



FRAMINGHAM'S PEOPLE OF COLOR, 1600-1800

Framingham History Center

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ABSTRACT:

This finding aid provides a comprehensive overview of the Framingham History Center's collections as they pertain to the lives of 17th and 18th century Black and Indigenous persons living within and around the bounds of present-day Framingham. The first of its kind for this institution, it is a cross-collection finding aid that seeks to assist the public in learning more about Black and Indigenous persons who lived and labored in the area in varying states of freedom/unfreedom.

KEYWORDS:

Mulatto; Abel Benson; African; African American; Bill of Sale; Black; Blaney Grusha; Captain Josiah; Captivity; Charter; Christianity; Cochituate Brook; Contestation; Crispus Attucks; Daniel Gookin; Debt; Deeds; Disenfranchisement; Dispossession; Eames; Eleazer Kendall; Elizabeth Balch; Enslaved; Enslavement; French and Indian Wars; Guardian; Indian Head Hill; Indigenous; Jacob's Meadow; James; James Quapish Brook; Jane; Jenny; Joan Jackson; John Boden; John Jackson; John Livingston; John Stone; Jonas Obscow; Jonathan Swift; Joseph Buckminster; Keaquisam; King Philip's War; Land; Lewis Family; Map; Martha Nichols; Mary Speen Obscow; Nathaniel Brinley; Natick; Native American; Netus; Nipmuc; Noah Eaton; Nobscot; Old Jacob; Peter Jethro; Peter Rice; Peter Salem; Praying Indians; Praying Towns; Prince Young; Resistance; Revolutionary War; Roger; Samuel Gookin; Samuel How; Samuel Morse; Simon Edgell; Settler-Colonialism; Settler-State; Shipping; Slavery and Capitalism; Sovereignty; Thomas Nixon Jr.; Thomas Peagun; Triangle Trade; William Boman; William Benson

SUMMARY AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT:

While perhaps understudied in broader literature about the founding of the American Republic, Framingham played an integral role in the founding of the American settler nation-state. The traditional and ancestral homelands of Nipmuc People were “discovered” by English settlers in the 1630s, and notable Massachusetts Bay Colony settlers received early land grants from the British Crown for land that falls within the bounds of today’s Framingham. These include: Elizabeth Harris Glover, who ensured that the colony’s first printing press be safely transported after her first husband’s passing; Henry Dunster, Harvard College’s first president; magistrate and politician Thomas Danforth; and the schoolmaster of the first grammar school in Cambridge, Elijah Corlett.

As early Framingham settlers sought to “husband the land” of what would come to be called the United States of America, they were at the forefront of the settler American project—by claiming land; by erecting institutions of worship and governance; and by establishing military companies that sought to defend the nascent settler-colony from Indigenous resistance to dispossession. By the time of its official incorporation as a town in 1700, Framingham had shaped and been shaped by major events in Early American history. These include, but are not limited to: King Philip’s War; the Salem Witch Trials; and the revocation of the Massachusetts Bay Colony Charter by the British Crown. And by the end of the American Revolution, numerous “sons of Framingham” had played an integral role in events that led to the founding of this nation such as Simon Edgell; Thomas Nixon, Sr.; Thomas Nixon, Jr.; Abel Benson; Peter Salem; and Crispus Attucks, the formerly enslaved Afro-Indigenous fugitive who is perhaps Framingham’s most famous resident.

If, as historian Stephen Herring (2000) asserts, “The story of Framingham is the story of America” (p. xi), then we must recognize that its integral nature lies precisely in its complicity in the foundational violences of empire, settler-colonialism, and nation-building. Namely, these are the dispossession of Indigenous homelands; the enslavement of both Indigenous and African people; and Black and Indigenous genocide. In the past 40 years, innumerable scholars have positioned New England settlers as integral actors in these foundational violences and have forced their readership to problematize the widely-held understanding of New England as a bastion of progressive, abolitionist liberalism. This finding aid seeks to join this chorus of scholars who have called for a critical re-examination of New England’s past by centering materials in the Framingham History Center’s Collection that attend to Black and Indigenous life and death in 17th and 18th century Framingham.

Framingham's People of Color, 1600-1800 is a finding aid that collates materials across multiple collections in the Framingham History Center's Archive. A living document that is subject to constant revision, its goal is to make documents and objects at the Framingham History Center more visible and readily available to the public. Moreover, the objects that comprise this list—maps; bills of sale for enslaved persons; land deeds; court filings; and diaries—invite us to think about the lives of those who were most vulnerable to the violences of the settler-colony and the settler-state in Framingham. While the vast majority of items in the aid were produced by white settlers and narrate the instance of enslavement and/or dispossession, key objects in Framingham's People of Color, 1600-1800 provide us rare glimpses into Black and Indigenous resistance; survival; and what Indigenous literary scholar Gerald Vizenor (2008) has termed "survivance." It is our hope that this document is of use to those who seek to learn more about Black and Indigenous histories of Framingham; who seek to interrogate the linkages between the past and our present socio-political moment; and who seek to stage conversations about reparation and/or redress.

SUGGESTED READING:

- William Barry, *A History of Framingham, Massachusetts, Including the Plantation, from 1640 to the Present Time, with an Appendix, Containing a Notice of Sudbury and Its First Proprietors; Also, a Register of the Inhabitants of Framingham Before 1800, with Genealogical Sketches* (Boston: James Monroe and Company, 1847)
- Lisa Brooks, *The Common Pot: The Recovery of Native Space in the Northeast* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008)
- Lisa Brooks, *Our Beloved Kin: A New History of King Philip's War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018)
- Christine DeLucia, *Memory Lands: King Philip's War and the Place of Violence in the Northeast* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018)
- Jared Ross Hardesty, *Black Lives, Native Lands, White Worlds: A History of Slavery in New England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2019)
- Stephen W. Herring, *Framingham: An American Town* (Framingham: Framingham Historical Society and Framingham Tercentennial Commission, 2000)
- Joanne Pope Melish, *Disowning Slavery: Gradual Emancipation and "Race" in New England, 1780-1860* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998)

- Jean O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees: Indian Land and Identity in Natick, Massachusetts, 1650-1790* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003)
- Jean O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians out of Existence in New England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010)
- James L. Parr and Kevin A. Swope, *Framingham Legends and Lore* (Charleston: The History Press, 2009)
- J.H. Temple, *History of Framingham, Massachusetts, Early Known as Danforth's Farms, 1640-1680, with a Genealogical Register* (Framingham: Town of Framingham, 1887; reprint, Somersworth and Framingham: Framingham Historical and Natural History Society and New England History Press, 1988).
- Wendy Warren, *New England Bound: Slavery and Colonization in Early America* (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2016)

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES:

- *Framingham's Top 10*, a digital exhibition by the Framingham History Center. Includes digital versions of the Nipmuc Deed to John Stone (LD105) and Phebey's Bill of Sale (2002.1072) as well as a list of people identified as being enslaved in Framingham households. <https://exhibitions.framinghamhistory.org/top-ten/>
- *Watched and Worried Men: King Philip's War in Framingham*, a digital exhibition by the Framingham History Center. Includes many documents pertaining to the Nipmuc and Praying Indians. <https://exhibitions.framinghamhistory.org/home/watched-and-worried/>

FINDING AID:

Object:	Object ID:	Keywords:	Description:
Nipmuc Deed to John Stone (1656)	LD105	Captain Josiah; Daniel Gookin; Deed; Indigenous; James; John Stone; Keaquisam; Land;	Perhaps the oldest land deed in the Framingham History Center's collection, this document records a land transaction between five Nipmuc men—William Boman, Captain Josiah, Roger, James, and Keaquisam—and English settler John Stone. In exchange for a "valuable sune" of wampum "and other goodes," the 5 Nipmuc men, who were at the time living at Natick, deeded

Object:	Object ID:	Keywords:	Description:
		Natick; Native American; Nipmuc; Praying Indians; Praying Town; Roger; Settler-Colonialism; William Boman	approximately 10 acres of land near the Saxonville Falls to Stone. The deed was drafted and witnessed by Daniel Gookin, the first superintendent of the Praying Indians, as the 5 Nipmuc men were most likely unable to read and write. The 5 men's "marks" of signature are featured prominently at the bottom of the document, as are a series of other marks (possibly wax seals or fingerprints) on indented tabs near the signatures. This exchange of land is significant in that it was a former Nipmuc village and planting site. Moreover, the deeded land's proximity to freshwater gestures towards early settlers' compulsion to claim the choicest land in order to secure water rights for themselves.
Description of Corlett Farm and Deed to Thomas Danforth (1661)	1941.23.1; LD106a	Daniel Gookin; Deed; Dispossession; Eames; King Philip's War; Land; Netus; Settler-Colonialism; Nipmuc	<p>This entry is comprised of two documents. First, there is a detailed description of Elijah Corlett's 200-acre farm and its bounds as recounted to the General Court and witnessed by John Stone, John Belch, and Thomas Read of Sudbury in May 1661. Second, there is the deed in which Corlett sold this parcel of land, which had been granted to him by the General Court, to Thomas Danforth; this deed's signed witness is Daniel Gookin. As an early settler educator of Indigenous young men, Corlett was often paid by the Massachusetts Bay Colony in land. Thus, it is possible that Corlett received the land grant for his Framingham farm as compensation for services rendered.</p> <p>Notably, Corlett was directly responsible for the dispossession of Netus (also known as William of Sudbury), a Nipmuc man whose son was educated by Corlett with the express understanding that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel would pay for the young man's education. When the Society failed to pay the full tuition, Corlett sued Netus for the full amount, plus interest. Netus was forced to deed over 300 acres of his land to Corlett, and moved to the Praying Town of Natick shortly thereafter. Netus was later killed in a confrontation at Marlborough during King Philip's War, after he had been identified as someone involved in the confrontation at the Eames homestead (for more information, see: the FHC's new digital exhibit curated by Stacen Goldman, Watched and Worried Men: King Philip's War in Framingham, https://exhibitions.framinghamhistory.org/home/watched-and-worried/).</p>

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Sketch of Corlett/Stone Farm (1669)	1941.23.2; LD106b	Deed; Land; Map; Settler-Colonialism; Dispossession	This is a drawn map of the land that was originally deeded to Elijah Corlett by the Massachusetts Bay General Court. The inscription notes that it has changed hands twice: from Corlett to Thomas Danforth and from Thomas Danforth to John Stone. The tract of land is clearly identified as John Stone's farm.
Leather Cartridge Box from King Philip's War (c. 1675-1677)	83; 1888.83	Eames; King Philip's War; Settler-Colonialism	This leather cartridge box was probably one of the first items donated to the Framingham History Center. The leather case features a wooden insert with 18 holes to hold cartridges, but the leather flap is non-pliable and it is impossible to open without damaging the object. The box was donated by Eli Cozzens of Sherborn, who was a descendant of Abraham Cozzens. Abraham Cozzens fought in King Philip's War and was also married to Mary Eames, the daughter of Thomas Eames and stepdaughter of Mary Paddlefoot Eames. Given the centrality of the so-called "Eames Massacre" in Framingham's remembrances of King Philip's War, this object's possible connection to the family is particularly intriguing. Who did this cartridge box belong to? What stories about the object were told before it was donated to the Framingham History Center? What specific role did this object play in the dispossession of Indigenous people from their homelands and the violent entrenchment of a settler-colonial order?
Survey of the Lands in and about Natick Claimed by Samuel Gookin and Samuel How (1696)	2015.140.19	Dispossession; Indigenous; Land; Map; Native American; Praying Indians; Praying Towns; Natick; Nipmuc; Samuel Gookin; Samuel How; Settler-Colonialism	This survey was produced in 1696 and submitted to the Massachusetts Bay General Court; it maps Samuel How and Samuel Gookin's claim of 1700 acres of Natick lands, as well as how the 1700 acres were carved up and which settler families the plots were sold to. This document emerges from a suit that Natick Indians filed against Samuel Gookin and Samuel How for the theft of their lands, and was probably commissioned by members of the Praying Town. As historian Stephen Herring (2000) notes, Gookin and How formed a partnership in 1682, and later purchased "200 acres, more or less" from the Natick Indians. They proceeded "to claim and sell off over 1700 acres, a very liberal stretching of the 'more or less' loophole in the deed" (p. 28). Natick Indians lost this suit. Even more disconcerting is the inscription on the map that suggests that Natick Indians were expected to pay for the survey that produced this document, and that if they did not have the money to do so, they could pay in land—thereby potentially experiencing another loss of land to enterprising settlers.
Parcel of Land Commonly	2001.199	Deeds; Land; Map; Natick; Nipmuc;	This early survey of Framingham's boundaries and borders was produced by John Gore in 1699. The names and approximate placements of early settler

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Called Framingham (1699)		Praying Towns; Praying Indians; Settler-Colonialism	families has been penciled onto the survey, presumably after the initial map was produced. Of particular interest are the "Indian Line" and "Natick Line" designations towards the edges of Framingham, informing viewers of the close proximity of Indigenous nations and communities to the English town that would be officially incorporated in the next year.
The Charter Granted by King William and Queen Mary to the Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England (1714)	1945.22	Charter; Dispossession; Land; Settler-Colonialism	<p>In 1629, King Charles I granted the establishment of the original Massachusetts Bay Colony through his original charter. A foundational document in the establishment of settler-colonialism in the American Northeast, the Massachusetts Bay Colony Royal Charter was the original document that "legitimated" settlers' claims to Indigenous lands. In 1684, the 1629 Massachusetts Bay Colony charter was revoked due to Charles II's belief that Massachusetts Bay Colonists were acting too independently of the English crown, having violated several English acts related to trade and having established a mint. Massachusetts Bay Colony was absorbed into a larger colony called the Dominion of New England, where colonial officials appointed by the crown governed until the Glorious Revolution of 1688.</p> <p>This document in the Framingham History Center's collection is a printed edition of King William II and Queen Mary II 1691 charter of the newly reconfigured Province of Massachusetts Bay. This charter merged Plymouth Colony, which had never received a royal charter, with the old Massachusetts Bay Colony, and extended the new colony into areas of present-day Maine and Canada. While the 1691 charter restored certain rights of self-governance to the colonies, it maintained the Crown's right to elect certain colonial officials and changed the criteria for male suffrage to one based on land ownership. Because of its nature as a founding settler-colonial document and its centering of property and land ownership in its conceptualization of the proper British subject, we include it here.</p>
John Jackson's Petition for Joan Jackson's Freedom (1716)	1988.6.3	African; African American; Black; Enslaved; Enslavement; Joan Jackson; John Jackson; John Livingston; John Stone	<p>Joan (also spelled Jone, Jhone) Jackson was a woman of African descent. She was enslaved by James Rogers, and after his death, she lived as a free woman with the executor of James' will. During this period, she married John Jackson and had a family.</p> <p>Shortly thereafter, Rogers' widow, who was not the executor of his will, claimed that Joan was her property. The executor refused to "return" Joan, and emancipated the couple. Nonetheless, a suit was filed in New London</p>

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			<p>that ruled that Joan and some of her children were still enslaved, and were to be turned over to the widow and her son-in-law. Thus, Joan and her children, who had been living as freepersons for over a decade, became fugitives, though they were eventually captured and sold to the John Livingston in New London. John Jackson, who was emancipated, agreed to enter into indentured servitude for four years to remain with his family.</p> <p>In 1713, Joan was sold again to John Stone of Framingham, along with her infant son, Jeremiah. Determined to reunify his family, John Jackson filed a petition with the Middlesex Country Court so that his wife would be emancipated. The suit was won, and the Jacksons returned to New London, although their son Jeremiah died in Framingham.</p> <p>This document is part of the suit that John Jackson brought against John Stone for his wife's freedom. Jackson's petition submitted to the court, which bears his "mark" on behalf of himself and his wife, charges Stone with "utterly refusing to let the [said] Jone have and enjoy her liberty" despite the fact that she was a free woman.</p>
Court Summons to John Stone (1716)	1988.6.3	African; African American; Black; Enslaved; Enslavement; Joan Jackson; John Jackson; John Stone	This document is part of the suit that John Jackson brought against John Stone for his wife's freedom. The 1716 summons requests Stone's presence at the "inferior Court of Common Pleas" in Charlestown for a hearing regarding Joan's freedom.
Deposition of John Livingston (1716/1717)	1988.6.2	African; African American; Black; Enslaved; Enslavement; Joan Jackson; John Jackson; John Livingston	This document, a part of the suit that John Jackson brought against John Stone for his wife's freedom, is an official copy of John Livingston's deposition confirming sale of Joan and Jeremiah to John Stone for the "sum of fifty pounds in Bills of Credit of this Province or Security to that Value in hand."
Josiah Temple's Transcription of Rev. Jonathan Swift's Diary and Accompanying	2010.7.1 (Temple Archives)	African; African American; Black; Captivity; Enslaved; Enslavement; Jenny; Jonathan Swift;	There are two documents of interest in this folder: a biographical sketch of Rev. Jonathan Swift, an enslaver and Framingham's first minister, and a transcription of Swift's diary entries from 1717-1728. These are not 19th century documents, and they originate from Josiah Temple. Temple probably copied Swift's diary to reference in his scholarship. Portions of Temple's

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Biographical Sketch (1717-1728)		Joseph Buckminster; Mulatto	<p>biographical sketch of Swift probably made their way into Temple's history of Framingham, although it is unclear whether the biographical sketch in its entirety was published anywhere. It does not appear that Temple transcribed Swift's diary in its entirety, as the document mentions that Swift's diary "begins Dec. 30 1716" and ends in 1728. It is also unclear how Swift's diary may have come into Temple's possession, or where the diary is currently located.</p> <p>A few interesting excerpts from the diary include: a mention of funds contributed for the Propagation of the Gospel; a brief reference to smallpox being contracted either by Swift or those close to him; a mention of "Jenny, a molatter serv[ant] to Col[onel] Buckminster" and her preparations for baptism; and a mention of funds being contributed for the "redemption" of Joseph Stephen's children out of "Indian captivity."</p>
Bills of Lading (1725-1726)	x2021.7.1, x2021.7.2	Enslaved; Enslavement; Slavery and Capitalism Shipping; Triangle Trade	<p>These bills of lading come from two different shipments financed by Boston shipper Benjamin Atkinson—one a brigadoon possibly called the <i>Ruharo</i>, and the other a ship called the <i>Lyon</i>. The bills of lading detail goods leaving Boston for Bristol: ten hogsheads, one barrel of sugar, and one cask of indigo on the <i>Ruharo</i>, and 170.25 ounces of Spanish silver on the <i>Lyon</i>.</p> <p>It is unclear how these bills of lading relate to the history of Framingham, as Atkinson is listed in no Framingham vital records or genealogical registers. However, the two documents reveal the centrality of Boston to the Transatlantic Slave Trade and its deep mercantile connections to Bristol, England, another prominent center of the trade. Moreover, the goods listed on the bills—sugar, hogsheads possibly full of rum; indigo; and quite probably, the silver—were produced or extracted using enslaved labor. They also inform viewers of the deep connections between the U.S. settler-colony and colonies in the Caribbean. While these documents predate the mid-17th century emergence of capitalism, they do reveal how integral enslaved labor was to global commerce in the decades preceding the economic system's rise, and they link at least three key sites—Boston, Bristol, and the Caribbean—in the process.</p>
Jane's Bill of Sale (1743)	LD507	African; African American; Bill of Sale; Black; Enslaved;	This handwritten bill of sale has been conserved, but is missing large swaths of text. It documents the sale of Jane, a 30 year old enslaved woman of African descent, for 25 pounds to Colonel Joseph Buckminster by John Butler and Ebenezer Gleason. The bill of sale opens up many questions that are

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		Enslavement; Jane; Joseph Buckminster	unanswerable by the archive. How did Butler and Gleason, two men who were presumably unrelated, come to jointly enslave Jane? What were the stipulations of the sale to Buckminster that were written on the fragments of the document that were irreparably damaged before conservation? What happened to Jane?
Plan of Fort No. 4 owned by Noah Eaton (1746)	x2021.8	French and Indian Wars; Indigenous; Map; Native American; Noah Eaton; Resistance; Settler-Colonialism; Settler-State	<p>This Plan of Fort No 4 in New Hampshire (now Charleston, N.H.) during King George's War – the third of the four "French and Indian Wars" – belonged to Cornet Noah Eaton of Framingham. Eaton was serving in Captain Josiah Brown's (Sudbury) troop alongside a number of other Framingham men. The plan/map was drawn July 1, 1746 by John Maynard of Sudbury.</p> <p>The plan notes along the edge of the fort "Stockades set round the west, north, and east side of the fort about 4 or 5 inches apart to prevent the Indians firing the fort." It also notes a location to the South of the fort a swamp were "the Indians lay" and another "where Putnum was killed," perhaps referencing a specific battle that occurred in June 1746. Noah Eaton himself was wounded in this battle, but recovered.</p> <p>An account of English colonists from Framingham in King George's War can be found in Josiah Temple's <i>History of Framingham, Mass</i> p. 216-219. He specifically recounts the battle possibly referenced in this map on p. 216-217. Temple refers to this war as "The Old French and Indian War."</p>
John Boden's French and Indian Wars Diary (1758)	2010.7.60	African; African American; Black; Captivity; French and Indian War; John Boden	<p>Framingham blacksmith John Boden served in Captain Andrew Dalrymple's company during the French and Indian War alongside his brother, Joseph. This document is comprised of his diary from May-September 1758, while he was stationed near Lake George; wedged between the diary entries is Boden's business accounting book from 1784-1786. The diary is in particularly fragile shape, but a transcription from Martha W. Davidson is available in the collection. There are several brief entries that are of interest, including the mention of a Black man (possibly an enslaved man attempting to escape) being retrieved from the river by 3 English soldiers at Greenbush; a mention of Mohawk warriors seizing a "Frenchman"; a mention of a captive's return from Canada after the span of a year; a mention of "2 regulars killed and scalpt"; and the brief mention of a scout (possibly an Indigenous scout) coming into Boden's camp.</p>

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Roster of Men Enlisted in Captain Dalrymple's Company Who Were Present at Lake George during the French and Indian War (c. 1758)	2010.7.63	French and Indian War; Indigenous; James Quapish Brook; Native American	Accompanying John Boden's diaristic account of his time enlisted in Captain Dalrymple's company during the French and Indian War is this roster of all of the men who served alongside him. Of particular interest is the second-to-last name at the bottom of the roster—James Quapish Brook. James Quapish Brook may have been Wampanoag and related to Alexander Quapish, the Wampanoag Revolutionary War veteran whose remains were reinterred at the Pond Street Burial Ground in Natick after citizens of the Mashpee Wampanoag Tribe and the Nipmuc collectively worked to get his remains repatriated from Harvard University's Warren Anatomical Museum.
Kendall Deeds (1728-1759)	1982.1.15; 1982.1.18	Cochituate Brook; Debt; Deeds; Dispossession; Eleazer Kendall; Indian Head Hill; Indigenous; Jacob's Meadow; Land; Natick; Native American; Nipmuc; Old Jacob; Praying Indians; Praying towns; Samuel Gookin; Samuel How; Settler-Colonialism	<p>Eleazer (also spelled Eleazar) Kendall purchased a portion of "Indian Head Farm," which fell within the bounds of Samuel Gookin and Samuel How's 1696 land grab of Natick Indian land. Within these two folders, there are at least eight deeds that pertain to Eleazar Kendall's purchase or transferral of Indigenous lands to his son, Thomas. These include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -A 1729 deed from Bezaleel Rice to Eleazer for four acres of land partially bounded by Cochituate Brook; -One complete deed and one deed fragment from 1727 and 1728 from David Bent to Eleazer for land partially bounded by Cochituate Brook; -A 1733 deed from Mary Bent, acting on behalf of David Bent's estate to cover David's debts, to Eleazer Kendall for two parcels of land that equalled approximately 200 acres, including land at Indian Head Hill; -A 1733 deed in which John relinquishes all ownership of select portions of land that he owned jointly with Eleazer, including land at Indian Head Hill; -A 1736/1737 deed from Ezekiel Rice to Eleazer for four acres of land, part of it called Jacob's Meadow; -A 1749 deed in which Eleazer deeds 3 plots of land equalling 30 acres to his son Thomas, which is signed in the presence of Samuel How, Jr.; -A 1759 deed in which Eleazer deeds Jacob's Meadow to his son, Thomas <p>Read together, these documents illuminate the ways in which 18th century settlers of Framingham privileged settlements on lands of particular significance to Natick/Nipmuc communities. Eleazer Kendall sought and obtained land bordered by Cochituate Brook—on or near a historical Nipmuc village site; land grabbed by Gookin and How from Natick Indians; and Jacob's Meadow and Indian Head Hill, land that was named after an Indigenous man</p>

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			referred to by settlers as "Old Jacob" who lived on Indian Head Hill. Kendall then deeded significant portions of this land to his son, ensuring that such valuable land remained in the family.
Deed from Thomas Peagun/Samuel Morse to Peter Rice (1761)	1998.6.4	Dispossession; Debt; Guardian; Indigenous; Land; Natick; Native American; Nipmuc; Peter Rice; Praying Indians; Praying Town; Samuel Morse; Thomas Peagun; Settler-Colonialism	<p>This deed is for the sale of four acres of land from Thomas Peagun's estate to Peter Rice. Notably, the document was drafted by Samuel Morse, an appointed "guardian" of certain Natick Indians, on behalf of Thomas Peagun's estate. The Peaguns (aka Peegun, Peagan, Pegan) are largely marked in Natick vital records as "Indian," and were Nipmuc. The first mention of a Thomas Peagun occurs in 1728. As "Natick Indians," the Peaguns were denied the right to sell any of their land without the explicit consent of colonial administrators; as "guardian," Morse acted in this capacity.</p> <p>It is very likely that Morse orchestrated this transaction so that Thomas Peagun's estate could pay back debt accrued while Thomas was living. Morse served in a "guardian" capacity and was instrumental in the sale of other Indigenous individuals' land in Natick, as evidence by a 1755 petition from Morse which requested that he be able to sell some land for Sarah Waban, a minor (see: https://nativenortheastportal.com/annotatedtranscription/digcoll1755112700). Additionally, a 1765 petition from Morse to the Massachusetts Bay General Court requests that the guardians of the Natick Indians "sell enough of Martha Pegan's, a minor, land such that her debt to Morse might be satisfied" (see: http://nativenortheastportal.com/digital-heritage/petition-samuel-morse-massachusetts-general-court-1/).</p> <p>Morse's presence on this 1761 document exemplifies that paternalistic relationship that Indian "guardians" established and maintained between themselves and their "charges." The document also illuminates the way in which debt was often used as an avenue through which to force Indigenous residents of Natick to sell their lands, contributing to further dispossession. That the Peaguns' debt was probably owed to the very settler administrator who was supposed to be "protecting" them is haunting.</p>
Phebey's Bill of Sale (1764)	2002.1072	African; African American; Black; Bill of Sale; Elizabeth	This handwritten bill of sale documents the sale of Phebey, a 2 year old enslaved child of African descent, to Elizabeth Balch, along with Phebey's "waring apparil." Josiah Richardson, Phebey's former enslaver, received one

Object:	Object ID:	Keywords:	Description:
		Balch; Enslaved; Enslavement; Phebey; Simon Edgell	<p>pound, six shillings, and eight pence from Balch for the child. Moreover, the bill of sale documents Phebey's further entrenchment in unfreedom with a subsequent sale—Balch's sale of Phebey to Simon Edgell for four pounds.</p> <p>Phebey's bill of sale underscores the quotidian nature of enslavement amongst early New England settlers. The sale's inclusion of Phebey's wearing apparel also speaks to the ways in which enslaved persons were not regarded as persons by those who kept them in unfreedom, but rather as objects or commodities. Not much is known about Phebey's life aside from these documents, save for the fact that she was baptized and that purportedly during the Battle of Concord, Edgell's wife locked her inside of the house due to fear of a slave insurrection. Phebey's Bill of Sale is available digitally in the Framingham History Center's online exhibit <i>Framingham's Top 10</i>, https://exhibitions.framinghamhistory.org/top-ten/</p>
Deed from Jonas and Mary Obscow to Peter Rice (1772)	1998.6.4	Land; Dispossession; Debt; Indigenous; Jonas Obscow; Mary Speen Obscow; Natick; Native American; Nipmuc; Peter Rice; Settler-Colonialism	<p>As evidenced by the deed of land from Samuel Morse on behalf of Thomas Peagun's estate to Peter Rice, Rice purchased substantive tracts of Indigenous land during the 1760s and 1770s. This deed between Jonas and Mary Obscow to Peter Rice was for 10 acres of land, and witnessed by Asa and Caleb Drury.</p> <p>Jonas and Mary, whose maiden name was Speen, were Natick Indians, and were most likely Nipmuc. Jonas' birth (under the spelling variation, Obscho), is recorded in Natick vital records as June 5, 1739, and Mary's is listed as August 30, 1738, placing the couple in their mid-30s at the time of this transaction. They were married on April 27, 1764. Similarly to Thomas Peagun, The Obscows' sale of their land was probably intended to alleviate debt—more specifically, debts incurred during the illness and death of multiple of their children, as noted in a 1772 petition to the Massachusetts Bay General Court to allow them to sell their lands (see: http://nativenortheastportal.com/digital-heritage/petition-jonas-and-mary-speen-obscow-massachusetts-general-court-0).</p> <p>Note: for those interested in Peter Rice's accrual of choice land in Natick and Framingham in the 1760s and 1770s, including land that was on and/or near the former Nipmuc village of Cochituate, see Boxes 1, 2, and 3 of the Esty Family Collection.</p>

Object:	Object ID:	Keywords:	Description:
Roster of Framingham Minutemen (1775)	2007.57	African; African American; Black; Enslaved; Enslavement; Peter Salem; Revolutionary War; Simon Edgell	<p>This document is the full roster of the privates enrolled in Captain Simon Edgell's company of the Framingham Minutemen during the Revolutionary War; the other company of Framingham Minutemen was led by Thomas Nixon, Senior. Simon Edgell, the captain of this company, was an enslaver, as Phebey's bill of sale was transferred to him from Elizabeth Balch. Five lines from the bottom of the second page, a formerly enslaved man, Peter Salem, is listed as a private in this company.</p> <p>According to historical accounts, Salem was manumitted by Lawson Buckminster so that he could fight in the Revolutionary War, alongside other formerly enslaved men such as Cato Hart and Blaney Grusha. Though not necessarily confirmed, common lore asserts that it was Salem who fired the shot that killed British Major John Pitcairn at the Battle of Bunker Hill. Moreover, Salem fought at the Battles of Concord, Bunker Hill, Saratoga, and Stony Point, and served for nearly five years in the Continental Army before retiring and marrying Katy Benson—the sister of Continental Army trumpeter Abel Benson. This document illuminates Black participation in the Continental army, and invites us to ask how formerly enslaved men might have used military service to position themselves as patriots that were deserving of certain rights, protections, and forms of citizenship.</p>
Thomas Nixon Jr.'s Book of Capers (c. 1777-1810)	687	Abel Benson; African; African American; Black; Revolutionary War; Thomas Nixon Jr.;	<p>Thomas Nixon Junior enlisted in the Continental Army as a fifer at the age of thirteen; his book of capers could best be described as a teenage boy's diary, full of illustrations, dirty jokes, and transcribed sheet music. Of particular interest is an illustration in the Book of Capers of a Black man playing the fiddle for two dancing white couples. While the book's contents provide no significant contextual clues regarding the identity of the fiddler, there is a strong possibility that the illustration is of Abel Benson.</p> <p>Abel Benson was the grandson of Nero Benson, who was enslaved by Framingham's first minister, Reverend Jonathan Swift. However, Abel was born "free," the child of Nero's son William and a white woman named Sarah Perry. Gifted his grandfather's trumpet, Abel Benson was purportedly one of the people who informed Massachusetts Towns that the British were coming in April of 1775. At the age of fourteen, Benson joined the Continental Army as a trumpeter and cook. He was also a renowned fiddler during his lifetime. Thus, it is entirely possible that this image from Nixon's book of capers is of Benson. They were after all, only four years apart in age, were both from</p>

Object:	Object ID:	Keywords:	Description:
			<p>Framingham, and both played instruments for the Continental Army. Nixon's illustration encourages us to ponder the similarities and differences of experience between the two teenagers—one white and one Black—as they fought in the Revolutionary War.</p>
<p>Constitution and Form of Government for the State of Massachusetts Bay (1778)</p>	<p>1995.35</p>	<p>African; African American; Black; Disenfranchisement; Indigenous; Mulatto; Native American; Settler-Colonialism; Settler-State</p>	<p>This copy of the state constitution was drafted and printed so that it could be reviewed by Massachusetts towns before ratification. As alluded to in its preamble, the Massachusetts Bay Colony deemed it necessary to formally establish a new structure for state governance in the wake of the Declaration of Independence. Thus, this document captures a key transition in settler occupation and governance of these lands—the switch from the settler-colony to the settler-state. Of particular interest is Article Five, which grants universal male suffrage “excepting Negroes, Indians, and molattoes,” and Article Thirty-Four, which grants freedom of religion, but only for Protestant denominations and sects.</p>
<p>Inventory of the Real Estate of Deacon Daniel Stone (1783)</p>	<p>1988.6.4</p>	<p>Dispossession; Indigenous; Indian Head Hill; Land; Jacob's Meadow; Native American; Old Jacob; Settler-Colonialism; Nipmuc</p>	<p>This inventory of Deacon Daniel Stone's estate indicates that he owned four acres of meadow “known as Jacob's Meadow” that was evaluated at fourteen pounds. Stone left this particular tract of land to his eldest son, Elijah, along with 16 additional acres of choice land, 1/2 of his meetinghouse pew, and 1/2 of a horse.</p>
<p>Simon Edgell's note regarding rates of “Brinn” (1783)</p>	<p>2010.7.1 (Temple Archive)</p>	<p>African; African American; Black; Blaney Grusha; Enslaved; Enslavement; Revolutionary War; Simon Edgell</p>	<p>Captain Simon Edgell's Revolutionary war papers in the Temple collection contain a note that references settling the rates of Brinn Grushy (perhaps Blaney Grusha). Unclear what these rates are. Dated Nov. 1783.</p> <p>Brin, also called Blaney Grusha, Brinney Gerusha, or Blaney Grushy was an enslaved man in Colonel Micah Stone's household. He joined the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War, serving in Micajah Gleason's company and served at the Battle of Bunker Hill. Like other enslaved people who enlisted in the army, Grusha was likely de facto emancipated for his service. Little is known about his time at the end of and after the war. He died in February of 1820.</p>
<p>Letters from Thomas Lewis Jr. (c. Early 1800s)</p>	<p>“Lewis Family” General Resource File</p>	<p>Enslaved; Enslavement; Lewis Family; Slavery and</p>	<p>The Lewis family were a wealthy shipping family in the late 17th and 18th centuries; Thomas Lewis Sr. purchased a portion of Boston waterfront property in the 1790s and established the merchant firm Thomas Lewis and Son. These transcribed letters from Thomas Jr. in the Lewis Family General</p>

Object:	Object ID:	Keywords:	Description:
		Capitalism Shipping; Triangle Trade	<p>Resource File mention several ships at the family's employ, including "Venus," "John and Phebe," and "Hazen."</p> <p>Because slavery had been banned in Massachusetts by the 1790s and the Transatlantic Slave Trade was nationally banned in 1808, it is highly unlikely that these ships carried enslaved persons. However, they undoubtedly carried commodities from the Caribbean that were produced using the unfree labor of enslaved persons. Thus, the ships attest to the ways in which the wealth of many prominent New England families was intimately tied to slavery, even if they did not themselves directly participate in the Transatlantic Slave Trade. However, it is equally worth noting that members of the Lewis family—specifically Thomas Jr.'s sister, Frances, and her Charleston, South Carolina born husband, John Littlejohn Wilson—did enslave people of African descent well into the 19th century.</p>
Otis O. Johnson's Notes on Framingham history regarding enslaved and indigenous people (written c. 1870-1890)	X2022.7	Mulatto; African; African American; Black; Captivity; Crispus Attucks; Christianity; Disenfranchisement; Dispossession; Enslaved; Enslavement; Indigenous; Joseph Buckminster; Martha Nichols; Nathaniel Brinley; Natick; Native American; Nipmuc; Nobscot; Peter Jethro; Praying Indians; Praying Towns; Prince Young; Resistance; Revolutionary War; Settler-Colonialism; Settler-State; Shipping; Slavery and	<p>Notes written in the 19th century by Otis O. Johnson on Framingham history, including information on enslaved and indigenous people in Framingham in the 17th and 18th centuries, some from oral testimony of 18th c. contemporaries, 4 pages:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Page recounting the story of the Banister family and the Brinley family, including stories about Nathaniel Brinley and his mistreatment and active disenfranchisement of enslaved people in his household on the eve of emancipation in Massachusetts, as recalled by Johnson's Grandmother, Deborah Hemenway, a Brinley contemporary. - A short list of select Black and Indigenous inhabitants of Framingham. William Benson, formerly enslaved by Rev. John Swift and father of Abel Benson; Peter Jethro, Nipmuc, son of Tantamous (also called Old Jethro), native of Nobscot, and a Christian Convert who moved to Natick; and Crispus Attucks, Afro-Native son of Prince Young and Nanny Attucks (or Peter Attucks) and first to die in the Boston Massacre. Benjamin Berry is also on this list, but no indication has yet been found that Berry was Black or Indigenous. - Anecdotes about enslaved people in Framingham households and their use of biblical passages as forms of resistance, including Prince Young (father of Crispus Attucks) in the Buckminster household and an unnamed enslaved

Object:	Object ID:	Keywords:	Description:
		Capitalism; Sovereignty; Triangle Trade; William Benson	woman in Martha Nichols's household, and a list of people buried in the smallpox cemetery. - Recorded recollections from Nathan Frost about a Frost ancestor who settled in Framingham on Nobscot on land "acquired from the Indians."

ADDITIONAL MATERIALS OF INTEREST:

These materials largely pertain to memory/memorialization in Framingham.

Object:	Object ID:
Crispus Attucks Materials	2007.4
Crispus Attucks Memorial Bridge Dedication Photographs	2007.5
Photograph of Peter Salem's Grave Marker	2002.466
Maps of Framingham Plantation with 1699 Boundaries	2001.105; 2001.106; 2001.107
Various accounts of Captain Jonathan Maynard's captivity during the French and Indian War and his release by Mohawk leader Joseph Brant	2009.148
Photograph of Commemorative Marker for "Indian Life" in Framingham and the Indian Burial Ground	2006.103.2; 2014.24.1; 2014.24.2C
Photograph of Formerly Enslaved Man, Jim Rigg's, Grave Marker in Old South Cemetery	2002.447
Photograph of Crispus Attucks' Alleged Burial Site	2007.4.2, 2007.4.3, 2007.4.4
Photograph of "Eames Massacre" Memorial Print	2003.97; 2004.67.41; 2004.67.42
Map of Natick circa 1749 with English and Indigenous Houses	2002.596

Daughters of the American Revolution, Five Framingham Heroes of the American Revolution
includes entries on Peter Salem and Captain Jonathan Maynard's capture during the French and Indian War

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