



## Slavery in Vermont

### Overview and Background

It is common knowledge in Vermont that Vermont was the first state to abolish slavery, in its constitution of 1777. However, that story is not so simple. While the 1777 constitution outlawed adult slavery, boys could remain enslaved until the age of 21, and girls til the age of 18. Various documents demonstrate that people were held as slaves in Vermont after 1777, and that in any event the status of Black people in Vermont into the 19th century was ambiguous. Exploring these stories complicates the picture of the experience of African Americans in early Vermont, and can provoke your students to ponder the meaning of freedom. Considering these issues also sets the stage for thinking about the purpose served by the conventional wisdom of “no slavery in Vermont,” and the realities of racism that are apparent throughout Vermont’s history and into the present day.

### Grade Level

6 - 12

### Enduring Understandings

Slavery existed in the North and was central to the development and growth of the northern economies.

### Topic(s)

Slavery in the North

### Compelling Question(s)

Did its 1777 constitution abolish slavery in Vermont?

Under the conditions established by the 1777 constitution, did freedom for Black people in Vermont mean the same thing as freedom for white people?

### Historical Thinking Skills

Sourcing and Evidence; Synthesizing Sources

### Summative Task

After examining the Vermont Constitution, Act of 1786, and the Census, summarize the status of free Blacks in Vermont. Use evidence from the primary sources.



## Outline

### Activating Prior Knowledge/Building Historical Context:

Review with students which colonies had enslaved people in America (all of them).

[Chart of enslaved people in the colonies](#)

Note: Vermont was not one of the original colonies.

### Investigation of Primary Sources

#### **PART 1: What was the law and was it being followed?**

Present to the class the claim that Vermont is renowned for being the first in America to abolish slavery in its 1777 Constitution.

Investigate two primary sources to consider the questions:

- Did Vermont abolish slavery in 1777?
- Did slavery cease to exist in Vermont after 1777?

Distribute this [close-reading and summarizing worksheet](#) (page 5 in this PDF) that examines the abolition clause of the 1777 Vermont Constitution. A close read reveals that the abolition of slavery was not unconditional. After students summarize the clause in their own words, ask students what the status was for young adults? They should come to the realization that boys under the age of 21 could remain enslaved, in servitude, or as apprentices, and girls under the age of 18. The abolition clause was really only for adults and even then, if they were in debt they could be held in bondage.

Distribute this [close-reading and summarizing worksheet](#) (pages 6/7 in this PDF) of an act passed by the Vermont legislature in 1786. Students should be able to summarize that slave-owners were getting around the law, selling formerly enslaved people out-of-state, rather than freeing them. Those caught would be fined.

Share the [story of young Anthony](#) (pages 8/9 in this PDF) who was sold to a man in NH at age 8 ½ in 1790--an example of child slavery well after the 1777 Constitution was ratified.

#### **PART 2: What was the status of Black people in Vermont after slavery was abolished?**

Distribute the background article, [Counting Heads in 1791](#). Were there enslaved people in Vermont or not? That's the question. The 1791 census recorded 16 enslaved people held in Bennington County. Years later census officials from Vermont asserted that this must have been a mistake, because slavery had been outlawed by the state constitution fourteen years earlier.

Discussion: Refer back to the 1786 act. Just because something was outlawed, doesn't mean it wasn't happening. People were disobeying the law. Could those 16 people have been enslaved?

Distribute the first page of this [1791 census summary](#) and [worksheet](#). (pages 10 - 13 in this PDF)

Review each column. What do students think "all other free persons" means? "**All other free persons**" mostly meant **free** Blacks, or African Americans who were not enslaved. It also included Native Americans and immigrants.

Distribute this [1791 census page from Hartland](#) (page 14 in this PDF)



As a class, find Ned Freeman. Have students describe Ned Freeman's household. There are four people of color living in the home. Ned Freeman is the head of the household.

Find William Gallup. Have students describe this household. In addition to William Gallup, there are three other white men over the age of 16. There are two white boys under the age of 16, probably his sons. There are six women. Probably, William Gallup and his wife lived with 9 children, some teens (although, grandparents could also have been living there).

Have students consider who the one "all other free person" might be. Possibly a servant girl or an apprentice.

If you would like to look at the census for your town, you can get the information from [Vermont Historical Society](#).

### Summative Assessment

After examining the Vermont Constitution, Act of 1786, and the Census, summarize the status of free Blacks in Vermont. Use evidence from the primary sources.

Some possible answers from students: Some had their own homes, others lived in the homes of white people, probably as servants or apprentices. If they were under age 21 (boys) or 18 (girls), they could be enslaved. Children could be bought and sold, for example young Anthony who was sold at age 8 ½.

### Extension

[A case study of Dinah Mason](#) adds to the picture of slavery in early Vermont, and further complicates the larger story. A bill of sale shows that in 1783 Dinah was purchased as a slave by Stephen Jacob of Windsor, a prominent lawyer who became a judge and served on the Vermont Supreme Court. In 1801 the town of Windsor sued Jacob to force him to cover the town's expenses in caring for Dinah, who had been turned out by Jacob and was indigent.

The case, which was decided by the Supreme Court in Jacob's favor, once again raised pressing questions about slavery and the nature of freedom for African Americans in early Vermont. The documents—bill of sale, Windsor census record, Windsor town meeting warrant, and the court report—can be used to investigate these questions. Guided examination of the first three documents feeds into asking why the Supreme Court ruled that Dinah could not have been enslaved because slavery was illegal in Vermont.

### Materials

#### BRIEF OVERVIEW FOR KIDS

[Zinn Education Project: Vermont Abolished Slavery](#)

#### PRIMARY SOURCES

[1777 Vermont Constitution and worksheet](#)

[1786 Vermont Act](#)



[1791 Vermont census](#)

[Story of Young Anthony](#)

[1791 census summary](#) and [worksheet](#)

[1791 census page from Hartland](#)

### **ADDITIONAL RESOURCES**

[\*The Problem of Slavery in Early Vermont, 1777-1810\*, by Harvey Amani Whitfield, provides a background essay and more than 30 primary sources.](#)

## The Abolition of Slavery in Vermont

Vermont is renowned for being the first state in America to abolish slavery, in its 1777 Constitution. This view is widely held by the public and scholars alike. We will read two primary sources to consider the questions: Did Vermont abolish slavery in 1777? Did slavery cease to exist in Vermont after 1777?

Source (date, author, audience)

## Vermont Constitution (1777)

That all men are born equally free and independent, and have certain natural, inherent and unalienable Rights, among which are the enjoyment and depending Life and Liberty; acquiring, possessing and protecting Property, and pursuing and obtaining Happiness and Safety. Therefore, no male person, born in this country, or brought from over sea, ought to be holden by Law to serve any person as a Servant, Slave or Apprentice, after he arrives to the age of twenty-one years, nor female in like manner, after she arrives to the age of eighteen years, unless they are bound by their own consent after they arrive at such age, or bound by Law for Payment of Debts, Damages, Fines, Costs, or the like.

Key Words and Phrases:

Summary



**An Act to Prevent the Sale of  
Transportation of Negroes & Molattoes Out  
of this State (1786)**

Source (date, author, audience)

Whereas by the constitution of this State all the subjects of this Commonwealth of whatever colour are equally entitled to the inestimable blessings of Freedom unless they have forfeited the same by the commission of some crime, and the Idea of Slavery is expressly and totally exploded from our free Government.

Key Words:

Summary:

And whereas Instances have happened of the former owners of Negroes in this Commonwealth making sale of such persons as Slaves notwithstanding their being liberated by the Constitution, and attempts have been made to transport such persons to foreign parts in open violation of the Laws of the Land.

Key Words:

Summary:

Be it therefore enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Vermont that if any person shall hereafter make sale of any subject of this State or shall convey or attempt to convey any subject out of this State with intent to hold or sell such person as a Slave every person so offending and convicted thereof shall forfeit and pay to the person injured for such offence the sum of **£100** and cost of suit to be recovered by action of debt or complaint or Information.

Key Words:

Summary:

BILL OF SALE, OLIVER HASTINGS PURCHASED  
ANTHONY FROM JOTHAM WHITE (1790)

80

Overview: This bill of sale is an example of child slavery that the Vermont Constitution allowed. However, after the enactment of the 1786 Transportation and Sale law, Jotham White should not have sold this young child. Significantly, we know nothing about Anthony's parents or how Jotham White obtained the boy in the first place. Although White appears to try to protect himself from any legal trouble by insisting that Anthony be freed at age 21, there would have been no way to enforce such a provision in New Hampshire, where Dr. Hastings lived. As it turns out, Oliver Hastings and Jotham White had married sisters from the same family (Reed). According to notarial records gathered by historian Marcel Trudel, Hastings sold Anthony (Antoine) to Boucherville resident Charles Boucher de Labruere for 90 bushels of wheat. (Marcel Trudel, *Dictionnaire des esclaves et de leurs proprietaries au Canada français* [Ville LaSalle: Hurtubise Cahiers du Quebec, 1990], 14.)

Source: Charles H. Hubbard and Justus Dartt, *History of the Town of Springfield, Vermont* (Boston: George H. Walker & Co., 1895), 489. I have attempted to track down the original bill of sale to no avail. I searched in various collections in Vermont, the New Hampshire Historical Society, the Charlestown (N.H.) Historical Society, and The Fort at #4, but no one seems to know what happened to the bill of sale.



[MARCH 2, 1790]

Know all men by these presents, that I, Jotham White of Springfield, in the county of Windsor and State of Vermont, gentleman, for and in consideration of the sum of thirty-five pounds in silver money to me in hand before the delivery hereof paid by Oliver Hastings of Charlestown, in the county of Cheshire and State of New Hampshire, physician, do hereby sell and deliver to the said Oliver Hastings, my negro boy slave named Anthony, about eight years and a half of age. To have and to hold the said negro boy slave to the said Oliver Hastings, his heirs and assigns, until the said negro boy shall



arrive to the age of twenty-one years. I, the said Jotham White, for myself, my heirs, executors, and administrators, do by these presents covenant and engage with the said Oliver Hastings, his heirs and assigns, against the lawful claim and demands of all persons whatsoever.

JOTHAM WHITE

“Signed, sealed and delivered in presence of  
AMANDA STONE.  
JOEL REED.”

The following is taken from the History of Charlestown, N. H. :

“ Know all men by these presents, that I, Jotham White of Springfield, in the county of Windsor and State of Vermont, gentleman, for and in consideration of the sum of thirty-five pounds in silver money to me in hand before the delivery hereof paid by Oliver Hastings of Charlestown, in the county of Cheshire and State of New Hampshire, physician, do hereby sell and deliver to the said Oliver Hastings, my negro boy slave named Anthony, about eight years and a half of age. To have and to hold the said negro boy slave to the said Oliver Hastings, his heirs and assigns, until the said negro boy shall arrive to the age of twenty-one years. I, the said Jotham White, for myself, my heirs, executors, and administrators, do by these presents covenant and engage with the said Oliver Hastings, his heirs and assigns, against the lawful claim and demands of all persons whatsoever.

“ In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal, this second day of March, in the year of our Lord seventeen hundred and ninety.

JOTHAM WHITE.

“ Signed, sealed and delivered in presence of  
AMANDA STONE,  
JOEL REED.”

NATHAN WHITE was b. in Uxbridge, Mass., March 17, 1776, and came to Springfield in the winter of 1805-6. He first located on Connecticut River, near the north line of the town, on the Townshend place. Six years later he sold this farm to Samuel Steele, and bought of Taylor Spencer the farm now owned by his son, Levi R. White, and in 1826 he moved to the meadow farm at the mouth of Black River, where he d. March 28, 1858.

In 1800 he m. Rachel Rist of Grafton, Mass., who d. May 22, 1817, aged 37.

By this marriage there were ten children :

- I. Sally, b. in Grafton, Mass., May 15, 1801; m. Nov. 27, 1821, Isaiah Ellis. Six children. (See Ellis family.)
- II. Calvin C., b. in Grafton, Mass., Feb. 10, 1803; m. March 1, 1837, Patience A. Batchelor. They lived at Gunplain, Mich., and had five children. He d. Nov. 8, 1880.
- III. Luther, b. in Grafton, Mass., Oct. 24, 1804; m. Jan. 23, 1826, Fanny Glazier.
- IV. Eliza Ann, b. in Springfield, Aug. 31 1806; m. Nov. 2, 1823, Jonas B. Spencer, d. May 10, 1834. (See Spencer family.)
- V. Caroline, b. in Springfield, March 29, 1808; m. Dec. 25, 1831, Daniel Tower, d. in Michigan, October, 1846.
- VI. Elias, b. in Springfield, Nov. 27, 1810; d. unm.
- VII. Sophia, b. in Springfield, July 8, 1812; m. Jan. 23, 1834, Lewis Weston; he d. Dec. 2, 1869.

## FIRST CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Population of the United States as returned at the First Census, by states: 1790.

DISTRICT.	Free white males of 16 years and upward, including heads of families.	Free white males under 16 years.	Free white females, including heads of families.	All other free persons.	Slaves.	Total.
Vermont.....	22,435	22,328	40,505	255	116	<sup>2</sup> 85,539
New Hampshire.....	36,086	34,851	70,160	630	158	141,885
Maine.....	24,384	24,748	46,870	538	None.	96,540
Massachusetts.....	95,453	87,289	100,582	5,463	None.	378,787
Rhode Island.....	16,019	15,799	32,652	3,407	948	68,825
Connecticut.....	60,523	54,403	117,448	2,808	2,764	237,946
New York.....	83,700	78,122	152,320	4,654	21,324	340,120
New Jersey.....	45,251	41,416	83,287	2,702	11,423	184,139
Pennsylvania.....	110,788	106,948	206,363	6,537	3,737	434,373
Delaware.....	11,783	12,143	22,384	3,899	8,887	<sup>2</sup> 59,094
Maryland.....	55,915	51,339	101,395	8,043	103,036	319,728
Virginia.....	110,936	116,135	215,046	12,866	292,627	747,610
Kentucky.....	15,154	17,057	28,922	114	12,430	73,677
North Carolina.....	69,988	77,506	140,710	4,975	100,572	393,751
South Carolina.....	35,576	37,722	66,880	1,801	107,094	249,073
Georgia.....	13,103	14,044	25,739	308	29,264	82,548
Total number of inhabitants of the United States exclusive of S. Western and N. territory.....	807,094	791,850	1,541,263	59,150	604,280	3,893,635

  

	Free white males of 21 years and upward.	Free males under 21 years of age.	Free white females.	All other persons.	Slaves.	Total.
S. W. territory.....	6,271	10,277	15,305	361	3,417	35,631
N. territory.....						

<sup>1</sup> The census of 1790, published in 1791, reports 16 slaves in Vermont. Subsequently, and up to 1830, the number is given as 17. An examination of the original manuscript returns shows that there never were any slaves in Vermont. The original error occurred in preparing the results for publication, when 16 persons, returned as "Free colored," were classified as "Slave."

<sup>2</sup> Corrected figures are 35,425, or 114 less than figures published in 1790, due to an error of addition in the returns for each of the towns of Fairfield, Milton, Shelburne, and Williston, in the county of Chittenden; Brookfield, Newbury, Randolph, and Strafford, in the county of Orange; Castleton, Clarendon, Hubbardton, Poultney, Rutland, Shrewsbury, and Wallingford, in the county of Rutland; Dummerston, Guilford, Halifax, and Westminster, in the county of Windham; and Woodstock, in the county of Windsor.

<sup>3</sup> Corrected figures are 59,096, or 2 more than figures published in 1790, due to error in addition.

HEADS OF FAMILIES—VERMONT.

Summary of population, by counties and towns: 1790.

ADDISON COUNTY.

TOWN.	Number of heads of families.	Free white males of 16 years and upward, including heads of families.	Free white males under 16 years.	Free white females, including heads of families.	All other free persons.	Slaves.	Total.	TOWN.	Number of heads of families.	Free white males of 16 years and upward, including heads of families.	Free white males under 16 years.	Free white females, including heads of families.	All other free persons.	Slaves.	Total.
Addison	68	108	106	186	2		402	New Haven	133	180	218	319			717
Bridport	79	123	122	205			450	Panton	39	57	66	97			220
Bristol	39	53	57	101			211	Salisbury	75	122	107	215			444
Cornwall	150	214	218	393			825	Shoreham	135	198	161	337	5		701
Ferrisburg	80	137	119	213	12		481	Vergennes	89	73	85	70	14		201
Hancock	9	18	11	27			50	Weybridge	32	48	41	84	1		174
Kingston	19	26	31	44			101	Whiting	46	70	57	121	1		249
Leicester	61	94	87	160			344	Total	1,157	1,768	1,656	2,959	37		6,420
Middlebury	74	125	92	176	2		395								
Monkton	79	122	134	193			440								

BENNINGTON COUNTY.

Arlington	170	252	252	488			992	Rupert	179	251	289	494			1,034
Bennington	376	628	601	1,101	20		2,380	Sandgate	135	198	189	386			773
Bromley	15	21	19	31			71	Shafsbury	301	491	528	967	4		1,990
Dorset	155	240	230	487			957	Stamford	48	69	65	137	1		272
Glastonbury	6	6	11	17			34	Sunderland	69	113	101	199	1		414
Landgrove	6	7	4	20			31	Winhall	28	39	46	69	1		155
Manchester	200	338	339	696	5		1,278	Woodford	14	16	18	26			60
Pownal	282	418	498	815	1		1,732	Total	1,997	3,103	3,205	5,865	33		12,206
Reedsborough	14	16	15	32			63								

CHITTENDEN COUNTY.

Alburgh	90	147	106	189	4		446	Middlesex	13	16	19	25			60
Bakersfield	2	4	4	5			13	Milton	49	90	65	128			283
Bolton	16	21	26	41			88	Minden	2	6	6	6			18
Burlington	60	108	68	151	3		390	Moretown	6	10	6	8			24
Cambridge	62	108	84	167			359	Morrisstown	4	6		4			10
Cambridge Gore	3	3	6	6			15	New Huntington	23	34	40	62			136
Charlotte	118	189	142	301	3		635	New Huntington Gore	7	10	7	14			31
Colchester	28	42	40	55			137	North Hero	31	40	25	57	3		125
Duxbury	8	9	18	12			39	St. Albans	44	89	61	105	1		256
Elmore	7	7	1	4			12	St. George	12	14	17	26			57
Essex	62	118	76	160			354	Shelburne	77	108	103	176			387
Fairfax	51	85	61	108			254	Smithfield	14	28	14	28			70
Fairfield	27	43	28	55			126	South Hero	95	164	128	245			537
Fletcher	9	13	14	20			47	Starksborough	9	15	6	19			40
Georgia	56	105	80	155			340	Swanton	14	22	25	27			74
Highgate	17	26	31	45	1		103	Underhill	10	16	12	31			59
Hinesburgh	85	127	115	212			454	Waitsfield	13	21	16	24			61
Hungerford	7	16	8	11	5		40	Waterbury	16	22	27	44			93
Huntsburgh	10	25	10	11			46	Westford	14	23	8	32			63
Hydespark	7	10	12	18	3		43	Williston	93	136	120	213			469
Isle Mott	14	18	13	16			47	Wolcott	5	11	7	14			32
Jarvis	64	115	90	178			381	Total	1,380	2,251	1,761	3,252	23		7,287
Johnson	21	31	16	46			93								

ORANGE COUNTY.

Barnet	98	137	132	207	1		477	Maidstone	10	34	36	55			125
Barton (not inhabited)								Marshfield (not inhabited)							
Berlin	23	38	33	63			134	Minehead (not inhabited)							
Billymead (not inhabited)								Montpelier	17	55	19	44			118
Bradford	107	168	176	313	7		654	Navy (not inhabited)							
Braintree	37	61	66	89	5		221	Newark (not inhabited)							
Brookfield	76	113	116	189	1		419	Newbury	144	225	222	413	12		872
Brownington (not inhabited)								Northfield	7	10	10	20			40
Brunswick	12	15	15	36			66	Orange (not inhabited)							
Burke (not inhabited)								Peachum	63	102	90	178			365
Cabot	21	33	37	52			122	Randolph	150	227	237	429			893
Calais	8	14	11	20			45	Random (not inhabited)							
Caldersburgh (not inhabited)								Roxbury	3	6	2	6			14
Canaan	3	4	5	10			19	Ryegate	36	46	54	87			187
Chelsea	45	77	62	100			239	St. Andrews (not inhabited)							
Concord	12	18	12	19			49	St. Johnsbury	34	54	34	55			143
Corinth	96	147	153	275			578	Sheffield (not inhabited)							
Danville	101	165	139	270			574	Stratford	148	213	228	403			844
Dewey's Gore	7	12	18	18			48	Thetford	167	211	218	419	14		862
Fairley	80	132	120	210	1		463	Topsham	27	36	50	70			162
Ferdinand (not inhabited)								Tunbridge	86	121	147	219			487
Glover (not inhabited)								Vershire	81	117	118	204			439
Granby (not inhabited)								Victory (not inhabited)							
Greensborough	5	9	4	6			19	Walden	2	3	3	5			11
Groton	8	15	9	21			45	Walden's Gore	7	9	9	14			32
Guildhall	27	55	41	62			158	Washington	17	26	13	33			72
Hardwick	3	3					3	Westmore (not inhabited)							
Harris Gore (not inhabited)								Wheelock	10	14	7	12			33
Hopkins Grant (not inhabited)								Wildersburgh	16	30	10	30			76
Lemington	5	12	7	12			31	Williamstown	31	41	34	71			146
Lewis (not inhabited)								Winlock (not inhabited)							
Littleton	11	16	14	33			63	Woodbury (not inhabited)							
Lunenburg	23	30	29	60			119	Total	1,875	2,873	2,765	4,847	41		10,526
Lyndon	12	29	10	20			69								

## FIRST CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Summary of population, by counties and towns: 1790—Continued.

## RUTLAND COUNTY.

TOWN.	Number of heads of families.	Free white males of 16 years and upward, including heads of families.				All other free persons.	Slaves.	Total.	TOWN.	Number of heads of families.	Free white males of 16 years and upward, including heads of families.				All other free persons.	Slaves.	Total.
		Free white males under 16 years.	Free white females, including heads of families.	Free white males under 16 years.	Free white females, including heads of families.						Free white males under 16 years.	Free white females, including heads of families.					
Benson.....	129	185	182	290	1	.....	658	Pawlet.....	249	348	399	709	2	.....	1,438		
Brandon.....	117	154	163	314	1	.....	937	Philadelphia.....	9	12	9	15	.....	39			
Castleton.....	141	210	222	376	1	.....	809	Pittsfield.....	12	13	12	24	.....	49			
Chittenden.....	28	38	49	72	.....	.....	159	Pittsford.....	156	219	208	422	1	.....	850		
Clarendon.....	258	343	397	740	.....	.....	1,480	Poultney.....	190	282	292	539	2	.....	1,120		
Danby.....	212	276	333	539	8	.....	1,206	Rutland.....	243	396	351	668	.....	.....	1,417		
Fair Haven.....	100	174	121	250	.....	.....	545	Shrewsbury.....	73	98	101	183	.....	.....	382		
Hubbardton.....	28	38	49	78	.....	.....	165	Sudbury.....	47	67	69	122	.....	.....	288		
Hubbardton.....	82	120	94	196	.....	.....	410	Tamworth.....	171	247	244	442	.....	.....	935		
Ira.....	52	77	82	153	.....	.....	312	Wallingford.....	96	142	131	262	.....	.....	538		
Killington.....	8	11	10	11	.....	.....	32	Wells.....	115	149	176	295	.....	.....	620		
Middletown.....	122	169	172	358	.....	.....	669	Total.....	2,794	3,990	4,098	7,470	32	.....	15,500		
Midway.....	6	7	9	18	.....	.....	34										
Orwell.....	150	215	218	341	4	.....	778										

## WINDHAM COUNTY.

Athens.....	84	103	133	209	.....	.....	450	Rockingham.....	208	327	319	587	2	.....	1,235
Brattleborough.....	260	381	436	758	14	.....	1,659	Somerset.....	21	26	35	50	.....	.....	111
Dummerston.....	274	362	394	724	10	.....	1,490	Stratton.....	24	27	22	46	.....	.....	95
Guilford.....	412	586	646	1,177	13	.....	2,422	Thomlinson.....	105	143	155	253	.....	.....	561
Hallifax.....	199	302	342	561	4	.....	1,209	Townsend.....	132	192	171	315	.....	.....	678
Hinsdale.....	76	118	142	221	1	.....	482	Wardsborough, North District.....	89	128	126	229	.....	.....	483
Jamaica.....	49	71	66	126	.....	.....	263	Wardsborough, South District.....	60	72	69	129	.....	.....	270
Johnson's Gore.....	10	15	13	21	.....	.....	49	Westminster.....	261	429	387	782	1	.....	1,599
Londonderry.....	71	90	99	172	1	.....	362	Whitingham.....	78	114	119	209	.....	.....	442
Marlborough.....	113	149	176	304	.....	.....	629	Wilmington.....	116	180	138	327	.....	.....	645
New Fane.....	114	163	177	320	.....	.....	660	Total.....	3,047	4,416	4,672	8,426	58	.....	17,572
Putney.....	291	438	492	906	12	.....	1,843								

## WINDSOR COUNTY.

Andover.....	47	75	74	126	.....	.....	275	Rochester.....	47	62	47	106	.....	.....	215
Barnard.....	131	177	167	329	.....	.....	673	Royalton.....	141	195	190	363	.....	.....	748
Bethel.....	86	126	118	229	.....	.....	473	Saltash.....	20	29	35	42	.....	.....	106
Bridgewater.....	60	63	78	147	.....	.....	293	Sharon.....	102	147	147	275	.....	.....	569
Cavendish.....	87	126	125	240	.....	.....	491	Springfield.....	204	289	289	516	3	.....	1,097
Chester.....	170	265	255	457	4	.....	981	Stockbridge.....	22	32	25	43	.....	.....	100
Hartford.....	168	248	250	489	1	.....	988	Weathersfield.....	207	294	285	560	7	.....	1,146
Hartland.....	270	415	442	789	6	.....	1,652	Windsor.....	240	395	406	732	9	.....	1,542
Ludlow.....	29	43	57	79	.....	.....	179	Woodstock.....	208	390	416	787	4	.....	1,597
Norwich.....	181	280	322	556	.....	.....	1,153	Total.....	2,733	4,004	4,143	7,543	45	.....	15,740
Pomfret.....	116	177	200	319	5	.....	710								
Reading.....	137	171	211	359	6	.....	747								

## Summary of Population by Towns, 1791

The census-taker counted everyone in town. In your own words, summarize the groups of people he counted. The first category has been filled out for you as an example.

Category	Your Summary
Number of heads of families.	This is the number of families in the town.
Free white males of 16 years and upward, including heads of families.	
Free white males under 16 years.	
Free white females, including heads of families.	
All other free persons.	
Slaves.	
Total.	

WINDSOR COUNTY—Continued.

NAME OF HEAD OF FAMILY.	Free white males of 16 years and upward, including heads of families.	Free white males under 16 years.	Free white females, including heads of families.	All other free persons.	Slaves.	NAME OF HEAD OF FAMILY.	Free white males of 16 years and upward, including heads of families.	Free white males under 16 years.	Free white females, including heads of families.	All other free persons.	Slaves.	NAME OF HEAD OF FAMILY.	Free white males of 16 years and upward, including heads of families.	Free white males under 16 years.	Free white females, including heads of families.	All other free persons.	Slaves.
HARTLAND TOWN—CON.						HARTLAND TOWN—CON.						HARTLAND TOWN—CON.					
Carver, Nathaniel	2					Lamphier, John	2	2	5			Taylor, Elias	1		4	6	
Chase, Henry	1	3				Lauton, Thomas	2	2	5	5		Taylor, Oliver	1	3	3	1	
Child, Herba	1	1	3			Law, Robert	1	4	4	2		Teuxbury, Ephraim	1	1	1	5	
Child, Lyman	1	3				Lee, Zebulon	4	4	5	5		Teuxbury, Israel	3		1	1	
Clark, Thomas	1	1	1			Liscomb, Thomas	1	1	4	4		Teuxbury, Jacob	1	1	1	2	
Clark, Timothy	1	2	1			Liscomb, Darius	1	1	3	3		Twiner, Elisha	1	1	1	1	
Clark, Wesson	1	1	1			Little, George	1	1	4	4		Tyler, Job	1	1	1	2	
Cobb, William	1	1	5			Livernore, William	1	1	3	3		Tyler, Jonathan	1	1	1	3	
Cotten, Milven	1	1	4			Loomis, Jonas	1	3	4	4		Voce, Thomas V	1	1	1	4	
Cotten, Luther	1	1	1			Luca, Andrew	1	1	5	5		Walden, John	1	1	1	3	
Cotten, Thomas	2	2	2			Luca, Ivory	1	4	6	6		Walden, Nathaniel	1	1	1	3	
Cotten, Willard	2	4	2			Luca, Moses	1	1	3	3		Walker, Emathan	1	1	1	4	
Crandal, Adam	1	3	3			Luca, Oliver	1	1	2	2		Warren, Zenos	1	1	1	4	
Croseroot, Lewis	1	2	2			Lull, Asa	1	1	1	1		Waters, Timothy	1	1	1	2	
Currier, Aaron	1	1	2			Lull, Finothy	1	4	5	5		Webster, Moses	1	1	1	1	
Dalley, William J	1	1	2			Lull, Timothy	2	2	2	2		Webster, Benoni	1	1	1	6	
Danford, James	1	2	2			Lull, Nathan	2	1	2	2		Weed, Nathaniel	1	1	1	2	
Danford, Francis	1	1	1			Lull, Zenos	1	3	4	4		Weeden, Samuel	1	1	1	1	
Danford, William	3	1	1			Main, Isaac	2	2	4	4		Weeden, Thomas	1	1	1	2	
Danford, William	2	2	3			Marbel, Benjamin	1	1	2	2		White, Asa	1	1	1	3	
Danforth, Nicholas	2	2	3			Marey, William	4	4	1	1		White, Francis	2	2	3	5	
Darby, Samuel	1	1	1			Martin, Duty	1	1	1	1		White, Thomas	3	3	2	4	
Darling, Seth	1	1	2			Mash, Abel	1	1	5	5		Wild, Elias	1	1	1	4	
Davison, Dan	3	3	3			Mash, Daniel	1	1	4	4		Willard, Aaron	1	1	1	2	
Davison, Paul	1	1	1			Mash, Roger	1	1	3	3		Willard, Edward	1	1	1	2	
Denison, George	2	2	3			Mash, Royal	1	1	3	3		Willard, Ely	1	1	1	2	
Dinsmore, John	1	1	4			Mash, Joseph	2	2	3	3		Willard, James	5	5	5	5	
Dunbar, John	2	2	2			Morgan, Isaac	2	2	6	6		Willard, Oliver	3	3	1	7	
Elsworth, Ezra	1	1	2			Morcy, Joseph	1	1	1	1		Willard, Oliver	2	1	1	4	
Edson, Sylvester	1	1	3			Moses, John	1	1	3	3		Williams, Adair	1	1	1	3	1
Emmons, Thomas	1	1	1			Morrison, Robert	2	2	5	5		Willard, Wilder	1	1	1	4	
Enos, Roger	4	2	2			Miner, Clemon	1	1	2	2		Williams, James	1	1	4	2	
Evans, Abel	1	3	2			Miner, Ephraim	2	2	5	5		Williams, Samuel	3	3	4	4	
Evans, Moses	1	3	1			Munsel, Daniel	2	2	2	2		Williams, Simeon	1	1	2	3	
Evans, Zera	1	2	1			Munsel, Lazel	1	1	2	2		Winch, Jason	1	1	3	3	
Fisher, Timothy	1	3	4			Muxley, Seth	1	1	3	3		Wood, Edward	1	1	2	4	
Flower, Elisha	1	1	2			Nichols, John	1	1	2	2		Wood, Jonathan	1	1	1	1	
Flower, John	2	3	3			Oliver, Simeon	1	1	2	2		Wood, Josiah	1	3	5		
Freeman, Ned			4			Osmore, John	1	1	1	1							
Gallup, Elisha	3	2	2			Paine, Eleazer	1	1	6	6		LUDLOW TOWN.					
Gallup, Joseph	1	2	2			Patterson, Joseph	4	1	1	1		Dutton, William	1	1	2	3	
Gallup, Perez	1	1	4			Patterson, William	1	2	3	3		Hadley, Jonas	1	3	5	5	
Gallup, William	4	6	6	1		Pierce, David	1	1	1	1		Hadley, John	1	1	2	2	
Garcy, Benjamin	1	1	4			Pike, Ebenezer	1	2	3	3		Pingery, Nathaniel	1	1	1	2	
Garcy, Thomas	1	1	2			Remington, Joseph	1	1	2	2		Crowley, Royal	3	3	4	5	
Gates, Elias	1	1	4			Rice, Aaron	1	1	3	4		Crowley, Abraham	1	1	1	2	
Garven, James	1	3	4			Rice, Elnakin	1	3	5	5		Hill, Isaac	1	2	3	4	
Gay, James	1	1	3			Rice, Obediah	1	3	4	4		Farwell, Abel	1	1	2	2	
Goss, Abel	1	1	2			Richardson, James	1	3	1	1		Powers, Isaac	2	2	3	3	
Grow, John	2	4	5			Richardson, Jeremiah	1	1	4	4		Green, Joseph	1	1	6	6	
Grow, Joseph	4	3	5			Rider, Daniel	1	1	2	2		Wilcox, Robert	1	3	1	1	
Grow, Samuel	2	3	6			Roberts, Clark	1	1	2	2		Larker, Levi	1	3	1	5	
Grow, Timothy	1	1	8			Rogers, Artha	1	3	2	2		Duncan, John	1	1	1	1	
Harris, Ishmael	1	1	3			Rogers, Benjamin	1	1	1	1		Fletcher, Josiah	2	4	4	3	
Hatch, Heman	1	2	5			Rogers, Eliphalet	1	3	3	3		Holden, Jonas	1	2	2	4	
Hatch, Ichabod	1	2	2			Rogers, Nathaniel	1	1	2	2		Reed, Simeon	1	1	4	4	
Harding, John	2	2	2			Rogers, Paul	1	1	2	2		Fletcher, Jesse	2	2	1	2	
Harvey, Nathaniel	2	1	4			Roode, Humphrey	1	3	1	1		Bixby, Thomas	1	1	1	1	
Hathway, Wilber	1	1	4			Roode, Thomas P	1	1	1	1		Bixby, David	2	2	4	4	
Healy, Samuel	1	2	2			Rust, Nathias	1	1	4	4		Gaffield, Joseph	1	1	2	2	
Hendrick, John	4	3	3			Rust, Oliver	1	3	5	5		Proctor, Elias	1	1	1	1	
Hodgeman, Jonathan	3	1	4			Richardson, Thomas	2	4	4	4		Beals, George	2	1	1	1	
Hodgeman, Lot	1	2	4			Sawyer, Abel	1	2	3	3		Lewis, David	1	1	2	2	
Hodley, Thomas	3	1	4			Scott, John	1	4	3	3		Whitney, James	2	2	1	2	
Holbrook, Ebenezer	1	1	3			Scott, Lemuel	1	4	3	3		Gleason, Catherine	2	2	3	3	
Holbrook, Ebenezer, Jr	2	3	4			Sergents, Moses	1	2	3	3		Patch, Benjamin	2	2	5	5	
Holbrook, Harba	1	1	3			Shaw, Richard	1	2	3	3		Ives, Levi	3	3	3	3	
Holdridge, Ephraim	1	1	4			Shattuck, Silas	1	2	2	2		Reed, Stephen	1	5	3	3	
Holdridge, Thomas	3	3	2			Shattuck, Silas	1	1	1	1		Bixby, Levi	2	1	1	1	
Holmes, Eilson	5	2	6			Short, Daniel	4	3	4	4							
Holmes, Absalom	1	1	2			Simmons, Joseph	2	9	2	2		NORWICH TOWN.					
Holmes, William	1	1	2			Simmons, Simon	2	1	2	2		Armstrong, John	2	2	4	4	
Hosmer, Levi	1	1	3			Smith, Samuel	1	2	2	2		Baldwin, Daniel	1	1	5	5	
Howard, Elisha	1	3	3			Sprague, Elkanah	2	1	3	3		Baldwin, Elijah	1	1	1	1	
Hopkins, William	2	1	2			Spooner, Anna	3	3	5	5		Baldwin, Levi	1	2	1	6	
Jaquith, Benjamin	2	3	3			Spooner, Daniel	1	1	2	2		Bal, Humphrey	2	2	1	4	
Jaquith, William	1	3	1			Stanton, Daniel	1	2	5	5		Ball, Jonathan	1	3	2	2	
Jenne, Lot	1	3	2			Stanton, James	2	2	4	4		Ball, Joseph	1	3	1	6	
Jenne, Samuel	3	1	1			Stanton, Phineas	2	2	5	5		Ball, Roswell	1	3	1	1	
Johnson, William	1	1	2			Stevens, Isaac	1	1	4	4		Barrett, Jonathan	3	3	2	2	
Jones, Charles	1	1	1			Stevens, Oliver	1	1	4	4		Bartlett, Elliot	1	1	1	1	
Jones, William	1	1	4			Stevens, Perula	1	1	5	5		Bartlett, Garshom	1	1	2	2	
Keith, Azel	2	2	4			Stickney, Thomas	4	4	2	2		Bartlett, Garshom	3	3	3	3	
Kendal, Amos	2	1	5			Stone, Abel	1	1	2	2		Bartlett, George	1	1	1	1	
Kendal, Samuel	1	1	1			Sturvant, Job	1	1	3	3		Bartlett, George	1	1	2	2	
Kelley, Ebenezer	1	5	5			Summer, John	2	2	2	2		Bartlett, Jonathan	1	1	2	2	
Killam, Phineas	1	1	2			Summer, William	2	2	2	2		Bartlett, Joseph	1	1	2	2	
Kimball, Phineas	1	5	4			Sweetser, William	2	2	2	2		Bartlett, Ithamer	1	1	2	2	
King, Asabel	1	1	2			Strater, Isalah	1	1	2	2		Bartlett, Moses	1	1	1	1	
Kinston, David	4	2	2			Taft, Artimus	1	3	3	3							
Laiton, John	2	2	4			Taylor, Asa	6	6	5	5							