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SLAVERY AND FREEDOM

in the Rural North

*African Americans in Monmouth
County, New Jersey, 1665–1865*

GRAHAM RUSSELL HODGES



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I

The Creation of a Slave Society 1664–1714

Monmouth County, the shoulder of New Jersey's coastal plain, reaches from Raritan Bay on its northeastern extremity, past the Navesink and Shrewsbury rivers, to Metedeconk's Atlantic outlet at the southeast, and inland as far west as Allentown. The county saddles the inner and outer coastal plains of New Jersey. The fertile sandy clay-and-marl soil of the inner plain, initially thought to be infertile, proved capable of supporting a prosperous, slave-based agricultural society during the colonial and post-Revolutionary eras. The outer coastal plain, located primarily in the county's southern portions, lacks clay and supports agriculture only along higher elevations. During the colonial era the coast from Sandy Hook southward, too marshy for good harbors, supported a small maritime economy, including fishing and whaling. Behind the sandy beaches and marshes lay the pine barrens, which originally covered much of southern Monmouth.

The Dutch claimed the region, from 1615, as part of New Netherland. However, the ten thousand colonists who settled New Netherland between 1623 and 1664 moved north and south

of Monmouth County, either to New Amsterdam (Manhattan), Long Island, or strategic waterways like the lower Hudson and Delaware rivers. Monmouth County's modern history stems from the English conquest of Dutch New Netherland in August 1664. On October 28 of that year a coalition of Quakers and Baptists from Long Island and Rhode Island purchased from the Leni Lenape Indians a tract of land reaching from Sandy Hook westward to the Raritan River and southward from that line for twelve miles. On April 8, 1665, Richard Nicholls, appointed by the Duke of York to be New York's first governor, gave legal recognition to this purchase by issuing the settlers a patent on the tract, the terms of which granted them a degree of autonomy within the larger political context of New York. The Quakers and Baptists immediately set to work establishing two towns, Middletown and Shrewsbury.¹

The Long Islanders among them came from an area that had, over a period of four decades under Dutch rule, become increasingly dependent on slave labor. Now, under English rule, slavery was formally recognized in New York through the so-called Duke's Laws, promulgated on February 10, 1665 to govern the colony's English-speaking communities. If the Duke's Laws encouraged servitude, the Monmouth Patent virtually dictated it. Key among its features are clauses that required settlers to maintain "an able Man servant or two such weaker Servants" and that granted additional acreage to masters with more servants. Another clause permitted land grants only to "Christian Servants," hampering acquisitions by free blacks and Indians who had not converted.²

To those able to meet these requirements, the terms of the Monmouth Patent were intentionally liberal and tolerant. Settlers received farms averaging over 200 acres, a figure that compares favorably with, say, the modest patents of seventy-five acres allotted the Dutch settlers of Bergen County. Moreover, as the



Thomas Gordon, Map of the State of New Jersey, 1834 (detail showing Monmouth County). Courtesy of Monmouth County Historical Association.

original purchasers themselves represented more than one Protestant denomination, it was clear from the outset that Monmouth would have sectarian sympathies as ecumenical as those of Rhode Island.

In general, small agricultural communities characterized the county's early development. Town centers were composed of churches, mills, and taverns surrounded by dispersed, independent farms. Similar communities developed in the eighteenth century. For instance, Upper Freehold, in the southwestern corner of the county, coalesced from a scattering of tiny villages settled around 1700. These patterns of habitation broadly affected black families. Divided among farmsteads spread across the landscape, blacks were close enough to retain ties yet inconveniently distant from each other.

Ethnic Composition of Early Monmouth County

A diverse group of masters from other origins and denominations joined the Quakers and Baptists in developing the Monmouth Patent. Among the first were Barbadians, often the younger sons of planters, who could bring their African chattel with them secure in the knowledge that the Duke's Laws recognized slavery. Immigrants from the West Indies were joined by Huguenots and Presbyterians attracted by favorable land grants and religious tolerance. The "servants" these settlers brought were an equally diverse lot, some African, some Native American, some European. Whether by reason of race, language, country, or class, they were sure to differ from their masters in beliefs and customs, thus further enriching the county's ethnic base.

After November 25, 1672, when the Duke of York annulled the Monmouth Patent, this social diversity was increased. Until then Monmouth residents had had a basis for claiming exemp-

tion from the laws of New Jersey, which required landowners to pay quitrents. To eliminate this basis was one of the annulment's intended effects. Another effect, perhaps unintended but no less important to the county's destiny, was to bring the Monmouth Patent under the more relaxed codes for immigration and residence found elsewhere in New Jersey (from 1684, East Jersey). Still, by the first decades of the eighteenth century only a minority of the county's freeholders were slaveholders.

The true ethnic multiplicity of Monmouth's earliest immigrants is partly disguised by conventional labels. While the Dutch, who migrated into Monmouth from Kings County (Brooklyn) in the 1690s were the most widely known ethnic group and well-represented among slave-owning families, other groups were present within the initial settlements. Thus, Spanish, Germans, and French were among the "Dutch" who emigrated from Holland, and Scots embarked from disparate clans and counties.³ Blacks arriving in the middle colonies in the late seventeenth century similarly originated from a wide spectrum of societies along Africa's western coast or, after a brief "seasoning," from the West Indies.

Once in Monmouth County, whites and blacks melded into parallel charter societies even as they retained older cultural mores.⁴ Part of this melding was achieved through intermarriage. It goes without saying that Africans, cast into this frontier in sparse and scattered lots, could scarcely expect easy access to partners from their own nations. Yet even among Dutch, English, and Huguenot families, intermarriage dissolved, generation by generation, ethnic dissimilarities. This was indicative of Monmouth's religious tolerance, for elsewhere the Dutch, at least, rarely intermarried. As white families expanded, intermarriage meant that slave owners throughout the county often were related. For example, family records indicate continual intermarriages between the (English) Holmeses and (Dutch)

Hendricksons, two of the largest slaveholding families in the county. Huguenot families also intermarried with other groups.

Socializing also crossed ethnic boundaries. Tavern licenses and account books for Monmouth show drinking and carousing across ethnic groups. Such relationships greatly enhanced social controls over slaves because bondpeoples could rarely circulate anonymously.⁵ Not that they did not try. Among the early statutes of East Jersey was an act forbidding any person to buy, sell, or barter “with slaves” for any “rum, brandy, wine, or strong drink.”⁶ In this, as in many other things, African Americans were increasingly being defined as a caste apart.

Establishment of a Slave Economy in Monmouth

Of course, it is not surprising if *any* slave—regardless of color—be seen as something or someone other. In New Netherland, from which many of Monmouth’s slaveholders came, slavery seems to have been predicated on the assumption that non-Christians, especially those taken in battle, could ethically be held in bondage. Such were the Native Americans taken as slaves and also, presumably, the Africans sold to Dutch slavers by rival nations.

The Dutch, who together with the Portuguese then dominated the world slave trade, used Africans from the outset to develop a viable infrastructure in New Netherland—clearing forests or building roads, fortifications, and public works.⁷ But in a frontier where the cost of importing provisions was enormous, slaves performed no service more valuable than undertaking the arduous work of breaking new sod, tilling stony soil, and raising crops. Evidence of this value appears in a directive of March 1660 from the city council of Amsterdam to Peter Stuyvesant, director of New Amsterdam. The council, aware that the costs of provisions for New Amsterdam’s growing gar-

risson were becoming onerous, transferred some slaves from Curaçao to the colony, explaining to Stuyvesant that “agriculture would be beneficially promoted by Negroes, . . . and the prosperity of [New Netherland] is, for the most part, dependent thereon.”⁸ Four years later Stuyvesant requested more slaves, writing, “These Negroes have afforded a great relief in the purchase of provisions for the Garrison. . . . We [now] have a great need for a few slaves to truck the provisions.”⁹

The “need” for slaves in developing Monmouth’s first farms was no less evident to its purchasers. The terms of the Monmouth Patent required individual settlers to bring one or two slaves or indentured servants. Help was essential in every phase of settlement, beginning with the initial construction of homes. The first homes were not log cabins, but tents and dugouts. Richard Hartshorne, an early settler and slave owner, wrote that it was important to have three or four sons or servants to cut timber and plant corn quickly. Settlers and their slaves dug square pits in the ground, cellar fashion, six or seven feet deep, and as long and broad as feasible. Wooden foundations lined with bark kept out soil. Next the cellar was covered by a floor, followed by walls, and then a roof of spars insulated by bark and green sod. In this crude hut lived the master, his family and the slaves. Such homes served for several years until the sale of good harvests permitted larger dwellings.

The next task was clearing the land of dense foliage and trees. Settlers borrowed girdling and burning methods from Native Americans. Girdling was done by making an incision through the bark around the trunk, leaving the tree to die. Knowledgeable observers advised settlers to arrive in April in order to spend the summer clearing land and building homes. Hartshorne described the best crops as Indian corn and maize, rye, barley, oats and flax, all of which required extensive farm labor.¹⁰

Unfortunately, there are few records for assessing the purchase and use of slaves for agriculture in Monmouth County.

Farmers in Monmouth doubtless were important customers of the slave traders. But lists of purchasers survive infrequently and imports were spread over a wide region, so that the exact extent of Monmouth County's participation in the seventeenth-century slave trade cannot be precisely fixed.

Perhaps even less is known about the influx of indentured servants into the county. That they were present from an early stage is suggested by a 1683 East Jersey statute "against aiding runaway servants," occasioned specifically by cases in Shrewsbury.¹¹ The continued presence of indentured servants in Monmouth is suggested by the notices of white runaways from New Jersey, which began to appear with the establishment of newspapers in the early eighteenth century. Early colonists were also willing to pay contract workers from Europe, luring them with advertisements such as one aimed at prospective Scots-Irish immigrants which maintained that "ordinary servants" after laboring six or seven years could, with thrifty behavior, attain the "beginnings of a Comfortable Lively-hood." While indentured and hired labor continued to play a role throughout colonial times, in the end it was slavery that grew.¹²

Small farms meant small slave holdings. Of ten estate inventories listing slaves and recorded for Shrewsbury between 1680 and 1710, the average holding was less than two slaves per estate. Accordingly, while there were occasional deliveries of twenty or more slaves to the Monmouth region, most imports into eastern New Jersey arrived in small lots. The emphasis in single-slave transactions was on younger, healthy slaves, who probably had been in the West Indies only a few years, given the overwhelming human turnover in the islands. There was a reverse trade as well. New Jersey slaveholders occasionally shipped bondspeople back to the West Indies. For example, Daniel Hendrickson paid £10 to transport two young African men for sale in Martinique.¹³

Between 1718 and 1764, 480 slaves from the West Indies were imported into Perth Amboy, located in Middlesex County a few miles from Monmouth. This total averages about ten per year, and not all went to Monmouth. Similarly, slaves imported into Philadelphia, which supplied Upper Freehold, came in small parcels, with few exceptional years, until the Seven Years' War in the 1750s.¹⁴

In the early eighteenth century, mid-Atlantic masters began purchasing large contingents of slaves directly imported from Africa. Seven large shipments of Africans to New York and New Jersey arrived between 1715 and 1734, all from the "Coast of Guinea." The *Dragon*, *New York Postilion*, and the *Catherine and Mary* docked in New York City within three weeks of each other, the last two on the same day, September 12, 1717. The three vessels brought a total of 266 slaves. The next vessel arriving directly from Africa, the *Crown Galley* of London, docked on June 5, 1721. In 1725 fifty-nine slaves arrived from Africa in a Rhode Island slaver. The *Catherine*, owned by John Watts of New York City and Arnot Schuyler, a large slaveholder in Bergen County, arrived in Perth Amboy in the summer of 1731, and in New York a few weeks later. Two years later the *Catherine* returned with a second load of 100 slaves, docking at Perth Amboy and then New York City. Monmouth County farmers purchased many of these slaves in Perth Amboy just before the harvest.¹⁵

Ironically, the first real slave *community* in Monmouth was industrial rather than agricultural, being established at Lewis Morris's iron mine and forge at Tinton Falls, in Shrewsbury Township. There Morris brought about forty enslaved men and women in 1677. By the time of his death, in 1691, that number had increased to sixty-seven: his inventory of the plantation at Tinton Falls included "22 male Negroes, 11 women, 6 boys, 3 girls, and 25 children under ten years of unknown sex."

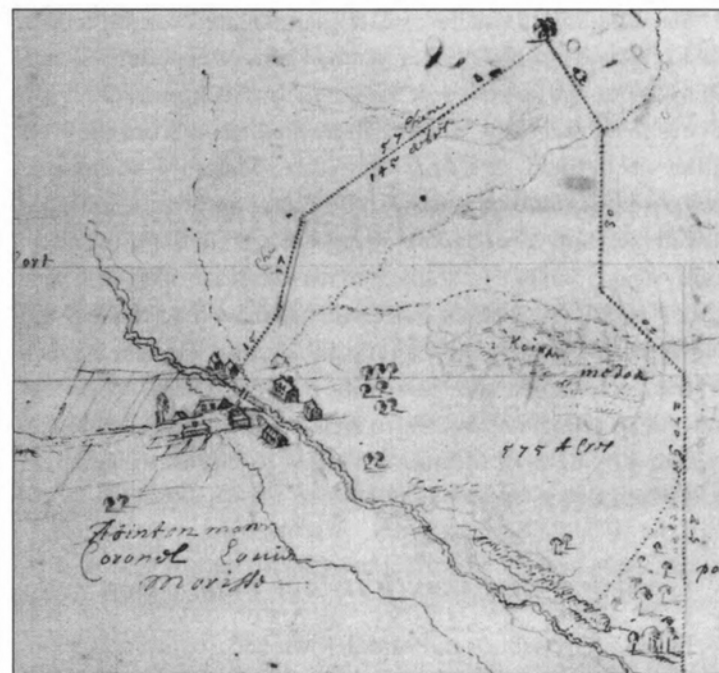
Because of its concentration of slaves, Tinton Falls was an

anomaly in Monmouth. Yet Morris's enterprise was important to Monmouth for two reasons (a third will be discussed later in this chapter). First, Morris employed both free white and enslaved African labor in his extensive operation, and he allotted the former special exemptions. Workmen, he decreed, were free from arrest for debt and from impressment into the militia. Morris also used white laborers as skilled labor and reserved hard physical labor for his Africans. Blacks and free white laborers lived in separate dormitories on the property. Naturally, these measures established unequal, race-based ranks among the laborers. In a society where the concept of servant implied bondage, such differentiation took on increasing weight as time passed.

The second reason for Tinton Falls' importance derives from the economic and political clout of the Morris family, several of whom became key ruling figures in colonial New Jersey. After the founder's death in 1691, his nephew, also named Lewis Morris, inherited the Tinton Falls plantation. A potent figure in the economy of New Jersey and its future governor, Morris's use of slavery set the tone for other Monmouth residents.¹⁶

The Character of Early Slaves

Enslaved Africans came into New York and New Jersey from Jamaica, Barbados, Curaçao, and Antigua, colonies characterized by intensive staple crop slave economies, heavy slave mortality, little cultural interaction between white and black beyond brutal management, and the retention of African culture. Each colony would experience powerful slave uprisings by the 1730s. Jamaica was unable to defeat or control its maroon population, and Barbados' and Antigua's slave revolts were repressed only by the savagery evident in New York City in 1712 and 1741. While Monmouth's slaveholders wanted healthy bondsmen, they had to accept and learn to control assertive young Africans.¹⁷



Map of Tinton Manor, Lewis Morris Plantation, c. 1695.
Courtesy of Monmouth County Historical Association.

Unquestionably Africans brought on the slave ships had a vast array of experiences. For many, brought directly from Africa in mass sales, the Middle Passage required immediate adaptation to new cultures. Part of this required unity among unrelated Africans. The diaspora created an Atlantic culture of many tongues.¹⁸ The Middle Passage brutally married African identities with European and American cultures. Similarly, the West Indian slave trade, bringing blacks almost individually into New Jersey, propelled them into a polyglot society. Each person's reaction to this differed. Some found solace from their bondage in African mores; others mixed cultures, while a few doubtless followed the manners of their master's race.

Slave trading in small lots had unanticipated consequences. Blacks brought to New Jersey in small groups experienced very different passages from those imported by the hundreds. It can be presumed that ships bringing individual blacks from the West Indies used them as sailors or hands. Seafaring sometimes brought blacks into contact with sympathetic whites. Enslaved African men and white sailors, who were among the most notoriously egalitarian of early American workers, identified with each other's plight. As Orlando Patterson has reported, "Sailors and Negroes are ever on the most amicable terms." There was much "mutual confidence and familiarity between them . . . in the presence of the sailor, the Negro feels a man." Such experiences enabled a number of Monmouth slaves to hire out as seamen, or, if necessary, to escape by boat.¹⁹

Growth of Monmouth's Slave Population

By 1680 Shrewsbury and Middletown had a combined population of about 900, including about forty-eight slaves, accounting for 5.3 percent of the total county population, spread over a wide geographic area. This proportion is slightly smaller than the 5.9 percent slave population estimated for New Jersey generally and considerably smaller than the 12.2 percent slave population of Dutch-dominated New York. However, by 1691, there were sixty-seven slaves at Lewis Morris's Tinton Falls plantation south of Shrewsbury. Adding this number to the 1680 population brought the total number of enslaved blacks to at least 117. This increase raised the black percentage of East Jersey's population to 13 percent of the total, a figure which placed the colony fourth in British North America.²⁰

Over the next hundred years the black population of colonial Monmouth grew steadily, as illustrated in Table 1. By 1726, the time of the first recorded census, Monmouth's black popu-

lation had jumped to 433, the 258 male and 175 female blacks constituting almost 9 percent of the county's population. The next census, taken in 1737, showed a black population of 362 males and 293 females, accounting for nearly 10 percent of the local population. In 1745 the last surviving colonial census for East Jersey counted 513 enslaved males and 386 enslaved females, slightly more than 10 percent of the county's total population and the largest black population in East Jersey.

Assessors for the counties of East Jersey refused to complete a census in 1771, making impossible an accurate accounting of African Americans just before the Revolution. However, county constable Richard Stout did enumerate the adult slaves in Monmouth. Stout's total of 536 included 158 blacks in Freehold, 165 in Middletown, 97 in Shrewsbury, 9 in Dover, and 4 in Stafford. Stout counted only adult males and females, omitting slaves under the age of sixteen or those unable to work, which customarily meant anybody above forty years of age.²¹ Demog-

Table 1
Population of Monmouth County, New Jersey, 1726-1784

	1726	1738	1745	1771	1784
White	4,446	5,431	7,728	9,840	11,576
Black	443	655	899	1,394	1,640
Total	4,879	6,086	8,627	11,234	13,216

All numbers except for those for 1771 come from the census of that year. The 1771 figures are estimates. See Evarts B. Greene and Virginia D. Harrington, *American Population before the Federal Census of 1790* (New York, 1932), 88-112; Peter O. Wacker, "Origins and Settlements," in *Land and People: A Cultural Geography of Preindustrial New Jersey* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1975), 189-205. For method used for the 1771 estimate, see Stella H. Sutherland, *Population Distribution in Colonial America* (New York, 1936), 98-99.

rapher Stella Sutherland estimated the white population of East Jersey for 1771 as 85 percent of the 1784 tax census. Applied to the black population, this method gives an estimate of 1,394 blacks in the county in 1771, a number in line with contemporary growth patterns in the colony.

By 1784, blacks in Monmouth numbered 1,640, or nearly four times the total of five decades earlier. During this span, the white population had only doubled. Although the white population remained larger, blacks remained important to rural society during the late colonial period.²²

Factors in the Growth of the Slave Population

Two factors, the slave trade and natural reproduction, explain the growth of the black population of colonial Monmouth even as slave ownership was declining in northern cities. In the growth of its slave population, Monmouth County resembles the rural countryside around Philadelphia and New York City. However, Monmouth was more distinctly rural than those areas, and the steady growth of its slave society illustrates how valuable bonded labor was just before the Revolution.²³

Some of the demand for new slaves was met, as has been seen, by the foreign slave trade. And in this New Jersey's colonial rulers helped by making the region a duty-free zone throughout most of the colonial period. Britain's governing bodies had two chief motivations for imposing no duty on slave imports. First, the Royal African Company wished to bolster imperial profits. Acceding to this wish, the English Privy Council regularly revoked any customs. For example, when in 1713 the assembly, more to raise revenues than to discourage slavery, ordered a £10 duty on any slave brought into New Jersey for purposes of sale, the Privy Council quickly disallowed the measure. In suc-

ceeding years New Jersey, like other colonies, resorted to temporary duties, but these lasted only until vetoed in London. Finally, the Privy Council, trying to halt such actions, ordered royal governors not to accept any legislation creating tariffs for slaves.²⁴

Economic incentive worked with its usual efficacy. New Jersey and New York became attractive secondary markets for the African and West Indian slave trade in the early decades of the eighteenth century. By the 1760s, New Jersey had also become an appealing market for Philadelphia slave traders.²⁵ Some of the trade was legitimate, but because New Jersey charged no duties on slaves, importers and masters from New York and Pennsylvania found it convenient to unload a small lot in Jersey, sell a few slaves locally, then smuggle the rest to the larger colonies.

The second motivation for eliminating tariffs on slaves was simply the demand of New Jersey's citizens for a ready supply of laborers. By the late 1720s the supply of free or contract laborers whom farmers could hire during harvests was quickly dwindling, as is suggested by the narrowing gap between numbers of white males and females. Some younger men were leaving Monmouth to seek cheaper, more accessible land elsewhere.²⁶ Others, according to members of New Jersey's assembly, had gone privateering in the West Indies, never to return. Those that remained charged exorbitant wages. Moreover, the success of the linen industry in Ireland and wars in Europe meant that traditional sources of white laborers had dried up.

Although the poorest of Europeans might still be willing to trade their freedom for passage to the New World, indentured servants had been tried and, in many instances, found wanting. Thus, Francis Harrison, a customs official and advocate of increased slavery in the mid-Atlantic colonies, found little interest among New Yorkers and East Jerseyans for indentured servants. The people, he wrote "(especially the Dutch who are ¾ of these

colonies) are unwilling or rather in cases of necessity only take any white servants knowing by experience from their neighbors of Virginia & Maryland &ct that the worst in the world come out of Bridewell and Newgate."²⁷ Little wonder, then, that in 1744 members of New Jersey's assembly rejected Governor Lewis Morris's proposal for a duty on slaves, retorting that "it would be more for the Interest of the People of this Colony to encourage at this time the Importation of Slaves."²⁸

For some the attractions of slave labor extended beyond the specifics of shifting demographics. One such advocate was Francis Harrison, who identified two further reasons why the slave trade could profitably expand in New Jersey. First, he contended, freeholders "manure no land but their own." Second, he noted that slaves were the key "portion which young men have from their parents or received with their wives when they set out in the world." Similar views were no doubt espoused by many Monmouth County immigrants who were purchasing Africans, perhaps for the first time.

Morris's plantation at Tinton Falls was perhaps the first place in Monmouth where natural reproduction significantly increased the number of enslaved African Americans. Perhaps Morris sought to encourage reproduction and not merely to economize when he chose not to provide separate housing for the sexes. In any event, and probably unbeknownst to Morris—seventeenth-century Europeans normally showed little interest in African customs—this compound style of living reinforced African cultural heritage and doubtless promoted the practice of polygamy. Present also at Morris's plantation was the first African cemetery in the county, creating a sacred space for the black community around Tinton Falls.²⁹

Elsewhere in the county, an important obstacle to nuclear family development among blacks was the diffusion of related slaves between a number of farms. Just as Africans were not always imported in small groups, so did Monmouth slaveholders

not always limit themselves to owning one or two slaves. The Monmouth Patent, after all, encouraged through the incentive of increased acreage larger aggregations of bondsmen on land grants. In practice, however, no farm in Monmouth County was large enough to support more than a dozen slaves. This contrasts with the West Indian and southern plantations, where masses of slaves toiled. In Monmouth, family ownership, a significant factor in the county's labor system, often split black families.

The most common condition for Monmouth's slaves was to live and work in ethnic isolation, remote from potential husbands or wives. Such living arrangements clearly could not support the development of black nuclear families. Accordingly, African Americans in Monmouth revived African traditions of extended, consanguinal families. Unlike the stem families that dominated white settlements in Monmouth, the core of slave families was a single adult, with closer relations to other adult blacks than to a single person.³⁰

A master or mistress's death was a frequent cause for sales or distribution of slaves among several relatives. John Anderson of Freehold, for example, died in 1736 and ordered that the services of "Negro Judy" be divided between his son and daughter. Four other slaves were to be split among four children. Later John Pew of Middletown gave his wife "Negro Phillis," one daughter "Negro Dorcas," another daughter "Negro girl Effe," and a "Negro Man Ephraim." The hardships suffered by the black family through this commerce are obvious. Unlike the South, however, where enslaved blacks were often sold faraway, Monmouth allowed its Africans to remain in geographic proximity, preserving some family connections. The difficulty lay in the fact that the master, mistress, or overseer controlled access to black family members. Black families during slavery had to base family connection on emotional attachment more than proximity.³¹

Table 2
Slave Family Composition,
1680–1775

	1680–1726	1727–1746	1747–1775
Nuclear Family	2	2	9
Single Male	8	13	23
Single Female	6	2	11
Women and Children	4	4	17
Complex Groups	4	16	16
Couples	0	10	15
Total	24	47	91

Source: "Monmouth County Wills, 1680–1775," Archives Section, Division of Archives and Record Management, New Jersey Department of State, Trenton, N.J.

Evidence about family formation in census and probate records, shown in Table 2, indicates that Monmouth's blacks had mixed chances for family development and reproduction. Although single men and women were the most common configuration among slave holdings, women, children and complex groups of several generations accounted for the bulk of slaves in the county. In seventy-one estates inventoried with slaves between 1680 and 1746, there were only four black nuclear families. At the same time, increasing parity between numbers of males and females gradually supplanted earlier gender imbalances.

The black gender imbalance in seventeenth-century Monmouth is characteristic of a small agricultural society. During the eighteenth century it gradually shifted from 189 males for every 100 females, in 1726, to 132 males for every 100 females, in 1745, sustaining an annual growth rate for blacks of between 4 and 5 percent.³² This was accomplished within a system of small-

farm slavery in which the average size of slave holdings on ninety-five estates inventoried between 1743 and 1775 increased only by a factor of 2.83.³³

Children also appear in probate records with greater regularity, revealing the effects of natural reproduction. Gary Nash and Jean Soderlund have argued that for Philadelphia slaves to make the transition to a self-sustaining population, family units needed an average of at least one girl per adult woman.³⁴ In Monmouth County probate records, enumerated in Table 3, the number of slave girls for the entire colonial period was 79 for every 100 woman during a time of rising black population. Looked at more closely, one sees that the ratio improved substantially from 73 girls for every 100 women, in Monmouth's first fifty years, to over 83 girls for every 100 women, in the pre-Revolutionary period.

Other data suggest that Monmouth's blacks may have been numerically sufficient for sustaining their society. Across East Jersey and in Monmouth specifically, the black population tended to be a bit older than the white. In 1738, for example, almost 60

Table 3
Gender Distribution of Slaves in Estate
Inventories and Wills, 1680–1775

	1680–1735	1736–1750	1751–1775
Wills Mentioning Slaves	25	34	37
Enslaved Men	23	37	46
Enslaved Women	15	24	40
Enslaved Boys	10	20	25
Enslaved Girls	11	20	33
Total Enslaved	59	101	144

Source: Monmouth County Wills and Inventories, New Jersey State Archives.

percent of East Jersey's black population was over sixteen years of age whereas among whites only 51 percent were over sixteen. In West Jersey, the percentage of blacks over sixteen dropped from 60 to 50 percent between 1737 and 1772, suggesting a large increase in the number of children. It seems reasonable that such patterns were even truer in East Jersey, with its heavier emphasis on slavery. This may also be seen in the number of black children per female in Monmouth, which rose steadily in the colonial period, reaching a peak in 1750 of 166 children for every 100 mothers. Finally, the number of children counted in wills after 1735 was five times greater than during the first half century of settlement.³⁵

Slaves as Property

In the marginal, barter society of New Netherland's first decades, Africans could be exchanged for beaver skins or for provisions such as pork and peas.³⁶ As the colony progressed to a specie economy, slaves took on an additional value related to but partly independent of the value of their service.

Francis Harrison, the custom inspector, observed that slaves were the most important part of a young woman's dowry. In fact, slaves generally accounted for a significant portion of a white family's wealth.³⁷ Their numbers and monetary value can be ascertained through probate records. Bequeathals of slaves ran across all levels of society from Monmouth's earliest decades. Among the well-to-do, widow Elizabeth Brown of Shrewsbury bequeathed eight slaves to her daughter and five to her son. James Tallman's estate included twelve slaves.³⁸ Bondsmen accounted for much of a middling farmer's estate. Thomas Huitt of Shrewsbury left eight slaves worth £210 to his wife in 1712 in an estate worth £479. The majority of holdings were much smaller, the average slaveholder owning but two chattel.

Yet even poor men could own slaves. The most extreme example is Thomas Wobbly of Shrewsbury, whose one slave was worth £12 in an estate totaling only £29 in 1702.³⁹

This pattern of small-family slaveholding was typical of the mid-Atlantic region. What is unique about colonial Monmouth County is the reliance of certain key families on slavery, as revealed once again through probate records. Of 294 estates that inventoried slaves between 1680 and 1800, fourteen families account for ninety-one, or 30 percent of all, slave masters. All fourteen were among the oldest Monmouth families and are represented in the records across several generations. One family alone, the Covenhovens, is represented twenty-four times, or 8 percent of the total. Clearly, slave ownership became a significant, permanent investment across the generations.⁴⁰

Laws of Slavery in Colonial Monmouth County

Although ownership patterns intertwined the lives of generations of slaves and masters, and although slaves were often referred to as the "kitchen family," an ironclad slave code undergirded any sympathetic relations between white masters and black slaves. Through a bewildering succession of governments, New Jersey's proprietors, governing bodies, and legislators constructed, statute for statute, the most repressive legal system in the North.

During the first decades of Dutch New Netherland, slaves could (and did) successfully petition for manumission. In the beginning, then, the difference between slavery and indentured servitude there was less pronounced than it later became. But as the New World grew less new, and as the sense of possession became more entrenched, the Dutch became less inclined to part with their slaves.

English rule brought the aforementioned legal recognition of slavery through the Duke's Laws of 1665. Following the division of the colony into East and West Jersey in 1676, East Jersey's first assembly was convened to formalize its new government. A period of political complexities ensued, ending when East Jersey was sold to a group of twelve proprietors in February 1682. With stability came a new focus of legislative energy spent on supplementing, then supplanting the Duke's Laws. As part of these new laws, the assembly enacted, beginning in 1683, several statutes aimed at curtailing independent black activities in the colony.⁴¹

As slaves could not be citizens of East Jersey, the assembly could not regulate slaves directly. Instead it placed conditions on the actions of its freemen. As mentioned above, the act of May 1683 made it illegal to buy, sell, or barter with slaves for alcohol or commodities.⁴² In theory, at least, this law had three major effects. First, it made it difficult for slaves to gather in licensed taverns and forced them to congregate at illicit groggeries. Second, it was devised to make it difficult for them to fence stolen items, but, in fact, sustained an underground economy. Third, it closed to slave entrepreneurs all markets for production (whether of home brew, garden produce, or handicraft), thereby forcing them to earn whatever cash they could through services alone. In short, it denied all but the most ambitious blacks any legal leverage with which to purchase freedom. County laws restricted slaves even further, barring them from hunting, using pistols, or even from tending hogs.

A black in Monmouth County had one owner but many masters. In John Locke's formulation of 1669, "Every Freeman . . . shall have absolute power and authority over Negro Slaves."⁴³ Although early New Jersey statutes did not make this declaration outright, legislators consistently emphasized the responsibility of citizens to assert their authority over servants and slaves.

For example, any white male who found a black more than five miles away from his master's home was required to whip and imprison the slave as a fugitive. In an act of February 28, 1683, harboring escaped servants also became a crime. Such laws suggest that masters had difficulty keeping slaves and servants at home—and that opinion was already divided as to whether masters had the right to do so.⁴⁴

The law itself took a more liberal turn when a slave was charged with a capital crime, granting him the same right to justice as a freeman. This liberality was put to the test in October 1695 in Monmouth County when several blacks were accused of murdering their master, Lewis Morris of Passage Point. The attack may have been in revenge for Morris's earlier murder of a black woman, which New Jersey courts refused to investigate, despite pleas from the slaves. In any event, seven slaves in this case pleaded not guilty to a charge of shooting Morris with a handgun. At the end of the trial, five of them were acquitted; two others, Agebee and Jeremy, were convicted. Jeremy then escaped. After he was recaptured, his hand was cut off and burned before his eyes, after which he was hung until "dead, dead, dead." Agebee suffered a similar fate.⁴⁵

Like all corporal punishments, this one was intended to intimidate; and intimidation required more extreme means in a society where tolerance for disfiguring punishments was higher than today. Still, in its violence the punishment of Jeremy and Agebee exceeded legal penalties applied to whites in East Jersey. The society of seventeenth-century Monmouth County was, of course, not the first or the last in which local authority, freed from direct oversight and restraint, exceeded its lawful mandate. Neither was rural society unique in its virulent admixtures of racism and cruelty, nor in the resulting and recurrent horrors that smoldered there.⁴⁶

When the details of the case came to the attention of the

East Jersey assembly, the legislators realized that it did not make good economic sense to spend so much money to prosecute personal property. Accordingly, in February 1696 the East Jersey legislature passed a statute directing that enslaved felons should be summarily tried by a court consisting of one to three justices of the peace—retaining, however, the jury of “twelve lawful men of the neighborhood.” Thereafter, capital trials of slaves were to be conducted much more swiftly.

In 1704 East Jersey legislators codified laws for blacks by either affirming earlier legislation or substituting stiffer penalties. What previously were county laws governing slaves now applied to the entire colony. The first clause, for example, forbade sales of “Rume, Wine, Beer, Syder, or other strong drink,” to slaves. Additional clauses reaffirmed the duty of white persons to arrest wandering slaves and transport them to their masters for whipping, with fees set for rewards. Such requirements widened the gap between white and black. Jury trials were ordered for capital offenses, while petty thefts could be decided by only two justices of the peace. A controversial new clause mandated castration of blacks who raped white females or who ran away three times. The Privy Council in London quickly disallowed this law as contrary to nature—albeit without noting that the existence of slavery itself depended on law that had since the time of Justinian been considered contrary to nature. Further squeezing the rights of blacks, the lawmakers ruled that the children of free blacks could not inherit or purchase any land in the colony.⁴⁷

In 1714, made anxious by the slave conspiracy in New York City two years earlier, New Jersey legislators strengthened the slave codes. They continued earlier injunctions forbidding black marketing and “frolicking,” indications that the laws were difficult to enforce. A significant new law required that any master wanting to manumit his slave must post a £200 bond or in-

struct his estate to pay £20 annually for the slave’s maintenance. This edict effectively curbed voluntary emancipation in New Jersey except by the most determined masters.⁴⁸

By the second decade of the eighteenth century, African Americans in Monmouth County had been stripped of most civil rights by repressive legislation. White citizens feared that emancipated slaves would become a burden on the community, even as they labored to make it impossible for free blacks to survive economically. In fact, only one black received public assistance in Shrewsbury before the Revolution; three more were aided during it.⁴⁹ The laws did not foreclose black freedoms, but they clearly limited methods of gaining them.

The slave codes lasted throughout the colonial period. They were augmented by clauses tacked onto other legislation. Thus in a statute forbidding all New Jersey residents the use of large steel traps for muskrats or foxes, free persons were to be fined but slaves whipped for violations of the code. As time passed New Jersey’s colonial government took increasing interest in the discipline of slaves, even offering slaveholders the option of having the state whip their chattel for them. Masters had only to bring unruly slaves to the workhouse, and seasoned professionals would whip thirty stripes into each of their backs.⁵⁰

The Role of Religion

Laws alone could not create a peaceful slave society. European theologians and sympathetic slave masters accordingly attempted to inculcate religion into their servants in hopes of rendering them docile. When servants were bondsmen, this aim came into conflict with the common notion that it was permissible to enslave others so long as they were non-Christians. Dutch settlers were the first New Jerseyans to confront this issue by choosing possession over principle—though they did not do so

without a struggle. Indeed, during the first decades of New Netherland, the Dutch Reformed Church welcomed blacks, and the Dutch West India Company of New Amsterdam set the tone for the region by obeying the 1618 Council of Dordrecht declaration that Christians could not remain enslaved. During the 1640s Africans working as servants of the Dutch West India Company routinely gained freedom through assimilation and by baptism into the Reformed Church. Subsequently, these Afro-Dutch became freeholders.

But by the 1650s, as the economic seductions of slavery grew more addictive and as theological reasons for manumissions accumulated, religious scruples and practical economics reached an impasse in New Netherland. In a lengthy treatise, *'t Geestelijk roer van't coopmans schip* ("The Spiritual Rudder of the Merchants' Ship"), published in 1638, the Reformed minister Godefridus Cornelisz Udemans offered an answer. Addressing his thoughts to both the West and East India companies, Udemans argued that Christians could only be sold as slaves if they were captured in a just war or purchased for a fair price from their parents or other competent masters, practices common in Angola, a principal source for Dutch slaves. The merit of Dutch slavery, Udemans opined, was that it benefited Africans and kept them from "popish mischief."

Udemans's arguments were all the Dutch in the New World needed to rationalize slavery and the slave trade.⁵¹ Reassured, Reformed clerics began espousing the belief that conversion to Christianity was a privilege Africans had abused. In the 1660s Dominie Selwyns advanced this view when, rejecting demands by the Classis of Amsterdam that he catechize slaves in rural Brooklyn, he noted that blacks "wanted nothing else than to deliver their children from bodily slavery, without striving for piety and Christian virtues." By the English conquest in 1664, Reformed ministers had virtually ceased catechizing or baptizing blacks.⁵²

The Quakers and Baptists who founded Monmouth County, whatever their other doctrinal differences, agreed that it was permissible to enslave non-Christians. The same may be said of the second wave of settlers, which added Dutch Reformed, Huguenot, Methodist, and Scots-Presbyterian colonists to Monmouth's mix. Together with the Quakers and Baptists, these Christians would over the next few decades offer a plethora of dogmas and doctrines to African hearers. And if the invitation to join in eternal salvation was perhaps offered somewhat coolly, if at all (nudged, as shall be seen, by events beyond the pulpit or plantation), it was because so many of Monmouth's masters were willing to hold fellow Christians as slaves. The colonists knew where their priorities lay: in eighteenth-century Shrewsbury, for example, ownership of slaves was widespread across all these religious denominations.

Of the several developing relationships between sects and slaves, two in particular merit closer study for what they show us about the earliest generations of African Americans in Monmouth County. The first concerns a denomination, the Church of England, that had the advantage—and disadvantage—of unique access to the source of political power in the colonies. As the state religion, the Church of England could hardly be viewed dispassionately by those who had left England to escape religious persecution. Nor could the church hope to make many converts among the Protestant disaffected in the New World. To do more than serve its existing flock, to significantly expand its minority congregation, Anglicans would have to recruit among those without strong Christian affiliations.

In the late seventeenth century, secret Crown instructions to royal governors ordered them to "facilitate and encourage the Conversion of Negroes and Indians to our Christian religion." The Reverend Alexander Innes, formerly chaplain to the fort in New York City, initiated Anglican services in Middletown in parishioners' homes in the late 1680s. Innes's lengthy tenure

established the Church of England in Monmouth but did little to convert African slaves. Elsewhere, however, Anglicans became the denomination most visible in proselytizing Africans.⁵³

To do this required, of course, the assent of owners. The initial barrier to Anglican success among slave owners was the controversy over baptism. English theologians dealt with this persistent issue by attempting an "invasion within" that reconciled sacred teachings with slavery. So construed, Christianity could be seen not as a threat to the peculiar institution but as the strongest bulwark against disloyalty and insurrection.⁵⁴ Saving a soul, pastors reassured anxious slaveholders, does not require one to relenquish a body. In London, Morgan Godwyn, an Anglican proponent of missions, insisted that baptism was no mandate for manumission. At the same time, he insisted that failure to teach Christianity to slaves invited a secular, licentious reading of the Bible and God's intentions.⁵⁵

Amidst hostility from other denominations, principal support for proselytizing blacks came from wealthy colonists and crown officials, but from few other colonists.⁵⁶ To reconcile missionary efforts with their parishioners' determination to keep slaves, Anglicans turned to the legislature for support. In 1704 the New Jersey Assembly ruled that admission to the faith did not alter civil status. A clause in the black codes passed that year addressed baptism and slaves' rights to emancipation. The assembly noted, in terms Godwyn would have recognized, that the "Baptizing of Slaves is thought by some to be a sufficient Reason to set them at Liberty." Calling such a belief "groundless," the assembly decreed that baptism "shall not be the reason" for setting free any slave. Anglicans were, however, a minority in East Jersey, and despite their influence in the legislature, ethnic differences, as well as differences in faith, prevailed over the coastal plain. Law or no law, many slave owners still felt that church membership led to emancipation, a step few were willing to undertake.⁵⁷

Enter the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (S.P.G.), a newly instituted evangelical arm of the Church of England. For its inaugural mission to the colonies in 1695, the society chose South Carolina, the most populous slave colony. After successes there the S.P.G. spread to other colonies, arriving on Monmouth County's doorstep seventeen years later when, in 1712, George Ross carried the society's work into the Delaware Valley region.⁵⁸ By the third decade of the eighteenth century, the society had established branches in Shrewsbury and Freehold. Yet the initial efforts of S.P.G. missionaries faltered in northern rural counties such as Monmouth, and in the end the Anglicans could claim but few black adherents. At this point, the church's primary accomplishment seems to have been legitimating slavery. Anglican paternalism simply failed to reach the vast majority of Monmouth blacks.

In examining why, we cannot overlook the slaves' own African forms of spirituality. Blacks did not passively accept Christian messages. The relationship of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Anglicans to their rite and faith may have seemed too constrained and abstract, too ready to deny people in bondage the possibility of earthly freedom. An African slave offered Christian fellowship had first to undergo catechism before he or she could be baptized into the faith. As the Anglican Church was centered in its rites, catechism entailed the study of liturgical texts and chant. This was a rather tall order for unlettered African farm hands. Rather than accept a faith that merely enforced deference, African Americans turned elsewhere and combined their own spiritual heritage with European religious practices to create a unique, blended belief system that could sustain their humanity. The primary importance of this amalgamation lies, of course, in the effect it had on generations of humans. It is also significant historiographically, insofar as discussions of slavery have typically emphasized the contrasting roles of paternalism, on the one hand, and economics, on the

other.⁵⁹ Examination of the black religious experience in colonial America supports a third reading of history, in which black solidarity and group identity are forged out of the crucibles of race and slavery.⁶⁰

The Anglican campaign no doubt stimulated some slaveholders belonging to other Protestant sects to reconsider the merits of Christian conversion. In any event, such conversions increased during the eighteenth century. The evangelical New Lights in the Presbyterian and Methodist faiths, who preached a version of salvation less hierarchical than that of the Anglicans, were heard by slaves and unintentionally inspired them to seek temporal grace. The best chance for legal manumission through religious affiliation came, ironically, through a sect that discouraged African membership, the Society of Friends; from the 1750s the Quaker church shifted toward gradual emancipation of all slaves owned by church members.

The Anglican goal of converting slaves met with particularly sharp resistance from Dutch Reformed slave masters, who moved into Monmouth County in increasing numbers from 1690 onwards. Deeply held animosities stemming from class inequities of the 1680s, the Leisler Revolt of 1689, the dislike of English governance, and dark suspicions that slave baptism inspired the revolt of 1712 in New York worsened Dutch attitudes toward English rule and church.⁶¹

As the Dutch population spread throughout East Jersey, the church split between anglicized clerics eager for government favor in New York City and more pietistic pastors in rural regions, who regarded Anglican efforts with suspicion. In a society, where one observer concluded, the Dutch "if opportunity presents would Sacrifice the English," conversion of slaves was fraught with political consequences. Subsequently, members of the Reformed church regarded Anglican efforts as religious imperialism and expended much energy channeling the spiritual potentials of African slaves.⁶²

Having lost the political contest with England for America, and lacking the Anglicans' leverage in the assembly, the Dutch avoided direct confrontation. They did so by using not weekly Sabbath services but the annual celebration of *Pinkster*, a celebration of Pentecost, as their primary religious interaction with Africans. Curiously, this nonintensive approach to conversion succeeded where the sustained, coordinated effort of the English had proven relatively ineffectual.

Widely observed as a sacred and folk holiday throughout Europe, Pentecost ranks among the great festivals of Christianity.⁶³ Pinkster was a major festival in the middle-Atlantic colonies, especially in rural pietistic churches. Pinkster functioned both as an agriculturally based community gathering and as a deeply private religious occasion. Its observance created a temporary community among Africans and Dutch and a safety valve for household tensions. The public face of Pinkster shall be examined in the next chapter. Here the focus is on the festival's spiritual dimensions.

Observance of Christ's sacrifice and resurrection occurred in Pinkster when the Holy Ghost rushed through the heart or home on a "Holy Wind" and provoked "speaking in tongues" among the participants. "Holy Wind" consisted of powerful preaching by males or females of any caste. Ecstasy happened when the participant, whether master or slave, became a "mouth-piece of God."⁶⁴ The ecstatic moments of Holy Wind and speaking in tongues served as replacements for church baptisms and acted as spiritual conversion. Dutch slaveholders could accept their slaves into the sanctity of the faith in the safety of their homes, without concern for the potentially emancipating effects of Anglican baptism. Among slaves, moreover, Pinkster ceremonies sustained promises of sacred equality.

Pinkster also differed from Anglican education in that its observance did not require perfect English, literacy, or command of scripture. Huguenots used similar pietist methods.

Pinkster's hallucinatory effects—its dreams, trances, visions—prepared slaves for the enthusiastic equality found later in Methodism.⁶⁵

Summary

By 1714 slavery was firmly entrenched as the condition of life for Monmouth County's black residents. Harsh, punitive laws restricted personal and economic mobility. Present from the beginnings of the county, Monmouth's black population grew apace, reaching 9 percent of the total inhabitants by 1726. The steady but small supplies of African and seasoned West Indian blacks changed in the 1720s to larger shipments arriving directly from Africa. Christian influence on Monmouth's bonded people led to occasional manumissions but was generally not significant in these early years. The Anglican church mustered a strong effort to dissociate Christianity from emancipation, while Dutch Reformed slave masters preferred domestically based ritual to church services. As the institutions of colonial society developed, legal, religious, economic, and social freedom became virtually inaccessible for Monmouth's blacks.

Notes

1. Unless otherwise identified, all towns and villages mentioned in the text are located in Monmouth County.
2. The original patent may be found in Julian P. Boyd, *Fundamental Laws and Constitutions of New Jersey, 1664–1964* (New Jersey Historical Series 17 (Princeton, N.J., 1964), 51–67. For early settlement of Monmouth, see Peter O. Wacker, "Origins and Settlement Patterns," in *Land and People: A Cultural Geography of Preindustrial New Jersey Origins and Settlement Patterns* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1975), 129–30, 168, 191–92; Peter O. Wacker and Paul G. E. Clemens, *Land Use in Early New Jersey: A Historical Geography* (Newark, 1995), 90–91; John E. Pomfret, *Colonial New Jersey: A History* (New York,

- 1973), 26–38, 52–68; *idem*, *The Province of East New Jersey, 1609–1702: The Rebellious Proprietary* (Princeton, N.J., 1962), 42–47; Ned C. Landsman, *Scotland and Its First American Colony, 1683–1765* (Princeton, N.J., 1985), 99–195.
3. David Steven Cohen, *The Dutch-American Farm* (New York, 1992), 12–20; Landsman, *Scotland and Its First American Colony*, 100–140.
4. D. W. Meinig, *Atlantic America, 1492–1800*, vol. 1 of *The Shaping of America: A Geographic Perspective on 500 Years of History* (New Haven, 1986), 52–53.
5. For the complexity of family relations in Monmouth, see John E. Stilwell, *Historical and Genealogical Miscellany*, 5 vols. (1903; reprint, Baltimore, 1970). For comments on intermarriage, see Dennis C. Ryan, "Six Towns: Continuity and Change in Revolutionary New Jersey, 1770–1792" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1974), 39, 55, 58–59, 75. For the Conover family genealogy, which indicates frequent intermarriage with the Schenck, Van Voorhees, Wall, Hendrickson, and Van Dorn families, see Elizabeth Conover Kelly, *Conover Pioneers and Pilgrims: Celebration of a Family* (Detroit, 1982), 30–40. For Huguenots, see Jon Butler, *The Huguenots in America: A Refugee People in New World Society* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983) 158–59.
6. *Journal of the Courts of Common Right and Chancery of East New Jersey, 1683–1702*, ed. Preston W. Edsall (Philadelphia, 1937), 125.
7. On early importations of slaves, see Morton Wagman, "Corporate Slavery in New Netherland," *Journal of Negro History* 66 (Winter 1980): 34. On kinds of work done, see George Fishman, "The Struggle for Freedom and Equality: African-Americans in New Jersey, 1624–1849/50" (Ph.D. diss., Temple University, 1990), 20.
8. David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York, 1989), 10.
9. Directors of Amsterdam to Peter Stuyvesant, 9 March 1660, *New York Colonial Tracts* 3, 168; cited in Fishman, "Struggle for Freedom," 10. Peter Stuyvesant to the directors of Amsterdam, in E. B. O'Callaghan, trans., *Voyage of the Slaves of St. John and the Arms of Amsterdam* [1663] (New York, 1869); cited in Fishman, "Struggle for Freedom," 8.
10. Percy Wells Bidwell and John I. Falconer, *History of Agriculture in the Northern States, 1620–1860* (Washington, 1925), 6–10, 105–13; and Harry S. Carman, *American Husbandry* (reprint, New York, 1939), 99; [Richard Hartshorne], *A Further Account of New Jersey in*

an Abstract of Letters Lately Writ from Thence, by Several Inhabitants There Resident. Printed in the Year 1676 (Trenton, n.d.).

11. Act of 28 February 1683, in *Journal of the Courts of Common Right and Chancery of East New Jersey*, 125.

12. For many examples see Daniel Meaders, *Eighteenth-Century White Slaves Fugitive Notices*, Vol. 1 (Pennsylvania, 1729–1760), (Westport, Conn., 1993), *passim*. For advertisement to immigrants, see *A Brief Account of the Province of East New Jersey in America. Published by the Scots Proprietor* (Edinburgh, 1683), 5.

13. For smuggling, see Elizabeth Donnan, ed., *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America*, 5 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1932), 3:456. For discussion of heavy mortality, see Richard S. Dunn, "Servants and Slaves: The Recruitment and Employment of Labor," in Jack P. Greene and J. R. Pole, eds., *Colonial British America: Essays in the New History of the Early Modern Era* (Baltimore, 1984), 174–75; Richard B. Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery: An Economic History of the British West Indies, 1623–1775* (Baltimore, 1973); Elsa V. Goveia, *Slave Society in the British Leeward Islands at the End of the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven, Conn., 1965). For discussion of youthfulness of New Jersey slave imports, see James A. Rawley, *The Transatlantic Slave Trade: A History* (New York, 1981), 390–91. For sale to Martinique, see Hendrickson Family Papers, box 1, folder 8, Special Collections, Alexander Library, Rutgers University.

14. Donnan, *Documents*, 3:510–12, and "Naval Shipping Lists for New Jersey, 1722–1764," PRO CO 5/1035–36.

15. Donnan, *Documents*, 3:464, 472, 479, 492. James Lydon, "New York and the Slave Trade, 1700–1774," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., vol. 35 (1978), 375–95, expands upon Donnan, finding additional voyages from Africa but none of over a hundred slaves. *The Dragon* arrived on August 23 with 106 slaves, the *Postillion* on September 12 with one hundred, and the *Catherine and Mary* the same day with sixty. For purchases at Perth Amboy, see James H. Levitt, *For Want of Trade: Shipping and the New Jersey Ports, 1680–1783* (Newark, 1981), 96, 106, 117–18.

16. For Morris, see "Inventory of Lewis Morris," Miscellaneous Manuscripts, no. 14577, New York State Library, Albany, and Dean Freiday, "Tinton Manor: The Iron Works," *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* 74 (1952): 250–61. For the number of slaves at Morris's arrival in 1677, see John Robert Strassburger, "The Origins

and Establishment of the Morris Family in the Society and Politics of New York and New Jersey, 1630–1746" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1976), 67. For exemptions, see Lewis Morris Papers, box 1, folder 3, Special Collections, Alexander Library, Rutgers University. For servants, see Robert J. Steinfield, *The Invention of Free Labor: The Employment Relation in English and American Law and Culture, 1350–1870* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1991), 44–52.

17. The literature on Jamaica and Barbados is vast. For recent important studies on slave economy, conditions, race relations, and resistance, see Hilary Beckles, *The Black Rebellion in Barbados: The Struggle Against Slavery, 1627–1838* (Bridgetown, Barbados, 1984); idem, *White Servitude and Black Slavery in Barbados, 1627–1715* (Knoxville, Tenn. 1989); Dunn, "Servants and Slaves," 173–75. For Africanity, see Mervyn Alleyne, *Roots of Jamaican Culture* (London, 1988), and Orlando Patterson, *The Sociology of Slavery: An Analysis of the Origins, Development, and Structure of Negro Slave Society in Jamaica* (Rutherford, N.J., 1967), 113–32, 160–99. For rebellions see *A Genuine Narrative of the Intended Conspiracy of the Negroes at Antigua* (Dublin, 1737); Michael Craton, *Testing the Chains: Resistance to Slavery in the British West Indies* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1982), 67–81, 105–40; David Barry Gaspar, *Bondmen & Rebels: A Study of Master-Slave Relations in Antigua, with Implications for Colonial British America* (Baltimore, 1985).

18. Peter Linebaugh, "All the Atlantic Islands Shook," *Labour/Le Travailleur* 10 (1982): 87–121.

19. Patterson, *Sociology of Slavery*, 50. For sailors, see Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700–1750* (New York, 1987).

20. For percentages of slave populations, estimated by colony for 1680, see Peter Kolchin, *American Slavery, 1619–1877*, (New York, 1993), 240.

21. See "Lists of Negroes in Monmouth, 1771," Monmouth County Archives, Manalapan, N.J.

22. Stella Sutherland, *Population Distribution in Colonial America* (New York, 1936), 98, and Ryan, "Six Towns," 66.

23. Gary B. Nash and Jean Soderlund, *Freedom by Degrees: Emancipation in Pennsylvania and Its Aftermath* (New York, 1991). For similar evidence about New York City and its surrounding counties,

see Shane White, *Somewhat More Independent: The End of Slavery in New York City, 1770–1810* (Athens, Ga., 1991).

24. For attempts at duties, see *The Laws of the Royal Colony of New Jersey*, comp. Bernard Bush, 5 vols. (Trenton, 1977–1989), 2:163–64; 4:171–75, 435–36, 510.

25. Darold D. Wax, “The Negro Slave Trade in Colonial Pennsylvania” (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1962), 42–46, 48, 127.

26. Wacker, “Origins and Settlement Patterns,” 146.

27. [Francis Harrison], “Observations Humbly Offered to His Grace the Duke of Chandos Sharing the Advantages Which the Royal African Company May Receive by Settling an Agency at New York in Order to Supply that Province, the Colonies at East and West New Jersey, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Narragansett and the Southwest Parts of New England with Slaves,” Ms. Gough Somersetshire 7 (S.C. 18217), Bodleian Library, Oxford University. See Lewis Morris’s comments on this plan in Eugene R. Sheridan, ed., *The Papers of Lewis Morris*, 3 vols. (Newark, 1991), 2:265.

28. For quote, see Donnan, *Documents*, 3:50–51.

29. African-American cemeteries dot the Monmouth landscape, as they do in every American county where slavery thrived.

30. For concepts of consanguinal families, see Niara Sudarkasa, “Interpreting the African Heritage in Afro-American Family Organization,” in Harriet Pipes McAdoo, *Black Families* (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1981), 37–54. For comments on size of farms, see Jackson Turner Main, *The Social Structure of Revolutionary America* (Princeton, N.J., 1965), 25–26.

31. See Monmouth Wills, no. 657 (Anderson), no. 2221 (Pew). For other good examples, see nos. 2571, 2771, 2745. Archives Section, Division of Archives and Records Management, Department of State, Trenton, N.J. (hereafter New Jersey State Archives). See also the Conover Family Papers, box 13, folder 2, Monmouth County Historical Association. For other sales, see James Mott Papers, Cherry Hall Papers, box 10, folder 3, Monmouth County Historical Association, Freehold, N.J., and Indenture of Jonathan Webb, December 3, 1729, Slavery File, Monmouth County Historical Association.

32. For this data, see Wacker, “Origins and Settlement Patterns,” 189–202; Edgar McManus, *Black Bondage in the North* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1973), 212–13; Jim Potter, “The Growth of Population in America,

1700–1860,” in D. V. Glass and D. E. C. Eversley, eds., *Population in History: Essays in Historical Demography* (Chicago, 1965), 656–57. For similar developments in Flatbush, see William John McLaughlin, “Dutch Rural New York: Community, Economy and Family in Colonial Flatbush” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1981), 195–97. East Jersey generally had a low mortality rate as well. See Ryan, “Six Towns,” 70–72, and “Inquisitions on the Dead, 1688–1798,” 4 vols., New Jersey State Archives.

33. Figures taken from Monmouth County Wills, 1744–1775. For value of property, see “Unrecorded Wills,” 12 vols., New Jersey State Archives, 1:165 (Thomas White) and 12:43 (Elizabeth Brown).

34. Nash and Soderlund, *Freedom by Degrees*, 23–24.

35. For discussion, see Robert V. Wells, *The Population of the British Colonies in America before 1776: A Survey of Census Data* (Princeton, N.J., 1975), 137–40. On southern counties of New Jersey, see Alice Hanson Jones, *Wealth of a Nation to Be: The American Colonies on the Eve of the Revolution* (New York, 1980), 60.

36. Adrian Van der Donck et al., “Of the Persons and Causes, Why and How New Netherland Is So Decayed,” in John Franklin Jameson, *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609–1664* (New York, 1909), 320–32.

37. Soderlund, *Quakers & Slaves*, 76, 119, 125.

38. Monmouth County Wills, no. 63 (Brown), no. 747 (Tallman), New Jersey State Archives. For comments on labor, see Ryan, “Six Towns,” 91.

39. For Wobbly, see “Unrecorded Wills,” 12 vols., New Jersey State Archives, 11: 269; for others, see Morris’s Will above and “Unrecorded Wills,” 1:165; 10:379; 11:239, 311, 373–74; 12:11–12, 355 in John E. Stillwell, ed., *Unrecorded Wills and Inventories, Monmouth County, New Jersey* (New Orleans, 1975), 16. For similar findings in a nearby settlement, see McLaughlin, “Dutch Rural New York,” 141, 152–55, 180–97, 200–205.

40. “Monmouth County Wills, 1680–1775,” New Jersey State Archives. The families and slave holdings are Covenhoven/Conover, 24; Holmes, 8; Lawrence, 6; Lippencott, 6; Schenck, 6; Forman, 6; Van Mater, 5; Tallman, 5; Taylor, 5; Smock, 4; Throckmorton, 4; Bowne, 4; Cooke, 4; Hendrickson, 4.

41. Marion Thompson Wright, “New Jersey Laws and the Ne-

gro," *Journal of Negro History* 28 (April 1943): 156–200. For comment about "kitchen family," see Cohen, *The Dutch-American Farm*, 132–36.

42. Act of May 1683, in *Journal of the Courts of Common Right and Chancery of East New Jersey*, 125.

43. John Locke and the Earl of Shaftesbury, Fundamental Constitutions of South Carolina, sec. 110, in *The Law of Freedom and Bondage: A Casebook*, ed. Paul Finkelman (New York, 1986), 20 n.6.

44. John E. Pomfret, *The Province of East New Jersey, 1609–1702: The Rebellious Proprietary* (Princeton, N.J., 1962), 292.

45. For this case, see *Journal of the Courts of Common Right and Chancery of East New Jersey*, 131, 282–85; Franklin Ellis, *History of Monmouth County, New Jersey* (Philadelphia, 1885), 399–400; and Henry Clay Reed, "Chapters in a History of Crime and Punishment in New Jersey" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1939), 126. See also Wright, "New Jersey Laws," 164.

46. J. M. Beattie, *Crime and the Courts in England, 1660–1800* (Princeton, N.J., 1986), 75–77; Pieter Spierenburg, *The Spectacle of Suffering: Executions and the Evolution of Repression: From a Preindustrial Metropolis to the European Experience* (New York, 1984), 44–45, 56–58, and Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York, 1977), 3–32.

47. *Acts of the General Assembly of the Province of New-Jersey from the Surrender of the Government to Queen Anne, on the 17th day of April in the Year of Our Lord, 1702 to the 14th Day of January 1776*, ed. Samuel Allinson (Burlington, N.J., 1776) [hereafter 1702–76 *New Jersey Acts*], 5, and *Journal and Votes of the House of Representatives of the Province of Nova Caesaria or New Jersey, in the First Sessions of Assembly, Began at Perth Amboy, the 10th Day of November, 1703* (Jersey City, N.J., 1872), 32. For discussion, see Wright, "New Jersey Laws," 166–67. On the European reception of Roman law regarding slavery, see Alan Watson, "Seventeenth-Century Jurists, Roman Law, and the Law of Slavery," in *Slavery & the Law*, ed. Paul Finkelman (Madison, Wis., 1997).

48. For the laws, see 1702–76 *New Jersey Acts*, 18–22; Wright, "New Jersey Laws," 167.

49. For relief records, see Shrewsbury, New Jersey, Town Poor Book, 1743–1848, New-York Historical Society, 34, 91, 93, 95, 97–98, 101.

50. For traps, see Bush, *Laws of the Royal Colony of New Jersey*, 4:52, 583; 5:70. For workhouse, see *ibid.*, 3:135, 291.

51. For Council of Dordrecht declaration, see Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), 276. For assurance on slave trade, see Godefridus Cornelisz Udemans, 't *Geetstelijk roer van't coopmans schip* (Dordrecht, 1638).

52. I have looked at over fifty Reformed baptismal records from 1680 to 1776 and found only scattered black baptisms.

53. James Axtell, *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (New York, 1985).

54. For Innes and early church history in Monmouth, see Nelson R. Burr, *The Anglican Church in New Jersey* (Philadelphia, 1954), 58–59, 614–15.

55. Morgan Godwyn, *The Negro's and Indians Advocate, Suing for their Admission into the Church; or, A Persuasive to the Instructing and Baptizing of the Negro's and Indians in Our Plantations. Shewing, That as Compliance Therewith Can Prejudice No Mans Just Interest: So the Wilful Neglecting and Opposing It Is No Less a Manifest Apostasy from the Christian Faith* (London, 1680). For the classic discussion of this text, see David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1966), 204–10, 339–40.

56. Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantation to Archbishop of Canterbury, 25 October 1700, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts [hereafter S.P.G.] Papers 13, 3–4; "Extract from the Instructions to the Earl of Clarendon when Lord Cornbury and Governor of New York, January 1, 1702/3," S.P.G. Letter Book B:1 (Appendix). For discussion, see John Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues: The S.P.G. Adventure in American Education* (New York, 1971), 12–17.

57. For law, see Nicholas Trott, ed., *The Laws of the British Plantations in America, Relating to the Church, and the Clergy, Religion, and Learning* (London, 1725), 257. Two years later New York's legislature passed a similar law. See *Colonial Laws of New York from 1664 to the Revolution*, 5 vols. (Albany, 1894), 1:597–98. See relevant discussion of the problem of baptism in Arthur Zilversmit, *The First Emancipation: The Abolition of Slavery in the North* (Chicago, 1967), 7–10.

58. Denzel T. Clifton, "Anglicanism and Negro Slavery in Colonial America," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 43 (1974): 63–64.

59. A good survey of the conflicting visions of economics and paternalism is Peter J. Parish, *Slavery: History and Historians* (New

York, 1989), 2–6, 37–51. The classic text on paternalism is Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York, 1974), 3–7. For growth of black nationalism, see Sterling A. Stuckey, *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and the Foundations of Black America* (New York, 1987).

60. Historians have tended to explain the origins of black religion in North America by using single models of acculturation. Jon Butler, for one, has framed the African colonial religious experience by tracing the rise of Anglican hegemony. Butler found few traces of African belief-systems in colonial North America and has argued that a holocaust of African religion occurred in the early eighteenth century. Other relevant studies vary only slightly from this model. In his study of the formation of Philadelphia's free black community, Gary B. Nash touches briefly on the influence of the S.P.G. and George Whitefield on colonial African American Christianity, but he reserves the bulk of his analysis of religion for the post-Revolutionary period. Joyce Goodfriend's analysis of ethnicity in colonial New York highlights African conversion to the Church of England. William D. Piersen, examining the development of an African American subculture in New England, emphasizes the Congregational church's overwhelming powers of acculturation. All of these studies focus on the urban context of the black religious experience. See Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), 129–64; Gary B. Nash, *Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community, 1720–1840* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988), 16–24; Joyce D. Goodfriend, *Before the Melting Pot: Society and Culture in Colonial New York City, 1664–1730* (Princeton, N.J., 1992), 125–32; William D. Piersen, *Black Yankees: The Development of an Afro-American Subculture in Eighteenth-Century New England* (Amherst, Mass., 1988), 49–87, and Patricia U. Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society, and Politics in Colonial America* (New York, 1986), 35.

61. Richard Pointer, *Protestant Pluralism and the New York Experience: A Study of Eighteenth-Century Diversity* (Bloomington, Ind., 1988), 15–27; Randall H. Balmer, *A Perfect Babel of Confusion: Dutch Religion and English Culture in the Middle Colonies* (New York, 1989), 72–99; Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven*, 73–74; John Pershing Luidens, "The Americanization of the Dutch Reformed Church" (Ph.D. diss., University of Oklahoma, 1969), 86–94.

62. For Dutch willingness to overthrow the English, see Margaret Kincaid, "John Usher's Report on the Northern Colonies, 1698," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., vol. 7 (1950): 101.

63. For a general discussion of Pentecost, see William Hurd, *A New Universal History of the Rites, Ceremonies, and Customs and the Whole World*, new ed. (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1811), 154. For Pinkster's presence in New Netherland and New York, see Donna Merwick, *Possessing Albany, 1630–1710: The Dutch and English Experiences* (New York, 1990); Cohen, *The Dutch-American Farm*, 161–63; and, for a later period, White, *Somewhat More Independent*, 95–106.

64. A. C. Barnard, "Die Pinksterfees in die Kerklike Jaar" (Ph.D. diss., University of Amsterdam, 1954), 14–22, 24–25, 32, 40, 45–46, 48, 54, 57. For Dutch traditions, see A. G. Roeber, "The Origin of Whatever Is Not English among Us': The Dutch-Speaking and German-Speaking Peoples of Colonial British America," in *Strangers within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire*, ed. Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1991), 220–84.

65. Barnard, "Die Pinksterfees," 106. For safety valve, see White, *Somewhat More Independent*, 99–100. For Huguenots, see Butler, *Huguenots in America*, 161–66. For link with Methodism, see Hurd, *A New Universal History*, 700.