



Bibliographic Resources Relating to Experiences of People of African Descent, Native Americans, and Women in Revolutionary Era New Jersey

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Variations/Combinations of Search Terms Used

Africa/African

African American

Afro American

American Indian

Black American

Black Man/Boy

Black Woman/Girl

Colored American Soldier

Colored Man/Boy

Colored Soldier

Colored Woman/Girl

Indian/Native American

Mulatto Servant

Negro/Man/Woman

Negro Boy/Girl

Negro/Mulatto Slave

Negro Girl/Wench

Negro Slave

In considering the services of the Colored Patriots of the Revolution, we are to reflect upon them as far more magnanimous, because rendered to a nation which did not acknowledge them as citizens and equals, and in whose interests and prosperity they had less at stake. It was not for their own land they fought, not even for a land which had adopted them, but for a land which had enslaved them, and whose laws, even in freedom, oftener oppressed than protected. Bravery, under such circumstances, has a peculiar beauty and merit.

— Harriet Beecher Stowe, 1855¹

In 1775 the 13 colonies had a population of about 2,256,000, excluding Indians and including 506,000 Negro slaves There also were a good many free Negroes.... At the outset of the Revolution Negroes served in the patriot ranks, and the percentage increased as the years went by. The substitute system, which permitted a man to send his slave into the ranks, naturally accounted for the presence of many Negroes in the American armies, but many colored soldiers were free men who had volunteered. Washington's army is said to have averaged about 50 Negroes per BATALLION, and at least 700 were among the 13,500 troops in the Monmouth Campaign.

— Mark Mayo Boatner, 1966²

Too often in history written about the Revolutionary War, the violent reality of warfare is submerged in the hyperbole of patriotism. A few heroes are celebrated, while ordinary acts of bravery and humanity go unremarked. During the war, women were thrown into hostilities; some served as medics, cooks, messengers, even combatants. In a war that involved their homes and children, survival itself was political as well as personal, and the domestic became heroic.

— Delight W. Dodyk, 2005³

I. Introduction

The American Revolution marked a pivotal era in the history of the world. Conceived in liberty and freedom, the Revolution launched the independence of the United States and declared the

¹ Harriet B. Stowe, "Introduction" to William C. Nell, *The Colored Patriots of the American Revolution, with Sketches of Several Distinguished Colored Persons: To Which is Added a Brief Survey of the Condition and Prospects of Colored Americans. With an Introduction by Harriet Beecher Stowe* (Boston: Robert F. Wallcut, 1855), 5.

² Mark Mayo Boatner III, *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution* (New York: David McKay, 1969), 775.

³ Delight W. Dodyk, "'Troublesome Times A-Coming': The American Revolution and New Jersey Women," in *New Jersey in American Revolution*, ed., Barbara J. Mitnick (New Brunswick: Rivergate Books, 2005), 139.

country the beacon of democratic republicanism in a world ruled by monarchs. As Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. observed in 1962, the Declaration of American Independence proclaimed to a world “organized politically and spiritually around the concept of the *inequality* of man, that the *dignity of human personality* was inherent in *man as a living being*.”⁴ In practice, however, the Declaration contained boundaries of inclusion and exclusion: its implementation did not factor the dignity and equality of *all human personalities* in the 13 colonies into the political union it induced. Native Americans were kept outside the boundaries of the freedom, and the social and economic foundations of slavery were inconspicuously embedded in the founding institutions.

Those who were excluded nevertheless participated in the Revolutionary struggle and contributed in diverse ways to shaping its principles and outcomes. People of African descent—both free and enslaved—as well as Native Americans fought side by side white soldier⁵ and did so in the hope that their contributions might enhance their chances of being included in the benefits envisioned in the declarative principles.⁶ As Benjamin Quarles has pointed out, the African American, for example, was a participant and a symbol in the Revolution not only because he was active in the combat zones and behind the lines, but because in his expectations and in the achievements he made during the conflict, he embodied the goal of the freedom in

⁴ Transcript of the Address of the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., New York State Civil War Commission, Park Sheraton Hotel, New York City, Wednesday Evening, September 12, 1962. New York State Museum. <https://www.nysm.nysed.gov/sites/default/files/mlk-transcription.pdf>. Emphases are mine.

⁵ William C. Nell, *Services of Colored Americans in the Wars of 1776 and 1812* (Philadelphia: A.M.E. Publishing House, 1894). Reprinted from Canada edition, 1854. See also Andrew McFarland Davis, “The Employment of Indian Auxiliaries in the American War,” *English Historical Review* 2, no. 8 (Oct. 1887): 709-728.

⁶As W. B. Hartgrove observed, for instance, “Four companies of emancipated slaves were ... formed in that State [Rhode Island] at the cost of £10,437 7s 7d. Most of the 629 slaves then found in New Hampshire availed themselves of the opportunity to gain their freedom by enlistment as did many of the 15,000 slaves in New York” (p. 127). For a detailed presentation of the facts and figures relating to the participation of soldiers of African descent in the American Revolution, see W. B. Hartgrove, “The Negro Soldier in the American Revolution,” *The Journal of Negro History* 1, no. 2 (April 1916), 110-131.

whose name the war was fought. Indeed, it is not for any other reason that at least 700 soldiers of African descent were among the 13,500 Continental troops during the Monmouth Campaign of June 1778.⁷ Despite their immense contributions to the cause of freedom, mainstream scholarly analyses of the American experiment in liberty largely overlooked and/or touched awkwardly from a safe distance the historical experiences of Native Americans, women, and people of African ancestry. Given the all-encompassing title of Gordon S. Wood's *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787*, for instance, one would have expected to see some references to the experiences and conditions of people of African descent in his grand interpretations of the founding ideals of the American republic. The virtual lack of such themes is surprising.⁸

In brief, people of African descent, Native Americans, and women participated in, and influenced the American Revolution in a variety of ways that greatly impacted the trajectory of how we understand the concept of “freedom” in our contemporary period.⁹ Among others, they served as infantrymen, artillerymen, waggoners, couriers, spies, fifers, waiters, guards, cooks, able seamen, substitutes, teamsters, officers’ servants, and military laborers of all sorts.¹⁰ “In

⁷ Boatner, *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution*, 775. Hartgrove estimated—based on analyses of numerous facts relating to soldiers of African descent in the Revolutionary War—that “it is safe to conclude that there were at least 4,000 Negro soldiers scattered throughout the Continental Army.” See Hartgrove, 127-128.

⁸ Gordon Wood’s work contains not a single index reference to the *practice* of slavery in the American context, for instance, which is quite surprising, given the pervasiveness of the Revolutionary era debate about the paradox of liberty and the institution and practice of slavery in the republic. Wood has treated the *idea* of slavery *conceptually*, not historically. Only two index references draw attention to people of African descent. One is “the arguments against the proposed exclusion of Negroes, Indians, and mulattoes from the suffrage in Massachusetts” (see p. 183). The other, which references the history of Africa, reads, in part: “The very idea of liberty was unknown in Africa . . .” (p. 30). Such a claim about the history of Africa appears to “justify” the glaring absence of the experiences of people of African ancestry in the 653-page creation story of the American Republic. In contrast to Wood’s work, see Eric Grundset, ed., with Briana L. Diaz, Hollis S. Gentry, and Jean D. Strahan, *Forgotten Patriots: African American and American Indian Patriots of the Revolutionary War: A Guide to Service, Sources and Studies* (National Society of Daughters of the American Revolution, 2008).

⁹ Eric Foner, *The Story of American Freedom* (New York and London: W.W. Norton Company, 1998).

¹⁰ Sidney Kaplan, *The Black Presence in the Era of the American Revolution, 1770-1800* (Washington, D.C.: National Portrait Gallery, 1973), 32; Grundset, *Forgotten Patriots: African American and American Indian Patriots in the Revolutionary War*, 375-398; Dodyk, “‘Troublesome Times A-Coming’: The American Revolution and New Jersey Women.”

their anonymity,” Larry R. Gerlach observed, “they are typical of the countless nameless and faceless men and women upon whose shoulders the success or failure of the Revolution rested.”¹¹ They served in local, state, and the federal level during the war. This annotated bibliography, therefore, is an attempt to begin to compile primary and secondary source materials that reference the experiences, roles, and conditions of people of African descent, Native Americans, and women in Revolutionary New Jersey. The goal is to provide a comprehensive source of information that can help: 1) shed light on the contributions of marginalized groups to the consolidation and advancement of New Jersey’s founding principles; 2) increase greater understanding of the Revolutionary period in New Jersey; and 3) promote inclusive analyses and interpretations that provide a fuller appreciation of the broader human experience in Revolutionary New Jersey.

Stated another way, the bibliographic project aims to address the lack of comprehensive listing of sources of information (both primary and secondary) that reveal a sense of what life was like for people of African ancestry, Native Americans, and women during the Revolutionary period in New Jersey. The Revolutionary era, in this context, is defined broadly to include the range of time between 1775 and 1810—a period marked by major transformational processes, events, and legislations that tested, shaped, refined, and strengthened Revolutionary principles in the State.¹² They included the Revolutionary War and the close of it (1775-1783), the adoption of

¹¹ See “Minutes of the Shrewsbury Township Committee,” in Larry R. Gerlach, ed., *New Jersey in the American Revolution 1763-1783: A Documentary History* (Trenton, N.J.: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1975), 150, fn. 1.

¹² For an analysis of why the period 1775 through 1810 (inclusive), constitute the Revolutionary era in New Jersey, see Peter Colchin, *American Slavery: 1619-1877* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993), 63; Ira Berlin, “The Revolution in Black Life,” in *The American Revolution: Expectations in the History of American Radicalism*, ed. Alfred F. Young, 351 (De Kalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1976); Giles R. Wright, “Moving Toward Breaking the Chains: Black New Jerseyans and the American Revolution,” in *New Jersey in the American Revolution*, ed. Barbara J. Mitnick (New Brunswick, N.J. & London: Rivergate Books, 2005), 113-137.

New Jersey State Constitution (July 2, 1776), which conferred the right of suffrage on “all inhabitants” of the state (without reference to race or gender) who were of full age with a minimum property value of fifty pounds proclamation money, the Declaration of American Independence (July 4, 1776), and the Constitutional Convention and Ratification (1787-1789). More specifically, the New Jersey Legislature passed a series of legislations that expanded and constrained the boundaries and meaning of freedom in the state during this period. They included legislations regarding enlistment of servants and apprentices for New Jersey Battalions in the Continental Army (1777), institutionalization of the substitute system (1777), which allowed slave owners to send their enslaved men to the war, legislations to prevent the importation of captured Africans into New Jersey¹³ and to authorize the manumission of them under certain conditions (1786), and the Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery (1804). The period was also marked by the unprecedented increase in the free Black population in New Jersey, rising from 2,762 in 1790 to 7,843 by 1810—an increase of about 184 per cent from when the first census of the United States was enumerated.¹⁴ These inclusive events, developments, legislative acts, and processes helped defined and shaped, broadly, the first threescore and half years (1775-1810) of American experiment in liberty and revolutionary idealism in New Jersey.

It is important to emphasize that the sources of information presented in this document—with liberally quoted passages (substituting modern spellings and punctuations, where necessary) and minimum of Editorial comments—focus on the Revolutionary era experiences and

¹³The cessation—at least in theory—of importation of captured Africans into New Jersey via the Trans-Atlantic trade was legislated four years prior to carrying out the first national census of the United States in 1790.

¹⁴ For a detailed analysis of population growth in New Jersey, in the broader context of the United States, within the time frame under discussion, see George Tucker, *Progress of the United States in Population and Wealth in Fifty Years, as Exhibited by the Decennial Census from 1790-1840, With an Appendix Containing an Abstract of the Census of 1850* (New York: Press of Hunt’s Merchant’s Magazine, 1855), 1-30. First published 1843 by Hunt’s Merchants. For the purposes of New Jersey, see Wright, “Moving Toward Breaking the Chains.”

conditions of people of African origin (both free and enslaved), Native Americans, and women, as well as the impact of such on the Revolutionary principles in New Jersey. The compilation is possible only by piecing together references and passages from different sources, arranged chronologically—with respect to legislative acts—and alphabetically, in terms of books, pamphlets, and articles. The laws about slavery and republican principles, for instance, are critical to our understanding and appreciation of the historical experiences of people of African ancestry.¹⁵ Having a thorough compilation of such laws (in their complete and revised forms) is the beginning of the long-deferred process of facilitating a comprehensive understanding of the institution of slavery and evolution of law and public policy in Revolutionary New Jersey.

Conceived as a work in progress, it is anticipated that the compilation will be revised and updated as new sources of information and interpretations become available and accessible.

¹⁵ Paul Fikelman, ed., *Slavery & the Law* (Madison, WI: Madison House, 1997).

I. New Jersey Legislative Acts Referencing People of African Descent, 1775- 1810

New Jersey Provincial Congress. *Extracts from the Journal of Proceedings of the Provincial Congress of New Jersey, Held at Trenton in the Months of May, June and August 1775.* Woodbury, N.J. Joseph Sailer, 1835. First printed in 1775 by Isaac Collins.

Editorial comment: This is an 1835 reprint of the 1775 edition by Isaac Collins, published by order in Burlington, N.J. With this is bound records of Provincial Congress, October 1775; Journal of the Votes and Proceedings; Laws, statutes, etc. An Ordinance for Regulating the Militia of New Jersey, October 1776 and Proceedings of Provincial Congress, January-March 1776, are included.

A) **An Ordinance for Striking the Sum of Fifty Thousand Pounds, Five Shillings, in Bills of Credit, for the Purposes therein Mentioned, and Directing the Same Manner of Sinking the Same. Passed February 20, 1776** (pp. 212-226).

Whereas it is prudent, not only to make provision for putting the province into such state of defense, as the present situation thereof seems to require; but also, to have such sum of money in the treasury as may probably be sufficient to answer future exigencies and contingent charges. And whereas the sum of thirty thousand pounds, directed to be issued by an ordinance passed at the last sitting of this Congress, hath not as yet been printed; and as the same may not be sufficient to answer the purposes aforesaid: It is therefore Resolved, That the said ordinance be null, void, and vacated to all intents and purposes whatsoever; and in lieu thereof, it is resolved, ordained and directed, that the sum of fifty thousand pounds, five shillings, in bills of credit of this province, be, as soon as possible, prepared, printed, and made as follows, viz: Nine thousand five hundred bills, each of the value of three pounds: Ten thousand bills each of the value of one pound ten shillings: six thousand six hundred and sixty-seven bills, each of the value of fifteen shillings; and five thousand bills, each of the value of six shillings; which bills shall be in the form following, to wit.

This Bill, by an Ordinance of the Provincial Congress, shall pass current in all payments within the colony of New Jersey, for Proclamation money. Dated the twentieth day February 1776 (see pp. 212-213).

Every **bought servant and slave**, being male, of sixteen years old and upwards (except such slaves as are not able to work) shall be rated the sum of two shillings (p. 219).

Editorial comment: Less than five months prior to the adoption of the New Jersey State Constitution and the proclamation of statehood on July 2, 1776, every enslaved person purchased in the State was to be rated for the purposes of raising revenue to support New Jersey's Revolutionary War effort.

B) An Ordinance for Numbering the Inhabitants of this Colony (p. 232).

Preamble: Whereas it is recommended by the Honorable Continental Congress, that the number of inhabitants of all ages including **Negroes and Mulattoes**, in each colony be taken in order to settle an equitable quota of the taxes which may hereafter be levied on the united colonies, for sinking the bills of credit, which have been, or may be emitted for the support and defense of the said united colonies.

Therefore be it resolved, That the committee of each precinct or township in this colony, do, as soon as may be, after the publication hereof, appoint one or more persons, as they shall think proper, to take an account of the number of inhabitants of all ages, including **negroes and mulattoes**, within their respective bounds; which said person or persons so appointed, shall, within six days after being notified thereof in writing by the chairman of said committee, repair to some justice of the peace in the county where he or they reside, who is hereby directed to administer to him or them the following oath or affirmation ... (pp. 232-233).

Editorial comment: All inhabitants, including people of African heritage, to be counted to ensure an equitable quota of the taxes to be levied on the united colonies.

New Jersey Provincial Congress. *Minutes of the Provincial Congress and the Council of Safety of the State of New Jersey, 1775-1776*. Trenton, N.J.: Naar, Day & Naar, 1879.

A) The Congress Resumed the Consideration of the Plan for Further Regulating the Militia, &c., which, after Certain Amendments, was Approved, and is in the Words Following, viz. (Passed August 16, 1775):

Resolved, 14. That for the purpose of effectually carrying into execution the recommendation of the Continental Congress, respecting the appointment of minute-men, four thousand **able-bodied effective men be enlisted and enrolled** in the several Counties in this Province, under officers to be appointed and commissioned by this Congress, or Committee of Safety, who shall hold themselves in constant readiness, on the shortest notice, to march to any place where their assistance may be required, for the defense of this or any neighboring Colony (p. 190).

Editorial comment: Here is an example of an early Revolutionary era law using the broad phrase ‘able-bodied effective men’ without reference to race. Scholars are generally of the view that such laws allowed for free Black men to be recruited for the revolutionary cause. Such explains why some Black men listed for the war very early.

B) An Ordinance for Striking the Sum of Fifty Thousand Pounds, Five Shillings, in Bills of Credit, for the Purposes therein Mentioned, and Directing the Same Manner of Sinking the Same. Passed February 20, 1776 (pp. 423-428).

Editorial quote: ‘Every bought servant and slave, being male, of sixteen years old and upwards (except such slaves as are not able to work) shall be rated the sum of two Shillings’ (p. 420).

Editorial comment: Enslaved people were rated for tax purposes to raise funds for the war.

Editorial quote: [Tuesday, July 23, 1776]. Colonel Hendrickson informed Convention that the Monmouth coast was exposed extremely to the incursions and depredations of the enemy and requested that a guard might be stationed along said coast and maintained at the publick expense.

He further informed Convention that some of his **negro slaves** had run off and were on board the enemy's fleet; that he had reason to believe he could recover the said slaves if he were permitted to send a flag, and requesting that, thro' the interference of this house, he might have such permission.

The Convention took the latter requisition under consideration, and agreed unanimously, that the sending of flags comes properly within the department of Brigadier-General Mercer, and that they could no further interfere on the occasion than to write a letter of introduction to the General in favor of Col. Hendrickson (pp. 516-517).

Editorial comment: General perceptions about enslaved Blacks in Monmouth County in the early years of the Revolution were unfavorable.

C) An Ordinance for Detaching One Half of the Militia. Passed August 11, 1776.

Editorial quote: The Convention viewing with serious concern the present alarming situation of this and their sister States, that on a prudent use of the present moment depend their lives, their liberty and happiness, think it their indispensable duty to put the militia on such a footing, that their whole force may be most advantageously exerted; and to call out the one half into immediate service, to be relieved by the other monthly.

Be it therefore resolved, ordained and directed, That **all able-bodied men, without exception, in this State, between the ages of sixteen and fifty,** be immediately enrolled by the captains of the militia, in whose districts they live, into their several companies, and be called, and deemed to be, in construction of this Ordinance, the militia of this State, and to be in that regiment to which the company they are enrolled in belongs; and that the said militia be formed into two divisions in manner following, to wit, orders shall be immediately issued by the Brigadiers-General to the several Colonels or commanding officers of every regiment and battalion within this State to call together without delay all that are directed as aforesaid to be enrolled in their several companies; and in those regiments or battalions where one half will not turn out volunteers to serve in the first division, that the divisions be determined by lot (p. 568).

Editorial quote: That very private shall and may have the liberty of timely providing an able-bodied man to serve in his stead, to be approved by the Captain of the company in which he is to serve (p. 571).

Editorial comment: Early wartime laws in New Jersey, beginning in 1775, allowed free Blacks and Whites to provide the Revolutionary War service, without reference to race, as evidenced by the employment of such clauses as ‘all able-bodied men, without exception, in this State, between the ages of sixteen and fifty.’ By the terms of such broad language, free blacks were still eligible, and many, indeed, saw service.

For instance, an amendment to the Militia Act of 1777, passed in March 1778, called upon ‘all able-bodied men, not being slaves’ for Revolutionary War service.

United States. *The Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, the Constitution of the United States*. Edited with an Introductory Note by James Scott, Director, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law. New York: New York University Press, 1917.

A) The Declaration of Independence. In Congress, July 4, 1776.

Editorial comment/quote: One of the grievances against King George was that ‘He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us,’ which was a reference to enslaved people.

B) Articles of Confederation - 1777.

ARTICLE IV. The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different States in this Union, the free inhabitants of each of these States, **paupers, vagabonds and fugitives from justice excepted**, shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several States; and the people of each State shall have free ingress and regress to and from any other State, and shall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce, subject to the same duties, impositions and restrictions as the inhabitants thereof respectively, provided that such restrictions shall not extend so far as to prevent the removal of property imported into any State, to any other State of which the owner is an inhabitant; provided also that no imposition, duties or restriction shall be laid by any State, on the property of the United States, or either of them (see pp. 13-14).

Editorial comment: In the spirit and letter of this provision of the Articles of Confederation, free Blacks were not disregarded as citizens of the United States. It was neither by accident nor oversight that they were embodied in the phrase *free inhabitants*.

When this article was being considered in 1778, South Carolina delegates moved to amend it, by ‘inserting between the words *free* and *inhabitants* the word *white*.’ The proposed amendment was lost; *only two* States voting in the affirmative. In the ninth article, the word ‘white’ was retained. The State of New Jersey, although a slaveholding State, objected to this, and made a representation to Congress on the subject. For details, see George Livermore, *A Historical Research Regarding the*

Opinions of the Founders of Republic Negroes as Slaves, as Citizens, and as Soldiers, p. 25-26.

New Jersey. Acts of the Council and General Assembly of the State of New Jersey, from the Establishment of the Present Government, and Declaration of Independence, to the End of the First Sitting of the Eighth Session, on the 24th Day of December 1783; with the Constitution Prefixed, to which is Annexed, an Appendix, Containing the Articles of Confederation of the United States, &c. with Two Alphabetical Tables and an Index.
Compiled under the Appointment of the Legislature by Peter Wilson, A.M.
Trenton, N.J.: Isaac Collins, 1784.

A) Constitution of New Jersey. Agreed upon in Provincial Congress. Burlington, July 2, 1776 (p. iii-x).

SEC. IV. That all Inhabitants of this Colony of full Age, who are worth *Fifty Pounds*, Proclamation Money, clear Estate in the same, and have resided within the County in which they claim a Vote for twelve Months immediately preceding the Election, shall be entitled to vote for Representatives in Council and Assembly; and also for all other public Officers that shall be elected by the People of the County at Large (p. v).

Editorial comment: The right of suffrage under the 1776 New Jersey Constitution was conferred upon “all inhabitants” of the State, of full age, with minimum property value of fifty pounds proclamation money of New Jersey, or an estate of same value, and had resided for twelve months within the county in which they claimed a vote. This right contained no reference to race or gender. As a result, evidence exist of women and free Black men voting for public officers in the late 18th century until their rights were revoked in 1807. See, for instance, Manuscript Group 895, Bedminster Township, New Jersey, Voting Register, 1797-1803, in the collection of the New Jersey Historical Society, Newark, New Jersey.

B) An Act for Completing the four Battalions of this State in the Continental Service. Passed May 28, 1777 (See Appendix Number I, pp. 1-3).

Preamble: WHEREAS it is of the last Importance to the Honour of this State, and the Safety of the United States of *America*, to complete, as soon as possible, its Quota of the Continental Army;

SEC. 1. BE IT THEREFORE ENACTED *by the Council and General Assembly of this State, and it is hereby Enacted by the Authority of the same*, That it shall be lawful for any of the Officers of the eight Companies, belonging to any of the four Battalions directed to be raised in this State for the Continental Army, to enlist any **Servant** or Apprentice (not under the Age of sixteen Years) into his Company, until the eight Companies in each of the said four Battalions, ordered to be raised by this State, shall be complete; and when any **bought Servant shall be enlisted by Virtue of this Act**, the enlisting Officer is hereby ordered and required to certify, under his Hand, to the Master or Mistress of such **bought Servant**, the Name of such Servant, the Time when, for how

long, and for what Company and Battalion he was enlisted; and any two of the chosen Freeholders, and one Justice of the County, where the Master or Mistress of such Servant doth reside, shall, and they are hereby authorized and required, upon Application of the said Master or Mistress, producing the aforesaid Certificate from the recruiting Officer, to meet and determine on the Sum to be paid for the Time of said Servant; and their Determination, or that of any two of them, shall be conclusive; and the Treasurer, on producing to him a certified Copy thereof, with the Certificate of the enlisting Officer, is hereby authorized and directed to pay to such Master or Mistress, or his or her Order, the Sum therein specified, provided the Sum to be paid for any one bought Servant shall not exceed *Twenty Pounds*; and the Receipt of such Master or Mistress, or of the Person by him or her authorized to receive the same, shall be to the said Treasurer a sufficient Discharge for the Payment thereof (see Appendix Number I, p. 1).

Editorial comment: This law institutionalized the mode of enlisting *servants* (i.e., enslaved people) and *apprentices* for New Jersey Battalions in the Continental Army.

SEC. 2. AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED *by the Authority aforesaid*, That any two of the Militia who shall enlist, or cause to be enlisted, ***one able-bodied healthy Recruit***, for any of the eight Companies of any of the four Battalions of this State in the Continental Army, shall be exempted from actual Service in the Militia during the Term of such Enlistment, provided such Enlistment be certified by a commissioned recruiting Officer, and the Justice before whom such Recruit was sworn; and provided, that their Freedom from actual Service shall not be construed to extend to an Exemption from Trainings, according to the Militia Act, or from doing Duty in case of an Alarm or Invasion within the several Counties in which they may respectively reside (see Appendix I, p. 1).

Editorial comment: As noted earlier, such phrases as ‘able-bodied healthy recruit’ were *race neutral* in the context of this and previous acts of the legislature. It is likely that these provisions that scholars generally argue that the race neutral phraseology allowed for recruitment of non-white men for military service. This observation is further supported by the fact that New Jersey’s free Blacks and Native American soldiers, like many others in other states, did not serve in separate battalions; they volunteered and fought side by side their white soldiers. And because they were *free* and had their full names (in the case of people of African descent, for instance), little can be obtained from the Revolutionary records to show exactly which soldiers were white and which were Black and Native American. That may be a reason why only a few Black and Native American soldiers are identified in in William S. Stryker’s *Official Register of the Officers and Men of New Jersey in the Revolutionary War* (1872). One may, therefore, argue, and rightly so that New Jersey’s official register is incomplete (and will likely never be complete) in terms of the ethnic identities of the soldiers documented.

SEC. 5. AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED *by the Authority aforesaid*, That when any two Inhabitants of this State shall, in pursuance of this Act, enlist, or procure to be enlisted, any **bought Servant** or Apprentice, the Value of said Servant’s or Apprentice’s

Time shall be ascertained by the Justice and chosen Freeholders as aforesaid, not exceeding *Twenty Pounds*, and the Sum in their Certificate specified shall be paid to the Master or Mistress of such Servant or Apprentice, by the Person or Persons procuring him as their Substitute (see Appendix Number I, p. 2).

Editorial comment: Inhabitants of New Jersey who enlisted any bought servant or apprentice as substitutes for military service in the Revolutionary War were required to be paid the monetary value of their substitute's time.

SEC. 6. AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED *by the Authority aforesaid*, That the Master or Mistress of **such Servant** or Apprentice, who shall enlist in any of the Battalions as aforesaid, shall pay to the Justice and Freeholders who shall ascertain the Value of **such Servant** or Apprentice, the Sum of *Five Shillings* each; and if any of the Justices or Freeholders aforesaid neglect or refuse to do any of the Duties enjoined on him by this Act, on reasonable Notice given him by the said Master or Mistress, he shall, for every such Offence, forfeit the Sum of *Five Pounds*, one Half to the Master or Mistress, and the other Half to the Use of the Poor of the Township where such Master or Mistress resides, to be recovered in any Court where the same is cognizable (see Appendix I, p. 2).

Editorial comment: Fees and penalties imposed on Justices and Freeholders for neglect of enforcing conditions and terms of enlisting servants and apprentices for military service.

SEC. 8. AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED *by the Authority aforesaid*, That any two Persons belonging to the Militia of this State, or of those who are exempted from military Duty by the Militia Act, who have, since the fourteenth Day of *April* last,¹⁶ and before the Publication of this Act, **enlisted Substitutes** in like Manner as is prescribed by this Act, shall be entitled to a like Exemption from military Duty with those who shall hereafter enlist or procure the **Enlistment of Substitutes**: And if any Officer of any of the aforesaid four Battalions has enlisted any Servant or Apprentice, since the said fourteenth Day of *April*, and before the Publication of this Act, such Enlistment shall be deemed as valid, to all Intents and Purposes, as if the same had been made in Consequence of this Act; and the Time of such **Servants** and Apprentices shall be valued and paid for in such Cases, and in like Manner as herein before is directed, reflecting **Servants** and Apprentices, which shall hereafter be enlisted (Appendix I, pp. 2-3).

Editorial comment: This provision was in reference to individuals who were to be exempted from military duty because they procured the enlistment of servants or apprentices as substitutes. The substitute system allowed slaveowners, for instance, to replace themselves with their enslaved men for military service. An example was Benjamin Coe of Newark, N.J., who substituted himself with his enslaved man, Jack Cudjo Banquante.

¹⁶ The measures adopted in the above Act for completing the battalions, were recommended by a Resolution of United States Congress on April 14, 1776.

C) **A Supplement to the Act, Entitled, An Act to Explain and Amend an Act, Entitled, An Act to Prevent the Subjects of this State from Going into, or Coming Out of, the Enemy's Lines, Without Permissions or Passports, and for Other Purposes therein Mentioned. Passed Dec. 25, 1779** (see Appendix Number VII, pp. 13-16).

SEC. 6. AND WHEREAS several **Negro Slaves**, belonging to Persons residing within Places under the Power of the Enemy, which have absconded from their Owners and come into this State, have been kidnapped and forcibly carried out of the same and secreted, and others have been seized and sold within this State by Persons not having any Claim to such Negroes, and without any lawful Authority; in order therefore to prevent the like cruel and iniquitous Practices in future, BE IT FURTHER ENACTED *by the Authority aforesaid*, That if any Person or Persons whatsoever, other than the Owner or Owners, shall, after the Publication of this Act, presume to kidnap or carry away by Force, secret, detain, sell, or otherwise convert to his, her or their own Use, any such **Negro Slave or Slaves**, the Person or Persons, so offending, shall, for every such Offence, forfeit and pay the Sum of *Five Thousand Pounds*, over and above the Value of the **Negro Slave or Slaves** by him or them so kidnapped, forcibly carried away, secreted, detained, sold, or otherwise converted to his, her or their Use; to be recovered by Action of Debt, by any Person that will sue for the same, in any Court of Record where the same may be cognizable, with Costs of Suit, and applied one Half to the Persecutor, and the other Half to and for the Use of the State (see Appendix Number III, p. 15-16).

Editorial comment: A penalty of *five thousand pounds* imposed on persons illegally kidnapping and selling enslaved people, including fugitive slaves from other states who were picked up in New Jersey.

SEC. 7. AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED *by the Authority aforesaid*, That **all Sales of any such Negro Slave or Slaves** not legally condemned, made or hereafter to be made by any Person whatsoever, shall be, and the same are hereby declared to be, null and void to all Intents and Purposes; and the said Negro Slave or Slaves, not legally condemned, so sold, shall be set at Liberty; and it shall and may be lawful for the Purchaser or Purchasers of any such Negro or Negroes to sue for and recover the Sum or Sums by him or them paid for any such Negro or Negroes, in an Action of Debt in any Court where the same may be cognizable, with Costs and Suit (Appendix III, p. 16).

Editorial comment: The kidnapping and selling of enslaved people and/or fugitives, not lawfully authorized, declared null void.

SEC. 8. And WHEREAS it may be dangerous to the Community to permit such Negroes to reside near the Enemy's Lines; BE IT FURTHER ENACTED *by the Authority aforesaid*, That it shall and may be lawful for any one Justice of the Peace in any of the Counties of this State, upon due Proof of such Danger, to order **any such Negro or Negroes to be removed** to some more remote or interior Part of the State; and if any such Negro or Negroes shall presume to return to any Part of the State adjoining the Enemy's Lines after such Removal, and without Leave of the Justice who granted the Order for his Removal first obtained, he or they shall, on being thereof legally convicted, be liable to such corporal Punishment as shall be adjudged by the Court before which

such Conviction is had, not exceeding thirty Lashes (see Appendix III, p. 16).

Editorial comment: Blacks residing in any part of New Jersey that was close to the enemy's line and were "deemed" to pose danger to the defense and security of the State, may be lawfully removed to a remote part of the State where they may not be recruited into the Loyalists' camp.

D) An Act for the Regulating, Training, and Arming of the Militia, and for Providing More Effectually for the Defense and Security of the State. Passed January 8, 1781 (p. 166).

SEC. 58. AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED, That no Minor, Apprentice, or **Servant** shall be allowed to enter himself into any Troop of Horse or Company of Artillery without the Consent of those under whose Government, Care or Direction, such Minor, Apprentice or Servant may be; and generally no Person who is not able to provide himself with the Furniture and Equipment of a Horseman shall be allowed to enter himself into any such Troop (p. 180).

Editorial comment: Regulation of persons, including minors, servants (enslaved people), and apprentices who may not enter themselves of military service.

E) An Act to Raise, by Voluntary Enlistment, Four Hundred and Fifty Men, for Completing the Quota of Troops Belonging to this State, in the Service of the United States. Passed June 25, 1781 (p. 205).

SEC. 13. AND IT IS HEREBY FURTHER PROVIDED AND ENACTED, That **no Slave**, nor any Person under the Age of sixteen, nor above the Age of fifty Years, nor any Deserter from the Army or Navy of the King of *Great Britain*, being a Native of any Part of the *British* Dominions, and not heretofore an Inhabitant of some one of the United States, shall be enlisted, mustered or entitled to any Bounty, under or by Virtue of this Act, and every recruiting Officer who shall enlist a Deserter as aforesaid, knowing him to be such, shall forfeit and pay the Sum of *Twenty Pounds* in Gold or Silver, or other current Money equivalent, to be recovered with Costs in any Court where the Action may be cognizable, and applied one Half to the Use of the Prosecutor, and the other Half to be paid to the Collector of the County, where recovered, for the Use of the State (p. 209).

Editorial comment: Categories of persons, including enslaved people, not to be enlisted for service in the Revolutionary War.

F) An Act to Provide for the Defense of the Frontiers, and for Defraying the Expenses of the Government of this State. Passed December 29, 1781 (p. 251).

SEC. 9. AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED, That **no Slave**, nor any other Person under the Age of sixteen nor above the Age of fifty Years, nor any Prisoner of War or Deserter from the Enemy, being a Native of any part of *British* Dominions, and not heretofore an

Inhabitant of some one of the United States, shall be entitled, received or admitted to serve in the Levy to be made under this Act; and no Person engaged to serve in the said Levy shall be liable to be taken out of the Service for any civil Process other than for the Commission of Trespass, or for Non-Payment of Damages on Recovery had against him, in case Prize-Goods (see pp. 254-255).

Editorial comment: Categories of people, including enslaved individuals, not to be enlisted for service in the Revolutionary War.

G) An Act to Authorize the Delegates Representing this State, in the Congress of the United States, to Ratify an Alteration in One of the Articles of Confederation. Passed June 17, 1783 (p. 333)

WHEREAS it has been recommended by Congress to the several States in Union, to authorize their respective Delegates to subscribe and ratify an Alteration in the eighth of the Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union; and as the Reasons urged by Congress appear to make the Alteration recommended necessary; Therefore

SEC. 2. AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED, That it shall and may be lawful for the Delegates representing this State in the Congress of the United States, and they are hereby required to subscribe and ratify the following as Part of the said Instrument of Union, and in Place of the Part revoked and made void, *to wit*, ‘That all Charges of War, and all other Expenses that have been, or shall be incurred for the common Defense or general Welfare, and allowed by the United States in Congress assembled, except so far as shall be otherwise provided for, shall be defrayed out of a common Treasury, which shall be supplied by the several States in Proportion to the whole Number of White and other free Citizens and Inhabitants of every Age, Sex and Condition, including those bound to Servitude for a Term of Years, and **three-fifths of all other Persons not comprehended in the foregoing Description**, except Indians not paying Taxes in each State; which said Alteration, when so subscribed and ratified, shall be deemed and held to be as sufficient and valid for the Purposes therein mentioned, as the Part herein before revoked and made void, was or ought to have been before the Revocation and Disannulling thereof (pp. 333-334).

Editorial comment: Categories of people to be taxed for the purposes of ratifying the Articles of Confederation to allow for the states to assume the national war debts. For the purposes of representation and taxation, enslaved people of African descent were defined as ‘three-fifths of all other persons,’ not including Indians not paying taxes.

H) An Act to Raise the Sum of Ninety Thousand Pounds in the State of New Jersey. Passed June 22, 1782 (p. 273).

SEC. 2: AND BE IT ENACTED *by the Authority aforesaid*, That in assessing each Payment of the said Sum of *ninety Thousand Pounds*, the several Persons, Articles and Things made taxable by this Act, shall be valued and rated at the Discretion of the Assessor and Freeholders chosen and appointed agreeably to the Directions of an Act **Every Male Slave** between the Ages of sixteen and fifty Years, any Sum not exceeding

Fifteen Shillings. PROVIDED ALWAYS, That **no Slave shall be taxed who is unable to work**, or that may appear to the Assessor and chosen Freeholders to be no Profit to his Master or Mistress (pp. 274-275).

Editorial comment: Property, including enslaved people, and how they should be taxed to raise money to meet a requirement of the Congress of the United States.

I) An Act for Preventing an Illicit Trade and Intercourse between the Subjects of this State and the Enemy. Passed June 24, 1782 (p. 287).

SEC. 25. BE IT ENACTED, That if any Minor or **Slave** shall voluntarily and of his own free Will and Accord be guilty of any Offense described in this Act, such Minor or Slave shall be sentenced to receive any Number of Lashes, not exceeding thirty-nine, on his bare Back, at the Discretion of any two Justices of the Peace of the County; and if any Goods, Wares, or Merchandize, liable to Seizure and Condemnation by Virtue of this Act, shall be found in his Possession, the same shall be forfeited and disposed of as hereinafter mentioned (p. 296).

Editorial comment: Minors and enslaved people and how they should be dealt with for committing any of the offenses described in the Act.

J) An Act for Raising a Revenue of Thirty-one Thousand Two Hundred and Fifty-nine Pounds Five Shillings per Annum, for the Term of Twenty-five Years, for the Purpose of Paying the Interest and Principal of Debts Due from the United States, Agreeably to a Recommendation of Congress of the Eighteenth Day of April, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty-three, and for Appropriating the Same. Passed December 20, 1783 (p. 363).

SEC. 2. AND BE IT ENACTED *by the Authority aforesaid*, That in assessing the aforesaid Sum of *Thirty-one Thousand Two Hundred and Fifty-nine Pounds Five Shillings*, the several Persons, Articles and Things, made taxable by this Act, shall in each and every of the aforesaid Years be valued and rated at the Discretion of the Assessors **Every Male Slave**, between the Ages of sixteen and fifty Years, any Sum not exceeding *Ten Shillings*. PROVIDED ALWAYS, That no Slave shall be taxed who is unable to work, or may appear to the Assessor to be no Profit to his Master or Mistress (pp. 364-365).

Editorial comment: Categories of articles, things, and persons, including enslaved people to be assessed and taxed toward paying the debts due from the federal government.

K) An Act to Raise the Sum of Ten Thousand Pounds in the State of New Jersey, for the Support of Government, and Contingent Expenses for the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty-four. Passed December 22, 1783 (p. 377).

SEC. 2: AND BE IT ENACTED *by the Authority aforesaid*, That in assessing the said Sum of *Ten Thousand Pounds*, the several Persons and Articles made taxable by this Act shall be valued and rated at the Discretion of the Assessors as follows: Every

Male Slave, between the Ages of sixteen and fifty-five Years, any sum not exceeding *Five Shillings*. PROVIDED ALWAYS, That no Slave shall be taxed who is unable to work, or that may appear to the Assessor to be no Profit to his Master or Mistress (pp. 377-378).

Editorial comment: Persons, including enslaved people, and articles made taxable.

L) An Act to Procure an Estimate of the Number of Inhabitants in the State of New Jersey. Passed December 24, 1783 (p. 387).

WHEREAS Congress have recommended to the several States in Union, to ascertain and transmit to them the number of Inhabitants belonging to each State, **both white and black**, in order that the Expenses of the War may be more equitably quoted upon the respective States; and it appearing necessary that the said Recommendation should be complied with, therefore (p. 387).

Editorial comment: It appears this was the first time the phrase “white and black” or the term “black” (in reference to people of African descent) was used in the New Jersey legislative records between 1775 and 1783.

SEC. 1: BE IT ENACTED *by the Council and General Assembly of this State, and it is hereby Enacted by the Authority of the same*, That the Assessors of the respective Townships, Precincts or Wards, in this State, shall, at the Time of taking the first List of the Persons and Articles made ratable as is directed in and by the Act, entitled *An Act for raising a Revenue of Thirty-one Thousand Two Hundred and Fifty-nine Pounds Five Shillings per Annum, for the Term of twenty-five Years, for the Purpose of paying the Interests and Principal of Debts due from the United States, agreeably to a Recommendation of Congress of the eighteenth Day of April, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty-three, and for appropriating the same*, take an exact Account of the Number of white and other free Inhabitants of all Ages, Sexes and Conditions, **Indians excepted**; and also a like **Account of all Slaves** within their respective Townships, Precincts and Wards, and shall enter the Account of the white and other free Inhabitants in a separate Column in their respective Duplicates, and an **Account of the Slaves in a separate Column** also; and shall, when met together, to settle the Quotas of the respective Townships, Precincts and Wards, enter in a separate Column in the Abstract to be by them made and signed, the Number of white and other free Inhabitants as aforesaid taken, and also in a separate Colum in the said **Abstract, the Number of Slaves** taken as aforesaid (pp. 387-388).

Editorial comment: Mode of procuring the number of people in New Jersey made taxable for the purposes of paying off the interests and principal of debts due from the United States. Among them were enslaved people. Native Americans were excluded.

New Jersey. *Journal of the Votes and Proceedings of the Convention of New Jersey: Begun at Burlington the Tenth of June 1776, and Thence Continued by Adjournment at Trenton and New Brunswick, to the Twenty-First of August Following. To Which is Annexed,*

Sundry Ordinances, and the Constitution. Burlington, N.J.: Printed by Isaac Collins, 1776; reprinted by Joseph Justice in Trenton, 1831.

Editorial quote: Colonel Hendrickson informed Convention that the Monmouth coast was exposed extremely to the incursions and depredations of the enemy, and requested that a guard might be stationed along said coast, and maintained at the publick expence.

He further informed Convention that some of his negro slaves had run off, and were on board the enemy's fleet; that he had reason to believe he could recover the said slaves if he were permitted to send a flag, and requesting that, thro' the interference of this house, he might have such permission.

The Convention took the latter requisition under consideration, and agreed unanimously, that the sending of flags comes properly within the department of Brigadier-General Mercer, and that they could no further interfere on the occasion than to write a letter of introduction to the General in favor of Col. Hendrickson (p. 56).

New Jersey. *Acts of the Eighth General Assembly of the State of New Jersey, At a Session Begun at Trenton the 28th Day of October 1783, and Continued Until the 24th Day of December Following.* Trenton, Isaac Collins, 1784.

A) An Act for Setting Free Peter Williams, a Negro, Late the Property of John Heard. Passed at New Brunswick, September 1, 1784.

WHEREAS it appears upon Proof to the Legislature, that *John Heard*, of *Woodbridge*, in the County of *Middlesex*, joined the Enemies of the United States, by going into their Lines, and took with him a Negro Man, then his Property, named *Peter*; that said Negro Man came back from the Enemy in the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty, and served some Time with the Troops raised by this State for the Defence of the Frontiers; that he enlisted out of said Troops into the Continental Army, where he served faithfully until the End of the War; that said *John Heard's* Estate became confiscated, and consequently the said Negro Man, now known by the Name *Peter Williams*, became the Property of this State; therefore, in Consideration of the faithful Services of the said *Peter*;

BE IT ENACTED by the Council and General Assembly of this State, and it is hereby Enacted by the Authority of the same, That **the Negro Man named *Peter*, known and called by the Name of *Peter Williams***, late the property of *John Heard*, shall be, and he, the said *Peter Williams*, is hereby declared to be manumitted and set free from Slavery and Servitude, as fully to all Intents and Purposes as though he had been free born and continued in such State of Freedom; any Law, Usage or Custom to the contrary notwithstanding (p. 110).

Editorial comment: New Jersey Legislature passed a law that freed some enslaved persons who served as soldiers on the sides of the Revolutionary.

New Jersey. *Acts of the Tenth General Assembly of the State of New Jersey; At a Session Begun at Trenton on the 25th Day of October 1785, and Continued by Adjournment; being the Second Sitting.* Trenton, Isaac Collins, 1786.

A) Act to Prevent the Importation of Slaves into the State of New Jersey, and to Authorize the Manumission of Them under Certain Restrictions, and to Prevent the Abuse of Slaves. Passed at Trenton, March 2, 1786 (pp. 239-242).

WHEREAS the Principles of Justice and Humanity require, that the barbarous Custom of bringing the unoffending Africans from their native Country and Connections into a State of Slavery ought to be discountenanced, and as soon as possible prevented; and sound Policy also requires, in order to afford ample Support to such of the Community as depend upon their Labor for their daily Subsistence, that the Importation of Slaves into this State from any other State or Country whatsoever, ought to be prohibited under certain Restrictions; and that such as are under Servitude in the State ought to be protected by Law from those Exercises of wanton Cruelty too often practiced upon them; and that every unnecessary Obstruction in the Way of freeing Slaves should be removed; therefore;

Sec. 1: BE IT ENACTED *by the Council and General Assembly of this State, and it is hereby Enacted by the Authority of the same*, That, from and after the Publication of this Act, it shall not be lawful for any Person or Persons whatsoever to bring into this State, either for sale or for Servitude, any Negro Slave brought from Africa since the Year Seventeen Hundred and Seventy-six; and every Person offending by bringing into this State any such Negro Slave shall, for each Slave, forfeit and Pay the Sum of Fifty Pounds, to be sued for and recovered with Costs by the Collector of the Township into which such Slave shall be brought, to be applied when recovered to the Use of the State (p. 239).

Editorial comment: Anybody who brought a captured African into New Jersey since 1776 would forfeit to pay a penalty of fifty pounds for each captured African so brought.

SEC. 2. *And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid*, That if any Person shall either bring or procure to be brought into this State, any Negro or Mulatto Slave, who shall not have been born in or brought from Africa since the Year above-mentioned, and either sell or buy, or cause such Negro or Mulatto Slave to be sold, or to remain in this State, for the Space of six Months, every such Person, so bringing or procuring to be brought or selling or purchasing such Slave, not born in or brought from Africa since the Year aforesaid, shall, for every such Slave, forfeit and pay the Sum of Twenty Pounds, to be sued for and recovered with Costs by the Collector of the Township into which such Slave shall be brought or remain after the Time limited for that Purpose, the Forfeiture to be applied to the Use of this State as aforesaid (p. 240).

Editorial comment: The law inflicts a penalty of twenty pounds for bringing captured and enslaved Africans into New Jersey, who had not been imported before 1776.

SEC. 3. *Provided always, and be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That Nothing in this Act contained shall be construed to prevent any Person who shall remove into this State, to take a settled Residence here, from bringing all his or her Slaves without incurring the Penalties aforesaid, excepting such Slaves as shall have been brought from Africa since the Year first above-mentioned, or to prevent any Foreigners or others having only a temporary Residence in this State, for the Purpose of transacting any particular Business, or on their Travels, from bringing and employing such Slaves as Servants, during the Time of his or her Stay here, provided such Slave shall not be sold or disposed of in this State (p. 240).*

Editorial comment: Persons who removed from other states into New Jersey could bring their enslaved people with them, provided those enslaved individuals were not imported from Africa and were born in the United States since 1776.

SEC. 4. *And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That all the Forfeitures which may be recovered as aforesaid shall, by the Collector recovering the same, be paid into the Treasury; and if any Collector shall put to any necessary Expense in prosecuting as aforesaid, he shall be credited for the same out of the public Money in his Hands; and in case any Collector shall neglect or refuse to prosecute to Effect, for any Fine or Forfeiture incurred as aforesaid, he shall, for every such Neglect or Refusal, forfeit and pay the Sum which he ought to have recovered, which, together with the Sums recovered by the Collector upon Non-Payment thereof, shall be sued for and recovered with Costs, by the Treasurer of this State for the Time being, to be applied to the Use of the State (p. 240).*

Editorial comment: Forfeiture recovered by the Collector, to be paid into the State Treasury. And what the collectors neglecting or refusing their duty shall forfeit.

SEC. 5. *And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful for any Owner, Master or Mistress of any **Negro or Mulatto Slave**, to manumit and set free such Slave by executing a Writing under Hand and Seal, certifying such Manumission, and also obtaining a Certificate, signed by two of the Overseers of the Poor of the Township, and any two Justices of the Peace of the County wherein the said Master or Mistress may reside, in the Words or to the Effect following:*

County, §§ We do hereby certify, that on this _____ Day of _____ in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and _____ A B of the Township of _____ in the said County of _____ brought before us, two of the Overseers of the Poor of said Township, and two of the Justices of the Peace of said County, his or her Slave, named _____ who on View and Examination appears to us to be sound in Mind, and not under any bodily Incapacity of obtaining a Support, and also is not under twenty-one Years of Age, not above thirty-five: In Witness whereof we have hereunto set our Hands the _____ Day of _____ One Thousand Seven Hundred and _____.

And recording such Certificates in the Clerk's Office of the County in which the said Master or Mistress shall then reside, provided such Slave shall not, when set free, be

under the Age of twenty-one Years, nor exceed the Age of thirty-five Years, the Master or Mistress, giving the Freedom in such Case, shall forever thereafter be exonerated and acquitted from all Costs and Charges which may arise for the Support of the Slave so manumitted, excepting their Proportion of any Tax that hereafter may be assessed for the Support of the said Slave (pp. 240-241).

Editorial comment: An enslaved person between the ages of 21 and 35 may be freed by the owner, provided that two of the overseers of the poor in the township in which the enslaved person was to be freed would attest to the enslaved person's soundness of mind and body. The law included a template certificate of manumission when such should be recorded. In effect, the law demanded that Blacks manumitted within the boundaries of New Jersey be required to carry a certificate signed by two justices of the peace for the county of their original residence, which must be countersigned by the clerk of the county in which the manumitted persons resided, in order to be able to leave their county of residence, even temporarily. See Peter O. Wacker, *Land and People: A Cultural Geography of Preindustrial New Jersey: Origins and Settlement Patterns* (Rutgers University Press, 1975), 202.

SEC. 6. *And be it further Enacted*, That the legal Settlement of every Slave, manumitted as aforesaid, that shall or may be likely to become a public Charge, shall, and the same is hereby declared in all Cases whatsoever to be in that Township in this State where the Master or Mistress manumitting such Slave may have a legal Settlement at the Time of such Manumission; and that no Possession, Duty or Employment of, or Taxes paid by, a manumitted Slave, shall procure a Settlement otherwise than herein above-mentioned, any Law, Usage or Custom to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding (p. 241).

Editorial comment: Settlement of manumitted slaves.

SEC. 7. *And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid*, That if any Slave, which hath been or shall be manumitted or set free, shall hereafter be convicted of Felony, or any other Crime or Offence in this State above the Degree of Petit Larceny, and shall not be condemned to suffer Death for the same, or shall be convicted of having more than twice been guilty of Petit Larceny or other Offence equally criminal and injurious to the Community, the Court before whom such Conviction in either Case above-mentioned may be had, shall give Judgment against the Offender, that, within one Month after being released from Confinement, he or she shall remove out of the State, and remain in Exile out of the same during Life, or for such a term of Years as the Court shall judge adequate to the Crime or Offence; and if any such Offender shall be found in the State after the Time fixed for removing out of the same, and before the Expiration of the Time limited for her Continuance in Exile, every such Offender, so found in the State, shall be immediately taken up and secured by the Sheriff of the County in which such exiled Offender shall be found, which Offender the said Sheriff shall sell at Public Auction for the Term remaining of his or her Banishment, whether the same shall be for Life or for a limited Term, and every Offender sold by the Sheriff as herein directed shall remain the Property of the Purchaser, or his Assigns, during the Term such sale by this Act is

authorized to be made; and all the Money arising by any Sale made as aforesaid the Sheriff making the same shall be accountable for, and pay to the Treasurer of this State for the Time being, for the Use of the State, after deducting five per Cent therefrom for the Trouble and Expense of such Sale¹⁷ (p. 241-242).

Editorial comment: How to punish enslaved people manumitted for crimes committed.

SEC. 8. *An be it further Enacted*, That it shall and may be lawful for the Grand-Jury of any County in this State to indict any Person for inhumanly treating and abusing his or Slave; and if, upon the Prosecution of any such Indictment, the Master or Mistress shall be convicted of the Offence, the Court before whom such Conviction shall be had may impose such Fine for the Offence as in their Discretion they shall deem proper, not exceeding Five Pounds for the second Offence; which Fine, when recovered, shall be paid to the Overseer of the Poor for the Use of the Township in which the said Master or Mistress shall reside.

Editorial comment: Persons found guilty of inhumanely treating their enslaved persons may be indicted or fined.

SEC. 9. *And be it further Enacted*, That no Negro or Mulatto manumitted and set free in any other State shall be permitted to travel or reside in this State; and if any Inhabitant of this State shall Harbor, conceal or employ any Negro or Mulatto, set free in any other State, and coming into this State, or suffer any such Negro or Mulatto to live on his or her Land, or in his or her House or other Tenement for one Week, every Person so offending shall forfeit and pay the Sum of Five Pounds for every week he or she shall harbor, conceal, employ or furnish such Negro or Mulatto with House of Land as aforesaid, to be recovered with Costs by and for the Use of any Person who will sue for the same; and that no Negro or Mulatto, manumitted in this State, shall be permitted to travel or remain in any County or Township in this State other than in the County or Township in which such Slave was set free, without a Certificate from two Justices of the Peace of the County in which the Manumission was effected, certifying that such Negro or Mulatto was set free in such a Township in the County, countersigned by the Clerk of the County under the Seal of the Court (p. 242).

Editorial comment: The preamble of the law contained a severe indictment of the Trans- Atlantic trade in Africans. The law required recording of manumissions (i.e., freedom papers). The purpose of the records was to ensure that formerly enslaved people could provide for themselves and did not become burden on the State and county.

For an analysis of the implications of 1786 law and abolitionists' struggle before and after, see Philip S. Foner, *Black in the American Revolution* (1975), pp. 99-103.

¹⁷ Note: Section 7 of this Act was repealed in a supplementary act on November 26, 1788. See page 488.

New Jersey. *Acts of the Thirteenth General Assembly of the State of New Jersey; At a Session Begun at Trenton on the 28th Day of October and Continued by Adjournment; Being the First Sitting.* Trenton, Isaac Collins, 1788. Passed at Princeton, November 26, 1788.

- A) **A Supplement to an Act, Entitled, ‘An Act to Prevent the Importation of Slaves into the State of New Jersey, and to Authorize the Manumission of Them under Certain Restrictions, and to Prevent the Abuse of Slaves.’ Passed at Princeton, Nov. 26, 1788** (p. 486-488).

SEC. 1: BE IT ENACTED *by the Council and General Assembly of this State, and it is hereby Enacted by the Authority of the same,* That if any Person or Persons shall fit out, equip, man or otherwise prepare, any Ship or other Vessel within any Port or Harbor of this State, or shall cause to any Ship or other Vessel to sail from any Port or Harbor of this State, for the Purpose of carrying on a Trade or Traffic in Slaves, to, from or between Europe, Asia, Africa or America, or any Places or Countries whatever, or of transporting Slaves to or from one Port or Place to another in any Part of the World, for the Purpose of Sale, such Ship or Vessel, her Cargo, Tackle, Furniture, Apparel, or other Appurtenances, shall be forfeited, and be liable to be seized by any Justice of the Peace, Naval Officer, Sheriff or Coroner, within this State, and prosecuted by such Justice of the Peace, Naval Officer, Sheriff or Coroner, within this State, and prosecuted by such Justice of the Peace, Naval Officer, Sheriff or Coroner, making such Seizure, by Information in Rem in the Supreme Court, or the Inferior Court of Common Pleas of the County within which such Seizure shall be made (p. 486-487).

Editorial comment: Persons fitting out vessels for the Slave Trade what to forfeit.

SEC. 2: *And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid,* That every Ship or other Vessel with her Cargo, Tackle, Furniture, Apparel and other Appurtenances, so seized as aforesaid, and against which Judgement shall be had and obtained, shall, by Order of the Court in which such Judgement was so had, be sold at publick Vendue, by the Sheriff of the County, unless the said Sheriff be a Party to the Prosecution and then by the Coroner of the County in which said Seizure was made, who, after deducting all legal Costs and Charges to be taxed by one of the Judges of the Court in which said Judgement was had, is hereby ordered and directed to pay seven-eighth Parts of the net Proceeds thereof to the Collector of the County in which the Seizure was made, for the Use of the State, and the remaining eighth Part thereof to the Person or Persons who made the Seizure, and prosecuted the same to Effect; and the said Sheriff or Coroner by whom the said Sale shall be made, is hereby entitled to receive, and take out of the Proceeds of the said Sale, One per Cent for his Trouble (p. 487).

Editorial comment: Ships and other vessels forfeited in the importation and sale of enslaved people in New Jersey to be sold, and how the money realized from such sale should be appropriated.

SEC. 3: *And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid*, That if any Master, Seaman or other Person on Board any Ship or other Vessel so liable to be seized as aforesaid, shall refuse, and not suffer to enter, or resist before or after entering, on Board such Ship or other Vessel, any such Person or Persons attempting to enter on Board, or being already entered on the Board such Ship or other Vessel for the Purpose of making such Seizure as aforesaid, every Person so refusing or resisting shall forfeit and pay the Sum of Fifty Pounds, to be recovered by the Person or Persons so resisted, in an Action of Debt in any Court of Record within this State, with Costs or Suit, one half Part thereof for the Use of the State, and the other half Part thereof for the Use of the Person or Persons who shall prosecute the same to Effect, any Law, Usage or Custom, to the contrary notwithstanding (p. 487).

Editorial comment: Master resisting a person attempting to seize, to forfeit £50.

SEC. 4: *And be it further Enacted*, That no Negro or Mulatto Slave shall be removed out of this State, whose Place or Residence has been therein for Twelve Months immediately preceding such Removal, with a Design and Intention that the Place of Abode or Residence of such Slave shall be thereby changed, without his or her Consent, if of full Age, testified upon private Examination before a Justice of the Peace of the City or County in which he or she shall reside, or, being under the Age of Twenty-one Years, without the Consent testified in Manner aforesaid, as also without the Consent of his or her Parent or Parents, if any there be, to be testified in like Manner, whereof the said Justice shall make a Record, and deliver to said Slave a Copy thereof, containing the Name, Age, Condition, and then Place of Abode, of such Slave, the Reason of such Removal, and the Place to which he or she is about to go; and if any Person or Persons whatsoever shall sell or dispose of any such Slave to any Person out of this State, or shall send or carry, or cause to be sent or carried, any such Slave out of this State, without having obtained all such Consent as by this Act is required, testified in the Manner aforementioned, every such Person or Persons, his or their Aiders and Abettors, shall severally forfeit and pay, for every such Offence, the Sum of Twenty Pounds, to be recovered in any Court of Record where cognizable, with Costs of Suit, by any Person who will sue for the same, one Moiety to the Plaintiff, and other Moiety to the Use of the Poor of the Township from which such Slave be removed. *Provided nevertheless*, That Nothing in this Act shall be construed or understood to make any Person or Persons liable to the above Penalty who may or shall remove to and reside in any of the neighboring States, and take his, her or their Slave or Slaves with him, her or them, any Thing to the Contrary notwithstanding (p. 487-488).

SEC. 5: *Be it further Enacted*, That all criminal Offences of Negroes and Mulattoes, as well Slaves and Servants as free Persons, shall be enquired of, adjudged, corrected and punished, in like Manner as the criminal Offences of other Inhabitants of this State are and shall be enquired of, adjudged, corrected and punished, and not otherwise, any Law, Usage or Custom to the Contrary in any wise notwithstanding (p. 488).

Editorial comment: By this act, New Jersey abolished special punishment for slave offenses, making way for all criminal offenses to be punished in like manner.

SEC 6: *And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid*, That every Person or Persons within this State, who shall be the Owner or Owners of any Negro or Mulatto Slave or Slaves, Servant or Servants, for Life, or Years, born after the Publication of this Act, shall cause every such Slave or Slaves, Servant or Servants, while under the Age of Twenty-one Years, to be taught and instructed to read; and every Owner or Owners of any such Negro or Mulatto Slave or Slaves, Servant or Servants, who shall neglect or refuse to cause his, her or their Slave or Slaves, Servant or Servants, to be taught and instructed as aforesaid, shall forfeit and pay the Sum of Five Pounds, to be recovered by Action of Debt, before any Justice of the Peace within this State, by any Person or Persons who shall or may prosecute for the same (p. 488).

Editorial comment: How and when slaveowners should educate their enslaved persons and how they could forfeit ownership for neglect.

SEC. 7: *And be it Enacted by the Authority aforesaid*, That the seventh Section of the Act, entitled, ‘An Act to prevent the Importation of Slaves into the State of New Jersey, and to authorize the Manumission of them under certain Restrictions, and to prevent the Abuse of Slaves,’ shall be and the same is hereby repealed (p. 488).

Editorial comment: Section of said act repealed.

New Jersey. *Act of the Fourteenth General Assembly of the State of New Jersey; At a Session Begun at Perth Amboy the 27th Day of October 1789, and Continued by Adjournments. Being the First Sitting.* New Brunswick, N.J. Abraham Blauvelt, 1789.

A) An Act for Setting Free Negro Cato. Passed at Perth Amboy, November 5, 1789 (p. 538).

WHEREAS it appears upon proof to the Legislature, that David Fitz Randolph of Woodbridge, in the County of Middlesex, joined the Enemies of the United States, by going into their Lines, whereby the whole of his Property became Forfeited to this State, and that the above named Negro Man Cato, was part thereof; and as it appears by sundry Vouchers, that the said Cato has rendered essential Services both to this State and the United States in the Time of the late War; therefore,

SEC. 1: BE IT ENACTED *by the Council and General Assembly of this State, and it is hereby Enacted by the Authority of the same*, That the Negro Man named Cato, who was late the Property of the above named David Fitz Randolph, and now the Property of this State, shall, and the said Cato hereby is declared to be Manumitted and set free from Slavery and Servitude, as fully to all Intents and Purposes, as though he had been free-born, and continued in such State of Freedom, any Law, Usage or Custom to the contrary notwithstanding.

New Jersey. *Laws of the State of New Jersey, Revised and Published under the Authority of the Legislature, by William Paterson.* New Brunswick, N.J. Abraham Blauvelt, 1800.

A) An Act to Regulate the Mode of Fishing in the Hackinsack [Hackensack] River, in

the County of Bergen. Passed November 2, 1786 (p. 79).

WHEREAS the setting of nets across, and the stopping of fish from going up the said river, is extremely detrimental and injurious to the people, inhabiting the upper parts thereof; for the preventing and remedying of which,

BE IT ENACTED *by the Council and General Assembly of this State, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same*, That, from and after the publication of this act, all and every person or persons whatsoever, who shall fasten, fix, or set any net or nets, or other device or devices, in or across the said river, so as to obstruct or hinder the fish from going up or down the same, shall pay the sum of five pounds, for every such offence, to be recovered by action of debt, before any justice of the peace of said county, with costs of suit, by any person, who will sue for the same, to be applied, one half thereof to the use of the poor of said town, division or precinct, where the same shall be recovered, and the other half to the person or persons, who shall sue for and prosecute the same to effect; and if the setter, or person fixing any such net or other device across the said river, **be an apprentice, a servant, or a slave**, he, or she, so offending, shall, unless the master or mistress of such apprentice, servant, or slave, shall pay the fine, be committed to the common gaol of the county, and there maintained at the expense of the master or mistress, until such fine be paid. PROVIDED ALWAYS, That nothing in this act contained shall extend to prevent any person or persons, from sweeping with seines or nets, or setting of that kind of nets, called hoop-nets, in said river, for a distance not exceeding one fourth of its width at the place of setting (p. 79).

Editorial comment: Penalty on any person, including enslaved people, who shall set any net or any other device in or across the Hackensack River that would obstruct or hinder the fish from going up or own the river.

B) An Act for the Punishment of Sheriffs. Passed March 18, 1796 (p. 203).

SEC. 69. AND BE IT Enacted *by the authority aforesaid*, That the court or justices, before whom any negro, Indian; or mulatto slave shall be convicted, of any offence not punishable with death, shall have authority to impose, instead of the punishment by this act prescribed, such corporal punishment, not exceeding to life or limb, as such court or justices in their discretion shall direct (pp. 220-221).

Editorial comment: On what cases corporal punishment may be imposed on enslaved people and Native Americans.

C) An Act Concerning Inns and Tavern. Passed February 24, 1797 (p. 235).

SEC. 22. AND BE IT ENACTED, That if any innholder or tavernkeeper, sell any vinous, spirituous, or strong liquors, to any apprentice, servant, or slave, knowing, or having reason to suspect or believe him or her to be such, without the consent of his or her master or mistress, such innholder or tavernkeeper, shall, for every offence, forfeit the sum of four dollars, to be recovered by action of debt, with costs, by the master or mistress of such apprentice, servant or slave, in any court of record, having cognizance

thereof (p. 238).

Editorial comment: Tavern holders selling liquors to apprentices, servants, or slaves to forfeit four dollars.

SEC. 23. AND BE IT ENACTED, That if any innholder, tavernkeeper, or other person or persons, shall take or receive, directly or indirectly, from any apprentice, servant, or slave, any clothing or other goods, chattels, wares or merchandize, in payment for any vinous, spirituous, or strong liquors, or in pawn or pledge to secure such payment, then he, she or they, so offending, shall forfeit and pay unto the master or mistress of such apprentice, servant, or slave, treble the value of all such clothing, or other goods, chattels, wares or merchandize, which he, she or they, shall have so taken or received as aforesaid, to be recovered by such master or mistress, his, or her executors or administrators, by action of debt, or on the case, with costs, in any court, having cognizance of the same (pp. 238-239).

Editorial comment: Penalty on tavernkeepers and others receiving goods from apprentices, servants, or slaves in payment for liquors.

D) An Act Respecting Slaves. Passed March 14, 1798 (p. 307).

SEC. 1. BE IT ENACTED *by the Council and General Assembly of this State, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same,* That every negro, Indian, mulatto, or mestee, within this state, who, at the time of passing this act, is a slave for his or her life, shall continue such during his or her life, unless he or she shall be manumitted and set free in the manner prescribed by law (p. 307).

Editorial comment: Enslaved people shall continue so, unless set free in manner prescribed by law.

SEC. 2. AND BE IT ENACTED, That no slave shall be admitted a witness against any person in any matter, cause, or thing whatsoever, civil or criminal, except in criminal cases, in which the evidence of one slave shall be admitted for, or against another slave (p. 307).

Editorial comment: Enslaved not to be witnesses, except against each other.

3. AND BE IT ENACTED, That no person or persons shall trade or traffic, either in buying, bartering or selling, with any slave, without the leave or consent of the master or mistress of such slave, on pain of forfeiting three dollars, for each offence, to the master or mistress of such slave, to be recovered, with costs, against the person or persons so trading contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, by action of debt, in any court having cognizance thereof; and also, that every contract or bargain, which shall be so made, with any slave, without the permission or consent of his or her master or mistress, shall be void and of no effect (p. 307).

Editorial comment: Penalty on persons trading with enslaved person without permission of the master or mistress.

SEC. 4. AND BE IT ENACTED, That if any person or persons shall hereafter employ, harbor, conceal, or entertain any negro or other slave, knowing such negro or other slave to be the slave of any person or persons, without the consent of the master, mistress, or owner of such slave, he, she or they shall forfeit to the consent of their master, mistress, or owner of such slave, the sum of four dollars for every twenty-four hours, and in that proportion for a greater or less time, while such slave shall have been employed, harbored, concealed, or entertained as aforesaid; which forfeiture or penalty shall be recovered by action of debt, with costs of suit, in any court having cognizance thereof. PROVIDED ALWAYS, That such forfeiture or penalty shall not in the whole exceed the value of such slave (pp. 307-308).

Editorial comment: Penalty on persons employing or harboring an enslaved person without the consent of his, or, or their master or mistress.

SEC. 5. AND BE IT ENACTED, That if any person or persons shall be found guilty of harboring, entertaining or concealing any slave, or conveying, or assisting to convey away such slave, and if such slave shall be lost, die, or be otherwise destroyed, or shall be disabled, or rendered unserviceable, the person or persons, so harboring, entertaining, concealing, conveying, or assisting to convey away such slave, shall be liable to pay the value of such slave to the owner or owners, to be recovered by action of debt, or trespass on the case, with costs of suit, in any court having cognizance thereof (p. 308).

Editorial comment: Penalty in case an enslaved person so harbored, concealed, etc. dies or lost.

6. AND BE IT ENACTED, That if any person shall take up any negro or other slave at a distance of ten miles from the habitation of his or her master or mistress, who hath not permission in writing from his or her master or mistress, or is not known to be on his or her service or business, the person, so taking up such slave, shall have for his reward one dollar, with reasonable charges for carrying him or her home, to be paid by the master or mistress of such slave; and in case of non-payment, to be recovered by action of debt, or trespass on the case, with costs of suit, in any court having cognizance thereof (p. 308).

Editorial comment: Reward for taking up enslaved persons if ten miles from home, without a pass or known to be on the master's or mistress business or service.

SEC. 7. AND BE IT ENACTED, That if any negro or other slave, of or belonging to any inhabitant of any of the other States in the union, shall come into this State, without license under the hand of his or her master or mistress, or who is not known to be on his or her business or service, every such negro or other slave shall be taken up by any person in this State, and be carried before the next justice of the peace, who is hereby authorized and required, by a warrant under his hand and seal, to commit such slave to the gaol of the city or county; and the person, so taking up every such slave, shall have

for his reward two dollars, to be paid by the master or mistress of such slave; and further, that such slave shall remain in prison till the same be paid, with all reasonable charges (p. 308).

Editorial comment: Any enslaved person coming into the State of New Jersey from another State without license or pass be arrested, detained and reward to the captor.

SEC. 8. AND BE IT ENACTED, That if any negro or other slaves shall meet and assemble together in a disorderly or tumultuous manner, any constable, or other person, on view or information thereof, shall and may require them immediately to disperse, and go to their respective places of abode; and if such slaves shall not forthwith disperse and retire accordingly, such constable, or other person, is hereby authorized, and it is especially made the duty of such constable, to apprehend such slaves, and carry them before the next justice or justices of the peace, who is and are hereby empowered and directed to inquire into the charges exhibited against such slaves, or any of them, and at his or their due discretion, according to the circumstances of the case, to send them, or any of them, to their respective master or mistress, or to commit them, or any of them, to the gaol of the city or county, there to remain for any space of time not exceeding one week, or, (if the master or mistress of any such slave or slaves shall signify their desire, either in person or by writing, to the said justice or justices) to order and direct such slaves, or any of them, to be whipped on the bare back by the said constable, not exceeding twenty lashes; and any of the said slaves, being committed to prison, shall there remain until the master or mistress shall satisfy all reasonable charges; and any of the said slaves being whipped, the master or mistress shall be liable to pay the said constable one dollar for each and every of his or her slaves so whipped (p. 308).

Editorial comment: Penalty on enslaved people meeting together in a disorderly or tumultuous manner.

SEC 9. AND BE IT ENACTED, That if any negro or other slave shall be seen or found from the dwelling house of his or her master or mistress after the hour of ten at night, except on the particular business of his or her master or mistress, or shall be seen to hunt or carry a gun on the first day of the week, or Christian Sabbath, commonly called Sunday, any constable or other person, on information or knowledge thereof, is hereby authorized, and it is especially made the duty of such constable, to apprehend and carry such negro or other slave before the next justice or justices of the peace, who, on examination of the matter, (if such slave shall not give a good account of himself or herself), shall, at his or their due discretion, according to the circumstances of the case, do and act towards such slave in the same manner in all respects as by the preceding section of this act is prescribed; and any such slave, being committed to prison, shall there remain until the master or mistress shall satisfy all reasonable charges; and in case such slave shall be ordered to be whipped, then the master or mistress of such slave shall be liable to pay the constable for performing that service the sum of one dollar: PROVIDED, That nothing in this, or the preceding section contained, shall be construed or taken to prevent any negro or other slave from going to any place of worship, or from

any innocent recreation, or from doing any other reasonable act with his or her master's or mistress's consent (p. 308-309).

Editorial comment: Penalty on enslaved people being out after 10 o'clock at night, or hunting on Sunday.

SEC. 10. AND BE IT ENACTED, That no person or persons within this State shall, knowingly and willingly, suffer or permit his, her or their slave to go about begging of others, victuals, clothing, or other necessaries, or money; and if any person or persons shall offend herein, he, she or they shall, for every such offence, forfeit the sum of eight dollars, to be recovered by action of debt, with costs of suit, in any court having cognizance thereof, by any person or persons, who will sue for the same, the one half thereof to be paid to the overseers of the poor of the township, where such offence shall be committed, and the other half to the person or persons, who shall prosecute for the same to effect (p. 309).

Editorial comment: Penalty on persons who shall suffer their slaves to go about begging.

SEC. 11. AND BE IT ENACTED, That if any person or persons shall, by any collusive conveyance, or fraudulent agreement, sell or dispose of, or pretend to sell or dispose of any aged or decrepid slave, to any person or persons, who is or are unable to keep and maintain such slave, such sale, or pretended sale shall be absolutely void; and the person or persons, making such sale, or pretended sale, shall forfeit the sum of forty dollars for each offence, and shall moreover be deemed the owner or owners of such slave; which forfeitures shall be recovered and applied in the manner directed in and by the next preceding section of this act (p. 309).

Editorial comment: Penalty on selling enslaved people to persons, who are unable to maintain them.

SEC. 12. AND BE IT ENACTED, That from and after the passing of this act, it shall not be lawful for any person or persons whatsoever, to bring into this State, either for sale or for servitude, any negro or other slave whatsoever; and every person offending, by bringing into this State any such negro or other slave, shall for each slave, forfeit and pay the sum of one hundred and forty dollars, to be recovered by action of debt, with costs of suit, in any court having cognizance thereof, by the collector of the township into which such slave shall be brought, to be paid by such township collector to the county collector, and by him to the treasurer, for the use of the State. PROVIDED ALWAYS, That nothing in this act contained shall be construed to prevent any person, who shall remove into this State to take a settled residence here, from bringing all his or her slaves, without incurring any of the penalties aforesaid, or to prevent any foreigners or others, having only a temporary residence in this State, for the purpose of transacting any particular business, or on their travels, from bringing and employing such slaves as servants during the time of his or her stay here, provided such slave shall not be sold or disposed of in this State (p. 309).

Editorial comment: But this act not to extend to foreigners, travelers, or temporary residents.

SEC. 13. AND BE IT ENACTED, That any citizen of this State, who, at the time of the passing of this act, shall own any slave or slaves in any of the United States, shall have power and authority to bring any such slave or slaves into this State for servitude, and not for sale, without incurring any of the penalties or forfeitures mentioned in this act, upon producing a certificate to the collector of the city or township, into which the said slave or slaves may be brought, from any judge of the supreme court, or court of common pleas of the State from which such slave or slaves shall be brought, certifying, that such slave or slaves was or were the property of the citizen so applying at the time of passing this act; and to the truth of the subject matter of the said certificate, the party, producing it, shall make oath before any judge or justice of this State, and shall file the said certificate in the clerk's office of the county, into which such slave or slaves is or are brought (p. 309).

Editorial comment: Citizens of New Jersey may bring their enslaved persons from other parts of the United States into New Jersey for service, but not for sale.

SEC. 14. AND BE IT ENACTED, That all forfeitures, which may be recovered as aforesaid, shall, by the township collector recovering the same, be paid forward to the county collector, and by him be paid into the treasury; and if any collector shall be put to any necessary expense in prosecuting as aforesaid, he shall be credited for the same out of the public money in his hands; and in case any collector shall neglect or refuse to prosecute to effect, for any forfeiture incurred as aforesaid, he shall, for every such neglect or refusal, forfeit and pay the sum, which he ought to have recovered, which, together with the sums recovered by the collector upon nonpayment thereof, shall be sued for and recovered by action of debt, with costs of suit, in any court having cognizance thereof, by the treasurer of the State for the time being, for the use of the State (p. 309-310).

Editorial comment:Forfeitures recovered by collectors to be paid into the State treasury.

SEC. 15. AND BE IT ENACTED, That it shall be the duty of the grand jury of every county in this State, to indict any person for inhumanly treating and abusing his or her slave, and the person, so offending, shall, on conviction, be punished by a fine, not exceeding forty dollars; which fine shall be paid to the overseer of the poor for the use of the township, in which such offender shall reside (p. 310).

Editorial comment: Persons may be indicted for cruel treatment to their enslaved persons.

SEC. 16. AND BE IT ENACTED, That the owner or owners of any negro, or other slave or slaves, or of any negro, mulatto, or mestee servant or servants, for life or years, who shall have been born since the twenty sixth day of November, in the year of our Lord, one thousand, seven hundred and eighty eight, and before the passing of this act, or who shall

be born at any time after the passing of this act, shall cause every such slave or slaves, servant or servants, while under the age of twenty one years, to be taught and instructed to read; and the owner or owners of any such slave or slaves, servant or servants, who shall neglect or refuse to cause such slave or slaves, servant or servants, to be taught and instructed as aforesaid, shall forfeit and pay thirty dollars, to be recovered by action of debt, with costs of suit, in any court having cognizance thereof, by the overseers of the poor of the township, whose duty it is hereby expressly made to prosecute for the same, and to apply the monies, when recovered, to the use of the poor (p. 310).

Editorial comment: Enslavers required to teach their enslaved people under the age of twenty-one years to read or cause them to be taught and instructed to read.

SEC. 17. AND BE IT ENACTED, That if any person or persons shall fit out, equip, man, or otherwise prepare any ship or other vessel, to sail from any port or harbor of this State, for the purpose of carrying on a trade or traffic in slaves, to, from, or between Europe, Asia, Africa, or America, or any places or countries whatever, or of transporting slaves to or from one port or place to another, such ship or vessel, her cargo, tackle, furniture, apparel, and other appurtenances, shall be forfeited, and be liable to be seized by any justice of the peace, sheriff, or coroner, within this State, and prosecuted by such justice of the peace, sheriff, or coroner, making such seizure, by information in rem, in the supreme court, or the inferior court of common pleas of the county, within which such seizure shall be made (p. 310)

Editorial comment: Persons fitting out vessel for the slave trade, what to forfeit.

SEC. 18. AND BE IT ENACTED, That every ship or other vessel, with her cargo, tackle, furniture, apparel, and other appurtenances, so seized as aforesaid, and against which judgment shall be had and obtained, shall, by order of the court, in which such judgment was so had, be sold at public vendue by the sheriff of the county, unless the said sheriff be a party to the prosecution, and then by the coroner of the county in which the said seizure was made, who, after deducting all legal costs and charges, to be taxed by one of the judges of the court, in which the said judgment was had, is hereby ordered and directed, to pay seven eighth parts of the net proceeds thereof to the collector of the county, in which such seizure was made, for the use of the State, and the remaining eighth part thereof to the person or persons, who made the seizure, and prosecuted the same to effect; and the said sheriff or coroner, by whom the said sale shall be made, is hereby entitled to receive and take out of the proceeds of the said sale, one per cent for his trouble (p. 310).

Editorial comment: Ships and other vessels forfeited to be sold.

SEC. 19. AND BE IT ENACTED, That if any master, seaman, or other person, on board any ship or other vessel, so liable to be seized as aforesaid, shall refuse, or not suffer to enter, or resist, before or after entering on board such ship or vessel, any such person or persons attempting to enter on board, or being already entered on board such ship or other vessel for the purpose of making such seizure as aforesaid, every person, so refusing or

resisting, shall forfeit and pay the sum of one hundred and thirty dollars, to be recovered of record in this State, having cognizance thereof, one half part for the use of the State, and the other half part for the use of the person or persons, who shall prosecute the same to effect (p. 310).

Editorial comment: Master or others on board resisting any person attempting to seize to forfeit one hundred and thirty dollars.

SEC. 20. AND BE IT ENACTED, That no negro or other slave shall be removed out of this State, whose place of residence has been therein for twelve calendar months, immediately preceding such removal, with the design and intention, that the place of abode or residence of such slave shall be thereby changed, without his or her consent, if of full age, testified upon private examination, before a justice of the peace of the county, in which he or she shall reside, or, being under the age of twenty one years, without his or her consent, testified in manner aforesaid, as also without the consent of his or her parent or parents, if any there be, to be testified in like manner, whereof the said justice shall make a record, and deliver to said slave a copy thereof, containing the name, age, condition and then place of abode of such slave, the reason of such removal, and the place to which he or she is about to go; and if any person or persons whatsoever shall sell or dispose of any such slave to any person out of this State, without having previously obtained all such consent as by this act is required, testified in the manner aforementioned, every such person or persons, his, her, or their aiders and abettors, shall severally forfeit and pay, for every such offence, the sum of fifty dollars, to be recovered by action of debt in any court having cognizance thereof, with costs of suit, by any person who will sue for the same, one moiety to the plaintiff, and the other moiety to the use of the poor of the township, from which such slave may be removed. PROVIDED, That nothing in this act shall be construed or understood to make any person or persons liable to the above penalty, who may or shall remove to reside in any other of the United States, and take his, her, or their slave or slaves with him, her, or them (p. 311).

Editorial comment: But this act not to affect masters moving out of New Jersey into another with their enslaved person or persons.

SEC. 21. AND BE IT ENACTED, That it shall and may be lawful for the owner of any negro or other slave, to manumit and set free such slave, by writing under hand and seal, executed in the presence of at least two witnesses, provided such slave, at the time of such instrument of manumission being executed, shall be sound in mind, and not under any bodily incapacity of obtaining a support, and shall not be under the age of twenty one years, nor above the age of forty years; and provided also, that the owner of such slave shall, previous to the execution of such instrument of manumission, obtain a certificate, signed by two of the overseers of the poor of the township, and any two justices of the peace of the county, wherein such owner shall reside, and also cause such certificate to be recorded in the office of the clerk of the said county; for which service the said clerk shall be entitled to one shilling; which certificate shall be in the words, or to the effect following:

Editorial comment: Enslaved people between the ages of twenty-one and forty and how to be manumitted.

County, to wit. We do hereby certify, that on this _____ day of _____ in the year of our Lord, one thousand, _____ A. B. of the township of _____ in the said county of _____ brought before us, two of the overseers of the poor of the said township , and two of the justices of the peace of the said country, his (or her) slave, named _____ who, on view and examination, appears to us to be sound in mind, and not under any bodily incapacity of obtaining a support, and also is not under the age of twenty one years, not above the age of forty years. In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands, the day and year above written.

C. D. } Overseers of the poor of the said township of
E. F. }
G. H. } Justices of the peace in and for the said county of
I. K. }

That upon such certificate, being so signed and recorded as aforesaid, and such instrument of manumission, being so executed as aforesaid, such slave shall be deemed and adjudged to be free; and the owner of such slave shall be exonerated and acquitted from all costs and charges, which may arise for the support of such slave so manumitted, except his or her proportion of any tax or assessment, that thereafter may be laid for the support of the said slave (p. 311).

Editorial comment: Form of the certificate of manumission.

SEC. 22. AND BE IT ENACTED, That if any person, by his or her last will and testament, shall give his or her slave freedom, such slave, being at the time of the death of the testator or testatrix, sound in mind, and not under any bodily incapacity of obtaining a support, and also not under the age of twenty one years, nor above the age of forty years, to be certified in manner aforesaid, then such freedom shall be good and effectual in law (pp. 311-312).

Editorial comment: Enslaved people between the ages of twenty and forty may be manumitted by the last will and testament, and how.

SEC. 23. AND BE IT ENACTED, That if the owner or owners of any other slave, than such as is described in the two sections next preceding, be disposed to be manumit and set free such other slave, and such owner or owners, or any other sufficient person, for and in behalf of such slave, shall and do, at the court of common pleas of the county where such slave shall reside, enter into a bond to the State of New Jersey, with at least two sureties, being inhabitants and freeholders of and in the said county, to be approved by such court, in a sum not less than five hundred dollars, to prevent and keep such slave from becoming or being any charge to any township, place, or county in this State, then such slave shall be free, according to such manumission of his or her owner. PROVIDED, That such manumission be in writing, signed and sealed by the owner or

owners of such slave, in the presence of at least two witnesses. AND FURTHER, That if any such slave of the description contained in this section shall be made free by the last will and testament of any person deceased, and if the executor or executors of such last will and testament, or, in case of the neglect or refusal of such executor or executors, if any other sufficient person, shall and do, within six calendar months after proving the said last will and testament, enter into a bond, with sureties, and in manner aforesaid, then the said slave shall be free, according to the true intent and meaning of such last will and testament; but if in any of the cases mentioned in this section, such bond be not entered into in the manner aforesaid, then the said manumission shall be absolutely void and of no effect (p. 312).

Editorial comment: How enslaved people under the age of twenty one, or above the age of forty may be freed.

SEC. 24. AND BE IT ENACTED, That all slaves, manumitted after the passing this act, shall be discharged and exonerated, after he or she arrives to the age of forty years, from the payment of any bond, note, or other contract, or performance of any indenture, that shall have been obtained against him or her in consequence of such manumission (p. 312).

Editorial comment: Enslaved people giving bond, etc. for manumission, to be discharged from such after their arrival to the age of forty.

SEC. 25. AND BE IT ENACTED, That the legal settlement of every slave, manumitted agreeably to the directions of this act, who shall be likely to become a public charge, shall be in that township or place in this State, where the owner, manumitting such slave, may have a legal settlement at the time of such manumission. PROVIDED, That nothing in this section contained, shall be construed to prevent any slave so manumitted, from afterwards gaining a legal settlement in any other township, in the same manner as white persons may gain a legal settlement by virtue of the existing laws of this State (p. 312).

Editorial comment: Settlement of manumitted slaves.

SEC. 26. AND BE IT ENACTED, That every owner of any negro or other slave, not manumitted according to the directions of this act, his or her heirs, executors or administrators, shall be obliged, at all times, to support and maintain such slave. PROVIDED, That if any such owner shall become insolvent, and so unable to provide for and maintain his or her slave, who shall, by sickness or otherwise, be rendered incapable of supporting himself or herself, then such slave shall be deemed to be a pauper, whose legal settlement shall follow-the legal settlement in this State of his or her owner (p. 312).

Editorial comment: Owners of enslaved people, not manumitted according to law, to maintain them. But if owner unable to support them, then the township.

SEC. 27. AND BE IT ENACTED, That no free negro or mulatto, of or belonging to any other State in the union, shall be permitted to travel or reside in this State, without a

certificate from two justices of the peace of such other State, that such negro or mulatto was set free, or deemed and taken to be free in that State; and if any inhabitant of this State, shall harbor, conceal, or employ any such negro or mulatto, so coming into this State, not having a certificate as aforesaid, or suffer any such negro or mulatto, not having a certificate as aforesaid, to live on his or her land, or in his or her house, or other tenement, for one week, knowing such negro or mulatto to belong to any other State, then every person, so offending, shall forfeit and pay twelve dollars for every week he or she shall harbor, conceal, employ, or furnish such negro or mulatto with house or land as aforesaid, to be recovered by action of debt, with costs of suit, by and to the use of any person who shall sue for the same, in any court where the same may be cognizable (p. 312).

Editorial comment: Free Blacks from other states not to travel or reside or be employed or harbored in New Jersey without a certificate.

SEC. 28. AND BE IT ENACTED, That no free negro or mulatto of or belonging to this State, shall be permitted to travel or remain in any county in this State, other than in the county where his or her place of residence may lawfully be, without a certificate from two justices of the peace of the county, in which he or she belonged, or from the clerk of the county, under the seal of the court, certifying that such negro or mulatto was set free, or deemed and taken to be free in such county (p. 313).

Editorial comment: Free Blacks of the State of New Jersey not to go out of their county of residence without a certificate.

SEC. 29. AND BE IT Enacted, That when any habeas corpus shall be brought to remove any negro, mulatto, mestee, or Indian, before the supreme court, out of the possession or custody of any person or persons claiming the service of such negro, mulatto, mestee, or Indian, for life, years, or other term, the person or persons, to whom the said habeas corpus is directed, may, in the return to the same writ, aver and set forth, that he, she or they has or have lawful right to the personal service of the said negro, mulatto, mestee, or Indian, for life, years, or other term, as the case may be; whereupon the prosecutor shall instanter join issue by denying the right of the defendant or defendants to the personal service of such negro, mulatto, mestee, or Indian, either for life, years or other term, and immediately upon the joinder of the said issue, the court shall award a venire facias to the sheriff, or coroner, as the case may require, of the county in which such party defendant resides, commanding him or them to summon a jury to appear at the next circuit court to be held in such county for the trial of the issue so joined as aforesaid (p. 313).

Editorial comment: Proceeding in habeas corpus, respecting enslaved people, what and how such should be conducted.

SEC. 30. AND BE IT ENACTED, That the act, entitled, ‘An Act for regulating slaves,’ passed the eleventh day of March, in the year of our Lord, one thousand, seven hundred and thirteen--fourteen, and the act, entitled, ‘An Act to restrain tavernkeepers and others from selling strong liquors to servants, negroes and mulatto slaves, and to prevent

negroes and mulatto slaves from meeting in large companies, from running about at nights, or from hunting or carrying a gun on the Lord's day,' passed the twenty third day of October, in the year of our Lord, one thousand, seven hundred and fifty one, and the act, entitled, 'An Act to regulate the trial of slaves for murder and other crimes, and to repeal so much of an act, entitled, 'An Act to regulate slaves, as relates to their trial for murder and other capital offences,' passed the tenth day of May, in the year of our Lord, one thousand, seven hundred and sixty eight, and the act, entitled, 'An Act for laying a duty on the purchasers of slaves imported into this colony,' passed the sixteenth day of November, in the year of our Lord, one thousand, seven hundred and sixty nine, and the act, entitled, 'An Act to prevent the importation of slaves into the State of New-Jersey, and to authorize the manumission of them under certain restrictions, and to prevent the abuse of slaves,' passed the second day of March, in the year of our Lord, one thousand, seven hundred and eighty six, and the supplement thereto, passed the twenty fourth day of November, in the year of our Lord, one thousand, seven hundred and eighty eight, be, and the same are hereby repealed (p. 313).

Editorial comment: Former acts from the colonial era repealed.

E) An Act for the Establishment of Workhouses in the Several Counties of this State. Passed February 20, 1799 (p. 378).

SEC. 5. AND BE IT ENACTED, That it shall be lawful for any justice of the peace to commit to the said workhouse, to hard labor, any stubborn, disobedient, rude or intemperate slave or male servant, on complaint of his or her master or mistress; and also, after due investigation of such complaint, to order such person to be punished, by such confinement and labor, as the said justice shall think reasonable (p. 379).

Editorial comment: What enslaved persons and servants may be sent to the workhouse.

SEC. 6. AND BE IT ENACTED, That when any servant or slave of the description specified in the preceding section, shall be sent to such workhouse, the master or mistress shall pay for the food and diet of his or her servant or slave such reasonable compensation as the said corporation shall fix (p. 379).

Editorial comment: Masters to pay for the materials for enslaved persons sent to the workhouse to work with, and also for their diet.

New Jersey. *Laws of the State of New Jersey, Compiled and Published, under the Authority of the Legislature* by Joseph Bloomfield. Trenton, N.J.: James J, Wilson, 1811.

A) A Supplement to the Act Entitled "An Act for the Punishment of Crimes," Passed the Eighteenth Day of March, Seventeen Hundred and Ninety-six. Passed March 7, 1801 (p. 23).

SEC. 1. BE IT ENACTED *by the council and general assembly of this state, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same,* That hereafter, if a slave shall be convicted

before the court of oyer and terminer and general goal delivery, of crimes of arson, burglary, rape or highway robbery, or of attempts, with intention of committing any of the said crimes, or of violent assault and battery, with an intent to commit murder on any person or persons, it shall be lawful for the said court, either to inflict upon the said slave the punishment now ordered by the laws of this state, or to order him or her to be sent from and out of this and the United States, any law to the contrary notwithstanding. *Provided always, and it is hereby further enacted,* That if the said court shall proceed to order such slave to be sent out of this state and the United States, as aforesaid, the owner of such slave shall give bond, with sufficient surety, to be approved of by the said court, in the sum of four hundred dollars, conditioned, that he or she will, within four weeks, send such slave, according to his or her sentence, out of this state and the United States; which bond shall be given to the state of New Jersey, and filed in the clerk's office of the county where such conviction shall be had (p. 23-24).

Editorial comment: Slaves who convicted of certain crimes may be transported out of New Jersey and the United States.

SEC. 2. *And be it enacted,* That the said court shall order such slave to be confined in the gaol of the said county, at the expense of his or her owner, until the expiration of the said four weeks, or until bond shall be given as aforesaid, and upon the owner of such slave producing an order of the said court, for the sending away of such slave, to the goaler, and payment of all costs and charges that have accrued, the said gaoler is hereby directed to deliver up such slave; to his or her owner (p. 24).

Editorial comment: Owner of an enslaved person who committed crime to give bond and pay all expenses.

SEC. 3. *And be enacted,* That when any person who shall have given bond as aforesaid, shall produce to, and file in the office of the clerk of the said county, a certificate, approved of by the court by whom sentence was passed, that the said sentence hath been complied with, such certificate shall be sufficient proof that the condition of said bond, filed as aforesaid, hath been performed and fulfilled (pp. 24-25).

B) An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery. Passed February 15, 1804.

SEC. 1. BE IT ENACTED *by the council and general assembly of this state, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same,* That every child born of a slave, within this state, after the fourth day of July next, shall be free, but shall remain the servant of the owner of his or her mother, and the executors, administrators or assigns of such owner, in the same manner as if such child had been bound to service by the trustees or overseers of the poor, and shall continue in such service, if a male, until the age of twenty-five years, and if a female until the age of twenty-one years (pp. 103-104).

Editorial comment: Every child born of a slave after the fourth of July next to be free, but to remain servants until males 25 and females 21 years of age.

SEC. 2. *And be it enacted*, That every person, being an inhabitant of this state, who shall be entitled to the service of a child born as aforesaid, after the said fourth of July next, shall within nine months after the birth of such child, cause to be delivered to the clerk of the county whereof such person shall be inhabitant, a certificate in writing, containing the name and addition of such person, and the name, age and sex of the child so born; which certificate, whether the same be delivered before or after the said nine months, shall be by the said clerk recorded in a book to be by him provided for that purpose; and such record thereof shall be good evidence of the age of such child; and the clerk of such county shall receive from said person twelve cents for every child so registered; and if any person shall neglect to deliver such certificate to the said clerk within the said nine months, such person shall forfeit and pay for every such offence, five dollars, and the further sum of one dollar for every month such person shall neglect to deliver the same, to be sued for and recovered by any person who will sue for the same, the one half to use of such prosecutor, and the residue to be the use of the poor of the township in which such delinquent shall reside (p. 104).

Editorial comment: The person entitled to the service of a child born of an enslaved mother after July 4, 1804, to deliver to the clerk of the country a certificate of birth of the child. And the clerk to record such certificate. Penalty for not delivering the certificate to the clerk.

Sec. 3. *And be it enacted*, That the person entitled to the service of any child born as aforesaid, may, nevertheless, within one year after the birth of such child, elect to abandon such right; in which case a notification of such abandonment, under the hand of such person, shall be filed with the clerk of the township, or where there may be a county poor-house established, then with the clerk of the board of trustees of said poor-house of the county in which such person shall reside; but every child so abandoned shall be maintained by such person until such child arrives at the age of one year, and thereafter shall be considered as a pauper of such township or county, and liable to be bound out by the trustees or overseers of the poor in the same manner as other poor children are directed to be bound out, until, if a male, the age of twenty-five, and if a female, the age of twenty-one; and such child, while such pauper, until is shall be bound out, shall be maintained by the trustees or overseer of the poor of such county or township, as the case may be, at the expense of this state; and for that purpose the director of the board of chosen freeholders of the county is hereby required from time to time, to draw his warrant on the treasurer in favor of such trustees or overseers for the amount of such expense, not exceeding the rate of three dollars per month; provided the accounts for the same be first certified and approved by such board of trustees, or the town committee of such township; and every person who shall omit to notify such abandonment as aforesaid, shall be considered as having elected to retain the service of such child, and be liable for its maintenance until the period to which its servitude is limited as aforesaid (pp. 104-105).

C) An Act to Repeal the Third Section of an Act, Entitled “An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery,” Passed the Fifteenth Day of February, Eighteen Hundred and Four. Passed March 8, 1806 (p. 106).

SEC. 1. BE IT ENACTED *by the Council and General Assembly of this State, and it is hereby enacted by the Authority of the same*, That the third section of the act, entitled “An act for the gradual abolition of slavery,” passed the fifteenth day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four be, and the same is hereby repealed. *Provided nevertheless*, That this repeal shall not affect the abandonments which have already taken place in conformity with the said section.

D) An Additional Supplement to the Act Entitled “An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery,” Passed the Fifteenth Day of February, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Four. Passed November 28, 1808 (p. 106).

SEC. 1. BE IT ENACTED *by the Council and General Assembly of this State, and it is hereby enacted by the Authority of the same*, That is shall be the duty of the trustees or overseers of the poor in the different townships of this state, upon application to them made, to bind out the children of slaves, born after the fourth day of July, eighteen hundred and four, and abandoned by the owner or owners of such slaves, according to the provisions of the third section of the act to which this is a supplement, if a male, until the age of twenty-five years, and if a female until the age of twenty-one years, agreeably to the existing laws of this state, directing the manner of binding out poor children; *Provided always*, That it shall be the duty of the said trustees or overseers to give the preference to the owner or owners of the parent or parents of such abandoned children, if the said owner or owners shall see fit to retain or keep such abandoned children as their possession (pp. 106-107).

Editorial comment: Abandoned children may be bound out.

SEC. 2. *And be it enacted*, That it shall be the duty of the trustees or overseers aforesaid, whenever in their opinion;, any such abandoned child or children may be bound out, or upon application to them, or any of them, made by any person or persons, who may be willing to take any such child or children, without any premium, immediately to call upon the owner or owners of the parent or parents of such child or children, or other persons in whose possession the same may be, to deliver up to them such child or children, for the purposes of binding them out agreeably to the provisions of this act, and if the owner or owners of the parent or parents of such child or children, or other persons in whose in whose possession such child or children may be, after demand being made as aforesaid, shall neglect or refuse to deliver up such child or children, then it shall be taken and deemed that the person or persons so neglecting or refusing to deliver up, do elect to keep such child or children without any further fee or reward, and it shall be the duty of the said trustees or overseers immediately to bind such child or children to the person or persons so electing to keep such child or children (p. 107).

Editorial comment: Owners of the parents may elect to keep the children or not.

SEC. 3. *And be it enacted*, That it shall be the duty of the trustees or overseers aforesaid, of the different townships in this state, within the month of April in every year, to publish

in at least one of the public newspapers in the western, and one in the eastern parts of this state, for the space of four weeks, a correct statement (as near as may be) of the number, age and sex of abandoned children, within the bounds of their respective townships, and which at the time of such publication remain to be bound out, agreeably to the provisions of this act, in order that persons living in this state, and who may be willing to take such children, may know where to apply for the same, and the said trustees or overseers, shall be allowed a reasonable compensation for the performance of the duties required of them by this act, to be paid by the treasurer of this state, on a certificate to be signed by any three of the township committee of the proper township (p. 108).

Editorial comment: Those bound to be advertised in newspapers.

SEC. 4. *And be it enacted*, That if any trustee or overseer of the poor in any township of this state wherein any abandoned child may remain unbound, shall neglect or refuse to perform any of the duties enjoined by this act, he shall forfeit and pay for each offence the sum of thirty dollars, to be recovered by any person who may sue for the same in any court having cognizance of the same (p. 108).

Editorial comment: Penalty on trustees and overseers.

E) An Act Supplementary to the Act Respecting Slaves. Passed Dec. 3, 1804 (p. 141).

SEC. 1. BE IT ENACTED *by the council and general assembly of this state, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same*, That when any certificate or deed of manumission, shall have been signed or hereafter shall be signed, by one overseer of the poor of the proper township, where one only shall have been or may be elected for such township, and any two justices of the peace of the proper county, then such certificate, and the instrument or deed of manumission, made or to be made in pursuance thereof, shall be good, effectual and available in law for the purposes specified and intended in and by the said act (p. 141).

Editorial comment: One overseer's signature to certificate or deed of manumission in certain cases sufficient.

SEC. 2. *And be it enacted*, That if any instrument or deed of manumission heretofore made and executed, or hereafter to be made and executed, shall be acknowledged by the party or parties, who shall have executed it, or be proved by one or more of the subscribing witnesses to it, that such party or parties signed, sealed and delivered the same, as his, her or their voluntary act and deed, before some person lawfully authorized for that purpose, or one of the justices of the peace of this state, and if a certificate of such acknowledgment or proof shall be written upon or under the said instrument or deed, and be signed by the officer before who it was made, then every such instrument or deed of manumission, so acknowledged or proved and certified, shall be received in evidence in any court of this state, as if the same were then and there produced and proved (pp. 141-142).

Editorial comment: Instruments of manumission shall be received as evidence in court.

SEC. 3. *And be it enacted*, That it shall be the duty of the clerk of the court of common pleas of the county in which the owner of the slave resided, at the time of executing the instrument of manumission, to record in a well bound book of; good paper, to be provided for that purpose and carefully preserved, every such instrument or deed of manumission, acknowledged or proved, and certified to have been acknowledged or proved in manner aforesaid, together with the acknowledgment or proof, and certificate written on or under the same, which shall be delivered to him to be recorded, to which book every person shall have access at proper hours, and be entitled to transcripts from the same, on paying the fees allowed by law (p. 142).

Editorial comment: Clerks of counties to record instruments of manumission.

SEC. 4. *And be it enacted*, That the record aforesaid of such instrument or deed of manumission, and the transcript of such record, certified by a true transcript, by the clerk in whose office the said record is kept, shall be received in evidence, in any court of this state, and be as good, effectual and available in law, as if the original instrument or deed of manumission were then and there produced and proved (p. 142).

Editorial comment: Such record or transcript certified by the clerk to be received as evidence.

SEC. 5. *And be it enacted*, That the said clerk give shall give a certificate to the person who shall bring any such instrument or deed of manumission, mentioning therein the time when it was delivered to him, or brought to his office to be recorded, its date, and the names of the parties to it, and shall certify on or under the said instrument the day of the month and the year when he received it, and the name and number of the book, and page or pages, in which it is recorded, and shall, when recorded, deliver it to the party entitled to it, or his or her order (pp. 142-143).

Editorial comment: Clerk to give a certificate for every instrument of manumission.

SEC. 6. *And be it enacted*, That for services done by virtue of this act, and the act to which it is a supplement, the following and no other fees shall be allowed:-

- a) For recording; every deed; of manumission with the acknowledgement or proof and certificate, for every sheet, five cents.
- b) For every copy of the same or of the certificate, for each sheet, five cents.
- c) For every receipt of deed of manumission, six cents.

SEC. 7. *And be it enacted*, That if any clerk shall neglect or refuse to perform any service or duty required of him by this act, or by the act to which this is supplement, he shall for every such neglect or refusal, forfeit and pay fifty dollars, to be recovered, with costs, by action of debt, by the county collector, and paid to the treasurer of this state, for the use of the state, and also shall be liable for all damages which the party aggrieved shall have sustained by reason of the non-performance of such service of duty (p. 143).

Editorial comment: Penalty on clerk.

F) An Act Concerning the Abolition of Slavery. Passed February 22, 1811 (p. 108).

WHEREAS it appears that large sums of money have been drawn from the treasury by citizens of this state for maintaining abandoned black children, and that in some instances the money drawn for their maintenance amounts to more than they would have brought if sold for life—Therefore—

SEC. 1. BE IT ENACTED *by the council and general assembly of this state, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same,* That from and after the first Monday of May next, no monies shall be drawn from the treasury of this state for the maintenance and support of abandoned black children, who have been abandoned agreeably to the provisions of an act entitled “An act for the gradual abolition of slavery,” passed the fifteenth day of February in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, any law, usage or custom to the contrary notwithstanding; *Provided,* That nothing in this act shall be construed to prevent the treasurer from the payment of such sums as may be lawfully due for the said maintenance and support until the said first Monday of May next (p. 109).

SEC. 2. *And be it enacted,* That so much of the above recited act as comes within the purview of this act be and the same is hereby repealed (p. 109).

New Jersey. *The Public Laws of the State of New Jersey, Since the Revision by Judge Paterson, in 1800; Occasionally Referred to in the Preceding Volume: With an Index.* Trenton, James Oram, 1805.

A) A Supplement to the Act, Entitled, “An Act for the Punishment of Crimes,” Passed March Eighteenth, Seven Hundred and Ninety-six (p. 6).

SEC. 1. *BE it enacted,* That if a slave shall be convicted before the court of oyer and terminer and general goal delivery, of crimes of arson, burglary, rape or highway robbery, or of attempts with intention of committing any of the said crimes, or of violent assault and battery, with an intent to commit murder on any person or persons, it shall be lawful for the said court, either to inflict upon the said slave the punishment now ordered by the laws of this state, or to order him or her to be sent from or out of this and the United States, any law to the contrary notwithstanding. *Provided always, and it is hereby further enacted,* that if the said court shall proceed to order such slave to be sent out of this state and the United States, as aforesaid, the owner of such slave shall give bond, with sufficient surety, to be approved of by the said court, in the sum of four hundred dollars, conditioned, that he or she will, within four weeks, send such slave, according to his or her sentence, out of this state and the United States; which bond shall be given to the state of New-Jersey, and filed in the clerk’s office of the county where such conviction shall be had.

SEC. 2. *And be it enacted*, That the said court shall order such slave to be confined in the gaol of the said county, at the expense of his or her owner, until the expiration of the said four weeks, or until bond shall be given as aforesaid, and upon the owner of such slave producing an order of the said court, for the sending away of such slave, to the goaler, and payment of all costs and charges that have accrued, the said gaoler is hereby directed to deliver up such slave; to his or her owner.

SEC. 3. And be enacted, that when any person who shall have given bond as aforesaid, shall produce to, and file in the office of the clerk of the said county, a certificate, approved of by the court by whom sentence was passed, that the said sentence hath been complied with, such certificate shall be sufficient proof that the condition of said bond, filed as aforesaid, hath been performed and fulfilled (p. 6).

III. General Sources Referencing People of African Descent in Revolutionary New Jersey

A Serious Address to the Rulers of America, on the Inconsistency of Their Conduct Respecting Slavery: Forming a Contrast between the Encroachments of England on American Liberty, and American Injustices in Tolerating Slavery. Trenton, N.J.: Printed by Isaac Collins, 1783.

Editorial comment: According to Henry J. Cadbury, the above address was mistakenly identified as a work of David Cooper (1725-1795), a South Jersey (Trenton) Quaker and farmer, who served in the New Jersey General Assembly during the 1760s. This wrong attribution has been cited in many scholarly works, including Philip S. Foner's *Blacks in the American Revolution* (Greenwood Press, 1975), 101. Cadbury attributes the right authorship Anthony Benezet. For details, see Henry J. Cadbury, "Quaker Bibliographical Notes," *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association* 26, no. 1 (Spring 1937): 45-48.

Adelberg, Michael S. *Roster of the People of Revolutionary Monmouth County, New Jersey.* Baltimore, M.D.: Clearfield Publishing Company, 1997.

Editorial comment: William Cuffey, an 'American Indian,' drafted into the Continental Army in May 1778 (p. 78) could have been a person of African ancestry rather than an Indian. "Cuffey" is an Anglicized version of the name "Kofi" (spelled in diverse ways), which is a common first name among Ewe and Akan speaking people of Ghana, as well as Ewe speaking people of Togo and Benin. The name is often given to a male child born on a Friday (in the case of Kofi Annan, the late United Nations Secretary-General).

This is a good reference source for general information on people living in Revolutionary Monmouth County, New Jersey.

American Battlefield Trust. "10 Facts: Black Patriots in the American Revolution." N.d. <https://www.battlefields.org/learn/articles/10-facts-black-patriots-american-revolution>.

Anonymous. "Newark as It Was – No. 19." *Newark Daily Advertiser* (Newark N.J.), April 8, 1864.

Editorial comment: A portion of this article discusses Jack Cudjo Banquante's military service in the Revolutionary War. Cudjo was an African-born enslaved Black man, who served in the Revolutionary War as a substitute for his enslaver, Benjamin Coe of Newark. Cudjo was awarded his freedom and an acre of land in Newark after the war. In his last will and testament, dated 1821, Cudjo used "Banquante" as his last name.

Atkinson, Joseph. *The History of Newark, New Jersey, Being a Narrative of Its Progress, From the Settlement in May 1666, by Immigrants from Connecticut, to the Present Time, Including a Sketch of the Press of Newark, from 1791 to 1878.* Newark, N.J.: William B. Guild, 1878.

Editorial comment: The military service of Jack Cudjo [Banquante], an African-born enslaved Blackman who fought in the Revolutionary War, is discussed (see p. 117).

Barber, John W., and Henry Howe. *Historical Collections of the State of New Jersey; Containing a General Collection of the Most Interesting Facts, Traditions, Biographical Sketches, Anecdotes, etc. Relating to Its History and Antiquities, with Geographical Descriptions of Every Township in the State; Illustrated by 120 Engravings.* New York: S. Tuttle, 1846.

- A) The following, relative to the conflict at Princeton, was derived from persons living in Princeton; one of whom was an eye-witness of some of the scenes described. Mr. Joseph Clark states that Gen. Mercer was knocked down about 50 yards from his barn; and after the battle was assisted, by his two aids, into the house of Thomas Clark—a new house, then just entered, which is still standing, now occupied by Mr. John Clark, about one and a quarter miles from the college, and about one fourth of a mile from the house of Mr. Thomas Clark. **The late Miss Sarah Clark, of the Society of Friends, with a colored woman for an assistant, took care of Gen. Mercer, while he lived;** and after his death his body was taken to Philadelphia, where, after laying in state, it was interred with military honors. The killed were buried about 200 yards north of Mr. Joseph Clark's barn, in a kind of drift-away. Their bodies, frozen stiff, with their clothing mostly stripped off by the American soldiers, were piled into a wagon, and thus carried to the grave (p. 272).
- B) In the morning of the day on which the Battle of the Assunpink [near Trenton, N.J., on January 2, 1777] was fought, I, with several others, was detached under the command of Capt. Longstreet, with orders to collect as many men as we could in the country between Princeton, Cranbury, and Rhode Hall, and then unite ourselves with the company of riflemen who had remained in that neighborhood. We left Trenton by the nearest road to Princeton, and advanced nearly to the Shabbaconk (a small brook near Trenton), when **we were met by a little negro on horseback, galloping down the hill, who called to us that the British army was before us.** One of our party ran a little way up the hill, and jumped upon the fence, from whence he beheld the British army, within less than half a mile of us. And now commenced a race for Trenton. We fortunately escaped capture; yet the enemy were so near, that before we crossed the bridge over the Assunpink, some of our troops on the Trenton side of the creek, with a field-piece, motioned to us to get out of the street while they fired at the British at the upper end of it. Not being on duty, we had nothing to do but choose our position and view the battle. (p. 300).
- C) The proximity of this part of the county [i.e., Navesink Hill, Monmouth County, N.J.] to New York rendered it, in the war of the Revolution, peculiarly liable to the incursions of British troops. Many of the inhabitants, although secretly favorable to the American cause, were obliged to feign allegiance to the crown, or lose their property by marauding parties of refugees, from vessels generally lying off Sandy Hook. Among those of this description was Maj. Kearney, a resident near the present site of Keyport. On one occasion, a party of 30 or 40 refugees stopped at his dwelling, on their way to Middletown Point, where they intended to burn a dwelling and some mills. Kearney feigned gratification at their visit, and falsely informed them there were probably some rebel troops at the 'Point,' in which case it would be dangerous for them to march thither.

He ordered his negro servant, Jube, thither, to make the inquiry; at the same time secretly giving him the cue how to act. In due length of time, Jube, who had gone but a short distance, returned; and hastily entering the room where Kearney and the refugees were, exclaimed, in a short, broken manner, as though out of breath, ‘Oh massa! massa! the rebels are at the Point, thick as blackberries! They have just come from the courthouse, and say they are going to march down here to-night.’ The ruse succeeded; the refugees, alarmed, precipitated to their boats, leaving the major to rejoice at the stratagem which had saved the property of his friends from destruction (pp. 357-358).

- D)** In the summer of 1780, **a party of about 60 refugees, commanded by Tyre, a mulatto, one evening attacked this dwelling** [Capt. Huddy’s Mansion, Colt’s Neck, Monmouth County, N.J.]. Huddy, assisted only by a **servant girl** ¹⁸ aged 20 years, defended it for some length of time. Several muskets were fortunately left in the house by the guard generally stationed there, but at this time absent. These she loaded, while Huddy, by appearing at different windows and discharging them, gave the impression that there were many defenders. He wounded several, and at last, while setting fire to the house, he shot their leader Tyre in the wrist. Huddy, finding the flames fast increasing, agreed to surrender, provided they would extinguish the fire (p. 365).
- E)** **Titus, or Col. Tye**, as he was commonly called, usually commanded a mongrel crew of negroes and Tories. He died of lockjaw occasioned by this wound. He was a slave of John Corlies, and was born and bred in the south part of this township. He was an honorable, brave, but headstrong man. Several acts of generosity are remembered of him, and he was justly more respected as an enemy than many of his brethren of a fairer complexion (p. 365, fn.).
- F)** Washington frequently rode out on horseback, accompanied by Col. Hamilton and **his mulatto, servant Bill**. On these occasions, he was mounted on a light bay horse, so small that his feet nearly reached the ground (p. 387).
- G)** One morning about daylight, a party of about 30 Indians crossed the Delaware [in Montague, Sussex County] in canoes, and attacked a dwelling occupied by a family by the name of Jobs, where they killed and scalped three young men of the family, and took the remainder prisoners. From then they crossed Shimer’s brook, to the dwelling of Capt. Abraham Shimer, about fifty rods north. The Captain, who was of German extraction, and a very brave man, had with him **5 or 6 negroes**; and, as he had incurred the deadly hatred of the Indians, his capture was the prominent object of their incursion. One or two of the savages had entered the house, ere the inmates were apprized of danger. **The negroes instantly ushered upon them and forced them out.** The captain, at that time in bed, was alarmed by his slaves. He immediately ordered the doors and windows of the lower story to be barricaded, and stationed the negroes at them armed with axes, while he, with the only gun in the house, went up stairs, placed a feather-bed against the window, leaving one pane of glass uncovered, through which he fired at the Indians.

¹⁸ “The name if this heroine was Lucretia Emmons, afterward Mrs. Chambers. She died about twenty years since [i.e., about 1800] at Freehold.”

They returned the fire, and one of their balls entered through the same pane and grazed the captain's face. Shimer shot one of them, breaking his thigh, and he was borne off by his companions (p. 470).

- H) On another occasion, just as the Whigs were on the point of springing upon him [Bonnell Moody¹⁹ of Newton, Sussex County, N.J.] and his band, a **negro conveyed intelligence** of their designs, and Moody, with his men, narrowly escaped; the bread which was baking for him, and the other provisions which were prepared, falling into their hands. After this he left this section [Moody's Rock] altogether (p. 476).
- I) In the summer of 1842 there died in this [Newton, Sussex County] vicinity an eccentric **negro man, called Col. Joe**, at the advanced age of 113 years. Some thirty or forty years since the colored people were accustomed to annually assemble from 40 or 50 miles around, generally on the 4th of July, on the banks of the Delaware, to the number of two or three hundred, and have military parades. The colonel, being a leading man among them, and having served in the French and Revolutionary wars, was generally appointed commander; an office he filled with due military pomp and dignity. In the evening, after the parade, the females would join, and a general dance and frolic close the festivities of the day. The colonel had been a slave, but at the time of his death was free. He was a character of considerable notoriety, had an uncommon talent for relating stories, and as his life was one of varied incident, his biography would doubtless furnish an amusing if not instructive chapter (p. 478).
- J) One of the Hunt family [of Stillwater, Sussex County, N.J.], and the head of the Harker family, father of Mr. Samuel Harker, who still lives on or near the old homestead, and who is quite a sensible old man, had gained the particular ill-will of the **Indians** for taking strong ground against them. It appears that a **party of Indians** from Pennsylvania had determined on capturing these three men, viz: Thomas Hunt, Harker, and Swartwout. They accordingly crossed the Delaware, near where Dingman's bridge now is, and in the evening reached the log-house of Hunt; having travelled about 15 miles on the Jersey side of the river. They were discovered before they reached the house, soon enough for a **young man, Thomas Hunt, and a negro** (the only persons then in the house) to shut and fasten the door and secure themselves from immediate capture. The negro was faithfully occupied in his legitimate calling, of sawing catgut before a good cheerful fire, for the edification, probably, of his young companion, and his own amusement, when these prowling sons of the forest disturbed their quietude and silenced the merry strains of the violin, and that, too, most effectually; for no sooner was **Cuffee** aware of his danger, than he threw his fiddle into the fire, and awaited in trembling suspense the result of the unwelcome visit (p. 479).
- K) On recrossing the Delaware one of them lost his rifle, which slipped from his grasp between the logs of the raft; and the depth of the water, together with their haste to get out of the white man's reach, obliged them to leave it there, where it must still remain, the only rifle yet known to be in our midst, loaded by one of these warriors of the forest,

¹⁹ Bonnell Moody, believed to have come from Kingwood Township, Hunterdon County, was a Loyalist spy around Newton, New Jersey, vicinity.

who, about a century ago, dealt out ruin and wide-spread desolation among the pioneers of these then untamed wilds. Hunt and the negro were taken to the French in Canada, whence the negro made his escape shortly after back to this country. Hunt was three years after exchanged for some French captives (p. 480).

L) During the Revolutionary War, there lived near the mouth of the Navesink a Mr. Van Etten. He was a blacksmith, and on a certain day was working in his shop with his black man, who was helping him, when they beheld a party of hostile Indians approaching! What was to be done? The negro was not in much danger, for the Indians scarcely ever murdered negroes, but the master! There was but a moment. The black man urged him to creep up the chimney, which, being an old-fashioned one, was large. In a moment the Indians entered the shop, eagerly looking round for its owner, but paying very little attention to the black. At length, despairing of finding a victim, they commenced investigating the fixtures in the shop. After hammering a while on the anvil, one of the party caught hold, and began blowing the bellows, starting the smoke and dusk briskly up the chimney. Stop, stop, stop, stop, the *blaw-mock* (as Pompey and his master called the bellows in Dutch) expostulated the faithful black, at the same time catching the Indian by arm. The savage took it all in good part, relinquished his hold on the handle of the bellows, and in a few minutes, with all his party, carelessly left the premises. When the Indians were clear gone, Mr. V. crawled down from his sooty retreat, thanked Pompey for his faithful conduct, and both, well satisfied with the result of the enterprise, set in to finish their day's work (p. 484).

Bedini, Silvio A. "Peter Hill, the First African American Clockmaker." In *A Question of Manhood: A Reader U.S.: Black Men's History and Masculinity, Vol. 1: "Manhood Rights": The Construction of Black Male History and Manhood, 1750-1870*, edited by Darlene Clark Hine and Earnestine Jenkins, 252-273. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1999.

Editorial comment: It was not until the year 1788, however, that the Society of Friends successfully prevailed upon the New Jersey legislature to enact a bill requiring that slaves and servants under the age of twenty-one be taught to read (p. 255).

The concerted efforts made by the Friends in Burlington County to improve the condition of the African Americans was directed primarily to providing an education, and in 1798 the Society in Burlington reported some progress with its aims and achievements. New Jersey was distinguished in this period by its indifference to the maintenance of schools and for its lack of provision by legislation for education in general, except as was supported by private and denominational groups. By 1801 the township of Burlington succeeded in establishing a school for the children of the poor, which was attended by both black and white. The school was supported by funds from an estate that had been willed for that purpose (p. 255).

The situation of the free African American in New Jersey during the late 18th century had its hazards as well as its advantages, however. He occupied an intermediate position in society, a position that is clearly reflected by his treatment in the courts and in relation

to education. His social position was on a level somewhere between that of slaves and that of free white inhabitants. A free African American had physical freedom, but with defined limitations, and he had the right to earn wages. Social and intellectual advancement were nevertheless severely hampered by prejudice. Manumitted slaves, if convicted of felony or of petit larceny twice within the same month, were forced to leave the state and live elsewhere permanently after they were released from imprisonment. No African American manumitted in another state was permitted to reside in or travel in New Jersey. If an African American manumitted in New Jersey wished to leave the county in which he had received his freedom, a certificate of permission was required from two justices of the peace. Although persons of color of full age and owning property valued at fifty pounds or more were permitted to vote for a few years after the Constitution of 1776, the law was revised after 1807 to limit the voting privileges to only free white adult male citizens (pp. 255-256).

Belding, Ed. "Minority Perceptions of Freedom in and Around New Brunswick During the American Revolution: In Verse Form." For Daughters of the American Revolution. New Jersey, April 28, 1999. Unpublished.

Editorial comment: This 13-page unpublished pamphlet (in verse form), prepared for the Daughters of American Revolution, explores the perspectives of fugitive slaves during the Revolution as well as the lives and cultures of enslaved people. It is available at the New Jersey Historical Society. Call No. Npf 7677.

Berlin, Iran and Ronald Hoffman, eds. *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution*. Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1983.

Bernet, Anthony. "Letter to Elias Boudinot at Elizabeth Town Lamenting Despotism, Conflicts with England, and the Inconsistency of Southern Slave-owners' Cries for Liberty." Manuscript. Philadelphia, April 17, 1775.

Editorial comment: The original of this 4-page letter (badly mutilated), drawing attention to the paradox of slavery in Revolutionary America, is found in the Boston Public Library's American Revolutionary War Manuscript Collection. See a copy at <https://archive.org/details/lettertoeliasbou00bene/mode/2up>.

Boatner, Mark Mayo. *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution*. New York: David McKay Company, 1966.

Editorial comment: In 1775 the 13 colonies had a population of about 2,256,000, excluding Indians and including 506,000 Negro slaves There also were a good many free Negroes. One of the first three men killed in the Boston 'Massacre,' Crispus ATTUCKS, probably was of Negro blood." At the outset of the Revolution Negroes served in the patriot ranks, and the percentage increased as the years went by. The substitute system, which permitted a man to send his slave into the ranks, naturally accounted for the presence of many Negroes in the American armies, but many colored soldiers were free men who had volunteered. Washington's army is said to have averaged

about 50 Negroes per BATTALION, and at least 700 were among the 13,500 troops in the Monmouth Campaign (p. 775).

See pages 782-786 for an entry on Washington's New Jersey campaigns.

Boyd, Julian P., ed. *Fundamental Laws and Constitutions of New Jersey, 1664-1964*. Vol. 17. The New Jersey Historical Series. Princeton, N.J., D. Van Nostrand Company, 1964.

Editorial comment: Pages 155-163 of this book contain a text of the first Constitution of the State of New Jersey, July 2, 1776). On page 158 reads:

That all Inhabitants of this Colony of full Age, who are worth Fifty Pounds proclamation Money clear Estate in the same, and have resided with the County in which they claim a Vote for twelve Months immediately preceding the Election, shall be entitled to vote for Representatives in Council and Assembly; and also for all other publick Officers that shall be elected by the People of the County at Large.

According to Julian P. Boyd, the above passage is from the *attested copy* of the first Constitution of the State of New Jersey, *signed* by Samuel Tucker as President and by William Paterson as Secretary of the New Jersey Provincial Congress (p. 155).

Bray, Harriet. *The Little Red Gown: A True Story*. Matawan, N.J.: Jacob A. Lewis, Law Printer and Stationer, 1901.

Editorial comment: This book, published at the request of the descendants of Mary Stillwell, was presented in its manuscript format before the Monmouth County Historical Association on October 26, 1899. It focuses on the experience of Marry Stillwell and several enslaved members of her family at the time of the Battle of Monmouth.

Buckley, Gail. *American Patriots: The Story of Blacks in the Military from the Revolution to Desert Storm*. New York: Random House, 2001. Foreword copyright 2002 by Amateurs.

Editorial comment: In June 1778, in a hundred-degree heat (eased only by 'Molly Pitcher's' jugs of water), Adam Pierce, a free New Jersey militiaman, was victorious with Washington at Monmouth Courthouse (p. xviii).

Oliver Cromwell, a twenty-four-year-old New Jersey farmer, was one of the free black soldiers who crossed the Delaware with Washington. Cromwell fought at Princeton, Brandywine, Monmouth, and Yorktown. His 1783 discharge was signed by Washington, as was his 'Badge of merit for Six Years faithful service.' On his hundredth birthday, the *Burlington Gazette* recounted Cromwell's Revolutionary experiences: 'He was with the army at the retreat of the Delaware, on the memorable crossing of the 25th of December, 1776, and relates the story of the battles of the succeeding days with enthusiasm. He gives the details of the march from Trenton to Princeton and told us, with much humor, that they 'knocked the British about lively' at the latter place' (p. 20).

Adam Pierce, a black soldier in the company of Captain John Noble Cummings of the 2nd New Jersey Regiment, fought in the June 1778 Battle of Monmouth Court in New Jersey, claimed as an American victory because it drove the British back to New York. New Jersey, which generally proved lucky for Washington's army, saw the most fighting of the war. The Americans were on a winning streak, but Monmouth was in hundred-degree weather. At least thirty-seven Americans died of heatstroke—despite the famous 'Molly Pitcher' and her jugs of water—and Washington's horse dropped dead.

Adam's Pierce's father and uncle had won their freedom and became seamen, marrying and freeing Dutch indentured-servant sisters. Both families settled in southern New Jersey in a place called Gouldtown, forty-two miles from Philadelphia, where Adam Pierce was born in 1756 (p. 24)

Gouldtown was created when John Fenwick, lord proprietor of Fenwick's Colony and the biggest landowner in New Jersey, all but disinherited his daughter for marrying a black man, leaving her just 500 acres, where she and her husband settled. One of the oldest black settlements in the United States, it furnished three Revolutionary soldiers: Adam Pierce and his cousins Richard and Anthony Pierce (p. 24).

Calligaro, Lee. "The Negro's Legal Status in Pre-Civil War New Jersey." *New Jersey History* 85, no. 3 & 4 (Fall/Winter, 1967): 167-180.

Editorial comment/quote: The New Jersey law respecting slaves, passed on March 14, 1798, provided that any 'Negro or other slave' who came into this state [New Jersey] without a license should be subject to arrest. All free Negroes entering the state were required to have a written certificate of freedom from their former masters, and all free Negroes already in the state had to have a certificate in their possession at all times (p. 168).

In 1790, Blacks in New Jersey constituted 7.7% (i.e., 14,185) of the State's total population of 184,139. The state's free Black population was 2,762, while that of the enslaved stood at 11,432. In 1800, the total Black population rose to 16,824, which was 9.0% of State's total population of 211,149. The free Black population in that year was 4,402, while the enslaved population was 12,422. In 1810, the total Black population increased to 18,694, but decreased in percentage (7.61%) relatively to the total population of the State, which stood at 245,562. The free Black in that year rose to 7,843, while the enslaved population decreased to 10,851 (p. 176).

Case, Wheeler. *Revolutionary Memorials, Embracing Poems by the Rev. Wheeler Case, Published in 1778, and an Appendix, Containing General Burgoyne's Proclamation, (in Burlesque) Dated June 23, 1777—A Late Authentic Account of the Death of Miss Jane M'Crea—the American Hero, a Sapphic Ode, by Nat. Niles, A.M., etc.* Edited by the Rev. Stephen Dodd of East Haven. New York: M. W. Dodd, 1852.

Editorial quote: Most of the facts in the preceding statement, when not otherwise indicated, have been derived from the verbal recitals of a black woman named Dinah,

who died in Salem a few years since, who was originally a slave of Lord Stirling's, afterwards of Judge Duer, and was the property of Col. M'Crea during the Revolutionary War ... (p. 62).

Catterall, Helen Tunnicliff, ed. *Judicial Cases Concerning American Slavery and the Negro, Vol 4: Cases from the Courts of New England, the Middle States, and the District of Columbia, With Additions by James J. Hayden*. Washington, D.C. Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1936.

Editorial quote: Pages 319-350 contain summaries of about 50 New Jersey slave cases tried between 1789 and 1867.

Cooley, Henry Scofield. *A Study of Slavery in New Jersey*. John Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Fourteenth Series. Edited by Hebert B. Adams. Baltimore, MD.: John Hopkins University, 1896.

Editorial comment/quote: Governor William Livingston was reported to have asked the New Jersey Assembly in 1778 to pass a manumission law, noting that slavery was 'utterly inconsistent with the principles of Christianity and humanity; and in Americans who have almost idolized liberty, particularly odious and disgraceful' (p. 23).

Editorial quote: To what extent negroes in New Jersey took part or aided in the Revolution it is difficult to determine. A law of 1780 for the recruiting of the remainder of New Jersey's quota of troops for the service of the United States forbids the enlistment of slaves. The following year a law for the same purpose repeats the prohibition. Yet slaves from New Jersey served, in various capacities, both the State and the Federal Government during the war. Two instances are recorded when a slave was manumitted by act of legislature as a reward for faithful service of the Revolutionary cause. Peter Williams, a slave who belonged to a Tory of Woodbridge, having been taken within the British lines by his master, escaped through them in 1780. He served for sometime with the State troops and later enlisted in the Continental army, serving there until the close of the war. When his master's estate was confiscated he became the property of the State, and, in 1784, was set free by an act of the legislature. Five years later a slave named Cato, part of the confiscated estate of another Woodbridge Tory, received his freedom in the same manner. The act declared that Cato had 'rendered essential service both to this State and the United States in the time of the late war' (p. 53.).

Cooper, William A. "The Attitude of the Society of Friends Towards Slavery." *Camden Historical Society* 1, no. 6 (1929).

Editorial quote: Beginning soon after the adoption of the State Constitution (1776) there was a growing tendency to obtain the abolition of slavery, but progress was slow, first placing a large penalty for bring into the State, slaves that had been imported from Africa since 1776, but it did not prevent those holding slaves in other states from bringing them into this State, during the time of residence therein. It was not until 1804 that a law for the gradual abolition of slavery was adopted.

Editorial comment: The article contains a census of enslaved people in Newton Township, Gloucester County, New Jersey, for the period 1779-1795.

Crossroads of the American Revolution. “Meet Your Revolutionary Neighbors: Jack Cudjo Banquante (1723-1823).” <https://revolutionarynj.org/rev-neighbors/jack-cudjo-banquante/>.

Editorial comment: Jack Cudjo Banquante was an enslaved African who fought in the Revolutionary War on behalf of his enslaver, Benjamin Coe of Newark, New Jersey.

Cummings, Charles F. “Blacks in New Jersey: The Journey Toward Economic Freedom,” *The Star-Ledger* (Newark, N.J.), February 17, 2000, p.3. Republished <https://knowingnewark.npl.org/blacks-in-new-jersey-the-journey-toward-economic-freedom/>.

Editorial quote: Jack Cudjo/Cudjo Banquante is a perfect transitional figure who bridges Newark's gap between slavery and freedom....Banquante was, according to Atkinson's History of Newark, 'one of those Newarkers who risked his life bravely side by side with whites at the Battle of Monmouth.' As for his origin, he claimed to be of royal African lineage and was known later in life not just as Jack Cudjo but also Cudjo Banquante. The name Banquante was associated with either African or Caribbean origin. In the Revolution, he served in both the Essex and Morris militias, saw duty at the Battle of Germantown, spent a *winter* at Valley Forge in 1777, was with Maxwell's Brigade at the already mentioned Battle of Monmouth in 1778, and fought at the skirmish of Elizabethtown Point in 1778. In 1781, he served under General Sullivan at the Battle of Yorktown. As you can see, he was involved in many noted military encounters of the war and 'was given, by old Mr. Coe of High Street, his former slave master for whom he served, freedom and several acres of ground on High Street.' Based on early records, Cudjo was considered an exceptional gardener. Upon his death, his property was divided between his two sons. This extraordinary man progressed during his lifetime from slave to freeman, and is assumed to have been in the business where he sold 'fancy' plants and was a gardener to Newark's wealthy residents. Historically significant, he was, to our best knowledge, Newark's first African-American businessman.

_____. “Black Pioneers Filled Ranks of City’s Who Was Who.” *The Star-Ledger* (Newark N.J.), February 3, 2005, p.3.

_____. “Black Trailblazers Wrote New Chapters in the City.” *The Star-Ledger* (Newark (N.J)), February 12, 2004, p.3.

_____. “Mt. Pleasant Still Stands as Monument to Glories of the Past.” *The Star-Ledger* (Newark N.J.), April 22, 1999.

_____. “Slavery in New Jersey: A Shame that Spanned Three Centuries.” *Star-Ledger*

(Newark, N.J.), February 10, 2000. Republished at <https://knowingnewark.npl.org/slavery-in-new-jersey-a-shame-that-spanned-three-centuries/>.

Editorial quote: In 1778 Cudjo, a slave owned by Benjamin Coe, who lived in the family homestead on the site of the present Star-Ledger building, fought in the Revolutionary War for his master.

By 1804, the gradual end to slavery was in sight due in part to the ideas of the American Revolutionary War, the New Jersey Society for the Abolition of Slavery and the Enlightenment, according to Price. By terms of the 1804 legislation, the mechanism to the end of the evil institution was on the books although it took another 60 years to occur. In 1800, there were 12,422 slaves in New Jersey, comprising 5.8 percent of the population. Price points out that slavery, while of some value to rural New Jersey, was proving impractical to the growing industrial towns of Newark, Jersey City and Paterson. Under the 1804 law, children born of slaves after July 4, 1804, were to be freed to become servants of their mother's owner until age 25 for males and 21 for females.

Cunningham, John T. *Newark*. Newark, N.J.: The New Jersey Historical Society (1988): 79-80.

Davis, Albert S. *The General and the Slave*. Somerset, N.J., 1957.

Editorial comment: The Caption title, The 1778-1779 Middlebrook Encampment. Steuben, headquartered in Abraham Staats' House at South Bound Brook, was said to have used his host's slave as a (willing) double-agent.

"Remarks at the Annual Dinner-dance of the Von Steuben Society, Somerville October 26, 1957"

Typescript owned by Somerset County Historical Society.

Davis, Burke. *Black Heroes of the American Revolution*. Orlando, FL: Odyssey Classic, 1992. First published 1976..

Editorial quote: White histories have remembered white heroes and have recorded little or nothing of the thousands of black men who played an important part in the American Revolution. Yet at least five thousand black men served on the patriot side during the seven-year Revolution. Perhaps it is not strange that these black fighting men were forgotten since the earlier Continental Congress struck out Thomas Jefferson's angry words that condemned the slave trade. When the white Congress spoke of 'all men' as free and equal, it did not include black men (p. 1).

Among the black soldiers discussed is Oliver Cromwell of Burlington, New Jersey, who served in the Second New Jersey Regiment (p. 3-5).

Davis, David Brion. *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823*. Oxford and

New York: Oxford University Press, 1999. First published 1975 by Cornell University Press.

Editorial quote: The New Jersey Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery was formed at Burlington in 1793, at the instigation of the Pennsylvania Society, well before New Jersey had passed a gradual emancipation act ... (p. 216).

Now is the time to demonstrate to Europe, to the whole world, that America was in earnest, and meant what she said, when ... she pled the cause of human nature. ... Let not the world have an opportunity to charge her conduct with a contradiction to her solemn and often repeated declarations; or to say that her sons ... have been actuated in this awful contest by no higher motive than selfishness and interest.... Ye rulers of America beware (quoted on p. 281).

Dowd, Gregory Evans. "Declaration of Independence: War and Inequality in Revolutionary New Jersey, 1776-1815." *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, 103, nos. 1-2 (Spring/Summer 1985): 46-67.

Editorial comment/quote: The article focuses on how 'white, male, republican writers and activists' reconciled their revolutionary ideals with their customary disregard of the 'equal rights' of Blacks, women, and Indians. The first paragraph reads, in part:

Shortly after British Troops withdrew from the United States, New Jersey's 'poet of the American Revolution,' Philip Freneau, revised 'The Rising Glory of America' to condemn Great Britain for employing foreign mercenaries, rebel slaves, and Indian warriors in a war against American women and children (p. 47).

The poem in reference reads, in part (p. 47):

She [Great Britain] casts us off from her protection.
And will invite the nations round about,
Russians and Germans, slaves and savages,
To come and have a share in our perdition.

Drake, J. Madison. *Historical Sketches of the Revolutionary and Civil Wars: With an Account of Author's Desperate Leap from a Swiftly Moving Train of Cars, and a Fatiguing Tramp of 1,000 Miles Through Three Confederate States, in Making His Escape from a Prison-pen*. New York: Webster Press, 1908.

Editorial quote: On the night of Saturday, June 12, 1779, Cornelius Hetfield [of Elizabethtown, N.J.] with five other banditti, crossed Staten Island Sound in a skiff A few days after this it was discovered that the negroes in this town contemplated murdering all the white inhabitants, and many of them were arrested and punished. Three were burned at stakes. Cornelius Hetfield was one of the instigators of this conspiracy (p. 64).

I have already given chapters of bloody crimes committed by some of the gangs infesting that region [Monmouth County] and will supplement them by narrating a murderous raid made by refugees and negroes from Sandy Hook in April 1780. The banditti landed from boats at Shrewsbury, and plundered several houses (p. 118).

During the summer of 1780 a large party of refugees landed at Black Point, between Shrewsbury and Navesink rivers, and made a desperate attack at night on his [Captain Joshua Huddy] dwelling. The assailants were commanded by a negro named Tye or Titus. Captain Huddy and a servant-girl named Lucretia Emmons, aged twenty years, were the only occupants of the house. ... Huddy wounded several of the gang, and at last seriously wounded Tye in the arm, from the effects of which he subsequently died. When wounded, Tye was in the act of setting fire to Huddy's home (pp. 119-120).

Dunlap, William. *A History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States*, vol. 1. A New Edition, Illustrated. Edited with Additions by Franks W. Bayley and Charles E. Goodspeed. Boston: C.E. Goodspeed, 1918.

Editorial quote: I was born in the city of Perth Amboy and province of New Jersey The 19th of February 1766 is registered as the date of my birth Education I had none, according to the usual acceptance of the word, owing to circumstances to be mentioned; and much of what is to the child most essential education, was essentially bad. **Holding negroes in slavery was in those days the common practice, and the voices of those who protested against the evil were not heard. Every house in my native place where any servants were to be seen, swarmed with black slaves — every house save one, hereafter to be mentioned.** My father's kitchen had several families of them of all ages, and all born in the family of my mother except one, who was called a new negro, and had his face tattooed — his language was scarcely intelligible though he had been long in the country, and was an old man. These blacks indulged me of course, and I sought the kitchen as the place where I found playmates (being an only child), and the place where I found amusement suited to, and forming my taste, in the mirth and games of the negroes, and the variety of visitors of the black race who frequented the place. This may be considered as my first school. Such is the school of many a one even now, in those States where the evil of slavery continues. The infant is taught to tyrannize — the boy is taught to despise labor — the mind of the child is contaminated by hearing and seeing that which perhaps is not understood at the time, but remains with the memory. This medley of the kitchen associates was increased during a part of the War of our Revolution by soldiers, who found their mess fare improved by visiting the negroes, and by servants of officers billeted on the house (pp. 288-289).

The landing of the grenadiers and light infantry from the ships which transported the troops from Rhode Island; their proud march into the hostile neighborhood, to gather the produce of the farmer for the garrison; the sound of the musketry, which soon rolled back upon us; the return of the disabled veterans, who could retrace their steps; and the heavy march of the discomforted troops, with their wagon of the groaning wounded, in the evening, are all impressed on my mind as pictures of the evils and soul-stirring scenes of war.

These lessons, and others more disgusting – the flogging of English heroes, and thumping and caning of German; the brutal licentiousness, which even my tender years could not avoid seeing in all around, and the increased disorders among my father's negroes, from mingling with the servants of officers, — were my sources of instruction in the winter of 1776-7 (see pp. 293-294).

Elliot, Jonathan. *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution, as Recommended by the General Convention at Philadelphia, in 1787; Together with the Journal of the Federal Convention, Luther Martin S. Letter, Yate's Minutes, Congressional Opinions, Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 98-99 and Other Illustrations of the Constitution. In Five Volumes; Vol. 1; Second Edition, with Considerable Publications, Selected and Revised from Contemporary Publications; Published under the Sanction of Congress.* Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1836.

Editorial quote: Abstract of Proceedings in Congress on Certain Proposed Alterations, Amendments, or Additions Proposed by Certain States to the Articles of Confederation Thursday, June 25, 1778, Congress took into consideration the representation from New Jersey, on the Articles of Confederation, which was read as follows:

To the United States in Congress assembled, the representation of the Legislative Councils and General Assembly of the State of New Jersey sheweth, —

That the Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union ... severally, and for their consideration, have been by us fully and attentively considered, on which we beg leave to remark as follows:

7th. The 9th article also provides that the requisition for the land forces, to be furnished by the several states, shall be proportioned to the number of *white* inhabitants in each. In the act of independence we find the following declaration: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident — that all men are created equal; that they are endued by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.' Of this doctrine it is not a very remote consequence, that all the inhabitants of every society, be the color of their complexion what it may, are bound to promote the interest thereof, according to their respective abilities. They ought, therefore, to be brought into the account, on this occasion. But admitting necessity or expediency to justify the refusal of liberty, in certain circumstances, to persons of a particular color, we think it unequal to reckon upon such in this case. Should it be improper, for special local reasons, to admit them in arms for the defence of the nation, yet we conceive the proportion of forces to be imbodyed ought to be fixed according to the whole number of inhabitants in the state, from whatever class they may be raised. If the whole number of inhabitants in a state, whose inhabitants are all whites, both those who are called into the field and those who remain to till the ground and labor in mechanical arts and otherwise, are reckoned in the estimate for striking the proportion of forces to be furnished by that state, ought even a part of the latter description to be left out in another? As it is of indispensable necessity, in every war, that a part of the inhabitants be employed for the uses of husbandry and

otherwise at home, while others are called into the field, there must be the same propriety that owners of a different color, who are employed for this purpose in one state, while *whites* are employed for the same purpose in another, be reckoned in the account of the inhabitants in the present instance (pp. 85-89).

Ewald, Johann. *Diary of the American War: A Hessian Journal*. Translated and edited by Joseph P. Tustin. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979.

Editorial quote: Early on the morning of the 26th [November 1776] we were informed by a Negro, who had been caught by our patrol, that an enemy corps stood in the vicinity of Newark, and also that there was a plantation situated an hour away which was not deserted by its occupants and had a stock of wine and beer. Since the jägers had nothing to drink but water for a long time, Captain Wreden and I decided to conduct a party to the plantation. We took along two able corporals and twelve jägers, and the Negro led us along a footpath through the wood. We surprised the inhabitants so thoroughly that none could escape, and after a few threats, the lady of the house admitted that several detachments of the enemy had been there during the previous night and had inquired about the English army. Therefore we hurried to finish our business as quickly as possible, loaded several barrels of beer and wine on two wagons, and carried them off under escort of two jägers (p. 20).

Fishman, George. "Taking a Stand for Freedom in Revolutionary New Jersey: Prime's Petition of 1786." *Science & Society* 56, no. 3 (Fall 1992): 353-356.

Editorial comment/quote: This piece includes a copy of Prime's petition to the New Jersey Legislature for his emancipation. Prime fought in the American army upon escaping from his owner, Absalom Bainbridge, a Princeton Loyalist. He later became a property of the State upon confiscation of Bainbridge's estate. Prime petition reads, in part: '... there was something very inconsistent in contending for Liberty under an appeal to Heaven, and at the same time selling for Amount to the Publick, the Bodies and Service of human Beings into perpetual bondage' (p. 355).

_____. "The Struggle for Freedom and Equality: African Americans in New Jersey, 1624-1849/1850." PhD diss., Temple University, 1990.

Fleming, Thomas. *The Forgotten Victory: The Battle for New Jersey-1780*. New York: Reader's Digest Press, 1973.

Editorial comment/quote: On pages 82, 133-134, and 195 are references to Blacks. The following are examples:

Only twenty-five when he came to Elizabethtown in 1762, [James] Caldwell was a stocky intense man with tremendous energy. He spent very little time in his red salt box parsonage with his wife and numerous children. He was always on the road visiting parishioners. Even Elizabeth's many negroes, most of them slaves, were invited to attend his services (p. 82).

Editorial quote: From Newark came another group of militiamen eager to revenge themselves for the numerous British raids earlier in 1780 and the deaths they had caused. They were led by Major Samuel Hayes, a fierce fighter whom the militia called ‘Old Bark Knife.’ Also prominent in their ranks was a husky black man, known as Cudjo. Owned by Newarker Benjamin Coe, Cudjo had entered the militia as a substitute for his master. He had fought so well at the battle of Monmouth in 1778 that Coe had given him his freedom and nearly an acre of ground (pp. 133-134).

Editorial quote: The doctor [Richard Bayley, a loyalist] was driving down Bowery Lane [New York?] one Saturday evening when he saw a drunken guardsman leap into a cart driven by a Negro, throw the black man into the mud, and then run the cart over his chest. Doctor Bayley stopped his chaise, picked up the injured black man, and carried him to a nearby house. He then asked several passing soldiers to tell the doctors at the military hospital what had happened. The next morning the provost marshal, William Cunningham, dragged Dr. Barley off to jail where he remained a prisoner until ten o’clock that night (p. 195).

Foner, Philip S. *Blacks in the American Revolution*. Contributions in American History, No. 55. Westport, CT. & London: Greenwood Press, 1976.

Editorial quote: In 1965, the black community of Newark, New Jersey, initiated an annual event March 5 honoring Crispus Attucks. Two years later, the Newark Board of Education became the first school system in the nation to declare a holiday for a black American, establishing 5 March as a holiday in honor of Crispus Attucks (p. 41).

Editorial quote: In November 1777 the Articles of Confederation were completed by Congress and sent off to the states for ratification. Eight of the states offered amendments to the proposed Articles. From Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey came a request to revise the clause requiring that troop quotas be based on a state’s ‘white population.’ The New Jersey legislature, in requesting that the word ‘white’ be stricken from the clause, thereby assigning quotas on the basis of the total population, made use of the national commitment to equality in the Declaration of Independence. It argued that this commitment meant that all persons in a state must contribute equally to the nation’s defense. But the New Jersey legislature also made it clear that so far as blacks were concerned, this commitment extended only to their duty to defend the state, and that the state itself had no commitment from the Declaration to grant them freedom. Thus it noted that even if ‘necessity or expediency’ might justify some states to deny liberty to men of ‘a particular color,’ they should not be exempt from the number of inhabitants from which each state should draw its contributions to the army, since ‘all inhabitants of every society ... are bound to promote to the interests thereof’ (pp. 99-100).

Editorial quote: Since July 1776 the New Jersey Quakers had been hammering away at the theme that the existence of slavery in their state made hypocrites of every Jerseyite, and in 1778 Samuel Allinson, a leading Quaker abolitionist, used this argument in urging Governor William Livingston to press the state legislature to abolish slavery, and end the

inconsistency of fighting against what was ‘called *Slavery*’ while holding ... human beings ‘in ignoble & abject slavery!—a slavery, compared with that which was attempted upon ourselves, as superior as to ocean to one of its rivers.’ Livingston assured Allinson that he shares his sentiments, indeed, he asked the assembly that year to pass a manumission law, urging the legislators to face the fact that slavery was ‘utterly inconsistent with the principles of Christianity and humanity; and in Americans who have almost idolized liberty, peculiarly odious & disgraceful,’ and forced him to withdraw the message. Livingston could only inform the Quaker abolitionists that at future sessions, he would try again. Thus the New Jersey legislature occupied the unique position, at the same session, of rejecting the argument of its governor that the Declaration of Independence required the state to end slavery, while using the Declaration to oppose the clause in the Articles of Confederation requiring that troop requisitions be apportioned only among the ‘white’ population’ (p. 100).

Frey, Sylvia R. *Water from the Rock: Black Resistance in a Revolutionary Age*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991.

Editorial quote: Blacks, slave and free, urban and rural, artisan and field hand, literate and illiterate, were swept up by the force of ideological energy. Northern blacks, who were disproportionately urban, mostly native-born and English speaking, were generally more conversant with the ideology of the Revolution. When asserting their claims to freedom, they frequently invoked the philosophical arguments that white revolutionaries were making in their own fierce struggle (p. 49).

Garrison, William Lloyd. *The Loyalty and Devotion of the Colored Americans in the Revolution and War of 1812*. Boston: R. F. Wallcut, 1861.

Editorial quote: His name is Oliver Cromwell, and he says that he was born at the Black Horse (now Columbus) in this county [Burlington, N.J.], in the family of John Hutchin. He enlisted in a company commandeered by Capt. Lowery, attached to the Second New Jersey Regiment, under the command of Col. Israel Shreve. He was at the battles of Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine, Monmouth, and Yorktown, at which latter place, he told us he saw the last man killed He was with the army at the retreat of the Delaware, on the memorable crossing of the 25th of December 1776 He gives details of the march from Trenton to Princeton, and told us, with much humor, that they ‘knocked the British about lively’ at the latter place. He was also at the battle of Springfield, and says that he saw the house burning in which Mrs. Caldwell was shot, at Connecticut Farms (p. 10).

He [Cromwell] was, for six years and nine months, under the immediate command of Washington, whom he loved affectionately. ‘His discharge,’ says Dr. M’Cune Smith, ‘at the close of the war, was in Washington’s own hand-writing, of which he was very proud, often speaking of it’ (p. 10).

Editorial quote: Samuel Charlton was born in the State of New Jersey, a slave, in the family of Mr. M., who owned, also, other members belonging to his family—aal residing in the English neighborhood. During the progress of the war, he was placed by his master

(as a substitute for himself) in the army then in New Jersey, as a teamster in the baggage train. He was in active service at the Battle of Monmouth, not only witnessing, but taking a part in, the struggle of that day. He was in several other engagements in different sections of that part of the State. He was a great admirer of General Washington, and was, at one time, attached to his baggage train, and received the General's commendation for his courage and devotion to the cause of liberty (p. 14).

Gerlach, Larry R., ed. *New Jersey in the American Revolution 1763-1783: A Documentary History*. Trenton, N.J.: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1975.

Editorial comments/quotes: A letter (Sec. III, Doc. 8) from Samuel Allinson of Burlington, New Jersey, to Patrick Henry of Virginia, dated March 10, 1774, called on the addressee—five months before Henry's celebrated liberty-or death-speech—to reflect on the evil of African slavery in America. The letter reads, in part:

Let us consider whether a Negro is not entitled to the same essential justice with ourselves, in 'one of the gifts of God to man at his creation, when he embued him with the faculty of free Will.' I hope it is unnecessary to cite Authorities or add arguments to convince thee that Slavery is not warranted by the true principles & spirit of our Constitution, is contrary to Reason; & inconsistent with the decrees of the Divine Legislator Let me submit to thy considera[tio]n whether, in this enlightened Age, it will not be remembered to the lasting disgrace of so respectable a body of Men as the Congress, if they should spend so much Time to secure their own liberties, & Leave no vestiges of their regard to those of their *fellow Men*, in bondage to themselves?

Can we think that The Father of Mankind will approbate our endeavors to obtain our own rights, whilst we act inconsistent with ourselves? Or, is there not the greatest reason to believe, That 'The same measure which we mete shall be measured to us again?'

The letter is noted to be part of a Letter Book in Allinson Papers at Alexander Library at Rutgers University (see pp. 87-89).

Editorial quote: As the imperial crisis reached the point of armed confrontation, rebel leaders were haunted by the spectre [sic] of uprisings of slaves and servants (the former were black, the latter mostly white). Rumors of Negro plots and insurrections, more fanciful than substantive, circulated throughout New Jersey in 1775 and 1776. As a result, steps were taken to disarm servants and slaves, prevent them from gathering in large groups, and restrict their activities at night. Although the problem was not so serious in the middle colonies as in the South, the concentration of sizable numbers of blacks in Bergen, Monmouth, and Somerset Counties did prove worrisome to local Jersey Whigs (pp. 150-151, fn. 4).

Editorial comments/quote: A letter dated c.1776 (Sec. VIII, Doc. 3) from 'A Mechanic' to Bernardus La Grange (a Loyalist in New Brunswick, N.J.), reads, in part:

When a corrupted and venal ministry together with a deluded King made a number of Acts tending to enslave the inhabitants of North America, and the better to accomplish their wicked purposes, they established the popish Religion in the extensive Province of Canada (a blot upon the Character of George the Third which the latest ages will never erase) add to that their robbing the treasury to hire the Canadians and savage Indians to lay waste [to] our Frontiers and barbarously murder our innocent women, and Children. They have also endeavored to raise up our demesticks [sic] to cut the throats of their Masters²⁰ (see pp. 239-242).

The source of the transcript is cited as Bernardus La Grange Papers, Alexander Library, Rutgers University.

Editorial comment/note: John Cooper's essay (Sec. XIII, Doc. 6) advocating for the abolition of slavery (published in *New Jersey Gazette*, September 20, 1780). Cooper (1729-1785), a member of the Society of Friends from Gloucester County, New Jersey, served on several local revolutionary committees. He also served as a member of the Provincial Congress, the Continental Congress, and the committee that drafted the 1776 constitution of the New Jersey. His piece is a strong rebuke of the institution of slavery, demonstrating its inconsistency on moral and republican grounds. It reads, in part:

Whilst we are spilling our blood and exhausting our treasure in defence of our own liberty, it would not perhaps be amiss to turn our eyes towards those of our fellow-men who are now groaning in bondage under us. We say 'all me are equally entitled to liberty and the pursuit of happiness,' but are we willing to grant this liberty to all men? The sentiment no doubt is just as well as generous; and must ever be read to our praise, provided our actions correspond therewith. But if after we have made such a declaration to the world, we continue to hold our fellow creatures in slavery, our words must rise up in judgement against us, and by the breadth of our own mouths we shall stand condemned (see pp. 437-439).

Gigantino, James J. II. "Slavery, Abolition, and African Americans in New Jersey's American Revolution." In *The American Revolution in New Jersey: Where the Battlefield Meets the Home Front*. Edited by James J Gigantino, II., 148-164. New Brunswick, N.J. & London: Rutgers University Press, 2015.

Editorial quote: Sketchy military service records indicate that at least twenty-nine blacks served in New Jersey, including Negro Stephen, who joined the Second Regiment of Continental Dragoons in December 1781 as a private. Negro Pomp, a teamster in charge of a four-horse wagon, served in Trenton in 1780. Negro Jack, Negro Cezar, Negro Dick, and Negro Will all did the same, but no information survives to reveal more than their names and occupations within the army. Because New Jersey, like most other

²⁰ This references the proclamation 'by the governor of Virginia, John Murry, Earl of Dunmore, in November 1775, declaring' that 'all indented servants, Negroes, or others' who took up arms to suppress the rebellion would become free citizens. By December 1775, the British had some 300 enslaved men in uniform in a unit officially known as 'Lord Dunmore's Ethiopian Regiment.' The freeing of enslaved people and servants was not a policy of the British government. For fears of a black uprising in New Jersey see, Sec. V, Doc. 3, note 4.

states, never actively recruited black soldiers or promised freedom in exchange for military service, it stands likely that most of these enslaved men returned, like Samuel Sutphen, to their masters as slaves (p. 159).

Editorial quote: Of course, Jersey blacks used the Revolution to seek freedom on their own terms; yet these methods proved largely ineffective in overturning entrenched proslavery thoughts and practice for more than a small minority of slaves. Their exploits actually reinforced the state's racial boundaries, strengthened anti-abolition sentiment, and limited abolition's reach because absconding slaves helped exacerbate white anxieties of revolt (p. 159).

_____. *The Ragged Road to Abolition: Slavery and Freedom in New Jersey, 1775-1865*. Philadelphia PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016.

Editorial comment: ... blacks in the New Jersey militia and Continental Line served in integrated units as teamsters, servants, and in some cases, ordinary enlisted men. Even though some used their Revolutionary experience to acquire freedom, land, or pensions, these men were atypical and did not represent the wider experience of Jersey blacks or any commitment to black freedom. Haphazardly executed, the enlistment of black troops mainly served white interests because slaves could serve as substitutes for their masters. Sketchy military service records reveal that at least twenty-nine blacks served with various New Jersey units, though it is likely more remained unrecorded. Reports from Hessian soldiers indicate the wide use of black troops in new Jersey. Some, writing about their service in Springfield, remarked that 'Negroes, in common with other cattle, are very prolific here.' They claimed that 'the negro is sometimes sent to war instead of his youthful owner' and therefore 'there is scarcely a regiment in which you shall not find well-built and hardy fellows' serving as substitutes for whites' (p. 55).

Editorial comment: The author has provided a brief discussion regarding Revolutionary War military services of persons of African, noting the difficulty in reconstructing the lives of those soldiers. They include Samuel Sutphen of Somerset County, John Ceaser of same county, Oliver Cromwell of Burlington County, Thomas Case, who served in Phillips Company, Negro Stephen of Second Regiment of Continental Dragons, Negro Pomp (a teamster in charge of a four-horse wagon), Negro Jack, Negro Cezar, Negro Dick, and Negro (pp. 55-57)

_____. *William Livingston's American Revolution*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018.

Editorial quote: Throughout July an early August [1776], the complement of British and Hessian forces on Staten Island continued to grow, reaching between 32,000 and 34,000. Alarmed, Washington asked Livingston to recall the state militia and begin preparations for an impending invasion. New Jersey's defensive situation and lack of troops became so dire in August that Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant authored a plan to 'raise a unit of black troops to serve as a home guard. Owners would be paid £50 for each slave's enlistment and receive an exemption from service; the slaves would be

encouraged to serve by a promise of freedom once they had earned back the original outlay through their military salary. Sergeant's plan never materialized, in part because of fears of a slave revolt in the midst of the British presence. Moreover, John Adams concluded that southern states would never allow its execution (p. 83).

Gough, Robert J. "Black Men and the Early New Jersey Militia." *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* 88, no. 4 (Winter 1970): 227-238.

Editorial quote: Since at least the time of the American Revolution, blacks have reasoned that by fighting for white America and gaining a share of responsibility for its victories they would induce from the white man greater respect and justice. Blacks have sadly learned that such efforts would not always be proactive (p. 227).

Editorial quote: New Jersey was one of the states with mixed ranks. Wartime legislation relating to the raising of troops evidenced the willingness of white New Jerseyans to allow blacks to fight in their Revolutionary forces. In establishing liability for service, the Militia Act of 1777 used the broad phrase 'all effective men between fifteen and fifty,' without reference to race. An amendment to this legislation, passed the following March called upon 'all able bodied men, not being slaves,' for service. Free blacks were still eligible, and many saw service (p. 228).

Later in the war, legislation was adopted providing for the raising of special units in specific areas of the state. An act of 1779 limited recruits in one of these units to 'male free inhabitants.' Later legislation was even more lenient: one act opened the ranks to 'all able bodied effective recruits,' another spoke broadly of 'such inhabitants as are willing' (p. 228).

While specifically exempting servants, minors, and apprentices, this last law placed no prohibition on service by black men or slaves. The general Militia Act of 1781 simply required service from 'all men sixteen to fifty.' In the following year an amendment to this act permitted 'such inhabitants that are desirous of joining' to enlist in an independent unit in Burlington County (p. 229).

The standard historical interpretation argues that the Revolution produced a great improvement in the status of black people in New Jersey. Attention is often drawn to the granting of legal residence to blacks in 1798, the extension of some voting rights in 1794, emancipation without security after 1786, and gradual abolition in 1804. These developments are said to correlate with a general anti-slavery and pro-black movement in the country as a whole. But this argument is may have been overstated (p. 230).

Green, Jacob. *A Sermon Delivered at Hanover, New Jersey, April 22, 1778. Being the day of Public Fasting and Prayer Throughout the United States of America*. Chatham: Printed by Shepard Kollock, 1779.

Editorial quote: 'By Britain we are abused, oppressed, most cruelly treated: We have been forced into this war.' This 22-page text contrasted the condition of slavery as 'one

of the great and crying evils among us' vis-à-vis Americans' concern for their own freedom. It also contains plan or scheme for emancipation of slaves.

. *Observations on the Reconciliation of Great-Britain and the Colonies; in which are Exhibited, Arguments for, and Against, that Measure.* Philadelphia, Robert Bell, 1776.

Editorial quote: I wish that I could add, that the guilt of slavery would be banished from us; and I cannot but hope that in time it may. What a dreadful absurdity! What a shocking consideration, that people who are so strenuously contending for liberty, should at the same time encourage and promote slavery! And being thus guilty, expose themselves to the judgements of Heaven! May slavery cease in America. Well may the West Indian islands be afraid of their slaves, where that unnatural iniquity is so abundantly practiced (p. 29).

Griffith, William. *Address of the President of the New Jersey Society, for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, to the General Meeting at Trenton, on Wednesday the 26th of September 1804.* Published by Request of the Society. Trenton, N.J.: Sherman and Mershon, 1804.

. *Eumenes: Being a Collection of Papers, Written for the Purpose of Exhibiting Some of the More Prominent Errors and Omissions of the Constitution of New Jersey as Established on the Second Day of July, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seven-six, and to Prove the Necessity of Calling a Convention, for Revision and Amendment.* Trenton, N.J. G. Graft, 1799.

Editorial quotes: As the constitution now *is*, all inhabitants of the state, who are worth £.50, and have resided in the county *one* year, may vote for state and congress representatives. Within this description will fall,

1st. All men, bond or free, white or black, or other complexion, who are *natives* of the state.

2d. All unmarried *women*, natives of the state.

3d. *Aliens* and subjects of foreign governments, not citizens of the United States, including convicts, fugitives from justice, and emigrants of every description.

4th. All persons, from other parts of the United States, of *every* description.

5th. No oath of allegiance of fidelity to the state, or United States, required.

As the constitution *ought* to be—(a)

1st. Freemen only, should be admitted to vote.

2d. They should be native citizens of the state, or naturalized citizens of the United States.

3d. They should be residents in the county for a reasonable time, pay taxes, or perhaps possess, some other equivalent qualification.

4th. They should be obliged, if called on, to declare their allegiance to the state of New Jersey.

Until the rights of electors are put on this, or a familiar footing, the citizens of New Jersey will continue to hold suffrage, in common with aliens and foreigners; with people, perhaps, attached to no government, restless and intriguing, ignorant and vicious; sometimes the leaders, and sometimes the instruments of factious, and disorganizing projects (pp. 38-39).

Grundset, Eric, ed., with Briana L. Diaz, Hollis S. Gentry, and Jean D. Strahan. *Forgotten Patriots: African American and American Indian Patriots of the Revolutionary War: A Guide to Service, Sources, and Studies*. National Society Daughters of the American Revolution, 2008.

Editorial comment: Chapter 7 of this work, titled “Revolutionary War Service of African Americans and American Indians in New Jersey” (pp. 375-398), identifies about 50 soldiers of African descent.

Hamilton, Alexander. *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, vol. 2, 1779-1781. Edited by Harold C. Syrett and Jacob Ernest Cooke. New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1961.

Editorial comment/quote: The urgent need to recruit Black soldiers in the Southern states for the American side of the Revolutionary War was echoed by Alexander Hamilton in a letter (dated Middlebrook, N.J., March 14, 1779) to John Jay (President of Continental Congress) encouraging acceptance of Col. Laurens’ plan to secure permission to raise battalions of enslaved Blacks to fight the British. His letter reads, in part:

I have not the least doubt, that the negroes will make very excellent soldiers, with proper management The contempt we have been taught to entertain for the blacks, makes us fancy many things that are founded neither in reason nor experience; and an unwillingness to part with property of so valuable a kind will furnish a thousand arguments to show the impracticability or pernicious tendency of a scheme which requires such sacrifice. But it should be considered, that if we do not make use of them in this way, the enemy probably will; and that the best way to counteract the temptations they will hold out will be to offer them ourselves. An essential part of the plan is to give them their freedom with their muskets. This will secure their fidelity, animate their courage, and I believe will have a good influence upon those who remain, by opening a door to their emancipation ... (pp. 17-18).

Heston, Alfred M. *Story of the Slave, Paper Read Before the Monmouth Colony Association on October 30th, 1902, wherein is Given Some Account of Slavery and Servitude in New Jersey, with Notes Concerning Slaves and Redemptioners in Other States*. Camden, N.J.: Chew & Son Company, 1903.

Editorial quote: The question of being before Congress on April 19, 1784, Thomas Jefferson, who was opposed to the buying and selling beings, proposed to exclude from all the Southern and Western States admitted after 1800. The effect of this would have been to confine slavery to the southwest corner of the country. The measure was lost in Congress for lack of a single vote. Had that New Jersey delegate, John Beatty, been present, whose illness kept him at home that day, the history of this country on the slavery question might have been wholly changed. Mr. Beatty would have voted in favor of Jefferson's measure (p. 8-9, fn.)

Editorial quote: To what extent negroes in New Jersey took part or aided in the Revolution it is difficult to determine. A law of 1780, for the recruiting of the remainder of New Jersey's quota of troops for the service of the United States, forbids the enlistment of slaves. The following year a law for the same purpose repeats the prohibition. Yet slaves from New Jersey served, in various capacities, both the State and the Federal Government during the war. Two instances are recorded when a slave was manumitted by an act of the Legislature as a reward for faithful service in the Revolutionary cause. In the manuscript notes of a septuagenarian, quoted by Mickle in his 'Reminiscences of Old Gloucester,' published in 1845, we are told that he (the septuagenarian) was in the fort of Red bank on the Delaware on the morning of October 23, 1777, the day after the battle, when he saw that a number of the men under Colonel Green were blacks and mulattoes (p. 11, fn.).

Hodges, Graham Russell. *African-Americans in Monmouth County during the Age of the American in Revolution*. Lincroft, N. J.: Monmouth Co. Park System, 1990.

Editorial comment/quote: About 30 enslaved Africans fled from Monmouth County, N.J. to join the Loyalist cause in New York, following Henry Clinton's (Commander of the British Forces in America) proclamation of 'general emancipation of all' enslaved people who 'escaped to his line' (p. 17).

_____. *African-Americans in Monmouth County New Jersey 1784-1860*. Published for the 1992 African-American History Celebration by the Monmouth County Park System, Lincroft, N.J. with Funding from the New Jersey Historical Commission, 1992.

_____. *Black Resistance in Colonial and Revolutionary Bergen County, New Jersey*. River Edge, N.J.: Bergen County Historical Society, 1989. 2p.1, 35p.

_____. *Roots and Branch: African-Americans in New York and East-Jersey, 1613-1863*. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.

_____. *Slavery and Freedom in the Rural North: African Americans in Monmouth County*,

New Jersey, 1665-1865. Madison, N.J.: Madison House Publishers, 1997.

Editorial comment: Chapters 3 and 4 provide a good focus on the experiences of African Americans in Revolutionary era New Jersey.

Editorial quote: During 1777 Continental Congress and state governments seized Loyalist property, an act that divided New Jersey and New York societies as much as the fighting. In addition to selling off land, houses, and livestock, American officials took slaves. Auctioning blacks and supplying them to American forces made confiscation agents the most active slave marketers during the war. As various Loyalist claims made after the war attest, dozens of blacks found themselves with new masters. For example, Abraham Van Buskirk, a leading Loyalist of Bergen County, lost ‘1 negroe man named Sam, 20, a miller, taken by the rebels; 1 negroe named Primus 19 by trade a carpenter, 2 negroes named Caeser and Qaushee carpenters and millers, all taken by the rebels.’ Van Buskirk also lost ‘Two who were taken when he left home One was taken in a fishing boat in 1778 & he cannot say what became of him.’ Van Buskirk gave another ‘his freedom so that he might not be taken & believe he is still at liberty’ (p. 154).

Editorial quote: Finally, the black experience in New York and New Jersey during the American Revolution demonstrated that African Americans fought for many of the same liberties as whites. Blacks sought freedom from bondage, greater political liberty, and access to land and opportunity, goals that were intrinsic to American republicanism in decades to come. Former slaves and free people of color around the Atlantic, inspired by their accomplishments during the Revolution and deeply imbued with the promise of freedom, created their own black republicanism from the ashes of war (p. 160).

_____. *The Black Loyalist Directory: African Americans in Exile After the American Revolution* ed. New York, Garland Publishing, 1996.

Hoffman, Robert V. *The Revolutionary Scene in New Jersey*. New York: The American Historical Company, 1942.

Editorial quote: Friday, May 14—At Middlebrook: Our brigade was paraded for the purpose of being reviewed by General Washington and a member of Indian Chiefs. His Excellency, his usual dignity, followed by his mulatto servant, Bill, riding a beautiful grey steel, passed in front of the line and received the salute. He was accompanied by a singular group of savages, whose appearance was beyond description ludicrous (p. 261).

Honeyman, A. Van Doren. “The Revolutionary War Record of a Somerset County Slave.” *Somerset County Historical Quarterly* 3, no. 3 (July 1914): 184-190.

Editorial comment: The text includes Samuel Sutphin’s declaration in 1833 regarding his Revolutionary War service pension, filed in his 87th year of birth. Dr. Lewis Condict’s records contains this pension application.

Editorial quote: After the War ended I applied and demanded my freedom of Berger. He sold me to Peter Ten Eyck for £110, a save for life. Ten Eyck sold me to Rev. John Duryea for £92.10. I lived with him 2½ years, and [he] sold me to Peter Sutphen for the same money. Lived with him and his for two years as slave. Then lived with my mistress for one year. I agreed to pay him [Sutphen?] from the proceeds of my labor £92.10. I paid it and bought my freedom after the additional servitude of 20 years under different masters (p. 190).

Editorial comment: A version of the above article appears in Larry R. Gerlach, ed., *New Jersey in the American Revolution 1763-1783: A Documentary History*. Trenton, N.J.: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1975). It is titled “Samuel Sutphen, Wartime Experience of a New Jersey Slave” (pp. 354-360).

Hoskins, Barbara. *Men from Morris County, New Jersey, Who Served in the American Revolution*. Morristown, N.J.: Friends of the Joint Free Library of Morristown and Morris County, 1979.

Editorial comment: James Caesar (a Black man enslaved by Dr. Samuel Tuthill of Morris County) served as a private in the Eastern Battalion, Morris County, N.J. militia. He also served in State Troops and in the First Regiment and Third Regiments of New Jersey in the Continental Army (p. 32)

Interracial Committee of New Jersey Conference of Social Work. *Negro in New Jersey 77* (1932).

Editorial comment: This source contains information on population growth in New Jersey, within the time frame covered by this project.

Jensen, Merrill, ed. *The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution, Vol. 1: Constitutional Documents and Records, 1776-1787*. Madison, WS.: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1976.

Editorial comment: Virginia, Pennsylvania, Delaware and New Jersey opposed the constitutional convention compromise on trade regulation and prohibition of the Trans-Atlantic trade in Africans after 1808 (p. 242).

Johnson, Edward A. *A School History of the Negro Race in America from 1619 to 1890, Combined with the History of the Negro Soldiers in the Spanish-American War, also a Short Sketch of Liberia*. Revised edition. New York: Isaac Goldman, 1911.

Editorial quote: Samuel Charlton was in the Battle of Monmouth and several others. Washington complimented him for his bravery. He returned to his master in New Jersey after the war, and at his master’s death Charlton, with other slaves, was set free and given his pension during his life (p. 71).

Johnstone, Abraham. *The Address of Abraham Johnstone, a Black Man, who was Hanged at*

Woodbury, in the County of Gloucester and State of New Jersey, on Saturday, the 8th of July Last, to the People of Color; to which is Added His Dying Confession or Declaration; also, a Copy of a Letter to His Wife, Written the Day Previous to His Execution. Philadelphia, 1797.

Kaplan, Sidney. *The Black Presence in the Era of the American Revolution, 1770-1800.* Washington, D.C.: National Portrait Gallery, 1973.

Editorial comment: This book was prepared for use by students and teachers who visited the exhibition on the Black presence during the era of the American Revolution.

Editorial quote: The black soldier and sailor of the Revolution, whether he fought for Congress or king, served in a variety of ways—as infantryman, artilleryman, scout, guide, spy, guard, courier, waggoner, orderly, cook, waiter, able seaman, privateersman, and military laborer of all sorts. In a few cases, blacks formed their own units.

How many were killed or wounded, we can only guess. Some were heroes. Not long after they had fallen most of them were forgotten. The white memory of things recorded in print and paint usually left them out (p. 32).

Kaplan, Sidney and Emma Nogrady Kaplan. “Bearers of Arms: Patriot and Tory.” In *A Question of Manhood: A Reader U.S.: Black Men’s History and Masculinity, Vol. 1: “Manhood Rights”: The Construction of Black Male History and Manhood, 1750-1870*, ed. Darlene Clark Hine, and Earnestine Jenkins, 165-203. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1999.

Editorial quote: The black soldier and sailor of the revolution, whether he fought for Congress or king, served in a variety of ways—as infantryman, artilleryman, scout, guide, spy, guard, courier, wagoner, orderly, cook, waiter, able seaman, privateersman, and military laborer of all sorts. In a few cases, blacks formed their own units.

How many were killed or wounded, we can only guess. Some were heroes. Not long after they had fallen most of them were forgotten. The white memory of things recorded in print and paint usually left them out (p. 167).

Kidder, William L. *The Revolutionary World of a Free Black Man: Jacob Francis, 1754-1836* (2021).

Editorial comment: Jacob Francis was a Revolutionary War soldier from Hunterdon County, New Jersey. See United States Veterans Administration. “An Important Revolutionary Record of a Negro Soldier.” A letter received and published by Carter G. Woodson in *The Journal of Negro History*, 17, no. 3 (July 1932): 379-381.

Kull, Irving S., ed. *New Jersey: A History*, vol. 2: New York: American Historical Society, 1930.

Editorial comment: This source contains discussions of military services of Black Revolutionary War soldiers, Jack Cudjo of Newark and Casper Bergen (p. 733)

Leiby, Andrian C. *The Revolutionary War in the Hackensack Valley: The Jersey Dutch and the Neutral Ground, 1775-1783*. Revised edition. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1992. First printed 1962.

Editorial quote: At the beginning of the war, Colonel Varick's family had had four middle-aged Negro slaves, three of whom were lost early in the war and the last taken off by an enemy raiding party while his father was in prison, along with a good deal of the Varick property. Colonel Varick had every good reason, as he said, 'to wish for revenge against the adherents of their oppressors,' and he welcomed an opportunity to return to active service (p. 283).

Lender, Mark Edward. "The Enlisted Line: The Continental Soldiers of New Jersey." Ph.D. Dissertation. Rutgers University, 1975.

Editorial quote: One group of militiamen made the mistake of hiring a substitute, and claiming their exemptions after they had sent him to Oliver Spencer's regiment—a unit with many Jerseymen, but not raised as a Jersey unit. And despite a series of indignant petitions, the state refused to grant them exemptions from militia duty. The distress of masters, recruiters also recruited runaway servants. Other men procured substitutes, and then tried not to pay them. And although it was illegal for substitutes to sell their services, desert, and be rehired, the persistence of this problem angered some Jersey Continental officers enough to demand an end to their use. Beset with these problems, in March 1778, the state discontinued the practices of exempting militiamen hiring substitutes, and of paying masters for the time of enlisted servants. The use of substitutes remained legal, however.... Servants, now that the state did not have to pay their masters, remained recruiting targets in spite of continuing (and futile) appeals from owners for compensation (p. 76).

Litwack, Leon F. *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1961.

Editorial quote: By 1800, some 35,505 northern Negroes still remained in bondage, most of them in New York and New Jersey, but almost every state had either abolished slavery outright or had provided for its gradual extinction (p. 3).

... the liquidation of slavery in the North should not be considered simply on the grounds of profits and losses, climate, or geography. Abolition sentiment generally ignored these factors and chose instead to emphasize one particular theme: that the same principles used to justify the American Revolution, particularly John Locke's natural rights philosophy, also condemned and doomed Negro slavery. Such an institution could not be reconciled with colonial efforts to resist English tyranny; indeed, its existence embarrassed the American cause (pp. 6-7).

During the Revolution, official pronouncements reiterated the incompatibility of slavery and the struggle for independence. ... Such move ... would not only be humane and just but would raise American prestige among the Europeans, 'who are astonished to see a people eager for Liberty holding Negroes in Bondage.' In ... New Jersey, the governor urged the legislature in 1778 to provide for gradual abolition on the grounds that slavery conflicted with the principles of Christianity and was especially 'odious and disgraceful' for a people professing to idolize liberty (p. 7).

Livermore, George. *An Historical Research Respecting the Opinions of the Founders of the Republic on Negroes as Slaves, as Citizens and as Soldiers. Read before the Massachusetts Historical Society, August 14, 1862.* Boston: John Wilson & Son, 1862.

Editorial quote: In the [Constitutional] Convention, it was proposed by a committee of eleven to limit the importation of slaves to the year 1808, when Mr. Pinckney moved to extend the year to 1808. This motion was carried,—New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia voting in the affirmative; and New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, in the negative. In opposition to the motion, Mr. Madison said: 'Twenty years will produce all the mischief that can be apprehended from the liberty to import slaves. So long a term will be more dishonorable to the American character than to say nothing about the Constitution' (p. 9).

Editorial quote: To determine whether any free persons, descended from Africans held in slavery, were citizens of the United States under the Confederation, and consequently at the time of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, it is only necessary to know whether any such persons were citizens of either of the States under the Confederation, at the time of the adoption of the Constitution (p. 10).

Of this there can be no doubt. At the time of the ratification of the Articles of Confederation, all free native-born inhabitants of the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and North Carolina, though descended from African slaves, were not only citizens of those States, but such of them as had the other necessary qualifications possessed the franchise of electors, on equal terms with other citizens (p. 11) [Justice Benjamin Curtis' dissenting opinion on Dred Scott decision].

Editorial quote: It was not by accident or oversight that negroes were included in the phrase 'free inhabitants' [in the Articles of Confederation]; for, when this article was under consideration, the delegates from South Carolina moved to amend, by inserting between the words 'free' and 'inhabitants' the word '*white*.' The proposed amendment was lost; *only two* States voting in the affirmative (p. 33).

In the ninth article, the word 'white' was retained. The State of New Jersey, although a slaveholding State, objected to this, and made a representation to Congress on the subject; an extract from which is pertinent here

New Jersey objects to the omission of negroes (p. 34).

Livingston, William. *The Papers of William Livingston, Vol. 1: June 1774-June 1777*. Edited by Carl E. Prince. Trenton, N.J.: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1979.

Editorial comment/quote: A letter from William Livingston to George Washington, dated Haddonfield, February 22, 1777, reads, in part:

I was just now honour'd with your Favor of the 18th. Instant inclosing Copy of Mr. Roses' Affidavit of the Enemy's Cruelty towards Adjutant Kelly, & General Stephen's Letter to Sir William Erskine for which I am greatly obliged to your Excellency. If nothing else will restrain their Barbarities, it may not perhaps be improper to let loose upon them a few of General Stephen's tawny Yagers,²¹ the only Americans that can match them in their bloody Work (pp. 250-251).

Editorial quote: Letter to Richard Bache, dated Haddonfield, May 22, 1777, contains references to two enslaved Black men, Joe and Scipio, who were 'taken up by our Militia officers in the County of Monmouth on Suspicion of intending to join the Enemy, & were among a number of other Prisoners hurried to your Jail in Philadelphia. On Examination of the matter by the Governor and Council of Safety of this State, it appears that the suspicions against them were not well founded, & the Board accordingly agreed to have the negroes delivered to their respective masters on their discharging the Expenses that have accrued for their support & maintenance, & giving their respective Bonds to this Government for their good Behavior in future. ...' (p. 338).

_____. *The Papers of William Livingston, Vol. 2: July 1777-December 1778*. Edited by Carl E. Prince, Dennis P. Ryan et al. Trenton, N.J.: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1980.

Editorial comment: For Quaker influence on William Livingston's attitude to slavery, see a letter from Samuel Allinson, dated July 13, 1778. In this letter Allinson referenced an enclosed package of pamphlet the Quaker leader Anthony Benezet had asked him, Allinson, to send to Governor Livingston. The pamphlet in reference was titled, *Serious Considerations on Several Subjects* (pp. 380-390).

Editorial comment/quote: In a letter to Samuel Allinson (dated Morristown, July 25, 1778), Livingston wrote:

Respecting the Slavery of the Negroes, I have the pleasure to be entirely of your sentiments; & I sent a Message to the Assembly the very last Sessions, to lay the foundation for their Manumission; but the house, thinking us rather in too critical a Situation to enter on the consideration of it at that time; desired me in a private way to withdraw the Message: but I am determined, as far as my influence extends, to push the matter till it is effected: being convinced that the practice is utterly inconsistent, both with the principles of Christianity & Humanity; & in Americans who have almost idolized liberty, peculiarly odious & disgraceful ... (pp. 403-404).

²¹ According to a footnote, "Jaegers were skilled riflemen. 'Tawny' may refer to the presence of black soldiers under Maj. Gen. Adam Stephen's command. Blacks served in Virginia brigades fighting in New Jersey in 1777."

. *The Papers of William Livingston, Vol. 3: January 1779-June 1780*. Edited by Carl E. Prince, Dennis P. Ryan, Brenda Parnes, and Mary Lou Lustig. Published for the New Jersey Historical Commission, Department of State. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1986.

Editorial comment/quote: This volume contains a letter from Livingston, dated Trenton, June 3, 1780, to Thomas Bradford respecting the author's personal position on slavery. It reads, in part:

I received your Letter of the 27th of May this Moment, & am obliged to you for acquainting me of the Circumstances of Mr. Smith's Negro, one of the Prisoners on their return to New York for Exchange. But I am not able to find the officer of the Guard who conducts those Prisoners nor any of the party; from whence I infer that they have passed on & left the Letter behind them. This Circumstance however I do not regret because altho' the Fellow is legally the property of this State, as his Master's whole Estate is confiscated to the public I am so prejudiced against Slavery of any part of the Species, that I should not have chosen to be instrumental in detaining him for that purpose (p. 413).

Editorial comment/quote: A letter from David Forman, dated Monmouth Court House June 9, 1780, reads in, part:

I am desired to Inform your Excellency that we have this minute An Express that a party of Negroes about 30 in Number this this afternoon Attack and Take Captain Barns Smock and a Small party that ware[sic] Collected at his House for there Mutual Defense—this was done Sun an Hour High 12 Miles from one of the Landings & 15 Miles from the other.

The Day before yesterday Joseph Murray was Murdered by a party of those Refugees while he was at His Harrow in his Corn field—this we doubt not when taken in to the account of our other Numerous distresses will Induce your Excellency to exert your self in Establishing sutch [sic] a guard and will tend to restore in some measure the Security of this County (p. 423).

Editorial comment/quote: A footnote to the above letter reads, in part:

The escaped slaves operated out of Refugee Town at Sandy Hook, led by Col. Ty. Ty had formerly been a slave of John Corlies of Colt's Neck, New Jersey, where the attacks took place. On June 19 Ty, with thirty blacks, twenty Loyalists, and thirty-two Queen's Rangers attacked James Mott's home at Colt's Neck, capturing twelve Americans. Ty's career ended on September 11 when he was killed during an attempt to capture Joshua Huddy (p. 423).

. *The Papers of William Livingston, Vol. 5: April 1783-August 1790*. Edited by Carl E.

Prince, Mary Lou Lustig, David William Voorhees, and Andrew Robert J. Weiss. Published for The New Jersey Historical Commission, Department of State. New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1988.

Editorial comment/quote: Letter from Timothy Brush, dated New Market Amwell, March 5, 1785, reads:

I have been informed by Mr. [Isaac] Collins your honour had made applications their to know the owner and the Price of my Negroes mentioned in his paper [*New Jersey Gazette*] which is Two Hundred Pounds one hundred at the Dilivery of the Negroes and the other hundred in May 1786. But if the whole money Could be paid Down the price Shall be made Some Lower Not but what I Could a Sold them for Merchantdise to take to a better market which I thought was not right as they have Served me Honestly and Faithfully I should be a willing to Take Something Less for them if I Could get a place for them whare they woild [sic] be as fed as they Deserve as we have Not Employment for them in our present Business (pp. 174-175).

Editorial quote: For the names of two of William Livingston's slaves see his "Bill of Manumission for His Slaves, October 1-31, 1787." It reads:

Know all Men by these presents that I William Livingston of the Borough of Elizabeth in the County of Essex & State of New Jersey, in consideration of my regard for the natural liberties of mankind, & in order to set the example as far as my voluntary manumission of Slaves, may have any influence on others have manumitted emancipated and set at Liberty & Do by these presents manumit emancipate & set at Liberty a certain Negro woman slave called Bell and also her male child called Lambert both born in my family in a state of slavery & do hereby release acquit & discharge the said Bell and her child from any services to me or any representatives as fully & effectually to the extent & purposes whatsoever as if they had been born first free. In witness thereof I have hereunto set my hand & seal this [] day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred & eighty seven (p. 302).

Editorial quote: The *N.J. Gazette* ran numerous advertisements for the sale of slaves. The only advertisement which appeared in the *Gazette* during this period that failed to list the name of the seller was one for a twenty-three year old Negro male, his wife, and their year-old child. For the influence of Quakers on shaping WL's attitude toward slavery see Samuel Allinson to William Livingston, *The Paper of William Livingston*, Vol. 2, July 13, 1778, 380-89.

Locke, Mary Stoughton. *Anti-Slavery in America from the Introduction of African Slaves to the Prohibition of the Slave Trade (1619-1808)*. Boston: Gin & Company, 1901.

Editorial quote: In the New Jersey Supreme Court, between 1775 and 1793, a considerable number of freedom suits was brought. Of these, twenty were decided in favor of the negro and two against him (p. 82).

Editorial quote: The principles of the Revolution were still an active force, and prosperity had not yet dulled the sense of natural rights. How strong was the feeling that the Revolution was antagonistic to slavery may be seen from a celebration of the close of the war, July 4, 1783, at Woodbridge, New Jersey. On this occasion Dr. Bloomfield, [father of the future] afterwards president of the New Jersey Abolition Society, mounted the platform, followed by his fourteen slaves. ‘As a nation,’ he said, ‘we are free and independent—all men are created equal, and why should these, my fellow citizens—my equals, be held in bondage? From this day they are emancipated, and I here declare them free and absolved from all servitude to me, or my prosperity’ (p. 86).

Lundin, Leonard. *Cockpit of the Revolution: The War for Independence in New Jersey*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940.

Editorial comment: The leading families of the town [Perth Amboy] were conservative and aristocratic in the highest degree. Surrounded by Negro slaves, they were completely severed by the barrier of race from those who did the humble work about them. We are told by a writer who grew up in Perth Amboy at the time of the Revolution: ‘Every house in my native place where servants were to be seen, swarmed with black slaves—every house save one’ (p. 13).

Editorial quote: The uneasiness in which a slave class must always live in times of commotion is shown by the actions of the Shrewsbury Committee of Observation, which, in 1776, confiscated all arms in the possession of Negroes, whether free or bond, and restricted the movements of slaves (p. 44).

McManus, Edgar J. *Black Bondage in the North*. Syracuse, N.Y. Syracuse University Press, 1973.

Editorial quote: Frequently slaves took advantage of wartime dislocations that occurred when their masters fled the enemy forces. Some owners had to leave their slaves behind to shift themselves. One slave woman fled from Rhode Island in 1777 with a pass giving her permission ‘to go where she thought proper o ger her living.’ Many slaves did not wait for such permission but took their chances that the wartime movement of people would provide cover for getting away. The number of runaways rose so sharply after 1775 that there can be no doubt that the machinery of control no longer functioned effectively. Fugitives often fled to the opposing armies to seek freedom in return for military service. A New Jersey master reported in 1778 that his runaway had ‘gone to join the enemy,’ and another advertised that his Negro would probably ‘endeavor to get ... to the American camp, as he is fond of soldiery’ (p. 154).

Editorial quote: The British deliberately encouraged slave defections by advertising offers of freedom to runaways who took refuge with the army. They also made it clear that blacks who supported the patriot cause could expect harsh treatment. During a raid into northern New Jersey in 1779 British troops killed two Negro women for ‘endeavoring to drive off some cattle belonging to their masters.’ On the other hand, slaves who responded to the offer of asylum found employment and safety with the

British in New York. So many crossed the lines from New Jersey that the authorities took special precautions to contain the problem. 'It may be dangerous to the community to permit such Negroes to reside near enemy lines,' the New Jersey legislature concluded in voting to remove slaves 'to some more remote or interior parts of the state' (pp. 154-155).

Editorial quote: Success in New England shifted the focus of abolition to New Jersey and New York. Except for the laws emancipating blacks who had served in the armed forces, the slave system remained as firmly entrenched in both states after the Revolution as before. New Jersey defenders of the status quo not only invoked the property rights of the masters but used racist arguments as well to justify Negro bondage. One proponent of slavery argued in the *New Jersey Journal* (Chatham), November 29, 1780, that the Negro's 'deep wrought disposition to indolence' and 'want of judgement' made him generally unsuitable for freedom (p. 170).

Editorial quote: The rapid growth of antislavery sentiment brought sweeping reforms in the slave controls. In 1778 New Jersey abolished special punishments for slave offenses; henceforth crimes by slaves were to be 'adjudged, corrected and punished in like manner as the criminal offenses of the other inhabitants of this state' (173).

Miller, John Chester. *Triumph of Freedom, 1775-1783*. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1948.

Editorial quotes: By 1782, the manpower shortage had become so acute that Washington was constrained to drop his objections to the enlistment of prisoners of war.... Meanwhile, Americans had turned to the large Negro population of the United States as a source of manpower. Almost one fifth of the population of the United States was black, and most blacks were slaves. ... At the beginning of the Revolution, slavery was national—for the blacks, there was no dividing line between liberty and slavery (p. 507-508).

Although willing to blame George III for every other evil that had befallen the colonies, the Southern plantation owners and Northern slave traders could not bring themselves to enumerate slavery – in their eyes, a positive good – among the crimes of the British King (p. 508).

Inevitably, the presence of hundreds of blacks in the American army [during the War of Independence], fighting for liberty alongside the whites, smote the conscience of many patriots. Negroes were giving their blood for the rights of man: how could they be denied participation in those rights? How could white Americans, shunning the duty of a citizen to bear arms, employ slaves to fight their battles for them? The least that could be done, it began to be said, was to give the slaves their freedom when they entered the army. 'It is justifiable that negroes should have their freedom ... as freedom and liberty is [sic] the grand controversy that we are contending for.' Give them freedom with their muskets, exclaimed Alexander Hamilton; secure their fidelity and animate their courage by endowing them with the dignity of free men. This was done by some Northern states: upon entering the army, slaves were promised their freedom on condition of serving three

years or more. At some point, slaveowners were compensated for their financial losses (p. 509).

Most of these slaves owed their presence in the army to the fact that their masters preferred to hold down the home front while they sent their slaves to battle. Thanks to the substitute system, a patriot allergic to the smell of gunpowder might send his slave to war either in the militia or in the regular army. There was no obloquy attached to such substitution; on the contrary, to sacrifice one's bondservant for the cause of liberty was regarded as highly meritorious. And no one could deny that it was better to send a stout black man to the wars than 'fill up our battalions with [British] runaways and deserters' whose services as substitutes were also available to gun-shy patriots. Indeed, it was no doubt true in many instances that a Negro slave, inured to fatigue and hardened and disciplined by slavery, made a better soldier than his master. No observer ever went on record that blacks broke in panic any quicker than did the whites (pp. 509-510).

Mitros, David, ed. *Jacob Green and the Slavery Debate in Revolutionary Morris County, New Jersey*. Morris County Heritage Commission, 1993.

Editorial quote: In what horrid colors has oppression and slavery been printed by us? And is it not as great sin for us to practice it as for Britain? ... Is not the hard yoke of slavery felt by negroes as well as by white people? Are they not fond of liberty as well as others of the human race? Is not freedom the natural unalienable right of all? What say the Congress in their Declaration of Independence? 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness: that to secure these rights governments are instituted?' Thus [says] the Congress. If liberty is one of the natural and unalienable rights of all men, as doubtful it is; if 'tis self-evident, i.e., so clear that it needs not proof, how inhuman, for Britons, or Americans, not only to attempt, but actually to violate this right? Britain is attempting to violate it; we in America have a long time been in the actual violation of it (p. 38).

_____, ed. *Slave Records of Morris County, New Jersey: 1756-1841*. 2nd edition, revised and expanded. Morristown, N.J.: Morris County Heritage Commission, 2002.

Editorial quote: During the Revolutionary War period, many northern states took important steps to eradicate slavery. Vermont was the first to abolish slavery in its constitution of 1777. The Massachusetts bill of rights was interpreted by the courts as prohibiting slavery. Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Connecticut adopted gradual abolition, which guaranteed freedom to future generations of blacks.

In New Jersey, concerted efforts to eradicate slavery began in 1773 when Cumberland, Burlington, Essex, Middlesex, and Hunterdon counties sent petitions to the New Jersey legislature 'setting forth the evils of human slavery.' In 1778 Governor William Livingston urged the gradual freeing of slaves, condemning slavery as 'utterly inconsistent with the practice of Christianity.'

In Morris County during the Revolution, the noted writer, thinker, and political activist Rev. Jacob Green wrote and preached against the hypocrisy of his fellow patriots who owned slaves while professing freedom. He successfully organized the Hanover Presbyterian Church into an antislavery body (pp. 2-3).

Moore, George H. *Historical Notes on the Employment of Negroes in the American Army of the Revolution*. New York: Charles T. Evans, 1862.

Editorial quote: In New York, where the system of domestic slavery was as firmly and rigorously established as in any part of the country, under the Colonial laws ...the first act that went to relax the system was the act of 1781, which gave freedom to all slaves who should serve in the army for the term of three years, or until regularly discharged. The enlistment was to be with the consent of the owner, who received the land bounty, and was discharged from any future maintenance of the slave. It is a singular contrast that, in New Jersey, the enlistment of slaves was prohibited in the same year, 1781 (p. 20).

Moss, George, Jr. ed. *Black Birth of Monmouth County, New Jersey, 1804-1848*. Freehold, N.J.: Office of the County Clerk, 1989.

Editorial comment: This source contains names of slave holders during the latter part of the period covered by this project.

_____. *Manumission Book of Monmouth County, New Jersey, 1791-1844*. Freehold, N.J.: Office of Monmouth County Clerk, 1992.

Editorial comment: This source contains names of slave holders during the latter part of the period covered by this project.

Moss, Simeon F. "The Persistence of Slavery and Involuntary Servitude in a Free State, 1685-1866." *The Journal of Negro History* 35, no. 3 (July 1950): 289-314.

Editorial comment: The author discusses the military services and emancipation of Black Revolutionary War soldiers, Jack Cudjo of Newark, Peter Williams of Woodbridge) and Negro Cato (p. 301-302).

Nash, Gary B. *The Forgotten Fifth: African Americans in the Age of Revolution*. Cambridge, MA. Harvard University Press, 2006.

Editorial quote: This was certainly the case when [Thomas] Jefferson drafted the Ordinance of 1784, which included the pregnant wording: 'After the year 1800 ... there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the ... states' created out of the western domain. This bold stroke against slavery, for which Jefferson was willing to invest some of his political capital, obtained the approval of six states in the Continental Congress and lost the necessary seventh state, New Jersey, because a delegate was sick. Jefferson's outspokenness on slavery thereafter began to evaporate (p. 109).

National Society Daughters of the American Revolution. *DAR Patriot Index Centennial Edition*, 3 vols. Washington, D. C.: The Society, 1990.

Editorial comment: Among those pensioned for Revolutionary War service was a Cumberland County African American native, Adam Pierce. During his enlistment, Pierce saw action at the battles of Crosswicks and Monmouth. Some of his descendants have joined the Daughters of the American Revolution. See Revolutionary War Pension File (hereafter RWPF), 2308.

Also, Jacob Francis, a Black man, served under several captains in the New Jersey troops. His widow, Mary, whom he married in 1789 and purchased her freedom, was awarded a pension for her husband's Revolutionary War service in 1836 (see p. 2308).

Nell, William C. *Services of Colored Americans in the Wars of 1776 and 1812*. Philadelphia: A.M.E. Publishing House, 1894. Reprinted from Canada edition, 1854.

Editorial quote: [From the Burlington (N. J.) Gazette.] "I am One Hundred Years Old To-day." The attention of many of our citizens has doubtless been arrested by the appearance of an old Colored man, who might have been seen sitting in front of his residence, in East Union Street, respectfully raising his hat to those who might be passing by. His attenuated frame, his silvered hair, his feeble movements, combine to prove that he is very aged; and yet comparatively few are aware that he is among the survivors of the gallant army who fought for the liberties of our country, 'in the days which tried men's souls....

His name is Oliver Cromwell, and he says that he was born at the Black Horse, (now Columbus,) in this county, in the family of John Hutchin. He enlisted in a company commanded by Captain Lowery attached to the 2nd New Jersey under the command of Colonel Isaac Shreve. He was at the battles of Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine, Monmouth and Yorktown, at which latter place, he told us, he saw the last man killed. Although his faculties are failing, yet he related many interesting reminiscences of the Revolution. He was with the army at the retreat of the Delaware, on the memorable crossing on the 25th of December 1776, and related the story of the battles on the succeeding days with enthusiasm. He gives the details of the march from Trenton to Princeton, and told us, with much humor, that they 'knocked the British about lively' at the latter place. He was also at the battle of Springfield, and says that he saw the house burning in which Mrs. Caldwell was shot, at Connecticut Farms (p. 23).

. *The Colored Patriots of the American Revolution, with Sketches of Several Distinguished Colored Persons: To Which is Added a Brief Survey of the Condition and Prospects of Colored Americans. With an Introduction by Harriet Beecher Stowe*. Boston: Robert F. Wallcut, 1855.

Editorial comment: This source contains information on New Jersey patriots of African heritage. They include Oliver Cromwell (who fought in the Battles of Trenton, Princeton,

Brandywine, Monmouth, Yorktown, Springfield, and ‘saw the burning of the house in which Mrs. Caldwell was shot at Connecticut Farms’), Samuel Carlton (born in New Jersey, substituted for his slaveowner in the war) and Hagar (born in Newark, N.J., grew up in Stamford, CT, and once cooked a dinner for General Washington on his way to the headquarters of the American army in Cambridge, Massachusetts); see pp. 160-165.

According to historians, William C. Nell’s book was the first serious attempt by an African American to write a scholarly history. Nell was an abolitionist, lecturer, journalist, and a pioneering Black historian.²²

Opposite the title page is an illustration of Revolutionary War soldiers with the following caption: Crispus Attucks, the first Martyr of the American Revolution, King (now State) Street, Boston. March 5th, 1770.

There is also an engraving depicting Peter Salem, a Black soldier at the Battle of Bunker Hill, Boston (p. 21).

Editorial quote: We have recently had an interview with a person who was present at the first abolition meeting ever held in the United States. It took place in the township of Woodbridge, County of Middlesex, in this State, on the Fourth of July 1783, being the first anniversary of our Independence, after the close of the Revolutionary War. Great preparations had been made – an ox was roasted, and an immense number had assembled on the memorable occasion. A platform was erected, just above the heads of the spectators, and, at a given signal, Dr. Bloomfield, father of the late Governor Bloomfield, of this State, mounted the platform, followed by his fourteen slaves, male and female, seven taking their stations on his right hand, and seven on his left. Being thus arranged, he advanced somewhat in front of his slaves, and addressed the multitude on the subject of slavery and its evils, and, in conclusion, pointing to those on his right and left, ‘As a nation,’ said he, ‘we are free and independent,—all men are created equal, and why should these, my fellow citizens, my equals, be held in bondage? From this day, they are emancipated; and I here declare them free, and absolved from all servitude to me or my posterity.’ Then, calling up before him one somewhat advanced in years – ‘Hector,’ said the Doctor, ‘whenever you become too old or infirm to support yourself, you are entitled to your maintenance from me or my property. How long do you suppose it will be before you will require that maintenance?’ Hector held up his left hand, and, with his right, drew a line across the middle joints of his fingers, saying—‘Never, never, massa, so long as any of these fingers remain below these joints.’ Then, turning to the audience, the Doctor remarked,— ‘There, fellow citizens, you see that liberty is as dear to the man of color as to you or me.’ The air now rung with shouts of applause, and thus the scene ended.

‘Dr. Bloomfield immediately procured for Hector, either by purchase or setting off from his own farm, three acres of land, and built him a small house, where he resided and

²² William Cooper Nell wrote what historians generally believe is ‘perhaps the first full-length study to narrate the historical experience of black Americans.’ For details, see Giles R. Wright, “Moving toward Breaking the Chain: Black New Jerseyans and the American Revolution,” p. 113.

cultivated his little farm until the day of his death; and it was a common remark with the neighbors, that Hector's hay, when he took it to Amboy to sell, would always command a better price than their own' (pp. 164-165).

New Jersey Department of Defense. Revolutionary War Index, New Jersey State Archives. Genealogical Society of Utah Microfilm no.0568699, rolls 2, 8, 11, 16, 23, 30.

Editorial comment: In addition to Black men who saw military action during the Revolutionary War, there were others, who made great contributions to the American cause. One of those men was Cyrus Bustill, a free man and a baker, who supplied bread to the Continental Army.

New Jersey Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery. *The Constitution of the New Jersey Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery: To which is Annexed, Extracts from a Law of New-Jersey passed the 2d March, 1786, and Supplement to the Same, Passed the 26th November, 1788.* Published by order of the Society, Robert Smith Jun. Burlington: Printed for the Society by Isaac Neale, 1793.

Editorial comment: New Jersey was the last northern state to actively promote abolition of slavery. It was also the last to abolish slavery. Founded in 1793, the New Jersey Society for the Abolition of Slavery was made up primarily of residents of West Jersey, most of them Quakers. Joseph Bloomfield was the first president.

New Jersey Supreme Court. *Cases Adjudged in the Supreme Court of New Jersey Relative to the Manumission of Negroes and Other Holden in Bondage.* Printed for the New Jersey Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery. Burlington, N.J.: 1794.

Editorial comment: Entries were collected from the minutes of the Supreme Court of New Jersey between 1775 and 1793, by the New Jersey Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, pursuant to a resolution of the Society, September 2, 1793. Joseph Bloomfield, President.

Of the total number of freedom suits, twenty were decided in favor of people of African descent and two against.

Newman, Debra L. *List of Black Servicemen Compiled from the War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records.* Washington, D.C: National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, 1974.

Editorial comment: This list contains information on a few Black Revolutionary War soldiers from New Jersey, compiled from the individual name index to the compiled military service records. Eleven soldiers are listed under New Jersey.

Newark, N.J. *The First Jubilee of American Independence; and Tribute of Gratitude to the Illustrious Adams and Jefferson.* Newark, N.J.: M. Lyon, 1826.

Editorial comment/quote: This is a commemoration booklet of program dedicated to documenting the process, decisions, speeches and program of Newark, New Jersey's 1826 celebration of American Independence. Notably, the book refers to both African Americans and Native Americans in several sections. It references slavery as a *practice* (i.e., the enslavement of people of African descent in the United States) and as a *metaphor* of oppression (that Britain sought to treat their subjects as slaves).

William S. Pennington's address reads, in part: 'Could any one view for a moment the dark portentous cloud at that time hanging over our beloved country, without perceiving, at a single glance, the difficulties and dangers that beset us? This confederate band, so congenially associated, of Negro slaves, Indian savages, German hirelings, and vindictive Scots and Britons, threatened not only the destruction of the liberties of America, but the annihilation of the American name (p. 12).

William Halsey's address reads, in part:

Of the nations who claim to be free, how unfounded are most of their pretensions: they enjoy liberty but in name. Even in this, the most favored of nations, whose institutions are the most perfect, and which are founded upon the equality of man, and have for their object the protection of his rights, constitutional defects are most visible. In this glorious fabric of liberty there is a rotten intertie, which not only affects its beauty, but may ere long occasion its dissolution. It is in vain we boast of perfect liberty, whilst the degraded sons of Africa, still yoked to the iron car of slavery, and as if with wire-knotted thong, are here driven on, merciless and remorseless. Slavery is a dark spot in the sun of our Independence, beneath which these unfortunates languish; none of his bright rays cheer their hearts; none of his genial heat animates or warms them; the radiance which surrounds them serves but to thicken the gloom in which they are enveloped; the joy which Independence generally inspires renders them the more wretched by contrast which their own conditions furnishes. See yon aged African, whose countenance though marked with age, beams with intelligence; whose complexion, though dark, covers a heart swelling with kind, generous and noble feelings. It is permitted him to abstain from his daily tasks, to witness the hilarity this anniversary, this Jubilee inspires. He hears read from the Declaration of Independence, that 'all men are created equal—that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, *Liberty*, and the pursuit of happiness'—his own inequality to those around him, rushes on his mind; the joy of Independence dances before his eyes; his bosom heaves with strong emotions, and at the recollection of his own abject and degraded condition, the tear of sensibility glisten on his sable cheek—the very joys we this day participate, are bitterness to him (p. 23).

Peterson, Clarence Stewart. *Known Military Dead During the American Revolutionary War, 1775-1783*. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1967. Originally published 1959.

Editorial comment: The death of at least one Revolutionary soldier of African descent from New Jersey is recorded in this source. His name was Thomas

Caesar, a private in the army. He died on April 30, 1778.

Editorial comment: The death of John Caesar, a Black soldier, is recorded on page 36.

“Oliver Cromwell in Burlington - Fighting the Patriot Cause.” Hidden New Jersey. June 16, 2012. <http://www.hiddennj.com/2012/06/oliver-cromwell-in-burlington-fighting.html>.

Pingeon, Frances D. *Blacks in the Revolutionary Era*. New Jersey's Revolutionary Experience, No.14. Edited by Larry R. Gerlach. Trenton, N.J.: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1975.

Editorial comment/quote: Resistance to manumission in New Jersey was caused in part by the state's pivotal role in the war. 'In the impending war with England, New Jersey would be placed in an exposed and defenseless position, with a population sorely divided' (p. 17).

Editorial quote: In the revolutionary ferment of 1775 and 1776 all bills proposing to improve the condition of the blacks were dropped, as were efforts by West Jersey Quakers to introduce a bill for the gradual abolition of slavery. William Livingston, the first governor of the state, postponed his appeal to the assembly to free the slaves until the revolutionary crisis was over. But the issue of freedom for blacks was far from dead. In New Jersey the Revolution evoked 'the most extensive newspaper debate on the subject before the 1830s' Jerseymen who wished to free their slaves argued that blacks, given education and opportunity, were equal to whites, and that it was paradoxical to keep blacks in slavery while whites fought a war for liberty and equality. According to the abolitionists, God would not heed the prayers of the American revolutionaries while 'the groans of their slaves were continually mingled with them' (p. 18).

Editorial quote: A number of blacks, probably more than records show, drove wagons for the Continental army at Trenton when many white inhabitants would not leave their farms. Caesar, Pomp, Will, Andrew, Jack, and Dick, all listed as 'negroes,' were among those who furnished the army with corn, flour and other essentials. Although George Washington had cautioned against using black soldiers as teamsters because it would be so easy for them to escape with horses and wagons to the enemy, there is no record of black desertion in New Jersey. Instead, they served the army in an essential capacity when, as Furman made clear, teamsters were nearly impossible to find. Whether these men were slaves or free is unknown (p. 20).

Editorial quote: Some free blacks had outstanding military records. Oliver Cromwell of Burlington County served as a private in the New Jersey Continental Line from 1777 to 1781, a long term for any soldier in the Revolution. He fought in the battles of Trenton, Brandywine, Princeton, Monmouth and Yorktown and received a pension from the United States government. Jacob Francis served monthly tours in the Hunterdon County militia between 1777 and 1781 and was given a pension. James Array of Readington, a descendant of one of the few landowning black families of New Jersey, served in the Continental Line and the Hunterdon County militia. Samuel Simonson, called 'Negro

Sambo' in the casualty book of the Fourth New Jersey Regiment, served in the Somerset County militia and the Continental army. The laws discouraged the enlistment of slaves in the Continental regiments of New Jersey and of both slaves and free blacks in the New Jersey militia. However, many commanders, faced with the continual desertion of white men to their farms and families, welcomed black men into their units. Some served as substitutes for their masters and were often rewarded with land and freedom. Others may have run away and joined either local militia or the Continental army, claiming to be free. On at least three occasions the legislature, after confiscating the property of a Loyalist, granted freedom to a slave who had performed military service (pp. 20-21).

_____. "Slavery in New Jersey on the Eve of Revolution." In *New Jersey in the American Revolution: Political and Social Conflict: Papers Presented at the First Annual New Jersey History Symposium, held by the New Jersey Historical Commission, December 6, 1969*. Rev. ed. Edited by William C. Wright. Trenton, N.J.: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1974.

Editorial quote: To the men who owned them, able-bodied slaves, men, women, boys or girls, represented property readily convertible into other forms of capital. During the Revolutionary era, slave owners used their Black property to satisfy the claims of debtors, to liquidate bankrupt estates, to increase the value of legacies or real estate, or simply to acquire cash. In 1776, Lord Sterling offered for sale all his goods and chattels, including household furniture and Negroes, to save himself from bankruptcy. The executors of the estate of Dr. Lewis Johnston, a distinguished physician of Perth Amboy, put up at public auction all his personal estate, 'consisting of Negroes, both men and women, a stock of very fine cattle, household furniture and the rest.' The trustees of the estate of Alexander Ross of New Brunswick sold his Negroes and much of his personal property to increase the assets of his widow and to simplify her way of life. Many slaves were advertised for sale without personal property, either because they were a financial burden to their particular owners or because their masters preferred to invest in other forms of capital (p. 58).

Price, Clement Alexander, ed. *Freedom Not Far Distant: A Documentary History of African Americans: A Joint Project of the New Jersey Historical Society and the New Jersey Historical Commission*. Newark: New Jersey Historical Society, 1980.

Editorial quote: For a few blacks the Revolutionary War brought freedom. Such was the good fortune of Peter Williams and Negro Man Cato. Williams enlisted in the Continental Army after he escaped from his master, John Heard, a Loyalist of Woodbridge; and Cato, who also was the property of a Tory, David Fitz Randolph of Woodbridge, gave 'essential services' to the rebellion. The legislature confiscated the property of the two slaveholders and manumitted Williams and Cato for their contributions to the struggle for independence. Other slaves achieved their freedom in this manner. But for a greater number, the war actually diminished the prospects for freedom, as many slaveowners sold their slaves to pay debts incurred during the Revolution (pp. 71-72).

“Proceedings of the Committees of Freehold and Shrewsbury in Monmouth Co. [N.J.] on the Opening of the Revolution.” *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* 1, no. 4 (1846): 184-197.

Editorial quote: Whereas the riotous and numerous meetings of negroes at unlicensed houses is pernicious in itself and may be of pernicious consequence; if the Col. is informed of any such meetings he is desired to use his militia, or many as he finds necessary, to secure the Negroes, and give the names of the delinquents, to be proceeded against agreeable to the Law (dated October 6, 1775, p. 191)

Editorial comment: The primary source of the above extract, East Jersey Manuscripts, 26, is available at New Jersey Historical Society in Newark, N.J.

Editorial quote: Whereas the meeting together of Servants, Negroes and other Disorderly Persons at Unlicensed Taverns and other Bad Houses, is attended with Great Mischief and Damage not only to the Masters, But to all the Neighborhood, and many Be of more fatal and pernicious Consequence to the Community in General; Therefore, in Order that the penalties of the Law may Be more Duly Inflicted on all Such Offenders

Resolved, that the Colonel shall Order a party or parties of the Militia to attend at Such Suspected places at proper times to Search for and to Apprehend all Such transgressors of the Law

Ordered, that the above Resolve Be made public By Advertisement (dated October 16, 1775, p. 192).

Editorial comment: The primary source material, East Jersey Manuscripts, 26, is in the New Jersey Historical Society Collection.

Editorial quote: Resolved, that all arms in the Hands, or at the Command or Disposal of Negroes, Either free or Slaves, Shall Be taken and Secured By the Militia Officers of the Several Districts Until the present troubles are Settled, and that Such arms Shall Be Lodged in the Hands of the Colonel who Shall Give Receipts to the owners (dated February 12, 1776, p. 195)

Editorial comment: The primary source material, East Jersey Manuscripts, 26, is in the New Jersey Historical Society Collection.

Editorial quote: Resolved, that all Slaves, Either Negroes, Mulattoes or Others that Shall be Found off their Masters or Mistresses premises any time of the night after Daylight is Gone May be Taken Up By any person Whatsoever and Secured Until a fine of ten Shillings Be paid By the Master or Mistress to the person taking them up, and in failure of payment of Such fine the Slave Shall Be Delivered to the Minute Men to be Kept Under Guard Until he Shall Receive fifteen Lashes on the Bare Back, for which the Master Shall pay the Sum of four Shillings, provided that Such Slaves as have Leave

from their Masters in Writing Shall not Be Liable to the above penalty (dated February 29, 1776, p. 196).

Editorial comment: The primary source material, East Jersey Manuscripts, 26, is in the New Jersey Historical Society Collection.

See published versions of these resolutions in Larry R. Gerlach, ed., *New Jersey in the American Revolution 1763-1783: A Documentary History* (Trenton, N.J.: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1975): 148-151.

Quarles, Benjamin. *The Negro in the American Revolution*. Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1961.

Editorial quote: In the Revolutionary War the Black American ‘was a participant and a symbol. He was active on the battlefronts and behind the lines; in his expectations and in the gains he registered during the war, he personified the goal of the freedom in whose name the struggle was waged’ (p. vii).

In New Jersey early in 1776, the Shrewsbury Committee of Observation ordered that all Negroes with guns or other weapons be required to turn them in ‘until the present troubles are settled’ (p. 17).

Cudjo, a Newark slave, served as a Continental soldier for his master, Benjamin Coe; another New Jersey draft choice, Casper Bergen, purchased slave Samuel Sutphin to do his service stint (p. 59).

American soldiers generally disliked assignment to the wagon, commissary or forage services, hence it was not unusual for Negroes to find themselves enrolled in these departments Many of New Jersey’s Negro soldiers were assigned to teamster brigades (p. 77, fn. 38).

At the end of the Revolutionary War, New Jersey ‘legislature on three separate occasions passed laws setting free slaves who had become state property through the confiscation of loyalist holdings. Two such liberated slaves, Peter Williams and Cato, served in both the state and Continental armies’ (p. 185).

Rees, John. “Nineteenth-Century Remembrances of Black Revolutionary Veterans: New Jersey Soldier Oliver Cromwell.” *Journal of the American Revolution*. February 25, 2021. <https://allthingsliberty.com/2021/02/nineteenth-century-remembrances-of-black-revolutionary-veterans-new-jersey-soldier-oliver-cromwell/>

Raum, John. O. *History of the City of Trenton, New Jersey : Embracing a Period of Nearly Two Hundred Years, Commencing in 1676, the First Settlement of the Town, and Extending up to the Present Time, with Official Records of the Population, Extent of the Town at*

Different Periods, its Manufactories, Church History, and Fire Department. Trenton, N.J.: W. T. Nicholson, 1871.

Editorial quote: We left Trenton by the nearest road to Princeton, and advanced nearly to the Shabbakonk (a small brook near Trenton), when we were met by a **little negro on horseback**, galloping down the hill, who called to us that the British army were before us. One of our party ran a little way up the hill, and jumped upon the fence, from which he beheld the British army within less than a half a mile of us. And now commenced a race for Trenton. Ewe fortunately escaped capture; yet the enemy were so near, that before we crossed the bridge over the Assunpink, some of our troops on the Trenton side of the creek, with a field piece, motioned to us to get out of the street while they fired at the British at the upper end of it. Not being on duty, we had nothing to do but choose our position and view the battle (p. 174).

Rosenberg, Leonard B. "William Paterson and Attitudes in New Jersey on Slavery." *New Jersey History* 95, no. 4 (Winter 1977): 197-206.

Editorial quote: The obvious conflict between the ideals of equality expounded in the Declaration of Independence and the continuation of slavery in the United States after the Revolution has repeatedly led observers to attempt explanations of the phenomenon. An examination of the career and thought of William Paterson, New Jersey Governor, Senator and Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, provides insight into the views of his contemporaries and offers glimpses of them wrestling with the problem. Because New Jersey delayed full emancipation until the Thirteenth Amendment, the state perhaps best reflects the ambivalence felt by many in the north over the issue (p. 197).

The position that William Paterson assumed on the question of slavery and the slave trade at the Federal Convention is illustrative of the general New Jersey and northern attitude of the period. His own views and his instructions from the Legislature were shaped by the situation in the state. The revolutionary constitution of 1776, which Paterson undoubtedly had an important hand in framing, contained no provision that was inconsistent with the institution of slavery in New Jersey (p. 199).

Schmidt, Hubert. "Slavery and Attitudes on Slavery, Hunterdon County, New Jersey." *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* 58, no. 3 (July 1940): 151-169; vol. 58, no. 4 (October 1940): 240-253.

Editorial quote: It is unfortunate that the abstracts of the probate records of the state do not always specify whether the various estates included slave property, but enough cases are given to indicate the small number of slaves held by most masters. For the period ending with the year 1780, the abstracts mention slaves for thirty eight estates clearly within present day Hunterdon County. In sixteen of these instances, only one slave is mentioned; in four cases, two are mentioned; in two cases, three; in two cases, four; in three cases, five; and in one case, six. A ferry at present day Lambertville used eight blacks, while Union Forge used a force of eighteen Negro miners and iron workers. Often

a substantial part of the personal property of an estate was the one or two slaves which the deceased had owned. Human property was not restricted to the rich (pp. 151-152).

Editorial comment: This article provides a good statistical overview of the presence of people of African descent in Hunterdon County from 1780 through 1860.

Shomette, Doland Grady. *Privateers of the Revolution: War on the New Jersey Coast, 1775-1783*. Atglen, PA.: Schiffer Publishing, 2016.

Editorial comment: A revelatory history of Pennsylvanian and New Jersey privateering (i.e., 'governmentally sanctioned commerce raiding for profit by private ships of war') on the ports of New Jersey coast during the American Revolution (p. 10).

Steward, William and Theophilus G. Steward. *Gouldtown: A Very Remarkable Settlement of Ancient Date: Studies of Some Sturdy Examples of the Simple Life, together with Sketches of Early Colonial History of Cumberland County and Southern New Jersey and Some Early Genealogical Records*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1913.

Editorial quote: Tradition says that the Pierces originated from two mulattoes who were brought here in a vessel from the West Indies, with which the Colony had early trade, vessels from the West Indies arriving at Greenwich and also coming up as far as to what is now Bridgetown. These two men were Richard and Anthony Pierce, bothers.... Adam Pierce, the only son of Richard and Hannah Pierce, and Richard Pierce, Jr., and Anthony Pierce, Jr., served in the Revolutionary War; they were Revolutionary pensioners until their deaths, between 1836 and 1850, at a great age (pp. 62-64).

Stone, William, trans. *Letters of Brunswick and Hessian Officers During the American Revolution*. Albany, N.Y.: Joel Munsell's Sons, 1891.

Editorial quote: The second thing which attracted my attention was the negroes. From this place to Springfield few farmhouses are met with that do not have one negro family living near by in an out-house. Negroes, in common with other cattle, are very prolific here. The young are well fed, especially at the calf age. Take it all in all, slavery is not so bad. The negro is looked upon in the light of a servant to the farmer, the negress doing all the heavy housework, while the pickaninnies wait upon their young white masters. The negro is sometimes sent to war instead of his youthful owner; and for this reason there is scarcely a regiment in which you shall not find some well-built and hardy fellows. Many families of free negroes are also met with here who reside in good houses, are in comfortable circumstances, and live as well as their white neighbors. It is an amusing sight to see a young negress—her woolly hair gathered up in a knot behind, a sun-bonnet perched upon her head, and encircled by a wrap—ambling along, with a negro slave shuffling in her wake (pp. 142-143).

Stryker, William S., ed. *Documents Relating to the Revolutionary History of the State of New Jersey, Volume 1: Extracts from American Newspapers, 1776-1777*, 2nd ser. vol. 1. Trenton, N.J.: John L. Murphy Publishing, 1901.

Editorial quote: Being too old for active service himself, Benjamin Coe furnished a substitute, in the person of an able-bodied negro slave, Cudjo, who was rewarded by his master with a gift of his freedom and an acre of land (p. 352, fn. 1).

_____. *Official Register of the Officers and Men of New Jersey in the Revolutionary War, Compiled under Orders of Theodore F. Randolph, Governor, by William S. Stryker, Adjutant General. With Added Digest and Revision, for the Use of the Society of the Cincinnati in the State of New Jersey (1911). Rev. and compiled by James W. S. Campbell.* Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1967. Originally published 1872.

Editorial comment: This register contains information on some of New Jersey's ethnic minority people who served in the American Revolution. They include African Americans (Andrew, Dick, Jack, Pomp, Will) and Native Americans (Oliver Cromwell[?], William Cuffey, James Dillap, William Holmes).

Thirteen PBS. "Africans in American Revolution: People & Events: Colonel Tye (1753-1780)." Part 2: 1750-1805. n.d. <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part2/2p52.html>.

Editorial quote: Colonel Tye, the most feared and respected guerilla commander of the Revolution, was one of the many enslaved who escaped and fought for the British. He was one of the four young men owned by John Corlies of Shrewsbury New Jersey.

Thirteen PBS. "Africans in American Revolution, Part 2: Historical Documents: Runaway Ad for Titus. n.d. <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part2/2h1.html>

Editorial quote: Titus was one of the young black men owned by John Corlie of Shrewsbury, in the eastern part of Monmouth County, New Jersey. In November 1775, the day after Dunmore's Proclamation was issued, 22-year old Titus fled from his cruel, quick-tempered master, joining the flood of blacks who sought refuge with the British as soldiers, sailors and workers.

[Thompson, A.B.?] "African Antiquities." *The Newark Mercury* (Newark, N.J.), no. 1, Monday Morning, April 26 (p. 2 c5-6). and no. 2, Monday Morning, May 20, 1852, p.

Editorial quote: If the interrogatory had embraced military men, we have a plenty of them here, who have been in service of their country at Sandy Hook and great fighting characters in the bargain. There are some old veterans among the *colored people*, who fought in the Revolution, and General Jackson did not mean any of them, when he said that he knew they were a great many old Tories who were drawing pensions (see no. 2, p2c5-6).

Editorial comment: The statement that there were some old veterans among the colored people" of Newark reinforces Miriam V. Studley's research findings in 1975 that "a single clipping in New Jersey Information File" at the New Jersey Information Center at

Newark Public Library “refers to a Newark organization of descendants of Black persons who served in the Revolution.”²³ Although Studley noted that she was unable to learn anything more about the said organization, both her statement and that of A. B. Thompson’s are good reminders that the unknown and untold stories of Black Revolutionary soldiers from Newark must be investigated and documented to make Newark’s revolutionary stories of American freedom complete and inclusive.

Editorial comment: William A. Whitehead attributed authorship of this article to A.B. Thompson, a Newark, N.J resident and member of the New Jersey Historical Society. See the table of contents section of the second volume of Whitehead’s scrapbook (SB 94) in Manuscript Group 1494, at the New Jersey Historical Society.

Tucker, George. *Progress of the United States in Population and Wealth in Fifty Years, as Exhibited by the Decennial Census from 1790-1840; With an Appendix Containing an Abstract of the Census of 1850*. New York: Press of Hunt’s Merchant’s Magazine, 1855.

Editorial comment: The free Black population of New Jersey increased from 2,762 in 1790 to 4,442 in 1800, then to 7,843 by 1810, representing an upsurge of 184 per cent from when the first census of the United States was conducted. For a detailed analysis of population growth in New Jersey, in the broader context of the United States, and within the time frame of this project (pp. 1-30).

United States Revolutionary War Rolls 1775-1783. Accessed on ancestry.com. 02d Regiment, 1776-1783 (Folder 34); 3d Regiment, 1770-1780 (Folders 35-38). Digital pages 615, 620, 622, 624, 625, 628, 632 of 699.

Editorial comment: Jack Cudjo Banquante’s Revolutionary War Slips, Single Citations of the New Jersey Department of Defense Materials Film #569443, Image Group #8518951, familysearch.com

Walling, Richard S. *Men of Color at the Battle of Monmouth, June 28, 1778: The Role of African Americans and Native Americans at Monmouth: Containing a Brief History of These Men of Color and a Presentation of Nearly Two Hundred Names and Identification*. Hightstown, N.J.: Longstreet House, 1994.

Editorial comment: The book identifies 20 New Jersey Black soldiers (p. 20).

Wilkes, Laura E. *Mission Pages in American History: Revealing the Services of Negroes in Early Wars in the United States of America, 1641-1815*. Washington, D.C.: R. L. Pendleton, 1919.

²³Miriam V. Studley was a librarian at the Newark Public Library. For details about her research findings, see her six-page typescript/handwritten notes titled “Jack Cutjoe or Cutjoe Banquante,” available at the New Jersey Information Center, Newark Public Library

Editorial quote: It is probable that black men of New Jersey went into the conflict at the very first call to arms, for when facilitated by the parting of the ice at McConkey's Ferry Washington crossed the Delaware on that memorable Christmas night, with "mulatto" Oliver Cromwell was there, with others of his race, to take part in the Battle of Trenton the next day. This battle resulted in a victory for the continentals, who took a thousand prisoners from the foe. When describing it Cromwell often said, 'We knocked the British about quite lively' (p. 41).

Editorial quote: The Battle of Monmouth was another contest fought to prevent the British from seizing the City of Brotherly Love In this engagement, and to whom much of its success was due, were over seven hundred black men, standing side by side with the other Americans. They belonged not only to New Jersey but to several other sections of the country (p. 42).

Editorial note: See p. 43 for a statistical return of Black soldiers at the Battle of Monmouth.

Williams, George W. *History of the Negro Race in America from 1619 to 1880: Negroes as Slaves, as Soldiers, and as Citizens, together with a Preliminary Consideration of the Unity of the Human Family, an Historical Sketch of Africa, and an Account of the Negro Governments of Sierra Leone and Liberia.* 2 vols. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1883.

Editorial quote/comment: On September 21, 1781, delegates from North Carolina, Delaware, Connecticut and New Jersey refrained from voting on a bill submitted by a sub-committee to Congress, the text of which reads:

On the recapture by a citizen of any negro, mulatto, Indian, or other person from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed by *another citizen*, specific restitution shall be adjudged to the claimant, whether the original capture shall have been made on land or water, a reasonable salvage being paid by the claimant to the recaptor, not exceeding one-fourth part of the value of such labor or service, to be estimated according to the laws of the State *of which the claimant shall be a citizen*: but if the service of such negro, mulatto, Indian or other person, captured below high-water mark, shall not be legally claimed *by a citizen of these United States*, he shall be set at liberty (p. 374).

Editorial quote: On the 25th of May 1787, the convention to frame the Federal Constitution met in Philadelphia, although the day appointed was the 14th.... The question of congressional appointment was early before them, and there was great diversity of opinion. But, as there was no census, therefore there could be no just appointment until the enumeration of the people was taken. Until that was accomplished, the number of delegates was fixed at sixty-five. ... The Northern States desired representation according to the free inhabitants only; while all of the Southern States, where a great mass of slaves was, wanted representation according to the entire population, bond and free. Some of the Northern delegates urged their view with great force and eloquence. Mr. [William] Patterson of New Jersey said he regarded slaves as mere property. They were not represented in the States: why should they be in the general

government? They were not allowed to vote: why should they be represented? He regarded it as an encouragement to the slave trade. Mr. Wilson of Pennsylvania said, ‘Are they admitted as citizens? then, why not on an equality with citizens? Are they admitted as property? then, why not other property admitted into the computation?’ It was evident that neither extreme view could carry: so the proposition carried to reckon three-fifths of the slaves in estimating taxes, and to make taxation the basis of representation. New Jersey and Delaware voted Nay; Massachusetts and South Carolina were divided; and New York was not represented, her delegates having failed to arrive (p. 417).

Editorial comment: George W. Williams was the first African American member of the Ohio Legislature, and judge advocate of the Grand Army of the Republic of Ohio.

Woodson, Carter. G. “An Important Revolutionary Record of a Negro Soldier.” *The Journal of Negro History* 17, no. 3 (July 1932): 379-381.

Editorial comment: Woodson received the above record from the United States Veterans Administration headquarters in Washington, D.C. He requested because Thomas C. Williams of Manual Training School of New Jersey in Bordentown, N.J. contacted him for information regarding Jacob Francis, a Black New Jerseyan, who served in the Revolutionary War. The Veteran Administration Office’s information was based on data from Revolutionary War claim for pension, W. 459, which reads, in part:

Jacob Francis, a colored man, was born January 15, 1754, in Amwell Township, Hunterdon County New Jersey. His mother, whose name is not given, bound him out and he served several persons. In the spring of 1768, he went to the Island of St. John’s with one Joseph Saxton, to whom he was then bound; from St. John’s he went to Salem, Massachusetts, where he was again sold until his time expired in January 1775, when he became of age. While living in Salem, Massachusetts, he enlisted the last of October, 1775, under the name of Jacob Hulick or Gulick, the name of a man in New Jersey to whom he had once been bound, served as a private in Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent’s Massachusetts Regiment, then in Captain John Wiley’s Company (p. 380).

Wright, Giles R. “Moving Toward Breaking the Chains: Black New Jerseyans and the American Revolution.” In *New Jersey in the American Revolution*. Edited by Barbara J. Mitnick, 113-137. New Brunswick, N.J., and London: Rivergate Books, 2005.

Editorial comment: This chapter examines the impact of the American Revolution on Black lives in New Jersey.

Editorial quote: ... [The] War of Independence can be viewed as instructive in at least two significant ways; both go beyond a chronicling blacks as participants in the war First, the Revolutionary War marked a watershed—a juncture in history by which time several key developments had occurred in New Jersey black life: a large increase in the slave population since its introduction to New Jersey; the emergence of the slave family; the existence of a small free black population; the cultural metamorphosis of Africans into African Americans. Second, the American Revolution can be considered in terms of

its impact on black New Jerseyans. The nature of the war's meaning for this segment of the population in New Jersey is of course part of the conflict's effect on the lives of all northern blacks (pp. 113-114).

Wright, Marion Thompson. "Negro Suffrage in New Jersey, 1776-1875." *The Journal of Negro History*, 33, no. 2 (April 1948): 168-224.

Editorial quote: [Charles H.] Wesley reveals that during the period of the making of the constitution of the federal government and those of the states there was much negligence and confusion concerning the enfranchisement rights of the Negro element of the population. In the haste with which many of these constitutions were drafted, there resulted many vague statements of the qualifications of voters that created doubt as to the real intent of the framers or left loopholes which extended the suffrage to people who had not previously exercised the right of franchise (p. 171).

_____. "New Jersey Laws and the Negro." *The Journal of Negro History* 28, no. 2 (April 1943): 156-172.

Zilversmit, Arthur. "Liberty and Property: New Jersey and the 'Self-Evident Truths.'" In William C. Wright, ed. *New Jersey in the American Revolution: Political and Social Conflict: Papers Presented at the First Annual New Jersey History Symposium, December 6, 1969; held by the New Jersey Historical Commission*. Rev. ed. Trenton, N.J.: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1974.

Editorial quote: Before 1788, the New Jersey legislature refused even to debate a gradual abolition bill; petitions for gradual abolition laws (mostly from Quakers) were merely tabled, without discussion. When gradual abolition finally did come up for serious discussion, in 1790, the assembly concluded that an abolition law was unnecessary since slavery would die a natural death and because 'experience seems to shew that preceptitation [sic] in the matter may do more hurt than good' Of all the possible errors to be made, undue haste was not going to be one of them. As late as 1798 the New Jersey legislature enacted a new stringent slave code and rejected gradual abolition (p. 68).

Editorial quote: To many of those who had fought in the Revolution for their unalienable rights, the idea of holding slaves was odious and the abolition of slavery was an important social goal. Having signed a declaration that 'all men are created equal,' these men could not rest easy in the conscience until slavery was abolished. Yet abolition was only one of several goals that these men envisioned in drafting plans for the new nation. In addition to their concern for human liberty, the founding fathers regarded property rights as absolutely basic for the survival of society. Far from seeing conflict between human rights and property rights, they regarded property as the basis for liberty and political stability. Property was a perquisite for political rights and any law that confiscated property was, therefore, a threat to political security as well as to the well-being of Americans (p. 68-69).

_____. *The First Emancipation: The Abolition of Slavery in the North*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967.

IV. General Sources Referencing Women and Children in Revolutionary New Jersey

Abbot, Thomas G. "The True Molly Pitcher." *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine*, 85 (1951): 28, 34.

Editorial comment/quote: The author of this piece appears to doubt the story about Molly Pitcher. He writes: 'Molly Pitcher,' is, to be sure, a cherished name in American history, being virtually a household word among patriots across the land. However, the simple facts of this great woman's rise have been garbled and colored that today she takes on stature ranging anywhere from Joan of Arc to Annie Oakley. Therefore, in the name of accuracy, let us for once and for all correctly mirror her great courage, her high resolve and, (if a mere male can so state), her very feminine trait of wanting to pitch in and help her husband in the face of peril (p. 28).

Acts of the Council and General Assembly of the State of New Jersey, from the Establishment of the Present Government, and Declaration of Independence, to the End of the First Sitting of the Eighth Session, on the 24th Day of December, 1783; with the Constitution prefixed, to which is Annexed, An Appendix, containing the Articles of Confederation of the United States, & with Two Alphabetical Tables and an Index. Compiled under the Appointment of the Legislature by Peter Wilson, A.M. Trenton, N.J.: Isaac Collins, 1784.

A) An Act for the Relief and Support of Maimed and Disabled Officers, Soldiers and Seamen, and the Widows and Children of such as fall in Battle, or Otherwise Loss their Lives in the Military or Naval Service. Passed June 10, 1779.

Sec. 4.²⁴ And whereas justice requires, that those unfortunate women and children, who have lost or may hereafter lose their husbands or fathers in the service of their country, should receive a compensation in some measure equivalent to the benefits that would have resulted to them from the care and maintenance of such husbands and fathers; BE IT THEREFORE ENACTED by the Authority aforesaid, that the widow of every commissioned officer, non-commissioned officer or private of the regular forces or militia of this State, and the widow of every commander of any ship of war or armed vessel, commissioned Officer, Warrant Officer, Marine or Seaman, being as inhabitants of this State, who, since²⁵the nineteenth day of April, One thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy-five, has fallen, or hereafter shall fall, in battle, or otherwise lose his life while in the service of this State, or of the United States, shall receive, during her widowhood, one half of the monthly pay of her husband from the time of his death; and where such Officer, non-commissioned Officer or Private of the land or naval forces, or militia of this State, in the service of the United States, shall not leave a widow, but shall leave an orphan child or children under the age of eight years, such child or children collective

²⁴ The Resolution of Congress recommending this measure, were published after the passing of this Act.

²⁵ The date of the first action between the Americans and British.

shall be entitled to receive one half of the monthly pay of their father until the respectively attain the age of eight years, at which age they shall cease to be entitled to such allowance, or any part thereof (see p. 90-91):

Editorial comment: Widow or children entitled to half pay.

Sec. 5. Provided always, and it is hereby enacted, that no Widows or Widow, Child or Children, shall be entitled to a Warrant to receive any Half-pay or other Allowance by this Act, unless a Certificate be produced to the Court of Quarter-Sessions in the County where such Widow or orphan Child or Children may reside, by or in Behalf of such Widow, Child or Children, from the Commanding Officer of the Regiment, Battalion, Ship of War or armed Vessel, Corps, Company or Detachment in which the Husband of such Widow, or Father of such orphan Child or Children served, or to which he belonged at the time of his decease, and from the Surgeon who attended him; or in case of the Death of such Commanding Officer, from some other Officer of the same Corps, or from some commissioned Officer on Board such Ship of War or armed Vessel, particularly specifying the Name of the person so killed, and of the Regiment, Company, Ship of War or armed Vessel to which he belonged, his Office, Rank or Department therein, and in what Action or Engagement he lost his Life (p. 91):

Editorial comment: Widow or children not to be entitled to a Warrant unless a certificate be produced from the Commanding Officer, etc.

Sec. 6. Provided nevertheless, that if such land or sea Officer or Private of the regular Forces or Militia, Marine or Seaman, shall have died in Captivity, or if any other like accident may have rendered it impracticable to procure a Certificate in the regular form as above-directed in this Act, it shall and may be lawful for the said Court of General Quarter-Sessions to admit as satisfactory, and accordingly to register a Certificate under the Hands of any two or more credible persons who were Whiteness to the fact, and attested by their Oaths or Affirmations before any Justice of the Peace of any county in this State, setting forth the time, place and manner, of the Death of such Officer, Soldier or Seaman, with such other attendant circumstances as may be of use to ascertain the right of such widow, child or children, to the relief made and given by this Act. (See p. 91).

Editorial comment: Any officer, etc. dying in captivity, etc. a certificate to be admitted under the hands of some credible persons, attested by their Oaths.

Sec. 7. Provided also, and it is hereby further enacted, that every such widow, or some person, on her behalf, or on the behalf of such child or children, shall produce to the said Court of Quarter-Sessions a certificate from two or more Justices of the Peace, or from the Overseers of the Poor and two or more other respectable persons of the township, precinct or ward in which such widow, child or children respectively have a legal settlement, or do inhabit or reside, that such widow was in their belief the lawful wife and is the real widow, and that such child or children was or were the child or children of such land or naval officer or soldier, marine or seaman, born in lawful wedlock, and such child or children is or are under the age eight years (see p. 91-92).

Editorial comment: Justices to certify that the lawful wife of such officer.

Anon. "Irish Molly Pitcher." *American Catholic Historical Researches*. New Series, vol. 5, no. 4 (October 1909): 379-382.

Editorial comment/quote: The author of this piece, J. Zeaner of Carlisle, PA, casts unambiguous doubt on the identity and exploits of Molly Pitcher when he concludes: 'The story of Molly Pitcher's exploit at the battle of Monmouth is a pure fiction, for there is not anywhere the slightest corroboration for it.'

Nevertheless, a 'Molly Pitcher' who is alleged to have carried water to the soldiers at Monmouth and so got the name 'Pitcher' and for whom it is claimed took the gun (cannon) of her husband after his death, loaded it and discharged it at the British, has a popular existence though she cannot be proven to have acted as claimed (p. 381).

Few battles of the Revolution have had the minutest incidents recited as has that of Monmouth. The late general Stryker, who compiled all the available information regarding the battle said he could not find a word about Moll Pitcher (381).

William Nelson, Esq., Corresponding Secretary of the New Jersey Historical Society, the best informed of men concerning New Jersey events, never attached any importance to the story regarding it as one of those myths which have prevailed in all countries and in all ages (p. 381).

Anon. "Molly Pitcher at Monmouth." *Spirit of '76*, vol. 1 (1894/1895): 209.

American Association of University Women, New Jersey Division. *Ladies at the Crossroads: Eighteenth-century Women of New Jersey. A Public Service Project of New Jersey Division, American Association of University Women*. Project Director, Virginia M. Lytle; Co-editors, Shirley J. Horner, Sally S. Minshall, Jeanne H. Watson; illus. and Design, Doreen J. Utman. Morristown, N.J, 1978.

Armstrong, William C. *The Battles in the Jerseys and the Significance of Each*. Published by The New Jersey Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, May 16, 1916.

Editorial comment: A photo of a painting depicting Molly Pitcher at Monmouth (p. 16).

Barton, William. The American Revolution. A "Diversion." "... A Young Lad Wanted to Enlist ... He was Suspected ... that he was a She" and "the Discovery by Pulling the Teats of a Plump Young Girl ..." An Original Manuscript in the Sol Feinstone Collection of the American Revolution ... 1778. Location: New Jersey Historical Society Npf 287.

Editorial comment: The above cited incident was reported to have occurred in Newark, N.J., where Lieutenant Barton was involved in recruiting for the New Jersey Line.

Beavers, Rosemary. *Women and War in New Jersey 1776-1781: A Bibliography*. Washington,

D.C., 1976.

Editorial comment: A George Washington student project, of about sixty titles, part New Jersey.

Beck, Henry Charlton. *Fare to Midlands: Forgotten Towns of Central New Jersey*. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, 1939.

Editorial comment: Contents include “Jersey to Jersey: Two Molly Pitchers” (pp. 426-436).

_____. *The Jersey Midlands*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1962. First published 1939 by E. P. Dutton & Company.

Editorial comment: Contents include “Jersey to Jersey: Two Molly Pitchers” (pp. 426-436).

Biddle, Edward William. Historical Addresses at Carlisle, PA. 1. At Unveiling of Molly Pitcher Monument, June 2, 1916. 2. In First Presbyterian Church, July 4, 1915. Published under the auspices of the Hamilton Library Association, 1916.

Boggs, Lawrence. “The Cornelia (Bell) Paterson Letters.” *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, New Series, vol. 15, no. 4 (October 1930): 508-517, continued serially through vol. 16 (1931): 186-201.

Editorial comment: Correspondence, 1777-1784, from Cornelia to her brother Andrew Bell (Loyalist), and others from Andrew to her, containing allusions to the Revolutionary War. Andrew’s sister married William Paterson in 1779. William was a prominent lawyer, later New Jersey Governor and Associate Justice of U.S. Supreme Court.

Booth, Sally Smith. *The Women of '76*. Second edition. New York: Hasting House Publishers, 1976.

Editorial quote: The continentals had not finished their winter offensive and soon moved out again accompanied by 3,000 militia who had joined the force. Margaret Morris, a Quaker living in Burlington, New Jersey, was a witness to the activities of this second maneuver. Born in Maryland in 1737, Margaret was the widow of a Philadelphia merchant. She had moved to Burlington in 1770 to raise her four children near the meeting house of her missionary brother-in-law. Margaret, mistress of Green Bank, the former home of Royal Governor William Franklin, watched the troops come to and go from battle. In her diary, the sensitive woman carefully noted their conditions and reactions to the war (p. 111).

Bray, Harriet. *The Little Red Gown: A True Story*. Matawan, N.J.: Jacob A. Lewis, Law Printer and Stationer, 1901.

Editorial comment: This publication was presented, in its manuscript format, before the Monmouth County Historical Association on October 26, 1899. It focuses on the experience of Marry Stillwell and several enslaved members of her family at the time of the Battle of Monmouth (p. 13, 15-16).

Brush, Theodore V. "Sussex County's Loyalist Heroine." *North Jersey Highlander* 9, no. 3 (Fall 1973): 23025.

Editorial comment: A reference to a Nancy Nevil.

Burke, Aalice. "Moll Pitcher." *American Monthly Magazine* 13 (1898): 418-426.

Editorial comment: Fictionalized narrative.

Case, Wheeler. *Revolutionary Memorials, Embracing Poems by the Rev. Wheeler Case, published in 1778, and an Appendix, Containing General Burgoyne's Proclamation, (in burlesque) dated June 23, 1777—A Late Authentic Account of the Death of Miss Jane M'Crea—the American Hero, a Sapphic Ode, by Nat. Niles, A.M., etc. Edited by the Rev. Stephen Dodd of East Haven.* New York: M. W. Dodd, 1852.

Editorial quote: 'The tragical death of Miss Jane M'Crea, who was scalped and inhumanely butchered by a scouting party of Burgoyne's army, on his towards Albany' (p. 38).

'The name of Rev. James M'Crea occurs as a minister received into the Presbyterian church in the year 1739, and settled at 'Lamberton,' in New Jersey' (p. 57).

Cochran, Jean Carter. "Tempe Wicke Rides: A Legend of Jockey Hollow." *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine*, 88 (1954): 1236.

Editorial comment: Poetry

Collins, William. "Captain Molly at Monmouth." Harlan Hoyt, Horner. *The American Flag*. Albany, NY: 1910, p. 98.

_____. "Molly Maguire at Monmouth." In *Poems of American Patriotism*. Edited by Brander Matthews, 58-62. New York, 1882.

_____. "Molly Maguire at Monmouth." *The Patriotic Anthology*. New York, c.1941: 39-42.

Condict, Jemima. *Jemima Condict, Her Book; Being a Transcript of the Diary of an Essex County Maid During the Revolutionary War*. Newark, N.J.: The Carteret Club, 1930.

Editorial quote: Saturday, October first 1774. It seems we have troublesome time a coming for there is great Disturbance a Broad in the earth & they say it is tea that caused

it. So then if they will Quarrel about such a trifling thing as that What must we expect
But war & I think or at least fear it will be so (pp. 36-37).

DePauw, Linda Grant. *Fortunes of War: New Jersey Women and the American Revolution*. New Jersey's Revolutionary Experience, No. 26. Trenton, N.J.: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1975.

Editorial quote: Married women had no legal control over their property. Unmarried women 'old maids' —oftentimes were subject to ridicule or pity, and rarely achieved economic success without the help of a husband, father or brother. They could hold only the meanest public offices – sexton, jailkeeper, or at best, public printer. Under such circumstances, why should women care about who ruled the country? In the colony of New Jersey from 1775 on, women cared very much. They cared because they experienced the war directly, and because they cared they participated fully in the struggle for independence (p. 5).

The women of revolutionary New Jersey were vulnerable than the men. Especially when left alone on the farm with small children, they could not afford the luxury of taking a stand for some abstract principle or even for a concrete long-term advantage. They directed their political actions toward insuring their own day-to-day survival. In the catastrophic confusion of war it was difficult to judge the most prudent line of conduct. Women did the best they could (p. 12).

Deshler, Charles Dunham. *Woman's Influence in the Revolutionary Times*. New Brunswick, N.J., 1898.

Editorial comment: An Address Delivered before the New Brunswick Historical Club, October 20, 1898. Manuscript. Accompanied by a typescript.

Dodyk, Delight W. "Troublesome Times A-Coming: The American Revolution and New Jersey Women." In *New Jersey in the American Revolution*. Edited by Barbara J. Mitnick, 139-150. New Brunswick, N.J. and London: Rivergate Books, 2005.

Editorial comment: This is an invaluable chapter on the Revolutionary era experience of women in New Jersey.

Dowd, Gregory Evans. "Declaration of Independence: War and Inequality in Revolutionary New Jersey, 1776-1815." *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, 103, nos. 1-2 (Spring/Summer 1985): 46-67.

Editorial comment: This article focuses on how 'white, male, republican writers and activists' reconciled 'their revolutionary ideals with their customary disregard of the equal rights' of Blacks, women, and Indians.

An illustration reads: ‘Hannah Ogden Caldwell, the wife of the Rev. James Caldwell was killed at Connecticut Farms (now Union), by invading British troops in June 1780.’ The image is credited to the New Jersey Historical Society (p. 54).

Downey, Fairfax Davis. “Molly Pitcher: Hardboiled Heroine.” *American Mercury* 48 (1939): 187-190.

_____. “The Girls Behind the Guns.” *American Heritage* 8, no. 1 (December 1956): 46-48.

Draper, Bell Merrill. “The First Woman Pensioned by the United States.” *Daughters of the American Magazine* 65 (1931): 19-25.

Editorial comment: Correspondence, etc. concerning the services of Widow Elizabeth Burgin (Bergen?), in November 1779 at Elizabeth Town, on behalf of American prisoners and her need for financial assistance.

Evans, Elizabeth. “Heroines All: The Plight of Women at War in America, 1776-1778.” In *Conflict at Monmouth Court House: Proceedings of a Symposium Commemorating the Two-Hundredth Anniversary of the Battle of Monmouth, April 8, 1978*. Symposium sponsored by the Monmouth County Historical Association, Monmouth County Heritage Commission, and the New Jersey Historical Commission. Edited by Mary R. Murrin and Richard Waldron, 23-28. Trenton, N.J., 1983.

Editorial quote: Elizabeth Evans depicts the rigors by the women who accompanied both armies from the beginning of the war to the battle of Monmouth. These women performed duties both military—witness any number of Molly Pitchers—and nonmilitary. They included representatives of every social stratum, from titled wives of *Hessian generals to laundresses who starved and froze with the Continentals at Valley Forge* (p. 8).

_____. *Weathering the Storm: Women of the American Revolution*. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1975.

Editorial comment: Two New Jersey related diaries and journals that are published in this book are those of Jemima Condict Harrision (of present-day West Orange) and Margaret Hill Morris (of Burlington).

Field, Mary Peale. “A Recently Discovered Letter of the American Revolution. Introduction by Carl Von Doren.” *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 4 (1942/1943): 113-122.

Editorial comment: Mrs. Field, of ‘Whitehill’ (near Bordentown, N.J.), relates her experiences with Hessian and British soldiers, December 8, 1777, through January 12, 1777 (date of the letter to her sister) Mrs. Grace Peale Parr in Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

Franklin, Elizabeth. “Copy of a Letter from Mrs. Eliza Franklin, Wife of Governor William

Franklin of New Jersey, to Her Sister-in-law, Mrs. Sarah Bache.” *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, 2nd ser., vol. 5, no. 3 (1878): 127-128.

Editorial comment: The letter was dated Amboy [N.J.], February 5, 1776.

Fridlington, Robert. “A ‘Diversion’ in Newark: A Letter from the New Jersey Continental Line, 1778.” *New Jersey History* 105, no. 1-2 (Spring/Summer, 1987): 75-78.

Editorial comment/quote: The said letter describes the author’s encounter with a young woman in Newark, N.J. who had disguised herself as a man in order to enlist in the American army. The letter, written by Lieutenant William Barton in Elizabethtown on November 17, 1778, reports that the said young woman dressed as a man and attempted to enlist in the First Continental Army as a soldier. She was revealed as ‘A Plump Young Girl, which caused Great diversion [sic]’ and drummed out of the Town of Newark.

Fuller, Ada Davenport. “A Forgotten Heroine. How the News of Arnold’s Treason was Given to Washington by a Woman.” *Spirit of ’76*, vol. 6 (1899/1900): 85.

Gilman, Charles Malcolm Brookfield. “Mary Ludwig (Capt. Molly Pitcher), Huguenot; Heroine of the American Revolution.” *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine* 94 (1960): 425-426, 468.

_____. “Mary Ludwig, Huguenot, Heroine of the American Revolution.” In *The Huguenot Migration in Europe and America*. Edited by Charles Malcolm Brookfield Gilman. Red Bank, N.J.: c1962.

_____. “Molly Pitcher—Mary Ludwig, the Huguenot Heroine of the American Revolutionary War.” National Huguenot Society. *Proceedings* 16 (1959): 97-101.

Green, Harry Clinton, and Mary Wolcott Green. *The Pioneer Mothers of America; a Record of the More Notable Women of the Early Days of the Country, and Particularly of the Colonial and Revolutionary Periods*. 3 vols. New York and London: G. P. Putman’s 1912.

Editorial comment: The texts include sketches of Sarah (Livingston) Alexander, Hannah (White) Arnett, Hannah (Ogden) Caldwell, Sarah (Hatfield) Clark, Esther (Fleming) Lowrey, Annis (Boudinot) Stockton, Elizabeth (Montgomery) Witherspoon, Ann (Borden) Hopkinson, Deborah (Scudder) Hart, Mary (Henry) Honeyman, Susannah (French) Livingston, Ann (Cooper) Whitall (Whiteall), and Molly Pitcher.

Hall, Marjory. “Molly Meets the General: Two Patriots of the American Revolution.” *Plays* 30, no. 5 (February 1971): 47-54, 64.

Editorial comment: The article is about Molly Pitcher and George Washington.

“Half-pay to Hunterdon County Families of the Revolution—1780-1796.” *Proceedings of the*

New Jersey Historical Society. New Series, vol. 13, no. 2 (April 1928): 190-199.

Editorial comment/quote: The text contains ‘quotations from certificates submitted in behalf of twelve applicants, widows and children of soldiers who had died in military service.’

Editorial quote: By an Act of the Legislature of New Jersey passed June 10, 1779, one-half monthly pay could be granted to the widows and children of New Jersey soldiers killed or wounded in the service of the United States (p. 190).

Hartley, Louise. “Esther Fleming Lowrey, a Lady Diplomat.” *National Historical Magazine* 75, no. 2 (February 1941): 22-24.

Editorial comment: Mrs. Esther Fleming Lowrey (b. 1739) was wife of Col. Thomas Lowrey. The text is part of Louise Hartley’s series, ‘Through the Year with Feminine Revolutionists.’

Holdich, Herietta Howard. “Hannah Arnett.” *American Monthly Magazine* 12 (1898): 1008-1013.

Editorial comment: This piece was first published in the *Washington Post* in 1890. The writer, Herientta Howard Holdich was a great-grand-niece of Hannah Arnett.

_____. “Hannah Arnett Faith.” *Spirit of ’76*, vol. 4 (1897/1898): 102.

Editorial quote: ‘Mrs. Isaac Arnett opposes acceptance of protection offered by the British, debated by her husband and other Elizabethtown residents in December 1776.’

Hover, Edith Hopkins. “Women of the Revolution are Remembered in New Jersey D.A.R. Chapter Names.” *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine* 86 (1952):1283-1284.

Howell, Ann Frances (Smith). “A New Jersey Heroine. By Mrs. Henry B. Howell, Great Granddaughter of Ann Halsted.” *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine* 45 (1914): 339.

Editorial comment: A short account of an event near Elizabeth, New Jersey.

Hunter, Eleanor A. “An Original Poem by Eleanor Hunter, on Her Great-great-grandmother, Rhoda Farrand.” *American Monthly Magazine* 5 (1894): 173-176.

Editorial comment: Rhoda Farrand was the wife of a ‘Parsifanny’ (Parsippany) farmer. She organized a stocking-knitting project for the benefit of needy soldiers.

Hunter, Eleanor A. “Ode to Rhoda Farrand.” Charles M. ToeLeaer. *Bridging the years in Denville*. Denville, N.J.: 1963: 17-19.

Jackson, John. *Margaret Morris: Her Journal with Biographical Sketch and Notes*. Philadelphia: George S. MacManus Company, 1949.

Jones, Chester Neville. "Pension List of Widows of Revolutionary Soldiers Living in New Jersey. Compiled from the Original Index in the Bureau of Pensions at Washington, D.C., by Chester Neville Jones" *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey* 3 (1927/1928): 129-134, continued serially through vol. 4 (1928/1929): 73-78.

Keim, de Benneville Randolph. "Heroines of the Revolution: Mary Ludwig Hays, the Heroine of 'Monmouth,' and Margaret Cochran Corbin, the Heroine of Fort Washington." *Journal of American History* 16 (1922): 31-35.

Landis, John B. "Investigation into American Tradition of Woman Known as 'Molly Pitcher.' Historical Evidence that the American Heroine was Mary Ludwig, the Daughter of an Emigrant from the Palatinate. Proof that She was Born in New Jersey, 1754, and Removed to Pennsylvania, Where She Married John Casper Hays, in 1769, and Later Became the Wife of George McAuley, Another Revolutionary Soldier." *Journal of American History* 5 (1911): 81-96.

_____. *A Short History of Molly Pitcher, the Heroine of the Battle of Monmouth, Together with an Account of the Ceremonies Incident to the Unveiling of the Cannon Planted Over Her Grave in the Old Graveyard in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, by the Patriotic Order of Sons of America, on June 28, 1905*. Printed for the District of Cumberland County, P. O. S. of Pennsylvania, 1905. Carlisle, PA.: The Cornman Printing, 1905.

Lee, Thomas Zanslaur. "Three 'Molly Pitchers.' One was Surely Irish." *American Irish Historical Society Journal* 9 (1910): 488-490.

Lockwood, Mary (Smith). "The Story of Hannah Arnett. By Mrs. Mary S. Lockwood. Extracts from Her Letter to the Washington Post, July 13, 1890." *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine* 47 (1915): 34-36.

Longman, Phillip. "A Legend in Her Own Town. Whatever Tempe Wick Did, the People of Morristown Admire Her for It." *New Jersey Monthly* 8, no. 9 (July 1983): 57-58.

McGeorge, Isabella (Crater). "A New Jersey Heroine of the Revolution." *American Monthly Magazine* 17 (1990): 409-415.

McKnight, Mary Morin (Scott). "The Alarms of War. By Doris H. Hamilton." *Hobbies* 62, no. 8 (October 1957): 108-109.

Editorial comment: The article reflects on letters of Mary Litchfield, July 24 and August 25, 1776, from Springfield and Elizabethtown respectively.

Messler, Abraham. *Centennial History of Somerset County*. By Abraham Messler, D.D. Somerville: C. M. Jameson, Publisher, 1878.

Editorial comment: Pages 121-125 focuses on ‘The ladies in the Revolution.’

_____. *First Things in Old Somerset: A Collection of Articles Relating to Somerset County, N. J. Revised to date of Publication, including Sketches of Washington Rock, Chimney Rock, and a List of the Freeholders in Somerset County in 1790.* Somerville, N.J.: The Somerville Publishing Company Steam Power Printing House, 1899.

Editorial comment: A section of the book titled “The Ladies in the Revolution”

Methmann, Mrs. Hugo. “An Ancestral Miniature.” *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine* 87 (1953): 18, 157.

Morris, Ira K. *Recollections of Old Camp Vredenburg and an Incident of the Battle of Monmouth. Southern Agents in Freehold and Margaret Rue.* Freehold, N.J. Monmouth Democrat, 1905.

_____. *The Two Molly Pitchers. A Brace of Heroines Who have Long Puzzled Historians. An Effort to Unravel the Mystery of a Century.* Freehold, N. J.: Monmouth Democrat Print, 1916.

_____. *Private Journal Kept During a Portion of the Revolutionary War, for the Amusement for the sister of Burlington, N.J.* Philadelphia: Privately printed, 1836.

Editorial comment: This relates an account of military events, reports, and personal experiences, December 6, 1776, through June 14, 1777. The writer of the journal was a Quaker, residing at Burlington.

_____. “A Tory Lady in the Revolution. Extracts From the Journal of Margert Hill Morris.” In *The Burlington Smiths: A Family History.* Edited by Richard Morris Smith, 169-183. Philadelphia: E. Stanley Hart, 1877.

_____. “Private Journal Kept During a Portion of the Revolutionary War, for the Amusement for the Sister. By Margaret Morris, of Burlington, N.J.” In *Letters of Doctor Richard Hill and His Children.* Edited by John Jay Smith, 207-237. Philadelphia, 1854.

_____. “The Revolutionary Journal of Margaret Morris, of Burlington, N.J., December 6, 1776, to June 11, 1778.” *Bulletin of Friend’s Historical Society of Philadelphia* 9 (May 1919/1920): 2-14, 65-75, 103-114.

_____. *Margaret Morris, Her Journal. With Biographical Sketch and Notes by John W. Jackson.* Philadelphia: George S. MacManus Company, 1949.

_____. *Private Journal Kept During a Portion of the Revolutionary War, for the Amusement for the Sister. By Margaret Morris, of Burlington, N.J.* Philadelphia: Privately printed, 1865.

Museum of American Revolution. “When Women Lost the Vote: A Revolutionary Story, 1776-1807.” <https://www.amrevmuseum.org/virtualexhibits/when-women-lost-the-vote-a-revolutionary-story>.

Editorial quote: Women voted in Revolutionary America, over a hundred years before the United States Constitution guaranteed that right to women.

The New Jersey State Constitution referred to voters as ‘they,’ and statutes passed in 1790 and 1797 defined voters as ‘he or she.’ This opened the electorate to free property owners, Black and white, male and female, in New Jersey. This lasted until 1807, when a new state law said only white men could vote.

Nell, William C. *The Colored Patriots of the American Revolution, with Sketches of Several Distinguished Colored Persons: To Which is Added a Brief Survey of the Condition and Prospects of Colored Americans. With an Introduction by Harriet Beecher Stowe.* Boston: Robert F. Wallcut, 1855.

Editorial comment: This publication contains information on New Jersey patriots of African ancestry, including Oliver Cromwell, Samuel Carlton, and Hagar (pp. 160-165).

Hagar was reported to be ‘an old colored woman,’ born enslaved in Newark, New Jersey, and was raised in Stamford, CT. Her exact age was unknown, but she was believed – based on the ‘most reliable data’ – to have died in the upward of 100 years old. ‘During the Revolutionary War, Hagar was a cook in Weed’s Tavern, and her husband, George Dykins, was hostler in the same establishment. Hagar used to relate, that she once cooked a dinner for General Washington, when he stopped at the tavern, on his way to Cambridge, Massachusetts, the headquarters of the American army, in June, 1775. On the same occasion, Washington presented to her husband a silver dollar for his name’s sake’ (p. 163-164).

For further information, see “Death of a Centenarian,” *Columbian Register* (New Haven, CT), August 5, 1854. Also, see a version of this news report in the *New York-Dispatch* (NY), August 5, 1854, p1 c8.

Nervets, S. D. “Historic Characters—Souvenirs of the Revolution.” *Potter’s American Monthly* 9 (1877): 33-81.

Editorial comment: The article contains an account of Revolutionary War surgeon, Charles McKnight (1750-1791) and 1776 letters of Mrs. Mary Litchfield (later married to Charles McKnight), dated Springfield, N.J., July 24, and Elizabeth, N.J., August 25, to Anne Van Horne.

New Jersey Women’s History. “Memorial Honoring the Patriotic Dead, Especially Hannah White Arnett (1733-1823.” <https://njwomenshistory.org/memorial-honoring-patriotic-dead-especially-hannah-white-arnett-1733-1823/>.

Editorial comment: The memorial was erected in 1938 in the cemetery of the First Presbyterian Church, Elizabeth, New Jersey, by the Boudinot Chapter of the Daughter of the American Revolution.

Norton, Mary Beth. "The Fate of Some Black Loyalists of the American Revolution." *Journal of Negro History* LVIII (1973): 402-426.

_____. *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800*. Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1980.

Editorial comment: The author touches on the experiences of women (including enslaved Black women) in the country during the revolutionary period. She touches on the experiences of women in New Jersey, including the raping of young girls in Princeton, Hopewell, and in Hunterdon County, by British soldiers (pp. 202-203).

Olney, Henry. "America's Greatest War Heroine. Her Name was Mary Ludwig Hays, but They Called her Molly Pitcher; It was at the Battle of Monmouth that She Achieved Fame." *National Republic* 14, no. 6 (1926): 14-15.

Patriotic Order of the Sons of America. *A Short History of Molly Pitcher: The Heroine of the Battle of Monmouth*. Printed for the District of Cumberland County P.O.S. of Pennsylvania. Common Printing Company, 1905.

Perrine, William Davison. *Molly Pitcher of Monmouth County, New Jersey, and Captain Molly of Fort Washington, New York, 1778-1937*. Princeton Junction, N.J.: 1937.

Editorial comment: This is a 3-page pamphlet.

_____. *Molly Pitcher of Monmouth County, New Jersey, and Captain Molly of Fort Washington, New York, 1778-1938*. Princeton Junction, N.J.: 1937.

Editorial comment: This is a 3-page pamphlet.

_____. *Molly Pitcher of Monmouth County, New Jersey, and Captain Molly of Fort Washington, New York, 1778 to 1957*. Freehold, N.J.: 1958.

_____. *Molly Pitcher of Monmouth County, New Jersey, and Captain Molly of Fort Washington, New York, 1778 to 1960*. Freehold, N.J.: 1960.

Pumpelly, Josiah Collins. "A Little Girl's Letter." *The Patriot* 2 (1915/1917): 169-170.

Editorial comment: Letitia Wright, near Orange Mountain, leaves a note (dated 1780) asking British troops not to destroy her house.

_____. "Some of the Women Who Skillfully Planned and Heroically Suffered in the

Revolution for the Cause of American Independence.” *Americana*, vol. 10 (1915): 647-559, continued serially through vol. 11 (1916): 281-284.

Individual sketches include “Hannah Arnett of Elizabethtown” (vol. 10, p. 648-649) and “Hannah Caldwell of New Jersey Who Gave Her Life for the Cause” (vol. 11, p. 227-229).

Remnitz, Virginia Yeaman. “A Strange Hiding Place” A True Story of the Revolution.” *Blue and Gray* 3 (1894): 115-119.

Editorial comment: Text includes the experience of Tempe Wick, near Morristown, during the Morristown encampment of 1779-1780 and a drawing of the house.

Richards, Laura Elizabeth (Howe). “Molly Pitcher.” *St. Nicholas* 27 (1899/1900): 718-719.

Rome, Ellen. “Molly Pitcher.” *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine* 109 (1975): 903-905.

Editorial comment: Ohio school girl’s essay

Rothchild, Zeta. “Three Girls of ’76.” *The Mentor* 15, no. 6 (July 1927): 32-35.

Salter, Edwin. “Molly Pitcher.” Monmouth County Historical Association. *Newsletter* 2, no. 2 (January 1974): 1

Schultz, George Winterhalter. “Molly Pitcher—Heroine of Monmouth.” *The Picket Post*, no. 46 (October 1954): 19-20.

Sherman, Edith (Bishop). “The Ride of Tempe Wick.” *St. Nicholas* 63, no. 9 (July 1936): 40-43.

Sinclair, Donald Arleigh. *The American Revolution and New Jersey: A Bibliography*. Compiled by Donald Arleigh Sinclair and Grace W. Schut, with Much Help from Catherine M. Fogarty and Robert Blackwell. New Brunswick, N.J.: Special Collections and University Archives, Rutgers University Libraries, 1995.

Smith, Samuel Stelle. “Molly Pitcher’s Well Discovered.” Monmouth County Historical Association. *Newsletter* 6, no. 2 (1978): 1-2.

_____. “The Search for Molly Pitcher.” *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine* 109 (1975): 292-295.

Stephens, Rosemary. “The Story of Tempe Wick.” *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine* 94 (1960): 696, 767, 769.

Editorial comment: Tempe Wick of Morris County, N.J. hid her horse from the Pennsylvanian mutineers.

Stryker-Rodda, Harriet May (Mott). "Militia Women of 1780, Monmouth County, New Jersey." *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine*, 113 (1979): 308-312.

Editorial comment: Contents include a copy of "Classed Return" of Captain James Green's Company, which lists several women among male soldiers.

Stuckert, Beatrice Evelyn (Stackhouse), comp. *New Jersey Women Through the Years: A Bibliography of the Great and Less Great Who Contributed to Our History from Its Beginning to the Present*. Trenton, N.J.: New Jersey State Teachers College, 1941., vols. v-viii.

Editorial comment: Chapter 2: "New Jersey Women Who Aided in the Struggle for Independence" includes sketches of Molly Pitcher, Hannah Arnett, Mrs. Borden, Mary Comly, Ann Whitehall (Whithall), and Mrs. Chandler.

Surviving Widows of Certain Officers of the Army of the Revolution. "... The Memorial of the Subscribers, in Behalf of Themselves and Others, Surviving Widows of Certain Officers of the Army of the Revolution." *Memorial of the Officers of the Revolutionary War Who Served Prior to March 1780* (21st Cong., 2d sess. House. Rept., No. 4, read Dec. 17, 1830): 3-4.

Editorial comment/quote: To the honorable the Senate and the honorable the House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled.

The four signers: Mary S. Hunter, Widow of Andrew Hunter, Chaplain of General Maxwell's brigade ... Susanna Armstrong, Widow of James F. Armstrong, Chaplain in Maryland Line. Susan Dayton, Widow of the late Jonathan Dayton ... Captain and Paymaster in the 3d New Jersey regiment ... Sarah Cumming, Widow of the late John N. Cumming, who was Lieutenant Colonel of the 2d New Jersey regiment.

Tholl, Claire (Koch). "The Career of Claudius Smith." *North Jersey Highlander* 4, no. 3 (Fall 1968): 3-14.

Editorial comment: Text includes 'A Quaker's Daughter in a Night of Terror (from an Old Newspaper Account.'

Trenton, N.J. Ladies. The Ladies of Trenton, in New Jersey, Emulating the Noble Example of Their Patriotic Sisters of Pennsylvania, and Being Desirous of Matching Their Zeal in the Glorious Cause of American Liberty, Having this Day Assembled for the Purpose of Prop[—]ing a Subscription for the Relief and Encouragement of Those Brave Men in the Continental Army ... Have ... Unanimously Appointed Mrs. Dickinson, Mrs. Cox, Mrs. Furman and Miss Cadwallader, a Committee, Whose Duty It Shall be Immediately to Open Subscriptions Trenton, 1780.

Editorial comment: The text followed by a blank column of “Subscribers Names” and “Dollars.” The three married ladies were probably Mary Dickinson (Mrs. Philemon), Esther Cox (Mrs. John), Sarah Furman (Mrs. Moore Furman).

The original published version of the article appears in *The New Jersey Gazette* (Trenton, N.J.), July 5, 1780, p.3c2-3. See also a published version in William Nelson, *Documents Relating to the Revolutionary History of the State of New Jersey, Vol. IV: Extracts from American Newspapers relating to New Jersey, November 1, 1779-September 30, 1780* (Trenton, N.J. State Gazette Publishing, 1914), 486-488.

Turner, E. Raymond and Abel A. Heloise. *Women’s Suffrage in New Jersey, 1790-1807*. Smith College Studies in History. Edited by John Spencer Bassett and Sydney Bradshaw Fay. Northampton, M.A.: Department of History of Smith College, 1916.

Van Loan, Elizabeth. “Monmouth Militant Molly.” *Suburban Life* (June/July 1960): 52-53.

Wallace, Maude Orita. “Sergeant Moly.” *National Historical Magazine* 77 (1943): 596-597.

Wilson, James Grant. “Memorials of Andrew Kirkpatrick, and His Wife Jane Bayard. New York: Privately printed for Mrs. Dr. Samuel B. How, 1870.

Wing, Conway Phelps. “Moll Pitcher.” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 3 (1879): 109-110.

V. New Jersey Legislative Acts Referencing Native Americans, 1775-1810

New Jersey. *Acts of the Council and General Assembly of the State of New Jersey, from the Establishment of the Present Government, and Declaration of Independence, to the End of the First Sitting of the Eighth Session, on the 24th Day of December 1783; with the Constitution Prefixed, to which is Annexed, an Appendix, Containing the Articles of Confederation of the United States, &c. with Two Alphabetical Tables and an Index. Compiled under the Appointment of the Legislature by Peter Wilson, A.M.* Trenton, N.J.: Isaac Collins, 1784.

- A) **Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode Island and Province Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, Agreed to in the General Congress, November 15, 1777, and Completed by the Subscription and Ratification of the Delegates of Maryland, March 1, 1781** (see Appendix 11, p. 23).

ART. 6. No State ... shall engage in any War without the Consent of the United States in Congress assembled, unless such State be actually invaded by Enemies, or shall have received certain Advice of a Resolution being formed by some **Nation of Indians** to invade such State, and the Danger is so imminent as not to admit of a Delay, till the United States in Congress assembled can be consulted ... (pp. 24-25).

ART. 9. The United States in Congress assembled, shall have the sole and exclusive Right and Power of ... regulating the Alloy and Value of Coin struck by their own Authority, or by that of the respective States—fixing the Standard of Weights and Measures throughout the United States—regulating the Trade and managing all Affairs with the Indians, not Members of any of the States ... (pp. 25-26).

- B) **An Act to Authorize the Delegates Representing this State, in the Congress of the United States, to Ratify an Alteration in One of the Articles of Confederation. Passed June 17, 1783 (p. 333?)**

Whereas it has been recommended by Congress to the several States in Union, to authorize their respective Delegates to subscribe and ratify an Alteration in the eighth of the Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union; and as the Reasons urged by Congress appear to make the Alteration recommended necessary; Therefore

SEC. 2. AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED, That it shall and may be lawful for the Delegates representing this State in the Congress of the United States, and they are hereby required to subscribe and ratify the following as Part of the said Instrument of Union, and in Place of the Part revoked and made void, *to wit* That all Charges of War, and all other Expenses that have been, or shall be incurred for the common Defense or general Welfare, and allowed by the United States in Congress assembled, except so far as shall be otherwise provided for, shall be defrayed out of a common Treasury, which

shall be supplied by the several States in Proportion to the whole Number of White and other free Citizens and Inhabitants of every Age, Sex and Condition, including those bound to Servitude for a Term of Years, and three-fifths of all other Persons not comprehended in the foregoing Description, **except Indians not paying Taxes in each State**; which said Alteration, when so subscribed and ratified, shall be deemed and held to be as sufficient and valid for the Purposes therein mentioned, as the Part herein before revoked and made void, was or ought to have been before the Revocation and Disannulling thereof (pp. 333-334).

Editorial comment: Categories of inhabitants to be taxed for the purposes of ratifying the Articles of Confederation to allow for the states to assume the national war debts. Indians who were not paying taxed were excluded from state and national enumeration.

C) An Act to Procure Estimate of the Number of Inhabitants in the State of New Jersey. Passed Dec. 24, 1783 (p. 387).

WHEREAS Congress have recommended to the several States in Union, to ascertain and transmit to them the Number of Inhabitants belonging to each State, both white and black, in order that the Expenses of the War may be more equitably quoted upon the respective States; and it appearing necessary that the said Recommendation should be complied with, therefore

SEC. BE IT ENACTED *by the Council and General Assembly of this State, and it is hereby Enacted by the Authority of the same*, That the Assessors of the respective Townships, Precincts, or wards, in this State, shall, at the Time of taking the first List of Persons and Articles made ratable as is directed in and by the Act, entitled, *An Act for raising a Revenue of Thirty-one Thousand Two Hundred and Fifty-nine Pounds Five Shillings per Annum, for the Term of twenty-five Years, for the Purpose of paying the Interest and Principal of Debts due from the United States, agreeably to a Recommendation of Congress of the eighteenth Day of April, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty-three, and for appropriating the same*, take an exact Account of the Number of white and other free Inhabitants of all Ages, Sexes and Conditions, **Indians excepted**; and also a like Account of all Slaves within their respective Townships, Precincts and Wards, and shall enter the Account of the white and other free Inhabitants in a separate Column in their respective Duplicates, and an Account of the Slaves in a separate Column also; and shall, when met together, to settle the Quotas of the respective Townships, Precincts and Wards, enter in a separate Column in the Abstract to be by them made and signed, the Number of white and other free Inhabitants as aforesaid taken; and also in a separate Column in the said Abstract, the Number of Slaves taken as aforesaid (pp. 387-388).

Editorial comment: Indians excluded from being counted among the inhabitants of New Jersey.

New Jersey. *Laws of the State of New Jersey, Revised and Published under the Authority of the Legislature, by William Paterson.* New Brunswick, N.J. Abraham Blauvelt, 1800.

A) Declaration of Independence. In Congress, Thursday, July 4, 1776. A Declaration by the Representatives of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA in Congress Assembled.

... He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the **merciless Indian savages**, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction, of all ages, sexes, and conditions. In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury (p. xi).

Editorial comment: Attitude toward Native Americans as expressed in the Declaration of Independence of the United States.

B) A Supplement to an Act, Entitled, “An Act to Empower Certain Persons to Purchase the Claims of the Indians to Certain Lands in this Colony,” Passed the Twelfth Day of August, in the Year of Our Lord, Seventeen Hundred and Fifty Eight. Passed March 17, 1796 (p. 200).

SEC. 1. BE IT ENACTED *by the Council and General Assembly of this State, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same*, That Joseph Salter, Josiah Foster and Thomas Hollinshead be, and they are hereby appointed commissioners to take charge of the said tract of land and premises, with the appurtenances, and lease out the same, from time to time, on such terms, and in such manner, as shall most conduce to the advantage of said Indians: PROVIDED ALWAYS, That leases or contracts shall in no instance be made for a longer term than ten years, and the rents shall be paid quarterly or yearly (p. 200).

Editorial comment: Commissioners appointed to take care of Indian lands.

VI. General Sources Referencing Native Americans in Revolutionary New Jersey

Bernstein, Hebert. "... Invested with all the Powers ..." *South Jersey Magazine* 7, no. 3 (July/Sept. 1978): 11-12.

Editorial comment/quote: The Indian King Tavern at Haddonfield was where in the early days and months of 1777, the New Jersey Assembly met and conducted the affairs of the state.

Collins, Varnum Lasing. "Indian Wards at Princeton." *Princeton University Bulletin* 13 (1901/1902): 101-106.

Editorial comment: The text is a summary of certain unpublished manuscripts in the Continental Congress Archives at the State Department, Washington, D.C. It discusses three Delaware Indian boys who were sent to Princeton in May 1779 to be educated at government expense. In return they were promised that in case the Americans proved successful in their revolt against Britain, they would cede part of their territory to the United States.

Cook, Frederick, ed. *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan against the Six Nations of Indians in 1779; with Records of Centennial Celebrations; Prepared Pursuant to Chapter 361, Laws of the State of New York*: Auburn, N.Y.: Knapp, Peck & Thomson Printers, 1887.

Cooley, Henry Scofield. *A Study of Slavery in New Jersey*. John Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Fourteenth Series. Edited by Hebert B. Adams. Baltimore, MD.: John Hopkins University, 1896.

Editorial quote: That Indians might be slaves under the laws of New Jersey was established judicially by a decision of the State Supreme Court in 1797. The case was one of *habeas corpus* to bring up the body of Rose, an Indian woman, claimed by the defendant as a slave. It was proved that Rose's mother, an Indian woman, had been purchased as a slave and had always been considered as such. The Chief Justice, delivering the opinion of the court, said: 'They [the Indians] have been so long recognized as slaves in our law, that it would be as great a violation of the rights of property to establish a contrary doctrine at the present day, as it would be in the case of Africans; and as useless to investigate the manner in which they originally lost their freedom' (pp. 12-13).

Davis, Andrew McFaland. "The Employment of Indian Auxiliaries in the American War." *English Historical Review* 2, 8 (Oct. 1887): 709-728.

"Diary of Dr. Jabez Camfield, Surgeon in 'Spencer's Regiment,' while Attached to Sullivan's

Expedition against the Indians, from May 23d to Oct. 2d, 1779.” *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, 2nd series, vol. 3, no. 3 (1873): 115-136.

Editorial quote: I very heartily wish these rusticks may be reduced to reason, by the approach of this army, without their suffering the extremes [sic] of war; there is something so cruel, in destroying the habitations of any people, (however mean they may be, being their all) that I might say the prospect hurts my feelings (p. 121).

Dowd, Gregory Evans. “Declaration of Independence: War and Inequality in Revolutionary New Jersey, 1776-1815.” *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* 103, no. 1-2 (Spring/Summer 1985): 46-67.

Editorial comment/quote: On page 46 is an illustration with the caption: ‘The 1777 murder of Miss Jane M’Crea in New York by Indian allies of the British reinforced the Americans’ negative attitude toward the Indian.’ The image is credited to the New Jersey Historical Society.

Erskine, Ebenezer. “The Diary of Ebenezer Erskine, Jr., 1778.” *North Jersey Highlander* 3, no. 1 (Spring 1967): 2-21.

Editorial comment: The text focuses on the experience of Robert Erskine’s nephew in the Revolutionary War in Elizabeth and Newark on his way to Ringwood, and a subsequent Indian Raid on Ringwood Manor (pp. 13-21).

Hoffman, Robert V. *The Revolutionary Scene in New Jersey*. New York: The American Historical Company, 1942.

Editorial quote: On page 262 reads:
Monday, May 31 (’79)—At Middlebrook: ‘The expedition you are appointed to command is to be directed against the hostile tribes of the Six Nations of Indians, with their associates and adherents. The immediate objects are the total destruction of their settlements, and the capture of as many prisoners of every age and sex as possible So soon as your preparations are in sufficient forwardness, you will assemble your main body at Wyoming, and proceed thence to Tioga, taking from that place the most direct and practicable route into the heart of the Indian Settlements’ – Washington to General John Sullivan.

Lender, Mark E. “The Mind of the Rank and File: Patriotism and Motivation in the Continental Line.” In *New Jersey in the American Revolution III: Papers Presented at the Seventh Annual New Jersey History Symposium, held by the New Jersey Historical Commission at the New Jersey State Museum, December 6, 1975*. Edited by William C. Wright. Trenton, N.J. New Jersey Historical Commission, 1976.

Editorial quote: Feelings also ran high toward the Indians, feelings reflecting tensions born of red-white frontier conditions and the severe brand of warfare the Indians waged. To the men, they were ‘Savages’ to be hunted and pillaged, against whom any sort of

warfare was allowed. On Sullivan's expedition in 1779, for example, the Jerseymen openly enjoyed their work of razing Indian fields and towns: they did it 'with the greatest Cheerfulness,' as one sergeant put it. Enraged when Indians tortured or killed white prisoners, the troops were not above similar tactics. They scalped the Iroquois – and as a Jersey lieutenant recorded, were capable of worse: 'At the request of Maj. Piatt,' he wrote, '[I] sent out a ... party to look for some of the dead Indians They found them and skinned two of them ... for boot legs ... for the Major ... and [for] myself.' And except for some isolated regrets over such atrocities, the soldiers' writings dealing with Indian combat makes it clear that the army wasted little remorse on nonwhite opponents (p. 28).

Livingston, William. *The Papers of William Livingston, Vol. 1: June 1774-June 1777*. Edited by Carl E. Prince. Trenton: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1979.

Editorial quote: Letter to Philip Schuyler, dated Phil. March 9, 1776, reads, in part:

This will accompany 1000 pounds of Steel from Trenton which you desired Congress to order to you as the Commander in Chief at New York for the use of the Blacksmith & Armourers who are to go into the Indian County (p. 42).²⁶

Editorial comment: Letter from Henry Brockholst Livingston to William Livingston, dated Headquarters Albany, June 10, 1777, reads in part:

Our Force at Tyre is encreasing fast & I hope will soon be able to cope with any that can be brought against it. There has been a Treaty with the Six Nations at this place. They continue friendly & make many protestations of Neutrality. Few of those tribes, I believe, will ever take an active part against (p. 349).

_____. *The Papers of William Livingston, Vol. 2: June 1774-June 1777*. Edited by Carl E. Prince and Dennis P. Ryan. Trenton: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1980.

Editorial comment/quote: A letter on July 12, 1777, Henry Brockholst Livingston to William Livingston, noting: 'To our difficulties on this occasion are great, General Schuyler rises superior to them all. He is fruitful in resources—He encourages & relieves the flying Inhabitants—is collecting as large a Body of Militia as he can & when joined by the Army will I flatter myself be able to give [...] check to the rapidity of the Enemy. But it is not in this Quarter alone we are attacked. An Express is come with advice of general Johnson's arrival at [Oswego] with a Body of Indians, Britons & Canadians' (p. 19).

²⁶ A footnote to this text reads: "Lands occupied by the Iroquois, or the Six Nations. In the Treaty of Albany with the united colonies (August 31, 1775), the Six Nations had agreed to remain neutral in the conflict between the colonies and Great Britain. Pursuant to the same treaty, Congress on November 23 had directed the commissioners for transacting Indian affairs 'to employ two blacksmiths for reasonable salaries, to reside among and work for the Indians of the Six Nations' to help them repair axes and kettles." See United States. Continental Congress. *Journals of Continental Congress: From 1774 to 1788, Vol. 3: 366 for the below cited footnote in relations to Indian affairs.*

Pennypacker, Isaac Rusling. *The Old Tavern at Haddonfield and Its Historic Setting*. Haddonfield, N.J., 1901.

Editorial comment: The text was printed for the Haddonfield Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. And it contains information about the Legislative Council, Council of safety, the arrest, trial and imprisonment of Thomas Redman, as well as a brief account of the New Jersey campaigns.

Tatem, Minnie Antoinette (Moore). "The 'Indian King' and Its Connection with the Revolutionary History of New Jersey." *American Monthly Magazine* 37 (1910): 208-212.

Tebbel, John, and Keith Jennison. *The American Indian Wars*. New York, 1960.

Editorial comment: Suggestion in Britain to use Native Americans to help the Loyalist cause did not receive favorable public opinion. When the Earl of Sussex suggested that Parliament authorized the use of every means 'God and nature has put in our hands' (referring to Native Americans), William Pitt ... condemned the idea, saying that 'the merciless cannibal thirsting for the blood of man, woman and child ... infidel savages to be used against your protestant brethren, these horrible hellhounds' (p. 111).

United States Continental Army. Sullivan's Western Army. "The Order Book of Lieutenant Colonel Francis Barber, May 26, 1779-September 6, 1779." *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* 65, no. 2 (April 1947): 61-82, continued serially through vol. 67, no. 2 (April 1949): 158-165.

Editorial comment: Francis Barber was a member of the Third New Jersey Regiment and Adjutant General of General John Sullivan's Western Army, which 'went from Easton, Pennsylvania, to Wyoming Valley in northern Pennsylvania to punish the Six Nations confederacy of Indians for their outrages of the previous year. The army consisted of Col. Israel Shreve's 2nd New Jersey Regiment, Col. Elias Dayton's 3rd New Jersey Regiment Col. David Forman's Regiment of New Jersey ...' (p. 61).

For the original orderly book, see "Francis Barber (1750-1783), Revolutionary War Orderly Book, 1799, Manuscript Group 222. New Jersey Historical Society, Newark, N.J.

Williams, Lorraine E. "Caught in the Middle: New Jersey's Indians and the American Revolution." In *New Jersey in the American Revolution*. Edited by Barbara J. Mitnick, 101-112. New Brunswick, N.J. and London: Rivergate Books, 2005.

VII. Manuscript Materials Referencing African Americans, Native Americans, and Women

New Jersey Historical Society

1) Manuscript Group 2, East Jersey Manuscript Collection, 1667-1873.

a) E.J. 26: Proceedings of the Shrewsbury Committee of Safety:

i) October 6, 1775 - **Editorial quote:**

Whereas the riotous & numerous meetings of negroes at unlicensed houses is pernicious in itself & may be of pernicious consequence; if the Col. Is informed of any such meetings he is desired to use his militia, or many as he finds necessary, to secure the Negroes & give the names of the delinquents, to be proceeded against to the Law. Ordered that all these proceedings be publicly advertised in two of the most publick places in this township.

ii) October 16, 1775 - **Editorial quote:**

Whereas the meeting together of Servants, Negroes and other Disorderly Persons at Unlicensed Taverns and other Bad Houses, is attended with Great Mischief and Damage not only to the Masters, But to all the Neighborhoods, and many Be of more fatal and pernicious Consequence to the Community in General; Therefore in order that the penaltys [sic] of the Law may Be more Duly Inflicted on all Such Offenders, *Resolved* that the Colonel Shall Order a party or parties of the militia [militia] to attend at Such Suspected places at proper times to Search for and to Apprehend all Such transgressors of the Law. Ordered, that the above Resolve Be made public By Advertisement.

iii) February 12, 1776 - **Editorial quote:**

Resolved that all arms in the Hands, or at the Command or Disposal of Negroes, Either free or Slaves, Shall Be taken and Secured By the Militia Officers of the Several Districts Until the present trouble are Settled, and that Such arms Shall Be Lodged in the Hands of the Colonel who Shall Give Receipts to the owners.

iv) February 29, 1776 - **Editorial quote:**

Resolved, that all Slaves, Either Negroes, Mulattoes or Others that Shall be Found off their Masters or Mistresses premises any time of the night after Daylight is Gone May be Taken Up By any person Whatsoever and Secured Until a fine of ten Shillings Be paid By the Master or Mistress to the person taking them up, and in failure of payment of Such fine the Slave Shall Be Delivered to the Minute Men to be Kept Under Guard Until he Shall Receive fifteen Lashes on the Bare Back, for which the Master Shall pay the Sum of four Shillings, provided that Such Slaves as have Leave from their Masters in Writing Shall not Be Liable to the above penalty.

- b) **E. J. 63:** Arrest Warrant for Daniel Tabor et. al., including Negro Joe (servant of the Widow Stevens) of Middletown, Monmouth County, N.J., November 25, 1780. They were charged severally for ‘been concerned in corresponding with the Enemy, and supplying them with provisions in a greater or less degree’ against the Laws of the State.

2) **Manuscript Group 4, Revolutionary Era Manuscript Collection, 1765-1790.**

RE No. 39 – This anonymous First Draft of the New Jersey State Constitution, 1776, Article 2 of which reads, in part:

That all freeholders, and householders, inhabitants of this colony, who are worth fifty pounds clear estate in the same, shall be admitted to vote for representatives in Assembly, and also for all other public officers that shall be elected by the people.

Editorial comment: Analysts generally agree that the above provision included women and Black people.

3) **Manuscript Group 123, Jemima Condict’s Diary, 1772-1779.**

Editorial comment: The diary contains Jemima Condict’s accounts of the happenings of herself along with her family and other local townspeople and events in West Orange, New Jersey. Her diary illustrates incidents of the time, methods of household life, religious piety, local events such as deaths and diseases, and it relates both public and personal opinions during the Revolutionary War.

4) **Manuscript Group 38, Ebenezer Elmer Revolutionary War Officer Journals, 1776-1785.**

Editorial comment: Included are notes about troop movements encountered with the enemy, leisure activities of officers, religious services, and treaties and encounters with the Indians, and problems with smallpox among the troops.

5) **Manuscript Group 227, Jersey Brigade Orderly Book, 1780**

Editorial comment/quote: An entry dated Head Quarters West Point, November 17, 1780, reads in part: ‘A return(?) of the number of the women & children who draw rations in their respective Brigades is to be given in immediately specifying whether the farmers are married(?) or unmarried.

The Banach(?) W. will furnish(?) --- of the names of the men & women residing within the number of children residing within the tenets of the Garrison(?) not belong to the army &(? (what occupation or employment they follow and whether they have -----any --
- ----tenets or other property.’

Editorial comment: This is an interesting find, given the fact that women and children are generally not written about in Orderly Books.

6) Manuscript Group 232, William Barton, Continental Army Officer, 1779.

Editorial comment: William Barton, a lieutenant in the First New Jersey Continental Regiment, kept the journal during Major General John Sullivan's expedition against the Indians. The journal covers the period May 11 through October 8, 1779.

7) Manuscript Group 222, Francis Barber (1750-1783) Revolutionary War Officer Orderly Book, 1779.

The Order Book of Lieutenant Colonel Francis Barber is serialized in *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* 65, no. 2 (April 1947): 61-82, continued through vol. 67, no. 2 (April 1949): 158-165.

Francis Barber was a member of the Third New Jersey Regiment and Adjutant General of General John Sullivan's Western Army, which 'went from Easton, Pennsylvania, to Wyoming Valley in northern Pennsylvania to punish the Six Nations confederacy of Indians for their outrages of the previous year. The army consisted of Col. Israel Shreve's 2nd New Jersey Regiment, Col. Elias Dayton's 3rd New Jersey Regiment Col. David Forman's Regiment of New Jersey ...'

8) Manuscript Group 895, Bedminster Township, New Jersey, Voting Register, 1797-1803.

Editorial comment: Under the 1776 New Jersey Constitution, the right to vote was not constrained by race or gender. In this manuscript are evidence of Black men and women voting for public officials until those rights were revoked in 1807.

The register contains lists of eligible voters for state and local elections, along with the records of the votes cast by residents of Bedminster Township, New Jersey. Among the electors was Robert Aaron (a free Black man, not identified as a such in the document) and three women. Aaron appears at least twice in the records (October 1797). Elmer T. Hutchinson's edited *Documents relating to Colonial, Revolutionary and Post-Revolutionary History of the State of New Jersey: Calendar of Wills, Administrations, etc.*, Vol. X-1801-1805 contains information showing Aaron's status a free black man.

The register is published in the *Somerset County Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (October 1917): 267-272. The identity of Robert Aaron was not established in the said publication, either. He was assumed, it appears, to be a white man.

The three women I identified were Eleanor Boylan, Sarah Eoff, and Ida Gaston.