**“Enslaved Labor and Cultural Capital: A Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis of Copley’s Colonial Patrons and Their Circum-Atlantic World”**

**Bibliographic Appendix for Dataset**

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Arranged by sitter, this bibliography lists the sources that support our dataset. The sources range from archival materials to genealogies and family histories published in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, to recent scholarship and publicly-sourced websites about American colonial history. Jennifer Feldman compiled the original data set in 2015, and her work was later checked and updated by Evie Kalfanian, Jalyn Stallworth, and Jessica Tackes.

Throughout, the researchers and authors also consulted Jules Prown, *John Singleton Copley, Volume 1: In America, 1738-1774* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966) andCarrie Rebora Barratt (ed.), *John Singleton Copley in America* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995) for information about the sitters’ biographies.

Translating qualitative historical sources into quantitative data can be challenging. Based on the reading of primary and secondary sources, which can provide ambiguous or incomplete information, one has to decide how to categorize something. In our case, the most important and challenging of these translations from qualitative sources to a clear-cut variable was categorizing sitters’ relationships to the institution of slavery. We were able to introduce some nuance into our categories by indicating whether or not we had clear documentary evidence that a sitter or his or her family enslaved people—or whether there was only circumstantial evidence that they did. In some cases, for example, we felt confident saying that one spouse apparently did not enslave people but there was insufficient information available about the other spouse. In these cases, multiple categories are listed under the entry for a couple or family group--the order in which the categories are presented corresponds to the order in which the sitters are listed. There were also some similar grey areas around sitters’ occupations and occasionally even where their primary residence was. Providing access to our dataset and bibliography enables us to be transparent about these ambiguities, which complicate, but we believe do not compromise, our overall findings. Furthermore, this research is an iterative and collaborative process. We therefore encourage readers with additional or conflicting information about the sitters to contact us through this website.

**Adams, Samuel**

Rebora, 275-278.

Stoll, Ira. *Samuel Adams: A Life.* New York: Free Press, 2008, 55.

\*Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Allen, James**

Prown, 102.

\*Insufficient Information

**Allen, Nathaniel and Mrs. Nathaniel (Sarah Sargent) Allen**

Fitts, James Hill. *Lane Genealogies Vol. III.* Exeter: The News Letter Press. 1902. 49.

Prown, 102, 149.

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Amory, John and Mrs. John (Katherine Greene) Amory**

Moore, George Henry. *Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts.* Bedford: Applewood Books, 1866, 70.

Prown 102, 149.

Wilder, Craig Steven. *A Covenant with Color: Race and Social Power in Brooklyn.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2000, 34.

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Amory, Thomas**

Bliss, William Root. *Side Glimpses: From the Colonial Meeting House.* Boston: The Riverside Press, 1894, 15.

Logan, George (Charlestown, S.C) to Thomas Amory (Boston, Mass), 30 May 1720. Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Library.

h[ttps://researchworks.oclc.org/archivegrid/collection/data/31259275](https://researchworks.oclc.org/archivegrid/collection/data/31259275).

Thomas, Hugh. *The Slave Trade: The Story of the Atlantic Slave Trade: 1440-1870.* New York: Simon and Schuster Paperbacks, 1997, 259-260.

Prown, 149.

\*Traded People

**Amory, Thomas II and Mrs. Thomas (Elizabeth Coffin) Amory II**

Moore, George Henry. *Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts.* Bedford: Applewood Books, 1866, 70.

Prown, 102, 149.

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Appleton, Rev. Nathaniel and Mrs. Nathaniel (Margaret Gibbs) Appleton**

“African Americans and the End of Slavery in Massachusetts, St. George Tucker's Queries on Slavery in Massachusetts.” Massachusetts Historical Society. Accessed September 6, 2019.

Locke, Mary Stoughton. *Anti-Slavery in America: From the Introduction of African Slaves to the Prohibition of the Slave Trade, 1619-1808.* Boston: Ginn and Company, 1901, 19.

Prown, 102, 185.

Tsesis, Alexander, ed. *The Promises of Liberty: The History and Contemporary Relevance of the Thirteenth Amendment.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2010, 4.

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Apthorp, Mrs. John (Hannah Greenleaf)**

Carretta, Vincent and Phillip Gould, eds. *Genius in Bondage: Literature of the Early Black Atlantic.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2014. 171.

“Charles Ward Apthorp Papers, 1727-1858.” Collection Guides. Massachusetts Historical Society. Accessed December 19, 2020.

Prown, 167.

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Atkinson, Theodore Jr. and Mrs. Theodore Atkinson, Jr.**

Brewster, Charles Warren. *Rambles about Portsmouth: sketches of persons, localities, and incidents of two centuries: principally from tradition and unpublished documents*. Portsmouth: C.W. Brewster and Son, Portsmouth Journal Office, 1859.

Leubsdorf, Ben. “234 years later, N.H. Legislature might answer slaves’ plea for freedom.” *Concord Monitor*. February 28, 2013.

\*Insufficient Information

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Austin, Mrs. Ebenezer (Mary Smith)**

Prown, 119, 143.

\*Insufficient Information

**Babcock, Adam and Mrs. Adam (Abigail Smith) Babcock**

Prown, 103, 157.

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Babcock, Mrs. Luke (Cranston, Rhoda)**

Crane, Elaine Forman. *A Dependent People: Newport, Rhode Island in the Revolutionary Era.* New York: Fordham University Press, 1985, 26.

Scott, Kenneth, and Rosanne Conway, eds. *Genealogical Data from Colonial New Haven Newspapers.* Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1979, 327.

Prown, 105, 157.

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Barnard, Rev. Edward**

Bailey, Sarah Loring. *Historical Sketches of Andover (comprising the Present Towns of North Andover and Andover), Massachusetts.* Boston: The Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1880, 39.

Prown, 103, 189.

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Barrel, Joseph, Mrs. Joseph (Anna Pierce) Barrel and Mrs. Joseph (Hannah Fitch) Barrel**

Prown, 163.

Rebora, 268.

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Barrett, John and Mrs. John (Sarah Gerrish) Barrett**

Prown, 103, 151, 169.

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Barrett, Samuel and Mrs. Samuel (Mary Clarke) Barrett**

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Belcher, Jonathan and Mrs. Jonathan (Abigail Allen) Belcher**

Chan, Alexandra K. *Slavery in the Age of Reason: Archaeology at a New England Farm.* Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2007, 276.

Manegold, C. S. *Ten Hills Farm: The Forgotten History of Slavery in the North.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010, 139-140.

Prown, 103, 145.

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Blackstone, Benjamin and Mrs. Benjamin (Eleanor Phipps) Blackstone**

“1790 Census: Falmouth, Cumberland County.” Maine Genealogy Archives. Accessed Feb. 17, 2020. <https://archives.mainegenealogy.net/2006/10/1790-census-falmouth-cumberland-county.html>.

Prown, 103.

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Blake, Joseph**

Prown, 103.

\*Insufficient Information

**Bourne, Mrs. Sylvanus (Mercy Gorham)**

*The Bay State Monthly: New England Magazine, New Series Vol. 24.* Boston: Warren F. Kellogg, 1901, 442.

Sylvanus Bourne to Thomas Jefferson, 8 September 1791. National Archives, Founders Online.

Prown, 103.

\*Enslaved People

**Bours, John**

Crane, Elaine Forman. *A Dependent People: Newport, Rhode Island in the Revolutionary Era.* New York: Fordham University Press, 1985, 26.

Rebora, 265-66.

\*Enslaved People

**Bowen, Jabez and Mrs. Jabez Bowen (Sarah Brown)**

Fox-Genovese, Elizabeth, and Eugene D. Genovese. *The Mind of the Master Class: History and Faith in the Southern Slaveholders' Worldview*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, 74.

Prown, 103.

Rappleye, Charles. *Sons of Providence: The Brown Brothers, the Slave Trade, and the American Revolution*. New York: Simon and Schuster Paperbacks, 2006, 57.

\*Enslaved People

**Bowler, Mrs. Metcalf (Anne Fairchild) (1)**

Halsey, R. T. H. and Charles O. Cornelius. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: A Handbook of the American Wing*. 6th ed. revised by Joseph Downs. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1938, 92-93.

Prown, 103, 157.

\*Traded People

**Boylston, Nicholas**

Wilder, Craig Steven. *Ebony and Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America's Universities*. New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2013, 75.

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Boylston, Thomas and Mrs. Thomas (Sarah Morecock) Boylston**

Deane, Charles. *The Connection of Massachusetts with Slavery and the Slave-Trade*. Worchester: Charles Hamilton, 1886, 21.

Rebora, 224-228.

\*Insufficient Information

**Boylston, Thomas II**

Prown, 104, 143.

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Brattle, William**

Beckert, Sven, Katherine Stevens, and the students of the Harvard and Slavery Research Seminar. *Harvard and Slavery: Seeking a Forgotten History*. HarvardandSlavery.com, 2011, 8, 29.

Lemire, Elise. *Black Walden: Slavery and Its Aftermath in Concord, Massachusetts*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009, 43.

Prown, 104, 145.

\*Enslaved People

**Brown, Mrs. Gawen (Elizabeth Byles)**

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Browne, Jane (Mrs. Samuel Livermore)**

Morris, Thomas D. *Free Men All: The Personal Liberty Laws of the North, 1780-1861.* Union: The Lawbook Exchange, LTD., 1999, 14.

Prown, 104.

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Browne, Rev. Arthur and Mrs. Arthur (Mary Cox) Browne**

*The Cambridge Historical Society, Publications VIII: Proceedings January 28, 1913 – October 28, 1913.* The Cambridge Historical Society, 1914, 68.

Prown, 104.

\*Enslaved People

**Burr, Thaddeus and Mrs. Thaddeus (Eunice Dennie) Burr**

Prown, 104.

“Slavery and Slave Owners in Fairfield.” Fairfield Connecticut. Accessed September 4, 2019. http://www.fairfieldct.org/content/10724/12146/12167.aspx.

\*Enslaved People

**Byles, Rev. Mather (1)**

“Phyllis Wheatley, 1753-1784.” Poetry Foundation. Accessed September 6, 2019. <http://www.poetryfoundation.org/bio/phillis-wheatley>.

Prown, 104, 179.

Ryan, Kelly A. *Regulating Passion: Sexuality and Patriarchal Rule in Massachusetts, 1700-1830.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014, 69.

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Calif, Mrs. Joseph (Hannah Jordan)**

Prown, 104.

\*Insufficient Information

**Cary, Samuel and Mrs. Samuel (Sarah Gray) Cary**

Nemmers, John R. “A Guide to Letterbook from the Simon Plantation, St. Kitts.” George A. Smathers Libraries. 2004.

Cary family papers, Ms. N-2001, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, MA, <https://www.masshist.org/collection-guides/view/fa0515>. Accessed March 5, 2021.

Rebora, 315-316.

Roger, Molly. *Delia's Tears: Race, Science, and Photography in Nineteenth-century America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010, 209.

\*Enslaved People

**Cary, Reverend Thomas**

Rebora, 283-286

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Chardon, Peter**

Prown, 104, 187.

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Coffin, Mrs. William (Ann Holmes)**

Karpiel, Frank. *Images of America: Charleston’s Historic Cemeteries.* Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2013, 56.

Mould, David R., and Missy Loewe. *Historic Gravestone Art of Charleston, South Carolina, 1695-1802.* Jefferson: McFarland and Company, Inc., Publishers, 2006, 43.

Prown, 105, 149.

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Coffin, Thomas Aston**

Prown, 105, 149.

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Cooper, Rev. Myles**

Rebora, 250-251.

Wilder, Craig Steven. *Ebony and Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America's Universities*. New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2013, 97-98.

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Cooper, Rev. Samuel (1)**

Prown, 105, 187.

Wheatley, Phillis. *Poems of Phillis Wheatley: A Native African and a Slave*. Published by Geo. W. Light, 1834. Reprinted. Bedford: Applewood Books, 1995, 6.

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Copley, John Singleton and Mrs. John Singleton (Susanna Clarke) Copley**

Musselwhite, Paul. “Annapolis Aflame: Richard Clarke's Conspiracy and the Imperial Urban Vision in Maryland, 1704–8.” *The William and Mary Quarterly,* Vol. 71, no. 3 (2014): 361-400.

Prown, 105, 151, 153.

\*Enslaved People

**Cotton, Mrs. Roland (Deborah Mason)**

Prown, 105.

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Cox, Lemuel**

Rebora, 262-264.

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Cumming, Mrs. Alexander (Elizabeth Goldthwait; later Mrs. John Bacon)**

Prown, 105.

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Dana, Richard**

Prown, 105.

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Danforth, Samuel**

Prown, 105, 145.

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Davis, Mrs. Benjamin (Anstice Greenleaf)**

Prown, 105, 167.

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Devreux, Mrs. Humphrey (Mary Charnock)**

Rebora, 269-271.

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Ellery, Mrs. Nathanial (Ann Sargent)**

Pringle, James R. *History of the Town and City of Gloucester, Cape Ann, Massachusetts.* Gloucester: James Robert Pringle, 1892. 86.

Prown, 105, 191.

\*Enslaved People

**Eppes, Mrs. William (Abigail Pickman; later Mrs. Slyvester Gardiner)**

Greenleaf, Simon. *Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Judicial Court of the State of Maine, Vol 1*. Portland: Harmon, Paine, and Co. Printers, 1876, 93.

Prown, 105, 159.

Robinson, Caroline E. *The Gardiners of Narragansett: Being a Genealogy of the Descendants of George Gardiner, The Colonist, 1638.* Edited by Daniel Goodwin. Providence: [TEditor], 1919, 31, 54, 231, 243, 244, 318.

Smith, Danny D, and Earle G. Shettleworth Jr. *Postcard History Series: Gardiner.* Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2008, 44.

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Erving, John**

Prown, 105, 154.

\*Insufficient Information

**Fayerweather, Rev. Samuel**

Curtis, Nancy C. *Black Heritage Sites: An African American Odyssey and Finder's Guide*. Chicago: American Library Association, 1996, 380.

\*Enslaved People

**Flucker, Thomas**

Engberg, Kathrynn Seidler. *The Right to Write: The Literary Politics of Anne Bradstreet and Phillis Wheatley*. Lanham: University Press of America, 2010, 49.

Greene, Lorenzo J. *The Bobbs – Merrill Reprint Series in Black Studies: Mutiny on the Slave Ships.* Reprinted from Phylon Vol. 5, 1944. The College Division: Atlanta University, 1944, 347-348.

Kershaw, Gordon E, and R. Peter Mooz. *James Bowdoin: Patriot and Man of the Enlightenment*. Brunswick: Bowdoin College, 1976, 25.

King, Wilma. *Stolen Childhood: Slave Youth in Nineteenth-Century America*. 2nd ed. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011, 24-25.

Manuel, Frank E, and Fritzie P. Manuel. *James Bowdoin and the Patriot Philosophers*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2004, 46.

Prown, 106, 198.

“Rebellions on the High Seas: Untold Stories of the Slave Trade.” Accessed September 5, 2019. <https://revcom.us/a/v19/940-49/943/revolts.htm>.

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Folger, Timothy**

Prown, 106.

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Fowle, Jacob**

Bly, Antonio T., ed. *Escaping Bondage: A Documentary History of Runaway Slaves in Eighteenth-century New England, 1700-1789*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2012, 122-123.

Prown, 106, 173.

Thompson, Waldo. *Swampscott: Historical Sketches of the Town*. Lynn: Press of Thos. P. Nichols, 1885, 220.

\*Enslaved People

**Gage, Thomas and Mrs. Thomas (Margaret Kemble) Gage**

Belknap, Jeremy. “Petition for freedom to Massachusetts Governor Thomas Gage, His Majesty's Council, and the House of Representatives, 25 May 1774.” Collections Online. Massachusetts Historical Society. Accessed September 5, 2019.

Fleming, Thomas. *New Jersey: A History.* New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1984, 40.

Hodges, Graham Russel and Alan Edward Brown, ed. *"Pretends to be Free": Runaway Slave Advertisements from Colonial and Revolutionary New York and New Jersey*. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1994, 28.

Rebora, 286-292.

Roark, James L., Michael P. Johnson, Patricia Cline Cohen, Sarah Stage, Susan M. Hartmann. *The American Promise, A History of the United States, Volume I: To 1877*. 5th ed. Bedford: Macmillan Publishers, 2012, 185.

Shewing, Humbly. “Slaves' Appeal to Thomas Gage, Royal Governor of Massachusetts, May 25, 1774.”Edited by Paul Halsall. New York: Fordham University’s Internet History Sourcebooks Project July, 1998.

\*Insufficient Information

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Gambier, James**

Prown, 106.

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Gardiner, James and Ann (Mrs. Arthur Brown) Gardiner (siblings)**

Prown, 106, 159.

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Gardiner, Sylvester**

Rebora, 309-312.

\*Enslaved People

**Gerrish, Benjamin**

Clairmont, Donald H, and Dennis William Magill. *Africville: The Life and Death of a Canadian Black Community.* 3rd ed. Toronto: Canadian Scholars’ Press, 1999, 41.

Prown, 106.

Riddell, William Renwick. *The Slave in Canada.* Washington: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1920, 100.

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Gill, Moses, Mrs. Moses (Rebecca Boylston(2)) Gill, Mrs. Moses (Sarah Prince) Gill**

Braxton, Joanne M, and Maria I. Diedrich, ed. *Monuments of the Black Atlantic: Slavery and Memory.* New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2004.

Rebora, 229-232.

\*Apparently Enslaved People

**Goldthwait, Ezekiel and Mrs. Ezekiel (Elizabeth Lewis) Goldthwait**

Rebora, 271-275.

\*Enslaved People

**Gore Children (from left to right Frances, Elizabeth, John, Samuel)**

Rebora, 170.

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Gore, two sisters of Christopher**

Brown, Kathleen M. *Foul Bodies: Cleanliness in Early America.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009, 255.

Hammond, John Craig, and Matthew Mason, ed. *The Politics of Bondage and Freedom in the New American Nation: Contesting Slavery.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011, 214.

Prown, 106.

\*Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Gray, Harrison**

Prown, 106, 161.

*Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Volume 14, Transactions 1911-1913*. Boston: Published by The Society, 1913, 320, 330.

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Gray, John and Mrs. John (Mary Otis) Gray**

Prown, 107, 161.

*Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Volume 14, Transactions 1911-1913*. Boston: Published by The Society, 1913, 320.

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Green, George**

Rebora, 252.

\*Insufficient Information

**Green, Joseph (A) and Mrs. Joseph (A) (Elizabeth Cross; former Mrs. Nathaniel Austin) Green**

Gates Jr, Henry Louis. *The Trials of Phillis Wheatley: America's First Black Poet and Her Encounters with the Founding Fathers*. New York: Basic Civitas Books, 2003, 10, 15.

Prown, 107.

\*Enslaved People

**Green, Joseph (B)**

Prown, 107, 163.

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Green, Mrs. Edward (Mary Storer)**

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Greene, John and Mrs. John (Catherine Greene) Greene**

Prown, 107, 165.

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Greene, Joseph and Mrs. Joseph (Mary Greene) Greene**

Prown, 107, 165.

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Greene, Rufus and Mrs. Rufus (Katherine Stanbridge) Greene**

Prown, 107, 165.

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Greene, Thomas and Mrs. Thomas (Martha Colt) Greene**

Prown, 107, 165.

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Hall, Hugh**

Gragg, Larry. *The Quaker Community on Barbados: Challenging the Culture of the Planter Class*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2009, 139.

Hall, Hugh. “Hugh Hall account book, 1728-1733.” From the Hugh Hall Papers. Collections Online. Massachusetts Historical Society. Accessed September 5, 2019.

Prown, 107.

Smith, S. D. *Slavery, Family, and Gentry Capitalism in the British Atlantic: The World of the Lascelles, 1648–1834.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, 12-14.

Wilder, Craig Steven. *Ebony and Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America's Universities*. New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2013, 84.

\*Enslaved People

**Hallowell, Benjamin and Mrs. Benjamin (Mary Boylston) Hallowell**

Bly, Antonio T., ed. *Escaping Bondage: A Documentary History of Runaway Slaves in Eighteenth-century New England, 1700-1789*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2012, 81.

Smith, Thomas Watson. *The Slave in Canada.* Vol. X of *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, For the Years 1896-98*. Halifax: Nova Scotia Printing Company, 1899, 9.

\*Enslaved People

**Hancock, John and Dorothy (Mrs. John Hancock) Quincy**

Carretta, Vincent. *Phillis Wheatley: Biography of a Genius in Bondage.* Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2011, 103.

Gaines, Ann Graham. *Leaders of the American Revolution, John Hancock: President of the Continental Congress.* New York: Infobase Publishing, 2013.

Kennedy, James Ronald, and Walter Donald Kennedy. *The South Was Right.* Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 2008, 114.

Perloff-Giles, Alexandra. “Seminar Studies Slave Ties.” The Harvard Crimson. April 24, 2008.

Prown, 112, 182.

Rebora, 314.

\*Enslaved People

**Hancock, Thomas**

McClanahan, Brion T. *The Politically Incorrect Guide to the Founding Fathers*. Washington: Regnery Publishing, Inc., 2009, 239.

Prown, 169.

Unger, Harlow Giles. *American Tempest: How the Boston Tea Party Sparked a Revolution.* Cambridge: Da Capo Press, 2011, 23.

\*Enslaved People

**Henley, Mrs. Samuel (Katherine Russell)**

Prown, 108, 189.

Scudder, Horace Elisha. *James Russell Lowell: A Biography, Vol II.* Boston: The Riverside Press, 1901, 411-412.

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Henshaw, Joseph and Mrs. Joseph (Sarah Henshaw) Henshaw**

Prown, 171.

Rebora, 266-268.

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Henshaw, Joshua**

“Henshaw.” AfriGeneas.com. Accessed Feb. 5, 2021**.**

Prown, 108, 171.

\*Apparently Enslaved People

**Henshaw, Joshua II and Mrs. Joshua II (Catherine Hill) Henshaw**

Prown, 108, 171.

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Hill, Henry and Mrs. Henry (Anna Barrett) Hill**

Prown, 108.

\*Insufficient Information

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Hill, Mrs. Samuel (Miriam Kilby, former Mrs. Benjamin Clarke)**

Prown, 108.

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Hollis, Thomas III**

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Holmes, John Bee**

“John Bee Holmes.” halseymap.com (Preservation Society of Charleston). Accessed Sept. 5, 2019.

Koger, Larry. *Black Slaveowners: Free Black Slave Masters in South Carolina, 1790-1860*. Jefferson: McFarland and Company, Inc., Publishers, 1985, 34.

Mould, David R., and Missy Loewe. *Historic Gravestone Art of Charleston, South Carolina, 1695-1802.* Jefferson: McFarland and Company, Inc., Publishers, 2006, 46.

Prown, 108, 185.

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Holyoke, Rev. Edward**

Adams, Catherine, and Elizabeth H. Pleck. *Love of Freedom: Black Women in Colonial and Revolutionary New England.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2010. 205.

Holyoke, Edward A., Joshua H. Ward, and Frederick L. Gay. 1742. *Diaries of Edward Holyoke, 1742-1747.* In *The Holyoke Diaries, 1709-1856*. Edited by George Francis Dow. Salem: Essex Institute, 1911.

Prown, 108, 185.

\*Enslaved People

**Hooper, Alice (Mrs. Jacob Fowle, Mrs. Joseph Cutler)**

Prown, 108, 173.

\*Enslaved People

**Hooper, Joseph and Mrs. Joseph (Mary Harris) Hooper**

Prown, 109, 173.

Roads, Samuel Jr. *The History and Traditions of Marblehead.* Boston: Osgood and Co., 1880.

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Hooper, Reverend William**

Goodwin, Anne. “Brief Biography and Genealogy of William Hooper, Signer of the Declaration of Independence.” *Family Source Compass Logo*. September 19, 2002.

“William Hooper, Rector of Trinity Church, and William Hooper, Signer of the Declaration of Independence.” *Hooper Compass* vol. 2, no. 1. (November 2000): 65.

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Hooper, Robert (1) and Mrs. Robert (Hannah White) Hooper**

Magra, Christopher P. *The Fisherman’s Cause: Atlantic Commerce and Maritime Dimensions of the American Revolution.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. 32.

Rebora, 240-242.

\*Enslaved People

**Hooper II, Robert**

Prown, 109, 173.

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Howard, Martin**

Conley, Patrick T. and John P. Kaminski. *The Bill of Rights and the States: The Colonial and Revolutionary Origins of American Liberties.* Rowman & Littlefield, 1992. 433.

Price, Jr., William S. “Howard, Martin”in the *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography,* edited by William S. Powell. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press: 1979-1996. 216-217.

Prown, 109, 167.

\*Enslaved People

**Hubbard, Daniel and Mrs. Daniel (Mary Greene) Hubbard**

Prown, 109, 165.

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Hubbard, Thomas**

Gates, Jr., Henry Louis. “A Critic at Large: Phillis Wheatley on Trial.” (2003).

Carretta, Vincent. *Phillis Wheatley: Biography of a Genius in Bondage.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2011. 79.

Engberg, Kathrynn S. *The Right to Write: The Literary Politics of Anne Bradstreet and Phillis Wheatley.* Lanham: University Press of America, 2010. 49.

Prown, 109, 175.

Wilder, Craig S. *Ebony and Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America’s Universities.* New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2014. 84.

\*Apparently Enslaved People

**Hurd, Nathaniel**

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Inman, Ralph**

Lemire, Elise. *Black Walden: Slavery and Its Aftermath in Concord, Massachusetts.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011. 100.

Prown, 109, 177.

Stone, Milton J. “Ralph Inman the ‘Tory.’” *Cambridge Chronicle,* June 17, 1899. 1.

\*Enslaved People

**Jackson, Jonathan**

Comey, Janet L. “Jonathan Jackson by John Singleton Copley.” Expanded from Carol Troyen in *John Singleton Copley in America,* Carrie Rebora et al., eds. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art in Association with Harry N. Abrams. 1995.

Connolly, Michael J. “Jonathan Jackson’s Thoughts: A High Federalist Critique of the Philadelphia Constitution.” *Historical Journal of Massachusetts*, Vol 41, No. 1 (Winter 2013). 54-75.

Rebora, 245-246.

\*Enslaved People

**Jackson, Sarah (Mrs. Henderson Inches)**

Prown, 109, 161.

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\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Langdon, Woodbury and Mrs. Woodbury (Sarah Sherburne) Langdon**

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\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

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\*Enslaved People

**Lewis, Thomas**

Prown, 110, 173.

See Robert Hooper and Jacob Fowle

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Lynde, Lydia (Mrs. William Walter)**

Prown, 110.

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**MacWhorter, Rev. Alexander and Mrs. Rev. Alexander (Mary Cumming) MacWhorter**

Prown, 110.

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Mallett, Mrs. (Mary Livingston)**

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Prown, 110, 147, 149.

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

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\*Enslaved People

**McEvers, Mrs. Charles (Mary Verplanck)**

Prown, 110, 167.

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Mifflin, Thomas and Mrs. Thomas Mifflin (Sarah Morris)**

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**Morris, Mrs. Roger (Mary Philipse)**

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Rebora, 298-300.

\*Enslaved People

**Mountfort, Jonathan**

Prown, 110.

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**Murray, Dorothy (Mrs. John Forbes)**

Prown, 110, 177.

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**Murray, James**

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\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

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\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

Note: the published version of "Enslaved Labor and Cultural Capital" incorrectly indicates that Lucretia Chandler enslaved people. Per the above categorization, her family enslaved or traded people. In his will, Chandler’s father named two people (Sylvia and Worcester) who he had enslaved and bequeathed to unknown family members, and Chandler's mother's family also enslaved or traded people, but there is as yet no concrete evidence that Chandler and her husband enslaved people.

**Newton, John**

Prown, 111, 163.

\*Insufficient Information

**Ogilvie, Reverend John**

Bielinski, Stefan. “Reverend John Ogilvie. The People of Colonial Albany. May 1, 2016. https://exhibitions.nysm.nysed.gov/albany/bios/o/jogilvie.html

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\*Insufficient Information

**Oliver, Andrew and Mrs. Andrew (Mary Sanford) Oliver**

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\*Insufficient Information

**Oliver, Andrew II**

Prown, 111, 179.

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Oliver, Elizabeth (Mrs. Edward Lynde)**

Prown, 111, 179.

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Oliver, Griselda (Mrs. Samuel Waldo)**

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\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

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**Otis, James and Otis, Mrs. James (Mary Alleyne)**

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\*Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Otis, Mrs. Samuel Alleyne (Elizabeth Gray)**

Prown, 161.

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Pelham, Charles and Henry Pelham**

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Rebora, 166.

\*Did Not Enslave or Trade People

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Perkins, Nathaniel**

Prown, 112, 143.

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Pickman, Benjamin and Pickman, Mrs. Benjamin (Mary Toppan)**

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\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Pitts, Elizabeth (Mrs. Jonathan Warner)**

See Thomas Flucker and Hugh Hall entries.

Prown, 112, 198.

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Powell, John II and Mrs. John (Jane Grant) Powell**

Prown, 112, 177.

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Powell, Mrs. John (Anna Susan Dummer)**

Prown, 112, 177.

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Quincy, Josiah**

McCaughey, Robert A. *Josiah Quincy, 1772-1864: the Last Federalist.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974. 9.

Prown, 112, 183.

\*Enslaved People

**Quincy, Samuel and Mrs. Samuel (Hannah Hill Quincy) Quincy**

Prown, 112, 183.

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

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\*Insufficient Information

**Revere, Paul**

O’Connor, Thomas H. *The Hub: Boston Past and Present.* Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2001. 116-117.

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**Richard, Mrs. Paul (Elizabeth Garland)**

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\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Richards, John**

\*Insufficient Information

**Rogers, Daniel and Mrs. Daniel Rogers (Elizabeth Gorham)**

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Prown, 112, 185.

\*Enslaved People

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

*Note: These atypical categorizations are based on the fact that Daniel Rogers had enslaved people perform labor for him, but he did not enslave them; he paid their enslavers for their labor. Elizabeth Gorham Rogers’ sister, Mercy, enslaved people in her home.*

**Royall, Isaac, Mary and Elizabeth Royall, Mrs. Isaac Royall (Elizabeth Mackintosh)**

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\*Enslaved People

**Russell, Mrs. James (Katherine Graves)**

Prown, 189

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Sargent, Epes**

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Sargent, Epes II and Mrs. Epes II (Catherine Osborne)**

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Sargent, Mrs. Daniel (Mary Turner)**

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**Savage, Samuel Phillips and Mrs. Samuel Phillips Savage (Sarah Tyler)**

Prown, 113, 187.

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\*Enslaved People

**Scollay, Deborah (Mrs. John Melville)**

Prown, 113, 167.

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Scollay, John and Mrs. John (Mercy Greenleaf) Scollay**

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\*Enslaved People

**Scott, George**

Prown, 113, 154-155.

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Scott, Joseph and Mrs. Joseph (Freelove Olney) Scott**

\*Insufficient Information

**Sewall, Rev. Joseph**

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**Sherbrook, Miles**

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**Sherburne, Joseph and Mrs. Jerathmael Bowers (Mary Sherburne)**

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\*Enslaved People

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Skinner, Mrs. Richard (Dorothy Wendell)**

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\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Smith, Isaac and Mrs. Isaac (Elizabeth Storer) Smith**

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\*Enslaved People

**Smith, Mrs. James (Elizabeth Murray)**

Prown, 114, 177.

\*Enslaved People

**Sparhawk, Nathaniel**

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\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

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**St. Clair, John**

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Stevens, Mrs. John (Judith Sargent, later John Murray)**

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\*Enslaved People

**Stevens, Mrs. William (Elizabeth Allen)**

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\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Stewart, Duncan and Mrs. Duncan (Anne Erving) Stewart**

Prown, 114.

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Storer, Ebenezer and Mrs. Ebenezer (Mary Edwards) Storer**

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\*Enslaved People

**Storer, Ebenezer II and Mrs. Ebenzer II (Elizabeth Green)**

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Rebora, 243-244.

\*Enslaved People

**Temple, John and Mrs. John (Elizabeth Bowdoin) Temple**

Prown, 114, 155.

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Townsend, Mrs. Gregory (Lucretia Hubbard)**

Prown, 115, 175.

Smith, Thomas W. *The Slave in Canada.* Halifax: Nova Scotia Printing Company, 1899. 51.

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Tufts, Ruth (Mrs. Elijah Vose)**

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Turner, Mrs. George**

Prown, 181.

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Turner, William and Mrs. William (Ann Dumaresq) Turner**

Rebora, 235-237.

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Tyler, Mrs. Andrew (Mary Richards)**

Prown, 115.

\*Insufficient Information

**Tyng, Ann**

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Tyng, Eleazer**

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Prown, 112, 195.

\*Enslaved People

**Vassall, Leonard**

Rebora, 280-283.

\*Enslaved People

**Vassall, William**

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Rebora, 292-295.

“The Verplanck Family.” Mount Gulian Historic Site. Accessed September 5, 2019.

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Verplanck, Samuel**

Rebora, 292-295.

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\*Enslaved People

**Verplanck, Gulian**

Rebora, 292-295.

\*Enslaved People

**Waldo, Mrs. Samuel (Sarah Erving)**

Prown, 115, 155, 195.

\*Enslaved People

**Warren, James and Mrs. James (Mercy Otis) Warren**

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\*Enslaved People

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**Watts, Mrs. Edward (Mary Oxnard)**

Prown, 115, 180.

\*Apparently Did Not Enslave or Trade People

**Watts, Mrs. Samuel (Sarah Osborne; former Mrs. Thomas Oxnard)**

Prown, 115, 180.

\*Enslaved People

**Welsteed, Reverand William**

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**Wentworth, John and Elizabeth Deering Wentworth (Mrs. Nathaniel Rogers)**

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\*Enslaved People

**Winslow, Joshua I**

Prown, 116.

Rebora, 321.

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Winslow II, Mrs. Joshua (Hannah Loring)**

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Prown, 110, 199.

Rebora, 321.

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Winthrop, John and Mrs. John (Hannah Fayerweather) Winthrop**

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Rebora, 316-317.

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People

**Winthrop, Samuel**

Prown, 116.

\*Family Enslaved or Traded People