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JOSEPH R. KLETT and C. ARTHUR LAWTON III

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# English Records for Members of Chesterfield Monthly Meeting

PATRICIA LAW HATCHER, FASG\*

LIST ANALYSIS as a genealogical technique can sometimes reveal specific family relationships and obscure details, sometimes provide insight into the larger historical context of the list. In the study presented here, it does both.

## FAMILY GROUPS IN CHESTERFIELD MONTHLY MEETING

The records of Chesterfield Monthly Meeting in Burlington County include an alphabetically arranged series of family groups giving dates of birth and sometimes death.<sup>1</sup> Descendants often record these events as having occurred "at" Chesterfield, but the alphabetical order—and births as early as 1659—indicate that this is not the case for all. Which births occurred in England and which occurred in the colonies?

Among the family groups are 25 that include exact dates of birth for parents or children born prior to 1690 (listed alphabetically below).<sup>2</sup> They are examined more closely in this article.

**Samuel and Mary Bailey** (son John, b. [no date] 1685)

**John Bainbridge** (son John, b. 9, 6<sup>th</sup> Mo. 1686)

**John and Susan Bunting** (dau. Mary, b. 19, 8<sup>th</sup> Mo. 1680)

**Samuel and Mary Bunting** (son John, b. 25, 9<sup>th</sup> Mo. 1685)

**Job and Sarah Bunting** (dau. Lydia, b. 15, 12<sup>th</sup> Mo. 16[86]/87\*\*)

**Benjamin Clark** (b. 13, 3<sup>rd</sup> Mo. 1670), son of Benjamin, and wife **Ann Giles** (b. 15, 2<sup>nd</sup> Mo. 1669), dau. of James

**John and Ann Curtis** (son Thomas, b. 7, 9<sup>th</sup> Mo. 1659)

**Francis and Sarah Davenport** (dau. Sarah, b. 20, 8<sup>th</sup> Mo. 1679)

**Thomas and Susanna Farnsworth** (dau. Mary, b. 23, 9<sup>th</sup> Mo. 1673)

**Thomas and Esther Gilborthorp** (dau. Bridget, b. 21, 11<sup>th</sup> Mo. 1683)

**Thomas and Elizabeth Lambert** (dau. Elizabeth, b. 5, 8<sup>th</sup> Mo. 1670)

**George and Hannah Nicholson** (dau. Rebecca, b. 7, 8<sup>th</sup> Mo. 1675)

**John Olden** (b. 5, 2<sup>nd</sup> Mo. 1678) [father not named]

**Samuel and Hannah Overton** (dau. Hester, b. 26, 10<sup>th</sup> Mo. 1682)

**Edward and Mary Rockhill** (son John, 9, 12<sup>th</sup> Mo. 1683)

\* Patricia Law Hatcher is editor of the *Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine* and the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*.

\*\* Years are shown as given in the published Chesterfield records. Since the entries were made in family groupings, not chronologically, typically it is not clear as to whether old-style or new-style dating was employed. Lydia Bunting, for example, died later in 1687; so in this case we know the year was given in the new style. Dates have been clarified only when the double-year could be ascertained.

**John and Mary Rogers** (son John, 5, 1<sup>st</sup> Mo. 1687)

**William and Ann Satterthwaite** (dau. Elizabeth, b. 21, 4<sup>th</sup> Mo. 1687)

**Robert and Sarah Scholey** (son William, b. 2, 8<sup>th</sup> Mo. 1689 [sic]<sup>3</sup>)

**John and Anne Snowden** (son John, b. 21, 12<sup>th</sup> Mo. 1684<sup>4</sup>)

**Mahlon and Rebecca Stacy** (son John, b. 30, 9<sup>th</sup> Mo. 1677)

**William Watson** (b. [no date] 1667), son of William and Ann

**John and Alice Willsford** (son John, b. 19, 1<sup>st</sup> Mo. 1666)

**Robert and Anne Witham** (dau. Susanna, b. 29, 9<sup>th</sup> Mo. 1668)

**William and Mary Wood** (dau. Anne, b. 17, 5<sup>th</sup> Mo. 1683)

**Anthony and Hannah Woodward** (Mary, b. 21, 10<sup>th</sup> Mo. 1688)

## COLONIAL MARRIAGES

If the parents were married on this side of the Atlantic, then we can fairly safely conclude that the children were born here also. Records of the marriage process are found in New Jersey for seven of the couples<sup>5</sup> and in Pennsylvania for an eighth couple<sup>6</sup>:

- John Bainbridge m. Sarah Clows 15, 6<sup>th</sup> Mo. [August] 1685 at Falls Monthly Meeting, Pennsylvania.
- Jacob Bunting m. after 9, 2<sup>nd</sup> Mo. [April] 1686 (certificate) at Chesterfield Monthly Meeting, Sarah Gardiner<sup>7</sup> of Shrewsbury Monthly Meeting.
- Samuel Bunting m. 18, 9<sup>th</sup> Mo. [November] 1684 at Chesterfield Monthly Meeting, Mary Folkes, dau. of Thomas, both of Chesterfield.
- John Rogers of near the town of Nottingham m. 31, 8<sup>th</sup> Mo. [October] 1680 at Burlington Monthly Meeting, Mary Scholey, dau. of Robert Scholey at the house of Thomas Lambert in Nottingham; she d. 20, 6<sup>th</sup> Mo. [August] 1681<sup>8</sup>; John Rogers m. 16, 7<sup>th</sup> Mo. [September] 1685 at Abington Monthly Meeting in Pennsylvania, Mary Groom.<sup>9</sup>
- William Satterthwaite, shoemaker, m. last day, 12<sup>th</sup> Mo. [February] 1685[86], recorded at Burlington and Chesterfield monthly meetings, Ann Burcham, servant to Thomas Oliver, both of Burlington.
- John Snowden of the Falls m. 13, 2<sup>nd</sup> Mo. [April] 1682 at Burlington Monthly Meeting, Anne Barret of Burlington.
- William Wood, husbandman of Esopus in New York, m. 10, 8<sup>th</sup> Mo. [October] 1682 at Burlington Monthly Meeting, Mary Parnell of Burlington.
- Anthony Woodward, late of Long Island now of New Jersey, m. 14, 12<sup>th</sup> Mo. [February] 1685 at Chesterfield Monthly Meeting, Hannah Folkes, dau. of Thomas.

This leaves us with seventeen families for whom births might have occurred in England.

## ENGLISH QUAKER QUARTERLY DIGESTS

In England, the vital events for Quakers recorded at the monthly meeting level were also recorded in digest form by the quarterly meeting to which



the monthly meeting belonged. Quarterly meetings included the monthly meetings in one or more counties, although some included nearby monthly meetings.<sup>10</sup> The digests have separate lists for births, marriages, and deaths (plus supplements for each). Records are roughly chronological within first letter of surname, in tabular format created in the nineteenth century, so the records are relatively easy to search. The "Quaker Digest: Registers of Births, Marriages, and Burials for England and Wales, c. 1650–1837" are accessible on 32 rolls of microfilm.<sup>11</sup>

#### MATCHES BETWEEN THE BIRTH LISTS

Seventeenth-century Englishmen were annoyingly unimaginative when naming children. Researchers can often find dozens of reasonable matches for their immigrant ancestors. Thus, any matches between the birth dates recorded at Chesterfield Monthly Meeting, New Jersey, that occurred in England and were recorded in the quarterly digests present the unusual opportunity to identify immigrants with complete certainty.

Exploration in these digests makes it clear that most of the early Chesterfield settlers were from hamlets and parishes near where the counties of Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and the West Riding of Yorkshire intersect, which is not surprising since George Fox spoke several times in this part of Nottinghamshire: at Mansfield in 1647, later at Mansfield-Woodhouse, and at Skegby in 1654.<sup>12</sup> For the Chesterfield, New Jersey, Quakers the matching English records in the quarterly digests are all found in the digests of the Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire Quarterly Meeting, hereafter cited as [D&NQM], or the Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting, hereafter cited as [YQM].<sup>13</sup>

Many of these origins and identities have been known, at least in approximation, but often without the evidence of the digests. Matches between the events and dates in Chesterfield records and the quarterly digests were found for five of the seventeen families, although additional evidence was found on four other families.

**Bunting.** John Bunting, son of Anthony of Matlock, Derbyshire, m. "last day," 2<sup>nd</sup> Mo. [April] 1679 at Chesterfield (Derbyshire) Monthly Meeting, Sarah Fowke, daughter of Thomas Fowke [D&NQM], also an immigrant. John and Sarah<sup>14</sup> Bunting had five children recorded at Chesterfield Monthly Meeting in New Jersey. The birth of the first, Mary, on 19, 8<sup>th</sup> Mo. [October] 1680 is found in the digests for the Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire Quarterly Meeting in England, where John and Sarah were members of Chesterfield Monthly Meeting [D&NQM].

In those same English records is the marriage of William Bunting of Matlock, Derbyshire, on 6, 3<sup>rd</sup> Mo. [May] 1683 at John Gratton's house at Monyash, recorded at Chesterfield (Derbyshire) Monthly Meeting, to Mary Stephenson of Peasonhurst, as well as the births of six children of William and Mary Bunting of that meeting between 1685 and 1694 [D&NQM]. John, William, Samuel, and Job Bunting were said to be brothers, all but William said to have emigrated in 1678.<sup>15</sup> However, at least one child of William

apparently did emigrate later and settle in New Jersey: Silence Bunting, b. 15, 1<sup>st</sup> Mo. [March] 1685 [D&NQM], is likely the Silence Bunting who m. by 5, 2<sup>nd</sup> Mo. [April] 1705, Samuel Butcher, both of Chesterfield Monthly Meeting in New Jersey.<sup>16</sup>

**Curtis.** The digest for Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire Quarterly Meeting has entries for the births for children of John Curtis of Chesterfield (Derbyshire) Monthly Meeting, all born in the parish of Northwingfield, Derbyshire, that match perfectly (except for minor differences with the last child) for all of the children of John and Ann in New Jersey: Thomas, b. 7, 9<sup>th</sup> Mo. [November] 1659; John, b. 9, 6<sup>th</sup> Mo. [August] 1661; David, b. 5, 2<sup>nd</sup> Mo. [April] 1663; Jonathan, b. 7, 4<sup>th</sup> Mo. [June] 1664; Elizabeth, b. 12, 12<sup>th</sup> Mo. [February] 1665 (Elizabeth, dau. of John, m. 21, 12<sup>th</sup> Mo. [February] 1688 at Chesterfield Monthly Meeting in New Jersey, Thomas Folkes<sup>17</sup>); a stillborn son, b. 8, 10<sup>th</sup> Mo. [December] 1667 and buried the following day [D&NQM].<sup>18</sup> The digests do not contain a marriage record for John and Ann.<sup>19</sup>

**Davenport.** The births of the first three of Francis and Sarah Davenport's eight children were recorded at Chesterfield Monthly Meeting in England: Sarah, b. 20, 8<sup>th</sup> Mo. [October] 1679 in Whittenton [Whittington]; Anne, b. 21, 11<sup>th</sup> Mo. [January] 1680[81] in Whittenton; and Bridget b. 9, 12<sup>th</sup> Mo. [February] 1682[83] [D&NQM]. The digests do not record the marriage of Francis and Sarah.

**Farnsworth.** The English digests record the marriage of Thomas Farnsworth [sic] of Mansfield to Susanah Smith "Jun" [Jr.] of Mansfield at Skegby, Mansfield Monthly Meeting, on 10, 9<sup>th</sup> Mo. [November] 1672. Only the first of the six children of Thomas and Susanna Farnsworth recorded at Chesterfield Monthly Meeting, New Jersey, has a match in the digest for Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire Quarterly Meeting: Mary, dau. of Thomas and Susanna, of Mansfield, Nottinghamshire, b. 23, 9<sup>th</sup> Mo. [November] 1673, recorded at Mansfield Monthly Meeting. The extended Farnsworth family appears in the digests with localities of Horsworth, Toworth, Tickhill (Yorkshire), Mattersay, Hucknall and Dirty Hucknall [D&NQM].

**Watson.** The New Jersey family group, which doesn't make sense as recorded in Chesterfield Monthly Meeting, includes "Children of William Watson, son of William and Ann Watson, b. 1667" as follows: Isaac, b. 15, 6<sup>th</sup> Mo. 1670; Elizabeth, b. 3<sup>rd</sup> Mo. 1688 and d. 2, 12<sup>th</sup> Mo. 1688; and John, b. 9<sup>th</sup> Mo., 1672. The entries do, however, correspond to digest entries. The birth on 5, 6<sup>th</sup> Mo. [August] 1670 for Isaac Watson, son of William and Anne, at Farnsworth [no monthly meeting], is off by ten days from the New Jersey date of 15, 6<sup>th</sup> Mo.—probably a copying error in one of the records. The birth on 30, 9<sup>th</sup> Mo. [November] 1672 of John Watson, son of William and Anne of Farnesfield, Nottinghamshire, was recorded at Nottingham Monthly Meeting and matches the New Jersey record. Anne Watson of Farnsfield, wife of William, was bur. 14, 6<sup>th</sup> Mo. [August] 1674 at Farnsfield. William remarried, to an Elizabeth (the marriage is not in the digests), and



had a son Joseph in 1678; but both Joseph and Elizabeth died in 1679 per the digests [D&NQM]. The father William emigrated with his four children.<sup>20</sup>

#### OTHER DIGEST CONNECTIONS

No matches for the birth records were found for the Lamberts, Scholeys, Stacys or Watsons, but other events for these families were in the digests and are given below. Additionally, events for the Decow, Foulkes and Hooton families of New Jersey immigrants were found in the digests, but are not presented here.<sup>21</sup>

**Lambert.** The marriage of Thomas Lamberd [sic] of Hainsworth [Handsworth] Woodhouse, Yorkshire, and Elizabeth Hooten Jr., dau. of Elizabeth Hooton of Skegby, Nottinghamshire, at E. Hooten's house at Seckbie [Skegby], on 21, 7<sup>th</sup> Mo. [September] 1669 was recorded at Mansfield Monthly Meeting [D&NQM]. The birth of their sixth child, Samuel, on 12, 8<sup>th</sup> Mo. [October] 1679, is recorded in the chronological list of births at Burlington Monthly Meeting in New Jersey,<sup>22</sup> but none of their earlier children were found in the quarterly digests in England.

**Nicholson.** George Nicholson of Reednes, Yorkshire, m. 6, 11<sup>th</sup> Mo. [January] 1672, recorded at Hull and Pontefract monthly meetings, to Hannah Roper of Staneley [YQM].<sup>23</sup> The 1675 birth of their daughter Rebecca is not, however, recorded in the York digests.

**Scholey.** Robert Scholey of Whitwell, Derby, m. 14, 2<sup>nd</sup> Mo. [April] 1675 at Jno. Hooton's house in Skegby, recorded at Mansfield Monthly Meeting, to Sarah Bingham, dau. of Richard of Mansfield Woodhouse, Nottinghamshire. Alice, daughter of Robert and Sarah of Mansfield Woodhouse, Mansfield Monthly Meeting, was b. 16, 2<sup>nd</sup> Mo. [April] 1679, but there is no Alice in the New Jersey list. Perhaps she was the Alice Scholah of Blythbur. 27, 8<sup>th</sup> Mo. [October] 1694 at Hansworth [Handsworth], Yorkshire, recorded at Mansfield Monthly Meeting [D&NQM], but it is not likely that her parents would have emigrated without her.<sup>24</sup> No record in England was found for children William in 1679 or 1680, Mary in 1681, Sarah in 1684, Elizabeth in 1686, or Robert in 1687, so it is unsubstantiated that the groom and bride married in 1675 in Skegby were the immigrant couple.

**Stacy.** Mahlon Stacy of Dorehouse, parish of Hansworth, m. 29, 5<sup>th</sup> Mo. [July] 1668 at G. Watkinson's at Clown, recorded at Balby [Barlby] Monthly Meeting, Yorkshire, Rebecca Ely of Mansfield, Nottinghamshire [D&NQM]. They are said to have arrived 10 December 1678 aboard the *Shield*, and the 30, 7<sup>th</sup> Mo. [September] 1680 birth of Ruth, the fifth of their eight children, is recorded in the chronological list of births at Burlington Monthly Meeting in New Jersey<sup>25</sup>; but their first four children were not found in the English quarterly digests.

Another family of Stacy immigrants also was identified during this study: the children of Robert Stacy of Hansworth Woodhouse, Barlby Monthly Meeting, Yorkshire. These included Ann, b. 7, 7<sup>th</sup> Mo. [September] 1654

(Daniel Leeds, late of Shrewsbury in East Jersey, cooper, m. 20, 2<sup>nd</sup> Mo. [April] 1680 at Burlington Monthly Meeting, to Ann Stacy, dau. of Robert Stacy, tanner, of Burlington<sup>26</sup>); John, b. 20, 8<sup>th</sup> Mo. [October] 1656 (John Stacy proposed second time on 4, 2<sup>nd</sup> Mo. [April] 1687 at Burlington Monthly Meeting to Alice Jones<sup>27</sup>); Judeth, b. 12, 5<sup>th</sup> Mo. [July] 1660; Elizabeth, b. 25, 8<sup>th</sup> Mo. [October] 1662; Ellen, b. 21, 4<sup>th</sup> Mo. [June] 1666 (John Shinn Jr. of Burch Creeks, husbandman, m. 3, 4<sup>th</sup> Mo. [June] 1686 at Burlington Monthly Meeting, to Elin Stacy, dau. of Robert of Burlington<sup>28</sup>).

#### NOT IN THE DIGESTS

This analysis highlights a factor that seems surprising. Many of the families we think of as prominent Quakers in New Jersey did not have births and/or marriages recorded at their monthly meetings in England or had only some events recorded. Some did not marry or have children in England to have been recorded. Others were converted so recently before (or even after) emigration that those vital events were perhaps recorded in the Church of England.

No records were found for the Gilberthorps, Rockhills, and Withams, all known or said to be from Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, or Yorkshire. No matches were found in the quarterly digests for the Bailey, Clark/Giles, Olden, Overton, and Willsford birth events, which families may or may not have been from this area.

Because the Quarterly Digests are so easy to search, descendants should not neglect this valuable record group.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Charlotte D. Meldrum, *Early Church Records of Burlington County, New Jersey*, 3 vols. (Westminster, MD: Willow Bend Books, 1994-95), 2:11-38.

<sup>2</sup> This is an arbitrary cutoff, selected to encompass the greatest mass of migration.

<sup>3</sup> The year probably should be 1679 or 1680. This entry is followed by Mary (1681), Sarah (1684), Elizabeth (1686), and Robert (1687). The will of Robert Scholey mentions his "youngest son" Robert. See New Jersey State Archives, Trenton, NJ: Dept. of State, Secretary of State's Office, Deeds, Surveys and Commissions, West Jersey Book B, 315, which is abstracted in William Nelson, ed., *Patents and Deeds and Other Early Records of New Jersey, 1664-1703* (Baltimore: 1982), 439.

<sup>4</sup> This is followed by an entry for Anne, b. 2 4<sup>th</sup> Mo. 1683; but the year is probably an error for 1685.

<sup>5</sup> Meldrum, *Early Church Records of Burlington County, New Jersey*, 1:49; 2:8, 10.

<sup>6</sup> "Pennsylvania Marriages Prior to 1810," *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd series, 9 (1896):221.

<sup>7</sup> Several compilations give her surname as Perkins, without citation or explanation.

<sup>8</sup> William Wade Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy* 2:255, and Meldrum, *Early Church Records of Burlington County, New Jersey* 1:3, 48.

<sup>9</sup> "Rogers," Gilbert Cope's Collection of Family Data, Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania [now at Historical Society of Pennsylvania] (FHL #517032) says the marriage was at Byberry Monthly Meeting and gives the date as the 10<sup>th</sup>. "Rogers," Charles Carroll



Gardner Collection, New Jersey Historical Society (FHL #849669), citing the manuscript collections of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania ("GSPM"), says the marriage was for "John Rogers of West New Jersey near the Falls of the Delaware husbandman, and Mary Groom of Southampton, on poequesy Creek in Philadelphia County — at the house of John Hart on poequesy or By Creek." Charlotte Meldrum, *Marriages and Deaths of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, 1685-1800* (Westminster, MD: Willow Bend Books, 1999), 1, gives the groom's surname as "Rigors" and omits the location of the marriage.

- <sup>10</sup> The correlation isn't rigid. Some towns and parishes were assigned to a monthly meeting in an adjoining county, and some monthly meetings were assigned to the quarterly meeting of an adjoining county.
- <sup>11</sup> "Quaker Digest Registers of Births, Marriages, and Burials for England and Wales, c. 1650-1837." Complete sets are at the Family History Library in Salt Lake City, Swarthmore and Haverford colleges in Pennsylvania, and the Dallas [Texas] Public Library.
- <sup>12</sup> Percy J. Cropper, ed., *The Sufferings of the Quakers in Nottinghamshire, 1649-1689* (London: Edward Hicks, Junr., 1892; 1985 reprint with introduction), xi, xii.
- <sup>13</sup> For Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire Quarterly Meeting, FHL reel #1484602; for Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting, FHL reels #1484604-08.
- <sup>14</sup> Meldrum, *Early Church Records of Burlington County, New Jersey* 2:14, gives her name as Susan in the family group; Charles Carroll Gardner Collection, New Jersey Historical Society (FHL #849923), gives her name as Sarah in the recorded family group. The deaths recorded next in both sources are for John and Sarah, and the English records make it clear she was Sarah Fowke.
- <sup>15</sup> W. W. H. Davis, *History of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, from the Discovery of the Delaware to the Present Time* (New York: Lewis Publishing Co., 1905), 184.
- <sup>16</sup> Meldrum, *Early Church Records of Burlington County, New Jersey* 2:43.
- <sup>17</sup> *ibid.*, 2:2.
- <sup>18</sup> As abstracted, Chesterfield (New Jersey) gives the birth date inversely as 10, 8<sup>th</sup> Mo. [October] and then a "1667" burial for a daughter.
- <sup>19</sup> See forthcoming article in the *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey*.
- <sup>20</sup> See Lewis D. Cook and Hannah Benner Roach, "Watson of Nottinghamshire and of Burlington County, New Jersey," *Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine* 27(1971):3-53.
- <sup>21</sup> See forthcoming article in the *Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine*.
- <sup>22</sup> Meldrum, *Early Church Records of Burlington County, New Jersey* 1:1.
- <sup>23</sup> The entry is recorded twice. At Pontepact her surname is given as "Rox"—likely due to use of the "per" symbol, *p*, in the original entry, i.e. recorded as Rop[er]. The symbol can resemble an "x"; hence an apparent nineteenth-century misreading.
- <sup>24</sup> This birth is recorded twice, once giving the mother's name as Mary.
- <sup>25</sup> Meldrum, *Early Church Records of Burlington County, New Jersey* 1:1.
- <sup>26</sup> *ibid.*, 1:48.
- <sup>27</sup> *ibid.*
- <sup>28</sup> *ibid.*, 1:66.

## 1798 Federal Direct Tax Lists

### *Particular Lists of Slaves*

MIDDLETOWN TOWNSHIP, MONMOUTH COUNTY

AND

HANOVER TOWNSHIP, MORRIS COUNTY

JUDITH GREEN WATSON\*

ONLY TWO PARTICULAR LISTS OF SLAVES are known to exist for New Jersey: those for Middletown Township in Monmouth County and Hanover Township in Morris County.<sup>1</sup> Undoubtedly many more were created, probably for a great majority of New Jersey's then 104 townships.<sup>2</sup> The Middletown and Hanover lists account for only 7 percent of New Jersey's 10,128 slaves.<sup>3</sup>

These lists are valuable for a number of reasons. Due to the absence of New Jersey's federal census population schedules for 1790 through 1800, they provide the only record of all slaveowners with the number of slaves owned by each during the period 1785-1829.<sup>4</sup> In addition, the Particular Lists of Slaves reveal that there were far more slaveowners and slaves than those identified by the state tax ratables lists; the ratables of this period identified only slaves subject to state tax, that is, male slaves of certain ages who were able to work.<sup>5</sup> As of 1 October 1798, less than one quarter of Middletown's and Hanover's slaves were able-bodied males between the ages of 16 and 50—a surprising figure which also provides limited demographic information that the census did not.<sup>6</sup> Because the state tax ratable lists displayed information only for taxable slaves, persons who owned only slaves who were exempt from taxation were not identified as slaveowners. In Middletown and Hanover, this accounted for almost half of the slaveowners.<sup>7</sup>

These lists are also valuable because, when viewed together with information on the Particular Lists of Lands, Lots, Buildings and Wharves, which include information about the way in which many slaveowners earned their living, we can see how some slaves must have been employed. In Middletown and Hanover we see that slaveowners seem to have relied to a great extent on the labors of women and children rather than adult males.

Lastly, the Particular Lists of Slaves are significant in that they provide the names of both the *slaveowners* and *slaveholders*. Although many scholars use the terms interchangeably, the Middletown list proves that they were not always the same person.

\* Ms. Watson is a longtime member of the Society who is researching the national implementation of the 1798 Direct Tax. She welcomes e-mail contact regarding this topic at <pvtgreenie@aol.com>.