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The People of New Jersey

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THE NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SERIES

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RICHARD M. HUBER WHEATON J. LANE

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The New Jersey Historical Series

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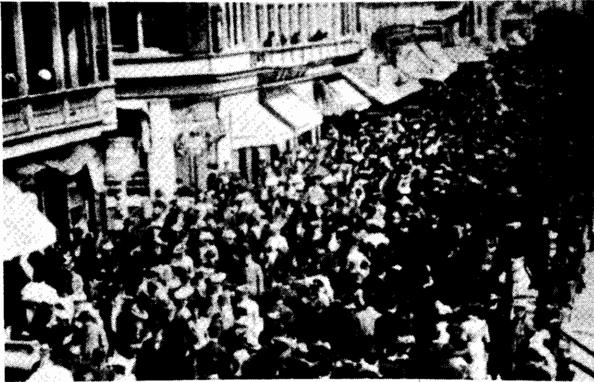
The People of New Jersey



RUDOLPH J. VECOLI

1965

D. VAN NOSTRAND COMPANY, INC.

Princeton, New Jersey

New York, N. Y. • Toronto, Canada. • London, England

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120 Alexander St., Princeton, New Jersey (*Principal office*)
24 West 40 Street, New York 18, New York

D. VAN NOSTRAND COMPANY, LTD.
358, Kensington High Street, London, W.14, England

D. VAN NOSTRAND COMPANY (*Canada*), LTD.
25 Hollinger Road, Toronto 16, Canada

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THE NEW JERSEY TERCENTENARY COMMISSION

Published simultaneously in Canada by
D. VAN NOSTRAND COMPANY (Canada), LTD.

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FOR MY

MOTHER AND FATHER

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FOREWORD

Many tracks will be left by the New Jersey Tercentenary celebration, but few will be larger than those made by the New Jersey Historical Series. The Series is a monumental publishing project—the product of a remarkable collaborative effort between public and private enterprise.

New Jersey has needed a series of books about itself. The 300th anniversary of the State is a fitting time to publish such a series. It is to the credit of the State's Tercentenary Commission that this series has been created.

In an enterprise of such scope, there must be many contributors. Each of these must give considerably of himself if the enterprise is to succeed. The New Jersey Historical Series, the most ambitious publishing venture ever undertaken about a state, was conceived by a committee of Jerseymen—Julian P. Boyd, Wesley Frank Craven, John T. Cunningham, David S. Davies, and Richard P. McCormick. Not only did these men outline the need for such an historic venture; they also aided in the selection of the editors of the series.

Both jobs were well done. The volumes speak for themselves. The devoted and scholarly services of Richard M. Huber and Wheaton J. Lane, the editors, are a part of every book in the series. The editors have been aided in their work by two fine assistants, Elizabeth Jackson Holland and Bertha DeGraw Miller.

To D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc. my special thanks for recognizing New Jersey's need and for bringing their skills and publishing wisdom to bear upon the printing and distributing of the New Jersey Historical Series.

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My final and most heartfelt thanks must go to Rudolph J. Vecoli, who accepted my invitation to write *The People of New Jersey,* doing so at great personal sacrifice and without thought of material gain. We are richer by his scholarship. We welcome this important contribution to an understanding of our State.

RICHARD J. HUGHES
Governor of the State of New Jersey

January, 1965

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PREFACE

"A sober and industrious people might make this a rich country," wrote one of the early settlers of New Jersey. That the people of New Jersey have been industrious, if not always sober, is well recorded in this commonwealth's history. Where little more than three centuries ago were dense forests and murky swamps, the domain of deer, wolves, and a few thousand aborigines, today are congested cities and sprawling suburbs inhabited by over six and a half million human beings.

While Jerseymen took to heart the biblical injunction to be fruitful and multiply, this remarkable growth has been largely the result of a series of migrations spanning three hundred years and several continents. By sailing vessel and steamship, horse and railroad, automobile and airplane, the newcomers have arrived, bringing with them a great variety of skills, talents, ideas, values, and tastes. Their aspirations and energies are embodied in the industrial and agricultural enterprises of New Jersey, in its religious and political institutions, in its social and cultural life.

Perhaps in no other state of the Union has there been such a mingling of peoples as in New Jersey. The coming of many different religious, racial, and nationality groups created here a social order of great diversity and complexity. The presence of a variety of ethnic elements set apart by cultural and linguistic differences has been a pervasive influence in all spheres of Jersey life. Racial and religious antipathies have been a source of discord and conflict, and the red thread of prejudice

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and bigotry runs through the fabric of New Jersey history. Not violence, however, but mutual tolerance and accommodation have been the dominant Jersey tradition in ethnic and racial relations. In its social history, New Jersey exemplifies the motto *e pluribus unum,* and thus may serve as a microcosm of the fundamental processes at work in the country at large which have created modern America.

The story of the peopling of New Jersey, in a sense, encompasses the history of this commonwealth. The scope of this volume, however, is much more modest. It attempts to give an account of the successive waves of migration and of the varieties of humanity which they deposited on Jersey shores. It seeks to follow each ethnic group through the processes of adjustment and acculturation, depicting the interaction between Old World heritage and the new social and physical environment. It endeavors to describe the patterns of ethnic conflict and accommodation among the various groups.

Of necessity, this volume makes no pretense to being a definitive history of ethnic groups in New Jersey. Rather it is more in the nature of an exploratory essay in a *terra incognita* of Jersey history. Although the social history of New Jersey in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is rich in significance and human interest, it has so far been much neglected. There are (to my knowledge) no scholarly monographs on the Irish, Germans, Italians, Jews, Poles, Hungarians, Slovaks, or Ukranians in New Jersey, nor has the important in-migration from other states been studied. Such gaps in our knowledge are reflected in this volume. The history of the Slavic and Hungarian immigrants has necessarily been omitted for lack of any systematic information, and the story of the Negro and white migrants is only briefly touched upon. Hopefully a revived interest in New Jersey's past will encourage others to exploit the many opportunities for study of its social history.

Yet an even more urgent task calls for our attention. This is the collection and preservation of the historical

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records of these ethnic groups which are now scattered and in danger of being destroyed. Unless the files of foreign-language newspapers, records of fraternal organizations, churches, and labor unions, and papers of prominent individuals are soon gathered together in libraries, a vital and colorful segment of New Jersey history may be lost forever.

In writing this volume I have incurred many debts of gratitude which I am most happy to acknowledge. I am most grateful to Professor Richard P. McCormick who shared with me in frequent discussions and in comments on the manuscript his vast knowledge of New Jersey history. In the generous tradition of scholarship, my fellow historians, Rowland T. Berthoff, A. William Hoglund, and Emery J. Battis, took time from their own work to give me the benefit of their constructive criticisms. For reading and commenting helpfully on Chapter VII, I am obligated to Professor Henry R. Winkler. I owe a special thanks to the editors of the New Jersey Historical Series, Dr. Richard M. Huber and Dr. Wheaton J. Lane, for their wise counsel and unwavering support. To all these, this study owes much of whatever merit it possesses; its shortcomings are my own. I wish also to express my appreciation to the Rutgers University Research Council for a Faculty Fellowship which enabled me to complete this work.

To the librarians of the New Jersey State Library, the Newark Public Library, the New York Public Library, the Princeton University Library, and, especially, the Rutgers University Library, I am much indebted for expert assistance. Mr. Donald A. Sinclair, Curator of Special Collections of the Rutgers University Library, has been more than generous in making me the beneficiary of his masterful grasp of New Jerseyana. Mr. Anthony S. Nicolosi, Assistant Curator, has also been extremely helpful. For making available the records of the Federal Writers' Project, I am grateful to Mr. Kenneth Richards, State Archivist. I owe a special debt of thanks to Miss Miriam V. Studley, Librarian of the New

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Jersey Division, Newark Public Library, who gave unstintingly of her time and knowledge in helping me to locate appropriate illustrations.

Domestic tranquillity requires that I here acknowledge the indispensable assistance and encouragement rendered by my wife. I do so with a deep sense of gratitude.

RUDOLPH J. VECOLI

New Brunswick, New Jersey
December 1, 1964

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I

THE FIRST IMMIGRANTS

FROM ITS BEGINNINGS, New Jersey has been a land of many races, many tongues, and many creeds. In 1790 when the first federal census was taken the state had a population of 184,139. The people of New Jersey at this time were the product of a century and a half of immigrations. Of the aboriginal inhabitants, only a few hundred Lenni Lenape remained in this country which they had called Scheyechbi. All of the others were either immigrants or the descendants of immigrants. Among the original states only Pennsylvania could rival New Jersey in the cosmopolitan quality of its population. In 1790, those who could trace their ancestry back to English soil constituted a minority of the white population, only 47 per cent. The other major ethnic stocks in the white population were the Dutch with 16.6 per cent, the German with 9.2 per cent, the Scots with 7.7 per cent, the Scotch-Irish with 6.3 per cent, the Swedish with 3.9 per cent, the Irish with 3.2 per cent, and the French with 2.4 per cent. In addition there were descendants of Finns, Welsh, Danes, Walloons, Flemings, and Alsatians, who had been absorbed into these larger groups. Not all Jerseymen of colonial ancestry traced their roots back to Europe. By 1790 the 14,185 Negroes in the state constituted 7.7 per cent of the total population.* The

* American Council of Learned Societies, *Report of the Committee on Linguistic and National Stocks in the Population of the United States* in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1931* (Washington, D.C., 1932), I, 124; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Negro Population, 1790-1915* (Washington, D.C., 1918), 51.

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ethnic diversity of New Jersey's people was reflected in their religious affiliations. With the exception of at most a thousand Roman Catholics and a few Sephardic Jews, they were Protestants. But their churches were divided among more than half a dozen different denominations, the largest being the Presbyterian, the Quaker, the Dutch Reformed, the German Lutheran, the Episcopalian, the Baptist, and the Methodist.* Ethnic, racial, and religious heterogeneity was thus the hallmark of New Jersey from its earliest days. This heterogeneity was the result of a series of emigrations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from Europe, Africa, and the other colonies as well.

The settlement of New Jersey began several decades before it became an English colony in 1664. New Netherland had been established on the Hudson River in the 1620's while New Sweden was founded on the Delaware River in the 1630's. In neither case, however, did the main body of colonists settle on the Jersey side of these rivers. Despite the vigorous efforts of the Dutch West India Company and the New Sweden Company to recruit immigrants for their respective colonies, these settlements remained sparsely populated. Since the people of Sweden and the Netherlands were suffering from neither economic distress nor religious persecution, they lacked incentive to emigrate. As a result the colonists of New Netherland were for the most part not Dutch, but Walloons, Flemings, French Huguenots, German Lutherans, English Puritans, Italian Waldensians, with a smattering of Catholics and Iberian Jews as well. Similarly the Swedes had a repugnance for the "long sea voyage to the remote and heathen land"; hence the majority of the subjects of New Sweden were Finns who had been transported for the crime of "forest-burning," soldiers, military deserters, and company servants, among whom were Dutch and Germans. In 1654, a year before

* Jedidiah Morse, *The American Universal Geography, Part I* (Boston, 1805), 524.

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its conquest by the Dutch, New Sweden was reported to have only "368 souls," while the population of New Netherland in 1664 was estimated at not over 8000.*

Although the main business of the Dutch and Swedish colonies was the fur trade with the Indians, it was necessary for the settlers to engage in farming. The Dutch established their *bouweries* or farms on Manhattan, Long Island, and Staten Island, while the Swedes laid out their plantations along the western shore of the Delaware. Soon the Dutch crossed the Hudson and founded trading posts with surrounding farms at Pavonia, Vriesendael, and in the Hackensack Valley. In 1660, the first permanent settlement, the town of Bergen (now Jersey City), was established. By 1661 a ferry was running between Communipaw and New Amsterdam, carrying farm produce to the town. The Dutch settlement of the west shore of the Hudson, however, proceeded slowly in the seventeenth century.**

Meanwhile the competition among English, Swedes, and Dutch for control of the Delaware resulted in the building of several forts on the Jersey shore. In 1623, the Dutch erected Fort Nassau at the mouth of Timber Creek, and in 1634 a short-lived English colony was situated at Pennsauken Creek. When a considerable number of Englishmen from New Haven Colony attempted to settle at Varkins Kill (Salem Creek) in 1641, they were driven away by the Dutch and Swedes. Fort Elfsborg was then built by the Swedes on the site of the former English settlement. During the 1650's, and espe-

* Marcus L. Hansen, "The Minor Stocks in the American Population of 1790," in American Council of Learned Societies, *Report of Committee on Linguistic and National Stocks,* 373, 382-383, 391; Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *The Founding of American Civilization: The Middle Colonies* (New York, 1938), 35; Martti Kerkkonen, *Peter Kalm's North American Journey* (Helsinki, 1959), 202-206; Amandus Johnson, *The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware* (2 vols.; New York, 1911), II, 514, 528.

** Wheaton J. Lane, *From Indian Trail to Iron Horse* (Princeton, 1939), 25; Henry S. Lucas, *Netherlanders in America* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1955), 7.

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cially after the Dutch conquest of New Sweden in 1655, many Swedes and Finns fled to Maryland and Virginia, but some crossed the Delaware to take up land in Jersey. By 1661, there were at least four small settlements of Swedes and Finns on the east shore of the Delaware River.* At the time of the English conquest of New Netherland what was to be New Jersey was still almost entirely the hunting ground of the Lenni Lenape. Deer, wolves, and other forms of wildlife roamed undisturbed through the thickly forested country lying between two great rivers.

Swedes Treating with the Indians, from Thomas Holm, Kort Beskrifning om Nya Swerige, Stockholm, 1702

Courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania

* Federal Writers' Project, *The Swedes and Finns in New Jersey* (American Guide Series, n.p., 1938), 14-35.

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In 1664, the Duke of York granted the colony of Nova-Caesaria or New Jersey to his friends, John, Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. These gentlemen were interested in the colony as a business enterprise which would bring them large revenues from land sales, trade, and fees. But a largely uninhabited domain would yield no profit; therefore it was essential to promote a speedy settlement of the province. To induce persons to cross the ocean and make their homes in this wilderness, however, required that the terms offered the prospective colonists be quite liberal and attractive. For as the settlers of West Jersey had occasion to remind the Duke of York at a later date:

> First, there can be no benefit to a prince in America, there can be no trade, without a people; there will be no people where there is no encouragement; nor can there be any encouragement where people have not greater privileges by going than staying; for if their condition be not meliorated, they will never forego the comfort of their kindred they must leave behind them, nor forsake their native country, run the hazards of the seas; nor lastly, expose themselves to the wants and difficulties of a wilderness; but on the contrary, if they have less privileges there than at home, 'tis every way to worst themselves to go. . . .*

The Concessions and Agreement issued by the proprietors, Berkeley and Carteret, therefore, offered generous inducements, both spiritual and material, to prospective immigrants. Among other things, the "Concessions" guaranteed freedom of conscience; this provision for religious liberty was to encourage "protestant people of divers persuasions" to come to New Jersey. The charter also provided for a general assembly with the exclusive powers of taxation to be elected by the freemen of the province. But most effective perhaps in attracting planters was the provision for "head-rights" which specified that every man who emigrated before January 1, 1665 was to receive 120 acres of land, plus

* Quoted in Samuel Smith, *The History of the Colony of Nova-Caesaria, or New Jersey* (2nd ed.; Burlington, 1877), 122-123.

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another 120 for each "able man servant," and 60 acres for every "weaker servant or slave." These grants of land were gradually reduced over subsequent years.*

Following the division of the colony in 1676, the settlement of East Jersey proceeded much more rapidly than did that of the western province. Much of this influx did not come from abroad, but from the colonies of New England and New York. When Governor Philip Carteret arrived in August, 1665, aboard the *Philip* with a party of settlers including some French Catholic salt-workers, he found that a group of English Puritans from Long Island had already founded Elizabethtown. Other colonists had left New England for the wilds of New Jersey while it was still under Dutch rule. In 1663-1664, for example, Quakers and Baptists who were being harried by Puritan magistrates in Massachusetts and New Hampshire removed to Monmouth County. Here they founded the villages of Middletown and Shrewsbury which became havens for Baptists and Quakers respectively. Other small settlements of New Englanders were to be found along the Jersey coast at Egg Harbor, Cape May, and elsewhere. To encourage this migration, Governor Carteret sent agents into New England to publish the advantageous terms of the "Concessions." The guarantees of civil and religious liberty coupled with the prospect of good lands proved attractive to many New Englanders.**

Not all those who came from the Puritan colonies did so to escape from a harsh orthodoxy; some came because they disapproved of the growing laxity of religious doctrine and wished to restore Puritanism to its pristine vigor. Such was the case of the settlers from New Haven, Guilford, Milford, and Branford, who founded the town of Newark in 1666. Here they aspired to build a theocratic commonwealth and to live according to the Word of God. Other early settlements of New Englanders were Woodbridge, founded by a migration from New-

* Smith, *History of the Colony of Nova-Caesaria*, 512 ff.

** Wertenbaker, *The Middle Colonies*, 123-124, 131; Smith, *History of the Colony of Nova-Caesaria*, 67.

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bury, Massachusetts, and Piscataway, established by a Baptist congregation from New Hampshire. Regardless of religious considerations, the meadowlands and wooded country of Jersey continued to draw immigrants from the stony soil and crowded towns of New England. From the 1660's on this stream of settlers continued to flow, even increasing in volume in the eighteenth century. In 1721, the governor of New Jersey reported that ". . . the inhabitants daily increase in great numbers from New England." *

The New England migration peopled most of Essex, Union, and the northern half of Middlesex counties, and penetrated westward into Morris County, leaving a lasting impress on this region of New Jersey. With them, the Puritans brought their Congregational Church, their town meeting, their common school, and their zeal for strict adherence to scriptural law. From their grants of land, the settlers according to the New England "way" put aside allotments for the support of church and school. In Newark's early years, church and town were practically one; the minister was supported from town taxes; church membership was prerequisite to citizenship; and a newcomer had to meet the test of orthodoxy before being admitted to the town. These efforts to create a "New Zion," however, were doomed to failure by the fluidity and diversity of New Jersey society. Since religious tolerance was prescribed by the laws of the commonwealth, heretics could not be driven into the wilderness as they could in Massachusetts. Also the tendency to settle on individual farms caused a loosening of the social discipline which was characteristic of the New England village. Gradually the affairs of church and town became distinct; non-church members were allowed to take up land and to vote in town meetings. Eventually Quaker meetings and Anglican churches were established in Puritan strongholds such as Newark, Elizabethtown, and Woodbridge.**

* Wertenbaker, *The Middle Colonies,* 124-126, 145.

** Wertenbaker, *The Middle Colonies,* 126-141; Nelson R. Burr, *Education in New Jersey, 1630-1871* (Princeton, 1942), 225-231.

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The Puritan heritage, however, continued to give a special flavor to life in areas settled by New Englanders. Although most of the Congregational churches in time affiliated with the Presbyterian denomination, the New Englanders maintained an independence of spirit which sometimes put them at odds with their Scottish co-religionists. Until well into the eighteenth century, the New England congregations relied upon Harvard and Yale for their ministers, thus receiving periodic infusions of Calvinism. Jonathan Dickinson of Massachusetts, for example, was the distinguished minister of the Elizabethtown Presbyterian Church, a leader of the evangelical "New Lights," and first president of the College of New Jersey. In a town such as Newark, the Puritan conscience could be seen at work in many ways, in the controversial "blue laws," in the genuine concern for public education, and in the industry and enterprise of its citizens. The New England element was to play an important role in the history of New Jersey as a colony and as a state.*

Overseas immigration to East Jersey began in earnest in 1681 when Carteret's widow sold the province to a group of Friends, including William Penn; these joined with others to form the "Twenty-Four Proprietors." At this time the population of East Jersey was said to be about thirty-five hundred persons in the towns with about half as many in the "out plantations." Most of these, it was noted, "have been invited from the adjacent colonies, by the goodness of it's soil and convenient situation." ** Dutch and English merchants of New York had established a number of plantations, working them with indentured servants and overseers. In order to attract additional settlers, the new proprietors published and widely distributed "A brief account of the province of East-Jersey," vaunting its bountiful resources and the opportunities for husbandmen and artisans to "live comfortably, and provide well for their

* Wertenbaker, *The Middle Colonies,* 145-146, 172-175.

** Smith, *History of the Colony of Nova-Caesaria,* 161, 169

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families." Those who would venture to the colony, however, were cautioned that they "must have their winter as well as summer; they must labour before they reap, and, till their plantations be cleared . . . they must expect (as in all those countries) the musketos, flies, gnats, and such like, may in hot and fair weather, give them some disturbance. . . ." Since the capital town of the province was to be built at Ambo Point, the proprietors sought to recruit craftsmen and laborers from England, Scotland, and Ireland. Such workers were assured of wages for one year, and of headrights of 50 acres for themselves, and 25 acres each for wife, children, and servants.*

Among the proprietors there were several Scots, including James, Earl of Perth, who were especially active in persuading their countrymen to emigrate to the province. These were troubled times in Scotland; efforts were being made to impose the Anglican discipline upon the Presbyterian Covenanters who persisted in attending "conventicles" or open-air meetings. Numbers of these dissenters were imprisoned, and some were released on condition that they emigrate to East Jersey. Following the defeat of the Earl of Argyll's rebellion in 1685, more than a hundred prisoners were transported as indentured servants to the province; most of them died during the voyage and the survivors successfully sued for their freedom in the provincial courts. Political and religious unrest joined with economic discontent to make the lowland Scots responsive to the idea of emigration.** Reports such as that sent back by Gawen Lawrie, the Scottish deputy governor of East Jersey, in 1684 were alluring:

* Smith, *History of the Colony of Nova-Caesaria,* 180, 539 ff.; the texts of a number of promotional tracts are reprinted in Harry B. and Grace M. Weiss, *The Early Promotional Literature of New Jersey* (Trenton, 1964).

** Ian C. C. Graham, *Colonists from Scotland* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1956), 11, 94; James G. Leyburn, *The Scotch-Irish* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1962), 245.

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A BRIEF

ACCOUNT

OF THE

PROVINCE

OF

East-Jersey

IN

AMERICA.

PUBLISHED

By the present PROPRIATORS thereof,

VIZ,

William Penn,	Thomas Wilcox,
Robert West,	Ambrose Rigg,
Thomas Rudyard,	John Heywood,
Samuel Groome,	Hugh Hartshorne,
Thomas Hart,	Clement Plumsted,
Richard Mew,	Thomas Cooper.

For Information of all such Persons who are or may be inclined to Setle themselves, Families, and Servants in that Country.

LONDON,

Printed for *Benjamin Clark* in *George-Yard* in *Lombard-street*, *Bookseller*, MDCLXXXII.

A Promotional Tract for East Jersey of 1682

Courtesy of the Rutgers University Library

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> Provisions here are plentiful and cheap; there is beef, pork, venison, mutton, fowl and fish, abundance to be had at easy rates; and for drink they have good beer and cyder; those that are desirous may have wine of several sorts and other kinds of strong liquors; so that we see little wanting that a man can desire; and we are here sure that a sober and industrious people might make this a rich country, and enrich themselves in it; especially poor people, who are hard put to it to gain bread at home, notwithstanding excessive labor. . . .*

Lawrie urged the proprietors to send over families and servants despite the cost, since ". . . it will bring you it again, with large profits; for here is a gallant plentiful country, and good land." What were needed he advised were "husbandmen and country fellows that plough, sow, reap, thresh, and look after the cattle; a carpenter or two, and a smith for ploughs and horses; and a cooper which we want very much."

During the decade of the eighties a goodly number of Scots came to East Jersey; some paid their own passage, but many came under three-year indentures as servants or under a share-crop arrangement. The Scottish proprietors scoured the countryside for cottiers who could be induced to come to America and they found quite a few willing to do so; as Lawrie commented in 1684:

> The Scots have taken a right course, they have sent over many servants, and are likewise sending more; they have likewise sent over many poor families, and given them a small stock; and these families, some for seven, some for ten years, give the half of their increase to the landlord. . . .**

The Scottish area of settlement in East Jersey was in and about the town of Perth Amboy, in Monmouth County where Scottish Quakers founded the town of Freehold, and along the Raritan Valley. Soon the region had a large number of plantations with fields of wheat

* Smith, *History of the Colony of Nova-Caesaria,* 175 ff.
** Smith, *History of the Colony of Nova-Caesaria,* 181-182.

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and corn and herds of livestock. The Scots, also, early introduced the growing of hemp and flax and the manufacture of linen.

Under the auspices of the "Twenty-Four Proprietors," many imposing estates of several thousand acres each were created in East Jersey through grants and the headright system. A number of wealthy Scots, including some of the proprietors, came to the province and established manors which were worked by servants and tenants. The resident Scottish proprietors constituted the gentry of the colony, building town houses in Perth Amboy, which became the social center as well as the political capital of East Jersey. These aristocratic pretensions of the Scots did not sit well with the immigrants from Old and New England who shared an ancient prejudice against the natives of Scotland. This social antagonism, moreover, was exacerbated by economic conflict over the provincial lands. The proprietors insisted that they had the exclusive right to dispose of the lands of East Jersey, and to collect quit rents and lord's rents. The New England men rejected these claims, arguing that they had acquired clear title to their lands under a patent from Colonel Richard Nicolls, then governor of the province, and purchase from the "native pagans." For several decades, the land issue caused recurring strife, sometimes verging on insurrection in East Jersey. The efforts of the Scottish proprietary party to use the powers of government to collect quit rents was a source of special resentment on the part of small farmers. In a remonstrance to the King, they protested against these "unjust molestations," and pointed out that in violation of His Majesty's laws Scots had been appointed to the chief offices of the province, "the power of goverment being chiefly in the hands of natives of Scotland." The surrender of the civil government by the proprietors to the Crown in 1702 was a result of the continuing conflict, but since the rights to the soil and quit rents remained vested in the proprietors the source of contention was not removed. During

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the eighteenth century there were to be repeated scenes of riot and tumult in East Jersey as proprietary pretensions were violently resisted by freeholders and squatters.*

Immigrants from Scotland continued to come to this colony where their countrymen had achieved such a favored position. The lowland Scots preferred to settle in coastal towns where they could engage in business or a trade, rather than take up farming on the frontier. Elizabeth, Newark, and New Brunswick, as well as Perth Amboy and Freehold, had a strong Scottish element in the eighteenth century. Alleged Scottish tightfistedness and clannishness did not allay the antipathy of the other colonists. The Scottish immigration, however, reinforced by an influx of Scotch-Irish, made New Jersey a stronghold of Presbyterianism. On the eve of the Revolution, there were some eighty Scotch-Presbyterian congregations, constituting a third of all churches in the colony.**

Numerous ministers and teachers came from Scotland and Ulster bringing with them intense religious convictions and a zeal for education. The College of New Jersey established at Elizabeth in 1746 by the Presbyterian "New Lights" embodied the Scottish ideal of a trained ministry and an educated laity. The College, which was moved to Princeton in 1756, became the very engine of Presbyterianism in America and its graduates soon filled the pulpits of Scottish and Scotch-Irish churches throughout the colonies. Although the early presidents of the College were New England ministers, the Scottish influence was pervasive and enduring. This connection was reflected in the career of the Reverend John Witherspoon, a leader of the evangelical Presby-

* Smith, *History of the Colony of Nova-Caesaria*, 558 ff.; Graham, *Colonists from Scotland*, 142-146; Hubert G. Schmidt, *Rural Hunterdon* (New Brunswick, 1947), 60 ff.; Richard P. McCormick, *The History of Voting in New Jersey* (New Brunswick, 1953), 17, 37.

** Graham, *Colonists from Scotland*, 11 ff.; Leyburn, *The Scotch-Irish*, 236, 245; Burr, *Education in New Jersey*, 105-106.

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terians in Scotland, who assumed the presidency of Princeton in 1768. Scholar, preacher, and statesman, Witherspoon was a fervent supporter of the Revolutionary cause who served in the Continental Congress and signed the Declaration of Independence.*

The polyglot population gathered together in New Netherland became another major source in the peopling of New Jersey. The "Jersey Dutch" were actually the end result of the fusion of a variety of nationalities. The "Des Marest" family, for example, was of French Huguenot origin, the Van Buskirk family, of German origin, and the Zabriskie, of Polish origin. In their intermarriage and intermingling, however, the Dutch language and customs prevailed, and the Dutch Reformed Church remained their common creed. Since the articles of surrender to the English guaranteed security of person and property and liberty of conscience, the transfer of sovereignty occasioned no disruption of Dutch communities. The migration across the Hudson increased as the offspring of the prolific Dutch farmers sought lands on which to establish their own homesteads. By 1700, of the East Jersey population of eight thousand, one thousand were Dutch, concentrated for the most part in Bergen County.** During the eighteenth century a great many more Dutch crossed the river into northern Jersey where land was good and there were no taxes or duties, while in New York the land was largely engrossed in patroonships. The Earl of Bellomont reported the explanation given him of this migration by a resident of New York:

"What man will be such a fool," he said, "to become a base tenant to Mr. Dellius, Colonel Schuyler, Mr. Livingston (and so he ran through the whole rôle of our mighty landgraves),

* Burr, *Education in New Jersey*, 127; Wertenbaker, *The Middle Colonies*, 181.

** Hansen, "The Minor Stocks in the American Population," 366-372; Wertenbaker, *The Middle Colonies*, 84-89.

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when, for crossing Hudson's river, that man can for a song purchase a good freehold in the Jersies?" *

The Dutch were also attracted to New Jersey by its "milder and more republican form of government," and because their Reformed Church was being harassed by Anglicans in New York. Another consideration was that New Jersey was sheltered from the Indian raids which repeatedly laid waste the frontier settlements of New York and Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century.

The "Jersey Dutch" established themselves solidly in the Hackensack Valley, and expanded steadily up the Passaic and Raritan valleys. At the same time, other Dutch were moving down into northern Jersey from "the Esopus" (Ulster County) on the Hudson. The areas of Dutch settlement became noted for their octagonal churches, great barns, stone farmhouses, well-cultivated fields, and prosperous air. Industrious, neat, and peaceful, the Dutch were also thought to be conservative, unenterprising, and indifferent to political affairs. The common judgment was expressed by John Rutherford: "The low Dutch are a quiet, frugal people, possess considerable Property, are afraid to run in Debt, without being Fond of Law or Offices of Government." ** Though there were small Dutch villages such as Bergen, Hackensack, and Readington, where the church, mill, and market were located, the Dutch preferred to farm, leaving trade to the Scots and English. Bergen County (which included Hudson and most of Passaic counties until well into the nineteenth century) was settled largely by the Dutch. In 1765, its inhabitants could be described as

being the descendants of the low Dutch or Hollanders, . . .

* Hansen, "The Minor Stocks in the American Population," 371; Stella H. Sutherland, *Population Distribution in Colonial America* (New York, 1936), 109; Burr, *Education in New Jersey*, 10-11.

** Schmidt, *Rural Hunterdon*, 33; Morse, *American Universal Geography*, 520; Wertenbaker, *Middle Colonies*, 58-78.

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tively isolated as in the Hackensack Valley the "Jersey Dutch" customs and language survived well into the nineteenth century.* As late as 1847 a visitor to Schraalenburgh in Bergen County could report:

> Here is a congregation of the old Dutch Reformed Church which remains faithful to its ancient rules and confessions although the Dutch language is no longer employed in their services and is no longer taught in their schools. But the people in their daily intercourse quite generally speak the old Dutch language.**

The peopling of West Jersey proceeded much less rapidly than did that of the eastern province. In 1672, George Fox, the Quaker leader, observed with respect to West Jersey that it was "not then inhabited by English, so that we have travelled a whole day together, without seeing man or woman, house or dwelling-place."† Three years later it was reported that there were fewer than a hundred white inhabitants in the province. Among the Swedes, the east bank of the Delaware had the reputation of being "a poor, sandy, and abominable country." Notwithstanding, from the 1670's on the Swedes and Finns did cross the river in large numbers and take possession of most of the land between Salem and Raccoon creeks. Since they were farmers and woodsmen, the lush meadows and dense forests of southern Jersey beckoned to them. Unlike the Dutch, the Swedes did not cluster together in villages, but established widely scattered homesteads. Although there was no significant emigration from Sweden following the English conqest, the Swedish settlements did grow rapidly through natural increase; William Penn commented on their fecundity: ". . . they have fine children, and almost

* Burr, *Education in New Jersey,* 11-14; Wertenbaker, *Middle Colonies,* 114-116.

** Henry S. Lucas (ed.), *Dutch Immigrant Memoirs and Related Writings* (Assen, Netherlands, 1955), I, 471.

† Amelia M. Gummere, "The Early Quakers in New Jersey," in Rufus M. Jones, *The Quakers in the American Colonies* (London, 1911), 359.

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every house full; rare to find one of them without three or four boys, and as many girls; some six, seven, and eight sons." * While there were only 939 Swedes living in West Jersey in 1697, persons of Swedish stock in the state in 1790 were estimated to number 6650. From their original area of settlement in Gloucester County, the Northmen gradually made their way inland along the creeks, and down into Salem and Cumberland counties, eventually reaching Cape May and the Atlantic Coast.**

Swedes like Eric Mullica were the pioneers of West Jersey. Handy with ax and gun, they built their log cabins in forest clearings and hunted and fished. Enjoying good relations with the Indians, they had no fear of attacks from the natives, but they endured all the other rigors of frontier existence: isolation, sickness, periods of starvation, lack of church and school. The Swedes, however, whom Penn described as "a plain, strong, industrious people," appeared suited for these trials; from the wilderness they carved their fields, pastures, and homesteads. The poor soil of southern Jersey and the Swedes' lack of enterprise kept them from becoming overly prosperous. When the English Quakers began to arrive, they eyed with envy the good lands of the Swedes, and though the proprietors confirmed the claims of the latter, the shrewd Quakers were able to part the Swedes from many of their holdings. The Reverend Israel Acrelius made this caustic observation: "Our Swedish Americans have always been afraid of getting too rich, and have therefore paid little attention to their best interests. They have rather allowed others to seize upon their advantages, than made use of them themselves." †

The "Jersey Swedes" like the "Jersey Dutch" were an

* Israel Acrelius, *A History of New Sweden* in *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, XI (Philadelphia, 1874), 106, 115; John E. Pomfret, *The Province of West New Jersey, 1609-1702* (Princeton, 1956), 40-61.

** Pomfret, *Province of West New Jersey*, 277-278; Federal Writers' Project, *Swedes and Finns in New Jersey*, 63-68.

† Acrelius, *History of New Sweden*, 114, 310; Federal Writers' Project, *Swedes and Finns in New Jersey*, 67-68, 89-92.

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amalgamation of several nationalities: Finns, Dutch, a few Germans and Scotch-Irish. Though the English were soon the dominant element in West Jersey, the Swedes maintained their language, customs, and churches for over a century. Faithful to the religion of their fathers, the Swedes appealed in 1692 to the King of Sweden for ministers ". . . who are well learned and well exercised in the Holy Scriptures, and who may well defend both themselves and us against all the false teachers and strange sects by whom we are surrounded, or who may oppose us on account of our true, pure, and uncorrupted service to God and the Lutheran religion. . . ." * The petition added ". . . we are almost universally farmers, who plow and sow and practice agriculture, and live according to the laudable old Swedish customs in meat and drink." In response to this appeal, two Swedish ministers and a quantity of religious books were dispatched to the Swedish settlements along the Delaware. This was the beginning of a mission to the Swedes in America which the Consistory of the Swedish Lutheran Church maintained until 1786.

The arrival of ministers and schoolmasters from Sweden helped to perpetuate the identity of the Swedish minority. But the frequent vacancies in the ministry, the unhappy character of certain ministers, the disputes within congregations, and the farflung settlement of the Swedes, all contributed to a gradual dropping away from the Lutheran Church. Many families succumbed to the "false teachers and strange sects" and joined Quaker and Baptist congregations, especially those under the influence of the "New Light" preachers. During the 1740's, several Swedish Moravian missionaries won a considerable following among the Jersey Swedes over the violent objections of the steadfast Lutherans. At Cohansey, the Swedish settlers joined with a German group to found the Friesburg Evangelical Lutheran Church.** Despite these losses, there yet remain a core

* Acrelius, *History of New Sweden,* 187-197.

** Acrelius, *History of New Sweden,* 322-336, 440; Federal Writers' Project, *Swedes and Finns in New Jersey,* 81-83.

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of Swedes who wished to preserve their ancestral faith and culture.

Among the Swedish Lutheran missionaries, however, there were men of outstanding intellect and character such as Peter Kalm, Israel Acrelius, and Nicholas Collin. These ministers labored mightily to restore good order, discipline, and orthodoxy among the demoralized Swedes. The most important Swedish churches in West Jersey were those at Raccoon and Penn's Neck (modern Churchtown); since 1714 they had been united in a joint pastorate. But the minister had not only the care of these two congregations, he was also obliged to visit the out-settlements of the Swedes such as that at Maurice River, where the people were said to be living "almost as heathen." In addition, the pastor conducted family hearings throughout his congregation once a year. He also helped teach in the parochial schools which had been established, sometimes with the assistance of young Swedish schoolmasters.* Despite these efforts, however, the Swedish settlements underwent a process of disintegration.

When the Reverend Acrelius arrived in 1750 he discovered that the Swedes were becoming rapidly anglicized. Only in the isolated community of Repaupo did he find Swedish still spoken in the pure form "without one word of English being mixed in." Since many descendants of the Swedes were ignorant of the Swedish language, Acrelius began to preach in English; he argued that "otherwise their children would become unchristened heathens or Quakers; their churches would be changed into stables alongside of Quaker meeting-houses." The language issue in the Swedish churches reflected the cultural conflict between generations. The "good, old Swedes" stoutly opposed the use of English; for, as Acrelius described them: ". . . the old among our people do not speak English well, can hardly read an English book or clearly understand English preaching; and, in a word, they hate in their hearts everything

* Acrelius, *History of New Sweden,* 342, 351-352; Burr, *Education in New Jersey,* 43-50.

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that is English. They say that they are Swedish people, although they are in an English country." * But the younger people, who were either bilingual or innocent of Swedish and who often had English wives or husbands, were in the majority. In 1770 there were only some two hundred persons in the Penn's Neck and Raccoon congregations who could converse in Swedish, and the English services were much more heavily attended than the Swedish. The Revolution helped complete this process of Americanization. In 1786 these churches severed their ties with the Swedish Lutheran Church and joined the Episcopal Church.**

The assimilation of the Swedes brought about other changes in their way of life—not all of them for the better. The farmers, for example, turned from Sweden's cooperative village agriculture to family farming. The abundance of land also caused them to abandon the careful tillage of the soil for more wasteful, slovenly cultivation. The Swedes were also influenced by the English methods of farming; they adopted the English practice of leaving livestock without shelter even during the winter, and Swedish women who had once worked in the fields now insisted, after the English fashion, that all outdoor work should be done by the men. The sauna bath which had been one of the first structures erected by the early settlers was unknown to their descendants. English styles of dress and manners were adopted and with them English ideas. Even in the Lutheran churches few partook of the Lord's Supper because the Quakers did not believe in the Sacrament. Swedish holiday customs and the traditional wedding celebrations were given up because they were frowned upon by the English. Plays and dancing in which the Swedes had taken great pleasure were now forbidden "as among loose and disreputable sports." † By the

* Acrelius, *History of New Sweden*, 295-305, 359-361.

** Federal Writers' Project, *Swedes and Finns in New Jersey*, 96-101.

† Federal Writers' Project, *Swedes and Finns in New Jersey*, 72, 89-93; Acrelius, *History of New Sweden*, 293, 354-357; Kerkkonen, *Peter Kalm's North American Journey*, 207-210.

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second half of the eighteenth century then, the "Jersey Swedes" had largely divested themselves of their Swedishness in favor of a new Anglo-American culture. Acrelius commented acidly on certain aspects of this change:

> Formerly, the church people could come some Swedish miles on foot to church; now the young, as well as the old, must be upon horseback. Then many a good and honest man rode a piece of bear-skin; now scarcely any saddle is valued unless it has a saddle-cloth with galloon and fringe. Then servants and girls were seen in church barefooted; now young people will be like persons of quality in their dress; servants are seen with *perruques du crains,* and the like; girls with hooped skirts, fine stuff-shoes, and other finery. Then respectable families lived in low log-houses, where the chimney was made of sticks covered with clay; now they erected painted houses of stone and brick in the country. Then they used ale and brandy, now wine and punch. Then they lived upon grits and mush, now upon tea, coffee, and chocolate.*

Affluence, from the good minister's point of view, had corrupted the Swedes and made them more fond of the things of this world than of the next.

It was to be of lasting consequence that the English colonization of West Jersey took place under Quaker auspices. In 1674, the province came into the hands of William Penn and several other Friends, as trustees for Edward Byllynge and John Fenwick, who had purchased Berkeley's half of New Jersey. That same year the first settlement was undertaken by Fenwick, who sold a large tract of land to a group of Quaker merchants and artisans of London and vicinity. On November 25, 1675, the *Griffen* arrived with 150 colonists who established the town of Salem. In 1677 the Concessions and Agreement of the proprietors of West Jersey were drawn up by Penn and others. The liberal character of this constitution, providing for a popular assembly, liberty of conscience, trial by jury and other legal guarantees, expressed the Quaker ideal that

* Acrelius, *History of New Sweden,* 310.

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all persons might "be free from oppression and slavery." It was the intention of the proprietors to provide a refuge in the New World for the Friends who were being harried and persecuted in England and Ireland. The enterprise was supported by the wealthiest Quakers, and a large number of them did in fact emigrate to West Jersey. In 1677, the *Kent* with 230 passengers, composed of Friends from London and Yorkshire sailed up the Delaware. After purchasing lands from the Indians, these settlers laid out the town of Burlington.*

Seeking to attract additional immigrants, the Quaker proprietors issued several tracts to refute the rumors that West Jersey was unhealthy and infested with wild beasts and described the climate, soil, and resources of the colony in glowing terms. Letters of early settlers were also published to reassure those contemplating removal to West Jersey. The following extracts are typical of the sentiments expressed in these letters:

> the country and air seems to be very agreeable to our bodies, and we have very good stomachs to our victuals. . . . rie and pease much better than any I ever saw in England or Ireland. . . . I do not remember that ever I tasted better water in any part of England . . . of which is made very good beer and ale; and here is also wine and cyder. . . . I have seen orchards laden with fruit to admiration, their very limbs torn to pieces with the weight. . . . The common grass of this country feeds beef very fat. . . . The Indians are very loving to us, except here and there one, when they have gotten strong liquors in their heads, which they now greatly love. . . . Indeed the country, take it as a wilderness, is a brave country, though no place will please all.**

These "America letters" appear to have had the desired effect, for the next few years saw a large-scale migration to the province. By 1681, some fourteen hun-

* Pomfret, *Province of West New Jersey*, 70-106, 120-123; Albert C. Myers (ed.), *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware, 1630-1707* (New York, 1912), 179-181.

** Smith, *History of the Colony of Nova-Caesaria*, 103 ff.

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dred persons had arrived in West Jersey, the majority of them English Quakers, but some Irish and Welsh Friends as well. However, the founding of Pennsylvania in that year diverted the current of immigration to the west bank of the Delaware; henceforth West Jersey received only the backwash from that stream. In 1702, the population of the province had increased only to about thirty-five hundred souls. Its limited arable land could not compete with the vast expanse of fertile soil offered by its neighbor. The zone of good soil in West Jersey was confined by the pine barrens to a strip extending eight to twelve miles back from the Delaware River.*

The Quaker immigration had been one of families, many of them well-to-do so that they were able to bring adequate provisions and stock their farms. There was some suffering and distress during the initial phase of colonization, but within a few years the settlers were producing not only a sufficiency for their needs but a surplus as well. A widespread dispersion of land ownership and the medium-sized farm became typical of the province of West Jersey. While the importation of servants was encouraged by the headright system, relatively few were brought into the colony. Agricultural laborers were assured of good wages and could rise to the status of landowners in a short time. The main towns of the province were Burlington, Salem, and Gloucester. Burlington, the capital of West Jersey, was described in 1698 as having "many stately Brick-Houses, with great Market-House; also many fine wharves, timberyards, malthouses, bakehouses, and most sorts of trades-men." Although Burlington and Salem carried on a limited trade with the West Indies in provisions, hopes that they would become major ports were doomed by the rise of Philadelphia to commercial supremacy. Soon the bulk of West Jersey's farm products flowed to the markets of that entrepôt.**

* Pomfret, *Province of West New Jersey,* 107, 118, 281.

** Pomfret, *Province of West New Jersey,* 116-119, 132, 283; Myers (ed.), *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania,* 346.

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While there was some migration to West Jersey from New England, it was not on a scale comparable to that into the eastern province. A colony of Baptists from Rhode Island did settle on the Cohansey River in 1686 where they were joined by co-religionists from Massachusetts. In 1697 about thirty families from Fairfield and Greenwich, Connecticut, also established themselves and their Puritan church on the banks of the Cohansey. Meanwhile Cape May had been for some years the site of several settlements of New England and Long Island whalers in Delaware Bay. The West New Jersey Society, composed of London merchants, which came into possession of much of the colony in 1692, made strenuous efforts to attract settlers and bring in servants, but with limited success. The Society did, however, transport a colony of fishermen from Bermuda to Cape May under an arrangement whereby the Society provided boats and provisions for whaling in exchange for half the proceeds.*

The Quaker predominance in West Jersey permanently endowed that province with certain distinguishing characteristics. Although other ethnic and religious groups came into that region in the eighteenth century, the Quakers remained the dominant, if not always the most numerous, element in the society. In 1745, "Quakers or Reputed Quakers" constituted the majority of the free population of Burlington County, and substantial minorities in Gloucester and Salem counties. The only other county reporting a significant number of Quakers was Monmouth in the eastern division.** With their characteristic diligence in business, the Friends prospered and formed the most substantial class in West Jersey. The Quaker ideology was reflected in the mildness of the penal legislation of their province as compared with the harsh code of Puritan East Jersey. The Quaker

* Pomfret, *Province of West New Jersey,* 174, 273-276.

** U.S. Bureau of the Census, *A Century of Population Growth from the First Census of the United States to the Twelfth, 1790-1900* (Washington, D.C., 1909), 184.

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proprietors prescribed a liberal policy in dealing with the Indians, providing for a joint administration of justice for the redress of injury by either white or Indian, and for the fair purchase of lands from the natives. On the whole the Friends followed these principles in their relationships with the aborigines and thus avoided bloodshed.*

The structure of Quaker society was based upon the framework of monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings which exerted a strict discipline over social conduct as well as religious practices. Through the Yearly Meetings which met alternately in Burlington and Philadelphia, the Quaker standards with respect to dress, manners, and morals were defined, and those who would not conform to principles of modesty, plainness, and sobriety were excluded from the circle of Friends. By means of this code of discipline a "Quaker Way of Life" was established which set the Friends apart as a "peculiar people." The cohesiveness of the Quakers was further perpetuated by the practice of endogamy: marriage outside the Society of Friends was adequate cause for expulsion. The first meetinghouses in West Jersey were established at Salem and Burlington in the 1670's; as the population expanded the number of meetings increased. By the time of the Revolution, the Quaker meetinghouses in West Jersey equaled the number of churches of all other denominations. Though formal education was not highly regarded among the Quakers, William Penn's injunction to provide instruction for their children was largely observed. In West New Jersey, a number of meetings established schools which provided training for young Quakers and sometimes for poor children and apprentices as well.**

Although the original Quaker settlers were imbued with religious zeal, with time this enthusiasm waned

* Pomfret, *Province of West New Jersey,* 99, 185; Smith, *History of the Colony of Nova-Caesaria,* 533.

**Pomfret, *Province of West New Jersey,* 184-186, 216-240; Burr, *Education in New Jersey,* 51-58.

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and the Society of Friends tended towards an ingrown formalism. This weakening of the faith was accompanied by a loss in membership and a lowering of the moral tone. In the second half of the eighteenth century, however, a revival of Quakerism took place which brought the Friends back to their original principles of intense piety and loving philanthropy. The apostles of this reaffirmation of the Quaker ideal of brotherly love were the Philadelphia Friend, Anthony Benezet, and John Woolman, a teacher and itinerant preacher at Mount Holly. Woolman breathed new life into Jersey Quakerism with his passion for an all-embracing love of God and man which should be expressed in good works. The special concerns of both Woolman and Benezet were the conditions of the Negro and the Indian. Despite some pangs of conscience, there were a goodly number of slaveowners among the Quakers. These two friends of man agitated for a condemnation of the "holding of Mankind as Slaves" by the Quaker meetings; this campaign culminated in the ruling of the Philadelphia Meeting of 1776 which directed its affiliates to "deny the right of membership to such as persisted in holding their fellowmen as property." The Quakers were to provide the most active and persistent antislavery element in New Jersey.*

Woolman emphasized the necessity not only of freeing the Negroes but also of educating and assisting them to live as freemen. From the 1750's on, Quaker meetings in West Jersey were engaged in such educational work. A similar attitude was expressed toward the few, wretched Indians remaining in New Jersey. Woolman was instrumental in the founding of the New Jersey Association for Helping the Indians which sought to extend the comforts of religion and the advantages of education to the aborigines. This moral rejuvenation of the Society of Friends not only placed the Quakers in the foreranks of movements to aid the Negro and Indian, but it was

* Burr, *Education in New Jersey*, 59-63; Henry S. Cooley, *A Study of Slavery in New Jersey* (Baltimore, 1896), 20-22.

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also expressed in a more liberal and humane spirit in Quaker education and Quaker society.*

Although the Quakers were guaranteed liberty of conscience by the Concessions and Agreements, they were still subjected to petty persecutions by those who regarded them as heretics and subversives. As the non-Quakers in the province increased, they resented the primacy of the Friends in the affairs of West Jersey. This was especially true of the Anglicans who aspired to political as well as religious supremacy. In 1702 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts dispatched several missionaries to rescue New Jersey from "Heathenism, Quakerism, and Atheism." One of them, George Keith, who had been a Quaker schismatic before he became an Anglican clergyman, was for long a thorn in the side of the Society of Friends. Another, John Talbot, established the first Episcopal Church in New Jersey, St. Mary's of Burlington, in 1703. Although they were not very successful in winning converts, the S.P.G. missionaries waged an unrelenting battle against "the errors of Quakerism." The Swedish and German Lutherans, the New England Puritans, and the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians tended to share this jaundiced view of the Friends.**

In 1702 the Queen's instructions to New Jersey's first royal governor had reaffirmed "a liberty of conscience for all persons (except papists)," and specifically provided that Quakers be exempt from the swearing of oaths and still be eligible to hold public office. Yet for some years the Quakers were denied the right to serve on juries and to give witness. As the colonial assembly asserted in 1710, these legal disabilities rendered the Quakers insecure, exposing them to robbery and murder. For, as the assembly concluded,

* Marion M. Thompson, *The Education of Negroes in New Jersey* (New York, 1941), 13-26.

** Pomfret, *Province of West New Jersey*, 259-271; McCormick, *History of Voting in New Jersey*, 32, 37.

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> . . . the encouragement the gentlemen of the council have given to the meanest of the people, to abuse them [the Quakers] confirms us in the opinion, that there wants not those who have will enough to perpetrate the greatest mischiefs on that people, when they can escape the punishment due to their crimes.*

This injustice was finally rectified by an act of 1713 which enabled a Quaker on his solemn affirmation and declaration to serve as a juror or in "any office or place of trust or profit within the province." This harassment stemmed from the animosity borne by Governor Lord Cornbury and his Anglican council towards the Quakers; an animosity aggravated by the bitter conflict between them and the Quaker-dominated assembly. Cornbury was given to casting gratuitous insults at the Quakers in his public addresses; he referred to their yearly meetings as follows, "where it is evidently known, that nothing was ever done for the good of the country, but on the contrary continual contrivances are carried on for the undermining of the government both in church and state." **

The recurring colonial wars of the eighteenth century also placed the Friends in a vulnerable position. Their pacifist principles made it difficult for them to support the appropriation of funds and the raising of militia for the struggle against the French. Although the assembly enacted these war measures, many of the Friends could not in good conscience comply with these laws, thus exposing themselves to penalties and distraints, which were sometimes enforced with excessive vigor.† For similar reasons, the Revolutionary War brought many hardships to Quaker pacifists.

The seventeenth century brought the first immigrants to New Jersey. Within a few decades men of many

* Smith, *History of the Colony of Nova-Caesaria,* 247, 393.

** Smith, *History of the Colony of Nova-Caesaria,* 300, 403.

† Smith, *History of the Colony of Nova-Caesaria,* 374; Gummere, "Early Quakers in New Jersey," 393.

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nations had been assembled on this small peninsula. Dutch, Swedes, New Englanders, French Huguenots, Scots, and English were led in turn to make their homes in this "strange and heathen land." Each group carried with it the culture of its mother country, and each was required to adjust to new conditions of life. From this common experience and from this mingling of peoples there would emerge a distinctive society and culture. The process of Americanization, however, had hardly begun by 1700, and in the eighteenth century new elements were to be added to the already complex population. Large numbers of German and Scotch-Irish servants and enslaved Africans contributed other strands to the social and cultural fabric of New Jersey.

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II

SERVANTS, SLAVES, AND FREEHOLDERS

NEW JERSEY EXPERIENCED a spectacular growth in population in the eighteenth century. An estimate of 1701 placed the number of inhabitants at about fifteen thousand, while a census of 1745 recorded 61,403 persons in the province. By the census of 1800, the population of the state had climbed to 211,149.* Jersey farm families were noted for their large broods of children, and much of this growth can be attributed to a very high rate of natural increase, an estimated annual rate of 20 to 25 births in excess of deaths per 1000 population. Thus the original ethnic stocks were heavily represented by their progeny in the Jersey people of 1800. Yet, over and above the natural increase, a considerable immigration was necessary to sustain the high population growth of the eighteenth century. Professor John Brush has calculated that the annual rate of increase through immigration for the years 1726 to 1790 was 19 or 20 per 1000 population.** Compared with the flood which was to come, the eighteenth-century immigration to New Jersey was but a trickle. Still it was an important factor

* U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Century of Population Growth*, 184; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States* (Washington, D.C., 1960), 13; Pomfret, *Province of West New Jersey*, 281.

** John E. Brush, *The Population of New Jersey* (New Brunswick, 1956), 16-24.

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in the economic development of the province, and introduced new ethnic and racial stocks into the population.

While substantial numbers of New England, English, and Scottish farmers, artisans, and tradesmen came to New Jersey in the eighteenth century, the major immigrant groups were Germans, Scotch-Irish, and Africans. Most of these arrived in the New World in a condition of servitude, as bond servants or as slaves. In common with the other colonies, New Jersey suffered from a shortage of labor which inhibited its economic growth. Although the typical Jersey farm was a freehold cultivated by its owner, there were a considerable number of large estates owned by a gentry class. These planters were eager to farm their lands and to exploit the timber and mineral resources, but in order to do so they required an adequate supply of workers. The yeoman farmer also often needed several hands to clear his land and to plant and harvest. But since wages were high and land was cheap, it was relatively easy for the hired laborer to become an independent farmer. What was needed by planter, yeoman, and ironmaster alike was cheap and servile labor. During the eighteenth century this was available in two forms: European bond-servants and Negro or Indian slaves.

Scottish and English servants had comprised a considerable portion of the immigration to New Jersey in the late seventeenth century. In return for his passage, the indentured servant was bound to his master for a period of several years, usually four. Upon the expiration of his term of service, the bond-servant received a headright of land and "freedom dues" of "ten bushels of corn, necessary apparel, two hoes and an ax." With this stake he could soon establish himself as a farmer in his own right. Lawrie described the condition of servants in East Jersey in the 1680's:

> . . . the servants work not so much by a third as they do in England, and I think feed much better; for they have beef,

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pork, bacon, pudding, milk, butter and good beer and cyder for drink, and when they are out of their time, they have land for themselves, and generally turn farmers for themselves.*

In fact, according to Samuel Smith, many who came as servants to West Jersey ". . . succeeded better than some that brought estates; the first inured to industry, and the ways of the country, became wealthy, while the others . . . have, in many instances, dwindled to indigency and want." Among the Quakers, it was common for sons of substantial families to be indentured to learn a trade; therefore, bond-servitude did not carry a stigma and it was not uncommon for a servant to marry his master's daughter.** The apparent mildness of this condition was not always to be true of eighteenth-century New Jersey.

Most immigrant-servants of the eighteenth century were Germans and Scotch-Irish, although some were Swiss, French, or Catholic Irish. Beginning in the 1680's, the emigration from Germany reached large proportions early in the eighteenth century. Most of the immigrants were peasants from the Rhine Valley which had been devasted by wars and famine. Suffering from economic distress and religious oppression, the Palatine Germans were receptive to such inducements to emigrate as William Penn's tract describing Pennsylvania as a "Poorman's Paradise." Many emigrant agents known as "newlanders" or "soul-sellers" were less scrupulous than Penn, and used guile to persuade the naïve country folk to migrate to the colonies. During their long journey the peasants were abused and swindled; packed in overcrowded ships, without adequate ventilation or food, the rate of mortality among them was awful—especially when an epidemic of "ship fever" broke out. Since they

* Smith, *History of the Colony of Nova-Caesaria,* 153, 180-181.

** Smith, *History of the Colony of Nova-Caesaria,* 79, 103; Arthur W. Calhoun, *A Social History of the American Family* (3 vols.; New York, 1917), I, 187.

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often lacked sufficient funds for the voyage, many Germans came as "redemptioners" or "free-willers." Upon arrival at Philadelphia the redemptioner had a certain number of days in which to sell his services; on his failing to do so, the ship captain sold him into servitude on his terms. This arrangement exposed the German immigrants to cruel exploitation. "Soul-drivers" sometimes purchased a lot of fifty or more servants and peddled them through the countryside to the highest bidders.*

The Scotch-Irish immigration began in earnest in the eighteenth century, and between 1717 and 1776 approximately a quarter of a million Ulstermen came to the colonies. A combination of rack-renting, droughts, economic depression, and religious persecution spurred this mass exodus. Tradesmen and artisans as well as farmers were included in this migration which was often comprised of entire congregations led by their ministers. Although they too were subject to the dangers of the ocean voyage, the Scotch-Irish were somewhat less vulnerable to the extreme abuses visited upon the Germans. Although some of them came as "redemptioners," usually they entered into an indenture before sailing which meant they could be sold as servants only according to the terms of the contract. Like the Germans, the Scotch-Irish servants disembarked primarily at Philadelphia docks where planters bid for their time. But during the eighteenth century, German and Scotch-Irish servants could be purchased along the waterfronts of Burlington, Salem, and Perth Amboy. While the great majority of these immigrants were absorbed by Pennsylvania, a substantial number of the "white slaves" were bought by Jersey planters, farmers, and ironmasters. Yet another form of bond labor was available in the colonies in the

* William von Katzler, "The Germans in Newark," in F. T. Urquhart, *A History of the City of Newark, New Jersey* (3 vols.; New York, 1913), II, 1030-1031; Carl Wittke, *We Who Built America* (New York, 1939), 66-96; Abbott E. Smith, *Colonists in Bondage* (New York, 1947), 50-51, 207-225.

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eighteenth century. These were English convicts who were transported in lieu of capital punishment. Most of them were shipped to the southern colonies, but the New Jersey Assembly's imposition of a duty on felons in 1730 suggests that the province was receiving more of this type of undesirable immigrant than it wanted.*

While the lot of servants in New Jersey was much superior to that of the unfortunates who labored on Virginia plantations, their condition was harsh when they fell into the hands of a hard master. A servant's labor was at the complete disposal of his master who could administer corporal punishment when he thought necessary. The master was assumed to have property rights in a servant who could be bought and sold. While under the laws of New Jersey a servant could secure his freedom if his master abused him or denied him adequate food or clothing, still the court records of the colony contain not a few cases in which masters are charged with causing the death of servants. The frequency of runaways among servants also suggests that many were dissatisfied with their treatment; and though the law provided for the apprehension and punishment of such fugitives, few were in fact ever returned to their masters.**

There was, however, a vast difference between the status of the servant and the slave. The servant had civil rights, could seek the protection of the courts, could hold property, and could serve in the militia. But, most important, his servitude was temporary, and once his time was up he could take his place among free men. For some immigrants, the term of indenture was a form of apprenticeship in which they learned the language, customs, and modes of trade or agriculture in the new land.

* Leyburn, *The Scotch-Irish,* 157-183; Smith, *Colonists in Bondage,* 122; Joseph M. Flynn, *The Catholic Church in New Jersey* (Morristown, 1904), 15.

** Richard B. Morris, *Government and Labor in Early America* (New York, 1946), 420, 441, 445, 479-480; Smith, *Colonists in Bondage,* 229; Alfred M. Heston, *Slavery and Servitude in New Jersey* (Camden, 1903), 30.

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It was not uncommon for Germans with means to serve as redemptioners so that they might profit from this tutelage. While most of the servants were employed as agricultural laborers and domestics, there were learned men and skilled artisans among them. Many schoolmasters in the colony were Scotch-Irish and Catholic Irish servants, though the qualifications of some were open to question. Carpenters, blacksmiths, and other craftsmen were in great demand and received special consideration. Caspar Berger, for example, a German stonemason, was bought on terms that required him to build three stone houses to earn his freedom; having done so, he soon became a respected and prosperous resident of Hunterdon County. Unlike the Negro slave, the white servant once free did not carry any taint of servitude, but was allowed to find his place in society. It may very well be, as Alfred M. Heston asserted:

> . . . there are families in New Jersey today, reputable and rich, whose ancestry goes back to the days of servitude, whose progenitors were bond-servants, whose inherited seal is the "L.S." on a bond of indenture, and whose only coat of arms is an axe and grubbing hoe, a pick and spade! *

New Jersey's colonial industries were especially dependent on the labor and skills of imported servants. When Dr. Daniel Coxe, the governor of West Jersey, initiated a large-scale enterprise at Cape May, including whale and cod fisheries, shipbuilding, and a pottery, he sent over a large number of workmen, among whom were a group of French coopers. The sands of southern Jersey were soon found to be suitable for glassmaking. One of the pioneers in this industry was Caspar Wistar, a German who had operated a button factory in Philadelphia. Having sent for a number of skilled glassblowers from Belgium, he established a glassworks at

* Heston, *Slavery and Servitude in New Jersey,* 39; Schmidt, *Rural Hunterdon,* 238; Katzler, "Germans in Newark," 1031; Michael J. O'Brien, "Irish Schoolmasters in the American Colonies," *Journal of the American Irish Historical Society,* XXV (1926), 55.

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Wistarburg in Salem County in 1740. Quite a number of German and Irish immigrants were employed in the Wistar works until it was closed in 1775. That same year Catherine Stanger, a German widow, and her seven sons, who had worked for Wistar, opened a glasshouse in Gloucester County which led to the founding of Glassboro. Other glassworks established during these years were also dependent on European craftsmen.*

The most ambitious industrial undertakings of the colonial period were New Jersey's iron forges and furnaces. The colony had in abundance the three natural resources required for iron manufacturing: ore deposits, wood fuel, and waterpower. In southern Jersey bog ore was utilized, while in northern Jersey hard iron ore was mined. Ironworks had been established as early as 1674 at Shrewsbury in Monmouth County by James and Henry Leonard, English ironmasters from Massachusetts. These works were taken over and operated successfully for several decades by Colonel Lewis Morris. About 1685, ironworkers from New and Old England erected several furnaces and forges in the vicinity of Hanover in Morris County. But it was in the next century that iron manufacturing became extensive in the colony. By 1776, General Washington estimated that there were in Morris County alone anywhere from eighty to a hundred ironworks.**

The major problem confronting New Jersey's ironmasters was securing a skilled and stable labor force. During the eighteenth century, the British policy was

* Pomfret, *Province of West New Jersey*, 132, 165, 275; J. L. Bishop, *A History of American Manufactures from 1608-1860* (Philadelphia, 1866), I, 236-239; Victor S. Clark, *History of Manufactures in the United States, 1606-1860* (Washington, D.C., 1916), 203; Walter T. Leahy (comp.), *The Catholic Church of the Diocese of Trenton, New Jersey* (Princeton, c. 1906), 11.

** Arthur C. Bining, *British Regulation of the Colonial Iron Industry* (Philadelphia, 1933), 106; Arthur C. Bining, *Pennsylvania Iron Manufacture in the Eighteenth Century* (Harrisburg, 1938, 20; Charles S. Boyer, *Early Forges and Furnaces in New Jersey* (Philadelphia, 1931), 197-198; Bishop, *History of American Manufactures*, I, 540.

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to discourage the emigration of artisans to competing industries in the colonies. Despite these restrictions, ironmasters brought workers from Europe under indentures and searched through the arriving immigrants for suitable labor. Jersey's ironworkers were a motley lot, including English, Germans, Scots, Irish, Welsh, native whites, Negroes, and even an occasional Indian; their status varied: free labor, indentured servants, redemptioners, journeymen, apprentices, and Negro slaves. The white servants, however, tended to leave upon—or, indeed, often before—the expiration of their contracts; numerous notices were published by New Jersey ironmasters offering rewards for the return of Irish and German fugitives. The widespread use of Negro slaves, especially in the ironworks of northern Jersey, was one answer to the need for permanent workmen. Although Europeans more often performed the skilled tasks, it was not uncommon for Negroes, free as well as slave, to serve as hammermen or finers. The following advertisement was not unusual: "Six Negro Slaves to hire out or sell, who are good Forgemen, and understand the making of Iron well." *

The greatest ironmaster of colonial New Jersey was Charles Read who built a number of furnaces and forges in Burlington County in the 1760's. For his extensive labor force Read bought the time of many indentured servants, but he also employed Negro slaves. Many Indians from the nearby reservation were employed at the Atsion Works; for pay, they received food, tobacco, and rum from the company store. Near Batsto Furnace, a settlement of fishermen provided a supply of labor. Read was troubled by runaway servants and by drunken brawls and unruliness among his workers. In 1769, in response to Read's petition, the colonial assembly prohibited the operation of a tavern within

* Morris, *Government and Labor in Early America,* 23, 48; Bining, *Pennsylvania Iron Manufacture,* 108-113; Boyer, *Early Forges,* 7, 31, 77; Carl R. Woodward, *Ploughs and Politicks* (New Brunswick, 1941), 91.

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four miles of an ironworks, but authorized the iron-masters to furnish liquor to their workers. Read over-extended himself and died a bankrupt, but he had set in motion an industry which made the pine barrens of southern Jersey ring with the sound of the forge hammer and echo with the roar of the blast furnace for eighty years.*

Even the Read works, however, were overshadowed by the schemes of Peter Hasenclever, a Prussian entrepreneur. Hasenclever was the promoter of the American Iron Company which was to manufacture iron, potash, hemp, flax, and madder in the colonies. In 1765 and 1766, he built blast furnaces, forges, grist and sawmills, bridges, a canal, dam, and reservoir for his ironworks at Charlotteburg, Ringwood, and Long Pond in northern Jersey. To carry out this project, Hasenclever brought over under contract 535 German workmen and their families, among whom were miners, forgemen, colliers, masons, and carpenters. Perhaps the first industrial strike in New Jersey occurred when the German workers put on a "slow-down" until their demands for higher wages were met. Many of the German servants, who had been brought over at great expense, shortly ran away. This and other setbacks caused the Prussian ironmaster to be replaced as director of the enterprise by Robert Erskine, a Scottish mining engineer. During the Revolution, the Ringwood Iron Works was a major source of ordnance for the Continental Army and Erskine himself served as Washington's geographer and surveyor general.**

Another leading ironmaster was John Jacob Faesch, a native of Switzerland, who operated the Old Boonton Works and the Mount Hope Furnace in Morris County. Faesch became a prominent citizen of Morristown and a supporter of the Revolutionary cause. Because the

* Boyer, *Early Forges,* 154-174; Woodward, *Ploughs and Politicks,* 91 ff.

** Bining, *Pennsylvania Iron Manufacture,* 108 ff.; Boyer, *Early Forges,* 12-19; Morris, *Government and Labor in Early America,* 48, 197.

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scarcity of labor was hampering his production of munitions, Faesch secured the services of 35 Hessian prisoners-of-war. Many of these escaped, but were recaptured and kept at work in the mines and furnaces. Despite such hard treatment, some of the Hessians chose to remain in New Jersey at the end of the war.*

Copper mines were also operated in colonial New Jersey. The most productive of these was located on the lands of the Schuyler family in Bergen County. The ore was very rich, and the mine worked with slave labor brought much wealth to the Schuylers. Trouble was encountered, however, with flooding. To keep the mine free from water, Colonel John Schuyler engaged Josiah Hornblower, a young English engineer, to bring over and erect a steam engine. Although this was contrary to British law, the engine, the first to be exported to America, and Hornblower arrived in 1753. Hornblower went on to a distinguished career in public life as well as in business in New Jersey.**

The iron plantation was the destination of many immigrants to New Jersey in the eighteenth century. Since each furnace required a minimum of four square miles of woodland for fuel, the ironworks were buried deep in forests. The iron plantation was thus largely a self-sufficient community with farmlands and livestock, grist and sawmills, as well as forge and furnace. A commissary had to be provided where the workers were paid by the truck system. The ironmaster in his mansion was lord of the manor; his authority over a community sometimes numbering several hundred persons was practically absolute. The mingling of races and nationalities, of servants and slaves, and the free use of liquor, tended toward breaches of discipline and morality. A church and school were sometimes provided by a paternalistic ironmaster to curb the rough, unruly element, but firmer methods were used if needed. In these isolated locations

* Boyer, *Early Forges,* 44, 136-137; Morris, *Government and Labor in Early America,* 301-305.

** Bishop, *History of American Manufactures,* I, 546.

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there was little relief from a sadistic master. There are records of a few labor disputes such as the strike at the Hibernia Iron Works in 1774, but organized resistance by the workers was a thing of the future. The one escape from exploitation was to run away, and many servants did just that.*

Negro slaves were to be found not only on the iron plantations of New Jersey; their labor was extensively employed in agriculture and commerce as well. One of the earliest slaveholders in New Jersey was Colonel Lewis Morris who was reported in 1680 to have "sixty or seventy Negroes about the Mill and Husbandry in that Plantation." ** Morris had been a planter in the Barbadoes and quite probably brought his slaves as well as the West Indian concept of slavery to the colony with him. During the proprietary period the distinction between slaves and servants was rather vague; gradually the special status of the slave was defined in a series of statutes such as the law of 1695 which provided special courts for slaves as well as more severe punishments. Slavery came to be understood as a condition restricted to "pagans," i.e., Africans and Indians; thus race and color became identified with permanent servitude. Indians had been enslaved by the Dutch and Swedes as well as by the English, but their passion for liberty which caused them to dread slavery "more than death" made them poor slaves. Yet Indians were held as slaves throughout the eighteenth century; in 1797, the State Supreme Court affirmed that the holding of Indians as slaves had been for so long recognized as legal that "it would be a violation of the rights of property to establish a contrary doctrine." Most of the colony's slaves, however, were Negroes, some of them "country born" but others recently imported from Africa and

* Bining, *Pennsylvania Iron Manufacture,* 119; Morris, *Government and Labor in Early America,* 197; Boyer, *Early Forges,* 6-7; Woodward, *Ploughs and Politicks,* 91 ff.

** Boyer, *Early Forges,* 197.

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still wearing their tribal marks. There was also a growing number of Negro-white and Negro-Indian half-breeds.*

Slavery was officially encouraged by the Concessions and Agreement of 1665 which offered a headright for each slave brought to the colony, while the Queen's instructions to the royal governor in 1702 specified that the Royal African Company would provide the province with "a constant and sufficient supply of merchantable Negroes, at moderate rates." Although the colonial assembly on several occasions attempted to discourage or prohibit the importation of slaves, the policy of providing an adequate supply of "merchantable Negroes" generally prevailed. The assembly sought to restrict the slave trade, on the grounds that this would encourage the immigration of sober, industrious whites and would promote the spirit of industry in the colony, but the governor and council rejected all such measures until 1767 when a high duty was imposed on each slave imported. Because the neighboring colonies had earlier placed a tariff on the slave trade, for some years the slavers brought their cargoes to New Jersey, whence they were "run into New York and Pennsylvania." Perth Amboy served as the slave mart of the colony where Negroes were sold at public auction, and coffles of slaves in chains could be seen in the streets.**

New Jersey's slave population grew rapidly in the eighteenth century. From 2581 in 1726, it had increased to 4606 in 1745. By 1800, 12,422 Negroes out of a total Negro population of 16,824 were still in a state of bondage. In that year among the northern states only New York could boast of a larger number of slaves. The institution of slavery took root in New Jersey because it met the urgent need for labor. Although the majority

* Cooley, *Slavery in New Jersey,* 10-12, 37; Schmidt, *Rural Hunterdon,* 250; Smith, *History of the Colony of Nova-Caesaria,* 144.

** Cooley, *Slavery in New Jersey,* 14-17; Heston, *Slavery and Servitude in New Jersey,* 8; Smith, *History of the Colony of Nova-Caesaria,* 144.

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of the Negroes were used as farm laborers and domestics, slaves served in a wide variety of occupations, as coachmen, sailors, boatmen, coopers, millers, etc. While slaves were employed in large numbers about ironworks and on large estates such as William Kelley's "Red Barracks," for the most part slaveholding was widely dispersed among yeomen farmers. Few of these owned as many as five slaves, the average was two or three.*

Slaveholding in New Jersey was not evenly distributed throughout the colony; rather it was concentrated in a number of counties. In 1745, for example, only Bergen, Middlesex, and Monmouth counties had as many as five hundred slaves each; together they accounted for over half the slaves in the colony. Significantly, the bulk of the slave population was to be found in the eastern division; there were few slaves in the western division with the exceptions of Hunterdon and Burlington counties. One reason may have been the growing uneasiness of Quakers over the holding of men as property, yet some of them did own slaves—at least until the Philadelphia Meeting of 1776 prohibited slaveholding among the Society of Friends. In 1800, however, the Quaker counties of Burlington, Gloucester, and Salem accounted for less than 3 per cent of the slaves, although they contained 23 per cent of the state's population. The ownership of slaves was reported to be especially widespread among the Dutch and German farmers of the Hackensack, Passaic, and Raritan valleys.**

Slavery in eighteenth-century New Jersey was reputed to be humane and paternalistic in character. Working closely as laborer or domestic with master and mistress, the Negroes were often regarded as members of the family and as worthy of care and consideration. John Witherspoon observed that Jersey slaves were "exceed-

* U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Negro Population,* 51, 57; Cooley, *Slavery in New Jersey,* 55; Schmidt, *Rural Hunterdon,* 243; Woodward, *Ploughs and Politicks,* 229.

** U.S. Bureau of the Census, *A Century of Population Growth,* 184; Cooley, *Slavery in New Jersey,* 22, 30.

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ingly well used," being fed and clothed as well as white servants. Trusted slaves were sometimes taught a trade and given positions of responsibility with considerable freedom and an opportunity to earn money for their own use. Since the religious sanction of slavery in the seventeenth century was that the Africans and Indians were "heathen," it was commonly believed that baptism would have the effect of freeing slaves. To meet this objection to the conversion of Negroes, the New Jersey Assembly declared in 1704 that baptism did not emancipate them from servitude. Having thus secured the enslavement of their bodies, various denominations actively sought to liberate their souls. During the eighteenth century, Negro slaves were converted and admitted to church membership by Presbyterian, Lutheran, Dutch Reformed, and Quaker as well as Anglican congregations.*

Such a favorable view of New Jersey slavery, however, is clouded over by various reminders that the institution at best was inherently brutal. Slaves, after all, were considered as "things," chattels to be bought, sold, and used to the advantage of the owner. This attitude was clearly expressed in sale notices such as the following in which Negroes were classed with livestock and tools: "On the above farm is also to be sold a negro man with four children, a horse, chair, cows, and farming utensils." ** The colony's penal code also provided much more severe punishment for slaves than for free men; the death penalty, frequently by burning at the stake, was prescribed for slaves found guilty of rape, arson, attempted murder as well as murder, and robbery of money above £5 in value. Such capital punishment was actually imposed. In 1741, the justices of Bergen County sentenced two Negroes to the stake for burning several barns. Recurring rumors of slave insurrections also suggest an uneasy conscience and fear on the part

* Cooley, *Slavery in New Jersey*, 57; Schmidt, *Rural Hunterdon*, 246-248; Thompson, *Education of Negroes in New Jersey*, 9, 39.
** Cooley, *Slavery in New Jersey*, 56.

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of the whites; whether real or imagined, the suspected ring-leaders were harshly dealt with. Near Somerville in 1734, an alleged uprising was prevented by hanging one slave, cutting the ears off several others, and whipping the rest. These fears inspired a body of legislation strictly regulating the freedom of movement and behavior of slaves. Though it was more difficult for a Negro to escape than for a white servant, the not-infrequent notices of runaway slaves further indicate an intense dissatisfaction with their state. That the relationship of master and slave was not always a paternal one is confirmed by the New Jersey statute of 1786 which asserted that slaves "ought to be protected by law from those exercises of wanton cruelty too often practiced upon them." *

Slaves were also subject to many civil disabilities. They could not act as witnesses in most cases at law, own property, or enlist in the militia without their master's consent. In 1780, New Jersey forbade the enlistment of slaves in the Revolutionary forces. Despite this prohibition, a considerable number of Negro slaves did serve in the militia and Continental Army, while others joined Tory companies. Several slaves were manumitted for their contribution to the Revolutionary cause; in 1789, the New Jersey Legislature declared a slave, Cato by name, free on the grounds that he had "rendered essential service both to this State and the United States in the time of the late war." **

During the second half of the eighteenth century an antislavery movement gained momentum in New Jersey. The Quaker conscience had been awakened to this issue by the preaching of John Woolman and Anthony Benezet, while the religious humanitarianism inspired by the "Great Awakening" brought the "New Light" Presbyterians and Baptists into the antislavery camp. Prior to the Revolution, the colonial assembly had received petitions for the prohibition of further importation of

* Cooley, *Slavery in New Jersey*, 33-44, 50.

** Cooley, *Slavery in New Jersey*, 52-53.

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slaves and the easing of provisions for manumission. But the War for Independence caused slavery to appear, as Governor William Livingston himself pointed out, "utterly inconsistent with the principles of Christianity and humanity; and in Americans who have almost idolized liberty peculiarly odious and disgraceful." *

The decade of the eighties witnessed the enactment of several major reforms. Antislavery sentiment joined with a desire to protect white labor from competition with Negroes to secure the prohibition of both the foreign and interstate traffic in slaves. Other legislation provided for a uniform penal code for slave and free, a requirement that all slaves be taught to read before the age of twenty-one, and the manumission of adult slaves in good health without security. Not satisfied with these palliative measures, the antislavery men formed the New Jersey Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery in 1793. The abolitionist cause was most enthusiastically supported by Quakers of West Jersey and by the New England Presbyterians of Essex and Middlesex counties. It met with strong opposition, however, in those areas where slave labor was widely used, especially among the Dutch of Bergen and Somerset counties. Despite this opposition, a law was enacted in 1804 providing for the gradual abolition of slavery; every child born of a slave mother after July 4 of that year was to be free. A male child was to remain a servant of his mother's owner until age twenty-five, and a female child until age twenty-one. Slavery in New Jersey had been dealt a death blow, but it was to linger on well into the nineteenth century.**

Emancipation, however, was not to bring full equality or acceptance to the Negro. There were free Negroes in New Jersey throughout the colonial period, and by 1800 they numbered over four thousand. While the free Negro enjoyed physical freedom and certain civil rights,

* Cooley, *Slavery in New Jersey,* 20-23.

** Cooley, *Slavery in New Jersey,* 18, 23-25; Thompson, *Education of Negroes in New Jersey,* 3, 56.

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THE

African Miscellanist;

OR,

A COLLECTION

OF

ORIGINAL ESSAYS,

ON THE

SUBJECT OF

NEGRO SLAVERY.

BY PHILANTHROPOS.

"AM I NOT A MAN AND A BROTHER?"

TRENTON:

Printed by WILSON & BLACKWELL....1802.

An Anti-Slavery Pamphlet of 1802 attributed to William Ladd

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he was subject to many legal and social restrictions. A law of 1714, for example, denied the right to hold real estate to Negroes, Indians, or mulattoes, declaring: "Free Negroes are an idle, slothful people and prove very often a charge to the place where they are." Moreover, color carried with it the presumption of servitude; as late as 1826 the Supreme Court of New Jersey held that all black men should be regarded as slaves until proven to be free. Since Negroes tended to be employed in the most menial forms of labor, whites, as Anthony Benezet observed, assumed the colored to be inferior and contemptible. The myth of white superiority was self-reinforcing, for it kept the blacks in a subordinate caste which persuaded them of their inferiority.* The colonial legacy of racial prejudice was to bear bitter fruit in centuries to come.

While the Negro was becoming a permanent element in the people of New Jersey, the Indian was quickly disappearing from the land. The Minsi, Unami, and Unalachtigo, subtribes of the Lenni Lenape, had numbered perhaps five thousand when the white man first arrived. Growing patches of corn, beans, and squash, and hunting and fishing, the aborigines had enjoyed relative plenty. They offered little resistance to the European invasion with the exception of some raids on the early Dutch settlers who had treated them harshly. Because the Lenni Lenape were not warlike and because of the Quaker policy of fair dealing, the two races enjoyed a friendly relationship. The Indians received the first colonists kindly, fed them, and taught them the ways of the country: how to grow and prepare corn and other native crops; how to make canoes, buckskin coats, and moccasins. But the coming of the white man was disastrous for the natives. The tribes were decimated by diseases introduced by the colonists, especially small pox, while the redman's weakness for rum increased the toll. One Indian astutely observed that two of them died

* Cooley, *Slavery in New Jersey,* 33, 44, 53; Thompson, *Education of Negroes in New Jersey,* 50-51.

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for every white man that arrived. As the number of settlers increased the Lenni Lenape retreated to lands west of the Delaware. By the mid-eighteenth century there were only a few hundred of the "original people" left in New Jersey.*

Although New Jersey escaped the worst ravages of Indian warfare, in 1758 there were raids on its northwestern frontier in which several settlers were killed. These hostilities led to a pacification conference at Easton between the commissioners of New Jersey and Pennsylvania and the Delawares. Here the grievances of the Minisinks, the tribe which had inhabited northern Jersey, were set forth. They complained that certain lands had never been properly purchased from them, but their protest revealed that the Indian concept of real estate transactions was different from that of the white man. As their spokesman plaintively stated:

> You deal hardly with us; you claim all the wild creatures and will not let us come on your land to hunt after them. You will not so much as let us peel a single tree. This is hard and has given us great offence. The cattle you raise are your own, but those which are wild, are still ours, or should be common to both; for when we sold the land, we did not propose to deprive ourselves of hunting the wild deer, or using a stick of wood when we should have occasion.**

Agreement was finally reached whereby New Jersey paid one thousand Spanish dollars for the Indian claims to all lands north of the Raritan River.

Meanwhile arrangements were being made for the miserable remnant of Lenni Lenape in southern Jersey. The Reverend David Brainerd, a Presbyterian minister who conducted a mission among the Indians at Crosswicks, urged the establishment of a reservation in 1754. The plight of the natives also stirred the pity of the

* Johnson, *Swedish Settlements on the Delaware*, II, 534; Myers (ed.), *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania*, 344; Schmidt, *Rural Hunterdon*, 19-27; Smith, *History of the Colony of Nova-Caesaria*, 64, 440; Woodward, *Ploughs and Politicks*, 184-192.

** Smith, *History of the Colony of Nova-Caesaria*, 470-474.

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Quakers, and especially of John Woolman who founded the New Jersey Association for Helping the Indians in 1757. Through this religious influence, the colonial assembly was moved in 1758 to purchase 3000 acres of "poor, uninhabited land" in Burlington County for a reservation. Here at Brotherton the few remaining aborigines were assembled under the injunction of Governor Francis Bernard to "order, sobriety, and industry." For a time, under Reverend John Brainerd's careful supervision, the reservation with its schoolhouse, store, sawmill, and church, seemed a success. But the Indians were unable to adapt to the white man's culture and economic life, and their numbers continued to decline. In 1801, when less than a hundred were left at Brotherton, they petitioned the legislature for permission to join the Mohegans near Oneida Lake in New York. The reservation lands were sold to finance the removal of the last of the Lenni Lenape from New Jersey.*

The European immigrants to New Jersey in the eighteenth century were not only a factor in its economic growth but influenced its cultural and political life as well. While the main current of both the Scotch-Irish and German immigrations flowed into Pennsylvania and down the Valley of Virginia, a rivulet of each was diverted to the eastern shore of the Delaware. There are no statistical records of these newcomers, but in 1790, the Irish and the German stocks accounted for almost equal numbers in the population, 16,146 and 15,636 respectively. The bulk of the immigrants from Ireland was Protestants from Ulster, but there were Irish Catholics as well.**

* Burr, *Education in New Jersey,* 110-112; Smith, *History of the Colony of Nova-Caesaria,* 483; Woodward, *Ploughs and Politicks,* 184-185.

** American Council of Learned Societies, *Report of the Committee on Linguistic and National Stocks,* 124. The number of Irish Catholics in colonial New Jersey is a moot question. Michael J. O'Brien and W. H. Mahony have argued in several articles that there were a large number of them. See *Journal of the American Irish Historical Society,* XXV (1926), 159-178; XXVI (1927), 242-254; XXVII (1928), 76-100.

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The Scotch-Irish did not form a distinctive element in the colony; most of them were indentured servants who appear to have merged easily with the English-speaking community. Being staunch Presbyterians they added to the strength of the church which had been founded by the Scottish immigrants. Their area of concentration was in the eastern division, especially along the Millstone, Raritan, and Passaic rivers. The Irish, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, were not so highly regarded in the colonies as other nationalities. While the Scotch and the Germans were reputed to be "frugal and laborious," the Irish, it was thought, had too great a love of drinking and quarreling. They were also said to be more ignorant of farming than the other groups. It was Crèvecoeur's judgment that "out of twelve families of emigrants of each country, generally seven Scotch will succeed, nine German, and four Irish." This valuation was also reflected in the prices of servants with the Scots bringing the highest, the Irish Catholics, the lowest, and the Scotch-Irish in between.*

Not all the Ulstermen came in a condition of servitude; there were among them men of learning and substance as well. The Reverend William Tennent, Sr., for example, established his "Log College" to train ministers at Neshaminy, Pennsylvania, early in the eighteenth century. Numerous graduates of this seminary, including Samuel Finley, John, Gilbert, and William Tennent, Jr., became leading ministers of the Presbyterian Church in New Jersey. Among the early Scotch-Irish settlers of New Brunswick were John and James Neilson, a doctor of "Phisick" and a merchant respectively. The Neilsons became one of the most prominent families in business and public affairs in the province. Another distinguished Jerseyman from Ireland was William Paterson, who came to the colony as a boy with his

* J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer* (paper ed.; New York, 1957), 58; Charles A. Hanna, *The Scotch-Irish* (2 vols.; New York, 1902), II, 8-9; Leyburn, *The Scotch-Irish,* 245; Smith, *Colonists in Bondage,* 38.

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father, a tinplate manufacturer. A graduate of Princeton, Paterson was very active in the Revolutionary struggle; he served as delegate to the Constitutional Convention, New Jersey's second (and only foreign-born) state governor, and Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court. The Scotch-Irish, who tended to be fiery Patriots, achieved a political prominence in the Revolutionary period out of all proportion to their ratio in the population.*

The early Germans came to New Jersey as a result of a secondary migration from the adjacent colonies. Among the very first were an undetermined number of the 3200 Palatines who were sent to New York in 1710 to produce naval stores; when the scheme collapsed, the immigrants scattered, some making their way to New Jersey. Other Palatine Germans entered the colony from Pennsylvania, expanding northward across the Delaware from their original settlements in Bucks County. Gradually, the Germans spread themselves over much of Hunterdon, Sussex, and Morris counties. By 1790, it was estimated that between 20 and 30 per cent of the population of these counties was of German stock. Their earliest settlements were at German Valley, Lebanon, New Germantown, Unionville, and Schooleys Mountain.**

The German immigration was largely one of peasant families from the villages of the Rhineland; the abundance of land, however, caused them to settle on scattered farms rather than in communities. The influx of such large numbers of "Palatine Boors" caused some concern on the part of the English-speaking element. Benjamin

* Burr, *Education in New Jersey,* 106; Wertenbaker, *The Middle Colonies,* 178; Robert F. Thompson, *Colonel James Neilson* (New Brunswick, 1940), 4 ff.; *Dictionary of American Biography,* XIV, 293-295.

** U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Century of Population Growth,* 120; Schmidt, *Rural Hunterdon,* 33; Theodore F. Chambers, *The Early Germans of New Jersey* (Dover, N.J., 1895), 27-38; Albert B. Faust, *The German Element in the United States* (2 vols.; Boston, 1909), I, 151-152; William A. Knittle, *The Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration* (Philadelphia, 1936), 189.

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Franklin, for example, though admitting that the Germans were "excellent husbandmen" feared that they ". . . will shortly be so numerous as to Germanize us instead of our Anglifying them, and will never adopt our Language or Customs, any more than they can acquire our complexion." He also observed that the Germans ". . . under-live, and are thereby enabled to under-work and under-sell the English; who are thereby extreamly incommoded and consequently disgusted, so that there can be no cordial affection or unity between the two nations." * Yet the Germans, as Crèvecoeur commented, "by dint of sobriety, rigid parsimony, and the most persevering industry" commonly succeeded, and won the grudging admiration of their neighbors. The Germans were thought to have an unfair advantage over the other nationalities, since their sturdy women did men's work in the fields.** In 1786, John Rutherford described their condition in New Jersey: "Dispersed in both Divisions are many laborious, ingenious and parsimonious Germans, who came here late and poor, but are daily acquiring Estates, especially in the large counties of Hunterdon and Sussex." †

The Palatine Germans were for the most part Lutherans, although some belonged to the German Reformed Church. While German ministers from New York visited the scattered immigrant settlements as early as 1715, the first German Lutheran Church was founded at Potterstown in 1731. In the 1730's the Germans on the Raritan appealed to the "reverend Ministerium" of Halle for a pastor to save them and their children from lapsing into "utter barbarism." Several early ministers were a cause of scandal and conflict, but the German Lutherans finally found a "Father" in the Reverend Heinrich Melchior Muhlenberg. This learned clergyman from Germany served as both spiritual and secular guide to the

* Leonard W. Labaree (ed.), *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* (7 vols.; New Haven, Conn., 1959-1963), IV, 120-121, 234, 485.

** Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer,* 57.

† Sutherland, *Population Distribution in Colonial America,* 110.

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immigrants of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. For some years he was pastor of the Raritan churches, assisted by his three sons. The elder Muhlenberg also secured students from the University of Halle to preach and teach among the New Jersey Germans. What Muhlenberg was to the Lutheran Church, the Reverend Michael Schlatter was to the German Reformed Church. During the 1750's this Swiss-born missionary was busy organizing congregations and establishing churches and schools among the Germans of the Reformed faith. The transition to English in the church and parochial schools was quite rapid among the Germans; although, as in the case of other nationalities, the language issue was a wedge which split congregations into opposing factions. When the Reverend Caspar Wack, for example, was called to German Valley in 1771, he began by preaching only in German but within a few years his sermons were being given in English. Unlike the Pennsylvania Dutch, the Jersey Germans did not long retain their cultural identity; over a course of several generations they were largely absorbed into the surrounding population.*

There were also several small Moravian communities in New Jersey, the most important of which was at Hope in Sussex County. The initial group of German Brethren came here from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in 1769, and constructed a flour mill, tannery, and pottery, as well as a church and community house. The settlement, however, suffered a decline which resulted in its dissolution in 1808. The Moravian Church was dedicated to a primitive Christianity and its followers sought to live according to the principles of piety, simplicity, and charity.** But its doctrines of community property and social life aroused much prejudice against it. The misconceptions which Dr. Alexander Hamilton held of the Brethren were probably common at that time:

* Chambers, *Early Germans in New Jersey,* 27-53, 75-79, 95; Burr, *Education in New Jersey,* 91-103; Faust, *German Element in the United States,* 158 ff.; Schmidt, *Rural Hunterdon,* 42.

** Burr, *Education in New Jersey,* 88-91; Chambers, *Early Germans in New Jersey,* 20.

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The Moravians are a wild, fanatick sect with which . . . the Jerseys are pestered. They live in common, men and women mixed in a great house or barn where they sometimes eat and drink, sometimes sleep, and sometimes preach and howl, but are quite idle and will employ themselves in no usefull work. They think all things should be in common and say that religion is intirely corrupted by being too much blended with the laws of the country. They call their religion, the true religion, or the religion of the Lamb, and they commonly term themselves the followers of the Lamb, which I believe is true in so far as some of them may be wolves in sheep's clothing.*

The Germans were only one of several groups which settled New Jersey's back country in the eighteenth century. The thrust of expansion of new generations of Jerseymen as well as of arriving immigrants was into the fertile lands of the Piedmont Plain, especially Hunterdon, Morris, and Sussex counties. This region which had only 3377 inhabitants in 1726 had a population of 13,587 by 1745. Writing in 1765, Samuel Smith described Hunterdon as "the most populous and opulent county in the province." Land-hungry pioneers converged on this section from several directions. From the south, Quakers pushed up past the Falls at Trenton, establishing the Amwell Meeting at Lambertville in 1727. Up the Raritan Valley came English, Scottish, and Dutch farmers. An eastward movement from Pennsylvania brought a motley lot of settlers across the Delaware to Jersey soil.**

The taking up of land in northwestern New Jersey was punctuated by conflicts between settlers and proprietors. In 1749, for example, riots and large-scale arrests followed the attempts of absentee landlords to collect quit rents. The squatters were in most instances

* Carl Bridenbaugh (ed.), *Gentleman's Progress: The Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton 1744* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1948), 58.

** U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Century of Population Growth,* 184; Smith, *History of the Colony of Nova-Caesaria,* 498-499; Pomfret, *Province of West New Jersey,* 239; Schmidt, *Rural Hunterdon,* 30-40.

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able to make good their titles to the land they had cleared. Meanwhile, the difficulty of securing tenants tended toward the break up of large estates into small farms. For some years the pioneer homestead, self-sufficient and isolated, was typical of this territory, but in time rural communities appeared with markets, churches, and schools. Prosperity came when improved roads permitted the shipping of surpluses of grain, livestock, and lumber to the markets of New York and Philadelphia. The very abundance of virgin soil, however, caused the farmers to exhaust their fields recklessly, their one object appearing to be that of "ploughing up fresh land." So ruthless was the leveling of forests and mining of the soil that within a generation after settlement the land had lost much of its fertility.*

In an age when sectarian passions ran high, New Jersey presented an early example of religious pluralism. Since there was no established church in the colony and liberty of conscience was guaranteed, a multitude of sects flourished in mutual tolerance, if not always good-will. Toleration, however, did not extend beyond the Protestant denominations. While the original Concessions and Agreement had contained a provision for religious freedom broad enough to encompass Catholics and Jews, this was shortly altered to exclude all but Protestants. A law of 1698 in East Jersey secured liberty of conscience to all professing faith in God by Jesus Christ, excepting those of the "Romish religion." In 1702, the royal governor's commission reaffirmed this freedom for all persons, "except papists." The test oaths which required the abjuring of Catholic doctrines also barred Roman Catholics from office-holding and voting in New Jersey.**

* Schmidt, *Rural Hunterdon,* 6-7, 60; Smith, *History of the Colony of Nova-Caesaria,* 498-499; Harry J. Carman (ed.), *American Husbandry* (New York, 1939), 97-110.

** Flynn, *Catholic Church in New Jersey,* 43-50, 58, 141; Leahy, *History of Voting in New Jersey,* 62; Smith, *History of the Colony of Nova-Caesaria,* 246.

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Although the colony was not hospitable to their faith, a goodly number of Roman Catholics did come to New Jersey in the eighteenth century. By 1785, it was estimated that there were 1700 Catholics in New York and New Jersey, with the majority in New Jersey. Among these were German, French, and Alsatian ironworkers, glassblowers, and other imported mechanics, as well as Irish Catholic servants who had been carried over on the tide of Scotch-Irish immigration. While they were unable to establish any churches, the scattered Catholics in the province were visited infrequently by German Jesuits such as the Reverends Theodore Schneider and Ferdinand Steinmeier. Since a law of 1700 declared that Catholic priests be "deemed incendiary and disturbers of the public peace and safety, enemies of the true Christian religion, and adjudged to suffer perpetual imprisonment," the Jesuit Fathers had to travel incognito. The popular prejudice against Catholics as well as the threat of legal penalties made this a wise course. Anti-Catholicism was not only a heritage of the religious conflicts of the Old World, it was also inspired by the colonial wars against a Catholic enemy, France. Thus the political loyalty, as well as the religious beliefs, of the Roman Catholics was the subject of suspicion. Because of this hostility and the lack of churches, most of the Catholics in New Jersey soon gave up their allegiance to the Church of Rome and merged with the Protestant majority.*

While there was a sizable Jewish community in New York in the eighteenth century, only a few dozen Jewish families settled in New Jersey and no Jewish congregation or organization was formed. These Spanish and Portuguese Jews did not encounter any strong prejudices, and some of them, like Aaron and Moses Louzada of Bound Brook, became wealthy and prominent citizens. Although it seems that the majority of Jersey Jews were Tories, this did not excite any general sentiment of

* Flynn, *Catholic Church in New Jersey*, 24, 30, 47, 315; Leahy, *Catholic Church of the Diocese of Trenton*, 15.

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anti-Semitism. The Revolution brought religious toleration to non-Protestants, but it did not free Catholics and Jews from civil disabilities. While the New Jersey Constitution of 1776 did provide for religious freedom for all, it also specified that "no Protestant" was to be denied any civil right on religious grounds and that only Protestants were to be elected to offices of profit or trust, including the state legislature. It was not until a new constitution was adopted in 1844 that these religious barriers to equal rights were lifted.*

The American Revolution brought much suffering and hardship to the people of New Jersey. Some of the major campaigns of the war were fought in its countryside, as the British and American forces waged a see-saw struggle for the command of the strategic lines of communication between New York and Philadelphia. The people of New Jersey were badly divided over the issue of independence; there were perhaps as many Tories as Patriots, while a large segment of the population sought to remain neutral. Many Jerseymen found it expedient to change their politics with the tide of battle, being loyal subjects of King George today and fervent admirers of General Washington tomorrow. Partisans, both Tories and Revolutionaries, formed guerilla bands which harried both the opposing forces and civilians suspected of sympathizing with the enemy. An intolerant spirit prevailed which subjected those at odds with the dominant sentiment to persecution; confiscation of property, tarring and feathering, and lynching were the lot of the outspoken Loyalist or Patriot who fell into unfriendly hands.**

The war brought to the surface all of the latent ethnic and religious antagonisms which had developed among

*Joshua O. Haberman, "The Jews in New Jersey" (MS in New Jersey Collection, Rutgers University Library), 3-4; Gustavus Myers, *History of Bigotry in the United States* (New York, 1960), 47.

** John R. Alden, *The American Revolution, 1775-1783* (New York, 1962), 105-111, 119-121, 221-225.

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the various groups. While no nationality or church was unanimous in either loyalty to the Crown or support of independence, each group tended in either one direction or the other. The "Jersey Dutch," as Adrian C. Leiby has shown in his excellent study, were deeply split into Tory and Patriot camps along the lines of a bitter religious division.* While several Loyalist companies were formed among the Dutch, the majority favored the revolutionary cause, and many found neutrality the safest course. The same situation seems to have prevailed among the other non-British elements in New Jersey, which had little feeling of allegiance to the British Crown. Most of the Germans wished only to be left alone, but of those who took part in the struggle the greater number supported Independence, though some Jersey Germans joined the Hessian units. Swedish names were commonly found on the rosters of the militia of the southern counties. Strong Loyalist sympathies, however, were to be found among recent English and Scottish immigrants, Thomas Paine and John Witherspoon notwithstanding. While there were many farmers and artistans who would not forsake their allegiance to the King, the Loyalist party drew heavily from the social elite of the colony: royal officials, including Governor William Franklin, son of Benjamin Franklin, proprietors and large landowners, and merchants of Perth Amboy and Burlington.**

In religious terms, the Loyalists tended to be Anglicans and Quakers. Many Anglican clergymen were extreme Tories, like Dr. Jonathan Odell of Burlington, who supported the British cause with oratory and with pen. The Society of Friends was split three ways on the issue of war: there were those who clung to their pacifist principles for which they paid dearly; there were those

* *The Revolutionary War in the Hackensack Valley* (New Brunswick, 1962), *passim.*

** Katzler, "The Germans in Newark," 1034; Wittke, *We Who Made America,* 94; Federal Writers' Project, *Swedes and Finns in New Jersey,* 98; Alden, *American Revolution,* 84-89.

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who supported the Revolution with purse and even sword; and there was also a substantial element which remained loyal to the King. But the dissenting sects, the Presbyterian and Baptist, rallied in great numbers around the Revolutionary banner. For these New Englanders and Scotch-Irish, the war was one for religious independence from the English episcopacy as well as for political independence. The efforts of the Anglican Church to secure a privileged position and control of education in the colony had long been a source of irritation to these denominations. The Anglican clergy, therefore, was the special target of the wrath of the Patriots, and most of them had to flee the state. Presbyterian Princeton was a center of revolutionary activity, and many of the graduates of the College of New Jersey served in the American forces. Dissenting ministers, such as the Reverend John Witherspoon and Dominie Jacob Hardenbergh, were in the foremost ranks of the Patriots; in revenge British and Tories burned their churches and hunted them down.*

For New Jersey the Revolutionary War was a crucible from which it was to emerge much purified of earlier bigotry. Although the state was the scene of atrocities and wanton murders committed by British, Tories, and Patriots alike, there was no savage retribution taken once victory had been won. It is true that many Loyalists left on the departure of the British forces, some to live the rest of their lives in exile, and Loyalist estates were confiscated, but other Tories remained and some of those who had fled returned. Considering the intense hatreds inspired by the war, there was surprisingly little spirit of rancor in the postwar years. Indeed, it seemed to some Patriots that a history of Loyalism had become a mark of distinction within certain social circles.

The War served as a catalyst for the amalgamation of the various groups in New Jersey by bringing them out

* Burr, *Education in New Jersey*, 78, 127; Wertenbaker, *The Middle Colonies*, 98-99; Edgar J. Fisher, *New Jersey as a Royal Province, 1738-1776* (New York, 1911), 360 ff.

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of isolation and involving them in the struggle for independence. The various immigrant churches, the Swedish Lutheran, the Dutch Reformed, and the German Lutheran, in the spirit of the times now asserted their independence from the mother churches overseas. Even the Episcopal Church, free of domination by the Anglican episcopacy became simply another American denomination. From the conflict there also emerged a new sense of nationality. Many Jerseymen could now measure up to Crèvecoeur's definition: "He is an American, who, leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new mode of life he has embraced, the new government he obeys, and the new rank he holds." *

Colonial New Jersey witnessed the transformation of English, Scots, Dutch, Swedes, French, Germans, Irish, and Africans into Americans. This mysterious cultural alchemy attracted the attention of J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, a Frenchman who became a naturalized citizen and for a time had a farm in New Jersey. Seeking to explain the nature of "the American, this new man," Crèvecoeur observed that in the New World there was no aristocracy, no ecclesiastical establishment, no royal court to oppress and exploit the common people. The servile peasant in America became a freeman and a freeholder; the fruits of his labor were now his own; his ambitions and his industry were liberated. For this country which provided him with the "land, bread, protection, and consequence" that his native land had denied him, the immigrant soon formed a strong attachment. Living among neighbors of various creeds and nationalities, he learned to judge them by the conditions of their fields and the size of their flocks rather than by their church or language. Religious and ethnic prejudices were discarded, and through intermarriage a "strange mixture of blood" took place. Crèvecoeur might well have had a

* Wertenbaker, *The Middle Colonies,* 100; Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer,* 39.

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Jersey genealogy in mind when he wrote: "I could point out to you a family whose grandfather was an Englishman, whose wife was Dutch, whose son married a French woman, and whose present four sons have now four wives of different nations." *

The process which Crèvecoeur described was undoubtedly taking place in eighteenth-century New Jersey. The province was largely ". . . settled by freeholders, the possessors of the soil they cultivate, members of the government they obey, and the framers of their own laws, by means of their representatives." Most immigrants did become landowners and did wield political influence through a "freeholder suffrage." While Negro slaves were a notorious exception, New Jersey did develop a rough, rural democratic society. True, there was a class of gentlemen who by reason of office, birth, and wealth enjoyed a higher social status and larger political influence than the common farmer, but between this upper class and the "middling" class there was ease of intercourse and even mobility. A Princeton graduate, Philip Vickers Fithian, observed that in New Jersey,

> . . . Gentlemen in the first rank of Dignity and Quality . . . without the smallest fear of bringing any manner of reproach either on their office, or their high-born, long recorded Families associate freely & commonly with Farmers & Mechanicks tho' they be poor & industrious.**

Fithian, who served as tutor in the Carter family of Virginia, was struck by the contrast between the planter aristocracy of that colony and the egalitarian society of his home province. Writing to a friend, he noted:

> Ingenuity & industry are the Strongest, & most approved recommendations to a Man in that Colony [New Jersey]. . . . In our Government, the laborious part of Men, who are commonly ranked in the midling or lower Class, are accounted

* Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer*, 35-57.

** Hunter D. Farish (ed.), *Journal & Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian, 1773-1774* (Williamsburg, Va., 1943), 210.

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the strength & Honour of the Colony; & the encouragement they receive from Gentlemen in the highest stations is the spring of Industry, next to their private advantage. The Level which is admired in New Jersey Government, among People of every rank, arises, no doubt, from the very great division of the lands in that Province, & consequently from the near approach to an equality of Wealth amongst the Inhabitants, since it is not famous for trade. You know very well that the Lands in a small township are divided, & then again subdivided into two & three Hundred Separate, proper, creditable estates. . . .

The widespread ownership of land did indeed set the tone of social life in New Jersey, and did provide the white immigrant with the opportunity of becoming an independent and self-respecting freeholder. It also secured for the common people a material abundance which was unheard of in the Old World; one commentator described the "plentiful manner" in which Jerseymen lived in the late eighteenth century as follows:

Fish, flesh, fowl and fruits, every little farmer has at his table in a degree of profusion; and the lower classes, such as servants and labourers, artizans, and mechanics in the villages are all very well cloathed and fed; better than the same people in Britain. Tea, coffee, and chocolate, among the lowest ranks, are almost as common as tea in England; they are universal articles in every farmer's house, and even among the poor.*

New Jersey thus experienced a gradual blurring of national differences and the fusing of ethnic and religious groups, but this amalgamation did not proceed as rapidly as Crèvecoeur would have one believe. Early in the nineteenth century the people of New Jersey could still be described as:

. . . a collection of Low Dutch, Germans, English, Scotch, Irish and New Englanders, or their descendants. National

* Carman (ed.), *American Husbandry,* 110.

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attachment and mutual convenience have generally induced these several kinds of people to settle together in a body, and in this way their peculiar national manners, customs and character are still preserved, especially among the poorer class of people, who have little intercourse with any but those of their own nation. Religion . . . occasions wide differences as to manners, customs, and even character. The Presbyterian, the Quaker, the Episcopalian, the Baptist, the German and Low Dutch Calvinist, the Methodist and the Moravian, have each their distinguishing characteristics, either in their worship, their discipline or their dress.*

To this vivid array of ethnic and religious varieties, the new century was to add yet others.

* Morse, *The American Universal Geography,* 523.

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III

MACHINE AGE IMMIGRANTS

IN THE COURSE OF the nineteenth century, the population of New Jersey increased more than eightfold, from 211,149 in 1800 to 1,883,669 in 1900. Such was the contribution of immigration to this increase that by the turn of the century over 50 per cent of the state's inhabitants were of foreign stock, i.e., 22.8 per cent were foreign born and 29.5 per cent were natives of foreign parentage. The "old Jersey stock" of colonial ancestry had become a minority. New ethnic elements now figured prominently in the peopling of New Jersey. This vast influx of foreigners shattered whatever degree of homogeneity Jersey society had realized by the end of the colonial period. Ethnic diversity became more than ever the distinguishing characteristic of the state.*

It was also during the nineteenth century that the simple rural character of colonial New Jersey gave way to a new industrial order with sprawling manufacturing centers, an elaborate network of canals and railroads, and a huge urban population. The Industrial Revolution created an insatiable demand for labor to which hundreds of thousands of immigrants responded. Only a small fraction of these newcomers engaged in agricultural pursuits; unlike the colonial immigrant the machine age immigrant did not aspire to become a freeholder but to become a wage earner in Jersey's

* U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population:1910* (Washington, D.C., 1913), III, 140.

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factories and mills. The immigrants played a vital role in the state's swift economic expansion; it is not too much to say that their labor, skills, and enterprise made possible New Jersey's early industrial "take-off" and "drive to maturity." This proposition is vividly demonstrated by the fact that in 1900, some two-thirds of all those engaged in "manufacturing and mechanical pursuits" in the state were immigrants or their children.*

New Jersey's population, however, grew only at a very leisurely rate during the early decades of the century, merely doubling between 1790 and 1840. There were two reasons for this slump in the population curve; one was the large-scale immigration of Jerseymen to western lands, the other was the relatively slight emigration from Europe. Even before the Revolution, New Jersey was losing people to the new territories beyond the mountains. After 1783, as Jersey farm families grew and Jersey soil became depleted, great numbers of pioneers were drawn to the Ohio Valley and beyond. Throughout the nineteenth century a substantial portion of the state's natural increase was drained off by the westward movement. So many persons throughout the country traced their origins to early Jersey stock, that Charles Deshler was moved to remark that New Jersey must have been the Garden of Eden.**

Meanwhile the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars made emigration from Europe a difficult and precarious undertaking at best. Even with the coming of peace in 1815 there was no immediate outpouring to America. It was not until 1842 that as many as 100,000 immigrants entered the United States in one year; thereafter the volume rarely fell below that figure. Yet there

* Irving Kull (ed.), *New Jersey* (4 vols.; New York, 1930), II, 587; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Occupations at the Twelfth Census* (Washington, D.C., 1904), 336-343.

** Brush, *Population of New Jersey,* 17, 24, 32; Schmidt, *Rural Hunterdon,* 46-47; Sutherland, *Population Distribution in Colonial America,* 109; Paul J. F. Hallerberg, "Charles D. Deshler, Versatile Jerseyman" (Unpublished master's thesis, Rutgers University, 1939), 202.

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was some emigration from various countries early in the nineteenth century. While redemptioners were still being sold in New Jersey during the 1820's, there was a reaction against white servitude which put an end to this form of bond labor. Though artisans were brought in by employers under contract, it was practically impossible to enforce these agreements in courts of law. Thus the immigration of the nineteenth century was chiefly of free labor.*

The lot of the free immigrants, however, was little better than that of the servants of earlier days. They too were subject to the impositions of wily emigrant agents and ship captains who swindled them out of what little money they had. Their decision to emigrate was often made on the basis of fantastic reports of the opportunities to make an easy fortune in America. To make the maximum profits, the "tween decks" space on ships was commonly filled with immigrants beyond any standard of hygiene or decency. For an average fare of $20, the steerage passenger was packed into the hold with several hundred others, and received rations of wormy biscuit, rotten meat, and putrid water. Sickness and death aboard such emigrant ships were common. Sometimes tragedy struck, as when the *Powhatan* was wrecked on the Jersey shore with no survivors among the 200 German emigrants aboard. By 1815, New York had emerged as the great port of immigration; to provide for many pauper and ill immigrants strict regulations were imposed on the traffic. New Jersey, still hoping Perth Amboy would become a major seaport, enacted a much more lenient law. This advantage was exploited by emigrant agents who brought in many thousands of immigrants at Perth Amboy. The citizens of that city, however, had cause to reconsider the advantages of the trade when, in 1837, several hundred immigrants from the ship *Phoebe,* on which an epidemic had broken out,

* Flynn, *Catholic Church in New Jersey,* 15; Smith, *Colonists in Bondage,* 284; Charlotte Erickson, *American Industry and the European Immigrant 1860-1885* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), 3-16.

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landed there. Since Perth Amboy had no marine hospital, the sick immigrants were laid out in open fields. Some townspeople overcame their fear of the fever and took the stricken travelers into their homes. Although a few immigrants continued to land at Jersey ports, most disembarked at New York. The horrors of the ocean crossing were considerably lessened by the introduction of the steamship in the 1850's, reducing the voyage to two weeks from six or eight.*

The immigration to New Jersey prior to 1890 was highly concentrated from the British Isles and Germany. By that year, Germans and Irish in the state each numbered over 100,000 and together comprised 63 per cent of the state's foreign born. The English, Scots, and Welsh totaled almost 60,000, comprising an additional 17.6 per cent of the foreign born. Thus over 80 per cent of New Jersey's immigrants in 1890 were from this relatively small area of Europe. There were other nationalities present: Italians, Swedes, Hollanders, Swiss, French, Austrians, Hungarians, Russians, and British Canadians; but as yet there were only a few thousands of each. The history of the peopling of New Jersey in the nineteenth century is largely that of the coming of the Germans, the Irish, and the British.** Curiously, the first small but significant group of immigrants to arrive in the state was none of these. It was composed of Frenchmen, refugees from the "Terror" of the French Revolution. In the 1790's, groups of these French aristocrats settled in Newark, Elizabethtown, Trenton, and near Princeton. Frenchtown on the Delaware was founded in 1795 by other exiles led by Paul Henri Mallet Prevost. At this time French refugees began arriving from the West Indies, especially Santo Domingo, follow-

* Flynn, *Catholic Church in New Jersey,* 126; Robert G. Albion, *The Rise of New York Port 1815-1860* (New York, 1939), 336-353.

** U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: 1940,* II, *Characteristics of the Population* (Washington, D.C., 1943), Part 4, 829.

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ing the slave insurrections there. Many of these West Indian planters debarked from trading vessels at Egg Harbor and went overland to Mount Holly where they formed a considerable colony. Following the battle of Waterloo, yet another French émigré found a refuge in New Jersey. Joseph Bonaparte, erstwhile King of Spain, established himself in regal splendor on an estate near Bordentown. For almost two decades, Bonaparte lived in a palatial residence amidst his art treasures and entertained the elite of American society.*

For a time life in New Jersey was spiced with a Gallic flavor. French manners and styles were all the vogue among the social elect who patronized French dancing instructors and French language teachers like Messieurs Dillion and Proal in Newark. Most of the émigrés were Catholics and there were priests among them, including Fathers Joseph La Grange and John S. Tissorant who ministered to their countrymen. The first Roman Catholic Church in New Jersey, established in Trenton in 1814, was largely French, although the leading spirit of the congregation was an Italian merchant, Giovanni B. Satori. The French influence, however, was ephemeral, since the refugees were quickly assimilated, many even abandoning their Catholicism for the more respectable Episcopal faith.**

While the French émigrés added a romantic note to New Jersey's history, of much greater consequence was the contemporaneous arrival of mechanics from Great Britain. There was much enthusiasm in certain circles for the development of domestic industries which would enable the United States to achieve economic as well as political independence from Great Britain. Alexander

* Schmidt, *Rural Hunterdon,* 35; Howard M. Jones, *America and French Culture 1750-1848* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1927), 142-143, 153, 271.

** Flynn, *Catholic Church in New Jersey,* 43-50, 58, 141; Leahy, *Catholic Church of the Diocese of Trenton,* 17, 22, 36, 43, 62; Urquhart, *History of the City of Newark,* I, 439; Theodore Thayer, *As We Were: The Story of Old Elizabethtown* (Elizabeth, 1964), 177-183.

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Hamilton, then Secretary of the Treasury, was a leader of this movement; he joined with others of like mind to form the Society for Establishing Useful Manufactures (S.U.M.), which was incorporated in New Jersey in 1791. The choice of this state as the site of the enterprise was determined by the following considerations:

> It is thickly populated—provisions are there abundant and cheap. The State having scarcely any external commerce, and no waste lands to be peopled can feel the impulse of no *supposed* interest hostile to the advancement of manufactures. Its situation seems to insure a constant friendly disposition.*

Since an abundant supply of waterpower was necessary, the falls of the Passaic River were chosen as the location of the S.U.M. mills; and here the French engineer, Major Pierre L'Enfant, laid out the town of Paterson.

The major obstacle to the establishment of manufactures in America was the lack of technical knowledge possessed by the advanced industrial countries of Europe. To overcome this deficiency, agents of the S.U.M. were sent to England, Scotland, and France to purchase machinery and to hire workmen. Although British statutes prohibited the export of textile machinery and the emigration of mechanics, the Society was able to recruit English, Scottish, and Scotch-Irish textile and metal workers. British artisans, who were now coming to America in response to reports of high wages, were also hired. Although the overall management was entrusted by the S.U.M. to Peter Colt, a Yankee mechanic, the construction of the machinery and the superintendence of the cotton mill at Paterson was in the hands of immigrant workmen.**

* Joseph S. Davis, *Essays in the Earlier History of American Corporations* (2 vols.; Cambridge, Mass., 1917), I, 370.

** Davis, *Essays in the Earlier History of American Corporations,* I, 398, 407, 485-489; Herbert Heaton, "The Industrial Immigrant in the United States, 1783-1812," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* XCV (1951), 519-527.

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By 1794, Paterson with a population of about five hundred persons was a busy industrial town, but only two years later the undertaking had failed, the mills closed, and the workers been discharged. The reasons for the failure were the inadequate financing of the S.U.M., the incompetence of some of the immigrant managers, and the high price of labor. As in the case of the colonial ironmasters, a major problem of the S.U.M. was keeping the imported workers at wage labor when they could so easily become independent farmers. One contemporary analysis made this point: "The English workmen are dissatisfied, and ready to leave the factory as soon as they have saved up a few pounds, in order to become landowners up the country, and arrive at independence." While the S.U.M. enterprise was premature, an industrial revival occurred at Paterson in the early nineteenth century under the astute direction of the Colt family. By mid-century it had become a booming industrial center for cotton and silk textiles, locomotives, and textile machinery.*

British mechanics supplied the essential skills in almost every industry established in New Jersey. In the 1790's, English workmen, like John Hewitt who had been trained in the Soho engine works of Boulton & Watt, were building steam engines at Belleville on the Passaic River. When in 1829 the East Jersey Iron Manufacturing Company erected a new mill in Boonton, it was necessary to import both machinery and rolling-mill operatives from England. Similarly, the Trenton Iron Company, which by the 1850's was the largest enterprise of its kind in the country with wire and bar mills in Trenton, a rolling-mill in South Trenton, and furnaces in Phillipsburg, relied upon English and Scottish immigrants for its supervisors and skilled workmen. Meanwhile, New Jersey iron and copper mines were being worked by Cornish and Irish miners. Craftsmen from

* Davis, *Essays in the Earlier History of American Corporations*, I, 493-516; Clark, *History of Manufactures in the United States*, 404.

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Sheffield and Birmingham were recruited for the metal trades by a Paterson saw manufacturer and other employers, while in 1858, Richard Esterbrook arrived from England to establish America's first steel pen factory in Camden. Trenton's modern pottery industry was founded in the 1840's by James Taylor, an English potter. During the following decades there was a mass migration of Staffordshire pottery workers to this rising pottery center. One of these workers was Thomas Maddock, who introduced the important sanitary ware industry to Trenton.*

Even more significant was the contribution of the British immigrants to New Jersey's textile industry. During the nineteenth century, this was the state's leading industry in terms of number of employees, and though its labor force was especially heterogeneous, many workers were English and Scotsmen. Paterson, for example, drew a large proportion of its weavers and spinners from Manchester and other English textile centers. British mechanics were also employed there in the locomotive works and machine shops. Although cotton manufacturing was initially Paterson's chief activity, by the time of the Civil War silk was rapidly becoming its major product. The first successful silk mill was operated in 1840 by John Ryle, a weaver from the English silk center of Macclesfield. Following the war the silk industry of England immigrated practically *en masse* to Paterson; manufacturers shipped over both machinery and workers. Between 1870 and 1893, it has been estimated that some fifteen thousand emigrated from Macclesfield alone. At this time, many English master weavers, working handlooms in their houses while

* Heaton, "The Industrial Immigrant in the United States," 519-527; Boyer, *Early Forges,* 45; Rowland T. Berthoff, *British Immigrants in Industrial America 1790-1950* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), 59, 70, 75-76; Allan Nevins, *Abram Hewitt with some account of Peter Cooper* (New York, 1935), 3-4, 88; John H. Sines, "Industries and Trades," in Trenton Historical Society, *A History of Trenton 1679-1929* (2 vols.; Princeton, 1929), II, 529; F. Thistlethwaite, "The Atlantic Migration of the Pottery Industry," *Economic History Review,* 2nd series, XI (Dec., 1958), 264-278.

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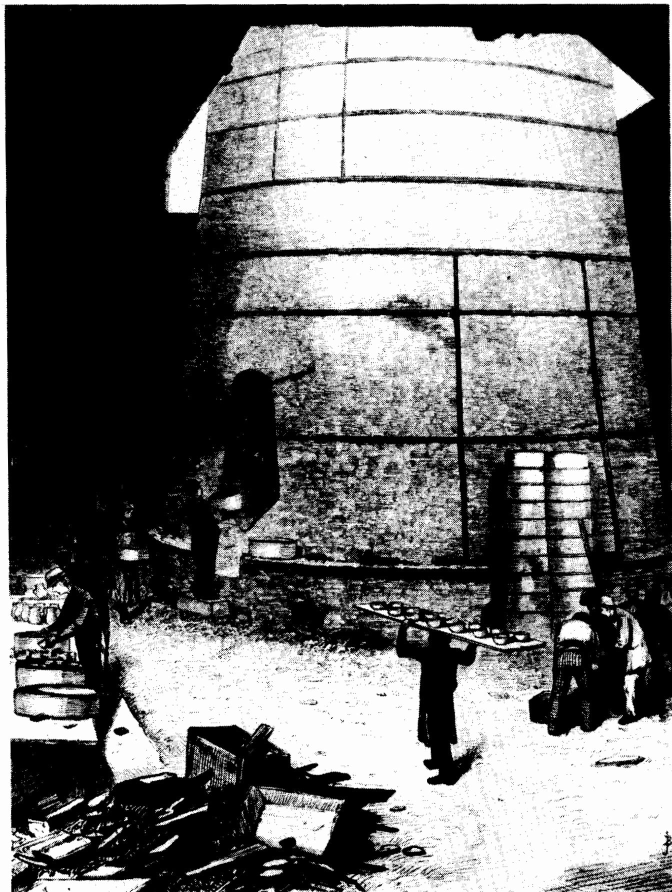

Filling a Kiln in a Trenton Pottery
By Joseph Becker, from Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 1875

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singing Methodist hymns, were to be found in Paterson. There were other instances of British entrepreneurs who engaged in textile manufacturing in New Jersey. In 1844, a Scottish firm established a jute mill in Paterson, while in the fifties and sixties, Scottish and Ulster thread companies founded branches in Newark and Paterson. All of these mills were manned by immigrants from Scotland and Ulster. The state's carpet works also drew their skilled weavers from Kilmarnock in Scotland and Kidderminster in England.*

This emigration of British industrial workers from which New Jersey profited so greatly was due to both adverse conditions at home and enticements from America. A combination of low wages, oppressive conditions, and widespread unemployment in manufacturing areas like Lancashire produced discontent from which the jobs offered by newspaper advertisements and agents of American firms promised an escape. Prior to the Civil War a good many British mechanics were actually brought in under contracts by employers. In return for his passage, the worker agreed to remain with the company for a specified period of time, usually two to six years, but unlike the indentured servant he received wages. Once in America, however, the immigrant could easily break the contract and seek more advantageous employment. For this reason, contract labor was used only when the need for workmen could not be met in any other way.**

Because of their skills the British artisans constituted the elite of New Jersey's industrial labor. They were more likely to find ready employment and at higher wages than workers of other nationalities. In the steel rolling-mill, for example, the heaters and rollers who

* Berthoff, *British Immigrants in Industrial America,* 39-44; James E. Wood, "History of Labor in the Broad-Silk Industry of Paterson, New Jersey, 1872-1940" (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California, 1942), 1-2, 74-75.

** Erickson, *American Industry and the European Immigrant,* 3-16, 46-49.

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could earn from $5 to $10 a day at piecework were usually British, while the common laborers earning a $1 a day were generally Irish or German. While fewer Britons were employed as laborers or domestics, they figured more prominently than other nationalities as textile operatives, miners, machinists, and engineers. British immigrants were also conspicuous as foremen, managers, and even manufacturers. The height of the British influx occurred during the period 1860 to 1890, decades of exceedingly rapid industrialization in New Jersey. The number of immigrants from Great Britain (excluding Ireland) increased by over 200 per cent, roughly from nineteen to fifty-eight thousand. After 1890, there was a falling off in the rate of British emigration caused in part by technological improvements which permitted the greater utilization of unskilled and cheap labor. Other nationalities began to replace the British in such Jersey industries as silk manufacturing.*

While valued as mechanics, the British workers were criticized for intemperance and insubordination. Their efficiency was impaired by excessive drinking, but even more troublesome was their readiness to challenge their employers' authority. Coming from a country with a strong labor movement, they took the initiative in forming trade unions and in labor disputes. The first strike of Paterson millworkers occurred in 1828 over the issue of a lunch hour and ended with the calling in of the militia. Though they gave in on the noon-hour question, the mill owners fired the strike leaders by their own report: "The ring leaders of the mechanics, among whom were some Manchester mob-ites, have been discharged, and all things are going on quietly." In 1835, the workers formed the "Paterson Association for the Protection of the Labouring Classes, Operatives of Cotton Mills, etc.," and struck for the eleven-hour day. The majority of the mill workers were immigrant women and children while the men worked as hand-loom weavers and spinners or

* Nevins, *Abram Hewitt*, 429-430; Berthoff, *British Immigrants in Industrial America*, 45-46, 75; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: 1880* (Washington, D.C., 1883), 837.

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in the locomotive works. The working hours in the mills were from sunrise to sunset; as a result, the Vigilance Committee of the strikers declared: ". . . the poor and their children in manufacturing towns and districts are kept in ignorance and regarded but little superior to the beasts that perish." *

Labor conflicts increased in frequency in the late nineteenth century; from 1872 to 1894, 59 strikes of silk and dye workers took place in Paterson alone. While some of these struggles were over wages, others were inspired by the resistance of British craftsmen to the change from hand to power looms. During the eighties, local assemblies of the Knights of Labor were formed among the silk workers in which the English and Germans were especially prominent. The British pottery and iron workers of Trenton were also to the forefront in movements for higher wages and improved working conditions. Despite the fact that they enjoyed a higher standard of living than most other immigrants, the English and Scots were quick to express their opposition to "the tyranny and oppression of the moneyed autocrats." Their militancy was one reason why employers turned eagerly to workers from other countries who promised to be more docile and malleable.**

The Irish immigration to New Jersey was much greater than that from England and Scotland, especially in the ante-bellum decades. By 1860, the more than sixty-two thousand Irishmen comprised more than 50 per cent of the foreign-born population of the state. Thereafter the emigration from Ireland tapered off; in 1890 Jersey's Irish population reached its highwater mark and has since steadily declined. Although there were some political refugees from "the troubles of '98" the Irish began

* Berthoff, *British Immigrants in Industrial America*, 104-106, 146; Grace Hutchins, *Labor and Silk* (New York, 1929), 129-130; John R. Commons *et al., History of Labour in the United States* (4 vols.; New York, 1921), I, 183, 418-421.

** Berthoff, *British Immigrants in Industrial America*, 43, 95-99; Wood, "History of Labor in the Broad-Silk Industry of Paterson," 136-160; Erickson, *American Industry and the European Immigrant*, 63.

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to come in significant numbers in the 1820's. Unlike the colonial migration from Ireland, in the nineteenth century the Roman Catholics from the southern counties made up the bulk of the arrivals, while the Ulster Presbyterians were in the minority. Overpopulation coupled with an oppressive system of land tenure condemned the mass of the Irish peasantry to a subsistence level of existence. The pre-famine emigration contained a substantial element of artisans and small farmers, as well as cottiers, but when the potato blights of the mid-forties deprived the Irish people of their staple food a mass flight from starvation took place. During the following decade over a million and a half persons left Ireland for America, for the most part destitute and demoralized peasants.*

While there were craftsmen such as weavers and potters among the Irish, on the whole they had only their raw labor to offer. But, Matthew Carey observed in 1826, this was exactly what America had need of:

> There is scarcely any limit to the number of labourers, who are now and probably will be for twenty years to come, wanted in this country. The spirit of internal improvement, in canals, rail-roads and turnpikes, is wide awake in every part of the union; and creates a great demand for that class, of which the number of native citizens bears no proportion to the demand.**

New Jersey early became the scene of ambitious projects of internal improvements, beginning with the Morris Canal in 1825, the Delaware and Raritan Canal in 1830, and the Camden and Amboy Railroad in 1832.

Since the building of turnpikes, canals, and railroads was done with pick, shovel, and wheelbarrow, armies of

* U.S. Bureau of Census, *Census of Population: 1940,* II, *Characteristics of Population,* Part 4, 829; Marcus L. Hansen, *The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860* (Paper ed.; New York, 1961), 200-210, 242-251.

** Matthew Carey, *Reflections on the Subject of Emigration from Europe with a View to Settlement in the United States* (Philadelphia, 1826), 25.

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laborers were needed. From the 1820's on, these were largely recruited by the contractors among the Irish of New York City. In the decades which followed tens of thousands of "Paddies" were brought to New Jersey as members of construction gangs. For a small wage, the Irish laborers toiled from daybreak to nightfall, exposed to the elements and to the ravages of disease. Weakened by their voyage in steerage, many succumbed to these hardships and were buried in unmarked graves along the canal or railroad.* Matthew Carey, himself an Irishman, reflected on the plight of his countrymen:

Thousands of our labouring people travel hundreds of miles in quest of employment on canals, at 62½, 75 and 87½ cents per day, paying a dollar and a half or two dollars per week for their board, leaving families behind, depending on them for support. They labour frequently in marshy grounds, where they inhale pestiferous miasmata, which destroy their health, often irrecoverably. They return to their families, broken-hearted, and with ruined constitutions, with a sorry pittance, most laboriously earned, and take to their beds, sick, and unable to work. Hundreds are swept off annually, many of them leaving numerous and helpless families.*

During the summer of 1832, an epidemic of Asiatic cholera swept through the ranks of the laborers on the Delaware and Raritan Canal, taking an especially heavy toll. Emergency hospitals were established in the Princeton town hall and elsewhere, and since Negroes were believed immune to cholera, they were assigned the task of caring for the sick and burying the dead.†

* Thompson, *Colonel James Neilson,* 98-99; Lane, *From Indian Trail to Iron Horse,* 225, 261; Benjamin W. McCready, *On the Influence of Trades, Professions, and Occupations in the United States, in the Production of Disease* (1st ed., 1837; Baltimore, 1943), 38-40.

** Matthew Carey, *Essays on the Public Charities of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1829), 11.

† Richard F. Veit, *The Old Canals of New Jersey* (Little Falls, 1963), 32, 64; Crawford C. Madeira, Jr., *The Delaware and Raritan Canal* (East Orange, 1941), 34-35.

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Dike-building on the Newark Meadows *From Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 1867*

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Although Irish labor built their canals and railroads, Jerseymen were inclined to view the Hibernians with extreme antipathy, not only for their Catholicism, but for their drunkenness and brawling as well. The Irish taste for whiskey, whetted by intolerable conditions, was catered to by the contractors who paid part of their wages in the form of a liquor ration. On paydays barrels of whiskey were broken open, but often a daily allowance was provided as well. Benjamin W. McCready, a physician who investigated the condition of the canal laborers, once noticed a worker suffering from delirium tremens and asked him ". . . whether he was not in the habit of drinking ardent spirits. 'Nothing more than the allowance,' was the reply, and that allowance was five glasses per day." *

Frequent brawls and riots marked the progress of the Irish gangs across the Jersey landscape. Sometimes the "Paddies" fought with the natives, sometimes with German or British competitors, and sometimes among themselves. A clash with the townspeople of New Brunswick in 1833 resulted in the loss of several lives. When rioting broke out, often a priest was the only authority who could restore calm and order. The Reverend Aloysius Venuta, a Forty-Eighter from Sicily, was called from his bed many nights to quell fighting among the railroad laborers in Jersey City. On one occasion only the intercession of Father Reardon of Easton prevented an insurrection among the workers on the Jersey Central Railroad in Hunterdon county.**

While the pugnacity of the Irish was often expressed in brawls, some of the "riots" were in reality strikes against exploitation. Spontaneous uprisings took place numerous times against wage reductions, the failure to

* McCready, *On the Influence of Trades, Professions and Occupations,* 39-40.

** Lane, *From Indian Trail to Iron Horse,* 261; Flynn, *Catholic Church in New Jersey,* 133, 336-337; Frank T. de Vyver, "The Organization of Labor in New Jersey Before 1860" (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Princeton University, 1934), 202-204.

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pay wages, and the company-store system. These strikes of the railroad and canal laborers, however, were seldom successful; usually the militia was called out, the leaders arrested and jailed, and new workers brought in from New York City. The hard lot of the workers who received wages of $.60 to $1 a day for the most arduous labor aroused little sympathy among the natives, rather these outbursts of violence confirmed them in their prejudices against the Irish.*

Many of the Irish who came to work on the canals and railroads remained as permanent residents in New Jersey. Though an agricultural folk at home, few Irish took up farming here. A good many of them, however, were employed as field hands on Jersey farms. Since young Jerseymen were going west, agricultural labor was in short supply and wages were high, harvest hands receiving as much as $2 a day in 1860. The Irish were also replacing as farm workers and domestics the former Negro slaves who tended to move into the villages upon gaining their freedom. While Jersey farmers had no choice but to send to employment agencies in New York City for help, they were inclined to regard the Irish as unruly and unreliable. As one Hunterdon County farmer commented in a moment of wrath: "They have neither honnour, principal or gratitude, but are lazey, wastefull, and careless. No wonder that Ireland is a poor starved nation." **

The Irish for the most part entered the ranks of the industrial labor force. Many of them found employment in New Jersey's flourishing iron industry, but the Irish were most heavily concentrated in the industrial districts of Newark and Jersey City, and to a lesser extent,

* Matthew Carey, *Appeal to the Wealthy of the Land* (Philadelphia, 1833), 7-9; de Vyver, "The Organization of Labor in New Jersey," 205-218.

** Schmidt, *Rural Hunterdon*, 43, 257; see also Thompson, *Colonel James Neilson*, 271, 281; "John Ten Eyck Diaries, 1855-1859," MSS in New Jersey Collection, Rutgers University Library; see entries for January 3, 1855, April 21, 1856. I am indebted to Mr. Anthony Nicolosi for the last reference.

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in Elizabeth, Paterson, New Brunswick, and Trenton. Here the Irish worked in the factories and mills, sometimes as weavers, potters, or in other skilled capacities, but more likely at rough, low-paid labor. In the building trades, the sons of Hibernia had a practical monopoly of hod-carrying and other laborers' work; but there were also many Irish brick and stone masons, carpenters, and other artisans. As teamsters and hackmen they were preëminent, while as late as 1880, 95 per cent of the longshoremen of the port of New York were of Irish stock.* This gave a special flavor to the Jersey waterfront which an Englishman captured in describing the scene as his steamer pulled into port:

> What a swarming, eager crowd on the quay-wall! What a wonderful ragged regiment of labourers and porters, hailing us in broken or Hibernianized English! "These are all Irish and Germans," anxiously explained a New Yorker, "I'll bet fifty dollars there's not a native-born American among them."**

The Irish maintained their reputation for troublesomeness by their frequent involvement in labor disputes. In 1856, "insubordination meetings" were held by natives of Morris County for fear of the Irish miners who were said to be in a state of "lawless insubordination and riot." That same year the Irish Laborers' Union of Newark struck for a wage increase from $1 to $1.12½ a day. Such conflicts in the building trades occurred with regularity. The Jersey docks were also the scene of bitterly fought strikes. When the Irish coal shovelers quit work at Elizabethport in 1859, the "bosses" as was customary brought in strikebreakers from New York. This tactic was calculated to bring about bloody en-

*Boyer, *Early Forges,* 73, 122; Thompson, *Colonel James Neilson,* 10, 248; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: 1880,* 837; Charles B. Barnes, *The Longshoremen* (New York, 1915), 5; de Vyver, "The Organization of Labor in New Jersey," 113.

** William H. Russell, *My Diary North and South,* edited by Fletcher Pratt (New York, 1954), 5.

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counters between strikers and "scabs." In 1887, the port of New York was shut down by a strike of fifty thousand longshoremen, most of whom belonged to the Knights of Labor. The strike was caused by the reduction of the wages of coal shovelers in Jersey, and was marked by the use of strikebreakers under Pinkerton protection and frequent riots in Hoboken, Weehawken, and other Jersey ports. The failure of the walkout resulted in the destruction of the longshoremen's union and the gradual replacement of the Irish in waterfront labor by Italians and Negroes.*

As unskilled labor the Irish were especially vulnerable to the recurring business depressions. From a condition of poverty they were cast into the depths of destitution. The panics of 1854 and 1857 visited particular hardships upon them. During the winter of 1854, the laborers of Trenton and Phillipsburg were said to be "crying for food, they ask no money." In 1855 Bishop James R. Bayley of Newark reported that almost all the people of his diocese were factory workers presently out of work. In 1857 there were meetings of the unemployed in Newark and public fear of bread-riots. The threat of civil war paralyzed the industries of New Jersey which largely depended on southern markets. Bishop Bayley wrote in January, 1861: "The manufactories have ceased work and almost all our people are idle." The victims of these economic fluctuations were dependent on the "thin soup of charity." One philanthropist recommended to them a diet of rice for breakfast, beans for dinner, and mush with molasses for supper, on which a person could survive for $.84 a week.**

While "good times" returned with the Civil War, a very severe depression was precipitated by the Panic of

* Barnes, *The Longshoremen*, 5-8, 97-106; de Vyver, "The Organization of Labor in New Jersey," 113, 219-220.

** Flynn, *Catholic Church in New Jersey*, 105, 276; Nevins, *Abram S. Hewitt*, 118; de Vyver, "The Organization of Labor in New Jersey," 305-311; Sister Hildegarde Yeager, *Life of James R. Bayley, First Bishop of Newark and Eighth Archbishop of Baltimore, 1814-1877* (Washington, D.C., 1947), 191.

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1873. The decade of the seventies was a time of extreme want for industrial workers of all nationalities. Their efforts to resist wage reductions by striking as did the Trenton potters and the Paterson silk workers were largely futile. The unrest culminated in the railroad riots of 1877 which caused much bloodshed and great property destruction in a number of cities. In New Jersey, however, an uprising was averted by the calling to arms of several regiments of the National Guard. Governor Joseph D. Bedle established military control over the railroads in eastern Jersey, while General William J. Sewell secured the western terminus at Phillipsburg. Sewell moved his troops so quietly that ". . . the hills around Phillipsburg had been turned into a camp even before the masses knew that the men had been ordered out, and he deployed his little band of soldiers so skillfully that, although transportation was interrupted for a season, the rabble was kept at bay." * In the terminology of the times, "rabble" usually meant foreigners, and more especially, Irishmen; ironically, Sewell was himself a native of Ireland! Although natives and other immigrants suffered from these depressions, they were less likely to feel the full brunt of the "hard times" than were the Irish. For this reason, the Hibernians were usually at the center of agitation and unrest; but their protests against starving were interpreted as yet another expression of the unruliness of the Celtic temperament.

From the ranks of the Irish workers were to come some of the outstanding leaders of the labor movement in New Jersey. Perhaps most distinguished of these was Peter J. McGuire, a long-time resident of Camden, who was an early agitator for the eight-hour day and for a national holiday for the workingman. He was also the organizer of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and a founder of the American Federation of Labor in 1881. An exponent of pure-and-simple trade unionism, McGuire won the sobriquet of the "Great Arbitrator"

* William E. Sackett, *Modern Battles of Trenton* (2 vols.; Trenton, 1895; New York, 1914), I, 141-143.

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because of his success as a mediator in labor disputes. Another major figure on the labor scene in the late nineteenth century was Irish-born Joseph P. McDonnell. A Marxist, McDonnell came to Paterson from Fall River, Massachusetts, in 1878 to establish the International Labor Union. During the 1880's, he led a series of strikes among the textile workers. Although initially successful, the I.L.U. which was an industrial, socialist union soon collapsed. McDonnell continued to be a powerful influence in organized labor as the fearless editor of *The Labor Standard,* which he published in Paterson for several decades. In time, McDonnell turned from his socialist views to McGuire's brand of trade unionism and became a supporter of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor.* Radical labor leaders such as McDonnell had limited success with Irish workers because of the conservative opposition of the Roman Catholic Church. In 1872, for example, Bishop Bayley warned his flock against the International Workingmen's Association. There was also considerable hostility among the Catholic hierarchy to the Knights of Labor, despite the fact that its Grand Master Workman, Terence V. Powderly, was the son of Irish Catholics, and in New Jersey, at least, Irish and German Catholics made up much of its membership.**

Although they had the advantage of a knowledge of English, the economic advance of the Irish on the whole tended to be less rapid than that not only of the British, but of the Germans as well. One reason was that there were fewer business and professional men among the immigrant generation to begin with. A few Irishmen became successful contractors and builders, some at the expense of their countrymen. The most spectacular rise of the Irish "self-made men," however, was that of Wil-

* Hutchins, *Labor and Silk,* 132-133; Philip C. Newman, *The Labor Legislation of New Jersey* (Washington, D.C., 1943), 13-14; Carl Wittke, *The Irish in America* (New York, 1951), 218, 226.

** Flynn, *Catholic Church in New Jersey,* 299; Wittke, *Irish in America,* 222-223.

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liam J. Sewell, a native of County Mayo. Beginning as a laborer in the railroad yards he worked his way up to become a director of the Pennsylvania Railroad; he also attained the rank of major-general in the Civil War, served a decade in the state senate and two terms in the United States Senate, and was the "boss" of the Republican Party in New Jersey for several decades.* But such business success among the Irish appears to have been exceptional. Another reason the Irish were notably less successful in business than the British or Germans might have been that young Irishmen of ability had alternative careers open to them in politics and the Church.

Most of the Irish immigrants, however, remained in a low socio-economic status long after they had arrived in America. In 1880, approximately 50 per cent of the Irish were still employed as laborers and domestic servants, a much higher percentage than that for the other nationalities. By 1900, however, the Irish occupational profile had altered sharply. This change reflected primarily the rise of the second generation above the vocational level of its immigrant parents. Thus in 1900 the Irish recorded more lawyers and government officials than any other nationality, were well represented among the journalists, and equaled the British in number of clergymen. There were also numerous clerks, bookkeepers, merchants, bank officials, salesmen, and manufacturers of Irish stock, but they were, on the whole, not in the proportion of the Irish stock to the total labor force. In the area of public employment as policemen and firemen, the Irish far outdistanced all other nationalities.**

Although a large segment of the Irish were now in the skilled occupations, especially the building trades, one is struck by the large percentage of the Irish stock which remained in the lower occupations as laborers, teamsters,

* Sackett, *Modern Battles of Trenton,* II, 11, 16, 19-20; Urquhart, *History of the City of Newark,* II, 667-668.

** U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: 1880,* 837; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Occupations at the Twelfth Census,* 336-343.

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railroad workers, and factory operatives. Among women of Irish stock a similar pattern prevailed. While they were heavily represented in the white-collar occupations as teachers, bookkeepers, clerks, saleswomen, and typists, the Irish females were also by far the most numerous of all nationalities as laundresses, servants, garment workers, and factory employees. This divergence on the occupational scale can be explained in part as a difference of generations, the American-born and American-educated children moving up into the professional and white-collar positions, while their immigrant parents remained in the more menial occupations. But it also records a differentiation which had taken place within the immigrant generation between the two elements known popularly as the "lace-curtain" Irish and the "shanty" Irish.

The emigration from Germany began somewhat later than that from Ireland. In 1850 there were only ten thousand Germans in New Jersey, but the decade of the fifties brought a twofold increase. By 1860, the thirty-three thousand immigrants from the German states comprised the second largest foreign-born group in the state. Following the Civil War, the volume of German immigration increased greatly. New Jersey's German-born population reached its peak in 1900 when it registered almost one hundred and twenty thousand, surpassing the Irish by a wide margin as the most numerous among the state's nationalities. This nineteenth-century migration, however, was not all of a piece; it was mixed both in terms of religious and socio-economic composition. The ante-bellum emigration, for example, was predominantly from the southwestern states of Baden, Bavaria, and Wurtemburg, and Roman Catholic in character, while that of the late nineteenth century came from east of the Elbe, especially from Prussia and Saxony, and was Protestant. In addition, both included a substantial number of Jews. Moreover, the emigrants were drawn from all strata of German society. There was a

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large contingent of farmers and farm laborers, but also a considerable element of artisans, industrial workers, and business and professional men.*

Among the earliest of the Germans to arrive in New Jersey in this century were a small number of refugees following the unsuccessful revolutions of the 1830's. To these "Thirtiers" were added a larger number of "Forty-Eighters" who emigrated following the collapse of the revolutionary republican movement in Germany in 1848-1849. These students, professors, journalists, ministers, and lawyers were a highly educated and idealistic group which was to provide intellectual and political leadership among the German immigrants. In the broad stream of German emigration, however, those who left for political reasons were but a small element compared with those whose motives were primarily economic. During the nineteenth century Germany was in the throes of industrial and agricultural revolutions which deprived many of their traditional forms of livelihood. German farmers were hard pressed by competition with foreign sources of food stuffs, while German artisans, such as hand weavers and spinners, found themselves displaced by new machinery. Agricultural and industrial depressions, crop failures, oppressive government, and compulsory military service, all served to set in motion this vast movement of population across the ocean. While many were poor, the German immigrants were seldom reduced to such straits as the victims of Irish famine. Not a few brought enough capital to establish themselves in farming business, or a trade.**

Those Germans who wished to farm continued on to the abundant lands of the Northwest; few of them became farmers in New Jersey. While German immigrants joined the Irish on the canals and railroads or as farm

* U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: 1940,* II, *Characteristics of Population,* Part 4, 829; Wittke, *We Who Built America,* 187 ff.

** Hansen, *Atlantic Migration,* 239-252, 275-286; Katzler, "The Germans in Newark," 1047-1050.

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hands and domestics, these were not so common employments among them. By 1880, less than 20 per cent of the Germans were to be found in the unskilled-labor category. Like the British, they often had skills which were in demand by Jersey industries. In the nineteenth century as in the colonial period, glass manufacturing in South Jersey relied largely on German craftsmen. Although the industry was revived by two brothers from Ireland, James and Thomas Lee, who established a glassworks at Port Elizabeth in 1799, a number of families from Bavaria and Prussia were shortly imported to work in their factory. In the following decades the glass industry boomed at Millville, Bridgeton, Glassboro, and elsewhere in the region; by 1840 there were about twenty-eight glass factories employing over a thousand hands. Many of these glassworkers were brought in under contract from England, France, and Belgium, as well as Germany. Such firms as Schetter's Glass Works and the Getzinger Glass Company reflected the leading role of the Germans in the industry.*

South Jersey's glass factories were located in isolated towns where the workers were dependent on their employers for housing, provisions, and all the necessities of life. The situation lent itself to exploitation. The glassworkers were commonly paid in "shin plasters" which were good only at the company store where prices were padded. After rent for the company tenement and the store account were deducted from his wages, the employee often found himself in debt to the company. In 1899, *The Labor Standard* declared: "Three-fifths of the 7,000 workers in Bridgeton never handle a cent of their earnings in cash." Despite state laws to the contrary, young boys were employed for a pittance in the glassworks as "apprentices" for as long as 15 hours a day. There were repeated strikes and attempts to organize

* U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: 1880,* 837; Leahy, *The Catholic Church of the Diocese of Trenton,* 49, 102, 225; Dorothy F. Lucas, "Pottery and Glass," in William S. Myers (ed.), *The Story of New Jersey* (5 vols.; New York, 1945), III, 195.

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the mills, but with the exception of the Window Glass Workers of New Jersey there was no effective organization before the 1890's. In the course of that decade the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association gained such strength that it was able to shut the industry down with a strike in 1899. The following year the union was able to emancipate the glass workers by securing the abolition of compulsory patronage of company stores and of compulsory residence in company tenements.*

During the labor disputes of the eighties, the glass companies imported skilled workers from Europe. This was a major factor in the enactment in 1885 of the Foran Act, a federal statute prohibiting immigration under contract. It also inspired the anti-foreign-labor policy of the glass workers' unions; both the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association and the Window Glass Workers established a prohibitive $500 initiation fee for immigrant glass blowers while the fee for natives was set at $5. The effectiveness of this restriction was shown by the fact that contrary to the general trend in New Jersey industry over 90 per cent of the glass workers in 1900 were American born, though many were of German, Irish, and English extraction.**

Possessing a wide variety of skills and crafts, the Germans soon made a place for themselves as entrepreneurs and workmen in many of New Jersey's industries. They were especially conspicuous in the wood working trades as carpenters, joiners, and cabinetmakers. Others, especially German Jews, as tailors and cigar makers were pioneers in the garment and tobacco industries. Many German leather workers practiced their craft in Newark which had long been a manufacturing center of boots,

* Newman, *Labor Legislation of New Jersey,* 65-68; de Vyver, "The Organization of Labor in New Jersey," 133-134; Norman J. Ware, *The Labor Movement in the United States, 1860-1895* (New York, 1929), 196.

** Erickson, *American Industry and the European Immigrant,* 139-145; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Occupations at the Twelfth Census,* 336-343; U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations, *Final Report and Testimony* (Washington, D.C., 1916), III, 3019-3022.

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shoes, saddles, harnesses, and trunks. Some like the De-Graff brothers and Christian Stengel established their own shops. Few Germans became miners in New Jersey, but a considerable number entered the metal trades as iron and steel workers, machinists, and tool makers. German goldsmiths from Pforzheim and Hanau became very important in Newark's flourishing jewelry industry. In 1851, Edward Balbach established a refining and smelting plant in Newark to salvage the gold and silver sweepings of the jewelry shops; later, his son, Edward Balbach, Jr., was to develop a number of new smelting processes. Some years earlier a Bavarian, Roschus Hein-isch, had begun the manufacture of cutlery in the same city; an employee, Jacob Wiss, developed the firm into a major producer of shears and cutlery. The Germans also played a significant role in the rubber industry of New Brunswick. After Horace H. Day established the first factory in 1839, the town became an early center of rubber manufacturing. While many Irish as well as Germans were employed in the shops, Germans soon owned most of the factories and served in supervisory capacities. Christopher Meyer, an early immigrant from Hanover, became New Brunswick's leading rubber manufacturer.*

To a greater extent than even the British, the Germans launched new industrial enterprises. In 1880 and again in 1900, there were considerably more German manufacturers reported in New Jersey than of any other nationality. Many German firms established branches in the state and sent over technicians and workmen. The woolen industry of Passaic, for example, got underway when German companies moved their operations there to get behind the tariff barrier. The Botany Mills were founded by a German concern in 1889, and some years later Julius G. Forstmann erected his mills in Passaic. Textile workers from Saxony, Bavaria, and Silesia were

* Katzler, "The Germans in Newark," 1059-1060; Carl H. Gramm, *The Germans in New Brunswick, New Jersey* (Cleveland, Ohio, 1938), 34, 103-105.

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brought here to work in the woolen factories. Since Germany had superior technical schools, the Germans were especially prominent in those industries requiring a high degree of technical training. John Augustus Roebling, for example, was educated at Berlin's Polytechnic Institute. Upon coming to America, he served as an engineer in canal construction and in 1848 established his mill to manufacture iron rope at Trenton. Roebling won reknown as the foremost builder of suspension bridges of his day, the most famous of which was the Brooklyn Bridge. German technicians also helped to develop the state's chemical and electrical industries. In the 1890's, George Merck came from Germany to found a branch of his family's pharmaceutical firm at Rahway; the Merck Company was to become one of the country's largest manufacturers of drugs and chemicals.*

The one business in which the Germans unquestionably excelled was the brewing industry. Ironically, it was not a German, but a Scot, who became New Jersey's most famous and wealthiest brewer. Peter Ballantine had operated a brewery in Albany before he opened one in Newark in 1840; but, as American breweries had done since colonial days, he brewed an inferior ale. Newark's modern brewing industry dates from the introduction of lager beer in 1847 by Johann N. Schalk, a native of Baden. Since it did not require much capital to set up a brewing plant, a large number of lager breweries were established by Germans in the fifties and sixties. Not only was lager the drink of an increasing German population, but it also became popular with the "American drinking public." Brewing became a major industry as the value of New Jersey's production of malt liquors increased from $1,425,000 in 1860 to $14,386,000 in 1900. Absorbing the Schalk Brewery, Ballantine & Sons, retained its dominant position by adding lager to its line. The other major breweries, however, were German from

* Katzler, "The Germans in Newark," 1060; Nevins, *Abram S. Hewitt*, 105-107; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: 1880*, 837; *Occupations at the Twelfth Census*, 340-341.

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top to bottom. Christian Feigenspan was a highly successful brewer, and for many years Jersey beer drinkers responded to the Feigenspan trademark "P.O.N." (Pride of Newark). In 1854, Gottfried Krueger came from Baden to work in his uncle's brewery, of which he was eventually to assume control. The G. Krueger Co. became one of the largest breweries in the state, and Krueger became a wealthy and prominent citizen. The skilled workmen in the breweries were almost entirely German; in 1900 of 848 brewers and maltsters in the state 710 were of German stock.*

The vital role of the Germans in New Jersey's economic life is revealed by the fact that in 1900 approximately one out of every six persons in the total labor force was of that national stock. In certain industries, such as silk, leather, tobacco, and garment manufacturing, they formed the predominant element. But the German occupational spectrum was very broad and variegated. There were, for example, more artists, musicians, art and music teachers, and "literary and scientific persons" of German stock than of any other nationality. Meanwhile, the Germanic tradition of conviviality was maintained by the German restaurateurs, saloonkeepers, and bartenders who easily ranked first in the food and drink line. The majority of New Jersey's bakers, butchers, and confectioners was also of German stock. There was a multitude of German barber shops, groceries, dry goods stores, and cigar stands, as well as large German mercantile establishments. The Germans thus were not so solidly "working-class" as the British or Irish, but were distributed from the top to the bottom of the occupational hierarchy. Perhaps the most charac teristic type of this nationality was the industrious and thrifty burgher engaged in petty commerce or a craft.**

* Urquhart, *History of the City of Newark,* III, 314-317; Katzler, "The Germans in Newark," 1090-1091; Jennie B. Pope, "Food and Drink Industries," in William S. Myers (ed.), *The Story of New Jersey* (5 vols.; New York, 1945), III, 155-156.

** U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Occupations at the Twelfth Census,* 336-343.

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The tide of German immigration brought a considerable number of Jews to America. By the 1840's, Jewish peddlers from New York City with packs of notions and dry goods were hawking their wares through the cities and rural areas of New Jersey. Most of the German Jews had been petty tradesmen and artisans in the old country, and aspired to mercantile careers. From foot peddling to a horse and wagon to a store was the common experience of many successful businessmen. Soon they had established grocery, dry goods and cigar stores as well as cigar and leather factories. In Newark, by 1860, the German Jews were reported to have the leading dry goods stores, and within a few years they were preëminent in the department store field as well. The greatest of these merchant princes was Louis Bamberger. His father had come from Bavaria to Baltimore where he opened a store; here Bamberger was born in 1855. After much experience in merchandising, he established with his partner, Felix Fuld, the firm of L. Bamberger & Co. in Newark. Soon that city's leading department store, Bamberger's eventually became one of the largest in the country.*

In the 1850's and after, the German Jews were joined by Jews from German Poland, especially Posen. While the former were "westernized," the Posen Jews were culturally Eastern European, Orthodox in religion, and Yiddish in speech. They were also poorer than their German predecessors, and their first years in the New World were spent in extreme destitution. However, they too had a long tradition as peddlers and tradesmen, and in time they prospered. The most successful of the Posen Jews was Nathan Barnert, who after a fling at gold prospecting in California came to Paterson in 1856 where he opened a tailoring shop. Lucrative clothing contracts

* Lena Sazer, "Early History of the Jews of Newark," typescript in Federal Writers' Project, New Jersey Ethnic Survey, WK3, State Archives, Trenton; Haberman, "The Jews in New Jersey," 7-8; *Scannell's New Jersey First Citizens and State Guide,* Volume II: *1919-1920* (Paterson, 1919), 31; Jewish Education Association of Essex County, *The Essex Story* (Newark, 1955), 13-15, 19.

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during the Civil War laid the basis for his fortune which was greatly enlarged by shrewd real estate investments. Barnert became a leading citizen of Paterson and was twice elected its mayor. Many of the Posen Jews were tailors like Barnert and became clothing merchants and manufacturers, pioneering in the field of ready-made garments.*

The business success of the German Jews was impressive. By the turn of the century, they controlled much of the real estate, theatre, and retail and wholesale business of New Jersey's cities. The historian of the Germans of Newark has described their economic rise:

> When the Jews began to arrive in large numbers all business was already well established; but in the last fifty years they have gained almost entire control of some industries and a large share of others by their restless ambition; their ability to work almost unceasingly; their frugality and keen judgement.**

The German Jews also distinguished themselves in the professions, especially law and medicine. Samuel Kalisch, whose father and grandfather had been outstanding rabbis of Posen, was one of the most successful attorneys in the state; he was elected president of the State Bar Association and in 1911 became the first Jew to be appointed to the New Jersey Supreme Court.†

The German workingmen, Gentiles and Jews, were particularly active in New Jersey's labor movement. Prior to the Civil War, German shoemakers were a militant element in the Journeymen Cordwainers' Society, opposing the debasement of the trade by the introduction

* Elias Tcherikower (ed.), *The Early Jewish Labor Movement in the United States* (New York, 1961), 94 ff.; *Scannell's New Jersey First Citizens,* Volume II: *1919-1920,* 40-41; "Jews in Paterson," in Federal Writers' Project, New Jersey Ethnic Survey, WK3.

** Katzler, "The Germans in Newark," 1069-1070.

† Arthur Link, *Wilson the Road to the White House* (Princeton, 1947), 270; *Scannell's New Jersey First Citizens,* Volume II: *1919-1920,* 268-269.

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of the factory system. The Germans comprised practically the total membership of the Bakery Workers' Union in Newark, and in 1881 they won a strike for a 12-hour day and sanitary conditions in bakeshops. By the eighties, the "sweatshop" had become a standard feature of the garment industry in Jersey cities. Under the contract system, the needleworkers had to labor at piecework for 16 or more hours a day during the rush season in order to earn a subsistence wage. The workshop was often a crowded room in a tenement where women and children as well as men lived and worked. The garment workers had been largely German and Irish, but after 1900 they were rapidly displaced by "green" immigrants, especially Russian Jews and Italians. New Jersey was long to remain the refuge of non-union clothing shops, but attempts at labor organization were made early. In 1888, there was a successful strike of shirtmakers in Rahway, while in 1891, a branch of the Operators' and Cloak Makers' Union of New York was established in Newark. During these years, the Germans also formed an important segment of the unions among brewery workers, cigarmakers, pottery and textile workers, and the building trades.*

While most German immigrants were conservative or liberal in politics and religion, a considerable number had been converted to the doctrines of socialism and anarchism. In nineteenth-century America, they formed the nucleus of radical labor and political movements. The foremost leader of the Marxist socialists was Friedrich A. Sorge, a Forty-Eighter, who came to New York in 1852 and who lived for a good many years in Hoboken. A close friend of Karl Marx, Sorge became the general secretary of the International Working-Men's Association when its headquarters was trans-

* Harold F. Wilson *et al.*, *Outline History of New Jersey* (New Brunswick, 1950), 155-156; Louis Levine, *The Women's Garment Workers* (New York, 1924), 63; Newman, *Labor Legislation of New Jersey*, 109-111; Tcherikower (ed.), *The Early Jewish Labor Movement*, 301.

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ferred to this country. For several decades he was active among the German proletariat of New York and New Jersey, spreading the principles of the Communist Manifesto. In 1878, with J. P. McDonnell, he organized the International Labor Union among the silk workers of Paterson and led the strike of that year. Meanwhile, the predominantly German Socialist factions had met in a national convention at Newark in 1877 and formed the Socialistic Labor Party. Sections of the S.L.P. were formed in Newark and Paterson, for the most part of Germans. The Newark elections of 1886 in which the labor candidate for Congress received 6300 votes and a labor assemblyman was elected reflected the strength of the German Socialists. The radicalism of some of the German immigrants aroused considerable prejudice against that group among some Americans who tended to regard all Germans as tainted with "red communism." *

By 1900 there were many new faces in New Jersey, faces of Italians, Poles, Russian Jews, and others. This was the vanguard of the "new" immigration which was to sweep across the ocean like a tidal wave of humanity. Its impact on this state will be discussed in succeeding chapters. But there were yet other nationalities which were part of the "old" immigration and which added small but significant groups to New Jersey's population. The emigration from France was never very large, and in 1900 only some fifty-five hundred Frenchmen were residents of the state. Several thousand silk weavers and dyers from Lyons and other textile cities had come to Paterson in the seventies and eighties, but many of these left the mills to return to France. By 1900 there were about sixty-five hundred Swiss here. In the 1870's weavers and dyers from Switzerland were also recruited for the silk industry;

* *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVII, 398-399; Commons, *History of Labour in the United States*, II, 277, 547; Ware, *The Labor Movement in the United States*, 362; Howard H. Quint, *The Forging of American Socialism* (Columbia, S.C., 1953), 3-15.

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by 1889 Paterson had a Swiss colony of twenty-five hundred. Swiss embroidery and silk ribbon manufacturers established mills in New Jersey about this time and brought over many skilled workmen. During the decade of the eighties, several thousand came, mostly from Appenzell and St. Gall, to Guttenberg, Union Hill, West Hoboken, and Weehawken. Hudson County became the Swiss embroidery center of the country and had the largest Swiss colony in the East. As in the case of the Germans, there were many technicians and skilled workmen among the Swiss immigrants, toolmakers, jewelers, machinists, engineers, makers of musical and precision instruments, and electricians. These found ready employment in the Edison Laboratories, the Singer Sewing Machine Company, and elsewhere in New Jersey.*

From the Netherlands came ten thousand immigrants in the nineteenth century. Beginning in the 1850's, these new Dutch were attracted by good wages to the factories of Paterson, Lodi, Passaic, and other Jersey cities. Once the Holland-American Line had established a terminal in Hoboken, many of the immigrants made their way to these nearby mill towns. The relations between these Netherlanders and the descendants of the "Jersey Dutch" were not very cordial, the latter tending to shun the newcomers. The Hollanders for the most part aspired to buy a farm in the Dutch settlements of the Midwest, and many stayed in New Jersey only long enough to earn sufficient money. The Scandinavians also continued westward in quest of homesteads, but in 1900 about thirteen thousand five hun-

* Wood, "History of Labor in the Broad-Silk Industry of Paterson," 75; John P. von Grueningen (ed.), *The Swiss in the United States* (Madison, Wisc., 1940), 19, 49, 51, 103, 119-123; Albert H. Heusser (ed.), *The History of the Silk Dyeing Industry in the United States* (Paterson, 1927), 189-358. Jacob Weidmann, himself a native of Switzerland, who became the "foremost figure" in the silk dyeing industry, imported a great many skilled workmen from France, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy to Paterson. Heusser, *History of the Silk Dyeing Industry*, 207-209.

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dred Scandinavians, more Swedes than Norwegians and Danes, were to be found in New Jersey. Most of them settled in the industrial northeastern counties where the men were employed chiefly in the skilled trades as carpenters, machinists, etc., while the women entered domestic service. True to their nautical tradition, many Scandinavians were sailors, fishermen, or shipbuilders. Colonies of these Northmen were to be found in south Jersey at Wildwood, Atlantic City, and Camden.*

New Jersey's rapid economic growth in the nineteenth century was clearly dependent on the ever-broadening stream of immigration. Not only the immigrant's brawn, but also his brains and often his capital contributed to the state's industrial progress. For some the rewards were plentiful in wealth and fame, but for many the returns were less than gratifying. New Jersey usually—but not always—offered the newcomers the opportunity to work and to earn their daily bread, but their gratitude was limited by the facts of exploitation. Low wages, long hours, employment of women and children, brutal foremen, the company store and the company tenement, these were more often than not the conditions under which the immigrants labored and lived. When they sought through strikes and labor organizations to protest these abuses, employers and public authorities (often themselves of immigrant stock) responded with harsh repression. During these profit-greedy years, "human rights" were commonly subordinated to "property rights."

The rise of New Jersey's industries to national primacy was, therefore, not without its price. The social costs of this "progress" were borne for the most part by an immigrant labor force. This took the form of

* Lucas, *Netherlanders in America*, 235, 306-307; Wertenbaker, *The Middle Colonies*, 69; Federal Writers' Project, *Swedes and Finns in New Jersey*, 104-107; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Occupations at the Twelfth Census*, 336-343.

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lifetimes spent at unremitting toil, of a more-or-less subsistence standard of living, of a bleak and drab existence in the tenement districts of squalid industrial cities. Yet the immigrants endured, because they had cultural resources—the family, religious faith, and group solidarity—which enabled them to survive and even triumph.

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IV

IMMIGRANT SUBCULTURES

NEW JERSEY developed a split personality in the course of the nineteenth century. The cause of this cultural dichotomy was the conjunction of the forces of industrialization, urbanization, and immigration. These created the "new" New Jersey, one of belching smokestacks, prison-like factories, and a dense polyglot population. This was the immigrant's New Jersey. But the "old" New Jersey, that of rolling farmlands and small country towns, persisted as well. This was the native's New Jersey.

While all areas of the state had some foreign-born residents, the concentration of manufacturing in the northeastern counties resulted in great clots of immigrant population at Newark, Jersey City, and Paterson. In 1860 and again in 1900, over half of all persons of foreign birth in the state were to be found in the counties of Essex, Hudson, and Passaic; most of the rest were in Bergen, Middlesex, and Union counties. These were the only counties in 1900 in which the foreign stock accounted for more than 50 per cent of the total population. Native stock was in the majority in the other 15 counties. The six "foreign stock" counties contained almost two-thirds of all the people in New Jersey, as well as more than three-quarters of the state's foreign-born residents.*

Although the immigrants and their children consti-

* U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: 1860* (Washington, D.C., 1864), 318; *Census of Population: 1910,* III, 140-142.

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tuted the majority of the population in 1900, much the greater part of the state remained in the hands of those of native stock. In the nine southernmost counties, for example, only Atlantic, Camden, and Monmouth had sizable foreign minorities; in the other six, the immigrant stock comprised less than 25 per cent of the inhabitants. This was also true of the western tier of counties, Sussex, Warren, and Hunterdon. In central Jersey, Morris, Somerset, and especially Mercer had a considerable immigrant element. Despite the heavy immigration of the nineteenth century, therefore, the Protestant American culture prevailed over the broad expanse of the state. Rural Jersey was still the province of native-born Americans who remained dominant in politics, religion, and social life. Even in the cities, those of Jersey stock constituted an elite which exercised political and economic hegemony for a long time. Urban Jersey, however, was distinguished by the immigrant subcultures of its foreign residents who had values, tastes, folkways, and institutions of their own.*

The cultural affinity of the British immigrants with the native Americans secured for them a privileged position among the foreign-born. As Protestants, they were readily accepted into the indigenous churches and thus escaped the brunt of religious bigotry. Sharing a common language and outlook with the Jersey-born, they mingled easily with the native citizenry. Yet the Staffordshire potters, Macclesfield weavers, and other British artisans were characterized by a "clannish loyalty to their own kind and to an esoteric craft" which caused them to form distinct communities in Trenton, Paterson, Kearney, and elsewhere. Their ethnic self-consciousness was also expressed through numerous organizations; in his study of British immigrants, Rowland Berthoff noted the following societies in New Jersey: 32 lodges of the Sons of St. George (English), 31

* U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: 1910,* III, 140-142; Brush, *Population of New Jersey,* 32 ff.

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independent Scottish clubs plus 21 "clans" of the Order of Scottish Clans, 26 Orange Lodges (Ulstermen), and two Welsh groups. Despite this strong affirmation of their identity and solidarity, the Britons did not arouse nativist prejudices. Rather the absence of social barriers facilitated their assimilation and mobility in the larger community. It was to be quite otherwise with the Irish and Germans.*

The Irish were set apart from the natives by their religion, poverty, and ebullient temperament. Because of these characteristics, they were shunned by Americans. Prejudice, however, had the effect of strengthening the immigrants' pride in their Irishness and their loyalty to their Church. Excluded from full participation in society, the Irish built their own communities. In this task, Ireland's peasants were handicapped by illiteracy, destitution, and dissipation, the fruits of centuries of oppression and exploitation by the British. Coming from isolated hamlets, they were ill equipped for life in the disorderly cities of New Jersey. Necessity compelled the Irish families to crowd into shanties and frame tenements which often sheltered pigs and chickens as well as human beings. In smokey, grimy industrial districts, such as Trenton's Fourth Ward, the immigrants endured the rigors of slum existence. The greatest concentration of the Irish was in the Horseshoe District of Jersey City, on the verge of the marshes and railroad yards. The very high rate of infant mortality, due largely to "summer complaint," indicated how squalid and unsanitary conditions were. Slum life, then as now, was brutalizing, and the Irish wards became notorious for violence and lawlessness.**

* Thistlethwaite, "Atlantic Migration of the Pottery Industry," 274-277; Berthoff, *British Immigrants in Industrial America,* 126-127, 196. I am indebted to Professor Rowland Berthoff for calling to my attention the existence of a large number of British organizations.

** Flynn, *Catholic Church in New Jersey,* 141, 407; Dayton D. McKean, *The Boss: The Hague Machine in Action* (Boston, 1940), 13-24; John M. Blum, *Joe Tumulty and the Wilson Era* (Boston, 1951), 3-4.

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Although drunkenness was common among all nationalities, the Irish were especially given to intemperance. In 1861, Bishop James R. Bayley of Newark denounced the "dreadful sin of drunkenness" which was "making the most fearful ravages among our people." He asserted that "this horrible vice" was responsible for "all the social evils and discomforts under which they labor." * Notwithstanding the exhortations of the Catholic clergy to temperance, inebriety continued to be a major problem among the Irish. The saloon rivaled the Church as a source of solace for the immigrants, and it would be difficult to say which had the greater influence over them. The "Horseshoe" Irish had 40 saloons into which to escape from their sordid surroundings, and other districts were equally well supplied. The saloon served the Irish neighborhood as a social club in which Hibernian wit and blarney reigned. It was also the precinct headquarters where political alliances were sealed with a toast to the Emerald Isle. The saloonkeeper, therefore, was an important personage in the social and political life of the Irish community. Despite the evils of dissipation, the saloon provided the immigrants with a center of sociability in an otherwise grim environment.**

Emigration and urban life subjected the family to severe strains with a weakening of parental authority over the children. Bishop Bayley lamented this trend in 1865:

> The active and too engrossing pursuit of gain, the habit of moving from one place to another in the hope of bettering one's temporal condition, the employment of women and children in factories, and to a sad extent, the vice of drunkenness, have all tended almost to destroy the old Christian home.†

The harvest, according to the prelate, was one of tares, of young people caught in the toils of crime and vice.

* Flynn, *Catholic Church in New Jersey*, 283-284.

** McKean, *The Boss*, 19, 21.

† Flynn, *Catholic Church in New Jersey*, 288-290; Yeager, *Life of James R. Bayley*, 312.

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Indeed, Irish names did figure prominently in the records of the police courts of this period. Inadequate law enforcement in the slum districts encouraged the hoodlum element which preyed upon the peaceable residents. Young Irishmen formed neighborhood gangs such as the "Red Tigers" of the "Horseshoe" which waged continual warfare against other gangs, sometimes pitting Hibernians against native Americans or Germans, or again, Corkonians against Far Downers. These gangs of pluguglies served the politicians at elections turning them into bloody battles. The neighborhood gang also served as a proving ground from which political aspirants could graduate into the ward organization.*

Not all the Irish were denizens of the slums. Especially with the passage of time there was an increasing number of "lace-curtain" Irish. As they prospered, these Irishmen moved to more sedate residential areas such as Hamilton Square in Jersey City. They also sent their children to "aristocratic schools." While many favored Catholic institutions such as St. Peter's College, others like James Smith, Jr., the Democratic "boss" of New Jersey, sent their sons to Princeton. As prominent Catholic laymen, the affluent Irish were generous in their contributions to the Church and formed organizations such as the Catholic Union of New Jersey to defend its interests. There tended to be some antagonism between the "shanty" Irish and the "lace-curtain" Irish, compounded of envy on the one side and contempt on the other.**

The gregarious nature of the Irish was expressed in a multitude of fraternal orders and societies. Numerous mutual aid associations such as the Hibernia Provident Society, the Shamrock Provident Society, and the Erin Benevolent Society, were formed. Besides providing a

* McKean, *The Boss,* 19-21.

** Blum, *Joe Tumulty,* 10; McKean, *The Boss,* 19; Sackett, *Modern Battles of Trenton,* I, 319, 437-438; Ray Stannard Baker, *Woodrow Wilson Life and Letters* (8 vols.; New York, 1927-1939), III, 43-44.

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proper wake and burial and asistance to the family after the death of a member, the societies sponsored balls and picnics. Jigs and reels, drinking and brawling marked these festivities. While some organizations limited their membership to those from a particular county, the lodges of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick and the Ancient Order of Hibernians embraced all Irishmen. The Irish also formed military organizations like the Erin Guards of Newark and volunteer fire companies such as the Hibernia Engine Co. No. 5 of Elizabeth. There was a fierce competition among the various fire companies which often resulted in a free-for-all while the flames crackled merrily. Of questionable efficacy in fighting fires, the fire laddies with their gay uniforms and brass-ornamented engines did add color and excitement to the scene of the conflagration.*

Among the Irish immigrants there was a number of "men of '48," revolutionaries who had fled Ireland after the abortive uprisings against British rule. Brandishing the torch of Irish nationalism, they organized societies to liberate the "beloved 'gem of the Ocean' from the bloody British domination." The Irish immigants responded with intense fervor to the Fenian appeal. The radical leadership of Fenians like J. P. McDonnell, however, encountered the opposition of the Catholic Church which sought to divert this patriotic enthusiasm into moderate channels. Bishop Bayley denounced the Fenian Brotherhood which was especially powerful in Jersey City, and in 1870 the Papacy condemned the "American or Irish Society of Fenians." **

In spite of the threat of excommunication, many Irishmen continued to conspire against hated British tyranny. It was the Fenian Society which largely financed

* Flynn, *Catholic Church in New Jersey*, 267; Urquhart, *History of the City of Newark*, II, 667-668; Wittke, *The Irish in America*, 55; Federal Writers' Project, *New Jersey Guide*, 242.

** Yaeger, *Life of James R. Bayley*, 310; Wittke, *The Irish in America*, 222-223; Hermann K. Platt (ed.), "The Political Reminiscences of Charles Perrin Smith New Jersey Republican" (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Rutgers University, 1963), 151-152.

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the construction of the first successful submarine by John Philip Holland, a Paterson schoolmaster from Limerick. The *Fenian Ram* had its first trial off Staten Island in 1881. It was commonly believed that the Fenians intended to use the underwater craft against the British Navy. The Irish nationalist societies, the Clan-na-Gael and the Sinn Fein, also had considerable strength in New Jersey and their organs, the *Gaelic American* and the *Irish World,* circulated widely in the state. For many years, Anglophobia and a free Erin were potent issues in Jersey politics. In the gubernatorial election of 1910, for example, Woodrow Wilson felt it politic to declare himself for Irish home rule. During the ensuing struggle between Wilson and "Boss" Smith for control of the Democratic Party, Joseph Tumulty effectively used a speech Smith had given as Senator supporting the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty. The speech was distributed to Irish societies and newspapers with the result that Smith was denounced for advocating the odious "Anglo-American" alliance and the Irish vote went to Wilson.*

The growth of the Roman Catholic Church in New Jersey in the nineteenth century was primarily the result of the emigration from Ireland. While German Catholics were numerous, the Irish predominated among both laity and clergy. Most Irishmen felt a powerful allegiance to their ancestral faith, yet a significant defection from the Church did take place. As Bishop Bayley asserted in 1854:

> There are many demoralized by herding in our large cities, who, though they may be called Catholics, never practice any duty of their religion—who do not come near our churches—and are, in fact, entirely beyond our control.**

In the midst of a hostile Protestant population, not a few

* Federal Writers' Project, *New Jersey Guide,* 357; Wittke, *The Irish in America,* 233; Blum, *Joe Tumulty,* 94, 105-106; Joseph P. Tumulty, *Woodrow Wilson as I Know Him* (New York, 1925), 65-66.

** Yaeger, *Life of James R. Bayley,* 132.

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of the early Irish immigrants found it expedient to abandon their Catholicism. Mixed marriages and intemperance, "the old foe of the Celt," were declared to be major causes of the leakage. Most of the Irish, however, remained faithful to the Church even in the face of intense anti-Catholic prejudice.*

The Roman Catholic Church was perhaps the most constructive force at work among the benighted Irish peasants, yet it was their Catholicism which particularly aroused the ire of the natives. Efforts to establish Catholic churches brought forth verbal and physical abuse from Protestant zealots. Catholics were sometimes discharged from their jobs for professing their faith. In Perth Amboy, threats were made to tar and feather the first priest who set foot in the town, while at Red Bank mass was interrupted by a mob which threw dead cats and stones through the windows and menaced the "Papists." In Gloucester the school hall used for Catholic services was defiled with manure. It was often impossible to purchase ground for a Catholic church except by subterfuge, and sometimes local artisans refused to work on the edifice. While tolerant Protestants did on occasion contribute land or money toward the building of a Catholic church, prior to the Civil War they were the exceptions.**

Notwithstanding this virulent opposition, Catholic parishes were established in Paterson, Newark, Jersey City, and Pleasant Mills in the 1820's. Other churches were erected as the number of Irish and German immigrants increased. It was the sacrifices of the canal and railroad laborers who contributed the money and labor which built these first churches. In this pioneer phase of Catholicism, a handful of priests did yeomen service, ministering not only to the organized parishes but visiting the labor and mining camps to offer mass in private

* Flynn, *Catholic Church in New Jersey,* 208, 214, 275, 283; Leahy, *Catholic Church of the Diocese of Trenton,* 181.

** Flynn, *Catholic Church in New Jersey,* 124-125, 144, 194, 247; Leahy, *Catholic Church of the Diocese of Trenton,* 43, 47.

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homes, barns, and open-air chapels. The emigration of Irish priests during the famine years helped to relieve the shortage of clergymen.*

The issue of "trusteeism" threatened to disrupt many of these early congregations. The controversy centered on the question whether the title to church property should be vested in lay trustees or in the bishop of the diocese. The hierarchy was adamant in its position; Bishop John Hughes, for example, instructed the pastor of St. Peter's in New Brunswick "to whip out the serpent of the hateful old trustee system." Although the prelate's claims prevailed, the nativists exploited the controversy as proof of the sinister purpose of Rome. In spite of internal strife, external enmity, and poverty, the Catholic Church continued to grow in strength and numbers. The establishment of the Diocese of Newark in 1853 which encompassed all of the state signified that Catholicism was firmly rooted in Jersey soil.**

In 1855, Bishop Bayley estimated that there were forty thousand Catholics in New Jersey, a majority of whom were Irish, a quarter German, and the balance Americans, English, French, and Canadians. To care for these in 41 churches and chapels and 12 stations, there were 35 priests, 17 of whom were Irish-born, five German, five French and Italian, and the rest native Americans. The bulk of the Catholic population was concentrated in the northeastern counties; Catholics in south Jersey were so few and so poor that it was known as the "Siberia of the Diocese." The postwar years, however, brought many Catholics to the region, so that in 1881 the Diocese of Trenton was created for all of New Jersey south of the Raritan River.†

The great tide of immigration in the late nineteenth

* Flynn, *Catholic Church in New Jersey*, 68, 94, 144, 181; Leahy, *Catholic Church of the Diocese of Trenton*, 87, 225.

** Flynn, *Catholic Church in New Jersey*, 78, 91, 267; Ray Allen Billington, *The Protestant Crusade 1800-1860* (Paper ed.; Chicago, 1964), 38-41, 299.

† Flynn, *Catholic Church in New Jersey*, 277, 280; Leahy, *Catholic Church of the Diocese of Trenton*, 122, 401.

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century was welcomed by the Catholic hierarchy ". . . as a divine instrument in the still further building up of the Church." Tens of thousands of Italians, Poles, Hungarians, and other immigrants augmented the Catholic population. By 1903, the fiftieth anniversary of the See of Newark, the number of Catholics in the state had increased tenfold to almost four hundred thousand. There were now 416 churches and chapels with 396 priests. The Catholic Church also administered 167 institutions ranging from parochial schools, colleges, and seminaries to orphanages, hospitals, and asylums. A large number of religious orders were engaged in preaching, teaching, and social work. Although the Church now embraced many nationalities, the Irish remained the predominant element. The primacy of the Irish among the hierarchy and clergy long gave to Roman Catholicism in New Jersey a Hibernian cast.*

Although the first bishop of Newark, James Roosevelt Bayley, was a convert of old American stock, his successors were with few exceptions of Irish ancestry. This ascendancy of the Irish can be explained by the fact that many young men of ability were drawn to careers in the Church. Piety and opportunity combined to attract children of poor immigrant parents into religious vocations. No social barriers kept the Irish boy of humble birth from entering the priesthood and achieving high station. Michael Augustine Corrigan, the second bishop of Newark and later Archbishop of New York, for example, was born in Newark the son of a cabinetmaker, and Bernard John McQuaid, sometime pastor of St. Patrick's in Newark and then Bishop of Rochester, whose father had been a laborer, was raised in a Catholic orphanage. This Irish hegemony within the Church, however, was not without its problems.**

As German Catholics arrived in increasing numbers, they soon demanded their own parishes with German

* Flynn, *Catholic Church in New Jersey,* 557, 570, 578.

** Leahy, *Catholic Church of the Diocese of Trenton,* 145, 173; Wittke, *The Irish in America,* 94.

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priests. Not only was there a language difference in the Irish churches, but the Germanic and Celtic temperaments clashed. By 1856, there were six German churches for the ten thousand German Catholics in the state. In an appeal to the Leopoldine Society of Vienna, Bishop Bayley commented that the German missions were in great need of support, since the Germans, "coming from a country where the Church is entirely supported by the state, are not habituated to the system of voluntary contributions and are much less generous than their Irish brethren." Despite this parsimony, the number of German parishes increased, especially after Bismarck's *Kulturkampf* drove the Jesuits and other religious orders out of the German Empire.*

The German Catholics became increasingly restive under the Irish control of the Church in New Jersey. This resentment was shared by other non-Irish Catholics. German influence secured the appointment of Winand Michael Wigger as the third bishop of Newark much to the chagrin of the Irish clerics. Wigger's choice of an Italian, the Reverend Januarius de Concilio, as his vicar-general raised such a storm that the Bishop had to withdraw the nomination and give the post to an Irishman instead. It was during Wigger's episcopacy that the issue of "Cahenslyism" came to a head. Peter Paul Cahensly, general secretary of a society for the protection of German Catholic emigrants, proposed a reorganization of the Church in the United States whereby each immigrant group would have bishops of its own nationality. The proposal sparked a fiery controversy with the Irish clergy vehemently opposed and the German and other immigrant clergy strongly in favor.**

While Bishop Wigger did not espouse Cahenslyism, he sponsored a meeting of the *Deutsch-Amerikanischer Priester Verein* (Society of German-American Priests) in

* Flynn, *Catholic Church in New Jersey,* 280, 460; Yaeger, *Life of James R. Bayley,* 126.

** Flynn, *Catholic Church in New Jersey,* 478, 483; Wittke, *The Irish in America,* 186-187.

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Newark in 1892 at which arguments for "national" bishops were voiced. The Irish priests immediately launched an attack upon the Germans as Cahenslyists and upon their national traits as well. Echoes of this conflict resounded until the accession of Bishop John Joseph O'Connor to the cathedral of Newark once more returned the leadership of the Church to Irish hands. Although Cahenslyism was rejected in principle, the Irish hierarchy recognized the practical necessity of providing nationality parishes with priests who spoke the tongue of the immigrants.*

The Roman Catholic Church was a bulwark of the New Jersey Irish against the trials and hardships which afflicted them. It was the source not only of spiritual solace, but provided for their social and material needs as well. Much of Irish organizational life centered about the parish churches with their Rosary and Holy Name sodalities, mutual aid societies, educational groups, and even building and loan associations. The parish priest was a respected leader among the Irish who advised, instructed, and exhorted his flock in secular as well as religious matters. Father Patrick Moran, for example, who was venerated as the "father of Catholicism in Newark," tried to raise the intellectual and moral level of his parishioners by organizing literary, temperance, and benevolent associations. The Catholic clergy sought to dissuade the Irish from their brawling and drinking which were thought to be a major cause of anti-Catholic sentiment. Bishop Bayley declared that: "The only way, in my opinion, in which we can hope to make an impression upon the proud and worldly spirit of the Protestants who surround us . . . is to elevate the social condition of the Catholics." **

Many of the Irish priests were ardent temperance advocates who preached sobriety from their pulpits in season and out. In 1842, Father Moran prevailed upon

* Flynn, *Catholic Church in New Jersey,* 491-492, 568-570.

** Flynn, *Catholic Church in New Jersey,* 71, 204, 282, 334; Urquhart, *History of the City of Newark,* II, 666.

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his entire congregation to take the pledge. Temperance societies were organized in the parishes, and in 1871 the State Catholic Total Abstinence Union was formed with James W. O'Brien as president. Two years later, at Trenton, Father Patrick Byrne founded the Young Men's Total Abstinence League. The Catholic hierarchy addressed itself again and again to the problem of inebriety. The struggle with the "drink evil" was an unending one, and in 1882, Bishop Wigger felt it necessary to condemn once more the "monster iniquity of intemperance." * While drunkenness was indicted as a sin and vice, the Catholic clergy was also attempting to counter the criticisms of the native temperance forces.

The Catholic Church was also embattled to preserve the ancient faith of the immigrants from the proselyting of the Protestant sects. The decisive battleground in this struggle was to be the education of the second generation. As Bishop Bayley observed in 1855:

> In this country, more than in any other, the prosperity of the Church depends above all on the education given to the children. The evil influences to be met on every side are so destructive that the Catholic religion will disappear as quickly as it has spread unless we transplant it in a good soil, in training up with all possible care the children in the faith of their fathers.**

For this reason, the school was to come first, even before the church, in the Catholic parishes of New Jersey. By 1902, the Church could boast of 150 parochial schools with an enrollment of nearly fifty thousand pupils. The purpose of these schools was not to retard Americanization, but to make of the immigrants' children "pious, God-fearing, reverential Catholic American citizens." †

The Catholic clergy opposed public schools as strongly

* Flynn, *Catholic Church in New Jersey*, 283-284, 322, 334, 483; Yeager, *Life of James R. Bayley*, 329.

** Flynn, *Catholic Church in New Jersey*, 277.

† Flynn, *Catholic Church in New Jersey*, 557; Leahy, *Catholic Church of the Diocese of Trenton*, 402.

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as they favored parochial schools. In the eyes of the Catholics the system of free public education was an agency by which the Protestants were seeking to wean their children away from the "one, true Church." Bishop Bayley charged in 1872 that:

> The public schools in this state are virtually Protestant schools, as much so as if Protestantism was the established religion of the State; and I have as yet to find out the differences between Church and State, and schools and state, as these schools are managed.*

The Protestant influence was expressed through Bible reading, reciting of sectarian prayers, and the singing of sectarian hymns in the public schools. The great majority of the teachers were declared to be hostile to Catholicism, and many of the school books were said to be anti-Catholic. The Catholic child who attended a public school was also subject to the derision of his Protestant schoolmates with the result that: "Just as he learns from his comrades to ridicule the language and the country of his parents, he will quickly learn to despise their faith." *

Catholic parents, therefore, were instructed not to send their children to the public schools. For some years, Bishop Wigger prohibited the giving of absolution both to the children who attended such schools and to their parents. Since Catholics could not in good conscience make use of public education, they protested that they should not have to pay taxes for public schools while supporting their own parochial schools. Various efforts were made to divert the taxes paid by Catholics to their church schools, but without success. The "school issue" was to remain for many years a major source of conflict between Catholics and Protestants.†

* Flynn, *Catholic Church in New Jersey,* 298.
** Leahy, *Catholic Church of the Diocese of Trenton,* 375-378; Yeager, *Life of James R. Bayley,* 241.
† Flynn, *Catholic Church in New Jersey,* 498, 506.

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Like the Irish, the German immigrants had a distinctive way of life which did not conform to the mores of the native Americans. A basic value in German culture was the spirit of *Gemütlichkeit* which was expressed in their "Continental Sunday," beer gardens, singing festivals, concerts, balls, and picnics. Many of the Germans, especially the Forty-Eighters, were freethinkers and hostile to organized religion. Such worldly impiety was anathema to the evangelical Protestant Jerseymen. As the historian of Newark's Germans has written:

> To the average American, the open defiance of the customs of the land, with regard to Sunday observance; the open indulgence in beer and wine in the presence of women and children, who took part in these pleasures, and to crown all this, seeming lack of interest in church matters, was nothing less than proof of total depravity.*

Because they were targets of nativist abuse, the Germans tended to settle in towns composed largely of their countrymen where they might enjoy life in the "old world" style free from the insults and blows of Americans.

New Jersey had a number of these purely German towns. In the 1850's, Carlstadt was founded in the Passaic Valley by a group of Forty-Eighters on the principles of a social republic. Initially known as Tailor Town because of the occupation of its residents, the village was renamed in honor of Dr. Carl Klein, its leading figure. Another settlement of revolutionary exiles was the town of Guttenberg in Hudson County. One of the most interesting German communities was Egg Harbor City in Atlantic County. A group of German real estate speculators attracted settlers to the inhospitable site in the 1850's by advertising such as the following:

* Katzler, "The Germans in Newark," 1054; Dieter Cunz, "Egg Harbor City: New Germany in New Jersey" (reprint from The New Jersey Historical Society, *Proceedings,* LXXIII (April, 1955), 89-123), 9.

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A new German home in America. A refuge for all German countrymen who want to combine and enjoy American freedom with German *Gemütlichkeit,* sociability and undisturbed happiness. A place to develop German folk life, German arts and sciences, especially music. A place around which we can build German industry and commerce, a practicable harbor and railroad connections to all parts of the country.*

While this grandiose vision of the promoters was not realized, a "charming German town" was established. Egg Harbor City remained a German community for several decades with German officials, German churches, and German newspapers. A lively cultural atmosphere prevailed with singing societies, bands, amateur theatricals, and lectures. The ideal of an exclusively German town, however, could not long be maintained; gradually natives, Italians, and other immigrants moved in. Eventually the German language gave way to English in church services and city council proceedings. The growing of grapes and the making of wine made Egg Harbor City famous and prosperous. To the dismay of the temperance people, the annual wine festivals brought crowds of Germans from nearby cities to sample the vintage.**

The main German concentrations, however, were in Hudson and Essex counties which in 1900 held more than 60 per cent of all the persons of that nationality in the state. Hudson was especially a stronghold of the German element with the solidly Teutonic communities of Weehawken, West New York, West Hoboken, and Union Town. While Newark and Jersey City had larger numbers of Germans, Hoboken was the most Germanic city in the state. As the terminal of the North German Lloyd and Hamburg-American steamship lines, it received most of the travelers from Germany, except those coming in steerage. Until World War I, the German language was taught in the public schools and used as freely in business and public affairs as English. The

* Cunz, "Egg Harbor City," 11, 18; Federal Writers' Project, *New Jersey Guide,* 540; Flynn, *Catholic Church in New Jersey,* 393.
** Cunz, "Egg Harbor City," 14-29.

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city's German cafés such as the Hof Brau Haus were renowned for their excellent cuisine and musical entertainment, while Hoboken's social elite belonged to the "Deutscher Club, where German poetry and song flowed with the beer." Schuetzen organizations, *Turn-Vereins,* and singing societies helped to create the "truly *Deutsch* atmosphere [which] permeated Hoboken." *

Much of Newark also became a new Deutschland. The original German quarter was in the "Hill" section of the city. The German settlers transformed this wooded and swampy area into a village of homes, shops, saloons, and churches. In 1876, an American lady described it as follows:

> A section of nearly four miles square is a snug, compact, well-paved city within a city, giving evidence of neither poverty nor riches. The Germans dwelling here are chiefly employed in the factories and nearly all own their own homes. They live economically and save money. German habits and Germans customs appear on every side.**

As Newark's German population mushroomed it colonized other areas, including the "Ironbound" District where the streets had German names until they were changed during World War I. While many workingclass Germans first resided in slums as did the Irish, their superior economic status enabled them to move into more substantial houses in cleaner, healthier surroundings.

The German immigrants lacked the religious unity of the Irish. Among them were Roman Catholics, Lutherans, German Reformed, Jews, and freethinkers. When the German Lutherans arrived in the nineteenth century they found churches established by their countrymen in the previous century; however, these had become anglicized and diluted in doctrine. The newcomers infused

* Walter Evans Edge, *A Jerseyman's Journal* (Princeton, 1948), 108; John Perkins Field, *Halo Over Hoboken* (as told to John Leroy Bailey) (New York, 1955), 24-28.

** Martha J. Lamb, "Newark," *Harper's Magazine,* LIII (October, 1876), 675-676; Katzler, "The Germans in Newark," 1084-1086.

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new life into the Lutheran Church. By 1871, new churches had been established in Newark, Elizabeth, Hoboken, Jersey City, Greenville, Hudson City, and West New York. These Lutheran churches were distinguished by their strict orthodoxy and Germanic character. The German Lutherans also established many parochial schools with instruction in German as well as English. Unlike the Catholic schools, most of these were short lived; by 1898, there were only eleven Lutheran schools in the state with fewer than one thousand students. On a lesser scale, the German Reformed churches experienced a similar revival and growth because of the emigration from Germany. As mentioned above, the German Catholics became a major segment of the communicants of that Church. A large number of parishes were established with German priests and German nuns teaching in the parochial schools. In addition, there were scattered German congregations belonging to the Methodist Episcopal, Presbyterian, Baptist, Protestant Episcopal, and Evangelical churches.*

Because of this religious heterogeneity, secular leadership and organizations were much more important among the German immigrants. A strong spirit of German nationalism and pride in German culture united them despite their sectarian differences. The Forty-Eighters exerted a great influence over their countrymen. In Newark for example, such political exiles as Dr. Fridolin Ill, Conrad Hollinger, and Benedict Prieth quickly took a leading role in the affairs of the German community.** Despite the hostility of the native Americans, the Germans were very successful in transplanting their traditional forms of social and cultural life.

Like other immigrants, the Germans organized a large number of mutual benefit societies; the first, the *Deutsche Gesellschaft zu Newark*, was established in 1833. These

* Burr, *Education in New Jersey*, 98-103; Katzler, "The Germans in Newark," 1063-1065; Joseph F. Folsom, "Church History," in Urquhart, *History of the City of Newark*, II, 949-1016.

** Katzler, "The Germans in Newark," 1047-1054.

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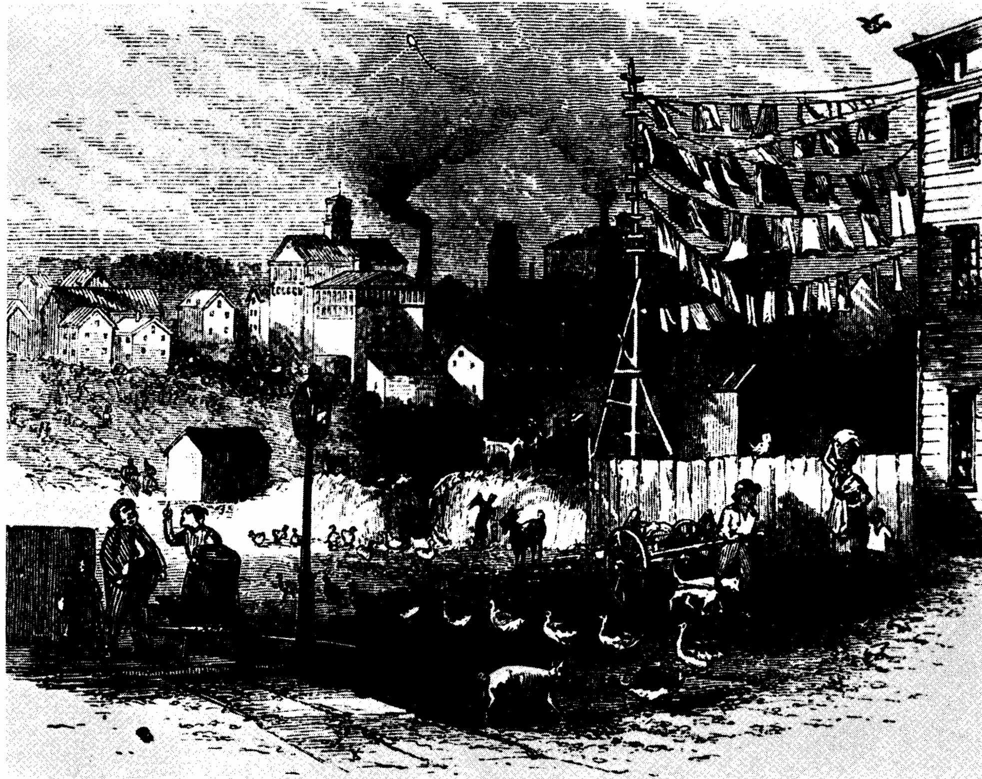

Newark's Germantown in the 1870's *From Harper's New Monthly Magazine, 1876*

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associations assured any German no matter how poor a stately burial with a uniformed band to lead the cortege, playing Chopin's "Funeral March." In the 1850's German artisans in Newark formed debating clubs to discuss such topics as the slavery question; they also established the first German library. German festivals were frequently held with singing, dancing, and drama in parks on the outskirts of the city. In 1859, for example, Newark's Germans held a three-day celebration to commemorate the centennial of Friedrich Schiller's birth.*

The singing society was perhaps the most distinctive social organization of the Germans. The first of these in Newark was the Eintracht Men's Chorus founded in 1846. Dozens of others were established in the years that followed including the Aurora Society, the Beethoven Männerchor, the Schwäbischer Sängerbund, and even the Socialist Song Table. In 1891, Newark was host to the *Sängerfest* of the Northeastern Singers' Association in which over four thousand members from 30 cities took part. Through the German influence, choral singing was introduced into school curricula and taken up by Americans and immigrants alike.**

The Germans also formed amateur dramatic groups which produced the best-loved plays of the Fatherland; the first of these in Newark was a production of Schiller's *Die Räuber* in 1853. For a time there was a German theatre in Newark with a professional company. Yet another enthusiasm of the Germans was gymnastics; early in the century physical fitness had become an integral part of the German nationalist movement. The *Turner* organizations, therefore, were political as well as athletic associations. During the 1850's, the *Turners* took a liberal position on the issues of nativism, prohibition, and slavery, and actively engaged in political campaigns, sometimes in a muscular fashion. The Newark *Turngemeinde* organized in 1848 was only the third

* Katzler, "The Germans in Newark," 1049, 1059, 1087.
** Katzler, "The Germans in Newark," 1102-1111.

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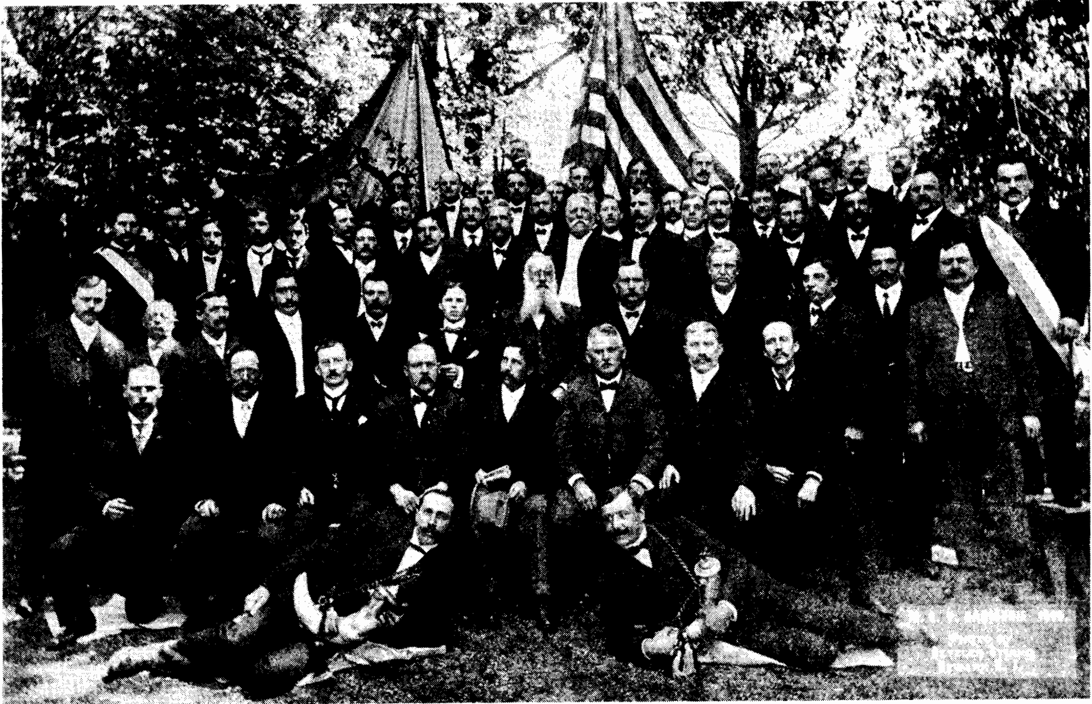

The Harmonie Singing Society of Newark, 1906
From New Jersey Freie Zeitung, Goldenes Jubilaum

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The World's Olympic Championship Team of the National Turn Verein of Newark, 1904
Courtesy of the Newark Public Library

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one to be formed in the United States. The *Turn-Vereins* had their own halls equipped with gymnastic apparatus; there classes were held for young people in a variety of subjects, as well as physical culture. The Germans were responsible for the introduction of gymnastics into the public schools as well.*

The Germans in New Jersey did not submit passively to Americanization, rather they made strenuous efforts to keep the German language and culture alive. Not only did they provide many German parochial schools, they also established nonsectarian German-English schools. The Newark *Schulverein* was formed in 1856 to sponsor the first such school which was to be free of any religious bias. Several generations of German-Americans were educated in these schools which were dedicated "to the preservation of all that is best in German character and tradition." The tuition of fifty cents to a dollar a month was a considerable sum to many families, yet as one observer noted: ". . . the greater part of the less fortunate class are willing to make any sacrifice in order to grant their offspring an education in the German language." In the 1890's, there were fourteen German-English schools, secular and parochial, in Newark with a total enrollment of over thirty-seven hundred pupils. Where the Germans were the predominant element, as in Hoboken, they were successful in having the German language taught in the public schools from the primary grades on, but in Newark with its polyglot population German was offered only in the high schools and in evening classes.**

Especially effective in developing a keen sense of group-consciousness was the German language press. While Jersey Germans read papers like the *New Yorker Zeitung* and *New Yorker Herold,* many German journals were published in this state as well. Newark's first German newspaper, the *New Jersey Staats Courier,* appeared

* Katzler, "The Germans in Newark," 1111-1117.

** Katzler, "The Germans in Newark," 1096-1101; Peter J. Leary, *Essex County, New Jersey* (Newark, 1897), 98-100.

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in 1851, but the *New Jersey Freie Zeitung,* founded in 1858, was the most successful. Among the other newspapers of some importance were the *New Jersey Staats Zeitung* published in Jersey City and the *New Jersey Staats Journal* published in Trenton. In 1901, there were 26 German language journals, most of them weeklies, published in the state. By 1910 their number had declined to 14, and by 1920 to 6. This decreasing number of German publications can perhaps be taken as an index of the loss of vitality by the ethnic subculture.*

New Jersey's Germans followed the events affecting their fatherland with intense interest. The German newspapers reported in detail the intricate course of diplomacy and military campaigns leading to the formation of the German Empire. During the Franco-Prussian War, the German victory at Sedan was proclaimed by an extra issue of the *Freie Zeitung.* The news aroused the greatest exultation in the German wards of Newark which was described as follows:

> Nothing else was discussed the entire day. Whoever possessed a German flag, raised it. Every street corner in the more populous part of the city was the rallying point for eager war discussions, and in the afternoon and evening there were just as many mass meetings as there were cafes, and the toasts of a victorious, united and free Germany could find no end.**

A Ladies Aid Society had been formed among the German women of Newark to raise funds for the assistance of the German wounded in that war. Curiously, no one exceeded the old revolutionaries of '48 in their enthusiasm for the "New Germany" which was created by Bismarck, although it was far from being a liberal republic.

A rising sentiment of nationalism among the German immigrants was expressed in the formation of the National German-American Alliance in 1899. The Alliance

* Katzler, "The Germans in Newark," 1093-1095; Leary, *Essex County,* 163-168. A list of newspapers published in the state was included in the *New Jersey Legislative Manual.*

** Katzler, "The Germans in Newark," 1122-1123.

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proposed to bring together into one organization all of the German societies and associations in the country. Among the purposes of the Alliance were to increase the sense of unity among German-Americans, to preserve German culture and character, and to oppose immigration restriction, Sunday laws, and prohibition legislation. In 1902 the Central Verein of Newark composed of German societies affiliated with the National Alliance sponsored the first "German Day" with oratory, choral singing, dancing, and general merriment. The main business of the New Jersey German-American Alliance, however, was not culture but politics. As the spokesman for the "German vote," the Alliance was a potent political factor in New Jersey. It lobbied strenuously against the efforts of the temperance forces to enact more stringent liquor laws. The Alliance also responded to the growing tensions between Germany and Great Britain by opposing any Anglo-American entente. The anti-British temper of the Germans was revealed during the Boer War when a German organization was formed in Newark for the relief of the Boer widows and orphans.*

In the years prior to the First World War, the German communities were thriving and the German culture was flourishing in New Jersey. The Germanophobia soon to be unleashed by war hysteria dealt a devastating blow to this ethnic group from which it was never to recover.

In the early nineteenth century the few Jews in New Jersey were "Sephardim," originally from the Iberian Peninsula. One of these who achieved public distinction was David Naar, born in the Danish West Indies, but educated in the United States. Naar, a brilliant orator and skillful politician, served as mayor of Elizabeth and presiding judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Essex County before he became the publisher and editor of the *True American* of Trenton. An influential figure in the Democratic Party, Naar was appointed state

* Katzler, "The Germans in Newark," 1118-1119, 1121; Clifton James Child, *The German-Americans in Politics 1914-1917* (Madison, Wisc., 1939), 16, 82, 118-119.

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treasurer in 1865. He was also a leading spirit in the Congregation Har Sinai of Trenton which was organized in 1859.*

The Jewish immigrants from the 1840's on were "Ashkenazim," coming from Germany and Eastern Europe. Because of differences in culture and religious rites, the Sephardic Jews tended to look down upon the Ashkenazic Jews. By 1848, there were some sixty German Jewish families in Newark. In that year they formed the first Jewish congregation, B'nai Jeshurun, in New Jersey. But it was not until 1854 that this pioneer synagogue acquired its own rabbi and *shohet* (ritual slaughterer) in the person of Isacc Schwarz. Other congregations were established in Paterson, Trenton, Jersey City, New Brunswick, and Hoboken in the following decades. The German Jews were much more liberal and cosmopolitan than their Orthodox co-religionists of Eastern Europe. They were Germanic in culture, even using the German language in their services and in their synagogue schools. Once in America, the German Jews tended to move rapidly toward Reform Judaism, discarding those elements in the Jewish tradition which were thought to be archaic. The Germans, for example, did not strictly observe the dietary laws, nor were they orthodox in keeping the Sabbath. This Reform trend was capped when the Congregation B'nai Jeshurun in 1882 abandoned the wearing of hats during worship. In this same year, its rabbi began to preach in English. Because they were willing to adapt their religious practices "to the views and habits of modern civilization," the German Jews adjusted quickly to American conditions. Perhaps for this reason they encountered little prejudice from either natives or other immigrants.**

* Burr, *Education in New Jersey*, 187; Haberman, "The Jews in New Jersey," 6; Joseph Gale (ed.), *Eastern Union, the Development of a Jewish Community* (Elizabeth, 1958), 21-23.

** Sazer, "'Early History of the Jews of Newark"; "The Jews in New Jersey," in Federal Writers' Project, New Jersey Ethnic Survey, Box WK 3, State Archives, Trenton; Jewish Education Association, *Essex Story*, 16-19.

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The Polish Jews who began to arrive in the 1850's were offended by the lack of orthodoxy on the part of their German co-religionists. Coming from the tradition-bound ghetto life of western Poland, they believed in strict conformity to talmudic law. In addition, there was a linguistic barrier since the Germans did not speak Yiddish or Polish. The Polish Jews were also antagonized by the superior attitude of the German Jews who regarded these newcomers as uncouth and benighted. For these reasons they soon established their own synagogues; the Congregation B'nai Abraham founded in 1853 was the first of these Polish Orthodox synagogues in Newark. The requirements of Orthodox Judaism, however, often conflicted with the demands of American life. The observance of the Sabbath, for example, was difficult to maintain in a Gentile economy. While there were those who clung to the Orthodox tenets, many Polish Jews tended to a Conservative form of Judaism.*

The German and Polish Jews, however, shared the communal tradition of European Jewry, and established many organizations and institutions to sustain each other in this new land. Among the first of these were sickness and burial societies. There was also a Daniel Webster Debating Society of young German Jews in Newark in the 1850's which addressed itself to such issues as "Ought Slavery to be Abolished?" The negative side won this debate with the argument that the Negro was the descendant of the accursed Ham. Among the Jewish charitable organizations of Newark in the nineteenth century were the Hebrew Benevolent and Orphan Society, the *Frauenverein Naechstenliebe* (a ladies' charitable society), the Hebrew Educational Society, the Hebrew Free Loan Association, the Hebrew Home for the Aged, the Hebrew Free Burial Society, the Young Men's Hebrew Association, and the Young Women's Hebrew Association. These benevolent associations created

* "The Jews in New Jersey," in Federal Writers' Project, New Jersey Ethnic Survey; Burr, *Education in New Jersey*, 186; Jewish Education Association, *Essex Story*, 19-20.

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and maintained a complex of hospitals, schools, orphanages, and social services for the Jewish community.*

Wealthy Jews also distinguished themselves by individual acts of philanthropy. Among the beneficences of Nathan Barnert of Paterson, for example, were the Miriam Barnert Memorial Hospital, the Barnert Hebrew Free School, and the Temple of the Congregation B'nai Jeshurun. Among patrons of the arts and sciences, Louis Bamberger and Felix Fuld had few peers. They contributed generously to the Newark Museum and other civic institutions; but the most imposing act of philanthropy was the gift of $5,000,000 by Bamberger and his sister, Mrs. Felix Fuld, for the establishment of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton.**

By the late nineteenth century, the German Jews of New Jersey had won the esteem of the Gentile population for their business success, civic spirit, and philanthropy. Their position, however, was jeopardized by the waves of Jewish immigration from Eastern Europe beginning in the 1880's. The Russian Jews were very different from the German Jews. Coming from the ghettos of the Pale, they were set off by their strict Orthodoxy, Yiddish speech, and traditional dress and customs. Conspicuous because of their appearance, numbers, and poverty, the Russian Jews attracted much adverse criticism as well as aggression in the cities of New Jersey. Anti-Semitism, of which there had been little evidence, now appeared to come to life. Out of fear that this prejudice would envelop them, as well as from a sense of charity, German Jews sought to assist the newcomers. The Russian immigrants, however, resented the patronizing attitude of the Germans, whom they did not regard as Jews at all. Because of these cultural and religious differences, the Russian Jews established their own synagogues and

* "The Jews in New Jersey," in Federal Writers' Project, New Jersey Ethnic Survey; Katzler, "Germans in Newark," 1066-1069.

** *Scannell's New Jersey's First Citizens*, Volume II: *1919-1920*, 36, 40-41; Haberman, "The Jews in New Jersey," 7-8; Jewish Education Association, *Essex Story*, 70.

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communities distinct from those of the Germans. By 1900, the majority of the twenty-five thousand Jews in New Jersey were from Russia, and their number increased greatly in the next two decades. Their coming opened a new chapter in the history of the Jews in this state.*

Cultural pluralism was a reality in nineteenth-century New Jersey. Alongside the rural Protestant culture of the old stock, the immigrant nationalities established their distinctive subcultures, compounded of Old World traits and adjustments to the urban, industrial scene. The Irish saloon, the German beergarden, the Catholic church, the Jewish synagogue, the fraternal order, the singing society, the German newspaper, the parochial school, the charitable institution were all components of the immigrant way of life in the "new" New Jersey. These "alien" beliefs, ideas, and manners, however, appeared to many Americans to imperil the traditional values and institutions of the country. Their response was one of intolerance of foreigners. Nativism and xenophobia became powerful sentiments among the defenders of the "old" New Jersey.

* "The Jews in New Jersey," in Federal Writers' Project, New Jersey Ethnic Survey; Haberman, "The Jews in New Jersey," 7; Katzler, "Germans in Newark," 1066, 1070.

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V

NATIVISM AND CULTURAL CONFLICT

DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, New Jersey in common with other states with large immigrant populations was swept by waves of nativism. While Jerseymen welcomed the labor of the immigrants, they were alarmed by this invasion of tens of thousands of strange and offensive foreigners. Cultural and religious differences were translated into a generalized hostility toward the newcomers. At bottom, nativism was an ethnocentric response to the threat which immigrants were thought to pose toward certain cherished American ideals. This anti-foreign sentiment, therefore, should not be dismissed simply as racial or religious bigotry, rather it was an expression of the clash of cultures. Among the issues involved in the cultural conflict were those of the Roman Catholic Church, the Puritan Sabbath, the temperance question, and the role of the immigrant in politics.

The temper of the native element was conditioned by the spirit of evangelical Protestantism. Religious revivals among the Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and other sects created a highly emotional climate and an intense zeal for moral reform. The evangelical Protestants girded their loins to do battle for the Lord against the servants of Satan. Inspired by the millennial vision of the Kingdom of God on earth, they strove for moral and social perfection. In this struggle against sin, the evangelicals

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sought to abolish all of the evils which in their view were corrupting American society. Since many of these evils, intemperance, moral depravity, and Roman Catholicism, were identified with the foreign-born, nativism was a logical conclusion of the evangelical Protestant mentality.*

From the 1820's on the evangelical denominations waged what Professor Ray Allen Billington has termed "the Protestant Crusade" against the Church of Rome. The anti-Catholicism latent in American Protestantism was whipped into a frenzy by clergymen and pamphleteers. Books, journals, and sermons warned that the Pope was the "anti-Christ," that Catholicism was the enemy of true religion, and that Jesuits were conspiring to subject the United States to the tyranny of Rome. In a widely read book published in 1834, Samuel F. B. Morse, inventor of the telegraph and sometime resident of New Jersey, exposed *A Foreign Conspiracy against the Liberties of the United States.* According to Morse, the Catholic immigration was really part of the plot for the papal conquest of this country. The anti-Catholic propaganda ranged from theological disputations to scurrilous pornography such as Maria Monk's *Awful Disclosures of the Hotel Dieu Nunnery of Montreal,* published in 1836. The effect of this agitation was to inflame the minds of Americans against the Catholic Church and against the Catholic immigrants who were viewed as soldiers of the Pope. It culminated in mob violence at times: the burning of the Ursuline Convent at Charlestown, Massachusetts in 1834 and the Philadelphia riots of 1844 in which many lives were lost.**

While the Protestant Crusade did not take such extreme forms in New Jersey, anti-Catholic feelings ran high in the state and were the cause of much conflict between natives and immigrants. As a stronghold of Presbyterianism, Princeton was a center of the No-Popery

* Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, passim;* Alice Felt Tyler, *Freedom's Ferment* (Paper ed.; New York, 1962), 23-45, 358-385.

** Billington, *The Protestant Crusade,* 32-234.

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agitation. Books such as Mary Sherwood's *The Nun* and Zahorowski's *Secret Instructions of the Jesuits* which "exposed" the sinister character of the Catholic Church were published there in the 1830's. Students of the Princeton Theological Seminary formed a "Committee on the Romish Church, Public Morals and Infidelity" in 1842 to alert the townspeople to the dangers of "Popery." A graduate of the Seminary, the Reverend Nicholas Murray, was a leading clerical antagonist of Roman Catholicism. Born in Ireland of Catholic parents, Murray had been converted and became the prominent pastor of the Elizabeth Presbyterian Church. He won fame for his controversy carried on in the press with Bishop John Hughes of New York. Murray signed his articles attacking the Church with the nom-de-plume "Kirwan," and so great was his influence thought to be that converted Catholics were known as Kirwanites.*

New Jersey branches were formed of the American and Foreign Christian Union and the Protestant Reformation Society to wage the campaign against Romanism and to prosleyte among the Catholics. These organizations sent lecturers and missionaries into the immigrant districts to distribute tracts and make speeches. The extreme and provocative statements made by these agitators incited riots in Newark and elsewhere; few Irish Catholics were willing to stand idly by while accusations such as the following were being voiced:

> Catholicism is, and it ever has been a bigoted, a persecuting, and a superstitious religion. There is no crime in the calendar of infamy of which it has not been guilty. There is no sin against humanity which it has not committed. There is no blasphemy against God which it has not sanctioned.**

Among the charges made against the Catholic Church was that it was opposed to the Holy Scriptures and pro-

* Billington, *The Protestant Crusade,* 168, 253-255, 261; Flynn, *Catholic Church in New Jersey,* 181.

** Billington, *The Protestant Crusade,* 266.

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hibited its followers from reading them. In 1849 a mass meeting of several thousand people presided over by the governor was held in New Jersey to hear denunciations of Rome's hostility to the Bible. Catholic opposition to the reading of the King James Version of the Bible in public schools and to its distribution among poor immigrant families was cited as proof of this hostility. Similarly, the objections of the Catholic hierarchy to sectarian influences in the public schools and its efforts to secure public funds for the support of parochial schools aroused nativist fears of "Papist" subversion of the educational system. Until 1866 church schools in New Jersey were entitled by law to share in the public school funds, but the demands of the Roman Catholics for school aid stirred up heated controversy. The movement for free public education in the state was inspired in part by the desire to save the children of the poor immigrants from ignorance and depravity, including the Romanism of their parents. The rejection of the common schools in favor of their own schools by the Catholics, however, added fuel to the fires of religious conflict. Anti-Catholic emotions were kept at a fever pitch by the impassioned sermons and writings of Protestant clergymen. In Elizabeth, the Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed ministers published a journal, *The Protestant,* which attacked Catholic idolatry and Popery. Many Jerseymen became convinced as did Charles Deshler that a deadly conspiracy of Jesuitism and priestcraft was ". . . poisoning our homes and corrupting our politics and institutions." *

Because of this religious prejudice, the Catholic immigrants were hindered and harassed in the enjoyment of that freedom of worship guaranteed by the New Jersey Constitution. The Irish Catholics were especially subject to physical assaults and indignities on the streets and in their churches. When the first St. Patrick's Day parade

* Billington, *The Protestant Crusade,* 284; Burr, *Education in New Jersey,* 251-277; Flynn, *Catholic Church in New Jersey,* 143-144; Hallerberg, "Charles D. Deshler," 95.

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was held in Newark in 1834 the marchers were greeted with taunts and insults; for many years these scenes were repeated. In many Jersey cities and towns on St. Patrick's Day an effigy of "Paddy," a string of potatoes around his neck, a bottle sticking out of one pocket and a codfish from the other, was hung from a tree or on the Catholic church. The mounting popular hatred of Papists culminated in attacks upon Catholic churches in the 1850's. A mob in Elizabeth led by a minister carrying an open Bible was only prevented from destroying St. Mary's Church by Father Isaac P. Howell who gathered the women and children of the parish about the edifice. In Camden, Starr's Hall, which was being used for Catholic services, was burned to the ground.*

The most violent outburst of anti-Catholicism, however, occurred in Newark on September 5, 1854. The antagonists in this case were not primarily natives, but Orangemen (Protestant Irishmen). The bitter religious feuds of Ireland had been carried to America, and the Orangemen and Irish Catholics often clashed. On this occasion a procession of the "Orange Association" marching through the streets of Newark was stoned. Provoked by this assault, the Orangemen joined by a rowdy element attacked and sacked the German Catholic Church of St. Mary's. In the ensuing melee, one Irish Catholic was killed and many were wounded. The Catholics threatened retaliation, but were restrained by their priests. The incident also revealed the depth of anti-Catholic feeling in that, rather than expressing repentance, the newspapers and pulpits of Newark accused the Catholics of responsibility for the riot and absolved the Orangemen. For a time, the attacks on and provocations of Catholics increased greatly.** As the decade of the

* Flynn, *Catholic Church in New Jersey,* 72, 144, 334; Leahy, *Catholic Church of the Diocese of Trenton,* 68; Urquhart, *History of the City of Newark,* II, 666.

** Flynn, *Catholic Church in New Jersey,* 205-207; Yaeger, *Life of James R. Bayley,* 131; Katzler, "The Germans in Newark," 1054; Myers, *History of Bigotry,* 156-157.

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fifties drew to a close, however, anti-Catholic sentiment appeared to subside. In June of 1860, when a Catholic religious procession was held in Jersey City, concern was expressed over the possibility of mob violence, but as the *Freeman's Journal*, a Catholic newspaper, commented:

> We had fears that the time had not yet come when such a procession could be safely made in the public streets of a large city, but we are happy to say that they are groundless, and the whole was one "grand triumph." *

The religious sensibilities of evangelical Jerseymen were also offended by the social customs of the immigrants. Sobriety had not been one of the outstanding characteristics of this state which was renowned for its applejack. In the nineteenth century, however, the Protestant churches conducted a temperance crusade against the "sin of drunkenness" with evangelical zeal. Thousands of reformed drunkards in New Jersey joined the Washington Society and took the total abstinence pledge. Unsatisfied with voluntary reformation, the temperance advocates urged the passage of a prohibition act modeled after the Maine law. Such a measure failed of passage in New Jersey in 1855 by a tie vote in the legislature. While many natives remained in the ranks of the tipplers, the immigrants were thought to be especially subject to the "rum power." With some reason, the temperance people were scandalized by the widespread drunkenness among the workingclass foreigners. Despite the exhortations of the Catholic clergy to temperance, the Irish and Germans continued to enjoy their whiskey and beer. As brewers, saloonkeepers, and drinkers, they opposed any liquor legislation as an infringement on their "personal liberty." The gauge of battle was set, and a war which was to last a century began between native "drys" and the foreign "wets." **

A focal point of the cultural conflict between the

* Yeager, *Life of James R. Bayley*, 154.
** Tyler, *Freedom's Ferment*, 341, 348; Flynn, *Catholic Church in New Jersey*, 141.

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natives and the immigrants was the "blue laws" which were designed to keep the Sabbath holy. As a New Jersey historian commented: "Respect for the orderly, ennobling, and inspiring atmosphere of the Sunday, if not for its sanctity, is the heritage of every right-minded Jerseyman." * For the pious American, the Sabbath was a day of church-going and solemn meditation; for the Germans and Irish it was a day of recreation and relaxation. The "Continental Sunday" of the immigrants was an affront to the church people, since as Charles Deshler declared it turned the Sabbath from "a day of quiet and sacred observances into one of bustle and noise and week-a-day amusements." For their part, the immigrants especially resented the prohibition of the sale of intoxicating beverage on Sunday. In 1853, the Germans of Newark petitioned the City Council for a more liberal enforcement of the Sunday laws; instead the police were instructed to enforce the law to the letter. The Sunday meetings of the singing societies in their own halls were disrupted by the police, and on one occasion the whole membership of the Aurora Society was placed under arrest.**

The Germans, moreover, received no protection from the police when their amusements were invaded by gangs of rowdies. Once the *Turners* were holding a festival near Hoboken when a mob of hoodlums from New York descended upon them; the Germans got the best of this battle and several of the attackers were killed. Although the Germans were less exposed to anti-Catholic sentiment than the Irish, their reputation as freethinkers and radicals aroused nativist antagonism. In the rhetoric of the Know-Nothings, they were denounced as "infidel Germans, who hate our public schools, and holy Sabbath, and who pretend to be able to teach Americans how to rule America." †

* Sackett, *Modern Battles of Trenton*, II, 224.

** Hallerberg, "Charles D. Deshler," 110; Urquhart, *History of the City of Newark*, I, 554-555; Katzler, "The Germans in Newark," 1106.

† Hallerberg, "Charles D. Deshler," 117; Katzler, "The Germans in Newark," 1054.

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Another grievance of the nativists was the belief that cheap foreign labor was depriving American workmen of jobs and driving down wages. As the *Native American* charged in 1844: "Our laboring men, native and naturalized, are met at every turn and every avenue of employment, with recently imported workmen from the low wages countries of the old world." * The standard of living of the natives was being undermined by the foreigners, who "feed upon the coarsest, cheapest and the roughest fare—stalk about in rags and filth—and are neither fit associates for American laborers and mechanics, nor reputable members of any society." While there was little truth to the assertions that immigration was responsible for a decline in wages or for unemployment, many American workingmen accepted this explanation of their economic difficulties. To protect themselves from foreign competition, Jerseymen formed branches of nativist organizations such as the Order of United Americans and the Order of United American Mechanics. These groups favored more stringent naturalization laws and restrictions on immigration. While American mechanics exerted political pressure against foreign labor, they sometimes used more direct methods. In the early fifties, native workers rioted in New Jersey against the employment of immigrants on public works.**

The moral indignation of native Americans was also excited by the growing political influence of the foreign-born. By the 1850's the immigrant vote had become the decisive factor in certain counties; as one New Brunswick man expressed his exasperation:

> The simple truth is that the honest men of the county are tired of being voted down by the seven hundred [Democratic] foreigners in this city, a vast majority of whom were ten years ago the ignorant serfs of Ireland, and are now simply the tools of designing demagogues who use them like cattle.†

* Billington, *The Protestant Crusade*, 200.
** Billington, *The Protestant Crusade*, 334-338.
† McCormick, *History of Voting in New Jersey*, 142.

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Although elections in New Jersey in the early nineteenth century when Irishmen were few and far between were characterized by illegal voting, vote-buying, bribery, strong-arm methods, and drunkenness, political corruption was now blamed on the immigrants. They were held responsible for the "degradation of the ballot from being an inestimable right into a commodity that is bought and sold." *

Since elections were closely contested in New Jersey in the mid-nineteenth century, politicians cultivated the "foreign" vote, plying with liquor and money aliens and naturalized citizens alike. Fraudulent voting by aliens brought forth demands for electoral reforms. During the Constitutional Convention of 1844, it was proposed that naturalized citizens should have to wait a year before voting. The intent was to discourage mass naturalization of foreigners on the eve of elections. As one proponent of the provision asserted:

> On the eve of a contested election the country is rummaged . . . and every foreigner, German, Irish, or French, who can find someone to swear that he has been five years in the country and has resided one year in the State, is brought into Court in crowds and passed into citizenship.**

In the debate which followed, David Naar, now Mayor of Elizabeth, argued that immigration should be encouraged by conferring equal rights upon the foreign born citizen. He declared:

> It is the policy and interest of the state to induce persons to come here from other states. We throw out to them this boon —if you leave that land of oppression where you now reside and bring with you talent, fortune, industry and enterprise, we will give you a home with us.†

* McCormick, *History of Voting in New Jersey*, 114-115; Hallerberg, "Charles D. Deshler," 239-240.

** McCormick, *History of Voting in New Jersey*, 131-132.

† Gale (ed.), *Eastern Union*, 21.

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This principle of hospitality was upheld by the Democratic majority. The fact that the Democrats received the bulk of the immigrant vote might have had something to do with their liberal stand on the suffrage issue, as well as with the persistent demands of the Whigs (and later Republicans) for political reforms. A restriction of the franchise and a raising of naturalization standards became traditional nativist appeals.

In New Jersey, hostility toward foreigners and Catholics found political expression through third-party movements as well as through the Whig Party. By 1844, there was a branch in every county of the American Republican Party which demanded a twenty-one--year residence of immigrants before naturalization. The Order of the Star Spangled Banner, a secret society formed to secure the election of native Protestants and to exclude foreigners and Catholics in particular from public office, had considerable strength in New Jersey. In the early fifties, it emerged as the American or Know-Nothing Party. Charles Deshler, a leading Know-Nothing, explained the formation of the American Party in New Jersey as a response to the "concerted organization of the foreign and Catholic population" which was attacking "the Common School system together with other favorite American ideas." The doctrines of the party were that Americans (native Protestants) should rule America, the naturalization laws be revised, the Sabbath be kept holy by law, and the Bible read in the public schools. These American ideals, nativists such as Deshler thought, were being threatened by the "insidious policy of the Church of Rome." *

The American Party became a powerful force in Jersey politics with its main strength in the southern counties. The Know-Nothing movement reached its height in 1856 when William A. Newell was elected

* Billington, *The Protestant Crusade*, 201-205, 380; Hallerberg, "Charles D. Deshler," 79, 81, 113; Mother Mary Boniface Henze, "Political Nativism in New Jersey" (Unpublished master's thesis, Catholic University of America, 1938).

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governor with American and Republican support. Six senators and 15 assemblymen of the American Party were also elected to the state legislature. During his term of office, Governor Newell recommended a number of measures of nativist inspiration, including restrictions on the landing of "alien paupers and convicts," a lengthening of the residence requirement for naturalization, a probationary period of several years before a naturalized citizen could vote, strict observance of the Sabbath, and a curbing of "the crime and degradation arising from indulgence in liquor." Although these proposals enlisted substantial support, they failed of enactment. One reason was the countervailing force of the immigrant vote. The Germans in Newark and elsewhere, for example, formed naturalization associations to support candidates who favored existing naturalization laws and a "liberal" Sunday, and who opposed the extension of slavery into the territories. Especially in the northeastern counties, the Irish and Germans gave large majorities to the Democratic Party as a protest against the Know-Nothingism of the opposition parties.*

With the sectional crisis coming to a boil in the late fifties, the slavery question overshadowed nativism as the burning issue of the day. In the political realignment which took place in New Jersey the Know-Nothings merged with the Republicans. The nativistic theme, however, was soft-pedaled by the new party which sought to woo the Germans from their Democratic allegiance. The antislavery cause had a special appeal for the German liberals; the first political rally of the Newark Germans was an anti-Nebraska meeting in 1854. Forty-Eighters, like Dr. Fridolin Ill, Dr. E. T. Edler, and Benedict Prieth, led many of their countrymen into the ranks of the Republican Party. The Irish, however, who

* McCormick, *History of Voting in New Jersey,* 143; Yeager, *Life of James R. Bayley,* 134; Katzler, "The Germans in Newark," 1055; Charles M. Knapp, *New Jersey Politics during the Period of the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Geneva, N.Y., 1924), 13-16, 184.

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were afflicted by an intense Negrophobia, remained solidly loyal to the Democracy.*

The Civil War deeply divided the people of New Jersey. Many of the state's industries depended on the southern market for their prosperity. Newark, for example, was a "Southern Workshop," selling the bulk of its shoes, carriages, saddlery, and clothing in the slave states. Economic interest, therefore, aligned manufacturers and workmen against any policy which would cause a cessation of southern trade. Proposals were made seriously in December, 1860, that New Jersey had more to gain by joining a southern confederacy than by staying with the North. Jerseymen also prided themselves on their conservatism, and there was little abolitionist sentiment in the state. While there was some antislavery feeling in the Quaker areas, the New England churches, and among the Germans, the dominant attitude appeared to be one of animus against the Negro. Commodore Robert F. Stockton voiced this sentiment in a speech before a Union convention in December, 1860. The African race, he asserted, was not worth fighting about; the Negroes had benefited from slavery and Christianity since in Africa they were "the most cowardly, most brutal, the most abandoned of God's creatures." The center of the Copperhead movement during the war was among the Jersey Dutch of Bergen County. The conservative Dutch farmers resented any disruption of their lives by the conflict and felt no inclination to fight for the abolition of slavery.**

The attack on Fort Sumter, however, created a great, if temporary, enthusiasm for the Union. According to one observer, "The sympathizers with the Rebellion had not anticipated such an outburst of loyalty, and, with the exception of many Irish men and women (more

* Hallerberg, "Charles D. Deshler," 117; Katzler, "The Germans in Newark," 1051, 1055-1057; Knapp, *New Jersey Politics,* 13, 16, 184.

** Knapp, *New Jersey Politics,* 2-10, 52-53, 59, 183; Urquhart, *History of the City of Newark,* II, 679.

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especially the latter), and occasionally, a defiant demagogue, relapsed into silence. . . ." * Jerseymen rushed to the colors in response to Lincoln's call for volunteers. Among them were many Germans and Irish. Even Deshler, the staunch Know-Nothing, admitted that the foreign element had answered the call of the Union as patriotically as the native-born; as a result, he noted, there was a greater tolerance of immigrants and Catholics. Other considerations than sheer patriotism prompted many newcomers to enlist; liberal bounties and high fees for substitutes often made soldiering more remunerative than laboring.**

The Germans were especially zealous for the Union cause. The *New Jersey Freie Zeitung* strongly supported the Lincoln Administration, while even the *New Jersey Volksmann,* a Democratic organ, favored the war. Meetings were held by the Germans to organize volunteer units and to raise subscriptions for soldiers' families. Among the German contingents were the Steuben Battalion commanded by Major Herman Schalk and Battery A of the First Artillery Regiment led by Captain Hexamer. Many *Turner* societies enlisted as a body in the Twentieth New York Regiment (Turner Rifles). It is estimated that 7337 Germans volunteered in New Jersey; this would give the Germans a much higher ratio of enlistments than the native Americans or the Irish. On the home front, the German ladies organized an association for the relief and aid of wounded German soldiers. Unlike some Jerseymen, the Germans greeted the news of Union victories and the Emancipation Proclamation with enthusiasm. Their grief at Lincoln's assassination was displayed by the several thousand Germans who marched in Newark's funeral procession.†

* Platt, "Political Reminiscences of Charles Perrin Smith," 117-118.

** Hallerberg, "Charles D. Deshler," 102; Katzler, "The Germans in Newark," 1075.

† Katzler, "The Germans in Newark," 1072-1079, 1115; Urquhart, *History of the City of Newark,* II, 688, 727; Faust, *German Element in the United States,* I, 523.

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The Irish, as fervent Democrats, were opposed to the war and to all things Republican. But more importantly, the Irish were opposed to emancipation both because of hatred for the Negro and of fears that abolition would bring hordes of black laborers into the state. The Catholic Church had itself taken an equivocal stand on the slavery issue, and the Catholic clergy was divided on the question of supporting the Union. On the Sunday following the bombardment of Fort Sumter, the Reverend Bernard McQuaid, who later served as chaplain of the New Jersey Brigade, was the first and only priest to plead with his parishioners to be loyal to the "old flag." At the other extreme, the Reverend James McKay of Orange strongly opposed the enlistment of Irishmen and wrote a series of articles which so offended the Federal Government that he was removed from his parish. Still, almost nine thousand Irish volunteers did serve in New Jersey regiments; while proportionately less than the Germans, the Irish ratio of enlistments was much greater than that of the native whites. Several all-Irish units such as the Montgomery Guards commanded by Captain John Toler were formed.*

Rather than serve in the army, however, many Irishmen left the state. In January, 1865, Bishop Bayley wrote, with perhaps a degree of exaggeration: "Most of our Catholic population are mechanics and servants. Many of the men went to war, and three times as many have gone to Canada, Australia & California to avoid the draft." ** In actuality, conscription was not resorted to in New Jersey, because of fears of uprisings similar to the draft riots of New York City. The Irish were especially viewed by Union men as a disaffected and disloyal element, and their districts in Newark, Jersey City, Trenton, and other cities were regarded as potential trouble spots. According to Charles Perrin Smith,

* Flynn, *Catholic Church in New Jersey,* 204, 322; Urquhart, *History of the City of Newark,* II, 688; Faust, *German Element in the United States,* I, 523.

** Yeager, *Life of James R. Bayley,* 203.

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a Republican leader, the invasion of Pennsylvania by General Robert E. Lee was accompanied by alarming demonstrations among the Irish, and only the victory at Gettysburg saved New Jersey from scenes of riot and tumult. Smith described the wartime temper of the largely Irish Fourth Ward of Trenton: ". . . so great was the animosity created by disloyal orators and editors, the attitude of the Democratic majority in the Legislature and the pending conscription to fill the ranks of the army, that it was not prudent for an outspoken Republican to venture in the neighborhood." * While there were no major outbreaks among the Irish in New Jersey, a large segment of them plainly felt that this was not their war.

Although nativist sentiment abated in the postwar years, the basic cultural conflicts remained a source of friction between Americans and immigrants. The continuing immigration raised the status of the Irish and Germans from that of despised minorities to that of dominant majorities in certain counties. Meanwhile, these nationalities achieved a large degree of political and economic influence. The "Paddy" or "Dutchman" could no longer be insulted or abused with impunity. Rather their values now threatened to prevail over those of the old stock. In response to this threat the native Protestants once more manned the ramparts in defense of their ideals of Americanism against the onslaught of "foreign influences."

Religious antagonisms continued to embitter social relations in New Jersey. The Roman Catholics resented the privileged position of the Protestant sects in the public schools and state institutions; they were further chagrined when their efforts to secure parity for their faith were fruitless. This issue came to a head when the State Reform School for Wayward Boys was established in the early seventies with a Protestant minister as its

* Platt, "Political Reminiscences of Charles Perrin Smith," 133, 151-160; Knapp, *New Jersey Politics*, 96.

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superintendent. The Catholic Union of New Jersey demanded that the Catholic children in the institution be excused from Protestant services and that a priest be allowed to minister to them. When this request was denied, St. Francis's Catholic Protectory for Boys was opened in 1874. With the endorsement of the Catholic hierarchy, a bill was introduced in the state legislature authorizing the commitment of children of Catholic parents to institutions of the Church and securing state financial support for these institutions. The bill aroused furious opposition from the Protestants. Assemblyman William H. Kirk of Essex County led the attack on the measure; presenting the protest of the Newark Methodist Episcopal Conference, he declared that the bill violated the doctrine of separation of church and state and asserted: "Not a Protestant in the land would have the unblushing effrontery to propose such a bill." Kirk's address was printed in every newspaper in the state and was ". . . the theme of the ministers in half of the pulpits in the State." On his return to Newark, Kirk was greeted with the "most effusive enthusiasm." The Order of United American Mechanics held a public meeting at which Kirk's stand was applauded. While the Catholic Protectory bill passed the house, it was emasculated in the senate. A "Liberty of Concience Bill" which would have permitted priests to visit inmates of state reformatories, penal institutions, and asylums, was also defeated.*

Struggles over these bills awakened the latent anti-Catholicism in the state. In the elections of 1874 several candidates who had supported the Catholic measures were defeated, while the champion of Protestantism, Kirk, was elevated to the senate. In reprisal, certain Catholic towns removed the Bible from the public schools. This was done in the German town of Union Hill, although the Council of the Order of United American Mechanics marched as a body into city hall

* Flynn, *Catholic Church in New Jersey,* 422-425; Sackett, *Modern Battles of Trenton,* I, 112-115.

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in protest. The battle reached its height over the proposed constitutional amendments which guaranteed the free public schools forever and prohibited the use of public moneys for sectarian purposes. The intent was to prevent the establishment of public-supported Catholic institutions. The amendments were opposed by the Catholic organ, *The Citizen,* and by Bishop Corrigan who sent a letter to all the priests in his diocese urging them to instruct the faithful to vote against the amendments. When the letter was published in the newspapers, the anti-Catholic forces seized upon it as proof of the despotic control exercised by the Church over its followers. The amendments were approved by an overwhelming majority. Such was the intensity of feeling stirred up by the controversy, that Bishop Corrigan advised the Catholic Union to postpone any actions which might further arouse rancor of the non-Catholics.*

In the late nineteenth century, there was a resurgence of the spirit of nativism in the country, including New Jersey. Organizations such as the Order of United American Mechanics, the American Protestant Association, and the Patriotic Order Sons of America which had survived from the days of the Know-Nothing agitation now gained a new lease on life. An offshoot of the O.U.A.M., the Junior Order of United American Mechanics became the most powerful of the nativist societies. In 1869 the New Jersey State Council of the Junior Order was organized with nine local councils. Composed of native white skilled workers, small businessmen, and white-collar workers, these fraternal orders conceived of themselves as defenders of the Republic from the twin evils of Romanism and Anarchism. Foreigners were viewed as either servile subjects of the Pope or as bomb-throwing revolutionaries; in either case, they were to be kept out. But one cause of this renewed xenophobia was the very success of the immigrants in American life. The rapid climb of many persons of German and Irish descent

* Flynn, *Catholic Church in New Jersey,* 426-428; Sackett, *Modern Battles of Trenton,* I, 116-117.

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to affluence and high status in business, the professions, and politics aroused the antagonism of those natives who felt cheated out of their rightful positions. The upward thrust of the foreign elements constituted a "social and political upheaval." Many Americans especially resented the rise of the Irish political bosses, of "the ward-heeler and the creature of the slums," to power. By the 1890's, they were prominent in the councils of both parties in New Jersey. Political corruption of the most flagrant kind was common practice in the immigrant wards of Jersey's cities. The foreigners were held responsible for this degradation of the democratic process.*

Ironically some of the loudest nativists at this time were not themselves native-born Americans, but British immigrants. The cordial hatred with which the Irish and the British regarded each other explains this contradiction. On economic, religious, and historical grounds, they were enemies. The annual parade by the Protestant Irish, for example, commemorating the Battle of the Boyne was a red flag to the Catholic Irish. While these encounters in New Jersey were overshadowed by the bloodbath in New York City in 1871 when 54 persons were killed, the Boyne Day parades in Jersey City and Newark often ended in fisticuffs. Because the Irish were devout Democrats, the British tended to be staunch Republicans. In Jersey City in 1874 they formed the British-American Association as a Republican campaign club. Given this history of ethnic rivalry, it is not strange that when the American Protective Association emerged in the early nineties as the leading anti-Catholic, especially Irish-Catholic, force in the country, many of its leaders were British-Americans.**

The American Protective Association combined the

* McCormick, *History of Voting in New Jersey*, 160-162, 171; Sackett, *Modern Battles of Trenton*, I, 305-319, 365; Myers, *History of Bigotry*, 166; John Higham, *Strangers in the Land* (New Brunswick, 1955), 57-58.

** Berthoff, *British Immigrants in Industrial America*, 193-196; Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, 61; Myers, *History of Bigotry*, 156-157.

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ritual and good fellowship of the secret fraternal society with a nativist program. Exploiting the tensions caused by the depression of the nineties, the A.P.A. placed the guilt for unemployment, labor strife, and social unrest on the Catholic Church and Catholic immigrants. In its "Declaration of Principles," the A.P.A. stated that submission to the Papacy was irreconcilable with American citizenship, and therefore, no Catholics were fit to hold public office or to teach in the public schools. It also demanded restrictions on immigration, especially of "pauper labor," and more stringent qualifications for citizenship. In its anti-Catholic agitation, the A.P.A. resurrected the old Know-Nothing scare and smear techniques and invented some new ones. It revived the myth of impending aggression by the Papists, "documenting" this allegation with forged communications, including what purported to be an encyclical of Pope Leo XIII instructing all American Catholics that in 1893 *"it will be the duty of the faithful to exterminate all heretics found within the jurisdiction of the United States."* *

The A.P.A. also employed the old tactic of having ex-priests and ex-nuns expose the nefarious nature of the Catholic Church by telling of their personal experiences. Their lectures often given before hostile audiences were highly incendiary and sometimes provoked riots. It was reported that one self-styled "Bishop" McNamara was almost "thrown by Romanists under a passing train in Newark, New Jersey." In the tradition of Maria Monk's *Awful Disclosures,* lurid accounts of convent life were published. Edith O'Gorman's *Convent Life Unveiled,* for example, claimed to tell of her experiences in and escape from a New Jersey convent. The popularity of this form of "literature" reflected the elements of fantasy and prurience in the nativist mentality which permitted it to believe the most preposterous stories about Catholics.**

* Higham, *Strangers in the Land,* 62, 80-87; Myers, *History of Bigotry,* 163-191. Italics in original.

** Myers, *History of Bigotry,* 174, 184; Edith O'Gorman, *Convent Life Unveiled* (Hartford, Conn., 1871).

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An Anti-Catholic Cartoon by Thomas Nast
From Harper's Weekly, 1870

Although the greatest strength of the A.P.A. was in the Midwest, it had not a few adherents in New Jersey. Here as elsewhere it inflamed Protestant-Catholic animosities. Circumstances were thus not auspicious when, in 1892, the Catholic clergy sought once again to secure state aid for parochial schools. Even the Catholic members of the legislature would have nothing to do with the bill which would have designated the church schools as public schools and provided state funds to pay their teachers. James Smith, Jr., for example, who was described as a pillar of the Church and an intimate of the hierarchy, argued against the measure. The bill was

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considered so politically explosive that it was buried by referral to the attorney-general who declared it unconstitutional. But if the Catholics could not have their way in New Jersey, neither were they helpless before their antagonists. In 1895, Senator Maurice A. Rogers of Camden, a bigwig in the state A.P.A., introduced a bill which would have prohibited the appearance in habits of the sisters who taught in parochial schools. Since Rogers had gubernatorial aspirations, this was interpreted as a bid for the anti-Catholic vote. Significantly, his bill received only five votes in the senate and he did not get the Republican nomination. Even in the nineties, anti-Catholicism as a political commodity had a limited market in New Jersey.*

With the return of prosperity and the outburst of jingoism occasioned by the Spanish-American War, the nativism of the 1890's waned. Early in the twentieth century, a history of the Diocese of Trenton could conclude on this optimistic note:

> . . . what our Catholic American ancestors wrought with toil and trouble is easier for us, since that ugly spirit of race hatred and religious intolerance, has well-nigh passed away, and we can live with our non-Catholic fellow-citizens in peace and pleasure, teaching them by a noble example of Christian forbearance, the innate beauty and fraternity of the Catholic Church.**

While the Catholics still had grievances, they now felt more certain that justice would be done them. The reason for this new sense of security was the change in the status of Roman Catholics which Bishop O'Connor described in 1903: "Half a century ago Catholics in New Jersey were few, poor, and despised. To-day they number nearly 400,000, and are reckoned by friend and foe as among the most virtuous, prosperous, and highly respected citizens of the community." † The 1906 census

* Flynn, *Catholic Church in New Jersey,* 498-502; Sackett, *Modern Battles of Trenton,* I, 119-121; II, 32-33.

** Leahy, *Catholic Church of the Diocese of Trenton,* 402.

† Flynn, *Catholic Church in New Jersey,* 575-577.

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of religious bodies confirmed the Bishop's statement. Out of a total of 857,548 members of all denominations in the state, 441,432 were communicants of the Roman Catholic Church. In other words, there were more Roman Catholics in New Jersey than all the Protestants combined, and more than four times as many Roman Catholics as there were members of the largest Protestant denomination, the Methodist Episcopal Church. Yet, again reflecting the cultural dichotomy of the state, in only five counties, Essex, Hudson, Mercer, Middlesex, and Passaic, were the Catholics a majority of the church population.*

As the Catholics increased in number, wealth, and organization, they also gained in political influence. Although the distribution of seats in the state legislature favored the rural Protestant counties, the Catholic urban areas had a decisive voice in state-wide elections. As the Reverend James A. McFaul, Bishop of Trenton, fully appreciated, this gave the Catholics considerable political leverage. In an address before the American Federation of Catholic Societies in 1905, McFaul described how he had on one occasion used this leverage:

> A few years ago a bill was introduced into the New Jersey legislature, the wording of which was ambiguous, and might have subjected our parochial schools to taxation. I requested some influential Catholics to suggest the propriety of changing the phraseology of the measure. The reply was: "We don't want to tax your schools, that bill was drawn up by a learned constitutional lawyer of Newark, and it will have to stand." Immediately I summoned the Executive Board of the State Branch of the Federation. A committee was appointed of Irish-Americans, some Democrats, others Republicans. They called upon the majority leader of the House,

* U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies: 1906, Part 1* (Washington, D.C., 1910), 338. Since the concept of membership varied from denomination to denomination, these statistics are only approximations. The Catholic Church counted all those baptized as members, while the Protestant churches had various definitions of membership.

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and said to him: "We represent the Federated Catholic Societies of the State. We are opposed to the phraseology of that tax bill; we ask that it be changed, otherwise we will go back and report to our societies." What was the reply? "Gentlemen, for Heaven's sake don't stir up a hornet's nest on this question. What changes do you want? We will be very glad to make them." *

This incident vividly reflected the power which the Roman Catholic Church now exercised in New Jersey. A few decades earlier concern about stirring up such a "hornet's nest" would not have been cause for alarm on the part of Protestant politicians.

The struggle over sumptuary legislation represented yet another confrontation of native and immigrant cultures. The enforcement of Sunday laws especially rankled among the Germans and Irish, and precipitated a rebellion against Puritan rule. As late as 1878 the ten thousand descendants of the original settlers of Newark were said to exercise controlling influence over the "general habits, customs, character, and government of the community, even though it now includes in its population of 120,000 about 70,000 inhabitants either born in foreign lands or of foreign parentage." The following year, however, a revolt took place on the issue of Sunday enforcement which resulted in the election of a liberal mayor of German descent. The insurrection began in July, 1879, when a mass meeting was held to protest the "tyranny of the law and order people." With the city's most prominent German citizens as leaders, a central committee and ward organizations were formed to campaign against the "blue laws." Parades were held with thousands of marchers and floats and wagons to demonstrate in favor of "personal liberty." In the November elections, William H. F. Fiedler, the candidate of the liberal Germans, won by an overwhelming majority over his Republican opponent who was pledged to strict enforcement of the Sunday laws. His victory

* Leahy, *Catholic Church of the Diocese of Trenton,* 179-180.

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signified the rise of the "hyphenates" to power in Newark and the eclipse of the reign of the old stock. Similar uprisings in other New Jersey cities also resulted in the overthrow of the old regime.*

The crusade against "demon rum" which had slackened during the Civil War regained momentum as the century drew to a close. The saloon was viewed with horror by the evangelical Protestant not only as the cause of depravity and sin, but as the source of political corruption by which the Irish "bosses," and, hence, the Catholic Church, ruled the cities. To the nativist, "rum and Romanism" were the two sides of the base coin of immigration. There was no question but that the liquor trade in New Jersey was largely in the hands of the foreign element, as manufacturers, wholesalers, and retailers. In 1900, of 3810 saloonkeepers in the state, 3437 were of foreign stock, while of the 3610 bartenders, 2792 were of foreign stock, for the most part German and Irish. While rural Jersey had its taverns, the urban areas were especially well furnished with saloons. Hudson County alone had nearly two thousand saloons.**

Excessive drinking was both a cause and effect of the many social problems which assailed the immigrant workingclass. Employers, like Abram Hewitt of the Trenton Iron Company, opposed the saloon because they believed it responsible for undermining the character of the workers, making them less efficient and reliable. But manufacturers may also have supported the temperance forces because the saloon was the center of labor resistance. The "drink question," however, was not discussed on its merits, but became a highly emotional issue. On the one side were the Protestant evangelical churches with their temperance societies and publications whose ultimate objective was prohibition,

* Urquhart, *History of the City of Newark,* I, 555; II, 825; III, 233.

** U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Occupations at the Twelfth Census,* 338-339; Sackett, *Modern Battles of Trenton,* II, 217; Andrew Sinclair, *Era of Excess* (Paper ed.; New York, 1964), 64-71.

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on the other side were the liquor interests and the "drinking public." The Catholic and Jewish churches while preaching temperance and voluntary abstinence were opposed to legal prohibition.*

During the 1880's, the Prohibition Party made increasing gains at the expense of the Republicans in New Jersey. To satisfy the rising tide of temperance sentiment, the Republican legislature in 1888 enacted a local option–high license act which provided that saloons could be barred in a county by a referendum or they could be licensed at fees ranging from $100 to $500. Within a few months the dry forces had scored victories in local option elections in half a dozen southern and western counties. These events caused the "wildest excitement in bar rooms all over the state," and aroused an outcry against "blue law" tyranny. In the fall elections, the Democrats with the generous support of the State Liquor Dealers' Association won control of both houses of the legislature. Despite the denunciation of the "entrenched rum power" by the churchmen, the offending act was promptly repealed. This episode revealed the power of the "wet" immigrant vote in New Jersey politics.**

The Anti-Saloon League emerged in the nineties as the spearhead of the prohibition movement. In New Jersey, the League became the political arm of the evangelical churches in their struggle against the saloon. That the Sunday closing law was being violated with impunity in the cosmopolitan cities of the state was a cause of particular distress to the temperance people. In 1906, an extraordinary meeting took place in Trenton, an interdenominational conference of churchmen attended by Catholic and Episcopal bishops, ministers representing various denominations, and officials of the Anti-Saloon League. The purpose of the conference was

* Nevins, *Abram Hewitt,* 476, 535; Sinclair, *Era of Excess,* 64-82; James Kerney, *The Political Education of Woodrow Wilson* (New York, 1926), 464.

** Sackett, *Modern Battles of Trenton,* I, 285-291.

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to consider remedies for the abuses connected with the liquor trade. Its recommendations which were included in an omnibus measure known as the "Bishops' Bill" would forbid back rooms in saloons, impose heavy penalties for liquor sales to minors, require the windows of saloons to be uncovered on Sundays, and revoke licenses for violation of these restrictions.*

The hearings on the "Bishops' Bill" brought the proponents and opponents of the measure to Trenton in large numbers. Lobbyists from the New Jersey Brewers' Association and State Liquor Dealers' Association and delegations from the German-American Alliance protested that the bill would violate "personal liberty," while the agents of the Anti-Saloon League and Law and Order League and militant church and temperance groups demanded its enactment for the sake of religion and morality. While the combined religious forces of the state were not to be resisted, the bill as finally enacted provided a loophole for the liquor men by leaving the enforcement of removal of screens from saloons on Sunday to local officials. The result was that the law was either enforced or not enforced, depending on local sentiment. In Newark, Jersey City, and Atlantic City, for example, the saloons did just as brisk a business on Sundays as they ever had, despite the zeal of the Law Enforcement Department of the Anti-Saloon League. Yet the churchmen were determined that New Jersey would keep the Sabbath holy in law if not in practice. A bill introduced by an assemblyman from Hudson County which would have permitted Sunday baseball games aroused great excitement and was defeated.**

The Anti-Saloon League maintained an unrelenting offensive against the "rum power," pushing year after year for the adoption of a local option law as a means of "drying up" the state town by town. Crowds of partisans attended the hearings in the State House at which prominent citizens testified for or against the

* Sackett, *Modern Battles of Trenton,* II, 219-220, 227.
** Sackett, *Modern Battles of Trenton,* II, 220-224.

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measure. Year after year the bill went down to defeat, never receiving more than 12 votes out of a total of 60 in the assembly, nor more than 7 out of a total of 21 in the senate. The liquor issue was at the center of New Jersey politics during these years. The Democratic Party, for example, received substantial support from the brewers, and when Wilson's candidacy for governor was under consideration, Boss Smith warned, "Unless we can get the liquor interests behind the Doctor, we can't elect him." *

Wilson's election as governor was hailed by the temperance forces who expected him, as a good Presbyterian, to support their fight. Despite pressure from the Anti-Saloon League and the Presbyterian Synod of New Jersey, however, Wilson straddled the issue. He declared that while he was in favor of local option in principle, he was opposed to making a political issue of questions that were essentially moral and social! In exasperation, the Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League wrote to Wilson asserting that his organization represented 1200 churches in the state and that it was time for Wilson to realize that he was governor of all the people. New Jersey, however, had several thousand more saloons than churches. The immigrant "wets" were too numerous and too well organized for the native prohibitionists to make much headway in the state. The "drys" therefore, were jubilant when, in 1919, the Eighteenth Amendment established National Prohibition, but in New Jersey this was to be a Pyrrhic victory.**

World War I shattered the complacency of Americans with regard to the workings of the melting pot. The facile assumption that the European immigrants would be magically transmuted into American patriots was exploded by the passion with which the various ethnic

* Sackett, *Modern Battles of Trenton,* II, 228-231; Sinclair, *Era of Excess,* 146.

** Kerney, *Political Education of Woodrow Wilson,* 186-189; Sinclair, *Era of Excess,* 147; Edge, *Jerseyman's Journal,* 132-134.

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groups rallied to the support of their respective fatherlands. Although President Wilson appealed to the American people to be "impartial in thought as well as in action," the war, as Randolph Bourne observed, "has set every one vibrating to some emotional string twanged on the other side of the Atlantic." Nor were the old-stock Americans themselves free from the sway of "hyphenism"; their strong sympathies with the Allied cause stemmed in part from ties of culture and ancestry with the British. These Anglo-Americans, however, were shocked to discover that, rather than an homogenous people, America was a congeries of hyphenate groups. Raising the standard of "100 Per Cent Americanism," super-patriots like Theodore Roosevelt denounced the "hyphenates" and demanded undivided loyalty to the United States, while at the same time identifying the cause of England with that of Civilization. President Wilson himself, in 1915, attacked the German- and Irish-Americans for supporting the Central Powers, but these groups believed that the Administration was pro-British.*

New Jersey with its polyglot population was especially beset with ethnic strife during the years when the official policy of the United States was neutrality. While large segments of its population, those of British, Slavic, and Italian ancestry, tended to favor the Allies, several of the largest ethnic groups were partisans of the Central Powers. These included the Germans and Austro-Hungarians who had strong attachments to their homelands, the Irish out of hatred for the English which was further inflamed by the brutal suppression of the Easter Rebellion of 1916 and the execution of Sir Roger Casement, and the Eastern European Jews because of their abhorrence of the Tsarist regime. Through their press and fraternal and political organizations, these ethnic groups

* Louis L. Gerson, *The Hyphenate in Recent American Politics and Diplomacy* (Lawrence, Kansas, 1964), 62-72; Randolph Bourne, "Trans-National America," in *War and the Intellectuals: Collected Essays, 1915-1919,* edited by Carl Resek (New York, 1964), 107-123.

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issued pro-German propaganda just as the opposing groups served as outlets for Allied views. Some purchased German war bonds just as Allied sympathizers bought British and French war bonds. The Germans and Irish became increasingly critical of Wilson for what they regarded as violations of true neutrality in behalf of the Allies. In 1916, the Reverend Edward Flannery wrote to Joseph Tumulty that the Irish Catholic vote of New Jersey and other states had been alienated by the Administration's foreign policy. Meanwhile, the powerful German-American Alliance of New Jersey adopted a resolution denouncing Wilson, Theodore Roosevelt, and Elihu Root as pro-British. The disaffection of the Irish and Germans was a significant factor in the election of 1916 when Charles Evans Hughes, the Republican candidate, won New Jersey by a sizable plurality.*

The entry of the United States into the War in April, 1917, was quickly followed by the imposition of a "war orthodoxy," which stifled all criticism and dissent. The anti-German sentiment which had been aroused by British propaganda now became an hysterical hatred and fear of the "Huns." As a center of munitions manufacture and shipping, New Jersey was rife with rumors of espionage and sabotage, especially after the Black Tom explosion on the Jersey City waterfront, July 30, 1916. German-Americans and, to a lesser extent, other ethnic groups were the victims of vilification, persecution, ostracism, and mob violence. They were tarred and feathered, forced to kiss the flag, and driven out of business; their stores and homes were painted yellow; and they were taunted on the streets with cries of "Hun" and "Dirty German Spy!" Amateur agents spied on their German neighbors, and concocted fantasies of bomb plots and espionage rings. German-Americans were accused of placing powdered glass in food and Red Cross bandages, of spreading antiwar propaganda, and of sabotage in war

* Blum, *Joe Tumulty,* 94-99, 105-107; Child, *German-Americans in Politics,* 118-119; Field, *Halo Over Hoboken,* 62.

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industries. The animus against the Germans took extreme and absurd forms. Restaurants substituted American names for German dishes. The New Jersey Masons barred the use of German in lodge rituals, and many cities forbade the sale of German-language newspapers and magazines. In Hoboken, an ordinance was even proposed to prohibit speaking German for the duration of the war. The teaching of German was discontinued in public schools, and German books and music were placed on proscribed lists. After two hundred years the name of German Valley was changed to Long Valley.*

In the face of this vicious onslaught, the Germans vainly protested that they were good Americans. Large numbers of German-Americans served in New Jersey military units, and the German areas of the state were foremost in the purchase of Liberty Bonds and contributions to the Red Cross. Walter E. Edge, who was governor during the war, later recalled that the great majority of the state's Germans had been "loyal to the core." Their loyalty, however, offered no protection from irrational Germanophobia. In desperation some anglicized their names, and dropped out of German organizations. Singing societies and *Turn-Vereins* disbanded. The war affected even the German churches, which hastened to adopt the English language.** The blighting effect on German-American culture may perhaps be illustrated by the case of "Old man Schmidt" of Trenton which was cited by a vigilante organization as evidence of its effective work. Schmidt was quoted as having said:

Yah, ve Chermans ist fond of musik. I like musik, und mine

* Pietro di Donato, *Three Circles of Light* (New York, 1960), 56-57; Field, *Halo Over Hoboken*, 62-66; Emerson Hough, *The Web* (Chicago, 1919), 226-237; Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, 207-208; Carl Wittke, *German-Americans and the World War* in Ohio Historical Collections (Columbus, Ohio, 1936), V, 191; John P. Wall, *The Chronicles of New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1667-1931* (New Brunswick, 1931), 403-409; *New York Herald*, April 20, 21, 1918.

** Cunz, "Egg Harbor City," 28-29; Edge, *Jerseyman's Journal*, 108; Field, *Halo Over Hoboken*, 67.

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vife, she like it to. I haf der old violin vot I brot mit me from Chermany. I blay him a liddle always—old Cherman tunes—vot ist all I know. . . . Vell, I blay him not any more now. . . . Und I luf to blay, but all vot I know ist shust Cherman tunes—dat's all—so I don't blay any more. I have der old viddle avay put.*

The First World War left a legacy of bitterness among not only the German-Americans, but the Irish-Americans as well. Although the Irish were not subjected to persecution as were the Germans, many of them were not enthusiastic supporters of the war. But it was President Wilson's failure to support home rule for Ireland, contrary to his principle of self-determination, which especially incensed the Irish-Americans. Father John F. Ryan of Jersey City, for example, denounced Wilson for his position on the Irish question. The failure of the Treaty of Versailles to secure the port of Fiume for Italy alienated many Italian-Americans; Syrian-Americans, Greek-Americans, and other hyphenates were also opposed to provisions of the Treaty. These ethnic groups had the opportunity to express their displeasure in the Presidential election of 1920. Warren Harding's landslide victory in New Jersey can be attributed at least in part to this "politics of revenge." Tumulty was prophetic in his warning of the possible reaction to these expressions of ethnic nationalism: "Meetings in which Ireland is put before America, and in which the President of the United States is hissed, are bound to bring reactions that may possibly restore the evil days of Know-Nothingism and the A.P.A." In fact, the twenties did bring a resurgence of extreme nativism which was expressed in restrictive immigration legislation, Prohibition, and the Ku Klux Klan.**

Despite the anti-democratic tendencies of nativism

* Hough, *The Web,* 374.
** Blum, *Joe Tumulty,* 175-180; Gerson, *Hyphenate in Recent American Politics,* 96-108; Tumulty, *Woodrow Wilson,* 403.

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and the set-back represented by World War I, New Jersey remained an open society. This is clearly evident in the rapid rise of first- and second-generation Americans in the political structure of the state. In the nineteenth century Jerseymen enjoyed white manhood suffrage. The Constitution of 1844 removed the prohibition on office-holding by non-Protestants which had been imposed in 1776. Thereafter all naturalized citizens could not only vote, but might also aspire to elective office. Although immigrants were initially pawns in the hands of native politicians, they soon utilized the power of the ballot to advance their own interests and to elevate their own representatives to public office.

By 1880, for example, there were two foreign-born state senators, an Irishman and a German, and seven foreign-born assemblymen, two each from Ireland, Germany, and England, and one from Scotland. A decade later the New Jersey congressional delegation of seven members included William McAdoo, an Irishman, and Herman Lehlback, a German. There were also two Irishmen in the state senate, and five Irishmen, one German, and one Englishman in the assembly. For a time in the nineties New Jersey was represented in the United States Senate by a native of Ireland, William J. Sewell, and a son of Irish immigrants, James Smith, Jr. Men of foreign stock now took their place in the councils of state with the scions of the oldest and most distinguished Jersey families, the Stevens, the Frelinghuysens, the Stocktons, the Voorhees, and the Zabriskies.*

Politics in nineteenth-century New Jersey was largely an adjunct of business enterprise. Promoters, speculators, and financiers besieged City Hall and State House alike for charters of incorporation, franchises, tax exemptions, and various special privileges which would enhance their profits. For these favors, business interests were willing to pay handsomely in the form of retainers, jobs, or bribes. Because of their great resources, the railroad corporations became the dominant force in the political

* *New Jersey Legislative Manual, 1880, 1890.*

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life of the state. First the United Railroad Companies of New Jersey and later the Pennsylvania Railroad practically ruled the commonwealth. In the "Gilded Age," New Jersey became notorious as the "Mother of Trusts" because its incorporation laws permitted the formation of corporations with a minimum of restriction or regulation. By the turn of the century, as a student of New Jersey progressivism has written: "The domination of politics by corporation-machine alliances had reached its full flower in the little state lying between the cities of New York and Philadelphia." *

"Boss" rule was also characteristic of New Jersey politics. The complexities of an industrial urban society far outran the capacity of traditional political institutions to cope with the demands placed upon them. To fill this institutional vacuum there developed the political machine which was not bound by the legal or moral restraints of formal government. "Boss" rule meant simply the centralization of power in the hands of the leader who controlled the political organization. For the services of his political agents in the city council or state legislature, the "boss" received substantial fees from the corporations, liquor interests, or underworld. With these funds, the "boss" rewarded his followers, and bought votes, or less crudely, provided a variety of services and entertainments to his constituents which secured their loyalty at the polls. While political corruption and manipulation were not Irish inventions, the Irish politicos appeared to have an exceptional talent and zest for machine politics.**

The most powerful of the Irish "bosses" in the post-Civil War era was General William J. Sewell. In a "rags-to-riches" career, he rose from a member of a track gang to director of the Pennsylvania Railroad. As the Pennsy's

* Lane, *From Indian Trail to Iron Horse,* 323, 369-370; Tumulty, *Woodrow Wilson,* 23-24; Ransom E. Noble, Jr., *New Jersey Progressivism before Wilson* (Princeton, 1946), 3-10.

** McCormick, *History of Voting in New Jersey,* 151, 159-162; Noble, *New Jersey Progressivism,* 3-4.

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man in New Jersey, Sewell dominated the Republican Party like an "iron-willed Bismarck." While serving a decade in the state senate and two terms in the United States Senate, Sewell reportedly controlled his party's nominations for governor and other offices and determined the fate of bills before the state legislature. Sewell's henchman was also a native of Ireland, David Baird. As the "boss" of Camden County, Baird held the strategic office of sheriff for some years. It was Baird's task to produce great majorities for the Republican Party in Camden County to overcome the Democratic vote in the northeast, and he was very successful in doing so, importing floaters from Philadelphia when necessary. After Sewell's death in 1901, Baird succeeded him as "boss" of the Republicans in southern Jersey.*

The Democratic Party, however, was the party of most Irishmen, and its top leadership was even more Hibernian than that of the Republicans. Hudson County early became a factory of heavy Democratic pluralities, and the Horseshoe District of Jersey City was the nursery of the Irish politicians who engineered those pluralities. In the 1880's, Dennis McLaughlin, John P. Feeny, Patrick H. O'Neill, and Robert Davis, constituted the "Big Four" who ruled Jersey City. Unlike Sewell, the power of these politicos was not based in a corporation but in the grassroots ward organizations through which they had risen. During their reign, Hudson County was wide open with gambling houses, brothels, and saloons doing business seven days a week. McLaughlin had succeeded William J. McAvoy as the "boss" of Hudson County, but he shortly retired to look after his race track interests and was replaced by Bob Davis. The very archetype of the Irish politician, Davis had come at a tender age from the Emerald Isle and grown up in the tenement district of Jersey City. For two decades, Davis ruled the Democratic machine of Hudson County with a firm but

* Kerney, *Political Education of Woodrow Wilson*, 58; Noble, *New Jersey Progressivism*, 3-4; Sackett, *Modern Battles of Trenton*, I, 143; II, 16, 19-20, 349-350.

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paternal hand, meanwhile accumulating a fortune through his Jersey City Supply Company. Through the Robert Davis Association, he provided bread and circuses to his followers, sponsoring picnics, rallies, and balls, making generous contributions to priests, ministers, and rabbis alike, and providing coal, rent, jobs, and food to those in need.*

The power behind the throne, however, was Edward F. C. Young, President of the First National Bank of Jersey City and director of numerous utility and manufacturing companies. Politics made strange bedfellows indeed; this most respectable business executive of colonial stock was the ally (if not the master) of the Irish "boss." The funds to provide the benevolences of the Robert Davis Association and to buy elections came from Young and his associates. In return, the machine produced a city council, board of freeholders, and state legislators responsive to the business interests of its patrons. It was said of Young that: "His business and political and corporation attachments enabled him to put his hand upon the key-board of state politics whenever he desired, and to bring a response as often as he touched it." **

The "Big Boss" of the Democratic Party for several decades was James Smith, Jr. Born in Newark of Irish parents, Smith began his career as a clerk in his father's grocery store. From this humble origin he rose to a commanding position in the political and business life of New Jersey. He became the largest manufacturer of patent leather in the country, had extensive banking and utility interests, and was the publisher of two Newark newspapers. But it was in public life that he excelled; Richard Croker, the Tammany chieftain, said of him: "Jim Smith is the greatest one-man politician in the country." Starting as an alderman in Newark, his control

* Blum, *Joe Tumulty,* 7; Sackett, *Modern Battles of Trenton,* I, 305-310, 319; George C. Rapport, *The Statesman and the Boss* (New York, 1961), 30-31.

** Sackett, *Modern Battles of Trenton,* I, 418-420; II, 37.

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of the Democratic Party soon extended over the whole state. From 1895 on, Smith handpicked the Democratic candidates for Governor, including Wilson in 1910, a choice he lived to regret. Having served a term in the United States Senate in the nineties, Smith's desire to return to that body was frustrated by an ungrateful Wilson. Smith's lieutenant was his nephew, James R. Nugent, also an Irish Catholic. As chairman of the State Democratic Committee and "boss" of Essex County, Nugent, an able, well-educated man, was himself a power in the Democratic Party.*

Neither the British nor the Germans achieved such prominence in New Jersey politics as did the Irish. With the exception of an occasional seat in the legislature, the English and Scots, despite their advantages, were not successful in the political sphere. One reason was that a candidate of British ancestry could be counted on to draw the fire of the Irish. The defeat of two English-born Republican candidates for governor in 1871 and 1883 can be attributed at least in part to Irish Anglophobia. The Germans as well as the British tended to resent the political dominance of the Irish, and their alliance sometimes overcame the Celtic forces. James M. Paterson, a Scot who was elected to the state assembly from Newark, had close connections with the German colony as President of the Germania Fire Insurance Company and a director of the German Savings Bank, while an English ironworker, Frederick P. Rees, who was a popular Republican officeholder in Trenton, was a member of the Germania Republican Club and of the Liederkranz Singing Society. Because of Irish control of the Democratic Party, if for no other reason, the British were for the most part Republicans.**

* Kerney, *Political Education of Woodrow Wilson,* 18-19, 25, 35, 38; Link, *Wilson the Road to the White House,* 140-141; Rapport, *The Statesman and the Boss,* 28-29; Sackett, *Modern Battles of Trenton,* I, 437-438.

** *New Jersey Legislative Manual,* 1880, 1901; Sackett, *Modern Battles of Trenton,* I, 30.

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Although the Germans by force of numbers became an important political factor, they failed to attain the degree of political power enjoyed by the Irish. While German wards and districts elected men of their nationality as aldermen and assemblymen, even in a Teutonic city such as Hoboken "the Irish were in the seats of power." Following the Civil War, the Germans were largely alienated from the Republican Party by its temperance associations, but the Irish "bosses" had to be careful not to offend national pride by omitting to place German candidates on the Democratic ticket. In Hudson County, for example, it became an unwritten rule that the most important posts of mayor of Jersey City and county supervisor were to go to a German and an Irishman. One of the outstanding German political leaders in the late nineteenth century was Carl Lentz, "boss" of the Essex County Republican Party. A native of Bavaria, Lentz gained the rank of major and lost an arm in the Civil War. His political strength lay largely in the German community of Newark where he was an active member of all the singing societies and *Turn-Vereins*. Lentz wielded an iron discipline over the Republican county organization until a revolt of insurgents broke his power early in the twentieth century. The leading German figure in the Democratic Party of Newark was the brewer, Gottfried Krueger. Elected several times to the assembly and appointed lay judge of the Court of Errors and Appeals, he was very popular among the Germans. Krueger was also president of the Brewers' Association of Newark which exerted considerable influence on the Democratic Party. The congressional delegations from New Jersey contained few Germans. Herman Lehlback, a surveyor from Baden, who served three terms as Republican Congressman from Essex County, was one of the more notable of these.*

* Field, *Halo Over Hoboken,* 27; Rapport, *The Statesman and the Boss,* 74; Katzler, "The Germans in Newark," 1091, 1103; Noble, *New Jersey Progressivism,* 47-48; *New Jersey Legislative Manual, 1901;* Sackett, *Modern Battles of Trenton,* II, 113.

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Early in the twentieth century there was a revolt of progressives against the alliance of corporations and political machines which had exploited the people of New Jersey for several decades. Contrary to Professor Richard Hofstadter's dictum that the progressives were middle-class Protestants of native stock, much of the leadership in this reform movement came from men with immigrant and Catholic backgrounds. New Jersey's progressive movement can perhaps be dated from the election of Mark M. Fagan as mayor of Jersey City. Born of poor Irish Catholic parents, Fagan had grown up in the "Horseshoe" where he worked in his uncle's undertaking parlor. He knew at first hand the poverty and suffering of the immigrants, and being a Henry George man, he had some idea that the root of their problems lay in the corrupt relationships of business and politics. A man of great personal charm and popularity, Fagan accomplished the impossible in 1896 when he ran for freeholder in the Fifth Ward on the Republican ticket and won. In 1901 with the enthusiastic support of the Irish, Italians, and Catholic clergy, Fagan won the mayoralty contest over the Democratic candidate who was Edward F. C. Young's son-in-law! His victory was an expression of rebellion against the Young-Davis combine.*

Defying the Republican "boss" of Hudson County, Colonel Samuel D. Dickinson, Fagan brought a reform administration to Jersey City. With the assistance of a Maine Yankee, George L. Record, he attempted to curb the abuses of the railroads and utilities and to secure more equitable taxes on business properties. Fagan also launched a program of civic improvements, building much needed public schools, free dispensaries, and public baths, and providing free summer concerts. When Fagan and Record encountered legal obstacles to their program they carried the fight for reform to Trenton. Despite the combined opposition of the Democratic and

* Blum, *Joe Tumulty*, 9; Noble, *New Jersey Progressivism*, 12-19; Rapport, *The Statesman and the Boss*, 32; Sackett, *Modern Battles of Trenton*, II, 179-183.

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Republican machines, the scrappy Irish reformer was re-elected several times. He was finally defeated in 1908 by Henry Otto Wittpenn, who was also a reform-minded liberal. The son of German immigrant parents, Wittpenn, it was said, was "wearing a grocer's clerk's apron when he stepped into the politics of the county." Wittpenn proved himself to be an independent and honest mayor who carried on in the Fagan progressive tradition. Wittpenn was an unsuccessful contender for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination in 1910, and though he won the nomination as the party's candidate for governor in 1916 he was defeated in the fall election. Contemporaneously both Newark and Hoboken had Democratic mayors of German stock. Like Wittpenn, Jacob Haussling was born in America of immigrant parentage. He served as sheriff of Essex County before his election as mayor of Newark in 1906, an office to which he was re-elected a number of times. Adolph Lankering, a native of Germany and a cigar manufacturer, was a popular mayor of Hoboken for some years. A strong supporter of Wilson, Lankering was later rewarded by an appointment as postmaster of Hoboken.*

The progressive wing of the Republican Party of New Jersey known as the "New Idea" group brought together young insurgents from the immigrant districts and silk-stocking reformers to fight against "bossism" and corporation rule. In Essex County, the patrician element of the New England Society of the Oranges led by Everett Colby and Alden Freeman overthrew the Republican machine of "Boss" Lentz. From Passaic County to join in the struggle against "special interests" came Henry Marelli. The son of an Italian father and French mother, both silk workers in Paterson, Marelli had himself worked in the mills before attending Rutgers College and studying law. In his legal practice, Marelli

* Kerney, *Political Education of Woodrow Wilson,* 255; Rapport, *The Statesman and the Boss,* 74-75; Sackett, *Modern Battles of Trenton,* II, 179; *Scannell's New Jersey's First Citizens,* Volume II: *1919-1920,* 281, 573, 649.

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often argued in behalf of the strikers in cases arising from labor disputes, and during his terms in the assembly, he earned a reputation as an "anti-boss agitator." Together with Fagan and Record, these Republican progressives initiated many economic and social reforms at Trenton, most of which came to fruition in Wilson's administration.*

Not all the reformers were to be found in the Republican ranks; the progressive impulse was felt among Democrats as well. In the immigrant wards of Jersey City there was great enthusiasm for William Jennings Bryan in 1896 despite the disapproval by the conservative Democratic leadership of the "free silver heresy." From the political ferment of the troubled nineties there emerged a band of young Irish Catholics to do battle against the "corporation-machine alliances." Graduates of St. Peter's College, they rose through ward politics in Jersey City to seats in the city council, state legislature, and Congress. Although elected with the support of "Boss" Davis, men like Mark A. Sullivan, Charles P. Olwell, James A. Hamill, and Joseph P. Tumulty were not mere machine politicians; they were aggressive supporters of labor and reform legislation. Of this group, Tumulty was to achieve the greatest distinction as the private secretary to Woodrow Wilson. Raised in the Fifth Ward, the "Bloody Angle" of Jersey City, Tumulty imbibed politics with his mother's milk; his father, Philip Tumulty, was one of the first Irish Catholics elected to the state assembly. An effective orator and shrewd politician, Joseph Tumulty had achieved the leadership of the Hudson County delegation to the state legislature when he was chosen to serve as the future president's right-hand man.**

* Noble, *New Jersey Progressivism,* 44-48; Sackett, *Modern Battles of Trenton,* II, 201-208; U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations, *Final Report and Testimony,* III, 2529 ff.; "Henry Marelli Folder," Rutgers Alumni File, New Jersey Room, Rutgers University Library.

** Blum, *Joe Tumulty,* 8-14; Kerney, *Political Education of Woodrow Wilson,* 90; Rapport, *The Statesman and the Boss,* 32, 69; Tumulty, *Woodrow Wilson,* 1-7.

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The oustanding Irish progressive, however, was William Hughes of Paterson. Brought to America when very young, Hughes had worked in the silk mills as a reel boy and weaver. By dint of ambition and effort, he was able to secure an education and become a lawyer. The effectiveness and fervor with which he defended the union men during the frequent strikes made him a hero of the silk workers of Paterson. First elected to Congress from Passaic County in 1902, Hughes was one of the early progressive Democrats. In 1912 he was elected to the United States Senate and became a leading spokesman for the Wilson Administration in that body. A rough-hewn, blunt-spoken man, Hughes was respected and admired by President Wilson with whom he had considerable influence. Another Irish Catholic adviser and friend of Wilson was James Kerney, editor and publisher of the *Trenton Evening Times.* Kerney was a crusading journalist who made his newspaper an influential force in the public life of New Jersey.*

It was not Hughes or Tumulty, however, who was to be remembered as the most famous Irish politician in New Jersey, but Frank Hague. One biographer summed up Hague's career succinctly: "A ruthless, two-fisted, unscrupulous, unlettered Irishman, born with that political sense that his nationality seems generally to possess, he rose from the slums of Jersey City to command his city and his state." ** A product of the "Horseshoe," Hague learned his politics in the tough school of the Second Ward under the tutelage of Dennis McLaughlin. By the age of thirty, he had fought his way to the Democratic ward leadership. Here he built a powerful organization based on gratitude and fear. During the Depression of 1907, for example, Hague provided jobs and relief for the unemployed of the Second Ward, earning their undying fealty. Through his Tammanne Club the ward-

* Blum, *Joe Tumulty,* 48, 73; Kerney, *Political Education of Woodrow Wilson,* 309; Sackett, *Modern Battles of Trenton,* II, 313; *New Jersey Legislative Manual, 1910; Scannell's New Jersey First Citizens,* Volume II: *1919-1920,* 275-276.

** McKean, *The Boss,* 15.

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heelers, saloonkeepers, and rank-and-file were welded into an effective machine. Hague did not hesitate to use violence at the polls when necessary; in the election of 1910 he turned the police with blackjacks on his opponents.*

It was Hague's genius that while he was a thoroughgoing political "boss" he was able to pose as a reformer. Through a skillful exploitation of the Wilsonian reforms of the primary and the commission form of municipal government, Hague fastened an iron grip first on the political life of Hudson County and then on New Jersey. Following the adoption of the commission reform in Jersey City, Hague as the first commissioner of public safety established his reputation as a moral crusader by a tough drive against petty graft and vice. A devout Catholic, Hague received the influential support of the hierarchy because of his defense of public morality and because of his partiality to the Church. Elected mayor of Jersey City in 1917, he soon became the absolute master of the Democratic Party in the state. The enormous pluralities which his political steamroller produced for Democratic candidates in Hudson County were the basis of his power. For more than three decades, Hague was the dictator of Hudson County, the maker of governors, senators, and congressmen, and a force in the national Democratic Party. Hague thus for long represented the tradition of Irish domination of New Jersey politics which began shortly after the Civil War and continued until the middle of the twentieth century.** Yet despite the power of the Irish politicians (or perhaps because of it), no Roman Catholic had served as governor of this state prior to the election of Richard J. Hughes in 1961.

* McKean, *The Boss,* 21-37; Rapport, *The Statesman and the Boss,* 82-96.

** Edge, *Jerseyman's Journal,* 253-257; Kerney, *Political Education of Woodrow Wilson,* 129; McKean, *The Boss,* 48 ff.; Rapport, *The Statesman and the Boss,* 73, 179-199.

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VI

THE "NEW" IMMIGRATION

THE STATUE OF LIBERTY was erected in 1886 to welcome the multitudes arriving in New York Harbor. On its base were inscribed these lines by Emma Lazarus:

> Give me your tired, your poor,
> Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
> The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
> Send these, the homeless, the tempest-tost, to me!
> I lift my lamp beside the golden door.

An ever-increasing number of European immigrants accepted this generous, if haughty, invitation. Between 1891 and 1929 over twenty-two million newcomers entered the country. Not only was this influx unprecedented in volume, but it differed in ethnic character from the preceding immigration. From the nineties on, the rate of emigration from southern and eastern Europe rose rapidly, as that from northern and western Europe steadily declined. While some British, Irish, and Germans continued to come after 1900, they were greatly outnumbered by Italians, Eastern European Jews, Poles, Magyars, Slovaks, and other "new" immigrants.

The emigration from southern and eastern Europe was the result of profound demographic and economic changes which had taken place in the course of the nineteenth century. Foremost was the remarkable population increase, a doubling and more of the populations of Italy, Austria-Hungary, Poland, and Russia which

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brought many to the thinnest margin of subsistence. Toward the end of the century the industrial and communications "revolutions" disrupted the traditional agrarian societies of this region as they had earlier those of Western Europe. American grain, the factory system, increased rents, and higher taxes threatened the economic position of the peasants and artisans who comprised the bulk of the population. Meanwhile, the abolition of serfdom and improved transportation provided both the freedom and the means to move. While many turned to the rising industrial cities of Europe, more sought to improve their lot by coming to America.

Despite recurring depressions, these were on the whole years of extraordinary economic expansion in the United States when the demand for labor appeared insatiable. Various agencies conveyed this information to the remote villages of Slovenia, Galicia, and Calabria. The agents and posters of the steamship lines told of the fabulous wages to be earned in this Land of Promise. More convincing to the peasants was the "America letter" from a townsman or better yet, the return of an "American" in a new suit of clothes with money in his pockets. For many, the land across the ocean took on a mythical quality:

> In America one could make pots of money in a short time, acquire immense holdings, wear a white collar, and have polish on one's boots like a *gospod*—one of the gentry—and eat white bread, soup, and meat on weekdays as well as on Sundays, even if one were but an ordinary workman to begin with.*

At times the latent desire to emigrate became an irresistible impulse which swept a village or a district, and the inhabitants were said to be afflicted with "America fever."

From their towns and villages the emigrants made their way by ràilroad, donkey, or on foot to the great

* Louis Adamic, *Laughing in the Jungle* (New York, 1932), 5.

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ports of embarkation, Bremen, Hamburg, Naples. Subject to the wiles of innkeepers, steamship agents, and confidence men, the townsmen clung together anxious to be on the ship for America. With the exception of the Jews who emigrated in family groups, the "new" immigration was predominantly male in composition. Often the men came with the intention of returning to their native villages once their purses were full; while many did return, others remained and sent for their families to join them. The rapidity of travel by steamship also made possible a class of migratory workers called "birds of passage" who made numerous trips between their homelands and the United States. The steamship had eliminated many of the perils and discomforts of oceanic migration, but the voyage in steerage was still a nightmare with hundreds of immigrants crammed into narrow, stifling quarters. From 1891 on the great majority of the newcomers first touched American soil at Ellis Island, the Federal immigrant receiving station in New York Harbor. While legislation was enacted prohibiting the entry of convicts, lunatics, contract laborers, and anarchists among others, only a small fraction of those arriving were debarred. For the Europeans, at least, the "golden door" was still wide open.

The "new" immigration, however, was viewed with alarm by the nativists who thought that the southern and eastern Europeans constituted "inferior breeds," deficient in intelligence and moral character and therefore undesirable additions to the American republic. In *A History of the American People* published in 1902, Woodrow Wilson, President of Princeton University, expressed this Anglo-Saxon racism when he wrote of the "new" immigrants:

> now there came multitudes of men of the lowest class from the south of Italy and men of the meaner sort out of Hungary and Poland, men out of ranks where there was neither skill nor energy nor any initiative of quick intelligence; and they came in numbers which increased from year to year, as if the countries of the south of Europe were disburdening

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themselves of the more sordid and hapless elements of their population, the men whose standards of life and of work were such as American workmen had never dreamed of hitherto.*

Wilson added that the Chinese were more desirable "than most of the coarse crew that came crowding in every year at eastern ports." After several decades of agitation this racist ideology was embodied in the discriminatory quotas of the immigration legislation of the 1920's. The nativist victory, however, came too late by their standards, for millions of southern and eastern Europeans had already become a permanent part of the nation's population.

The "new" immigration was a major factor in New Jersey's high rate of population growth in the twentieth century. Between 1900 and 1930 the state's inhabitants increased from less than two million to just over four million; during these decades New Jersey realized a net gain of almost 664,000 foreign-born residents. Ranking fifth, after New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Illinois, in terms of immigrants received, the Garden State was one of the chief destinations of the newcomers. By 1910, 26 per cent of New Jersey's population was foreign born, and the greater part of the recent arrivals came from south of the Alps and east of the Elbe. While the Germans were still most numerous, the Italians were a close second, followed by the Irish, Poles, British, and East European Jews. Despite the war and the immigration legislation, New Jersey experienced a considerable increment of southern and eastern Europeans between 1910 and 1930. By the later year the Italians had become the largest foreign group in the state, outnumbering

* Quoted in Gerson, *Hyphenate in Recent American Politics,* 62. During his campaigns for the governorship and the Presidency these derogatory comments were effectively used against Wilson by his opponents. Wilson the politician strenuously refuted these slanders on the "new" immigrants which Wilson the scholar had written. Link, *Wilson the Road to the White House,* 187, 381-385.

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the Germans by a wide margin in both the foreign-born and native-of-foreign-parentage columns. The other major ethnic groups were the British, Polish, Yiddish, Hungarian, Slovak, and Russian. By 1930 perhaps as much as one-third of New Jersey's people was of southern and eastern European ancestry.*

Although the majority of the "new" immigrants had tended the land in Europe, few of them took to farming in New Jersey. Real estate promoters, farmers, philanthropists, and state officials, all tried to divert the stream of immigration to the sparsely populated pine barrens of south Jersey, but with little success. The newcomers headed for industrial cities where jobs were more abundant and wages higher than in the rural areas. The immigrant continued to be a key figure in the state's economic growth. As the New Jersey Commission on Immigration declared in 1914:

> He has become more and more a force in our economic life and an important element in our increasing industrial activities. As soon as he arrives in the State, he becomes a producer as well as a consumer. His labor is needed on the farm, in the factory, in the construction of railroads, on public works and in mines.**

New Jersey's expanding industries, textiles, garment manufacture, electrical goods, machinery, clay products, chemicals, and oil refining, required tens of thousands of new workers each year; the "new" immigrants supplied most of these.

While there were employers such as Abram Hewitt who refused to hire Hungarians, Slavs, or Italians, most

* New Jersey Commission on Immigration, *Report* (Trenton, 1914), 12-13; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: 1940,* II, *Characteristics of the Population, Part 4,* 829; *Census of Population: 1960,* I, *Characteristics of the Population, Part 32, New Jersey* (Washington, D.C., 1963), 161.

** N.J. Commission on Immigration, *Report,* 14.

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manufacturers felt no compunction about replacing native or "old" immigrant labor with southern and eastern Europeans. New machinery and the system of mass production were making it possible to substitute low-wage, unskilled workers for organized, skilled labor. In the textile mills, the power loom permitted the employment of green hands and women rather than experienced weavers, while the Bessemer and open-hearth furnaces required brawn rather than craft. These technological changes created a demand for the cheap, docile agricultural immigrants. New Jersey employers stationed agents at Castle Garden, and later Battery Park, to recruit these European peasants fresh off the boat or placed an order with one of the many labor bureaus in New York City which supplied immigrant labor.*

In industry after industry, the displacement of workers of native and "old" immigrant stock by the "new" immigrants took place. A survey of the manufacturing labor force on the eve of the First World War revealed that 49.5 per cent of the employees were of foreign birth. The percentage varied from industry to industry, from 59.9 per cent in textiles to 41.3 per cent in electrical and metal goods. Over 60 per cent of all the immigrant workers, however, were from Austria-Hungary, Italy, Russia, and the Balkans, while the balance were from the British Isles, Germany, and Scandinavia. The silk mills of Paterson, for example, which had long been the province of English, German, and Irish warpers and weavers, by 1910 contained representatives of some thirty nationalities; but the Italians, Polish Jews, and Poles, were now the predominant groups. Passaic's woolen and worsted workers were even more polyglot than the silk workers. The German firms which established their mills here in the 1890's brought immigrants directly from Ellis Island to Passaic. With the exception of a number of German and English mechanics and supervisors, the labor force was almost entirely composed of Poles, Hun-

* Erickson, *American Industry and the European Immigrant,* 123-136; Nevins, *Abram Hewitt,* 430, 594.

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garians, Italians, Russian Jews, and smaller Slavic groups.*

Meanwhile, the Italians, Slavs, and Hungarians were taking over the heavy, dirty outdoor work from the Irish. Sewer digging, excavation, and railroad labor soon became a practical monopoly of the Italian gangs, while Poles and Hungarians furnished the labor for the brickyards and clay pits of Woodbridge, Sayreville, and South River. When the manager of the iron mines at Hibernia and Wharton was asked: "What people compose your working force?" his reply was, "Magyars, Slovaks, and Poles. They have replaced the English, Welsh, and Scotch." ** The tanneries and leather factories of Newark also came to be manned by Poles, Italians, and Greeks. In Trenton, the iron- and steelworks and potteries which had employed native and "old" immigrant workmen, now had thousands of southern and eastern Europeans on their payrolls. The Hungarians were especially valued because of their strength and stamina, and they were said to staff entire departments at the Roebling Mills and Trenton Iron Works.†

This ethnic succession did not take place without conflict. The older workers resented the intrusion of the foreigners into their occupational domains. The use of southern and eastern Europeans as strikebreakers especially provoked the Irish, British, and Germans who vented their fury on the "scabs." These initial encounters laid the basis for long-lasting hostility between the "old" and the "new" immigrant stocks. While employers did

* N.J. Commission on Immigration, *Report,* 47-50; Wood, "History of Labor in the Broad-Silk Industry of Paterson," 74-78; Philip C. Newman, "The I.W.W. in New Jersey, 1912-1913" (Unpublished master's thesis, Columbia University, 1940), 12; Robert W. Dunn and Jack Hardy, *Labor and Textiles* (New York, 1931), 101.

** Peter Roberts, *The New Immigration* (New York, 1913), 56.

† Leahy, *Catholic Church of the Diocese of Trenton,* 209, 212; John S. Merzbacher, *Trenton's Foreign Colonies* (Trenton, 1908), 19, 123; Richard D. La Guardia, "Trenton Citizens of Foreign Origin," in Trenton Historical Society, *A History of Trenton, 1679-1929* (2 vols.; Princeton, 1929), II, 934.

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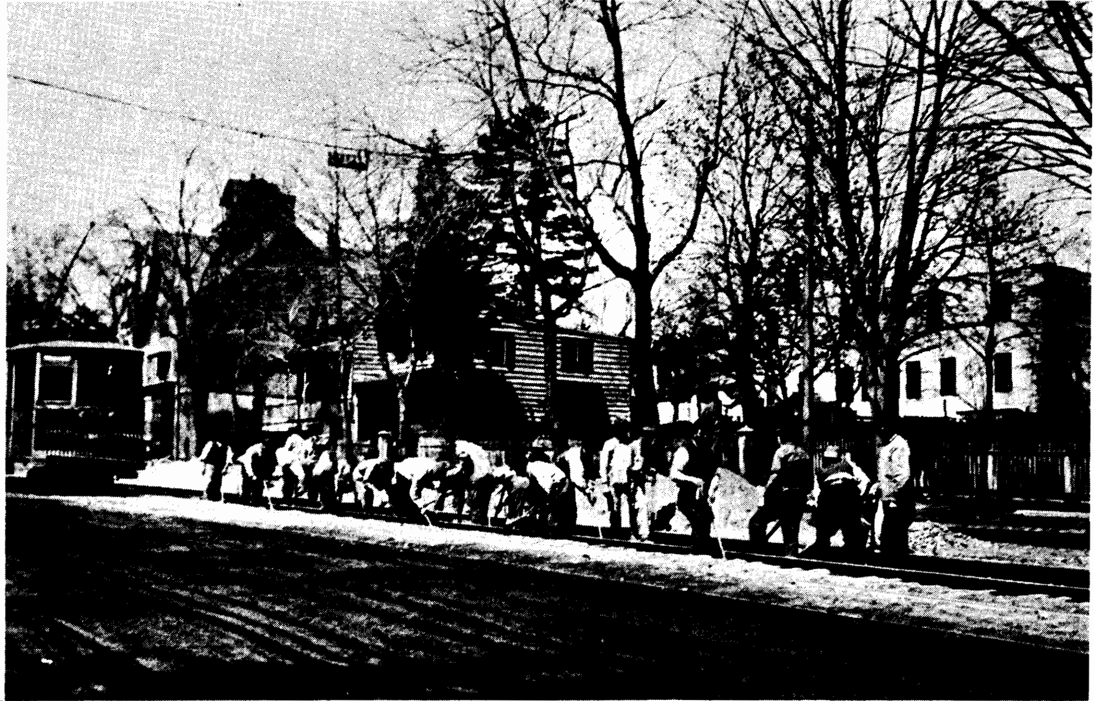

Italian Laborers Constructing a Streetcar Line in Irvington, c. 1910
Courtesy of the Newark Public Library

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on occasion use foreign labor as a club with which to beat down wages, break strikes, and disrupt trade unions, the skilled workers tended to make the immigrant the scapegoat for all their grievances. Rendered insecure by technological innovations, the craftsmen decried the employment of "pauper labor" imported by corporations to "displace the well-paid workman [and] . . . to lower the standard of wages and the level of American citizenship. . . ." As Terence V. Powderly, Grand Master Workman of the Knights of Labor, asserted in 1892:

> Corporate greed is alone responsible for the sweeping tide of immigration now flowing in upon us. . . . The steamship dumps its human freight on our shores and takes its profits; the corporation reaps the benefit of the immigrants' presence by having its labor performed for half nothing; the poor immigrant lives but twenty-four hours ahead of the poorhouse, the man he displaces becomes a tramp. . . .*

In reality, the Italians, Poles, and Hungarians were not being imported as contract laborers, and the machine rather than the unskilled laborer constituted the threat to the mechanic. Nonetheless, the Knights of Labor secured the passage of the Foran Act in 1885, which prohibited the importation of labor under contract, in a futile attempt to stem the tide of the "new" immigration. Henceforth, organized labor was a major proponent of immigration restriction aimed primarily at the southern and eastern Europeans. Ethnic prejudice rather than economic considerations determined this anti-immigration policy. The trade unionists, themselves usually of "old" immigrant stock, shared the nativist animosity toward the "dagos," "polacks," "bohunks," and "sheenies." **

The "American" worker displaced by the immigrant was less likely to become a tramp than to move up to a supervisory or technical position. In an expanding

* Terence V. Powderly, *The Path I Trod*, edited by Harry J. Carman and others (New York, 1940), 410.

** Erickson, *American Industry and the European Immigrant*, 184-186.

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economy, the effect of the abundant supply of foreign labor was to push the English-speaking, assimilated elements up the occupational ladder. The sons of Irish longshoremen, for example, were not following their fathers' calling, but leaving the docks to the Italians and becoming policemen, firemen, clerks, and so on. Industry in New Jersey developed a rough caste system in which ethnic origin largely determined one's position in the occupational hierarchy. Native white Americans tended to dominate the managerial and white-collar jobs, while the British, Irish, and Germans occupied the middle ranks as foremen and mechanics. At the bottom of the pyramid doing the most laborious, disagreeable, and poorly paid work were the "new" immigrants and, later, the Negroes. While there were exceptions, it was not simple for the individual to escape his ethnic category.*

Certain types of work became designated as "dago" or "hunky" jobs, and no self-respecting "white man" would degrade himself by accepting such employment. The term "white men" was used in labor discussions at this time to differentiate the "fair-skinned" northern and western Europeans from the "swarthy" southern and eastern Europeans. A longshore foreman, for example, said that "one 'white man' is as good as two or three Italians," but that since it was impossible to get "white men" he was forced to hire Italians.** Most employers claimed that they would prefer to employ native Americans, but as one manufacturer explained:

> . . . you cannot . . . secure the services of native-born persons to work in the mills, as the general feeling is abroad that native-born persons should be the bosses or should work in an office or in some superior position, but not mill work; consequently this leaves the field entirely open to newcomers with very few exceptions.†

* Berthoff, *British Immigrants in Industrial America,* 44; Barnes, *The Longshoremen,* 8, 12.

** Barnes, *The Longshoremen,* 7-9.

† N.J. Commission on Immigration, *Report,* 49, 51.

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Since the "new" immigrants soon formed the bulk of the industrial proletariat, one might have expected that the labor movement would have become their shield and buckler against oppression. "Racial" and religious diversity, however, was a formidable obstacle to working-class solidarity. "American" workmen opposed the employment of southern and eastern Europeans in "their" shops and trades, and tormented those who violated the unwritten law. A Russian Jew, one of the first to work at the Singer sewing machine factory in Elizabeth at a time when the majority of its employees were German, recalled: "A Russian was heartily disliked, while a Russian Jew was violently hated. We suffered far more from the workers themselves than from the foremen." * Employers were not above exploiting ethnic rivalries among their workers, following the axiom of divide and conquer. Not only was it simple to drive a wedge between the "old" and "new" immigrants, but Old World prejudices between gentile and Jew, Pole and Ukranian, North and South Italian, could be played upon to set worker against worker. Yet on occasion the foreign laborers were able to transcend barriers of language and culture and to unite in a common struggle for a better life.**

Because of their "job-conscious" mentality, the trade unionists of New Jersey did not welcome the immigrants as fellow workers, but regarded them with hostility as potential competitors. Pursuing a conservative policy of business unionism, the State Federation of Labor concerned itself only with promoting the material interests of its members. Labor organization was limited to the skilled trades in building, transportation, and industry. Since the mass of the southern and eastern Europeans was employed at semiskilled and unskilled labor in the mass production industries, they fell outside the ken of the trade unions. Only the artisans among

* Tcherikower (ed.), *The Early Jewish Labor Movement*, 309-310.

** Albert Weisbord, *Passaic* (Workers [Communist] Party, 1926), 4, 43.

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the newcomers, such as bricklayers and stonecutters, were reluctantly admitted to membership in order to maintain the union scale. In some cases, however, a prohibitive initiation fee was imposed on foreign craftsmen to prevent them from following their trade in union shops. The small minority of organized workers, for the most part of native and "old" immigrant stock, constituted a kind of aristocracy of labor, enjoying much higher wages and better conditions than the average factory hand. Craft and ethnic pride caused the trade unionists to remain aloof from the peasants of southern and eastern Europe.*

The "new" immigrants arrived at a time when American industrial capitalism was in full bloom, driving relentlessly for maximum production and profits. Labor was just another commodity to be purchased as cheaply as possible and to be exploited as efficiently as possible. The newscomers soon discovered that the America of their dreams was an illusion. The "almighty dollar" was to be earned only by the most exhausting labor. While hard work was not new to such as these, the man-killing pace of industry drove them to their limit. If wages were higher than in the Old Country, so was the cost of living. Industrial casualties were especially numerous among the recent immigrants. Failure to provide safety devices against hazards to life and limb was in part due to the attitude that the victims were after all only "dagos" or "polacks." Among the textile workers, there was an extraordinarily high rate of deaths from tuberculosis. Although New Jersey was among the first states to enact an employers' liability act, it still remained difficult and costly for an injured worker or his family to secure compensation.**

Just prior to World War I it was estimated that an

* M. De Ciampis, "Storia del Movimento Socialista Rivoluzionario Italiano," *La Parola del Popolo, Cinquantesimo Anniversario, 1908-1958,* IX, 158.

** Dunn, *Labor and Textiles,* 146; Weisbord, *Passaic,* 18; Commons, *History of Labour in the United States,* III, 588; Pietro di Donato, *Christ in Concrete* (Indianapolis, Ind., 1937), *passim.*

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annual income of from $800 to $900 was required for an average family to maintain an "American standard" of health and decency. At this time, few of the "new" immigrants were earning as much as $500 a year. The average weekly wages in some of their most common occupations were $7-$8 for hod-carriers and laborers, $8-$9 for textile workers, and $9-$10 for longshoremen. By practicing severe self-denial, male immigrants were not only able to survive on such meager earnings, but even send money to their families in the Old Country. The bootblack in Newark who sent $183 to his sister in Greece for a dowry was exemplifying a common virtue among the newcomers. From New Jersey alone, it was estimated that the immigrants transmitted at least ten million dollars annually to Europe.*

The immigrant families, however, could scarcely subsist on the wages of the father, to say nothing of maintaining an "American standard of living." A grinding poverty was the common lot of most southern and eastern Europeans. Necessity required that all members of the family contribute to its support as soon as able. The Commission on Immigration observed:

> The wage of the immigrant worker is usually near the bottom of the industrial scale, while his family is large; consequently the fear of poverty leads him to make capital as quickly as possible out of the earning capacity of his children.**

Many children were employed in the textile mills, tobacco factories, and glassworks of New Jersey, and the great majority were of immigrant parentage. Even with the enactment of a child labor law in 1904, the children of immigrants usually began work at the age of fourteen, if not sooner. Need as well as avarice caused their parents to send their offspring into the factories at a tender age.†

* Barnes, *The Longshoremen,* 7, 92; Newman, "The I.W.W. in New Jersey," 8, 23; N.J. Commission on Immigration, *Report,* 54, 79.

** N.J. Commission on Immigration, *Report,* 113.

† Newman, *Labor Legislation of New Jersey,* 81-85; Olindo Marzulli, *Gl'Italiani di Essex* (Newark, 1911), 45.

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Industrial home work was another expedient of the immigrant family in its struggle to eke out an existence. Many homes in the tenements of Newark and Jersey City were also workshops in which families labored at sewing garments, making cigars, artificial flowers, and other products. By working long hours in these dimly lit, poorly ventilated tenement shops, the immigrants earned a few dollars a week. It was not until 1941 that the New Jersey Legislature saw fit to abolish most kinds of home work. To help pay the rent many immigrant families also took in boarders, a practice which not only caused unhealthy overcrowding but was also the cause of not a few domestic tragedies. During periods of depression, the "new" immigrants were the first to be fired and having few savings, many soon became destitute and dependent on charity. At such times, thousands returned to their native villages, but the majority remained and suffered cold and hunger until the wheels began to turn again in the factories and mills.*

The disadvantages under which the southern and eastern Europeans labored were summed up by the Commission on Immigration:

> With little or no knowledge of the English language, the alien remains unacquainted with the legal and social institutions of the State and is in constant danger of breaking laws of which he is ignorant, and of being exploited by the many individuals and agencies ready to prey upon his ignorance.**

The greenhorns were certainly considered fair game by most employers, politicians, labor bosses, and functionaries. It was said that most immigrants arrived with three assets: a sound physique, an average of fifty dollars, and hope; but not long after leaving Ellis Island many lost both money and hope. Their first experiences often left the newcomers deeply suspicious and cynical about America.

* Newman, *Labor Legislation of New Jersey*, 109-111; N.J. Commission on Immigration, *Report*, 18; Wilson, *Outline History of N.J.*, 156.

** N.J. Commission on Immigration, *Report*, 15, 22.

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More often than not the recent immigrants were swindled and exploited by their more experienced countrymen. Hotels which catered to particular nationalities were often traps where the unwary were fleeced. In the various ethnic colonies, there were a host of private "bankers" to whom the workers entrusted their savings for deposit or remittance abroad. Not infrequently these banks failed because of mismanagement or fraud; in 1911 alone some two hundred thousand dollars was lost in such failures. Lacking free state employment offices, the immigrants were dependent on private labor bureaus which charged excessive fees and often misrepresented the wages and conditions of work. It was not an isolated instance when some Hungarian coal miners were separated from their life savings buying barren land in south Jersey at exorbitant prices. When seeking work, the greenhorns soon learned that a "gift" to the foreman enhanced their chances of being hired, and that periodic contributions insured steady employment. Among the Italian laborers, this form of extortion became known as the padrone system. The Italian padrone mulcted the workers under his control in endless ways. Another form of the padrone system was practiced by the Greeks who operated shoeshine parlors. Boys brought from Greece were worked long hours, housed in unsanitary quarters, given poor food, and paid $20 or less a month, while the proprietors pocketed their earnings. Meanwhile, Russian Jewish clothing contractors were "sweating" their profits out of their *landsmen*. In dealing with public officials, the foreigners discovered that in order to get a peddler's license, a streetsweeping job, or simple justice it was necessary to grease the palm of a functionary. The alert immigrant soon decided America was a jungle in which the strong devoured the weak; if so, better to be a lion than a lamb.*

Little official cognizance was taken of the conditions

* Barnes, *The Longshoremen*, 6, 83, 89-90; N.J. Commission on Immigration, *Report*, *passim;* United States Immigration Commission, *Abstracts of Reports* (2 vols.; Washington, D.C., 1911), II, 371-437.

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and problems of these hundreds of thousands of newcomers by the State of New Jersey. Governor Wilson did appoint a Commission on Immigration, but the legislature failed to make an appropriation to finance its investigation. Only private contributions permitted it to carry on its work. In its report the Commission called upon the State to take a more active and intelligent interest in the protection of its foreign-born residents:

> While the general indifference to the welfare of the immigrant and to the State's relation to him, which has hitherto prevailed, will not prevent the eventual assimilation and rise of the alert intelligent individual, yet the recognition and elimination of the abuses to which the alien is subject, and which are keeping him isolated from the American community and retarding his progress, will be of inestimable value, not only to the average immigrant but to the exceptional individual as well.*

The Commission's recommendation, however, that New Jersey establish a state bureau of immigration as several other states had done was ignored, as were most of its other conclusions.

During the Progressive years, reform measures were enacted which ameliorated some of the worst abuses of industrial society. Labor legislation such as a child labor law, an employers' liability act, and a factory safety measure, provided a degree of protection for the immigrant workers. Similarly a tenement house law promised to establish a standard of minimum decency in urban housing. Legal loopholes and inadequate provision for enforcement, however, largely nullified the effectiveness of these statutes. By a law of 1907, New Jersey was the first state to encourage the provision of evening classes for the foreign-born in English and citizenship. While the larger cities did establish evening schools, they enrolled only a small percentage of the immigrants. Men exhausted after a long day's labor

* N.J. Commission on Immigration, *Report,* 15, 21.

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found it difficult to see the value of being able to say, "The house is red," in any language. Anxiety over the loyalty of the "hyphenates" at the time of World War I caused an increased emphasis on Americanization classes, but with indifferent results. Although some profited greatly from the evening schools, most of the immigrants learned what English they knew on the streets and in the factories.*

None of this legislation, however, attacked the immigrants' basic problems of economic insecurity and exploitability. Such reforms as unemployment and old age insurance, minimum wage and maximum hour standards, and collective bargaining, were still decades in the future. New Jersey's political climate remained too conservative for such advanced measures to receive serious consideration. An alliance of business and farm groups effectively stymied any laws which might result in higher labor costs. The fact that the "new" immigrants were still politically impotent also serves to explain the failure to remedy the oppressive conditions under which they lived and worked. It was simple for "Americans" to blame these conditions on the ignorance and depravity of the southern and eastern Europeans.

In the face of public neglect and private indifference, the "new" immigrants were left to their own slender resources. Their protests against brutal exploitation are written into New Jersey's tumultuous history of labor struggles during the first third of the twentieth century. In 1912, for example, 90 per cent of the workers involved in the strikes were reported to be non-English-speaking foreigners; the following year, 80 per cent. Despite their lack of organization strikes erupted spontaneously among the immigrant workers when one out-

* Commons, *History of Labour in the United States,* III, 406, 588; Newman, *Labor Legislation of New Jersey,* 5-7, 10, 85, 93-111; Sackett, *Modern Battles of Trenton,* II, 147; Edith E. Wood, *The Housing of the Unskilled Wage Earner* (New York, 1919), 83-84; N.J. Commission on Immigration, *Report,* 120-121; Harold S. Ritchie, "Education of Foreign-Born Adults in the Public Schools of the Three Largest Cities of New Jersey 1907-1955" (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Rutgers University, 1956), 21, 71, 87.

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rage too many released their pent-up resentments. The Italian laborers, for example, who were much abused in construction and railroad work, were frequently engaged in labor disputes. One strike of excavators in Passaic in 1906 resulted in a riot with the police, firemen, and citizens fighting the laborers. On the Jersey waterfront, where the Italians were rapidly replacing the Irish, they readily joined the longshoremen unions and participated in strikes. The great strike of 1907 was precipitated by the protest of the Italians against the tyranny of the foremen. The hiring of strikebreakers and private detectives by the steamship companies resulted in bloody battles on the Jersey docks. When a "deputy sheriff" was killed at Edgewater, 12 Italian coal handlers were charged with his murder, but later released.*

Meanwhile, the Poles and Hungarians waged hard fought strikes in the brick factories and clay mines of Woodbridge and Perth Amboy. These nationalities were also involved in the fierce struggles at the Bayonne Standard Oil plant in 1915 and 1916 during which 13 strikers were killed by police and company guards. New Brunswick was a center of cigar manufacturing, and Hungarian women and girls were the predominant element in the labor force. A strike and lockout in 1909, with rioting in the streets, was but the first of a series of revolts against the abominable conditions in the cigar factories. As late as 1929 the pastor of the Hungarian Reformed Church compared these conditions to slavery. With the power of the police and the courts on the side of the employers, the strikes of these years were generally unsuccessful, but they gave the lie to the alleged docility of the "new" immigrants and perhaps deterred the bosses from yet more cruel exactions.**

* N.J. Commission on Immigration, *Report,* 72; Federal Writers' Project, *New Jersey Guide,* 347; Barnes, *The Longshoremen,* 7, 12, 106-120; De Ciampis, "Storia del Movimento Socialista," 158.

** Federal Writers' Project, *New Jersey Guide,* 84, 204; Wilson, *Outline History of N.J.,* 161-163; Francis R. Lyons, "History of Labor Developments in New Brunswick" (Unpublished master's thesis, Rutgers University, 1949), 14, 19, 30, 33.

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In New Jersey, the industries of the "new" immigrants, par excellence, were textiles and garment manufacturing. The twentieth-century history of these industries, especially of their labor struggles, is in large part the history of the southern and eastern Europeans. By 1910, the Italians had become the largest nationality element in the silk industry, constituting a third of the some thirty thousand workers in the mills and dye houses of Paterson, Garfield, Lodi, West Hoboken, and Hackensack. The first Italians had arrived in the 1870's; many others soon joined them. These were not peasants, but skilled silk weavers and dyers from Biella in Piedmont and Como in Lombardy. Their emigration was encouraged by Celestino Piva, a large millowner from Genoa. Later south Italian laborers also came to Paterson and entered the mills despite the opposition of their countrymen from the North.*

The textile workers from Piedmont and Lombardy were radical and anticlerical in temper. In Italy they had taken part in strikes and in "Leagues of Resistance." In the nineties, Paterson had an Italian anarchist circle called "The Group for the Right to Existence," and an Italian section of the Socialist Labor Party. A severe political reaction in Italy at this time caused many of the leading anarchists and socialists to come to America. For a time Paterson became the international center of Italian radicalism. The assassin of King Humbert of Italy in 1900 was a member of the Paterson group of anarchists who had returned for the purpose of committing this "propaganda of the deed." For some years, the date of the assassination, July 29, was commemorated by the Paterson anarchists. The anarchist leaders were Enrico Malatesta, Giuseppe Ciancabilla, Luigi Galleani, and Pedro Esteve, a Spaniard. The newspapers, *La Questione Sociale* of Paterson and *L'Aurora* of West

* Wood, "History of Labor in the Broad-Silk Industry of Paterson," 75; Carlo C. Altarelli, "History and Present Condition of the Italian Colony of Paterson, N.J." (Unpublished master's thesis, Columbia University, 1911), 2, 3.

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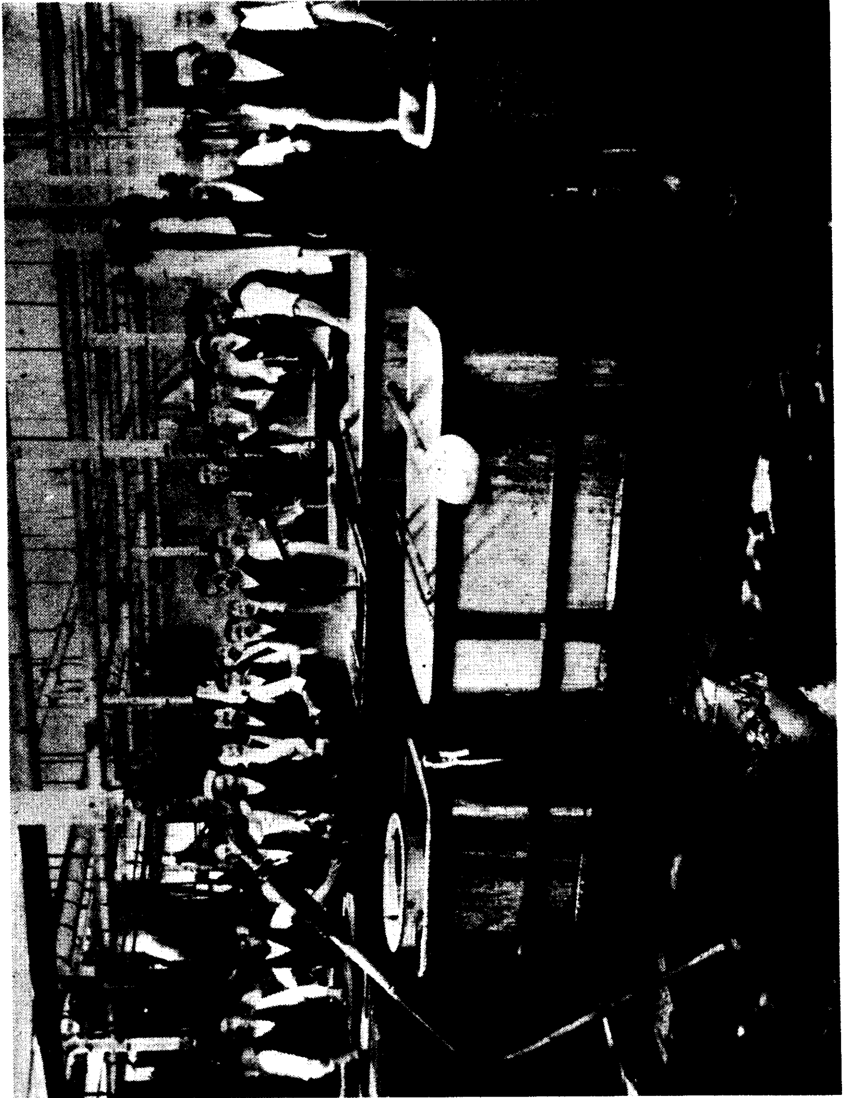

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Hoboken, were their organs. Among the leading socialists were Camillo Cianfara, Dino Rondani, Eligio Strobino, and Arturo Meunier; the socialist weekly, *Il Proletario,* was published in Paterson for some years. When not engaged in ideological disputes among themselves, these radicals sought to indoctrinate and organize the textile workers.*

Radical leadership was to play an important role in the labor struggles of the silk workers. In 1894, during a general strike of ribbon weavers, the anarchists, Antonio Ferrari, Peter Grasse, and Michael Schick, harangued mass meetings, while their speeches were being translated into five languages. The millowners called for help in the face of an "anarchist plot" and the "lawless mob," but the strike soon ended in defeat. Around the turn of the century, Polish Jews began to arrive in Paterson; by 1911 there were some five thousand of them employed in the silk industry. These came from the textile centers of Warsaw, Bialystok, and especially, Lodz, the "Manchester of Poland." Like the north Italians, this Jewish proletariat was experienced in strikes, labor organization, and radical movements. The Polish Jews participated in the strike of 1901 which was led by the United Silk Workers of America, an industrial union with English, French, German, Italian, and Yiddish branches. A blanket injunction against picketing, the suppression of "anarchist" activities, and the importation of Armenian strikebreakers shortly crushed this uprising.**

One of the most bitterly fought strikes in Paterson's long annals of industrial strife took place in 1902. It began in April as a wildcat walkout of dye workers and ended in July after many had been injured and several lives had been lost. Most of the highly skilled workmen

* Altarelli, "History of Italian Colony of Paterson," 6-11; De Ciampis, "Storia del Movimento Socialista," 136-138.

** Hutchins, *Labor and Silk,* 134; Wood, "History of Labor in the Broad-Silk Industry of Paterson," 75-76, 83, 157-177; "The Jews in New Jersey" in Federal Writers' Project, New Jersey Ethnic Survey.

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in the dye houses were German and Dutch, but the Italians were very numerous, especially as helpers. Dyeing and finishing work was both extremely disagreeable and dangerous, and the workers now demanded a wage increase of $2 a week, a 55-hour week, and five-minute washup periods. The employers, however, refused to negotiate with their representatives. Anarchists and socialists of various nationalities were very active in the conduct of the strike. At a rally of five thousand silk and dye workers, William MacQueen, Rudolph Grossman, and Luigi Galleani delivered "incendiary speeches." Galleani, who was a man of action as well as a powerful orator, then led the strikers in an attack on the silk mills which were still open. For six hours the silk dyers were the masters of Paterson. With the arrival of two battalions of infantry and a cavalry troop of state militia, however, both the insurrection and the strike came to an end.*

The "anarchistic Italian element" was held responsible for the strike and the violence by conservative labor leaders as well as by employers. The blacklisting of the Italians active in the strike met with the approval of James McGrath, chairman of the strike committee, who declared:

> The Italians caused the strike and they also caused it to be lost. I sincerely hope that the bosses will see to it that these men are not allowed to go back to work. . . . There are some good men among them, but . . . too many of them . . . are anarchists.**

The anti-Italian attitude of the "American" leaders caused the rapid disintegration of the dyers' union which had been formed during the strike. Meanwhile, Galleani,

* Altarelli, "History of the Italian Colony of Paterson," 10-11; De Ciampis, "Storia del Movimento Socialista," 138; Newman, *Labor Legislation of New Jersey*, 14; Wood, "History of Labor in the Broad-Silk Industry of Paterson," 177-185.

** Wood, "History of Labor in the Broad-Silk Industry of Paterson," 190

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MacQueen, and Grossman, had been indicted for inciting to riot, but Galleani fled to Barre, Vermont, which henceforth replaced Paterson as the center of Italian anarchism in America.

With the exception of several locals of warpers and loom-fixers affiliated with the United Textile Workers, AFL, the silk workers remained completely unorganized. The membership of the craft unions was composed of natives and English-speaking immigrants, while the mass of the operatives was southern and eastern Europeans. The failure of the AFL to organize these workers was explained by one union official on grounds of ideological incompatibility. The foreigners, he explained, espoused a radical labor philosophy; they were no sooner organized than they wanted to strike. The indifference of the "aristocratic tenth" of skilled workers to the plight of the other 90 per cent opened the way for the Industrial Workers of the World, a labor organization founded on a program of revolutionary syndicalism. IWW leaders and organizers representing various elements of the "new" immigration won many to the principle of "one, big union." J. P. McDonnell, the erstwhile radical, now a spokesman for the State Federation of Labor, condemned the growing influence of the "Wobblies" among the silk operatives.*

The first major strike of silk workers led by the IWW began in Paterson in 1912. The walkout was precipitated by the attempt to introduce the multiple-loom system, requiring a weaver to tend four looms instead of two. Strikebreakers, including a large number of Syrians, were imported, and the local authorities suppressed picketing, arrested the IWW leaders, and forbade out-of-town speakers to address mass meetings. Despite these provocations, the five thousand strikers conducted themselves in an orderly, peaceful manner. The dispute ended when the millowners agreed to a

* Newman, "The I.W.W. in New Jersey," 11; Newman, *Labor Legislation of New Jersey,* 14; Wood, "History of Labor in the Broad-Silk Industry of Paterson," 206, 224.

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wage increase, though they refused to recognize the IWW union. This same year over four thousand woolen workers in Passaic, Clifton, and Garfield were involved in an IWW strike. As in the case of the silk operatives, these were unorganized with the exception of a small number of highly skilled German and English workmen. Poles, Hungarians, Italians, Ukranians, Russian Jews, and Slovaks comprised the bulk of the labor force in the woolen and worsted mills. Despite this ethnic diversity, the strikers displayed a high degree of solidarity during the strike. Repressive tactics of city officials resulted in numerous clashes, including a pitched battle between police and pickets in Garfield. Since the manufacturers refused to negotiate with the strike committees, the workers finally had to return to the mills on the employers' terms.*

The "Great Strike of 1913" marked the peak of IWW influence among the silk workers of New Jersey. When the weavers of Paterson struck against the stretch-out in January, the IWW leaders issued a call for a general strike. In a rare display of solidarity some twenty-five thousand silk and dye workers of all crafts and nationalities responded, shutting down almost all of the mills and dye houses in Passaic and Hudson counties. The central issue of the strike became the demand for an eight-hour day. The top leaders of the IWW, including "Big Bill" Haywood, Carlo Tresca, and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, took over the direction of the struggle. From the very beginning, the silk manufacturers and police sought to break the strike by extreme measures. Speeches by "out-of-town agitators" were prohibited, picketing in the vicinity of the mills was forbidden, and nearly nineteen hundred men and women were jailed. When a Socialist newspaper editor denounced police brutality, he was arrested for "preaching hostility to the government."

* Hutchins, *Labor and Silk,* 137-138; Newman, "The I.W.W. in New Jersey," 12-24; Wood, "History of Labor in the Broad-Silk Industry of Paterson," 232-242.

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These flagrant violations of the freedoms of speech, press, and assembly were sanctioned by the business leaders of Paterson who had determined to rid the city of IWW "agitators." Public attention was diverted from the grievances of the workers by raising the bogey of radicalism. The IWW was accused of not seeking the material betterment of the strikers but of pursuing the objective of "radical, social revolution." The "non-English speaking workmen" were said to be especially susceptible to the IWW teachings of a class struggle because they had "brought with them from their old homes very pronounced leanings toward theories of political and social relations that differ radically from ours. . . ." There was some truth to this observation, but whatever ideas of a class struggle the immigrants had acquired in Europe had been amply confirmed by their experiences in America.*

The millowners having taken the high ground that they would not treat with the sworn enemies of capitalism, the general strike dragged on for 24 weeks. Contributions from clothing unions and socialist clubs, sympathetic merchants, and benefit performances provided some strike relief, but the immigrant families suffered many privations during the drawn-out struggle. Adopting a tactic of the Lawrence, Mass., strike, many children were sent to families in Newark and New York. The funeral of an Italian worker killed during a clash between strikers and private detectives was the occasion for an impressive procession of thousands of workers. To raise funds, the "Pageant of the Paterson Strike" with a cast of more than a thousand silk workers directed by John Reed was staged at Madison Square Garden. The resources of the employers, however, were much greater than those of the strikers. The German skilled dyers

* Hutchins, *Labor and Silk,* 140-142; Newman, "The I.W.W. in New Jersey," 26-32; Newman, *Labor Legislation of New Jersey,* 38; Wood, "History of Labor in the Broad-Silk Industry of Paterson," 244-264.

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were the first to return to work; the others gradually followed. On August 1, 1913, the strike was officially declared at an end.*

The systematic persecution of radicals which had begun during the textile strikes was intensified during the war which the "Wobblies" and some of the socialists had the temerity to oppose. Patriotic Americans formed vigilante organizations such as the American Protective League to spy on their neighbors for signs of disloyalty. Northern New Jersey was regarded as a hotbed of sedition, not only because of its large German population, but also as a center of foreign radicalism. Summary punishment was meted out to those suspected of entertaining "un-American" ideas. In a small town in Sussex County, an Italian member of the IWW was taken by the chief of police and a group of businessmen to a wooded area, hung from a tree, cut down alive, badly beaten, and then brought before a judge who sentenced him to three months at hard labor. Many foreigners were subject to prosecution under the Espionage and Sedition Acts of 1917 and 1918, and were either imprisoned or deported. This harassment of immigrants with left-wing views continued during the "Red Scare" of the early twenties.**

The war also wrought changes in the silk industry which brought about a reversion to domestic manufacturing. With savings from their high wartime earnings, many Polish Jews purchased several frames and looms and established family shops. In the twenties, Paterson had hundreds of these small shops which were called "cockroaches"; here parents and children worked all hours winding silk and weaving cloth on a commission basis. Numerous Polish Jews prospered in these enter-

* Newman, "The I.W.W. in New Jersey," 37-49; De Ciampis, "Storia del Movimento Socialista," 158; U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations, *Final Report and Testimony,* III, 2411-2645.

** De Ciampis, "Storia del Movimento Socialista," 162; Anon., *Jersey Justice at Work* (New York, 1913); Hough, *The Web,* 226, 237-238; Upton Sinclair, *100% the Story of a Patriot* (Pasadena, Cal., 1920), 326.

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prises, and they soon owned 90 per cent of the silk mills in Paterson.*

The twenties, however, were not on the whole years of prosperity for the silk workers. The competition of synthetic fabrics, the shift of the silk industry to Pennsylvania and the South, improved machinery and the speed-up, all tended to undermine the gains realized during and after the war. In 1919, the operatives had won an 8-hour day and a 44-hour week, and the strikes of the twenties were largely in defense against wage cuts and a longer work day. By 1925 when the minimum family budget for a family of five was estimated at $2188, the average yearly earnings of Paterson silk workers was $1346. A major strike in the industry occurred in 1924 with 13,000 operatives out. As in earlier conflicts, there were injunctions against picketing, mass arrests of strikers, and prohibition of "outside" speakers. The mayor of Paterson was commended by the local Klan when he urged that the "foreign agitators" who were responsible for the strike be deported.**

The woolen and worsted workers of Passaic were subject to many of the same pressures in the twenties as were the silk operatives: technological unemployment, the stretch-out, and wage reductions. In October, 1925, Botany Mills announced a wage cut of 10 per cent at a time when the average weekly wage was $17 for women and $24 for men. Sensing the deep dissatisfaction of the workers, the Communists formed the United Front Committee of Textile Workers with Albert Weisbord as its leader. Not only were the demands of this Committee for the restoration of the wage cut rejected, but its 45 members were discharged. As a result the five thousand Botany employees left the mills; within a few weeks sixteen thousand woolen and silk workers of Passaic, Garfield, and Lodi were on strike. The great majority

* Hutchins, *Labor and Silk*, 24, 53; "The Jews in Paterson," in Federal Writers' Project, New Jersey Ethnic Survey.

** Hutchins, *Labor and Silk*, 25, 94-111, 143-149; Wood, "History of Labor in the Broad-Silk Industry of Paterson," 298-341.

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of the strikers were recent immigrants; many of the English-speaking skilled workers remained on the job. The United Textile Workers, AFL, not only failed to support the strike, but sought to undermine it.*

The manufacturers resorted to every legal and extra-legal weapon in their effort to break the strike. Police and "deputy sheriffs" attacked the pickets with clubs, tear gas, and guns, and arrested almost a thousand of them. This violence reached its climax during the sixth week of the strike which was known as "Terror Week." Injunctions were issued which prohibited picketing, contributing to the strike fund, and even discussing the strike. Civil liberties were wantonly violated with mass meetings banned and strike leaders arrested on vague charges. The American Legion and a Citizens' Vigilantes Committee attacked the United Front Committee as dominated by "atheistic-free-loving Communists." **

For sheer endurance the Passaic workers have had few equals in the history of the labor movement. Polish and Italian Catholics, Russian Jews, Hungarian Protestants, and several hundred Negroes as well, maintained their ranks intact for almost a year. The experience of the strike itself, the mass picket lines, the mass meetings, the mass singing of fighting songs, gave the workers a sense of unity and power. There was much truth in Weisbord's observation:

> The strike was a method of Americanization in the proletarian sense of the word. The clubbings and mass picket lines did wonders to wipe out racial and religious divisions which the bosses had tried so diligently to foster. Petty jealousies were buried in the struggle. Passaic became the symbol of unity.†

Indeed, the strike was for many immigrants their first

* Dunn, *Labor and Textiles,* 222; Hutchins, *Labor and Silk,* 150; Weisbord, *Passaic,* 3-24; Irving Howe and Lewis Coser, *The American Communist Party* (Paper ed.; New York, 1962), 239-241.

** Dunn, *Labor and Textiles,* 223-224; Weisbord, *Passaic,* 28-40.

† Weisbord, *Passaic,* 43.

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active participation in American life outside their segregated colonies, bringing them into a comradely relationship with those of other nationalities and religions. By means of strike relief stores, clubs for women and children, foreign-language publications, and district meetings, the morale of the workers was sustained throughout the long months.

Despite the Communist leadership of the strike, the Catholic clergy and politicians sympathized with the cause of the workers. Through a Catholic Mediation Committee they attempted to settle the dispute, but the employers demanded the withdrawal of Weisbord and the other Communists as a condition of negotiation. When it became clear the strike had been lost, the settlement was turned over to the AFL. The workers had to return to the mills under the same conditions, and many of the more militant were not taken back. It was many years until collective bargaining was established in the woolen industry.*

The militancy of the New Jersey operatives hastened the exodus of silk manufacturing to the southern states. Yet in a desperate effort to maintain their standards the Paterson workers felt compelled to strike again and again. The depression of the thirties, however, was disastrous for both employees and owners with many small mills failing and others operating at only a fraction of capacity. By 1936 the median earnings of those workers fortunate enough to be employed had fallen below $600. The majority of the operatives were still Italian and Polish Jewish immigrants; few of the second generation were attracted to this declining industry. Sidney Hillman commented on the conditions in the silk mills: "Now it is the most sweated industry in this country, not merely in the South, but right in the North, in the State of Pennsylvania, in Jersey." ** Hillman was chair-

* Weisbord, *Passaic,* 44-58; Howe, *American Communist Party,* 241-243.

** Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, *Documentary History, ACWA: 1936-1938* (n.p., n.d.), 404.

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man of the Textile Workers Organizing Committee, CIO, which directed an effective strike among the silk workers in 1937. One of its organizers in the Paterson area was George Baldanzi, son of an Italian coal miner, who was to become president of the United Textile Workers of America, AFL-CIO. The 1937 strike won for the silk operatives union recognition, collective bargaining, and industry-wide standards of hours, wages, and conditions. The era of annual strikes, police oppression, and the tyranny of the boss, was over. A generation of immigrants who had spent their lives under those conditions ushered in a new industrial order.*

Clothing manufacture became one of New Jersey's major industries in the late nineteenth century. The German Jews who had pioneered in the field of ready-to-wear apparel were the leading garment merchants and manufacturers, but the needle workers were increasingly drawn from the "new" immigration, especially the Eastern European Jews and the Italians. Many of these had been tailors, seamstresses, and dressmakers in the Old Country; now they flocked into the clothing shops of the Lower East Side, and Jersey City, Newark, and Elizabeth as well. The garment industry became notorious for its exploitative character, and reformers like Jacob Riis tended to blame the evils of the "sweating system" on the avarice of the Jews. Needless to say, the economics of the industry and the lack of labor legislation or unions, rather than the ethnic character of its victims, were responsible for this system. To reduce labor costs and overhead, merchant clothiers rather than using the factory system simply cut the garments and then let them out to contractors to be sewn. Since there were many petty contractors bidding against each other, the result was the "sweater" and the "sweatshop."

* Newman, *Labor Legislation of New Jersey,* 15; Wood, "History of Labor in the Broad-Silk Industry of Paterson," 23, 133, 343-389, 435-468; *La Parola del Popolo, Cinquantesimo Anniversario,* IX, 281.

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In order to realize a profit, the contractor had to "sweat" his workers, squeezing the maximum production from them at the lowest wage. In the dark, crowded, unsanitary tenement flats, the "sweater," his family, and a few workers labored over the sewing machines and pressing irons 16 hours or more a day during the busy seasons. A minute division of labor was achieved through "section work," one felled, another made buttonholes, and so on. Hand finishing was done by Italian and Slavic women who could be seen carrying huge bundles of garments on their heads to their tenement homes.*

By World War I the Eastern European Jews had largely succeeded the Germans as clothing manufacturers. Both they and, to a lesser extent, the Italians had risen from the ranks of garment workers to skilled and managerial positions in the industry. Of more profound significance for the mass of the employees was the rise of strong, progressive unions in the needle trades. The English-speaking skilled workmen, such as the cutters, were organized in the United Garment Workers, AFL, but these craft unionists remained aloof from the Yiddish and Italian workers and gave them little or no assistance in their struggles. Confronted by appalling conditions, the "new" immigrants created out of their own resources a powerful labor movement.

The Jewish immigration from eastern Europe contained an element of radical intellectuals who held to socialist or anarchist views. For the most part, this impoverished intelligentsia was compelled to toil in the sweatshops. Joining with the German radicals in New York City, they carried the message of "Social Revolution" to the Jewish garment workers. Yiddish socialists such as Joseph Barondess, Abraham Cahan, Louis Miller, and Michael Zametkin were untiring in organizing unions among the immigrants. Socialism became a new

* Jacob A. Riis, *How the Other Half Lives* (Paper ed.; New York, 1962), 88-99; Moses Rischin, *The Promised City: New York's Jews 1870-1914* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), 61-68; Tcherikower (ed.), *The Early Jewish Labor Movement*, 162-175.

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religion for many of the Jewish proletariat who expressed their faith by founding the United Hebrew Trades, the Workmen's Circle, and numerous labor unions. Meanwhile, a similar agitation was being conducted among the Italian garment workers by Salvatore Ninfo, Giuseppe Procopio, Augusto and Frank Bellanca, and others. The work of these zealous labor advocates finally bore fruit with the victory of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union in the general strike of 1910 which brought the women's clothing industry in New York City under an industry-wide agreement. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America founded in 1914 with a leadership and rank-and-file predominantly southern and eastern European was some years later to achieve a similar control over the manufacture of men's apparel.*

The garment workers of New Jersey formed an integral part of the labor movement which was centered in New York's Lower East Side. In 1888, for example, the shirtmakers of Rahway won a strike with the moral and financial assistance of their brethren in Manhattan. Two years later, unions in Elizabeth and Carmel sent delegates to the first congress of Jewish labor organizations held in New York City. In 1891, a branch of the Operators' and Cloak Makers' Union No. 1 of New York was established in Newark, while in 1900 the Cloak Makers' Union of Newark was one of seven organizations which formed the ILGWU. The highly decentralized character of the clothing industry in New Jersey, however, made organization especially difficult, as did the extreme anti-union policy of most of the state's municipalities. Long after the garment workers of New York City had secured the preferential union shop, New Jersey remained a stronghold of the "open shop." Seeking to escape from union standards, many manufacturers moved their shops to the sanctuary across the Hudson. In their search for cheap labor, the contractors estab-

* Levine, *Women's Garment Workers,* 26-31; Rischin, *Promised City,* 176-179, 243-255; Tcherikower (ed.), *The Early Jewish Labor Movement,* 203-245, 272-315; *La Parola del Popolo,* 200-210.

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lished these "fugitive" shops in the centers of foreign population, reproducing there the noxious sweating system.*

In self-defense against the "runaway" shops as well as out of a sense of solidarity, the ILGWU and ACW waged campaign after campaign to organize the garment workers in New Jersey. In 1916, a general strike of Newark's waist- and dressmakers secured some gains, and a few years later the Jewish shirt- and cloakmakers formed Local 21, ILGWU. The first successful general strike of the women's clothing workers in Newark took place in 1922, and resulted in a rapid growth of the ILGWU locals. During these years, the Yiddish needle workers were most active in the unions, while the Italians who were a large and increasing element in the industry proved more difficult to organize. Coming from isolated towns, most of the south Italians had not participated in radical or labor movements in Italy. Often they worked in a shop where the contractor or foreman was a *paesano* (townsman) who had done them favors; loyalty to their benefactor deterred them from joining a union. Yet another reason for the reluctance of the Italians was their resentment of Jewish domination of the unions.**

To make any headway among the Italian clothing workers, it was necessary to have organizers who could speak their language and win their confidence. Men of courage and conviction to undertake this sometimes dangerous mission were to be found among the Italian socialists. Gioacchino Artoni, for example, had been a coal miner, silk worker, and labor leader among the Italians of Paterson, before he became an organizer for the ACW in 1916. For twenty years, "Papa" Artoni, as he was known, was engaged in teaching, exhorting, and

* Levine, *Women's Garment Workers,* 63, 103, 385; Tcherikower (ed.), *The Early Jewish Labor Movement,* 301, 330; Antonino Crivello, "Newark, N.J., Fortilizio dell'Internazionale," *La Parola del Popolo,* 211-214.

** Levine, *Women's Garment Workers,* 321; Federal Writers' Project, New Jersey, "The Italians in Newark, N.J." (Typescript in New Jersey Collection, Rutgers University Library), 55, 60-62.

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guiding the garment workers. When twelve years of age, Vincenzo Messina had begun to work in a sweatshop for a wage of $2.50 a week. As an organizer for the ACW, Messina conducted organizing campaigns in Passaic, Trenton, and elsewhere. In 1933, Messina became business manager of the newly formed Local 126, ACW, in Elizabeth, and subsequently served as vice-president of the New Jersey State CIO. Like Messina, Antonino Crivello had emigrated as a boy from Sicily. An early convert to socialism and a garment worker, Crivello soon gave himself fully to the task of organization for the ILGWU. In 1934 he was appointed manager of the predominantly Italian Local 144 of the Dressmakers' Union in Newark which he made a bulwark of unionism in the clothing industry of northern Jersey. Crivello placed great emphasis on the educational work of the union, seeking to instruct the membership through classes and publications in socialist theories and politics. It was dedicated men such as these who won the Italian garment workers for the labor movement.*

After decades of defeat, the 1930's were years of fruition for the workers in the mass production industries. Although the depression brought much suffering to many people, it also created a climate of opinion which made possible the humanizing of our industrial society. The Social Security Act, the National Labor Relations Act, and the National Fair Labor Standards Act established the basic rights of the wage earner to organize and bargain collectively, to unemployment and old age insurance, and to decent hours, wages, and conditions of employment. The word, however, had to be made flesh, and in New Jersey this meant a bitter struggle against entrenched business interests. As late as 1936 the industrial workers of New Jersey were unorganized with the exception of the building trades, printing, and transportation unions affiliated with the State Federation of Labor. In that year the Committee for Industrial Or-

* Crivello, "Newark, N.J.," 211-214; *La Parola del Popolo,* 58-59, 182-183, 220; Federal Writers' Project, "Italians in Newark," 62-65.

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ganization launched a drive to organize the textile, iron and steel, electrical goods, and machinery industries. This citadel of the "open shop" was not to be easily breached; New Jersey corporations resorted to industrial espionage, armed guards, strikebreaking, and blacklisting on a wide scale against the CIO. An antilabor attitude continued to prevail in Trenton where the legislature enacted a law in 1936 which gave the police broad powers to arrest or disperse strikers. Meanwhile, the state court of chancery continued to issue blanket injunctions against picketing, the closed shop, and boycotts.*

The anti-CIO fight reached its climax in "Boss" Frank Hague's own bailiwick of Jersey City. Hague resorted to every stratagem to suppress all organizational efforts; labor leaders were arrested, beaten, and railroaded out of town; civil liberties were suspended; there was no freedom to speak, assemble, or write in favor of unions in Jersey City. Between 1931 and 1937 not one strike was won in Hague's domain. The Mayor invited industry to his city, and in the thirties hundreds of sweatshops moved from New York to this oasis of unorganized labor. In his campaign against the CIO, Hague posed as a crusader against communism, winning the applause not only of business and the Catholic hierarchy, but of the State Federation of Labor as well. It required a decision of the United States Supreme Court in 1938 to liberate Jersey City from Hague's police state, and to open the way for the organization of its exploited workers.**

Despite this stubborn opposition, the new industrial unions made considerable gains in the late thirties. In New Jersey, the workers of "new" immigrant stock played a major role in these organizational drives. It was they who largely formed the membership of the

* Newman, *Labor Legislation of New Jersey*, 7, 27; Federal Writers' Project, *New Jersey Guide*, 84-87; Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, *Documentary History*, 97, 220.

** Newman, *Labor Legislation of New Jersey*, 15-16; McKean, *The Boss*, 163, 183-195.

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CIO automobile, electrical, clothing, and textile unions, and who struck and walked the picket lines. The leather and tannery workers of Newark, for example, who were mostly Italians, Poles, and Greeks, were organized for the first time by the International Fur and Leather Workers' Union, CIO. The needle trades in which the Italians were now preponderant achieved almost complete organization in the ILGWU and ACW. Recognizing that ethnic divisions had long been an obstacle to unity, the CIO unions enrolled all workers regardless of nationality, religion, or race. Negroes were now welcomed to union membership on terms of full equality with whites. As an organizer of laundry workers observed:

> It was the trick of the employers, aided by some of the officials of the A.F. of L., to keep these people divided, to divide them on the craft basis, to divide them on a racial and national basis, and the main problem we had in our industry was to unite these workers.*

The leadership of the industrial unions was also composed to a large extent of persons of Jewish, Italian, and Slavic origins. Such veterans of the labor movement as Bruno Bellia, Fillippo De Luca, Philip Rudich, Abraham Miller, Alex Cohen, Leo Krzycky, and Jacob Potofsky were active in New Jersey during the thirties organizing and conducting strikes.**

New Jersey's revitalized labor movement not only brought thousands of hitherto unorganized workers into unions, it also created a new liberal force in state politics. Unlike the oldline trade unionists, the CIO leaders conceived of political action as an integral function of organized labor. In 1936, Labor's Non-Partisan League was formed and played an active role in the gubernatorial and presidential elections. Although the idea of

* Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, *Documentary History,* 259.

** Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, *Documentary History, passim;* Federal Writers' Project, "Italians in Newark," 55-57, 66-68.

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forming a State Labor Party was abandoned, the LNL enhanced labor's political influence. In 1940, the Democratic candidate, Charles Edison, was elected governor with the support of organized labor as well as the Hague machine. As governor, Edison secured the passage of considerable labor legislation, including an anti-injunction law which finally freed unions from arbitrary court orders. New Jersey, however, had yet to enact a state labor relations law or a wages and hours measure for intrastate industry. The traditional political hostility to organized labor in the state was largely a thing of the past, primarily because the Italian vote, the Polish vote, and the Jewish vote had to a large extent become a labor vote.*

The America which the "new" immigrants found in New Jersey was no storybook democracy. It was an America of mills, factories, and sweatshops in which they spent most of their waking hours. Because they were poor and defenseless, they were not only exploited but despised. Though their wages were greater than in the Old Country, they had to work much harder here and submit to the tyranny of the bosses. More than the exhausting labor and paltry pay, they resented being treated like dumb creatures. Their struggles were not only an effort to secure a few more cents a day or an hour less of work, but they were primarily an affirmation of their humanity, of their right to respect and consideration as human beings. The dominant classes out of ethnic snobbery and economic interest sought to keep the southern and eastern Europeans in the position of an inferior caste. By rejecting this fate, the "new" immigrants saved not only themselves but also American democratic ideals from degradation.

* Newman, *Labor Legislation of New Jersey*, 46, 101-126; Federal Writers' Project, *New Jersey Guide*, 87; Wilson, *Outline History of N.J.*, 182; Jack Chernick, "Social Legislation," in Salomon J. Flink *et al.*, *The Economy of New Jersey* (New Brunswick, 1958), 338-343.

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VII

TWENTIETH CENTURY JERSEYMEN

TO THE JERSEYMAN of old stock it appeared that his state had become a virtual tower of Babel, a confusion of tongues and creeds. Alien hordes seemed to be sweeping across the sea to rob native-born Protestant Americans of their "God-given heritage." Bishop Alma White, founder of the Pillar of Fire, voiced these nativist fears:

> Our religious and political foes are not only within our gates, but are coming by the hundreds of thousands from the chaos and ruin of Old European and Asiatic countries to un-Americanize and destroy our nation, and to make it serve the purposes of the Pope in his aspirations for world supremacy.*

The spirit of hyper-patriotism aroused by the war became rancorous xenophobia during the 1920's. Its most perfect embodiment was the Ku Klux Klan which conceived of itself as a "white-robed Christian army of Protestant men and women" banded together in defense of the Holy Bible and "100% Americanism." The Klan reserved its most intense hatred for the Roman Catholic Church, but it also expressed enmity toward Jews, foreigners, and Negroes. In their own minds, the Klansmen

* Bishop Alma White, *The Ku Klux Klan in Prophecy* (Zarephath, 1925), 26. The National Headquarters, Bible Seminary, and Alma White College of the Pillar of Fire, a fundamentalist sect, have been located in Zarephath, near Bound Brook, since 1908.

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thought of themselves as engaged in a holy crusade to save America's free institutions from the political ambitions of Rome and other foreign influences. But the Klan also reflected the anxiety of the native white Protestants over the upward thrust of those of immigrant stock in business and politics. The KKK would see to it "that American-born citizens are not crowded off the map religiously, socially or politically." *

The Klan attracted a considerable following in New Jersey during the twenties. Its membership was concentrated in the smaller towns and rural areas which had a predominantly old stock, evangelical Protestant population. Strange scenes were enacted in the state such as the parade of hooded and robed Klansmen down the main street of Red Bank on Armistic Day, 1925, the huge meeting of 12,000 Klansmen on a farm in Middlebush on May 2, 1923, and the burning of crosses on the property of Catholics and Jews. In New Jersey, however, the KKK encountered the decided opposition of the majority of the people who were neither "Anglo-Saxon" nor Protestant. When the Klansmen ventured into unfriendly territory they were likely to receive a sound thrashing, as happened in Perth Amboy when a mob of several thousand Catholics and Jews attacked a meeting of five hundred Knights of the KKK. A spokesman for the Klan lamented, it was difficult ". . . for patriots to find a place to hold their Klaverns where they can peaceably assemble without being assaulted by their enemies." **

By the late twenties, the Ku Klux Klan had passed from the scene; but the frame of mind which it represented had existed before its appearance and persisted

* White, *The Ku Klux Klan, passim;* Meyers, *History of Bigotry,* 271-272.

** White, *The Ku Klux Klan,* 56, 74; Higham, *Strangers in the Land,* 299; Ralph W. Thomson, "A History of Franklin Township, Somerset County, New Jersey," in Elsie B. Stryker, *Where the Trees Grow Tall a History of Old Middlebush 1701-1935* (Franklin Township Historical Society, 1963), 163; *The Sunday Home News* (New Brunswick), March 15, 1964, 26.

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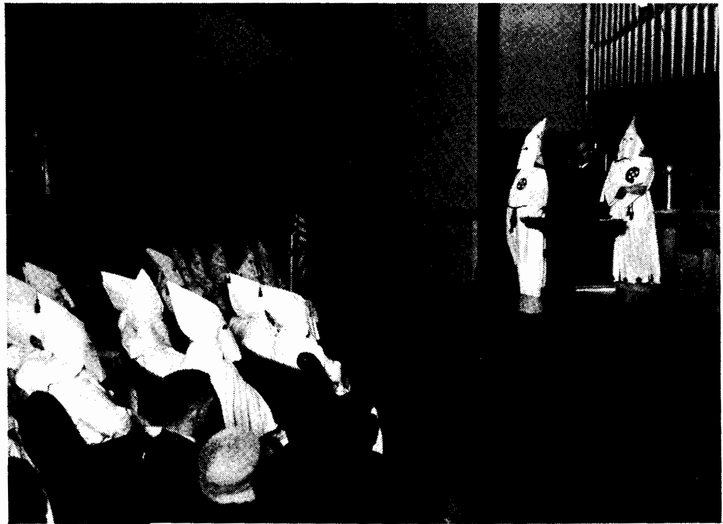
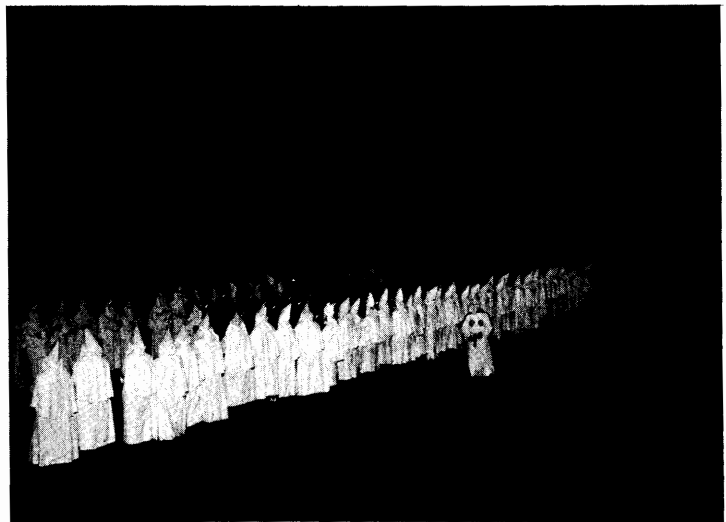


A Meeting of the Ku Klux Klan
H. C. Dorer, photographer
Courtesy of the Newark Public Library



An Initiation Ceremony of the Ku Klux Klan
H. C. Dorer, photographer
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after its short, inglorious career had ended. The alarm with which native-born Jerseymen regarded the foreign influx was in a sense justified by the facts. The "new" immigrants were exotics, differing in language, customs, and even physical appearance, not only from the old-stock Americans, but from the Irish and Germans as well. Such a mingling of diverse peoples appeared to defy the assimilative capacities of American society. In 1920, for example, there were at least 24 foreign languages spoken in New Jersey, each being the mother tongue of more than a thousand immigrants. Among them were Rumanian, Greek, Czech, Ruthenian, Slovenian, Serbo-Croatian, Finnish, Armenian, Syrian, and Arabic. The original Protestant character of the state further receded before this immigration from lands which had not been touched by the Reformation. The religious census of 1926 reported over a million Roman Catholics in New Jersey, constituting over 50 per cent of all church members in the state. Together, the Catholics and Jews accounted for almost two-thirds of the total church membership. In addition, there were thousands who belonged to the Greek and Russian Orthodox Churches. Although the Protestants still were in the majority in twelve counties, the Catholics and Jews were now predominant in nine counties rather than five as in 1906. A high degree of geographical concentration, however, continued to characterize the foreign-born population. In 1930, 78 per cent of the immigrants in New Jersey resided in the six northeastern counties of Bergen, Essex, Hudson, Passaic, Union, and Middlesex.*

The cities of New Jersey took on a strong foreign flavor during these years. With a population 52 per cent foreign born Passaic in 1910 had the largest proportion of immigrants of all the principal American cities. Perth

* U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: 1960,* I, *Characteristics of the Population, Part 32,* 161; *Census of Population: 1930,* III, *Population Part 2: Montana-Wyoming* (Washington, D.C., 1932), 207; *Religious Bodies: 1926,* I (Washington, D.C., 1930), 644-645.

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Amboy, Bayonne, Paterson, Elizabeth, and Newark, all had populations which were more than 30 per cent foreign born. In each city there were cultural enclaves in which strange tongues were spoken, exotic foods eaten, and alien gods worshiped. Dundee, on Passaic's east side, was a mosaic of Polish, Magyar, Slovak, Ukranian, Lithuanian, Italian, and Russian Jewish colonies. In Perth Amboy, the Poles, Czechs, and Hungarians were concentrated in a district known as "Budapest." One section of West Hoboken was called "The Dardenelles" because it was occupied by Armenians, Syrians, and "mustachioed, fez-topped Turks." In these foreign quarters, where the English language was rarely heard and store windows bore strange inscriptions, coffeehouses, fish stores, kosher delicatessens, and wineshops catered to the peculiar tastes of the inhabitants. The sounds, smells, and sights gave the American who ventured into these areas the sense of being in a foreign city.*

Just as the "new" immigrants displaced the Irish and Germans in the menial occupations, so they succeeded them in the least desirable areas of residence. Thus the Italians took over the slums of Jersey City's "Horseshoe" from the Irish, while the Eastern European Jews moved into the tenements of Newark's Third Ward on the heels of their German predecessors. The old residents opposed the invasion of their neighborhoods by these outlandish foreigners; they refused to rent or sell to them, abused and insulted them, but eventually surrendered the areas to the newscomers. A pattern of conflict, however, was established when the first Italians or Poles were attacked by gangs of Irish or German "toughs." In self-defense, the southern and eastern Europeans formed their own gangs. For many years there was a condition of intermittent warfare on the ethnic frontiers of New Jersey's cities.**

* N.J. Commission on Immigration, *Report,* 13, 20; Federal Writers' Projects, *New Jersey Guide,* 345-346, 362; di Donato, *Three Circles of Light,* 10, 15.

** McKean, *The Boss,* 19; "The Jews in Newark," in Federal Writers' Project, New Jersey Ethnic Survey.

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Of the "new" immigrants it was said: "They settle down in the congested districts of industrial centers and crowd together in tenements under unhealthy and unsanitary conditions." * The southern and eastern Europeans did seek out the cheapest housing near the factories and mills where they worked and, to reduce rents, several families or a group of ten or twenty men would share one or two rooms. Housing conditions in New Jersey tended to be better than the lethal "dumbbell" tenements of New York City; here many immigrants lived in small frame houses with air and light, and sometimes a small garden. Even the bleak company rowhouses such as those at Roebling had the advantage of being sanitary and well built. Yet Jersey's cities had noisome slums which registered high rates of infant mortality and tuberculosis, indicative of squalid and crowded tenements and lack of sanitary and medical services.**

Most of the foreign-born spent the greater part of their lives in such ethnic islands isolated from the mainland of American society. Because of this tendency to cluster together in self-contained communities, the immigrants were accused of clannishness and resisting assimilation. The Commission on Immigration expressed this criticism:

> Unfortunately aliens coming to our State, and especially those taking residence in cities, are practically compelled to settle in colonies in congested quarters, where they tend to perpetuate alien groups which speak their native language, and which are frequently uninfluenced by American customs and traditions. The process of assimilation is retarded in these groups, and they are a hindrance to the full application of democratic principles of government. †

A pattern of "racial segregation" became characteristic of New Jersey society, especially in the social and re-

* N.J. Commission on Immigration, *Report,* 19.

** Roberts, *The New Immigration,* 129; Sackett, *Modern Battles of Trenton,* II, 147.

† N.J. Commission on Immigration, *Report,* 111.

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ligious spheres. While complete separatism was impossible in economics and politics, ethnic attitudes were important factors in the marketplace and at the polls. This segregation was in part voluntary on the part of the immigrants, an ethnocentric effort to preserve the identity of the group, but it was also imposed by the "Americans" who decreed the degree and kind of intercourse to be permitted the various nationalities. While lip service was paid to the ideal of assimilation, many "Americans" did not want to live, work, or worship with foreigners.

Since it is not feasible to discuss the history of the many ethnic elements comprising the "new" immigration, two have been selected for detailed consideration: the Italians and the Eastern European Jews. The emigration from Italy over the course of a century totaled almost five millions and was second only to that from Germany. The majority of the Italian immigrants, however, arrived between 1900 and 1914, with the peak of 285,731 being recorded in 1907. New Jersey experienced the full force of this enormous influx. Its Italian-born residents increased from about 42,000 in 1900 to over 115,000 a decade later, and reached their maximum number of 190,858 in 1930. And by 1930, the more than half million first- and second-generation Italians constituted the largest foreign-stock group in the state, with over 10 per cent of its total population. In its magnitude and intensity the Italian immigration to New Jersey was comparable to the Irish and German of the nineteenth century.*

Few Italians were to be found in New Jersey before the Civil War. One of the earliest arrivals, Giovanni Battista Sartori, who settled in Trenton about 1800, founded the first spaghetti factory in the United States as well as the first Catholic Church in New Jersey. Lorenzo da Ponte, the librettist of Mozart's operas, *Don Giovanni, Cosi Fan Tutti,* and *Nozze de Figaro,* who left

* U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: 1930,* III, *Population Part 2,* 184.

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Europe a political exile and bankrupt, had a grocery and dry goods store in Elizabeth in 1805. Most of the pioneers came from northern Italy, and followed specialized occupations as fruit merchants, music teachers, barbers, and plaster workers.* In the 1870's, however, the south Italians began their epic migration to America. It was from the Mezzogiorno, the southern regions of continental Italy and the island of Sicily, that most of New Jersey's Italians were to come. The unification of Italy in 1861 had brought neither peace nor prosperity to the Italian South. Brigandage, malaria, droughts, poor land, tiny holdings, oppressive landlords, and large families, all tended to make the already hard lives of the *contadini* (peasants) even more difficult. Emigration was one means of relief from these conditions, and an increasing number of south Italians looked to America as the answer to their problems. Much of this emigration was temporary in nature; but many who came on a sojourn, remained permanently.**

Since New Jersey farmers were suffering from a shortage of labor, efforts were made to recruit the Italians as agricultural laborers and tenants. Charles K. Landis, the foremost promoter of settlement in south Jersey, sought to attract Italian immigrants through agents and advertisements to Vineland. From the early seventies on, quite a number of Italians did come to his town. Although Landis was interested in selling land to them, he was also a true friend of the Italians, regarding them as "worthy and good citizens." Usually Italians worked for "American" farmers while they cleared lands they had purchased. Though their initial efforts to grow grapes and silk worms were unsuccessful, in time many of them did succeed as fruit and truck farmers.†

* Gale (ed.), *Eastern Union,* 14-15; Joseph Mainiero, *History of the Italians in Trenton* (Trenton, 1929), 23-30.

** Marzulli, *Gl'Italiani di Essex,* 25; *Robert F. Foerster, The Italian Emigration of Our Times* (Cambridge, Mass., 1919), 83-105.

† The history of the Italians in Vineland is told in "The Journal of Charles K. Landis," published serially in *The Vineland Historical Magazine,* V-XXVIII (1920-1943).

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An even larger colony of Italian farmers developed some ten miles north of Vineland at Hammonton in Atlantic County. A few had settled here before the Civil War, but a considerable immigration began when Matteo Campanella, a native of Gesso, a small village in Sicily, came to Hammonton in 1866. Prospering, Campanella sent for his relatives, initiating an exodus which was to bring almost half of the people of Gesso to this town in south Jersey. Some of the early arrivals rented large tracts of land and brought over groups of their townsmen to work for them. Meanwhile, Angelo Penza from Casale D'Avellino, Province of Salerno, discovered Hammonton and initiated a chain migration from that town in Campania. By 1905, over a thousand Italian immigrants had settled there. With wages earned by working on the railroads, farms, and in the brickyards, the immigrants purchased tracts of pine barrens or farms of old residents. Using traditional methods of cultivation, painstaking labor, and extreme economy, the Italians managed to secure a living on land where Americans could not survive. While initially regarded with suspicion and distaste, the Italians came to be valued as steady, sober workers and good neighbors. From these Italian colonies of Vineland and Hammonton were to come a considerable number of successful farmers and businessmen.*

For half a century the Italians also played an important role in the agriculture of south Jersey as migrant laborers. The harvesting of the vegetable and fruit crops, especially berries, required large numbers of pickers. Beginning in the 1880's these were largely secured from the Italian colonies of Philadelphia and Camden. Italian padrones recruited thousands of workers each year from the cities and supervised their labor in the fields and bogs. Italian families, parents and children, worked in the fields at "stoop labor" for ten hours or more a day, often seven days a week. By following the harvesting cycle from strawberries to cranberries, a family could

* Emily Fogg Meade, "The Italian on the Land: A study in Immigration," U.S. Bureau of Labor, *Bulletin*, XIV (May, 1907), 473-533.

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labor for six or seven months and earn several hundred dollars. Although the Italian children were subject to exploitation and loss of schooling, farmers prevented the extension of child labor legislation to agriculture until 1940. On the farms, the Italian families were housed in unsanitary shacks which were said to be worse than the city tenements from which they had come. Berry-picking did have a bright side to it. Many of the denizens of Philadelphia's "Little Italy" looked forward to "a summer in the country," and even after a long day in the bogs, there was much merry-making with dancing, singing, and story-telling.*

Only a small percentage of the Italian immigrants, however, followed agricultural pursuits. For the most part the south Italians were engaged in gang labor on the railroads, sewer building, excavation, and other digging jobs. It was among these unskilled laborers that the "padrone system" flourished. The Italian padrone or "boss" acted as a labor agent for the contractor, hiring and transporting the gang, often serving as foreman and commissary agent. The system provided unlimited opportunities for the padrone to gouge his hapless compatriots by charging a fee for the job, an excessive railroad fare, "rent" for a shanty, and inflated prices for food, clothing, and tools. Since the padrone shared this graft with the "American" foreman, there was no recourse for the worker. Because of this relentless exploitation, the south Italians were eager to leave the labor gangs for work in the factories or building trades, but were stymied by prejudices against them.**

* Meade, "Italian on the Land," 488-516; Newman, *Labor Legislation of New Jersey,* 86-88; N.J. Commission on Immigration, *Report,* 36-39. For a thorough history of this subject see: Melvyn Motolinsky, "Migrant Farm Labor in New Jersey" (Unpublished Henry Rutgers thesis, Rutgers University, 1964).

** John Koren, "The Padrone System and the Padrone Banks," U.S. Bureau of Labor, *Bulletin,* II (March, 1897), 113-129; Frank J. Sheridan, "Italian, Slavic and Hungarian Unskilled Laborers in the United States," U.S. Bureau of Labor, *Bulletin,* XV (September, 1907), 445-468; Erickson, *American Industry and the European Immigrant,* 99-104.

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The menial occupations pursued by the Italians caused them to be viewed in an unfavorable light; as one writer reported:

> Americans regard them as dirty, undersized foreigners, who trundle hand organs, tend fruits stands, sweep the streets, or work in mines, in tunnels, on railroads, or in construction work.*

Yet not all the immigrants from Italy were unskilled laborers; a large minority were skilled artisans. Weavers and dyers from Lombardy were recruited for Paterson's silk industry, while hatters from Piedmont were the first Italians to settle in Orange, then a center of hat manufacture. The craftsmen and sculptors of the Perth Amboy Terra Cotta Company which produced structural ornaments came from Tuscany. The emigration from southern Italy contained large numbers of barbers, bakers, shoemakers, tailors, bricklayers, and stonecutters. By 1900, the number of Italian barbers and shoemakers almost equalled that of the Germans, and within a few years the Italians had a near monopoly of these crafts. The Italians excelled as custom tailors, and shortly rivaled the Eastern European Jews as clothing manufacturers and contractors. Quite a number of Italians rose from the ranks in the building trades to become contractors and builders. Charles Ippolito, one of the most successful, became a millionaire constructing sewers. Lacking capital and business experience, however, few of the immigrants engaged in large enterprises. Petty commerce was most characteristic of the Italians; the typical Italian businessman was the grocer-saloonkeeper who was also a steamship ticket agent, labor agent, private banker, and notary public. From these small beginnings, there developed a number of large banks, import firms, and wholesale fruit houses. While there was a professional, educated element in the Italian immigration, these artists, lawyers, musicians, physicians, and

* Meade, "Italian on Land," 474.

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journalists comprised but a fraction of one per cent of the total.*

Among the immigrant generation of Italians there was a strong persistence in the manual occupations. In 1950 the highest proportions of foreign-born males were still to be found in the categories of laborers, service workers, and craftsmen. The Italians were especially prominent as construction laborers, longshoremen, waiters, barbers, bakers, tailors, masons, stonecutters, and other building tradesmen. The most conspicuous change in the occupational pattern of the immigrants was the trend toward industrial employment, especially in the manufacture of clothing, textiles, metal goods, and food products. As self-employed managers and proprietors, the Italians achieved their most notable success in the fields of construction and light manufacturing, but more especially as grocers, restaurateurs, and saloonkeepers. The lowest proportions of the Italian-born were in the categories of farmers and white-collar workers; they were particularly underrepresented among salaried managers, professional men, and clerical and sales personnel. The relatively low rate of occupational mobility of the Italian immigrants can be explained in terms of the peasant origins and low level of education of the majority, handicaps which only the exceptional individual could overcome.**

Both the native-born and those who emigrated as children had the advantage of an American education which opened to them a wider range of occupational

* Federal Writers' Project, "Italians in Newark," *passim;* Marzulli, *Gl'Italiani di Essex, passim;* U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Occupations at the Twelfth Census,* 336-343; N.J. Commission on Immigration, *Report,* 78-83; Dorothy F. Lucas, "Pottery and Glass," in William S. Myers (ed.), *The Story of New Jersey* (5 vols.; New York, 1945), III, 186-188; *Newark Ledger,* Nov. 9, 1935.

** Federal Writers' Project, "Italians in Newark," 47-52; E. P. Hutchinson, *Immigrants and Their Children, 1850-1950* (Census Monograph Series, Social Science Research Council, New York, 1956), 219-267. While the data presented in this study are on a nation-wide basis, there is reason to believe that they hold true for New Jersey.

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opportunities. Among the south Italians there was great respect for the professional man, and some immigrants were willing to sacrifice to make their sons doctors or lawyers. Soon Italian youths were pursuing higher education and establishing their medical and legal practices in the midst of the "Little Italies." When Joseph W. Carlevale published a biographical directory of Americans of Italian descent in New Jersey in 1950, it contained the names of over three thousand college graduates, of whom over one thousand were school teachers, and about two thousand doctors and lawyers. Considering that most of these came from workingclass families, this represented a remarkable movement up the occupational scale.*

The second-generation Italians in 1950, however, were proportionately less well represented in the professions than were those of foreign parentage as a whole. Only in the category of "artistic and literary workers" was the proportion of native males of Italian parentage significantly higher than that of all males of foreign parentage. Actually the occupational profile of the second-generation Italians bore a striking similarity to that of the immigrant generation. There was a marked continuity between the two generations in the occupations of builders and contractors; grocers, saloonkeepers, and restaurateurs; bakers, waiters, and bartenders; masons, stonecutters, and construction laborers; tailors, barbers, and garment workers. Like their immigrant parents, the native-born Italians were to be found in the highest proportion in the semiskilled and skilled manual occupations. The major difference was the smaller proportion of laborers and the considerably higher proportion of clerical and sales workers among the second generation.**

The failure of the native-born to rise significantly above the occupational status of their immigrant parents can perhaps be explained in terms of the values and

* Marzulli, *Gl'Italiani di Essex,* 46; Joseph W. Carlevale, *Americans of Italian Descent in New Jersey* (Clifton, N.J., 1950), 3.

** Hutchinson, *Immigrants and Their Children,* 219-267.

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structure of the Italian peasant family. Patriarchal in character, the family was the strongest institution and demanded the complete loyalty of its members. Children were taught that filial respect and obedience took precedence over their own desires. In America as in Italy, children were expected to contribute to the support of the family as soon as they were able. The value of education was often not appreciated by the parents who sent their offspring to work at fourteen or younger. For many years, few Italian students went on to high school, to say nothing of college. The immigrants also regarded the American schools as subversive of their discipline, as in fact they were. The emphasis in public education on "Americanization" did tend to undermine the traditional family relationships by causing the children to question the authority of their parents. Further, unmarried adult children were required to abide under the parental roof, and even married children were expected to remain nearby. Thus the very tight-knit character of the Italian peasant family had the effect of reducing the social and physical mobility of the second generation.*

While small colonies of Italians were scattered about the state, the bulk of the Italian immigrants was highly concentrated in the industrial cities. Newark had by far the largest number, followed by Jersey City, Paterson, Hoboken, and Union; on the Delaware, Trenton and Camden also had sizable Italian populations. Each of these cities received its immigrants from different provinces of Italy as determined by the process of chain migration. The pioneer settlers from a particular town sent for their relatives and friends who in turn sent for their relatives and friends, and so on. As a result colonies of persons hailing from the same towns were established in the cities of New Jersey.

Newark's largest contingent of immigrants were "Nea-

* Marzulli, *Gl'Italiani di Essex,* 45; Federal Writers' Project, "Italians in Newark," 47, 77-82, 136; N.J. Commission on Immigration, *Report,* 112-113.

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politans" who in reality came from the provinces of Benevento, Caserta, Salerno, and Avellino. Most numerous of these were the *Avellinese* from the towns of Caposele, Teora, and Vallata. Others arrived somewhat later from the provinces of Messina and Palermo in Sicily and the provinces of Matera and Potenza in Basilicata. Each of these groups formed its distinct colony in the city. In Trenton, the largest Italian settlement was in the Chambersburg district adjacent to the Roebling Works. It was founded in the 1870's by immigrants from San Fele, a mountain town in the Province of Potenza. Large numbers came from this town and from Ruvo del Monte, also in Potenza. An early priest of the Catholic Church of Chambersburg, Father Peter Jachetti, was a native of Monteleone di Spoleto, in the Province of Perugia, Umbria. He initiated an immigration which brought many *Perugini* from Monteleone di Spoleto, Ferentillo, and Scheggino to Chambersburg. In the nineties, Sicilians began to arrive, especially from Villalba in the Province of Caltanissetta; these formed their own colonies in north and east Trenton. Meanwhile yet other immigrants who came from the regions of Latium and the Abruzzi settled in south Trenton.* A similar pattern of settlement was characteristic of other cities in the state.

The intense sentiment of *campanilismo* (parochialism) which dictated that the townsmen cluster together in a particular quarter also caused the immigrants to shun Italians from other villages and provinces. Rather than speak of a "Little Italy," therefore, it would be more accurate to refer to the Italian colony as a "Little Villalba" or a "Little Caposele." Within the settlement of townsmen the traditional relationships and customs of the *paese* (town) were perpetuated, and the daily round of activities was restricted in so far as possible among the *paesani* (townsmen). When numerous enough, each group had its own doctors, groceries, saloons, and even church. In his *Three Circles of Light,* Pietro di Donato

* Marzulli, *Gl'Italiani di Essex,* 27; Mainiero, *Italians in Trenton,* 35-86; Federal Writers' Project, "Italians in Newark," 20.

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has vividly pictured the internal character of such a settlement, that of the *paesani* of Vasto in the Abruzzi who had come to West Hoboken. The ancient and complex culture of the *Vastese* was transplanted from the shores of the Adriatic to this unlikely town in north Jersey.*

The parochial spirit of the Italians was nowhere more evident than in their organizations. Scores of mutual aid societies were organized, each of which limited its membership to those from a particular town. In Newark, for example, there were among others a *Societa' Vallatese,* a *Societa' Caposelese,* and a *Societa' Teorese*. These associations united the townsmen in mutual assistance, providing sick and death benefits, and in social activities. Carrying on the tradition of the confraternities of the Old Country, the societies also sponsored feasts of the patron saints. While serving useful functions, these associations of townsmen also kept alive the sentiment of *campanilismo*. The Order of the Sons of Italy was founded in 1905 to "reunite in one family all the Italians scattered throughout the United States of America." While many of the societies did affiliate as lodges of the Order, they nonetheless retained their parochial character.**

The Italian immigrants were also divided by regional hatreds and jealousies which hindered any collective efforts for their advancement. The failure of the Italians to rise as a group in power and prestige as rapidly as the Irish or Germans was due in large measure to their lack of unity. The Italians, for example, were singularly unsuccessful in establishing organizations and institutions which would promote the welfare of their ethnic group. In reply to the question of what the Italians of Newark had accomplished for their own improvement, Olindo Marzulli replied in 1911: "Nothing. Various

* Di Donato, *Three Circles of Light, passim.*

** Altarelli, "History of Italian Colony of Paterson," 20; Federal Writers' Project, "Italians in Newark," 34, 115-124; Mainiero, *Italians in Trenton,* 63-68.

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attempts were made in the past to give to the colony some advantageous institution, but they remained simply attempts." * Proposals for a hospital and charitable institution for the Italian poor were lost amid the rivalries and strife of the regional elements. The well-to-do Italians, for the most part, provided neither money nor leadership to aid their needy countrymen. The traditional antipathy between gentry and peasantry, compounded of contempt on the one side and mistrust on the other, remained an obstacle to effective action by the Italians.**

The Italian press not only reflected but fomented this discord among the Italians. It served primarily, as Marzulli observed, as "the outlet of our passions and of our personal hatreds." Numerous Italian newspapers were published in New Jersey—at one time 15 weeklies were being issued; but most of them were shortlived. Often a newspaper was launched to further the personal ambitions of its publisher or to vent his spleen against his adversaries. Most of the newspapers exerted little in the way of constructive influence on the immigrants. Among the more successful and responsible journals were *L'Ora* of Newark and *L'Italo-Americano* of Trenton, but the newspapers with the largest circulations were *Il Progresso Italo-Americano* and *Il Corriere d'America* of New York. The radical press, including *L'Era Nuova* of Paterson and *Il Tribuno* of Newark, was most active in denouncing the exploitation of the Italian workers. But the anarchists and socialists were relatively few in number and expended much of their energy in doctrinal polemics.†

The disunity of the Italians was responsible for their failure to achieve political recognition in New Jersey

* Marzulli, *Gl'Italiani di Essex,* 36.

** Altarelli, "History of Italian Colony of Paterson," 19-23; Giovanni E. Schiavo, *Itàlian-American History* (2 vols.; New York, 1947, 1950), I, 539-540.

† Marzulli, *Gl'Italiani di Essex,* 41-43; Federal Writers' Project, "Italians in Newark," 143; Mainiero, *Italians in Trenton,* 51; De Ciampis, "Storia del Movimento Socialista," 138, 151.

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for almost half a century. Prior to World War II, no Italian had served in the state senate, only one had been sent to Congress, and few large cities had elected Italian mayors. Compared to the Irish and Germans, the Italians suffered a political lag of several decades. One reason was that these ethnic groups were firmly entrenched in power and controlled access to political office. But the inability of the Italians to exact a larger share of the spoils was a result of their own political impotence. For long they had to be satisfied with the crumbs from the political banquet table; as one disgruntled Italian put it: "Our little bosses are always offered the bones, while the flesh is devoured by the Americans." *

Few of the immigrants had participated in the electoral process before coming to America, and they learned their first lessons in politics from ward-heelers. By the 1880's the naturalization mills of Jersey City and Newark were turning out Italian voters, many of whom regarded the ballot as a commodity to be sold for as little as a glass of beer. As the Italian vote became considerable, a system of "bossismo" was established whereby the Italian leaders delivered the vote in exchange for petty political positions. With the exception of the radicals and a few others, the immigrants were not much concerned with political issues. Political affiliation was determined by loyalty to the "boss" who got them jobs, provided food and coal, interceded with the police, and helped them in other ways. Since the Republicans were for many years dominant in Newark, the Italians supported them, while in Jersey City, they enrolled in the ranks of the Democratic machine. The failure of many immigrants to become naturalized reduced the potential of the Italian vote. Some did not become citizens because they intended eventually to return to their native villages. The Naturalization Act of 1906, moreover, which placed the process under federal supervision and established more stringent standards, ended the era of free-and-easy citizenship. Since naturalization frauds now became very risky, politicians lost interest in the newcomers.

* Marzulli, *Gl'Italiani di Essex*, 39.

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Indeed no one appeared to care whether they remained aliens or became citizens; as the Commission on Immigration commented: ". . . from the time the immigrant arrives in this country until he makes his petition for final citizenship papers, neither the State, the county or the city takes any interest in his preparation for citizenship." Yet the number of Italian voters did increase steadily. In Trenton alone, the naturalized Italians rose from 595 in 1916 to over five thousand in 1929.*

Although an Italian was occasionally elected freeholder, councilman, or state assemblyman, the Italians as a group were for many years grossly underrepresented. Among the first Italian officeholders were Richard F. Mattia, freeholder in Essex County, Dr. Angelo R. Bianchi, member of Newark's Board of Aldermen, and Michael Commini, freeholder in Mercer County. The first state assemblyman of Italian descent, Henry Marelli of Paterson, was elected in 1905 and 1906. Up to 1947, only 45 Italians had served in the state assembly and none in the state senate. Meanwhile, Peter A. Cavicchia of Newark was the sole Italian to be elected to Congress, serving three terms in the 1930's. The Italians were almost as meagerly represented in municipal government as they were at the national and state levels. In Newark, for example, the Italians were virtually shut out of city politics. Prior to 1917, there were usually one or two Italians on the city council, but after the commission form was adopted the Irish and Germans monopolized the five commissionerships until 1933. In that year, through a fusion of the Italian and Jewish votes, Anthony F. Minisi and Meyer C. Ellenstein were elected commissioners, but in 1937 Minisi failed of re-election. The Italians fared little better in Jersey City where "Boss" Hague placed his trusted Irish henchmen in key positions. The Hudson County delegations to the assembly usually contained two or three Italians and Poles,

* Marzulli, *Gl'Italiani di Essex*, 39; Mainiero, *Italians in Trenton*, 43, 63; Federal Writers' Project, "Italians in Newark," 101-105; N.J. Commission on Immigration, *Report*, 127-129.

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one or two Jews, and one Protestant. The inner councils of the political machine, however, were completely Celtic in character with the exception of Michael A. Scatuorchio, a garbage contractor and leader of the Italians in Hudson County.*

While anti-Italian prejudice was a factor in their lack of political success, the primary reason was the internal divisions among the Italians themselves. United the Italians would have constituted a formidable political bloc, but the spirit of *campanilismo* plagued them in the sphere of politics as in others. Rather than joining in support of one candidate, they formed political factions along regional lines and thus canceled one another out. The Italians, especially those of the second generation, smarted from their exclusion from the higher political offices and recognized the need for a unified ethnic vote. It was the achievement of such unity under the leadership of the American-born generation which brought about the political revolution of the 1940's.**

By 1950, New Jersey had two Congressmen, numerous state legislators and judges, and 30 mayors of Italian stock. In 1943, Nicholas Martini was the first person of Italian descent to be elected mayor of Passaic, and he was succeeded by Paul G. De Muro. The political breakthrough, however, came in 1947 when the mayor, Fred M. De Sapio, and the majority of the city commissioners of Hoboken elected were Italian, ending the thirty-year reign of Mayor Gerard N. McFeely. This same year, Michael U. De Vita was chosen mayor of Paterson. The *annus mirabilis* for the Italians of New Jersey was 1949; Ralph A. Villani who had served as city commissioner since 1941 became mayor of Newark. Even more gratifying was the overthrow of "Boss" Hague by a "freedom

* Marzulli, *Gl'Italiani di Essex,* 40; Mainiero, *Italians in Trenton,* 98; Federal Writers' Project, "Italians in Newark," 106-108; McKean, *The Boss,* 61, 126-127; Schiavo, *Italian-American History,* I, 553-565, 584-599.

** Marzulli, *Gl'Italiani di Essex,* 40; Federal Writers' Project, "Italians in Newark," 101-108; Schiavo, *Italian-American History,* I, 527-530.

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ticket" of Italians, Poles, and Irishmen with Louis J. Messano becoming the first Italian elected city commissioner in Jersey City. Other cities such as Hackensack, Orange, Garfield, and Lodi also elected Italian mayors. The political renaissance of the Italians was also visible in Trenton where not only the number of Italian assemblymen increased, but Italian senators were elected for the first time. In 1948, two Congressmen of Italian parentage were elected from the Tenth and Eleventh Districts (Essex County). Peter W. Rodino has retained his seat in Congress ever since, while Hugh J. Addonizio resigned in 1962 to become mayor of Newark. His successor, Joseph G. Minish, the son of an Italian coal miner, Dominick V. Daniels, the son of an Italian barber, who has been elected for a number of terms from the Fourteenth District (Hudson County), and Rodino now account for three of New Jersey's fifteen Congressional seats.*

The thrust of the Italians to power marked their political "coming of age"; they were no longer willing to "allow themselves to be led around by the nose." It also reflected the changes which were taking place among the Italian population. The typical Italian officeholder was native born, college educated, an attorney, a Democrat, and a Roman Catholic. The second generation, which enjoyed a higher level of education and economic prosperity than its immigrant ancestors, had attained maturity and was developing its own leadership. The demand for political recognition by the Italian-Americans was part of their drive for middle-class status.**

Although the Italian immigrants were with few exceptions nominal Roman Catholics, anticlericalism and religious indifference were widespread. One of the major

* Field, *Halo Over Hoboken,* 116-117; Schiavo, *Italian-American History,* I, 564-565; Carlevale, *Americans of Italian Descent in N.J., passim; New York Times,* October 5, 6, 7, November 5, 1964.

** Samuel Lubell, *The Future of American Politics* (Paper ed.; New York, 1956), 61-71.

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obstacles to the unification of Italy had been the Papal States, and since the seizure of Rome in 1870 the Pope had refused to recognize the new kingdom. The patriotic Italian, therefore, if not a freethinker, was at least alienated by the political pretensions of the Papacy. Coming to America, the Italians found the Church in the hands of the Pope's most fervent defenders, the Irish. During the wars of Italian unification, Irish volunteers, including the father of "Boss" Hague, had fought in defense of the Holy See. The Irish viewed the Italians with intense animosity as despoilers of the patrimony of the Church, while for their part the Italians regarded the Irish as religious fanatics. In Paterson and elsewhere, the Italian radicals were fiercely anticlerical and waged unrelenting warfare against the priests. Many of the immigrants from northern Italy shared this hostility toward the Church.*

While the peasants of southern Italy were neither patriots nor radicals, they were largely indifferent to the doctrines of the Church. Magic rather than the sacraments was their way of dealing with the supernatural, and sorcerers rather than priests were sought out by those afflicted in mind or body. To New Jersey, this peasant folk brought its belief in witchcraft, the evil eye, and the cults of the saints and Madonnas. Di Donato's account of the "Miracle of 'Eighteen" relates how the *paesani* of Vasto in West Hoboken were saved from the scourge of the Spanish flu by sorcery. The various south Italian societies held their festivals in honor of Our Lady of Mt. Carmel, St. Gerardo, St. Rocco, St. Gennaro, and others of their patrons. These centuries-old celebrations were faithfully reproduced in the cities of New Jersey with processions of devotees, many barefoot and carrying candles, following the statues through the streets. Only in America, rather than gifts of fruit, money was pinned to the robes of

* Marzulli, *Gl'Italiani di Essex,* 31; McKean, *The Boss,* 17; De Ciampis, "Storia del Movimento Socialista," 145; Schiavo, *Italian-American History,* I, 531-533.

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the saint, and the "Little Italies" were festooned with electric lights. The feast was a social holiday as well as a religious observance with music, dancing, eating, drinking, and fireworks.*

To the Protestants the Italian festivals appeared to be prime examples of "imported paganism and Popish superstition." But "American" Catholics were also repelled by the exuberance of these Latin celebrations and sought to discourage them. In Newark city officials once banned the use of fireworks, but political pressure

Religious Procession at the Feast of St. Gerardo in Newark
H. C. Dorer, photographer
From Newark Sunday Call, 1924

* Di Donato, *Three Circles of Light,* 68 ff., 112; Merzbacher, *Trenton's Foreign Colonies,* 94; Meade, "Italian on the Land," 517-518.

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was brought to bear to have the order rescinded. On another occasion a German priest in Hammonton prohibited the feast altogether, whereupon he was mobbed by the irate Italians. Educated Italians also opposed the festivals as casting ridicule on their nationality; the peasants, however, persisted in holding these traditional celebrations which were so dear to them. Marzulli, himself a critic of the practice, concluded: "Nor is there any hope that these religious processions will end as long as the old generations are alive." Only with the second generation were the festivals gradually abandoned.*

From the eighties on, Italian parishes were established in New Jersey; among the earliest were St. Philip Neri's, Our Lady of Mt. Carmel, and St. Lucy's of Newark, Holy Rosary of Jersey City, and St. Mary's of Vineland. The bishops made special efforts to secure Italian priests and to provide churches for the Italians, hoping in this manner to overcome their religious indifference. But it was said: "Even this does not seem to win them, for out of the thousands who are scattered through the Diocese [of Trenton] those who attend to their religious duties can be counted by the hundreds." ** Father Aloysius Pozzi who was one of the most active missionaries among his countrymen in the state lamented that only 10 per cent of the immigrants attended church. Used to a state-supported church, the Italians were also reported to be niggardly in their contributions. Only when a group of townsmen could build a church which was a replica of that in their native village and choose their own priest was there no limit to their generosity. While there were zealous priests such as the Reverend Leonard Borgetti, pastor of the Italian Church of West New York, who assisted the immigrants and fought the

* Marzulli, *Gl'Italiani di Essex,* 29-30; Federal Writers' Project, "Italians in Newark," 34-35, 125.

** Leahy, *Catholic Church of the Diocese of Trenton,* 201; see also Henry J. Browne, "The 'Italian Problem' in the Catholic Church of the United States, 1880-1900," United States Catholic Historical Society, *Historical Records and Studies,* XXXV (New York, 1946), 46-72.

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criminal element in the colony, the Italian clergy tended on the whole to be of mediocre caliber. The Church, therefore, did not serve as a source of leadership and tutelage among the Italians as it had among the Irish.*

If the Italian immigrants appeared little better than heathen to many "American" Catholics, still they were not willing to abandon them to the Protestants. The hierarchy was energetic in making provision for parochial schools in the Italian parishes, in accordance with the motto: "If we cannot get the adults, let us try to get the children." In 1910 Bishop Thomas J. Walsh of Trenton founded the Villa Victoria of the "Maestre Pie Fillipini," an Italian order of teaching sisters, to train Italian girls as teachers so that they might "make good Americans and well-informed Catholics of young people of their race who otherwise would grow up in a more or less foreign atmosphere." ** Most Italian parents, however, preferred to send their children to free public schools. This meant not only that the religious instruction of the second generation was limited, but that most of the native-born did not have the opportunity to take the Italian language courses offered in the parochial schools. Unlike the Germans, the Italians failed to support either religious or secular schools which would seek to transmit the culture of the homeland to the next generations.†

The Italians were the object of considerable proselyting by Protestant missionaries. One of the earliest and most successful of these was the Reverend Vincent Serafini, a graduate of Princeton Theological Seminary, who founded the Italian Evangelical Church in Chambersburg. Despite persistent efforts, however, only a small number of the immigrants were ever converted

* Altarelli, "History of Italian Colony of Paterson," 21-22; Meade, "Italian on the Land," 517; di Donato, *Three Circles of Light,* 38; Schiavo, *Italian-American History,* II, 343-353, 707-752.

** Leahy, *Catholic Church of the Diocese of Trenton,* 201; John J. Cleary, "The Roman Catholics," in Trenton Historical Society, *History of Trenton,* I, 457.

† Federal Writers' Project, "Italians in Newark," 138.

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to Protestantism. A half century later a few Italian Baptist and Presbyterian churches survived as evidence of this missionary activity. The majority of the Italians remained true to their ancestral faith, but they continued to practice it in their own casual fashion.*

Curiously, the children of the Italian immigrants appear to have become "better" Roman Catholics than their parents. Although there has been considerable leakage of the second generation, some remaining unchurched, others passing into Protestant denominations, the greater part has remained within the bosom of the Church. A lack of religious zeal is suggested by the fact that relatively few Italian-Americans have entered the priesthood as compared with the Irish. But native-born Italians have become more attentive to their religious duties and much more generous in their support of the Church. One reason may be that church attendance is prescribed by the pattern of middle-class life to which most of this generation aspires. Among the Italian-Americans the church has become a center of recreational and welfare activities as well as a place of worship as it has for other groups in American society. Organizations such as the Italian Catholic Union, the Knights of Columbus, and the Holy Name Society have replaced the mutual aid societies of the immigrants. The priest has also come to assume a much more important leadership role in the Italian-American community. The American-born have shed both the anticlericalism and the belief in sorcery of the immigrant generation. By 1950 there were some fifty Italian parishes (Italian in terms of ethnic origin, not language or culture) scattered about the state, many with impressive edifices and flourishing parochial schools. The Italians had surprisingly become pillars of the Catholic Church, both numerically and financially. The Irish, however, retained their firm grip on the hierarchy. Up to 1960, not one Italian priest had been raised to the rank of archbishop or bishop in New

* Merzbacher, *Trenton's Foreign Colonies,* 101, 110; Marzulli, *Gl'Italiani di Essex,* 30.

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Jersey.* Since then, however, Archbishop Celestine J. Damiano has become head of the Diocese of Camden.

The mass of immigrants from Italy had no sense of a common nationality. Paradoxically, the growth of consciousness of being Italian was a product of their experience in America. The distinctions among Abruzzese, Perugians, and Sicilians escaped most Americans who lumped them all together as "Eye-talians." Greeted by the epithets, "Wop, Guinea, Dago, Tony-Macaroni," the immigrant had no choice but to accept his new identity, with frequent insults to remind him that he was an Italian. The prejudice against the Italians had various facets, but the most enduring and damaging stereotype was of the Italian as a sanguinary wielder of the stiletto. Like most stereotypes, this too contained its measure of truth. Many immigrants did carry a knife, and when provoked were quick to use it. Early in the twentieth century, Italian names did figure prominently in lists of assaults and homicides. One reason for this violence was that the south Italians had brought with them their notions of family honor and personal vengeance. This cultural trait as Marzulli noted was a source of much woe to the immigrants:

> Having been forced to personally vindicate our wrongs because of the lack of justice, we conserve today in this land the criminal instinct which entrusts all our rights to violence. This is what constitutes our major disgrace because it alienates the sympathy of civilized men.**

The perpetration of Black Hand crimes in the "Little Italies" of New Jersey confirmed many in the belief that the Italian was a sinister, dangerous character. Certainly a ruthless criminal element did use terroristic

* Federal Writers' Project, "Italians in Newark," 95-97; Schiavo, *Italian-American History,* II, 708-752; *Official Catholic Directory, 1960* (New York, 1960), 350.

** Marzulli, *Gl'Italiani di Essex,* 48; di Donato; *Three Circles of Light,* 6.

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methods to extort money from the immigrants, but the Americans often failed to distinguish between the Black Handers and their victims.*

In New Jersey, as elsewhere, certain Italians came to figure prominently in organized crime. Growing up in the city slums, the sons of the southern and eastern European immigrants learned that there were easier ways to make a living than by digging in a ditch or sewing in a sweatshop. To these young men, shut off from legitimate avenues of advancement because of lack of education and discrimination, illicit activities offered the chance to acquire wealth and even respectability. In choosing crime as a career, they were climbing, as Daniel Bell has pointed out, a "queer ladder of social mobility," which other ethnic elements, especially the Irish, had ascended before them. During the prohibition era, the Jersey coast was a favored area for landing liquor shipments from speedboats. The leading rum-runners and bootleggers were of various nationalities, including Irving Wexler (also known as Waxey Gordon), "Big Bill" Dwyer, "Frankie" Dunn, Al Lillien, and Frank Costello. Many of the Italian gangsters got their start in bootlegging and then expanded into the lucrative fields of gambling, narcotics, and prostitution. Following the lead of the Irish, the Italian racketeers also muscled their way into control of building trades', teamsters', and longshoremen's unions.**

The stigma of criminality which had persistently clung to the Italians for over half a century had some substance to it, but like all ethnic stereotypes it visits the sins of a few on the group as a whole. Various editions

* Carlevale, *Americans of Italian Descent in N.J.*, 10; Giovanni Schiavo, *The Truth About the Mafia and Organized Crime in America* (New York, 1962), 133-139.

** See Daniel Bell's essays, "Crime as an American Way of Life," and "The Racket-Ridden Longshoremen," in *The End of Ideology*, 127-150, 175-210; Federal Writers' Project, *New Jersey Guide*, 676; Field, *Halo Over Hoboken*, 82-83; Schiavo, *Truth About the Mafia*, 200-203; Gay Talese, "The Ethnics of Frank Costello," *Esquire* (September, 1961), 72-74, 143-147.

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of Congressional hearings into organized crime have starred Italians such as Albert Anastasia, Joe Adonis, and Joseph Valachi, while television shows like "The Untouchables" have portrayed the criminal as unmistakably Italian. Meanwhile, the myth of the Mafia has been periodically resurrected in newspapers, periodicals, and films. All these have served to give new life to the belief in the criminal tendencies of the Italians. Unlike the inarticulate immigrants, Italian-Americans have been quick to protest these slurs on their group and to apply political and economic pressure against their sources. This sensitivity stemmed not from ethnic pride but from an anxiety to escape from their immigrant backgrounds into middle-class respectability.*

The initial stage of acculturation for the immigrants was not from Italian to American, but from Tuscan, "Neapolitan," or Calabrian to Italian-American. Excluded from the larger American community as "undesirables," some immigrants developed a hyphenate mentality compounded of a chauvinistic attachment to the Old Country and a burning desire to be accepted as Americans. This new ethnic identity was most readily accepted by the young immigrants and the second generation, while those who had emigrated as adults tended to remain more parochial in their loyalties. Marzulli commented on this change:

> The ferocious aversion which keeps in a state of war the families, the societies, the immigrants of different regions, tends to mitigate only now when the Americanization of the Italians is beginning. But the old generation is an immense obstacle to this transformation.**

The new identity of the Italian-Americans was expressed in their apotheosis of Christopher Columbus. Statues were erected to the Discoverer of the New World, schools were named in his honor, and Italian societies

* Schiavo, *Truth About the Mafia, passim;* Talese, "Ethnics of Frank Costello," *passim.*

** Marzulli, *Gl'Italiani di Essex,* 27.

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proudly marched in Columbus Day parades. What better way to refute the slurs against the Italians than by reminding the Americans that a son of Italy had discovered America? But the immigrants also celebrated the national holidays of Italy and raised funds when natural disasters and war struck their homeland. During the First World War, the Italians were invited to participate with Americans in Liberty Bond drives, patriotic manifestations, and the armed forces. For many, as for the young boy in West Hoboken, this was an exhilarating experience: "I carried an American flag, and as I waved the flag I shouted: 'Hurray for America!' Then I was not a dago wop kid, but an American boy." * A great many Italians from New Jersey fought in the war, and their names were liberally sprinkled on the lists of the honored dead. Surely, thought the immigrants, their wartime service had set the seal on their Americanism; they were shocked and embittered by the strident nativism of the twenties. Since the Italians could not hope to be accepted as "White, Gentile, American-born Protestants," they reacted with a heightened sense of their own ethnic identity.**

Benito Mussolini's March on Rome in 1922, however, created a deep cleavage within the Italian-American community. During the twenties, many Americans approved of *Il Duce,* but to Italian-Americans the new role of Fascist Italy as a world power was a special source of pride. The Fascist government sought to cultivate the attachment of the Italians abroad for their mother country. Propaganda agents secured control of much of the Italian-American press and foreign-language broadcasts, and infiltrated fraternal organizations such as the Sons of Italy. Through these media and the Italian churches and parochial schools, Fascist propaganda was

* Di Donato, *Three Circles of Light,* 54; Marzulli, *Gl'Italiani di Essex,* 26; Mainiero, *Italians in Trenton,* 41; Federal Writers' Project, "Italians in Newark," 134.

** Mainiero, *Italians in Trenton,* 45; Federal Writers' Project, "Italians in Newark," 45; White, *The Ku Klux Klan,* 66.

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remained a lingering resentment against those who were thought responsible for the war with Italy. During the Second World War there was none of that persecution of "disloyal" elements in New Jersey such as the Germans had suffered during the previous war.* Actually the prosperity of the war years brought a new well-being to the Italians who had been especially hard hit by the depression. During and since the war, expanding employment offered, particularly to the second generation, the opportunity to move up into skilled or white-collar positions. With higher incomes many adopted a middle-class way of life, moving out of the old city neighborhoods to the suburbs, joining the country club, the P.T.A., and the Rotary Club. Few of these suburbanites were of the immigrant generation which preferred to remain in the "Little Italies" which were rapidly passing from the scene. It was the sons and grandsons of the peasants from Basilicata and Campania who had finally "found America."

Contemporary with the Italian immigration was that of the Jews from Eastern Europe. Beginning in the 1870's, this migration had brought over two million Jews to the United States by the outbreak of World War I. In contrast to Italian and Slavic emigrations, the Jews emigrated as family groups and few ever returned to their birthplace. The character of this exodus reflected the peculiar position of the Jews in Eastern Europe and the special circumstances of their departure.

Following the partitions of Poland in the eighteenth century, the majority of Europe's Jews came under the rule of the tsars. In Russia the Jews were restricted to the Pale of Settlement which included Byelorussia, Lithuania, Poland, and the Ukraine. The adjoining provinces of Austria-Hungary and Rumania also had

* The relocation of a small number of Japanese-Americans in New Jersey did arouse considerable opposition. For the most part, however, they were treated fairly and many remained here after the war. *Newark Call*, April 9, 1944; *Newark News*, April 12, 1944.

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large Jewish populations. The Eastern European Jews shared a common culture and a common language, Yiddish, as well as a common religion. Followers of a strict Orthodox Judaism, they conducted all the details of their lives, dress, diet, ritual, and liturgy, in accordance with the Law (Torah). In their *shtetls* (towns), the Jews lived apart from the Gentile population. The synagogue was the center of Jewish life, a place of worship, study, and community activities. The high point in the Jewish year was the "High Holy Days" commemorating the special mission of Israel. Among the Jews the highest attainment was talmudic scholarship, and he was most respected who was most learned in the Law. One of the cardinal principles of Judaism was *tsedaka,* a word meaning justice rather than charity, which required that the wealthy share their blessings with the less fortunate.*

Historically the Jews of Eastern Europe constituted a middle class between the nobility and the peasantry. They dominated the commerce of the region as grain and cattle dealers, petty tradesmen, innkeepers, moneylenders, stewards, and tax-collectors. The majority of the Jews, however, were skilled artisans. In the Pale practically all of the shoemakers, tinsmiths, carpenters, butchers, bakers, and other craftsmen were Jews. More than a third of all the Jewish workers in Russia were tailors, seamstresses, and dressmakers. A large number of Jewish entrepreneurs were engaged in manufacturing, especially of clothing, textiles, and tobacco products. There was also a considerable Jewish element in the liberal professions. Only in Austria-Hungary did a significant number of Jews follow agricultural pursuits.**

In the late nineteenth century, the economic and social situation of the Jews deteriorated rapidly. Agri-

* Tcherikower (ed.), *The Early Jewish Labor Movement,* 3-11; Samuel Joseph, *Jewish Immigration to the United States from 1881 to 1910* (New York, 1914), 21-86; Rischin, *Promised City,* 20-22, 34-48.

** Joseph, *Jewish Immigration,* 43-53; Rischin, *Promised City,* 24-28.

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cultural depression, a new technology, and a rising Gentile middle class deprived them of their traditional markets and occupations. Many of the Jews were driven into the ranks of a poverty-stricken proletariat. An upsurge of violent anti-Semitism further reduced the Jewish population to a state of destitution. The Jews were the victims of a reaction which followed the assassination of Tsar Alexander II. The May Laws of 1882 restricted the movement of Jews, and prohibited Jews from owning or renting land outside the towns and cities; other civil disabilities followed, including a severe limitation on Jewish access to educational institutions. The Russian Jews were also the victims of a series of pogroms, mob violence instigated by tsarist officials. Early in the twentieth century another period of revolutionary unrest resulted in a new wave of anti-Jewish terror. The Kishinev Massacre of 1903 was but the first of hundreds of pogroms. Jewish emigration was "encouraged" by the Russian Government, and after 1900 there was a vast outpouring to America. Meanwhile, poverty and persecution caused tens of thousands of Jews to emigrate from Rumania and Austria-Hungary.*

New York's Lower East Side became the great center for Jewish immigrants, but an increasing number continued on their journey to New Jersey. Between 1899 and 1910 over thirty thousand arriving Jews gave this state as their destination, and thousands more crossed the Hudson after a stay in New York. New Jersey soon had one of the largest Jewish populations in the country, ranking fifth among the states in 1930. At that date, there were over sixty-eight thousand Yiddish-speaking immigrants in the state, constituting the fifth largest foreign-born linguistic group. The Eastern European Jews quickly outnumbered the small number of German Jews who had preceded them so that they constituted a large majority of the 219,455 members of Jewish congregations in 1926. Since many Jews were not affiliated

* Joseph, *Jewish Immigration,* 59-80; Rischin, *Promised City,* 24, 31-33.

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with synagogues the total number of Jews was considerably higher. The national origins of Newark's Jews were revealed by a study in 1947; 49 per cent came from Russia, 17 per cent from Poland, 17 per cent from Austria and Hungary, 4 per cent from Rumania, and 4 per cent from Germany. A commercial and manufacturing people, the Yiddish immigrants settled as was to be expected in the larger cities. Newark received by far the largest number, but Jersey City, Paterson, Passaic, Elizabeth, and Trenton also had sizable Jewish colonies.*

South Jersey, however, was the scene of several of the earliest Russian Jewish settlements. The influx of Eastern European Jews was greeted by the established German Jews with a mixture of hostility and sympathy. Fearing that the congestion of the poor Yiddish immigrants in the cities would provoke anti-Semitism, German Jewish agencies such as the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society of New York sponsored the removal of the newcomers to agricultural colonies in New Jersey and other states. The first settlement of 25 Russian Jewish families was established in 1882 at Alliance in Salem County. Many other immigrants joined these pioneers at Alliance and also founded the nearby colonies of Rosenhayn, Norma, Brotmanville, and Carmel. In 1891, the Baron de Hirsch Fund created another Jewish settlement at Woodbine in Cape May County. This also became the site of the Baron de Hirsch Agricultural School for the training of Jewish farmers. A number of other such colonies were initiated, but these were the only ones which survived.**

Most of these colonists had been artisans and tradesmen in the Ukraine, and were totally inexperienced in

* Joseph, *Jewish Immigration,* 195; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: 1960,* I, *Characteristics of the Population,* Part 32, 161; *Religious Bodies: 1926,* I, 644; Jewish Community Council of Essex County, *The Jewish Population of Essex County,* Part I (Newark, 1948), 27.

** Philip R. Goldstein, *Social Aspects of the Jewish Colonies of South Jersey* (New York, 1921), 13-22; "Jews in New Jersey Agriculture," in Federal Writers' Project, New Jersey Ethnic Survey.

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farming. Each family was given a cow, a horse, a plow, a shack, and a tract of sandy, scrub-covered land, and was directed to clear the wilderness and plant crops. The first years were ones of extreme privation, and many of the would-be farmers soon straggled back to the cities. Manufacturing rather than agriculture proved to be the economic salvation of these colonies. Clothing, hat, and hosiery factories provided employment for many of the settlers, while others worked on garments for New York clothing firms. Some of the Jewish immigrants did succeed as farmers, but the second generation, for the most part, still migrated to the city to enter commerce and the professions. In 1919, the total Jewish population of these colonies was 2739, but it was steadily decreasing. For a time, however, these Jewish towns of south Jersey were miniature reproductions of the *shtetls* of the Pale. Each had its Orthodox synagogue which served as the religious, educational, and social center of the community. Despite the failure of these agricultural colonies, Jews did become prominent in New Jersey as poultry farmers. In Ocean and Monmouth counties chicken raising was largely a Jewish enterprise. Since poultry growing required little land, the Jewish farmers were able to establish communities such as that at Lakewood. The Jews also revolutionized the business of chicken farming by placing it on a scientific, mass-production basis, and in so doing earned the resentment of the more conservative native farmers.*

While the great majority of the Italian and Slavic immigrants had been agriculturists, more than two-thirds of the Eastern European Jews had followed skilled occupations and only some 10 per cent had been farmers,

* Goldstein, *Social Aspects of Jewish Colonies*, 29-69; *Yōvāl A Symposium Upon the First Fifty Years of the Jewish Farming Colonies of Alliance, Norma and Brotmanville, New Jersey* (Philadelphia, 1932); "Jews in New Jersey Agriculture," in Federal Writers' Project, New Jersey Ethnic Survey; Morris Freeman, "The New Farmers of Lakewood," in *Commentary on the American Scene*, edited by Elliot E. Cohen (New York, 1953), 127-143.

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laborers, or servants. Of the Jewish artisans, almost half were tailors, hatmakers, and other needle-trade workers. Carpenters, shoemakers, painters, butchers, and bakers were also numerous. In New Jersey, many of the Yiddish immigrants resumed their traditional trades. By 1900, only the Germans outnumbered them as tailors, and the Eastern European Jews soon became predominant in the clothing industry. In the hundreds of sweatshops which dotted the ghettoes of New Jersey's cities, both the contractors and their employees were likely to be recent Jewish immigrants. Among the Jews of Eastern Europe, the artisans had a low social status; the merchants who had both wealth and "learning" formed the elite of the Jewish community. It was, therefore, the aspiration of the craftsman to leave his workbench and to become a businessman. In Russia, this commercial ambition had been frustrated by economic conditions and official restrictions, but in America it came into full play. Following in the footsteps of their German predecessors, many of the Yiddish immigrants began as peddlers and then rose into the ranks of merchants and shopkeepers.*

Other than those who were garment workers or operatives in the silk mills of Paterson, few of the Jews became factory hands or laborers. In Passaic, for example, only a handful worked in the woolen mills. Rather the Jews exercised here the same middleman functions that they had in the Pale. Aided by their linguistic facility which enabled them to deal with Poles, Magyars, Slovaks, and other nationalities, the Jewish shopkeepers on Second Street catered to the immigrant population of the Dundee District. So many Jewish stores were established that it was generally believed that a "syndicate of Hebrews in New York" was furnishing the capital. While this was improbable, it was not uncommon for successful Jews to help newcomers to get started in business. The

* Joseph, *Jewish Immigration,* 188-190; Levine, *Women's Garment Workers,* 24-25; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Occupations at the Twelfth Census,* 336-343.

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road to wealth of many immigrants was epitomized in the career of Solomon M. Schatzkin who came to Passaic from Russia in the eighties, began as a coal peddler, became a merchant, and made his fortune in real estate. The Russian Jews of Trenton also earned a reputation for thrift, industry, and "business sagacity." According to one account, by 1908 they owned more than half the stores and one-fourth of the factories in the city. In addition to numerous small shops, the Jews were dominant in the clothing business, real estate, department stores, and motion picture theatres. The Eastern European Jews also quickly made a place for themselves in the mercantile and industrial life of Newark as clothing manufacturers, merchants, and theatre owners. It was generally agreed that of the newcomers, the Yiddish immigrants were the most prosperous and progressive.*

The rapid rise of the Eastern European Jews to middle-class status was the result not only of their business acumen, but also of their avid pursuit of education. Their traditional reverence for talmudic scholarship now became a thirst for secular learning. While the children of other immigrants were leaving school for the factory, the Jewish boys and girls were going on to high school and college. It was the highest hope of Jewish shopkeepers to have their sons become doctors or lawyers, and America offered the educational opportunities from which they had been barred in Russia. Within a few years large numbers of Jewish youths were entering the professions.

Commercial success and educational achievement combined to elevate the economic and social standing of the Jews considerably above that of the other "new" immi-

* Merzbacher, *Trenton's Foreign Colonies,* 65-70; James Kerney, "Trenton in the 20th Century," in Trenton Historical Society, *History of Trenton,* II, 978-980; Katzler, "The Germans in Newark," 1069-1070; Tercentenary Committee of the Jewish Community Council of Passaic-Clifton, *Jewish Roots a History of the Jewish Community of Passaic and Environs* (Clifton, N.J., 1959), 13-19.

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grants. Various studies of the Jewish population revealed the atypical occupational profile of this ethnic group. In Trenton, for example, in 1937, 59 per cent of the Jewish males were occupied in trade, and only 13.3 per cent were employed in manufacturing. Moreover, 12.3 per cent of the Jewish males were in the professions, as compared with 5 per cent in the general population. At this time, two-thirds of all physicians and surgeons and 40 per cent of the lawyers and judges in Trenton were Jews. Meanwhile in Passaic, of the Jewish males, 43 per cent were engaged in trade, 22.5 per cent in manufacturing, and over 25 per cent in professional and clerical work. The predominance of the Jews in the professions was even more marked in Passaic than in Trenton with half of the medical practitioners and 84 per cent of the members of the bar being Jewish. A study of Newark's Jews in 1947 found that a majority of the males were self-employed as proprietors, managers, and professional men, only 5 per cent were in the service and laborer categories, and 19 per cent were craftsmen and operatives. In the suburbs, an even larger proportion of the Jews were professional men.*

The findings of these studies were confirmed by the census data of 1950 which revealed that foreign and native-born Russians had a much higher representation in the professions and as self-employed managers and proprietors and a much lower representation in agriculture and as laborers than the foreign stock in general. As in the case of the Italians there was a continuity between generations in their concentration in certain professions and in certain types of commerce and manufacturing. The emphasis on self-employment among the Jews may be attributed in part to their entrepreneurial zeal, but it may also have been a result of the discrimination against Jews which was generally

* Sophia M. Robison (ed.), *Jewish Population Studies* (Jewish Social Studies Publications, No. 3, New York, 1943), 11-35; Jewish Community Council of Essex County, *Jewish Population*, I, 55-60.

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practiced by large corporations and public agencies.*

Despite their remarkable economic progress, the advance of the Jews in politics was no more rapid than that of the Italians. The Yiddish immigrants were quick to become naturalized and to form political organizations, but they too encountered the entrenched Irish machines which blocked the path to City Hall, the State House, and Congress. Prior to World War II, Isaac Bacharach of Atlantic City was the only Jew to be elected to Congress from New Jersey. Jewish aldermen and freeholders normally represented wards and districts with large Jewish populations, such as Newark's Third Ward and Paterson's Fourth Ward. But after most large cities in the state adopted the commission form of government, it became more difficult for minority groups to secure representation. Passaic's first Jewish commissioner was elected in 1920, but the first one in Newark was not elected until 1932. This was Meyer C. Ellenstein, who also became Newark's first Jewish mayor in the 1930's. On the other hand, it was not until 1950 that a Jew, Morris Pashman, served as mayor of Passaic. In 1889, Leonard Kalisch became the first Jew from Newark to sit in the state assembly. In the twentieth century, Jewish assemblymen have since been regularly elected from Essex, Hudson, and Passaic counties. The first Jewish state senator, Oscar R. Wilensky, however, was not sent to Trenton until 1940. Since the Second World War, Jews have been more frequently elected to public office, but they have not been so notably successful as the Italians. Jews among New Jersey's Congressional delegations and state senators have remained few. They have had more success in achieving municipal and county offices, and have been especially conspicuous on the

* Robison (ed.), *Jewish Population Studies,* 187; Hutchinson, *Immigrants and their Children,* 220-231, 253-254. Although the data in this study are presented for the foreign stock originating in the U.S.S.R. and are not specifically for the Jews, a substantial majority of the emigration from Russia prior to the Bolshevik Revolution was Jewish. See Joseph, *Jewish Immigration,* 165.

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bench as members of the New Jersey Supreme Court, Superior Court, and county courts. The limited degree of success of the Jews in politics may be explained by their greater tendency to concentrate on business careers and also by a latent anti-Semitism with which Jewish candidates have had to contend.*

Coming from the ghettos of Eastern Europe, the Jews sought to recreate here the *shtetl* life with its ancient institutions and customs. By the process of chain migration communities of *lanslite* (townspeople) were reassembled on this side of the Atlantic Ocean. The emigrants from each town had a particular destination, a certain city—and even street—where they knew they would find familiar faces and assistance. The Polish Jewish textile workers of Lodz, for example, conceived of the United States as the silk mills of Paterson; as one Lodzer recalled: "In Lodz, when one spoke of America, one referred to Paterson as America." Wherever the Yiddish immigrants congregated, they established their kosher delicatessens and butcher shops, their Turkish baths, and synagogues, giving particular districts the distinctive flavor of Eastern European Jewish life. Prince Street was the heart of the ghetto in Newark's Third Ward, while Paterson's Fourth Ward became known as "Jewtown." In Trenton, the Jews first colonized on Union Street in the downtown district, and later established a second Jewish section in Chambersburg. Life followed a familiar pattern in these settlements, where the immigrants spoke Yiddish and observed the Sabbath and *kashruth* (the dietary laws).**

Among the most pressing concerns of the Orthodox

* Tercentenary Committee, *Jewish Roots*, 91-94; Robison (ed.), *Jewish Population Studies*, 12; Merzbacher, *Trenton's Foreign Colonies*, 85; "Jews in New Jersey," in Federal Writers' Project, New Jersey Ethnic Survey; Freedman, "New Farmers of Lakewood," 138; Jewish Education Association, *Essex Story*, 65.

** Tercentenary Committee, *Jewish Roots*, xii; Kerney, "Trenton in the 20th Century," 979; "Jews in New Jersey," in Federal Writers' Project, New Jersey Ethnic Survey.

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Jews was that they have a fit place for worship, kosher food, and hallowed ground for burial. During the early years, it was sometimes necessary to import men in order to form the *minyan* (a quorum of ten men necessary for worship), and for the High Holy Days a rabbi was invited from New York. The Jewish pioneers also had to make weekly shopping trips to the Lower East Side for kosher provisions. As soon as they were sufficiently numerous, a group of *landsmen* (townsmen) formed a congregation and secured the services of a rabbi and a *shohet* (kosher butcher). The Eastern European Jews were repelled by both the snobbish airs and the Reform tendencies of the German Jewish congregations; therefore, they established their own synagogues in which the Orthodox doctrines and liturgy were rigorously observed. One of the earliest was Congregation Adas Israel, organized in 1873 by Newark's Russian, Polish, and Galician Jews. Trenton's first Orthodox congregation, Brothers of Israel, was founded in 1883, while in 1886 the Eastern European congregation, Holche Yosher, acquired its own synagogue in Elizabeth. The Orthodox congregations, B'nai Jacob of Passaic and Ahavas Achim of New Brunswick, were both chartered in 1889. In the years which followed many other Eastern European congregations were formed, giving to Judaism in New Jersey a distinctly Orthodox cast.*

The Yiddish immigrants also organized a large number of *landsmanshafts,* small associations of townsmen, such as the Lodzer Society of Paterson, which provided burial funds, insurance benefits, and assistance to members. The synagogues and organizations of the Eastern European Jews were based on national origins as well as town groups; thus the Lithuanians, Galicians, Hungarians,

* Tercentenary Committee, *Jewish Roots,* 11, 21, 40; Trenton Historical Society, *History of Trenton,* I, 469; Gale (ed.), *Eastern Union,* 37-41, 49, 92; *Sunday Home News* (New Brunswick), March 15, 1964, 25; Jewish Education Association, *Essex Story,* 22.

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and so on, formed their own congregations and societies. These divisive attitudes, however, were counteracted by the ancient Judaic traditions of communal responsibility and philanthropy: "that all Jews are responsible for each other, and a noble service benefits the donor as well as the beneficiary." In America, this communal tradition burgeoned into a network of agencies, institutions, and organizations which joined together the various national and town groups. The Eastern European Jews, however, kept their distance from the German Jews, estranged by religious differences and the higher social and economic status of the latter. In various cities, the German Jews established agencies such as the Young Men's Hebrew Association to uplift their benighted brethren from the Pale, but the Yiddish immigrants resented the patronizing attitude of the Germans and preferred to form their own organizations.*

Provision for the Jewish education of their children was one of the first undertakings of the immigrants. Initially, itinerant *melamedim* (teachers) taught Hebrew and Judaic lore in the homes or makeshift *chadorim* (schools). Most of the Jewish communities, however, soon established Talmud Torahs or Hebrew Free Schools with instruction in Hebrew, religion, ethics, and Jewish history. Hebrew Burial Associations were also formed to provide Jewish cemeteries and proper funeral services for all Jews. The tradition of free loans was carried on by Hebrew Free Loan Associations which assisted small businessmen to get started. Meanwhile, the Hebrew Free Sheltering Homes which provided food and shelter to poor wayfarers perpetuated the tradition of hospitality. The precept of philanthropy also inspired the organization of Hebrew Ladies' Benevolent Societies which aided the poor. Jewish women, who in the *shtetl* had been restricted to the home, now took a very active role in community life. The proliferation of these activities led

* Goldstein, *Social Aspects of Jewish Colonies,* 65; Tercentenary Committee, *Jewish Roots,* 66-67; Rischin, *Promised City,* 104-105.

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to the formation of central coordinating agencies such as the United Hebrew Charity Organization of Elizabeth.*

In addition to the traditional elements of Jewish life, many of the immigrants had been influenced by the "Jewish Enlightenment," the impact of secular, and especially radical, ideas in the late nineteenth century. The Russian Jews took an increasingly active part in revolutionary movements, and a considerable number of students fled to America from the tsarist secret police. These radical intellectuals won a considerable segment of the Jewish proletariat to their cause. The Lower East Side was the seedbed of the radical Jewish movements, but Newark and other Jersey cities soon had branches of the socialist and anarchist associations. The radicals vehemently attacked Judaism as medieval obscurantism and superstition, and to show their contempt for the Orthodox they held Yom Kippur balls. Such a ball held in Newark in 1891 resulted in a brawl between anarchists and the faithful. Stelton, New Jersey, was the site of the Francisco Ferrer Colony, an anarchist settlement founded in 1915 and composed predominantly of Russian Jews. The colony became famous for its "Modern School" which was conducted according to the educational theories of Ferrer, a martyred Spanish anarchist. The Eastern European Jews were also animated by a new sense of nationalism which was expressed through the Zionist movement and the dignifying of the Yiddish language.**

Many of New Jersey's Jews turned from Orthodoxy to embrace these secular ideals. Branches of the Workmen's Circles and *Arbeiter Verband* (Workingman's Association) were formed to further the causes of socialism

* Tercentenary Committee, *Jewish Roots,* 29-31; Gale (ed.), *Eastern Union,* 28-29, 41-42, 54; Jewish Education Association, *Essex Story,* 31-45.

** Tcherikower (ed.), *The Early Jewish Labor Movement,* 203-271; Levine, *Women's Garment Workers,* 21-31; Rischin, *Promised City,* 38-47; Julius Schwartz, "A Study of the Ferrer Colony, Stelton, New Jersey" (Term paper, Rutgers University, 1952).

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and Yiddish culture. Non-religious schools were sponsored to indoctrinate young people with these values. Zionism also gained many adherents; branches of the Zionist Organization of America for men and of Hadassah for women were established in many cities. These groups were active in raising funds for the relief of victims of pogroms and of the World War. Perhaps because of the wide circulation of the Yiddish press of New York, especially of the *Jewish Daily Forward,* there were few Yiddish-language newspapers in New Jersey. The *Newarker Wochenblat* and *Der Morgen-Steren* of Newark were the most important of these. Yiddish plays with Zionist and radical themes as well as melodramas were the fare at such theatres as Elving's Metropolitan Theatre of Newark. For a time, Yiddish culture flourished, alive with the ardor of radical and nationalist aspirations.*

Neither Yiddish cultural nationalism nor Orthodoxy, however, could long withstand the disruptive influences of the American environment. The very economic success and social mobility of the Jews created centrifugal forces within their communities. By World War I the more successful families had begun to move from the ghettoes to more desirable residential areas. This Jewish advance on the urban frontiers led to the formation of areas of second settlement, but many of the synagogues and institutions first created by the immigrants were left stranded in the downtown districts. The move out of the ghetto was more than physical, and the migrants tended to leave behind much of the Yiddish culture; most importantly, strict Orthodoxy gave way to a more secular orientation. The second generation, often college-educated, was apt to view the rites and doctrines of traditional Judaism as empty formalities. Although the majority retained an affiliation with a synagogue, they

* Tercentenary Committee, *Jewish Roots,* 61-64; Gale (ed.), *Eastern Union,* 28-30; "Jews in Newark," in Federal Writers' Project, New Jersey Ethnic Survey; Jewish Education Association, *Essex Story,* 51-55.

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were more likely to belong to a Modern Orthodox or Conservative congregation than an Orthodox one. Conservatism served as a half-way house for the children of the immigrants who "found Orthodoxy too severe and Reform too un-Jewish." It was the younger generation, for example, which caused the Congregation B'nai Israel of Elizabeth to change from Orthodoxy to Conservatism in 1920, and which founded Passaic's first Conservative congregation, Temple Emanuel, in 1923. By 1936 there were 209 synagogues in New Jersey with a total membership of two hundred and fifty thousand. While most of these were probably still Orthodox, there was a rapidly increasing number of Conservative congregations.*

If Orthodoxy held little attraction for the American-born, so too the Yiddish organizations and *landsmanshafts* were unable to hold their interest. As one study observed:

> The sharp decline in the immigrant element in the Jewish community and the rise in the native element was accompanied on the one hand by a weakening of old Jewish loyalties and ways of living, and, on the other hand by the development of new Jewish loyalties and interests.**

Around World War I when the second generation began to assume leadership, the Young Men's Hebrew Association became the most influential agency in the Jewish community. Through the "Y" the various philanthropic and cultural activities were carried on with a broad communal rather than a parochial outlook. In 1917, the Trenton Y.H.M.A., for example, established the Community House as a center for all the Jewish organizations and began publication of the *Community Messenger*. Despite the activity and prosperity of Jewish institutions,

* Jewish Education Association, *Essex Story,* 25-29, 35, 47; Tercentenary Committee, *Jewish Roots,* 24-26; Gale (ed.), *Eastern Union,* 44, 70, 77; Kerney, "Trenton in the 20th Century," 979; Nathan Glazer, *American Judaism* (Chicago, 1957), 92; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies: 1936* (Washington, D.C., 1941), 104.

** Jewish Community Council of Essex County, *Jewish Education in Essex County,* Part III (Newark, 1948), 5.

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a considerable dilution of the Eastern European Jewish heritage had taken place, and for some a loss of identity as Jews. Indifferent to religion and rejecting their cultural origins, these Jewish Americans prided themselves on having achieved full assimilation.*

In New Jersey, the Jews encountered various kinds of prejudice which reminded them of the history of their people. In the early days the Orthodox Jewish peddlers, with beards and earlocks, long black coats, and talmudic hats, were conspicuous targets for the hoodlum element. More bitter, perhaps, was the anti-Semitism which they encountered among the Slavic immigrants, an antagonism stemming from the historic relationship between Jewish middleman and peasant in Eastern Europe. As the Jews advanced in business, the professions, and education, they were confronted by the "polite" anti-Semitism of the Protestant Establishment. "Gentlemen's agreements" excluded Jews from certain residential areas and resorts, while quotas restricted their entrance to private schools, colleges, and professional schools. Jews were also barred from certain employments especially at the white-collar level; help-wanted advertisements often specified "Gentile" as well as "white." In 1942, the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice found that a number of large industrial firms in New Jersey were discriminating against Jews and Negroes, and to a lesser extent against Catholics as well.**

During the 1920's, the Jews, as well as other minority groups, were the object of a heightened bigotry. The stereotype of the "money-grasping Jew" was second only to the Church of Rome among the dangers which the Ku Klux Klan saw threatening America. The business

* Kerney, "Trenton in the 20th Century," 978; Tercentenary Committee, *Jewish Roots,* 40-43, 112; Freedman, "New Farmers of Lakewood," 128-137.

** Myers, *History of Bigotry,* 438-439; Rischin, *Promised City,* 258-267; Tercentenary Committee, *Jewish Roots,* 39; Ludwig Lewisohn, *Up Stream* (New York, 1922), *passim.*

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success of the Jews was a major source of resentment among the Klansmen. In a publication endorsed by the Imperial Representative of the Realm of New Jersey, K.K.K., Bishop Alma White wrote: "He [the Jew] wants gold, and it matters little to him how he gets it. An honest Gentile American cannot successfully compete with him in the commercial game." * The Jews were accused of having crowded the "real Americans" out of business and of having gained control of the country's finances. They were also reproached with having betrayed their "Protestant friends" by allying themselves with the "Scarlet Mother," i.e., the Roman Catholic Church, ". . . to crush out the Protestant religion by breaking down the Christian Sabbath, dubbing the Bible a sectarian book, and prohibiting it from being read in the public schools." Among the sins charged to the Jews was that of corrupting American youth through their control of the motion picture industry, producing "immoral films," and showing movies on Sunday, "thus undermining Christianity by luring multitudes away from the Protestant Churches." The Hebrew was further denounced for exploiting young Gentile women in dancehalls, sweatshops, department stores, and white-slave dens. The indictment ended on an ominous note:

> The Jew is insoluble and indigestible; and when he grows in numbers and power till he becomes a menace to Christianity and the whole moral fabric, drastic measures will have to be taken to counteract his destructive work, and more especially when he is in alliance with the old papal machine.**

While this was an extreme expression of anti-Semitism, it appears likely that not a few Jerseymen agreed in greater or lesser degree with its sentiments.

It was the traumatic events of the thirties which shocked the American Jews into a renewed sense of their ethnic identity. The rise of Hitler to power and

* White, *The Ku Klux Klan,* 52.
** White, *The Ku Klux Klan,* 26-27, 45-54.

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the Nazi persecution of the Germanized Jews, "demonstrated the failure of assimilation." This lesson was taken to heart by many who had been indifferent to their Jewish origins. An upsurge of bigotry in the United States also served as a catalyst to greater unity among the Jews. Nazi agents were active disseminating anti-Semitic propaganda among the German-Americans, the Irish-Americans, and other ethnic groups. While some German-Americans were repelled and formed an Anti-Nazi League, a minority responded to this nationalist appeal and organized the *Amerika-deutscher Volksbund.* The Bund which had considerable strength in New Jersey spewed forth vicious attacks upon the Jews through its rallies and publications. In 1937, Camp Nordland was established in Sussex County as a Bund center for the indoctrination and training of German-American youth. Hitler's portrait dominated the recreation hall where the campers congregated to give the Nazi salute.*

America also produced in the thirties a crop of home-grown demagogues, including Gerald L. K. Smith, William Dudley Pelley, and Father Charles E. Coughlin, the "radio priest," whose main stock in trade was anti-Semitism. Coughlin's Christian Front which was also known as the "Catholic Klan" because its membership was predominantly Roman Catholic had its followers in New Jersey. During this decade, the state also experienced a revival of the KKK as well as the birth of new racist groups such as the Silver Shirts. Perhaps the height of bigotry was reached in August, 1940, when an "Americanism" meeting was held jointly by the German-American Bund and the KKK at Camp Nordland. While a 40-foot cross burned in the night, Nazi marching songs blared through loudspeakers.**

Most Jerseymen were outraged by the rantings of these

* Gerson, *Hyphenate in Recent American Politics,* 114-119; Federal Writers' Project, *New Jersey Guide,* 464; Myers, *History of Bigotry,* 314-342.

** Myers, *History of Bigotry,* 338, 343-415.

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hate groups, and formed organizations such as the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League of Newark to combat their racist propaganda. Reflecting public sentiment, the New Jersey Legislature in 1935 enacted a statute which made it a crime to incite or advocate hatred, violence, or hostility "by reason of race, color or religion." Although leaders of the Bund were convicted in 1941 under this act, their conviction was correctly reversed by the Supreme Court of New Jersey on the ground that the law violated constitutional guarantees of free speech and assembly. In June, 1941, however, state officials did close Camp Nordland as a "standing public nuisance." *

A more positive response to group hatreds was the creation of a Good-Will Commission by the state legislature on June 4, 1938. The purpose of the Commission was to promote understanding among the racial and religious elements comprising New Jersey's people. In each county a Good-Will Committee was organized and educational programs were sponsored to teach tolerance and Americanism. The position of the State of New Jersey was made clear in a declaration of the Good-Will Commission: "Discrimination against any people on the ground of racial inferiority, religious affiliation or linguistic heritage is opposed to good Americanism." **

New Jersey's Jews reacted most vigorously to both Jewish persecution abroad and anti-Semitism at home. Overcoming religious and ideological differences they closed ranks against their antagonists. Jewish Community Councils were formed in Newark, Passaic, Elizabeth, and elsewhere to fight against bigotry and to coordinate fund raising and social work. The Community Council movement represented a revitalization of the communal tradition of Eastern European Jewry. Through the assistance of the Community Councils several thousand

* Myers, *History of Bigotry*, 338; New Jersey Committee on Civil Liberties, *Civil Liberties in New Jersey* (n.p., 1948), 6.

** Good-Will Commission of New Jersey, *Reports to the Governor and Legislature of the State of New Jersey* (Trenton, 1940-1944).

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Jewish refugees from Nazi persecution were resettled in New Jersey. Among them were many professional men, businessmen, and scientists, including Albert Einstein. The struggle against American fascism was carried on by the Jewish War Veterans, B'nai B'rith, and other organizations which staged boycotts of Nazi sympathizers, waged counterpropaganda campaigns, and, in some cases, engaged in street fighting with the Bundists.*

The war against Nazi Germany had special significance for New Jersey's Jews, especially when the full tragedy of European Jewry became known. Even Hitler's defeat could hardly assuage the horror of the concentration camps. Jewish organizations in the state undertook to provide aid to the relatively few survivors of the Nazi genocide policy. The Palestinian War for Independence and the creation of the State of Israel in 1948 inspired a tremendous upsurge in Zionist sentiment. Though few American Jews wished to emigrate to the new Jewish homeland, they contributed greatly to its birth, both financially and by political pressure on American foreign policy. During these years, the Jewish communities of New Jersey responded generously to the United Jewish Appeal, a drive to raise funds for local and national Jewish agencies, for relief of Jews abroad, and for Israeli institutions. In 1948, the Jews of Essex County gave over three and a half million dollars, the contributions of Passaic's Jews totaled $849,000, while Elizabeth's Jews raised $631,000.**

Following the war, the exodus of the Jews from the areas of first and second settlement in the cities to the suburbs was accelerated. By 1947, Newark's Third Ward which had been the original ghetto contained less than 4 per cent of the city's Jewish population. In the place

* Tercentenary Committee, *Jewish Roots,* 44, 81-87, 94; Gale (ed.), *Eastern Union,* 31-32; Jewish Education Association, *Essex Story,* 48-50, 58-60.

** Gerson, *Hyphenate in Recent American Politics,* 153-156, 294, *n.* 22; Tercentenary Committee, *Jewish Roots,* 87; Gale (ed.), *Eastern Union,* 32; Jewish Education Association, *Essex Story,* 55, 60.

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of the Yiddish immigrants from the Pale were now Negro migrants from the South. Philip Roth has described the hegira from the Third Ward:

> The neighborhood has changed: the old Jews like my grandparents had struggled and died, and their offspring had struggled and prospered, and moved further and further west, toward the edge of Newark, then out of it, and up the slope of the Orange Mountains, until they had reached the crest and started down the other side, pouring into Gentile territory as the Scotch-Irish had poured through the Cumberland Gap.*

Certain suburban communities became known as "Little Israels" because of their high concentration of Jews; Hillside in Union County, for example, had a population about one-third Jewish in 1958.**

The suburban migration was accompanied by what has been called "the Jewish revival," a return to Judaism by second- and third-generation Jews. This phenomenon has been explained as an expression of a heightened sense of Jewish identity in response to the events of the thirties and forties. Nathan Glazer, however, has argued that the new Jewish suburbanites were simply conforming to the pattern of middle-class respectability which prescribes church attendance. The older forms of Jewishness, socialism and Yiddish culturism, were obviously unsuited for the suburban way of life. What was left was Judaism, but a Judaism which bore little resemblance to the Orthodoxy of the Pale. In the suburbs, children of Orthodox parentage formed Conservative and Reform congregations. In 1947, for example, while the majority of the Jewish families in Newark belonged to Orthodox and Modern Orthodox synagogues, the majority of the families in the suburbs were affiliated

* Philip Roth, *Goodbye, Columbus* (Paper ed.; New York, 1963), 64; Jewish Community Council of Essex County, *Jewish Population,* 23.

** Gale (ed.), *Eastern Union,* 70, Albert I. Gordon, *Jews in Suburbia* (Boston, 1959), 171; Jewish Education Association, *Essex Story,* 25-29.

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with Conservative and Reform temples. Like the Christian churches of suburbia, the Jewish temples have become "synagogue centers" providing social programs and community activities with religious worship as one of their many functions.*

Living among Gentile neighbors, the Jewish suburbanites were anxious to shed those distinctive Jewish traits which might be offensive to others. In his satire on this aspect of Jewish suburban life, "Eli the Fanatic," Roth has one of his characters say:

> It is only since the war that Jews have been able to buy property here, and for Jews and Gentiles to live beside each other in amity. For this adjustment to be made, both Jews and Gentiles alike have had to give up some of their more extreme practices in order not to threaten or offend each other.**

These developments have confronted the children and grandchildren of the Eastern European Jews with a question which would never have occurred to their immigrant ancestors: "What is a Jew?" For the answer they have turned to the rabbi, the synagogue, and the Jewish school. Since World War II, perhaps more children were receiving some form of Jewish education than at any other time, not only in the afternoon and Sunday schools, but in full-time schools as well. The Jewish community was itself divided on the issue of separate schools and separate youth organizations as well; on the one hand was the threat of total assimilation, intermarriage, and the loss of Jewish identity, while on the other was the pitfall of "self-ghettoization." † The Jewish education offered in these schools had little in common with that which the *melamed* had dispensed in the *cheder*. In place of learning the Torah by rote was a

* Glazer, *American Judaism*, 106-126; Gordon, *Jews in Suburbia*, *passim;* Jewish Community Council of Essex County, *Jewish Education*, 16.

** Roth, *Goodbye, Columbus*, 189.

† Tercentenary Committee, *Jewish Roots*, 32-33, 114; Jewish Education Association, *Essex Story*, 35-36, 75-76.

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new emphasis on relating Judaic lore to American democratic thought. A report on Jewish education in Essex County stressed the necessity of making Jewish teachings relevant to modern life so that the Jewish child would be able to resist the "leveling" pressures of a non-Jewish environment. The objective of Jewish education was not to be primarily religious, but to inculcate in the children acceptance and pride in their Jewishness, or as the report put it: "To immunize the child against the spiritual ravages of anti-semitism with which Western civilization is tainted." *

While the Jews of the Pale had gloried in their separateness and even in their persecution as God's Chosen People, the Jews of suburbia sought to minimize their differences from their Gentile neighbors and to reassure their children that a Jew was really a good American. It had been a long journey from the *shtetl* to the suburb and much baggage had been jettisoned along the way.

Each of the other ethnic groups of the "new" immigration, the Poles, the Magyars, the Slovaks, the Ukrainians, and so on, has a history which is equally as colorful and significant as those of the Italians and Eastern European Jews. Several conclusions, however, can be drawn from this discussion of the Italian and Jewish groups which might be applicable to the "new" immigration as a whole.

Clearly the cultural backgrounds of the immigrant groups were of the utmost importance in determining the character of their adjustments to the conditions of existence in New Jersey. Although confronted by similar problems, each ethnic group went about solving them in accordance with its unique tradition. Its Old World traits largely determined its occupational specialties, its forms of social and religious expressions, and even its rate of social mobility. While the immigrant generation tended to remain isolated in its settlements of *paesani*

* Jewish Community Council of Essex County, *Jewish Education*, 17, and *passim*.

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and *landsmen,* the second generation was less parochial in its loyalties and developed a broader group consciousness, a hyphenate mentality. It was more often members of the second generation who ventured out from the ethnic colony to play a more active role in the politics, business, and social life of the larger community.

If there was continuity between the immigrants and their children in occupations, religious affiliation, and cultural attributes, there were also significant changes. What is perhaps most striking is the convergence of the native-born, coming from very different immigrant groups, toward the same model of the middle-class American. It is a tribute to the homogenizing power of American culture that the second-, and especially the third-generation Italians and Jews tend to resemble each other more than they resemble their immigrant ancestors. The result has not been cultural pluralism or "the melting pot," but the creation of individuals who are in a sense *sui generis.* In 1914 the New Jersey Commission on Immigration asserted:

> The ideal of the nation is to produce through free and universal education a fairly homogeneous people having a uniform standard of social customs and political institutions.*

This ideal has been largely realized. While a certain degree of ethnic consciousness persists and is a factor in politics and social life, the basis for the existence of ethnic groups, i.e., distinct cultural traditions, has for the most part disappeared. Crèvecoeur's American, "this new man," has not been created by free land in the twentieth century, but by the dominant institutions of American society: the public schools, the mass media, advertising, and standardization of tastes by mass consumption. What has been gained as we have become more alike is a reduction of religious and ethnic prejudices. What has been lost is the vitality and variety of a pluralistic society.

* N.J. Commission on Immigration, *Report,* 111.

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EPILOGUE

THE RESTRICTIVE LEGISLATION of the 1920's marked the end of the epoch of free immigration. The "golden door" became a barred gate through which few were allowed to pass. The Immigration Act of 1924 established a maximum of 150,000 immigrants each year and created the national-origins system. Quotas were assigned to the various countries in accordance with the estimated national origins of the population of the United States in 1920. Reflecting the doctrine of Nordic superiority, this policy was designed to discriminate in favor of northern and western Europeans and against southern and eastern Europeans. Great Britain and Germany, for example, were allocated quotas of 65,721 and 25,957 respectively, while Poland and Italy had quotas of 6524 and 5677. Despite the fallacious reasoning underlying the national-origins system, it was perpetuated by the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952. In his veto of this act (which was overriden) President Harry Truman declared:

> The idea behind this discriminatory policy was, to put it boldly, that Americans with English or Irish names were better people and better citizens than Americans with Italian or Greek or Polish names. . . . Such a concept is utterly unworthy of our traditions and our ideals.*

* Quoted in John F. Kennedy, *A Nation of Immigrants* (rev. ed.; New York, 1964), 78; see also Report of President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization, *Whom We Shall Welcome* (Washington, D.C., 1953).

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The effect of this policy was to reduce the incoming torrent of humanity to a trickle. As one of the major recipients of immigrants, New Jersey was very much affected by this sharp diminution in immigration. The trans-Atlantic movement, which had contributed so much to the peopling of the state, for all practical purposes ceased. As a result, the number of foreign-born residents of New Jersey has steadily declined since 1930. By 1960, the immigrant element constituted slightly more than 10 per cent of the total population, the smallest percentage since statistics on the foreign-born were first recorded in 1850.*

True, there has been some immigration during the last several decades. Following World War II, the rigid quota system was somewhat relaxed to permit a small portion of the millions rendered homeless by the conflict and its aftermath to come to the United States. Under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 and the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 several hundred thousand Germans, Italians, Greeks, Poles, and other European refugees and escapees were admitted. A considerable number of these settled in New Jersey, among them Buddist Kalmucks from Russia and Old Believers from Turkey, who formed colonies in Farmingdale and Millville respectively. When the Soviet Union crushed the Hungarian Revolution in 1956, 30,000 refugees were granted asylum in this country. Camp Kilmer in Middlesex County served as the reception center for these Hungarian exiles, many of whom remained in the New Brunswick area. During the 1950's, New Jersey also provided a haven for Cubans who fled from political oppression. In the aftermath of the Castro revolution many thousands of escapees joined the refugees from the Batista regime already in the state. By 1963, New Jersey had over 17,000 Cuban residents, fewer only than Florida and New York among all the states.**

* U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: 1960,* I, *Characteristics of the Population,* Part 32, 161.

** *Newark News,* Nov. 24, 1952; *Newark Sunday News,* April 28, 1963; *Sunday Home News* (New Brunswick), June 30, Dec. 1, 1963.

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Hungarian Refugees Arriving at McGuire Air Force Base, 1956
Courtesy of photographer, Will Gainfort

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Foreign immigration, however, has contributed relatively little to recent population growth in New Jersey. Of much greater magnitude has been the migration from other states and Puerto Rico. During the thirties, depression conditions caused the birth rate to fall to an all-time low and a net loss of population through out-migration. With the revival of prosperity in the forties came a sharp increase of population. While the very high birth rates were primarily responsible for this surge, abundant employment opportunities, especially after 1945, attracted a large influx of migrants to New Jersey. The population rise of 675,164 recorded in the forties, was but a preview of the record increase of 1,231,464 established in the 1950's. By 1960, New Jersey's population had passed the six-million mark, and as of July 1, 1964, it was estimated to be 6,682,000. The role of migration in this growth was reflected in the fact that a third of the native American residents in 1960 had been born in other states and outlying areas of the United States. Perhaps more striking is the observation that five years prior to the Census of 1960 over a half million persons had been residents of a different state. The newcomer, therefore, continued to be a familiar figure on the New Jersey scene, but now he was less likely to be a European immigrant than a southern Negro, a Puerto Rican, or a commuter from New York or Philadelphia.*

Since the eighteenth century, New Jersey's rural charms have attracted those weary of the bustling activities in the cities across the rivers. In the nineteenth century ferry and railroad lines permitted many New York and Philadelphia businessmen to enjoy the pleasures of country living in New Jersey. Since 1900 the construction of tunnels and bridges plus the automobile have facilitated the flight to the Jersey suburbs. With

* U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: 1960,* I, *Characteristics of Population,* Part 32, 160-161; *New York Times,* Nov. 15, 1964; John E. Brush, "New Jersey's Population," in Salomon J. Flink *et al., The Economy of New Jersey* (New Brunswick, 1958), 24-28.

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the building of freeways and parkways after World War II, the open spaces of New Jersey's hinterland were brought within easy commuting distance of New York and Philadelphia. As a result, vast tracts of farmland were converted to residential areas as well as industrial sites. Although New Jersey benefited from increased employment and greater economic activity, this mushroom growth has not been without its ill effects. Much of the state's landscape was blighted by suburban sprawl; monotonous stretches of mass-produced dwellings, commercial highway strips, and dull shopping centers created a condition of "visual pollution." Unregulated expansion of subdivisions often outran the capacity of municipal services, schools, and recreational facilities to meet the needs of new residents. Space, air, and water, it became apparent, were not available in unlimited quantities, and measures were at least discussed to prevent their waste and contamination. Most serious, perhaps, was the lack of a focus or core which might transform these amorphous developments into human communities. The sense of a shared heritage which had made life in the immigrant neighborhoods of the cities rich and vital was missing. Yet the exodus to suburbia continued, inspired by a Madison Avenue version of the "good life." *

Not all of the migrants were fugitives from the city, seeking the pastoral idyl in New Jersey. Many came from farms and small towns to work in the state's industry and agriculture; a large part of these were Negroes from the South. New Jersey's Negro population had grown only moderately in the nineteenth century. Following the Civil War a small number of freedmen had come from the border states, but the saturation of the labor market by white immigrants had forestalled any large-scale Negro influx. World War I, however, interrupted the European immigration and New Jersey's

* Flink, *Economy of New Jersey, passim;* Edgar M. Hoover and Raymond Vernon, *Anatomy of a Metropolis* (Paper ed.; Garden City, N. Y., 1962); *New York Times,* Nov. 1, Section 8, 1; Nov. 22, Section 8, 1; Dec. 9, 1964, 1.

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industries, faced with a labor famine, recruited Negroes from the Deep South. During the twenties, this migration from the Carolinas, Georgia, and Alabama increased in volume. From less than ninety thousand in 1910, the number of Negroes in the state had risen to over two hundred thousand by 1930. Few newcomers arrived from Dixie during the depression years, since the Negro as the lowest man on the ethnic totem pole was "first fired, last hired." *

With the entry of the United States into the Second World War, southern Negroes once more responded to the labor needs of New Jersey's defense industries. Economic changes in the South, particularly the decline of cotton culture, and opportunities for industrial employment in the North resulted in the northward migration of over a million Negroes during the 1940's and almost a million and half during the 1950's. New Jersey was a major destination of these migrants, receiving some one hundred and twelve thousand in the fifties. Between 1940 and 1960, the state's colored population more than doubled, rising from 226,973 to 515,875. Of these half-million Negroes, almost half had been born in a state other than New Jersey. Negroes now accounted for 8.4 per cent of the total population; the previous high of 8 per cent was recorded back in 1800. Among the 50 states, New Jersey in 1960 ranked eighteenth in numbers of Negro residents, being above such "southern" states as Arkansas, Kentucky, and Missouri.**

The experience of the migrants from the South was in some ways similar to that of the European immigrants,

* U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: 1950,* II, *Characteristics of the Population,* Part 30, *New Jersey* (Washington, D.C., 1952), 39; see also Bruce I. Goldstein, "The Negro in New Jersey 1880-1920" (Unpublished Henry Rutgers thesis, Rutgers University, 1964); "The Negro in New Jersey," in Federal Writers' Project, New Jersey Ethnic Survey, WK2, State Archives, Trenton, N.J.

** U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: 1960,* I, *Characteristics of the Population,* Part 32, 160; *New York Times,* March 8, December 28, 1961.

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especially those of peasant origin. Like these, most Negroes lacked industrial skills and were limited to such occupations as longshoremen, construction laborers, and factory workers. Since World War II, however, mechanization and automation have progressively eliminated unskilled jobs. These technological advances threatened to force Negroes and whites who lacked skills into a permanent caste of unemployables. In a sense, the bottom rung of the occupational ladder on which most of the immigrants had begun their upward climb had been removed. The results have been a much higher rate of unemployment and a considerably lower median income among Negroes than among the general population. Racial prejudice has also been a powerful factor in limiting the occupational opportunities of the Negro. Until recently many employers would hire colored workers only for the most menial tasks or not at all. Although industrial unions have not had racial restrictions on membership, most building-trades and craft unions excluded Negro artisans and barred Negro youths from apprenticeship programs. The traditional barriers to Negroes in the professional, technical, and white-collar occupations have begun to be lowered, but a history of educational disabilities has severely limited the supply of qualified applicants.*

Like the European peasants, the southern Negroes were a rural folk inexperienced in the ways of city living. Coming to New Jersey, they were compelled by economics and discrimination to congregate in the worst urban slums, succeeding to the dilapidated housing recently abandoned by the "new" immigrants. The influx of Negroes hastened the departure of these ethnic groups, just as their arrival had speeded the removal of the Irish and Germans. The need of arriving migrants for housing has turned large areas of New Jersey's cities into Negro ghettos. By 1960 Newark had the largest proportion of Negroes to its total population of any

* *New York Times,* July 14, December 12, 1964; *Daily Home News* (New Brunswick), August 13, November 7, 22, 1963.

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major metropolitan area north of the Mason-Dixon Line. The city's 150,000 Negroes, who constituted 40 per cent of its residents, were largely concentrated in the Central Ward. Similar districts with a preponderantly Negro population were to be found in Paterson, Jersey City, and other cities. Discrimination in the sale and rental of housing forced Negroes to remain in substandard dwellings for which they paid exorbitant rents. Meanwhile, residential segration resulted in educational segregation, and despite efforts by civil rights groups and state authorities many public schools in New Jersey have remained, in fact, segregated. These urban ghettos have produced the social ills which afflict the state's Negroes today as they did the immigrants of the past. Poverty, low level of educational achievement, juvenile delinquency, crime, disease, and family disintegration are symptomatic of a disorganized and exploitative environment. Many whites, however, have taken these symptoms as justification for their prejudices, and their solution is simply to build higher walls around the ghettos.*

In the historical perspective the Negro migrants could be viewed as simply the latest arrivals in New Jersey's long history of immigration, and as such they might be expected to rise gradually up the socio-economic scale as other groups had done before them. But there were important differences which made the task of these newcomers more difficult. The history of the Negroes in the South, two centuries in slavery and a third in an inferior caste, inevitably affected their outlook and behavior. The black peasants of the South were perhaps most comparable to the cottiers of Ireland: both had been demoralized by centuries of oppression. But the Irish had the benefit of the guidance and the discipline of the Roman Catholic Church. The Negro migrants had few cultural resources to sustain and assist them in

* *New York Times,* March 19, 1962; June 16, 1963; *Newark Sunday News,* March 10, 1963; *Daily Home News* (New Brunswick), July 12, 1963.

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the difficult process of adjustment to urban life. Yet behind the wall of segregation the Negroes have created a vast structure of institutions and organizations: churches, fraternal societies, service clubs, professional and business associations, literary, musical, and historical groups, political and defense leagues. While these activities attest to the social creativity of the Negroes, they have had limited success in improving the lot of the mass of New Jersey's colored population. Not only has the magnitude of the problems defied their efforts, but, more importantly, the political and economic power to bring about basic changes has remained in white hands.*

Moreover, enormous changes have taken place in the society of New Jersey. Life has become much more complex than it was a hundred or even fifty years ago. A much higher level of literacy and skills, social as well as industrial, is required for the individual to function adequately. While the immigrant who had learned a little English might have gotten along fairly well at the beginning of the twentieth century, now a high school education had become almost an irreducible minimum for daily living. Although there were more opportunities for advancement and self-improvement for those equipped to take advantage of them, the social structure appeared less able to accommodate those who lacked the requisite cultural background. In an age of affluence, with a high standard of living enjoyed by blue-collar as well as white-collar workers, the poverty of the Negro migrants had become itself a stigma, intolerable to those who bore it and incomprehensible to those more fortunately situated. Of course, there is a substantial and growing Negro middle class, but these Negroes, too, in their efforts to participate fully in the "good life" have often been frustrated by racial prejudice.

Almost all immigrants had encountered some form of bigotry, but racial bias appeared to be more pervasive

* Oscar Handlin, *The Newcomers: Negroes and Puerto Ricans in a Changing Metropolis* (Paper ed.; Garden City, N.Y., 1962).

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and deeply rooted than the nativism of the past. New Jersey first knew the African as a slave, and even though most northern Negroes were freed in the first half of the nineteenth century, Negroes continued to be denied many of the rights and privileges accorded to whites. Not until the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870, for example, was the black man able to vote in this state. Until World War II racial discrimination was openly practiced by public authorities, as well as private persons, in schools, hospitals, churches, housing, restaurants, hotels, recreational facilities, and employment.* A young man from Harlem who came to work in a defense plant recalled: "I learned in New Jersey that to be a Negro meant, precisely, that one was never looked at but was simply at the mercy of the reflexes the color of one's skin caused in other people." ** By speaking English and dressing and acting like other "Americans," the immigrant became an "American," but the Negro, whether fresh from the cotton fields of Alabama or a doctor of philosophy from Chicago, remained in the eyes of many whites a "nigger."

In recent times, the Puerto Ricans have constituted a distinct ethnic minority in New Jersey whose conditions were comparable to those of the Negroes. Since it began on a large scale in 1944, the net migration from Puerto Rico to the mainland has totaled almost six hundred thousand persons. Like the southern Negroes, the Puerto Ricans were fleeing from bitter rural poverty to the high-wage areas of the continental United States. Since World War II, large numbers of them have engaged in seasonal labor in New Jersey's agriculture. The great majority of the Puerto Ricans, however, have worked and lived in New York City. During the fifties, an increasing number were attracted to industrial jobs in New Jersey. Large Puerto Rican colonies were formed in

* Federal Writers' Project, "The Negro in New Jersey"; N.J. Committee on Civil Liberties, *Civil Liberties in New Jersey,* 12-19; Thompson, *Education of Negroes in New Jersey,* 183-194.

** James Baldwin, *Notes of a Native Son* (Paper ed.; Boston, 1957), 93.

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Newark, Jersey City, Hoboken, Paterson, and Camden. By 1960, there were 55,351 persons of Puerto Rican stock in the state, a number second only to that of New York State.*

Although American citizens, the islanders were Hispanic in language and culture, resembling in this respect the foreign immigrants of the past. Because of their racially-mixed character and their low level of skills and education, they had much in common with the southern Negroes. These handicaps posed special problems of cultural adjustment for the Puerto Ricans. Discrimination on racial and ethnic grounds also excluded them from the more desirable occupations and residential areas, and from many educational opportunities. As a result, unemployment, low incomes, and slum existence have caught a large segment of the Puerto Rican migrants in a "poverty trap." Disappointed with conditions on the mainland, many have returned to their island, but the majority of the Puerto Ricans who have remained here have cause, like the Negroes, to be embittered.**

Since 1945 the official record of New Jersey on civil rights has been one of the most progressive in the United States. In April of that year, the Law Against Discrimination was enacted which forbade discrimination by employers and labor unions and provided for an enforcement agency, the Division Against Discrimination. The State's new constitution, adopted in 1947, explicitly prohibited discrimination against any person in the exercise of his civil rights and segregation in the militia or public schools because of religion, race, color, ancestry, or national origin. The Committee on Civil Liberties appointed by Governor Alfred E. Driscoll in 1948 recommended further legislation to translate these

* Handlin, *Newcomers, passim;* U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population: 1960. Puerto Ricans in the United States* (Washington, D.C., 1963), 102-103.

** Isham B. Jones, *The Puerto Rican in New Jersey; His Present Status, July, 1955* (Newark, 1955); *New York Times,* Sept. 8, 1963; March 2, 17, Nov. 7, 1964.

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constitutional principles into effective guarantees. Since then the New Jersey Law Against Discrimination has been extended to cover public accommodations and certain kinds of housing. For some years, however, this statute remained primarily a pious declaration of principle. Only recently has there been a more vigorous enforcement of the law. In 1963, this new spirit was reflected in the change of the name of the enforcement agency to the Division of Civil Rights and its transferral from the Department of Education to the Department of Law and Public Safety.*

Despite real progress in the field of civil rights legislation, racial discrimination has remained a widespread fact of life in this state. It is this chasm between democratic professions and social realities which has brought the "Negro Revolution" to New Jersey. During the past decade a new sense of militancy has animated many Negroes and whites who, through such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Congress of Racial Equality, and the Urban League, have protested the lack of equality in education, housing, and employment. New Jersey has had its sit-ins, picketing, boycotts, and political pressures, as well as riots, to remind it that the Negro is no longer satisfied to remain in his ghetto-cage.

Just as each immigrant group in the past fought to overcome barriers to its acceptance and progress, the proponents of civil rights are fighting today for the Negro's place in the sun. In its history New Jersey has demonstrated the ability to maintain an open society which admitted many diverse elements to full and equal participation. This democratic tradition is now confronted with its most severe test.

* Edge, *Jerseyman's Journal*, 293; New Jersey Division on Civil Rights, *These are Your Rights;* Law Against Discrimination, Title 18, Chap. 26, N.J. Statutes Annotated; *New York Times*, Dec. 3, 1964; Alfred W. Blumrosen *et al.*, *Securing Equality: The Operation of the Laws of New Jersey Concerning Racial Discrimination* (Newark, 1964).

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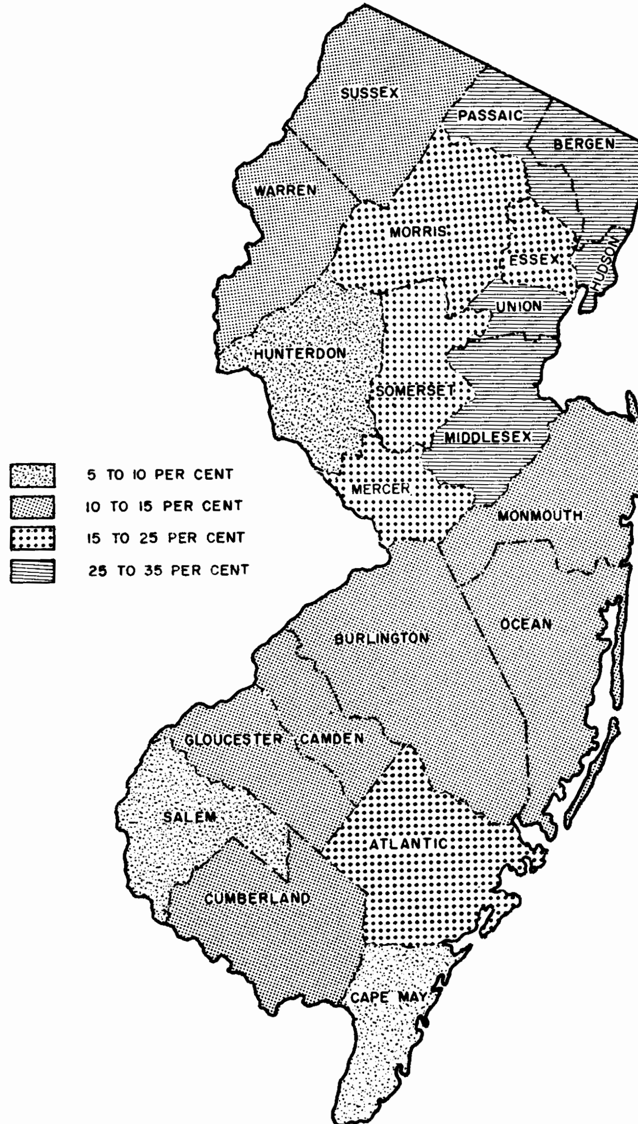
APPENDIX A

Percentage of Foreign-Born White in Total Population, by Counties: 1920 *



* U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census: 1920 State Compendium New Jersey*, 46.

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APPENDIX B

FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION OF NEW JERSEY, 1850 TO 1940

Country of Birth	*Foreign-Born White*					*Foreign Born*				
	1940	*1930*	*1920*	*1910*	*1900*	*1890*	*1880*	*1870*	*1860*	*1850*
All countries	695,810	844,784	738,613	658,188	431,884	328,975	221,700	188,943	122,790	59,948
Northwestern Europe										
England	39,316	51,629	46,781	50,297	45,428	43,785	31,307	27,011	15,853	11,377
Scotland	27,202	34,721	17,781	17,504	14,211	13,163	7,633	5,710	3,556	2,263
Wales	905	1,532	1,255	1,201	1,195	1,069	863	804	371	166
Northern Ireland	8,872	15,750								
Irish Free State (Eire)	35,830	47,486	65,971	82,749	94,844	101,059	93,079	86,784	62,006	31,092
Norway	5,803	7,870	5,343	5,351	2,296	1,317	229	90	65	4
Sweden	9,956	13,360	10,675	10,547	7,337	4,159	1,622	554	88	34
Denmark	5,069	6,665	5,704	5,056	3,899	2,991	1,264	510	175	28
Iceland	40	48								
Netherlands	11,841	14,762	12,737	12,698	10,261	7,924	4,281	2,944	1,328	357
Belgium	2,349	2,874	2,483	1,867	1,197	645	255	191	109	43
Luxemburg	132	117	167	20	32	8	28	7	—	—
Switzerland	6,935	8,765	8,165	7,548	6,570	4,158	3,040	2,061	1,144	204
France	7,352	10,520	10,165	6,237	5,543	4,714	3,739	3,130	2,408	942
Central Europe										
Germany	87,692	112,753	92,382	119,599**	119,598	106,181	64,935	54,001	33,266	10,743
Poland	77,782	102,573	90,419	69,244**	14,357	3,615	748	279	120	—

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Czechoslovakia	18,075	32,358	16,747	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Austria	34,195	24,010	36,917	30,533**	15,791	4,947	1,293	957	506	20
Hungary	33,816	32,332	40,470	47,610	14,913	3,417	272	85	—	—
Yugoslavia	2,436	3,643	3,313	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Eastern Europe										
Russia (USSR)	55,407	62,152	73,527	53,848**	19,745	5,320	301	90	38	22
Latvia	1,113	1,194								
Estonia	253	234								
Lithuania	8,382	9,870	6,246							
Finland	2,156	2,721	2,109	1,639	367					
Rumania	4,685	6,686	4,564	2,208	478	—	—	—	—	—
Bulgaria	144	124	66	48	—	—	—	—	—	—
Turkey in Europe	80	77	195	389	636†	71†	50†	22†	6†	—
Southern Europe										
Greece	5,288	6,020	4,521	1,575	115	27	12	12	2	4
Italy	169,063	190,858	157,285	115,444	41,865	12,989	1,547	257	109	31
Spain	2,854	4,983	2,000	486	145	145	114	71	36	23
Portugal	2,597	3,655	646	117	62	20	23	37	14	16
Other Europe	488	1,040	224	130	37	266	77	33	14	—

* U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population: 1940,* Volume II: *Characteristics of the Population.* Part 4: *Minnesota-New Mexico,* 829.

** Persons reported in 1910 as of Polish mother tongue born in Austria, Germany and Russia have been deducted from their respective countries and combined as Poland.

† Turkey in Asia included with Turkey in Europe prior to 1910.

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APPENDIX C

POPULATION OF NEW JERSEY, BY RACE, 1880 TO 1950

Area and census year	*All classes*	*White*			*Negro*	*Other races*				
		Total	*Native*	*Foreign born*		*Total*	*Indian*	*Japa-nese*	*Chi-nese*	*All other*
1950	4,835,329	4,511,585	3,880,824	630,761	318,565	5,179	621	1,784	1,818	956
Urban	4,186,207	3,904,126	3,335,204	568,922	278,814	3,267	471	405	1,567	824
Rural nonfarm	543,822	508,516	462,679	45,837	33,616	1,690	135	1,293	143	119
Rural farm	105,300	98,943	82,941	16,002	6,135	222	15	86	108	13
1940	4,160,165	3,931,087	3,235,277	695,810	226,973	2,105	211	298	1,200	396
1930	4,041,334	3,829,663	2,984,879	844,784	208,828	2,843	213	439	1,783	408
1920	3,155,900	3,037,087	2,298,474	738,613	117,132	1,681	100	325	1,190	66
1910	2,537,167	2,445,894	1,787,706	658,188	89,760	1,513	168	206	1,139	....
1900	1,883,669	1,812,317	1,382,267	430,050	69,844	1,508	63	52	1,393	....
1890	1,444,933	1,396,581	1,068,596	327,985	47,638	714	84	22	608	....
1880	1,131,116	1,092,017	870,697	221,320	38,853	246	74	2	170	....

* U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population: 1950,* Volume II: *Characteristics of the Population*. Part 30: *New Jersey,* 39.

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