6/10/04

Appendix A

Reconstructing New York City:

Sources, Methods, and Findings

At the very end of his *Journal*, Daniel Horsmanden included a five-page "LIST *of NEGROES committed on Account of the Conspiracy*." [Fig] This list is the best surviving inventory of the adult black population of mid-eighteenth-century New York City, and yet it has never been used as a census. When I began my research into the conspiracy I determined that, using that list as a starting point, I would attempt to reckon with the world in which those black men and women lived and died, and to find out more about them than their names and fates, not only by conducting a close literary and cultural reading of the *Journal*, but also by reconstructing the city itself, using the traditional sources and methods of social history: censuses, tax lists, court records and maps.

Horsmanden wrote lists; I built databases. To reconstruct the city, I designed a three-legged database. The first leg is a list of city residents, taken from censuses, trial records, tax lists, and other sources. The database's second leg is a detailed coding of events from the trials, keyed to the participants. The third leg is an inventory and mapping of buildings, streets, and meeting places in the city. With this database in hand, I then reconstructed the city spatially, using GIS mapping. I hope, eventually, to make all of this data available on the web.

In all of this work, I was aided by considerable research and technical assistance: James Dutton tutored me in database design, Kashid Mohammed helped set up my first database, Kathryn Lindquist entered tax list records, Hannah Carlson tracked and entered places, Paul McMorrow photocopied runaway ads, Albert Sutton helped analyze the data, David Rumsey supplied my first geo-referenced eighteenth-century map, and Robert Chavez taught me how to work in GIS.

Below I discuss, first, the sources and methods I employed in reconstructing the city and, second, my findings.

Sources and Methods

People

Two hundred and seventeen slaves and free blacks are mentioned in Horsmanden's *Journal*, along with four hundred and fifty-eight whites: defendants, justices, lawyers, jurors, witnesses, owners of accused slaves, victims of arson, and bystanders. I began by entering all of these people, with any information that could be gleaned about them from the *Journal*, in the database's People table. I then turned to censuses and tax rolls, to understand the city's population as a whole.

Censuses

New York City censuses, usually divided by race and sometimes by age and ward, are available for 1698, 1703, 1712, 1723, 1731, 1738, 1746, 1749, 1756, and 1771. They can be found in Evarts B. Greene and Virginia D. Harrington, *American Population before the Federal Census of 1790* (New York, 1932), 97-8. The 1731 and 1738 censuses were corrected according to corrections offered by Robert V. Wells ("The New York Census of 1731," *NYHSQ* 57 [1973]: 255-9) and Gary Nash ("The New York Census of 1737: A Critical Note on the Integration of Statistical and Literary Sources," *WMQ* 36 [1979]: 428-35). Nash's corrections to the 1737 census are crucial, and can be corroborated by observation of the mathematical errors propagated in the ward totals, as they appear in E.G. O'Callaghan, *The Documentary History of the State of New-York* (Albany, 1851), 4: 186 (and corrected in Table One, above). The original of the 1737 census is in the Public Record Office, C.O. 5/1059/69. Additional population data can be found in Ira Rosenwaike, *Population History of New York City* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1972), 6-13.

To estimate the population in 1741, I used an exponential growth model:

$$p(t) = \exp (a * t + b)$$

where p is population and t is time in years. This model is at best an approximation, since it assumes a constant rate of growth, but it is actually a relatively good fit with the surviving census data. The surviving census totals produce an average annual growth rate of 2.07% for whites and 2.29% for blacks. (The growth of the black population was due to continued importation of slaves rather than to natural increase). Table A1 compares the actual census figures with those produced by the exponential growth model. The model population for 1737 is clearly the poorest fit, but its overestimation of the white population is well explained by a severe economic depression during the period from 1731-1737, which was marked by significant out-migration of whites. Elsewhere, the exponential growth model is a good fit for the surviving censuses, and suggests that the population of New York in 1741 was about 10,542: 8,709 whites and 1,833 blacks.

Table A1. The Actual and Model Population of New York, 1698-1771

Year	Actual White Population	Model White Population	Actual Black Population	Model Black Population	Actual Total Population	Model Total Population
1698	4237	3607	700	693	4937	4300
1703	3745	3996	630	776	4375	4772
1712	n/a		n/a		5840	
1723	5886	6022	1362	1220	7248	7242
1731	7045	7095	1577	1462	8622	8557
1737	6947	8024	1719	1675	8666	9699
1741	n/a	8709	n/a	1833	n/a	10542
1746	9273	9649	2444	2053	11717	11702
1749	10926	10261	2368	2197	13294	12458
1756	10768	11844	2278	2574	13046	14418
1771	18726	16108	3137	3615	21863	19723

Population by Ward, Sex, and Age

Population density varied considerably from ward to ward, as demonstrated in the detailed census return for 1737:

Table A2. The Population of New York City in 1737, by Ward, Age, and Race

Ward	Whites males		White females		Black males		Black females		TWhites	TBlacks	Total
	over 10	under 10	over 10	under 10	over 10	under 10	over 10	under 10			
East	558	246	610	229	213	76	203	69	1643	561	2204
West	298	144	396	136	65	7	48	8	974	128	1102
South	305	221	414	111	66	20	96	21	1051	203	1254
North	357	111	312	168	88	47	43	38	948	216	1164
Dock	274	161	292	167	117	36	126	35	894	314	1208
Montg.	235	136	323	147	60	19	41	14	841	134	975
Bowery	150	47	134	54	44	15	30	10	385	99	484
Harlem	76	22	87	26	21	9	22	12	211	64	275
Totals	**2253**	**1088**	**2568**	**1038**	**674**	**229**	**609**	**207**	**6947**	**1719**	**8666**

From E.G. O'Callaghan, *The Documentary History of the State of New-York* (Albany, 1851), 4: 186. Arithmetic errors from the original returns, left intact by O'Callaghan, have been corrected here.

Individuals' Ethnicity, Occupation, Ward, and Wealth

Complete citywide censuses that identify individuals by name and list households by age and race are woefully lacking for mid-eighteenth-century New York. A named census is available for 1703 and in the first federal census in 1790; neither is of any real use in reconstructing the city's population in 1741. And the city's first directory was not published until 1786 (David Franks, *The New-York Directory* [New York,1786]). Because individuals are not named in any surviving censuses from 1703-1790, tax lists proved a more usual source of identifying individuals. New York City tax assessment rolls for the early eighteenth-century are extant through 1734. The 1730 tax assessment roll, containing the name, ward, property description, assessment and landlord for each of 1902 taxpayers was entered in the database by research assistant Kathryn Lindquist, from a transcription made by Julius M. Block, Leo Hershkowitz, and Kenneth Scott and published in the *NYGBR* 95 (1964): 27-32; 166-174; 195-202.

Because it has been transcribed, the 1730 tax list has also been used extensively by other historians of the city; see especially Bruce M. Wilkenfeld, "New York City Neighborhoods, 1730," *New York History* (1976): 165-182). In her extensive analysis of the 1730 tax list in *Before the Melting Pot*, Joyce Goodfriend omits the Outward on the grounds that it was rural rather than urban. City officials also commonly excluded the Outward from city regulations, defining behavior "within this City on the South side of the fresh Water" (e.g., "A Law for Punishing Slaves who Shall Ride Disorderly through the Streets," *MCC*, 4: 89-90). But I chose to include the Outward because its neighborhoods, Harlem and the Bowery, were crucial sites of slave "frolicks" and also housed the city's small population of free blacks.

As a guide to the population of New York in 1741, the 1730 tax list is invaluable, but it presents an obvious problem: it is eleven years out of date. Moreover, the 1730 tax list does not include Montgomerie Ward, which wasn't created until the city received a new charter in 1731. To better approximate the population in 1741, the manuscript 1734 tax list, of 2026 records, was also entered into the database, again, by the indefatigable Katie Lindquist. Key individuals who do not show up on the 1730 tax list do turn up on the list in 1734, including, for instance, Daniel Horsmanden, who arrived in New York in 1732. Between the two tax lists, there is only small variation in either individual or total wealth (total wealth in 1730 was £34,910, in 1734, £36,029). And the overwhelming majority of taxpayers did not change residences between 1730 and 1734, undoubtedly because the most transient New Yorkers were also the poorest, and did not own enough property to appear on either tax roll. That there was little change over the four years between 1730 and 1734 makes me reasonably confident in using the 1734 tax list to describe the city in 1741. In general, however, where I assigned residential wards to particular slave owners, I tried to find evidence beyond the 1734 tax list to corroborate that assignment.

While the tax lists are useful in painting a portrait of the population of the city as a whole, they also help trace the lives of individuals. The two tax lists allowed me to identify property-holding city residents by both ward and wealth. Although neither tax list includes street addresses, tax assessors assessed property on a door-by-door basis, and proximity on the tax rolls reflects geographic proximity. The tax lists also provided a route to learning taxpayers' occupations and ethnicity when Joyce Goodfriend generously shared her painstaking identification of over two-thirds of the 1730 taxpayers by occupation and ethnicity (Goodfriend to the author, personal communication, May 23, 2002). Lindquist also entered this data into the database. Scattered occupations were also taken from David Valentine, "List of Citizens Admitted as Freemen of the City of New York, from 1749 to the Revolutionary War," *Manual of the Corporation of the City of New-York for 1856* (New York, 1856), 477-502; as well as from other miscellaneous sources. I also entered additional biographical information for many of the 458 white trial participants from biographical encyclopedias (the *Dictionary of American Biography*, the *Encyclopedia of New York City*, and the *American National Biography*), as well as from print and on-line genealogical reference tools, including Ancestry.com and the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Register*. I also checked the list of white trial participants against a surviving list of the city's militia companies (printed in O'Callaghan, *Documentary History*, 4: 211-226), which I entered in the database, along with the list of

city firemen appointed in 1738. Public offices held were taken from E. B. O'Callaghan, "Officials of the Province of New York, 1630-1775," O'Callaghan Papers, New-York Historical Society; and from David T. Valentine, *Manual of the Corporation of the City of New-York for 1854* (New York, 1854), 400-440.

Party Politics

After my reading of the *Journal* led me to suspect a link between the slave conspiracy and the Zenger trial, I began tracking the party affiliations of people involved in both episodes. To the extent possible, individual residents of New York City who were also among the 458 white trial participants were identified as Court Party or Country Party sympathizers, based on elections, petitions, and other documents. Among the most important sources for identifying political sympathies were:

1. "Names of those agreeing to sustain Colonel Morris," James Alexander Papers, Rutherford Collection, NYHS, Box 2, page 75. This is a list of 296 men who supported Lewis Morris.
2. Candidates for elected office with known party affiliations, especially in the 1734 Common Council elections and the 1737 Assembly elections.
3. The Zenger jury.
4. Signers of a petition on behalf of James Alexander, *MCC* 4: 314.
5. Members of the grand jury who found in favor of Alexander's good character, *MCC*, 4: 326.
6. A list of men prepared to pay Zenger's Bail, November 23, 1734, James Alexander Papers, the John Peter Zenger Trial Collection, NYPL.

Enslaved New Yorkers

While census totals document the number of blacks living in New York, and identify them by ward, age, and sex, there is no named census for slaves in the city, and nothing that serves as the equivalent of the 1730 and 1734 tax lists in providing additional information about blacks. The 1703 census reports the totals of slaves by age and sex within households, without supplying names, but it is far too outdated to be useful. No named census of slaves exists except for a provincial census taken in 1755, from which the New York City records are entirely missing ("Census of Slaves, 1755," in O'Callaghan, *Documentary History of New York* 3 [1850], 843-868). The black men and women mentioned in the investigation in 1741 is the best name-census available (although seven are referred to by their owners' names only). I entered all of these named and anonymous individuals into the database, keyed to their owners. And, as names were in many cases almost all that I knew about some slaves, I classified their names by type: African, Biblical, Classical, Dutch, English, Literary, Masters (for slaves who appeared to have been named after former owners), Nouns, Place, Spanish, and Unclassifiable.

I then built two related tables, containing the names of 1) slaves who participated in the 1712 revolt, and 2) runaways. I also classified those names by type. Participants in the 1712 revolt were taken from Kenneth Scott, "The Slave Insurrection in New York in

1712," *NYHSQ* 45 (1961): 62-7. Research assistant Paul McMorrow located and photocopied advertisements for runaway slaves in five newspapers, spanning the years 1725 to 1752:

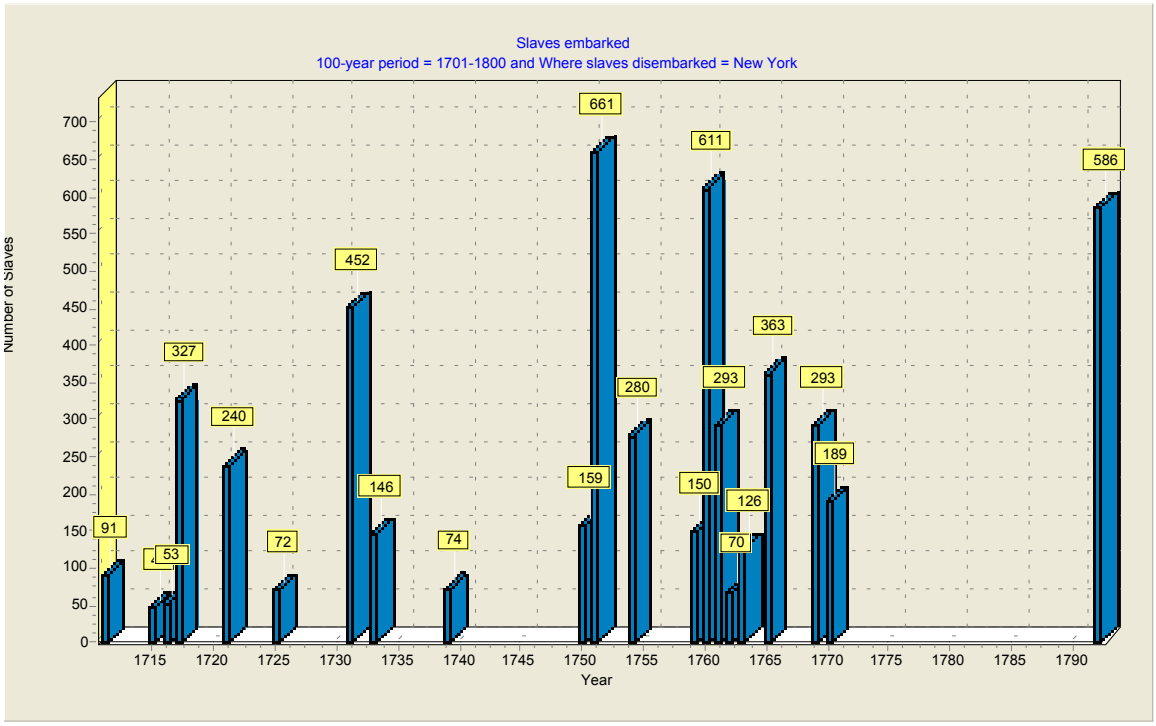
1. *New York Gazette*, 1725-1744.
2. *New-York Weekly Journal*, 1733-1751.
3. *New York Weekly Post-Boy*, 1743-1747.
4. *New-York Evening Post*, 1744-1752.
5. *New York Gazette*, 1747-1752.

A total of 253 ads for runaway slaves and servants appeared in New York City newspapers from 1733-1752. Since many of these ads were placed by owners outside of New York, who suspected their slaves or servants might have run to the city, most were not relevant to my inquiry. I did enter seventy-five advertisements for runaway slaves and servants *from* New York City.

Beyond these sources, much than can be known or guessed about the nature of the enslaved population of the city comes from what is known about the slave trade itself which, although it does not have a place in the database, is worth discussing here. James G. Lydon has offered an "minimum estimate" that at least 6800 Africans were imported into the colony of New York between 1700 and 1774, 2800 directly from Africa and 4000 from the West Indies and other parts of North America, although "a maximum figure of 7,400 might be justified." The nature and extent of the slave trade changed dramatically after the pivotal events of 1741. Before 1741, an average of 150 slaves was imported to the colony each year; after 1741, that number dropped to sixty. Before 1741, 70% of slaves imported to New York came from other parts of the Americas: about 30% of all slaves to New York came from Jamaica, with another 25% coming from Africa. Another 35% came from elsewhere in the West Indies: Barbados, Antiqua, St. Eustatia, St. Thomas, Curacao, Bermuda, and St. Kitts. Less than 3% came from South Carolina (although this data is taken from 1715 to 1764, Lydon says that "these figures emphasize the years before 1743"; after that year, 70% came directly from Africa. African historians John Thornton and Linda Heywood suggest that Lydon's figures may overestimate the prevalence of "seasoned" Caribbean imports in the early New York trade (John Thornton to author, email June 1, 2004), but until more research is conducted on extant shipping records in New York, London, and Albany, Lydon's figures are by far the best available. "Between 1715 and 1774 at least 120 vessels engaged in the African trade to and from New York," Lydon argues. "In total, these vessels took part in at least 151 slaving voyages." But the vast majority of the trading directly with Africa did not begin until the late 1740s: "records can be found for seventeen vessels that engaged in only twenty-one voyages over the period 1715-1747" (James G. Lydon, "New York and the Slave Trade, 1700 to 1774," *WMQ* 35 [1978]: 377, 383-4, 387-8,).

New York merchants' increased involvement in the African trade can be easily charted using *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade*, a database of records of 27,333 voyages from 1595 to 1866, or about 70 percent of the trade.

Table A3. Slaves disembarking in New York, 1701-1800.

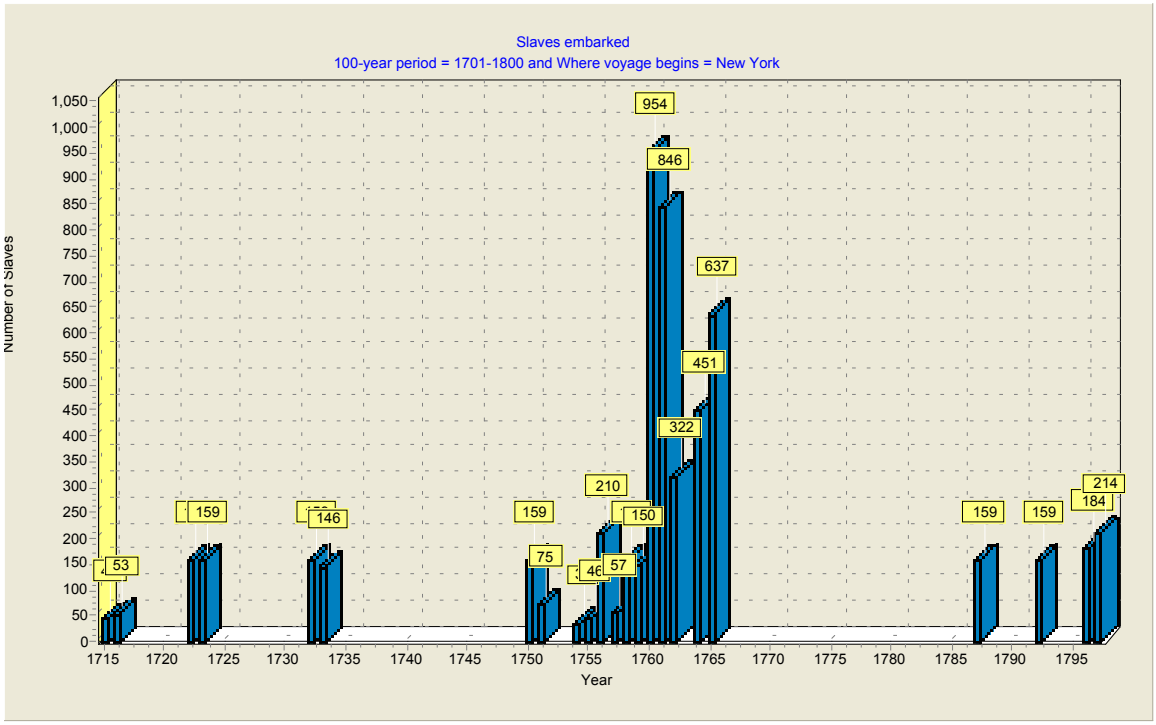


From David Eltis, Stjephen D. Behrendt, David Richardson,a nd Herbert S. Klein, *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-ROM* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

According to Lydon's data, taken from the naval and customs records, as well as newspaper reports, there was very little activity before 1748. And, even after that point, New York merchants' involvement in the trade was minimal, never amounting to even two percent of the total tonnage of the city's overseas trade. But about a quarter or a third of the city's community of about 300 or 400 merchants took part in the trade. Where possible, I have identified which New York merchants were involved in that trade, as a number of these men or their slaves were also involved in the conspiracy trials.

Of those slaves imported to New York, probably about a fifth to a quarter of the total imports remained in the city, although New York merchants only began exporting slaves in any large number in 1750.

Table A4. Slaves embarking from New York, 1701-1800.



From David Eltis, Stjephen D. Behrendt, David Richardson, and Herbert S. Klein, *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-ROM* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

Trials

Having placed the trial participants in the context of the population as a whole, I set about processing the trial transcript itself into database form, in a Trial Table. This part of the project was inspired by the innovative work of a Boston University graduate student, Sandra Heiler, who enlisted a team of graduate students in a seminar I taught in the fall of 2001 to enter trial records into a table in order to test her hypothesis that the more people an accused person accused, the better his chances at escaping execution. (Sandra Heiler, unpublished paper, 2001.) Although, in the end, I decided not to use the database Heiler compiled, and chose instead to re-enter all the trial data myself according to different coding, her project was my inspiration. A related method was employed by a Boston University undergraduate, Greg O'Malley, in his 1999 Honors Thesis, "'These Enemies of Their Own Household': New York's Slave Conspiracy and White Anxiety of 1741," in which he measured pleas of guilty and not guilty before and after Clarke's June 19 proclamation of amnesty.

My work with the trial records was also an attempt to reconstruct tables generated by the court in 1741, including three manuscripts badly damaged by fire: "Names of negroes examined; places where examined; names of the negroes accused by them, and circumstances elicited by their testimony" (New York Colony Council Papers, 74: 88); "Lists of negroes whose confessions are taken, with remarks" (74: 99, 100, 105); and

"Lists of negroes proposed to be transported, and of those proposed to be kept as witnesses" (74: 108, 109). I hoped that, in creating a Trial Table in my database, I would be able to frame queries to generate just these kinds of lists, which would help me understand not only how the prosecution made its case, but how it drew its conclusions.

Hormanden's Journal

I entered every legal proceeding contained in Daniel Horsmanden's *Journal* into a table in the database, keyed to the People Table. I entered more than a thousand records: every appointment to a jury; arrest, accusation, arraignment, plea, opening or closing statement to a jury, judgment, examination, confession, deposition, trial testimony, verdict, sentence, cross-examination, execution, discharge, and pardon, beginning April 21, 1741, the opening of the Supreme Court session, and ending with August 29, 1741, John Ury's execution. I also pasted the full text of confessions, trial testimony, and court motions, taken from a digital version of the trial proceedings, available at a Library of Congress's American Memory website, "Slavery and the Courts." The Trial Table is, in effect, Horsmanden's *Journal*, in database form.

Because I was interested in tracking the plot of the plot, that is, the emergence of certain details of the scene at Hughson's over the course of the proceedings, I attempted to track those in the database. I coded all substantial statements before the court, principally examinations, confessions, depositions, and trial testimony, for the following Details, arranged here by type:

Table A5. Details

Slave revolts
1712
Antigua

At Hughson's
Barrel of cider
Bible
Book
Chalk circle
Christening
Coins or money
Common prayer book
Cock-fighting
Dancing
Dishcloth
Drinking
Drinking blood
Eating meat
Fiddle
Firewood
Firkins of butter
Floorboards
Forgiving sins
Going upstairs
Great feast
Hughson's list
Kissing a book
Large meetings
Latin
Left toes
Muster
Peggy as waitress
Peggy's window
Playing papa
Playing dice
priest
Punch
Rum
Shaving
Stolen goods
Side-table
Silver spoon
Sunday meetings
Swearing
Table
Tablecloth
Talking Dutch
thunder
wafers
Watch
Water pump

Methods
Arson
Burning the fort
Burning master's house
Killing masters
Kill the white people
Marrying white women
Cutting heads off
Cutting master's throats
robbery
setting fire at night

Timing
Christmas
Easter
New Year
St. Patrick's
wind

Weapons
Guns
Swords
Knives
razor
Sharpening knives
Military ranks
Black stuff
poison

Objectives
Governor and king
Liberty
equality
Return to Africa

Allies
Country Negroes
Countrymen
Long Bridge Boys
Smith's Fly Boys
Geneva Club
Spanish support
Short man
Free masons
French support
Spanish Negroes
White plotters

Because I was interested in following patterns of accusation, I entered all accusations in a separate, searchable Accusations Table. For each slave mentioned during the investigation, I assigned one of nine "Final Outcomes":

1. Unknown
2. Confessed but not Arrested
3. Mentioned but not Accused
4. Accused but not Arrested
5. Accused but not Found
6. Discharged
7. Transported
8. Hanged
9. Burned

Final Outcomes were coded with numbers 1 to 9, for increasing order of severity.

Places

The database includes a Place Table of description and location information for over three hundred places in the city in 1741, coded by place type: arsenal, tavern, park, street, well, warehouse, etc.. The goal of this part of the database project was both to reconstruct the look and feel of the city in 1741, and to attempt to plot networks of association among both slaves and slaveowners.

In 1813, David Grim, preparing his *Plan of the City and Environs of New York as they were in the years 1742 1743 & 1744* estimated the number of buildings as follows:

> The number of Houses in this City were in the year 1744, as hereby particularized, vizt.
>
> The W. side of Broadway, to the N. River … 129
> E. side of Broadway, with the W. side of Broad St. … 232
> E. side of Broad St., with the W. side of William St. … 324
> E. side of William St. with the W. side of Pearl St. … 342
> E. side of Pearl St., to the E. River … 214
>
> Total 1141
>
> I am perfectly clear there were not 30 houses, more or less, at that period in the City of New York. Having a perfect recollection of the several spaces of vacant grounds and gardens, that were at that time in the City; I could ascertain the number of houses, with a tolerable certainty, by the taking Retzers map as my guide, knowing the same to be correct. Allowing 25 feet in the front of the street for each house (some were more, others were less). In order to prove my position, I carefully examined and counted the number of houses, in several streets, and

> generally found them perfectly correct. (Grim, "Notes on the City of New York," NYHS.)

Grim claimed a "perfect & correct recollection" of the city in 1742, 1743, and 1744, even though he was born in 1737 and did not draw the map until 1813. He may have underestimated the number of buildings by some few hundred. In 1733, surveyor James Lyne "counted all the houses in New York, including churches, public buildings, store houses, stables, smith shops, etc., and there were 1473" (JA to CC, June 22, 1752, quoted in Stokes, *Iconography*, 6: 23-4).

Although I had initially hoped to identify the owners and residents of the majority of these buildings, and to thereby index all buildings to my People Table, that project proved overwhelming. Instead, I compiled locations and descriptions for key sites mentioned in Horsmanden's *Journal*, or otherwise important in the city, wonderfully aided by research assistant Hannah Carlson. Grim's map, for instance, includes 60 named buildings or features, all of which were entered into the Place Table, along with any surviving details about date erected, owner, and description. Information about buildings and other places was also taken from I.N. Phelps Stokes' monumental labor, the Landmark Map, in his *The Iconography of Manhattan Island, 1498-1909* (New York, 1915-1928; reprint edition New York: Arno Press, 1967), 3: 922-1025. Also consulted were a handful of eighteenth-century travel narratives, and Nan Rothschild's *New York City Neighborhoods: The 18th Century* (San Diego: Academic Press, Inc., 1990), 185-227. Carlson entered all places in the database keyed to Stokes' numbering system. She also entered places from and keyed to William Burgis' detailed engraving of the city, offering a view from the south in 1716-18 ("A South Prospect of ye Flourishing City of New York in the Province of New York in America," 1719-21; New-York Historical Society) and described at length in Stokes, *Iconography*, 1: 239-277. Issued in 1719-21, the Burgis View depicts the city in 1716-18, and identifies 103 buildings along the East River.

GIS Mapping

In working with cartography, I consulted five maps depicting New York City between 1731 and 1754:

1. James Lyne. *A Plan of the City of New York from an actual Survey Made by James Lyne*. 1731. New York Public Library.

2. John Carwitham. *A Plan of the City of New York*. 1740. Holkham Hall, Norfolk, England.

3. Mrs. Buchnerd. "Plan of the City of New York In the Year 1735." New York Public Library).

4. David Grim. "Plan of the City and Environs of New York as they were in the years 1742 1743 & 1744." New-York Historical Society.

5. Francis Maerschalck. *A Plan of the City of New York from an Actual Survey*. 1754. New-York Historical Society.

Digital cartographer David Rumsey generously offered to geo-reference the Carwitham map for me; using ArcView, he "rubbersheeted" that map, tacking it to points of latitude and longitude so that it exists, in a computer file, in the same form as any GIS map. (Since surveying was far from perfect in the eighteenth century, rubbersheeting those maps invariably introduces slight distortions; some parts of the maps appear stretched, while others appear squashed). Later, ArcView whiz Robert Chavez of Tufts University geo-referenced five more city maps, while tutoring me in a GIS software program called ArcView. Chavez also added contemporary map, *New York City, New York, including Long Island: Downtown & Vicinity* (USA: AAA, 2001), to provide reference to the city as it stands today. I then built digital layers on top of those maps: layers for wards, streets, parks, public buildings, residential blocks, markets, taverns, and wells.

Findings

There are a number of ways in which the tax and census data helped me to understand New York's neighborhoods, to know, for instance, that the wealthiest New Yorkers owned the most slaves, and that those slaves were clustered around the neighborhoods along the East River docks: the Dock and East Wards.

Table A6. Average Tax Assessment v. Percentage of Blacks by Ward

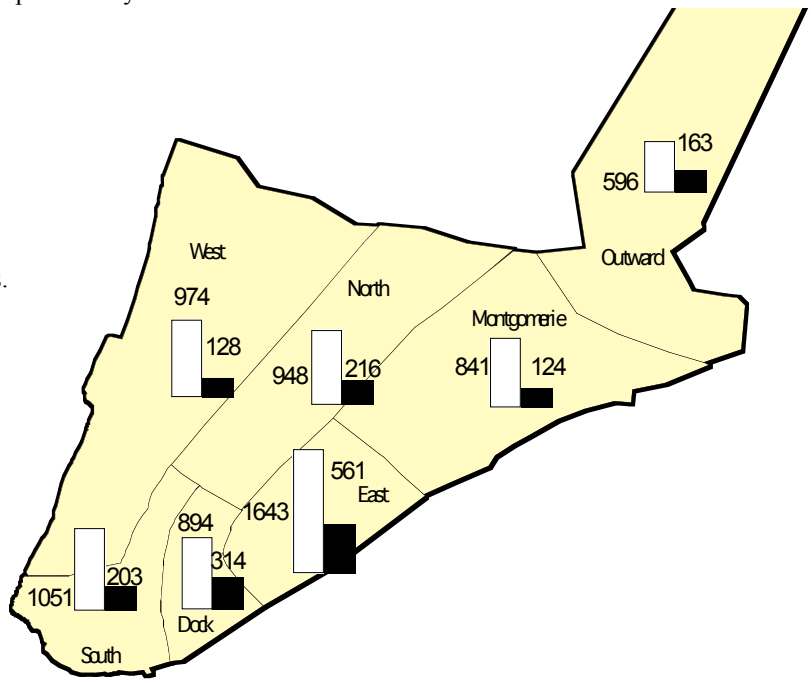
	Average Tax (in pounds)	Blacks (in percent)
East	26.6	25
West	17.5	11
South	16.9	16
North	12.2	19
Dock	21.4	25
Montgomerie	10.2	14
Outward	16.2	21
Citywide	X	19.9

Average Tax is calculated from the 1734 tax list; percentage of blacks in the population is taken from the 1737 census. With the rural outward omitted, there is a positive correlation (0.7) between average tax rate and percentage of blacks in the city population.

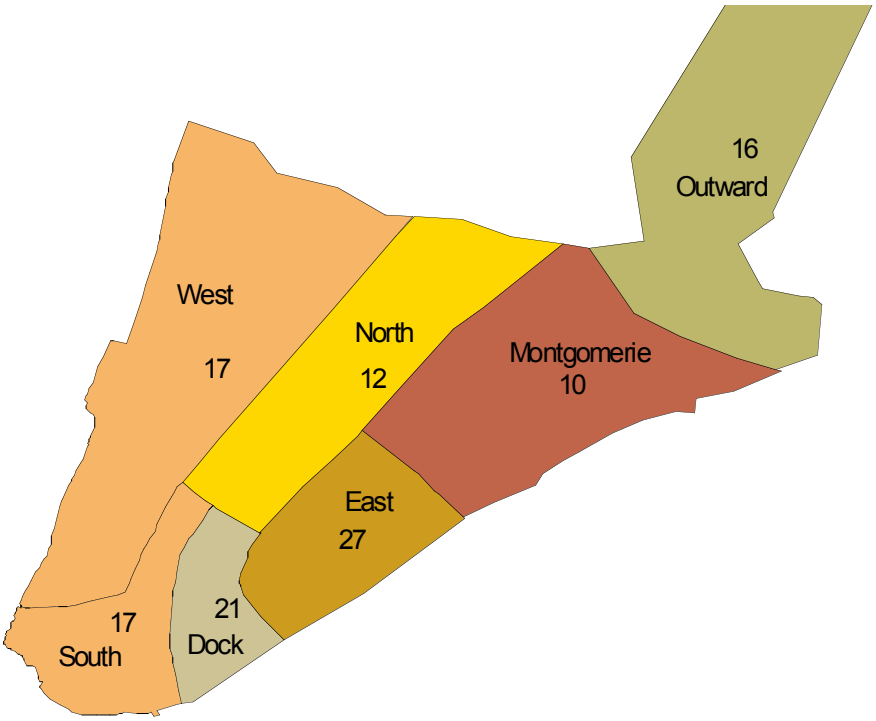
ArcView made it possible to display census and tax data across space, as in the following two maps:

Map A1. The city's population by race and ward

From the 1737 census.



Map A2. Average tax assessment, by ward.



From the 1734 tax rolls. Assessments are in pounds.

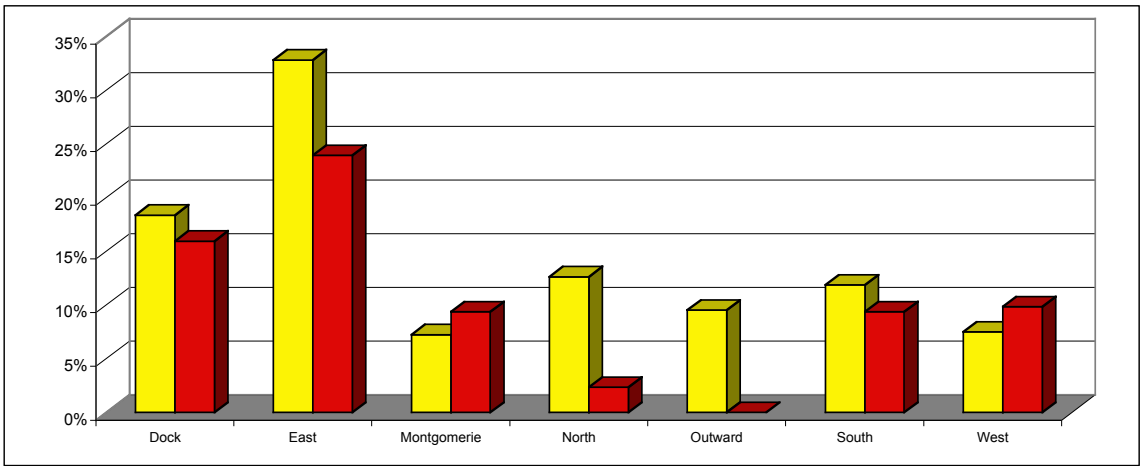
This census and tax data also allowed me to identify the ward, wealth, ethnicity, occupation, and party of a large number of the owners of slaves mentioned in the proceedings, and made it possible to easily generate and analyze the paths and final outcomes of those slaves and free blacks bound up in the proceedings. That data is reproduced in Appendices B and C. Whites accused in the conspiracy, a list of whom appears as a table in Chapter Six, never appeared in the tax lists.

Ward

With that data in hand, I investigated whether slaves bound up in the conspiracy came disproportionately from certain wards. I was able to identify the wards of 151, or 71%, of the 213 slaves named in the conspiracy. Their numbers are roughly proportionate to those in the general population, with these exceptions: no slaves from the Outward were involved in the conspiracy but ten percent of the city's slaves lived there. Also, slaves from the Montgomerie and West Wards—the poorest, most remote, and least densely populated of the wards--were slightly more likely to be involved than their presence in the population of those wards would have predicted.

Table A7. Slaves Named in 1741 by Ward, compared to Slaves by Ward in the 1737 Census

Ward	Total Slave Population in 1737	%Total	Slaves Named in 1741	%Total
Dock	314	18%	34	16%
East	561	33%	51	24%
Montgomerie	124	7%	20	9%
North	216	13%	5	2%
Outward	163	10%	-	0%
South	203	12%	20	9%
West	128	7%	21	10%
Total	**1,709**	**100%**	**151***	**71%**



The yellow bars represent the percentage of blacks in the population according to the 1737 census; the red bars indicate the percentage of blacks named in 1741.

I was also able to investigate whether slaves from certain wards fared better than others as they proceeded through the courts. Once again, these outcomes are, on the whole, proportionately scattered by ward.

Table A8. Final Outcomes by Ward

Ward	Accused but not arrested	Accused but not found	Burned	Discharged	Hanged	Mentioned but not accused	Transported	Total
Dock	7	2	2	6		1	16	34
East	12	1	4	9	5		18	49
Montgomerie	1		3	2	2		12	20
North	2				1		2	5
South	3			4	2	1	10	20
West	3	1	2	1	2	3	9	21
Total	**28**	**4**	**11**	**22**	**12**	**5**	**67**	**149***

*Although ward locations for 151 slaves are known, outcomes are only known for 149 of these.

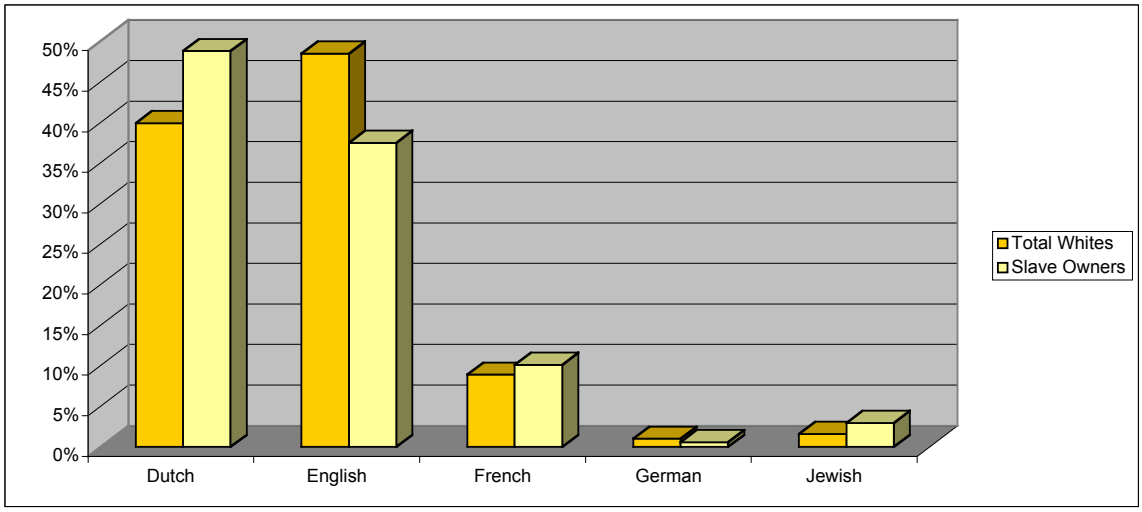
Ethnicity

Owner ethnicity was known for 168 of the 213 named slaves. Slaves owned by Dutch New Yorkers were more vulnerable to be named in the conspiracy, and those owned by English masters were less likely than their presence in the general population would have predicted.

Table A9. Owners of Accused by Ethnicity

	Total Whites in Population*		Owners of Named Slaves	
Ethnicity		%	Count	%
Dutch		39%	82	49%
English		49%	63	38%
French		8%	17	10%
German		1%	1	1%
Jewish		2%	5	3%
n=	**1087**	**100%**	**168**	**100%**

*From the 1730 tax list, with Goodfriend's identification of ethnicity. Owners who owned more than one named slave are counted for each slave.



Wealth

Owner wealth was known for the owners of 134 of the named slaves. It roughly correlates with the distribution of income among taxpayers.

Table A10. Owners of Accused by Wealth

Wealth Cohort from the 1734 Tax List	Percentage of TaxPayers in that Cohort*	Percentage of Owners of Named Slaves in that Cohort
5-10		14%
11-20		13%
21-50		34%
51-100		18%
101-150		7%
151-200		6%
>200		7%

*I still need to calculate these numbers from the 1734 Tax List.

Final Outcomes also appear to have been proportionately scattered by income of slave owners. A slave's owner's wealth did not predict how he would fare in the courts.

Table A11. Final Outcomes by Owner Wealth

OwnerWealth Cohort	Mentioned but not accused	Accused but not arrested	Accused but not found	Discharged	Transported	Hanged	Burned	Total
5-10		1		4	11	2	1	19
11-20		5		2	7	3	1	18
21-50	4	10		4	22	2	4	46
51-100		5	1	5	11		2	24
101-150		2	1	1	2	1	2	9
151-200			2	2	4			8
>200		2		3	3	1	1	10
Total	**4**	**25**	**4**	**21**	**60**	**9**	**11**	**134**

Party

The party sympathies of owners of named slaves were known for only 74 slaves. Of these, 57 were known supporters of the Country Party; 17 were known supporters of the Court Party. Almost half of those slaves owned by Country Party sympathizers were transported, compared to a fifth of those owned by supporters of the Court Party. Unfortunately, the available evidence made it easier for me to identify Country Party than Court Party members—the opposition was more likely to sign petitions--which renders these findings merely suggestive.

Table A12. Final Outcome by Owner Party

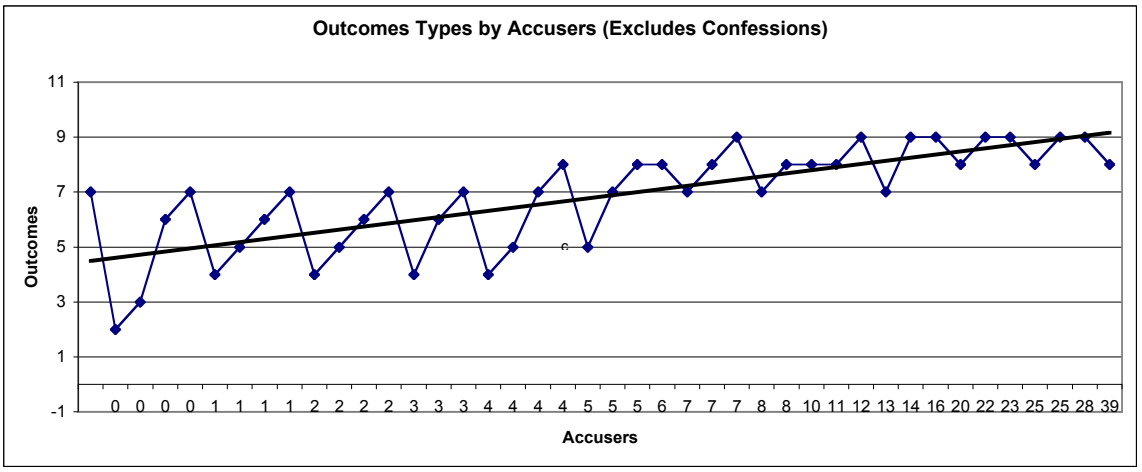
	Unknown	Court Party	Country Party	Total
Burned	8	2	4	14
Hanged	9	1	6	16
Transported	55	5	25	85
Accused but not found	4		2	6
Accused but not arrested	37	3	8	48
Confessed but not arrested			1	1
Discharged	22	2	11	35
Arrested by mistake and released	1			1
Mentioned but not accused	2	4		6
unknown	1			1
Grand Total	**139**	**17**	**57**	**213**

Known n=74

Accusations

One of the best predictors of a slave's Final Outcome was the number of people who had accused him or her.

Table A13. Final Outcome by Number of Accusers*



*This charts Final Outcomes versus the number of accusers, excluding the outcome for those slaves who confessed (and whose outcome was therefore determined, most of all, by the quality of their confession). Final Outcomes are assigned numbers from 2 to 9, from least to greatest severity (unknown outcomes are also excluded).

As use of maps suggests, I was especially keen to discover geographic patterns, like those documented by Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum in their study of Salem witchcraft (*Salem Possessed: The Social Origins of Witchcraft* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974]). I had also originally hoped to be able to identify the exact house in which each trial participant in lived, and to fully integrate the Access database with the ArcView map project in order to locate and display, with the click of a mouse, everything I knew about, for instance, an accused slave: his name, street, ward, owner's wealth, and the residences of those he accused and were accused by him. But in the end, that proved impractical. While I was successful identifying the ward in which most people lived, locating their residences by building or even by street proved beyond the scope of the project. Moreover, as I discuss in Chapter Five, my data analysis suggested that a slave's ward bore little relation to patterns of accusation.

Slave Names

Beginning with a closer inspection of Horsmanden's own "LIST *of NEGROES*," I attempted to analyze the names of slave named in the proceedings in 1741, in 1712, in runaway ads, and, as a control population, in a census of slaves from Ulster, Dutchess, and Westchester Counties, taken in 1755.

Table A14. ***Percent*** **of Certain Name Types among Male Slaves and Free Blacks**

1712 Revolt	1741 Revolt	1755 Census	1725-1750 Runaways	Name Type	Examples
19	13	4	14	Akan	Quash, Cuffee, Quack
2	2	5	0	Biblical	Abraham, Adam, Isaac, Jacob, Job
9	14	6	5	Classical	Pompey, Caesar, Cato, Mars, Titus
2	0	3	0	Dutch	Andries, Maat, Pieter
46	38	65	48	English	Tom, Dick, Harry
0	1	0	0	Literary	Othello and Oroonoko
2	1	0	0	Masters	Lowe and Jonneau*
2	8	4	5	Nouns	Fortune, Venture, Tickle, Prince
2	20	2	9	Place	Windsor, York, Jamaica, Congo
7	7	2	19	Spanish	Pedro, Antonio, Juan, Domingo
7	0	7	0	Unclassifiable	Tiss, Tam, Go, Pawby
n=43	n=224	n=205	n=21		

*These men appear to have borne the names of former owners.

The 1755 slave census, containing the names of slaves *outside* of New York City, is the best available control population. If it represents a reasonable approximation of the names of slaves living in New York itself, the results are telling: while slaves with African names represent only 4% of the general population, they represent 13% of those named in the 1741 conspiracy, 14% of the city's runaways, and 19% of those involved in the 1712 revolt. Five of the thirteen men burned at the stake in 1741, or 38%, had African names.

A Final Word

My aim in laboriously reconstructing the city was to detect patterns in the conspiracy, the fires, the confessions and the trials that were otherwise unobservable by reading Horsmanden's *Journal* and restoring that document to its literary, legal, and cultural context, as important as that context is to any understanding of the events of 1741. As it turned out, I did discover important patterns. But reconstructing the city turned out to be more of an end itself than a means to another end. The tax lists and trial records and censuses and maps introduced me to the people and places of eighteenth-century New York: the database took me to the streets.