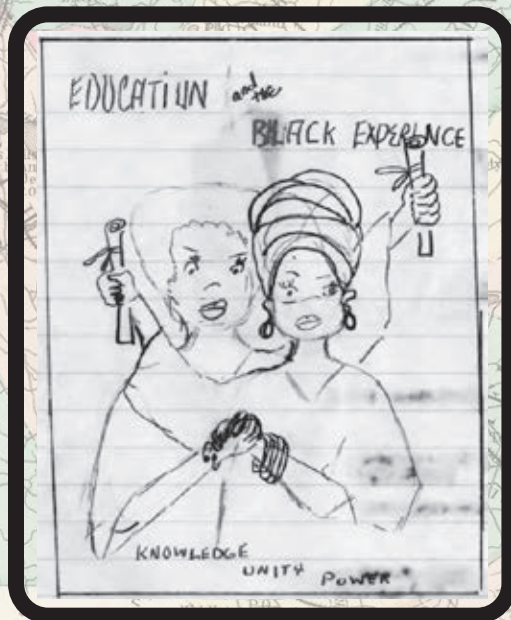


# African Americans in Essex County, Massachusetts An Annotated Guide

MAP OF  
**ESSEX COUNTY**  
MASS.



*Primary Investigators:*  
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and Dr. Elizabeth Duclos-Orsello

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We also write and submit this report in solidarity with the Black residents of Essex County, whose lives and labor, brilliant minds, and untiring spirits in the face of systemic racism made Essex County what it is now and offer us the opportunity to shape the future.

# Introduction

The rich history of Black people, cultures, and communities in Essex County, Massachusetts, runs deep. This history is embedded in the cultural landscape, from cemeteries like the one at South Church in Andover where Pompey Lovejoy rests to renamed memorial parks such as Remond Park in Salem.<sup>1</sup> Some Essex County residents, archivists, historians, and scholars alike have been working to unearth this history and recover fascinating stories in order to provide a fuller account of the county's past and present. In a span of nearly four hundred years, Black people have shaped and been shaped by Essex County, which this report highlights.

However, real challenges, including the systemic marginalization of Black people, historically and now, have thwarted the efforts of even the most enterprising and well-trained archivists and historians because much of this history is hidden, scattered, or misplaced, sometimes surfacing at a local public exhibition or an academic talk, but not often beyond that. For those wanting to explore and learn more, frustration begets disappointment while trying to hunt down leads. What kinds of material does a repository in Marblehead have? What is in the collections at Lawrence History Center? Are there connections among these repositories in Essex County? These are some of the questions that this report has begun to answer.

The central goal of this two-year, grant-funded project was to identify, locate, and compile the collections and resources, organizations, and individuals concerning the Black experience in Essex County. Essex County has been designated a National Heritage Area by Congress, which means that it is a “place with natural, cultural, and historic resources” that constitute an important landscape.<sup>2</sup> It welcomes approximately 2.7 million tourists every year, who visit 86 historic sites, 9 state parks, and 2 National Park Service (NPS) units—Salem Maritime National Historic Site and Saugus Iron Works National Historic Site. These two National Park Service units have sought to implement an inclusive, audience-centered interpretative approach that more prominently features the stories of African Americans and other people of color. It is our hope that this report will serve as a basis for developing historically sound, inclusive programming, from exhibitions to school projects.

Given our training in US history and American studies, we as researchers are well-versed in the current debates about how scholars approach archival work. Hence, we deployed various methodologies to plumb the depths of Black history and culture in Essex

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<sup>1</sup> John Castelluccio, “City to Name New Waterfront Park after Salem Abolitionists,” *Salem News*, January 18, 2015.

<sup>2</sup> “What Is a National Heritage Area?” NPS.gov. <https://www.nps.gov/articles/what-is-a-national-heritage-area.htm> (accessed February 29, 2020).

County and to navigate the reality of the simultaneous Black presence and silence in the archives. We have visited a combined twenty repositories; collected and scanned hundreds of documents, from newspaper articles to bills of sale to wills; and searched through digital databases and vital records.

This report provides an overview of each repository, highlights stories that are well-sourced, synthesizes key themes, and offers suggestions for projects that could be undertaken—in both the short and long terms—based on these materials. What we offer here is a major and necessary corrective to D.H. Hurd’s 1888 two-volume book *History of Essex County: With Biographical Sketches of Many of Its Pioneers and Prominent Men*. Reading Hurd’s book suggests that Black people were peripheral to white people’s lives and that Black people did not have much of a presence in Essex County. Such interpretations, however, would be thoughtless. In fact, Black people stand tall in this region’s past, present, and future, as entrepreneurs, artists, writers, and inventors; as builders, thinkers, and visionaries; and as citizens, change agents, and leaders.

## Histories Uncovered

A broad narrative in the field of African American history is the journey from slavery to freedom. This narrative certainly runs through the materials that we have examined at repositories throughout Essex County. A deeper dive, however, also shows a dynamic and diverse group of Black people *living*—by holding on to West African cultural practices, resisting enslavement, serving in the military, and establishing community-based institutions. For instance, in the 1750s, Black people from Salem, Boston, and other cities and towns visited the Lynn home of Pompey, a formerly enslaved Black man who claimed African royal lineage.<sup>3</sup> These kinds of community events demonstrate that Black life was lived in big and bold ways before, during, and after slavery in New England.

The early history of British North America is tied up in the transatlantic slave trade and slavery, both oppressive systems that harmed Black people but lined the pockets of merchants, investors, ship owners, and enslavers right here in New England. Yet historians often distinguish between slavery in the North and slavery in the South during the colonial era. For instance, historian Ira Berlin defined the South as a “slave society” because enslaved people were the center of economic production, while the North, in contrast, was a “society with slaves” since enslaved people worked on small farms or in white households in close proximity to their enslavers.<sup>4</sup> More recent historical analyses like Wendy Warren’s book *New England Bound* have questioned these categories. Warren describes the brutal treatment of

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<sup>3</sup> See, for instance, in the supplemental materials, the article published in the *New England Farmer*, dated March 26, 1830.

<sup>4</sup> Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998), 8–10.

enslaved and Indigenous peoples at the hands of enslavers in New England, asserts that slavery was widespread in the region, and contends that the prosperity of New England depended on the oppressive systems of the slave trade and slavery long after both were abolished in New England. By 1700, there were about a thousand Black people in the New England region; and indeed, their labor, whether forced to work on a farm, in a household, or at a port, fueled the economy of Essex County. Every repository we examined holds evidence of enslaved people and their enslavers. This is an Essex County story.<sup>5</sup>

Black people always denounced the institution of slavery, especially amid the increasing tension between Britain and the colonies. The coming of the Revolution in the 1760s and 1770s saw Britain pass a series of laws that angry colonists deemed tyrannical because the British had failed to honor colonists' individual rights. With the rhetoric of rights and liberty hanging in the air, enslaved Blacks worked to secure their freedom by grounding their calls for liberty in this emerging revolutionary ideology, specifically the plea of the natural rights of man. As historian Manisha Sinha argues, freedom petitions and other writings by enslaved and free Black people "demanded an end to slavery, the rights of citizenship, or transportation back to Africa."<sup>6</sup> In 1774, Juno Larcom, a Black-Indigenous woman from Beverly, sued her enslaver David Larcom for imprisoning her. In the courtroom, a jury would decide whether she should "Be set at Liberty."<sup>7</sup> When David Larcom died shortly thereafter, Juno's lawsuit was dismissed, but she eventually won her freedom. Enslaved and free Blacks made their voices heard in print too. On August 17, 1774, Caesar Sarter, a Black man who had been kidnapped in West Africa and enslaved for twenty years in Newburyport before freeing himself, published an address in the *Essex and Merrimac Packet* declaring that "as *Slavery* is the greatest, and consequently most to be dreaded, of all temporal calamities: so, its opposite, *Liberty*, is the greatest temporal good, with which you can be blest."<sup>8</sup>

During the Revolutionary War, thousands of enslaved and free Blacks fought for their freedom as well as the principles of liberty and individual rights that would buttress the new nation. Salem Poor, for example, had been enslaved at birth in Andover before purchasing his freedom in his early twenties. His manumission papers explained his enslavement: Salem Poor had been under the complete "command and controul" of John Poor and his son. But on July 10, 1769, the emancipated Salem Poor would be a free man, with "full liberty," who

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<sup>5</sup> Wendy Warren, *New England Bound: Slavery and Colonization in Early America* (New York: Liveright, 2016), 35.

<sup>6</sup> "To 'Cast Just Obliquy' on Oppressors: Black Radicalism in the Age of Revolution," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 64.1 (2007), 151.

<sup>7</sup> Beverly Historical Society Document 8300, *Juno v. David Larcom of Beverly, 1774*, as cited in Catherine Adams and Elizabeth Pleck, *Love of Freedom: Black Women in Colonial and Revolutionary New England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010). See also the online exhibit of Historic Beverly: <https://spark.adobe.com/page/eLxVbaIbhFbIE>.

<sup>8</sup> Caesar Sarter, "Essay on Slavery," *Essex Journal and Merrimack Packet* (Newburyport, MA), August 17, 1774.



could work toward his own benefit and steer his own course.<sup>9</sup> That course included military service in the Revolutionary War. He, a patriot, fought in the Battle of Bunker Hill, earning high commendation as “a Brave & gallant Soldier.”<sup>10</sup> Likewise, Pomp Devereaux from Marblehead served in Glover’s 14th Continental Infantry and later received a pension for his service. Poor, Devereaux, and thousands of other soldiers, some of whom perished like Juno Larcom’s husband Jethro, inaugurated the proud tradition of Black military service.

The early national period held great promise for Black people, particularly in the northern states where slavery had been abolished (either gradually or immediately, depending on the state), and the transatlantic slave trade had been outlawed nationwide by 1808. Black people set about making a way for themselves in the new nation, though the vast majority had not received restitution for decades of enslavement and abuse. Hence, in many cases, Black people were impoverished. Free Black people in communities throughout the North began to establish benevolent and mutual aid organizations, churches, antislavery societies, and literary societies to aid and educate one another, not to mention the simple pleasure of being in fellowship. For instance, Lucy Foster, a formerly enslaved woman from Andover who gained her freedom in the post-revolutionary period, must have hosted many members from Essex County’s Black communities at her cottage, given the sheer volume of serving dishes later recovered at the archaeological Lucy Foster Homesite.<sup>11</sup> Likewise, Gloucester Dalton, born in West Africa in the 1720s, won his freedom and raised a family in Gloucester. By the 1820s, his grandson Thomas Dalton was shaping the abolitionist movement—nationally and internationally—by establishing the Massachusetts General Colored Association, a Black antislavery and antiracist organization.<sup>12</sup> Black people were going about their daily lives, visiting family and friends, working, educating themselves, and establishing institutional structures for social cohesion and community welfare.

Black communities in Essex County expanded as Black people from the South migrated to towns and cities in the North by the mid-nineteenth century. The slaveholding southern states had become even more inhospitable to free Black people, many of whom sought a better life in the North.<sup>13</sup> But the North was no bastion of racial harmony, as free Black people faced virulent racism, segregation, and even violence, from the church to the schoolhouse. But this reality did not stop the Ruffin family, which included Phillip Sr. and

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<sup>9</sup> Salem Poor Manumission Papers, Phillips Library. For a scan of this document, see the Phillips Library digital folder labeled “Salem Poor.”

<sup>10</sup> Sarah Loring Bailey, *Historical Sketches of Andover* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1880), 324.

<sup>11</sup> Anthony Martin, “Homeplace Is also Workplace: Another Look at Lucy Foster in Andover, Massachusetts,” *Historical Archaeology* 52.1 (January 2018), 107.

<sup>12</sup> See the entry in this report for the Cape Ann Museum, as well as the *Unfolding Histories* exhibit on that website: <https://wayback.archive-it.org/11179/20181018194442/http://onlineexhibitions.capeannmuseum.org/s/unfoldinghistories/page/home>.

<sup>13</sup> Of course, enslaved Blacks escaped southern bondage how, when, and where they could.

his wife Sariah, along with their son Phillip Jr., who traveled, with freedom papers in hand, from Norfolk, Virginia, to Lynn in the late 1840s. According to an exhibit held at Lynn Museum and Historical Society, Phillip Ruffin Sr. “opened a barbershop on South Common Street.”<sup>14</sup> Ruffin Sr. joined other Black entrepreneurs in Essex County who established hair salons and barbershops, clothing shops, and catering businesses.<sup>15</sup>

The ceaseless activism and resistance of Black people and their allies in the radical abolition movement helped to spark the US Civil War in 1861. Black military service was, once again, on display as they enlisted in the war, defending their rights and humanity. John Stackhouse and William H. Robinson, both of Lynn, fought with the celebrated 54th Massachusetts. In 1865, the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery was the dawn of a new era, at least at first.

In Essex County, Black people worked to keep their communities thriving, but the problem of racism and prejudice still circumscribed their employment, educational, political, and social opportunities. Early twentieth-century Newburyport, for example, was home to quite a few Black families, including the Ricks, Townes, Francis, Broadies, Moses, Pearsons, and Smiths. In 1910, a local chapter of the independent order of St. Luke held their monthly meeting in Newburyport. The Ricks and Townes families were leaders in that organization. While these Black families were running associations and successful businesses (such as the popular Andover ice cream business owned by the Hinton family), they also had to grapple with persistent racist practices and policies. These policies and practices were subtle in many instances, but also were on public display in cases such as the Blackface performances of the Crow Village Association minstrel show in Peabody in the 1930s.<sup>16</sup>

In the early twentieth century, many African Americans in Essex County supported the leading Black thinkers of the day. Scholars too often describe W.E.B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington as oppositional leaders, but at least in Essex County, African Americans appreciated the philosophies of both men, establishing literary societies in Du Bois’s name and in Washington’s name. For instance, the Du Bois Musical and Literary Society, a literary and social club, had formed in Newburyport in the 1900s. Some white residents seemed invested in furthering the cause of civil rights too; white Danvers residents, for instance, raised money to support Washington’s Tuskegee Institute. Yet structural racism persisted as the decades wore on. By the mid-twentieth century, concerns at Salem State University over equal access to education, hiring and firing practices, and curricula that

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<sup>14</sup> See the Phillips Library entry in this report and the digital folder with scans from the Ruffin family collection. Ruffin is spelled ending in both “-in” and “-en.”

<sup>15</sup> For more on African Americans and work life in New England, see Robert L. Hall, ed., *Making a Living: The Work Experience of African-Americans in New England: Selected Readings* (Boston: New England Foundation for the Humanities, 1995).

<sup>16</sup> See Peabody Historical Society and Museum, Historic Beverly, and the Andover Center for History and Culture Site Entries.

reflected Black experiences led to the creation of formal organizations and public actions taken by faculty, students, and staff to confront these issues once again. The Arthur Gerald Collection at Salem State University is one of the rare examples of twentieth-century Black experiences recorded in the archives.

This raises some questions: Why are there so few collections about Black people in the twentieth century? Why are Essex County repositories primarily focused on the pre-twentieth century? And what are the implications of these choices for recovering and telling the stories of African American residents of this congressionally recognized county?

## Imperfect Archives

As researchers, we entered repositories throughout Essex County fully aware of the theories, methods, and strategies for conducting archival work. We understood the real limitations, specifically related to collecting practices and curatorial decisions, that complicate archival research on minoritized populations. Hence we began this project with three key principles.

First, we rejected the idea of archival silence as it concerns Black people. “Positing the archive as silent in terms of African American voices often extends into the idea that there is nothing to be said about African Americans,” scholar Leslie Harris explained in her research on the long history of African Americans in New York.<sup>17</sup> Because all archives are imperfect, we as researchers have been imaginative and innovative as we searched, summarized, and synthesized the materials that we came across.

Second, we acknowledged that the archive is not just a site of disappointment but of violence, as scholar Saidiya Hartman has discussed at length in her work.<sup>18</sup> Power and privilege are built into archival practices so that some documents are preserved while others are not. We sat with the very real fact that repositories in Essex County have erased, mangled, chewed up, and fragmented the stories of Black lives, sometimes on purpose, sometimes accidentally, or sometimes by way of general neglect and disinterest. No amount of digging by researchers, archivists, and students can completely redress decades of racist archival policies and practices. Until very recently, Black people were not intentionally part of the collective history or record-keeping at Essex County area archives.

Third, we took seriously the claim that even archival materials that do not immediately reveal much about Black life are still useful if we consider what is missing and left out. Scholar Ashley Farmer advocates returning to popular repositories and revisiting well-worn collections because “there is as much knowledge embedded in the *lack of evidence* as there is

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<sup>17</sup> Leslie Harris, “Imperfect Archives and the Historical Imagination,” *The Public Historian* 36.1 (February 2014), 78.

<sup>18</sup> See, for instance, Saidiya Hartman, *Lose Your Mother: A Journey along the Atlantic Slave Route* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2007), and “Venus in Two Acts,” *Small Axe* 26.2 (June 2008): 1–14.

in existing documents about Black...lives.”<sup>19</sup> As researchers, we had to keep these three key principles in mind in order to get around various challenges, two of which deserve mention here.

One major challenge was the lack of consistency with cataloging across repositories in Essex County. In some archives, we found individual entries for “Slavery,” “Abolition,” “Black,” and “African American.” In others, all materials related to the lives of African Americans are coded under one single search term. There are a few reasons for this, but a lack of funding remains a major issue. In any case, the lack of consistency in cataloging made it next to impossible to trace the origins and development of an event like Negro Election Day, an important Black cultural festival that took place in eighteenth-century Lynn, Salem, and perhaps other neighboring towns. We have compiled four documents (three separate diary entries from white Salem residents as well as a petition to the town of Salem) mentioning Negro Election Day celebrations during the eighteenth century. The first recorded reference that we have is from Benjamin Lynde, a white lawyer, who wrote in May 1741: “Fair weather, Election; Negro’s hallowday here at Salem.”<sup>20</sup> “Negro’s hallowday” would soon become an annual celebration of enslaved and free Black people who “beat their drums, fired guns and carried swords,” and danced and shouted.<sup>21</sup> There may well be other references to Negro Election Day, but incomplete catalogs make it a challenge to find out more.

Nevertheless, even what little we know about Negro Election Day is significant for a few reasons. First, it demonstrates the “blending of cultures,” fusing West African cultural traditions with white colonial practices.<sup>22</sup> Second, this Black communal gathering was, by all accounts, a joyous occasion. Enslaved and free Black people were able to claim cultural pride, socialize, and relax. Third, Black people exercised their civic duty by electing their own leaders, even if this election was ceremonial. We wondered: How did Black people feel about the day? What did this day mean for them? The inner thoughts and reflections of Black people remain elusive, save for a few sentences from William Bentley, a minister, who described a Black girl in his home as “too restless...to be of any use” as she prepared to attend

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<sup>19</sup> Ashley Farmer, “In Search of the Black Women’s History Archive,” *Modern American History* 1.2 (July 2018), 5. Emphasis ours.

<sup>20</sup> Benjamin Lynde, *The Diaries of Benjamin Lynde and of Benjamin Lynde Jr. with an Appendix* (Boston: n.p., 1880), 109.

<sup>21</sup> “To the Selectmen of the Town of Salem. [1768],” Salem Town Records Collection, Salem State University Archives. This petition provides these details of the celebration.

<sup>22</sup> Joseph Reidy, “Negro Election Day and Black Community Life in New England, 1750–1860,” *Marxist Perspectives* (Fall 1978), 102 and 108.

the Negro Election Day festivities.<sup>23</sup> What is vital, then, is to use what is known about Negro Election Day to spotlight Black joy and celebration and to recognize that Black people built a world unto themselves that whites often failed to notice in any real way.

Another challenge concerns the differences in digital capabilities across repositories. Some repositories had no digital collections or search mechanisms at all, while others did. In those cases, digital searches were limited, too often yielding no hits. Sometimes the management of collections and cataloging can obscure stories that might be in the physical collections. For example, the digital capabilities at Phillips Library are quite sophisticated, though various search terms have to be used carefully (e.g., “African American,” “Negro,” “enslaved,” “free Blacks”). A sizeable portion of Salem city records held at Phillips Library are unprocessed. It was in these unprocessed collections that we, with the help of head librarian Dan Lipcan, found the actual school integration petition that Black residents of Salem filed in 1844. (A basic search using “free Blacks” or “school desegregation” in the online catalog at Phillips Library does not yield a result for this petition.) To our knowledge, no full transcription of this exact petition exists, though it is an incredibly important document as it demonstrates Black resistance to racist policies and Black political action.

Finally, the presence and lived experiences of African Americans in Essex County are not totally hidden. In fact, widely available public materials document aspects of Black life over the last three centuries. The problem is that the archives, specifically the sites we were tasked with exploring, have been ignoring these materials. Therefore, these materials never actually made it into area repositories. Across the county, in collection after collection, these and related challenges faced us as we sought to uncover and share the history of Black residents.

## The Structure of This Report

This report contains a narrative overview of themes that emerged across repositories, as well as a list of eight recommendations for project and exhibit ideas that could be carried out with materials made available at specific repositories. Each entry in this report provides logistical information about each repository, a general overview of the repository’s holdings, and then key collections at that repository that relate, in some way, to Black people, cultures, and communities in Essex County. At the end of each entry are keywords. Each entry also has a corresponding digital folder of archival material that we tracked down and made available. Finally, there is an index for people, events, and subjects discussed in this report.

Our hope is that in completing this work, we have helped facilitate and encourage the work of regional repositories and cultural sites to make their African American-related collections accessible. Such work is essential for all residents to understand the rich history of

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<sup>23</sup> William Bentley, *The Diary of William Bentley, D.D. Pastor of the East Church Salem, Massachusetts*, vol. 4 (Salem: The Essex Institute, 1914), 457.

the county, and particularly important for Black residents, who make up 7.1 percent of the population, to see themselves represented consistently and centrally in the cultural institutions and museums in this region.<sup>24</sup> The materials and objects in a repository are, to quote scholar Terry Eastwood, “a permanent and reusable source of communal memory” of past events, leaders, actions, and even ideas.<sup>25</sup> This report is a starting point that other researchers can certainly build on. And the larger project, in many ways, embodies the beauty of this national heritage area, driven by community members, archivists, librarians, researchers, and most of all, our ancestors.

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<sup>24</sup> “QuickFacts Essex County, Massachusetts,” United States Census Bureau. <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/essexcountymassachusetts/RHI225219#RHI225219> (accessed May 20, 2020).

<sup>25</sup> Terry Eastwood, “Nailing a Little Jelly to the Wall of Archival Studies,” *Archivaria* 35 (Spring 1993), 245.

# Themes and Recommendations

**K**nowing and understanding the history of African Americans in Essex County is central to understanding every aspect of life in the county from the seventeenth century up to now. What emerges from the records, collections, and scraps of evidence we have collected in this report are certain themes that will allow for county-wide exhibits, interpretive programs, and truth-telling—linking cities and towns in engaging ways. The following list of themes we discuss below is a starting point.

At the end of this part of the report, we offer specific recommendations for exhibits and programming that could be undertaken quickly for maximum effect. For additional ideas, we encourage those looking to develop programming to explore both the “Potential Projects Based on Collections” and “Keywords” sections of each entry in the body of the report.

## Slavery and Abolition

The history of Essex County is deeply tied to the history of slavery and abolition. Every site and community has stories of both, however limited. While the transatlantic slave trade pervades most of the themes here, when we turn to enslavement in Essex County specifically, there are four threads: the lives of enslaved persons, the actions of those who enslaved them, attempts at self-liberation, and examples of manumission. Abolition accounts include efforts by both Black and white residents, revealing that some Essex County residents engaged with abolitionist projects and conversations nationally, and even globally. Rather than list every repository here (all could be listed), we encourage exploration of each entry for details. Note that this report offers supplemental information drawn from Massachusetts Vital Records that identify (through birth, death, and marriage records) hundreds of enslaved persons across the county.

## Free Black Residents

There were free Black residents of Essex County from the eighteenth century onward. Some of these people were born into freedom, while others became free through other means. What is essential in telling these stories is how freedom was achieved. At times, self-emancipation was possible through purchasing one’s own freedom (as in the case of Salem Poor) or even by turning to the legal system (as with Caesar Hendricks or Juno Larcom). At other times, freedom was possible through manumission. Though free, Black residents and families noted here still faced challenges and limits even as they forged paths and lives that transformed the county.

- Sampson (Bassett) (Lynn)
- Salem Poor and Primus Hale (Phillips Library)

- The Freeman and Dalton families and Pompey Cummings (Cape Ann)
- Juno Larcom, Chloe Turner, and Brutus/Julius Larcom (Historic Beverly)
- Lucy Foster (Phillips Academy)
- Caesar Hendricks (Newburyport)
- Cuffee Dole (Georgetown)
- A few individual items referring to a free man named “Primus” and a reference to another free Black person (Danvers)
- Rose and Pompey Lovejoy (Andover)

### **Entrepreneurship/Black-Owned Businesses**

Structural and systemic racism severely limited Black residents’ access to the land, capital, and networks necessary to build businesses in proportions equal to those of their non-Black neighbors. However, some Black residents created opportunities for themselves and built businesses nonetheless. Examples from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries include:

- The Hinton family (Andover)
- The Remond family (Phillips Library, Salem State University)
- The Manuel family and Mitchell family (Historic Beverly)
- E. Lemuel Brown (Lawrence History Center)
- William R. Mobley (Haverhill)
- Edward Cassell (Phillips Library)
- Richard A. Ball (Lawrence)

### **Activism/Responses to Oppression and Inequality**

During every moment of Essex County’s history, Black residents have resisted the violence, discrimination, and oppression that impacted their lives. This resistance took a variety of forms: from attempts (and successes) at self-liberation and abolition to legal actions and formal calls for policy change; from fighting for access to education to access to banking services; and from struggling to secure the freedom of one’s family to fighting against inequities in hiring or firing. There are many stories to be told:

- The entirety of the Arthur Gerald Collection (Salem State University)
- Juno Larcom’s legal fight (Historic Beverly)
- Sarah Remond and the Remond family (various collections including Phillips Library)
- Many attempts at self-liberation (across collections)
- Legal battles over school segregation in Salem (Phillips Library)
- Herbert C. Dublin Jr., first Black police officer, 1955 (Haverhill Public Library)



## War/Military Service

Black residents of Essex County have served in wars since the American Revolution. Because the records we examined focus heavily on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the stories here focus on the Revolution and Civil War:

- Pompey Devereaux/Glover's Regiment (Marblehead)
- Salem Poor (Philips Library)
- William H. Robinson (Lynn Museum)
- Provost Marshall records, Civil War (NARA-Boston)

## Links between Essex County, the South, and the Atlantic World

The links between Essex County's economic and social fabric and the history of slavery in the broader Atlantic world (including but not limited to the US South) are extensive. This list is a start. Some collections are:

- Fisheries and Maritime Collection; Gloucester and the Atlantic Slave economy (Cape Ann)
- Ships logs and records (Historic Beverly)
- Turner Inventory (House of the Seven Gables)
- Salem and Beverly Customs records; Ships records and manifests (NARA-Boston)

There are links across the regions vis-à-vis abolitionism and civil rights in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as well. We have not listed them here, but they are traceable in keywords and in sections on slavery, abolitionism, and the twentieth century.

## Black Women

There is a wide range of stories and accounts of Black women in these collections and repositories. There is no singular "Black woman's" story to be told. A theme highlighting Black women should focus on the diverse ways in which women built lives, careers, and families, while also fighting for change. Some survived in silence while others spoke out boldly for themselves. They operated within and outside of systems intended to reduce or limit them. And they were leaders that others turned to—in education, in business, in civic life, in family life, in activism. We must focus on both the well-known names and all the nameless women who fueled Essex County for generations.

The list in the Recommendations section suggests how a wider swath of women could be featured using collections examined in this report. The following is a list of individual women with substantive representation in the archives:

- Charlotte Forten, Charlotte Hawkins Brown, and Lucy Moten (Salem State University)
- Rose Lovejoy (Andover)
- Alice Hinton (Andover)

- Frances Cole Lee (Haverhill Public Library)
- Myrna Mitchell Brown (Lawrence)
- Lucy Foster (Phillips Academy)
- Sarah Remond (Phillips Library)
- Juno Larcom (Historic Beverly)
- Agnes (Marblehead)
- Sara Baro (Topsfield)
- Gwendolyn Rosemond (Salem State University)

## Negro Election Day

Negro Election Day was celebrated in the early eighteenth century, with the first recorded event in 1741. It then had a resurgence in the twentieth century through Black picnic celebrations. While there is currently scant evidence about Negro Election Day in the archives explored for this project, the items that do exist in addition to newspaper evidence from the nineteenth century and the work of Doreen Wade, president of the nonprofit organization Salem United, will provide necessary resources for a public exhibit in 2021, which will be the 280th anniversary of the first recorded celebration. Salem United is planning a celebration. The following resources we reviewed contained information about Negro Election Day:

- Petition from Peter Frye, 1768 (Salem State University)
- Diary of Benjamin Lynde (Phillips Library)
- Diary of William Pynchon (Phillips Library)
- Diary entry from Rev. Bentley (Phillips Library)
- *Boston Herald article*, 1894, about celebration at the Salem Willows
- *Salem News article*, 1994 (Salem Maritime National Historic Site)

Please note that the history of Negro Election Day is held mostly in the memories and families of Black residents of Essex County. There is an opportunity for significant outreach and collaboration in this area. To that end, NPS would be well-served to connect with Salem United and build a partnership. Doreen Wade has been working tirelessly to trace the history of Negro Election Day—especially to track its trajectory between the 1740s through 1800—and has a bill pending on Beacon Hill to make Negro Election Day a state holiday.

## Twentieth Century Racism and Activism

Bringing the history of African Americans in Essex County into the twentieth century is essential, and while historical collections in the county have privileged materials from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, there are a handful of critical collections that warrant exposure. In most instances, these collections make manifest the presence and persistence of racist acts, sentiments, and practices in Essex County (in education, employment, leisure, law, incarceration) while at the same time, there are examples of Black residents resisting,

pushing back, and establishing practices, policies, and organizations to do the same. Some oral histories and audiovisual material are available as well. There are also some twentieth-century connections with national/international Black leaders, as listed here:

- Crow Village Association minstrel show photographs, circa 1930s (Peabody)
- Early twentieth-century photography of Haverhill High School graduates (Haverhill)
- Black-owned businesses in Beverly (Manuels, Mitchells) and Andover (Hintons)
- Al Mitchell (Beverly)
- The presence (and absence) of Black students at Phillips Andover (Phillips Academy)
- Interviews with Black Essex County residents: Myrna Mitchell Brown (Lawrence)
- Twentieth-century Essex County Jail records (Lawrence)
- Herbert C. Dublin Jr., the first Black police officer, 1955 (Haverhill)
- Providing settlement services to African American residents of Salem (House of the Seven Gables)
- Black college student activism and support for Black high school students (Salem State University)
- “Slave auction” fundraiser and Black student response, 1973 (Salem State University)
- Presence of, correspondence with, and some audiovisual related to national Black leaders in Salem/Essex County: Maya Angelou, Jesse Jackson (Salem State University)
- Engagement with Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois: evidence of support for Tuskegee Institute (Danvers); Booker T. Washington speaks in Marblehead, 1912 (invited by Methodist church; Marblehead)
- 1969 Committee on Racial Understanding event at Bishop Fenwick High School in Peabody sponsored by the city of Salem (Phillips Library)

## Education

The fight for access to and equal opportunity within educational institutions is a centuries-old one in Essex County. Some of the key stories that can be told are as follows:

- Charlotte Forten (Salem State University)
- The nineteenth-century debate over integration/segregation of Salem public schools (Phillips Library)
- Early twentieth-century photography of Haverhill High School graduates (Haverhill Public Library)
- Sara Baro Colcher (Topsfield)
- The full run of material in the Afro-American Society records at Salem State (Salem State University)
- The full run of material in the Black Caucus Association of Black Faculty and Administrators records at Salem State (Salem State University)
- Richard T. Greener and the presence (and absence) of African American students at Phillips Academy. (Phillips Academy)

## Recommendations

This list is composed of project and exhibit ideas that are nearly shovel-ready and could be carried out with the materials made available at the repositories listed herein.

**Entrepreneurship:** Focusing on the history of Black-owned businesses identified in this report and linked with contemporary local and regional Chambers of Commerce and current Black-owned businesses. Legacy businesses such as Mitchell's Dance Studio (Beverly) could be central. The lists in Themes may be helpful.

**Negro Election Day:** To be done in collaboration with Salem United; 2021 is the 280th anniversary.

**Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois:** Link to these national figures in exhibit programming, focusing on how Blacks in Essex County were engaging with DuBois and Washington's ideas on the ground.

1. Newburyport had a DuBois Literary Society and Order of St. Luke satellite.
2. Danvers has evidence of people there supporting Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute.
3. According to Marblehead Racial Justice Team and St. Stephen's Methodist Church, Booker T. Washington visited Marblehead in 1912 at the invitation of the church.

**The Larcom Families of Beverly:** Given the prominence of the white Larcom family and the compelling and multi-generational story of Juno Larcom, as well as the other enslaved people connected to the family, focusing on these families highlights the centrality of slavery and racism to the legal, literary, economic, maritime, and other stories of Essex County and the Atlantic world.

**Black Writers and Poets:** There is compelling evidence for an exhibit on Black writers of Essex County in the nineteenth and twenty-first centuries. Key individuals are John Levy of Lawrence, who authored *The Life and Adventures of John Levy. Edited by His Daughter* (1871); Jacob Stroyer of Salem, who wrote *My Life in the South* (1885); and Frances Cole Lee of Haverhill, who penned *Opal Dust* (1944). We suggest collaborating with regional writers' groups, such as the Salem Writer's Group, forging a connection with the Salem Literary Festival, or collaborating with independent bookstores. Additional listings of local writer events are posted in the Writers Corner of the Creative North Shore website:

<https://www.creativenorthshore.com/writers-corner-word-next>.

**Black Families:** There are some extensive collections about individual families, which might be effectively paired or explored chronologically across generations. For starters:

1. Compare/contrast the Larcom and Remond families.
2. The Dalton family of Gloucester (and Boston): Three generations of men who move (1720s–1820s) from being enslaved to one of them being a prominent abolitionist.
3. The Ruffin family of Lynn (materials at Phillips Library); there was a previous exhibit in Lynn.
4. The Brown family (Lawrence): E. Lemuel Brown and Myrna Mitchell Brown
5. The Hinton family (Andover)
6. The Townes family (Phillips Library)
7. The Manuel and Mitchell families (Historic Beverly); recent newspaper accounts can help tell this story.

**Black Women:** It would be possible to anchor an exhibit around well-known women, and from there, to include artifacts and archival material to flesh out both the challenges and the successes of Black women in Essex County. The focus would be on the diversity of experiences and the range of strategies to build lives and families and even find some joy despite the oppression so often present. There is no single story of Black women in Essex County. As mentioned earlier, while there are few robust collections of Black women's archival materials, Black women are not completely absent in the historical record. An exhibit could make this explicit. Our suggestions are here:

1. Well-known women (could anchor an exhibit): Charlotte Forten and Sarah Remond
2. Sarah Baro's jewelry box and will
3. Rose Lovejoy: fragments of her wedding dress

4. Myrna Mitchell Brown, Calma Shepherd, Glendora Putnam, and Lilla Walker Wilson (Lawrence)
5. How to tell the stories of the hundreds of Black women who have lived in Essex County in the past without leaving personal materials (i.e., letters, photos, etc.) in the archives:
  - a. List of all names found in Massachusetts Vital Records. Perhaps select some to trace through Marriage, Births, and Deaths. For one example, the Danvers Archival Center's entry in this report reconstructs the life of an enslaved woman named Violet through the Vital Records, despite her absence from Danvers' collection.
  - b. Tell the story of Black women who had accounts at the Salem Savings Bank using those records.
  - c. Tell the story of Black women like Caroline Freeman of Newburyport who were incarcerated at Essex County Jail.

**Twentieth Century:** Tell the story of the Manuel and Mitchell families in Beverly; tell the stories of the student, faculty, and staff activists at Salem State University; and showcase Gwendolyn Rosemond, a leader in those earlier efforts.

**Newspapers and Press:** An exhibit that discusses the role that historic and contemporary newspapers (and other forms of media) have played in shaping (e.g., publishing runaway slave ads) and reporting on the lives of Black residents for centuries.

# Andover Center for History and Culture

97 Main Street, Andover, MA 01810

**Website:** [www.andoverhistoryandculture.org](http://www.andoverhistoryandculture.org)

**Phone Number:** (978) 475-2236

**Email Address:** [info@andoverhistoryandculture.org](mailto:info@andoverhistoryandculture.org)

**Main Contact Person(s):**

Angela McBrien, Collections Manager ([amcbrien@andoverhistoryandculture.org](mailto:amcbrien@andoverhistoryandculture.org))

Elaine Clements, Executive Director ([eclements@andoverhistoryandculture.org](mailto:eclements@andoverhistoryandculture.org))

**Social Media:** Facebook, Google+, LinkedIn, Twitter

**Wheelchair Accessibility:** Not Fully. Two steps to enter the library and archives, and another five to enter the gallery. The restroom is on the gallery level.

**Research Fee:** None, but donations are welcome.

**Best Practices for Research:** Call or email ahead of time to set up a research appointment. Drop-ins are accepted but not encouraged.

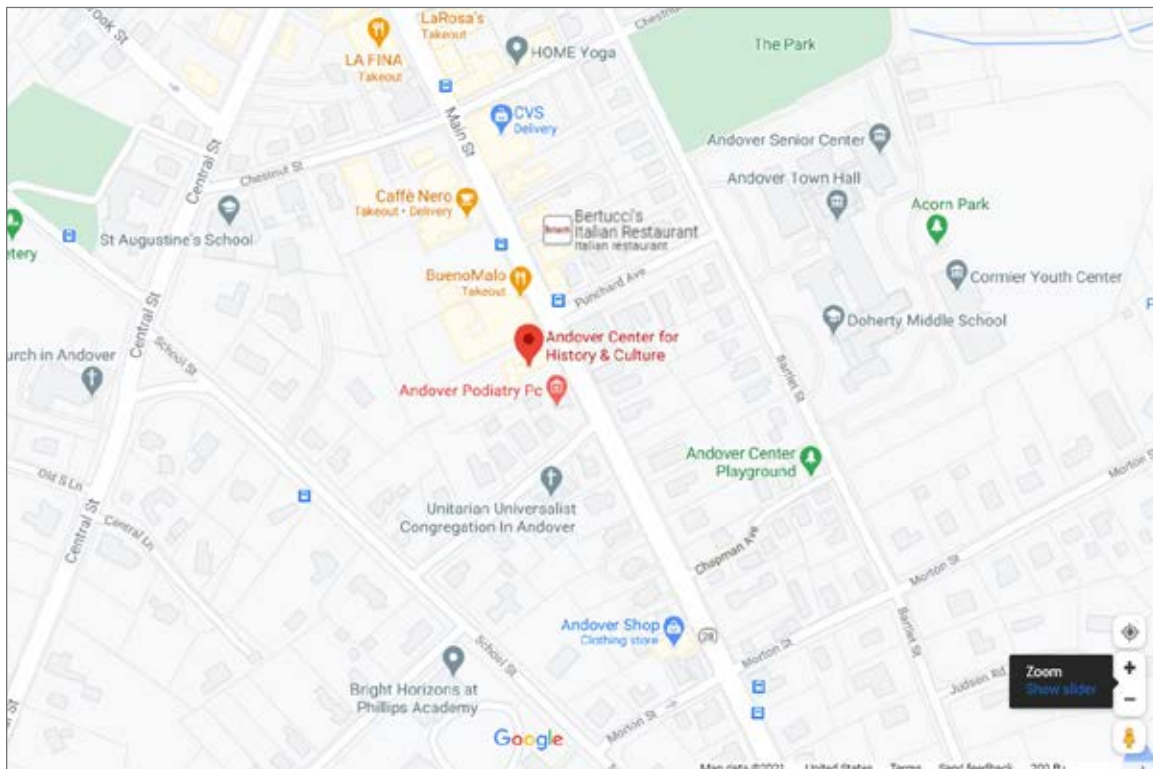


Figure 1: Image of Andover Historical Society's location. Map data ©2021 Google.

The **Andover Center for History and Culture** is located in downtown Andover. The first half of the building is a museum, and the latter half is a research repository.

Parking dedicated to the Center is limited; be prepared to find street parking (free, but with a two-hour limit).

## Overview

Formerly known as the Andover Historical Society, the Andover Center is well staffed, but like most repositories, staff are often busy completing projects. The Executive Director of the Andover Center for History and Culture is Elaine Clements, and the Collections Manager is Angela McBrian.

The building is a converted house, and the research room is in the back, down one flight of stairs and through several doors. It is difficult to gain access to the repository without assistance from the front desk at the front of the building. There is one open, communal table available for researchers. Staff, volunteers, or incoming researchers may use this opportunity to ask about research or receive research advice. Because of the layout, plan for possible distractions. As always, no pens, backpacks, liquids, or food are allowed near archival materials.

## Collection Highlights

### *Hinton Family*

The Andover Center contains a fairly substantial collection on the Hinton family and their ice cream business, which was established in the late 1870s. Allen Hinton, who had been enslaved in North Carolina, migrated to Andover, Massachusetts, during the Civil War. In 1867, he married Mary Jane Johnson, a widow from New Jersey, who had also moved to the area. Together, they raised three children: Alice, Albee, and Edward. In the late 1870s, the Hinton family started making ice cream and attracting customers in and around Andover, including students at Phillips Academy and Abbot Academy. Their business was a success.

Allen died in 1912, and Mary died about nine years later. Alice, a graduate of Punchard High School, soon took over the family ice cream business. On August 18, 1915, the National Negro Business League, founded by Booker T. Washington, held its annual meeting in Boston, Massachusetts, where Alice gave a lecture entitled, “How I Have Carried on the Ice Cream Business Established by My Mother and Father.” After delivering her lecture, Washington complimented her and her family’s success. Notably, Alice was “one of the first women in Andover who waited in line to register to vote the day the nineteenth amendment was passed.”<sup>26</sup> She relinquished the family ice cream business in the 1920s. She died in 1951.

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<sup>26</sup> Maddie O’Leary, “Hinton Family,” YouTube video, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a1YUqG4\\_4bo](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a1YUqG4_4bo).



This collection includes photographs of Allen Hinton, Mary Jane Johnson, Alice Hinton, and the Hinton family's wagon and farm. Correspondence from Allen Hinton's former owner, General William Ruffin Cox, are included, along with Alice Hinton's memoir, "Recollections of the Hinton Ice Cream Business," and typescript letters from customers. Property records detailing the purchase of the Hinton Family Farm are also available.

Some of these photographs have been digitized and are available on the Andover website:

**Allen Hinton's Ice Cream Farm:**

<https://andoverhistoryandculture.pastperfectonline.com/photo/06D0F140-15DE-4DCB-AEC0-898407683428>

**Alice Matilda Hinton:**

<https://andoverhistoryandculture.pastperfectonline.com/photo/C609F83A-FDE6-4186-B6C8-433047462135>

**Allen Hinton:**

<https://andoverhistoryandculture.pastperfectonline.com/photo/BD7D8D47-62FD-11D9-AE5D-024842286480>

## Marriages.

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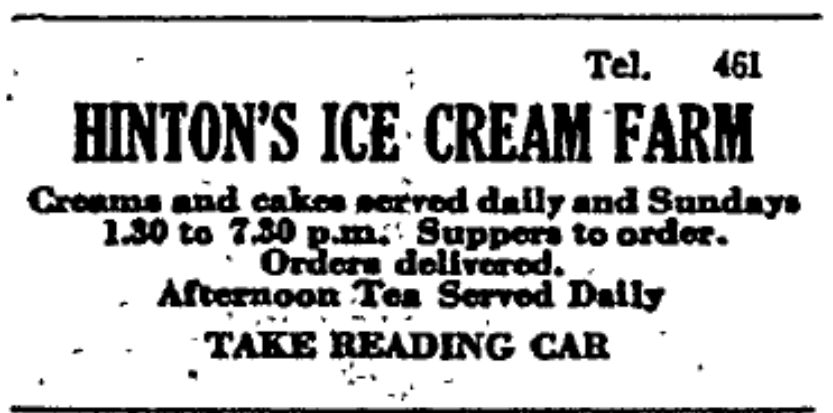
**In this city, 25th ult., by the Rev. Dr. Blakie, Mr. John Kelly and Mrs. Margaret Lawler; 20th ult., by the same, Mr. John McAuley and Miss Annie McKay.**

**In Andover, 26th ult., by Rev. Charles Smith, Mr. Allen Hinton and Mrs. Mary Jane Johnson, all of Andover.**

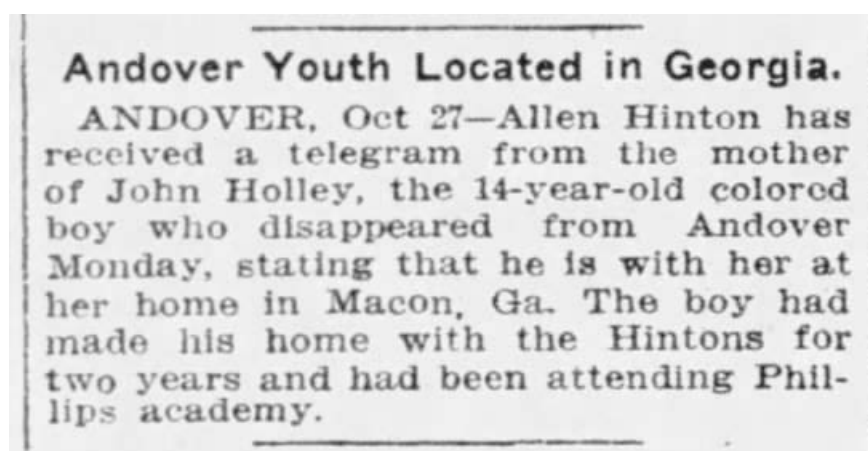
**Figure 2:** Marriage announcement for Allen Hinton and Mary Jane Johnson, "Marriages," *Boston Recorder*, February 8, 1867.

Reads: In this city, 25th ult., by the Rev. Dr. Blakie, Mr. John Kelly and Mrs. Margaret Lawler; twentieth ult., by the same, Mr. John McAuley and Miss Annie McKay.

In Andover, 26th ult., by Rev. Charles Smith, Mr. Allen Hinton and Mrs. Mary Jane Johnson, all of Andover.



**Figure 3:** "Advertisement [Hinton's Ice Cream]," *The Phillipian* (Phillips Academy), October 13, 1915. Advertisement reads: HINTON'S ICE CREAM FARM. Creams and cakes served daily and Sunday's 1.30 to 7.30 p.m. Suppers to order. Orders delivered. Afternoon Tea Served Daily. TAKE READING CAR



**Figure 4:** Short article titled "Andover Youth Located in Georgia," *Boston Globe*, October 28, 1905. Article reads: ANDOVER, Oct 27—Allen Hinton has received a telegram from the mother of John Holley, the 14-year-old colored boy who disappeared from Andover Monday, stating that he is with her at her home in Macon, Ga. The boy had made his home with the Hintons for two years and had been attending Phillips academy.

### ***Rose Lovejoy and Pompey Lovejoy***

Not much is known about Rose Lovejoy (1727–1826), but vital records list her birth year as 1727. She was enslaved by John Foster in Andover. On December 26, 1751, she married Pompey Lovejoy, who had been born into slavery in Boston in 1724. When Pompey was nine years old, his enslaver William Lovejoy, a captain, had relocated him to Andover. In 1762, William Lovejoy manumitted Pompey. Rose and Pompey then built their cabin on land inherited from William Lovejoy.

The Lovejoys seemed to be a beloved couple in nineteenth-century Andover. They hosted gatherings at their home and provided food and drink for annual election day celebrations. Pompey died on February 22, 1826, at the age of 102. His wife Rose died a few years later,

on November 8, 1826, at the age of 99. Both are buried at South Church cemetery. Pompey's epitaph reads: "Born in Boston a slave; died in Andover a free man; February 23, 1826; Much respected as a sensible; amiable and upright man." Andover named Pomp's Pond to honor him.

The Andover Center for History and Culture possesses four cloth fragments, "striped linsey-woolsey fabric," rumored to be from Rose Lovejoy's wedding dress. These pieces of cloth were donated to the center in the early twentieth century.



**Figure 5:** Cloth fragment, piece of Rose's wedding dress. Courtesy of the Andover Center for History and Culture. <https://andoverhistoryandculture.pastperfectonline.com/webobject/BD7D780F-62FD-11D9-AE5D-024842286480>

In the linked file folders, there are a few documents, compiled from genealogical and newspaper databases, that provide more information on African Americans in Andover. Links to these files can be found in Appendix C.

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## Potential Projects Based on Collections

- Salem Poor, an enslaved African American man and later Revolutionary War soldier (see Phillips Library entry)
  - Check the Charlotte Helen Abbott Collection of the Andover Center for History and Culture, which has reference to Salem Poor.
- Church records and cemetery files for Andover

## Areas for Follow-Up and Additional Leads

- Jack and Elvinah, enslaved people from South Carolina, who were married in Andover
- Culling from the Center's 10,000 photographs and photographic images from the 1840s to the present
- Harriet Beecher Stowe, a white abolitionist and author
- The antislavery movement in Essex County and Essex County materials related to the Civil War
- Hall of Fame boxer George Dixon, who trained at a camp at Haggett's Pond in the late 1800s
- Russell Blunt of Andover, who is mentioned in records housed at the Lawrence History Center, played football, baseball, and basketball at the high school and later became a coach in Durham, North Carolina.

## Keywords

- Enslaved African Americans
- Emancipation and Freedom
- African American Entrepreneurship
- Clothing
- Wedding
- African American Couples
- Marriage

## Bibliography

Edward L. Bell. *Persistence of Memories of Slavery and Emancipation in Historical Andover: The Massachusetts Woman Enumerated as a "Slave" in the 1830 US Census and the Family of Rosanna Coburn from Enslavement to Contingent Freedom*. Boston: Shawsheen Press, 2020.

## Supplemental Materials

Supplemental materials related to this collection, town, or city can be found in Appendix C.

# Cape Ann Museum

26 Pleasant Street, Gloucester, MA 01930

Website: <https://www.capeannmuseum.org>

Phone Number: (978) 283-0455; Library and Archives 978-283-1455 ext. 19

Email Address: [info@capeannmuseum.org](mailto:info@capeannmuseum.org)

Main Contact Person(s):

Trenton Carls, *Librarian/Archivist* ([trentoncarls@capeannmuseum.org](mailto:trentoncarls@capeannmuseum.org); new as of 2020)

Martha Oaks, *Curator* ([marthaoaks@capeannmuseum.org](mailto:marthaoaks@capeannmuseum.org))

Social Media: Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, and Vimeo

Wheelchair Accessibility: The museum is completely accessible for all mobility devices, except the historical homes; the Captain Elias Davis House; and the off-site property, the White-Ellery House.

Research Fee: Unknown

Best Practices for Research: Be sure to schedule an appointment at this email address: [library@capeannmuseum.org](mailto:library@capeannmuseum.org)

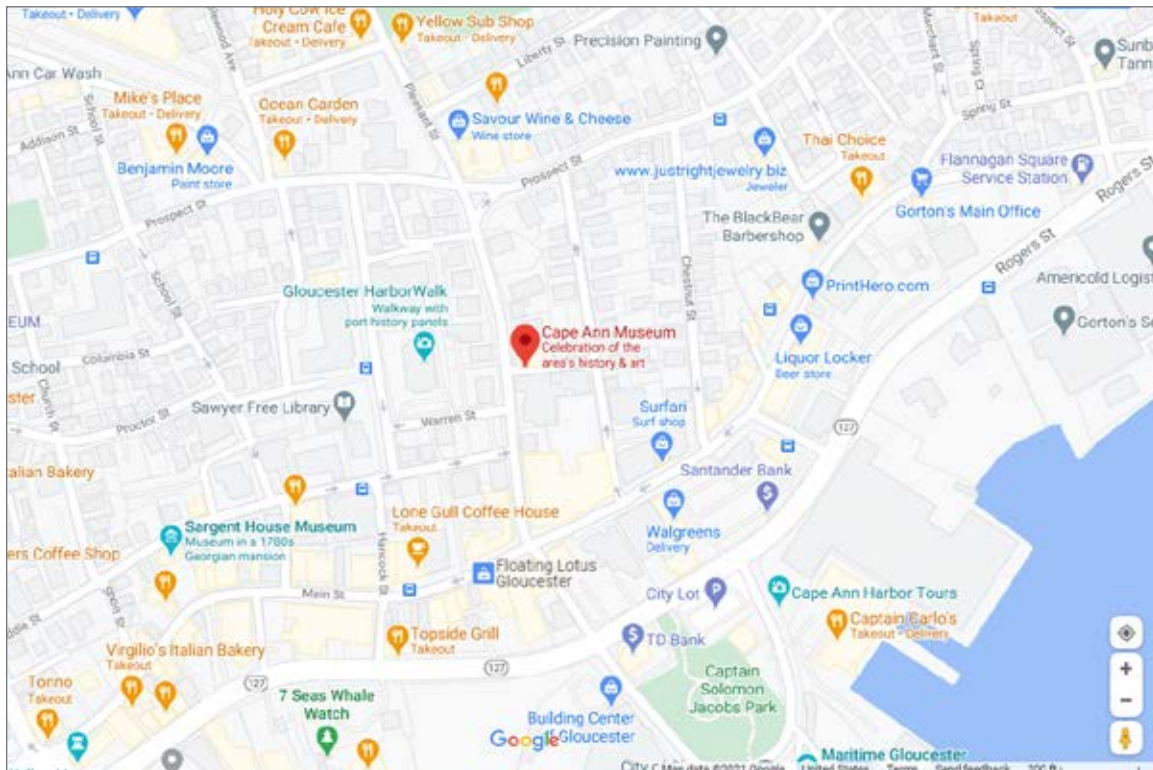


Figure 6: Image of Cape Ann Museum's location. Map data ©2021 Google.

The **Library and Archives at Cape Ann Museum** focuses on the study of the industrial, social, maritime, and art history of Cape Ann. The library has more than 2,500 titles, and archival material includes ship logs, early deeds, maps, letters, ephemera, photographs, and other documentary artifacts. All pertain broadly to life on Cape Ann, from its founding to the present. Among the titles are the City of Gloucester Annual Reports 1874–1964; the Essex Institute Historical Collection Gloucester Annual School Reports 1874–1959; a significant, though incomplete, collection of Gloucester City directories, 1860–1978; and the same for Gloucester High School Year Books, 1901–2009. The Library and Archives also hold the published Vital Records of Gloucester and Rockport up to 1850. It contains documents, books, maps, newspapers, and ephemera pertaining to the personal, business, legal, educational, social, and religious affairs of Gloucester and Cape Ann from its inception to the present day. While most of the material relates directly to Cape Ann, the area's centuries-old connection with foreign lands through its maritime commerce makes the records global in scope. There are both a manuscript collection and a collection of printed material. The manuscript collection includes letters, memoirs, and diaries; financial papers and account books; logbooks and vessel manifests; military rolls, orders, and awards; hotel registers; church records; deeds; association and club memberships and minutes; and much more. The printed material includes the published vital records of Gloucester and Rockport to 1850; family histories, genealogies, and Bibles; histories of Cape Ann, Gloucester, and Rockport; maps and charts; postcards, trade cards, programs, and brochures; and guidebooks, newspapers, and magazines. There is also a sizable historic photograph collection.

Research questions can be submitted to staff through an online form. In-person research requires an appointment. The staff are interested in telling African American history, but their collections are not oriented toward this topic or organized to make finding evidence of such history easy. Researchers are required to follow standard rules for archival research when in the library and handling collections. If items are deemed suitable, personal (non-flash) digital photographing of material is allowed. Wi-Fi is available. (For a significant portion of 2019, there was no Archivist/Librarian at the Cape Ann Museum, which limited access to the collections for this entry. Trenton Carls, a new Archivist, began working at the museum in late 2019.)

## Overview

In general, there is no substantive collection related specifically to African Americans or African American history. That said, the new curator (on staff for only a couple of months before the COVID-19 pandemic) is planning to incorporate the collection of material by underrepresented people of the community in the museum's future Collection Policy. It is worth noting that the current Collection Policy makes an attempt to be all-encompassing and seeks to obtain all stories and material focused on life, history, and art in Cape Ann. As it stands, this material would not be excluded from this policy.

Of the collections with finding aids available online, none have material directly referencing or related to African Americans. Yet it is likely that a more systematic exploration of the collections might reveal clues. There are a few fragmented stories of enslaved persons, free African Americans, African American mariners, and the transatlantic slave trade economies found in snippets scattered throughout the manuscript collection, as is common in other repositories. But there is no specific focus or guide to such material. The most useful guide to what stories might be told through the Cape Ann collections (up to 1900) is the 2018 exhibit, *Unfolding Histories: Cape Ann before 1900*. This exhibit presents a range of fragmentary evidence spread across the themes of African American history, charity and welfare, and education that—together—paint a picture of both some of the pre-1900 life of African Americans and the challenges of finding evidence of African American history in the public-facing collections of Essex County repositories.

The history of African Americans post-1900 is even harder to trace in these collections at this time.

## Collection Highlights

### *Fisheries and Maritime Collection*

This collection is broadly tied to material related to the long history of fishing and seafaring in Cape Ann since 1623. In addition to ship logs and crew lists, this collection has records tied to the lucrative trade with the Dutch colony Surinam, which merit closer inspection. This trade was part of the economic success of area leaders but was connected to the broader slave trade along with rum, molasses, and dried cod.

### *Printed Materials*

The following items deserve special attention to identify African Americans and demographic data about Gloucester, especially in the twentieth century:

- City of Gloucester Annual Reports 1874–1964
- The Essex Institute Historical Collection Gloucester Annual School Reports 1874–1959
- Gloucester City directories 1860–1978
- Gloucester High School Year Books 1901–2009

## Past Exhibits/Publications/Project Collaborations

### ***2020 Lecture***

The museum collaborated with a number of the individuals featured in a lecture given at the museum in February 2020, titled “Promises and Limits of the New Republic: A Closer Look at African Americans on Cape Ann.” The museum staff hopes to collaborate with these scholars/researchers in the future to develop a Collection Policy. The lecture can be found here: <https://vimeo.com/397278612>.

### ***Slavery on Cape Ann Website***

The museum collections have been used as part of the informative *Slavery on Cape Ann* website, which was created and is managed by the Cape Ann Slavery and Abolition Trust. It is also a collaboration with the Gloucester Unitarian Universalist Church and the Unitarian Universalist Society of Rockport. One of the major contributors to the site is the museum’s previous and long-time Librarian and Archivist, Stephanie Buck, who continues to volunteer at the museum.

The link to the website is <https://capeannslavery.org> and the contact address is [info.capeannslaveryabol@gmail.com](mailto:info.capeannslaveryabol@gmail.com).

The site and the primary source materials contained therein are a treasure trove of details about slavery/enslaved peoples, free Black residents, and various topics related to abolitionism. The materials on this site will be crucial to any project involving African American history on Cape Ann.

In addition to the material from the Cape Ann Museum collections, the website’s other material can be found in church holdings and additional sites. There are links here to topics and individuals discussed in other repositories and in Appendix C.

### ***Unfolding Histories (Exhibit)***

In 2018, the museum mounted a major exhibition titled *Unfolding Histories: Cape Ann before 1900*, which explored many facets of life on Cape Ann from 1600 to 1900, and is organized by themes. One theme/chapter was “African American History.” Two others, “Charity and Welfare” and “Education,” also have entries that intersect with African American history. The exhibit lives on also as a full-color catalog and online. This exhibit—based on hints found in the Cape Ann Museum collections, as well as those of nine area repositories/museums, public records, and historical newspapers—is the most valuable public-facing resource to date for identifying and documenting some of the stories that can be told in the region.

Here is a link to the “African American History” portion of the online exhibit: <https://wayback.archive-it.org/11179/20181018194719/http://onlineexhibitions.capeannmuseum.org/s/unfoldinghistories/page/africanamericanhistory>

Note: There are some cross-references to the “Charity and Welfare” and “Education” portions of the exhibit.



The stories told are featured as follows, along with online exhibit links to the primary sources. This is an excellent collection of materials and offers an opening for additional research both here and in other collections in the region.

1. Enslaved persons, freedom, and efforts at self-abolition:
  - a. Slavery and efforts at self-emancipation: Many advertisements for runaway slaves can be found in *The Essex Gazette* newspaper (1768–75). Advertisements establish that residents of Manchester, Ipswich, and Gloucester enslaved people.
    - i. There is one individual (Chester/Titus) who was the subject of three different runaway slave ads (1769, 1773, 1773), which is noteworthy.
    - ii. Manumission (1777). There is a Form of Release, Nathaniel Haskell for Fortune Nathaniel Haskell (1718–1808 or 1743–1827). It reads: “[S]et free this Negro whose name is Fortune ... for diverse causes and considerations.” The document or “instrument” was the proof that Fortune needed to show that “he hath full power to conduct and act for him-self.”



**Figure 7:** Advertisement to sell a slave from the *Essex Gazette*, November 30, 1773. Image courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society. Courtesy, Cape Ann Museum.

<https://wayback.archive-it.org/11179/20181018194719>

<http://onlineexhibitions.capeannmuseum.org/s/unfoldinghistories/page/africanamericanhistory>

Advertisement states: To be SOLD, for Want of Empl'y, A Healthy Negro Man, who is a good Seaman, can perform any Kind of Husbandry Labour, and understands tending a Saw-Mill. Enquire of Joseph Eveleth, of Gloucester.

2. Free Black residents: The evidence is limited and the details scant. Much is from public records held in other collections.
  - a. Fortune: (see list item 1 above). It appears that Fortune is the father of Robin Freeman (b. 1754).
  - b. Robin Freeman (b.1754) bought his freedom from Capt. Byles in 1768 or 1769. This is recorded in Byles' Account book in the museum collection.
    - i. There is evidence in Joseph Moore's account book that Robin Freeman pays the debt for his own sons', Cato (b. 1780) and Zacharia's (b. 1789), education.
      - 1) Note: the entry in the account book refers either to the Robin Freeman who later appeared in the Joseph Moore (1763–1845) account book or to Robin Freeman, the son of Prince and Robin Byles, who married in bondage in

1715. In his will of 1781, Byles left “Robin former negro servant 40s.” There is some uncertainty. The museum staff have noted this in the exhibit materials.

- c. The family of Gloucester Dalton (circa 1723–1813)
    - i. Gloucester Dalton may have been born in Africa and brought to the United States enslaved. (A record of him as a taxpayer is found in a procurement order from 1782 in the Gloucester City Archives.)
    - ii. His son, Zachariah Dalton (1756–1805), worked as a servant to prominent Bostonian Samuel Elliot and owned land and a home in Gloucester.
    - iii. Gloucester’s grandson (not the son of Zachariah) Thomas Dalton (1794–1883), who became a prominent abolitionist in Boston and helped found the Massachusetts General Colored Association in 1826.
  - d. Pompey Cummings, who (we learn through the registry of deeds) was manumitted when his owner Mary Stevens died, and for whom a house and land were held in trust for him in 1761. A year later, he bought it as a free man.
3. African American residents after the abolition of slavery in Massachusetts
- a. Charles and Olive Richardson: In 1831, they received a loan and mortgage for a house and some land. Charles (1788–1833) was born in Maryland and Olive’s (1794–1854) birthplace is unknown. They married sometime before 1820 and had eight children. Olive and some children stayed on the property even after Charles’ death. (Their story was compiled with data from Vital Records and the Essex Land Deeds at the Essex Historical Society and Shipbuilding Museum.)
  - b. Lucy O. Voice: A young African American girl who was indentured under the care of the city of Gloucester in 1818, because her parents could no longer care for her. (These records are in the Gloucester City Archives.)
  - c. John Henderson: Cook on the *William and Henry*. The crew list for this vessel describes the cook as having a “Black” complexion and “wooly” hair. (This crew list is in the collection of the Cape Ann Museum.)
  - d. Gloucester in the transatlantic slave economy: The records of many ships bound for Surinam show salt cod being shipped. This was likely to be sold as a foodstuff for enslaved persons there. (The *William and Henry* was one such ship with this cargo.)
  - e. Some research in the “NEGROES” sections of MA Vital Records (pre-1850), conducted by E. Duclos-Orsello for both Gloucester and Rockport, reveals that while there were no entries in Rockport, there was a long-standing presence of a number of African Americans and African American families, both enslaved and free, in Gloucester.
    - i. Pre-1849, there were approximately 115 births recorded, some of enslaved persons and some free. There were 70 marriages (again, some free and some enslaved), and there were 30 recorded deaths, both enslaved and free represented. It is worth noting that of the 30 deaths, 8 individuals died at the

almshouse or workhouse, suggesting much about economic status and precarity.<sup>27</sup> The Gloucester records can be found here: <https://ma-vitalrecords.org/MA/Essex/Gloucester>. Figure 8 shows the entry for Gloucester Dalton's death.

GLOUCESTER DEATHS		337
—, —, ch. —, at the workhouse, Oct. 15, 1816,	a. 2 y. c. R. 1.	
—, —, ch. —, at the workhouse, Mar. 11, 1819,	a. 7 m. c. R. 1.	
—, William, a stranger, perished in a wreck on Eastern Point, Jan. 17, 1820. c. R. 6.		
—, Ruth, at the workhouse, bur. May 21, 1827, a. supposed 90 y. c. R. 6.		
—, —, ch. —, at the poorhouse, July 18, 1833.	c. R. 1.	
—, Hepzibah, at the poorhouse, Nov. 1, 1834, a. 79 y.		
—, —, inf. ch., at the workhouse, bur. June 20, 1835,	a. 9 w. c. R. 6.	
—, —, ch. James, Aug. 1, 1843.		
—, inf. ch. stillborn, Apr. 3, 1845.		
—, —, d. Benjamin and Eliza, consumption, Sept. 2, 1845, a. 21 d.		
NEGROES		
<b>ANTHONY</b> , servant to James Davis Esq., dropsy, Oct. 22, 1777, a. 70 y. c. R. 3.		
<b>BACHUS</b> , "thought to be upwards of a hundred years," bur. Nov. —, 1811. c. R. 6.		
<b>CHLOE</b> , at the workhouse, Nov. 20, 1813.		
<b>CUFF</b> , formerly servant to Dea. James Lane, dropsy, Apr. 6, 1777, a. 50 y. as supposed. c. R. 3.		
<b>DALTON</b> , Gloster, "an Affrican, in this country from a youth," bur. Apr. 11, 1813, a. supposed to be 90 y. or upwards. c. R. 6.		
Phillis, wid. Gloucester, bur. Mar. 12, 1817. c. R. 6.		
<b>DAY</b> , Reuben, at the workhouse, Nov. 15, 1822, a. 72 y.		
<b>ELSEY</b> , at the workhouse, bur. Sept. 21, 1838, a. 75 y. c. R. 6.		
<b>FLORA</b> , drowned, Dec. 11, 1813. c. R. 3.		

**Figure 8:** Scan from *Massachusetts Vital Records*, Gloucester, "to the end of the year 1849," with Dalton's death record. Vital Records page image for Gloucester, Massachusetts. <http://www.ma-vitalrecords.org>. Gloster Dalton's record reads: DALTON, Gloster, "an African, in this country from a youth," bur. Apr. 11, 1813, a. supposed to be 90 y. or upwards. C. R. 6. Phillis, wid. Gloucester, bur. Mar. 12, 1817. C. R. 6.

<sup>27</sup> It is essential to collate and trace the lives and families represented in these records in order to reveal an even richer history of the personal, intimate, and daily lives of enslaved and free African Americans in the pre-1850 era. This is also one of the most critical sources to help reconstruct the lives of African American women in the area—women whose lives rarely appear in other records but who, by virtue of giving birth, marrying, and dying, leave indispensable information about their lives.

4. Abolitionism: The *Gloucester Telegraph* was a supporter of the abolitionist cause. In its pages can be found reprinted items from New York's *Freedom's Journal*.
5. Photographic evidence: The exhibit features a photograph (taken in a photographer's studio in 1885) of what appears to be an African American man, Charles Freeman. There is no additional discussion of him or the photographer.



**Figure 9:** Image of Charles Freeman, circa 1885. Photographer unknown. Courtesy of Cape Ann Museum.

<https://wayback.archive-it.org/11179/20181018194719>

<http://onlineexhibitions.capeannmuseum.org/s/unfoldinghistories/page/africanamericanhistory>

6. Education of African Americans: There exists an account book of Joseph Moore, who taught two generations of men/boys at his home from 1790 to 1842. The account book is a valuable and rare source for evidence that instruction in Essex County was not reserved to white males. Among those he taught were Cato and Zacharia Freeman, the sons of Robin Freeman.

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## Potential Projects Based on Collections

- Free Black Families in Gloucester/Essex County
  - Fortune, Robin Freeman, and Robin's sons
  - Gloucester Dalton, his son Jeremiah, and his grandson Thomas
  - Charles and Olive Richardson and their children
- Slavery and freedom (both attempts at self-liberation and manumission)
- The role of Essex County in the broader transatlantic slave economy

- African Americans in the maritime industry
- Abolition in Gloucester and its links to Boston (especially Thomas Dalton)

## Areas for Follow-Up and Additional Leads

- The Historic Photographic Collection is a sizable collection of photographs from the 1840s to the present (more than 100,000 images) that may reveal African American residents.
- The Victorian Trade Cards collection is composed of cards from 1870 to 1900. These may include representations of African Americans in the late nineteenth century and allow some discussion of the circulation of tropes or stereotypes in the Jim Crow era.
- A twentieth-century history of the African American presence in Gloucester. Perhaps begin with Gloucester city directories and comb the collections and these additional volumes: City of Gloucester Annual Reports, the Essex Institute Historical Collection Gloucester Annual School Reports, Gloucester High School Year Books 1901–2009, newspapers and magazines, trade cards, and postcards.
- An in-depth look at the *MA Vital Records Pre-1849* is essential to gaining a fuller understanding of the lives and presence of African Americans in the area. This is particularly true for telling women's stories.
- Explore records of trade with Surinam, to trace engagement with the slave trade and related economies. Vessel logs are important.
- A thorough evaluation of *The Essex Gazette and The Gloucester Telegraph* and for evidence of slavery, abolitionism, and free Black residents pre-1900.
- Examine some of the following elements of the collection for hints at the African American presence into the twentieth century.
- Contact the researchers behind the Cape Ann Slavery and Abolitionism website.

## Keywords

- Slavery
- Free Black families
- Indenture
- African Americans in the maritime economy
- Abolitionism
- Self-emancipation
- Runaway slave advertisements
- African American education
- Slavery in the Atlantic trade

## Supplemental Materials

Supplemental materials related to this collection, town, or city can be found in Appendix C.

# Danvers Archival Center at the Peabody Institute Library

15 Sylvan Street, Danvers, MA 01923

Website: <https://www.danverslibrary.org/archive>

Phone Number: 978-774-0554

Email Address: [trask@noblenet.org](mailto:trask@noblenet.org)

Main Contact Person(s): Richard B. Trask, Town Archivist ([trask@noblenet.org](mailto:trask@noblenet.org))

Social Media: Peabody Institute Library has Facebook and Instagram accounts.

Wheelchair Accessibility: Unknown

Research Fee: None; open to the public

Best Practices for Research: Before visiting, please call the Archivist to verify coverage on specific days. Digital photography may be allowed through prearrangement, but do not plan to make photocopies.

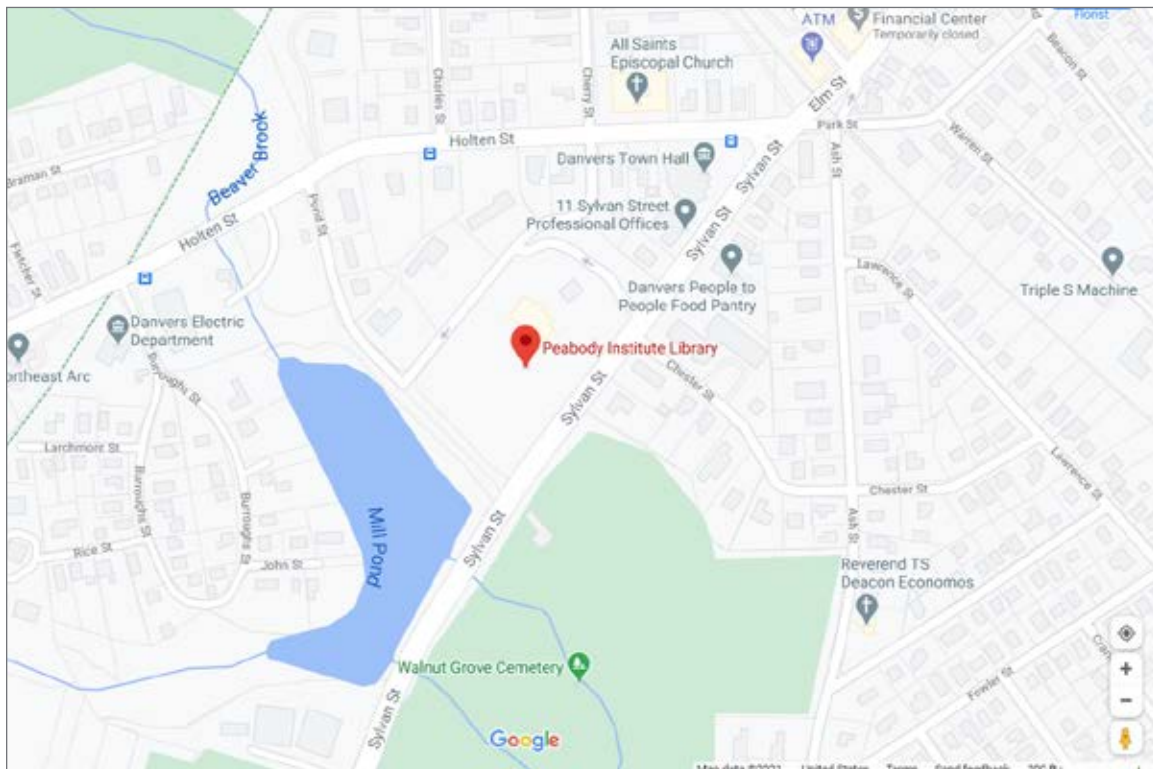


Figure 10: Image of Danvers Archival Center's location. Map data ©2021 Google.

The **Danvers Archival Center** is located in the lower level of the **Peabody Institute Library**. It houses a diverse collection of two-dimensional materials that relate to the history of Salem Village and Danvers from the seventeenth century to the present. With a specific focus on material connected to Salem Village witchcraft, they have collected and hold materials that connect to many aspects or eras of Danvers history, local architecture, and local genealogy. This collection and the organization were founded in 1972. It is unique in its size and scope because it is a combination of municipal, corporate, and private research materials gathered together.

The collection policy focuses on “flat, informational materials” relating to the history and development of the geographical area encompassing Salem Village and Danvers, Massachusetts, including books, pamphlets, monographs, manuscripts, broadsides, periodicals, newspapers, maps, architectural drawings, photographs, and prints. There are vertical files of ephemera. They also hold some audio and video tapes, film, CDs, microfilm, a small number of works of art, gravestone estrays, coffin plates, and road signs. They hold the pre-1920 Town of Danvers Municipal Records, along with reports and materials from private social and religious organizations.

They have a goal to make these materials available to the general public, as well as to researchers and to municipal entities as needed.

There are card catalogs for manuscripts and published materials such as proceedings, pamphlets, and so on. In terms of access, the Archival Center is open to the public. All collections are available, with some restrictions for particularly fragile or rare items. Walk-ins may use the books in the Archive Reading Room. For access to the archival collections, visitors must arrive during the scheduled hours. As these hours shift, researchers are strongly encouraged to call and speak with the archivist to confirm hours for that particular week. If the archivist is not available, there is no access. No photocopying is allowed, except for items from a small collection of materials kept for this purpose. Digital photography may be allowed through prearrangement.

## Overview

According to town archivist Richard Trask, Danvers never had more than a small number of African American residents, either enslaved or free, in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. This, however, is common for the county as a whole, and the *MA Vital Records* (see more below) reveal names of those who lived and died in Danvers. The collecting policies of the Archival Center and the demographics from those centuries have left this archive quite limited in what it offers for telling the history of African Americans in Essex County. The mechanism for cataloging or labeling any materials related to African Americans has been to tag it to the word “slavery,” whether specifically related to enslaved people/the institution of slavery or not. The records for this term end in 1898.

## Manuscript and Published Material Catalogs

### *Eighteenth Century*

There are a handful of items connected to the eighteenth century, discussing (among white residents) the presence of enslaved persons or the needs of, or need to care for, formerly enslaved persons or free Black residents. There are a few individuals whose first names are given, and these offer a glimpse into the individual humanity of eighteenth-century Black residents. They also offer a way to track white residents who owned slaves. (The names of the enslaved persons are Susanna, Milo, and Dill. There is also reference to an unnamed “Black boy” and a named free Black man, Primos). There are also town census records from 1776 which list (not completely) Black males over the age of sixteen. This last item requires additional research.

### *Nineteenth Century*

The majority of material relevant for this project relates to the nineteenth century. The vast majority of the small collection tied to the search term “slavery” is related to the antislavery movement in Danvers, which was quite radical, persistent, and connected to regional and national antislavery work. For a small community, Danvers was a hotbed of abolitionism, beginning in the 1810s. Because there were radical abolitionists in Danvers, many Black and white abolitionists of note came to Danvers in the nineteenth century. There is no comprehensive accounting of this, but there is a somewhat unique collection of abolitionist tracts. Despite this, the town was not unified on a radical stance, and some were not so keen on abolitionism—largely those who were manufacturing items sold to southern states.

Of particular note (and quite rare in Essex County collections) are a few pieces of late-nineteenth-century correspondence between Danvers residents and Booker T. Washington vis-à-vis their support for Tuskegee Institute.

### *Twentieth Century*

There appears to be nothing telling any twentieth-century history, although there are articles about the presence of slavery and the experience of African Americans published in the proceedings of the Peabody Institute Library in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These accounts are hard to reconcile/corroborate with the archival material in all cases, but offer some leads. One such article refers to a Black Revolutionary War veteran.

While not cataloged under the “slavery” search term, there also exist records from the Board of Overseers of the Poor that could potentially reveal information about demographics and/or the lived experiences of African Americans. These records are not indexed. Reviewing the records would constitute a discrete and detailed research project. Research to date in the Danvers Archival Center’s collections does not indicate any substantive or accessible materials related to the twentieth century.



### ***Other Findings to Note***

The collection of ephemera, historical newspapers, and photographs may well hold images or clues to African American history and/or attitudes or practices among white residents toward African Americans; however, these materials have not, to date, been combed.

There have been no past exhibits or projects related to African Americans in Danvers. At this time, there are no plans to develop specific collections related to African Americans.

It is also important to note that between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, Danvers's history is tied to Salem and Peabody. So, for additional records related to events happening in this geographic location, cross-referencing or researching in those municipalities is also helpful.

## **Collection Highlights**

### ***Newspapers***

The collection of newspapers includes runs of local newspapers, which report on news in Danvers and area communities, as well as single issues of regional and national newspapers, magazines, and illustrated newspapers in which a Danvers person or subject is featured. Among the newspapers represented in the collections are *The Essex Gazette* (1768–75); *The Danvers Courier* (1845–49); *The Wizard & South Danvers Wizard* (1859–68), which covers what is now Peabody; *The Danvers Mirror* (1875–77, with gaps, and 1878–1923); and *The Danvers Herald* (1924–present). These may be useful for projects related to runaway slave advertisements and discussions or representations of African Americans/slavery in the white press.

### ***Danvers History Book Collection***

The Danvers History Book Collection is available in the Archive Reading Room. Included in this segment of the collection is all manner of printed material relating to the Town of Danvers, as well as histories of surrounding Essex County communities. This collection reveals how other communities have had an impact on Danvers history, including Salem, Beverly, Middleton, Lynn, Wenham, and Topsfield. It is important to note that the Archives also include Peabody histories, because Peabody was part of Danvers until 1855. There is also the multi-volume *Danvers Historical Society Collections* from 1913. Useful data might also be found in the annual reports of the Danvers State Hospital from 1875 to the 1930s. There might also be relevant data in official town publications, which include complete runs of the *Statement of the Accounts of Danvers* and *Danvers Annual Reports* from 1845; *Valuations of Danvers* from 1856; *Danvers School Reports* from 1839; and *Street Poll Lists* from 1890. There are complete runs of Holten High School and Danvers High School yearbooks, as well as “The Holten Magazine,” together with many yearbooks from St. John’s Preparatory School.

### ***Manuscript Materials Overview***

There are fifty cards that have “Slavery” as titles. This catalog tag applies to all entries related to anything tied to African Americans or abolitionism.

There are a small number of eighteenth-century documents (letters, town records) about the presence of Black people in a range of categories: free, enslaved, and formerly enslaved. There are specific first names given for some of these individuals, and their relationships to various Danvers families are noted.

The entries record a significant amount of abolitionist activity (by white people). There are documents of and about the antislavery movement, correspondence with other abolitionists, and information about some of the luminaries who visited Danvers. There exist some letters between people in Danvers and some leading abolitionists and organizations. There are some signed and dated copies of the work of leading abolitionists, such as John Greenleaf Whittier’s poem “The Way,” signed and dated 1874. The items in this collection clearly lay out the intellectual roots and fervor of abolitionists. There are some antislavery sermons, some broadsides of poems, songs, some antislavery publications, various past articles—published in the early twentieth century—in *Historical Collections of the Danvers Historical Society*, a publication of the Danvers Historical Society. Those articles reflect lectures given by society members in the 1890s. In addition, there are corresponding records of the original speeches in the manuscript collection. There also exist a few travel accounts in letters speaking on conditions in the South, and there are various letters thanking the abolitionists of Danvers for their efforts.

Additionally, there is also one item from the nineteenth century that suggests support for the American Colonization Society.

Chronologically, the last two relevant items in the manuscript collection are from 1806 and 1898. Two letters from Booker T. Washington discuss a request, and some money raised, for Tuskegee Institute. One of these letters is written to a person in Salem, but held in this collection.

The list below represents what is considered the most relevant items in the collection. The annotations provided after the citation are transcriptions from the cards in the card catalog.

#### **1. Slavery/Enslaved/Formally Enslaved Persons or Free Black Residents**

##### **PR CLA P47 1793**

Pamphlet for/relating to an N. Clark, Peter, 1693–1768. Receipt, June 4, 1739. Minister. Receipt signed at Salem Village by Clark for twenty shillings given by Joseph Hutchinson Sr. “on account of his subscription toward repairing ye loss of my Negro Maid.”

##### **PR HOLAS 1784 v**

Holton, Samuel (physician and statesman). Letter to Danvers assessors re: the inability of a formerly enslaved person to pay his taxes.

**PRHO D PR 1761**

Holton, Samuel, May 23, 1761. Estate Account. Account of services performed and money owed Samuel Holton for settling the estate of Dr. Jonathan Prince and maintaining “his widow and Black boy” for seventeen months.

**PR HO C JO 1773 V**

Jones, William (Captain): Letter written by William Jones at Worcester to Dr. Samuel Holton denying that he owned or must support a Negro woman originally belonging to Mrs. Elizabeth Tapley and hoping that the Danvers Selectmen would not do him injustice (1768).

**PR WH W71**

Whittredge, William. Notice of boarder, August 1, 1774. Notice to the Selectmen that a “Negro man named Primos who calls himself a free man” together with his wife and daughter have come to live with Whittredge.

**ON TC C3**

Town Clerk. Town Census Records, 1776. Six items. A list of male inhabitants of Danvers who were sixteen years old on January 1, 1777. Some lists include whether the person is a Quaker, and some list the number of Black men over sixteen living in households.

**DN OR C 82.3 1798**

Overseers of the Poor. Letter dated July 7, 1798 from Ebenezer Bedford of Salem requiring the Danvers overseers to remove a Black woman named Susanna from the charge of Salem, as it was determined that she was the daughter of Milo, a former servant of William Poole and the responsibility of Danvers.

**PR PAG A6**

Page, Anne Lemist, 1828–1913. Remembrance album, July 1890. Includes a history of the Page, Hutchinson, and Fowler families and subjects, including the Page’s slave, Dill.

**2. Economic Links between the Shoe Industry in Danvers and Southern US States**

**PR PU E42 (n.d.)**

A shoe manufacturing account book that includes discussions of slavery and records of shoes sold to southern states.

**3. Abolitionism**

**OR ASS F3**

Female Anti-Slavery Society record book, 1873–41

Constitution, minutes, and a list of members. The Female Anti-Slavery Society was an auxiliary of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

4. **Late Nineteenth Century: Booker T. Washington / Support for Tuskegee Institute**  
**PR WAS B7 1896 v**

(Note: This is thanking a person in Salem, MA.) Washington, Booker Taliaferro. A.L.S. to Miss Helen Philbrick. January 7, 1896. Thank you letter on Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute letterhead addressed to Helen Philbrick of Salem and her sister, Eliza Philbrick, for their contribution.

**PR WAS B7 1898**

Washington, Booker Taliaferro. L.S. to George Tapley, March 21, 1898. A solicitation letter in the hand of a secretary and signed by Washington asking Tapley to “help forward the work which we are doing at Tuskegee for the elevation of our race.”

***Book and Pamphlets***

1. **The Parker Pillsbury Antislavery Collection**

This special book collection consists of a compact but important stack of antislavery literature. Pillsbury was born in Wenham, Massachusetts, and became a minister and important advocate for the abolition of slavery and for women’s rights. The collection includes about 70 bound volumes and 110 pamphlets, including many important and hard-to-find items. Most of the items are from the 1830s to 1890s. Included are *Narratives of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave* (1848), *Selections from the Writings and Speeches of William Lloyd Garrison* (1852), and *Parker Pillsbury’s Acts of the Antislavery Apostle* (1883). The earliest volume in the collection is a copy of the 1773 volume *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral*, by Phyllis Wheatley.



Figure 11: Title page, *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral*, by Phyllis Wheatley, 1773.

**2. Articles in the *Historical Collections of the Danvers Historical Society or Essex Institute Historical Collections***

It is unclear whether there are manuscript materials in the collection to back up the claims made in these late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century publications.

**a. Election Day (This article includes a reference to Negro Election Day.)**

**H 974.451 D1 v.4**

“Election Day and Other Holidays,” in *Historical Collections of the Danvers Historical Society*. Danvers, MA. The Society, 1916, vol. 4, pp. 126–29. “Notes from an informal meeting of this society heard April 4, 1893.” Nathan Bushby relates old customs of “election day” week in May, when various celebrations were held by Black residents at the end of the week.

**b. Concerning George Putnam’s Family and African Americans**

**H 974.45 E2 v.126**

Oden, Gloria. “The Black Putnams of Charlotte Forten’s Journal,” in the *Essex Institute Historical Collections*. Salem, MA. *The Institute*, vol. 126, no. 4, pp. 237–53. The article discusses George Putnam’s family and their relationship with African Americans.

**c. Concerning the Underground Railroad**

**H 974.451 D1 v.4**

Bradsheet, Sarah Elizabeth. “The Underground Railway in Danvers. Recollections by Mrs. Sarah Elizabeth Bradstreet,” in *Historical Collections of the Danvers History Society*. Danvers, MA. *The Society*, 1916, vol. 4, pp. 129–30.

**d. Concerning Slavery in Danvers Families**

**H 974.451 D1 v.4**

Philbrick, Julia A. “Slaves in Danvers Families,” from a paper by Mrs. Julia A. Philbrick read at a meeting of this society in April 1892. In *Historical Collections of the Danvers Historical Society*. Danvers, MA. The Society, 1916, vol. 4, pp. 121–25.

**e. Concerning a Black Man Who Was a Veteran of the Revolutionary War**

**H 974.451 D1 v.6**

Osgood, Dr. George. “Col. Milan Murphy,” in *Historical Collections of the Danvers Historical Society*. Danvers, MA. The Society, 1918, vol. 6, pp. 30–32. This is about a free Black man who was a veteran of the Revolution. From Dr. Osgood’s pamphlet “Historical Sketch of School District number thirteen.”

**f. More Recent Account of “Diversity” Broadly in Danvers in the Twentieth Century**

**H 974.451 Z83**

Zolo, Richard P 1926–

*Danvers, The World Within Its Borders: Reflections on Its Diversity in the Twentieth Century*. Danvers, MA, 2000.

## Potential Projects Based on Collections

- The presence of slavery and enslaved (formerly enslaved) persons in eighteenth-century Danvers
- Black men in the Revolutionary era
- Jim Crow–era support of Tuskegee Institute by Danvers and Essex County residents and correspondence with Booker T. Washington
- Possible connections between the shoe industry and slavery in the South
- Abolitionist activity in Danvers and engagement with leading national abolitionists

## Additional Research (Outside the Danvers Collection) and Stories of African Americans in Danvers

### *Violet: Servant to Joseph Putnam Jr. and Samuel King*

*MA Vital Records* through 1849 tell a story of individual African Americans, as well as the presence of slavery and free Black residents of Danvers.

The link for the full listing is in the “Areas for Follow-Up / Additional Leads” section, but one story that emerges from initial research in the Vital Records online is of Violet (also spelled Violette), who married and gave birth to three children between the years of 1755 and 1771.

In 1755, she was the servant of Joseph Putnam Jr. On November 27, 1755, she married Fortune, the servant of Capt. William Deadman of Salem. On September 6, 1767, she gave birth to a daughter named Catey. At this time, she was listed as “negro woman of Samuel King.” She was listed in the same manner when she gave birth to her son, Peter, in 1768, and another daughter, Jeney, in 1771. There is no death record for her.

DANVERS BIRTHS	423
<p><b>WYMAN, Humphrey B.</b>, at Waltham, Dec. 31, 1824.                      Lucy, d. Francis and Lucy, Mar. 16, 1800.                      Mary P., d. Rufus and Betsey, Dec. 1, 1809.                      Rufus, at Woburn, Sept. 14, 1786.</p>	
<p><b>YOUNG, Benjamin</b>, at Sanford, Me., Nov. 19, 1810.                      Charles Henry, s. Benjamin [brickmaker. dup.] and Fanny C. (Hobbs), July 26, 1843.                      Ellen Jane, d. Benjamin and Fanny C. (Hobbs), May 31, 1841.                      Jacob, at Beverly, July —, 1821.                      Joseph Francis, s. Jacob and Lydia Smith (Elliot), at Beverly, Oct. 22, 1847.                      Louisa Augusta, d. Benjamin [laborer. dup.] and Fanny C. (Hobbs), Apr. 7, 1847.                      Margaret, d. William, weaver, Nov. 26, 1843.                      Mary F., d. Benjamin and Fanny C. (Hobbs), Sept. 30, 1839.                      William A., s. Benjamin and Fanny C. (Hobbs), at Sanford, Me., Jan. 3, 1838.</p>	
SURNAMENES MISSING	
<p>—, Eleanor, d. —, of Marblehead, bp. Nov. 5, 1775. C. R. 1.</p>	
NEGROES	
<p><b>Catey, d. Violet</b>, “negro woman of Samuel King,” bp. Sept. 6, 1767. C. R. 2.                      Francis, Augustus A., s. Peter and Judith, Mar. 21, 1808.                      Francis, John L., s. Peter and Judith, Oct. 18, 1806.                      Green, Betsey, d. James and Nancy, bp. Sept. 2, 1792. C. R. 2.                      Green, Dyer, s. James and Nancy, bp. Sept. 2, 1792. C. R. 2.                      Green, James, s. James and Nancy, bp. Sept. 2, 1792. C. R. 2.                      Green, Nancy, d. James and Nancy, bp. Sept. 2, 1792. C. R. 2.                      Green, Silvester, s. James and Nancy, bp. Sept. 2, 1792. C. R. 2.                      Jeney, d. Violet, “a negro woman of Samuel King,” bp. Sept. 15, 1771. C. R. 2.                      Jeney, “a negro child of Mrs. Anna Walden,” bp. Aug. 30, 1772. C. R. 2.                      Peter, s. Violet, “a negro woman of Samuel King,” bp. July 31, 1768. C. R. 2.                      Phillis, servant Stephen Putnam or his mother, bp. Sept. 28, 1777. C. R. 1.                      Venus, “a negro female servant of Dan Jacobs,” Feb. 8, 1765. [Feb. 3. dup.]</p>	

Figure 12: Scan from *Massachusetts Vital Records*, Danvers, “to the end of the year 1849,” with the birth records of Violet’s children. Vital Records page image for Danvers, MA. <http://www.ma-vitalrecords.org>.

The record of the birth for Catey reads: Catey, d. Violet, “negro woman of Samuel King,” bp. Sept. 6, 1767, C. R. 2.

The record of the birth for Jeney reads: Jeney, d. Violet, “negro woman of Samuel King,” bp. Sept. 15, 1771, C. R. 2.

The record of the birth for Peter reads: Peter, d. Violet, “negro woman of Samuel King,” bp. July 31, 1768, C. R. 2.

## Areas for Follow-Up and Additional Leads

- Full search of online Vital Records for all individuals listed in the “Negroes” sections of the MA Vital Records through 1849. Danvers is found here: <https://ma-vitalrecords.org/MA/Essex/Danvers>.
- Search of Danvers-area newspapers (or references to African Americans)
- Exploration of ephemera for images/representations of African Americans
- Records of the Overseers of the Poor. Information may be gleaned from these records; however, at this time, these records are not known to identify individuals by race.

- Annual reports of the Danvers State Hospital, which may offer insight regarding race, mental health, and incarceration
- Annual reports for the town. It is unclear at this time whether these reports were separated by race because there were so few African Americans.
- A thorough accounting of the town census records from 1776
- Examination of references in the late-nineteenth-/early-twentieth-century publications that hint at African American history.
- Yearbooks and records of Danvers High School and St. John's Preparatory School (twentieth-century African American history might be found here)
- Danvers Historical Society, which is a different organization, might be consulted regarding whether any items in their collection (especially three-dimensional objects or visual culture) related to African Americans.

## Keywords

- Slavery
- Runaway slave advertisements
- Free African Americans
- The economic status of African Americans
- Relationships between free and formerly enslaved persons and white families
- The presence of Black males in Danvers on the eve of the American Revolution
- Civil rights work
- African American education
- Jim Crow–era racism
- Networks and integrated economies

## Supplemental Materials

Supplemental materials related to this collection, town, or city can be found in Appendix C.



# Georgetown Historical Society

108 East Main Street, P.O. Box 376, Georgetown, MA 01833

Website: [www.georgetownhistoricalsociety.com](http://www.georgetownhistoricalsociety.com)

Phone Number: (978) 686-9230

Email Address: [info@georgetownhistoricalsociety.com](mailto:info@georgetownhistoricalsociety.com)

Main Contact Person(s): Unknown

Social Media: Facebook

Wheelchair Accessibility: Unknown

Research Fee: \$5 admission to the museum for adults, \$3 for students and seniors; unknown fee for accessing archives

Best Practices for Research: Always check with the repository because hours are subject to change.

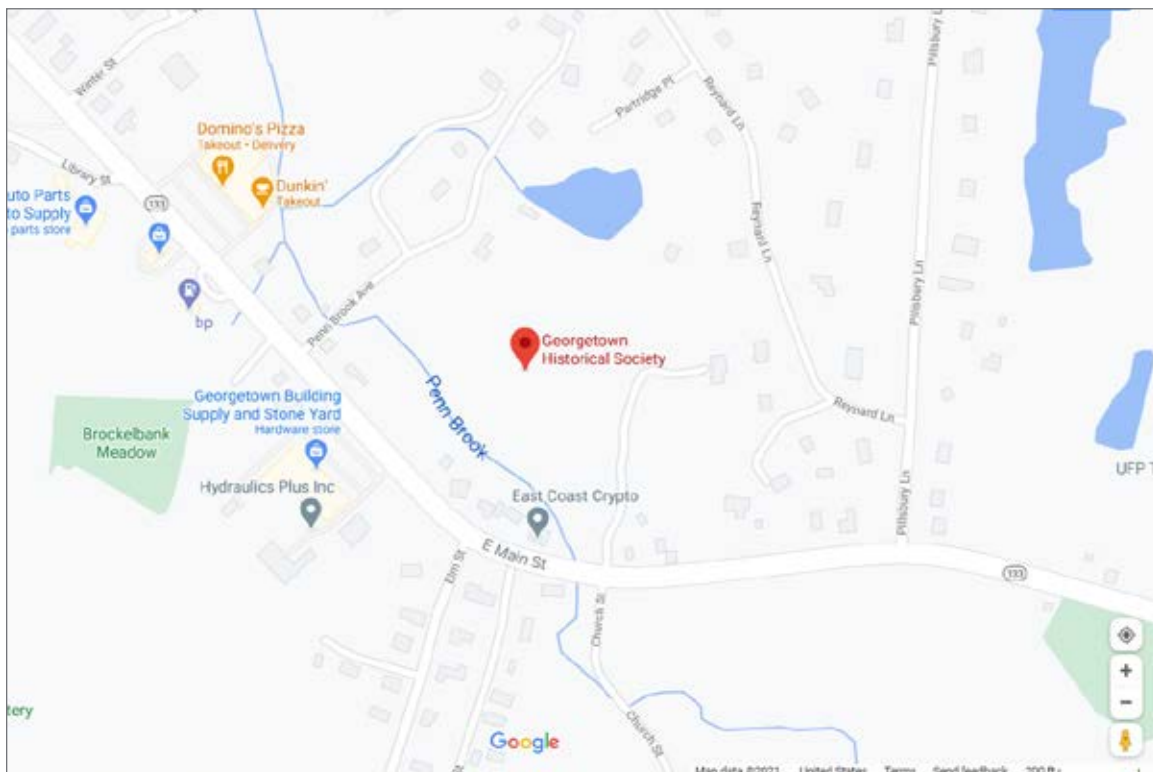


Figure 13: Image of Georgetown Historical Society's location. Map data ©2021 Google.

## Overview

Established in 1962, the **Georgetown Historical Society** is a nonprofit organization that aims to “collect, preserve, and display significant antiques and artifacts about the history of Georgetown, Massachusetts.” The organization hosts a variety of events, from guided tours to lectures.

Officers for 2019–20 include the president, Betsy Moran, and the curator, Karen Brockelbank, who receives new historical artifacts and helps preserve them.

The organization is run by volunteers who are able to answer research questions and help with various projects, specifically genealogical research. Call or email ahead of time to set up a research appointment.

## Collection Highlights

There is not much of a collection of African American history materials at the Georgetown Historical Society. But there are a few stories of note.

### *Cuffee Dole*

There is a book entitled *A Respectable Man of Color: Beyond the Legend of Cuffee Dole*, written by local historian Christine Comiskey and published by the Georgetown Historical Society in 2008. Cuffee Dole, born around 1743, was an enslaved African American man who eventually purchased his freedom in 1772. He worked as a farmhand in Andover and Rowley and later bought and sold land in what was then Rowley, but later became part of Georgetown. A Revolutionary War veteran, he died on August 17, 1816, and is buried at the historic Union Cemetery on Route 133 in Georgetown. Comiskey claims in her book that other African Americans are probably buried in this cemetery too.

In 2009, Cohasco Inc., a New York auction house, auctioned an arrest warrant for Cuffee Dole, which sold for a whopping \$68,500. The *Newburyport Daily News* reported that this “small, stained document” alleged that Cuffee Dole stole \$8 from Abel Dodge of Rowley, “presumably a [fellow] soldier, while Dodge slept at the barracks in Cambridge on March 31, 1776.”



**Figure 14:** Image of “Gravestone of Cuffee Dole (1816),” Union Cemetery in Georgetown, MA. The gravestone reads: Cuffee Dole, a respectable man of colour died rejoicing in the Lord Aug. 17, 1816. “White man turn not away in disgust. Thou art my brother, like me akin to earth and worms.”

### ***Winter 2018 Newsletter***

The winter 2018 newsletter from the Georgetown Historical Society identifies Nota, an African American woman, as the first enslaved person in Georgetown in 1741. There were at least nine other enslaved persons in Georgetown around that time.

The same newsletter also reports the establishment of the Georgetown Young Men’s Anti-Slavery Society in 1837, as well as a visit from Frederick Douglass, probably as part of his lecture tour in Essex County in 1841.

In Appendix C, there are a few documents, compiled from genealogical and newspaper databases, that provide more information on African Americans who lived in nineteenth-century Georgetown.

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### **Potential Projects Based on Collections**

- Cuffee Dole
- The Georgetown Young Men’s Anti-Slavery Society

### **Areas for Follow-Up and Additional Leads**

- Other African Americans like Louisa Price, born into slavery in Maryland and brought to Massachusetts, buried at Union Cemetery
- Robert Williams, who was born into slavery in South Carolina and migrated to Georgetown in the 1870s

- Laura Dresser, a forty-three-year-old woman identified as “mulatto” in the 1850 US federal census, working as a servant in the Parson family

## **Key Topics**

- Slavery and freedom
- Abolition
- Enslaved African Americans
- Cemeteries

## **Supplemental Materials**

Supplemental materials related to this collection, town, or city can be found in Appendix C.

# Haverhill Public Library

99 Main Street, Haverhill, MA 01830

Website: <http://www.haverhillpl.org>

Phone Number: (978) 373-1586 ext. 642

Email Address: [reference@haverhillpl.org](mailto:reference@haverhillpl.org)

Main Contact Person(s): No named contact person, but there is an email address: [specialcollections@haverhillpl.org](mailto:specialcollections@haverhillpl.org)

Social Media: Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, YouTube, Flickr

Wheelchair Accessibility: Yes

Research Fee: None, but there is a \$0.50 fee per page scanning fee.

Best Practices for Research: Drop-ins are encouraged. Photography without flash is allowed. Always check with the repository; hours are subject to change.

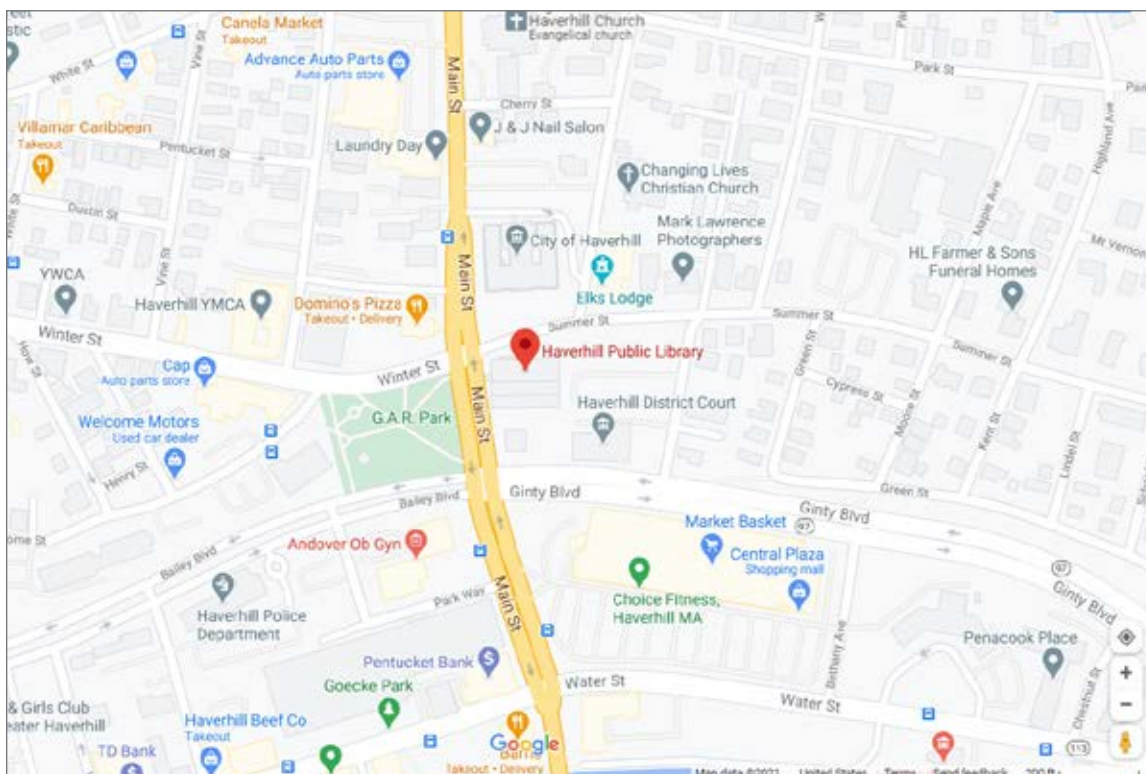


Figure 15: Image of Haverhill Public Library's location. Map data ©2021 Google.

The **Haverhill Public Library** is a large three-story building with ample street and lot parking. The building features stairs and an elevator. Special Collections is on the third floor and takes up about half of the area. There is a metal detector upon entry to the Special Collections room, but protocol is otherwise relaxed and comfortable.

Guests are expected to sign in on the first visit and to work at one of two open, large, shared wooden tables. Staff, volunteers, or incoming researchers may ask about research plans or offer research advice; plan for possible distractions. As always, no pens, backpacks, liquids, or food are allowed near the archival materials.

## Overview

The Haverhill Public Library Special Collections contains two thin boxes specific to the African American experience in Haverhill in the form of newspaper clippings and typewritten notes, as well as one box of African American archival materials, including documents from a 1989 museum exhibit, most likely the one presented at the Addison Gallery in Andover, MA.

### *Newspaper Clippings*

While this collection of newspaper clippings is often dated (frequently typewritten), they don't always include the name of the newspaper. Also, these clippings have been affixed to paper, with the clear intent of creating an opus on the African American presence in Haverhill and the surrounding areas.

1. One newspaper clipping notes the marriage of Mr. William R. Mobley of Haverhill to Miss Susan E. Hunter of Suffolk, Virginia, at the house of Mr. Stone of Phillips Academy; Mobley is listed as one of the most popular waiters at the Webster, whereas Miss Hunter had made her home at Mr. Stone's for the past five years. The paper states, "There was a goodly number of guests present, among them members of the most aristocratic and noted families of Massachusetts, the white friends of the bride." The article is titled "Mobley—Hunter," and in pencil, "HEG 30 DEC 1898" is written, but no newspaper name is provided.
2. Another newspaper clipping (this one has "HG April 20, 1955," typewritten on it) notes the swearing in of Haverhill's first Black police officer, Herbert C Dublin Jr.; entitled "Dublin First Negro Named Police Officer," it has a portrait photograph of Dublin as well as another new officer, Robert A. Herrick. The article notes that Dublin was born and raised in Haverhill, was a Korean War veteran, was single, and had been previously employed as a shirt presser at Imperial Cleaners, 414 River Street. (The article also notes that Dublin was elated and went down to Boston to pick up his uniform in person.)
3. Another newspaper clipping (this one has "HG [probably *Haverhill Gazette*] March 9, 1948," typewritten on it) is titled, "Prof. Bill' Mobley Dies of Heart Attack," with the subtitle, "Owner of Shoe Shine Parlor, Dog Breeder, Political Observer." It includes a picture of William R. Mobley, who was seventy-four and used to live at 20 17th

Avenue, and notes several of his ventures throughout his life: his shoeshine parlor at 116 Washington Street; his political connections, especially with the late J. Otis Wardwell, who used to get his shoes shined at Mobley's place; and his fascination with Boston Terriers, which led him to selling one to the late J. P. Morgan, which "was the subject of a column-long news story in the *New York Herald-Tribune* in 1927." The clipping notes that he was born in Richmond, Kentucky, and that he had traveled north for better opportunities fifty-four years prior. He also operated a hat blocking, cleaning, and dyeing business, and in the early twenties, he bought the Stutz Motor Company "as a result of a 'tip,'" which left him relatively wealthy; he went into real estate, owning at one point the Academy of Music building, the Majestic Theater, and the Lafayette Theater. However, he "disposed of his theater interests in 1923." He was a member of the Calvary Baptist Church, and he was survived by, besides his wife, a son, William M. Mobley of Detroit; Mrs. Julia Boone of Suffolk, Virginia; Miss Virginia Mobley of New York City; and Miss Dorothy Mobley of Haverhill.

4. Several articles on Thomas Whiting, Haverhill's oldest African American resident (at ninety-one years old, with no specific birth or death dates on the newspaper clippings), who was honored by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

### ***African American Families***

Their repository data dates the first African American family, led by Thomas Jones of Virginia, who moved to Bradford (a village directly across the river from Haverhill) in 1866; he subsequently encouraged Richard Jones, Coleman Parker, and Randall Broadnax to settle in Haverhill. The collection includes the early-twentieth-century photography of Haverhill High School graduates, as well as a collection of poems by Frances Cole Lee, an African American poetess from Haverhill.

One typewritten page notes the passing of Mrs. Frances Cole Lee, a Haverhill poetess. ("1970" is written in pen in the margins.) It is unclear why the edition is missing. It reads in full:

Mrs. Frances Cole Lee—Late Haverhill Poetess:  
(1884–1970)

In a spirit and style all her own—Frances Cole Lee captured the hearts and enriched the lives of all who read her poetry.

One of the best loved poetesses of Haverhill, Mrs. Lee's poetry was published in three editions.

Her book of poetry "Faith of our Fathers" second edition was hand set by: Sand Dune Sage, Alpine, California the year of 1939

The third edition was printed by Paquette Duplicating Service, November 1967.

The clarity and depth of her poetry is out of the ordinary.

She writes to express an inner emotion and so beautifully conveys her feelings to her audience.

## Potential Projects Based on Collections

- Herbert Dublin Jr., Haverhill's first African American police officer (1955), and Thomas Nelson, Haverhill's first African American in city government (1905)
- William R. Mobley, a shoe shiner who gave lawyers advice, and later a dog breeder that banking moguls bought from. He owned two local theatres.
- Frances Cole Lee, "Haverhill Poetess"

## Areas for Follow-Up and Additional Leads

- African Americans in Public Service: Herbert Dublin Jr., Haverhill's first African American police officer (1955) and/or Thomas Nelson, Haverhill's first African American in city government (1905)
- Haverhill High School graduates
  - Sarah J. Bly was a member of the 1894 class
  - Elmer Jerome Whiting was the first African American Haverhill High student to receive a college diploma from Howard University in Washington, DC. He graduated in 1914 and 1918, respectively.
- The murder of William H. Griffin, African American storekeeper, and subsequent trial of Leo Nolin and eighteen-year-old accomplice Mary Cwickla in 1927
- Hiram Gardner's agricultural contributions to New England
- John H. Coates, civil war veteran and penmanship professor

## Key Topics

- African Americans in public service
- African American education
- African American writers
- Shoemakers
- African American students

## Supplemental Materials

Supplemental materials related to this collection, town, or city can be found in Appendix C.





**Figure 16:** Photograph of Urania Reater Collins, Haverhill High School graduate, class of 1909.  
Courtesy of the Haverhill Public Library.  
<https://haverhill.pastperfectonline.com/photo/DA4411C0-6DD9-4173-8ADC-788189397810>

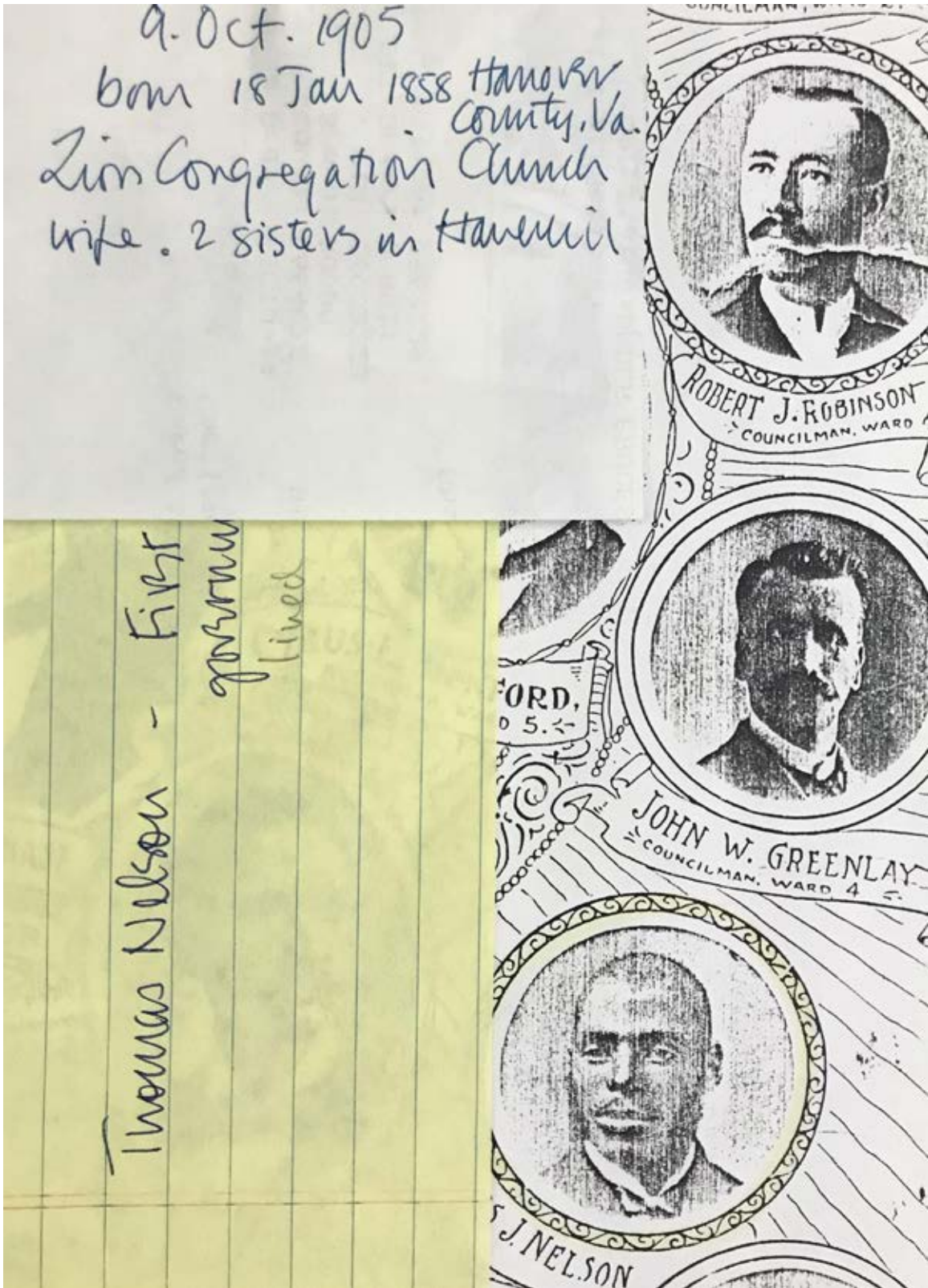


Figure 17: Imprint of Thomas Nelson, first African American Civil Servant in Haverhill, 1905 (bottom right).  
Courtesy of the Haverhill Public Library.

# Historic Beverly— Research Library and Archives

117 Cabot Street, Beverly, MA 01915

Website: <https://www.historicbeverly.net>

Phone Number: (978) 922-1186 ext. 202

Email Address: [research@beverlyhistory.org](mailto:research@beverlyhistory.org)

Main Contact Person(s):

Abby Battis, Associate Director for Collections ([abattis@historicbeverly.net](mailto:abattis@historicbeverly.net))

Social Media: Facebook, YouTube, Instagram

Wheelchair Accessibility: No

Research Fee: Yes, consult with staff to discuss anticipated fees (but expect a minimum of \$20). Photocopies are \$0.50 per page.

Best Practices for Research: Drop-in research is available during research hours (see above). Staff strongly encourage researchers to schedule appointments in advance to ensure that they can assist properly.

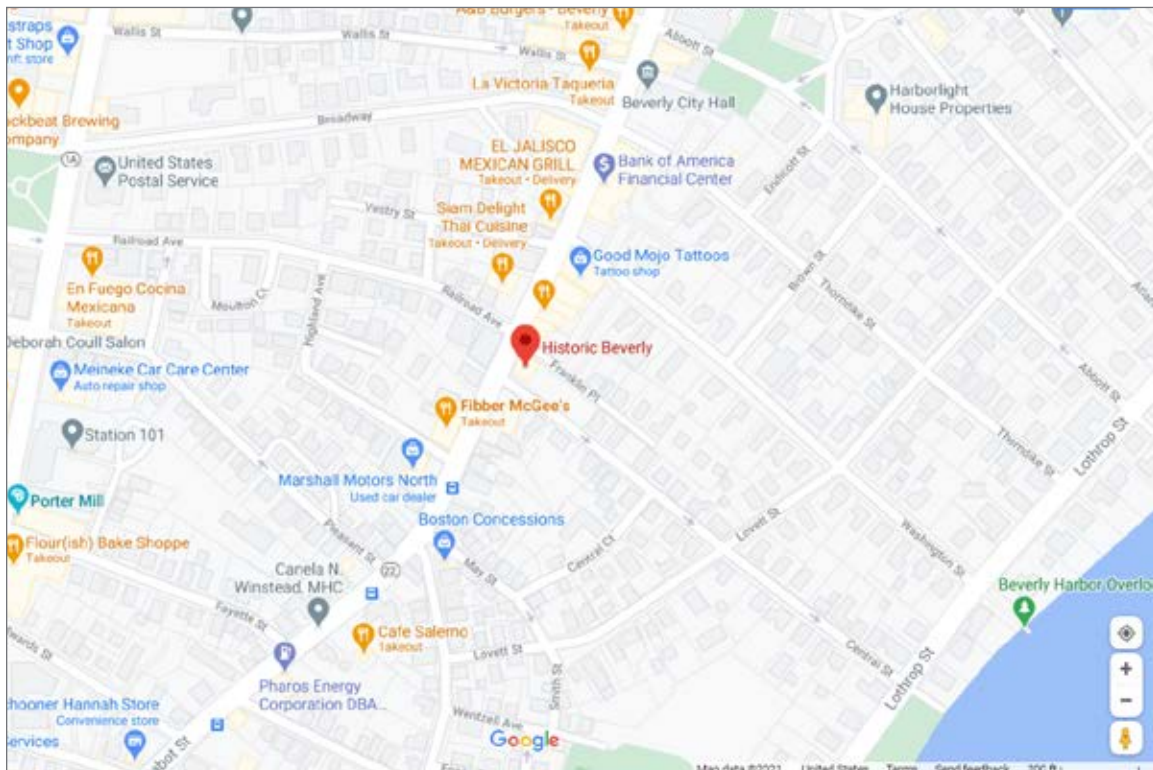


Figure 18: Image of Historic Beverly's location. Map data ©2021 Google.

The **Historic Beverly Research Library and Archives** is in the Cabot House in downtown Beverly. Dedicated parking is extremely limited; be prepared to find street parking or lot parking nearby. The building is a historic house and museum with research space and repository included. The collection includes books, records, photographs, and newspapers relating to Beverly and Essex County, as well as a large collection of maritime documents and genealogical records. There are research fees; please see the website and/or contact staff for details.

The Director is Sue Goganian, and Abby Battis is the Associate Director for Collections. Both are incredibly knowledgeable about the collections. Scholars work in one room with a single large table. Heating is an issue in the winter. As always, no pens, backpacks, liquids, or food are allowed near the archival materials.

## Overview

The bulk of what is available here is tied to the colonial and nineteenth-century history of Beverly, with particular documentation of the purchasing and selling of enslaved Black people, often (but not exclusively) tied to the maritime trade. There is a particularly sizeable collection of bills of sale and receipts for sales of persons. This is a rich resource for tracing the integrated slave economies and other economies within the maritime world. The collection also includes some petitions for freedom. There are ship logs, which mark the role of African Americans in the maritime economy, many of whom were enslaved.

A new collection (the Quincy Abbott papers) was recently donated to the archives. Its content is proving valuable in adding details to anecdotal and limited information regarding indentured servants and enslaved Black persons who have appeared in other records, including Juno Larcom (see below) and Julius/Brutus. Juno Larcom, an Indigenous-Black woman enslaved by the Herrick and Larcom families, was freed later and lived with her family in Pride's Crossing. Materials related to her life and her family are scattered in a variety of places. Finding aids are available at <http://www.historicbeverly.net>.

Overall, the Historic Beverly holdings are weak in post-Civil War and twentieth-century collections; there is also not a clear sense of what those holdings are. Moving into the twentieth century, there is scattered information about two prominent non-white families both central to the city's cultural scene in the early- to mid-twentieth century and beyond: the Manuel and Mitchell families, who were related. The Mitchells operated Mitchell's Dance School and Camp Mitchman, and the Manuel family performed in Manny's Black and White, an integrated band begun in 1916. Absent from these collections are records from the United Shoe Company (held elsewhere).

In general, there are online finding aids for the collections. All have summaries and some digitized materials. While some records have been digitized, the digital collection is not regularized. The online materials are searchable, and searches for "Negro" and "African American" bring up more than thirty hits, including records of bills of sale for persons;

disputes over executing wills when enslaved persons were part of the estate; a booklet of an eighteenth-century slave auction, during which a boy was sold; links to the West Indies and accounts of moving enslaved persons around; and a legal document related to questions about compensation when destroying a home tied to Juno Larcom (see below).

The stories told in these records (especially the eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century records) highlight the integrated (slave and other) economies, families, and lives of Essex county towns and cities throughout the colonies, as well as throughout the British colonial (and post-colonial) worlds connecting New England and the Caribbean. This integration shaped and linked the lives of Black Essex County residents.

In the past, Historic Beverly has had a few small-scale exhibits about African American topics, and a handful of past articles have been published in their newsletter. Staff members' desire to do more in this area led to the creation (in 2019) of a dynamic online exhibit.

### **Online Exhibit:**

#### ***Set At Liberty: Stories of the Enslaved in a New England Town***

The team at Historic Beverly has developed an excellent online exhibit about African American history and slavery in Beverly. The exhibit is interactive and makes use of many of the collections and sources mentioned in this document. **It is both a model for other historical societies/organizations and could be the basis for county-wide projects.**

See <https://spark.adobe.com/page/eLxVbalbhFbIE>.

An overview from the website indicates:

*Remarkably, some of the stories of Beverly's Black population have been preserved and can be found at Historic Beverly. These are stories of citizens, Black and white, battling against the unjust system of slavery; of enslaved men fighting for freedom for our nation, though not free themselves; of a woman using the law to emancipate her family; and of the racism that affected the lives of Beverly's Black population, long after they were freed from bondage. This exhibit presents these accounts using the archives of the Historic Beverly collection.*

## **Collections Highlights**

### ***Quincy Abbott***

In summer 2018, Quincy Abbott of Connecticut donated some family papers containing records of African Americans who were connected to the family. Much of the collection has already been transcribed, and more of it will be. The finding aid is complete and live on the website. There is a family history, one section of which has been shared with us, that has information on indentured servants of the Larcom family, Juno Larcom, and Brutus/Julius's indentured servant records.

### ***Bills of Sale*** (for many items)

There are 13,000 Bills of Sale in a searchable Excel spreadsheet (created by an archivist) indicating their locations in the collection. It is set up by Past Perfect and is searchable by last name, vessels, people, or keyword.

### ***Essex County Ships***

The records of various ships originating in Essex county offer a window into the ways area merchants and ship owners engaged in aspects of the transatlantic and colonial/US slave trade.

### ***Juno Larcom***

Here we offer a general summary from the Quincy Abbott files and online exhibit.

According to the files, Juno Larcom was born enslaved and died in 1816 at the age of ninety-two. Chloe Turner was Juno Larcom's daughter, who was born enslaved in Beverly and died there in 1855. Chloe Turner owned a hymnal book that the archive holds.

Juno Larcom, a Black-Indigenous child, was bought by Captain Henry Herrick of Portsmouth, New Hampshire in the 1720s. (Herrick enslaved as many as nine Black people at once, and his brother participated in the slave trade.) Upon his daughter's (Mary Herrick's) wedding in 1731, he let Mary "use" Juno while retaining ownership. Mary retained use of Juno after her second marriage to David Larcom in 1751. In 1755, upon Henry's death, ownership of Juno passed to Mary (and thus to her husband). But, in an act uncommon in the era, Henry Herrick not only willed Juno to his daughter but also willed that she should have her freedom five years after his death, provided she could reimburse his heirs for her value. However, this did not come to pass. Rather, Juno was still listed as an asset in David Larcom's will upon his death in 1775. About 1756 Juno married Jethro Thistle, an enslaved man who lived nearby. They had twelve children. Between 1756 and 1773 David Larcom sold several of Juno and Jethro's children. After the second sale, Juno sued David Larcom in 1774 for imprisoning and enslaving her and her children. When David died in 1775, the court dismissed the suit and appraised Juno and her children at one hundred pounds. Yet by 1779, they were appraised at "nothing." Juno had claimed their freedom.

Juno lived out her life as a free woman in her own house with some of her children. In 1847, Juno Larcom's home in Pride's Crossing, where her daughter Chloe resided along with a few others, was destroyed to make way for a rail line to Gloucester. The collection includes a legal document regarding compensation for this.

The MA Vital Records recorded Juno's 1816 death in the "Indians" section of the Vital Records, rather than "Negroes."

622	BEVERLY DEATHS
YOUNG, John W., "he ruptured a blood vessel, survived 15 minutes," Dec. 31, 1841.	
Mary Ann [w. Philip S. G. R. S.], d. Joseph and Elisabeth Williams, consumption, Dec. 15, 1847, a. 26 y. 1 m. 20 d.	
Mary L. Faulkner, d. twin, William and Nabby, Sept. 5, 1829.	
Mary Thorndike, d. Abraham and Mary, Mar. 13, 1833, a. 3 y. 6 m. G. R. 4.	
Nabby, w. William, decline, bur. Jan. 11, 1818, a. 28 y. C. R. 1.	
Rebecca C., d. William and Nabby, Oct. 5, 1829.	
Samuel, bur. June 19, 1774, a. 4 y. C. R. 1.	
Samuel, s. William [worms. C. R. 1.], Aug. 10, 1798, a. 1 y. 1 m.	
Sarah A[ugusta. P. R. 263.], d. Abraham K. and Mary T., Feb. 19, 1837. G. R. 4.	
William, —, 1786. P. R. 208.	
William, July —, 1815. P. R. 208.	
—, s. William, Mar. 15, 1801, a. 1 y. 1 m.	
—, w. Joshua, bur. Apr. 9, 1803. C. R. 1.	
—, ch. William, jr., bur. Oct. 8, 1828, a. 2 y. C. R. 1.	
SURNAMEN MISSING	
—, Agnes, w. —, d. late Capt. Hugh Hill, Jan. —, 1838. C. R. 2.	
—, Maria, d. "of unknown parents, lived in Isaac Crampsey's family," Oct. 12, 1800, a. 12 w.	
—, —, ch. Antony, Sept. 29, 1711. C. R. 1.	
—, —, "a stranger, bursting of a blood vessel while lifting a cask," bur. July 24, 1807, a. supposed 26 y. C. R. 1.	
—, —, young man from Gloucester, drowned at the wharf, bur. June 22, 1810, a. 16 y. C. R. 1.	
INDIANS	
Larcom, Juno, "she was half Indian and half negro. Her mother was stolen away with other friendly Indians from North Carolina and sold a slave in Portsmouth & bo't by a Mr. Herrick of this town," decline, bur. Jan. 26, 1816. a. 92 y. C. R. 1.	
Nathan, foundered, —, 1764. P. R. 1.	
Pitor, servant, —, 1748. C. R. 2.	
Quando, a woman, —, 1751. C. R. 2.	
Reuben, coming from West Indies, —, 1765. P. R. 1.	
—, woman belonging to Capt. Herrick, —, about 1745. P. R. 1.	

Figure 19: Scan from *Massachusetts Vital Records*, Beverly, Negro Deaths to 1849, of Juno Larcom's death record, p. 622.

The record reads: Larcom, Juno, "she was half Indian and half negro. Her mother was stolen away with other friendly Indians from North Carolina and sold a slave in Portsmouth and bo't by a Mr. Herrick of this town," decline, bur. Jan. 26, 1816. A. 92 y., C. R. 1.

### *Brutus/Julius (Larcom)*

According to information in the Quincy Abbott papers, Brutus/Julius Larcom was born in Mozambique and was indentured to Henry Larcom in Brazil in 1825 when he was about six years old. The indenture documents indicated that he was free but could be indentured—and

was—for fifteen years “to learn the trade or occupation of a house servant.” Henry Larcom notes to family members that they should not worry because “we hold all men are born free and equal.” His name seems to have been changed to Julius when he arrived in Beverly.



**Figure 20:** Sketch of Brutus from Fannie Larcom’s scrapbook (in an online exhibit), Accession # 2018.016.007.  
Courtesy of Historic Beverly.

### ***Simon Slaughter***

Simon Slaughter (1840–99) was born into slavery in Beaufort, North Carolina. He enlisted in the Massachusetts 54th, the first African American regiment in the Civil War, and then the Massachusetts 55th. He later served in the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), Post 89, joining on May 7, 1885, and was a member until his death in 1899.



### ***Manuel and Mitchell Families***

These were two prominent Black families (related by marriage) in early-twentieth-century Beverly. They were entrepreneurs and artists involved in music (founding Manuel's Black and White Orchestra in 1916); a dance studio, Mitchell's Dance Studio, founded in 1932; and a day camp, Camp Mitchman, in the mid-twentieth century. The legacy of these families continues. The band shell at Lynch Park in Beverly was renamed after Al Mitchell in the 2010s, and the Mitchell Dance Studio and Camp Mitchman still exist. There is limited material in the collections about these families, but their success and legacy have been recorded in various newspapers over the years and in a number of stories in the past decade.

In 1916, two brothers Otis and David Manuel, living in a predominately Italian-American neighborhood in Beverly, founded an integrated band, Manuel's Black and White Orchestra, which grew in popularity and prominence playing over the years with and opening for the likes of any number of major acts, both Black and white. By mid-century, their nephew, Al Mitchell (who had been a standout track star in high school as well as a musician), had joined as a drummer and saxophonist, and over time became the face of the band, leading it for decades, until his death in 2011. He and the band were a fixture across the North Shore and beyond. They opened for Louis Armstrong, Duke Ellington, and Tommy Dorsey. Mitchell called it the country's oldest continuing band. Mitchell was also a major figure in city governance and civic life from the 1940s onward. After serving on the draft board during World War II, he continued his service, being elected four times to the school committee, and was the first recipient of the city's Martin Luther King Jr. Award. A year after his death, the city renamed the band shell at Lynch Park in his honor.

The link between the Mitchell and Manuel families is by marriage. Mary (Manuel) Mitchell, sister of Otis and David, is the mother of Al. In 1940, according to the US Census, more than ten members of this extended family were living together in a multi-generational household headed by the parents of Mary, Otis, and David, born in late-nineteenth-century Massachusetts. It was during this period that Mary founded Mitchell's Dance Studio and later Camp Mitchman.

Members of these families were active members of the First Baptist Church in Beverly for decades. Al Mitchell was a deacon there.

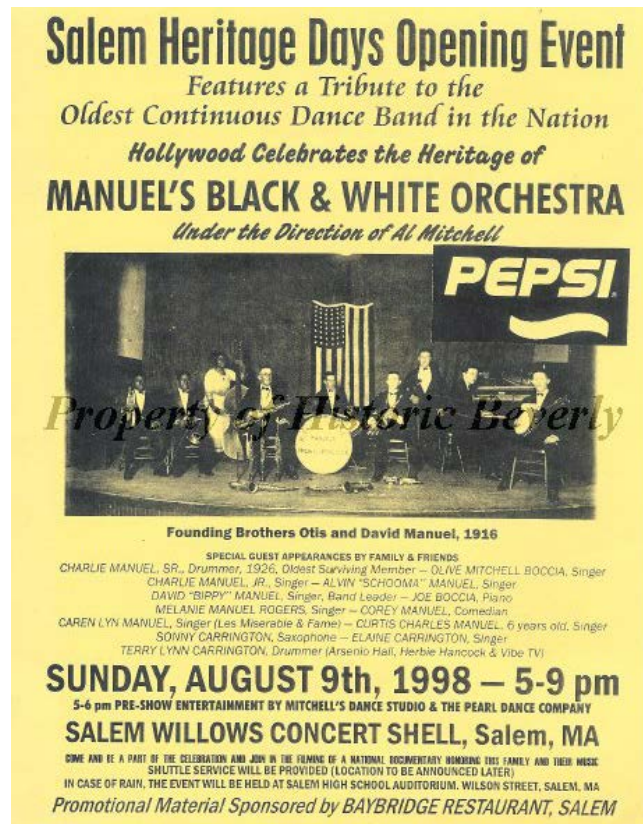


Figure 21: Flyer for Salem Heritage Days Opening Event, Tribute to Manuel's Black and White Orchestra, 1998. Courtesy of Historic Beverly.

## Potential Projects Based on Collections

- The transnational and regional links between and among slave-owning, business-focused families in the colonial and early national periods
- Black-Indigenous residents in Essex County; the challenges of living as a person of color in Essex County, even if not enslaved; the resourcefulness and tenacity of Black residents in all eras
- Well-known white families' involvement in the slave trade and slavery
- Juno Larcom and the story of race, gender, and the fight for freedom in Essex County, from her children being sold to her attempts to use the legal system to seek justice
  - Link Larcom's life to Pride's Crossing train station area
- Brutus/Julius Larcom's story, from his documented birth in Africa to his forced migration to and arrival in Essex County
- The absence of these stories on the landscape and the erasure of the lives of African Americans
- Massachusetts 54th and 55th regiments and connections in Essex County
- Small businesses in the twentieth century (Mitchell and Manuel families) and race relations in twentieth-century Beverly

## Areas for Follow-Up and Additional Leads

- A thorough search of the “Negroes” Birth, Marriages and Deaths registered in Beverly pre-1850 in MA Vital Records, which can be found at <https://ma-vitalrecords.org/MA/Essex/Beverly>
- Mary Mitchell
- The presence and experience of Black workers at the United Shoe Company, whose records are at NARA
- African Americans stationed in Beverly in World War II (wartime activity at the Beverly Airport)
- First Baptist Church of Beverly and records of the Manuel and Mitchell families
- Racial politics in Beverly today

## Additional Areas of Interest

### **Collaboration across Essex County is key.**

- This collection has documents related to other cities and towns (Marblehead, Manchester, Beverly, and Salem, to name a few). A recommendation is for places like Marblehead (which does not have much of its own already digitized and cataloged) to collaborate with Beverly to share these stories. One approach is to avoid making things so town-specific and instead play up the story of county-wide networks and integrated economies and families that shaped the region.

### **Transnational, global, and intercolonial stories exist in Essex County.**

- The stories told in these records (and many others in Essex County) highlight the integrated economies, families, and lives of New England towns and cities throughout the thirteen colonies and later the many states of the new union and the West Indies.

## Keywords

- Slavery
- Legal efforts for rights/freedom
- Maritime trade
- Transnational/regional links
- Small business
- Enslaved and free women
- Military service
- Indigenous/African origins
- Networks and integrated economies

## Supplemental Materials

Supplemental materials related to this collection, town, or city can be found in Appendix C.

# The House of the Seven Gables

115 Derby Street, Salem, MA 01970

Website: <https://7gables.org>

Phone Number: (978) 744-0991

Email Address: [jarrison@7gables.org](mailto:jarrison@7gables.org)

Main Contact Person(s): Julie Arrison-Bishop, Special Projects Manager ([jarrison@7gables.org](mailto:jarrison@7gables.org))

Social Media: Facebook, Twitter, Instagram

**Wheelchair Accessibility:** “Due to the nature of the architecture at the Gables’ campus, our historic house museums are not wheelchair accessible. Our visitor center, restrooms, Colonial Revival gardens, grounds, and a portion of our Museum Store are wheelchair accessible” (from the Seven Gables website).

**Research Fee:** It appears that there is no fee for using the archives, but there are fees for reproduction. See <https://7gables.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/2017-Reproduction-and-Use-Fees.pdf>.

**Best Practices for Research:** Research by appointment only; make sure to call or email ahead of your visit.

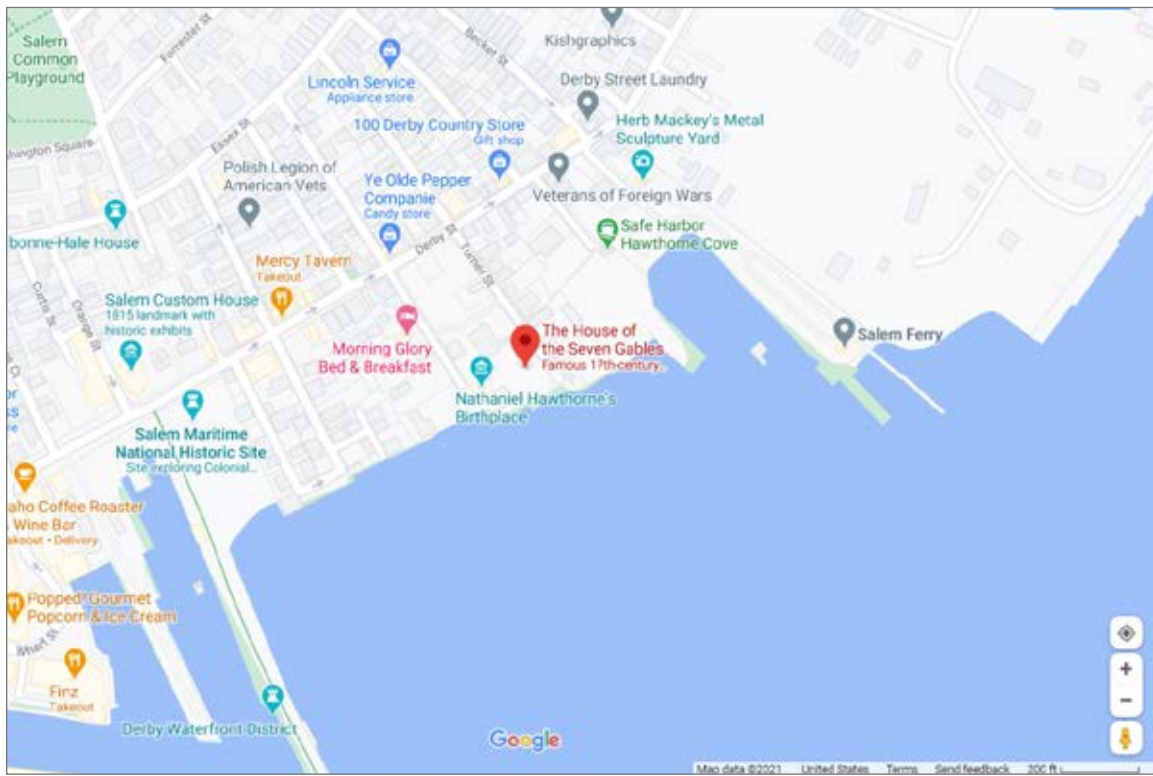


Figure 22: Image of House of the Seven Gables’s location. Map data ©2021 Google.

The **House of the Seven Gables** is primarily a museum, historic site, and community organization. The Special Archival collections (separate from the institutional collections) include the following: Hawthorne Papers; Emmerton Papers; family papers, which relate to the families who occupied the buildings owned by the House of the Seven Gables throughout their histories, from the 1600s to the 1900s; Settlement Association Collection related to the history and operations of the Settlement Association; ephemera related to the House of the Seven Gables and property; Hawthorne Book Collection; photographs, oral histories, slides, and the like relevant to the House of Seven Gables and related areas; and materials relevant to the history of the House of the Seven Gables and the museum.

Researchers are welcome to request access to the collections. Prior consultation and appointments are required.

## Overview

Special archival holdings do not include much material directly relevant to the history of African Americans, but evidence in these collections and other repositories has been carefully and systematically worked over the last decade to ensure that the website, the tours, and the public programming at the property account for the African American experience as well as its place in the history of the Gables site in Salem, and in the broader Atlantic world histories. In 2008, the staff collaborated with NPS, for example, to host a public program relating the Turner family's history to the *Traces of the Trade* documentary. The House of the Seven Gables site and collections can help tell portions of three stories: first, the presence of enslaved laborers in Salem; second, the linked economies of Essex County and the transatlantic slave trade; and third, providing settlement services for African American residents of Salem in the early twentieth century. This collection is very small, and most of what is known/can be told is found in this summary document.

## Collection Highlights

### *Enslaved Laborers*

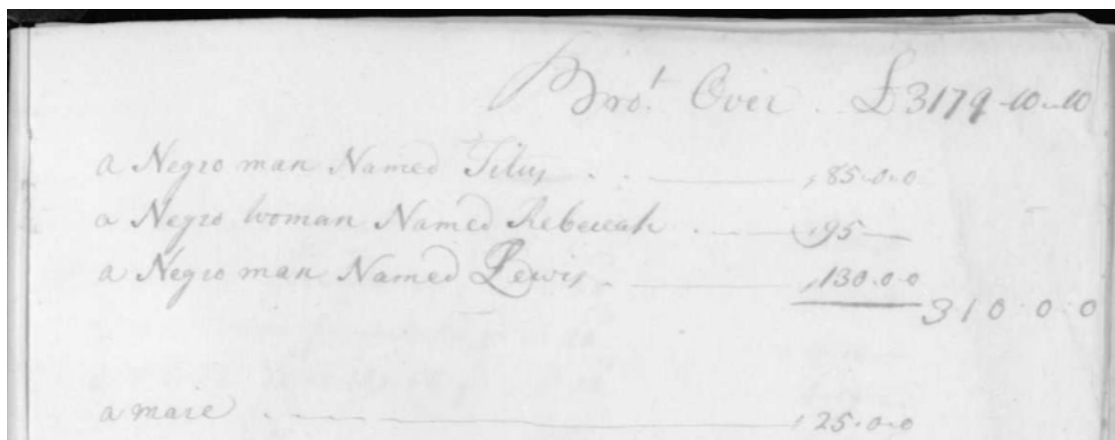
The Gables does not hold primary sources related to slavery on site, but staff there have traced Essex County Probate Court records to learn about the enslaved peoples who lived and worked at the site.

In 2017, the Gables mounted an exhibit "Life and Labor" (curated by David Moffatt, Senior Researcher and Interpreter) that showcased the most up-to-date research conducted on the presence of enslaved laborers at the Turner-Ingersoll mansion. What follows is his account of the enslaved persons. Appendix C includes all of the relevant sources for this overview.

David Moffat, Senior Researcher and Interpreter, The House of the Seven Gables reported this:

*At least five people were enslaved by the Turner family between 1728 and 1768. We know their names and a little of their lives from several surviving primary source documents. In March 1728, Titus was baptized at the Second Church of Salem. In 1731, the intention to marry of Titus and Phillis, both listed as slaves of Col. John Turner II, was published in Salem. When John Turner II died in 1742, three enslaved people were mentioned in his probate inventory, a document made to assess his estate: Titus, Rebeccah, and Lewis.*

*When Mary Kitchen Turner, the wife of John Turner II, died in 1768, she left £80 to her son John Turner III for taking three slaves- Titus, Rebeccah, and Jane—“as his owne property and he engages to support them during their lives.” By then, Titus had been enslaved in the family for at least 40 years.*



**Figure 23:** Scan of John Turner II's probate inventory. Collection of the House of the Seven Gables.

The inventory reads: *A Negro man Named Titus—85-0-0*

*A Negro woman Named Rebeccah—95-A Negro man Named Lewis—130.0-0*

### ***Essex County and the Transatlantic Slave Trade***

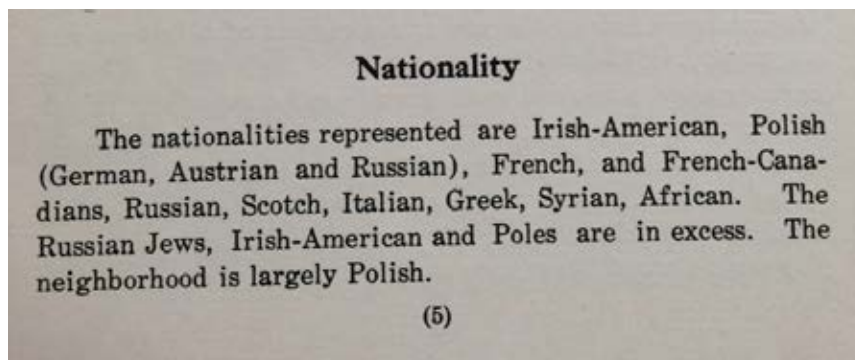
For three centuries, Salem residents were involved in the transatlantic slave trade. They produced goods that were part of the slave economy. They purchased goods that were produced by the slave economy.

Key evidence of this history can be found in the probate inventory of John Turner II (1743).

### ***Settlement Services for African American Residents of Salem in the Early Twentieth Century***

In the early twentieth century, the House of the Seven Gables Settlement Association was founded to make use of Turner-Ingersoll mansion and the revenue it produced to serve some of the needs of newly arrived immigrants and other relatively impoverished residents of the

city. A search of the “Head Worker Reports” in the Annual Reports of the Settlement Association in the mid-1910s suggests that some of the clients were African American. These reports are available on site.



**Figure 24:** Scan from the 1915 Annual Reports of the Settlement House. Collection of the House of the Seven Gables.

Scan reads: Nationality. The nationalities represented are Irish-American. Polish (German, Austrian and Russian). French, and French-Canadians, Russian, Scotch, Italian, Greek, Syrian, African. The Russian Jews, Irish-American and Poles are in excess. The neighborhood is largely Polish.

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## Potential Projects Based on Collections

- The material manifestation of the transatlantic slave economy in Essex County
- Linked economies of Essex County and the Caribbean
- African American interactions with the social service systems of the early twentieth century

## Areas for Follow-Up and Additional Leads

- Review additional Settlement Association annual reports for evidence of African Americans

## Keywords

- Presence of African Americans in the early twentieth century
- Slavery
- Networks and integrated economies

## Supplemental Materials

Supplemental materials related to this collection, town, or city can be found in Appendix C.

# Ipswich Museum

54 South Main Street, Ipswich, MA 01938

Website: <https://ipswichmuseum.org>

Phone Number: (978) 356-2811

Email Address: Complete the online form in the “contact” section of the website or email [office@ipswichmuseum.org](mailto:office@ipswichmuseum.org)

Social Media: Facebook

Main Contact Person(s): Curator: [curator@ipswichmuseum.org](mailto:curator@ipswichmuseum.org)

Communication for this project was with Bernie Angelo.

Wheelchair Accessibility: Unknown

Research Fee: \$20 per hour, minimum 1 hour

Best Practices for Research: Research is by appointment only, so calling or emailing to schedule a time is essential. Contact the main office for an appointment, [curator@ipswichmuseum.org](mailto:curator@ipswichmuseum.org).



Figure 25: Image of Ipswich Museum's location. Map data ©2021 Google.



## Overview

The **Ipswich Museum**, formerly the Ipswich Historical Society, was organized in 1890. The museum consists of two significant properties: the 1677 Whipple House and the 1800 Heard House (the latter is the headquarters), and collections include furnishings, fine arts, textiles, lace, domestic objects, decorative arts, military-related material, carriages, historic books, personal papers, and photographs.

## Collection Highlights

According to the museum staff, the museum does not hold any archival collections related to African American history in Ipswich, though there were and are African Americans in Ipswich.

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### ***OAH/NPS Project Research Related to African Americans in Ipswich***

In the absence of any identifiable material at the Ipswich Museum, research conducted into the MA Vital Records pre-1850 for this report reveals a significant presence of African Americans enslaved and free in Ipswich. A summary account of the data shows **46 births, 117 marriages, and 88 deaths.**

These data are critical to understanding the lived experiences and family lives of both enslaved and free African Americans in Ipswich/Essex County.

**Digital files for each page in the record books are included in Appendix C.**

Pastor Deborah Knowlton is the author of the book *Color Me Included*, which provides the names and partial histories of nearly 150 African American men, women, and children, who lived in the Hampton, New Hampshire, area. She has also found some information regarding African Americans who lived in Ipswich. She can be reached via [office@fcchampton.org](mailto:office@fcchampton.org).

The 2001 **Smithsonian exhibit *Within These Walls*** provides some information about an enslaved African American boy in Ipswich. The exhibit also tells the story of five Ipswich families over 200 years using the house structure itself (donated and moved to the Museum in the 1970s) as the setting for the exhibit. The general description of the exhibit and the Ipswich structure is here: <https://americanhistory.si.edu/within-these-walls>. A notable component of the African American history of Ipswich involves the Dodge family, who on the eve of, during, and following the American Revolution, had a teenage, enslaved boy named Chance living with them. Chance had been leased to the patriarch from a man in Marblehead for twelve years. It is unclear exactly how, but despite the 1783 ruling that should have ended the practice of slavery in the state of Massachusetts, he was still enslaved when Abraham Dodge died in 1786 and transferred the lease of Chance to his widow. Chance was able to win his freedom, probably around 1789, which was when the initial lease was expired. He then made his living as a free man in Marblehead in the 1790s.

The specific portion of the exhibit relating to Chance is available online:  
[https://americanhistory.si.edu/within-these-walls/dodges-and-chance-bradstreet/  
whose-liberty-chance-bradstreet](https://americanhistory.si.edu/within-these-walls/dodges-and-chance-bradstreet/whose-liberty-chance-bradstreet).

In addition, the online exhibit offers information about the jobs Chance did (in the house, in the fields, on the docks; quotations from Dodge's documents; and writings of two other Black Essex County residents, including Juno Larcom).

“I need not point out the absurdity of your exertions for liberty, while you have slaves in your houses.”

—Caesar Sarter, freed Black writer, Essex, Massachusetts, 1774

“The time is now near at hand which must probably determine, whether Americans are to be, Freemen, or Slaves; whether they are to have any property they can call their own.”

—Capt. Abraham Dodge's military order book, 1776

“Judge Ye Weather or noe I hadent ort to Be set at Liberty.”

—Enslaved woman Juno Larcom, remarks to judge and jury,  
Beverly, Massachusetts, 1774

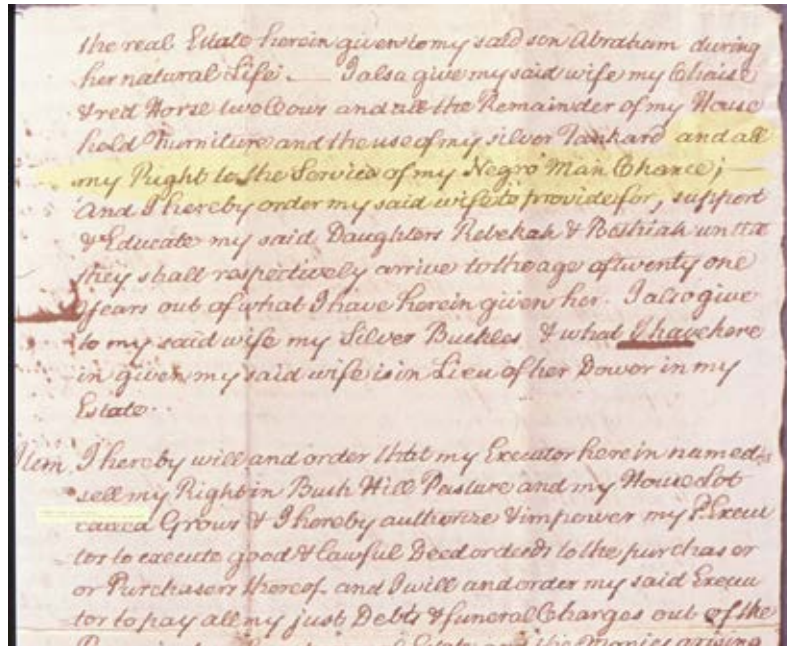


Figure 26: Scan of Abraham Dodge's Will, 1786 (excerpt), available on the “Within These Walls” online exhibit.

## Areas for Follow-Up and Additional Leads

- A thorough exploration of the pre-1850 MA Vital Records: “Negroes” Births, Marriages, Deaths. Found here: <https://ma-vitalrecords.org/MA/Essex/Ipswich>.

- Ipswich Library may have information in the archives. The library archivist is Meghan Petersen, and her email address is [mpetersen@ipswichlibrary.org](mailto:mpetersen@ipswichlibrary.org).

## **Keywords**

- Slavery
- Enslaved African Americans
- Free Blacks
- Legal debates concerning slavery

## **Supplemental Materials**

Supplemental materials related to this collection, town, or city can be found in Appendix C.

# Lawrence History Center

6 Essex Street, Lawrence, MA 01840

Website: <http://www.lawrencehistory.org>

Phone Number: (978) 686-9230

Email Address: [research@lawrencehistory.org](mailto:research@lawrencehistory.org)

Main Contact Person(s): Amita Kiley, Collections Manager and Research Coordinator  
([amita@lawrencehistory.org](mailto:amita@lawrencehistory.org))

Social Media: Facebook, Instagram, Vimeo, YouTube

Wheelchair Accessibility: No

Research Fee: LHC asks that researchers become a member to help offset costs.  
The most common rate for researchers will be around \$35.  
See <http://www.lawrencehistory.org/membership>.

Best Practices for Research: Always check with the repository; hours are subject to change.

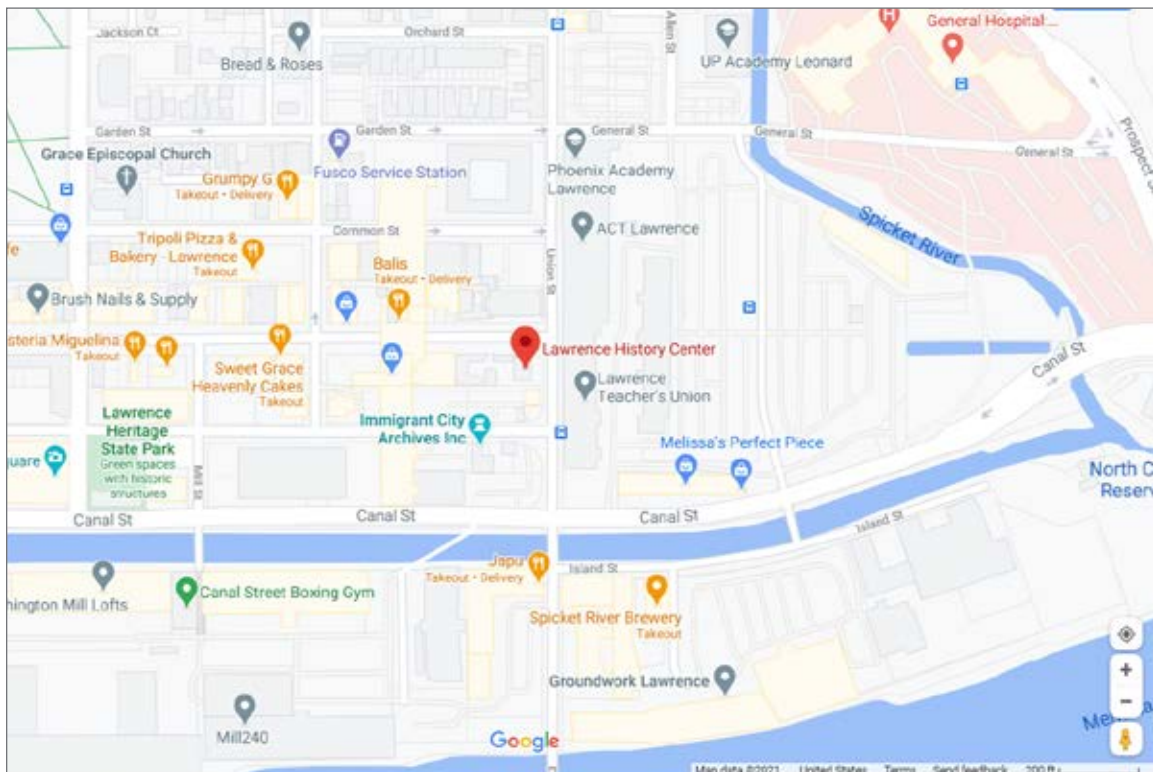


Figure 27: Image of Lawrence History Center's location. Map data ©2021 Google.

The **Lawrence History Center** is a brick building on the second floor of a museum. The building exists behind the high walls of a courtyard; there is a pedestrian entrance and a vehicle entrance into the courtyard. Guests are welcome to park within the courtyard and buzz for entry.

The Executive Director is Susan Grabski, and the Collections Coordinator is Amita Kiley. The Lawrence History Center is serviced largely by volunteers. Call or email ahead of time to set up a research appointment. Drop-ins are not encouraged.

The building features new light-sensitive windows to allow researchers to use the working spaces openly and freely. There is one open, communal table available for researchers. Staff, volunteers, or incoming researchers may use this opportunity to ask questions or get research advice. Definitely plan for possible distractions. As always, no pens, backpacks, liquids, or food are allowed near the archival materials.

## Collection Highlights

The Lawrence History Center contains two boxes specific to the African American experience, as well as a folder full of newspaper clippings about African Americans in Lawrence, Methuen, and North Andover, and in some cases as far as Haverhill and Lowell. This collection includes accounts from African American churchgoers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The following is a selection of materials in these boxes.

### *Personal Recollection of Myrna Mitchell Brown*

This folder contains a transcription of an interview conducted by Hilda Holt, who spoke with African American resident Myrna Mitchell Brown at Diamond Springs Apartments, 1 Beacon Way, Apartment 207 in Lawrence. Brown reminisces about local African American families and their genealogies, including Alice Hinton of Andover, who Brown described as “well educated, spoke so properly, and had such a cultured voice.”

### *Notable Citizens*

This brief document lists two notable African American residents. The first is E. Lemuel Brown, founder of the Black Elks of Lawrence and owner of a dry-cleaning business on the corner of Haverhill Street. Myrna Mitchell Brown, mentioned previously, said that E. Lemuel Brown was “one of the first Black men to settle in Lawrence.” She described him as a “handsome” man who had migrated from North Carolina. She said that “many of Lawrence’s businessmen and politicians came to his place of business and were very satisfied with his professionalism.” His son was John Kirk Brown, who served as an auxiliary police officer.

The second notable resident is Richard H. Ball, a tailor, who owned his own shop on Franklin Street. He patented a steam press ironing board (see the attached entry in the United States Patent Office).

### ***Theses***

There are two comprehensive essays in this folder. The first is an essay written by an undergraduate student, Barbara A. Brown, entitled “African Americans in Lawrence, Massachusetts, 1850–1910.”

The second is a final project written by a graduate student, Barbara Benshetler Brown, entitled “‘There Has Always Been Some Movement’: An African-American Migration Story from the Louisiana Red River to the Massachusetts Merrimack River.” This project contains oral histories of African Americans in twentieth-century Lawrence.

### ***Essex County Jail Records***

The Lawrence History Center also houses arrest records for the Essex County Jail from the late 1800s to the 1970s. It is unprocessed. Previous students have used these data to correlate arrests with protests and riots in the Merrimack Valley region. As of December 2019 (under the auspices of this OAH/NPS project with Kabria Baumgartner and UNH student Ellen Bruton), an Excel spreadsheet was created that lists some of the arrests of individuals described as “dark” or “Negro.” One case is particularly gripping: it involved Henry Freeman, an African American man, who was charged with murdering a white man, Frank F. Young, in nearby Danvers.

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## **Potential Projects Based on Collections**

- Incarceration since the Lawrence History Center possesses the Essex County Jail Records, an unprocessed collection, which researchers can use to see when an individual was arrested, why, and even an individual’s demeanor upon arrest.
- African American ghosts and/or alleged hauntings in Haverhill and Lawrence. (There is a document that contains leads on sites supposed to have been “haunted.”)
- African American men in Lawrence
  - John Levy (1788–1879), one of the pioneers of Lawrence, an early African American resident
  - Jacob Kennedy, who lived in Lawrence and worked as a firefighter
- African American women in Lawrence
  - Calma Shepard (of the Shepard family from Nova Scotia), who graduated from the Lawrence School of Nursing, and became the first Black nurse in Lawrence and later worked at Lawrence General Hospital (according to Myrna Mitchell Brown).
  - Glendora M. Putnam, a graduate of Bennett College and Boston University School of Law. She was an assistant attorney general under Edward Brooks. Her family, the McIlwains, were from South Carolina but migrated to Lawrence and then settled in Methuen.
  - Lilla Walker Wilson, who later settled in Lawrence, was enslaved as a child in Virginia, and was said to have tended to Robert E. Lee’s horses.

## **Areas for Follow-Up and Additional Leads**

- The church is a nexus of the African American community (i.e., Third Baptist Church).
- Prominent African American families in the Merrimack Valley
- African American businesses and professions

## **Keywords**

- African American migration
- African American entrepreneurship
- Family life
- African American inventors
- Oral history
- African American women
- Incarceration

## **Supplemental Materials**

Supplemental materials related to this collection, town, or city can be found in Appendix C.

# Lynn Museum and Historical Society

590 Washington Street, Lynn, MA 01901

Website: <http://lynnmuseum.org>

Phone Number: (781) 581-6200

Email Address: [office@lynnmuseum.org](mailto:office@lynnmuseum.org)

Main Contact Person(s): Doneca Thurston, Museum Director ([office@lynnmuseum.org](mailto:office@lynnmuseum.org))

Social Media: Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram

Wheelchair Accessibility: Unknown

**Research Fee:** It appears to be free to access the materials, but if a research request is submitted, the charges are \$20 per hour for members and \$35 per hour for non-members. Rights to and reproduction of images cost \$62.50 per item.

**Best Practices for Research:** Always check with the repository; hours are subject to change. There are also significant holdings at Phillips Library, so check ahead.

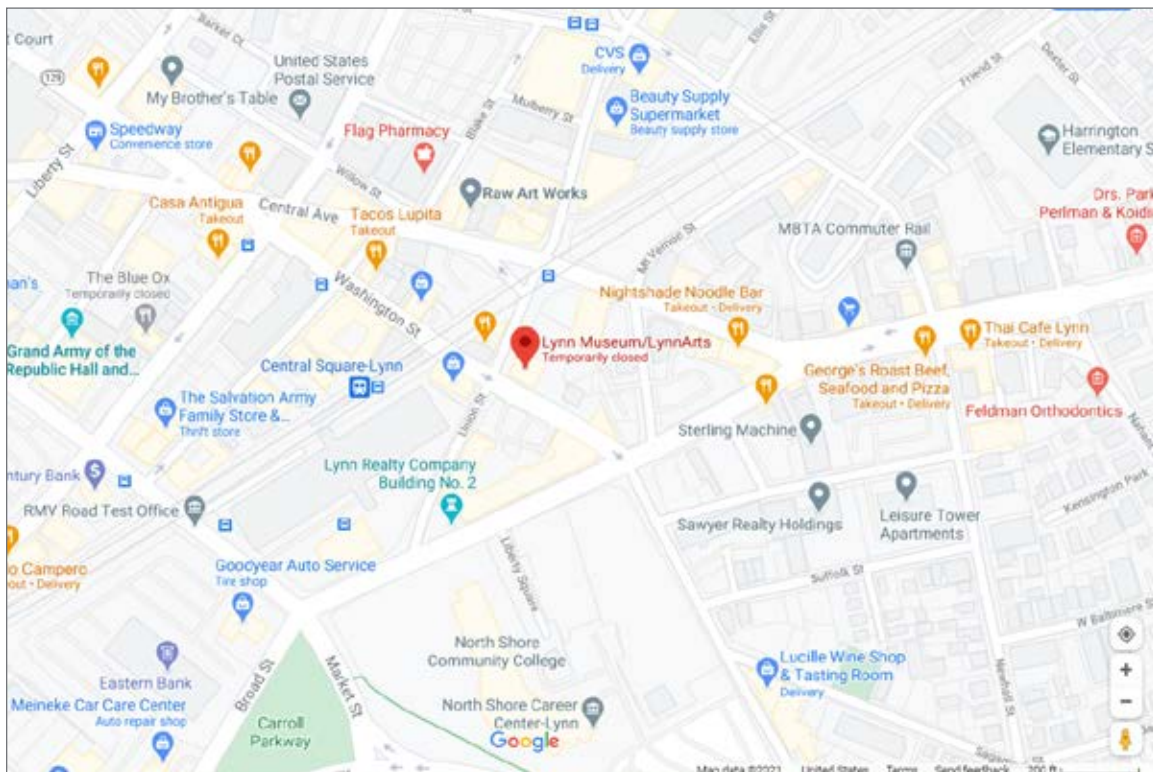


Figure 28: Image of Lynn Museum and Historical Society's location. Map data ©2021 Google.



## Overview

The **Lynn Museum and Historical Society** was established in 1897 with the stated aim to preserve, share, and celebrate the history of Lynn, Massachusetts, from its earliest settlement right up to the present. The director is Doneeca Thurston, a Lynn native.

Located in the Heritage State Park Visitor Center, the Lynn Museum and Historical Society has space to accommodate visitors who wish to see the exciting programs and exhibits on textiles, photography, and furniture. It also has a large collection of more than 10,000 artifacts, from fine art and textiles to ephemera, as well as an extensive collection of photographs. There is also a studio space, LynnArts, for artists.

The society's collections have been temporarily relocated to the Phillips Library of the Peabody Essex Museum in Rowley, Massachusetts. The collections are searchable through the Phillips Library database, PHILCAT, at <http://pem-voyager.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/vwebv/searchAdvanced>.

You can also pay a research fee, and staff at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society will conduct research for you. You may contact them through their online database or by phone at (781) 581-6200.

## Collection Highlights

### *At the Lynn Museum*

There are objects, specifically photographs, of Black Lynners on-site at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society. As of 2019, the Society is organizing its United Stories exhibition, with a plan to create a document listing all of the materials located on-site.

### **Ruffin Family Photographs**

Quite a few photographs of the Ruffin(en) family are on-site.

### **Jan Matzeliger**

There are some objects related to Jan Matzeliger, including a model of the lasting machine, which he invented while living and working in Lynn. Elizabeth H. Cushing's *No Race of Imitators: Lynn and Her People, An Anthology*, published in 1992, has a chapter about his life and experiences. Jan Matzeliger encountered prejudice and racism in Lynn's shoe manufacturing industry as he worked as a skilled laborer in the late nineteenth century.

### **William H. Robinson**

William H. Robinson was a cobbler from Lynn. According to Doneeca Thurston, Robinson enlisted in the Civil War and fought with the 54th Massachusetts regiment. (Another man, who enlisted from Lynn, was John Stackhouse, but not much is known about him.)

Robinson survived the war and worked as a cobbler in Lynn. His granddaughter, Gertrude Broderick, apparently donated some of his belongings, including tools, to the Lynn Museum and Historical Society.

### ***Lynn Collection at Phillips Library***

#### **Lynn Historical Society Papers, 1898–1989 (3 Boxes)**

This collection includes unpublished papers delivered at Lynn Historical Society meetings. Of particular interest is the essay, “It Wasn’t in Her Lifetime, But It Was Handed Down’: Four Black Oral Histories of Massachusetts.”

#### **Jan Matzeliger, 1955–91 (1 Box)**

This collection features programs, a press release, and a commemorative stamp of Jan Matzeliger. Jan Ernst Matzeliger, born in Paramaribo, Surinam in 1852, was the son of a Dutch engineer and a Black Surinamese woman. In 1877, he moved to Lynn, Massachusetts, where he worked in a shoe factory before inventing the Shoe Lasting Machine in 1883. His invention “revolutionized the shoe manufacturing industry.” He died in 1889 in Lynn.



**Figure 29:** Photograph of Jan Matzeliger, photographer unknown, 1885. Published by *Encyclopædia Britannica*.  
<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Jan-Ernst-Matzeliger/images-videos#/media/1/369860/12878>

#### **Anti-Slavery Society of Lynn and Vicinity, 1832–63 (1 Box)**

These two folders include the Society’s constitution, minutes, and list of members.

#### **Female Anti-Slavery Society of Lynn, 1836–38 (1 Box)**

These two folders consist of the Society’s records and meeting minutes.

#### **Military, Slavery/Antislavery Items, 1797–1902**

According to the catalog entry, this collection includes letters; certificates of discharge and promotion; and print items related to the Revolutionary War, Civil War, and abolition movement.

**Lynn Quaker Meeting, 1716–1884** (4 Boxes)

This is a fairly substantial collection of materials related to the monthly Quaker meetings in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. There are letters, legal documents, pamphlets, and marriage certificates.

**Hood Family, 1712–1868**

Financial documents (tax lists), correspondence, legal documents, letters about Quakers, and genealogical material are in this collection. The materials mainly concern Richard and Abner Hood. Also included is the account book of Benjamin Hood.

**Bassett Family, 1776** (1 Folder)

This folder contains the manumission paper of Sampson, whom John Bassett had held as a slave.

**Ruffin Family, 1851–68** (1 Box)

This box includes letters, legal and financial documents of the Ruffin family, a free Black family in Lynn, as well as business advertisements.

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## Potential Projects Based on Collections

- Enslaved African Americans in Lynn
- An analysis of manumission papers in eighteenth-century Essex County
- African American entrepreneurs and inventors like Jan Matzeliger
- Free Black families like the Ruffins in the mid-nineteenth century

## Areas for Follow-Up and Additional Leads

- John Stackhouse and the 54th Massachusetts regiment
- Lynn's shoe manufacturing industry

## Keywords

- Slavery and antislavery
- Enslaved African Americans
- Emancipation and freedom
- Quakers and abolition
- Shoemakers
- African American military service
- Free Blacks

## Supplemental Materials

Supplemental materials related to this collection, town, or city can be found in Appendix C.

# Marblehead Museum and Historical Society

170 Washington Street, Marblehead, MA 01945

Website: <https://marbleheadmuseum.org>

Phone Number: (781) 631-1768

Email Address: [info@marbleheadmuseum.org](mailto:info@marbleheadmuseum.org)

**Main Contact Person(s):** For specific consultation and discussion about the collections, Lauren McCormack, Executive Director, is an invaluable asset ([laurenmccormack@marbleheadmuseum.org](mailto:laurenmccormack@marbleheadmuseum.org)).

**Social Media:** Facebook

**Wheelchair Accessibility:** No

**Research Fee:** \$15 for non-members; free to members

**Best Practices for Research:** Always reach out to the repository ahead of time. Research is by appointment only.

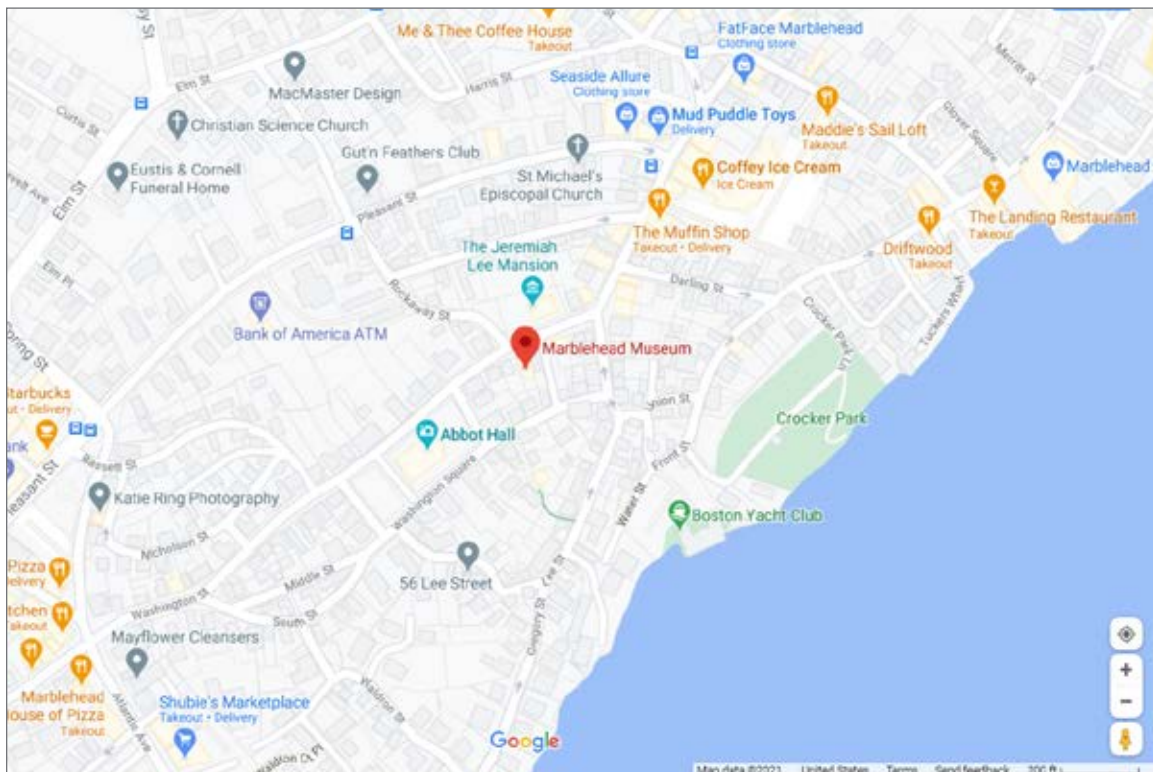


Figure 30: Image of Marblehead Museum and Historical Society's location. Map data ©2021 Google.

The **Marblehead Museum** is a campus that consists of three structures within a quarter of a mile in downtown Marblehead. The Jeremiah Lee Mansion and Gardens (a 1768 mansion belonging to a leading citizen), the Grand Army of the Republic and Civil War Museum, and the Marblehead Museum's main building and archives housed at 170 Washington Street. Available to scholars and researchers, the archives include personal papers, books, journals, genealogical materials, building histories, and more than 20,000 photographs. A significant amount of material relates to the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century shipping and fishing industries, as well as the local shoemaking industry; however, collections range from the seventeenth century to the twentieth century. There are substantive collections of vital records as well.

## Overview

The staff and leadership at the Marblehead Museum are very enthusiastic about African American history in the city. It is a topic they are interested in investigating further; and to date, they have done some work in this area. Marblehead has many legends and folklore regarding African American history, but there is relatively little (currently identified) textual documentation for most of them in the records held by the Museum and Historical Society. The staff would welcome research that might confirm or deny existing stories and has recently begun working in earnest with a range of collaborators to join in unearthing and documenting these histories.

Most of the historical focus in the town has been on the colonial era and nineteenth century. There has not been any collecting of African American stories of the twentieth century. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, there are a few visual records of African Americans. There are some school photos, as well as some photos in which persons of color appear in public. Yet these visual records do not have any associated names or identities.

In 2020–21, the museum began to populate its website with information related to the issues examined in this report: <https://marbleheadmuseum.org/bipoc>. They have also begun work on a future Black, Indigenous, and people of color (BIPOC) exterior signage program.

## Collection Highlights

### *Nathan Bowen Ledgers (1730s–70s)*

Bowen was a justice of the peace in the eighteenth century, and he traveled throughout the area. The Museum holds two of his ledgers, which describe cases and situations he was involved in and might, with some careful reading, reveal evidence of an African American presence in Marblehead and the wider region. These have not been examined by staff at this time.

### *Samuel Roads Jr. Papers*

The town historian of the nineteenth century was Samuel Roads Jr. The museum has his papers. One folder (#6) is labeled "Slaves." It includes material from eighteenth-century newspapers related to the presence of enslaved Black men and women in the region, as well as enslaved persons who had run away. This folder has a note at the top that states "was in an envelope marked 'Notes on Slavery in Town and State by Samuel Roads. Also Notes on other Slaves and a Marblehead Slave.'"<sup>28</sup> Items within this folder include the following:

1. A letter to *The Essex Gazette*, March 16, 1773, discussed the fact that an unnamed "Reverend Mr" had recently remarried "his Negro Woman to a Negro Man, who were about nine or ten years ago, imperfectly joined together by the Rev. Mr \_\_\_ the former master of the woman."

This statement points out how central it is for these two individuals to understand and take seriously the vows of marriage and the expectations of God in marriage.

2. A set of runaway slave ads and ads for auctions of enslaved people in and around Marblehead. These ads were placed in *The Essex Gazette*, the *Boston News Letter*, the *Boston Gazette*, and were run in 1724, 1716, 1750, 1757, 1759, 1770, and 1771.

Figure 31 provides an example of an ad for auctions of enslaved people in Marblehead.

From the Boston Gazette  
Oct. 30, 1750.

To be Sold by Jacob Fowler, Esq., and  
Mrs. Susannah Palmer, Administrators  
of the estate of John Palmer, late of  
Marblehead, deceased; a likely Negro  
Man about 25 years old, and a  
fine Negro Boy about 14.

From the Boston News Letter Aug 6, 1724

**Figure 31:** Scan of transcription from the *Boston Gazette*, October 30, 1750, of an ad for sale of enslaved peoples in Marblehead. The transcription reads: To be sold by Jacob Fowler, Esq, and Mrs. Susannah Palmer, Administrator of the estate of John Palmer, late of Marblehead, deceased; a likely Negro man about 25 years old, and a fine Negro boy about 14.

3. An example of an advertisement for a runaway slave placed by Devereux (listed at the top of the document as #7701) from *The Essex Gazette*, dated August 7, 1770.

*Ran away from the Subscriber, on the 5<sup>th</sup> [last] a Negro Man names Pharo of a very light complexion something scarred in the Face, about 5 ½ feet in Height and 18 years of Age remarkable for the Fingers of this Right Hand (more especially his Thumb) being crooked; carried off with him a red broadcloth jacket and Breeches, and a pair of Pepper and Sat homespun with Sundry other Things. Whoever will return the said Runaway shall have Four Dollars Reward, and all other Charges Paid.*

*Samuel Devereux*

*N.B. All Masters of Vessels are hereby cautioned against concealing, harboring or carrying off said Runaway as they would avoid the Penalty of the Law.*

*Marblehead Aug. 6, 1770*

### ***Marblehead Vital Records***

The museum holds two bound volumes of *Marblehead Vital Records*. The remainder of the vital records can be found at City Hall. For those pre-1850, there are digital records found online at <http://www.vitalrecords.org/MA/Essex/Marblehead>. The “Negroes” section of each can be found in the ancillary materials for Marblehead in this report.

Here is the research conducted to date by E. Duclos-Orsello in the two bound volumes of vital records, documenting the presence of African Americans in Marblehead.

Marblehead Vital Records Vol. 1, Births: Vital Records to 1880 (published by the Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts, 1903). Available online at <https://ma-vitalrecords.org/MA/Essex/Marblehead/aBirthsOt.shtml#Negroes>.

Here are the general findings of the “NEGROES” section:

1. Twenty-nine individuals are listed (and a thirtieth written in pencil).
2. All are listed on their *baptismal* date (some list age at baptism, ranging from five months to teenagers).
3. Of the twenty-nine, twenty-six were baptized and recorded in the Second Congregational Church (C.R.2) Records, which are clustered between 1794 and 1814.
4. The remaining three are listed as having their baptisms recorded in the records of St. Michael’s Episcopal Church (C.R.3). Two of these were noted as having been baptized in Salem. (Note: There was a congregation that met in Salem, led also by Reverend George Pignot of Marblehead’s St. Michael’s.)
  - a. All three of these are the earliest records. The years 1729–31 link a leading citizen, William Fairfax, to slavery. Fairfax (1691–1757), a colonist in both New England and Virginia, married twice. He married his first wife Sarah (Walker) Fairfax on March 27, 1723, in New Providence Island, Bahamas. She died in Salem, Massachusetts, on January 21, 1731. He married his second wife Deborah (Clarke)

Fairfax on October 28, 1731, in Salem, Massachusetts. Around 1733, he moved with his family to Virginia to take up land there ([https://www.lva.virginia.gov/public/dvb/bio.php?b=Fairfax\\_William](https://www.lva.virginia.gov/public/dvb/bio.php?b=Fairfax_William)). Fairfax's story and the story of the people he enslaved is worth investigating.

- i. "Catherine, mestizo of W[ilia]m Fairfax, Esq. bp at Salem, Aug. 27, 1730. CR3."
  - ii. "William, negro ch. of William Fairfax, Esq. bp. At Salem, Feb. 26, 1729–30. C. R. 3." (Researcher's note: Perhaps this is the child of Catherine.)
  - iii. One lists "Sextus, 'my own Slave' [Rev. George Pigot] bp. Aug. 8 1731. CR3."
5. The penciled-in addition is from 1719 (Second Congregational Church records) and says "Chester—Chester and Judith; a negro infant of my own," June 28, 1719. C. R. 2. This penciled-in addition seems to indicate that the first Chester listed was the child of Chester and Judith.
6. In these volumes, there are notations as to where the original record came from. A number are from various church records, including the Second Congregational Church records, some of which are in the Marblehead Historical collections.
- a. Some key church records at the First Congregational Church Records; Second Congregational (Unitarian) Church Records, which are now digitized and online; St. Michael's (Episcopal) Church Record; First Baptist Church record; and Methodist Church records.

*Marblehead, MA Vital Records Vol. II: Marriages and Deaths—Vital Records to 1880* (published by the Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts, 1904).

A full list can be found online at <https://ma-vitalrecords.org/MA/Essex/Marblehead/aMarriagesOt.shtml#Negroes>.

Marriages of Note (based on a brief review): Pompey Devereux, presumably of Glover's regiment. According to museum staff, it has long been assumed that Glover's Regiment had persons of color in it. There was a man in the regiment named "Pomp Devereux," who was Black. However, the ledgers from Glover's Regiment (which are in the museum's holdings) have not yet revealed any definitive answer on Devereux's identity, thereby making the Vital Records research valuable as corroborating evidence.

The marriage list for Negroes says, "Devereux, Pompey, and Rhodia Gaskell, Apr. 16, 1775"



MARBLEHEAD MARRIAGES	471
Conclin, Levi, and Peggy Carter, Oct. 26, 1783.*	
Cuffy, John, and Mary Celia, Jan. 6, 1728-9. C. R. 3.	
Devereux, Bristol [Brister. dup.], and Rose Harris, Feb. 26, 1773.*	
Devereux, Pompey, and Rhodia Gaskell, Apr. 16, 1775.*	
Doliber, Jack, and Dinah Russell, Oct. 1, 1780. C. R. 1.*	
Downey, Charles, and Polly Gardner, int. July 31, 1813.	
Eldr[e]dge, Henry, and Pender Basset, Nov. 18, 1787.*	
Forster, Flora, and Will[iam] Grush, Dec. 6, 1778.*	
Foster, Pompey, and Kerenhappuc Manuell, Sept. 15, 1799.*	
Fountain, James W., widr., a. 24 y., hair dresser, b. Virginia, s. James and Eve, of Utica, N. Y., and Lucy Ann R. Brown, a. 18 y., adopted d. Lucretia, Nov. 2, 1845.*	
Fowle, Durander, and Cato Prince, Sept. 19, 1784.*	
Fowler, John, of Ipswich, and Miraah Lewis, Aug. 19, 1792.*	
Francis, George, and Polly Pedrick, Mar. 29, 1803.*	
Freeman, Cesar, and Venus Ward, July 28, 1791.*	
Gardner, Peter, and Sarah Osburn, Nov. 26, 1786.*	
Gardner, Polly, and Charles Downey, int. July 31, 1813.	
Garney, Newbury, and Flora Watts, Sept. 27, 1789.*	
Gaskell, Rhodia, and Pompey Devereux, Apr. 16, 1775.*	
Geer, John, of Salem, and Phillis Hill, int. Oct. 7, 1815.	
Gerry, Cato, and Phillis Batchelder, Mar. 23, 1773.*	
Gerry, Flora, and John Boyd, July 17, 1804.*	
Getchel, Quom, and Hagar Clough, int. June 13, 1791.	
Glover, Francis, and Fillis [Priscilla. int.] Story, Feb. 26, 1773.*	
Glover, Phebe, and Isaac Thomas, Sept. 1, 1799.*	
Grow, Phillis [Grover. int.], and Simon Hill of Salem, Apr. 17, 1796.*	
Grown, Prince, and Phillis Wilson, Sept. 11, 1791.*	
Grush, Will[iam], and Flora Forster, Dec. 6, 1778.*	
Hannah, and Nero, belonging to Jos[eph] Blaney, Jan. 2, 1728 [-9].	
Harris, Rose, and Bristol [Brister. dup.] Devereux, Feb. 26, 1773.*	
Harshorn, Dinah, and George Jacob Cabbot, int. July 27, 1782.	
Hill, Phillis, and John Geer of Salem, int. Oct. 7, 1815.	
Hill, Simon, of Salem, and Phillis Grow [Grover. int.], Apr. 17, 1796.*	
Hooper, Pompy, and Flora Lee, July 26, 1778.*	
Lawrence, Schuyler, and Chloe Minns of Salem, int. Jan. 18, 1817.	
Lee, Flora, and Pompy Hooper, July 26, 1778.*	
Lewis, Adam, and Mary Cleves [of Beverly. int.], Feb. 4, 1788*.	

\*Intention also recorded.

**Figure 32:** Scan from *Massachusetts Vital Records*, Marblehead, "to the end of the year 1849," with the marriage record of Pompey Devereux and Rhodia Gaskell. The record reads: Devereux, Pompey, and Rhodia Gaskell, April 16, 1775.

7. Deaths of Note: The full list can be found here:

<https://ma-vitalrecords.org/MA/Essex/Marblehead/aDeathsOt.shtml#Negroes>.

The listings show that many African Americans in Marblehead died at the poorhouse, suggesting a need to explore economic precarity as a theme.

### ***Glover Collection***

Col. John Glover's Ledgerbook and transcription of Ledgerbook (Folder #2: Glover, John)

E. Duclos-Orsello conducted some initial research to cross-reference the ledger with names of "Negroes" as listed in the Vital Records "births" and immediately found some connections. More research is needed to determine the identities.

Private James Pedrick is listed in the ledger book receiving items on May 3, 1775.

In the vital records of births in the "Negroes" section, there are two children recorded as being the children of James and Catherine Pedrick. They were baptized on the same day in 1799 at the Second Congregational Church. This could be a white James Pedrick, as this was a common name in Marblehead, but it is worth exploring further. There are no "James" Pedricks listed in the "regular" section of the vital records.

The museum also has the Pedrick Papers, which might be worth examining for clarification.

There is a Private Peomp Devereux listed as receiving items on May 7, 1775, which helps support the claim that the man in Glover's Regiment is the same Pompey Devereux whose marriage is listed in the Vital Records under "Negroes—Marriages" (married April 16, 1775).

### ***Marblehead Museum Website***

In addition to the collections that must be accessed physically, there may be some valuable information in some of the digitized collections available online in the "Research" portion of the website. For instance, there are a handful of finding aids that have been made available electronically on the museum's website. After a brief review, these do not appear, however, to have much relevance for this project.

The most valuable element of this is the "Marblehead History Documents" section, which includes fully digitized versions of some key holdings and records useful for both general historical and genealogical study of Marblehead. Those most likely useful to the study of African American history in Marblehead include the following:

#### ***Marblehead in the Year 1700***

(<https://marbleheadmuseum.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/Perley-Final-1.pdf>)

and *Sectional Maps* (<https://marbleheadmuseum.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/Marblehead-1700-Maps.pdf>) and *Composite Map* (<https://marbleheadmuseum.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/Marblehead-Composite-Map-Harborside-1700-1.pdf>).

Sidney Perley, 1910. A compiled history based on public records, including deeds, wills, probate, court, legislative, and miscellaneous town records.

### ***Congregational Church Records***

(<http://congregationallibrary.org/nehh/series1/MarbleheadMASecond>).

Thanks to the efforts of the Congregational Library and Archives, the museum's collection of records from the *Second Congregational Church* (1714–1850) have been digitized (<http://congregationallibrary.org/nehh/series1/MarbleheadMASecond>), as well as records of the *First Congregational (Old North) Church* (1684–1886; <http://congregationallibrary.org/nehh/series1/MarbleheadMAFirst5043>) and *Third Congregational Church* (1858–77; <http://congregationallibrary.org/nehh/series1/MarbleheadMAThird5053>).

### ***Marblehead Directories***

(<https://marbleheadmuseum.org/marblehead-directories>). Listings of residences and businesses, along with advertisements and town information, which are from the late nineteenth century and very early twentieth century and include information about surrounding towns.

### ***Marblehead's Soldiers, Sailors, and Prisoners of War of the American Revolution***

(<https://marbleheadmuseum.org/soldiers-sailors-american-revolution>). A list of Marblehead residents who served during the war, compiled from Glover's Regiments Rosters, POW Records, and the printed series, Massachusetts soldiers and sailors of the Revolutionary War. A compilation from the archives, prepared and published by the Secretary of the Commonwealth in accordance with chapter 100, resolves of 1891 (<https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/008555379>).

### ***Marblehead's Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines during the Civil War***

(<https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/100123717>). A compiled resource from the publication, Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines of the Civil War, published by the adjutant-general in accordance with chapter 475, acts of 1899, and chapter 64, resolves of 1930.

### ***Massachusetts Vital Records***

(<http://ma-vitalrecords.org>). Birth, marriage, and death records compiled in the early twentieth century from town, cemetery, and church records. See also <http://www.archive.org>.

### ***Southern Essex County Land Records***

(<http://saalemdeeds.com/saalemdeeds/Default2.aspx>). Online site with deeds searchable (via Index Books tab) back to 1629.

## **Past and Current Efforts**

### ***Jeremiah Lee and Enslaved Persons***

The history and interpretation of the Lee mansion include the history of enslaved persons, although details are scarce. Lee's tax records are in the town records. They list enslaved people, often women. But, in Lee's inventory (which is not room by room), there are three

men listed with his warehouse goods. It is unclear as to whether they were part of his business. The museum points out that there is town lore suggesting that a location to the right of the Lee mansion was the quarters of those who were enslaved. The records do not clarify the location. They indicate “kitchen, coach house.”

### ***The Underground Railroad in Marblehead***

The museum staff have also collaborated on histories of the Underground Railroad, though textual evidence is scant. There was an exhibit at the museum in the early 2000s, based on the NPS 2001 UGR project ([https://www.nps.gov/subjects/ugrr/discover\\_history/upload/MassUGRR.pdf](https://www.nps.gov/subjects/ugrr/discover_history/upload/MassUGRR.pdf)). There remain some questions about the source material for the history, but recent work by the Racial Justice Team in Marblehead has developed materials that bring together the various accounts and evidence from collections outside of Marblehead. The Marblehead Racial Justice Team is unaffiliated with the museum but has done a lot of work on a number of historical themes and topics. The team’s research and bibliography are available in the ancillary material related to this entry.

The most well-known self-emancipated slaves who are believed to have passed through Marblehead were William and Ellen Craft and Henry “Box” Brown. Among the reported information is the presence of sites that are tied to the Underground Railroad:

1. 21 State Street, A. C. Orne House
2. 9 Merritt Street, Ambrose Allen House
3. 236 Washington Street, owned at the time by Simeon and Betsy Dodge, who were identified as abolitionists by Seibert

### ***Abolitionism***

To date, the staff at Marblehead have not found any records of abolitionist activity in Marblehead in their own records.

### ***Agnes***

The Racial Justice Team conducted the original research on Agnes, an enslaved woman known only by her first name, who was laid to rest in Old Burial Hill in 1718. A gravestone marks her resting place. In 2020, the Marblehead Museum began expanding on that work and has compiled a more complete account of Agnes’s life, based on some new textual evidence that has been identified. Her story can be found at <https://marbleheadmuseum.org/agnes> and in Appendix C.

### ***Joseph and Lucretia Brown***

Joseph Brown, sometimes called “Black Joe,” and his wife Lucretia Brown, sometimes called “Aunt Cressy,” owned a tavern on Gingerbread Hill. The building still stands. Lucretia Brown is thought to have invented the Joe Frogger cookie. The Browns’ story was also

researched and brought to public attention by the work of the Racial Justice Team. In 2020-21, the Marblehead Museum began working in earnest to further explore this history. More can be found on the museum's website at <https://marbleheadmuseum.org/bhm>.

### ***Additional Questions***

The museum staff have many questions about the presence of African Americans during the era of slavery, as well as the role of Black men in wartime.

In undertaking research on African American history in Marblehead, it has become clear that cross-referencing collections and following small clues and oblique references in largely unexamined collections for which there are currently no finding aids can lead to some new discoveries. This work will be time-consuming but seems the only way to try to add some substance to accounts that have been told without robust textual evidence to support them.

Given limited evidence in the records most well-used by patrons and staff over a century, the entries below direct researchers to those collections (both physical and digital) that have the potential to surface useful history. Most, if not all, have no finding aids.

### ***Marblehead Memories Database and Online Collections Database***

A portion of the 60,000-item collection is searchable in the Marblehead Memories Database and Online Collections Database. However, keyword searches for specific terms related to African American history showed few results. One notable discovery was an image of Sybil Swinnerton, an enslaved woman from Danvers, who was touted as the last surviving enslaved person in Massachusetts at the time of the photo in the late nineteenth century.

The image is available at <https://marblehead.pastperfectonline.com/webobject/A8530248-3849-4EEE-8831-152184833517>.

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## **Potential Projects Based on Collections**

(Note these suggestions are largely dependent upon deeper research into the collections; there is little that is ready for exhibit or interpretation at this time.)

- African American churches
- Slavery
- African Americans in the Revolutionary War
- Personal and daily lives of African Americans
- African American women
- Ads for Runaway slaves
- William Fairfax, previously of Barbados and then later of Virginia, and the people he enslaved

## Projects Being Carried Out by the Racial Justice Team in Marblehead (Unaffiliated with the Museum)

The members of the Marblehead Racial Justice Team, led by Louis Meyi, have been working on a walking tour and other initiatives to recover and publicize the African American history in Marblehead. They have worked in consultation with Marblehead Museum staff, in addition to conducting their own research. The topics that they highlight are as follows.

- Agnes, an enslaved woman buried in 1718 on Old Burial Hill
- Notable formerly enslaved persons who passed through Marblehead via the Underground Railroad
- Enslaved persons at Lee Mansion
- A town meeting vote in 1788 directing Africans and Negroes to leave town in ten days
- James W. Fountaine, a 55th Massachusetts Regiment African American Civil War Veteran
- Documenting when Booker T. Washington visited and spoke in Marblehead in July 1912

Three documents related to their research and walking tour are included in the ancillary materials in Appendix C.

## Areas for Follow-Up and Additional Leads

- Continue work with the Marblehead Racial Justice Team to learn from their research.
- Begin a full examination of the records listed above that have not been fully researched, including a thorough accounting of all of the births, deaths, and marriages recorded in the MA Vital Records pre-1849. <https://ma-vitalrecords.org/MA/Essex/Marblehead>.
- The records of the Second Congregational Church, which are in their collections and have recently been digitized, may well offer useful information, but they have not been analyzed through an African American lens.
- Examine wills online at the American Historical and Genealogical Society.
- Explore the Black presence in the maritime trade and fishing industry. Staff do not have much by way of crew lists, and persons of color have yet to be identified in crew lists.
- Explore Glover's Regiment:
  - Pension records for Glover's Regiment at National Archives
  - Prisoner of war (POW) records of Dartmoor (War of 1812) Halifax
- Examine the following bank records:
  - National Grand Bank records (since the 1830s)
  - Marblehead Savings Bank (from the 1870s onward)
  - Records that are located at the banks themselves

- Collaborate with contemporary faith communities and groups who might have records or information:
  - The United Universalist Church (previously the Second Congregational Church)
  - St. Michael's Anglican Church (which dates to the mid-eighteenth century)
  - Marblehead's Old North Church (the original church in town, circa the 1650s)
  - Star of the Sea Catholic Church (from the nineteenth century)
  - The Methodist Church
  - The Jewish community
- Examine additional records that may be useful if a researcher had specific names to trace:
  - Marblehead City Directories, a few of which are on-site at Marblehead Museum
  - Resident's Book (from the 1940s onward), which the museum possesses. Though no one listed is identified by race, these books may offer clues and could be helpful if there are specific names to research.
  - Real Estate Tax Valuation Records and Poll Tax Lists, which go back to the late nineteenth century. There is no listing by race, but researching specific names is possible.

## Keywords

- Slavery
- African American military service
- Personal lives of African Americans in the eighteenth and nineteenth century
- African American women
- Self-liberation
- Emancipation and slave resistance

## Supplemental Materials

Supplemental materials related to this collection, town, or city can be found in Appendix C.

# National Archives at Boston

380 Trapelo Road, Waltham, MA 02452-6399

Website: <https://www.archives.gov/boston>

Phone Number: 781-663-0144 (Main); 866-406-2379 (Archival Research)

Email Address: [boston.archives@nara.gov](mailto:boston.archives@nara.gov)

Main Contact Person(s): Joseph O’Keefe, (781) 663-0377

Wheelchair Accessibility: Yes

Research Fee: It is free to visit the archive, but there are fees associated with scanning and copying.

Best Practices at Research: Staff strongly encourage researchers wishing to use original records to schedule an appointment prior to visiting. No original records will be pulled after 4:00 p.m.

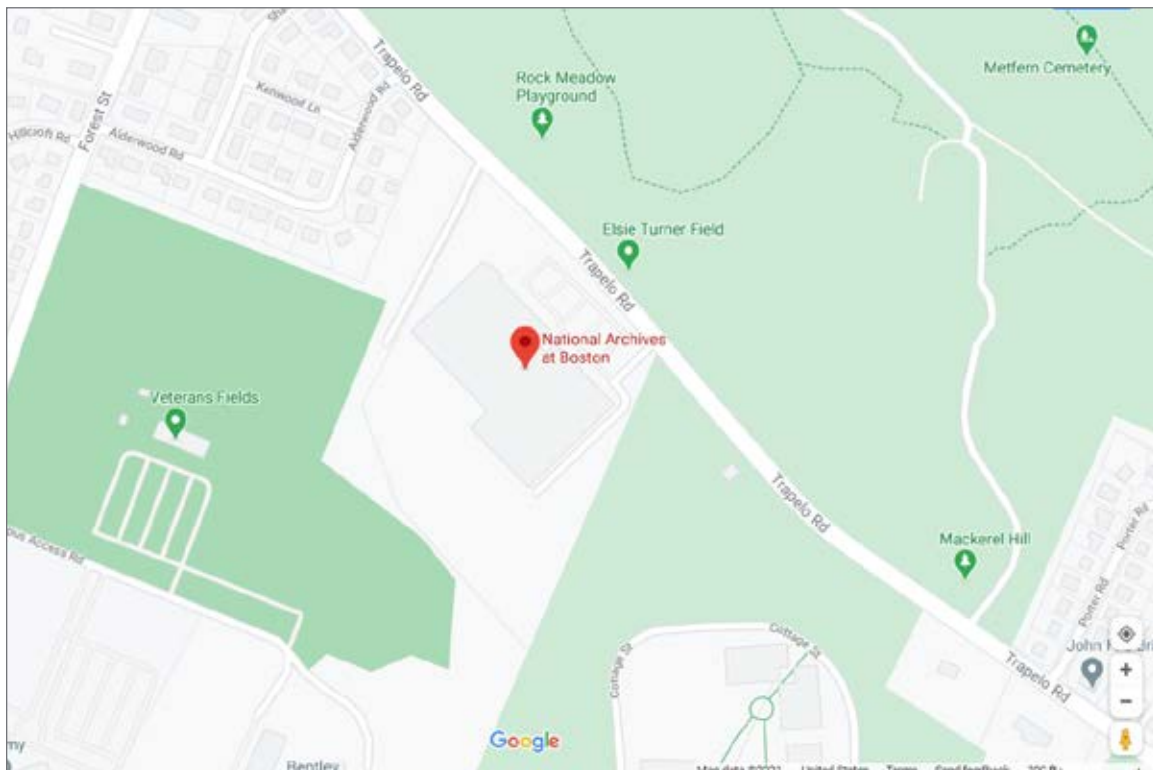


Figure 33: Image of National Archives at Boston’s location. Map data ©2021 Google.



The collection at **National Archives at Boston** (NARA) is comprised of the permanent records of federal agencies and courts located in the six-state New England region. They also house some federal military records pertaining to New England-based installations and units, including Civil War draft, muster, and recruiting records ([https://catalog.archives.gov/search?q=\\*&f.parentNaId=439&f.level=series&sort=titleSort%20asc&f.location-Ids=14&rows=100](https://catalog.archives.gov/search?q=*&f.parentNaId=439&f.level=series&sort=titleSort%20asc&f.location-Ids=14&rows=100)). The archival research staff is both immensely knowledgeable of the collections in general and particularly interested in assisting in creative ways to identify the histories of African Americans that may be only obliquely mentioned in cataloged collections. It is critical that researchers make an appointment before their visit.

## Overview

While the **NARA-Boston** holdings are broad, the collections related to African Americans in Essex County are more limited. Today, the archival records of the Salem and Beverly Customs District, along with many others from New England, are located here. With regards to the history of African Americans in Essex County, there are no topic-specific collections or existing online exhibits. Information on African Americans can be found via searching maritime history records of the Salem and Beverly Customs divisions in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and some military records from the Civil War, namely the Provost Marshall records (effectively the logistics and police arm of the US Army), dating to the time of the Civil War draft. In each collection, there is little intentional focus on African Americans, but records like ship logs, manifests, and crew lists reveal the presence of African Americans in the maritime trades. This includes information about race, slavery, and trade broadly in the Atlantic world. Likewise, the Provost Marshall records can be unpacked to extract information about the enlistment of persons from the area whose physical descriptions might identify them as African Americans. Information about raising regiments is also present. In addition, searching by city or town and looking for references to those who might be classified as non-white can offer a way to learn more about individuals who were presenting themselves for duty. There is no finding aid for this collection. Additional records (such as court records from Boston) might reveal other stories, but the researchers at NARA have never looked at them through this lens and there would be much work done to try and extract useful information from them.

## Collections Highlights / Relevant Collections

### *Customs Records for Salem and Beverly*

NARA-Boston has a substantial collection of originals and a microfilm copy of custom records, which include manifests as well as crew lists from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The crew lists identify a sizable number of African Americans among the crews during this period. The records also help map the commerce and industries supporting slavery in the Atlantic world.

### ***Civil War: Provost Marshall Records***

While there is no finding aid for this collection, these are records of the logistics/police arm of the US Army, which was begun after the Civil War. In this collection, there are records related to African American regiments and people who presented themselves for service. In 1863, the Army was not clear on how to deploy or engage African Americans who were presenting themselves for service, but over time, African American regiments were raised (e.g., the 54th Massachusetts). These records can be searched by city or town to identify draftees and the jobs they had. African Americans are generally noted as such in physical descriptions, which are quite specific.

These records offer a general sense of town and city demographics (and health data). Researchers can track individuals from the time they presented themselves until the time of induction.

## **Current Efforts**

### ***Online Exhibit: The Ship Mount Vernon: Records of a Salem Vessel in 1803***

<https://www.archives.gov/boston/exhibits/mount-vernon>

This exhibit features early federal records that document the first voyage made by the Ship *Mount Vernon* of Salem, Massachusetts, in 1803. At that time, tall ships from Salem—like the Ship *Mount Vernon*—traveled around the world exporting and importing cargoes from the West and the East, including locations such as Canton and Sumatra. These documents, and the information recorded on them, are typical examples of records for thousands of US ships of that time. These documents were an integral part of the daily lives of seamen, merchants, and officials. The crew list includes crew identified as “dark.”

There is also a page with digitized records of the inward and outward materials related to a few Salem ships from the very early nineteenth century. These records are not transcribed, but they show clearly the broad maritime trade in the Atlantic. In addition, these records reveal how trade linked the economic growth/activity in Essex County and the plantation economies of the Caribbean, which depended on enslaved labor. See <https://www.archives.gov/boston/exhibits/mount-vernon/various-ships-records.html>.

LIST of Officers and Seamen on board the Ship *Mount Vernon* (Boston) and bound for Europe

NAME OF SEAMAN	RANK	PLACE OF BIRTH	PLACES OF RESIDENCE	AGE	NO. OF MONTHS	REMARKS
Richard Spaul	Capt. 1st Lt.	Boston	London	24	5	61
Jacob Lee	Capt. 1st Lt.	Boston	Boston	28	5	32
William King	Seaman	Boston	Do.	24	5	91
John Stone	Do.	Boston	Do.	22	5	88
William Howard	Do.	Newport	Do.	22	5	9
William Green	Do.	Beverly	Do.	22	5	62
William Weston	Do.	Boston	Do.	21	5	88
John Easton	Do.	London	London	21	5	92
Joseph Carter	Do.	Boston	London	21	5	81
James Agnew	Do.	Boston	Do.	17	5	84
Stephen Allen	Do.	Boston	Boston	16	5	82
Thomas Brown	Capt.	Boston	London	14	5	68
William Bell	Capt. 1st Lt.	Boston	Boston	14	5	24

**Figure 34:** Crew list from the Ship *Mount Vernon*, June 4, 1803.

Crew Lists, Collection District of Salem and Beverly. Records of the US Customs Service, Record Group 36. National Archives and Records Administration—Northeast Region (Boston).

## Other Efforts

Currently, a staff member is working on indexing the microfilm collection of the Customs Records from Salem and Beverly.

In a more general sense, the NARA-Boston staff are quite interested in supporting more research and work on how to tell African American history with their collections. They would welcome ideas on how to support the NPS/OAH project and interpretive efforts in the coming years.

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## Areas for Follow-Up and Additional Leads

- **District Court records for Boston:** Federal cases would have been heard in the District Court in Boston. These would be useful if we had the names of people from Essex County and could try to track them.
- **NARA** also has pension records from the Revolutionary War, which might also be helpful and provide additional insight.

## Keywords

- Military
- Civil War
- Maritime trade

## Supplemental Materials

Supplemental materials related to this collection, town, or city can be found in Appendix C.

# Newburyport Public Library— Archival Center

94 State Street, Newburyport, MA 01950

Website: [www.newburyportpl.org](http://www.newburyportpl.org)

Phone Number: (978) 465-4428 ext. x231 or x229

Email Address: [info@newburyportpl.org](mailto:info@newburyportpl.org)

Main Contact Person(s): Sharon Spieldenner, Archival Center, (978) 465-4428 ext. 229

Social Media: Facebook, YouTube

Wheelchair Accessibility: Yes

Research Fee: Unknown

Best Practices for Research: Always check with the repository; hours are subject to change.



Figure 35: Image of Newburyport Public Library's location. Map data ©2021 Google.

## Overview

Located in the small seaport city of Newburyport, Massachusetts, the **Newburyport Public Library** was founded as a circulation library in September 1854 by Josiah Little, Charles Jackson, and Samuel Swett. It began welcoming patrons the following year. Today the library holds more than 100,000 volumes and serves nearly 20,000 patrons.

Newburyport Public Library's Archival Center focuses on genealogy and the local history of Essex County, with some limited materials covering New England. The center's manuscript holdings include church records, cemetery records, charitable societies, and clubs.

The center's professional library staff includes Sharon Spieldenner, a senior archivist and librarian, and Dana Echelberger, an assistant archivist, in addition to numerous volunteers. The center's blog features posts on the staff's work, at <http://nplarchives.blogspot.com>.

## Collection Highlights

Newburyport Public Library's Archival Center has limited material related to African Americans in Newburyport. There is:

Susan Harvey's unpublished 2011 master's degree thesis entitled "Slavery in Massachusetts: A Descendant of Early Settlers Investigates the Connections in Newburyport, Massachusetts."

A book about slavery in colonial Newburyport edited and compiled by Norma Murphy and Peter Lenz.

A facsimile of a letter from Newburyport residents about Daniel Webster's Senate speech in 1850 and then Webster's reply.

The Archival Center has a binder of vital records of African Americans in Newburyport and some newspaper clippings, like one written by Charles King Whipple, a white abolitionist and resident of Newburyport, entitled, "Boston in Slavery Times," published in the *Boston Evening Transcript* on July 17, 1893.

In the linked file folders in this report, some records, not available at the Newburyport Public Library, are included, specifically related to African American families (the Osborns, the Fields, the Ricks, and the Townes).

### ***Microfilm Collection***

The microfilm collection includes the *Newburyport Daily News*, dating back to 1773 up to the present, as well as Essex County probate records and other items. The library has digitized the *Newburyport Daily News* from 1773 to 1955. This will soon be expanded to 1974.

There is a copy of a very interesting thirty-four-page guidebook, *The Newburyport Black Heritage Trail: Searching for African-American History in Newburyport*, written by Jane M. Uscilka and Rosemarie Greene. Greene led a tour as part of the annual Yankee Homecoming event in Newburyport in 2002.

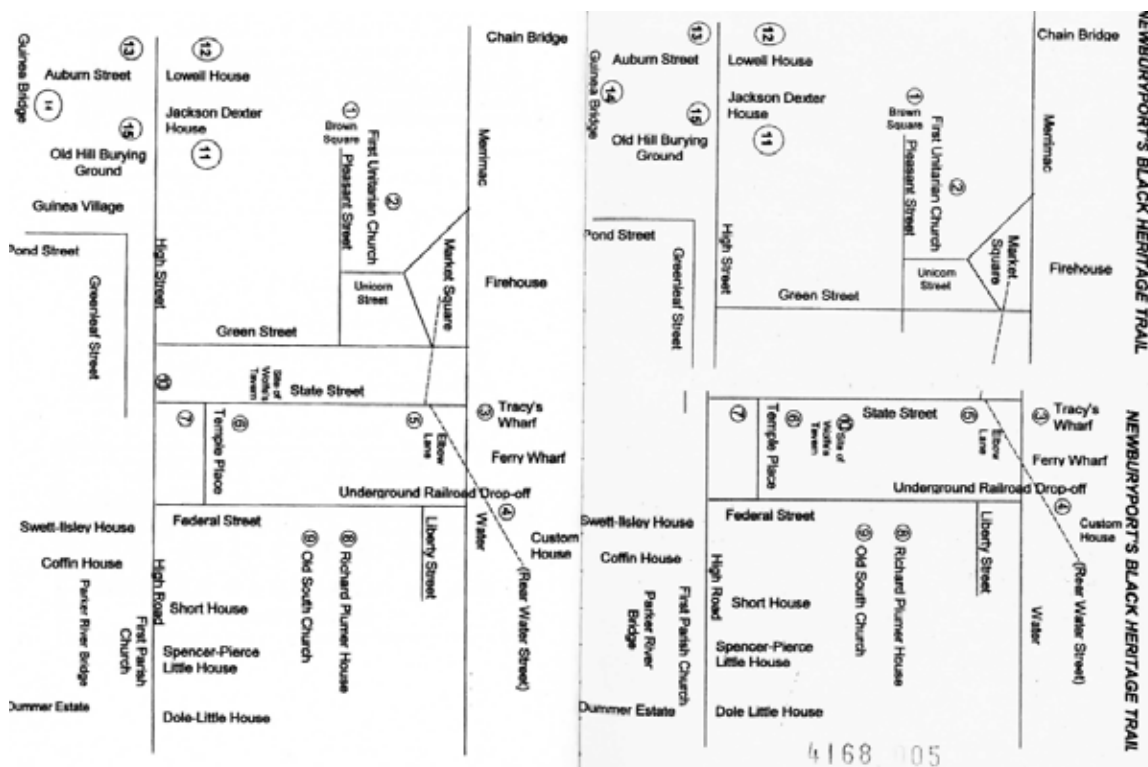


Figure 36: Map of Newburyport's Black Heritage Trail. From *The Newburyport Black Heritage Trail: Searching for African-American History in Newburyport*, by Jane M. Uscilka and Rosemarie Greene, 2002. Used with the permission of the Uscilka family.

### *The Case of Caesar Hendricks*

There is no evidence of materials located at the Newburyport Public Library related to this case; however, the case is worth noting.

The 1773 case *Caesar Hendricks v. Greenleaf* came before the Essex Inferior Court, which was located in Newburyport. Richard Greenleaf, a white enslaver from Newburyport, enslaved Caesar Hendricks, a Black man, and Caesar Hendricks sued Greenleaf for trespass. The jury granted Hendricks his freedom as well as compensation in the amount of 18£.

The trial records are available here: "Wetmore's Minutes of the Trial: Essex Inferior Court, Newburyport, October 1773," <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/05-02-02-0004-0006-0001>.

## Potential Projects Based on Collections

- Enslaved African Americans in colonial and revolutionary era Essex County
- Digitized issues of the *Daily News*, *Herald*, and other local historical newspapers from 1773 to 1963

## Areas for Follow-Up and Additional Leads

- Exploring Newburyport Public Library’s historic photograph collection
- Municipal records (from school committee records to tax records)
- Case of *Caesar Hendricks v. Greenleaf* and other legal cases concerning enslaved African Americans
- Nelson Ricks, often referred to as a “colored orator” and the “most well-known colored man” of Newburyport
- The Cousins family (Frank Cousins)
- Julia D. Steele, Massachusetts’s first African American town moderator and civic and religious leader, who lived in nearby West Newbury
- Roland Hayes, an African American concert tenor

## Keywords

- Slavery
- Enslaved African Americans
- Emancipation
- Newspapers
- Law
- African American families
- Black Heritage Trail

## Bibliography

Euphemia Vale Blake. *History of Newburyport: From the Earliest Settlement of the Country to the Present Time: with a Biographical Appendix* (Newburyport, 1854).

“Wetmore’s Minutes of the Trial: Essex Inferior Court, Newburyport, October 1773,”  
<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/05-02-02-0004-0006-0001>.

## Supplemental Materials

Supplemental materials related to this collection, town, or city can be found in Appendix C.

# North Andover Historical Society

153 Academy Road, North Andover, MA 01845

Website: [www.northandoverhistoricalsociety.org](http://www.northandoverhistoricalsociety.org)

Phone Number: (978) 686-4035

Email Address: [director.nahistory@gmail.com](mailto:director.nahistory@gmail.com)

## Main Contact Person(s):

Brian J. Howard, Executive Director ([director.nahistory@gmail.com](mailto:director.nahistory@gmail.com));

Jan Williams, Collections Manager ([archives.nahistory@gmail.com](mailto:archives.nahistory@gmail.com));

Inga Larson, Curator of Archival Collections ([archives.nahistory@gmail.com](mailto:archives.nahistory@gmail.com))

Social Media: Facebook

Wheelchair Accessibility: Unknown

**Research Fee:** Members are given two free hours and a special hourly rate; the non-member rate is \$15 for the first hour and \$10 for each following hour. The business rate is \$25 per hour.

**Best Practices for Research:** Always check with the repository, as hours are subject to change. On-site research must be arranged by appointment; use the above email addresses to set up an appointment.

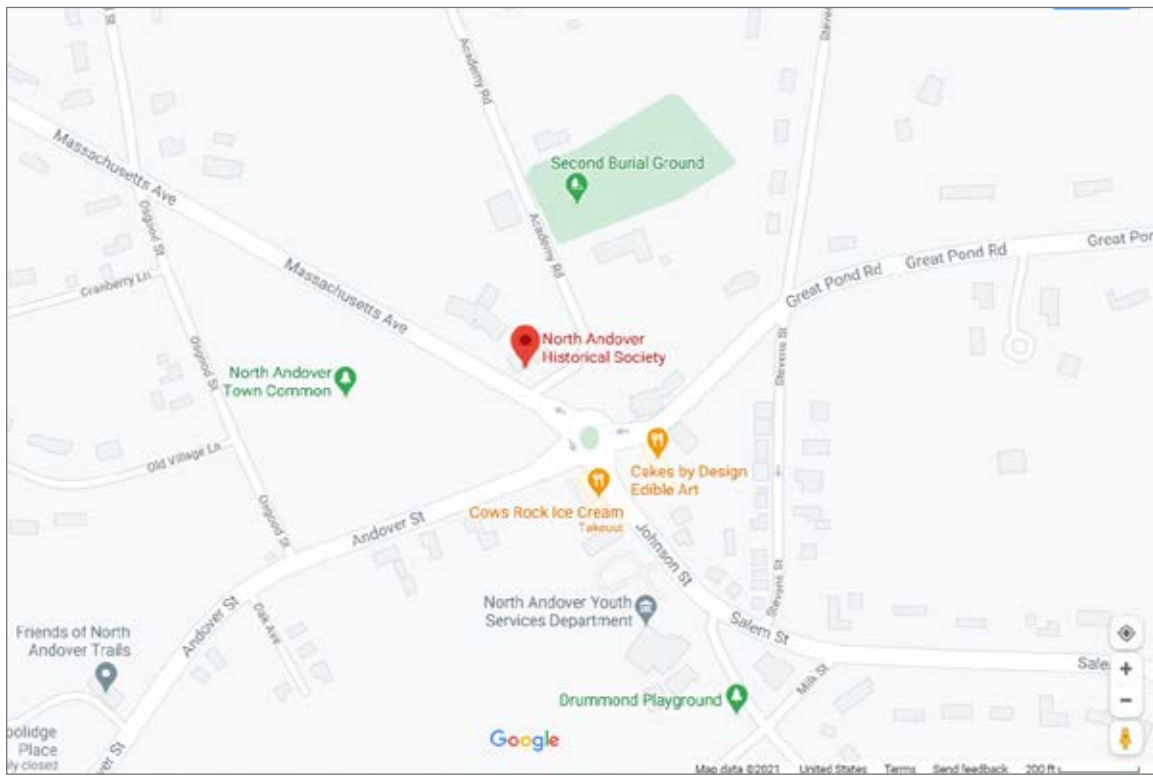


Figure 37: Image of North Andover Historical Society's location. Map data ©2021 Google.



## Overview

A nonprofit organization, the **North Andover Historical Society**, was founded in 1913 and operates as both a museum—which showcases early American furniture—and a repository for archival materials. The Society aims to “preserve...local heritage and bring it to life through” interactive programs and activities, including lectures, tours, workshops, and exhibits.

The S. Forbes Rockwell Jr. Library houses primary and secondary source materials, from photographs to maps. On-site research is by appointment only for both members of the society as well as non-members. A staff member is always on hand to help with research requests and questions.

## Collection Highlights

### *Second Burial Ground of North Andover*

In the early nineteenth century, the North Parish Church used the second burial ground. It is estimated that more than seven hundred people, including Cato Freeman, are buried there, though markers are on only a few graves.<sup>29</sup>

### *Cato Freeman*

North Andover Historical Society has a letter written by Cato Freeman to his former enslavers, the Phillips family. Born in 1768 to enslaved parents, Salem and Remas, Cato was enslaved by the Phillips family of Andover. Cato was one of 119 African Americans in Andover. The Phillips family educated Cato, who remained enslaved until 1789. He celebrated his freedom by taking the surname “Freeman.”

In 1789, Cato married Lydia Bristow and they had children. He was a property owner, purchasing two homes in Andover, and he joined North Parish Church. He died on August 9, 1853. His wife Lydia died the following year.

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<sup>29</sup> North Andover Historical Society, <https://www.northandoverhistoricalsociety.org>.

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## DEATHS.

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In this city, 21st inst, Mrs Margaret Ford, a native of Halifax, N. S., 50.

20th inst, Florence Eva, only child of William T. and Anna Clapp, 13 mos 22 days.

At North Chelsea 23d inst, Allen Bearse, youngest child of Henry W. and Lydia T. Dale, 5 mos.

At Cambridgeport 21st inst, John Fielding, son of M. A. Leary, 1 year 6 days.

At Hingham, at the house of her sister, Mrs Martha Whiting, 68, for the last twenty years Governess of the Charlestown Female Seminary. Funeral this (Wednesday) afternoon, at 3 1/2 o'clock, from the house of Mr Edward Humphry, in Hingham, rear of West Hingham depot. Friends are invited.

At Newburyport 20th inst, William Moody, youngest son of Friend M. and Rebecca Kezer, 1 year 9 mos.

At North Andover, Cato Freeman, 85. In early life he was a slave, belonging to the late Gov. Phillips, and went by the name of "Cato."

Figure 38: "Deaths [Cato Freeman]," *Daily Atlas*, August 24, 1853.

Freeman's death announcement reads: At North Andover, Cato Freeman, 85.

In early life he was a slave, belonging to the late Gov. Phillips, and went by the name of "Cato."

### *Transcription of the Letter*

In a letter to the Phillips family, which is transcribed below, Cato thanked them for their kindness while also celebrating his freedom.

May 24, 1789

*From Cato Freeman to his former enslaver Phillips*

*Being about to remove from the family where I have for sometime resided, would with the greatest respect I am capable of the heads of each family respectively I take my leave. I desire therefore to return my hearty and unfeigned thanks for your care over me, your kindness to me, your timely checks, your faithful reproves, necessary corrections, your wise council. Being unable to make a compensation either to the author (god) or instrument (yourself) of the advantages I have been favored with equal to them I hope while in Life to Do all I can to promote the glory of the former and the welfare of the latter. My present wish is that the blessings of heaven may attend each family and all their Lawful undertakings also their children to the latest generation. And I hope that I myself shall be with the rest to Live in such manner that I shal be admitted with you into that have of rest where there is no Distinctions.*

*Yours with respect*

*Cato*

## Potential Projects Based on Collections

- African Africans in colonial and Revolutionary Essex County
  - *Historical Sketches of Andover* contains multiple references to the institution of slavery, enslavers, and enslaved people (including but not limited to Cato Freeman).

## Areas for Follow-Up and Additional Leads

- Second Burial Ground of North Andover
- Slavery in North Andover

## Keywords

- Slavery
- Enslaved African Americans
- Emancipation and Freedom
- Literacy
- Cemeteries

## Supplemental Materials

In the linked file folders in Appendix C, there are a few documents, compiled from genealogical and newspaper databases, that provide more information on African Americans like Cato Freeman. Supplemental materials related to this collection, town, or city can also be found in Appendix C.

# Peabody Historical Society (Ruth Hill Library and Archives)

Sutton-Peirson House  
31 Washington Street, Peabody, MA 01960

Website: <http://www.peabodyhistorical.org>

Phone Number: (978) 531-0805

Email Address: [kelly.daniell@peabodyhistorical.org](mailto:kelly.daniell@peabodyhistorical.org) (for research inquiries)

Social Media: Facebook, Twitter

Main Contact Person(s):

Kelly Daniell, Senior Curator, (978) 977-0514 ([kelly.daniell@peabodyhistorical.org](mailto:kelly.daniell@peabodyhistorical.org))

Nora Bigelow, Assistant Curator

Wheelchair Accessibility: Unknown

Research Fee: No fee, but there is a recommended donation of \$10 per day. PHS members, teachers, and students need not donate.

Best Practices for Research: Be sure to schedule an appointment ahead of time.

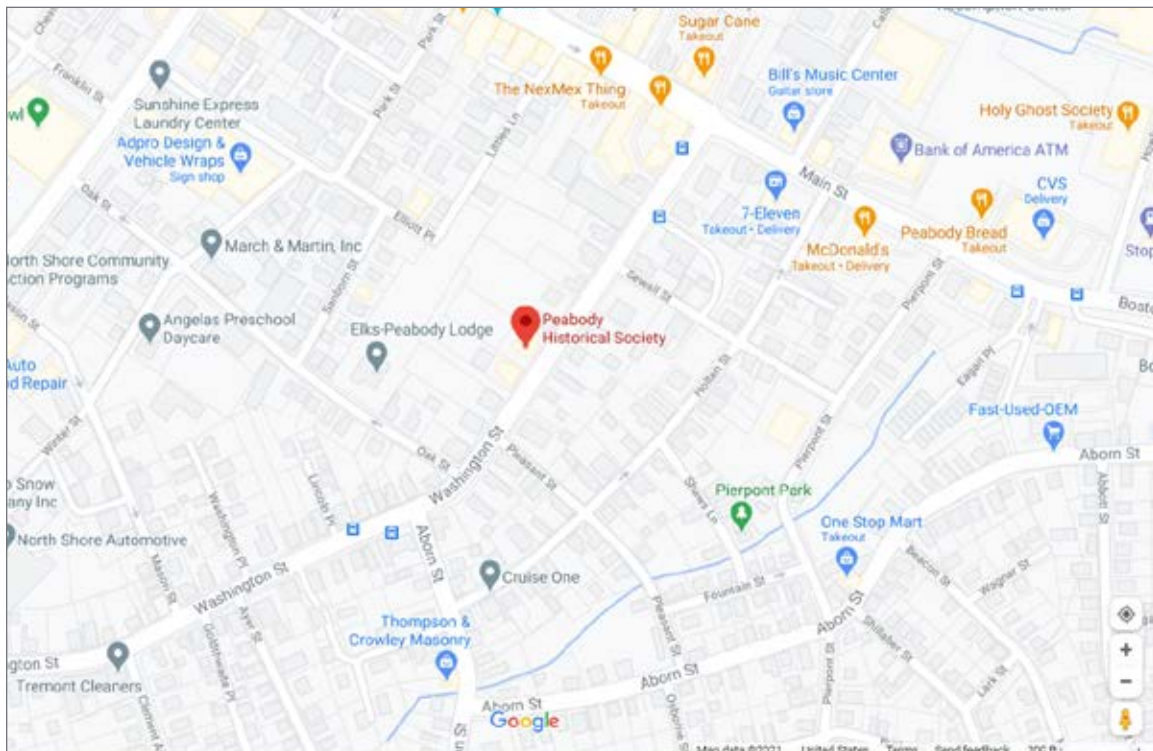


Figure 39: Image of Peabody Historical Society's (Ruth Hill Library and Archives) location. Map data ©2021 Google.

The Peabody Historical Society and Museum has a number of sites in Peabody. The museum in the Osborne-Salata House is located at 33 Washington Street. Located next door at 31 Washington Street is the Sutton House, which houses the **Ruth Hill Library and Archives**. Ruth Hill Library and Archives is the leading repository for historic printed material and images of the city of Peabody.

The goal of the archives is to collect two and three-dimensional items that tell the story of the people, places, and events of Peabody, which became an independent municipality in 1916. Prior to this, the location was part of Salem and Danvers. And so, much of what is “Peabody” history prior to the twentieth century can be found in other towns’ archives.

The collection includes vital records, genealogical materials, directories, maps, manuscripts, and photographs, as well as materials on Peabody cemeteries, churches, clubs, schools, and government. The society also maintains a reference library consisting of volumes on local history and culture. The Ruth Hill Library and Archives is open to the public Wednesdays from 1:00 to 3:00 p.m. and by appointment.

Researchers generally must schedule appointments in advance in order to ensure proper assistance and access to the collections. Depending on the materials requested, the curator may bring them to the 33 Washington Street location for viewing. The space for researchers is limited, and generally only one to two researchers can be accommodated at a time. The curatorial staff is incredibly knowledgeable about the collections and invested in helping find hints about African American history in their collections.

## Overview

There is no part of the collection specifically related to African American history. The Peabody Historical Society never had a formal agenda to collect African American-related historical material. For most of the years of this historical society, no one thought to either tag or index materials in a way that would allow for searching via “African American” or related terms. If an item has a note indicating some connection to African Americans, it is due to an individual decision by an individual cataloger. There was no systematic process implemented for this purpose.

Moreover, 70 percent of the collection is uncataloged, making identifying what might be there a challenge. There are multiple systems for cataloging the collections, including an index card file and a small modern catalog. To date, there have been no previous publications or exhibitions related to African American history. This said, while no formal plan has been put in place, the curators are currently very interested in collecting African American-related materials and showcasing these stories, as long as their collections can support such an undertaking and/or if they can work in conjunction with other area sites.

## Collection Highlights

Given that Peabody became an independent municipality only in the early twentieth century, this collection is one that might be able to shed light on twentieth-century African American lives. However, there are no specific African American-related collections. The Senior Curator ran a search in their cataloged collections with the following search terms:

- Black(s)
- African
- African American
- Slave(s)
- Slavery
- Abolition

The results were limited—only two items, listed below. The staff, however, has a depth of knowledge about the collection in general and has begun to think about other items and materials that can help tell African American stories.

The two findable relevant cataloged items are listed here. Both deal with issues of race and racism in early-twentieth-century Peabody more broadly than African American history per se.

### ***Crow Village Minstrel Show Photos*** (2 Photos)

Crow Village Association. Gift of M. Reardon (Peabody). Donated in 2000.

Two 11-by-13-inch BandW photos of the Crow Village Association Minstrel Show, 1930–40.

These photos are posed images of numerous members (men and women) in all fashion of costuming, including some in Blackface. The Crow Village Association appears to have been a social club. There are no records of the association readily available in the archives or online.

The names of all participants are listed on the back of the photos. Searching city directories for these individuals would likely be a useful project.



**Figure 40:** Crow Village Minstrel Show photograph, circa 1930–40.

### ***Victor Record***

(78 rpm) donated by Stephanie Brown.

“I’se Gwine Back to Dixie” (C.A. White), Alma Gluck and Male Chorus, circa 1916/17  
(Accession # 2015.57.12).

This is a minstrel show song, well-known across the United States from the 1870s onward. According to <http://www.lyricsplayground.com>, this is an 1874 song by Charles A. White. A YouTube recording identifies the Alma Gluck rendition of this song from 1916. The Alma Gluck 1916–17 recording was quite popular and widely circulated. YouTube also has a 1901 version of this song.



**Figure 41:** Photograph of the Victor record, “I’se Gwine Back to Dixie”  
(C.A. White), Alma Gluck and Male Chorus, circa 1916–17.

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## **Potential Projects Based on the Collections**

- Representations of African Americans in popular culture
- Racism in Essex County/Blackface

## **Areas for Follow-Up and Additional Leads**

- Crow Village Association and the people wearing Blackface in the photos
- Poorhouse Books and Check Registers

This collection includes books and checks registers which, according to the curator, identify recipients by race. These are potentially rich resources to explore and discuss economic status and city demographics, and to get at demographic stories of individuals or families. These materials are not indexed or cataloged.

- Sybil Swinnerton (unclear about archival material)

According to Peabody Historical Society curators, Sybil Swinnerton, who died in 1863 in the Peabody infirmary, was the last enslaved person in Peabody. Swinnerton was enslaved by John Swinnerton. However, it is unclear as to whether there is archival material in the collection that can tell a fuller story about her. There is a photograph of Sybil Swinnerton in the Marblehead Historical Society and Museum collection, identifying her as being from Danvers. This was when part of what is now Peabody was Danvers. The photo can be found online here: <https://marblehead.pastperfectonline.com/webobject/8530248-3849-4EEE-8831-152184833517>.
- Black Veterans

According to staff, there is a well-told story in Peabody about the last Civil War Veteran in the city who was a Black man named Mowbray. To date, no one has found any obvious records related to him in the collections. He is not mentioned in the 1972 book *The Peabody Story* by John Wells. It seems that African Americans are not mentioned in that account.

There is a collection that includes subject files for World War I and World War II. There are veterans' files therein, and there might be some material identifying Black veterans.
- City directories and population statistics

The curator has not seen evidence of a formalized pattern of residential segregation in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but exploring the population data for the city in city directories and through population statistics would help uncover more about such patterns.
- Gender discrimination

The Peabody Historical Society possesses some material related to the women's suffrage movement and the League of Women Voters. While there might be some reference to African Americans (both men and women) in this material, they did not find anything of the sort when they researched and produced a large-scale exhibit on suffrage a few years ago.
- Business records could reveal links to Black residents.
- Confer with the clothing curator to see if there is anything in the collection that can formally be tied to an African American owner.
- Additionally, there may be materials related to African American leatherworkers at the Leather Workers Museum in Peabody. Despite many attempts, it was impossible to schedule a meeting with the staff there. Hours and access are quite limited.



## **Keywords**

- African Americans in popular culture
- Jim Crow–era racism
- Social services, poverty, housing, and education
- Residential segregation
- African American military service

## **Supplemental Materials**

Supplemental materials related to this collection, town, or city can be found in Appendix C.

# Phillips Academy / Robert S. Peabody Institute of Archaeology

180 Main Street, Andover, MA 01810

Website: <https://www.andover.edu/learning/peabody>

Phone Number: (978) 749-4490

Email Address: [rspeabody@andover.edu](mailto:rspeabody@andover.edu)

Main Contact Person(s): Marla Taylor, Curator of Collections ([mtaylor@andover.edu](mailto:mtaylor@andover.edu))

Social Media: Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, SmugMug

Wheelchair Accessibility: Unknown

Research Fee: Unknown

Best Practices for Research: Please call or email [mtaylor@andover.edu](mailto:mtaylor@andover.edu) to set up an appointment. You can also search within the archives ahead of time here: <https://peabody.pastperfectonline.com/archive>.

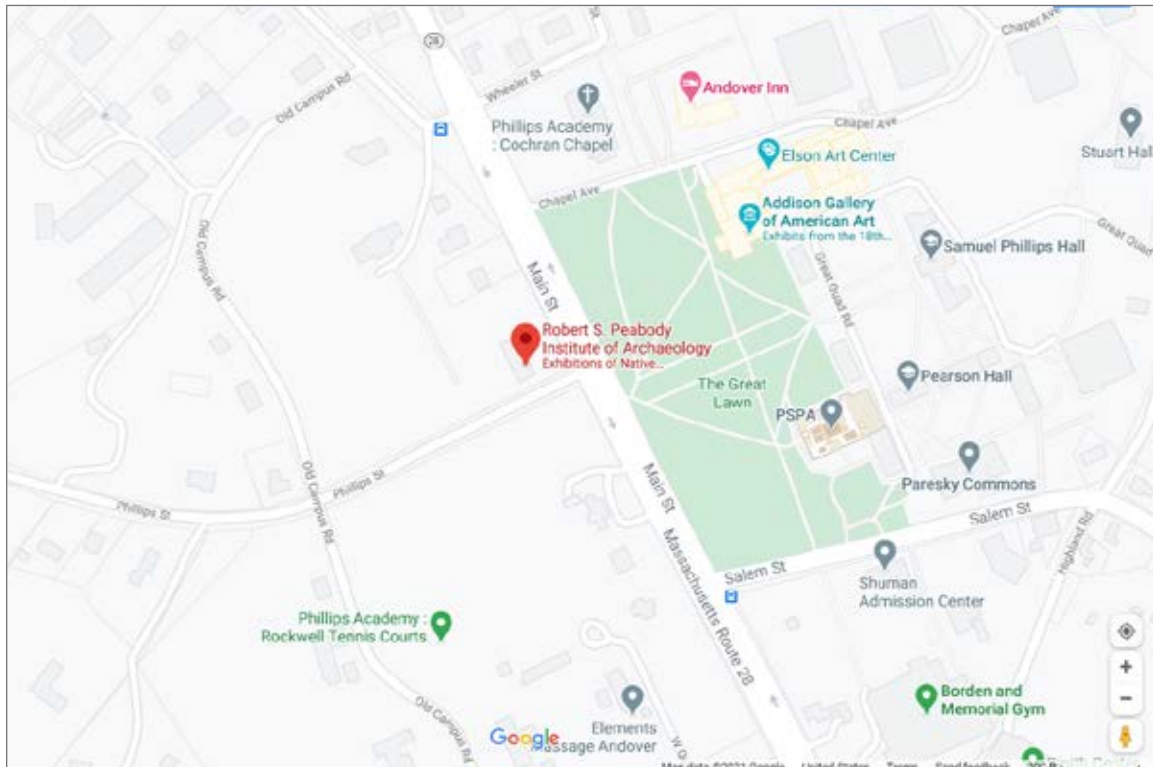


Figure 42: Image of Phillips Academy's location. Map data ©2021 Google.

## Overview

The **Robert S. Peabody Institute of Archaeology** was founded in 1901 by Robert S. Peabody, an 1857 graduate of Phillips Academy who later became a prominent architect. The goals of this institution are threefold: “to introduce the students of Phillips Academy to the world of archaeology, to promote archaeological research, and to provide a place for students to gather.”<sup>30</sup> The institute is located on the 706-acre campus of Phillips Academy in Andover. Phillips Academy was founded during the revolutionary era in 1778 by Samuel Phillips Jr., a US merchant, and is a leading private academy serving grades 9–12.

The institute provides tours of its collections, which include 600,000 artifacts, photographs, and documents, some of which concern the Native American experience. Ryan Wheeler is the director and chair of archaeology at the institute, and Marla Taylor serves as the curator of collections.

## Collection Highlights

### *Lucy Foster’s Ceramic Collection*

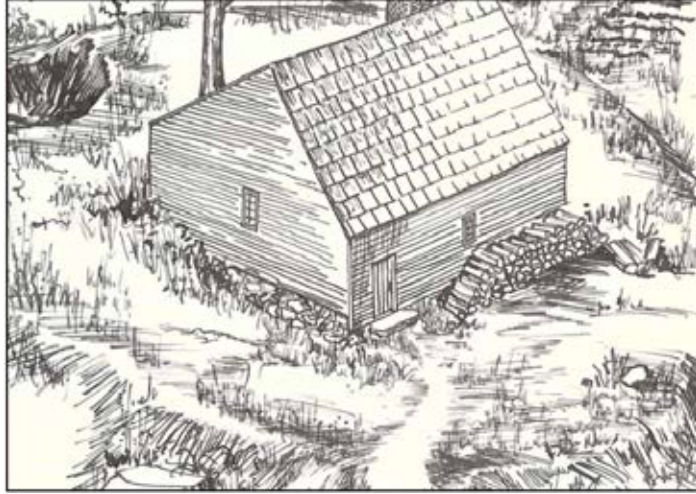
Robert S. Peabody Institute of Archaeology houses 167 objects from the Lucy Foster home-site, such as hand-painted dishes, jugs and mugs, saucers, and other vessels. Some materials from this collection have been imaged on the Institute of Archaeology’s website. Other objects from this collection have been loaned to and are on display at the National Museum of African American History and Culture in Washington, DC.

Born around 1767 in Boston, Lucy was four years old when she was given as a wedding gift to Job and Hannah Foster in Andover. In 1789, Job Foster died, and Hannah Foster married Philemon Chandler. As the institution of slavery slowly died out in Massachusetts in the revolutionary era, it appears that Lucy continued working as a domestic servant for Hannah. Upon Hannah’s death in 1815, Lucy built her own cottage on the one acre of land that Hannah willed to her.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> “Robert S. Peabody Institute of Archaeology,” <https://www.andover.edu/learning/peabody>.

<sup>31</sup> An 1863 article written by genealogist Alfred Poore referred to Lucy’s property as “Black Lucy’s Garden.”



**Figure 43:** A twentieth-century rendering of Lucy Foster's home in Andover. <https://www.andoverhistoryandculture.org/history-slavery-post-emancipation>.<sup>32</sup>  
Courtesy of Andover Center for History and Culture.

Lucy probably continued working as a domestic servant in white households, but was indigent and received assistance from the town of Andover. She died in 1845 and was buried in an unmarked grave at South Church Burial grounds in Andover.

In 1943, archaeologists Ripley and Adelaide Bullen excavated Lucy's home on Woburn Street in the Ballardvale section of Andover. The discovery of this site was accidental; the Bullens were looking for evidence of an ancient Native American settlement but stumbled upon Lucy's home.

This excavation unearthed vessels like bowls and plates, ceramics, and other objects. One scholar observes that "Lucy's large ceramic collection might indicate a focal point in the African American community for religious and national holidays and Black commemorative celebrations."<sup>33</sup> It is possible that one of those celebrations could have been Negro Election Day.

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<sup>32</sup> The sketch is originally found in the book *Historical Archaeology at Black Lucy's Garden: Ceramics from the Site of a Nineteenth Century Afro-American*, by Vernon Baker, <https://archive.org/details/historicalarchae08vern/page/n17/mode/2up>.

<sup>33</sup> Anthony Martin, "Homeplace Is Also Workplace: Another Look at Lucy Foster in Andover, Massachusetts," *Historical Archaeology* 52.1 (January 2018), 100.

In 2019, students from The Academy at Penguin Hall unveiled a purple slate gravestone honoring Lucy Foster. Her epitaph reads: “Born into captivity in Boston / Came to her freedom in Andover / *Known by God and her community.*”<sup>34</sup>

### ***Phillips Academy Archives and Special Collections***

Phillips Academy Archives and Special Collections has limited material related to the African American experience.

#### ***African American Alumni***

The following website lists notable Phillips Andover alumni: <https://www.noblenet.org/paarchives/118-2/notable-alumni-long-list-1800s>. Included are the names of several African American students, such as Benjamin James, Samuel Codes Watson, and Richard T. Greener. *The Phillipian*, the student newspaper of Phillips Andover, published an article entitled “Tracing the History and Legacy of Black Students at Andover.” The article claims that “between 1870 and 1955, there were no Black students on campus.”<sup>35</sup>

#### ***Photo Albums and Photographs***

This collection includes photo albums and photographs of African American students before 1988, as well as photographs of the thirtieth-anniversary celebration in 1993 involving students of color.

#### ***Abbot Academy Collection***

There may be some records related to African American students at Abbot Academy in the Abbot Academy collection, 1812–2014 (with the bulk of the material from 1915 to 1973). Some parts of this collection have been digitized and are accessible here: <https://abbotcollections.andover.edu>.

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## **Potential Projects Based on Collections**

- Lucy Foster’s homesite
- Students of color at Phillips Andover Academy
  - Richard T. Greener, the first African American graduate of Phillips Andover Academy, <https://phillipian.net/2016/05/06/greener-unveiling>
  - William Clarence Matthews (1877–1928), an African American baseball player at Phillips Academy and later Harvard University

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<sup>34</sup> Laura Crimaldi, “Gravestone Dedicated to Woman Who Lived in Bondage and Freedom in Andover,” *Boston Globe*, May 11, 2019, <https://www.bostonglobe.com/metro/2019/05/11/gravestone-dedicated-woman-who-lived-bondage-and-freedom-andover/gaiCqAEKacChk8lUZplWBP/story.html>.

<sup>35</sup> Laura Ospina and Will Yue, “Tracing the History and Legacy of Black Students at Andover,” *The Phillipian*, February 28, 2020, <https://phillipian.net/2020/02/28/tracing-the-history-and-legacy-of-Black-students-at-andover>.

## Areas for Follow-Up and Additional Leads

- Ivy League baseball team's William Clarence Matthews Trophy
- African American students at Abbot Academy

## Keywords

- Education
- African American students
- Enslaved African Americans
- Enslaved women
- Emancipation and freedom
- Literacy
- Archaeology

## Bibliography

Peabody Institute of Archaeology, <https://www.andover.edu/learning/peabody>.

Laura Crimaldi. "Gravestone Dedicated to Woman Who Lived in Bondage and Freedom in Andover," *Boston Globe*, May 11, 2019.

<https://www.bostonglobe.com/metro/2019/05/11/gravestone-dedicated-woman-who-lived-bondage-and-freedom-andover/gaiCqAEKacChk8lUZplWBP/story.html>

Laura Ospina and Will Yue. "Tracing the History and Legacy of Black Students at Andover," *The Phillipian*, February 28, 2020. <https://phillipian.net/2020/02/28/tracing-the-history-and-legacy-of-Black-students-at-andover>

## Supplemental Materials

Supplemental materials related to this collection, town, or city can be found in Appendix C.

# Phillips Library Collection Center

306 Newburyport Turnpike, Rowley, MA 01969

Website: <https://www.pem.org/visit/library-02/collections>

Phone Number: (978) 542-1553

Email Address: [research@pem.org](mailto:research@pem.org)

Main Contact Person(s): Direct questions to the email address [research@pem.org](mailto:research@pem.org)

Social Media: Facebook, Twitter, Instagram

Wheelchair Accessibility: Yes

Research Fee: None, though there are reproduction fees.

**Best Practices for Research:** Always check with the repository; hours are subject to change. Guests are welcome to park right out front in the spaces labeled Visitor Parking. When you enter, there will be a person at the front desk. You'll sign in and then put your belongings in a locker. After that, you may enter the reading room, which is a fairly sizeable and modern room with seven tables, three computers, and two microfilm reader machines.

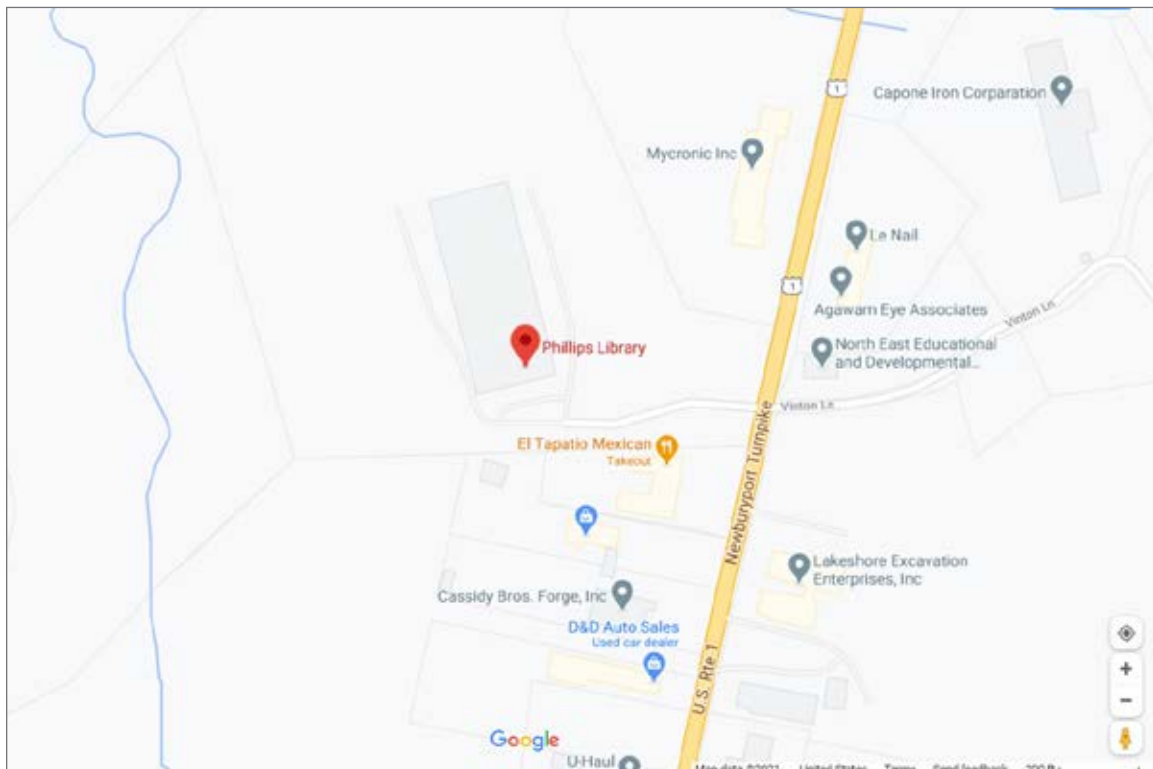


Figure 44: Image of Phillips Library Collection Center's location. Map data ©2021 Google.

## Overview

**Phillips Library** is the research and special collections library of the Peabody Essex Museum. The head librarian is Dan Lipcan.

The library's collections are vast and diverse, in part because the holdings include those from the Peabody Museum of Salem and the Essex Institute, which merged in 1992. Prior to its move in 2018 to Rowley, Massachusetts, the library was located at Plummer Hall and the Daland House on Essex Street in Salem (notwithstanding a stint in Peabody). The building in Rowley accommodates 42,000 linear feet of historical documents in the library's collections, which includes the Salem witchcraft trial papers from 1692; documents about New England's maritime history; manuscripts, charts, and diaries about the Asia-Pacific region; and other records about Native American and African American cultures. Some of the Library's collections have been digitized here: <http://phillipslibrarycollections.pem.org>.

Users can search through the online catalog, PHILCAT, and request library materials and order reproductions.

## Collection Highlights

There is a fairly sizable collection of materials related to African American history and culture at Phillips Library. A keyword search for African American/Blacks in PHILCAT returns a combined fifty-five titles, the most of any repository in Essex County. Some of these titles concern African American families, sailors, inventors, enslaved people, manumission papers, the antislavery movement, freedmen's aid societies, and education. Here are some of the collection highlights.

### *Salem Poor Papers*

This small collection includes Salem Poor's manumission papers and a commemorative stamp with additional information about Poor's military service.

Some five thousand African Americans like Salem Poor fought in the Revolutionary War. Enslaved at birth in 1747, Poor lived on a farm in Andover owned by John and Rebecca Poor. At twenty-two years old, he purchased his freedom and was given his manumission papers on July 10, 1769. Six years later, in 1775, he enlisted in the militia. At the Battle of Bunker Hill, a valiant Poor killed a British colonel; white officers commended his bravery. Poor was discharged in March 1780. He married multiple times, living in Providence and later Boston. He died indigent in 1802 at the age of fifty-five. His experience demonstrates the proud tradition of African American military service. In March 1975, Salem Poor's image appeared on a ten-cent postage stamp, as part of the Postal Service Revolutionary War Bicentennial Series of stamps.



### ***Essex County Manuscripts Collection***

Report on Blacks in School, Town of Salem Committee, 1819–44

Manuscript 8

Parts of the Essex County Manuscripts Collection have not been processed. It took some time to find the Report on Blacks in School. This folder contains the petition that African American residents sent to the town of Salem requesting the abolition of the African school and the racial integration of all public schools. Also included are remarks from lawyers about the legality of racial exclusion in Salem public schools, as well as a letter from one of the public-school teachers, Miss Very, saying that she was unsure that integration would work.

### ***List of Scholars Attending the African School in Salem, January 1826***

Notable names on the roster include William Morris, Aaron Morris, Harriot Morris, Jacob Morris—all residents of High Street, perhaps the home of York and Mercy Morris.

### ***Remond Family Papers***

The first folder contains agreements or contracts, which are difficult to read but interesting. The second folder includes receipts, acknowledgments, purchase orders, and East Church Fair preparations (a scan of which is in the linked folder). The third folder contains menus from 1823–31. These documents might be interesting to include in an exhibit on African American entrepreneurship or caterers.

### ***Anti-Slavery Society of Salem and Vicinity***

The first folder contains the Salem Anti-Slavery Society Record Book for the year 1834. It is interesting to read the constitution and get a brief overview of some early antislavery meetings. What is of interest is that four African American men from Salem joined this antislavery society: James L. Shearman, Charles L. Remond, York Morris, and Peter Williams. Listed below Peter Williams is Nathan Johnson, who may have been African American.

### ***Hackett Family Papers (MSS 228, in Box 1, Folder 4)***<sup>36</sup>

There are accounts of William Hackett regarding the building of the East India Ship *Hercules* for Edward Jones of Boston. This ship of six hundred tons was built at Amesbury Ferry in 1791. The accounts show work by twenty-three individuals on the ship, including Primus Hale. One record from December 1791 records Hackett's payment to Primus Hale for fifteen days' work for one pound, nineteen shillings.

Primus Hale had been enslaved but either freed himself or was manumitted. He resided in Amesbury and worked as a shipwright. In Joseph Merrill's *History of Amesbury*, Primus, who died in 1836, is mentioned.

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<sup>36</sup> This information was provided by Steve Klomps of the Peabody Essex Museum.

The Amesbury Public Library has tax valuation lists starting in the year 1825. These lists show Primus Hale owning a house and five rods of land in Amesbury, from 1825 to 1835 (before his death in 1836).

There is a reference to Hale's marriage in the Salisbury Second Church Records (West Parish, Rocky Hill), which was recorded as "December 11, 1791, Primus Hale and Catherine Chase, Negro."

### ***Edward P. Cassell***

There are two items at the Phillips about Edward P. Cassell, a noted African American caterer in Salem. First, the Essex County Collection (E C344 1915) contains his obituary and an article entitled, "Cassell Family Story Is Unusual," along with a photograph of Cassell. Second, the Essex County Collection (E N874.3 1909 2) has a one-page article on Cassell featured in the magazine *Good Housekeeping* (February 1909, 1 page, illustrated).

### ***Townes Family Papers***

The Townes family lived in late-nineteenth-century Newburyport, Massachusetts. This collection includes letters, bills, receipts, and other miscellaneous items such as envelopes and greeting cards. The Townes family was one of at least five African American families residing in early-twentieth-century Newburyport.

There are also genealogical records and newspaper articles (which were not part of the collection) available in the linked file folders in Appendix C.

### ***1969 Committee on Racial Understanding at Bishop Fenwick High School***

In April 1969, a Salem-based organization named the Committee on Racial Understanding hosted a program, described as a "two-day confrontation on racism," held at Bishop Fenwick High School in Peabody, Massachusetts. The mayor, Francis X. Collins, endorsed this program, as did state representatives and organizations, such as Historic Salem. The Friday, April 11, 1969, session included a film viewing about racism. The Saturday, April 12, 1969 session was a plenary and talkback.

This collection consists of documents explaining the rationale for the program; a short history of African Americans in Salem, written and compiled by Eleanor Broadhead; and posters and newspaper articles documenting the event.

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## **Potential Projects Based on Collections**

- African American Revolutionary War soldiers like Salem Poor
- African American caterers and restaurateurs like Edward P. Cassell

## **Areas for Follow-Up and Additional Leads**

- African American maritime heritage
- The history and legacy of Salem Black Picnic using the diary entries of Reverend William Bentley
- Comparing and contrasting African American families, from the Townes to the Ricks, in terms of their American family life
- African Americans and the great migration, focusing on Essex County

## **Keywords**

- Slavery and antislavery
- Emancipation and freedom
- Education and school desegregation
- Maritime industry
- Military service
- Migration
- Civil rights

## **Supplemental Materials**

Supplemental materials related to this collection, town, or city can be found in Appendix C.

# Salem Maritime National Historic Site

Via Salem Armory Visitor Center  
2 New Liberty Street, Salem, MA 01970

Website: <https://www.nps.gov/sama/index.htm>

Phone Number: (978) 740-1650

Email Address: [emily\\_murphy@nps.gov](mailto:emily_murphy@nps.gov)

Main Contact Person(s): For collections research:  
Emily Murphy, Curator, [emily\\_murphy@nps.gov](mailto:emily_murphy@nps.gov)

Social Media: Facebook, Instagram

Wheelchair Accessibility: Visitor Center is fully accessible; historic buildings and wharves vary.

Research Fee: None

Best Practices for Research: Research in the collections is by appointment only. Please contact curator Emily Murphy to make an appointment. For inquiries about interpretive programming and teacher's professional development workshops, please contact Maryann Zujewski, Education Specialist, [maryann\\_zujewski@nps.gov](mailto:maryann_zujewski@nps.gov).

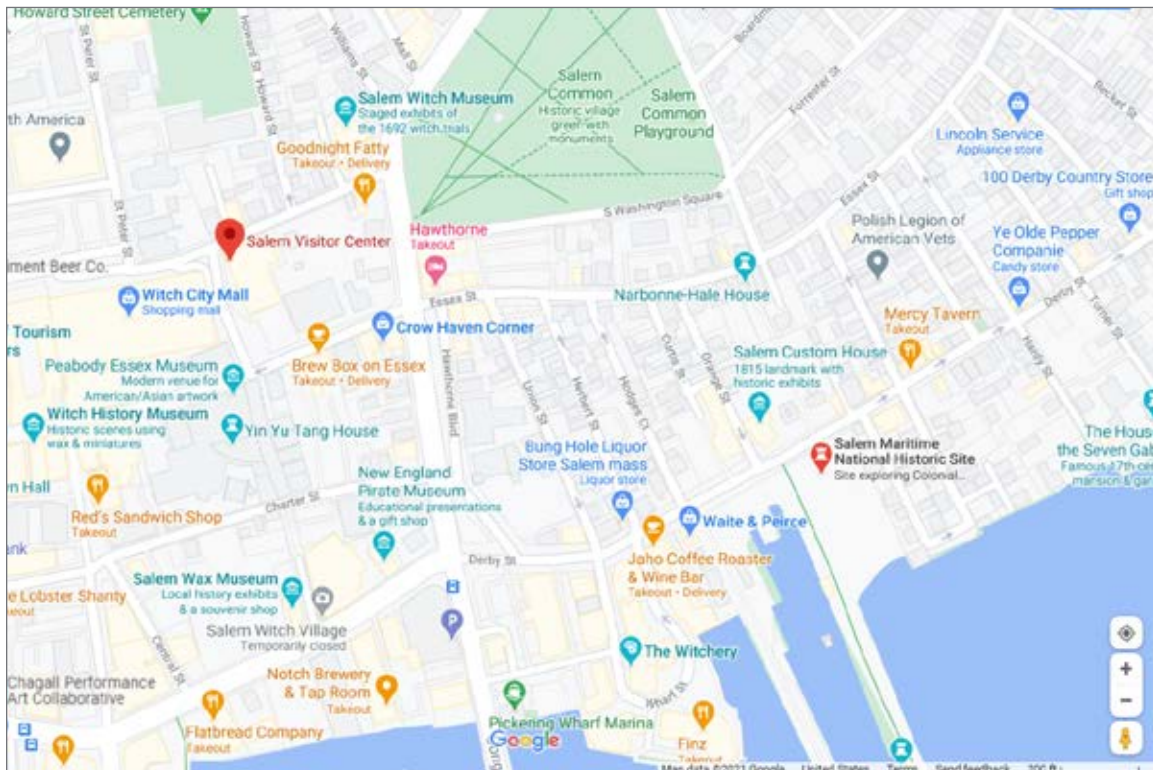


Figure 45: Image of Salem Maritime National Historic Site's location. Map data ©2021 Google.

**Salem Maritime National Historic Site** (SAMA) is a national park unit situated on the waterfront in Salem, Massachusetts. The historic wharves, 1819 US Custom House, three domestic homes ranging in date from 1675 to 1800, warehouse buildings, and replica tall ship *Friendship of Salem* are used by National Park Service staff to interpret maritime and New England seaport culture between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries. SAMA's collections include those materials that are relevant to interpreting the site in all of its facets. Due to the presence of well-established major repositories with collections that document the maritime heritage of Salem, such as the Peabody Essex Museum, Massachusetts Historical Society, National Archives and Records Administration Boston Branch, and Salem State University Archives, the National Park Service does not have a large manuscript collection at Salem Maritime. The vast majority of the archival collections are the records created by the National Park Service while managing and interpreting the site, but a few individual primary source items in the collections do speak to the African American experience in the maritime world, particularly during the "Golden Age of Salem," between the end of the American Revolution and the War of 1812, when Salem was an important player in the international trade of the newly formed United States. These collections are not formally part of a "public" repository, but scholars may access them upon request and with the guidance of SAMA staff.

## Overview

There is a limited amount of material related to African American history within the collections at SAMA, which are held in various locations. Primarily there are research files from the previous historian and those of the current curator. There are also records from work done to tell the story of the Underground Railroad in the region.

The primary source materials at Salem Maritime include a set of insurance ledgers that record the transportation of enslaved people and the products of their labor in the 1790s and 1800s; a ledger of seamen's protection certificates that record the presence of nineteenth-century African American sailors in Salem; an 1855 city directory; charts of the Caribbean Islands and other ports where Salem ships traded; and a family Bible that records the presence of African Americans in the household of one of the wealthiest families in Essex County.

In recent years, park staff have also collaborated with various museums and sites in and around Salem to assemble research files from the rich repositories in the region (particularly the Phillips Library at the Peabody Essex Museum) and published primary sources such as newspapers and the diaries of Reverend William Bentley, a minister in Salem from 1783 to 1818 who kept a detailed diary with commentary on the people and events he knew in Salem. These files have been used to inform the information posted on the Salem Maritime website, printed in publications, and presented on ranger-guided programs and tours, and include more information about the importance of enslaved people's labor to the general

economy of the Atlantic world, the participation of Salem mercantile families in the movement of enslaved people, and the experience of African Americans in the buildings and on the waterfront of the site.

## Collection Highlights

### *The Joseph Taylor Insurance Ledgers, 1796–1804*

SAMA 366, SAMA 367, SAMA 368,  
SAMA 369, SAMA 370, SAMA 371

This collection contains records of insurance policies issued by Joseph Taylor between 1796 and 1804. Taylor was one of the two most important insurers in Boston at the turn of the nineteenth century, and these ledgers contain information on cargo, vessels, trade routes, and ship owners. Some of the most important merchants in Essex County appear in these ledgers, and insurance policies for slave trade voyages, including insurance on enslaved individuals, can be found in this collection. One such entry (Policy 7719) insures four enslaved people on board the Danish sloop *Two Sisters* on a voyage from Jamaica to Cuba in 1804. In the policy, it is noted that “the insurers do not take the risk of mortality but they take the risk of insurrection and the consequences.” A finding aid is available for this collection.



Figure 46: Scan of Policy 7719, Joseph Taylor insurance ledger. National Park Service Museum Collections, SAMA 366.

***Seaman's Protection Certificates Ledger, 1832–1909****SAMA 150*

This ledger was left with the Custom House when the records of the customs service were transferred to the National Archives and Records Administration Boston Branch.<sup>37</sup> It contains recorded information on sailors who received a Protection Certificate (a form of passport). The ledger contains entries for name, place of birth, height in feet and inches, complexion and hair color, and the date the certificate was issued. There are 5,907 entries in the book, 391 of which indicate that the sailor's complexion was "Black," although a sailor would apply for a new protection certificate every few voyages, so there are multiple entries for some men. The entire book has been transcribed into an Excel spreadsheet and an Access database. When used in conjunction with the Salem Crew List database on the Mystic Seaport website (transcribed from records at NARA Boston, <https://research.mysticseaport.org/databases/crew-lists-salem>), the 1855 Salem City Directory in the Salem Maritime collections (SAMA 34578), and the 1840 and 1850 census records, these records could help researchers begin to reconstruct Salem's Black maritime community in the first decades of the nineteenth century.

***Derby Family Bible***

*The Universal Bible or Every Christian Family's Best Treasure*, by S. Nelson, D. D. (London, Printed by J. Coote at The King's Arm in Pater-Noster Row, 1759). Two Volumes: *SAMA 3932 and SAMA 3933*.

This two-volume illustrated Bible descended in the family of Elias Hasket Derby's (1739–99) oldest son, Elias Hasket Derby Jr. (1766–1826), and according to family lore, it belonged to Elias Hasket (1739–99) and Elizabeth Crowninshield Derby. The dates match up for it to be a wedding present in 1761, so it is possible. The second volume of the Bible contains a tipped-in genealogy of the Derby family from the 1670s up to about 1810, and appears to have been written all at once at that time and then updated in several different hands throughout the 1880s. The genealogy for the family of Elias Hasket (1739–99) contains a note on the bottom: "Sabe the black boy was born July 14, 1771. Rose the black girl was born \_\_\_\_." This note, along with mentions of African Americans in various Derby family wills, provides some names for the African Americans who lived and worked in the various Derby family properties that now make up Salem Maritime.

On the page with the family of Elias Hasket Derby Jr., there is another note: "Died in the family of Elias Hasket Derby, Moses Green, an aged free man of colour, July 20, 1826." This would have happened at the Derby family home in Londonderry, New Hampshire, where Hasket Jr. and his family moved after his bankruptcy. Moses is buried in the Forest Green Cemetery in East Derry, New Hampshire, and according to his gravestone, he was born in

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<sup>37</sup> SAMA does have a microfilm of the customs records/crew lists of what is at Waltham.

1760. More research needs to be done on Moses Green to determine his relationship to the Derby Family or possibly his relationship to the family of Elias Hasket Derby Jr.'s wife, Lucy Brown.

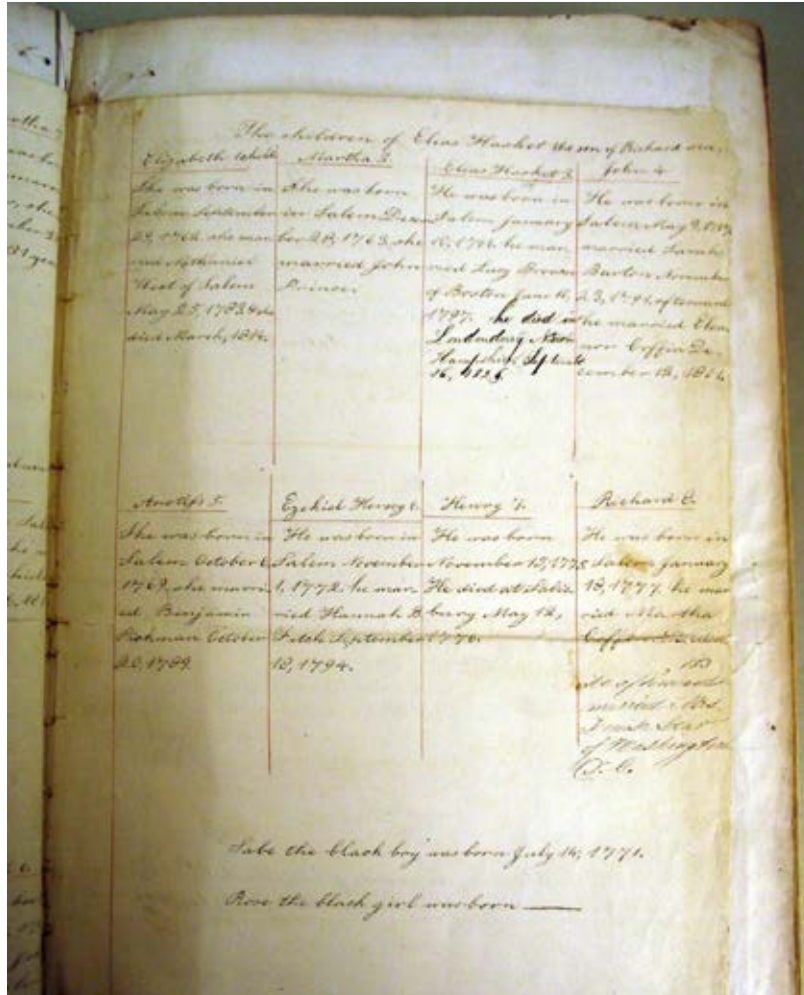


Figure 47: Scan of the Derby family genealogy in the second volume of *The Universal Bible or Every Christian Family's Best Treasure*, by S. Nelson. National Park Service Museum Collections, SAMA 3933.

### Underground Railroad Collection

There is an archival box with many items used in the early 2000s to develop a history of the Underground Railroad in Essex County. The work was led by SAMA staff. The collection consists largely of research notes and meeting minutes of the steering committee. There have been many questions about the lack of textual evidence for some of this work, but it is an important project and one that launched other projects across the region. There is a reliance on previously published scholarship, specifically Wilbur H. Seibert's 1936 article "The Underground Railroad in Massachusetts," *The New England Quarterly*, vol. 9, no. 3 (September 1936), pp. 447-67.



### ***The NPS Curator/Historian's Files Related to African American Topics***

These reflect the files and materials gathered by John Frayler, the previous SAMA historian, and Emily Murphy, current SAMA curator and historian. The collection combines primary documents and earlier secondary sources on the presence and lives of African Americans in Salem and some surrounding towns. It shows how African American history has been part of every era and topic in “traditional” Salem. There is a copy of “A Brief History of the Negro in Salem” from 1969.

There are also a variety of historian's notes from customs records that indicate there were African American men working as crew members, along with items such as an advertisement from the *Salem Gazette* by Richard Derby Sr. for a runaway “Negro Man Named Obed” (1774). Additionally, there are articles from *Salem News* from the 1990s on issues of unearthing African American history (and slavery) across many places in Essex County. The curator's collection is in and of itself a nice introduction to the topic of African Americans in Essex County and includes a number of useful references and citations. A sample of the most interesting items and sources is provided here.

Specific subject headings include:

- Early histories of African Americans in Salem and Essex County, particularly the work of Eleanor Broadhead
- Black entrepreneurs in federal-period Salem, such as the Remond family and Aaron Thomas
- Activism in the early nineteenth century, particularly Sarah Remond and Charles Lenox Remond
- Sites in Salem related to African American history
- Underground Railroad sites in Essex County
- Biographical information on African Americans, such as the autobiography of Reverend Jacob Stroyer, who escaped slavery in the South and came to Salem after the Civil War
- Transcriptions of all the Black residents of Salem, Beverly, and Marblehead from the 1850 Census
- Enslaved people who lived and worked around Salem Maritime
- Information on the history of *Friendship of Salem*, whose crew included several African Americans

The site's education specialist also possesses special files in subject areas like

- Runaway ads from the North Shore area
- Salem's participation in the slave trade
- “Negro Election Day”
- Biographical information on Sabe and Rose Derby
- Sites in Salem related to African American history

- General history of slavery
- Information on teaching and interpreting slavery

### ***Other Items of Note***

#### ***Aaron Thomas***

June 29, 1819, *Salem Gazette* death notice: “in this town, captain Aaron Thomas, age 34, a respectable man of color....”

#### ***Business Activity of the Remond Family***

January 5, 1818, in the *Salem Gazette* an ad (that seems to have been placed on December 22) for “about 15 or 20 barrels” of Rhode Island apples “in prime order,” “For Sale by Aaron Thomas, at John Remond’s Establishment, Front Street.”

Sarah Parker Remond and two guests refused to sit in the segregated section of the Howard Athenaeum in Boston for an opera performance starring the great opera singer Henrietta Sontag. They were then violently ejected from the theater.

Two articles discuss the incident:

Headline: “Affairs in and about the City,” *The Boston Daily Atlas*, May 10, 1853, vol. 21, no. 266, p. 2.

Headline: “Affairs in and about the City,” *The Boston Daily Atlas*, May 14, 1853, vol. 21, no. 270, p. 2.

These two headlines and the “articles” detail a case in which Remond (identified as “colored” and “of Salem”) was ejected from Howard Athenaeum some days prior and assaulted in that process. The two men accused of the attack, a Mr. Palmer and Officer Philbrick, were examined in police court a few days later. The court postponed its decision for a few more days. Then a civil suit was filed against Mr. Palmer, who is noted as an “agent of Madame Sontag” by Miss Remond of Salem. “Damages are laid the sum of \$500.” The case was to be tried in Essex County.

#### ***Speeches by the Remonds***

A folder with photocopies of four speeches by the Remonds (two by Charles and two by Sarah).

#### ***Black Residents Voting in Salem in the Nineteenth Century***

Eleanor Broadhead’s “Short History” includes a reference from Bentley that suggests that African Americans could vote in the early nineteenth century.

#### ***Salem Crew Lists, 1799–1879***

Transcription of a small set of crew lists from Salem indicating African American crew members. These lists are now available at Mystic Seaport: <https://research.mysticseaport.org/databases/crew-lists-salem>.

### ***Autobiography of an Enslaved Person***

Stroyer, Jacob. *My Life in the South*, new and enlarged ed. (Salem: Newcomb and Gauss, 1898). This is a photocopy of Stroyer's autobiography. It is the story of a man born into slavery who became free after the Civil War and came to Salem. The opening pages have accolades and notes about Stroyer's character from various people who identify themselves as members of the Salem community, like C.H. Puffer, pastor at the First Unitarian Universalist Church; DeWill S. Clark; and William M Hill, the mayor.

### ***Critiques of Salem's Involvement in the Slave Economy and the Story of Black Residents Being Ejected from Salem in 1790***

A photocopy of an undated article from the Essex Institute library collections by S.L. Hemingway, "Blacks in Early Salem." This article cites Eleanor Broadhead's work as "pioneering." It recounts the earliest histories of African Americans in Salem, noting that but for a few writings (and Broadhead's study), "the adventure of the Black man in Salem might as well have been forgotten." It indicts Salem and its many enterprises in the slave trade, and discusses the deportation of Black residents from Salem in 1790.

Other key points are:

In 1638, a ship *Desire*—owned by a group of Salem businessmen, built in Marblehead, with a manifest from Boston—is the earliest known record of the arrival of enslaved Africans to New England.

In 1659, there were two Black people (who seem to have been free Blacks), Moninah and Mungaley, who married and lived in Salem.

The dramatic population growth of African Americans did not go unnoticed in the eighteenth century, and by the mid-eighteenth century, Salem had 123 Black residents; Lynn had just 26. In the 1790 census, there were a dozen or so Black families clustered around what is now Essex and Boston Streets. In the winter of 1790, a notice to depart was given to about 400 people—the first list of about 100 was made up entirely of Black people.

Deportation occurred, and refugees found homes in Lynn, Ipswich, Beverly, and Danvers.

### ***African American History in Salem Walking Tour***

This is a copy of Emily Murphy's African American history walking tour developed for ESSEX LINCS, a professional development program for K–12 educators, in 2008.

### ***Salem Directory and City Register***

The 1837 Salem Directory and City Register identified people of color. The Salem City Directories of the 1830s and 1840s had a separate listing for African Americans.

### ***Essex Institute Historical Collections***

A complete set of *Essex Institute Historical Collections* and *Old Time New England* (SPNEA/ Historic New England) can be found here: <https://digitalheritage.noblenet.org/salem/items/show/93>.

## Past Efforts

### ***African American Heritage Sites in Salem: A Guide to Salem's History***

This booklet was originally written in 1998 and revised and updated in 2008. This was the first guide to African American history in Salem, and tours developed since have built on this initial work.

### ***Poets, Shoemakers, and Freedom Seekers: Abolitionism and the Underground Railroad in Essex County***

This booklet was developed as a cooperative project between the Essex National Heritage Area and the National Park Service in 2004, after a couple of years of research and information sharing on Underground Railroad sites in Essex County. The book is based on Wilber H. Sieburt's 1934 *Underground Railroad in Massachusetts*, which identifies several routes through Essex County followed by freedom seekers on their way to Canada. It is a good introduction to the subject, but further research should be done on many of the sites identified to see if confirmation can be found for involvement in the Underground Railroad before republishing.

### ***Salem's Black History Audio Tour***

<http://www.soundcloud.com/uniguide/sets/sbh> or on the UniGuide app for mobile devices  
This audio tour for mobile devices was created in partnership with the Salem Award Foundation for Human Rights and Social Justice (now Voices Against Injustice), the Essex National Heritage Area, and other institutions in Salem in 2017. Building on the sites identified in the African American Heritage Sites booklet, it is an excellent introduction to the African American history of Salem.

### **Education Workshop: *Why This Matters: Stories of Slavery and Its Legacy***

This one-day workshop, first offered in February of 2020, brings historians and educators to work with teachers and museum educators with the goals of learning more about the complex history of slavery in New England, learning research skills and strategies for teaching and interpreting slavery, and making connections that reveal slavery's impact on contemporary society. See <http://www.nps.gov/teachers/classrooms/why-this-matters-stories-of-slavery-and-its-legacies.htm>.

## Current Efforts

### ***Teacher's Guide: How to Be an Antiracist Book Club***

<http://www.nps.gov/teachers/classrooms/-how-to-be-an-antiracist-book-club.htm>

Aimed at high school or older students, this guide helps teachers and others lead discussions on Ibram X. Kendi's book *How to Be an Antiracist*. The guide includes reference quotes and step-by-step instructions on how to get students to engage with the text and with each other.

### ***OnCell Audio Tours: History of Slavery at Salem Maritime and Sabe and Rose***

*History of Slavery at Salem Maritime* (<http://www.salem-maritime.oncell.com/en/introduction-192679.html>) and *Sabe and Rose* (<http://www.sabeandrose.oncell.com/en/index.html>)

The majority of current interpretation efforts at Salem Maritime are focused on African Americans associated with the Derby family, the wealthiest merchant family in late-eighteenth-century Salem, who at that time owned most of the land that is now Salem Maritime. Between 1730 and 1783, at least two to three enslaved people were held in the households of Richard Derby Sr., his children and grandchildren, including the Derby House. Rose Lane (–1809) and Sabe Derby (1774–) were either enslaved by or indentured to Elias Hasket or Elizabeth Crowninshield Derby, were educated at the Derbys' expense, and worked and lived in the homes owned or built by the family in the 1780s on Essex Street. On Hasket's death in 1799, Rose and Sabe married and used their inheritance to go into business. When Rose died in 1809, their important status in the African American community in Salem was reflected in the size of her funeral, and the fact that Reverend William Bentley not only noted it in his diary but wrote an article about it in the local newspaper. In 2019, park staff created two audio tours, hosted on the OnCell mobile app, that uses information from the Derby Family papers at the Peabody Essex Museum's Phillips Library to introduce visitors to Rose and Sabe and the involvement of Salem with the slave trade.

### ***Black Picnic / Negro Election Day***

SAMA has been supporting the efforts of Salem United, a nonprofit organization, to continue and enhance the Black Picnic, traditionally held at the Salem Willows. SAMA has been the assembly point for the annual parade and provided a pop-up exhibit, often on food history, such as the traditional election day cake or the "Joe Frogger" cookies invented by (likely) Lucretia Brown of Marblehead.

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## **Potential Projects Based on This Collection**

- GIS Mapping Project using city directories (the one in SAMA's possession, others at Phillips Library, etc.) for Salem to develop a GIS map of residences. The first step might be to create an Excel spreadsheet of names and addresses
- Using GIS capabilities (potentially in partnership with other institutions) to create a story map of Salem's free Black community, using the 1837, 1844, and 1855 city directories; the 1800–1850 federal census records; Essex County deeds; newspapers; and other sources
- Interpretation of eighteenth-century African Americans not associated solely with the elite white families of Salem, such as the poor families mentioned in Reverend William Bentley's diary who were forced out of Salem in the winter of 1790
- Interpretation of the lives of Black sailors, using data from the Mystic Seaport transcriptions of the Salem crew lists
- Interpretation of Black entrepreneurs from 1790 to 1850

## Areas for Follow-Up and Additional Leads

- More information about the 1790 expulsion
- Mystic Seaport has an online database of the Salem, Massachusetts, crew lists circa 1789–1850

## Keywords

- Salem Black picnic
- Negro Election Day
- African American entrepreneurship
- Expulsion of Black residents from Salem in 1790

## Bibliography

William Bentley. *The Diary of William Bentley, D.D. Pastor of the East Church Salem Massachusetts*. 4 vols. (Salem: Essex Institute, 1907. Reprinted Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1962).

Gloria C. Oden. “The Black Colonial Experience (and Somewhat Beyond): Search and Research,” in *Humanization of Knowledge in the Social Sciences* (Syracuse: School of Library Science, 1972). This is in the curator’s records at SAMA and details not only some of the early history of Black Salem but also the sources to find and recover that history.

Angela Zimm. “Tradition Binds Generations: Black Picnic Origins Can Be Traced Back for Two Centuries,” *Salem Evening News*, Monday, July 18, 1994.

## Supplemental Materials

Supplemental materials related to this collection, town, or city can be found in Appendix C.

# Salem State University Archives and Special Collections

352 Lafayette Street, Salem, MA

Website: <https://libguides.salemstate.edu/archives>

Phone Number: (978) 542-6781

Email Address: [sedwards@salemstate.edu](mailto:sedwards@salemstate.edu)

Main Contact Person(s): Susan Edwards, Archivist ([sedwards@salemstate.edu](mailto:sedwards@salemstate.edu))

Social Media: Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Instagram

Wheelchair Accessibility: Yes

Research Fee: None

Best Practices for Research: The Reading Room is open to researchers by appointment only. To arrange and plan your visit, please contact the archivist, Susan Edwards, at [archives@salemstate.edu](mailto:archives@salemstate.edu).

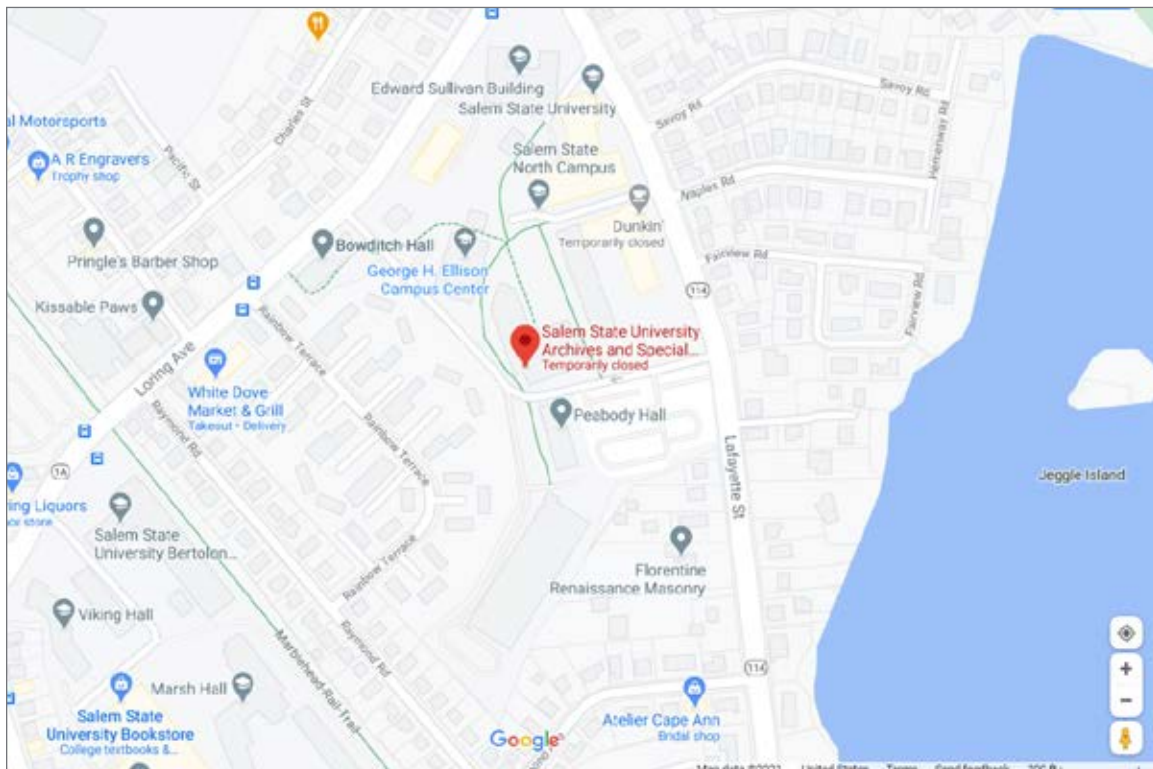


Figure 48: Image of Salem State University Archives and Special Collection's location. Map data ©2021 Google.

The **Archives and Special Collections** Reading Room is located in Room G001 on the ground floor of Salem State's Frederick E. Berry Library and Learning Commons. This archive exists as a public archive (as part of the public library system). The stacks are closed.

Salem State's Archives and Special Collections preserves and provides access to materials that are rare, unique, or historical. The collections are housed in a 5,000-square-foot secure and climate-controlled facility. The collection includes thousands of books, documents, manuscripts, maps, photographs, audiovisual material, artifacts, and ephemera. These items cover topics such as the history of Salem State University and its predecessor institutions, the history of the City of Salem, and Essex County politics. The primary topics of the collections are university archives, Salem history, historic geography and map collection, and North Shore political collections. The archive has a special emphasis on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and is a focus on collecting and holding materials related to the lives of ordinary people and those whose histories are underrepresented in archival collections in Salem and surrounding areas (e.g., African Americans, immigrants, women, workers).

Archivist Susan Edwards knows the collections inside and out, but the collections are not fully searchable online. Scholars work in one large room with large tables. As always, no pens, backpacks, liquids, or food are allowed near the archival materials. Materials can be digitized upon request.

## Overview

The collections of the SSU Archives include a range of materials related to African American history from the eighteenth century to the late twentieth century. These include early city records (in the City of Salem Archives Collection) that reference petitions and complaints about such issues as (1) Negro Election Day and a request for land to build a Black church; (2) university records related to the lives of two nineteenth-century Black women students of Salem State, Charlotte Forten, the first African American graduate, and Charlotte Hawkins Brown, who did not graduate (but the collection is about her life in general); (3) the Salem Savings Bank signature books (1818–1940s), recording accounts of a diverse group of Salem residents, including African American residents; (4) the records of African American student activists and faculty and administrator activists in the 1960s–70s, including oral histories with student activists in the twentieth century, detailing both discrimination and efforts to build programs and systems to resist racism and erasure. This collection is one of the few in the county that has materials related to late-twentieth-century history.

Each of the key collections listed below has been cataloged. Only a portion of the collection has been digitized. Not all have finding aids. The archives will digitize materials on demand. There is no clear pathway to know whether specific African American-related materials are available online, however. For a list of locations of digitized material, see <https://libguides.salemstate.edu/archives/digitalcollections>. The available material is tied to specific projects. The likely place to begin is <https://digitalcommons.salemstate.edu/asc>.



## Collection Highlights

### *City of Salem Archives Collection*

There are subject files, 1681–1832. 327 files and 6 books. These documents are on a range of subjects relating to Salem’s history. Key items include the following (which the archives have digitized):

- #986, Petition, Peter Frye, “Negroes Create Great Disorder” on Election Day, May 5, 1768
- #2351, Petition, Prohibit Slavery in Newly Admitted States, November 29, 1819
- #2352, Petition, Prohibit Slavery in Newly Admitted States, December 27, 1819
- #2538, Issues/Complaints, Alms House Rules for Blacks, October 4, 1825
- #2611, Petition, Request Land to Construct Black Church, January 1827

This collection is not the complete set of city archives, which were kept by the city clerk. Box 1 has a set of handwritten finding aids for all items in the city of Salem Archives from 1681 to 1832.

### *Salem Savings Bank Records and Ledgers*

The Salem Savings Bank archive also includes fifty boxes of records, but the critical elements are the ledger books that record the accounts opened by a diverse set of Salem area residents, including African American residents. The bank was founded in 1818 and was only the second incorporated bank in the country. It is now known as Eastern Bank and is the oldest mutual savings bank in continuous operation in the United States. The ledger book shows that the bank made accounts available to women, immigrants, and African Americans. Often accounts for African Americans were opened by other (white) residents. The ledger books include information about account holders, place of residence, who opened the account for the named account owner, and how much was deposited at that time. The temporal range of the accounts connected to people identified as Black or “colored” is 1846 to 1888. As of May 2019 (under the auspices of this OAH/NPS project with E. Duclos-Orsello and SSU American Studies student Amanda Eddy), an Excel file has been created, listing all such entries (which can be found in Appendix C).

Date	No.	Signature
1818		
April 15	1	Nathan Robinson for Rebecca Sutton - Union
	2	Nathan Robinson for Mary Knight - Union
	3	Joseph White for E. S. Kimball
	4	Joseph White for Sarah W. Story his wife
	5	Henry Prince for E. S. Millet
	6	Henry Prince for Rebecca Millet
	7	Ben. H. Hathorne for Rebecca Hall
	8	Joseph White for Sarah Sutton
	9	Belisance Hunt for self
	10	Joseph White for A. S. Browne

**Figure 49:** Scan of a page from the Salem Savings Bank Ledger, April 15, 1818.  
Salem State University Archives and Special Collections.

### ***Charlotte Forten***

There are general records related to Forten's time at Salem Normal School, which is now Salem State University. In addition, there is a small collection (about a half box) of correspondence about her between Alpheus Crosby and Nathaniel Ingersoll, regarding financial aid for Forten. The archives has participated in creating a permanent exhibit about Forten in the Charlotte Forten Room at Salem State. This exhibit also includes reproductions and images of materials held in this and many other collections in the United States.

### ***Charlotte Hawkins Brown***

A single folder exists about Charlotte Hawkins Brown, containing materials that Brown sent to Salem Normal School about Palmer Memorial Institute, the school that she founded in Sedalia, North Carolina. Brown was from Cambridge, Massachusetts, and she spent one year at Salem Normal School before being recruited to teach in Sedalia.

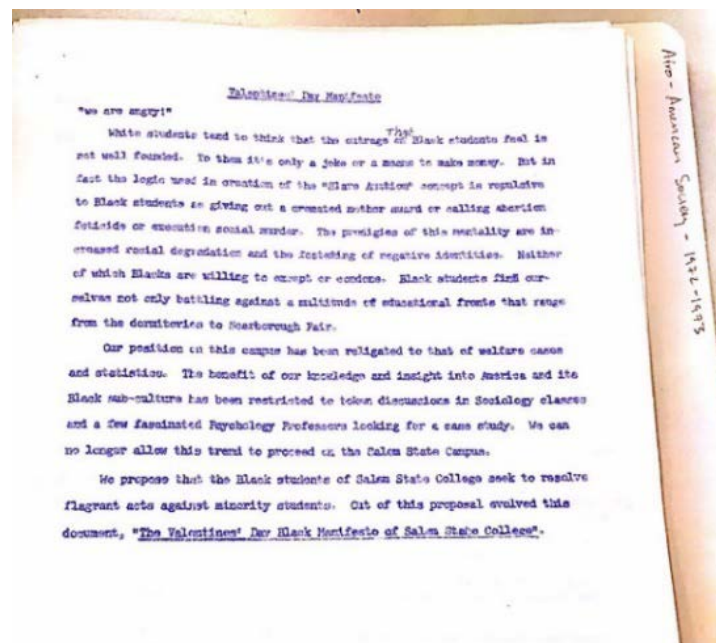
### ***Lucy E. Motten***

Dr. Lucy Ellen Moten was a graduate of Salem Normal School, class of 1875, and earned her medical degree from Howard University in 1897. The archives hold only a few scattered items about her.

### ***The Arthur Gerald Records Collection***

This collection is a rich source of material related to the lives, experiences, and structural challenges of being Black at Salem State University (then Salem State College) in the 1960s and 1970s. There is no formal finding aid for this collection as of March 2020. Research done by Prof. E. Duclos-Orsello in 2019 and the work of her American Studies students Alexis Teixeira and Cinnamon Bohm in 2020 began to create a basic finding aid for the collection, identifying themes and key documents for future exhibits or research. As of fall 2020, the collection has been digitized, but not yet fully available to the public in digital form. (See the files located in Appendix C.)

Arthur Gerald was an administrator and leader of efforts related to academic achievement, diversity, multicultural affairs, equity, and inclusion at Salem State. His career spanned thirty-eight years, preceding his retirement in the 2010s. His final position was as Associate Dean of Academic and Cultural Affairs. There is a student scholarship endowed in his honor. He is also an ordained Baptist minister. The collection of his personal papers are in two boxes: (1) Black Caucus Association of Black Faculty and Administrators and (2) Afro-American Society 1969–79, which records the efforts to make Salem State better serve Black students, faculty, and staff in the 1960s and 1970s. This collection has materials that illuminate the struggles of Black faculty, administrators, and students to claim political and social capital at the university; racist, and discriminatory practices they experienced; and the creation of new organizations, public-facing events, and curricula in response. These efforts were framed and shaped by national (and international) struggles for civil rights and Black Power. During these years, there was talk of wishing to diversify the university, but structural impediments prevented it from happening. These realities are chronicled in the records, along with institutional responses and organizing efforts.



**Figure 50:** Scan of “Valentine’s Day Manifesto,” Afro-American Society Records, 1972–73. Arthur Gerald Collection, Salem State University.

***Box 1: Black Caucus Association of Black Faculty and Administrators Records***

These records cover the work and efforts of a group of Black faculty and administrators who responded to issues of affirmative action and the lack of programs in Black Studies, as well as the hiring of Black faculty, staff, and administrators. Some of the topics covered include the role of race in hiring, events, and efforts related to Black Studies on campus, and an accounting of a list (with gender, racial, ethnic breakdown) of all faculty on the

Salem State campus. Gerald was the President of the Association for a time. For a period, the president was Gwendolyn Rosemond. There are also some records related to Gerald's work on the board of the Black Campus Ministries group in Boston.

**Box 2: Afro-American Society 1969–79**

Arthur Gerald was the advisor for this student group, which began recording its function, according to archivist Susan Edwards, in 1969. Between 1970 and 1979, this student group institutionalized a minor in Black Studies, organized Black High School Day at Salem State, hosted numerous nationally and internationally prominent speakers, lecturers, and symposia (e.g., Jesse Jackson, Maya Angelou), created brochures, led admissions efforts, and hosted social events and Black History Week. This collection not only chronicles all of these efforts, but also importantly discusses the discrimination and racism on campus that motivated some activities and required student response. Of particular note is the “slave auction” that took place in a residence hall in February of 1973 as a fundraiser, as well as the brilliant “Valentine’s Day Manifesto of Salem State College” written by this group in response. The origins of much current Salem State work on equity and inclusion can be found in these records.



**Figure 51:** Brochure, *Afro-American Society*, Salem State University, Afro-American Society Records, 1978–79. Arthur Gerald Collection, Salem State University.

## Current Efforts

Susan Edwards, lead archivist, with assistance from one part-time staff member and student interns, is very invested in African American history. She and the staff have done admirable work to catalog and make available materials related to key collections for various university and scholarly projects, specifically related to the life of Charlotte Forten (resulting in, among other things, a permanent exhibit about Forten in the Charlotte Forten Room on campus). They also are quite knowledgeable about the African American-related holdings throughout their collection, but challenges with staffing, funding, and time mean that, to date, there has been no largescale project to digitize these materials. However, in fall 2020, the Arthur Gerald collection was digitized, and work is underway to make these materials more readily available to the public.

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## Potential Projects Based on Collections

- Early concern about Negro Election Day (1768)
- Racism and discrimination in US higher education—at Salem State University
- Student activism in the 1960s and 1970s
- Employment discrimination
- Charlotte Forten, Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Lucy Moten, and the place of education in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries
  - Links between networks of activists, funders, and supporters in the North and efforts in the South are worth exploring.
- Early Salem and debates about the place and rights of African Americans
- Social, economic, and other networks of Black residents and white residents (via the Salem Savings Bank records)
- The geography of African American life in the nineteenth century Essex County
- Compare and link Baltimore Savings Bank Records with Salem Savings Bank

## Areas for Follow-Up and Additional Leads

- Racial categories in the nineteenth-century United States and Essex County
- Salem State student newspaper *The Log*, published until the mid-2010s, has numerous articles that trace the issues of the 1960s and 1970s.
- Ancestry search of individuals listed in the Salem Savings Bank records
- Oral history and interview with Gwendolyn Rosemond and Arthur Gerald, both at the center of the efforts in the late 1960s and 1970s to racial justice at Salem State
- Video of Maya Angelou's visit in 1978

## **Keywords**

- African American activism and resistance
- Employment issues
- Negro Election Day
- Everyday lives of Black residents in Essex County
- Racism, discrimination, and structural Barriers from the eighteenth century onward
- African American education
- Economic status and capital

## **Supplemental Materials**

Supplemental materials related to this collection, town, or city can be found in Appendix C.

# Saugus Iron Works National Historic Site

244 Central Street, Saugus, MA 01906

Website: <https://www.nps.gov/sair/index.htm>

Phone Number: (781) 233-0050

Email Address: Complete the form at <https://www.nps.gov/sair/contacts.htm>

Main Contact Person(s): For collections research: Emily Murphy, Curator, [emily\\_murphy@nps.gov](mailto:emily_murphy@nps.gov)

Social Media: Facebook, Instagram

Wheelchair Accessibility: Visitor Center and Museum are fully accessible; the industrial site is partially accessible.

Research Fee: None

Best Practices for Research: Collections research is by appointment only. Please contact curator Emily Murphy to make an appointment. For inquiries about interpretive programming and teacher's professional development workshops, please contact Maryann Zujewski, Education Specialist, [maryann\\_zujewski@nps.gov](mailto:maryann_zujewski@nps.gov).

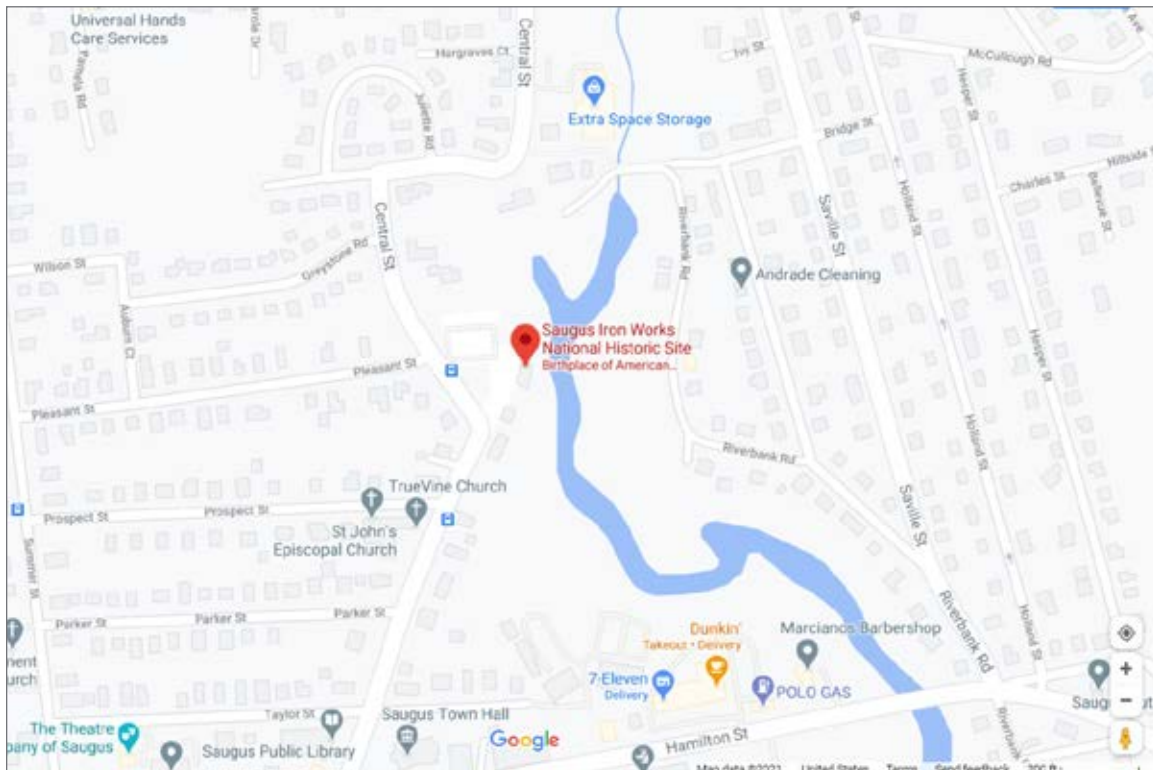


Figure 52: Image of Saugus Iron Works National Historic Site's location. Map data ©2021 Google.

**Saugus Iron Works** is located on nine acres near the center of Saugus, Massachusetts. It preserves and interprets the archeology and reconstructed buildings of the first integrated iron works in North America, operational between 1646 and about 1670. The original iron works sat on more than six hundred acres and included a farm, worker's housing, support buildings, and warehouses, and a pond and sluice system used to power the blast furnace, forge, rolling and slitting mill, and blacksmith shops. The site also has a circa 1690 house built when the defunct iron works site became a farm. The house was restored to a seveneenth-century appearance in the first decades of the twentieth century, during the early colonial revival movement. The site also has a significant history related to Native American settlement, going back to the archaic period.

## Overview

The collections of the site do not have many items that focus on the history of African Americans in Saugus. Using primary sources in other repositories—such as documents associated with the many bankruptcy proceedings against the iron works between the 1650s and the 1670s that are held by the Baker Library at the Harvard Business School, and in the Massachusetts Archives, as well as other primary and secondary sources related to Lynn and Saugus history—there are several points where African American history can be more deeply explored at Saugus. (It should be noted that Saugus separated from Lynn in 1815).

## Collection Highlights

### *The First Iron Works Association*

The First Iron Works Association was formed to save the Iron Works House from being moved to Michigan by Henry Ford, and then obtained funding from the American Iron and Steel Institute to excavate and reconstruct the industrial buildings of the Iron Works. Archival collections cover the management of the excavation and the site, while object collections are mostly the archeological artifacts recovered from the site, and historical objects collected to furnish the iron works house.

### *Management Records*

Management records of the National Park Service after the site was donated to the National Park Service in 1968.



## Past Exhibits/Publications/Project Collaborations

### *Salem Maritime Curatorial White Paper: African Americans at the Saugus Iron Works*

The Curatorial White Paper is written by Emily Murphy, who is the curator at the Salem Maritime National Historic Site and Saugus Iron Works National Historic Site. This document covers the history of the Iron Works industrial site, as well as its connections with families and other businesses in Lynn. Murphy discusses the ownership of Samuel Appleton Jr., the Taylor family, and the Roby family. Her work reveals that there is little formal evidence of enslaved persons at the Iron Works farm, but it does uncover evidence of an “old infirm negro man” from the inventory of James Taylor (after his death) and “a negro girl named Violet” in the household of Taylor’s daughter, Anna.

Murphy also details the many and varied stories related to King Pompey, who Murphy calls “the best-known African American in the Lynn and Saugus area.” Murphy provides a useful overview of the histories written of Pompey, including Alonzo Lewis’s *History of Lynn* (originally published in 1829) and Nathaniel Mortimer Hawkes’s *Hearths and Homes of Old Lynn with Studies in Local History* (1907), and was featured in the show, *Centennial Pageant*, in 1915 in a scene titled “The Crowning of King Pompey.” Murphy does comment on the show that “considering the time period, it is entirely possible that this scene was used as an excuse to have a minstrel show in blackface. It is interesting that, although many of the other scenes are elaborated on in the *History of Saugus* that accompanies the program of the pageant, Pompey is not mentioned elsewhere in the book.”<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Emily Murphy, “Salem Maritime Curatorial White Paper: African Americans at Saugus Iron Works,” 2020, page 6.



**Figure 53:** Map of Lynn and Saugus. Library of Congress Geography and Map Division Washington, DC. 20540-4650 USA dcu, G3764.L9 1829.L4, <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3764.la002058>

Murphy also includes an additional discussion of King Pompey's presence in the archives. She cites Pompey's marriage to a woman named Philis in the records of marriage in Reading, Massachusetts: "In the records of marriages in Reading, Massachusetts, we find 'Pompy, servant of Daniell Mansfield of Lynn, and Philis, servant of John Swain, Dec. 5, 1745.' Philis never appears in the public record again, so we are left to wonder—did she die and her death went unrecorded, as often happened? Was she sold away? Did they break up? Or was she able to join him? This also gives us a possible age for Pompey. Assuming he got married between 20 and 30, that could mean he was born between 1715 and 1725."<sup>39</sup>

Pompey appears in Daniel Mansfield's inventory in 1757 but is not listed in Mansfield's son's Thomas's inventory a year later, indicating that he likely gained his freedom sometime around 1759. Pompey is also found in records in 1762, Murphy notes: "On March 5, 1762 Pompey is recorded as 'A negro man of Lynn in the country and province aforesaid clothier who is manumitted' purchased from Ebenezer Burrill and Moses Newhall for ten pounds." Murphy does comment that it is known that Pompey worked as a clothier, "which in the 18th century could mean either someone who weaves wool cloth or someone who coordinates the work among several small weavers and finds a market for their work."<sup>40</sup> Pompey is not found in public records after 1787.

<sup>39</sup> Murphy, "Salem Maritime Curatorial White Paper." Original source material found in Vital Record of Reading, Massachusetts, to 1850, page 486.

<sup>40</sup> Murphy, "Salem Maritime Curatorial White Paper."

Murphy also mentions other African Americans from this time period, including Isaac Hower (1727–87), a successful Black businessman in Salem who was “formerly enslaved by Samuel Gardner (1712–1769).” She continues, “Isaac Hower was freed in Gardner’s will, and went on it seems to become a shopkeeper and an important member of the African-American community on the North Shore. In 1754, he married Jane, a woman enslaved by Richard Derby, Sr.”<sup>41</sup>

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## Potential Projects Based on Collections

- Families and farms that supplied the iron works industrial site, especially wealthier farmers
- Isaac Hower and the Gardner family
- The Derby family (in connection with Isaac Hower’s wife, Jane)

## Areas for Follow-Up and Additional Leads

- The connection between Pompey Mansfield and Isaac Hower
  - Pompey’s life after 1787 (when his name last appeared in public records)
  - Pompey’s work as a clothier and connections to free Black entrepreneurs
- Negro Election Day

## Keywords

- Slavery
- Enslaved African Americans
- Free Black families
- Economy
- African American entrepreneurship

## Supplemental Materials

Supplemental materials related to this collection, town, or city can be found in Appendix C.

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<sup>41</sup> Murphy, “Salem Maritime Curatorial White Paper,” page 8. Original source material on Hower’s life is found in Ellery, Harrison, and Charles Pickering Bowditch, *The Pickering Genealogy*, vol 1 (privately printed, 1897), p. 93. On his marriage, see Salem Vital Records to 1850, page 511.

# Topsfield Historical Society

1 Howlett Street, Topsfield, MA 01983

Website: <http://www.topsfieldhistory.org>

Phone Number: (978) 887-3998

Email Address: [webmaster@topsfieldhistory.org](mailto:webmaster@topsfieldhistory.org)

Main Contact Person(s): For questions about materials, email [historicalrecords@topsfieldhistory.org](mailto:historicalrecords@topsfieldhistory.org); Amy Coffin at Archivist ([coffin.acc@gmail.com](mailto:coffin.acc@gmail.com)); or Jeanne Pickering ([webmaster@topsfield.org](mailto:webmaster@topsfield.org))

Social Media: Facebook

Wheelchair Accessible: Unknown

Research Fee: Unknown

Best Practices for Research: Always check with the repository; hours are subject to change.

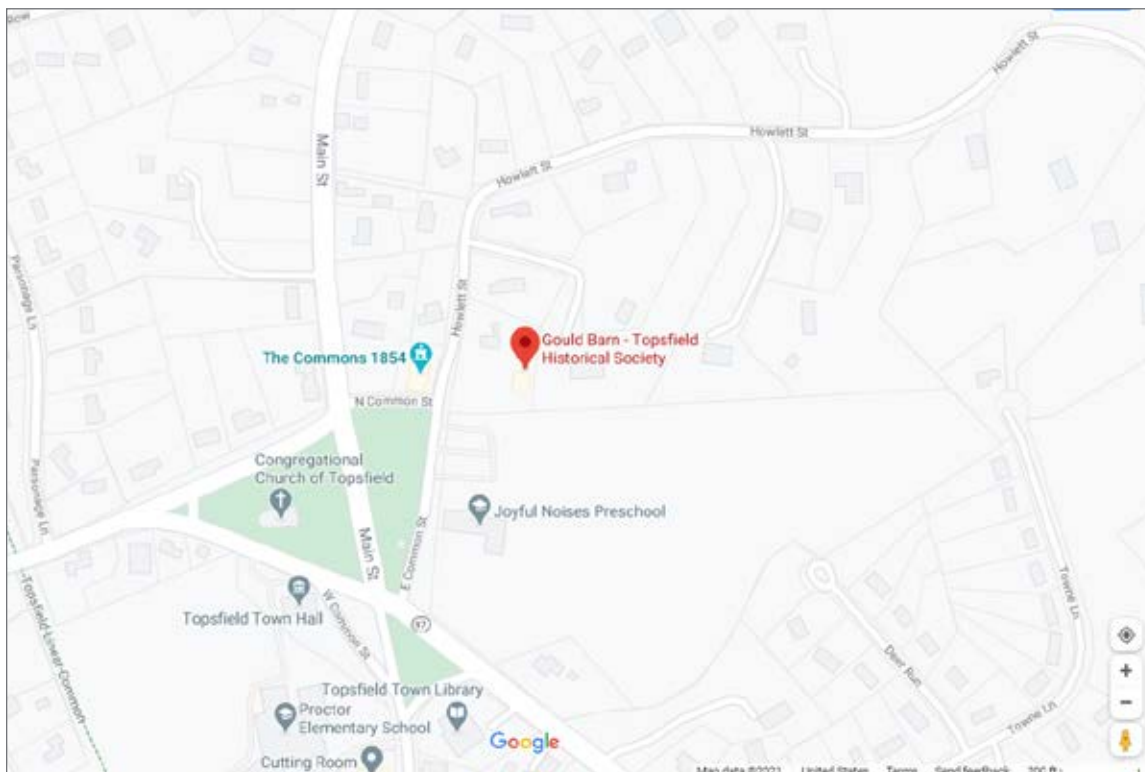


Figure 54: Image of Topsfield Historical Society's location. Map data ©2021 Google.

## Overview

The **Topsfield Historical Society** was founded in 1894 by historian and antiquarian George F. Dow. The organization aims to “promote Topsfield’s history through scholarships, lectures, and educational programs,” as well as preserve historical artifacts like the 1683 Parson Capen Historical House and the 1710 Gould Barn, where the Society is now located. It boasts a membership of more than four hundred people in eighteen states.

The Society’s president is Norm Isler; the archivist is Amy Coffin, whose email address is [coffin.acc@gmail.com](mailto:coffin.acc@gmail.com). Jeanne Pickering is also heavily involved and knowledgeable of Topsfield’s history; her email address is [webmaster@topsfield.org](mailto:webmaster@topsfield.org). For specific questions about the Society’s archival materials, email [historicalrecords@topsfieldhistory.org](mailto:historicalrecords@topsfieldhistory.org).

There are primary and secondary source materials located at the Society. On-site research is best scheduled by appointment, since the Society is run entirely by volunteers.

## Collection Highlights

### *Sara Baro*

Born in 1836, Baro was captured from her home in West Africa by enslaver Don de Mer and shipped to the United States, probably disembarking at Salem, Massachusetts. She lived in Topsfield at the home of Nathaniel Conant and his wife, Elizabeth Dodge Conant. A well-educated woman, she worked as a domestic in white households in Boston and Beverly Farms. She died of cancer on February 20, 1882, and was interred in the Conant family plot at Pine Grove Cemetery in Topsfield. The name on her gravestone is spelled “Sara Baro.”

The Topsfield Historical Society possesses a mahogany jewelry box owned by Sara, and her handwritten will as well as a letter from Charles K. Dodge, a Conant descendant. Dodge’s letter, dated February 14, 2005, describes donating a mahogany box that contained Sara Baro’s will and artifacts to the Topsfield Historical Society. He claimed that his family had “always recalled [Sara Baro] with much affection and respect.”



**Figure 55:** Carte-de-visite of Sara Baro, Boston, Massachusetts, circa 1864. Theodore Wyman, Photographer, <https://www.historicnewengland.org/archival-collection-reveals-african-american-stories>. Cartes-de-visite photographic collection, circa 1858–99. Reference Code PC008.TMP.002.

Baro's will, written in her own hand, is a fascinating document. On January 7, 1882, she "syned, published and declared" her last will and testament, leaving \$200 to the African Colonization Society. She also left \$25 to the Independent Baptist Church on Joy Street, as well as substantial sums to several people with the surname Martin (perhaps the family of Reverend John Sella Martin, the African American abolitionist). Baro left her remaining personal estate to Elizabeth Dodge Conant "to have the use and improvement thereof during her natural life and after her death to her daughter, Miss Rebecca F. Conant absolutely."

Lise Breen, an independent historian from Gloucester, Massachusetts, is a wealth of information about slavery and abolition in Essex County. She has undertaken research on Sara Baro, who is often called the "African Princess."

Here is what Lise Breen wrote in an email communication with Kabria Baumgartner about her research on Sara Baro:

*I have found the vessel on which Sara almost certainly returned upon. It is not the Magdala as cited in the published accounts. While Captain Austin K. Dodge voyaged to Africa several times, he never sailed the Magdala there, although he did sail it to Cuba and southern ports. I cannot assert my contentions with absolute certainty because Dodge knew he was engaged in criminal acts when he allowed a slave dealer, [Don de Mer], on board his vessel, when he smuggled the two adults into a "southern port" to be enslaved, and when he smuggled Sara into Salem. His business required secrecy, false papers, bribes, and a circle of conspirators. To this point, I think it is crucial*

*to note that a few months before Dodge sailed for the last time to Africa with his nephew, his vessel had disembarked hundreds of enslaved Africans for the same merchant with a different captain. However, I have many shipping records to cite.*



**Figure 56:** Photograph of Sara Baro’s Gravestone, Topsfield. Photo, Dr. Kabria Baumgartner, Photographer.

*Sara’s story is part of the larger story of the participation of Massachusetts sea captains and investors in the illegal slave trade. I have pieced together the slave shippers and investors from Cape Ann, and some from Beverly, Salem, and one with solid ties to Newburyport. A preliminary draft of my essay appears on the Cape Ann slavery website: <https://capeannslavery.org/slave-schooners-and-slave-traders>.<sup>42</sup>*

*The name Sara B. Colcher is listed in an 1858–59 pamphlet of students at Topsfield Academy. Sara took an English “course” rather than a classical or young ladies collegiate course. Other classmates listed include Edna M. Gould and Mary Gould of Topsfield. George Conant served as the principal of the Topsfield Academy in 1853. Colcher’s place of residence is listed as Boston, so she may have commuted or perhaps she boarded with the Conant family.*

It is not immediately clear where the surname “Colcher” came from. Additional research is warranted to confirm Sara’s presence at Topsfield Academy given the difference in her surname.

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<sup>42</sup> Email correspondence with Lise Breen, May 13, 2020.

### ***African (American) Child Servants***

In addition to Sara Baro, there are at least three other African American children and youths in Essex County who were listed in the US federal census as well as the Massachusetts state census as having a birthplace in Africa. It is possible that these children were also captured in the illegal slave trade run by Massachusetts sea captains.

Anna MacAda (servant in the Harrington family in Salem in the 1850s)

Ruth Fonce (servant in the Rider family in Salem in the 1850s)

Barrow Robenson (servant in the Larrabee family in Salem in the 1850s)

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### **Potential Projects Based on Collections**

- Sara Baro and African American material culture
- The illegal slave trade in Essex County

### **Areas for Follow-Up and Additional Leads**

- African American child servants in Essex County, Massachusetts
- The Conant family of Topsfield

### **Keywords**

- Slavery
- Illegal slave trade
- Servitude
- Emancipation and freedom
- Education
- Boston
- African Princess
- Cemeteries

### **Supplemental Materials**

Supplemental materials related to this collection, town, or city can be found in Appendix C.



# Appendix A

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*The Essex Gazette*, 33, 37, 41, 86

*MA Vital Records*, 34, 37, 39, 46, 47, 62, 67, 73, 88, 94

*Newburyport Daily News*, 50, 101

*The Phillipian*, 26, 117, 118

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Email Correspondence—Appleton Farms

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Anti-Slavery Society of Lynn—Results from PHILCAT

Article—Lynn Museum / LynnArts Director Gives Back in Coronavirus Crisis

Bassett Family Papers—Results from PHILCAT

February 2019 Lynn Museum Untold Stories Exhibition Article

Female Anti-Slavery Society of Lynn—Results from PHILCAT

History of Lynn - By Alonzo Lewis

Hutchinson Family Material—Results from PHILCAT

**“It Wasn’t in Her Lifetime, But it Was Handed Down”: Four Black Oral Histories of Massachusetts—Edited by Dr. Eleanor Wachs**

**Jan Matzeliger Papers—Results from PHILCAT**

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## Negro Election Day

### *Primary Sources:*

Boston Herald Article, August 1894, “Colored Folks Picnic at Salem Willows”

Diaries

Newspaper Articles

Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1873–75

### *Secondary Sources:*

Article—African American Festivals in the North

Article—Negro Election Day and Black Community Life

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Du Bois Literary Society

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John J. Fatal Born in Newburyport, Article in *Cambridge Chronicle*

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Sermon on Black History by Rev. Lee Bluemel

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1969 Committee on Racial Understanding—Bishop Fenwick High

Anti-Slavery Society of Salem and Vicinity

Charles Lenox Remond—Overview researched by Aubrey Ingalls and Sherard Harrington

Chloe Minns

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Eleanor Broadhead Notebook

John Cleaveland Papers

Joshua Coffin Papers

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List of Scholars Attending African School—1826

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African Americans at Saugus Iron Works—Salem Maritime Curatorial White Paper

## Topsfield Historical Society

Mahogany Box at Topsfield

Sara Baro, African Princess—Materials at Topsfield

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## Other Sources

African Americans and National Parks in New England

Archive—Revolutionary Soldiers from Newburyport

Beverly Juno Larcom Death Record

Dissertation, *Reclaiming the Narrative: Black Community Activism and Boston School Desegregation History 1960–1975*, by Lyda S. Peters

The Hometowns of Massachusetts' African American Soldiers, Marines and Patriots of the [Revolutionary War](#)

List of Essex County Historical Societies

List of Other Projects Focused on African American Experience in Essex County

Lowell, Massachusetts Slavery Timeline—by Martha Mayo—includes Lew and Levy Families

*Salem News* Article, “An Appetite for History: Salem United Wants Black Picnic to Connect with its Roots,” July 11, 2019

Slave Gravestones in Essex County

Underground Railroad—Massachusetts

*Washington Post* Article—“The Jim Crow Car: The North, The South, and the Forgotten Origins of Racial Separation”

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July 2018 Community Conversation—History of the Salem Black Picnic

July 2018 *Eagle Tribune* Article—“Doorway to History—Peabody Essex Museum Unveils New Collection Center for Artifacts, Manuscripts”

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