

Primary Document Form

Doc # S1001

Title – Inscription on back of Royall Portrait by Robert Feke and summary of the Royall family and Feke

Date of Item – Portrait inscribed September 15, 1741; Summary below given October 1, 1943

Description/Pages – 2 pgs

Database/Repository – Harvard Law School via Boston Athenaeum

Format – Typed transcription

Call Number – Mss. L511; Folder 1

Creator/Author – (Summary by) D. Barrett Tanner of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

City – Unknown

Publisher – N/A

Date accessed – 6/10/09

Series Notes – Includes the transcription written on the back of the Royall family portrait as well as brief summaries on Isaac Royall Senior and Junior and the artist, Robert Feke.

Subject(s) / Keywords – Isaac Royall, Jr., Robert Feke, Royall Portrait

ISAAC ROYALL AND FAMILY

by Robert Foke

On back is the following inscription:

"Drawn for Mr. Isaac Royall whose Portrait is on the foreside. Age 22 years 13th instant. His lady in blue Aged 19 years 13th instant. Her Sister Miss Mary Palmer in red Aged 18 years 2nd of August. His sister Penelope Royall in Green Aged 17 years in April. The (child his) daughter Elizabeth Aged 8 months, 7th instant. Finisht Sept. 15, 1741 by Robert Foke."

This is the earliest picture he signed and the only one to which he put his full name. It is his only extant picture showing more than a single person.

Isaac Royall's father was a New Englander who made a fortune in Antigua where he lived nearly 40 years and where his son was probably born on Sept. 13, 1719. In 1732 the father bought a handsome estate on the Mystic River in that part of Charlestown now known as Medford, and settled his family there. He died in 1739 and his son inherited the estate at the age of twenty. Isaac Royall (painted here) was a member of the Artillery Co. in Boston in 1750 and was appointed brigadier-general in 1761. He was councillor 1752-74. He owned a pew in King's Chapel, Boston. He left Massachusetts on April 16, 1775, was proscribed as a loyalist, and his estate was confiscated in 1778. He died in England in October, 1781 bequeathing to Harvard College 2000 acres of land in Worcester County, Mass., the proceeds of which were used to found its first professorship of law.

The town of Royalston, Worcester Co., Mass., being on his property, was named for him.

The Royall Professorship was established at Harvard in 1815.

The Royall House in Medford still stands. It has the original slave quarters where lived the 27 slaves brought from Antigua.

ROBERT FEKE

Robert Feke (1705-1750) - born in Cyster Bay, Long Island in 1705, according to family tradition. Came from family of goldsmiths. Had Quaker grandparents, a Baptist minister father.

Family tradition says that he went to sea at an early age. Painted self-portrait Ca. 1725.

Painted in Philadelphia in 1746.

First visited Boston the summer of 1741. It was then he painted the Royall family. It is the earliest attempt in this country to portray a group of individuals. Again painted in Boston in 1748. Settled in Newport, Rhode Island where he married.

Disappeared in 1750. Grave unknown. Family said he went on a sea voyage from which he never returned.

Material for the sketch above provided by D. Barrett Tanner, of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. October 1, 1943.

Primary Document Form

Doc # S1002

Title – *The Slaves of Colonial New England: Discourses of Colonialism and Identity at the Isaac Royall House, Medford, Massachusetts, 1732 - 1775*

Date of Item – 2003

Description/Pages – Dissertation; 502 pgs

Database/Repository – Boston University

Format – Book

Publication Number – AAT 3083827

Creator/Author – Chan, Alexandra

City –N/A

Publisher – N/A

Date accessed – 2/8/09

Series Notes – Contains several points of interests as related to the Royall Family and their slaves.

Subject(s) / Keywords – Slavery in Colonial New England, Archaeology at Royall House, Royall Estate, Slave trade, Merchant trade

Links – Copy available at Boston University

Primary Document Form

Doc # S1003

Title – Belinda’s Petition: Reparations for Slavery in Revolutionary Massachusetts

Date of Item – January 2007

Description/Pages – Third Series; Volume LXIV; Number 1; pgs 95 - 104

Database/Repository – William and Mary Quarterly via Massachusetts Historical Society

Format – Newspaper

Call Number – F221. W71

URL – N/A

Creator/Author – Roy E. Kinkenbine

Other author(s) – N/A

City – Williamsburg

Publisher – William and Mary Quarterly

Date accessed – 6/11/09

Series Notes – This article focuses on story of Belinda, however, the footnotes cites various documents that have yet to be explored!

Subject(s) / Keywords – ‘Belinda’, Slavery Compensation, Isaac Royall, Jr.

Primary Document Form

Doc # S1004

Title – My Isaac Royall Legacy (Harvard Law Professorship Founded upon Funds Generated by Slavery)

Date of Item – Spring 2008

Description/Pages – Harvard Blackletter Law Journal 24, pgs 117 - 131

Database/Repository – Harvard Law Library

Format – Magazine / Journal

URL – N/A

Creator/Author – Janet Halley

Other author(s) – N/A

City – Cambridge

Publisher – Harvard Law School

Date accessed – 3/5/09

Series Notes – Remarks made by Janet Halley in honor of her appointment to Royall Chair at Harvard School of Law.

Subject(s) / Keywords – Royall Professorship of Law, Slavery's contribution to Harvard, Isaac Royall, Sr., Isaac Royall, Jr.

Primary Document Form

Doc#S1005

Title – Royall House and Slave Quarters: Talk by Anne Grady

Date of Item – November 19, 1997

Description/Pages – typed transcript of talk delivered to the Royall House Association by Anne Grady, Research Historian at the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities (SPNEA) now known as Historic New England.

Database/Repository – typed transcript at the Royall House Association.

Format – supplementary document

URL – not applicable

Creator/Author – Anne Grady

Date accessed – 6/6/09

Series Notes – Anne Grady, Research Historian for the Society for Preservation of New England Antiquities (SPNEA) delivers a talk to members of the Royall House Association about northern slavery, Medford's slave history, the Royall family's slaves and the documentary evidence with regard to the buildings on the property.

Subject(s) / Keywords – Isaac Royall Sr., Isaac Royall Jr., slaves

Royall House Slave Quarters: Talk by Anne Grady

November 19, 1997

I think the reason that I was asked was because the first document that I looked at was the 1739 Inventory which lists eight negro beds in the main house and there were only thirteen slaves and it seemed to me that most of them could be accommodated in the house itself. However, since then I have looked at a great many other documents, and I am going to save my conclusion until near the end, but I think that that was the reason that I was asked to give this talk, because I was skeptical in the beginning.

First I am going to say a few words about slavery in the North in New England. Many people aren't aware of how extensive it was. Then I am going to talk a little about slavery in Medford in particular. Then I will talk about Isaac Royall, Sr.'s role as a slave dealer and owner, and I will touch on Isaac Royall, Jr., and what we know about his slaves. Then I will describe the documentary references to the buildings at the Royall property which might help us to know if this was the slave quarters, and I should say at the beginning that no eighteenth century documents call this the slave quarters. And finally, I'll take you through the physical evidence in the building and I will share with you my conclusions.

In New England history, the practice of slavery and abhorrence of "man stealing," as it was called coexisted, but, of course, it was not until the nineteenth century that the latter sentiment prevailed. The General Court of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, however, as early as 1645 declared against the "Heinous and crying sin of man stealing," and ordered that a particular negro interpreter be sent back to Guinea, his native land, at the expense of the colony. Samuel Sewall, the judge wrote "The Selling of Joseph," which was a strong condemnation of slavery in 1690. Later in 1716, he said, "I essayed to prevent negroes and indians from being rated with horses and cattle, but could not succeed." And, in fact virtually every one of the documents relating to the Royalls and their inventories of their property, and their wills does, indeed, list negroes right

before horned cattle.

Most of the leading families in the eighteenth century had one or two slaves. Isaac Royall was an exception in the number of slaves that he had. In Lexington, for example, all of the grade schools are named after the leading families in town, and all of the leading families had slaves.

I ran across in the history of Medford a particularly poignant letter, which I am sure you all learned in grade school about the triangular trade, but this spells it out. I don't know if this is one of the letters recently rediscovered at the Medford Historical Society, but a ship owner is writing to a ship captain in 1759 about the Snow Fever, his ship and he says it is fully loaded and equipped for sea. "My orders to you, the captain, are to embrace the first favorable opportunity of wind and weather and to proceed to the coast of Africa, touching first, if you think proper at Senegal, and if you find encouragement, you may part with part of your cargo, [which was rum]. Then proceed down the coast to such ports or places as you judge best to dispose of your cargo to advantage, {again, the rum}, so as to purchase a cargo of two hundred slaves, with which you are to proceed to South Carolina. Buy no girls and few women. Buy prime boys and young men. As you have often the care of slaves, so I think it needless to say much upon the head in regard to keeping them well secured and a constant watch over them."

I am looking forward to the movie, Amistad, which I think will make even more alive the idea of a slave ship. Part of the same entry in Charles Brook's history from 1855 is a description of what you had to pay to get different kinds of slaves. One woman slave in 1770 was purchased for 110 gallons of rum; a prime woman slave was purchased for 130 gallons; a boy slave 4' 1" tall was purchased with 105 gallons. A boy slave 4' 3" tall was 108 gallons and a prime man slave went for 5 oz. in gold. This next entry is interesting to me. An old man for a "lingister" was three oz. in gold. A lingister in an interpreter, which I hadn't realized was necessary, though obviously it was necessary. That was news to me.

In Medford, there are references to Native American or African American slaves from the 1650s

on. Mostly they seem to refer to whippings, and, in fact, in 1734, Medford voted, "That all negro, indian and mulatto servants that are found abroad and not on their master's business shall be taken up and whipped ten stripes on their naked body by any freeholder of the town and be carried to their respective masters and said masters shall be obliged to pay the sum of 2 shillings and 6 pence in money to said person that shall do so.

In 1754 there was a census of the slaves in Medford and there were 27 male slaves and 7 females. There were also 15 free blacks in Medford and of the slaves, Isaac Royall had 12. In 1771 in the Massachusetts tax Medford was given the number of 23 servants for life as they euphemistically called it and Isaac Royall has 5 of those.

Now I am going to talk a little bit about Isaac Royall Sr. who was born in 1677 in North Yarmouth, Maine. He married and moved to Boston and had a child, but before 1700, both his wife and child died, and so he went off to Antigua. There he owned a sugar plantation in the Pope's Head section of Antigua. He also owned a sugar refinery and a rum distillery, and he engaged in the slave trade. So he was the triangular trade all by himself, which was unusual. We know that he traded in slaves from several sources. First of all he corresponded regularly with Governor Jonathan Belcher, and in 1731, Gov. Belcher wrote to him, "Thank you for the negro boy you sent me. he seems to be likely and hope will prove well. I wish you had sent me two according to my order. Then in January of 1732, he writes again to Isaac Royall, "The negro boy you sent me last year looks likely and I hope will make a good servant. I must ask your pardon for the trouble of sending me one more, not less than 16 and not exceeding 20 years of age. Let him be a likely one, although he might cost an extra five pounds. I have a very good coachman to whom I intend he shall be an apprentice. He must, therefore, be tractable and good upon all accounts according to the best of your judgement." Eighteen months later, Belcher was still asking for the second boy and Royall hadn't delivered for some reason.

In 1726 Isaac Royall sent his seven year old son to Boston to be educated and he put him under the care of his brother, Jacob Royall. So in 1726, Jacob Royall begins an account book of which

there is a copy here in which he lists expenses for Isaac, Jr., including his tutor, his clothing, a picture of him, and things like that, and he lists expenses relating to the three slaves who accompanied Isaac, Jr., Fortune, Cuff and Peter. Jacob continued managing his brother's affairs even after his brother, Isaac's death in 1739, and, in fact, until his brother's estate was settled in 1753. so we have all of these years of records in this account book of expenses that Jacob incurred on Isaac's behalf, surely not all of the expenses that were involved, but they are enough to give us a reasonable idea of some of the ways in which slaves were at the mercy of their masters and of circumstances, and the extent to which Isaac Royall was involved in the slave trade. Between 1726 and 1743, when the last entry occurs related to slave trading, Jacob Royall sold on behalf of Isaac 128 negros, as they were always called. The gross profit from those sales was almost exactly what Jacob paid on Isaac's behalf to purchase this property in 1732, 10350 pounds. Jacob once records a 5% commission, so he was making a profit too.

I am going to read you some examples of entries in this account book, because, as I say, some of them are very poignant. The largest number of negros that he sold at once was 41 in 1729. He charges Isaac for boarding the negro Fortune for board, meal, drink washing and lodging from August 1725 to March 1732, except for the time he was absent at Mr. Peabody's. That cost 376 pounds. Then there is a reference to a partial amount of the proceeds of sending three negros to North Carolina so that it is obvious that he was going in with others on shares on some of these dealings. Another time, jacob took a mortgage on a dwelling house to settle a debt for two negros he sold to John McRay who couldn't pay for them. Another time he took back from Harvey Neal a negro that Harvey Neal was not able to pay for and sent him up to the farm in Stoughton. Isaac Royall had several other farms beside this one and Stoughton was one of them. So African Americans were being moved around for whatever economic and financial reasons their masters and their dealers thought fitting. But in 1737 Dr. Zabdeal Boylston was paid for medicine and attending the negro Captain. Boylston, by the way, is the first to introduce small pox inoculation to Boston. He also advertised negros in several Boston newspapers, the *Boston Newsletter*, in particular. He sold a negro to Edmund Quincy in 1740, Quincy was a good friend of his, and corresponded with him occasionally. And, In fact, in the 1730s things became

difficult in Antiqua. There was a drought. The African Americans slaves were understandably upset. There were several uprisings. Isaac Royall wrote to Edmund Quincy that he was going to be forced to distill seawater so that his family and his slaves could have enough drinking water. But since he already distilled rum, that probably was not such a difficult task. The population of Antiqua was about 500 and the African Americans outnumbered the white three to one (this was in 1713). So Isaac Royall said to Quincy that he was planning to move to New England, and he commissioned his brother to buy this estate for him and to make changes to it. All of the accounts say that he came with 27 slaves, but no account gives the source of this information. But there is a record in the General Court that he petitioned that he had removed from Antiqua with his family and had brought with him, among other things, and chattels, a parcel of negroes that he intended for his own use and not any of them for merchandise and he prayed that he not be taxed on the sale of negroes, which was 4 pounds per negro. I do not know if the court agreed or not.

Now the Slides:

This is a miniature of Isaac Royall Sr. We don't know at what stage of his life. But I thought it would be useful for you to see an image of him while I describe some of the information that we have about his slaves. He made his will in 1737 and he listed 20 slaves by name. There is no way, however, to know how many slaves he actually had with him since some of the slaves he did not specifically mention were lumped together, again before cattle on the Medford farm and the two other farms that he owned. For instance, in the account book, his brother sent ten negroes to Ten Hills Farm, which was, of course, this farm. But he gave his daughter-in-law, Anne Oliver one negro woman named Black Betty, her five children, Abba, Quaco, Diana John and Nancy, with Abba's five children, Betty, George, Sara, Jacob and Jimmy. In all the references to slaves, I tried to link names over the period when the Royalls had slaves here without much success. There is a George later. He gave his wife a negro fellow called Peter and a negro woman called Trace and there are several Peters mentioned later. He gave his daughter Penelope one negro girl called Pregnent? And one negro woman called Abba and her six children named

Robbin, Coba, Walker, Duba Trace and Toby. I am wondering if any of those African sounding names can be traced back to their country of origin. It is also interesting, of course, that there are no husbands given with these groups. I suppose he was presumed to be kind because he kept mothers and children together. And then again, he gives the rest of his property in his will 1737 in trust to his brother Jacob for the benefit of his son, Isaac, and included my houses and lands in Charlestown, of which this was then a part, with the negros, horned cattle, horses and sheep, and also his farm in Stoughton with the negros, horned cattle, etc.

The document that I referred to in the beginning, the inventory of his estate was taken in 1739 and it lists the contents of the house room by room and it lists in the kitchen five negro beds and bedding, in the kitchen chamber, two negro beds and bedding and in the spinning garret a negro bed cradle and two blankets. And then along with the other livestock, it lists 13 slaves: negro men, Fortune, Baron, Peter, Ned, House Peter, Robbin, Pomano, Cuffy, Sniff and Phillip, and negro women, Ruth, Trace, Sue and Ionto. Now this reference to house Peter is, I think a good indicator of how things were divided. House Peter must have been a house servant who was required to sleep in the house in one of those negro beds, so that he could be at the back and call of those he was serving. This implies to me that the other Peter was living someplace else on the farm. The inventory lists the out kitchen, but does not specify its contents. I believe, however, that the out kitchen mentioned is the brick part of this building. To have a separate kitchen was typical of the southern states and of the Caribbean in the 18th century, but was not so typical of New England, although you do see references to separate kitchens in urban areas, perhaps to minimize the danger of fire. A very interesting fact is that I spoke with the current resident of the isaac Royall plantation in Antiqua who said that the overseers house survives, but that the mansion there does not survive, but the out kitchen does, and he promised to send me a picture of it. He hasn't done yet we don't so, so I am unable to share it with you, but we don't know how much Isaac Royall directed from Antiqua what he wanted done to his property.

Now I would like to talk a little bit about Isaac Royall, Jr. And I hope that you appreciate the irony of talking about the slaves while showing this and the next several very elegant portraits of

the Royall family, because, after all, it was the slaves who made such luxury possible. This is Robert Feke's portrait in 1741 of Isaac, Jr., then 22, Elizabeth, his wife who is in the ^{blue} ~~red~~, and his ~~two~~ ^{Sister-in-law Palmer} sisters, Mary who is eighteen and ^{his sister} Penelope who is seventeen, and Isaac and Elizabeth's little daughter who is eight months old, the baby in the picture. Isaac continued to trade negroes from time to time, and there was an advertisement in the Boston Evening Post from 1743, "To be sold by Isaac Royall Esq. Two very likely negro men. Then just before the estate of his father was settled, there was an addition to the inventory of 1739 and the descriptions are, I think, poignant, and I am going to read them, and also, it was about this time that John Singleton Copley made this marvelous picture of the two daughters of Isaac Royall, Jr. The oldest one is the baby you saw in the previous picture. So this inventory addition says, one old negro man about 70 years of age, no value; one negro named George about 45 (George will figure later in the story), and he was worth 100 pounds. At the farm at Stoughton, there was one negro named Captain who was inform and was worth only 50 pounds, one negro named old cook worth 60 pounds, one named Santo who was lame and 50 years old and worth 50 pounds, and one negro girl 6 years of age, worth 60 pounds.

In the 1754 census of slaves in Medford That I mentioned to you before, the slaves are listed by name, first name only, of course. And twelve of those belonged to Isaac Royall, Jr. They were Joseph, Quato, Keby, Peter, Abraham, Cooper, Steffie, George, Hagar, Myra, Nancy and Betsy. And it was about in his mature years, this is a portrait of Isaac Royall, Jr., painted by Copley, that Charles Brooks the historian in 1855 wrote a description. He said:

No house in the colony was more open to friends, no gentleman gave better dinners, or drank costlier wines. As a master, he was kind to his slaves, charitable to the poor, and friendly to everybody. He kept a daily journal, minutely descriptive of every visitor, topic, incident, and even descending to recording what slippers he wore, and how much tar water he drank (I don't know what tar water is), and when he went to bed.

Of course, we historians would kill for such a diary today and there is some thought that he took

it with him to England and I have, in fact, put out some feelers in England without any success yet. Isaac Royall served in the General Court. He was a responsible, prominent citizen of Medford, and then, later, for twenty years, he was a member of the Governor's Council, which was a very prestigious elected office, and was supposed to be open only to merchants. In 1775, as most of you must know, Isaac Royall, being a royalist, or possibly being very timed, decided to leave Boston. He hoped to go back to Antiqua, but he found himself unable to go there directly. He went to Halifax, Nova Scotia, where he stayed for a year and then he went to England.

For loyalists like this, the estates that they left behind them were often treated as though they had died and the probate court was responsible for dividing up among the heirs, the assets. At this time, an inventory of his estate was taken and someone was appointed to be an administrator of the estate, in this case, Dr. Simon Tufts of Medford. He rendered accounts of the doings of the estate and submitted them to the Judge of Probate. So, if anyone is interested in looking at these documents, you would go to, now the state archives and look at the probate records for Middlesex county which are there on file. So Simon Tufts and others did make an inventory of the estate., they sometimes sold the primary estate, but in this case, they didn't. They just sold off the furniture and the chariot and such for a total cost of 28351 pounds. They sold the farm in Foxboro which he must have acquired and they rented out this property. But isaac Royall wrote to Simon Tufts form England saying:

Please to sell the following negros:

Steven and George. They each cost 60 pounds sterling and I would take 50 pounds or even 15 a piece for them. Hagar cost 35 sterling, but I would take 30 for her. I gave for Myra 35 pounds, but I will take 25. If Mr. Benjamin Hall will give me the 100 dollars for her which he offered, he may have her, it being a good place. As to Betsy and her daughter, Nancy, the former may tarry and take her freedom as she may choose, and Nancy you may put out with some good family by the year.

In these accounts that Simon Tufts kept, there are occasionally references to expenses for negroes. Negro George died and there is reference to the expense to the sexton and bearers for his funeral, but then they sell his clothes so they make three pounds. There are references to buying shoes for negro servant and other clothes. You must all have heard of the famous petition of Belinda, which in 1783 one of Isaac Royall's former slaves presented to the general court. And it is a lengthy document. I think it is on the wall somewhere here. In any case, it says in part,

Fifty years, her faithful hands have been compelled to ignoble servitude for the benefit of Isaac Royall. The face of you petitioner is now marked with furrows of time, and her frame bending under the impression of years while she by the laws of the land is denied the enjoyment of one morsel of that immense wealth a part whereof accumulated by her own industry and the whole augmented by her servitude. Therefore, casting herself at the feet of your honors, she prays that such allowance may be made out of the estate to her and her more infirm daughter from misery in the greatest extreme and scatter comfort over the short and downward path of their lives.

I am wondering if Belinda was Betsy, according to these documents, because there is no Belinda listed in all those listings by name of the slaves. Well, Isaac Royall died in 1781 in England. He is buried in the county of Hampshire. Finally in 1804, the estate was sold and proceeds went to the children of one of his daughters, so his family did recoup some of their losses.

Now I'd like to talk a little bit about the documentary evidence with regard to the buildings on the property. In Isaac Royall's inventory of 1739, the one I have mentioned already several times, listed along with the contents of the house are the dwelling house, the out kitchen (this building here), pigeon house, corn house, coach house and stable, two old barns, one new barn, two old ditto (barns). In the inventory that was taken of Isaac Royall, Jr.'s estate which was in 1778, and this is a small detail of the Pelham map of the Boston area from 1777 in which Mr. Pelham, for the benefit of the English laid out all of the roads and fortresses and so on to help with the American Revolutionary struggle. But you see, the dark rectangle in the front, I assume

must be the house. I truly believe that the building to the left of that is the slave quarters in their current configuration on the outside, at least, and then the others are the various buildings associated with the farming operation. Isaac Royall's inventory says only that mansion house and all the buildings adjacent with gardens and yards are worth 6000 pounds. The farm belonging to the mansion house is worth 10,000 pounds. The inventory is just a fascinating document. It makes no references to negroes since they have been disposed of elsewhere, and it does not list contents room by room. It goes on for many pages and details the incredible wealth of the man and the estate value at that time was 50,700 pounds. But there is another description of the estate that was submitted by the husband of his daughter in ¹⁷⁸²1982 when he was trying to get his wife's inheritance restored. And I think if you look at this plan you may be able to imagine buildings that are references in the description of the estate. "Situated 5 miles from Boston, containing 636 acres of exceedingly good land in high cultivation. It has an elegant mansion house in complete repair when left and very well furnished. Every convenient out house and office, with stables and coach house, cow house, dove house. A large garden containing the best collection of fruit trees and plants of any in the province. Also 7 very neat and commodious tenements upon the premises. So that is the last documentary reference from the 18th century that I have discovered, and as you see, it does not mention the slave quarters specifically. However, in 1814, one of the next owners whose family held the property from 1810 until the 1860s. In 1814 he listed his property and this is taken from some research that was done by Radcliffe Seminar students back in the 1970s. One of them wrote down on a note card and kindly shared it with us a listing of the property of Jacob Tidd which was signed by him, himself, in 1814. She does not remember where it came from. I was not able to discover it in any of the various places that I did research, so I am offering a reward for the source of this document, because, as you see, it mentions the slave quarters for the first time. It lists the land, lots of ground with their improvements and dwelling house built in 1725 owned by Jacob Tidd on February 1st, 1814, being in the tenth district of Massachusetts in the town of Medford. One dwelling house situated on the west side of the old road from Boston to Medford village three stories high, built of brick and wood about 45 feet by 25 feet, an out house (and then it says in parentheses) slave quarters, partly brick and partly used for a wash house, etc. Because, of course

by then, there were no more slaves in Massachusetts, slavery having been outlawed here in 1781, two barns, 18 acres of land, about said house, being all the westerly side of the road, and various other property. It is signed by Jacob Tidd, and the value of his holdings was \$16,140 (by then we were dealing in dollars. There are several inventories relating to Jacob Tidd's probate documents which are in the Massachusetts Archives and what is particularly interesting is that they refer to all of the rooms that you would expect in the main house except the kitchen, but they both (the one for the dower's, the widow's rights and inventory of the estate list a keeping room in the main house, but they also list a kitchen chamber, so my supposition is that this out kitchen was still being used as the main kitchen at that time.

Now we are skipping to 1874 and the trail gets hotter, I think. Samuel Adams Drake wrote *Historic Fields and Mansions of Middlesex*. He devotes a large section to the Royall house. This is the earliest photograph that I know about of the building. It is a stereoptican view and, therefore, is likely from the 1870s also. This is the slave quarters, and as you can see, then the brick portion was whitewashed. But Samuel Drake, who did a lot of research and may even have looked at original documents in addition to reading Charles Brooks's history which came out in 1855. He said, "The brick quarters which the slaves occupied are situated on the south side of the mansion and front upon the courtyard, one side of which they enclose. These have remained unchanged and are, we believe, the last visible relics of slavery in New England." So at that time, there was physical evidence in the house that they were slave quarters, apparently. Other late 19th century views give you an idea of the building from various angles. They show that the upstairs of this building was used for storage in part. At least there is a great door to access the storage area above. They show that the doors that are here now were there before. There is another view that shows you that a little later there was another barn built directly opposite the garden front of the Royall House, but you see that the aspect of this building had not changed. Here it is from the other side. I don't know what that little triangular piece is up on the gable, perhaps it is a pigeon roost, or something. And you can see there are other activities around the site at that time, grape arbors and various things. Another view showing that same side and showing that the house is connected to this building by a one-story shed. This shows the fact that

the windows on that side were also not the same as they are now. And then, a couple of very good quality photographs from the 1880s taken by Wilfred French, one of our famous early historic photographers. This shows that there was, at first, an addition, on the south side of the building, as well, and then later it was removed.

Now I'd like to take you through the physical evidence that I found in the building that this is indeed an 18th century building. And the reasons that I think that both parts of the 18th century. First of all, there are good 18th century roof frames. This is old part, the brick part; a detail in the old part where you can see port and beam timber framing held together with pegs and with mortises and tenons, just what you would expect in the 18th century. This is the part above us and it is perfectly easy to tell when you are up there that that chimney is was added onto the chimney of the brick part. The timber framing in this room also is characteristic of the 18th century, although not the way it is painted and finished with plaster between the joists now, and I am sure that at that time, it wasn't. The chimney arch in the basement of the old part is perfectly typical of the 1730s. And then on the exterior, perhaps you can see that the walls on this side, which was the fancy side facing the mansion are laid up in Flemish bond, that is the headers and stretchers alternate in different rows in order to give a sort of diamond pattern to the brickwork, which was very fancy in those days. Our Otis House, in fact, is Flemish bond on all sides except the rear of the ell.

Now I want to tell you a little bit about the evolution of this building and this particular building site. And I should say that John Hooper who wrote an article about the slave quarters which he read to the Medford Historical Society in 1900 had it all figured out. Can you see this line in the brickwork, the kind of line that you wouldn't normally see in a brick wall? His contention, with which I agree, is that there was first a building right here, a small building, maybe 11 feet by 20 feet, and in fact, the foot print of the cellar down below this part matches that of the original building. There is no cellar under that end of the building. It was a one story structure. It had one brick end, and that brick end was incorporated into the new out kitchen, which I believe was built in the 1730s. Her is a detail where you can see that this is just not the kind of thing that you usually find in a brick wall. It is pretty obvious, I think. The building that existed here before

the brick part was built was subsequently torn down and this quite lengthy wooden part was build, and I believe it was built sometime after maybe 1740, and certainly before 1777. I think it is shown quite clearly in the plans that Pelham made. They added onto the chimney in this part, this part of the addition, and when they got to the chimney stack outside of the roof, they built up together the two chimneys. The left hand part is the old part and the right hand part is the added chimney, and then they topped it off with brickwork combining the two sets of flues, which I think is pretty clear still, as well.

The Royall House Association, another confirming bit of evidence, was established in 1905, and as the by-laws say, for the purpose of acquiring the colonial residence of Col. Isaac Royall _____ with the slave quarters, so it was pretty well in people's minds by that point that these were the slave quarters. The Royall House Association undertook remodelling and one thing that they did was to redo the fireplace in that room. It had probably already been subject to remodelling for various reasons of efficiency or changing use, but what they did to it is to make it look older when they restored it, and so that great chimney lintel is not from the 1730s, it is from the early 20th century. The problem is that we can't any longer read the evidence that was here before the restoration and they didn't as far as I know leave written records to tell us (I think I would also offer a reward for those), nor do we know who did the work, although Charles Dunham is mentioned as an architect who worked on the restoration in 1917. We know that Joseph Chandler was involved in the restoration of the house, but I frankly think that he might have been more authentic than this work here.

The best evidence, I believe, for what the house was like before the restoration comes from the Historic American Building Survey drawings that were made of the slave quarters in the 1930s. That is to say not long after the remodelling had occurred, and probably someone told them what the room was like before. I don't know if you can read, but it says the hall was divided originally into three rooms for slave families. And then along the dotted lines which are beams it says partition here originally. That would have been there, back there, which you will be able to examine when the lights come on. But to my mind the most compelling evidence that this

building was, in fact slave quarters was the doors on the courtyard side. With door steps and framing made specifically to accommodate these doors. There they are the doors on this side of the building, just to remind you. In this room, you see how the vertical darkened studs are not evenly spaced? There is a wide spacing so that there was intended to be a door there originally, also in the next bay. I am not so sure about the door in the far end, because that door does not seem to fit the original studs, but it may have been made to accommodate the shed that connected the building with the house in the beginning. But for the other, I just think that they were intended originally to be that way, and at first I balked at the idea that there was a fireplace in this room, but the other two rooms in this space were not heated. But I now believe that this was the case, that some of the slaves slept in unheated rooms. And I really can think of no other reason in a farm building to have so many doors. Caribbean?

Just a word about the south, you may have seen illustrations like this one that show rows of one story slave quarters. These are common even today in the South. But according to Ed Chappell, who is the director of architectural research at Colonial Williamsburg, these individual units are characteristic of the 19th century. In the 18th century, slaves were often housed in buildings that accommodated other uses as well, like this one, and he said that you find this kind of an arrangement often in Charleston, South Carolina. Here, for example, is a combination slave quarters and summer kitchen at Arlington House in Arlington County, Virginia, built in 1818, and here is the plan, on which one side says quarters and the other side says summer kitchen.

My conclusions based on all the evidence that I have examined is that this building was used as slave quarters. The reasons, as follows, to reiterate:

There were too many slaves who lived here to be accommodated in the house or in other named buildings on the property.

Because of the probable use of the term slave quarters in the 1814 document. It is in

parentheses, so that there is a possibility that the researcher could have added it herself, but it seems unlikely.

By the fact that Samuel Adams Drake, a thorough historian, found them to be such in 1874 when, as he says, they had remained unchanged.

And then the notations on the HABS drawings which must have been based on evidence that people gave them that this was, in fact, divided into three rooms, I think is confirming evidence.

I would like to close by introducing you briefly to the slave quarters at Carter's Grove at colonial Williamsburg, where I had the opportunity to visit recently. They, but the way, did not have the buildings. Archaeology and examination of comparable sites in the South suggested how to recreate the quarters. You, of course, have the building, and with the promise of archaeology soon, you will know even more about the use of the building. I found the experience of the slave quarters at Carter's Grove exceedingly powerful. Costumed interpreters, sometimes in character, and sometimes stepping out of character to explain things, depict the life of the slaves. I was almost moved to tears by this, I have to say.

I look forward to following the development of the interpretation of the Royall House slave quarters. They are a unique and profoundly significant relic of the horrible institution of slavery in the North. Thank you.