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• *Focus on Southwestern Connecticut* •

The Fate of the Black Loyalists of Fairfield County, Connecticut, Part 2

Teresa Vega

This two-part article presents the overlooked and remarkable contributions of Black Loyalists for both the United States and Britain. Part 1 established the groundwork for understanding where Black Loyalists found themselves while serving the British Crown.¹ In Part 2, I tell the stories of some of the Black Loyalists from Fairfield County, Connecticut, after their arrival in Nova Scotia and in New Brunswick, Canada, and in Sierra Leone. They converged on and were sent out of the last Loyalist stronghold of New York at the end of the Revolutionary War in 1783. I approach this topic as a family historian-genealogist and as a descendant of some of those enslaved/ formerly enslaved African and Indigenous peoples who served as Black Loyalists and as Black Patriots in Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey. It is important to recognize that their acts of resistance and agency positioned them as "Founding Fathers" of the United States and Canada.²

While this article does not provide a comprehensive overview of Connecticut Loyalists' involvement in the War, it offers a snapshot of the significant events that Black Loyalists of Fairfield County faced.³ These events highlight how the promises made to them by the British ultimately turned out to be grand gestures that led to a false sense of freedom.

Extensive scholarship exists on Black Loyalists.⁴ In 2021, Graham Russell Hodges published a new expanded edition of *The Book of Negroes*⁵ that provides updated insights. Also,

¹ Teresa Vega, "The Fate of Black Loyalists (Part 1)," *Connecticut Ancestry*, Vol. 66, No. 1, August 2023. Throughout this article, I use the terms "Black Loyalists" and "Black Patriots" to refer to people who were of African, Mixed-Race or Indigenous descent. The issue of "paper genocide" is beyond the scope of this article. However, it must be noted that the ethnicity of many Indigenous people was "erased" in historical documents because they were racially classified as "Colored," "Black," "Negro," "Mulatto," "Free Black," and/or "White" to dispossess them of their land. See Andrew W. Lipman, *The Saltwater Frontier: Indians and the Contest for the American Coast*, New Haven: Yale University, 2015; Margaret Ellen Newell, *Brethren by Nature: New England Indians, Colonists, and the Origins of American Slavery*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2016; and Jack D. Forbes, *Africans and Native Americans: The Language of Race and the Evolution of Red-Black Peoples*, Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993.

² See Richard S. Newman, "A Chosen Generation: Black Founders and Early America," *Prophets of Protest: Reconsidering the History of American Abolitionism*, Timothy Patrick McCarthy and John Stoller, eds., New York: The New Press, 2006, 59-79; David Hackett Fisher, *African Founders: How Enslaved People Expanded American Ideals*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 2022; and Christina Proenza-Coles, *American Founders: How People of African Descent Established Freedom in the New World*, Montgomery, AL: NewSouth Books, 2019.

³ For a concise history of Loyalism in Connecticut, see G.A. Gilbert, "The Connecticut Loyalists" in *The American Historical Review*, Jan 1899, Vol 4, No. 2, pp. 273-291; Richard Pougher, "Averse...to Remaining Idle Spectators: The Emergence of Loyalist Privateering During the American Revolution," PhD Diss., University of Maine, 2002; and Christopher James MacIntosh Sparshott, "The Popular Politics of Loyalism During the American Revolution, 1774-1790," PhD Diss., Northwestern University, 2007.

⁴ See Graham Russell Gao Hodges and Alan Edward Brown, eds., *The Book of Negroes*, New York: Fordham University Press, 2021; Douglas R. Egerton, *Death or Liberty: African Americans and Revolutionary America*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2009; Ruth Holmes Whitehead, *Black Loyalists: Southern Settlers of Nova Scotia's First Free Black Communities*, Halifax, Nova Scotia: Nimbus Publishing, 2013; and Mary Louise Clifford, *Slavery to Freetown: Black Loyalists After the American Revolution*, Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2006.

⁵The British government compiled *The Book of Negroes*, a set of naval ledgers that lists the names, ages, and a brief description of more than 3,000 Black Loyalists who were evacuated from the United States at the end of the Revolu-

Harvey Amani Whitfield's recent release, *Biographical Dictionary of Enslaved Black People in the Maritimes*,⁶ and Stephen Davidson's *Black Loyalists in New Brunswick*, offer valuable contributions to the field.⁷ These works reflect the current state of Black Loyalist scholarship. With the ongoing decolonization of archives⁸ and the digitization of records, more individual narratives of Black Loyalists will undoubtedly be discovered. Their experiences expand our understanding of how these individuals navigated their lives before and after the Revolutionary War. It is hoped that descendants of Fairfield County's Black Loyalists will find this genealogical evidence useful in their own search for their ancestors.⁹

A City in Chaos: The Predicament of Black Loyalists

The Treaty of Paris, signed on 3 September 1783, marked the conclusion of the Revolutionary War and the formal recognition of the United States of America as an independent nation. The British surrender at Yorktown triggered considerable fear and anxiety among Loyalists, especially Black Loyalist who had the most to lose. Article VII¹⁰ of the Treaty of Paris explicitly regarded Black Loyalists as “property” that should be returned to their former enslavers. Sir Guy Carleton, in *The Book of Negroes*, identified Black Loyalists and emphasized that those who were behind British lines before November 30, 1783, would be evacuated to various destinations, including Canada, England, Florida, the West Indies, and Germany. The American Loyalist Claims Commission¹¹ was established to address cases of involving Black Loyalists who arrived

tionary War along with British soldiers. The original document is held at The National Archives in London, UK. Copies can also be found at The National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) in Washington, DC and the Nova Scotia Museum in Halifax, Nova Scotia.

⁶ Harvey Amani Whitfield, *Biographical Dictionary of Enslaved People in the Maritimes*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2022.

⁷ Stephen Davidson, *Black Loyalists in New Brunswick: The Lives of Eight African Americans in 1783-1834*, Halifax, Nova Scotia: Formac Publishing Company, 2020.

⁸ Decolonizing the archives means that historical records are being re-examined from the perspectives of African and Indigenous points of view which also includes the knowledge production (e.g. oral history) and remembering traditions of both groups of people.

⁹ See Whitfield, in *Black Slavery in the Maritimes: A History in Documents* (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2018). While the history of slavery in Canada is most often associated with the abolition of slavery and the Underground Railroad, Maritime slavery existed as early as the 1629 when a young, enslaved boy was brought to New France. Whitfield (2018:4) cautions that “It is a mistake, however, to see the [Maritime] region as monolithically dedicated to both slavery and racism. Though slavery remained strong, it was highly contested by anti-slavery legislators, judges, lawyers, and religious groups. The number of slaves remained legally insecure and somewhat unstable, though it was recognized under common law as a form of private property, this had no statutory basis (such as a slave code) in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.” His book *North to Bondage: Loyalist Slavery in the Maritimes* (Vancouver, British Columbia: UCB Press, 2016) elucidates this early forgotten history.

¹⁰ Article VII of the Treaty of Paris stated, “There shall be a firm and perpetual peace between his Britannic Majesty and the said states, and between the subjects of the one and the citizens of the other, wherefore all hostilities both by sea and land shall from henceforth cease. All prisoners on both sides shall be set at liberty, and his Britannic Majesty shall with all convenient speed, and without causing any destruction, or carrying away any Negroes or other property of the American inhabitants, withdraw all his armies, garrisons, and fleets from the said United States, and from every post, place, and harbor within the same; leaving in all fortifications, the American artillery that may be therein; and shall also order and cause all archives, records, deeds, and papers belonging to any of the said states, or their citizens, which in the course of the war may have fallen into the hands of his officers, to be forthwith restored and delivered to the proper states and persons to whom they belong.”

¹¹ The original documents are held at The National Archives in London, UK. Copies can also be found at The National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) in Washington, DC. Ancestry.com also has in its reference works “UK, American Loyalist Claims 1776-1835” (<https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/3712/>).

after the treaty's signing. Of the fourteen cases heard by the commission, nine favored former enslavers, two favored Black Loyalists, and three cases were rejected.¹²

While evacuation plans were being negotiated between British and the newly formed American governments, the fate most Black Loyalists in British-occupied New York remained uncertain. Many Black Loyalists, recognizing the impending situation, fled the area by any means necessary, whether on foot, horse, cattle, or by sea. Others were at risk of re-enslavement as former enslavers and their agents scoured the area searching for them or kidnapping others in their place. Some chose to pass as free individuals and were assimilated into the Free Black population of the city.

The total number of Loyalists in the United States during the Revolutionary War was approximately 500,000. Though most of the White Loyalists chose to remain in the United States after its founding, it is estimated that by November 1783 around 60,000 left the United States. This included 33,000 who migrated to Nova Scotia with 14,000 settling in the part of the province that became New Brunswick in 1784. Additionally, 6,600 relocated to Quebec (which then included Ontario), 2,000 ended up in Prince Edward Island, and 5,000 ended up in Spanish Florida. Approximately 6,500 enslaved people departed with their White Loyalists masters. Moreover, 7,000 White Loyalists and 5,000 Free Black loyalists left for England. At the same time, around 3,000 Black Loyalists, holding certificates of freedom, evacuated from New York City bound for Nova Scotia, England, the West Indies, Germany, and other Loyalists destinations.¹³

The Rise of Free Black Settlements

When the first wave of Loyalists, both Black and White, arrived in Canada in the spring of 1783, they were confronted with a situation that was vastly different from their expectations. Due to a lack of government infrastructure, the immediate allocation of land and provisions were not guaranteed. All Loyalists had been promised a three-year grace period to enhance the land they were granted before government assistance, which included the provision of essential supplies, ceased. However, anxiety and distress proliferated especially after their first Winter in Nova Scotia. After almost a year, many Loyalists still lived in tents, provisions were running critically low, and people were dying due to hunger and cold. With the lack of arable land being granted to Loyalists in a timely manner for them to sustain themselves, Loyalists protests grew louder. In response to this dire situation, White Loyalists were compelled to seek employment as wage laborers to support their families. As a result, Black Loyalists found themselves in even more precarious circumstances, forced to work as wage laborers for meager pay, to become in-

¹² In *The Book of Negroes*, Hodges, p. 33, Thomas Francis was recorded as being previously enslaved by Isaac Vermilla of Philip's Manor whom he left in 1777. He was transported by Loyalist Robert Merritt of Rye, NY to Port Roseway, Nova Scotia in the Fall of 1783. The American Loyalist Commissioners brought his case to the attention of Sir Guy Carleton arguing that he should be returned to his owner, Phillip Lott, who purchased him from Elihu Spencer of NJ. However, Carleton turned down this request stating that Francis had already joined the Jamaican Rangers, a military unit, that was already stationed to sail to Jamaica, on November 2, 1782. Francis was thus under the protection of the Phillipsburg Proclamation and would not be returned. See Lindsey, Arnet "Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Great Britain hearing on the Return of Negro Slaves, 1788-1828," in *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol., No. 4, October 1920, p. 398. I will discuss Thomas Francis later in the conclusion of the article.

¹³ Maya Jasanoff, *Liberty's Exiles: American Loyalists in the Revolutionary War*, New York: Random House, 2012, p. 357.

dentured servants, to face re-enslavement in Nova Scotia, or to be sold once again away from their families to other parts of the world.

In August 1783, Benjamin Marston, a land surveyor, distributed land in and around Port Roseway (now Shelburne), Nova Scotia, to Col. Stephen Blucke, leader of Black-Brigade and Black-Pioneer Loyalists. Blucke swiftly discovered that the land grants were smaller than had been promised, and the land was far from suitable for cultivation. By July 1784, disheartened White Loyalist veterans initiated a race riot in Port Roseway, which subsequently spread to Birchtown, the home of many Black Loyalists.¹⁴ The riot stemmed from their inability to compete in the job market with both enslaved and Free Black laborers, who served as a readily available source of cheaper labor. This unrest led to the expulsion of Black Loyalists from the town and the destruction of 20 homes. The military had to intervene to quell the Shelburne Riots, and Marston had to flee the region because he became a target for retribution. In August 1784, Governor Parr arrived to address the mounting Loyalist frustration. He attributed their discontent to the slow land grant surveying process, using it as a convenient excuse to also make Marston a scapegoat.¹⁵

The Shelburne Riots brought to light the harsh reality that Black individuals, regardless of their legal standing, were denied the rights of other British subjects. Black Loyalists were stripped of the right to vote, the opportunity for a fair trial by a jury of their peers, and often were subjected to arbitrary judgments. Discriminatory laws curtailed their freedom to gather socially, and they were forced to accept lower wages compared to fellow Loyalists at the discretion of their employers. Moreover, they lived under the constant threat of punitive measures, including re-enslavement within the British Empire, forced separation from their families, imprisonment, and even execution. Given these precarious circumstances, many Black Loyalists understandably questioned their decision to support the British Crown. Considering these difficulties, it is not surprising that many opted to leave Canada and seek refuge in Sierra Leone in 1792.

After a famine in 1787-1788, many White Loyalists decided to return to the former homes and families they had left behind in the United States. Some were welcomed home, while others were shunned and had to re-establish their lives in other locations. Meanwhile, in New Jersey Alexander Hamilton and other politicians were working hard to rehabilitate the image of former Loyalists and make it easier for them to be mainstreamed back into American society.¹⁶ After pledging to support the newly established United States, as well as to help build more ports along the New Jersey Coast and Long Island Sound, the White Loyalists of Fairfield County returned to their former merchant-mariner lives.

The rise of abolitionism and Connecticut's Gradual Emancipation Act of 1784¹⁷ would slowly bring about the end of enslavement for those people of African and Native American descent in Connecticut, but this was not the case for the Black loyalists who had fled to Nova Scotia. Within a year of their arrival, these Black Loyalists lost their British citizenship despite the

¹⁴ After Black Loyalists arrived in Nova Scotia in 1783, the first Free Black settlements they founded were Birchtown, Preston, Brindley Town, and Tracadie (Guysborough). For

¹⁵ Regarding Benjamin Marston, see <https://blackloyalist.com/cdc/people/influential/marston.htm> and Vesey, Maud Maxwell. "Benjmain Marston, Loyalist" in *The New England Quarterly*, Vol. 15, No. 4 (Dec. 1942), pp. 622-651.

¹⁶ For Hamilton's role in rehabilitating Loyalists, see Sparshott (2007:240-246).

¹⁷ Connecticut's gradual emancipation law stipulated that all children born to enslaved women would be free by age 25.

assurances of having the Birch certificates.¹⁸ They discovered that, in practice, citizenship was restricted to White-Americans and Europeans.¹⁹ Those Black loyalists who were re-enslaved or sold in Canada had to wait until 1834 for gradual emancipation to end slavery in the country.

The Biographical Sketches of the Black Loyalists, Loyalist Transporters and Enslavers

It would be a misconception to suggest that every Black Loyalist shared the same destiny.²⁰ The following biographical accounts vividly demonstrate how the Black Loyalists of Fairfield County charted distinct paths, shaped by their individual roles as skilled laborers or domestic servants, as well as their strong family bonds and the nascent social networks forged through their collective Loyalist experience in New York City. In the aftermath of the War, while New York City was a turbulent urban landscape, it also served as a poignant backdrop against which Black Loyalists reconnected with kin, established new familial ties with individuals, both enslaved and free, hailing from various corners of the British Empire, and crafted new survival strategies to navigate a perpetually shifting environment. Moreover, their diverse religious beliefs offered a wellspring of resilience and community support.

Besides identifying Black Loyalists who went to Canada, these sketches also identify the enslavers, and the men who transported the Black Loyalists to ports in Maritime Canada. Please note that not all Loyalist transporters were enslavers. Each Black Loyalist had to be escorted to Nova Scotia. In this section I grouped Black Loyalists by family ties or by the ships they embarked on as this demonstrates further family/kin and social network tie. In addition, I grouped enslavers and some Loyalist transporters as their family and social ties are evident. In Part I, I refer to Black Loyalists as “refugees” and “fugitives.” Legally, Black Loyalists were “fugitive enslaved people” though some were in fact born free. However, these Black Loyalists, after serving the British crown, saw themselves as “refugees,” a status no different from other White Loyalists.²¹ Their decision to fight for the British was motivated solely on their desire to be free from slavery.

Henry, Phebe, and Phyllis Lyon

HENRY LYON and his family fled Horseneck in Greenwich in 1780. Henry was 36 years old and “stout,” his wife PHEBE was 40 years old, described as “ordinary,” and their daughter PHILLIS, was six years old.²² HENRY was enslaved by Andrew Lyon who lived in Rye, New York. Phebe and Phyllis were enslaved by Andrew’s first cousin, James Lyon, a well-known

¹⁸ These were certificates of freedom issued by the British in return for service to the Crown.

¹⁹ For more information on the 1785 St. John Royal Charter, see <https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/atlantic-loyalist-connections/institutional-discrimination-1785-saint-john-royal-charter>

²⁰ For additional biographical sketches on Black Loyalists, see Whitfield (2022); Davidson (2016); and Ruth Holmes Whitehead, *Black Loyalists: Southern Settlers of Nova Scotia’s First Free Black Communities*, Halifax, Nova Scotia: Nimbus Publishing, 2013.

²¹ As mentioned in Part I, Black Loyalists served longer periods than White Loyalists. This was partly since White Loyalists had households, farms, and businesses to oversee that were deemed of utmost importance. Enslaved people, on the other hand, were seen as expendable. See Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution*, Chapel Hill, NC: Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1996; and James St. G. Walker, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for the Black Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone 1783-1870*, New York, New York: Africana Publishing Company, 1976.

²² Hodges, *The Book of Negroes*, p. 9. See <https://johnsonsdictionaryonline.com/views/search.php?term=ordinary> for explanation of the adjectives used to describe Black Loyalists at that time. For example, “stout: meant strong and “ordinary” meant “low rank” or “usual.”

merchant. One can assume that this escape was planned despite knowledge of the risks of leaving before joining the Loyalist cause. Like most enslaved couples in Fairfield County, husbands and wives may have had different owners, lived apart, and visited their spouses and children sporadically. Given the small size of the community of enslaved people in Horseneck, this family may have known others who left before them. We don't know if HENRY, PHEBE, and PHILLIS escaped to Long Island first and then ended up in British-occupied New York City.

In New York City HENRY worked for Captain James Grayson. The type of work he did is unknown. As Grayson was a privateer, HENRY probably worked on his vessels in some capacity, foraging for provisions, carting supplies, cooking, etc. Phebe likely performed domestic servant duties that included cooking, sewing, knitting, spinning and weaving, and childcare. The family arrived in St. John, Nova Scotia, on Captain Grayson's vessel *Mars* in the Spring of 1783 after three years in New York.

While we know little about the lives of the enslaved Lyons, we do know a lot about their transporter. Captain Grayson was a well-known captain who sailed with a letter of marque from the British Royal Navy.²³ He was from Liverpool, England, where he came from a family of sea captains and shipbuilders. The Grayson family routinely sailed from Liverpool to the Bight of Benin and coast of Guinea to procure enslaved people, whom they then transported to the Caribbean to work on sugar plantations.²⁴ The Liverpool Slave Trader Database lists 68 slave trading voyages undertaken by various members of the Grayson family as captains, carpenters, or full or partial owners of vessels from West Africa to the British Caribbean islands.²⁵

HENRY, PHEBE, AND PHILLIS's fates are unknown though a contemporaneous incident indicates that they were probably re-enslaved by Captain Grayson. SAMUEL IVES, a Black Loyalist,²⁶ was purchased by Captain Grayson from Jonathan Eibeck despite his having been property of Captain Talbot of Virginia, who had brought him to New York City five years earlier.²⁷ Samuel had a General Birch Certificate that was signed by General Howe, but Eibeck ripped it up and sold him. Captain Grayson brought Black Loyalists to St. John knowing that he had the option of re-enslaving or selling them for profit at some point.

The enslavers of HENRY, PHEBE, and PHILLIS LYON were a well-known merchant-mariner family in Greenwich going back to the 1600s. They were involved in the West Indies trade, and the Transatlantic and New York-Madagascar slave trades. The family was also involved in ship-

²³ A letter of marque was a commission authorizing privately-owned ships (privateers) to capture enemy merchant ships. Captured vessels would be brought before the admiralty courts and sold. The vessel's crew would then be detained, arrested, imprisoned, or sentenced to death.

²⁴ Members of the Grayson Family are mentioned in Brian W. Refford, *The Bonds of Trade: Commerce and Community in the Liverpool Slave Trade, 1695-1775*, San Diego: University Readers, 2008.

²⁵ See Kenneth Cozens' Liverpool Slave Ship Voyages Database (https://www.academia.edu/12826440/Liverpool_Slave_Ship_Voyages_Database).

²⁶ Though *The Book of Negroes* doesn't state when Samuel came into Captain Talbot's possession, he may have been previously owned by Captain David Ives who was born in 1740 in Wallingford, Ct., and died in Burton, Sunbury, New Brunswick, Canada in 1820. He married Eunice Gillette in 1761 in Goshen, Ct. Their marriage was recorded in the Genealogical Publishing Co.; Baltimore, Maryland, USA; The Barbour Collection of Connecticut Town Vital Records. Vol. 1-55; Publication Date: 1994-2002; Volume: 14). Ives was a captain in the Associated Loyalists at Lloyd's Neck during the American Revolution. See Rev. A. G. Hibbard, *History of the Town of Goshen with Genealogies and Biographies*, Hartford: Press of the Case, Lockwood & Brainard Company, 1897, 156-57.

²⁷ Hodges, *The Book of Negroes*, 9

building and shipping Byrum granite to New York. Enslaved African and Native American people labored on their properties for generations.²⁸ I am a direct descendant of the enslaved people who lived and died working for the Lyons and the collateral families who shared their labor. The following merchant mariner families intermarried with the Lyon family: Sherwood, Banks, Ogden, Knapp, Isaac, Purdy, Bush, Merritt, Green, Husted, Mead, Scudder, Bartram, and Hoyt, among other founding families of Greenwich, Connecticut, and Westchester County, New York.²⁹

Cuff (Cuffe, Cuffie) Bush

CUFF BUSH was 50 years old, and said to be “ordinary,” when he made the decision to leave his extended family in Horseneck in 1778.³⁰ CUFF was the father of the enslaved Bush family who resided at the Bush-Holley House in Greenwich. CUFF BUSH earned a General Birch Certificate for his service to the Crown. At the time he fled, he was enslaved by Dr. William Bush, the son of Justus Bush, a wealthy Dutch merchant and town selectman who built a grist mill overlooking a harbor in the Cos Cob section of Greenwich between 1728 and 1730. Justus’ son David Bush, William’s brother, became the owner of this property when Justus died.

Working in a grist mill was hard labor that required strength. Among the duties that CUFF performed were processing grains to make flour and meal, maintaining grist mill equipment, loading, and lifting 800-pound hogshead barrels filled with grains. CUFF was a highly skilled laborer by trade, which improved his chances of success later in Nova Scotia. What motivated CUFF to leave? Was it the separation from his children who had been split among different Bush households? Was he married to a woman who was sold? Or was he badly treated by his enslavers? The silences in the archives tell us little about his life. What we know is that he left most of his children behind.

Dr. William Bush owned at least ten enslaved individuals. Three ran away, including CUFF, his son ANDREW, and UNUS DEATON (the latter two discussed below).³¹ Bush also owned PLATT, CANDICE, DINA WOODS, ROSE, SILVA, ALFRED, and JANE. JANE was the only one freed in his will. Not much is known about the other enslaved people, though four were born after the Gradual Emancipation Act was passed. While we don’t know if these individuals are relatives of Cuff, we can assume they are, as the Bush enslaved were routinely inherited as property by the Bush enslavers or given as bridal gifts upon a daughter’s or granddaughter’s marriage. The extended Bush family were one of the largest slaveholding families in Greenwich, having owned at least 70 enslaved people.³²

In July 1783, CUFF was on the Ship *William and Mary*, bound for Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia. Clearly, he decided freedom was better than being enslaved. Captain James Hughston transported Black Loyalists CUFF BUSH and GLASGOW GRIGG of Horseneck. Hughston had only become a committed Loyalist after he was targeted by Patriots for refusing to join the local mili-

²⁸ See <https://www.greenwichct.gov/DocumentCenter/View/613/Documentary-Study-Byram-Cemetery-and-Lyon-Cemetery-Byram-Dock-Street-and-Byram-Shore-Road-PDF> .

²⁹See Sidney Elizabeth Lyon, *Lyon Memorial: Families of Connecticut and New Jersey*, Detroit: Press of William Graham Printing Company, 1907.

³⁰ Hodges, *The Book of Negroes*, 57.

³¹ Hodges, *The Book of Negroes*, p. 117 and 73.

³² Christopher Shields, Greenwich Historical Society archivist send me a List of List of Bush Relations and their Enslaved via a personal correspondence.

tia and attend revolutionary committee meetings.³³ His house and business were burned down in Jamaica, Queens, Long Island, and he and his family barely escaped. He was part of the merchant mariner community that routinely sailed between Connecticut and ports in Westchester County and Long Island to carry on their West Indies trade.³⁴ Hughston also was known to have supplied provisions to the Loyalists as they prepared to land on Long Island. Unlike other Loyalist transporters, he kept his word and delivered both CUFF BUSH and GLASGLOW GRIGG to freedom in Nova Scotia.

CUFF was able to start a new life in Digby, Nova Scotia. He was among the few Black loyalists to receive 50 acres of land and survive more than a decade after leaving New York in 1783. In 1788, he married a former Black Pioneer named JUDITH STEWART in Trinity Church of Digby.³⁵ Both were baptized in the same church on 4 January 1795, and CUFF passed away a little over a month later.³⁶

It is worth noting that Cuff's wife JUDITH STEWART may have been enslaved by Captain Alexander Stewart, Jr. (1744-1808), who was involved in the West Indies and Liverpool slave trade.³⁷ He also owned a Chandler store at 68 Water Street and an iron ore mine in Dutchess County, New York.³⁸ Alexander was married to Elizabeth McCurdy (1758-1830) and had previously been a resident of New London, Norwich, and Plainfield, Connecticut, where his wife's family lived. JUDITH STEWART chose to flee slavery, rather than be separated from friends and loved ones in the area. We don't know much about her escape except that it happened in 1776. This date also coincides with the death of Captain Stewart's father, also named Alexander (1715-1776). Was Alexander Stewart, Sr. then JUDITH'S actual enslaver? Did she fear that she would be sold because of his death and the distribution of all his property? We don't know.

Glasgow Grigg, Judith (___) Grigg, Sarah Grigg, James Legree, Venus Legree, Mary Legree

GLASGOW GRIGG and CUFFE BUSH knew each other from Horseneck. Glasglow was enslaved by John Grigg, who was the brother-in-law of David and Dr. William Bush, having married their sister Ann. John Grigg was a merchant mariner and a town selectman, whose brigantine *Lilly Ann* was purchased by the Connecticut government, and converted to a military vessel during the Revolutionary War.³⁹ For generations, the Grigg family owned many enslaved people. Captain John Grigg was also an early quarry owner whose vessels were used to transport heavy stones.⁴⁰ Whatever labor Glasgow provided; it was sure to have been hard, grueling work. Like CUFFE, GLASGOW left it all behind when he took a chance on freedom and he fled in 1780. It paid off.

³³ Sophie Heather Jones, "From Anglicization to Loyalism? New York 1691-1783," PhD diss. University of Liverpool, 2018, p.115.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Canada, Nova Scotia Church Records, 1720-2001 (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1925428>).

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ See William M. MacBean, *Biographical Register of Saint Andrew's Society of the State of New York (Volume 2)*, New York: Printed for the Society, 1925, p. 250; and *Walter Baret Carr's Old Merchants of New York City (Volume V)*, New York: John W. Lovell and Company, 1889, p. 110.

³⁸ A chandlery shop was a shop dedicated to selling ship and boat supplies like candles, oil, soap, sailing gear, rope, paint, etc.

³⁹ Joe Zeranski, *Greenwich Revolutionary War Participants: A Compilation of Greenwich Military and Civilian Activities in Conflict*, Horseneck, CT: Dumpling Pond Press, 2014, 70.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

CUFFE and GLASGOW reunited in New York City, and left on the same vessel heading to Annapolis, Nova Scotia. GLASGOW also received his land allotment. He married a Black Loyalist named JUDITH,⁴¹ and they had a daughter SARAH (SALLY), who was baptized in Trinity Church in 1800.⁴² Unfortunately, GLASGOW died by drowning on 23 December 1792. His death was recorded in church records.⁴³

JUDITH GRIGG then married JAMES LEGREE, a widower who had suffered a similar loss when his wife VENUS died around the same time as GLASGOW.⁴⁴ JAMES LEGREE was a stout 48-year-old when he fled his owner, Thomas Lagare, of Charleston, South Carolina, with VENUS and 7-year-old son WILLIAM.⁴⁵ They ended up in New York City and embarked together to Nova Scotia in July 1783 on the ship *L'Abondance*. VENUS had been enslaved by Mallory Rivers. JAMES was a chairmaker whose skills would have been needed. In Nova Scotia he took on a new first name, Liberty. Walker noted that, "Besides the residents of Brindley Town there were blacks living in Digby and over 100 in Annapolis. Though none of them had official land grants, some occupied land belonging to others. One, Liberty Legree, gave his name to the small black settlement of Liberty Road."⁴⁶ On 24 August 1800, JUDITH (GRIGG) LEGREE had both of her daughters, SALLY GRIGG and MARY LEGREE, baptized in the same Trinity Church where she and LIBERTY had been married, and where CUFF and JUDITH BUSH were married and baptized.

Edward Lloyd

EDWARD LLOYD was 19 years old when he evacuated from New York City in 1783. He was listed as the former property of Ebenezer Cowley (Coley) of the town of Fairfield, who had emancipated him. To date, no emancipation record has been located; it could be that EDWARD simply informed Loyalists that he had been emancipated. There is no indication of when he left Fairfield, but it was probably when the town was burned down in July 1779. He was one of many enslaved and Free Blacks who joined the Loyalists as they retreated to Long Island. Like others, he worked for the Loyalists on Long Island in various capacities.

A "stout" EDWARD LLOYD caught the attention of Col. Benjamin Thompson, an ardent Loyalist from New England. Thompson also served in England, where he rose through the ranks to command the Kings American Dragoons regiments.⁴⁷ From the start, these regiments were racially integrated and included formerly enslaved Black trumpeters. Some of these Black trumpeters continued to serve with him in South Carolina and New York. They "were not so much for entertainment but rather for relaying commands in battle, in camp, and on the march."⁴⁸ EDWARD LLOYD was recruited as a trumpeter in the Kings American Dragoons. One must wonder if ED-

⁴¹This may have been Judith Glasgow who travelled on the same ship as Glasgow and Cuff Bush. It also happens that James and Venus Legree were on the same ship as Jonathan and Pamela Glasgow, who were most likely related to Judith.

⁴² Glasgow is listed as the father on the baptism record of his daughter Sally. Judith Griggs then married Liberty Legree on 13 Oct 1793. See <https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1925428>

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Whitehead (2013), 219.

⁴⁶ Walker (1976), 32.

⁴⁷ The Kings American Dragoons were a British military unit that was sent to assist American Loyalists during the Revolutionary War.

⁴⁸ Tood W. Braisted's "*Such As Are Absolutely Free: Benjamin Thompson's Black Dragoons*" (<https://allthingsliberty.com/2021/02/such-as-are-absolutely-free-benjamin-thompsons-black-dragoons/>).

WARD possessed some kind of musical ability. Did he already play the trumpet? If the British won the war, Col. Thompson had great plans for the Kings American Dragoons.⁴⁹

EDWARD left on 23 April 1783 on the ship *Lady's Adventure* heading for St. John, Nova Scotia. The ship carried 404 men, women, and children of the King's American Dragoons, and included no fewer than forty-five Black trumpeters, pioneers, and officers' servants.⁵⁰ The vessel was commanded by Captain Robert Gibson, a Patriot spy who acted as a Loyalist, who more than ninety years after the Revolutionary War, would be accused of being a Loyalist himself.⁵¹

Jack Coley, (plus his three children Ishamel Coley, and Dinah (___))

JACK COLEY was born circa 1749 in Fairfield County. He left in 1777, taking with him his three children.⁵² JACK was enslaved by David Coley, who was either the father of Ebenezer or his brother; both were named David. JACK COLEY was related to ISHMAEL COLEY who was 23 years old when he left the same year, likely his older brother. Although their relationships is not defined in *The Book of Negroes*, we can assume that EDWARD LLOYD (discussed above), JACK, and ISHMAEL knew each other as they all labored for the Coley family. Though they escaped to Long Island together, they left New York City on three different vessels. JACK sailed with his children on the *Bridgewater* commanded by Daniel Adnitt, ISHMAEL sailed on *The Grand Dutchess of Russia*, and EDWARD LLOYD was on *The Lady Adventure*.

The Coleys were one of the leading merchant mariner and landowning families of Fairfield County. Ebenezer Coley was also the enslaver of Ishmael Coley who is listed in *The Book of Negroes*. Although Ebenezer was a Patriot who fought in the 7th Connecticut Regiment, other family members were Loyalists. Among the family were active farmers who shipped and sold grain products in New England, New York, and the West Indies, using enslaved labor to achieve their wealth. According to Hamilton, "not less than one hundred thousand bushels of grain, corn, rye, and oats, and considerable quantities of flaxseed, dressed flax, butter, etc. were annually shipped from here, the rye mostly to Boston, Providence, and other Eastern ports. A great deal of the corn raised at that period was kiln-dried, ground, and put up in hogsheads of eight hundred pounds each for the West Indian market. Nearly every mill within five miles of the shore had a kiln for that purpose. Quite a business also was carried on with the West Indies. The brig "Atlantic was built by E. & D. Coley, for Beattie & Raymond an. some others, for this trade..."⁵³ Hamilton also gave a brief description of Ebenezer Coley, whom he said owned the first one-horse wagon around 1806 or 1807. He wrote, "Captain Coley was a very large man, weighing probably two hundred and fifty pounds, and as he grew old, had his wagon made for his special use, — low and wide, the seat on rollers, so that he could with ease be rolled in and out by his negro men, of whom he had four or five."⁵⁴ It is no wonder why enslaved people were described as "worn out" after all they had to do.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Donna Hay, "Moses Doan and Robert Gibson and the Immortality of a Reputation," *SAR Magazine*, Vol 111, No. 4, Spring, 2017, and https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Doan_Outlaws.

⁵² Hodges, *The Book of Negroes*, 59.

⁵³ Hamilton D. Hurd, *History of Fairfield County, Connecticut*, Philadelphia: J. W. Lewis & Co., 1881.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 832.

Not much is known about John White, JACK's Loyalist transporter. White was born in Stamford, Connecticut, in 1742, and fled to Canada with his family in 1783. He settled in Long Reach, Kings County, New Brunswick, where he died in 1833.⁵⁵ White came from a family of farmers who were also engaged in lumber (carpentry) and relied on skilled enslaved labor. The large extended White family lived in Stamford, Redding, Weston, and Norwalk, Connecticut, and intermarried with other Fairfield County elite families. They were committed Loyalists, and many fled to New Brunswick after the War.

ISHMAEL COLEY was in the possession of George Leonard, a wealthy merchant mariner from Massachusetts who fled Boston after the Battle of Lexington in 1776 and ended up in Rhode Island. Leonard "spent his fortune fitting out seven armed vessels, three transports, and some armed boats, and then, for the good of the cause, offered their services to the British for less than lucrative convoy, transport, and guide duty" and later would say that his becoming a Loyalist "was not motivated by profit."⁵⁶ George Leonard went on to become the Superintendent of Trade and Fisheries for the Maritime Region in New Brunswick, where he battled Loyalists intent on re-establishing their trade networks in exile in full violation of the British Navigation Acts.⁵⁷

In 1785, both JACK and ISHMAEL COLEY were granted plots of land in the Milkish Settlement along with other Black Loyalists.⁵⁸ Two years later, they petitioned the British government, asking for more time to improve the land that was granted to them "because they were forced to search out wage labor to support themselves and their families. They asked that the land still be granted to them and that they be allowed time for more planting of crops."⁵⁹ The Milkish Settlement disappeared by 1788. What happened to the COLEYS remains unknown.

DINAH (___), like her ship mate JACK COLEY, was also in the possession of John White. She was a 24-year-old stout "wench."⁶⁰ She purchased her own freedom from Joseph Handford of the town of Fairfield. We do not know when she purchased her freedom or how she met John White. All that we know is that she was a Free Black woman who produced documentation that she was free and that she resided in New York City prior to the 1783. With no surname, she remains hidden from history.

Simon White, Catherine (___), and Moses (___)

When the ship *Mars* left New York City in 1783, not only was SAMUEL IVES [mentioned on p. 45] on this ship, but three other Fairfield County Black Loyalists were as well: SIMON WHITE, listed as a "likely" 32-year-old man who was born free in Redding, Connecticut; CATHERINE, with no surname, listed as being a "worn out" 66-year-old woman born free in Norwalk;

⁵⁵ Lorenzo Sabine, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution*, Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1864, 422. Also, https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/172137317/john-white?_gl=1*15u4w17*_gcl_au*MTk4MzU2NTY0Ni4xNjk1MzcyOTU5*

⁵⁶ Pougher, 3.

⁵⁷ See Joshua M. Smith, *The Rogues of 'Quoddy: Smuggling in the Maine-New Brunswick Borderlands*, PhD Diss., University of Maine, 2003, 147-150.

⁵⁸ The Milkish Settlement was located along the Nerepis River on the Kingston peninsula in New Brunswick. It was eighteen miles from the town where most Black Loyalists lived.

⁵⁹ For more information on the Milkish Settlement see <https://www.kingstonnb.ca/more/the-milkish-settlement>

⁶⁰ Hodges, *The Book of Negroes*, p. 60.

and MOSES, no surname, listed as being a “fine” 4-year-old boy.⁶¹ All three people were identified as ‘mulatto’ and having left on their own accord. CATHERINE and MOSES were from Norwalk, Connecticut. Several questions come to mind about these three people, who are not otherwise described in records. Was SIMON an enslaved descendant of a member of the White family from Redding? What was the relationship between CATHERINE and MOSES? Was CATHERINE his grandmother? Did “mulatto” mean they were part Indigenous? Part White? Or tri-racial? Was CATHERINE so “worn out” that her job now was to look after children? Did she decide to flee rather than be “put out” to subsist on her own? Or did she flee with MOSES so he could begin a new life in a new land? The fate of these three Black Loyalists remains unknown.

Jack Hide, Tom Hide, and Sukey (___)

JACK HIDE fled the town of Fairfield in 1777, when he was “almost passed his labor.”⁶² His son TOM HIDE left Fairfield one year later. Did JACK plan TOM’S escape after he made it to Long Island? Both JACK and TOM were enslaved by the brothers Joseph and John Hide. The Hide family was part of the elite land-owning ruling class of Fairfield County who made their wealth in the West Indies. Among them were sea captains and shipbuilders who formed marriage and social ties with the Sherwood, Coley, Ketchum, Hoyt, Hubbard, and Rogers families. Joseph and James Hide became Loyalists after being prosecuted and imprisoned for their allegiance to the British Crown, and ultimately became members of the Associated Loyalists of Long Island.⁶³ JACK HIDE evacuated on the ship *Hope* in 1783, with two other Black Loyalists, PHILLIS KETCHUM and CATO CANNON (discussed below).

When 27-year-old TOM HIDE, and SUKEY, a 9-year-old indentured servant, left New York on the *Union* on 10 May 1783, they were the first two Free Black Loyalists to settle in St. John,⁶⁴ then in Nova Scotia, but the next year part of the new province of New Brunswick. TOM’S position as a skilled carpenter brought him more opportunities than most Black Loyalists. He was also knowledgeable about the sailing and shipping trade as the Hide family had invested in trading around Long Island Sound and New England.

TOM HIDE and SUKEY’S employer was Fyler Dibblee who suffered much for being a Loyalist. Like the Hide, Leonard, Ketchum, and other merchant mariner families in Connecticut, who swore their allegiance to the British Crown early, Fyler’s home was burned down a few times, and he was forced to flee Connecticut with his wife and children to Oyster Bay, Long Island, where the family was chased by a mob and beaten. In addition, Fyler was imprisoned for months. He fell into a deep depression after surviving their first winter in Nova Scotia, a winter that was much harsher than expected with not enough provisions to feed his household. Having lost so much property in Connecticut and Long Island, he was also deeply in debt. On 6 May 1784, Fyler Dibblee committed suicide, leaving his wife Polly barely able to care for her children and her servants, TOM HIDE and SUKEY. One month later, a Micmac servant girl set the new

⁶¹ Hodges, *The Book of Negroes*, p. 9.

⁶² Hodges, *The Book of Negroes*, p. 35.

⁶³ Associated Loyalists were sea captains and wealthy landowners who had suffered at the hands of the Patriots after the Battle of Lexington. They led several raids on Long Island and Nantucket, capturing vessels, cattle, provisions, and people, and wreaking havoc along the way.

⁶⁴ Davidson (2016), p. 16.

Dibblee house on fire. At this point, finding herself in a “calamitous situation,” Polly had no choice but to let her servants go.⁶⁵

We don’t know what happened to SUKEY after she left the Dibblee home. No new indenture has been found to indicate that Polly Dibblee had transferred SUKEY’S indenture to someone else to profit from her labor.⁶⁶ Polly may have allowed TOM to take SUKEY with him, knowing that as a skilled wage laborer, he might better care for her than she could herself, given the mouths she had to feed. Could SUKEY have survived and later married, which makes her untraceable? TOM went to Carleton, another town settled by Loyalists, including Black Loyalists, where he was able to find work. Why did he go to this place? Was it because his father JACK was already residing in Carleton? To what extent were Black refugees talking among themselves about the situations they currently faced?

In 1785, TOM and JACK HIDE were among twenty Black Loyalists, who signed a petition pointing out their desperate situation and how they had not received their land allotments and provisions.⁶⁷ In this petition, they exercised their rights as English citizens and reminded the British Crown of the promises made to them for their service in the War. These Black Loyalists received land parcels in Milkish Creek Settlement on the Nerepis River, New Brunswick. However, the poor soil did not yield enough to feed their families. After two years, most of that land was taken away from them.

We don’t know what happened to JACK and TOM HIDE after the Milkish Creek Settlement failed. The fault is not theirs but the British Crown’s failure to live up to the promises made to them. For almost two years, both Jack and Tom briefly occupied a space and a time where they were free, surrounded by their extended families in a Black settlement of their own.

Cato Cannon and Phillis Ketchum

CATO CANNON was said to be 40 years old and “stout,” and in 1777, escaped from his enslaver, John Cannon of Norwalk, Connecticut.⁶⁸ At some point, CATO came into the possession of Samuel Ketchum, a cousin of John Ketchum, during his time in New York City. Was CATO one of the Black Loyalists who was kidnapped in New York City by a Loyalist before being sold or given to Samuel Ketchum? Or was he re-enslaved by Samuel Ketchum who may have previously known him from Fairfield County? We don’t know. CATO was on the ship *Hope* and arrived in St. John in 1783 along with JACK HIDE and PHILLIS KETCHUM.

PHILLIS KETCHUM was a “worn-out wench” at 44-years-old when she left for Nova Scotia in 1783. Not much is known about her other than that she was “clearly his [John Ketchum’s] property.”⁶⁹ John Ketchum was born in Norwalk in 1726 and died in Woodstock, Carleton, New Brunswick, in 1790. PHILLIS’ condition probably resulted from all her domestic duties inside and outside the home. Did she have health deficiencies related to a poor diet? Was she a wet nurse for multiple generations of Ketchum babies? What physical ailments did she suffer, what work injuries? We have no idea what became of either CATO CANNON or PHILLIS KETCHUM. What is

⁶⁵ Stephen Davidson’s account of Polly Jarvi’s life can be read here: <https://www.uelac.org/Loyalist-Info/extras/Dibblee-Fyler/Dibblee-Polly-Jarvis-biography.pdf> .

⁶⁶ Personal correspondence with Stephen Davidson. He hasn’t found an additional indenture for Sukey.

⁶⁷ Davidson, p. 26-27.

⁶⁸ Hodges, *The Book of Negroes*, 35.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

certain is when we compare the lives of the enslaved to those of the enslavers, there is stark contrast. A description of Cannon's home gives some idea of the lives of its enslaved inhabitants:

Col. F. St. John Lockwood's beautiful lawn is the site of a notable colonial home, that of Commodore John Cannon, whose ships plied between Norwalk and the West Indies just before the Revolution. Few people today are aware of the important carrying trade which existed at that time, when hams, horses, staves, hoops, flour, butter, and earthenware were exported, and sugar, molasses and liquors imported. The Cannon house was spacious, with a great chimney in which a whole ox might be roasted, besides affording room for game and poultry on spits, and kettles hung from swinging cranes, tended by the negro slaves. The house, surrounded by a fine orchard, its bountiful table furnished with plate and old Canton china, was the sort of home about which a novelist would delight in weaving tales.⁷⁰

The Cannon family continued to own enslaved people until 1800.

Jack, Dorcus, and Prince Buckley

The enslaved Buckley family fled the Town of Fairfield when it was burned down in 1779. JACK was 50 years old and described as "ordinary" when he escaped from his enslaver, Jonathan Buckley. DORCUS was enslaved by Dr. Francis Forgue and fled with their 5-year-old son Prince.⁷¹ Jonathan Buckley and Francis Forgue may have known each other as both were Patriots from the same town. JACK and DORCUS came into the possession of Joseph Hide who transported them to St. John on the ship *Two Sisters* in 1783. Did the family seize the opportunity to flee Fairfield, fearing they were going to be sold and separated? They made it to Long Island and New York City where they may have been re-enslaved or perhaps, kidnapped by Joseph Hide, who ignored any documents freeing them.

William and Diana Carden

WILLIAM was a 27-year-old "stout" man who left Danbury, Connecticut, fleeing from his enslaver Joseph Taylor, a merchant mariner and ardent Loyalist from Hartford, Connecticut, who made a living as a privateer in the West Indies trade.⁷² WILLIAM probably worked in some capacity related to shipping and sailing. His wife DIANA was from Rhode Island and enslaved by Richard Burke.⁷³ Since Taylor and Burke routinely did business in the same locations, it is possible that WILLIAM and DIANA met on Long Island before they relocated to New York City. The couple were in the prime of their lives and would have been of value. They embarked to St. John on the ship *Montague* in the possession of Colonel Gabriel DeVeber, an in-law to Captain Nathaniel Hubbard from Stamford, a Loyalist merchant mariner and privateer. They may have been re-enslaved or sold elsewhere. Or, they may have perished due to not having enough provisions, clothing, or shelter from the cold environment in Canada.

James Jackson

JAMES was an "ordinary" 36 years old when he fled Fairfield County in 1776.⁷⁴ He was enslaved by Silas Holly, a Patriot who served in the New York militia. The Holly Family were

⁷⁰ Samuel Richards Weed, *Norwalk After Two Hundred and Fifty Years*, South Norwalk: C. A. Freeman, 1902, 293.

⁷¹ Hodges, *The Book of Negroes*, 54.

⁷² Hodges, *The Book of Negroes*, 135.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Hodges, *The Book of Negroes*, 163.

among the early settlers of Stamford and part of Fairfield County's merchant mariner social network.⁷⁵ JAMES was transported to Annapolis on *Skuldham* by John Smith, a descendant of the merchant mariner Smith family from Stamford and Greenwich. Was this John Smith, related to Thomas Smith, a Loyalist privateer from Ridgefield, Connecticut, who escaped from New Gate prison?⁷⁶ JAMES JACKSON disappeared from the historic record after he arrived in Annapolis.

Cuff Fairchild

CUFF FAIRCHILD, 55 years old, was yet another "ordinary" Black Loyalist who fled during the burning of Fairfield in 1779.⁷⁷ He was enslaved by George Fairchild of Stratford, Connecticut. Like the rest of his peers, CUFF probably escaped across Long Island Sound. The Fairchild family were carpenters by trade, so CUFF may have been taught this trade. He accompanied the Loyalists to New York City where he was given a General Birch Certificate to start a new life in St. John, embarking on the *Symmetry* in 1783, four years after his escape from slavery. CUFF'S circumstances after he arrived can't be determined. Was he re-enslaved or sold? Was he able to become a wage laborer who used his carpentry skills?

We know more about his enslaver and his transporter. His enslaver, George Fairchild, was part of the Fairchild Family of Fairfield County. They were farmers, carpenters and seamen who prospered from the West Indies trade, whaling, and shipping. George may have been related to Alexander Fairchild, a known Loyalist, who was charged with high treason by the Patriots and was imprisoned at Simsbury Mine (New Gate Prison) from which he escaped.⁷⁸ Or he may have been a different George Fairchild. We know that CUFF'S transporter, Benjamin Stanton, was a Loyalist from Newport, Rhode Island, who opened a blacksmith shop after he settled in St. John. Stanton's will shows that he owned a lot of property on Dock Street and Main Street, including land and buildings, and a home on Union Street.⁷⁹ All of this property was likely worked and maintained by Free Blacks, indentured servants, and enslaved people.

Henry, Kate, and daughter

HENRY was enslaved by Thomas Marren, from Fairfield. There is no indication precisely when HENRY escaped with his wife and young daughter, though it was after General William Howe's Proclamation in 1777. Both HENRY and KATE were listed as "stout" meaning that they would have been strong and valuable.⁸⁰ HENRY was 47 years old, and KATE was 40 years old. Was their daughter an only child, or did they leave other children behind? No information was found about their enslaver Thomas Marren (Marron). All sailed to St. John on the ship *Camel* in 1783.

Charles Richards from Elizabethtown, New Jersey was their Loyalist transporter. Richards was targeted and imprisoned before fleeing to New York City in 1778. In his claim for reparations, he stated that he lost "2 yoke of oxen, 7 cows, 2 horses, 6 colts, furniture, and 2 wag-

⁷⁵ See Zeranski, p. 78.

⁷⁶ Pougher, p. 293; Also, Zeranski, pp. 207-213.

⁷⁷ Hedges, *The Book of Negroes*, p. 53.

⁷⁸ Please refer to <https://loyalist.lib.unb.ca/atlantic-loyalist-connections/new-brunswick-loyalist-journeys-meet-loyalist-youth>

⁷⁹ For more information, see <https://uelac.ca/loyalist-trails/loyalist-trails-2017-42/#Blacksmiths>

⁸⁰ Hodges, *The Book of Negroes*, p. 8.

ons,”⁸¹ suggesting that he had a background as a farmer. Richards was able to buy a 423-acre lot in the Kemble Manor⁸² in King’s County, New Brunswick, after he settled there. Were HENRY and his family re-enslaved by Richards? Did he sell them upon his arrival there? Without a surname for these enslaved, their destinies remain unknown.

James Nicols

JAMES NICOLS joined the Loyalists in 1778, fleeing from the home of Phillip Nichols (1727-1807), a Patriot who fought in Connecticut’s 8th Regiment.⁸³ The Nichols Family were early settlers in Stratford, Connecticut, where they became wealthy landowners, also involved in both the New England and West Indies trade.⁸⁴ James was most likely a skilled laborer who performed duties associated with farming, shipping, and sailing. The family used enslaved laborers up until 1810.

We don’t know when a “stout” JAMES NICOLS came into the possession of Captain Cole. This Captain Cole may have been Captain David Cole (1760-1822) who was born on Long Island and evacuated to St. John in 1783 with his father David, and brothers George and Samuel. Captain Cole died in 1822 on Coles Island, New Brunswick.⁸⁵ He was a part of New York’s Second Battalion Delancey’s Regiment.⁸⁶ He may have known other merchant mariners like George Leonard, Joshua Taylor, and Samuel Rogers.

JAMES NICOLS departed New York on the ship *Lord Townsend* in 1783. JAMES vanished from the historical record after he arrived in Nova Scotia.

Toney Bartram (Barton), Nancy and Flora Bartram, David Raymond, and Prince Perry

TONEY BARTRAM, DAVID RAYMOND, and PRINCE PERRY ran away from their Fairfield County enslaver families, seeking a better life for themselves. TONEY, 25 years old, the youngest of the three, was enslaved by Job Bartram. Both he and 45-year-old PRINCE PERRY, enslaved by Colonel Perry, were in the possession of Captain Nathaniel Hubbell, an Associate Loyalist who manned several vessels and whaleboats during the Revolutionary War.⁸⁷ Hubbell was later granted land in Guysborough, Nova Scotia, where he lived for some time before returning to Trumbull, Connecticut, where he died in 1826. DAVID RAYMOND was in the possession of Lt. Sargeant Major and previously enslaved by John Raymond, a Patriot, from Norwalk.⁸⁸

DAVID and PRINCE left Fairfield in 1776. TONEY BARTRAM fled when the town was burnt down by the British in 1779, escaping with his two young daughters, NANCY and FLORA. NANCY was kidnapped in New York City by the sea captain and merchant Henry Rogers, who threatened

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Stephen Kemble, a member of the wealthy New Jersey family and a Loyalist, came into possession of 20,000 acres of the Kemble Manor. As he still lived in New Jersey, he sold off parts of this land in lots of 200 acres to other Loyalist to settle in New Brunswick.

⁸³ Hodges, *The Book of Negroes*, p. 151.

⁸⁴ See Hamilton (1881) details the Nichols family’s activities in the founding of Fairfield County, CT.

⁸⁵ See https://uelac.ca/loyalist-directory/detail/?wpda_search_column_id=1654

⁸⁶ Delancey’s Second Battalion was comprised of 500 men from New York, City, Long Island, Westchester, NY and Fairfield County, CT. They were diehard Loyalists who fought for the duration of the War.

⁸⁷ Hodges, *The Book of Negroes*, p. 205.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 204.

to sell her back to her owner.⁸⁹ TONEY (also known as ANTHONY BARTON/TONEY BARTON) filed a petition with the British government to have NANCY returned to him. As neither NANCY nor FLORA sailed to Nova Scotia with him, his appeal for help apparently went unanswered. We don't know their fate or the fate of their mother. We do know that TONEY, PRINCE, and DAVID sought refuge in New York City, and, as skilled laborers, they did whatever needed to be done to survive.

In November 1783, they left for Port Mouton, Nova Scotia, on the brig *Concord*. Upon their arrival in Nova Scotia, they faced a situation where the land and provisions promised did not materialize, and they became wage laborers to survive. We don't know the destinies of PRINCE and DAVID. They might be among those Black Loyalists who sailed to Sierra Leone in 1792.

However, we do know that TONEY BARTRAM was granted land in 1787 in Tracadie, which was renamed Guysborough, Nova Scotia. Nine years after he left New York, TONEY was listed as a sailmaker in Guysborough and decades later, his descendants were still there.⁹⁰ TONEY BARTRAM'S life is another testament of resilience in the face of adversity.

Michael Cox and Abraham Hammond

MICHAEL COX and ABRAHAM HAMMOND were on *The Grand Dutchess of Russia* in July 1783, bound for Annapolis Royal, along with ANDREW BUSH (discussed in the next sketch). Both were in the possession of Captain Nathaniel Hubbard from Stamford, a Loyalist merchant mariner and privateer. He was among those who were targeted and imprisoned at the start of the Revolutionary War, who fled to New York City. Capt. Hubbard was very familiar with Long Island Sound and acquainted with members of the Lloyd Family of Lloyd's Manor in Huntington, Suffolk County, as well as the Bush family of Greenwich.

ABRAHAM HAMMOND was described as a "stout" 40-year-old Mulatto man, and MICHAEL COX was said to be 26-years old.⁹¹ These two Black Loyalists would have been seen as prime laborers by Hubbard. Both MICHAEL and ABRAHAM had been previously enslaved by John Lloyd junior (1745-1792) of Lloyd's Manor. Lloyd was a Patriot who fled when the Loyalist occupied his Manor, and he didn't return until after the Revolutionary War to rebuild it. Could Hubbard have enticed the two Black Loyalists to leave with him when he encountered them either in Long Island or New York City? Hubbard would have known they were skilled laborers. As an Associated Loyalist officer, Captain Hubbard was entitled to a handsome land grant for his allegiance to the Crown.

There is no more information about ABRAHAM HAMMOND after he arrived in Annapolis on *The Grand Dutchess of Russia*. He disappears from the record and may have been sold, indentured to another Loyalist, or died.

⁸⁹ Thanks to Alec Lurie we know more about Toney Bartram. <https://connecticuthistory.org/black-loyalist-refugees-toney-escapes-during-the-burning-of-fairfield/>. On May 30, 1783, Guy Carleton wrote about how A. Bartram (Toney Bartram) complained that his daughter Nancy had been detained by Henry Rogers in New York City. The complaint can be found in copies of the original *Book of Negroes*. See <https://archives.novascotia.ca/africans/book-of-negroes/page/?ID=3>.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Hodges, *The Book of Negroes*, p. 117.

MICHAEL COX was reclaimed as “property” by Henry Lloyd II, one of the Lloyd brothers who sided with the British and who sought refuge in Nova Scotia. “Michael Cox was apparently John's Jr.'s senior servant, as noted on his account at the Woods' General Store. However, Michael runs away again in 1790. An advertisement printed in the *New-York Daily Gazette* notes that he “plays very well on a violin, which with his music books, he took with him; he can read and write and does not want for a good share of understanding.” MICHAEL COX is not listed in the 1793 inventory of John Lloyd Jr.'s estate, suggesting that his self-emancipation may have been successful.”⁹²

Andrew Bush, Unus Deaton, Ned Morris, Charity Morris and children, and Peter Cox

Like the two men in the previous sketch, ANDREW BUSH, son of CUFF BUSH (discussed on page 47) also disembarked from *The Grand Dutchess of Russia* in Annapolis Royal in Spring 1783, and was in the possession of Captain Nathaniel Hubbard from Stamford. He was described as a “stout” 25-year-old.⁹³ Within a year of his arrival, he was listed in a runaway slave advertisement in the newly formed province of New Brunswick.

Thomas Rogers, a descendant of the Connecticut Rogers family who settled Huntington and Southampton, Long Island, placed a runaway slave ad in a newspaper:

HARBOURED, or otherwise CONCEALED. THE following Negroes belonging to the subscriber, viz. EDWARD MORRIS, an elderly negro about five feet five inches high, by trade a mason, has a remarkable wound in his forehead which shews a hole resembling a bullet shot, is a celebrated methodist preacher among the negroes, was bred at Fairfield in Connecticut; also CHARITY his wife, a half bred Indian of the tribe on Long Island, province of New York, and a small boy about seven years of age, son of the said wench by an Indian father. ANDREW BUSH, a comely stout negro, remarkable high forwarded, generally called the Widow's Peak, formerly the property of Doctor Bush, in Connecticut, is a remarkable good miller, which practice he has been used all his life to, also his wife EANUS, a yellow mustee [octoroon or a person of mixed ancestry]. And, PETER COCK, a young negro, comely countenance.”⁹⁴

The ad was placed in the newspaper the day after Fyler Dibblee (mentioned earlier), committed suicide. Dibblee had gone before the magistrate three times to advocate for the freedom of all these individuals. He must have been aware that Thomas Rogers had re-enslaved them and was planning to sell some of them.⁹⁵ NED and CHARITY'S two youngest children are not mentioned in the ad. Were they sold? Had they died of hunger, cold, or illness?

From Rogers' ad, a lot more information about Black Loyalists, their family ties, and social networks can be seen that elicits more questions. We learn that NED (EDWARD) MORRIS is now said to be elderly. Could it be that his health suffered since his arrived in New Brunswick? In *The Book of Negroes*, he is listed as 36 years old, formerly enslaved by Gideon Wakeman, and

⁹² The Lloyd Manor website gives a great overview of the Manor and the enslaved people associated with the family. <https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/bb076e0dd0a34dfaab7b94e97634c70e>

⁹³ Hodges, *The Book of Negroes*, p. 117.

⁹⁴ Whitfield (2022), p. xlix-l.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

fleeing in 1777.⁹⁶ We learn that he was a mason, a celebrated Methodist preacher –Did he comfort his flock? -- and had a scar that looked like a bullet hole in his forehead, suggesting he had been subjected to violence and survived. His wife CHARITY is said to be part Indigenous, most likely of Mantinecock descent; her 7-year-old son was fathered by an Indigenous father while her two youngest children, ages five and three, were fathered by NED MORRIS after his escape to Long Island.⁹⁷ Moreover, the ad further states that ANDREW BUSH, like his father CUFF, was a miller, was handsome, had a widow's peak, and that UNUS DEATON (EANUS) was his wife and that she was "a yellow mustee," indicating that she was part Indigenous. Could CHARITY and UNUS have been sisters? When did ANDREW move to New Brunswick from Annapolis, N.S.? Did he relocate there to be with his extended family? PETER COCK (COX) is listed as being a "comely" and young. He was 24 years old when he left New York and fled John Lloyd's Manor. Is PETER MICHAEL COX's younger brother? What is the relationship between the Cox brothers and the rest of this MORRIS-BUSH extended family? Were they kin to each other? Also, what is the relationship between EDWARD LLOYD (see p. 49) and the Lloyd Family?

In 1785 and in 1787, PETER COX, ANDREW BUSH, TOM HIDE, JACK HIDE, JACK COLEY, and ISMAEL COLEY were all living in the Milkish Settlement. This points to the fact that some Black Loyalists relied on their family and kin ties to flee their enslavers and then reunite on Long Island and in New York City. When facing re-enslavement and family separation, they decided to run away together, and were on the forefront of founding a new Black settlement. For two years, these Loyalist lived lives that were truly free. Did they end up, like ZIMRI ARMSTRONG,⁹⁸ emigrating to Sierra Leone, or did they migrate to other Canadian locations to work as wage laborers? We do not know the outcome of their lives.

Conclusion

While the fate of many of Fairfield County's Black Loyalists remains shrouded in mystery, it is erroneous to assume that their legacy has vanished without a trace. Over the past decade, I've had the privilege of serving as a co-administrator for *The Malagasy Roots Project* at Family Tree DNA.⁹⁹ During this time, I've been engaged in the task of tracing my extended family's genetic connections, not only to Black Loyalist ROSE FORTUNE, but also to other Black Loyalists, such as THOMAS and CHARLES FRANCIS, EDWARD GODFREY, AESOP MOSES, ANTHONY PIGGOTT, FRANCIS CLEMENTS, JOSEPH CROMWELL, EMMANUEL JARVIS, ANDREW IZZARD, SAMUEL BROTHERS, GEORGE STEVENS, ISAAC JOHNSON, JOHN PRIOR, and numerous others. Genetic genealogy can provide descendants with an avenue to reclaim their Black Loyalist ancestors, whose stories are often overlooked. While some may view Black Loyalists as "the losers' losers," we regard them as heroes for pursuing liberty, freedom, and justice in the face of great odds. The decision they all made to take a chance on freedom is perhaps the most American of all stories.

⁹⁶ Hodges, *The Book of Negroes*, p. 73.

⁹⁷ Ibid. The Mantinecock are one of the the original peoples of Long Sland who lived in Suffolk County, NY.

⁹⁸ Zimri Armstrong was a Black Loyalist who indentured himself to Samuel Jarvis, Polly Dibblee's brother, for two years in exchange for his family's passage to Nova Scotia at the end of his term. Samuel returned to Stamford and sold his family into slavery.

⁹⁹ <https://www.familytreedna.com/>