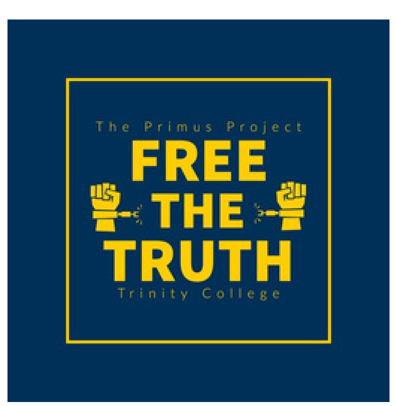
THE PRIMUS PROJECT
FALL 2023

BICENTENNIAL RESEARCH REPORT

THE ECONOMIC, RELIGIOUS, AND POLITICAL CONTEXT OF THE FOUNDING OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE

PART 1 OF 3:
THE SLAVE ECONOMY



THE PRIMUS PROJECT IS AN ONGOING RESEARCH ENDEAVOR DEDICATED TO A FULLER UNDERSTANDING OF TRINITY COLLEGE'S HISTORY AS IT RELATES TO SLAVERY, WHITE SUPREMACY, AND QUESTIONS OF RACIAL JUSTICE. ON THE OCCASION OF THE BICENTENNIAL, THE PRIMUS PROJECT OFFERS THIS THREE-PART REPORT ON ITS RESEARCH TO DATE, FOCUSING ON THE CONTEXT OF TRINITY'S 1823 FOUNDING AS WASHINGTON COLLEGE. THIS RESEARCH IS ALSO THE SUBJECT OF A FORTHCOMING PODCAST SERIES AND AN OPPORTUNITY FOR CONVERSATION DURING THE COLLEGE-WIDE SYMPOSIUM ON MEMORY, PRESENCE, AND POSSIBILITY ON NOVEMBER 14, 2023.

Research by The Primus Project was made possible by The Office of the President, The Henry Luce Foundation, The Office of the Dean of Faculty, and the Public Humanities Collaborative.

THE FOUNDING OF TRINITY COLLEGE

PART I: THE SLAVE ECONOMY

PREPARED BY:
THE PRIMUS PROJECT

THE ATLANTIC WORLD SLAVE ECONOMY

As Trinity College celebrates its 200th year as a premier institution of liberal arts learning, it is important to reflect on the economic, religious, and political legacies of its founding that continue to influence the college today. In the late colonial and early national eras in New England, the persons and establishments that wielded the greatest influence were often tied to the enslavement of Black people in the Americas. The 1823 founding of Washington College (renamed Trinity College in 1845) depended upon such influential people and was thus intricately linked to human slavery and White supremacy. Yet this important history has not yet been told.

Here, the Primus Project, an ongoing research endeavor, offers a history that begins to map the connections between Washington College administrators, trustees, faculty, students, and alumni, as well as those of Black individuals in Hartford, and the Atlantic slave economy. This history is unique to Washington College and has directly shaped the lives of everyone touched by the college since its founding. It is also a challenging history, one that allows a small liberal arts college in the US North to tell innovative accounts about its community. Such accounts greatly expand on the traditional understandings of the Atlantic slave economy, its reach, and its lasting effects.

SLAVERY IN EARLY NEW ENGLAND

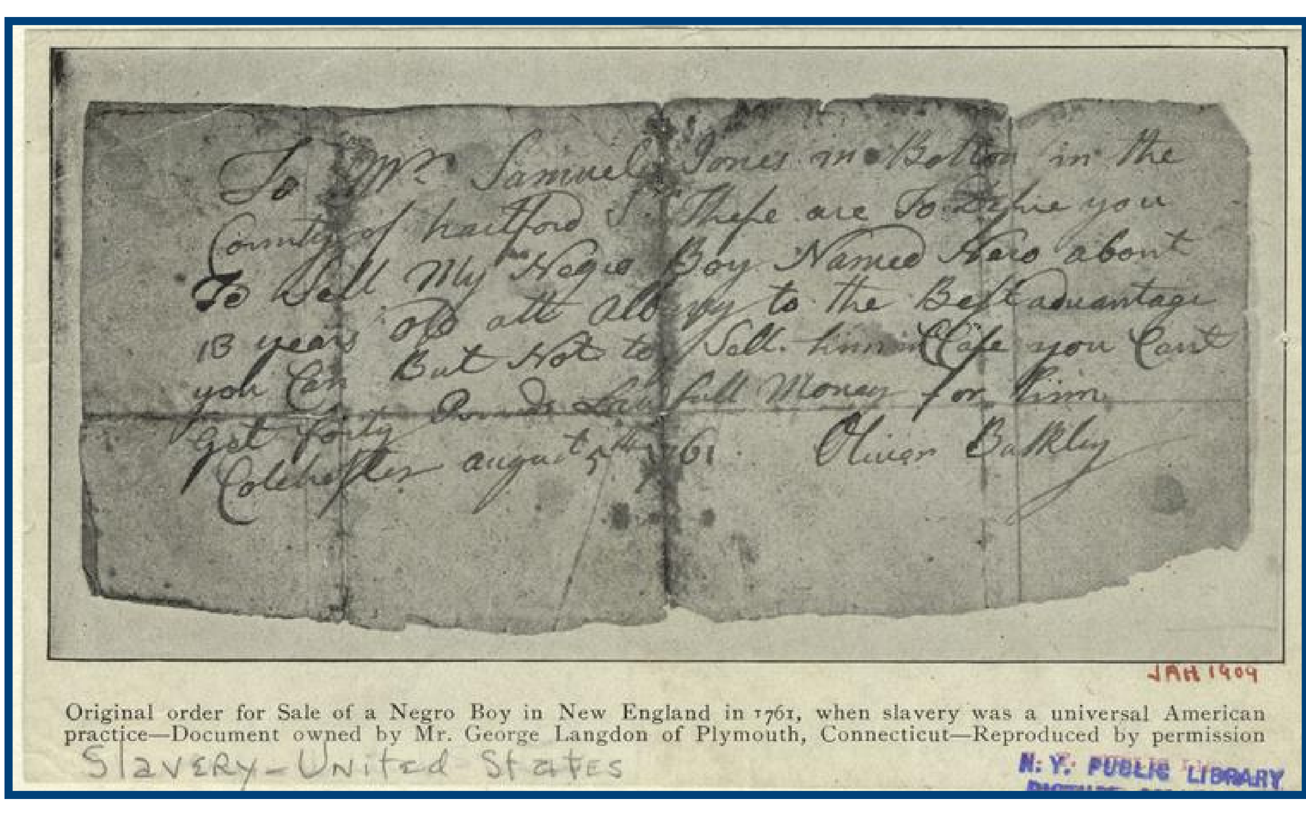
The growth and expansion of the New England economy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was linked to the markets of the Atlantic world. And as the historian Barbara Solow explains, “What moved in the Atlantic in these centuries was predominantly slaves, the output of slaves, the inputs to slave societies, and the goods and services purchased with the earnings on slave products.” That the European development of the Atlantic world was tied to human enslavement is important to understanding how human enslavement is entwined with the founding of Washington College. For it was the profits of human enslavement that drove the accumulation of wealth in the Atlantic world. This wealth drove Indigenous dispossession and removal in the Americas and Africa. It also provided the economic basis for institution building in places such as New England. [1]

From the start, Indigenous dispossession and human enslavement were evident in the lands renamed the colony of Connecticut by British settlers. In the Pequot War, for example, White leaders in Connecticut declared war on the Native peoples who resided in the colony’s southeastern parts. For the first six months of the engagement, the Pequots prevailed over the British and their allies even though the Native fighters did not have firearms. However, the turning point in the war took place in May 1637 after a Pequot attack in Wethersfield. In response, the British sent a force of seventy-seven men to attack the Pequot village of Mistick. The British-led group set fire to the village and then shot at the people running out of the structures engulfed in flames.

In less than sixty minutes, the British had killed 400 members of the Pequot community. Estimates suggest that women and children accounted for about 170 of the dead. After some additional fighting in the same month, the Pequots had lost more than half of their fighting forces. In the 1638 Treaty of Hartford that ended the war, the English sentenced to death the Pequot sachem and all Pequots who had killed an Englishman. Additionally, the White leaders demanded that all other surviving Pequots be sold to the Narragansett or Mohegan communities, banned the use of the word "Pequot," and asserted British authority over the land once occupied by the Pequot. Such sales of Native persons into slavery, especially because of warring, continued in the region. For example, after the Narragansett War of 1675-1676, "hostile Indians," notes one source, "were disposed of [sold], for 'the benefit of the Colony in service of English families.'"[2]

The involvement of White New Englanders in human enslavement extended beyond Native individuals to the trade and ownership of Black people. Indeed, White New Englanders forced enslaved Blacks to work in fields claimed from Indigenous communities. Here, the enslaved built structures such as stone walls and cultivated New England wheat, peas, corn, and cows. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there were thousands of enslaved persons in Connecticut. Among the earliest records of an enslaved Black individual in Connecticut colony denotes the November 1639 murder of "a negro boy, Louis Berbice, from Dutch Guiana." Berbice was killed in Hartford by his enslaver, the Dutchman Gysbert Opdyek. By the time of the American Revolution, roughly 6,000 Black slaves, about 3.1 percent of Connecticut's population and the largest number in all New England, were forced to work in the province.[3]

However, White New England involvement with African enslavement went beyond slave ownership. New England merchants were central actors in the international slave trade in British North America. Records document a first slave trading ship departing from New England in 1644, but historians have access to more complete shipping records after 1714. And after 1714, the historian Joseph Avitable notes, “at least 2,000 [slave trading] vessels departed from North American ports, 1,000 of which left from Rhode Island alone… Between 1701 and 1825, North American merchants carried between 280,000 and 300,000 slaves to various ports in the Atlantic world.” Rhode Island dominated the slave trade in the British colonies and early United States through such slave trading families as the DeWolfs in Bristol.[4]


To Mr Samuel Jones in Bolton in the County of hartford S. These are To Desire you To Sell My Negro Boy Named Haro about 18 years old att albany to the Best advantage you Can But Not to Sell him in Case you Cant Get forty Pounds Lawfull Money for him
Colchester august 5th 1761 Oliver Bulkley

Original order for Sale of a Negro Boy in New England in 1761, when slavery was a universal American practice—Document owned by Mr. George Langdon of Plymouth, Connecticut—Reproduced by permission

JAN 1909
Slavery-United States
N. Y. PUBLIC LIBRARY

The eminent scholar W.E.B. Du Bois, though, reminds us that in the eighteenth century "Connecticut, too, was an important slave-trader, sending large numbers of horses and other commodities to the West Indies in exchange for slaves, and selling the slaves in other colonies." Indeed, at the time of the American Revolution, a local map marks three slave trading captains and three "slave-dealers" in Middletown, Connecticut. One White resident remembered "a cargo of slaves placed in the old jail in Middletown, and sold at auction."[5]

One of the few personal records of a person kidnapped in Africa, transported on an American slave-trading ship, and forced into slavery in early New England was written by Venture Smith (1729-1805). Smith was kidnapped and sold in Anomabu and brought to Rhode Island. Eventually, Smith was enslaved in Stonington, Connecticut, where he endured the brutal beatings of several different White owners. In 1765, Smith purchased his freedom from his owner—and in the years to come he worked hard to earn enough money to purchase the freedom of family members and a Connecticut farmstead. He also chose to chip away at the racial order by purchasing at least three enslaved Black men. Smith did so in expectation that the enslaved men would repay him (through work or cash) and that the men would thus earn their freedom as he had. Such a "pawnship" economy, in effect a form of indentured servitude, was common among merchants in Africa's Gold Coast as well as in early North America, where such indenture status was more common among poor White men and women. Two of Smith's pawnship slaves broke their contract by running away and another requested a return to his previous owner. The purchase of freedom, pawnship, and running away are just a few of the many ways in which Black Americans resisted enslavement in colonial New England and the early United States.[6]

By 1778, Connecticut (along with Vermont, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Delaware) had ended the importation of slaves (Native and African) within its boundaries. The involvement of Connecticut ships and residents in the slave trade, though, would continue. In 1804, for example, a ship from Hartford brought 250 enslaved individuals to Charleston, South Carolina. But the most sustained and widespread engagement with human enslavement by White residents of Connecticut was in the trade of goods and services with leading members of the slave societies in the West Indies and the colonies (later states) in the American South. Connecticut shipyards provided vessels used throughout the greater Atlantic World. Even more notable is that colonial Connecticut was the "largest single supplier of horses, cows, sheep, and oxen to the sugar plantations in the West Indies." For instance, in incomplete records located for the years between 1762 and 1768, ships from Connecticut delivered 1,583 horses, 1,127 sheep, 814 pigs, 619 cows, and 99 oxen to Jamaica. Wethersfield, Connecticut, became one of the most important sources of onions in the Atlantic World providing "up to 70% of total North American onion exports." As a point of reference, in 1770 the North American colonies sent 1.6 million pounds of onions to the West Indies.[7]

Connecticut trade with the West Indies was essential for the operation of enslaved labor on the islands. This is true because West Indian planters operated a "highly specialized tropical commodity production." The vast West Indian plantations could not function without the importation of food for the enslaved; lumber for ship repairs and shipping containers; livestock "for fresh protein," "transportation, and powering sugar mills;" and "manure for fields."

The goods supplied by Connecticut business owners and traders helped West Indian planters secure the highest per capita income in the Atlantic World—income derived from the coerced labor of Black people. In return, the White Connecticut residents received money, sugar, molasses, salt, and, before 1788, slaves.[8]

MAP OF NORTH AMERICA AND THE WEST INDIA ISLANDS (1777)

In addition to the trade with slave-based producers, Connecticut industries supported human enslavement in other ways. For example, newspapers such as the *Hartford Courant* gained revenue from printing advertisements for the sale of enslaved people as well as for the capture and return of so-called fugitives from slavery. Meanwhile, banks in Connecticut offered financing for merchants involved in exchanges with enslavers and slave traders. And Connecticut insurers, including those in Hartford (such as the Hartford Insurance Company and Aetna), provided policies to ships and cargo that facilitated West Indian trade and trade with the American South as well as, in later times, offering policies on enslaved individuals themselves.

TEN DOLLARS REWARD.

RUN away from the Subſcriber in Canterbury, on the Night following the 26th Inſtant a Mulatto Slave named Sampſon, about 5 Feet 8 Inches high, and thirty Years of Age. He is a Slender built Fellow, has thick Lips, a curled, Mulatto Head of Hair, uncut, and goes ſtooping forward. He had on and carried with him, when he eloped from his Maſter, a half wore Folt Hat, a black and white Two Shirt, a dark brown Jacket, with Sleeves cuffed, and Pewter Buttons down before, a Butter Nut coloured Great Coat, with Pewter Buttons, a Pair of ſtriped long Trowſers, and a Pair of ſhort white Ditto, a Pair of white Tow Stockings, and a Pair of ſingle channel Pumps. Whoever will take up ſaid Slave, and deliver him to the Subſcriber, in Canterbury, ſhall have the above Reward, and all neceſſary Charges, paid by me

DANIEL TYLER.

CANTERBURY, June 27, 1774.

The economy of Connecticut and New England was therefore deeply entwined with the greatest generator of wealth in the eighteenth and nineteenth century Atlantic World: human slavery. And as the historian Craig Steven Wilder notes, the economy of the Atlantic World expanded at the same time that higher education in the British North American colonies (and, later, the early United States) expanded. In other words, the earnings on the sales and productions of enslaved peoples helped to build college campuses. Episcopalian leaders in Connecticut established Washington College in 1823, a time when slavery in the United States was expanding and the dynamics of slavery's economy were still in effect at home and abroad. [9]

THE FOUNDING OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE

One might presume that since Washington College was created nearly forty years after the passage of Connecticut's Gradual Act for Emancipation (1784), there is no legacy of slave ownership with which the college must wrestle with today. March down the college's heralded Long Walk, however, and you may consider renaming it Slaveholders' Row. The reason for this is that college leaders named two of the Long Walk's most notable buildings after Connecticut slave owners. Seabury Hall celebrates the life and legacy of the Reverend Samuel Seabury (1729-1796), the first Episcopal Bishop in the United States, and Jarvis Hall celebrates the life and legacy of the Reverend Abraham Jarvis (1739-1813), the second Episcopal Bishop in the United States. Seabury (find the Primus Project research report on Seabury here) was raised in a slaveholding family, married into a slaveholding family, and he himself owned several enslaved persons over the course of his life. Jarvis was likewise raised in a slaveholding family, ministered to the Episcopalian slaveholding elite in Middletown, Connecticut (where the 1790 census marks 54 enslaved persons in 24 Episcopalian households), and likely owned at least two enslaved Black individuals as documented in the 1790 United States census. [10]

SEABURY HALL, OLD CAMPUS

SEABURY HALL, 1878

Seabury and Jarvis are not the only enslavers commemorated by or connected to Washington and Trinity College. The Reverend Nathaniel Sheldon Wheaton (1792-1862) was a major fundraiser, trustee, professor, and Washington College's second president (1831-1837). Following the end of his presidency, Wheaton (find the Primus Project research on Wheaton here) moved to New Orleans, Louisiana, where Bishop Thomas Church Brownell had been trying to establish a southern diocese. Here, in one of the most important slaveholding cities in the United States, Wheaton served as the rector for Christ Church and travelled to another central city for slaveholding in the Americas, Havanna, Cuba. In his position in New Orleans, Wheaton ministered to the spiritual needs of the city's elite (the vestrymen of Christ Church by 1830 owned more than 1,000 Black people) and received a $5,000 per year salary (a substantial increase over his Washington College presidential salary which in 1831 was set at $1200). During Wheaton's time at Christ Church (and in contrast, for example, to Grace Church in St. Francisville, Louisiana), the institution "did not provide any ministry" to slaves. In addition, the 1840 US Census marks one enslaved man between the age of thirty-six and fifty-five in the New Orleans residence of the Reverend Nathaniel S. Wheaton. Based on research from the Primus Project, Trinity College in 2021 removed the name "Wheaton" from Wheaton Hall, a campus dormitory named after Reverend Wheaton from the time it was built in 1966.[11]

Wheaton is not the only slaveholding president in the college's history. His successor, Silas Totten (1804-1873), followed a similar trajectory into the ownership of Black people. Totten arrived at Washington College as a Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in 1833. In 1837, college leaders appointed Totten as the third president of Washington College and he also started to minister at Christ Church in Hartford. Eleven years later, when Totten left the educational institution in 1848, it had been renamed Trinity College. [12]

REVEREND SILAS TOTTEN

In 1849, Totten received an offer to teach at the College of William and Mary where the Episcopal Bishop John Johns, an enslaver of six Black persons, was now president. The offer to Totten as a professor of Natural Philosophy and Belles Lettres had one stipulation: he had to satisfy college leaders with a statement on his views of Black enslavement. Toward this end, Totten met with College President Johns and a fellow enslaver, former US President John Tyler, in Philadelphia. In his memoirs, Totten recalled what he said in the meeting. "I stated in explicit terms that I did not approve of the introduction of negro slavery.

That it was a system begun in ignorance or disregard of human rights and that necessity had perpetrated it, and that nothing now remained but to conduct it in such a way as would tend to the best good of both master and servant. That I did not believe that any good could be done by the immediate abolition of slavery or that prospective measure could now be taken looking to emancipation in time to come, and that as a good citizen I should deem it my duty [to] use any influence I might possess to make the condition of the slave as good as the circumstances of the case would allow." It is important to note that in this statement Totten does not propose for the emancipation of enslaved Black people in any form. Instead, he suggested that though slavery was a wrong from the start, it was the type of wrong that cannot be righted. Totten thus argued that "necessity" required White masters to rule over Black slaves, and that the conditions of human enslavement could be made tolerable for the enslaved. It is no surprise that such racist, proslavery views satisfied the White southerners at the Philadelphia meeting. And after living nine years in Virginia, Totten later explained, nothing had "materially" changed his views on Black enslavement. "If there is any change," he wrote, "it is a firmer conviction that where the White and black races inhabit the same country the blacks must always be the servile class."[13]

Totten proved to be a staunch apologist for slavery and enslavers during his time in Virginia. One of his closest friends at William and Mary was Nathaniel Beverly Tucker, a professor of law from a storied Virginia slaveholding family.

Totten called Tucker a kindly enslaver. “Slavery under such a master,” Totten wrote of Tucker, “seemed [like] no bondage and was not felt to be such.” White enslavers often spoke on the experience of slavery from the viewpoint of the enslaved. However, their statements stand at odds with the many ways in which Black people rejected and resisted enslavement. Indeed, Totten’s statement about kindly enslavement tells us far more about Totten than it does about the Black persons forced into slavery. Totten’s words likely helped him to believe that he too was a benevolent slaveholder. The 1850 US Census notes Totten as the owner of three Black individuals, a fifty year-old female, a twenty-seven year-old male, and a thirteen year-old female. [14]

The Primus Project continues to investigate slaveholding among people connected to Washington College. There is one group, nineteenth-century students and graduates of the college, in which it is reasonable to expect to find additional slave owners. At this time, the Primus Project highlights one important example: Paul Carrington Cameron (1808-1891) from Orange County, North Carolina, a graduate of Washington College in the class of 1829. From an elite planter family, Cameron is but one example of the many southern students whose families felt comfortable sending their children to study in the North, where politicians had decided to gradually end the institution of slavery. At Washington College, such southern comfort can be linked to the widespread, public support for African Colonization demonstrated within the leadership ranks of the college. (African Colonization, a plan to remove Black people from the United States, is covered in the “Religion” section of this document series.)

In other words, the families believed that students who attended Washington College would be taught to uphold the notions of White supremacy central to American slavery. And indeed, Paul Cameron would become one of the most significant enslavers in nineteenth-century North Carolina. The volume of the *Trinity Tablet* that records Cameron's 1891 death states that the North Carolinian owned "some nineteen hundred negroes" before the Civil War. Even though federal documents offer smaller numbers, the numbers that are recorded indicate Cameron's substantial involvement in racial slavery. The US Census for 1860 marks 113 Black people owned by Cameron. The oldest was a Black male who was seventy-six. Cameron also enslaved thirty-one children of ten years old and under in 1860. The earlier census of 1850 marks Cameron as the enslaver of 218 Black people with 50 children aged five and under. In his lifetime, Cameron used his earnings from the production of the enslaved and his speculation in Black people to provide significant funds to the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. In 2021, the Orange County School Board elected to rename the Cameron Park Elementary School—a building that commemorated the Washington College graduate and enslaver. [15]

In additional ways, the Atlantic slave economy directly provided for the establishment and success of Washington College. Phoenix Bank, chartered in Hartford in 1814, is a key institution in the founding history of the college. As the historian Glenn Weaver notes, "Episcopal laymen" created the Phoenix Bank in Hartford to provide the economic basis for "an Episcopalian college" in Connecticut.

A portion of the bank's earnings were set aside for what would become Washington College and, later, most of the endowed funds of the college were invested in Phoenix Bank stock. The bank supported a variety of merchants, shippers, and insurers—and many of the men who created and directed Phoenix Bank were merchants, speculators, shippers, and insurers themselves involved in trade with the West Indies and the American South. In this manner, the profits and products of enslaved labor bolstered the establishment of Washington College in 1823 through Phoenix Bank.[16]

For example, Normand Knox, the first president of Phoenix Bank, had worked in marine and fire insurance underwriting on his own and then as the secretary for the Hartford Insurance Company founded in 1803. As Phoenix president, Knox was one of several Hartford elites to petition the state legislature for the incorporation of the Hartford Manufacturing Company. Hartford Manufacturing, based in a part of Glastonbury, Connecticut, still known as Cotton Hollow, supported one of the best-known cotton mills in New England. Here, a product of slavery, cotton, was transformed into cotton cloth. In illustration of the ties between Knox's business interests and slave societies, the probate filing after his 1821 death notes, "1 horse shipped by F. Bargo to Cuba" that netted $98.20. Cuba, a significant producer of sugar and coffee, relied on the greatest number of slaves in Hispanic North America. Another figure important to the bank, Ward Woodbridge, an early director of Phoenix Bank, was likewise involved in insurance in Hartford while also owning a Massachusetts cotton factory and, with Samuel Tudor, a drygoods import business connected to trade with the West Indies.[17]

Other central figures at Phoenix Bank were connected to Washington College through the banking institution as well as through their own personal efforts. Samuel Tudor, Charles Sigourney, and William Imlay, for example, each had leadership roles in the Phoenix Bank, and they were the largest of Washington College's founding donors. The three men all pledged $1000 (roughly equivalent to $1 million in 2023) in the initial subscription to establish the college. The trio and their monies linked the Phoenix Bank and Washington College to the Atlantic slave economy. Samuel Tudor, for instance, was one of the bank's original directors and, in the 1830s, briefly the bank's president; he led in the effort to establish Washington College and served as the first treasurer for the college's Board of Trustees; and, beyond his work with Phoenix Bank, Tudor was involved in trade with slave societies through his business venture with Ward Woodbridge and through subsequent commercial endeavors. The second president of Phoenix Bank, Charles Sigourney, was also a fervent advocate for the creation of Washington College and served as the first president of the college's trustees. Often noted as Hartford's wealthiest citizen in the 1810s, Sigourney was among those who established Hartford Manufacturing, and he remained deeply involved in this cotton business until the 1850s. William Imlay was likewise instrumental in securing land and funds for the development of Washington College in the 1820s, served as a college trustee, and was appointed as a director of the Phoenix Bank in 1824. Imlay accumulated his wealth mainly through iron (a metal often singled out by British and American abolitionists for its role in securing and punishing enslaved people) and a business founded in 1799 focused on trade with the West Indies.[18]

Other important members of the Phoenix Bank and Washington College communities include men such as David Watkinson. Watkinson supported the early efforts to establish Washington College, contributed $500 to the original college subscription, served as a college trustee, and profited from slave societies through his investments and businesses. Watkinson is further connected to Trinity College through his bequest that created the Watkinson Library. The library, first housed at the Wadsworth Atheneum in the 1860s, moved to Trinity College in 1952. An original director of Phoenix Bank, Watkinson forged ties with cotton planters during travels in the South in 1799 to purchase cotton. He earned his first fortune, however, through his Hartford mercantile business focused on trade with the West Indies and the American South. As the War of 1812 interrupted American trade with the Caribbean islands and the subsequent treaty with Great Britain limited such trade, Watkinson opened iron and hardware businesses in the Hartford region and invested in Hartford insurance companies. (The West Indian trade made a strong return to Connecticut in the 1820s.) In 1819, Watkinson and his brothers incorporated the Union Manufacturing Company to make cotton cloth, and he therefore advanced the connections of his income to the productions and profits of enslaved labor. Watkinson also provided funding for his nephew, Samuel Watkinson Collins, to start a manufacturing business northwest of Hartford, and that business grew into the nation's largest producer of edged tools—including axes and machetes purchased by southern and Caribbean planters for use by slaves clearing land and harvesting sugarcane. Washington College invested some of its endowment funds in the Collins Company, earning annual dividends throughout the late 1840s and early 1850s, when the company was reaping profits from a booming slave-based economy.

One additional Phoenix Bank leader had connections to Washington College and the Atlantic slave economy. An original director of Phoenix Bank, John Russ, was a Hartford merchant and founding member of the insurance community who pledged $400 to the first subscription for Washington College.[19]

To close this section on the economic ties of Washington College to Atlantic slavery, the Primus Project offers a final thought. While a temptation may exist to excuse members of the Hartford business community for their historical association with the Atlantic slave economy, the scholar Christina Heatherton reminds us why we cannot make such excuses. No one who benefitted from the vast riches circulating in the Atlantic economy could claim innocence of the crime of slavery. “Capital is never scrubbed free of its past crimes,” Heatherton states; “To believe otherwise is to enlist the faith of a money launderer, hoping that by changing form, wealth can be absolved of all its past incriminations.” Therefore, the Primus Project continues to investigate the ties of administrators, students, faculty, and alumni of Washington College to the Atlantic slave economy.[20]

FOOTNOTES

[1] Barbara Solow, ed., Introduction to *Slavery and the Rise of the Atlantic System* (Cambridge University Press, 1993), 1. For profits of slavery underwriting Indigenous colonization, see Wendy Warren, *New England Bound: Slavery and Colonization in Early America* (New York: Liveright, 2016) and Scott Gac, *Born in Blood: Violence and the Making of America* (Cambridge University Press, 2024).
[2]"Hostile Indians" in William C. Fowler, The Historical Status of the Negro in Connecticut (Charleston, S.C.: Walker, Evans, and Cogswell, 1901), 4.
[3] For the work of the enslaved in Rhode Island see, Christian M. McBurney, *A History of Kingston, RI, 1700–1900* (Kingston, RI: Pettaquamscutt Historical Society, 2004). See too, Gac, 5-8. Berbice in Fowler, 4. Slave statistics in Fowler, 36, and Joseph Avitable, "The Atlantic World Economy and Colonial Connecticut," PhD Diss, (University of Rochester, 2009), 331.
[4] 1644 ship in Janet Siskind, *Rum and Axes: The Rise of a Connecticut Merchant Family, 1795–1850* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002), 47. Avitable, 75. Historian Christy Clark-Pujara indicates that during "the colonial period in total, Rhode Islanders sent 514 slave ships to the coast of West Africa, while the rest of the colonists sent just 189." See, Clark-Pujara, *Dark Work, The Business of Slavery in Rhode Island* (New York: New York University Press, 2016), 17.
[5] Du Bois, The Suppression of the African Slave-Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870 (New York: Longmann's, 1904), 28. CT Slave trade in DuBois, 37. See too, Fowler, 14-19. Middletown slave cargo in Fowler, 17.
[6] Sean M. Kelley, *American Slavers: Merchants, Mariners, and the Transatlantic Commerce in Captives, 1644-1865* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2023), 250. Pawnship in Cameron B. Blevins, "'Owned by Negro Venture': Land and Liberty in the Life of Venture Smith" in *Venture Smith and the Business of Freedom and Slavery*, edited by James Brewer Stewart (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2010), 139.
[7] 250 slaves in Fowler, 17. Export data and quotes in Avitable, iv, 50, 94, 48.
[8] Avitable, 11, 39, 10, 127-128.
[9] Jesse Leavenworth and Kevin Canfield, "Courant Complicity in an Old Wrong: Newspaper's Founder Published Ads in Support of the Sale and Capture of Slaves," *Hartford Courant*, 4 July 2000, A1. Paul Zielbauer, "A Newspaper Apologizes for Slave-Era Ads," *New York Times*, 6 July 2000, B1. "Aetna Apologizes for Slave Insurance," *Los Angeles Times*, 11 Mar. 2000. Eric Kimball, "'What Have We to do with Slavery?' New Englanders and the Slave Economies of the West Indies" in *Slavery's Capitalism: A New History of American Economic Development*, edited by Sven Beckert and Seth Rockman (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 181-194. Craig Steven Wilder, *Ebony & Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America's Universities* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2013).
[10] For Middletown, slavery, and Episcopal Church see, Diane Reid, "The Triangle Trade and the Merchants of Middletown" (unpublished manuscript, March 2019), typescript.
[11] Michael E. Goldstein, "The Gospel of the Rich as 'the Property of the Poor:' the Slaveholding Elite of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Louisiana and Their Mission to the Slaves, 1805-1870," MA Thesis, (Tulane University, 2010), vii, 108, 38, 69. Trip to Havana in Philander Chase, *Bishop Chase's Reminiscences: An Autobiography*, Vol. II, (Boston: James B. Dow, 1848), 471, 473. Salary in Washington College Trustee Minutes, Feb 28, 1837.
[12] Anne W. Chapman, "The College of William and Mary, 1849-1859; The Memoirs of Silas Totten," MA Thesis, (College of William and Mary, 1978), 9.

FOOTNOTES

[13] See entry for John Johns in 1850 U.S. Federal Census, Schedule 2, Williamsburg, County of James City, Virginia, 8 Oct. 1850, n.p. "The Memoirs of Silas Totten: 1849-1859" in Chapman, 44.
[14] "Memoirs of Silas Totten," 67.
[15] 1860 U.S. Federal Census, Schedule 2, County of Person, North Carolina, 17 Aug. 1860, 29-30. 1850 U.S. Federal Census, Schedule 2, First District, County of Orange, North Carolina, 25 Sept. 1850, n.p. "Hillsborough School Named After Slaveowner to be Renamed," WRAL News, 21 Feb. 2021.
[16] Glenn Weaver, *The History of Trinity College*, Volume 1 (Hartford: Trinity College Press, 1967), 8-9, 78, 80.
[17] Charles W. Burpee, *First Century of the Phoenix National Bank of Hartford, Covering the Span Between the Federal Banking Epochs of 1814 and 1914* (Hartford, n.p.), 103-105. Hartford Probate District, "Estate of Normand Knox, Town of Hartford, Date 1821," Deposited in Connecticut State Library Under Provisions….Dec. 27, 1944.
[18] Burpee, *First Century*, 105-109, 128. Weaver, 23. For monetary value, see Measuring Worth web site: https://www.measuringworth.com/dollarvaluetoday/?amount=1000&from=1823. Imlay trade in Hammond J. Trumbull, *The Memorial History of Hartford County, Connecticut, 1633-1884*, Volume 1 (Boston: Edward L. Osgood, 1886), 665. For iron, see "The iron instruments used in the abominable traffic, the slave trade," OnView: Digital Collections & Exhibits, accessed September 10, 2023, https://collections.countway.harvard.edu/onview/items/show/18023.
[19] Burpee, *First Century*, 111-112. Siskind, 69, 88. War of 1812 and trade in Charles W. Burpee, *One Hundred Years of Service Being the History of the Hartford Fire Insurance Company* (Hartford: n.p., 1910), 76-77. Weaver, 23. Collins Company in Siskind and Washington College Cash Book, 1824-1868, Watkinson Library.
[20] Heatherton, *Arise!: Global Radicalism in the Era of the Mexican Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2022), 35.

IMAGE CREDITS

Front Cover: Façade of Trinity College Old Campus buildings: Jarvis Hall (1825-1878), Seabury Hall (1825-1878) and Brownell Hall (1845-ca.1877), Trinity College Archives, Watkinson Library, Trinity College.
Page 5: "Order for sale of negro boy," The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Picture Collection, The New York Public Library. New York Public Library Digital Collections.
Page 8: "A new and correct map of North America with the West India Islands" (1777), Lionel Pincus and Princess Firyal Map Division, The New York Public Library. New York Public Library Digital Collections.
Page 9: "Ten Dollars Reward," The Connecticut Courant and Hartford Weekly Intelligencer, 12 July 1774, 4.
Page 10: Seabury Hall, Old Campus, Trinity College Archives, Watkinson Library, Trinity College. Seabury Hall, New Campus, Trinity College Archives, Watkinson Library, Trinity College
Page 12: Reverend Silas Totten, D.D.,IL.D., President of Trinity College (1837-1848), Trinity College Archives, Watkinson Library, Trinity College.