

7

**City Of Derby**

**Reimbursement Request re: construction or repair of sidewalk**

**In accordance with Section 172-8, Derby Code of Ordinances**

Please print all Information below

Permit Date \_\_\_\_\_

Completion Inspection Date \_\_\_\_\_

Name of Property Owner: Rogelio Garcia Phone Number (203) 996-3308

Address of Property Owner: 149 Minerva St

Location of Sidewalk: 5<sup>th</sup> St

Sidewalk dimensions by Square Feet: 90' x 6' = 540 SF

Sidewalk Material and thickness: Concrete ☒ thickness 4" Asphalt \_\_\_\_\_ thickness \_\_\_\_\_

Contractors Name: Roger (GL Prestige) Phone Number (203) 922-6847

Contractors Address: 75 Platt St Ansonia License Number # HIC. 0628636

Sidewalk Cost \$ 6500 + 500. 5 Curb stones.

Total Job Cost: \$ 7,000<sup>00</sup>

Property owner Signature: Rogelio Garcia

**Please attach copy of Permit to construct or repair sidewalks**

**Inspection Notes:**

2023 JUL 20 12:15

**Do not write below this line**

**Reimbursement Information:**

Sidewalk Total Square Feet: 540

Sec. 172-8 Reimbursement Total \$ 1,420

**sidewalk material cost reimbursement**

I attest that all figures and dimensions are accurate. Signature Street Commissioner: Ed C

Signature City Clerk: \_\_\_\_\_

Approved By Board of Aldermen \_\_\_\_\_

Date approved: \_\_\_\_\_

**Marc Garofalo**

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**From:** John Saccu <jsaccu@gmail.com>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, July 14, 2020 10:24 AM  
**To:** Marc Garofalo; Michael Gloade  
**Subject:** community relations

Marc can you please put the FD community relations committee on the agenda of the BOA community relations meeting on July 22nd.

The topic of discussion will be concerning the possible locations for a small playground on the west side of town.

Thank you for your help!

john

To: Pam Galiardi Major's Secretary  
 Derby City Hall  
 1 Elizabeth St.  
 Derby, CT 06418  
 203-736-1450

7/15/2020 6:30:17 PM

From: Bernette D. L Carter-Wright  
 Bepuit Managements LLC  
 314 Elizabeth St. Apt 7  
 Derby, CT 06418  
 336-303.6995

Dear Community Relations Board of Aldermen,

After speaking with Ms. Pam Galiardi, she had advised me to write a letter regarding the BLACK LIVES MATTERS painting in front of city hall down to the library on Elizabeth ST. of Derby CT. The BLACK LIVES MATTERS Movement is HERE to STAY and WE want CHANGE- I Bernette D L. Carter-Wright a member of the BLACK LIVES MATTERS is asking for a permit that allows the painting for BLACK LIVES MATTERS and for the painting to become a permanent memorial painting that will show that the City of Derby supports their black community (People of Color) matters in the city of Derby, CT. We want to paint BLACK LIVES MATTERS because of the African Americans (Alkebulans) have then the subject of racial brutal violence and killings by the hand of police officers especially our black men. At the same time all black people have been the subject of oppression to the laws that are in place to criminalization's practices, racial tactics practices, segregation, systematic inequality, been undervalued, and economically deprived. For centuries, Black people were enslaved and forced to work in brutal conditions which has extracted more than \$14 trillion worth of labor, in today's dollars. Connecticut has a population of 351,817 black people who have descendants' that were enslaved and that were use for hard labor (agricultural) and as indenture servants. Our descendents were brought from Africa (Alkebulan) to be sold as a piece of property and was taxed like cars and houses for white people. This was very hard for me to swallow and conceive that our black ancestors were chain up on large ships that were called the Sally, Mary and The Wheel of Fortune (Venture) for extreme life threatening hard brutal labor. Our ancestors- both men and women have been raped and were treated less than or like an animal by the hands of their captives. Instead of being treated like an human being -my ancestors with the free will to travel to United States of America as or for companionship, as a business partners or trading allies- Connecticut New England decided to trade my ancestors like cattle. White people where never slaves but instead was given all the promise of the land and fortune of the hard works of the Blood, Sweat and Tears of our ancestors. The time has come for these systemic institutional practices to change in this world.

The income inequality can't be more unbalance now, which has been over 400 hundreds years for black people. We have not received what we deserve from the first beginning or since the year of 1619. Our ancestors built this country and they didn't get their paid or consideration for the work that they have done and still is doing for every white person who is alive today. Our

ancestor's blood, sweat and tears are painted all over this world from the highways to the clothes that we wear (The Black Struggle). No other race as contribute to this country like the BLACK RACE. We have been here since the 1700s and we have not yet been recognized for all the hard work that we have done and will continue to do. Without the black race, all the cultures in this world won't exist or survive but, with that being said "WE DON'T STILL GET NO RESPECT". We are known to be placed on displayed for entertainment for the white audience the assemble spectators like in basketball, football game, other sport events, Song writer, advertising their foods and products, music, artists and we as black people are sometimes unaware of what we are doing to our black culture. Not to mention all the inventions that came through black people in which all don't and have not receive consideration or reparations for their good deeds that help people today. . Some inventions that were made by black people like the (4) cylinder car that operates without gasoline only on just water which is the FORD Company, blood plasma, whiskey, hair products and even the peanuts just to name a few. None of our descendants have ever received any royalties from those inventors never mind all the thousands of inventions that black people have contributed to this world. Let's not forget that our ancestors came here with skills like growing rice and constructing buildings and houses and the hygiene care just to name a few. We walk on the streets that black people constructed and paved. We live in the houses that black people built. We traveling on the buses, trains and planes that black people invented. We elected the president who lives in the house that slaves built. But still black people are given nothing. Are you and your board members aware of these accomplishments and hard work that we have put into this country?

If I was white and found out that my family played major role in deliberately with no conscious killed black people for fun, help put mechanisms, laws, regulations that would impede or put their lives on a halt, hinder a whole population of a race ( ethic cleansing and genocide). And at the same time enjoy the work, process, cause and affect that came from those actions. But that was not enough for them, they then place drugs in our streets, arrest our men and place them in jail, segregate us from education, loans, voting, medical, grants, housing, buying homes and in acquiring property for business and or homestead. We have been left out of all the privileges that the white race unconsciously enjoy and take advantage of everyday because either you have came from a family with money or you are of the white race. Putting up your bootstraps does not apply to black people, because when we become more popular then you, or appear stronger then you, you will find a way to take away what we have worked hard for without remorse some examples are (Black Wall Street, police killing us, and setting us up to go to jail). I am not over exaggerating by far I believe that The United States Government doesn't care about black people; they just want us to be their slaves, and then take our last breath. (I CAN'T BREATHE!) I see it every day on TV, in the music that we listen to, the movies that we watch, the racial names that you put on your products, even the statues that you made us construct to stand in front of us to remind us that we are still slaves and that we don't matter. Not one black family hasn't experienced a lost of a love one by the hands of a police officer in some type of way (Not One). I for one had an uncle who was shot over 20 times in a housing complex in Bridgeport, CT. between late 70's early 80's and their reason was mistaking identity. Nothing was done by the police, no help with funeral expenses and not even an apology. But my family knows differently, you just don't make a mistake like that! Every time another black person dies, I think about my uncle Georgie Wright. The police have always been a major constraint for black people. We are not here to be killed off whenever a police officer feels like it. BLACK LIVES MATTERS!

## SOME FACTS

By the beginning of the 1700s, approximately one thousand enslaved Africans and African Americans were working in New England. That number increased dramatically over the next half century: by 1755 there were 13,300 enslaved people living in New England. Enslaved people were not distributed evenly throughout the New England colonies. They were concentrated in major cities and in some agricultural areas. By the end of the colonial era there were more enslaved people in Connecticut than any other New England colony. Rhode Island had proportionally more enslaved people than Connecticut, but its overall population was much smaller. New Englanders invested in slave voyages much as people invest in the stock market today. Even average working people could buy shares for very little money and thus try to build up their wealth. The presence of enslaved people and the labor they provided changed New England's economy from a purely subsistence one, where work supports life at a basic level, to the kind of varied and expanding economy that later formed a foundation of the new United States. "To prosper, we must have a stock of slaves to do all our business." The growth in the enslaved population throughout the eighteenth century resulted in an increase in productivity among New Englanders, and an increase in different kinds of economic activity.

## Conclusion

I am requesting a permit that would allow the painting of BLACK LIVES MATTERS on Elizabeth St. starting from 1 Elizabeth St. to City Hall of Derby to the front of the library 314 Elizabeth St. because we want change from this City Hall of Derby with ALL laws pertaining to African Americans (Alkebulans) and the for the library to start stocking their shelves with books written by and about black people and our history and to have the ability to accurate keep records of our black history.

I look forward to discuss this in more detail with the members of the Community Relations Board of Aldermen meeting on July 26<sup>th</sup> at 6 p.m.

Thank you;

Bernette D. L Carter-Wright  
CEO

Bepuit Managements LLC

  
Please take the time to read articles regarding slaving in Derby CT listed below:

1. Derby Hall of Fame Quash Freeman
2. New England Colonies "Use of Slavery"
3. Valley Independent of Sentinel
4. Negros Slavery in Connecticut by Fredrick Calvin Norton

**RESOURCE LIBRARY**  
ARTICLE

## New England Colonies' Use of Slavery

Although slavery ended earlier in the North than in the South (which would keep its slave culture alive and thriving through the Emancipation Proclamation and the Civil War), colonial New England played an undeniable role in the long and grim history of American slavery.

**GRADES**

5 - 12+

**SUBJECTS**

*Geography, Human Geography, Social Studies, U.S. History*



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Lacking large-scale plantations, New England did not have the same level of demand for slave labor as the South. But slavery still existed there until well into the 19th century. Ships in Boston Seaport sailed enslaved Africans along the Atlantic and throughout the Caribbean.

IMAGE COURTESY OF ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA

Leveled by newsela



## ARTICLE VOCABULARY

Monday, January 13, 2020

Select Text Level: 3<sup>rd</sup> Grade 5<sup>th</sup> Grade 7<sup>th</sup> Grade 9<sup>th</sup> Grade 10<sup>th</sup> Grade 12<sup>th</sup> Grade

Conversations about slavery in the United States frequently center on the South and the Civil War. Yet the roots of slavery in the New World go much deeper than that—back to the original British colonies, including the northernmost in New England. New England would later become known for its abolitionist leaders and its role in helping formerly enslaved Southern blacks and those escaping slavery. However, the colonies had a history of using slave and indentured labor to create and build their economies.

### The Origins of American Slavery

The concept of slavery was hardly a new one when English colonists reached North American shores. It had been practiced in Europe for more than a century. The arrival of Africans in Virginia in 1619 was merely the beginning of a long-term slave trade between Africa and North America based on the social norms of Europe.

While slavery grew exponentially in the South with large plantations, slavery in New England was different. Most enslaved people in the North did not live in large communities, as enslaved people did in the mid-Atlantic colonies and the South. Those Southern economies depended

to provide labor and keep the massive tobacco and rice farms running. New England did not have such large plantations. There, it was more typical to have one or two enslaved individuals attached to a household, business, or small farm.

In New England, it was common for enslaved people to learn specialized skills and crafts due to the area's more varied economy. Ministers, doctors, and merchants also used slave labor to work alongside them and run their households. As in the South, enslaved men were frequently forced into heavy or farm labor. Enslaved women were frequently forced to work as housework servants. This was very different from the South, where women often performed agricultural work.

### New England's Forced Laborers

Part of the reason slavery evolved differently in New England was the culture of indentured servitude. As a carryover from English practice, indentured servants were the original standard for forced labor in New England. These indentured servants were white Europeans voluntarily working off debts. Usually, they had signed a contract to perform slave-level labor for four to seven years. More than half of the original population of the North American colonies was brought over as indentured servants.

New England colonies were also slower to accept African slavery in general. One reason for this was that there were local alternatives to African slaves. Early in New England's history, a different kind of slave trade emerged: enslaving and shipping local Native Americans to the West Indies. This kind of slavery was limited compared to the number of African slaves and indentured servants that eventually came to New England. Nevertheless, kidnapping and enslaving these native people was an undeniable part of the early New England slave trade.

Enslaved Africans were quickly forced to replace indentured servants on plantations in Virginia, Maryland, and other Southern colonies. In New England, however, people imported as slave labor were initially given the same status as indentured servants. This changed, however, in 1641. That year, the Massachusetts Bay Colony passed slave laws differentiating slave labor from the indentured servants' contract labor. As a result, enslaved people in the colony lost the few rights they had previously had.

Still, the New England colonies began to show differences in their approaches to slavery. This was true even as slavery became more common in some colonies. The colonial government in Rhode Island tried, though ultimately failed, to enforce laws that would have extended certain rights to the enslaved. Such laws would have given enslaved individuals the same rights as



## Becoming the "Free North"

The use of slavery throughout the colonies (particularly the Southern ones) continued to grow throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century. As the colonies moved closer to revolution against England, though, things began to change. There was a growing trend of questioning slavery in New England. The number of those freed from slavery in New England grew, as the enslaved who fought in the Revolutionary War (both sides) were offered freedom.

Religious societies like the Quakers (who believed that slavery was sinful) began the first anti-slavery movements in New England. These early movements were extremely influential. They would later form the backbone of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century abolitionist movements that would spread throughout the United States.

New England governments began to step in as well, outlawing active slave trades in the Connecticut and Rhode Island colonies. However, few colonial leaders wanted a full repeal of slavery at the time. It was not until late into the Revolutionary War period that the former New England colonies began outlawing slavery fully. Vermont was first, in 1777, followed by Massachusetts (1781), New Hampshire (1783), Connecticut (1784), and Rhode Island (1784). By 1840, all New England states were "free" states.

## Credits

## User Permissions



# Hall of Fame

## Quash Freeman

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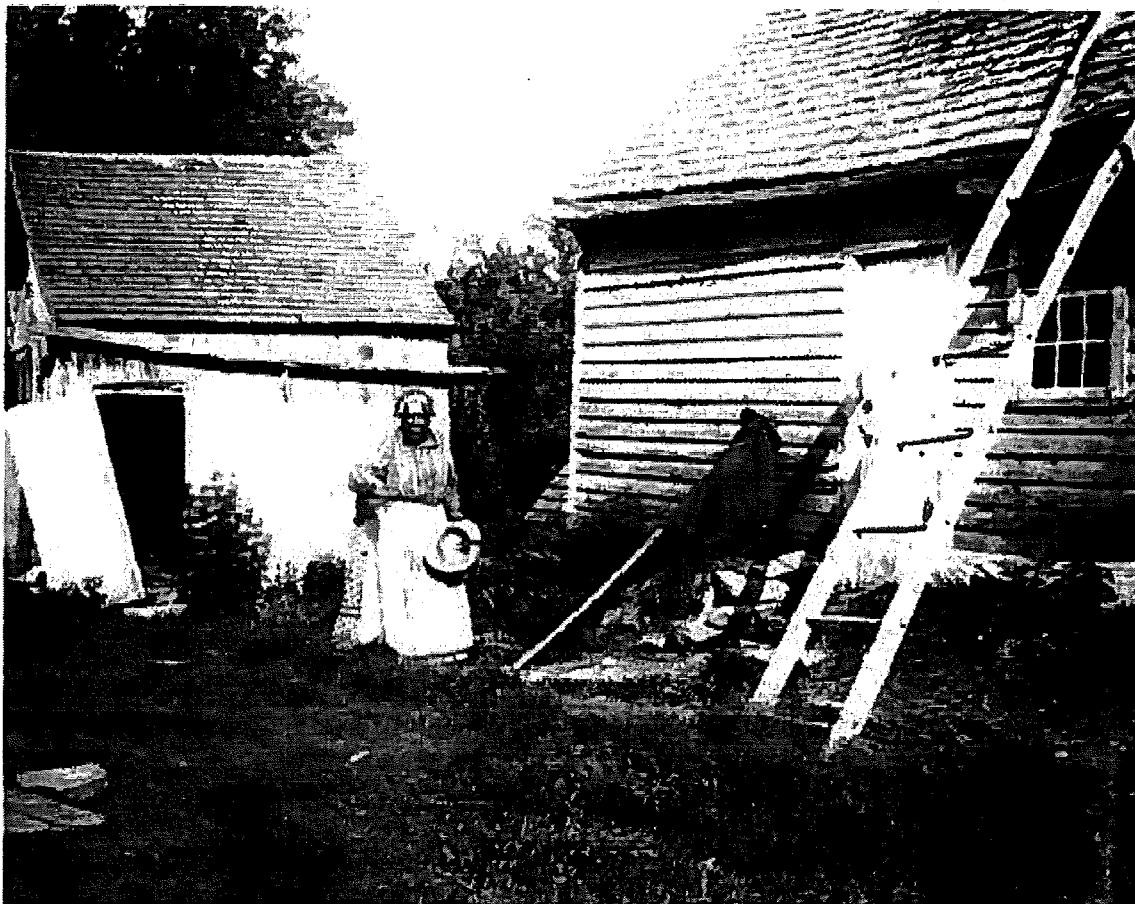
Quash Freeman  
Born in Ghana  
From Slave  
to Freeman  
to  
Black Governor  
of Connecticut

No known pictures of Quash exist, but this is a representation of Black Governors found [here](#).

Most people today do not think of slavery as something that existed in Connecticut - or in Derby. However, it did with its earliest recordings in CT in the 1620's and it was

legally recognized as an institution in 1650. It wasn't until 1783 that the state passed emancipation laws.

And even fewer people know of the existence of another somewhat related institution - the Black Governors of Connecticut. Though not a formal or powerful as the office of CT governor, the Black Governors had parallels to the real governors though no one is 100 percent sure of their powers. We'll come back to that.



*The Freeman Homestead at Derby Neck with Nancy Freeman who was the wife of Roswell Freeman (photo courtesy of Derby Historical Society)*

It appears that Quosh (he had no surname) was born in Ghana and was eventually kidnapped and sold into slavery. His last owner was Lt. Agar (Agur) Tomlinson of Derby. Following Tomlinson's death, his will provided for Quosh and his wife Mary who had been previously owned by a Rev. Mr. Yale were to be given their freedom. They also received along land, a small dwelling, a barn, a yoke of oxen, a cow and farming implements. That land is believed to be within the area of present day Osbornedale State Park. In 2012 the was the subject of an archeological dig conducted by professors and students from Central Connecticut State College ([Click here](#) for story.)

Quosh had built a reputation for his strength and work habits long before earning his freedom, and his stature continued to grow after his emancipation. While under Tomlinson's direction, he was in charge of all of Tomlinson's slaves and some accounts said that he even bossed around his master!

The tradition of Black Governors goes back to as early as the 1750's and speculation is that their responsibilities included presiding over legal matters in the Black community, officiating at ceremonies, and maintaining an African-based social organization.<sup>1</sup> A man was elected governor for his wisdom, strength, honesty, and for the respect that he commanded. He often appointed his own officers who helped him keep the peace.<sup>2</sup> Some of the governors may have been leaders in their tribes in Africa before ending up in slavery, and whites may have seen this as an opportunity for their slaves to take some role in controlling behavior short of using courts for whites.

The earliest governors seemed to have been elected in Hartford with all the celebratory trappings that slaves saw connected to the inauguration of the regular governors. An article on the history of Black Governors in the Evening Sentinel on June 13, 1902 suggested that whites tolerated the fun, but blacks took the role - and the election very seriously.

By 1800, Derby had become the site for the election. The Sentinel described it as being a great festival and "Colored people came to Derby from all the neighboring towns, some of them from as far north as Hartford."<sup>3</sup>

And that is when Quosh emerges. Now known as Quosh Freeman (The surname that he adopted when he gained his freedom), Quosh is said to have exhibited extraordinary strength and courage on the morning of the election. According to the account in the Evening Sentinel, he was said to have "caught a bull by the horns and nose and threw it to the ground when the animal, enraged by the flaunting colors borne by the people was about to charge the crowd." His rival for the governorship withdrew from the race, and Quosh was elected. The year was believed to have been 1810.

Quosh's son Rosewell J. Freeman went on to become Black Governor about 1835. and his grandson, Ebenezer D. Bassett (another Hall of Famer) went on to become the first native born African American diplomat when President Ulysses Grant appointed him ambassador to Haiti.

1 - Digital Archaeological Record -

<https://core.tdar.org/document/436910/connecticuts-black-governors>

2. Connecticut Explored - <https://www.ctexplored.org/monument-to-the-black-governors/>

3. The Evening Sentinel - June 13, 1902. page 8

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## Archaeologists Research Derby's 'Black Governors'

by ETHAN FRY | Jul 13, 2012 7:36 am

Commenting has been closed | E-mail the Author

Posted to: **Derby**

If you lived in Derby during the 1800s, chances are your opinion of Quosh and Roswell Freeman depended, like many other things, on the color of your skin.

The men — father and son — were two of Derby's "black governors," elected by African-American communities of the time to perform social and political duties.

The two men held the role in 19th-century Derby. But aside from bare details about their lives, very little about them is known.

So far.

Archaeologist Gerald Sawyer and colleagues from Central Connecticut State University — Warren Perry and Janet Woodruff — are trying to change that.

For weeks, they excavated the site where the Freeman home once stood, along with several students — Alex Schade, Charlene Lewis, Thomas Wilson, Heather Gullberg, Eric Potrikus, and Emily Samborski.

The team recently gave about 50 people, including some descendants of the two men, a look into what they've learned from the site so far — and what they hope to learn in the future — during a presentation at the Kellogg Environmental Center on Hawthorne Avenue.

### Black Governors

The role meant different things to different people.

"The whites looked at it as being a parody of their form of government, as if it was a joke, a minstrel show," said Sawyer at the Derby site where the Freeman house is believed to have stood.

"To the Africans, it was really important, very much like men's societies and women's societies in Africa."

The contrast is exemplified by the historical research available about the "black governors."

Their precise role is murky. [Click here](#) to check out a page about the title from the Hartford Black History Project. The Electronic Valley also has some information — and the photo of Nancy Freeman shown above — at [this page](#)

In many cases, Sawyer said, whites only went to the black governors when problems came up.

"Whenever anything seemed to go wrong in a black society, the whites would go to the black governor and say 'Straighten them out,'" Sawyer added.

The position had more meaning to Africans, he suggested.

"The African people, they chose somebody who they felt would be a good leader for them, and represent them well to the white power structure," he said.

### **The Truth Is In The Ground**

So the team hopes to dig up more information about the daily lives of Derby's "black governors."

PHOTO: ETHAN FRY

Archaeology students Tom Wilson and Charlene Lewis cover a hole with a tarp.

The researchers hope to have a website with a video of the presentation and pictures of some of their discoveries available sometime in August.

The group has found thousands of artifacts on the property, from glass medicine bottles and window glass to buttons, part of a pocket watch, and a signet ring, to name a few examples.

Now, they will spend another five weeks doing lab work studying what they've found and seeing if they can draw any conclusions about the property or the people who lived there.

At the site last month, the students were covering holes they had already dug with tarps and covering the tarps with dirt to make it easier to resume the dig in the future.

As Perry and one of the students, Eric Potrikus, were guiding some visitors around the site, they found a fresh artifact — a piece of glass that Potrikus suggested might have been the base of a lamp.

He took it over to Sawyer, who promptly put on his glasses for a closer look.

PHOTO: ETHAN FRY

Gerald Sawyer talks to Eric Potrikus about a piece of glass found at the site.

"It's definitely hand-blown," he said, pointing out striations in the glass before asking Potrikus to "bag it" for later study.

Sawyer said the team isn't looking to find anything specific at the site, just things that will teach them more about how the families lived.

"We want to know what it was like for them every day," Sawyer said. "We're not looking for evidence of one of them being a black governor, or evidence of prejudice or whatever. We're looking to see their story. And that story will take us in whatever direction it does."

The stories of such African-American communities are important to tell, because it has been "horribly misconstrued and largely ignored by white elites throughout history," as one of the students, Emily Samborski, put it.

"In America the history of those oppressed has been created by their oppressors," she said. "This false history creates a need for archaeology, which finds its truth in the ground."

An example of that oppression: Though those who lived at the site were prominent members of their community, the community itself was so marginalized that very little is known about the governors even now.

### **The Freemans**

PHOTO: ETHAN FRY

Warren Perry tells visitors about the site where two of Derby's 'black governors' once lived.

The archaeologists think Quosh might have farmed on the land, because it was bequeathed to him by his former owner in 1800 along with a yoke, oxen, cow, and farming utensils.

The property is on wooded land off Silver Hill Road — one could walk through it and not know an archaeological dig was going on there but for the flags used by the team to mark the ground.

Even for those honored by the title of "black governor," getting by still wasn't easy.

"It was a meager life," Sawyer said at the dig site Wednesday. "Look around at this land. It's lousy land for farming. But they were farming. They were trying to make a living out here."

Evidence gathered so far suggests Roswell supported his family as a fox hunter.

The property is out of the way today — so imagine how secluded it was 200 years ago.

"We're in the hinterlands here, we're on the outskirts of town," Sawyer said. "We know that it was an outlying area, we know that people that lived out here were thought of as being of 'strange' or 'others.'"

Perry said that when the team did research on secret societies in Africa, they found that "they did the same kinds of things the black governors were doing, only they were doing it in Africa."

He suggested that shows the black governors were more subversive than whites had thought.

"Africans are creating their own structure because they couldn't do otherwise for fear of persecution," he said. "They're running their own community and they're running it by a tradition that has been formed hundreds of years ago in western Africa."



## Find your ancestors in obituaries and birth notices

### NEGRO SLAVERY IN CONNECTICUT BY FREDERICK CALVIN NORTON

Published in Connecticut Magazine  
Vol 5, No. 6, June 1899

CONTRARY to the usual notion the first slaves in Connecticut were not chiefly negroes, but Indians taken in battle and afterwards distributed among the settlers. The first Pequot War, for instance, furnished a large number, even a superfluity of servants of this character. There is, however, reason to believe that the two institutions of Indian and Negro slavery co-existed for a period: for in the famous "Articles of Confederation" of 1643 provision was made for the distribution among the inhabitants of "persons, as well as lands and goods, taken in the spoils of war." Whether, on the other hand, the deed given by William Holmes of Windsor, in 1638, to Matthew Allyn of Hartford, wherein he speaks of all "the lands, houses, servants, goods, etc.," meant Negro or Indian slaves, or servants pure and simple, we cannot say: but it is certain that Africans were introduced into the Colonies as early as 1620, and the fact that slavery existed in New Haven Colony in 1644 shows that the custom was rooted in the very earliest history of the state. It must be said in extenuation that the early settlers were but following the practice obtaining in England, their mother country, from the time of Elizabeth, with the difference that the slaves in England were not black, but white; again, that if we were among the first to introduce African slavery, we were among the first to abolish that institution.

Benjamin Trumbull, the eminent historian, maintained that the first black slave owned in Connecticut was Louis Berbice, killed at the Dutch Fort in Hartford by Gysbert Opdyke in 1639. It is certain that ownership of negroes was common among the leading statemen of our early history. Theophilus Eaton, the first governor of New Haven Colony; John Talcott of Hartford; Edward Hopkins, second governor of Connecticut Colony, and founder of the famous Hopkins Grammar Schools, were all owners of slaves. John Pantry of Hartford owned them, and the inventories of the estates of Col. George Fenwick in 1660, and of John Latimer in 1662, show those eminent gentlemen to be in a like category. Not only so, but many even of the leading clergymen were slave owners, and many deacons, the highest both in church and in state. The saintly John Davenport, pastor at New Haven, the accomplished and versatile Joseph Elliott of Guilford, the Rev. Timothy Woodbridge of Hartford, Rev. Jared Elliott of Killingworth, Rev. Nathaniel Chauncey of Durham, and the Rev.

William Worthington of Saybrook all owned slaves and disposed of them in their wills as of any other property.

What the status of slave ownership was, and how strongly the custom was upheld by the officers of state, a case which came up for trial before the County Court in Hartford, in 1703, well illustrates. A slave, Abda by name, the property of Capt. Thomas Richards of Hartford, escaped and was sheltered by Capt. Joseph Wadsworth of the same town. This gentleman opposed a constable's executing a writ of arrest on Abda, and Abda brought a counter suit against Capt. Richards, claiming damages, twenty pounds sterling; the verdict of the court rested with Abda, for it awarded him damages of twelve pounds and virtually established his freedom. That the fact that the slave was a mulatto, the son of an Englishman, had probably weighed with the court, no doubt influenced the General Court to whom the case was appealed in October, 1704. Here the former decision was reversed and the fugitive was ordered to be returned to his master. The opinion of the governor, Gurdon Saltonstall, himself a minister of the gospel, is very interesting, as showing the executive's belief in the practice. He said, "According to the laws and constant practice of this Colony, and all other plantations, (as well as the civil law) such persons as are born of negro bondwomen are themselves in like condition, that is born in servitude. Yet it saith expressly, that no man shall put away or make free his negro or mulatto slave, etc., which undeniably shows and declares an approbation of such servitude, and that mulattos may be held as slaves within this government." Yet it does not appear that individuals owned so large numbers of slaves in early times as in later years, for the largest owner in the colony was Godfrey Malbone, a wealthy gentleman, a graduate of Oxford, and a resident of Brooklyn. Dr. Fowler asserts that he had between fifty and sixty slaves on his extensive estate, which was modeled on the English fashion, and that descendants of them were living as late as 1874.

We have seen that clergymen owned slaves and that Rev. Gurdon Saltonstall, as Governor, could find such ownership, even in the case of mulattos, legal and commendable. George Whitfield, an able English divine, and close friend of the elder Jonathan Edwards, went so far as to recommend the use of slaves; and it stands on record that the learned Ezra Stiles, president of Yale college, "once sent a barrel of rum by a slave ship to the coast of Africa to be exchanged for a negro, and one was procured and brought home to him to Newport." This nefarious business in importing slaves, (which the learned and pious Stiles thus consciously or unconsciously abetted) was very lucrative, for a slave in the early part of the last century brought from sixty shillings to twenty-five pounds, and later from seventy-five to one hundred and twenty-five pounds, sterling; but the trade was usually clandestine.

In the opinion of one authority, slave traders were usually ashamed of their vocation and in some instances denied being engaged in it, but not a few mariners amassed large fortunes in the traffic. The slaves most prized were those imported from

Guinea; for they were, according to the best reports, the most intelligent and altogether the most desirable. These, more than others, formed their habits according to the standard of morality of the masters; attended church regularly, and led altogether exemplary lives. How far the master's influence extended is shown by the fact that the slaves of the clergy of Connecticut were distinguished for their Puritan piety and their high appreciation of civil and religious liberty."

This condition of things possibly arose from the imitateness of the blacks as well as from the patriarchal nature of the institution. So much was the slave a part of the family that in every meeting house there was an "African corner" where the slave must sit while attending divine service. In one town, to be sure, the seats were hidden from the rest of the congregation by a tall board partition. It was even the custom in Puritan families to catechise the slaves Sunday noon regarding the sermon preached in the morning, a simple method by which many an ignorant black learned the fundamental truths of christianity. Such authority as this would indicate and the freedom accorded by the statutes to the masters gave them, golden opportunities to be rigid if they so desired. That these privileges were not abused is attested by the extraordinary affection which often existed between owner and servant.

If the slaves were imitative in these more serious lines much more were they in their amusements. We read, for instance, in early colonial history of balls given by the blacks of a town, events of much pomp and splendor; military training days of a rather uncertain character and on a greatly reduced scale were regularly held; the slaves even went so far as to hold an annual election for governor.

This event, Dr. Steiner says, was "unique to Connecticut." At any rate it has been given considerable prominence in local histories, and although the whole proceeding was hardly more than a huge farce, it was of some importance at the time. It seems that there were negro governors in several towns and that each was really at the head of the slaves in that immediate vicinity. Dr. Fowler makes mention of a negro governor in the little town of Durham and Miss Caulkins gives a graphic description of an election in Norwich. There was evidently a governor in the capitol of the state, one in Derby and one in Norwich, but although it is highly possible that they existed elsewhere I have found no mention of them. Whether there was one governor who exercised authority over all other "governors" throughout the state or not, it is impossible to say. Some writers seem to think that this was the case, but after a thorough investigation of the subject I am unable to find it to be a certainty.

But the annual election of these governors usually took place the Saturday after Election Day; according to Steiner it took place as late as 1820, but other writers give a later date. The candidate was elected largely by proxy; he was usually one of much note—of imposing presence, strength, firmness and volubility; who was quick to decide, ready to corn—mand and able to flog. This last—was probably a very

important qualification. He was the adjutor of serious disputes among the negroes, imposed fines and penalties for "gross and immoral conduct" and acted as a sort of supreme arbiter among his people. He displayed every evidence of regal authority; some of them even claimed descent from the kings of Africa. Miss Caulkips tells us that in the cemetery at Norwich was a gravestone with the following inscription thereon: "In memory of Boston Trouwt Row, Governor of the African tribe in this town, who died 1772, aged 66." She adds, "After the death of this person, Sam Huntington (slave to the governor of that name) was annually elected to this dignity for a much greater number of years than his honorable namesake and master was to the gubernatorial chair of this state."

After the negro governor was declared elected and inducted into office, if such it might be called, the whole black population formed an "election parade," in which the borrowed horses, saddles and trappings of their masters figured prominently. The Black King, as he was graciously dubbed, was escorted through the streets of the town while the din of fiddles, fifes, drums and brass horns filled the air with an unearthly noise which the blacks themselves modestly described as a "martial sound." "It was amusing to see the sham dignity, after his election, riding through the town on one of his master's horses, adorned with plated gear. An aide rode on either side and the governor, puffing and swelling with pride, sat bolt upright, moving with a slow majestic pace, as if the universe was looking on. When he mounted or dismounted an aide flew to his assistance, holding his bridle, putting his feet into the stirrups and bowing to the ground before him. The great Mogul in a triumphal procession never assumed an air of more perfect self importance than did the negro governor at such a time." After the parade the slaves repaired to a room where a great feast was spread, of which they all partook, and it was not unusual for the day's performance to end in a drunken riot.

On the whole, the ordinary slave without an overseer was a lazy, improvident individual. He was often an excellent cook, often he played the less important role of amusement maker to his master. One owned by the Rev. Jonathan Todd, minister in East Guilford, (now Madison) was so expert a fiddler that on many occasions the parson invited the young people of the village to his house "to hear Tom play on his fiddle." But in general the slave was his master's ward, and- it is not difficult to realize that slaves in Connecticut held during the eighteenth century, were far better off than after emancipation. Professor Fowler tells us that they were kindly treated in most cases, that every slave holder was bound by custom to furnish negroes with clothing, food, and to care for them when by reason of old age they were unable to care for themselves. The early records of New Haven Colony, for instance, makes mention of John Cram and Lucretia his wife, slaves to Governor Theophilus Eaton. They became old and refractory so that their master set apart for their use two acres of ground on which he caused to be erected a comfortable house. There the old pair lived and died happy and contented.

The negro nature being what it was, it was impossible that the slave's privileges should be far reaching. Sometimes a slave might, upon the death of his master, choose with which son he wished to live, but of public privileges, at least in the early part of the eighteenth century, he had none.

In 1717 the freemen of New London, in a town meeting largely attended, voted to "utterly oppose and protest against Robert Jacklin, a negro, buying any land in the town, or being an inhabitant." They sent a strongly worded petition to the General Assembly urging that body to pass a law that, "no person of that color (black) may ever have any possessions within the government." Their application met with speedy approval, for the month following the Assembly passed a bill, "prohibiting negroes purchasing land without liberty from the town," and, adds Trumbull, "from living in families of their own without such liberty." Later in the century the status of the slave had slightly changed; there was an agitation for emancipation, and the slave himself had earned a further title to respect by his service in the Revolutionary war.

The first official record concerning his employment in the Continental Army was in 1777 when the General Assembly appointed a committee "to take into consideration the state and condition of the negro and mulatto slave in this State, and what may be done for their emancipation."

The Hon. Matthew Griswold was the chairman of a committee which reported in effect as follows: If slaves could obtain by "bounty or hire" a sum to be paid their masters, which would equal in value the sum they were judged to be worth by the selectmen of the town, they should be allowed to enlist in the Connecticut Line and be henceforth, de facto, free and emancipated. A clause was added which made the master exempt, from the future support of the slave, even in case of disability or old age. The report failed in the Upper House, but at the same session an act was passed whereby slaves of "good life and conversation" when adjudged by the selectmen to be suitable persons for the army, were put into service and the master freed from future support of them. Many a slave enlisted, and, writes J. Hammond Trumbull, "neither the selectmen nor the commanding officers questioned the color; white and black, bond and free if able bodied, went into the roll together, accepted as the representatives or substitutes of their employers." Many masters, actuated either by money or motives of humanity, freed their slaves to allow them to go into the army. In Meigs' regiment one whole company was made up of slaves. This company was commanded by Capt. David Humphreys, one of the authors of the celebrated "Anarchiad" and aide to Gen. Washington; Doctor Steiner says that Humphreys took command after others had refused and remained at the head until the declaration of peace in 1783.

Many slaves, both in the regiment and elsewhere, displayed superior bravery when

death was imminent. Wilson instances the case of a negro, Lambert by name, who at Fort Griswold, Sept. 6, 1781 slew the British officer who murdered Col. Ledyard; he then fell, 'pierced by thirty-three bayonet wounds,' as true a hero as ever lived.

J. Hammond Trumbull, in describing the efficiency of slaves as soldiers writes: "So far as my acquaintance extends, almost every family has its traditions of the good and faithful service of a black servant or slave, who was killed in battle or served through the war and came home to tell stories of hard fighting, and draw his pension. In my town I remember five such pensioners, three of whom, I believe, had been slaves." As late as 1840 Oliver Mitchell, a black Revolutionary soldier, died of a fit in his boat on the Connecticut river. He had but just drawn his pension at Hartford and was returning to his home up stream.

It has been said that many masters freed their slaves to make soldiers of them, and it cannot be doubted that the aid thus furnished to the masters in the struggle for freedom was a factor in the movement for freeing the blacks themselves. It must not be supposed, however, that this was the initial step: nor must we fall into that other error of supposing that the sole or controlling motive was humanitarian. It may possibly be true, as a prominent writer has said, that the importation of Africans into the state reduced the price of labor to such a degree that the service of freemen was not required and that this consideration influenced the legislature to some extent, but it is quite evident from the records of the twenty years previous to 1784 that the ceaseless, uncompromising agitation against slavery, carried on by the clergy of the state was the real reason for the extinction, within Connecticut borders at least.

Before the opening of the Revolutionary war, then, the sentiment against slavery and practically against the slave trade, had considerably grown. For ten years, 1774—1784, there were many eloquent sermons hurled from pulpits all over the state against slave owners and traders. About 1776, the Rev. Samuel Hopkins, pastor of a church in Housatonic (now Great Barrington, Mass.) but a native of Waterbury, a man of great power, issued a "dialogue" wherein he proved beyond doubt that it was the plain religious duty of every slave owner to liberate his slaves. This "dialogue" was interestingly written and had its mission. As the sturdy Connecticut farmer, sitting before his fireplace after a hard day's work, read this little pamphlet, he was probably brought for the first time to realize the wickedness of African slavery. The younger Jonathan Edwards also published an anti-slavery pamphlet, "The Injustice and Impolicy of the Slave Trade;" both from the pulpit and from pamphleteers, by 1776 petitions began to be presented to the General Assembly, praying for the emancipation of slaves in Connecticut. Public opinion at last turned the tide and the agitators saw their hopes realized, for in 1784 the legislature passed the first emancipation law. On this important issue Connecticut has the honor of being about the first to commit herself.

The law, originally drafted, I think, as early as 1780, provided for a gradual

emancipation, whereby every negro or mulatto child born after the first of March, 1784, should not be held a slave after reaching the age of twenty-five years. Although this law was not radical, it was meant by its authors to be very firm, for slave owners who did not file certificates of birth of slaves at a specified time, or within six months of that date, were required to pay a fine of seven dollars for every month over due. In 1797 another act was passed making all born after Aug. 1, 1797, free at the age of 21 years.

Although the use and importation of Africans had been believed in and countenanced by the best citizens, yet such eminent statesmen as Roger Sherman and Oliver Ellsworth, our representatives in the Constitutional Convention of 1787, Came out boldly against the traffic, and the former declared it to be iniquitous.

The law worked silently and steadily, and when, in 1848 the act was passed which abolished slavery in this state forever, there were, according to the eminent authority, John Hooker, only six slaves surviving.

Whether the liberation of the blacks was a benefit to them as individuals or not has been a matter for grave dispute. Undoubtedly it was sometimes an injury to both master and slave, but Professor Fowler avers that his experience in gathering testimonials for forty or fifty years regarding this question convinced him that emancipation was more advantageous and less injurious to the slave. Noah Webster, however, writing about the time of emancipation, took a dismal view of the case. He said, "Slaves born and bred beneath the frown of power, neglected and despised in youth, they abandon themselves to ill company and low vicious pleasure, till their habits are formed, when manumission, instead of destroying their habits and repressing their corrupt inclinations, seems to afford them more numerous opportunities for indulging both." In direct opposition to this doleful opinion of the great lexicographer, Prof. Fowler, an unimpeachable authority, says that, in talking with men born in Connecticut not far from 1760, he learned that slaves in this state "were more moral, religious, had larger families of children and lived longer than their free brethren." This is the opinion of a man who made a study of slavery in its every aspect.

The condition of the blacks under slavery is very comprehensively viewed by Tapping Reeve, the famous head of the more famous Litchfield Law School (now the Yale Law School) in his able work entitled "Domestic Relations

"In 1816," he says, "it is difficult to find in the state of Connecticut a slave." In discussing the relations between master and slave, he writes: "The master had no control over the life of his slave. If he killed him, he was liable to the same punishment as if he killed a freeman. A slave was capable of holding property in the character of devisee or legatee. If a slave married a free woman with the consent of his master, he was emancipated: for his master had suffered him to contract a



relation inconsistent with a state of slavery. The master by his consent had agreed to abandon his rights to him as a slave."

Notwithstanding the beneficent working of the law, and the desire of the law'makers to do away with slavery, the records of events show an evident desire on the part of the public still to antagonize negroes individually whether bond or free. In the year 1831 a movement was inaugurated at New Haven, by the friends of the blacks, to establish there a college where negroes might receive a proper education. But a large mass meeting of prominent citizens passed strong resolutions against the project; they declared in vigorous language they were utterly opposed to abolition sentiment. So strong was the feeling that the legislature in sympathy with the meeting passed, two years later, an act which rendered the establishing of schools in Connecticut, for the instruction of pupils from other states, unlawful. The excuse for its passage was given that such schools would "tend to the great increase of the population of the state, and thereby to the injury of the people."

How an increased population could be an injury to the people was not explained, probably the wiser course. But it was under the provision of this act that a famous prosecution was made, which attracted widespread attention, not only in this but in many other states. Miss Prudence Crandall opened a young ladies' school in the small town of Canterbury. She had taught with marked success in other places, and the leading citizens of Canterbury prevailed upon her to move thither. This she did and opened the school in the fall of 1831. Miss Crandall prospered until she allowed a colored girl, the daughter of a respectable resident of the town, to become a pupil. It appears that Miss Crandall had access to Garrison's anti-slavery paper, "The Liberator," and had imbibed from it sentiments decidedly favorable to abolition; she therefore had no hesitation in starting the girl on a course of study which would enable her to "teach colored children." This innocent act precipitated a little storm, instigated by the wife of an Episcopal rector, residing in the town, and a general boycott was declared. This fierce opposition only nerved the brave little woman in the determination to carry out her design; she soon afterwards made the public announcement that she proposed opening a school for "little misses of color."

The ire of the townspeople was thoroughly aroused. At a public town meeting held in the Canterbury meeting house, March, 1833, resolutions were unanimously adopted denouncing and vehemently opposing the opening of the school for colored girls within the limits of the town; a committee was appointed to confer with Miss Crandall and persuade her to abandon the project. At a second town meeting a committee was appointed to apply to the next legislature for a law to meet the case and as a consequence the disgraceful law of 1833, alluded to before, was passed. From this time on her school was treated with an extreme of lawlessness which would have astonished even a party of western cowboys.

Unruly boys, encouraged by their seniors, created an unearthly noise in front of her



school and threw rotten eggs and other offensive missiles. She and her pupils were even debarred from purchasing goods at the village store. She was warned that if she continued teaching colored children not residents of Connecticut, the law would be rigidly enforced, and, in very truth, on the 27th of June, 1833, the amiable, Quaker schoolmistress was arrested and committed by a justice of the peace for her time before the Windham County court in August.

Her friends refused to furnish bonds, preferring rather to let the law take its course; accordingly Miss Crandall passed one night in a cell previously occupied by a condemned murderer. Bail was, however, furnished by an unknown person next morning, but the fact rather turned public sentiment in her favor, for the Honorable Arthur Tappan of New York, the famous anti-slavery agitator, notified Miss Crandall's friends to spare no cost in obtaining the ablest lawyer in her defence. The case of the state versus Crandall came to trial before Judge Eaton at Brooklyn on the 23rd of August, 1833. The jury stood seven for conviction and five for acquittal, and the case was brought before Judge Daggett in the October session of the Superior Court. The verdict again went against Miss Crandall. Her counsel appealed to the Supreme Court of Errors, where the case was heard on the 22d of July, 1834. Here the previous decisions were reversed on the ground of "insufficiency of information."

The school was continued through this long bitter controversy, but popular indignation did not decrease. The prosecution having failed in the courts, the thirst for vengeance broke out afresh; the officers of the Congregational church refused to allow Miss Crandall or her pupils to worship within its walls; her barn was set afire, fortunately without bad results; and on the night of Sept. 9th a crowd of men and boys attacked the house, breaking all the windows and doors and almost totally ruining the structure. After this barbarous Outrage the school was discontinued and the miserable affair came to an end, yet the little town, in justification of its conduct, placed this resolution upon its records: "That the Government of the United States, the nation with all its institutions, of right belongs to the white men who now control them, that our appeal to the legislature of our own state in a case of such peculiar mischief was not only due to ourselves, but to the obligations devolving upon us under the Constitution. To have been silent would have been participating in the wrongs intended. We rejoice that the appeal was not in vain."

Numerous incidents of the irrepressible conflict in Connecticut might be cited. The famous "Amistad Case," which lack of space prevents our discussing, began in 1839 and ended only in 1844 in the Supreme Court of the United States; a signal legal victory was then won by John Quincy Adams and Roger Sherman Baldwin for the Amistad captives. At public meetings held in Hartford and New Haven in 1835, the Abolitionists were roundly denounced for sending their "inflammatory literature" into the Southern states.

Governor Isaac Toucey himself presided over the Hartford meeting. Later in 1850

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there is record of transaction, significant as showing the evolution of public feeling. Joseph R. Hawley, agent, purchased for John Hooker, Esq., of Hartford, Rev. James Pennington, D. D., ("Jim Pembroke ") an escaped slave who had previously served as pastor of a church in that city. He was fearful of capture after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law and had adopted the means of going to Canada and afterwards to Germany to obtain his freedom. Mr. Hooker paid one hundred and fifty dollars for the doctor of divinity, owned him one day and then executed a writ of manumission.

The sentiment against the Abolitionists throughout the state was certainly bitter, yet through the work of the "Christian Freeman," afterwards known as "The Charter Oak," with the able Burleigh as editor, the cause was continually agitated and steadily advanced. In 1840 James G. Birney, candidate of the Liberty Party for president received only 1 votes; four years later he got 1,943. In 1852, John P. Hale received 3,160, and but two years later the candidate for governor obtained 19,465. In 1856 Fremont, for president, carried the state with 42,715 votes, and from then on the gain was rapid, placing Connecticut in the Republican column for many years.

## AUTHORITIES.

To Dr. Steiner's "Slavery in Connecticut," J. H. U., 1893, and "The Historical Status of the Negro in Connecticut," by William C. Fowler, L. L. D., I am especially indebted. Prof. Fowler's valuable work was printed in Dawson's Historical Magazine, 3d series, Vol. III, 1874.

I have also consulted the following works in the preparation of this article: De Forest's "Indians of Connecticut;" Moore's "Notes on Slavery;" Caulkin's "Norwich" and "New London;" Williard's "History of the Negro Race in America;" Jameson's "Essays in Constitutional History;" Wilson's "Rise and Fall of the Slave Power;" Bacon's "Slavery Discussed in occasional Essays;" the general Histories of Connecticut, by Trumbull, Hollister and Barber, and numerous town histories.

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