which suggests that he was enslaved and hoped, through his service, to be freed. Jonathan served in the 8th Regiment in Capt. Samuel Comstock's Company, which was initially recruited largely out of Wilton and adjoining areas. He was at the Battle of Germantown and the Siege of Fort Mifflin in the autumn of 1777 and then suffered over the winter at Valley Forge. He died on June 6, 1778. Just four days before his death, Jonathan appeared on a muster roll with no comments, suggesting he was not sick or otherwise incapacitated. It is not known why or how he died. (NARA 140195854)

Caesar, William, a Revolutionary War veteran most likely from the Norwalk area, and possibly from Wilton itself. His relationship, if any, with Jonathan Caesar is unknown. William enlisted sometime prior to April 1777. He was supposed to serve in the 8th Regiment in Capt. Samuel Comstock's Company, which was initially recruited largely out of Wilton and adjoining areas. Just over a month before his company's first muster, William "deserted and joined the enemy at Danbury." The date on which he did so is significant: April 27, 1777. The British forces, led by General Tryon, had just attacked Danbury on the 26th. They marched from Danbury at dawn on the 27th, suggesting that William's defection was accomplished overnight, or that he followed the troops out that morning. It is therefore possible that William fought for the British in the Battle of Ridgefield, which took place later that day. If William's motivation for enlisting in the first place had been to obtain freedom from slavery (as is suspected of Jonathan Caesar, who may have been his relative), then it is possible William saw defecting to the British as a more immediate way of reaching that goal. (NARA 140195773)

Candice, enslaved by Mary Rumsay Isaacs (1704-1770) of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). Candice earlier may also have been owned by Mary's husband, Ralph Isaacs (d. 1763). Candice was listed in Mary's inventory at £40. (FPR 17-195)

Cate, b. ca. 1780, enslaved by Ebenezer D. Hoyt of Norwalk, who may have been the Ebenezer Hoyt shown in the Wilton Land Records multiple times in the early 1800s. She was emancipated on August 12, 1816 when she was 36 years old. (NLR 22-635)

Catharine, b. ca. 1717, is included in the so-called *Book of Negroes*, a document created by the British in 1783 during the Revolutionary War that records the names of some 3,000 Black loyalists. She was a resident of Norwalk or Wilton. She was born free. As a sixty-six year old woman, the British described her as "worn out." Because of her status as a loyalist, the British aided her in leaving Connecticut. She was bound for St. John, New Brunswick, Canada, aboard the *Mars*. She was presumably related to Moses, a young boy from Norwalk who was also aboard the *Mars*. (CP 386)

Cato, possibly the husband of Nanny, aka Nance, and possibly the father of Bill, aka William. He was enslaved by Stephen Betts II of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part I, 1790-1799, A-K, Box 11) Cato was allegedly sold by Betts in June 1789 to Benjamin Barlow of Stratford. In another case, Hillard's lawyer described Barlow as habitually transporting enslaved Blacks out of state, and in particular to Virginia, a Southern

state where those entitled to freedom at a certain age (for those born after 1784 in Connecticut, that age was first 25 and later reduced 21) could instead be enslaved for life. (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part II, 1797-1855, He-Hoo, Box 18) Betts transported Cato, Bill, and Nanny, to Old Well (South Norwalk) where Barlow's ship was at port. The boy and his parents were boarded on the ship to be transported out of state, presumably somewhere the boy legally could be kept enslaved for life rather than being freed at the age of twenty-five, as was then mandated in Connecticut for those born after 1784. (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part I, 1790-1799, A-K, Box 11) The man who accused Betts of this illegal act several years after the fact (in 1797) was Isaac Hillard of Redding. Ninety acres of Betts's land located in Canaan parish, plus his house and other buildings, were attached as a surety against Hillard's claims. In the end, however, it appears that Hillard's case was deemed insufficient and he was ordered to pay Betts's court costs. (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part I, 1790-1799, A-K, Box 11)

Cato, a married man, enslaved by James Brown (d. ca. 1769) of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). James willed Cato to his daughter, Joanna Brown. (FPR 16-254) Cato may be the same person as the unknown man enslaved by James Brown and listed in his probate inventory. (FPR 17-367)

Cannon, Cato, b. ca. 1743, is included in the so-called *Book of Negroes*, a document created by the British in 1783 during the Revolutionary War that records the names of some 3,000 Black loyalists. He was a "short stout fellow," according to the British. He had been owned by John Cannon of Wilton, and ran away from him in about 1777. John Cannon (1752-1802) moved from Norwalk to Wilton in 1774 and had a store in Pimpewaug that he opened sometime before 1790 (RHR 162). John was "a Tory whose house in Norwalk had been burned twice by Patriots." (RHR 210) Despite having run away, Cato was no longer free, and the British did not grant him a certificate of freedom. Rather, they listed him as being owned by Samuel Ketcham. With British assistance, Cato and his master were bound for St. John River, New Brunswick, Canada. (CP 366)

Cesar, aka Caesar, over sixteen years old in 1726 and enslaved by Thomas Benedict, Sr. (d. ca. 1743) of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part I, 1720-1729, Box 2) Faced trial in February 1727 for "not having the fear of God before his eyes" and being "moved by the instigation of the Devil" and burning John Seymour's barn and all its contents to the ground in late December 1726. Witnesses called at the trial had seen a Black man wearing a white cap in the vicinity of the barn at the time of the fire. Several identified Cesar by name. Samuel Seymour saw Cesar "before the barn fell," standing by his cow yard. Moses Fountain saw Cesar running by "an hour full" before he heard the noise of the fire. John Seymour's wife was certain Cesar was the culprit, and had seen him while the barn was burning. She testified that she had even asked him why he had started the fire, and he had responded, "pray, Mrs., I could not [have started the fire] for I was at uncle [illegible] when I first saw the fire - the body of the barn was standing." (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part I, 1720-1729, Box 2) Under questioning, Cesar admitted he had run by Moses Fountain's

home, and that he had worn a white cap that day. But Cesar said that only knew of the fire after passing Moses Fountain's place and cresting a hill near Lt. Keeler's residence. Seeing the fire, he ran towards the barn - testifying first that he had passed many people on his way, and then saying that, in fact, he had seen no one. The prosecution then asked Cesar if "he had no malice against Dick for going up into the chamber." No explanation is provided in the court records as to who Dick was, but Cesar denied he had any malice, and furthermore denied that Dick had ever been in the chamber mentioned. Perhaps Dick was another enslaved person (otherwise, in this context, a first and last name would have been given), and the chamber was a private place belonging to Cesar that the prosecution suspected Dick had violated, and that burning the barn would somehow punish Dick. Following the questioning and the witness statements, Cesar admitted to burning the barn down, by taking his pipe and lighting a piece of tow (i.e., flax or hemp fiber). (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part I, 1720-1729, Box 2) Presumably he was found guilty. Arson was a capital offense; he was likely executed.

Cesar, aka Caesar, enslaved by Samuel Hayes and given by him to Lt. John Belden I (d. 1713) of Norwalk and Wilton, husband of Samuel's daughter Ruth, on February 5, 1712. (NLR 4-356) Cesar is likely the man listed in Belden's 1714 probate inventory, valued at £30. (FPR 5-288c)

CESAR FAMILY

Cesar, Pompey, aka Pomp, Pom. He was enslaved by Samuel Middlebrook (d. 1811) and left to Samuel's son Charles O'Harra Middlebrook in his will. (NPR 1-237) Pompey is not listed in Samuel's inventory, however, and it is possible he may have been freed prior to the inventory being filed a few months after Samuel's death. He is also not listed in the distribution. (NPR 2-401) Pompey stayed in the Wilton area after becoming free, and seems to have continued working for Charles. In his 1831 will, Charles referred to "my negro man Pompey Cesar" and bequeathed him \$100. (WPR 5-35) In comparison, Charles's daughters each inherited assets worth \$2,200, and the portions allotted to each of his sons were \$4,000. (WPR 5-34, 35) Unlike some other slaveholders or former slaveholders, Charles did not impose any restrictions or caveats on his bequest. After Charles's death, Pompey seems to have continued his association with the Middlebrook family, although this is not certain. It is also not known exactly where he lived, but it was likely in the neighborhood centered on the intersection of Nod Hill Road and Ridgefield Road, not far from some of the Middlebrook family properties. Pompey's wife (or other female relative) was named Rachel. (JSL 2-126) In the early 1830s, Pompey worked for an unidentified farmer-businessman, who ran a saw mill, a general store, and possibly a clothing factory. The farmer-businessman may have been George Middlebrook (nephew of Samuel and cousin of Charles, Pompey's former owners). (GML 19, end papers) Whoever he was, his ledger shows Pompey beginning work in 1831 at \$90 per year. (GML 19-178) Later, his salary increased to \$100 per year. (GML 19-174) The ledger tracks the days "lost" when Pompey did not work, as well as cash advanced to him, cash paid to others that Pompey owed, and various goods Pompey purchased against his account. From the ledger, we can tell that Pompey had good credit in Wilton, and numerous people were willing to advance him cash, which he paid back through the

money he earned from the farmer-businessman. Among his creditors were Ellen Abbott, Samuel Seymore, Lewis Olmstead, Nathan Comstock, Hawley Sterling, Benjamin Whitney, Aaron Abbott, and one Miss Albertson. (GML 19-178, 179, 182) Besides working for the farmer-businessman, Pompey made extra cash by selling chestnuts, and probably via other tactics common in the day (such as selling household ashes). (JSL 2-135) It is not known where he obtained the chestnuts, as he does not seem to have been a landowner and therefore did not likely own a chestnut tree. Perhaps he had an agreement with a landowner to collect and sell their chestnuts, and to share the profits. With the money Pompey earned, he patronized Jesse Smith's general store (at the corner of Nod Hill Road and Ridgefield Road). He frequently purchased crackers and wine (seemingly his favorite snack), as well as candies and oranges, possibly for his children's enjoyment. (JSL 2-104, 108, 109, and passim) Oranges appear to have been a particular favorite: he purchased 34 oranges, which were a luxury item at the time, between May 1831 and May 1833. (JSL 2-104, 108, 130, 131, 125) Besides regularly imbibing wine, he occasionally enjoyed a glass of beer (or possibly purchased one for a friend). He was a smoker, rolling his own cigarettes, and he occasionally used snuff. (JSL 2-47, 126, and passim) He seems to have preferred tea to coffee. (JSL 2-124) He had the means to dress himself and his family well, purchasing a cravat, starch, a black silk handkerchief, black ribbon, and silk thread, besides more quotidian items like calico fabric, muslin, and suspenders. (JSL 2-64, 114, 120, 130, 131) He owned two rifles and a shotgun in the 1830s, suggesting that he hunted game and wildfowl, presumably to help feed his family. (JSL 2-122, 127) The fact that he bought the rifles one month apart, raises the possibility that they were specialized, i.e., of different calibers. Alternately, one of the rifles may have been for a son or other relative, who perhaps hunted with Pompey. Pompey seems to have carried his money in a pocketbook, a leather article similar to a modern wallet that was used for carrying paper money, bank notes, and other financial records. (JSL 2-131) Pompey had enough status (and money) that he was even able to send non-family members on errands from time to time, as when an "Abbott boy" purchased one quart of wine for Pompey on his account in August, 1832. (JSL 2-126)

Cesar, Rachel, wife or other female relative of Pompey Cesar, she was able to make purchases on his account at Jesse Smith's general store in the 1830s. (JSL 2-126)

Charles, enslaved by Rev. Matthias Burnet (1748-1806) of the First Church in Norwalk and his wife Fanny Roe Burnet. Charles was listed in Matthias's estate inventory at £75. (NPR 1-118, 164)

Charles, a child enslaved by Magdalen Cameron (d. ca. 1769) of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). Two other enslaved children were in Magdalen's household, and may have been Charles's siblings: Hannah, 2.5 years old, and Tom, 5 years old. It is not known where the children's parents were. Charles was listed in Magdalen's probate inventory at 15 shillings. Magdalen's estate was insolvent. It is unclear exactly what happened to Charles, but he either would have been sold to raise funds to pay Magdalen's debts, or distributed to one of her creditors as payment. (FPR 16-285)

Chloe, enslaved by Blackleach Jessup of Harris Ridge (now Sturges Ridge). Baptized along with Blackleach's son George at the Norfield Church in Weston on March 14, 1791. (WNC 1-58)

Chloe, enslaved by Josiah Raymond (1737-1824) and wife Molly Merwin Raymond (1746-1809), residents of Norwalk with property in Wilton (today's Ambler Farm). She may have come into Josiah's possession through his 1764 marriage to Molly Merwin, who reportedly brought several enslaved persons into the household as part of her dowry, including one named Chloe. (CMS 126) This Chloe was possibly the mother or other relative of a younger Chloe, emancipated in 1812, who was also enslaved by Raymond.

Chloe, b. June 15, 1783, enslaved by Josiah Raymond (1737-1824) and wife Molly Merwin Raymond (1746-1809), residents of Norwalk with property in Wilton (today's Ambler Farm). (NLR 17-219) Chloe was emancipated in 1812 when she was 29 years old. (NLR 21-486) It is possible she was a daughter or other relative of the elder Chloe, also enslaved by Raymond.

Chloe, b. November 19, 1789, enslaved by Dr. Thaddeus Betts (d. 1807) and his third wife Helena, who owned land in Wilton (his name appears in the Wilton Land Records). (NLR 17-219)

Coffee, aka Cuff, Cuffee, b. ca. 1749. He was enslaved by David Lambert I (1700-1784) and Lurany Bill Lambert (d. 1775), and purchased by David in 1760 from Lemuel Rogers of Kent for £50. (RNS) Notes written by John James Lambert (1787-1848, son of David Lambert II, d. 1815) sending Cuff or Cuffee, a free Black man, to the Betts Store in the 1800s to 1810s survive. (BRS 114, 126) This may be the same person as the Coffee purchased from Lemuel Rogers. More likely, the man Lambert referred to in his notes was Cuff Fitch, originally of Weston.

Coley, Asher, b. ca. 1777 in Wilton (according the Town's vital records). He died on October 18, 1863.

Comstock, Cesar, b. ca. 1709, enslaved by Moses Comstock (1685-1766) and wife Abigail Brinsmaide Comstock (1689-1766) of Silvermine. Moses purchased Cesar on April 26, 1721 from John Davis of Barnstable, Massachusetts, for £58. (NCHS 2; JAH 94) Cesar was admitted to full membership of the Wilton Congregational Church on February 6, 1741. (RCCW 17) In Moses's will (FPR 15-197), he specified that Cesar should have his choice of which of the Comstock children he would go to after Moses's wife Abigail died or remarried (Cesar evidently chose Abijah Comstock (1721-1807) as he later lived in Abijah's household in New Canaan). Cesar was valued in Moses's inventory at £22 and 10 shillings. (FPR 15-244) Cesar was literate and owned a number of books, which are listed in his will of February 1773 - a document we are lucky to have as few enslaved persons left wills. (NCHS 1) Cesar's will was transcribed and published by Eliza Comstock, a descendant of Moses, as follows. (JAH 94)

I Cesar, Negro Man of Abijah Comstock of Norwalk in the County of Fairfield and Colony of Connecticut, Being of sound Mind and Memory And Calling To Mind my Mortallity, Knowing it is Appointed for all Men once to Die With the

approbation of my Above s'd Master Do make and ordain this my Last Will and Testament. As follows, Viz. —

1st I give to my master Abijah Comstock my Great Bible, Confession of Faith, Mathew henry upon the Sacrament one old Trap of my Deceased Masters and woppit [sic]. Furthermore—

2nd I give to my Master's son David my small Bible & psalm Book, Willison's Explanation, Joseph Allen, Thomas Gouge, My new chest And young Bobben trap and half of my Money Except a reserve Hereafter made even the price of a silver Spoon Left at the Discretion of my Master to purchase &c.

3rd I give to my Masters son Enoch, Joseph Sewall, Dr. Watts Catechism, Thomas Sheppert Solomon Stodard and S. Wright My clasp paper pocket Book My New Bever hat and Case And hayt trap And the other half of my Money Except the Value of one silver spoon.

David and Enoch. At Masters Decease my Great Bible to David And the rest to Enoch.

If either of my Masters above sd. Sons Dye without heirs The survivors to take what I gave to the Deceased.

My Master's Daughters. My silver spoon to Hannah. A silver spoon to Dinah. A silver spoon to Deborah.

To Thomas My Masters Eldest son the Dissenting Gentlemans Anss.

To Abigail Eells, To Moses Eells, Ye Almost Christians and when Deced.

To Hannah hanford—Four books—Viz. Law & Grace, John Bunyon, Vicens Sudden and Certain Appearance to Judgment—Vincens Explanation upon the Catechism. John Fox, Time & End of time.

To Phineas hanford one trap called old Bobben.

To Samuel hanford one Book a Cordial to the fainting Saint.

My silver shoe Buckles & knee buckles & clasps which was above forgotten With my Tankard Quart pot and Bason to David with my sleeve Buttons and Gloves.

My old cheset to Dwer and then to Dwer and Belinda [Dover and Belinda were enslaved by Abbott] all my caps and handkerchiefs, old shoe buckles to Dwer and knee buckles.

February ye 13th A.D. 1773. I appoint my Master Abijah Comstock to be Executor of this my last will and testament.

COMSTOCK FAMILY

Dulancy, Dorcas Comstock, b. July 26, 1793 and d. before 1817, daughter of Dover. She was enslaved, but it is not clear by whom. (NLR 17-219; NCPR 3-130) Dorcas was later known as Dorcas Dulancy, possibly her married name. (NCPR 3-129) After her father's death in 1817, Dorcas inherited from him 34 rods of land in New Guinea, New Canaan. (NCPR 3-130)

Comstock, Dover, d. 1817, father of Grace (b. October 7, 1786) and Dorcas (b. July 26, 1793). (NCPR 3-129; NLR 17-219) Dover was emancipated sometime after August 24,

1792 when his owner Maj. Samuel Comstock (1767-1818) of New Canaan paid taxes on him. Samuel was the son of Abijah and Deborah, and the grandson of Moses, all of whom in the earlier 1700s had been members of the Wilton church and residents of the Silvermine district. Dover became a homeowner and a landowner in New Canaan in a neighborhood known as New Guinea. After his debts were settled, his estate was worth \$21.67 plus his widow's dower of \$18.33 (a rather small sum for an estate at the time).

Johnson, Grace Comstock, b. October 7, 1786, daughter of Dover Comstock. She was enslaved, but it is not clear by whom. (NLR 17-219) Grace married Charles Johnson. (NCPR 3-129) After her father's death in 1817, Grace inherited from him 34 rods of land in New Guinea, New Canaan. (NCPR 3-130)

Comstock, Rose, wife of Dover at the time of his death in 1817. She owned a dowry worth \$18.33, which she received after Dover's death in the form of their dwelling house in New Guinea, New Canaan, and one rood of land, also in New Guinea. (NCPR 3-130) It is not clear if Rose was the mother of Dover's children. This Rose may be the same Rose who was enslaved by Abijah (1721-1807) and Deborah Benedict Comstock (1728-1770), and who was emancipated in 1797. (NLR 18-248)

Quash, Tamar [Comstock?], likely another daughter of Dover's. After Dover's death in 1817, Tamar received a portion of his land in New Guinea, New Canaan larger and more valuable than that distributed to his known daughters, i.e., 1 rood and 12 rods. Tamar's husband was Primus Quash.

Connell, Jane, confirmed at St. Matthew's Episcopal Church in 1842. (IRSM 241)

Cuff, Benjamin, b. ca. 1798, he was indentured at the age of six by the Selectmen of Norwalk to Moses Gregory in 1804 (there were several likely Moses Gregorys at the time, one of whom lived in Wilton). Benjamin was to serve Moses until he reached the age of 21. In return, Moses was to provide him with "sufficient meat, drink, washing, lodging and apparel," as well as education in reading and writing. Upon completion of Benjamin's service, Moses was to give him "a good new suit of clothes besides his then wearing apparel." (NH 05-23-1908) Indenture contracts for whites were more generous. Their education would normally include arithmetic, too; they would frequently receive a bible; their clothing allowance was two new suits of clothes, one regular and one Sunday best; and they might even receive a sum of money or a new set of tools to ply the trade they had learned from their master.

Curtis, b. January 25, 1790, enslaved by Caleb Benedict, a resident of Norwalk or Wilton. (NLR 17-218)

Curtis, Benjamin, b. May 31, 1791, enslaved by Josiah Raymond (1737-1824) and wife Molly Merwin Raymond (1746-1809), residents of Norwalk with property in Wilton (today's Ambler Farm). (NLR 17-219) Benjamin may have worked in Wilton on Ambler Farm, most likely prior to

Josiah transferring the property to his son Platt. Benjamin was emancipated in 1812 (NLR 21-506) when he was 21 years old. Josiah did not emancipate him for free: Curtis paid Josiah \$120 for his freedom. Like other enslaved persons under the provisions of the 1784 law, he had to go before the Town selectmen and prove his health and fitness for freedom, as well as his desire to be free. He succeeded in convincing them he was ready and able.

Cyrus, aka Silas, enslaved by Capt. James Rogers (1675-1733) and wife Freelove Hurlbutt Rogers (1693-1739) of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). Freelove inherited Cyrus when James died. Cyrus was listed in James's probate records and valued at £50 in 1733. (FPR 6-235, 239)

Delancy, James, a free man employed by David Lambert and living with the Lambert family in 1812. He appears to have used his first paycheck from Lambert (or possibly an advance on his wages) to make some basic improvements to his wardrobe: he bought gloves, a handkerchief, several yards muslin and cotton cloth, lining, buttons, and new shoes. (SBL 10) He also paid to have his boots resoled. James appears to have worked for Lambert through 1813. (SBL 67)

Demorat, Michael, aka Michael Gorham, a resident of Norwalk and a free man in 1792. (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part I, 1790-1799, L-K, Box 12) Given his early date, it is possible he was once enslaved but - given that other free Blacks with the Demorat surname had been in the area since at least the 1730s, there is perhaps more reason to think he had always been free. Another free Black man named Michael Demorat had lived in Ridgefield as early as 1736; Michael Demorat of Norwalk, perhaps, was a descendant or other relative. (JS 5) In Norwalk on February 2, 1792, Michael was accosted by two highwaymen around 9 o'clock in the evening. The men - described as transients - were an Irishman named Peter Faring and a Black man named John Sharp. (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part I, 1790-1799, L-K, Box 12) They beat Michael and wounded him with a knife, while also threatening to kill him. They stole £3 and 15 shillings in cash from Michael, along with the clothes he was wearing. That winter night was presumably cold, and Michael had been warmly dressed. His clothes were: a light brown sagathie (serge) coat worth 10 shillings, a blue camblet coat worth 8 shillings, a wool hat, a pair of fustian trousers, a neck handkerchief, a black satin jacket worth 8 shillings, a pair of satin breeches, a pair of thread stockings, a pair of woolen stockings, a Holland shirt worth 9 shillings, a woolen shirt, a calico jacket, and a black silk handkerchief worth 5 shillings. Michael was carrying a pen knife, too, which the robbers also stole. (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part I, 1790-1799, L-K, Box 12) The quality and sheer variety of Michael's clothing, plus the fact that he was carrying a tool used to trim quills for writing, suggests he had attained a relatively high standard of living, and that he was literate.

Dick, enslaved by Deacon Matthew Marvin V (1734-1791) and wife Debby Marvin (d. 1796) of Wilton at the same time as Phillis. Dick was baptized at the Wilton Congregational Church on November 14, 1768. (RCCW 29) Dick may have worked in the store and tavern that Matthew Marvin opened at his Pimpewaug homestead, according to Van Hoosear. (WB 02-07-1990)

Dick, enslaved by Samuel Clarkston of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). Accused of breaking into Stephen Rogers' store in 1750 alongside enslaved Native Americans, Will and Elizabeth, and likely indentured servant Mary Kellogg. (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part I, 1750-1759, Box 6)

Dick, enslaved by Capt. Samuel Comstock (1680-1752) of Norwalk, who owned Wilton lands including farms at Hop Meadows, Rockhouse Woods, Cave Woods, and Silvermine. Dick was valued together with his bed and bedding in Samuel's inventory at £350. (FPR 10-396)

Dinah, enslaved by Capt. John Raymond II (1693-1774) of Norwalk (who owned 69 acres at Nod Hill and Spectacle Bog) and given in his 1773 will to his son Jesse Raymond. (FPR 18-273, 371, 375) John was a cousin of Josiah Raymond (1737-1824) of Ambler Farm.

Dorcas, enslaved by Thomas Benedict, a resident of Norwalk or Wilton. Emancipated in 1778. (NLR 15-186)

Dorcas, b. January 11, 1788, enslaved by Caleb Benedict, a resident of Norwalk or Wilton. (NLR 17-218)

Dorcas, daughter of Grace, who was formerly enslaved by Hannah Benedict (d. ca. 1806) of New Canaan. Although Hannah was not a Wilton resident or known landowner in Wilton, her relationship with Grace and Dorcas is illustrative of seemingly the best that could be attained in Fairfield County under the institution of slavery, albeit an apparently rare or even unique relationship. Hannah left money to Grace in her will, directing "I give and bequeath to the negro woman Grace who was once my servant but now the wife of a negro man by the name of Edward Noyes the sum of \$50." (NPR 2-158) In addition, Hannah left \$40 to Dorcas, who was then working and living in Hannah's household as a free woman. In the Fairfield and Norwalk probate records, I was able to document few other instances of a transfer of wealth from a master or former master to someone they enslaved or had formerly enslaved. In one case, the gift of clothing and livestock was free and clear. (NPR 6-34) In another, the value of the transfer (of a mare) was effectively diluted with restrictions and caveats elsewhere in the will. (see FPR 18-481, 482) Hannah's bequests were unconditional. If enslaved people were genuinely regarded in some way as part of the family, we would see more bequests like this.

Dorcas, enslaved by Nathan Betts and wife Anna Betts. Dorcas was baptized at the Wilton Congregational Church on June 4, 1795. (RCCW 64) The church records describe her as "an Ethiopian servant." Ethiopian was used as a generic term meaning Black.

Dorcas, mother of Rose (b. May 9, 1798) and Mary (b. October 1, 1801), enslaved by Eliphalet Lockwood (1741-1814) and wife Susannah St. John Lockwood (1743-1810) of Norwalk, who owned land in Wilton (his name appears over two dozen times in the Wilton Land Records). (NLR 18-36)

Dorcas, enslaved by Capt. Benjamin Isaacs (1737-1775) and wife Sarah Scudder Isaacs (1742-1824) of Norwalk and Wilton, who owned 16 acres on Chestnut Hill and over 44 acres

elsewhere in Wilton parish. In his will, Benjamin left Dorcas to his wife Sarah Scudder Isaacs. (FPR 19-32) Dorcas may be the same person as one of the two unknown women listed in Benjamin's much later probate inventory, dated 1784.

Dorcas, b. ca. 1789, enslaved by Deacon Matthew Marvin V (1734-1791), wife Debby Marvin (d. 1796) of Wilton, she appears in Marvin's will in 1791, as one of his assets to be distributed to his heirs. (FPR 25-104) She was 1.5 years old and valued at £3. It seems likely that Phillis, a 24 year old enslaved woman also on Marvin's will, was Dorcas's mother.

Dover, enslaved by Capt. John Raymond II (1693-1774) of Norwalk (who owned 69 acres at Nod Hill and Spectacle Bog) and given in his 1773 will to his son Jesse Raymond. John was a cousin of Josiah Raymond (1737-1824) of Ambler Farm. (FPR 18-273, 371, 375)

Dover, enslaved by John Bartlett of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). Accused of breaking into Stephen Rogers' store in 1750 alongside enslaved Native Americans, Will and Elizabeth, and likely indentured servant Mary Kellogg. (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part I, 1750-1759, Box 6)

Dover, likely the same person as Dover Comstock, enslaved by Abijah Comstock (1721-1807) and wife Deborah Benedict Comstock (1728-1770) of Silvermine and possibly by Abijah's parents Moses Comstock (1685-1766) and wife Abigail Brinsmaide Comstock (1689-1766) before him. Dover is mentioned as a beneficiary in Cesar Comstock's will. (JAH 94)

Dover, enslaved by Gov. Thomas Fitch IV (d. 1774) of Norwalk and Wilton, and then by his widow Hannah Hall Fitch (d. ca. 1783). Dover was valued in Gov. Fitch's estate inventory at £58. (NLR 20-256) Evidentially, Hannah inherited Dover from her husband. When she died, Dover was emancipated in August 1783 by Hannah's heirs, including Thomas Fitch V of Norwalk. (NLR 15-317) Hannah Fitch did not live in Wilton, but she and her husband had extensive connections to Wilton. Gov. Fitch died in possession of 375 acres of land on Harry's Ridge and a farm at Rockhouse Woods, and two of the couple's sons, Ebenezer and Timothy, lived in Wilton on Chestnut Hill. (RHR 75; FPR 20-261, NLR 20-256)

DULLIVAN (DULLMAN, DELAMAN, DOLEMAN, DULLIMAN) FAMILY

Dullivan, Adaline, b. ca. 1827 in Weston. She was Samuel's first wife. She was baptized at St. Matthew's Episcopal Church on October 21, 1852. (SMC 2-123) Adaline died on Oct. 28, 1852 of exhaustion, according to the Town Register of Vital Records. Her unnamed child died the next day for "want of nourishment." Adaline was buried Oct. 30, 1852, by Rev. Levi Stimson at St. Matthews. (SMC 2-440) Her infant was buried at the same time.

Dullivan, Ann Maria Freeman, she likely went by Maria, as shown in the ledgers of James Comstock's general store in the early 1860s. (JCL 16, 83, and passim) She was Samuel Dulliman's second wife. They married on January 17, 1860 in Norwalk. (NARA 115952288, 11) Maria was literate or semi-literate and signed her name in a particularly

elegant hand. (NARA 115952288, 5) For more on Maria's life in the 1860s, particularly from the perspective of material culture, see the entry for her husband, Samuel. After Samuel died, Maria moved to Norwalk, and then later to Easton. (NARA 115952288, 4; EPR 44-764) She applied for her war widow's pension before Judge George A. Davenport at the Probate Court in Fairfield on the same day as her sister-in-law, Susan Jackson Dulliman, on October 1, 1864. (NARA 115952288, 4) Maria died in Easton on February 8, 1888. (EPR 44-764; NARA 115952288, 13) Probate records for her are extant. (EPR 40-765; EPR 42-262) Her major asset was 30 acres of land, worth \$10 an acre, with "the buildings thereon." She also owned a stove and stovepipe, a rocking chair, five regular chairs, two tables, a bedstead, a watch and chain, a wheelbarrow, and a sleigh. Her entire estate was worth \$306.35, but was insolvent: she owed more to her creditors than the worth of her assets. (EPR 44-190) This was a common fact of life among the rural poor in Fairfield County, and particularly so among rural Blacks. (DC 38) Although Maria's land was valued at \$300 in her estate inventory, it sold for only \$2 at auction. (EPR 44-382).

Dullivan, Augusta Ann, b. June 7, 1851 in Wilton. (NARA 184049625, 107) Daughter of Henry and Susan. She was attending school in 1860. (FC 1860-7) Her birth was attended by Dr. David Willard, Laura Stewart, and Emmeline Fairchild. (NARA 184049625, 112) Dr. Willard charged the Dullimans \$3 for assisting at Susan C.'s birth. (NARA 184049625, 114) Laura was born around 1810. In the 1850s and 1860s, she was unmarried and living in the households of Nathan Morehouse, an unmarried blacksmith in Georgetown, and then Curtis Taylor, an unmarried farm laborer on Chestnut Hill. (FC 1850-2; FC 1860-2) Born around 1815, Emeline was married to Daniel L. Fairchild, a farm laborer, and lived in a modest home with few personal assets on Sharp Hill Road, below its intersection with Raymond Lane. (FC 1870-35) In the 1850s and 1860s, the Fairchilds were close neighbors (likely next door neighbors) of Susan and Henry Dulliman. (FC 1850-236; FC 1860-7)

Dullivan, Clarissa, b. ca. 1852 in Wilton. (TCVR 2-111) Daughter of Henry and Susan. Listed as a dependent along with their mother on the Town Clerk's list of soldiers and their families.

Dullivan, Frank, b. ca. 1863 in Wilton. (TCVR 2-111) Son of Henry and Susan. Listed as a dependent along with their mother on the Town Clerk's list of soldiers and their families.

Dullivan, Helen A., b. June 7, 1850 in Wilton. (TCVR 2-54) Daughter of Henry and Susan.

Dullivan, Henry, b. 1819 in Wilton, presumably the son of John. (NARA 57043405, 1653) Henry was at least semi-literate and could sign his own name. (NARA 57043405, 1667) In addition, Henry and his wife maintained a family bible, in which they recorded the birth dates of their children. (NARA 184049625, 113) His wife was Susan Jackson. They

married on May 30, 1841 at St. Mark's Episcopal Church in New Canaan. (NARA 184049625, 99) A few months later, in August 1841, Henry rented part of a house from Samuel F. Lambert for himself and his wife. The notation in Samuel's ledger reads: "Rented to Henry Dulliman the 1st floor of the west half of the above Farm House to 1 April 1842 at the rate of \$16 per annum." The house Samuel was referring to was one "adjoining the store of A[bijah] Betts," located just north of the intersection of Danbury Road and the Westport Road. During the year the Dullimans rented from Samuel, Henry appears multiple times in Samuel's ledger. Henry rented a horse and wagon to engage in some business on Belden Hill more than once. Other times, he rented a horse and wagon to go to Westport, or to cart grain to a mill. It is evident that he earned his living as a laborer and as a farmer, and that he owned livestock, in particular cows. He once rented the services of one of Samuel's bulls, suggesting that he was breeding his cows. He also did various jobs for Samuel, including shelling corn, chopping wood, butchering hogs, taking care of livestock, and cutting wood for Charles D. King (who also had an account with Samuel, so work done for him could clear debt on Henry's account). (SLL 14, 23) On the 1850 census, Henry was listed as head of a household of seven and working as a laborer. (FC 1850-236 and 237; FC 1860-7) By 1864, Henry and Susan had a total of seven children. (NARA 57043405, 1663) Henry and Susan later moved to a home, presumably another rental, on or near Sharp Hill Road, below its intersection with Raymond Lane. (FC 1850-236 and 237; FC 1860-7; FWB Wilton) Henry enlisted in the army on December 28, 1863, the same day as his brother Samuel. (NARA 57043405, 1654; NARA 57043429, 1680) Henry or Samuel had actually been drafted earlier, most likely in mid-October, but had secured a substitute. (NARA 671, 9) It is not known what (if anything) changed to cause both brothers to enlist after all in December. Henry served with Samuel in the 29th Connecticut Colored Infantry, Company G in the Civil War. He was hospitalized in New Haven at Knight General Hospital for a month beginning January 2, 1864 with a subluxation (dislocation) in his right ankle. Henry's doctors prescribed "absolute rest" and *linimentum opii*, a topical opiate. (NARA 57043405, 1670) Henry died between May 25 and May 29, 1864 from typhoid fever, malaria, or phthisis (pulmonary tuberculosis) in Hospital No. 6 in Beaufort, South Carolina. (NGL; NARA 184049625, 109; NARA 57043405, 1659, 1671, 1677) He has a headstone in St. Matthew's Cemetery in Wilton, but is buried in Beaufort National Cemetery. (NGL)

Dullivan, Henry, b. ca. 1845. Son of Henry and Susan. (FC 1850-237)

Dullivan, John, b. ca. 1780 in New York, according to the Census, though Wilton's Register of Vital Records indicates he was born in Wilton. He was a free man in 1831. Presumably he was Samuel and Henry's father. John purchased land with a dwelling house in Wilton in 1831 from Isaac Sturges. (WLR 6-80) Sturges enabled the purchase by extending John a mortgage of \$180 (the purchase price of the property was \$200). John held onto the property for about a year before selling it (and presumably any remaining

financial obligations to Sturges) on to Eliphalet Smith for \$20. (WLR 6-214) The current address of the property is 54 Cobbs Mill Road. (WLR 54CM) John later lived with Samuel and Adaline in Wilton in 1850. (FC 1850-226) John died of old age on January 18, 1857, according to the Town Register of Vital Records.

Dullivan, John B., b. ca. 1849, son of Samuel and Adaline. (FC 1850-226)

Dullivan, John Jacob, b. ca. 1860, the son of Henry and Susan. John died May 8, 1863 of enteritis (according to the Town's vital records) and is buried at St. Matthew's. (SMC 2-446; WSC)

Dullivan, Maria, b. ca. 1852. Daughter of Henry and Susan. She was attending school in 1860. (FC 1860-7)

Dullivan, Mary, b. ca. 1843. Daughter of Henry and Susan. (FC 1850-237) She is possibly the Molly Dulliman who was baptized at St. Matthew's Episcopal Church in 1842. (IRSM 117)

Dullivan, Molly, possibly the same person as Mary Dulliman. Daughter of Henry and Susan. She was baptized at St. Matthew's Episcopal Church in 1842. (IRSM 117)

Dullivan, Samuel, b. 1822 in Wilton, presumably the son of John. (NARA 57043429, 1679) Samuel was head of a household of four and was a farmer in Wilton by 1850. (FC 1850-226) His first wife was Adaline. After Adaline's death, he married Ann Maria Freeman on January 17, 1860 in Norwalk. (CTM) When his first wife Adaline was around three months pregnant in the spring of 1852, Samuel purchased about half an acre of land in Wilton. Perhaps he intended to build his family a home. Adaline and the baby died that fall, but Samuel kept the land until 1856. (WLR 10-387; WLR 12-367) Samuel had purchased it from Juliette St. John and Sally Ann Brown of New Canaan for \$40; he sold it to David S. R. Lambert for just under three times as much. The plot was located at 78 Westport Road. (WLR 78WR) Several months after their marriage in 1860, Samuel and his second wife Ann Maria (who seems to have gone by Maria) began appearing as frequent customers in James Comstock's store ledger. Rather than simply purchasing the usual array of staples - molasses, flour, sugar, tobacco, candles, and rum - the Dullimans consumed a much wider array of merchandise. Unlike the other Black families in Wilton for whom we have equivalent records dating to around the mid-century, the Dullimans were buying medicines with some regularity: peppermint for stomach complaints, a bottle of unidentified pills, laudanum for pain, and Radway's Ready Relief, which was used to treat "rheumatism, neuralgia, gout, sciatica, nervousness, fever and ague, indigestion, small pox, measles, cramps, spasms, lumbago, headache and heart disease." (JCL 109, 122, 194, 335) They also made several purchases that suggest they were painting part (or all) of a house: a pound of umber, some Venetian red, boiled oil, turpentine, and varnish. (JCL 8) Whatever they were painting - perhaps some walls, an exterior, or even some trim - the color would have been a warm brown, or dull red. A

few years later, they bought more paint: 5 gallons of it, and apparently pre-mixed this time. (JCL 310, 312) Other purchases suggest a wide range of possible applications, like the half ounce of gum (likely gum arabic) the couple bought in August of 1861. (JCL 83) Gum arabic can be used as an ingredient in various medical preparations, as a binder in inks, or as an adhesive (it was long favored for use on postage stamps). Unfortunately we do not know what the Dullimans used their gum arabic for, but it is perhaps suggestive that Maria purchased a stamp in March 1863. (JCL 312) In November 1861, the Dullimans also purchased a bottle of ink and a pen. (JCL 136) We know Maria was able to sign her own name, and she may well have been fully literate; perhaps she was writing letters. Almost a year later, in September 1862, the Dullimans bought an oil lamp. (JCL 260) It would have allowed the couple to extend their productivity into the night. One task Maria may have worked on under the lamplight, assuming it was bright enough, was sewing. She once mended her own corset, purchasing a length of whalebone for the purpose. (JCL 96) She also bought yardage of cotton prints and muslin, button molds, buttons, thread, cambric, and flannel. (JCL 16, 97, 102, 129, 141, 170, 240) She did not do all of the family's sewing, however, and no one in the family seems to have been a knitter: the Dullimans bought a finished pair of pants, a knit shirt, mittens, and stockings. (JCL 8, 16, 129, 182, 238) As for food preparation and preservation, the Dullimans regularly purchased eggs, cheese, and butter, suggesting they did not have their own chickens or cows. (JCL 9, 102, 122, 127, and passim) They bought a barrel early in 1861, which was likely used for long-term storage of preserved (or shelf-stable) food. (JCL 33) Unsurprisingly, they did some baking at home, using saleratus as a rising agent in biscuits and soda bread. (JCL 125) The family also consumed some simple luxuries: cloves, candies, a lemon, and the occasional glass of beer. (JCL 115, 123, 194, 238, and passim) Their purchasing power seems to have been above average for Black families in Wilton, but we know little about how Samuel and Maria made their living. There are suggestions that Samuel worked at least partly as a day laborer - James Comstock paid him for a number of days' work in 1861 - but not nearly enough to account for the family's purchases. (JCL 117) It is possible that Maria took in work as a laundress, as the family purchased two dozen clothes pins and two pounds of rope in March 1863. (JCL 312) The Dulliman family's last recorded transactions were in November and December 1863: they bought two new pairs of shoes with cash, but had to get their butter on store credit. (JCL 424, 437) Then Samuel enlisted in the army on December 28, 1863, the same day as his brother Henry. (NARA 57043429, 1680; NARA 57043405, 1654) Samuel or Henry had actually been drafted earlier, most likely in mid-October, but had secured a substitute - doing so may have strained the Dulliman's finances. (NARA 671, 9) It is not known what (if anything) changed to cause both brothers to enlist after all in December. Samuel served with Henry in the 29th Connecticut Colored Infantry, Company G, during the Civil War and died July 14, 1864 from disease at the regimental hospital in Beaufort, South Carolina.

(NARA 57043429, 1679; NARA 57069966, 1686) Samuel is buried in Beaufort National Cemetery. (NGL)

Dullivan, Samuel Douglas [David], b. January 24, 1841. (NARA 184049625, 107) Son of Henry and Susan. (FC 1850-237) He is recorded as having been baptized on November 1841 at St. Matthew's. (SMC 2-117) Alternatively, he was baptized at St. Matthew's in 1842. (IRSM 117) He was still with his parents and working as a laborer in 1860. (FC 1860-7) Samuel Douglas later moved to New Haven where he first worked as a whitewasher. (FC 1880-37) By then he was married to Lavinia (b. ca. 1851, Virginia) and had young daughters Susie and Louisa. Twenty years later, he was a widower renting a home in Eaton Street and working as a pork packer. (FC 1900-3) In 1910, he was living with his unmarried children, daughter Louisa and a son, also named Samuel D., in Manhattan. Samuel Douglas was working in a "kalsomine" [a kind of white-wash] shop, Louisa was a launderess, and Samuel D. was a driver. (FC 1910-10) The family had taken in two boarders.

Dullivan, Sarah Ann, b. ca. 1848. Daughter of Henry and Susan. Died as a teenager on March 11 and was buried March 13, 1865, at St. Matthew's. (SMC 2-448; WSC) She was attending school in 1860. (FC 1860-7)

Dullivan, Susan Jackson, b. ca. 1820, wife of Henry. She was born in New York. Susan may have been semi-literate and able to sign her own name. In addition, Henry and Susan maintained a family bible, in which they recorded the birth dates of their children. (NARA 184049625, 113) She and Henry married on May 30, 1841 at St. Mark's Episcopal Church in New Canaan. (NARA 184049625, 96) While living in Wilton, Susan appears in the Cannon Store ledgers in the late 1850s, bringing in shirts she had made and other sewing for pay. (CSL 4-138, 149) In 1841, Susan and Henry rented part of a house from Samuel F. Lambert. By 1850, the couple were living on or near Sharp Hill Road, below its intersection with Raymond Lane. (FC 1850-236 and 237; FC 1860-7; FWB Wilton) Susan and Henry had seven children. (NARA 57043405, 1663) The births of at least two girls, born in 1851 (Augusta Ann) and 1853 (Susan C.), were attended by Dr. David Willard, Laura Stewart, and Emmeline Fairchild. (NARA 184049625, 113) Laura and Emeline were both white, likely poor, and, possibly, midwives. Laura was born around 1810. In the 1850s and 1860s, she was unmarried and living in the households of Nathan Morehouse, an unmarried blacksmith in Georgetown, and then Curtis Taylor, an unmarried farm laborer on Chestnut Hill. (FC 1850-2; FC 1860-2) Born around 1815, Emeline was married to Daniel L. Fairchild, a farm laborer, and lived in a modest home with few personal assets on Sharp Hill Road, below its intersection with Raymond Lane. (FC 1850-236; FC 1860-7; FC 1870-35; FWB Wilton) In the 1850s and 1860s, the Fairchilds were close neighbors (likely next door neighbors) of Susan and Henry Dulliman. (FC 1850-236; FC 1860-7) As a war widow, Susan collected a pension after Henry's death. Susan appeared before Judge George A. Davenport, a Wilton resident, at

the Probate Court in Fairfield to make her claim on October 1, 1864. (NARA 184049625, 91) By this time, she was already living in Norwalk. She had some difficulty in getting her pension, as she initially gave the wrong year for her marriage to Henry; as a result, she was required to record a statement correcting her error. This was in addition to the standard requirement that she supply a notarized copy of her marriage, as recorded in the church parish register. She also had to deal with the fact that her married name was spelled inconsistently throughout all extant records; to collect her pension, she had to declare one spelling authoritative: whoever wrote the statement for her chose Dullivan. Nevertheless, Susan appears initially to have signed her own name as Dulliman. (NARA 184049625, 105) Emeline Fairchild gave a deposition in 1868 in support of Susan's pension application, particularly attesting to the birthdates of Susan C. and Augusta Ann. In her deposition, she described herself as "well acquainted" with Susan and Henry, and that she was their "near neighbor" when the girls were born. (NARA 184049625, 114) Laura Stewart, too, gave a deposition in 1868 in support of Susan's application. (NARA 184049625, 115) She, too, described herself as "well acquainted" with Susan and Henry. According to a later deposition submitted in 1898 by George Holmes, a sailor who had boarded with Susan Dulliman in her then residence in Bridgeport, one of her daughters was a "confirmed invalid," who he "assisted in lifting and taking care of." (NARA 184049625, 120) It is not known which daughter this was. Holmes submitted his deposition because his presence in Susan's house had put her pension in jeopardy, as a Special Examiner from the Bureau of Pensions accused her of signing a "sworn statement" attesting to "having lived in open and notorious adulterous cohabitation" with Holmes, in violation of the act of Congress of August 7, 1882. (NARA 184049625, 126) According to the "sworn statement," Susan was known to some as George's wife, was "good friends" with George, got money for her rent from him, had lived with him on and off for the past three years, had shared the same bed, and once had had "connection" with him (NARA 184049625, 135, 136) This statement was written by Special Examiner A. C. Ridgeway; it was not written by Susan, and it is unclear how closely it represents what she actually told Ridgeway. Indeed, as she countered in her formal rebuttal of the statement, which she dictated to a notary public in New Haven, "I have had a boarder one George Holmes who I have known for several years but who has not lived with me in adultery neither have I lived with him in an adulterous manner. I was questioned by a man sometime since who represented himself to be a pension examiner and I was so embarrassed and flustered by his manner and language that I was unable to understand what I had sworn to." (NARA 184049625, 122) Susan's explanation was deemed inadequate and her pension was revoked on November 14, 1898. (NARA 184049625, 128) She is on the 1900 Bridgeport census as Susan Delevan, working as a launderess and living at what was then 52 Gregory Street in Little Liberia. Susan may be buried at St. Matthew's, as her name is reportedly on a shared headstone with her husband Henry and two of their children. (WSC)

Dullivan, Susan C., b. Feb. 7, 1853 in Wilton (NARA 184049625, 107), or b. March 20, 1848 in Wilton. (TCVR 1-G); note that this second date may be the birth of an earlier daughter, also named Susan, who did not survive) Daughter of Henry and Susan. She was attending school in 1860. (FC 1860-7) Susan's birth was attended by Dr. David Willard, Laura Stewart, and Emeline Fairchild. (NARA 184049625, 112) Dr. Willard charged the Dullimans \$3 for assisting at Susan C.'s birth. (NARA 184049625, 114) Laura and Emeline were both white, likely poor, and, possibly, midwives. Laura was born around 1810. In the 1850s and 1860s, she was unmarried and living in the households of Nathan Morehouse, an unmarried blacksmith in Georgetown, and then Curtis Taylor, an unmarried farm laborer on Chestnut Hill. (FC 1850-2; FC 1860-2) Born around 1815, Emeline was married to Daniel L. Fairchild, a farm laborer, and lived in a modest home with few personal assets on Sharp Hill Road, below its intersection with Raymond Lane. (FC 1870-35; FWB Wilton) In the 1850s and 1860s, the Fairchilds were close neighbors (likely next door neighbors) of Susan and Henry Dulliman. (FC 1850-236; FC 1860-7)

Dullivan, Unknown, born September 28, 1849, daughter of Samuel and Adaline. (TCVR 2-44)

Dullivan, Unknown, son of Samuel and Adaline, died one day after his mother on October 29, 1852 for "want of nourishment" according to the Town's vital records.

Eleanor, enslaved by Col. Thomas Fitch V (d. 1795) and wife Sarah Hill Fitch of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). (NLR 17-219) Thomas's brothers Ebenezer and Timothy lived in Wilton on Chestnut Hill. (RHR 75) Eleanor is listed in Thomas's probate inventory at £20. (FPR 25-278)

Eliakim, enslaved by David Middlebrook (d. after 1771), baptized at the Wilton Congregational Church on May 18, 1771. (RCCW 31)

Elizabeth, a Native American woman enslaved by John Belden II of Norwalk and Wilton in the mid-1700s. She was likely the "Elizabeth Indian" baptized by the Episcopalian minister serving Norwalk on June 2, 1744. (NRS 5) Elizabeth's husband, also Native American, was named Will. (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part I, 1750-1759, Box 6) For details, see entry for Will.

Ellen, mother of Huldah (b. February 14, 1801), enslaved by Stephen St. John. At least four Stephen St. Johns were alive and living in the area ca. 1800, and several of them were Wilton landowners. (NLR 17-219)

Eloisa, or Louisa, enslaved by Rev. Matthias Burnet (1748-1806) of the First Church in Norwalk and his second wife Fanny Roe Burnet. In his will, Matthias left Eloisa to Fanny, and after Fanny's decease, to their daughter Ann. For this inheritance (reflecting a lifetime to be spent in slavery) to have been legal, Eloisa must have been born prior to 1784. Eloisa was listed in Matthias's estate inventory at £60. (NPR 1-118, 164)

Elrany, or Elrania, b. October 22, 1787, daughter of Naomi, enslaved by Col. Thomas Fitch V (d. 1795) and wife Sarah Hill Fitch of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). (NLR 17-219)

Thomas's brothers Ebenezer and Timothy lived in Wilton on Chestnut Hill. (RHR 75) Elrany is listed in Thomas's probate inventory at £6. (FPR 25-278)

Eunice, baptized at the Wilton Congregational Church in September 1798. (RCCW) Her status as free or enslaved is uncertain. The baptismal record indicates she was under the "care" of Mrs. Olmstead, wife of Samuel Olmstead. This was probably Anne Dunning Olmstead (1750-1801), wife of Samuel (1747-1829), but was possibly Mercy Olmstead (1775-1817), wife of Samuel D. (1775-1863).

FITCH-CUFF FAMILY

Fitch, Andrew, son of Cuff and Bett Fitch of Weston. He was likely born enslaved by Deacon Daniel Andrews (1714-1800) and wife Sarah Silliman Andrews (d. 1795). His membership in the Fitch family is supported by a note written by David Lambert in 1806, instructing the Betts Store to pay Cuff Fitch his own wages and Andrew's as well. (BRS 108) Besides this, Cuff of Weston (almost certainly the same person as Cuff Fitch) had a son named Andrew who was baptized on April 27, 1796. (WNC 1-60) Other notes by David Lambert mentioning Andrew instruct the Betts Store to give Andrew cloth for a pair of pants and five yards cotton shirting, which may have been for Andrew's or for the Lambert family's use. (BRS 108) Rather than being part of the Fitch family, it is possible this Andrew was instead the same Andrew who was emancipated in Norwalk in 1808, aged 26, by Stephen Lockwood and William Betts, who were acting for the estate of Thaddeus Betts. (NLR 21-198)

Fitch, Bett, first wife of Cuff Fitch of Weston (who was likely the same person as Cuff Fitch). Her parents' names were Dinah and Jack. She and Cuff married in Weston at the Norfield Church on February 2, 1775. (WNC 1-130) At the time, she was enslaved by Deacon Daniel Andrews (1714-1800) and wife Sarah Silliman Andrews (d. 1795). Because the mother's status determined the status of her offspring - and because no record of Deacon Andrews emancipating Bett has been found - Cuff and Bett's children were likely born enslaved. (DC 29)

Cuff, Cate, possibly a member of the Fitch-Cuff family. She is known only from several references in Daniel Betts's store ledger dating from 1809 and 1810. She seems to have worked for Jabez Comstock (she purchased rum, gin, bombazet, and needles on his account). (DBL 79, 81, 82) On March 21, 1810, Boston Bulkley bought a pint of rum each for her and Drake Cuff. (DBL 114)

Fitch, Cuff, aka Cuffee Fitch, an emancipated man by 1775 at the latest. (WNC 1-130) He may be the same person as the Coffee once enslaved by David Lambert (d. 1780), the Cuff Fitch who married Bett in Weston, and the Cuff or Cuffee who was paid by the Lamberts through their account at the Betts store in the early 1800s. He was baptized as an adult in Weston at the Norfield Congregational Church on March 10, 1776, following his marriage. (WNC 1-14) In 1790 he still lived in Weston, where there were nine people

in his household. (FC 1790-246) He was head of ten person household in Wilton in 1810, but had been living in Wilton since 1805 or so. (FC 1810-181; BRS 106) By 1820, he had moved back to Weston and his household size was much reduced: down to two. (FC 1820-255) Cuff Fitch worked for the Lambert family, as shown by notes written by David Lambert in the early 1800s instructing the Betts Store to extend Cuff credit on the Lambert account. (BRS 105, 108, 110) It is possible that Cuff Fitch of Wilton and Weston, the Coffee enslaved by David Lambert, and the Cuff / Cuffee who the Lamberts paid through their account at the Betts Store were all the same person.

Fitch, Drake, aka Drake Cuffee, husband of Hilpah, son of Cuff and Bett of Weston. He may have started life enslaved by Deacon Daniel Andrews (1714-1800) and wife Sarah Silliman Andrews (d. 1795). In the Norfield Church records of Drake's baptism (as an adult) on April 27, 1796, Drake's mother was given as Beth (presumably Bett) and his father as Cuff (presumably Cuff Fitch). (WNC 1-60) Like his father Cuff, Drake also worked for the Lambert family in the early 1800s. (BRS 104, 108, 110, 118) Drake was normally paid in credit at the Betts Store, but sometimes he was paid in kind. In 1804, David Lambert wrote a note as follows: "I am indebted to Drake Cuffee for three days work for which I shall let said Drake have three bushel of corn as soon as I can get it shelled." (BRS 104) Another time, in 1807, Drake was paid in rye flour. (BRS 110) A Black man named Drake Fitch, who was born in Connecticut, died in Manhattan on November 8, 1823. (NYD) His estimated year of birth was 1774, or around the time Bett and Cuff married. Indeed, Drake Fitch was living in New York City by 1818, as stated in his wife Hilpah's petition for divorce, filed that year. (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part II, 1797-1855, Fai-Foo, Box 14) For more on the divorce, see the entry for Hilpah Fitch.

Fitch, Esther, daughter of Cuff and Bett of Weston. She may have started life enslaved by Deacon Daniel Andrews (1714-1800) and wife Sarah Silliman Andrews (d. 1795). She was baptized as an adult in Weston on April 27, 1796. The church records give her mother as Beth (presumably Bett) and her father as Cuff (presumably Cuff Fitch). (WNC 1-60) Esther may have lived with her parents after their move to Wilton.

Fitch, Hannah, daughter of Cuff and Bett of Weston. She may have started life enslaved by Deacon Daniel Andrews (1714-1800) and wife Sarah Silliman Andrews (d. 1795). She was baptized in Weston on April 27, 1796. The church records give her mother as Beth (presumably Bett) and her father as Cuff (presumably Cuff Fitch). (WNC 1-60) She may have lived with her parents after their move to Wilton.

Fitch, Hata, daughter of Cuff and Bett of Weston. She may have started life enslaved by Deacon Daniel Andrews (1714-1800) and wife Sarah Silliman Andrews (d. 1795). She was baptized in Weston on April 27, 1796. The church records give her mother as Beth (presumably Bett) and her father as Cuff (presumably Cuff Fitch). (WNC 1-60) She may have lived with her parents after their move to Wilton.

Fitch, Hilpah, wife of Drake; they married in January 1806. (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part II, 1797-1855, Fai-Foo, Box 14) Like her husband, Hilpah worked for the Lambert family. Her name appears on a single note written by David Lambert in December 1807, paying her \$2 in credit at the Betts Store. (BRS 110) Sometime after 1811, Drake and Hilpah left Wilton. Several years later Hilpah was living in Stamford when, in July 1818, she petitioned the Fairfield County Superior Court for divorce. She claimed that Drake had deserted her four years previously and had committed adultery with a woman named Mary Bush (who had borne his child). Hilpah stated that Drake was living in New York City, where he had been unfaithful to her with additional women. Hilpah added that she had received no financial support from her husband since he had deserted her, and that all the possessions she owned - worth some \$75 - were the fruits of her own labor. She asked to be awarded that property as alimony. After requiring that she give due notice of the pendency of her petition in the newspapers, the court granted her a divorce. It is unclear if she was granted ownership of her property or not, but Drake made no appearance at court to counter her claim.

Fitch, Margaret, second wife of Cuff Fitch. They married in Weston at the Norfield Church on November 13, 1804. (WNC 1-137) At the time, Margaret was enslaved by Capt. Ebenezer Coley of Westport.

Fitch, Phebe, daughter of Cuff and Bett of Weston. She may have started life enslaved by Deacon Daniel Andrews (1714-1800) and wife Sarah Silliman Andrews (d. 1795). She was baptized in Weston on April 27, 1796. The church records give her mother as Beth (presumably Bett) and her father as Cuff (presumably Cuff Fitch). (WNC 1-60) She may have lived with her parents after their move to Wilton.

Frank, enslaved by Ebenezer Church (d. ca. 1799) of Westport Road, Norwalk (when it still included Wilton), who owned land in Wilton. (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part I, 1790-1799, A-K, Box 11; FPR 27-354) By around 1793, Frank had amassed over four hundred Spanish milled dollars. It is not known how he earned this money, but perhaps Church allowed him to take in paid work above and beyond his regular duties. For reasons we do not know, in May 1794 Frank allegedly gave a hundred of these dollars to Stephen Betts of Norwalk (possibly Stephen Betts II, the Wilton shopkeeper and slaveholder; another possibility is Capt. Stephen Betts of Canaan parish). (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part I, 1790-1799, A-K, Box 11) In August 1794, Frank allegedly paid a further £62 and 5 shillings worth of Spanish money to Elijah Jarvis of Norwalk. (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part I, 1750-1759, Box 6) Engaging in commerce or business dealings with enslaved people, without the knowledge and consent of their owners, was illegal in Connecticut at the time. On February 11, 1795, Church sued Betts and Jarvis for "traffick[ing]" with Frank. Two days earlier on February 9, Church had lodged an additional complaint against Josiah Thacher, a constable of Norwalk. (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part I, 1790-1799, A-K, Box 11) In that case, Church alleged Thacher had falsely slandered him as a "barbarous, cruel, and tyrannical man . . . hard hearted and practicing and

exercising toward his servants, such great and barbarous and inhuman cruelties and misdemeanors as are of evil example, and in violation of the laws of God and of this State." Moreover, Church alleged that the public had caught wind of Thacher's complaint, and his reputation had suffered as a consequence. Indeed, on December 20, 1794, Thacher, acting in his capacity as constable, had submitted a written complaint against Church to Thaddeus Betts, a Fairfield County Justice of the Peace. Thacher's complaint alleged that Church had been and was still mistreating Frank. On December 17, Thacher alleged, Church had put Frank "into irons or hand cuffs, and then by a large iron chain had confined said Frank on his back, on the floor, in his house in a certain dark room, and deprived him the said Frank of light and food and otherwise cruelly treated and tormented the said Frank by often whipping and scourging him in a cruel tyrannical manner." The abuse was such that Frank's "life is much endangered." (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part I, 1790-1799, A-K, Box 11) Justice Thaddeus Betts accordingly issued a writ directing the sheriff and constables to apprehend Church and bring him before the justice to enter a plea. Acting on this writ, constable Thomas Keeler arrested Church, who pled not guilty. A trial was held (the records do not appear to have survived) and Church was found not guilty. Church's accusation of slander against Josiah Thacher, however, did not impress the judge. Church lost this case and had to pay Thacher's court fees. It is ultimately unknown whether Church's actions towards Frank were anything like those alleged by Thacher. It is also unknown exactly how, if at all, the two cases involving Frank and the four hundred Spanish milled dollars relate to the allegations against Church of physically abusing Frank.

Frank, enslaved by Richard Camp (1741-1813) and wife Anna Coe Camp (1750-1830) of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). Emancipated on May 26, 1778. Frank bought his freedom for £30. (NLR 14-421)

Garrett, enslaved by Rev. Moses Dickenson (1695-1778) and wife Martha Dickenson (d. 1755) of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). Accused of breaking into Stephen Rogers' store in 1750 alongside enslaved Native Americans Will and Elizabeth, and likely indentured servant Mary Kellogg. (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part I, 1750-1759, Box 6)

George, free or enslaved status unknown. He was baptized by the Episcopalian minister serving Norwalk on February 9, 1744. (NRS 5)

Gibson, Betsey, on the 1830 census as a free woman living in Wilton between the ages of 36 and 55 and head of a household of four, including two boys or young men between the ages of 10 and 24, and one girl under 10. (FC 1830-452, 453)

Gilmore, Charlotte "Lottie" E., b. 1853. The first Black woman in town to own her own home, and the first Black person to own a home in Wilton in the twentieth century (after a lapse in Black home ownership since the 1850s). She was the daughter of formerly enslaved parents - their names were Julia and James Gilmore - and she was born in Plainville, Hartford County, Conn. (CGDC) When she was seventeen years old, she was living and working in Georgetown as

a housekeeper for Charles Olmstead (1822-1909; Civil War veteran, buried Branchville) and Elizabeth Fillow Olmstead (1824-1915). (FC 1870-46) The Olmsteads' children, who Lottie likely had a major role in raising, were Charles Oscar (1846-1894), Adell (b. 1838), and Clarence L. (1866-1950). In 1880, Lottie was still with the Olmsteads. (FC 1880-17) In 1900, she was listed as literate and was working as a washerwoman. She was head of her own household, which she was renting. (FC 1900-5) By 1910, Lottie was not in her own home - she was living with Elizabeth Olmstead again as her servant. (FC 1910-8a) Lottie is not on the notoriously incomplete 1920 census, but is on the Town's 1925 and the Federal 1930 censuses. (TCO; FC 1930-7b) By 1930, she is shown as owning her own home, worth \$800 (one of the least expensive homes in town, but her own home nevertheless), and is working out of her home as a laundress. She is now listed as illiterate. Charlotte, in fact, is in the Land Records purchasing half an acre from Michael Connery on May 21, 1906. (WLR 24-137) The property, which had an old colonial house and other buildings on it (all since demolished), is now 113 Portland Avenue. Today, a stone garage marks the spot where Lottie's house one stood. Notably, the Olmstead's home was only a few houses away at 96 Portland Avenue. Lottie is remembered with affection by the son of an Italian-American family that lived nearby, as well.¹ As a young boy, he would help Lottie carry wood and coal into her screened-in porch, and she would give him gingerbread cake and "store cheese." He also remembers bringing her fresh produce from his parents' garden; probably at his mother's direction. He remembers Lottie wearing long skirts and keeping her hair wrapped up in a scarf. She had a shawl that she wore in cold weather. It is not known how Lottie was able to afford her house. She did have trouble keeping up with local taxes, and more than once the Town placed a lien on her property. (WLR 1-138, 164, 180) Her Italian-American neighbors knew about her relationship with the Olmsteads, and always assumed they had something to do with Lottie's relative security. The son remembers Lottie saying that the Olmsteads always took care of her. Whether they helped her with the purchase, or simply paid her a sufficient wage during her long years of service that she was able to save up enough for the house, is not known. Toward the end of her life, the Town of Wilton sued Lottie for \$1,500 damages, claiming they had provided her assistance under the impression that she was a pauper, when in fact she was a property owner. They demanded she reimburse them for their regular expenditures from 1933 through 1937 on meat, milk, vegetables, other groceries, wood, coal, and clothing. They had also purchased a stove for her, repairing it when it broke, and covered her medical expenses. The Fairfield County Superior Court found in the Town's favor, awarding Wilton its actual costs of \$1,103.47. (WVG) Since Lottie could not pay anything near this amount, the Town placed a lien on her property. (WLR 47-418, 419) At some point after this, Lottie was placed in the Connecticut State Hospital in Middletown. (NH 02-16-1939) This was an insane asylum. It is not known who committed her to this institution, but it seems likely that the Town of Wilton did so. She died in the hospital on February 12, 1939 and is buried there in grave #1296. (FG) After her death, the Town took possession of her house and

¹ The family wishes to remain anonymous. Information was obtained through numerous email exchanges between myself and the daughter of the individual who had known Lottie so many years ago.

property, and sold it at auction to the highest bidder. (WLR 49-89) The *Wilton Bulletin* carried Lottie's obituary. (WB 02-23-1939)

Gin, b. March 20, 1787, daughter of Mary, enslaved by William St. John of Norwalk or Wilton. (NLR 17-219)

Grace, formerly enslaved by Hannah Benedict (d. ca. 1806) of New Canaan. Although Hannah was not a Wilton resident or known landowner in Wilton, her relationship with Grace is illustrative of seemingly the best that could be attained in Fairfield County under the institution of slavery, albeit an apparently rare or even unique relationship. Hannah left money to Grace in her will, directing "I give and bequeath to the negro woman Grace who was once my servant but now the wife of a negro man by the name of Edward Noyes the sum of \$50." (NPR 2-158) In addition, Hannah left \$40 to Dorcas, the daughter of Grace and Edward, who was then working and living in Hannah's household as a free woman. In the Fairfield and Norwalk probate records, I was able to document only one other instance of a transfer of wealth from a master or former master to an enslaved or formerly enslaved person, and in that instance, the value of the transfer was effectively diluted with restrictions and caveats. (see FPR 18-481, 482) Hannah's bequest to Grace was unconditional.

Grace, enslaved by Capt. John Raymond II (1693-1774) of Norwalk (who owned 69 acres at Nod Hill and Spectacle Bog) and given in his 1773 will to his son Gershom Raymond. (FPR 18-272, 375) John was a cousin of Josiah Raymond (1737-1824) of Ambler Farm.

Grace, b. February 12, 1787, enslaved by Nathaniel Benedict of Wilton or Norwalk. (NLR 17-218)

Grace, b. December 23, 1791, enslaved by Caleb Benedict of Wilton or Norwalk. (NLR 17-218)

Ham, d. 1734 at the age of 12, enslaved by Rev. William Gaylord of the Wilton Congregational Church. Gaylord recorded Ham's death in the Wilton Congregational Church records as having occurred on May 22, 1734. The handwriting is unclear, but Gaylord may have added that Ham died at two in the morning. Gaylord added details like these when he considered a particular death notable (when due to scalding, a house fire, or other unusual causes), and to the deaths of persons he seems to have had a personal connection to (for example, his wife's death notice is accompanied by a long paragraph about her). (RCCW 35)

Hannah, b. ca. 1766, a child enslaved by Magdalen Cameron (d. ca. 1769) of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). Two other enslaved children were in Magdalen's household, and may have been Hannah's siblings: Tom, 5 years old, and Charles, 3 months old. It is not known where the children's parents were. Hannah was listed in Magdalen's probate inventory at £4 and 10 shillings. Magdalen's estate was insolvent. It is unclear exactly what happened to Hannah, but she either would have been sold to raise funds to pay Magdalen's debts, or distributed to one of Magdalen's creditors as payment. (FPR 16-285)

Harry, enslaved by Col. James Lockwood (1683-1769) of Norwalk, who owned land in Wilton at Keeler's Ridge. Harry was listed in James's probate inventory at £10. (FPR 16-277)

Harry, enslaved by William Heron (d. 1819) of Redding Ridge, who lived somewhere near the Christ Episcopal Church. (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part II, 1797-1855, Box 18) Although not a Wilton resident, Harry's story is particularly compelling and provides some details not found in Wilton records. Harry was co-author of a petition to the General Assembly, submitted in 1797 or 1798 and subsequently published by Isaac Hillard. (HCC) His co-petitioners were two other enslaved men, Cuff and Cato, about whom nothing is known. Harry's petition sought improvement in, and better means for enforcement of, the laws surrounding the sale of enslaved people out of state. Harry's reasons for co-authoring the petition were personal. His daughter Tamar and grandson Amos – who had been enslaved by Lieut. Stephen Betts (1738-1826) and his wife Sarah Clark (1751-1821) of Redding Ridge (who lived near Heron) and, in 1796 – were sold by the Betts to James Gray of Redding in February 1796. Isaac Hillard, a Redding resident who assisted Harry with his petition, also sued Betts and Gray on Harry's behalf, alleging that Gray illegally had transported Amos to New York, and Betts (as Hillard claimed) had known Gray's intentions before the sale. Harry was a witness at the trial. For more detail, see the entry for Tamar, daughter of Harry. Harry's owner Heron has attracted the attention of historians for his correspondence with General Parsons during the Revolutionary War. One has written as follows: "Who was William Heron? His origin and early youth is shrouded in mystery. He never spoke of it except to say that he was a native of Cork, Ireland, and had been educated at Trinity College, Dublin. We first hear of him as a teacher in the academy at Greenfield Hill; later as a capable surveyor and engineer laying out the colony roads. Just when he settled in Redding does not appear, but it was sometime prior to the Revolution. In personal appearance he was short, portly, florid, with a deep bass voice and a countenance well calculated to disguise the true sentiments of the owner." (CBT 60) Little is known about how he may have treated Harry, however. The only clues come from the trial itself, where William Heron and his son William Jr., are both listed as witnesses for the plaintiff; and from a postscript by Isaac Hillard at the end of Harry's petition, where Hillard mentions that Harry was well-educated, a fact which raises the possibility that Heron had educated him, or allowed him to be educated by another.

Harry, enslaved by Capt. John Raymond II (1693-1774) of Norwalk (who owned 69 acres at Nod Hill and Spectacle Bog) and given in his 1773 will to his son Jesse Raymond. (FPR 18-273, 371, 375) John was a cousin of Josiah Raymond (1737-1824) of Ambler Farm.

Harry, born in Africa and, according to Van Hoosear, enslaved by Sturges Marvin, who lived at (what in Van Hoosear's time was) the Charles Partrick place, now known as Cannon Corners, at 414 Olmstead Hill Road. (RNS) No person by the name of Sturges Marvin, however, can be located in either the census records for Wilton, or in the Wilton Land Records.

Harry, on the 1790 census as a free man and head of a household of four in Wilton or Norwalk. (FC 1790-300)

Harry, by local legend recorded by Van Hoosear in the late 1800s, Harry was enslaved by the Jessup family (presumably by Edward Jessup, d. 1750, who passed his Wilton lands on Harris or "Harry's" Ridge, now Sturges Ridge, onto his son Blackleach Jessup). Along with other enslaved persons, it is thought that Harry did the work of clearing the Jessup lands on Harris Ridge. However, as Van Hoosear points out, the name Harris Ridge dates back to at least 1710, when Edward Jessup was a young teenager and unlikely to have been in charge of land-clearing in Wilton. (VHWL 36) While this specific Harry may not be real, the possibility that enslaved persons cleared the ridge and other lands in Wilton is very real.

Harry, enslaved by Uriah Rogers (d. ca. 1773) of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). Harry was listed in Uriah's inventory at 10 shillings. (FPR 18-171)

Hill, Tower, enslaved by James Brown (d. ca. 1769) of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). James willed Tower to his wife, Joanna, and after Joanna's death to his son Samuel. (FPR 16-253) Tower may be the same person as the unknown man enslaved by James Brown and listed in his probate inventory. (FPR 17-367)

Hone, enslaved by Capt. Samuel Keeler II (1682-1763) and wife Sarah Betts Keeler (1686-1777) of Norwalk and Ridgefield and given by Samuel to his son Matthew Keeler (1717-1765) of Bald Hill in January 1744, according to Van Hoosear. (WB 02-07-1990) Matthew's wife was Sarah Grumman Keeler (1722-1769). No record of this transaction can be found in either the Norwalk or the Ridgefield land records, however. Van Hoosear speculated that Hone was the same person as Harry Lukas.

Huldah, b. February 14, 1801, daughter of Ellen, enslaved by Stephen St. John of Wilton or Norwalk. At least four Stephen St. Johns were alive and living in the area ca. 1800, and several of them were Wilton landowners. (NLR 17-219)

Jack, husband of Sarah. Jack and Sarah were enslaved by John Copp (1673-1751) and wife Ruth Hayes Belden Copp of Norwalk, when it still included Wilton. By the terms of John's will, Jack and Sarah were to be emancipated upon his death. See the entry for Sarah for more information. (FPR 10-241)

Jack, b. ca. 1722, enslaved by Joshua Jennings of Fairfield and sold by him for £65 to David Lambert I (1700-1784) of Wilton on May 9, 1757. (WHS 2016.1.1)

Jack, enslaved by John Betts, Sr., of Norwalk or Wilton, in the early 1750s. (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part I, 1750-1759, Box 6)

Jack, enslaved by Ralph Isaacs (d. 1763) and wife Mary Rumsay Isaacs (1704-1770) of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). Accused of breaking into Stephen Rogers' store in 1750 alongside enslaved Native Americans Will and Elizabeth, and likely indentured servant Mary Kellogg. (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part I, 1750-1759, Box 6)

Jacklen, enslaved by Capt. Ebenezer Carter (d. ca. 1775) of Norwalk and Wilton, who owned 84 acres in Silvermine, 18 acres north of Silvermine Road, and 6 acres at Huckleberry Hills. Jacklen is listed in Ebenezer's inventory at £45. (FPR 18-511)

James, head of a three person household in Norwalk or Wilton in 1790. (FC 1790-308)

Jedd, b. May 20, 1784, enslaved by Dr. Thaddeus Betts (d. 1807) and his second wife Elisabeth Maltby Betts (d. 1798), who owned land in Wilton (his name appears in the Wilton Land Records). (NLR 17-219)

Jenny, enslaved by Evan Cameron (d. ca. 1774) of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). Jenny was presumably the mother of the child, about two years old, who was also owned by Evan. Jenny is listed in Evan's inventory at £28 and 10 shillings. (FPR 18-352)

Jenny, enslaved by Joseph St. John (d. ca. 1756), who owned land in Wilton at Nod Hill and Huckleberry Hills. Jenny is listed in his probate inventory at £15. (FPR 11-527)

Jenny, b. February 1, 1795, enslaved by Eliphalet Lockwood (1741-1814) and wife Susannah St. John Lockwood (1743-1810) of Norwalk, who owned land in Wilton (his name appears over two dozen times in the Wilton Land Records). (NLR 17-219)

Jim, enslaved by Nehemiah Hanford of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). Emancipated on January 5, 1801 when he was between the ages of 25 and 45. (NLR 19-288)

Joan, enslaved by Martin Kellogg (1711-1756) and wife Mercy Lockwood Kellogg (1717-1783), residents of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). (FPR 11-518)

John, a "mulatto boy" enslaved by Moses Comstock (1685-1766) and wife Abigail Brinsmaide Comstock (1689-1766) of Silvermine. Moses gave John to Abigail in his will. (FPR 15-197) John was valued in Comstock's inventory at £52 and 10 shillings. (FPR 15-244)

John, aka Black John, lived in the 1820s in a house with a large family, possibly in the Sturges Ridge area. (RNS) It is possible this John was the same person as John Dulliman, b. ca. 1780, who purchased property on Cobbs Mill Road in 1831, not far from Sturges Ridge. Notably, John Dulliman's two known sons, Henry and Samuel, were both born in Wilton within a year or two of 1820.

Kemirah, enslaved by Dr. Thaddeus Betts (d. 1807) of Norwalk and his third wife Helena, who owned land in Wilton (his name appears in the Wilton Land Records). Thaddeus's will directed that "Kemirah may be set free provided she can exonerate my heirs from a liability to maintain her." She appears to have done so, or perhaps she died or was sold between the date of the will's drafting in 1800 and Thaddeus's decease in 1807. At any rate, Kemirah is not on Thaddeus's 1807 estate inventory. (NPR 1-179)

KING FAMILY

King, Charles D., b. ca. 1805 (based on the Town's vital records giving his age at death), son of Harry Reed (enslaved) and Lucretia (free) of Redding. (RNS) According to a later newspaper report based on an interview with his son, John James King, Charles was born into slavery. (NH 12-07-1913) But, if his mother was free, he should have been legally born free, too. (DC 29) Enslaved or not, Charles worked for the Lambert family and was "given" as a boy to either Elizabeth or Julia Lambert. (RNS) Whichever woman it was, she reportedly chose to educate Charles. Her treatment of him seems to have produced rumors around town - one of the "facts" Van Hoosear had heard about their relationship was that she shared a bed with Charles when he was still young. (RNS) Rather than expressing concern for Charles's welfare as a child, the point of the rumor was more likely that Miss Lambert's chastity might have been compromised by the boy, given the false stereotyping of Black people as hypersexual and reaching sexual maturity at a younger age. More generally, the rumor may have been a critique about how the Lamberts were viewed as being too intimate with the Black folk they employed. Objectively speaking, Elizabeth Lambert does indeed appear to have been unusually close to Charles. I have located only a few Fairfield County residents who bequeathed assets to their emancipated slaves: Elizabeth is one of them. Her 1829 will directs "To Charles D. King a colored boy I give and bequeath when he shall come to the age of twenty one years, one suit of good winter clothes, one suit of summer clothing, and one suit of better clothes for Sunday. Also one cow and calf, or one pair of young oxen, whichever shall be thought by my executor hereinafter named to be most for his interest." (NPR 6-34) It is interesting to note that the items Elizabeth wanted Charles to have, were similar to the package of goods often granted to an indentured servant at the end of their servitude. Perhaps she viewed him as such. Moreover, the age at which Charles was to receive the goods matched up with the age at which an indentured servant would be free, the age at which an enslaved person born after 1797 would be legally free, and the generally accepted age of adulthood for a young man. As Elizabeth refers to Charles simply as "a colored boy" and not as a servant or enslaved person, it seems he had been emancipated prior to 1829. (NH 12-07-1913; NPR 6-34) Sometime after this, according to the recollections of John James, Samuel F. Lambert built a house on the Westport Road for Charles, who he regularly took to Europe as his valet. (NH 12-07-1913) By 1840, Charles was head of four person household in Wilton. (FC 1840-336) His wife was Jane Ann Bedient King. They were married by Rev. William Barlow at St. Matthew's on November 27, 1834. (SMC 2-374) That same year, Charles and Jane became members of the church. (IRSM 58) We have some insight into Charles and Jane's lives in Wilton in the early 1840s thanks to the ledger of Samuel F. Lambert, which preserves records of his financial transactions with the Kings. Evidence from the ledger suggests that Jane King worked eight weeks in the Lambert home between 1840 and 1841. Charles and Jane also did laundry for the Lamberts, helped with butchering the Lambert's pigs, and sold them various products - presumably produced by the Kings at their own home - including smoked pork, smoked beef, fresh pork, turnip seed, and

potatoes. Besides working for the Lamberts, Charles also would rent oxen and a cart from the Lamberts in order to carry out various jobs, both for himself and for other Wilton residents, including Sherman Fitch. During these years, Charles and Jane lived in a house they rented from the Lamberts. Using the credit they earned from their work, Charles and Jane purchased goods from the Lamberts including buckwheat, corn meal, lard, ham, liver, clams, lemons, oranges, salt, tallow, candles, tobacco, and a barrel of cider. They also bought six milk pans, strongly suggesting that they had one or more dairy cattle. Further evidence of their raising pigs for butchering - besides the smoked and fresh pork they sold to the Lamberts - comes from the fact that they also purchased a shoat, or young pig for fattening. Besides this, Charles bought four bushels of corn "for [his] hog" from Lambert in 1844, besides an additional bushel "to mill" into flour for his own family's consumption. Another insight into the Kings' industriousness and standard of living comes from their purchase of carpet warp, indicating that they were weaving one or more carpets. They also had a comfortable and well-appointed bed, judging by the "feathers for bed and bolsters" that they received from Lambert on October 16, 1844. Further evidence of beautification and enhanced comfort at the King home comes in the form of twelve poplar trees, which Charles presumably purchased to provide a wind break and/or ornamentation around his home. Finally, the ledger shows evidence of the Kings educating their children. One terse entry reads "school bill for Julia." Perhaps the Kings had a daughter named Julia, or perhaps Julia Lambert was being paid to tutor the Kings' children. (SLL 6, 7) By 1850, there is no sign of Jane or of the possible daughter Julia. Instead, Charles and his son John James were living together in Samuel F. Lambert's household, and Charles was working as a laborer. (FC 1850-218) Charles was still living with the Lamberts in 1860. (FC 1860-49) According to the Town's vital records, Charles died on September 7, 1862 of dropsy.

King, Henrietta "Nettie" Reddick, wife of John James King. She was from Norwalk. They married on November 25, 1872 at St. Matthew's Episcopal Church in Wilton. (SMC 2-377; NARA 240206, 7) Nettie later was confirmed at St. Matthew's in 1877. (IRSM 248)

King, Jane, buried at St. Matthews in February, 1879. (SMC 2-451) Her relationship with the other Kings, if any, is unknown.

King, Jane Ann Bedient, b. ca. 1812 in Norwalk, d. Dec. 12, 1848, with cause of death listed as "inflammation of the lungs." (RBMD 1-D7) daughter of Jack and Grace Bedient; born into slavery in the household of Jesse Bedient of Cranbury Plain. (SMC 2-308; SMC 2-440; RNS) She was wife of Charles D. King. They were married by Rev. William Barlow at St. Matthew's Episcopal Church on November 27, 1834. (SMC 2-374) She was a communicant of St. Matthew's by 1834. (SMC 2-308) She was buried at St. Matthew's. (SMC 2-440)

King, John James, son of Charles and Jane Ann, born in the Cranbury district of Norwalk and baptized at St. Matthew's Episcopal Church on July 19, 1840. (NH 12-07-1913; SMC

2-116; for his birthdate as May 3, 1844 see NARA 240206, 7) He was just over 5' 9" tall. (NARA 45767209, 1506) Towards the end of his life, he reported having "received a good common school education" in Wilton. (NH 12-07-1913) Indeed, the 1850 census shows him in school and living with his father in the household of Samuel Lambert, who had emancipated his father, Charles, sometime before John's birth. (FC 1850-218; NH 12-07-1913) Despite John's early education, as an adult he could not write (possibly the result of an eye complaint; more on this below), although he could and often did sign his own name. (NARA 240206, 17, 20, 21) He was still able to read as an adult (he reportedly was "fond" of doing so), however, and could even read music. (NH 12-07-1913; NARA 240206, 37; NARA 240206, 40) Beginning about 1860, John lived with and worked for Sherman Morehouse in Wilton at 198 Danbury Road. (NARA 671, 5; RHR 189) John's work for Sherman included general farm labor and taking care of horses. (NARA 240206, 37) Sherman was a shoemaker and farmer who later became First Selectman and served in the state legislature; he proved later to be a valuable friend to John, giving sworn testimony on his behalf on more than one occasion (see below). (RHR 97) John was drafted on October 17, 1863, after passing a physical examination in Bridgeport, for three years' service in the Civil War. (NARA 671, 2) He hoped to find a substitute to serve in his place, and the Provost Marshal handling his enlistment gave him several days to find one. (NARA 671, 8) He planned to use \$25 plus a \$300 bounty provided to draftees by the Town of Wilton as an enticement. (NARA 671, 4; TP 1-57) To facilitate this, he hired Seymour Curtis of Norwalk as his agent. (NARA 671, 3) Seymour was helping another Black man from Wilton, either Henry or Samuel Dulliman, to find a substitute at the same time. (NARA 671, 9) Sherman Morehouse, John's employer, was involved in communicating and possibly in negotiating with Seymour on John's behalf. He reported seeing Seymour several times, and receiving repeated assurances from him that a substitute either had been or would shortly be found. (NARA 671, 4) In reality, Seymour was having difficulty finding Black substitutes for both John and Henry or Samuel Dulliman. Seymour first contacted one F. L. Sherman of New Preston in Litchfield County, but he was unable to help. (NARA 671, 8) He then looked to Philadelphia and got three men out, all of whom failed to pass their physical examinations. Somehow he found two more men, but the army only accepted one as fit for duty. (NARA 671, 9) Because Henry or Samuel Dulliman had contracted for a substitute first (or perhaps was offering more money), he escaped enlistment while John did not. Sherman was the first to hear from Seymour that, in the end, no substitute was available. He broke the news to John and told him to go to a local judge, George Davenport, for advice. The judge told John to report immediately to the army at Bridgeport. Seymour gave him similar advice. Accordingly, John reported for duty the following morning, November 7, 1863. (NARA 671, 5) Because he was late by one day, and perhaps because the army was hoping to set an example for others, he was arrested and charged with desertion. A General Court Martial was held at the State House in New Haven on November 21, 1863. A particular significance of the General Court Martial is that it has the authority to issue the death

penalty. It is presided over by a judge, in this case Capt. Erastus Blakeslee, and a panel of at least five officers, in this case Capt. Charles Coit, Capt. George Bliss, Capt. Gustavus Palmer, First Lieut. Theodore Gray, and First Lieut. Frank Wells. After deliberating, the court found John not guilty. (NARA 671, 11) According to a witness reporting on the trial twenty years later, the judges in fact had been unable to decide whether John should face a firing squad or be sent to his regiment. To break a tie between those in favor of execution and those against, four of the judges squared off against one another in five rounds of euchre, a card game. The outcome favored John and he was sent to the conscript camp. (NH 01-31-1885) However the verdict was reached, John ultimately became a private in Company A, 30th Regiment, Connecticut Colored Infantry. His first duties in late November through December 1863 are unknown. In January and February 1864, he was "on special duty" as a cook. (NARA 46283654, 3) Around this time, "his eyes began to fail him." (NARA 240206, 19) A much later report suggests that he had been "seriously injured about the eyes by the backfire of a gun." (NH 12-07-1913) From mid-April through early November, 1864, he was "absent sick at New Haven" due to his eye complaint. (NARA 46283654, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9) On November 24, 1864, he was reassigned to Company K, 20th Regiment, Corps de Afrique Infantry. (NARA 45767209, 1496) After joining his new regiment he was soon, or perhaps immediately, admitted to the Corps de Afrique U. S. General Hospital in New Orleans, where he stayed for much of his time with Company K. (NARA 46283654, 9, 10, 11, 12) On December 1, 1864, he was readmitted to the hospital. (NARA 240206, 34) He briefly returned to duty for a few days in late March 1865 and much of April that same year, but his eye problems proved chronic. (NARA 943602375, 10) Doctors described his condition variously as amaurosis, a type of vision loss; conjunctivitis; or ophthalmia, a general term for inflammation of the eye. (NARA 655646, 1, 2) John was ultimately discharged on May 17, 1865 and certified as disabled and unfit for military service. (NARA 45767209, 1499) Soon after returning from the war, John was again living in Wilton in the household of Sherman Morehouse, again as an employee. (FC 1870-30) Two years later, John married Henrietta "Nettie" Reddick of Norwalk on November 25, 1872 at St. Matthew's Episcopal Church in Wilton. (SMC 2-377 ; NARA 240206, 7) John told a reporter in 1912 that he had in fact helped build St. Matthew's, drawing "the first load of stone from the ledge back of the church." (NH 06-21-1912) This would have been around June 17, 1862, when the cornerstone was laid. (RHR 247) A widower by 1880, John was living on his own in Wilton that year and working as a farm laborer. (FC 1880-39) Soon after, he moved to Norwalk, where he worked for the Betts family. (NH 12-07-1913) In Norwalk, he became a member of the Buckingham Post, No. 12, of the Grand Army of the Republic. (NH 01-31-1885) He remained a member through June 29, 1887. (BPR 21) In 1910, when the *Norwalk Hour* reported that he was "well known to almost everybody" in town, he moved into an institution for sick and aged veterans called Fitch's Home for Soldiers. (NH 03-17-1910) Located in Darien, the home had been founded by a philanthropist but by the time John was an inmate, the state was running it. John died on April 30, 1915.

(NARA 240206, 8) His body was taken to Raymond & Sons funeral parlor in Norwalk. (NH 05-04-1915) Funeral services were held and he is buried in Hillside Cemetery. (RHR 235) Immediately after his discharge from the army in 1865, John had applied for and received an invalid pension, by reason of "disease of eyes." (NARA 240206, 15). Beginning in 1865, his pension was \$4 per month. (NARA 240206, 15) By the time of his death, the monthly rate - following several petitions over the years - had gradually been increased to \$21.50. (NARA 240206, 10) John's employer Sherman Morehouse and another Wilton resident, Daniel G. Betts, assisted him in his efforts to get an increased pension in 1882. They testified to having known John "since before the war" when "his eyes were sound and well." (NARA 240206, 37) They added that "the sun affects his eyes so much that he is often obliged to give up work except at early morning or at night. He cannot read but a few moments at a time and all the time his eyes have a bloodshot appearance." (NARA 240206, 37) Two fellow Civil War veterans also testified on John's behalf: John Johnson and Albert Whitney. According to Johnson, a friend of John's who had served during in the 29th Connecticut Colored Infantry, after the war the two men would often try to sing together, but John "would very soon have to stop saying that it hurt his eyes to see the notes." (NARA 240206, 40) Finally, two medical doctors were called on to support to John's pension application. Dr. Sylvester Mead had practiced in Wilton prior to 1862 and had been the King family physician; he attested that John had never complained of eye troubles prior to the war. (NARA 240206, 42) Speaking of John's post-war condition, Dr. John W. MacLean of Norwalk reported that he suffered from "chronic conjunctivitis" and that the "constant inflammatory state of the membranes of the eye has produced a weakness of the nerve, almost amaurosis, that this inflammatory state is increased by any exposure to bright sunlight or by any form of labor which causes the blood to flow too slow to the head." As a result, his vision was fading into blindness. (NARA 240206, 43) In 1886, John further complained that his eyesight was "failing very fast," such that he was "unable to work in a hot sun . . . everything turns dark, cannot see." (NARA 240206, 24) By 1889, he reported being "almost" blind. (NARA 240206, 26)

Law, or Lew, enslaved by Lieut. Ezra Hickox, baptized at Wilton Congregational Church on March 20, 1755. (RCCW 57) Hickox kept a tavern near where Nod Hill Road meets Ridgefield Road, and Law may have worked in it, according to Van Hoosear. (WB 02-07-1990).

Leah, enslaved by Ensign Matthew Gregory of Drum Hill. She died in June 21, 1756. (RCCW 39) Possibly the mother of Phillis, who was baptized at the Wilton Congregational Church in January or February 1756 (RCCW 58).

Lettis, b. August 29, 1790, enslaved by Nathaniel Benedict of Wilton or Norwalk. (NLR 17-218)

Lewis, enslaved by Caleb Benedict, a resident of Norwalk or Wilton. Benedict had purchased Lewis from the administrator of the estate of Auley McAuley of Norwalk (when it still included

Wilton). Lewis was emancipated in 1793, when he was between the ages of 25 and 45. (NLR 17-121)

London, enslaved by Joseph St. John (d. ca. 1756), who owned land in Wilton at Nod Hill and Huckleberry Hills. London is listed in Joseph's probate inventory at £24. (FPR 11-527)

Lucas, enslaved by Capt. James Rogers (1675-1733) and wife Freelove Hurlbutt Rogers (1693-1739) of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). Freelove inherited Lucas when James died. Lucas was listed in James's probate records and valued at £130 in 1733. (FPR 6-235, 239)

Lucy, enslaved by Ebenezer Nash, baptized at the Wilton Congregational Church on February 14, 1781. (RCCW 37)

Lucy, enslaved by Capt. John Raymond II (1693-1774) of Norwalk (who owned 69 acres at Nod Hill and Spectacle Bog) and given in his 1773 will to his son Jesse Raymond. (FPR 18-273, 371, 375) John was a cousin of Josiah Raymond (1737-1824) of Ambler Farm.

Lewis, Charles, on the 1840 census as a free man between the ages of 36 and 55 and head of a household of three in Wilton. (FC 1840-340) He appears in the Cannon Store ledgers in 1845, working at haying and purchasing sugar, molasses, crackers, and saleratus (baking powder). It appears he worked alongside Harry Marvin at haying at least one day in June 1845. (CS 5-307, 308)

Lukas, Harry, enslaved by Matthew Keeler of Bald Hill, who gave him and his wife (name unknown) a house in 1747. The house was "small . . . [and] near Capt. Keeler's mill" and had "a convenient garden spot southward of [the] house." (NLR 10-27) The mill in question was Capt. Samuel Keeler's, and was located in Norwalk on the south side of the Norwalk River, just upstream of the present location of the Cross Street bridge. (WPM 10, 52) By the terms of the gift, Harry was restricted from renting the house, or letting anyone else live in it. (NLR 10-27) Harry Lukas may have been the same person as Hone. If so, Harry was enslaved by Capt. Samuel Keeler (1682-1763) and wife Sarah Betts Keeler (1686-1777) of Norwalk and Ridgefield and given by Samuel to his son Matthew Keeler (1717-1765) of Bald Hill in January 1744. (WB 02-07-1990) Matthew's wife was Sarah Grumman Keeler (1722-1769). No record of this transaction can be found in either the Norwalk or the Ridgefield land records, however.

MANNING-TREADWELL-JAMES-STEBBINGS FAMILY

James, Isaac, first husband of Jane Elizabeth Manning James. Jane and Isaac married in Illinois sometime after the death of Joseph Smith during the summer of 1844 and the fall of 1845. (QDN 57) Isaac never lived in Wilton. He was a Mormon convert who had moved from Monmouth County, New Jersey, to the Mormon settlement at Nauvoo, Illinois, in 1841. (QDN 37) Immediately after the Nauvoo Mormons made their journey to Utah, Isaac worked as Brigham Young's coachman. In 1855, he (along with his wife and children) was still working for Brigham Young. (QDN 72) Although employed by

Brigham Young, Isaac was on the 1850 census as a "farmer." (QDN 76) By 1856, Isaac and Jane owned land "in the southeast corner" of Salt Lake City, on which they had built a house. They also owned a timepiece. (QDN 76) By 1859, Isaac and Jane owned, in addition, two oxen, one cow, a hog, a vehicle worth \$70, and \$20 worth of furniture. (QDN 78) Because of an 1852 order issued by Brigham Young, Black men like Isaac could not be ordained in the priesthood and, therefore, could not complete important sacred rites and other services for their families. White men had to perform these services for Isaac and his family. (QDN 91, 103) Jane and Isaac divorced in 1870. The Salt Lake City Probate Court ordered that Jane would retain custody of the children and keep the family home, possessions, and most of the land. (QDN 89) At some point prior to or after the divorce (the timeline is unclear), Isaac became involved with a woman described by Jane's friends as a white fortune teller. This development caused Jane considerable embarrassment. (QDN 92)

James, Jane Elizabeth Manning, aka Jane Treadwell, b. ca. 1820 or September 22, 1812 or 1822. (QDN 7; UDC; note that the 1822 date works best with Jane's own account of joining the New Canaan church at the age of 14, which church records show happening in 1841) Daughter of previously enslaved Phillis Eliza and free Isaac Manning. She went to work for Joseph and Hannah Fitch in New Canaan at the age of six, possibly as an indentured servant. (QDN 11) While still unmarried and working for the Fitches in 1839, Jane gave birth to a son, Sylvester. (QDN 14) In 1841, she was confirmed as a member of the New Canaan Congregational Church. (QDN 17) Later in life, she recalled that this church left her unsatisfied: "it seemed to me there was something more that I was looking for." (QDN 20) Approximately a year later, Charles Wesley Wandell, an Elder of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, came to New Canaan to preach. Against the wishes of her Congregationalist pastor, she attended Wandell's sermons and "was fully convinced." (QDN 20) According to scholar Quincy D. Newell, "Mormonism may have seemed more egalitarian to Jane than the historic, respectable Congregationalism of New Canaan. Mormonism also presented an expansive, inviting vision of a radically different future in which believers played a vital role in building God's kingdom on earth. Congregationalism, on the other hand, represented the status quo, projecting the existing order of society into the future and expecting change only after believers' deaths. Perhaps Jane was attracted to the possibility that Mormonism offered of a future that was different from the past, a home that was not like southwestern Connecticut, perhaps even a social role that transcended the options available to black women in New England." (QDN 21) Sometime in the winter or spring of 1842, she was baptized as a Mormon. A few weeks later, she recalled, "while kneeling at prayer the Gift of Tongues came upon me." (QDN 23) Around this time, her immediate family members, too, embraced Mormonism and were baptized. (QDN 25) In 1843, Jane and her family left Wilton for Nauvoo, Illinois, where they would join the nascent Mormon community under the leadership of Joseph Smith. Jane at this time was part owner in

the Manning-Treadwell property in Wilton, which was located at 96 Old Highway. (WLR 96OH) The family sold this property in September 1843 in preparation for their move to Nauvoo. (WLR 9-149) The travelers from Wilton were Jane, her son Sylvester, mother Phillis Eliza, siblings Peter, Isaac Lewis, Sarah, and Angeline; Angeline's infant daughter Julia; Sarah's husband Anthony Stebbings and their daughter Mary; Isaac Lewis's wife Lucinda; probably Jane's step-father Cato Treadwell; and possibly Henry and Lucinda Tonquin, fellow people of color from Wilton. (QDN 26, 27) The journey to Nauvoo was difficult. Along the way, the white members of the party led by Charles Wesley Wandell abandoned Jane and her family, going on without them when they were unable to pay a steamboat fare (or, as Newell suspects, when they were unable to pay a \$500 bond required by the State of Ohio from black persons entering the state, which she surmises was required to board the steamboat, which was set to disembark in Cleveland). (QDN 30) Local Wilton historian David H. Van Hoosear reports that a respected local elder and Justice of the Peace, Erastus Sturges, received a letter from the Mannings not long after their departure, asking him to send their "free papers." To legally travel through certain states in the 1840s, like Illinois and Ohio, the Mannings required documentary proof that they were not runaway slaves. But Erastus "was so put out at their leaving [that] he never answered," leaving the Mannings seriously inconvenienced and vulnerable to unscrupulous "slave" catchers willing to impress undocumented freedmen into bondage. (DHVH 186) After being denied passage on the boat, the extended Manning family continued on foot. As Newell explains, "Jane narrated these hardships [of the journey to Nauvoo] in her autobiography in order to demonstrate God's providence: a threatening official [that they met while on foot] and the group's confusion [when the official demanded evidence of their free status] was paired with the inexplicable but fortuitous decision to let the group go on its way; a river without a bridge with safe passage through the water; darkness with light and shelter; and frost with the emergence of the sun to melt it. When their feet cracked and bled, Jane recalled, 'We stopped and united in prayer to the Lord, we asked God the Eternal Father to heal our feet and our prayers were answered and our feet were healed forthwith.'" (QDN 34) While on their journey, Jane also recalled coming across a sick child in La Harpe, Illinois, who the Mormon elders' prayers had failed to heal. She and her family prayed over the child, and healed it. (QDN 35) Once in Nauvoo, the extended Manning family faced difficult economic circumstances. In Wilton, they had been property owners. In Nauvoo, they arrived with almost nothing but the clothes on their backs. All had been lost on their journey, so the family split up to seek lodging and employment. (QDN 37, 40) First, however, the family called on Joseph Smith, the founder of Mormonism. Jane recalled being welcomed at the Smith house, with Joseph commenting on their travels, "What do you think of that . . . isn't that faith?" (QDN 38) Jane also reported later that when she first saw Smith, she "knew him" because she had earlier seen him in a vision in Connecticut and recognized him then as a prophet. (QDN 38, 39) Because of her forlorn situation, but also, Jane implied, because Joseph was pleased with her faith, the Smiths

invited her to stay in their household and work, helping them run their guesthouse. (QDN 40, 41) While working for the Smiths, Jane had additional religious experiences and privileged access to the founder of her faith. She saw, contemplated, and cared for ritually important garments belonging to Smith. (QDC 43) She was also allowed to handle seer stones that Joseph had used to receive revelations. (QDC 46) In January 1844, the Smiths leased their guesthouse and Jane left to seek other employment, although she continued to rely on the Smiths for advice. (QDN 51, 55) Perhaps it was around this time that Jane met her future husband, Isaac James. Isaac was an Black Mormon convert who had moved from Monmouth County, New Jersey, to the Mormon settlement at Nauvoo in 1841. (QDN 37) Jane and Isaac married sometime between the summer of 1844 and the fall of 1845. (QDN 57) They would have children Miriam (b. 1850), Ellen Madora (b. ca. 1852), Isaac (1854), Jesse Jereboam (b. 1857), and Vilate (b. 1859). (QDN 72-73) Around the time Jane and Isaac married - and after the murder of Joseph Smith - Jane began working in the household of Brigham Young, who would become second president of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. (QDN 57) In 1847, Jane, her son Sylvester, and husband Isaac joined the Mormon trek of pioneers to Salt Lake City. Her mother, siblings, and in-laws, however, parted ways at this time, many of them removing to Iowa. (QDN 71; FC 1850-730) Soon after arriving in Salt Lake City, Isaac found work as Brigham Young's carriage driver. (QDN 72) By 1850, the family also derived some of their income from farming. (QDN 76) By 1855 at the latest, Jane was working for Brigham again, too. (QDN 72) A year later in 1856, Isaac and Jane were listed as owning land "in the southeast corner" of Salt Lake City, on which they had built a house. At this point they also owned a timepiece. (QDN 76) By 1859, Isaac and Jane owned, in addition, two oxen, one cow, a hog, a vehicle worth \$70, and \$20 worth of furniture. (QDN 78) The family appeared independent, but, because of an 1852 order issued by Brigham Young, Black men like Isaac could not be ordained in the priesthood and, therefore, could not complete important sacred rites and other services for their families. White men had to perform these services for Isaac and his family. (QDN 91, 103) In addition, neither Jane, Isaac, nor their children could receive temple endowments or sealings, both fundamental aspects of Mormon practice and belief that Blacks were excluded from at this time. Jane believed that "without temple endowments and sealings, her family would not be together after death, and they would not be able to attain the highest degrees of glory in the afterlife." (QDN 103) In the 1880s, Jane is on record writing letters to then church president John Taylor, entreating him for succor, arguing her position on the basis of scripture, and asking "is there no blessing for me?" (QDN 105) She would continue requesting the privileges of endowment and sealing throughout the remainder of her life. (QDN 112) In the 1870s and 1880s, Jane participated twice in the only ritual function she was ever allowed to engage in: proxy baptism. (QDN 108) Proxy baptism is a Mormon ritual to ensure deceased individuals not baptized as Mormons during their lifetime, can accept Mormonism and join the proxy baptizer's family in eternity in the afterlife. Jane's first

round of proxy baptisms were in September 1875 at the Salt Lake Endowment House, in the company of her then husband Frank Perkins. Jane was baptized for Susan Brown of Wilton; Frank was baptized for Morris Brown of Wilton. (QDN 99) The second round was in October 1888 at the Logan Temple. Jane was baptized for her mother, sister Angeline, daughter Mary Anne James, grandmother Phillis Abbott, aunt Dorcas Abbott, and cousin Harriet Abbott. (QDN 107) Jane and Isaac divorced in 1870. The Salt Lake City Probate Court ordered that Jane would retain custody of their children and keep the family home, possessions, and most of the land. (QDN 89) At some point prior to or after the divorce (the timeline is unclear), Isaac became involved with a woman described by Jane's friends as a white fortune teller. This development caused Jane considerable embarrassment. (QDN 92) In 1892, Jane's brother Isaac Lewis, who had strayed from mainstream Mormonism, rejoined her in Salt Lake City after the death of his wife, and was rebaptized into the fold. (QDN 112) While some have criticized Jane for following a religion that, during most of her life, denied Blacks equal spiritual access and standing within the faith, it is important to note that Jane practiced "a form of Mormonism that de-centered priesthood and temple rituals and focused instead on supernatural religious experiences and a sense of divine favor that flowed from those experiences." (QDN 4) By this measure, her spiritual standing was exalted: she had healed others through prayer, she had spoken in tongues, she had been granted visions of the prophet, she had handled seer stones, cared for sacred garments, and been admitted into the households of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young. Jane never accepted the second class position church elders assigned her and she tirelessly endeavored to change their rules. Not only did Jane seek to better her position within Mormonism, she sought to portray herself more generally as respectable, and as born free (which she seems to have viewed as reflective of a higher status, at least in the eyes of the largely white Mormon society she associated with). Looking the part was one of Jane's tactics. Newell argues that Jane "was particular about her appearance and her possessions. They helped her project a sense of herself as a respectable, serious woman." (QDN 26) Making sure that everyone knew she had never been enslaved was equally important to Jane. As Newell points out, she "emphasized repeatedly [when telling her life story] that she had never been enslaved, as if she feared that people would assume she had." (QDN 33) As Jane and the other pioneers of 1847 drew towards the end of their lives, their stories began attracting wider attention within the Mormon community. In response, Jane redoubled her efforts to control how she was perceived and what privileges she was extended, sharing her story with interviewers and writing letters to church leaders. Jane died on April 16, 1908. (QDN 131)

Manning, Angeline, aka Angeline Treadwell, daughter of previously enslaved Phillis Eliza and free Isaac Manning, and sister of Jane Manning James. Part owner in the Manning-Treadwell property in Wilton, which was located at 96 Old Highway. (WLR 96OH) Along with the rest of her family, Angeline was baptized Mormon, most likely in

1842, and left Wilton with her family in 1843 for Nauvoo. (QDN 25, 26, 27) Angeline and the rest of the Manning family, however, did not follow Jane, Isaac James, and Jane's children past Nauvoo. Instead, most of the Mannings (but not Angeline) went to Iowa, appearing on the 1850 census in Muscatine. (FC 1850-730) It is not clear what happened to Angeline, or where she went, but she must have died sometime before October 1888, when she was baptized by proxy by her sister Jane Manning James in Utah at Logan Temple. (QDN 107)

Manning, Isaac, possibly born in New York around 1785, he was between the ages of 26 and 45 in 1820, and he died in about 1825. (UDB; FC 1820-25) He married Phillis Eliza Abbott in about 1815, and their children were Isaac Lewis, Sally Ann (Sarah), Jane, Israel, Peter, and Angeline. Isaac may have come to Wilton from Newtown. (RNS) He first appears in Wilton records in 1815 and 1816, making purchases at the Betts & Raymond store opposite Lambert Corner. At the time, the Manning family lived at (or near) Hurlbutt's Hole (i.e., the Hurlbutt Street neighborhood). (RMER 1-49) Isaac's purchases are suggestive of a financially secure, though not wealthy, family man. Isaac made typical purchases of essentials including molasses, flour, cotton cloth, sugar, tobacco, and rum (these last two truly were staples at the time). In addition, he regularly bought gunpowder and shot, suggesting that he hunted for the table. (SBL 23, 24) He also had the means to acquire some simple luxuries for his family, including a wine glass, mirror, peppermint candies, a pane of window glass, and a jaw harp. (SBL 23, 24) Isaac's purchases also reveal that he may have been employed in Wilton's prolific shoemaking industry: in April 1816, he bought a shoe knife, used to cut out leather uppers and soles. A month later, however, Isaac purchased a new, finished pair of shoes. (SBL 23) Perhaps he lacked the knowledge, tools, or materials to make the particular size or style of shoes his family needed, or perhaps his involvement in the industry was limited to cutting out uppers, or some other task. Besides his possible involvement in shoemaking, Isaac did odd jobs for Asahel Raymond Betts to pay off debts at the Betts & Raymond store. (SBL 24) In addition, Isaac was reportedly also working as a spinner, as allegedly recorded in an 1816 ledger kept by Asahel Raymond Betts. (HJW n4) It should be noted, however, that a thorough search of Betts's ledger and other financial records has failed to substantiate this report, which goes back to a letter written by Gertrude R. Merwin to Henry J. Wolfinger in June 19, 1973. By 1820, Isaac was head of five person household in Wilton. (FC 1820-25) In November 1822, Isaac purchased three-quarters of an acre of land in Wilton at what is now 96 Old Highway from Alvin Hyatt. (WLR 96OH; WLR 8-176) He probably built a house for his family on that land; if he did not, his wife's second husband, Cato Treadwell, did so. (WLR 9-149)

Manning, Isaac Lewis, aka Isaac Lewis Treadwell, born May 12, 1815. (FG) Son of previously enslaved Phillis Eliza and free Isaac Manning. He was head of two person household in Wilton in 1840. (FC 1840-316) Part owner in the Manning-Treadwell property in Wilton, which was located at 96 Old Highway. (WLR 96OH; WLR 9-149)

Along with the rest of his family, Isaac Lewis was baptized Mormon, most likely in 1842, and left Wilton with his family (including his wife Lucinda) in 1843 for Nauvoo. (QDN 25, 26, 27) Like the rest of the Manning family, Isaac Lewis did not follow Jane, Isaac James, and Jane's children past Nauvoo. Instead, he first moved to Iowa with the majority of the Manning family, and later ended up in Ontario, Canada, with his brother Peter. (FC 1850-730; QDN 31, 112) In 1891, Isaac Lewis's wife Lucinda died and, a year later, he moved to Utah to live with his sister Jane in Salt Lake City. He worked there as a carpenter and, in March 1892 after a long hiatus from the LDS Church, was rebaptized. (QDN 112) While living in Salt Lake City, Isaac Lewis wrote an official letter inquiring whether he might be entitled to a pension stemming from his step-father, Cato Treadwell's, service in the Revolutionary War. (NARA 19442265, 7.4) He died in 1911 in Salt Lake City. (QDN 133)

Manning, Israel, aka Israel Treadwell, b. ca. 1820, son of previously enslaved Phillis Eliza and free Isaac Manning. Israel appears on the Town's pauper list in 1834, receiving \$3.50. (TR 6-13) Along with the rest of his family, Israel was baptized Mormon, most likely in 1842, and left Wilton with his family in 1843 for Nauvoo. (QDN 25, 26, 27) Like the rest of the Manning family, Israel did not follow Jane, Isaac James, and Jane's children past Nauvoo.

Stebbing, Anthony, husband of Sarah "Sally" Manning Stebbings and father of their children Mary, Joseph, Isabella, and Angeline. (FC 1850-730) Part owner in the Manning-Treadwell property in Wilton, which was located at 96 Old Highway. (WLR 96OH; WLR 9-149) Along with his in-laws, Anthony was baptized Mormon, most likely in 1842, and left Wilton with the Manning family in 1843 for Nauvoo. (QDN 25, 26, 27) Like his in-laws, Anthony did not follow Jane, Isaac James, and Jane's children past Nauvoo. He may have moved with the majority of the Manning family to Muscatine, Iowa, but he does not appear on the 1850 census with them, although his wife and children do. (FC 1850-730)

Stebbing, Sarah "Sally" Ann Manning, aka Sarah Treadwell, b. March 11, 1816 in Wilton and baptized that year at Hurlbutt's Hole by a Methodist Episcopal clergyman assigned to the Redding circuit. (RMER 1-49) Daughter of previously enslaved Phillis Eliza and free Isaac Manning. She married Anthony Stebbings and had children Mary, Joseph, Isabella, and Angeline. (FC 1850-730). Part owner in the Manning-Treadwell property in Wilton, which was located at 96 Old Highway. (WLR 96OH; WLR 9-149) Along with the rest of her family, Sally was baptized Mormon, most likely in 1842, and left Wilton with her family in 1843 for Nauvoo. (QDN 25, 26, 27) Like the rest of the Manning family, Sally did not follow Jane, Isaac James, and Jane's children past Nauvoo. Instead, she moved with the majority of the Manning family to Muscatine, Iowa, where she was living in 1850 with her children, but not her husband. (FC 1850-730)

Treadwell, Cato, b. ca. 1766, in Fairfield County. (FC 1840-327; NARA 19442265, 2) Cato was a free man who fought in the Revolutionary War. He enlisted in 1780 and served

three years in the 2nd Connecticut Regiment, in Captain Robertson's Company (sometimes called Captain Wright's Company). His house burned down in 1785, destroying his discharge papers. (NARA 19442265, 2) In 1818, he advocated for himself and successfully applied for a pension, citing his poverty, and provided a list of his belongings two years later to support his claim. (NARA 19442265, 2) He owed "an old log house standing on land belonging to Israel Hawley" in Huntington, a neighborhood in the town of Shelton. At that time, his possessions were a table, a plain chest, 6 old chains, 2 trammels, 1 shovel and tongs, 2 tin pails, 1 porridge pot, 1 pair steelyards, 1 old chest, 1 silver watch, 1 sadiron, 1 pair andirons, 1 kettle, 8 earthen plates, 6 spoons, 1 umbrella, 2 cider barrels, 1 half barrel, 1 ax, 1 adze, and "sundry small articles consisting of broken crockery and furniture." (NARA 19442265, 1) His net worth was just about \$50. (NARA 19442265, 13.4) But, he was also \$10 in debt. (NARA 19442265, 13.3) He was married to his first wife at the time of his pension application. Her name was Margaret and she was unable to work due to an attack of "numb palsey." (NARA 19442265, 13.3) The couple do not seem to have had any children. By 1830, he was living in Weston, apparently still with Margaret as his household contained two. (FC 1830-46) By 1840, he was married to Phillis Manning and was head of a seven person household in Wilton. (FC 1840-326) Through his marriage to Phillis Manning, Cato became part-owner in the Manning-Treadwell property at 96 Old Highway. (WLR 96OH; WLR 9-149) Along with the rest of his family, Cato may have been baptized Mormon, most likely in 1842, and he may have left Wilton with his family in 1843 for Nauvoo. (QDN 25, 26, 27) Cato later returned to Connecticut. (RHR 191, 192) He died in Trumbull on March 5, 1849. (NARA 19442265, 7.5)

Treadwell, Peter, aka Peter Manning, b. ca. 1832. Son of previously enslaved Phillis Eliza and, possibly, free Cato Treadwell. Part owner in the Manning-Treadwell property in Wilton, which was located at 96 Old Highway. (WLR 96OH; WLR 9-149) Along with the rest of his family, Peter was baptized Mormon, most likely in 1842, and left Wilton with his family in 1843 for Nauvoo. (QDN 25, 26, 27) Like the rest of the Manning family, Peter did not follow Jane, Isaac James, and Jane's children past Nauvoo. Instead, he moved with the majority of the Manning family to Muscatine, Iowa, where he was living in 1850. (FC 1850-730) At some later date he lived in Ontario, Canada, with his brother Isaac Lewis. (QDN 31) Peter died in February, 1883, in Milford, Michigan. (NARA 19442265, 7.6)

Treadwell, Phillis Eliza Manning, b. August 4, 1786; baptized in the Wilton Congregational Church on June 4, 1795 as Phillis (NLR 17-219; QDN 7; RNS; RCCW 64); d. May 15, 1861, Keokuk, Iowa, according to her son Isaac Lewis's 1884 application to receive Cato Treadwell's Revolutionary War pension. (NARA 19442265) She was formerly enslaved by Ebenezer Abbott II (d. 1821) of Sharp Hill (he owned houses at 51 Shadow Lane and 186 Sharp Hill, the latter of which is no longer standing). (RNS) Her mother, also enslaved by Abbott, was also named Phillis. Phillis Eliza's sisters, also

enslaved by Abbott, were Dorcas Brush and Chloe. According to Van Hoosear, Ebenezer gave Phillis Eliza to his daughter Sarah in 1801; Sarah was married to Uriah Smith Grumman of Wilton. (RNS) In Van Hoosear's own words, "Though Phillis was but 15, she stole Mr. Grumman's wine and other things. This provoked him so that he sold her to a Stamford man. She was freed in 1811 when she was 25." (WB 02-07-1990) Note that, legally, she ought to have been freed when she reached the age of 21; perhaps Van Hoosear was mistaken. Once free, she came back to Wilton, and married Isaac Manning, d. ca. 1825. She was head of her own five person household in Wilton in 1830. (FC 1830-444, 445) After her first husband's death and her subsequent marriage to Cato Treadwell, Phillis Eliza was part owner along with her children and new husband in the Manning-Treadwell property at 96 Old Highway in Wilton. (WLR 96OH; WLR 9-149) Along with the rest of her family, Phillis Eliza was baptized Mormon, most likely in 1842, and left Wilton with her family in 1843 for Nauvoo. (QDN 25, 26, 27) Like the rest of the Mannings, Phillis Eliza did not follow Jane, Isaac James, and Jane's children past Nauvoo. Instead, she moved with the majority of the Manning family to Muscatine, Iowa, where she was living in 1850 and listed as Eliza Manning. (FC 1850-730) Phillis Eliza was baptized by proxy by her granddaughter Jane Manning James in Utah at Logan Temple in 1888. (QDN 107)

March, a mixed race man, likely enslaved, and living in Norwalk (when it still included Wilton) in the mid-1700s. He may have been enslaved by John Belden II of Norwalk and Wilton, or possibly by Gov. Thomas Fitch IV of Norwalk and Wilton. (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part I, 1750-1759, Box 6)

MARVIN-GREEN FAMILY

Green, Cato, aka Cato Marvin, between the ages of 26 and 45 and head of three person household in Wilton in 1820. (FC 1820-292) He had been enslaved by Matthew Marvin VI (1764-1842) and wife Nancy St. John Marvin (1768-1808). According to Van Hoosear, Cato was enslaved in New Milford prior to coming to Wilton. (RNS) Cato was admitted to the Wilton Congregational Church in 1816. (WVR 1806-1900, 11) In 1820, Cato seems to have been living next to his former (or perhaps present, if he was yet enslaved) owner Matthew Marvin VI, whose tavern was at 405 Danbury Road. (FC 1820-292) It is possible that Cato worked at Marvin's tavern during his enslavement, and perhaps afterwards as well. He was a full member of the Wilton Congregational Church beginning in 1815, at which time he was still described as "Mr. Marvin's servant." (*Manual of the Congregational Church of Wilton, Conn : 1726-1904*, p. 29)

Marvin, Betsey, b. ca. 1832. Wife of the younger Harry Marvin. Betsey and Harry lived on or near Hurlbutt Street in 1860, probably not far from George Abbott's blacksmith shop at the intersection of Hurlbutt Street and Route 106. (FC 1860-17)

Marvin, Harry, aka Black Harry, baptized in 1784. (RNS) If Van Hoosear is correct about Harry's baptismal date, then the baptism did not take place at the Wilton Congregational Church. Enslaved and later emancipated at age 21 by Matthew Marvin VI (1764-1842) and wife Nancy St. John Marvin (1768-1808). (RNS) His exact familial relationship with other Black Wiltonians named Marvin is uncertain. Harry was head of a household of two and a laborer in Wilton in 1850. (FC 1850-252) His wife was Nancy Tonquin, who (according to Van Hoosear) had been enslaved by Col. William Belden. (WB 02-07-1990) There are extensive records of his purchases and paid labor in the ledgers of the Cannon Store. Goods that he purchased regularly include mackerel (or, when the prices were low, veal, salt beef, or pork), codfish, wheat flour, oil, molasses, candles, and tobacco. Occasional purchases include cheese, eggs, ginger, salt, butter, candy, coffee, tea, beer, wine, matches, and cotton thread. Rare or one-time purchases include a spade, which he may have used when he "spaded [the store owner's] garden" for pay, shoe leather, hats, suspenders, and fabrics including denim and calico. (CSL) According to G. Evans Hubbard, Nancy and Harry lived on Hulda Hill Road, which used to be called Black Nancy Lane. (SR 27)

Marvin, Harry, b. ca. 1830. It is possible he was the son of Harry and Nancy, but his relationship with them, if any, is uncertain. He was head of a household of two and a farm laborer in Wilton in 1860. His wife was Betsey. Betsey and Harry lived on or near Hurlbutt Street in 1860, probably not far from George Abbott's blacksmith shop at the intersection of Hurlbutt Street and Route 106. (FC 1860-17)

Marvin, Nancy Tonquin, b. ca. 1800, daughter of Aner and Prince Tonquin. According to Van Hoosear, she was enslaved by Col. William Belden (1779-1830) and his wife Rebecca (d. 1867). (WB 02-07-1990) Presumably she was emancipated by William, at the latest by ca. 1825. Nancy was married to the elder Harry Marvin. Nancy appears in the Cannon Store ledgers in 1850, cleaning the owner's house for pay. (TR 11-169) According to G. Evans Hubbard, Nancy and Harry lived on Hulda Hill Road, which used to be called Black Nancy Lane. (SR 27)

Mary, mother of Gin (b. March 20, 1787), Sip (b. April 30, 1795), and Amos (b. March 9, 1800), enslaved by William St. John of Norwalk or Wilton. (NLR 17-219)

Mary, b. October 1, 1801, daughter of Dorcas, enslaved by Eliphalet Lockwood (1741-1814) and wife Susannah St. John Lockwood (1743-1810) of Norwalk, who owned land in Wilton (his name appears over two dozen times in the Wilton Land Records). (NLR 18-36)

MCAULEY FAMILY

McAuley, Grace, b. ca. 1767, enslaved by Caleb Benedict of Norwalk or Wilton, she was married to a free man named Lew McAuley before she was emancipated on September 14, 1795. (NLR 17-219)

McAuley, Lew, a free man in 1795, husband of Grace McAuley. (NLR 17-219)

Meribah, enslaved by Capt. John Raymond II (1693-1774) of Norwalk (who owned 69 acres at Nod Hill and Spectacle Bog) and given in his 1773 will to his son Jesse Raymond. (FPR 18-273, 371, 375) John was a cousin of Josiah Raymond (1737-1824) of Ambler Farm.

Michael, enslaved by Nehemiah Rogers (1718-1760) and wife Elizabeth Fitch Rogers (1723-1812) of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton; their daughter Susannah married David Lambert II of Wilton, also slaveholders). In September 1750, Samuel Belden accused Michael of breaking into his house in the night and stealing a "good beaver hat" worth £8. Elizabeth Ketchum provided written testimony for the case, asserting that she had participated in a conversation about the hat at the home of Mrs. Street. During that conversation, someone had said that they had heard that Michael had said he knew where the hat was. Just then, Michael came in. One of the conversants took the opportunity to ask if, indeed, he knew where the hat was. Michael responded that he did know, but would not tell where. It seems Michael was found guilty, although this is somewhat uncertain - the court papers only say "execution granted, February 5, 1750/51," which seems to indicate that recovery of the £8 plus court costs and penalties of £5 that Samuel was asking for had been approved. (RG3 21)

Milloe (or Millie), baptized at the Greenfield Church in Norwalk in 1767. (GCR 74) Enslaved by Thomas Merwin (1696-1769) and wife Mary Smith Merwin, parents of Mary "Molly" Merwin Raymond (1746-1809), the wife of Josiah Raymond (1737-1824). Molly is said to have brought several enslaved persons from her father's household with her into her new home when she married in 1764. (CMS 126) Perhaps Milloe came into Molly's household later. Milloe may have worked the farmlands now known as Ambler Farm, as Josiah built the houses there and gave the land to his son, Platt Raymond.

Mingo, enslaved by Eliphalet Lockwood (1675-1753) and wife Mary Gold Lockwood (1672-1761) of Norwalk, who owned 38 acres at Rockhouse Woods and land west of Pimpewaug in Wilton. Mingo was likely inherited by Eliphalet's wife. Mingo was valued, together with his bed and bedding, in Eliphalet's inventory at £320. (FPR 10-529)

Mingo, enslaved by Capt. Ebenezer Carter (d. ca. 1775) of Norwalk and Wilton, who owned 84 acres in Silvermine, 18 acres north of Silvermine Road, and 6 acres at Huckleberry Hills. Mingo is listed in Ebenezer's inventory at £25. (FPR 18-511)

Moll, enslaved by Andrew Messenger (d. ca. 1728) of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton), and inherited by his wife Rachel. Moll is listed in Andrew's probate records at £100, including the value of her clothing. (FPR 8-240, 251)

Moses, b. ca. 1779, is included in the so-called *Book of Negroes*, a document created by the British in 1783 during the Revolutionary War that records the names of some 3,000 Black loyalists. He was born free. He was from Norwalk or Wilton. He was a "fine boy," according to the British. With British assistance, he was bound for St. John, New Brunswick, Canada, aboard

the *Mars*. He was presumably related to Catharine, an older woman (too old to be his mother, but of an age to potentially have been his grandmother) from Norwalk who was also aboard the *Mars*. (CP 1733)

Nanny, aka Nance, mother of Pomp and Bill, aka William. (NLR 17-218) She was enslaved by Stephen Betts II of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part I, 1790-1799, A-K, Box 11) She was allegedly sold by Betts in June 1789 to Benjamin Barlow of Stratford. Isaac Hillard of Redding brought the case against Betts. In another case, Hillard's lawyer described Barlow as habitually transporting enslaved Blacks out of state, and in particular to Virginia, a Southern state where those entitled to freedom at a certain age (for those born after 1784 in Connecticut, that age was first 25 and later reduced 21) could instead to enslaved for life. (RG3 Files 1712-1869, Part II, 1797-1855, He-Hoo, Box 18) Betts transported Nance, Bill, and a Black enslaved man named Cato, who was presumably Bill's father and Nance's husband, to Old Well (South Norwalk) where Barlow's ship was at port. The boy and his parents were boarded on the ship to be transported out of state, presumably somewhere the boy legally could be kept enslaved for life rather than being freed at the age of twenty-five, as was then mandated in Connecticut for those born after 1784. (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part I, 1790-1799, A-K, Box 11) The man who accused Betts of this illegal act several years after the fact (in 1797), Isaac Hillard, was a particularly litigious man who may have pursued this and similar cases for moral reasons, or potentially out of his own financial self-interest (he would share any fines Betts might pay with the State of Connecticut) – though he denied this latter motive vociferously and persuasively. (TTP 1) Ninety acres of Betts's land located in Canaan parish, plus his house and other buildings, were attached as a surety against Hillard's claims. In the end, however, Hillard's case was deemed insufficient and he was ordered to pay Betts's court costs. (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part I, 1790-1799, A-K, Box 11)

Naomi, mother of Elrany (b. October 22, 1787), enslaved by Col. Thomas Fitch V (d. 1795) and wife Sarah Hill Fitch of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). (NLR 17-219) Thomas's brothers Ebenezer and Timothy lived in Wilton on Chestnut Hill. (RHR 75) Naomi is listed in Thomas's probate inventory at £15. (FPR 25-278)

Ned, b. January 11, 1773, enslaved by Josiah Raymond (1737-1824) and wife Molly Merwin Raymond (1746-1809), residents of Norwalk with property in Wilton (today's Ambler Farm). (NLR 17-219) Ned may have worked in Wilton on Ambler Farm, most likely prior to Josiah transferring the property to his son Platt. Ned was emancipated in 1798. (NLR 19-382)

Neptune, Amos, aka Amos Olivy, Amos Oliva, b. ca. 1760. He was a resident of Hartford and a free man in 1790. (CCWI 05-17-1790) In February 1790, he stood trial for breaking into and burglarizing the store of Barnabas Deane and Jeremiah Wadsworth on the night of December 11, 1789. (RG3 H20) Along with an accomplice, an Irishman named William Eylmer, Amos pled guilty to stealing "one piece of gauze, two pounds weight of sewing silk, ten pieces of ribbons, ten yards of kerseymere and divers other goods" valued at £50. (RG3 H20) Three months after the trial, Amos escaped from the jail in Hartford with two other men, one of them his accomplice from the burglary. A newspaper report on the prison break described Amos as

"about thirty years old, of a middle size, a stout well looking fellow [who] speaks good English." Of the three escapees, a reward was offered only for Amos, in the amount of \$10. (CCWI 05-17-1790) He seems to have absconded to Fairfield County, where in 1800 he appears on the census as head of two person household in Wilton or Norwalk. (FC 1800-194) Sometime later he seems to have relocated to New York. There is an Amos Neptune, b. 1767, d. September 3, 1834, buried in Manhattan at Potter's Field (a pauper's cemetery). Given the date, it is likely the Bryant Park Potter's Field. He was black, and his birthplace is given as Connecticut. His death notice notes "Duane Street Hospital" on it. This was a cholera hospital.

Neptune, head of five person household in Norwalk or Wilton, 1790. It is possible that he was a relative of Amos Neptune.

Old Oliver, almost nothing is known about him. Seems to have lived in Wilton in the early 1800s. At some point, Old Oliver may have lived with Aner Smith Tonquin in the household of Francis Newell. (RNS)

Ona, a man enslaved by the Belden family, probably sometime in the 1700s. He may have died in New Canaan. (RNS) It is possible there is some confusion on Van Hoosear's part between Ona and Onesimus (see below).

Onesimus, enslaved by Sarah and Phebe Comstock, daughters of Moses (d. 1766) and Abigail Brinsmaide Comstock, who lived in New Canaan but had Wilton connections. Sarah and Phebe bought Onesimus as a young boy for £39 from Jonathan Husted (then of Brookhaven, Long Island, but originally of New Canaan) on August 9, 1773. Onesimus was still enslaved in 1810, when Phebe left him in her will to her niece. In her will, Phebe mentioned that Onesimus lived in a separate house, and that he was to continue doing so. (NPR 3-138, 139) When Phebe's niece (also named Phebe) passed away in 1854, she left Onesimus to Darius and Elizabeth Ann Ferris, specifying that they were to care for him "in sickness and in health" and to provide him with a proper burial. (NPR 9-294) During his life, Onesimus is said to have attended the Norwalk Congregational Church, accompanying the elder Phebe Comstock (though sitting in his own separate pew). He died on November 17, 1857 and is buried in the Canoe Hill Cemetery in New Canaan. He is generally considered to have been the last enslaved person in Connecticut, never having been freed.

Peg, b. ca. 1759, enslaved by Benjamin Betts, Jr., baptized at Wilton Congregational Church on July 7, 1765. A note in the margin indicates she was 6 years old at the time. (RCCW 66)

Peg, enslaved by David Lambert II (1740-1815) and Susannah Rogers Lambert (1752-1829) and, in March 1778, given by David to a free Black man named Jacob Cams (or Carns), who then lived in Wilton. With David's blessing, Jacob married Peg that March, and the couple moved to Weston. (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part II, 1797-1855, A-Bak, Box 1) Jacob appears on the 1800 census as "Jacob Negro," living in Weston as head of a household of two, presumably himself and Peg. (FC 1800-30) Jacob died sometime in 1804, and Peg soon fell into "an indigent state and destitute of the necessities of life." On May 20th of that year, Peg fell

"sick and became thereby helpless." (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part II, 1797-1855, A-Bak, Box 1) The Town of Weston supported her until June 19th, and then sued her former owner David Lambert to recover their expenses of £2 and 10 farthings. The Town of Weston argued in court that the marriage between Peg and Jacob was "pretended" and that Lambert's having given permission for their marriage did not exonerate him from his obligation to support Peg, who was still (in their view) his property. The courts sided with Lambert, agreeing that he had the right to give her to Jacob and that, in doing so, he had transferred his obligation to maintain her onto Jacob. The courts moreover asserted that in marrying Peg, Jacob had de facto made her a free woman: "If a master consent that his slave should be married to a freeman, this is no manumission. But if the freeman marries her in pursuance of such consent it is the gift of the master to the husband, who by marrying her makes her free - and he only is liable for her maintenance." (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part II, 1797-1855, A-Bak, Box 1)

Peggy, worked for the Lambert family in 1819 and 1820. Notes written by one of the Lambert women (the signatures only bear first initials, either "A" for Aurinda or "E" for Elizabeth or Esther) asking the Betts Store to pay Peggy on the Lambert account range in value from .25 cents to \$2. (BRS 135, 134)

Peggy, enslaved by John Olmstead of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). She paid £30 for her freedom in 1738. (NLR 8-347)

Peter, enslaved by Lt. Col. Stephen St. John (d. 1785) of Norwalk and wife Ann Fitch St. John (d. 1797), who owned land on Chestnut Hill in Wilton. Peter was listed in Stephen's probate inventory at £27 and 10 shillings. (FPR 23-156)

Peter, enslaved by Joseph St. John (d. ca. 1756), who owned land in Wilton at Nod Hill and Huckleberry Hills. Peter is listed in Joseph's probate inventory at £40. (FPR 11-527)

Peter, enslaved by Joseph Hitchcock (d. ca. 1759) of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). Emancipated on January 9, 1759 upon Hitchcock's death and according to his wishes, by his son and executor, John Hitchcock. (NLR 11-332) The terms of Hitchcock's will were such that Peter, within three months of his master's death, had to "procure good and sufficient security . . . to save and indemnify [Hitchcock's] executor and heirs from all cost, charge, and expense, of and towards his support and subsistence during life." (FPR 12-240)

Peter, enslaved by David Comstock (d. ca. 1784) and wife Rebeckah of Norwalk, who owned land at Silvermine in Wilton or Canaan parish. Peter was listed in David's probate inventory at £2. (FPR 21-27)

Peter, d. January 1741, enslaved by Deacon Benjamin Hickox, death noted in Wilton Congregational Church records. (RCCW 35) John Keeler sued Benjamin Hickox in 1731 because Peter had cut down "five large whitewood trees" on Keeler's Bald Hill land in the late winter of 1728. Peter maintained that the land at the time was unfenced and therefore, according to a

1672 Norwalk law, counted as commonage (Keeler's acreage was in fact bordered on three sides by common lands). Peter added that he cut the trees for a house he was building at the time. The court was not persuaded by his argument. He was ordered to pay Keeler £8 and 15 shillings plus court costs. (RG3 Fairfield County Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part I, 1730-1739, Box 3)

Phebe, enslaved by Samuel Middlebrook, emancipated in 1810. (WLR 2-485)

PHILLIPS-SEBRING FAMILY

Phillips, James, resident of Norwalk, married Nancy Vandike of New Milford on December 4, 1825, an evening ceremony performed in Wilton by Rev. Origen P. Holcomb of St. Matthew's Episcopal Church. (TCVR 1-6)

Phillips, Nancy Vandike, resident of New Milford, married James Phillips of Norwalk on December 4, 1825, an evening ceremony performed in Wilton by Rev. Origen P. Holcomb of St. Matthew's Episcopal Church. (TCVR 1-6)

Sebring, Harriet Phillips, resident of New York, married Henry Sebring on September 15, 1822, ceremony performed in Wilton by Rev. Charles Smith. (TCVR 1-4.5)

Sebring, Henry, married Harriet Phillips of New York on September 15, 1822, ceremony performed in Wilton by Rev. Charles Smith. (TCVR 1-4.5)

Phillis, b. ca. 1767, enslaved by Deacon Matthew Marvin V (1734-1791), wife Debby Marvin (d. 1796) of Wilton at the same time as Dorcas and Dick. Phillis was baptized at Wilton Congregational Church on November 14, 1768. (RCCW 29) Phillis may have worked in the store and tavern that Matthew Marvin opened at his Pimpewaug homestead, according to Van Hoosear. (WB 02-07-1990) Sometime between 1778 and 1787, Matthew had the local Wilton doctor, Abraham Chichester, attend on Phillis; he pulled two of her teeth. (ACL) Phillis appears in Marvin's will in 1791, as one of his assets to be distributed to his heirs. (NPR 25-104) She was valued at £25. She was likely mother to Dorcas, a child who also appears on Marvin's will.

Phillis, enslaved by Lt. Col. Stephen St. John (d. 1785) of Norwalk and wife Ann Fitch St. John (d. 1797), who owned land on Chestnut Hill in Wilton. Phillis was listed in Stephen's probate inventory at £25. (FPR 23-156)

Phillis, mother of Quaco and Sip. Phillis and her children were enslaved by Joshua Raymond (d. ca. 1753) of Norwalk, when it still included Wilton. Phillis was valued in Joshua's inventory at £500. (FPR 10-367, 373)

Phillis, enslaved by Capt. Ebenezer Carter (d. ca. 1775) of Norwalk and Wilton, who owned 84 acres in Silvermine, 18 acres north of Silvermine Road, and 6 acres at Huckleberry Hills. Phillis is listed in Ebenezer's inventory at £20. (FPR 18-511)

Phillis, enslaved by Ensign Matthew Gregory of Drum Hill. Baptized at the Wilton Congregational Church in January or February of 1756. (RCCW 58)

Phillis, b. May 26, 1807, enslaved by James Selleck, Jr. (1804-1894), and wife Mary Storm Selleck (1821-1906), who owned land in Wilton (his name appears a dozen times in the Wilton Land Records). (NLR 18-37)

Phillis, enslaved by Samuel Cooke Silliman (1742-1795) and wife Elizabeth Stratton Silliman (1741-1792) of Canaan parish, Norwalk (when it still included Wilton), who owned land on Harry's Ridge in Wilton. Samuel's will directed the disbursement of all his assets "except my negro girl Phillis whom I do hereby emancipate and make free from and after my decease." (FPR 25-280) Phillis (or possibly another enslaved woman) was valued in Samuel's inventory at £30. (FPR 25-282) Phillis was emancipated about half a year after Samuel's death, on July 7, 1795, when she was between the ages of 25 and 45. (NLR 17-432)

Pleasant, b. ca. 1748, is included in the so-called *Book of Negroes*, a document created by the British in 1783 during the Revolutionary War that records the names of some 3,000 Black loyalists. She was described as an "ordinary wench," in other words, a woman without any obvious distinguishing physical characteristics. She had been enslaved by Eliphalet Lockwood (1741-1814) and his wife Susannah St. John Lockwood (1743-1810), and ran away from them in about 1779. Lockwood was "a Wilton native and Norwalk merchant, son of Deacon Peter Lockwood and grandson of the first David Lambert. Lockwood had been First Selectman of Norwalk during the Revolution and a member of the state legislature. His firm did business in Danbury." (RHR 165) Pleasant had a British certificate of freedom issued by General Samuel Birch. With British assistance, she was bound for St. John, New Brunswick, Canada. (CP 1928)

Pomp, b. August 28, 1785, son of Nanny, aka Nance, enslaved by Stephen Betts II of Norwalk and Wilton. (NLR 17-218)

Pomp, b. ca. 1749, enslaved by Rev. Jeremiah Leaming (d. 1804) of St. Paul's Anglican Church in Norwalk (when it still included Wilton) and his wife Ann Thompson Leaming (1731-1752). Pomp petitioned the General Assembly of Connecticut on October 20, 1779, for his freedom. At that time, Pomp was married to a free woman and had one child. He argued that as Rev. Leaming was "now absconded and with the enemy at open war with the United States of America," and because his entire estate had been forfeited to the State of Connecticut, that Pomp's own fate was now in the hands of the General Assembly. Legally, in fact, he was the property of the State and the Selectmen of Norwalk. Because he had remained loyal to the United States and had been "unwilling to go with his said master over to the enemy," Pomp believed "he should have obtained his freedom from slavery." Samuel Grumman was the appointed administrator of Rev. Leaming's estate, and he testified that the estate was more than sufficient to meet all of its debts: any funds obtained by selling Pomp were superfluous. The Selectmen of Norwalk (Stephen St. John, Matthew Marvin, Ozias Marvin, and David Comstock) furthermore testified that Pomp was "a proper person to have his freedom" and would not become a burden on the

Town. The General Assembly granted Pomp's request. (RW1 vol. 37, documents 235a, 235b)
Pomp and his family stayed in the Norwalk area and appear on the 1800 census. (FC 1800-198)

Presence, enslaved by Blackleach Jessup of Harris Ridge, now Sturges Ridge. She was married in Weston at the Norfield Church to Amos, enslaved by Deacon Daniel Andrews (1714-1800) and wife Sarah Silliman Andrews (d. 1795), on July 3, 1777. (WNC 1-131)

Prince, b. September 23, 1795, enslaved by Jabez Gregory (1738-1821) and wife Mercy St. John Gregory (d. 1839) of Norwalk or Wilton. (NLR 17-219)

Quaco, son of Phillis and brother of Sip. Quaco and his family were enslaved by Joshua Raymond (d. ca. 1753) of Norwalk, when it still included Wilton. Quaco was valued in Joshua's inventory at £400. (FPR 10-367, 373)

Raymond, David, b. ca. 1743, is included in the so-called *Book of Negroes*, a document created by the British in 1783 during the Revolutionary War that records the names of some 3,000 Black loyalists. David was described by the British as a "stout fellow." He had been enslaved by Capt. John Raymond II (1693-1774) of Norwalk (who owned 69 acres at Nod Hill and Spectacle Bog), but ran away in about 1776 (meaning he may technically have run away from John's estate, or from John's heirs Gershom and Jesse). (FPR 18-375) The British issued David a formal certificate of freedom. He was bound for Port Mouton, Canada, aboard the Concord. (CP 2027)

Richard, son of Tom, enslaved by Blackleach Jessup of Harris Ridge, now Sturges Ridge, and was baptized at the Wilton Congregational Church on January 28, 1781. (RCCW 37).

Robben, enslaved by Uriah Rogers (d. ca. 1773) of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). Robben was listed in Uriah's inventory at £10. (FPR 18-171)

Rose, enslaved by Abijah Comstock (1721-1807) and his wife Deborah Benedict Comstock (1728-1770), or perhaps first by Abijah's parents, Moses Comstock (1685-1766) and Abigail Brinsmaide Comstock (1689-1766) of Silvermine. Rose was emancipated in 1797, when she was between the ages of 25 and 45. (NLR 18-248) This Rose may also be the same person as the Rose who was married to Dover Comstock, and therefore the likely mother of Dorcas Comstock Dulancy, Tamar Comstock Quash, and Grace Comstock Johnson.

Rose, a free woman and head of a household of two in Wilton or Norwalk in 1790. (FC 1790-300)

Rose, b. May 9, 1798, daughter of Dorcas, enslaved by Eliphalet Lockwood (1741-1814) and wife Susannah St. John Lockwood (1743-1810) of Norwalk, who owned land in Wilton (his name appears over two dozen times in the Wilton Land Records). (NLR 18-36)

Rose, enslaved by Capt. James Rogers (1675-1733) and wife Freelove Hurlbutt Rogers (1693-1739) of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). Freelove inherited Rose when James died. Rose was listed in James's probate records and valued at £100 in 1733. (FPR 6-235, 239)

Samson, aka Sampson, enslaved by William Hayes (d. ca. 1712) of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). Sampson was valued at £45 in Hayes's probate inventory. (FPR 5-218a)

Samson, aka Sampson, enslaved by John Ells of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). Abigail Wendell, daughter of Robert Wendell of Norwalk, accused Samson of raping her in August 1743 in the woods on Brushy Ridge in Canaan Parish of Norwalk. Abigail was between the ages of 9 and 10 at the time. Arrested in late November, Samson denied the charges, but Abigail insisted they were true. Samson was jailed in Fairfield pending trial in February 1744. The outcome of the trial is unknown, but the punishment for a rape conviction was death. (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part I, 1740-1749, A-T, Box 4)

Samuel, enslaved by Nathaniel Benedict (d. ca. 1801) of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). Nathaniel's will indicated that Samuel would be free upon Nathaniel's decease, but the estate inventory (which valued Samuel at £70) indicated that he was "to serve until free by law." (NPR 1-99, 107)

Sanford, Harry, b. ca. 1800 in Redding (according to the Town's vital records of his age at death), but between the ages of 10 and 24 in 1840 according to the Census, when he was head of three person household in Wilton. (FC 1840-340) The Sanford family was acquainted with the Manning-Treadwells and, like them, become Mormon. The Sanfords left Wilton for Nauvoo in 1843. They later returned to Wilton. (RHR 192) Harry died in Wilton on May 22, 1865 of heart disease, according to the Town's vital records.

Sarah, a Native American woman enslaved by Samuel Fitch (d. ca. 1787) of Norwalk, who owned land in Wilton at Rockhouse Woods and Chestnut Hill. In his will, Samuel left Sarah to his wife Susannah. (FPR 23-284)

Sarah I, wife of Jack. Sarah and Jack were enslaved by John Copp (1673-1751) and wife Ruth Hayes Belden Copp of Norwalk, when it still included Wilton. By the terms of John's will, Jack and Sarah were to be emancipated upon his death in recognition of their "good service" to him. John, however, believed the couple would require guidance in "their affairs and business" once free, and appointed one Isaac Hayes (not the slaveowner of the same name) of Norwalk to oversee them. John's will reads:

I do hereby will and declare that my negro man Jack and his wife my negro or mulatto woman Sarah in regard of their faithfulness and good service to me be made free from their service or bondage at my decease. And I do hereby give unto them their freedom and do manumit and discharge them accordingly but only that then they be under the care and guardianship of my good friend Mr. Isaac Hayes of said Norwalk whom I do appoint their guardian willing and desiring him to take the oversight and care of them and directing them to take his advice and direction in the management of their affairs and business. (FPR 10-241)

While Sarah and Jack were emancipated, two children - likely theirs, a three year old boy named Andrew and a six year old girl named Sarah - were enslaved by the Copp family. (FPR 11-187)

Sarah II, b. ca. 1745, she was likely the daughter of Jack and Sarah I, and the sister of Andrew. Sarah was six years old when she was listed in the probate inventory of John Copp (1673-1751) Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). Sarah was valued at £250. While John's will emancipated her parents, Sarah was not freed and remained enslaved. (FPR 10-241, FPR 11-187)

Sere, b. December 12, 1784, enslaved by Nathaniel Benedict of Wilton or Norwalk. (NLR 17-218)

Silas, see Cyrus.

Silva, enslaved by Nathaniel Benedict (d. ca. 1801) of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). Nathaniel's will indicated that Silva would be freed upon Nathaniel's decease. In fact, Silva may have been emancipated prior to Nathaniel's death, as she is not listed on his estate inventory. Other possibilities are that she may have predeceased him, or even been sold. (NPR 1-99)

Simon, enslaved by Samuel Stuart (d. ca. 1784) of Wilton. Simon was listed in Samuel's probate inventory at £60. (FPR 22-472)

Sip, b. April 30, 1795, son of Mary, enslaved by William St. John of Norwalk or Wilton. (NLR 17-219)

Sip, son of Phillis and brother of Quaco. Sip and his family were enslaved by Joshua Raymond (d. ca. 1753) of Norwalk, when it still included Wilton. Sip was valued in Joshua's inventory at £100. (FPR 10-367, 373)

SMITH FAMILY #1

Smith, Dora, b. ca. 1857, daughter of Mary S. Smith. In 1860, she and her mother were living in the household of Rebecca Belden, a former enslaver. (FC 1860-13) The family does not seem to have been related to Aner Smith Tonquin, however, despite their shared connection with Rebecca Belden. On the 1920 census, Dora's brother Frederick indicated that both their parents had been born "in the South." (FC 1920-13a)

Smith, Frank, b. ca. 1863, son of Mary S. Smith. (FC 1880-22) For additional detail on the family, see the entry for Dora Smith.

Smith, Frederick, b. ca. 1877, son of Mary S. Smith. Frederick lived with his mother in 1900 and 1910. (FC 1900-3b; FC 1910-5a) He was listed as a laborer and as literate in 1900, and as a farm hand in 1910. Frederick is still in town in 1920, but Mary had apparently passed on. (FC 1920-13a) In 1920, he was head of his own household and was a laborer. Frederick is buried next to his mother in Hillside Cemetery, in Plot E195

#1. He died October 19, 1955. For additional detail on the family, see the entry for Dora Smith.

Smith, John, b. ca. 1865, son of Mary S. Smith. (FC 1870-50)

Smith, John, b. January or February 1868 and died at 10 month old. Son of Mary S. Smith. He was buried November 5, 1868, St. Matthew's Episcopal Church. (SMC 2-449)

Smith, Mary S., b. 1835 in the southern states, where (given her age) she may have been enslaved. (FC 1920-13a) She lived with and worked for Rebecca Belden in Wilton in 1850 and 1860. (FC 1850-222; FC 1860-13a) It is possible that her husband was Richard Tonquin, going by his mother's last name of Smith. Mary was head of her own household in Wilton by 1870 and 1880. (FC 1870-50; FC 1880-22) Her children were Dora, Frank, Frederick, John, and Willie. For more information on the family, see the entry for Dora Smith. In 1880, Mary was not working outside the home, but rather was listed as keeping house. By 1900, all the children had cleared out of Mary's household except for Frederick. At this time she was a washerwoman and still head of her own household. Frederick and Mary were still together in 1910, and were renting their home. Mary was unemployed. Mary is buried in Hillside Cemetery, Plot E195 #2. She died November 10, 1917.

Smith, Richard, possibly the husband of Mary S. Smith and father of Willie, John, Frederick, Frank, and Dora. He seems to have attended St. Matthew's Episcopal Church, as his death on November 2, 1876 is noted in the records of that church. (SMS 57)

Smith, Willie, b. ca. 1879, son of Mary S. Smith. (FC 1880-22) For additional detail on the family, see the entry for Dora Smith.

SMITH FAMILY #2

Smith, Gilbert, between the ages of 24 and 36 in 1830, and head of two person household in Wilton, likely in the Nod Hill area. (FC 1830-440, 441) It is possible he was married to Nancy Smith.

Smith, Nancy, b. ca. 1795 and head of her own solo household in 1870 in North Wilton, likely somewhere along Ridgefield Road. She was listed that year as keeping her own house. (FC 1870-48) It is possible that she was the widow of Gilbert Smith. It is also possible that Nancy Smith is the same woman as Nancy Tonquin Marvin, going by her mother's maiden name of Smith.

SQUIRES FAMILY

Squires, Caroline, b. ca. 1844, daughter of Harvey and Harriet. (FC 1850-220)

Squires, Charles H., b. ca. 1847, son of Harvey and Harriet. (FC 1850-220)

Squires, Harvey, b. ca. 1811 in Weston. Harvey died in Wilton on March 4, 1851, from "typhus fever." (RBMD 1-D16) (Note that the year of death reported in TCVR 2-71 is incorrect, given that his probate records are from 1851). He is described in the 1850 census as mulatto. (FC 1850-220) His first wife was Laura Ann Datere; they married in December 1840 and lived in Wilton. (RG3 5-469) Harvey and Laura Ann's children were Caroline and Charles. In 1842, Harvey appeared in Samuel F. Lambert's ledger: the men had "swopped" [sic] their pairs of oxen. Lambert in addition gave Harvey a "note of debt valuing my oxen \$65 his at \$90." (SLL 14) Furthermore, in 1844 Harvey purchased a used ox yoke from the estate sale of Matthias Comstock. (MC 1844) The fact that Harvey had oxen strongly suggests that he was making his living at least in part as a farmer, and that he had access (via ownership or renting) to land. Indeed, the 1850 census listed Harvey as a farmer. (FC 1850-220) In September 1849, Harvey successfully petitioned to divorce Laura Ann, accusing her of desertion, habitual drinking to the point of daily intoxication, and repeated instances of adultery. (RG3 5-469) She had only left him recently, in April 1849, but her intemperance and unfaithfulness had been going on for at least two years, or so Harvey told the court. Sometime after the 1850 census and before March 10, 1851, Harvey died. He had not remarried and left no widow. (NPR 8-344) Dr. David Willard was appointed administrator, and he informed the court that Harvey's estate was likely insolvent. In response, the court ordered that notices soliciting the claims of Harvey's creditors should be published in the *Norwalk Gazette* and posted on the Town signpost nearest Harvey's last residence. (NPR 8-345) Harvey's estate inventory confirmed that he was a farmer, with eight acres of rye on the ground. He owned no land, however. He had hay stored in Mr. Dudley's barn, as well as cut hay in his own barn. Harvey owned two shoats at the time of his death. A milk pail, six milk pans, and a churn suggest he may have owned a dairy cattle at one time, although none appear on his inventory. He no longer owned any oxen, but still had a harness and whippletree. He had farming implements and miscellaneous tools including an old plow, pitchfork, scythe, hammer, and bucksaw. He had plenty of food stored up, including 40 pounds of lard, 36.5 pounds of ham, 150 pounds of salt pork, 19 bushels of potatoes, 15 bushels of corn, and 3 barrels of cider. His home was outfitted with nine chairs, a cherry table, and two bedsteads – one with a feather bed and the other with a straw tick. The family had a tablecloth, a single pair of sheets, and two quilts. To store their clothes and personal items, they had a chest. Harvey kept his cash and notes in a pocketbook. He may have preferred going clean shaven, as he owned a razor strop. His clothing included a handkerchief, suspenders, stockings, and a couple each of hats, shirts, vests, coats, and overcoats). The family also had the necessary tools to iron their clothes. Harvey also owned an umbrella. For cooking, the family had a frying pan, sieve, coffee and tea pots, a brass kettle, butcher and chopping knives, and a pancake turner (presumably a spatula). Harvey's most valuable assets were two debts that were owed to him, adding up to \$125. (NPR 8-350; NPR 9-179) It seems likely that Harvey's financial situation had worsened as his health failed. Indeed, his "final illness" had racked up an additional

\$39.50 worth of debt. (NPR 9-107) The court ordered all of Harvey's assets be sold. (NPR 8-530) When the bills finally came in, the court found that Harvey owed \$532.49 to his creditors. Harvey's estate, in contrast, was worth about \$275. In the end, after administration and court fees, there was only \$79.86 left to distribute among his creditors. (NPR 9-180) We do not know what became of Harriet, Caroline, or Charles, other than that they were left with nothing.

Squires, Harriet, b. ca. 1828, a female relative of Harvey Squires. (FC 1850-220)

Squires, Laura Ann Datere, first wife of Harvey Squires II. They married in December 1840 and lived in Wilton. (RG3 5-469) Laura Ann's children with Harvey were Caroline and Charles. Harvey divorced Laura Ann in 1849, accusing her of desertion, intemperance, and adultery. (RG3 5-469)

Step, aka Black Step, on the 1790 census as a free man and head of a household of one in Wilton or Norwalk. (FC 1790-304) He had been enslaved by John Odell of Fairfield. He was emancipated in 1779. (NLR 14-330)

Syphax, b. ca. 1751-1757 (his emancipation records indicate that he was either 20 or 26 years old in 1777), enslaved in Ridgefield by Rev. Jonathan Ingersoll (1714-1778) and wife Dorcas Moss Ingersoll (1725-1811). Syphax was emancipated in Ridgefield on November 21, 1777 (Rockwell, *History of Ridgefield*, 55); his emancipation was re-recorded in the Norwalk Land Records in 1781. (NLR 14-421) The emancipation records show that Ingersoll cited a recently passed act of the General Assembly as his reason for freeing Syphax. Presumably this was the act of October, 1777, which required selectmen to examine any prospective free persons and to certify that they were likely to be able to support themselves, thus legally absolving their former owners from any future obligation to provide for them. (PRSC 1-415) Syphax's emancipation papers also cite Ingersoll's "Love & Goodwill" for him (Rockwell, *History of Ridgefield*, 55); "Love & Goodwill" was a set phrase in the land records that was used whenever a transaction was made without the exchange of cash. Syphax is on the 1790 census as a free man and head of a household of six in Wilton or Norwalk. (FC 1790-300) A decade later, his household had grown to ten. (FC 1800-198) During the Battle of Norwalk on July 11, 1779, British troops led by General Tryon burned down or otherwise damaged numerous houses, barns, and other buildings in Norwalk. Among the property and personal effects destroyed or plundered were assets belonging to Syphax. His name does not appear on the abatement list for the 1778 state taxes listing Norwalk "sufferers" affected by Tryon's raid. (RW1 vol. 19, documents 78a and 78b) He does appear - as "Syfax Freedom" and "Syfax Negro" - on the abatement lists for the 1779 and 1780 state taxes. (RW1 vol. 20, document 379e; RW1 vol. 20, document 380d) His taxes were abated in the amount of £1 (equal to 1 shilling in coin, or £20 continental currency) total for these two years - although it is not clear if he actually owed that much, or if the abatement was tied, rather, to the amount of damages he had sustained. A list showing the value of merchandise and property destroyed by the British indicates that "Cyphax Negro" lost a building (or portion thereof) worth £3 and a shilling. (RW3 1-98e) When the General Assembly in 1791 voted to grant half a million acres in Ohio in the Western Reserve,

known as the Firelands, to the "sufferers," Syphax received a share. His proportion of compensation was 7 shillings. (RW3 vol. 1, document 63j) This was the lowest in all of Norwalk, and one of only a handful under £1. Syphax eventually lost his share when he failed to pay taxes he owed on it. The amount was 14 cents. (SDR D-209) As a result his proportion was sold at auction and purchased by Stephen B. St. John on November 23, 1805. (SDR D-207, 211) Syphax's claim, had he been able to collect it, would have been in Section One of Danbury Township, now known as Marblehead Peninsula, on the north side of Sandusky Bay. (HRT)

Tamar, b. September 26, 1803, enslaved by James Selleck, Jr. (1804-1894), wife Mary Storm Selleck (1821-1906), who owned land in Wilton (his name appears a dozen times in the Wilton Land Records). (NLR 18-37)

Tamar, daughter of Harry and mother of Amos, who was born sometime between 1784 and 1796. (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part II, 1797-1855, Box 18) Tamar was enslaved by Lieut. Stephen Betts (1738-1826) and his wife Sarah Clark (1751-1821) of Redding Ridge, who lived diagonally across from the Christ Episcopal Church, and sold by him to James Gray of Redding in February 1796. (CBT 229; FWB Redding) Although not a Wilton resident, Tamar's story is particularly compelling and provides some details not found in Wilton records. Isaac Hillard of Redding sued Gray for transporting Tamar and Amos out of state, and sued Stephen Betts for aiding and abetting Gray, and for having sold Tamar and Amos to Gray despite well knowing his intention of leaving the state. Testimony from Betts's children indicated that Tamar and the boy were sold for £25. Witnesses at Betts's trial included an enslaved Black man named Harry, father of Tamar and grandfather of Amos. (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part II, 1797-1855, Box 18) Harry testified that he had been at the house of his master, William Heron, on the night Amos was sold. That night, Tamar came to Heron's house and told Harry that Betts intended to sell her and Amos to Gray, who meant to transfer her to Jesse Phinney, a resident of New York. Harry immediately went to Betts's house with his daughter. He kept out of sight in the lower kitchen, hoping to secretly hear more of what was going on. Not long after Harry hid, Gray and his wife arrived in the upper kitchen. They spoke with Betts and agreed to do their deal that very night. Then the Grays came into the lower kitchen where Tamar was, and Mrs. Gray told Tamar that she and Amos now belonged to them. Tamar became "very angry . . . [and] talked very impudently," accusing Mrs. Gray of purchasing her and her son for Phinney, declaring she would not go as Phinney was "an ugly devil." Mrs. Gray protested she had purchased Tamar and Amos for herself, but Tamar scoffed at the idea and said "she had not the victuals to keep them." Mrs. Gray threatened Tamar and told her to do her mistress's bidding. Harry reported that Betts then commented that Tamar "was so ugly and cross . . . he could not govern her, but he had fixed her where she would get a master he hoped that would govern her." After this the Grays left, and Tamar told her father that she meant to run away that night. He advised her to go to her uncle's place in Newtown. She gathered her clothes and gave them to her father, who took them back to Heron's house. Tamar then ran away to Newtown. Presumably she took Amos with her. Tamar either returned or was captured, as both she and Amos were ultimately transported by Gray to New York. (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869,

Part II, 1797-1855, Box 18) Harry's testimony was supported by Jesse Benedict, who was also at Betts's house that night, and witnessed the bill of sale being signed. He asked Betts what Gray wanted with Tamar and Amos, given that Gray was "a very poor man." Betts answered that the Grays were moving to Ballston, where Mrs. Gray's daughter lived. Tamar was a young woman who might yet have many children, and Mrs. Gray would "give them to her daughter and it would be as good estate as she could give them." Mrs. Betts concurred with her husband, adding that "they was going to see if they could make profits by raising young negroes." Testimony from witnesses for the defense - particularly a man named Galpin who had also been present at the Betts house that evening - contradicted most of Harry and Benedict's testimony. These witnesses insisted that the Grays had never left the upper kitchen, and that there had been no discussion of removing Tamar and Amos to New York. The jury found Betts not guilty. Appealing this outcome in 1798, Isaac Hillard informed the court that he had new evidence and new witnesses that called into question Galpin's honesty, and that demonstrated that Sarah Betts, daughter of Stephen Betts, had omitted material evidence in her testimony. Witness Hannah Fitch, for one, claimed that three weeks prior to the sale - and well after Gray had made public his intention of moving to New York - Betts had informed Sarah in Hannah's hearing that he was going to sell Tamar and Amos to Gray. In other words, Betts had planned to sell them for weeks despite knowing Gray's intentions, and had planned to do so before Gray (falsely) announced - after the fact of the sale, according to Benedict - that he no longer intended to move. Sarah, however, seemed most upset that Tamar and Amos would be enslaved to people that Sarah, apparently, viewed as low class: according to Hannah, Sarah "fell a crying and said she could not bear to have them sold to James Gray and carried away off and that poor little boy would be a servant to servants, and slave to the devil." Hillard's appeal was deemed insufficient and there was no new trial. (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part II, 1797-1855, Box 18)

Thomas, a free man and head of a two person household in Wilton in 1800. (FC 1800-188) This may be the same Thomas emancipated by Ebenezer Abbott II (d. 1821) of Sharp Hill in 1798, or the same person as the Tom baptized at the Greenfield Church in 1767, and who was at that time enslaved by Thomas Merwin (1696-1769) and wife Mary Smith Merwin. (NLR 19-20)

Thomas, or Tom, b. in West Africa. (RNS) Enslaved by Ebenezer Abbott II (d. 1821) of Sharp Hill (he owned houses at 51 Shadow Lane and 186 Sharp Hill, the latter of which is no longer standing) at the same time as Phillis (aka Gin). Emancipated in 1798. (NLR 19-20) He may be the same person as the Thomas who was head of his own household in Wilton in 1800.

Time, enslaved by Ebenezer Nash (d. ca. 1784) of Wilton. Time was described as "mulatto" and was listed in Ebenezer's probate inventory at £8. (FPR 22-487)

Tom, father of Richard. He was baptized at the Wilton Congregational Church at the same time as his son, on January 28, 1781. (RCCW 37) Tom was enslaved by Blackleach Jessup of Harris Ridge, now Sturges Ridge.

Tom, baptized at the Greenfield Church in Norwalk in 1767. (GCR 74) Enslaved by Thomas Merwin (1696-1769) and wife Mary Smith Merwin, parents of Mary "Molly" Merwin Raymond, the wife of Josiah Raymond (1737-1824). Molly is said to have brought several enslaved persons from her father's household with her into her new home when she married in 1764. (CMS 126) Perhaps Tom came into Molly's household later. Tom may have worked the farmlands now known as Ambler Farm, as Josiah built the houses there and gave the land to his son, Platt Raymond. This Tom may be the same person as the Thomas who was head of his own household in Wilton in 1800.

Tom, b. ca. 1764, a child enslaved by Magdalen Cameron (d. ca. 1769) of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). Two other enslaved children were in Magdalen's household, and may have been Tom's siblings: Hannah, 2.5 years old, and Charles, 3 months old. It is not known where the children's parents were. Tom was listed in Magdalen's probate inventory at £15. Magdalen's estate was insolvent. It is unclear exactly what happened to Tom, but he either would have been sold to raise funds to pay Magdalen's debts, or distributed to one of her creditors as payment. (FPR 16-285)

Toney, enslaved by Nehemiah Smith (d. ca. 1757) of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). In his will, Nehemiah left Toney to his wife, Elizabeth Smith. (FPR 11-549)

TONQUIN-BELDEN-SMITH FAMILY

Smith, Catharine Tonquin, aka Catherine Belden, aka Kate, born February 14, 1802. (BMD 2) Daughter of Aner and Prince. (RNS) Enslaved by Col. William Belden (1779-1830) and his wife Rebecca (d. 1867) and/or by William's brother Samuel Belden II (1777-1850). (RNS) She married Edward Smith of New Canaan on February 17, 1823 in Wilton, ceremony performed by Reverend Charles Smith at St. Matthew's Episcopal Church. (TCVR 1-4.5) The couple reportedly lived in New Canaan. (RNS)

Smith, Edward, of New Canaan, married Kate Tonquin Belden on February 17, 1823 in Wilton, ceremony performed by Reverend Charles Smith. (TCVR 1-4.5)

Tonquin, Aner Smith, aka Aner Marvin, Aner Belden, aka Anah, Anoh, Aniah, born ca. 1781 on Long Island and died July 22, 1847 (or 1848) in Wilton. (WVAC 2; RBMD 1-D5) Her cause of death is given as dropsy. She married Prince Tonquin, son of Bill and Hagar Tonquin. (RNS) Aner was enslaved by Col. William Belden (1779-1830) and his wife Rebecca (d. 1867) and/or by William's brother Samuel Belden II (1777-1850). (RNS) Her relationship to other Black residents of Wilton named Marvin or Smith, if any, is unknown. She appears in the Cannon Store ledgers in the 1840s, purchasing calico, muslin, tobacco, paste board, nutmegs, and either a shawl or a shovel (the text is unclear). (CSL 5-35, 56, 66, 72, 73, 74, 276, 296, 301, 388) According to Van Hoosear, Aner and Prince had the following children: Nancy, Richard, Catharine (aka Kate), Grace, John, Lucretia, Eunice, Rhoda, Henry, and Lucinda. (RNS) At some point, Aner reportedly lived, along with a Black man named Old Oliver, in the household of Frank Newell. (RNS)

It is likely her on the 1830 census, shown in the column for a free Black woman of the age of fifty-five and under. There was also a free Black girl, ten years old or younger, living in Newell's household at the time. (FC 1830-442, 443)

Tonquin, Bill, an enslaved Native American man, probably enslaved by the Belden family. His wife was Hagar and his son was Prince. (RNS)

Tonquin, Eunice, aka Eunice Belden, daughter of Aner and Prince Tonquin. (RNS) Enslaved by Col. William Belden (1779-1830) and his wife Rebecca (d. 1867) and/or by William's brother Samuel Belden II (1777-1850). (RNS) Eunice appears in the Cannon Store ledgers, purchasing a white wash brush, gunpowder, cloves, calfskin shoes, calico fabric, a broom, ribbon, and molasses. (CSL 5-28, 53, 56, 72, 78, 86, 93; CSL 6-13, 18, 24) By the late 1800s, Eunice was reportedly living in Newtown. (RNS)

Tonquin, Grace, born September 20, 1806 or March 6, 1807. (WLR 3-549; BMD 2) Daughter of Aner and Prince. (RNS) Enslaved by Col. William Belden (1779-1830) and his wife Rebecca (d. 1867). (WLR 3-549) William sold her on January 20, 1824 for \$25 to Hiram Betts, also of Wilton, for a period of 3 years and 8 months, after which she was to be provided with "comfortable and decent wearing apparel and [Betts was to] take care of the said Grace in sickness and in health and at the expiration of her servitude said Betts shall clothe her well one every day suit and one for holidays." By the terms of the sale, William ensured that Grace would remain enslaved for the maximum legal period, right up to the day of her twenty-first birthday. (WLR 3-549)

Tonquin, Hagar, wife of Bill Tonquin, mother of Prince, and mother-in-law of Aner. Hagar was enslaved by Col. William Belden (1779-1830) and his wife Rebecca (d. 1867) and/or by William's brother Samuel Belden II (1777-1850). (RNS) In 1812 and 1813, Hagar appears several times in the Sherman Betts's store ledgers, making purchases of alcohol and tobacco for Samuel Belden II on his account. (SBL 23, 37, 91, 95) A note that Samuel Belden II wrote on September 10, 1817, and which he ordered Hagar to take to the Betts Store, survives. It instructed Asahel Betts to give Hagar alcohol and tobacco, which she had to deliver to Samuel. (BRS 130) At some point, Hagar reportedly put out a fire at what was later (in Van Hoosear's time) the S. P. Fitch place. (RNS) According to Van Hoosear, Hagar is buried in the St. Matthew's Episcopal Church graveyard. (RNS)

Tonquin, Hannah, b. ca. 1844, she seems to have been the daughter of Mary and John Tonquin. (FC 1860-34)

Tonquin, Henry, b. ca. 1822, Aner and Prince Tonquin's son. Enslaved by Col. William Belden (1779-1830) and his wife Rebecca (d. 1867) and/or by William's brother Samuel Belden II (1777-1850). (RNS) He was listed as a farmer in 1880 (FC 1880-22) and lived with his brother John "in a shack next to the railroad tracks," near where Old Ridgefield Road now ends at Schenck's Island. (RHR 289) Henry may have converted to Mormonism (RHR 191)

Tonquin, Henry, b. ca. 1883, living and working as farm laborer in the household of Charles E. Britton in 1900. Henry was literate. (FC 1900-15) His exact relationship to the other Tonquins is not known. Henry may have moved to New Jersey later in life. A Henry Tonquin, b. Feb. 15, 1884, registered for the draft in 1918 for the First World War. This Henry was married to a woman named Emma. They lived at 203 Main Street in East Orange, New Jersey. Henry worked as a porter at a theater in Newark. (WW1 3512)

Tonquin, John, aka John Belden, aka Jack, b. March 6, 1812 and died March 30, 1893. (BMD 3; TCVR 5-258) He was the son of Aner and Prince Tonquin. (TCVR 5-259; RNS) He was born into slavery in the household of Samuel Belden I and was raised by Samuel Belden II (1777-1850). (RNS) His emancipation, by law, must have occurred by 1833 at the latest, when he reached the age of 21. Reports of Samuel's treatment of John as an enslaved child include physical punishment. F. Clerc Ogden relayed stories he had heard of Samuel slapping John on the cheeks, hitting him on the head with a stick, and once dropping him off a bridge into a stream (in the late winter, when the water was deep and fast). (WB 06-14-1989) According to Ogden, John was known for swearing (a habit picked up from Samuel), telling engaging stories, and for being the only person known to have successfully thrown a stone over the Wilton Congregational Church steeple. He once shot artist Wilton Lockwood's dog after the dog killed his cat, and had a rooster that "occasionally attacked passersby with his beak and spurs." (WB 06-14-1989) John's obituary states that he sometimes ran afoul of the law, implying that the reason was public intoxication, and hastening to add that he was popular with the police, who extended him "many privileges," and with town residents more generally, who "always had some little luxury for Jack." (RP 04-07-1893) Despite living in Wilton his entire life, John first appears on the census, in 1860, a free man, a laborer, and head of a four person household including his wife Mary, daughter Hannah, and a Black laborer named George Blade. (FC 1860-34) John's first wife may have been a Native American woman named Laura Phillips. (RNS) By 1870, John was living alone but was neighbors with other Black Wiltonians, Mary Smith and her children Dora and John. (FC 1870-50) At the same time, John's possible sister (or estranged first wife) Laura seems to have lived nearby, on the farm of George B. Gregory. (FC 1870-50) John's home was "in a shack next to the railroad tracks," near where Old Ridgefield Road now ends at Schenck's Island. John was still in town in 1880 and living with his brother Henry. (FC 1880-22) Both men were farmers. Also in the household were two additional Blacks, Kate Dixon and her son or grandson Charles. Kate was a housekeeper, but it is unclear if she was John and Henry's housekeeper or someone else's. Mary Smith and her children still lived nearby. John and Mary Tonquin were supported by Town welfare in the last years of John's life. (TR 9-246, 290, 344, and passim) The Town paid \$15 to J. H. Taylor for John's burial at St. Matthew's in 1893. (AR 9; TCVR 5-258) John's cause of death, in the opinion of Dr. A. B. Gorham, was cerebral hemorrhage, with exhaustion as a secondary cause. (TCVR 5-259)

Tonquin, Laura, aka Laura Belden, b. ca. 1795. (FC 1860-55; FC 1870-50) Her exact relationship to the other Tonquins is not known, but she may have been a daughter of Aner and Prince. If she was their daughter, then she was enslaved by Col. William Belden (1779-1830) and his wife Rebecca (d. 1867) and/or by William's brother Samuel Belden II (1777-1850). In 1860, Laura was renting her own household near St. Matthew's Episcopal Church and was not employed. (FC 1860-55) In 1870, she was in the household of George B. Gregory working as housekeeper. (FC 1870-50)

Tonquin, Lucinda, daughter of Aner and Prince Tonquin. Enslaved by Col. William Belden (1779-1830) and his wife Rebecca (d. 1867) and/or by William's brother Samuel Belden II (1777-1850). (RNS) She became a Mormon. (RHR 191; RNS)

Tonquin, Mary, b. ca. 1820, she seems to have been John Tonquin's wife and mother of Hannah. (FC 1860-34) She may also have been known as Mary Belden. (TR 9-246) She received Town welfare from the 1880s through 1890. (TR 9-399, 416)

Tonquin, Nancy, see Nancy Tonquin Marvin.

Tonquin, Prince, son of Hagar and Bill Tonquin, husband of Aner Smith. He was enslaved by the Belden family. (RNS) He first appears in the archives on an 1807 receipt recording Jehiel Gregory's purchase of beef from Samuel Belden, Prince's owner. (JG 1807) Prince later appears in Daniel Betts's store ledger in 1809 and 1810 making purchases on the accounts of Thomas, Samuel, and William Belden. (DBL 70, 90, 92, 93, 131, and passim) Prince can also be found in Sherman Betts's store ledger in 1815, making a purchase for Samuel Betts on his account. (SBL 48a)

Tonquin, Rhoda, daughter of Aner and Prince Tonquin. She died in Wilton. (RNS)

Tonquin, Richard, aka Dick, born August 27, 1809. (BMD 2) Son of Aner and Prince Tonquin. (RNS) Enslaved by Col. William Belden (1779-1830) and his wife Rebecca (d. 1867) and/or William's brother Samuel Belden II (1777-1850). (RNS) Richard's wife was named Mary. It seems possible that she was the Mary S. Smith whose children were Dora, John, Frank, Frederick, and Willie, and who had worked for Rebecca Belden at one time.

Tryal, George, a free man. He was possibly born in Stamford, but was living in Norwalk when, in 1749, Samuel Bates, Jr., of Stamford sued him for trespassing. Samuel lost the case and was ordered to pay George's court costs. (RG3 4-22)

Unknown, woman, enslaved by Ebenezer Abbott II (d. 1821) of Sharp Hill (he owned houses at 51 Shadow Lane and 186 Sharp Hill, the latter of which is no longer standing) and listed in his inventory along with a "negro bed and bedding" that may have been hers. (NPR 4-41) It is likely she was elderly, as she was valued at only \$1, or less than half the value of her bed. Esther, Ebenezer's widow, inherited this unnamed woman (along with her bed).

Unknown, woman, enslaved by Nathan Adams (d. ca. 1782) of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). She was listed in Nathan's probate inventory at £10. (FPR 22-280)

Unknown, child of Will and Elizabeth, Native Americans enslaved by John Belden II of Norwalk and Wilton in the mid-1700s. (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part I, 1750-1759, Box 6)

Unknown, woman, mother of Jedd (b. May 20, 1784), Chloe (b. November 19, 1789), and Amos (b. April 25, 1793), enslaved by Dr. Thaddeus Betts (d. 1807) and second wife Elisabeth Maltby Betts (d. 1798), who owned land in Wilton (his name appears in the Wilton Land Records). (NLR 17-219)

Unknown, man, enslaved by James Brown (d. ca. 1769) of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). The man was listed in James's inventory at £95. (FPR 17-367) This man may be the same person as either Tower Hill or Cato, both also enslaved by James and listed in his will.

Unknown, woman, wife of Cato. She was enslaved by James Brown (d. ca. 1769) of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). James willed her (along with Cato) to his daughter, Joanna Brown. (FPR 16-254)

Unknown, child, b. ca. 1772, enslaved by Evan Cameron (d. ca. 1774) of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). The child's mother was presumably Jenny, who was also owned by Evan. The child is listed in Evan's inventory at £7 and 10 shillings. (FPR 18-352)

Unknown, woman, enslaved by John Cannon, Jr. (1752-1802) and offered for sale in the *Hartford Courant* in 1784. (CCWI 11-02-1784) She may have been mother to the boy that Cannon was selling at the same time.

Unknown, boy, enslaved by John Cannon, Jr. (1752-1802) and advertised for sale in the newspaper in 1784. (CCWI 11-02-1784) He may have been the son of the woman that Cannon was selling at the same time.

Unknown, man, enslaved by Peter Clapham (d. 1698) of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). Priced in Peter's inventory together with another enslaved man at £20. (FPR 4-149)

Unknown, man, enslaved by Peter Clapham (d. 1698) of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). Priced in Peter's inventory together with another enslaved man at £20. (FPR 4-149)

Unknown, man, enslaved by Peter Clapham (d. 1698) of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). A note following Peter's inventory indicates that this man was "lost since the inventory was taken" and had been valued at £40. "Lost" most likely indicates that the man died, but it is not impossible that something else happened. (FPR 4-149b)

Unknown, woman, enslaved by Peter Clapham (d. 1698) of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). Priced in Peter's inventory at £20. (FPR 4-149)

Unknown, girl, purchased in February 1789 by David Coley, Jr., of Weston (who owned part of a mill in Wilton from 1792 onwards) from Joseph Ogden and his wife Rachel of Weston. (JOL 38)

Unknown, girl, enslaved by Samuel Coply (d. ca. 1753) of Norwalk, whose home lot was on Belden Hill in Wilton. She was valued in Samuel's inventory at £250. (FPR 10-476)

Unknown, woman, enslaved by Nathaniel Finch of Norwalk, who owned land on Chestnut Hill. She was probably the mother of a child, together with whom she was valued on Finch's probate inventory at £38. (FPR 5-301a)

Unknown, child, enslaved by Nathaniel Finch of Norwalk, who owned land on Chestnut Hill. The child's mother was presumably the woman listed with the child on Finch's probate inventory, together valued at £38. (FPR 5-301a)

Unknown, man, enslaved by Rev. William Gaylord, ca. 1733. Possibly the father of Ham. All information on this individual is from Van Hoosear. (WB 02-07-1990)

Unknown, woman, enslaved by Rev. William Gaylord, ca. 1733. Possibly the mother of Ham. All information on this individual is from Van Hoosear. (WB 02-07-1990)

Unknown, woman, mother of Prince (b. September 23, 1795), enslaved by Jabez Gregory (1738-1821) and wife Mercy St. John Gregory (d. 1839) of Norwalk or Wilton. (NLR 17-219)

Unknown, woman, enslaved by Ensign Matthew Gregory of Drum Hill. Mother of Phillis, who was baptized at the Wilton Congregational Church in January or February of 1756. (RCCW 58) It is possible she is the Leah who died on June 21, 1756. (RCCW 39)

Unknown, woman, enslaved by Thomas Hanford (d. ca. 1785) of Wilton. She was listed in his probate inventory at £23 and 10 shillings. (FPR 23-76)

Unknown, man, enslaved by Isaac Hayes (d. ca. 1712) of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). He was listed in Hayes's probate inventory at £40. (FPR 5-215)

Unknown, woman, enslaved by Deacon Benjamin Hickox (d. 1745) and given in his will to his wife Sarah to be kept enslaved. (FPR 9-295)

Unknown, man, enslaved by Capt. Benjamin Isaacs (1737-1775) and wife Sarah Scudder Isaacs (1742-1824) of Norwalk and Wilton, who owned 16 acres on Chestnut Hill and over 44 acres elsewhere in Wilton parish. The man was listed in 1784 in Benjamin's probate inventory at £40. (FPR 21-21)

Unknown, woman, enslaved by Capt. Benjamin Isaacs (1737-1775) and wife Sarah Scudder Isaacs (1742-1824) of Norwalk and Wilton, who owned 16 acres on Chestnut Hill and over 44 acres elsewhere in Wilton parish. The woman was listed in 1784 in Benjamin's probate inventory at £50. (FPR 21-21) This woman may be the same person as the Dorcas mentioned in Benjamin's much earlier will, dated 1775.

Unknown, woman, enslaved by Capt. Benjamin Isaacs (1737-1775) and wife Sarah Scudder Isaacs (1742-1824) of Norwalk and Wilton, who owned 16 acres on Chestnut Hill and over 44 acres elsewhere in Wilton parish. The woman was listed in 1784 in Benjamin's probate inventory at £7 and 10 shillings. (FPR 21-21) This woman may be the same person as the Dorcas mentioned in Benjamin's much earlier will, dated 1775.

Unknown, man, enslaved by David Monrow (d. ca. 1733) of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). Listed in Monrow's probate records in 1733 and valued at £70. (FPR 6-222)

Unknown, man, enslaved by Nathan Nash (1715-1766) and wife Jerusha Johnson Nash (1717-1788) of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). The man is listed in Nathan's probate inventory at £36, but does not appear in the distribution records. It is possible that Nathan's estate sold the man prior to distribution. (FPR 15-351)

Unknown, child, enslaved along with its mother and a sibling by Andrew Powers (1749-1785) and second wife Sarah Carter Powers (1760-1808) of Canaan parish, Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). This child was listed in Andrew's probate inventory along with its mother and sibling at £50. (FPR 23-92)

Unknown, child, enslaved along with its mother and a sibling by Andrew Powers (1749-1785) and second wife Sarah Carter Powers (1760-1808) of Canaan parish, Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). This child was listed in Andrew's probate inventory along with its mother and sibling at £50. (FPR 23-92)

Unknown, woman, mother of two children, and enslaved with them by Andrew Powers (1749-1785) and second wife Sarah Carter Powers (1760-1808) of Canaan parish, Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). She was listed in Andrew's probate inventory along with her children at £50. (FPR 23-92)

Unknown, three enslaved persons owned by Josiah Raymond (1737-1824) and wife Molly Merwin Raymond (1746-1809), as shown on the 1790 Federal Census. (FC 1790-300) Three additional enslaved persons also owned by Josiah and Molly are shown on the 1790 Federal Census. Two were presumably Ned (b. January 11, 1773), emancipated in 1798, and Chloe (b. June 15, 1783), emancipated in 1812. The other would have been the mother of Benjamin Curtis (b. May 31, 1791).

Unknown, woman, mother of Benjamin Curtis (b. May 21, 1791), enslaved by Josiah Raymond (1737-1824) and wife Molly Merwin Raymond (1746-1809). (NLR 17-219) This woman was among the six persons shown as enslaved by Josiah on the 1790 Federal Census. (FC 1790-300)

Unknown, man, enslaved by Samuel Raymond, Sr. (1673-1738) and Judith Palmer Raymond (1673-1739) of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). After Samuel's death, Judith inherited the man. This enslaved man was valued in Samuel's probate inventory at £130. (FPR 8-465) Note that Samuel was a brother of Capt. John Raymond, Jr. (d. 1737). Capt. John Raymond, Jr.,

was father of the enslaver Capt. John Raymond II (1693-1774) and of Jabez Raymond (d. 1789). Jabez's son Josiah Raymond (1737-1824) also became an enslaver and founded Ambler Farm.

Unknown, woman, enslaved by Alexander Resseguie (1679-1752) and wife Sarah Bontecou Resseguie (1681-1757) of Ridgefield and Wilton. She was a mother of one child, and the two were priced together on Alexander's probate inventory at £350. (FPR 11-145) She may specifically have been the mother of Venice, who was baptized in 1750. (SJC, no. 566)

Unknown, child, enslaved by Alexander Resseguie (1679-1752) and wife Sarah Bontecou Resseguie (1681-1757) of Ridgefield and Wilton. The child and its mother were priced together on Alexander's probate inventory at £350. (FPR 11-145) The child may have been Venice, , who was baptized in 1750. (SJC, no. 566)

Unknown, woman, enslaved by James Selleck, Sr. (d. 1809) of Norwalk, who also owned land in Silvermine. She was valued at \$5 in Selleck's probate records. (NPR 2-88)

Unknown, man, enslaved by James Selleck, Sr. (d. 1809) of Norwalk, who also owned land in Silvermine. He was valued at \$75 in Selleck's probate records. (NPR 2-88)

Unknown, mother of Tamar (b. September 26, 1803) and Phillis (b. May 26, 1807), enslaved by James Selleck, Jr. (1804-1894) and wife Mary Storm Selleck (1821-1906), who owned land in Wilton (his name appears a dozen times in the Wilton Land Records). (NLR 18-37)

Unknown, enslaved by Mark St. John (1630-1693) and wife Elizabeth Stanley St. John (1635-1692) of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). Priced at £50 in Mark's inventory and willed to his son Joseph St. John (1664-1731). (FPR 4-87, 87b)

Unknown, man, enslaved by Jonathan Seymour (d. ca. 1747) of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). Priced in Jonathan's probate inventory at £100. (FPR 9-423)

Unknown, woman, enslaved by Jonathan Seymour (d. ca. 1747) of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). Priced in Jonathan's probate inventory at £50. (FPR 9-423)

Unknown, woman, enslaved by Nehemiah Smith (d. ca. 1757) of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). In his will, Nehemiah left her to his wife, Elizabeth. (FPR 11-549)

Unknown, woman, enslaved by Joseph Whitney (d. ca. 1790) of Norwalk. Whitney was not a particularly wealthy man, owning only two acres of land with buildings and the most basic household items, amounting to under £100 in total. The woman was listed in Joseph's probate inventory at £14. (FPR 24-340)

Venice, enslaved by Alexander Resseguie (1679-1752) and wife Sarah Bontecou Resseguie (1681-1757) of Ridgefield and Wilton. She was baptized at St. John's Episcopal Church in Stamford on or about December 30, 1750. (SJC, no. 566)

Will, a Native American man enslaved by John Belden II of Norwalk and Wilton. (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part I, 1750-1759, Box 6) Will's wife, also Native American, was Elizabeth. Will was accused in 1750 along with Elizabeth and an unrelated white minor named Mary Kellogg (under the guardianship of Capt. John Raymond II (1693-1774) and possibly his indentured servant), of breaking the window of Stephen Rogers's shop in Norwalk, entering, and pulling out and breaking two brass cocks on two hogsheads of rum, thereby spilling some thirty gallons. The trio were furthermore accused of breaking into the shop on another occasion, that time entering through the door and spilling some thirty-six gallons of rum. In addition, on yet a third occasion, they allegedly broke another of Roger's windows and the hardware holding his shutters in place. Rogers sued for £100 in damages. At the initial hearing, Mary pled guilty and testified that Will and Elizabeth had been her accomplices: she said Will had promised her an 8 shilling piece if she kept their secret, and threatened to kill her if she betrayed them. (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part I, 1750-1759, Box 6) Will and Elizabeth, however, pled not guilty. John Belden paid a surety of £200 to guarantee Will and Elizabeth's appearance at court in Fairfield, and both were released on bail. At Fairfield, Moses Mather of Stanford testified that he knew Mary Kellogg (who had formerly been in his service) to be an inveterate liar, and that she lied "not only when she had some temptation before her to do so, but also even when there was no advantage arising to herself thereby." Also testifying at the trial in Fairfield was Hezekiah Fitch, who had seen Will in the kitchen at John Belden's house, and then exiting the house through the kitchen door, on one of the nights in question. Hezekiah Belden (b. 1736), teenage son of John Belden, confirmed that Hezekiah Fitch had come to his father's house with Haynes Fitch to collect March, a mulatto man, and to go with him to the deputy governor's house. Hezekiah Belden left the kitchen to retrieve a handkerchief and, when he returned, he noted that the Fitches and March were gone, and that Will had returned and put additional wood on the fire. Further testimony came from Stephen Johnson, a lodger at John Belden's house. He said he had heard someone come down the chamber stairs in the middle of the night and supposed it to be Will, and that he had indeed later seen Will come back upstairs with a tub in his hand. The next day, Stephen Rogers showed Stephen Johnson the damage at his shop, and asked him to watch Will carefully that morning for any side-effects of drinking strong liquor. Johnson did so, but saw no such effects. Johnson furthermore asked Will what he had been up to the previous night, moving about the house in the dark. Will explained he had heard rain, and had gotten up to place some tubs to fill under the spouts. (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part I, 1750-1759, Box 6) Matthew Seymour and Nathan St. John testified that on one of the nights in question, they were at John Belden's house and saw Will and Elizabeth "about their master's business until it was very late in the night, near twelve of the clock, and [that] Will warmed their bed." St. John added that Will and Elizabeth "went to bed before the rest of the people of the house" and that he "afterwards heard them stilling of their child in the night." Both St. John and Seymour also heard Will and Elizabeth "talking together about break of day in their bed chamber." Abigail Belden, who was living in John Belden's house at the time, testified that both Will and Elizabeth were sick at the time of the break-ins. She backed up Hezekiah Belden's testimony that both were in the house when the

Fitches left. She added that neither were "allowed by their master to go abroad." She also testified that Mary Kellogg had told her that she had been advised by many, after pleading guilty, that she should overturn her plea and "stand to what she had said about Belden's Indians and that would be the way to get clear herself." Mary Liscott, on the other hand, testified that she had heard Elizabeth call Will "a devilish old fool" who would have confessed if it had not been for her and their master John Belden's efforts. Perhaps the most important testimony came from Thomas Grumman and Stephen Whitney, who were eyewitnesses to the break-in. They saw Mary Kellogg, and no one else, attempting to break into Stephen Rogers's shop. (RG3 Superior Court, Files 1712-1869, Part I, 1750-1759, Box 6) To recap, significant details about Will and Elizabeth's lives that can be gleaned from this court case are that they lived upstairs (perhaps in the attic) of John Belden's house, which was also occupied by his teenage son, a boarder, at least one other Belden relative, and occasional guests. The couple had their own room, and shared it with their child. They went to bed, at least sometimes, before the rest of the household, but seem to have been among the first to rise in the mornings. Will's duties included collecting rainwater in tubs, keeping the kitchen fire supplied with wood, and heating beds with warming pans. Their social status was low enough that even a youthful indentured servant felt that her word would be taken over theirs. Will's instinct to admit guilt (as reported by Mary Liscott) perhaps suggests that he, like Mary, believed her word would carry more weight than his. Finally, Will and Elizabeth were not free to leave Belden's property without permission.

Will, enslaved by Andrew Messenger (d. ca. 1728) of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton), and inherited by his wife Rachel. Will is listed in Andrew's probate records at £40, including the value of his clothing. (FPR 8-240, 251)

Windsor, enslaved by Thomas Benedict, Sr. (d. ca. 1743) of Norwalk (when it still included Wilton). Windsor was valued at £160 in Thomas's probate inventory. (FPR 9-243)

Sources

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- CBT Charles Burr Todd, *The History of Redding, Connecticut* (New York: Grafton Press, 1906)
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- NH *Norwalk Hour*
- NHR Norwalk History Room

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- NPR Norwalk Probate Records
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