

# OLD SOUTH MEETING HOUSE

310 Washington Street / 2 Milk Street, Boston



## BOSTON LANDMARKS COMMISSION STUDY REPORT

Petition # 268.20

Boston Landmarks Commission | Office of Historic Preservation  
City of Boston

Approved by:



Elizabeth Sherva, Executive Director

May 20, 2025

Date

Approved by:



Bradford C. Walker, Chair

May 20, 2025

Date

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Cover image: Old South Meeting House, Boston, 2024, Gretchen Pineo.

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## 1. DESIGNATION

The Boston Landmarks Commission was established by Ch. 772 of the Acts of 1975 as amended to identify and safeguard the public's interest in preserving historic sites that represent distinctive features of the political, economic, social, cultural or architectural history of the city. As part of the process of designating a new Landmark or District, a Study Report is prepared to locate and describe the site; to provide a record of the rationale for creating the designation; to identify the character-defining features; and to list Standards and Criteria that will guide the Boston Landmarks Commission in evaluating proposed changes in the future.

The designation of the Old South Meeting House was initiated in 2020 after a petition was submitted by then-Commissioner Lynn Smiledge to the Boston Landmarks Commission asking that the Commission designate the property under the provisions of Chapter 772 of the Acts of 1975, as amended (hereinafter "Chapter 772"). The purpose of such a designation is to recognize and protect a physical feature or improvement that in whole or part has historical, cultural, social, architectural, or aesthetic significance.

The Old South Meeting House meets the following criteria for designation as a Boston Landmark as established in Section 4 of Chapter 772:

A. Inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places as provided in the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966.

The Old South Meeting House was designated a National Historic Landmark in 1960. This designation is recognized by the Secretary of the Interior for sites of national significance. The Old South Meeting House is also part of the Boston National Historical Park, established by Congress on October 1, 1974, to preserve resources associated with the opening campaigns of the Revolutionary War and the founding of America.

B. Structures, sites, objects, man-made or natural, at which events occurred that have made an outstanding contribution to, and are identified prominently with, or that best represent some important aspect of the cultural, political, economic, military, or social history of the city, the commonwealth, the New England region or the nation.

The Old South Meeting House is nationally significant for its association with events in Boston that led to the American colonies' revolt in 1775. Most notably, the building was the site of large public meetings following the altercation on March 5, 1770, that became known as the Boston Massacre, and as the staging ground for the Boston Tea Party on December 16, 1773. Additionally, the Old South Meeting House is nationally significant for its association with the history of historic preservation.

C. Structures, sites, objects, man-made or natural, associated significantly with the lives of outstanding historical personages.

The Old South Meeting House is associated with several outstanding historical personages in American history. Members of its congregation include Phillis Wheatley, Samuel Adams, James Otis, William Dawes, and Benjamin Franklin.

D. Structures, sites, objects, man-made or natural, representative of elements of architectural or landscape design or craftsmanship that embody distinctive characteristics of a type inherently valuable for study of a period, style or method of construction or development, or a notable work of an architect, landscape architect, designer, or builder

whose work influenced the development of the city, the commonwealth, the New England region, or the nation.

Old South Meeting House, originally constructed in 1729-1730, is nationally significant as a rare example of a colonial church that combines an early Georgian exterior influenced by Christopher Wren's work with the traditional interior proportions and seating plan of the seventeenth-century four-square meeting house. Old South Meeting House was constructed by Joshua Blanchard (1692-1748), a master mason who later erected Faneuil Hall in 1740-1742.

Therefore, the Boston Landmarks Commission staff recommends that the Commission designate the Old South Meeting House as a **Landmark** under Chapter 772; and further recommends that the boundaries of the designated Landmark correspond to the Assessor's parcels 0303905000, 0303905001, 0303906000, 0303906001, and 0303904000. The effect of this designation shall be that review by the Boston Landmarks Commission and/or Commission staff shall be required for any proposed alterations to the following elements:

- The Old South Meeting House (parcel numbers 0303905000 and 0303905001):
  - The exterior envelope of the Old South Meeting House, including any attached enclosures or awnings used for retail purposes.
    - Also, any physical attachment to or contact between the Old South Meeting House and any existing or new structures on this parcel.
  - Certain landscape elements including:
    - Brick paving;
    - Fences and gates.
  - Certain interior elements of the Old South Meeting House including:
    - Great hall (meeting room) including galleries, all fixed furnishings and fixed display cases, and all architectural features;
    - Spiral staircase at west entrance tower;
    - Spiral staircase to east second-floor gallery;
    - Staircase from second to third-floor galleries at southeast corner.
  - Any new structures that will be fixed to the ground on this parcel.
- The alley to the north of the Old South Meeting House (parcel numbers 0303906000 and 0303906001) – Commission review shall be limited to:
  - Any permanent new construction, paving, or fencing.
  - Any physical attachment to or contact between the Old South Meeting House and any existing or new structures on this parcel.
- The parcel to the east of the Old South Meeting House which currently contains a one-story retail building (parcel number 0303904000) – Commission review shall be limited to:
  - Any permanent new construction, paving, or fencing.
  - Any physical attachment to or contact between the Old South Meeting House and any existing or new structures on this parcel.
- Any below-ground digging on any of the included parcels, including any expansion or additional excavation of the Old South Meeting House basement.
- **Exclusions:**
  - Basement interior finishes, partitions, and office furniture;
  - Interior of enclosed entry vestibule (reception area) behind tower;
  - Interior of entry vestibule at south wall;
  - Movable furniture, exhibit furnishings, and display cases that are not permanently attached to architectural elements;

- Current audiovisual equipment at the time of designation, and any reasonable upgrades to that equipment that do not require significant new attachment points to architectural elements;
- Freestanding exterior elements that do not attach to the building or the ground; i.e. movable signage.

If designated, the Standards and Criteria in section 7 of this report will serve as guidelines for the Commission's review of proposed changes to the elements listed above, with the goal of protecting the historic integrity of the landmark and its setting. The designation would not regulate use.



**Map 1.** Map showing the boundaries of the Landmark designation in red.

## 2. LOCATION AND ZONING

According to the City of Boston's Assessing Department, the Old South Meeting House (assessor's parcel numbers 0303905000 and 0303905001) is located at 2 Milk St, Boston, MA 02108. However, the Assessing Department lists the owner's mailing address as 310 Washington St, Boston, MA 02108, which is also the address typically used by the organization that occupies the building (Revolutionary Spaces).

According to the City of Boston's Assessing Department, the alley to the north of the Old South Meeting House (assessor's parcel numbers 0303906000 and 0303906001) has an address of 308 Washington St, Boston, MA 02108.

According to the City of Boston's Assessing Department, the one-story retail structure to the east of the Old South Meeting House (assessor's parcel number 0303904000) has an address of 4 Milk St, Boston, MA 02108.

The current zoning district for all of the included parcels is the Midtown Cultural District, and the property is also located in the zoning sub-district of Newspaper Row/Old South Protection Area, which currently allows for an as-of-right maximum building height of 125 feet and a floor area ratio of 8. The zoning overlays for the property include a Restricted Parking District and a Shadow Impact Area.

The Boston Planning and Development Agency (now the Planning Department) adopted PLAN: Downtown in December of 2023. As of April 2025, the Planning Department released an updated draft Downtown zoning text amendment and a draft amendment to PLAN: Downtown. The draft Zoning Amendment has raised concerns among preservationists as it calls for including a "SKY-R" zone that would allow 500' towers throughout the Ladder Blocks under certain circumstances as well as "SKY" zones that would permit structures to be built up to the ceiling allowed by the FAA. The block containing the Old South Meeting House is currently located in a "SKY" zone. Thus, the new zoning proposed by the City would remove the protection currently afforded by the Newspaper Row/Old South Protection Area and would allow structures up to the FAA limit to be built around the Old South Meeting House.

The Old South Meeting House is part of the Boston National Historical Park. See section 6.4 Planning Context for more information.

### **3. OWNERSHIP AND OCCUPANCY**

According to the City of Boston's Assessor's records, the Old South Meeting House has two parcel numbers: 0303905000 and 0303905001, both of which are listed as owned by the Old South Association (OSA). However, as of 2020, the Old South Association merged with The Bostonian Society (TBS) and is now Revolutionary Spaces, Inc. (RSI). All of the Old South Association properties now belong to Revolutionary Spaces, Inc.

Old South Meeting House was used historically as a Puritan space for worship and public gathering space, a British riding school, a Civil War recruiting station, a Post Office and is now utilized as a museum operated by Revolutionary Spaces, Inc. There is also a gift shop in the upper basement level.

According to the Assessor's records, parcel 0303905000 (associated with the museum) is used by a charitable organization and has a total assessed value of \$4,099,500.00, with the land valued at \$2,854,400.00 and the building valued at \$1,245,100.00 for fiscal year 2025. Parcel 0303905001 (associated with the gift shop) is used for retail and has a total assessed value of \$355,500.00 with a land value of \$0 and a building value of \$355,500 for fiscal year 2025.

According to the City of Boston's Assessing Department, the alley to the north of the Old South Meeting House has two parcel numbers: 0303906000, which is owned by the Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority (MBTA), and 0303906001, which is owned by Winter St. Enterprises. Parcel 0303906000, which is owned by the MBTA, has a total assessed value of \$592,500, with the land valued at \$592,200.00 and the building valued at \$300.00 for fiscal year 2025. Parcel 0303906001, which is owned by Winter St. Enterprises, has a total assessed value of \$48,300, with a land value of \$0.00 and a building value of \$48,300.00 for fiscal year 2025. Currently, there is an MBTA head house

for the State Street T station located on the parcel. Winter St. Enterprises does not currently appear to occupy or have any physical structures located on the parcel.

According to the City of Boston's Assessing Department, the parcel to the east of the Old South Meeting House containing a one-story retail structure is owned by the Old South Association (which is now Revolutionary Spaces). The structure is currently occupied by a small boutique.

## **4. ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION**

The Old South Meeting House was built in 1729-1730 as the second meeting house for its Puritan congregation, replacing a 1699 structure on the same site. The design is credited to Robert Twelves, a carpenter about whom little is known, and the construction to Joshua Blanchard, a master mason who also built Faneuil Hall. The Old South Meeting House combines the Georgian style with elements of traditional New England meeting house design. The building is well preserved and maintained.

### **4.1 A History of Alterations**

Over the course of nearly three centuries, the Old South Meeting House has been modified to reflect changes in use, social and political context, architectural styles, and structural concerns. Today, visitors can see physical traces of each era of the meeting house's history from 1729 to the present. Much of the information in this section comes from *An Architectural History of the Old South Meeting House*, published by the Old South Association in Boston in 1995.

The original interior of the Old South Meeting House was oriented in a similar fashion to what visitors see today in the space, with the pulpit on axis with the Milk Street entrance on the south side of the building. The location of the pulpit and the arrangement of the pews in a wide U shape brought the congregants closer to the minister. The floor and lower gallery were filled with box pews, while the upper gallery contained benches for apprentices, servants, and enslaved people.

When the British occupied Boston during the American Revolution from 1775 to 1776, they used the Old South Meeting House as a riding school – committing a symbolic desecration of an iconic site of democracy. They gutted the interior of the meetinghouse, tearing out the pews, the pulpit, and the galleries (except for the east galleries). In 1782, the congregation began raising money to restore the Meeting House.

The new interior was designed in 1782-83 by mason Thomas Dawes, who was an Old South congregant and a member of the Sons of Liberty. Instead of box pews, Dawes laid out “slip” pews that were long and narrow, allowing more people to fit into the space. Dawes rebuilt the missing galleries and pulpit (all of which would be later altered). Elements from Dawes’ reconstruction that can still be seen today include the balustrades and the columns that support the lower gallery, as well as paneled wainscoting – about half of which survives today from 1783.

In the nineteenth century, the Old South congregants continued to support the renovation and modernization of the meeting house. In 1808 the pulpit was replaced, and a ceiling-mounted sounding board was installed in place of the previous, wall-mounted version. The central “wine glass” portion of this pulpit and the sounding board are still visible today.

In 1838-39, the curving stair was added to the clock tower, blocking one of the ground floor entrances. The steeple structure was rebuilt in 1857 and its exterior wooden trim was replaced.



By the mid-nineteenth century, Victorian tastes dictated more elaborate decoration, including a chandelier, organ, and trompe-l'oeil panels painted on the walls (none of which is currently extant). The upper galleries were cut back to half their depth, presumably to make them feel lighter, which would also be accomplished by the installation of thin cast iron columns to support them. The entire ceiling was replaced in 1857 when the plaster failed. Alterations that are still present today include the more elaborate pulpit with Corinthian columns, the arch and plaster moldings behind the pulpit, and the cast iron columns supporting the upper galleries.

Following damage incurred during the Great Boston Fire of 1872 as well as the desire of the congregation to move to the more fashionable Back Bay neighborhood, the Old South Meeting House was leased to the U.S. government from 1873-75 and used as a post office. All of the pews and wainscoting, the pulpit, the chandelier, and the organ were removed from the meeting house, and two new two-story brick additions were built on either side of the tower.

Following the departure of the post office, the Old South Church auctioned off the building and the dismantling of the clock was already underway when a movement to save Old South gained momentum and eventually succeeded in purchasing the land and securing a mortgage for the building. The newly formed Old South Association took over ownership of the meeting house and opened it as a museum. During this era, the main floor of the building was occupied by glass display cases, many of which could be moved aside to accommodate the setting up of wooden folding chairs for events.

The Association decided to undertake the restoration of the Meeting House to its colonial appearance. The two-story additions were removed, the colonial-era window behind the pulpit was uncovered, and the 1783 wainscoting was found in the basement and reinstalled. The ornamented Victorian ceiling was replaced by a simpler ceiling probably similar to the original. A reproduction of the 1857 central cast plaster rosette was installed and is the only reminder of the Victorian-era ceiling. Several structural problems were also addressed. In 1898-99, the floor and its original beams and joists was replaced, and a new roof on iron trusses was installed.

In the early 1900s, in the spirit of the Colonial Revival movement that was widely in fashion at the time, the Old South Association hired Bigelow and Wadsworth to continue restoring the meeting house to its colonial appearance based on physical and documentary evidence. The Association was able to purchase the 1857 pulpit back from a dealer and the 1808 ("wine glass") portion of the pulpit was removed from their new church in Back Bay and returned to the meeting house, where the two portions were rejoined and reinstalled in 1910. This configuration is still present today. New windows were created based on the windows at King's Chapel and the Old North Church. New exterior doors were also created based on examples from buildings of the same era.

In 1947, the main floor pews were reconstructed based on the original pew plan from 1730, which had box pews filling much of the floor and six rows of benches in front of the pulpit. However, the architect mistakenly thought that the benches were slip pews, so that is what we see today in front of the pulpit. In another departure from the original plan, space around the perimeter of the meeting house was left open for exhibits.

More recently, the Old South Association, and subsequently Revolutionary Spaces, have undertaken significant work to protect and preserve the Old South Meeting House, including the following projects:

- 2009: Restoration of the 1766 tower clock.
- 2011: Installation of a replacement bell forged in 1801 by Paul Revere & Sons Bell and Cannon Foundry in the North End (one of only 46 surviving bells made during Paul Revere's life).
- 2014: Painting, preservation, and restoration of the steeple and exterior windows.

- 2022: Revitalization of the Washington St. entrance, including the restoration of the plaster walls, painting of the staircase spindles and skirt board, restoration of three sets of double doors, re-fabrication of the hinges, and replacement of lighting.

## 4.2 Exterior

The exterior of the Old South Meeting House looks much like it did in 1730. The brick masonry walls are laid in Flemish bond resting on a brick watertable. Belt courses demarcate floor levels around all sides of the main block and the tower, except between the first and second stories at the central door on the face of the tower.

The front of the Meeting House is five bays wide with a gable end, and is surmounted by a square tower centered on the gable. All five bays on the front facade, including the one on the tower, contain semicircular arched windows with fanlights at the first and second stories. The sides of the Meeting House are seven bays wide, with the same semicircular arched windows with fanlights at the first and second stories. The first-floor windows are fifteen-over-fifteen, while the second-floor windows are fifteen-over-twenty and are about a foot taller. There are two exceptions to the rhythm of windows along the sides of the building:

- There is a single window at mid-floor height at the center bay of the north elevation, which marks the location of the pulpit on the interior.
- There is an enclosed pedimented porch at street level in the center bay of the south elevation.

At the street level, there are entrances on all three sides of the tower, although the southern-most door is currently blocked by an attached retail kiosk. These entrances have simple molded surrounds and contain double-leaf paneled doors with semicircular fanlights. The same style of door is found at the enclosed pedimented porch on the south side. The extant exterior doors were installed in 1913.<sup>1</sup>

At the second and third floors of the tower, there are semicircular arched windows on the west (front) side and ox-eye windows with radiating muntins on the north and south faces. Above this, there are clocks set on the north and south faces of the tower, with a larger ox-eye window with radiating muntins on the west (front) side. Above this, there are arched openings inset with louvers on all four sides of the tower. The brick portion of the tower rises eighty feet from the street level to a denticulated cornice and balustrade. This is surmounted by an octagonal, wooden, balustraded steeple with a 20-foot-tall copper-clad octagonal spire that is surmounted by a gilded weathervane.

A one-story, one-bay by one-bay stair tower is located in the center of the east elevation and provides an additional entrance to the building. This stair was a later addition in 1838-39; access to the main gallery had previously been possible via staircases located within the main hall at the northwest and southwest corners.

Also found on the east side of the building is a cornerstone carved with “JB 1729;” these are the initials of Joshua Blanchard, the master mason who constructed the meeting house. This stone is located below a part of the corner of the facade that appears to have been carved out and capped with granite to make room for alterations at the adjacent MBTA State Street T station in the 1980s (see Photo 4).

The site slopes down from west to east, with basement windows on the south side of the building gradually increasing in height. The meeting house also has a basement entrance on the south side.

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<sup>1</sup> Scofield et al, *National Register Nomination – Boston National Historical Park*.

The slate-shingled roof is supported by six interior steel trusses installed in 1899.<sup>2</sup> The roof is gabled at the west end and hipped at the east end. Copper gutters line the lower roof edge.

At the time this study report is being written, there are two structures attached to the Old South Meeting House. A kiosk constructed of metal poles, wood enclosure panels, and an awning is attached on the southwest corner. This structure is considered part of the Landmark designation and changes would be reviewed by the Commission. There is also a one-story brick retail building built in the 1880s attached at the southeast corner.

The exterior elements that are present today from each era are:

**1729-1730**

- Exterior brick walls
- Weather vane
- Wooden elements of the steeple

**1770**

- Tower clock

**1857**

- Rebuilt steeple structure and exterior wooden trim of the steeple

**1898-99**

- Roof trusses

**1910s**

- Windows
- Doors

**1937-38**

- Roof slates

### **4.3 Interior**

The interior of the Old South Meeting House has undergone some changes since the building was initially constructed, but these alterations reflect the evolution of changing forms of worship, architectural fashions, and changes to the building's use that are all part of its story, and thus many elements of the current interior of the meeting house can be considered "later contributing features."

The interior of the Old South Meeting House still follows its original layout, with the main entrance (the tower doors) located on the short side of the building and the pulpit oriented on axis with the Milk Street entrance on the long, south side of the building. The main floor contains slip pews in front of the pulpit, surrounded by box pews along the sides and back of the seating area. A central aisle runs from the pulpit to a secondary entrance at the center of the south wall. The pulpit is semi-circular in plan and ornamented with Corinthian columns, carved paneling with decorative arches, and an entablature with a deep cornice, modillions, dentils, and a frieze with a carved arabesque pattern. Incorporated at the center front of the pulpit is an 1808 mahogany "wine glass" portion. Behind the pulpit, an arch with Corinthian columns on either side and decorative carved molding and paneling is recessed into the wall surrounding a window set between the first and second floor levels. Above the pulpit is an 1808 octagonal sounding board suspended from the ceiling.

The meeting house features a continuous gallery along the east, south, and west walls, with additional upper galleries on the east and west walls. The lower gallery rests on Doric columns and supports risers with fixed chair seating. The upper galleries are supported by thin cast iron columns

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<sup>2</sup> Scofield et al, *National Register Nomination – Boston National Historical Park*.

and are half the depth of the gallery below. Access to the upper gallery on the west side is provided by the tower stair and on the east side by a wood staircase in the southeast corner.

The windows are recessed into the walls, with window seats on the first floor. Most of the windows, except the one above the pulpit, contain interior louvered shutters.

The ceiling is coved and has a broad cornice where it meets the wall. At the center of the ceiling is a cast plaster medallion from which hangs an electrified chandelier.

The basement was excavated and remodeled in 1996-97 for offices, a store, and an education center. The current basement is excluded from the list of interior spaces proposed for designation, although any new digging or excavation is required to be reviewed. Also excluded from the designation is the interior of the entry vestibule (reception area) behind the tower and the interior of the entry vestibule at the south wall.

The interior elements that are present today from each era are:

**1729-1730**

- Plaster walls (replastered in 1828)
- Structural parts of the east galleries
- Southeast stairs between the east galleries

**1782-1783**

- Most of the main floor wainscoting
- Columns supporting the lower gallery
- Structure of the south and west galleries
- All gallery woodwork

**1808**

- Mahogany “wine glass” portion of pulpit
- Octagonal sounding board

**1857**

- Pulpit (except for the 1808 portion)
- Arch and plaster moldings behind the pulpit
- Cast iron columns supporting the upper galleries
- Half depth of upper galleries (compared to the original)

**1880s**

- Uncovered pulpit window

**1898-99**

- Supporting structure for floor
- Ceiling
- Reproduction of 1857 central cast plaster rosette

**1930s**

- Willard clock on south gallery (reproduction of 1805 clock)

**1947**

- Pews

**1970**

- Finished wood flooring

## 5. IMAGES



**Photo 1.** Old South Meeting House, looking southeast (G. Pineo, photographer).





**Photo 2.** Old South Meeting House, looking south (G. Pineo, photographer).



**Photo 3.** Old South Meeting House, looking northwest (G. Pineo, photographer).





**Photo 4.** The northeast corner of the Old South Meeting House, where part of the brick facade was removed and capped with granite to make room for alterations at the adjacent MBTA State Street T station in the 1980s. The cornerstone carved with “JB 1729” is indicated by the red arrow (J. Gaugler, photographer, April 2025).

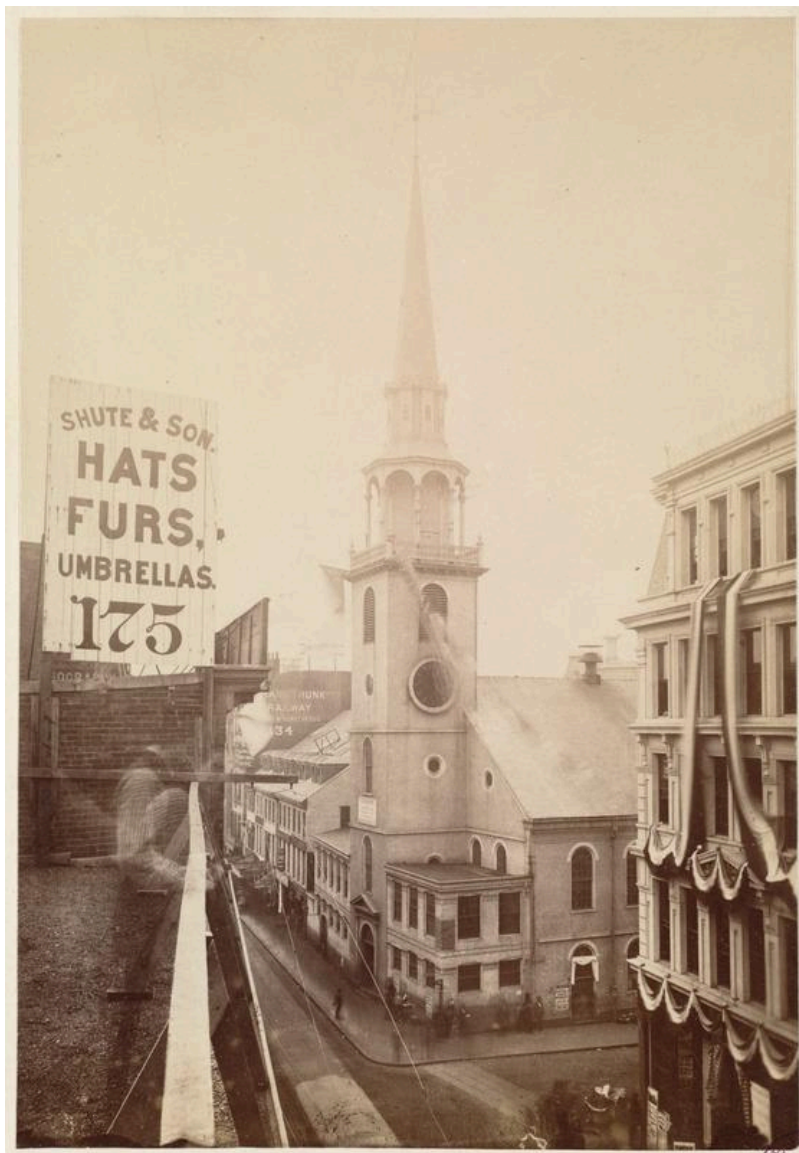


## Historic Images



**Figure 1.** Old South Meeting House (background, right) one of the only surviving buildings in the area following the Great Boston Fire of 1872.

Source: James Wallace Black, photographer, Boston Public Library Arts Department, 1872, <https://ark.digitalcommonwealth.org/ark:/50959/c821gq796>, accessed May 2024.



**Figure 2.** Old South Meeting House while in use as a post office, 1874–1876.

Source: James Wallace Black, photographer, Boston Public Library Arts Department, ca. 1874–1876, <https://ark.digitalcommonwealth.org/ark:/50959/cf95jh763>, accessed May 2024.



**Figure 3.** Interior of Old South Meeting House, ca. 1880–1920.

Source: Baldwin Coolidge, Photographer, Boston Public Library Arts Department, ca. 1880–1920, <https://ark.digitalcommonwealth.org/ark:/50959/3f463d39f>, accessed May 2024.

## 6. HISTORY AND SIGNIFICANCE

### 6.1 Historic Significance

Old South Meeting House is nationally significant for its association with events in Boston that led to the American colonies' revolt in 1775. Most notably, the building was the site of large public meetings following the altercation on March 5, 1770, that became known as the Boston Massacre, and as the staging ground for the Boston Tea Party on December 16, 1773. Additionally, Old South Meeting House is nationally significant for its association with the history of historic preservation.

The Old South Meeting House is actually the second house of worship built on this site. Constructed in 1669 on this same site, the "Cedar Meeting House" served as home to the Third Church of Boston. By the eighteenth century, the growing congregation decided to replace the original meeting house due to the church's increasing attendance and the deterioration of the structure. In 1728, the congregation voted to build a new, larger meeting house, which is currently the brick meeting house that is still standing.<sup>3</sup>

Attending religious services at Old South Church played an important role in the daily life of residents within colonial Boston. Members and attendees of the Old South Church included sailors, merchants, business owners, and leading citizens of Boston, including Samuel Adams, William Dawes, and Benjamin Franklin.

African American poet and activist Phillis Wheatley was also a church member who was baptized and married within the Old South Church. Old South Church was among many churches in New England that baptized and had Black and Indigenous Bostonians as attendees in the church. Although these patrons were allowed to be baptized at Old South Church, they were not automatically deemed church members. Black and Indigenous attendees were permitted within the galleries of Old South Meeting House. While attending religious services, enslaved Bostonians used their church time to foster community and build relationships among the enslaved and free Black community in Boston. Abolitionists and community activists used church services as an opportunity to coordinate actions and petitions that called for the abolition of slavery in Boston. In addition to the Old South Meeting House being used to fight for America's independence, it was also used as a meeting space in the struggles for civil rights and racial equality.

### Town Meetings, Assembly and Public Expression

Old South Meeting House, along with other large spaces in Boston like Faneuil Hall and the Old State House, was the nexus of growing insurrection during the tumultuous events that occurred from 1764 to 1775 that placed Great Britain on the brink of war with the American colonies. Old South Meeting House became a momentous symbol of liberty, free speech, and assembly in the years leading up to the Revolution because of its function as a venue for influential town meetings. The Town of Boston held semi-annual meetings to elect town officers and representatives to the General Court, and to discuss financial issues, but additional meetings convened as necessary in response to public petitions. Although voter eligibility requirements were not inclusive of the whole adult population, the format of the town meeting fostered democracy and placed value on public opinion. Legal voters consisted of male residents with taxable property, known as freemen, and approximately ten percent of eligible voters served in town offices. Poor and non-freemen, however, could attend the town meetings during which decisions were often made by voice votes. Patriot organizations that formed prior to the war adopted structural frameworks similar to town meetings and larger, more inclusive meetings of the "Body of the People" occurred in responsive outrage to British policies. Mobs of people consisting of the general population and, specifically the poorer class, expressed

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<sup>3</sup> Lynn Betlock, Emily Curran, Jane Schwerdtfeger, and Ellen Weiner, *Old South: An Architectural History of the Old South Meeting House*, (Boston, MA: Old South Association in Boston, 1995), 26–27; Scofield et al., Boston National Historical Park.



their views through less orderly but highly effective local protests, riots, and raids. The mobs occasionally included children and women. Mob tactics originated from English tradition in which crowds of people stood outside government meetings and used their combined force to influence the decisions of elected or appointed officials. While wealthy Bostonians did not outwardly support the more violent activities of such crowds, mobs were recognized as an influential and legitimate means of public expression that presented a balance to executive power. Select Boston women such as Mercy Otis Warren, the sister of James Otis and wife of James Warren, conveyed their patriotic opinions through private correspondence and highly public propaganda writing.<sup>4</sup>

Old South Meeting House, one of the largest indoor gathering spaces in Boston, was a primary location for meetings, notably serving as the assembly point after the Liberty Riots in 1768. This riot, was a response to the impressment of New England sailors to serve within the British Navy and the seizure of John Hancock's vessel the "Liberty" and served as a significant event that further fueled resentment toward British authority. The Old South Meeting House continues to host the annual orations to commemorate the anniversary of the Boston Massacre, an event led in 1775 by prominent leaders such as Dr. Joseph Warren before the start of the Revolutionary War.

In Fall 1768, the British army was sent to Boston to quell colonial protests of the Townshend Acts, a series of taxes on glass, lead, paint, paper, and tea levied on the American colonies to defray the costs associated with their governing. The presence of the military infuriated residents and contributed to the mounting disruption of daily life. The troops were not authorized to react without direct orders and could often not control outbreaks of mob violence. By the end of 1768, British troops numbered 4,000 men and comprised more than one-quarter of Boston's population. The military occupation during a time of so-called peace fostered colonial resentment toward the crown, and tensions between residents and the troops escalated. The loss of local jobs to off-duty soldiers struck another blow to Boston's economy and instigated scuffles between residents and British officers. Rage over this issue culminated in the Boston Massacre on the night of March 5, 1770, which occurred outside of the Old State House.<sup>5</sup> Crispus Attucks, a former enslaved man and seaman, is reported to have led a group of 40 to 50 men to confront British soldiers on King Street. The attack resulted in the death of five civilians after a small British guard of eight men haphazardly fired upon the crowd in an attempt to rescue the sentry at the Custom House across the street. John Adams, then serving as a lawyer for the crown, called the event a "massacre" of innocent citizens and the attack since bears the name. The five men who died (Crispus Attucks, James Caldwell, Patrick Carr, Samuel Gray, and Samuel Maverick) were employed as sailors or in local trades. In response to the demands of the colonists and their leaders, Lieutenant Governor Thomas Hutchinson placed the British soldiers responsible in custody that night; six were acquitted and two were convicted, but received reduced sentences, with John Adams serving as their attorney.<sup>6</sup>

The Boston Massacre constituted the first deaths caused by the political unrest in the American colonies and alarmed both colonists and British officials. Bostonians crowded into Faneuil Hall the next morning to take action against the British occupation, filling the building beyond capacity. The

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<sup>4</sup> Boston National Historic Sites Commission (BNHSC), *Final Report of the Boston National Historic Sites Commission*, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1961), 77-81; National Park Service (NPS), *Boston and the American Revolution (Park Handbook)*, (Washington, DC: US Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Division of Publications, 1998), 44-45; Paul Weinbaum, *Town Meeting Democracy, A Special History Study*, (Boston, MA: Boston National Historical Park, 1989), 4-6; Jenny Fields Scofield, Virginia H. Adams, Stephen Olausen, Kristen Heitert, Quinn R. Stuart, Kathleen Miller, Jennifer Elam, Allison Cahoon, and Gretchen Pineo, *National Register Nomination - Boston National Historical Park*, Suffolk Co., Massachusetts, NRIS 74002222, 2014.

<sup>5</sup> The Boston Massacre site, marked by a stone surrounded by a segmented bronze ring in front of the Old State House, is interpreted as part of the Freedom Trail, but is not part of Boston National Historical Park.

<sup>6</sup> BNHSC, *Final Report of the BNHSC*, 97-98; Sidney Kaplan, *The Black Presence in the Era of the American Revolution*, (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1973), 7-10; NPS, *Boston and the American Revolution*, 37-39; Gordon S. Wood, *The American Revolution: A History*, (New York: The Modern Library, Random House Publishing Group, 2002), 34; Scofield et al., *Boston National Historical Park*.

meeting of about 3,000 moved to the larger space of the Old South Meeting House later in the day. The day-long meeting ultimately forced the British garrison to Castle William (later Fort Independence) on Castle Island in Boston Harbor. Meanwhile, the selectmen awaited Lieutenant Governor Thomas Hutchinson in the council chamber of the Old State House, and a committee of 15 representatives led by Samuel Adams formed at the Old South Meeting House to demand that Lieutenant Governor Hutchinson remove British troops from Boston. During six additional meetings held at Faneuil Hall between March 12 and 26, 1770, colonists made plans to use the massacre to advertise the patriot cause, and thereby try to ensure the departure of the British military and continued non-importation of British goods. British officials recognized the risk of losing all American loyalties to the crown and swiftly recalled the military. The Townshend Acts had generated only a trifle of income for the British government and were repealed, with the exception of the duty on tea, on April 12, 1770. Reactionary town meetings at Faneuil Hall subsided in the fall of that year.<sup>7</sup>

After a brief period of calm, colonial opposition erupted again over the dispute that American affairs should be handled locally or with local representation, rather than from overseas by an increasingly punitive British government. On June 9, 1772, a group of Rhode Islanders irritated over the hardships caused by the British Navigation Acts that had been in place since the mid-seventeenth century burned HMS *Gaspee*, which had run aground in Narragansett Bay. When royal officials ignored provincial procedures and sought to bring members of the group to trial in England, the colonies accelerated plans to unify American responses to British policies. By this time, the colonies were unwilling to accept any act by the crown they judged as an infringement on liberty and had begun serious discussion of American independence. On November 2, 1772, Bostonians published a summary of British violations of American rights, known as *The Votes and Proceedings*, which was based on discussions that occurred during town meetings. At a town meeting in Faneuil Hall on November 22, 1772, on a motion by Samuel Adams, the Massachusetts Assembly established the first Committee of Correspondence. Composed of 21 persons, the committee was appointed as an extralegal body primarily to foster communication and harmony among the widely scattered and diverse patriots. As Massachusetts province towns and then provincial assemblies in six other colonies created similar organizations, a crucial network formed that fostered and embodied the ideas of the Revolution and the union of America. The colonies were now coalescing in a cohesive identity and had strong local and regional networks for disseminating information.<sup>8</sup>

In this unified and outwardly defiant atmosphere, Boston again became the focus of pivotal colonial insurgence leading up to the Revolutionary War. Parliament furthered the uprising when it made a critical oversight with the passage of the Tea Act on May 10, 1773. The act was primarily intended to save the British East India Company from bankruptcy by creating a British monopoly on tea sales. It allowed company agents to sell tea in America directly to consumers at cheaper rates than American merchants could offer, especially in light of the import levy on tea remaining from the Townshend Acts. While the act lowered the price of tea in the colonies, it also undersold the colonial merchants, instigating a strong negative reaction. The colonies issued a coordinated response to the Tea Act by convincing the crews of vessels carrying East India Company tea not to unload their shipments. However, when three such vessels landed at Griffin's Wharf in Boston, then Governor Hutchinson, whose merchant sons stood to profit from the imports, required the crews to unload the tea before leaving the harbor. As the vessels remained anchored in the harbor, Bostonians rallied at Faneuil Hall and Old South Meeting House. On November 29, 1773, a meeting of the "Body of the People" from Boston and the surrounding vicinity convened at Faneuil Hall in protest of the Tea Act. The meeting

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<sup>7</sup> BNHSC, *Final Report of the BNHSC*, 97–98; Paul Weinbaum, *Faneuil Hall, Statement of Significance, Historical Uses [draft]*, (Report on file, Boston National Historical Park, Boston, MA, 1987), 32; Wood, *The American Revolution*, 34–36; Polly M. Rettig and Charles W. Snell, *National Register of Historic Places Nomination – Old South Meeting House*, Suffolk Co., Massachusetts, NRIS 66000778, 1975.

<sup>8</sup> Thomas R. Adams, *American Independence, the Growth of an Idea*, *Transactions of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, Vol. 43, (Boston, MA: the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1965), 66; BNHSC, *Final Report of the BNHSC*, 110; Wood, *The American Revolution*, 36–37; Scofield et al., *Boston National Historical Park*.

moved to Old South Meeting House after Faneuil Hall reached its capacity of about 1,200. The inclusive nature of the populace who attended represented the increasing democratization of American society. After two weeks of attempted negotiations with Governor Hutchinson led by Samuel Adams, the people of Boston resorted to mob protest.<sup>9</sup>

When the meeting adjourned on December 16, 1773, a mob of more than 100 men, disguised with coal dust and costumes resembling Narragansett Indians, proceeded past Old South Meeting House to Griffin's Wharf. The men ransacked the three vessels and dumped £10,000 worth of tea into the harbor, as onlookers who had been at the meeting watched from the shore. Known afterward as the Boston Tea Party, the event ended the political stalemate and accelerated actions leading to the Revolutionary War.

## **The Onset of War**

In the wake of the April 19, 1775, Battle of Lexington and Concord, the Boston Committee of Safety concentrated on raising and supplying an army. The first call for enlistments was sent out to neighboring states in hopes of raising a force of 10,000 for the Siege of Boston, which remained occupied by British troops. Recognizing themselves as a nation at war, representatives from the 13 colonies convened the Second Continental Congress in Philadelphia on May 10, 1775, only a few weeks after the battle in Lexington and Concord. Bostonian John Hancock served as president of the Congress, which by June 1775, had voted to form the Continental Army under Virginian George Washington, who was sent to Cambridge, Massachusetts to take command of the army. The forces that had assembled voluntarily to fight the British at Lexington and Concord formed the backbone of the army that ultimately secured American independence.<sup>10</sup>

At the same time, thousands of pro-patriot residents in Boston fled the town for nearby communities. General Gage briefly allowed safe passage out of Boston to residents who turned in their weapons, and the town's population fell sharply from approximately 15,000 to 3,500. In the following months, the British military desecrated patriot property and symbols of autonomy. They vandalized Boston Common, cut down the Liberty Tree and transformed churches on Brattle and Hollis streets into barracks. The Old North Church closed for three years after the hanging of the lanterns on April 18, 1775, because its congregation had consisted of a mix of patriot and Tory members.<sup>11</sup> The British purposely abused icons of democracy and American liberty through incompatible uses, using Faneuil Hall as a theater and Old South Meeting House as a riding school.<sup>12</sup>

Following the Revolutionary War, the new interior of the Old South Meeting House was designed in 1782-83 by the patriot and mason Thomas Dawes. He is considered to be one of Boston's first architects, working from 1746-1795. Dawes was a member of the Old South Congregation and served as a deacon from 1786 until his death in 1809. On March 2, 1783 the Old South congregation once again took possession of the Meeting House. Old South Meeting House continued to serve as a public meeting venue. Thousands of people came to the Old South Meeting House to participate in debates and lectures about civil rights and government. In the early twentieth century, when Boston became embroiled in controversies about the First Amendment rights of freedom of speech and freedom of assembly, Old South Meeting House hosted some of the public gatherings.

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<sup>9</sup> NPS, *Boston and the American Revolution*, 49; Weinbaum, *Town Meeting Democracy*, 6-9; Scofield et al., *Boston National Historical Park*.

<sup>10</sup> Stephen Olausen, Mary Kate Harrington, Emily Paulus, and Duncan Ritchie, *National Register of Historic Places Nomination – Minute Man National Historical Park*, Middlesex Co., Massachusetts, NRIS 66000935, 2001, 8-12; ; Scofield et al., *Boston National Historical Park*.

<sup>11</sup> The church's rector, Reverend Mather Byles, was later exiled to Canada because of his Tory affiliations.

<sup>12</sup> NPS, *Boston and the American Revolution*, 60-65; ; Scofield et al., *Boston National Historical Park*.

## Saving Old South Meeting House

The successful saving of Old South Meeting House, built in 1729, against great odds in the Revolutionary War centennial year of 1876, marked a watershed in the nascent preservation movement and is considered by some scholars as Boston's single most important contribution to the nation's history of protecting historic resources. The campaign demonstrated for the first time that a building valued primarily for its historical associations with Revolutionary War events and the settlement of Boston, rather than with a heroic figure, warranted attention and could be saved. Many Boston-area and American citizens revered Old South Meeting House for its role as the scene of numerous pre-Revolutionary War protest meetings, including the one that led to the Boston Tea Party. Locally, the building was secondarily valued as a rare early settlement survivor of the Great Boston Fire of 1872 that destroyed much of the downtown and financial district (Figure 1). Old South Meeting House was the first major building in an urban setting that was deliberately saved from imminent threat of demolition in the United States. The preservation of Old South Meeting House further showed that a coalition of determined private and vocal forces could raise sufficient money and save such a building as an authentic relic and monument to the past. The success of Old South Meeting House preservation efforts confirmed the wisdom of establishing an organization to spearhead the campaign and continue to steward restoration and long-term maintenance and programming. The preservation of Old South Meeting House also signaled a shift in how Americans perceived historic people and events – now they would be associated with the places that made them famous, rather than intangible ideas.<sup>13</sup>

A growing sense of Old South Meeting House's historical importance as a "sanctuary of freedom" was evident as early as the 1850s and guided changes to the building completed in 1857. Minister George Blagden articulated a reverence for the past, remarking "The rule by which we should be guided in all such changes [is that] we are to venerate the past, and preserve and cherish its hallowed associations. But not so to venerate it as to fail in the greatest efficiency of which we are capable in advancing religious truth".<sup>14</sup>

When the Civil War broke out, the Old South Meeting House became a "favorite rallying point" and in the 1860s, served as a recruiting station for the Union cause.<sup>15</sup> The neighborhood around Old South was being transformed by increasing commercial development, and residents were relocating to the new fashionable Back Bay section of Boston. Following the Great Fire of November 1872 that damaged the building, the congregation moved to the Back Bay, taking furnishings and selling part of the pulpit. They leased the building to the U.S. Post Office from 1873–1875 (Figure 2). Due to the increased land value, the congregation wanted to sell the land separate from the building and decided to offer to sell the building to the Massachusetts Historical Society, which declined because the organization could not afford it. Following three years of litigation, on May 31, 1876, the Massachusetts Supreme Court said the land could be sold. The building was put up for auction and sold for \$1,350, the value of the construction materials, and demolition activities began with the removal of the tower clock on June 9.<sup>16</sup>

Remembering the inexperienced and unsuccessful fight to save the Governor John Hancock House on Beacon Hill, which had been demolished in 1863 in order to add a wing to the State House, Bostonians quickly moved to save Old South Meeting House. The local firm George W. Simmons and

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<sup>13</sup> Michael Holleran, "Roots in Boston, Branches in Planning and Parks," in *Giving Preservation a History: Histories of Historic Preservation in the United States*, Max Page and Randall Mason, eds., (New York: Routledge, 2004), 81–86; James M. Lindgren, *Preserving Historic New England: Preservation, Progressivism, and the Remaking of Memory*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 8; Scofield et al., *Boston National Historical Park*.

<sup>14</sup> Lynn Betlock, Emily Curran, Jane Schwerdtfeger, and Ellen Weiner, *Old South: An Architectural History of the Old South Meeting House*, (Boston, MA: Old South Association in Boston, 1995), 26–27; Scofield et al., *Boston National Historical Park*.

<sup>15</sup> Betlock et al., *Old South*; Scofield et al., *Boston National Historical Park*.

<sup>16</sup> DeMarco, Piety, *Preservation, and Public Trust*, 31; Scofield et al., *Boston National Historical Park*.



Sons purchased a seven-day stay of demolition and raised a banner on the building proclaiming, “THE ELEVENTH HOUR: Men and Women of Massachusetts, Does Boston desire the humiliation which is today a part of her history since she has allowed this memorial to be sold under the hammer? Shall the Old South be Saved....”<sup>17</sup> Three days later on June 14, 1876, a newly formed citizen’s committee held a rally attended by many prominent Bostonians that filled the building to capacity. Attendees heard an impassioned speech by famed abolitionist Wendell Philips in which he admonished, “Shall we tear in pieces the roof that actually trembled to the words that made us a nation?” and “...think twice before you touch these walls. We are only the world’s trustees.... The saving of this landmark is the best monument you can erect to the men of the Revolution.”<sup>18</sup> Opponents of saving the building argued that it was an ugly and altered “barn,” and that the prime site was needed for commercial development. Demolition proposals included offers to reference the historic building through a plaque or a model on the front of the replacement building, or even to raise the meeting house up and set it on to the roof of the new construction.<sup>19</sup>

Before the stay of demolition week was over, a fundraising committee had collected several thousand dollars in donations. The saving of Old South Meeting House was insured by a major cash gift from the Women’s Centennial Committee of Boston, who bought the building for \$3,500 in the summer of 1876, but the group could not afford the land. The land was purchased by the Fall of 1876 for \$400,000 (\$225,000 in a mortgage and the rest from private donations, including \$100,000 from major Boston philanthropist Mary Hemenway). Other prominent people who supported the cause were Louisa May Alcott, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Julia Ward Howe, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, and John Greenleaf Whittier. Saved from demolition by public protest and a successful fund-raising drive in 1876, the building was turned over to the Old South Association, which has since merged with the Bostonian Society in 2020 to become Revolutionary Spaces, Inc and has since operated as a museum (Figure 3).<sup>20</sup>

The Old South Association (OSA) formed on May 11, 1877, to take ownership of the building when an “Act to incorporate the Old South Association in Boston, and to provide for the Preservation of the Old South Meeting House” passed into law. No serious damage was done by the attempted demolition of 1876, although some repair was necessary. The OSA decided to restore the building to its colonial appearance, a difficult goal because of drastic interior changes that had been made over the preceding century. However, some original building materials were found in the basement that provided evidence used in the restoration. Major structural floor issues were addressed, and new steel roof trusses were installed. The building became one of the nation’s earliest history museums and centers for history education open to the public.<sup>21</sup>

Between 1898 and 1914, a major historic restoration campaign of Old South Meeting House was completed by the architectural firm Bigelow and Wadsworth. Henry Forbes Bigelow (1867–1929), one of Boston’s leading architects in the second half of the nineteenth century was born and raised near Worcester. He attended the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and traveled in Europe to complete his architectural training. Bigelow’s practice focused on the design of new residential, commercial, and institutional buildings and on renovations, including the addition of two floors to the 1849 Boston Athenaeum in 1913–1914 (National Historic Landmark, 1966). He was also known for

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<sup>17</sup> quoted in Betlock et al., *Old South*, 37 ; Scofield et al., *Boston National Historical Park*.

<sup>18</sup> Wendell Phillips, *Oration Delivered in the Old South Meeting-House by Wendell Phillips, June 14, 1876*, (Boston, MA: Sold at the Old South, 1884); Scofield et al., *Boston National Historical Park*.

<sup>19</sup> Betlock et al., *Old South*, 37; Wendell Phillips, *Speech of the Honorable Wendell Phillips for Aid in the Preservation of Old South Meeting House*, Massachusetts Legislature, Committee on Federal Relations (Boston, MA: Alfred Mudge and Son, 1878); Scofield et al., *Boston National Historical Park*.

<sup>20</sup> Batcheler, *Old South Meeting House*; Rettig and Snell, *Old South Meeting House*; Scofield et al., *Boston National Historical Park*.

<sup>21</sup> Betlock et al., *Old South*, 31–49; Rettig and Snell, *Old South Meeting House*; Scofield et al., *Boston National Historical Park*.

his “charming and distinguished” house interiors. At the time of his death, he was a senior member of what was then Bigelow, Wadsworth, Hubbard & Smith.<sup>22</sup>

Bigelow’s approach at Old South Meeting House was the first time that restoration efforts for the building were based in part on physical and documentary research. As stated in the firm’s 1914 report, when material evidence was lacking, the architects relied on comparative examples or traditional methods and materials that were “in the spirit of the old work.” The program required numerous decisions on what features to preserve, restore, or reproduce and resulted in a building that reflected the Colonial Revival period sensibilities of the time. The Old South Meeting House exhibits aspects of its entire history in its overlay of features from the Colonial, Victorian, and Colonial Revival periods.<sup>23</sup>

In the early twentieth century, the Old South Association’s (OSA) membership shifted from an older, more conservative member-base linked by tradition to its founding in 1877 to a more progressive one with several younger elected members. This organizational change, along with the heightened social tension in Boston surrounding the First Amendment, pushed the OSA away from the organization’s typical topics, which had been restricted to non-controversial and/or memorializing events to participate in discussions of First Amendment rights for freedom of speech. One such occasion was the 1916 Old South Forum, a sponsored event of the larger Open Forum Movement, organized in 1908 by Boston progressive George Coleman to encourage public discussion. Until 1925, the OSA accepted requests for use of the building on a case-by-case basis and avoided the most controversial subjects. Due to increased outside pressure to hold more varied events, Richard Hale, who handled inquiries about the use of the meeting house, met with the board in 1926 and came up with two new principles: “Permission will be granted when the meeting is held in the interests of free speech only” and “If the issue is controversial, both sides should preferably be represented.” In 2020, OSA merged with the Bostonian Society to create RSI. These two principles continue to guide RSI within the tradition of free speech and assembly established in the infancy of American democracy.<sup>24</sup>

## 6.2 Architectural Significance

Old South Meeting House, originally constructed in 1729-1730, is nationally significant as a rare example of a colonial church that combines an early Georgian exterior influenced by Christopher Wren’s work with the traditional interior proportions and seating plan of the seventeenth-century four-square meeting house. It replaced the Cedar Meeting House built in Boston in 1669 which had become overcrowded. In 1728, the congregation voted to build a new meetinghouse and appointed a building committee.<sup>25</sup>

The design of Old South Meeting House is credited to Robert Twelves, and it was constructed by Joshua Blanchard (1692-1748), a master mason who later erected Faneuil Hall in 1740-1742. The main mass of Old South is a traditional seventeenth-century meeting house design, with an almost square plan, two stories in height, and the south entrance on the long side. It was a large building for its day and could fit 5,000 people on the main floor and double galleries, far more than the original Faneuil Hall. Old South Meeting House stood as one of the most expansive indoor gathering spaces in

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<sup>22</sup> Henry F. Withey and Elsie Rathbun Withey, *Biographical Dictionary of American Architects (Deceased)*, (Los Angeles, CA: Hennessey & Ingalls, Inc., 1956), 57; Scofield et al., *Boston National Historical Park*.

<sup>23</sup> Betlock et al., *Old South*, 44–45, 51; Scofield et al., *Boston National Historical Park*.

<sup>24</sup> William M. DeMarco, Piety, Preservation, and the Public Trust: A History of the Old South Meeting House, vol. 3/1872–1977, (Report on file, Northeast Museum Services Center, Boston, MA, undated), 3; Jonathan B. Vogels, “Put to Patriotic Use”: Negotiating Free Speech at Boston’s Old South Meeting House, 1925–1933, *The New England Quarterly*, 72(1), 1999, 3–11; Scofield et al., *Boston National Historical Park*.

<sup>25</sup> Penelope Hartshorne Batcheler, *Historic Structure Report: Old South Meeting House*, (Denver, CO: US Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Denver Service Center, Mid-Atlantic/North Atlantic Team, Historic Preservation Branch, 1978), 4; Scofield et al., *Boston National Historical Park*.

colonial Boston and for this reason this historic building often served as the site of significant protests and meetings. Attached to the center of the west (short) side was a square tower, above which rose a three-stage octagonal spire 180 feet high.

Two buildings in Boston built in the 1720s may have exerted particular influence on the exterior form of Old South Meeting House. The New Brick Meeting House on Hanover Street, built in 1721 (demolished in 1844), and Old North Church (Christ Church) erected in 1723-1740 had similar exterior massing, notably in the two tiers of round-arched multi-pane windows and the location of the belt courses, tower, and spire. Old South Meeting House's spire with its open colonnaded belfry is similar to that of the New Brick Meetinghouse and reminiscent of Christopher Wren's Saint Mary-le-Bow of 1670-1677 in London. Two other Boston meeting houses featured similar steeples, the Old Brick (1712) and the Old West (1737), as well as at least six other New England churches, including the First Church of Christ, Congregation in Farmington, Connecticut (1771). The interior of Old South Meeting House reflected the layout of its predecessor, the Cedar Meeting House, with the main entrance at the side, served by the doorways in the west tower, and the high pulpit with suspended sounding board centered on the long north wall.<sup>26</sup>

The Old South Meeting House tower clock by Galen Brown was created in 1766 and installed by 1770. It is America's oldest American-made tower clock still operating in its original location.<sup>27</sup>

Old South Meeting House also contains the last remaining example of a two-tiered gallery in a New England meeting house.<sup>28</sup>

Alterations to the meeting house reflect the evolution of changing forms of worship, architectural fashions, and changes to the building's use that are all part of its story, and thus do not detract from the meeting house's architectural significance.

### **6.3 Archaeological Sensitivity**

Boston's Downtown is archaeologically sensitive for ancient Native American and historical archaeological sites. It is possible for ancient Native and historical archaeological sites to survive in the rare areas where development has not destroyed them. As the ancient and historical core of Shawmut, now Boston, any surviving archaeological deposits are likely significant. Archaeological evidence of ancient Native presence in the Boston area supports an occupation date as early as 12,000 years BP. Today, the Massachusetts tribe are considered to be the traditional landholders of Boston. Within a 1-mile radius of Old South Meeting House, there are 18 known ancient Native archaeological sites and 24 known historical archaeological sites.

Any historical sites that survive may document 17th-19th century history related to Boston's colonial, Revolutionary, early Republic history especially yard spaces where features including wells, cisterns, and privies may remain intact and contain significant archaeological deposits. These sites represent the histories of domestic life, artisans, industries, enslaved people, immigrants, and Native peoples spanning multiple centuries.

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<sup>26</sup> Batcheler, *Old South Meeting House*, 4-8; James D. Kornwolf, *Architecture and Town Planning in Colonial North America*, (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 971; Hugh Morrison, *Early American Architecture: From the First Colonial Settlement to the National Period*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1952), 430; William H. Pierson, *American Buildings and Their Architects, Volume 1: The Colonial and Neoclassical Styles*, (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1970), 102-105; Rettig and Snell, *Old South Meeting House*; Scofield et al., *Boston National Historical Park*.

<sup>27</sup> <https://revolutionaryspaces.org/discover/old-south-meeting-house/>

<sup>28</sup> Betlock et al, *Old South: An Architectural History of the Old South Meeting House*.

Below-ground impacts to the buildings and landscape of Old South Meeting House shall be avoided if possible within the landmark-designated area. All proposed below-ground impacts to the landscape, temporary or permanent, shall be reviewed by the staff archaeologists of the City Archaeology Program and the City Archaeologist to determine if significant archaeological resources may or will be negatively impacted by below-ground work. If impacts may or do exist, and they can not be avoided, mitigation in the form of archaeological monitoring, excavations, or other documentation may be required based on the recommendations and consultation of the City Archaeologist.

All archaeological work on the property of Old South Meeting House and associated structures and landscape shall be conducted under a state-issued State Archaeological Permit by an archaeologist meeting the Secretary of the Interior's Professional Qualifications Standards for Archaeology.

## 6.4 Planning Context

The Old South Meeting House was designated a National Historic Landmark in 1960. This designation is recognized by the Secretary of the Interior for sites of national significance. However, this designation provides little protection for the building. According to the National Park Service:

*Listing of private property as a National Historic Landmark or in the National Register does not prohibit under Federal law or regulations any actions which may otherwise be taken by the property owner with respect to the property. The National Park Service may recommend to owners various preservation actions but owners are not obligated to carry out these recommendations. Property owners are free to make whatever changes they wish if Federal funding, licensing, or permits are not involved.<sup>29</sup>*

The Old South Meeting House is also part of the Boston National Historical Park, established by Congress on October 1, 1974, to preserve resources associated with the opening campaigns of the Revolutionary War and the founding of America. The park consists of eight discontinuous areas: Old South Meeting House, Bunker Hill Monument, Charlestown Navy Yard, the Old North Church complex, the Paul Revere House complex, Faneuil Hall, the Old State House, and the Dorchester Heights Monument. With the exception of the Dorchester Heights Monument, all of the sites are connected by the Freedom Trail. This designation, although it encourages public recognition of the importance of these sites, again does not carry significant regulatory weight toward protecting the included properties.

On the state level, the Old South Meeting House was designated a Massachusetts Historic Landmark in 1965. According to state law, this designation provides some protection against alterations that would impair the historical value of the landmark:

*The commission may establish standards for the care and management of such certified landmarks, and may withdraw such certification for failure to maintain such standards provided that a notice of such withdrawal is recorded as aforesaid. No certified historic landmark shall be altered in such a manner as would seriously impair its historical values without permission of the commission, except that persons having recorded interests who have not given written consent to the certification and those claiming under them shall not be required to obtain such permission. Before granting such permission the commission shall hold a public hearing.<sup>30</sup>*

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<sup>29</sup> <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalhistoriclandmarks/faqs.htm>, Feb. 18, 2025.

<sup>30</sup> Mass General Laws, Ch. 9, Section 27.

At the time of the publication of this study report in 2025, proposed zoning changes are a potential new threat to the Old South Meeting House. The Boston Planning and Development Agency (now the Planning Department) adopted PLAN: Downtown in December of 2023. As of April 2025, the Planning Department released an updated draft Downtown zoning text amendment and a draft amendment to PLAN: Downtown. The draft Zoning Amendment has raised concerns among preservationists as it calls for including a “SKY-R” zone that would allow 500’ towers throughout the Ladder Blocks under certain circumstances as well as “SKY” zones that would permit structures to be built up to the ceiling allowed by the FAA. The block containing the Old South Meeting House is currently located in a “SKY” zone. Thus, the new zoning proposed by the City would remove the protection currently afforded by the Newspaper Row/Old South Protection Area and would allow structures up to the FAA limit to be built around the Old South Meeting House. While it is not anticipated that the Old South Meeting House would be demolished, new construction could have adverse view, shadow, or structural impacts on the historic meeting house.

Since becoming a pending Landmark, the Old South Meeting House has come for advisory review by the Boston Landmarks Commission three times. In July 2022 (application #23.0095 BLC), the Commission reviewed a proposal to restore and re-paint the three sets of double entrance doors at the Old South Meeting House; the proposal was approved. In December 2022 (application #23.0490 BLC), the Commission reviewed a proposal to install a new trench drain at the bottom of the stair on the south facade of the building and replace a plywood wall with a cement block wall as part of a storm water management program; this proposal was also approved. In March 2024 (application #24.0820 BLC), the Commission reviewed the replacement of the southeast alley door with a new replacement wood door milled to match the other paneled doors on the building. This application was marked exempt from Commission review.

## 7. STANDARDS AND CRITERIA

### 7.1 Introduction

Per sections 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 of the enabling statute (Chapter 772 of the Acts of 1975 of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, as amended) Standards and Criteria must be adopted for each Designation that shall be applied by the Commission in evaluating proposed changes to the historic resource. The Standards and Criteria both identify and establish guidelines for those features that must be preserved and/or enhanced to maintain the viability of the Designation. The Standards and Criteria are based on the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties.<sup>31</sup> Before a Certificate of Design Approval or Certificate of Exemption can be issued for such changes, the changes must be reviewed by the Commission with regard to their conformance to the purpose of the statute.

The intent of these guidelines is to help local officials, designers and individual property owners to identify the characteristics that have led to designation, and thus to identify the limitation to the changes that can be made to them. It should be emphasized that conformance to the Standards and Criteria alone does not necessarily ensure approval, nor are they absolute, but any request for variance from them must demonstrate the reason for, and advantages gained by, such variance. The Commission's Certificate of Design Approval is only granted after careful review of each application and public hearing, in accordance with the statute.

Proposed alterations related to zoning, building code, accessibility, safety, or other regulatory requirements shall require the prior review and approval of the Commission.

In these standards and criteria, the verb **Should** indicates a recommended course of action; the verb **Shall** indicates those actions that are specifically required.

### 7.2 Levels of Review

The Commission has no desire to interfere with the normal maintenance procedures for the property. In order to provide some guidance for property owners, managers or developers, and the Commission, the activities that might be construed as causing an alteration to the physical character of the exterior have been categorized to indicate the level of review required, based on the potential impact of the proposed work.

- A. Routine activities that are not subject to review by the Commission:
  - 1. Activities associated with normal cleaning and routine maintenance.
    - a. For building maintenance, such activities might include the following: normal cleaning (no power washing above 400 PSI, no chemical or abrasive cleaning), non-invasive inspections, in-kind repair of caulking, in-kind repainting, staining or refinishing of wood or metal elements, lighting bulb replacements or in-kind glass repair/replacement, etc.
    - b. For landscape maintenance, such activities might include the following: normal cleaning of paths and sidewalks, etc. (no power

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<sup>31</sup> U.S. Department of the Interior, et al. *THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR'S STANDARDS FOR THE TREATMENT OF HISTORIC PROPERTIES WITH GUIDELINES FOR PRESERVING, REHABILITATING, RESTORING & RECONSTRUCTING HISTORIC BUILDINGS*, Secretary of the Interior, 2017, [www.nps.gov/tps/standards/treatment-guidelines-2017.pdf](http://www.nps.gov/tps/standards/treatment-guidelines-2017.pdf).

washing above 400 PSI, no chemical or abrasive cleaning), non-invasive inspections, in-kind repair of caulking, in-kind spot replacement of cracked or broken paving materials, in-kind repainting or refinishing of site furnishings, site lighting bulb replacements or in-kind glass repair/replacement, normal plant material maintenance, such as pruning, fertilizing, mowing and mulching, and in-kind replacement of existing plant materials, etc.

2. Activities associated with temporary installations or events or seasonal decorations that do not disturb the ground surface, do not damage the existing building fabric, and do not result in any permanent alteration or attached fixtures.
- B. Activities that may be determined by the staff to be eligible for a Certificate of Exemption or Administrative Review, requiring an application to the Commission:
1. Maintenance and repairs involving no change in design, material, color, ground surface or outward appearance.
  2. In-kind replacement or repair.
  3. Phased restoration programs will require an application to the Commission and may require full Commission review of the entire project plan and specifications; subsequent detailed review of individual construction phases may be eligible for Administrative Review by BLC staff.
  4. Repair projects of a repetitive nature will require an application to the Commission and may require full Commission review; subsequent review of these projects may be eligible for Administrative Review by BLC staff, where design, details, and specifications do not vary from those previously approved.
  6. Emergency repairs that require temporary tarps, board-ups, etc. may be eligible for Certificate of Exemption or Administrative Review. In the case of emergencies, BLC staff should be notified as soon as possible to assist in evaluating the damage and to help expedite repair permits as necessary.
- C. Activities requiring an application and full Commission review:
- Reconstruction, restoration, replacement, demolition, or alteration involving change in design, material, color, location, or outward appearance, such as: New construction of any type, removal of existing features or elements, major planting or removal of trees or shrubs, or changes in landforms.
- D. Activities not explicitly listed above:
- In the case of any activity not explicitly covered in these Standards and Criteria, the Landmarks staff shall determine whether an application is required and if so, whether it shall be an application for a Certificate of Design Approval or Certificate of Exemption.
- E. Concurrent Jurisdiction
- In some cases, issues that fall under the jurisdiction of the Landmarks Commission may also fall under the jurisdiction of other city, state and federal boards and commissions such as the Boston Art Commission, the Massachusetts Historical Commission, the National Park Service and others. All efforts will be made to

expedite the review process. Whenever possible and appropriate, a joint staff review or joint hearing will be arranged.

### **7.3 List of Character-defining Features**

Character-defining features are the significant observable and experiential aspects of a historic resource, whether a single building, landscape, or multi-property historic district, that define its architectural power and personality. These are the features that should be identified, retained, and preserved in any restoration or rehabilitation scheme in order to protect the resource's integrity.

Character-defining elements may include, for example, the overall shape of a building and its materials, craftsmanship, decorative details and features, as well as the various aspects of its site and environment. They are critically important considerations whenever preservation work is contemplated. Inappropriate changes to historic features can undermine the historical and architectural significance of the resource, sometimes irreparably.

Below is a list that identifies the physical elements that contribute to the unique character of the historic resource. The items listed in this section should be considered important aspects of the historic resource and changes to them should be approved by commissioners only after careful consideration.

The character-defining features for this historic resource include:

- Masonry:
  - Flemish bond brick walls with belt courses
  - Brick watertable
- Brick clock tower:
  - 80-foot tall brick tower surmounted by steeple
  - Ox-eye window with radiating muntins
  - Arched openings inset with louvers
  - Denticulated cornice and balustrade
  - Clock
- Steeple:
  - Octagonal wooden steeple
  - 20-foot-tall copper-clad spire
  - Gilded weather vane
- Windows:
  - Semicircular arched windows with fanlights
  - Window behind the pulpit at mid-floor height
- Doors
  - Double-leaf wooden paneled doors with semicircular fanlights
- Slate roof
- Interior features:
  - Interior plaster walls (replastered in 1828)
  - Galleries and supporting columns (excluding non-code-compliant modern railing)
  - Wainscoting
  - Willard clock on south gallery
  - Pulpit
  - Sounding board
  - Arch and plaster moldings behind the pulpit
  - Reproduction of 1857 central cast plaster rosette in ceiling
  - Pews



## 7.4 Landmark Standards and Criteria

The following Standards and Criteria are based on the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties.<sup>32</sup>

### **Note on the Application of Standards and Criteria for this Landmark:**

The following Standards and Criteria (from 7.4.1 to 7.4.18, inclusive) apply to alterations to the Old South Meeting House (parcel numbers 0303905000 and 0303905001; see Section 1 "Designation" for specific areas of jurisdiction) and to below-ground excavation on all of the parcels included in this designation.

The proposed Landmark designation also includes two additional parcels: the alley to the north of the Old South Meeting House (parcel numbers 0303906000 and 0303906001), and the retail building to the east of the Old South Meeting House (parcel number 0303904000). The purpose of including these parcels in the designation is to protect the Old South Meeting House, which has historical and architectural significance at a national level. Therefore, at these parcels, Commission review shall focus on preventing adverse effects to the Old South Meeting House and shall be limited to:

- Any permanent new construction, paving, or fencing.
- Any physical attachment to or contact between the Old South Meeting House and any existing or new structures on the parcel.

The Standards and Criteria below (from 7.4.1 to 7.4.18, inclusive) do not apply to these parcels (0303906000, 0303906001, 0303904000). Rather, Commissioners should use their best judgement when reviewing proposed alterations to prevent adverse impacts on the Old South Meeting House.

### **7.4.1 General Standards**

Subject to review and approval under the terms of this report, the following standards shall apply:

1. The historic character of a property shall be retained and preserved. The removal of historic materials or alteration of features, spaces, and spatial relationships that characterize a property shall be avoided. See the list of Character-Defining Features in the previous section.
2. Each property shall be recognized as a physical record of its time, place and use. Changes that create a false sense of historical development, such as adding conjectural features or elements from other historic properties, shall not be undertaken.
3. The period of significance is not determined by this study report. However, proposals for alterations to the property should be presented to the Commission with a clear argument for how they fit the most current understanding of the property's period or periods of significance and their impact on historic or existing fabric of the building.
4. Changes and additions to the landmark that have taken place over time are evidence of the history of the property and its context. These changes may have acquired significance in their own right; if so, that significance should be recognized and respected. (The term "later contributing features" will be used to convey this concept.)

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<sup>32</sup> U.S. Department of the Interior, et al. *THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR'S STANDARDS FOR THE TREATMENT OF HISTORIC PROPERTIES WITH GUIDELINES FOR PRESERVING, REHABILITATING, RESTORING & RECONSTRUCTING HISTORIC BUILDINGS*, Secretary of the Interior, 2017, [www.nps.gov/tps/standards/treatment-guidelines-2017.pdf](http://www.nps.gov/tps/standards/treatment-guidelines-2017.pdf).

5. Distinctive or significant historic and architectural materials, features, finishes and construction techniques or examples of craftsmanship that characterize a property shall be preserved.
6. Deteriorated architectural features should be repaired rather than replaced. Where the severity of deterioration requires replacement of a distinctive feature, the new feature should match the old in design, color, texture, and other visual qualities and, where possible, materials. If the same material is not technically or economically feasible, then compatible substitute materials may be considered on a case-by-case basis. Replacement of missing features should be substantiated by documentary and physical evidence.
7. The use of synthetic replacement materials is discouraged, except when substituted for perishable features exposed to the weather or when necessary to accommodate the effects of climate change.
8. Chemical and/or physical treatments (such as sandblasting) shall not be used in a manner that damages historic materials. The surface cleaning of structures shall be undertaken using the gentlest means possible and the results should preserve the patina that characterizes the age of the structure. Applications of paint or masonry preservative solutions will be reviewed on a case-by-case basis; painting masonry surfaces will be considered only when there is documentary evidence that this treatment was used at some point in the history of the property.
9. Demolition of a designated structure can be allowed only as a last resort after all practicable measures have been taken to ensure preservation, or unless required to comply with requirements certified by a duly authorized public officer to be necessary for public safety because of an unsafe or dangerous condition.
10. Creating new openings in exterior walls should be avoided when possible. Where necessary to accommodate new uses or for achieving accessibility, new openings or changes to existing openings will be reviewed on a case-by-case basis.
11. New additions, exterior alterations, or related new construction shall not destroy historic materials, features, and spatial relationships that characterize a property. The new work shall be differentiated from the old and shall be compatible with the historic materials, features, size, scale and proportion, and massing to protect the integrity of a property and its environment.
12. New additions and adjacent or related new construction shall be undertaken in such a manner that, if removed in the future, the essential form and integrity of the historic property and its environment would be unimpaired.
13. Original or later contributing signs, marquees, and canopies integral to the building ornamentation or architectural detailing shall be preserved, excluding references to building ownership, operations, tenants.
14. New signs, banners, marquees, canopies, and awnings shall be compatible in size, design, material, location, and number with the character of the building, allowing for contemporary expression. New signs shall not detract from the essential form of the building nor obscure its architectural features. New signs may attach to the building if approved by the Commission. The method of attachment shall be reviewed on a case-by-case basis and should cause the least damage possible to the building. (See the next section for guidelines on penetrating masonry.)
15. Property owners shall take necessary precautions to prevent demolition by neglect of maintenance and repairs. Demolition of protected buildings in violation of Chapter 772 of

the Acts of 1975, as amended, is subject to penalty as cited in Section 10 of Chapter 772 of the Acts of 1975, as amended.

#### **7.4.2 Masonry at exterior walls (including but not limited to stone, brick, terra-cotta, concrete, adobe, stucco, and mortar)**

1. All original or later contributing masonry materials shall be preserved.
2. Original or later contributing masonry materials, features, details, surfaces and ornamentation shall be repaired, if necessary, by patching, splicing, consolidating, or otherwise reinforcing the masonry using recognized preservation methods.
3. Deteriorated masonry materials, features, details, surfaces, and ornamentation or missing components of masonry features shall be replaced with materials and elements which match the original in material, color, texture, size, shape, profile, and detail of installation. If the same material is not technically or economically feasible, then compatible substitute materials may be considered on a case-by-case basis.
4. When replacement of existing materials or elements is necessary, it should be based on physical or documentary evidence.
5. Sound original mortar shall be retained.
6. Deteriorated mortar shall be carefully removed by hand raking the joints.
7. Use of mechanical hammers shall not be allowed. Use of mechanical saws may be allowed on a case-by-case basis.
8. Repointing mortar shall duplicate the original mortar in strength, composition, color, texture, joint size, joint profile, and method of application.
9. Sample panels of raking the joints and repointing shall be reviewed and approved by the staff of the Boston Landmarks Commission.
10. If the building is to be cleaned, the masonry shall be cleaned with the gentlest method possible.
11. A test patch of the cleaning method(s) shall be reviewed and approved on site by staff of the Boston Landmarks Commission to ensure that no damage has resulted. Test patches shall be carried out well in advance. Ideally, the test patch should be monitored over a sufficient period of time to allow long-range effects to be predicted (including exposure to all seasons if possible).
12. Sandblasting (wet or dry), wire brushing, or other similar abrasive cleaning methods shall not be permitted. Doing so can change the visual quality of the material and damage the surface of the masonry and mortar joints.
13. Waterproofing or water repellents are strongly discouraged. These treatments are generally not effective in preserving masonry and can cause permanent damage. The Commission does recognize that in extraordinary circumstances their use may be required to solve a specific problem. Samples of any proposed treatment shall be reviewed by the Commission before application.
14. In general, painting masonry surfaces shall not be allowed. Painting masonry surfaces will be considered only when there is documentary evidence that this treatment was used at some significant point in the history of the property.

15. New penetrations for attachments through masonry are strongly discouraged. When necessary, attachment details shall be located in mortar joints, rather than through masonry material; stainless steel hardware is recommended to prevent rust jacking. New attachments to cast concrete are discouraged and will be reviewed on a case-by-case basis.
16. Deteriorated stucco shall be repaired by removing the damaged material and patching with new stucco that duplicates the old in strength, composition, color, and texture.
17. Deteriorated adobe shall be repaired by using mud plaster or a compatible lime-plaster adobe render, when appropriate.
18. Deteriorated concrete shall be repaired by cutting damaged concrete back to remove the source of deterioration, such as corrosion on metal reinforcement bars. The new patch shall be applied carefully so that it will bond satisfactorily with and match the historic concrete.
19. Joints in concrete shall be sealed with appropriate flexible sealants and backer rods, when necessary.

#### **7.4.3 Wood at exterior walls**

1. All original or later contributing wood materials shall be preserved.
2. Original or later contributing wood surfaces, features, details, and ornamentation shall be retained and, if necessary, repaired by patching, piecing-in, consolidating, or reinforcing the wood using recognized preservation methods.
3. Deteriorated wood materials, features, details, surfaces, and ornamentation or missing components of wood features shall be replaced with materials and elements which match the original in material, color, texture, size, shape, profile, and detail of installation. If the same material is not technically or economically feasible, then compatible substitute materials may be considered on a case-by-case basis.
4. When replacement of materials is necessary, it should be based on physical or documentary evidence.
5. Cleaning of wood elements shall use the gentlest method possible.
6. Paint removal should be considered only where there is paint surface deterioration or excessive layers of paint have coarsened profile details and as part of an overall maintenance program that involves repainting or applying other appropriate protective coatings. Coatings such as paint help protect the wood from moisture and ultraviolet light; stripping the wood bare will expose the surface to the effects of weathering.
7. Damaged or deteriorated paint should be removed to the next sound layer using the mildest method possible.
8. Propane or butane torches, sandblasting, water blasting, or other abrasive cleaning and/or paint removal methods shall not be permitted. Doing so changes the visual quality of the wood and accelerates deterioration.
9. Repainting should be based on paint seriation studies. If an adequate record does not exist, repainting shall be done with colors that are appropriate to the style and period of the building.

#### **7.4.4 Architectural metals at exterior walls (including but not limited to wrought and cast iron, steel, pressed metal, terneplate, copper, aluminum, and zinc)**

1. All original or later contributing architectural metals shall be preserved.
2. Original or later contributing metal materials, features, details, and ornamentation shall be retained and, if necessary, repaired by patching, splicing, or reinforcing the metal using recognized preservation methods.
3. Deteriorated metal materials, features, details, surfaces, and ornamentation or missing components of metal features shall be replaced with materials and elements which match the original in material, color, texture, size, shape, profile, and detail of installation. If the same material is not technically or economically feasible, then compatible substitute materials may be considered on a case-by-case basis.
4. When replacement of materials or elements is necessary, it should be based on physical or documentary evidence.
5. Cleaning of metal elements either to remove corrosion or deteriorated paint shall use the gentlest method possible.
6. The type of metal shall be identified prior to any cleaning procedure because each metal has its own properties and may require a different treatment.
7. Non-corrosive chemical methods shall be used to clean soft metals (such as lead, tinsplate, terneplate, copper, and zinc) whose finishes can be easily damaged by abrasive methods.
8. If gentler methods have proven ineffective, then abrasive cleaning methods, such as low pressure dry grit blasting, may be allowed for hard metals (such as cast iron, wrought iron, and steel) as long as it does not abrade or damage the surface.
9. A test patch of the cleaning method(s) shall be reviewed and approved on site by staff of the Boston Landmarks Commission to ensure that no damage has resulted. Test patches shall be carried out well in advance. Ideally, the test patch should be monitored over a sufficient period of time to allow long-range effects to be predicted (including exposure to all seasons if possible).
10. Cleaning to remove corrosion and paint removal should be considered only where there is deterioration and as part of an overall maintenance program that involves repainting or applying other appropriate protective coatings. Paint or other coatings help retard the corrosion rate of the metal. Leaving the metal bare will expose the surface to accelerated corrosion.
11. Repainting should be based on paint seriation studies. If an adequate record does not exist, repainting shall be done with colors that are appropriate to the style and period of the building.

#### **7.4.5 Windows (also refer to Masonry, Wood, and Architectural Metals)**

1. The original or later contributing arrangement of window openings shall be retained.
2. Enlarging or reducing window openings for the purpose of fitting stock (larger or smaller) window sash or air conditioners shall not be allowed.
3. Removal of window sash and the installation of permanent fixed panels to accommodate air conditioners shall not be allowed.

4. Original or later contributing window sash, elements, features (functional and decorative), details, and ornamentation shall be retained and, if necessary, repaired by patching, splicing, consolidating, or otherwise reinforcing using recognized preservation methods.
5. Deteriorated window sash, elements, features (functional and decorative), details, and ornamentation or missing components of window features should be replaced with material and elements that match the original in material, color, texture, size, shape, profile, configuration, and detail of installation. If using the same material is not technically or economically feasible, then compatible substitute materials may be considered on a case-by-case basis.
6. When replacement of sash, elements, features (functional and decorative), details, or ornamentation is necessary, it shall be reviewed on a case-by-case basis and should be based on physical or documentary evidence.
7. Tinted or reflective-coated glass shall be allowed for new interior storm windows, but shall not be allowed for original or later contributing windows. Photochromic film shall be allowed on new interior storm windows.
8. Exterior or interior combination storm windows shall have a narrow perimeter framing that does not obscure the glazing of the primary window. In addition, the meeting rail of the combination storm window shall align with that of the primary window. All new storm windows shall be reviewed by the Commission with drawings showing existing and new conditions. The addition of new storm windows shall be reversible and shall minimize damage to existing building material.
9. Storm window sashes and frames shall have a painted finish that matches the primary window sash and frame color.
10. Repainting of window frames, sashes, and, if appropriate, shutters, should be of a color based on paint seriation studies. If an adequate record does not exist, repainting shall be done with colors that are appropriate to the style and period of the building.

#### **7.4.6 Entrances/Doors (also refer to Masonry, Wood, Architectural Metals, and Porches/Stoops)**

1. All original or later contributing entrance elements shall be preserved.
2. The original or later contributing entrance design and arrangement of the door openings shall be retained.
3. Creating new entrance openings should be avoided when possible. Where necessary to accommodate new uses or for achieving accessibility, new entrance openings will be reviewed on a case-by-case basis.
4. Enlarging or reducing entrance/door openings for the purpose of fitting stock (larger or smaller) doors shall not be allowed.
5. Original or later contributing entrance materials, elements, details and features (functional and decorative) shall be retained and, if necessary, repaired by patching, splicing, consolidating or otherwise reinforcing using recognized preservation methods.
6. Deteriorated entrance elements, materials, features (functional and decorative), details, and ornamentation or missing components of entrance features should be replaced with material and elements that match the original in material, color, texture, size, shape, profile, configuration and detail of installation. If using the same material is not

technically or economically feasible, then compatible substitute materials may be considered on a case-by-case basis.

7. When replacement is necessary, it should be based on physical or documentary evidence.
8. Original or later contributing entrance materials, elements, features (functional and decorative) and details shall not be sheathed or otherwise obscured by other materials.
9. Storm doors (aluminum or wood-framed) shall not be allowed on the primary entrance unless evidence shows that they had been used. They may be allowed on secondary entrances. Where allowed, storm doors shall be painted to match the color of the primary door.
10. Unfinished aluminum storm doors shall not be allowed.
11. Replacement door hardware should replicate the original or be appropriate to the style and period of the building.
12. Buzzers, alarms and intercom panels, where allowed, shall be flush mounted and appropriately located.
13. Entrance elements should be of a color based on paint seriation studies. If an adequate record does not exist, repainting shall be done with colors that are appropriate to the style and period of the building/entrance.

#### **7.4.7 Porches/Stoops (also refer to Masonry, Wood, Architectural Metals, Entrances/Doors, Roofs, and Accessibility)**

1. All original or later contributing porch elements shall be preserved.
2. Original or later contributing porch and stoop materials, elements, features (functional and decorative), details, and ornamentation shall be retained if possible and, if necessary, repaired using recognized preservation methods.
3. Existing porch and stoop materials, elements, features (functional and decorative), details and ornamentation that become deteriorated or missing should be replaced with material and elements that match the original in material, color, texture, size, shape, profile, configuration and detail of installation. Alternative materials will be considered on a case-by-case basis.
4. When replacement is necessary, it should be based on physical or documentary evidence.
5. Original or later contributing porch and stoop materials, elements, features (functional and decorative), details and ornamentation shall not be sheathed or otherwise obscured by other materials.
6. Porch and stoop elements should be of a color based on paint seriation studies. If an adequate record does not exist repainting shall be done with colors that are appropriate to the style and period of the building/porch and stoop.

#### **7.4.8 Lighting**

1. There are several aspects of lighting related to the exterior of the building and landscape:

- a. Lighting fixtures as appurtenances to the building or elements of architectural ornamentation.
  - b. Quality of illumination on building exterior.
  - c. Security lighting.
2. Wherever integral to the building, original or later contributing lighting fixtures shall be retained and, if necessary, repaired by patching, piercing in or reinforcing the lighting fixture using recognized preservation methods.
3. Deteriorated lighting fixture materials, elements, features (functional and decorative), details, and ornamentation or missing components of lighting fixtures should be replaced with material and elements that match the original in material, color, texture, size, shape, profile, configuration, and detail of installation. If using the same material is not technically or economically feasible, then compatible substitute materials may be considered on a case-by-case basis.
4. When replacement is necessary, it should be based on physical or documentary evidence.
5. Original or later contributing lighting fixture materials, elements, features (functional and decorative), details, and ornamentation shall not be sheathed or otherwise obscured by other materials.
6. Supplementary illumination may be added where appropriate to the current use of the building.
7. New lighting shall conform to any of the following approaches as appropriate to the building and to the current or projected use:
  - a. Reproductions of original or later contributing fixtures, based on physical or documentary evidence.
  - b. Accurate representation of the original period, based on physical or documentary evidence.
  - c. Retention or restoration of fixtures that date from an interim installation and that are considered to be appropriate to the building and use.
  - d. New lighting fixtures that are differentiated from the original or later contributing fixture in design and that illuminate the exterior of the building in a way that renders it visible at night and compatible with its environment.
8. The location of new exterior lighting shall fulfill the functional intent of the current use without obscuring the building form or architectural detailing.
9. No exposed conduit shall be allowed on the building.
10. Architectural night lighting is encouraged, provided the lighting installations minimize night sky light pollution. High efficiency fixtures, lamps and automatic timers are recommended.
11. On-site mock-ups of proposed architectural night lighting may be required.

#### **7.4.9 Storefronts (also refer to Masonry, Wood, Architectural Metals, Windows, Entrances/Doors, Porches/Stoops, Lighting, and Accessibility)**

1. Refer to the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation and Guidelines for Rehabilitating Historic Buildings (Storefront section).



#### **7.4.10 Roofs (also refer to Masonry, Wood, Architectural Metals, and Roof Projections)**

1. The roof shapes and contributing roof elements (visible from public ways) of the existing building shall be preserved.
2. Original or later contributing roofing materials such as slate, wood trim, elements, features (decorative and functional), details and ornamentation, such as cresting, shall be retained and, if necessary, repaired by patching or reinforcing using recognized preservation methods.
3. Deteriorated roofing materials, elements, features (functional and decorative), details and ornamentation or missing components of roof features should be replaced with material and elements that match the original in material, color, texture, size, shape, profile, configuration and detail of installation. If using the same material is not technically or economically feasible, then compatible substitute materials may be considered on a case-by-case basis.
4. When replacement is necessary, it should be based on physical or documentary evidence.
5. Original or later contributing roofing materials, elements, features (functional and decorative), details and ornamentation shall not be sheathed or otherwise obscured by other materials.
6. Unpainted mill-finished aluminum shall not be allowed for flashing, gutters and downspouts. All replacement flashing and gutters should be copper or match the original material and design (integral gutters shall not be replaced with surface-mounted).
7. External gutters and downspouts should not be allowed unless based on physical or documentary evidence.

#### **7.4.11 Roof Projections (includes satellite dishes, antennas and other communication devices, louvers, vents, chimneys, and chimney caps; also refer to Masonry, Wood, Architectural Metals, and Roofs)**

1. New roof projections shall not be visible from the public way.
2. New mechanical equipment should be reviewed to confirm that it is no more visible than the existing.

#### **7.4.12 Additions (also refer to General Standards above)**

1. Additions can significantly alter the historic appearance of the buildings. An exterior addition should only be considered after it has been determined that the existing building cannot meet the new space requirements.
2. New additions shall be designed so that the character-defining features of the building are not radically changed, obscured, damaged, or destroyed.
3. New additions should be designed so that they are compatible with the existing building, although they should not necessarily be imitative of an earlier style or period.
4. New additions shall not obscure the front of the building.
5. New additions shall be of a size, scale, and materials that are in harmony with the existing building.

#### **7.4.13 Accessibility**

1. Alterations to existing buildings for the purposes of providing accessibility shall provide persons with disabilities the level of physical access to historic properties that is required under applicable law, consistent with the preservation of each property's significant historical features, with the goal of providing the highest level of access with the lowest level of impact. Access modifications for persons with disabilities shall be designed and installed to least affect the character-defining features of the property; modifications should be reversible when possible and preserve as much of the original materials as possible. Modifications to some features may be allowed in providing access, once a review of options for the highest level of access has been completed.
2. A three-step approach is recommended to identify and implement accessibility modifications that will protect the integrity and historic character of the property:
  - a. Review the historical significance of the property and identify character-defining features;
  - b. Assess the property's existing and proposed level of accessibility;
  - c. Evaluate accessibility options within a preservation context.
3. Because of the complex nature of accessibility, the Commission will review proposals on a case-by-case basis. The Commission recommends consulting with the following document, which is available from the Commission office: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Cultural Resources, Preservation Assistance Division; Preservation Brief 32 "Making Historic Properties Accessible" by Thomas C. Jester and Sharon C. Park, AIA.

#### **7.4.14 Renewable Energy Sources**

1. Renewable energy sources, including but not limited to solar energy, are encouraged for the site.
2. Proposals for new renewable energy sources shall be reviewed by the Commission on a case-by-case basis for potential physical and visual impacts on the building and site.
3. Refer to the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation & Illustrated Guidelines on Sustainability for Rehabilitating Historic Buildings for general guidelines.

#### **7.4.15 Building Site**

1. The general intent is to preserve the existing or later contributing site and landscape features that enhance the property.
2. It is recognized that often the environment surrounding the property has character, scale and street pattern quite different from what existed when the building was constructed. Thus, changes must frequently be made to accommodate the new condition, and the landscape treatment can be seen as a transition between the historic property and its newer surroundings.
3. All original or later contributing features of the building site that are important in defining its overall historic character shall be retained and, if necessary, repaired using recognized preservation methods. This may include but is not limited to walls, fences, steps, walkways, paths, furnishings, fixtures, and decorative elements.
4. Deteriorated or missing site features should be replaced with material and elements that match the original in material, color, texture, size, shape, profile, configuration and detail of installation. Alternative materials will be considered on a case-by-case basis.

5. When replacement is necessary, it should be based on physical or documentary evidence.
6. The existing landforms of the site shall not be altered unless shown to be necessary for maintenance of the designated property's structure or site.
7. If there are areas where the terrain is to be altered, these areas shall be surveyed and documented to determine the potential impact to important landscape features.
8. The historic relationship between buildings and the landscape shall be retained. Grade levels should not be changed if it would alter the historic appearance of the building and its relation to the site.
9. Buildings should not be relocated if it would diminish the historic character of the site.
10. When they are required by a new use, new site features (such as parking areas, driveways, or access ramps) should be as unobtrusive as possible, retain the historic relationship between the building or buildings and the landscape, and be compatible with the historic character of the property.
11. Original or later contributing layout and materials of the walks, steps, and paved areas shall be maintained. Consideration will be given to alterations if it can be shown that better site circulation is necessary and that the alterations will improve this without altering the integrity of the designated property.
12. When they are necessary for security, protective fencing, bollards, and stanchions should be as unobtrusive as possible.
13. The Boston Landmarks Commission encourages removal of non-historic fencing as documentary evidence indicates.
14. The Boston Landmarks Commission recognizes that the designated property must continue to meet city, state, and federal goals and requirements for resiliency and safety within an ever-changing coastal flood zone and environment.

#### **7.4.16 Archaeology**

1. Staff archaeologists shall review proposed changes to a property that may impact known and potential archaeological sites. All below-ground work within the property shall be reviewed by the Boston Landmarks Commission and City Archaeologist to determine if work may impact known or potential archaeological resources. An archaeological survey may be required to determine if significant archaeological deposits are present within the area of impact of the proposed work. An archaeological survey shall be conducted if archaeological sensitivity exists and if impacts to known or potential archaeological resources cannot be mitigated after consultation with the City Archaeologist.
2. Significant archaeological resources shall be protected and preserved in place. If such resources must be disturbed, mitigation measures will be required before the proposed work can commence. All archaeological mitigation (monitoring, survey, excavation, etc.) shall be conducted by a professional archaeologist. The professional archaeologist should meet the Secretary of the Interior's Professional Qualifications Standards for Archaeology.

#### **7.4.17 Interior Spaces, Features, and Finishes**

1. The floor plan and interior spaces, features, and finishes that are important in defining the overall historic character of the building shall be retained and preserved.

2. Original or later contributing interior materials, features, details, surfaces and ornamentation shall be repaired, if necessary, by patching, splicing, consolidating, or otherwise reinforcing the materials using recognized preservation methods.
3. Interior materials, features, details, surfaces, and ornamentation that become deteriorated or missing should be replaced with materials and elements that match the original in material, color, texture, size, shape, profile, and detail of installation. Alternative materials will be considered on a case-by-case basis.
4. When replacement of materials or elements is necessary, it should be based on physical or documentary evidence.
5. When necessary, appropriate surface treatments such as cleaning, paint removal, and reapplication of protective coating systems shall be applied to historic materials (including plaster, masonry, wood, and metals) that comprise interior spaces.
6. Damaged or deteriorated paint and finishes shall be removed only to the next sound layer using the gentlest method possible prior to repainting or refinishing using compatible paint or other coating systems.
7. New material that is installed shall not damage character-defining interior features or finishes. If unavoidable, the installation of temporary materials for special events or temporary exhibits may obscure character-defining interior features or finishes if the temporary materials are fully removable without causing any damage.
8. New or additional systems required for a new use for the building, such as bathrooms and mechanical equipment, should be installed in secondary spaces to preserve the historic character of the most significant interior spaces.
9. New mechanical and electrical wiring, ducts, pipes, and cables should be installed in closets, service areas, and wall cavities whenever possible to preserve the historic character of interior spaces, features, and finishes.
10. New, code-required stairways or elevators should be located in secondary and service areas of the historic building.

#### **7.4.18 Guidelines**

The following are additional Guidelines for the treatment of the historic property:

1. Should any major restoration or construction activity be considered for a property, the Boston Landmarks Commission recommends that the proponents prepare a historic building conservation study and/or consult a materials conservator early in the planning process.
  - a. The Boston Landmarks Commission specifically recommends that any work on masonry, wood, metals, or windows be executed with the guidance of a professional building materials conservator.
2. Should any major restoration or construction activity be considered for a property's landscape, the Boston Landmarks Commission recommends that the proponents prepare a historic landscape report and/or consult a landscape historian early in the planning process.
3. When reviewing an application for proposed alterations, the Commission will consider whether later addition(s) and/or alteration(s) to the features or elements proposed for alteration can, or should, be removed on a case-by-case basis. Since it is not possible to

provide one general guideline, the following factors will be considered in determining whether a later addition(s) and/or alteration(s) can, or should, be removed include:

- a. Compatibility with the existing property's integrity in scale, materials and character.
- b. Historic association with the property.
- c. Quality in the design and execution of the addition/alteration.
- d. Functional usefulness.

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**Report on Members of Color at Old South Church  
and Members who Enslaved People of Color**

Emily Ross

Revised November 2021



## OLD SOUTH'S MEMBERS OF COLOR, ENSLAVED AND FREE

- Enslaved people's names are bolded, members of Old South Church are italicized, so members of color are both bolded and italicized. First names are used for everyone because that was often the only name enslaved people had.
- Specific sources of information for single enslaved people are noted in parentheses, sources used for many entries are listed in the Biography.

Abbreviations: BC = Baptismal Covenant, OSC = Old South member

| 1638                    | First shipment of enslaved people arrives in Boston |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |             |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| 1641                    | Slavery became legally sanctioned in Massachusetts  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |             |
| 1 <sup>st</sup><br>date | Name(s)                                             | Biographies of members                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | Status      |
| 1696                    | <i><b>Lydia</b></i>                                 | <i><b>Lydia</b></i> (BC 1696, OSC 1697) "a negro" was baptized on 21 March 1696, then admitted to Old South Church 2 March 1697.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | Unspecified |
| 1708                    | <i><b>Essex</b></i>                                 | <i><b>Essex</b></i> (BC 1718) "a Negro child belonging to Mrs Katharine Winthrop" is presumably the son of <i><b>Juno/Jueno</b></i> (below) who was also enslaved to <i>Katherine Brattle Eyre Winthrop</i> (1664-1725)(OSC 1683) either before or after the death of her husband <i>Wait Winthrop</i> (1642-1717)(OSC 1689)(marr. 1707). In Katherine's will, she left her property to her children but did not explicitly mention her enslaved people. Juno married Essex "a negro man of Mr. Wm. Clark" in 1708, and Essex (BC 1718) presumably was named after his father.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | Enslaved    |
| 1708                    | <i><b>Juno</b></i>                                  | <i><b>Juno/Jueno</b></i> (marr. 1708)(BC 1718)(OSC 1720) was described as enslaved to <i>Wait Winthrop</i> (1642-1717)(OSC 1689) in the record of her 1708 marriage to <i><b>Essex</b></i> , "a negro man of Mr. Wm. Clark." In 1718, after Wait's death, when Juno/Jueno joined Old South she was described as enslaved to Wait's widow <i>Katherine Brattle Eyre Winthrop</i> (1664-1725)(OSC 1683)(marr. 1707). <i><b>Essex</b></i> (above, BC 1718) "a Negro child belonging to Mrs Katharine Winthrop" is presumably the son of Juno/Jueno and Essex. Another son, <i><b>Toby</b></i> , was baptized in 1719. Juno/Jueno is mentioned several times in Samuel Sewall's Diary in 1720 as Katherine's servant ( <i>Sewall's Diary</i> ). In Katherine's will, she left her property to her children but did not explicitly mention her enslaved people. | Enslaved    |
| 1710                    | <i><b>Sarah</b></i>                                 | <i><b>Sarah</b></i> (OSC 1710) was admitted to Old South Church on 30 July 1710.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | Unspecified |
| 1711                    | <i><b>Margaret</b></i>                              | <i><b>Margaret</b></i> (OSC 1711) "a negro" was admitted to Old South Church 16 December 1711.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | Unspecified |
| 1718                    | <i><b>Ebenezer</b></i>                              | <i><b>Ebenezer</b></i> (OSC 1718) was enslaved by a John Mallit. This John Mallit may or may not be the same person as the John Mallet who died in 1742 and in his will probated in 1744 gave his wife "my black negro man James," his son Peter "my negro man Mingo," and his daughter Joannah Angevine his "mollto wench Dinah and her children." Ebenezer is not mentioned in this John Mallet's will.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | Enslaved    |
| 1718                    | <i><b>Thomas</b></i>                                | <i><b>Thomas</b></i> (OSC 1718) "a Negro-man belonging to Mr Edward Oakes" was baptized on 2 February 1718. Edward Oaks/Oakes was not a member of Old South.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | Enslaved    |
| 1718                    | <i><b>Toby</b></i>                                  | <i><b>Toby</b></i> (BC 1718) was enslaved first to <i>Sarah Quiddington Dinely</i> (OSC 1701), and her enslavement of Toby is noted in the record of Toby's 1716                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | Enslaved    |

|      |                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |             |
|------|------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
|      |                  | marriage to <b>Patience</b> . Toby/Tobey “Negro of Mrs Dinelyes” and Patience/Pason “Negro” were married on 31 May 1716. However, in 1714, Sarah had married Cord Wing, and by the time Toby was baptized at Old South in 1718 he was described as living with Cord Wing. Toby and Patience had four children. <b>Patience Jr</b> ’s birth was registered as 2 March 1718, the remaining three were baptized at Old South Church: <b>Grace</b> on 19 July 1719, <b>Essex</b> on 16 April 1721, and <b>Ruth</b> on 28 April 1723. Grace was baptized on the same day as Rev. Joseph Sewall baptized his own son Joseph, and Samuel Sewall noted the event in his diary describing Tobey as “the Ethiopian” who cut Rev. Joseph’s wood for him ( <i>Sewall’s Diary</i> 19 July 1719).                                                    |             |
| 1719 | <b>Jane Way</b>  | <b>Jane</b> (BC 1719) “an Indian woman who belongs to <del>my Family</del> Joseph Sewall” was baptized 25 January 1719 and “Rose her Child” was baptized along with her. Jane and <b>Rose</b> were enslaved by Rev. <i>Joseph Sewall</i> (1688-1769)(OSC 1713)(Pastor of Old South 1713-1769), son. of Hon. <i>Samuel</i> (OSC 1677), and husband of <i>Elizabeth Walley Sewall</i> (OSC 1711)(marr. 1713). “Jane Indian” married “Ebenezr Way Negro” on 9 February 1725, with Rev. Joseph Sewall presiding. Jane and <b>Ebenezer</b> had three more children baptized at Old South: <b>Ebenezer Jr</b> who was born on 14 March 1727 was baptized on 17 March 1727, <b>Jacob</b> (1) who was born on 7 September 1729 was baptized on 14 September 1729, then presumably died before <b>Jacob</b> (2) was baptized on 29 August 1731. | Enslaved    |
| 1720 | <b>Jane</b>      | <b>Jane</b> (OSC 1720) “a negro Woman” joined the Old South Church on 26 February 1720. This may or may not be the same “Jane Negro” who married “Onesimus Negro” on 3 June 1725, Rev. Joseph Sewall presiding. Jane and <b>Onesimus</b> had a son <b>William</b> who was baptized at Old South on 23 April 1727. William’s baptismal record states explicitly that Jane and Onesimus were “free Negroes.”                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | Unspecified |
| 1721 | <b>Mingo</b>     | <b>Mingo</b> (BC 1721) “a Negro-man” was baptized 24 December 1721.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | Unspecified |
| 1721 | <b>Phillis</b>   | <b>Phillis</b> (BC 1741) “Indian Servant to Mr. Timothy Prout” could have been enslaved to Timothy Prout Jr (1679-1768) and his wife <i>Lydia Savage Prout</i> (OSC 1702 or 1740)(marr. 1708), or to their son <i>Timothy Prout III</i> (1721-1777)(OSC 1741) and his wife <i>Mary Foster Prout</i> (1721-1757)(OSC 1741)(marr. 1751). Phillis was baptized into Old South alongside her son <b>Peter</b> , on 26 April 1741.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | Enslaved    |
| 1721 | <b>Pompey</b>    | <b>Pompey</b> (BC 1721) was enslaved by Benjamin Bream/Brame (1640-1731) and his second wife <i>Mary Pemberton Bream/Brame</i> (OSC 1709)(marr. 1711). An inventory of Benjamin’s estate filed in 1731 as part of his probate lists “Negro Pompe 60 pounds” amongst his possessions and properties.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | Enslaved    |
| 1723 | <b>Elizabeth</b> | <b>Elizabeth</b> (marr. 1723, BC 1724), her son <b>Pompey</b> (bap. 1724), and presumably also her daughter <b>Abigail</b> (bap. 1725) were enslaved by <i>John Flag/Flagg</i> (1673-1732)(OSC 1699) and his wife <i>Abiah Kemia Flag/Flagg</i> (d. 1715)(OSC 1705). The year before her baptism, on 7 November 1723, Elizabeth “Bess” “Svt. to John Flag” married Lisborn/Lisbon “free Negro,” so <b>Lisbon</b> would be the father of Pompey and Abigail. In his 1729 will, probated in 1732, John left “my Negro Boy named Pompey” to his son Ebenezer “forever.” If Pompey was born in 1724, this meant John committed to giving him away when Pompey was 5, then when Pompey was 8 he was bequested to Ebenezer Flag/Flagg (1710-1762) and his wife Mary Ward Flagg. Elizabeth and Abigail were not mentioned in John’s will.     |             |

|      |                               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |                           |
|------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1723 | <b>Worcester/<br/>Worster</b> | <b>Worcester/Worster</b> (BC 1723) was enslaved by a John Green, who was not a member of Old South and has not been able to be identified. On 16 December 1725, “Worster Negro” married “Maria Negro,” Dr. Cotton Mather presiding. The lack of enslaver information in the record perhaps means they were both free, but the record doesn’t state their freedom either so it is ambiguous.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | Enslaved then unspecified |
| 1724 | <b>Deborah</b>                | <b>Deborah</b> (OSC 1726) was enslaved by Mary Whittingham Saltonstall (d.1729) and possibly also by her second husband Governor Gurdon Saltonstall (d. 1724).                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | Enslaved                  |
| 1724 | <b>Philisia</b>               | <b>Philisia</b> (BC 1726) was enslaved by Mary Whittingham Saltonstall (d.1729) and possibly also by her second husband Governor Gurdon Saltonstall (d. 1724).                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | Enslaved                  |
| 1725 | <b>John Myat</b>              | <b>John/John Myat</b> (BC 1725) was enslaved by Col. <i>Thomas Fitch</i> (1669-1736)(OSC 1692) and <i>Abiel/Abiah Danforth Fitch</i> (1674-1745)(OSC 1696)(marr. 1694), and possibly then by Abiel/Abiah’s second husband the Hon. <i>John Osborne</i> (1688-1768)(OSC 1722)(marr. 1739). After Abiel/Abiah’s death, John married Sarah Foster Hutchinson Osborne (1686-1752)(marr. 1745), then Elizabeth Pierce Osborne (1705-1764)(marr. 1753). Samuel Sewall noted John Myat’s baptism in his <i>Diary</i> , calling him “John, Col. Fitch’s Ethiopian” ( <i>Diary</i> December 5 1725).                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | Enslaved                  |
| 1725 | <b>Robert Due</b>             | <b>Robert/Robert Due</b> (BC 1725, OSC 1726) was enslaved by Capt. <i>Thomas Smith</i> (d. 1741)(OSC 1717). Thomas was a Captain of the Hon. Artillery Co. and a merchant (Whitman 247). A “Robert Due” not specified as negro served under Capt. Thomas Smith in 1727, 1735-36 and 1739-40 in the Sacco Expedition. Later dates under other officers: 1747-54. Perhaps this is the same Robert but if so, it is odd his race isn’t noted. In 1742, the year after Thomas died (and perhaps freed Robert in his will), a Robert Due and <b>Margaret White</b> “Free Negroes” married on 1 July 1742, Rev. Joseph Sewall officiating. This may be Robert Due (OSC 1725) or a son with the same name, given the almost 20-year date gap. Robert and Margaret then had a son <b>Samuel</b> who was born 19 July 1743 and baptized at Old South Church on 31 July 1743. | Enslaved then free        |
| 1725 | <b>Towerhill</b>              | <b>Towerhill</b> (BC 1725) was enslaved by a William Smith. This may or may not have been the same William Smith who was a trader in Boston (Jones 263).                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | Enslaved                  |
| 1726 | <b>Argalus</b>                | <b>Argalus</b> (BC 1726) was enslaved by <i>Katherine Eyre Jeffries Noyes</i> (1694-1760)(OSC 1713) and perhaps also her second husband <i>Oliver Noyes</i> (1675-1721)(OSC 1693), who she had married in 1718. Oliver was a merchant and landowner (Valeri 117). In Oliver’s 1721 will he left substantial properties to his widow Katharine, including an unnamed “slave” (Kilcrease 260-281), who may or may not have been Argalus.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | Enslaved                  |
| 1726 | <b>Cornwall<br/>Cornwall</b>  | <b>Cornwall</b> (BC 1726) and <b>Cornwall</b> (OSC 1741) who may be the same person or a father and son, were enslaved by Captain <i>John Ellery</i> (1681-1742)(1719) and his wife <i>Jane Bonner Ellery</i> (d. 1739)(OSC 1712)(marr. 1710). Cornwall may or may not have been the “Negro boy” Captain John Ellery purchased from Nathaniel Harrison on 30 November 1719 (Donnan 3: 27). On 5 March 1740, Cornwall (Mr John Ellery) married <b>Kate</b> (Joshua Winslow), with Rev. Joseph Sewall presiding. Kate/Katherine was enslaved to Joshua Winslow (1694-1769), one of the sons of Col. <i>Edward Winslow</i> (OSC 1692), and his wife Elizabeth Savage Winslow (1704-1778)(marr. 1720), daughter of <i>Thomas Savage</i> (OSC 1669). The year                                                                                                            | Enslaved then free        |

|      |                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |                    |
|------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|
|      |                                   | after Cornwall's wedding, John wrote his will, which was probated in 1742, and he ordered that "my negro man servant named Cornwall have his freedom immediately after my decease," so Cornwall would have been freed in 1742. Either Joshua gave Kate her freedom or Cornwall purchased it from him, because when Cornwall and Kate had their son <b>Prince</b> baptized at Old South in 1745, and registered the birth of another son, <b>Joseph</b> , on 3 August 1747 they were both described as "Free Negroes." When Joshua Winslow's will was probated in 1769, it included four enslaved people: Samuel, Boston, Prince and Dinah. It is possible (but unlikely, given Kate's free status at the time of Prince's birth) that this is Cornwall and Kate's son Prince.               |                    |
| 1727 | <b>Brill</b>                      | <b>Brill</b> (BC 1727) was enslaved to <i>Brattle Oliver</i> (1689-1736)(OSC 1728) and his wife Anne Gillam Oliver (1693-1725)(possibly OSC 1727)(marr. 1713/14). In 1712, Brattle became part-owner of a brigantine named the <i>Martha</i> (Briggs 261), which was used at least once for the trafficking of enslaved people. In 1727, "three negro males and one female" were imported from Barbados on the <i>Martha</i> (Donnan 3: 52), the same year Brill joined Old South so it is possible he was trafficked on that boat.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | Enslaved           |
| 1727 | <b>Maria</b>                      | <b>Maria</b> (BC 1727, OSC 1728) a "free negro" was baptized 7 May 1727 and admitted to Old South Church on 7 July 1728.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | Free               |
| 1728 | <b>Lucy Manoel/Manwill Basset</b> | <b>Lucy Manoel/Manwill</b> (OSC 1728) was enslaved to a "Mr. Prince," probably Old South pastor Rev. <i>Thomas Prince</i> (1687-1758)(OSC 1718)(Old South Pastor 1718-1758) and his wife Deborah Denny Prince (1697-1766)(marr. 1719). In 1738, when Lucy Manwill married <b>James Basset</b> , she was described as "free." James Basset was admitted to the Boston Almshouse in 1763 and died 18 January 1764 (Boston Almshouse Admissions & Discharges, 1758-1774).                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | Enslaved then free |
| 1729 | <b>Sarah</b>                      | <b>Sarah</b> (BC 1729) "a free Negro" was baptized 12 January 1729.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | Free               |
| 1735 | <b>Richard</b>                    | <b>Richard</b> (BC 1735) was enslaved by Reverend <i>Nathaniel Williams</i> (1675-1737/38)(OSC 1693) and his wife <i>Anne Bradstreet Williams</i> (d.1737/8)(OSC 1706). In the inventory of Nathaniel's 1738 probate, he listed two enslaved people: Hagar and Richard, so Richard was still enslaved to him in 1738. Anne died that same year but no probate for her was found. Presumably their children inherited. Richard ( <i>Nathaniel Williams</i> ) married <b>Maria</b> (Mr then <i>Hannah Fairweather</i> ) on 4 January 1732 with Rev. Joseph Sewall presiding. Richard and Maria had a son <b>George</b> , born on 1 May 1734, who was baptized at Old South on 11 May 1735 along with his father Richard. Maria was later baptized into Old South membership on 12 April 1741. | Enslaved           |
| 1735 | <b>Titus</b>                      | <b>Titus</b> (BC 1733) "a negro servant about 10 yrs of age belonging to Joseph Sewall" was baptized on 13 May 1733. Titus would have been born about 1723, so is too young to be a child of Ebenezer and Jane Way.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | Enslaved           |
| 1736 | <b>Scipio</b>                     | <b>Scipio</b> (BC 1736, OSC 1741) was initially enslaved to Jonathan Waldo (1668-1731) and his second wife Priscilla Hemans Sparhawk Waldo (d. 1655)(marr. 1726) and perhaps also Jonathan's first wife Hannah Mason Waldo (1668-1726)(marr. 1692). In Jonathan's 1731 will, he left "my Negro man named Scipio" to his daughter Hannah Waldo Fairweather (1702-1755) and her husband Thomas Fairweather Jr. (1692-1733)(marr. 1718). By the time Scipio was baptized at Old South Church, Hannah was a widow. Note that this Scipio should not be confused with Scipio Fairweather, who was previously enslaved by Capt. John Fairweather.                                                                                                                                                 | Enslaved           |

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|      |                 | Scipio, "Negro... Servant of Hannah Fairweather" married <b>Jane</b> (Edward Tyng) on 13 May 1734. Jane and Scipio had a son <b>Prince</b> , whose birth was registered in Roxbury on 29 August 1736. In 1741, Jane "Captain Tyng's Negro Woman" joined First Church (Collins 163).                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |          |
| 1738 | <b>James</b>    | <b>James</b> (BC 1738) was enslaved to <i>Oxenbridge Thacher</i> (1681-1772)(OSC 1737)(Hardesty 179) and one or more of his wives: Elizabeth Hobby Lilley Thatcher (1695-1736)(marr. 1714) and <i>Bathsheba Doggett Kent Thacher</i> (1695-1776)(marr. 1740)(OSC 1723). James "neg. svt. to Oxenbridge Thacher" married <b>Ann</b> "neg. svt. to Mrs Maria Fyfield" on 16 July 1741, Rev. Mather presiding. James and Ann had three children baptized at Old South: <b>Ann</b> (1) on 6 June 1742, <b>James</b> on 22 May 1743, and <b>Ann</b> (2) on 10 June 1744, which suggests that Ann (1) was dead by that time. Maria Fyfield wrote a will in 1746, which doesn't mention an Ann but leaves a "Nanny" to her granddaughter. This might have been a nickname for Ann, or Ann could have been freed or deceased at that point. The children are not mentioned in Maria's will. | Enslaved |
| 1738 | <b>Margaret</b> | <b>Margaret</b> (BC 1738) was enslaved to <i>Jonathon Loring</i> (1674-1752)(OSC 1730) and his wife Elizabeth Austin Loring (1673-1756)(marr. c.1702). Margaret's baptismal record includes that Jonathon "engageth for her Edu," which implies that Margaret was a minor in 1738.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | Enslaved |
| 1739 | <b>Rose</b>     | <b>Rose</b> (OSC 1739) was baptized alongside her mother <b>Jane</b> on 25 January 1719, who was enslaved to Rev. <i>Joseph Sewall</i> (1688-1769)(OSC 1713)(Pastor of Old South 1713-1769), son. of Hon. <i>Samuel</i> (OSC 1677), and husband of <i>Elizabeth Walley Sewall</i> (OSC 1711)(marr. 1713). Rose "Negro Servant to Rv. Joseph Sewall" then joined the church herself on 16 September 1739. Twenty-three years later, either the same person or a daughter with the same name, Rose "Servant to Joseph Sewall" then married <b>James</b> (OSC 1762) "Negro... Servant to Mr Jonathan Simpson" on 3 June 1762, Rev. Joseph Sewall presiding. See <b>James</b> (OSC 1762) below for more information about him.                                                                                                                                                          | Enslaved |
| 1740 | <b>Ann</b>      | <b>Ann</b> (BC 1740, OSC 1740) "free negro" was baptized on 22 February 1740 and admitted to Old South on Tues 1 March 1740.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | Free     |
| 1740 | <b>Phillis</b>  | <b>Phillis</b> (BC 1740) was enslaved by <i>Abiel/Abiah Danforth Fitch</i> (1674-1745)(OSC 1696), before or after her 1739 marriage to the Hon. <i>John Osborne</i> (1688-1768)(OSC 1722). Phillis was baptized alongside two of her children, <b>Jane</b> and <b>Ann</b> , on the same date in 1740. After Abiel/Abiah's death, John married Sarah Foster Hutchinson Osborne (1686-1752)(marr. 1745), then Elizabeth Pierce Osborne (1705-1764)(marr. 1753).                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | Enslaved |
| 1740 | <b>Simon</b>    | <b>Simon</b> (OSC 1740) was enslaved by a John Savel. There is no John Savel, Savell or Saville who was an Old South member, but a John Savell who died in 1756 and is buried in the Granary Burying Ground is a possible candidate. On 26 September 1744, Simon "neg. svt. of Mr. John Savel" married <b>Pegg Hammond/Margaret Hammon</b> "free negro of Medford." <b>Margaret Hammon</b> , "negro" daughter of "Mary," born in Medford in 1753 might be a daughter of Simon and Margaret.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | Enslaved |
| 1741 | <b>Julia</b>    | <b>Julia</b> (OSC 1741) was enslaved by Col. <i>Edward Winslow</i> (1669-1753)(OSC 1692) and one of more of his wives: <i>Hannah Moody Winslow</i> (1672-1711)(OSC 1692)(marr. 1692); <i>Elizabeth Dixey Pemberton Winslow</i> (1669-1740)(OSC 1690)(marr. 1712); <i>Susanna Furnum Lyman Winslow</i> (b.1694)(marr. 1744). Julia (Edward Winslow) married <b>Sambo</b> (James Addison) on 4 October 1744, Rev. Thomas Prince presiding (MTVR). In the                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | Enslaved |

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|      |               | inventory of Edward Winslow's 1753 probate, he lists "Negro Jammy" and "Negro Jullian" amongst his assets. The latter could possibly be Julia/Julianne. In that case, she would have been left to Susanna, along with the house.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |                    |
| 1741 | <b>Maria</b>  | <b>Maria</b> (BC 1741) was enslaved by Hannah Waldo Fairweather (1702-1755) and her husband Thomas Fairweather Jr. (1692-1733)(marr. 1718). Hannah's will, dated 1735 but not probated until 1755, left all her unspecified property to her and Thomas's son <i>Samuel Fairweather</i> (1724-1781)(OSC 1741). Maria (Mr then Hannah Fairweather) married <b>Richard</b> (Nathaniel Williams) on 4 January 1732 with Rev. Joseph Sewall presiding. Richard and Maria had a son <b>George</b> , born on 1 May 1734, who was baptized at Old South on 11 May 1735 along with his father Richard who joined Old South through baptism. Maria was later baptized into Old South membership on 12 April 1741.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | Enslaved           |
| 1741 | <b>Scipio</b> | <p><b>Scipio</b> (BC 1741) was enslaved by the Hon. <i>John Osborne</i> (1688-1768)(OSC 1722) and one or more of his wives: 1. <i>Sarah Woodbury Osborne</i> (1690-1734)(OSC 1722)(marr. c.1714); 2. <i>Abiel/Abiah Danforth Fitch Osborne</i> (1674-1744)(OSC 1696)(marr. 1739); 3. Sarah Foster Hutchinson Osborne (1686-1752)(marr. 1745); 4. Elizabeth Pierce Osborne (1705-1764)(marr. 1753).</p> <p>Scipio (Hon John Osborn) married <b>Sylvia</b> (Edmd Quincy) on 27 August 1741, minister Joseph Sewall presiding. Scipio and Sylvia had seven children baptized at Old South Church: <b>Charles</b> was baptized on 11 October 1741, the same date his father Scipio was baptized into the Church, <b>Joseph</b> was baptized on 2 January 1743, <b>Isaac</b> was baptized on 15 April 1744, <b>Nancy</b> on 20 October 1745, <b>Eunice</b> on 17 January 1748, <b>Tabitha</b> on 9 December 1750, and <b>Katharine</b> on 4 February 1759. These children would have been resident in the household of their mother, Sylvia, who was enslaved to an Edmund Quincy who was probably Edmund Quincy IV (1703-1788) and his wife Elizabeth Wendell Quincy (marr. 1725). Edmund's mercantile firm declared bankruptcy in 1757, and his house, furniture, and "one Negro man, one Negro Woman and 3 Negro Girls" were sold at auction in 1758 (Sankovitch ch 5, <i>The Boston News-Letter</i> 27 April 1758). The woman may have been Sylvia and the three girls may have been Nancy, Eunice, and Tabitha – Katharine, not baptized until 1759, had probably not yet been born. There is no documentation regarding who purchased these enslaved people, but Scipio's later attempt to purchase Eunice (see below), reveals that either at the time of the auction or at a later sale, Eunice became enslaved to a John Hunt of Watertown, who later sold her to Seth Barnes in 1768. Presumably this is John Hunt of Watertown (1716-1777) and his wife Ruth Fessenden Hunt (1717-1801)(marr. 1738). This is presumably the same person as John Hunt of Watertown who advertised several times for the recapture of runaways: Ben in 1744, Ceasar in 1749, and Prince in 1771 (Bly 58, 62, 155).</p> <p>By 1761, Scipio was free and in the company of Captain Western who was charged with covering the costs of any damage Scipio might cause (<i>Report of Record Commissioners</i> 19: 172). In 1762 the Boston Selectman started obliging free black men to perform manual labor for the town. The list for 12 May 1762 includes "Scipio – late a Servant of Capt. Osbornes." The list for 18 May has additional information about when the men were freed and this list does not mention Scipio (Osborne) but has instead that the</p> | Enslaved then free |

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|  |  | <p>Scipio who was freed in 1761 is named “Scipio Gunney.” Given that Scipio Gunney later tried to negotiate for the freedom of a daughter named Eunice, and Scipio (Osborne) had a daughter named Eunice, it seems safe to assume that Scipio (Osborne) became Scipio Gunney.</p> <p><b>Scipio Gunney</b> (OSC 1772) “a free Negro” was admitted to Old South Church in April 1772. Either this is the same Scipio as Scipio (Osborne), becoming a full member whereas previously in 1741 he had taken the baptismal covenant, or this is a son who was born in the 1740s-1750s – a hypothetical Scipio Gunney Jr. The existence of a Scipio Gunney Jr, even if it was Scipio Gunney Sr who joined OSC in 1772, seems probable given multiple marriages for a Scipio Gunney from 1776 to 1780. On 18 June 1776, Scipio Gunney and <b>Mary Nevers/ Newers</b> “free negroes” announced their intention to marry. That marriage was recorded as forbidden, but then recorded as having occurred on 30 April 1777. On 12 November 1778, Scipio Gunney and <b>Ann Allen</b> “(negroes?)” were married. On 13 March 1779 Scipio Gunney “free negro” and Mary Potter announced their intention to be married, marriage not recorded. On 17 February 1780, Scipio Gunney (col[ored]) married <b>Vinah Pompey</b> (col[ored]), presided over by Rev. Joseph Eckley. One or more of these marriages may have been Scipio Gunney Sr, assuming Sylvia is deceased by this point, but it seems very unlikely he made all four marriages and more likely that one or more of them involved a Scipio Gunney Jr.</p> <p>Sara Dean, in her <i>Old South Meeting House: Report on Eighteenth-Century African and Native American Participants</i>, focused on Scipio Gunney and found out more. Her report quoted verbatim:<br/>         “In April 1774, Gunney was sued by John Pulling for money owed on a trade of lemons and compelled to pay by the court (“1765Jan 397”). Gunney rented a house from Captain Hopestill Foster in the South End of Boston, where he lodged five “warned parties” or transients in the mid-1760s. These included his enslaved daughter, Eunice (Dayton).</p> <p>In January 1770, Gunney filed a suit against Estes How. Gunney panned to purchase the freedom of his daughter Eunice, who was then enslaved by Seth Barnes, who had purchased Eunice from John Hunt of Watertown in 1768. Gunney was not able to afford Eunice’s bill of sale, and he took a loan from Estes How. How was supposed to procure Eunice’s bill of sale, and then transfer it to Gunney once the loan had been paid back with interest in a period of 12 months. According to the suit, Gunney tried to pay How back within the 12-month period, but How refused to accept the payment. How instead sold Eunice to an unknown location out of the province. The suit calls for How to pay damages to Gunney, for the money that the latter lost as well as for the loss of his daughter (“1770Jan 187). [How disputed the accusations and the outcome was not documented]<br/>         ... Gunney was involved in another court case in April 1774, in which he sued Charles Parrell for payment owed (“1774April C4”).... On August 16, 1777, Gunney was named executor to John Day, a free African American man originally from Rhode Island (Thwing). Gunney also served as executor to a free African American man named Nero Cogswell (Dayton). On October 23, 1783, Gunney was reported to have taken in another lodger, an ill African American woman named Cloe Orn who was originally from Nantucket (Thwing).”</p> |  |
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| 1742 | <b>Dinah</b>     | <b>Dinah</b> (BC 1742) was probably enslaved first to <i>Thomas Cushing Sr</i> (d. 1746)(OSC 1730) and his wife <i>Mary Bromfield Cushing</i> (1696-1746)(marr. 1724), then to <i>Thomas Cushing Jr</i> (1725-1788)(OSC 1755) and his wife <i>Deborah Fletcher Cushing</i> (OSC 1755)(marr. 1747). Dinah's 1742 baptismal record lists her enslaver as Thomas Cushing, which was most likely Thomas Sr. because Thomas Jr. would only have been 17 years of age at the time. The same year Dinah was baptized, she married <b>Boston</b> (Thomas Jackson), with Rev. Joseph Sewall presiding. In his 1746 probate, Thomas Sr. left Mary "two Negroes," one of which was presumably Dinah. However, Mary also died in 1746 and her property and enslaved people would have passed to the couple's only son, Thomas Jr, and his wife Deborah.                       | Enslaved |
| 1742 | <b>Dinah</b>     | <b>Dinah</b> (BC 1742) was enslaved by wealthy merchant <i>John Trail</i> (d1749)(OSC 1735) and his wife <i>Mary Gale Trail</i> (OSC 1735)(married 1724). Mary noted "1 Negro Woman" in the inventory of her 1757 probate, which may have been Dinah.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | Enslaved |
| 1742 | <b>Dinah</b>     | <b>Dinah</b> (BC 1742)(OSC 1745) was enslaved by a Henry Newal, Newell or Newall. Henry was not a member of OSC and it is not possible to make a definite determination of his identity.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | Enslaved |
| 1742 | <b>Flora</b>     | <b>Flora</b> (BC 1742) was enslaved by a William Bodman, possibly the William Bodman that married Katharine Treadway in 1726, and this Katherine then may or may not be the same as <i>Katherine Bodman</i> (OSC 1747).                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | Enslaved |
| 1742 | <b>Katharine</b> | <b>Katharine</b> (BC 1742) was enslaved to <i>Mary Oliver</i> (OSC 1755), probably Mary Oliver (1694-1764) who was the younger sister of <i>Brattle Oliver</i> , who was also an Old South member.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | Enslaved |
| 1742 | <b>Lucy</b>      | <b>Lucy</b> (BC 1742) was enslaved to Daniel Henchman (1689-1761)(OSC 1727) and his wife Elizabeth Gerrish Henchman (possibly OSC 1717)(marr. 1713). In his 1760 will, probated in 1761, Daniel left his widow Elizabeth his "Household Furniture Negroes" for her "Use and Disposal forever." Elizabeth then died in 1767, presumably leaving her property to the couple's only daughter Lydia Hancock (1714-1776). Lydia's will mentions a number of enslaved people by name, but not Lucy.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | Enslaved |
| 1742 | <b>Pompey</b>    | <b>Pompey</b> (BC 1742) was enslaved by the Honorable William Foye (1681-1759) and his wife Elizabeth Campbell (married 1716). In the inventory of William's 1759 probate, he listed four enslaved men: Boston, Jamaica, Kingston and Yarmouth. So Pompey was no longer enslaved by him at that point.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | Enslaved |
| 1742 | <b>Thomas</b>    | <b>Thomas</b> (BC 1742, OSC 1742) was enslaved to Nicholas Salisbury (1697-1748) and his wife Martha Saunders Salisbury (1704-1789)(marr. 1724). On 7 January 1747, Thomas "Negro Servt. to Mr Nicholas Salisbury" married <b>Flora</b> "Negro Servt. to Mr Stephen Hall," the Rev. Joseph Sewall presiding. A Flora "Negro Servt of Stephen Hall Esq" who may be the same Flora (in which case Thomas was deceased) or a daughter of that Flora married Worcester "a Negro Servt of the Rev. Mr Eben Turells" on 16 February 1761. That Flora and Worcester had at least four children: Peter (1) born in 1760 who presumably died, Peter (2) who was baptized in 1762 but died the same year, a daughter Flora Jr who was born in 1764 who Stephen immediately placed an advertisement to give away, and Worcester who was born in 1765. Flora Sr died in 1768. | Enslaved |



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| 1743 | <b>Cato</b>      | <b>Cato</b> (BC 1743) was enslaved to Col. <i>Joseph Jackson</i> (1707-1790)(OSC 1727) and his wife Sussanah Gray Jackson (1709-1792)(marr. 1732). Cato “Svt to Col Jackson” married <b>Susannah Primus</b> “Free” on 5 December 1765. Joseph Jackson of Boston had 6 servants for life in 1771. It is unclear whether this is the same Joseph Jackson, or whether Cato was one of those six.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | Enslaved    |
| 1743 | <b>Lucy</b>      | <b>Lucy</b> (BC 1743) was enslaved to Nicholas Salisbury (1697-1748) and his wife Martha Saunders Salisbury (1704-1789)(marr. 1724).                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | Enslaved    |
| 1744 | <b>Baker</b>     | <b>Baker</b> (BC 1744) was enslaved to Col. <i>Joseph Jackson</i> (1707-1790)(OSC 1727) and his wife Sussanah Gray Jackson (1709-1792)(marr. 1732). Baker was still enslaved to Jackson when he married <b>Peggy</b> “svt to Nathl. Winslow” on 8 October 1761. Baker and Peggy joined New South Church in 1761. A Joseph Jackson of Boston had 6 servants for life in 1771. It is unclear whether this is the same Joseph Jackson, or whether Baker was one of those six.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | Enslaved    |
| 1745 | <b>Scipio</b>    | <b>Scipio</b> (BC 1745) was enslaved to a John Hunt, most likely Rev. John Hunt’s father, John Hunt, who lived 1712-1785, was married to Esther Wells Hunt (d. 1787), and was a farmer in Northampton ( <i>Hist of OSC</i> 2: 132).                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | Enslaved    |
| 1748 | <b>James Bow</b> | <b>James Bow</b> (1748) is not listed in the <i>Historical Catalog</i> , but is estimated to have become a member in 1748 ( <i>HC</i> 137). On 19 March 1749, James Bow “negro” was excommunicated from the church “upon account of a course of gross Lying, Promise Breaking, and fraudulent Dealing” ( <i>Hist of OSC</i> 1: 599).                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | Unspecified |
| 1748 | <b>Phillis</b>   | <b>Phillis</b> (BC 1748) was enslaved by Elizabeth and Martha Bridge, “who Engage for her Ed,” implying that Phillis was a minor in 1748. Elizabeth and Martha Bridges may or may not be the same persons as <i>Elizabeth and Mary Bridges</i> (OSC 1690). In Martha Bridge’s 1752 will, she ordered that “my negro Phillis” should live with Martha’s sister Abigail Whitney until Phillis turned 18. Then she should be freed, but recommended to live with Martha’s cousin Mary Plusell. In 1768, Selectmen conferred with Abigail Whitney about the care of Phillis who was “sick & infirm.”                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | Enslaved    |
| 1749 | <b>Katharine</b> | <b>Katharine</b> (BC 1749) “free Negro” was baptized at Old South Church on 17 November 1749.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | Free        |
| 1750 | <b>Boston</b>    | <b>Boston</b> (BC 1750) was enslaved by Lieut. <i>Joseph Belknap</i> (1716-1797)(OSC 1735) and his wife Sarah Byles Belknap (1715-1784)(marr. 1741). Boston’s baptismal record stated that Joseph “engageth for [Boston’s] education,” which may mean that Boston was a minor at the time. On 30 November 1767, Boston, “Negro Servant to Joseph Belknap” married <b>Lydia</b> “Negro Servant to Jonathan Sharp.” Rev Samuel Mather presiding. In the 1771 census, Joseph acknowledged he had one “servant for life” (i.e. enslaved person), which was presumably Boston. Boston was still enslaved to Belknap in 1773, when his wife Lydia Sharp (by then free) accused him of being a philanderer in “constant violation” of his marriage vows and abandoning her (Hardesty 142, 251). Lydia was either freed from her marriage to Boston by the court or by his death. In 1793, Lydia Sharp married Boston Morton (McCahon Whiting 226). | Enslaved    |
| 1751 | <b>Flora</b>     | <b>Flora</b> (BC 1751)(OSC 1754) was enslaved by <i>Isaac Winslow</i> (1709-1777)(OSC 1767) and one or more of his wives: Lucy Waldo Winslow (1724-1768)(marr. 1747) and Jemima Debuque (1732-1790)(marr. 1770).                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | Enslaved    |

|      |                 |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |          |
|------|-----------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
|      |                 | This may or may not be the same Flora who, along with her husband <b>Jamaica</b> (marriage not found), baptized three children at Old South Church: <b>Scipio</b> on 16 February 1752, <b>Nancy</b> on 14 December 1755, and <b>Jane</b> on 27 February 1757. On the 1771 Tax Inventory, Isaac Winslow declared that he had no "Servants for Life" so this may mean that Flora and her children were free or elsewhere by that point.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |          |
| 1752 | <b>Patience</b> | <b>Patience</b> (BC 1752) was first enslaved by <i>Mary Waters Bethune</i> (1692-1760)(OSC 1719), widow of <i>George Bethune</i> Sr. (1675-1735/36)(OSC 1728)(marr. 1713). In Patience's 1752 baptismal record, her enslaver is listed as Mary Bethune. However, by Patience's 1758 marriage, her enslaver is listed as Nathaniel Bethune (1715-1771), one of George and Mary's sons. Nathaniel was described in his death announcement as a merchant, married to Hannah Lewis Bethune but that marriage record has not been found. Nathaniel does not have a 1771 tax declaration and does not mention enslaved people in his will. Patience "Negro Servt. of Mr Nath. Bethune" married <b>Pompey Blackman</b> "Free Negro" on 8 May 1758. Note that this is not the same person as the Pompey Blackman (also called Pompey Fortune or Pompey Freeman) who fought in the revolutionary war, because that Pompey was born in approximately 1755. Patience and Pompey had two daughters baptized at Old South Church: <b>Patience</b> (1) who was baptized 10 June 1759 who presumably then died because <b>Patience</b> (2) was baptized on 26 July 1760. In 1762, Pompey was included in a list of "Free Negroes in Boston" and assigned labor by the Selectmen of Boston. In the notes about that assignment, Pompey is said to have been freed 6 years prior to the previous October – i.e. 7 years before 1762 which would mean approximately 1755 ( <i>Report of Record Commissioners</i> 19: 195, 196). | Enslaved |
| 1753 | <b>Bristol</b>  | <b>Bristol</b> (BC 1753)(OSC 1756) was enslaved to a Samuel Sewall, perhaps <i>Samuel Sewall</i> III (1715-1771)(OSC 1749), who was the son of Rev. <i>Joseph Sewall</i> (OSC 1713), and husband of Mary Wendell Sewall (1724-1746)(marr. 1745) and then <i>Elizabeth Quincy Sewall</i> (1729-1770)(OSC 1751)(marr. 1749). Bristol was baptized at Old South in September 1753. Earlier that year, Bristol "neg. sv't Mr. Sam Sewall" married <b>Chloe</b> "neg. svt. Jno Gould" earlier that year, on 5 June 1753. Chloe's enslaver could potentially be the same John Gould (1735-1762) that enslaved <b>Newton Prince</b> (OSC 1760). Bristol and Chloe had a son <b>James</b> baptized at Old South on 4 August, 1754.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | Enslaved |
| 1753 | <b>Judith</b>   | <b>Judith</b> (OSC 1753) "Negro Servant" was enslaved to <i>Grace Perkins</i> (OSC 1746) "who Engageth for her Education," which implies that Judith was a minor in 1753.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | Enslaved |
| 1753 | <b>Venus</b>    | <b>Venus</b> (BC 1753) was enslaved to <i>John Winslow</i> Jr (1700-1788)(OSC 1742), one of the sons of Col. <i>Edward Winslow</i> (OSC 1692) and his wife Sarah Tyng Winslow (1720-1792)(marr. 1760). Venus "neg s'v't to Mr John Winslow" married <b>Cole</b> "neg s'v't to Mr Henry Laughton" on 6 February 1754. Henry Laughton (c1710-1762) was married to Dorcas Pollard Laughton (c1720-1770)(marr. 1747) and was described in his death notice as a shopkeeper. In the inventory of Henry's 1762 probate, he listed two enslaved people: Cole and also a woman named Phillis. Venus and Cole had three children baptized at Old South: <b>Dinah</b> on 17 August 1755, <b>Peter</b> (1) on 12 November 1758, and <b>Peter</b> (2) on 11 January 1760, which presumably means that Peter (1) died before that date.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | Enslaved |

|      |                |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |                             |
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| 1756 | <b>Deborah</b> | <b>Deborah</b> (OSC 1756) was enslaved by a Thomas Green. Thomas was not an OSC member and had too common a name for a definitive identification. On 21 July 1757, Deborah “neg. svt. to Thos. Greene, Esq.” married <b>Cesar</b> “neg. svt. to Mrs Rebecca Amory.”                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | Enslaved                    |
| 1756 | <b>Dinah</b>   | <b>Dinah</b> (BC 1756) was enslaved to Hon. <i>Thomas Hubbard</i> (1702-1773)(OSC 1730)(Hardesty 116) and his wife <i>Mary Jackson Hubbard</i> (d.1774)(OSC 1727)(marr. 1724). In Thomas’s 1773 probate, he left to his wife Mary “all my Negroes.” Mary also made a will in 1773, probated in 1774, in which she left her “faithful servant Dinah” to whichever relative Dinah should choose and if no relative should agree to take Dinah, then Dinah should be freed and a stipend paid to the overseers of the poor for her upkeep.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | Enslaved then possibly free |
| 1756 | <b>Hagar</b>   | <b>Hagar</b> (BC 1756) “free Negro” was baptized at Old South Church on 3 October 1756.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | Free                        |
| 1756 | <b>Juba</b>    | <b>Juba</b> (BC 1756) was enslaved by <i>Josiah Willard</i> (1681-1756)(OSC 1701) and his second wife Hannah Clark Appleton Willard (1684-1766)(marr. 1726). In his 1756 will, Josiah bequeathed “the Service of my Negro Man Juba” to Hannah. Juba is not explicitly mentioned in Hannah’s brief will, which leaves her unspecified estate to her children.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | Enslaved                    |
| 1756 | <b>Lucas</b>   | <b>Lucas</b> (BC 1756) was enslaved to “Mr William Tailor,” who may or may not be the same as <i>William Taylor</i> (OSC 1742).                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | Enslaved                    |
| 1760 | <b>Newton</b>  | <b>Newton Prince</b> (c1733-c1819)(OSC 1760) was enslaved to John Gould Jr (1735-1762) and his wife Elizabeth Wentworth Gould (marr. 1758), who after John’s death married William Perkins (marr. 1774) and then Nathaniel Rogers (Jones 151, 233, 234). John was a distiller by profession (Jones 279). On 26 October 1760, Newton “Negro Servant to Mr. John Gould Junr” was admitted to Old South Church. A few months later, on 14 January 1761, Newton Prince “neg. svt. of Mr. Jon. Gould Jr” married <b>Martha Barnaby</b> “free negro” in Brattle Square Church. After Martha’s death, Newton Prince and <b>Phillis Binn/Dinn</b> “free negroes” married on 26 March 1767, Rev. Joseph Sewall presiding. Perhaps Newton was freed after John’s death in 1762, but no evidence has been found. In 1770, Newton witnessed the Boston Massacre and his testimony that he had not heard Captain Thomas Preston give any order to fire was used in the defense of the British soldiers (Langguth 157). In notes of the trial, Newton is described as a “pastry cook” who originated in the West Indies (Langguth 157). Other accounts agree that Newton was a pastry cook, but the business he ran with his wife Phillis included “catering to assembly halls” and “selling lemons” (Adams & Pleck 152). As a consequence of Newton’s perceived support of the British, Patriots boycotted his business and he was either threatened with or subjected to being tarred and feathered (Adams & Pleck 152, Bell “Newton Prince: London Pensioner”). When the British evacuated Boston in 1776, Newton and Phillis went with them along with other Loyalists, and went from being cooks in service to merchant Gilbert Deblois to having their own coal and chandler’s shop (Adams & Pleck 152, Bell “Newton Prince: London Pensioner”). When Phillis fell ill in 1783, Newton petitioned for and received a pension from the British Government until his death in 1819 (Adams & Pleck 152, Bell “Newton Prince: London Pensioner”). | Enslaved then free          |
| 1762 | <b>James</b>   | <b>James</b> (OSC 1762) was enslaved by <i>Jonathan Simpson</i> (1684-1763)(OSC 1707) and his wife Mary Baker Simpson (married 1707). <b>James</b> and Rose                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | Enslaved                    |

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|      |                         | "Servant to Joseph Sewall," which could be <b>Rose</b> (OSC 1739) or a daughter with the same name, married on 3 June 1762, Rev. Joseph Sewall presiding.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |                    |
| 1764 | <b>Fidelia</b>          | <b>Fidelia</b> (BC 1764) was enslaved to <i>Samuel Pemberton</i> (1710- 1779)(OSC 1746) and his second wife Mary Frye Leach Pemberton (1708-1802)(marr. 1746). Samuel specified in his will that "my Negro woman Fidelia" should be freed from the date of his death (i.e. 1779) and paid a sum of money for her upkeep.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | Enslaved           |
| 1765 | <b>Thomas</b>           | <b>Thomas</b> (1765) was enslaved by Hon. <i>Jonathan Mason</i> (1725-1798)(OSC 1742) and his second wife <i>Mary Vans Mason</i> (OSC 1755), granddaughter of Old South pastor Ebenezer Pemberton. The date Thomas joined Old South is unknown, but in 1765 he was described in the <i>Historical Catalog</i> as being "of our communion" but accused of "scandalous sins," for which he was suspended from the church ( <i>Hist of OSC</i> 2: 79). Jonathan Mason declared one enslaved person in the 1771 tax inventory, which may have been Thomas.                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | Enslaved           |
| 1766 | <b>Peter</b>            | <b>Peter</b> (BC 1766, OSC 1774) was enslaved to Hon. <i>Thomas Hubbard</i> (1702-1773)(OSC 1730)(Hardesty 116) and his wife <i>Mary Jackson Hubbard</i> (d.1774)(OSC 1727)(marr. 1724). In Thomas's 1773 probate, he left to his wife Mary "all my Negroes." Mary also made a will in 1773, probated in 1774, specifying that her "honest servant Peter" was to be freed from the time of Mary's death. So Peter would have been freed in 1774. Peter "Negro Servant to the Hon. Thos. Hubbard Esq" married <b>Rose</b> "Negro Servant to Mr John Winnet" on 7 Feb 1765, Joseph Sewall presiding. Peter and Rose had three children baptized at Old South Church: <b>Scipio</b> on 14 June 1767, <b>Margaret</b> on 13 November 1768, and <b>Katherine</b> on 4 January 1770. | Enslaved then free |
| 1771 | <b>Phillis Wheatley</b> | <b>Phillis Wheatley</b> (OSC 1771) "Servant to Mr Wheatly" was admitted to Old South Church on 18 August 1771. Her biography is dealt with in full elsewhere.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | Enslaved then free |
| 1772 | <b>David</b>            | <b>David</b> (OSC 1772) was enslaved by <i>John Bacon</i> (1737-1820)(OSC 1771) and his wife Elizabeth Goldthwaite Cumming Bacon (marr. 1771). John was the pastor of Old South 1771-1775. No marriage for David has been found, but on 27 September 1772, <b>Jenny</b> "of David & Jenny, Negroes" was baptized at Old South Church. It seems likely that David married <b>Jenny</b> Sr, and Jenny Jr was their child.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | Enslaved           |
| 1772 | <b>Scipio Gunney</b>    | <b>Scipio Gunney</b> (OSC 1772) "a free Negro" was admitted to Old South Church in April 1772. See <b>Scipio</b> (BC 1741).                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | Free               |
| 1773 | <b>Moses</b>            | <b>Moses</b> (OSC 1773) was enslaved to Capt. <i>Josiah Waters</i> (1721-1784)(OSC 1741) and his wife <i>Abigail Dawes Waters</i> (1721-1816)(OSC 1736)(marr. 1743). Josiah served in the Honorable Artillery Company, held town office, acted as a constable and a clerk, and was a "prosperous business man" (Roberts 47, HC 397). Moses "neg. svt. to Capt. Waters" married <b>Rose</b> "neg. svt. to Mr. Alexander" on 12 Aug 1773. Moses and Rose had three children baptized at Old South Church: <b>Moses</b> and <b>Juda</b> on 19 September 1773, then <b>Paul</b> on 9 April 1775.                                                                                                                                                                                   | Enslaved           |
| 1782 | <b>Thomas</b>           | <b>Thomas</b> "Negro" was a presumably a member of Old South Church in 1782 when, in his role as Sexton, he was admonished for tolling the Old South Bell incorrectly ("Selectman's Minutes" 186).                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | Unspecified        |

|      |                                                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |      |
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| 1783 | Slavery was declared unconstitutional in Massachusetts |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |      |
| 1788 | <b>Quickly Oliver</b>                                  | <b>Quickly Oliver</b> (BC 1788, OSC 1797) "A Black," was baptized in 1788 and admitted to the Old South Church on 5 February 1797.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | Free |
| 1790 | <b>Deborah Sewall</b>                                  | <b>Deborah Sewall</b> (OSC 1790) joined Old South after the abolition of slavery in MA in 1783, so there is no note about who she was enslaved by but Hamilton Hill guesses plausibly that she was enslaved by some branch of the Sewall family and "therefore took its name" (HC 54). The 1820 census records that Deborah Sewall "free colored person" was living alone in Boston, Ward 8. Deborah Sewall "colored woman" died in 1824, aged 106, meaning that she was born approximately 1718. Deborah was buried in the South Burying Ground.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | Free |
| 1793 | <b>Richard Stanley</b>                                 | <b>Richard Stanley</b> (BC 1793) took the baptismal covenant at Old South on 14 July 1793. The year prior, Richard Stanley and <b>Patience Allen</b> "blacks" were married on 24 June 1792 by Rev. Joseph Eckley. A "colored" woman called Patience Stanley died in 1822 in an Almshouse at the age of 50 and was buried in the South Burying Ground. From her age at death, her birth can be estimated as approximately 1772.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | Free |
| 1801 | <b>Lucas Taylor</b>                                    | <b>Lucas Taylor</b> (OSC 1801) "Black" was admitted to Old South Church on 19 October 1801, the same day as Phillis Taylor "Black," who was presumably his wife or other relative. In the 1790 census of freed black heads of household, a "Luke Taylor" had a family of three in Massachusetts.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | Free |
| 1801 | <b>Phillis Taylor</b>                                  | <b>Phillis Taylor</b> (OSC 1801) "Black" was admitted to Old South Church on 19 October 1801, the same day as Lucas Taylor "Black," who was presumably her husband or other relative.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | Free |
| 1807 | <b>John Domorett</b>                                   | <b>John Domorett</b> (BC 1807) a "Black Man" was baptized on 17 June 1807.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | Free |
| 1819 | <b>Elizabeth Tillinghast</b>                           | <b>Elizabeth Tillinghast</b> (BC 1819) was baptized in 1819 without a note in the record about her race, but on 31 October 1819, Mr Codman of Dorchester baptized two adopted "Black children" of Elizabeth Tillinghast "a Black woman": <b>Sarah Anne Brown</b> and <b>Anne Elizabeth Tillinghast</b> . Elizabeth may or may not be the same person as Elizabeth Tillinghast, "colored," buried in the South Burying Ground who died in 1839 aged 61, and so was born approximately 1778. In the 1830 census an Elizabeth Tillinghast between the ages of 50-60, non-white, was living in Cambridge. This may have been the same person. Unfortunately, it is not possible to find reliable information about Sarah Anne or Anne Elizabeth because their first names are common and their last names may have changed through adoption (Sarah may have become Tillinghast and Anne may have had a different last name prior to becoming Tillinghast). | Free |
| 1826 | <b>Charlotte Bourne Rowe</b>                           | <b>Charlotte Rowe</b> (OSC 1826) "person of color" who was admitted to Old South from the Second Church of Dorchester on 27 March 1826. If Rowe was her married name and her maiden name was Bourne, this could be the same person as Charlotte Bourne, "a girl of color in the family of Mr Stimpson," who joined the Second Church of Dorchester in 1809 and was later dismissed to Old South Church (Second Church Records). According to the Boston directories, in 1825 Charlotte was widowed and working as a laundress.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | Free |

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| 1826 | <b>Haly Pippins Rogers</b>       | <b>Haly Rogers</b> (OSC 1826) "person of color" joined OSC on 27 March 1826 from the Second Church of Dorchester. According to her tombstone, Haly was born in 1791 in Rhode Island, but her birth record and parents have not been found. Haly Pippins "a girl of colour in the family of Deacon [Stephen] Badlam" joined the Church of Dorchester in 1809, later discharged to OSC (Second Church Records). Stephen died in 1815, but there is no mention of Haly in his will. Haley Pippins married <b>John Rogers</b> in Dorchester on 14 Oct 1817, becoming Haly Rogers which she was admitted as in 1826. Haly then transferred to the First Free Congregational Church in 1836. The 1850 census states that John worked in the Clothing Industry. John died in 1870. His 1866 will mentioned no children but property in Poplar Court, Gloucester MA. In 1873, Haly made her will leaving a cloak and a dress to the "Home for Aged Colored Women" in Boston and her other property to Harriet Durie Light (no relation), suggesting the couple had no children. In the 1880 census, she was registered as blind and living in Brookline. She died in 1884 and has a grave in Mt Auburn Cemetery in Cambridge. | Free |
| 1827 | <b>Hester Hedge</b>              | <b>Hester Hedge</b> (OSC 1827) a "colored woman" became a member of the church and was baptized on 1 April 1827.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | Free |
| 1827 | <b>Patience Tyler</b>            | <b>Patience Tyler</b> (OSC 1827), a "woman of color" was admitted to Old South on 23 June 1827. This may or may not be the same person as Patience Ann Tyler "(colored)," wife of Charles Tyler, who died in 1840 at the age of 42. Therefore, she was born in approximately 1798. Patience Ann was buried in the South Burying Ground. Patience Ann may or may not have been the same person as Parsianna Brown, who married Charles Tyler in 1820. Charles was born to Boston Tyler and Tamar in Dorchester in 1795. These may or may not be the same people as Boston Ring and Tamar Chandler "Negros" who were married in 1790. Boston Tyler and Charles's brother Henry were baptized in the First Church of Dorchester in 1794. Census information tells us that Charles Tyler was a boot black in 1823, a mariner in 1840, and in 1860 he was living with his brother Henry and they were both waiters.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | Free |
| 1828 | <b>Sarah Ann Williams Wilson</b> | <b>Sarah Ann Williams Wilson</b> (OSC 1828) "a woman of color" became a member of Old South Church on 26 October 1828. Two years prior, on 25 December 1826, Sarah Ann Williams and <b>Peter John Wilson</b> "people of colour" were married by Rev. Benjamin Wisner. Peter died intestate in 1830 at the age of 55, so was born approximately 1775. In the administrative papers of his disputed probate he was described as a "Labourer." The couple had two daughters: <b>Sara/Sarah Ann Elizabeth Wilson</b> (born 28 December 1827) and <b>Charlotte Arington/Avington Wilson</b> (born 7 May 1829) who were both baptized at Old South on 1 July 1830. Charlotte may have died young, there is a "Colored" Charlotte A. Wilson who died in 1831 and is buried in the South Burying Ground, but her parents' names are not specified in the record so it isn't possible to be sure. Sarah Ann Elizabeth Wilson joined the Old South Church in 1862, then married Anthony Graves (b. c1833) in Boston in 1865. In the 1870 census Anthony's occupation was described as "Works in a Store" and in 1880 as "Porter in a Paper Store." No offspring of the marriage have been discovered.                           | Free |
| 1830 | <b>George Hart</b>               | <b>George Hart</b> (OSC 1830) "a man of color" became a member of Old South and was baptized on 28 February 1830. The next year, George Hart married <b>Matilda Jessemy/Jessamy</b> on 27 April 1831, Rev. Benjamin                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | Free |

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|      |                              | <p>Wisner presiding. According to Boston's Provident Institution for Savings records where George deposited small sums of money 1817-1819, George was a "Bl[ac]k Servant" in Boston in 1817, a domestic in 1818, and a laborer in 1819. George is listed in the Boston directories for 1820-1833, living in different wards of Boston as he continued to be engaged in a range of occupations. In 1820 he was a waiter, in 1823 he had a clothes shop, in 1826 he was a laborer. In January 1834, George was killed onboard ship when the Captain who "treated Mr. Hart very Bad... Struck him with A Piece of Plank" (Goldstein 332).</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |      |
| 1845 | <b>Hannah Capen</b>          | <p><b>Hannah Capen</b> (OSC 1845) was admitted by profession of faith on 30 March 1845. She was estimated to be 88 at her death in 1852, meaning that she was born in approximately 1764. Her death record says she was born in Martha's Vineyard. At the time of her death she was a widow, living at 71 May St.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | Free |
| 1853 | <b>Sophia Miller Francis</b> | <p><b>Sophia Miller Francis</b> (OSC 1853) "colored" was Sophia Miller when she joined by profession of faith in 1853 but is later listed as Sophia Miller Francis which is presumably her married name. Sophia Miller Francis may or may not be the same person as the Sophia Miller who was born to John and Violet Miller "(col[ore]d)." John Miller was born in Africa in about 1801, and married Violet March in 1826 in Boston. In 1832 and 1835, according to the Boston Directories, John was working as a Waiter, then from 1840 to 1865 he was a Laborer and Jobber. In the 1855 census, John (54) was living with Violet (53) and three children: Sophia (23), Hannah (21), and Daniel (18). Therefore, Sophia was born about 1832. Violet March was born in Maine in 1801 to Fortune March and Violet Lord, who had been married in Maine in 1788. Violet March Miller died in Boston in 1858. In 1857, Sophia Miller (24) "col[ore]d" became the second wife of Louis Frances (38) "col[ore]d," who was described as a mariner in the marriage record. Louis was born in Africa in about 1819 and his father's name was Louis. In 1860 a daughter, Hannah, was born to Sophia and Louis/Lewis but died at five months old. In 1895, Sophia Frances died at the age of 63.</p> | Free |

## MEMBERS OF OLD SOUTH WHO ENSLAVED PEOPLE OF COLOR

- Members of Old South are italicized. Enslaved people who were members or enslaved by members are in bold, and listed first because the purpose of this project is to highlight them. Enslaved people who were not members are described in this list as much as possible. African members, enslaved and free, have their biographies in a separate list. First names are used for everyone because that was often the only name enslaved people had.
- The brief biographies of enslavers are not included to glorify them for their wealth and success, but to help identify them and to show that their wealth and success was underpinned and enabled by the exploitation of people of color. Their spouses are included because whole families benefitted from that exploitation and enslaved people were passed around family members along with other property when patriarchs died. Details of households and, if applicable, businesses, help characterize the environments within which these enslaved people lived and worked.
- While there are a variety of occupations included and many of these enslavers undertook military service with the Honorable Artillery Company and/or were statesmen, the most frequent reoccurring occupation is that of “merchant.” This is no coincidence – dealers in imported commodities shared networks and trade routes with the human traffickers who supplied the demand for enslaved people. Old South Church had many merchants, to the extent that Valeri described the group of founding members in 1669 as “an exodus of merchants from First Church” listing many names that appear below: John Hull, Joshua Scottow, Thomas Brattle, Hezekiah Usher, Peter Oliver, Thomas Savage, Joseph Belknap, Benjamin Gibbs, Benjamin Gerrish, and Thomas Hubbard initially, and then later Wait Winthrop, Abiel Fitch, Oliver Noyes and David Jeffries (Valeri 86, 125).
- While extensive efforts have been made to identify enslavers in the church, this is undoubtedly an incomplete list
- Specific sources of information for single enslavers are noted in parentheses, sources used for many entries are listed at the end.

Abbreviations: BC = Baptismal Covenant, OSC = Old South member

| 1638                 | First shipment of enslaved people arrives in Boston |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |                      |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1641                 | Slavery became legally sanctioned in Massachusetts  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |                      |
| 1 <sup>st</sup> date | Enslaved persons                                    | Enslaved people and those who enslaved them                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | Member(s) surname    |
| 1670                 | <b>Ferdinando Hector Flora Pegge</b>                | <b>Ferdinando, Hector, Flora and Pegge</b> (Native American) were initially enslaved to Capt. <i>Benjamin Gibbs</i> (1635-1676)(OSC 1669) and his wife Lydia Scottow Gibbs (1645-1712)(marr. 1665) (Warren 125, Suffolk Deeds v11). Benjamin was a merchant and captain in Philip’s War, which brutalized and enslaved Native Americans, potentially including Pegge (Valeri 86, <i>Hist of OSC</i> 1: 116). Lydia was one of the daughters of Capt. <i>Joshua Scottow</i> (1614-1698)(OSC 1669)(HC 220). In a 1670 bill of sale, Benjamin sold his enslaved people to Joshua, his father-in-law (Warren 126), and to Joshua’s wife <i>Lydia Scottow</i> (1621-1707)(OSC 1675)(marr. 1641). Joshua was a captain in Philip’s War and a merchant ( <i>Hist of OSC</i> 1: 116). A plaque commemorating his death is on the wall in the Old South portico. | <i>Gibbs Scottow</i> |
| 1674                 | <b>Jane</b>                                         | <b>Jane</b> was enslaved to <i>John Winslow Sr</i> (1597-1674)(OSC 1671), grandfather of Col. <i>Edward Winslow</i> (OSC 1692), and his wife <i>Mary Chilton Winslow</i> (1607-1679)(OSC 1671)(marr. 1627), who came across in the Mayflower in 1620 and was reputedly the first English person to touch Plymouth Rock (“The Chilton Family” 90). John’s will, which characterizes him as a merchant, gave Mary his “Negro girl                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | <i>Winslow</i>       |



|      |                                    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |                  |
|------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|
|      |                                    | Jane,” to be freed after 20 more years of service (Goldstein 317). So Jane would have been freed in 1696, if she lived that long.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |                  |
| 1675 | <b>Unnamed woman</b>               | An <b>unnamed woman</b> (will 1682) was enslaved by Capt. <i>Thomas Savage</i> (1607-1682)(OSC Founding Member 1669) and his second wife Mary Symmes Savage (married 1652). Thomas was a “merchant, military leader, town clerk, and representative” ( <i>Encyc.</i> 201). In Thomas’s 1675 will (probated 1682), he specified that an unnamed “negro maid” should go to his wife Mary.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | <i>Savage</i>    |
| 1676 | <b>Unnamed woman</b>               | An <b>unnamed woman</b> (will 1676) was enslaved by <i>Hezekiah Usher</i> (1615-1676) (OSC Founding Member 1669) and his third wife <i>Mary Alford Butler Usher</i> (OSC 1674). In his 1676 will, Hezekiah left an unnamed “negroe woman” to be at Mary’s “dispose.”                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | <i>Usher</i>     |
| 1678 | <b>Nan Franke</b>                  | <b>Nan</b> and <b>Franke</b> were enslaved people mentioned in the 1678 will of <i>Thomas Thacher</i> (1620-1678)(OSC Founding Member 1669), Old South Church’s first pastor 1670-1678. Nan and Franke were enslaved to Thomas and his second wife <i>Margaret Webb Sheaffe Thacher</i> (1625-1694)(OSC 1674)(marr. 1664). They may also have been enslaved to Thomas’s first wife Elizabeth Partridge Kemp Thacher (1619–1664)(marr. 1643). Margaret inherited Nan and Franke from Thomas.                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | <i>Thacher</i>   |
| 1681 | <b>Coffee Harry</b>                | <b>Coffee</b> (1681) and <b>Harry</b> (will 1695) was enslaved by <i>James Pemberton</i> (1622-1696) (OSC Founding Member 1669) and his wife <i>Sarah Marshall Pemberton</i> (OSC 1674), parents of OSC pastor Ebenezer Pemberton. Coffee was identified as a servant of James in the context of being one of a group of enslaved people who set fire to houses in Roxbury in 1681 (Warren 204-207). In his 1695 will, James left his “Negro boy Harry” to Ebenezer “for his own use.” James may also have left Coffee to Ebenezer, as Samuel Sewall recorded in his diary that Ebenezer’s enslaved man “Cophee” paid Ebenezer £40 “for his Time, that he might be with his wife” (Sewall’s Diary 3 July 1714). | <i>Pemberton</i> |
| 1681 | <b>Jeofery Mary Unnamed people</b> | <b>Jeofery</b> (sale 1681) and <b>Mary</b> (sale 1681) and other <b>unnamed Africans</b> and <b>captured Native Americans</b> were trafficked by Capt. <i>John Hull</i> (1624-1683)(OSC Founding Member 1669)(Clarke 224, Warren 99). In 1647, John married <i>Judith Quincy Hull</i> (1626-1695)(OSC 1674) and their daughter Hannah Hull then married judge Samuel Sewall in 1676 (Valeri 77, 87). John was a silversmith, mintmaster and Captain of the Hon. Artillery Co. ( <i>HC</i> 216).                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | <i>Hull</i>      |
| 1682 | <b>Mingo</b>                       | <b>Mingo</b> (will 1682) was enslaved by <i>Joseph Rock</i> (1613-1683) (OSC Founding Member 1669) and his second wife Mary Wilson Danforth Rock (married 1674). In his will, dated 1682, Joseph left his “Negro Mingo” to Mary serve her for ten years and then be freed, or she could sell him. If she chose the former option, Mingo would have been freed in about 1693.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | <i>Rock</i>      |
| 1683 | <b>Mingo Juno Essex Toby</b>       | <b>Mingo</b> (1683), <b>Juno</b> (marr. 1708)(BC 1719)(OSC 1720), <b>Essex</b> (BC 1718), and <b>Toby</b> (bap. 1719) and were enslaved to <i>Katherine Brattle Eyre Winthrop</i> (1664-1725)(OSC 1680) either before or after the death of her husband <i>Wait Winthrop</i> (1642-1717)(OSC 1689)(marr. 1707). Wait was a landowner, a merchant and a magistrate, at one point Chief Justice of Massachusetts (Warren 59, Valeri 78-79). The Winthrop family was actively involved in the traffick of enslaved                                                                                                                                                                                                 | <i>Winslow</i>   |

|      |                                                                           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |                 |
|------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
|      |                                                                           | <p>people, and at one point Wait shipped a group of kidnapped Native Americans to Barbados (Warren 63, Newell 16). <i>Katherine Eyre Jeffries Noyes</i> (1694-1760)(OSC 1713) who enslaved Argalus (OSC 1726) was one of Katherine Winthrop and Wait's children. <b>Mingo</b>, a Native American, was Wait's "body servant" as early as 1683, when he is mentioned as having a fever, and as late as 1717 when he was given a new suit for the occasion of Wait's 1717 funeral ("Winthrop Correspondence" 354, 436, 523; Bullock 201). Mingo may have had relationships with a Lilly around 1691 and a Patience around 1711, but no marriage records for Mingo have been found ("Winthrop Correspondence" 245, 499). <b>Juno</b> married Essix "a negro man of Mr. Wm. Clark" in 1708, and the <b>Essex</b> who took the baptismal covenant in 1718 "a Negro child belonging to Mrs Katharine Winthrop" is presumably their son. Another son, <b>Toby</b>, was baptized in 1719. In Katherine's will, she left her property to her children but did not explicitly mention her enslaved people.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |                 |
| 1685 | <b>Unnamed person</b>                                                     | <p>An <b>unnamed person</b> was enslaved to Captain <i>Daniel HENCHMAN</i> (d. 1685)(OSC 1670). At Daniel's 1685 funeral, his coffin was borne by his servants, "a white and [a] black" (HC 229).</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | <i>HENCHMAN</i> |
| 1701 | <b>Unnamed people</b>                                                     | <p><b>Unnamed people</b> (will 1701) were enslaved by Capt. <i>John Wing</i> (d.1703)(OSC Founding Member 1669) and his wife <i>Jehosheba Davis Wing</i> (OSC 1670). John specified in his 1701 will that Jehosheba should not sell "my Negroes and Slaves" but that at her death these unnamed enslaved people should be divided amongst the couple's sons, which included Cord Wing, husband of <i>Sarah Dinely Wing</i> (OSC 1701).</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | <i>Wing</i>     |
| 1707 | <b>Margaret/<br/>Peg<br/>Hagar Sr<br/>Sambo Jr<br/>Jemmy<br/>Hagar Jr</b> | <p><b>Margaret/Peg</b> (Milton 1707), <b>Hagar Sr</b> (Milton 1719), <b>Sambo</b> (bap. Milton 1719), <b>Jemmy</b> (bap. Milton 1719), and <b>Hagar Jr</b> (will 1721) were enslaved by Rev. <i>Peter Thacher</i> (1651-1727)(OSC 1673), father of <i>Oxenbridge Thacher</i> (OSC 1737), and his second wife Susanna Wilkins Bailey Thacher (1665-1724)(marr. 1699). Rev. Peter was the first pastor of the Church at Milton. In 1701, Margaret, Peter's "Indian maid" was baptized and in 1707 admitted to the church under the name of Peg with the comment that she was now free. In 1716, Hagar Sr "servant of Peter Thatcher" and Sambo Sr "servant of Mr Brightman of Boston" were married. In 1719, Hagar Sr was baptized in the Church in Milton, alongside her children Sambo Jr and "Jimme" (Milton 21). Hagar was then admitted a full member of the church in 1724 (ibid 7). In Susanna's 1724 will, she leaves her property presumably including her enslaved people to her husband Peter, but specifies gifts of 40 shillings to Hagar Sr "my Negro woman" and 10 shillings each to Sambo Jr and Hagar Jr. It seems likely that Hagar Jr is another child who has been born since Hagar Sr and her children were baptized in 1719. In Rev. Peter's 1721 will, probated in 1727, he dispersed his enslaved people to his various relatives. He left "Little Sambo my negro servant boy in my House" to his son Peter because he thought Peter would be kind to him. "Jemmy and Little Hagar" he left to his wife (who was alive at the time his will was written), with the specification that after her death one would be passed on to a daughter, the other to be passed on to Oxenbridge, which presumably happened. It is possible that "Jemmy" is the same as "James," enslaved by Oxenbridge.</p> | <i>Thacher</i>  |

|      |                                                                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |                        |
|------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1714 | <b>Scipio<br/>Boston</b>                                                | <p><b>Scipio</b> (1714) and <b>Boston</b> (1721) were enslaved to Hon. <i>Samuel Sewall</i> (1652-1730)(OSC 1677) and one or more of his wives: <i>Hannah Hull Sewall</i> (1658-1717)(OSC 1689)(marr. 1676); Abigail Melyen Woodmansey Tilley Sewall (1665-1719)(marr. 1719); and <i>Mary Shrimpton Gibbs Sewall</i> (1667-1746)(OSC 1694)(marr. 1722). Hon. Samuel served as the Chief Justice of the Superior Court of Massachusetts and was one of the judges involved in the Salem witch trials (<i>HC</i> 260). Hon. Samuel wrote <i>The Selling of Joseph</i> (1700) which criticized the slave trade while not going quite as far as advocating abolition. <b>Scipio</b> was originally enslaved to Samuel's son-in-law (through marriage to Samuel's daughter Elizabeth), Grove Hirst. Grove died in 1717 and his will specified that Scipio should be enslaved four more years and then freed. Samuel took Scipio into his household to complete his years of bondage. Even after being freed in 1721, Scipio remained in service to Samuel, saving money to purchase the freedom of the woman he wanted to marry: Margaret, who was enslaved to Dorcas Marshall. In 1724 he paid £50 to Dorcas for Margaret, and the couple were presumably married, although no record has been found.</p> <p>Scipio is first mentioned in Sewall's diary in 1714 (at which time he was enslaved to Grove), was baptized by Sewall in 1718, would have been freed in 1721, and died in 1725 (McCahon Whiting 110-111, Graham 141, <i>Sewall's Diary</i> v 3 &amp; 7). <b>Boston</b> is first mentioned when he cared for one of Samuel's grandchildren, Jane Hirst, while she had smallpox in 1721, and cared for a daughter, Hannah Sewall, while she was dying in 1724 (Graham 179-180, 209). Samuel freed Boston, who continued to work in the Sewall household until his death in 1729 (Hardesty 122, 158).</p> | <i>Sewall</i>          |
| 1718 | <b>Toby</b>                                                             | <p><b>Toby</b> (BC 1718) was enslaved first to <i>Sarah Quiddington Dinely</i> (OSC 1701), and her enslavement of Toby is noted in the record of Toby's 1716 marriage to Patience. However, in 1714, Sarah had married Cord Wing, and by the time Toby was baptized at Old South in 1718 he was described as living with Cord Wing. Cord Wing was one of the sons of OSC Founding Member Captain <i>John Wing</i> (d. 1703)(OSC 1699), who left unnamed enslaved people to his wife <i>Jehosheba Davis Wing</i> (OSC 1670), in his 1701 will. Cord Wing was a shipwright and importer (<i>Acts and Resolves</i> 9: 453). Cord enslaved at least one other man, because in the <i>Boston Gazette</i> of 18 February 1755 is a notice that "Ran-away from his Master Cord Wing of Boston, a Negro Fellow named Portland, about 35 Years of Age."</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | <i>Dinely<br/>Wing</i> |
| 1719 | <b>Cornwall<br/>Cornwall<br/>Unnamed<br/>boy<br/>Glocestor<br/>Kate</b> | <p><b>Cornwall</b> (BC 1726) and <b>Cornwall</b> (OSC 1741) who may be the same person or a father and son, were enslaved by Captain <i>John Ellery</i> (1681-1742)(1719) and his wife <i>Jane Bonner Ellery</i> (d. 1739)(OSC 1712)(marr. 1710). Cornwall may or may not have been the "<b>Negro boy</b>" Captain John Ellery purchased from Nathaniel Harrison on 30 November 1719 (Donnan 3: 27). In John's will, written in 1741 and probated in 1742, he ordered that "my negro man servant named Cornwall have his freedom immediately after my decease," another enslaved "man servant" named <b>Glocestor</b> should remain in service to Ellery's executor for seven years before being freed (i.e. until 1748), and his "negro Girl named <b>Kate</b>" should go his niece Mary Ellery. The executor who inherited Glocestor was John and Jane's son <i>John Ellery Jr</i> (1712-1746)(OSC 1733).</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | <i>Ellery</i>          |

|      |                                                                                                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |                         |
|------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1719 | <b>Jane Way</b><br><b>Rose Way</b><br><b>Ebenezer Way</b><br><b>Jacob Way 1</b><br><b>Jacob Way 2</b><br><b>Titus</b> | <b>Jane Way</b> (BC 1719), her daughter <b>Rose Way</b> (bap. 1719, OSC 1739), sons <b>Ebenezer Way</b> (bap. 1727), <b>Jacob Way 1</b> (bap. 1729) who presumably died before <b>Jacob Way 2</b> (bap. 1731), and also <b>Titus</b> (BC 1732) were all enslaved by Rev. <i>Joseph Sewall</i> (1688-1769)(OSC 1713)(Pastor of Old South 1713-1769), son. of Hon. Samuel (OSC 1677), and husband of <i>Elizabeth Walley Sewall</i> (OSC 1711)(marr. 1713).                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | <i>Sewall</i>           |
| 1721 | <b>Pompey</b><br><b>Caesar</b>                                                                                        | <b>Pompey</b> (BC 1721) and <b>Caesar</b> (will 1731) were enslaved by Benjamin Bream/Brame (1640-1731) and his second wife <i>Mary Pemberton Bream/Brame</i> (OSC 1709) who he married in 1711. Benjamin was a brewer. Mary was the sister of OSC pastor Ebenezer Pemberton. An inventory of Benjamin's estate filed in 1731 as part of his probate lists "Negro Pompe 60 pounds Negro Caesar 70 pounds" amongst his possessions and properties. Mary's 1732 will does not mention of Pompey or Caesar, but they may have been included amongst the unspecified property to be divided between her nephew Benjamin Pemberton (son of Mary's brother Benjamin Pemberton) and niece Mary Vans (daughter of OSC pastor Ebenezer Pemberton)                                                                                                                        | <i>Bream/<br/>Brame</i> |
| 1721 | <b>Argalus</b>                                                                                                        | <b>Argalus</b> (BC 1726) was enslaved by <i>Katherine Eyre Jeffries Noyes</i> (1694-1760)(OSC 1713) and perhaps also her second husband Dr <i>Oliver Noyes</i> (1675-1721)(OSC 1694), who she had married in 1718. Oliver was a merchant and landowner (Valeri 117). Oliver was dead before Argalus joined Old South and Argalus was identified as enslaved by Katherine, but he may have been gifted to Katherine by Oliver. In Oliver's 1721 will he left substantial properties to his widow Katharine, including an unnamed "slave" (Kilcrease 260-281), who may or may not have been Argalus.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | <i>Noyes</i>            |
| 1721 | <b>Juno</b><br><b>Phillis</b>                                                                                         | <b>Juno</b> (marr. 1721) was enslaved by Timothy Prout Jr (1679-1768) and his wife <i>Lydia Savage Prout</i> (OSC 1702 or 1740)(marr. 1708), daughter of <i>Thomas Savage</i> (OSC 1669). Timothy Jr was a merchant and landowner, buying property in 1728 in Scarborough, Maine, that is now known as Prout's Neck (Holland 33). <b>Juno</b> , "Svt to Mr Tim Prout" married Peter "Svt to Mr Savage"/"Indian servant to Mrs Margaret Savage" (records vary) on 1 June 1721, Rev. Joseph Sewall presiding. <b>Phillis</b> (BC 1741) "Indian Servant to Mr. Timothy Prout" could have been enslaved to Timothy Jr and Lydia, or to their son <i>Timothy Prout III</i> (1721-1777)(OSC 1741) and his wife <i>Mary Foster Prout</i> (1721-1757)(OSC 1741)(marr. 1751).                                                                                            | <i>Prout</i>            |
| 1723 | <b>Elizabeth</b><br><b>Pompey</b><br><b>Abigail</b>                                                                   | <b>Elizabeth</b> (marr. 1723, BC 1724), her son <b>Pompey</b> (bap. 1724), and presumably also her daughter <b>Abigail</b> (bap. 1725) were enslaved by <i>John Flag/Flagg</i> (1673-1732)(OSC 1699) and his wife <i>Abiah Kemia Flag/Flagg</i> (d. 1715)(OSC 1705). In his 1729 will, probated in 1732, John left "my Negro Boy named Pompey" to his son Ebenezer "forever." Elizabeth and Abigail were not mentioned in John's will. If Pompey was born in 1724, this meant John committed to giving him away when Pompey was 5, then when Pompey was 8 he was bequested to Ebenezer Flag/Flagg (1710-1762) and his wife Mary Ward. Ebenezer co-owned a rope making business in Rhode Island and owned at least one other slave, called Nuba Tikey/Arthur Flagg (1733-1810), who purchased his freedom in 1801 from Ebenezer's widow Mary (Drew 42, 71, 102). | <i>Flagg</i>            |

|      |                                                                                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |                          |
|------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1725 | <b>Robert Due</b>                                                                          | <b>Robert/Robert Due</b> (BC 1725, OSC 1726) was enslaved by Capt. <i>Thomas Smith</i> (d. 1741)(OSC 1717). Thomas was a Captain of the Hon. Artillery Co. and a merchant (Whitman 247).                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | <i>Smith</i>             |
| 1725 | <b>John Myat<br/>Phillis<br/>Jane<br/>Ann<br/>Scipio</b>                                   | <b>John Myat</b> (BC 1725) was enslaved by Col. <i>Thomas Fitch</i> (1669-1736)(OSC 1692) and <i>Abiel/Abiah Danforth Fitch</i> (1674-1745)(OSC 1696)(marr. 1694). Thomas was a Captain then a Colonel in the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Co., a merchant who sold luxury imports and who traded in credit, a landowner, was on many committees of Old South and donated flagons to the church, was one of the investors who funded Long Wharf, and at one time was one of the overseers of the poor (Bigelow & Hill 298, Valeri 113, 117, 166). <i>Abiel/Abiah</i> was the daughter of the Rev. Samuel Danforth (1626-1674). Thomas left all his property to <i>Abiel/Abiah</i> in his will when he died in 1736. <i>Abiel/Abiah</i> then married the Hon. <i>John Osborne</i> (1688-1768)(OSC 1722) in 1739. <b>Phillis</b> (BC 1740) was enslaved by <i>Abiel/Abiah</i> before or after her marriage to John. Phillis was baptized alongside two of her children, <b>Jane</b> and <b>Ann</b> , on the same date in 1740. <b>Scipio</b> (BC 1741) was enslaved by John before or after he married <i>Abiel/Abiah</i> . <i>Abiel/Abiah</i> died in 1745. John then married Sarah Foster Hutchinson Osborne (1686-1752)(marr. 1745) and Elizabeth Pierce Osborne (1705-1764)(marr. 1753). John was treasurer of the Old South Society at the time of his death (Hist of OSC 2: 94). | <i>Fitch<br/>Osborne</i> |
| 1727 | <b>Brill<br/>Unnamed<br/>people</b>                                                        | <b>Brill</b> (BC 1727) was enslaved to <i>Brattle Oliver</i> (1689-1736)(OSC 1728) and his wife Anne Gillam Oliver (1693-1725)(possibly OSC 1727)(marr. 1713/14). Brattle was a member of the Honorable Artillery Company (1709), then in 1712 he became part-owner of a brigantine named the <i>Martha</i> , together with Peter Oliver and Nathaniel James (Briggs 261). The <i>Martha</i> was used at least once for the trafficking of enslaved people. In 1727, “three negro males and one female” were imported from Barbados on the <i>Martha</i> (Donnan 3: 52), the same year Brill joined Old South so it is possible he was trafficked on that boat. Brattle was also personally involved in trafficking. A 1730 advertisement announced the arrival of a “Parcel of choice negroes” and advised potential purchasers to “Inquire of Brattle Oliver” (Donnan 3: 38).                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | <i>Oliver</i>            |
| 1722 | <b>Dinah<br/>Arminna<br/>Ezer<br/>Margaret<br/>Lucy<br/>Manoel/<br/>Manwill<br/>Basset</b> | <b>Dinah</b> (1722) was enslaved to Rev. Thomas Prince and <b>Lucy Manoel/Manwill</b> (OSC 1728) was enslaved to a “Mr. Prince,” who is probably also Rev. <i>Thomas Prince</i> (1687-1758)(OSC 1718) who was married to Deborah Denny Prince (1697-1766)(marr. 1719). Thomas served as Old South pastor 1718-1758. In 1722, Cotton Mather, who was then pastor at the Second Church, wrote to Thomas proposing that the children born to Dinah (Prince) and Ezer (Mather) should be baptized. Two children, <b>Arminna</b> and <b>Ezer</b> , were baptized at Old South on 25 February 1722. A possible third child, <b>Margaret</b> daughter of Ezer, was baptized at Second Church in 1727. A marriage record for Dinah and Ezer has not been found (McCahon Whiting 84-85). Thomas may have had further enslaved people. In a 1726 edition of the <i>Boston New Letter</i> , Thomas advertised an enslaved person for sale: “to be sold... The Rev. Mr. Prince has a Negro woman about 20 years of age, well-educated, accomplished for all manner of household business, to be disposed of” (Malloy & Malloy 115). This could possibly be Dinah, but that would mean she was only 16 when her                                                                                                                                                                                      | <i>Prince</i>            |

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|      |                         | two children were baptized. It could not be Lucy, because she was described as enslaved to Mr Prince two years later.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |                    |
| 1728 | <b>Peter<br/>Flora</b>  | <b>Peter</b> (marr. 1728) and <b>Flora</b> (marr. 1733) were enslaved to a Samuel Sewall, most probably <i>Samuel Sewall Jr.</i> (1678-1751)(OSC 1728), son of Hon. Samuel Sr. (OSC 1677), and husband of <i>Rebecca Dudley Sewall</i> (1681-1761)(OSC 1728)(marr. 1702). Samuel Jr. was a bookseller, landowner, and farmer. <b>Peter</b> “Negro Servt. to Mr. Samuel Sewal” married Mellender “N. Servt to Mr John Hunt” on 8 August 1728. If Mellender died, this may be the same Peter “neg. svt to Sam Sewall Esq” who married Jane “free negro” on 14 August 1753, which would indicate that Peter was inherited by Rebecca after Samuel’s death, although not explicitly mentioned in Samuel’s will. <b>Flora</b> , “Servt. to Samuel Sewall” married Ralph “Negro... Servant to the Honble. William Dumer” on 18 January 1733, Rev. Joseph Sewall presiding.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | <i>Sewall</i>      |
| 1731 | <b>Scipio<br/>Maria</b> | <b>Scipio</b> (BC 1736, OSC 1741) was initially enslaved to Jonathan Waldo (1668-1731) and his second wife Priscilla Hemans Sparhawk Waldo (d. 1655)(marr. 1726) and perhaps also Jonathan’s first wife Hannah Mason Waldo (1668-1726)(marr. 1692). Jonathan was variously a merchant, selectman, overseer of the poor, landowner and shopkeeper (Lincoln 44, 45, 46). In Jonathan’s 1731 will, he left “my Negro man named Scipio” to his daughter Hannah Waldo Fairweather (1702-1755) and her husband Thomas Fairweather Jr. (1692-1733)(marr. 1718), and another enslaved person, Violet, to his widow Priscilla (Lincoln 47-48). By the time Scipio was baptized at Old South Church, Hannah was a widow. Note that this Scipio should not be confused with Scipio Fairweather, who was previously enslaved by Capt. John Fairweather. <b>Maria</b> (BC 1741) was also enslaved by Hannah, before or after she became a widow. Hannah’s will, dated 1735 but not probated until 1755, left all her unspecified property to her and Thomas’s son <i>Samuel Fairweather</i> (1724-1781)(OSC 1741). | <i>Fairweather</i> |
| 1734 | <b>Thomas</b>           | <b>Thomas</b> (will 1734) was enslaved to <i>Edward Bromfield Sr</i> (d. 1734)(OSC 1698) and his wife <i>Mary Danforth Bromfield</i> (OSC 1696). Edward Sr was a merchant (Valeri 117). In his 1734 will, Edward Sr left Mary “my negro Man named Thomas.”                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | <i>Bromfield</i>   |
| 1734 | <b>Jane</b>             | <b>Jane</b> (marr. 1734) was enslaved to <i>Edward Tyng</i> (1683-1755)(BC 1684) and his wife Anne Waldo Tyng (marr. 1731). Edward was a merchant, importer, and landowner (Valeri 11, 40, 79). Jane married Scipio, “Negro... Servant of Hannah Fairweather” on 13 May 1734. This is the Old South member Scipio (BC 1736, OSC 1741) discussed elsewhere, not Scipio Fairweather, a free man who was previously enslaved by Capt. John Fairweather, who appears in various historical records. In 1741, Jane “Captain Tyng’s Negro Woman” was baptized at First Church (Collins 163).                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | <i>Tyng</i>        |
| 1735 | <b>Richard</b>          | <b>Richard</b> (OSC 1735) was enslaved by Reverend <i>Nathaniel Williams</i> (1675-1737/8)(OSC 1694) and his wife <i>Anne Bradstreet Williams</i> (d.1737/8)(OSC 1707). Rev. Nathan was the son of the <i>Nathaniel Williams</i> (1642-1714)(OSC 1675) who was elected Deacon of Old South Church in 1693 and his second wife <i>Sarah Wheelwright Crispe Williams</i> (d.1726/7)(OSC 1672). Rev. Nathan was Master of the Boston Latin School.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | <i>Williams</i>    |

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| 1736 | <b>Scipio<br/>Maria</b>              | <b>Scipio</b> (BC 1736, OSC 1741) and <b>Maria</b> (BC 1741) may have been enslaved to Rev. <i>Samuel Fayerweather</i> (1724-1781)(OSC 1741) and his wife Abigail Hazard Bours Fairweather (b.1726)(marr. 1763). Scipio and Maria were enslaved to Samuel's mother, Hannah Waldo Fairweather (1702-1755), and she left all her property to Samuel in her will. Samuel studied at Yale and in 1760 took the position of minister at St Paul's Church, Narragansett, but had to resign that position in 1774 after taking the unpopular stance of insisting on prayers for the King of England (Robinson & Updike 54-55, Griswold 163). Whether Scipio and Maria accompanied Samuel to Rhode Island is unclear, but they may have been amongst the people Samuel enslaved there. In a 1774 census of Rhode Islands households, Samuel Fairweather responded that there were three black persons resident in his home. In 1763, Samuel "bought a servant" from a J. Gardiner (Griswold 158). One person he enslaved was George Fayerweather who, it has been calculated, had 436 descendents ( <a href="https://www.independentri.com/arts_and_living/article_8bb2b120-ed2e-11e1-8594-0019bb2963f4.html">https://www.independentri.com/arts_and_living/article_8bb2b120-ed2e-11e1-8594-0019bb2963f4.html</a> ). | <i>Fayerweather</i> |
| 1737 | <b>Kate<br/>Sam</b>                  | <b>Kate</b> (marr. 1737) and <b>Sam</b> (marr. 1737) were enslaved by Captain <i>Nicholas Davis</i> (OSC 1725). This may or may not be the same Captain Nicholas Davis who advertised an indentured white servant in the Boston News-Letter on 24 November 1718: "A likely white servant maid aged about sixteen years, that can do all manner of household work, her time for six years, to be disposed of by Capt. Nicholas DAVIS, and to be seen at his house in Mr. LYNDALS buildings in Leveret Lane, Boston." Kate and Sam married in 1737, Thomas Prince officiating.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | <i>Davis</i>        |
| 1738 | <b>Margaret</b>                      | <b>Margaret</b> (BC 1738) was enslaved to <i>Jonathon Loring</i> (1674-1752)(OSC 1730) and his wife Elizabeth Austin Loring (1673-1756)(marr. c.1702). At different times, Jonathan was variously a tanner and currier, constable, assessor, and selectman (Pope et al 34).                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | <i>Loring</i>       |
| 1738 | <b>James<br/>Cesar</b>               | <b>James</b> (BC 1738) and <b>Cesar</b> (will 1770), were enslaved to <i>Oxenbridge Thacher</i> (1681-1772)(OSC 1737)(Hardesty 179) and one or more of his wives: Elizabeth Hobby Lilley Thatcher (1695-1736)(marr. 1714) and <i>Bathsheba Doggett Kent Thacher</i> (1695-1776)(marr. 1740)(OSC 1723). Oxenbridge was a Harvard graduate (1698), merchant and public official. He was enslaving people as early as 1717, when he posted an advertisement for a runaway slave (Thwing 171). In Oxenbridge's 1770 will, probated in 1772, he specified that Cesar was to be inherited by his granddaughter Elizabeth's husband, Rev. Mathew Mariam, and then freed once Cesar reached the age of 32. This age was presumably attained by 1780, when Cesar Thacher married Hannah Speen/Speer on 24 Oct 1780. The couple had a daughter Venus born 10 June 1783. If Hannah died, her widower may then be the same person as Cesar Thatcher "colored" who married Anna Drew "colored" on 13 October 1796. There is also a Cesar Thacher (b. 1750) in the right time period, who served in the Continental army in 1780 (Clapp 343-344).                                                                                                                                                                          | <i>Thacher</i>      |
| 1739 | <b>Nancy<br/>Harry/Juba<br/>Juba</b> | <b>Nancy</b> (marr. 1739), <b>Harry/Juba</b> and <b>Juba</b> (BC 1756) were enslaved by <i>Josiah Willard</i> (1681-1756)(OSC 1701) and his second wife Hannah Clark Appleton Willard (1684-1766)(marr. 1726). Josiah was one of the sons of Old South pastor Rev. Samuel Willard and his second wife                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | <i>Willard</i>      |



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|      |                  | <p>Eunice Tyng. Josiah was a merchant, judge, and then Secretary of the Colony. In his will, Josiah notes that “a negro boy named Harry (now Juba)” had been given to his daughter Katherine Willard Gibbs in her marriage portion. Katherine (1724-1769) had married Henry Gibbs (1706-1759) in 1747. It would be tempting to conclude that <b>Harry/Juba</b> was <b>Juba’s</b> son, but that is not necessarily true. Nancy “Negro Servt. to Josiah Willard Esq” married Harry “Negro Servt. to Capt. Nathl. Cunningham” on 15 November 1739, Rev. Thomas Prince officiating. Given the common practice of naming the first son after their father, it seems more likely that Harry Jr was the child of this relationship, enslaved to Josiah through Nancy. Perhaps Harry Jr renamed himself Juba after <b>Juba</b>, but that is just speculation.</p> |                  |
| 1741 | <b>Glocester</b> | <p><b>Glocester</b> (will 1741) was enslaved first by John Ellery Sr and then <i>John Ellery Jr</i> (1712-1746)(OSC 1733). In his 1741 will (probated in 1742), John Sr gave his executor (John Jr) Glocester, to serve him for seven years and then be freed. Seven years after 1741/2 is 1748/9, but John Jr died in 1746, so Glocester’s freedom came somewhere between 1746 and 1749. Glocester may or may not be the same person as Gloster Dalton, profiled along with his family at this link: <a href="https://capeannslavery.org/enslaved-persons-of-record-on-cape-ann/">https://capeannslavery.org/enslaved-persons-of-record-on-cape-ann/</a></p>                                                                                                                                                                                             | <i>Ellery</i>    |
| 1741 | <b>Julia</b>     | <p><b>Julia</b> (OSC 1741) was enslaved by Col. <i>Edward Winslow</i> (1669-1753)(OSC 1692) and one of more of his wives: <i>Hannah Moody Winslow</i> (1672-1711)(OSC 1692)(marr. 1692); <i>Elizabeth Dixey Pemberton Winslow</i> (1669-1740)(OSC 1690)(marr. 1712); <i>Susanna Furnum Lyman Winslow</i> (b.1694)(marr. 1744). Edward was one of the first children baptized at OSC, in 1669. He was a goldsmith, and served in the Ancient &amp; Honorable Artillery Co. (Mackenzie 3: 40). In 1741, the year Julia joined Old South, Edward joined the Brattle St Church (The Manifesto Church 100). At least three of Edward and Hannah’s sons were also enslavers: Joshua, <i>John</i> (OSC 1742), and Isaac.</p>                                                                                                                                     | <i>Winslow</i>   |
| 1742 | <b>Dinah</b>     | <p><b>Dinah</b> (BC 1742) was enslaved by wealthy merchant <i>John Trail</i> (d1749)(OSC 1735) and his wife <i>Mary Gale Trail</i> (OSC 1735)(married 1724).</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | <i>Trail</i>     |
| 1742 | <b>Robin</b>     | <p><b>Robin</b> (marr. 1742) was enslaved by a William Wheeler, who may or may not be the same as <i>William Wheeler</i> (OSC 1727). Robin married Phillis (“free”) in 1742, Rev Joseph Sewall officiating.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | <i>Wheeler</i>   |
| 1742 | <b>Flora</b>     | <p><b>Flora</b> (1742) was enslaved by a William Bodman. William Bodman is not an Old South member and it is not possible to identify him definitively but it seems likely that this is the same William Bodman that married Katharine Treadway in 1726, and this Katherine then may or may not be the same as <i>Katherine Bodman</i> (OSC 1747).</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | <i>Bodman</i>    |
| 1742 | <b>Boston</b>    | <p><b>Boston</b> (marr. 1742) was enslaved by an Edward Bromfield, either <i>Edward Bromfield Jr</i> (d. 1756)(OSC 1729), son of Edward Bromfield Sr and Mary Danforth Bromfield, or Edward Jr’s son <i>Edward Bromfield III</i> (d. 1746)(OSC 1741). Edward Jr was a merchant (Valeri 209) and was married to Abigail Coney Bromfield (marr. 1722). Edward III died shortly after graduating from Harvard (<i>HC</i> 313). Boston “Svt Mr Edward Bromfield” married Hannah “Svt to Capt John Wendell” on 11 May 1742, Rev. Thomas Prince presiding.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | <i>Bromfield</i> |

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| 1742 | <b>Lucy<br/>Unnamed<br/>people</b> | <b>Lucy</b> (BC 1742) was enslaved to <i>Daniel Henschman</i> (1689-1761)(OSC 1727) and his wife Elizabeth Gerrish Henschman (possibly OSC 1717)(marr. 1713). Daniel was the grandson of Captain <i>Daniel Henschman</i> (OSC 1670). Daniel (OSC 1727) was a Deacon of Old South (1719), served as a Selectman, a bookseller and printer with a shop in Cornhill, and the owner of the first paper mill built in Massachusetts in 1730 (HC 341, Valeri 125). In his 1760 will, probated in 1761, Daniel left his widow Elizabeth his “Household Furniture Negroes” for her “Use and Disposal forever.” Elizabeth then died in 1767, presumably leaving her property to the couple’s only daughter Lydia (1714-1776) who by then was the widow of Hon. Thomas Hancock (1703-1764). Thomas was the uncle of John Hancock (1737-1793), who had been raised by Lydia and Thomas since John’s father died in 1744.                                                | <i>Henschman</i> |
| 1742 | <b>Katharine</b>                   | <b>Katharine</b> (BC 1742) was enslaved to Mary Oliver. Mary Oliver is a common name to the extent that there are three possibilities in the Historical Catalog, but the most likely candidate is the younger sister of Brattle Oliver, who was also an Old South member: <i>Mary Oliver</i> (1693/94-1764) (OSC 1755). This Mary did not marry and lived in her parent’s mansion on Fort Hill (Harris 59). Katharine is not mentioned in Mary’s will (dated 1763, probated 1764), but then the will does not inventory the property to be dispersed amongst named relatives, so Katharine may have been passed along after Mary’s death.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | <i>Oliver</i>    |
| 1742 | <b>Dinah</b>                       | <b>Dinah</b> (BC 1742) was probably enslaved first to <i>Thomas Cushing Sr</i> (d. 1746)(OSC 1730) and his wife Mary Bromfield Cushing (1696-1746)(marr. 1724), then to <i>Thomas Cushing Jr</i> (1725-1788)(OSC 1755) and his wife <i>Deborah Fletcher Cushing</i> (OSC 1755)(marr. 1747). Dinah’s 1742 baptismal record lists her enslaver as Thomas Cushing, which was most likely Thomas Sr. because Thomas Jr. would only have been 17 years of age at the time. The same year Dinah was baptized, she married <b>Boston</b> (Thomas Jackson), with Rev. Joseph Sewall presiding. In his 1746 probate, Thomas Sr. left Mary “two Negroes,” one of which was presumably Dinah. However, Mary also died in 1746 and her property and enslaved people would have passed to the couple’s only son, Thomas Jr and his wife Deborah. Thomas Cushing Sr was a merchant (Valeri 87) and Thomas Cushing Jr was a member of the Continental Congress (Jones 171). | <i>Cushing</i>   |
| 1743 | <b>Cato<br/>Baker<br/>Tony</b>     | <b>Cato</b> (BC 1743) and <b>Baker</b> (BC 1744) were enslaved to Col. <i>Joseph Jackson</i> (1707-1790)(OSC 1727) and his wife Sussanah Gray Jackson (1709-1792)(marr. 1732). Joseph was a Major then a Colonel in the Honorable Artillery Company, acted as Company Treasure, and was also a distiller (Whitman 289). <b>Tony</b> “Negro Servant to Joseph Jackson” who married Prudence “Servant to John Williams” in 1768 might or might not have been enslaved by this same Joseph and Sussanah.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | <i>Jackson</i>   |
| 1745 | <b>Ceasar<br/>Venus</b>            | <b>Ceasar</b> and <b>Venus</b> , who married in 1745, were both enslaved to Capt. <i>John Henderson</i> (d. 1747)(OSC 1690). In his death notice, John is described as a marine commander and merchant.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | <i>Henderson</i> |
| 1745 | <b>Scipio</b>                      | <b>Scipio</b> (BC 1745) was enslaved to a John Hunt. Four John Hunts were members of Old South: <i>John Hunt</i> (BC 1694), <i>John Hunt</i> (OSC 1730), <i>John Hunt</i> (OSC 1756), and Rev. <i>John Hunt</i> (1744-1775)(OSC                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | <i>Hunt</i>      |

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|      |                           | 1771)(Old South Pastor 1771-1775). One of the earlier members, and perhaps the best candidate for Scipio's enslaver, may have been Rev. John's father, who lived 1712-1785, was married to Esther Wells Hunt (d. 1787), and was a farmer in Northampton ( <i>Hist of OSC</i> 2: 132). John Sr., Esther, and Rev. John (who died unmarried), lived in their family home at 109 Elm St, which has now become Sessions House at Smith College ( <a href="https://www.smith.edu/student-life/residence-life/houses/sessions-complex">https://www.smith.edu/student-life/residence-life/houses/sessions-complex</a> ). One of the other Johns may have been "John Hunt of Watertown," who trafficked in enslaved people and posted several advertisements for the recapture of enslaved people who had run away: Ben in 1744, Ceasar in 1749, and Prince in 1771 (Bly 58, 62, 155). This John Hunt lived in "Stone House" on Water Street, Watertown, and was a storekeeper, distiller, and operated a wharf (Hurd 375, 376). Other people enslaved to a John Hunt, who may have been associated with Old South, include Jane "Serv. to John Hunt" who married Chambers "Negro Sert. to Edward Stanbridg" in 1721; Mellender "N. Servt. To Mr. John Hunt" who married Peter "Negro Servt. to Mr Samuel Sewal" in 1728; Violet "neg. svt. to Mr John Hunt" who married Cato "neg. svt. to Honl. Saml. Watts" in 1761 who may be the same person as Violet, "a Negro belonging to John Hunt" who was received into the Almshouse in 1775 ("Almshouse Admissions" 277). |                 |
| 1747 | <b>Zilpah/<br/>Zelpah</b> | <b>Zilpah/Zelpah</b> (marr. 1747) was enslaved by <i>Abiel Walley</i> (1686-1759)(OSC 1716) and his wife <i>Margaret Corwin Walley</i> (OSC 1716)(married 1710). Abiel was a merchant and a customs controller for Boston ( <i>HC</i> 342). Abiel and Zilpah/Zelpah married Boston "Svt to Thomas Jackson" on 28 September 1747, Rev. Joseph Sewall presiding.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | <i>Walley</i>   |
| 1749 | <b>Jenny</b>              | <b>Jenny</b> (marr. 1749) was enslaved by <i>Seth Foster</i> of Stoughton (1713-1753)(OSC 1729) and his wife <i>Susanna Bill Foster</i> (b.1716)(married 1732). Jenny married Sambo, "svt to William Powell" on 15 February, 1749, Rev Joseph Sewall presiding.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | <i>Foster</i>   |
| 1750 | <b>Peter</b>              | <b>Peter</b> (marr. 1750) was enslaved by <i>John Kneeland Jr</i> (1694-1774)(OSC 1741) and his fourth wife Abigail Martyn Kneeland (1715-1790)(married 1743). The Kneeland family were builders and property owners, with Kneeland's Wharf and Kneeland Street named after them (Kneeland 52). John Kneeland Sr helped build the Old South Meeting House and John Kneeland Jr helped build John Hancock House, a Court House, and a Jail, and the Old South Church (ibid). Peter married Rose "Svt to Jothan Maverick" on 28 June 1750, Rev. Joseph Sewall presiding.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | <i>Kneeland</i> |
| 1750 | <b>Boston</b>             | <b>Boston</b> (BC 1750) was enslaved by Lieut. <i>Joseph Belknap</i> (1716-1797)(OSC 1735) and his wife Sarah Byles Belknap (1715-1784)(marr. 1741). Joseph was in the Honorable Artillery Company (1724)(Whitman 293), was a successful merchant (Valeri 86), and a "leather-dresser and furrier" ( <i>Debate on the Constitution</i> 2). In the 1771 census, Joseph acknowledged he had one "servant for life" (i.e. enslaved person), which may have been Boston.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | <i>Belknap</i>  |
| 1751 | <b>Flora</b>              | <b>Flora</b> (BC 1751)(OSC 1754) was enslaved by <i>Isaac Winslow</i> (1709-1777)(OSC 1767) and one or more of his wives: Lucy Waldo Winslow (1724-1768)(marr. 1747) and Jemima Debuke (1732-1790)(marr.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | <i>Winslow</i>  |

|      |                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |                                  |
|------|--------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
|      |                                                  | 1770). Isaac graduated from Harvard in 1727, then he was a merchant and then a farmer (Col. Soc. MA 6: 129)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |                                  |
| 1752 | <b>Patience</b>                                  | <b>Patience</b> (BC 1752) was first enslaved by <i>Mary Waters Bethune</i> (1692-1760)(OSC 1719), widow of <i>George Bethune</i> Sr. (1675-1735/36)(OSC 1728)(marr. 1713). In Patience's 1752 baptismal record, her enslaver is listed as Mary Bethune. However, by Patience's 1758 marriage, her enslaver is listed as Nathaniel Bethune. One of the sons of George Sr. and Mary, Nathaniel Bethune (1715-1771), was described in his death notice as a merchant.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | <i>Bethune</i>                   |
| 1753 | <b>Judith</b>                                    | <b>Judith</b> (OSC 1753) was enslaved to <i>Grace Perkins</i> (OSC 1746). No further details found.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | <i>Perkins</i>                   |
| 1753 | <b>Venus<br/>George<br/>Wortely<br/>Cornwall</b> | <b>Venus</b> (BC 1753) was enslaved to <i>John Winslow</i> Jr (1700-1788)(OSC 1742), one of the sons of Col. <i>Edward Winslow</i> (OSC 1692) and his wife Sarah Tyng Winslow (1720-1792)(marr. 1760). John was a merchant (Winslow & Winslow 1: 35). Sarah's 1791 will also mentions two more enslaved people, <b>George Wortely</b> and <b>Cornwall</b> , specifying that they should be allowed to continue living on the farm and instructing that they should be provided for.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | <i>Winslow</i>                   |
| 1753 | <b>Bristol</b>                                   | <b>Bristol</b> (BC 1753)(OSC 1756) was enslaved to a Samuel Sewall, perhaps <i>Samuel Sewall</i> III (1715-1771)(OSC 1749), who was the son of Rev. Joseph Sewall (OSC 1713), and husband of Mary Wendell Sewall (1724-1746)(marr. 1745) and then <i>Elizabeth Quincy Sewall</i> (1729-1770)(OSC 1751)(marr. 1749). Samuel III was elected Deacon of Old South in 1763 (HC 267).                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | <i>Sewall</i>                    |
| 1756 | <b>Lucas</b>                                     | <b>Lucas</b> (BC 1756) was enslaved to "Mr William Tailor," who may or may not be the same as <i>William Taylor</i> (OSC 1742). William Taylor (OSC 1742) was presumably the son of Lieut. Governor William Tailor of Dorchester (1676-1732) who served in the Honorable Artillery Company, married Sarah Byfield Tailor (who may or may not be the same as <i>Sarah Taylor</i> OSC 1710) in 1699 and then Abigail William Dudley Tailor in 1712 (who may or may not be the same as <i>Abigail Taylor</i> OSC 1728), and died in 1732, mentioning a son William in his will. William Sr is not listed in the <i>Historical Catalogue</i> as an Old South member, but Col./Wm./Treasurer Taylor/Tailer appears multiple times in descriptions of funeral processions, as a coffin bearer (HC 273, 284, 290, 329). William Sr and Abigail's son William was born in 1722. Unfortunately William Tailer/Taylor/Tailor is too common a name to determine anything further with certainty. | <i>Taylor/<br/>Tailer/Tailor</i> |
| 1756 | <b>Dinah<br/>Jane/ Jenny<br/>Peter</b>           | <b>Dinah</b> (BC 1756), <b>Jane/Jenny</b> (marr. 1762), and <b>Peter</b> (BC 1766, OSC 1774) were enslaved to Hon. <i>Thomas Hubbard</i> (1702-1773)(OSC 1730)(Hardesty 116) and his wife <i>Mary Jackson Hubbard</i> (d.1774)(OSC 1727)(marr. 1724). Thomas was a successful merchant and had a brazier's shop (Valeri 86), was a landowner, was Commissary General of the Province of Massachusetts Bay from 1759 to 1771, served as an Old South Deacon 1739-1764, and acted as Old South Treasurer from 1768 until his death, in addition to being Treasurer of Harvard from 1752 to 1773. In Thomas's 1773 probate, he left to his wife Mary "all my Negroes." Mary also made a will in 1773, probated in 1774, in which she left her "faithful servant Dinah" to whichever relative Dinah should choose and if no relative should agree to take Dinah, then Dinah should be freed and a stipend paid to                                                                         | <i>Hubbard</i>                   |

|      |                                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |                  |
|------|-----------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|
|      |                                         | the overseers of the poor for her upkeep. Meanwhile her “honest servant Peter” was to be freed from the time of Mary’s death. So Peter would have been freed in 1774. Jane/Jenny is not mentioned in Mary’s will. Her first and last appearance in the historical record is her wedding, when Jane/Jenny “Negro Servant to Thomas Hubbard” married Quaco “Negro... Servant to Capt. Frazier” in 1762, Rev. Samuel Mather presiding.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |                  |
| 1761 | <b>Violet</b>                           | <b>Violet</b> (marr. 1761) was enslaved to <i>Samuel Whitwell</i> (1717-1801)(OSC 1762) and one or more of his wives: Elizabeth Kelsey Whitwell (1722-1768)(marr. 1749), Sarah Wood Whitwell (1733-1781)(possibly OSC 1755)(marr. 1768), and Margaret (Mary) Smith Whitwell (1735-1809)(marr 1781). Samuel served in the Honorable Artillery Company, was a merchant who kept a hardware store, was an overseer of the poor, and was a member of a committee which carried out the resolutions of the Continental Congress (Roberts 76). In the 1771 census, a Samuel Whitwell declared two “servants for life,” which if this was Samuel (OSC 1762) could have been Violet and one other. Violet “Servant to Mr. Samuel Whitwell” married Charlestown “Negro Servant to the Hon. Thomas Flucker Esq.” on 31 December 1761, Rev. Joseph Sewall presiding. | <i>Whitwell</i>  |
| 1762 | <b>James</b>                            | <b>James</b> (OSC 1762) was enslaved by <i>Jonathan Simpson</i> (1684-1763)(OSC 1707) and his wife Mary Baker Simpson (married 1707). Jonathan was a Deacon of Old South and a shopkeeper ( <i>HC</i> 331). This may or may not be the same Jonathan Simpson involved in an inquisition in 1746, after his enslaved man Bristol responded to abuse by Jonathan’s son by pulling a knife on him, for which Bristol was killed (Hardesty 96-97).                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | <i>Simpson</i>   |
| 1764 | <b>Fidelia</b>                          | <b>Fidelia</b> (BC 1764) was enslaved to <i>Samuel Pemberton</i> (1710-1774)(OSC 1746) and his second wife Mary Frye Leach Pemberton (1708-1802)(marr. 1746). Samuel was the son of Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton Sr. and younger brother of Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton Jr. Samuel was a Justice of the Peace and helped take testimonies after the Boston massacre (Doggett 104), and one of seven Justices of the Peace who asked the Lieutenant-General to withdraw of British troops from Boston (Hist of OSC 2: 121).                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | <i>Pemberton</i> |
| 1765 | <b>Thomas</b>                           | <b>Thomas</b> (OSC n.d.-1765) was enslaved by Hon. <i>Jonathan Mason</i> (1725-1798)(OSC 1742) and his second wife <i>Mary Vans Mason</i> (OSC 1755), granddaughter of Old South pastor Ebenezer Pemberton. Jonathan was a Deacon and Treasurer at Old South Church and had a mansion in Cornhill.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | <i>Mason</i>     |
| 1771 | <b>Cato Sr<br/>Cato Jr<br/>Clarissa</b> | <b>Cato Sr</b> was identified in the Old South baptismal records of his son <b>Cato Jr</b> (bap. 1771) and daughter <b>Clarissa</b> (bap. 1772) as enslaved to <i>Robert Pierpont</i> (1712-1786)(OSC 1771) and his third wife Anne Pierpont (1728-1774)(marr. 1761). Robert was a housewright (i.e. carpenter) and was a coroner of Suffolk County in 1770, in which role he examined the victims of the Boston Massacre (Ullmann 75-76). Robert emancipated his enslaved people in 1773 (Hist of OSC 2: 175 n.4), presumably including Cato and his family.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | <i>Pierpont</i>  |
| 1771 | <b>Cesar<br/>Peggy<br/>Inches</b>       | <b>Cesar</b> (marr. 1771) was enslaved to <i>Henderson Inches</i> (1725-1780)(OSC 1760) and his third wife Elizabeth Brimmer Inches (1735-1809)(marr. 1771), and perhaps also his second wife Sarah Jackson                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | <i>Inches</i>    |

|      |                                                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |               |
|------|--------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|
|      | <b>Cato Inches</b>                                     | Inches (1739-1771)(marr. 1770), and/or his first wife <i>Elizabeth Henderson Inches</i> (1730-1769)(OSC 1760)(marr. 1751), Henderson was an overseer of the poor, a merchant, and owner of a “ropewalk and hemp house,” i.e. rope-making enterprise (Jones 175). Henderson and Sarah joined the Church in Brattle Square in 1770 and in 1771, “Cesar of Mr Henderson Inches” joined the Church in Brattle Square ( <i>The Manifesto Church</i> 253). In that same year, Cesar married Kallender “svt of Mr Pollard.” <b>Peggy Inches</b> (marr. 1782) and <b>Cato Inches</b> (marr. 1784) have the surname “Inches” so may have been enslaved by Henderson and his family but were noted as free in their marriage records. Perhaps Cato was freed by the Inches family, perhaps through his military service. In 1775, Cato Inches enrolled in Thomas Marshall’s Tenth Regiment and held the rank of private for eight years until his discharge in 1783 (Quintal 112). The following year, on 11 November 1784, Cato Inches married Eunice Jackson, Rev. Joseph Eckley presiding. Peggy Inches and Cato Green, “free negroes,” were married on 9 April 1782. A Cato Green, previously enslaved to a “Deacon Green” had enlisted in 1775 as a private in Captain Sprague’s company (Jacques). He would presumably have gained freedom through his military service and therefore could be the Cato Green that married Peggy. |               |
| 1772 | <b>David</b>                                           | <b>David</b> (OSC 1772) was enslaved by <i>John Bacon</i> (1737-1820)(OSC 1771) and his wife Elizabeth Goldthwaite Cumming Bacon, who he married in 1771. John was the pastor of Old South 1771-1775.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | <i>Bacon</i>  |
| 1773 | <b>Moses</b>                                           | <b>Moses</b> (OSC 1773) was enslaved to Capt. <i>Josiah Waters</i> (1721-1784)(OSC 1741) and his wife <i>Abigail Dawes Waters</i> (1721-1816)(OSC 1736)(marr. 1743). Josiah served in the Honorable Artillery Company, held town office, acted as a constable and a clerk, and was a “prosperous business man” (Roberts 47, HC 397). A Josiah Waters acknowledged owning one “servant for life” in the 1771 census which, if this was Capt. Josiah, could have been Moses.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | <i>Waters</i> |
| 1783 | Slavery was declared unconstitutional in Massachusetts |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |               |

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