

APPENDIX I

List of Human Beings Enslaved by Prominent Harvard Affiliates

Notes About Organization and Criteria for Inclusion

This list of individuals enslaved by Harvard leadership, faculty, staff, and donors is almost certainly an undercount. Records of enslavement in the colonial era are irregular, and the list omits some individuals who are likely to have been enslaved but for whom sufficient documentation could not be located. This is an important area for future research in the spirit of the committee's fourth recommendation to the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

The enslaved individuals listed below were identified through research in city vital records, church records, published memoirs, and personal papers, including correspondence, journals, wills, and probate records. Many were previously identified in published scholarship, although their connections to Harvard were often not highlighted. Dates appended to the names of enslaved people reflect the first and, where applicable, last date of documentation for each individual, not the duration of their enslavement.

The list includes individuals who are referred to in extant records as a Harvard affiliate's "servant," "man," or "woman" and who are also identified as being of African or Indigenous descent. This reflects the fact, noted by leading historians of the era, that the term "slave" was not commonly used in colonial New England in reference to enslaved people. For example, in her authoritative work *New England Bound: Slavery and Colonization in Early America*, Wendy Warren explains:

English people in the early seventeenth century only sporadically used the word "slave" to describe people of African or Indian descent in perpetual

servitude, in New England or elsewhere. More often, the words "negro" and "negro servant" and, in some cases, "Indian servant" demarcated chattel status for Africans and Indians in the English Atlantic colonies. Counterintuitively, where "slave" was used in New England records during the seventeenth century, it generally referred to English captives held in North African slavery, or even as a figure of speech to connote some sort of debased state. This slowly changed over the century; more than sixty years later, an observer on Barbados would note, "These two words, *Negro* and *Slave* being by custom grown Homogeneous and *Convertible*; even as *Negro* and *Christian*, *Englishman* and *Heathen*, are...made Opposites."¹

The list is organized by enslaver, rather than by enslaved individual, in order to support further research to identify those people who were enslaved by Harvard affiliates; source materials are, in general, similarly organized. As this work continues, however, it is critical that researchers center enslaved people in order to appropriately honor their memories and, as the committee recommends, to enable descendants to "recover their histories, tell their stories, and pursue empowering knowledge."²

Finally, unless otherwise noted, Harvard affiliations are drawn from the *Quinquennial Catalogue of the Officers and Graduates of Harvard University, 1636–1915*.³ The relationships of named Harvard affiliates to buildings and physical spaces on campus are drawn from the Harvard Property Information Resource Center's online database.⁴

I. Enslaved by Presidents of Harvard

Enslaver	Harvard Affiliation(s)	Enslaved Persons	Documentation Dates	Memorialization(s)
PRESIDENTS				
Nathaniel Eaton (1609–1674)	Schoolmaster (1637–1639) ¹	“The Moor”	1639 ²	A plaque on Wadsworth Gate and brass markers nearby on Massachusetts Avenue mark the site of Eaton’s home, the first building occupied by Harvard College. ³
Increase Mather (1639–1723)	President (1692–1701) Rector (1686–1692) Acting President (1685–1686)	“The Spaniard”	ca. 1681 ⁴ –1719 ⁵	Mather House ⁶
Benjamin Wadsworth (1670–1737)	President (1725–1737)	Titus	1728–1740 ⁷	Wadsworth House Wadsworth Gate (also known as the Class of 1857 Gate)
	Fellow (1697–1707; 1712–1725)	Venus	1726–1740 ⁹	A plaque installed in 2016 on the east side of Wadsworth House acknowledges Titus and Venus as enslaved persons who lived and worked there. ⁸
Edward Holyoke (1689–1769)	President (1737–1769)	Juba	1744–1748 ¹⁰	A plaque installed in 2016 on the east side of Wadsworth House acknowledges Juba and Bilhah as enslaved persons who lived and worked there. ¹¹
	Librarian (1709–1712)	Bilhah	1755–1765 ¹³	
	Tutor (1712–1716)	Bilhah’s newborn son	1762 ¹⁴	
	Fellow (1713–1716)	Dinah	1757–1819 ¹⁵	Holyoke Street in Cambridge, south of Harvard Yard ¹²
Joseph Willard (1738–1804)	President (1781–1804) Tutor (1766–1772) Fellow (1768–1772)	Cesar	1789 ¹⁶	Willard Street in Cambridge, west of Harvard Square ¹⁷

II. Enslaved by Harvard Fellows and Overseers

Enslaver	Harvard Affiliation(s)	Enslaved Persons	Documentation Dates	Memorialization(s)
FELLOWS AND OVERSEERS ¹				
Governor John Winthrop (1588–1649)	Overseer (1637–1649) ²	The wife of Pequot sachem Mononotto	1637 ³	<p>Winthrop House is named for Governor John Winthrop and his direct descendant Professor John Winthrop (see below).⁴</p> <p>A sculpture of Governor Winthrop is displayed in Annenberg Hall, the freshman dining hall in Memorial Hall.⁵</p> <p>A portrait of Governor Winthrop is in the Harvard University Portrait Collection.⁶</p>
		Two unnamed sons of Mononotto	1637 ⁷	
		At least four additional unnamed Indigenous people: two men and two women	1637–1639 ⁸	
Israel Stoughton (1603–1644)	Overseer (1637–1644) ⁹	Unnamed Pequot woman	1637 ¹¹	<p>Stoughton Hall is named for Israel’s son, colonial lieutenant governor and Harvard overseer and benefactor William Stoughton (AB 1650).¹²</p>
	Donor of 300 acres of land at his death in 1644 ¹⁰	Dorcas	1641–1653 ¹³	
John Endecott / Endicott (1600–1665)	Overseer (1642–1665) ¹⁴	Unnamed Pequot boy	1637 ¹⁵	
Hugh Peter(s) (1598–1660)	Overseer (1637–1641) ¹⁶	Hope	1637–1640 ¹⁷	
Governor John Leverett (1616–1679)	Overseer (1673–1679) ¹⁸	As governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, Leverett authorized the capture, enslavement, and distribution of hundreds of Native men, women, and children taken captive in King Philip’s War	1675–1678 ¹⁹	<p>Leverett House is named for Governor Leverett’s grandson and namesake, Harvard President John Leverett (served 1708–1724).²⁰</p>
Governor Joseph Dudley (1647–1720)	Overseer (1702–1715) ²¹	An unnamed “Indian” girl	1679	<p>The Dudley Community and three associated Harvard residences are named for Joseph Dudley’s father, the Massachusetts governor and Harvard overseer Thomas Dudley.²²</p>
		Peter	1687 ²³	
		Brill	1713–1722 ²⁴	

Enslaver	Harvard Affiliation(s)	Enslaved Persons	Documentation Dates	Memorialization(s)
FELLOWS AND OVERSEERS				
Cotton Mather (1663–1728)	Fellow (1690–1703)	An unnamed “Spanish Indian,” believed to be the same individual as “The Spaniard,” above	ca. 1681 ²⁶	Mather House is named for Cotton Mather’s father, Harvard President Increase Mather (president, 1692–1701; rector, 1686–1692; acting president, 1685–1686). ²⁷
	Overseer (1707–1724) ²⁵	Onesimus	1706–1716 ²⁸	
		“a little boy”	1716 ²⁹	
		Obadiah	1717 ³⁰	
William Brattle (1662–1717)	Tutor (1685–1697)	Scipio	1697–1705 ³²	Brattle Street and Brattle Square are all named for William Brattle’s family, and the William Brattle House is named for his son. ³³
	Fellow (1703–1717)			
	Treasurer (1713–1715)	Cicely	1714 ³⁵	Cicely’s tombstone stands in the Old Burying Ground in Harvard Square. ³⁴
	Minister of First Church, Cambridge (1696–1717) ³¹			
Paul Dudley (1675–1751)	Fellow (1697–1700)	Unnamed “negro boy”	1705 ³⁷	The Dudley Community and three associated Harvard residences are named for Paul Dudley’s grandfather, the Massachusetts governor and Harvard overseer Thomas Dudley. ³⁸
	Donated £133 in 1750 to fund an annual lecture ³⁶	Guinea	1745 ³⁹	
Nathaniel Appleton (1693–1784)	Fellow (1717–1779)	Pompey	1729 ⁴¹	
	Minister of First Church, Cambridge (1717–1783) ⁴⁰			

Enslaver	Harvard Affiliation(s)	Enslaved Persons	Documentation Dates	Memorialization(s)
FELLOWS AND OVERSEERS				
William Brattle (1706–1776) ⁴²	Overseer (n.d.) Trustee of the Hopkins Foundation (n.d.) ⁴³	Philicia	1731 ⁴⁴	A portrait of William Brattle is in the Harvard University Portrait Collection. ⁴⁵ The William Brattle House in Harvard Square is named for this William Brattle, who built it. Brattle Street and Brattle Square are named for his family. ⁴⁶
		Zillah	1738 ⁴⁷	
Francis Foxcroft (1695–1768)	Overseer (1732–1757?) ⁴⁸	Flora	1737–1742 ⁴⁹	Foxcroft House (1822–1926) once occupied the corner of Kirkland and Oxford Streets; it was demolished to make way for the Lowell Lecture Hall.
		Leos	1749 ⁵⁰	
Lieutenant Governor Spencer Phip(p)s (1685–1757)	Overseer (1720–1757) ⁵¹ Trustee of the Hopkins Foundation (1720–?) ⁵²	Tobe	1714 ⁵³	
		Cuffy	1739–1741 ⁵⁴	
		Zillah	1739 ⁵⁵	
		Rose	1745 ⁵⁶	
		James	1755 ⁵⁷	
Ebenezer Storer (1730–1807)	Treasurer (1777–1807)	Unnamed “Negro servant”	1757 ⁵⁸	
		London	1771 ⁵⁹	
John Hancock (1736/7–1793)	Treasurer (1773–1777)	Cato	1764–1777 ⁶⁰	
		Frank	1768–1771 ⁶¹	
		Agnes	1777 ⁶²	
		Violet	1777 ⁶³	
		Hannibal	1777 ⁶⁴	

Enslaver	Harvard Affiliation(s)	Enslaved Persons	Documentation Dates	Memorialization(s)
FELLOWS AND OVERSEERS				
Thomas Hubbard (1702–1773)	Treasurer (1752–1773) Donor of £300 and books at his death in 1773	Unnamed people referred to as “Negores” ⁶⁵	1774 ⁶⁶	
Lieutenant Governor Thomas Oliver (1734–1815)	Overseer (1774–1776) ⁶⁷	Buff	1783	Oliver built Elmwood, also known as the Oliver–Gerry–Lowell House, which has been the residence of University presidents since the 1970s.
		Cato	1783	
		Jerry	1783	
		Jeoffry	1783	
		Samuel	1783	
		Mira	1783	
		Jude	1783	
		Sarah	1783	
		Jenny	1783	
		Violet	1783	
		“Young Jerry”	1783 ⁶⁸	
		Unknown number of enslaved people in Antigua	ca. 1760–ca. 1815 ⁶⁹	

III. Enslaved by Harvard Faculty Members

Enslaver	Harvard Affiliation(s)	Enslaved Persons	Documentation Dates	Memorialization(s)
TEACHING FACULTY				
Edward Wigglesworth (1693–1765)	Hollis Professor of Divinity (1721–1765) Fellow (1724–1765)	Hannibal ¹	1736–1755 ²	Wigglesworth Hall is built on the site of Edward Wigglesworth’s home and named for his father.
Henry Flynt (1675–1760)	Tutor (1699–1754) Fellow (1700–1760) Secretary of the Board of Fellows (1712–1758) Acting President (1736–1737)	Toney	1738 ³	A portrait of Flynt is in the Harvard University Portrait Collection. ⁴
Judah Monis (1683–1764)	Instructor in Hebrew (1722–1760)	Cuffy	1741 ⁵	
		Cicely	1747 ⁶	
John Winthrop (1714–1779)	Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy (1738–1779)	George	1759 ⁷	Winthrop House is named for Professor John Winthrop and his ancestor Governor John Winthrop. ⁸ A portrait of Professor Winthrop is in the Harvard University Portrait Collection. ⁹
	Fellow (1765–1779) Acting President of Harvard (1773–1774)	Scipio	1761 ¹²	Winthrop Street and the adjacent Winthrop Square, southwest of Harvard Yard, is named for Professor Winthrop. ¹⁰ There is a City of Cambridge historic marker at the site of Professor Winthrop’s home in Winthrop Square. ¹¹

IV. Enslaved by Harvard Staff Members

Enslaver	Harvard Affiliation(s)	Enslaved Persons	Documentation Dates	Memorialization(s)
STAFF				
Thomas Danforth (1623–1699)	Treasurer (1650–1668) Steward (1668–1682) Overseer (1679–1686; 1689–1692)	Philip Ffeild	1700 ¹	
Andrew Bordman (II) (1671–1747)	Steward and Cook (1703–1747) ²	Cuffe	1716/17 ³	The Bordman home, where enslaved people lived and worked, was purchased by Harvard in 1794 and used as the College House. The land where that building stood, at the corner of Massachusetts Avenue and Dunster Street, is now part of the site of the Smith Student Center. ⁴ Jane’s tombstone stands in the Old Burying Ground in Harvard Square. ⁵
		Rose	1718–1730 ⁶	
		Jane “of Rose”	1718–1740 ⁷	
		Flora “of Rose”	1723 ⁸	
		Jeffrey “of Rose”	1731–1739 ⁹	
		Cesar “of Rose”	1733 ¹⁰	
		Lucy	1740 ¹¹	
		Peter	1758 ¹²	
Jonathan Hastings (1709–1783)	Steward (1750–1779)	Cato	1761 ¹³	A stone tablet next to the Littauer Center marks the site of Hastings’s home, north of Harvard Yard. ¹⁴
		Anne	1771 ¹⁵	
		Rose “of Anne”	1771 ¹⁶	
		Cato “of Anne”	1774 ¹⁷	

V. Enslaved by Major Donors to Harvard

Enslaver	Harvard Affiliation(s)	Enslaved Persons	Documentation Dates	Memorialization(s)
MAJOR DONORS				
Edward Hopkins (1600–1657)	Funded the Hopkins Foundation, established in 1710s with Harvard as a primary beneficiary ¹	Unnamed person referred to as “the Negar”	1658 ²	Hopkins is the namesake of the town of Hopkinton, Massachusetts, which was created in the 1715 and administered to generate revenue for the University through 1832. ³
John Hull (1624–1683)	Donated £100 in 1683 ⁴	As treasurer of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, Hull managed the sale of dozens of Native men, women, and children taken captive in King Philip’s War	1675–1676 ⁵	Hull’s name is included on a list of “Notable Alumni” published online by the Boston Latin School—the oldest public school in the United States—that highlights “centuries of former Latin School students who have gone on to be leaders in a variety of fields.” ⁶
Edmund Trowbridge (1709–1793)	Endowed the Alford Professorship of Natural Religion, Moral Philosophy, and Civil Polity (1798) ⁷ Tutored Harvard students in law and boarded them in his home ⁸	York	1742 ⁹	Trowbridge Street east of Harvard Yard in Cambridge ¹⁰ Harvard Law School owns a portrait of Trowbridge ¹¹
		Violet	1767 ¹²	
		Violet’s unnamed mother	1767 ¹³	
John Cuming / Cummings (1728–1788)	Benefactor of Harvard Medical School ¹⁴	Brister Freeman	1753–1822 ¹⁵	
		Jem	1755–1788 ¹⁶	
Thomas Hancock (1703–1764)	Funded a professorship	Unnamed people referred to as “Negroes”	1763 ¹⁷	Hancock Professorship of Hebrew and Other Oriental Languages
		Cato	1763 ¹⁸	

Enslaver	Harvard Affiliation(s)	Enslaved Persons	Documentation Dates	Memorialization(s)
MAJOR DONORS				
Isaac Royall Jr. (1719–1781)	Funded the first professorship in law at Harvard, forerunner of the Harvard Law School	With his father, owned more than 60 enslaved individuals in Massachusetts	1732–1783 ¹⁹	Royall Professorship of Law Harvard Law School owns a portrait of Isaac Royall Jr. and his family ²⁰
		Unknown number of enslaved people in Antigua	1732–1783 ²²	Royall House and Slave Quarters, in Medford, Massachusetts ²¹
James Perkins²³ (1761–1822)	Funded a professorship Donor to and officer of the Massachusetts General Hospital, the first HMS teaching hospital, ²⁴ at its founding ²⁵	Mousse/ Deyaha	1790s–1831 ²⁶	Perkins Professorship of Astronomy and Mathematics
	Director of the effort to create the Theological School of Cambridge, now Harvard Divinity School	An unknown number of enslaved people traded in St. Domingue (Haiti)	1789–1793 ²⁷	

Enslaver	Harvard Affiliation(s)	Enslaved Persons	Documentation Dates	Memorialization(s)
MAJOR DONORS				
Thomas Handasyd Perkins (1764–1854)	Donor to and officer of Massachusetts General Hospital at its founding ²⁸	An unknown number of enslaved people traded in St. Domingue (Haiti)	1789–1793 ²⁹	Perkins School for the Blind, in Watertown, Massachusetts ³⁰
Samuel Gardner Perkins (1767–1847)	Donor to Massachusetts General Hospital at its founding ³¹ Donor to the Massachusetts Professorship of Natural History at Harvard ³²	An unknown number of enslaved people traded in St. Domingue (Haiti)	1789–1793 ³³	The Perkins Room in Massachusetts Hall is named for a descendant of Samuel Gardner Perkins. ³⁴
Israel Thorndike (1755–1832)	Donated the Ebeling Map Collection to the Harvard Library ³⁵ Vice president of “A Society for the Promotion of Theological Education in Harvard University,” member of the Committee for Procuring Subscriptions, and donor at the founding of Harvard Divinity School ³⁶ Donor to Massachusetts General Hospital ³⁷	An unknown number of enslaved people traded in the Caribbean	1791–1793 ³⁸	A professorship in orthopedic surgery at Harvard Medical School is named for a descendant of Israel Thorndike. ³⁹
Moses Brown (1748–1820)	Donor to Harvard Divinity School ⁴⁰	An unknown number of enslaved people traded in the West Indies	1791–1793 ⁴¹	

Enslaver	Harvard Affiliation(s)	Enslaved Persons	Documentation Dates	Memorialization(s)
MAJOR DONORS				
Edwin F. Atkins (1850–1926)	Donated property in Cuba and over \$100,000 ⁴²	95 Cuban patrocinos, formerly enslaved people who were required by law to pay in order to leave the plantation properties to which they were legally bound	1884 ⁴³	The Atkins Institution in Cuba (botanical gardens was operated by Harvard until the Cuban Revolution in 1961) ⁴⁴

Notes

APPENDIX I

- 1 Wendy Warren, *New England Bound: Slavery and Colonization in Early America* (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2016), 32. Warren cites, in this passage, C. N. Degler, “Slavery and the Genesis of American Race Prejudice,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 2, no. 1 (October 1959): 54–55; Margaret Ellen Newell, “Indian Slavery in Colonial New England,” chap. 2 in *Indian Slavery in Colonial America*, edited and with an introduction by Alan Galloway (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 34; Edmund S. Morgan, *The Puritan Family: Religion and Domestic Relations in Seventeenth-Century New England* (New York, NY: Harper and Row, 1966), 109; and suggests that readers see also Linda M. Heywood and John K. Thornton, “‘Canniball Negroes,’ Atlantic Creoles, and the Identity of New England’s Charter Generation,” *African Diaspora* 4, no. 1 (2011): 79–80. See also Lorenzo Johnston Greene, *The Negro in Colonial New England, 1620–1776* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press; P. S. King & Staples, Ltd., 1942), 168; Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624–1713* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1972), 228; Allegra di Bonaventura, *For Adam’s Sake: A Family Saga in Colonial New England* (New York, NY: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2013), 17; Margaret Ellen Newell, *Brethren by Nature: New England Indians, Colonists, and the Origins of American Slavery* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015), 12–13.

- 2 See section VII of this report.

- 3 Harvard University, *Quinquennial Catalogue of the Officers and Graduates of Harvard University, 1636–1915* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1915), 120, <https://books.google.com/books?id=JiNOAAAAMAAJ>.

In this document, all pre-1752 dates have been updated to the New Style system following the Gregorian calendar, in which the calendar year runs from January 1 to December 31. See “The 1752 Calendar Change,” Colonial Records & Topics, Connecticut State Library, accessed February 17, 2022, <https://libguides.ctstatelibrary.org/hg/colonialresearch/calendar>.

- 4 “Buildings/Sites,” Harvard Property Information Resource Center, Harvard University, <https://harvardplanning.emuseum.com/sites/list>.

Table I. Enslaved by Presidents of Harvard

- 1 While not given the title of President, Nathaniel Eaton was the first leader appointed at Harvard College. See Harvard University, *Quinquennial Catalogue, 1636–1915*, 54; Samuel Eliot Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard, 1636–1936* (1936; 13th repr. Cambridge MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001), 7–10.
- 2 John Winthrop, *The History of New England from 1630 to 1649*, vol. 1, ed. James Savage (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1853), 310–311, n. 1, <https://books.google.com/books?id=KIarrcIX7QAC>. Winthrop’s description of the Moor was reprinted in John Langdon Sibley, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts, vol. 1, 1642–1658* (Cambridge, MA: Charles William Sever, 1873), 5, <https://books.google.com/books?id=SRZSAQAAMAAJ>.
- 3 On the brass markers, see Susan E. Maycock and Charles M. Sullivan, *Building Old Cambridge: Architecture and Development* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2016), 8, figure 1.7.
- 4 *Diary of Cotton Mather, 1681–1708*, Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 7th ser., vol. 7 (Boston, MA: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1911), 22, 203, https://books.google.com/books?id=IFW18_xp9MoC&newbks=1.
- 5 Will of Increase Mather, Suffolk County, MA: Probate File Papers, AmericanAncestors.org, New England Historic Genealogical Society, 2017–2019, from records supplied by the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court Archives, digitized images provided by FamilySearch.org, accessed February 15, 2022.
- 6 See Christie McDonald and Karl M. Aspelund, eds., *Increase: What’s in a Name? The Man, His Legacy, and the Naming of Mather House, Catalogue of an Exhibition in the SNLHTC Gallery, Mather House, February–May 2017* (Cambridge, MA: self-pub., 2017), https://mather.harvard.edu/files/mather/files/increasemather_e-book_web.pdf.
- 7 *Records of the Church of Christ at Cambridge in New England, 1632–1830: Comprising the Ministerial Records of Baptisms, Marriages, Deaths, Admission to Covenant and Communion*,

Dismissals and Church Proceedings, copied and ed. Stephen Paschall Sharples, (Boston, MA: Eben Putnam, 1906), 96, <https://books.google.com/books?id=RoLJh2dqZcgC>; Benjamin Wadsworth, Diary, 1725–1736, box 1, seq. 126, Papers of Benjamin Wadsworth, UAI 15.868, Harvard University Archives, [https://iif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:14299446\\$56i](https://iif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:14299446$56i); Diary of Henry Flynt, 1723–1747, seq. 86, HUG 1399.18, Harvard University Archives, [https://iif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:46676980\\$86i](https://iif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:46676980$86i); Benjamin Wadsworth Diary, 1725–1736, 1670–1737, box 1, seq. 26, Papers of Benjamin Wadsworth, UAI 15.868, Harvard University Archives, [https://iif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:14299446\\$126i](https://iif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:14299446$126i); Harvard University Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Official Minutes, September 24, 1725–March 3, 1752, box 8, vol. 12, seq. 102 and 137, Early Faculty minutes, 1725–1806, UAI 5.5, Harvard University Archives, [https://iif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:46760183\\$1i](https://iif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:46760183$1i).

- 8 See Christina Pazzanese, “To Titus, Venus, Juba, and Bilhah,” *Harvard Gazette*, April 6, 2016, <https://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2016/04/to-titus-venus-bilhah-and-juba/>; and “Wadsworth House Plaque Dedication,” Office of the President, Harvard University, accessed February 4, 2022, <https://www.harvard.edu/president/speeches-faust/2016/wadsworth-house-plaque-dedication/>.
- 9 *Church of Christ at Cambridge*, 109; and Wadsworth, Diary, 1725–1736, Harvard University Archives, seq. 39, [https://iif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:14299446\\$39i](https://iif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:14299446$39i).
- 10 *Vital Records of Cambridge Massachusetts to the Year 1850*, vol. 2, *Marriages and Deaths*, Compiled by Thomas W. Baldwin (Boston, MA: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1915), 441–442, <https://books.google.com/books?id=lc8UAAAAYAAJ>; “Diary of Rev. Edward Holyoke, 1709–1768,” *The Holyoke Diaries, 1709–1856*, with an introduction and annotations by George Francis Dow (Salem, MA: The Essex Institute, 1911), 37, 44, <https://archive.org/details/holyokediaries00dow/page/n7/mode/2up>.
- 11 See note 9 above.
- 12 Lewis Morey Hastings, “The Streets of Cambridge: Some Account of Their Origin and History,” in *The Cambridge Historical Society Publications XIV: Proceedings for the Year 1919* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge Historical Society, 1925), 65, <https://books.google.com/books?id=558yAQAAMAAJ>.
- 13 “Diary of Rev. Edward Holyoke,” 18, 22, 23, 25. Although Bilhah is never explicitly referred to in the diaries as either a servant or as “negro,” the editor identifies her as a servant and her name—which is drawn from the Hebrew Bible—is clear evidence of her status. Biblical names were common among both enslaved and free African Americans during the period of enslavement. And while white colonists also frequently used biblical names as well, Bilhah—a maid given by her mistress to the mistress’s husband to bear children for him when his wife could not (Gen. 1:1–8)—was the kind of name frequently used for

enslaved women. John C. Inscoe notes that, in the Southern United States, “those names commonly used by slaves that were rarely used by southern whites, whether drawn from African, Biblical, classical, or other sources, outnumber those names shared by both groups,” see “Carolina Slave Names: An Index to Acculturation,” *The Journal of Southern History* 49, no. 4 (November 1983): 527–554.

- 14 “Diary of Rev. Edward Holyoke,” 25.
- 15 Dinah is identified as a servant in multiple Holyoke family households, and there is substantial evidence that she was enslaved. She first appears in President Edward Holyoke’s diary in January 1757, when Holyoke recorded her weight alongside that of the other members of his household as part of an annual ritual. Dinah weighed just over 51 pounds, indicating that she was a child but obviously not a newborn. She appears several more times in President Holyoke’s diaries. In one instance, Holyoke records Dinah accompanying Mary Landman to Boston “in order for Piscataway”—Holyoke notes Molly’s last name but does not give one for Dinah; enslaved people typically were not recognized as having family names in this period. After President Holyoke’s death in 1769, Dinah reappears in his daughter-in-law’s Mary Holyoke’s household “scowering” the house and the pewter in two separate entries in 1780, and then disappears until yet another family member notes her death in 1818. Dinah’s disappearance from the family record after 1780 is consistent with the end of slavery in Massachusetts as a result of several court cases in 1781. One other enslaved person—identified by the editor as a “negro servant”—left the Holyoke family around this time: Mary Holyoke noted on December 14, 1781, “Cato left us to live in Boston.” See “Index,” *Holyoke Diaries*, 195; “Diary of Rev. Edward Holyoke,” 17, 18, 20, 22, 26; “Diary of Mrs. Mary (Vial) Holyoke, 1760–1800,” *Holyoke Diaries*, 103, 105, 106, 111; “Diary of Margaret Holyoke, Daughter of Dr. Augustus and Mary (Vial) Holyoke, 1801–1823,” *Holyoke Diaries*, 169; on the end of slavery in Massachusetts, see “Massachusetts Constitution and the Abolition of Slavery,” Mass.gov, accessed December 1, 2021, <https://www.mass.gov/guides/massachusetts-constitution-and-the-abolition-of-slavery>.

Like Bilhah, Dinah is never identified as being of African or Indigenous descent. Also like Bilhah, Dinah is a biblical name frequently assigned to enslaved women. See Newbell Niles Puckett, *Black Names in America: Origins and Usage*, edited by Murray Heller (Boston, MA: G. K. Hall, 1975), and Inscoe, “Carolina Slave Names: An Index to Acculturation.”

The scant records leave Dinah’s life open to interpretation. One scholar has posited, given Dinah’s age when she first appears in the diaries, that she may have been Bilhah’s daughter. Another has speculated that the trip with Molly Landman in 1762 may have been a permanent departure, thus rendering the Dinah in later family diaries another individual. See Jane Kamensky, “The View from 1764,” in *The Philosophy Chamber: Art and Science in Harvard’s Teaching Cabinet, 1766–1820*, ed. Ethan W. Lasser (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2017), 6,

and Christina J. Hodge, “A Sharp White Background’: Enslavement and Privilege at Eighteenth-Century Harvard College,” *Historical Archaeology* 55, no. 4 (2021): 470.

16 *Vital Records of Cambridge*, 2:805.

17 Hastings, “The Streets of Cambridge,” 62.

6 Charles Osgood, John Winthrop (1588–1649), c. 1840–1850, oil on canvas, 76.2 x 63.5 cm, Harvard Art Museums, <https://hvard.art/o/304798>.

7 Manegold, *Ten Hills Farm*, 42; see Roger Williams to John Winthrop, August 1639, in Glenn W. LaFantasie, ed., *The Correspondence of Roger Williams*, vol. 1, 1629–1653, assisted by Robert S. Cocroft et al., revised from an unpublished manuscript ed. Bradford F. Swan (Hanover, RI and London, UK: Brown University Press/University of New England Press, 1988), 199–200, cited in Newell, *Brethren by Nature*, 79, where the Rhode Island founder in a letter to Winthrop described these children as sons.

8 Newell, *Brethren by Nature*, 66, documents at least three women and two men entering Winthrop’s household after the Pequot War; this number presumably includes the wife of Mononotto, leaving an additional two women as well as the two men. She further describes Winthrop’s 1639 will in which he left his property on Governor’s Island and the enslaved Indigenous people who labored there to his son Adam. See also Francis J. Bremer, *John Winthrop: America’s Forgotten Founding Father* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 318.

9 Harvard University, *Quinquennial Catalogue, 1636–1915*, 13. See also Sibley, *Biographical sketches of graduates of Harvard, 1642–1658*, 1–2, esp. n. 1.

10 Josiah Quincy, *The History of Harvard University* (Cambridge, MA: John Owen, 1840), 1:172.

11 Newell, *Brethren by Nature*, 33–35, 93. Israel Stoughton played a prominent role in the Pequot War, commanding soldiers from the Massachusetts Bay Colony in the slaughter or capture and enslavement of hundreds of members of the Pequot tribe in what is now southern New England. Pequot women and children who survived the war were divided among Indigenous tribes allied with the English colonists and among English settlers in New England, while adult men were shipped to the West Indies and traded to English planters in exchange for cotton, tobacco, and African slaves. See also James Savage, Richard S. Dunn, and Laetitia Yeandle, eds., *The Journal of John Winthrop, 1630–1649* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 225–228, 246.

12 “Stoughton Hall: Site Name History,” Harvard Property Information Resource Center, Harvard University, accessed March 14, 2022, <https://harvardplanning.emuseum.com/sites/954/stoughton-hall>; Quincy, *History of Harvard*, 1:172–180.

13 Newell, *Brethren by Nature*, 93–94, asserts that Dorcas is the “Blackamore maid” held up as a sign of the colonists’ success in Christianizing their servants in *New England’s first*

Table II. Enslaved by Harvard Fellows and Overseers

1 Throughout the colonial era and well into the 19th century, the University did not control the appointment of Overseers: The colonial and later the state legislature determined membership. Generally, all Governors, Deputy Governors, and Lieutenant Governors were automatically Harvard Overseers by virtue of their positions, along with magistrates and ministers from Cambridge and the surrounding towns. After 1780, the list also included various members of the state legislature. Harvard and the Legacy of Slavery researchers have not reviewed the full list of Overseers in the 17th and 18th centuries to identify all of those who were slaveholders; this is an important area for future research. For a full description of the permutations of the Board of Overseers in the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries, see Harvard University, *Quinquennial Catalogue, 1636–1915*, 13–17.

2 Harvard University, *Quinquennial Catalogue, 1636–1915*, 13.

3 Newell, *Brethren by Nature*, 40–41, 79, describes this woman’s enslavement and later escape from Winthrop’s household. See also C. S. Manegold, *Ten Hills Farm: The Forgotten History of Slavery in the North* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010), 42. As Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony during the Pequot War, Winthrop also decided what to do with the estimated hundreds of Indigenous people taken prisoner by soldiers of the Massachusetts Bay colony during the war. He oversaw the distribution of women and children as slaves to English colonists, as well as the shipment of captives to the West Indies for sale to the sugar planters there. See Manegold, *Ten Hill Farm*, 41–43; for a more detailed account, see Newell, “‘David’s warre’: The Pequot War and the Origins of Slavery in New England,” chap. 1, “‘I doe not see how wee can thrive untill wee get into a stock of slaves’: Slavery in the Puritan Atlantic World,” chap. 2, and Indians we have received into our houses”: Pequot War Captives in New England Households, *Brethren by Nature*.

4 “About,” Winthrop House, Harvard College, accessed January 25, 2022, <https://winthrop.harvard.edu/about>.

5 “Memorial Hall Sculptures,” Office for the Arts at Harvard: Memorial Hall/Lowell Hall Complex, accessed March 23, 2022, <https://sites.fas.harvard.edu/~memhall/sculptures.html>.

- fruits: in respect, first of the conversion of some, conviction of divers, preparation of sundry of the Indians, 2. of the progresse of learning, in the collidge at Cambridge in Massachusetts Bay. With divers other speciall matters concerning that country (London, UK: R. O. and G. D. for Henry Overton, 1643), 10–11. On April 13, 1641, John Winthrop recorded in his journal that, “A negro maid, servant to Mr. Stoughton of Dorchester [...] was received into the church and baptized.” *Journal of John Winthrop*, 347. “Dorcas ye Blackmore” is identified as becoming a member of the church on April 16, 1641, in *Records of the First Church of Dorchester in New England, 1636–1734* (Boston, MA: George H. Ellis, 1891), 5, <https://books.google.com/books?id=0-xzW5V-AzoC>.
- 14 Harvard University, *Quinquennial Catalogue, 1636–1915*, 13, names Endicott as an Overseer by virtue of his role as Deputy Governor of the colony in 1642, and further notes that, from 1642 until 1697, the overseers were comprised of “the Governor and Deputy Governor” along with local magistrates and elders. Endicott served as governor, deputy governor, or assistant governor of the colony for all but one year from 1629 until his death in 1665, see “Biographical Sketches: John Endicott,” Guide to the Collection, Endicott Family Papers:1612–1958, Massachusetts Historical Society, accessed March 10, 2022, <https://www.masshist.org/collection-guides/view/fa0021>.
 - 15 Hugh Peter to John Winthrop, July 15, 1637, Winthrop Family Papers 3:450, Massachusetts Historical Society, accessed March 8, 2022, <https://www.masshist.org/publications/winthrop/index.php/view/PWF03d354>. Hugh Peter received a young woman (see below), so the “younge boy” he requested in his letter must have been for Endicott.
 - 16 Sibley, *Graduates of Harvard University, 1642–1658*, 1–2, esp. n. 1; Harvard University, *Quinquennial Catalogue, 1636–1915*, 13.
 - 17 Hugh Peter to John Winthrop, July 15, 1637, Massachusetts Historical Society; *Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County Massachusetts*, vol. 1, 1636–1656 (Salem, MA: The Essex Institute, 1911), 11, <https://books.google.com/books?id=7Boi57UNjuUC>; Hugh Peter to John Winthrop, September 4, 1639, Winthrop Family Papers, vol. 4, Massachusetts Historical Society, accessed March 10, 2022, <https://www.masshist.org/publications/winthrop/index.php/view/PWF04d132>; *Records of the Court of Assistants of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay, 1630–1692*, vol. 2 (Boston, MA: County of Suffolk, 1904), 95, <https://books.google.com/books?id=I70VAQAIAAJ>, all cited in Newell, *Brethren by Nature*.
 - 18 Leverett would have been an Overseer of the College by virtue of his role as Governor of the colony from 1673 to 1679. John Leverett Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, accessed March 14, 2022, <https://www.masshist.org/features/saltonstall/john-leverett>.
 - 19 Leverett was directly and extensively involved in the mass enslavement of Indigenous people during King Philip’s War. He recruited mercenaries to fight on behalf of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in King Philip’s War with promises of “captives and plunder.” In September 1676, Leverett issued a certificate declaring New England’s Indigenous peoples—including noncombatant women and children—enslavable. By the end of the war, there were roughly 2,000 captive Natives in New England households—a number that does not include those sold to plantations in the West Indies or in markets on the other side of the Atlantic. Governor Leverett’s Certificate, September 12, 1676, Photostats, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, cited in Newell, *Brethren by Nature*, 141, 150–151, 159.
 - 20 “Leverett House: Site Name History,” Harvard Property Information Resource Center, Harvard University, accessed March 14, 2022, <https://harvardplanning.emuseum.com/sites/940/leverett-house>; “Collection Overview: Biography (Early Life and Career),” Papers of John Leverett 1652–1724, 1730, UAI 15.866, Harvard University Archives, accessed March 14, 2022, <https://hollisarchives.lib.harvard.edu/repositories/4/resources/4298>; “John Leverett,” History of the Presidency, Harvard Office of the President, accessed March 14, 2022, <https://www.harvard.edu/president/history/#1700s>.
 - 21 John Langdon Sibley, *Biographical sketches of graduates of Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts, Volume 2, 1659–1677* (Cambridge, MA: Charles William Sever, University Bookstore, 1881), 166–188.
 - 22 “History,” Dudley Community, accessed January 14, 2022, <https://dudley.harvard.edu/history>; Dean Dudley, *Supplement to the History and Genealogy of the Dudley Family* (self pub., 1898), 8, <https://books.google.com/books?vid=HARVARD:32044014585277>.
 - 23 Both the unnamed girl and Peter are listed among “Indians” who died in Roxbury in *Vital Records of Roxbury Massachusetts to the End of the Year 1849*, vol. 2, *Marriages and Deaths*, Compiled by Thomas W. Baldwin (Salem, MA: The Essex Institute, 1926), 680, <https://books.google.com/books?id=ApwIAQAAMAAJ>, cited in Wayne Tucker, “Joseph Dudley, Brill the Enslaved Coachman, and Enslaved Indians,” The Dudley Family of Roxbury & Their Enslaved People, Eleven Names Project, accessed August 28, 2021, <https://eleven-names.com/2021/08/18/judge-paul-dudley/>. With thanks to the Hon. Byron Rushing for bringing this history to the attention of the Harvard and the Legacy of Slavery team.

- 24 *Diary of Samuel Sewall, 1674–1729, Vol. II, 1699/1700–1714*, Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. 6, 5th ser. (Boston, MA: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1879), 371, <https://books.google.com/books?id=hbsTAAAYAAJ>; *Diary of Samuel Sewall, 1674–1729, Vol. II, 1699/1700–1714*, Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. 7, 5th ser. (Boston, MA: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1882), 9, 232, 248, <https://books.google.com/books?id=y7sTAAAYAAJ>; Will of Rebecca Dudley, *Suffolk County, MA: Probate File Papers*, *AmericanAncestors.org*, New England Historic Genealogical Society, 2017–2019, (from records supplied by the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court Archives, digitized images provided by FamilySearch.org), cited in Wayne Tucker, “Joseph Dudley.”
- 25 Mather would have been appointed an Overseer by virtue of his position as the Minister of the North Church in Boston, after the composition of the Overseers reverted in 1707 to the original 1642 rules: “The Governor and Deputy Governor for the time being, and all the magistrates of this jurisdiction, together with the teaching elders of the six next adjoining towns, viz. Cambridge, Watertown, Charlestown, Boston, Roxbury, and Dorchester....” See Harvard University, *Quinquennial Catalogue*, 13. See also John Langdon Sibley, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts, Volume III, 1678–1689* (Cambridge, MA: Charles William Sever, University Bookstore, 1885), 20, 21.
- 26 *Diary of Cotton Mather, 1681–1708*, 22, 203. Historians believe that this is the same enslaved person named in Increase Mather’s 1723 will as “The Spaniard.” See Henry W. Haynes, “Cotton Mather and His Slaves,” *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* (Oct. 1889), 191–192, <https://www.americanantiquarian.org/proceedings/48057585.pdf>.
- 27 See McDonald and Aspelund, *Increase: What’s in a Name?*.
- 28 After 10 years of servitude, Mather permitted Onesimus to purchase a “Negro-lad” to replace himself in Mather’s household. Thereafter, Mather wrote, Onesimus was permitted to “Enjoy and Employ his whole Time for his own purposes”—except for a variety of services that he was still required to perform for Mather’s family, including bringing in firewood every night, shoveling at the Mather home after “great snows,” and generally being on call when the family deemed his services necessary to them. See *Diary of Cotton Mather, 1681–1708*, 363; *Diary of Cotton Mather, 1709–1724*, Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 7th ser., vol. 8 (Boston, MA: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1912), 363.
- 29 *Diary of Cotton Mather, 1709–1724*, 384.
- 30 *Diary of Cotton Mather, 1709–1724*, 477, 562.
- 31 *Church of Christ at Cambridge*, 79; “First Church Timeline,” First Church in Cambridge, accessed January 14, 2022, <https://www.firstchurchcambridge.org/first-church-timeline/>.

First Church in Cambridge functioned as the official church for the University until 1814, when the Corporation and Overseers voted to create and maintain a “Society for religious instruction, worship and ordinances on the Lord’s day” within Harvard. See *Church of Christ in Cambridge*, 394–395; Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard*, 201–202.

Harvard “held a partial right of ownership” in the second, third, and fourth meetinghouses built for the use by the Church of Christ (today’s First Church) from the Second Meetinghouse constructed in 1651 until the Fourth, to which it contributed one-seventh of the cost of construction in the mid-18th century. Each of these meetinghouses stood near the site occupied since 1925 by Lehman Hall in Harvard Yard. See Maycock and Sullivan, *Building Old Cambridge*, 615–616.
- 32 *Church of Christ at Cambridge*, 59, 183, 184.
- 33 Hastings, “The Streets of Cambridge,” 41, 64; Maycock and Sullivan, *Building Old Cambridge*, 178–180.
- 34 William Thaddeus Harris, *Epitaphs from the Old Burying-ground in Cambridge, with Notes* (Cambridge, MA: John Owen, 1845), 48, <https://books.google.com/books?id=wrXW6T1MeKUC>.
- 35 Harris, *Epitaphs*, 48.
- 36 Samuel A. Eliot, *A Sketch of the History of Harvard College and of its Present State* (Boston, MA: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1848), 172.
- 37 Cecil Headlam, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series. America and West Indies. 1706–1708. June. Preserved in the Public Record Office* (London, UK: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1916; repr. Vaduz, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint Ltd., 1964), 262, <https://books.google.com/books?id=nIMwAQAAAJ>, cited in Wayne Tucker, “Paul Dudley: Pirates, Epic Grift, and a Baptism,” Dudley Family of Roxbury.
- 38 “History,” Dudley Community; Dudley, *Genealogy of the Dudley Family*, 8.
- 39 Walter Eliot Thwing, *History of the First Church in Roxbury Massachusetts, 1630–1904* (Boston, MA: W. A. Butterfield, 1908), 143, <https://books.google.com/books?id=MarbrrRJusYC>, cited in Tucker, “Paul Dudley.”
- 40 *Church of Christ at Cambridge*, 124; “First Church Timeline.”

- 41 *Church of Christ at Cambridge*, 108.
- 42 This William Brattle (AM 1722) was the son of the Reverend William Brattle (AM 1680) described above.
- 43 Clifford K. Shipton, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, vol. 7, 1722–1725 (Boston, MA: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1945), 13.
- The Hopkins Trust was established in the 1710s with a bequest from benefactor Edward Hopkins (listed below) and administered primarily for the benefit of Harvard College. See Charles Pickering Bowditch, *An Account of the Trust Administered by the Trustees of the Charity of Edward Hopkins* (1889), <https://books.google.com/books?id=jAcAAAAAYAAJ>.
- 44 *Church of Christ at Cambridge*, 97.
- 45 John Singleton Copley, *William Brattle (1706–1776)*, 1756, oil on canvas, 128 x 102.5 cm, Harvard Art Museums, <https://hvrd.art/o/227540>.
- 46 Hastings, “The Streets of Cambridge,” 41, 64; Maycock and Sullivan, *Building Old Cambridge*, 178–180.
- 47 *Church of Christ at Cambridge*, 109.
- 48 Clifford K. Shipton, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, vol. 5, *Biographical Sketches of Those Who Attended Harvard University, 1701–1712* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1937), 637.
- 49 *Church of Christ at Cambridge*, 109, 110.
- 50 *Church of Christ at Cambridge*, 109.
- 51 Shipton, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates, 1701–1712*, 227.
- 52 Shipton, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates, 1701–1712*, 227. On the Hopkins Foundation see Bowditch, *Charity of Edward Hopkins*.
- 53 *Vital Records of Cambridge*, 2:806.
- 54 *Church of Christ at Cambridge*, 109, 111.
- 55 *Church of Christ at Cambridge*, 111.
- 56 *Church of Christ at Cambridge*, 109.
- 57 *Church of Christ at Cambridge*, 171.
- 58 “August 21, 1757,” Diary of Ebenezer Storer, 1749–1764, p. 73, Mss C 2004, R. Stanton Avery Special Collections, New England Historic Genealogical Society, Congregational Library and Archives, accessed August 25, 2021, <https://congregationallibrary.quartexcollections.com/Documents/Detail/ebenezer-storer-diary-1749-1764/32130?item=32232>.
- 59 In 1771, Storer served as the executor of his mother Mary Storer's estate when she died in Boston. The first thing listed on her probate inventory is “A negro man named London,” valued at £20. In 1761, London was one of three enslaved people inherited by Mary upon her husband's death. There is no will included in the probate record, and it is unclear how Ebenezer Storer, in his role as executor, disposed of London—whether by sale, by distributing him to one of Mary's heirs, or by taking ownership of London himself. See Mary Storer Probate Record, *Suffolk County, MA: Probate File Papers*, AmericanAncestors.org, New England Historic Genealogical Society, 2017–2019, (from records supplied by the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court Archives, digitized images provided by FamilySearch.org), accessed August 25, 2021; Ebenezer Storer Probate Record, *Suffolk County, MA: Probate File Papers*, AmericanAncestors.org, New England Historic Genealogical Society, 2017–2019, (from records supplied by the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court Archives, digitized images provided by FamilySearch.org), accessed August 25, 2021.
- 60 *The Manifesto Church: Records of the Church in Brattle Square, Boston, with Lists of Communicants, Baptisms, Marriages and Funerals, 1699–1872* (Boston, MA: The Benevolent Fraternity of Churches, 1902), 184, 185, 187, 189, <https://books.google.com/books?id=Iufi5eVXCGoC>. Cato first appears in the 1764 will of Thomas Hancock, John's uncle and guardian. Thomas Hancock was also a benefactor of Harvard College, leaving £1000 in his will to fund the Hancock Professorship of Hebrew and Other Oriental Languages. Will of Thomas Hancock, *Suffolk County, MA: Probate File Papers*, AmericanAncestors.org, New England Historic Genealogical Society, 2017–2019, (from records supplied by the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court Archives, digitized images provided by FamilySearch.org), accessed April 2, 2021. The will stipulates that Cato should be manumitted when he turns 30.
- Cato also appeared in Lydia Hancock's 1777 will in which she stipulates that he should receive 6 pounds, 13 shillings, and 4 pence from her estate “at the time he shall become free by my late husband's will.” Will of Mrs. Lydia Hancock, *Suffolk County, MA: Probate File Papers*, AmericanAncestors.org, New England Historic Genealogical Society, 2017–2019, (from records supplied by the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court Archives, digitized images provided by FamilySearch.org), accessed April 2, 2021. As John and Lydia Hancock shared a home, Cato and the other enslaved people named in Lydia Hancock's will lived in John Hancock's house up to the time

of her death. See William M. Fowler, *The Baron of Beacon Hill* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1980), 77.

- 61 *Manifesto Church*, 185; Pamela Athearn Filbert, “Curiouser and Curiouser,” Vita Brevis: A resource for family history from AmericanAncestors.org by the New England Historic Genealogical Society, February 25, 2019, <https://vitabrevis.americanancestors.org/2019/02/curiouser/>.
- 62 Will of Mrs. Lydia Hancock, AmericanAncestors.org.
- 63 Will of Mrs. Lydia Hancock, AmericanAncestors.org.
- 64 Will of Mrs. Lydia Hancock, AmericanAncestors.org.
- 65 Where documents refer to more than one enslaved person but do not specify a number, we have counted two enslaved people for the purposes of the overall number reported elsewhere by the committee.
- 66 From Thomas Hubbard’s will, quoted in Clifford K. Shipton, *Sibley’s Harvard Graduates*, vol. 6, 1713–1721 (Boston, MA: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1942), 494.
- 67 Oliver was an overseer by virtue of his position as lieutenant governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. See note 1 above.
- 68 “Thomas Oliver UK Loyalist Claims, 1783,” American Loyalist Claims, Series II: Class: AO 13, Piece: 048, electronic record, The National Archives of the UK (retrieved from American Loyalist Claims, 1776–1835, AO 12–13, Ancestry.com).
- 69 Clifford K. Shipton, *Sibley’s Harvard Graduates, Volume XIII, 1751–1755: Biographical Sketches of Those Who Attended Harvard College in the Classes 1751–1755 with Bibliographical and Other Notes* (Boston, MA: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1965), 336.

Table III. Enslaved by Harvard Faculty Members

- 1 Hannibal had three children who were baptized at First Church. We have not included them here because research to date has not uncovered their mother’s identity, whether she was enslaved, or by whom, nor has it uncovered whether and by whom the children were enslaved.
- 2 *Church of Christ at Cambridge*, 109, 145; *Vital Records of Cambridge*, 2:442.

- 3 Diary of Henry Flynt, 1723–1747, seq. 264, Harvard University Archives, [https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:46676980\\$264i](https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:46676980$264i).
- 4 John Greenwood, Henry Flynt (1675–1760), c. 1749–1750, oil on canvas, 87 cm x 77.2 cm x 5.7 cm (framed), Harvard Art Museums, <https://hvr.dartmouth.edu/o/304644>.
- 5 *Church of Christ at Cambridge*, 109.
- 6 *Vital Records of Cambridge*, 2:441.
- 7 John Winthrop, Annotated almanac, 1759, box 5, vol. 4, seq. 5, Papers of John and Hannah Winthrop, 1728–1789, HUM 9, Harvard University Archives, [https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:45560269\\$5i](https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:45560269$5i).
- 8 See “About,” Winthrop House, Harvard College, accessed January 25, 2022, <https://winthrop.harvard.edu/about>.
- 9 John Singleton Copley, John Winthrop (1714–1779), 1773, oil on canvas, 155.6 cm x 121.3 cm x 11.4 cm (framed), Harvard Art Museums, <https://hvr.dartmouth.edu/o/299882>.
- 10 Hastings, “The Streets of Cambridge,” 68. The square is across Mt. Auburn Street from the former site of Professor Winthrop’s house on the corner of Mt. Auburn and what is now John F. Kennedy St. See Maycock and Sullivan, *Building Old Cambridge*, 138, figure 3.35.
- 11 “Historic Markers,” Cambridge Historic Commission, accessed January 20, 2022, <https://www.cambridgema.gov/historic/cambridgehistory/historicmarkers>.
- 12 Winthrop, Annotated almanac, Harvard University Archives.

Table IV. Enslaved by Harvard Staff Members

- 1 Historian Wendy Warren identifies Thomas Danforth as an enslaver in *New England Bound* (154), citing *An Historic Guide to Cambridge*, which notes that, in his will, Danforth declared “that the negro man Philip ffeild [Ed. note: *Ffeild in table*] should serve Mr. Foxcroft four years, and then be a free man.” See *An Historic Guide to Cambridge*, compiled by members of the Hannah Winthrop Chapter of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution (Cambridge, MA: self pub., 1907), <https://books.google.com/books?id=ckIVAAAAYAAJ>.
- 2 This Andrew Bordman was the fourth member of his family to serve as a steward. He was also brother-in-law to University President Benjamin Wadsworth. After his death, his son became the fifth and final Bordman to serve in the role. See Clifford K. Shipton, *Sibley’s Harvard Graduates*, vol. 4, *Biographical Sketches of Those Who Attended Harvard*

University, 1690–1700 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1933), 19, 84; Harvard University, *Quinquennial Catalogue of the Officers and Graduates of Harvard University, 1636–1890* (Cambridge, MA: John Wilson and Son, 1890), 56, <https://books.google.com/books?id=zh9OAAAAMAAJ>.

- 3 Deed of sale, January 1, 1716/7, box 2, folder 3, Papers of the Bordman family, 1686–1837, HUGS 1228, Harvard University Archives, [https://iif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:52823945\\$1i](https://iif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:52823945$1i).
- 4 Maycock and Sullivan, Building Old Cambridge, 123, 759, 765.
- 5 Harris, *Epitaphs*, 90.
- 6 Notebook, 1686–1741, box 3, Papers of the Bordman family, 1686–1837, HUG 1228, Harvard University Archives, [https://iif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:52760842\\$61i](https://iif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:52760842$61i). See also *Church of Christ at Cambridge*, 145.
- 7 Notebook, 1686–1741, Harvard University Archives; Harris, *Epitaphs*, 90.
- 8 Notebook, 1686–1741, Harvard University Archives.
- 9 Notebook, 1686–1741, Harvard University Archives.
- 10 Notebook, 1686–1741, Harvard University Archives.
- 11 *Church of Christ at Cambridge*, 109.
- 12 *Vital Records of Cambridge*, 2:442. Elizabeth Bordman was the widow of Steward Andrew Bordman (II) and the mother of Steward Andrew Bordman (III). See *Vital Records of Cambridge to the Year 1850*, vol. 1, *Births*, compiled by Thomas W. Baldwin (Boston, MA: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1914), 73, <https://books.google.com/books?id=SMscZFWeblsC>.
- 13 Shepard Congregational Society, *The Manual of the First Church in Cambridge (Congregational), Corner of Garden and Mason Streets, Cambridge, Massachusetts* (Boston, MA: Press of Samuel Usher, 1900), 30, <https://books.google.com/books?id=mQAFEN3KfGsC>.

Hastings was steward of Harvard College in 1767, when student Samuel Phillips wrote a letter to his parents that described taking a meal in the College kitchens “among the Negros.” Given that Hastings is documented in First Church records as having enslaved a man named Cato as early as 1761, and that an enslaved child born in Hastings’ household several years after this letter was also named Cato—presumably after his father—it seems likely that the adult Cato was one of the Black workers Phillips mentions in his letter. Samuel Phillips 5th to father Samuel Phillips the 4th, December 4, 1767, box 1, folder 21, Phillips family collection, Phillips Academy Archives and Special Collections, Andover, Massachusetts, <https://phillipsacademyarchives.net/collections/phillips-family-papers/samuel-phillips-5th-to-father-samuel-phillips-the-4th/>.

- 14 “Jonathan Hastings House,” Cambridge and the American Revolution, History Cambridge, accessed January 21, 2022, <https://historycambridge.org/Cambridge-Revolution/Hastings%20House.html>.

- 15 *Church of Christ at Cambridge*, 172, 224, 226.
- 16 *Church of Christ at Cambridge*, 233.
- 17 *Church of Christ at Cambridge*, 234.

V. Enslaved by Major Donors to Harvard

- 1 See Bowditch, *Charity of Edward Hopkins*.
- 2 Edward Hopkins probate record, Connecticut State Library, Probate Packets, Hopkins, Deborah-Hosmer, S, 1641–1880, Ancestry.com, Connecticut Wills and Probate Records, 1609–1999.
- 3 See Bowditch, *Charity of Edward Hopkins*, and “Biographical/Historical” note, II: Hopkinton Records, 1700–ca. 1880s, Records of the Trustees of the Charity of Edward Hopkins, HUY 26, Harvard University Archives, accessed October 13, 2021, <https://id.lib.harvard.edu/ead/c/hua47010c00016/catalog>.
- 4 Josiah Quincy, *History of Harvard*, 1:406–407.
- 5 Peterson, *City-State of Boston*, 130–133. See also Newell, *Brethren by Nature*, 142, 145, 168–170.
- 6 “Notable Alumni,” The Boston Latin School, accessed November 9, 2021, https://www.bls.org/m/pages/index.jsp?uREC_ID=203830&type=d&pREC_ID=404406.
- 7 Harvard University, *Quinquennial Catalogue, 1636–1915*, 22.
- 8 Clifford K. Shipton, *Sibley’s Harvard Graduates*, vol. 8, 1726–1730 (Boston, MA: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1951), 509–510.
- 9 *Church of Christ at Cambridge*, 109.
- 10 Hastings, “The Streets of Cambridge,” 68.
- 11 *Edmund Trowbridge*, ca. 1730–1740, oil on canvas, 113.8 cm x 87.1 cm, National Portrait Gallery, https://npg.si.edu/object/npg_H-AAA__194_.
- 12 *Church of Christ at Cambridge*, 203.
- 13 *Church of Christ at Cambridge*, 203.
- 14 Elise Lemire, *Black Walden: Slavery and Its Aftermath in Concord, Massachusetts* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 114–115; Will of John Cuming, *Middlesex County, MA: Probate File Papers, 1648–1871*, AmericanAncestors.org, New England Historic

- Genealogical Society, 2014, (from records supplied by the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court Archives, digitized images provided by FamilySearch.org); Quincy, *History of Harvard*, 2:423–424; Thomas Francis Harrington, *The Harvard Medical School: A History, narrative, and documentary*, edited by James Gregory Mumford, 3 vols. (New York, NY: Lewis Publishing Company, 1905), 1:271–272.
- 15 Lemire, *Black Walden*, esp. 19–21, 126–127.
 - 16 Lemire, *Black Walden*, esp. 41, 126–127.
 - 17 Will of Thomas Hancock, AmericanAncestors.org.
 - 18 Will of Thomas Hancock, AmericanAncestors.org.
 - 19 “Documenting Those Enslaved by the Royalls,” Royall House and Slave Quarters, accessed January 9, 2022, <https://royallhouse.org/slavery/documenting-those-enslaved-by-the-royalls/>. See also Janet Halley, “My Isaac Royall Legacy,” *Harvard BlackLetter Law Journal* 24 (2008): 130–131, <http://www.law.harvard.edu/faculty/jhalley/cv/24.Harvard.Blackletter.117.pdf>.
 - 20 Robert Feke, *Isaac Royall and family*, 1741, oil on canvas, 56.1875 in x 77.75 in, Harvard Law School Library, https://images.hollis.harvard.edu/permalink/f/100kie6/HVD_VIAolvwor598105. See also “The Legacy of Isaac Royall, Jr.,” Exhibit Addenda, Harvard Law School, accessed February 4, 2022, <https://exhibits.law.harvard.edu/hls-shield-exhibit>.
 - 21 See Royall House and Slave Quarters, accessed January 9, 2022, <https://royallhouse.org/>.
 - 22 Daniel R. Coquillette and Bruce A. Kimball, *On the Battlefield of Merit: Harvard Law School, the First Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), 81–82.
 - 23 The Perkins brothers (James, Thomas Handasyd, and Samuel Gardner) bought and sold enslaved human beings to turn a profit. In the 1780s and 1790s, they ran a mercantile house in St. Domingue that brought foodstuffs and timber from New England to the Caribbean for sale; purchased enslaved people directly off of ships and in the markets in St. Domingue for sale on other Caribbean islands; and purchased sugar, coffee, and other products produced by enslaved people in the Caribbean for sale in the U.S. and Europe. All three brothers spent time in St. Domingue, although Thomas quickly returned to New England for his health. See “Scope and Content,” Perkins Family Papers, Boston Athenaeum, Massachusetts June 1, 2021, <https://cdm.bostonathenaeum.org/digital/collection/p15482coll1/id/874/>; Carl Seaburg and Stanley Paterson, *Merchant Prince of Boston: Colonel T. H. Perkins, 1764–1854* (1971; repr., Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), esp. 38–42.
 - 24 On its website, Massachusetts General Hospital (MGH) is described as “the first teaching hospital of Harvard University’s new medical school” when it was established. “About Us: The Mass General Difference,” Massachusetts General Hospital, accessed November 9, 2021, <https://www.massgeneral.org/about/>. On the work of Dr. John Collins Warren, first Dean of Harvard Medical School, to found MGH, see Edward Warren, *The Life of John Collins Warren, M. D., Compiled Chiefly from His Autobiography and Journals* (Boston, MA: Ticknor and Fields, 1860), 1:98–102, <https://books.google.com/books?id=Wcc0AQAAIAAJ>, and N. I. Bowditch, *A History of the Massachusetts General Hospital* (Boston, MA: John Wilson & Son, 1851), 3, <https://books.google.com/books?id=qg8DAAAAQAAJ>. Bowditch lists Harvard among the original subscribers to the fundraising effort for the hospital, see *ibid.*, 402.
 - 25 Bowditch, *Massachusetts General Hospital*, esp. 417, 428.
 - 26 “DIED [Mousse],” *The Liberator* (Boston, MA), November 5, 1831; “[Meetings of 1823]—Memoir of James Perkins,” in *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, vol. 1 (Boston, MA: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1791), 358.
 - 27 Perkins Family Papers, 1780–1882, MSS. L816, Boston Athenaeum, Massachusetts, accessed October 28, 2021, <https://cdm.bostonathenaeum.org/digital/collection/p15482coll1/id/874/>. The relevant material in this collection, including correspondence to and from Thomas, James, and Samuel Gardner Perkins, dates to the period when the brothers ran a mercantile business based in St. Domingue (Haiti). Many of the letters are explicit in their descriptions of the purchase and sale of enslaved people, including reports from ship captains on the profits and losses associated with such sales.
 - 28 Bowditch, *Massachusetts General Hospital*, esp. 417, 428.
 - 29 See note 23 above.
 - 30 Anna Gardner Fish, “Thomas Handasyd Perkins,” Founders, Perkins History Museum, Perkins School for the Blind, accessed August 13, 2021, <https://www.perkins.org/founders/#TH-Perkins>.
 - 31 Bowditch, *Massachusetts General Hospital*, 428.
 - 32 Quincy, *History of Harvard*, 2:291, 543. After an 1833 bequest by Dr. Joshua Fisher, the professorship was renamed the Fisher Professor of Natural History. See Quincy, *History of Harvard*, 2:428, 628 and “Asa Gray at 200: Harvard Professor,” Harvard University Herbaria and Libraries, accessed January 21, 2022, <https://huh.harvard.edu/book/harvard-professor>.

See also Samuel A. Eliot, *A Sketch of the History of Harvard College and of its Present State* (Boston, MA: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1848). Between them, the three Perkins brothers also supported the Astronomical Observatory (637), the libraries (488), a fundraising effort to build an exhibition space (401, 592–593), and students (182).
 - 33 See note 23 above.

- 34 Harvard University, *Dedication of the Thomas Nelson Perkins Room in Massachusetts Hall to the Use of the President and Fellows of Harvard College* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1941). For family genealogy, see Harold Clarke Durrell, “Memoirs of Deceased Members of the New England Historic Genealogical Society: Thomas Nelson Perkins,” *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 92 (January 1938): 84–85.
- Neither Perkins Hall nor the Perkin Laboratory Building on the Harvard University campus are named for direct ancestors or descendants of James, Thomas Handasyd, or Samuel Gardner Perkins. See “Perkins Hall: Site Name History,” Harvard Property Information Resource Center, Harvard University, accessed January 24, 2022, <https://harvardplanning.emuseum.com/sites/783/perkins-hall> and “Perkin Laboratory: Site Name History,” Harvard Property Information Resource Center, Harvard University, accessed January 24, 2022, <https://harvardplanning.emuseum.com/sites/670/perkin-laboratory>.
- 35 Quincy, *History of Harvard*, 2:411–413, 596–597.
- 36 Quincy, *History of Harvard*, 2:545–548.
- 37 Bowditch, *Massachusetts General Hospital*, 430.
- 38 See, for example, “Orders to Nicholas Thorndike from Brown & Thorndike,” October 11, 1791, 18460 – Correspondence, Historic Beverly, Massachusetts, <https://beverlyhistory.pastperfectonline.com/archive/63CB7150-96A9-40C7-A1E3-312313391417>. “Bill between Nicholas Thorndike and Brown & Thorndike,” February 10, 1792, 18483 – Bill of Sale, Historic Beverly, Massachusetts, <https://beverlyhistory.pastperfectonline.com/archive/E697F9A5-C2A9-4E68-BAB9-270264606260>; “Bill of sales by Brown & Thorndike in account of Nicholas Thorndike,” February 28, 1792, 18484 – Bill of Sale, Historic Beverly, Massachusetts, <https://beverlyhistory.pastperfectonline.com/archive/86F5C109-BF6A-4F44-98B1-134304130828>; “Bill by Brown & Thorndike and their account with Nicholas Thorndike which includes ther merchants commission on Sales of Slaves and deducting Doctores Charges of Slaves,” April 27, 1792, 18488 – Bill of Sale, Historic Beverly, Massachusetts, <https://beverlyhistory.pastperfectonline.com/archive/152AFA39-F8A8-477A-AC31-654751120923>; W. Woodville to Israel Thorndike and John Lovett, December 16, 1801, 12847 – Document, Historic Beverly, Massachusetts, <https://beverlyhistory.pastperfectonline.com/archive/9ABCA58C-18AB-47F4-900D-950629950107>.
- 39 Bertram Zarins, “History of the Massachusetts General Hospital Sports Medicine Service,” *The Orthopaedic Journal at Harvard Medical School* 9 (2007): 110, <http://www.orthojournalhms.org/volume9/manuscripts/ms13.pdf>.
- 40 Quincy, *History of Harvard*, 2:414–415.
- 41 See note 38 above.
- 42 E.D. Merrill, “The Atkins Institution of the Arnold Arboretum, Soledad, Cienfuegos, Cuba,” *Bulletin of Popular Information*, 4th ser., 8, no. 13 (December 13, 1940): 66–68, <http://arnoldia.arboretum.harvard.edu/pdf/articles/1940-8--the-atkins-institution-of-the-arnold-arboretum-soledad-cienfuegos-cuba.pdf>.
- 43 Rebecca J. Scott, “Gradual Abolition and the Dynamics of Slave Emancipation in Cuba, 1868–86,” *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 63, no. 3 (1983): 449–477; Rebecca J. Scott, “A Cuban Connection: Edwin F. Atkins, Charles Francis Adams, Jr., and the Former Slaves of Soledad Plantation,” *The Massachusetts Historical Review* 9 (2007): 8–9.
- 44 Marion D. Cahan, “The Harvard Garden in Cuba—A Brief History,” *Arnoldia* 51, no. 3 (Fall 1991): 30–32, <http://arnoldia.arboretum.harvard.edu/pdf/articles/1991-51-3-the-harvard-garden-in-cuba-a-brief-history.pdf>. See also Jardín Botánico Nacional Universidad de La Habana, accessed February 23, 2022, www.jardinbotanico.co.cu.

