

## The New Jersey Miscount: The 1860 Census and the Accidental Humanization of Enslaved Individuals

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*Abstract: The 1860 census is the only example in U.S. history when the U.S. government systematically recorded the names and ages of enslaved individuals of a state. Because government officials underestimated the number of enslaved people in New Jersey, there was no slave schedule in the state. Therefore, the names of enslaved individuals appeared within the households of their enslavers in the regular 1860 census. The official census statistics only listed 18 individuals as enslaved in 1860, but a close examination of every 1860 census page for New Jersey uncovers 64 names tied to slavery. This essay explores the context behind the census, and how the census accidentally humanized people whom it often marginalized.*

There were at least 11 “last slaves” of New Jersey. The first was Mercy Jackson, who *The Newark Advertiser* claimed was 99 years old when she died in 1859. Other newspapers around the country reported the story in Massachusetts, Louisiana, Ohio, South Carolina, and California among other states. One editor eventually contradicted the national story, and *The Monmouth Inquirer* stated that there were still three enslaved individuals in Freehold, New Jersey.<sup>1</sup> Even after the Civil War, newspaper writers struggled to determine how many formerly enslaved individuals lived in the state.<sup>2</sup> Another “last slave” in New Jersey, Edward Thompson, died in

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<sup>1</sup> “Death of a Slave,” *Monmouth Inquirer*, June 2, 1859, 2.

<sup>2</sup> “Death of a New Jersey Slave,” *The Delaware Gazette* (Delaware, Ohio), June 10, 1859, 1.

1905.<sup>3</sup> Libbie Ann Johnson lived as late as 1921, when a Kansas newspaper reported on her fondness for whiskey and her sale in antebellum New Jersey.<sup>4</sup> By 1887, the *New Brunswick Fredonian* joked that the “last New Jersey slave” was similar to claims about the last individuals enslaved by George Washington as “antique curios.”<sup>5</sup> The references to enslaved individuals in New Jersey were often accompanied by descriptions of the benignity of their former enslavers. A Pittsburgh newspaper detailed “that the obligation to service, as defined in this designation, was purely nominal, representing rather the dependence of aged and helpless retainers than the maintenance of an offensive institution.”<sup>6</sup> Understandably, the study of late antebellum slavery proved enormously difficult for historians with access to a few primary and secondary sources on the institution in New Jersey.

Jackson’s death and the abundance of the “last slaves” of New Jersey revealed a widespread misunderstanding of slavery in New Jersey in the late nineteenth century. Information on slavery within New Jersey after the 1840s is scarce. New Jersey was the sole state in the North to have slave schedules in 1850. The slave schedules allowed for an unprecedented study of enslaved individuals as census-takers divided them by sex and by age. While slave schedules proved informative as enslaved people received more of an individual identity in the census records, the slave schedules rarely revealed the names of the enslaved individuals. Instead, slave schedules documented the individuals under the names of their enslavers. The 1860 census records eighteen enslaved African-American individuals in New Jersey. New Jersey was the only state north of the Mason-Dixon line to still allow slavery in 1860. There could be no new enslaved individuals according to state law, and there was no slave schedule for New Jersey in that year. The

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<sup>3</sup> “Last Slave in New Jersey,” *The Courier-News* (Bridgewater, New Jersey), December 9, 1905, 5.

<sup>4</sup> “Sold for Whiskey Keg Libbie Ann Yearns for Quart” *The Wichita Beacon*, February 4, 1921, 4.

<sup>5</sup> “State Press Topics,” *Camden County Courier*, April 22, 1887, 2.

<sup>6</sup> “Untitled,” *Pittsburgh Weekly Gazette*, May 6, 1868, 4.

information on slavery in the state on the eve of the Civil War seemed complete, and there was little published evidence as to who the enslaved were and where they lived.

The misconceptions about slavery in New Jersey and the lack of a column that designated servitude that existed in censuses in 1850 and 1860 allow historians to analyze named individuals who suffered enslavement in New Jersey in 1860. The unintended result of an archive that reveals the identity of marginalized individuals can be termed “accidental humanization.” Saidiya Hartman proposed the possibility of critical fabulation for histories about people who archives have historically oppressed. Hartman’s seminal 2007 essay “Venus in Two Acts” demonstrated that white enslavers and white supremacists often created the archives that historians use to study slavery prior to the U.S. Civil War. The lack of African-American women within the historical profession prior to the 1980s compounded the trouble that many U.S. historians had in their analyses of Black women in the antebellum period.<sup>7</sup> Sophie White studied the records of the colonial Superior Court of the French and later Spanish colony of Louisiana to see how white scribes recorded the dialects and stories of enslaved Louisianians. White stressed that the Superior Court of Louisiana enforced laws that harshly penalized any resistance of enslaved individuals toward their enslavers. However, White also saw that the archives of the same court recorded the attempts of enslaved people to form their own identity in the face of an institution designed to dehumanize them.<sup>8</sup> Historians as varied in methodology as Saidiya Hartman and Sophie White explored how Black men and women expressed their views and their culture under the enormously violent cultures of slavery in North America. Joseph C.G. Kennedy and other census-takers

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<sup>7</sup> Saidiya Hartman, “Venus in Two Acts,” *Small Axe: A Caribbean Journal of Criticism* 12, no. 2 (June 2008): 1, 9.

<sup>8</sup> Sophie White, *Voices of the Enslaved: Love, Labor, and Longing in French Louisiana* (Williamsburg, Virginia: Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2019), 8.

inadvertently preserved the identities of enslaved New Jerseyans in a rush to complete the 1860 census and due to widespread misconceptions about the status of slaves in the states.<sup>9</sup>

Historians of slavery analyzed colonial and early antebellum slavery in New Jersey with much more evidence than existed in the 1850s and the early 1860s. James J. Gigantino and Graham Russell Hodges wrote seminal works on slavery within the state. Most of their works focused on the state prior to 1830, though Gigantino found evidence for the sale of an enslaved woman named Catherine in 1856. The institution of slavery declined in New Jersey after the state legislature banned eternal servitude for future African-American children in 1804. However, slavery continued until the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865. While it was illegal for enslavers to sell enslaved individuals outside of New Jersey after 1804, people born before 1804 would remain enslaved despite the gradual emancipation of enslaved individuals born after 1804. Historians of slavery widely cite the final number of enslaved individuals in New Jersey at eighteen individuals. Major works on New Jersey, such as Charles Merriam Knapp's 1924 book *New Jersey Politics During the Period of the Civil War and Reconstruction*, also cited the number because the 1860 census statistics stated that there were eighteen enslaved individuals in the state.<sup>10</sup> The use of the figure by historians is understandable because there were no other widely available figures for the year 1860.

The total contained in the 1860 census is inaccurate because there was no standardized way to quantify enslaved individuals in New Jersey. New Jersey did not have a slave schedule in 1860, and the 1850 and 1860 census records did not have a column to designate the freedom or servitude of an individual. Therefore, the author analyzed every page of the New Jersey portion of the 1860

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<sup>9</sup> Daniel W. Crofts, *Reluctant Confederates: Upper South Unionists in the Secession Crisis* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 142.

<sup>10</sup> Charles Merriam Knapp, *New Jersey Politics During the Period of the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Geneva, New York: W.F. Humphrey, 1924), 2.

census. There were 64 individuals that census-takers marked as enslaved throughout the pages of the census. Census-takers noted the status of certain individuals through the column for occupation and with other columns that had nothing to do with labor. The lack of consistency was a major theme of the 1860 census in New Jersey because of the varied methods of census-takers when they encountered individuals whom they believed were enslaved people.

Slave schedules provide enormous difficulties for historians because many do not list the names of enslaved individuals. The U.S. legislators who decided to use slave schedules made a conscious decision to exclude the names of enslaved African-American men, women, and children from the archive. Senator Andrew Butler of South Carolina and Senator Jeremiah Clemens of Alabama mocked the idea of including the names of enslaved individuals in the census, and U.S. senators prevented the names of enslaved individuals from almost any appearance in the slave schedules of 1850 and of 1860. Joseph C.G. Kennedy would oversee the 1850 and the 1860 censuses, and he also showed little interest in African-American individuals as people. He was content to allow white southerners to help frame the censuses that he directed.<sup>11</sup>

Joseph C.G. Kennedy contributed to a climate of hostility toward free and enslaved African-American individuals while he pioneered new statistical techniques in the censuses that he oversaw. The director openly marginalized African-American individuals throughout his speech to the American Geographical and Statistical Society in 1859. However, he couched his beliefs in the standardized language of statistics that became more common throughout the early and middle parts of the nineteenth century. Kennedy's speech was on the "Progress of Statistics," and he praised efforts in western European countries for the improvement of their own censuses.

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<sup>11</sup> Margo J. Anderson, *The American Census: A Social History* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1988), 47.

Kennedy praised the Belgian statistician Adolphe Quetelet by name, and he praised French statisticians as well for their work on the French census.

Census officials like Kennedy worked in an international context where national censuses increased both in quality and in specificity. By the 1830s, French censuses contained detailed questionnaires for census-takers, and the censuses recorded the names of each individual in every household.<sup>12</sup> By contrast, censuses in the United States from 1790 to 1840 only contained the names of the heads of households. Major early national figures within the United States, such as Thomas Jefferson, doubted the efficacy of attaching too many statistics to censuses. Even for the heads of households in censuses prior to 1850, there was little evidence as to how old they were, how wealthy they were, or what they did for a living. The pioneering 1841 United Kingdom census allowed for the census-taker to document every individual within every household in the nation. However, the United Kingdom censuses did not do away with age ranges until the 1851 census. Kennedy clearly intended the 1850 census to dispel doubts that both white northerners and southerners had about the U.S. census through an intense account of the origins, physical condition, age, gender, occupation, and name of every white individual in the country. The growth in the importance of advanced census statistics by the middle of the nineteenth century is important for understanding why slave schedules so effectively marginalized many enslaved people and why the information in the 1860 census from New Jersey remains precious and valuable.<sup>13</sup>

Kennedy did not accomplish all that he wanted with the 1850 census. The Democratic administration of Franklin Pierce replaced Kennedy because he was a Whig. The noted magazine

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<sup>12</sup> Joseph C.G. Kennedy, *Progress of Statistics: Read before the American Geographical and Statistical Society at the Annual Meeting in New York, Dec. 1, 1859* (New York City, New York: J.P. Trow, Printer, 1861), 13, 14; Gunnar Thorvaldsen, *Censuses and Census Takers: A Global History* (London, United Kingdom: Taylor and Francis, 2017), 78-89; Joshua Cole, *The Power of Large Numbers: Population, Politics, and Gender in Nineteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2000), 57, 212.

<sup>13</sup> Kennedy, *Progress of Statistics*, J.P. Trow, Printer, 1861, 9.

publisher J.D.B. de Bow of South Carolina finished the 1850 census prior to the public release of its statistics.<sup>14</sup> Kennedy did not always appeal to politicians either. While he attended the parties of General Winfield Scott when Scott was the 1852 presidential candidate for the Whig Party, Democrats occasionally treated Kennedy with contempt.<sup>15</sup> Senator Solon Borland of Arkansas punched Kennedy when Kennedy attempted to interrupt one of Borland's conversations.<sup>16</sup> However, Kennedy received another chance to oversee a census when the Whig Party collapsed in the middle of the 1850s and when he converted to the Democratic Party. President James Buchanan appointed him to oversee the 1860 census, and Kennedy reveled in his successful reentry into national prominence within his "Progress of Statistics" speech.

In Kennedy's 1859 oration, he exulted in the immense accomplishments of "moral statistics" as "the practical workings of an elevated Christianity" that could aid the everyday lives of a nation's citizens. He analyzed the development of censuses from the Israelite censuses of the Book of Numbers in the Bible to the statistical societies and centralized censuses sponsored by the governments of states such as Prussia, Russia, Sweden, and Belgium. Kennedy assured his audience that Congress "acted wisely" when it decided that census-takers would not collect the names and the occupations of enslaved individuals in the 1850 and approaching 1860 censuses. Kennedy also claimed that the 1850 and the 1860 censuses analyzed the race of every family member to judge "the admixture of races upon their physical condition." He saw no reason to treat free or enslaved African-American individuals in the same way that he treated white citizens of many different origins.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Anderson, *The American Census*, Yale University Press, 1988, 57-8, 61.

<sup>15</sup> Marian Gouverneur, *As I Remember: Recollections of American Society during the Nineteenth Century* (New York City, New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1911), 205.

<sup>16</sup> Steven Teske, *Unvarnished Arkansas: The Naked Truth about Nine Famous Arkansans* (Fayetteville, Arkansas: University of Arkansas Press, 2013), 57.

<sup>17</sup> Kennedy, *Progress of Statistics*, J.P. Trow, Printer, 1861, 4, 12, 19.

Philosophers and historians later noted that the growth of surveillance from centralized governments in the nations of western Europe and within the United States from the late eighteenth century to the early nineteenth century coincided with the rise of censuses and statistics. The growth of statistics reflected the growth in concern as states feared immigration and began to attribute many of the perceived problems within their borders as a result of individuals whom statisticians saw as racially different from most other denizens. The works of Kenneth Prewitt and Debra Thompson also analyzed how censuses helped governments categorize individuals into distinct races to define national communities during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Censuses in the United States were unique because they existed for almost the entirety of the nation's history.<sup>18</sup>

Occasionally, the white supremacist views of antebellum writers allow historians the opportunity to study African-American individuals in detail. Anti-Reconstruction writers and historians such as Willis Brewer often noted whether members of state and national legislatures were African-American or not.<sup>19</sup> The information provided by white supremacist writers allowed for later historians such as Monroe Work and Eric Foner to determine how many African-American men served in public office from the 1860s to the 1890s.<sup>20</sup> The African-American writer W.E.B. du Bois was even able to use the works of Dunning School historians in his 1935 book *Black Reconstruction in America*. Du Bois used the work of anti-Reconstruction writers to show that there were major achievements from the maligned Reconstruction state legislatures of the

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<sup>18</sup> Kenneth Prewitt, *What Is Your Race? The Census and Our Flawed Efforts to Classify Americans* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2013), 53; Debra Thompson, *The Schematic State: Race, Transnationalism, and the Politics of the Census* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 53, 63.

<sup>19</sup> Willis Brewer, *Alabama: Her History, Resources, War Record, and Public Men, 1540-1872* (Montgomery, Alabama: Barrett & Brown, Steam Printers and Book Binders, 1872), 135.

<sup>20</sup> Eric Foner, *Freedom's Lawmakers: A Directory of Black Officeholders During Reconstruction* (New York City, New York: Oxford University Press, 1993),

southern states.<sup>21</sup> The concept of accidental humanization includes any example of documents and information provided by white writers that later historians could use to humanize and reanimate the lives of marginalized individuals.

Census-takers occasionally used the occupation box to state that John Voorhees was a “slave, laborer,” that Nancy Thompson was a “slave domestic,” that Jack Westervelt was a “slave on farm,” that Frank Jefferson was a “farm slave,” and that Tun (Tom?) Snyder was a “slave servant.” Some census-takers noted an enslaved person’s legal status through the debility box at the end of each row. The collector of census data noted that the debilities of individuals such as Deanna Wilson, Sarah Quick, and Will Van Winkle were that each person was a “slave.” The uncertain appellations revealed the ambiguity in the social status of enslaved New Jerseyans in 1860.

The status of enslaved individuals in New Jersey in 1860 is complicated because at least sixteen of them appeared in the regular 1850 census. The presence of the individuals in both censuses is useful as a way to compare how perceptions of individuals changed throughout the two antebellum census records. There could be massive differences between the ages listed in the 1850 census and the ages contained in the 1860 census. Phebe Brown appeared in the 1850 census without being classified as an enslaved person. Her age was listed as 58 in 1850, but census-takers wrote that she was 84 by the 1860 census. Some were listed in a more predictable manner, as census-takers listed Thomas Staats as 57 in 1850 and as 70 in 1860. Rachel Williamson hardly aged at all within the censuses, as the 1850 census listed her as 75 while the 1860 census gave her the age of 80.

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<sup>21</sup> W.E.B. du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America: An Essay Toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860-1880* (New York City, New York: Oxford University Press, 2017 (1935)), 697.

Census-takers tried to publicize an individual's lack of freedom through other methods than simply writing variations in the word "slave" in one of the provided boxes of the 1860 census pages. Lockey (or Lucky) White's occupation was "house work slave for life" (underlined in original), while Dorathy Hall's occupation was a "slave" (underlined in original). Sylvia Hunt's designated occupation as a "slave" received a circle around it for the benefit of those who enumerated enslaved individuals. The 1860 census revealed the opaque and liminal status of enslaved individuals in New Jersey, as the census detailed that Jack Campbell was a "(slave) servant." Census-takers even listed the 84-year-old enslaved woman Phebe Brown alongside her real estate value of \$300. In the final column (entitled "Whether deaf and dumb, blind, insane, idiotic, pauper, or convict"), an official of the census denoted Dinah Garretson as a "slave." Dinah Van Arsdale had both her skin color and her occupation described by the 1860 census as a "slave." There was little consistency with how census-takers alerted the federal government of an individual's status.

The 1860 census revealed that Census-takers listed individuals such as Eve Sayre and Betsy Lane had their occupations listed as a "servant," while the last column listed them as a "slave." A census-taker noted at the bottom of a census that Jane (also called Jennie) Daniels was "an old slave without doubt."<sup>22</sup> Even households with enslaved individuals caused confusion among the employees of the Census Bureau. A census page listed Parin (or Pann) Neal as a head of household, while the enslaved Jack Knapson lived in a household led by an African-American servant.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: *Records of the Bureau of the Census*; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: Woodbridge, Middlesex, New Jersey; Roll: M653 699; Page: 223; Family History Library Film: 803699.

<sup>23</sup> The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: *Records of the Bureau of the Census*; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: Bridgeton, Cumberland, New Jersey; Roll: M653 687; Page: 497; Family History Library Film: 803687; The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: *Records of the Bureau of the Census*; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence

The enslavers of New Jersey in 1860 were often affluent, but they were not the wealthiest individuals within the state. The richest was Cornelius Van Winkle, who was not listed alongside an occupation in 1860. Census-takers wrote that he had \$70,000 in real estate and a personal estate valued at \$50,000.<sup>24</sup> Many enslavers had far fewer resources than Van Winkle. Dennis G. Wyckoff was a cabinet maker with \$1,200 in real estate and a personal estate that only amounted to \$300.<sup>25</sup> The most prominent enslaver in 1860 was Charles S. Boggs, who would serve as a rear admiral during the Civil War. Boggs commanded the *Varuna* and helped Union forces capture New Orleans in 1862. It remains unknown if he still enslaved Deanna Wilson when he played a key role in a major Union victory.<sup>26</sup>

In the middle of the nineteenth century, New Jersey politicians remained ambivalent in relation to the southern states and with the Democratic Party that grew in power in that region throughout the 1850s. The first Republican vice presidential candidate, William L. Dayton, was from New Jersey when he ran in 1856. New Jersey was the home of the Whig vice presidential nominee Theodore Frelinghuysen in 1844 as well. However, New Jersey had one of the strongest Democratic Parties in the northern states by the 1860 presidential election. New Jersey was the only state in the North that did not give all of its electoral votes to Lincoln in 1860. Former governor Rodman M. Price, who was head of state from 1854 to 1857 in New Jersey, argued that

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Date: 1860; Home in 1860: *Hackensack, Bergen, New Jersey*; Roll: M653\_683; Page: 611; Family History Library Film: 803683.

<sup>24</sup> The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: *Records of the Bureau of the Census*; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: *Paterson East Ward, Passaic, New Jersey*; Roll: M653\_706; Page: 349; Family History Library Film: 803706.

<sup>25</sup> The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: *Records of the Bureau of the Census*; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: *Readington, Hunterdon, New Jersey*; Roll: M653\_695; Page: 131; Family History Library Film: 803695.

<sup>26</sup> William J. Jackson, *New Jerseyans in the Civil War: For Union and Liberty* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2000), 75-6; The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: *Records of the Bureau of the Census*; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: *New Brunswick, Middlesex, New Jersey*; Roll: M653\_700; Page: 160; Family History Library Film: 803700.

New Jersey should support the Confederacy prior to the Civil War. He even remarked that New Jersey should “go with the South from every wise, prudential, and patriotic reason.” Price believed that “our Commerce would cease” if New Jersey did not join the new Confederate States of America.<sup>27</sup> During the Civil War, New Jersey was one of only three states to support its native son, George McClellan, in the 1864 presidential election. From 1852 to 1896, New Jersey supported the Democratic candidate in all elections except in 1860 and in 1872. New Jerseyans elected only Democratic governors from 1869 to 1896.<sup>28</sup> The New Jersey legislature rejected the Thirteenth Amendment and the Fifteenth Amendment prior to their ratification. The state legislature of New Jersey initially accepted the Fourteenth Amendment in 1866, but it rescinded its approval in 1868 prior to the amendment’s passage. Ultimately, the New Jersey legislature would not re-ratify the Fourteenth Amendment until 2003.<sup>29</sup>

Postbellum New Jersey newspaper articles mostly cared about formerly enslaved individuals due to their age and because of their supposed rarity. In 1882, the *Montclair Times* hyperbolically claimed that only a “few people now living remember the days when slavery existed in New Jersey, yet the fact that it did exist and was a legalized institution is within the memory of men yet living.”<sup>30</sup> In reality, individuals in their late twenties could have had vivid memories of the years prior to the abolition of slavery in New Jersey in 1865. There were never accounts of cruelty in the white newspaper accounts of enslaved New Jerseyans who lived after the Civil War. Descriptions often appeared alongside the supposedly exemplary behavior of their enslavers. The *New York Sun* focused on the past of one of the women that the 1860 census-taker defined as an

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<sup>27</sup> Alan A. Siegel, *Beneath the Starry Flag: New Jersey’s Civil War Experience* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2001), 9-10.

<sup>28</sup> James J. Gigantino, *The Ragged Road to Abolition: Slavery and Freedom in New Jersey, 1775-1865* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 240.

<sup>29</sup> Gabriel J. Chin and Anjali Abraham, “Beyond the Supermajority: Post-Adoption Ratification of the Equality Amendments,” *Arizona Law Review* 50, no. 1 (2008): 28, 35-6.

<sup>30</sup> “One of the Old Slaves,” *The Montclair Times* (Montclair, New Jersey), July 22, 1882, 3.

enslaved person named Rachel Williamson. While the article mentioned that Williamson had two children who survived her, neither received an interview for the newspaper. By contrast, the newspaper writer included testimony from her former enslaver Dumont Frelinghuysen. The article depicted the Frelinghuysens as indulgent toward the woman whom they enslaved for the vast majority of her life. As often occurred in the age disparities from 1850 to 1860, Dumont Frelinghuysen thought that Williamson was around 105 years old in 1878.<sup>31</sup> The 1860 census only listed Williamson's age as 80 in 1860, so there was far more concern over the longevity of enslaved individuals than over their actual lives.

White newspaper editors and writers focused on novel stories that stressed historical curiosities related to enslaved individuals rather than the actual experience of chattel slavery in New Jersey. The *New York Sun* article on Williamson provided more details on her ancestry than about the actual labor she performed while enslaved. The enslavers of Williamson and her mother were members of the powerful Frelinghuysen family, about whom the newspaper writer provided only kind details. The newspaper writer described the mother of Williamson as a "princess" from the island of Madagascar prior to her own enslavement while she searched for shells to create a necklace. On the capture of Williamson's mother, the article noted that "no manacles were put on her, because she was passively obedient to every command." Traders sold Williamson's mother in New York before moving to New Jersey. None of the Works Progress Administration (WPA) interviewers were able to talk with an individual who suffered enslavement in New Jersey. The few extant accounts of enslaved people contributed to the lack of scholarly attention to slavery within the state.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> "The Story of a Princess," *Monmouth Democrat* (Freehold, New Jersey), September 19, 1878, 4.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 4

New Jersey was a border state rather than a typical northern state. The state was often more comparable to the other slave states of 1860 than they were with the states that forbade slavery at the time of the Civil War. In the 1868, 1876, 1888, and 1892 presidential elections, the only states that gave a higher percentage of their votes to the Democratic candidates than New Jersey were other former slave states. Prior to the Civil War, there were sixteen slave states rather than the often-cited figure of fifteen slave states. While New Jersey did not engage in a legal slave trade with other slave states, slavery existed within its borders even as the Civil War came to a close. Scholars such as Kevin Waite argue for a more expansive definition of the U.S. South than the original states of the Confederacy.<sup>33</sup>

The distribution of enslaved persons throughout New Jersey revealed that slavery did not change massively during the 1850s. Bergen County had the most enslaved denizens in 1860, and Bergen County had the highest number of enslaved individuals in all previous U.S. censuses for New Jersey. The official statistics of the 1860 census did not list any enslaved individuals in the county, and the census-takers did not adequately publicize the statuses of enslaved individuals in most cases throughout New Jersey counties. There were actually twelve counties where census-takers reported that there were enslaved persons, in contrast to the six counties listed in the official 1860 census statistics. County records were so sparse that individuals were occasionally visible in the census statistics. Census-takers even counted a 37-year-old woman in their official statistics even though a person of that age could not be legally enslaved in New Jersey. The young woman who census-takers marked as enslaved was Betsy (Bet.) Craig. Will Van Winkle, Dorathy Hall, Peter Hall, and Lockey (Luckey) White also were individuals represented in specific age ranges,

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<sup>33</sup> Kevin Waite, *West of Slavery: The Southern Dream of a Transcontinental Empire* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 2021), 9.

genders, and county locations. The age statistics revealed that not all enslaved individuals were as “elderly” as historians often claimed about slavery in New Jersey in 1860.<sup>34</sup>

The question of which individuals suffered enslavement in New Jersey in 1860 must remain open. The most disturbing question of the study remains whether certain individuals even received classification as enslaved in the 1860 census when they still underwent bondage. The disorganized nature of the census within New Jersey allows this as a possibility, though this will likely remain uncertain. The presence of several individuals in households in 1850 raises several crucial questions on how little the difference between the status of enslaved and free Black New Jerseyans was in the fifteen years before emancipation.

Historians must never forget the last enslaved individuals of New Jersey, and analysts of antebellum slavery must study the last men and women to undergo perpetual servitude. The enslaved New Jerseyans are some of the only enslaved individuals about whom we know detailed census data and their stories are unique for that reason in the antebellum archives. In the course of my research into enslavers throughout the United States, *Washington Post* writer Julie Zauzmer Weil kindly referred me to her colleague Gillian Brockell. Brockell asked if I knew of any of the 18 New Jerseyans enslaved in 1860. The successive months revealed 64 individuals whom census-takers termed as enslaved men and women in the state. The 1860 census drastically undercounted the number of unfree laborers in New Jersey. Intense research into the 1860 census for enslaved New Jerseyans worked well because, unlike other enslaved Americans, the names of the New Jerseyans are in the census. I looked through every page of the 1860 census for New Jersey through access to Ancestry.com. We now know most of their names, and we must learn more

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<sup>34</sup> The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: *Records of the Bureau of the Census*; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: *Paterson East Ward, Passaic, New Jersey*; Roll: M653\_706; Page: 309; Family History Library Film: 803706.

about them. Perhaps the enslaved New Jerseyans' descendants, genealogists, and researchers can use their names, locations, and census classifications to study slavery in the antebellum North.

#### Appendix 1: List of Enslaved Individuals in New Jersey in 1860

Betty Ackeman - Age 70 - Hackensack, Bergen County - probably enslaved to the household of David A.G. Westervelt (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Hackensack, Bergen, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: M653_683; Page: 571; Family History Library Film: 803683)
Jack Bakeman - Age 54 - Hackensack, Bergen County - probably enslaved to the household of David A.G. Westervelt (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Hackensack, Bergen, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: M653_683; Page: 571; Family History Library Film: 803683)
Flora Banta – Age 80 - Township Saddle River, Bergen County - enslaved in the household of John G. Banta (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Saddle River, Bergen, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: M653_683; Page: 315; Family History Library Film: 803683)
Frank Banta - Age 70 -Township Saddle River, Bergen County - enslaved in the household of John G. Banta (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Saddle River, Bergen, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: M653_683; Page: 315; Family History Library Film: 803683)
Cezar Bell - Age 70 – Township Saddle River, Bergen County - enslaved in the household of Jane Van Riper (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Saddle River, Bergen, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: M653_683; Page: 308; Family History Library Film: 803683)

Dinah Boice - Age 75 – Franklin, Somerset County - enslaved in the household of John V.L. Boice (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Franklin, Somerset, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: M653_708; Page: 20; Family History Library Film: 803708)
Betty Brown – Age 80 - Hackensack Township, Bergen County - enslaved in the households of Peter J. Ackerman (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Hackensack, Bergen, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: M653_683; Page: 636; Family History Library Film: 803683)
Phebe Brown - Age 84 - Hackensack Township, Bergen County - enslaved in the household of John J. Van Buskirk (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Hackensack, Bergen, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: M653_683; Page: 524; Family History Library Film: 803683)
Susan Brown – Age 70 - Hackensack Township, Bergen County - enslaved in the household of James H. Brinkerhoff (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Hackensack, Bergen, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: M653_683; Page: 636; Family History Library Film: 803683)
Jack Campbell – Age 60 – Franklin Township, Somerset County – enslaved in the household of Rena A. Derufey (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Franklin, Somerset, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: M653_708; Page: 46; Family History Library Film: 803708)
Bet. Craig – Age 37 – East Ward Paterson, Passaic County – enslaved in the household of Brant Van Blarcom (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Paterson East Ward, Passaic, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: M653_706; Page: 309; Family History Library Film: 803706)
(likely) Jane (Jennie) Daniels – Age 83 (85?) – Woodbridge Township, Middlesex County – enslaved in the household of Ellis Daniels (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Woodbridge, Middlesex, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: M653_699; Page: 223; Family History Library Film: 803699)
Dinah Garretson – Age 70 – Hillsborough Township, Somerset County - enslaved in the household of John V. Van Neste (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Hillsborough, Somerset, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: M653_708; Page: 815; Family History Library Film: 803708)
Susan Garrison - Age 80 - Franklin Township, Somerset County - enslaved in the household of Martin S. Garrison (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Franklin, Somerset, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: M653_708; Page: 85; Family History Library Film: 803708)

Dorothy Hall - Age 100 - Branchburgh Township, Somerset County - enslaved in the household of Isaac H. Hall (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Branchburg, Somerset, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: M653_708; Page: 907; Family History Library Film: 803708)
Peter Hall – Age 80 – Branchburgh Township, Somerset County - enslaved in the household of Cona (Cornelius) V. Hall (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Branchburg, Somerset, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: M653_708; Page: 917; Family History Library Film: 803708)
Mary Hannibal - Age 77 New Barbadoes, Bergen County - enslaved to the household of Nicholas A. Voorhis (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>New Barbadoes, Bergen, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: M653_683; Page: 396; Family History Library Film: 803683)
Hannah Hoagland – Age 57 -Montgomery Township, Somerset County - enslaved in the household of John L. Hoagland (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Montgomery, Somerset, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: M653_708; Page: 885; Family History Library Film: 803708)
Sylvia Hunt - Age 95 -Lawrence Township, Mercer County - enslaved in the household of A. Price Lanning (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Lawrence, Mercer, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: M653_697; Page: 718; Family History Library Film: 803697)
Dorinah (Dinah?) Jackson - Age 65 – Hackensack Township, Bergen County – enslaved in the household of Henry J. Brinkerhoff (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Hackensack, Bergen, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: M653_683; Page: 541; Family History Library Film: 803683)
Dorothey Jackson – Age 95 – Upper Township, Cape May County – enslaved in the household of Amariah Cason (Corson?) (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Upper, Cape May, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: M653_687; Page: 15; Family History Library Film: 803687)
John Jackson - Age 70 - Township Saddle River, Bergen County - enslaved in the household of Henry Van Houten (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Saddle River, Bergen, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: M653_683; Page: 314; Family History Library Film: 803683)
Frank Jefferson - Age 60 – Harrington, Bergen County - enslaved to the household of Daniel D. Blauvelt (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Harrington, Bergen, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: M653_683; Page: 486; Family History Library Film: 803683)

Catharin Kinsbery (Kinsberry?) – Age 64 - Hope, Warren County – enslaved to the household of Abram S. Pearson (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Hope, Warren, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: M653_711; Page: 22; Family History Library Film: 803711)
Jack Knapson - Age 70 – Hackensack, Bergen County - unknown enslaver (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Hackensack, Bergen, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: M653_683; Page: 611; Family History Library Film: 803683)
Betsy Lane - Age 70 – New Brunswick, Middlesex County enslaved in the household of Sarah Hageman (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>New Brunswick, Middlesex, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: M653_700; Page: 153; Family History Library Film: 803700)
Richard Lattin - Age 60 – Clinton, Hunterdon County, enslaved to the household of Conrad Apgar (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Clinton, Hunterdon, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: M653_696; Page: 697; Family History Library Film: 803696)
Judah Long - Age 80 – Franklin, Warren County - enslaved in the household of William Shipman (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Franklin, Warren, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: M653_711; Page: 467; Family History Library Film: 803711)
Dinah Mattis - Age 75 – Bridgewater Township, Somerset County - enslaved in the household of Samuel B. Beckman (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Bridgewater, Somerset, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: M653_708; Page: 925; Family History Library Film: 803708)
Irene (Juno?) Moore – Age 72 – Maurice River, Cumberland County – enslaved in the household of Benjamin F. Reeves (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Maurice River, Cumberland, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: M653_687; Page: 288; Family History Library Film: 803687)
Parin (Pann?) Neal - Age 56 - Bridgeton Cohansey, Cumberland County - unknown enslaver (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Bridgeton, Cumberland, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: M653_687; Page: 497; Family History Library Film: 803687)
Phoebe Paulison – Age 87 - East Ward Paterson, Passaic County - enslaved in the household of Peter A. Van Houten (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Paterson East Ward, Passaic, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: M653_706; Page: 402; Family History Library Film: 803706)
Juda Peon – Age 55 – Hackensack Township, Bergen County - enslaved in the household of William H. Day (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the</i>

<i>Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Hackensack, Bergen, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: M653_683; Page: 597; Family History Library Film: 803683)
Dinah Peterson – Age 81? - Montgomery Township, Somerset County - enslaved in the household of Abram C. Beckman (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Montgomery, Somerset, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: M653_708; Page: 885; Family History Library Film: 803708)
Sarah Quick - Age 80 - Hillsborough Township, Somerset County - enslaved in the household of Abraham Quick (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Hillsborough, Somerset, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: M653_708; Page: 784; Family History Library Film: 803708)
Eve Sayre - Age 70 – Union, Union County - enslaved in the household of Daniel R. Sayre (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Union, Union, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: M653_710; Page: 661; Family History Library Film: 803710)
Maria Simonson - Age 85 - Bridgewater Township, Somerset County - enslaved in the household of Joshua Doughty (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Bridgewater, Somerset, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: M653_708; Page: 1011; Family History Library Film: 803708)
Hannah Sisco – Age 75 – Hackensack Township, Bergen County - enslaved in the household of Nicholas Westervelt (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Hackensack, Bergen, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: M653_683; Page: 564; Family History Library Film: 803683)
Jack Sisco – Age 80 - Hackensack Township, Bergen County - enslaved in the household of Jacob C. Terheun (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Hackensack, Bergen, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: M653_683; Page: 637; Family History Library Film: 803683)
Diana Snowhill – Age 70 – East Brunswick, Middlesex County – enslaved in the household of Andrew Snowhill (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Spotswood, Middlesex, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: M653_700; Page: 30; Family History Library Film: 803700)
Tom (Tun?) Snyder - Age 59 - New Barbadoes, Bergen County- enslaved in the household of Hannah Ackerson (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>New Barbadoes, Bergen, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: M653_683; Page: 397; Family History Library Film: 803683)
Judy Staats - Age 73 – Hillsborough, Somerset County - enslaved in the household of Samuel Francis (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M653; Residence Date: 1860; Home in

1860: <i>Hillsborough, Somerset, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: <i>M653_708</i> ; Page: 827; Family History Library Film: 803708)
Thomas Staats – Age 70 – Hillsborough, Somerset County – enslaved in the household of John P. Staats (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: <i>M653</i> ; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Hillsborough, Somerset, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: <i>M653_708</i> ; Page: 831; Family History Library Film: 803708)
Katy Stelle – Age 90 - Piscataway, Middlesex County - enslaved in the household of Rachel Stelle (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: <i>M653</i> ; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Piscataway, Middlesex, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: <i>M653_699</i> ; Page: 124; Family History Library Film: 803699)
Nancy Thompson - Age 61 – Harrington, Bergen County - enslaved in the household of Nicolas C. Durrie (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: <i>M653</i> ; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Harrington, Bergen, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: <i>M653_683</i> ; Page: 481; Family History Library Film: 803683)
Peter Thompson – Age 75 – Hackensack, Bergen County - enslaved in the household of R.C. Dey (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: <i>M653</i> ; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Hackensack, Bergen, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: <i>M653_683</i> ; Page: 545; Family History Library Film: 803683)
Tom Thompson - Age 55 – Hackensack, Bergen County - enslaved in the household of Albert A. Terheune (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: <i>M653</i> ; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Hackensack, Bergen, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: <i>M653_683</i> ; Page: 582; Family History Library Film: 803683)
Betsy Tompson - Age 60 – New Barbadoes, Bergen County - enslaved in the household of Richard P. Terheune (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: <i>M653</i> ; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>New Barbadoes, Bergen, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: <i>M653_683</i> ; Page: 416; Family History Library Film: 803683)
Sarah Tompson – Age 70 - New Barbadoes, Bergen County - enslaved in the household of Henry J. Van Saun (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: <i>M653</i> ; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>New Barbadoes, Bergen, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: <i>M653_683</i> ; Page: 455; Family History Library Film: 803683)
Diana Updike – Age 76 – West Windsor, Mercer County – enslaved in the household of John S. Fisher (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: <i>M653</i> ; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>West Windsor, Mercer, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: <i>M653_697</i> ; Page: 268; Family History Library Film: 803697)
Betsy Van Arsdale – Age 65 – New Brunswick, Middlesex County – enslaved in the household of Maria Van Arsdale (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: <i>M653</i> ; Residence

Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>New Brunswick, Middlesex, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: <i>M653_700</i> ; Page: 234; Family History Library Film: 803700)
Tony Van Doren – Age 75 – Bridgewater Township, Somerset County - unknown enslaver (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: <i>M653</i> ; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Bridgewater, Somerset, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: <i>M653_708</i> ; Page: 972; Family History Library Film: 803708)
Catharine Van Fleet - Age 71 - Readington, Hunterdon County - enslaved to the household of Hannah G. Van Fleet (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: <i>M653</i> ; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Readington, Hunterdon, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: <i>M653_695</i> ; Page: 190; Family History Library Film: 803695)
James Van Fleet - Age 69 – Readington, Hunterdon County - enslaved to the household of Hannah G. Van Fleet (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: <i>M653</i> ; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Readington, Hunterdon, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: <i>M653_695</i> ; Page: 190; Family History Library Film: 803695)
Dinah Van Winkle – Age 75 – East Ward Paterson, Passaic County – enslaved in the household of Cornelius Van Winkle (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: <i>M653</i> ; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Paterson East Ward, Passaic, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: <i>M653_706</i> ; Page: 349; Family History Library Film: 803706)
Will Van Winkle – Age 69 - Belleville, Essex County - enslaved in the household of Daniel Van Winkle (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: <i>M653</i> ; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Belleville, Essex, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: <i>M653_690</i> ; Page: 279; Family History Library Film: 803690)
Betty Veghte - Age 56 – Franklin, Somerset County - enslaved in the household of Abram Veghte (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: <i>M653</i> ; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Franklin, Somerset, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: <i>M653_708</i> ; Page: 68; Family History Library Film: 803708)
John Voorhees - Age 62 – Montgomery, Somerset County enslaved in the household of Garret L. (S.?) Vanlien (Vanlieu?) (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: <i>M653</i> ; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Montgomery, Somerset, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: <i>M653_708</i> ; Page: 889; Family History Library Film: 803708)
Jane Waldren (Waldron?) – Age 70 – Branchburgh Township, Somerset County enslaved in the household of Dennis G. Wyckhoff (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: <i>M653</i> ; Residence Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Branchburg, Somerset, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: <i>M653_708</i> ; Page: 900; Family History Library Film: 803708)
Jack Westervelt - Age 70 - Harrington Township, Bergen County - enslaved in the household of John Ackerman Jr. (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: <i>M653</i> ; Residence

Date: 1860; Home in 1860: <i>Harrington, Bergen, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: <i>M653_683</i> ; Page: <i>481</i> ; Family History Library Film: <i>803683</i> )
Lockey (Luckey) White - Age 60 – Chatham, Morris County - enslaved in the household of Catharine Dickinson (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: <i>29</i> ; Series Number: <i>M653</i> ; Residence Date: <i>1860</i> ; Home in 1860: <i>Chatham, Morris, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: <i>M653_704</i> ; Page: <i>854</i> ; Family History Library Film: <i>803704</i> )
Rachel Williamson – Age 80 – Bridgewater Township, Somerset County – enslaved in the household of Dumont Frelinghuysen (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: <i>29</i> ; Series Number: <i>M653</i> ; Residence Date: <i>1860</i> ; Home in 1860: <i>Bridgewater, Somerset, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: <i>M653_708</i> ; Page: <i>1000</i> ; Family History Library Film: <i>803708</i> )
Deanna Wilson – Age 95 - New Brunswick, Middlesex County - enslaved in the household of Charles S. Boggs (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: <i>29</i> ; Series Number: <i>M653</i> ; Residence Date: <i>1860</i> ; Home in 1860: <i>New Brunswick, Middlesex, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: <i>M653_700</i> ; Page: <i>160</i> ; Family History Library Film: <i>803700</i> )
Martha Wyckoff – Age 70 – Readington, Hunterdon County – enslaved in the household of Cornelia Wyckoff (The National Archives in Washington D.C.; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: <i>29</i> ; Series Number: <i>M653</i> ; Residence Date: <i>1860</i> ; Home in 1860: <i>Readington, Hunterdon, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: <i>M653_695</i> ; Page: <i>131</i> ; Family History Library Film: <i>803695</i> )

#### Appendix 2: Free Individuals in 1850, But Listed as Enslaved in the 1860 Census

Jack Bakeman- Age 54 - Hackensack, Bergen County - listed near the household of David A.G. Westervelt (The National Archives in Washington, DC; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: <i>29</i> ; Series Number: <i>M432</i> ; Residence Date: <i>1850</i> ; Home in 1850: <i>Hackensack, Bergen, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: <i>442</i> ; Page: <i>112b</i> )
Dinah (Dianna) Boice- Age 65 – Franklin, Somerset County - listed in the household of John V.L. Boice (The National Archives in Washington, DC; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: <i>29</i> ; Series Number: <i>M432</i> ; Residence Date: <i>1850</i> ; Home in 1850: <i>Franklin, Somerset, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: <i>463</i> ; Page: <i>292b</i> )
Jane Daniels – Age 75 – Woodbridge Township, Middlesex County – listed in the household of Ellis Daniels (The National Archives in Washington, DC; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: <i>29</i> ; Series Number: <i>M432</i> ; Residence Date: <i>1850</i> ; Home in 1850: <i>Woodbridge, Middlesex, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: <i>455</i> ; Page: <i>4b</i> )
Susan Garretsen (Garrison or Garretson)- Age 72 - Franklin Township, Somerset County - listed in the household of Martin S. Garretsen (Garrison or Garretson) (The National Archives in Washington, DC; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: <i>29</i> ; Series Number: <i>M432</i> ; Residence Date: <i>1850</i> ; Home in 1850: <i>Franklin, Somerset, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: <i>463</i> ; Page: <i>311b</i> )

Jack Knapson - Age 55 – Hackensack, Bergen County – not listed with an enslaver (The National Archives in Washington, DC; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M432; Residence Date: 1850; Home in 1850: <i>Hackensack, Bergen, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: 442; Page: 138a)
Juno Moore - Age 60 – Maurice River, Cumberland County – listed in the household of Benjamin F. Reeves (The National Archives in Washington, DC; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M432; Residence Date: 1850; Home in 1850: <i>Maurice River, Cumberland, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: 446; Page: 97b)
Dinah Peterson– Age 55 - Montgomery Township, Somerset County - listed in the household of Abraham (Abram) C. Beckman (The National Archives in Washington, DC; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M432; Residence Date: 1850; Home in 1850: <i>Montgomery, Somerset, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: 463; Page: 380b)
Eve Sayre - Age 55 – Union, Essex County – listed in the household of Daniel R. Sayre – (The National Archives in Washington, DC; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M432; Residence Date: 1850; Home in 1850: <i>Union, Essex, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: 450; Page: 294a)
Maria Simonson (Doughty)- Age 55 - Bridgewater Township, Somerset County - listed in the household of Joshua Doughty (The National Archives in Washington, DC; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M432; Residence Date: 1850; Home in 1850: <i>Bridgewater, Somerset, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: 463; Page: 272a)
Tun Snyder (Demarest) - Age 50 - Washington, Bergen County- listed in the household of Garret Ackerson (The National Archives in Washington, DC; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M432; Residence Date: 1850; Home in 1850: <i>Washington, Bergen, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: 442; Page: 260b)
Thomas (Tom) Staats – Age 57 – Hillsborough, Somerset County – listed in the household of John P. Staats (The National Archives in Washington, DC; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M432; Residence Date: 1850; Home in 1850: <i>Hillsborough, Somerset, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: 463; Page: 433b)
Katy Stelle– Age 60 - Piscataway, Middlesex County - listed in the household of Rachel Stelle (The National Archives in Washington, DC; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M432; Residence Date: 1850; Home in 1850: <i>Piscataway, Middlesex, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: 455; Page: 82a)
Nancy Thompson (Duryea) - Age 40 – Harrington, Bergen County – listed in the household of Nicolas C. Durie (Duryea) (The National Archives in Washington, DC; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M432; Residence Date: 1850; Home in 1850: <i>Harrington, Bergen, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: 442; Page: 278b)
Will Van Winkle (Will Divine)– Age 60 - Belleville, Essex County - listed in the household of Daniel Van Winkle (The National Archives in Washington, DC; Record Group: <i>Records of the Bureau of the Census</i> ; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M432; Residence Date: 1850; Home in 1850: <i>Belleville, Essex, New Jersey</i> ; Roll: 449; Page: 142b)
Rachel Williamson– Age 75 – Bridgewater Township, Somerset County – listed in the household of Dumont Frelinghuysen (The National Archives in Washington, DC; Record Group: <i>Records</i>

*of the Bureau of the Census; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M432; Residence Date: 1850; Home in 1850: Bridgewater, Somerset, New Jersey; Roll: 463; Page: 275a)*

*Martha Wyckoff – Age 50 – Readington, Hunterdon County (The National Archives in Washington, DC; Record Group: Records of the Bureau of the Census; Record Group Number: 29; Series Number: M432; Residence Date: 1850; Home in 1850: Readington, Hunterdon, New Jersey; Roll: 453; Page: 297b)*

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