

National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior

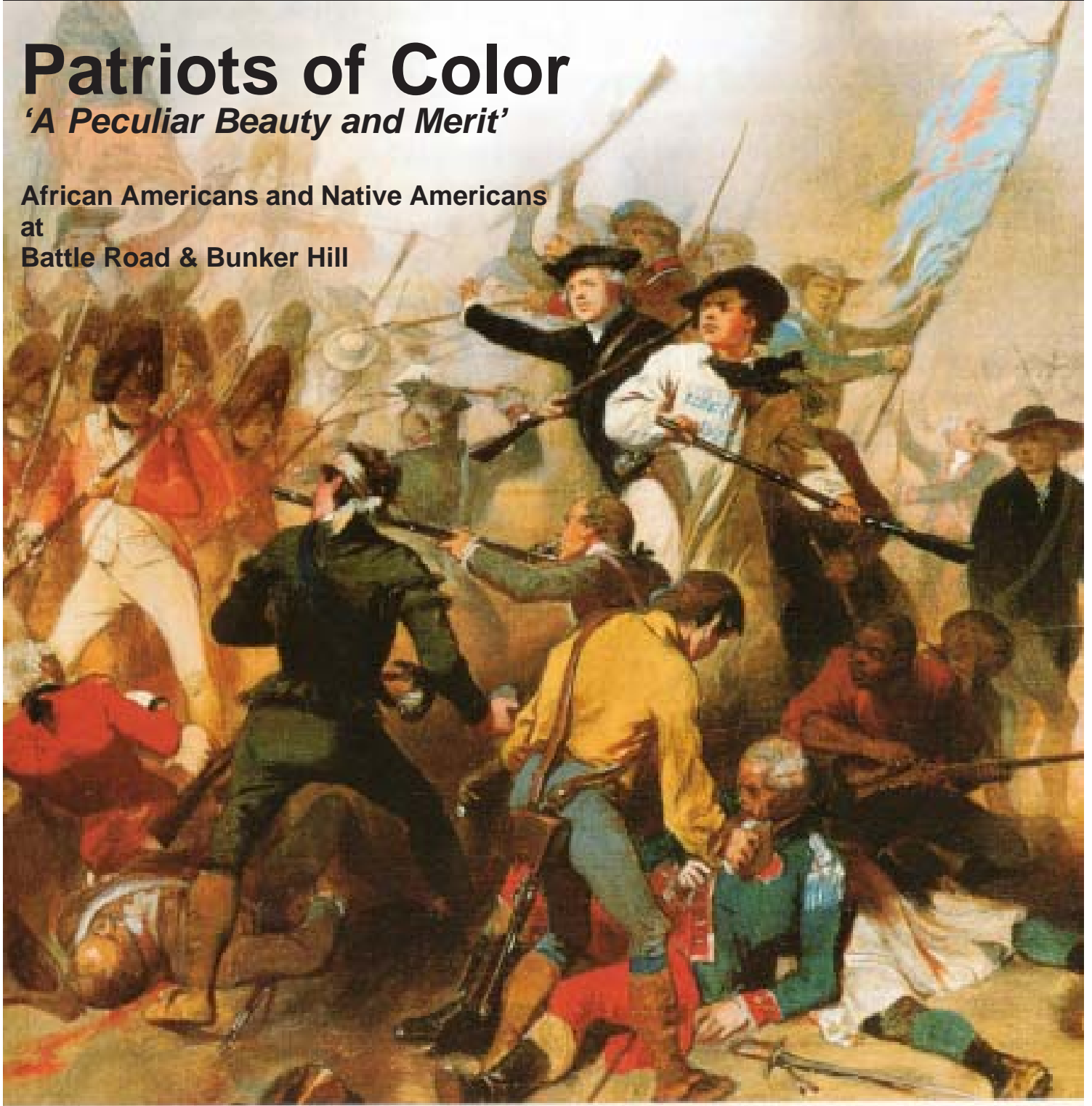
Boston National Historical Park
Minute Man National Historical Park



Patriots of Color

'A Peculiar Beauty and Merit'

African Americans and Native Americans
at
Battle Road & Bunker Hill



Report Prepared by

George Quintal Jr.
Revolutionary War Consultant

Patriots of Color

'A Peculiar Beauty and Merit'

**African Americans and Native Americans
at
Battle Road & Bunker Hill**

Report Prepared by

George Quintal Jr.
Revolutionary War Consultant

Preface by

Alfred F. Young
Senior Research Fellow, Newberry Library, Chicago

Published by

**Division of Cultural Resources
Boston National Historical Park
Boston, Massachusetts**

2004

Front Cover: Battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775, by Alonzo Chappel (1859)
Courtesy of Chicago Historical Society

Preface

by Alfred F. Young

Senior Research Fellow, Newberry Library, Chicago

Every once in a while a piece of scholarship comes along that changes the way you look at a historical event. The prevailing wisdom about the Battle of Bunker Hill is that only a handful of African American soldiers were there. After almost three years of research George Quintal reports that there very likely were 103 "patriots of color" at Bunker Hill (and may have been as many as 150). If there were as many as 3000 American soldiers at that Battle, this would mean that men of color might have been five percent of the total, which makes the percentage almost as high as at the Battle of Monmouth, New Jersey, when an estimated 800 men of color were seven per cent of a likely army of 12,000 soldiers.

How come we did not know about these soldiers? In truth the clues were hidden in plain sight. John Trumbull's 1786 painting of the Battle portraying the deaths of General Joseph Warren and several British officers shows one black man standing behind an American officer holding his master's gun and still another among the many faces in the battle. It is perhaps the most famous painting of a Revolutionary war scene. Alonzo Chappel's mid-nineteenth century rendering of a similar scene puts a young black man in the center of the action wielding a gun on his own,

by implication not a slave. Both paintings were widely reproduced.

Even after the rediscovery of black history in the wake of the civil rights movements of the twentieth century, the assumption was blacks were present only in small numbers. In 1961, Benjamin Quarles, then the dean of black historians, in The Negro in the American Revolution, could enumerate only six men (and for Battle Road he could list nine). In popular memory, it seems to have been taken for granted that there was Peter Salem (wrongly identified as the Negro in Trumbull's painting) and there was Salem Poor (singled out by fourteen officers in a petition as a "brave and gallant soldier"). On this same wave of tokenism, the poet Phillis Wheatley and the sailor Crispus Attucks, killed at the Boston Massacre, entered textbooks as representatives of black patriotism in Boston. In 1964, Ebony, the black popular magazine, named sixteen blacks at the Battle (half misidentified). When George Quintal accepted a contract from the National Park Service to research blacks at the Battle, he had documented two dozen and took a guess that further research might uncover another dozen.

Quintal is not an historian of black history. A native of rural Maine, he began his foray into common soldiers almost three decades ago in pursuit of twelve of his own ancestors who were in the Revolutionary War. He is a self-taught genealogist and military researcher, skilled as a computer specialist. Beginning with an interest in the expedition to Canada led by Benedict

Arnold, he moved into the Battles of Bunker Hill and Saratoga. Then he began to read systematically the 2670 microfilm reels of pension applications filed by veterans in 1820 and 1832, a huge treasure trove of evidence about the ordinary soldiers, largely unmined by historians.

The scope of his research on the patriots of color at Bunker Hill and Battle Road is staggering. Some years ago the Daughters of the American Revolution in Washington compiled lists of soldiers of color for each New England state based on the army's descriptive muster rolls--the one for Massachusetts listed 750. Not content with this, Quintal began with the United States Census for 1790 which designated every family of color. Armed with these names, he turned every page in the seventeen volumes of Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War and the comparable compilations for other New England states. With a data base enhanced by family and town histories, he hunted for evidence from primary sources for every "name" he had, and not for their military service alone but for their life histories. His results actually are on the conservative side; the large number of men in his "probable" category in fact are listed as members of military units known to be at Bunker Hill and therefore very likely there. He has still other names on a "maybe" list that may be verified by the sources. This is, we might say, "a work in progress."

The author's citation of Harriet Beecher Stowe in his subtitle seems particularly apt. In light of the fact that the

nation did not "acknowledge them as citizens and equals," the novelist wrote, the bravery of the "colored patriots" indeed had "a peculiar beauty and merit." Abigail Adams said the same thing in 1782 about the "patriotism in the female sex;" because women were "excluded from honors and from offices," it was "the most disinterested of all."

Who were these men? They were almost all from Massachusetts. It may be hard to grasp two centuries later, but on the eve of the Revolution Massachusetts was a colony with about 5000 slaves. In Boston in 1765 there were about 800 Negroes in a population of 15,500. Some of the best patriot families--Bowdoin, Hancock, Otis, Rowe, Warren--held slaves at one time or another. Patriot leaders, moreover, did not welcome blacks who sometimes joined mob actions. And the patriots who dominated the Massachusetts legislature turned down petitions from slaves demanding abolition in 1773, 1774 and as late as 1777.

It is hard to pin down the precise status of each individual black soldier in April and June, 1775. Some were slaves (like Asaba, the black man in Trumbull's painting, a servant to Lieutenant Thomas Grosvenor of Connecticut); some had been freed in earlier years; many more were promised freedom in return for their military service; a large number were taking their own freedom. The soldiers at the Battle Road were all members of the militia from their home towns who turned out in response to the alarm, some of them "minute men." The soldiers at Bunker Hill were men who enlisted for a term of eight months in what was

becoming the Continental Army.

Contrary to the comforting mythology, there was nothing automatic about the abolition of slavery in the "cradle of liberty." The Continental Army opened its doors only part way to blacks. The new state legislature did not abolish slavery; nor did the new state constitutions in 1778 and 1781. It was abolished, "by a legal process so obscure that historians continue to puzzle over slavery's demise," writes Ira Berlin in 2003 in Generations of Captivity: A History of African-American Slaves. There had to be lawsuits. But here the new knowledge Quintal has uncovered comes into play: undoubtedly the military service of so many blacks helped change the climate of opinion. After successful law suits of the early 1780s, slavery disappeared, and the census of 1790 counted 5463 "free persons of color" in the state and no slaves.

For the statistical-minded, the charts sum up the data about these soldiers. I took Quintal's recommendations under "Highlights" as to which stories were "especially interesting" and was not disappointed by his life stories about who was "probably the strongest man," who "had the longest service (8 years)" and who "probably served in the most battles (7)." As much as the life histories, I suspect many readers will also be as fascinated as I was by the fact that it was possible to reconstruct so much information about people who through their lives remained at the bottom of society.

We owe this report to the perseverance and skills of the

compiler and the vision of Martin Blatt, Historian, Boston National Historical Park. The author's numerous acknowledgements suggest that a company of keepers of the past joined enthusiastically in his explorations. Reading between the lines, one can see our compiler and friends walking through overgrown cemeteries in search of gravestones, dusting off old town records, and sharing copies of worn documents. You can't do this kind of research without help. How fitting that Quintal should dedicate the book to David Lloyd Garrison (1906-2001), great-grandson of William Lloyd Garrison, Boston's most famous abolitionist, who literally gave him a roof over his head for two years of research. This clearly is a project whose time has come.

PATRIOTS of COLOR

'A PECULIAR BEAUTY and MERIT'

**African Americans
and
Native Americans
at
Battle Road & Bunker Hill**

George Quintal Jr.
Revolutionary War Consultant
11 February 2002



Gravestone of Cuff Chambers

Dead River Cemetery, Leeds, Maine

Photograph by Sarah Quintal, March 2000

This report is dedicated to the thousands of Patriots of Color who served with honor in the War of the American Revolution. Of the just over one hundred soldiers in this study, at least sixteen lost their lives in the long struggle for freedom. All Americans, of all backgrounds, owe them our deep, enduring gratitude.

'In considering the services of the Colored Patriots of the American Revolution, we are to reflect on them as far more magnanimous, because rendered to a nation which did not acknowledge them as citizens and equals, and in whose interests and prosperity they had less at stake ...

Bravery, under such circumstances, has a peculiar beauty and merit.'

Harriet Beecher Stowe, quoted in *The Colored Patriots of the American Revolution* by William C. Nell (1855)



This report is also dedicated to the memory of David Lloyd Garrison (1906-2001), great-grandson of abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison. David opened his home to me during the two years of research on this project. Without David's gracious generosity, and that of his son Chris and daughter Edith, the Patriots of Color Project could not have been completed.

Any project like this is the result of hundreds of contacts and communications. I had the great privilege to work closely with some of the finest people, with the finest minds, that I have ever met. The many hours that we talked 'shop' were a great joy and helped me often to reflect and refine, with the ultimate goal of telling 'untold' stories while getting the facts of history right. It helped, too, to have dear family and friends who were always there when times were tough. The following people contributed greatly to the project by providing support, comments, additions, corrections, suggestions and encouragement:

Dr. Martin H. Blatt, Ph.D., Chief of Cultural Resources and Supervisory Historian for the U.S. Dept. of the Interior, National Park Service, Charlestown Navy Yard, Boston, Massachusetts, conceived and nurtured this project, from beginning to end, with tremendous vision and strong purpose. He placed faith in my research when very few others would. To him goes my warmest and deepest thanks.

Dr. Alfred Young, Historian and Author and friend, sent me copies of all of his files on soldiers of color and reviewed my work in several stages, offering the wise suggestions of an experienced writer. At a time when he was finishing his own book on Deborah Sampson, he still made time to edit this report. His inspiration and unwavering support throughout the entire project will always be remembered and cherished.

David Lloyd Garrison, who passed away in 2001, and his children Chris Garrison and Edith (Garrison) Griffin provided a home-away-from-home during the project. Without the security of a roof over my head and a warm place to live and work, I would have had to give up long ago.

Bob & Margaret Cunningham of Lincoln (MA), dear friends and long-time supporters, let me use their garage for storage of research materials and provided help in many other ways. Without their kind assistance, I would have most certainly been unable to maintain a Boston research presence.

Wayne Krauth, friend and cofounder of Workgroup Technology Partners Inc. of Westbrook (ME), provided technical support. Without a computer system donated by him, it would have been nearly impossible to assemble this database and create this report.

Bert Kessel of Lincoln (MA), WWII Marine and angel of kindness, helped me find a place to stay at the Garrisons' at a time when I had no housing.

Catherine Cantrell, friend, nursed me through several extended sicknesses during the project.

Jonathan Donaldson, Lincoln (MA), extended my stay at the Garrisons' after he purchased the property.

Bob Donovan, friend, allowed me the use of his home in Embden (ME) for ten days in order to complete work on the final report.

Mrs. Emma N. Kaplan of Northampton (MA), authority on African Americans in the Revolutionary War, graciously invited me to her home and opened all of her research files to me including her soon-to-be published manuscript entitled "African American Soldiers and Sailors in the Revolutionary War". At a very late stage in the project, she provided the new names of **Scipio Gray**, **Nathaniel Small**, **Prince Sutton** and **Tobias Wornton**. Additional information was provided on **John Ferrit**, **Cato Freeman**, **Cato Hart**, **Jeffrey Hemenway**, **James Huzzey** and **Titus Tuttle**.

Mrs. Hazel Fuller Kreinheider, Genealogist at the National Society Daughters of the American Revolution in Washington (DC), and driving force behind the groundbreaking series called *Minority Military Service*, met with me to discuss this project and allowed the use of information from her publications.

Priscilla Draeger, friend, Genealogist, Historian of the Winchendon (MA) Historical Society and Historian of the Winchendon Historical District spent many long hours examining Massachusetts vital records for people of color and donated all of her careful research on **Eden London**;

Jean Gavin, who passed away in 2001, and who was Volunteer Archivist at the Lexington (MA) Historical Society, opened the archives many times personally for me and spent many hours of her own time in searching for Lexington families of color.

Bruce Harris, Park Ranger at Minute Man National Historical Park and Peter Salem reenactor, provided much insight through his own research into the life of Peter Salem and accompanied me on a trip to find the actual locations of Peter Salem's cabin sites in Framingham and Leicester.

Alice Hinkle, Author and Freelance Journalist, first made me aware of the **Burdoo** family and provided inspiration through her own work in writing a book on the life of **Prince Estabrook**.

Jane Carolan, Consultant in Newburyport (MA), gave encouragement and consulting guidance in the earliest stages of the project.

Faith Davison, Archivist at the Mohegan Archives in Uncasville (CT), sent copies of all the material she has collected on Mohegans in the Revolutionary War and called many times after with follow-up information.

Carl Zellner, Historian, Charlestown (MA) Historical Society, gave me a personal guided tour of the Bunker Hill Museum, pointed out modern features overlaying the old battlefield and provided a considerable amount of copies of source material he has collected.

Helen Treat, my junior high school history teacher now long since passed away, inspired my great love of Revolutionary War history.

The staffs of many fine organizations lent their time and expertise: the New England Historic and Genealogical Society, the Belmont (MA) Family History Library of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the Maine State Library, the Maine State Archives, the New Hampshire Historical Society, the Vermont Historical Society and the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Others who helped along the way (listed in alphabetical order) are:

- Ethan Beeler, Supervisory Park Ranger, Charlestown District, Boston National Historical Park, provided insight and feedback through probing questions;
- Jeannie Benton and Steve Benton, landscaping customers, provided a car to use in the last weeks of the project;
- Donna M. Berrios, Bookkeeper at Hope Cemetery, Worcester (MA), went the extra mile in finding the grave card of **Jeffrey Hemenway** after others had given up;
- Lisa Bier, Reference Librarian of the Mashantucket Pequot Museum & Research Center, Mashantucket (CT), sent material on members of the Pequot Tribe who served in the Revolutionary War;
- Larry Blair, Cemetery Director at Hope Cemetery in Worcester (MA), personally pointed out the gravesite of **Jeffrey Hemenway**;
- David Bosse, Director, Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association Library, Deerfield (MA), gave permission to publish material on **Caesar Bailey**;
- Jeanne Munn Bracken, Reference Librarian at the Lincoln (MA) Public Library, researched a particularly elusive citation for the EBONY magazine article;
- Michael F. Bradford, Curator, Medford (MA) Historical Society, let me view pertinent manuscripts in his collection concerning Medford soldiers of color;
- Peg Bradner, Library Volunteer at the Dedham (MA) Historical Society, provided leads on Dedham Patriots of Color;
- Mary Ann Campbell, Head of Archive and Automation, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem (MA), gave permission to publish the manumission of **Salem Poor**;
- Stephen P. Carlson, Park Ranger at Boston NHP, wrote an eloquent synopsis of this project for the local NPS newsletter, *Broadside*;
- Ray Carpenter, landowner, allowed access to the cemetery of **Caesar Wallace**;
- Robyn L. Christensen, Librarian at the Worcester [MA] Historical Museum, helped find files on Worcester people of color;
- Mrs. Andrea C. D. Crossman, DAR Regent from Framingham (MA), spent countless hours planning and coordinating a dedication to the memory of **Peter Salem** at his gravesite;
- Bob Derry, Park Ranger at the Minute Man National Historical Park, provided feedback on **Casey Whitney** research;
- Capt. John Doherty, Director of Veteran's Services at Andover (MA), pulled all of his material on Andover soldiers;
- Robert L. Draeger, friend from Winchendon (MA), provided a photograph of **Eden London's** gravesite;
- Pat Fallon, President of the Boxborough (MA) Historical Society, corresponded on **Caesar Wetherbee**;

- Patricia Farron, Director, Leicester (MA) Public Library, allowed me access to the library manuscript files, from which the **Peter Salem** receipt was discovered;
- Norma Gahl, Reference Librarian, Bedford Free Public Library, helped with Bedford records;
- Lawrence D. Gall, Manager, Stewardship & Partnerships, National Park Service, invited me to speak on this project at the 2000 Annual Meeting of the American Battlefield Protection Program in Baltimore;
- Laura Griggs, Town Historian of Reading (VT), gave up an afternoon to share with me all the material she had collected on **Silas Burdoo**;
- Lois Hammil, former Archivist of the Bedford (MA) Historical Society, helped search the Society library for information on Bedford soldiers of color;
- Carolyn Hastings, Historian of Stow (MA), provided much useful background information on **Caesar Wetherbee**;
- Steve Herring, Town Historian of Framingham (MA), shared names of soldiers of color from Framingham;
- Walter Hickey, Archives Specialist, National Archives Branch, Waltham (MA), helped with understanding the intricacies of pension and census research;
- Phil Hunt, Museum Specialist at the Boston National Historical Park, helped to determine facts about the whereabouts of **Peter Salem's** musket;
- Betsy Johnson, Town Historian of Sherborn (MA), provided leads on Sherborn soldiers;
- Ilene Jones-Cornell, Historian from Nashville (TN), first led me to the **Salem Poor** manumission document and sent copies of all of her diligent research on him;
- Joan Knight, Library Director, Jaffrey (NH) Public Library, gave permission to publish material on **Pompey Blackman**;
- Vince Kordack, Park Ranger at the Boston National Historical Park, shared files he has gathered on soldiers at the Siege of Boston;
- Dr. Gregory Laing, Curator of Special Collections at the Haverhill (MA) Public Library, allowed access to the DAR Collection of Revolutionary War graves cards, which resulted in finding the name of **Silas Royal**;
- Steve Leninski, South Woodstock (VT), shared his research on **Silas Burdoo**, Civil War soldier;
- Don Lennerton, Town Historian of Leicester (MA), pointed out the location of the foundation rocks where **Peter Salem's** cabin once stood;
- Sharon McDonald, Bedford (MA) Historian, provided information on Bedford men of color;
- Dan McGrail, Park Ranger at the Boston African American National Historic Site, searched for information on **Silas Burdoo** of the 54th Massachusetts;
- Shirley Majewski, Library Assistant, Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association Library, Deerfield (MA), corresponded and sent copies of all of her files on **Caesar Bailey**;
- Mrs. Mary Marchant, Curator, Stoneham (MA) Historical Society, kindly opened her library one day;
- Martha Mayo, Head, Center for Lowell (MA) History, gave access to all of the files on Lowell-area people of color that she has so carefully and lovingly collected over the years;
- Nancy C. Merrill, Director of Collections, Exeter (NH) Historical Society, shared her extensive file of personally-collected material on **Jude Hall** and his family;
- Frank Middleton, Park Ranger at the Boston African American National Historic Site, discussed the services of soldiers in the 54th Massachusetts;
- Juliet Mofford, Director of Education at the Andover (MA) Historical Society, personally helped me research Andover soldiers of color on several occasions and shared her extensive knowledge of the town and its people;
- Mark Nichipor, Park Ranger at the Minute Man National Historical Park, provided scholarly feedback on **Peter Salem's** involvement at Bunker Hill;
- Arthur H. Paquin, Historian, Dracut Historical Society, provided extremely helpful and timely information on **Jeffrey Hartwell** and other Dracut soldiers of color;
- Mary G. Page, Pomfret (CT) Historical Society, helped in trying to determine the name of **Thomas Grosvenor's** slave;
- Rita Prew, President of the Hatfield (MA) Historical Society, provided leads on **Asahel Wood**;
- Emily Prigot, Park Ranger at the Boston National Historical Park, created the **Salem Poor** site bulletin and provided feedback on research on him;
- Bill Reed, volunteer archivist at NARA in Waltham, helped many times with troublesome microfilm printers;
- Nancy Richard, Librarian, The Bostonian Society, gave permission to publish a photograph of a **Jeffrey Hartwell** pewter plate;
- Patricia Roeser, Conservation Associate at Boston NHP, spent many hours photocopying and helping to organize the final report;

- F. Michael Ryan of Concord (MA), Historian and Reenactor, provided material on Concord slaves and on Capt. William Smith of Lincoln;
- George Sermuksnis, Archives Technician, National Archives Branch, Waltham (MA), helped with understanding the intricacies of pension and census research;
- Anne K. Schaller, Museum Director, Natick Historical Society & Museum, South Natick (MA), opened the Museum for me and helped search files for Natick soldiers of color;
- Lou Sideris, Chief of Interpretation at the Minute Man National Historical Park, reviewed summary notes and helped to point out unreliable text which was accordingly removed;
- Barbara Sipler, President of the Stow (MA) Historical Society, corresponded on **Caesar Wetherbee**;
- Bob Slecta, Historian of Bedford (MA), graciously invited me to his home and shared his extensive files on Bedford soldiers of the Revolution;
- Audrey J. Smith, Secretary of the Concerned Black Citizens of Bedford (MA), sent material on Bedford people of color and a photo of the memorial stone in the Olde Burial Grounds;
- Marjorie Strong, Assistant Librarian, Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier (VT), provided directions that helped me find the gravesite of **Silas Burdoo**;
- Kathy Szyska, Museum Assistant at the North Andover (MA) Historical Society, helped research soldiers of color from the area and gave special help with material on **Salem Poor**;
- Roberta Sullivan, member of the Reading (MA) Historical Commission, sent material on Reading people of color;
- Rainey Tisdale, Collections Manager, The Bostonian Society, researched the **Jeffrey Hartwell** pewter plates and brought them out of storage to be photographed;
- Marilyn Simons, Librarian, Jaffrey (NH) Public Library, pointed out all available information on **Pompey Blackman**;
- Leon C. Thresher, Town Historian of Hardwick (MA), met with me to discuss the life of **Asahel Wood**;
- Lois Thurston, premier authority on Maine genealogy, long ago impressed upon me the importance of reading pensions and always seeking primary sources;
- Lauren Towler, Intern at the North Andover (MA) Historical Society, helped research soldiers of color from the area and followed up with mailings of more material on **Salem Poor**;
- Janet Umphress, historian of Ashby (MA), shared her files on **Prince Estabrook**;
- Emily Lovering-Walker and Graham Walker, landscaping customers, provided a car to use in the last days of the project;
- Fred Wallace, Volunteer Researcher at the Framingham (MA) Historical Society, fielded some of the toughest questions about Framingham soldiers of color;
- Terrie Wallace, Ph.D., Curator Minute Man National Historical Park, helped field many requests for information and wrote an insightful paper on **Peter Salem**;
- Cathy Waters, Archivist, Vermont State Archives, Montpelier (VT), searched for and provided copies of several manuscripts signed by **Silas Burdoo**;
- Edwina Weston-Dyer, historian from Framingham, shared information on **Peter Salem** in a phone conversation;
- Leslie Wilson, Archivist at the Concord Public Library, Concord (MA), provided leads on Concord families of color;
- Mrs. Esther Wyatt, Corresponding Secretary of the Meredith (NH) Historical Society, provided material on **Caesar Wallace**;
- David Young, researcher and author, Danville Junction (ME), allowed me to scan his manuscripts on obituaries from early newspapers;

And finally, I want to thank my parents George and Frances Quintal of West Gardiner, Maine. At a very early age, my Mom instilled in me an abiding love of reading. As that reading matured it often took on the form of a history book, my Dad (a World War II vet and Purple Heart recipient) having instilled in me a deep love of history. My children have often wondered what Dad is spending so many long hours working on. They, too, contributed in critical ways to the completion of this report. My son, Si Quintal, lent me his own car for two months near the end of the project after my own finally disintegrated. My daughter, Sarah Quintal, took photographs of the grave of **Cuff Chambers**, developed them herself and also helped with image scanning. And my youngest, Susie Quintal, helped with research and with assembling the final report notebook.

Thank you all.

George Quintal Jr.
Pittston, Maine and Lincoln, Massachusetts
28 February 2002

In his request for funding to the National Park Service, Dr. Marty Blatt described the proposed project as follows:

This project will provide funding to conduct research on the role of black combatants in the Battle of Bunker Hill and the conflict at Lexington and Concord. The project will provide basic information on an important untold story, the significant part played by blacks with the patriots in the Revolutionary War. The project results will contribute directly to new interpretive exhibits at both park units and will be available for researchers. The project will enhance the interpretation of African Americans at both parks and thus encourage greater minority visitation to these sites.¹

As a result of later discussions, the services of Native American participants were included. The project was approved for FY2001-2 as a 1000-hour study and work officially started in October of 1999. The 1000-hour mark was passed by Christmas 2000. All work in 2001 and 2002 has been a volunteer effort, now comprising approximately 2500 additional hours, for a final project total of 3500 hours.

The key phrase in Dr. Blatt's proposal is 'untold story'. While the stories of handfuls of soldiers of color (such as **Peter Salem** and **Salem Poor**) have been told, this project has restored those stories, added to them significantly and presented the new stories of many dozens of other men of color who served at Battle Road and Bunker Hill. Much has been learned during this project about the individual lives of these men such as what age they were, where they served, how they lived, who they married, where they resided and where they died.

Old stories were deconstructed and carefully rebuilt after the discarding of unreliable sources. For proof of service and for vital records, primary sources have been sought in each and every instance. When primary sources were not available, reliable secondary sources were accepted. When neither of these were available, inclusion of a name in this report has been accepted on the sole basis of participation in a company known to be at one or the other of the battles.

The men of color who fought at Battle Road were both militia men and members of the elite minute man companies. Some served as slaves. Others had long since been freed by their masters. Masters, slaves, free blacks and at least one Indian fought side-by-side in the running battle against the British on the memorable 19th of April 1775.

The men of color who fought at Bunker Hill were called eight-months' men due to their term of service. Most had responded to the Lexington Alarm and had gathered at Cambridge to join the Siege of Boston. Significant numbers of the soldiers of color in this great mass of Patriots had the newly-minted status of 'free man'. An irrepressible spirit of liberty was in the air. What a time to have been alive!

The well-known, stirring tales of Battle Road and Bunker Hill will not be repeated. The reader is assumed to be familiar with both events. But a new perspective will hopefully be gained due to the emergence from the long-lost past of the men of color portrayed herein.

This report is definitely not the final word on the matter. More names will be found and more will be found about the Patriots already discovered. As feedback trickles in, corrections and additions will be made. Much work still needs to be done in the areas of church, deed, court and probate research. But a foundation, hopefully strong and solid, has been laid. For men who possessed such dignity of purpose, a roll of honor has now been established. The memory of these men deserves no less.

¹ Base Submission Document available from Boston NHP

Dedications	iii
Acknowledgments	iv
Introduction	viii

PART 1: REFERENCES

Sources	10
Definitions	14
Abbreviations	15

PART 2: RESEARCH

Goals	16
Methodology	17
Results	21
Conclusions	22

PART 3: GLEANINGS

Glimpses of Slave Life in New England	25
Glimpses of Indian Life in New England	29
Anecdotes - BATTLE ROAD	33
Anecdotes - BUNKER HILL	36

PART 4: BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

Format	38
Guide to Engagements/Campaigns	39
Highlights	44
Biographical Sketches (in alphabetical order)	45

PART 5: INFORMATIONAL TABLES

<u>Battle Service:</u>	Table S-1:	Proof of Service	229
	Table S-2:	Casualties	230
	Table S-3:	Rank	231
	Table S-4:	Counts by Regiment	232
	Table S-5:	Counts by Company	233
	Table S-6:	Names by Company	236
<u>Soldier Profile:</u>	Table P-1:	Age	240
	Table P-2:	Occupation	241
	Table P-3:	Description	242
	Table P-4:	Status	243
	Table P-5:	Religion	244
<u>Geographic:</u>	Table G-1:	States of Enlistment	245
	Table G-2:	Counties of Enlistment	246
	Table G-3:	Towns of Enlistment	247
	Table G-4:	Names by Town of Enlistment	250
<u>Miscellaneous:</u>	Table M-1:	1790 U.S. Census Heads of Household	255
	Table M-2:	U.S. Pensioners	256
	Table M-3:	Last Survivors	257
	Table M-4:	Died During Revolutionary Struggle	258

PART 6: INFORMATIONAL SUMMARIES

<u>Summary Sheets:</u>	Sheet Z-1:	BATTLE ROAD	259
	Sheet Z-2:	BUNKER HILL	260

- AASS Kaplan, Emma N. "African American Soldiers and Sailors in the Revolutionary War". Manuscript.
- ABB1 Abbott, Charlotte Helen. *Early Records and Notes of Andover [MA] Families*
- ABB2 Abbott, Charlotte Helen. *Andover [MA] Families Notes*. Manuscript at Andover (MA) Historical Society.
- ACTO Phalen, Harold R. *History of the Town of Acton [MA]* (1954).
- ALGO Calloway, Colin G. "New England Algonkians in the American Revolution" in Benes, Peter (ed.), *Algonkians of New England: Past and Present* (1991).
- AMES Merrill, Joseph. *History of Amesbury and Merrimac Massachusetts* (1880).
- AMHC Smith, James Avery. *The History of the Black Population of Amherst, Massachusetts 1728-1870* (1999).
- AMHP Hoopes, Donelson. *American Narrative Painting* (1985).
- AMHE Carpenter & Morehouse. *The History of the Town of Amherst, Massachusetts 1731-1896* (1896).
- AND2 Bailey, Sarah Loring. *Historical Sketches of Andover, ... Massachusetts* (1880).
- ANDR Harris, Edward Mosely. Col. (Ret.). *Andover [MA] in the American Revolution ...* (1976).
- ARL1 Cutter, Benjamin and William R. *History of the Town of Arlington, Massachusetts formerly the Second Precinct in Cambridge or District of Menotomy, afterward the Town of West Cambridge 1635-1879 ...* (1880).
- ARL2 Parker, Charles S. *Town of Arlington [MA] Past and Present ...* (1907).
- ARLC Smith, Samuel Abbot, *West Cambridge on the Nineteenth of April, 1775 ...* (1864).
- BANC Bancroft, George. *History of the United States of America from the Discovery of the Continent* (1876).
- BARB Schott, Nancy E. (Ed.). *The Barbour Collection of Connecticut Town Vital Records* (2000). 43 vol.
- BD-D birth date backwardly-computed, based on age at time of death
- BD-M birth date backwardly-computed, based on average age of marriage of 26 (per study of compiler)
- BD-P birth date backwardly-computed, based on age in pension application
- BD-R birth date backwardly-computed, based on age in military descriptive roll
- BED1 Brown, Abram English. *History of the Town of Bedford, Middlesex County, Massachusetts, ... to ...1891 ...* (1891)
- BED2 Brown, Louise K. *Bedford [MA] a Revolutionary town* (1975).
- BED3 The Friends of the Bedford Free Public Library. *The Bedford [MA] Sampler* (1974).
- BEPL Bedford (MA) Free Public Library.
- BOLR Whitcomb, Esther K. and Mayo, Dorothy O. *Bolton [MA] Soldiers and Sailors in the American Revolution* (1985).
- BOSM McGlenen, Edward W. *Boston Marriages from 1700 to 1809* (1977).
- BRAD Bradford, Charles H, M.D. *The Battle Road* (1975).
- CAHP Cambridge [MA] Historical Society. *Cambridge Historical Society Publications* (1906-1985). 12 vols. + index.
- CALL Calloway, Colin G. *The American Revolution in Indian country ...* (1995).
- CAMB Page, Lucius R. *History of Cambridge Massachusetts ... 1630-1877 ...* (1877).
- CAMP Campisi, Jack. *The Mashpee Indians* (1991).
- CC-D *Columbian Centinel, Deaths*
- CC-M *Columbian Centinel, Marriages*
- CHAR Wyman, Thomas Bellows. *The Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown, Massachusetts 1629-1818* (1879). 2 vols.
- CLAR Clarke, Jonas, Rev. *A sermon. the fate of blood thirsty oppressors and Gods care of distressed people A sermoen, preached at Lexington, April 19, 1776, to commemorate the murder, bloodshed and the commencement of hostilities between Great Britain and America* (1776).
- COBU Coburn, Frank Warren. *Muster Rolls of the Participating Companies of American Militia and Minute-Men in The Battle of April 19,1775, ...* (1912).
- COUR Greene, Robert Ewell. *Black Courage 1775-1783 Documentation of Black Participation in the American Revolution* (1984).
- CTEM Bailey, Frederic W., Rev., B.D. *Early Connecticut Marriages as found on Ancient Church Records prior to 1800* (1904).
- CTHS Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford (CT).
- CTSL Connecticut State Library, Hartford (CT).
- CTSS Adjutant General's Office [CT]. *Record of Service of Connecticut Men in the War of the Revolution* (1889). 1 vol.
- CTVR *Vital Records. Births, Marriages and Deaths. Vols for some Connecticut towns.*
- DARI National Society Daughters of the American Revolution (NSDAR). *DAR Patriot Index* (1990). 3 vols.
- DARL National Society Daughters of the American Revolution (NSDAR). *DAR Lineage Books* (1890-1921). 166 vols.
- DARM Kreinheder, Hazel Fuller. *Minority Military Service* (1988-1991). National Society Daughters of the American Revolution; booklets for NH&VT, ME, MA, CT and RI.
- DAVT Davis, Thomas J. "Emancipation Rhetoric, Natural Rights, and Revolutionary New England: A Note on Four Black Petitions in Massachusetts, 1773-1777" in *New England Quarterly*, LXII, No.2 (1989):248-263.

- DEDH Smith, Frank. *A History of Dedham, Massachusetts* (1936).
- DEFE Greene, Robert Elwell. *Black Defenders of America 1775-1973* (1974).
- DORM Dorman, Franklin A. *Twenty Families of Color in Massachusetts 1742-1998* (1998).
- DRAC Coburn, Silas R. *History of Dracut Massachusetts ...* (1922).
- EBON Morrison, Allan. "Negroes Who Fought at Bunker Hill". *EBONY* magazine, February 1964.
- EGAZ *Essex Gazette*. Salem, MA.
- ETHN Harling, Frederick and Kaufman, Martin. *The Ethnic Contribution to the American Revolution* (1976).
- EXET Bell, Charles H. *History of Exeter New Hampshire* (1888).
- EXNL Chipman, Scott Lee. *New England Vital Records from the Exeter News-Letter ...* (1993). 5 vols: 1831-1840, 1841-1846, 1847-1852, 1853-1858, 1859-1865.
- FISC Fischer, David Hackett. *Paul Revere's Ride* (1994).
- FLEM Fleming, Thomas J. *Now We Are Enemies* (1963).
- FONE Foner, Philip S. *Blacks in the American Revolution* (1975).
- FORC Force Peter (ed.). *American Archives ...* (1837, 1839, 1840). Fourth Series in 3 vols; reprinted by Johnson Reprint Corporation (1972); on CD produced by Fine Books Company.
- FRAM Temple, J. H. *History of Framingham, Massachusetts ...* (1887).
- FREN French, Allen. *The Day of Lexington and Concord* (1925).
- GARR Garrison, William Lloyd. *The Loyalty and Devotion of Colored Americans in the Revolution and War of 1812* (1861).
- GOFF Hadley, George Plummer. *History of Goffstown [NH]* (1924). 2 vols.
- GREE Greene, Lorenzo Johnston. *The Negro in Colonial New England* (1971).
gravestone record.
- GRAV
- GROS Gross, Robert A. *The Minutemen and Their World* (1976).
- HADF Boltwood, Lucius M. *Genealogies of Hadley [MA] Families ...* (1905).
- HADL Judd, Sylvester. *History of Hadley [MA] ...* (1905)
- HAMP Carvalho, Joseph III. *Black Families in Hampden County, Massachusetts 1650-1855* (1984).
- HANO Dwelley, Jedediah and Simmons, John F. *History of the Town of Hanover Massachusetts ...* (1910).
- HARD Paige, Lucius R. *History of Hardwick, Massachusetts ...* (1883)
- HARV Nourse, Henry S., A.M. *History of the Town of Harvard Massachusetts. 1732-1893* (1894).
- HATF Wells, Daniel White and Wells, Reuben Field. *A History of Hatfield, Massachusetts* (1910).
- HEIT Heitman, Francis B. *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution* (1914).
- HINK Hinkle, Alice. *Prince Estabrook slave and soldier* (2001).
- HOPE Blatt, Martin H and Brown, Thomas J. and Yacovone, Donald (eds.). *Hope & Glory Essays on the Legacy of the 54th Massachusetts Regiment* (2001).
- HOYT Hoyt Collection, Saratoga National Historical Park, Stillwater (NY).
- IZAR Izard, HollyV. "Image and Reality: Hepsibeth Bowman/Crosman Hemenway and Her Portrait". Manuscript at Worcester (MA) Historical Museum in WOH1.
- JAPL Jaffrey Public Library, Jaffrey, NH. Vertical File.
- KAPL Kaplan, Sidney and Kaplan, Emma Nogrady. *The Black Presence in the Era of the American Revolution* (1989).
- KENS Sawyer, Roland A., Rev. *The History of Kensington New Hampshire 1663 to 1945 ...* (1946).
- KETC Ketchum, Richard M. *Decisive Day The Battle for Bunker Hill* (1974).
- LANR Nourse, Henry S., A.M. *The Military Annals of Lancaster Massachusetts ... 1740-1865 ...* (1889).
- LEDY Avery, John, Rev. *History of the Town of Ledyard [CT]* (1901).
- LEI1 Washburn, Emory. *Historical Sketches of the Town of Leicester, Massachusetts ...* (1860).
- LEI2 Coolidge, A. H., Rev. *A Brief History of Leicester, Massachusetts* (1890).
- LEHS Lexington (MA) Historical Society.
- LEWF "Lew Family Records" manuscript at LOCE.
- LEXP *Proceedings of the Lexington Historical Society*. 4 vols.
- LINC MacLean, John C. *A Rich Harvest The History, Buildings, and People of Lincoln, Massachusetts* (1987).
- LJOY Lovejoy, Clarence Earle. *The Lovejoy Genealogy ...* (1930).
- LOCE Center for Lowell History, Lowell (MA).
- LOGA Logan, Gwendolyn Evans. "The Slave in Connecticut During the American Revolution" in *The Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin*, 30(1965):Number 3:73-80.

- LOVE Love, W. DeLoss, Ph.D. *Samson Occum and the Christian Indians of New England* (1899).
- LYNN Newhall, Lames R. *History of Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts: Including Lynnfield, Saugus, Swampscott, and Nahant 1629-1893* (1897). 2 vols.
- LYNR Sanderson, Howard Kendall. *Lynn [MA] in the Revolution* (1909). 2 vols.
- MACW Adjutant General (MA). *Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines in the Civil War* (1931-1935). 8 vols. + index.
- MAGH Abbatt, William. "Negro Soldiers in the United States Army" in *The Magazine of History with Notes and Queries*, X(1909):61-70.
- MAHC *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society* (1846-2002). 92 vols.
- MAHP *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* (1791-2002). 113 vols.
- MAHS Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, MA..
- MALD Corey, Deloraine Pendre. *The History of Malden Massachusetts 1633-1785* (1899).
- MAND Mandell, Daniel R. *Indians in Eighteenth Century Eastern Massachusetts Behind the Frontier* (1996).
- MAPC *The Journals of the Provincial Congress in 1774 and 1775, and of the Committee of Safety ...* (1838).
- MASA Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, MA.
- MASS Secretary of the Commonwealth. *Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War* (1896-1908). Also 2-CD Family Tree Maker™ set "Military Records: Revolutionary War".
- MATN Secretary of the Commonwealth. *Historical Data Relating to Counties, Cities and Towns in Massachusetts* (1997).
- MAVR *Vital Records to 1850. Births, Marriages and Deaths. Vols for most Massachusetts towns.*
- MAYO Mayo, Martha. "Profiles in Courage: African-Americans in Lowell" (1993).
- MEDF Brooks, Charles. *History of the Town of Medford Middlesex County, Massachusetts ...* (1886).
- MEDR Wild, Helen Tilden. *Medford [MA] in the Revolution ...* (1903).
- MEHS Maine Historical Society, Portland, ME.
- MESA Maine State Archives, Augusta, ME.
- MESL Maine State Library, Augusta, ME.
- MEP1 Fisher, Carleton E. & Fisher, Sue G. *Soldiers, Sailors, and Patriots of the Revolutionary War Maine* (1982). 1 vol.
- MEP2 Fisher, Carleton E. *Supplement to Soldiers, Sailors, and Patriots of the Revolutionary War Maine* (1998). 1 vol.
- MMAN Status assumed to be 'free' since soldier was a Minute Man.
- MNHP Minuteman National Historical Park, Concord (MA).
- MOEB Moebs, Thomas Truxton. *Black Soldiers - Black Sailors - Black Ink: Research Guide on African-Americans in U.S. Military History, 1526-1900:...* (1994).
- MOHE "Revolutionary War Master List". Mohegan Archives, Uncasville, CT.
- MONM Walling, Richard S. "Men of Color at the Battle of Monmouth" (1994). Pamphlet.
- MSEX Hurd, Hamilton. *The History of Middlesex County, Massachusetts* (1890).
- NA75 *Natick Bulletin*. "Local Centennial Events", 18 June 1875, page 1. See 'People File' at NAHS.
- NAHS Natick (MA) Historical Society, South Natick, MA.
- NAME soldier description unavailable - soldier placed in database based on given (first) name alone.
- NARA National Archives and Records Administration.
- NAT1 Biglow, William. *History of the Town of Natick, Mass. from the Days of the Apostle Eliot ...* (1830).
- NAT2 Bacon, Oliver N. *A History of Natick [MA] from its First Settlement in 1651 to the Present Time ...* (1856).
- NAT3 Crawford, Michael J. *History of Natick, Massachusetts 1650-1976* (1978).
- NAT4 French, Josie. "Natick in the Revolution". Manuscript at NAHS.
- NEED Clarke, George, Kuhn, A.M. LL.B. *History of Needham Massachusetts 1711-1911 ...* (1912).
- NEHR *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* (1847-2002). 154 vols.
- NEIM Neimeyer, Charles Patrick. *America Goes to War A Social History of the Continental Army* (1996).
- NELL Nell, William C. *The Colored Patriots of the American Revolution* (1855).
- NEWT Smith, S.F., D.D. *History of Newton, Massachusetts ...* (1880).
- NHSS Hammond, Isaac. *New Hampshire State and Provincial Papers* (1885-1889). vols 14-17.
- NHVR New Hampshire Vital Records (Births, Deaths, Marriages) on registration cards. Department of Health and Human Services, Concord (NH).
- NIPM Connole, Dennis A. *The Indians of the Nipmuck Country in Southern New England, 1630-1750 [-] An Historical Geography* (2001).
- NOTA Smith, Jessie C. (Ed.). *Notable Black American Men* (1998).
- NYMR *Muster and Pay Rolls of the War of the American Revolution 1775-1783. Collections of the New-York Historical Society for the Year 1914* (1916).
- OBRI O'Brien, Jean M. *Dispossession by degrees Indian land and identity in Natick, Massachusetts, 1650-1790* (1997).

- PIER Piersen, William D. *Black Yankees The Development of an Afro-American Subculture in Eighteenth-Century New England* (1988).
- QUAR Quarles, Benjamin. *The Negro in the American Revolution* (1961).
- QUIN Research notes of compiler.
- REVA Wright, Robert K. *The Continental Army* (1989).
- REVC Neagles, James C. *Summer Soldiers A Survey & Index of Revolutionary War Courts-Martial* (1986).
- REVD Peterson, Clarence Stuart (Lt., M.A.). *Known Military Dead During the American Revolutionary War ...* (1959).
- REVE Boatner, Mark. M. III. *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution* (1994).
- REVP White, Virgil D. *Genealogical Abstracts of Revolutionary War Pension Files* (1992). 3 vols. + index.
- REVS White, Virgil D. *Index to Revolutionary War Service Records* (1995). 4 vols.
- ROCK Hurd, D. Hamilton. *History of Rockingham and Strafford Counties, New Hampshire ...* (1882).
- RUBI Rubenfine, Joseph. *American Historical Autographs*.
- RYAN Ryan, D. Michael. "Concord, Slaves and Two Fights for Freedom". *The Concord Magazine* (June 1998).
- SABI Sabin, Douglas P. "The Role of Blacks in the Battle of April 19, 1775". Manuscript at MNHP Library.
- SARG Sons of the American Revolution. *SAR Revolutionary War Graves Register CD* (2000).
- SARL Sons of the American Revolution. *Lineage Book*. Books available for most northeastern states.
- SOBO Frothingham, Richard. *History of the Siege of Boston, ...* (1903).
- SOHA Eastman, Sophie E. *In Old South Hadley [MA]* (1912).
- STAT soldier description unavailable - soldier placed in database based on status of slave/servant alone
- SWAN Swan, Jon. "America's Forgotten Heroes" in *MHQ: The Quarterly Journal of Military History* 13:1(2000):34-41.
- SWET Swett, Colonel Samuel. *History of Bunker Hill Battle* (1825).
- TAGN Tagney, Ronald N. *The World Turned Upside Down Essex County During America's Turbulent Years, 1763-1790* (1989).
- THOM Thomson, Beth. "As it is, and As it was A History of Black People in North Reading [MA]" (1968). Manuscript at Reading Historical Commission.
- THOR Torrey, Bradford and Allen, Francis H. *The Journal of Henry D. Thoreau ...* (1855-1861). 2 vol. reprint by Dover.
- USCE United States Census, National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 29 (1790-1850). Index.
- USRW United States Revolutionary War Rolls and Compiled Indices, NARA, Record Group 15.
- USPE United States Revolutionary War Pensions, NARA, Record Group 15, Series M804. 2670 rolls.
- USWD Newman, Debra L. *List of Black Servicemen Compiled From the War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records* (1974).
- VAIL Forsyth-Vail, Gail. "African Americans and the North Parish and Church of North Andover, Massachusetts: 1760-1860" (2000).
- VTHS Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier, VT.
- VTP1 Fisher, Carleton E. & Fisher, Sue G. *Soldiers, Sailors, and Patriots of the Revolutionary War Vermont* (1992). 1 vol.
- VTSA Vermont State Archives, Montpelier, VT.
- WALL Wallace, Teresa, Ph.D., Curator, Minute Man NHP. "Peter Salem" manuscript (2000).
- WESD Lockwood, John H, Rev. D. D. *Westfield [MA] and Its Historic Influences 1669-1919 ...* (1922). 2 vols.
- WESF Hodgman, Edwin R., Rev. *History of the Town of Westford [MA]* (1883).
- WESN Dickson, Brenton H. and Lucas, Homer C. *One Town in the American Revolution Weston Massachusetts* (1976).
- WHIT White, David O. *Connecticut's Black Soldiers 1775-1783* (1973).
- WHNY Whitney, Henry Austin. *Incidents in the Life of Samuel Whitney ...* (1860).
- WILS Wilson, Joseph T. *The Black Phalanx* (1887).
- WINC Marvin, A. P., Rev. *History of the Town of Winchendon, (Worcester County, Mass.) from the Grant of Ipswich Canada in 1735, to the Present Time* (1868).
- WOBU Sewall, Samuel, M.A. *The History of Woburn [MA] ...* (1868).
- WOCT Bowen, Clarence Winthrop, Ph.D., LL.D. *The History of Woodstock Connecticut* (1926).
- WOH1 "PMF Hemenway, Hepsibeth (1763-1847)" file at Worcester Historical Museum, Worcester (MA).
- WOH2 "Hemenway Aunt Hannah Maker of Wedding Cake" file at Worcester Historical Museum, Worcester (MA).
- WOR1 Nelson, John. *Worcester County A Narrative History* (1934).
- WOR2 Nutt, Charles, A.B. *History of Worcester and Its People* (1919).

bounty coat	a heavy coat offered as an enlistment bounty for eight-months service in 1775 and awarded (or its equivalent in money) at the end of the enlistment period
brigade	a unit of consisting of usually three or four regiments, commanded by a Brigadier-General
Captain	commander of a company
cartridge box	a small box with wooden cylindrical tubes that holds cartridges, i.e., paper cylinders filled with gunpowder
Colonel	commander of a regiment
company	a unit of 59 men (more or less), commanded by a Captain - a typical company in 1775 contained: <div style="margin-left: 40px;"> <p>1 Captain 2 Lieutenants (1st and 2nd) 1 Ensign or Color-Bearer 4 Sergeants (1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th) 4 Corporals (1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th) 1 Drummer 1 Fifer 45 Privates</p> </div>
matross	'a soldier who assists artillery gunners in loading, firing, sponging, and moving the guns' ¹ - equivalent to a private in the army but paid slightly more
mean	average of a list of values
median	middle value in a list of values
mode	most common value in a list of values
mulatto	from the records of 1775, a person of mixed racial heritage with parentage consisting of: Caucasian+African, Caucasian+Indian, African+Indian or variations
on command	temporarily assigned to a special detail, with the full expectation of returning to one's original unit
primary source	military roll; pension affidavit of soldier himself or of someone who served with him; contemporary journal or diary
regiment	a unit of 598 (more or less, usually less) men, consisting of 10 (more or less) companies, commanded by a Colonel
secondary source	town history; county history; regimental history; pension affidavit of soldier's wife, child or neighbor; obituary notice; gravestone record
tumpline	a long band placed one end on the forehead and the other on a heavy load on the back, allowing load distribution
vendue	a town auction in which the auctioneer starts at a high figure and gradually decreases it until someone accepts the number - used to determine the dollar amount for the care of a pauper
annual	
waiter	an officer's personal servant - could be a person of color or not
warning out	an official notice given to paupers entering a town that they would not be afforded the the benefits of the town's welfare safety net - these benefits were customarily awarded only to persons who were either born in the town or long-term residents

¹ BOAT, 686.

★	Killed or died in service
*	Service proven by a primary source or equivalent
+	Service accepted by reason of a secondary source
?	Service not proven but probable
X	Service disproven -or- not proven and improbable
{}	optional data
[]	information inserted by compiler
Adj.	Adjutant
b.	born
BATT	service on Battle Road
bca.	born circa
BOTH	service at both Battle Road and Bunker Hill
bpt.	baptized
Brig.	Brigadier
BUNK	service at the Battle of Bunker Hill
ca.	circa
Capt.	Captain
Col.	Colonel
Cpl.	Corporal
DAR	Daughters of the American Revolution
d.	died
Gen.	General
int.	marriage intentions
Lt.	Lieutenant
m.	married
Maj.	Major
N/A	not available
NARA	National Archives and Records Administration
NHP	National Historical Park
opp.	opposite
P	proof of service (★=killed or died,*=primary, +=secondary, ?=probable, X=improbable)
prob.	probably
Rd.	Road
res.	resided
SAR	Sons of the American Revolution
Sgt.	Sergeant
unk.	unknown
unm.	unmarried
vol.	volume
VR's	vital records (birth/marriage/death)

The seven goals of this project were:

- (1) Examine existing sources for names of soldiers of color (be skeptical)
- (2) Discover new sources for names of soldiers of color (pensions, etc.)
- (3) Upgrade proof of service to primary proof whenever possible

=====

- (4) Assemble a roster of these names (database)
- (5) Trace the lives of the soldiers in the database (follow paper trail)

=====

- (6) Provide interpretive support
- (7) Produce a well-documented report

INFORMATION SOUGHT

Birth: date, place, parents names
Marriage: date(s), places(s), spouse(s), children
Death: date, place, circumstances, place of burial

Place of Enlistment
 Regiment/Company & Rank
 Placement on Battlefield
 Other military campaigns

Status (slave/servant/free)
 Name of Master (if slave/servant)

Occupation
 Nationality
 Religion

Participation in organizations (Freemasons, etc.)

Place(s) of Residence

Deed/Will/Court documents

Bible/Miscellaneous records

Life contributions and experiences

A soldier was deemed to be a Patriot if he either claimed to have served, or is believed to have served, in opposition to the British forces at either Battle Road or Bunker Hill.

A soldier would be included in the Battle Road database if he, or his unit, actively engaged the British on 19 April 1775 anywhere along Battle Road, from Cambridge to Concord to Charlestown. Listing of the soldier's name in Coburn's *Muster Rolls* [COBU] is considered sufficient secondary proof.

A soldier would be included in the Bunker Hill database if he, or his unit, actively engaged the British on the Charlestown peninsula on 17 June 1775 by descending Bunker Hill toward the Breed's Hill battleground area. No list comparable to Coburn's exists for Bunker Hill although Frothingham's list of units that served, in his *History of the Siege of Boston* [SOBO], is credible. A list of units that served at Breed's Hill has been assembled by this compiler over nearly three decades of extensive research in the pension records and military rolls.

A soldier was deemed to be a soldier of color if he had any part African or Indian heritage. Determining factors indicating such a heritage were: names, descriptions and status indicators.

It has been determined by work of this compiler, over these many years, that the following given names are typically those of men of color circa 1775 (*=found to be exclusive to soldiers of color):

Aesop*	Cromwell*	Jamaica*	Oxford*	Sambo*
Africa	Cudjo*	Jarvis	Pero*	Sampson
Anthony	Cuff*	Jeffrey	Pharaoh*	Scipio*
Archelaus*	Cuffee*	Jerry	Plato	Scotto
Bacchus*	Dick	Jubal*	Pleasant*	Secondus
Black*	Dippo	Jube*	Pliny	Sextus
Boston*	Dublin	Jude	Pomp*	Sharp*
Brister*	Eden*	Julius*	Pompey*	Sharper*
Bristol*	Edom*	Jupiter*	Prime*	Sphinx*
Caesar	Esau	King	Primus*	Syphax*
Cain	Essex*	Lenox*	Prince	Tab*
Cambridge*	Felix	London*	Providence*	Tertius
Case	Fortune*	Marcus*	Quam*	Titus
Casey	Glasgow*	Medford*	Quark*	Tobey
Cato*	Gloster*	Middlesex*	Quartus	Tom
Charlestown*	Gloucester*	Mingo*	Quash*	Tony*
Cicero*	Ham	Neptune*	Quintus	Wenham
Coffee*	Hannibal*	Nero*	Robin	Windsor
Congo*	Hector	Newbury*	Royal	York
Crispus	Jack	Newport*	Salem*	Zeal

Mention of words of description such as 'Negro', 'black', 'colored', 'of color', 'Indian', etc. were also indicators of color, as were the descriptors of status, 'slave' and 'servant'. Great care was taken to try to distinguish 'servants' who were actually African slaves from indentured 'servants' who were nearly always not persons of color. When doubt occurred on status (or any other single descriptor), an effort was made to find an indicator of color by other means.

PATRIOTS of COLOR

TABLE A-1: Given Names of Patriots in the Study

Name	Count
Caesar	13
Cato	11
Peter	7
Cuff	6
Prince	6
John	5
Joseph	4
James	3
Jeffrey	3
Scipio	3
Titus	3
Charles	2
Jack	2
Jonathan	2
Pompey	2
Samuel	2
Silas	2
Thomas	2

Name	Count
Aaron	1
Abel	1
Adam	1
Alexander	1
Amos	1
Anthony	1
Asaba	1
Asahel	1
Barzillai	1
Blaney	1
Boston	1
Cambridge	1
Chester	1
Cornelius	1
David	1
Ebenezer	1
Eber	1
Eden	1
Eli	1
Ezra	1
Fortune	1
Isaac	1
Isaiah	1

Name	Count
Jacob	1
Jamaica	1
Job	1
Jude	1
London	1
Marcus	1
Mark	1
Micah	1
Nathan	1
Nathaniel	1
Noah	1
Pero	1
Phillip	1
Plato	1
Pomp	1
Porter	1
Robin	1
Salem	1
Sampson	1
Simon	1
Smith	1
Tobias	1
Tony	1

The course of the project was the progression of work from goal to goal (not always consecutive but usually in parallel):

- (1) Examine existing sources for names of soldiers of color (be skeptical)

As was stated above, lists by Coburn [COBU] and Frothingham [SOBO] are deemed to be credible. COBU was scanned soldier-by-soldier for potential names of soldiers of color. Nearly every (if not every) company roll of units listed in SOBO was scanned (or had already been scanned) by this compiler for names that might be names of men of color.

Known lists by Nell [NELL], Quarles [QUAR], Moebs [MOEB], Kaplan [KAPL] and in Ebony magazine [EBON] were also extracted. Caution had to be exercised since the claimed services in some of these sources were found not to be credible.

- (2) Discover new sources for names of soldiers of color (pensions, etc.)

Every name in *Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the American Revolution* [MASS], as well as names in the counterpart publications for New Hampshire [NHSS] (1775 only) and Connecticut [CTSS] (1775 only), were scanned for potential names of soldiers of color.

Every name of men of color who were heads of household in the 1790 U.S. censuses of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut (Tolland, Middlesex, Windham and New London counties only) and Massachusetts were back-checked in the SS series above for 1775 service. Color is indicated by enumeration in categories 4 or 5:

- 1 - free white males of 16 and greater
- 2 - free white males less than 16
- 3 - free white females
- 4 - all other free persons
- 5 - slaves

Every name in the DAR's *Minority Military* series [DARM] was also scanned and checked for 1775 service in the SS series above.

The vital records of nearly (if not every) Massachusetts town east of Berkshire county were checked for names of persons of color and then back-checked for 1775 service in [MASS]. All 'negro' marriages in Boston from 1770 to 1790 were most carefully screened. The vital records of the Christian Indian 'Praying Towns' of Natick, Grafton, Dudley, Canton, Lowell/Dracut, Littleton, Marlborough, Hopkinton and Ashland were screened and distilled multiple times.

All names in the Hoyt collection at Saratoga NHP were checked for 1775 service.

Names provided by Alice Hinkle [HINK] were checked.

Mrs. Emma Kaplan let me scan her entire database for names. Selected names (attributed to her in the Acknowledgments) have been included.

Tens of thousands of pensions previously read by this compiler were rechecked for indicators of color and 1775 service.

- (3) Upgrade proof of service to primary proof whenever possible.

An intensive effort was made in this study, by continuing research, to upgrade every probable source (?) to a secondary source (+) and every secondary source to a primary source (*).

- (4) Assemble a roster of these names (database).

After names were accepted on the basis of either a probable (?), secondary (+) or primary (*) source, they were entered in one or both of the two master databases (one for Battle Road and one for Bunker Hill).

- (5) Trace the lives of the soldiers in the database (follow paper trail).

Having names is fine but knowing, in depth, more about the soldiers' lives was the goal. To this effect, a paper trail was established for each soldier weaving material together, from sometimes dozens of sources per person, to create biographical sketches of every soldier. All discovered data was entered into appropriate fields in the database.

- (6) Provide interpretive support.

Contact has been maintained for three years with staff at both NHP sites. Every known question sent my way by rangers and other staff has been fielded to the best of my ability and answered, in hopefully a timely and accurate manner, either by phone or by mail.

- (7) Produce a well-documented report.

Every effort has been made to produce a clear, concise and readable report. Any errors are totally my responsibility and will be corrected as soon as humanly possible. It is by constructive feedback that this report can and will be refined.

Several dozen names could not be included in this report due to slightly insufficient evidence. Further work will be done voluntarily on these names for the rest of my life. Any new names sufficiently proven will be brought to the attention of the two NHP sites.

Some names from secondary sources have been disproven. It can be assumed that any name from any secondary work cited in this report that has not been included has been disproven.

This work will never be complete. Common names of Christian origin (such as James, John, Thomas, Peter) have been assuredly missed. Names of slaves accompanying their masters to battle may be irretrievably lost. And, a name or names in this report may in time be disproven.

As the project continues past this final report it is hoped that any reader who knows of any incorrectly-included name, or who discovers a new name that should be included, will share it with the compiler.

BATTLE ROAD

A total of 21 names were discovered, of which 13 were proven by primary sources and 3 by secondary sources. These men served in 12 different companies and resided in 11 different towns.

BUNKER HILL

A total of 103 names were discovered, of which 12 were proven by primary sources and 22 by secondary sources. These men served in 47 different companies and resided in 52 different towns.

In the entire study, there were 119 total soldiers. Five soldiers served in both battles.

(1) 1775 Patriots of Color served in integrated units:

This study confirms what the Revolutionary soldiers knew first-hand¹: the great mass of the 1775 army, excluding officers, was completely integrated. The one hundred-plus men of color in this study belonged to half that many different companies (for an average of two per company). This level of integration did not occur in the Civil War, or for that matter World War II, but only reached similar levels in the Vietnam Conflict nearly two hundred years later.

(2) Pay, equipment, bounties and duties were equal for men of equal rank:

The vast majority of men of color in this study were Privates. Regardless of color, all Privates received the same benefits and duties. Not a single instance has been found otherwise. Even nearly one hundred years later, in the afterglow of the Emancipation Proclamation, soldiers of the 54th Massachusetts Regiment were paid less than their white counterparts.²

(3) There existed a glass ceiling for rank:

The highest ranking soldier in this study was a Corporal. While Native Americans reached the rank of Captain in local ranger units, no known African American soldier reached officer levels in any unit of the army.

(4) Bunker Hill had the second highest % of Patriots of Color of any known engagement in the War³:

Engagement/Campaign	Total Patriots (est)	Patriots of Color (est)	Percent
Battle Road	4,000	40	1%
Bunker Hill	3,000	150	5%
Trenton	2,400	80	3%
Saratoga	10,000	400	4%
Monmouth ⁴	12,000	800	7%
REVOLUTIONARY WAR	250,000	5,500	2%

(5) The slaves, servants and free blacks of New England were staunch Patriots:

The overwhelming majority of African Americans in New England stood side-by-side with masters, former masters and fellow townsmen in supporting the Patriot cause.

(6) The native peoples of New England were staunch Patriots:

From the 'Praying Towns' of Natick and Grafton, to the villages of the Mohegans and Pequots on the banks of the Thames River in Connecticut, to the coastal settlements of the Mashpees on Cape Cod Bay, the Indians from New England were unswerving in their loyalty to the Patriot cause.

(7) Exceptional performance at Battle Road and Bunker Hill opened the door for soldiers of color:

On 26 September 1775 Edward Rutledge, a delegate from South Carolina, moved in the [Continental] Congress that Washington should discharge all blacks, whether slave or free, from the army. Rutledge

¹ BANC 5(1876):152 states that on 1 January 1776: 'free negroes stood in the ranks by the side of white men'.

² MACW 4(1932):657; President Lincoln's War Department set the compensation 'of colored soldiers at \$10. per month', while the regular pay was \$13 per month. The soldiers of the 54th boycotted their pay for 18 months until finally, in September 1864, their demand for equal pay was 'acceded to'.

³ The Battle of Rhode Island probably had a high percentage of soldiers of color but estimates of troop strength are sketchy at best.

⁴ MONM, 14 estimates 11,751 total troops at Monmouth, of which approximately 7.5% were soldiers of color.

was "strongly supported" by many of the Southern delegates, but most members, aware that Negroes had already played a brave part in the battles in Massachusetts, opposed the notion and it was defeated. Thus those blacks already in the army were allowed to finish out their terms of enlistment.⁵

[I]n October [a] conference at the camp ... thought it proper to exclude [blacks] from the new [1776] enlistment; but Washington, at the crisis of his distress, finding that they [the black soldiers] were very much dissatisfied at being discarded, reversed the decision and asked the approval of [the Continental C]ongress. That body [had] appointed ... Samuel Adams [and others] to deliberate on the question; and, on the report of their able committee, they voted, "that the free negroes, who had faithfully served in the army at Cambridge, might be re-enlisted therein, but no others." The right of free negroes to take part in the defence of the country having thus been partially admitted by the highest power, the limitation was lost sight of, and they served in the ranks of the American armies during every period of the war.⁶

(8) The people of color in this study, for the greatest part, lived in poverty:

Most of the men were either dirt farmers or laborers; there were only a handful of skilled artisans. A few could sign their own names, but most couldn't, and illiteracy seemed to prevail. Many became town paupers but seem to have been adequately cared for through the welfare safety net of the time.

(9) New England, just after the events on Battle Road, may have enjoyed its zenith of racial harmony:

While undocumented, an awakened conscience in 1775 New England produced a seemingly massive release of slaves from bondage. With the spirit of liberty in the air and with a feared enemy on their doorstep, people of all colors and backgrounds set aside past grievances, joining with common purpose and uncommon unity.

By 1785 nearly 150 years of slavery was, de facto, abolished in Massachusetts and northern New England. By 1790 Massachusetts enumerated no slaves at all.⁷

(10) The Revolution had special meaning to and effect upon people of color:

To African Americans, the Revolution was a cleansing agent which worked to wash away the institution of slavery in most of New England. To Native Americans, already beleaguered on many fronts, the Revolution resulted in losses that meant the near extinction of a people:

The Revolutionary War had a profound impact on both the Black and Indian populations of [New England]. It saw the beginnings of the end of slavery for Blacks, while the relatively small Indian population, which suffered a high percentage of casualties, was seriously diminished.⁸

⁵ FONE, 44.

⁶ BANC 5(1876):152-3.

⁷ See chart on 1790 census totals on next page.

⁸ DARM, Connecticut, 6.

PATRIOTS of COLOR

Table A-3: Persons of Color in New England in the 1790 U.S. Census

State	Free Persons of Color	Slaves
Vermont	271	0
New Hampshire	630	158
Maine	538	0
Massachusetts	5463	0
Rhode Island	3407	948
Connecticut	2808	2764

Data from USCE, Massachusetts, 8.

The population of African Americans in the colonies in 1775 can only be estimated:

On the eve of the war, among the population of two million six hundred thousand were five hundred thousand Negroes, both free and slave. With almost one of every six Americans being Black, they were of interest to both sides in the conflict. Their support could have meant the difference between victory and defeat.¹

Slavery was relatively widespread in Rhode Island, eastern Massachusetts and most of Connecticut; less evident in mid-Massachusetts and southeastern New Hampshire; and, nearly non-existent in western Massachusetts, northwestern Connecticut, northern and western New Hampshire, all of Maine and all of Vermont. The old, respected town histories of New England present a fairly uniform view of the treatment of slaves in the region:

... they were considered as servants rather than slaves, were kindly treated, cared for in old age and given a decent burial. They were loyal to those who owned them and patriotic when their country was in need of defendants.²

In Massachusetts ... the marriages of slaves were protected by the Legislature and the Courts. Slaves might hold property; they were admitted as witnesses even on capital trials of white persons and on suits of other slaves for freedom; they might sue their masters for wounding or immoderately beating them, and indeed hardly differed from apprentices or other servants except in being bound for life. Before the Declaration of Independence they were usually taxed as *property*, always afterwards as *persons*.³

The extreme caution taken by towns in general ... to prevent the settlement of paupers, obliged a person who desired to free his slaves, to give bonds that the freed persons should not become public charges. This requirement, no doubt, deterred some from giving freedom to their slaves, who were fully conscious of the injustice.⁴ ... The records show that several [ex-slaves] became dependent upon public charity. They were treated with as much consideration by those in charge of the poor as were their white companions in misfortune.⁵

Most householders of the town were of too humble means to hire labor, much less purchase laborers. In fact their own children were often apprenticed, or put out to service for a term of years to those who possessed large means or who would teach them some handicraft. But with the increase of wealth and luxury in New England the Boston ship-owners engaged in the Southern slave trade began to find the home market for their commodity increasing; and soon not only the wealthy city families bought their domestic servants, but in the little country towns the squire, two or three of the most prosperous farmers, and often the minister, owned a "likely" colored boy or girl, usually bought when quite young ... The condition of those here held in involuntary bondage was in many respects quite unlike that of the slaves in more southern latitudes, and in fact differed little from that of the bound apprentices.⁶

Despite gains in many areas, some disturbing practices persisted:

In 1766 it was voted that "All the English women in the Parish who marry or associate with Negro or Melatto-men be seated in the Meeting-House with the Negro-women."⁷

A spirit of emancipation spread throughout New England after the events on Battle Road:

Typical of the prevailing sentiment during the Revolution were the words of Colonel Timothy Bigelow of Worcester, commander of the Massachusetts Fifteenth of the Continental Line, that "while fighting for liberty, I would never be guilty of selling slaves."⁸

¹ ETHN, 67.

² DRAC, 331.

³ HANO, 186.

⁴ BED1, 31.

⁵ Ibid, 32.

⁶ HARV, 401-2.

⁷ AND2, 450.

⁸ WOR1, 168. Timothy Bigelow, a friend of exiled printer Isaiah Thomas, marched on the Lexington Alarm to the Siege of Boston, braved the

Lt. Ephraim Corey, of Capt. Oliver Parker's company (the company at Bunker Hill with the highest percentage of African Americans), was court-martialed and 'dismissed from the service' in the fall of 1775 for, among other offenses:

Enlisting a Negro slave, [and] receiving a state bounty for said Negro ...⁹

Baroness Riedesel, wife of the General who was captured on the surrender of Gen. Burgoyne, sent a letter with these interesting (and controversial) observations:

Negroes are to be found on most of the farms west of Springfield. The black farmer lives in a little outhouse. The negroes here are very prolific, like the rest of the cattle. The young ones are well fed, especially while they are still calves. Moreover, the slavery is very bearable. The negro is to be looked upon as the servant of a peasant; the negress does all the coarse housework and the black children wait on the white children. The negro can take the field in place of his master, and so you do not see a regiment in which there is not a large number of blacks, and there are well-grown strong and sturdy fellows among them. There are also many families of free blacks who occupy good houses and have means and live entirely in the style of other inhabitants ...¹⁰

'The following letter [by Col. William Shepard of Westfield (MA)], burning with righteous indignation against injustice and inhumanity, shows how the gentle soul of a well poised man can flame forth on occasion. The matter treated is somewhat obscure. What seems probable is that the aged man addressed had sent his faithful slave into the army to earn money to purchase his freedom, and Shepard had secured his discharge.

Springfield, Apr. 2d. 1782

Aged Sr. You must allow me to express my astonishment at the depravity of Mankind, lost to all sense of Humanity, Honesty and True Religion, not urged by Necessity, but cruel avarice, to Rongfully distress the Human species because they Can!

Not to hold you in suspense, I have reference to your Honest slave, Prince Pierce, who not only bears your name, but by Information, has by dent of Industry, Honesty and good acconomy, earned you a good estate, spent the Best part of sixty Healthfull years in your service, and now sold for 200 hard dollars to serve three years for his freedom, stript of every species of cloathing fit for any indigent Beggars, and without a farthing of his former earnings to subsist on the Road, by Reason of his age, the Cruelty of [torn off] and his being worn out in private service, and no case for public, he is hereby Discharged, and ought if General report is True to fare sumptuously on his former earning the few days he can live.

I am sr your very Humble servt.

Wm. Shepard Colo.

Commanding at Springfield

N.B. I have the assigned the Reasons of his Discharge to the Legislature Boston.
Mr. John Pearce Dighton.¹¹

A more appropriate tribute to the African American soldiers in the American Revolution could not be made than the words on the plaque commemorated to their counterparts who fought nearly one hundred years later in the Civil War:

THE WHITE OFFICERS ... THE BLACK RANK AND FILE ... TOGETHER THEY GAVE TO THE NATION
AND THE WORLD UNDYING PROOF THAT AMERICANS OF AFRICAN DESCENT POSSESS THE
PRIDE COURAGE AND DEVOTION OF THE PATRIOT SOLDIER -¹²

wilderness of Maine to attack Quebec where he was captured, and served at Saratoga, Valley Forge and Monmouth. After the War, he returned to Worcester to find his blacksmith business and finances in ruins. He was eventually sentenced to debtors' prison and died there

⁹ REVC, 112.

¹⁰ WESD, 571-2.

¹¹ WESD, 33.

¹² Shaw Memorial, monument to the 54th Massachusetts Regiment, at Boston Common.

~~You are not to Enlist any Soldier from the American Country,~~
nor any Stroller, Negro or Vagabond, or Person suspected of
being an Enemy to the Liberty of America, nor any under
Eighteen Years of Age.

As the Cause is the best that can engage Men of Courage and
Principle to take up Arms ; so it is expected that none but such will
be accepted by the Recruiting Officer : The Pay, Provision, &c. being
so ample, it is not doubted but the Officers sent upon this Service,
will without Delay compleat their respective Corps, and March the
Men forthwith to Camp.

You are not to Enlist any Person who is not an American-born,
unless such Person has a Wife and Family, and is a settled Resident in
this Country.

The Persons you Enlist, must be provided with good and compleat
Arms.

Given at the Head Quarters at Cambridge, this 10th Day of
July, 1775.

HORATIO GATES, Adjutant-General.

*To Mr. Solomon Bowman
in the Col. Gardner's Regt.*

[ENLISTING ORDERS]¹

You are not to Enlist any Deserter from the Ministerial Army, nor any Stroller, Negro or Vagabond, or Person suspected of being an Enemy to the Liberty of America, nor any under Eighteen years of Age.

As the Cause is the best that can engage Men of Courage and Principle to take up Arms; so it is expected that none but such will be accepted by the Recruiting Officer: The Pay, Provision, &c. being so ample, it is not doubted but the Officers sent upon this Service, will without Delay compleat their respective Corps, and March the men forthwith to Camp.

You are not to Enlist any Person who is not an American born, unless such Person has a wife and Family, and is a Settled Resident in this Country.

The Persons you Enlist, must be provided with good and compleat Arms.

Given at Head Quarters at Cambridge, this 10th Day of July 1775.

HORATIO GATES, Adjutant General

*To Lt. Solomon Bowman
in Late Col. Gardners Reg^t*

¹ Copy from USPE, Roll 305, Frame 642.

Many men in this study resided in one of the Indian 'Praying Towns' established in the last part of the 17th century, by the Rev. John Eliot called 'Apostle to the Indians', and described in 1674:

Besides Natick, the most important of all, were six communities in Massachusetts, exclusive of Plymouth, which had long been denominated "praying towns;" namely, Pakemitt, or Punkapaog (now Stoughton); Hassanamesitt, or Hassanamisco (Grafton); Okommakamesit (Marlborough); Wamesit, or Pawtucket (Tewksbury); Nashobah (Littleton); Magunkaquog (Hopkinton). There were also seven "new praying towns," where the Gospel had been favorably received about three years: Manchage (Oxford); Chabanakongkomun (Dudley); Maanexit (north part of Woodstock, at that time included in Massachusetts); Quantisset (southeast part of Woodstock); Wabquisset (southwest part of Woodstock); Packachoog (south part of Worcester); Waeuntug (Uxbridge). "There are two other Indian towns; viz., Weshakin [or Nashaway, now Lancaster] and Quabaug [now North Brookfield], which are coming on to receive the Gospel; and reckoning these, there are nine in the Nipmuck country."¹

Eliot had worked very hard to encourage the European style of self-sufficiency to the Indians in these new towns, while at the same time securing their protection by the government:

At the outset of the eighteenth century, the Natick Indians, with the exception of a white miller, owned all the land and elected their own local government officials. Like any other New England townspeople, they held town meetings, laid out roads, hired schoolmasters, and collected taxes. Unlike white New Englanders, however, the Indians were under the guardianship of the General Court, which placed important restrictions on them. To protect them from unscrupulous whites, the court obliged the Indians to obtain permission before selling any land ... White guardians were responsible for providing relief for indigent and needy Indian proprietors out of funds raised through the leasing or sale of Indian lands and for acting as executors for deceased Indians under their protection.²

All Native Americans in this study are assumed to have been free.³ However, as late as the early 18th century, there were a small number of Indian slaves in New England.⁴ Some had been sent to the Caribbean:

Colonial laws permitted the enslavement of Indians taken captive in war. But, skilled as they were in woodcraft, it was almost impossible to prevent their escape. They were accordingly exchanged for negroes from the West Indies ...⁵

The recollections of a surgeon in the Continental Army at Valley Forge tell the sad story of an all-too-often occurrence amongst the Indian troops:

I was call'd to relieve a Soldier tho't to be dying -- he expir'd before I reach'd the Hutt. He was an Indian -- an excellent Soldier -- and an obedient good natur'd fellow. He engaged for money doubtless as others do; -- but he has serv'd his country faithfully -- he has fought for those very people who disinherited his forefathers -- having finished his pilgrimage, he was discharged from the War of Life & Death. His memory ought to be respected ... There the poor fellow lies not Superior now to a clod of earth -- his Mouth wide open -- his Eyes staring. Was he affrighted at the scene of Death -- or the consequences of it? ... He has been an honest fellow -- has done his duty to his Maker and his fellow creatures as far as his Inclinations and Abilities would permit of, -- therefore we'll suppose him happier now than ever.⁶

¹ CAMB, 387; quote is by Daniel Gookin from MAHC, i, 189.

² "Indians, Yankees, and the Meetinghouse Dispute of Natick, Massachusetts, 1743-1800" in NEHR CXXXII(1978):278.

³ Per 23 September 2001 phone conversation with Faith Davison, Archivist, Mohegan Archives.

⁴ The last known Indian slave ever found by this compiler in the records is: Hannah, "an Indian Servant to John Griffin," bpt. May 16, 1731; from MAVR, Bradford, Births, 174; listed under 'INDIAN'.

⁵ SOHA, 167.

⁶ RANK, 201; Albigeance Waldo's Diary, first seen quoted in ALGO, 51.

Before the Revolution, rampant disease plus losses in the Colonial military had decimated the Indian populations of Natick and other New England Indian towns:

The Revolutionary War was Natick's final blow. Decades later, the few surviving Natick Indians would tell the General Court: "almost all that were able did go into the Service of the United States and either died in the service or soon after their return home. We your petitioners are their widows, there not being one male left now that was then of age to go to war."⁷

The same forces conspired against the Mohegan population:

During the revolution many of the Mohegans enlisted in the army of the Colonies, and seventeen or eighteen of them died in the service or were killed in battle, leaving several widows, some with young children. In May, 1789, some of the Mohegans presented to the legislature a remarkable memorial which should be preserved as a relic of history:

"We beg leave to lay our concerns and burdens at your excellencies feet. The times are exceedingly altered, yea, the times are upside down, or rather we have changed the good times chiefly by the help of the white people. For in times past our forefathers lived in peace, love, and great plenty. When they wanted meat, they would just run into the bush a little way, with their weapons, and would soon return, bringing home good venison, raccoon, bear, and fowl. If they chose to have fish, they would go to the river, or along the seashore, and they would presently fill their canoes with a variety of fish, both scaled and shell fish. And they had an abundance of nuts, wild fruits, ground nuts, and ground beans, and they planted but little corn and beans. They had no contention about their lands for they lay in common, and they had but one large dish, and could all eat together in peace and love.

But alas! It is not so now; all our hunting and fowling and fishing is entirely gone, and we have begun to work our lands, keep horses and cattle and hogs, and we build houses and fence in lots. And now we plainly see that one dish and one fire will not do any longer for us. Some few there are that are stronger than others, and they will keep off the poor, weak, the halt and blind, and will take the dish to themselves. Yea, they will rather call the white people and the mulattoes to eat out of our dish, and poor widows and orphans must be pushed aside, and there we must sit, crying and starving, and die. And so we are now come to our good brethren of the Assembly, with hearts full of sorrow and grief, for immediate help. And therefore our most humble and earnest request is, that our dish of suckutash may be equally divided amongst us, that every one may have his own little dish by himself, that he may eat quietly, and do with his dish as he pleases, that every one may have his own fire."

A committee appointed to consider this curious and original memorial reported that the condition of affairs in Mohegan were in such order as to render further interference at that time unnecessary.⁸

The greatest loss suffered by any mother in America, in probably any war, was that of Rebecca Tanner of the Mohegan Tribe who sent off five sons to serve in the Revolutionary War:

Rebecca Tanner, widow, lost her 5 sons in ye Army.⁹

⁷ MAND, 167.

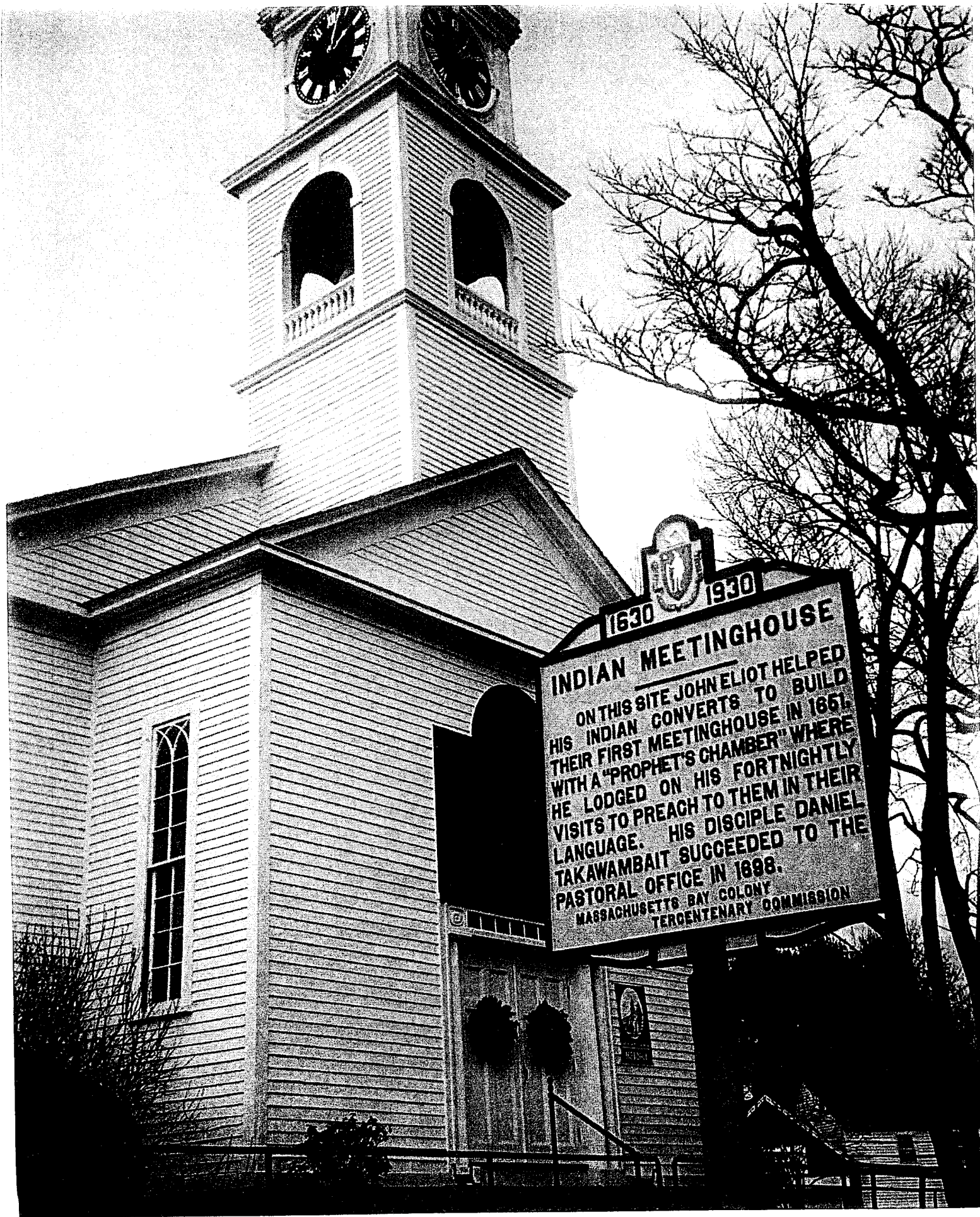
⁸ MONT, 63-4.

⁹ Ibid, 61.

PATRIOTS of COLOR

TABLE A-2: Native Americans in the Study

#	Battle	Last	First	Resided	St	Probable Tribe
1	BUNK	Ashbow	John	Montville	CT	Mohegan
2	BUNK	Ashbow	Samuel Jr.	Montville	CT	Mohegan
3	BUNK	Choychoy	Simon	New London	CT	Mohegan
4	BATT	Comecho	Isaac	Dedham	MA	N/A
5	BUNK	Comecho	Samuel	Sherborn	MA	N/A
6	BUNK	Ephraim	Abel	Hopkinton	MA	Hassanamisco
7	BUNK	Ephraim	Ebenezer	Worcester	MA	Hassanamisco
8	BUNK	Occum	Jonathan	New London	CT	Mohegan
9	BUNK	Paugenit	Joseph	Framingham	MA	Mashpee
10	BUNK	Quapish	Alexander	Dedham	MA	Mashpee
11	BUNK	Sunsiman	John	Woodstock	CT	Pequot
12	BUNK	Tanner	Amos	Montville	CT	Mohegan
13	BUNK	Tanner	Joseph	Montville	CT	Mohegan
14	BUNK	Tecomwas	Peter	New London	CT	Mohegan
15	BUNK	Uncas	Noah	New London	CT	Mohegan
16	BUNK	Wampee	John	Pomfret	CT	Tunxis



1630 1930

INDIAN MEETINGHOUSE

ON THIS SITE JOHN ELIOT HELPED HIS INDIAN CONVERTS TO BUILD THEIR FIRST MEETINGHOUSE IN 1661 WITH A "PROPHET'S CHAMBER" WHERE HE LODGED ON HIS FORTNIGHTLY VISITS TO PREACH TO THEM IN THEIR LANGUAGE. HIS DISCIPLE DANIEL TAKAWAMBAIT SUCCEEDED TO THE PASTORAL OFFICE IN 1898.

MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY
TERCENTENARY COMMISSION

General Gage had desired knowledge of the land and people surrounding Boston. To this effect, two British officers were sent as spies, posing as countrymen, out toward Worcester in February 1775:

a little out of [Watertown] we went into a tavern, a Mr. Brewer's¹, a whig, we called for dinner, which was brought in by a black woman, at first she was very civil, but afterwards began to eye us very attentively; ... we observed to her that it was a very fine country, upon which she answered so it is, and we have got brave fellows to defend it, and if you go up any higher you will find it is so ... we resolved not to sleep there that night ..."²

On 19 April, the march of the British into the Middlesex County countryside caused great confusion and terror in the general population. In some cases, slaves helped to spread the warning.

At Concord, ... many terrified people hurried to the house of their minister, the Reverend William Emerson. [He] worked outside in the yard [of the Old Manse], moving among the women and children, and giving them bread and cheese and comfort. The minister's wife, Phebe Bliss Emerson, was deeply frightened ... She had heard the alarm from her African slave Frank, who came running into her chamber with an axe in his hand, shouting that the Redcoats were coming. [She] ... fainted away on the spot.³

In "The Leg" [in Needham] the alarm was sounded by the trumpet of Abel, or Nero, Benson, a negro.⁴

It is related that Major John Pitcairn visited the home of one Captain Duncan Ingraham of Concord who had been a Surinam slave dealer and had 'Tory proclivities'⁵. One of Ingraham's slaves, a man named Cato, was in the field behind the Ingraham home. Pitcairn

went out of the back door of the house, and seeing one of Mr. Ingraham's negroes standing by the large pear-tree in the rear of the house, with his hands behind him, commenced on him, as he did on the rebels at Lexington Common a few hours previously, by pointing a pistol at his head, and, in a loud tone of voice, ordering him to give up his arms; but as the unfortunate bondsman replied to the order by holding up both his hands over his head, and saying 'Dem is all the arms I have, massa,' the serious consequence of the Lexington order was not repeated in Mr. Ingraham's backyard. At this moment the report of the firing at the North Bridge was heard, and the major precipitately left, having more important business to attend to the remainder of the day than making social calls and bullying half-scared negroes.⁶

Perhaps the intelligence reports of Gen. Gates, combined with the sight of Prince Estabrook on Lexington Common, had alerted Pitcairn to be especially cautious. For in New England, the black population overwhelmingly and unabashedly favored the Patriot side.

Women and children from Lincoln, as in all the towns along Battle Road, went into hiding. Many slaves remained behind as their masters went off to battle. Most residents knew full well that the British would return on their march:

The John Hoar household in northeast Lincoln also made preparations. There, according to tradition, silver and other valuables were hidden in the well ... John's house was a gathering place for women and children from the surrounding neighborhood. Most reportedly hid in the nearby woods while fifteen-year-old Leonard Hoar and the slave Brister served as lookouts.⁷

¹ Col. Jonathan Brewer.

² 'Narrative, &c.'. MAHC, Second Series, IV(1846):206.

³ FISC, 168.

⁴ NEED, 451; this was undoubtedly Abel, believed to be the son of Nero, from Framingham.

⁵ Brooks, George M., 'Memoir of Tilly Merrick', *Memoirs of Members of the Social Circle in Concord Second Series from 1795 to 1840* (1888), 58-9.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ LINC, 276-7. Brister (Hoar) later changed his name to Sippio Brister. He is buried in the Old Precinct Section of Lincoln Cemetery very close to a grave of five British soldiers slain on Battle Road.

Fearing a slave revolt, many women and children of Framingham were terrified:

Soon after the men were gone, a strange panic seized upon the women and children living in the Edgell and Belknap district. Some one started the story that "the Negroes were coming to massacre them all!" Nobody stopped to ask where the hostile Negroes were coming from; for all of our own colored people were patriots. It was probably from a lingering memory of the earlier Indian alarms, which took this indefinite shape, aided by the feeling of terror awakened by their defenceless condition, and the uncertainty of the issue of the pending fight. The wife of Capt. Edgell, and the other matrons brought the axes and pitchforks and clubs into the house, and securely bolted the doors, and passed the day and night in anxious suspense.⁸

The noise of battle, the cries of men and the tales of destruction also caused great panic on the Menotomy (now Arlington, Massachusetts) section of Battle Road:

Vague rumors were afloat of plots and conspiracies. The report was spread abroad that the slaves were intending to rise, and finish what the British had begun by murdering the defenceless women and children. It excited great consternation, therefore, among the women gathered at George Prentiss's upon the hill, when they saw Ishmael, a negro slave belonging to Mr. Cutler, approaching the house. They thought their time had come, but one, a little braver than the rest, summoned up courage to ask, "Are you going to kill us, Ishmael?" "Lord-a-massy, no ma'am!" said the astonished black. "Is my missis here?"⁹

There is no known recorded incident of any slave uprising in New England during the war. The 'New England conscience [which had] slumbered and slept'¹⁰ to the evils of slavery had been duly awakened.

The last Patriot casualty on Battle Road was a man of color:

A negro (the only one [who] was seen to fire at the King's troops) was wounded near the houses close to the [Charlestown] Neck, out of which the Rebels fired to the last.¹¹

⁸ FRAM, 375.

⁹ ARLC, 50. This story was related to him by a Mrs. Lydia Pierce.

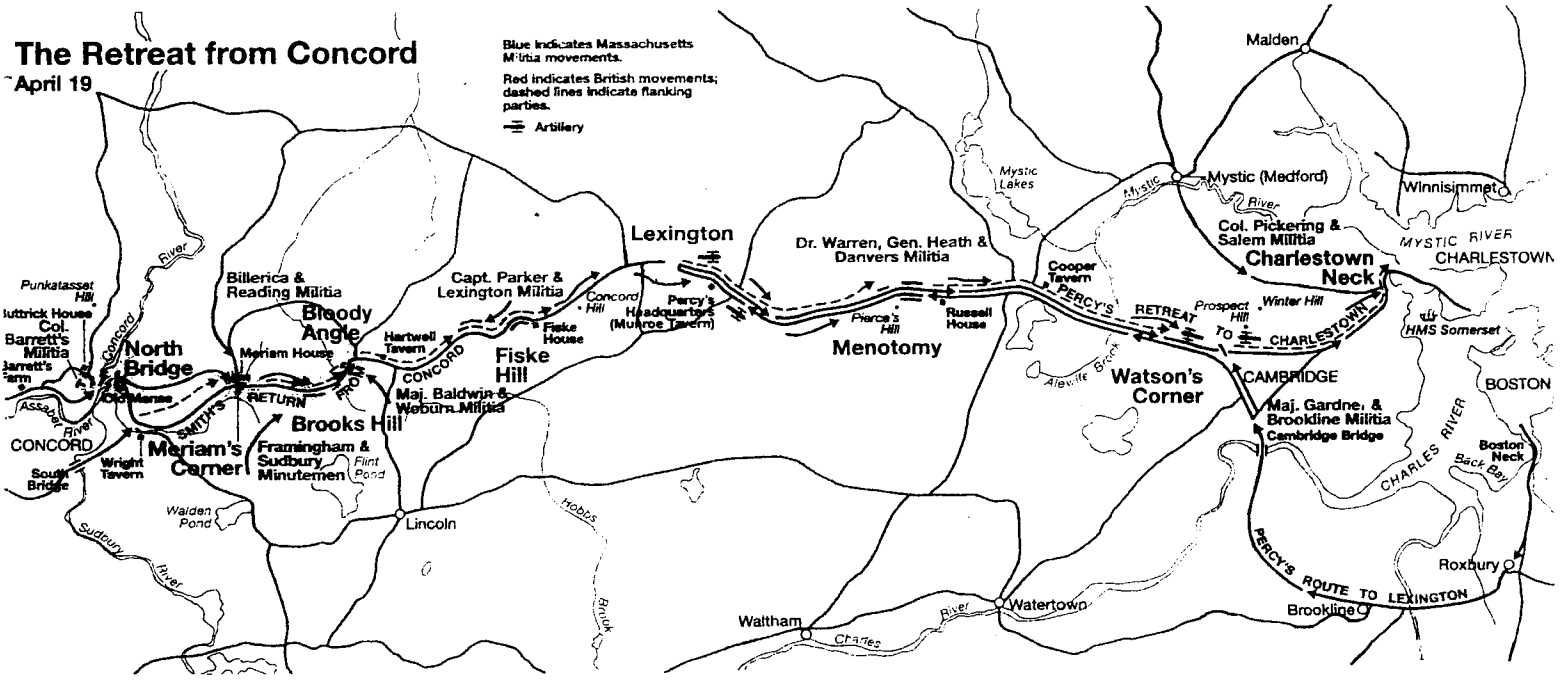
¹⁰ "A Negro Slave in Danvers, Mass.", *The Massachusetts Magazine* 7(1914):137-8.

¹¹ "Description of the Battle of Lexington, by Lieutenant Mackenzie of the Royal Welch Fusileers". MAHP, Second Series, V(1890):394. This man may well have been Caesar Augustus, who was taken prisoner by the British.

The Retreat from Concord

April 19

Blue indicates Massachusetts Militia movements.
 Red indicates British movements; dashed lines indicate flanking parties.
 = Artillery



Thomas Davis, a soldier from Holden, Massachusetts, gave this deposition to the Directors of the Bunker Hill Monument Association:

Saw Gen. Putnam on Bunker Hill; he told a negro he would cut him down if he attempted to run; he tried to get past, and Putnam struck him down with his sword.¹

At the battle, a soldier named Aaron Smith was fighting at the rail fence behind a breastwork of fresh mown hay. He told the story

of a man at his side, a negro, so crippled by a shot in the leg that he could not rise up to discharge his gun, but could load and re-load, which he continued to do, both Smith's and his own, and then hand them to Smith to fire, until their ammunition was expended, when he undertook to carry the negro off the field on his back, but was obliged to leave him to his fate ...²

On his way to the battle, a sixteen year-old named John Greenwood made an extraordinary observation of courage and individual initiative which he preserved in his journal:

Everywhere the greatest terror and confusion seemed to prevail, and as I ran along the road leading to Bunker Hill it was filled with chairs and wagons, bearing the wounded and dead, while groups of men were employed in assisting others, not badly injured, to walk. Never having beheld such a sight before, I felt very much frightened, and would have given the world if I had not enlisted as a soldier; I could positively feel my hair stand on end.

Just as I came near the place, a negro man, wounded in the back of his neck, passed me and, his collar being open and he not having anything on except his shirt and trousers, I saw the wound quite plainly and the blood running down his back. I asked him if it hurt him much as he did not seem to mind it; he said no, that he was only going to get a plaster put on it, *and meant to return*. You cannot conceive what encouragement this immediately gave me; I began to feel brave and like a soldier from that moment, and fear never troubled me afterward during the whole war.³

¹ Swett, Samuel. *Notes to the Sketch of Bunker-Hill Battle* (1826), 8.

² Ward, Andrew H. *History of the Town of Shrewsbury, Massachusetts from its Settlement in 1717 to 1829 ...* (1847), 55-6. Thomas J. Fleming in his book *Now We Are Enemies* (1960), 321, names this man as Caesar Bason. Fleming states that Bason was taken prisoner but his name is not on the official prisoner list and no other supporting evidence has yet been found.

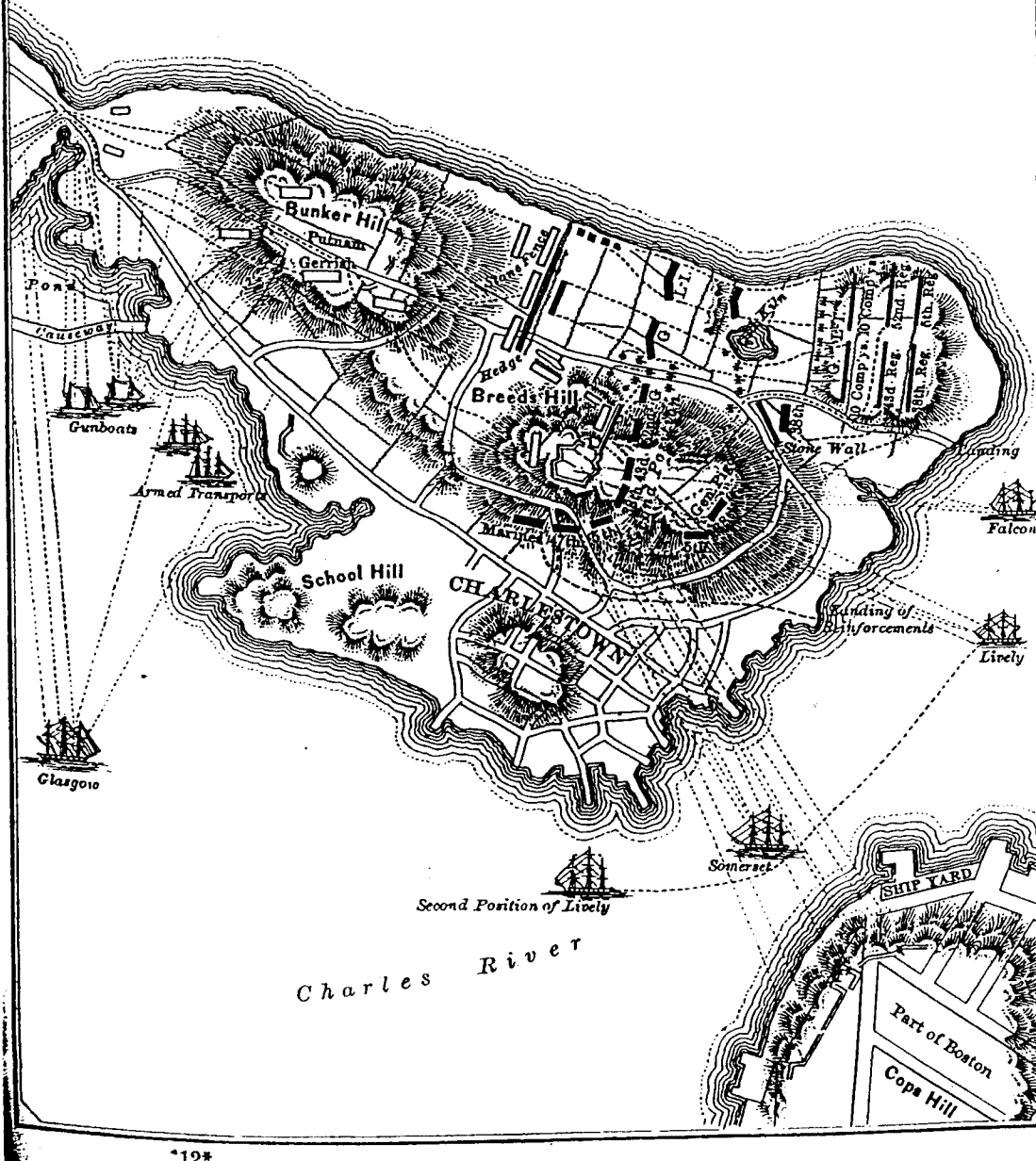
³ Greenwood, Isaac J. (ed.). *The Revolutionary Services of John Greenwood of Boston and New York 1775-1783* (1922), 12-13. Greenwood was to serve again, notably at the Battle of Trenton with General Washington and, in later life, became his personal dentist.

THE
BATTLE OF BREEDS HILL,
OR
BUNKER HILL.

Compiled and Drawn by Col. Carrington.

British
American

Scale of 20 Rods.
20 40 60 80



19

Carrington, Henry B., M.A., LL.D. *Battles of the American Revolution 1775-1781 ...* (1877), p. opp. 112.

The short biographical sketches following all have the same format:

P₁P₂ Given-Name Surname {alt} {★}

<u>Age:</u>	<u>Description:</u>	<u>Rank:</u>
<u>Occupation:</u>	<u>Status:</u>	<u>Unit:</u>
<u>Residence:</u>	<u>Religion:</u>	<u>Entered/Stationed:</u>

Biographical sketch of veteran.
Wife and children.

⁰ Footnotes.

P₁	proof of service - Battle Road (★=killed/died,*=primary, +=secondary, ?=probable, X=improbable)
P₂	proof of service - Bunker Hill (★=killed/died,*=primary, +=secondary, ?=probable, X=improbable)
Given-Name	given (first) name
Surname	surname (last name) NOTE: For soldiers without a surname, the surname of the master is shown in parentheses.
{alt}	alternate surnames or spellings
{★}	died in service other than Battle Road/Bunker Hill
<u>Age:</u>	age at time of engagement/campaign
<u>Occupation:</u>	occupation at time of engagement/campaign
<u>Residence:</u>	residence or place of enlistment at time of engagement/campaign NOTE: Towns are given as they exist in 2002.
<u>Description:</u>	examples: 'Negro', 'black', 'man of color', 'mulatto', 'Mohegan', etc.
<u>Status:</u>	free -or- slave -or- servant
<u>Religion:</u>	examples: Congregational, Presbyterian, Baptist, etc.
<u>Rank:</u>	Private, Drummer, Fifer, Matross, etc.
<u>Unit:</u>	Colonel / Captain
<u>Entered:</u>	(for Battle Road) place at which company entered the contest examples: North Bridge, Merriam's Corner, Menotomy, etc.
<u>Stationed:</u>	(for Bunker Hill) position of company on battlefield examples: redoubt, rail fence, breastwork, etc.

⁰ Footnotes

See Sources for 4-character abbreviations of reference sources.
QUIN is the assumed reference for all statements of unit service and battlefield positions.

This is a guide to the alphabetical list of biographical sketches following. Veterans are listed under engagement/campaigns in which they were believed to have been active participants. In this index guide, each soldier's name is preceded by his proof of service for the engagement/campaign listed:

- ★ Killed or died
- * Service proven by a primary source or equivalent
- + Service accepted by reason of a secondary source
- ? Service not proven but probable

FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS

+	LAMSON, David	—	Cambridge	MA
+	LEW, Barzillai	17	Chelmsford	MA
+	OCCUM, Jonathan	30	New London	CT
+	PRUTT, Caesar	31	Amherst	MA

BATTLE ROAD (19 April 1775)

*	AUGUSTUS, Caesar	—	Dorchester	MA	wounded(?) & taken prisoner
*	BASON, Caesar	—	Westford	MA	
*	BOARDMAN, Cato	—	Cambridge	MA	
*	(BOYLSTON), Prince	—	Brookline	MA	
+	BURDOO, Eli	19	Lexington	MA	
*	BURDOO, Silas	27	Lexington	MA	
+	COMECHO, Isaac	29	Dedham	MA	
*	ESTABROOK, Prince	35	Lexington	MA	wounded
?	FERRIT, Caesar	55	Natick	MA	
?	FERRIT, John	22	Natick	MA	
+	FERRIT, Thomas	24	Dedham	MA	
*	(GARDNER), Adam	—	Brookline	MA	
*	HEMENWAY, Jeffrey	38	Framingham	MA	
?	JONES, Caesar	—	Bedford	MA	
*	LAMSON, David	35	Cambridge	MA	
?	MOORE, Cambridge	23	Bedford	MA	
*	SALEM, Peter	25	Framingham	MA	
*	STEDMAN, Cato	—	Cambridge	MA	
*	(WHITE), Peter	—	Brookline	MA	
+	WHITTEMORE, Cuff	30	Cambridge	MA	
?	WOOD, Cato	—	Charlestown	MA	

BUNKER HILL (17 June 1775)

★	ABBOT, Philip	—	Andover	MA	killed
?	ANDREWS, Tony	—	Billerica	MA	
?	ANTHONY, James	—	Natick	MA	
?	ANTHONY, Jonathan Jr.	22	Medford	MA	
?	ANTHONY, Joseph	21	Grafton	MA	
?	ANTHONY, Mark	30	Newbury	MA	
?	ARCULES, James	18	Medfield	MA	
?	ASHBOW, John	22	Montville	CT	
★	ASHBOW, Samuel Jr.	29	Montville	CT	killed
?	AYRES, Peter	22	Lancaster	MA	
?	BAILEY, Caesar	26	Deerfield	MA	
?	BARJONAH, Isaiah	20	Stoneham	MA	
★	BASON, Caesar	—	Westford	MA	killed
?	BLACKMAN, Pomp	20	Concord	MA	
?	BRIANT, Jack	40	Stoneham	MA	
?	BUMPO, Micah	—	Waltham	MA	

BUNKER HILL (17 June 1775) (cont'd.)

?	BURNEE, Fortune	18	Grafton	MA	
?	BUXTON, Prince	—	Danvers	MA	
+	CHAMBERS, Cuff	33	Andover	MA	
?	CHOWEN, John	—	Lancaster	MA	
?	CHOYCHOY, Simon	27	New London	CT	
?	CITIZEN, London	—	Andover	MA	
?	COBURN, Sampson	—	Gloucester	MA	
+	COBURN, Smith	35	Dracut	MA	
+	COBURN, Titus	30	Shirley	MA	
?	COMECHO, Samuel	—	Sherborn	MA	
*	CUDDY, Porter	—	Sudbury	MA	
?	CURRIER, Robin	—	Amesbury	MA	
?	DEMAS, Joseph	16	Amesbury	MA	
?	DODGE, Scipio	34	Wenham	MA	
+	DORITY, Thomas	—	Natick	MA	
+	EPHRAIM, Abel	—	Hopkinton	MA	
?	EPHRAIM, Ebenezer	27	Worcester	MA	
?	FAIR, Cato	40	Natick	MA	
?	FISK, Pomp	—	Lexington	MA	
?	FREEMAN, Cato	19	Andover	MA	
+	FRYE, Caesar	—	Andover	MA	
?	FULLER, Ezra	18	New Ipswich	NH	
*	GRAY, Scipio	21	Amesbury	MA	
?	GREEN, Cato	23	Stoneham	MA	
?	GREEN, Jack	33	Reading	MA	
?	GREEN, Pomp	—	Stoneham	MA	
+	(GROSVENOR), Asaba	—	Pomfret	CT	
+	GRUSHA, Blaney	—	Framingham	MA	
+	HALL, Jude	28	Exeter	NH	
*	HALL, Pero	55	Newbury	MA	
?	HAMMON, Caesar	27	Holliston	MA	
?	HART, Cato	23	Framingham	MA	
+	HARTWELL, Jeffrey	24	Bedford	MA	
?	HAYES, Cuff	—	Charlestown	MA	
?	HAYWARD, Titus	—	Acton	MA	
+	HEMENWAY, Jeffrey	38	Framingham	MA	
*	HULL, Prince	25	Pittsfield	MA	
*	HUZZEY, James	35	New Marl	MA	
+	JAMES, Jamaica	21	Boston	MA	wounded
?	JARVIS, Charles	22	Newbury	MA	
*	JOHONNOT, Prince	25	Andover	MA	wounded
+	LAMBERT, Plato	37	Natick	MA	
?	LENOX, Cornelius	21	Woburn	MA	
+	LEW, Barzillai	31	Chelmsford	MA	
?	LINES, Charles	28	Malden	MA	
+	LONDON, Eden	31	Fitchburg	MA	
?	MITCHELL, Peter	—	Medford	MA	
?	NEWELL, Cato	23	Charlestown	MA	
?	NIMROD, Cuff	22	Sudbury	MA	
?	OCCUM, Jonathan	50	New London	CT	
?	OLIVER, Aaron	25	Temple	NH	
?	OLIVER, Peter	18	Lincoln	MA	
?	OSBORN, Boston	18	Ipswich	MA	

BUNKER HILL (17 June 1775) (cont'd.)

?	PARKER, Chester	26	Dracut	MA	
?	PAUGENIT, Joseph	20	Framingham	MA	
*	POOR, Salem	28	Andover	MA	
?	PORTER, Caesar	45	Andover	MA	
?	POTAMIA, John	28	Stoneham	MA	
?	POTAMIA, Titus	43	Stoneham	MA	
?	PRUTT, Caesar	48	Amherst	MA	
?	QUAPISH, Alexander	34	Dedham	MA	
?	QUAWCO, Caesar	—	Concord	MA	
?	ROYAL, Silas	—	Dracut	MA	
+	SALEM, Peter	25	Framingham	MA	
+	SHASWELL, Anthony	—	Boston	MA	
?	SHAW, Scipio	26	Danvers	MA	
?	SHED, Marcus	—	Tewksbury	MA	
?	SMALL, Nathaniel	—	Gloucester	MA	
?	SMITH, Cato	—	Lincoln	MA	
?	SPEEN, Jacob	21	Sudbury	MA	
?	SUNSIMAN, John	—	Woodstock	CT	
?	SUTTON, Prince	—	Woburn	MA	
?	TANNER, Amos	—	Montville	CT	
?	TANNER, Joseph	—	Montville	CT	
?	TECOOMWAS, Peter	26	New London	CT	
+	TUFTS, Cato	—	Medford	MA	
?	UNCAS, Noah	32	New London	CT	
*	WALLACE, Caesar	37	Newbury	MA	
*	WAMPEE, John	—	Pomfret		CT
?	WESTON, Nathan	35	New Ipswich	NH	
?	WETHERBEE, Caesar	40	Stow	MA	
+	WHITTEMORE, Cuff	30	Cambridge	MA	wounded
*	WOOD, Asahel	—	26 Hatfield		MA
?	WOOD, Cato	—	Charlestown	MA	
?	WOOD, Cuff	—	Charlestown	MA	
?	WOOD, Eber	24	Deerfield	MA	
?	WORNTON, Tobias	—	Newburyport	MA	

Northern Campaign - FORT TICONDEROGA/MOUNT INDEPENDENCE/FORT GEORGE (Summer/Fall 1776)

*	BLACKMAN, Pomp	21	Concord	MA	
★	COMMECHOW, Samuel	—	Sherborn	MA	d., prob. of smallpox
*	ESTABROOK, Prince	36	Lexington	MA	
*	LEW, Barzillai	33	Chelmsford	MA	
?	OLIVER, Peter	20	Lincoln	MA	
+	POOR, Salem	29	Andover	MA	
?	QUAWCO, Caesar	—	Concord	MA	
?	SPEEN, Jacob	22	Sudbury	MA	

New York Campaign - LONG ISLAND/TURTLE BAY/HARLEM HEIGHTS (Summer/Fall 1776)

?	AYRES, Peter	23	Lancaster	MA	
?	HART, Cato	24	Framingham	MA	
?	HEMENWAY, Jeffry	39	Framingham	MA	
*	PARKER, Chester	27	Dracut	MA	
?	PAUGENIT, Joseph	21	Framingham	MA	
*	SALEM, Peter	26	Framingham	MA	
?	SMITH, Cato	—	Lincoln	MA	
?	TUTTLE, Titus	—	Acton	MA	

PATRIOTS of COLOR

Guide (cont'd.)

WHITE PLAINS (28 October 1776)

?	HAYWARD, Titus	—	Acton	MA	
*	LENOX, Cornelius	22	Woburn	MA	
?	SHAW, Scipio	27	Danvers	MA	

TRENTON (26 December 1776)

*	JAMES, Jamaica	22	Boston	MA	
+	SMALL, Nathaniel	—	Gloucester	MA	

HUBBARDTON (7 July 1777)

?	HALL, Jude	30	Exeter	NH	
?	JARVIS, Charles	25	Newbury	MA	
?	WALLACE, Caesar	39	Newbury	MA	

SARATOGA (September-October 1777)

?	ANTHONY, James	—	Natick	MA	
?	ANTHONY, Joseph	23	Grafton	MA	
?	ARCHELOUS, James	—	Medfield	MA	
?	BLACKMAN, Pomp	22	Concord	MA	
?	BURDOO, Eli	21	Lexington	MA	
?	COBURN, Titus	32	Shirley	MA	
?	EPHRAIM, Abel	—	Hopkinton	MA	
?	HALL, Jude	30	Exeter	NH	
?	HALL, Pero	57	Newbury	MA	
?	HART, Cato	25	Framingham	MA	
?	HARTWELL, Jeffrey	26	Bedford	MA	
?	HAYWARD, Titus	—	Concord	MA	
*	HULL, Prince	27	Pittsfield	MA	wounded
*	JAMES, Jamaica	23	Boston	MA	
?	JARVIS, Charles	25	Newbury	MA	
?	LAMSON, David	37	Cambridge	MA	
?	LINES, Charles	30	Charlestown	MA	
?	LONDON, Eden	33	Fitchburg	MA	
?	MOORE, Cambridge	25	Bedford	MA	
?	OLIVER, Peter	21	Lincoln	MA	
★	PAUGENIT, Joseph	22	Framingham	MA	d., prob. at Albany (NY) Military Hospital
+	POOR, Salem	30	Andover	MA	
?	POTAMIA, Job		30 Cambridge	MA	
+	SALEM, Peter	27	Framingham	MA	
?	SHAW, Scipio	28	Danvers	MA	
?	SMALL, Nathaniel	—	Gloucester	MA	
?	STEDMAN, Cato	—	Cambridge	MA	
?	SUTTON, Prince	—	Woburn	MA	
?	WALLACE, Caesar	39	Newbury	MA	
*	WHITTEMORE, Cuff	32	Cambridge	MA	taken prisoner & escaped

GERMANTOWN (4 October 1777)

?	SUNSIMAN, John	—	Woodstock	CT	
---	----------------	---	-----------	----	--

VALLEY FORGE (Winter 1777-1778)

★	ANTHONY, Joseph	23	Grafton	MA	d. prob. of smallpox
?	BLACKMAN, Pomp	23	Concord	MA	
★	COBURN, Titus	33	Shirley	MA	d., prob. of smallpox
★	EPHRAIM, Abel	—	Hopkinton	MA	d., prob. of smallpox
?	HALL, Jude	31	Exeter	NH	

PATRIOTS of COLOR

Guide (cont'd.)

VALLEY FORGE (Winter 1777-1778) (cont'd.)

★	HAYWARD, Titus	—	Concord	MA	d., prob. of smallpox
?	LONDON, Eden	33	Fitchburg	MA	
?	OLIVER, Peter	21	Lincoln	MA	
*	POOR, Salem	31	Andover	MA	
?	SMALL, Nathaniel	—	Gloucester	MA	
?	SUTTON, Prince	—	Woburn	MA	

MONMOUTH (28 June 1778)

?	BLACKMAN, Pomp	23	Lexington	MA	
?	HALL, Jude	31	Exeter	NH	
?	LONDON, Eden	34	Fitchburg	MA	
?	OLIVER, Peter	22	Lincoln	MA	
?	POOR, Salem	31	Andover	MA	
★	SMALL, Nathaniel	—	Gloucester	MA	d. reason unknown, possibly of wounds
?	SUNSIMAN, John	—	Woodstock	CT	
?	SUTTON, Prince	—	Woburn	MA	
*	WALLACE, Caesar	40	Newbury	MA	

RHODE ISLAND (Summer 1778)

?	ANTHONY, James	—	Natick	MA	
?	AYRES, Peter	25	Lancaster	MA	
?	HEMENWAY, Jeffrey	41	Worcester	MA	
*	LENOX, Cornelius	24	Lexington	MA	
*	PARKER, Chester	29	Dracut	MA	

CHERRY VALLEY (10 November 1778)

?	HART, Cato	26	Framingham	MA	
---	------------	----	------------	----	--

STONY POINT (16 July 1779)

+	SALEM, Peter	29	Framingham	MA	
---	--------------	----	------------	----	--

SULLIVAN'S INDIAN EXPEDITION (August 1779)

?	HALL, Jude	32	Exeter	NH	
*	WALLACE, Caesar	41	Newbury	MA	

YORKTOWN (October 1781)

*	WOOD, Asahel	32	Conway	MA	
---	--------------	----	--------	----	--

PRIVATEERING

?	ROYAL, Silas	—	Dracut	MA	brig <i>Franklin</i>
---	--------------	---	--------	----	----------------------

DIED IN SERVICE (or of service-related wounds, injury or sickness):

★	ASHBOW, John	—	Montville	CT	d. date, cause and place of death unknown
★	BAILEY, Caesar	32	Deerfield	MA	d. 1781, cause unknown, place unknown
★	EPHRAIM, Ebenezer	—	Worcester	MA	d. 1777, prob. of smallpox, place unknown
★	LINES, Charles	34	Charlestown	MA	d. 1781, prob. of smallpox, West Point (NY)
★	QUAPISH, Alexander	35	Dedham	MA	d. 1776, of camp sickness, at Needham (MA)
★	SMITH, Cato	—	Lincoln	MA	d. 1777, cause and place of death unknown
★	TANNER, Amos	—	Montville	CT	d. date, cause and place of death unknown
★	TANNER, Joseph	—	Montville	CT	d. date, cause and place of death unknown

The untold stories of the following soldiers in this study are especially interesting:

Samuel Ashbow	was the first Native American killed in the Revolutionary War, at Bunker Hill.
Caesar Augustus	was the first African American taken prisoner, on Battle Road.
Silas Burdoo	was probably the most prosperous man. was the last survivor (died 1837).
Sampson Coburn	reached the highest rank of any soldier - Corporal.
Prince Estabrook	was the first African American wounded in the Revolutionary War.
Jude Hall	was probably the strongest man. had three sons who were kidnapped and reduced to slavery.
Cato Hart	had the longest service (8 years), for which he was awarded a Badge of Merit .
Jeffrey Hartwell	owned at one time one of the only known surviving artifacts - a set of pewter plates.
Prince Johonnot	was a minute man in 1774. was the only man known to have held a town office - surveyor of highways.
Plato Lambert	was probably the tallest man.
Cato Liberty	changed his name, which became a metaphor of the American Revolution.
Barzillai Lew	had the most children (13). had a family of noted musicians and was a fifer himself.
Eden London	was the central figure in a significant court case concerning slavery.
Salem Poor	purchased his own freedom. was honored for bravery at Bunker Hill, the only Private to be so honored.
Caesar Prutt	was caught poaching - his case revealed significant details about slave life.
Silas Royal	was captured by man-stealers and rescued by a posse formed by his former master.
Peter Salem	probably served at the most battles (7).

Peter Ayres, Caesar Bailey, Fortune Burnee, John Chowen, Titus Coburn, Jeffrey Hemenway, Prince Johonnot and Peter Salem were Minute Men on 19 April 1775.

Prince Estabrook and (probably) **Caesar Augustus** were wounded on Battle Road.
Caesar Augustus was taken prisoner on Battle Road.

Caesar Bason, Jeffrey Hemenway, Peter Salem, Cuff Whittemore and Cato Wood served at both Battle Road and at Bunker Hill.

Jude Hall, Jamaica James and Cuff Whittemore were wounded at Bunker Hill.

★ **Philip Abbott, Samuel Ashbow and Caesar Bason** were killed at Bunker Hill.

★ **Samuel Comecho** died in the service at or near Fort Ticonderoga (NY).

★ **Cato Smith** died in the service at North Castle (NY).

★ **Joseph Paugenit** died in the service at Albany (NY).

★ **Joseph Anthony, Titus Coburn, Abel Ephraim and Titus Hayward** died at Valley Forge (PA).

★ **Nathaniel Small** died in the service near Monmouth (NJ).

★ **Charles Lines** died in the service at West Point (NY).

★ **Caesar Bailey, Ebenezer Ephraim, Alexander Quapish, Amos Tanner and Joseph Tanner** died in the service.

Jeffrey Hemenway, Barzillai Lew, and possibly **Silas Burdoo** and others, had descendants who served in the 54th Massachusetts Regiment during the Civil War.

Silas Burdoo, Cuff Chambers, Prince Estabrook, Jeffrey Hartwell, Jeffrey Hemenway, Caesar Jones, Eden London, Cambridge Moore and Peter Salem have existing gravestones/memorial stones.

X★ Phillip Abbot

Age: N/A

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Andover, MA

Description: 'mulatto'

Status: 'servant'

Religion: Congregational

Rank: Private

Unit: Frye / Ames

Stationed: redoubt

Little is known of Phillip Abbot except that he was from Andover (MA) and was the 'negro servant of Nathan Abbot'¹.

He enlisted into the company of Capt. Benjamin Ames, Col. James Frye, and was present at the Battle of Bunker Hill in the redoubt, where he was killed². With other Americans who were killed, he is probably buried on or near the grounds of the Bunker Hill Monument.

¹ MASS 1:14

² Ibid; also, MAVR, Andover, Deaths, 573 in which reference is made to the records of the South Parish Congregational Church: 'a molatto killed in Battle at Bunker Hill'; also, Thomas Boynton journal: 'We lost ... Philip Abbot' as quoted in AND2, 326.

X? Tony Andrews

Age: N/A

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Billerica, MA

Description: N/A¹

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Nixon / Smith

Stationed: breastwork

Nothing is known of the early life of Tony Andrews.

He joined the eight month's service on 11 May 1775 from Billerica (MA), in the company of Capt. William Smith in Col. John Nixon's regiment. His name appears on a 16 June 1775 order for advanced pay, on the 1 August 1775 roll² and on a 30 September 1775 company return³. His name appears on an 18 December 1775 'certificate of service in support of an order for bounty coat, dated Winter Hill'.⁴

This certificate was signed by his Captain who stated that '[Richard] Reed and Tony Andrews belonging to his company, Col. Nixon's regt., had not received bounty coats or their equivalent in money'.⁵ On 1 January 1776, his name appears on a receipt for wages dated Camp Mt. Washington.

¹ NAME.

² MASS 1:260, listed as 'Andrews'.

³ Ibid 1:242, listed as 'Andrew'.

⁴ Ibid 1:260.

⁵ Ibid 13:89, under the entry for Richard Reed.

X? James Anthony

Age: N/A
Occupation: N/A
Residence: Natick, MA

Description: N/A¹
Status: N/A
Religion: N/A

Rank: Private
Unit: Ward / Mellen
Stationed: N/A

Nothing is known of the early life of James Anthony.

He joined the eight month's service from Natick (MA) on 2 May 1775, in the company of Capt. James Mellen in Col. Jonathan Ward's regiment.² He is also shown in the same unit on a 26 December 1775 'order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money dated Dorchester'.³

There is no record of 1776 service.

With Gen. Burgoyne preparing to advance on northern New York, the call once again went out for soldiers to meet this serious threat. He enlisted on 14 March 1777 for three years in the Continental Army, in Capt. Reuben Slayton's company in Col. William Shepard's 4th Massachusetts regiment. This unit fought valiantly at both Battles of Saratoga and then spent the winter at Valley Forge. On a 30 January 1778 roll he is listed as 'sick at home'.⁴

From July 1778 to April 1779, he was on duty in the same unit at Providence, the latter two months on command with Gen. John Glover. On 28 January 1780, he was at West Point. He was discharged 14 March 1780.⁵

¹ NAME; the name Anthony is found in the Natick and Dedham records and in all cases is considered of Indian heritage. LOVE:336 states that this name is common to the Narragansett Tribe of the Charlestown (RI) area.

² MASS 1:278, listed as 'Anthony'.

³ Ibid 1:281, listed as 'Antony'.

⁴ Ibid 1:278.

⁵ Ibid.

X? Jonathan Anthony Jr.

Age: 22

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Medford, MA

Description: 'negro'

Status: free

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Gerrish / Wood

Stationed: N/A

Jonathan Anthony was born on 21 January 1753 in Medford (MA)¹, the son of Jonathan and Catherine (George) Anthony². He is described as a 'free negro'.³

He joined the eight month's service from Medford on 24 April 1775, in the company of Capt. John Wood in Col. Samuel Gerrish's regiment. He is listed on a 1 June 1775 order for advance pay, on the 1 August 1775 muster roll, and on a 10 August 1775 return of men sick and absent dated Medford. He served out the end of 1775 in Capt. Joseph Pettengill's company, Col. Loammi Baldwin's regiment, being listed on a 27 September 1775 roll dated Sewall's Point.⁴ He is shown in the same unit on a 19 November 1775 'order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money, dated Camp at Sewall's Point'.⁵

There is no record of 1776 service.

Responding to an alarm at Rhode Island, he arrived at camp 9 May 1777, enlisting in the company of Capt. Stephen Dana in Col. Josiah Whitney's regiment. After two months and eight days service, he was discharged on 10 July 1777.⁶

In 1778 he enlisted for a nine-month term, in Capt. Brooks' company in Col. Thatcher's regiment, serving at Fishkill (NY). The descriptive roll lists him as:⁷

age:	25
stature:	5 ft. 6 in.
residence:	Medford

The 1790 census of Medford lists him as head in a household of two free people of color.⁸

He married Lois Way of Lexington on 6 March 1777.⁹

¹ MAVR, Medford, Births, 15; Jonathan was the namesake of his older brother who was born 4 September 1749 and evidently died as a young child.

² Marriage of parents listed in: MAVR, Medford, Marriages, 179, in which both are described as 'negroes' and Catherine's residence is listed as Charlestown (MA).

³ MEDR, 27.

⁴ MASS 1:279, listed as 'Anthony Jr.'.

⁵ Ibid 1:277, listed as 'Anthoney'.

⁶ Ibid 1:280, listed as 'Antoney'.

⁷ Ibid 1:279.

⁸ USCE, 1790, Massachusetts, Medford, 148.

⁹ MAVR, Medford, Marriages, 179.

X? Joseph Anthony ★

Age: 21

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Grafton, MA

Description: mulatto

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Ward / Drury

Stationed: N/A

Joseph Anthony was born on 24 December 1753 in Grafton (MA), the son of Joseph and Abigail (____) Anthony¹.

He joined the eight month's service from Grafton (also Alstead NH) on 29 April 1775, in the company of Capt. Luke Drury in Col. Jonathan Ward's regiment. He is listed on a 10 June 1775 order for advance pay, on the 1 August 1775 muster roll, and on a 3 November 1775 'order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money'.²

There is no record of 1776 service.

With Gen. Burgoyne preparing to advance on northern New York, the call once again went out for soldiers to meet this serious threat. At the time, he was serving in the 6th Worcester County regiment in Capt. Joseph Warren's company.³ From this regiment, he was transferred to the Continental Army on 24 March 1777 for a three-year term in the company of Capt. John Blanchard, in Col. James Wesson's 9th Massachusetts regiment. This unit fought valiantly at both Battles of Saratoga and then set off for winter quarters at Valley Forge. It was probably there that he died on 26 December 1777.⁴

¹ MAVR, Grafton, Births, 12; his father is described as a 'negro' and his mother as an 'Indian'.

² MASS 1:279, listed as 'Anthony'.

³ Ibid 1:280, listed as 'Antoney'.

⁴ Ibid 1:279.

X? Mark Anthony

Age: 30

Occupation: servant

Residence: Newbury, MA

Description: N/A¹

Status: servant

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Little / Gerrish

Stationed: N/A

Mark Anthony was born circa 1745.²

He joined the eight month's service from Newbury on 1 May 1775, in the company of Capt. Jacob Gerrish in Col. Moses Little's regiment.³ On 3 July 1775, he served on the main guard under Lt. Col. Loammi Baldwin.⁴ He is listed on the 1 August 1775 muster roll and on an October 1775 roll in which he is described as:

age: 30

He is also shown in the same unit on a 27 December 1775 'order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money', being 'reported a servant'.⁵

¹ STAT.

² BD-R.

³ MASS 1:280, listed as 'Anthony'.

⁴ Ibid 3:73, listed as 'Mar Canteney'.

⁵ Ibid 1:280.

X? James Arcules {Archelaus}

Age: 21

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Medfield, MA

Description: 'black'

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Brewer / Bullard

Stationed: diagonal

James Arcules' was born circa 1754.¹

He served at the Lexington Alarm from Medfield in the company of Capt. Ephraim Chenery, in Col. John Smith's regiment. With thousands of others who appeared at Cambridge after the Alarm, he joined the eight month's service in the company of Capt. Benjamin Bullard, in Col. Jonathan Brewer's regiment.² This company served in the Battle of Bunker Hill on the diagonal.

There is no record of 1776 service.

On 3 May 1777 he enlisted into the company of Capt. Samuel Fisher, in Col. Jonathan Titcomb's regiment. This service was for two months, 10 days of which was in Rhode Island.³ We next find him in Capt. Sabin Mann's company from which he was transferred to and enlisted into the Continental Army for three years on 8 September 1777, in the company of Capt. Moses Knapp and the regiment of Col. William Shepard⁴. This unit served at Saratoga⁵ and Rhode Island⁶.

He next served at the Hudson Highlands in the same regiment (Shepard's 4th) but in Capt. David Holbrook's company, where he is listed on a descriptive roll⁷ as follows:

age:	23
stature:	6 ft.
complexion:	black
hair:	black
residence:	Medfield
enlisted:	Jan. 1, 1780

In May through September 1781 he served at West Point. From October 1781 through February 1782 he served at 'York Hutts'.⁸ He was discharged in 1783.⁹

It is undoubtedly the same James 'Archelus' who is listed in the Dedham records of 23 February 1784:

the Selectmen issued a warrant ... to warn out James Archelus, Hannah his wife, and their child, James Petine, they not being inhabitants ...¹⁰

He applied for bounty land on 10 August 1789, which land was assigned to Richard Platt.¹¹ He applied for a U.S. pension on 25 April 1818¹², which was granted for \$96.00 a year.¹³ An affidavit by

¹ BD-P.

² Ibid 1:289.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid 1:288,289.

⁵ QVIN.

⁶ MASS 1:288.

⁷ Ibid 1:289.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ USPE, Roll 72, Pension# S32568, Frame 516.

¹⁰ MAVR, Dedham (Revised and Expanded Edition by Robert Brand Hanson, Editor), 492.

one of his officers in 1818 confirms his 1777 service and further describes him as 'a man of Colour'.¹⁴ He reapplied on 17 July 1820 in order to prove his need. An inventory of his estate included¹⁵:

1 Scythe & Staff
1 Axe
1 Iron pot
1 [Iron] kettle
1 Tea Kettle
1 _____
1 pair shovel & tongs
1 old wooden Clock
1 Rake
1 old ____ feet table
3 old chairs
2 knives & forks
2 Bowls & spoons
2 little old chests
1 pair dogs
2 ____ & ____

Nowhere in his pension does he mention his 1775 service though it is nearly certain that he served.¹⁶

He married Hannah _____.¹⁷ They had at least one son¹⁸:

1. James Petine

¹¹ USPE, Frame 28; listed as 'Archelus'.

¹² Ibid, Frame 516.

¹³ Ibid, Frame 514.

¹⁴ Ibid, Frame 525; affidavit of David Holbrook Jr.

¹⁵ Ibid, 521.

¹⁶ This is not unusual. A large percentage of Battle Road veterans did not bother to mention that service in their pensions, though through independent sources that service could be proven to be absolutely certain. A smaller but still significant number of Bunker Hill veterans did the same. The reason was probably that three years of 1777-1780 Continental service was a sure ticket to a pension - no other service need be mentioned.

¹⁷ See previous warning out footnote.

¹⁸ Ibid.

X? John Ashbow

Age: 22

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Montville, CT

Description: 'Mohegan'

Status: free

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Putnam / Durkee

Stationed: rail fence

John Ashbow was born circa 1753¹ and early resided in the North Parish of Norwich (CT), now called Montville.² He was one of four sons of the Rev. Samuel Ashbow, at least three of whom died during the Revolutionary War.³

He enlisted on 10 May 1775 in the company of Capt. John Durkee, in Col. Israel Putnam's regiment.⁴ This company marched from Norwich CT to Cambridge shortly after the Lexington Alarm and was engaged in the Battle of Bunker Hill, stationed at the rail fence. He was discharged on 16 December 1775⁵ and there is no further record of his service.

He married Ann _____. They had at least three children⁶:

1. Moses b. ca. 1780
2. Lydia d. young
3. Dolly d. young

¹ BD-M; based on estimated marriage date of 1753.

² MONT, 94.

³ LOVE, 204 states that four sons died in the army. MONT, 61 says three sons died. John's brother Samuel was killed at Bunker Hill; Robert was killed in the 1776 retreat from New York.

⁴ CTSS, 54.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ MONT, 61.

X★ Samuel Ashbow Jr.

Age: 29

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Montville, CT

Description: 'Mohegan'

Status: free

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Putnam / Durkee

Stationed: rail fence

Samuel Ashbow Jr. was born circa 1746¹ and early resided in the North Parish of Norwich (CT), now called Montville.² He was one of four sons of the Rev. Samuel Ashbow, at least three of whom died during the Revolutionary War.³ He was the first Native American to be killed in the Revolutionary War.

He enlisted on 10 May 1775 in the company of Capt. John Durkee, in Col. Israel Putnam's regiment.⁴ This company marched from Norwich CT to Cambridge shortly after the Lexington Alarm and was engaged in the Battle of Bunker Hill, stationed at the rail fence. Samuel Ashbow was killed in the battle.⁵

With other Americans who were killed, he is probably buried on or near the grounds of the Bunker Hill Monument.

The name of his wife is unknown. They had at least one child⁶:

1. Joshua b. ca. 1773

¹ BD-M; based on estimated marriage date of 1772.

² MONT, 94.

³ LOVE, 204 states that four sons died in the army. MONT, 61 says three sons died. Samuel's brother Robert was killed in the 1776 retreat from New York.

⁴ CTSS, 54.

⁵ Ibid, 58.

⁶ MONT, 61.

*X Caesar Augustus

Age: N/A

Description: N/A

Rank: N/A

Occupation: N/A

Status: servant

Unit: N/A

Residence: Dorchester, MA

Religion: N/A

Entered: Charlestown Neck

Caesar Augustus was the servant of Mr. Tileston of Dorchester (MA).¹

He was taken prisoner on 19 April 1775 and was exchanged on 5 June 1775 with the other American prisoners.²

The last Patriot casualty on Battle Road was a man of color:

A negro (the only one [who] was seen to fire at the King's troops) was wounded near the houses close to the [Charlestown] Neck, out of which the Rebels fired to the last.³

It is very probable that this man was Caesar Augustus.

¹ EGAZ 6 June 1775, page 3.

² NEHR 85[1931]:17.

³ MAHP, Second Series, 5[1890]:394., "Description of the Battle of Lexington, by Lieutenant Mackenzie of the Royal Welch Fusileers".

CAMBRIDGE. June 8

Tuesday last being the Day agreed on for the Exchange of Prisoners, between 11 and 1 o'Clock. Dr. Warren and Brigadier General Putnam, in a Frigate, together with Major Dunbar, and Lieut. Hamilton of the 64th on Horse-back; Lieut. Potter of the Marines, in a Chaise; John Henson of the 47th, Alexander Cumbell of the 4th; John Tyne, Samuel Morey, Thomas Parry, and Thomas Sharp, of the Marines, wounded Men, in two Carts; the whole escorted by the Westchester Company under the Command of Capt. Chester, entered the Town of Charlestown, and marching slowly through it, landed at the Ferry, where, upon a Signal being given, Major Moncrief landed from the Lively, in order to receive the Prisoners, and see his old Friend, General Putnam. This Meeting was truly cordial and affectionate. The wounded Privates were soon sent on board the Lively; but Major Moncrief, and the other Officers, returned with General Putnam and Dr. Warren, to the House of Dr. Foster, where an Entertainment was provided for them. About 3 o'Clock a Signal was made by the Lively, that they were ready to deliver up our Prisoners; upon which General Putnam and Major Moncrief went to the Ferry, where they received Messrs. John Peck, James Hewes, James Brewer, and Donald Preston, of Boston; Messrs. Samuel Foulke and Seth Russell of Cambridge; Mr. Joseph Bellot of Danvers, Mr. Elijah Seaver, of Roxbury, and Caesar Augustus, a Negro Servant to Mr. Titchell, of Boston, who were conducted to the House of Capt. Foster, and there refreshed; after which the General and Major returned to their Company, and spent an Hour or two in a very agreeable Manner. Between 5 and 6 o'Clock Major Moncrief, with the Officers that had been delivered to him, were conducted to the Ferry, where the Lively's Barge received them; after which General Putnam, with the Prisoners who had been delivered to him, &c. returned to Cambridge, escorted in the same Manner as before. The whole was conducted with the utmost Decency and good Humour, and the Westchester Company did Honour to themselves, their Officers, and their Country. The Regular Officers expressed themselves as highly pleased; those who had been Prisoners politely acknowledged the general kind Treatment they had received from their Captains; the Privates, who were all wounded Men, expressed in the strongest Terms, their grateful Sense of the Generosity which had been shewn them in their miserable Situation; some of them could do it only by their Tears. It would have been to the Honour of the British Arms, if the Prisoners taken from us could with Justice have made the same Acknowledgement. I cannot be insensible that any Officers of Rank, or common Humanity, were knowing to the repeated cruel Insults that were offered them; but it may not be amiss to hint to the Officers concerned, two Truths, of which they seem to be totally ignorant, viz. That Compassion is as essential a Part of the Character of a truly brave Man as Courage; and that Insult offered to a Person entirely in the Power of the Insulter, smells as strong of Cowardice as it does of Cruelty.

Last Sabbath being the Anniversary of King George the Third's Birth, the same was celebrated by the Sons of Tyranny in Boston.

We have the Pleasure to inform the Public, that the Grand American Army is nearly completed. Great Numbers of the Connecticut, New Hampshire and Rhode-Island Troops are arrived; among the latter is a fine Company of Artillery, with four excellent Field Pieces. Many large Pieces of battering Cannon are expected soon, from different Places, twelve Pieces, 18 and 24 Pounders, with a Quantity of Ordnance Stores, we are informed, are already arrived from Providence.

Last Wednesday forenoon a Number of Provincials, under the Command of Col. Robinson, made an Acquisition of about 500 Sheep, and 30 Head of Cattle from off Pettick's Island.

And on Friday Night last the Provincial Troops made another Acquisition of about 800 Sheep and Lambs from off Deer Island, together with a Number of Cattle. Major Creaton, who commanded this Party, also took a Barge belonging to one of the Men of War, together with 4 or 5 Prisoners.

DIED.] At Newbury Nov. 29 Mrs. ELIZABETH STILES, Consort of the Rev. D. Stiles, in the 44th year of her age. --- In London, March 21. aged 74. the Hon. Thomas Penn, Esq; one of the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, and last Survivor of all the Children of William Penn, the Founder of that Province,

Newspaper Account of the retreat from Concord listing Caesar Augustus as a casualty.

X? Peter Ayres

Age: 22

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Lancaster, MA

Description: 'colored'

Status: free

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Whitcomb /Haskell

Stationed: N/A

Peter Ayres was born circa 1753.¹ The respected historian Nourse describes him as 'colored'.²

He was a minute man from Lancaster who marched on the Alarm of 19 April 1775, in the company of Capt. John Prescott.³ He joined the eight month's service from Lancaster on 27 April 1775, in the company of Capt. Andrew Haskell in Col. Asa Whitcomb's regiment. He is also listed on the 1 August roll and on a 6 October 1775 return.⁴

On 22 July 1776 he marched to reinforce Washington's Army in New York, in Capt. Samuel Sawyer's company in Col. Jonathan Smith's regiment. 'They participated in the unfortunate affair at Kips Bay'. He was discharged on 1 December 1776.⁵

On 21 July 1778 he enlisted into the Massachusetts militia, in the company of Ebenezer Belknap in Col. Nathaniel Wade's regiment. He was stationed at North Kingston (RI) until his discharge on 1 January 1779.⁶ This service was at the time of the Battle of Rhode Island.

He published intentions to marry Esther Sumner of Pomfret (CT) on 10 April 1779.⁷ No record of a marriage or children could be found.

¹ BD-M.

² LANR, 237.

³ MASS 1:378, listed as 'Ayers'.

⁴ Ibid, listed as 'Airs'.

⁵ LANR, 144.

⁶ Ibid, listed as 'Ayres'. His Captain was also given as Nathan Fisher.

⁷ MAVR, Lancaster, Marriages, 139; his name listed as 'Aires'.

X? Caesar Bailey {Dickinson} ★

Age: 26

Occupation: farmer

Residence: Deerfield, MA

Description: 'black'

Status: slave

Religion: Congregational

Rank: Private

Unit: Prescott / O. Parker

Stationed: redoubt

Caesar Bailey was born circa 1749.¹ The first known record of him is from the Hampshire County (MA) court records and is related as follows:

The ... case involved John Williams and Cesar, slave to Nathaniel Dickinson. George Sheldon relates that John Williams charged Cesar on November 10, 1771 with stealing one gallon of West Indian rum belonging to John Williams. John Williams requested that a warrant be issued for Cesar "that he may be apprehended and dealt with according to law & as in duty bound." The warrant was issued on December 2, and Cesar was arrested the following day. At his trial, "Titus negro" served as one of two witnesses in the case. The identity of Titus is unknown ... it is unclear as to whether the slave or the master paid the fine and court costs.²

Caesar remained the slave of Nathaniel Dickinson, a Tory, until 'Caesar passed into the possession of Nathaniel's brother, Samuel, when Nathaniel's property was confiscated due to his Tory activities'.³

He served at the Lexington Alarm from Deerfield in Capt. Jonas Locke's company of Minute Men in Col. Williams' regiment.⁴ With thousands of others who appeared at Cambridge on the Alarm, he joined the eight month's service in the company of Capt. Oliver Parker, in Col. William Prescott's regiment.⁵ This company served in the Battle of Bunker Hill in the redoubt.

There is no record of any service from 1776 to 1780. On 3 April 1781 he enlisted and is shown on a descriptive roll⁶ as follows:

age:	32
stature:	5 ft. 7 in.
complexion:	black
hair:	black
occupation:	farmer
residence:	Deerfield
enlisted:	April 3, 1781
term:	3 years

For this term of service he is listed as 'Baley, Caesar', the change of name indicating the distinct possibility that he had become free sometime between 1778 and 1781. The company and regiment are not listed. This is perhaps because he died in the service soon after this enlistment.⁷

Caesar married Hagar ____ in Deerfield MA on 16 January 1778. They are both listed as 'servants to Samuel Dickinson'⁸. There is no record of any children.

¹ Based on descriptive roll - see Footnote 6.

² Moon, Jennifer. "Master and Servant: Slavery in 18th Century Deerfield" (1987), 33. [unpublished manuscript in the Historic Deerfield Library collection; courtesy: Pockumtuck Valley Memorial Association, Deerfield, MA].

³ Ibid, 5.

⁴ MASS 4:735. Listed under 'Dickenson'.

⁵ Ibid 4:740. Listed under 'Dickerson'. After the Battle of Bunker Hill, Capt. Parker left the service and command of the company fell to Lt. Nathaniel Sartwell.

⁶ MASS 1:526.

⁷ USPE, Pension# R371, Roll 108, Frame 201, application of widow Hagar in 1842 at which time she resided in Pittsfield MA.

⁸ "Church Records 1731-1810", Box 4:75 (Pockumtuck Valley Memorial Association, Deerfield, MA). Also MAVR, Deerfield, MA, Marriages under "UNIDENTIFIED AND NEGROES". Hagar is listed as 'Oscar'.

X? Isaiah Barjonah

Age: 20

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Stoneham, MA

Description: 'mulatto'

Status: N/A

Religion: Congregational

Rank: Private

Unit: Gardner / Locke

Stationed: N/A

Isaiah Barjonah was baptized on 29 December 1754 in Stoneham (MA), the son of Simon and Hannah (Smith) Barjonah.¹

He enlisted in the eight months' service on 3 June 1775 in Capt. Benjamin Locke's company, in Col. Thomas Gardner's regiment.² This company served in the Battle of Bunker Hill, where his Colonel was mortally wounded. An October 1775 descriptive roll³ at Prospect Hill describes him as a 'mulatto' and as follows:

age:	21
stature:	5 ft. 7 in.

He is also listed on a 1 December 1775 'order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money'.⁴

¹ MAVR, Stoneham, Births (under "Negroes"), 75; referencing Congregational Church record.

² MASS 1:603. Listed as 'Issachar (also given as Isaiah)'.
³ Ibid 1:526.

⁴ Ibid.

* ★ Caesar Bason

Age: N/A
Occupation: N/A
Residence: Westford, MA

Description: 'colored'
Status: 'servant'
Religion: N/A

Rank: Private
Unit: Prescott / Wyman
Stationed: redoubt

Little is known of Caesar Bason except that he was from Westford (MA) and was 'a colored man' and 'perhaps the servant of James Burn'.¹

His first service was at the Lexington Alarm in the company of Capt. Jonathan Minot, in Col. James Prescott's regiment.² This unit served at Battle Road.³ He afterward enlisted into the eight month's service in the company of Capt. Abijah Wyman, in Col. William Prescott's regiment, and was present at the Battle of Bunker Hill in the redoubt, where he was killed.⁴ Historian Rev. Edwin Hodgman had the following anecdote related to him 'on good authority', describing the last moments of Caesar Bason's life:

In the battle he found his powder was nearly gone, and putting in his last charge, he exclaimed, "Now, Caesar, give 'em one more." He fired and was himself shot, and fell back into the trench.⁵

With other Americans who were killed, he is probably buried on or near the grounds of the Bunker Hill Monument.⁶

¹ WESE, 113. Rev. Hodgman speculated that Caesar Bason may have been the same man as Caesar Burn, who in 1773 'was paid 4 shillings for four crows killed in this town'.

² MASS 1:746.

³ COBU, 37.

⁴ MASS 1:746.

⁵ WESE, 113.

⁶ See Anecdotes - Bunker Hill for a contrary opinion.

X? Pompey Blackman {Fortune/Freeman}

Age: 20

Occupation: tanner's apprentice

Residence: Concord, MA

Description: 'Negro'

Status: N/A

Religion: Congregational

Rank: Private

Unit: Gerrish / Baker

Stationed: N/A

Pompey was born circa 1755.¹ He was known as either Pompey Fortune or Pompey Blackman until 1785 when he was known as Pomp Freeman.²

He joined the eight month's service from Concord in the company of Capt. John Baker, in Col. Samuel Gerrish's regiment. He served out the end of 1775 in Capt. Joseph Pettengill's company, Col. Loammi Baldwin's regiment. The need for reinforcements just before the fortification of Dorchester Heights was probably the reason for a stint of four days service at Roxbury in early March 1776 in Capt. John Bridge's company, Col. Eleazar Brook's regiment.

As the attack on Canada crumbled, the call went out for reinforcements for the Northern Department. He responded by enlisting in Capt. Charles Miles' company, in Col. Jonathan Reed's regiment. This unit served at Ticonderoga during the time of the defeat of the American fleet on Lake Champlain under Gen. Benedict Arnold.

Upon his return home in early 1777, he rejoined the local militia in Capt. Bridge's company. With Gen. Burgoyne preparing to advance on northern New York, the call once again went out for soldiers to meet this serious threat. He joined the Continental Army on 10 March for a three-year term in the company of Capt. Edmund Munroe, in Col. Timothy Bigelow's 15th Massachusetts regiment.³ Probably due to his new commitment to the military service, on 2 April 1777 he appointed Amos Fortune of Woburn, his 'Trusty Friend', as his lawful attorney to tend to his financial matters.⁴ Bigelow's regiment served at Saratoga, Valley Forge and Monmouth, where his Captain was killed. His new Captain was named Bowman and he served faithfully until his discharge on 10 March 1780, part of this tour being at Providence during early 1779. He once again enlisted for Rhode Island service in the company of Capt. William Green, in Col. Cyprian How's regiment. His final discharge was on 1 November 1780.⁵

On 27 October 1782, he was 'Baptized & Admitted' into the First Congregational Church of Lexington. A side note states 'A Negro Man in Private He being sick'.⁶ By 1785, he had removed to Jaffrey, New Hampshire to work in the tanning business of his old friend Amos Fortune. This work he did faithfully until his death in Jaffrey on 20 May 1790.⁷ He is presumed to be buried in the Jaffrey Center Burying Yard near the Amos Fortune lot.⁸

¹ BD-M.

² JAPL, IOU dated 25 November 1785 in "Fortune, Amos" file [see copy].

³ This and previously listed service per MASS 2:110.

⁴ JAPL, deed in "Fortune, Amos" file [see copy].

⁵ MASS 2:110.

⁶ LEHS, "A Copy of the Records of the Church of the First Congregational Society in Lexington"; see also MAVR, Lexington, Births, listed under "NEGROES", 93.

⁷ Williams, Ralph C. "The Story of Amos Fortune" (1977); MAVR, Lexington, Deaths, 213 (under "NEGROES"), records the death of Pompey Blackman on 1 January 1783. This conflict has not been resolved.

⁸ Annett, Albert and Lehtinen, Alice E.E. *History of Jaffrey (Middle Monadnock) New Hampshire* (1937), 766.

He filed intentions in Holliston (MA) to marry Susanna Bay of Holliston on 8 September 1781. The marriage was forbidden by someone named Duty Bay.⁹

⁹ MAVR, Holliston, Marriages, 175.

Now all Men by these Presents that I
 Pompey Blackman of Livingston in the
 County of Middlesex and State of Massachusetts
 Bay in New England Labourer for diverse
 good Causes & Considerations in these words Expressing
 have made Ordained Constituted and by these
 do make constitute Ordain and appoint my
 worthy Friend Amos Fortune of Woburn in the
 County before said, Lawyer, my true & lawful
 Attorney for me, in my Name to and for my
 use, to ask demand recover receive of and
 from all Persons Indebted to me the Pompey
 Blackman all Due Debts and Damages whether
 by Note, Bond or any other kind of Debt or other
 justly due to me the said Pompey. Giving and by
 these Presents granting to my said Attorney my full
 and full Power & Authority to take pursue and follow
 such legal Courses, for the recovering receiving &
 obtaining of the same as long as I myself or
 could do were I personally present and upon re-
 ceipt of the same, Acquittances and other sufficient
 Discharges for me in my Name to make Sign
 Seal & deliver, ^{and} all & singular things or things which
 are or may be necessary concerning the Premises as
 fully & intirely as the said Pompey Blackman in
 any own Person ought or could do in and about the
 same, Ratifying allowing & confirming whatsoever
 my said Attorney shall lawfully do of Cause to do
 in and about the execution of the Premises by Virtue
 of these Presents In Witness hereof I have hereunto
 set my Hand and Seal this Second Day of April
 Anno Domini One thousand Seven hundred and
 Seventy Seven

Wm. Blackman
 Pompey & Blackman

Middlesex Co. April 2nd 1777
 Pompey Blackman above
 named hath acknowledged that he is
 the true and lawful Author of the
 Instrument to be his Act and deed
 for am faciat

Jaffrey Public Library
 111 Main Street
 Jaffrey, NH 03452

D4

VF-NH, Jaffrey: Fortune, Amos

Jaffrey November the 25 ye 1785
For value received I promise to pay to
Amos Fortune or order the sum of
Twenty ~~two~~ pound five shilling and
Ten pence on demand with interest til
paid as witness my hand Christopher man
Atas Pompey ^{his} Freeman
mark

Woburn July 7th 1786
To Mr Samlth Quins Esq^r Sir please to deliver to Amos Fortune
the Bearer of this the Note that I delivered to you of Mr Christopher
the principal of ^{one} four pounds the other three pounds and he will
pay you for your trouble and in so doing you will oblige
your humble Servant Pompey ^{his} Blackman
Mark

9.

Receipts

First one for doctoring
Celinda

Third and fourth with
Pompey Blackman

VF - NH, Jaffrey: Fortune, Amos

Jaffrey Public Library
111 Main Street
Jaffrey, NH 03452

D9

*X Cato Boardman

Age: N/A

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Cambridge, MA

Description: 'negro'

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Gardner / Thatcher

Stationed: N/A

Nothing is known of Cato Boardman's early life.

He served at Battle Road in the company of Capt. Samuel Thatcher, in Col. Thomas Gardner's regiment. On the roll he is listed as 'a negro'.¹

¹ MASS 2:283; also, COBU, 41.

*X Prince (Boylston)

Age: N/A

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Brookline, MA

Description: N/A¹

Status: servant

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Heath / White

Stationed: N/A

Nothing is known of Prince's early life.

He served at Battle Road in the company of Capt. Thomas White, in Col. William Heath's regiment. On the roll he is listed as "Josh'a Boylston's Prince".²

¹ STAT.

² MASS 12:788; also COBU, 46.

X? Jack Briant {Thare}

Age: 40

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Stoneham, MA

Description: 'Negro'

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Gerrish / Sprague

Stationed: N/A

Jack, a servant to Joseph Briant Jr. of Stoneham, was born circa 1735 and was also called Jack Thare.¹

A Jack Briant of Stoneham, most probably the same man, enlisted on 1 June 1775 in the company of Capt. Samuel Sprague, in Col. Samuel Gerrish's regiment.² On 13 June 1775 he, with others at the Camp at Cambridge, took an oath required by Congress.³ His Colonel was cashiered because of behavior at the Battle scene and Lt. Col. Loammi Baldwin took over. Bryant was at Chelsea on 2 October 1775⁴ and still there on 30 December 1775 when he received an 'order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money'. He was one of a group of men who agreed to serve one extra month in January 1776.⁵

On 14 March 1776, his name appears in a run-away slave ad⁶:

Ran away from the subscriber, on the 24th of February, a Negro fellow, named Jack, of a [---] stature, has lost his upper teeth; had on when he went away, a blue coat, with large white buttons. Whoever will take up said Negro, and convey him to the subscriber in Stoneham, shall have three dollars reward.
Joseph Briant, jun.

Jack (Thare) married ('with his masters consent') Mary Oliver, free mulatto of Lincoln (MA), at Concord (MA) on 3 September 1761.⁸ There is no known record of any children.

¹ BD-M; see first MAVR footnote.

² MASS 2:495, listed as 'Brient'.

³ Ibid 2:728, listed as 'Bryant'.

⁴ Ibid 2:495.

⁵ Ibid 2:728.

⁶ EGAZ, 14 March 1776, page 3.

⁷ MAVR, Concord, Marriages, 204; he is listed as 'a Negro Man', the servant of Joseph Bryant ('Brient') Jr.

⁸ MAVR, Stoneham, 157.

X? Micah Bumpo {Bumpus}

Age: N/A

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Waltham, MA

Description: man of color

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Gardner / Child

Stationed: N/A

Nothing is known of the early life of Micah Bumpo.

He responded to the Lexington Alarm in the Waltham company of Capt. Abraham Pierce, in Col. Thomas Gardner's regiment.¹ This unit did not receive proper notice and arrived on the scene too late to engage the British.²

He enlisted on 7 May 1775 in the company of Capt. Abijah Child, in Col. Thomas Gardner's regiment. His Colonel was mortally wounded at the Battle of Bunker Hill and Lt. Col. William Bond took over command. His unit was stationed at Prospect Hill from September to December. On 25 December 1775 he received an 'order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money'.³

The 1790 U.S. Census lists a 'Mike' Bumpo, head of a family of five of color from Hardwick (MA), who is undoubtedly the same man.⁴

¹ MASS 2:255; listed as 'Bompo'.

² FISC, 142.

³ MASS 2:802; listed as 'Bumpo' and 'Bumps'.

⁴ USCE, 1790, Massachusetts, 221.

+X Eli Burdoo

Age: 19

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Lexington, MA

Description: man of color¹

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: _____ / Parker

Entered: N/A

Eli Burdoo was baptized at Lexington (MA) on 20 July 1775, the son of Moses and Phebe (Banister) Burdoo.²

In the Lexington town history, his name appears on a list of soldiers who served in Capt. John Parker's Lexington militia company 'in the morning and in the afternoon of the memorable 19th of April'.³ He served in a special detachment of Capt. John Parker's Lexington militia from 6 to 10 May 1775, 'on command at Cambridge ... by order of the Committee of Safety'. He was called out in the same manner for two days on 17 and 18 June 1775.⁴

There is no record of 1776 service.

In 1777 he was a private in Col. Eleazar Brooks' regiment of Middlesex County militia. With Gen. Burgoyne preparing to advance on northern New York, the call once again went out for soldiers to meet this serious threat. He was transferred on 29 September 1777, enlisting in Capt. Samuel Farrar's company in Col. Jonathan Reed's regiment, 'to reinforce Northern army under Gen. [Horatio] Gates'.⁵

¹ All known persons with the surname 'Burdoo' in New England in 1775 were persons of color.

² LEXI 2:81.

³ Ibid 1:424. While this statement does place Eli on Battle Road, it cannot be certain that he was on Lexington Green.

⁴ MASS 2:828; listed as 'Burdoo'.

⁵ Ibid 1:984; listed as 'Berdue'.

*X Silas Burdoo

Age: 27

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Lexington, MA

Description: non-white

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: _____ / Boardman

Entered: Lexington (on retreat)

Silas Burdoo was born in Lexington (MA) on 14 February 1748¹, the son of Philip and Mary (_____) Burdoo.² He 'resided at Lexington & Cambridge alternately until near the close of the Revolutionary War'.³

No military record could be found to prove his presence on Battle Road, yet he clearly claims that:

he volunteered in the service of the United States on the nineteenth day of April, seventeen hundred and seventy five, in Capt. Boardman's company, and was in the Battle at Lexington Massts on the same day, and after following the British for us back from Lexington to Boston, was dismissed.⁴

He enlisted from Lexington on 23 May 1775 into the eight months' service, in the company of Capt. John Wood in Col. Samuel Gerrish's regiment⁵. Though portions of his regiment forged on to the Battle of Bunker Hill under Adj. Christian Febiger, his Colonel did not and was later court-martialed for cowardice. Silas himself remained stalled at Charletown Common [now Sullivan Square]⁶ with his company. He describes the events thus:

the Regiment took up a line of march for Bunker Hill in Charlestown and Capt. Wood's Company, to which he belonged, proceeded as far as Charlestown Common, in plain sight of Bunker Hill, where the celebrated Bunker Hill Battle was then raging. That at Charlestown Common, they received several volleys of cannon & grape shot from the enemy, and after the American Troops were driven from Bunker Hill, he returned in s^d Woods company to Cambridge and after refreshing, immediately proceeded to Prospect Hill, near Bunker Hill, where he stood on guard during the night whilst the American Troops were entrenching and fortifying the place. That he occasionally guarded at Inman's Point in Cambridge, and the remainder of the time, until Gen. Washington took command, encamped on Prospect Hill. That after Gen. Washington arrived and took command of the Army, he went in Capt. Wood's company to Mistick (now called Medford) and was occupied as a guard at that place and Chelsea, on the opposite side of the river. That whilst at Mistick he once stood guard at General Sullivan's quarters at the "Bishop house" ...⁷

His name appears on the 1 August 1775 muster roll⁸, on the August pay abstract, on the September pay abstract 'dated Chelsea', on the October company return⁹, on a 22 December 'list of men who declined to serve the month of Jan. 1776'¹⁰ and on a 28 December 1775 'receipt for bounty coat or its equivalent in money dated Medford'.¹¹

On 15 September 1781 he enlisted in Capt. John Hayward's company in Col. Webb's regiment.¹² He describes this tour of duty as follows:

¹ USPE, Roll 441, Pension# S21099, Frame 114.

² LEXI 2:81.

³ USPE, Frame 114.

⁴ Ibid, Frame 113. Capt. Boardman has not yet been identified.

⁵ MASS 2:766; listed as 'Budoos'.

⁶ Thanks to [Carl Zellner](#) for explaining the current vs. 1775 geography of Charlestown.

⁷ USPE, Frames 113-4.

⁸ MASS 2:766; under 'Budoos'.

⁹ Ibid 2:829; listed as Burdoo'.

¹⁰ Ibid 1:599; listed as 'Bardoo'.

¹¹ Ibid 2:69; listed as 'Birdoo'.

¹² Ibid 2:829; under 'Burdoos'.

That in seventeen hundred and eighty one, the town of Lexington aforesaid was required to furnish eight militia men to join the Army of the United States at Gallows Hill, on the bank of the Hudson River south of West Point, in the state of New York, and to serve three months. That he volunteered for this service, and started from Lexington, according to his best recollection, in the fore part of September 1781, in company with William Diamond traveled by the way of Springfield Mas^{ts} crossed the height of the green mountains at Mount Tom, near the west line of Mas^{ts} passed through Fishkill in the state of New York and arrived at Gallows Hill in about eight days. That he embodied under Major Porter, Capt. Gilbert, Serj. French and encamped on Gallows Hill in the rear of Col. Jackson's Regt. That he was for a while employed on fatigue in making and repairing Roads, but that he subsequently volunteered with about ten or fifteen others, to go to Danbury in the state of Connecticut and receive one hundred and five head of Cattle designed to be driven to the American army under the command of General Washington then beseiging Cornwallis. That the party took charge of said Cattle at Danbury, crossed the Hudson river at King's Ferry, landed the cattle on the Jersey shore, and proceeded with them to Morristown in the state of New Jersey, when he returned to Gallows Hill.

That while at King's Ferry he saw Capt. Calender of the Regular Troops whom he knew and who commanded a company of Artillery at the battle of Bunker Hill in 1775. That he remained at Gallows Hill but a few days only, when he was stationed at the Barracks in Fishkill, where he remained the remainder of the three months for which he volunteered. That he was in Fishkill on the day of General rejoicing for the taking of Cornwallis.¹³

He was discharged on 4 December 1781.¹⁴

Just after this last service, he 'removed to Rindge in the state of Newhampshire, and from thence to Reading in Vermont'.¹⁵ The 1790 census of Reading lists him as head in a household of three free people of color.¹⁶

On 19 October 1807 he joined with his fellow townsmen to sign a 'Remonstrance against petition to ratify allotment of lands in Reading'.¹⁷ On 11 October 1824 he joined with his fellow townsmen again to sign a 'Petition for extension of time in which to complete a road leading to Plymouth [VT]'.¹⁸ During his years in Reading he made at least thirteen land transactions.¹⁹

He had 'resided for fifty years'²⁰ in Reading when on 7 September 1832 he applied for a U.S. pension.²¹ He died on 23 January 1837, at the age of 88, and is buried at the Bailey's Mills Cemetery in Reading.²²

He married first Betsey _____, who died in 1816.²³ He married second Rosannah _____, who died in October 1836.²⁴ There are no known children, though a namesake of Silas served in the 54th Massachusetts regiment.²⁵

¹³ USPE, Frames 114-5.

¹⁴ MASS 2:829.

¹⁵ USPE, Frame 114.

¹⁶ USCE, 1790, Vermont, Reading, 63.

¹⁷ VTSA 46:248 [see copy].

¹⁸ Ibid 57:168 [see copy].

¹⁹ Research of Mrs. Laura Griggs. The numerous land transactions signify that Silas Burdoo was probably the most prosperous man in this study.

²⁰ USPE, Frame 114.

²¹ Ibid, Frame 113.

²² Gravestone record, visited 9 October 2001 [see photo].

²³ Gravestone record, Bailey's Mills Cemetery, Reading (VT).

²⁴ Gravestone record, Bailey's Mills Cemetery, Reading (VT).

²⁵ Gravestone record, Morgan Hill Cemetery, South Woodstock (VT) [see photo].

Burdoo, Silas

Remonstr. against pet. to ratify allotment
of lands in Reading.

Vol. 46, p. 248

Filed Oct. 19, 1807

Burdoo, Silas -of Reading

Pet. for extens. of time in which to complete a rd.
leading to Plymouth

Vol. 57, page 138

Oct. 11, 1824

William Paves	Carin Ladd	Sevi Newson
Amos W Dix	Jacob Kattling	Isaac Carney
Jonathan Wyman	John Kibbett	Zachariah
William Wyman	George Clark	David Hunt
Nathan Wyman	Samuel De	John Hal
John Seab	Sevi Davis	John Kings
James Perry	John Davis	John Going
Seth Tarison	William (unclear)	John (unclear)
Levi Webster	John (unclear)	Timothy (unclear)
Rabeca Parker	Samuel (unclear)	John (unclear)
Man Kimball	John (unclear)	Amos (unclear)
Asa Parker	Edmund (unclear)	Luther (unclear)
Levial Fullam	Keulen (unclear)	Peter (unclear)
Thomas Gordon	Samuel Hathorn	Elisha (unclear)
Nose Gadsden	Flanick (unclear)	Isaac (unclear)
Jonathan Chandler	Jonathan (unclear)	David (unclear)
John (unclear)	David Webster	John Allen
John (unclear)	Benjamin Proctor	Nose Jay
John (unclear)	John Rice	Joseph (unclear)
Elisha Sigelout	Stephen (unclear)	Ben (unclear)
Joseph (unclear)	Asa (unclear)	Charles (unclear)
John (unclear)	Levi (unclear)	Cornelius (unclear)
Elijah Spear	John (unclear)	Jonathan (unclear)
Eschiel Davis	Joseph (unclear)	Joseph (unclear)
David (unclear)	Joshua (unclear)	Joseph (unclear)
Samuel (unclear)	Jacob (unclear)	Peter (unclear)
Samuel Goddard	Peter (unclear)	Al (unclear)
William (unclear)	Al (unclear)	Silas (unclear)
John (unclear)	Silas (unclear)	Asa (unclear)
John (unclear)	Asa (unclear)	
John (unclear)		
Bela Humphrey		
William Goddard		

eral
 amount
 Most of the
 of October

the Town
 to be consid-
 ed, we have
 been
 find with
 Roads in
 the benefit
 of the
 one Road
 that will be
 a
 in addition
 - at in
 a town
 out a Road
 in
 a direction
 will be
 a very few
 or to the
 best we shall
 of it
 - basmily
 take occa-
 sion and

give us three years at least to make
 Dr. Road in, or grant ^{such} ^{as you think proper} relief as we do
 not feel ourselves able, neither do we think
 it is necessary to open and make Dr. Road
 immediately, and as in duty bound
 will ever pray

Reading October 11th 1824-

Jan: Shedd

- | | |
|----------------------|------------------|
| Jon: A. Capron | David Kromann |
| Nath: Hathorn | John Hullett |
| Zenobiah H. Lewis | Jonathan Clark |
| William D. Wood | Chas: Kellogg |
| Timothy Litch | Isaac Sherwin |
| Manuzzah Bucke | John Brigham |
| Royal Thayer | Joseph Adams Jr. |
| David Brown | David Haggood |
| Rufus Forbush Jr. | Jacob Brigham |
| Leather Stone | John S. Hawkins |
| Shel: C. Shedd | Henry Conant |
| Silas Burdick | James Sherrill |
| William Townsend | David Haggood |
| David Burdick | Isiah H. Shinn |
| Walter Smith | Morice Badley |
| Benjamin Brown | David Hammond |
| Asa Townsend | Asa Thayer |
| William Bara | Leff Covient Jr |
| John Emerson | Stephen Capron |
| Rufus Emerson | Nathaniel Searin |
| Oliver Weston | |

- | | |
|------------------|-------------------|
| Thomas Estabrook | Oliver Holmes |
| Samuel Bailey | Jonathan Sherrill |
| Alfred Benson | John Page |
| Samuel Weston | |
| Samuel Taylor | |
| B. J. Haggood | |
| David Thayer | |



SILAS BURDOD

MAR 18 1826

NOV 18 1900

U.S.A. H. RES. M. S. VOL.

U.S.A. H. RES. M. S. VOL.

X? Fortune Burnee

Age: 18
Occupation: N/A
Residence: Grafton, MA

Description: 'Negro'
Status: free
Religion: Congregational

Rank: Private
Unit: Ward / Drury
Stationed: N/A

Fortune Burnee was born on 24 March 1757 in Grafton (MA)¹, the son of Fortune and Abigail (____) Burnee².

He was a minute man from Grafton who marched on the Alarm of 19 April 1775, in the company of Capt. Aaron Kimball in Col. Artemas Ward's regiment.³ He joined the eight month's service from Grafton on 26 April 1775, in the company of Capt. Luke Drury in Col. Jonathan Ward's regiment. He is listed on an October roll and on a 3 November 1775 'order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money'.⁴

It is undoubtedly the same man who married Phylis, negro servant of Rev. Mr. Frost of Mendon, on 31 July 1778 in Grafton.⁵ It is also undoubtedly the same man who married second to Sarah Hector, of Sutton, on 8 November 1781 in Grafton.⁶ There is no known record of children.

¹ MAVR, Grafton, Births, 29.

² Marriage of parents: MAVR, Grafton, Marriages, 178 ; his father is described as a 'negro' and his mother as an 'Indian'.

³ MASS 2:871, listed as 'Burnee'.

⁴ Ibid 2:870, listed as 'Burnea, Forten'.

⁵ MAVR, Grafton, Marriages, 178; both are listed as 'Negroes'. His name is shown as 'Fortin Burnee' in the marriage record, 'Fortin Burney' in the marriage intentions record and 'Fortune Burnee' in the Congregational Church record. Also, MAVR, Sutton, Marriages, 222; Fortune is listed as 'Fosten Burnice', both are listed as 'Negroes'.

⁶ Ibid.

X? Prince Buxton

Age: N/A

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Danvers, MA

Description: N/A¹

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Woodbridge / Galusha

Stationed: N/A

Nothing is known of the early life of Prince Buxton.

He enlisted on 29 May 1775 in the company of Lt. Daniel Galusha, in Col. (Benjamin) Ruggles Woodbridge's regiment. Capt. Eleazer Lindsey took over command of the company on 3 August 1775. On 25 October 1775, in Malden, he received an 'order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money'.²

¹ NAME.

² MASS 2:977.

X+ Cuff Chambers

Age: 37
Occupation: N/A
Residence: Andover, MA

Description: 'Negro'
Status: 'Servant'
Religion: Congregational

Rank: Private
Unit: Bridge / Furbush
Stationed: redoubt

Cuff, of African descent, was born to parents named Chambers. The date of his birth is unknown but is placed at circa 1738.¹ The place of his birth is also unknown but was undoubtedly Massachusetts. While Cuff died before the general pension act of 1818 and while his widow never claimed his pension during her lifetime, much of what we know about him is due to statements in the pension application² of his only-surviving daughter made after the death of her mother.

Nothing is known of Cuff's early life. The first record we have is of his marriage in Andover, Essex county, Massachusetts on 16 September 1762 to Bette _____, wherein both are listed as 'Negro Servants'.³ Before the war, Cuff was owned by Samuel Blanchard of Andover and took on his last name. He was known as Cuff Blanchard until the end of the war, when, obtaining the freedom promised to him by Blanchard if he served, he changed his last name to Chambers in honor of his mother.⁴

Six weeks after the outbreak of hostilities at Lexington and Concord, Cuff enlisted into the Andover company of Capt. Charles Furbush in the 27th Massachusetts regiment of Col. Ebenezer Bridge.⁵ This unit of what was called 'eight month's men' (due to the term of their enlistment) marched to Cambridge and became part of the army encircling Boston. Cuff was one of at least five men of color who served in Bridge's regiment.

No primary record exists to detail his battle service. It is certain though that elements of Bridge's regiment went on to Breed's Hill on the night of 16 June 1775 in order to build the redoubt that became the tomb of so many Americans the next day. It is also certain that a large portion of Furbush's company was on the hill during the battle of 17 June 1775. Capt. Furbush himself was severely wounded early in the action and had to be carried off the field.⁶ Based on this knowledge and on the statement by Cuff's daughter in 1849 that her father 'was in the Battle at Bunkers Hill'⁷, the presence of Cuff Blanchard at the battle is accepted as proven.

True to his promise, Samuel Blanchard set Cuff free, though no instrument of manumission has yet been found. The progression of events is best described by Cuff's daughter Elizabeth in 1849:

She also states that she has heard her late said Father say that his name was originally Chambers, but enlisted into the service by the name of Cuff Blanchard because he went by that name because his master was called Blanchard, & that all other colored servants went by the sir name of their Masters, and also that after he obtained his freedom he again went by his original name Cuff Chambers.⁸

¹ BD-M.

² USPE, Roll 509, Pension# W23810.

³ MAVR, Andover, Marriages, 357; referencing the records of the South Parish Congregational Church.

⁴ USPE, Frame 185, affidavit of granddaughter Lydia Gannon, 17 April 1849.

⁵ MASS 1:144, listed as 'Blanchard, Cuff'.

⁶ SARL, Iowa (1910):49. As a side note, it was also stated that Captain Furbush was 'murdered by a negro slave named Pomp' in Andover in February 1795.

⁷ USPE, Frame 180, affidavit of daughter Elizabeth Roberts, 22 February 1849.

⁸ Ibid.

At some point the family moved from Andover to Amherst, New Hampshire and then to Leeds, Maine.⁹ They were in Leeds by at least 1808 as is evidenced from this extract from the records of the Leeds Baptist Church:

Lords day August 7th 1808 ... Sister Elizabeth Chambers a black woman made a public declaration of her faith in our dear Saviour & love to his precious cause: to the satisfaction of the church, & was baptized¹⁰

In 1814, one of the Overseers of the Poor in Leeds contacted his counterparts in Andover to ask for support for Cuff, 'a pauper ... claiming settlement in the town of Andover'. An overseer from Andover made the trek to Maine to prove that the Cuff Chambers requesting support was indeed the same Cuff Blanchard who had lived in Andover. Proof made, and choosing not to require the family to remove to the almshouse in Andover, the overseers of Andover granted over \$100 in assistance during the three years between 1814 and 1816.¹¹

Cuff Chambers died in Leeds on 8 June 1818, at the probable age of 80, and his wife also died there nearly twenty-one years later, at the age of 94:

Cuff Chambers a black man died June 8th 1818
Betty wife of Cuff Chambers died Jan^y 26th 1839¹²

He is buried in the Dead River Cemetery in Leeds on a bluff overlooking the river. His grave, marked by a government stone, is honored by the Sons of the American Revolution.¹³ The inscription reads:

PVT. FORBUSH'S MASS. CO.
REV. WAR
JUNE 8, 1818

Cuff and Bette Chambers had at least five children¹⁴:

1. _____ b. before 19 April 1775

2. _____ b. before 19 April 1775

3. Thaddeus b. circa 1782, d. before 19 March 1849, m. Huldah Wood

children: Rhoda Benson b. 29 Oct 1804
Phillip b. 19 Mar 1806

4. Mary b. circa 1785, d. before 19 March 1849, m. _____

children: Lucy Wood b. 1 Dec 1805

5. Elizabeth b. circa 1787, d. after 19 March 1849, m. _____ Roberts

children: Lydia b. _____ m. _____ Gannon

⁹ USPE, Frame 162, affidavit of daughter Elizabeth Roberts, 19 March 1849.

¹⁰ MEHS, Collection# 1956, "Records of the Leeds [Maine] Baptist Church", Volume 1.

¹¹ USPE, Frames 175-176, affidavit of William Johnson Jr. of Andover, 5 March 1849.

¹² MEHS, Vital Records of Leeds [ME].

¹³ MESA, Lot 84/Plot 1 per Revolutionary War Graves Registration card. Gravestone observed by this compiler and photographed by my daughter Sarah Quintal, March 2000.

¹⁴ Data on children Thaddeus and Mary from: Albert S. Bryant, "Leeds, Maine, Genealogy", Box 1/Folder 2 (MEHS: Collection# 232).

Data on child Elizabeth, and deaths of Thaddeus and Mary, from U.S. Pension. At the time of Elizabeth's 19 March 1849 pension application on her father's service, she was the only surviving child. She also stated that 'several' children were born prior to the Revolution - their names are unknown.

X? John Chowen

Age: N/A

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Lancaster, MA

Description: 'mulatto'

Status: free¹

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Whitcomb /Hastings

Stationed: N/A

Nothing is known of the early life of John Chowen.

He was a minute man from Lancaster who marched on the Alarm of 19 April 1775, in the company of Capt. Benjamin Houghton in Col. John Whetcomb's regiment. He joined the eight month's service from Lancaster on 26 April 1775, in the company of Capt. Benjamin Hastings in Col. Asa Whitcomb's regiment. He is also listed on the 1 August roll, on an August receipt for wages and on a 6 October 1775 roll 'dated Camp at Prospect Hill'.² Shortly after he deserted. A newspaper printed a wanted description³:

Deserted from Prospect Hill, late of Bolton, in the county of Worcester, ... John Chewen, of Capt. Hill's company, in Col. Phinney's regiment, in the new establishment, but of Capt. Hasting's company, in Col. Whitcomb's regiment, in the old ... John Chewen is a molatto, but calls himself Indian, about 5 feet 5 inches high, had on a dark coloured-coat, and a pair of breeches something lighter; has a wife at Holden, a proper Indian squaw; he loves a good deal of rum ...

In 1776 he served at Hull (MA), probably as a coastal observer, in the company of Capt. William Warner in Col. Josiah Whitney's regiment.⁴

In 1777 he was a member of the militia from Bolton, in Capt. Jonathan Houghton's company in Col. Josiah Whitney's regiment. From this unit he transferred into the Continental Army for three years, in the company of Capt. Moses Brewer in Col. Samuel Brewer's regiment.⁵

He was married, as is stated above, to an Indian woman whose name is unknown.

¹ MMAN.

² MASS 3:433, listed as 'Chowen'.

³ EGAZ 4 January 1776, page 4 [see copy]; see also LANR 107 and BOLR 17.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

9th. The Emile Farm, will keep 6 cows, 2 oxen, and 10 sheep, has on it a small dwelling house, and a barn 30 by 32 feet.

10th. The Neck Farm (so called) cuts about 20 tons of meadow hay, but little English hay at present, is very good land for raising of corn and grain, and has on it a barn 46 by 32 feet, and a double house, but not finished.

11th. The Great Dog-Cove farm, being newly worked on, it cuts but little English hay, but to excellent land for raising of corn & grain, about 300 bushels was raised upon it this present year, and it is likely that more than that quantity may be raised on it the ensuing year; 20 acres are already sowed with grain, has on it a double house not finished, and a barn, 46 by 32 feet, finished.

12th. The Scatter-Harbour Farm, well known from its fine situation for a trader and a tavern, the particulars of which it would here be unnecessary to recite, only thus far, that it lies on the upper part of Winnepiscasset Lake, on the most direct line of communication between the towns near Cohasset on Connecticut-river to Portsmouth, having from thence to the lower part of the pond; viz. Lieut. Charles Rogers, near 20 miles water carriage, for transporting wheat, flour, pot-ash, &c. to Portsmouth; there has been but a little English hay cut on it yet, but has on it a large dwelling house, and a barn, 45 by 32 feet.

Also to be let by said MOULTON, several Farms lying in the town of ~~_____~~ which adjoins said Moultonborough, on the same terms and encouragement which the others will be let.

On encouragement he thinks it will not be amiss here to mention, that he proposes to give to each one that will move on next spring, and carry on said farms in a good husband-like manner, which is, that every one may have the liberty of plowing and planting four acres of corn, or potatoes, on ground already cleared, for the first two years, and have the whole of the produce free of rent; also sufficient of suitable clear ground for raising one hundred weight of flax, and the liberty of raising what turnips, and other sauce they please, besides pasturing for 2 cows, 6 sheep, and 6 lambs, all free of rent the said two first years.

At said Moultonborough has now become so far settled, several more tradesmen are much wanted there, viz. four Joiners, two Coopers, two Shoemakers, two Masons, two Housewrights, two Taylors, one Blacksmith, and a Millwright, that understand bolting of flour, a Baker, a Clothier, and a Potter—each of them may have good encouragement, by having full employ, and as good pay as they can have in the lower towns; and those who may incline to make them farms, may have good land of said Moulton at a reasonable price, and have the liberty of paying for the same in work, at their respective trades in the course of two years, besides which, said MOULTON will give to each of them the liberty of planting four acres of corn or potatoes, raising of turnips, flax and keeping of cows, &c. as beforementioned, free of rent.

Several more tradesmen are wanted in Tamworth also, to whom the same encouragement will be given as above.

Said MOULTON, with others, greatly deprecate the dismal situation to which not only America, but the Nation in general is reduced, and heartily sympathizes with all such of his American brethren, who, by the cruel hand of tyranny, have been deprived not only of their business, but their property, and in a measure their domestick comforts and endearments—many of which is the honest labourer and tradesman, now destitute of employ, if any such should apply, they will be particularly noticed.

Wheat, corn, beef, pork, potatoes, &c. are to be purchased in them towns as cheap as in the lower towns, so that whoever may move up next spring, need not to be at the expence of moving those articles. Also English hay may be had there to do their spring's work.

ALL Persons who have any demands on the estate of Francis Johnson, late of Boston, deceased, are desired to bring in their accounts, that they may be settled; and all persons indebted to said estate are desired to settle the same with Mary Johnson, Administratrix to said estate, now residing in Middleton, in Connecticut.

Strayed or stolen from the subscriber, on the 15th or 16th inst. a black Horse, about 14 hands high, with a mark in his forehead, somewhat like a brand; one of his shoes is broke off about half way from the heel. Whoever will take up said horse, and convey him to the subscriber at Marblehead, shall be handsomely rewarded, and all charges paid by Marblehead, Dec. 21, 1775. RUSSELL TREVETT.

LOST on the road between Byfield and Newbury-Port, on Friday, the week before last, a pair of SADDLE BAGS, almost new, very large, with a linen lining. Whoever has found the same, and will send them to Col. Joseph Germaine of Byfield, or to the Printers hereof, shall be entitled to one NATH. PEIRCE.

county of Plymouth, in the province of the Massachusetts Bay, departed this life the 22d of Dec. 1775; and the said Hubbard made his will and will on the 7th of May, 1760. This is therefore to notify all the credencees to said will to advertise themselves in the Cambridge news-paper, or make themselves known to Major Aaron Hubbard, of Abington, executor of said will.

STOLEN or strayed from the subscriber, at Davis's shed in Watertown, on the evening of the 26th instant, a young sorrel Horse, coming four, with a white spot in his forehead, between 14 and 15 hands high, new shod and frosted, saddle and bridle almost new, the saddle has a light cloth hanging. Whoever will take up said Horse, and bring him to Richard Devens, Esq; at Watertown, or to the subscriber at Cambridge, shall have two dollars reward, and necessary charges paid by SAMUEL THACHER. Cambridge, Dec. 27, 1775.

ENGLISH GOODS.
MARTIN RICKER has just received from New-York and Philadelphia, a fresh supply of English Goods, which are now selling off at his store in Cambridge. Amongst his assortment are the following articles, viz.-----Superfine, middling and low-priced blue and other coloured broad-cloths; coatings; baize; duffels; a compleat parcel of fine yerd-wide and 7/8 Irish linnen; Manchester cotton checks; black fattins; silk mitts and gloves; a variety of silk handkerchiefs; linnen-ditto; black, green and cloth-coloured calamancoes; striped and plain cambletens; camblets; a good assortment of hosiery; lawns and cambricks; spotted and plain velvins; shallons; tammies; sewing silk; wiff; buckram; &c. &c. &c.
 * Those that intend to purchase, must speedily apply, otherwise they will be disappointed.

ALL Persons indebted to, or that have any demands on the estate of Capt. William Tarring, late of Manchester, deceased, are hereby desired to settle the same with Abigail Tarring, administratrix of said estate. Manchester, Dec. 15, 1775.

Deserted from Prospect-Hill, late of Bolton, in the county of Worcester, James Bridges, and John Chwen, of Capt. Hill's company, in Col. Phinney's regiment, in the new establishment, but of Capt. Hastings's company, in Col. Whitecomb's regiment, in the old. James Bridges is an old countryman, about 5 feet 8 inches high, marked considerable in the face with the small-pox, says he was a private in the Somerset man of war, and deserted from Boston in March, has a large head of hair, almost black, and very long, which is commonly cued with a black ribbon; had on when he went away, an old blue turtout, cloth-coloured coat and jacket; 'tis supposed he carried with him a pair of leather breeches, two shirts, tow and linnen, two pair of yarn stockings, and two pair of new shoes. John Chwen is a molatto, but calls himself Indian, about 5 feet 9 inches high, had on a dark coloured coat, and a pair of breeches something lighter; has a wife at Halden, a proper Indian squaw; he loves a good deal of rum. It is to be hoped every lover of his country will use his utmost endeavours to apprehend said deserters, and send them forthwith to Camp, or confine them in any of the continental goals, and give information thereof to the subscriber, for which they shall receive one dollar reward for each, and necessary charges paid by JEREMIAH HILL, Capt.

To be LET, By JONATHAN MOULTON, Of Hampton, in the colony of New-Hampshire, A compleat Farm, situate in Hampton-Falls, laying upon the road leading from Hampton-Falls old meeting-house to Exeter, containing about one hundred and eighty acres, including twenty of Salt Marsh—perhaps one of the best farms for yearly income, of any one of that bigness within twenty miles; well proportioned for planting, mowing, and pasturing; has on it a large dwelling house, two barns, and two orchards. WHOEVER may incline to hire or take said farm on shares, are desired to apply soon, as it may be more convenient for moving this time of the year than in the Spring, as there is at this time on the place, hay sufficient to keep the number of forty cows the season out. Any person, who wants to put out their cows, or young cattle, may depend on having good care taken of them the winter season throughout, at a reasonable price.

BROKE in to the inclosure of Mrs. Coolidge in Watertown, on the night after the 4th inst. a yoke of OXEN; one of them brown, and the other red; which oxen she has kept greatly to her damage. The owner may depend on their being disposed of without further trouble. Dec. 18, 1775.

some trimmings, cambricks plain, figured, few pieces of figured lawns in patterns for ed bordered lawn handkerchiefs, yellow skeleton, cramo, &c. &c. an assortment of boys' beaver hats, with gold, gold & silver tinsel bands, tops and buckles; a large assortment of double and silver plated; spangled bread basket; ment of cutlery ware, among which are white and green ivory handle knives, match; also silver-handle fruit knives, and other looking glasses; with great too numerous to particularize.

To be sold, a Stage Waggon gears for two horses. The waggon is hung on springs, and very convenient for travel together, or for the conveyance of and has curtains to tie down at the side BACKHOUSE, at the house known by vern, in Cambridge.

Taken up, about a month Mare, about 15 hands high, 14 years both trot and paces, some white spots the saddle. The owner may have her the subscriber at Menotomy, and paying Cambridge, Dec. 21, 1775.

LOST, a red leather Po taining one \$ dollar bill, one 5 dollar account against Joseph Whittemore, Cook. Whoever will bring the police to me the subscriber, near Menotomy Pointers hereof, shall have a reward of asked. EPHRAIM COO

STOLEN from Mr. Co Menotomy, on the 6th inst. a stone-gr brittle, about 5 or 6 years old, 13 and dung, turns out his bum gut uncom secure the thief, horse, saddle, &c. shall and for the horse, saddle and bridle on all necessary charges paid by Cambridge, Dec. 21, 1775.

Jamaica Rum, Sugar, ar to be sold cheap. Apply to the red the Tavern in Cambridge.

STOLEN from me the tuesday evening, the 16th inst. a brown hands high, paces and trots, a small one hind foot white, his right hind foever will take up said horse, and convey Attleborough, shall be handsomely charges paid by LEVI M.

STOLEN, on Monday the dog of Mr. Voss, innholder in M mane and tail, about 8 years old, dark forehead, carries a high dock, with be 13 bands and half high, had on a redi poor bridle. Whoever takes up said reward upon conveying her to my dwel all necessary charges paid by N B. Two old shirts and an old the saddle with 2 garters. Car

Taken up in Menotomy middling sized black Horse, about 13 feet of white under the saddle, one one or both of his hind legs appear common, both trot and paces, but ch ever has to find said horse, by applying Menotomy, that he will receive a pair Cambridge, Dec. 28, 1775.

TAKEN up near Fort infant, a dark brown Horse, with a his two hind feet white, short mane high, had on a saddle and bridle, a Timothy Flagg, in Captain Just's Paterson's regiment.

X? Simon Choychoy {Chawchoy/Joyjoy}

Age: 21

Occupation: N/A

Residence: New London, CT

Description: 'Mohegan'

Status: free

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Putnam / Durkee

Stationed: rail fence

Simon Choychoy was born circa 1754, the son of Simon & Sarah (____) Choychoy and early resided in New London, Connecticut.¹

He enlisted on 10 May 1775 in the company of Capt. John Durkee, in Col. Israel Putnam's regiment. This company marched from Norwich CT to Cambridge shortly after the Lexington Alarm and was engaged in the Battle of Bunker Hill, stationed at the rail fence. He was listed as sick for 4 days and was discharged on 31 December 1775.²

There is no record of 1776 service.

He again served in Col. Seth Warner's regiment from 7 February 1777 to 1781, enlisting from New London, and is also listed as serving in Capt. Stephen Billing's company from 1 January 1781 to 31 December 1781. His final service was in 1783, nature unknown.³

¹ MOHE, 1.

² CTSS, 54.

³ MOHE, 1.

X? London Citizen

Age: N/A

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Andover, MA

Description: N/A¹

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Bridge / Furbush

Stationed: redoubt

Nothing is known of the early life of London Citizen.

He joined the eight month's service on 27 May 1775 in the company of Capt. Charles Furbush, in Col. Ebenezer Bridge's regiment.² On 30 June 1775 he was in Cambridge, as is evidenced by a receipt for advanced pay.³ The last record of service for him is an 'order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money dated Cambridge, Nov. 21, 1775'.⁴

¹ NAME.

² MASS 3:467, listed as 'Cittizen'.

³ Ibid 3:466, listed as 'Citizen'.

⁴ Ibid 14:267, listed as 'Sitson'

X+ Sampson Coburn

Age: N/A

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Cape Ann, MA

Description: 'colored'¹

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Corporal

Unit: Prescott / O. Parker

Stationed: redoubt

Nothing is known of the early life of Sampson Coburn. A town history describes him as 'colored'.² By reaching the rank of Corporal (and if we accept the assertion that he was indeed a man of color), he was the highest ranking soldier in this study.

He joined the eight month's service from Cape Ann on 20 May 1775, as a Corporal, in the company of Capt. Oliver Parker, in Col. William Prescott's regiment.³ This company served in the Battle of Bunker Hill in the redoubt, after which command fell to Lt. Nathaniel Sartwell. On 18 June 1775, one day after the Battle, he was listed on an order 'for cartridge boxes dated Camp at Cambridge'.⁴ This is a strong sign of participation in the Battle. On 22 June 1775, he served on the main guard under Lt. Col. Loammi Baldwin.⁵ He is also listed on the 1 August 1775 roll⁶ and was recorded as 'absent' on the October 1775 roll of the company under Capt. Ephraim Corey⁷. On 31 October 1775 his name was on an 'order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money dated Camp at Cambridge'.⁸

On 2 January 1776, he was on a list of men 'who delivered firelocks'.⁹ He was one of a group of men who agreed to enlist to serve until 1 April 1776.¹⁰

¹ There was 'Samson Coburn' b. 19 July 1745, the son of Ezra and Thankful Richardson, 'a Revolutionary soldier in 1776' recorded in *Genealogy of the Descendants of Edward Colburn* (1913), 44. This man does not seem to be a man of color - some intensive checking could not produce a definitive answer on whether there were two men by the same name or on whether one or both is truly a man of color.

² DRAC, 339.

³ MASS 3:736; listed as 'Colbourn, Samson'.

⁴ Ibid 3:685, listed as 'Cobbron, Samson'.

⁵ Ibid 3:693; listed as 'Coburn, Samson'.

⁶ Ibid 3:736.

⁷ Ibid 3:743; listed as 'Colburn, Samson'.

⁸ Ibid 3:693.

⁹ Ibid 3:687, listed as 'Cobourn, Sampson'.

¹⁰ Ibid 3:694; listed as 'Coburn, Samson'.

X+ Smith Coburn

Age: 35

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Dracut, MA

Description: 'Negro'

Status: servant

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Prescott / O. Parker

Stationed: redoubt

Smith Coburn was born circa 1740.¹ He was the servant of Mr. Robert Coburn of Dracut.²

He joined the eight month's service on 6 May 1775 in the company of Capt. Oliver Parker, in Col. William Prescott's regiment.³ This company served in the Battle of Bunker Hill in the redoubt. On 18 June 1775, one day after the Battle, he was listed on an order 'for cartridge boxes dated Camp at Cambridge'.⁴ This is a strong sign of participation in the Battle. He was also recorded as 'sick and absent' on the October 1775 roll of the company under Capt. Ephraim Corey.⁵ On 3 January 1776, he was on a list of men 'who delivered firelocks'.⁶

The 1790 census of Dracut lists him as head in a household of four free people of color.⁷

He married Peg Connor, 'Servant of Mrs. Deborah Coburn', on 10 July 1766 in Dracut.⁸ 'They lived on the Fowler Road, a few rods from the highway leading to Nashua, where the cellar may be seen'.⁹

¹ BD-M.

² DRAC, 338.

³ MASS 3:736, listed as 'Colbourn'. After the Battle of Bunker Hill, Capt. Parker left the service and command of the company fell to Lt. Nathaniel Sartwell. Capt. Ephraim Corey took command by October.

⁴ Ibid 3:695, listed as 'Coburn'.

⁵ Ibid 3:744, listed as 'Colbourn'.

⁶ Ibid 3:687, listed as 'Cobourn'.

⁷ USCE, 1790, Massachusetts, Dracut, 140.

⁸ MAVR, Dracut, Marriages, 161, under "Negroes, Etc.".

⁹ DRAC, 338.

X+ Titus Coburn ★

Age: 30

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Shirley, MA

Description: N/A¹

Status: free (Minute Man)

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Prescott / O. Parker

Stationed: redoubt

Titus Coburn was born circa 1745.²

On the Lexington Alarm he marched from Shirley (MA), in Capt. Henry Haskell's minute man company in Col. James Prescott's regiment. He joined the eight month's service on 6 May 1775 in the company of Capt. Oliver Parker, in Col. William Prescott's regiment.³ This company served in the Battle of Bunker Hill in the redoubt. On 18 June 1775, one day after the Battle, he was listed on an order 'for cartridge boxes dated Camp at Cambridge'.⁴ This is a strong sign of participation in the Battle. He served on the main guard under Lt. Col. Loammi Baldwin on 22 June 1775.⁵ On the 1 August 1775 muster roll he was serving under Lt. Nathaniel Sartwell.⁶ He was also recorded on the 7 October 1775 roll of the company under Capt. Ephraim Corey. On 31 October 1775, his name appeared on an 'order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money dated Camp at Cambridge'.⁷

On 17 December 1776 he marched 'to reinforce army in the Jerseys under Gen. Washington', in Capt. Fortunatus Eager's company in Col. Josiah Whitney's regiment. His unit returned on 27 March 1777.⁸

He had just enlisted in Capt. Samuel Hill's militia company when, with Gen. Burgoyne preparing to advance on northern New York, the call once again went out for soldiers to meet this serious threat. He enlisted on 14 April 1777 for three years in the Continental Army, in Capt. Joshua Brown's company in Col. Timothy Bigelow's 15th Massachusetts regiment. This unit served at Saratoga, being stationed at Van Schaick's Island just before the battles. the 15th then spent the winter at Valley Forge. Titus Coburn died there on 14 April 1778, most probably of smallpox.⁹

He filed, at Harvard (MA) on 12 November 1771, intentions to marry Peggy Whittemore. At the time his residence was listed as Camden (NH).¹⁰

¹ NAME.

² BD-M.

³ MASS 3:744, listed as 'Colburn'. After the Battle of Bunker Hill, Capt. Parker left the service and command of the company fell to Lt. Nathaniel Sartwell. Capt. Ephraim Corey took command by October.

⁴ Ibid 3:736, listed as 'Colbrn'.

⁵ Ibid 3:687; listed as 'Coborn'.

⁶ Ibid 3:736.

⁷ Ibid 3:744.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid 3:695; listed as 'Coburn'.

¹⁰ MAVR, Harvard, Marriages, 148.

+X Isaac Comecho

Age: 29

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Dedham, MA

Description: Indian

Status: free

Religion: Congregational

Rank: Private

Unit: Heath / Ellis

Entered: N/A

Isaac Comecho¹ was baptized on 27 October 1745 in Natick, Massachusetts, the son of Hezekiah and Elizabeth (George) Comecho².

It is undoubtedly the same Isaac who marched from Dedham on the Lexington alarm in the company of Capt. William Ellis, in Col. William Heath's regiment.³ He joined the eight month's service on 4 May 1775 in the company of Capt. Joseph Guild, in the 36th (Heath's former) regiment. This company served at Roxbury during the Battle of Bunker Hill. On the 5 October 1775 roll, he was serving at Fort No. 2.⁴

¹ LOVE, 95 states that this name was originally Sokomecho.

² MAVR, Natick, Births, 28; referencing a Congregational Church record. See MAVR, Natick, Marriages, 130 for the marriage of his parents.

³ MASS 3:857, listed as 'Comecher'. COBU 57 lists Isaac as present at Battle Road.

⁴ MASS 3:851, listed as 'Comachau'.

X? Samuel Comecho ★

Age: N/A

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Sherborn, MA

Description: Indian¹

Status: free

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Brewer / Bullard

Stationed: diagonal

Samuel Comecho² was born in Natick (MA)³.

He joined the eight month's service on 24 May 1775 in the company of Capt. Benjamin Bullard, in Col. Jonathan Brewer's regiment.⁴ This company served in the Battle of Bunker Hill on the diagonal between the redoubt and the rail fence. He was also recorded on the October 1775 roll of the company, dated Prospect Hill.⁵

On 1 January 1776, he enlisted into the company of Capt. William Hudson Ballard, in Col. Asa Whitcomb's regiment, to reinforce the Army in Canada. The 27 November 1776 roll, dated Camp at Ticonderoga, reported that he 'died March 14, 1776'⁶, most likely of smallpox.

¹ In all the MAVR of southeastern Middlesex County and Norfolk County in which the name Comecho (or variations) is listed, the designation of the name is given as 'Indian'.

² LOVE, 95 states that this name was originally Sokomecho.

³ MAVR, Natick, Births. Three males by the name of Samuel were born in Natick during the time period.

⁴ MASS 3:863, listed as 'Commechew'.

⁵ Ibid 3:857, listed as 'Comechew'.

⁶ Ibid 3:863. The exact position of this regiment in March is currently unknown, but reinforcements were headed to the Northern Army all through that winter. It is very plausible that this unit had indeed made it to Ticonderoga by March. Smallpox was then rampant in the American Army and it is of the highest probability that any man who died at Ticonderoga at that time had the disease.

X* Porter Cuddy

Age: N/A

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Sudbury, MA

Description: 'negro'

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Brewer / Haynes

Stationed: N/A

There is no known record of Porter Cuddy's birth.

He enlisted from Sudbury, Massachusetts on 31 May 1775 into the company commanded by Capt. Aaron Haynes, in Col. Jonathan Brewer's regiment. On the roll he is listed as a 'negro'. He had 62 days continuous service to 1 August 1775 when a new roll was taken. He is also listed on a company return dated Prospect Hill (in what is now Somerville, Massachusetts and where a fort had been built by the Patriots) on 6 October 1775. An order for a bounty coat was dated 'Cambridge' on 25 October 1775. The key document is a 10 June 1776 order issued 'for money allowed for loss of a coat at battle of Bunker Hill'.¹

On 18 June 1776, three months and a day after the British evacuation of Boston, he enlisted for a short second term in Col. Thomas Marshall's Plymouth County regiment, in Capt. Andrew Haskell's company. He served one month and thirteen days until 1 August 1776. This tour took him to Hull, Massachusetts, probably as a coastal observer.²

¹ MASS 4:199; listed as 'Cuddy'.

² Ibid; listed as 'Cuddey'.

X? Robin {Robert} Currier

Age: N/A

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Amesbury, MA

Description: 'negro'

Status: slave

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Frye / Currier

Stationed: redoubt

Robert was the 'negro' slave of Eliphalet Currier of Amesbury (MA)¹.

Enlistment papers (probably dated May 1775) place him in Capt. John Currier's company in Col. James Frye's regiment.² It is probably the same man, listed as 'Robin Currier', who marched from Salisbury (MA) on the Lexington Alarm, in Capt. Henry Morrill's company in Col. Caleb Cushing's regiment.³ It is also probably the same man, also named 'Robin Currier', who was listed on a receipt for pouches dated Cambridge on 19 June 1775, on a 1 July 1775 receipt for advance pay and on an October 1775 company return, all in Capt. Currier's company.⁴ Another man by the same name is also listed on the 6 October 1775 roll of Capt. Jonathan Evans' company, in Col. James Frye's company.⁵ It would seem that he transferred from Capt. Currier's to Capt. Evans' company in early October. Two orders for 'bounty coat or its equivalent in money' also exist: one, on 13 November 1775, for 'Robert Curer' in Capt. Evans' company⁶; the other, on 16 November 1775, for 'Robin Kier' in Capt. Currier's company⁷.

Once again it is probably the same man who enlisted on 17 June 1776, in Capt. William Hudson Ballard's company in Col. Asa Whitcomb's regiment, for reinforcement of the Northern Army. His name still appears on a 27 November 1776 'muster roll dated Camp at Ticonderoga' under Capt. Ballard though he re-enlisted in Capt. John Drew's company in Col. Thomas Poor's New Hampshire regiment on 13 November 1776.⁸

¹ AMES, 255.

² Ibid, 254; listed as 'Robert negro man – servant to Eliphalet Currier'.

³ MASS 4:243; second instance of 'Robin Currier'.

⁴ Ibid; first instance of 'Robin Currier'.

⁵ Ibid; second instance.

⁶ Ibid 4:235; referring to same man as in second instance.

⁷ Ibid 9:176; referring to same man as in first instance.

⁸ Ibid 4:243; third instance of 'Robin Currier'.

X? Joseph Demas

Age: 16

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Amesbury, MA

Description: 'negro'

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Little / Barnard

Stationed: N/A

Joseph Demas was born circa 1759.¹

He joined the eight month's service from Newbury on 1 June 1775, in the company of Capt. Timothy Barnard in Col. Moses Little's regiment. On a 9 October 1775 roll in which he is described as²:

age: 16

There is no record of 1776 service.

With Gen. Burgoyne preparing to advance on northern New York, the call once again went out for soldiers to meet this serious threat. Demas enlisted in the Continental Army on 1 February 1777 for a three-year term in the company of Capt. James Varnum, in Col. Michael Jackson's 8th Massachusetts regiment.³ This unit fought valiantly at both Battles of Saratoga, suffered through winter quarters at Valley Forge and then fought at Monmouth in June 1778.

Continental pay accounts name him from 1 January 1780 until 3 April 1780, at which time he deserted. A list of deserters dated 25 January 1781 describes him as follows⁴:

age: 27
stature: 5 ft. 8 in.
complexion: negro
hair: black
residence: Amesbury
enlisted: during war

¹ BD-R.

² MASS 4:659, listed as 'Demas'.

³ Ibid 4:670, listed as 'Demus'; a 28 February 1778 list shows him as a resident of Salisbury (MA) - see MASS 4:659.

⁴ Ibid 4:670. A controversy developed in 1780 concerning length of service. Large numbers of Continental soldiers had signed up for 'three years or during the war'. Most soldiers interpreted this to mean the former; most officers interpreted this to mean the latter. Many 'desertions' resulted.

X? Scipio Dodge {Lee}

Age: 34

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Wenham, MA

Description: 'negro'

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Gerrish / Dodge

Stationed: N/A

Scipio (sometimes called Dodge and sometimes Lee) was born circa 1741.¹

He joined the eight month's service on 1 May 1775 in the company of Capt. Richard Dodge, in Col. Samuel Gerrish's regiment. On 11 August 1775, he was reported sick and absent, a possible sign that he may have been wounded. He was also recorded on the October 1775 roll of the company, dated Chelsea. From January to June 1776, he served with his old Captain's company in Col. Loammi Baldwin's regiment. During his military service he was also known as 'Sipps Lee'.²

It is very likely that the 'Scipio' who died April 1811 of dropsy in Wenham at age about 70, a 'pauper', is the same man.³

¹ BD-D.

² MASS 4:837.

³ MAVR, Wenham, Deaths, 227; listed under 'NEGROES'.

X+ Thomas Dority {Dorothy}

Age: N/A

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Natick, MA

Description: 'negro'

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Ward / Mellen

Stationed: N/A

Thomas Dority 'lived on the land of Dea. Samuel Fiske'.¹ Temple describes him a 'negro'.²

He joined the eight month's service on 30 April 1775 in the company of Capt. James Mellen, in Col. Jonathan Ward's regiment.³ On 18 June 1775, one day after the Battle, he was listed on an order 'for cartridge boxes dated, Camp at Cambridge'.⁴ This is a strong sign of participation in the Battle. He was also recorded on the October 1775 roll of the company.⁵

There is no record of 1776 service.

On 16 August 1777, he enlisted in Capt. Joseph Winch's company, in Col. Samuel Bullard's regiment of militia. This unit served in the Saratoga campaign. He was discharged on 7 October 1777, the date of the 2nd Battle of Saratoga.⁶

'After the war he traveled about the country with a violin strapped upon his back; and at musters and trainings, when well filled with cider, which was then a "legal" beverage, made much sport for the assembled multitude. The writer has heard two venerable persons of 80 years of age, relate a few years ago, with much gusto, the sport they had in smashing poor Tom's fiddle by pelting it with apples'.⁷

The 1790 census of Natick lists him as head in a household of two free people of color.⁸

¹ NA75.

² FRAM, 307.

³ MASS 4:887, listed as 'Dorothy'.

⁴ Ibid 4:884, listed as 'Dorothy'.

⁵ Ibid 4:886, listed as 'Dorrity'.

⁶ Ibid 4:881, listed as 'Dority'

⁷ NA75.

⁸ USCE, 1790, Massachusetts, Natick, 149.

X+ Abel Ephraim ★

Age: N/A

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Hopkinton, MA

Description: Indian¹

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Ward /Mellen

Stationed: N/A

Nothing is known of the early life of Abel Ephraim.

Enlisting from Hopkinton (MA), he joined the eight month's service on 27 April 1775 in the company of Capt. James Mellen, in Col. Jonathan Ward's regiment. On 18 June 1775, one day after the Battle of Bunker Hill, he was listed on an order 'for cartridge boxes dated Camp at Cambridge'.² This is a strong sign of participation in the Battle. He was also recorded on the October 1775 roll of the company.³

There is no record of 1776 service.

He joined the Continental Army on 1 January 1777, enlisting from Dedham (MA), in the company of Capt. Nahum Ward, in Col. James Wesson's regiment.⁴ This regiment suffered casualties at Saratoga and was at Valley Forge. His Captain died in March 1778⁵ and Lt. William Watson took over command. Abel Ephraim himself died in the service on 20 June 1778, just eight days before the Battle of Monmouth.⁶

A soldier named Abel 'Eperiam', possibly his son, enlisted from Dedham in 1780.⁷

¹ See MAVR, Natick, Deaths. All twenty persons with the surname of Ephraim are listed as 'Indian'.

² MASS 5:384, listed as 'Ephraim'.

³ Ibid, listed as 'Epraam'.

⁴ Ibid, listed as 'Ephraham'.

⁵ HEIT, 568.

⁶ MASS 5:384, under "Ephraham".

⁷ Ibid 5:383.

X? Ebenezer Ephraim ★

Age: 27

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Worcester, MA

Description: Indian

Status: N/A

Religion: Congregational

Rank: Private

Unit: Ward / Hubbard

Stationed: N/A

Ebenezer Ephraim was baptized in Natick (MA) on 26 July 1747, the son of Peter and (probably) Hannah (Weebucks) Ephraim.¹

Enlisting from Worcester (MA), he joined the eight month's service on 1 May 1775 in the company of Capt. Jonas Hubbard, in Col. Jonathan Ward's regiment. He was also recorded on the October 1775 roll of the company.²

There is no record of 1776 service.

He enlisted in the Continental Army on 1 January 1777, again from Worcester, in the company of Capt. Simon Learned, in Col. William Shepard's 4th regiment. The record states 'reported deceased, never joined' and 'died Jan. 4 [year not given]'. This would indicate that he died in service on 4 January 1777.³

¹ MAVR, Natick, Births, 37; referencing a Congregational Church record. Ebenezer's father Peter is described as an 'Indian' in several of the birth records.

² MASS 5:384.

³ Ibid 5:385.

*X Prince Estabrook

Age: 35
Occupation: farmer
Residence: Lexington, MA

Description: 'negro'
Status: N/A
Religion: N/A

Rank: Private
Unit: _____ / Parker
Entered: Lexington Green

Prince Estabrook was born circa 1740.¹ He lived 'in the family of Benjamin Estabrook' of Lexington² on the Estabrook farm which stood just south of the town center on land bounded by Vine Brook on the northwest, what is now Massachusetts Avenue on the south and what is now Woburn Street on the southeast.³

With upwards of 87 other men of Capt. John Parker's Lexington militia, he stood on Lexington Green in the early dawn of 19 April 1775. There he was wounded⁴ and, as such, became the first African American to be wounded in the Revolutionary War. Joseph Estabrook, Benjamin's oldest son who had also stood on the Green, helped some of the wounded including Prince to the Estabrook home where they were treated by Dr. Joseph Fiske.⁵ Having sufficiently recovered, he was called to service on 17 June 1775 from Concord (MA) for two days at Cambridge 'by order of the Committee of Safety'.⁶ There is no known record that he joined the eight months' service.

As the American attack on Canada crumbled in early 1776, the call went out for reinforcements for the Northern Department. He responded by enlisting in Capt. Charles Miles' company, in Col. Jonathan Reed's regiment. This unit served at Ticonderoga during the time of the defeat of the American fleet on Lake Champlain under Gen. Benedict Arnold. In a 16 February 1777 pay abstract he was allowed mileage home from Ticonderoga.⁷ Two days later his name appeared on a 'company receipt for mileage and travel allowance from Ticonderoga home, dated Lexington'.⁸

On 6 November 1777 he enlisted in Capt. Simon Hunt's company in Col. Eleazer Brooks' regiment of militia. He was discharged on 3 April 1778 after serving nearly five months, his company having been 'detached from militia and stationed at Cambridge'.⁹

He entered the six months' service on 28 July 1780¹⁰ in Col. John Greaton's 3rd Massachusetts regiment, arriving at Springfield (MA) under the command of Ensign Boardman on 2 August 1780. A descriptive roll lists him as¹¹:

age:	39
stature:	5 ft. 11 in.
complexion:	negro
engaged for:	Lexington

¹ BD-R. NOTE: Alice Hinkle of Lexington (MA) has written the definitive story of his life in her book *Prince Estabrook slave and soldier*, published in 2001 by Pleasant Mountain Press and available at all Boston-area NHP bookstores. This book will be cited often in this biographical sketch, as HINK. Charlie Price of Lexington has, for more than twenty years, portrayed Prince Estabrook in Patriots' Day reenactments and was a contributor to Alice's book.

² LEXI 2:195.

³ HINK, 29.

⁴ CLAR, 28 states 'Prince, a Negro, of Lexington' was wounded. Clarke was Pastor of the Church in Lexington and personally witnessed the events on Lexington Green.

⁵ HINK, 29.

⁶ MASS 5:389; listed as Estabrooks'.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid 5:392; listed as 'Esterbrooks'.

⁹ Ibid 5:157; listed as 'Easterbrooks'.

¹⁰ Ibid 5:389.

¹¹ Ibid 5:157.

On 6 October 1780 he was 'On Duty' in the Colonel's company at Camp Orangetown.¹² On 25 October 1780 he had passed muster under Brig. Gen. John Paterson at Camp Totoway (NJ).¹³ On 9 November 1780 he was 'on duty'.¹⁴ He was discharged from this service on 7 April 1781, after 8 months and 21 days of service.¹⁵

On 11 June 1781 he received a bounty from Lexington for agreeing to serve in the Continental Army for a three-year term.¹⁶ The next day he was officially engaged and was listed on a descriptive roll as a 'negro' and as¹⁷:

age:	40
stature:	5 ft. 6 in.
complexion:	black
hair:	black
eyes:	black
occupation:	farmer
engaged for:	Lexington

He was listed on a 20 May 1782 as being in Capt. Joseph Williams' 1st company in Col. John Greaton's regiment.¹⁸ His name was also on the July 1782 roll.¹⁹ By August and September 1783 he was in the 1st company in Col. Michael Jackson's regiment. The final muster roll is dated 14 October 1783.²⁰

He 'returned to [Lexington] after his discharge ... resumed his work with Benjamin and did odd jobs for residents around town'.²¹ Prince's 'name also appears on several Lexington tax rolls' in the 1790's.²²

'Some time about the year 1800 Black Prince came to Ashby into [the home of Nathan Estabrook (son of Benjamin)], where he lived the remainder of his days'.²³

Prince died circa 1830, probably in Ashby, at the approximate age of 90.²⁴ He was buried in 'the common lot'²⁵ in the Old Burial Yard in Ashby. His gravesite is marked by a government stone.²⁶

Prince Estabrook was married but the name of his wife is unknown.²⁷

¹² USRW, M881, Roll 422, Frame 982.

¹³ Ibid 5:392.

¹⁴ USRW, Frame 983.

¹⁵ Ibid 5:389.

¹⁶ Ibid 5:389.

¹⁷ Ibid 5:155; listed as 'Easterbrook'.

¹⁸ USRW, Frame 978.

¹⁹ Ibid, Frame 979.

²⁰ Ibid, Frame 980.

²¹ HINK, 36.

²² HINK, 36.

²³ Sons of the American Revolution *Bulletin*, November 1930, 8; copy courtesy of Janet Umphress, Ashby Historical Society.

²⁴ Ibid. The dedication of a gravestone at his gravesite was held on 12 September 1930 according to an article in the *Fitchburg Sentinel*, copy also courtesy of Janet Umphress. Rep. Henry A. Estabrook of Fitchburg, who gave the address that day, stated that Prince was laid to rest 'a century ago'.

²⁵ Ibid, 7.

²⁶ This cemetery was personally visited on 31 March 2000 [see photo of gravestone].

²⁷ LEXP 4(1912):54.

hand of those that delight in spoil, and *lurk privily that they may shed innocent blood!*—But they bleed, they die, not in their own cause only; but in the cause of this whole people—in the cause of God, their country and posterity.—And they have not bled, they shall not bleed in vain.—Surely there is one that avengeth, and that will plead the cause of the injured and oppressed; and in his own way and time, will both *cleanse and avenge their innocent blood.*—And the names of *Munroe, Parker,* and others, that fell victims to the rage of *blood-thirsty* oppressors, on that gloomy morning, shall be had in grateful remembrance, by the people of this land, and transmitted to posterity, with honour and respect, throughout all generations.*

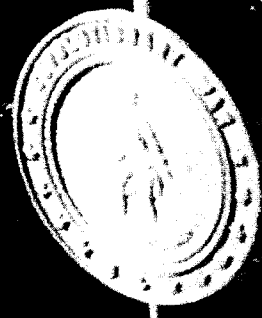
—But who shall comfort the distressed relatives,—the mourning widows, the fatherless children, the weeping parents, or the afflicted friends?—May the consolations of that God, who hath hitherto supported them, be still their support!—Upon him may they still depend, and from him and his grace may they still derive all needed supplies, in things spiritual and temporal; and yet more and more experience the faithfulness and truth, the mercy and goodness, of the God of all comfort.

May those that were wounded, and have since
experienced

* The persons killed, in the morning, when hostilities were first commenced, were, Messieurs *Robert Munro, Jonas Parker, Samuel Hadley, Jonathan Harrington, jun. Isaac Muzzy, Caleb Harrington* and *John Brown*, of Lexington; and one—*Porter*, of Woburn. Wounded, *Jedediah Munro, Thomas Winship, Nathaniel Farmer, John Robbins, Solomon Peirce, John Tidd, Joseph Comee, Ebenezer Munro, jun. and Prince, a Negro, of Lexington*, and *Jacob Bacon*, of Woburn. Afternoon. Killed. *Jedediah Munro, John Raymonds* and *Nathaniel Wyman*. Wounded, in pursuit of the enemy, when retreating, *Francis Brown*, all of Lexington.



PAINDE
BROOK
1830
1875



X? Cato Fair

Age: 40

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Natick, MA

Description: 'Negro'

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Ward /Mellen

Stationed: N/A

Cato Fair was born circa 1735.¹

He joined the eight month's service on 4 May 1775 in the company of Capt. James Mellen, in Col. Jonathan Ward's regiment.² He was also recorded on the October 1775 roll of the company.³ On 26 December 1775, he was listed in an 'order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money dated Dorchester'.⁴

The 1790 census of Natick lists him as head in a household of three free people of color.⁵

He died in Natick on 5 March 1800. Jane, his wife, died in Natick in 1820 at age 94.⁶

Cato Fair and Jane _____ had at least one child:

1. Sarah b. 8 Oct 1762 in Natick⁷, m. Charlestown Harding, a Revolutionary soldier, on 24 April 1783 in Natick⁸.

¹ BD-M, assuming marriage date of 1761 (see birth of daughter Sarah).

² MASS 5:451.

³ Ibid 5:492, listed as 'Fare'.

⁴ Ibid 5:451.

⁵ USCE, 1790, Massachusetts, Natick, 149.

⁶ MAVR, Natick, Deaths Jane is listed as 'Black', referencing a Congregational Church record.

⁷ Ibid, Births. Sarah is listed as 'Negro', referencing a Congregational Church record.

⁸ Ibid, Marriages.

?X Caesar Ferrit

Age: 55

Occupation: husbandman

Residence: Natick, MA

Description: mulatto

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Bullard / Morse

Stationed: N/A

Caesar Ferrit was born circa 1720.¹ 'He was born on one of the West India islands, and was accustomed to boast, that the blood of four nations run in his veins; for one of his Grandfathers was a Dutchman, the other a Frenchman; and one of his grandmothers an Indian, and the other an African'.² A well-researched book on Eastern Massachusetts Indians states:

He was raised in an English family in Milton and "Taught Husbandry-business," he moved to Boston, but, driven by high unemployment and the cost of living in the city, he had "a desire to dwell at Natick among his own Nation the aboriginal Natives" [and ...] purchased land there in 1751 ...³

He marched from Natick (MA) on the Lexington Alarm, in Capt. Joseph Morse's company in Col. Samuel Bullard's regiment.⁴ An 1830 town history describes the actions of Caesar and his son on that memorable day:

Caesar Ferrit and his son John arrived at a house near Lexington meeting house, but a short time before the British soldiers reached that place, on their retreat from Concord. These two discharged their muskets upon the regulars from the entry, and secreted themselves under the cellar stairs, till the enemy had passed by, though a considerable number of them entered the house and made diligent search for their annoyers.⁵

He enlisted from Natick into the eight months service on 24 April 1775, in Capt. Joseph Morse's company in Col. John Paterson's regiment, and is listed on the 1 August 1775 muster roll.⁶ An October 1775 return lists him as 'Eleazar'.⁷ On 17 November 1775, his name is listed on an 'order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money'.⁸

On 20 December 1776, he was drafted (along with his son John) into Capt. Sabin Mann's company of Medfield militia 'to reinforce Continental Army at or near New York'. For this service he was paid £15 by the Selectmen.⁹

He enlisted on 10 March 1781 into Capt. Staples Chamberlain's company in Col. Dean's regiment. The 'company marched to Rhode Island by order of His Excellency John Hancock ... on a 40 days expedition'. He was discharged on 14 March 1781, for a service of eight days (travel included).¹⁰

Caesar Ferrit died in Natick on 23 May 1799.¹¹

¹ An assumed marriage date of 1738 (see birth of daughter Lydia) would imply a 1712 birthdate, per BD-M. This, however, would have made him 63 and ineligible for the militia (maximum age 60). Therefore, his estimated birthdate has been set at 1720, a compromise which places his age of marriage as 18 and his approximate military age as 60 in early 1781 during his last tour of duty.

² NAT1, 44.

³ MAND, 159.

⁴ MASS 5:632; listed as 'Ferrit'. COBU does not list this unit as serving at Battle Road and no primary source could be found to support the presence of the company on Battle Road that day.

⁵ NAT1, 44; the author of NA75 questions this service, having 'been shown an old account where [Caesar] was paid for laying stonewall that day'.

⁶ MASS 5:632.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid 5:617; listed as 'Ferete'.

⁹ Ibid 5:626; listed as 'Ferret'.

¹⁰ Ibid 5:632; under 'Ferrit'.

¹¹ MAVR, Natick, Deaths, 216.

'He married a white New England woman, and they had several children, in whose veins, if Caesar's account of himself be true, flowed the blood of five nations'.¹² An old Natick newspaper gives the account in more detail:

[Caesar] had been coachman for a wealthy gentleman in Boston. The ward of this gentleman had fallen in love with Caesar. Another choice had been made for the lady, and the wedding day appointed, when this affection for Caesar was discovered. The alternative was given -- wealth, and a husband of her guardian's choosing, or poverty, and a black husband. The girl chose Caesar, and himself and wife took up their lot in this home for the outcast -- Natick.¹³

The Milton (MA) vital records show his wife's name as Naomi.¹⁴ Caesar and Naomi had at least seven children:

- | | | |
|--------------|--|---|
| 1. Lydia | b. 15 July 1739 in Milton | ¹⁵ |
| 2. Patience | b. 23 June 1741 in Milton ¹⁶ | int. Thomas Nichols on 17 December 1766 in Natick ¹⁷ |
| 3. David | b. 25 March 1743 in Milton ¹⁸ | |
| 4. Sarah | b. 2 December 1745 in Milton ¹⁹ | |
| 5. Thomas | bca. 1751 | m1. Lydia Fagins on 18 April 1777 in Natick ²⁰
m2. Susannah Patten on 4 November 1788 in Boston ²¹ |
| 6. John | bca. 1753 | m. Mary Graves on 6 May 1779 in Natick ²² |
| 7. Elizabeth | bca. 1756 | m. Daniel Haynes on 8 April 1782 in Natick ²³ |

¹² NAT1, 44.

¹³ NA75.

¹⁴ MAVR, Milton (MA), Births, 25.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ MAVR, Natick, Marriages, 141; he is described as 'a transient person'.

¹⁸ MAVR, Milton (MA), Births, 25.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ MAVR, Dedham, Marriages, 262.

²¹ BOSM, 459; wife listed as 'Elizabeth Patten (should be Susannah)'.

²² MAVR, Natick, Marriages, 141.

²³ Ibid.

?X John Ferrit

Age: 22

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Natick, MA

Description: mulatto

Status: free

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Bullard / Morse

Entered: Lexington (on the retreat)

John Ferrit was born circa 1753¹, the son of Caesar and Naomi (____) Ferrit. It was stated that he had the blood of five nations flowing through his veins - Caucasian, African, Indian, Dutch and French.²

He marched from Natick (MA) on the Lexington Alarm, in Capt. Joseph Morse's company in Col. Samuel Bullard's regiment.³ An 1830 town history describes the actions of John and his father Caesar on that memorable day:

Caesar Ferrit and his son John arrived at a house near Lexington meeting house, but a short time before the British soldiers reached that place, on their retreat from Concord. These two discharged their muskets upon the regulars from the entry, and secreted themselves under the cellar stairs, till the enemy had passed by, though a considerable number of them entered the house and made diligent search for their annoyers.⁴

He enlisted from Natick into the eight months service on 24 April 1775, in Capt. Joseph Morse's company in Col. John Paterson's regiment. He is listed on the 1 August 1775 muster roll, on an October 1775 return and on a 30 October 1775 'order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money'.⁵

On 20 December 1776, he was drafted (along with his father Caesar) into Capt. Sabin Mann's company of Medfield militia 'to reinforce Continental Army at or near New York'. For this service he was paid £15 by the Selectmen.⁶

On 29 September 1777 he marched on a secret expedition to Rhode Island, in Capt. Daniel Eame's company in Col. Benjamin Haws' regiment. This service lasted 1 month and 3 days.⁷

He enlisted on 10 March 1781 into Capt. Staples Chamberlain's company in Col. Dean's regiment. The 'company marched to Rhode Island by order of His Excellency John Hancock ... on a 40 days expedition'. He was discharged on 14 March 1781, for a service of eight days (travel included). On 9 April 1781 he was paid a bounty 'by a committee of the town of Natick to serve in the Continental Army'.⁸

The historian Biglow stated that John was a pensioner but this could not be independently verified.⁹

He married Mary Graves in Natick on 6 May 1779.¹⁰

¹ BD-M.

² NAT1, 44; states that John was the son of Caesar. Naomi, a white woman, was the only known wife of Caesar - as her child, John would have been born free.

³ MASS 5:632; listed as 'Ferrit'. COBU does not list this unit as serving at Battle Road and no primary source could be found to support the presence of the company on Battle Road that day.

⁴ NAT1, 44; the author of NA75 questions this service, having 'been shown an old account where [Caesar] was paid for laying stonewall that day'.

⁵ MASS 5:632.

⁶ Ibid 5:626; listed as 'Ferret'.

⁷ Ibid 5:540; listed as 'Farret'.

⁸ Ibid 5:632-3; listed as 'Ferrit'.

⁹ NAT1, 44.

¹⁰ MAVR, Natick, Marriages, 141.

+X Thomas Ferrit

Age: 24

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Dedham, MA

Description: mulatto

Status: free

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: ---- / Battle

Entered: Lexington (on the retreat)

Thomas Ferrit was born circa 1751.¹ He was undoubtedly the son of Caesar and Naomi (____) Ferrit.²

He served on the Lexington Alarm from the 4th Parish of Dedham, in Capt. Ebenezer Battle's company, for two days.³ This unit served at Battle Road.⁴

In Dedham, Thomas Ferrit published his intentions on 18 April 1777 to marry Lydia Fagins of Natick. They were married in Natick on 8 May 1777.⁵ He undoubtedly married second in Boston to Susannah Patten on 4 November 1788.⁶

¹ BD-M.

² The only known family by this name in all of New England is Caesar's family. Naomi was a white woman; as her child, Thomas would have been born free.

³ MASS 5:626.

⁴ COBU 53-4.

⁵ MAVR, Dedham, Marriages, 262.

⁶ BOSM, 459; wife listed as 'Elizabeth Patten (should be Susannah)'.

X? Pompey Fisk

Age: N/A

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Charlestown, MA

Description: 'colored'

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Prescott / O. Parker

Stationed: redoubt

Pompey Fisk was described as 'colored'.¹

He joined the eight month's service on 17 May 1775 in the company of Capt. Oliver Parker, in Col. William Prescott's regiment.² This company served in the Battle of Bunker Hill in the redoubt.

On 31 October 1775, he was in Capt. Ephraim Corey's company in receipt of an 'order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money'.³ On 1 December 1775, he reenlisted serving in Capt. James Perry's company, in Col. Paul Dudley Sargent's regiment. On 3 January 1776, he received a 'firelock'.⁴

¹ LEXI, 432.

² MASS 5:728. After the Battle of Bunker Hill, Capt. Parker left the service, with command of the company falling to Lt. Nathaniel Sartwell.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

X? Cato Freeman {Liberty}

Age: 19

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Andover, MA

Description: 'Negro'

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Frye / Farnum

Stationed: redoubt

Cato was born circa 1756.¹

He enlisted in the eight months' service from Andover in May 1775 in Capt. Benjamin Farnum's company, in Col. James Frye's regiment.² His name appears on a 26 June 1775 receipt for advance pay as Cato and that name remains on the 6 October 1775 company return 'dated Cambridge' in which he is 'reported a negro'.³ However, by the 13 November 1775 'order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money dated Cambridge' he had changed his name to Cato Liberty.⁴

There is no record of 1776 or 1777 service.

By 1778 he was in Capt. Samuel Johnson's company in the Essex county militia. From this unit he transferred into the Continental Army on 17 February 1778, enlisting from and residing in Andover. His enlistment was to expire on 1 January 1780.⁵

His name next appears as Cato Freeman on a return 'of recruits sent by State of Massachusetts as a portion of her quota of the Continental Army subsequent to Jan. 1, 1781, who were reported unfit for duty'⁶:

age:	24
stature:	5 ft. 3 in.
regiment:	9th Mass.
engaged for:	Andover
term:	3 years
reported:	a negro

¹ BD-R.

² ANDR, 173; listed as 'Cato Freeman'. No corroborating evidence has yet been found in MASS.

³ MASS 3:211; listed only as '____, Cato'.

⁴ Ibid, 784; listed as 'Libety, Cato'.

⁵ Ibid 3:211; listed again as '____, Cato'.

⁶ Ibid 6:34; listed as 'Freeman, Cato'.

X+ Caesar Frye

Age: N/A

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Andover, MA

Description: 'Negro'

Status: servant

Religion: Congregational

Rank: Waiter to Colonel

Unit: Frye / ----

Stationed: redoubt

Caesar Frye was the 'Negro servant' of Col. James Frye of Andover (MA).¹

He 'was with [Col. Frye] at Bunker Hill', probably serving as the Colonel's waiter.² There is no record of any kind listing him in the service.

The 1790 census of Andover lists him as head in a household of three free people of color.³

'He lived last down in the Moose country, ... near the Shawshin and where it is crossed by a bridge called Boise's Bridge from a negro Boise about whom I could glean no more'.⁴

Caesar Frye died 12 September 1820 at Andover.⁵

¹ ABB1, 'Frye-Gilchrist', 12.

² Ibid. Col. Frye was wounded in the Battle and died of his wounds in Andover in early 1776.

³ USCE, 1790, Massachusetts, Andover, 64.

⁴ ABB2:106-124, 422 from recollections of T. C. Frye.

⁵ MAVR, Andover, Deaths, referencing Congregational Church record.

X? Ezra Fuller

Age: 18

Occupation: farmer

Residence: New Ipswich, NH

Description: 'black'

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Reed / Towne

Stationed: east end of rail fence

Ezra Fuller was born circa 1757 at Lynn, Massachusetts.¹

He joined the eight month's service in the company of Capt. Ezra Town, in Col. James Reed's 3rd New Hampshire regiment of foot. The descriptive roll of the company lists him as follows²:

age:	18
stature:	5 ft. 8 in.
complexion:	black
eyes:	black
occupation:	farmer
birthplace:	Lynn
residence:	New Ipswich
enlisted:	April 23, 1775

On 29 June 1775 he was transferred and promoted (a possible sign of respected battle service). He became a matross in Col. Richard Gridley's artillery regiment, in Col. Edward Burbeck's company.³ He served in this company until 27 September 1775 when a man named Florence Crowley was 'reported as serving in place of Ezra Fuller, who was discharged on account of sickness'.⁴

¹ MASS 6:161.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ MASS 4:193.

*X Adam (Gardner)

Age: N/A

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Brookline, MA

Description: N/A¹

Status: 'servant'

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Heath / White

Stationed: N/A

Nothing is known of Adam's early life.

He served at Battle Road in the company of Capt. Thomas White, in Col. William Heath's regiment. On the roll he is listed as "Squire Gardner's Adam".²

He is buried in the Walnut Street Cemetery in Brookline, Massachusetts.³

¹ STAT.

² MASS 12:788; also COBU, 46.

³ Cummings, Harriet Alma. *Burials and Inscriptions in the Walnut Street Cemetery of Brookline, Massachusetts ...* (1920), 9. This cemetery was visited in August 2000 and thoroughly searched but Adam's gravesite could not be found.

X* Scipio Gray

Age: 21

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Amesbury, MA

Description: N/A¹

Status: slave

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Frye / Carrier

Stationed: redoubt

Scipio Gray was born circa 1754 and was the slave of Benjamin Barnard of Amesbury (MA)².

His name cannot be found in the official military rolls (MASS), but he served in Capt. John Currier's in Col. James Frye's regiment.³ His presence at the Battle of Bunker Hill is also certain by a return of losses transcribed in the town history⁴:

Cambridge June 17, 1775.

A Return of what was lost out of Capt. John Currier's company in
Coloⁿ Fryes Regiment on the late Battle upon Charlestown:

Sipeo Gray	...	coate	Blankit
	...		

¹ STAT.

² AMES, 255.

³ Ibid, 253; from a military roll dated circa May 1775.

⁴ Ibid, 257.

X? Cato Green

Age: 23

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Stoneham, MA

Description: 'Negro'

Status: N/A

Religion: Congregational

Rank: Private

Unit: Gerrish / Sprague

Stationed: N/A

Cato, a slave 'belonging to Dea. Green' and son of Simon, was baptized on 11 August 1751 in Stoneham (MA).¹

A Cato Green of Stoneham, undoubtedly the same man, enlisted on 30 May 1775 in the company of Capt. Samuel Sprague, in Col. Samuel Gerrish's regiment. On 13 June 1775 he, with others at the Camp at Cambridge, took an oath required by Congress. His Colonel was cashiered because of behavior at the Battle scene and Lt. Col. Loammi Baldwin took over. Green was at 'Camp at Chelsea' in August 1775 and still there on 30 December 1775 when he received an 'order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money'.²

He may have been the same Cato Green, 'free negro', who married Peggy Inches, 'free negro', at Boston on 9 April 1782.³

¹ MAVR, Stoneham, Births (under "Negroes"), 75; referencing Congregational Church record.

² MASS 6:798.

³ BOSM, 449.

X? Jack Green

Age: 33

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Reading, MA

Description: 'Negro'

Status: servant

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Gerrish / Sprague

Stationed: N/A

Jack Green was born circa 1742.¹

He enlisted on 30 May 1775 in the company of Capt. Samuel Sprague, in Col. Samuel Gerrish's regiment. On 13 June 1775 he, with others at the Camp at Cambridge, took an oath required by Congress. His Colonel was cashiered because of behavior at the Battle scene and Lt. Col. Loammi Baldwin took over. Green was at 'Camp at Chelsea' in August 1775 and was still there on 2 October.²

A Jack Green, 'servant to Capt. David Green', and undoubtedly the same man as the soldier above, filed intentions to marry in Stoneham on 12 April 1768 to Cloe, 'servant to Dea. Joseph Green'.³ No record has been found to confirm their actual marriage.

¹ BD-M.

² MASS 6:809.

³ MAVR, Stoneham, Marriages (under "Negroes").

X? Pomp Green

Age: N/A

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Stoneham, MA

Description: N/A¹

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Gerrish / Sprague

Stationed: N/A

Nothing is known of the early life of Pomp Green.

He enlisted on 30 May 1775 in the company of Capt. Samuel Sprague, in Col. Samuel Gerrish's regiment. On 13 June 1775 he, with others at the Camp at Cambridge, took an oath required by Congress. His Colonel was cashiered because of behavior at the Battle scene and Lt. Col. Loammi Baldwin took over. Green was at 'Camp at Chelsea' in August 1775 and still there on 30 December 1775 when he received an 'order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money'.²

¹ NAME.

² MASS 6:828.

X+ Asaba (Grosvenor)

Age: N/A

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Pomfret, CT

Description: 'negro'

Status: slave

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Putnam / Waterman

Stationed: rail fence

'At the Battle of Bunker Hill (actually Breed's Hill) a slave of Lieutenant Thomas Grosvenor of Pomfret fought beside his owner against the British. This action was incorporated into the painting John Trumbull made of that battle.'¹

In the 1790 Census of Pomfret, Thomas Grosvenor lists in his household one free non-white person and two slaves.²

The vital records of Pomfret mention a man named Asaba, a 'negro', who had a son James Peter who was a slave in the Grosvenor household in 1794 at which time he was freed on his 25th birthday.³ Asaba is most probably the slave who stood by his master at Bunker Hill and who was the free man of color living in the Grosvenor household in 1790.

¹ WHIT, 27. Many sources name this man as Peter Salem but there is no known linkage between the two men. AMHP, 36 states that the painting resides at the Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven (CT), in The Mabel Brady Garvan Collection: '*The Battle of Bunker's Hill*, painted in London, records an event that Trumbull had watched through field glasses while with his regiment at Roxbury.' The oil painting was memorialized in a stamp issued on by the U.S. Post Office.

² USCE, Connecticut, Pomfret, 149.

³ BARB 34:175.

X+ Blaney Grusha {Brinney Gerusha}

Age: N/A

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Framingham, MA

Description: 'Negro'

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Nixon / Drury

Stationed: diagonal

Blaney Grusha was at one time owned by Col. Micah Stone of Framingham (MA). He was 'named in the tax list of 1757'.¹ The records list him also as Blinney Gerusha, Brinney Gerusha, Brinney Grusha and Brin.

He enlisted from Framingham, Massachusetts on 4 May 1775 into the company commanded by Capt. Thomas Drury, in Col. John Nixon's 5th Massachusetts Regiment. Twelve days before the Battle of Bunker Hill he, with others in his company, signed a petition to Gen. Artemus Ward 'stating that they had enlisted to serve in Col. Nixon's regiment, but had been shifted to Col. [Thomas] Gardner's regiment, and requesting that they might be permitted to continue in Col. Nixon's regiment'. Their protest was evidently heard since we find him listed on the 1 August 1775 roll as still being in Drury's company, in Nixon's regiment.² Temple in his respected history of Framingham stated that Blaney 'was in the Battle of Bunker Hill'. Since Temple was privy to personal records that seem to no longer exist, his authority for Blaney's involvement in the battle is accepted.³

He is listed on a company return dated Winter Hill (one of a series of Patriot fortifications surrounding Boston in the area now called Somerville) on 30 September 1775. The last service record is an 'order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money', also dated Winter Hill on 23 December 1775.⁴

He died on 7 February 1820 in Framingham.⁵

¹ FRAM, 237.

² MAHS 6:370, listed as 'Gerusha, Blinney'.

³ FRAM, 238.

⁴ MASS 6:370.

⁵ MAVR, Framingham, Deaths, 435; listed as 'Negro'.

X+ Jude Hall

Age: 28
Occupation: laborer
Residence: Exeter, NH

Description: 'Negro'
Status: slave
Religion: N/A

Rank: Private
Unit: Reed / Hinds
Stationed: N/A

Jude Hall was born circa 1747¹ in Exeter (NH). 'He was a powerful man and could lift a barrel of cider and drink from the bunghole'.² It was said 'that the parts of his ribs which are usually cartilaginous were of solid bone, so that his vital organs were enclosed in a sort of osseous case'³. A newspaper article provides more details of his life⁴:

Slaves were kept, in pre-Revolution times, on the old Blake homestead where the writer was born in 1840 and the story of one slave in particular is preserved in the family traditions even after the days of the Revolution. This slave was old Jude Hall, and I remember the feeling of childish awe and wonder when the spot was shown me, in the old garden, behind the "bee-hives" where the little pickaninnies who had died were buried perhaps a hundred years before. Jude, himself, was sold by my ancestor, Philemon Blake, to a townsman, Nathaniel Healey, before the Revolution. He was not "old" Jude then and resented being sold and ran away from his new master. When the War of the Revolution broke out, he enlisted and fought on the Colonial side. After the war ended and the slaves were automatically freed, he came back to this vicinity, built a cabin in the Exeter woods, settled there and raised a family. I do not, of course, remember Jude, but I distinctly recall seeing one of his sons, who lived in or near Exeter for years. He was George Hall and I remember the impression made on my youthful mind by his enormous nose, that was so flattened out as to seem to cover half his face.

He enlisted on 10 May 1775 into Capt. Jacob Hinds company, in Col. James Reed's regiment.⁵ With his company he was at the Battle of Bunker Hill where he 'was thrown headlong by a cannon ball striking near him'⁶. On 4 October 1775 he received four dollars for a 'regimental coat'.⁷

In 1776, he was in the same unit. He never mentioned any engagements in which he served but we can assume that he was at Ticonderoga with his company and even possibly at Trenton.

In April 1777 he enlisted from Kensington, out of the 3rd NH regiment of militia⁸, into the company of Capt. Elijah Clayes in Col. Nathan Hale's 2nd NH Continental regiment. This service was for three years.⁹ His regiment suffered heavy casualties at the Battle of Hubbardton (VT), on 7 July 1777, where his Colonel was captured. It also served at both battles at Saratoga in the fall of 1777, under Col. George Reid. A 'Size Roll of Absentees' describes him as a 'Negro' from Kensington and as follows¹⁰:

complexion:	black
hair:	black
eyes:	black
left at:	Albany

His regiment also served at Valley Forge, at the Battle of Monmouth on 28 June 1778 and on

¹ BD-D.

² KENS, 201.

³ EXET, 398.

⁴ *Reminiscences of Sarah E. Cram of Hampton Falls (NH) in 2 April 1826 Exeter News-Letter*. Copy provided by Nancy Merrill, Exeter (NH) Historical Society. The offensive colloquialisms have been left in the text as is.

⁵ NHSS 14:85.

⁶ KENS, 201.

⁷ NHSS 14:199.

⁸ *Ibid*, 15:457.

⁹ *Ibid*, 14:632; his residence is listed as Amherst (NH).

¹⁰ *Ibid*, 15:444.

Sullivan's Expedition against the Iroquois in the summer of 1779. In December 1779 he reenlisted into Capt. William Rowell's company in the 2nd NH regiment of Col. George Reid, for a term 'during the war'.¹¹ He served in 1780¹² and was listed on a February 1781 return.¹³ He was discharged in 1783.¹⁴

Local tradition gives us these stories:

... in one battle [he] stood behind a tree and escaped unhurt. He said that he cut the tree down the next day and obtained a basinful of bullets.

One Sunday morning, as he found a man washing out his cider-barrels at the brook, the man, who seemed ashamed of his Sabbath-breaking, said that he looked every way to see if any one was coming, when Jude replied with his characteristic shrewdness, "Brother, did you look above?"¹⁵

He 'lived in a small house near Jude's Pond [named after him] on the old road to Exeter'.¹⁶ 'He was the chief witness of the government in the trial of John Blaisdell for the homicide of John Wadleigh'.¹⁷

The 1790 census of Exeter lists him as head in a household of five free people of color.¹⁸

A statement by Jude Hall's son-in-law gives the sad details of the enslavement of Jude's three sons¹⁹:

AFFIDAVIT OF ROBERT ROBERTS, OF BOSTON.

An account of the kidnapping of James Hall, son of Jude Hall, Exeter, New Hampshire:

JAMES HALL was born in Exeter, New Hampshire, and at the age of eighteen years, was kidnapped by a man named David Wedgewood of Exeter, but now resides at Greenland [NH]. By him (D.W.) he was taken, tied and carried to Newburyport jail, and the next morning was put on board of a vessel bound for New Orleans, and sold as a slave. The Captain of the vessel's name was Isaac Stone. The vessel belonged to Johnston & _____, of Newburyport. He was taken from his father's house at Exeter, in the absence of his father, by D.W., who said that he owed him four dollars. His mother said that he was a minor, and forbid him from taking him. Regardless to what she said, he bound and carried him to Newburyport. He was seen, not long since, at New Orleans, by George Ashton, a colored man, from Exeter; he said he was chained up in the calaboose or jail, at New Orleans, as a run-away; and, in the mean time, his master (a Frenchman from Kentucky) came, and commanded him to be punished severely, and carried him back.

His father was born at Exeter, (N.H.) and was a soldier during the old revolutionary war, under General Poor. His mother was granddaughter of Esquire Rollins, of Stratham. She is now living and will testify to all that is written here concerning her son, and more if wished.

AARON, another son of Jude Hall, in 1807, was kidnapped by some villain at Providence, Rhode Island, and has not been heard of since. At first, he went from this city to Providence, in order to get ready for sea; he went into a clothing store, and gave a due bill for a suit of sea clothes, which was twenty dollars; and, being unable to read or write, he made his cross for \$200 instead of 20. And when he returned from sea, he started from Providence to carry his money to his father, and was overtaken to Roxbury (Mass.), on his way home, and carried back, sent to sea, and has not been heard of since.

WILLIAM, a third son, went to sea in the barque Hannibal, of Newburyport. After arriving at the West Indies, was sold there as a slave; and, after remaining in slavery ten years, by some means run away, and is now in England, a captain of a collier from Newcastle to London. About three years ago, his mother heard of him, the first time for upwards of twenty years. His father was a pensioner of the United States,

¹¹ USPE, Frame 603.

¹² NHSS 16:206.

¹³ Ibid 16:227.

¹⁴ USPE, Frame 603.

¹⁵ ROCK, 360.

¹⁶ KENS, 201. The pond still exists on Drinkwater Rd. in Exeter just north of the Kensington town line. No trace of the cabin could be found.

¹⁷ EXET 398; the injured victim was brought to Jude's 'shanty' by the man who murdered him. Jude took care of the man until he died in the night. Details of the case are described in pages 405-7.

¹⁸ USCE, 1790, New Hampshire, Exeter, 67.

¹⁹ Child, David L. "Abolitionist's Library No. I. The Despotism of Freedom; of the Tyranny and Cruelty of American Republican Slave-Masters, Shown to be the Worst in the World: in a Speech, Delivered at the First Anniversary of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, 1825." (1833; reprinted 1971), Appendix. Copy provided by Nancy Merrill, Exeter (NH) Historical Society, "Jude Hall" file.

having served faithfully eight years, and fought in most all the battles, beginning with the Bunker Hill. He was called a great soldier, and was known in New Hampshire to the day of his death, by the name of "Old Rock." He was alive when James was first heard of in slavery; but he did not live to hear from William. Nobody has ever heard from Aaron.

The above-named Jude Hall was my father-in-law, and my wife was his eldest child. I have often heard these facts from my mother-in-law, and others of the family; and I have made exertions to get information and give assistance to my brothers[-in-law] in their captivity, and so did my father[-in-law]; but was kept running from one lawyer and judge to another, until he died without being able to help either of his sons.

ROBT. ROBERTS

Suffolk, ss: Boston, Nov. 22d, 1833.

The above-named Robert Roberts personally appeared and subscribed the foregoing statement, and made solemn oath that the same is true, according to the best of his knowledge and belief.

Before me.

DAVID L. CHILD, *Justice of the Peace.*

Jude Hall received U.S. Bounty Land on 21 July 1789, the land being assigned to 'Ladd and Cass'.²⁰ He applied for a U.S. Pension on 4 April 1818²¹ and was awarded one at the rate of \$96 per year²². He reapplied on 28 June 1820²³, at which time he was required to provide an inventory of his property²⁴:

One small one story house two rooms in it -- A few plates
Earthen Shovel & Tongs
A few other articles of furniture of small value

He died in Exeter on 22 August 1827, at the age of 80.²⁵ He was buried in the northeast corner of the old Winter Hill graveyard [now called Winter Street Cemetery].²⁶

He married Rhoda Paul²⁷ in September of 1785.²⁸ Jude and Rhoda had at least twelve children:

1. Dorothy m. Robert Roberts in Exeter (NH) on 15 December 1805²⁹
2. James b. Exeter (NH)
3. Aaron
4. William
5. George
6. Clarissa bca. 1792³⁰
7. name unknown
8. Mary bca. 1796 unm. d. 10 June 1859³¹
9. name unknown
10. Rhoda A. bca. 1807 m. _____ Cook res. Belfast (ME) in 1839³²
11. name unknown
12. name unknown bca. 1809

²⁰ USPE, Roll 1163, Pension# W23238, Frame 598; Bounty Land Warrant# 3189, containing no further details.

²¹ Ibid, Frame 603.

²² Ibid, Frame 600.

²³ Ibid, Frame 605.

²⁴ Ibid, Frame 606.

²⁵ NHVR.

²⁶ KENS, 201-2. This graveyard was personally visited on two occasions in the summer of 2000, but no gravestone could be found.

²⁷ She went to live, after her husband's death, with her daughter Rhoda A. in Belfast (ME) (USPE, Frame 609). She received a widow's pension of \$80 per year (USPE, Frame 623) until her death in Belfast in 1844, at the age of 74 (EXNL 2:101).

²⁸ USPE, Frame 607. However, EXET 80g lists their marriage intentions in Exeter on 21 January 1786.

²⁹ NHVR; courtesy Exeter (NH) Historical Society.

³⁰ USPE, Frame 605; family living with him in 1820: "Clarissa 28 and the other children down to eleven years".

³¹ EXNL 2:21.

³² USPE, Frame 609; Rhoda A. stated that she had 'nine brothers and sisters all older than herself all children of the said Jude & Rhoda'.

X* Pero Hall

Age: 55
Occupation: N/A
Residence: Newbury, MA

Description: 'mulatto'
Status: N/A
Religion: Congregational

Rank: Private
Unit: Frye / Evans
Stationed: redoubt

Pero Hall was born circa 1720, making him the oldest soldier in this study.¹

He joined the eight month's service from Newbury on 17 May 1775, in the company of Capt. Jonathan Evans, in Col. James Frye's regiment. This company served in the Battle of Bunker Hill in the redoubt. His own service there is confirmed due to a return of articles lost in the Battle.² He also is listed on a 28 June 1775 receipt for advanced pay³ and in an order for a bounty coat on 13 November 1775.⁴

There is no record of 1776 service.

On 24 August 1777 he enlisted into the company of Capt. John Noyes, in Col. Samuel Johnson's regiment. This unit served in the Northern Department and participated in the second Battle of Saratoga. He was discharged on 30 November 1777 and allowed pay for 240 miles travel home. Once home, he served a short four-month stint at Winter Hill (Somerville MA) in Capt. Caleb Kimball's company.⁵

On 1 June 1778, he enlisted for service in the Hudson Highlands, in the company of Capt. Stephen Jenkins in Col. Thomas Poor's regiment. After its arrival at Peekskill (NY), the unit marched to Fort Clinton (NY) and served there until September 1778. The winter of 1778-1779 was served at King's Ferry (NY). Hall was discharged 16 February 1779 and was allowed 260 miles travel home.

In 1779 a call went out in Essex County for men to join the Continental Army for nine months. Hall entered the service on 22 July 1779 in Capt. Hunt's company, was mustered at Boxford (MA) on 8 December 1779 and discharged on 22 April 1780. A descriptive list states⁶:

age:	59
stature:	5 ft. 4 in.
complexion:	black
engaged for:	Newbury

In late 1780 another call went out in Essex County for men to join the Continental Army. Hall was engaged on 30 January 1781 for a term of three years or during the war. He received a bounty on 20 September 1781.⁷

He married Catherine Small of Ipswich on 14 August 1746 in Newbury (MA).⁸

¹ BD-R.

² MASS 7:104, listed as 'Hall'.

³ Ibid 8:125, listed as 'Holl'.

⁴ Ibid 7:104.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ MAVR, Newbury, Marriages, 530, under 'NEGROES'; both are described as 'mulattoes' in a referenced Congregational Church record.

X? Caesar Hammon

Age: 27

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Holliston, MA

Description: 'Negro'

Status: free

Religion: Congregational

Rank: Private

Unit: Ward / Mellen

Stationed: N/A

Caesar Hammon was born circa 1748.¹

He enlisted on 29 April 1775 from Holliston (MA) in the company of Capt. James Mellen, in Col. Jonathan Ward's regiment and was still in service as of October 1775 from Hopkinton (MA).²

The 1790 census of Harvard (MA) lists him as head in a household of six free people of color.³

He died in Lancaster (MA) on 24 June 1803⁴ of consumption, at the age of 55⁵.

He was married but the name of his wife is unknown. He had a child who died January 1775.⁶

¹ BD-D.

² MASS 7:174.

³ USCE, 1790, Massachusetts, Harvard, 223.

⁴ MAVR, Lancaster, 182, listed as 'a Negro'.

⁵ Ibid, 354.

⁶ Ibid, 327, referencing a Congregational Church record and describing Caesar as a 'free Negro'.

X? Cato Hart

Age: 23

Occupation: farmer

Residence: Framingham, MA

Description: 'negro'

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Nixon / Drury

Stationed: diagonal

Cato Hart was born circa 1752¹ and honorably served his country for *eight years*, one of a select group of men to do so. His is the longest service of any man of color in this study.

He enlisted on 4 May 1775 from Framingham in the company of Capt. Thomas Drury, in Col. John Nixon's regiment. He was stationed at Prospect Hill in July and Winter Hill in September.²

In 1776, he was engaged in the New York campaign in Capt. Micajah Gleason's company, in Col. Thomas Nixon's 4th Regiment, at North Castle (now Mt. Kisko NY) and was probably involved in the Battle of White Plains.³

In 1777, he enlisted in the Continental Army in Capt. Robert Allen's company, in Col. Ichabod Alden's regiment.⁴ This unit served in the Saratoga Campaign.

In 1778, the regiment was ordered to protect the New York frontiers. Upon continued assaults on border families by the Iroquois in the Cherry Valley area of New York, the regiment was ordered there to protect the inhabitants. The fort at Cherry Valley was attacked on 10 November 1778 and his Colonel was killed. Major John Brooks took command. In February 1779 he was stationed at Fort Herkimer. He was still in service in 1780 but his exact whereabouts is unknown.⁵

From February 1781 to June 1781, he was at West Point in Capt. Benjamin Warren's company, in Col. John Brooks' regiment.⁶ In July 1781, he was transferred to Capt. William Mills' company at York Hutts and remained there through the end of the year. He was reported 'sick in quarters' in October and November 1781. By December 1781, he was 'sick and absent', an indication that his sickness had gotten worse.⁷ During this time Gen Benedict Arnold, commanding at West Point, defected. He was still sick in January 1781⁸ but his health must have improved as he is listed on a descriptive roll on 20 February 1782⁹:

age:	30 yrs (also given as 33)
stature:	5 ft. 3 in. (also given as 5 ft. 8 in. and 5 ft. 4 in.)
complexion:	black
hair:	black
occupation:	laborer (also given as farmer)
residence:	Framingham

¹ MASS 7:373 per age on descriptive roll, listed as 'Hart' and 'reported a negro'.

² Ibid 7:676, listed as 'Hearts'.

³ Ibid 7:373.

⁴ Ibid 7:384, listed as 'Harts'.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid 7:674, listed as 'Heart'; also 7:384-5 and 7:373.

⁷ Ibid 7:676; 7:674; 7:385; 7:373.

⁸ Ibid 7:674.

⁹ Ibid 7:373.

Upon his discharge in June 1783 at the disbandment of the Army by Gen. Washington, he was awarded a Badge of Merit 'for faithful service', being 'entitled to 1 and 2 stripes'.¹⁰

Temple, in his respected history, tells us a little more about him:

... His residence in 1805 was Mendon [MA]. He received a deed dated Aug. 6, 1805, of 200 acres of land, being lot No. 12, in Mars Hill near the boundary between Maine and New Brunswick, "for patriotic services rendered in the Revolutionary War." He assigned the deed to Jona. Maynard Esq. The grant was included in the tract which was surrendered to Great Britain by the Ashburton Treaty of Aug. 20, 1842. This lot, and the other granted lots and townships included within the said surrendered territory, were recently surveyed and located, and the titles obtained *in some way*, by a sharp claimant, who received from the United States Government large sums of money in payment for the same.¹¹

¹⁰ MASS 7:674.

¹¹ FRAM, 324.

X+ Jeffrey Hartwell {Jesse Freeman}

Age: 24

Occupation: farmer

Residence: Bedford, MA

Description: 'Negro'

Status: slave

Religion: N/A

Rank: N/A

Unit: N/A

Stationed: N/A

Jeffrey, born circa 1751, was the slave of Joseph Fitch of Bedford (MA). A bill-of-sale, dated 6 July 1756, records the transfer of Fitch's ownership to Joseph Hartwell, also of Bedford:

Know all men by these presents that I, Joseph Fitch of Bedford in the County of Middlesex, in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, in New England, gentleman for and in consideration of the sum of £24 lawful money of New England, done, in hand paid at and before the sealing and delivery of these presents, by Joseph Hartwell of Bedford, above said yeoman, the receipt I do hereby acknowledge, have bargained and sold and by these presents do bargain and sell unto the said Joseph Hartwell a negro boy about 5 years old, called Jeffru, now living at the said Joseph Hartwells, to have and to hold the said negro boy by these presents bargained and sold unto the said Joseph Hartwell, his executors, administrators and assigns forever, and I the said Joseph Fitch for myself etc do warrant the above said Negro boy unto the said Joseph Hartwell, his heirs etc against me the said Joseph Fitch my heirs etc, all and every other person and persons whatsoever, shall and will warrant and defend by these presents of which negro boy I, the said Joseph Fitch have put the said Joseph Hartwell in full possession by delivering said negro at the sealing hereof unto the said Joseph Hartwell.¹

There is no record of 1775 service for Jeffrey Hartwell, as he came to be known, but the obituary of his daughter Frances gives us insight into that service:

... Her father, **Jeffrey Hartwell**, was in the battle of Bunker Hill, having gone on a three-months term as a substitute for his master, as he called him. Returning home, his master instead of allowing him his pay, took the money away and put it in his own pocket, upon which Jeffrey went off and enlisted until the close of the war. ...²

He did indeed enlist on 29 September 1777 in Capt. Edward Framer's company, in Col. Jonathan Reed's regiment. This unit marched to reinforce the Northern Army and is believed to have been at Saratoga. His discharge was dated 8 November 1777.

On 16 June 1778 he reenlisted, joining Lieut. John Flint's company, in Col. Thomas Poor's regiment. This unit marched to White Plains to fortify the passes of the Hudson (then called North) River at the time that Gen. Washington was attacking the British at Monmouth (NJ). From June to August 1778, he was in Capt. Asa Lawrence's company at Fort Clinton (NY). From September to December 1778, he was in the same company and regiment stationed at West Point (NY).³ By 1779, he was free and residing in Dracut as is evidenced by this journal entry:

4 March 1779 One Stephen Hartwell here to advise relating to a Neagro named **Jeffrey Hartwell**, Spent considerable time with him at his request relating to said Neagro's freedom. He would have given me a fee. I refused to take one (in a Neagro cause).⁴

¹ BED1, 32.

² LOCE, 'Frances Hartwell' file citing her obituary in the 27 March 1880 issue of "Vox Populi". Many thanks to Martha Mayo for pointing this out to me. Hereinafter VOX2. NOTE: The Bedford company at the Battle of Bunker Hill was that of Capt. John Moore, in Col. John Nixon's regiment. Jeffrey Hartwell was not listed on the August unit roll, nor was his master Joseph Hartwell. He may very well have been a waiter to one of the officers.

³ MASS 7:393.

⁴ DRAC, 332-3, referencing Varnum journal.

More information is obtained from a Dracut town record:

John Varnum notified the town that he had received a laborer, a negro, who calls himself Jeffrey Freeman about twenty eight years old from Joseph Hartwell in Bedford s^d Jeffery appears to be an able bodied laboring man and says he expects to earn his living at husbandry work.⁵

The only artifacts known to exist, of any one of the soldiers in this study, are three pewter plates once owned by Jeffrey Hartwell and now in the collection of The Bostonian Society [see photograph].⁶

Jeffrey Hartwell died in Dracut on 22 July 1816, at the age of 75.⁷ He is buried in Hamblett (formerly called Garrison House) Cemetery on Jordan Avenue in Lowell. The family plot also contains the graves of his wife, two of his sons and his two daughters.⁸

He married Maria _____, once a slave⁹, who 'was born in the old Royal Exchange in Boston, and was sent when a child to Dracut. There she lived in the Varnum family, and on her marriage ... received for her wedding present two acres of land on which the present homestead stands'¹⁰. Maria 'was employed for many years by Joseph Butterfield Varnum', the man who made her the bridal gift of land. This land, located at the corner of Breakneck Hill Road [now Donahue Road]¹¹ and Meadow Road [now Phineas Street]¹², was where they built a house and where [their daughters Violet and Frances] made their home in later years.¹³ Their house 'was once burned down and rebuilt'.¹⁴ Maria died on 6 January 1839 at the age of 90.¹⁵

Jeffrey and Maria had four sons and two daughters¹⁶:

1. Amaziah	b. ca. 1778	d. 30 Sep 1863	Bur. Hamblett Cemetery.
2. son			
3. Violet	b. ca. 1784		Bur. Hamblett Cemetery.
4. Jesse	b. ca. 1786	d. 23 Mar 1849	Bur. Hamblett Cemetery.
5. son			
6. Frances	b. 13 Nov 1792 in Dracut	d. 12 Mar 1880 in Dracut, unmarried ¹⁷	Bur. Hamblett Cemetery.

⁵ DRAC, 333.

⁶ Object # 1895.0039.001. Object file at the Bostonian Society states that the plates are each 9 1/8 inches in diameter and were the gift of George F. Smith in 1895. Thanks to Rainey Tisdale, Collections Manager, and Nancy Richard, Librarian of The Bostonian Society for their help with this research.

⁷ MAVR, Dracut, 281; gravestone record states d. 20 July 1816 and uses name 'Jesse'.

⁸ Cemetery personally visited on 26 November 2001 (see photo of gravestone)..

⁹ LOCE, 'Frances Hartwell' file, citing her obituary in the 20 March 1880 issue of "Vox Populi". Many thanks to Mary Mayo for pointing this out to me. Hereinafter VOX1. VOX1 states service for Jeffrey Hartwell in the War of 1812, at which time he would have been 61 years old. This service is not supported by the evidence (name not recorded in the primary reference source: *Records of the Massachusetts Volunteer Militia Called out by the Governor of Massachusetts to suppress a Threatened Invasion during the War of 1812-14* (1913)). VOX2 was probably a correction of this error.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Current name of road courtesy: Arthur H. Paquin, Historian, Dracut Historical Society, per 19 November 2001 letter.

¹² Ibid.

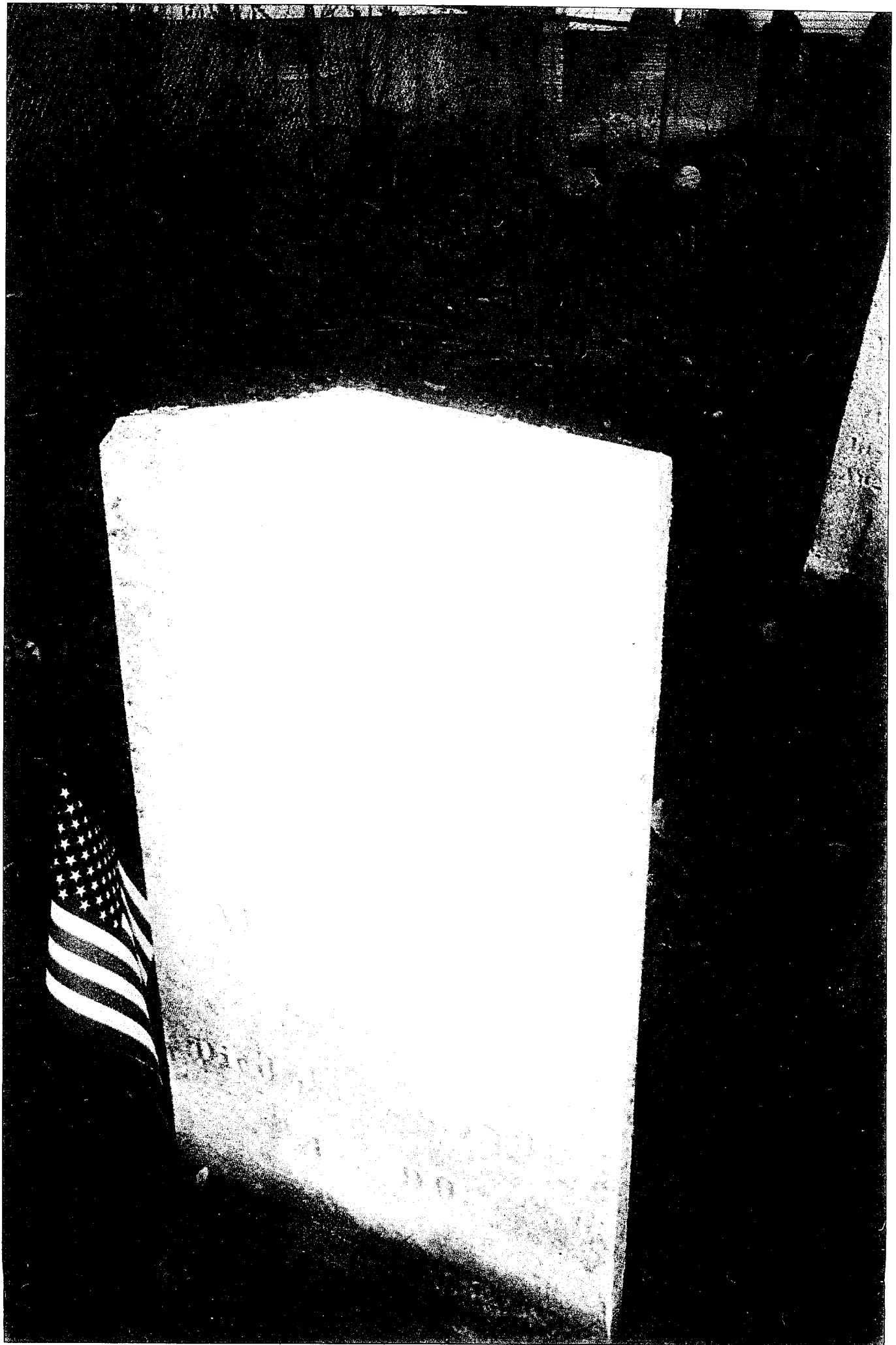
¹³ DRAC 333.

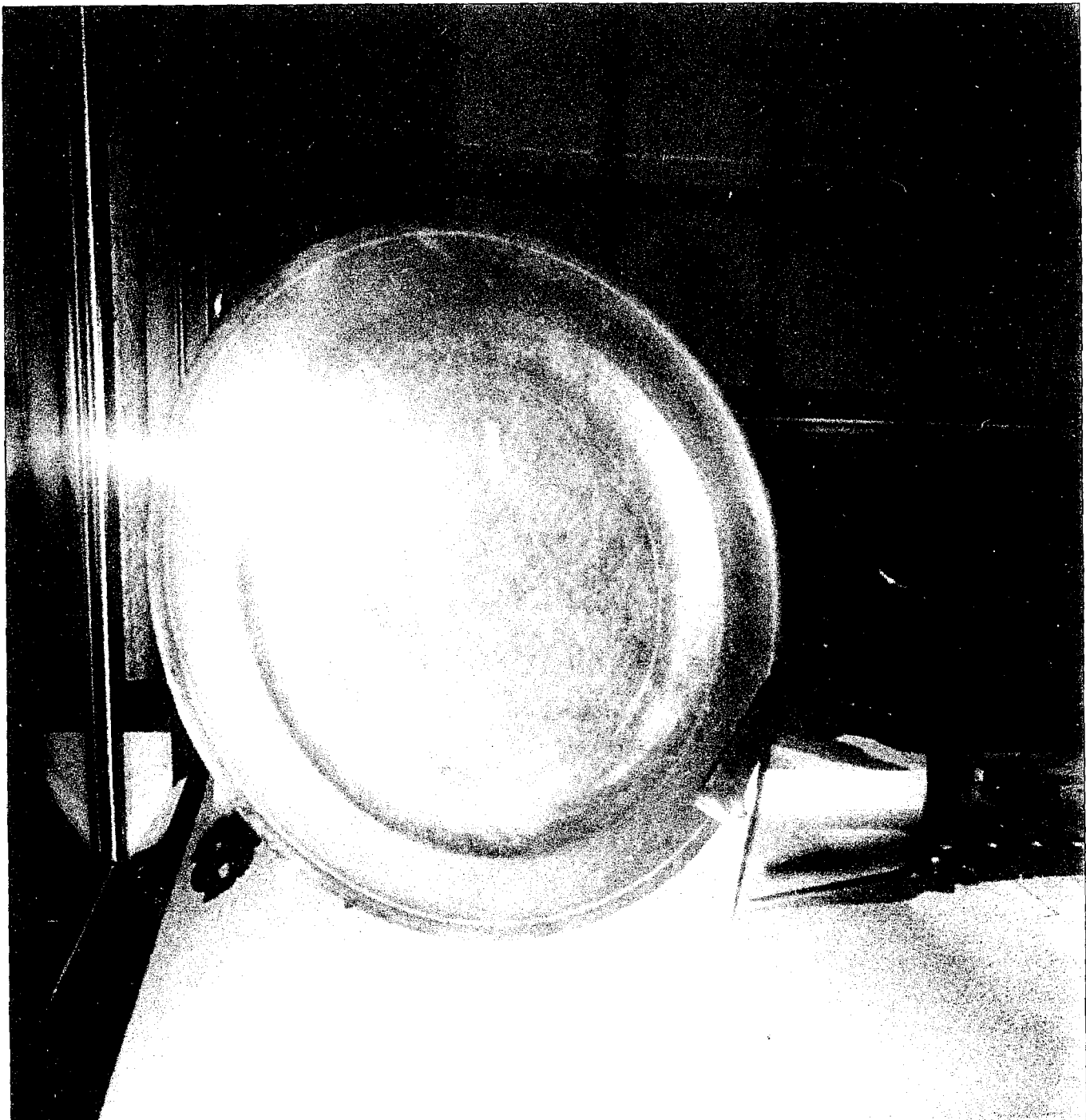
¹⁴ VOX1.

¹⁵ Gravestone record, Hamblett Cemetery, Lowell.

¹⁶ MAVR, Dracut, 64, 281, 282; also gravestone records.

¹⁷ VOX2. Frances 'received what little education she had at the village school. She was an inveterate reader, even in her old age.. Unlike her brothers and only one sister, she spent a good deal of her life in travelling. When quite young she came to Boston and lived with some of its first families. With some of them she went to St. Petersburg, Rio Janeiro, the East Indies, France and England ... Her remains were placed in the cemetery, not far from her home, beside those of her father, mother, brothers and sister. She was accustomed herself to read her Prayer Book daily, and her last words were a repetition of the evening prayer'.





Ganner's Callipers

Device for measuring the weight of solid shot. Made and used by [illegible] in charge of ordinance at [illegible]

Pat. No. 1735-2222
Boston, ca. 1770
Gift of Mrs. L. W. Clark, 1912

X? Cuff Hayes

Age: N/A

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Charlestown, MA

Description: N/A¹

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Prescott / O. Parker

Stationed: redoubt

Nothing is known of the early life of Cuff Hayes.

He joined the eight month's service in the company of Capt. Oliver Parker, in Col. William Prescott's regiment.² This company served in the Battle of Bunker Hill in the redoubt.

On 31 October 1775, he was in Capt. Ephraim Corey's company in receipt of an 'order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money'.³ On 1 January 1776, he reenlisted serving in Capt. James Perry's company, in Col. Paul Dudley Sargent's regiment, for three months.⁴

¹ NAME.

² MASS 7:41, listed as 'Haise'. After the Battle of Bunker Hill, Capt. Parker left the service and command of the company fell to Lt. Nathaniel Sartwell.

³ Ibid 7:596. See also 7:577, listed under 'Hay, Cust'.

⁴ Ibid 7:644, listed as 'Haze, Cofe'.

X? Titus Hayward {Tuttle} ★

Age: N/A

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Acton, MA

Description: 'negro'

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Doolittle / A. Wilder

Stationed: N/A

Titus Hayward was a 'colored' soldier from Acton (MA) 'hired by Simon Tuttle'¹, and was also called Titus Tuttle.

He enlisted from Acton in the eight month's service on 29 April 1775, in Capt. Abel Wilder's company in Col. Ephraim Doolittle's regiment. He is listed on a 26 June 1775 receipt for advanced pay, on the 1 August 1775 muster roll² and on a 6 October 1775 company return.³

On a list dated July 1776 'of men hired to perform turns of service on Crown Point expedition', he is named only as 'Titus', 'a negro'. By September 1776, he was in Capt. Adam Wheeler's company in Col. Thomas Nixon's regiment.⁴ Pay receipts continue for October and November 1776.⁵ A 9 November 1776 regimental return places him at North Castle (NY). It is highly likely that he was engaged in the Battle of White Plains (NY). He was discharged on 20 November 1776.⁶ By 14 December 1776, he was back home and enlisted from Concord in Capt. John Hartwell's company in Col. Nicholas Dike's Massachusetts militia regiment.⁷

On February 1777 he was 'reported sick in hospital'.⁸ With Gen. Burgoyne preparing to advance on northern New York, the call once again went out for soldiers to meet this serious threat. From his militia unit, he joined the Continental Army on 14 March 1777 for a term of three years or during the war, in the company of Capt. Edmund Munroe in Col. Timothy Bigelow's 15th Massachusetts regiment. This unit served at Saratoga and at Valley Forge. On a 14 December 1777 pay account he is 'reported deceased', most probably at Valley Forge.⁹

It is probably his son Titus who filed intentions to marry Phillis Lawrence at Littleton on 13 December 1794. They eventually were married on 6 January 1797.¹⁰

¹ ACTO, 385.

² MASS 16:209; listed as 'Tuttle, Titus'.

³ Ibid 16:201; listed as 'Tuttel, Titus'.

⁴ Ibid 15:792; listed only as 'Titus'.

⁵ Ibid 16:209.

⁶ Ibid 15:792.

⁷ Ibid 7:641; listed as 'Haywood, Titus'.

⁸ Ibid 7:809; listed as 'Heywood, Titus'.

⁹ Ibid 7:641; also, 7:809 which lists his residence as Acton.

¹⁰ MAVR, Littleton, Marriages, 237; both are listed as 'of Littleton' and lists the surname of Titus as 'Tuttle'.

*+ Jeffrey Hemenway

Age: 38

Occupation: carpenter

Residence: Framingham, MA

Description: 'mulatto'

Status: free¹

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: /Edgell & Nixon/Drury

Entered: N/A

Stationed: N/A

Jeffrey Hemenway was born circa 1737.² He was a foster child of Ebenezer Hemenway Jr. of Framingham.³

During 1761 and 1762, the closing years of the French and Indian War, he served in Capt. John Nixon's company.⁴

He marched on the Lexington Alarm on 19 April 1775 'to Concord and Cambridge' as a minute man in Capt. Simon Edgell's company, serving for four days.⁵ On 24 April 1775 he enlisted from Framingham into the eight months' service in Capt. Thomas Drury's company in Col. John Nixon's regiment. His name appears on a 20 June 1775 receipt for advance pay dated Cambridge, on the 1 August 1775 muster roll and on a 30 September 1775 company return dated Winter Hill.⁶ The obituary of a granddaughter claims that he fought at Bunker Hill.⁷

In September 1776 he enlisted in Capt. Micajah Gleason's company in Lt. Col. Thomas Nixon's regiment, serving in the New York campaign. His unit served at the Battle of White Plains where his Captain was killed. By November he was stationed at North Castle (NY). His last pay receipt was dated Peekskill (NY) on 27 December 1776.⁸

There is no record of 1777 service. He removed to Worcester in 1778⁹, where he 'bought a small place on ... May street'.¹⁰

On 1 April 1778 he enlisted in Capt. Ebenezer Belknap's company in Col. Nathaniel Wade's regiment. His name appears on a 15 July 1778 roll dated North Kingston (RI)¹¹, at which time he reenlisted in the same unit which later fought at the Battle of Rhode Island. By the end of 1778 he was stationed at North Kingston and then at East Greenwich (RI), where he was discharged on 1 January 1779.¹²

On 26 October 1779 he enlisted in the Worcester County militia in Capt. Francis Wilson's company in Col. Samuel Denny's regiment. His unit was sent to Claverack (NY) to reinforce the Continental Army. He was discharged on 23 November 1779.¹³

¹ MMAN.

² BD-D.

³ FRAM, 592.

⁴ Ibid, 232.

⁵ MASS 7:711; listed as 'Heminway'.

⁶ Ibid 7:702; listed as 'Hemenway', from Framingham.

⁷ Obituary of Lucinda (Hemenway) Cummings in WOHI.

⁸ MASS 7:702; under 'Hemenway', from Framingham.

⁹ FRAM, 592.

¹⁰ WOR2 1:149.

¹¹ MASS 7:712; listed as 'Hemmenway'.

¹² Ibid 7:702; listed as 'Hemenway', from Worcester.

¹³ Ibid 7:707; listed as 'Hemingway'.

In 1780 another call went out for reinforcements for the Continental Army. He joined the company of Capt. Benjamin Warren, marching to camp at Springfield (MA) on 20 July 1780 where a descriptive roll was taken¹⁴:

age:	40
stature:	5 ft. 4 in.
complexion:	negro
eyes:	black
engaged for:	Worcester

On the same date as this roll he enlisted in Capt. Lt. Peter Clayes' company in Col. Thomas Nixon's 6th regiment.¹⁵ From August to December he served in Capt. Lt. Benjamin Pike's company. On 25 October 1780 he was stationed at Camp Totoway (NJ).¹⁶ He served until 19 December 1780.¹⁷

On 20 August 1781 he marched from his home in Worcester in Capt. John Cutler's company in Col. Luke Drury's regiment. His company joined their regiment at West Point on 28 August 1781. He was discharged on 28 November 1781, having served a term of three months.¹⁸

The 1790 census of Worcester lists him as head in a household of five free people of color.¹⁹

'His will was dated [Worcester] May 20, 1809, proved Sept. 7, 1819, bequeathed to wife Hepsibah and children ...' his meager estate.²⁰ He applied for a U.S. Pension on 14 April 1818, stating his age as 81 and his length of service as 2 1/2 years.²¹ The pension was awarded for \$96.00 per year.²² A deponent described him as 'a person of colour'.²³

He died on in Worcester²⁴ on 15 August 1819, at the age of 82, and is buried at Hope Cemetery in Worcester.²⁵

He married first Susanna Wright²⁶, and they had two children:

1. Thaddeus b. 22 February 1761²⁷
2. Susanna b. 15 January 1768²⁸

Mother and daughter died 'in a small pox epidemic'.²⁹

He filed intentions to marry Hepsibeth Crosman on 13 December 1788 in Worcester.³⁰ He married second the same Hepsibeth Bowman/Crosman³¹, on 3 November 1792 in Worcester.³² She applied

¹⁴ Ibid 7:713; listed as 'Hemmingway'.

¹⁵ Ibid 7:702; listed as 'Hemenway' from Worcester.

¹⁶ Ibid 7:707-8; under 'Hemmingway'.

¹⁷ Ibid 7:702; under 'Hemenway' from Worcester.

¹⁸ Ibid 7:708; under 'Hemmingway'.

¹⁹ USCE, 1790, Massachusetts, Worcester, 244.

²⁰ WOR2 1:148.

²¹ USPE, Roll 1250, Pension# W19757, Frame 209.

²² Ibid, Frame 207.

²³ Ibid, Frame 229; affidavit of Peter Clayes, also affidavit of Nathaniel Prime (Frame 216).

²⁴ Ibid, Frame 214.

²⁵ GRAV, Section 32, Lot 1245; visited on 5 February 2002 [see photo].

²⁶ FRAM, 592.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ IZAR, 18, footnote 37; it is further stated: 'it appears that Jeffrey's first marriage was not common knowledge to his second family'.

for a widow's pension on 7 July 1838, which was awarded at \$80.00 per year.³³ Jeffrey and Hepsibeth had eight children:

3. Joseph b. 4 May 1789 in Worcester³⁴
4. Lydia b. 31 July 1791 in Worcester³⁵ m. James Johnson³⁶ d. 10 December 1850³⁷
5. Hannah b. 9 August 1793 in Worcester³⁸ d. unm. 2 December 1891³⁹
6. Patta b. 19 August 1795 in Worcester⁴⁰ d. before 9 April 1798 when
Patta 2nd was born
7. Adam b. 20 November 1797 in Worcester⁴¹
8. Patta b. 9 April 1798 in Worcester⁴² d. before 1807 as she is not mentioned
in will
9. Alexander b. 1 April 1800 in Worcester⁴³
10. Ebenezer b. 8 April 1804 in Worcester⁴⁴ m. Betsey D____⁴⁵ d. 1878⁴⁶

³⁰ USPE, Frame 215.

³¹ She died in Worcester on 17 February 1847 at age 84, being described as 'Colored' (per MAVR, Worcester, Deaths, 485). She was a laundress and her portrait is in the collections of the Worcester Historical Museum [see photo of banner].

³² MAVR, Worcester, Marriages, 361; he is listed as 'Jeph' and she is listed as 'Hepshabeth Boman'; in her pension affidavit (USPE, Frame 212) she stated that 'her maiden name was Hepsibah Crosman'.

³³ USPE, Frame 221.

³⁴ MAVR, Worcester, Births, 132.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ IZAR, 36.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ MAVR, Worcester, Births, 131.

³⁹ IZAR, 36.

⁴⁰ MAVR, Worcester, Births, 132.

⁴¹ Ibid, 131.

⁴² Ibid, 132.

⁴³ Ibid, 131.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ GRAV, Hope Cemetery, Worcester (MA). Their son Alexander Freeman Hemenway served in the 54th Massachusetts (IZAR, 33).

⁴⁶ IZAR, 36.



W. O. R. C. E. S. T. E. R.
HISTORICAL MUSEUM



**HEPSIBETH
HEMENWAY**

**NIPMUC
LAUNDRESS &
CAKE MAKER**

X* Prince Hull

Age: 25
Occupation: laborer
Residence: Pittsfield, MA

Description: N/A
Status: N/A
Religion: N/A

Rank: Private
Unit: Prescott / O. Parker
Stationed: redoubt

Prince Hull was born circa 1750.¹

He joined the eight month's service from Pittsfield (MA) on 15 May 1775, in the company of Capt. Oliver Parker in Col. William Prescott's regiment. This company served in the Battle of Bunker Hill in the redoubt. He was listed on the 1 August 1775 muster roll and on the 7 October 1775 company return. On 31 October 1775, he was in Capt. Ephraim Corey's company in receipt of an 'order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money dated Cambridge'.²

On 1 January 1776, he reenlisted serving in Capt. James Perry's company, in Col. Paul Dudley Sargent's regiment, for three months. He was 'reported deserted' on 19 April 1776. At this point his name drops off the Massachusetts rolls.³

His 28 March 1818 application for a U.S. Pension expands the knowledge of his service:

that he first enlisted in April AD 1775 for eight months in Capt [Oliver] Parker's company & Col^o [William] Prescott's Reg^t of Mass^s troops & served through that campaign, was engaged in the Battle of Bunker Hill & at the expiration of his eight months viz in December 1775 he enlisted for one year at Cambridge in the Cont line, in Capt [William] Hull's company & Col^o [Charles] Webb's Regt & at the expiration thereof he was enlisted again at Fishkill N. York for three years by Lieut. Smith but on account of sickness he did not join any Regt & does not now recollect to what one he belonged -- that in consequence of his sickness he was about six months afterwards discharged from the service. In August 1777 he again enlisted into Capt [Jonathan] Wadsworth's company & Col [Thaddeus] Cook's Regt for three months & was wounded at the battle of Saratoga & having faithfully served out his time was honorably discharged ...⁴

Prince was probably wounded in the first Battle of Saratoga on 19 September 1777, as his Captain was killed in that engagement.

The 1790 census of Hartford lists him as head in a household of three free people of color.⁵

On 26 August 1820, he had to reapply for his pension in order to prove need:

Prince Hulls Inventory	
1 horse	\$5
1 Waggon	\$1.50
1 trunk	25 cents
1 chest	25 cents
2 tables	25 cents
4 chairs	25 cents
1 dish kettle	17 cents
1 tea kettle	17 cents
1 pot	25 cents

¹ BD-P.

² MASS 8:481; after the Battle of Bunker Hill, Capt. Parker left the service and command of the company fell to Lt. Nathaniel Sartwell.

³ Ibid.

⁴ USPE, Roll 1364, Pension# S36596, Frame 568; he resided in Hartford.

⁵ USCE, 1790, Connecticut, Hartford, 47.

1 spade	25 cents
1 shovel	12 cents
1 hoe	6 cents
1 hammer	6 cents
1 pair tongs	6 cents
1 andiron	6 cents
1 saw	12 cents
pots & mugs & dishes	15 cents
1 jug & stone pot	10 cents

	\$8.57

I am by occupation a laborer but unable to labor by reason of infirmity. I have a daughter who keeps my house ... I must be carried to the poor house of the town of Hartford.⁶

He was able to retain his pension of \$96.00 a year.⁷

It was probably he who married Tryphosa Limbo, 'free negro' of Glastonbury (CT), at Middletown (CT) on 17 July 1794.⁸

He had one daughter, undoubtedly also the child of Tryphosa:

1. Mary bca. 1795⁹

⁶ USPE, Frames 565-6; he still resided in Hartford and was age 70.

⁷ Ibid, Frame 563.

⁸ CTEM 6(1904):113; he is listed as '(free negro) of Hartford'.

⁹ USPE, Frame 565.

X+ James Huzzey {Huzza/Hussey}

Age: 28

Occupation: laborer

Residence: New Marlborough, MA

Description: 'Black'

Status: slave

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Brewer / Harvey

Stationed: diagonal

James Huzzey was born circa 1747.¹ He probably lived on Cape Cod before the war.²

He enlisted in the eight months' service from New Marlborough (MA) on 8 June 1775 in Capt. Moses Harvey's company, in Col. Jonathan Brewer's regiment.³ His widow stated that he 'was at the Bunker hill Battle'.⁴ On 24 June 1775 his name appeared on an order 'for cartridge boxes' dated Cambridge. He was listed on the 1 August muster roll, on the October 1775 company return and on a 26 October 1775 'order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money' dated Cambridge.⁵ His wife stated that 'he served two terms of service as a substitute for the sons of his master ... being at that time a slave'.⁶

There is no record of 1776 to 1780 service.

He enlisted from Conway (MA) on 30 March 1781 into the Continental Army for three years, in Capt. Jeremiah Miller's company in Col. Joseph Vose's 1st regiment. A descriptive list of men raised in Hampshire county shows him as:

age:	34
stature:	5 ft. 7 in.
complexion:	black
hair:	black

On 19 April 1775 a receipt for bounty paid to him by the selectmen of Conway (MA) was certified.⁷ Various rolls describe his service through the years of 1781 and 1782:

1781	May ⁸	West Point	
	Jun ⁹	Camp Phillipsborough	reported with forage master
	Jul ¹⁰	Camp Phillipsborough	reported with forage master
	Aug ¹¹		reported with forage master
	Sep ¹²		reported with forage master
	Oct ¹³		
	Nov ¹⁴		
	Dec	(no roll found)	

¹ BD-R.

² USPE, Roll 1386, Pension# W18091, Frame 626; statement of wife in 1855.

³ MASS 8:595; listed as 'Huzzey'.

⁴ USPE, Frame 617.

⁵ MASS 8:595; under 'Huzzey'.

⁶ USPE, Frame 626.

⁷ MASS; listed as 'Huzzi'.

⁸ Ibid 8:571; listed as 'Hussy'.

⁹ Ibid 8:594; listed as 'Huzsa'.

¹⁰ Ibid 8:571; listed as 'Hussey'.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid 8:595; listed as 'Huzza'.

¹³ Ibid 8:571; under 'Hussey'.

¹⁴ Ibid.

1782 Jan¹⁵
Feb¹⁶

York Hutts
York Hutts

reported on command at New Windsor
reported on command at New Windsor

His wife stated that he 'was gone most of the time during the war returning occasionally in the winter season & staying a short time at the close of the war'.¹⁷ He was honorably discharged in 1783 but his discharge was lost when his 'house burnt'.¹⁸ After the war they remained in Upton (MA) for about a year, then moved to Northbridge (MA) for a year, then to Leicester (MA) for two years, then to Warwick (MA) for almost three years, then to Westmoreland (NH) 'for a number of years' and then finally to Vermont.¹⁹

He applied for a U.S. Pension on 9 April 1818 when he verified that he served under Capt. Moses Harvey and stated that he was 'between eighty and ninety years of age - very infirm - wholly destitute of property'.²⁰ His pension was approved for \$96.00 per year.²¹ He reapplied on 19 July 1820 when he listed his occupation as 'laborer' and stated that he was 'dependent on the town and private charity for support' and that his 'wife Susannah is not healthy'.²²

James Huzzey died in Townshend (VT) on 11 March 1822²³ at the approximate age of 75.

His wife reapplied for the pension on 31 August 1837²⁴ and continued to receive it at the rate of \$80.00 per year²⁵, seemingly for the rest of her life. On 28 March 1855, while a resident of Shaftsbury (VT) and at the age of 104, she applied for and was granted bounty land.²⁶

He married Susannah Tobey on 20 January 1776, probably in Barnstable (MA).²⁷ They had at least one child:

1. name unknown born during the war and died at the age of 10 months²⁸

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ USPE, Frame 617.

¹⁸ Ibid, Frame 621.

¹⁹ Ibid, Frame 617.

²⁰ Ibid, Frame 621.

²¹ Ibid, Frame 612.

²² Ibid, Frame 636.

²³ Ibid, Frame 627.

²⁴ Ibid, Frame 617

²⁵ Ibid, Frame 640; she also received an arrears of \$520.00.

²⁶ Ibid, Frame 639; Warrant # 7092-160-55.

²⁷ Ibid, Frame 627; this she stated in 1855 - however in 1837 (Frame 617) she stated that they were married in Upton (MA).

²⁸ Ibid, Frame 617.

X+ Jamaica James

Age: 21
Occupation: N/A
Residence: Boston, MA

Description: 'black'
Status: N/A
Religion: N/A

Rank: Private
Unit: N/A
Stationed: N/A

Jamaica James was born circa 1754.¹

His name does not appear in the 1775 rolls, nor does he mention his 1775 unit in his pension application, yet he was at the Battle of Bunker Hill as was described by one of his 1782 officers²:

Jamaica James showed me the wound of a Ball in the left arm which he received at Bunker Hill 1775 but he has lost much of his recollection.

Jamaica James applied for his pension at Orange county (NY) on 4 February 1819, being described as a 'blackman aged sixty two years'. He further stated³:

that he ... Enlisted, in the year 1777 ... in the Town of Boston in the Company Commanded by Captain Lunts in the tenth Massachusetts Regiment Commanded by Colonel Tupper and that he continued to Serve in the said Company and Reg^t. for ... the Term of three years, and at the expiration of the three years aforesaid, he then Enlisted in the same Company and in the Same Regiment Commanded by Colonel Tupper -- for and during the Revolutionary War -- and he continued to Serve as aforesaid untill the Month of June 1783, when peace was made with Great Britain when he was Honorably discharged by General Washington at the Cantonment near New Windsor near Newburgh ... that he was in the battle at Trenton in the year 1776 in Dec^r. when General Washington Captured the Hessians -- and that he is in reduced Circumstances and Stands in need of Assistance of his Country for Support ... I was at the taking and Capture of General Burgoine & his army & went to Guard the prisoners to Boston.

The pension was awarded at the rate of \$96 per year. He reapplied for his pension on 31 May 1820, then 'sixty seven years' and still residing at Orange county. He further stated⁴:

when the 10 Regt was broken up or reduced I was transferred into Capt Marshalls company Colonel Voses Reg^t it being the 1st. Massachusetts Reg^t ...

He was married and had at least one child⁵:

1. daughter, name unknown bca. 1812

¹ BD-P; age 62 in 1818 [bca. 1756] and age 67 in 1820 [bca. 1753] - a compromise birthdate of 1754 was used.

NOTE: There is a very good chance that this man is the same man as Charles Jarvis.

² USPE, Roll 1404, Pension# S44984, Frame 529; affidavit of Levi Dodge.

³ Ibid, Frames 519-520.

⁴ Ibid, Frames 521.

⁵ Ibid, Frame 521.

X? Charles Jarvis {Charles James}

Age: 23

Occupation: transient

Residence: Newbury, MA

Description: 'black'

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Little / Perkins

Stationed: N/A

Charles Jarvis was born circa 1752.¹

He enlisted in the eight months' service from Newbury on 8 June 1775 in Capt. Benjamin Perkin's company, in Col. Moses Little's regiment. He is listed on the 1 August 1775 muster roll and on an October 1775 company return as:

age: 36

He is also listed on a 27 December 1775 'order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money'.²

There is no record of 1776 service.

In 1777, he served from Newburyport in the 2d Essex County regiment of militia. With Gen. Burgoyne preparing to advance on northern New York, the call once again went out for soldiers to meet this serious threat. Transferring out of his militia unit, he joined the Continental Army on 15 February 1777 for a three-year term in Capt. Moses Greenleaf's company in Col. Ebenezer Francis' company. His company served at the Battle of Hubbardton (VT), on 7 July 1777, where his Colonel was killed. His regiment, under Col. Benjamin Tupper, also served at Saratoga. A 25 January 1778 return reports him 'on command at Albany'.³ Tupper's regiment also served at Valley Forge and at Monmouth⁴. Pay accounts show him serving from 1 January 1780 to 31 December 1780.⁵ There was some confusion in the rolls⁶:

James, Charles. Certificate dated West Point Aug. 31, 1779, signed by Maj. James Pettengill, certifying that Paul Coffin, a soldier in Col. Wesson's regt., was in service before Aug. 15, 1777, but was left out of the roll through a mistake, said James being put in his place, that said James was transferred to Capt. Greenleaf's (Greenleaf's) co., Col. Tupper's regt, and was made up in both companies; therefore said Coffin was entitled to \$100 gratuity in lieu of said James; also, Private, Capt. Joseph Pettengill's co., Col. James Wesson's regt.; company return [year not given]; reported a transient. [See Charles Jarvis.]

On 10 January 1780 he engaged 'for the war' and his name appears on the descriptive list of the 10th Massachusetts regiment in Capt. Nehemiah Emerson's company⁷:

age: 27
stature: 5 ft. 8 in.
complexion: black
hair: black
residence: Newburyport
engaged: November 1779 by Lieut. Col. Littlefield

¹ BD-R. Age 27 in January 1780 would indicate a birth year of 1752, but the 1775 descriptive roll lists him as age 36. The later, more complete, description is used. NOTE: There is a very good chance that this man is the same man as **Jamaica James**.

² MASS 8:725, listed as 'Jarvis'.

³ Ibid; during this tour he resided at Newburyport but was credited to the town of Newbury.

⁴ MONM, 17.

⁵ MASS 8:725.

⁶ Ibid 8:708.

⁷ Ibid.

He served in Tupper's 10th regiment from 1 January 1781 for 12 months⁸ and from 1 January 1782 for 12 months⁹.

The 1790 census of Boston lists him as head in a household of two free people of color, one white male of age sixteen or greater and three white females.¹⁰

⁸ MASS 8:725; under 'Jarvis'.

⁹ Ibid 8:783; listed as 'Jervas'.

¹⁰ USCE, 1790, Massachusetts, Boston, 192.

X* Prince Johonnot

Age: 25
Occupation: N/A
Residence: Andover, MA

Description: non-white
Status: N/A
Religion: Baptist

Rank: Private
Unit: Frye / Davis
Stationed: redoubt

Prince Johonnot was born in Boston on 6 July 1749.¹

He was a minute man in Methuen in 1774, in the company of Capt. John Davis² and was formally enlisted on 14 February 1775³. In his own words he described his training:

said Company was kept organized and drilled two half days in Each week, when the weather would permit⁴

Upon the news of the Lexington Alarm his company marched to Cambridge.⁵ There he enlisted in the eight months' service from Andover on 14 May 1775 in Col. James Frye's regiment.⁶ He served on the main guard under Lt. Col. Loammi Baldwin on 15 May 1775⁷ and was in camp on 17 May 1775⁸. His unit 'was stationed at the Centre [Harvard] College building'.⁹ On 8 June 1775 his name was on a 'receipt for advance pay'.¹⁰ He was one of the men who went onto Breed's Hill to dig the entrenchments. In his own words he relates:

On the night of the 16th of June A.D. 1775 he marched to Bunker Hill, where a breastwork & fort were thrown up during the night and the next day was in the Battle on that hill ...¹¹

On 5 October 1775 he was listed on a company return.¹²

After his discharge at the end of 1775, he moved from Methuen to Goffstown (NH).¹³ On 2 March 1789 he 'was chosen a surveyor of highways on the northerly side of the Piscataquog River'¹⁴, being the only known man in this study to have held a town office.

The 1790 census of Goffstown lists him as head in a household of nine free people of color.¹⁵

He was a member of the First Baptist Society, which was organized in 1792.¹⁶ He resided in Goffstown until around 1827 when he moved to New Boston (NH).¹⁷ There, on 27 August 1832 he applied for a U.S. pension¹⁸, which was granted at \$26.66 per year¹⁹.

¹ USPE, Pension# S18057, Roll 1435, Frame 88.

² Ibid, Frame 88.

³ MASS 8:811; listed as 'Johrnot'.

⁴ USPE, Frame 88..

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ MASS 8:811.

⁷ Ibid 8:971; listed as Jonnot'.

⁸ Ibid; listed as 'Jonhonot'.

⁹ USPE, Frame 88.

¹⁰ MASS 8:811.

¹¹ USPE, Frame 88.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid, Frame 90.

¹⁴ GOFF 2:239.

¹⁵ USCE, 1790, New Hampshire, Goffstown, 45.

¹⁶ GOFF 1:405.

¹⁷ USPE, Frame 90.

¹⁸ Ibid, Frame 88.

¹⁹ Ibid, Frame 86.

He died in Goffstown²⁰ on 25 May 1836.²¹

He married Mehitabel Emerson sometime in 1773.²² Prince and Mehitabel had at least six children:

1. Peter b. 25 December 1773 in Methuen²³, m. Bathsheba Camp, moved to VT, d. 22 November 1806²⁴
2. Titus b. 16 August 1775 in Methuen²⁵, m. Rebecca Ditson, moved to Palmyra (ME), d. 1854.²⁶
3. Moses b. Goffstown²⁷
4. Mehitabel m. Jacob Kidder²⁸
5. William m. Sarah Emerson²⁹
6. James b. 7 February 1782, m. Eunice Ferrin camp, d. 16 July 1846 in Goffstown³⁰

²⁰ DARL 13:100.

²¹ USPE, Frame 86.

²² DARL 13:100.

²³ MAVR, Methuen, Births, 71; listed as 'Johnna'.

²⁴ GOFF 2:239.

²⁵ MAVR, Methuen, Births, 71; listed as 'Johnna'.

²⁶ GOFF 2:239.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

?X Caesar Jones

Age: N/A
Occupation: N/A
Residence: Bedford, MA

Description: 'Negro'
Status: free
Religion: N/A

Rank: Volunteer
Unit: not enlisted, served w/Wilson
Entered: Concord

Caesar Jones was the 'Negro servant' of 2nd Lt. Timothy Jones of Bedford (MA). He was 'freed before the Revolution and served in the war, doing duty in every campaign from the 19th of April to the end of the conflict'.¹ Lt. Jones, in Capt. Jonathan Wilson's Bedford Minute Man company, became second in command after his Captain was killed on Battle Road. Caesar, if present, would have been a volunteer attached to this company (his name is not listed in the official military records for 1775). A town history gives more detail:

Family tradition has proved that Caesar, a freed slave, went to Concord with his master on the morning of April 19 and stayed with him until he returned home. Although a freed man, Caesar was not a free man, and he entered the service after the battles at Concord with the approval of his master. His name appears on the Bedford treasurer's lists for the years of the war for receipt of grain and money as "bounty", or extra pay allowed by the Town of Bedford for enlistment.²

No known military records list him from 1775 to 1781. On 1 May 1782, he did indeed enlist 'to serve in the Continental Army for the term of three years', as a Private in Col. Benjamin Tupper's 10th regiment. Probably due to the disbandment of the armed forces after the War, he only served a term of eight months. He received a bounty from Bedford on 11 May 1782 for his enlistment.³ Town records show this bounty to be sixty pounds.⁴ He signed by an "X" mark with the note 'A free negro' appended.⁵

He is buried in the northeast corner of the Old Burial Grounds on Springs Road in Bedford. A stone monument marks the spot:

CAMBRIDGE MOORE
CAESAR PRESCOTT
CAESAR JONES
NEGRO SLAVES
SOLDIERS
IN THE REVOLUTION
1775 1783

¹ BED2, 231. There is some disagreement on these points: BED1, 31 states that there 'is no evidence that any of the slaves of this town were permitted to accompany their masters to Concord on April 19, 1775'. Therefore the proof level has been set at '?' rather than '+'.
² Ibid, 296.
³ MASS 8:903.
⁴ BED1, 27.
⁵ Ibid, 32.

CAMBRIDGE MOUNTAIN
CAESAR FRENCH
CAESAR JONES
NEGRO SLAVES
SOLDIERS
IN THE REVOLUTION
1775 1783



X+ Plato Lambert

Age: 37

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Natick, MA

Description: 'colored'

Status: free

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Ward /Mellen

Stationed: N/A

Plato Lambert was born in Framingham, Massachusetts on 1 December 1737.¹ He 'was taken when an infant by Mrs. Martha Nichols of [Framingham]'.² He later became 'the slave of Joseph and Hannah Taylor, who lived on the farm now occupied by Mr. Fairchild, on Pond street [and] was given his freedom by those people ... [he] was a man of gigantic stature'.³

He joined the eight month's service on 1 May 1775 in the company of Capt. James Mellen, in Col. Jonathan Ward's regiment.⁴ On 23 May 1775, he was chosen to serve on picket guard under Major [Loammi] Baldwin and Captain Reuben Dickinson.⁵ On 18 June 1775, one day after the Battle of Bunker Hill, he was listed on an order 'for cartridge boxes to be delivered said Lomboard and others belonging to Capt. James Mellen's co'.⁶ This is a strong indication of participation in the Battle. On 26 December 1775, he was listed in an 'order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money dated Dorchester'.⁷

'After the Revolution, he used to roam around the country, accompanied by a large dog. Very soon they disappeared. In 1810, while constructing a road near Lake Cochituate, the workmen found the skeleton of a large man, and near by, the remains of a dog. From the double teeth, and the size of the frame, it was supposed to belong to Plato Lambert, who was probably murdered and buried there'.⁸

¹ MAVR, Framingham, Births, 129.

² FRAM, 235, listed under 'Slaves and Colored Inhabitants'.

³ NA75.

⁴ MASS 9:445, listed as 'Lambord'.

⁵ Ibid 9:914, listed as 'Lombert'.

⁶ Ibid, listed as 'Lomboard'.

⁷ Ibid 9:445.

⁸ NA75.

*X David Lamson

Age: 35

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Arlington, MA

Description: 'mulatto'

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Volunteer

Unit: N/A

Entered: Menotomy (Arlington)

David Lamson was probably born circa 1740.¹ In the French and Indian Wars he served as a Private from Cambridge.² In 1767 he lived in Medford (MA) and 'came to live at house of P. Tufts Jr.' The next year he was warned-out. By 1769 he was in Reading and described as a 'young man'.³ At some time after that he moved to Menotomy (also called West Cambridge and later Arlington), where he was on 19 April 1775:

Lord Percy's reinforcement had been delayed for a little time at Brighton bridge, the planks of which had been taken up by the direction of the Committee of safety. But, unfortunately, they were simply piled up on the Cambridge side, and it was the work of but a few moments to replace them sufficiently to allow the troops to pass. When, however, a convoy of provisions and supplies in charge of a sergeant's guard, following in the rear of the main body, came to the bridge, they could not cross so easily; and, in the delay incident to making it passable by the heavy wagons, and misled by false direction as to the road, they became so far separated from the troops that they could receive no protection from them. Meantime an express was sent post-haste from Old Cambridge to Menotomy, bearing the information that these supplies were on the way. Several of our men met at once in Cooper's tavern ... to form some plan for capturing them. They were of the exempts, or alarm list as it was called, all old men ... in all about twelve. They chose for their leader David Lamson, a mulatto, who had served in the war, a man of undoubted bravery and determination. They took their position ... behind a bank wall of earth and stones ... The convoy soon made its appearance. As it came between them and the meeting-house of the First Parish, Lamson ordered his men to rise and aim directly at the horses, and called out to them to surrender. No reply was made, but the drivers whipped up their teams. Lamson's men then fired, killing several of the horses, and, according to some accounts, killing two of the men and wounding others. One of the bullets passed through the front door of the church. The frightened drivers leaped from their places, and with the guards, ran directly to the shore of Spy Pond, into which they threw their guns ...⁴

On 7 May 1775 Simon Tufts, a Loyalist, listed the names of thirty men who 'made Solemn Oath that they were personally present with their Guns within about Ten Rods of the Carts yt. were filled wth. Stores for the King's Troops, when they were first Fired upon near Menotomy Meeting on the 19th day of April last ...'. On this list of names is 'David Lampson'.⁵

It was undoubtedly the same man who joined Capt. William Adam's company in Col. Thatcher's regiment for five days, marching 'at request of Gen. Washington at the time of taking Dorchester Heights March 4, 1776'.⁶ Later that year he had enlisted from Lexington in Capt. Simon Hunt's company in Col. John Brooks' regiment, serving at Rye [NY] where he was 'reported sick'.⁷ Once again, it is undoubtedly the same man who enlisted from Cambridge in Capt. Stephen Dana's company in Col. Josiah Whitney's regiment, serving at South Kingston (RI) for two months and five days from his arrival on 17 May 1777.⁸ With Gen. Burgoyne preparing to advance on northern New

¹ He would have had to be 16 or older in order to serve in the French and Indian Wars (1756-1763). However, to be called a 'young man' in 1769 (see CHAR 539), he would probably not have been older than 29. The compromise birthdate is 1740.

² CAMB, 405.

³ CHAR, 539; listed under 'INDIANS'.

⁴ ARLC, 27-9; this story was told by David Lamson himself to a Col. Thomas Russell, who told it to the author. Some accounts say the Americans were led by Rev. Phillips Payson of Chelsea who led on his parishioners.

⁵ RUBI, List 142, #61 MASSACHUSETTS; this is the first known primary proof to place Lamson at the scene.

⁶ MASS 9:452; listed as 'Lamson'.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

York, the call once again went out for soldiers to meet this serious threat. He joined the Massachusetts militia on 20 August 1777, in the company of Capt. Joseph Fuller in Col. Samuel Bullard's regiment. This regiment served at the second Battle of Saratoga on 7 October 1777. He was discharged on 29 November 1777 and was allowed 240 miles home.⁹

In 1787 he moved from Cambridge to Charlestown.¹⁰ The 1790 census of Charlestown lists him alone as a free man as head of his household.¹¹

⁹ MASS 9:450; listed as 'Lampson'.

¹⁰ CHAR, 539.

¹¹ USCE, 1790, Massachusetts, Charlestown, 138.

X? Cornelius Lenox

Age: 21
Occupation: N/A
Residence: Woburn, MA

Description: 'mulatto'
Status: N/A
Religion: N/A

Rank: Private
Unit: Gerrish / Wood
Stationed: N/A

Cornelius Lenox was born circa 1754.¹

He joined the eight month's service from Woburn on 24 May 1775 in the company of Capt. John Wood, in Col. Samuel Gerrish's regiment.² Just three days later, he was administered the oath 'required by Congress to be taken by the Massachusetts army.'³ He was listed on the return of sick and absent on 10 August 1775 at Medford⁴ and on a pay abstract for September 1775 at Chelsea⁵. On the October 1775 return he is 'reported a mulatto'.⁶ He declined to serve in 1776 and also declined on 28 December 1775 to receive a bounty coat, opting for the money instead.⁷

In 1776, he served from Lexington in the New York Campaign in Capt. Simon Hunt's company, in Col. Eleazer Brooks' regiment, and 'lost articles in battle' at White Plains.⁸

There is no record of 1777 service.

In the summer of 1778, he served in the Rhode Island expedition under Capt. John Dix, in Col. William McIntosh's regiment and Gen. Solomon Lovell's Brigade.⁹

From 1779 to 1781, he served in many successive three-month engagements as a guard in and about Boston under Capt. (and then Maj.) Nathaniel Heath. At the time of his discharge in March 1781, he was a guard in Watertown under Sgt. Samuel Richards.¹⁰ He was still in Watertown on 13 July 1781 when he received wages as a guard, still under Sgt. Richards.¹¹ He served in total approximately five years.

He was 'from Boston, [and] settled about 1783 [in Newton (MA)], on the bank of Charles River, near the Watertown line'.¹² The 1790 census of Newton lists him as head in a household of seven free people of color.¹³

He was married in Boston on 4 April 1780 to Susannah Toney.¹⁴

¹ BD-M.

² MASS 10:44, listed as 'Lunox'.

³ Ibid 9:931, listed as 'Lornox'.

⁴ Ibid 9:679, listed as 'Lennox'.

⁵ Ibid 9:931, under 'Lornox'.

⁶ Ibid 10:43, listed as Lunnox'.

⁷ Ibid 9:680, listed as 'Lenox'.

⁸ Ibid 9:679, listed as 'Lennix'.

⁹ Ibid 9:601, listed as 'Leanox'.

¹⁰ Ibid 9:679, under 'Lennix'.

¹¹ Ibid, listed as 'Lennex'.

¹² NEWT, 145.

¹³ USCE, 1790, Massachusetts, Newton, 150.

¹⁴ BOSM, under the heading of '1780'.

X+ Barzillai Lew

Age: 31

Occupation: cooper

Residence: Chelmsford, MA

Description: 'negro'

Status: free

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Bridge / Ford

Stationed: redoubt

Barzillai Lew was born in Groton (MA) on 5 November 1743, the son of Primus and Margaret (_____) Lew.¹ His father moved the family from Groton to Dracut when Barzillai was about two years old.² Barzillai (pronounced bar-zeal-ya) grew to be "big and strong with an extraordinary talent as a musician"³.

For thirty-eight weeks in 1760 he served in Capt. Thomas Farrington's company in the French and Indian War.⁴ 'After the death of his stepmother in 1763, Barzillai Lew of Groton chose Francis Blood of Concord, Massachusetts, as his guardian. According to the town records of Chelmsford, Barzillai lived there from 1772 to 1776. He was on the Chelmsford tax list in 1775.'⁵ Just before the Revolutionary War started, he 'was living in that part of Lowell now known as Pawtucketville ... and 'was a free man ... always called "Zeal"'. He 'lived on what is now called Totman Street ... for nearly a century known as "the Old Zeal Road" ... where he owned a farm'.⁶

He enlisted in the eight months' service from Chelmsford on 6 May 1775, in Capt. John Ford's company in Col. Ebenezer Bridge's 27th regiment. A 15 June 1775 descriptive roll lists him as a 'negro' and as⁷:

age:	30
stature:	6 ft.
occupation:	cooper
rank:	fifer

Nell stated that he was 'at the battle of Bunker Hill'.⁸ His name appears on the 1 August 1775 muster roll and on a 25 September 1775 company return.⁹

He remained in Capt. John Ford's company from 5 February 1776 to 1 April 1776. As the American attack on Canada crumbled, the call went out for reinforcements for the Northern Department. He responded by reenlisting in Capt. Ford's company, which marched from Chelmsford on 25 July 1776. His name appears on a 28 August 1776 receipt for mileage and a 1 October 1776 receipt for wages, both 'dated Ticonderoga'. His unit served at Ticonderoga during the time of the defeat of the American fleet on Lake Champlain under Gen. Benedict Arnold. With the British threat over for the season, most of the Americans were discharged. His discharge was at Albany on 1 January 1777.¹⁰

¹ MAVR, Groton, Births, 271; listed as 'Zelah' under 'NEGROES'. DRAC, 332 states that his father was a negro servant to Capt. Boyden and that his mother was a mulatto and former servant to Samuel Scripture, at the time of their marriage in 1742. Franklin A. Dorman has done an extensive genealogy of this family in [DORM].

² DRAC, 332.

³ MAYO, 3.

⁴ DRAC, 332.

⁵ DORM, 272-3.

⁶ MSEX 2:310.

⁷ MASS 9:725; listed as 'Lew'.

⁸ NELL, 21.

⁹ MASS 9:725; under 'Lew'.

¹⁰ Ibid.

He engaged on 3 November 1777 as a Fifer with Capt. Joseph Bradley Varnum's Dracut company of volunteers. They marched from home the next day but were discharged on 7 November 1777 after having traveled 40 miles.

The 1790 census of Dracut lists him as head in a household of fourteen free people of color.¹¹

He died 18 January 1822 in Dracut¹², at the age of 78. He is buried in the Clay Pit Cemetery in Lowell.¹³

He married Dinah Bowman.¹⁴ He had purchased her, circa 1767 for \$400¹⁵, from Maj. Abraham Blood. She 'was a mulatto and almost white'.¹⁶ Their children 'all possessed a natural talent for music, and most of them could play any kind of wind or stringed instrument -- the girls as well as the boys. They formed a complete band, and furnished music on all first-class occasions in this vicinity, and were called frequently to Boston and even as far away as Portland [ME].'¹⁷ The thirteen children of Barzillai and Dinah were:

1. Zadock b. 29 April 1768 in Dracut¹⁸
 mint. Sarah [Salley] Brister on 16 February 1794 in Dracut¹⁹
 d. 5 May 1826 in Dracut²⁰
2. Amy b. 8 December 1771 in Chelmsford²¹
 m. Peleg Gardner on 12 December 1792 in Dracut²²
 d. March 1796²³
3. Zirviah b. 26 June 1773 in Chelmsford²⁴
 m. Frances Davis on 11 August 1796 in Dracut²⁵
 d. 28 May 1826 in Lancaster²⁶
4. Euebra b. 26 April 1775 in Chelmsford²⁷
 d. 3 March 1826²⁸
5. Barzillai Jr.²⁹ b. 4 February 1777 in Dracut³⁰
 m. (1) Dorcas Brister on 30 September 1801 in Dracut³¹
 (2) Sarah _____³²

¹¹ USCE, 1790, Massachusetts, Dracut, 140.

¹² MAVR, Dracut, Deaths, 287; referencing records of the Pawtucket Church.

¹³ This cemetery was visited in August 2000. It is hidden deep in the woods behind the Brunswick Lowell Bowling Lanes on Pawtucket Road just west of Townsend Avenue. The cemetery was deeply overgrown with brambles and contained just a few overturned stones (none found for Barzillai Lew). Townspeople are hoping that business development in the old movie drive-in lot adjacent will spur an effort to rejuvenate the cemetery, which had been cleaned up during the Bicentennial but later vandalized.

¹⁴ According to widow's pension: USPE, Roll 1553, Pension# W20461; she died 1 January 1837 at Andover per MAVR, Andover, Deaths, 490.

¹⁵ MAYO, 3.

¹⁶ MSEX 2:310.

¹⁷ MSEX 2:311.

¹⁸ USPE, Frame 1075.

¹⁹ MAVR, Dracut, Marriages, 209.

²⁰ MAVR, Dracut, Deaths, 286. MAYO, 3 states that he died 'without a will and his property is sold at auction'.

²¹ USPE, Frame 1075.

²² MAVR, Dracut, Marriages, 209.

²³ USPE, Frame 1075.

²⁴ USPE, Frame 1075.

²⁵ MAVR, Dracut, Marriages, 208.

²⁶ USPE, Frame 1075.

²⁷ USPE, Frame 1075.

²⁸ USPE, Frame 1075.

²⁹ MSEX, 2:311 states: he 'was almost white, was well educated, and became a man of some property and consequence ... he owned the largest library in town and rode in his coach ... was tall and dignified in appearance, had a handsome face with fine features, possessed a commanding appearance and was remarkably intelligent, refined and pleasing in his address. Had it not been for the social degradation to which the race to which he belonged had been reduced, he would have been chosen to the first offices in his town, if not in the State.'

³⁰ USPE, Frame 1075.

³¹ MAVR, Dracut, Marriages, 207.

- (3) Nancy Riley on 3 September 1823 in Andover³³
 (4) Eliza _____³⁴
 d. 22 February 1861³⁵
6. Peter b. 28 January 1779 in Dracut³⁶
 m. Mary _____³⁷
 d. 22 July 1817³⁸ in Boston³⁹
7. Reophas b. 21 August 1780 in Dracut⁴⁰
8. Eri⁴¹ b. 21 March 1782 in Dracut⁴²
 d. 6 January 1818⁴³
9. Dinah b. 25 January 1784 in Dracut⁴⁴
 m. Moses Freeman on 17 October 1808 in Dracut⁴⁵
 d.ca. 1870⁴⁶
10. Zimri⁴⁷ b. 27 November 1785 in Dracut⁴⁸
 m. Mahala Freeman on 31 August 1811 in Dracut⁴⁹
 d. 9 April 1847 in Dracut⁵⁰
11. Phebe b. 20 April 1788 in Dracut⁵¹
 m. Frederic Hoyt on 18 November 1812 in Dracut⁵²
 d. 7 December 1853⁵³
12. Lucy⁵⁴ b. 7 May 1790 in Dracut⁵⁵
 m. Thomas Dalton⁵⁶
 d. 12 April 1865 in Charlestown⁵⁷
13. Adrastus b. 23 December 1793 in Dracut⁵⁸
 m. Hannah _____⁵⁹
 d. 6 September 1819⁶⁰

³² Proven by the fact that Barzillai Jr. and Sarah had two children who both died young; see MAVR, Andover, Deaths.

³³ MAVR, Andover, Marriages, 218.

³⁴ GRAV, North Parish Cemetery, North Andover (MA); discovered Summer 2001 and again on 27 February 2002.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ USPE, Frame 1075.

³⁷ DORM, 274.

³⁸ USPE, Frame 1075.

³⁹ CC-D, Vol. 7.

⁴⁰ USPE, Frame 1075; also states "Prest at sea & Carried on board a British Ship of war in 1808 unknown whether alive or not in 1820".

⁴¹ DORM, 274-5 states: 'Eri was the first Lew to appear in the Boston city directory where he was listed in 1816 as living on May Street. He held office in the Prince Hall Masonic Lodge in Boston at the same time as his brother Peter. He was installed as Senior Warden on 24 June 1816 and served as Junior Warden from 24 December 1817 until his death.'

⁴² USPE, Frame 1075.

⁴³ USPE, Frame 1075.

⁴⁴ USPE, Frame 1075.

⁴⁵ MAVR, Dracut, Marriages, 207.

⁴⁶ DRAC, 334.

⁴⁷ DORM 281 states: Zimri's son, also named Zimri, "enlisted first in the Massachusetts 54th Infantry Volunteers, but he was held over at Camp Meigs in Readville, Massachusetts, and assigned to Co. F of the 55th Massachusetts Infantry Volunteers on 11 January 1865" and later died in the service.

⁴⁸ USPE, Frame 1075.

⁴⁹ MAVR, Dracut, Marriages, 208.

⁵⁰ MAVR, Dracut, Deaths, 286; listed as 'Zimri'. MAYO, 3 states that he died 'in a tragic train accident in Lowell on Fast Day'.

⁵¹ USPE, Frame 1075.

⁵² MAVR, Dracut, Marriages, 207.

⁵³ USPE, Frame 1075.

⁵⁴ DORM, 290 states that Lucy's grandson Cornelius Henson served in the 54th Massachusetts.

⁵⁵ USPE, Frame 1075.

⁵⁶ LEWF.

⁵⁷ DORM, 283.

⁵⁸ USPE, Frame 1075.

⁵⁹ DORM, 284.

⁶⁰ USPE, Frame 1075.

FAMILY OF BAZILLAI and DINAH LEW

Born	November 5 th	1749	-	-	in Gorton
Ladock	Born April 29 th	1768	-	-	in Dmcutt
Amey	Born Dec. 9 th	1771	-	-	in Chesford
Sarah	Born June 26 th	1772	-	-	do
Luceba	Born April 26 th	1775	-	-	do
Annelle	Born Feb. 2 nd	1777	-	-	in Gorton
Peter	Born Jan. 28 th	1779	-	-	do
Joseph	Born August 21 st	1780	-	-	do
Lo	Born March 21 st	1782	-	-	do
Dinah	Born Jan. 25 th	1784	-	-	do
Louise	Born Nov. 27 th	1785	-	-	do
Phoebe	Born April 26 th	1788	-	-	do
Luce	Born May 7 th	1790	-	-	do
Abraham	Born Dec. 23 rd	1793	-	-	do

Amey	Died March 9	1796	aged	25	years
Peter	Died July 22	1817	aged	38	
Lo	Died Jan. 6 th	1818	aged	36	
Abraham	Died Sept. 6 th	1819	aged	26	
Joseph Part of him carried on board a British ship of war in 1808 unknown whether alive or not in 1820					
Luce	Died Dec. 18	1826	aged	58	
Sarah	Died May 28 th	1826	aged	53	
Luceba	Died March 23	1826	aged	51	

Jerry Died April 9th - 1847
 Phoebe Died Dec. 7th - 1853

X? Charles{town} Lines {Lyndes} ★

Age: 28
Occupation: N/A
Residence: Malden, MA

Description: 'negro'
Status: N/A
Religion: N/A

Rank: Private
Unit: Brewer / Blake
Stationed: diagonal

Charles Lines, sometimes called Charlestown Lyndes, was born circa 1747.¹

He joined the eight month's service from Malden on 23 May 1775 in the company of Capt. Edward Blake, in Col. Jonathan Brewer's regiment.² This unit served at the Battle of Bunker Hill on the diagonal line between the redoubt and the breastwork. He was listed on an 'order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money dated Cambridge Camp' on 25 October 1775, in Capt. Aaron Haynes' company.³

There is no record of 1776 service.

On 20 February 1777, he enlisted from Malden⁴ for three years in the Continental Army in Capt. Robert Allen's company, in Col. Ichabod Alden's regiment.⁵ This unit served in the Saratoga campaign and also at the Massacre at Cherry Valley (NY), where his Colonel was killed.

From 1 January 1780 to 31 December 1780, he served in Capt. Jacob Wales' company, in Col. Thomas Marshall's 10th regiment. He is 'reported a negro' and listed on a descriptive roll at West Point on 12 February 1780⁶:

age:	33 yrs. (also given as 23)
stature:	4 ft. 9 in. (also given as 5 ft. 4 in.)
complexion:	black
hair:	black
residence:	Charlestown (also given as Charlton)

By 1 January 1781, he had transferred to Capt. Jonathan Turner's company, in the 10th Massachusetts now under Col. Benjamin Tupper. He died in the service, probably at West Point and probably of smallpox, on 29 March 1781.⁷

¹ BD-R.

² MASS 9:834, listed as 'Lines, Charles'.

³ Ibid 10:84, listed as 'Lynes, Charles'.

⁴ Ibid 10:82, listed as 'Lynds, Charlestown'.

⁵ Ibid 10:80; also, Ibid 9:834, under 'Lines, Charles'.

⁶ Ibid 9:384.

⁷ Ibid.

X+ Eden London

Age: 31

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Fitchburg, MA

Description: 'negro'

Status: slave

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Whitcomb / Burt

Stationed: rail fence

The respected Lancaster (MA) historian Nourse describes Eden London as 'colored'.¹ There was a London, 'negro of Joseph Moores', who was baptized at Chocksett Church in Lancaster on 16 June 1744² and who is most likely the same person as the soldier described below. Due to the legal case *Winchendon v. Hatfield* (described below), we know that 'in nineteen years [he] changed masters no less than eleven times, besides twice enlisting in the Continental Army'³.

He enlisted in the eight months' service from Fitchburg (MA) on 10 May 1775, in the company of Capt. James Burt in Col. Asa Whitcomb's regiment.⁴ His name appears on a 3 June 1775 order for advance pay⁵, on the 1 August 1775 muster roll and on the October 1775 company return⁶. Nourse states that he 'fought at Bunker Hill'.⁷

There is no record of 1776 service.

With Gen. Burgoyne preparing to advance on northern New York, the call went out for soldiers to meet this serious threat. He enlisted⁸ from Winchendon on 7 December 1776 for three years in the Continental Army, in Capt. William Warner's company in Col. Thomas Marshall's 10th Massachusetts regiment. This unit fought valiantly at both Battles of Saratoga, spent the winter at Valley Forge and then fought in the stifling heat at Monmouth (NJ). From January to April 1779 he served at West Point. He was discharged on 7 December 1779.⁹

The History of Winchendon describes an important legal case in which Eden London was the principle character¹⁰:

THE SLAVE CASE

It is a curious fact that the question whether chattel slave ever existed in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, was settled, in part by a case in which this town was involved as a party at law. The subject is referred to in an article which appeared in the Historical Magazine, (N.Y.) in 1866, written apparently in a spirit hostile to the fair fame of the State. A reply to this article appeared in the Boston Daily Advertiser. A concise statement of this case belongs to this period of our narrative.

On the 22d of August, 1804, the town voted "that the Selectmen should see and take care of the matter concerning the Negro, that the town of Ipswich has notified this town to take and support." No name is given, but it is supposed that the same person is referred to in the following action, taken on the 4th of the next March, (1805.) "Chose Thomas Graton

¹ LANR, 237.

² MAVR, Lancaster, Baptisms, 379.

³ CAHP 10(1917):74.

⁴ MASS 9:931; listed as 'Lonnon, Edom'.

⁵ Ibid 9:932; listed as 'Lonun, Edom'.

⁶ Ibid 9:931.

⁷ LANR, 237.

⁸ He was transferred from his local militia unit into the Continental Army. MASS 9:916 shows this militia unit to be both Capt. John Boynton's company from Winchendon (under 'Lonan, Edom') and Capt. Daniel Goss's company from Lancaster (under 'London, Edom'). These two citations undoubtedly refer to the same man but the dual registration in the militia has not yet been resolved.

⁹ MASS 9:931.

¹⁰ WINC, 276-279; my deepest thanks to Priscilla Draeger, long-time researcher of Eden London, who transcribed this text and forwarded it on disk.

and Thomas Greenwood, agents to look into the matter of Eden London, (named in the Records of the Court, Edom,) a poor negro man, and find out where he ought to be supported." On the 6th of May following, it was farther voted, "that the agents, with the assistance of the Selectmen, notify the town of Weston, or the town of Hatfield, or any other town, as soon as they can gain knowledge, which town said London was left a citizen, according to law." Later still, on the 18th of August, 1806, the agents were directed to "carry on the suit against Hatfield, concerning Eden London, according to the best counsel they can get, to final issue." At the same time a grant of \$50 was made to carry on the lawsuit.

The contest was now between Hatfield and Winchendon. It had first been brought before a justice of the peace in Worcester county, where the decision was in favor of Hatfield, affirming the decision of the justice. The case was tried, at the December term, 1806. It was next appealed to the Supreme Judicial Court, March term, 1808. The record of the Court of Common Pleas, as certified by the presiding justice, as follows:

Worcester, ss. Court of Common Pleas, December, 1806.

The town of Winchendon, in the county of Worcester, complainants against the town of Hatfield, in the county of Hampshire, before this court of appeal from the adjudication of Hon. Dwight Foster, Esq., one of the justices of the peace for said county, setting forth in their complaint, that Edom London, a Negro man, now resident in said town of Winchendon, is poor and become chargeable to said town, and that the said town of Hatfield is the place of his lawful settlement, and praying that it may be so adjudged.

The facts in the case, from the evidence before the court, are, that said Edom, in the year 1757, was the proper estate of one Samuel Bond, and then by him sold to William Williams of Weston; that some time in the year 1760, and after the decease of the said Williams, said Edom was set off as the estate of said Williams to the wife of Oliver Partridge of Hatfield, who was the daughter of said deceased, as part of the portion in said deceased's estate, and then went to live with said Partridge, in said town of Hatfield, and continued his servant until the 2d day of October, A.D. 1767, at which time he was sold by Partridge to John Ingersoll, Esq., of Westfield, in said county of Hampshire, and continued with him about three years; was then sold by said Ingersoll to John M'Cluster of Longmeadow, lived with him a few weeks; was then sold by said M'Cluster to Joshua Holcomb, of Simsbury, Ct and lived with him about four years; then sold by Holcomb to William Bond of Lincoln, and lived with him a short time; was then sold by said Bond to Thomas Cowdin, of Fitchburg, and lived with him three or four years; was then sold by Cowdin to Jonathan Stimson, of Winchendon; and the day following he absconded and enlisted in the eight months' service in Cambridge and before he expiration of the said eight months' service and in the year 1775, was sold by said Stimson to Thomas Sawyer of Winchendon with whom he lived some time; then he was sold by said Sawyer to Daniel Goodridge, of the same Winchendon, in the month of July 1776 with whom he lived about five weeks; then he enlisted into the three years' service and the said Goodridge received the whole of his bounty, and part of his wages.

Such was the case before the Court of Common Pleas, which affirmed the judgment of justice Foster, and adjudged that London's settlement was not in Hatfield. It may be said here in passing, that according to tradition, Eden London had his freedom from Mr. Goodridge, on condition that he, London, should take the place of his master, in the three years' of service.

The case was brought up before the Supreme Court, at Worcester in September, 1807, when Upham appeared in behalf of the plaintiffs that is, the town of Winchendon. The case was continued, and at the March term, 1808, Bigelow argued the case for this town. After hearing the arguments, the Court, Chief Justice Parsons, presiding decided as follows:

"Is it stated that the pauper was once the slave of Oliver Partridge living several years with him at Hatfield, where his master was settled. The pauper then acquired a derivative settlement in Hatfield. Afterwards his master sold him to J. Ingersoll, Esq., and inhabitant of, and settled in Westfield. There he lived several years with his new master, and then he lost his settlement in Hatfield, by gaining a new derivative settlement in Westfield, either as a slave of a freeman, it is unnecessary to pursue the case further. Having lost his settlement in Hatfield, and not having regained a new settlement there, the defendants are not liable for maintenance, and the judgment must be affirmed with costs."

The decision relieved Hatfield from the support of Eden London, and threw the costs of the suit upon Winchendon; but must Winchendon continue to support him? It was claimed by the town's counsel, Mr. Bigelow, among other things, that a slave could obtain a settlement by length of residence, and not merely derivatively from his master. It was farther claimed, that by two decisions of the Supreme Judicial Court it had been decided that slavery could not exist in this Commonwealth. In the first action referred to, involving the right of the master, which came before the Supreme Judicial Court, after the establishment of the Constitution, the judges declared, that by virtue of the first article of the declaration of rights, slavery in this State was no more. Afterwards in an action by the inhabitants of Littleton, brought to maintain the expenses supporting a negro, tried in Middlesex, October term 1796, the Chief Justice, in directing the jury, stated as the unanimous opinion of the court, that a negro born in the State before the present constitution, was born free, although born of a female slave. If this decision should stand, then London was legally a freeman, when he lived in Hatfield, and had settlement in his own right, which he had never forfeited, since he had been removed without any regard to his own wishes. But Judge Parsons and his Associates dismissed this matter with the curt remark: "It is however very certain that the general practice and common usage had been opposed to his opinion." The decision settled this point: that before the Revolution the settlement of a slave always followed that of his master." Eden's residence was here therefore, because his last three masters lived in this town. Again the decision affirmed that slaves when "manumitted, could acquire a settlement in their own right, and they had resided a year in the town where they were manumitted, they could not then be warned out."

Whichever of these decisions of the Court was right; the more humane one of the Court in 1796, or the possibly more legal one of the court in 1808; the town was obliged to support **Eden London** in his old age, and as he did service in the war of independence, it is to be hoped that the maintenance was cheerfully rendered. It has come down to us that he was a "pretty smart man." He was probably an old man by this time, as it is fifty-one years from the time he began to figure, or rather be figured, in these sales, to the final decision.

He was buried in the old graveyard in the Centre, in the northeast corner.

London Eden died in Winchendon on March 1810.¹¹ He is buried in the Old Centre Cemetery in Winchendon, close to the rear wall in the northeast corner¹² [see photo]¹³.

¹¹ MAVR, Winchendon, Deaths, 202; described as 'A black man'.

¹² Cemetery visited on 24 June 2001 and gravesite pointed out by Priscilla Draeger.

¹³ Photo courtesy of Robert L. Draeger; taken Memorial Day, 2000.

EDEN
LONDON

SLAVE OF
DANIEL GOODRICH
ENL. IN REV. WAR

AUG. 1776
DISCH. YET A SLAVE
1779

DIED MAR. 1810

X? Peter Mitchell

Age: N/A

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Medford, MA

Description: 'negro'

Status: N/A

Religion: Congregational

Rank: Private

Unit: Gerrish / Baker

Stationed: N/A

Nothing is known of the early life of Peter Mitchell.

He joined the eight month's service on 24 April 1775 from Medford in the company of Capt. John Baker (10th) , in Col. Samuel Gerrish's (38th) regiment.¹ On 27 May 1775 he took the oath 'required by Congress to be taken by the Mass. army'.² He is listed on the 1 August 1775 muster roll³, on the August pay roll⁴ and on a 9 August 1775 list 'of men who were in need of blankets'⁵. On 27 September 1775 he was listed on a company return, now serving under his Lt. Col. Loammi Baldwin who had taken command after Col. Gerrish was broken for cowardice at Bunker Hill. On 19 November 1775 his name was on an 'order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money dated Camp at Sewall's Point'.⁶

It is undoubtedly the same Peter who lost his wife, a 'negro', on 30 May 1776 in Medford.⁷

¹ MASS 10:851; listed as 'Mitchell'.

² Ibid 10:718; listed as 'Michel'.

³ Ibid 10:851.

⁴ Ibid 10:717; listed as 'Michal'.

⁵ Ibid 10:839; listed as 'Mitchel'.

⁶ Ibid 10:851.

⁷ MAVR, Medford, Deaths, 408; listed as 'Mitchel', referencing a Congregational Church record.

?X Cambridge Moore

Age: 23

Occupation: farmer

Residence: Bedford, MA

Description: 'Negro'

Status: servant

Religion: N/A

Rank: Volunteer

Unit: not enlisted, served w/ Moore

Entered: Concord

Cambridge Moore born circa 1752¹ and was the 'Negro servant' of Capt. John Moore of Bedford (MA).

'Tradition states that Cambridge Moore accompanied his master, as a freed man, to Concord, on April 19, 1775 ...'.² If so, would have been a volunteer attached to this company (his name is not listed in the official military records for 1775).

He enlisted from Bedford (MA) for Rhode Island service on 10 May 1777, in Capt. John Minot's company in Col. Josiah Whitney's regiment. The roll dated 'Warwick Neck' gives his discharge date as 9 July 1777.³ With Gen. Burgoyne preparing to advance on northern New York, the call once again went out for soldiers to meet this serious threat. He enlisted from Dracut (MA) on 15 August 1777, in Capt. Stephen Russell's company in Col. Samuel Bullard's Massachusetts militia regiment. This unit fought at the Second Battle of Saratoga. He was discharged 30 November 1777 and allowed 240 miles travel home.⁴

On 20 February 1778, he enlisted in Capt. Edward Farmer's company in Col. Jacob Gerrish's Massachusetts militia. This unit served at Bunker Hill, Charlestown (MA), in guarding the prisoners captured at Saratoga. He was discharged 20 May 1778. He reenlisted on 25 July 1778 in Capt. Joseph Boynton's company in Col. Nathaniel Wade's Massachusetts militia regiment, serving at Rhode Island. On 6 November 1778 he was serving at North Kingston (RI). In late 1778 he served at East Greenwich (RI). His term expired 1 January 1779.⁵

He enlisted in the Continental Army on 8 July 1780. His name appears on a descriptive roll dated 9 July 1780 at Springfield (MA):⁶

age:	25
stature:	5 ft. 6 in.
engaged for:	Bedford

A 6 August 1780 roll places him still at Springfield and describes him as 'a negro'.⁷ He marched to camp under the command of Lt. Jackson of the artillery and was reported 'a negro'. On 25 October 1780 he was serving at Camp Totaway (NJ).⁸

¹ BD-R.

² BED2, 285. There is some disagreement on these points: BED1, 31 states that there 'is no evidence that any of the slaves of this town were permitted to accompany their masters to Concord on April 19, 1775'. Therefore the proof level has been set at '?' rather than '+'.
³ MASS 10:944; listed as 'Moors'.
⁴ Ibid 10:890; listed as 'Mooar'.
⁵ Ibid 11:83-4; listed as 'Morse'.
⁶ Ibid 10:904; listed as 'Moor'.
⁷ MASS 10:916; listed as 'Moore'.
⁸ Ibid 11:3; listed as 'More'.

By January 1781 he was serving at West Point in Capt. Sylvanus Smith's company in Col. Rufus Putnam's 5th regiment. His discharge was dated 8 January 1781. He reenlisted for three years on 1 March 1781. His name again appears on a descriptive roll⁹:

age:	28
stature:	5 ft. 6 in.
complexion:	black
eyes:	black
occupation:	farmer (also given laborer)
engaged for:	Bedford

On 16 July 1781 he received a bounty from Bedford to serve in the Continental Army for three years.¹⁰ The details are recorded in the town history:

Class I. Capt. John Moore, chairman; provided a negro called Cambridge Moore (servant of the above), and agreed to give him, as a bounty, Twenty head of cattle, three years old, in case he continued in the service three years.¹¹

At some point after the Revolution, he moved to Dracut (MA) where 'he lived on Marsh Hill. His house stood at the corner of the old Proprietors road and the present highway near the reservoir. The well is still in existence but all traces of the house have disappeared'.¹²

He is buried in the northeast corner of the Olde Burial Grounds on Springs Road in Bedford. A stone monument marks the spot:

CAMBRIDGE MOORE
CAESAR PRESCOTT
CAESAR JONES
NEGRO SLAVES
SOLDIERS
IN THE REVOLUTION
1775 1783

⁹ Ibid 10:904.

¹⁰ Ibid 10:916.

¹¹ BED1, 27. This is in conflict with the previous statement in BED2 that Cambridge was a 'freed' man.

¹² DRAC, 339-340

X? Cato Newell

Age: 23

Occupation: baker

Residence: Charlestown, MA

Description: 'Negro'

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Matross

Unit: Gridley / Chadwick

Stationed: N/A

Cato Newell was born circa 1752.¹

He enlisted as a matross on 13 May 1775 in the company of Capt. Joseph Chadwick, in Col. Richard Gridley's regiment of artillery. The descriptive roll of the company, dated Fort No. 3 Charlestown, lists him as follows:

age:	23
occupation:	baker
residence:	Charlestown

On 21 November he is recorded on an 'order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money dated Fort No. 3'.²

He was married on 16 October 1782 in Chelmsford to Dinah Toney.³

¹ BD-R.

² MASS 11:345.

³ MAVR, Charlestown, 495; also MAVR, Chelmsford, 353, under 'NEGROES'.

X? Cuff Nimrod

Age: 22

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Sudbury, MA

Description: N/A¹

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: J. Brewer / Russell

Stationed: diagonal

Cuff Nimrod was born circa 1753.²

He joined the eight month's service on 30 April 1775 in the company of Capt. Thaddeus Russell, in Col. Jonathan Brewer's regiment.³ This company served in the Battle of Bunker Hill on the diagonal between the redoubt and the breastwork. On 16 July 1775, he served on the main guard under Lt. col. Loammi Baldwin at Prospect Hill.⁴ He is listed from Sudbury on the October 1775 roll.⁵ The 26 October 1775 roll lists him on an 'order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money dated Cambridge Camp'.⁶

In 1776, he served in Capt. Amasa Cranston's company, in Col. Eleazer Brooks' regiment.⁷

He was married on 14 January 1779 in Natick to Alice Kent. At the time, he was 'of Sudbury'.⁸

¹ NAME.

² BD-M.

³ MASS 11:477, listed as 'Nimroo'.

⁴ Ibid, listed as 'Nimrod'.

⁵ Ibid 11:476, listed as 'Nimro'.

⁶ Ibid 11:477, listed as 'Nimroe'.

⁷ Ibid 11:324, listed as 'Nemro'.

⁸ MAVR, Natick, Marriages, 169, listed as 'Nimro'. Intentions were also filed.

X? Jonathan Occum {Oakum/Ockham/Auccom/Occom}

Age: 50

Occupation: N/A

Residence: New London, CT

Description: 'Mohegan'

Status: free

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Putnam / Durkee

Stationed: rail fence

Jonathan Occum probably early resided in New London, Connecticut.¹ He was born in 1725, the son of Joshua and Sarah (____) Occum², and was the brother of the celebrated Sampson Occum '[Christian] missionary of all the tribes of southern New England'³.

He served in the French and Indian Wars, in Capt. Ebenezer Leache's company in 1755 and in Capt. Zachaeus Wheeler's company in 1758.⁴

After the Lexington Alarm, he enlisted on 10 May 1775 in the company of Capt. John Durkee, in Col. Israel Putnam's regiment. This company marched from Norwich CT to Cambridge was engaged in the Battle of Bunker Hill, stationed at the rail fence. He was discharged on 16 December 1775⁵ and 'served throughout the war'⁶ though no other service records have been found.

After the war, he 'returned to Mohegan, received 20 acres of land in the distribution of 1790, and was living there in 1804. In lists he is called "a single man" and a "brother of Samson"⁷.

¹ MOHE, 15.

² LOVE, 354.

³ Ibid, 204.

⁴ Ibid 354.

⁵ CTSS, 54.

⁶ MOHE, 14.

⁷ LOVE, 354.

X? Aaron Oliver

Age: 25

Occupation: farmer

Residence: New Ipswich, NH

Description: 'mulatto'

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Reed / Town

Stationed: east end of rail fence

Aaron Oliver was born circa 1750 at Malden, Massachusetts.¹

He joined the eight month's service in the company of Capt. Ezra Town, in Col. James Reed's 3rd New Hampshire regiment of foot. The descriptive roll of the company lists him as follows²:

age:	25
stature:	5 ft. 10 in.
complexion:	mulatto
eyes:	black
occupation:	farmer
birthplace:	Malden
residence:	Temple
enlisted:	April 23, 1775

¹ MASS 11:635.

² Ibid.

X? Peter Oliver

Age: 19

Occupation: farmer/laborer

Residence: Lincoln, MA

Description: 'negro'

Status: N/A

Religion: Church of Christ

Rank: Private

Unit: Prescott / Wyman

Stationed: redoubt

Peter Oliver was baptized on 6 June 1756 in Lincoln (MA), the son of Margaret (____) Oliver.¹

It is undoubtedly the same man who joined the eight month's service on 30 May 1775 from Lincoln, in the company of Capt. Abijah Wyman in Col. William Prescott's regiment. His name also appears on the 1 August 1775 roll, on a 3 October 1775 return dated Cambridge and on an 11 November 1775 'order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money dated Cambridge'.²

As the attack on Canada crumbled, the call went out for reinforcements for the Northern Department. It is undoubtedly the same Peter Oliver who responded by enlisting in Capt. Timothy Stow's company, in Col. Ephraim Wheelock's regiment. This unit served at Ticonderoga during the time of the defeat of the American fleet on Lake Champlain under Gen. Benedict Arnold.³

On his return, he joined the local 6th Middlesex County militia, in the company of Capt. Aaron Jewett in Col. Jonathan Reed's regiment. With Gen. Burgoyne preparing to advance on northern New York, the call once again went out for soldiers to meet this serious threat. Now residing in Littleton (MA), he joined the Continental Army on 20 March 1777 for a three-year term in the company of Capt. Edmund Munroe, in Col. Timothy Bigelow's 15th Massachusetts regiment. This unit served at Saratoga, Valley Forge and Monmouth, where his Captain was killed. In February 1779 he was serving in Providence. He was on furlough in March and April 1779. On 20 March 1780 he was discharged.⁴

In 1780, a call went out for men to reinforce the Continental Army for six months. Oliver marched to Springfield (MA) under Capt. Clark and was 'reported a negro' on a descriptive roll on 19 July 1780:

age:	23
stature:	5 ft. 9 in.
engaged for:	Littleton

A 25 October 1780 return dated Camp Totaway (NJ) lists his name. He was discharged 6 December 1780.⁵

On 4 July 1781, he enlisted from the town of Carlisle (MA) into the Continental Army for three years. On 1 August 1781 he received a bounty. A descriptive roll lists him⁶:

age:	24
stature:	5 ft. 8 in.
complexion:	black
occupation:	farmer (also given laborer)

¹ MAVR, Lincoln, Births, 59; referencing a Church of Christ record.

² MASS 11:642.

³ Ibid 11:643.

⁴ Ibid 11:642.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

X? Boston Osborn

Age: 18

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Ipswich, MA

Description: N/A¹

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Drummer

Unit: Little / Wade

Stationed: N/A

Nothing is known of the early life of Boston Osborn

He enlisted from Ipswich (MA) on 15 May 1775 as a drummer, in the company of Capt. Nathaniel Wade in Col. Moses Little's regiment. The October 1775 return lists him as 18 years old.²

¹ NAME.

² MASS 11:685, listed as 'Osbern'.

X? Chester Parker

Age: 26

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Dracut, MA

Description: 'negro'

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Prescott / O. Parker

Stationed: redoubt

Chester Parker was born circa 1749.¹

He joined the eight month's service from Dracut on 25 May 1775 in the company of Capt. Oliver Parker, in Col. William Prescott's regiment. This company served in the Battle of Bunker Hill in the redoubt. He was listed on the 1 August 1775 roll, on the 7 October 1775 company return and on a 31 October 1775 'order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money'.²

There is no clear record of 1776 or 1777 service.³

On 29 July 1778 he enlisted, in Capt. Joseph Bradley Varnum's company in Col. McIntosh's regiment in Col. Solomon Lovell's brigade, 'on expedition to Rhode Island'. This unit served at the Battle of Rhode Island in August 1778. He was discharged on 11 September 1778.

A 21 July 1779 descriptive roll, dated Lincoln, lists him as 'a negro' and as:

age:	30 (also given 25)
stature:	5 ft. 6 in.
residence:	Dracut

This was for service in Capt. Russell's company under Maj. Hosmer in Brig.-Gen. Eleazar Brooks' brigade. On 23 July 1779 he entered the service in Capt. Ebenezer Bancroft's company in Col. Michael Jackson's 8th regiment. He was discharged on 23 April 1780 after 9 months' service. His name also appears on a 24 November 1779 list of men raised in Middlesex county.

It is undoubtedly the same man who entered the service from Chelmsford on 24 August 1781, in Capt. Asa Drury's company in Col. Turner's regiment. After three months and eleven days service in Rhode Island, he was discharged on 30 November 1781.⁴

¹ BD-R; age also given as 25 indicating a birth year of 1754.

² MASS 11:842; after the Battle of Bunker Hill, Capt. Parker left the service and command of the company fell to Lt. Nathaniel Sartwell. Capt. Ephraim Corey took command by October.

³ Ibid; there was a Chester Parker who served in 1776 in the White Plains campaign under Captain Joseph Butler but this man is listed as 'deceased' on 12 October 1776. Even so, this is probably the same man. It was not entirely out of the question for a man to have been wounded in battle or to have been taken prisoner or even to have deserted and thus to have been lost to his company and presumed dead.

⁴ Ibid.

X? Joseph Paugenit ★

Age: 20

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Framingham, MA

Description: 'Indian'

Status: free

Religion: Congregational

Rank: Private

Unit: Nixon / Drury

Stationed: diagonal

Joseph Paugenit¹ was baptized in Natick (MA) on 10 November 1754, the son of Joseph and Zipporah (____) Paugenit.²

He enlisted on 24 April 1775 from Framingham in the company of Capt. Thomas Drury, in Col. John Nixon's regiment.³ Twelve days before the Battle of Bunker Hill he, with others in his company, signed a petition to Gen. Artemus Ward 'stating that they had enlisted to serve in Col. Nixon's regiment, but had been shifted to Col. [Thomas] Gardner's regiment, and requesting that they might be permitted to continue in Col. Nixon's regiment'. Their protest was evidently heard since we find him listed on the 1 August 1775 roll as still being in Drury's company, in Nixon's regiment.⁴ He was stationed at Winter Hill in September.⁵

In 1776, he was engaged in the New York campaign in Capt. Micajah Gleason's company, in Col. Thomas Nixon's 4th Regiment, at North Castle (now Mt. Kisko NY).⁶ He was probably involved in the Battles of Harlem Heights and White Plains. He was discharged in December 1776.⁷

On 12 February 1777, he enlisted into the Continental Army in the company of Capt. John Holden, in the regiment of Col. Thomas Nixon. This unit fought at Saratoga. Joseph Paugenit is 'reported deceased' on 15 November 1777.⁸ He could have been wounded at one of the battles or could have contracted smallpox or some other disease. In either case, he would have probably been taken to the Military Hospital at Albany for care and died there.

¹ LOVE, 95 states that this name was originally Kenepaugenit, meaning codfish.

² MAVR, Natick, Births, 73; described as an 'Indian' and referencing a Congregational Church record

³ MASS 12:488, listed as 'Pognot'.

⁴ Ibid, listed as 'Pognit'.

⁵ Ibid, under 'Pognot'.

⁶ Ibid, listed as 'Pognet'.

⁷ MASS 12:488, under 'Pognit'.

⁸ Ibid, under 'Pognet'. See also under 'Pognot' where he is listed as a member of Capt. Thomas Barnes company in the same 1777 time frame.

X* Salem Poor

Age: 33

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Andover, MA

Description: 'Negro'

Status: free

Religion: Congregational

Rank: Private

Unit: Frye / Ames

Stationed: redoubt

Salem Poor was born probably circa 1742. All known accounts agree that he was purchased as an infant at the slave market in Salem (MA) by Lydia Abbot, a young woman, and brought home to Andover by horseback on the bow of her saddle.¹ He was baptized in what is now North Andover (MA) in 1747.²

On 10 July 1769, upon the payment of £27 in purchase of his own freedom, he was issued an official manumission by his master John Poor 3rd.³ Five years later, in the warrant for the Andover town meeting of 17 March 1774, an article 'for the provision of support for [his] wife and children ... returned a negative vote'.⁴

There is no known record of his enlistment in the eight months' service, yet he was clearly present at the Battle of Bunker Hill as is proven by a petition citing his bravery.⁵ In 1880, respected historian Sarah Loring Bailey of Andover described the local tradition associated with Salem Poor's heroic service [see cautionary footnote]:

The story goes that "Salem Poor," a slave, owned by Mr. John Poor, shot Lieutenant-colonel [James] Abercrombie. As that officer sprang on the redoubt, while our men were in retreat, and exclaimed, "The day is ours," Salem turned and took aim and fired. He saw the officer fall.⁶

His name is listed on a 6 October 1775 company return and on a 13 December 1775 'order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money dated Boston'.⁷

As the American attack on Canada crumbled, the call went out for reinforcements for the Northern Department. He responded by enlisting on 14 May 1776 in Capt. Abram Tyler's company, in Col. Edmund Phinney's regiment of Maine militia. This unit served at Fort George, at the southern terminus of Lake George, during the time of the defeat of the American fleet on Lake Champlain under Gen. Benedict Arnold. His name appears on an 8 December 1776 muster roll 'dated Garrison

¹ LJOY, 74 gives the most detailed account:

"There is a tradition that Lydia Abbot [b. 1723], when a girl, went to Salem, Mass with her father one day and when passing the slave market bought a negro infant and brought it home on her saddle. She gave it to her dau., Chloe [b. 1753], and the child was called Salem Pony."

LJOY, 75 states that Chloe Lovejoy, who owned Salem, married John Poor in 1776. ABB1, Lovejoy, 21 confirms this but states that the child was brought home "in [Lydia's] saddle bag". ABB2, 424 repeats the story. ABB2, 90-105 states that Salem was part of Chloe's dowry. This does not reconcile with Chloe's 1776 marriage date to John Poor, at which time Salem would have been free for seven years. It is more probable that Salem was part of Lydia Abbot's dowry. This source also states that "One of the grand-mothers brought the infant up from Salem on her saddle as she returned from a visit 'to see the ships come in' as a lass." The choice of 1742 as a birth year for Salem would correspond with an age of 19 for Lydia Abbot.

² MAVR, Andover, Births, 391; referencing a North Parish Congregational Church record.

³ MS 0.569, property of Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem (MA) [see copy and transcription following]; permission to publish kindly granted by Mary Ann Campbell, Archivist; many thanks to Ilene Jones-Cornwell of Nashville (TN) who first alerted me to the existence of this extremely rare document.

⁴ ANDR, 55.

⁵ See "Analysis of the Fourteen Signers of the Salem Poor Petition for Bravery" [following].

⁶ AND2, 323-4. This version must be accepted with great caution. Very similar actions are attributed to Peter Salem (see his sketch for more details), with the British officer in his case being Major John Pitcairn. Salem Poor's bravery in the redoubt is unquestioned; however, whether he indeed shot Lt. Col. Abercrombie could not be proven or disproven in the course of this study.

⁷ MASS 12:561; listed as 'Poor'.

at Fort George'.⁸ On 25 October 1777 he was allowed payment for 1776 incidentals to service, which consisted of thirty miles travel to headquarters at Cambridge and six days billeting.⁹

Upon his return home in early 1777, he rejoined the local militia in Capt. Samuel Johnson's 1st Andover company. With Gen. Burgoyne preparing to advance on northern New York, the call once again went out for soldiers to meet this serious threat. He joined the Continental Army on 11 May 1777 for a three-year term in the company of Capt. Nathaniel Alexander, in Col. Edward Wigglesworth's Massachusetts regiment. This unit served at Saratoga. Upon the surrender of Burgoyne, the regiment marched to winter quarters at Valley Forge. His name appears on a May 1778 muster roll 'dated 'Camp Valley Forge'. During June 1778 he was stationed at 'Camp near White Plains'. By October 1778 command of the regiment had been taken over by Maj. John Porter and in March and April 1779 the regiment was stationed at Providence. He was discharged 20 March 1780.¹⁰

His name does not appear in the 1790 U.S. Census and, despite the efforts of numbers of serious researchers, neither the date nor the place of his death have ever been found.

In commemoration of the Bicentennial in 1975, the U.S. Post Office issued a 10 cent stamp in his honor.¹¹ In January 2001, the National Park Service issued a site bulletin celebrating his life and his services to his country.¹²

Salem Poor married Nancy Parker, a 'mulatto' 'free woman' and former servant of Capt. James Parker, in Andover on 4 November 1771.¹³ They had at least one child:

1. Jonas bpt. 29 September 1776 in [North] Andover¹⁴

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid 12:576; listed as 'Pore'.

¹⁰ Ibid 12:561.

¹¹ Scott# 1560.

¹² Researched and composed by Emily C. Prigot, Park Ranger, Boston NHP [see copy].

¹³ MAVR, Andover, Marriages, 359; Salem is listed as 'a free negro' and 'late servant of John Poor'; referencing a North Parish Congregational Church record.

¹⁴ MAVR, Andover, Births, 390; referencing a North Parish Congregational Church record. She is described as 'a half-breed Indian' in: ABB1, Poor Family, 7.

I know all men by these Presents, That I, John
Poor, junr., of Andover, in the County of Essex, in his
Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New-
England, ye man, for and in Consideration of the
Sum of twenty seven Pounds, lawful money, paid and
delivered to me by my Negro man-Servant, named
Salem, (the receipt whereof I do hereby acknowledge)
and for Divers other good Causes and Considerations, me
thereunto moving, Do by these Presents, freely give and
grant to the said Salem, Freedom and full liberty to
depart and go out from under my Command & Controul
and to acquire to himself & to his own use and benefit all
Such gains and profits as he can by any lawful business
or Employment During his Natural Life.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand & Seal,
the tenth day of July, Anno que Domini 1769,

In the ninth year of his Majesty's P.
Signed, sealed & Delivered
In the presence of,

Benjamin Poor,
Clerk of the Court.

John Poor, junr.

Essex Co. Andover, July 10th, 1769
I, John Poor, junr. Subscriber to the above writing
do hereby acknowledge the same to be true and
and do do Benjamin Poor, Clerk of the Court.

Manumission Document of **Salem Poor**

Know all men by these Presents, That I, John Poor, jun^r, of Andover, in the County of Essex, in his Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, yeoman, for and in Consideration of the sum of twenty seven Pounds, lawful money, paid and delivered to me by my Negro man Servant, named Salem, the receipt whereof I do hereby acknowledge, and for Divers other good Causes and Considerations, me thereunto moving, Do by these Presents, freely give and grant to the said Salem, Freedom and full liberty to depart and go out from under my Command & Controul and to acquire to himself & to his own use and benefit all such gains and profits as he can by any lawful business or Employment During his natural Life.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand & Seal, the tenth day of July, anno que Domini 1769,

In the ninth year of his Majesty's Reign _____

*Signed, Sealed & Delivered
in the presence of us*

John Poor, jun^r

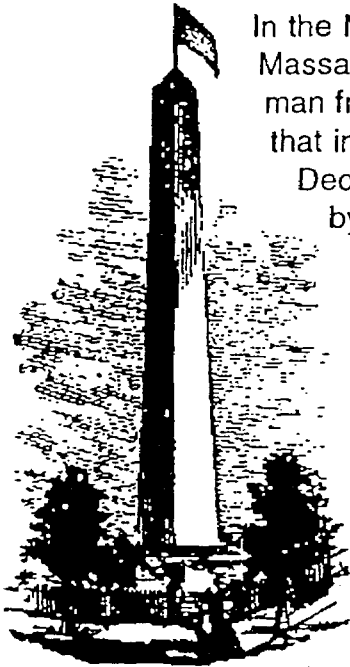
Benjamin Poor

Ebenezer Poor

*Essex, ss Andover, July 10th, 1769 ---
m^r John Poor jun^r Subscriber to the above written
Instrument acknowledged the same to be his free act
and Deed*

Before me, Eben^r Parker, Justice of y^e Peace

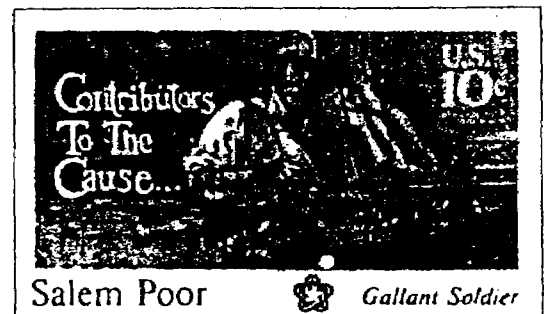
SALEM POOR: “A Brave and Gallant Soldier”



In the Massachusetts State Archives is a petition to the General Court of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, stating that in the “late Battle at Charlestown,” a man from Colonel Frye’s Regiment “behaved like an experienced officer” and that in this man “centers a brave and gallant soldier”. This document, dated December of 1775, just six months after the Battle of Bunker Hill, is signed by fourteen officers who were present at the battle, including William Prescott. Of the 2,400-4,000 colonists who participated in the battle, there is no other man singled out in this manner.

This hero of the Battle of Bunker Hill is Salem Poor of Andover, MA. Although documents show that Poor, along with his regiment and two others, were sent to Bunker Hill to build a fort and other fortifications on the night of June 16, 1775, we have no details as to exactly what Poor did to earn the accolades of these officers. The petition simply states, “to set forth particulars of his conduct would be tedious”. Perhaps his heroic deeds were too many to mention. One can only speculate.

Few details of this hero's life are available to us. Born a slave from birth in the late 1740s, he managed to buy his freedom for the price of twenty-seven pounds in 1769, a year's salary for many a working man at that time. He married Nancy, a free black woman, and they had a son. Salem Poor left his wife and child behind in May of 1775 and fought for the colonists' cause at Bunker Hill, Saratoga, Valley Forge and Monmouth, among others. There are many reasons why this man may have chosen to undertake these actions. Was it his patriotism, or the possibility of a new and better life that led him to risk his life in battle? The Battle of Bunker Hill was a daring and provocative act against authority and oppression. This black man, who had literally bought his freedom, may have been fighting for another kind of freedom—equality with whites. In 1776 the Declaration of Independence stated that “all men are created equal”, but that equality did not extend to Poor's race. As a man of African descent, he could not sit with whites on the main floor of his church, but had to sit in the balcony. He could work, but would find many jobs closed to those of his race. He could be taxed, but he could not vote, no matter how much money he had.



In 1975 Salem Poor was honored by the U.S. Postal Service.

Salem Poor is but one of some three dozen blacks who fought at Bunker Hill. As many as 5,000 African-Americans, both freemen and slaves, fought on the patriot side, while many more, tens of

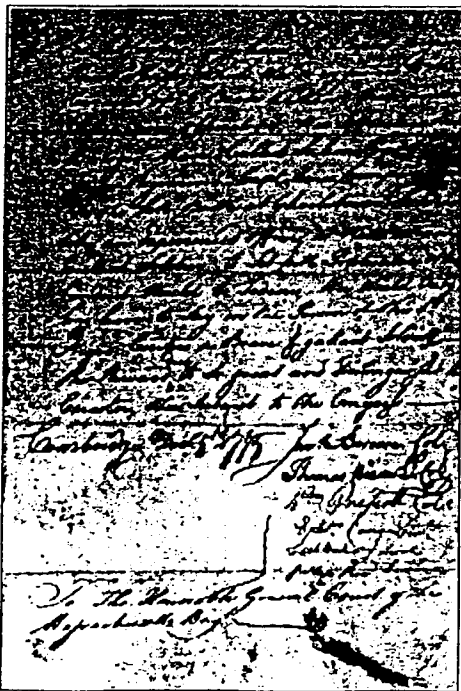
thousands, aided the British in this war. Neither Loyalist nor colonist affiliation afforded any advantage, for at the end of the War for American Independence blacks found themselves far from the freedom and equality for which they had hoped.

Many questions remain about this forgotten hero. We know little of his existence, his death, his work, and his family. Why did this free black man choose to risk his life, fighting alongside men, some of whom owned slaves? And most important, why was this hero forgotten?

The Petition

The subscribers begg leave, to Report to your Honorable House (which wee do in justice to the caracter of so Brave a Man), that, under Our Own observation, Wee declare that a Negro Man, called Salem Poor, of Col. Fryes regiment, Capt. Ames company, in the late Battle at Charlestown, behaved like an Experienced officer, as well as an Excellent Soldier, to set forth Particulars of his conduct would be tedious, Wee Would Only begg leave to say in the Person of this said Negro Centers a brave and gallant soldier. The Reward due to so great and Distinguisht a Caracter, Wee Submit to the Congress.

Cambridge, Dec. 5, 1775



**The actual petition
with signatures**

- 1 Jona Brewer, Col.
- 2 Thomas Nixon Lt. Col
- 3 Wm. Prescott Col.
- 4 Ephm Corey Lieut
- 5 Joseph Baker Lieut
- 6 Joshua Read Lieut

To the Honorable General Court of the Massachusetts Bay

- 7 Jonas Richardson Capt
- 8 Eliphalet Bodwell Left
- 9 Josiah Foster Lieut
- 10 Ebenr Varnum Lt
- 11 Wm Hudson Ballard Capt
- 12 William Smith Capn
- 13 John Martin S___ of a ___
- 14 Lieut Richard Welsh

*In Council Decr 21 1775
Read and Sent Down*

Perez Morton Sec'y

*Recommendation of Salem Poor a free Negro for his Bravery
at Battle of Charlestown*

leave to withdraw it

To the Honorable General Court of the Massachusetts Bay

James Richardson Capt
Elizabeth B. Smith Sept

Joseph Smith

William Smith

John Taylor

William Smith

John Taylor

Joseph Smith

~~Joseph Smith~~

Dec 21 1845

Yours truly

Joseph Smith

James
Richardson
Capt
Elizabeth
B. Smith
Sept
Joseph
Smith
William
Smith
John
Taylor

James Richardson = 1st in committee

We Subscribers - beg leave, to Present to your
 Honor's Board, (which We do understand to be
 the cause of to Grant a Medal that would
 be a great honor & gratification, We understand that
 a Negro Man called Simeon [unclear]
 of the Regiment Capt. Amos [unclear]
 in the late Battle at Charleston, [unclear]
 like an experienced Officer, as well as an
 Excellent Soldier, to his faith & [unclear] of
 conduct would be tedious, We would only
 beg leave to say in the favor of this
 Negro, Consider a brave & gallant Soldier
 the Reward to so great and distinguished a
 Character, We submit to the Congress

Cambridge Dec^r 17th 1775 Jⁿ Brown Sol^r
 Thomas Nixon Sec^y

Jⁿ Cory Sec^y
 Jⁿ Baker Sec^y
 Jⁿ [unclear] Sec^y

To The Honorable General Court of the
 Massachusetts Bay.

Petition for Bravery of **Salem Poor**

The Subscribers begg leave, to report to your Hon^{ble} House, (which wee do in justice to the Character of So Brave a Man) that under Our Own observation, Wee declare that A Negro Man Called Salem Poor of Co^l Fryes Regiment Cap^t Ames Company in the late Battle at Charlestown, behaved like an Experienced officer, as Well as an Excellent Soldier, to Set forth Particulars of his Conduct Would be Tedious, Wee Would Only begg leave to Say in the Person of this S^d Negro Centers a Brave & gallant Soldier. The Reward ^{^due} to So great and Distinguisht A Character, Wee Submit to the Congress ____

Cambridge Dec^r 5th 1775

Jon^a Brewer Col
Thomas Nixon L^t Col
W^m Prescott Col
Eph^m Corey Lieu^t
Joseph Baker Lieu^t
Joshua Read Lieu^t

To The Honorable General Court of the Massachusetts Bay ____

Jonas Richardson Cap^t
Eliphalet Bodwell Lef^t
Josiah Foster Lieu^t
Eben^r Varnum L^t
W^m Hudson Ballard Cap^t
William Smith Capⁿ
John Martin Surg[eon] of a Brig[ade]
Lieu^t Richard Welsh

In Council Dec^r 21 1775

Read & Sent Down

Perez Morton _____

Recommendation of
Salem Poor a free Negro
for his Bravery at Battle
of Charlestown

leave to withdraw it

Analysis¹ of the Fourteen Signers of the Salem Poor Petition for Bravery

On 5 December 1775, fourteen officers, who had each personally observed the bravery of Salem Poor, signed a petition² on his behalf. This unique document is extraordinary both in its intent and in the relative status of the petitionee versus the collective status of the petitioners. The fourteen officers who signed represented five different regiments and included probably the single most-renowned survivor of the battle, Col. William Prescott:

No	Rank	Last	First	Age	Town	Regiment	Company
1	Col.	Brewer	Jonathan	50	Waltham	Jonathan Brewer	-----
2	Lt.-Col.	Nixon	Thomas Sr.	39	Framingham	John Nixon	-----
3	Col.	Prescott	William	49	Pepperell	William Prescott	-----
4	Lt. 1st	Corey	Ephraim	39	Stow	William Prescott	Oliver Parker
5	Lt. 2nd	Baker	Joseph	26	Littleton	William Prescott	Samuel Gilbert
6	Lt.	Read	Joshua	35	Woburn	James Frye	Jonas Richardson
7	Capt.	Richardson	Jonas	44	Woburn	James Frye	Jonas Richardson
8	Lt. 2nd	Bodwell	Eliphalet	35	Methuen	James Frye	John Davis
9	Lt. 1st	Foster	Josiah	46	Dracut	Ebenezer Bridge	Peter Coburn
10	Lt. 2nd	Varnum	Ebenezer	31	Dracut	Ebenezer Bridge	Peter Coburn
11	Capt.	Ballard	William Hudson	34	Amesbury	James Frye	William Hudson Ballard
12	Capt.	Smith	William	28	Lincoln	John Nixon	William Smith
13	Brig.-Surg.	Martin	John	57	Barrington RI	-----	-----
14	Clk.	Welsh	Richard	24	Dunstable	Ebenezer Bridge	Ebenezer Bancroft

It is of more than passing notice that the first signer of the petition, after the field officers, was 1st Lt. Ephraim Corey of Capt. Oliver Parker's company. Parker's company had the most Patriots of Color of any company on the field. Just after the battle, Parker left the service and Corey became captain. *It is highly probable that Ephraim Corey was the driving force behind the petition.*

That officers from five regiments would have been in a position to view the heroism of Salem Poor is revealing of the placement of members of the regiments on the battlefield. To have seen his actions, the signers must have been in the same general area at the eastern side of the redoubt or outside its northeast corner (during the retreat).

Prescott's Regiment

Col. William Prescott of Pepperell, with approximately 1200 men from his own and Frye's and Bridge's regiments, occupied Breed's Hill the night before the battle and constructed the redoubt. He is considered by many historians to have been the overall commander of the redoubt and immediately surrounding areas. Prescott was an excellent swordsman and reputedly had his waistcoat pierced by numbers of parries of the enemy. This regiment suffered the highest number of casualties (42 K and 28 W) of any regiment, which is indicative of the fierce and close fighting that occurred after the direct British assault on the redoubt. Prescott's regiment contained more known Patriots of Color than any other regiment.

Signers: Col. William Prescott
 1st Lt. Ephraim Corey, Capt. Oliver Parker's company
 2nd Lt. Joseph Baker, Capt. Samuel Gilbert's company

Frye's Regiment

Col. James Frye of Andover was present at the battle and was wounded 'in the thigh by a musket ball', of which wound he died just a month after the signing of the petition. Lt. Col. (Dr.) James Brickett of Haverhill was seriously wounded in the foot and was ruptured. This regiment, also primarily stationed in the redoubt, suffered the second-highest number of casualties (15 K and 31 W) of any regiment. Salem Poor was a private in this regiment in Capt. Benjamin Ames' company.

Signers: Capt. William Hudson Ballard
 Capt. Jonas Richardson
 Lt. Joshua Read, Capt. Jonas Richardson's company
 2nd Lt. Eliphalet Bodwell, Capt. John Davis' company

¹ All casualty figures are from SOBO; all statements of service are from QUIN; descriptions of wounds are from pensions and various town and family histories.

² MASA 180:241.

Bridge's Regiment

Col. Ebenezer Bridge of Billerica was present at the battle and was wounded 'on the head and the neck by a sword cut'. He was court-martialed for cowardice after the battle, but was found innocent. Lt. Col. Moses Parker of Chelmsford was seriously wounded in the knee and was left on the field, where he was taken prisoner and died after the amputation of his leg by the British in Boston. This regiment, also primarily stationed in the redoubt, suffered the third-highest number of casualties (15 K and 29 W) of any regiment.

Signers: 1st Lt. Josiah Foster, Capt. Peter Coburn's company
2nd Lt. Ebenezer Varnum, Capt. Peter Coburn's company
Clerk Richard Welsh, Capt. Ebenezer Bancroft's company

Brewer's Regiment

Col. Jonathan Brewer of Waltham was present at the battle and was wounded 'in the arm'. Lt. Col. William Buckminster of Framingham was very seriously wounded by a musket ball that entered his shoulder and exited near his spine, crippling him for life. Most of this regiment was scattered on a diagonal line between the breastwork and the rail fence and suffered the fifth-highest number of casualties (7 K and 11 W) of any regiment.

Signers: Col. Jonathan Brewer

Nixon's Regiment

Col. John Nixon of Sudbury was present at the battle. He was wounded 'severely in the groin' and was 'carried off the field'. This regiment was scattered to the northeast of the redoubt, mainly in the area known as the 'gap'. It suffered relatively moderate casualties: (3 K and 10 W).

Signers: Lt-Col. Thomas Nixon
Capt. William Smith³

Summary

Officers from five regiments signed the Salem Poor petition. Of the five colonels of these regiments, four were wounded (an 80% casualty rate); two were seriously wounded and one, Salem Poor's own colonel, died of his wounds. Of the five lieutenant-colonels of these regiments, three were wounded, all seriously, and one died in captivity. One of the wounded was the lieutenant-colonel of Salem Poor's regiment. These facts, plus the realization that hundreds of individual acts of courage occurred on the battlefield that day, make it all the more amazing that so many officers would choose to sign a bravery petition for a private in the ranks.

What 'Brave & gallant' acts set Salem Poor apart? It is a strong local [though unproven] tradition in Andover that he shot Lt. Col. James Abercrombie of the grenadiers, the highest-ranking British officer to have been killed or mortally wounded that day. To have performed this act, Salem Poor would have had to remain in the front ranks in the redoubt probably much longer than was prudent and would probably have been engaged in mortal hand-to-hand combat with some of the toughest of the British troops. The search for a 'smoking gun' document, which might further explain Salem Poor's feats of courage, will continue.

³ There is some doubt about Smith's presence on the battlefield, per 4 March 2001 conversation with D. Michael Ryan, Historian.

X? Caesar Porter

Age: 45

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Andover, MA

Description: 'Negro'

Status: N/A

Religion: Congregational

Rank: Private

Unit: Bridge / Furbush

Stationed: redoubt

Caesar Porter was born circa 1730 and was early a servant to Moses Porter of Bradford (MA).¹

It is most probably the same Caesar who joined the eight month's service on 30 May 1775 in the company of Capt. Charles Furbush, in Col. Ebenezer Bridge's regiment. The last record of service for him is an 'order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money dated Cambridge, Nov. 21, 1775'.²

There was a Caesar Porter who was head of a household of five free persons of color in Dunbarton (NH) in 1790, who may be the soldier or possibly his son.³

Caesar married Chloe, servant to Timothy Hardy of Bradford, on 11 January 1756 in Bradford.⁴

¹ BD-M.

² MASS 12:584.

³ USCE, 1790, New Hampshire, Dunbarton, 43.

⁴ MAVR, Bradford, 289, listed as 'NEGROES' referencing a Congregational Church record.

X? Job Potamia

Age: 28
Occupation: N/A
Residence: Stoneham, MA

Description: 'Negro'
Status: free
Religion: Congregational

Rank: Private
Unit: Gardner / Locke
Stationed: N/A

Job Potamia was born in Medford (MA) on 12 December 1746¹, the son of Titus and Hannah (Hammond) Potamia.² He was baptized in Stoneham (MA) 16 July 1749.³

From Stoneham, he joined the eight month's service on 4 May 1775 in the company of Capt. Benjamin Locke, in Col. Thomas Gardner's regiment. This unit was at the Battle of Bunker Hill, where his Colonel was mortally wounded. An October 1775 descriptive roll⁴ at Prospect Hill describes him as follows:

age: 28
stature: 5 ft. 10 in.

On 1 December 1775, he was listed on an 'order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money dated Prospect Hill'.⁵ He received his final payment for 1775 service on 1 January 1776.⁶

There is no record of 1776 service.

By 1777, he was part of the 1st Middlesex County [MA] Regiment. From this unit, he joined the Continental Army in Col. Thomas Marshall's regiment in November.⁷ He resided in Cambridge and was engaged for that town.⁸

On 1 January 1780, while residing in Boston, he enlisted in Capt. John Fuller's company, in Col. Gamaliel Bradford's regiment. On 19 March 1782, he was reported 'as having deserted'.⁹

His intention to marry Hannah Barjonah was recorded in Stoneham (MA) on 16 March 1774.¹⁰ There is no known marriage record and no record of any children.

¹ MAVR, Medford, Births, 173; listed under "NEGROES, ETC.", referencing a Congregational Church record

² Marriage of parents in: MAVR, Medford, Marriages, 237; listed as "Free Negroes", referencing a Congregational Church record.

³ MAVR, Stoneham, Births, 75; listed under 'NEGROES'.

⁴ MASS 12:615, listed as 'Potanna'.

⁵ Ibid, listed as 'Potamya'.

⁶ Ibid, listed as 'Potamy'.

⁷ Ibid, listed as 'Potamea'.

⁸ Ibid, listed as 'Potana'.

⁹ Ibid 12:617, listed as 'Potomia'.

¹⁰ MAVR, Stoneham, Marriages, 158; listed under 'NEGROES'.

X? Titus Potamia

Age: 57

Occupation: sutler

Residence: Stoneham, MA

Description: 'black'

Status: N/A

Religion: Congregational

Rank: Private

Unit: Bridge / Bancroft

Stationed: redoubt

Titus Potamia was born circa 1718.¹ A reconstructed military roll lists him as a 'black sutler'.²

From Stoneham (MA), he joined the eight month's service on 31 May 1775 in the company of Capt. Ebenezer Bancroft, in Col. Ebenezer Bridge's regiment.³ He signed a receipt for advance pay on 24 July 1775.⁴ On 4 November 1775, he was listed on an 'order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money'.⁵

It is most probably the same man who married Hannah Hammond on 5 January 1744 in Medford (MA).⁶ They had at least one son:

1. Job
 b. 12 December 1746 in Medford⁷
 bpt. 16 July 1749 in Stoneham⁸
 mint. to Hannah Barjonah in Stoneham (MA) on 16 March 1774⁹

It is also most probably the same man who married, probably second, Peg _____ in Reading (MA) on 23 November 1758.¹⁰

¹ BD-M.

² NYMR, 171. His name is listed as 'Silus Potamea'.

³ MASS 12:615, listed as 'Potami'.

⁴ Ibid 11:998, listed as 'Patamia'.

⁵ Ibid 12:615, listed as 'Potamia'.

⁶ MAVR, Medford, Marriages; both are listed as 'Free Negroes'; Titus' last name is given as 'Patavia'; referencing a Congregational Church record.

⁷ Ibid, Medford, Births, 173; listed under "NEGROES, ETC.", referencing a Congregational Church record

⁸ Ibid, Stoneham, Births, 75; listed under 'NEGROES'.

⁹ Ibid, Stoneham, Marriages, 158; listed under 'NEGROES'.

¹⁰ Ibid, Reading, Marriages, 486; also listed in MAVR, Stoneham, Marriages, 158.

X? Caesar Prutt

Age: 48

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Amherst, MA

Description: 'negro'

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Woodbridge / Dickinson

Stationed: N/A

Caesar Prutt was born on June 1727 in Hadley (MA), the son of Arthur and Jane (____) Prutt, and lived with Josiah Chauncey, Esq.¹

His first tour of service was in 1758 'for the invasion of Canada', in the French and Indian Wars, under Capt. Elisha Pomeroy, in Col. Israel Williams regiment.²

He was still a slave in 1770 when he 'was valued at £25'.³ Historian James Avery Smith, who discovered a legal case in which Caesar was the defendant, drew some fascinating conclusions:

In December of 1770, Caesar, who had been hunting, shot a deer with his musket. He was discovered dressing the carcass by Solomon Boltwood, a leading citizen of Amherst. Solomon reported the incident to the sheriff, and Caesar was brought before the Court of Sessions at Northampton on a charge of poaching. Solomon later received a small informer's fee for his report of the incident.

At his trial in July 1771, Caesar Prutt admitted his guilt and was fined £6. This event provides several insights into the rights of slaves in Amherst. First, it shows that slaves could carry arms within the Amherst community. Second, it is obvious that there were times when a slave was "on his own," moving about in the fields and woods without any supervision from his owner. The record of this event is also interesting as it shows that slaves were subject to the action and protection of the courts. When Prutt was found poaching, it was he, not his owner, who came before the court. In the poaching case, Prutt was given a severe sentence, as £6 was a significant fine for anyone, and he was expected to pay it with his own funds. Therefore, some slaves must have earned money that they were allowed to keep as their own.⁴

After the Lexington Alarm he enlisted from Amherst (MA) on 8 May 1775 into the eight months' service, in the company of Capt. Reuben Dickinson in Col. Benjamin Ruggles Woodbridge's regiment. His name appears on a 27 July 1775 receipt for advance pay, on the 1 August 1775 muster roll, on a 28 September 1775 company return 'dated Prospect Hill' and on a 26 October 1775 'order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money dated Prospect Hill'.⁵

On 1 December 1775, he enlisted in Capt. James Perry's company in Col. Paul Dudley Sargent's regiment. A 6 April 1776 roll lists him as 'reported in hospital'.⁶

In 1777, he enlisted from Amherst into the Continental Army under Col. Sargent for three years.⁷

In his old age he became a town pauper in Amherst. Town records from 1801 to 1807 state the case:

1801: 'Caesar Prat a Town Pauper be Set up at vendue, to the Lowest bidder for Victualling and Beding and was Struck off[f] to Ins Asa Smith for one year for one Doller Per week.'⁸

¹ HADF, 115-116.

² AMHE, Part I:63.

³ AMHC, 3.

⁴ Ibid, 5.

⁵ MASS 12:670; listed as 'Pratt'.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid 12:661; listed as 'Prat'.

⁸ AMHE, Part II:187.

- 1802: 'Voted to allow Samuel Hastings, Fortey four Dollers For Victualing and Clothing **Caesar Prut**, for one year, and Said Samuel is to Leave **Cesar Prut** as well clothed at the End of the year as he now finds him.'⁹
- 1803: 'Voted that L^t John Ingram take **Cesar Prut** a Towns Pauper for one year. Said John is to Victual & lodge Said **Cesar**, and Leave him as well Clothed at the End of the year as he now finds him, for the Consideration of Twenty nine Dollers & Twenty five Cents.'¹⁰
- 1804: 'Voted that **Cesar Prutt**, a negro and Town's Pauper, be set-up at vendue, to the lowest bidder, to be kept, the year insuing with suitable vituals and clothing and to be returned at the end of the year, as well clothed as he now is. He was accordingly set-up, as aforesaid, and struck-off to Aaron Merrick, he being the lowest bidder, at the Sum of forty one Dollars & fifty Cents, on the conditions above expressed.'¹¹
- 1805: [That year Caesar was joined by two other paupers]: 'Voted ... that **Caesar Prutt** [be set-up] to Daniel Moody, to be kept through the year, on the above conditions, for the sum of forty eight Dollars and twenty five cents.'¹²
- 1806: '**Caesar Prutt** to Joel Kellogg for fifty one Dollars ...'¹³
- 1807: '... **Caesar Prutt**, an aged negro ... put up at vendue and ... bid off for a year at \$65.'¹⁴

No further known records mention **Caesar Prutt** and is likely that he died in 1807.

⁹ Ibid, 189.

¹⁰ Ibid, 191.

¹¹ Ibid, 192.

¹² Ibid, 194.

¹³ Ibid, 196.

¹⁴ Ibid, Part I:59.

X? Alexander Quapish ★

Age: 34

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Dedham, MA

Description: 'Indian'

Status: free

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Brewer / Whiting

Stationed: diagonal

Alexander Quapish was born circa 1741.¹

He enlisted from Dedham (MA) on 8 May 1775 into the company commanded by Capt. Daniel Whiting, in Col. Jonathan Brewer's regiment.² On 3 July 1775, he was selected to serve on the main guard under Lt. Col. Loammi Baldwin.³ His name appears on both the August and October rolls of the company. An order for a bounty coat was dated Prospect Hill on 22 December 1775.⁴

He died in Needham (MA) on 23 March 1776, being the 'last of the Aborigines in Dedham'.⁵ The details of his last days are described in a July 1776 petition to the Massachusetts General Court by Michael Bacon:

That one Alexander Quapish a Poor Indian Belonging to this State who was taken Sick in the Army Near Cambridge and was Dismissed Came to the House of your Petitioner in Said Needham in a Suffering Condition on the 15th Day of November 1775 and Remained there Sick untill the 23rd Day of March 1776 and then Died, and your Petitioner was at Great Trouble & Charge in Boarding Nursing, and Burying Said Indian.

'This petition was endorsed by three selectmen, and accompanied by a bill of £6, 8s. of which eight shillings were for a coffin, and three shillings for "Diging his Grave"'.⁶

He filed intentions to marry on 27 October 1767 in Dedham to Sarah David. The filing describes him as an 'Indian man of Yarmouth', while she is described as an 'Indian Woman of Dedham'.⁷ 'She died in 1774 and was buried in the old Indian burial place at the foot of Wigwam hill being the last person buried there'.⁸

¹ BD-M.

² MASS 12:886, listed as 'Quapish'.

³ Ibid, listed as 'Quapish'.

⁴ Ibid, under 'Quapish'.

⁵ DEDH, 303.

⁶ NEED, 559; referencing MASA, 214:57.

⁷ MAVR, Dedham, Marriages, 307.

⁸ DEDH, 303.

X? Caesar Quawco

Age: N/A

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Concord, MA

Description: N/A¹

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Nixon / Butler

Stationed: breastwork

Nothing is known of the early life of Caesar Quawco.

He joined the eight month's service on 26 April 1775 from Concord, in the company of Capt. Joseph Butler in Col. John Nixon's regiment. His name also appears on the 1 August 1775 roll and the 30 September 1775 return dated Winter Hill.²

As the attack on Canada crumbled, the call went out for reinforcements for the Northern Department. He responded by enlisting in Capt. Charles Miles' company, in Col. Jonathan Reed's regiment. This unit served at Ticonderoga during the time of the defeat of the American fleet on Lake Champlain under Gen. Benedict Arnold. On 16 February 1777, he was allowed pay for 180 miles travel home.³

¹ NAME.

² MASS 12:897, listed as 'Quoka'.

³ Ibid 12:885, listed as 'Quaco'.

X? Silas Royal {Ryal Varnum}

Age: N/A

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Dracut, MA

Description: 'negro'

Status: free

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Frye / Richardson

Stationed: redoubt

Ryal, as he was called, 'was purchased in Boston as an infant and brought to Dracut' where he became a servant in the household of Joseph Bradley Varnum¹ but was 'early manumitted'. 'He was a man who possessed dignity of manner and was respected and trusted by the family with whom he lived'.²

He enlisted on 29 April 1775 into the company of Capt. Jonas Richardson, in Col. James Frye's regiment. He was listed on the October roll of the company.³ On 22 December 1775, he is recorded on an 'order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money dated Camp at Cambridge'.⁴

On 1 January 1776, he enlisted in the company of Capt. Joshua Reed, in Col. James Mitchell Varnum's 9th Continental Infantry.⁵ By the time Col. James Mitchell Varnum was promoted to Brigadier-General in 1777, Silas Royal had become his body servant and 'accompanied him in his military expeditions'. At some point during the war, he served as a privateersman 'on board the brig *Franklin*, ... at Salem, and drew £30 as his share of prize money'⁶.

While home in 1778, he was seized and imprisoned in a conspiracy to sell him as a slave in the South. Nearly the entire Varnum family set out to rescue him. The story is best told by citing the Varnum diary verbatim⁷:

Jan 19 1778 - This morning while at breakfast heard that Joshua Wyman had sold Ryal Varnum, that ye News was brought from Westford by Jos. Varnum Jr. & that said Ryal was carried off in a covered waggon. Handcuffed - on hearing of which I immediately called for my horse, Galloped to Jos. Varnum's to Know ye Certainty. He confirmed it, Sent him to Capt. Jo's to come Immediately. Sent Jonas with my horse. Gave Jonas \$20 to bare his expenses, with orders to pursue with all possible speed, overtake, Bring back and not suffer arbitrary voyalance to Escape with Impunity. They pursued, came to Woburn, found the News confirmed. That it was the Infamous Joner White, the Scurrilous Tinker of Haverhill, that Bought him (at ye same time knowing sd Ryal was a free man) sd White had Imprisoned him, Woburn people had liberated him. Sd White laid a false charge against him. Said he was an Inlisted soldier in ye Continental service: that he had received \$20 Continental money & had Deserted, that he had stole from Sundry persons & was a thief & that if ye prison Could not hold him ye Guard should & profanely swore that he had bought him & would have him some way on that Complaint. Altho he knew it to be false he put him under guard. There is ye Infamous White that hath worked himself by some means as some way to be a quartermaster for ye Army at or near Boston, a fine post to get money when Truth Nor Honor is not regarded.

Jan 20. Capt. Joseph & Jonas Varnum went to Boston, Complained to General Heath against said White, had sd Ryal Liberated, and a promise from the Genl. that he would take Notice of said White. They gave sd White Just Character to ye General, he promised he would take Notice of it. They went to White, Informed him what they had done. He was extreemly angry. Curst & swore very profanely. They delt with him very sharply for his Conduct to Ryal. He said he did not know that Ryal was free. They told him that he Did know that his Crime aledged against Ryal, for which he was put under gaol was true, but that he knew ye contrary. He

¹ DRAC, 334.

² Ibid, 335.

³ MASS 13:639, listed as 'Royell'.

⁴ Ibid 13:638, listed as 'Royall'.

⁵ Ibid 13:637, listed as 'Royal'.

⁶ DRAC, 335.

⁷ Ibid, 335-6.

said that all such Neagrows ought to be slaves. They told him that Ryal was as Good a man & of as much Honor as he, at which he was extremely angry & profain. Laid his hand on his Hanger by his side. They told him they had seen Hangers & men before they had seen him or his, that they were Ready to answer him any way he pleased, that they on sd Ryal Behalf, should Bring an action of Damage for false Imprisonment, that such men stealers should not go unpunished. They came to Wymans same Day. Gave him ye like Trimming.

The Varnum's kept their promise to institute court proceedings. Silas Royal received a judgment in his favor of one hundred pounds, from the Middlesex County (MA) Court of Common Pleas, in September 1777.⁸ Gen. James Mitchell Varnum⁹ of Rhode Island, the brother of Capt. Joseph Bradley Varnum, filed an action against Joshua Wyman before the October term of the Superior Court of Bristol County (RI) in 1779. John White, who had purchased Ryal from Wyman, published a deposition:¹⁰

I, John White solemnly declare that I purchased a Negro named Royal of one Joshua Wyman of Woburn in the County of Middlesex, State of Massachusetts Bay, sometime the last of spring or beginning of summer 1778, for which I paid nine fifty six pounds lawful money, sd Wyman declaring to me on his word of honor that if I would sell the sd Royal to some other Southern Officer, so that he might never again return to New England, he would give me some consideration therefor (as he said on account of his infamous character as a thief &c) and that the said Wyman still retains the money from me that I gave him for said Negro, alledging that he is my slave for life and that it is my fault that I do not make him so. This I solemnly protest to be the truth.

John White

Newburyport Sept 28 1779.

Silas Royal remained with the Varnum family after the war. This anecdote tells of his dignity of manner¹¹:

He was extremely punctilious as to respect he felt due him as Gen. Varnum's servant. If any young men failed to take off their hats to him when they met him on the road, he would cry out, "Boys, where's your manners?" and failing recognition, would send his cane after them in double quick time.

Gen. James Mitchell Varnum thought so highly of Silas Royal's long and faithful service that he remembered him in his will¹²:

My will is that Silas Royal, a black man, who has been for a long time supported by me, free from expense to himself or the Town, be comfortably supported through life, and honorably buried after death, at the expense of my Estate, provided, the small property which he has been indulged in the possession of shall not be transferred to any person but my residuary legatees.

He 'was tenderly cared for and had a room in the family mansion. He died several years after Gen. Varnum on May 3 1826 and, at his own request, was buried beside an Indian in one corner of the Varnum burial ground at the Varnum homestead'¹³. There is no record of marriage or children.

⁸ DRAC, 338

⁹ This is the same man who 'proposed raising a battalion of African Americans in Rhode Island' per MOEB 1126. The result was the 1st Rhode Island Regiment commanded by Col. Christopher Greene which performed heroic service at the Battle of Rhode Island in 1778.

¹⁰ Ibid, 337-8. The Varnums of Dracut, in actions that resembled those of the founders of the Underground Railroad nearly a hundred years later, deserve to be known and honored for being true friends of the slaves.

¹¹ Ibid, 335.

¹² Ibid, 338.

¹³ Ibid, 335. The Varnum Burial Ground is on Parker Road in Dracut. This cemetery was visited in September 2000 but no gravestone could be found for Silas Royal. There is a section in the right rear that has no stones and it would seem logical that he is buried there.

NOTE: Dracut VR's list his name as 'Riol' and his death on 2 May 1826.

*+ Peter Salem {Salem Middlesex}

Age: N/A

Occupation: chair-caner

Residence: Framingham, MA

Description: 'black'

Status: free¹

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: _____ / Edgell & Nixon / Drury

Entered: Merriam's Corner

Stationed: gap & redoubt

Peter Salem was born in Framingham.² 'He was a slave, originally owned by Capt. Jeremiah Belknap. He was admitted to the church under the half-way covenant Aug. 16, 1760. He was sold by Capt. B. to Maj. Lawson Buckminster, before the War.'³

He marched on the Lexington Alarm on 19 April 1775 'to Concord and Cambridge' as a minute man in Capt. Simon Edgell's company, serving for four days. On 24 April 1775 he enlisted from Framingham into the eight months' service in Capt. Thomas Drury's company in Col. John Nixon's regiment. Twelve days before the Battle of Bunker Hill he, with others in his company, signed a petition to Gen. Artemus Ward 'stating that they had enlisted to serve in Col. Nixon's regiment, but had been shifted to Col. [Thomas] Gardner's regiment, and requesting that they might be permitted to continue in Col. Nixon's regiment'. Their protest was evidently heard since we find him listed on the 1 August 1775 roll as still being in Drury's company, in Nixon's regiment. He is also listed on a 30 September 1775 company return dated Winter Hill.⁴

Temple, the highly respected town historian of Framingham, asserted that Peter Salem was at Bunker Hill and that he fired the shot that killed Maj. John Pitcairn⁵:

During the action, he with others, was sent from Capt. Drury's company, as a support to Col. Prescott in the redoubt. He reached the redoubt just as Prescott's men had spent their last powder; and with a single charge in his gun, and perhaps another in his powder horn. Just then, in the language of Judge [Needham] Maynard, "I saw a British officer ** come up with some pomp, and he cried out, "Surrender, you [damned] rebels!" But Prescott ** made a little motion with his hand, and that was the last word the Briton spoke; he fell at once."

There is concurrence of testimony which leaves no doubt that this shot was fired by Peter Salem. Maj. Pitcairn fell into the arms of his son, who bore him off to a boat, and thence to a house in Prince street Boston, where he died. The loss of so gallant an officer at this critical moment, formed one of the most touching incidents of that eventful day.

¹ MMAN. Peter Salem is today portrayed by Bruce Harris, Park Ranger at Minuteman NHP, who is storyteller on a recently-instituted interpretive program entitled the 'A Walk with Peter Salem'.

² LEI1, 268.

³ FRAM, 324.

⁴ MASS 13:743-4; listed as 'Salem'.

⁵ FRAM, 325. There is some controversy on this issue. Sorting out all of the stories is beyond the scope of this study but is being researched in a scholarly manner by Mark Nichipor of Minuteman NHP. However, some findings of this study and of this compiler's lifetime work can be shared:

- (1) MAHP 14(1875):93 printed a 1787 entry from the note-book of Reverend Jeremy Belknap which recorded: "A negro man belonging to Groton, took aim at Major Pitcairne, as he was rallying the dispersed British Troops, & shot him thro' the head, he was brought over to Boston & died as he was landing on the ferry ways." The only man of color from Groton in this study is Barzillai Lew. SWET, 43 repeats nearly the same story but names the 'negro man' as Salem and elaborates in Note M. that "Gen. Winslow stated, a contribution was made in the army for Salem and he was presented to Washington as having slain Pitcairn ..." The actions of Salem Poor might also lend themselves to this account.
- (2) SOBO, 195 states that in 1775 Dr. John Eliot wrote in his almanac the following account of [Pitcairn's] fall: "This amiable and gallant officer was slain entering the intrenchments. He had been wounded twice; then putting himself at the head of his forces, he faced danger, calling out, 'Now for the glory of the marines!' He received four balls in his body." At least three other men claimed to have shot Pitcairn: Joseph Spaulding of Chelmsford, Phinehas Whitney of Harvard and Benjamin Webber of Gloucester. It is at least conceivable that all four men (Peter Salem included) shot Pitcairn.
- (3) FRAM, 295 states that Drury's company was stationed at the 'hay breastwork', an area in the gap between the redoubt and the rail fence, and that Peter Salem and others were detailed from there to reinforce the redoubt. Needham Maynard in his published account stated that sixty men were 'sent up' and that Prescott was told that more would be sent if he needed them.

In summary, no convincing evidence has yet been examined by this compiler that would negate the claims made for Peter Salem to have shot Pitcairn.

Peter Salem's 'flintlock musket used at the Battle of Bunker Hill' was once on display at the Bunker Hill monument.⁶

In September 1776 he enlisted in Capt. Micajah Gleason's company in Lt. Col. Thomas Nixon's regiment, serving in the New York campaign. His unit served at the Battle of White Plains where his Captain was killed. By 9 November 1776 he was stationed at North Castle (NY). His name appears on receipts for wages from September to December 1776.⁷

Upon his return home he enlisted in Lt. Lawson Buckminster's 2nd company, in Col. Micah Stone's 5th Middlesex County militia. With Gen. Burgoyne preparing to advance on northern New York, the call once again went out for soldiers to meet this serious threat. He joined the Continental Army on 1 January 1777 for a three-year term in the 4th company of Capt. John Holden, in Col. Thomas Nixon's 6th Massachusetts regiment.⁸ This unit served at both Battles of Saratoga, at Valley Forge, at the Battle of Monmouth and was then stationed at the Hudson Highlands. Temple stated that during this time Peter Salem served "as the Colonel's body servant".⁹

A 16 February 1779 'return of men who were in camp on or before Aug. 15, 1777, and who had not been absent subsequently except on furlough' was certified at 'Camp near Peekskill'. His name appears on a May 1779 muster roll and on the June and July 1779 pay rolls. Each regiment at the Highlands, at Gen Washington's command, was expected to provide at least one company of Light Infantry. Capt. John Holden's company was one of these elite units and was one of the units that stormed the fortress at Stony Point on 16 July 1779 under the command of Gen Anthony Wayne. The men had been ordered, under penalty of death, to use only bayonets and not to fire muskets under any circumstances. Peter Salem was undoubtedly in this action. His name appears on the rolls from August to December 1779. By 1 January 1780 he had transferred to Capt. Peter Clayes' company in the same regiment. He was discharged from the service on 1 March 1780.¹⁰

Temple states¹¹:

At the close of the war in 1783, Peter married Katy Benson, a granddaughter of Nero, and built a small house on land then owned by Peter Rice on the exact spot where now stands the dwelling house of Moses M. Fiske, near Sucker pond.¹² He lived here till 1792 or 93. But his marriage proved an unhappy one; and Peter left his native town and settled in Leicester.

The 1790 census of Framingham listed him as head in a household of two free people of color.¹³

The most complete insight into his life was given to us by Leicester historian Emory Washburn, in 1860¹⁴:

⁶ Listed as #29 on an "Inventory of Possessions of the Bunker Hill Monument Association ..." which was taken on 3 February 1967 (original inventory list now at Charlestown Navy Yard - copy kindly provided by Phil Hunt). A side notation states "Stolen, 1974 or 5". Carl Zellner, in a 19 June 2001 phone conversation, elaborated that the Metropolitan District Commission (MDC) took over the site from the Bunker Hill Monument Association and managed it until its acquisition by the National Park Service. Mr. Zellner visited the site in 1971 and stated that the musket was gone by then. An older timer told him that the musket had been taken out for repair and was never returned. A photo of the musket on display can be seen in [EBON].

⁷ MASS 13:743-4.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ FRAM, 325.

¹⁰ MASS 13:743-4.

¹¹ FRAM, 325.

¹² This site, at the northeast corner of Sucker Pond at what is now the Fairbanks Road Playground off Cochituate Road in Framingham, was visited by Bruce Harris and this compiler but no signs of a foundation could be found.

¹³ USCE, 1790, Massachusetts, Framingham, 142 [see copy of original census return appended].

¹⁴ LEI1, 266-269.

After the war, he came to Leicester, and continued to reside there till a short time before his death. The history of the town would be incomplete without giving him a place ...

He was born in Framingham, and was held as a slave, probably until he joined the army; whereby, if not before, he became free. This was the case with many of the slaves in Massachusetts; as no slave could be mustered into the army. If a master suffered this to be done, it worked a practical emancipation. Peter served faithfully as a soldier, during the war, in Col. Nixon's regiment. A part of the time he was the servant of Col. Nixon, and always spoke of him in terms of admiration.

He lived in various places in the town; but his last abode was a cabin which he built for himself, on the south side of the road leading to Auburn, about a quarter of a mile from the house formerly of William Watson.¹⁵ In front of his cabin he planted and reared two or three poplar-trees; and, around it, dug and cultivated a little garden, in which, besides the few vegetables that he planted, a few clumps of flowering shrubs and a stunted rose or two, with a few sweet-smelling herbs, gave evidence of his unequal struggle with a hard and rocky soil.

Horticulture, however, was not his forte. He earned a precarious livelihood by making and mending baskets, bottoming chairs, and the like; which gave him admittance into everybody's house, where his good nature rendered him a universal favorite, especially with the children. His military training in the army had given him a sort of instinctive soldierly bearing; and his habits of obedience there to his superiors, infused, into all of his intercourse with the considerable people of the town, a marked courtesy of manner, which he never omitted or forgot.

It was always a pleasant sight to observe the promptness and precision with which the heel of Peter's right foot found its way into the hollow of his left one, his body grow erect, and the right hand spring up to a level with his eye, to salute Massa Moore or Mistress D. on passing, in return for the salutation or nod of recognition with which everybody greeted him.

It was a treat, too, for the younger members of the family to gather around Peter, while engaged in mending the household chairs; or, sitting in the chimney corner, with the youngest on his knee, while the flickering blaze lighted up his black face, to listen to his stories of the war, and what he had seen "when he was out with Massa Nixon."

He was especially at home at the firesides of those who had been in "the service," and generally found a welcome chair at the hospitable board. They were, to him, companions in arms; and he never seemed to think he could grow old while any of them remained to answer his roll-call.

But though Peter had gone through seven years' hard service unharmed, and had not lost a jot of his freshness of feeling, age crept upon him unawares at last. His erect form began to stoop; his military step grew unsteady; the thinned and whitened covering which had concealed an ugly *wen* or two, that had perched themselves upon the top of his head, no longer served to screen this defect in his personal symmetry. His resources grew smaller and smaller; till, at last, the hand of charity had to supply the few wants which the old man required.

In this respect, there is a frightful equality in the law. Overseers of the poor never heed whether the man that is hungry is a saint or a sinner. If he needs fire to warm or clothes to cover him, though scarred all over in the service of his country, it is their "duty" to hunt up his "settlement," and give notice, as the law requires.

Peter's settlement was in Framingham, and the good people of that town took early measures for his removal thither.

It was a sad day for Peter; but, before taking his final departure, he went around and made a farewell visit to each of his favorite haunts, and to each of his old friends as time had spared. With a heavy heart, he paid them his last salute, and disappeared from the spot which had been his home for so many years. His cabin soon went to decay. A rough stone chimney served for many years to mark where it had stood; and the lilac and the rose he planted, bloomed for a few years, and were then broken down, and died. The last object that marked the spot was a poplar tree; and even that has grown old, and will ere long disappear.

But will any one say that this humble black man, whose hand did such service in the very redoubt on Bunker

¹⁵ This road, now named Peter Salem Road, extends eastward off Route 56. In October 2002, Don Lennerton, Town Historian of Leicester, pointed out the foundation site of Peter's cabin. It resides on a southeast-facing hillside just a few hundred yards from the Route 56 intersection, on the south side of the Peter Salem Road and just a few yards west of the major transmission lines that cross the road there. A well was discovered on the property in the early 1900's by a Mr. Henry Watson [per "Houses Built in Leicester Previous to 1800" by Cora B. Knight Denny (1910), 23]. The DAR acquired this site in 1909 [per DEFE, 20] and beautified the area and erected a sign [see copy of old photo appended] but all of this has long since disappeared. The property is now shown on the area tax map in the Assessor's Office as being privately-owned.

Hill; who periled his life, through some of the most trying and arduous scenes of the war, for that freedom for others which he had never been permitted to share till he won it personally by personal valor, --- will any one say that his name does not deserve a place among those whom it is the purpose of these simple annals to commemorate?

Temple continues the story¹⁶:

On his return to Framingham, Peter was not treated in all respects like the common poor; but to the credit of his former masters be it recorded, that Maj. Lawson Buckminster and Capt. Jeremiah Belknap, together with Samuel Hemenway, gave a bond to the town "to support him during his natural life."¹⁷ He died at the house of William Walkup Sen. August 16, 1816, and was buried in the north central part of the old cemetery ...

His grave stood unmarked until 1882 when the Town of Framingham expended \$150 to fill and grade the site, which 'was in a low part of the cemetery', and erect a granite monument.¹⁸ On this monument at the Old Burying Ground Cemetery (formerly called Church Hill Cemetery) on Main Street is inscribed:

PETER SALEM
A SOLDIER OF THE REVOLUTION
CONCORD
BUNKER HILL
SARATOGA
DIED AUG. 16, 1816
ERECTED BY THE TOWN, 1882.

Other honors were accorded to him. 'On June 11, 1927 the *Chicago Defender*, the leading black weekly in the United States, carried the notice that the National Equal Rights League ... had issued a nationwide call for the observance of "Peter Salem day," June 17 ... [t]he purpose of the day would be "to notify white Americans of valuable service and sacrifice we have made for them from the country's birth and demand equal rights as a just return."¹⁹ In May 1971, a medal honoring him was struck by the American Negro Commemorative Society.²⁰ The Framingham Chapter DAR dedicated the restoration of his gravestone in a special ceremony on 12 November 2000.²¹ A companion headstone was laid:

RESTORED BY THE
FRAMINGHAM CHAPTER
DAR
JULY 22, 2000

In September 1783 Peter Salem married Katy Benson²², a granddaughter of Nero of Framingham. No record of any children could be found.

¹⁶ FRAM, 327.

¹⁷ This compiler spent many hours, at the office of the Town Clerk in Framingham, searching through old town reports of the period for this document but could not find it.

¹⁸ "Report of Committee on Memorial Stone Over Grave of Peter Salem" manuscript copy in "Peter Salem" file at Framingham Historical Society.

¹⁹ FONE, 43.

²⁰ "Medal Honors Framingham Black Who Fought in American Revolution", story in 13 June 1971 *South Middlesex News*; copy at Framingham Historical Society. A U.S Post Office stamp issued during the Bicentennial, depicting Trumbull's painting of the Battle of Bunker Hill, purportedly showed Peter Salem as the 'servant' standing behind Lt. Thomas Grosvenor. It is highly unlikely that the man shown in the portrait is Peter Salem; instead it is more likely to be Asaba (Grosvenor) - see his biographical sketch for more information.

²¹ Both Bruce Harris and this compiler attended this ceremony at the invitation of Mrs. Andrea Crossman of the DAR [see photo taken at the gravesite].

²² MAVR, Framingham, Marriages, 337; listed as 'Salem Middlesex'. Temple stated that Peter Salem was sometimes called Salem Middlesex - his authority is being relied upon here. There was another man by this name who long resided in Weston (MA).

Stephen Saaler	1			1		2			1	1
Amos Silvester					1	2	1	1		
James Smith					1			1		1
Sho. Sprague				1			1		1	
Reuben Snow					1		1	1		1

James Snow	1	1		1		1	1		1	
Abner Snow	2	1		1		1	1		1	
Joseph Studley				1		2			1	1
John Sargeant		2		1	1		2	1		2
John Silvester	2				1	1		1	1	
Saml. Southgate	2			1		2			1	1
Joshua Silvester	1	1	1	1				2	1	1
Ambros Sears									1	1
Lehabod Sylvester			1	1	1			2		1
Amasa Southwick			1	1				2	1	1
Reuben Swan					2				1	1
Timothy Sprague		2		1				2		2
John Sprague	4		1				1		1	
William Sprague	1	1		1	2		1	1		1
Alpheus Smith	4	1	1	1			1		2	
Peter Salem										
Mary Sargeant		1								2
William Southgate		1		2			1	2	1	3
Joseph Sprague	1			2						
John Thornton				1		1		1		
David Trask	1	1		1	2		1	1	2	
Samuel Trask				1						

492



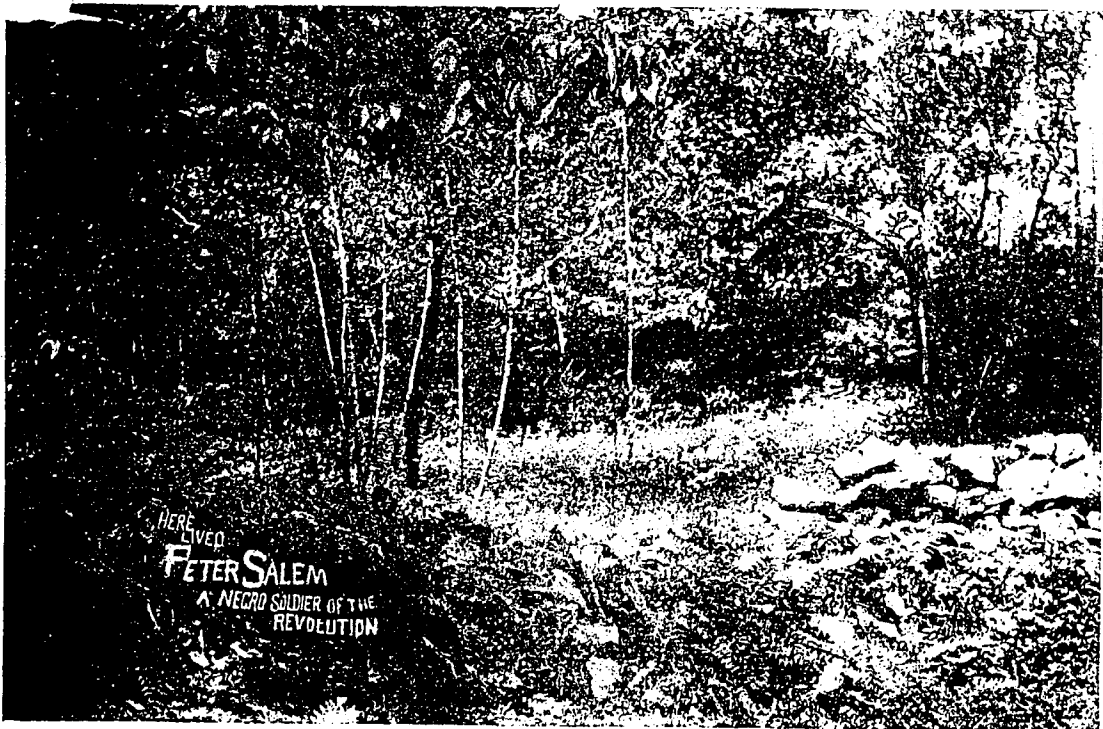
Leicester Dec. 12th 1809

On demand for value received I promise
to pay to the order of Messrs
four dollars eighty eight cents with interest
till paid Peter X Salem
Witness David Hicker mark

4.88
14
19.52
4.88
4.88

Due 5.54

Courtesy: Leicester (MA) Public Library



SITE OF HOME OF PETER SALEM.

X+ Anthony Shaswell

Age: N/A

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Charlestown, MA

Description: N/A¹

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Whitcomb / Davis

Stationed: rail fence

Nothing is known of the early life of Anthony Shaswell.

He joined the eight month's service on 6 May 1775 in the company of Capt. Jonathan Davis, in Col. Asa Whitcomb's regiment. This company served in the Battle of Bunker Hill at the rail fence. His name is on the 1 August 1775 muster roll.² On 18 June 1775, one day after the Battle, he was listed on an order 'for cartridge boxes of which said Shasrel ... is in need'.³ This is a strong sign of participation in the Battle. His name also appears on August and September 1775 receipts for wages⁴ and on a 6 October 1775 company return.⁵

There is no known record of 1776 service.

On 1 January 1777 he joined the 1st Rhode Island Battalion, in Capt. John Singer Dexter's company in Col. Christopher Greene's regiment. On 24 January 1777 he was listed as 'Taken Prisoner'. After that there is no more record of him.⁶

¹ NAME.

² MASS 14:155; listed as 'Shezerell, Anthony'.

³ Ibid 14:21; listed as 'Shasrel, Antony'.

⁴ Ibid 14:154; listed as 'Sheswell, Anthony'.

⁵ Ibid 14:155; listed as 'Shezzerel, Antony'.

⁶ USRW, Series M881, Roll 846, Frame 1223 [see copy].

Anthony Hayward

Privat. } Capt. John Singer Dexter's Co., 1st
Rhode Island Batt'n, commanded by
Col. Christopher Greene.*

Revolutionary War.

Appears on

Company Muster Roll

of the organization named above for the month

of *Jan. 1 to Dec. 1, 1777.*

Roll dated

Dec. 24, 1777.

Appointed , 17 ..

Commissioned , 17 ..

Enlisted *Jan. 1* , 17 ..

Term of enlistment *During War.*

Time since last muster or enlistment

Alterations since last muster

Casualties

Remarks: *Taken Prisoner*
Jan. 24

*This company was designated at various times as Capt. John Singer Dexter's and 2d Company.

York

(543)

Copyist.

X? Scipio Shaw

Age: 24

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Danvers, MA

Description: 'Negro'

Status: servant

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Woodbridge / King

Stationed: N/A

Scipio Shaw was born circa 1751¹ and was a servant to the widow Hannah Shaw of Danvers².

He joined the eight month's service from Danvers (MA) on 14 June 1775 in the 9th company of Capt. John King, in Col. (Benjamin) Ruggles Woodbridge's regiment. On 23 October 1775, he was listed on an 'order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money dated Camp Prospect Hill'.³

In 1776, he enlisted into Capt. Joseph Butler's company, in Lt. Col. Thomas Nixon's regiment. This unit served in the New York Campaign and was probably at the Battle of White Plains. A regimental return of 9 November 1776 records him as serving at North Castle (now Mt. Kisco NY). He served his term until December 1776, then evidently served an extra month at Springfield (MA).⁴

On 25 August 1777, he enlisted into the company of Capt. Samuel Flint, in Col. Samuel Johnson's Essex County (MA) militia. This company was in the thickest of the fight at the 2nd Battle of Saratoga on 7 October 1777, at which his Captain was killed. He was discharged on 30 November 1777, making his long march of 200 miles home from Scarsdale (NY).⁵

He was married on 22 August 1777 in Danvers to Filis, 'servant to widow Elisabeth Buxton'.⁶

¹ BD-M.

² MAVR, Danvers, 331. It is important to note that he was listed as a servant at the time of his marriage in 1777 and after serving in the Army for two years prior.

³ MASS 14:67.

⁴ Ibid 14:68.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ MAVR, Danvers, Marriages under 'Negroes', 331, listed as 'Sipio'.

X? Marcus Shed

Age: 20

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Tewksbury, MA

Description: N/A¹

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Bridge / Furbush

Stationed: redoubt

Nothing is known of the early life of Marcus Shed.

He joined the eight month's service on 30 May 1775 in the company of Capt. Charles Furbush, in Col. Ebenezer Bridge's regiment. His name is listed on a receipt for advanced pay dated 30 June 1775 and on the 1 August 1775 muster roll.² The last record of service for him is an 'order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money dated Cambridge, Nov. 21, 1775'.³

¹ NAME.

² MASS 14:80, listed as 'Shead'.

³ Ibid 14:93, listed as 'Shed'.

X? Nathaniel Small ★

Age: N/A

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Gloucester, MA

Description: 'negro'

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Gerrish / B. Dodge

Stationed: N/A

Nothing is known of the early life of Nathaniel Small.

He joined the eight month's service from Gloucester on 30 May 1775, in the company of Capt. Barnabas Dodge in Col. Samuel Gerrish's regiment. He is listed on a 10 June 1775 list of those who took the loyalty oath required by Congress, on an August 1775 pay abstract, and on a 2 October 1775 return dated 'Camp at Chelsea'. His name also appears on a 27 December 1775 'order for money in lieu of a bounty coat, dated Chelsea', on which he is reported 'a negro'.

On 13 November 1775, he signed an enlistment agreement agreeing to join the same unit (now under Lt. Col. Loammi Baldwin) in Continental Army service from 31 December 1775 for one year. A 7 December return and a 30 December 1775 list of new recruits confirm this engagement for Continental service. May and June 1776 pay abstracts show him in 'Camp at New York'. His unit retreated from New York to what is now Washington's Crossing (PA) with the other remnants of Washington's army. It is highly likely that Small was engaged in the crossing of the Delaware to attack Trenton. On 1 January 1777, just after the victory at Trenton, Washington made entreaties to his men to stay in service for an extra six weeks past their enlistment. Nathaniel Small decided to remain with Washington and was probably also engaged at the Battle of Princeton just two days later.

With Gen. Burgoyne preparing to advance on northern New York, the call once again went out for soldiers to meet this serious threat. He joined the Continental Army on 16 March 1777 for a term to last the duration of the war, in the company of Capt. Amos Cogswell in Col. James Wesson's 9th Massachusetts regiment. This unit fought at both battles at Saratoga, spent the long winter at Valley Forge and fought in the sweltering heat at the Battle of Monmouth (NJ) on 28 June 1778. Just two weeks after the Battle, Small died on 13 July 1778. He may have been wounded or died of disease.¹

¹ MASS 14:316.

X? Cato Smith ★

Age: N/A

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Lincoln, MA

Description: N/A¹

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Nixon / Smith

Stationed: breastwork

Nothing is known of the early life of Cato Smith.

He joined the eight month's service on 24 April 1775 from Lincoln (MA), in the company of Capt. William Smith in Col. John Nixon's regiment. His name appears on a 26 June 1775 receipt for advanced pay, on the 1 August 1775 roll and on a 30 September 1775 company return.²

In 1776, he enlisted in the company of Capt. Joseph Butler in Lt. Col. Thomas Nixon's 4th regiment. This unit served at the Battle of White Plains. Rolls from September through November place him at North Castle (NY). He died in the service on 23 January 1777.

¹ NAME.

² MASS 14:358.

X? Jacob Speen

Age: 21

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Sudbury, MA

Description: 'negro'

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: J. Brewer / Russell

Stationed: diagonal

Jacob Speen was born circa 1754.¹

He joined the eight month's service on 27 April 1775 in the company of Capt. Thaddeus Russell, in Col. Jonathan Brewer's regiment.² This company served in the Battle of Bunker Hill on the diagonal between the redoubt and the breastwork. He is also listed on the October 1775 roll.³ The 26 October 1775 roll lists him on an 'order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money dated Cambridge Camp'.⁴

On 1 January 1776, he enlisted in Capt. Daniel Whiting's company, in Col. Asa Whitcomb's regiment, for service as reinforcements to the North. A 27 November 1776 roll, dated Camp at Ticonderoga, lists him as 'reported deserted June 24, 1776'.⁵

Is it undoubtedly he that served '1 mo. 3 days at Rhode Island on a secret expedition' in Capt. Daniel Eames' company, in Col. Benjamin Haws' regiment. His company marched 29 September 1777.⁶

He was on a list, dated 8 July 1778 at Fort Arnold (West Point), of men raised in Middlesex County for the term of nine months from his arrival at Fishkill (NY).⁷ He enlisted on 29 June 1778 in the company of Capt. Amasa Soper, in Col. Thomas Marshall's regiment. The January 1779 roll was dated West Point.⁸ He signed up for a six-month term in mid-1780 where he is 'reported a negro' and is listed on a descriptive roll at Springfield (MA):⁹

age:	26
stature:	5 ft. 8 in.
engaged for:	Natick

By 25 October 1780, he had passed muster at Camp Totoway (NJ) under Brig. Gen. John Paterson.¹⁰ He was discharged from the six-months service on 5 December 1780.¹¹ A receipt, dated Boston 16 May 1782, records that he received a bounty to serve in the Continental Army for the term of three years.¹²

He married Dinah Pero of Cambridge (MA) in Natick (MA) on 2 February 1776.¹³ There is no record of any children.

¹ BD-R.

² MASS 14:712, listed as 'Speene'.

³ Ibid 14:711, listed as 'Speen'.

⁴ Ibid 14:698, listed as 'Spean'.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid 14:711, under 'Speen'.

⁷ Ibid 14:698.

⁸ Ibid 14:699, listed as 'Speane'.

⁹ Ibid 14:698.

¹⁰ Ibid 16:212, listed as 'Tween'.

¹¹ Ibid 14:712, under 'Speen'.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ MAVR, Natick, , 184; also listed in MAVR, Cambridge, Marriages, 365.

?X Cato Stedman

Age: N/A

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Cambridge, MA

Description: 'negro'

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Gardner / Thatcher

Stationed: N/A

Nothing is known of Cato Stedman's early life.

He marched on the 19 April 1775 alarm in Capt. Samuel Thatcher's company, in Col. Thomas Gardner's regiment, where he is 'reported a negro'.¹ This company served on Battle Road.

He is also listed on a 27 May 1777 roll as having joined the Continental Army from Cambridge, for the length of the war, in Capt. Reuben Slayton's company in Col. William Shepard's regiment.² This regiment served in the Saratoga campaign.

He is buried in the Old Burying Ground in Cambridge (opposite Cambridge Common) but there is no known gravestone.³

¹ MASS 14:900; also COBU, 41.

² Ibid.

³ His gravesite could not be found in three visits in June 2000, September 2000 and July 2001. There is a sign denoting his burial [see photo].



REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIERS
BLACK SOLDIERS OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY
CATO STEDMAN AND NEPTUNE FROST
ARE BURIED IN THIS GROUND
1775

X? John Sunsiman {Senshemon¹/Cinnamon}

Age: N/A

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Woodstock, CT

Description: 'Indian'

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Putnam / Manning

Stationed: rail fence

A local history describes John Sunsiman as an 'Indian'.²

He enlisted on 9 May 1775 into the eight months' service, in the company of Capt. Ephraim Manning in Col. Israel Putnam's regiment. He was discharged on 15 December 1775.³

There is no record of 1776 service.

On 16 April 1777 he enlisted for eight months in Capt. Paul Brigham's company in Col. John Chandler's 8th Connecticut regiment. This unit served at the Battle of Germantown (PA) on 4 October 1777. He was discharged on 1 January 1778.⁴

He reenlisted for another eight months on 5 June 1778 in Capt. Nathaniel Webb's company in Col. John Durkee's 4th Connecticut regiment. This unit fought at the Battle of Monmouth (NJ) on 28 June 1778. He was discharged on 1 January 1779.⁵

It is most probably the same man who died in Woodstock on 1 August 1786.⁶

¹ A Pequot name common in Ledyard (CT); see vital records in LEDY, 281 on.

² WOCT, 536.

³ CTSS, 57; listed as 'Sunsemon'.

⁴ Ibid, 237; listed as 'Sunsemun'.

⁵ Ibid, 189; listed as 'Sansimon'.

⁶ CTVR, Woodstock, 330.

X? Prince Sutton

Age: N/A
Occupation: N/A
Residence: Woburn, MA

Description: 'mulatto'
Status: N/A
Religion: N/A

Rank: Private
Unit: Gerrish / Wood
Stationed: N/A

Nothing is known of the early life of Prince Sutton.

He joined the eight month's service from Woburn on 7 May 1775, in the company of Capt. John Wood in Col. Samuel Gerrish's regiment. His name is on a 27 May 1775 list of those men who took a loyalty oath, on a 16 July 1775 list of those who served on the main guard under Lt. Col. Loammi Baldwin, on the 1 August 1775 muster roll, and also on a 10 August 1775 return of men sick and absent dated Medford. His name is also shown on a September 1775 pay abstract, on an October 1775 return and on a 30 October 1775 receipt listing him as a 'mulatto'. He is shown in the same unit on a 28 December 1775 'receipt for money in lieu of bounty coat dated Medford'.¹

On 22 December 1775, he agreed to serve one extra month until the end of January 1776.²

With Gen. Burgoyne preparing to advance on northern New York, the call once again went out for soldiers to meet this serious threat. Now residing in Charlestown, Sutton joined the Continental Army on 10 April 1777 for a three-year term in the company of Capt. Edmund Munroe, in Col. Timothy Bigelow's 15th Massachusetts regiment. This unit served at Saratoga, Valley Forge and Monmouth, where his Captain was killed. Payrolls for February to April 1779 place him in Providence. He was discharged 10 April 1780.³

On 6 August 1780, he entered the service for duty in Rhode Island, in Capt. William Green's company in Col. Cyprian How's regiment. He was discharged on 1 November 1780 and allowed 80 miles travel.⁴

His last record of service is a receipt dated Boston 27 March 1782 for bounty paid in Ward No. 5, Class No. 4 for a stint of three years.⁵

¹ MASS 15:266-7.

² Ibid 15:267.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

X? Amos Tanner ★

Age: N/A

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Montville, CT

Description: 'Mohegan'

Status: free

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Putnam / Durkee

Stationed: rail fence

Amos Tanner was undoubtedly the son of Rebecca Tanner and a brother to Joseph.¹

He enlisted on 3 May 1775 in the company of Capt. John Durkee, in Col. Israel Putnam's regiment. This company marched from Norwich CT to Cambridge shortly after the Lexington Alarm and was engaged in the Battle of Bunker Hill, stationed at the rail fence. He was discharged on 16 December 1775.²

There is no further record of service for him. The 1782 census of the Mohegan Tribe lists his mother:

Rebecca Tanner, widow, lost her 5 sons in ye Army.³

It is of the highest probability that Amos Tanner died in the service.

¹ MOHE, 18.

² CISS, 54.

³ MONT, 61.

X? Joseph Tanner ★

Age: N/A

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Montville, CT

Description: 'Mohegan'

Status: free

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Putnam / Durkee

Stationed: rail fence

Joseph Tanner was undoubtedly the son of Rebecca Tanner and a brother to Amos.¹

He enlisted on 8 May 1775 in the company of Capt. John Durkee, in Col. Israel Putnam's regiment. This company marched from Norwich CT to Cambridge shortly after the Lexington Alarm and was engaged in the Battle of Bunker Hill, stationed at the rail fence. He was discharged on 16 December 1775.²

There is no further record of service for him. The 1782 census of the Mohegan Tribe lists his mother:

Rebecca Tanner, widow, lost her 5 sons in ye Army.³

It is of the highest probability that Joseph Tanner died in the service.

¹ MOHE, 18.

² CTSS, 54.

³ MONT, 61.

X? Peter Tecoomwas

Age: 26

Occupation: N/A

Residence: New London, CT

Description: 'Mohegan'

Status: free

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Putnam / Durkee

Stationed: rail fence

Peter Tecoomwas was born circa 1749¹ and may have been the son of Joshua Cuom.²

He enlisted on 10 May 1775 in the company of Capt. John Durkee, in Col. Israel Putnam's regiment. This company marched from Norwich CT to Cambridge shortly after the Lexington Alarm and was engaged in the Battle of Bunker Hill, stationed at the rail fence. He was discharged on 15 December 1775.³

He enlisted again on 12 July 1780 in Col. John Durkee's 4th Connecticut Regiment but deserted on 6 September 1780.⁴

He married Lucy Tantaquidgeon, who was 'cast off' in 1782. They had at least three children⁵:

1. Eliphalet born circa 1776

2. Cynthia

m. _____ Hoscott

3. Sarah

m. Jacob H. Fowler

¹ BD-M, based on estimated marriage date of 1775.

² MOHE, 20.

³ CTSS, 54.

⁴ MOHE, 20.

⁵ Ibid; also LOVE, 353.

X+ Cato Tufts

Age: N/A

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Medford, MA

Description: N/A¹

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Prescott / O. Parker

Stationed: redoubt

Nothing is known of the early life of Cato Tufts.

He joined the eight month's service on 15 May 1775 in the company of Capt. Oliver Parker, in Col. William Prescott's regiment.² He 'served at Bunker Hill'³ in the redoubt.

Capt. Ephraim Corey submitted his order for a bounty coat on 31 October 1775. Next he was engaged as a matross in Capt. James Swan's 1st company, in Col. Thomas Craft's Massachusetts Artillery, during August to November 1776. The roll, dated Boston, reports him as being 'drummed out' of the service.⁴

¹ NAME.

² MASS 16:151. Listed under 'Turfts'. After the Battle of Bunker Hill, Capt. Parker left the service and command of the company fell to Lt. Nathaniel Sartwell. Capt. Ephraim Corey then took over for Sartwell.

³ MEDR, 50.

⁴ MASS 16:132.

X? Noah Uncas

Age: 32

Occupation: N/A

Residence: New London, CT

Description: 'Mohegan'

Status: free

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Putnam / Durkee

Stationed: rail fence

Noah Uncas was born 17 December 1742 in New London (CT), the son of John & Hannah (____) Uncas.¹ He had a twin brother named John.²

He enlisted on 10 May 1775 in the company of Capt. John Durkee, in Col. Israel Putnam's regiment. This company marched from Norwich CT to Cambridge shortly after the Lexington Alarm and was engaged in the Battle of Bunker Hill, stationed at the rail fence. He was discharged on 16 December 1775.³

He died before the 5 August 1782 Mohegan census, as in it his wife was listed as a 'widow'.⁴

He married Mercy ____ ca. 1764. They had at least four children⁵:

1. John b. ca. 1765
2. Noah b. ca. 1768
3. Amy b. ca. 1775
4. Esther b. ca. 1779

¹ BARB 29:437.

² MOHE, 24.

³ CTSS, 54.

⁴ MONT, 58.

⁵ Ibid.

X* Caesar Wallace

Age: 37
Occupation: N/A
Residence: N/A

Description: 'man of colour'
Status: N/A
Religion: N/A

Rank: Private
Unit: N/A
Stationed: N/A

Caesar Wallace was born in Africa circa 1738.¹ Nothing is known of Caesar's life for nearly its first two decades.

On 23 April 1818 he applied for a U.S. pension, which was granted at the rate of \$96.00 per year. In his pension application, he is described as being a 'man of colour'². Caesar stated that he was 'at the battle ... at Bunker Hill'³ but no record has been found in either the Massachusetts or New Hampshire records to verify his 1775 service. By his statement, his service at the battle is considered as proven.

In 1777 he enlisted from Newbury, Massachusetts, for three years or the duration of the war, into the 2nd New Hampshire regiment commanded by Col. George Reid. His company was commanded by Capt. Caleb Robinson. This unit saw extensive service including the battles of Hubbardton, Vermont and Saratoga, New York. Caesar mentions neither of these but does mention his involvement in the battles of:

Monmouth, New Jersey	28 June 1778
Fort Herkimer, New York	
Newtown, New York	29 August 1779 (Sullivan's Expedition against the Iroquois)
Horseneck, Connecticut	

Caesar served until 7 June 1783 when he was discharged at the New Windsor encampment of the Continental Army near the Hudson River just south of Newburgh, New York.

The 1790 census of Gilmanton (NH) lists him as head in a household of four free people of color.⁴

At the time of his pension application, he was a resident of Meredith, Strafford County, New Hampshire.⁵ Local tradition places his residence on what is now Upper New Hampton Road on the farm surrounding the Piper Cemetery.⁶ His date of death is unknown. Local tradition gives his burial place (and that of his family) as Piper Cemetery but no gravestones for them exist.⁷

Caesar married Katy _____, who was aged 75 and 'healthy' in 1820. Caesar and Katy had one known child:

1. Lucy born circa 1793 and still alive in 1820 and living in Caesar's household⁸

¹ Recollection of age in pension (USPE, Roll 2479, Pension# S43250). Wallace stated that he was 80 in his 1818 application, indicating a year of birth of 1738. However, in his 1820 application he stated his age as 90. The 1738 date seems more probable and is confirmed by SARG (#131484).

² USPE, Frame 96.

³ Ibid, Frame 101.

⁴ USCE, 1790, New Hampshire, Gilmanton, 91.

⁵ All preceding service and residence records from USPE.

⁶ Cemetery List, Town Hall, Meredith, NH; SARG agrees (#131484) but also conflicts (#131483), the latter stating that he was buried at the Page Cemetery in Gilmanton, NH.

⁷ Cemetery visited June 2000.

⁸ USPE, Frame 100.

X* John Wampee {Wampey}

Age: N/A

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Pomfret, CT

Description: Indian¹

Status: free

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Putnam / Durkee

Stationed: rail fence

Nothing is known of the early life of John Wampee.

He is not listed on any known 1775 muster roll, but was surely at the Battle of Bunker Hill as he is recorded as having lost his gun there.²

There was a John Wampee who signed on the Galley *Shark* on 16 June 1776, under Capt. Thomas Stanton.³ There was also a John Wampee who received bounties from the Town of Pomfret from 1777 to 1779.⁴

¹ LOVE:364 states that this is a name from the Tunxis Tribe of Farmington (CT).

² CISS, 58.

³ Ibid, 594.

⁴ MOHE, 24.

X? Nathan Weston

Age: 35

Occupation: carpenter

Residence: New Ipswich, NH

Description: 'black'

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Reed / Town

Stationed: east end of rail fence

Nathan Weston was born on 17 March 1740¹ at Reading, Massachusetts².

He joined the eight month's service in the company of Capt. Ezra Town, in Col. James Reed's 3rd New Hampshire regiment of foot. The descriptive roll of the company lists him as follows³:

age:	30
stature:	5 ft. 5 in.
complexion:	black
hair:	black
occupation:	carpenter
birthplace:	Reading
residence:	New Ipswich
enlisted:	May 4, 1775

He died in October, 1832.⁴

¹ SARL, California (1993):1246.

² MASS 16:917-918.

³ Ibid.

⁴ SARL, California (1993):1246; note that DARL 32:339 is in conflict with all the above - there must have been another Nathan Weston and a confusion between the two exists.

X? Caesar Wetherbee

Age: 40

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Stow, MA

Description: 'Negro'

Status: N/A

Religion: Congregational

Rank: Private

Unit: Prescott / O. Parker

Stationed: redoubt

Caesar Wetherbee was born circa 1735.¹

He enlisted from Stow, Massachusetts on 15 May 1775 into the company commanded by Capt. Oliver Parker, in Col. William Prescott's regiment. He had 78 days continuous service to 1 August 1775 when a new roll was taken.² During the summer, his captain died and Lt. Nathaniel Sartell took command. In an order for a bounty coat dated 'Camp at Cambridge' on 31 October 1775, he was enrolled in Capt. Ephraim Corey's company, Col. Prescott's regiment.³

Caesar died at Boxborough, Massachusetts on 19 February 1808, at the approximate age of 73. The church record of his death lists him as 'Black'.⁴

¹ BD-D.

² MASS 16:926; listed under Wetherbee'.

³ MASS 6:734; listed under 'Weatherbee'.

⁴ MAVR, Boxborough, Deaths referencing the records of the Congregational Church. NOTE: There was a Caesar Augustus Wetherbee who died at the age of 126 in Boxborough in September 1808 (*Columbian Centinel*, Obituaries, 1 October 1808). There is a chance that this was Caesar's father..

*X Peter (White)

Age: N/A

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Brookline, MA

Description: N/A¹

Status: servant

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Heath / White

Entered: N/A

Nothing is known of Peter's early life.

He served at Battle Road in the company of Capt. Thomas White, in Col. William Heath's regiment. On the roll he is listed as "Esq White's Peter".²

This man is probably the same man listed as 'Peter White' who served in the Continental Army from Brookline in 1777.³

¹ STAT.

² MASS 12:788; also COBU, 46.

³ MASS 17:117.

++ Cuff Whittemore {Cartwright/De Carteret}

Age: 24

Occupation: laborer

Residence: Arlington, MA house

Description: 'negro'

Status: servant

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Gardner / Locke

Entered: Menotomy, Jason Russell

Stationed: redoubt

Cuff Whittemore was born circa 1751.¹ Before the Revolution, he was called Cuff Cartwright (or De Carteret) and was the servant of William Whittemore.² 'He used to work by day among the farmers, slept in barns and lived almost anyhow'.³

A local history describes his activity on 19 April 1775:

Cuff was on the hill with the Menotomy militia [under Capt. Benjamin Locke], of which Solomon Bowman was lieutenant, and on the opening of the fight at that point, which was evidently near the house of Jason Russell at Arlington, the negro acted cowardly, and in his alarm turned to run down the hill. But the lieutenant threatened to shoot him with a horse pistol, and pricked him in the leg with the point of his sword. This brought Cuff to his senses and the negro "about facing" fought through the contest, as the colonel [Col. Ebenezer Thompson, the narrator] said, like a wounded elephant, making two "cuss'd Britishers" bite the dust.⁴

He then enlisted in the eight months' service from Cambridge on 4 June 1775 in Capt. Benjamin Locke's company, in Col. Thomas Gardner's regiment. This company served in the Battle of Bunker Hill, where his Colonel was mortally wounded and Lt. Col. William Bond took over command. It is stated that Cuff:

... fought bravely in the redoubt. He had a ball through his hat on Bunker Hill, fought to the last, and when compelled to retreat, though wounded, the splendid arms of the British officers were prizes too tempting for him to come off empty handed, he seized the sword of one of them slain in the redoubt, and came off with the trophy, which in a few days he unromantically sold. He served faithfully through the war, with many hair-breadth 'scapes from sword and pestilence.⁵

An October 1775 descriptive roll at Prospect Hill describes him as a 'negro' and as follows⁶:

age: 24
stature: 5 ft. 10 1/2 in.

His former master, William Whittemore, interceded for him in a request for wages in October 1775. On 1 December 1775, he was listed on an 'order for bounty coat dated Prospect Hill'.⁷

In 1776, he served for one year in Capt. Daniel Egery's company, in Col. William Bond's regiment.⁸ This unit served at Ticonderoga at the time the American Fleet under Gen. Benedict Arnold was defeated.

¹ BD-R; in his 1818 pension application (see USPE footnote), he gives his own age as 'about 22' in 1775 [bca. 1753] and 'nearly 70' in 1818 [bca. 1748], per Frame 225. In his 1820 pension application, he gives his age as 75 [bca. 1750] per Frame 229. In his obituary, his age is given as 80 in 1826 [bca. 1756] (see obituary footnote). With all of this conflicting data, a birth year of 1751 seemed like a good compromise date.

² ARL2, 197 states: 'Master William Whittemore, a graduate of Harvard College and a local school teacher ... had married a member of the Carteret family'.

³ ARL1, 202.

⁴ ARL2, 197; as an old man, Bowman provided an affidavit for Cuff in his application for a pension (see USPE footnote).

⁵ SWET, 'Notes', 24.

⁶ MASS 17:153, listed as 'Whittemore'. Includes data from descriptive roll.

⁷ Ibid 17:264, under 'Whittemore'.

By 15 May 1777, he was living in Dartmouth (MA) and had enlisted in the Continental Army for three years under Capt. Isaac Pope, in Col. William Shepard's regiment.⁹ This unit fought at Saratoga where Cuff Whittemore was taken prisoner 'and ordered to take care of [Gen. Burgoyne's] charger for a few moments [when] he mounted him and returned to the American Camp'¹⁰. A local history gives further details:

... just before the capture of [Burgoyne] at Saratoga, he was ordered to take the General's favorite horse one morning to the brook to water. The American and British armies lay on each side of it, half a mile or so apart. After the horse had drank sufficiently, Cuff concluded to join the Americans, and dashing through the brook, while the British bullets flew thick at him, reached our lines.¹¹

On 1 April 1818 he applied for a U.S pension, which was granted.¹² In June 1820 he had to reapply in order to prove his need. He described himself as a 'pauper' in Charlestown, 'without any estate', and 'very infirm and has no family and is unable to support himself'.¹³

Cuff Whittemore died in Charlestown (MA) on 26 January 1826.¹⁴ He is one of a very few men of color who was honored with an obituary notice.¹⁵

⁸ USPE, Pension# S33896, Roll 2569, Frame 236, affidavit of Solomon Bowman.

⁹ MASS 17:264.

¹⁰ USPE, Frame 230.

¹¹ ARL1, 202.

¹² USPE, Frame 225.

¹³ Ibid, Frame 229.

¹⁴ Ibid, Frame 232.

¹⁵ *Columbian Centinel* (28 January 1826), listed as age 80.

My object is not to bias
 your minds on the
 subject, but to present every
 fact, and if the House
 The Pamphlet contains
 pages in a large and
 it—my only object is to
 of the Senate and of
 IT!

Gentlemen—It will
 the people will read it—
 it—and act soon, if you
 Education is already oc-
 moid in this enlightened
 he has it met so deep an
 lively an interest. How
 legislators of a free and
 could meet this subject,
 do justice to it, to them
 nonwealth.

Therefore, that the Legisla-
 ture of the Commonwealth
 the Pamphlet in question,
 and support whatever
 their wisdom, see fit to
 A. B. C.

AFFAIRS.

Jan. 26. The fol-
 concurrence:

Committee appointed to con-
 sulting a well and locating
 ket-street, be directed to
 re expediency of removing
 ll Creek (beginning where
 extending to the end of
 much of the same as will
 ining at all times one foot
 creek.

was appointed Wharfin-
 und-authorized to receive
 age.

Committee on the subject of
 ending that the weighers
 ales be directed in future
 the whole weight, was

Jan. 25. Messrs.
 and Dyer [to be joined]
 Committee to consider the ex-
 the offices of City Mar-
 issioner; and that said
 report by ordinance or

Howe were added to the
 ct of sale of Neck Lands
 Street.

Monday next 6, P. M.

DEPARTMENT.

ing the Common Council
 rd of Aldermen in the
 inners of the Fire De-

IN ORDNANCE, by Mrs. E. P. Phinney to Miss Eliza
 let daughter of Capt. Edward H. of Hyannis.
 In Northampton, N. H. Mr. Lyford Thing, of
 N. H. to Miss Lydia Pickering, daughter of Josiah
 Esq.
 In Worcester, Rev. Thomas R. Sullivan, of
 H. to Miss Charlotte C. Blake, daughter of the
 Francis C. Blake, of Worcester.
 In Framingham, on Wednesday evening by
 Dr. Kellogg, Mr. Otis Fairbanks, of this city,
 Nancy Bullard, of Framingham.
 In Northampton, Mr. Sylvester Bridgeman to
 sey Clapp.
 In Easthampton, Mr. Ithamar Clark to Miss
 man.
 On the 17th inst. at Trinity Church Cortland
 the Rev. Mr. Leonard, Mr. Thacher Tucker
 of Tucker & Spring, New York, to Miss
 son, youngest daughter of Henry B. Brown,
 stock Vt.
 On the 10th inst. at West-Hill, Leesburg,
 for Bonnycastle, of the University of Virginia,
 Mason, eldest daughter of Charles Tuit, Esq.

DIED,

In this city, Mr. James V. Babson, aged 30,
 Providence.
 On Wednesday, Mrs. Minah, wife of Mr. E. G.
 cott, aged 28.
 On Wednesday last, Stephen Gorham, Esq.
 On Friday last Henry Robinson, youngest
 Calvin W. and Mrs. Eunice W. May, aged 3
 Yesterday, Mrs. Sarah Glides, aged 26.
 In West Cambridge, on Thursday last, Mrs.
 wife of Mr. Edward Smith, aged 83. Passed
 day afternoon next, at 2 o'clock, from the
 brother, Mr. Leonard Richardson, which
 the family are requested to attend.
 In Charlestown, Mr. Ouff Whittemore, aged
 a soldier of the revolutionary war, and an
 color.
 In Waltham on Sunday evening last, Deacon
 Lawrence, aged 77.
 In Middleborough, 19th inst. Mr. George W.
 aged 22 years, youngest son of Gen. Abel W.
 In Grafton, Mrs. Mary Leland, consort of
 W. Leland, aged 88.
 In Holliston, Mrs. Patty Bullard, aged 58.
 In Cohasset, Miss Ruth Nichols, aged 37.
 Beth Nichols, aged 61, widow of Mr. Joseph N.
 In Northampton, Mr. Cotton Dickenson, a
 soldier, aged 72.
 In Hadley, Mr. Moses Kellogg, aged 68.
 Cook aged 77.
 In Swanville, Mrs. Isabella, wife of H. G.
 Williams, aged 50, formerly of Taunton.
 In Bath, Col. Wm Bourc, after a long and
 illness.
 In Washington, Mr. James Lovell, aged 83,
 of the late James Smith Lovell Esq. of Boston.

SHIPPING JOURNAL

PORT OF BOSTON---18
 MONDAY, Jan. 23.—Arrived sch. Cyrene,
 port.
 WEDNESDAY and THURSDAY—No
 sch. Hero, Jun. Preble, Fredericksburg; brig
 ler, Brazils and a market; Gen. Bolivar, Cobb
 bon and Smyrna.
 FRIDAY, Jan. 27.—Arrived below
 ing-Star, Smith, Alexandria.
 Signal for a ship.
 CLEARED—Brig Ultima, Row, Surina
 W. & F. Ellis; Ann, Witham, New
 schs. Two Sisters, Wing, Baltimore;
 Haskell, Castine; Sophronia, Rich, A
 Boundary, Shackford, Eastport; sloop

Arr. at Newport 25th
 days from Havana for Pr
 Arr. at Portsmouth 23d
 good via Portland. Sa
 America; Ellen, Blant,
 Cl. at Baltimore 23d
 Belfast; Alb (berub
 Aydam, Porto Rico.
 Arr. at Alexandria 21st
 15—22d schs. Jor
 Valley, Portland 20
 NEW YORK, Jan. 24
 Amelias Sailed 23d
 schs. Indian Queer
 era Cruz.
 PHILADELPHIA, Jan
 arp, Porto Cabello
 Simpson, Karibhean.
 CHARLESTON, Jan. 1
 vana d. Sailed ship
 Garland, Blhon, G
 George Armstrong, Av
 27, do.

STOCKS, F.

STOCKS.

per Cent.	1813	100
per Cent.	1814	100
per Cent.	1815	100
per Cent.	1816	100
per Cent.	1817	100
per Cent.	1818	100
per Cent.	1819	100
per Cent.	1820	100
per Cent.	1821	100
per Cent.	1822	100
per Cent.	1823	100
per Cent.	1824	100
per Cent.	1825	100
per Cent.	1826	100
per Cent.	1827	100
per Cent.	1828	100
per Cent.	1829	100
per Cent.	1830	100

SAFE STOCKS.

per Cent.	1813	100
per Cent.	1814	100
per Cent.	1815	100
per Cent.	1816	100
per Cent.	1817	100
per Cent.	1818	100
per Cent.	1819	100
per Cent.	1820	100
per Cent.	1821	100
per Cent.	1822	100
per Cent.	1823	100
per Cent.	1824	100
per Cent.	1825	100
per Cent.	1826	100
per Cent.	1827	100
per Cent.	1828	100
per Cent.	1829	100
per Cent.	1830	100

Corrected for the Col
 WNO, Bakers, Lobby

**500 DOLLAR
 CITY OF**

In the Board of
 HEREBAS it is
 representations
 No 7 and No 10
 evil disposed persons
 keys and uncrowd
 the pump of those
 rendering them use
 his nature have a ten
 with the security of
 peace of mind of
 ed, that the Mayor
 for a reward of \$100
 detection of the offender
 their prosecution to
 all persons may be
 law in this respect,
 the City Clerk cau-
 with as such cases
 shed.

Attest, S F Ma

Mayor's

X+ Asahel Wood

Age: 26

Occupation: farmer

Residence: Hatfield, MA

Description: 'Negro'

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Woodbridge / Dickinson

Stationed: N/A

Asahel Wood was born circa 1749.¹ He was the servant of Capt. Elisha Allis of Hatfield.²

He enlisted from Hatfield (MA) on 8 May 1775 into the eight months' service, in the company of Capt. Reuben Dickinson in Col. Benjamin Ruggles Woodbridge's regiment. His name appears on a 22 June 1775 receipt for advance pay, on the 1 August 1775 muster roll, on a 28 September 1775 company return 'dated Prospect Hill' and on a 26 October 1775 'order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money dated Prospect Hill'.³ A deponent describes him as 'a Coloured Man' and further relates:

[Wood] stated to me that he ... was in the Battle of Bunker Hill.⁴

On 27 March 1781 he was engaged for a three-year term in the Continental Army, being paid a bounty by the town of Conway (MA). The descriptive roll states⁵:

age:	32
stature:	5 ft. 5 in.
complexion:	black
occupation:	farmer

In June of 1781:

the said Wood came into the family of Col. Timothy Pickering Qmaster General where I [Primus Hall] then resided in the Capacity of Steward and the said Wood was in the course of that year drafted as a waggoner in the Staff Department and taken out of the Line in which he previously was - I [Primus Hall] also Depose that the said Wood continued in that Service with me Until the April following when I [Primus Hall] knew he then Joined his Regiment ...⁶

For part of this tour, he served in Capt. Thomas Pritchard's company in Col. John Greateon's Regiment and on 19 October 1781 'was at the capture of Cornwallis'. He was honorably discharged on 23 December 1783.⁷

Further details about him are provided, in a petition for relief filed with the General Court, by his former master⁸:

To The Honorable Council and To the Honorable House of Representatives in General Court
Assembled at Watertown the [] day November 1775 ----

The Petition of Elisha Allis of ~~North Hampton~~ Hatfield In the County of Hampshire ----
Humbly Sheweth --

¹ BD-D.

² See MASA documents below.

³ MASS 17:718; listed as 'Asel'.

⁴ USPE, Roll 2625, Pension# 533947, Frame 608; 20 April 1818 affidavit of Joseph Williams.

⁵ MASS 17:718; listed as 'Asahel'.

⁶ USPE, Frame 607; 28 September 1818 affidavit of Primus Hall, son of renowned Boston Mason Prince Hall.

⁷ Ibid, Frame 611; 23 April 1818 application of Asahel Wood.

⁸ MASA 180:218, Petitions to General Court. On the cover sheet is written: 'Ord^d to Subside'. NOTE: the Eber mentioned is Eber Wood.

That your Petitioner had Two Negro Servants Inlisted Into the Army in April Last. By Your Petitioners Consent. and Cloathed them Extraordy. and fixed them with Arms and been at Great Cost for their Education and Said Servants have Remained in the Army Ever Since ----
Your Petitioner Prays Your Honors He may Receive the Wages of the Said Servants that he may not be A Sufferer by Consenting to their Service in the Present distressing Times and Your Petitioner as is Duty Bound Shall Ever Pray, &c ----

Elisha Allis

The statement of facts was as follows⁹:

In the House of Representatives Jan^y 2nd 1776

The Commit. on the Petition of Capt. Elisha Allis beg leave to report the following State of Facts viz:

That Two Negro Servants Named Asel and Eber were born in his House, baptized at his Desire, and Schooled and educated in a christian Manner, that he paid £200 Old Tenor for the education of one of them from the Age of about 2 to 10 Years who can read well and wright a good hand & that the S^d Asel & Eber lived quietly in his family having never deserted his Service, until last April when they went from him and proceed^d to Cambridge that they were taken up and confined there that he the S^d Allis followed them and finding them desirous to inlist into the Provincial Army, and understanding that the Legislature permitted Servants to enter the Army with the Consent of their Masters, he consented that they Should be inlisted into Capt. Reuben Dickensons Comp^y Coll^o Woodbridges Reg^t that he furnished them with two Suits of Cloaths & two Great Coats & Shirts apiece, one with & the other with four pair Stockings, that they have Since had of their Coll^o a p^r of Buckskin Breeches for each, which the S^d Allis paid the Coll^o for, that they have in all reports been well cloathed, and provided with fire Arms, and each of them has drawn [---] of their wages for Spending Money by permission of M^r Allis, that the S^d Asel is 26 & the S^d Eber 24 Years of Age & are again engaged in the Continental Army. That the S^d Allis being required by the Assessors hath given them into the rate Bill the present year, and is liable by a Law of the Province for their Maintenance

Moses Gunn per order

In his application for a U.S. Pension in 1820, he was a resident of Hardwick and listed the entire inventory of his property, which had a total value of \$27.59. He also stated:

My occupation is that of a Farmer, but I am troubled with the Rheumatism and can work but little. My family consists of a wife Tylea 58 years of age, in pretty good health; one pair twins 17 years of age named Asahel Hull and Patience Job neither of whom can do much for the family and one other daughter 15 years old named Ronna Augusta, who is unwell most of the time and unable to do much work.¹⁰

He died in Hardwick (MA) on 16 December 1822, at the age of 73.¹¹

He married Tylea Job in 1802 in New Braintree (MA).¹² Asahel and Tylea¹³ had at least three children:

1. Asahel Hull b. 4 January 1803 in New Braintree¹⁴ (twin of Patience)
2. Patience Job b. 4 January 1803 in New Braintree¹⁵ (twin of Asahel)
3. Ronna Augusta bca. 1805¹⁶

⁹ Ibid 180:219.

¹⁰ Ibid, Frame 612.

¹¹ MAVR, Hardwick, Deaths, 333; he is listed as 'Negro'.

¹² MAVR, New Braintree, Marriages, 126. Asahel is listed as 'of Conway'. Tylea's name is also listed as 'Tiley' and 'Tilia'.

¹³ Tylea, a 'widow', died of paralysis on 25 January 1846 in New Braintree, at the age of 84 (per MAVR, New Braintree, Deaths, 161).

¹⁴ MAVR, New Braintree, Births, 57.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ USPE, Frame 612.

In the House of Representatives Jan 24 1780

The Commrs in the Petition of Capt. Stephen Wood
beg leave to report the following: That of such and

That two Negroes were purchased at Newburyport
and were the Negroes captured at his Majesty's and
educated in a singing Harmon, that he paid for
them for the education of one of them from the age of
about 2 to 16 years who ran read well and was well qualified

That their life & their lives were in his hands
very never departed his service until lost capture when they
went from him and privately to Cambridge that they were taken
up and confined there that he had followed them carrying
them down to the Provincial Army and

standing and understanding that the Legislature passed
an act to enter the service to be confined that they should be
sent to Capt. Nathan Detmerson Corp. Coll. Woodbridge
what he sent them with the two shirts of blanket
Coats better a pair and with 3 shawls with four parallel

lines that they have since had of their Coll. of pl. of Dr. of
Ponche for each, which that Mr. Allen paid the Coll. for that
they have in all respects well clothed, and provided with
Names, and each of them has drawn his of the wages for spending

Money by permission of Mr. Allen that that Capt. Wood is able
the 24 years of Edge Carr again engaged in the
lab. Army that the Mr. Allen being required by the
given them is to the rate Bill the present year, and is liable by
Law of the Province for their maintenance

Asahel Wood
Eber Wood

?? Cato Wood

Age: N/A

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Charlestown, MA

Description: 'negro'

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Fifer

Unit: Brewer / Blake

Entered: Menotomy

Stationed: diagonal

Nothing is known of the early life of Cato Wood. He is described as 'a negro'.¹

His name is present on every known list of soldiers of color who fought at Battle Road. He was indeed listed on the roll of Capt. Benjamin Locke in Col. Thomas Gardner's regiment, a company known to have been at Battle Road, but his name is crossed out.²

He enlisted on 18 May 1775 in the company of Capt. Edward Blake, in Col. Jonathan Brewer's regiment. By October, Capt. Joseph Stebbins had taken over the company. On 26 October 1775, he was listed on an 'order for bounty coat dated Camp at Prospect Hill'.³

¹ ARL1, 58.

² MASS 17:721.

³ Ibid..

X? Cuff Wood

Age: N/A

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Charlestown, MA

Description: N/A¹

Status: N/A

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Brewer / Blake

Stationed: diagonal

Nothing is known of the early life of Cuff Wood.

He enlisted on 18 May 1775 in the company of Capt. Edward Blake, in Col. Jonathan Brewer's regiment. By October, Capt. Joseph Stebbins had taken over the company. On 26 October 1775, he was listed on an 'order for bounty coat dated Camp at Prospect Hill'.²

It is probably the same man who was confined three nights for fighting on 22 July 1775.³

¹ NAME.

² MASS 17:722.

³ Ibid 17:223. The unit of this man was given as Prescott / Parker. There was no other man named Cuff Wood in the service, indicating that the officer of the guard may have recorded the wrong unit.

X? Eber Wood {Allis}

Age: 24

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Hatfield, MA

Description: 'Negro'

Status: servant

Religion: N/A

Rank: Private

Unit: Woodbridge / Dickinson

Stationed: N/A

Eber (Allis) was born circa 1751.¹ He was the servant of Capt. Elisha Allis of Hatfield.²

He enlisted from Hatfield (MA) on 8 May 1775 into the eight months' service, in the company of Capt. Reuben Dickinson in Col. Benjamin Ruggles Woodbridge's regiment. His name appears on a 27 July 1775 receipt for advance pay 'dated Charlestown', on the 1 August 1775 muster roll, on a 28 September 1775 company return 'dated Prospect Hill' and on a 26 October 1775 'order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money dated Prospect Hill'.³

There is no record of service from 1776 to 1781.

On 23 May 1782 his name was listed on a receipt for bounty paid by Lt. Lot Whitcom, 'Chairman of Class No. 3 of the town of New Braintree [MA], to serve in the Continental Army for the term of 3 years'.⁴

Further details about him are provided, in a petition for relief filed with the General Court, by his former master⁵:

To The Honorable Council and To the Honorable House of Representatives in General Court
Assembled at Watertown the [] day November 1775 ----

The Petition of Elisha Allis of ~~North Hampton~~ Hatfield In the County of Hampshire ----
Humbly Sheweth ---

That your Petitioner had Two Negro Servants Inlisted Into the Army in April Last. By Your Petitioners Consent. and Cloathed them Extraordy. and fixed them with Arms and been at Great Cost for their Education and Said Servants have Remained in the Army Ever Since ----
Your Petitioner Prays Your Honors He may Receive the Wages of the Said Servants that he may not be A Sufferer by Consenting to their Service in the Present distressing Times and Your Petitioner as is Duty Bound Shall Ever Pray, &c ----

Elisha Allis

The statement of facts was as follows⁶:

In the House of Representatives Jan^y 2nd 1776

The Commit. on the Petition of Capt. Elisha Allis beg leave to report the following State of Facts viz:

That Two Negro Servants Named Asel and Eber were born in his House, baptized at his Desire, and Schooled and educated in a christian Manner, that he paid £200 Old Tenor for the education of one of them from the Age of about 2 to 10 Years who can read well and wright a good hand & that the Sd Asel & Eber lived quietly in his family having never deserted his Service, until last April when they

¹ See MASA 180:219 below for his listed age of 24 in very early 1776.

² See MASA documents below.

³ MASS 17:730.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ MASA 180:218, Petitions to General Court. On the cover sheet is written: 'Ord^d to Subside'. NOTE: the Asel mentioned is Asahel Wood.

⁶ Ibid 180:219.

went from him and proceed^d to Cambridge that they were taken up and confined there that he the S^d Allis followed them and finding them desirous to inlist into the Provincial Army, and understanding that the Legislature permitted Servants to enter the Army with the Consent of their Masters, he consented that they Should be inlisted into Capt. Reuben Dickensons Comp^y Coll^o Woodbridges Reg^t that he furnished them with two Suits of Cloaths & two Great Coats & Shirts apiece, one with & the other with four pair Stockings, that they have Since had of their Coll^o a p^r of Buckskin Breeches for each, which the S^d Allis paid the Coll^o for, that they have in all reports been well cloathed, and provided with fire Arms, and each of them has drawn [—] of their wages for Spending Money by permission of M^r Allis, that the S^d Asel is 26 & the S^d Eber 24 Years of Age & are again engaged in the Continental Army. That the S^d Allis being required by the Assessors hath given them into the rate Bill the present year, and is liable by a Law of the Province for their Maintenance

Moses Gunn per order

X+ Tobias Wornton {Bacchus/Backus}

Age: N/A

Occupation: N/A

Residence: Newburyport, MA

Description: 'African'

Status: servant

Religion: N/A

Rank: N/A

Unit: N/A

Stationed: N/A

Tobias Wornton was an "African", the "slave of Capt. Winthrop Sargent".¹

Researcher Emma Kaplan provides the following:

... his granddaughter Mrs. Nancy Prince in her 1850 Narrative states: "I was born in Newburyport in 1799. My mother was the daughter of Tobias Wornton who was stolen from Africa ... although a slave fought for liberty, and was in the Revolutionary army at the battle of Bunker Hill. My grandmother was an Indian"² ... Tobias Wornton was known as Backus.³

¹ AASS, 328.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid, 329.

PATRIOTS of COLOR

TABLE S-1: Proof of Service

LEVEL of PROOF - BATTLE ROAD	Symbol	Count	%
Claim proven by a primary source	*	13	61.9
Claim accepted by reason of a secondary source	+	3	14.2
Claim unproven but probable	?	5	23.8
		21	

LEVEL of PROOF - BUNKER HILL	Symbol	Count	%
Claim proven by a primary source	*	12	11.6
Claim accepted by reason of a secondary source	+	22	21.3
Claim unproven but probable	?	69	66.9
		103	

PATRIOTS of COLOR

TABLE S-2: Casualties

CASUALTY TYPE	BATTLE ROAD	BUNKER HILL
Killed	0	3
Died - from wounds	0	0
Died - in captivity	0	0
Died - from injuries	0	0
Died - from sickness	0	0
Died - reason unknown	0	0
TOTALS / fatal casualties	0	3
Wounded	1	3
Wounded & taken prisoner	1	0
Taken prisoner	0	0
Disabled by injury	0	0
Disabled by sickness	0	0
TOTALS / non-fatal casualties	2	3
GRAND TOTALS	2	6

PATRIOTS of COLOR

TABLE S-3: Rank

Rank	BATTLE ROAD	BUNKER HILL
Corporal	0	1
Drummer	0	1
Fifer	0	1
Matross	0	1
Minute Man	2	0
Private	15	95
Waiter-to-Colonel	0	2
Waiter-to-Lieutenant	0	1
Volunteer	3	0
UNKNOWN	1	1
TOTALS	21	103

PATRIOTS of COLOR

TABLE S-4: Counts by Regiment

BATTLE ROAD	
Regiment	Count
UNKNOWN	7
William Heath	5
Thomas Gardner	4
Samuel Bullard	2
David Green	2
James Prescott	1
	21

BUNKER HILL	
Regiment	Count
William Prescott	12
Israel Putnam	11
Samuel Gerrish	11
Jonathan Brewer	10
James Frye	9
Jonathan Ward	9
John Nixon	8
Ebenezer Bridge	6
Ruggles Woodbridge	5
Asa Whitcomb	4
James Reed	4
Moses Little	4
Thomas Gardner	4
UNKNOWN	4
Ephraim Doolittle	1
Richard Gridley	1
	103

PATRIOTS of COLOR

TABLE S-5: Counts by Company - BATTLE ROAD

Regiment	Company	Count
William Heath	Thomas White	3
	John Parker	2
	Simon Edgell	2
Samuel Bullard	Joseph Morse	2
Thomas Gardner	Benjamin Locke	2
Thomas Gardner	Samuel Thatcher	2
UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	2
	_____ Boardman	1
David Green	John Moore	1
David Green	Jonathan Wilson	1
James Prescott	Jonathan Minot	1
William Heath	Ebenezer Battle	1
William Heath	William Ellis	1
		21

PATRIOTS of COLOR

TABLE S-5: Counts by Company - BUNKER HILL

Regiment	Company	Count
William Prescott	Oliver Parker	10
Israel Putnam	John Durkee	8
Jonathan Ward	James Mellen	7
John Nixon	Thomas Drury	5
UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN	5
Ebenezer Bridge	Charles Furbush	4
Samuel Gerrish	Samuel Sprague	4
James Reed	Ezra Towne	3
Ruggles Woodbridge	Reuben Dickinson	3
Samuel Gerrish	John Wood	3
Thomas Gardner	Benjamin Locke	3
Asa Whitcomb	Andrew Haskell	2
James Frye	Benjamin Ames	2
James Frye	John Currier	2
John Nixon	William Smith	2
Jonathan Brewer	Aaron Haynes	2
Jonathan Brewer	Benjamin Bullard	2
Jonathan Brewer	Joseph Stebbins	2
Jonathan Brewer	Thaddeus Russell	2
Jonathan Ward	Luke Drury	2
Samuel Gerrish	John Baker	2
William Prescott	Abijah Wyman	2
Asa Whitcomb	James Burt	1
Asa Whitcomb	Jonathan Davis	1
Ebenezer Bridge	Ebenezer Bancroft	1
Ebenezer Bridge	John Ford	1
Ephraim Doolittle	Abel Wilder	1
Israel Putnam	Ephraim Manning	1
Israel Putnam	Jedediah Waterman	1
James Frye	-----	1
James Frye	Benjamin Farnum	1
James Frye	John Davis	1
James Frye	Jonas Richardson	1

PATRIOTS of COLOR

TABLE S-5: Counts by Company - BUNKER HILL

James Frye	Jonathan Evans	1
James Reed	Jacob Hinds	1
John Nixon	Joseph Butler	1
Jonathan Brewer	Daniel Whiting	1
Jonathan Brewer	Moses Harvey	1
Moses Little	Benjamin Perkins	1
Moses Little	Jacob Gerrish	1
Moses Little	Nathaniel Wade	1
Moses Little	Timothy Barnard	1
Richard Gridley	Joseph Chadwick	1
Ruggles Woodbridge	Daniel Galusha	1
Ruggles Woodbridge	John King	1
Samuel Gerrish	Barnabas Dodge	1
Samuel Gerrish	Richard Dodge	1
Thomas Gardner	Abijah Child	1
		103

PATRIOTS of COLOR

APPENDIX S-6: Names by Company - BATTLE ROAD

Last	First	Regiment	Company
Augustus	Caesar		UNKNOWN
Burdoo	Silas		_____ Boardman
Burdoo	Eli		John Parker
Estabrook	Prince		John Parker
Hemenway	Jeffrey		Simon Edgell
Salem	Peter		Simon Edgell
Lamson	David	-----	-----
Moore	Cambridge	David Green	John Moore
Jones	Caesar	David Green	Jonathan Wilson
Bason	Caesar	James Prescott	Jonathan Minot
Ferrit	Caesar	Samuel Bullard	Joseph Morse
Ferrit	John	Samuel Bullard	Joseph Morse
Whittemore	Cuff	Thomas Gardner	Benjamin Locke
Wood	Cato	Thomas Gardner	Benjamin Locke
Boardman	Cato	Thomas Gardner	Samuel Thatcher
Stedman	Cato	Thomas Gardner	Samuel Thatcher
Ferrit	Thomas	William Heath	Ebenezer Battle
(Boylston)	Prince	William Heath	Thomas White
(Gardner)	Adam	William Heath	Thomas White
(White)	Peter	William Heath	Thomas White
Comecho	Isaac	William Heath	William Ellis

PATRIOTS of COLOR

APPENDIX S-6: Names by Company - BUNKER HILL

Last	First	Regiment	Company
Ayres	Peter	Asa Whitcomb	Andrew Haskell
Chowen	John	Asa Whitcomb	Andrew Haskell
London	Eden	Asa Whitcomb	James Burt
Shaswell	Anthony	Asa Whitcomb	Jonathon Davis
Chambers	Cuff	Ebenezer Bridge	Charles Furbush
Citizen	London	Ebenezer Bridge	Charles Furbush
Porter	Caesar	Ebenezer Bridge	Charles Furbush
Shed	Marcus	Ebenezer Bridge	Charles Furbush
Potamia	Titus	Ebenezer Bridge	Ebenezer Bancroft
Lew	Barzillai	Ebenezer Bridge	John Ford
Hayward	Titus	Ephraim Doolittle	Abel Wilder
Wampee	John	Israel Putnam	
Sunsiman	John	Israel Putnam	Ephraim Manning
Grosvenor	Asaba	Israel Putnam	Jedediah Waterman
Ashbow	John	Israel Putnam	John Durkee
Ashbow	Samuel Jr.	Israel Putnam	John Durkee
Choychoy	Simon	Israel Putnam	John Durkee
Occum	Jonathan	Israel Putnam	John Durkee
Tanner	Amos	Israel Putnam	John Durkee
Tanner	Joseph	Israel Putnam	John Durkee
Tecoomwas	Peter	Israel Putnam	John Durkee
Uncas	Noah	Israel Putnam	John Durkee
Frye	Caesar	James Frye	-----
Abbot	Phillip	James Frye	Benjamin Ames
Poor	Salem	James Frye	Benjamin Ames
Freeman	Cato	James Frye	Benjamin Farnum
Currier	Robin	James Frye	John Currier
Gray	Scipio	James Frye	John Currier
Johonnot	Prince	James Frye	John Davis
Royal	Silas	James Frye	Jonas Richardson
Hall	Pero	James Frye	Jonathan Evans
Fuller	Ezra	James Reed	Ezra Towne
Oliver	Aaron	James Reed	Ezra Towne
Weston	Nathan	James Reed	Ezra Towne

PATRIOTS of COLOR

APPENDIX S-6: Names by Company - BUNKER HILL

Hall	Jude	James Reed	Jacob Hinds
Quawco	Caesar	John Nixon	Joseph Butler
Grusha	Blaney	John Nixon	Thomas Drury
Hart	Cato	John Nixon	Thomas Drury
Hemenway	Jeffrey	John Nixon	Thomas Drury
Paugenit	Joseph	John Nixon	Thomas Drury
Salem	Peter	John Nixon	Thomas Drury
Andrews	Tony	John Nixon	William Smith
Smith	Cato	John Nixon	William Smith
Cuddy	Porter	Jonathan Brewer	Aaron Haynes
Lines	Charles	Jonathan Brewer	Aaron Haynes
Arcules	James	Jonathan Brewer	Benjamin Bullard
Comecho	Samuel	Jonathan Brewer	Benjamin Bullard
Quapish	Alexander	Jonathan Brewer	Daniel Whiting
Wood	Cato	Jonathan Brewer	Joseph Stebbins
Wood	Cuff	Jonathan Brewer	Joseph Stebbins
Huzzey	James	Jonathan Brewer	Moses Harvey
Nimrod	Cuff	Jonathan Brewer	Thaddeus Russell
Speen	Jacob	Jonathan Brewer	Thaddeus Russell
Anthony	James	Jonathan Ward	James Mellen
Dority	Thomas	Jonathan Ward	James Mellen
Ephraim	Abel	Jonathan Ward	James Mellen
Ephraim	Ebenezer	Jonathan Ward	James Mellen
Fair	Cato	Jonathan Ward	James Mellen
Hammon	Caesar	Jonathan Ward	James Mellen
Lambert	Plato	Jonathan Ward	James Mellen
Anthony	Joseph	Jonathan Ward	Luke Drury
Burnee	Fortune	Jonathan Ward	Luke Drury
Jarvis	Charles	Moses Little	Benjamin Perkins
Anthony	Mark	Moses Little	Jacob Gerrish
Osborn	Boston	Moses Little	Nathaniel Wade
Demas	Joseph	Moses Little	Timothy Barnard
Newell	Cato	Richard Gridley	Joseph Chadwick
Buxton	Prince	Ruggles Woodbridge	Daniel Galusha
Shaw	Scipio	Ruggles Woodbridge	John King

PATRIOTS of COLOR

APPENDIX S-6: Names by Company - BUNKER HILL

Allis	Eber	Ruggles Woodbridge	Reuben Dickinson
Pruitt	Caesar	Ruggles Woodbridge	Reuben Dickinson
Wood	Asahel	Ruggles Woodbridge	Reuben Dickinson
Small	Nathaniel	Samuel Gerrish	Barnabas Dodge
Blackman	Pompey	Samuel Gerrish	John Baker
Mitchell	Peter	Samuel Gerrish	John Baker
Anthony	Jonathan Jr.	Samuel Gerrish	John Wood
Lenox	Cornelius	Samuel Gerrish	John Wood
Sutton	Prince	Samuel Gerrish	John Wood
Dodge	Scipio	Samuel Gerrish	Richard Dodge
Briant	Jack	Samuel Gerrish	Samuel Sprague
Green	Cato	Samuel Gerrish	Samuel Sprague
Green	Jack	Samuel Gerrish	Samuel Sprague
Green	Pomp	Samuel Gerrish	Samuel Sprague
Bumpo	Micah	Thomas Gardner	Abijah Child
Barjonah	Isaiah	Thomas Gardner	Benjamin Locke
Potamia	Job	Thomas Gardner	Benjamin Locke
Whittemore	Cuff	Thomas Gardner	Benjamin Locke
Bason	Caesar	William Prescott	Abijah Wyman
Oliver	Peter	William Prescott	Abijah Wyman
Bailey	Caesar	William Prescott	Oliver Parker
Coburn	Sampson	William Prescott	Oliver Parker
Coburn	Smith	William Prescott	Oliver Parker
Coburn	Titus	William Prescott	Oliver Parker
Fisk	Pompey	William Prescott	Oliver Parker
Hayes	Cuff	William Prescott	Oliver Parker
Hull	Prince	William Prescott	Oliver Parker
Parker	Chester	William Prescott	Oliver Parker
Tufts	Cato	William Prescott	Oliver Parker
Wetherbee	Caesar	William Prescott	Oliver Parker
Hartwell	Jeffrey	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN
James	Jamaica	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN
Wallace	Caesar	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN
Wornton	Tobias	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN

PATRIOTS of COLOR

TABLE P-1: Age

Age Range	BATTLE ROAD		BUNKER HILL	
	Count	%	Count	%
00-15	0	0.0	0	0.0
16-20	1	8.3	9	14.1
21-30	7	58.3	34	53.1
31-40	3	25.0	16	25.0
41-50	0	0.0	3	4.7
51-60	1	8.3	2	3.1
61-99	0	0.0	0	0.0
	12	100.0	64	100.0
UNKNOWN	9		39	
TOTALS	21		103	

MEAN 29 28

MEDIAN 28 26

MODE 35 21

PATRIOTS of COLOR

TABLE P-2: Occupation

Occupation	Count
farmer	9
laborer	3
carpenter	2
baker	1
cooper	1
husbandman	1
shoemaker	1
sutler	1
tanner's apprentice	1
	20
UNKNOWN	99
TOTAL	119

PATRIOTS of COLOR

TABLE P-3: Description

Description	BATTLE ROAD	BUNKER HILL
'Negro'/'negro'/'Black'/'black'/'African'	13	50
'Indian'/'Native'/'native'	1	15
'mulatto'/'mixed'	4	9
'colored'/'of color'/'brown'/'yellow'/'non-white'	3	10
UNKNOWN	0	19
TOTALS	21	103

PATRIOTS of COLOR

TABLE P-4: Status

Status	BATTLE ROAD		BUNKER HILL	
	Count	%	Count	%
free	9	56.3	15	45.5
servant/slave	7	43.8	18	54.5
	16	100.0	33	100.0
Indian	1		15	
UNKNOWN	4		55	
TOTALS	21		103	

PATRIOTS of COLOR

TABLE P-5: Religion

Religion	Count	%
Baptist	1	5.9
Church of Christ	15	88.2
Congregational	1	5.9
	17	100.0
UNKNOWN	102	
TOTAL	119	

PATRIOTS of COLOR

TABLE G-1: States of Enlistment

State - BATTLE ROAD	Count	%
Massachusetts	21	100.0
TOTALS	21	100.0

State - BUNKER HILL	Count	%
Massachusetts	88	85.4
Connecticut	11	10.7
New Hampshire	4	3.9
TOTALS	103	100.0

PATRIOTS of COLOR

TABLE G-2: Counties of Enlistment

(NOTE: Counties are as they exist in 2002)

BATTLE ROAD			
County	State	Count	%
Middlesex	MA	17	81.0
Norfolk	MA	2	9.5
Suffolk	MA	2	9.5
TOTALS		21	100.0

BUNKER HILL			
County	State	Count	%
Middlesex	MA	46	44.7
Essex	MA	22	21.4
New London	CT	8	7.8
Suffolk	MA	6	5.8
Worcester	MA	6	5.8
Windham	CT	3	2.9
Hillsborough	NH	3	2.9
Berkshire	MA	2	1.9
Franklin	MA	2	1.9
Hampshire	MA	2	1.9
Norfolk	MA	2	1.9
Rockingham	NH	1	1.0
TOTALS		103	100.0

PATRIOTS of COLOR

TABLE G-3: Towns of Enlistment - BATTLE ROAD

(NOTE: Towns are as they exist in 2002)

Town	County	St	Count
Brookline	Middlesex	MA	3
Lexington	Middlesex	MA	3
Arlington	Middlesex	MA	2
Bedford	Middlesex	MA	2
Cambridge	Middlesex	MA	2
Framingham	Middlesex	MA	2
Natick	Middlesex	MA	2
Dedham	Norfolk	MA	2
Westford	Middlesex	MA	1
Charlestown	Suffolk	MA	1
Dorchester	Suffolk	MA	1
			21

PATRIOTS of COLOR

TABLE G-3: Towns of Enlistment - BUNKER HILL

(NOTE: Towns are as they exist in 2002)

Town	County	St	Count
Andover	Essex	MA	8
Stoneham	Middlesex	MA	6
Framingham	Middlesex	MA	5
Natick	Middlesex	MA	5
Montville	New London	CT	4
New London	New London	CT	4
Newbury	Essex	MA	4
Charlestown	Suffolk	MA	4
Amesbury	Essex	MA	3
Dracut	Middlesex	MA	3
Medford	Middlesex	MA	3
Pomfret	Windham	CT	2
Danvers	Essex	MA	2
Gloucester	Essex	MA	2
Deerfield	Franklin	MA	2
Concord	Middlesex	MA	2
Lincoln	Middlesex	MA	2
Sudbury	Middlesex	MA	2
Woburn	Middlesex	MA	2
Boston	Suffolk	MA	2
Grafton	Worcester	MA	2
Lancaster	Worcester	MA	2
New Ipswich	Hillsborough	NH	2
Woodstock	Windham	CT	1
New	Berkshire	MA	1
Pittsfield	Berkshire	MA	1
Ipswich	Essex	MA	1
Newburyport	Essex	MA	1
Wenham	Essex	MA	1
Amherst	Hampshire	MA	1

PATRIOTS of COLOR

TABLE G-3: Towns of Enlistment - BUNKER HILL

(NOTE: Towns are as they exist in 2002)

Town	County	St	Count
Hatfield	Hampshire	MA	1
Acton	Middlesex	MA	1
Arlington	Middlesex	MA	1
Bedford	Middlesex	MA	1
Billerica	Middlesex	MA	1
Chelmsford	Middlesex	MA	1
Holliston	Middlesex	MA	1
Hopkinton	Middlesex	MA	1
Lexington	Middlesex	MA	1
Malden	Middlesex	MA	1
Reading	Middlesex	MA	1
Sherborn	Middlesex	MA	1
Shirley	Middlesex	MA	1
Stow	Middlesex	MA	1
Tewksbury	Middlesex	MA	1
Waltham	Middlesex	MA	1
Westford	Middlesex	MA	1
Dedham	Norfolk	MA	1
Medfield	Norfolk	MA	1
Fitchburg	Worcester	MA	1
Worcester	Worcester	MA	1
Temple	Hillsborough	NH	1
Exeter	Rockingham	NH	1
			103

PATRIOTS of COLOR

TABLE G-4: Names by Town of Enlistment - Battle Road

(NOTE: Towns are as they exist in 2002)

Last	First	Town	St
Lamson	David	Arlington	MA
Whittemore	Cuff	Arlington	MA
Jones	Caesar	Bedford	MA
Moore	Cambridge	Bedford	MA
Boylston	Prince	Brookline	MA
Gardner	Adam	Brookline	MA
White	Peter	Brookline	MA
Boardman	Cato	Cambridge	MA
Stedman	Cato	Cambridge	MA
Wood	Cato	Charlestown	MA
Comecho	Isaac	Dedham	MA
Ferrit	Thomas	Dedham	MA
Augustus	Caesar	Dorchester	MA
Hemenway	Jeffrey	Framingham	MA
Salem	Peter	Framingham	MA
Burdoo	Eli	Lexington	MA
Burdoo	Silas	Lexington	MA
Estabrook	Prince	Lexington	MA
Ferrit	Caesar	Natick	MA
Ferrit	John	Natick	MA
Bason	Caesar	Westford	MA

PATRIOTS of COLOR

TABLE G-4: Names by Town of Enlistment – Bunker Hill

(NOTE: Towns are as they exist in 2002)

Last	First	Town	St
Ashbow	Samuel Jr.	Montville	CT
Ashbow	John	Montville	CT
Tanner	Amos	Montville	CT
Tanner	Joseph	Montville	CT
Choychoy	Simon	New London	CT
Occum	Jonathon	New London	CT
Tecoomwas	Peter	New London	CT
Uncas	Noah	New London	CT
(Grosvenor)	Asaba	Pomfret	CT
Wampee	John	Pomfret	CT
Sunsiman	John	Woodstock	CT
Hayward	Titus	Acton	MA
Currier	Robin	Amesbury	MA
Demas	Joseph	Amesbury	MA
Gray	Scipio	Amesbury	MA
Pruitt	Caesar	Amherst	MA
Abbot	Phillip	Andover	MA
Chambers	Cuff	Andover	MA
Citizen	London	Andover	MA
Freeman	Cato	Andover	MA
Frye	Caesar	Andover	MA
Johonnot	Prince	Andover	MA
Poor	Salem	Andover	MA
Porter	Caesar	Andover	MA
Whittemore	Cuff	Arlington	MA
Hartwell	Jeffrey	Bedford	MA
Andrews	Tony	Billerica	MA
James	Jamaica	Boston	MA
Shaswell	Anthony	Boston	MA
Hayes	Cuff	Charlestown	MA
Newell	Cato	Charlestown	MA

PATRIOTS of COLOR

TABLE G-4: Names by Town of Enlistment – Bunker Hill

(NOTE: Towns are as they exist in 2002)

Wood	Cato	Charlestown	MA
Wood	Cuff	Charlestown	MA
Lew	Barzillai	Chelmsford	MA
Blackman	Pompey	Concord	MA
Quawco	Caesar	Concord	MA
Buxton	Prince	Danvers	MA
Shaw	Scipio	Danvers	MA
Quapish	Alexander	Dedham	MA
Allis	Eber	Deerfield	MA
Bailey	Caesar	Deerfield	MA
Coburn	Smith	Dracut	MA
Parker	Chester	Dracut	MA
Royal	Silas	Dracut	MA
London	Eden	Fitchburg	MA
Grusha	Blaney	Framingham	MA
Hart	Cato	Framingham	MA
Hemenway	Jeffery	Framingham	MA
Paugenit	Joseph	Framingham	MA
Salem	Peter	Framingham	MA
Coburn	Sampson	Gloucester	MA
Small	Nathaniel	Gloucester	MA
Anthony	Joseph	Grafton	MA
Burnee	Fortune	Grafton	MA
Wood	Asahel	Hatfield	MA
Hammon	Caesar	Holliston	MA
Ephraim	Abel	Hopkinton	MA
Osborn	Boston	Ipswich	MA
Ayres	Peter	Lancaster	MA
Chowen	John	Lancaster	MA
Fisk	Pompey	Lexington	MA
Oliver	Peter	Lincoln	MA
Smith	Cato	Lincoln	MA

PATRIOTS of COLOR

TABLE G-4: Names by Town of Enlistment – Bunker Hill

(NOTE: Towns are as they exist in 2002)

Lines	Charles	Malden	MA
Arcules	James	Medfield	MA
Anthony	Jonathon Jr.	Medford	MA
Mitchell	Peter	Medford	MA
Tufts	Cato	Medford	MA
Anthony	James	Natick	MA
Dority	Thomas	Natick	MA
Fair	Cato	Natick	MA
Lambert	Plato	Natick	MA
Speen	Jacob	Natick	MA
Huzzey	James	New	MA
Anthony	Mark	Newbury	MA
Hall	Pero	Newbury	MA
Jarvis	Charles	Newbury	MA
Wallace	Caesar	Newbury	MA
Wornton	Tobias	Newburyport	MA
Hull	Prince	Pittsfield	MA
Green	Jack	Reading	MA
Comecho	Samuel	Sherborn	MA
Coburn	Titus	Shirley	MA
Barjonah	Isaiah	Stoneham	MA
Briant	Jack	Stoneham	MA
Green	Cato	Stoneham	MA
Green	Pomp	Stoneham	MA
Potamia	Job	Stoneham	MA
Potamia	Titus	Stoneham	MA
Wetherbee	Caesar	Stow	MA
Cuddy	Porter	Sudbury	MA
Nimrod	Cuff	Sudbury	MA
Shed	Marcus	Tewksbury	MA
Bumpo	Micah	Waltham	MA
Dodge	Scipio	Wenham	MA

PATRIOTS of COLOR

TABLE G-4: Names by Town of Enlistment -- Bunker Hill

(NOTE: Towns are as they exist in 2002)

Bason	Caesar	Westford	MA
Lenox	Cornelius	Woburn	MA
Sutton	Prince	Woburn	MA
Ephraim	Ebenezer	Worcester	MA
Hall	Jude	Exeter	NH
Fuller	Ezra	New Ipswich	NH
Weston	Nathan	New Ipswich	NH
Oliver	Aaron	Temple	NH

PATRIOTS of COLOR

TABLE M-1: 1790 U.S. Census Heads of Household

Last	First	Town	St	MEN	BOY	FEM	COL	SLA
Anthony	Jonathan Jr.	Medford	MA	0	0	0	2	0
Augustus	Caesar	Bridgewater	MA	0	0	0	2	0
Bumpo	Micah	Hardwick	MA	0	0	0	5	0
Burdoo	Silas	Reading	VT	0	0	0	3	0
Coburn	Smith	Dracut	MA	0	0	0	4	0
Dority	Thomas	Natick	MA	0	0	0	2	0
Fair	Cato	Natick	MA	0	0	0	3	0
Freeman	Cato	Andover	MA	0	0	0	3	0
Frye	Caesar	Andover	MA	0	0	0	5	0
Hall	Jude	Exeter	NH	0	0	0	5	0
Hammon	Caesar	Harvard	MA	0	0	0	6	0
Hemenway	Jeffrey	Worcester	MA	0	0	0	5	0
Hull	Prince	Hartford	CT	0	0	0	3	0
Jarvis	Charles	Boston	MA	1	0	3	2	0
Johonnot	Prince	Goffstown	NH	0	0	0	9	0
Lamson	David	Charlestown	MA	0	0	0	1	0
Lenox	Cornelius	Newton	MA	0	0	0	7	0
Lew	Barzillai	Dracut	MA	0	0	0	14	0
Porter	Caesar	Dunbarton	NH	0	0	0	5	0
Salem	Peter	Framingham	MA	0	0	0	2	0
Wallace	Caesar	Gilmanton	NH	0	0	0	4	0

PATRIOTS of COLOR

TABLE M-2: U.S. Pensioners

Last	First	Pension #	Bounty Land Warrant #
Arcules	James	S32658	3618
Bailey	Caesar	R371	-----
Burdoo	Silas	S21099	-----
Chambers	Cuff	W23810	-----
Hall	Jude	W23228	3189-100-21
Hemenway	Jeffrey	W19757	-----
Hull	Prince	S36596	-----
Huzzey	James	W18091	7092-160-55
James	Jamaica	S44984	-----
Johonnot	Prince	S18057	-----
Lew	Barzillai	W20461	-----
Wallace	Caesar	S43250	-----
Whittemore	Cuff	S33896	-----
Wood	Asahel	S33947	-----

PATRIOTS of COLOR

TABLE M-3: Last Survivors

Battle	Last	First	Died	Town	St	Age
BATT	Burdoo	Silas	1837-01-23	Reading	VT	88
BUNK	Johonnot	Prince	1836-05-25	Goffstown	NH	86
BUNK	Weston	Nathan	1832-10			92
BATT	Estabrook	Prince	1830	Ashby	MA	90
BUNK	Hall	Jude	1827-08-22	Exeter	NH	80
BUNK	Royal	Silas	1826-05-02	Dracut	MA	
BOTH	Whittemore	Cuff	1826-01-26	Charlestown	MA	73
BUNK	Wood	Asahel	1822-12-16	Hardwick	MA	73
BUNK	Huzzey	James	1822-03-01	Townshend	VT	82
BUNK	Lew	Barzillai	1822-01-19	Dracut	MA	78
BUNK	Grusha	Blaney	1820-02-08	Framingham	MA	
BOTH	Hemenway	Jeffrey	1819-08-15			82
BUNK	Chambers	Cuff	1818-06-18	Leeds	ME	76
BOTH	Salem	Peter	1816-08-16	Framingham	MA	66
BUNK	Hartwell	Jeffrey	1816-07-20	Dracut	MA	55
BUNK	Frye	Caesar	1811-09-12	Andover	MA	
BUNK	Dodge	Scipio	1811-04	Wenham	MA	70
BUNK	London	Eden	1810-03	Winchendon	MA	65
BUNK	Wetherbee	Caesar	1808-02-19	Boxborough	MA	73
BUNK	Hammon	Caesar	1803-06-24	Lancaster	MA	55
BUNK	Fair	Cato	1800-03-05	Natick	MA	65
BATT	Ferrit	Caesar	1799-05-23	Natick	MA	79
BUNK	Blackman	Pompey	1790-05-20	Jaffrey	NH	35
BUNK	Sunsiman	John	1786-08-01	Woodstock	CT	

PATRIOTS of COLOR

TABLE M-4: Died During Revolutionary Struggle

Battle	Last	First	Died	Town	St	Age
BUNK	Lines	Charles	1781-03-29	West Point	NY	34
BUNK	Bailey	Caesar	1781			32
BUNK	Small	Nathaniel	1778-07-13	Monmouth	NJ	
BUNK	Ephraim	Abel	1778-06-20	Valley Forge	PA	
BUNK	Coburn	Titus	1778-04-14	Valley Forge	PA	
BUNK	Anthony	Joseph	1777-12-26	Valley Forge	PA	24
BUNK	Hayward	Titus	1777-12-14	Valley Forge	PA	
BUNK	Paugenit	Joseph	1777-11-15	Albany	NY	23
BUNK	Smith	Cato	1777-01-23	North Castle	NY	
BUNK	Ephraim	Ebenezer	1777-01-04			29
BUNK	Quapish	Alexander	1776-03-23	Needham	MA	35
BUNK	Comecho	Samuel	1776-03-14	Ticonderoga	NY	
BUNK	Abbot	Phillip	1775-06-17	Charlestown	MA	
BUNK	Ashbow	Samuel	1775-06-17	Charlestown	MA	29
BOTH	Bason	Caesar	1775-06-17	Charlestown	MA	

PATRIOTS of COLOR

Appendix Z

1775: BATTLE ROAD

Summary Statistics

Estimated number of participants:	40	100 %
Total names in this report:	21	53 %
Proven by primary sources:	13	33 %
Proven by secondary sources:	3	8 %
Vital statistics available:	7	18 %
Average age of participants:	29	
Youngest participant:	Eli Burdoo (19)	
Oldest participant:	Caesar Ferrit (55)	
Casualties (killed/wounded/injured/taken prisoner):	2	5 %
Patriot Women associated:	1	
State with most participants:	MA	
County with most participants:	Middlesex MA	
Town with most participants:	N/A	
Town with most participant births:	Lexington MA	
Town with most participant marriages:	N/A	
Town with most participant deaths:	Charlestown MA	
Town with most participant burials:	Bedford MA	
Migrated the farthest:	Silas Burdoo (to Reading VT)	
Burial sites found or determined:	8	20 %
Most common Revolutionary engagement:	Bunker Hill	
Most common surname(s):	Ferrit	
Most common nationality:	African	
Most common generation:	N/A	
Most common occupation:	farmer	
Most common religion:	Congregational	
Applied for U.S. pension and/or bounty land:	3	8 %
Have DAR descendant:	0	0 %
Average age at first marriage:	N/A	
Average number of marriages:	1	
Maximum number of marriages:	1	
Average number of children:	N/A	
Maximum number of children:	N/A	
Average age at death:	N/A	
Maximum age reached:	90	
Survived 50 th anniversary:	3	8 %
Survived 75 th anniversary:	0	0 %
Last survivor:	Silas Burdoo	

PATRIOTS of COLOR

Appendix Z

1775: BUNKER HILL

Summary Statistics

Estimated number of participants:	150	100 %
Total names in this report:	102	68 %
Proven by primary sources:	12	8 %
Proven by secondary sources:	22	15 %
Vital statistics available:	18	12 %
Average age of participants:	28	
Youngest participant:	Joseph Demas (16)	
Oldest participant:	Pero Hall (55)	
Casualties (killed/wounded/injured/taken prisoner):	6	4 %
Patriot Women associated:	0	
State with most participants:	MA	
County with most participants:	Middlesex MA	
Town with most participants:	Andover MA	
Town with most participant births:	N/A	
Town with most participant marriages:	Andover MA	
Town with most participant deaths:	Charlestown MA	
Town with most participant burials:	N/A	
Migrated the farthest:	Pompey Blackman (to Jaffrey NH)	
Burial sites found or determined:	21	14 %
Most common Revolutionary engagement:	Saratoga	
Most common surname(s):	Anthony	
Most common nationality:	African	
Most common generation:	N/A	
Most common occupation:	farmer	
Most common religion:	Congregational	
Applied for U.S. pension and/or bounty land:	3	9 %
Have DAR descendant:	3	2 %
Average age at first marriage:	28	
Average number of marriages:	1	
Maximum number of marriages:	2	
Average number of children:	N/A	
Maximum number of children:	13	
Average age at death:	60	
Maximum age reached:	92	
Survived 50 th anniversary:	5	3 %
Survived 75 th anniversary:	0	0 %
Last survivor:	Prince Jhonnot	

National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior



Boston National Historical Park
Charlestown Navy Yard
Boston, MA 02129-4543

EXPERIENCE YOUR AMERICA