

SLAVE FURNISHING PLAN
FOR
THE WILLIAM TRENT HOUSE
TRENTON, NEW JERSEY



Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS NJ,11-TRET,6-24

Martha B. Katz-Hyman
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MARTHA B. KATZ-HYMAN

Independent Curator

Martha B. Katz-Hyman graduated from Simmons College, Boston, with a bachelor's degree in American Studies, and received her master's degree in Museum Studies from the Cooperstown Graduate Programs of the State University of New York at Oneonta.

From 1985 to 2005 she was associate curator in the Department of Collections at Colonial Williamsburg, where she worked primarily with the mechanical arts collection, kitchen equipment, musical instruments, and was responsible for the furnishing of outbuildings, trade shops and slave quarters. She was the department's specialist in the material culture of eighteenth-century Tidewater Virginia slaves. She has authored numerous articles on various aspects of historic house furnishing, including several on the furnishing of slave quarters and slave living spaces in eighteenth-century Virginia.

She is currently Architectural Collections Fellow in the Department of Architectural Collections at Colonial Williamsburg and is also an independent curator.

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Introduction

When he died unexpectedly on December 24, 1724, William Trent was not only one of the best known and most respected residents of West Jersey, he was also one of its wealthiest.¹ Even after the prolonged controversy between his second wife, Mary Coddington Trent, and James, the surviving son of his first marriage, the value of his possessions, as listed in his 1726 probate inventory, totaled £1100.18.1/2. In the decade of his death—1720-1730—only the estates of Marmaduke Coate of Burlington County and Thomas Hill of Salem exceeded Trent's in value. But where much of the value of Coate's inventory consisted of financial instruments, and Hill's his store inventory, over one-third of the value of Trent's inventory was in the form of human capital: eleven enslaved men, women and children of African descent. This total was by far the most of any West Jersey resident who died between 1720 and 1730 and whose inventory included either Negroes and/or slaves.²

Little is known about these people beyond their names and inventory values. Like virtually all eighteenth century probate inventories that include slaves, nothing in the inventory, aside from the slaves themselves, reflects the clothing, food and personal possessions of these people, and because few of Trent's personal papers survive, their roles within the Trent household and where they might have lived on the property are unclear. Furthermore, lacking Trent's personal account books, it is impossible to know for certain the kinds of clothing, bedding and food he provided for his slaves.

But there is information from more generalized sources, as well as the simple list in the inventory itself that gives insight into the lives of enslaved people in West Jersey during the first quarter of the eighteenth century and will enable the 1719 Trent House to more fully interpret the lives of these eleven individuals.

¹ The most complete biography of Trent to date can be found in Craig W. Horle, et al., *Lawmaking and Legislators in Pennsylvania: A Biographical Dictionary*. Vol. II, 1710-1756 (Philadelphia : University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 993-1001. His probate inventory, along with various documents pertaining to the settlement of his estate, is found in New Jersey Wills, State Archives, Trenton, NJ, 1211C, 1213C, 1433C-1438C.

² This conclusion was arrived at by making a chart of all abstracted West Jersey estates listed in *Calendar of New Jersey Wills, Vol. 1, 1670-1730*, Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New Jersey, Vol. 23 (Trenton, NJ: 1901) and dated between 1720 and 1730 that included the term "Negro" or "slave." The chart includes information on location, total inventory value, number and gender of slaves, and, where given, value of slaves. It is arranged both alphabetically and chronologically. See Appendix A.

I. Sources of Information About Slave Material Culture³

A. Probate Inventories

The primary source of information used by curators in furnishing historic buildings is the probate inventory. Compiled after a person's death, probate inventories are lists of a deceased's assets prepared to assist the probate court in the settlement of the deceased's estate. As in many other colonies, probate inventories in eighteenth-century West Jersey usually include only moveable property, i.e., furniture, clothing, cooking equipment, dining equipment, etc. Real property, such as houses or outbuildings, or storage furniture physically attached to real property (shelves, dressers, cupboards), is usually not included in the inventory.

Slaves were considered moveable property and thus are included in probate inventory listings. The portions of these inventories related to slave-occupied areas, whether urban or rural, usually includes only the equipment used to work the property (tools, agricultural or trade equipment, etc.), or other property of the deceased, but never the clothing, food, ceramics and blankets the slaves already had. The inventories seem to indicate that masters provided a bare minimum for their slaves and that, indeed, slaves lived in the most meager of circumstances with the most basic of provisions. Consequently, it would appear that only these few objects could be exhibited to reflect the material lives of slaves. A more thorough analysis of the probate inventories reveals that the tools and equipment that would have been used by slaves and that were necessary for the household's operation are listed, but that none of the personal goods known from other sources to have been at slave quarters appear in these inventories in the necessary quantities.

This absence strongly suggests that, as in other localities, even though slaves in West Jersey were legally the property of their owners and technically could not own property themselves, for all practical purposes 1) both blacks and whites considered slaves' personal goods to belong to the slaves and therefore these items were not subject to inventory, or 2) white owners felt these items were of no value to themselves once given to their slaves, considered these things "beneath notice," and therefore did not include them in probate inventories, or 3) slaves' personal items were included in the value listed for the slave.⁴ Therefore, while probate inventories are good for determining

³ An much-expanded discussion of these source materials in reference to eighteenth-century Virginia can be found in Martha B. Katz-Hyman, "In the Middle of This Poverty Some Cups and a Teapot:" The Material Culture of Slavery in Eighteenth-century Virginia and the Furnishing of Slave Quarters at Colonial Williamsburg," in *The American Home: Material Culture, Domestic Space, and Family Life*, ed. by Eleanor McD. Thompson (Winterthur, DE : Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum ; Hanover, NH : Distributed by University Press of New England, 1998), 197-216.

⁴The ancient Roman principle of the *peculium* helps to explain this concept of slaves holding property. According to this principle, which was understood and used as customary law by many eighteenth-century slaveowners, slaves were allowed to accumulate property but this property was subject to appropriation by the master at any time, although in practice, the appropriation of the goods may have happened infrequently, if ever. See Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), 182-

the types and quantities of goods used by the deceased during his or her lifetime, they are not reliable as the primary guides for furnishing spaces with slaves' *personal* goods.

B. Other Legal and Public Documents

The handful of West Jersey trial proceedings that include slaves as defendants do not mention slaves' personal goods, and wills, in general, have not included this information.

C. Runaway Slave Advertisements

For early eighteenth-century West Jersey, runaway slave advertisements constitute one of the best sources for information about slaves and the clothing they wore.⁵ Most advertisements detail the time and place of escape, describe the slave's physical appearance and clothing worn at the time of the escape, list any skills the slave had, and specify any items the slave might have taken. A probable destination (if known), and the reward offered for the slave's return are also included. It is apparent from a close reading of these advertisements that slaves wore a variety of clothing, from a basic "uniform" of field hands, to the much more elaborate wardrobe worn by household and personal servants. The more elaborate clothes listed in the advertisements ("a dark close bodied fashionable coat;" "a fine red-striped Vest and Breeches;" "a new Bonnett Lined with red Silk") indicate that slaves could obtain a much greater variety of clothing.⁶ Unfortunately, few of these advertisements list slaves' skills (although two do mention that guns were taken⁷), so, aside from what an inventory may include in the way of trade tools, figuring out what other personal items slaves might have owned is more speculative.

D. Archaeological Recoveries

Archaeologically-recovered objects often enable curators and other material culture specialists to firmly tie objects to specific sites. These recovered objects in turn can guide furnishing and interpretation. Although there has been a great deal of archaeological research done on slave-related sites in the past twenty years, most of it has focused on the South and on plantation/rural related sites and has yielded important information about the lives of the enslaved people who resided there. Urban slave-related archaeology has been more limited, simply because of the nature of urban slavery and because many sites no longer exist. At the Trent House, despite the disturbed nature of

186, for a full discussion of this idea. My thanks to Philip J. Schwarz, Professor Emeritus, Virginia Commonwealth University, for bringing this concept to my attention.

⁵ *The American Weekly Mercury*, published in Philadelphia between December 1719 and May 1746, is the best source of information about runaway slaves for the period through Trent's death and settlement of his estate. All other Philadelphia papers either began publication too late after Trent's death to be reliable sources for this report or surviving issues from this time period do not have advertisements for runaway slaves.

⁶ *The American Weekly Mercury* (Philadelphia, PA), August 22, 1723, p. 4; *The American Weekly Mercury*, June 21, 1722, p. 4; *The American Weekly Mercury*, November 7, 1723, p. 4.

⁷ *The American Weekly Mercury*, June 8, 1727, p. 4; *The American Weekly Mercury*, April 18, 1723, p. 4.

the site, archaeologists from Hunter Research, Inc., were able to recover a great deal of ceramic sherds, manufacturing waste and even some faunal material during their archaeological investigations on the Trent House property from 2000-2003.⁸ Although most of the ceramic sherds date from the nineteenth century, they did recover some eighteenth century ceramics, including sherds of wares commonly found in the period covering Trent's occupancy of the site: tin-enamel (commonly called "delft") sherds, which date as early as 1625; buff-bodied sherds, which date as early as 1670; and white salt-glazed stoneware, which dates as early as 1720.⁹ These discoveries point to the types of wares that may have been used by William Trent and his family as well as his slaves.

E. Letters and Diaries

The most valuable published diary for this period is *The Infortunate: The Voyage and Adventures of William Moraley, An Indentured Servant*.¹⁰ Moraley arrived in Philadelphia as an indentured servant in 1729, five years after Trent's death, and served most of his time in Burlington, New Jersey. His observations of the lives of the slaves with whom he came in contact are of great help in understanding how some slaves were able to acquire goods for themselves.

F. Account Books and Financial Records

Few business or personal account books survive from this period that shed light on goods bought for slaves. Although one of Trent's own ledgers survives,¹¹ it is concerned primarily with his import/export business, documenting his trade with the West Indies, Madeira, Barbadoes, Surinam and England. There is also evidence of his involvement with the slave trade, but there is little, if any, evidence of the goods he bought for his own family, which would have included his slaves.

G. Other Sources

Several potentially valuable sources proved to be of limited help in understanding the material culture of late seventeenth and early eighteenth century Philadelphia and West Jersey slaves—travelers' accounts, slave narratives and period illustrations. Surviving travelers' accounts of this period concern themselves primarily with descriptions of major settlements such as Philadelphia; an overview of the countryside, climate and natural phenomenon; conditions that potential immigrants might encounter; and Native Americans. When slaves are mentioned, it is to note their presence

⁸ Rebecca White, Vincent Maresca, George Cress and Ian Burrow, "Archaeological Investigations: Research, Public Outreach, and Construction Monitoring 2000-2003," prepared for The William Trent House Association, City of Trenton, New Jersey Historic Trust, November 2003.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 5-5.

¹⁰ Originally published in Newcastle, England, in 1743 and reprinted in Chester, PA, in the *Delaware County Republican* in 1884. It has recently been reprinted as William Moraley, *The Infortunate: The Voyage and Adventures of William Moraley, an Indentured Servant*, ed., with an introduction and notes by Susan E. Klepp & Billy G. Smith, 2nd ed. (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005).

¹¹ William Trent, "Ledger," 1703-1709, (PHi)3061, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA.

and the kinds of jobs they have, but nothing beyond that. Eighteenth-century slave narratives are rare and deal primarily with the experience of slavery in an episodic way; none of those that survive come from this early period. And though visual representations of individual eighteenth-century slaves survive, few, if any, are from this time period; this is even more true of period visual sources that illustrate the environments within which in which slaves lived and worked.

II. How Slaves Obtained Their Goods

Slaves obtained their goods in a variety of ways. There is evidence that, much like in colonies further south, slaves in West Jersey and Pennsylvania received basic clothing and food directly from their masters, on a more or less regular schedule. Although the documentation is scant, because of the lack of surviving primary sources, there is one reference in Trent's surviving ledger book that he bought baize (a kind of fabric) for one of his slaves.¹² William Moraley notes that "The Masters generally allow them a Piece of Ground, with Materials for improving it,¹³" so it is clear that slaves raised some of their own food, but it is also true that masters provided slaves with basic food supplies, especially for those slaves who lived in the same house as the master. Masters also supplied slaves with the tools that they needed to perform their jobs. Trent's inventory notes "Sundry Uttensills" in the grist mills, and "Sundrys" in the saw mill, fulling mill and bakehouse, which were most probably the tools and equipment needed to operate them.¹⁴

Skilled slaves also made things for themselves, whether that was a stool to sit on, a basket to carry or store things, or a new piece of clothing. Furthermore, they used these skills to sell things on the open market—Moraley says as much when he writes, "they raise on their own Account divers Sorts of Corn and Grain, and sell it in the Markets. They buy with the Money Cloaths for themselves and Wives;..."¹⁵ This implies that they were either buying such goods with cash or, as was common in other colonies, had credit accounts with local merchants. Those enslaved people who did not have access to a piece of ground on which to raise food to sell had access to cash in other ways, such as receiving tips from both their masters and their masters' guests for doing a job well. This cash could be used to purchase anything from textiles to trinkets—objects that became part of the slave's personal possessions. Slaves were also hired out by their masters for periods of time ranging from a month or two to a whole year.¹⁶ Slaves sometimes were able to negotiate with their masters to receive part of the hiring out fee; in this way they were able to save money not only to purchase goods for themselves but also to purchase their own freedom.

Finally, there is no doubt that slaves stole from their masters. The best documentation is found in runaway advertisements, some of them include the fact that guns were taken,¹⁷ and almost all of them include a description of the clothing the runaway was wearing, as well as other clothing that might have been taken at the same time.

¹² "May 20 [1703] To Ri: Armitt for Bayse for Negroe 13/9", Trent Ledger, p. 109.

¹³ Moraley, 58.

¹⁴ William Trent Probate Inventory, New Jersey State Archives, 1211-1216C, 1433-1448C.

¹⁵ Moraley, 59.

¹⁶ See *The American Weekly Mercury*, August 3, 1727, p. 4; *The American Weekly Mercury*, June 27, 1728, p. 3; *The American Weekly Mercury*, June 18, 1730, p. 4.

¹⁷ See Note 7, above.

III. William Trent’s Slaves: Their Possible Relationships and Responsibilities

Trent’s inventory, drawn up almost 18 months after his death, lists eleven slaves, along with their values¹⁸. They are listed as follows:

Acco^t of Negroes viz^t

A Man Nam’d	Yaff	40.-.-
a Woman nam’d	Joan	35.-.-
a boy nam’d	Bob	30.-.-
1 D ^o	Dick	20.-.-
a Girle	Nanny	32.10.-
a Child	Tom	10.-.-

3 Negro Men as followes Viz^t

Julius	30.0.0
Bossin	30.0.0
Harry	45.0.0

2 Indien Men Viz^t

Cupid	45.0.0
Pedro	35.0.0

The fact that these eleven people are listed in three groupings suggests that they were located in three places on the property: the first group, in the house itself; the second group, at the fulling mill, grist mill, saw mill and/or bake house, all of which were located at some distance from the house, along the Delaware River; and the third, at the coach house and stables. The order in which they are listed within each group, especially the one presumably located in the house, may also be useful in deducing their responsibilities and relationships.

Yaff’s value of £40, the most of any of the slaves within the first group, indicates that he was most probably a 20-40 year old man, almost certainly born in Africa,¹⁹ with valuable skills and likely with some responsibility for the overall operation of the house. Joan, listed second, and with a value only £5 less than Yaff’s, was most probably the cook. Yaff and Joan may or may not have been considered husband and wife, but the two boys listed after Joan—Bob, at £30 and Dick, at £20—may very well

¹⁸ See Appendix A. An analysis of the values of slaves/Negroes listed in West Jersey inventories recorded between 1720 and 1730 and printed in *Calendar of New Jersey Wills, Vol. 1, 1670-1730*, shows that the values given in Trent’s inventory are well within the range of values listed in these other inventories.

¹⁹ “Yaff” is an African name, perhaps related to “Yafeu” (meaning “bold” in the Fante language), from the area in West Africa that now includes Ghana.

have been her teenage/young adult children. Bob, who was probably the older of the two boys, may have had duties both in the house as well as responsibilities for the gardens and agricultural land close to the house, and Dick, the younger boy, may have assisted him. Nanny's value indicates that she was a young woman, most likely in her 20s, with a young child, Tom. Given that William Trent, Jr., William and Mary Coddington Trent's son, was 9 at his father's death, she may have been his nurse as well as a serving girl/household maid, and Tom would have done small jobs around the house.

Trent's operation of a fulling mill, grist mill, saw mill and bake house, the cultivation of his agricultural land and the care of his livestock would have required skilled labor to operate. The values given for Julius, Bossin and Harry indicate that they were skilled men in their most productive years, and the fact that they are grouped separately would seem to indicate that they were living in a different location than the group of five. It would be reasonable to interpret this group as living away from the house, with whatever personal possessions they may have owned being at their work location.

The most puzzling group of the three is the last—the two “Indian” or “Indiano” men (the handwriting in the inventory is unclear), Cupid and Pedro. They are not the only men listed as “Indian” in West Jersey probate inventories between 1720 and 1730, leading to the question of whether these individuals were Native Americans or slaves brought from the West Indies. There is not much existing literature on this topic, but queries to several Internet discussion groups²⁰ leads to the conclusion that it is unlikely that these were Native Americans, primarily because most West Jersey officials, like their Pennsylvania counterparts, were very aware that maintaining peaceful relationships with Native Americans was vital to their own safety. Rather, given Trent's extensive trading connections with the West Indies, along with his known involvement in the slave trade,²¹ a more logical conclusion is that Cupid and Pedro were West Indian slaves who were brought to Philadelphia and then to West Jersey.

It is clear from their values that they were both skilled and in their most productive years, like Julius, Bossin and Harry. It is reasonable to conclude that they were living in a location away from the main house but still on Trent's property, and the only other logical location for these men would be the coach house and stables. Since Trent's inventory included “5 Cart Horses, 2 Saddle Ditto, . . . 1 pr. Tumber Wheels Iron Bound [wooden wheels with wrought iron rims], 2 Carts Iron Bound, a body of a Coal Cart, a Drea Iron bound, a Chaise &c. . .” as well as “5 Cart Horses, 2 Saddle Ditto, 5 Oxen, 4 Cowes,” and “59 Sheep,” it would have been necessary to have experienced livestock managers and drivers as part of the labor force on the property.

²⁰ See Appendix D for copies of e-mail postings to H-Slavery and H-New Jersey in February 2006 discussing this question.

²¹ Trent's ledger documents his trade with Barbados, Curacao and Madeira; there is also evidence in other sources of his trade with the West Indies, Spain and Surinam (see his biography referred to in Note 1, above, for details).

There is no indication that William Trent had any white indentured servants at the time that his probate inventory was taken in 1726. This does not mean, however, that he never had any such servants or that he never hired any servants to help run his mills or household. An analysis of 81 West Jersey probate inventories listed in *Calendar of New Jersey Wills, vol. 1, 1670-1730* (Paterson, NJ: 1901) that included the term “servant/s” indicates that those decedents of similar economic status to Trent did have one or two indentured servants of some type,²² so it is not difficult to conclude that Trent may have had a similar number. However, if he had any, such servant or servants had completed their time by 1726 and been released from their obligation, and therefore any connection to Trent and the value of their time would not have been included in the inventory. However, the lack of evidence in the existing documentation does not preclude the possibility of interpreting the system of indentured servitude in West Jersey during this time period, since contrasting indentured servitude, the redemptioner system and chattel slavery would be a beneficial interpretive goal for the site.

²² See Appendix B for tables listing these decedents both alphabetically and chronologically.

IV. Slaves Within the Trent House: Where They Lived and What They Owned²³

The slaves who worked in and around the house would have had a variety of living situations. Assuming, for the purposes of interpretation, that Yaff served as Trent's butler and also had some responsibility for the overall operation of the household, it is very likely that he would have slept in the house proper, most probably upstairs, close to the Trent's chambers, so as to be immediately available to assist the family during the night. He most likely would have slept on a plain pallet made from coarse linen (oznaburg), stuffed with corn husks or straw, which would have been rolled and put away out of sight during the day and brought out again at night, along with a simple woolen blanket. Any extra clothing he had could have been stored in a simple chest or in one of the closets or cupboards in the house.

Joan, as the cook, would most logically sleep in or near the kitchen. She, too, would most likely have slept on the same kind of pallet that Yaff used and had the same type of blanket. However, it is possible that she might have slept in a bed that the family no longer used. This would have afforded her a bit more comfort and also been a mark of her important position in the household. Since she was in the kitchen most of the time, Joan had ample space for storage of whatever personal goods she might have had: extra clothing or blankets, a necklace or comb, and perhaps even a teacup and saucer in a pattern no longer used by the Trents.

A man of Trent's status surely would have had someone near to the door of the house at night both as a form of protection and also to be available in case someone needed to be admitted to the house. This is a role that Bob might have likely filled; his pallet would have been stored either in the basement or perhaps tucked into one of the spaces under the stairs.

Also upstairs would have been William Trent, Jr.'s nurse, most probably Nanny, as noted above. She would have slept in the room with him, and during the day, her pallet would have been rolled up and put into a corner or into one of the small closets. Assuming that Tom is Nanny's son, the most logical place for him is with Nanny and William Trent, Jr. Given his value in the inventory, it is entirely possible that Tom was about the same age as William, Jr., and would have been, at this age, both a playmate and servant.

The most logical place for Dick would be on the third floor, which, rather than a storage place for valuable textiles, would most probably have been used as off-season storage for things like the candle molds or closet locks, and as a dry place to store the large quantity of brushes and brooms listed in the inventory, before they were put into use. Upper floors and attic spaces were commonly used as sleeping quarters for both slaves and indentured servants as well as storage throughout the seventeenth and

²³ Because Julius, Bossin, Harry, Cupid and Pedro probably did not live in the house proper, their living situations are not discussed here.

eighteenth centuries²⁴, and it is more reasonable that relatively low-value goods like the brooms and brushes would have been stored in such a dual-use space rather than the textiles, which were much more valuable and more logically would have been more directly under Mrs. Trent's supervision and kept under lock and key in the large closet on the second floor.²⁵

Except for Joan, whose clothing and personal possessions would have been stored in the kitchen, it is probable that what personal possessions and clothing the other enslaved individuals owned would have been stored somewhere on the third floor. These possessions consisted primarily of extra clothing, both seasonal and off-season. As noted above, in Section II, most masters almost certainly provided clothing for their slaves on a regular basis. William Moraley's observation, that slaves sold corn and grain in the markets and then bought clothes with the money, confirms their participation in the region's market economy, but it is not clear whether Moraley meant that masters never supplied their slaves with clothing but made them buy it, or that masters did supply their slaves with basic clothing and then the enslaved person, with the money earned from the sale of agricultural goods, then went on to purchase additional clothing. It is more probable that the latter is true, rather than the former. As for the old clothing, it appears that this was kept by the individual slave and continued to be worn or was used in some other way (remade into children's clothing, used for rags, etc.).

It is unclear from the available sources what kinds of personal goods Trent's slaves would have had, aside from their clothing. Surviving visual representations of individual slaves show women wearing simple necklaces, and the recovery of period ceramic sherds from the Trent House site gives support to slaves perhaps using these types of ceramics for personal purposes. Combs for grooming, gaming equipment (playing cards and dice, for example), or a book for reading are logical things for slaves to have owned and used in a domestic situation such as the Trent House. A man like Yaff, who almost certainly was born in Africa, rather than in Pennsylvania or West Jersey, might have worn some kind of talisman under his English clothing that related to traditional African beliefs; these kinds of talismans could have been worn by other slaves in the household as well.

²⁴ For example, James Logan's inventory includes beds in the "garret" of his home, "Stenton," for servants. See Interpretive Plan for Stenton (The National Society of the Colonial Dames of America: Philadelphia, PA), March 2003, 21, for a discussion on the interpretation of that space as both sleeping area and storage area.

²⁵ See Furnishing Plan—Phase II: The William Trent House, Trenton, New Jersey," by Constance Hershey and Gail Caskey Winkler, February 2002, 9-13, for a discussion of room use at the Trent House.

V. Suggested Furnishings to Reflect Slave Presence in the 1719 Trent House²⁶

Kitchen

Occupant: Joan

Textiles:

- 1 single pallet
- 2 wool blankets (one new, one old)
- 1 apron
- 1 linen striped petticoat
- 1 linen striped jacket
- 1 neck handkerchief
- 1 pair knit stockings
- 1 woman's cap
- 1 straw hat

Furniture:

- 1 six-board box

Miscellaneous:

- 1 comb
- 1 simple necklace (coral or pearls)
- 1 book (can be a Bible or a home-remedy book)
- 1 small looking glass
- 1 simple candlestick
- 1 ceramic teapot
- 1 tea bowl

The pallet and blankets can either be rolled up and stored under the stairs, or they can be left unrolled in the same location. The extra clothing should be stored in the six-board box, which can be opened to show and interpret the clothing, with the hat hung on a nail or hook. The miscellaneous items can either be stored in the box along with the clothing, or some of the items, e.g., the candlestick, book and tea pot and bowl, can be on top of the box.

²⁶ Room designations correspond to those given in Hershey and Winkler, "Furnishing Plan," 14-15.

2nd Floor Stairhead (Near Front Chamber/Madame Trent's Room)

Occupant: Yaff

Textiles:

- 1 single pallet
- 1 wool blanket
- 1 wool/kersey jacket with brass buttons
- 1 linen shirt
- 1 pair linen breeches
- 1 pair knit stockings
- 1 castor hat

Furniture:

- 1 six-board chest

The pallet should be rolled up and stored just outside the closet on the second floor or just inside the door to the stairs to the third floor, with the blanket on top. The extra clothing should be in the six-board chest, which could be stored in the closet. Alternatively, a piece or two of clothing could be kept on one of the window ledges, to be used interpretively, with the chest and other clothing interpreted to be on the third floor.

First Floor Entry or Stairhall

Occupant: Bob

Textiles:

1 pallet
2 wool blankets (one old, one new)
1 Duroy (coarse wool) jacket
1 pair ozenbrig breeches
1 ozenbrig shirt
1 felt hat

Miscellaneous:

Playing cards and dice
1 clay pipe
1 twist of tobacco
1 plain candlestick

The pallet can be rolled up and stored under the stairs or it can be in the kitchen. The clothing would almost certainly be stored on the third floor, but for interpretive purposes, having the Duroy jacket over the handrail of the stairs down to the kitchen would be a good interpretive tool. The cards, dice and smoking materials can be kept in a basket in an inconspicuous location to be available when necessary.

Back Chamber

Occupants: Nanny and Tom

Textiles:

1 single-and-a-half pallet
3 wool blankets (two new, one old)
1 boy's shirt
1 pr. boy's linen trousers
1 woman's wool jacket
1 woman's wool petticoat
1 pair knit stockings
1 woman's cap
1 woman's ozenbrig shift
1 fine linen boy's shirt, partially made

Miscellaneous:

1 set needle and thread (for shirt)
1 pair scissors
1 comb
Toys of various kinds

The pallet and blankets can be spread out in a corner of the room, along with the partially-made shirt. The rest of the clothing could be stored in the small cupboard next to the fireplace.

No Specific Location or Not in the House

Because Dick was most probably in the attic, it would not make sense to have one more pallet or more clothing downstairs. However, his presence in the house should be interpreted by incorporating him into the larger story of those slaves who lived and worked in the house, and explaining how the third floor functioned as one of the house's storage areas.

Although Julius, Bossin and Harry most probably lived and worked at Trent's mills elsewhere on his estate, it would be useful for interpretive purposes to have an article of clothing that reflects the more industrial nature of their location available at the house. This might be a pair of leather breeches, which were worn by men as work clothes. The analysis of clothing worn by slaves and servants as described in runaway ads indicates that almost half the men were described as wearing leather breeches.²⁷

Pedro and Cupid may have been outfitted in livery when they took Trent and his family out in his coach, so that having a livery coat in the house would be a way of introduce their role within the household and also be a way of talking about Trent's status as governor of the colony and about slaves' status both in the eyes of the master and within the slave community.

All five of these men, no matter what their location, would also have had pallets and blankets for sleeping, basic clothing plus whatever extra clothing they managed to acquire, and personal belongings (whether that was gaming equipment or perhaps a Bible), and simple eating utensils (a pewter or wooden dish, a spoon, a drinking vessel). It is not inconceivable that Julius, Bossin and Harry might have even constructed simple beds for themselves—a luxury that the house slaves might not have had—and had a degree of freedom of movement allowed by their relative distance from the house.

²⁷ See Appendix C for charts that list this clothing both chronologically by date of the runaway advertisement and by whether the runaway was described as a slave or a servant.

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