

Selected Persons of Color in Chautauqua County NY, 1850 - 1855

By Douglas H. Shepard, 2017

The numbers of persons of color in Chautauqua County NY as shown on a table on the 1854 county map (Collins G. Keeney, Philadelphia, 1854) are probably too low, because the table on the map was based upon the United States Census of 1850.

Population in parts of the county had nearly doubled by 1855, because (1) the New York and Erie Railroad had opened in 1851 from Dunkirk (Pomfret) to New York City, (2) the Buffalo and State Line Railroad had extended by 1852 from Dunkirk to Erie PA, and (3) the Buffalo and State Line Railroad had opened in 1853 from Dunkirk to Buffalo NY.

Particularly in the north county, the railroads and their related commerce suddenly provided more jobs, quickly rendering the 1850 Census out of date. Therefore, the following listings of persons of color are extracted from both the 1850 Census and from the New York State Census of 1855. Years of birth are estimated within two years unless otherwise noted.

A confirmed Underground Railroad stationmaster in this list is Catherine Dickes **Harris** in the Town of Ellicott. A confirmed Underground Railroad conductor in this list is John **Little** in the Towns of Pomfret and in the Town of Arkwright.

Town of Busti (33 persons of color listed on the 1854 map)

The table in the top margin of the 1854 map of Chautauqua County NY listed 33 persons of color in the Town of Busti. The table was based upon the 1850 census, which basically agreed with the totals shown on the 1854 map.

The 1850 census listed the following persons of color as heads of household in Busti: Perry **Johnson** (1800 - 1853), Augustus **Lord** (b. 1819), William **Storum**, Sr. (1788 - 1874), and Exeter Gaylord (**Woodward**) **Woodard**, Sr. (1799 - 1881). Their respective families were listed in those households.

Some members of those families had left Busti before the 1855 census, but that year, the government listed Isaiah (Isair) **Hammick** (1795 - 1883) and Lebbeus B. **Wright** (b. 1804) as two additional heads of African American and/or Native American households in Busti.

The Perry **Johnson** household (4 persons of color listed in the 1850 census)

The Perry **Johnson** family as listed in 1850 consisted of Perry, Martha **Johnson** (1805 - 1853), Mary **Johnson**, (1833 - 1855), and Anna **Johnson** (1842 - 1855). Perry was born in Pennsylvania. In 1833, he purchased 50 acres in Lot 44 in Busti from the Holland Land Company for \$112.50. He was listed in the 1840 census as a "Free Colored Person." Martha and Mary were listed in 1840 as well, but not with names, and not with exact ages. Another daughter, Martha H. **Johnson** (1831 - 1840) had just died.

After the deaths of their parents, Perry's daughters Mary and Anna had gone to the nearby town of Ellicott, where they were listed for the 1855 census in the family of widow M. P. **Harris**. However, Mary and Anna died that same year. Perry, his wife, and his three daughters were

buried in the Wellman Cemetery on Wellman Road in Busti. Their home was shown as the P. **Johnson** Estate on the 1854 county map.

The Augustus **Lord** household (7 persons of color listed in the 1850 census)

The Augustus **Lord** family as listed in 1850 consisted of Augustus, Sarah Ann **Pero Lord** (*b. 1823*), Ellen **Lord** (*b. 1843*), Laura **Lord** (*b. 1844*), Richard **Lord** (*b. 1847*), (Sarah) Emeline **Lord** (*b. 1849*), and Augustus' father-in-law Laban **Pero** (*b. 1790*). Augustus was born in Pennsylvania and his wife Sarah was born in Iowa. Sarah's father Laban **Pero** (*1790 - 1870*) was described in the 1850 census as Indian, born in Rhode Island. The **Lord/Pero** household was shown on the 1854 county map in Lot 19.

Laban **Pero's** wife Polly is of unknown origin and lifespan. In addition to Sarah Ann, other recorded children of Laban and Polly seem to have been William **Pero** (*1826 - 1907*), and Emory **Pero** (*b. 1827*), but there was very likely at least one other child with no known dates. For the 1820 census, Laban had been listed in Steubenville (Jefferson County) OH with his wife, and five children of unknown relationship.

For the 1830 census, Laban was listed in Busti without his wife but possibly with three sons under age 23 and two daughters under age 23. In 1840, Laban was listed possibly with two sons under age 23 and at least two daughters under 23. Sarah had probably left the household shortly thereafter to marry Augustus **Lord**.

Augustus was described in the census as a barber. He may have begun a second family after the death of his wife Sarah, because the 1880 census listed Augustus in LaPorte IN, and the household consisted of Hannah **Lord** (*b. 1839*), Hattie **Hubbard** (*b. 1858*), Lottie **Reeves** (*b. 1861*), Ford **Lord** (*b. 1860*), Chas. **Lord** (*b. 1863*), and Albert **Hubbard** (*b. 1879*). However, Laban **Pero** had remained in Busti, and for the 1860 census, he was listed there by himself. At the time of the 1865 census, Laban was still living in Busti with his son Emory.

The William Storum, Sr. household (9 persons of color listed in the 1850 census)

The William **Storum**, Sr. family as listed on the farm in 1850 were: William, Sarah "Sally" **Gomer Storum** (*1791 - 1856*), William (Henry) **Storum**, Jr. (*1815 - 1887*), Julia (Juliet) **Storum** (*1820 - 1885*), Sarah (Marinda) **Storum** (*1825 - 1904*), Richard (Alexander) **Storum** (*1838 - 1857*), Lewis **Clark** (*b. 1815*), David **Smith** (*b. 1831*), and Sidney **Wells** (*b. 1810*).

William was a son of Charles **Storum**, Sr. (*1751-1843*) and Mary Ann (Polly) **Fowler Storum** (*1749-1805*). An account of Charles **Storum's** origins, derived from his application for his Revolutionary War pension, stated that he was the "son of an African slave and a Native American woman [both unnamed]."

William's brothers of record were Samuel **Storum**, Sr. (*1784-1853*), Charles **Storum**, Jr. (*b.1786*), and John **Storum** (*1793-1870*). William's wife Sally was from Whitestown (Oneida County) NY. They were married about 1814. Their children of record in addition to William, Jr., Julia, Sarah, and Richard included Caroline Elizabeth **Storum Loguen** (*1817-1867*) (wife of

Rev. J. W. Loguen), Catherine **Storum Clark(e)** (1822-1850) (wife of Lewis G. **Clarke**), and Edward Lloyd Garrison **Storum** (b. 1825).

In 1836, William purchased 100 acres "just east of John **Broadhead's** land in Lot 18." The farm was shown in the name of W. **Storum** on the 1854 county map. In 1841, William, Thomas **Danforth**, and nine other men purchased 2 acres in downtown Busti "at the center of the roads where they cross at the Meeting House."

Also in 1841, William went with J. **Harris**, also from Chautauqua County, to the New York Convention of Colored Citizens held in Troy NY. They were appointed there to represent Chautauqua County. Several persons who had escaped from slavery, including Harrison **Williams** (William **Harrison**) worked from time to time at the **Storum** farm in Busti.

William's granddaughter Amelia **Loguen** married Lewis Henry **Douglass** (1840 - 1908), a Civil War veteran and a son of former slave and abolitionist Frederick **Douglass** (1818 - 1895) and his wife Anna **Murray-Douglass** (1820 - 1882). Anna was an Underground Railroad station keeper and a daughter of freed slaves.

Lewis Garrard **Clark(e)** (1815 - 1897) was a son of Daniel **Clarke** (1755-1825) and Letitia **Campbell Clarke** (1780-1833). His siblings were Archy **Clarke** (b.1802), Christiana **Clarke** (b.1804), Dennis **Clarke** (b.1806), Alexander **Clarke** (b.1808), Delia **Clarke** (1812-1840), John Milton **Clarke** (1820-1901), Manda **Clarke** (1822-1838), and Cyrus **Clarke** (1824-1882).

Lewis escaped from slavery in August 1841, made his way to Canada, and then returned to the United States. After helping his brother Cyrus escape from slavery in Kentucky, Lewis and his brother Milton traveled around the northern states, lecturing on their experiences. They were in Madison (Lake County) OH when Milton was almost forced to return to slavery.

Following a narrow escape, Lewis began writing *Narrative of Sufferings*, where he said, "We remained but a short time after this in Ohio. I spent a few days in New York, found there a great many warm friends, and in the autumn of 1843 [*sic* 1842] I came to old Massachusetts." In 1849 Lewis moved to Busti.

After marrying Catherine **Storum**, Lewis lived for a while with her father William **Storum**, Sr. and family. He remained involved in Underground Railroad activities. In October 1851, slave catchers who had arrived at the **Storum** farm to retrieve several former slaves from Virginia seemed also to have known that Lewis was there. Once again, he narrowly escaped, but Harrison **Williams** (William **Harrison**), one of the refugees from Virginia, was recaptured and returned to slavery.

The Exeter **Woodard**, Sr. household (12 persons of color listed in 1850)

The Exeter Gaylord **Woodard**, Sr. family consisted of Exeter, Hannah **Swan Woodard** (b. 1799), Mary **Woodard** (b. 1825), Calvin **Woodard** (b. 1828), Cordelia **Woodard** (b. 1830), Warren **Woodard** (b. 1833), Laura **Woodard** (1836 - 1920), Perry **Woodard** (b. 1837), Roxy **Woodard** (b. 1839), Chloe **Woodward** (b. 1841), Eliza **Woodard** (b. 1843), and Exeter **Woodard**, Jr. (1843 - 1926).

Since other records differ, Calvin may have gone by the name of Herman or may have had a twin by that name. Chloe may have gone by the name of Christianna or may have had a twin by that

name. Exeter was born in Weathersfield VT, and his father was Daniel **Woodard**. In 1822, Exeter married Hannah, who was born in Northfield MA.

They moved to Busti about 1833 and were recorded in the 1840 census with two male children and two female children under age 10, and two young men and three young women under age 23. For the 1855 census, Exeter was listed as a farmer and Hannah as a "tailoress." Laura, Perry, Roxy, Christianna, and Elizabeth were the remaining children in the household at that time.

By 1870, Exeter and Hannah had moved to Columbus (Warren County) PA. With them were son Perry, their daughter Cordelia **Wallace**, and Cordelia's daughter Hannah **Wallace** (*b. 1850*). Exeter's and Hannah's daughter Laura had married Samuel **Storum**, son of William, Sr., and they lived in nearby Glade (Warren County) PA.

Exeter's and Hannah's son Exeter, Jr. was mustered into the 3rd Rgt., U. S. Colored Infantry, Co. K as a substitute on 28 March 1865, and was mustered out the following October. His death certificate from Bradford (McKean County) PA listed him as a "Doctor and Indian."

The Isaiah (Isair) **Hammick** Household (3 persons of color in 1855)

According to the 1855 census, the Isaiah (**Hammock** or **Hammack**) **Hammick** family consisted of Isair, his wife Susan (*b. 1799*), and their widowed daughter-in-law Henrietta **Hammick** (*b. 1819*), a "tailoress." Isaiah and Susan both stated that they had been residents of Busti for six years, and their home was shown on the 1854 county map, so it is presently unknown why they were not included in the 1850 census.

Isaiah was born in Connecticut. In 1849, Nicholas **Kessler** of Westfield (Chautauqua County) NY had sold 64 acres in Lot 31 in Busti to Joseph T. **Hammick** for \$1897.50. The relationship between Joseph and Isaiah is not clear at this writing, but in 1856, they traded some lands in Lot 31, even though neither has been found in subsequent records for the town at this writing.

The Lebbeus B. **Wright** household (possibly 2 persons of color in 1855)

The Lebbeus B. **Wright** family as listed in the 1855 census consisted of Lebbeus, his father Jacob **Wright** (*b. 1773*), and their niece Phebe Jane **Wright** (*b. 1835*). The census taker marked Lebbeus and Jacob as "mulatto." However, neither Jacob nor Lebbeus was listed as "black" or "mulatto" for the 1850 census, when Jacob's wife Sarah (*b. 1775*) was still in the household. Only Lebbeus and Jane were listed in the 1860 census, and again, neither was listed as "black" or "mulatto."

Lebbeus was born in Livingston County NY, and Jacob was born in Connecticut. Another possible member of the family was Johnson **Wright** (*1794 - 1868*), who was born in Livingston County and settled in Busti by 1840. In 1841, Lebbeus purchased land in Lot 20 in Busti, and his home was shown there on the 1854 county map.

Town of Ellicott (55 persons of color listed on the 1854 map)

A table in the top margin of the 1854 map of Chautauqua County NY listed 55 persons of color in the Town of Ellicott. However, the table was stated to have been based upon the 1850 census, which basically agreed with the totals shown on the map but was four years out of date. Therefore, an examination of both the 1850 census and the 1855 census gives a clearer picture of persons of color in Ellicott at the time of the 1854 map.

The 1850 census listed the following persons of color as individuals or heads of households in Ellicott: Joseph **Dean** (*b. 1825*), Anthony **Harris** (*b. 1800*), Catherine **Dickes Harris** (*1809 - 1907*), Zalman **Hollister** (*b. 1804*), Harry **King** (*b. between 1815 and 1821*), Joseph **Murphy** (*b. 1801*), Thomas A. **Smith** (*b. 1794*), James **Snowden** (*b. 1822*), John **Sweezer** (*b. 1800*), Joseph **Taylor** (*b. 1822*), and Johnson **Wright** (*b. 1810*).

Listed as persons of color in otherwise white households in 1850 were Leonora **Barker** (*b. 1841*), Harriet **Butler** (*b. 1829*), and Joseph **Warmesley** (*b. 1817*).

Some persons of color had left Ellicott by 1855, and others had arrived. The additional persons of color listed as individuals or heads of households in 1855 Ellicott were: S. P. **Brown** (*b. 1831*), Mary **Davis** (*b. between 1790 and 1800*), E. B. **Hinston** (*b. 1832*), Wade **Hamilton** (*b. 1815*), and Richard **Sweezer** (*b. 1795*).

Listed as persons of color living alone or in white establishments or households in 1855 were Jeannie (Jeanie) **Russell** (*b. 1836*), Ellen **Taylor** (*b. 1836*), and Robert **Townsend** (*b. 1840*).

The Joseph **Dean** household (1 person of color listed in the 1850 census)

Joseph **Dean** was listed as a barber in the hotel of John Warren **Fletcher**, a white man. No other persons of color were listed in the hotel roster in the 1850 census. **Dean** was not listed in the 1855 Jamestown census, when **Fletcher** was listed as a printer, not a hotel keeper. **Fletcher** was a son of the newspaper publisher Adolphus **Fletcher**. Nothing further is known about **Dean** at this writing.

The Anthony **Harris** household (8 persons of color listed in the 1850 census)

Anthony **Harris** was a barber. He was born in RI and was listed in the Ellicott census as early as 1840, with a family consisting of his wife Mary (M. P.) Woodard **Harris** (*b. 1804*), who was born in VT., and three sons and five daughters. The 1850 census listed him with his wife Mary and their children Henry (*b. 1832*), Jane (*b. 1834*), Ann (*b. 1836*), Charles (*b. 1838*), Mary (*b. 1839*), and Laura (*b. 1841*). Another daughter Martha Woodard **Harris** (*1830 - 1914*), had married James **Snowden**.

By 1855, Anthony was no longer listed. His widow Mary was listed as the head of the household, which also included her children Ann, Charles, and Laura. Also in the household were Mary **Johnson** (*b. 1833*), who was listed as a niece born in Albany, and Anna **Johnson** (*b. 1842*), who was listed as a niece born in Chautauqua. Both Mary **Johnson** and Anna **Johnson** had lost their family, and they themselves died later in 1855.

The Catherine **Dickes Harris** household (5 persons of color listed in the 1850 census)

The Catherine **Harris** household in 1850 consisted of Catherine, her daughter Mariah **Butler** (*b. 1829*), Catherine's brother-in-law William **Harris** (*b. 1808*), Catherine's mother-in-law Rachel **Harris** (*b. 1773*), and Rachel's granddaughter Adaline **Harris** (*b. 1835*). In 1855, Catherine was listed in the household with William **Harris**, who was identified as a laborer. Rachel and Adaline were listed in a separate household in the same building.

William was named for his father William **Harris**, Sr.. The elder William had been listed with his wife Rachel **Brussels Harris** in the nearby Town of Busti for the 1830 census. Rachel's son John was Catherine's second husband. According to an interview that Catherine gave for the

Jamestown *Evening Journal* (3 May 1902), John **Harris** died about 1852. However, he was not listed in the household in either 1850 or 1855.

John and Catherine may have had least one child, the barber Wilson H. **Harris** (1834 - 1913), who was buried in the Cassadaga Cemetery in Chautauqua County. Also buried there was Wilson's wife, the hairdresser Mary A. **Harris** (1830 - 1911). Apparently however, neither Wilson nor Mary was listed as a survivor in Catherine's 13 February 1907 obituary in the Jamestown *Evening Journal*.

Catherine told her interviewer in 1902 that she had been born near Meadville PA on 10 June, 1809, and that her father was a person of color, her mother white. Other sources identify her mother as "Dutch," which probably meant German. Catherine said that her father had died in Meadville by 1816.

Catherine said that she married a man named **Butler** in 1828 and moved to Buffalo NY, where **Butler** died. Catherine then explained that she and young Mariah arrived in Jamestown about 1831, the first persons of color in the city. According to her interview, she worked as a "wash woman" and "house cleaner" for several white families in the city. She said that walking on the early muddy streets of the city was very difficult, and that "the colored person" was treated as chattel. According to her funeral notice in 1907, Catherine also served as a nurse and/or governess in Jamestown's prominent **Marvin** family.

Following her move to Jamestown, Catherine soon had other persons of color as neighbors, some of whom were refugees from slavery. They were afraid of being recaptured, and free persons of color were also afraid, for fear of being kidnapped into slavery. Because of these circumstances, Catherine said, some people felt compelled to move a great deal, never staying long in one place.

Among Catherine's many recollections that she discussed with her interviewer were the Fugitive Slave Law, the abolitionist movement, a city divided over the issue of slavery, and the Civil War. She also spoke of "the great and noble Lincoln." Catherine herself was an active participant in the Underground Railroad, because local (white) "conductors" left scores of "passengers" with her, expecting her to feed and house them until they were picked up by the next conductor.

Catherine was a founder of Jamestown's African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) church, and for a time, services were reputedly held in her home. The house served later as the parsonage, according to some sources. Catherine died in February 1907 of pneumonia just a few hours after her daughter Mariah had succumbed to the same illness. They were both buried in the Lakeview Cemetery, not far from their longtime home.

The Zalman **Hollister** household (6 persons of color listed in the 1850 census)

Zalman **Hollister** acquired a large parcel of land in Ellicott in 1848, and he was listed there for the 1850 census with his wife Nancy (b. 1805), Chester **Hollister** (b. 1837), William **Hollister** (b. 1839), Warner (Warren) **Hollister** (b. 1841), and Asa and Asel **Hollister** (b. 1844). Also in the household was Robert **Wright** (b. 1824). Nancy's place of birth was given as Maine. She and Robert **Wright** were not listed as persons of color.

According to the 1855 census, **Hollister** was born in Madison County. His daughter Rachel **Wright** (b. 1824) was listed as born in Livingston County. The children Chester, William,

Warren, Asabel, and Asahael were also listed in 1855, along with granddaughter Nancy A. **Harris** (*age 1*).

Zalman **Hollister** owned land in Jamestown by 1858, when at least a portion of it was sold for Lake View Cemetery purposes. His land was a part of Lot 35 in Township 2 of Range 11, and it sold for \$700. He and his family were no longer listed in the area for the 1860 census.

The Harry **King** household (4 persons of color listed in the 1850 census)

Harry **King** was a laborer born in VA. According to the 1850 census, his household included Melissa **King** (*age 15*) as born in NY, Francis **King** (*20*) as a laborer born in PA, and William **Tamm** (*23*) as an engineer born in VA. For the 1855 census, Harry and Melissa were living in the household of Wade **Hamilton**, who may have been Melissa's father. The home at that time was two doors away from Catherine **Harris**. According to an interview that she gave in 1902, Harry **King** was a refugee from slavery.

The Joseph **Murphy** household (4 persons of color listed in the 1850 census)

Joseph **Murphy** was born in Missouri. The 1850 census listed him as a laborer in Ellicott. The household consisted of **Murphy**, his wife Mary (*b. 1811*), John **Roush** (*b. 1821*), Loda **Roush** (*b. 1830*), and Harriet **Roush** (*b. 1843*). All were listed as persons of color except Harriet. Nothing further is known about either family at this writing.

The Thomas A. **Smith** household (6 persons of color listed in the 1850 census)

Thomas A. **Smith** was listed as a laborer born in MD. His wife Anna (*b. 1805*) was born in PA. The household in 1850 included Mary **Smith** (*b. 1834*), Frances **Smith** (*b. 1837*), Thomas **Smith** (*b. 1838*), and the blacksmith Henry **Wilson** (*b. 1820*), who was listed as a person of color born in NY. There is nothing further known about the family at this writing.

The James R. **Snowden** household (4 persons of color listed in the 1850 census)

James R. **Snowden** was a barber, reportedly born in PA. He married Martha Woodard **Harris**. Two other people in their 1850 household were Harriet **Bucks** (*b. 1822*), who was perhaps a sister of James, and Victoria **Bucks** (*b. 1841*). The family lived next door to Martha's parents Anthony and Mary **Harris**.

The 1855 census listed the ages of James and Martha as 30 and 25, respectively. Also in the household were a son Frederick T. **Snowden** (*b. 1851*), a daughter Ida F. **Snowden** (*b. 1854*), a nephew Robert **Smith** (*b. 1838*), and a friend Lanora **Conover** (*b. 1836*). James said that he had been in the area for 6 years, and Martha for 11 years. The family continued to reside in Ellicott at least through the time of the 1875 census.

The John **Sweezer** household (2 persons of color listed in the 1850 census)

It is possible that John (**Swezer**) **Sweezer**, listed as 50 years of age in 1850, is the same person as Richard **Sweezer**, listed as 60 years of age in 1855, if it may be assumed that Richard **Sumser**, listed at an age between 36 and 54 in the 1840 census is also the same person. However, it is also possible that Richard and John were brothers, married at different times to the same woman, perhaps following the death of John.

The 1850 and 1855 censuses listed both families in the same sequence with other families, indicating that wife Ann **Sweezer** (*b. 1805*) was in the same home at least during those years. The 1840 census had listed a woman between the ages of 36 and 54 in the household, and a daughter under age 10. The 1860 census did not list the **Sweezer** family. Nothing further is known at this writing, except that according to an interview that Catherine **Harris** gave in 1902, Richard **Sweezer** and/or his wife were refugees from slavery.

The Joseph **Taylor** household (6 persons of color listed in the 1850 census)

Joseph **Taylor** was born in VA. He and his wife Frances (*b. 1831*) were listed in the 1850 census with their daughter Emily (*b. 1840*). Also in the household were John **Hamilton** (*b. 1810*), his wife Ann (*b. 1811*), and their son William (*b. 1841*). John **Hamilton** was also born in VA. The two families had not been listed in 1840, and only the **Taylor** family was listed in 1855. It is not known how Ellen **Taylor** may have been related to this family, or how Wade **Hamilton** may have been related to John **Hamilton**. Nothing further is known about either family at this writing.

The Johnson **Wright** household (6 persons of color listed in the 1850 census)

Johnson **Wright** was listed in the 1850 census as a barber. With him were Sally **Wright** (*b. 1816*), Ann **Wright** (*b. 1841*), William **Wright** (*b. 1845*), Mary **Wright** (*b. 1847*), and Harry **Wright** (*b. 1849*). At the time, they were living near the families of Catherine **Harris**, Joseph **Taylor**, John **Sweezer**, and the **Hollisters**.

This was probably the same Johnson **Wright** family listed in the 1840 census in the nearby Town of Busti, where they were listed as a man in his late twenties or early thirties, a woman in her late twenties or early thirties, and a girl under ten.

For the 1855 census, Johnson **Wright** was listed as a barber, but with a birth year about 1797. Sally's listed age in 1855 gave a birth year about 1811, and Ann's about 1843. William's and Mary's listed ages gave birth years about the same as the 1850 census, but the child Harry **Wright** listed in 1850 was probably the 5-year-old Richard H. **Wright** listed in 1855 along with 1-year-old Eva **Wright**. According to the 1855 census, **Wright** and his family had been in the Town of Ellicott for only eleven years, and Ann had been born in Warren PA.

An Ellicott town clerk's register of men who served in the Civil War listed Johnson **Wright** as having been born in Livingston County, a son of John **Wright** and Jane **Williams**. On 14 January 1863, Johnson **Wright** enlisted in Jamestown, where he was living at the time. According to the town clerk registry, he was a member of the 31st NY Colored Regiment, Co. A, where he attained the rank of Sergeant Major. However, another database gives his rank as a private.

The 1865 census for Jamestown listed Johnson **Wright** again, but his listed age gave a birth year of 1794. Sally's listed age gave a birth year of 1811 again, and Ann's about 1842. Ann was listed as Ann E. **Conover**, and also in the family was an infant grandson named **Conover**. The next year, Johnson and Sally **Wright** purchased two acres at the southwest corner of the William **Root** farm in Lot 54 of Township 1 and Range 11, the Town of Busti.

Lenora **Barker** (1 person of color listed in the 1850 census)

In the 1850 census for Ellicott, Lenora **Barker** was listed as a person of color in the white household of Marcus (Mack) S. **Cook** (*b. 1823*) and his wife Elizabeth (Eliza) **Cook** (*b. 1825*). In 1860, **Cook** was listed as a "master turner," residing with his wife and two children in the nearby town of Portland, but Lenora was no longer listed there or elsewhere in the county. She had not been listed in the 1855 census for Chautauqua County either, and nothing further is known about her at this writing.

Harriet **Butler** (1 person of color listed in the 1850 census)

Nothing further is known at this writing about Harriet (Harriet) **Butler** (**Butter**), although she was living in 1850 with the white family of the wealthy judge Richard Pratt **Marvin**, who went on to become the area's armed forces recruiter during the Civil War. Since the first husband of Catherine **Dyckes Butler Harris** had the surname of **Butler**, and since Catherine **Harris** was a member of the servant class closely associated with the **Marvin** family, it is highly probable that Harriet **Butler** may have been Catherine's daughter or at least a close relative.

Joseph **Warmesley** (1 person of color listed in the 1850 census)

Joseph **Warmesley** was listed as a farmer in the 1850 census. He was residing in the white household of the farmer Stephen **Philips** (*b. 1803*). Others in the **Philips** family were Prudence **Philips** (*b. 1811*), George **Philips** (*b. 1831*) listed as a farmer, Hiram **Philips** (*b. 1833*) listed as a farmer, Nancy **Philips** (*b. 1834*), Annis **Philips** (*b. 1835*), and Lyman **Philips** (*b. 1839*). Although the **Philips** family seems to have been recorded in the nearby Town of Busti for the 1840 census, neither the **Philips** family nor **Warmesley** was listed in the 1855 county census at all.

The S. P. **Brown** household (3 persons of color listed in 1855)

S. P. **Brown** was listed as a person of color in the Town of **Ellicott** (Chautauqua County) NY in the 1855 census. He was a barber, living with his wife Jane (*b. 1835*) and daughter Ophelia (*b. 1853*). The family was not listed in the census of 1860, and nothing further is known about him at this writing.

Mary **Davis** (3 persons of color in 1855)

Mary **Davis** was born in Schoharie County NY. In 1840, she may have been included in the Jamestown (Chautauqua County) NY household of James **Davis** (*b. 1780*), who was born in England. There were also a young man, a young woman, a boy, and a girl in the household at that time. In 1850, the James **Davis** family was listed with his wife Mary at age 59, son Thomas at age 23, and daughter Hannah at age 20.

The 1855 census listed Mary as a widow at age 62, and as a person of color. Her daughter Hannah **Hoyt** was listed at age 25, and Hannah's husband Shelden **Hoyt** was listed as a stage driver at age 36. A child Ernest **Hoyt** was listed at age 5. In 1860, Mary was listed at age 66, and she was designated as "Indian" and living alone. The **Hoyt** family lived nearby and consisted of Hannah, Shelden, and Ernest.

The two families lived between Pine and Spring Streets, and between 7th and 8th Streets. Their home was possibly shown as that of S. **Davis** in Lot 27 of Block 58 on the 1856 map of Jamestown. For the 1870 census, Mary was listed at age 70, and she stated that she had had five children.

The Wade **Hamilton** household (7 persons of color listed in 1855)

The Wade **Hamilton** family lived two doors from Catherine **Harris**. He was listed in the 1855 census with his wife Hannah A. **Hamilton** (*b. 1807*), who was born in Albany. Also in the household were Melissa **King** (*b. 1835*), Harry **King** (*b. 1815*), and William **Wallace** (*b. 1837*). Additional persons of color in the household were engineer William **Tamm** (*b. 1832*) and laborer Francis **King** (*b. 1835*). It is not known at this writing how Wade **Hamilton** may have been related to John **Hamilton**, who was in the Joseph **Taylor** household in 1850. According to an interview given by Catherine Harris in 1902, Wade **Hamilton** was a refugee from slavery.

E. B. **Hinston** (1 person of color listed in 1855)

E. B. **Hinston** was listed as a musician living at the inn of Nathaniel **Eddy** (*b. 1805*), a white resident of Jamestown who had signed an anti-slavery petition in 1844. There is nothing further known about **Hinston** at this writing.

Jeanie (Jeannie) **Russell** (1 person of color listed in 1855)

Jeanie **Russell** was listed as a helper in the hotel of Ephraim E. **Eddy** in 1855. She had been in the area only one year, and she was not listed in the local census before or after. Nothing further is known about her at this writing.

Ellen **Taylor** (1 person of color listed in 1855)

Ellen **Taylor** was born in PA, and she stated for the 1855 census that she had been in Ellicott for ten years. She was listed as a boarder at the Ephraim E. **Eddy** hotel. However, she did not seem to appear in the census of 1850, and was not listed in 1860. Nothing further is known about her at this writing.

Robert **Townsend** (1 person of color listed in 1855)

In 1855, Robert **Townsend** was listed as a person of color in the Town of Ellicott household of the white family of John **Hegeman** (*b. 1815*). Also in the household were Elisabeth **Hegeman** (*b. 1823*), Joseph **Hegeman** (*b. 1847*), and Albert **Hegeman** (*b. 1850*). According to a much later census, **Townsend** was born on Long Island, and his parents in Connecticut.

Although **Townsend** was listed only as Robert in 1855, he had appeared as Robert **Townsend** in the 1850 census, where he was living with the same **Hegeman** family in North Hempstead (Queens) NY. Another person of color in the **Hegeman** household at that time was Jas. **Henny** (*b. 1777*).

In 1860, **Townsend** was still in Ellicott, listed as a laborer in the white household of Henry C. **Flagg** (*b. 1812*). Also in that family were Olivia A. **Flagg** (*b. 1816*), Mary **Flagg** (*b. 1844*), Martha **Flagg** (*b. 1846*), Henry P. **Flagg** (*b. 1850*), Eliza **Flagg** (*b. 1853*), Mary **Raymond** (*b. 1830*), and Moses P. **Raymond** (*b. 1858*).

Townsend was listed again in Ellicott in 1865, but in the white household of the lumberman Charles H. **Ames** (*b. 1829*). Also in the household were Ella **Ames** (*b. 1834*), Thomas N. **Ames** (*b. 1852*), Frank **Ames** (*b. 1854*), Georgiana B. **Ames** (*b. 1858*), Frederick W. **Ames** (*b. 1862*), Augusta **Sandberg** (*b. 1843*), Harriet **Lumberg** (*b. 1845*), Jennie A. **Sawyer** (*b. 1840*), and Charles N. **Sawyer** (*b. 1857*).

The 1879 directory for the City of Jamestown in Ellicott listed **Townsend** as a laborer living at 2 *Fulton Street*. Also, at the time of the 1880 census, **Townsend** was listed as a gardener, boarding in the family of Edward **Storum** (*b. circa 1840*) at 2 *Fulton Street*. **Storum** was also listed as a person of color and also as a gardener. Additional persons in his household were Addie **Storum** (*b. 1856*) and Gertrude **Storum** (*b. 1867*). The 1901 directory for Jamestown listed Robert **Townsend** as a carpet cleaner residing at 839 *Main Street*.

Town of Pomfret (15 persons of color listed on the 1854 map)

The table in the top margin of the 1854 map of Chautauqua County NY listed 15 persons of color in the Town of Pomfret. The table was based upon the 1850 census, which basically agreed with the totals shown on the 1854 map. In the 1850s, today's Pomfret extended all the way to Lake Erie, including not just today's Village of Fredonia, but also today's Town and City of Dunkirk.

The 1850 census listed the following persons of color as heads of households in Pomfret: William **Davis** (*b. 1805*), John **Little** (*b. 1805*), and Mary **Smith** (*b. 1805*). Also listed in 1850 was Ann **French** (*b. 1842*), an adopted daughter in an otherwise white family.

The 1855 census listed 47 persons of color in Pomfret, four of whom were crew members in the Lake Erie boating industry. Several families had moved to the town since 1850, and at least two families had been inadvertently omitted in 1850. Also counted in 1855 were additional domestic workers and boarders, who were listed as persons of color living in otherwise white households.

The heads of households where persons of color resided in 1855 Pomfret were: Joseph **Adams** (*b. 1795*), Joseph **Bowen** (*b. 1812*), Henry G. **Davis** (*1805 - 1879*), Jefferson **Grisim** (*b. 1801*), Jane **Johnson** (*1822 - 1897*), Thomas **Medley** (*b. 1835*), George **Morton** (*b. 1818*), Edward **Sanders** (*b. 1824*), Lucy **Shorter** (*b. 1795*) and Nathaniel **Shorter** (*1835 - 1884*), Rodrick **Waller** (*b. 1805*), Alonzo **Wheeler** (*1817 - 1890*), and James **Williams** (*b. 1820*).

The lake vessels where persons of color resided in 1855 Pomfret were: the propeller boat *California* and the propeller boat *Owego*. On the *California* was Samuel **Shirack** (*b. 1827*), and on the *Owego* were John **Bowen** (*b.1825*), John **Free** (*b.1815*), and John **Thomas** (*b.1820*).

The persons of color who were listed as domestic workers and/or boarders in white households of 1855 Pomfret were: Julia **Adams** (*b. 1841*), Fredrick **Holland** (*b. 1800*), and Becca **Williams** (*b. 1830*). Also listed was Lydia **Corbett** (*b. 1846*), an adopted daughter in an otherwise white family.

William Davis (5 persons of color listed in 1850)

William Davis was a barber, whose household in 1850 included his wife Mary **Davis** (*b. 1814*), their daughter Ann M. **Davis** (*b. 1839*), their daughter Mary F. [Frances] **Davis** (*b. about 1847*), and another barber Ira **Bell** (*b. 1831*), who was also listed as a person of color. William's wife Mary and daughter Ann were born in Virginia, but daughter Mary was listed as born in New York.

The location of William's family in the census would suggest that they lived near the intersection of today's Main Street and Water Street in Fredonia, perhaps at the Union Hotel. There is nothing further known about Ira **Bell** at this writing.

The 1855 census listed the William **Davis** family in Dunkirk. The household consisted of William and his wife Mary, their daughter Ann M. **Davis**, their daughter [Mary] Frances **Davis**, and another barber William **Struther** (*b. 1836*), also listed as a person of color. In 1853, William **Davis** and an Irishman named William **Harper** purchased Lot 38 in Block 570 in Dunkirk.

John **Little** and family (8 persons of color listed in 1850)

John **Little**, Sr. was recorded by Eber **Pettit** as an Underground Railroad conductor in Arkwright NY, a township adjacent to Pomfret. Records indicate that **Little** may have been born in VT, and that his wife Harriet may have been born in 1814 in NJ. They were listed in the 1840 census for Arkwright as a family of four: a male and a female in their late twenties or early thirties, and a male and female under 10.

On 29 May 1843, **Little** purchased a parcel of land in Arkwright's Lot 14 from Chauncey and Amanda **Ives** of Bristol CT. By the time of the 1850 census, **Little** was working as a butcher in the Pomfret village of Fredonia, and he seems to have been living near either the area of Fredonia then called Cordova, where the **Pettit** farms were located, or near the Pomfret city of Dunkirk on today's Central Avenue, where the **Barker** and **Pier** farms were located.

Little was listed in the 1850 assessment roll for Pomfret with a ¼-acre parcel assessed at \$50. However, his name was no longer listed in the Pomfret assessment rolls thereafter. The family members listed with **Little** in the 1850 census were Harriet, George (age 14), Mary (Loraine) (age 11), William "Pat" Patrick (Patterson) (age 10), Alice Gertrude (age 5), Edith Gertrude (age 3), and Perley (Perdy) (age 1). John **Little**, Jr. would have been 18 but was apparently not in the household at that time.

By 1860, when the family was back in Arkwright, the census listed John, Jr. back in the household (age 28). Also listed were George (age 24), Loraine (age 22), Alice (age 17), William "Pat" Patrick (Patterson) (age 18), Perley (Perdy) (age 12), and Riley (age 7).

On 22 April 1855, **Little** had purchased a parcel in Lot 6 in Arkwright, a farm adjoining his earlier lands and to which he later added additional parcels. He was living in Arkwright at the time of the 1855 census, when he was listed as a farmer. He said then that he had been in Arkwright for 17 years, disregarding the year or less that he had spent in Fredonia. The family remained in Arkwright through the censuses of 1860, 1865, and 1870.

Little's daughter (Mary) Loraine (*b. 1838*) married Henry **Mackentire** (**McIntire**), who served in the Union Navy. She and her husband and three children were listed in the **Little** household in 1865. According to the 1880 census, John **Little**, Sr. was most likely a butcher in Perrysburg by that time. He was living by himself, and records indicate that Harriet had died by 1870.

Little's son William "Pat" Patrick (Patterson) **Little** (*1841 - 1898*) also served in the Civil War. He was reputedly a corporal in the Union Army. Although some of his family had been buried at the homestead, Pat was buried in the **Town(e)** family cemetery near the Chicken Tavern in Arkwright. According to Pat's obituary, his parents and siblings may have been reinterred at the **Town(e)** cemetery by that time, and at least brother Riley **Little** (*1853 - 1891*), a barber, was listed in the **Town(e)** cemetery records as well.

Mary **Smith** (1 person of color listed in 1850 in a household with two white persons)

Nearly nothing is known about Mary at this writing. She was listed as born in MD, and in 1850, she was listed in the Pomfret home of Eliza **Hunt** (*b. 1805*), who was listed as born in NJ. Also in the home was Emily **Barret** (*b. 1832*), listed as born in PA.

From the order of neighbors' names given in the 1850 census, the three ladies seem to have been living near the intersection of today's Eagle Street and Porter Avenue, not far from the oil mill establishment at today's Dunn Street to the south, and not far from the former Zattu **Cushing** estate on Eagle Street to the north. They were not listed in the Pomfret census of 1855, but Eliza was listed in Arcade (Wyoming County) NY in 1870 and 1880, where she was living with her son-in-law Egbert **Carter**, a watch dealer and jeweler. Mary was not listed with her.

Ann **French** (1 person of color listed in 1850)

Very little is known at this writing about Ann, although much is known about the family of George A. **French** (*1798 - 1865*), who adopted her. His parents had been early pioneers in the county and held land in the towns of Pomfret and Sheridan. George's parents had been early members of the Fredonia Congregational Church, later known as the Presbyterian Church.

George **French** was instrumental in an attempt to free Harrison **Williams** (*b. 1834*), a refugee from slavery who had been recaptured in the south county in 1852. The **French** home in 1850 seems to have been in today's city of Dunkirk at Washington Avenue and Lake Shore Drive, a home or inn that was referenced parenthetically in the 1850 census as the "**Pemberton House**." Shortly afterward, French's son Asa built the home at today's Central Avenue and East Fifth Street.

Joseph **Adams** (5 persons of color listed in 1855)

Joseph was a barber in Dunkirk. He was born in VA, as was his wife Sophia **Adams** (*b. 1797*). In their 1855 household were also Helen **Adams** (*b. 1849*), William **Adams** (*b. 1851*), and Isabella **Adams** (*b. 1853*). The children were all born in NY and may have been grandchildren of Joseph and Helen. Nothing further is known about this family at this writing.

Joseph **Bowen** (6 persons of color listed in 1855)

Joseph was a barber, born in VA, and listed in the 1850 census in Buffalo NY, where the household consisted of Joseph and his wife Harriet (*b. 1812 in MA*), John **Bowen** (*b. 1837 in Canada*), and Lucy **Bowen** (*b. 1838*). In the same Buffalo building in 1850 was Betsy **Swatout** (*b. 1762 in Africa*).

The 1855 census showed the Joseph **Bowen** family in Dunkirk, where he was listed with his wife Harriet, Katharine **Bowen** (*b. 1832*), Sophia **Bowen** (*b. 1834*), John **Bowen**, and Lucy **Bowen**. The census at that time stated that the **Bowen** family had been in Dunkirk for three years, and that they lived next door to the Joseph **Adams** family.

Henry G. **Davis** (3 persons of color in 1855) and Mary **Johnson** (1 person of color in 1855)

Henry was listed in 1855 Pomfret with his wife Martha **Davis** (*1820 - 1861*) and their nephew Arthur **Shorter** (*b. about 1844*). Henry was usually listed in the census as a barber, but in 1870, he was also elected as the pound keeper for Fredonia. In that capacity, he would have been responsible for capturing any animals running at large. He would have maintained the pound as well, caring for the animals until their respective owners paid the required fees to reclaim them.

Henry had been listed in the 1840 census for Pomfret as a "free colored person," with the following household: one woman between 24 and 35, and one girl under 10. That same year, Lucy **Shorter** seems to have been living next door, as were two boys between 10 and 23. The names of Henry's neighbors in the 1840 census would indicate that Henry was apparently living near the center of the village at that time, and near the store and residence of Horace **Pemberton** (1808 - 1862).

Although Henry and his family were not listed in 1850, the 1860 census listed Henry and Martha as still living next door to Lucy **Shorter**, whose household also included two other persons of color: farmhand Nathaniel **Shorter** (b. 1835), and domestic worker Mary **Armstrong** (b. 1844). At this time, the **Davis** family and the **Shorter** family seem to have been living on today's Hart Street, just below the home of Horace **Pemberton**, who had purchased the former **Hart** house.

In 1862, following the death of his wife Martha, Henry married Mrs. Jane **Johnson**, who was from Scotland and had been listed in 1855 as a second head of household in the **Hart/Pemberton** house. During her time in the **Hart/Pemberton** house, Jane had been listed as the mother of Mary **Johnson** (b. 1845), a person of color, indicating that Jane's former husband was most likely a person of color as well.

Jane herself was listed in the census as white. The officiating clergyman for the wedding between Henry and Jane was the Rev. Lyman J. **Fisher**, who was a minister at the West Branch Baptist church in Portland, today known as the West Portland Baptist Church, a center of anti-slavery activity.

The 1870 census listed Henry **Davis** with his wife Jane, still in Fredonia. Other persons of color in the household were Abraham **Davis** (b. 1865), Florence **Wilson** (b. 1858), and a barber John **Sherman** (b. 1842), who had been born in Louisiana. Henry and Jane continued to live on Hart Street until they died.

Jefferson **Grisim** (4 persons of color listed in 1855)

Jefferson was listed in 1855 as a laborer who had been born in OH. In the household were his wife Margaret **Grisim** (b. 1800), Mary Smith **Grisim** (b. 1837), Margaret **Grisim** (b. 1840), Verena **Grisim** (b. 1843), and an infant Marsella **Grisim**. The family had only been in Dunkirk for five years, not in time for the enumeration for the 1850 census. The elder Margaret, listed as white in 1855, had been born on the Isle of Man. Mary was born in Canada, and the baby in Dunkirk. The younger Margaret and Verena were listed as born in Erie, but it is not known whether this was NY or PA. Nothing further is known about this family at this writing.

Jane **Johnson** and Mary **Johnson** (1 person of color listed in 1855)

Since Jane was from Scotland, it was not she who was listed as a person of color in her household. Instead, it was her daughter Mary. At this writing, nothing further is known about Jane's first husband or their daughter Mary. Jane's second husband was Henry **Davis**.

Thomas **Medley** (2 persons of color listed in 1855)

Thomas was born in PA and was listed in 1855 as a barber in Dunkirk. Also in the household was his wife Charlotte **Medley** (b. 1834), a dressmaker. They had only been in town for five months. By 1860, they were in Oshkosh WI, living next to another barber John **Alexander** (b.

1830), who was listed as a person of color born in IN. John's wife Louise **Alexander** (*b. 1832*) was listed as born in MO. Nothing further is known about the **Medley** family at this writing.

George **Morton** (5 persons of color listed in 1855)

George was born in TN and was listed in Dunkirk as a laborer in 1855. He and his family had only been in town for five years, so they just missed being counted during the enumeration for the 1850 census. Listed with George in 1855 were his wife Elizabeth **Morton** (*b. 1829 in Canada*), Mary A. **Morton** (*b. 1850 in Canada*), John **Morton** (*b. 1848 in Canada*), and Manuel **Morton** (*b. 1853 in Dunkirk*). The family's place of residence seems to have been a short distance south of the city. Nothing further is known about George and his family at this writing.

Edward **Sanders** (3 persons of color listed in 1855)

Edward was born in KY and was listed in the census as a laborer. His wife Catherine **Sanders** (*b. 1822*) was originally from Germany. Also in the household in 1855 were Fred **Sanders** (*b. 1843*) and Elizabeth **Sanders** (*b. 1845*). The family had only been in Dunkirk for three years, and nothing further is known about them at this writing.

Lucy **Shorter** and Nathaniel **Shorter** (2 persons of color listed in 1855)

Lucy may have been born in either KY or RI; sources conflict at this writing. She was listed in the 1840 census, and her location as compared to various neighbors, appears to have been in Dunkirk near the lake shore. At least one of the young men listed in her household in 1840 seems to have been her son Nathaniel. According to their statements to the census taker in 1855, they had arrived in the area just about in time for the 1840 census.

Although the family was not listed in the 1850 census, they were probably inadvertently omitted, just as the neighboring Henry **Davis** family had been. In the same building as the **Shorter** family in 1855, there was a second household, listed as Nancy **Mora** (*b. 1805*), her son Joseph (*b. 1845*), and a boarder named Mike **Conrad** (*b. 1815*), all listed as white.

For the 1865 census, Lucy and Nathaniel seem to have been back at the lake shore. She was listed as a widow and as the mother of six children. An article in the *Dunkirk Observer* of 2 February 1885 gave the names of those who had died at the "Chautauqua County charitable institution at Dewittville," and included "Nathaniel **Shorter** (colored)."

However, a newspaper item of 1908 in the *Observer's* retrospective column of 14 September 1938, stated the following: "An attorney from Birmingham, Ala., came to Dunkirk seeking relatives of Nathaniel **Shorter**, a Negro who had died some years before in a shack on the outskirts of the city. His share in an estate of several thousand dollars was to be divided among nieces and nephews in Birmingham."

Rodrick **Waller** (2 persons of color listed in 1855)

Rodrick was born in PA and was listed in Dunkirk in 1855 as a farmer. He and his family had been in Dunkirk only two years. Also in the household were Rodrick's wife Lucretia **Waller** (*b. 1805*) and white boarders Joseph **Hencher** (*b. 1830*), Elizabeth **Hencher** (*b. 1837*), and Mary J. **Hencher** (*b. 1854*). The **Henchers** had also been in town only two years. Nothing further is known about these families at this writing.

Alonzo **Wheeler**, Sr. (3 persons of color listed in 1855)

Alonzo was a barber, mostly likely born in VT, and he had a twin brother Alphonzo, who lived most of his life in South America. Other siblings were Aaron **Wheeler** and Mary H. **Wheeler Mason**. Alonzo was listed in the 1840 census along with a wife or sister between the ages of 10 and 23. However, in Lockport NY in 1854, Alonzo married Lucy Ann [**Hastings?**] (1833 - 1917). Their children included Alonzo, Jr., Emeline, Alice, Alphonzo, William, Aaron, and Jesse.

Also in 1854, Alonzo purchased from Jeremiah **Tibbets** a Dunkirk lot and building on the corner of Second Street and Elk Street (today's Park Street). The next year, he purchased a lot from George **Walsh**. The **Wheeler** home on Park Street was also known as the location of his barber shop and beauty parlor. The household in 1855 consisted of Alonzo and Lucy along with their infant son and Sarah **Schmit** (b. 1835), a servant listed as from Sweden.

The family continued to grow as the business expanded, eventually to Central Avenue. At least two of Alonzo's sons became barbers and hairdressers, and the **Wheeler** household often included a boarder. An advertisement in Dunkirk's *Observer* of 26 August 1884 noted that "ladies should remember that special attention is given to ladies hair dressing and the trimming of bangs in all styles, at the **Wheeler Bros.** barber shop Center St. [today's Central Avenue]." An advertisement in the *Observer* of 6 October 1884 read simply, "Cigars, Cigars, Cigars at A. **Wheeler's** barber shop Center street."

An article in Dunkirk's *Grape Belt* of 18 May 1948 featured a picture of William **Wheeler** and three of his oldest customers. The article stated that he began barbering at the age of ten, although a later article stated that he began barbering at twelve. He also attended the Fredonia Normal School, perhaps while he worked as a waiter at the **Taylor** House, today's 1 Park Place. Also while at the **Taylor** House, William served as a page at the wedding of Civil War hero William B. **Cushing**.

The *Observer* of 8 January 1940 reported that William **Wheeler** was guest of honor at a barbers' union banquet. The *Fredonia Censor* of 18 November 1903 announced that "Mr. **Wheeler** of Dunkirk opened a barber shop two doors below **Palmer's** meat market [in Fredonia]." The 1904 business directory for Fredonia listed the Aaron W. **Wheeler** barber shop and home at 40 West Main Street.

James **Williams** (2 persons of color listed in 1855)

James was born in MD and was listed in 1855 as a barber in Dunkirk. Also in the household was Amelia **Williams** (b. 1833), who had also been born in MD. They had only been in town for four years. Nothing further is known about them at this writing.

The propeller boat *California* (1 person of color listed in 1855)

Samuel **Shirack** (b. 1827) was listed as the only person of color in the crew of about 20 men on the propeller lake boat *California*, which must have been in the Dunkirk harbor in 1855. Samuel was listed as the boat's cook, and he had been there for six months. Nothing further is known about him at this writing.

The propeller boat *Owego* (3 persons of color listed in 1855)

John **Bowen**, John **Free**, and John **Thomas**, were listed in 1855 as three members of the 20-man crew of the propeller boat *Owego*, which must have been in the Dunkirk harbor at the time enumeration. At this writing, it is not known whether or not John **Bowen** was related to Dunkirk's Joseph **Bowen**, and there is no further information regarding the identities of John **Free** and John **Thomas**.

Julia **Adams** (1 person of color listed in 1855)

Julia was born in OH and was listed in 1855 as a domestic worker in the household of the white family of John R. **Crocker** (*b. 1824*). He was listed as a farmer. Also in the home were John's wife Lilla E. **Crocker** (*b. 1835*), Charley B. **Crocker** (*b. 1853*), John's mother Lucia F. **Crocker** (*b. 1795*), and John's brother Robert E. **Crocker** (*b. 1841*).

John and his mother said that they had been in Pomfret for 21 years, Lilla and Julia for only two years. John's occupation had been listed in the 1850 census as a photographer in the "Degarian Business." At that time, his father Ebenezer was listed as head of household. In 1865, John bought the **Hunn** Tavern at today's 33 East Main Street in Fredonia, but nothing further is known about Julia at this writing.

Fredrick **Holland** (1 person of color listed in 1855)

Fredrick was listed as born in Ontario, but it is not clear whether that meant Ontario County in NY or the province of Ontario in Canada. He was listed in 1855 as a boarder in the home of William **Koch** (*b. 1802*), a laborer from Germany. William had been in Dunkirk for only three years, and Fredrick for only one month. Also in the household were Doras **Koch** (*b. 1801*), Fredrick **Koch** (*b. 1834*), and Adolphus **Koch** (*b. 1838*). Nothing further is known about Fredrick **Holland** at this writing.

Rebecca (Becka) **Williams** (1 person of color listed in 1855)

Rebecca was born in PA and was listed in 1855 as a servant in the household of the white jeweler Jeriah C. **Parsons** (*b. 1822*). Also in the home were Sarah E. **Parsons** (*b. 1823 or 1833*), Frances C. **Parsons** (*b. 1849*), Emma A. **Parsons** (*b. 1851*), William M. **Parsons** (*b. 1853*), and three boarders: Peter **Thompson** (*b. 1835*), Wadbridge **More** (*b. 1830*), and John **Finlin** (*b. 1831*).

Rebecca stated that she had been in Dunkirk three years. By 1860, Rebecca was listed as a servant in the home of Walter **Smith** (*1800 - 1874*) a longtime merchant and entrepreneur in northern Chautauqua County, and a former business partner of George **French**. For a time between 1835 and 1840, **Smith** had reputedly employed a number of African Americans in the hills of Arkwright and Villenova in the north county, where **Smith** was attempting to build a railroad to reach New York City. Several of his workers reputedly died of disease during the endeavor and were buried in the Towne (Chicken Tavern) cemetery in Arkwright. Nothing further is known about Rebecca at this writing.

Lydia **Corbet** (1 person of color listed in 1855)

Lydia was born in NY and was listed at Fredonia's **Hunn** Hotel in 1855. Her designation in the census was "adopted daughter," and she had only been in town three years. From 1841 until 1865, Lester **Hunn** (*b.1810*) and his wife Lucy **Hunn** (*b. 1810*), a white couple, operated the

hotel that once stood at today's 33 East Main Street. The hotel was next operated by John R. **Crocker**.

Listed with Lester and Lucy in 1855 were Stephen S. **Hunn** (*b. 1836*), Lucy A. **Hunn** (*b. 1837*), Olive A. **Hunn** (*b. 1840*), and Sarah E. **Hunn** (*b. 1846*). Several white boarders were also listed at the hotel. Remaining at the hotel as boarders in 1865 were Lester, along with Ellen **Hunn** (*b. 1847*). Nothing further is known about Lydia at this writing.

Towns of Arkwright, Charlotte, Chautauqua, Gerry, Hanover, Poland, Portland, Ripley, Sheridan, Sherman (10 persons of color listed on the 1854 map)

A table in the top margin of the 1854 map of Chautauqua County NY listed only 10 persons of color in the above listed towns. The table was based upon the 1850 census, which basically agreed with the totals shown on the 1854 map.

The 1850 census listed the following persons of color as heads of household in the above listed towns : John (**Artice**) **Artis** (*b. 1805*) of Arkwright, James **Thomas** (*b. 1816*) of Charlotte, Lewis **Thomas** (*b. 1825*) of Chautauqua, Charles **Jackson** (*b. 1790*) and family of Portland, and Henry **Hampton** (*b. 1810*) of Sheridan.

Some members of those families had left the county before the 1855 census, but that year, the census listed the following additional persons of color in the above listed towns: John **Little** (*b. 1805*) of Arkwright, formerly of Pomfret; a man named simply as **Abram** (*b. 1795*) of Chautauqua; Henry **King** (*b. 1822*), Perry **Jackson** (*b. 1833*), and James **Hall** (*b. 1827*) as prisoners in Chautauqua; George **Gardner** (*b. 1815*) and family of Hanover; William H. **Gardner** (*b. 1828*) and family of Hanover; Mahittable **Kelly** (*b. 1809*) of Hanover; Henderson **Wyatt** (*b. 1825*) and daughter of Hanover; Polly **Wright** (*b. 1787*) and daughter of Poland; Joseph R. **Murphy** (*b. 1805*) and family of Poland; Joel **Wright** (*b. 1815*) of Poland; Hiram, a six-year-old child of Portland; George **Brown** (*b. 1837*) of Ripley; and George W. **Thompson** (*b. 1839*) of Sheridan.

Arkwright (1850)

John (**Artice**) **Artis** was listed in the 1850 census in the Arkwright home of Andrus M. (A. M.) **Houck** (**Huyck**) (*1799 – 1885*). **Artis** was identified as an African American who worked as a carpenter and joiner. According to the 1850 census, he was born in North Carolina and could not read or write.

However, he was a signer of the following petition in the Town of Arkwright (Chautauqua County) NY about 1844: “Against the admission of more slave states into the Union. To the Congress of the United States. The undersigned Citizens & electors of the State of New York residing in Arkwright in the County of Chautauque respectfully pray that no State be hereinafter admitted into the Union unless the Constitution of such State shall expressly prohibit the existence of Slavery within its limits.”

Charlotte (1850)

James **Thomas** was born in Maryland. Some records indicate that he married Jeannette (Jennett) (Genette) **Gager** (*b.1823*) from Dutchess County NY. In 1850, he was living and working on the Charlotte farm of William M. **Waggener**. By 1853, the **Thomas** couple was in Gerry along with infant Sarah J. **Thomas**. For the 1865 census, another child was listed as well: James L. **Thomas** (*age 6*). For that census Jeannette stated that she was the mother of four children. The names and ages of her other two children are not known at this writing. The 1875 census listed another child Elizabeth (*age 10*), and the family was in the adjoining town of Ellery at that time.

Chautauqua (1850)

Lewis **Thomas** was born in Kentucky. His name appeared in the 1850 census entry for the Chautauqua County Alms House (also known as the Poor House). He was listed as formerly living in the Chautauqua County town of Harmony. He had entered the poor house as a very young man in November 1846, and was discharged in May 1847. He was admitted again five days later. He was discharged again in July, returning again five days later.

Following a discharge that August, he was not readmitted until December 1847. A discharge in April 1848 was followed by readmission that June. **Thomas** was discharged again that October, and was able to avoid reentry until November 1849. The reason listed for admission was "idiocy," meaning incompetence of some kind. Nothing further is known at this writing, so it not clear whether he had finally recovered and moved on, or perhaps succumbed to his illness.

Chautauqua (1855)

Abram was listed in the census as a 60-year old blacksmith and as a person of color with no surname. He had been born in Maryland, had been in Chautauqua County only a year, and was boarding with the family of Samuel W. **Willcox**, probably near the border between lots 3 and 11 in the Town of Chautauqua. There is no further record of Abram at this writing.

Chautauqua (1855)

Henry **King** was born in Virginia and was listed in the census as a prisoner, although he had been in the county only six months. The census entry also noted that he was married and worked as a boot black. Census information regarding prisoners was by all indications provided by the jailer, not by the prisoners themselves. Perry **Jackson** and James **Hall**, for example, had actually been discharged prior to the arrival of the census taker.

The jail seems to have been on the premises of Daniel **Barnes**. There are no other confirmed records for James **Hall**, but Perry **Jackson** was born in New York and had been listed in the 1850 census in the Chautauqua County town of Portland in the home of Charles **Jackson**. Perry **Jackson** may have been counted twice in 1855, because he also seems to have been listed in the home of Charles' widow Susan that year, in the town of Westfield. However, the 1860 census for Allegheny PA listed Perry **Jackson** as a prisoner there.

Hanover (1855)

George **Gardner** was born in MA and was listed in the Chautauqua County town of Hanover in 1855 as a laborer and person of color. His wife Sarah (*born 1826*) was listed as white and born in Canada, having been in the Hanover area for five years. The children, listed as persons of color born in Chautauqua County, were Charlie **Gardner** (*age 9*), Mary Ann **Gardner** (7), and

Edward **Gardner** (2). Nothing further is known about the George **Gardner** family at this writing.

William H. **Gardner** was listed in the 1855 census as a sailor, and as a person of color who had been in Hanover for two years. His wife Julia, also listed as a person of color, was born in Erie and had been in Hanover for five years. With William and Julia in 1855 was their son James H. C. **Gardner** (*b. 1854*). Nothing further is known about the family at this writing. Nor is it known at this writing if the **Gardner** child listed in Eber **Pettit's** Underground Railroad household eleven miles away was related to the **Gardner** families in Silver Creek.

Mahittable **Kelly** was born in PA and was listed in the 1855 census as a person of color, wife of James **Kelly** (*b. 1799*), who was listed as a white person and as a basket maker. Their log home was listed as \$10 in value. It was shown to be near the \$20 plank home of the William **Gardner** family and the \$50 frame home of the Henderson **Wyatt** family. James and Mahittable **Kelly** had been in the area five years. Nothing further is known about them at this writing.

Henderson **Wyatt** was listed in 1855 as a laborer in Hanover. He and his wife Margaret were both listed as persons of color, as was their 10-year-old daughter Sarah. Nothing further is known about the family at this writing.

Poland (1855)

Polly **Wright** was born in CT and was listed for the 1855 census in the town of Poland (Chautauqua County) NY as a person of color, a widow, and the head of the household. She had been in the town for two years. With Polly were her daughter Phebe **Wright** (*b. 1809*), who had been listed for the 1850 census in the nearby town of Collins (Erie County) NY. Also in Polly's household in 1855 were the following white persons: Betsey **Robertson** (*age 24*), Rementon **Robertson** (8), and William **Robertson** (4). The older child had been born in Allegany and the younger in Erie. Although there are similar place names in PA, the Allegany and Erie designations in this case may have meant Allegany County NY and Erie County NY, respectively.

Joseph **Murphy** was listed for the 1855 census as the head of the household next door to Polly **Wright's**. He was born in MD. Also in the home were Joseph's wife Mahala **Murphy** (*b. 1811*), who was not listed as a person of color, and his daughter or step-daughter Lucinda **Trumbell** (*b. 1830*), who was. Both Mahala and Lucinda were listed as born in Genesee, which was probably Genesee County NY. For the 1850 census, Joseph had been listed as a shoemaker in the Town of Collins (Erie County) NY, and Mahala had been listed there with him.

Joel **Wright** was listed for the 1855 census as the head of household next door to the **Murphy** home. He was designated as a person of color born in Genesee. In his household was a white person, Rementon **Robertson** (*age 54*). In 1850, Joel had been listed as a laborer in the Town of Collins (Erie County) NY. In his 1850 household were Phebe Wright along with Joseph and Mahala Murphy. Next door in 1850 Collins were three other persons of color: James **Wright** (*b. 1823*), Eliza **Wright** (*b. 1831*), and Nancy C. **Wright** (*b. 1847*).

Portland (1850)

Charles **Jackson** was born in New York State. In 1830, he was listed in the Chautauqua County town of Ripley with his wife and two young boys, all listed as persons of color. The family was

still in Ripley at the time of the 1840 census. They were listed as an adult male and female, two young boys, two teenage boys, four young girls and one teenage girl.

By 1850, the family was listed in the nearby town of Portland. They were listed as Charles, his wife Susan (age 50), Perry (15), Sarah J. (14), Susan (12), and Eliza (10). Charles must have died soon afterward. His widow Susan was listed in the 1855 census for the nearby town of Westfield, where she had been living for a year. With her were Maria **Jackson** (21), Charles **Jackson, Jr.** (33), Perry **Jackson** (18), Eliza **Jackson** (21), Susan **Jackson** (17), and grandson George Allen **Nixon** (4).

Portland (1855)

Hiram, a six-year-old child, was designated as a person of color in the 1855 census for the Chautauqua County town of Portland. His surname could be read as **Ruhleer**, or **Buehler**, or perhaps **Beeleer**. His mother appears to have been Lucy **Felt** (b. 1833), A Jefferson County native, who was a servant in the Portland home of Benajah **Jordon, Sr.** (age 79) and his wife Catherine **Jordon** (age 69). Also in the household in 1855 was Benajah Jordon, Jr. (age 19). The 1850 census had listed the same family members. No one else in the household was listed as a person of color in either 1850 or 1855, and in 1850, the infant Hiram was not listed as a person of color. Nothing further is known about him at this writing.

Ripley (1855)

George **Brown** was born in PA and listed in the 1855 census for the Chautauqua County town of Ripley as a person of color. He was designated as a farm laborer in the household of Elisha W. **Tucker** (age 24) and Sarah **Tucker** (20). Also in the household was Larosco **Tucker** (1). Although the **Tucker** family had been in Ripley only three months, George **Brown** said that he had been in the town for four years. By the time of the 1854 map, the Elisha W. **Tucker** farm and tavern were shown in Town of Westfield just north of Volusia on the Plank Road. It is not known if George **Brown** remained in the household at that time.

Sheridan (1850)

Henry **Hampton** was born PA and was listed in 1850 as a person of color and as a laborer, living in the hotel of A. **Williams** in the Chautauqua County town of Sheridan. Also in the household was William **Hampton** (age 35), born in NY and not listed as a person of color. The hotel keeper A. **Williams** was listed in the 1850 census for Sheridan, but not in 1855 or 1860. Neither were the **Hamptons** listed in subsequent censuses. Therefore, nothing further is known at this writing.

Sheridan (1855)

George W. **Thompson** was listed in the 1855 census for the Chautauqua County town of Sheridan as a person of color working as a young servant in the white household of States (Staats) O. **Mead** (age 35). The rest of the household consisted of Frances E. **Mead** (34), Mary E. (Estelle) **Mead** (11), Joseph R. **Mead** (7), and Eliza Kelly (50). The group had only been in Sheridan for two months, and they evidently did not stay. **Mead** and his wife had been listed in Newark NJ in 1850, and they were listed there again in 1860. **Mead** seems to have been a merchant, and perhaps a "gentleman farmer," a landowner with tenant farmers. However, no further information is known about George at this writing.