

*A Narrative and Descriptive
Bibliography of New Jersey*

THE NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SERIES

Edited by

RICHARD M. HUBER

WHEATON J. LANE

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Volume 21

The New Jersey Historical Series

*A Narrative and Descriptive
Bibliography of New Jersey*



NELSON R. BURR

1964

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PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

To the Memory of
SAMUEL SMITH,
Author of the first history of New Jersey
Published at Burlington, 1765

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.

My final and most heartfelt thanks must go to Nelson R. Burr, who accepted my invitation to write *A Narrative and Descriptive Bibliography 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.

January, 1964

RICHARD J. HUGHES
*Governor of the
State of New Jersey*

PREFACE

This bibliography is the outgrowth of three previous works by the compiler on the history of New Jersey. The first was *Education in New Jersey, 1630-1702*, published in 1942. The second was *The Anglican Church in New Jersey*, published in 1954, and written at the suggestion of Bishop Paul Matthews of the Diocese of New Jersey, under the auspices of Canon Walter H. Stowe, Rector of Christ Church, New Brunswick. The third, a by-product of the first, is an essay, "The Religious History of New Jersey Before 1702," published in the *Proceedings of The New Jersey Historical Society* in 1938. Years of research in the published and unpublished sources of New Jersey history have made "Scheyechbi," in the compiler's affection, second only to his native state, Connecticut. For seven years he lived in the State as a student, enjoying the help and the friendship of its teachers, librarians, and historians. He therefore was happy to assume this task at the invitation of the Governor. It has been a labor of love to contribute something to general knowledge of New Jersey's significance in the history of the United States.

This work is therefore intended to be not a bibliography in the restricted sense of a mere list of titles with brief notes. It sets the references in a running commentary which might stand alone as a brief history of the State.

While the written records of New Jersey are considerably less voluminous than those of some others of the original thirteen states, they are still of formidable size. The bibliography for local history alone would make a bulky volume, especially if periodical literature were included. Literature on special topics, such as the colonial period and the Revolution, is a rich vein. The bulk of published material, issued by the State itself and by many authors, appears in nine trays in the Official Catalog of

the Library of Congress. The *Proceedings* of The New Jersey Historical Society comprise about eighty volumes containing hundreds of scholarly essays. This bibliography, of necessity, must be highly selective, including only books and pamphlets of obvious value, and such articles and theses as are useful in filling gaps or in amplifying other publications. Far more had to be rejected than was included.

The titles were gathered from many sources, including the General Catalog, the Official Catalog, the Shelf List and the National Union Catalog in the Library of Congress; the *Writings in American History*, 1902-; Poole's *Index to Periodical Literature*; the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature*; the *Abstracts of Dissertations* and other guides to theses; the bibliographies in general histories of the State, such as those edited by William Starr Myers and Irving S. Kull; the *Proceedings* of The New Jersey Historical Society since 1845; and the bibliographies included in the first general section of this bibliography. The *Book Review Digest* also was frequently consulted. Many of the selections from these sources were examined not only for including comments upon them, but also to provide data for the historical notes that introduce the sections and bind them together.

The bibliography of New Jersey is rich in some fields and scanty in others. Among the better crops are the writings in colonial history, the Revolution, biography, genealogy, description and travel, and local history. But the reaping is thin in some areas of political history, in the history of literature and other cultural areas, and for wars excepting the Revolution and the Civil War. Sometimes one has to refer to topical chapters in the general histories, or try to fill gaps by searching diligently for a few theses or articles in periodicals, such as publications of local historical societies or professional and industrial journals. There are still large gaps in New Jersey's history, which should be filled by the patient work of many scholars. It is only by such toil that New Jersey's part in the evolution of American civilization will be fully appreciated.

NELSON R. BURR

Washington, D. C.
June, 1964

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For much patient help and advice, during the writing and correcting of the manuscript, I am obligated to many persons. First of all, to the general editors of the "New Jersey Historical Series," Doctors Wheaton J. Lane and Richard M. Huber; and to the editorial assistant of the New Jersey Tercentenary Commission, Mrs. H. K. Miller. For her responsible editorial eye, I am grateful to Mrs. Betty B. Davison, associate editor of the D. Van Nostrand Company.

The entire manuscript was read by Donald A. Sinclair, Curator of Special Collections at the Rutgers University Library; and by Kenneth W. Richards, Head of the Bureau of Archives and History of New Jersey. Particular sections were reviewed, with resulting improvement, by authors of other volumes in the "New Jersey Historical Series," especially Adrian C. Leiby, Earl Schenck Miers, John E. Pomfret, Wesley Frank Craven, Kemble Widmer, David L. Cowen, Margaret White, and Leo Troy. The text was read also by Doctor Julian P. Boyd, editor of the *Papers of Thomas Jefferson*. I am indebted to others for sending bibliographies, which proved to be most helpful: especially Leonard Lee Rue III, Morris Schonbach, Harry Bischoff Weiss, George Paul Schmidt, and Alan Gowans. The bibliography on medicine, by David L. Cowen, was indispensable; nearly all of it was used, much of it practically *verbatim*.

The manuscript was typed by the Literary Agency of Washington, conducted by Mr. Frederick Reinstein; and by Mrs. Isabel J. Campbell of Washington, D.C. The task

of research was made easier by the assistance of the staff of the Thomas Jefferson Reading Room in the Library of Congress; and by the patient book-stack attendants, who searched for a great number of books, pamphlets, and bound volumes of periodicals.

NELSON R. BURR

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INTRODUCTION

This bibliography celebrates the tercentenary of the birth of New Jersey as a separate political entity, in 1664-1665. It is a selective, classified, and descriptive list of published works, and contains also some guides to original sources. There are bibliographies in general histories of the State, like those of Irving S. Kull, Francis Bazley Lee, and William Starr Myers. Lists of printed books and of original documents appear in many monographs, theses, and essays in periodicals. In more recent issues, the *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society contain lists of titles, such as "New Jersey in Print." It was intended to publish a bibliographical volume to accompany the "Princeton History of New Jersey," and the card file assembled for this purpose is in the Princeton University Library. Published lists have been issued by the State Department of Education, and by Doris M. Perry for the New Jersey State College, Trenton. (See Part I, General Bibliography, Section B, Miscellaneous General Bibliographies) The publication program of the Tercentenary Commission has encouraged this effort to gather these scattered publications under one cover.

It is a well-known fact that New Jersey's historical significance has been generally unknown, in comparison with that of some other states of colonial origin. The State is not supposed to have had any founders to rank with the Pilgrim Fathers or the "Cavalier" planters. It has been overshadowed, in popular imagination, by its huge immediate neighbors. Most historically literate Americans, if pressed for an opinion, probably would say that they had never thought of New Jersey as having any particular history.

The general image of New Jersey is that of a servant with two masters. One writer, Edmund Wilson, has frankly called it "the slave of two cities." The multitudes who traverse the State, on its network of railroads and superhighways, are generally in a hurry to reach some other place, and regard it as a mere geographical expanse. To the vacationer and the weekender, New Jersey is a playground or a boardwalk. To many it appears as a bedroom for two metropolises. They have never penetrated beyond its main lines of travel or read a book about it. They have thus missed a significant part of the American scene and story. It is hoped that this bibliography will help to reveal the State's distinctive characteristics and significance.

New Jersey's "fragmentation" has denied it the definite image that some other states have stamped upon the American mind. But simply because it lacked homogeneity from the beginning, New Jersey became an impressive example of the unity in diversity that has lent such enduring strength to the nation. From its varied ethnic stocks and religions, the State has been fashioning a united people from a mixed multitude.

The earlier peoples brought ideals of religion, government and conduct that made New Jersey representative of enduring American principles. The New England Puritan theocracy of Newark introduced the ideal of "a nation under God." With the Friends in West Jersey came the concept of a society governed by ideals of religious freedom and humane social ethics. Scottish and Dutch Calvinists honored a strict moral code, and their profound sense of liberty scented the first approaches of political tyranny. "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." * It was no accident that many Jerseymen protested against British imperialism, and that the spirit of liberty flamed up in the State during the campaigns of the Revolution. When the Federal Constitution was debated, New Jersey contended successfully for the rights

* II Corinthians 3:17.

of the smaller states. Because those rights appeared to be protected, the State accepted the "new roof," by a unanimous vote of its ratifying convention.

Once satisfied that the people's liberties were safe, this thinly peopled agricultural state expanded into an economically diverse and cosmopolitan commonwealth, where American civilization was enriched and tested. One of its great governors, Woodrow Wilson, described New Jersey as "a sort of laboratory in which the best blood is prepared for other communities to thrive upon . . . the fighting center of the most important social questions of our time."

This statement has been true in politics, religion, industry, education, and social welfare. The popularly elected colonial Assembly fought and won the battle for control of government long before the Revolution. During the Progressive era, early in the present century, her reformers (led by such men as George L. Record and Woodrow Wilson) pointed the way to stricter control of political life and of business in the interest of the people.

As a people without a state church, Jersey men in the mid-eighteenth century were free to lead in the Great Awakening. That was truly a battle to free religion from formalism and minority control, and made a change of heart, and popular devotion, the tests of its vitality. The spiritual revival that enlightened the Raritan Valley spread over the colonies and became an enduring quality of American religion.

Education, at first the handmaid of the Church, could not remain entirely its servant in the ethnic and religious diversity of New Jersey. There the champions of free, public common schools won such a decisive victory over great obstacles that the right of the people to universal education could not be questioned anywhere. The devotion and courage of the Jersey men who fought that fight are memorialized today in one of the nation's progressive school systems. The State has tried to rise to the challenge issued to its people by the Educational Convention of 1838: "let the staple of your state be

mind." Even though other states might surpass it in economic strength.

But in that field, too, New Jersey has held its own. As the United States forged ahead to become the world's greatest economic power, the State contributed heavily through its inventions, industry, agriculture, and transportation. Its turnpikes, canals, and railroads made it a funnel through which the nation imported the world's products and distributed the riches of a continental nation. New Jersey has become a vast industrial complex. The fourth smallest state wields an economic power far out of proportion to its mere physical size.

While the State accumulated immense wealth, it has not been unmindful of the responsibility to use it justly. The humanitarian ideals of the Friends, and of the evangelists of the Great Awakening, survived in the minds of New Jersey's social leaders. They have been the inspiration of all who have striven to raise this State to its present eminence in meliorating the lot of the poor, the sick, and the socially delinquent. New Jersey has tried to realize the ideal of its own John Woolman in his essay on the right use of wealth. At the same time the State is aware of the long distance yet to be traversed to attain the democratic ideal of liberty and justice for all.

This bibliography is but one part of "The New Jersey Historical Series," the most ambitious publishing venture ever undertaken about the history of a state. Together with the other volumes, it is intended to help New Jersey's people, and others, to achieve a knowledge of the State's accomplishments and still unrealized plans to attain the ideals of its founders.

I

GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. GENERAL GUIDES TO THE LITERATURE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

By far the largest collection of references is in the *Writings on American History*, 1902- (Washington, 1902-) with indexes, 1902-1940. Most of the entries are under "New Jersey" in the section for states, but the topical sections also contain many entries. Annotated items are scattered through Joseph N. Larned (ed.), *The Literature of American History* (1902) and Thomas L Bradford, *The Bibliographer's Manual of American History* (rev. ed.; 5 vols.; 1907-1910), with an index in the last volume on pages 324-330. Edward Channing, Albert Bushnell Hart and Frederick Jackson Turner, *Guide to the Study and Reading of American History* (Boston and New York, 1912) lists titles on 75-76, 141-142, and 268-269. Numerous references are located in *Poole's Index to Periodical Literature* from 1802 (New York and London, 1848-) with the first volume covering 1802-1881, and five supplements through Jan. 1, 1907. The *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature*, beginning with Feb., 1901, lists a vast number of articles and essays on many phases of history and life, especially in the popular magazines. Valuable material for special topics occurs in the *Dissertation Abstracts* (Ann Arbor, Mich., University Microfilms, 1938-).

B. MISCELLANEOUS GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHIES

The Federal Historical Records Survey, which was active in the State from 1936 to 1943, established a New Jersey "Research Library," which issued an *Inventory of the Research Library of the Historical Records Survey, Deposited at the Princeton University Library as Part of Basic Source Materials of Historical and Cultural Records & Inventories* (Newark, 1943). This comprises much bibliography, on counties, cities and towns, laws, courts, New Jersey imprints, biography, churches, etc., but has no subject or place index. Several useful lists have been published under the auspices of the State. The New Jersey Department of Public Instruction issued *New Jersey, Its History, Resources and Life, A Bibliography of Curriculum Source Materials, For Elementary Schools* (Trenton, 1940). The New Jersey State College, Trenton, Roscoe L. West Library published *This is New Jersey, a Bibliography*, compiled by Doris M. Perry (Trenton, 1959, 2nd ed., rev.; 3rd ed., 1960; 4th, "Tercentenary Edition," 1964). These are revisions of a selected list gathered in 1957, adding many recently published books. It includes general works, colonial history, the Revolution, state constitutional history, political history and governmental problems, resources and industrial developments, history and government of Trenton and Mercer County, books on other localities, education, social problems, and biographies of notable citizens. *The New Jersey Library Bulletin*, a quarterly published by the New Jersey Library Commission (Trenton, 1911-) has bibliographies on various aspects of the State's general and special history. Beginning in October, 1931, it included a selected list of "New Jersey Pamphlets and Maps," compiled by members of the staff of the Newark Public Library. Among its valuable lists published from time to time are the following: (1) William Nelson, "Suggestions for a New Jersey Bibliography," II, no 1 (Sept., 1912), 7-16, containing histories, travel, poetry, lists of authors and their publications, biographies, and

fiction; also published in New Jersey Historical Society *Proceedings*,* 3rd series, IX, no. 1 (Jan., 1914), 8-26; (2) A. M. Borden (comp.), "A List on New Jersey Material," new series, I, no. 3 (July, 1931), 22-27, including books, periodicals, maps, and unofficial and government pamphlets.

C. BIBLIOGRAPHIES OF OFFICIAL REPORTS AND OTHER PUBLICATIONS ISSUED BY THE STATE

Among the indispensable bibliographies are two by Dorothy Fordyce Lucas: *Bibliography of New Jersey Official Reports, 1905-1945, Following A. R. Hasse, Index of Economic Material in Documents of New Jersey, 1799-1904* (Trenton, 1947) with a complete author, subject, and place index. This resulted from many years of research, and is a guide to principal reports of legislative commissions and the departments of the state government. It includes a list of "Reports in Legislative Documents," and an "Index to Legislative Documents, 1905-1920." The *Supplement, 1945-1960* (1961) brings the total number of entries into the thousands, and also has an author, subject and place index. (For the Hasse bibliography, see Part IX, Economic History and Conditions.) Another very useful list is New Jersey, State Library, Trenton, *Check List of Annual Reports and Other Current Publications Issued by or Under the Authority of the State of New Jersey, July 1, 1915*, compiled by John P. Dullard, State Librarian (Trenton, 1915?). This does not include "special reports or other publications issued at irregular intervals." A widespread list of older official issues was compiled by Mary E. Fannan, *New Jersey State Publications on History, Geology, Geography, Climate, Resources, Industries and Other Topics* (Newark, 1907) with an explanatory note by John Cotton Dana, the well-known librarian. This selected list, by subjects,

* Hereafter this publication will generally be referred to simply as "Proceedings."

includes out-of-print reports and documents, and some non-official publications.

D. GENERAL AND PERIOD HISTORIES

Many bibliographies of special subjects are scattered through the large, multi-volume histories. Irving S. Kull (ed.), *New Jersey, A History* (4 vols.; New York, 1930-1932), and two biographical volumes, contains lists on "Physical Basis of Civilization," 12-13; "Colonial Industries," 260-262; "Colonial Agriculture," 299-300 and "New Jersey Agriculture," 626, 668, 719; "Travel in Colonial New Jersey," 317; "Early Schools," 398; "Churches During the Revolution," 532; "Slavery," 744; "New Jersey Military History in the Civil War," 867; "The Press," 1358-1359; "Writers," 1324-1325; "Bench and Bar," 1371-1372; and "Insurance," 1387-1388. Chapters 21 and 61, on literature, by Charles H. Whitman, have been reprinted as a booklet, *The Literature of New Jersey* (New York, 1930), with a selected bibliography. William Starr Myers (ed.), *The Story of New Jersey* (5 vols.; New York, 1945) has bibliography in the footnotes of the first two volumes on "Public Welfare," 92-93; "Churches," 347-348; "Agriculture," 424-425; and "Insurance," 538-539. Frank R. Stockton's popular and pleasantly readable *Stories of New Jersey* (New Brunswick, 1961) on 255-263 has "A Basic Library of New Jersey History" for children and adults, by Mary V. Gaver, of which several revised reprints have been issued by The Rutgers University Press, the latest being the fourth (1964). The titles, with brief notes, comprise collections of stories and articles, fiction, Indians, description and travel, natural resources, agriculture, industry, regions, general history, novels, government, the shore, the Revolutionary War, the iron industry, the pines, biography, and rivers. An excellent selected list is in New Jersey, History Committee, *Outline History of New Jersey* (New Brunswick, 1950), 366-383, including manuscript sources (designated by asterisks), books, articles in periodicals, and official

reports. Edwin P. Tanner, *The Province of New Jersey, 1664-1738* (New York, 1908) and Edgar J. Fisher, *New Jersey as a Royal Province, 1738-1776* (New York, 1911) have ample bibliography in the footnotes. Walter Ray Fee, *The Transition from Aristocracy to Democracy in New Jersey, 1789-1829* (Somerville, 1933) has an extensive bibliography on 273-286.

E. NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY PROCEEDINGS

Over the years the Society has published several most helpful guides to books, articles and theses. Indispensable, but inadequate, is A. Van Doren Honeyman's "Subject-Index to the Thirty-Six Volumes (1845-1919) of the Proceedings . . ." in *Proceedings*, new series, V, no. 1 (Jan., 1920), 3-71. There is also a reprint. Alphabetical, by names and subjects, this includes thousands of references to many kinds of material, even though it does not have all surnames and matters mentioned. A supplementary index for 1920-1931, inclusive, is in the *Proceedings*, LXI, no. 4 (Oct, 1943), 217-248, and has indexes of authors and illustrations; it has been issued as a reprint.

A former assistant librarian of the Society (1915), Maud E. Johnson, compiled "A Bibliography of New Jersey Bibliographies," in the *Proceedings*, 3rd series, X, no. 2 (Apr., 1915), 61-62. The titles, without notes, include literary topics, printing, church records, general history, local history, and general bibliography. William Nelson's "Suggestions for a New Jersey Bibliography" appears in the *Proceedings*, 3rd series, IX, no. 1 (Jan., 1914), 8-26. (See also *The New Jersey Library Bulletin*, II, no. 1 (Sept., 1912), 7-16). This essay is one of the earliest efforts to gather the innumerable scattered references, and has a running commentary on the many titles, which include general histories, books of travel, with description of places and people, scientific writings, bibliography of New Jersey poetry, lists of catalogs, authors and their subjects, biographies, and New Jersey fiction. Another valuable general list is Charles B. Dunham's

"A Reference Approach to New Jersey History," in the *Proceedings*, LV, no. 1 (Jan., 1937), 21-42. This is solidly founded upon research in ten libraries, and is called by the compiler "a selected list . . . based on the inclusion of all worth-while items of state-wide scope that possess reference value." Its scope embraces encyclopedias, yearbooks, chronologies, indexes, histories, bibliographies, gazetteers and geographical dictionaries, maps and atlases, biographical dictionaries, periodicals, source material, state documents, reference works on special subjects, church history, description and travel, education, Indians, Revolutionary War history, newspapers, and vertical file material; with an analytical index.

From time to time the Society has published guides that were intended to continue regularly, but for various reasons have been suspended or reduced in scope. Such a list is "Books Relating to New Jersey History and Biography," including titles published in the period 1892-1900, in the *Proceedings*, 2nd series, XIII, no. 1 (Jan., 1894), 35-39; no. 3 (Jan., 1895), 146-148; 3rd series, I, no. 3 (Oct., 1896), 145-149; and III, no. 2 (Apr., 1906), 108-117. These lists include magazine articles, with brief comments. Among the most useful compilations is Charles Dorris and Julia Sabine, "Theses and Dissertations on Subjects Relating to New Jersey," in the *Proceedings*, LX, no. 3 (July, 1942), 153-171. Arranged alphabetically by author, this covers the period 1912-1941, includes a wide range of subjects (with many titles on education) and has a subject index.

Beginning in 1952 (LXX), the *Proceedings* has included a section, "New Jersey in Print," originally compiled by Miriam V. Studley and continued by others. This is a topical, annotated list of recent books, pamphlets and serial items. A similar list, "Work on New Jersey History in Progress," was begun in the *Proceedings*, LXVII, no. 2 (Apr., 1949), 123-126, and continued in no. 3 (July, 1949), 243-244; LXVIII, no. 3 (July, 1950), 270; LXIX, no. 1 (Jan., 1951), 74-75; no. 2 (Apr., 1951),

170. Many articles on special topics, in this bibliography, were located in these lists.

F. PUBLICATIONS OF OTHER HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

Among the most active historical associations in the state has been the New Brunswick Historical Club. Its work for many years appears in a bibliography, *Papers and Addresses, 1870-1938*, compiled by Virginia S. Burnett (New Brunswick, 1938). The entries relate chiefly to New Brunswick, and vicinity, but include other places. Copies of the addresses are in the Club's archives at the Rutgers University Library, and the notes state whether or not they are available, and refer to publications in which they appeared. A large amount of information about New Jersey appears in the historical magazines of neighboring states. Eugene E. Doll (ed.), *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Index, 1877-1951* (1954) contains two columns under "New Jersey," and numberless references to places and people there.

G. BIBLIOGRAPHY IN PRIVATE LIBRARIES

Abundant resources for the State's history have been gathered by private collectors, and appear in sale catalogs, such as: Noah Farnham Morrison (of Elizabeth): *A Catalog of a Collection of Books Relating to New Jersey for Sale . . .* (Elizabeth, 1903). Valuable especially for local history, this contains general history of the State, published documents, natural history, slavery, genealogy, regions, East and West Jersey, education, finance, associations, counties, histories and official publications of cities and towns, church histories, biographies, New Jersey imprints, etc. Perhaps the most distinguished collector of New Jerseyana was the historian and bibliographer, William Nelson (1847-1914). His large library was sold in 1915, and is listed under his name in *Illustrated Catalogue of New Jersey Memorabilia and Rare and Valuable*

Books and Documents . . . (New York, 1915). Included are a sketch of Nelson's life and work, and 1401 items, with many books and manuscripts relating to New Jersey. Some New Jersey titles are found in Society of Colonial Wars, New Jersey, Library, *Supplemental Catalog of Books in the Library of the Society of Colonial Wars in the State of New Jersey at the New Jersey Historical Society Bldg., Newark, N. J., 1933-1940* (Newark? 1941?). Included are the additions, 1933-1938: works on genealogy, biography, and local history.

H. NEW JERSEYANA IN LIBRARIES

Among the most important collections of New Jerseyana are those in several State departments. The Bureau of Archives and History (State House Annex, Trenton) has colonial, state, and local archives, mostly prior to 1860 and including: records of the East and West Jersey Proprietors; correspondence of most of the governors; Revolutionary War records; papers relating to the Continental Congress; and many papers concerning economic history, particularly transportation, loan offices, and the important iron industry; defunct municipalities; naturalization; and some personal papers. This division is the depository for all state documents, statutes, and annual reports. Special book collections comprise genealogy, state and county history, the Senate journal and minutes of the Assembly from 1800, the *Legislative Manual* from 1879, important state newspapers since 1778, and a clipping and pamphlet file of current material. The pictorial collection includes people and places, the Historical American Buildings Survey collection of blueprints of New Jersey buildings, and the Ewan collection of historic sites in Burlington and adjacent counties.

The New Jersey State Museum (West State Street, Trenton) has a large collection relating to natural, archaeological and cultural history. The holdings in geology and paleontology include the collections of the State Geological Survey, begun in the 1860's. There are about

450,000 Indian artifacts, mostly from excavations, together with maps, illustrations, and a file on the Lenni Lenape and related tribes, and a large anthropological and archaeological library. The natural science collection includes flora and fauna. Other collections include arts and crafts, painting, graphic arts, and sculpture.

The Glassboro State College has collections on the colonial history of South Jersey, photographs, and post-cards. Most of the material relates to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The largest general collection of New Jerseyana is in the Special Collections Section of the Rutgers University Library, New Brunswick. It comprises manuscripts; rare newspapers and periodicals; pamphlets; maps and pictorial materials; and rare and other books on a broad range of subjects. The manuscripts are chiefly papers of eminent citizens, and of organizations and societies. There is a descriptive card catalog with cross references, and a card index of autographed letters. Impressive features are the collection of rare books published in New Jersey; old newspapers and periodicals (both with guides); and the partially cataloged New Jersey pamphlet collection. The rare books compromise local, county, and general state histories, religion, politics, literature, industry, education, and biography. There are descriptive guides to the extensive map holdings, which are classified by area and period. The pictures, chiefly of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, number over ten thousand items, including portraits, historical scenes, and local views. The department has also the files of the New Jersey Genealogical Society.

The New Jersey Historical Society (230 Broadway, Newark) has many private papers of eminent Jerseymen. The collections include also Revolutionary War letters, autographs of prominent New Jersey persons, many account books and other business records, military records, genealogical papers, records of private organizations and associations, and numerous miscellaneous papers on various aspects of state history. The extensive

pictorial records (over 4000 items) are rich especially for Newark, and include photographs, engravings and other prints, oil paintings, water colors, and many negatives. A few prints date from the eighteenth century, and the photographs begin about 1855.

The Princeton University Library has some manuscript collections with material on New Jersey history. While there is no separate picture collection, there is much pictorial material on New Jersey in general, and especially on Princeton and vicinity, in various special collections.

Some of the local historical societies, public libraries and museums have extensive New Jerseyana. These are described in more or less detail in the U. S. National Historical Publications Commission, *A Guide to Archives and Manuscripts in the United States*, edited by Philip M. Hamer (New Haven, 1961), 350-369; Historical Records Survey, New Jersey, *Guide to Depositories of Manuscript Collections in the United States, New Jersey, Preliminary Volume* (Newark, 1941), which lists 69 depositories; and U. S. Library of Congress, *National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections* (2 vols.; Ann Arbor, Mich., 1962; Hamden, Conn., 1964), which is thoroughly indexed. Especially important are the collections of the Bergen County Historical Society at North Hackensack, the Monmouth County Historical Association at Freehold, the Morristown National Historical Park, and the Trenton Free Public Library.

One indispensable pictorial collection is that of the Newark Public Library. This includes New Jersey towns and many special subjects, and is especially rich for Newark. There are photographs, photographic negatives (glass and film), clippings from books, magazines and newspapers, original drawings, engravings, and postcards. The period covered is from the colonial era to the present day. There are also rich collections of New Jersey folk art, pottery, glass, silver, furniture, etc.; a library of books on New Jersey; New Jersey painting and sculpture

(including works by New Jersey artists), portraits of New Jersey persons, and early New Jersey scenes.

There are several libraries in the State with interesting special collections. Abundant material on the history of industrial and technical progress is in the Edison Laboratory National Monument, which has Thomas Edison's private reference library, his notebooks, and a huge collection of photographs and personal papers. The Stevens Institute of Technology, Hoboken, has the papers of the Stevens family, industrial pioneers and entrepreneurs. There are rich collections for religious history in the Speer Library, Princeton Theological Seminary, including pictures of Presbyterian clergymen and churches in the State, mostly of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The Gardner A. Sage Library of the New Brunswick Theological Seminary has manuscripts relating to congregations of the Dutch Reformed Church. The Drew University Library, Madison, has the Drew Seminary and University archives, books and letters on Methodism and New Jersey church history, histories of local churches, and a picture collection for the Seminary and the University.

New Jerseyana are abundant in several libraries in adjacent states. The New York Public Library has numerous New Jersey items in its vast collection of books, pamphlets, and newspapers. Its Prints Division has many New Jersey views and portraits, with an alphabetical index of town and personal names, and includes engravings and original fine prints, and many negatives. The staff of the New Jersey Historical Society has made a complete survey of the Library's New Jersey views. American Heritage (551 Fifth Avenue, New York) has a large New Jersey pictorial collection, including the Revolutionary War; also nineteenth-century New Jersey folk art, works by New Jersey artists, nineteenth-century views of towns and shore resorts, Karl Bodmer's views of Bordentown, Benjamin Henry Latrobe's sketchbook, Winslow Homer paintings and drawings, and portraits of national leaders.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania (1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia) has many collections of manuscripts, and of general and local histories and genealogical records relating to New Jersey; also a large pictorial collection, mostly of South Jersey. The Free Public Library of Philadelphia (Logan Square) has many books on the State, as well as pictorial material, including much of local interest.

II

GENERAL WORKS

For over a century Jerseymen have striven to inculcate, in themselves and others, an appreciation of their state as a distinct entity. This effort has aimed to counteract a popular, general impression of New Jersey as merely subordinate to *external*, historical and economic influences. The role of servant appears as late as 1923 in Edmund Wilson's derogatory essay, "New Jersey, the Slave of Two Cities," published in Ernest Gruening (ed.), *These United States*, 1st series (New York, 1923), 56-66. A native of Red Bank expresses in modern terms the well-worn theme of subordination to New York and Philadelphia. The counter appeal to state pride sounds eloquently in Bishop George Washington Doane's *The Goodly Heritage of Jerseymen* (Burlington, 1846; 2nd ed., 1848), the first annual address to The New Jersey Historical Society, in 1846. He appraised the state's history in a plea to his fellow Jerseymen to appreciate and make the most of their heritage.

The fervent patriotism of World War I reawakened this prideful spirit in a scion of an old New Jersey family, Joseph S. Frelinghuysen. His address, "The State of New Jersey," in the *New Jersey Historical Society Proceedings*, new series, II, no. 2 (Apr., 1917), 88-97, extols the State's long-neglected part in national affairs. He stressed early self-government and religious freedom, leadership in the Stamp Act protest, services in the Continental Congress, suggestion of the Federal Constitutional Convention, contribution of troops in the Civil War, Jerseymen in the nation's government, naval heroes,

authors, and advances in education, industry, agriculture, highway improvement, and social legislation.

The twentieth century found New Jersey a leader in economic development, and eager for greater achievements. General works therefore display a marked promotional trend, pointing to accomplishments and resources. An example is Franklin Dye (ed.), *New Jersey Handbook* (Trenton, 1901). This illustrated compendium surveys history, agriculture, industries, transportation, education, etc., and has a section on Jewish agricultural colonies. Determined to surpass all previous works, Ellis R. Meeker compiled a lavish and massive illustrated folio, *New Jersey, A Historical, Commercial and Industrial Review* (Elizabeth, 1906), with a colored map. Frankly aimed to advertise economic advantages, it includes a comprehensive range of topics, such as history, government and politics, public health, societies, religion, newspapers and statistics, and has a gazetteer.

In the past forty years, the production of these comprehensive, illustrated volumes has become the task of scholars who combine appreciation and promotion in readable style. Floyd William Parsons, *New Jersey: Life, Industries and Resources of a Great State* (Newark, 1928) has many photographs, and relies heavily upon material collected by the Bureau of Economics and Business Research of Rutgers University: hundreds of essays by public officials, special writers, economists, and business executives. It includes sketches of history and government, historic shrines and other interesting places, and emphasizes economic development and industry. Ten years later the New Jersey Federal Writers' Project compiled *Stories of New Jersey, Its Significant Places, People and Activities* (New York, 1938), a well illustrated and entertaining account of the State's way of life, based on pamphlets written by the project. In the early 1950's the *Newark News* published a series of essays by the noted author, John T. Cunningham. These were collected as *This Is New Jersey, from High Point to Cape May* (New Brunswick, 1953), illustrated with hundreds of photographs, and pictorial maps by William M. Canfield. It has a gen-

eral bibliography, and an essay, "The Spirit of Jersey." Histories and descriptions of the counties have references and a vast amount of local lore. The information covers life in the state and gives an impression of its vast economic strength. A lively popular review of the State, with color photographs by Volkmar Wentzel, is Cunningham's essay, "I'm from New Jersey," in National Geographic Magazine, CXVII, no. 1 (Jan., 1960), 1-45, issued also as a reprint. Harley P. Milstead, a professor of geography, *New Jersey, Geography and History* (Philadelphia, 1960), is intended for schools, and is illustrated by photographs, drawings, statistical tables, maps, and charts. The scope is universal, including brief surveys of cities and towns, and the stress is upon physical character and economic growth. Another thorough survey is James P. Hackett's *The New Jersey Citizen* (New Brunswick, 1957) with a few photographs, end-paper maps, and heavy accent on government, justice, politics, economic growth, public services, finance, transportation, local government, authorities, and commissions. Stanley N. Worton [and others] *New Jersey: Past and Present; a Record of Achievement* (New York, 1964), with a bibliography, includes geography, history, politics and government, taxation and finance, people, education, welfare, and urban growth. An illustrated summary description for popular use is Evelyn Irons, *New Jersey* (Garden City, N. Y., 1962) "prepared with the cooperation of the American Geographical Society." The Tercentenary Celebration has inspired Steele Mabon Kennedy and others to compile *The New Jersey Almanac, 1964-1965, the Biennial New Jersey Encyclopedia and Book of Facts, Tercentenary Edition* (Upper Montclair, 1963). This illustrated "omnium gatherum" covers the field thoroughly, even containing many biographies, and has a comprehensive index.

The foregoing selected factual works mostly serve to set New Jersey in its proper place as an interesting and self-respecting entity in its own right. They leave no doubt of the impact which the state has had and still can have upon American history and civilization.

III

DESCRIPTION AND TRAVEL

A. BOUNDARIES

New Jersey is said to have a greater proportion of natural boundaries than any other state. The only "man-made" one is the 48-mile northern boundary with New York. The state is almost an island. But the bounds, including those running through surrounding waters, have been the subject of prolonged and bitter controversy. It required generations to determine how much New Jersey includes.

William A. Whitehead used original documents in compiling his *Northern Boundary Line . . .* (n.p., 1859). This has a map showing various lines, a general account of the settlement (1769), the agreement, legislation establishing the line, confirmation by the states, etc. A later settlement is detailed in *Report of the New Jersey Commissioners Concerning the Northern Boundary Line Between the States of New York and New Jersey* (Trenton, 1883).

Throughout the nineteenth century the two states were in litigation concerning the waters between them, and the possession of Staten Island, which New Jersey claimed. That controversy may be traced in the following documents: (1) New Jersey Commissioners on the Eastern Boundary, *Report of the Commissioners on the Controversy with the State of New York, Respecting the Eastern Boundary of the State of New Jersey, October 30, 1807* (Trenton, reprinted, 1826); (2) New Jersey, Governor, Isaac H. Williamson, *Message of His Excellency the*

Governor; Together with the Report of the Commissioners Appointed on the Part of the State of New Jersey to Settle the Question of Territory and Jurisdiction in Dispute with the State of New York, etc. etc. February, 1828. (Trenton, 1828); (3) Another discussion of the vexed question, citing documents, legislation, etc., is William A. Whitehead, *The Eastern Boundary of New Jersey* (Newark, 1866). The author, a distinguished authority on New Jersey history, reviewed a "Paper on the Waters of New Jersey" read before the Historical Society of New York by the Honorable John Cochrane, New York's Attorney General, and answered a statement made by "A Member of the New York Historical Society"—and, of course, asserted New Jersey's claim. (4) In 1888 New Jersey appointed a commission to settle the dispute. Their statement, apparently supposed to be final on the boundary in lands under water, appeared as *Report and Proceedings of the New Jersey Boundary Commission* (Jersey City, 1890) and concerns the line in the Hudson River, New York Bay, the Kill van Kull and Arthur Kill. The entire matter is reviewed by William H. Richardson, "When Staten Island Was New Jersey," a paper read before the New Jersey Historic Congress, Mar. 24-25, 1933. The writer asserts New Jersey's claim, "established pre-eminently by the evidence of maps and map makers." He mentions a New Jersey brief presented in the United States Supreme Court in 1829, still unchallenged by New York, so that the agreement of 1834 is considered invalid.

New Jersey argued at length with Delaware about bounds. An exhaustive discussion is in *The State of the Question of Jurisdiction and Boundary between New Jersey and Delaware, A. D. 1873* (Trenton, 1873) with maps, documents, citations of legal decisions, legislation, etc.

B. NATURAL FEATURES

The area within the natural and legal boundaries includes a remarkable variety of regions and resources.

This fact accounts for the state's diverse topography and economic development; its high standing as a scenic, residential, industrial, and recreational region. This diverse character is discussed in some well-written and authoritative essays in three general histories: (1) Francis Bazley Lee, *New Jersey as a Colony and as a State*, IV, chap. 19, 301-313, "New Jersey's Topography and Economic Geology"; (2) Irving S. Kull, *New Jersey, A History*, I, chap. 1, 3-13, Arthur P. Kelley, "The Physical Basis of Civilization in New Jersey," with a bibliography; (3) William Starr Myers, in his *The Story of New Jersey*, I, chap. 1, 1-21, "Introduction and Local Geography," with a few references.

The physical basis of civilization is scientifically described in New Jersey, Geological Survey, *Final Report Series of the State Geologist* (8 vols. in 9 parts; Trenton, 1888-1917), with illustrations, maps, and charts, including topography, magnetism, climate, mineralogy, botany, zoology, water supply, physical geography, glacial geology, clays and the clay industry, iron mines and mining, etc. Another invaluable scientific source is the New Jersey State Geologist, *Annual Report*, 1854-1909 (49 vols., Trenton, 1854-1909). Henry B. Kümmel's "The Geology of New Jersey," Bulletin no. 50, Department of Conservation and Development (Trenton, 1940) updates J. Volney Lewis and Henry B. Kümmel, "The Geology of New Jersey" in Bulletin no. 14, written to explain the "State Geological Map," (Trenton, 1910-1912.) It has a colored geologic index map and a relief map, and covers geography and geology in detail. The New Jersey Department of Conservation and Development, Division of Geology and Topography, has issued a *Topographic Atlas of New Jersey*, with 17 large maps, providing an excellent portrayal of the state's physical topography, and including railroads, canals, highways, mines, quarries, marshes, etc. Locations of place names on the maps are given in Henry Gannett, *A Geographic Dictionary of New Jersey*, Bulletin no. 118, United States Geological Survey (Washington, D.C., 1894). For very recent changes

of name this is supplemented by the Survey's *Geographic Dictionary of the United States*, sixth edition.

The characteristics of New Jersey as a distinctive region are described in several popular essays and books. A readable account is Donald R. McCoy, "Middle Atlantic Regionalism Revisited," in *New York History*, XXXVI, no. 4 (Oct., 1955), 413-421, with a few references. New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware are here considered as a region in historical and other respects. They are characterized by "a dynamic society cherishing traditional values but responsive to popular will," with diversified economy, advanced industrialism, strong commercial spirit, a high degree of urbanism, and a pluralistic culture tolerating differences in social institutions, national backgrounds, and economic status. The physical basis of New Jersey's share in this culture appears clearly in R. H. Whitback, "Geographical Influences in the Development of New Jersey," in *Journal of Geography*, VI, no. 6 (Jan., 1908), 177-182. The State is described as very nearly a physiographic unit. "The material growth of the state finds its stimulus not primarily in its own resources, but in its geographical position between two great states, two great cities, two great harbors, whereby it shares in the prosperity, the wealth, and the opportunities of both."

There are two scholarly, well-written, and popular works intended primarily for schools, but useful and interesting also to the adult lay public. Bertrand B. Boucher, H. C. Brooks, and M. C. Creamer, with J. F. Luscombe as consultant, *A Guide to New Jersey Geography* (Little Falls, 1962) is a comprehensive compilation of statistics, with maps and a good, selected bibliography including New Jersey and United States government publications, sources of information, and a list of New Jersey periodicals. Victor L. Crowell, a teacher of conservation, in *The Wonderful World of New Jersey, Our Natural Resources* (New Brunswick, 1955) with illustrations, gathers in popular form a mass of information from technical reports, and combines natural sciences

and social studies. It is frankly intended to give information and advice regarding conservation of diminishing resources.

Among the impressive features of New Jersey are peculiar regions such as the southern "Pines," and the vast marshes of the lower Hackensack and Passaic river valleys. The "Pines" are described in Francis Bazley Lee, *New Jersey as a Colony and as a State*, I, chap. 16, 277-288, "The Sea Coast and the 'Pines'." Lester E. Klimm, "The Empty Areas of the Northeastern United States," in *Geographical Review*, XLIV, no. 3 (July, 1954), 325-345, has a few photographs, two maps, and references. It includes the "Pine Barrens" and the northern mountains, and indicates their geological causes, character, and extent. A member of the staff of the Newark Museum, Dean Freiday, describes the "Pines" in "They Call it the Barrens!" in *Frontiers*, XVI, no. 2 (Dec., 1951), 35-39, with photographs and a map. Together with history and place names, he stresses the peculiar plant life and its dependent industries, popular customs, and advantages for recreation. John William Harshberger, *The Vegetation of the New Jersey Pine Barrens; an Ecologic Investigation* (Philadelphia, 1916) with illustrations and a map, gathers the results of twenty-five years of research, comprising geography and place names, soils and botany, and the influence of geography and vegetation upon the people and their industries. This scientific treatise is probably one of the best on an American region.

The northern marshes have been vividly pictured in John Brooks' articles, "A Reporter at Large—the Meadows," in the *New Yorker*, March 9, 1957, 92-107; March 16, 108-127. He explains their geologic cause, botany, and fauna, describes futile attempts to reclaim portions of them, and narrates his expedition with a muskrat trapper and also a conversation with an old inhabitant of the area.

Quite literally, life in New Jersey has been shaped by the geography of the rivers, especially the Delaware. Francis Brandt's *The Majestic Delaware, the Nation's*

Foremost Historic River (Philadelphia, 1929) is a profusely and handsomely illustrated "biography," emphasizing dramatic historical events and achievements, especially shipbuilding, with references to New Jersey history and communities. Harry Emerson Wildes, *The Delaware* (New York, Toronto, 1940) in the "Rivers of America" series, has illustrations by Irwin D. Hoffman and a bibliography, and is a popular narrative about the river and its people since the time of the Swedish and Finnish settlements. The same author wrote a densely factual and yet lively account of the *Twin Rivers, the Raritan and Passaic* (New York, 1943) in the "Rivers of America" series, with illustrations by Angelo di Benedetto, a map, and a bibliography. It includes history, legends, and life in the valleys and deplores the ravages of industrialism and pollution. The emphasis in these works is upon the rivers as influences molding New Jersey history and civilization.

(Further references to geographical environment appear in Chapter IV under the heading of Local History.)

C. PICTORIAL WORKS

New Jersey offers many scenic surprises to those who know only its crowded highways and smoggy industrial regions. These riches have been artistically photographed and affectionately described by James S. Cawley. His *Historic New Jersey in Pictures* (Princeton, 1939) has 168 views of historic buildings, monuments, canals, bridges, old churches, and scenery. Jersey's various beauties, with descriptive comment, appear in Federal Writers' Project, New Jersey, *New Jersey, a Profile in Pictures* (New York, 1939), with over seventy photographs. Complete topical coverage is in Bernadine Freeman Bailey, *Picture Book of New Jersey* (Chicago, 1951) for young people, with illustrations by Kurt Wiese. Seekers for illustrations have an indispensable guide in Bernard Bush, *Picture Collections in New Jersey History* (Trenton, 1963). He lists the holdings of some twenty

institutions. The Newark Public Library has a card catalog "Index to New Jersey Illustrations," culled from its reference books.

D. GAZETTEERS AND GUIDES

For explorers of topography and history an essential guide is Agnes B. Grametbauer's *Annotated Bibliography and Index of Atlases and Maps of New Jersey, 1800 to 1949* (3 vols., Washington, D.C., 1953). Copies are in the Rutgers University Library and the Newark Public Library. Many of the 2513 entries (including 147 atlases) are briefly described, with location symbols, and the indexes include areas, subjects, place names, and atlases.

The most extensive early gazetteer is Thomas Francis Gordon, *A Gazetteer of the State of New Jersey (and) History of New Jersey* (2 vols. in 1; Trenton, 1834). This portrays the State in 1833, with statistics and a map, and traces its history to the adoption of the Federal Constitution. For the late nineteenth century there is F. Killenberger, *Killenberger's Pocket Gazetteer of the State of New Jersey . . .* (New Brunswick, 1887), with a map. Conditions in the 1930's are elaborately reviewed in Federal Writers' Project, New Jersey, *New Jersey; a Guide to Its Present and Past* (New York, 1939, 1946), with ninety illustrations, nineteen maps, guided tours, a chronology, and a bibliography. Junior Leagues of New Jersey, *Away We Go! a Guidebook of Family Trips and Places of Interest in New Jersey, Nearby Pennsylvania and New York*, edited by Michaela M. Mole, with photographs by William F. Augustine (New Brunswick [c 1963]) is a simplified popular work, covering the important and historic places. Another popular guide is John E. Long's richly illustrated essay, "New Jersey Now!" in *National Geographic Magazine*, LXIII, no. 5 (May, 1933), 519-584. It describes the state as a traffic center and a vast industrial complex. The State Promotion Section has published *Know Your State, a Factual Outline of New Jersey* (Trenton, 1957, 1961), a useful

bird's eye view and manual, with photographs, a basic bibliography, a map of Congressional districts, and a census by counties. For teachers and scholars, there is Frank B. Stover, *Living Together in New Jersey* (rev. ed.; New York, 1954), with pictures, basic geographic and historical information, maps and map studies, statistics, references, and visual aids. The study begins in a local community and broadens to embrace the state.

E. TRAVEL NARRATIVES

New Jersey always has been a corridor state. In early times it became a highway for immigrants, traders, mail carriers, itinerant preachers, public officials, armies, and exploring scientists. The advent of turnpikes, canals and railroads made it a funnel through which goods passed to and from two great seaports. Innumerable foreign visitors traversed it and many recorded their impressions. New Jersey is mentioned in almost countless books listed in bibliographies of American travel: (1) Irving S. Kull (ed.), *New Jersey, A History*, I, 317, travel in colonial New Jersey; (2) Jane Louise Mesick, *The English Traveller in America, 1785-1835* (New York, 1922), with bibliography; (3) Max Berger, *The British Traveller in America, 1836-1860* (New York, 1943), with a critical bibliography; (4) Frank Monaghan, *French Travellers in the United States, 1765-1932, A Bibliography* (New York, 1933); (5) *Voyageurs Belges Aux États-Unis Du XVII^e Siècle à 1900, Notices Bio-Bibliographiques* (Bruxelles, 1959), with indexes of places and personal names; (6) John Graham Brooks, *As Others See Us* (New York, 1908), an indexed list of English, French and German titles.

Henry Hudson's venturesome crew found New Jersey "A Pleasant Land to See"—the title of an essay by Oral S. Coad, in *Journal of the Rutgers University Library*, XXV, no. 2 (June, 1963), 36-57. New Jersey is glimpsed here in quotations (with references) from travel writings since the seventeenth century. Many are notable for their

literary felicity. Selections from among the better-known early visitors are in William H. Benedict, "New Jersey As It Appeared to Early Observers and Travellers," in *New Jersey Historical Society Proceedings*, new series, V, no. 3 (July, 1920), 150-168. His "Travel Across New Jersey in the Eighteenth Century and Later," *Proceedings*, new series, VII, no. 2 (Apr., 1922), 97-119, describes means of travel from the 1680's to 1818, and includes newspaper advertisements of stage lines, and notes on difficulties and hardships. Interesting extracts from accounts by early navigators and settlers are collected in Albert Cook Myers (ed.), *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware, 1630-1707* (New York, 1912), with a map. An early narrative by a Swedish visitor on the Delaware is Peter Mårtensson Lindeström, *Geographia Americae with an Account of the Delaware Indians* (Philadelphia, 1925), a translation of the original manuscript by Amandus Johnson, with notes, an introduction, and an appendix of Indian geographical names. This has also been published as *Per Lindeströms Resa till Nya Sverige, 1653-1656 . . .* (Stockholm [1923]). The Labadist missionaries, Jasper Dankers and Peter Sluyter, included notes on New Jersey in their *Journal of a Voyage to New York and a Tour in Several of the American Colonies in 1679-80*, edited by Henry C. Murphy, in *Memoirs of the Long Island Historical Society*, I, (1876).

Theirs is among the first of many journals of travellers, sojourners and settlers. Some were promotional, like *An Abstract or Abbreviation of some Few of the Many (Latter and Former) Testimonys from the Inhabitants of New Jersey and Other Eminent Persons who have wrote particularly concerning That Place* (London, 1681). These describe the resources and products of East and West Jersey, and are printed also as "Letters Respecting New Jersey in 1681 . . .," in *New Jersey Historical Society Proceedings*, new series, XIV, no. 4 (Oct., 1930), 517-534, with notes on the writers by Maude E. Johnson. Some of the material in the *Abstract* is also in Samuel Smith, *The History of the Colony of Nova-Caesaria, or New Jersey . . . to the Year 1721 . . .* (Burlington, 1765). Some

of the promotional tracts are mentioned in Part IV, Section F, Colonial Period, 3, under East and West Jersey. The best account of this type of literature is in Harry Bischoff Weiss and Grace M. Weiss, *The Early Promotional Literature of New Jersey* (Trenton, 1964), with a bibliography.

Several eminent travelers in the eighteenth century wrote notable descriptions. Doctor Alexander Hamilton's are in his *Itinerarium . . .* edited by Albert Bushnell Hart (St. Louis, Mo., 1907), published also as *Gentleman's Progress . . . 1744*, edited with an introduction and notes by Carl Bridenbaugh (Williamsburg, Va., 1948). The doctor traversed the province twice, found it cultivated and productive, visited the larger towns, conversed in the taverns, and commented on the character of the people. A few years later (1749) came Peter Kalm, the Swedish botanist from the University of Åbo, Finland. He dwelt among the Swedes in South Jersey and described life and customs there as well as natural features. His journal has been published as *The America of 1750; Peter Kalm's Travels in North America* (2 vols.; New York, 1937), the English version of 1770, revised from the original Swedish and edited by Adolph B. Benson. The original edition is *En Resa till Norra America, på Kongl. Swenska Wetenskaps Acadamiens Befallning, och Publici Kostnad, Förrattad* (3 vols.; Stockholm, 1753-1761), illustrated. One of the most intelligent travelers was the Reverend Andrew Burnaby, who arrived in 1759. His remarks appear in *Burnaby's Travels Through North America*. (New York, 1904; repr. from 3rd ed. of 1798), with introduction and notes by Rufus Rockwell Wilson.

European revolutions late in the century brought some distinguished visitors, who delighted in recording their observations on the new republic. Inevitably, some crossed New Jersey. Evelyn M. Acomb edited "The Journal of Baron von Clozen," in *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, X, no. 2 (Apr., 1953), 196-236. This young aide-de-camp of Count de Rochambeau journeyed from Whippany to Trenton on the march to Yorktown, and briefly

described the towns. Central New Jersey is thoroughly pictured in Johann David Schöpf, *Travels in the Confederation*, translated from the German and edited by Alfred J. Morrison. (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1911). Schöpf was a scientist and physician, and chief surgeon to the Ansbach troops in the British forces. He rode from Elizabethtown to Trenton in the stifling heat of July, 1783, and observed towns, agriculture, industries, and the state government—and suffered from the notorious mosquitoes. The South American liberator, Francisco de Miranda, made favorable comments in 1783-1784, in *The New Democracy in America . . .*, translated by Judson P. Wood and edited by John S. Ezell (Norman, Okla., 1963). He noticed travel conditions, healthfulness and rural comfort, the German and Dutch people, and religious toleration, and quoted the description of New Jersey as the "Garden of America." An agent of the Holland Land Company, Théophile Cazenove, wrote *A Record of the Journey of Theophile Cazenove Through New Jersey and Pennsylvania*, translated from the French and edited by Payner Wickersham Kelsey (Haverford, Pa., 1922), with a map and explanatory notes. His account is meritorious for its detailed gleanings on economic and social conditions. Also, carefully detailed, is the description by the French exile, Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Voyage aux États-Unis de L'Amérique, 1793-1798*, edited by Stewart L. Mims (New Haven, 1913); published also as *Moreau de St. Méry's American Journey (1793-1798)* translated and edited by Kenneth Roberts [and] Anna M. Roberts, with preface by Kenneth Roberts and introduction by Stewart L. Mims (Garden City, N. Y., 1947).

A general view in the early national period appears in writings by several native travelers. John Rutherford's "Notes on the State of New Jersey, Written August, 1786" are in New Jersey Historical Society *Proceedings*, 2nd series, I, no. 2 (1868), 79-89. Descriptions of some larger towns occur in the notes by the famous jurist, James Kent, edited by Fred Shelley as "Travel Contrasts: Chancellor Kent's Impressions of New Jersey, 1793 and

1821," in *Proceedings*, LXXIII, no. 4 (Oct., 1955), 300-305, with references.

Among the most attractive travel narratives are accounts of rambles in regions not widely known. An interesting one is Guy Sequine La Tourette, *A North Jersey Jaunt* (New York, 1874 or 1875). The "Good Gray Poet," Walt Whitman, rode and strolled over South Jersey. His account has been edited by Herbert Bergman as "Walt Whitman on New Jersey: An Uncollected Essay," in *New Jersey Historical Society Proceedings*, LXVI, no. 4 (Oct., 1948), 139-154. This was originally printed in the *Philadelphia Times*, January 26, 1879, and describes his trip from Camden to the coast, with remarks on sporting history, nature and the seasons, towns, industries, salt meadows, Atlantic City, and popular characteristics. Joseph Rydings gathered the observations of some thirty years in *Country Walks in Many Fields, Being Certain Choice Annals of the Paterson Rambling Club* (Paterson, 1934), previously published in the *Paterson Morning Call*. These are chatty essays on the northern countryside (especially the Hackensack and Passaic valleys) and include scenery, streams, flowers, people, houses, and history. Walks in New Jersey are related in Raymond H. Torrey, Frank Place and Robert Latou Dickinson, *New York Walk Book* (new and rev. ed.; New York, 1951), an invaluable help to hikers and lovers of local scenes and lore, with a bibliography. (A pocket edition and a special edition were published in 1923, and revised editions in 1934 and 1935). A pleasant travelogue, by two tireless canoers, is James L. and Margaret Cawley, *Exploring the Little Rivers of New Jersey* (Princeton, 1942; 2nd ed., rev.; New Brunswick, 1961). They reveal the state's beauty in photographs taken along the streams, and include fifteen excellent maps locating camp sites, drinking water, historic homes and mills, and cruise routes. The explorer who likes to avoid crowded highways will enjoy Alden T. Cottrell, *Suggestions for Trips in New Jersey, Scenic-Historic* (3rd ed., rev.; Trenton, 1954), with illustrations and a bibliography.

IV

HISTORY

A. SOURCES: GUIDES AND DOCUMENTARY COLLECTIONS

The source materials are abundant and widely dispersed. A basic guide is U.S. National Historical Publications Commission, *A Guide to Archives and Manuscripts in the United States*, edited by Philip M. Hamer (New Haven, 1961), listing 42 New Jersey depositories, on pages 350-369, with notes on their holdings, and on collections elsewhere. Far more detailed is the U.S. Library of Congress, *National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections* . . . (2 vols.; Ann Arbor, Mich., 1962; Hamden, Conn., 1964), based upon reports from hundreds of depositories and thoroughly indexed, with references to numerous collections on New Jersey. Official records of the state and local governments are described in two reports: "Report on the Condition of the Public Records of the State of New Jersey," in *American Historical Association Report*, 1916, I, 163-199, indicates their extent, location, condition, and accessibility, and calendars some, then in private possession. New Jersey Public Record Office, *Condition of the Public Records in the State of New Jersey, Special Report of the Director* . . . (1921) is a thorough guide to local records, with dates of missing township archives.

Also helpful are several lists of archives in specific depositories. William Nelson edited *Calendar of Records in the Office of the Secretary of State, 1664-1703* (Paterson, 1899) in vol. 21 of *Documents Relating to the*

Colonial History of the State of New Jersey, generally known as the "New Jersey Archives," XXI. This includes East and West Jersey land records, with indexes of personal and place names, subjects, Indian landowners, and occupations. Very miscellaneous unbound records are listed in Historical Records Survey, New Jersey, *Calendar of the New Jersey State Library Manuscript Collection* . . . (Newark, July, 1939), 497 items, 1674-1887, with descriptions of contents and name index. Over seventy-five thousand items are comprised in New Jersey Historical Society, *A Guide to the Manuscript Collection* . . . by Fred Shelley, Librarian (Newark, 1957), 337 collections on many various subjects, briefly described and completely indexed. Rich collections are located in Richard B. Morris, *Guide to the Principal Sources for Early American History in the City of New York* (2nd. ed.; 1953), including historical and biographical material. The rich collections at Rutgers University are catalogued in Rutgers University, Library, *A Guide to the Manuscript Collection of the Rutgers University Library*, compiled by Herbert F. Smith (New Brunswick, 1964).

B. SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS

Knowledge of The New Jersey Historical Society is essential to research. William Nelson, *Fifty Years of Historical Work in New Jersey, An Address . . . May 16, 1895, with a Bibliography of the Society* (Paterson, 1898) reviews the library, publications, manuscript collections, and local historical societies. The following twenty-five years' activities, accomplishments, publications, collections, and museum are comprehensively surveyed by "Our Seventy-Fifth Anniversary," in the *Proceedings*, new series, V, no. 3 (July, 1920), 138-150. A further report is Charles W. Parker, "Some Facts Concerning the New Jersey Historical Society," in *Proceedings*, new series, XV, no. 3 (July, 1930), 319-331, including publications, the library, and genealogical collections. Other useful notes on sources appear in Charles B. Bradley, "The

Historical Society and the New Jersey Historian"; Cornelius Doremus, "Importance of Historical Societies"; and "State-Wide Historical Conference," in *Proceedings*, LXVII, no. 2 (Apr., 1949), 100-105; new series, XII, no. 2 (Apr., 1927), 233-250; and LVI, no. 2 (Apr., 1938), 81-123. The first describes the collections and museum. The second reviews the work of local historical societies, results of historical and genealogical investigations, the preservation of records and historic sites, erection of monuments and tablets, and preserving old houses and headstones, with many references to local history. The third includes the report of a meeting of delegates from more than thirty historical and patriotic societies in 1938, and reviews their achievements in writing history and preserving records.

C. PERIODICALS

The greatest single collection of writings is The New Jersey Historical Society *Proceedings* since 1845 (Newark, 1847-), a periodical devoted to history, biography, and genealogy. It contains a vast amount of general and local history, necrologies, notes on accessions to the library, book reviews, and bibliographies. A subject index, 1845-1919, is found in new series, V, no. 1 (Jan., 1920), 3-71. Annual indexes are in the *Annual Magazine Subject Index* and the *Writings on American History*. Many articles are in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* since 1877 (Philadelphia, 1877-), which is especially useful for the early history of West Jersey.

D. GENERAL HISTORIES

For a state that is sometimes supposed to have neglected its past, New Jersey has a surprising number of comprehensive histories. (For histories of particular periods and wars, and for local histories, see below). The earliest, on the Colonial period, is Samuel Smith, *The History of the Colony of Nova-Caesaria, or New*

Jersey . . . to the Year 1721 (Burlington, 1765). Thomas Francis Gordon, *The History of New Jersey, from its Discovery by Europeans, to the Adoption of the Federal Constitution* (Trenton, 1834), has a detailed color map. He used all known colonial histories, minutes of the legislature and statutes, and devoted more than one half the book to the Revolution. Many later historians have drawn upon John Warner Barber and Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of the State of New Jersey . . .* (Newark, 1844, 1852; rev. ed.; New Haven, 1868), and various other dates. This is a mine of general, local and religious history, anecdotes, traditions, biography, Indian history and antiquities, epitaphs, and geographical descriptions gathered by travel, conversations, and written reports. The engravings were made from sketches by the authors. The Federal Writers' Project *Guide* declares that "No other book has done so much to arouse interest in New Jersey history."

There are several other older histories, but none is so interesting as the works by Gordon and Barber, cited above. Isaac S. Mulford, *A Civil and Political History of New Jersey . . .* (Camden, 1848; Philadelphia, 1851) is a "simple and compendious narrative" in a rather colorless style. It makes no claim to originality or learning, and extends to the Constitution of 1844. John O. Raum, *The History of New Jersey, From Its Earliest Settlement to the Present Time . . .* (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1871) is rich in detail based upon wide research in printed sources, with a census of counties and political data. Edward Sylvester Ellis and Henry Snyder, *A Brief History of New Jersey* (New York and Cincinnati, 1910) has illustrations, a map, a good selected bibliography, and appendices on geography, industries, and government.

All these works are far surpassed in scope by three histories written with the advantages of modern research and sociological outlook. Francis Bazley Lee, *New Jersey as a Colony and as a State . . .* (4 vols.; New York, 1902, and two biographical volumes, unnumbered) is handsomely presented and richly illustrated, but lacks a bib-

liography. It is a collection of monographs on particular periods and special topics, based upon newspapers and manuscripts, and displaying the life of the people. Even more ambitious is Irving Stoddard Kull (ed.), *New Jersey, A History* (6 vols.; New York, 1930-1932), with the last two volumes consisting wholly of biography and genealogy. Both chronological and topical, it consists of illustrated monographs on special subjects, with excellent bibliographies. Its sociological and cultural emphasis was intended to offset previous stress upon colonial, Revolutionary, political and military history. The latest major work is William Starr Myers (ed.), *The Story of New Jersey* (5 vols.; New York, 1945); and Myers has written chapters 1 through 20. This is a collaborative, scholarly work, and yet popular, heavily accenting social and economic topics and New Jersey's part in national history. Volume 3 has an historical gazetteer and the last two volumes are biographical.

No student or casual reader should miss two of the most charming collections of stories ever written about an American state. George Quarrie spent many years in gathering *Within a Jersey Circle; Tales of the Past, Grave and Gay, as Picked up from Old Jerseyites* (Somerville, 1910). With special attention to Somerset County, this is a cornucopia of lore on travel, people, the Revolution, crimes, Indian legends, religion, etc., with illustrations. Alfred Miller Heston, *Jersey Wagon Jaunts; New Stories of New Jersey* (2 vols.; Pleasantville, 1926) began as bedtime tales for a child, and grew into a rich treasury of "local color" for all ages, comprising stories, legends, and folklore, charmingly narrated and illustrated.

A few historical outlines and guides supplement these major works. The New Jersey History Committee's *Outline History of New Jersey* (New Brunswick, 1950) has a list of manuscript sources and over three hundred books, periodicals, articles, and reports, but contains numerous inaccuracies. The Chase Manhattan Bank, New York, did the State a real service by issuing *New*

Jersey, the Garden State (New York, 1936), with a chronology (1609-1876), general history, and sections on industry, agriculture, education, and literature. Although very "dated" now, Melville C. Spaulding's *Historical Hand Book of New Jersey, Containing Leading Important Events in Its History—from 1606 to 1898 . . .* (Columbus, Ohio, 1897-1898) has a vast array of still useful factual information, gleaned from "many books in state and other libraries." A similar collection is in Mrs. Reuben Knox, "New Jersey's Rich Historical Treasury," in *New Jersey Historical Society Proceedings*, new series, XIV, no. 1 (Jan., 1929), 30-52, with anecdotes and an interesting collection of New Jersey "firsts." Colonial and Revolutionary historic landmarks are described in *Society of Colonial Wars in the State of New Jersey, Historic Roadsides in New Jersey* (Plainfield, 1928), with an historical map and photographs (mostly of houses), and thirteen suggested tours. The New Jersey Department of Conservation, Division of Forestry, Geology, Parks and Historic Sites has published *Historic Highway Marker Inscriptions and Locations*, listed by counties, with historical notes and dates. The Department's *Historic Spots in New Jersey* (Trenton, 1938) has illustrations, a map, standard references, a list of old churches, and photographs of a few sites, with notes.

E. JUVENILE HISTORIES

The abundance of literature for young people appears in "A Bibliography of Children's Books about New Jersey in Twenty-Three Northern New Jersey Libraries," in *New Jersey Library Bulletin*, VII, no. 1 (Oct., 1938), 37-40. The number of satisfactory general histories and collections of stories is gratifying. Josiah R. Sypher and Ellis A. Apgar, *History of New Jersey . . .* (Philadelphia, 1870) has engraved illustrations, a chronology, and factual appendices, and includes the Civil War. Perhaps the most popular collection of New Jerseyana ever published is Frank Richard Stockton's illustrated *Stories of*

New Jersey (New York, 1896; New Brunswick, 1961). The author of these delightful tales, a member of an old New Jersey family, edited the *St. Nicholas* magazine for young people, and wrote many juvenile novels. The stories, based upon fact, have been kept alive by his polished style, humor, and love of local history and interesting persons. The 1961 edition has his list of "Authorities" and "A Basic Library of New Jersey History." A similar, modern collection is Grace Croyle Hankins' illustrated *True Stories of New Jersey* (Philadelphia and Chicago, 1939; previous eds., 1937, 1938) with an extensive bibliography. She features prominent persons, and reviews many incidents, social life and customs, industry, historic buldings, education, etc. Joseph Walker McSpadden, *New Jersey: A Romantic Story for Young People* (New York, 1928), illustrated with woodcuts by Howard L. Hastings, has "tales of by-gone days" derived partly from original narratives, largely set in the colonial period.

Several other volumes are generally less romantic and more factual. Albert B. Meredith and Vivian P. Hood, *Geography and History of New Jersey* (Boston and New York, 1921) is a good illustrated textbook with maps. J. Earle Thompson, *An Elementary History of New Jersey* (New York and Philadelphia, 1924) is derived from original and printed sources, and has a chapter on writers. Hubert Ray Cornish, *New Jersey, A Story of Progress* (New York, 1931), illustrated, has a chapter on the influence of geography. New Jersey, Division of Juvenile Education, *History of New Jersey*, prepared by Jack Shrifrin (New Brunswick, 1957) is a school text and has a brief bibliography, illustrations, and "Some New Jersey 'Firsts'." One of the superior juvenile works is Margaret J. O'Connell, *Jersey's Story* (Chicago, 1958), with the author's own photographs. It extends through the Civil War, emphasizes contributions to the nation, and has a chronology, a list of "Famous Firsts," eminent persons, historic places, and a section on origins of town names. Adaline P. Hagaman's textbook, *The Story of*

New Jersey (Lincoln, Neb., c. 1963; other editions, 1948, 1954, 1959) is simpler in style, with illustrations, and material on conservation and natural resources. Another illustrated elementary text, Arthur S. Gregor, *Gateways to America* (Chicago, 1961) pays special attention to travel and transportation, Newark and Edison's inventions, and has brief biographies.

F. COLONIAL PERIOD

The story of New Jersey under the proprietary and royal governments is one of the most complicated in colonial history. The region previously had become a bitterly contested prize for three European powers—Holland, Sweden, and England. Even after England gained unquestioned control, in 1664-1665, New Jersey was still the battleground of rival political ambitions. Proprietors and settlers, provincials and royal governors fought for power. The literature on early exploration and colonization, proprietary rule, and royal government is vast and sometimes highly controversial.

1. Sources and General Histories

Many original documents still exist in England. They are located in Henry Stevens (comp.), *An Analytical Index to the Colonial Documents of New Jersey, in the State Paper Offices of England* (New York, 1858), in *Collections of The New Jersey Historical Society*, V. The editor, William A. Whitehead, supplied notes and references to printed works and to manuscripts in other depositories. The documents, briefly summarized, are dated 1649-1799, and five appendices list other original sources. Two large collections of American origin are crowded with essential sources: *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New Jersey* (47 vols.; Newark, 1880-), in two series, generally known as "New Jersey Archives," include general records, extracts from American newspapers, the journal of the governor and

council, marriage records, and calendars of records of the secretary of state, and of wills. A large amount of information is available in Berthold Fernow (comp.), "Documents Relating to the History of the Dutch and Swedish Settlements on the Delaware River . . ." [1624-1682] (Albany, 1877), on English, Dutch, and Swedish settlements in West Jersey. This is volume 12 in *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York . . .* (15 vols.; Albany, 1853-1887).

The basic constitutional documents are gathered in Aaron Leaming and Jacob Spicer, *The Grants, Concessions and Original Constitutions of the Province of New Jersey* (Philadelphia, 1752; 2nd ed., Somerville, 1881), the first source book on state history. Another indispensable source for political history is William Nelson (comp.), *Bibliography of the Printed Proceedings of the Provincial Assembly of New Jersey, 1707-1776, and of the Printed Acts of the Legislature of New Jersey, 1703-1800, and Ordinances of the Governors*, in *New Jersey Public Record Commission Report . . . 1899* (Somerville, 1899), I, 31-93.

Many original papers relating to the period 1607-1689 are in Albert Bushnell Hart (ed.), *American History Told by Contemporaries*, Volume I, Era of Colonization, 1492-1689 (New York, 1898). They concern exploration and the early Swedish and English colonies. Much material is still unprinted and little known. Its location and character are revealed by Donald L. Kemmerer, "Neglected Source Material on Colonial New Jersey," in *New Jersey Historical Society Proceedings*, LVII, no. 1 (Jan., 1939), 29-34, giving an annotated list of libraries outside the state.

About the most complete early bibliography is William A. Whitehead, "Catalogue of Books, Pamphlets, and Other Publications Referring in Whole, or in Part, to New Jersey During the Colonial Period, Exclusive of the Public Documents of the State," in *Collections of the New Jersey Historical Society*, V (Newark, 1858), Appendix B, 477-493. The 132 titles cover the years 1648-

1857, including many special topics and some original documents. Samuel Smith undoubtedly used some of these in writing *The History of the Colony of Nova-Caesaria, or New Jersey . . . to the Year 1721 . . .* (Burlington, 1765; 2nd ed., 1877; Trenton, 1890), with maps and an index. This earliest general history begins with the age of discovery. It has an appendix of original documents (including the constitutions of East and West Jersey), a cursory review of events from 1721 to 1765, a chapter on Indian affairs, and a geographical description by counties. A concise and well-written review through the Revolution is Francis F. Anderson, *Colonial New Jersey* (Cincinnati, 1931), written for schools. It stresses cultural development, the growth of independence from its experience in self-government, the pluralistic character of the province, and migration to the Symmes Purchase in Ohio after the Revolution. Two popular and yet scholarly reviews of the Colonial period are Wesley Frank Craven, *New Jersey and the English Colonization of North America* (Princeton, 1964, "New Jersey Historical Series," vol. 3); and Richard Patrick McCormick, *New Jersey from Colony to State, 1609-1789* (Princeton, 1964, "New Jersey Historical Series," vol. 1), both illustrated and with bibliographical notes.

Origins of the province are summarized by William Star Myers in *The Story of New Jersey*, I, chap. 3, "Early European Discoveries and Settlements," with a few references, extending from Verrazano's voyage in 1524 to about 1668. William Nelson's *The Discovery and Early History of New Jersey* (1872), based largely upon *Collections* of the New York Historical Society, I (1841), reviews explorations from Cabot's voyage of 1498, the Dutch, Swedish, and English settlements, the Indians, and early government. Llewelyn Powys, *Henry Hudson* (New York, 1928) has a large bibliography including Dutch books and articles, and refers to the exploration of Monmouth County in 1610.

Rival efforts to plant settlements began about 1640. An abortive one was that of the English Roman Catho-

lic, Sir Edmund Plowden, on the Delaware River in 1641. A good account is in Francis Bazley Lee, *New Jersey as a Colony and as a State*, I, chap. 3, "The Strange Story of New Albion." A modern, scholarly study is Father William Keller's "Sir Edmund Plowden and the Province of New Albion, 1632-1650," in United States Catholic Historical Society, *Historical Records and Studies*, XLI (1953), 42-70, on the history of the grant from Charles I (1632), comparing the charter with Maryland's especially with respect to religious toleration, and attributing the failure to Plowden's character and the contemporary condition of England.

Dutch and English settlements are reviewed in Maud Wilder Goodwin, *Dutch and Quakers, Part 1: Dutch and English on the Hudson*; and Part 2: *The Quaker Colonies*, by Sydney G. Fisher (New Haven, 1926), a reissue of volumes seven and eight in the "Chronicles of America," with bibliographies. Goodwin includes Dutch and Swedish rivalry and the English conquest, and sketches colonial history. Fisher gives a detailed account of East and West Jersey and a history of the united province, stressing the persistent sectional differences in culture. William A. Whitehead, "The English in East and West Jersey, 1664-1689," is in Justin Winsor (ed.), *Narrative and Critical History of America* (Boston and New York, 1884-1889), III, 421-456, with a critical essay on sources. This covers Dutch, Swedish, and English settlements, concentrating mostly on politics and lands, but with references to religion and social and economic life.

(For further references to the Dutch and Swedes and to East and West Jersey, see the next two sections below.)

Seventeenth-century New Jersey under the Dutch and English is described in scholarly detail, with references, by Herbert L. Osgood, *The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century*, II (New York, 1904). He emphasizes the land system, general and local government, financial administration, the courts, religious freedom, defense, and Indian policy. New Jersey before 1702

thoroughly tested proprietary colonization and found it a costly failure. The story of many difficulties and contentions is in Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History* (New Haven, 1934-1937): volume 3, *Proprietary Troubles in the Jerseys*, a clear and scholarly account, 1664-1702. Although proprietary rule was abandoned, it prepared the way for self-government and, ultimately, for the Revolution. Austin Scott makes this clear in "The Influence of the Proprietors in Founding the State of New Jersey," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, 3rd series, no. 8, 439-460. He notices the growth of political liberty, based upon the Proprietors' "Concessions" and the development of town government, the courts, and township schools. This development was the ultimate source of New Jersey's support of the Revolution and the Constitutional Convention of 1787.

The principal source of contention was the land question, which kept the people (especially in East Jersey) in a continual turmoil against landlord control. The method of disposing of lands appears in John R. Stevenson, "The Councils of Proprietors of New Jersey," in New Jersey Historical Society *Proceedings*, 3rd series, VII, no. 3 (Jan., 1913), 131-136, with remarks on securing title and surveying, and reorganization to make the process more efficient. The prolonged and sometimes violent disputes are chronicled in Edgar J. Fisher, "Colonial Land Conflicts in New Jersey," *Historical Society of Hudson County Papers*, no. 6, with a bibliography. The cause was the contradiction between the Indian deeds and grants by Governor Richard Nicolls at Elizabeth and in Monmouth County, and a later grant to the Berkeley-Carteret proprietors. The result was legal disputes and riots until 1762. The Council upheld and the Assembly opposed the Proprietors. Especially bitter was the quarrel about quitrents, which is explained by James C. Connolly, "Quit Rents in Colonial New Jersey" in Union County Historical Society *Proceedings*, I (1923),

3-12. The author claims that disputes and lengthy litigation alienated the people and contributed to the Revolution.

The confusion at times brought East Jersey, particularly, to practical anarchy. The apparent solution was to combine the Jerseys with a larger government. Such an attempt is described by Carlos Emmor Godfrey, "When Boston was New Jersey's Capital" (Newark, 1933), a reprint (with references) from the New Jersey Historical Society *Proceedings*, LI, no. 1 (Jan., 1933), 1-23. He relates events from 1688 to 1692, the Proprietors' surrender of the government to King James II, annexation to the Dominion of New England, and the Proprietors' reassertion of their rights. New Jersey practically had no government from the summer of 1689 to the autumn of 1692. The effort to combine the Jerseys succeeded in 1702-1703, when the Proprietors finally yielded their right of government. New Jersey remained a royal province until 1776, and from 1702-1738 was under the Governor of New York, but had its own Assembly. Provincial politics, complicated by frequent quarrels between the Governor and the Assembly, is outlined by Herbert L. Osgood in *The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century*, II (New York, 1924), with references and special attention to the Proprietors' land policy, and to the Episcopal and anti-Episcopal parties under Governor Robert Hunter. The Proprietors tangled with the first governor, Edward, Lord Cornbury. His controversial administration (1702-1708) is studied by Charles Worthen Spencer, "The Cornbury Legend," in New York State History Association *Proceedings*, XIII (1914), 309-320, to answer the question: was he as villainous as his detractors claimed?

Political history is minutely examined in two studies that seem likely to remain permanent authorities: Edwin Platt Tanner, *The Province of New Jersey, 1664-1738* (New York, 1908) and Edgar Jacob Fisher, *New Jersey as a Royal Province, 1738-1776* (New York, 1911), both founded upon deep research in archives. Tanner stresses

political institutions during the union with New York, without economic and social consideration. Fisher includes religious and social conditions, the factors propelling New Jersey toward the Revolution, and the establishment of state government.

New Jersey's part in colonial wars has been a neglected subject, except in the general histories. Francis Bazley Lee, *New Jersey as a Colony and as a State* considers it in the twenty-second chapter of his first volume, "New Jersey in England's Wars with Spain and France." New Jersey's participation in an abortive invasion of Canada is narrated by Bruce T. McCully, "Catastrophe in the Wilderness; New Light on the Canada Expedition of 1709," in *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, XI, no. 3 (July, 1954), 441-456, with references. It failed through transportation difficulties, military inefficiency, and the demoralizing decision of the Ministry to abandon it. A discussion of the general subject is R. Wayne Parker's essay, "New Jersey in the Colonial Wars," in *New Jersey Historical Society Proceedings*, new series, VI, no. 4 (Oct., 1921), 193-217, with references. He devotes special attention to the later French wars (1744-1748, 1756-1763), in which the province was intensely active. He claims that the good behavior of the Jersey minutemen in the Revolution was due to continuous military training in the colonial wars.

2. *New Netherland And New Sweden*

Although the Tercentenary celebrates the English conquest in 1664, Holland and Sweden had preceded that event by many years. England was not the unquestioned imperial and sea power of the early seventeenth century. Holland was a respected and formidable rival, and Sweden was a Baltic empire with colonial ambitions. Holland was first in New Jersey, and by 1630 commanded the Hudson and Delaware valleys. Early records of her penetration in New Jersey are collected in J. Franklin Jameson (ed.), *Narratives of New Netherlands, 1609-1664*

(New York, 1909), with accounts of discovery and exploration, early attempts to settle, and the capture of New Sweden in 1655. A popular account of Dutch rivalry with the Swedes is Christopher Ward, *The Dutch and Swedes on the Delaware, 1609-64* (Philadelphia, 1930) with a bibliography. It accords more than usual credit to these pioneers. Clinton Alfred Weslager and A. R. Dunlap, *Dutch Explorers, Traders, and Settlers in the Delaware Valley, 1609-1664* (Philadelphia, 1961) refers to early New Jersey settlements, and indicates permanent Dutch influence by a map and a list of geographical names. The Dutch capital on the Delaware is closely studied in John Henry Fort's "Sketch of Old Fort Nassau Settlement," in New Jersey, Old Fort Nassau Colonial Monument Commission, *Report . . . 1920* (Camden, 1920), 14-26. Reproductions of seventeenth-century maps show the site of Fort Nassau (1623) at Gloucester City—the first permanent white settlement in West Jersey, founded by Captain Cornelius May under the auspices of the Dutch West India Company.

Before 1700 Dutch settlement extended from Bergen County to the lower Delaware, and it left many traces that still linger. A few references reveal the persistent influence. Bertus Harry Wabeke, *Dutch Emigration to North America, 1624-1860, A Short History* (New York, 1944), with an extensive bibliography, reviews all the colonial settlements, especially the historically significant migration to the Raritan Valley in the early eighteenth century. John D. Prince, "Netherland Settlers in New Jersey," in *New Jersey Historical Society Proceedings*, 3rd series, IX, no. 1 (Jan., 1914), 1-7, notices Dutch influence in American institutions, and the North Jersey or "Bergen" Dutch and their dialect. Abraham Messler, "The Hollanders in New Jersey, with Notices of Some of Their Descendants," *Proceedings*, V, no. 1 (1850), 67-89, with references, concentrates largely on Dutch Reformed ecclesiastical history, particularly of the Raritan churches and their religious revival in the 1720's. (See also Chapter VII under the heading of Denomina-

tions.) Hans Koningsberger, *Holland and the United States, a Tale of Two Countries* (New York, Netherlands Information Service [1961]) mentions the survival of the Dutch language in monthly church services held early in the twentieth century, and in the Ramapo Valley until 1905. Audubon R. Davis, "The Dutch in New Jersey," in *New Jersey Genesis*, II, no. 1 (Oct., 1954), 1-3, indicates place and family names, records of Dutch genealogy, and the survival of Dutch churches. Bergen County appears as a bastion of Dutch culture in Daniel Van Winkle, "The Dutch Under English Rule, 1674-1775," in Historical Society of Hudson County, *Paper 2*, April 23, 1908. Richard H. Amerman, "Dutch Life in Pre-Revolutionary Bergen County," in *New Jersey Historical Society Proceedings*, LXXVI, no. 3 (July, 1958), 161-181, with references, emphasizes Dutch farmhouse architecture, vitality of the language, ideals of political freedom and education, and evangelical religion. The survival of Holland folkways and speech is recalled also in Arnold Mulder, *Americans from Holland* (Philadelphia and New York, 1947), with illustrations and a bibliography.

Not all New Jersey Hollanders are of colonial origin. Later immigration is described by Henry S. Lucas in *Netherlanders in America, Dutch Immigration to the United States and Canada, 1789-1950* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1955), with many references. So many communities sprang up after 1850 that by 1930 no other state east of Michigan had so many Holland-born people. In *Hollanders Who Helped Build America* (New York, 1942) Bernard H. M. Vlekke and Henry Beets list several hundred contemporaries, with portraits, including some in New Jersey.

The Swedes also left permanent traces; their settlements became dispersed over the southern counties. Political control lasted only from 1638 to 1655, but their language survived for generations and their names and churches still live. For the first accounts of New Sweden we are indebted to missionaries sent by the Lutheran

Church of Sweden. The earliest is that of Tomas Campanius Holm, *A Short Description of the Province of New Sweden*, etc., translated from the Swedish, with notes, by Peter S. Du Ponceau, in *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, III (Philadelphia, 1834). It first appeared as *Kort Beskrifning om Provincien Nya Sverige uti America . . .* (Stockholm, 1702) with illustrations and maps. He ministered in the seventeenth century. In the eighteenth century came Israel Acrelius, who wrote a compendious account upon which all later writers have depended: *A History of New Sweden; or, The Settlements on the River Delaware*, in *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, XI (Philadelphia, 1876). The original edition is *Beskrifning om de Swenska Församlingars Fornä och Närwarande Tilstand, uti det så Kallade Nya Sverige, sedan Nya Nederland . . .* (Stockholm, 1759). The last survivor of the Swedish clergy was Nicholas Collin, who served for many years as pastor of the New Jersey churches and later of Gloria Dei Church, Philadelphia. Amandus Johnson edited *The Journal and Biography of Nicholas Collin, 1746-1831* (Philadelphia, 1936), translated from the original Swedish manuscript, with an introduction by Frank H. Stewart. The diary abounds in references to life in the Swedish community. A view of religious life in the eighteenth century is given by Joachim Reincke, a Moravian preacher, in his "Journal of a Visit Among the Swedes of West Jersey, 1745," in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXXIII (1909), 99-101.

The pre-eminent authority is Amandus Johnson, who spent many years of research in original documents. The West Jersey settlements are included in *The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware, Their History and Relations to the Indians, Dutch and English, 1638-1664* (2 vols.; New York, 1911), with an exhaustive bibliography, illustrations, and notes on colonization and customs. Adolph B. Benson and Naboth Hedin, *Swedes in America, 1638-1938* (New Haven, 1938), illustrated, reviews New Sweden and its "Colonial Landmarks" (by George

H. Ryden) in New Jersey, and has notes on modern Swedish communities. A useful brief account is Carl K. S. Sprinchorn's two articles, "The History of the Colony of New Sweden," in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, VII and VIII (1883, 1884). Bibliographical references and a list of Swedish pioneers are in Audubon R. Davis, "First Settlements in the Delaware Valley," *New Jersey Genesis*, I, no. 3 (Apr., 1954), 6-7.

By 1750 the West Jersey Swedes were numerous enough to support two churches and a school. The first volume entirely devoted to this community is Federal Writers' Project, New Jersey, *The Swedes and Finns in New Jersey* . . . with an introduction by Dr. Amandus Johnson (Bayonne, 1938), with a bibliography, an extensive chronology, photographs, and a map locating the settlements. It is derived largely from original sources, including church records, and emphasizes Swedish culture, the churches as preservers of "Swedishness," and the assimilation of the group. An early community on Raccoon Creek is noticed in Samuel H. Richards, "New Stockholm—the Swedish Settlement," in *New Jersey Historical Society Proceedings*, new series, XV, no. 4 (Oct., 1930), 487-502. The Swedes long preceded the Quaker immigrants, whom they sheltered in their homes. The number of Swedes before 1700 is suggested by John Clement, "Swedish Settlers in Gloucester County, New Jersey, Previous to 1684," in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XVII, no. 1 (1893), 83-87. This account of an inquiry into land titles briefly mentions their way of life. The expansion of a Swedish family and of settlement is traced in Charles Jolly Werner, *Eric Mullica and His Descendants: a Swedish Pioneer of New Jersey* . . . (New Gretna, 1930), with a genealogy, and local history of the Mullica River region. Mullica had the first plantation in the area. Also important, on the Swedish settlers, is Gregory Bernard Keen, *The Descendants of Jöran Kyn of New Sweden* (Philadelphia, 1913). The activities and influence of the Dutch and Swedes are reviewed in Adrian C. Leiby, *The Early Dutch and Swedish*

Settlers of New Jersey (Princeton, 1964, "New Jersey Historical Series," vol. 10), which stresses the interaction of cultural influences.

3. *The English Proprietors (East Jersey)*

The Dutch surrendered New Netherland to the English in 1664. New Jersey then began one of the most interesting phases of colonial history—an experiment in government by proprietors over a proud and freedom-loving people. When Charles II granted New Jersey to his brother James, Duke of York (later James II) he opened a Pandora's box. The Duke conferred New Jersey upon two friends: John, Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret of Jersey—hence the name, New Jersey. In 1674 Berkeley sold to Edward Byllynge his portion, which became West Jersey, and was settled by Byllynge's fellow Quakers. The rest became the proprietary colony of East New Jersey, first ruled by the Carterets and then by the "Twenty-Four Proprietors." In 1702 the Proprietors surrendered their rights of government, and the "Jerseys" were united to form the royal province of New Jersey. Before that time each of the provinces acquired distinctive traits that persisted for generations. Those characteristics appear in the following writings:

A general account of the two provinces is William A. Whitehead's essay, "The English in East and West Jersey, 1664-1689," in Justin Winsor (ed.), *Narrative and Critical History of America* (Boston and New York, 1884-1889), III, 421-456, with a critical essay on the sources. The authoritative account of East Jersey is John E. Pomfret, *The Province of East Jersey, 1609-1702, The Rebellious Proprietary* (Princeton, 1962), with references. This emphasizes the dominance of New England Puritans and Scottish Calvinists, and of town government. The rebelliousness is ascribed to confusion of land titles, hatred of quitrents, and resentment against government by landowners. The story, never before fully written, also stresses Scottish settlement, and religious diversity.

Pomfret summarizes the New Jersey proprietary period in his *The New Jersey Proprietors and Their Lands, 1664-1776* (Princeton, 1964, "New Jersey Historical Series," vol. 9).

An indispensable source for East Jersey history is the Board of General Proprietors of the Eastern Division of New Jersey, *The Minutes [1685-1764] with an Introductory Essay by George J. Miller* (3 vols.; Perth Amboy, 1949-1960). Containing previously unpublished material, this includes the minutes, 1685-1705, 1725-1744, and 1745-1764; the Board's functions, land titles and transactions, genealogical information, and many phases in the development of Perth Amboy (the capital) and of the province. Previously neglected records are revealed in New Jersey (Colony) Court of Common Right, *Journal of the Courts of Common Right and Chancery of East New Jersey 1683-1702 . . .* edited, and with an introduction by Preston W. Edsall (Philadelphia, 1937) with a table of cases. This record was discovered by Edsall in the archives at Trenton. He relates the origin, history, procedure, and actions of the court, and clarifies previously obscure legal history.

The tangled story of the Proprietors' relations with the people has often been related. A detailed explanation is given in Board of General Proprietors of the Eastern Division of New Jersey, *Bi-Centennial Celebration of the Board of American Proprietors of East Jersey . . .* (Newark, 1885), a collection of essays on general history, surveys, boundaries, and the influence of the Proprietors in founding the state. Cortlandt Parker's scholarly essay, "The Board of Proprietors of East Jersey," in *American Historical Magazine*, I, no. 1 (Jan., 1906), 3-24, reviews the Board's control of undisposed land, and political and land troubles, and has brief biographies of prominent men. David McGregor, "The Board of Proprietors of East Jersey," in *New Jersey Historical Society Proceedings*, new series, VII, no. 3 (July, 1922), 177-195, calls the Board the oldest private American corporation in business at the original office—in Perth Amboy. He indicates

the separation of functions, in 1685: the Provincial Council controlling legislative and executive matters, and the Board disposing of land. John E. Pomfret, "The Proprietors of the Province of East New Jersey, 1682-1702," in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXVII, no. 3 (July, 1953), 251-293, cites sources. He emphasizes the predominantly Scottish character of the Proprietors after the death of Sir George Carteret in 1681, describes the land system, and includes biographical sketches of the Twenty-Four Proprietors. The Scots, under the able leadership of the Quaker, Robert Barclay of Urie, encouraged settlement.

Scottish colonization has been comparatively little known. American colonial immigration has been associated with England, Holland, Spain, and France, the great maritime powers. Scotland until 1707 also was an independent nation with colonial ambitions. Eminent men were eager to invest in colonial enterprise, and persecution of Presbyterians and Quakers by the royalists stimulated the urge to emigrate. This is fully explained in George Pratt Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686* (Glasgow, 1922), with references. Chapter 5, "East Jersey," gives credit for the Quaker migration to Robert Barclay of Urie, who viewed the province as a refuge for harrassed Friends and poor peasants. Insh describes emigration after 1683, the stormy part of the Scots in provincial politics, the propagandist literature, and particularly the efforts of George Scot of Pitlochry. The latter's ambitious plans are described in Edith H. Mather, "George Scot, of Pitlochry," in *New Jersey Historical Society Proceedings*, new series, VII, no. 4 (Oct., 1922), 260-278. After liberation from imprisonment (for attending unauthorized worship) he prepared for migration and wrote *The Model of the Government of East Jersey . . .* (1685), the best contemporary description of the province, which greatly influenced emigration. It is reprinted in William A. Whitehead, *East Jersey Under the Proprietary Governments* (see below). Many such promotional pamphlets appeared before 1701, and one

of the best is described in "Propositions of Gawen Lawrie for the Settlement of East Jersey, 1682," in *Proceedings*, new series, VI, no. 4 (Oct., 1921), 227-233. This London merchant and Proprietor came to East Jersey as Deputy Governor in 1684, and proposed economic inducements for emigrants, encouragement of trade, and clearing land for cultivation. The Proprietors published *A Brief Account of the Province of East New Jersey, in America . . . 1683* (Morrisania, N. Y., 1867), a reprint of the only copy then known, originally published in Edinburgh. It extols the advantages of a colony in relieving economic distress in Scotland, and praises the province's natural advantages, liberal government, religious freedom, etc.

The Scots became influential in politics, and laid the foundation for a great expansion of Quakerism and Presbyterianism. George S. Pryde, "The Scots in East New Jersey," in *New Jersey Historical Society Proceedings*, new series, XV, no. 1 (Jan., 1930), 1-39, with many references, describes the influence of resident Scottish Proprietors as a political and social aristocracy, and their fight for independence from New York. They located the capital at Perth Amboy, caused the creation of Somerset County, started public works, strengthened Presbyterianism, and promoted education. Another important treatment of their influence is James Steen, *New Aberdeen, or the Scotch Settlement of Monmouth County, New Jersey* (Matawan, 1899), with an index of names, numerous references to religious leaders, and much genealogical information.

A number of scholarly works round out the history of East Jersey, and suggest its ultimate influence in the State's history. William A. Whitehead, *East Jersey Under the Proprietary Governments . . .* (1st ed., Newark, 1846), *Collections of The New Jersey Historical Society*, I, 2nd ed., rev. and enl., 1875) is an exhaustive account of settlement and growth, based upon the proprietary and New York colonial records, with references, notes, maps, illustrations of official seals, and many reproductions of

autographs. William Roome, *The Early Days and Early Surveys of East New Jersey* (Morristown, 1883; Butler, N. J., 1897), with bibliographical references, is very detailed and includes early explorations, Indian titles, division of lands, Revolutionary records, and anecdotes. William Fletcher Johnson, "The Story of the Carterets," in *New Jersey Historical Society Proceedings*, new series, IX, no. 4 (Oct., 1924), 328-333, briefly reviews the careers of three members of this prominent proprietary family, Seigneurs of St. Ouen, Jersey: Sir George, Governor Philip of East Jersey, and James Carteret, the usurping governor. The influence of East Jersey in furthering self-government appears in East Jersey (Colony) "The Revolution of 1681 in East Jersey: a Document," edited by Richard P. McCormick, in *Proceedings*, LXXI, no. 2 (Apr., 1953), 111-124, on the "Declaration" by the Governor and Council, November 5, 1681. The introductory note emphasizes the popular struggle for freedom against both the Proprietors and the governors—a succession of quarrels, occasionally resulting in a breakdown of government. The permanent legacy of self-government is the theme of Richard P. McCormick, "The Province of East Jersey, 1609-1702," in *Proceedings*, LXX, no. 2 (Apr., 1952), 81-96, with references and a bibliography. He also indicates the economic tie to New York City. John E. Pomfret, "Apologia of Governor Lawrie of East New Jersey, 1686," in *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, XIV, no. 3 (July, 1957), 344-357, with references, discusses the little-known period, 1683-1686, and the irreconcilable conflict between the people and the Proprietors, over the survival of an outmoded feudal land system. All these references prove that it was natural for New Jersey to be a center of resistance to imperial policy in the pre-Revolutionary era, 1763 to 1775.

3. *The English Proprietors (West Jersey)*

West New Jersey presents much the same phases of development as its eastern neighbor. The most notable difference is its attempt to found a model state, according to religious and social ideals of the Society of Friends. As a proprietary province it failed for the same reasons as East Jersey: the conflict caused by attempting to endow landowners with powers of government and the increasing diversity of population.

A general view of the province by contemporaries is presented by Albert Cook Myers (ed.), *Original Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware, 1630-1707* (New York, 1912), which comprises documents on the Swedish, Dutch, and English settlements, and descriptions of the country. The outstanding authority is John E. Pomfret, *The Province of West New Jersey, 1609-1702, A History of the Origins of an American Colony* (Princeton, 1956), with many references. From solid research in original documents, this traces in exhaustive detail the extremely complicated story of this Quaker "holy experiment," including religious development and the decline of proprietary rule. It identifies the original Proprietors, and unravels the complex relations between William Penn and John Fenwick.

The Proprietor Fenwick, founder of Salem, always has been an intriguing character to historians. His reputation was blemished by financial tangles and his imprisonment by Governor Andros in New York. A determined effort to dispel the cloud, and to present him as a founder of New Jersey, is Robert C. Johnson's "Memoir of John Fenwick, Chief Proprietor of Salem Tenth, New Jersey," in *New Jersey Historical Society Proceedings*, IV, no. 2 (1849), 53-89. This gives a detailed account of his English background, his proprietorship, and his services in attracting settlers. John Clement's *A Sketch of the Life & Character of John Fenwick* (Philadelphia, 1875) views him in the same way, and narrates the colony's grievances and troubles about land titles, and Fenwick's embroil-

ment with Andros, who claimed to govern West Jersey. There is comment on Quaker religious life and the Jersey visit of George Fox, founder of the Society of Friends. Fenwick is pictured as a mistreated pioneer and a victim of Andros and others in Frank H. Stewart, *Major John Fenwick, Colonizer and Founder of the First Permanent English-Speaking Colony on the Delaware River, Salem County, New Jersey, 1675* (Woodbury, 1939), with bibliography, and notes on the settlers and early conditions. The most complete account of the settlement is Thomas Shourds, *History and Genealogy of Fenwick's Colony* (Bridgeton, 1876), which has a separate *Index* compiled and published privately by Elizabeth Livermore (*University Microfilms*, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1962). An index of names, "prepared in manuscript in 1885 by William Patterson," was published in 1961.

There are several general outlines of West Jersey history. An attractively written one is Sydney George Fisher, *The Quaker Colonies; a Chronicle of the Proprietors of the Delaware* (New Haven, 1919; 1920, 1921). Frank H. Stewart's "Historical Notes about West Jersey," in New Jersey Society of Pennsylvania, *Addresses at the Thirteenth Annual Banquet, December 18th, 1919* (Philadelphia, n.d.), 43-59, is a miscellany of interesting facts, with notes on the proprietary period and the desire for religious freedom. There are historical notes in the introduction to *New Jersey (Colony) Courts, West Jersey, The Burlington Court Book, A Record of Quaker Jurisprudence in West Jersey 1680-1709*, edited by H. Clay Reed and George J. Miller (Washington, D.C., 1944). This is the "most important judicial record of proprietary West Jersey." The account of the courts indicates the influence of Quaker thought, and the disposition to settle disputes in the meetings.

Clashes of interest, inherent in the proprietary establishments, are revealed in three excellent scholarly articles. The ideal motive, to establish a home for the

persecuted, appears in John E. Pomfret, "The Proprietors of the Province of West New Jersey, 1674-1702," in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXV, no. 2 (Apr., 1951), 117-146, a detailed account of the more than one hundred men who were interested in lands. The embarrassment caused by the confusion of proprietary and political rights is fully explained by John Clement's "Council of Proprietors of West New Jersey, Organized 1687," in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XVIII, no. 4 (1894), 496-503. This carefully traces the history of the Council, which still manages land affairs. The only solution was to surrender rights of government. Causes of the failure of proprietary rule are explained by William T. McClure, "The West Jersey Society, 1692-1736," in *New Jersey Historical Society Proceedings*, LXXIV, no. 1 (Jan., 1956), 1-20, with references. The Society's effort to hold lands for increase in value, and its involvement in politics, offended the people and embarrassed its local agent, who naturally tended to favor his neighbors. Russell E. Francis, "Proprietary West Jersey, 1674-1702," *Proceedings*, LXX, no. 3 (July, 1952), 163-172, with bibliography, indicates the same troubles that beset East Jersey—the incompatibility of the landlordship and political functions of the proprietors, and the growing lack of homogeneity. Yet the liberal influence of the constitution (the "Concessions") remained, and West Jersey retained the Quaker humanitarian spirit, although it was politically conservative.

The Quaker ideal of a "holy experiment" is emphasized in two essays by John E. Pomfret, "The Province of West New Jersey: a Quaker Commonwealth," in *Proceedings*, LXVIII, no. 1 (Jan., 1950), 21-39, and "West New Jersey: a Quaker Society, 1675-1775," in *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, VIII, no. 4 (Oct., 1951), 493-519, with references, largely to Quaker meeting records. These point out the idealistic and humane quality of the constitution, the development of a religiously-oriented so-

ciety, the expansion of Quaker population and meetings, and the permanent impression upon New Jersey's religion and culture.

A view of the province and its condition is presented in two pamphlets written by Quakers to attract settlers. The first is Thomas Budd, *Good Order Established in Pennsylvania and New Jersey in America* (Philadelphia, 1685); edited with introduction and notes by Edward Armstrong (New York, 1865); also printed, without notes, in *Historical Magazine*, VI (Sept., Oct., 1862), 265-273, 304-312. Budd extolled political and religious liberty, gave advice to people of moderate means in quest of economic improvement, and glowingly portrayed the resources of the Delaware Valley. He proposed public education, storehouses, granaries, and banking. A similar exposition of natural advantages is Gabriel Thomas, *An Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and County of Pensilvania and of West New Jersey in America* (London, 1698), extracts published as "West New Jersey in the Year 1698," in *New Jersey Historical Society Proceedings*, new series, VIII, no. 1 (Jan., 1923), 1-12. (Reprints: New York, 1848; Philadelphia, 1900; Cleveland, 1903; Harrisburg, Pa., 1935, 1938). Thomas lived in West Jersey about fifteen years, and wrote to attract the poor and needy.

G. THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

The discontent of the proprietary period implanted in many Jerseymen a permanent prejudice against alien or centralized authority. Especially in Puritan and Presbyterian areas, the resentment smouldered. The trend towards tighter imperial control after 1763 supplied the draft that blew resentment into flame. At first disposed to be loyal, New Jersey became increasingly irritated by the new tax policy, and then enraged by the depredations of troops sent to suppress the "rebellion." New Jersey contributed more than its share to the common cause, and perhaps suffered more ravages than any other state.

The contending armies spent more time there than in any other area, and Washington camped on New Jersey soil for a total of thirty-three months. The reason is not far to seek. If the Americans could control New Jersey, they could keep watch on the British based in New York, threaten them in Philadelphia, draw upon the produce of New Jersey farms, and—perhaps most important of all—utilize the State's vital iron and ship-building industries. And they could prevent the enemy from permanently splitting the country. All this explains the fact that about one hundred armed conflicts occurred in New Jersey. The state was truly the "Cockpit of the Revolution." Appreciation of this fact is essential to an understanding of the war.

1. Sources and General Histories

Beside the valuable accounts and bibliographies in general histories of the State, certain lists, collections, and monographs are essential to study of the war. Old now, but still useful is William Nelson's *Sources of History of Revolutionary Events in New Jersey* (Paterson, 1900), giving sources for nineteen counties, a list of sources "In General," and a special list for the New Brunswick region. An indispensable collection of original documents is *New Jersey, Governor, 1776-1790* (William Livingston), *Selections from the Correspondence of the Executive of New Jersey, from 1776 to 1786, Published by Order of the Legislature* (Newark, 1848). This comprises correspondence of the Governor and other state officials on civil and military affairs, relating largely to supplies, commissions, enlistments, deserters, appointments, Tories, finances, and the Continental Congress.

An excellent summary of the period is David Laurence Cowen's "Revolutionary New Jersey, 1763-1787," in *New Jersey Historical Society Proceedings*, LXXI, no. 1 (Jan., 1953), 1-23, with a selected bibliography. This clearly reviews economic and political discontents as causes of revolution; the Constitution of 1776 as the realization of

the Assembly's struggle for freedom; serious problems of war finance, Tory property, interstate relations; and relations with Congress under the Confederation, which inspired the State's support of the Federal Convention and Constitution. Allan Nevins, *The American States During and After the Revolution, 1775-1789* (New York, 1924), with bibliography, remedies the previous neglect of state history, and surveys New Jersey's political, social, and intellectual development, and its influence upon national affairs, in the general trend towards unity.

Perhaps more than any other author, Charles Leonard Lundin reveals New Jersey's significance in the Revolution, by his *Cockpit of the Revolution; the War for Independence in New Jersey* (Princeton, 1940), with a note on sources. In a lively style, and quoting many sources, he reveals how the frequent troop movements and actions affected the decisive campaigns and the final outcome of the war. New Jersey's strategic importance is further indicated in Robert Van Amburgh Hoffman's informal collection of stories, *The Revolutionary Scene in New Jersey* (New York, 1942), with some references, and illustrations of buildings associated with the war. Entertaining and informative rather than erudite, the book has many legends and anecdotes, notes on Washington's itinerary and camps, and descriptions of camp life and military movements. An unusual approach reveals events behind the battles and the camps in essays by Arthur Dudley Pierce, *Smugglers' Woods; Jaunts and Journeys in Colonial and Revolutionary New Jersey* (New Brunswick, 1960), with an extensive list of sources, and much documentary material previously unpublished. He emphasizes New Jersey's contribution to American victory in economic and maritime warfare, the wearing down of the British by privateering, smuggling of supplies, and the determined resistance of many ordinary folk who bitterly resented invasion and pillage.

There is an oft-repeated charge that New Jersey was slack in supporting the patriot cause. That it has no factual support is amply proven by Joseph F. Folsom,

"New Jersey's Part in the Revolution," in New Jersey Historical Society *Proceedings*, 3rd series, VII, no. 2 (Oct., 1912), 65-74. New Jersey, he says, supplied arms and men, and provided safe camp sites for the American army, and the people often devoted themselves to the cause in anger against enemy depredations. Cornelius Vermeule, "Number of Soldiers in the Revolution," in *Proceedings*, new series, VII, no. 3 (July, 1922), 223-227, emphasizes the great contribution in men from New Jersey: one-eighth of the Revolutionary army, although the State's population was less than one-twentieth of that of all the other states; and 46 per cent of all men, excluding the Quakers and other conscientious objectors. His "Service of the New Jersey Militia in the Revolutionary War," *Proceedings*, new series, IX, no. 3 (July, 1924), 234-248, mentions the meritorious service of the "New Jersey Line" in several battles. He reviews the generally unappreciated part of the militia, in the dark days of 1776-1777, and in harrassing and "containing" the British, thwarting their attacks, and preventing them from gaining control of the State. Generals Washington and Nathanael Greene are cited in praise of their conduct.

The patriotic spirit of Jerseymen is shown by Charles Davis Platt's collection, *Ballads of New Jersey in the Revolution* (Morristown, 1896), with a bibliography of historical works, and illustrations. The 60 ballads narrate the history of the war in New Jersey from the Battle of Long Island to the mutiny at Pompton (1781) and include a long one on Washington's Headquarters, Morristown. Patriotic writing is noticed in Francis Bazley Lee, *New Jersey as a Colony and as a State*, vol. 2, 275-295, "New Jersey's Literary Life During the Revolution."

In addition to destruction and pillage, New Jersey bore economic and financial difficulties. From study of original sources, these are explained in Edward A. Fuhlbruegge, *An Abstract of New Jersey Finances During the American Revolution* (New York, 1937). Grave economic discontent, inspiring sympathy with the Revolution, was followed by war prosperity, accompanied by promotion

of manufactures, but also by evasion of taxes and of laws regulating trade. The postwar depression, and land exhaustion, caused migration, and resentment of dependence on outside capital and the trade monopoly of New York and Philadelphia.

A little known aspect of the war is the participation of churches and the clergy, especially the Presbyterian. The services of twelve ministers are detailed in F. R. Brace, *Brief Sketches of the New Jersey Chaplains in the Continental Army, and in the State Militia, During the War of Independence* (Paterson, 1909), with bibliography. Eight were Presbyterian, one Episcopal, two Baptist, and one German Reformed.

2. Causes

New Jersey had fewer grievances than some other colonies, and escaped some of the new imperialistic legislation. The people, at first, generally wished to be loyal, but were aroused by patriotic propaganda and military attack. These points are stressed by Gile J. Warren, in "The Development and Expression of Anti-British Sentiment in New Jersey from 1763 to 1776 and Its Relation to the Grievances Against King George III as Stated in the Declaration of Independence" in New York University, School of Education, *Abstracts of Theses, 1949-1950* (1951), 193-196, largely derived from original sources. United action was hindered by the diversity of the population, and emotion was tempered by the large Quaker group, but a few tenacious radical leaders swung sentiment to the non-importation agreements and to independence. To many Jerseymen, quitrents were a greater irritation than taxes or navigation acts. The fact is pointed out by James C. Connolly, "Quit-rents in Colonial New Jersey as a Contributing Cause for the American Revolution," in *New Jersey Historical Society Proceedings*, new series, VII, no. 1 (Jan., 1922), 13-21. In Elizabeth, Middletown and Shrewsbury, refusal to pay continued until the Revolution set the question and tedious litigation at rest.

East Jersey was clamorous also in opposition to the Stamp Act, and demanded appointment of delegates to the Stamp Act Congress, according to Connolly's essay, "The Stamp Act and New Jersey's Opposition to It," in *Proceedings*, new series, IX, no. 2 (Apr., 1924), 137-150. He mentions particularly the Assembly's defiance of Governor William Franklin in petitioning the King, forced resignation of stamp officers, opposition of the Sons of Liberty, and leadership of lawyers in the cause. New Jersey also had its own reckoning with the East India Company, as related by W. I. Lincoln Adams, "New Jersey's Tea Party," in *Proceedings*, new series, X, no. 2 (Apr., 1925), 168-171. No action was taken against the "Indians," who publicly burned the tea at Greenwich on the Cohansey River in 1774. They included some members of prominent families.

3. Loyalists

Opposed to the Sons of Liberty, the anti-rent rioters and the tea-burners, were many Loyalists or "Tories." Exactly how many there were has long been a subject of controversy. A generous estimate of over seventeen hundred men is given by E. Alfred Jones in his biographical work, *The Loyalists of New Jersey*, in New Jersey Historical Society *Collections*, X (Newark, 1927), first published serially in the *Proceedings*. He completely reviews Tory activities throughout the war, including the Loyalist regiments. His list contains many native Americans in various social ranks. His conclusions are questioned by Cornelius C. Vermeule's "The Active Loyalists of New Jersey," in *Proceedings*, LII, no. 2 (Apr., 1934), 87-95, with references. He estimates the really active, resident Tories at no more than eleven hundred, and claims that the Loyalist regiments had difficulty in recruiting. A. Van Doren Honeyman takes a more liberal view in his "Concerning the New Jersey Loyalists in the Revolution," in *Proceedings*, LI, no. 2 (Apr., 1933), 117-133. He credits the sincerity of some Loyalists, and notices the comparative mildness of early legislation against

them, but points out migration after the war because of their unpopularity, with a minority receiving compensation for losses. The New Jersey Loyalist Volunteers were the strongest Tory regiment and earned British praise.

New Jersey Loyalism left a legacy of legend and poetry, like so many lost causes. A typical tale of Tory stubbornness and Patriot fervor is related in G. C. Schenck, "Early Settlements and Settlers of Pompton, Pequannoc and Pompton Plains," in *Proceedings*, new series, IV, nos. 1-4 (Jan.-Oct., 1919). Tories repeatedly chopped down the liberty pole near Pompton, and Patriots promptly re-erected it, finally protecting it with iron bars. The Loyalist literary champion was the Reverend Jonathan Odell, rector of St. Mary's Anglican Church, Burlington. His caustic, satirical verses against Revolutionary leaders are prominent in Winthrop Sargent, *The Loyalist Poetry of the Revolution* (Philadelphia, 1857). The British used him as a propagandist and, in espionage, as a link with Benedict Arnold. How talented and formidable he was appears in Fred B. Rogers, "Dr. Jonathan Odell—Tory Satirist," in *Transactions & Studies of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia*, XXIV, no. 2 (Aug., 1956), with references. This reviews his career as clergyman, physician, satirist, spy, and exile in England and Canada.

4. Campaigns and Battles

The crucial character of the military contest for possession of New Jersey will appear in the following selected books and essays. Not once, but repeatedly, a battle on New Jersey soil, if lost by Washington's small army, might have doomed the American cause. The effect of such battles as Trenton, Princeton, Monmouth, and Springfield, in raising American spirits and determination, can scarcely be overestimated.

The noted military historian, Richard Ernest Dupuy, estimates the importance of the New Jersey theater of war in *The Compact History of the Revolutionary War* (New York, 1963), with references to New Jersey regi-

ments, and accounts (with plans and maps) of operations in the northern counties, and the battles of Trenton, Princeton, and Monmouth Courthouse. Moses Bigelow, "Chronological Survey of the Operations of the Continental Army," in New Jersey Historical Society *Proceedings*, L, no. 4 (Oct., 1932), 349-357, shows that the army spent most of the war in the State and depended upon it for subsistence. The British frequently invaded it, and no other state (perhaps excepting South Carolina) suffered so severely. The chronology, 1774-1783, includes military movements in detail. The effect of major battles is succinctly assessed by William Clinton Armstrong, *The Battles in the Jerseys and the Significance of Each* (Newark? 1916), illustrated, with comments on Trenton, Assunpink Creek, Fort Mercer, Monmouth, and the British invasion of June, 1780. Theodore George Thayer, "The War in New Jersey; Battles, Alarums, and Men of the Revolution," in *Proceedings*, LXXI, no. 2 (Apr., 1953), 83-110, with views, points out the State's strategic importance as a land bridge between New York and Philadelphia, and even maintains that military action there decided the success of the Revolution. He emphasizes the Presbyterianism of Essex and Morris counties in Patriot resistance, and favorably notices the militia's part in wearing down British morale and "containing" the King's troops, throughout the period of fighting. Washington's military astuteness and stubborn resolve to win counted heavily in the American success, according to William R. Ward, "Washington's Retreat Through the Jerseys, 1776," in *Proceedings*, new series, XII, no. 1 (Jan., 1927), 55-66. This rapid, interesting narrative pictures the general keeping his little army intact against fearful odds, rallying them in Pennsylvania and turning the tide at Trenton. How he organized to repel British incursions is skillfully explained in William H. Richardson's "Washington and the New Jersey Campaign of 1776," in *Proceedings*, L, no. 2 (Apr., 1952), 121-161. With numerous quotations from documents, he describes activities of the "Flying Camp," a mobile force with several posts,

commanded by General Hugh Mercer against invasion by the British Army based on Staten Island.

Having rallied his men, Washington decided to surprise the British and break their grip on the Delaware. The resulting action is related by Samuel Adams Drake in *The Campaign of Trenton, 1776-1777* (Boston, 1895), with maps. This entertaining, rapid story makes crystal-clear the fact that the brilliant, hard-hitting attack at Trenton more than made up for the depressing retreat from Long Island. It became the turning-point of the war, by showing that the British were not invincible when confronted with the ragged, iron-willed American Army. The heroic advance across the Delaware and on the frozen roads is detailed by Carlos E. Godfrey's *Washington's March to Trenton on Christmas Night in 1776* (Trenton, 1924), with maps and bibliography. This explains the convergence on Trenton of two forces coming over the River and Pennington Roads, according to Washington's order of march. The battle is seen not as an isolated event, but as a key action of the war, in Herbert Borton Butcher, *The Battle of Trenton, Including Its Historical Setting* (Princeton, 1934), with illustrations and maps. He points out Washington's fortitude and military skill and the rather lackadaisical attitude of the Hessian garrison, and declares that the bold attack saved the American Army from disaster.

A classic account of the entire Trenton campaign is William Scudder Stryker's *The Battles of Trenton and Princeton* (Boston and New York, 1898), richly illustrated with maps, pictures of historic places, and portraits of military leaders. It is based upon wide reading, and research in masses of contemporary records, including archives in Germany relating to the German troops. The author, who was an adjutant general of New Jersey, relates the battles and marches in minute detail, and clearly reveals the deeply depressing effect of the campaign upon British morale, and its uplift of the American. A comparatively little known but important phase of the campaign is Washington's ruse to weaken the

Hessians at Trenton. This is described fully by William A. Slaughter's essay, "Battle of Iron Works Hill, at Mount Holly, New Jersey, December, 1776," in *Proceedings*, new series, IV, nos. 1-4 (Jan.-Oct., 1919), 19-32. While Colonel Karl Emil von Donop, commander of the Bordentown garrison, hurried to help the hard-pressed Hessians at Mount Holly, Washington captured Trenton. The result depressed the Tories, ended popular dread of the Hessians, and attracted recruits to Washington's army. Von Donop suffered another humiliating defeat, in his effort to capture Fort Mercer and to end an American threat to the British on the Delaware. This action is described by Frank H. Stewart's *History of the Battle of Red Bank, with Events Prior and Subsequent Thereto* (Woodbury, 1927), with illustrations. This reveals the previously rather neglected part of old Gloucester County in the war. An older account is found in William Scudder Stryker, *The Forts on the Delaware in the Revolutionary War* (Trenton, 1901), with a bibliography, a map, and plans. The victory at Trenton would have been less significant without the operations of the following ten days, in the opinion of Alfred Hoyt Bill, in *The Campaign of Princeton, 1776-1777* (Princeton, 1948). The Battle of Princeton gave the pursuing British a check that further fanned the embers of Revolution into flame, drove the enemy almost out of the state, and enabled Washington at Morristown to keep them from a second advance by land on Philadelphia. The Pennsylvania naval squadron on the Delaware and General Israel Putnam's troops around Moorestown and Mount Holly kept British forces immobile.

After standing off the British at Princeton, Washington again displayed his craft by misleading General Charles Cornwallis into marching to New Brunswick, while he led his force in good order to encamp at Morristown. The feat is related by Joshua Doughty, Jr., in "Washington's March from Princeton to Morristown," *Proceedings*, new series, V, no. 4 (Oct., 1920), 240-246. Doughty calls attention to the warm welcome accorded

the Continentals by the patriotic country folk, the use of commissaries for supplies, and the capture of much-needed clothing from the British.

For more than a year, in 1777-1778, the war in New Jersey was stalemated, while the British under General William Howe occupied Philadelphia and Washington's suffering troops camped at Valley Forge to watch him. The evacuation of the city enabled the Continental Army to attempt to drive the British out of New Jersey. The result is described in William Scudder Stryker's *The Battle of Monmouth*, edited by William Starr Myers (Princeton, 1927), with a map and illustrations. The richly detailed account is based upon all then available contemporary documents, diaries, and local traditions, the record of the court-martial of General Charles Lee for disobedience, topographical maps upon which troop movements were traced, and British official reports. A thoughtful estimate is presented in Broadus Mitchell, "The Battle of Monmouth Through Alexander Hamilton's Eyes," in *Proceedings*, LXXIII, no. 4 (Oct., 1955), 239-257. A long passage appreciates Hamilton's brilliant intelligence work before the engagement and his opposition to Lee's timidity. Mitchell sees Monmouth as more important than Trenton, because it increased the British depression caused by General John Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga and so favored the French alliance. Coming after the misery of Valley Forge, it boosted morale, even though it was a qualified victory.

The British were still not ready to abandon their efforts to control New Jersey. They were spurred by Loyalist stories that the State was suffering and disaffected, and in June, 1780, they tried to capture the American Army at Morristown and sunder New Jersey from the Patriot cause. They were repulsed by the fierce resistance of the militia, described by James C. Connolly in "The Battle of Springfield," in *Proceedings*, new series, XIV, no. 4 (Oct., 1929), 411-417. This authority regards the fray as decisive, a crucial point in the war, as Wash-

ington's suffering army had dwindled and its capture might have ruined the cause. A similar view of the importance of this battle is taken by Mario Charles Diedrich's *The Battle of Springfield, and Its Importance in the War for Independence, June 1780* (Springfield, 1955), with illustrations and maps.

The Americans could still strike back, and in August, 1779, attempted to seize and hold the British post at Paulus Hook, which commanded New York Bay and access to the state. The exploit is narrated in an oration by the Honorable Charles H. Winfield, in George H. Farrier (ed.), *Memorial of the Centennial Celebration of the Battle of Paulus Hook, August 19th, 1879* (Jersey City, 1879). The capture is described as one of the brilliant American exploits of the war—although the prize had soon to be abandoned. The rest of the war in New Jersey was mostly a series of raids and counter-raids, like the British one at Toms River to destroy the fort and village as a center of American industry and privateering. A reliable narrative of the incident is William Scudder Stryker's pamphlet, *The Capture of the Block House at Toms River, New Jersey, March 24, 1782* (Trenton, 1883), a memorial address, May 30, 1883. William H. Fischer's "Toms River Block House Fight, March 24, 1782," in *Proceedings*, new series, XIV, no. 4 (Oct., 1929), 418-435, stresses the importance of the saltworks to the American cause. It also reveals the merciless feeling between local Patriots and Tories, in the illegal and barbarous execution of the commander, Captain Joshua Huddy, by Tory "Refugees."

By that time the British had virtually abandoned hope of crushing the "rebellion," after the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, in October, 1781. New Jersey had been a corridor for the American and French forces on their way to seal Cornwallis' fate. The French march across the state in August is narrated by Edith Hopkins Hover in "Across New Jersey with the French—1781," in *Proceedings*, LXVII, no. 1 (Jan., 1949), 46-62, with

bibliography. She notes particularly the good impression made upon sagging American morale and the comments of some French officers about the State.

The "shot in the arm" was badly needed, for the private soldier—whose life is often forgotten by historians—was growing war-weary and resentful. Carl Clinton Van Doren's *Mutiny in January; the Story of a Crisis in the Continental Army . . .* (New York, 1943), from obscure American and British sources relates the story of mutinies in January, 1781, at winter quarters in Morristown and Pompton, due to privations and disaffection, and British efforts to corrupt the army. The war in New Jersey as seen by participants, including the military rank and file, is skilfully told by passages from personal narratives, accompanied by the authors' historical notes, in George F. Scheer and Hugh F. Rankin, *Rebels and Redcoats* (Cleveland, 1957), with bibliography. This presents a vivid picture of plundering, the sufferings of the American troops, and of Washington's resolution and brilliant maneuvers, and is valuable especially regarding the Battle of Monmouth.

The New Jersey war from Washington's viewpoint appears in Thomas Goddard Frothingham, *Washington, Commander in Chief* (Boston, 1930), with illustrations and maps, a good popular account of his campaigns. His movements and connection with many events are carefully traced by William Spohn Baker (comp.), *Itinerary of General Washington from June 15, 1775, to December 23, 1783* (Philadelphia, 1892). His writings on military affairs in New Jersey, especially from his Morristown headquarters, are in Edward Ambler Armstrong's "Some Letters of Washington," in Camden County Historical Society, *Camden History*, I, no. 5. Further light upon Revolutionary victories is available in the biography of one of Washington's generals who was very active in the state. Albert H. Heusser, *The Forgotten General, Robert Erskine, F.R.S.* (Paterson, 1928), illustrated, reveals his management of the Ringwood Iron Company for the

American cause, and his drafting of maps upon which Washington planned his New Jersey campaigns.

Local history of the Revolution is available in the section of this chapter devoted to Local History. A few titles of special merit and significance should be mentioned here. Events in the bridgehead to New Jersey on New York Bay are reviewed at length in Daniel Van Winkle, "Hudson County During the Revolution," *Hudson County Historical Paper* no. 4 (1908). Bergen County was the scene of an event that has been aptly called the Dunkirk of the Revolution, in Arthur J. O'Dea, *Washington and His Army in Bergen County, November 13th-21st, 1776* (Hackensack, 1957), with a bibliography, illustrations, and maps. He relates Washington's retreat across the Hudson after the American defeat on Long Island, the unsuccessful British effort to trap his army between the Hudson and the Hackensack, and Washington's hasty but orderly withdrawal. He believes that capture would have wrecked the cause of independence. The importance of northern New Jersey in the war has, in fact, often been ignored. Its dramatic quality is brought to light in a superbly documented study by Adrian C. Leiby, *The Revolutionary War in the Hackensack Valley, The Jersey Dutch and the Neutral Ground, 1775-1783* (New Brunswick, 1962), with bibliography. He states that the Dutch were forced to choose sides according to their religious division into evangelicals and conservatives, and saw their prosperous farms pillaged by foragers. There were numerous minor engagements in this region lying on the highways from northern American encampments to the South. Events in other northern counties are related in D. Stanton Hammond, "Passaic County's Early and Significant Revolutionary War History," *Proceedings*, new series, XIV, no. 3 (Oct., 1929), 435-442; and George S. Mott Doremus, *The American Revolution and Morris County* (Rockaway, 1926).

Northern New Jersey witnessed many conflicts, and because of its large Presbyterian element, was prominent

in early resistance. One of the chief patriot centers is celebrated in Elizabeth, New Jersey, Sesqui-centennial Committee, *Revolutionary History of Elizabeth, New Jersey . . . July the Fourth, 1926*, with illustrations and map. The neighboring Raritan Valley, a Reformed and Presbyterian stronghold, was the scene of the first meetings of the General Committees of Correspondence and of the Provincial Congresses. How it paid dearly for its patriotism, during the British invasion, appears in Cornelius C. Vermeule, "Some Revolutionary Incidents in the Raritan Valley," in *Proceedings*, new series, VI, no. 2 (Apr., 1921), 73-86. Eminent patriots suffered huge losses from plundering, and a large portion of the men were in arms. The same author prolongs the story in his "Revolutionary Days in Old Somerset," *Proceedings*, new series, VIII, no. 3 (Oct., 1923), 265-281.

Because of the eagerness of both sides to control the Delaware, South Jersey endured its share of suffering. Charles S. Boyer, from close study of documents, relates *Revolutionary Activities in and Around Camden* in Camden County Historical Society, *Camden History*, I, no. 9 (1935). This comprises struggles of the patriots with Tories and marauders, nearby battles, and events centering in the British occupation of Philadelphia. Salem County's participation is told in close detail by Frank H. Stewart, *Salem County in the Revolution* (Camden, 1932), a reprint of short articles in the *Salem Standard and Jerseyman*, 1932.

5. *The Revolution in Literature: Fiction*

A fairly accurate indication of New Jersey's vital part in the war is the large amount of fiction that has been written over nearly a century. The titles are collected in Oral S. Coad, *New Jersey in the Revolution; a Bibliography of Historical Fiction, 1784-1963* (New Brunswick, New Brunswick Historical Club, 1964). The field has attracted even professional historians, including Paul Leicester Ford, whose *Janice Meredith; a Story of the*

American Revolution (1st ed.; New York, 1899; 1919) is a superior narrative of clashes between Patriots and Loyalists, 1775-1783. It set a high standard for many later novels, in which one can follow chronologically the outstanding campaigns and battles.

David Taylor, *Lights Across the Delaware* (Philadelphia, 1954), with illustrations and a bibliography, relates the planning and execution of the decisive capture of Trenton. His *Farewell to Valley Forge* (Philadelphia, 1955) is an exciting review of the year 1778, featuring the British occupation of Philadelphia, the intrigue to oust Washington as commander-in-chief, and the Battle of Monmouth in full detail. This dramatic battle has inspired several attractive tales. Emma (Gelders) Sterne's *Drums of Monmouth*, with decorations by Robert Lawson (New York, 1935) chiefly concerns New Jersey's patriot-poet, Philip Freneau, and culminates in the battle. Molly Pitcher and the Tory "Pine Robbers" figure prominently in Edward S. Ellis, *Patriot and Tory* (Boston, 1904), another story of this battle. The fight is among other wartime events in one of the earliest Revolutionary novels—*The Spur of Monmouth* (Philadelphia, 1876) by "An Ex-Pension Agent." Incidents of the battle appear in Mary C. Francis, *Dalrymple* (New York, 1904), which mainly concerns the sufferings of American captives on the infamous prison ship *Jersey* in New York harbor.

Perennially fascinating is the partisan warfare that raged along the coast and in the "Barrens." Closely following historical fact, Katherine Mayo's *General Washington's Dilemma* (New York, 1938) relates the famous incident of the hanging of Captain Joshua Huddy by Tories in Monmouth County, and Washington's decision to make reprisal by executing a British officer, Captain Asgill. The Pine Barrens are the scene of Charles J. Peterson's *Kate Aylesford* (Philadelphia, 1855) reprinted in 1873 as *The Heiress of Sweetwater* under the pseudonym "J. Thornton Randolph." It concerns the "Refugees," the "Sack of Chestnut Neck," and the Aylesford

Mansion at Pleasant Mills. One of the novels is H. D. Van Sant, *Barnegat Pirates* (New York, 1897), based on historical facts about the outlaws of the lonely coast. Naval battles at Little Egg Harbor enliven Benjamin F. Comfort's *Arnold's Tempter* (Boston, 1909), mostly on events in Philadelphia leading to Benedict Arnold's treason. Wartime in Cape May County is the background of Matilda Butler Hand, *A Romance of Old Cape May* (Philadelphia, 1928), partly founded upon real events, and with accurate local details.

A few selected titles must serve as examples of the abundant juvenile fiction. Several illustrate New Jersey's prominent part in the campaigns around Philadelphia. The city is the scene of Rupert S. Holland's *The Rider in the Green Mask* (Philadelphia, 1926), but the hero is from across the Delaware and a few incidents occur there. In Augusta H. Seaman's *The Missing Half* (New York, 1941) an old house on the river near Bordentown yields some history about the famous and amusing "Battle of the Kegs." New Jersey's role as provider for Washington's army is the theme of Kensil Bell's *Secret Mission for Valley Forge* (New York, 1955), with a map locating the incidents of the story about foraging in South Jersey for beef to supply the American camp at Valley Forge. A similar expedition near Salem, Haddonfield, and Moorestown is related in Adelaide and John C. Wonsetter, *Liberty for Johanny* (New York, 1943).

A wider range is included by James Otis Kaler, *The Boy Spies of Philadelphia, or With Washington at Monmouth* (Philadelphia, 1897), which takes place in Philadelphia, Valley Forge and Monmouth. The Battle of Monmouth enters into Augusta H. Seaman's *The Stars of Sabra* (Garden City, N. Y., 1932), a mystery tale in the setting of Freehold and "Lord Sterling's" (i.e., Island) Beach. The final chapters are on the fighting, in John T. McIntyre, *The Young Continentals at Monmouth* (Philadelphia, 1912). A story for girls, about this battle and preceding events, is Alice (Turner) Curtis, *A Little Maid*

of *Monmouth* (1st ed.; Philadelphia, 1925; New York, 1953), with illustrations by Sandra Jones.

Far and away the most prolific writer of Revolutionary tales is Everett T. Tomlinson (1859-1931). In the 1890's he published a series of novels on the adventures of two New Jersey boys, through a long and varied succession of events: *The Boys of Old Monmouth* (Boston, New York, 1895); *A Jersey Boy in the Revolution* (Boston and New York, 1899); and *In the Hands of the Redcoats; a Tale of the Jersey Ship and the Jersey Shore in the Days of the Revolution* (Boston and New York, 1900). These mention "Refugee Town" near Sandy Hook, incidents at Barnegat Bay and Toms River, the "Pine Robbers," Molly Pitcher, the Battle of Monmouth, the adventures of Captain Jack Huddy, and the prison ship *Jersey*, in which many Jerseymen died from cruel treatment.

H. THE CIVIL WAR

Because of its bitter political divisions during the war, it has been assumed—and sometimes stated—that New Jersey was backward in support of the Union cause. The state's electoral vote, in the presidential election of 1860, was divided between Lincoln and Douglas, the Northern Democratic candidate. In 1864 it was given to the Democratic nominee, General George B. McClellan. But while there was a strong state-rights sentiment (*see below*), and anti-war Democrats were noisily vocal, New Jersey did rally to the Union and give generously of its men and means. Its sacrifices are now receiving adequate recognition, and the somewhat neglected literature on its participation is now beginning to be listed and published.

The General Robert McAllister papers, the largest single collection of Civil War material in New Jersey, are being edited by James I. Robertson, and will be published by the Rutgers University Press in 1965. Of almost equal value are the Civil War letters of Washington A. Roebling, also in the Rutgers University Library. A

selection of these was published in a pamphlet by Earl Schenck Miers, *Wash Roebling's War* (Newark, Del., 1961).

An extensive bibliography now in preparation is described by the compiler, Donald A. Sinclair, in "New Jersey and the Civil War: Notes Toward a Bibliography," in *Journal of the Rutgers University Library*, XXIV, no. 2 (Apr., 1961), 73-77. This includes many titles, with comments on their content and value. A bibliography on military affairs concludes B. H. Goldsmith's essay, "Military History of the Civil War" in Irving S. Kull, *New Jersey, A History* (1930), III, chapter 40.

There are few general histories of New Jersey's part in the war. In his *New Jersey as a Colony and as a State*, Francis Bazley Lee gives it three chapters in his fourth volume: III, "The Nation in 1860," chap. IV, "The Position of New Jersey in the Civil War," and chap. V, "New Jersey Troops in the Civil War." William Starr Myers (ed.), in *The Story of New Jersey*, I, wrote his fifteenth chapter, "The Civil War—New Jersey as a Border State," with some references. An important collection of source materials illustrating the State's participation is Earl Schenck Miers (ed.), *New Jersey and the Civil War: an Album of Contemporary Accounts* (Princeton, 1964, vol. 2 in "The New Jersey Historical Series"), illustrated. The only really complete work still is John Young Foster's *New Jersey and the Rebellion: History of the Services of the Troops and People of New Jersey in Aid of the Union Cause, Published by Authority of the State* (Newark, 1868). Gathered with great labor from numerous scattered sources, this consists mostly of regimental histories and battle narratives, and evidently was aimed to refute statements that the State had lagged behind the others. The sweep of its topics includes the early unpreparedness, the organization of a military department, coastal defense, wartime legislation, popular sympathy with the Union cause, contributions of the churches, notes on distinguished general officers, chaplains and surgeons, and instances of individual gallantry.

One of the gallant soldiers is appreciated in John Watts De Peyster, *Personal and Military History of Philip Kearny . . .* (New York and Newark, 1869; 2nd ed., Elizabeth and New York, 1870), illustrated, a biography including an account of the military career of the commander of the First New Jersey Brigade. The only modern life is Thomas Kearny, *General Philip Kearny, Battle Soldier of Five Wars . . .* (New York, 1937), with a bibliography and illustrations. Foster states that New Jersey troops, at first regarded very unfavorably, "literally fought their way into universal favor." They are shown in a brave light in Henry R. Pyne, *Ride to War: the History of the First New Jersey Cavalry*, edited by Earl Schenck Miers (New Brunswick, 1961; original edition, Trenton, 1871), with bibliography in editor's notes, a map of the territory where the heroic unit fought, a list of actions, and another of the members.

It would be impossible to include here all the many histories of New Jersey regiments in the War. They are listed in Charles Emil Dornbusch, *Regimental Publications & Personal Narratives of the Civil War; a Checklist* (New York, New York Public Library, 1961-1962, 1 vol. in 6), with part 4 on New Jersey and Pennsylvania. The letters and diaries of New Jersey soldiers, published in various newspapers, are a rich and untapped source for the history of New Jersey's part in the war. The basic information concerning regiments is in the reports of the New Jersey Adjutant General's Office: *Annual Report . . . for . . . 1861 [-1865]* (4 vols. in 1; Trenton, 1862-1866); *Register of Commissioned Officers of the New Jersey Volunteers, in the Service of the United States* (2 vols; Trenton, 1864-1865); *Register of the Commissioned Officers and Privates of the New Jersey Volunteers, in the Service of the United States* (Jersey City, 1863); *Report of Adjutant General in Reference to the Number of Citizens of New Jersey Serving in Regiments of Other States During the Civil War of 1861-65* (Trenton, 1880), with a list of the organizations; *Records of Officers and Men of New Jersey in the Civil War, 1861-1865* (2 vols.;

Trenton, 1876). An indispensable source is Frederick Henry Dyer, *A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion, Compiled and Arranged from Official Records of the Federal and Confederate Armies . . .* (Des Moines, Iowa, 1908), which includes records of service of New Jersey troops. Another valuable record is Samuel Toombs, *New Jersey Troops in the Gettysburg Campaign, from June 5 to July 31, 1863 . . .* (Orange, 1888), with illustrations, portraits, and plans.

Divided in sentiment in 1860, the State rose to meet the national crisis of 1861. Enthusiasm boiled up when President-elect Lincoln traversed the State on his journey to inauguration, in February, 1861. The story is told in George L. A. Reilly, " 'Old Abe' Passes Through New Jersey," in *Journal of the Rutgers University Library*, XIII, no. 2 (June, 1950), 51-54. Quoting newspaper reports, this comments on the hearty welcome in a strongly Democratic state, and his visits to Jersey City, Newark, Elizabeth and New Brunswick, and to Trenton, where he addressed the Legislature. The trip is attractively reviewed in detail, with quotations from news reports, by David Chambers Mearns, in an address, "Who in Triumph Advances," in *Largely Lincoln* (New York, 1961), 61-84. It is printed also in the New Jersey Historical Society *Proceedings*, LXXVII, no. 2 (Apr., 1959), 111-127. The State's youth, especially, rallied to the Union standard, in the spirit of many students at Rutgers College, as described by Richard P. McCormick, "Rutgers and the Civil War," *Journal of the Rutgers University Library*, XXIV, no. 2 (Apr., 1961), 40-45. This relates the reception of the news of the bombardment of Fort Sumter at Charleston, the rush of collegians to enlist, the organization and departure of the "Old Guards," and the college's contributions to the cause during the war.

Two recent scholarly essays, drawn largely from original sources, reveal the State's great war effort. Earl Schenck Miers, "New Jersey Goes to War," in *Journal of the Rutgers University Library*, XXIV, no. 2 (Apr., 1961), 33-39, traces the rise of patriotic sentiment, and

the surge of preparation after Fort Sumter, quoting letters and newspapers, and statistically estimates New Jersey's sacrifices. A similar view appears in Samuel Steinmetz, Jr., "New Jersey, State of Conflict, 1861-1865," in *Proceedings*, LXXX, no. 4 (Oct., 1962), 236-244. This mentions the immense industrial support, huge gifts for relief of soldiers, the loss of fifty-seven hundred men, and the work of the Christian Commission. New Jersey's support of the Commission is specially noticed in Lemuel Moss, *Annals of the United States Christian Commission* (Philadelphia, 1868), by the home secretary who used the records. An account of typical local participation is in Isaac T. Nichols, *Historic Days in Cumberland County, New Jersey, 1855-1865; Political and War Time Reminiscences* (Bridgeton, 1907), illustrated. He narrates the origins of the Republican Party, elections and meetings for prosecution of the war, and includes regimental history material, lists of soldiers, and casualties.

As Steinmetz points out, New Jersey's wartime political divisions are traceable to diversity of principles dating from colonial times, and to state-rights sentiment. While there were commercial ties with the South, some Jersey-men were active in aiding escaped slaves in the 1850's. The deep rift continued during the war. It is thoroughly explained by Charles Merriam Knapp's documented analysis, *New Jersey Politics During the Period of the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Geneva, N. Y., 1924). The State's attitude regarding national political issues and events, with references to social and economic conditions, is attributed to its strong traditional convictions on the principle of state sovereignty. Study of newspaper files showed this as the basis of criticism of the Republican administration, of Democratic political victories during the war, and of opposition to the Reconstruction amendments. How bitter the feeling was appears in Warren D. Cummings, "Sussex County Campaigners in 1865," *Proceedings*, LXXVIII, no. 1 (Jan., 1960), 22-32. This is a stirring account of a hard-fought election for governor, with references to politics generally, and giving samples

of the torrid, free-wheeling political oratory. The campaigners refought the war: Democrats blaming it on abolitionists and secessionists and opposing Negro suffrage, the Unionists (i.e., Republicans) endorsing President Andrew Johnson and urging passage of the amendment abolishing slavery. The extremes to which anti-war sentiment could go are noted by William Warren Rogers, "C. Chauncey Burr and the *Old Guard*," in *Proceedings*, LXXIII, no. 3 (July, 1955), 168-181. Burr founded and edited the *Old Guard* (1862-1869), a violently conservative Democratic magazine, which attacked the North and the Federal Government.

The centennial celebration of the Civil War inspired New Jersey to make a great stride towards interracial cooperation. The State's Civil War Centennial Commission published *Steps in a Journey Toward Understanding; Activities of the . . . Commission in 1961 at Trenton, Charleston, and Salem Church* (Trenton, 1963), which relates the story of the Commission's struggle to have a Negro member recognized as a delegate to the Second National Convention of the National Civil War Commission in Charleston, South Carolina.

I. OTHER WARS

Writings on other wars, except in the general state histories, are scanty (for colonial wars, see the section of this chapter on the Colonial Period, above). The State's part in suppressing the "Whiskey Rebellion" is recorded in Francis Bazley Lee, *New Jersey as a Colony and as a State*, II, chap. 27, "New Jersey in the Pennsylvania Insurrection of 1794." Very little has been written concerning the War of 1812, except in Lee, *New Jersey as a Colony and as a State*, III, chaps. 4 and 5, "Politics and the War of 1812" and "New Jersey Troops in the War of 1812." Personal records for all the nation's early wars are comprised in New Jersey Adjutant General's Office, *Records of Officers and Men of New Jersey in Wars 1791-1815 . . . Published by Authority of the*

Legislature, 1898-1903 (Trenton, 1909). This includes St. Clair's expedition against the Indians in 1791, the "Whiskey Rebellion" of 1794, the War with France in 1798-1800, the Tripolitan War of 1801-1805, the War of 1812, and the War with Algiers, 1815. The same is true of the Mexican War, for which Lee has the most complete account in *New Jersey as a Colony and as a State*, III, Chap. 22, "The War with Mexico." The same authority treats New Jersey's part in the beginning of American empire in IV, chap. 14, "New Jersey in the Spanish-American War." Irving S. Kull, *New Jersey, A History*, III, chap. 46, has an essay, "Spanish-American War," by Edwin P. Conklin. A list of the participants is in Bernard McNally (comp.), *Soldiers and Sailors of New Jersey in the Spanish-American War, Embracing a Chronological Account of the Army and Navy* (Newark, 1898). This includes a history and roster of the First Regiment of New Jersey Volunteer Infantry.

Although the State contributed heavily to American victory in the two world wars, there are few general accounts. Irving S. Kull, *New Jersey, A History*, has IV, chap. 50, "New Jersey in the World War," by Edwin P. Conklin. (The participation of communities is included in many county, city, and town histories listed under Local History, below.)

Many communities published memorial volumes. Typical examples are: Franklyn Gale and Harry M. Suplee (eds.), *Essex County Heroes of To-day, Bloomfield and Glen Ridge Section . . .* (Bloomfield, 1919); New Jersey Adjutant-General's Office, *Official List of Names of Residents of the City of Newark, N. J., Who Served with the Military Forces of the United States of America . . . April 6, 1917, to November 11, 1918 . . .* collated with the records at Washington . . . (Trenton, 1928 ?); Adaline Wheelock Sterling, *The Book of Englewood . . . together with Matter on the World War by Other Writers from Official Sources . . .* (New York, 1922); John Patrick Wall (comp.), *New Brunswick, New Jersey, in the World War, 1917-1918* (New Brunswick, 1921); H. J. Souder, *Vineland*

and *Vinelanders in the World War . . .* (Vineland, 1922). These generally have illustrations, including portraits.

A roster of New Jersey men and women who died in service is in Perth Amboy, Victory Memorial Bridge Celebration Committee, *Veterans' Souvenir Program of the Dedication of the Victory Memorial Bridge as a State Memorial to the Men and Women of New Jersey Who Found Victory in Death . . .* (Newark, 1926), with illustrations and portraits. New Jersey was the site of the chief embarkation camp for troops going to Europe. Its importance in the war is celebrated in William M. Johnson, "Camp Merritt, Its History and Monument," in *Proceedings*, new series, IX, no. 4 (Oct., 1924), 321-328. This includes an account of the camp's services, and the dedication program, and states that it sheltered more troops (nearly a million) than any other in American history up to that time.

Personal narratives of Jersey men in World War II are in Herald-News, Passaic, *Anybody Here from Jersey?* (Passaic, 1945), a collection of stories by the newspaper's war correspondents: William M. McBride, Carl Ek, and Rodney L. Odell. Typical local memorial volumes are: Dean Henderson Ashton, *Be it Ever so Humble; the Story of Hopewell, New Jersey, and Its Servicemen During World War II* (Hopewell, 1947), illustrated; and Neptune City, Local Defense Council, *The War Record of Neptune City, N. J., 1941-1944* (Belmar, 1944).

J. LOCAL HISTORY

1. General Historical Note

The amount of writing on local history is immense. When Clarence Stewart Peterson compiled the first (1935) edition of his bibliography of American county histories, he found that New Jersey had "the best bibliography of local histories of all the states in the Union." (See the next section of this chapter under Counties.) Even the

Library of Congress does not have all that has been written in this area. This literature comprises regional, county, city, and township histories, ranging from scholarly, multivolume works to thin booklets issued for anniversaries. A selective bibliography cannot include more than a fraction of them. The following three sections gather only the titles that seem to be most helpful, although they may not be the most scholarly in all cases. (Exclusively biographical and genealogical volumes appear in Chapter VI.)

2. *Regions*

There are many regional histories, from erudite treatises to popular, informal introductions to local lore. The northern counties fifty years ago are pictured in Sarah Comstock, *Old Roads from the Heart of New York; Journeys Today by Ways of Yesterday, Within Thirty Miles Around the Battery* (New York and London, 1915), with 100 illustrations, maps, "Itineraries," and a bibliography. Much local history is scattered through this informal travelogue, which includes historic houses and other buildings. There is pleasant reading in Paul Wiltach's *Hudson River Landings* (Indianapolis, 1933), chap. 8, "New Jersey's Hudson Shore," rapidly reviewing history since Michael Pauw's settlement about 1630, with anecdotes and allusions to historic places. North Jersey history is thoroughly reviewed in three river valley histories: Francis C. Koehler, *Three Hundred Years; the Story of the Hackensack Valley, Its Settlement and Growth . . .* (Chester, 1940) with illustrations and maps; John Whitehead's scholarly, detailed *The Passaic Valley, New Jersey, in Three Centuries . . .* (2 vols.; New York, 1901); and Ryerson Vervaet, *The Valley of Homes* (Oakland, 1952), a history of the Ramapo Valley from Dutch colonial times, and especially of social life and customs and economic development.

The regional review continues with A. Van Doren Honeyman's *Northwestern New Jersey; a History of*

Somerset, Morris, Hunterdon, Warren and Sussex Counties (4 vols.; New York and Chicago, 1927), with sections for counties and townships, many photographs of places and buildings, and hundreds of biographies with portraits. An unusual approach is taken in a fascinating volume on Somerset and Hunterdon: Emogene Dymock Van Sickle's *The Old York Road and Its Stage Coach Days* (Flemington, 1936), with a bibliography and photographs taken mostly by the author. She records visits to many historic places, interviews with local authorities, and a vast amount of regional history.

A similar "omnium gatherum," on the central region, resulted from the tireless curiosity of the Camden journalist, Henry Charlton Beck. His *Fare to Midlands; Forgotten Towns of Central New Jersey* (New York, 1939), reissued as *The Jersey Midlands* (New Brunswick, 1962) abounds in local history and folklore, collected from travels and books and told in a pleasant narrative style. Many of the people mentioned were "characters," lowly and eminent, good and bad. The book is a sequel to his equally entertaining *Forgotten Towns of Southern New Jersey* (New York, 1936), reissued (New Brunswick, 1961), and *More Forgotten Towns of Southern New Jersey* (New York, 1937). These stories, about obscure places in the Pines, began with a search for the history of Ong's Hat, and in the author's unique manner glean "antiquities" from old records and recollections of oldest inhabitants. They are somewhat desultory and wholly delightful, with plentiful pictures. More of the same is his *Jersey Genesis* (New Brunswick, 1945), illustrated with old prints and fine photographs of present-day scenes. It tells the story of the Mullica River region with the usual folklore, notes on old families, and vanished towns, legends, and anecdotes. His latest addition to the collection is *Tales and Towns of Northern New Jersey* (New Brunswick, 1964), illustrated with photographs by William F. Augustine. Other writers have conveyed the peculiar "atmosphere" of the southern counties, a region long obscure to outsiders. Cornelius Weygandt's *Down*

Jersey; Folks and Their Jobs, Pine Barrens, Salt Marsh and Sea Islands (New York and London, 1940) accents the English quality of the folkways, traditions and arts. It has been said to make a Jerseyman of anyone who reads it in the leisurely mood of its style. Lloyd E. Griscom, *The Down-Jerseymen: Spirited Adventurers, Informal History* (Riverton? 1963), with illustrations and maps, includes essays on South Jersey local history, with much biographical data and some material on the Civil War. Kathryn H. Chalmers, a former teacher of English, describes a region in the Pine Barrens where she lived as a child, in *Down the Long-a-Coming; a Descriptive Review of Historical Scenes and Buildings, and of the People Who Lived Along This Old Indian Trail* (Moorestown, 1951), with a bibliography and illustrations. This pleasantly readable book of old days and ways could serve as a guide, and has an astonishingly long catalog of regional plants. A formal history of the eight counties is Alfred Miller Heston, (ed.), *South Jersey, a History, 1664-1924* (5 vols.; New York and Chicago, 1924), a competent and colorful work, although with some inaccuracies. There are many illustrations, and volumes three, four and five have hundreds of biographies.

Many references to the New Jersey Delaware region are in David Budlong Tyler, *The Bay & River, Delaware; a Pictorial History* (Cambridge, Md., 1955), with maps, photographs, and engravings. The accent is on the growth of a civilization and its steady trend toward industrialism. A most readable book on the Atlantic coast is John T. Cunningham's *The New Jersey Shore* (New Brunswick, 1958), with an excellent bibliography, many photographs, and maps. This is no mere review of summer resorts, but an appreciation of history, local lore, and the life of the people. A similar volume is Harold F. Wilson, *The Story of the Jersey Shore* (Princeton, 1964, "New Jersey Historical Series," vol. 4), with illustrations and a bibliographical note. Early history and present-day local color are entertainingly blended, and illustrated, in Carl L. Biemiller, "The Happy Shore of Jersey,"

Holiday, XII, no. 2 (Aug., 1952), 90-101, 116, emphasizing the beauty and gaiety as well as sober aspects of the nation's most frequented playground. The usual formal and scholarly treatment is given by Harold Fisher Wilson, *The Jersey Shore; a Social and Economic History of the Counties of Atlantic, Cape May, Monmouth, and Ocean* (3 vols.; New York, 1953), with illustrations, portraits, maps, family history, and bibliography.

3. Counties

Every New Jersey county is the subject of at least one formal history with pretensions to authority, and some have a surprising number. It has been somewhat the fashion to derogate these works as commercially-inspired and financed by the biographees. And yet, they contain a vast treasure of valuable, miscellaneous information that would be hard to find elsewhere. They were written by persons who had access to local sources of information, sometimes including records that no longer exist. One may find in them data on local lore and tradition, religion, social life, clubs and associations, industry, education, historic houses and sites, and topographical information, as well as biography and genealogy.

Generally these works follow a pattern that became fixed in the second half of the nineteenth century. This is true especially of the massive volumes of the period 1880 to 1900, particularly the series published by Everts and Peck in Philadelphia. They comprise a general review of county history, sketches of cities and townships, sections on special topics, and usually a biographical section with portraits. Aside from a few unusual and outstanding volumes, this summary describes the following titles, listed by counties in alphabetical order. There are special comments only on works that depart from the usual pattern.

ATLANTIC: John F. Hall, *The Daily Union History of Atlantic City and County* . . . (Atlantic City, 1900); Alfred

M. Heston, *Absegami: Annals of Eyren Haven and Atlantic City, 1609 to 1904* . . . (2 vols.; Camden, 1904), with much on old industries and social life and customs; Jack E. Boucher, *Absegami Yesteryear* (Atlantic County Historical Society, 1963), rich in the author's photographs of scenery and historic edifices.

BERGEN: W. Woodford Clayton and William Nelson (comps.), *History of Bergen and Passaic Counties* . . . (Philadelphia, 1882); James M. Van Valen, *History of Bergen County* . . . (New York, 1900); Frances A. J. Westervelt (ed.), *History of Bergen County, New Jersey, 1630-1923* (3 vols.; New York and Chicago, 1923); Writers' Program, New Jersey, *Bergen County Panorama* (Hackensack, 1941), with special emphasis on the life of the people, and cultural and recreational activities. There is an unusually rich mine in the Bergen County Historical Society *Papers and Proceedings* (15 vols.; 1902-1922), with an index volume including illustrations, and a "Bergen County Bibliography," in no. 11 (1915-1916), 115-117.

BURLINGTON: E. M. Woodward and John F. Hageman, *History of Burlington and Mercer Counties* . . . (Philadelphia, 1883), with the first full account of Mercer County; George DeCou, *The Historic Rancocas, Sketches of the Towns and Settlers in Rancocas Valley* (Morristown, 1949), predominantly and competently antiquarian; Henry H. Bisbee, *Place Names in Burlington County* . . . (Burlington, 1955), especially attractive for its accounts of many living and extinct industrial villages.

CAMDEN: George R. Prowell, *The History of Camden County* . . . (Philadelphia, 1886); Paul F. Cranston, *Camden County, 1681-1931: Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary* . . . (Camden, 1931) is based upon an economic survey and stresses industry and economic growth; Abraham Charles Corotis and James M. O'Neill, *Camden County Centennial . . . 1844-1944* (Camden, 1944). The county has an indispensable collection of articles and

essays on many aspects of local history, in the Camden County Historical Society *Bulletin*, *Camden History*, and *Publications*, and the *Annals of Camden*.

CAPE MAY: Albert Hand Co., *A Book of Cape May, New Jersey* . . . (Cape May, 1937), includes "Sketch of the Early History of the County of Cape May, by Maurice Beesley," first published in 1857 in *New Jersey Geological Survey, Geology of the County of Cape May* . . . (Trenton, 1857); Lewis Townsend Stevens, *A History of Cape May County* . . . (Cape May City, 1897). *The Cape May County Magazine of History and Genealogy* is issued by the county historical society (1931-).

CUMBERLAND: Lucius Q. C. Elmer, *History of the Early Settlement and Progress of Cumberland County* . . . (Bridgeton, 1869); William C. Mulford, *Historical Tales of Cumberland County* . . . (Bridgeton, 1941).

ESSEX: William H. Shaw (comp.), *History of Essex and Hudson Counties, New Jersey* (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1884); Merit H. Cash Vail, *Essex County, N. J., Illustrated* (Newark, 1897), reviewing its development as an industrial center, with views of Newark; Joseph Fulford Folsom (ed.), *The Municipalities of Essex County, New Jersey, 1666-1924* (4 vols.; New York, 1925).

GLOUCESTER: Isaac Mickle, *Reminiscences of Old Gloucester; or, Incidents in the History of the Counties of Gloucester, Atlantic and Camden* . . . (Philadelphia, 1845); Thomas Cushing and Charles E. Sheppard, *History of the Counties of Gloucester, Salem and Cumberland* . . . (Philadelphia, 1883); Frank H. Stewart, *Notes on Old Gloucester County: I* (Camden, 1917), *II* (Woodbury, 1936), *III* (Woodbury, 1937); volumes 2 and 3 were reprinted from the *Woodbury Constitution*; a huge compilation of articles on local history, a source book rather than a narrative.

HUDSON: Charles Hardenburg Winfield, *History of the Land Titles in Hudson County, New Jersey, 1609-1871* (New York, 1872); and *History of the County of Hudson . . .* (New York, 1874); Daniel Van Winkle, *History of the Municipalities of Hudson County, New Jersey, 1630-1923* (3 vols.; New York and Chicago, 1924).

HUNTERDON: James P. Snell (comp.), *History of Hunterdon and Somerset Counties . . .* (Philadelphia, 1881); George Scudder Mott, *The First Century of Hunterdon County* (Flemington, 1961; first edition, 1878); Jacob Magill, *Traditions of Hunterdon* (Flemington, 1957) is an entertaining collection of essays on many diverse topics, derived from his own memory and the reminiscences of others. There are many illustrations, especially of old buildings.

MERCER: Mercer County . . . Board of Chosen Freeholders, *A Sketch of Mercer County, New Jersey, 1838-1928* (Camden, 1928). (See Burlington County entry, too.)

MIDDLESEX: John P. Wall and Harold E. Pickersgill (eds.), *History of Middlesex County, New Jersey, 1664-1920 . . .* (3 vols.; New York and Chicago, 1921) has records of men in the Revolution and the Civil War. (See also Union County.)

MONMOUTH: Edwin Salter, *Old Times in Old Monmouth, Historical Reminiscences . . .* (Freehold, 1874). His *History of Monmouth and Ocean Counties . . .* (Bayonne, 1890) has an especially interesting section on the Indians; Franklin Ellis, *History of Monmouth County . . .* (Philadelphia, 1885); *History of Monmouth County, New Jersey, 1664-1920* (3 vols.; New York and Chicago, 1922); William Stockton Hornor, *This Old Monmouth of Ours . . .* (Freehold, 1932); Thomas Henry Leonard, *From Indian Trail to Electric Rail . . .* (Atlantic Highlands, 1923) covers the period from 1609 to 1909, and comprises the Sandy Hook and Navesink region.

MORRIS: Joseph Farrand Tuttle, *Annals of Morris County* (n. p., 1876?) is a collection of essays; Edmund Drake Halsey et al., *History of Morris County* (New York, 1882); Henry C. Pitney, Jr. (ed.), *A History of Morris County, New Jersey, Embracing Upwards of Two Centuries, 1710-1913* (2 vols.; New York and Chicago, 1914).

OCEAN: Edwin Salter, *Centennial History of Ocean County . . .* (Toms River, 1878) was originally published in the *New Jersey Courier* (Toms River).

PASSAIC: William Nelson, *Historical Sketch of the County of Passaic . . . Especially of the First Settlements and Settlers* (Paterson, 1877). See also Bergen County, for Clayton and Nelson, *History of Bergen and Passaic Counties*.

SALEM: Joseph Sheppard Sickler, *The History of Salem County . . .* (Salem, 1937) gathers articles published in the *Salem Sunbeam*, 1929-1936, and includes social life and economic changes. Another collection of newspaper essays is Frank H. Stewart, *Salem County in the Revolution* (Camden, 1932), reprinted from the *Salem Standard and Jerseyman*.

SOMERSET: This county has been unusually fortunate in having several talented historical scholars and an active historical society. Abraham Messler's *Centennial History of Somerset County* (Somerville, 1878) and *First Things in Old Somerset . . .* (Somerville, 1899) gather the research of a Reformed pastor who knew the region thoroughly. Also useful are Ludwig Schumacher, *The Somerset Hills . . .* (New York, 1900) and *Somerset County, 250 Years . . .* (Somerville, 1938), reprinted from the *Somerset Messenger-Gazette*. Andrew D. Mellick, Jr., *Lesser Crossroads* (New Brunswick, 1948) is edited by Hubert G. Schmidt, from *The Story of an Old Farm* (1889), and sees county life in colonial times through the experience of a German family. A. Van Doren Honeyman edited for the

Somerset County Historical Society the essential *Somerset County Historical Quarterly* (8 vols.; Somerville, 1912-1919). This includes such valuable essays as Mellick's "Memoranda Concerning Somerset County Persons and Events," VI, 241-252; VII, 16-31; and Jacob Magill's "Somerset Traditions Gathered Forty Years Ago," II, 23-29, 178-180; III, 250-255; IV, 30-34, 103-107. (See also the Hunterdon County list.)

SUSSEX: James P. Snell (comp.), *History of Sussex and Warren Counties . . .* (Philadelphia, 1881); Casper Schaeffer, *Memoirs and Reminiscences, Together with Sketch of the Early History of Sussex County . . .* (Hackensack, 1907; Edward A. Webb, *The Historical Directory of Sussex County, N. J.* (Andover, N. J., 1872).

UNION: W. Woodford Clayton (ed.), *History of Union and Middlesex Counties . . .* (Philadelphia, 1882); Frederick William Ricord, *History of Union County . . .* (Newark, 1897); A. Van Doren Honeyman, *History of Union County, New Jersey, 1664-1923* (New York and Chicago, 1923).

WARREN: George Wyckoff Cummins, *History of Warren County . . .* (New York, 1911). (See also the Sussex County entry.)

These are only a fraction of the titles. A far longer list is found in Clarence Stewart Peterson, *Consolidated Bibliography of County Histories in Fifty States in 1961* (Baltimore, 1963), "New Jersey," 114-116, including 95 titles. A summary history is in Francis Bazley Lee, *New Jersey as a Colony and as a State*, IV, chap. 17, "The Growth of the Counties and their Capitals." Others are by Carlos E. Godfrey, "Origin of the Counties in New Jersey," *Proceedings*, new series, IX, no. 4 (Oct., 1924), 371-374; and William Nelson, "The History of the Counties of New Jersey," *Proceedings*, LII, no. 1 (Jan., 1934), 69-87.

4. Cities and Towns

Like the county histories, those of cities and towns generally conform to a pattern. They include general history, institutions, administration, education, churches, participation in wars, etc. The multivolume works on large municipalities frequently include one or more biographical volumes. Many are pamphlets or booklets compiled (often rather hastily) for anniversary celebrations. Few can claim real literary distinction. It would be hopeless to attempt to include, here, even a sizable fraction of this huge literature. The following section is therefore very selective. A merely alphabetical sequence does not seem meaningful, as the places fall naturally into definite categories: (1) Old settlements that have become great industrial and commercial centers, absorbing (like Jersey City) other old communities. (2) Suburban communities that began as rural villages and have become parts of metropolitan areas. These are the growing edge of New Jersey social life. Their histories have presented a challenge to scholars, who sometimes have broken from the formal pattern of chronological narrative, to present pictures of swiftly expanding communities from a sociological viewpoint. (3) Special types of municipalities—coastal resorts, religious communities, or intellectual and literary centers like Princeton and Vineland. (See sketches of many cities and towns in the regional and county histories above).

Brief notes on municipalities are in William Starr Myers (ed.), *The Story of New Jersey*, III, chap. 15, "Historical Gazetteer of New Jersey," by Floyd McKnight, 402-558. Accounts of cities appear in Francis Bazley Lee, *New Jersey as a Colony and as a State*, IV, chaps. 15 and 16, including Jersey City, Newark, Paterson, and their environs; Trenton, Elizabeth, New Brunswick, Camden, and smaller cities. How places acquired their names is explained by Writers' Program, New Jersey, *The Origin of New Jersey Place Names . . .* (Trenton, 1945), which comprises 930 names, including

Indian ones. Many variant derivations and meanings are given by Cornelius C. Vermeule, "Some Early New Jersey Place-Names," in *Proceedings*, new series, X, no. 3 (July, 1925), 241-256, with reference especially to early Dutch influence. The names are associated with phases of local history in his "Early New Jersey Place-Names," *Proceedings*, XI, no. 2 (Apr., 1926), 151-160, again emphasizing Dutch influence, and indicating the differences among nomenclatures of Dutch, Indian, English and Scottish inhabitants.

The large industrial communities all began in the early period when most of the names were given. The story of Newark's rise from a theocratic Puritan village is told in *A History of the City of Newark . . . 1666-1913* (3 vols.; New York and Chicago, 1913), largely derived from early newspapers and accenting cultural and industrial growth. A popular account is Wyn Esselborn, *Newark, City of Surprises; Its Americana, River, and Down Neck* (Montclair, 1958), with many photographs, an entertaining collection of historical facts and anecdotes, and a list and description of interesting places. A bibliography for the years 1666 to 1930, *Newark-In-Print* (Newark, 1931), published by the Free Public Library, is arranged topically and has a list of prominent persons. The similar evolution of a pioneer Puritan settlement is told in Edwin F. Hatfield, *History of Elizabeth . . . Including the Early History of Union County* (New York, 1868), still the best account, based largely upon primary sources and heavily political and ecclesiastical. The first history is that of Nicholas Murray, *Notes Historical and Biographical Concerning Elizabeth-Town . . .* (New York, 1941; 1st ed., 1844), also mainly political and religious. The history into the early national period is told in Theodore George Thayer, *As We Were; the Story of Old Elizabethtown* (Elizabeth, [c. 1964]), which Hubert G. Schmidt calls "local history at its very best."

The vast industrial and shipping complex of Hudson County originated in the fortified Dutch village of Bergen, founded in 1660. Daniel Van Winkle's *Old*

Bergen, History and Reminiscences (Jersey City, 1902) tells the story of its people and community life until its absorption into the Jersey City-Hoboken urban development. That the city fulfilled the economic aims of its founders appears clear in Alexander McLean, *History of Jersey City . . .* (Jersey City, 1895), with "copious" statistics on commerce, finance and manufacturing, and attention to all phases of urban life. The city's importance in national life is the theme of William H. Richardson's *Jersey City; a Study of its Beginnings, its Growth and its Destiny* (Jersey City, 1927), emphasizing notable scientific achievements. Old buildings and early Dutch customs are accented in Harriet Phillips Eaton, *Jersey City and Its Historic Sites* (Jersey City, ca. 1899). Several old communities, now blended into one urban area, have readable histories. John Perkins Field, *Halo Over Hoboken . . .* (New York, 1954), his memoirs, is a series of essays presenting the tragic and comic aspects of the city's history and family life. A much more formal presentation is William H. Drescher, Jr., *History of West Hoboken, N. J.* (West Hoboken? 1903), with photographs of buildings and scenes, and portraits. (West Hoboken is now a part of Union City.) Walter Theodore Eickmann, *History of West New York . . .* (West New York, 1948) is a well-illustrated general account in essays from the time of Henry Hudson. Royden Page Whitcomb, *First History of Bayonne . . .* (Bayonne, 1904), a typical city chronicle, has a map showing the ancient formation of the land around New York Bay, and mentions early Dutch land grants. Much more detailed is Gladys (Juliette) Mellor Sinclair's *Bayonne (New Jersey) Old and New, the City of Diversified Industry* (New York, 1940).

The manufacturing cities of the Hackensack and Passaic valleys fortunately had two distinguished scholars to write their stories in great detail. Several neighboring Bergen County communities are included in William W. Scott's *History of Passaic and its Environs . . .* (3 vols.; New York and Chicago, 1922), which comprises Clifton,

Garfield, Wallington and Lodi, and covers topics thoroughly. William Nelson and Charles A. Shriner, *History of Paterson and its Environs (the Silk City)* . . . (3 vols.; New York and Chicago, 1920) is a monument to Nelson, who spent a lifetime in gathering the facts, which after his death were enlarged upon by Shriner. Nelson's *History of the City of Paterson* (Paterson, 1901) is authoritative.

The Raritan Valley's two business centers also have had highly competent historians. John Patrick Wall's *The Chronicles of New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1667-1931* (New Brunswick, 1931) represents over twenty years of research in original documents and newspapers, and especially features old landmarks. Supplemental to it are William H. Benedict, *New Brunswick in History* (New Brunswick, 1925) and William H. S. Demarest, *The Anniversary of New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1680-1730-1930* . . . (New Brunswick, 1932). William Adee Whitehead, *Contributions to the Early History of Perth Amboy and Adjoining Country* . . . (New York, 1856), based upon original sources, is still authoritative and has chapters on Woodbridge and Piscataway. William C. McGinnis, *History of Perth Amboy, New Jersey, 1651-1958* (3 vols.; Perth Amboy, 1958-1960) does not pretend to deep scholarship or completeness, but is a good survey, with a notable section on churches.

The central industrial cities have been thoroughly covered. Francis Bazley Lee, *History of Trenton* ([Trenton] 1895) has "Illustrative Legislative and Biographical Supplement." One should consult also John O. Raum, *History of the City of Trenton* (Trenton, 1871). Harry J. Podmore, *Trenton, Old and New* (Trenton, 1927) presents history largely in remarks on changes in buildings and streets. One of the best city histories is the Trenton Historical Society's *A History of Trenton, 1679-1929* (2 vols.; Princeton, 1929), interesting especially for its list of early Trenton imprints and maps, and pen drawings by George A. Bradshaw, an artist of high repute. This city as an early industrial center is described

in Eleanore Nolan Sherman, *The Trenton Story* (Trenton, 1958), with etchings by Bradshaw. Early sources of information are collected in Trenton, Free Public Library, *The City of Trenton, N. J., A Bibliography* (Trenton, 1909), about one hundred and fifty titles. A readable account of Camden is Howard Mickle Cooper, *Historical Sketch of Camden* (Camden, 1931). Charles S. Boyer's *The Span of a Century . . .* (Camden, 1927) is a purely chronological account since 1828, and is a source book rather than a history.

The quality of histories of towns and smaller cities, in the metropolitan areas, varies widely. It ranges from the deep scholarship of Pierson's four-volume *History of the Oranges*, to collections of random personal reminiscences of life "in olden days," and booklets which are little more than guides to historic places. Some have massive bibliographies, others give no clue to sources. Some were written especially for local schoolchildren, and accent pioneer and modern living. A few, of surprisingly high quality, were undertaken as projects for history classes. The histories of northern suburbs often emphasize the social life and customs of their Dutch forefathers. Many give much attention to wars, especially the Revolution, and have rosters of soldiers and pictures of military monuments. A few of the recent ones display the evolution of quiet rural communities into examples of suburbia at its best. The general impression is that of the amalgamation of large stretches of the "Garden State" into continuous metropolitan areas, with a uniform urban cultural pattern.

The vast Newark metropolitan region is quite thoroughly covered by histories: Quite typical of these suburban communities is Bergenfield, as described in Adrian Coulter Leiby [and others] *The Huguenot Settlement of Schraalenburgh; the History of Bergenfield, New Jersey* (Bergenfield, 1964), with a bibliography; an ancient Dutch farming community. Allison Wright Post, *Recollections of Bernardsville, New Jersey, 1871-1941* (Bernardsville, 1941); Joseph Fulford Folsom (ed.),

Bloomfield Old and New . . . (Bloomfield, 1912); Bloomfield . . . Free Public Library, *Bloomfield, New Jersey* (Bloomfield, 1932); Isaac S. Lyon, *Historical Discourse on Boonton* (Newark, 1873), with a song, "Boonton's Bound To Go Ahead"; Lawrence C. Wassmer, Sr., and Charles K. Payne, *Butler, New Jersey in Story and Pictures* (Butler, 1951), unusually complete for its size, with many photographs; Benjamin Robert Norwood, *Old Caldwell, A Retrospect, 1699-1926 . . .* (Caldwell, 1927), by a journalist, and one of the best in literary style, and including Verona, Cedar Grove, Essex Fells, and Rose-land; Ambrose Ely Vanderpoel, *History of Chatham . . .* (New York, 1921; rev. ed., Chatham, 1959), largely about the Revolution in Morris County; Charles D. Platt, *Dover Dates, 1722-1922 . . .* (Dover, 1922), a supplement to his *Dover History* (1914), with local historical poems; Adaline W. Sterling, *The Book of Englewood . . .* (Englewood, 1922) with emphasis on World War I; Robert Quillman Rogers, *From Slooterdam to Fair Lawn . . .* (Fairlawn, 1960) for students, with some material on Paterson, East Paterson, and Passaic; George Coyne Woodruff, *History of Hillside . . .* (Hillside, 1934), for schools, and including Lyons Farms, Salem, and Saybrook, and early history of Newark and Elizabeth; Sue F. Hudson, *Background Of Ho-Ho-Kus History* (Ho-Ho-Kus, 1953), one of the best, especially for social life; Writers' Program, New Jersey, *Livingston, The Story of a Community* (Caldwell, 1939); William Parkhurst Tuttle, *Bottle Hill and Madison . . .* (Madison, 1916), mostly on the Revolution, old houses, and church life; Mrs. Madison C. Bates, *Know Your Town, A Survey of Maplewood . . .* (Maplewood, 1941), heavily factual and based on a survey;* Ella W. Mockridge, *Our Mendham* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1961); Henry Whittemore, *History of Montclair Township . . .* (New York, 1894), a standard work; S. C. G. Watkins, *Reminiscences of Montclair . . .*

* Over one hundred of these "Know Your Town" publications have been issued by local Leagues of Women Voters; they differ in quality and size, but most are valuable.

(New York, 1929), brief topical essays, with much biography; Edwin B. Goodell, *Montclair, the Evolution of a Suburban Town* (Montclair, 1934); Millburn, First National Bank, *The Development of a Community . . .* (Millburn, 1947); Andrew M. Sherman, *Historic Morristown . . .* (Morristown, 1905), largely concerned with the Revolution and Washington's campgrounds; Ann A. Troy, *Nutley; Yesterday, Today* (Nutley, 1961), a series of essays devoted largely to cultural life. Few communities have been so ably and extensively chronicled as the Oranges. Stephen Wickes, *History of the Oranges . . . From 1666 to 1806* (Newark, 1892) represents fifteen years of research in diverse records. David Lawrence Pierson, *History of the Oranges to 1921 . . .* (4 vols.; New York, 1922) is one of the most scholarly, documented town histories in existence. A brief one, on a daughter town, is Samuel Crane Williams, *Historical Sketch of the Growth and Development of the Town of West Orange* (Orange, 1937). An old Dutch community is described in Frederick W. Bogert, *Paramus, A Chronicle of Four Centuries* (Paramus, 1961). A typical modern suburb appears in George L. Albig, *Ridgefield Park, Bergen County's Most Modern Community* (Ridgefield Park, 1927). An example of careful research in documentary sources is Reignette Marsh's *Scotch Plains; the Story of an Old Community* (New Brunswick 1936). Gertrude Scholl Reed and Robert Edward Henke (eds.), *History of Secaucus . . .* (Secaucus, 1950) is a reminiscent tale of a rural community becoming industrial. E. Robin Little, *Summit's Story . . .* (Summit, 1949) is an example of attractive writing in a work with no claim to profound learning. Eva Browning Sisson's *The Story of Tenafly* (Tenafly, 1939) presents another typical suburb grown from a country village. The same is true of the rather anecdotal *History of Verona . . . 1702-1907*, by Grace Kaas. Very detailed for its length is Charles A. Philhower, *History of (the) Town of Westfield . . .* (New York, 1923), mostly post-Revolutionary. The development of a residential suburb is chronicled by C. G. Hine's *Woodside,*

The North End of Newark . . . (1909), partly by following the roads in guidebook style.

The south shore of Raritan Bay and Monmouth County are becoming part of the New York-Newark metropolitan region. They cherish, however, a sense of tradition, as expressed in Ernest W. Mandeville, *The Story of Middletown, the Oldest Settlement in New Jersey* (Middletown, 1927). Also in Freehold, High School, Class of 1924, *Guide to Historic Freehold, N. J. and Vicinity* (Asbury Park, 1923), an illustrated guidebook. Other competent guides to local history and scenes are: Federal Writers' Project, *Matawan, 1686-1936* (Newark, 1936); *Monroe Township, Middlesex County, New Jersey, 1838-1938* (New Brunswick, 1938), an effort to write a social history; and Rumson, N. J., Board of Education, Historical Committee, *History of Rumson, 1665-1944* (Rumson, 1944), by the history classes in cooperation with the faculty and many citizens—a praiseworthy accomplishment.

Local history of the Raritan Valley illustrates the evolution of colonial Puritan and Dutch settlements into a complex of industry and residential colonies. The basic history is Joseph W. Dally's *Woodbridge and Vicinity, the Story of a New Jersey Township* . . . (New Brunswick, 1873), a product of research in documents that has never been superseded. One of the distinctive services of local historians is to depict life in communities that are little known outside their region. Such is the character of Mary Pattison's *Colonia Yesterday* . . . (New York, 1949); Federal Writers' Project, New Jersey, *The Story of Dunellen* (Dunellen, 1937); David Trumbull Marshall, *Recollections of Boyhood Days in Old Metuchen* (Flushing, N. Y., 1930); and Joseph T. Karcher, *A Municipal History of the Borough of Sayreville, 1920-1958* (Boston, 1958), a continuation of his *Municipal History of Sayreville Township (1876-1920)*. Pattison and Marshall display distinctively individual style and portray life and people. Life and customs in ancient Dutch communities, now becoming suburban, are the

theme of Elsie Beatrice Stryker, *Where the Trees Grow Tall* . . . (New Brunswick, 1963), including Franklin Township; and John Letson Stillwell, *Old Readington, 1867-1876* (Baltimore, 1935).

Local histories of the Trenton region often accent Revolutionary traditions, as in Helen Almy West, *A History of Hamilton Township* . . . (Trenton, 1954); Joseph H. West, *A History of the Village of Hamilton Square* . . . (Trenton, 1876) and Alfred G. Petrie, *Lambertville, New Jersey, from the Beginning as Coryell's Ferry* . . . (Lambertville? 1949). Ralph Ege's *Pioneers of Old Hopewell, with Sketches of Her Revolutionary Heroes* (Hopewell, 1908) tells the story through genealogical essays and material from scrapbooks and diaries kept for fifty years. It is reprinted in facsimile (Hopewell, 1963), with an added index of names. One of the best and most readable local histories is Clarence B. Fargo's *History of Frenchtown, with Interesting Sidelights on Surrounding Communities* (New York, 1933), with emphasis upon social life and industries.

The region along the Delaware below Trenton presents the evolution of a Quaker colony and religiously-oriented society into a suburban region of the Philadelphia-Camden metropolis. The original Quaker capital is depicted, in George De Cou, *Burlington: a Provincial Capital* . . . (Philadelphia, 1945), as the experimental model for Philadelphia. William E. Schermerhorn, *The History of Burlington* . . . (Burlington, 1927) reinforces this idea with greater detail. The spread and development of the Friends' culture appears in Isaac Mickle, *Reminiscences of Old Gloucester* (Philadelphia, 1945); Haddonfield, *The Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Settlement of Haddonfield* . . . (Haddonfield, 1913); and James D. Magee, *Bordentown, 1682-1932* (Bordentown, 1932), which emphasizes also participation in wars, and the town's association with the Bonaparte family. Creditable chronicles of civic evolution are Francis F. Eastlake, *History of Merchantville* . . . (1899); James C. Purdy, *Moorestown, Old and New* . . . (Moorestown, 1886); and

George De Cou, *Moorestown and Her Neighbors* . . . (Philadelphia, 1929), including Mount Laurel, Colestown (now deserted) and Westfield. Two ancient Friends' communities are seen in Benjamin F. Carter, *History of Woodbury* . . . (Woodbury, 1938), largely a collection of newspaper essays, and Frank H. Stewart, *Reminiscences of Sharptown* . . . (Salem, 1931-1932), also newspaper articles, with special mention of the Pilesgrove meeting and its house. On the periphery of this area lies old Greenwich, which has one of the State's most attractive local histories—Bessie Ayars Andrews' *Historical Sketches of Greenwich in Old Cohansey* (Vineland, 1905), a book that would appeal to a "local color" novelist. The same comment applies to Joseph Sheppard Sickler's *Tea Burning Town* . . . (New York, 1950), a pictorial tribute to a colonial town that is not a "restoration" but a living community. Contrastingly modern is a thriving small city, commemorated in *Historic Bridgeton, 1686-1936* (Bridgeton, 1936), a well-presented historical and promotional work, heavily illustrated.

Some of the State's most historic and interesting communities are those that were founded or developed for special purposes—resorts, religious or intellectual centers.

Resorts began to flourish before the Civil War, and one of the earliest was Cape May. Its story in old times is related in Robert Crozer Alexander, *Ho! for Cape Island* (Cape May, 1956), an attractive picture of a gay and fashionable resort, derived mostly from records of the period 1848 to 1866. New Jersey's largest shore resort has been celebrated in innumerable books and brochures. A. L. English wrote the first full *History of Atlantic City* . . . (Philadelphia, 1884), with many notes on the early promoters and some amusing stories. Another standard history is John F. Hall, *The Daily Union History of Atlantic City and County* . . . (Atlantic City, 1900), while Frank M. Butler's *The Book of the Boardwalk and the Atlantic City Story* . . . (Atlantic City, 1953) is a dictionary and guide for writers of newspaper and magazine articles.

An unusually attractive resort history, in the form of essays, is Bayard Randolph Kraft, *Under Barnegat's Beam* . . . (New York, 1960) on the history of Long Beach and the nearby mainland, with local recipes for sea food. The growth of a famous resort of the "Gilded Age" into a modern city heightens the interest of Writers' Program, New Jersey, *Entertaining a Nation; the Career of Long Branch* (Bayonne, 1940), with reproductions of old magazine pictures and photographs. A typical seaside community, industrious rather than gilded, is recorded in Ocean Township Centennial Corporation, *The Township of Ocean* . . . (1949), which has an interesting chapter on shipwrecks.

Several communities have grown from religious camp meetings. The most famous one is described in Woman's Club of Asbury Park, *An Historical Review of Business and Other Organizations Operating in Asbury Park* . . . (Newark, 1929). Another's seventieth anniversary is commemorated in Richard Francis Gibbons, *History of Ocean Grove* . . . (Ocean Grove, 1939), with an account of the camp meeting association. Harold F. Wilson's *Cottages and Commuters, A History of Pitman* . . . (Pitman, 1955) narrates the development of the religious community into a modern town, with a chapter on everyday life in the early twentieth century.

A town whose life has depended largely upon a university still finds its classic history in John Frelinghuysen Hageman's *History of Princeton and Its Institutions* . . . (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1879), emphasizing its contribution to national life, with many biographies of famous men and a list of Princeton authors and their writings. The authoritative guide is Varnum Lansing Collins, *Princeton, Past and Present* (Princeton, 1919, 1931; rev. ed., 1945), with special attention to historic old houses. Another intellectual and cultural center, about which much has been written, is described in Charles K. Landis, *The Founder's Own Story of the Founding of Vineland* . . . (Vineland, 1903); Frank De Witte Andrews, *The Vineland Pioneers* (Vineland, 1913); and Francis A.

Stanger, "History of Vineland," in *Vineland Historical Magazine*, July-October, 1951, 187-193. The intense intellectual activity there is evident in Frank D. Andrews (comp.), "A Bibliography of Vineland, Its Authors and Writers" (Vineland, 1916)—21 pp., described by the author as "by no means complete." It was gathered from publications in the local Historical and Antiquarian Society.

V

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

In politics and administration New Jersey has continuously evolved into a democratic commonwealth. It began as a proprietary domain, changed into a typical royal province, and through revolution became a state with a written constitution. That frame of government has been altered twice (in 1844 and 1947) to adapt it to new conditions, as the State has changed from an agricultural to an industrial society. This achievement has been gained through continual struggle of the people against presumptuous authority. The story has been complicated by other oppositions: East against West Jersey, city against country, reformers against the "machine." The story of political parties is one of the most complicated in the nation.

A. GENERAL WORKS

An early but still useful survey is Lucius Q. C. Elmer's *The Constitution and Government of the Province and State of New Jersey* (Newark, 1872). Informative modern accounts are: William S. Carpenter's essay, "The Government of New Jersey," with references, in William Starr Myers (ed.), *The Story of New Jersey*, II, chap. 8; and chapters 51-54, by Hugh McD. Clokie, in Irving S. Kull, *New Jersey, A History*, IV, on the legislative, executive, and judicial departments, and elections. Outlines of state government are available in several guides: New

Jersey, Department of Education, Division of Higher Education, *New Jersey State and Local Government* (rev. ed.; Trenton, 1950); Rutgers University . . . Bureau of Government Research, *Handbook of New Jersey State Government* (New Brunswick, 1952); New Jersey, General Assembly, *Manual of the Legislature of New Jersey* . . . (Trenton, 1872-), a record of legislative activities and a compendium of miscellaneous information on public affairs. History of politics and government is cursorily reviewed in Frank H. Pierce, Jr., *Governors of New Jersey* (Newark, 1951), brief biographies (1775-1951) from the *Newark Sunday News*, 1950-1951.

The State is fortunate in having three comprehensive studies of its administration: George S. Silzer, *The Government of a State* (Newark, 1933), by a former governor, analyzes all departments in depth and has notes on the constitution. Leonard Bertram Irwin, *New Jersey, the State and its Government* (rev. ed.; New York, 1953) is a manual for schools on all organizations and services, with diagrams and maps. There are several editions; the latest is Leonard Bertram Irwin and Herbert Lee Ellis, *New Jersey, the Garden State* (New York, 1962). Bennett Milton Rich, *The Government and Administration of New Jersey* (New York, 1957), with a large bibliography, was written with aid from many officials, describes all operations with historical setting, stresses services performed, and includes county and municipal government.

Efforts to keep government in touch with its source of power, the people, are discussed by Stanley H. Friedelbaum, "Apportionment Legislation in New Jersey," in *Proceedings*, LXX, no. 4 (Oct., 1952), 262-277, with references. This studies representation in the General Assembly and lists the pertinent laws from 1664 to 1947. Forces that shape legislation appear in Dayton David McKean, *Pressures on the Legislature of New Jersey* (New York, 1938), by a former member, who observed and felt the lobbying influences he describes so interestingly. A similar candid exposé, giving typical actions of organizations, is James E. Downes, "Pressure Groups

in Political Patterns," in *New Jersey Educational Review*, November, 1952, 77-80. Workings of practical politics are analyzed in a brilliant and readable case study, Dayton David McKean, *The Boss; the Hague Machine in Action* (Boston, 1940), an exploration of the Democratic organization in Hudson County, based upon investigations of conduct in office. It has been criticized as too easy on the "respectable business element."

B. THE CONSTITUTIONS

The evolution of state government is explained by John E. Bebout, *The Making of the New Jersey Constitution* (Trenton, 1945). In the Constitutional Convention of 1776, reaction against royal government subordinated all other branches to the Legislature, according to Charles R. Erdman, Jr., *The New Jersey Constitution of 1776* (Princeton, 1929), with bibliography. This Constitution, without provision for amendment, was long accepted as satisfactory. Its defects inspired a movement for reform, related in Gladys Gray Pidcock, *Constitutional Reform in New Jersey, 1776-1844* (Somerville, 1941), with bibliography. This analyzes the Convention of 1776 and the Constitution's defects, and comments at length on the Convention of 1844, and the reforms and liberality of the new constitution. Its genesis appears in New Jersey, Constitutional Convention, 1844, *Proceedings . . .* (Trenton? 1942?), with an introduction by John Bebout, reviewing the State's constitutional history to the adoption of the new constitution by an overwhelming popular majority. The changes (not sweeping) are indicated in Francis J. Swayze, "Epitome of the Constitutional Convention of 1844," in *Proceedings*, new series, VI, no. 2 (Apr., 1921), 65-73. The convention debated long and earnestly, but was (he says) notably free from partisanship. Its expression of democratic theory is explained by William Starr Myers, *The Story of New Jersey*, I, chap. 13, "The Tendency Towards Democracy and the Constitution of 1844," with references; and by Irving S. Kull,

New Jersey, A History, II, chap. 16, "The Constitution of 1844," with references.

This Constitution lasted more than a century. The history of occasional amendments is given by Francis Bazley Lee, *New Jersey as a Colony and as a State*, IV, chap. 9, "Constitutional Amendments of 1875," and chap. 10, "Recent Changes in the Constitution." Increasing dissatisfaction and demand for revision are summarized in a study by Charles R. Erdman, Jr., *The New Jersey Constitution: A Barrier to Governmental Efficiency and Economy* (Princeton, 1934). Pressure for reform culminated in the present constitution. Its creation may be examined in detail in *New Jersey, Constitutional Convention, 1947, Constitutional Convention of 1947, Held at Rutgers University . . . New Brunswick . . . Proceedings* (5 vols.; Trenton, 1949-1953). The proceedings are summarized in Richard N. Baisden, *Charter for New Jersey; the New Jersey Constitutional Convention of 1947* (Trenton, 1952).

C. SUFFRAGE AND ELECTIONS

Voting has been among the most earnestly debated subjects in the state's history. The most complete documented account is Richard Patrick McCormick, *The History of Voting in New Jersey; a Study of the Development of Election Machinery, 1664-1911* (New Brunswick, 1953). This explains the increasing complexity of election procedures; and attributes extension of suffrage, and changes in representation and election machinery, to realistic politics rather than to theory.

Broadening of suffrage was attained by a long struggle. The earliest phase is related by Donald L. Kemmerer, "The Suffrage Franchise in Colonial New Jersey," in *Proceedings*, LII, no. 3 (July, 1934), 166-173. New Jersey, it appears, was a "limited" democracy, but popular control was real, and the voters resisted efforts to restrict the franchise by property qualifications to protect proprietary rights. How early use of the franchise was often

hobbled is explained by Robert H. Rich, "Election Machinery in New Jersey, 1702-1775," in *Proceedings*, LXVII, no. 3 (July, 1949), 198-217, with references. The crudity of procedures caused many irregularities, disputes, and complaints, but legislation in 1725 made procedure more stable, and frauds decreased. The triumph of democracy, by abolition of the freehold tenure requirement, is the subject of J. R. Pole, "Suffrage Reform and the American Revolution in New Jersey," in *Proceedings*, LXXIV, no. 3 (July, 1956), 173-194, with references. Inflation, and growing discontent (especially in East Jersey) practically destroyed the remaining property qualifications. Broad suffrage was not the result of the frontier or Jacksonian-Democratic pressure. This conclusion is reinforced by the same author's "The Suffrage in New Jersey, 1790-1807," in *Proceedings*, LXXI, no. 1 (Jan., 1953), 39-61, with references. Broad suffrage in town elections favored a liberal state franchise, there was little restriction upon men's voting, but this did not result from the demands of a party or of submerged classes.

New Jersey even extended voting to women and Negroes. Mary Philbrook, "Woman's Suffrage in New Jersey Prior to 1807," in *Proceedings*, LVII, no. 2 (Apr., 1939), 87-98, cites laws (1776-1797) conferring suffrage upon women, and instances of women voting. But a law of 1807 deprived women, Negroes, and aliens of the right. Another authority is Edward Raymond Turner, "Woman's Suffrage in New Jersey, 1790-1807," in *Smith College Studies in History*, I, no. 4 (July, 1916), 165-187. The most reliable study of Negro voting is Marion Thompson Wright, "Negro Suffrage in New Jersey, 1776-1875," in *Journal of Negro History*, XXXIII, no. 2 (Apr., 1948), 168-224, with references. This reviews the prohibitions of 1807 and 1844, the Negro campaign for the vote, and abolition of the restriction by legislative resolution in 1875.

D. PUBLIC FINANCE

Several authoritative studies and reports explain modern state financial administration. Denzel C. Cline, *Executive Control over State Expenditures in New Jersey* (Princeton, 1934) briefly discusses the weakness in decentralization. For the Taxpayers Association, A. R. Everson compiled *Facts About New Jersey and the Cost of Government* (Trenton, 1935). Much historical material is included in New Jersey Taxation Committee, State Teachers Colleges, *Taxation in New Jersey, a Study for the Teacher-Citizen* (Trenton, 1955), with bibliographies, tables, and charts. This should be used with New Jersey, Commission on State Tax Policy, *Report* (Trenton, 1946-) and Paul Johnson Strayer's masterly study, *New Jersey's Financial Problem* (New Brunswick, 1960). This reviews the State's needs; and difficulties caused by inadequate revenue, deficits, and an outmoded system; and recommends improvements to favor economic growth.

E. LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The most competent, brief study of county administration, James Melvin Collier's *County Government in New Jersey* (New Brunswick, 1952) is a non-technical review of operations, based upon a tour of the counties and interviews with many officials. It indicates problems of increasing urbanization and suggests improvements. The diversity of local government is carefully examined by Stanley H. Friedelbaum, "The Origins of New Jersey Municipal Government," in *Proceedings*, LXXIII, no. 1 (Jan., 1955), 14-23, with references. Old English traditions have been modified by circumstances, and practice was defined by the Municipalities or Home Rule Act, 1917, giving wide leeway in internal affairs. Modern organization and functions are reviewed, following a brief historical introduction, in Friedelbaum's *Municipal Government in New Jersey* (New Brunswick, 1954), with charts showing classification of cities, municipal revenues,

and expenditures. Pressure for modernization finds expression in Benjamin Baker, *Municipal Charter Revision in New Jersey* (New Brunswick, 1953), with a bibliography. This summarizes the optional municipal charter law of 1950, makes suggestions regarding the organization and functions of local charter commissions and proposes three plans.

F. POLITICAL HISTORY

1. Colonial Period

Colonial politics centered in the popular determination to achieve independence from control by the royal governor. The story is briefly reviewed in Francis Bazley Lee, *New Jersey as a Colony and as a State*, I, chap. 12, "The Governor, Council, and Assembly"; chap. 23, "From Cornbury to Franklin"; and chap. 24, "The Last of the Royal Governors." By far the most learned and readable account of the contest is Donald Lorenzo Kemmerer, *Path to Freedom; the Struggle for Self-Government in Colonial New Jersey, 1703-1776* (Princeton, 1940), with bibliography. It indicates the political issues in each administration and discusses the chief public officials. A heavily documented, factual exposition is John F. Burns, *Controversies Between Royal Governors and Their Assemblies in the Northern American Colonies* (Boston, 1923). This covers many disputes of the period, 1702-1776, in New Jersey, and is based partly upon the Governor Lewis Morris papers.

Morris' administration (1738-1746) illustrates the inevitable clash between a strong-willed governor, attempting to uphold the constitution as it was, and a people bent upon freedom. His attitude is explained in Gordon B. Turner, "Governor Lewis Morris and the Colonial Government Conflict," in *Proceedings*, LXVII, no. 4 (Oct., 1949), 260-304, with references. He failed by opposing extremists on both sides, and offended the people

by representing the proprietary interest, controlling patronage, upholding the rights of the Crown, opposing paper money, and insisting upon appropriations for defense and economy in government. The chief source of information is New Jersey (Colony) Governor, 1738-1746 . . . *The Papers of Lewis Morris* . . . Published by the New Jersey Historical Society (New York, 1852), with a memoir of his life. The end of the struggle is told by William A. Whitehead's *Biographical Sketch of William Franklin, Governor from 1763 to 1776* (Newark, 1849), a favorable view of his administration which ended with his arrest as a Loyalist.

The mediator between the colonial government and Great Britain was the agent, who lived in England. His role is explained, largely from original sources, in Edward P. Lilly, *The Colonial Agents of New York and New Jersey* (Washington, D.C., 1936). This reveals the agent's function as an advocate and lobbyist, protecting the province's interests; and relates the disputes over control of his appointment, between the Assembly and the Governor.

The significance of New Jersey's long effort for self-government appears in Gordon B. Turner, "Colonial New Jersey, 1703-1763," in *Proceedings*, LXX, no. 4 (Oct., 1952), 229-245, with bibliography. Through all controversies the people gained more control, and by 1763 were too devoted to home rule to tolerate the new policy of imperial control. The result was a strong leaning toward state rights. Harry Frank Brewer's "New Jersey's Contribution to Constitutional Government," in *Constitutional Review*, XII, no. 1 (Jan., 1928), 13-21, traces the development in significant events from colonization to ratification of the Federal Constitution, stressing the spirit of personal liberty.

2. *Revolution to Reconstruction*

New Jersey was the first state to appoint delegates to the Federal Convention. Having adopted its own con-

stitution, the State strove to secure a federal one that would promote unity, and yet preserve the rights of smaller states. That victory won, New Jersey experienced the usual vicissitudes of American party politics. Its character was that of a border state, predominantly conservative Democrat, and still for a time affected by the ancient clash of interests between East and West Jersey. It accepted the Republican Party coldly at first, and during the Civil War defended state rights, then reluctantly accepted the Reconstruction amendments. (For Civil War politics, see Chapter IV, on the Civil War.)

There is a general review of political history by various authors (with references), from the Constitutional Period to Reconstruction, in Irving S. Kull, *New Jersey, A History*, II, chaps. 24-25; III, chaps. 32-39 and 41. Francis Bazley Lee, *New Jersey as a Colony and as a State*, reviews the period from the Federalist-Jeffersonian era to 1860, III, chaps. 1-2, 9, 13 and 24. William Starr Myers, in *The Story of New Jersey*, wrote the political history from 1787 to 1860, I, chaps. 12 and 14, giving references.

New Jersey's influence upon national affairs, during the Confederation and Constitutional Periods, has been appreciated only recently. Her notable contribution to formation of the Union, as in the "New Jersey Plan" for representation in Congress, appears in Richard Patrick McCormick, *Experiment in Independence, New Jersey in the Critical Period, 1781-1789* (New Brunswick, 1950). All groups, it is stated, wanted a stronger federal union, but East and West Jersey disagreed on financial questions. After 1788 the trend was conservative. Theodore D. Gottlieb, "New Jersey's Influence in the Constitutional Convention," in *Proceedings*, LVI, no. 2 (Apr., 1938), 140-148, characterizes the delegates and records their attitudes and votes. He notices William Paterson as spokesman for the small states, and New Jersey's unanimous adoption of the Constitution. An old but authoritative study is Austin Scott's address, "The Share of New Jersey in Founding the American Constitution," on pages 10-32 in New Brunswick, Historical Club, *Publica-*

tions, no. 1 (1887), "Adoption of the Constitution of the United States by New Jersey." He stresses New Jersey's insistence upon protecting the rights of the small states, and empowering the federal government to regulate commerce and finance; and includes notes on the ratifying convention and its members.

New Jersey was a quick ratifier because of inability to cope with its problems alone. The people sought relief from heavy financial burdens and a depressed economy. But the vote in convention did not closely follow economic interests, says Forrest McDonald in *We the People; the Economic Origins of the Constitution* (Chicago, 1958). He points out that New Jersey's delegates were not generally rich or holders of public securities. Ratification was spontaneous and represented a wide variety of groups. The attitude is fairly represented by Governor William Livingston, a delegate. He is appreciated by Harold W. Thatcher, "Comments on American Government and on the Constitution by a New Jersey Member of the Federal Convention," in *Proceedings*, LVI, no. 4 (Oct., 1938), 285-303. Livingston was essentially a Jeffersonian, believing in curbs upon both the executive and the popular will; he rejoiced in the prospect of a free, democratic republic. That hopeful spirit is suggested by Richard Patrick McCormick's account of the ratifying convention: "The Unanimous State," in *Journal of the Rutgers University Library*, XXIII, no. 1 (Dec., 1959), 4-32. This shows the state's eagerness to ratify, the brevity of its consideration, and the unanimous vote.

New Jersey sent to the first Congress (1789-1791) a delegation favorable to the "New Roof." There were no pronounced parties, according to George P. Schmidt, "The First Congressional Election in New Jersey," in *Journal of the Rutgers University Library*, IV, no. 2 (June, 1941), 45-50, with references. But the basis of parties existed in the geographic and religious split between the conservative Quaker and West Jersey ticket, and the East Jersey Presbyterian or Bloomfield ticket. The conservative-progressive cleavage soon crystallized

into the Federalist and Jeffersonian parties. Their history is traced by J. R. Pole, "Jeffersonian Democracy and the Federalist Dilemma in New Jersey, 1789-1812," in *Proceedings*, LXXIV, no. 4 (Oct., 1956), 260-292, with references. By their support of the Constitution the Federalists were committed to Republican government, yet they distrusted enfranchisement of the poorer classes and were outbid by the Jeffersonians.

Essentially, the State's political history for many years was a transfer of power from the "rich and well-born" to control by leaders of the "common man." A convincing study of this trend is Walter R. Fee, *The Transition From Aristocracy to Democracy in New Jersey, 1789-1829* (Somerville, 1933), with one of the best bibliographies of New Jersey history. Democratic forces were favored by the absence of a great commercial center and of many huge landed estates, the permanent bases of a ruling class. Maps show the party vote, from 1800 to 1829. The absence of great towns meant that the Jacksonian Democratic cornerstone was not the urban workingman, but the freehold farmer. Richard B. Morris confirms this thesis in "Spotlight on the Plowman of the Jersies," in *Proceedings*, LXVII, no. 2 (Apr., 1949), 106-123. Further confirmation is in Milton J. Nadworny, "New Jersey Workingmen and the Jacksonians," 1830-37, *Proceedings*, LXVII, no. 3 (July, 1949), 185-198, with references, mostly to newspapers. While they supported the Democrats in state and local elections to abolish inequities, the "workies" were not a permanently solid Democratic group. The most consistently Democratic counties were agricultural. This fact prolonged the Democratic grip upon the state until the Civil War. The American or Know Nothing movement could not shake it, according to Paul Hallerberg, [Charles D.] "Deshler and the Know Nothing Party," in *Journal of the Rutgers University Library*, IV, no. 1 (Dec., 1940), 9-14. After a brief hour upon the stage as leader of the group, Deshler took a minor part in the Democratic machine.

3. Progressivism and Reform

Political history from the close of the Civil War to the 1940's is briefly reviewed in the three general state histories. Lee covers the period 1862 to 1902 in his fourth volume, chapters 11 and 12. Kull reviews from Reconstruction to about 1930 in his third volume, chapters 42, 44-45, and 47-49. The same period and the years, 1930-1945, fill chapters 16-21 of Myers' first volume, with references.

This long period started on a very conservative note, and ended in the crusade of Progressivism, and the new reforming Constitution of 1947. Reluctantly, New Jersey accepted the post-Civil War amendments to the Federal Constitution, guaranteeing freedom and civil rights to the Negro. State rights was the issue involved. The controversy is related at length in Lee, *New Jersey as a Colony and as a State*, IV, chap. 6. Rejection of the civil-rights amendment is discussed by Abner J. Gaines, "New Jersey and the Fourteenth Amendment," in *Proceedings*, LXX, no. 1 (Jan., 1953), 37-55, with references. He points out Republican dominance in 1865, the party's espousal of Negro suffrage, and its defeat in 1867, followed by *repeal of ratification*—the only such instance in the nation.

An exciting and exhaustive account of political life, in the period from 1865 to 1915, is William Edgar Sackett, *Modern Battles of Trenton . . .*: I (Trenton, 1895); and II (New York, 1914). This is one of the best histories of American state politics, with many portraits of political leaders, and a list of governors and legislators from 1894 to 1913. It reviews political contests and many accomplishments for public welfare. Volume One covers a long period of Democratic rule, and the second volume both the period of Republican dominance (1896-1910) and the reform era of Woodrow Wilson.

Wilson's accomplishments rested upon solid preparatory work by other leaders, who fought for government for the people rather than for special interests. They

had been stung to action by resentment, and by attacks upon boss-rule and corruption by outsiders, such as Lincoln Steffens, in his essay, "New Jersey, a Traitor State," on 209-294 of *The Struggle for Self-Government; Being an Attempt to Trace American Political Corruption to Its Source in Six States of the United States . . .* (New York, 1906). This courageous "muckraker" assailed the state as the "mother of trusts." Those who rose up to redeem New Jersey from such charges are celebrated in Hester Eloise Hosford, *The Forerunners of Woodrow Wilson* (East Orange, 1914), with a preface by Alden Freeman. The first edition is said to have been a factor in Wilson's nomination for the presidency in 1912. It narrates the fight of Mark M. Fagan, Everett Colby, and Alden Freeman for direct primaries, equal taxation, limited franchises, control of corporations, and a civil service commission, and reveals Wilson's realization of the "New Idea" program that started among Republicans.

New Jersey's reform era is described in the first penetrating analysis of Eastern Progressivism, Ransom E. Noble's *New Jersey Progressivism Before Wilson* (Princeton, 1946), with an exhaustive bibliography. He does not widely explore the movement's relations to previous American liberalism or national Progressivism. He does explain, however, the background of Wilson's achievements as governor, in the reforming crusade of the northeastern counties, led by Fagan, Colby, and George L. Record. They educated intelligent voters to appreciate democratic control of government and regulation of business.

A good introduction to the Wilsonian era is Charles Reade Bacon's *A People Awakened, The Story of Woodrow Wilson's First Campaign Which Carried New Jersey to the Lead of the States in the Great Movement for the Emancipation of the Government* (Garden City, N. Y., 1912). This collection of a correspondent's daily reports, to the *Philadelphia Record*, covers the gubernatorial campaign of 1910, stressing political reform. It includes statistics of the election by counties; 15 of the 21 counties

were won by Wilson, including some never carried before by a Democratic candidate for governor. The New Jersey phase of Wilson's political career may be studied in Hester Eloise Hosford, *Woodrow Wilson; His Career, His Statesmanship, and His Public Policies* (2nd ed., rev. and enl.; New York and London, 1912), with bibliography. The most authoritative account is Ray Stannard Baker, *Woodrow Wilson, Life and Letters: Volume II, Princeton, 1890-1910, and Volume III, Governor, 1910-1913* (Garden City, N. Y., 1927, 1931), with illustrations. Also interesting and authoritative is John M. Blum, *Joe Tumulty and the Wilson Era* (Boston, 1951). He reveals how the astute political manager obtained, in Hudson County and Trenton, the education that made him so valuable as an adviser to Wilson as governor. He was one of the Progressives who indoctrinated New Jersey with liberal principles.

A penetrating analysis and appreciation of Wilson's legacy to the State is Henry A. Turner, "Woodrow Wilson and the New Jersey Legislature," in *Proceedings*, LXXIV, no. 1 (Jan., 1956), 21-49, with references. Wilson's career as a professor of politics is seen as both an asset and a handicap. He sought to give New Jersey responsible leadership in the great British tradition, and introduced social reform as an example to the nation. The inevitable conflict between the idealistic professor and the "machine" is the theme of George C. Rapport, *The Statesman and the Boss, a Study of American Political Leadership Exemplified by Woodrow Wilson and Frank Hague* (New York, 1961), with bibliography. Popular and yet scholarly, this work explains why the idealist often failed through lack of trust in ordinary people, so that the homely ward politician retained control.

An excellent review of this conflict between idealism and conservative practical politics comes from a former governor, Walter E. Edge, in "New Jersey During the Past Half Century," in *Proceedings*, LXVII, no. 3 (July, 1949), 179-185. He declares that resistance to social reform really hastened the process, and indicates New Jersey's

leadership in a long series of measures for social reform and public welfare, and the adoption of a new constitution (1947) centralizing authority and responsibility. A much fuller account is his *A Jerseyman's Journal, Fifty Years of American Business and Politics* (Princeton, 1948). As newspaper editor, member of the legislature, and governor for two terms (1916-1919, 1943-1947) Edge gives an understanding account of practical politics, even though he does not explore its ultimate motivations.

VI

THE PEOPLE

From the beginning, New Jersey has had a very cosmopolitan population. Among the thirteen colonies, probably only Pennsylvania could show a greater diversity of nationalities and religious denominations.

The aboriginal inhabitants, branches of the great Lenni Lenape or Delaware people, were fairly numerous. But within a century, migration and wars and disease reduced them to a small remnant. They were confined to a reservation at Brotherton in Burlington County—the first one in the United States, established in 1758. In that year the Indians relinquished their title to all lands in the province.

European settlements, after a slow start, grew to about fifteen thousand people in 1702, when New Jersey became a royal province. At that time the population already lacked the homogeneity of New England or Virginia. It was a mixture of Dutch, Swedes, Finns, English, Welsh, Scots, Irish, Germans and French.

In 1690 the people were mostly of British stock and wholly North European. Germans began to arrive in the early eighteenth century. They settled mostly in the northwest, giving their name to German Valley. In 1790, however, the population was still more than half of English and Welsh origin.

After 1845 economic and political conditions in Europe caused a stream of Irish and German immigration, which fairly inundated the cities, especially in the northern counties. Their invasion alarmed the older Anglo-Saxon

element, and inspired a futile nativist movement, politically organized in the American or Know-Nothing Party of the 1850's.

This immigration was surpassed by the vast tide that began to flow after the Civil War, especially after 1880. Southern and Eastern Europeans—Italians, Slavs, and Jews—poured into the State to man the industries and found agricultural colonies. Five per cent of all immigration into the United States settled in New Jersey. By 1910 20 per cent of the people was immigrant, and in 1920 60 per cent of the population was foreign-born or first-generation. This group predominated in the northern urban centers. And during World War I migration of Negroes from the southern states began to add a new element to the state's problem of assimilation and acculturation.

By 1920 65 per cent of New Jersey's people lived in only one-sixth of the area: Essex, Hudson, Bergen, Passaic, Union, and Morris counties. Only 19 per cent of the people were rural. New Jersey had become urban, industrial, and mostly of "foreign white stock."

A. POPULATION, GENERAL

A brief review of the diversity and size of the population, from 1666 to 1910, is given by William L. Tucker, "New Jersey—Her People" in *Proceedings*, LVII, no. 3 (July, 1939), 172-177, with much ethnic and statistical data. The best up-to-date study is John E. Brush, *The Population of New Jersey* (2nd ed.; New Brunswick, 1958), with references, and numerous tables, maps, and graphs. The analysis covers density, present and future growth trends, and distribution by industries, occupations, regions, racial and national origins, and religious affiliation.

B. BIOGRAPHY

Persons of national fame are included in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, the *National Cyclopedia of*

American Biography, and *Who's Who in America*. Francis Bazley Lee, *New Jersey as a Colony and as a State* (1902) has two unnumbered biographical volumes; Irving Stoddard Kull (ed.), *New Jersey, A History* (1930) contains two volumes of biography and genealogy; and in William Starr Myers (ed.), *The Story of New Jersey* (1945) the fourth and fifth volumes consist of biographies. A most valuable source of colonial biography is William Nelson's *New Jersey Biographical and Genealogical Notes from the Volumes of the New Jersey Archives* (Newark, 1916), in *New Jersey Historical Society Collections*, IX.

A multitude of persons not included in these sources may be located in the biographical sections of county and local histories. (See Chapter IV on Local History.) Thousands of others appear in encyclopedias, which generally have portraits, and indexes or alphabetical tables of contents: *The Biographical Encyclopedia of New Jersey of the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1877); Frederick W. Ricord (ed.), *Biographical Encyclopedia, Successful Men of New Jersey*, I (New York, 1896; no more publ.); William M. Brown, *Biographical, Genealogical and Descriptive History of the State of New Jersey . . .* (1900), historical sketch by Francis Bazley Lee; William Nelson (ed.), *Nelson's Biographical Cyclopedia of New Jersey* (2 vols.; New York, 1913); Mary Depue Ogden (ed.), *Memorial Cyclopedia of New Jersey* (4 vols.; Newark, 1915-1921), with bibliographies of the writings of authors; American Historical Society, *Cyclopedia of New Jersey Biography* (3 vols.; Newark, 1916); J. J. Scannell (ed.), *Scannell's New Jersey's First Citizens . . .* (6 vols.; Paterson, 1917-1927), title varies, with topical, geographical and vocational indexes and "State Guide" to officials; Samuel Fowler Bigelow and George G. Hagar, *The Biographical Cyclopedia of New Jersey . . .* (New York, 1918); *Who's Who in New Jersey . . .* (Volume I, 1939, Chicago, 1939); *Prominent Men of New Jersey . . .* (11 vols.; New York, 1940); *Biographical, Genealogical and Descriptive History of the First Congressional District of New Jersey* (2 vols.; New York and Chicago,

1900); Samuel T. Wiley, (ed.), *Biographical and Portrait Cyclopeda of the Third Congressional District of New Jersey, Comprising Middlesex, Monmouth and Somerset Counties* (Philadelphia, 1896); H. J. Souder (ed.), *Who's Who in New Jersey, Atlantic County Edition* (Atlantic City, c. 1925); *Biographical Review, Vol. 19, Containing Life Sketches of Leading Citizens of Burlington and Camden Counties, New Jersey* (Boston, 1897); *Biographical Review . . . Sketches of Leading Citizens of Cumberland County, New Jersey . . .* (Boston, 1896); H. J. Souder (ed.), *Who's Who in New Jersey, Cumberland County Edition* (New York, 1923); Frederick William Ricord, *Biographical and Genealogical History of the City of Newark and Essex County, New Jersey* (2 vols.; New York and Chicago, 1898); Cornelius Burnham Harvey, *Genealogical History of Hudson and Bergen Counties, New Jersey* (New York, 1900); *Portrait and Biographical Record of Hunterdon and Warren Counties* (New York, 1898); Francis Bazley Lee (ed.), *Genealogical and Personal Memorial of Mercer County, New Jersey* (2 vols.; New York, Chicago, 1907); *Biographical and Genealogical History of Morris County* (2 vols.; New York, 1899). Another set of this covers, in part of vol. 2, Sussex County also.

C. GENEALOGY

A succinct guide to collections of primary records is Russell Bruce Rankin's "Genealogical Sources in New Jersey," in *New Jersey Genealogical Magazine*, *passim*. The essential public records are indicated in Historical Records Survey, New Jersey, *Guide to the Vital Statistics Records in New Jersey, Vol. I, Public Archives* (Newark, 1941), an inventory of public depositories, with history of legislation affecting the recording of such statistics, and a directory of registrars. New Jersey, Division of the State Library, Archives and History, *Genealogical Research; A Guide to Source Materials in the New Jersey State Library and Other State Agencies* (Trenton,

1957) has a section on guides, and a review of all kinds of records and the places of deposit, with historical notes on the counties. New Jersey, Department of State, *Index of Wills, Inventories, etc. in the Office of the Secretary of State Prior to 1901* (3 vols.; Trenton, 1912-1913) is arranged by counties and has unrecorded wills. Maude E. Johnson compiled a "Genealogical Index to Books, Pamphlets, MSS, etc., in The New Jersey Historical Society Library," in *Proceedings*, new series, VIII, no. 2 (Apr., 1923), 81-123, also a reprint; and supplement in XIV, no. 2 (Apr., 1929), 129-144, also a reprint.

Two periodicals are useful supplements to these guides: *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey*, formerly published quarterly, now thrice yearly, by the Genealogical Society of New Jersey (Newark, July, 1925-) has notes and transcripts of church and county records of New Jersey families in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; and an index to vols. 1-35. *New Jersey Genesis* (Short Hills, Aug. 1953-) contains a vast amount of data on families, locations of records, church and town history, genealogical books, and ethnic groups. Valuable, but unfortunately discontinued, is Charles Carroll Gardner's "Genealogical Dictionary of New Jersey," in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey*, *passim*. There is a wealth of information also in John E. Stillwell, *Historical and Genealogical Miscellany; Early Settlers of New Jersey and Their Descendants* (5 vols.; New York, 1903-1916, 1932); in Francis Bazley Lee, *Genealogical and Memorial History of the State of New Jersey* (4 vols.; New York, 1910), with many personal memoirs and an introductory essay, "New Jersey, the Peopling of the State"; and in William Nelson's *New Jersey Biographical and Genealogical Notes . . .* (Newark, 1916), in New Jersey Historical Society *Collections*, IX.

D. INDIANS AND ANTIQUITIES

A general survey of archaeological explorations is Ethel Boissevain, "The First Twenty-Five Years of the Archaeo-

logical Society of New Jersey," in Archaeological Society of New Jersey, *Bulletin* no. 12 (Nov., 1956), 1-7. The Society's *Bulletin* and its *News Letter* comprise a vast mass of data on Indian archaeology and history, collections of artifacts, reviews of books, notes on museums, acquisitions of the State Museum in Trenton, with illustrations of sites, excavations, pottery, etc. The comprehensive review of archaeological investigation is American Museum of Natural History, Department of Anthropology, *A Preliminary Report of the Archaeological Survey of the State of New Jersey . . .* (Trenton, 1913), New Jersey Geological Survey, *Bulletin* no. 9, compiled by Alanson Skinner and Max Schrabisch.

A few important works on excavations of sites illustrate the character of this rich literature, and their bibliographies suggest further reading. There are references in Ernest Volk, *The Archaeology of the Delaware Valley* (Cambridge, Mass., 1911), a report of his researches in Trenton and vicinity, from 1906 to 1910, and a summary of work, 1889-1905, with illustrations. One of the best is the richly illustrated Indian Site Survey, New Jersey, *Archaeology of New Jersey* (2 vols.; Trenton, 1941-1956), with a map and detailed accounts of 39 sites, excavated between 1936 and 1940, by a Works Progress Administration Project sponsored by the State Museum, and with advice by the Archaeological Society of New Jersey.

Much of the early investigation was done in the Delaware Valley, especially in the area of the bend of the river. A pioneer was Charles Conrad Abbott, whose labors in the Trenton-Bordentown region, and elsewhere, produced a series of controversial reports: *The Stone Age in New Jersey* (Washington, D.C., 1877); *Recent Archaeological Explorations in the Valley of the Delaware* (1892); *Ten Years' Diggings in Lenape Land, 1901-1911* (Trenton, 1912); and *Archaeologia Nova Caesaria* (3 vols. in 2; Trenton, 1907-1908). These embody a description of the ancient Indian culture as he conceived it, with detailed accounts and illustrations of implements, pottery, burial customs, earth works, mounds, and vil-

lage sites. Although he was curator of the Museum of American Archaeology, University of Pennsylvania, his conclusions have been questioned by later archaeologists. He engaged in a controversy with W. H. Holmes, about the paleolithic character of the stone artifacts he discovered. Remains of argillite culture in the Rancocas Valley, discovered in 1915, are described in Ernest William Hawkes, *A Pre-Lenape Site in New Jersey* (Philadelphia, 1916), illustrated.

Literature on later Indian history and culture is extensive. A list with about all valuable titles, up to its date, is Gladys Sears (comp.), "Bibliography on the Lenni Lenape or Delaware Indians," in *New Jersey Library Bulletin*, new series, II, no. 6 (Apr., 1934), 29-31. A better listing is in Irving Rouse, *An Anthropological Bibliography of the Eastern Seaboard . . .* (New Haven, Eastern States Archaeological Federation, 1947). Studies of New Jersey Indian culture, by a famous anthropologist, are listed in the bibliography of A. J. Hallowell's "Frank Gouldsmith Speck, 1881-1950," in *American Anthropologist*, LIII, no. 1 (Jan.-Mar., 1951), 67-87.

Descriptions of New Jersey aborigines began with the early explorers and colonists, as in "Robert Evelyn's (1606-1634) Indian Tribes and Place Names of New Albion," edited by C. A. Weslager, in *Archaeological Society of New Jersey Bulletin*, no. 9 (Nov., 1954), 1-14, with maps and notes. His letter (printed 1641) describes Indians along Delaware Bay and River as he saw them in 1634, with the editor's detailed study of the nine tribes. The increase of knowledge over the past seventy years is shown by four representative titles: William Nelson, *The Indians of New Jersey . . . With Notices of Some Indian Place Names* (Paterson, 1894), surveys their civilization, relations with European settlers, and land sales. Carlos E. Godfrey, *The Lenape Indians, Their Origin and Migration to the Delaware* (Trenton, 1919), with bibliography, is based upon their legends and relates their surrender of title to land and removal from the state, 1834. A brief general account is Edwin Robert

Walker's *The Lenne Lenape or Delaware Indians* (Somerville, 1927). The results of twenty-two years of study and collecting relics are summarized in Herschel Lee Schenck's *Indians of New Jersey* (Port Elizabeth? 1951), illustrated with many drawings, a readable, popular account based upon lectures. Dorothy Cross, supervisor of the Indian Site Survey, condensed her extensive knowledge in an essay, "The Indians of New Jersey," *Proceedings*, LXX, no. 1 (Jan., 1952), 1-16, with a selected bibliography. This survey of their culture, history, missions, and contributions to the State, ends with their removal to the West. But the Indians left their names all over the State. This is perfectly clear in Donald Becker, *Indian Place-Names in New Jersey* (Cedar Grove, N. J., [c. 1964]), which gives variant spellings, also meanings.

No other author, probably, has written more on New Jersey's Indians than Charles A. Philhower, who left scarcely any aspect of their story unexplored. Among his most valuable contributions are these essays: "The Aboriginal Inhabitants of New Jersey," in Kull's *New Jersey, A History*, I, 14-53; "Some Personal Characteristics of the Lenape Indians," in *Proceedings*, new series, XVI, no. 2 (Apr., 1931), 138-161; "Agriculture and the Foods of the Indians of New Jersey," *Proceedings*, LVIII, no. 2 (Apr., 1940), 93-102, and no. 3 (July), 192-202; "The Art of the Lenape," "The Human Face in Lenape Archaeology," "Indian Pipes and the Use of Tobacco in New Jersey," in Archaeological Society of New Jersey, *Leaflets* (nos. 1-3, May, 1932, Jan., 1933, Jan., 1934). Local Indian settlements are considered in detail in a series of essays by Philhower in the New Jersey Historical Society *Proceedings*: "The Aboriginal Inhabitants of Union County . . .," new series, VIII, no. 2 (Apr., 1923), 124-138; "Indian Days in Middlesex County . . ." new series, XII, no. 4 (Oct., 1927), 385-405; "The Aboriginal Inhabitants of Monmouth County," new series, IX, no. 1 (Jan., 1924), 22-40; "The Indians of Somerset County," new series, X, no. 1 (Jan., 1925), 28-41; "The Aborigines of Hunterdon County . . .," new series, XI, no. 4 (Oct.,

1926), 508-525; "The Indians of the Morris County Area," LIV, no. 4 (Oct., 1936), 249-267; "South Jersey Indians on the Bay, the Cape, and the Coast," new series, XVI, no. 1 (Jan., 1931), 1-21. The most valuable feature of these articles is the picture they present of a people whose culture was surprisingly well developed. There are references to descriptions of them by early European explorers.

Other scholarly writings on local tribes are available. Frank H. Stewart (comp.), *Indians of Southern New Jersey* (Woodbury, 1932), illustrated, is a collection of essays by him and other authors, on various aspects of history and culture, with notes on the Stewart and Dorothy E. Middleton collections of relics. Descriptions of sites are in Harold K. Wooley, "The Indians and Ocean County," in Archaeological Society of New Jersey, *Bulletin*, no. 1 (July, 1948), 5-12, with a map. North-western archaeology is explained by the noted scholar, Max Schrabisch, in "Archaeology of Warren and Hunterdon Counties" (Trenton, 1917) and "Indian Habitations in Sussex County . . ." (Union Hill, 1915), *Bulletins* 13 and 18, New Jersey Geological Survey. The latter includes notes on Indian remains near Plainfield, Union County, and in the lower Delaware Valley, by Leslie Spier, and maps of sites. The "Hackensack band" is discussed by Alanson Buck Skinner, *The Indians of Newark Before the White Men Came* (Newark, 1915), a popular summary. An eminent chief of this group, who died about 1667, has received a belated appreciation in Geraldine Huston, *Oratam of the Hackensacks, An Account of Indian and Dutch in Seventeenth-Century Northern New Jersey* (Teaneck, 1950), a pleasant, popular account, with remarks on Indian life and customs, and relations with Dutch traders and settlers.

Relations between Indians and Europeans were not entirely a depressing chronicle of wars and displacement. Efforts to save the Indian remnant, under religious and governmental auspices, anticipated the reservation and missionary policies of the nineteenth century. Quaker interest appears in Samuel Allinson, *Fragmentary History*

of the *New Jersey Indians* . . . (Newark, 1875?), which concerns the "New Jersey Association for Helping the Indians," founded in 1757, and its intention to buy a reservation in South Jersey; also relations between the Delawares and the New Jersey government, their life at Edge Pillock, and removal to New York State in 1802. The most successful effort to Christianize and civilize the Indians centered in the mission of the Presbyterian minister, David Brainerd, who was succeeded by his brother John. Their religious and educational work may be studied in: David Brainerd, *Journal Among the Indians* (Philadelphia, 1746, London, 1748); *The Life and Diary of David Brainerd*, Edited by Jonathan Edwards . . . (Chicago, 1949; also many earlier editions, e.g., Worcester, Mass., 1793; London, 1798; Edinburgh, 1798; Glasgow, 1798; Newark, N. J., 1811); Richard Ellsworth Day, *Flagellant on Horseback: the Life Story of David Brainerd* . . . (Philadelphia, 1950); and Thomas Brainerd, *The Life of John Brainerd, the Brother of David Brainerd, and his Successor as Missionary to the Indians of New Jersey* (Philadelphia, 1865). These review the missions at Crossweeksung (Crosswicks), Brotherton, and other places in the southern counties. The example inspired many later missions to Indians.

E. ETHNIC GROUPS

Literature concerning national groups in New Jersey is very unevenly distributed. Some older ones like the Germans and the French Huguenots, and a very literate modern group like the Jews, have been extensively chronicled. Some others, of recent immigration, have not yet been carefully investigated. They must be sought by painstaking examination of indexes in numerous books on ethnic stocks, in the nation; and the number of references to New Jersey may be disappointingly small. (In libraries that use Library of Congress cards with subject headings, see, for example, "Slovaks—New Jersey," or "Slovaks—U.S.") A vast amount of research

needs to be done to reveal the contributions of ethnic settlements. The results, to date, are almost pitifully small. Jerseymen of the "Newer American" groups should seize the opportunity before precious records and recollections are lost.

English formed the basic early stock of the population, including many New Englanders. Samuel Copp Worthen estimates their contribution in "The Influence of Puritan and Other New England Elements in New Jersey," in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey*, III, no. 3 (Jan., 1928), 89-95. Later-comers direct from Great Britain made a considerable impact, shown in Rowland Tappan Berthoff, *British Immigrants in Industrial America, 1790-1850* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), with bibliography and periodical sources. There are references to textile workers, colonial Cornish miners, Trenton potters, farming, and associations.

The Dutch, Swedes, and Finns, the other earliest groups, are previously mentioned. (See Chapter IV on New Netherland and New Sweden.) Good short essays on Dutch cultural impressions, as distinct from political and religious power, are William W. Scott, "Dutch Buildings, Customs, Habits, etc.," in *Americana*, XVI, no. 4 (Oct., 1922), 368-379; and Cornelius C. Vermeule, "Influence of the Netherlandish People in New Jersey," in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey*, IV, no. 2 (Oct., 1928), 49-56.

The Scots in the Proprietary period (1664-1702) are previously mentioned. (See Chapter IV under the English proprietors of East and West Jersey.) A review of their settlement is A. Van Doren Honeyman, "The Early Scotch Element of Somerset, Middlesex and Monmouth Counties," in *Somerset County Historical Quarterly*, VI, no. 1 (Jan., 1917), 1-23. The pioneers direct from Scotland were vastly outnumbered by the Ulsterite or "Scotch-Irish" flood in the eighteenth century, which planted communities all over the central and southern counties. Bibliographies are given in two authoritative works that include references to New Jersey: Charles A.

Hanna, *The Scotch-Irish or The Scot in North Britain, North Ireland, and North America* (2 vols.; New York and London, 1902); and James G. Layburn, *The Scotch-Irish, A Social History* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1962). The former has a map of Scottish settlements and lists of Presbyterian ministers and churches. The latter estimates the Scottish population of the State as 14 per cent of the total in 1790, and emphasizes the influence of people coming directly from Scotland.

French Protestants (Huguenots) were never a large element, but ability, industry and intelligence made them influential. Their names illuminate the State's history. The immigrant families are listed in Huguenot Society of New Jersey, *Huguenot Ancestors Represented in the Membership of the Huguenot Society of New Jersey*, compiled by Sara Morton Koehler (2nd ed.; Bloomfield, 1956; 1st. ed., 1945, compiled by Dorothy W. Taylor). This has a list of members, with references to ancestors, their homes in Europe, and places and dates of settlement. Another valuable source is Josiah Collins Pumpelly, "The Huguenot Settlers in New Jersey," reprinted from the *Memorial Volume of the Huguenot Society of North America*, pp. 353-375, as a pamphlet. Complete information on this group is in the writings of Albert F. Koehler: *The Huguenots or Early French in New Jersey* (Bloomfield, 1955); and same title in *New Jersey Genesis*, III, nos. 2-3 (Jan.-Apr., 1956), 79-83, 91-96, with sources. The material is primarily genealogical rather than historical. The first settlement was at Hackensack, 1677, and is recorded in David D. Demarest, *The Huguenots on the Hackensack* (New Brunswick, 1886). Another mainly genealogical work, of most irregular quality, which also is a source book of history of New Jersey Huguenots, is Orra Eugene Monette, *First Settlers of Ye Plantations of Piscataway and Woodbridge, Olde East New Jersey, 1664-1714* (7 vols.; Los Angeles, 1930-1935), with illustrations and maps.

The French element was augmented in the 1790's and early 1800's by refugees from the Negro revolt in Santo

Domingo. Their story is related rather minutely by Walter Charlton Hatridge, "The Santo Domingan Refugees in New Jersey," in *Proceedings*, LXII, no. 4 (Oct., 1944), 197-206, and LXIII, no. 2 (Apr., 1945), 73-82, with references. Several hundred lived in the state, and helped to promote cultural life and the Roman Catholic Church, but many left to settle in large cities elsewhere. References occur in Frances Sargeant Childs, *French Refugee Life in the United States, 1790-1800, An American Chapter of the French Revolution* (Baltimore, 1940), with a large bibliography. They were attracted by the State's liberal treatment of foreigners.

The Germans swarmed into New Jersey, and are said to have numbered fifteen thousand by 1775. (See Faust, below). They were mostly Protestants—Lutheran, Reformed, and Moravian Brethren. The second great migration, after 1848, included many Roman Catholics and was more largely stimulated by political and economic motives. The authority on pre-Revolutionary settlement is Theodore Frelinghuysen Chambers, *The Early Germans of New Jersey, Their History, Churches and Genealogies* (Dover, 1895), with maps and illustrations, probably the most complete account of an ethnic group in the state. It is largely genealogical, and is limited chiefly to Hunterdon, Morris, Sussex and Warren Counties, with nothing on South or North Jersey. Primarily genealogical and bibliographical is Hubert G. Schmidt, "The Germans of Colonial New Jersey," *New Jersey Genesis* (Oct., 1956-April., 1958), 103-109; 117-121; 126; 127-133; 139-143; 164-165; 174-179), with a bibliography. Lucy Forney Bittinger, *The Germans in Colonial Times* (Philadelphia, 1901), with bibliography, has a chapter on German Valley, and mentions early churches and settlements, the Moravians at Hope, New Germantown, and missionaries (Chambers notes error in this work). Settlers from the Palatinate are noticed by Daniel Häberle, *Auswanderung und Koloniegründungen der Pfälzer im 18. Jahrhundert . . .* (Kaiserlautern, 1909). Immigration also of the nineteenth century to New Jersey is included in several works.

Anton Eickhoff, *In der Neuen Heimath, Geschichtliche Mittheilungen uber die Deutschen Eienwanderer in Allen Theilen der Union* (New York, 1884); George von Cosse, *Das Deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten . . .* (Stuttgart, 1908); and Albert Bernhardt Faust, *The German Element in the United States . . .* (Boston, 1909; 2 vols. in 1, New York, 1927), with a huge bibliography. All these are detailed, and the last two emphasize cultural contributions.

The same emphasis appears in two special, detailed studies of local German communities. Carl H. Gramm, *The Germans in New Brunswick, New Jersey . . .* (Cleveland, 1938) briefly reviews German immigration into New Jersey, and analyzes the careers of 540 men and their descendants, religious life in four churches, musical and fraternal societies, and their part in the rubber industry. Dieter Cunz, "Egg Harbor City, New Germany in New Jersey," in *Proceedings*, LXXIII, no. 2 (Apr., 1955), 89-123, with references, describes a German community founded in 1855, its Anglicization, and its educational, religious, and cultural life. This has been published also by the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland, in its *Report*, no. 29 (1956), 9-30.

The Swiss are given considerable attention in Swiss-American Historical Society, *The Swiss in the United States*, edited by John Paul von Gruening (Madison, Wis., 1940), with a map showing their concentration in Bergen, Passaic, Hudson, and Essex counties, and special reference to their promotion of the silk and embroidery industries.

The Irish entered New Jersey in the Proprietary period, and in the 18th century formed part of the flock of itinerant Roman Catholic missionaries. Their great growth in number and influence came after 1845, due to the migration from Ireland after the potato famine. The principal source of detailed information is articles in the *American Irish Historical Society Journal*, including such examples as William H. Mahony, "Some Seventeenth Century Irish Colonists in New Jersey,"

XXVI (1927), 242-246; "The Melting Pot—Irish Footsteps in New Jersey," XXV (1926), 159-178, a list of eighteenth-century marriage records; "Irish Footsteps in New Jersey Sands," XXVI (1927), 247-254, on Irish settlers in the eighteenth century; Michael J. O'Brien, "Some Early Irish Settlers and Schoolmasters in New Jersey," XI (1912), 121-130; "The Irish in the New Jersey Probate Records," XXVII (1928), 76-100; William H. Mahony, "American-Irish Prominent in New Jersey State and Local Government," XXI (1922), 125-131; "The Irish Element in Newark, N. J.," XXI (1922), 131-145; "Irish Settlers in Union County, New Jersey," XXVIII (1929-1930), 83-85; "The Irish in Princeton, New Jersey," XXVII (1928), 314-320.

Italians have been attaining distinction in New Jersey affairs for generations. Their achievements are on record in a masterly study by Giovanni Ermenegildo Schiavo, *Italian-American History* (2 vols.; New York, 1947, 1949). This mentions high public officials of Italian descent, and the important part of Italian priests, parishes, and religious orders in planting the Roman Catholic Church in the State. There is an extensive bibliography, and a directory of parishes, with photographs of churches and pastors. Also impressive is Joseph William Carlevale's biographical encyclopedia, *Americans of Italian Descent in New Jersey* (Clifton, 1950), with over three thousand biographies of persons who have won distinctions, including public officials, industrialists, business and professional men, teachers, and college graduates. Charles W. Churchill, "The Italians of Newark, A Community Study" (New York, 1946), a New York University doctoral dissertation, studies origins and backgrounds of the immigrants, their acculturation, and adjustment to the community, and all phases of their work, family and social life, religion, and civic participation. Life in a smaller community, particularly farm life, is examined by Emily Fogg Meade, in *The Italian on the Land; A Study in Immigration* (Washington, D.C., 1907), *Bulletin* 70, U. S. Department of Labor.

Jews appeared in the state in colonial times, but the community was very small before the migration of German Jews in the 1840's. The pioneer period is reviewed by A. M. Friedenberg, "The Jews of New Jersey from the Earliest Times to 1850," in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, no. 17 (1909). Before the founding of synagogues, the devout worshipped in New York, and the German congregations of Paterson (1847) and Newark (1848) had ties with New York. Another study of origins is George J. Miller, "Early Jews in Middlesex County, New Jersey," in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, no. 33, 251-254. The later, swift growth of New Jersey Jewry is chronicled in an early standard work, Peter Wiernik, *History of the Jews in America from the Period of the Discovery of the New World to the Present Time* (New York, 1912, 1931), including establishment of synagogues and of agricultural colonies. The farming communities—the most successful ones in America—are emphasized in Rufus Lears (i.e., Israel Goldberg), *The Jews in America; A History* (Cleveland and New York, 1954), with bibliographical note. These farming communities were not intended to be "collective." (For special studies, see below.) The author notices exclusion of Jews from political office in early times.

Several local studies examine the character of Jewish communal life. Gershon Gilbert, [and others], *The Essex Story, a History of the Jewish Community in Essex County, New Jersey* (Newark, 1955), written for religious schools, has many previously unknown facts. Religious conditions are probed in Jewish Community Council of Essex County, *Our Life in Our Time* (c. 1948), which reveals much indifference to traditional faith as a result of assimilation. One of the best community studies has been made by the Jewish Community Council of Passaic and Vicinity, Tercentenary Committee [Passaic]: *Jewish Roots, A History of the Jewish Community of Passaic and Environs* (Passaic, 1959), well illustrated, an admirable product of research into all phases of life. Jewish

history in the capital city since the 1840's is narrated by H. J. Podmore's article, "Trenton," in the *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, X, 300-303, emphasizing early associations with Philadelphia.

One of the most interesting phases of Jewish history is the success of New Jersey's agricultural colonies, started in the 1880's. An early description is K. Durland, "Jewish Farmers," illustrated, in *The Chautauquan*, L, no. 2 (Apr., 1908), 248-265. S. Jacob studied them in "Immigrant Farm Colonies in Southern New Jersey," *Monthly Labor Review*, XII, no. 1 (Jan., 1921), 1-22. A much broader, sociological consideration is Philip Reuben Goldstein's *Social Aspects of the Jewish Colonies of South Jersey* (New York, 1921), with a map and extensive bibliography. He lived for six years in one, as a director of cultural activities, and conducted a community survey by interviews with officials and pioneers, criticized defects, and suggested improvements. For the golden anniversary (1932) of the first colony the settlers compiled *A Symposium Upon the First Fifty Years of the Jewish Farming Colonies of Alliance, Norma, and Brotmanville, New Jersey . . .* (Philadelphia, 1932), recounting early struggles and hardships of refugees from Russian persecution, the first Jewish farmers in America, with photographs of pioneers and of buildings. "Woodbine," described in the *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, X, 501 f., founded with support of the Baron de Hirsch Fund in 1891, had an agricultural school for boys, and as a borough was the first all-Jewish community in the United States. Another Jewish farming community is described by Morris Freedman, "The New Farmers of Lakewood," in *Commentary on the American Scene*, edited by Elliot E. Cohen (New York, 1953), 127-146.

New Jersey's sincere effort to bar discrimination against Jews, by legislation, is mentioned in Benjamin R. Epstein and Arnold Forster, *Some of My Best Friends . . .* (New York, 1962), with references.

And the Czechs and Slovaks are included in Thomas Capek, *The Czechs (Bohemians) in America, A Study of*

Their National, Cultural, Political, Social, Economic and Religious Life (Boston and New York, 1920), with bibliography; and Kenneth D. Miller, *The Czecho-Slovaks in America . . .* (New York, 1922), with census figures and mention of churches and industries. The story of a long-established Polish settlement is told by Sister M. Gaudentia, "The Polish People of Passaic (1816-1948)," in *Polish American Studies*, V, nos. 3-4 (July-Dec., 1948), 74-83, with references.

Puerto Ricans are the newest large element in New Jersey's variegated people. Their experience as a minority is thoroughly investigated in New Jersey, State Department of Education, Division Against Discrimination, *The Puerto Rican in New Jersey; His Present Status*, July, 1955, by Isham B. Jones . . . (Newark, 1955). This concentrates heavily upon economic and social conditions, and acceptance in the community, to encourage better integration and fairer treatment.

F. MIGRATIONS

Jerseymen have been anything but stay-at-homes. For over two centuries, they have been migrating to other states. No comprehensive work on this theme exists, but some essays will suggest the extent and distances of emigration. It began long before the Revolution. Thomas H. Fawcett, "Quaker Migration from Pennsylvania and New Jersey to Hopewell Monthly Meeting, 1732-1759," in *Friends' Historical Association Bulletin*, XXVI, no. 2 (Autumn, 1937), 102-108, has a list of Friends who trekked to the Shenandoah Valley. The Jersey Dutch spread all over the Middle States, according to Charles Maar, "Causes of the Dutch Migrations into and out of New Jersey," in *Somerset County Historical Quarterly*, VII, no. 3 (July, 1918), 168-171. Other swarmings of the hive are recorded in A. Van Doren Honeyman, "Pre-Revolutionary Somerset and Bergen Migration to Conewago, Pa.," and Minor Swick, "A Dutch Migration

from the Raritan Valley to New York State in 1785 and Later," *Somerset County Historical Quarterly*, IV, no. 1 (Jan, 1915), 21-25, and no. 3 (July, 1915), 161-167. Others probably were in the movement described by Clayton Hoagland, "Hunterdon, N. J. County's Emigrants," in *De Halve Maen*, (April, 1957), 6, 13.

New Jersey people joined the late-colonial settlement in Nova Scotia, related in William Otis Sawtelle, "Acadia: The Pre-Loyalist Migration and the Philadelphia Plantation," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LI, no. 3 (July, 1927), 244-285, concerning emigration from several provinces from 1759 to 1767. Early New Jersey settlers in Georgia are recorded in William W. Gordon, "Georgia's Debt to Monmouth County, New Jersey," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, VII, no. 2 (June, 1923), 119-134, with references. Elizabeth Ellis, "Dutch Reformed Beginnings in Illinois," in *Illinois State Historical Society Journal*, XXXVI, no. 2 (June, 1943), [190]-207, is an account of settlement in Fulton County, Ill. and vicinity, by Dutch descendants from Somerset and Hunterdon Counties. Some who wandered to Mississippi, in 1773, are named by W. M. Drake, "A Note on the Jersey Settlers of Adams County," *Journal of Mississippi History*, XV, no. 4 (Oct., 1953), 274-275; also in Henry Blackburn Eaton, *Descendants of the Jersey Settlers, Kingston, Adams County, Mississippi* (n.p., 1950?), with the history of the local Methodist Church (1799-1948) and of the families.

The West, particularly Ohio, beckoned to a multitude of Jerseymen. Eighty-two of the more eminent are listed, with brief biographical notes, in "Some New Jersey Men Who Settled Early in the West," *Proceedings*, new series, X, no. 4 (Oct., 1925), 387-395, including 14 states. The great majority located in Ohio, attracted at first by the enterprise of a New Jersey promoter. His pioneering is related by Mrs. Edward M. Field, in "The John Cleves Symmes Purchase," *Proceedings*, new series, XIV, no. 3 (July, 1929), 317-331. She notices the rise of New Jersey

interest in the West about 1786, the combination of prominent men to buy land in southwestern Ohio, and its disposal through agents in New Jersey.

Jerseymen enthusiastically participated in the California Gold Rush, by organizing companies of emigrants to go by sea or overland. This exciting story is told in three scholarly and entertaining articles in *The New Jersey Historical Society Proceedings*: Philip C. Marshall, "New Jersey Expeditions to California in 1849," LXX, no. 1 (Jan., 1952), 17-36; Irving Stoddard Kull, "The New Brunswick Adventures of '49," new series, X, no. 1 (Jan., 1925), 12-28 (reprinted as a pamphlet); and William H. Richardson, "The Argonauts of Jersey City," new series, XI, no. 2 (Apr.-Oct., 1926), 170-186, 369-377, 525-532. Based largely upon company records, letters, and newspaper reports, these describe the immense excitement, trips by various routes, experiences in California, and contributions of Jerseymen to the Golden State. The companies were composed of respectable and often religious men, not drifters and rowdies.

Some idea of the various types and influences of Jersey emigrants is given by "Some New Jersey People Famed Elsewhere," in *Proceedings*, new series, XII, no. 3 (July, 1927), 336-342, with data from notes or clippings sent by correspondents in other states.

G. NEGROES

There were Negroes in New Jersey—mostly slaves—from early colonial times. After the Revolution the number of free Negroes increased, partly by emancipation, partly by migration of fugitives from the slave states. Demand for labor in World War I greatly increased the influx. By 1930 about 5 per cent of the population was Negro, constituting a social problem of formidable nature. Shortly thereafter the New Jersey Conference of Social Work, Interracial Committee, in cooperation with the State Department of Institutions and Agencies, issued

one of the most complete surveys of the Negro population ever compiled in any state: *The Negro in New Jersey* . . . (Newark, 1932), with a bibliography, and illustrations. This comprises an historical essay and an exhaustive sociological and economic analysis of the community, intended as "a basis for promoting social welfare of the Negro and improved interracial relationships." A summary was issued, entitled *The Negro, New Jersey's Twentieth Citizen, Special Edition* (1932), with illustrations and brief recommendations. Seven years later appeared a similar report: State of New Jersey, *New Jersey Commission on the Condition of the Urban Colored Population, to the Legislature* . . . (1939), a picture of the economic and social condition of a depressed minority, with recommendations for corrective legislation and departmental action. A fairly complete economic picture of the Negro appears in Egerton E. Hall, *The Negro Wage Earner of New Jersey, A Study of Occupational Trends* . . . (New Brunswick, 1935), with a bibliography, the intention being to remedy inequities and maladjustments through practical, improved education and vocational guidance.

Insights into the Negro contribution to New Jersey life are found in studies of their communities. New Jersey ones are included in Mozell Clarence Hill, "All-Negro Communities in the United States," in *Summaries of Research Projects, 1947-1952*, Atlanta University Center and Associated Colleges (Atlanta, 1953), 86-87. An interesting colony of mulattoes is carefully analyzed by William and Théophilus G. Steward, in *Gouldtown, A Very Remarkable Settlement of Ancient Date* . . . (Philadelphia, 1913), comprising history, genealogy, religious and cultural life, and portraits. Biographies of eminent New Jersey Negroes of various callings, with portraits, are in Sanford Bell Powell, *Colored American Biography* . . . , "Compiled and published by a colored man" (Newark, 1941). The Negro's part in defending democracy is summed up in New Jersey, Commission on the Urban

Colored Population, *The New Jersey Negro in World War II, Contributions and Activities . . .*, prepared by Roger W. Tucker (Trenton, 1945) with a map.

1. Slavery

Slavery existed in the proprietary period, and expanded with the flourishing agriculture of the eighteenth century, especially on the plantations of West Jersey and the carefully tended northern Dutch farms. New Jersey had an unusually high proportion of slaves for a northern state, and in spite of Quaker pressure, was slow to adopt the policy of emancipation. Slavery and the anti-slavery movement are reviewed in Lee's *New Jersey as a Colony and as a State*, IV, chaps. 1 and 2; and in Kull's *New Jersey, A History*, II, chap. 21, with a bibliography.

Monographs and articles present an overall view of the institution such as few northern states possess. A very thorough, scholarly consideration is Henry Scofield Cooley, *A Study of Slavery in New Jersey* (Baltimore, 1896), with bibliography, emphasizing the social condition of Negroes, Quaker anti-slavery activity, efforts of philanthropists to secure Negro rights in the courts, and gradual emancipation after 1804. Another detailed study is A. Q. Keasbey's "Slavery in New Jersey," in *Proceedings*, 3rd series, IV, nos. 2-3 (Jan.-Apr., May-Oct., 1907), 90-96, 147-154; V, nos. 1-2 (Jan.-Apr., 1908), 12-20, 79-86. These articles carefully review legislation regarding slavery from the proprietary period to 1846, cite court cases regarding slavery, and indicate the gradual spread of abolitionism and a more humane attitude up until the time slavery was abolished by the Thirteenth Amendment, not by state law.

How circumstances and humanitarianism operated to doom slavery is explained by James C. Connolly, "Slavery in Colonial New Jersey and the Causes Operating Against its Extension," in *Proceedings*, new series, XIV, no. 2 (Apr., 1929), 181-202. Laws and popular sentiment operated to check it even in the proprietary period, and

later it was discouraged by duties, the inflow of white servants and redemptioners, and the influence of John Woolman, the Quaker abolitionist. The contrary factors are stressed also in Simeon F. Moss, "The Persistence of Slavery and Involuntary Servitude in a Free State (New Jersey) 1685-1866," *Journal of Negro History*, XXXV, no. 3 (July, 1950), 289-314. He points out the discouragement of slavery by the limited area suited to plantation monoculture, and overstock of slaves, so that the institution was moribund by 1750. The economic threat of free Negroes brought an anti-Negro reaction and slowed abolition, and free Negroes were very restricted. The popular feeling is explained by Hubert G. Schmidt, "Slavery and Attitudes on Slavery, Hunterdon County, New Jersey," in *Proceedings*, LVIII, nos. 3-4 (July-Oct., 1940), 151-169, 240-253, with references; reprinted as a pamphlet (Flemington, N. J., 1941). Sentiment against slavery as such, and generally kind treatment of slaves, accompanied disapproval of abolitionist agitation and increasing segregation. Church groups were "rather noncommittal."

The anti-slavery and manumission movements were encouraged largely by the Quakers, according to William A. Cooper, "The Attitude of the Society of Friends Towards Slavery," in Camden County Historical Society, *Camden History*, I, no. 6, with notes by Charles S. Boyer on slavery legislation, and references to leaders. The "peculiar institution" in Quaker communities is described in "Slavery and Servitude in West New Jersey (1675-1773)," Camden County Historical Society *Bulletin*, no. 10 (July, 1948), 1, 4. The best brief essay on manumission is D. H. Gardner, "The Emancipation of Slaves in New Jersey," in *Proceedings*, new series, IX, no. 1 (Jan., 1924), 1-21, with bibliography. This traces the abolition movement from Woolman's agitation, reviews petitions and legislation and the spread of societies, and attributes success to the moderate policy of the abolitionists. The success of their policy is revealed by "Manumissions of Slaves in Somerset County," in *Somerset County Historical Quar-*

terly, I, no. 4 (Oct., 1912), 275-279, and II, no. 1 (Jan., 1913), 46-51, a list from records in the county clerk's office from 1805 to 1844. Sympathy with fugitive slaves appears in Alexander MacLean, "The Underground Railroad in Hudson County," Hudson County Historical Society, *Papers*, no. 3 (1908).

2. Civil Rights

The steady rise of Negro population, and of anti-segregation and equal rights agitation, has placed New Jersey among the more progressive states in efforts to abolish the status of the Negro as an inferior citizen. New Jersey laws are included in William Brooke Graves, *Antidiscrimination Legislation in the American States, 1945-48* (Washington, 1948), with a bibliography—Library of Congress, Legislative Reference Service, Public Affairs Bulletin no. 65. The work of the American Labor Education Service for civil rights is related by Marie E. Algor, "Strengthening the Integration of Minority Groups; the Problem is Tackled as a Union Problem," in *Journal of Educational Sociology*, XXV, no. 6 (Feb., 1952), 337-341. Progress was made through C.I.O. unions, and this helped to achieve the Bill of Rights in the Constitution of 1947.

The State's own accomplishments are detailed in John P. Milligan, "Perspective on Civil Rights in New Jersey," in *New Jersey Education Association Review*, XXIX, no. 7 (Mar., 1956), 291-298. This celebrates ten years of service of the Division Against Discrimination of the State Department of Education, and (with references) reviews the history of civil rights from 1865 to the Anti-Discrimination Law, 1945, citing laws and cases. Marion Thompson Wright surveys progress since 1776 in "Extending Civil Rights in New Jersey through the Division against Discrimination," *Journal of Negro History*, XXXVIII, no. 1 (Jan., 1953), 91-107, including employment, education, and forces and persons active in the improvement of racial relations.

H. SOCIAL LIFE, CUSTOMS AND FOLKLORE

The prevalent idea of New Jersey, as having no peculiar history, is not more erroneous than the notion that it has lacked any distinctive folkways. Its settlement by diverse peoples, and the earlier comparative isolation of certain of its regions, would encourage the perpetuation of old and original ways. (See Ethnic Groups earlier in this chapter.) Scattered through many books and periodicals are evidences of survival of distinctive ways of life. This area, more than in the other general histories, receives recognition in Lee's *New Jersey as a Colony and as a State*, I, chap. 10, "Some Phases of Early Life," chap. 19, "Marriage and Divorce," and II, chap. 28, "Social Conditions at the Close of the Century."

A review of this broad subject might begin with William H. Snowden's "Reminiscences, A Series of Pictures of the Early Life of New Jersey," in *New Jersey Society of Pennsylvania Year Book* (1926), 47-102. A "must" is the superbly readable, informative and humorous volume, Robert J. Sim's *Pages From the Past of Rural New Jersey* (Trenton, 1949), which presents the old rural ways through description of the implements, utensils and furnishings, with many illustrations. Equally enjoyable is that New Jersey classic, Andrew D. Mellick's *The Story of an Old Farm; or, Life in New Jersey in the Eighteenth Century* (Somerville, 1889), with illustrations and a bibliography; edited by Hubert G. Schmidt and reissued as *Lesser Crossroads* (New Brunswick, 1948). The Mellick family and homestead in Somerset County are the vehicles that carry an abundant load of detail on colonial ways, and later local life and customs, including life among the early German settlers. Day-to-day life is revealed by family letters in Lura Anderson's "Life in the Raritan Valley, 1775-1800," *Proceedings*, LV, no. 4 (Oct., 1937), 277-289, with comments on economic and social life, slow travel, pleasures, food, and health. A veritable mine of facts about people and their living from pioneer

times is Hubert G. Schmidt's *Rural Hunterdon, An Agricultural History* (New Brunswick, 1946), particularly chap. 13. Jacob Magill's *Traditions of Hunterdon* (Flemington, 1957) is a series of newspaper articles on early history and traditions, with illustrations of historic houses and scenes, and comment on life and customs along the way.

Many accounts of local life are scattered through the historical literature of South Jersey. Anna G., Thomas M., and Thomas S. Hopkins, *Sketches Relating to Colonial Haddonfield* (Haddonfield, 1954) includes "Elizabeth Haddon's First Winter in the Wilderness," describing life in early West Jersey. Nineteenth-century life in Vineland is the theme of Bessie Bristol Mason, "When You and I Were Young," in *Vineland Historical Magazine*, XXI, no. 4 (Oct., 1936), 221-227, and XXII, no. 1 (Jan., 1937), 10-17, reminiscences of her childhood. Former life and occupations along the shore are carefully described by Allen H. Brown, "The Character and Employments of the Early Settlers on the Sea-Coast of New Jersey," in *Proceedings*, series 2, VI, no. 1 (1879), 29-63, with references; reprinted as a pamphlet. He emphasizes the varied industries derived from the region's natural resources, and depicts a self-respecting, industrious, and sometimes heroic people, quite unlike the wreckers and criminals played up by some popular fiction. Family life and activities in the early eighteenth century figure largely in Leah Blackman's "History of Little Egg Harbor Township, Burlington County, N. J., From the First Settlement to the Present Time" (Camden, 1880; in Association of Practical Surveyors of West Jersey, *Proceedings*, 171-420, 427-468). A fishing community is described in Carlyle Ellis, "Fisherfolk of Galilee, N. J.," with illustrations, in *Outing*, LXXI, no. 2 (Nov., 1917), 85-89, 117, 149, 151.

In contrast to the small-town and rural ways of South Jersey is urban life in the northern counties. Its character in the Anglo-American upper-class residential districts appears in Florence Graham, "Jersey City as I Remember

It," *Proceedings*, LXXX, no. 2 (Apr., 1962), 94-101. This entertaining story by a lifelong resident includes houses, home and social life, parties, sports, dress, church-going, streets, transportation, etc., in the early twentieth century. A serious and complete sociological survey is Alice Cooke Brown's "A Social History of Rutherford, New Jersey Since ca. 1690," in New York University, School of Education, *Abstracts of Theses, 1948-1949* (1950), 9-13. Based upon many original and printed sources and personal recollections, with documentary photographs, this explores conditions that shaped social history and covers many topics: economic life, religion and amusements, political conflicts, and problems of racial and ethnic groups. A similar study, by Grace Frances Lawrence, discusses "The Church and School as Forces in Certain Categories of Social Life in the Borough of Elizabeth, New Jersey, 1740-1855," in New York University, School of Education, *Abstracts of Theses, 1949-1950* (1951), 125-132, with references. Religion displayed a growth of humanitarian interest and deep influence upon ethics, while education moved away from private toward public schools and increased attention to the poor.

Social development in Dutch Bergen County from 1630 to modern times is related in Dorothy Colman Mott, *Boys and Girls of New Jersey Now and Long Ago* (Tenafly, 1936), with a good bibliography and a list of maps, and notes on persons who promoted public welfare, artists, the Indians, and a wampum factory. An unusual way of approaching the topic is Anna Gausmann Noyes, *Three Petticoats . . .* (Leonia, 1955), an illustrated dialogue in irregular verse, relating anecdotes and picturing old-time life in the Leonia region. Types of community in the northern countries are contrasted in Roscoe W. De Baun, *Country Life in Fairfield, New Jersey, from 1887 to 1909* (Caldwell, 1957), and New Jersey Zinc Company, "Community Life in an Industrial Village," by F. Hughes, in *American City* (Town and County ed.), XII, no. 5 (May, 1915), 395-399.

Recreation in about every imaginable variety before

1860 is entertainingly chronicled by Harry Bischoff Weiss and Grace M. Weiss, *Early Sports and Pastimes in New Jersey* (Trenton, 1960), with bibliography, and illustrations from broadsides, advertisements, and old prints. Family and children's amusements are omitted. Amusements grew with the decline of religious taboos, and with better transportation, more leisure, and higher income. New Jersey's early fame as a spa state is pleasantly and amusingly recalled by Harry Bischoff Weiss and Howard R. Kemble, in *They Took to the Waters, The Forgotten Mineral Spring Resorts of New Jersey and Nearby Pennsylvania and Delaware* (Trenton, 1962), with bibliography, pointing to the importance of "resort therapy" to social economy in the age of the mammoth summer hotel and the fashion parade. An attractive picture of Atlantic City is an essay by Harold F. Wilson, "Queen of Resorts, Atlantic City," in *American Heritage*, V, no. 4 (Summer, 1954), A 4-9, a general illustrated history from the founding in 1854. Modern vacation and holiday spots are briefly reviewed, from the economic angles, by Charles R. Erdman, Jr., "Recreation in Our Mountains and Lakeland Regions," in *New Jersey Municipalities* (May, 1952), 13-14.

Glimpses of pleasure resorts of long ago are in George R. Prowell, *History of Camden County . . .* (Philadelphia, 1886), with references to resorts at Gloucester, fox hunting, and racing. W. H. Schmidt, Jr., "Colossus of Weehawken," in *Railroad Magazine*, LX, no. 3 (Aug., 1951), 94-99, includes the Palisades Amusement & Exhibition Company. Notes on the circus also are included in Oral Sumner Coad, "The First Century of the New Brunswick Stage," *Journal of the Rutgers University Library*, V, no. 1 (Dec., 1941), 15-36; no. 2 (June, 1942), 78-89; VI, no. 2 (June, 1943), 52-57, up to the year 1873.

Old-time society did not lack its determined bands of reformers, especially the advocates of communal living. New Jersey had its share of utopian societies, such as the North American Phalanx, near Red Bank. It is briefly described in Lee's *New Jersey as a Colony and as a State*,

III, chap. 19, "A Phalanx, and Why It Failed." Other accounts are Charles Sears, *The North American Phalanx* (1886); Harold F. Wilson, "The North American Phalanx, An Experiment in Communal Living," in *Proceedings*, LXX, no. 3 (July, 1952), 188-209, with references; and Norma Lippincott Swan, "The North American Phalanx," in *Monmouth County Historical Association Bulletin*, I, no. 1 (May, 1935), 35-65. These trace the history (1843-1856) of the mildly socialist community founded upon the theories of Charles Fourier, which failed from lack of business sense, a disastrous fire, and disapproval of its alleged "anti-religious" bias. In 1853 religious dissidents founded a similar community near Perth Amboy. The story of this one, disbanded about 1861, is told by Maude H. Greene, "Raritan Bay Union, Eagleswood, N. J.," in *Proceedings*, LXVIII, no. 1 (Jan., 1950), 1-20. The community was famous for its academy. These experiments expressed an interest that swept over the country between 1840 and 1860, and attracted to the State many eminent social thinkers, such as Horace Greeley, Albert Brisbane, Charles F. Dana, Theodore Dwight Weld, James G. Birney, and William Henry Channing. A social and educational experiment that was decidedly anti-religious and socialistic was the "Modern School," (See *The Modern School*, no. 5, Autumn, 1913.) Founded in New York City by a mainly Jewish group, it moved to a farm in North Stelton in 1915, and lasted until the early 1950's. Its history is detailed in Modern School Association, *Modern School of Stelton: Twenty-fifth Anniversary, 1915-1940* (Stelton, N. J.[1940]).

Folklore in New Jersey has yet to find a thorough historian. No really adequate bibliography is available, says Charles Haywood in his *Bibliography of North American Folklore and Folksongs* (New York, 1951), with about sixty entries relating to New Jersey, including books, magazine articles and theses on folk tales, songs, legends, proverbs, games, and Lenape Indian material. Allusions to North Jersey are found in Raven I. McDavid, Jr., "The Folk Vocabulary of New York State," in

New York Folklore Quarterly, VII, no. 3 (Autumn, 1951), 173-192, with references to Dutch influence and old English words. Twelve stories from New Jersey, gathered by travel and interviews, and relating partly to historic persons, are in Moritz Adolf Jagendorf, *Upstate, Downstate: Folk Stories of the Middle Atlantic States* (New York, 1949), illustrated. Yet more have been gathered by the indefatigable seeker-out of Jersey homespun history, Henry Charlton Beck, in *The Roads of Home; Lanes and Legends of New Jersey*, foreword by Carl Carmer (New Brunswick, 1956), with bibliography—information obtained in personal interviews and related in the same informal, chatty manner.

Jerseymen apparently never took charges of witchcraft with the tragic seriousness that brought burnings and hangings elsewhere. So thinks Joseph Fulford Folsom in "Witches in New Jersey," *Proceedings*, new series, VII, no. 4 (Oct., 1922), 293-305. This "unorganized medley of sketches" (the author's words) was derived from conversations with older persons whose families had preserved the stories. It includes amusing tales about warding off or detecting the devilries of witches, witch doctors, and wizards, and is not a profound study.

VII

RELIGION

The bibliography and history of religion in New Jersey are complicated, because the early history of the State has been even more varied religiously than ethnically. East and West Jersey became refuges for denominations and sects that were not tolerated elsewhere, because the Proprietors in their "Concessions" promised religious liberty. Baptists and Quakers, for example, migrated to New Jersey when persecuted in New England. Early observers, like Colonel Lewis Morris in 1700, were impressed by the religious diversity of the State and the number of inhabitants who apparently professed no particular faith. While early laws forbade profanation of Sunday or disturbing public worship, there never was any legally established church. New Jersey did not suffer from the bitter conflicts that marked the disestablishment of the Episcopal Church in Virginia, and of the Congregational Church in New England. Denominations were by no means always mutually loving, but men were not arrested and jailed for refusal to pay a tax to an established church.

The difficulty of writing New Jersey religious bibliography or history is aggravated by the diffusion of the records. For long periods after their establishment in the State, churches of some denominations belonged to organizations with headquarters outside New Jersey. The records of the early Lutheran churches, for example, are found in those of the Ministeriums of Pennsylvania and New York. Records of the early Baptist congregations are

in those of the Philadelphia Baptist Association. Some denominations have little or no special writing on their churches in New Jersey, outside the major histories.

A. GENERAL HISTORIES

Many references to New Jersey may be located in *A Critical Bibliography of Religion in America*, by Nelson R. Burr, Volume IV in 2 pts of James Ward Smith and A. Leland Jamison (eds.), *Religion in American Life* (Princeton, 1961). Volume IV, Parts One and Two, contains bibliographical guides, general surveys and histories, and bibliographies and histories of particular denominations and sects. These works are far too numerous to be included in this bibliography. Accounts of the settlement and development of denominations are found in Philip Schaff (ed.), *American Church History Series, Consisting of a Series of Denominational Histories* (13 vols.; New York, 1893-1897). Each history has a bibliography, and Volume XII has a general bibliography.

A large amount of factual matter on New Jersey is contained in ecclesiastical compendiums of the United States, in *Critical Bibliography of Religion in America*, listed above, Part One, Section Four, "Miscellaneous Guides." A typical example is Israel Daniel Rupp (ed.), *An Original History of the Religious Denominations at Present Existing in the United States . . .* (Philadelphia, 1844). There are many others. Another most valuable factual source is the successive religious censuses of the nation, listed in *Critical Bibliography*, Part One, Section Four, E. The first, typical one of the series is Henry King Carroll, *The Religious Forces of the United States, Enumerated, Classified, and Described on the Basis of the Government Census of 1890 . . .* (New York, 1893).

There are several collections of general religious source material that should always be consulted. For the colonial period an indispensable one is New York State Historian, Hugh Hastings (ed.), *Ecclesiastical Records, State of New York* (7 vols.; Albany, 1901-1916). The documents, ar-

ranged chronologically, have abundant material on New Jersey denominations, especially the Dutch Reformed Church. The library of The New Jersey Historical Society has manuscript collections on religion in the state. These are listed in the Society's *Guide to the Manuscript Collections . . .*, compiled by Fred Shelley (Newark, 1957), and include abstracts of records, minute books of local churches and societies, historical sketches, sermons and addresses, biographical and autobiographical material, sermons, and sermon notebooks. Local archives are listed in William Nelson (comp.), *Church Records in New Jersey, Notices of the Character, Extent, and Condition of the Original Records of About One Hundred and Fifty of the Older Churches and Friends' Meetings; with Other Data* (Paterson, 1904), reprinted from the *Journal* of the Presbyterian Historical Society (Mar., June, 1904).

The general growth of religion is revealed in Edwin Scott Gaustad's *Historical Atlas of Religion in America* (New York, 1962), with tables, and maps showing the strength of denominations and locations of their churches at various periods. Present-day religious statistics are given in *The New Jersey Almanac, 1964-1965, Commemorating 300 Years of New Jersey History, 1664-1964 . . .* (Upper Montclair, 1963). "Religion in New Jersey," on 647-658, has a general history, statistics of membership, and a directory of organizations. There are useful lists of parishes in Historical Records Survey, New Jersey, *Directory of Churches in New Jersey* (22 vols.; Newark, 1940-1941), Volume XXII being the "State Directory of Religious Organizations and Institutions."

There is no single-volume history of religion in New Jersey, but accounts are in the general state histories: Lee's *New Jersey as a Colony and as a State*, I, chap. 20, "Religious Life of the Day"; and III, chap. 20, "The Pulpit and the Press;" Kull's *New Jersey, A History*, I, chap. 13, "Religion in Colonial New Jersey;" II, chap. 22, "The Churches During the Revolution and National Periods," with a bibliography; William Starr Myers (ed.), *The Story of New Jersey*, II, chap. 4, "The History of

the Churches in New Jersey," with a bibliography and statistics, pictures of churches and meetinghouses, and a list of churches founded between 1641 and 1740.

An exhaustive list of colonial churches is in Frederick Lewis Weis, *The Colonial Churches and the Colonial Clergy of the Middle and Southern Colonies, 1607-1776* (Lancaster, Mass., 1938), with a bibliography of denominational histories, statistical tables of churches and clergy, and a list arranged alphabetically by location, with dates of founding, and dates of service of the clergy. The state of religion near the close of the proprietary period is described, rather unfavorably, by Colonel Lewis Morris: "The Memorial of Col. Morris Concerning the State of Religion in the Jerseys," in *Proceedings*, 1st series, IV, no. 3 (1849), 118-121, with notes on the towns. One must make allowances for his prejudice against non-Anglicans. A general survey of the period is in Nelson R. Burr, "The Religious History of New Jersey Before 1702," in *Proceedings*, LVI, nos. 3, 4 (July, Oct., 1938), 169-190, 243-266, emphasizing the religious diversity, with a map locating churches and Friends' meetings.

The most significant event in New Jersey's colonial religious life was the "Great Awakening" of 1720-1740. It swept over the Raritan Valley and became an interdenominational and intercolonial movement. It emphasized inward and spiritual religion, personal conversion, and pure moral conduct, rather than outward observance and social conformity. Its methods and spirit have become a permanent heritage of American Protestantism—in a sense, New Jersey's greatest contribution to American spiritual religion.

A selection of literature on the movement is in *A Critical Bibliography of Religion in America*, IV, Part Two, "The New Jersey Revivals." These books and articles relate to the movement's origins in the Raritan Valley, especially among the Reformed Dutch and Presbyterian congregations, through the influence of the Reverend Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen and his friends, the Presbyterian Tennent family of evangelistic ministers.

The German Pietist wellspring of revivalism is explained by Felix James Schrag, *Pietism in Colonial America* (Chicago, 1948), with bibliography, a University of Chicago thesis. Frelinghuysen is seen as the instigator of a new stress upon the religion of personal conversion, the introducer of revival methods, and the inspirer of the Tennents. His debt to Pietist insistence upon experimental and emotional religion, and moral reformation, is clearly expounded in a biography by a descendant, Peter H. B. Freylinghuysen. *Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen* (Princeton, 1938). Central in this judicious tribute is the challenge to religious formalism and apathy. That becomes obvious in Frelinghuysen's *Sermons, Translated from the Dutch, and Prefaced by a Sketch of the Author's Life*, by William Demarest . . . (New York, 1856). The violent opposition aroused by his attack upon formalism was expressed by *Klagte van Eenige Leeden der Nederduytsche Hervormde Kerk* (New York, 1725), a complaint against Frelinghuysen and his followers, crammed with the accusations of those who considered his conduct autocratic, censorious, and subversive of order.

The conflict between revivalist "New Lights" and conservative "Old Lights" dragged on for years, with the former steadily gaining ground. The story is related by James J. Bergen, "The 'Rebellion' at Raritan in 1723," in *Somerset County Historical Quarterly*, III, nos. 3, 4 (July, Oct., 1914), 173-184, 241-249, a history of the conservative secession from the Raritan Dutch congregation. The bitter and often personal dispute is reviewed also by William Stockton Cranmer, "The Famous Frelinghuysen Controversy," *Somerset County Historical Quarterly*, V, no. 2 (Apr., 1916), 81-89. The Tennent alliance with Frelinghuysen looms large in Frederick W. Brink, "Gilbert Tennent, Dynamic Preacher," *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, XXXII, no. 2 (June, 1954), 91-107, with references. This comprehends his evangelistic ministry in New Brunswick and Philadelphia, his major part in the Presbyterian schism of 1738, and his labor for education, philanthropy and

Christian unity. William Tennent's part in the Awakening, and in founding the evangelistic Presbytery of New Brunswick, is the principal theme of William Thomas Hanzsche, "New Jersey Moulders of the Presbyterian Church," *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, XXIV, no. 2 (June, 1946), 71-82.

Books and essays with references to New Jersey's leadership in the Awakening are legion. A few examples only can be cited. The earliest, really comprehensive history is Joseph Tracy's *The Great Awakening, A History of the Revival of Religion in the Time of Edwards and Whitefield* (Boston and New York, 1842). George Whitefield's life and American influence have inspired several biographies with differing interpretations. Several are cited in *Critical Bibliography of Religion in America*, IV, Part Two, "Revivalism and Its Continuing Influence," no. 5, "Whitefield, the 'Wayfaring Witness'." The earliest complete one, Luke Tyerman's *The Life of the Rev. George Whitefield . . .* (2 vols.; London, 1876-1877), includes all his American tours, which repeatedly took him through New Jersey, and his preparation of the way for American Methodist itinerants. New Jersey is mentioned also in Joseph Belcher, *George Whitefield; A Biography, with Special Reference to his Labors in America* (New York, 1857). Influence on American Methodism, which won vast numbers of Jerseymen, appears in Edwin Noah Hardy's *George Whitefield, the Matchless Soul Winner* (New York, 1938). Stuart Clark Henry, *George Whitefield, Wayfaring Witness* (New York and Nashville, 1957) is the best modern critical study, correcting favorable or unfavorable over-emphasis of earlier biographies, and it has a good selected bibliography.

Two accounts of the Awakening have more references to New Jersey than the general considerations. Thomas Stacy Capers, "The Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies," in *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, VIII, no. 7 (Sept., 1916), 296-315, with references, indicates the vital Tennent influence and the decidedly Presbyterian character of the revivals, and mentions local

ones in New Jersey. A good, detailed general account is by Charles Hartshorn Maxson, *The Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies* (Chicago, 1920), with a large bibliography. But its statements about the decline of the Anglican Church, which generally disapproved evangelism, should be received cautiously. Anglicanism grew considerably after 1740, because of unfavorable critical reactions to revivalism.

B. DENOMINATIONS

There are no separate histories of some denominations in New Jersey. For a comprehensive listing of denominational histories, including references to churches in the State, see the *Critical Bibliography of Religion in America*, cited above, Volume IV, Part Two, "Evolution of American Religion," particularly the sections on denominations, sects, and cults. One should consult also the yearbooks and published official minutes of denominational governing bodies and organizations, for proceedings, statistics, etc.

The Dutch Reformed Church, the first organized religious body, possesses abundant historical sources. Its official proceedings are contained in *Acts and Proceedings of the General Synod of the Reformed (Protestant Dutch) Church in (North) America, 1771—*; *Minutes of the Particular Synod of New York, 1865—*; and *Minutes of the Particular Synod of New Brunswick, 1869—*. The rise of this church's American independence, promoted by the long dispute over revivalism, is pointed out in the historical sketch in Charles E. Corwin, *A Manual of the Reformed Church in America . . . , 1628-1922* (5th ed., rev.; New York, 1922). One of the best succinct histories, for readers of Dutch, is the Reverend N. H. Dosker, *De Hollandsche Gereformeerde Kerk in Amerika* (Nijmegen, 1888), which gives praise to the church in New Jersey, particularly the work of John Henry Livingston in organization and promotion, and to Rutgers College and the seminary in New Brunswick. An even briefer summary

is H. J. Westerling, "De Nederduitsch Gereformeerde Kerk In De Provincien New York En New Jersey Onder Het Engelsche Bewind," in *Nederlandsch Archief*, V, Kerkgeschiedenis, 16, 203-219. New Jersey is prominent in two standard histories: David D. Demarest, *The Reformed Church in America . . .* (4th ed., rev. and enl.; New York, 1889); and Edward T. Corwin, *A History of the Reformed Church, Dutch* (New York, 1895).

The best general treatment of the New Jersey congregations is a collection of essays in *Reformed Church in America, Tercentenary Studies, 1928, A Record of Beginnings* (The Church, 1928), comprising the Hackensack, Passaic, and Raritan valleys, Monmouth County, notes on individual churches, and the institutions in New Brunswick. Origins are traced in Frederick J. Zwierlein, *Religion in New Netherland . . . 1623-1664* (Rochester, N. Y., 1910), referring to the founding of the first church, in Bergen. In the Revolution, some of the Dutch were Loyalists but many, especially in the Raritan Valley, were ardent Patriots. J. A. Todd, *Reformed (Dutch) Church in America: the Posture of Its Ministers and People During the Revolution* mentions several ministers who aided the Patriot cause, and the injury to them and their flocks by British troops, because of their stand, inspired by their traditional national love of liberty. Abraham Messler's *First Things in Old Somerset . . .* (Somerville, 1899) mentions patriotic sermons against the British, and the people's friendship for Washington during the hard winter of 1778-1779.

History of local congregations is easily available in accounts of regional associations. Benjamin C. Taylor, *Annals of the Classis of Bergen, of the Reformed Dutch Church, and of the Churches Under Its Care . . .* (New York, 1857) includes also the nearby Classis of Hackensack, with pictures of ministers and churches. A similar volume, and an excellent example of local church history writing, is *Reformed Church in America, Classes, Paramus, A History of the Classis of Paramus of the Reformed Church in America . . .* (New York, 1902), with

many portraits, and pictures of churches and parsonages. The Newark region is well covered in Reformed Church in America, Classis of Newark, *Manual of Rules of Order, Together with a Brief History of the Churches* (Newark, 1928), with brief historical notes on churches and pastors. Practically the whole history of the Raritan Valley congregations is told by Joseph S. Frelinghuysen, "The Reformed Dutch Churches of the City of New Brunswick, N. J.," in *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, XIV, no. 6 (June, 1931), 267-280, with special attention to the Awakening and to the ministerial Frelinghuysen and Hardenbergh families. All the Raritan Valley congregations are covered in Abraham Messler, *Forty Years at Raritan, Eight Memorial Sermons* (New York, 1873). The church's first school for the ministry is recorded in *Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church in America, Centennial, 1784-1884* (New York, 1885). New Jersey was the center of an ultra-orthodox schism in the 1820's caused by a feeling that the church was forsaking its Calvinistic standards. Its leader is appreciated in William C. Kiessel, Jr., "Dr. Solomon Froeligh," in *Proceedings*, LXXIII, no. 1 (Jan., 1955), 28-40, with references. This notable dominion of Bergen County (1750-1827) was active in religious and educational affairs, and in 1822 founded the "True Dutch Reformed Church," which became extinct in the 1890's. There is considerable New Jersey content in Jacob Brinkerhoff, *The History of the True Reformed Dutch Church of the U. S. of A.* (New York, 1873).

Immigration of Germans in the early eighteenth century planted in central and northwestern New Jersey another Reformed church—the German. For many years the congregations were members of the strong organization in Pennsylvania. Their records and history are comprised in *Minutes and Letters of the Coetus of the German Reformed Congregations in Pennsylvania, 1747-1792 . . .* (Philadelphia, 1903), including many references to churches, pastors and schools in New Jersey, and statistics.

The Congregational Church from New England was

the second organized denomination. The causes of the migration and a general account of Congregational origins are given by W. B. Brown, "The Early History of Congregationalism in New Jersey and the Middle Provinces," in *Congregational Quarterly*, XIX, no. 4 (Oct., 1877), 531-539. He reviews also the reasons for the shift of the early congregations to Presbyterianism. The theocratic character of the chief settlement is stated by T. Aird Moffat, "Newark Settled by a Congregational Church," in *Proceedings*, 3rd series, X, no. 1 (Jan., 1915), 13-24; also by W. S. Nichols, "Early Newark as a Puritan Theocracy in Colonial New Jersey," *Proceedings*, V, no. 4 (Oct., 1920), 200-224. "For more than fifty years the government of the town was essentially a government by and for its church." The virtual identification of church and state is carefully explained in Joseph Atkinson's *The History of Newark, New Jersey . . .* (Newark, 1878). Displeased by the departure of Connecticut from strict theocratic principles, the settlers from New Haven Colony vested political authority in church members only, and levied taxes to support the church and clergy.

While the original churches of Newark, Elizabeth, and Woodbridge became Presbyterian, some colonial Congregationalists declined to follow and maintained their independence—like the church at Chester in Morris County. Its history is related by Frank A. Johnson, "Chester Congregational Church," in Theodore Frelinghuysen Chambers, *Early Germans of New Jersey . . .* (Dover, 1895), 206-213. This church is considered the pioneer of revived Congregationalism in Historical Records Survey, New Jersey, *Inventory of the Church Archives of New Jersey, Congregational Christian Churches* (Newark, 1941), with a bibliography. This relates the rise of Congregationalism in the nineteenth century, and includes historical sketches and inventories of the records of churches affiliated with the New Jersey general association.

The Presbyterian Church originated in the Scottish settlement of Monmouth County after 1683, and in the

accession of the New England Congregational churches. The largely New England Puritan origin is stressed by Clifford M. Drury, "Presbyterian Beginnings in New England and the Middle Colonies," in *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, XXXIV, no. 1 (Mar., 1956), 19-35, with references; but Bound Brook and Old Tennent (Freehold) were Scottish. The diverse character of early New Jersey Presbyterianism appears in Charles Augustus Briggs, *American Presbyterianism, Its Origin and Early History . . .* (New York, 1885), and Leonard John Trinterud, *The Forming of an American Tradition, a Re-examination of Colonial Presbyterianism* (Philadelphia, 1949), with bibliography. The latter emphasizes the point that the Church was not exclusively Scottish, but rather a mingling of various national elements.

Numerous references to early churches in New Jersey are in *Records of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America . . . 1706-1788*, etc. (Philadelphia, 1904), containing records of the first Presbytery of Philadelphia and of the early synods to 1788. A historical sketch of Presbyterianism is given in Historical Records Survey, New Jersey, *Inventory of the Church Archives of New Jersey, Presbyterians, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., United Presbyterian Church of North America* (Newark, 1940), with histories of the churches, and inventories of their records and those of institutions and organizations, with a bibliography. Some accounts of local churches are in George Macloskie (ed.), *Presbyterian Churches in New Jersey*, I (Toms Rivers, 1880).

The national influence of New Jersey Presbyterianism sprang largely from the evangelistic Presbytery of New Brunswick. This appears clearly in George H. Ingram, "History of the Presbytery of New Brunswick," in *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, IV, no. 6 (Sept., 1919) and *passim*, which ascribes to this presbytery the dawn of a new zeal in the church, and continues the story to the union of the Synods of New York and Philadelphia in 1758. The same author's "The Presbytery of New Brunswick in the Struggle for American Inde-

pendence," *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, IX, no. 2 (June, 1917), 49-64, with references, pays tribute to the aid and sympathy given to Washington in the darkest time of the Revolution by Presbyterian clergymen and laymen of the region. The point is pressed further in Varnum Lansing Collins, *President Witherspoon, A Biography* (2 vols.; Princeton, 1925), noting the part of this New Jersey Presbyterian minister in encouraging the cause of American independence.

New Jersey Presbyterianism also was in the storm center of later decisive conflicts in the Church. E. H. Gillett's *History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (Philadelphia, 1864), in discussing the Old School-New School schism of 1837, points to the leadership of the liberal Albert Barnes, pastor of the Church in Morristown, and of conservative Dr. Ashbel Green, president of the board of directors of the Princeton Theological Seminary. S. J. Baird's *History of the New School* (Philadelphia, 1868) presents the Old School position, reviewing the clash of parties. The *Presbyterian Re-Union Memorial Volume*, chap. 5, "The Reunion," states that the movement for healing the schism gathered strength in New Jersey, when the Old School General Assembly met at Newark in 1864 and a spontaneous meeting promoted the proposal for reunion. New Jersey became a battleground also in the controversy over the new, liberal Biblical criticism, and Princeton Seminary was the seat of orthodoxy. The point is emphasized by R. H. Nichols, "Charles Hodge," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, IX, 98, indicating Doctor Hodge as the champion of orthodoxy. That Princeton Seminary led the conservative forces in the Fundamentalist controversy of the 1920's is stated in Lefferts A. Loetscher, *The Broadening Church; A Study of Theological Issues in the Presbyterian Church Since 1869* (Philadelphia, 1954), with references. The conflict was between the Biblical-inerrancy position of Hodge's followers and the liberal views of Charles A. Briggs and the Union Seminary in New York.

The Moravian Church was one source of the Pietism that so stirred the Reformed, Congregationalists, and Presbyterians in the Awakening. The long history of persecution and evangelism in Europe and the influence in America are related in J. Taylor Hamilton, *A History of the Church Known as the Moravian Church*, etc. (Bethlehem, Pa., 1900). From the center at Bethlehem, that influence penetrated New Jersey and established generally short-lived missions. The most important one, at Hope in Sussex County, is chronicled in "A Forgotten Moravian Settlement in New Jersey," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXXVII, no. 2 (Apr., 1913), 248-252. It had buildings, industries, a girls' school, and at one time about one hundred and fifty adherents, but it did not prosper and was abandoned. Other accounts of it are: *The Moravian Contribution to the Town of Hope, New Jersey* (Hope Historical Society, 1955); Charles F. Kluge, "Sketch of the Settlement of Hope, New Jersey," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, I (1858-1876), 51-56; and Henry Race, "Greenland in New Jersey, a Historical Sketch of the Moravian Settlement in Sussex County, 1768-1808," in *Proceedings*, 2d series, XI, no. 4 (1891), 195-205.

The Baptists also profited from the Awakening, and swiftly became one of the State's larger denominations. Attracted by the toleration offered under the Proprietors, they swarmed to New Jersey from Great Britain, Ireland, and other colonies, and attached themselves chiefly to the Philadelphia Association. Their early history is recorded in A. D. Gillette, (ed.), *Minutes of the Philadelphia Baptist Association, from A.D. 1707 to A.D. 1807* . . . (Philadelphia, 1851), with many references to New Jersey churches. The New Jersey Baptist State Convention was organized in 1830, and its published *Minutes* (1830-) contain reports from churches, statistics, and records of the New Jersey Baptist Education Society. The great source of information is Historical Records Survey, New Jersey, *Inventory of the Church Archives of New Jersey, Baptist Bodies* (Newark, 1938), with a general

review of Baptist history, a bibliography, maps locating churches and associations from 1668 on, and historical sketches and inventories of records of the Convention, associations, and churches, including Negro organizations. The Baptists, in fact, have more complete records than most other denominations. The important published sources are: John Asplund, *Annual Register of the Baptist Denomination in North America; to the First of November, 1790 . . .* (n.p., 1792), with accounts of churches and ministers and statistics of membership; Henry Clay Vedder, *A History of the Baptists in the Middle States* (Philadelphia, 1898), with considerable material on New Jersey; Morgan Edwards, *History of American Baptists: Volume II, Materials Towards a History of the Baptists in New Jersey* (Philadelphia, 1792), practically source material, the most complete history of the pre-Revolutionary period. His details were incorporated into Thomas Sharp Griffiths, *A History of [the] Baptists in New Jersey* (Hightstown, 1904), based largely upon writings of previous historians and upon personal contacts, and including missions to immigrants, education, Negro churches, and Seventh Day Baptists. The latter group's early history is related in close detail in *Seventh Day Baptists, General Conference, Seventh Day Baptists in Europe and America . . .* (Plainfield n.d.), a collection of historical papers for the centennial of the General Conference, 1902, including New Jersey congregations and the Rogerene sect.

The Anglican Church, unlike its mother church in England, found itself in the unfamiliar and embarrassing position of an unprivileged group. The legal establishment in England had no counterpart in New Jersey, and it was compelled to become a missionary church, supported largely by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The basic records are in Historical Records Survey, New Jersey, *Inventory of the Church Archives of New Jersey, Protestant Episcopal, Diocese of Newark . . .* (Newark, 1940), with a large amount of bibliography, including parish histories, a

brief sketch of the church in New Jersey, and detailed listing of diocesan, institutional and parish archives. The other indispensable source is *Journals of the Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the State of New Jersey, 1785—*, with variant titles. These records exist for both the present dioceses. The *Journals, 1785-1815*, have been reprinted in one volume.

The most complete history is Nelson R. Burr, *The Anglican Church in New Jersey* (Philadelphia, 1954), with an extensive bibliography, a list of published works of the colonial clergy, biographies of the same, and brief histories of colonial parishes. Concentrating upon the colonial period, with a brief account of events since the Revolution, this depicts religious life and customs, the relations of Anglicans to other groups, and the Revolutionary upheaval. The earliest detailed story of Anglican origins is in David Humphreys, *An Historical Account of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, etc. (London, 1730). The virtual founder of New Jersey Anglicanism is appreciated in Ethyn Williams Kirby, *George Keith, 1638-1716* (New York and London, 1942), minutely detailed; and in Charles Smith Lewis, "George Keith, the Missionary," *Proceedings*, new series, XIII, no. 1 (Jan., 1928), 38-45, on his missionary travels in New Jersey from 1702 to 1704. His own day-by-day narrative is in "The Journal of the Reverend George Keith, 1702-1704," edited by Edgar Legare Pennington, in *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XX, no. 4 (Dec., 1951), 343-487, a facsimile reprint of the London edition of 1706. The complete life of the first settled Anglican pastor in New Jersey, rector of St. Mary's Church in Burlington, is Edgar Legare Pennington's *Apostle of New Jersey, John Talbot, 1645-1727* (Philadelphia, 1938), with his letters and a full biography.

The causes of the evolution of New Jersey Anglicanism into an independent, voluntary, and republican episcopal church are suggested by Gordon B. Turner, "Church-State Relationships in Early New Jersey," in *Proceedings*,

LXIX, no. 3 (July, 1951), 212-223, on the Church's status from 1705 to 1715, relating the failure of political churchmen to secure establishment, and pointing out the real devotion of their opponents to the modern idea of separation of church and state. The question became involved in the long and acrimonious controversy about the proposed establishment of an American diocese. In this the New Jersey clergy were leaders and suffered a defeat, which in the long run was fortunate. An enlightening treatment of the issue is Jordan D. Fiore's "Jonathan Swift and the American Episcopate," in *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d series, XI, no. 3 (July, 1954), 425-433, with references. This discusses the plan of Governor Robert Hunter to make Dean Swift bishop of New York and New Jersey, with his residence at Burlington. New Jersey's vital part in the later controversy has been definitively related in Arthur Lyon Cross, *The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies* (New York, 1902), with emphasis upon the bitter debate between the Reverend Thomas B. Chandler, rector of St. John's Church in Elizabeth, and the Reverend Charles Chauncy, a Congregational minister of Boston. Failure of the plan meant that New Jersey became a powerful influence, after the Revolution, in the establishment of a new type of church—episcopal and republican.

Methodism made its first converts in New Jersey while its parent, the Anglican Church, was struggling to secure a bishop and to exist in a rather unfriendly environment. Its swift and immense growth into the largest Protestant denomination in the state is told in certain basic sources. First comes *Minutes of the Methodist Conferences, Annually Held in America; from 1773 to 1813, Inclusive*, I (New York, 1813), containing annual reports from the circuits, statistics, and observations on progress. Later development appears in the statistics of churches, and data on missions and education, in the published *Minutes of the New Jersey Annual Conference, 1848—*, and *Minutes of the Newark Annual Conference, 1859—*. An essential source for the earliest period is Francis Asbury,

The Journal of the Rev. Francis Asbury, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1771-1815 (New York, 1821), with innumerable references to his wide-ranging travels and preaching. The earliest organized congregation is believed to be the one in Trenton. Its history is told in Howell Quigley, *The First Methodist Episcopal Church of New Jersey, Sesquicentennial 1772-1922* (Trenton, 1922), illustrated. The present great strength of the Church in the western and southern counties is explained by the missionary labors narrated in G. A. Raybold, *Reminiscences of Methodism in West Jersey* (New York, 1849).

Methodist historians have presented a more complete picture of their church than exists for most denominations. Mostly biographical, but with a large amount of general history, is Methodist Episcopal Church, Conferences, New Jersey, Newark, *The New Jersey Conference Memorial . . .* (Philadelphia, 1865), based upon published minutes, periodical literature, letters, and personal inquiries. One could hardly expect more than is given in two full memorial histories: Methodist Church (United States) Conferences, New Jersey, *The Methodist Trail in New Jersey; One Hundred and Twenty-Five Years of Methodism in the New Jersey Annual Conference, 1836-1961* (n.p., 1961); and Methodist Church (United States) Conferences, Newark, Historical Society, *Newark Conference Centennial History, 1857-1957 . . .* (Newark, 1957). Well illustrated, these comprise all aspects of church history and activity in great detail, and the second gives special attention to missions among immigrants. The intellectual center of New Jersey Methodism is thoroughly described in Ezra Squier Tipple (ed.), *Drew Theological Seminary 1867-1917 . . .* (New York, 1917), and Drew University, Madison, *The Teachers of Drew, 1867-1942 . . .*, edited by James Richard Joy (Madison, 1942). Although heavily biographical, these include much general history and observations on the curriculum.

References are found in the above histories to the

union of the major Methodist groups in 1939. One of them, which gained some strength in the State, originated in dissatisfaction with "autocratic" episcopal control. Its early history is related fully in Ancel H. Bassett, *A Concise History of the Methodist Protestant Church* . . . (Pittsburgh, 1877), with references to effects of the schism of 1828 in New Jersey, biographies, and attention to three national leaders who came originally from New Jersey. Data on this church, a few years before the reunion, are in Thomas Hamilton Lewis, *Handbook of the Methodist Protestant Church* . . . (Baltimore, 1925), with an historical essay.

The Lutheran Church was the original source of the Pietism that deeply influenced New Jersey Protestantism from the time of the Great Awakening. The patriarch of colonial Lutheranism, who carefully tended the early New Jersey congregations, was the Reverend Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, who was influenced by Pietism and corresponded with Pietist leaders in Germany. He founded the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, whose reports and minutes often refer to the early New Jersey churches. The reports are contained in William Julius Mann (ed.), *Nachrichten von den Vereinigten Deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gemeinden in Nord-America*, etc. (2 vols.; Allentown, Philadelphia, 1881; 2nd ed., 1886; also 1895), sent to the University of Halle, on the condition of congregations in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and other colonies. The English edition is *Reports of the United German Evangelical Lutheran Congregations in North America* . . . Volume I (Reading, Pa. [c. 1882], with a preface by Dr. John Ludwig Schulze. Congregational reports, including references to schools, are gathered in *Documentary History of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States, Proceedings of the Annual Convention from 1748 to 1821* . . . (Philadelphia, 1898). Many accounts of Muhlenberg's pastoral visits to the New Jersey Lutherans, from Hackensack south to Cohansey, are in his *Journals* (3 vols.; Philadelphia, 1942-1958). These visits established the churches

firmly enough to survive the Revolution and provide the foundation for growth in the great German immigration later.

A detailed, scholarly narrative of origins of New Jersey Lutheranism is Harry Julius Kreider's *Lutheranism in Colonial New York* (New York, 1942), with a bibliographical essay, statistics of the colonial churches, a general history to the early nineteenth century, and attention to the labor of early pastors, beginning with Justus and Daniel Falckner. The pioneer missions appear in Kreider's "Justus Falckner" (1672-1723), *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly*, XXVII, no. 2 (July, 1954), 86-94. His ministry and that of other pastors in the northeast is related in David D. Demarest, "The Lutherans on the Hackensack," *Bergen County Historical Society Papers*, XI, (1915), 92-108. The congregations were both German and Dutch. The stronghold of colonial Lutheranism was in the upper Raritan Valley and the northwestern hill country. A brief account is A. Van Doren Honeyman, "The Lutheran Church of 'Raritan in the Hills'," in *Somerset County Historical Quarterly*, II, nos. 2, 3 (Apr., July, 1913), 87-98, 161-172. An exhaustive history of Raritan and nearby parishes is in John C. Honeyman, "Zion, St. Paul and Other Early Lutheran Churches in Central New Jersey," in *Proceedings*, beginning with new series, IX, no. 3 (July, 1924) and continuing to XVI, no. 4 (Oct., 1931).

In the early national period the New Jersey churches suffered from the general problems of American Lutheranism, particularly the conflict over the language used in the services, and the division between the liberal New York group and the conservative Philadelphians. These difficulties are explained in Abdel Ross Wentz, *A Basic History of Lutheranism in America* (Philadelphia, 1955). In spite of them, Lutheranism made great strides, with the German influx after 1845 which made the churches more conservative. The story is carried through the nineteenth century by Alfred Hiller, "History of the Lutheran Church in New Jersey, from the Earliest Settlement of

the State to the Year 1893," in *Lutheran Quarterly*, new series, XXVIII, nos. 1, 2 (Jan.-Apr., 1898), 98-130, 165-196, with historical notes on churches. Later growth is seen in J. Nicum, *Geschichte des Evangelisch-Lutherischen Ministeriums vom Staate New York . . .* (The Ministerium, 1888), which includes many New Jersey congregations; and in Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and the Adjacent States, Board of Home Missions, *Home Missions in the Mother Synod, Golden Jubilee Volume* (n.p., 1946), with a bibliography, and historical sketches of the churches, including a German church in Camden and 27 others in the New Jersey Conference.

The Swedish Lutherans, the first in New Jersey, are mentioned in Chapter IV, under "New Netherland and New Sweden." The story of their churches on the Delaware is related by one of their pastors, the Reverend Nicholas Collin, in "A Brief Account of the Swedish Mission in Ragoon and Penn's Neck, New Jersey," *Proceedings*, III, no. 3 (July, 1848), 105-122. A record of his own ministry in New Jersey is in Amandus Johnson (ed.), *The Journal and Biography of Nicholas Collin, 1746-1831* (Philadelphia, 1936), which gives also a most interesting account of life in old West Jersey. Those interested in research will find ample material, described in Charles J. Stillé, "Archivum Americanum in the Consistory Court of the Archbishop of Upsal," in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XV, no. 4 (1891), 481-485. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has the following manuscripts: Archivum Americanum: "Upsal Documents Relating to the Swedish Churches on the Delaware," 2 volumes; Josua Lindahl, translation of Otto Norberg, "The Mission of the Church of Sweden on the Delaware in North America," 1894; photostatic copies of the records of the church at Swedesboro, 1713-1814, and of the church at Penn's Neck, 1750-1791.

The Roman Catholic Church began with a few missions, especially in the northern iron region and in South Jersey, occasionally visited by itinerant priests. The

first parish began at Trenton in 1814, and growth was slow until the heavy Irish and German immigrations of 1845 to 1860. The State was divided between the Dioceses of New York and Philadelphia until the See of Newark was established in 1853. References to origins and growth are scattered throughout John Dawson Gilmary Shea, *A History of the Catholic Church Within the Limits of the United States* . . . (4 vols.; New York, 1886-1892); also in the *American Catholic Historical Researches*, especially in the index to volumes I-XXIX (1884-1912). Brief but yet detailed, for the early period, is "Early Annals of Catholicity in New Jersey," in *Catholic World*, XXI, no. 124 (July, 1875), 565-570; from 1744, the visit of the Reverend Theodore Schneider to the Iron Furnaces, through the erection of the Newark Diocese, 1853. The only comprehensive history is Joseph Michael Flynn's *The Catholic Church in New Jersey* (Morristown, 1904), with a bibliography, many illustrations, histories of parishes and institutions, biographies of the bishops, and a list of eighteenth-century baptisms by missionaries. The two oldest dioceses have histories: *Celebrating the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Archdiocese of Newark, N. J., and The Formal Opening of the Cathedral of the Sacred Heart* (Newark, 1954); and Walter Thomas Leahy (comp.), *The Catholic Church of the Diocese of Trenton, N. J.* (Princeton, 1906), illustrated, a massive compilation. Catholicism in New Jersey owed a great debt to the labors of the first bishop, which are recorded by Sister Hildegard Yeager, *The Life of James Roosevelt Bayley, First Bishop of Newark* . . . (Washington, D.C., 1947), a convert from the Episcopal Church, who founded many churches and laid the groundwork of Catholic education.

OTHER DENOMINATIONS. New Jersey's diverse population, and its geographical position as a corridor state, have always made it a fertile ground for the smaller denominations and sects. (For brief historical sketches and statistics, see the national religious censuses, mentioned above.)

German denominations have been evangelizing since colonial times. One of the earliest was the Brethren, originally composed of German Baptists, who came to Hunterdon County in the early eighteenth century. Floyd E. Mallot, *Studies in Brethren History* (Elgin, Ill., 1954), with a documentary appendix, includes a church at Amwell founded in 1733, the first one to use English, and interesting data on this group's pacifism and other peculiarities. More widespread is another denomination of German origin, with Methodist and Moravian background. Its New Jersey history is in Historical Records Survey, New Jersey, *Inventory of Church Archives of New Jersey, Evangelical Church* (Newark, 1941), with brief accounts of six churches and their records.

Adventist history in the New Jersey Conference, organized in 1901, is found in *Yearbook of the Seventh Day Adventist Denomination* (1963), listing 40 churches founded since the 1890's. Educational work is given in D. K. Smith, *Record of the Seventh Day Adventist Church Schools in New Jersey*, 4-5.

The Latter Day Saints began to proselytize in 1832, according to A. William Lund, "The Early Mormons of New Jersey," in *New Jersey Genesis*, II, no. 3 (Apr., 1955), 56-58, including a general history of Mormonism in the State to 1850, with a list of the pioneers of 1847 from New Jersey to Utah, and statistics for 1955.

Liberal Christianity found one of its first American bases in New Jersey, with the ministry of John Murray, beginning at Good Luck meetinghouse. That story is told in Frederick Adelbert Bisbee, 1770-1920, *From Good Luck to Gloucester . . .* (Boston, 1920), with an account of Murray's landing in New Jersey, and the preaching of the first Universalist sermon at Good Luck on the coast. References to the spread of Universalism are found in Nelson R. Burr, *A Critical Bibliography of Religion in America*, Volume IV, Part Two, "Universalism." The rise of Unitarianism appears in Historical Records Survey, New Jersey, *Inventory of the Church Archives of New Jersey, Unitarian Church* (Newark, 1940), with his-

torical sketches and records of eleven societies, mostly founded between 1890 and 1916. The oldest one, established in 1865, is recorded in Frank DeWitte Andrews, *A Historical Sketch of the First Congregational Unitarian Church of Vineland, New Jersey* (Vineland, 1919). The Universalist and Unitarian groups are now united. Christian Science, another "unorthodox" denomination, entered the State in the 1890's, and in 1963 had 64 churches and 9 societies. Its growth from 1897 to 1963 is traced in the *Christian Science Journal*.

The almost bewildering variety of religious expression appears in accounts of groups ranging from the Anglo-American Fundamentalist to Eastern Orthodoxy and Bahá'ism. The nationally famous work of a pentecostal type church is related by Alma Bridwell White's *The Story of My Life* (3 vols.; Zarephath, 1919), including the history of the community she founded, with its present headquarters on a farm near Bound Brook, and its college, preparatory school, and Bible seminary. An example of the humane service of another fundamentalist group is given in Historical Records Survey, New Jersey, *Inventory of the Church Archives of New Jersey, The Salvation Army, Jersey City* (Newark, 1940), with a bibliography and a historical note on the Army, a history of the local institutions, and an account of its work for social welfare and human redemption.

EASTERN CHURCHES. The religions of Eastern Europe and the Levant have made notable progress. Eastern Orthodoxy has become one of the larger groups, with 73 churches of various nationalities. The statistics appear in Basileios Th. Zoustes, *The Greek Americans and Their Activities: A History of the Greek Archdiocese of North and South America* (1917-), with data on the 14 Greek and other Orthodox parishes. Bahá'ism, a faith originating in Persia, is represented by four assemblies, and its history and records are gathered in Historical Records Survey, New Jersey, *Inventory of the Church Archives . . . Bahá'i Assemblies* (Newark, 1940), with a bibliography, a gen-

eral sketch of the history of the faith, its introduction into New Jersey before 1912, its centers of evangelism there, and the histories and records of local assemblies.

Few groups have displayed such rapid growth as the Negro churches. Their origins and contemporary state are reviewed in a lengthy sociological study by U.S. Work Projects Administration, New Jersey, *The Negro Church in New Jersey* (Hackensack, 1938). This has a bibliography including titles relating to the State, and emphasizes the church as a social institution. There are statistical tables, and maps with locations of the churches. A detailed denominational history is J. H. Morgan, *Morgan's History of the New Jersey Conference of the A M E Church from 1872 to 1887 . . .* (Camden, 1887).

The Quakers have influenced New Jersey life, and especially social thought and public welfare, far out of proportion to their relatively small number. (For references to the early Quaker settlement, see Chapter IV, under West Jersey.) Innumerable references to Quaker history in the State occur in such standard histories as James Bowden, *History of the Society of Friends in America* (2 vols.; London, 1854), spirited and readable; Charles Evans, *Friends in the Seventeenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1875); William C. Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism* (London, 1919), for the planting of meetings in the proprietary period; Rufus M. Jones, *Later Periods of Quakerism* (2 vols.; London, 1921). The best general history of early New Jersey Friends is in Rufus M. Jones, *The Quakers in the American Colonies* (New York, 1962), with bibliography, a map of meetings in 1838, an essay "The Early Quakers in New Jersey," by Amelia M. Gummere, and two chapters on John Woolman and his work for Indian and Negro welfare. Glimpses of early Friends in East Jersey appear in George Fox, *The Journal . . .* a revised edition by John L. Nickalls (Cambridge, Eng., 1952), including an account of his visit in 1672, which probably influenced William Penn and others to plant a Quaker colony in New Jersey. Notes on records and a list of New Jersey meetings are

in Audubon R. Davis, "Quaker Meetings in New Jersey," and "The Early Quakers of New Jersey," *New Jersey Genesis*, II, no. 2 (Jan., 1955), 44-47.

Several readable narratives of Friends' communities reveal the spirit of their religious and social life: Mary C. Vail, "Historical Sketch of the Meeting House of the Society of Friends at Quakertown, N. J.," in *The Jerseyman*, II (1893), 9-12; and Amelia M. Gummere, "Friends in Burlington," in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, VII (1883), 249-267, 353-376, and VIII (1884), 3-16, 160-173, picturing life in a community that was practically controlled by Friends. The Orthodox-Hicksite schism, which split the New Jersey meetings in the 1820's, is explained in Elbert Russell, *The History of Quakerism* (New York, 1942), and Bliss Forbush, *Elias Hicks, Quaker Liberal* (New York, 1956). The latter explains the Hicksite movement, led by the most popular minister of the early nineteenth century, as a rebellion of primitive Quaker conscience against conservative leadership; more than half of the New Jersey Friends became Hicksites.

The Quaker social conscience, or "concern," found its most noteworthy early American expression in the Jerseyman, John Woolman of Rancocas. It is expressed in his own words in Amelia M. Gummere, *The Journal and Essays of John Woolman* (New York, 1922), edited from his original manuscripts. His arousing of the philanthropic spirit, which led to many services for public welfare, is seen vividly in Janet Payne Whitney, *John Woolman, American Quaker* (Boston, 1942), with a bibliography of printed and manuscript sources, and a list of his amazingly extensive travels in behalf of preaching ministry and humane causes.

VIII

SOCIAL WELFARE

The spirit of Woolman's Quaker philanthropy quietly penetrated the minds of Jerseymen, and the stress upon individual redemption, in the Great Awakening, lived on among evangelical Protestants. In the late nineteenth century these influences became an element in the Social Gospel (both religious and secular), which roughly coincided with the reforming zeal of the Progressive political movement.

A. GENERAL HISTORIES

The Friends' humane spirit, as the motive of public welfare, is the theme of Catherine Owens Peare's somewhat fictionalized biography, *John Woolman: Child of Light; the Story of Woolman and the Friends* (New York, 1954), which has an extensive bibliography and accents his religion of humanity. Another Jersey pioneer in ministry to the unfortunate has justly received credit in Corinne Lowe, *The Gentle Warrior, A Story of Dorothea Lynde Dix* (New York, 1948). This describes her crusade for humane and curative treatment in public institutions, especially for the insane, and her battering down of the ramparts of resistance.

The spirit of these philanthropists has informed the course of care for the unfortunate, related by William J. Ellis, Commissioner, State Department of Institutions and Agencies, in Myers, *The Story of New Jersey*, II, chap. 1, "Public Welfare in New Jersey, 1630-1944," with bib-

liography. The varied modern services may be studied through the State Department of Welfare's *List of Publications on Public Welfare in New Jersey* (1948). Another extensive bibliography appears in Martin W. Stanton, *History of Public Poor Relief in New Jersey, 1609-1934* (New York, 1934), which reviews the philosophy and administration of public relief, its abuses, and its breakdown in the depression of the 1930's, and recommends an overhauling. A new legislative policy and administrative organization are recommended in Paul Tutt Stafford, *Government and the Needy; A Study of Public Assistance in New Jersey* (Princeton, 1941), which reviews the growth of poor relief institutions into a (then) haphazard and inefficient establishment.

Constant agitation produced a "new look," and the aroused official conscience expressed itself in such addresses to the citizens as: New Jersey, Department of Institutions and Agencies, *An Accounting Toward Better Care of New Jersey's Citizens* (Trenton, 1957), illustrated, a revelation of conditions and a plea for improvement and expansion of institutions to secure intelligent and rehabilitative treatment. An elaborate and careful report by non-governmental laymen was published by the New Jersey Commission to Study the Department of Institutions and Agencies: *The State's Organization for Social Welfare in New Jersey . . .* (Trenton, 1959), illustrated. It reviews social welfare work since the early nineteenth century and the department's functions, and proceeds to recommend a more integrated setup. The "new look" resulted in progressive reports on other social problems. The New Jersey State Old Age Study Commission presented *A Positive Policy Toward Aging . . .* (Trenton, 1957), a thorough survey from various angles, recommending an immediate full-time program, community councils, and enabling legislation. A similar report came from the New Jersey Commission to Study the Problems and Needs of Mentally Deficient Persons: *Mental Deficiency in New Jersey . . .* (Trenton, 1954), exploring the scope of public responsibility, and existing

and desirable facilities to meet it. A heartening view of what the new policy already had accomplished is a well-illustrated report by the Department of Institutions and Agencies: *New Jersey Builds Hospitals . . .* (Trenton, 1953), an example of outstanding results by cooperation of government and community groups since 1948.

The 1950's saw the State attacking its social problems on many fronts. The extent of the drive appears in such reports as: Advisory Committee on Housing, *A Report . . .* (Trenton, 1955); New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies, Board of Child Welfare, *A View of Children's Needs in New Jersey, 1951-1958* (Trenton, 1959), and *Digest of a Study of Protective Services and the Problem of Neglect of Children . . .* (Trenton, 1958); New Jersey Youth Study Commission, *Annual Reports, 1954-* (Trenton, 1956-) and *New Ways to Reach Unreached Youth: A Challenge to New Jersey . . .* (Trenton, 1958).

B. LAW, COURTS AND CRIME

The entire problem of unfortunate, deficient and delinquent classes is closely related to the State's legal and judicial system. Its solution is linked, to a considerable extent, with reforms inaugurated by the Constitution of 1947, which revamped the system of administration of justice.

A still valid account of the evolution of the court system is John Whitehead's *The Judicial and Civil History of New Jersey* (Boston, 1897), including history, and a large section of biographies of lawyers and judges. Another full history of the courts is in Jacob L. Newman and E. Allen Doty, "Bench and Bar," Chapter 22 in the first volume of Myers, *The Story of New Jersey*. A careful technical study is Oliver Bunce Ferris, "The Evolution of the Judicial System of New Jersey," in *New Jersey Law Journal*, XXXIII (Nov., 1910), 331-343, 356-360, XXXIV (Jan.-July, 1911), 4-10, 38-41, 102-108, 135-139, 197-204.

The development of the system from early times is explained by Edward Q. Keasbey's essay, "Jersey Justice," in New Jersey State Bar Association, *Year Book, 1919-1920*, 39-61. A very detailed history to the middle of the nineteenth century is comprised in volumes by two of the state's most famous lawyers. Richard S. Field, *The Provincial Courts of New Jersey, With Sketches of the Bench and Bar . . .* (New York, 1849), in New Jersey Historical Society *Collections*, III, has bibliographical references, reviews the establishment and history of courts, the early laws and use of the common law, proceedings of the colonial supreme court, and the popular attitude towards attorneys. A sequel to Field's study, undertaken at his request, is Lucius Q. C. Elmer's *The Constitution and Government of the Province and State of New Jersey . . .* (Newark, 1872), with reminiscences of judges and attorneys of the early nineteenth century, and references to the courts they served.

There is a vast amount of information on the judicial system, sometimes enlivened by humorous anecdotes, in biographies and recollections of legal luminaries. The most comprehensive is Edward Q. Keasbey's *The Courts and Lawyers of New Jersey, 1661-1912* (3 vols.; New York, 1912), the third volume consisting of biographies by various authors. Much more entertaining is Charles W. Parker, "Some Reminiscences of Leading New Jersey Judges and Lawyers of the Later 19th Century," in *Proceedings*, LIII, no. 4 (Oct., 1935), 225-238. This includes accounts of justices of the peace, courts, attorneys, judges, old-time procedures, and amusing remarks on idiosyncracies of gentlemen of the bench and bar. Sketches of hundreds of lawyers and judges and many amusing incidents make entertaining reading in Robert H. Mc Carter, *Memoirs of a Half Century at the New Jersey Bar* (New Jersey State Bar Association, 1937), including recollections of his student days and early practice, the courts, and interesting civil and criminal cases. Over six hundred biographies are in C. W. Taylor, Jr., *Bench and Bar in*

New Jersey (San Francisco, 1942), with an introduction on New Jersey law and lawyers by Borden D. Whiting, a Newark attorney.

A perennial fascination attaches to the pre-Revolutionary administration of justice. In their well-known scholarly vein and attractive style, Harry Bischoff Weiss and Grace M. Weiss describe it in *An Introduction to Crime and Punishment in Colonial New Jersey* (Trenton, 1960), with bibliography, and remarks on the relation of crime to types of people and church teaching, on the court system, the criminal codes of East and West Jersey, and the many crimes committed by servants. Colonial legislation, punishments and courts are discussed also by Charles S. Boyer, "Jersey Justice in Olden Days," in *Proceedings*, new series, XVI, nos. 3-4, 1931), 257-283, 399-440. A thoroughly reliable and scholarly authority is Henry Clay Reed, "Chapters in a History of Crime and Punishment in New Jersey," a Princeton University thesis (*University Microfilms*, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1952, pub. no. 3026), with an extensive bibliography.

The Constitution of 1947 introduced long-overdue reforms in the judicial system, which are reviewed by the Administrative Director of the Courts, Willard G. Woelper, in "Jersey Justice Streamlined," *National Municipal Review*, XLI, no. 6 (June, 1952), 283-287, 315. He explains the workings of the only integrated courts system in the nation, established in 1948, and remarks on how the Chief Justice "modernizes rules, speeds cases, raises standards." The reforms are assessed also in Arthur T. Vanderbilt, "The First Five Years of the New Jersey Courts Under the Constitution of 1947," *Rutgers Law Review*, VIII (Spring, 1954), 289-314, with bibliography. Assistance to the poor is described by Arnold Trebach, *Report on Legal Aid in New Jersey* (Trenton, 1955), issued by the Administrative Office of the Courts.

C. DELINQUENCY AND REHABILITATION

Closely integrated with reform of the judicial system is the problem of penal institutions and reformation of delinquents. Ever since Dorthea Dix agitated for the reform of jails in the mid-nineteenth century, New Jersey has been making efforts to modernize its institutions for those who clash with the law. An exhaustive, documented and impartial study was made by Harry Elmer Barnes: *A History of the Penal, Reformatory and Correctional Institutions of the State of New Jersey . . .* (Trenton, 1918), with a bibliographic note. This covers the gradual evolution from primitive and promiscuous to highly differentiated institutions, experiments with all types, with statistics, and full descriptions illustrated by photographs, plans, and diagrams.

The problems are highlighted by several recent studies of particular institutions. One that is considered a classic work on penology is Gresham M. Sykes, *The Society of Captives; A Study of a Maximum Security Prison* (Princeton, 1958), an analysis of the the State Prison in Trenton, based upon three years of study of documents and interviews with officials and prisoners: a clear view of the conflict between authority and the inmate, which renders real reform very difficult. It has been criticized for too narrow a concern with the inner situation, and not enough with the general place of the prison in society and society's view of it. There are many references to modern penological methods and reforms in Mary Belle Harris, *I Knew Them in Prison* (New York, 1942), including her experiences in the New Jersey State Home for Girls in Trenton, and the State Reformatory for Women in Clinton, and her efforts to introduce more order and intelligence into the treatment. She states that the internees were capable of good behavior and orderly work.

New Jersey has conducted a nationally-known experiment with a new type of home for delinquent boys. It is analyzed by Lloyd W. McCorkle, Albert Elias, and F.

Lovell Bixty, in *The Highfields Story; An Experimental Treatment Project for Youthful Offenders* (New York, 1958). Without the usual restrictions and reformatory atmosphere, the home attempts to adjust boys to life, and success seems to be indicated by a comparatively low rate of recidivism. An effort to measure its effectiveness is a study by Herbert Ashley Weeks, *Youthful Offenders at Highfields; An Evaluation of the Effects of the Short-Term Treatment of Delinquent Boys* (Ann Arbor, 1959), stressing the intention to eliminate the appalling, high percentage of recidivism in reformatories. Other efforts are described in New Jersey, Juvenile Delinquency Commission, *A Coordinated Approach Toward Preventing Delinquency* (Trenton, 1956), and New Jersey Youth Study Commission, *Helping Youth in Trouble*, 2nd Annual Report, June, 1957 (Trenton, 1957).

D. MEDICINE AND HEALTH

Some of New Jersey's most distinguished contributions to the national life have been in the field of medicine and medical care. It can claim the oldest medical society in the country, established in 1766 and still flourishing. Its pharmaceutical research and manufacturing industry supplies a large portion of the nation's drugs. In several fields of public health the State has pioneered, as is shown in some of the following publications.

New Jersey is mentioned in a classic work, Francis R. Packard's *History of Medicine in the United States* (Philadelphia and London, 1901; 2 vols.; New York, 1931; 2 vols., New York, 1963), which is still considered an essential book, in spite of the abundance of recent scholarly writing in the field. Other general works that refer to New Jersey are John Duffy, *Epidemics in Colonial America* (Baton Rouge, 1953), and Henry B. Shafer, *The American Medical Profession, 1783 to 1850* (New York, 1936). There is a collection of medical miscellany in Chapter 10, on New Jersey, in Dr. Maurice B. Gordon, *Aesculapius Comes to the Colonies* (Ventnor, 1949).

Gordon also has collected the items pertaining to medicine in the "Newspaper Extracts" in the *New Jersey Archives*, in *Bulletin of Medical History*, XVII (1945), 38-60.

There is only one general history of medicine in the State: Stephen Wickes, *History of Medicine in New Jersey and of Its Medical Men from the Settlement of the Province to A. D. 1800* (Newark, 1879). Although this is a most valuable work, the great bulk of it consists of biographies of physicians and only about seventy pages are devoted to actual history, and about forty to documentary sources. There are special essays on medical history in two of the the general state histories, both written by John H. Bradshaw: in Irving S. Kull, *New Jersey, A History* (New York, 1930), II, 1267-1278; and in William Starr Myers, *The Story of New Jersey* (New York, 1945), I, 94-132.

There is a large body of periodical literature on the history of medicine in New Jersey, and a large part of it concerns the history of the Medical Society. The annual bibliography of American medical history which has appeared in the *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* since 1944 is an excellent guide to recent literature and includes writings on New Jersey.

One of the earliest articles on medicine in the State is J. B. Munn's "History of the Medical Society of New Jersey," in the *New Jersey Medical Reporter* (1848), I, 276-285, concerned mainly with the legislative and organizational history. Next came William Pierson, "Historical Narrative," in the State Society's *Transactions* (1866), 67-105, a chronology of the first century. In 1881 Stephen Wickes wrote "A Twenty Five Years' Review," in *Transactions* (1881), 99-107, a continuation of Pierson's account. The best nineteenth century history is D. C. English, "Our Medical Society," in *Transactions* (1895), 121-179.

There are numerous other articles on the history of the State Society, among which are the following: Elias J. Marsh, "An Outline History" to 1903, in *Proceedings*

of the *New Jersey Historical Society*, LX (1942), 1-17. The others are all in the *Journal of the Medical Society of New Jersey*: Frank Overton, "The First Decade of the Medical Society of New Jersey," XXXIII (1936), 300-304, 542-546; George H. Lathrope, "Dissertation on the State of Physick in the Colony of New Jersey," XXVII (1930), 1-10, based upon Wickes, *History of Medicine in New Jersey . . .*; Lancelot Ely, "The Evolution of the Medical Society of New Jersey," XXXII (1935), 305-308, a collection of miscellany; Fred B. Rogers, "The Medical Society of New Jersey—Its First Quarter of a Century," L (1953), 132-135, which is considered the best brief story of the early period; Fred B. Rogers, "Opifer Per Orbem Dicor," the motto of the Society, LI (1954), 312-315, also a scholarly treatment of the early history; and an anonymous article, "1766-1941 The Medical Society of New Jersey," XXXVIII (1941), supplement, 9-14, a rapid review of the entire history, which is said to contain some inaccuracies. The *Journal* for 1916 contains a great amount of illustrated memorabilia and reminiscences, and biographies and portraits of New Jersey physicians.

The periodical literature abounds in articles on special phases of medical history and science. One of the best is Joseph A. Vasselli, "A Pestilence Census Taken in New Jersey," in *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, XXV (1951), 354-385, which uses the rich material in the published reports of the county correspondents to the State Society, which are valuable for study of medical knowledge and practice. Other important articles are Josiah C. Trent, "An Early New Jersey Medical License," in *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, XV (1944), 508-511; Mildred V. Naylor, "A New Jersey Petition," in *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, XVII (1945), 93-101; Fred B. Rogers, "A Colonial Petition to Improve Medical Practice in New Jersey," in *Academy of Medicine of New Jersey Bulletin*, V (1959), no. 2, 60-66; Henry A. Davidson, "New Jersey and the Great Pandemic," in *Journal of the Medical Society of New Jersey*, LIV (1957), 390-396; and Samuel Berg, "The Essex County Pathologic

and Anatomic Society: The First Fifty Years," in *Journal of the Medical Society of New Jersey*, LVI (1959), 81-84.

Several significant historical articles appeared in the fifteenth anniversary issues of the *Journal of the Medical Society of New Jersey* and the *Academy of Medicine of New Jersey Bulletin*. In the *Journal*, Volume L (1953) appeared: George H. Lathrope, "A Half Century of Medicine," 377-381; Henry A. Brodtkin, "The Military Role of New Jersey Physicians in the Past Fifty Years," 394-400; Julius Gerenday, "History of the New Jersey Gastroenterology Society," 386-390; and Rowland D. Goodman, "Fifty Years of Pharmacology," 405-411. In the *Bulletin*, VII, (June, 1961), appeared: Arthur J. D'Alessandro, "The First Fifty Years" of the Academy, 106-117; Morris H. Saffron, "The Academy as a Cultural Force in New Jersey," 118-124; Thomas J. White, "New Jersey Medicine—Fifty Years," 125-130; William G. Bernhard, "Fifty Years of Pathology and Clinical Pathology in New Jersey," 151-158; and William B. Nevius, "Fifty Years of Pediatrics in New Jersey," 159-162. These are all articles by experts in their particular fields, based upon their personal experience and displaying various degrees of depth in research.

There are numerous articles on the history of medicine in the counties, and the county histories generally have sections devoted to medical history. Especially informative are some articles in the *Transactions* of the Medical Society of New Jersey: E. L. B. Godfrey, "The Medical Profession of Camden County" (1896), 273-300; Robert M. Batemen and Enoch E. Fithian, "History of Medical Men and of the District Medical Society of the County of Cumberland" (1871), 105-288; Luther M. Halsey, "Historical Address" on the District Medical Society of Gloucester County (1899), 358-370; Dr. J. Henry Clark, "The First Fifty Years of the District Society of Essex County" (1867), 77-181; John Blane, brief biographies of practitioners in Hunterdon County (1866), 239-246; John Blane, "History of the District Medical Society for the County of Hunterdon" (1872), 91-213;

Cornelius Shepperd, "History of the District Medical Society of the County of Mercer, with Short Sketches of Some of Its Past Members" (1898), 433-468; T. J. Thomason, "A History of the District Medical Society of the County of Monmouth" (1871), 68-104; Alexander W. Rogers, "Historical and Biographical Address" on medicine in Passaic County (1894), 153-215; Thomas Ryerson, historical details in his annual report from Sussex County (1866), 287-289; J. C. Johnson, historical details in annual report from Warren County (1866), 299-302; "A Medical History of the County of Warren, 1765-1890" by a historical committee (1890), 185-288.

The *Journal* of the Society also contains some valuable local history: William J. Carrington, "History of Medicine in Atlantic County Prior to 1880" in XX (1930), 636-643; Henry B. Decker, "Notes on the History of Medical Practice in Camden County," XXXIII, 447-450; Barclay S. Fuhrman, "Hunterdon County: The First Century and a Quarter," XLIII (1946), 508-509; Frederick H. Morrison, "History of Medicine in Sussex County," XXVI (1929), 907-909.

The sesquicentennial celebration of the Medical Society of New Jersey inspired a number of historical addresses, which appeared in its *Journal*, XIII (1916), including: David St. John, "Reminiscences of Some of the Older Physicians" of Bergen County, 264-268; Luther M. Halsey, "Reminiscences of Gloucester County and Its Practitioners," 379-384; Frank D. Gray, "Sketch of Hudson County's Medical Past," 279-284; David C. English, "Historical Address on Middlesex County," 483-502; Abraham E. Carpenter, "Historical Address on Morris County," 405-410; Walter B. Johnson, "Reminiscences of Members of the Passaic County Medical Society," 275-278; and J. Hervey Buchanan, two historical addresses on Somerset County, 362-379.

From time to time county medical histories have appeared in other periodicals: Byron G. Van Horne, "Old Time Bergen County Doctors," in *Papers and Proceedings of the Bergen County Historical Society* (1906-1907),

no. 3, 29-36; Joseph Parrish, "Historical Address" on Burlington County, in *Country Practitioner*, I, no. 2 (1879), Appendix, 4-20; Julius Way, "Medical Men of Early Times in Cape May," in *Cape May County Magazine of History and Genealogy*, I (1934-1935), nos, 4-5.

There are also several separate publications of county medical history: John R. Stevenson, *History of Medicine and Medical Men of Camden County* (Philadelphia, 1886); Camden County Medical Society, *History of Camden County Medical Society, the Hospitals of Camden County and Biographical Sketches of the Society Members Past and Present* (Camden, 1957); A. M. Stackhouse, *Maladies, Remedies and Physicians of Colonial Days in Burlington County* (Moorestown, 1908). These county histories are not professional works, and consist mostly of documentary collections and biographies, with much anecdotal material.

In fact, a large portion of the writings on medical history really is biographical; and there are obituaries in the *Journal* and *Transactions* of the Medical Society of New Jersey. Fred B. Rogers has written many New Jersey medical biographies for the *Journal*, and has collected twelve biographies in his *Help Bringers* (New York, 1960). There is information about the practice of medicine in the nineteenth century in Harry Bischoff Weiss, *Country Doctor, Cornelius Wilson Larison . . .* (Trenton, 1953), a lively account of a man who was many other things besides physician. There is more biography in John R. Stevenson, "Physicians in the Colonization of New Jersey," in *The Jerseyman*, XI (1905), 15-19, 23-24; William L. Vroom, "Some Early Physicians of Bergen County," in *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, L (1932), 203-206; and Richard D. Anderson, "Physicians of Colonial Days in Burlington County," in *Journal of the Medical Society of New Jersey*, XXVI (1929), 387-391, which is derived mainly from Wickes' history.

New Jersey has long been a center of medical education, as is pointed out in William F. Norwood, *Medical*

Education in the United States (Philadelphia, 1944). David D. Demarest's *Rutgers (Queen's) College and Medical Degrees* (Trenton, 1894) is authoritative. There are two essays on New Jersey medical degrees by Fred B. Rogers, in the *Journal of the Medical Society of New Jersey*, L (1953), 496-499, and LIII (1956), 327-329. He has written also "Early Medical Schools of New Jersey," in *Journal of the Medical Society of New Jersey*, XLIX (1952), 418-420. But, unfortunately, there is no history of medical research, a most important field in New Jersey.

Closely associated with medical education have been the medical journals: *New Jersey Medical Reporter and Transactions of the New Jersey Medical Society*, 1847-1864; *Transactions of the Medical Society of New Jersey*, 1766-1903; *Journal of the Medical Society of New Jersey*, 1904—. The Society has the longest run of publications of any medical group in the nation. Several other periodicals have been published from time to time: *The Country Practitioner, or, New Jersey Journal of Medical and Surgical Practice*, 1879-1881; *New Jersey Eclectic Medical and Surgical Journal*, 1874-1876; *Transactions of the Eclectic Medical Society of the State of New Jersey*, 1876-1877; *Transactions or Proceedings of the New Jersey State Homeopathic Medical Society*, 1855-1911; *The Fountain or Hydropathic Journal*, 1846; *Bulletin* (later *Journal*) of the New Jersey Association of Osteopathic Physicians and Surgeons, 1901—; *Transactions or Proceedings of the New Jersey State Dental Society*, 1870—; also its *New Jersey Dental Journal* (1912-1919) and *New Jersey State Dental Journal*, 1929—; *Proceedings of the New Jersey Pharmaceutical Association*, 1870-1928, and its *New Jersey Journal of Pharmacy*, 1928—.

New Jersey has made many distinguished contributions to American pharmacy. This is revealed by David L. Cowen in "New Jersey Pharmacy and American History," in *Journal of the American Pharmaceutical Association*, Practical Edition, X (1949), 355-360. Cowen also wrote the history of the New Jersey Pharmaceutical Association,

1870-1945, in *New Jersey Journal of Pharmacy*, XVIII (1945), 16-36; and "Notes on Pharmaceutical Training in New Jersey Before 1900," in *American Journal of Pharmaceutical Education*, XII, no. 2 (Apr., 1948), 302-314. The history of the Rutgers College of Pharmacy is in a brochure issued on the *Fiftieth Anniversary Commencement* (1943). A striking evidence of the State's contribution to American pharmacy is Rowland D. Goodwin, II, "Fifty Years of Pharmacology," in *Journal of the Medical Society of New Jersey*, L, no. 9 (Sept., 1953), 405-411, with bibliography. This states that streptomycin is a local discovery, and that New Jersey ranks high in research, clinical investigation in hospitals, its Rutgers University School of Pharmacy, and the large number of manufacturing houses.

Although there are accounts of hospitals in some of the county medical histories (see above) the only history of a New Jersey hospital is Ray E. Trussell, *Hunterdon Medical Center* (Cambridge, 1956). *The History of Camden County Medical Society* (Camden, 1957) has considerable information on hospitals. There is information on Newark hospitals in *One Hundred Years of Social Work* (Newark, 1936), mostly taken from newspaper accounts. The Newark Public Library has a typewritten volume of these newspaper stories, collected under the supervision of Samuel Bergand and entitled: *Medical Practice and Hospital Development in Newark, New Jersey, 1850-1887, as Reported in the Newark Daily Advertiser*. A good account of medical service plans is in Edward M. Sprague, "Trends in Medical Care: Medical Service Plans in New Jersey," *Journal of the Medical Society of New Jersey*, L (1953), 371-376.

The early history of nursing is told in "Our Nursing Pioneers," in *New Jersey Nurse* (Oct., 1952), 27-47, an account of sixteen hospitals whose graduates founded the New Jersey State Nurses' Association. There are some references to nursing in the State in I. M. Stewart and A. L. Austen, *A History of Nursing* (New York, 1962). The sixtieth anniversary "Special Issue" of the *New*

Jersey Nurse (1962) has considerable historical material. Apparently, the only book on the history of a nursing school is *Some Account of the Orange Training School for Nurses* (Orange, 1899).

While there is no comprehensive history of surgery in New Jersey, fragments of the story are related in three articles: Edward J. Ill, "An Attempt to Show What New Jersey Surgeons Have Done in Abdominal Surgery," in *Transactions of the New Jersey Medical Society* (1891), 133-135; David B. Allman, "Fifty Years of Surgical Progress," *Journal of the Society*, L (1953), 382-285; and Christopher A. Beling, "Fifty Years of Surgery in New Jersey," in *Academy of Medicine of New Jersey Bulletin*, VII (1961), 131-150, which reviews the history in some detail, and is especially valuable, since it has a bibliography. Allman's article mentions several New Jersey pioneers, also the first state movement in the nation for the care and rehabilitation of disabled civilians.

A superior work on dental care is Milton Baron Asbell, *The Southern Dental Society of the State of New Jersey, 1899-1949: a History of Dentistry in South Jersey* (Camden, 1949), with a historical introduction covering the years from 1825 to 1900, but mainly biographical. He has written also "A Brief Sketch of New Jersey's Contribution to Licensure in Dentistry," in *Journal of the New Jersey State Dental Society*, XXV (1953), no. 2, 29-31; and "Historical Notes on Dentistry in South Jersey," in the *Southern Dental Society of New Jersey Outlook and Bulletin*, XXIX (1960), 94ff. A brief general history is Woodrow S. Monica's "Fifty Years of Dentistry in New Jersey," in the *Academy of Medicine of New Jersey Bulletin*, VII (1961), no. 2, 163-180. A committee of the New Jersey State Dental Society published *A History of the New Jersey State Dental Society* in 1931, a chronological review of the important events of each annual convention.

Most of the history of public health and sanitation in New Jersey is still to be written. The primary sources are the annual reports of the State Department of Health

and its precedent agencies, published since 1874; the *Public Health News*, also published by the Department, since 1915; and the annual *Transactions* of the New Jersey Sanitary Association and its successor organizations, published from 1895 to 1934. The history of public health is outlined in several articles: D. C. Bowen, "Health Department in New Jersey," in *Journal of the Medical Society of New Jersey*, XXXVIII (1931), 196-200; Daniel Bergsman, "Fifty Years of Public Health," in *Journal of the State Medical Society*, L (1953), 417-422, which reviews the major achievements; and J. Bennett Morrison, "An Historical Sketch of the Development of Preventive Medicine in the State of New Jersey," in *Journal of the Medical Society of New Jersey*, XXVIII (1931), 731-742, which stresses health laws and regulations from the late nineteenth century. There has been no general history of water supply and sewerage, but New Jersey is mentioned frequently in Wilson M. Blake, *Water for the Cities* (Syracuse, 1956) and M. N. Baker, *The Quest for Pure Water* (New York, 1948). The vast amount of improvement that remains is revealed in Daniel Jacobsen, "The Pollution Problem of the Passaic River," in *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, LXXVI (1958), 186-198. Closely related to this water problem is that of ridding the State of its mosquitoes. The story of the pioneer work is related in John B. Smith, "The Progress of Mosquito Extermination Work in New Jersey," in *Proceedings . . . of the New Jersey Sanitary Association* (1908), 141-142. The historical background is given, and the legislation is printed, in Thomas J. Hendlee, *The Mosquitoes of New Jersey and Their Control* (New Brunswick, 1945).

The story of mental health and mental hospitals in New Jersey has not yet been completely written. A rather superficial account is in Dr. George S. Stevenson, "New Jersey's Contribution to Psychiatric Progress," in the *Journal of the Medical Society of New Jersey*, L (1953), 412-416. The historical development is more thoroughly surveyed by Emil Frankel's "Mental Hygiene in New

Jersey," in the same *Journal*, XLII (1945), 107-110. The part of Dorothea Dix in arousing interest in care of the insane has been related in two biographies: Helen E. Marshall, *Dorothea Dix* (Chapel Hill, 1937), and Francis Tiffany, *Life of Dorothea Dix* (Boston, 1890). There are many articles on the history of care for mental defectives and of training schools. A half century of psychological services is covered in the commemorative issue of *The Welfare Reporter*, published in October, 1960. This comprises twelve articles on various agencies and institutions, including James D. Eadline's on "The Training School at Vineland," 185-198. The issue has also a chronology of the history of social welfare and psychological care. The history of physical rehabilitation has been written by one of the leaders in the field: Henry H. Kessler, "Rehabilitation in New Jersey," in *Journal of the Medical Society of New Jersey*, L (1953), 423-426.

E. EDUCATION

Until well into the nineteenth century, education in New Jersey stemmed mostly from local private enterprise and philanthropy. At first only the New England towns of East Jersey had tax-supported schools. Most communities relied upon schools supported by churches or Quaker meetings, or by neighborhood subscriptions. There was no organized effort for a public school system until after 1830, no state supervision until 1845, no city public high school until the 1850's. The private academy was the mainstay of secondary education until after the Civil War period, and higher education depended upon the private college. The battle for a system of public education was long and hard, but for that very reason all the more decisive. The victory led the way to the present system of free public schools.

The most complete review of education in a general history is Ira T. Chapman's essay, "Education in New Jersey," in Myers, *The Story of New Jersey*, I, chap. 23, including both public and private schools, with many

references. The first extensive history was that of David Murray, *History of Education in New Jersey* (Washington, D.C., 1899), consisting partly of essays by several contributors on special topics, with some references, but no general bibliography. The keynote is the diversity of institutions, rooted in the varied national and religious origins of the people. The influence of religious and ethnic groups upon the development of private and public schools is heavily stressed in Nelson R. Burr, *Education in New Jersey, 1630-1871* (Princeton, 1942), with a large bibliography. The central theme is the slow, difficult emergence of the free public school system against great obstacles. The story closes with the coming of the public high school and of technical education; but is weak with respect to study of the curriculum and teaching methods.

1. Public Schools

The first steps toward public support of education are discernible in colonial laws, particularly those concerning apprentices and orphans. A few New Jersey acts are in Elsie Worthington Clews, *Educational Legislation and Administration of the Colonial Governments* (New York, 1899). The legal framework of the modern public school system is seen in process of construction in F. B. Harrington, "A History of Educational Legislation in New Jersey from 1776 to 1867," in University of Chicago, *Abstracts of Theses, Humanistic Studies*, II (Chicago, 1926), 87-94; also in John Mathiason Matzen, *State Constitutional Provisions for Education . . .* (New York, 1931). The modern foundation of public schools is exhaustively explained by Carl Graydon Leech, *The Constitutional and Legal Basis of Education in New Jersey* (Philadelphia, 1932), with extensive bibliography, and emphasis upon the state's theory of its relation to education, all agencies and their functions, and indication of the broad powers of local authorities.

The campaign for a public school system got underway

in the agitation for an endowment, led by James Parker of Perth Amboy. Its success is indicated in Fletcher Harper Swift, *A History of Public Permanent Common School Funds in the United States, 1795-1905* (New York, 1911). The "crusade" owed its success largely to the leadership of well organized groups of educators and laymen. Their influence is estimated in James C. Montgomery, "New Jersey Education Association, 1853-1953," *Proceedings*, LXXI, no. 4 (Oct., 1953), 279-294, a very inadequate work, and National Congress of Parents and Teachers, New Jersey Branch, *The Golden Rung; Golden Jubilee History of the New Jersey Congress of Parents and Teachers, 1900-1950* (Trenton, 1950).

New Jersey has been one of the leading states in the education of teachers, through teachers' institutes and the establishment of one of the first normal schools. The origin and development of the normal schools (now state colleges) is carefully studied in Glenn E. and Jarrold Fromm, *Time the Great Teacher, a History of One Hundred Years of the New Jersey State Teachers College at Trenton, 1855-1955* (Trenton, 1955); and Earl C. Davis, "The Origin and Development of the New Jersey State Teachers College at Montclair" (Thesis, New York University) in *Dissertation Abstracts*, XV (Feb., 1955), 221. The training and standards for public school teachers are completely studied in several dissertations, with bibliographies: Edith Reed Shannon, "The Professional Education of Teachers in New Jersey: History of Its Origin and Development" [to 1932] (School of Education, New York University), with remarks on the relation of teacher competence and preparation to the educational system since colonial times; Evelyn Birdsall Franz, "Trends in the Preparation of Teachers for the Elementary Schools at the New Jersey State Teachers College at Trenton, 1855-1956" (*University Microfilms*, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1959], *Dissertation Abstracts*, XX (1959), no. 4, 1279-1280), describing the changing curricula and treating the college's general growth; Olive H. Todd, "State Certification of Teachers in New Jersey" (School of Education, Rutgers University), a compre-

hensive study, 1848-1954, detailing its relation to administration, salaries, and other educational topics; and New Jersey, Montclair State College, *Teacher Education for a Changing World* (Upper Montclair, 1958).

By the early twentieth century the public school system was taken for granted, but the strains put upon it by rapid industrialization, urbanization, and higher standards led to a searching examination in New Jersey, Commission to Survey Public Education, *Report . . . Authorized by the State Legislature, 1928* (Trenton, 1930), reviewing early history and development since 1900 with a view to improvement. Another objective and searching study is New Jersey, Governor's School Survey Commission, *Report* (2 vols. in 1; Trenton, 1933), surveying educational opportunities and proposing reconstruction of the system of financial support. The fiscal situation has been thoroughly explored in New Jersey, Commission on State Tax Policy, *Tenth Report* (Trenton, 1963), reviewing the goals and costs of education and state aid to local districts.

New Jersey has striven to give Negroes their long overdue "fair deal" in education. The process down to 1900 is covered in great detail in one of the best histories ever written of Negro education in a state: Marion M. T. Wright, *The Education of Negroes in New Jersey* (New York, 1941), with an exhaustive bibliography. The efforts of churches and philanthropists slowly laid the foundations upon which the state has built, and since 1881 segregation and unequal facilities have been disappearing gradually. The abandonment of segregated schools since 1881 is related in Joseph L. Bustard, *The New Jersey Story Concerning the Development of Racially Integrated Public Schools* (Washington, D.C., 1952).

2. Private Schools

New Jersey always has been a stronghold of private schools, from colonial days, and was one of the leading states in the growth of academies in the nineteenth

century. A thorough study of the "private, non-parochial schools," from 1846 to 1949, is Agatha Townsend's "The Independent School in New Jersey Education," a Columbia University thesis (*University Microfilms*, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1950, pub. no. 1905; *Microfilm Abstracts*, X (1950), no. 4, 148-149). The authority on private Friends' schools is Thomas Woody, *Quaker Education in the Colony and State of New Jersey . . .* (Philadelphia, 1923), with a bibliography, including records of Friends' meetings, and special emphasis upon Quaker educational policy and schools for the poor and dependent classes. An equally thorough study is Lewis Joseph Sherrill, *Presbyterian Parochial Schools, 1846-1870* (New Haven, 1932), which is interesting especially for its enlightening explanation of the failure of a Protestant effort to build up an entire educational system. The origin of the Roman Catholic educational system is recorded by James A. Burns, *The Growth and Development of the Catholic School System in the United States* (New York, 1912), and Sister Miriam Mahon, *Contributions of the Sisters of Charity to Catholic Education in New Jersey* (Fordham University, 1936).

3. Colleges and Universities

The primary impulse of higher education in New Jersey was the Great Awakening, which stirred the Reformed and Presbyterian churches to desire American colleges for the education of their ministers and laymen. The "New Light" Presbyterians were in the van, with the establishment of the College of New Jersey at Princeton. The story of its rise to the Civil War period is told in President John Maclean's *History of the College of New Jersey* (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1877), which is practically a source book, with extensive quotations of documents. The full history to the present day has not been written, but it is carried to 1896 (when the college became a university) by Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, *Princeton, 1746-1896* (Princeton, 1946), a scholarly work based largely upon original records, and readable. For the two-

hundredth anniversary in 1946 Wheaton J. Lane edited the *Pictorial History of Princeton* (Princeton, 1947), including many phases of campus life since colonial times.

The other college that sprang from the Awakening is now the state university. Its most complete history, inspired by the celebration of the sesquicentennial in 1916, is William H. S. Demarest's *A History of Rutgers College, 1766-1924* (New Brunswick, 1924), with bibliography, based upon documentary collections. A chronological narrative, in a detailed and unadorned style, it heavily stresses the period of origins and the influence of the progressive party in the Dutch Reformed Church, and considers the successive administrations.*

The women's branch of the University (now Douglass College) was established in 1918. Its history is related by Rosamond Sawyer Moxon and Mabel Clarke Peabody, *Twenty-Five Years; Two Anniversary Sketches of New Jersey College for Women* (New Brunswick, 1943). The first part considers trends in administration, teaching, and student life; the second is a review of the lives and accomplishments of alumnae.

The oldest Roman Catholic institution for higher education is described in Seton Hall University, *The Summit of a Century* (South Orange, 1956), a centennial history. The growth of a city college is detailed in Karl G. Hastedt, "Rider College, Career Builder Since 1865," in *Trenton Magazine* (Apr., 1952), 6-7 ff. The removal of this college to a large, suburban campus, in response to the greatly increased demand for higher education, is evidence of the State's deepening concern to provide greater facilities. The serious shortage, with respect to the anticipated great growth of population, is revealed in a broad survey of state and private institutions: New Jersey, State Board of Education, *College Opportunity in New Jersey; A Report to the Governor and the Legis-*

* The story of both universities is related in George Paul Schmidt, *Princeton and Rutgers: the Two Colonial Colleges of New Jersey* (Princeton, 1964, "New Jersey Historical Series," vol. 5), with illustrations and bibliographical note.

lature (Trenton, 1957), with special emphasis upon the capacity and plans for expansion of public colleges, and requirements for future graduate study. In *New Jersey's Undergraduates, 1954-1973* (Trenton, 1956) the Board essays to plan for future growth. A warning to citizens of the growing crisis in higher education is the Rutgers University . . . School of Education, *Survey of the Needs of New Jersey in Certain Specialized Fields of Graduate Study* (New Brunswick, 1957), with a bibliography, considering needs in relation to population and economic and industrial conditions.

IX

ECONOMIC HISTORY AND CONDITIONS

The rise of New Jersey's economy resulted from a highly strategic geographical location, between two great commercial centers, New York and Philadelphia. It was a natural corridor for streams of products that crammed the warehouses, stores, and wharves of those cities. And therefore it became influential in the nation's economy, far out of proportion to its size and population.

A basic guide to study of this dynamic economy is Publication no. 85 for the Carnegie Institution: Adelaide Rosalia Hasse, *Index of Economic Material in Documents of the States of the United States, New Jersey, 1789-1904*, XIII (Washington, D.C., 1914). This comprises "printed reports of administrative officers, legislative committees, and special commissions . . . and . . . governors' messages," with a broad interpretation of "economic"; alphabetical arrangement by topics, and a topical analysis by authors, subjects, and places. Although the list was not intended to be exhaustive, there is valuable help in Henry Cremer, *Available Sources for the Study of the Economic History of New Jersey* (Indiana, Pa., 1932), including histories of industries, and general and local histories, but no newspaper material, theses, or original documentary collections. Another valuable source is the New Jersey Bureau of Industrial Statistics *Annual Report*, 1878-1914.

No study of the state's economic life could be complete without an examination of its corporation laws.

A thorough investigation, generally well esteemed by economic historians, is John William Cadman, *The Corporation in New Jersey; Business and Politics, 1791-1875* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950), with a bibliography. It discusses political and legislative aspects, and is really a classified compendium, considered a model of thoroughness within its limits, but lacking in deep consideration of causation. That phase is supplied by Harold W. Stoke, "Economic Influences upon the Corporation Laws of New Jersey," in *Journal of Political Economy*, XXXVIII, no. 5 (Oct., 1930), 551-579, with references. It reviews early development, the fight for general corporation laws, the great proliferation of trusts, and the rise and decline of the antitrust movement, 1901-1929. The author indicates the influence of New Jersey's geographic position, and states that the general law resulted from competition among railroads. New Jersey became the "Home of the Trusts" not because it was especially "corrupt," but because it was deeply in debt and needed income.

That the state had long been struggling with the economic-fiscal problem caused by its position is made evident by Donald L. Kemmerer, "A History of Paper Money in Colonial New Jersey, 1668-1775," in *Proceedings*, LXXIV, no. 2 (Apr., 1956), 107-144, with references. The colony's economic instability was caused largely by sudden expansion and gradual contraction of the currency, and restraint was due to the British government rather than to the Assembly. Efforts to attain a sound monetary policy, as the basis of economic development, are recorded in Richard T. Hooper, "Finances of Colonial New Jersey," *The Numismatist*, LXIII, nos. 2-6 (Feb.-June, 1950), 72-86, 152-158, 206-214, 336-347. He relates currency history to the people's economic problems, to 1786, and sees the dispute about paper money as "a direct and overpowering cause of the War of Independence." The continual struggle for economic growth and stability in the national period is explained by William Columbus Hunter, *The Commercial Policy*

of *New Jersey under the Confederation, 1783-1789* (Princeton? 1922).

The prosperity eventually attained might be illustrated by many publications reviewing the state's economy. Conditions about the beginning of the present century appear in Ellis R. Meeker (comp.), *New Jersey; a Historical, Commercial and Industrial Review . . .* (Elizabeth, 1906), well illustrated, intended to explain industrial and agricultural advantages. The most thorough modern economic survey—exhaustive and indispensable—is Rutgers University, *The Economy of New Jersey; a Report Prepared for the Department of Conservation and Economic Development . . . by a Group of Rutgers Scholars . . .* (New Brunswick, 1958), with bibliography, maps, charts, tables, etc., on economic conditions, problems, and prospects of growth to 1975. Overseas commerce is reviewed in U.S. Department of State, *New Jersey and Foreign Trade* (Washington, 1951), with information, statistics, tables and charts, on the benefits of foreign trade to certain industries, expansion of exports, and the effect of trade agreements.

The capitalistic development that has undergirded economic expansion is related in the story of banking. The early nineteenth century is covered in Francis Bazley Lee, *New Jersey as a Colony and as a State*, III, chap. 23 "The Days of State Banking," and the later history in IV, chap. 13, "Modern Banks and Banking." The entire development is related in Irving S. Kull, *New Jersey, A History*, IV, chap. 58, "Banking in New Jersey," by Eugene E. Agger, with bibliography; also in William Starr Myers (ed.), *The Story of New Jersey*, II, chap. 6, "Banking," by Carl K. Withers, including savings and loan associations, statistics, and illustrations of banks. Howard S. Piquet's *Building and Loan Associations in New Jersey* (Princeton, 1931), with many statistical tables, charts, and graphs, is an exhaustive treatment of the subject.

The story of banking is traced from the early nine-

teenth century in representative histories of several local banks: Philip L. Kleinhans (comp.), *Down Through the Years; the Story of the National State Bank of Elizabeth, New Jersey, 1812-1937* (New York, 1937); New Brunswick Savings Institution, New Brunswick, New Jersey, *One Hundred Years of Service, 1851-1951* (New Brunswick? 1951); Carlos Emmor Godfrey, *The Mechanics Bank, 1834-1919, Trenton in New Jersey; a History* (Trenton? 1919), and *History of the Trenton Saving Fund Society, 1844-1919* (Trenton? 1919); Sydney G. Stevens, *One of the Nation's Oldest Banking Houses: the Trenton Banking Company, 1804-1954* (New York, 1954).

Growth of the insurance business is related, with bibliography, in Kull, *New Jersey, A History*, IV, chap. 65, "History of Insurance," by B. H. Goldsmith; and Myers (ed.), *The Story of New Jersey*, II, chap. 7, "The Business of Insurance in New Jersey," by John S. Thompson, with bibliography, statistics, and graphs. The history of the largest insurance company is in Earl Chapin May & William Charles Oursler, *The Prudential: a Story of Human Security* (Garden City, N. Y., 1960), illustrated, on the company founded in Newark, 1874, by John F. Dryden (1839-1911). Another great company's story is carefully told in Mildred F. Stone, *Since 1845; a History of the Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Company* ([New Brunswick] 1957), with illustrations; a continuation of William Rankin Ward, *Down the Years; a History of the Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Company, 1845-1932* ([Camden] 1932), with illustrations; prepared for publication by Mildred F. Stone.

A. INDUSTRY

Industry originated in basic manufactures derived from agriculture, such as flour-milling, and in small household occupations. Modern heavy industry began with the use of water power, diversified wood-working, the colonial

"iron manors," and ship-building. Steam power began to appear even before the Revolution, in which New Jersey industry became a strong sinew of American military operations. The War of 1812 stimulated industry by reducing importation of foreign manufactures. And thereafter the State gradually attained to its present immensely diversified industries.

New Jersey has not been largely dependent upon one industry, or a few enterprises. Few regions in the world can boast of so many industries and products. It has stood high in the record of invention, and has achieved many "firsts." In modern times the State has ventured a vast investment in industrial research. Many other factors have contributed to make it the industrial crossroads of the Eastern Seaboard—natural resources, accessibility to markets, excellent transportation, manpower, low-cost production, industrial training, favorable taxes, and decentralization.

In 1954 the state ranked seventh in industrial manufactures, with eleven thousand plants. There were then 323 classifications of labor, representing 90 per cent of all types of industry in the United States.

1. *General Histories*

The origins of this vast industrial complex are painstakingly reviewed in Jeannette Paddock Nichols, "Colonial Industries in New Jersey, 1618-1815," *Americana*, XXIV, no. 3 (July, 1930), 299-342, with an extensive bibliography, including many local histories and accounts of particular industries, and beginning with a description of early household industries. Her narrative is continued in Irving S. Kull, *New Jersey, A History*, II, chap. 27, "The Industrial History of New Jersey in the Middle Period," and III, chap. 43, "The Industrial History of New Jersey Since 1861," without bibliography. The almost incredibly varied character of manufactures appears in William Starr Myers (ed.), *The Story of New Jersey*,

III, chaps. 1-14, with lists of companies, numbers of employees, and photographs of modern plants; covering the story from early colonial times.

A rapid, entertaining survey of the factors that made New Jersey an industrial giant, since the steam pumping engine installed at North Arlington by Josiah Hornblower in 1753, is Hobart Cole Ramsey, *New Jersey, Pioneer of Industrial America* (New York, 1954), which lists a few of the state's industrial "firsts." Strictly factual, with many statistical tables and charts, James Madison Stevens, *New Jersey Manufactures, 1899-1927* (New Brunswick, 1930) emphasizes the period since 1918 and the growth of mechanization, and compares growth with that of other states. New Jersey Council, *New Jersey, Mighty Atom of Industry* (Trenton, 1945), using data from official sources, indicates the diversity of economic life and the industrial and distributional opportunities. Homer Hoyt, *An Economic Survey of the State of New Jersey* (Trenton, 1950) reviews the industrial advantages, location of manufacturing, growth of employment, types of industries, prospects for growth of basic industries, and the economic characteristics and future of regions; and is richly illustrated. A general review of industrial power and land use, the development and growth of the labor force, and transportation development, are combined in International Association of Personnel in Employment Security, New Jersey Chapter, *New Jersey Enterprise* (New York, 1952). A good bibliography, including general sources and titles of specific industries, is in John T. Cunningham, *Made in New Jersey; the Industrial Story of a State* (New Brunswick, 1954), based upon visits to over one hundred and fifty firms, and emphasizing factors affecting development, the part of far-sighted men, great inventors, "firsts," and *diversity*. The future direction of industry is suggested in "Potentialities of Industrial District Development," in *Review of New Jersey Business*, April, 1954, 10, giving the history of such districts (or "parks") since Paterson's Society for Establishing Useful Manufactures was founded in

1791, indicating the facilities for them, and noting those under construction.

2. *Particular Industries*

The detailed operations of several primitive industries are interestingly described, in comparison with modern methods, in Harry Bischoff Weiss and Grace M. Weiss, *Forgotten Mills of Early New Jersey, Oil, Plaster, Bark, Indigo, Fanning, Tilt, Rolling and Slitting Mills, Nail and Screw Making* (Trenton, 1960), with bibliography, statistics of production and value, and illustrations of mills and machinery—revealing New Jersey's early industrial importance. A similar volume is Charles S. Boyer, *Old Mills of Camden County* (Camden, 1962), with a map locating ancient ones and their successors, photographs of mills, a general essay on mills and milling, and sketches of particular mills and millers. Attractive accounts of early industries and their extinction are Cornelius Wilson Larison, *The Ancient Village, Amwell* (Flemington, 1916), reprinted from the *Hunterdon County Democrat*, Flemington, April 14 and 21, 1915; and K. Braddock-Rogers, "Fragments of Early Industries in South Jersey," in *Journal of Chemical Education*, VIII, nos. 10, 11 (Oct., Nov., 1931), 1914-1929. The former describes industries run by water power, and their slow death; the latter briefly describes the abandoned industrial town of Harrisville (1760-1892), and an attempt to establish the silk industry.

The iron industry was New Jersey's first large-scale industrial enterprise, and for some time led the nation. A very readable and detailed history is Jennie Barnes Pope, "The Old Iron Industry," in Myers, *The Story of New Jersey*, III, chap. 4, with photographs of old iron works. She traces the manufacture from its start in 1674, near Shrewsbury, to about 1840, when it declined in competition with the Pittsburgh region; and notices its importance to the American Army during the Revolution. This last point is heavily stressed by Boris Erich

Nelson's "New Jersey Iron: The State Museum Exhibit," in *Proceedings*, LXXII, no. 4 (Oct., 1954), 270-273, with a list of furnaces from 1674 to 1831. The colonial industry grew in spite of adverse British legislation, and ironmasters were prominent in the Revolutionary movement. The best overall history is Charles S. Boyer's *Early Forges and Furnaces of New Jersey* (Philadelphia, 1931), with illustrations and a map; reprinted, 1964.

Early iron manufactories were organized like feudal principalities and were called "iron manors." The earliest one is described by Dean Freiday, "Tinton Manor: The Iron Works," in *Proceedings*, LXX, no. 4 (Oct., 1952), 250-261, with references. This was the only really productive iron industry south of New England before 1700, and it even had its own court; it depended upon bog iron and was fueled by charcoal. The most famous iron estate is described by Alden T. Cottrell's illustrated *The Story of Ringwood Manor* (Trenton, 1944). Now the nucleus of Ringwood Manor State Park and a museum of nineteenth century life, the place is described as the site of "the first large-scale development of the iron industry" in the nation, promoted by a colorful personage, Peter Hasenclever. It supplied iron for every American war from 1776 to 1945, and for two centuries was the home of famous ironmasters. Hasenclever's enterprise is celebrated by Irene D. Neu, "The Iron Plantations of Colonial New York," in *New York History*, XXXIII, no. 1 (Jan., 1952), 3-24, with references and many details on the industry at Ringwood, Charlotteburg, and Long Pond, N. J. Gerhard Spieler's "Peter Hasenclever, Industrialist," *Proceedings*, LIX, no. 4 (Oct., 1941), 231-256, has a long bibliography, and gives a vivid account of the almost fabulous German immigrant who built up the great estate. Another typical colonial iron manufactory is described in George H. Danforth, "Lord Stirling's Hibernia Furnace," *Proceedings*, LXXI, no. 3 (July, 1953), 174-186, with bibliography in references, and with details of finance, operations, and labor troubles.

Another notable iron manor was the "Wharton Estate"

in South Jersey. Its history is related in Arthur Dudley Pierce, *Iron in the Pines; the Story of New Jersey's Ghost Towns and Bog Iron* (New Brunswick, 1957), with illustrations, bibliography, and a map of the bog iron region. The author did a vast amount of research in state and county records, account books of furnaces, store books, diaries, and family papers to reveal much fascinating data about obscure old towns and industries; and the "Empire in Iron" of the Philadelphia entrepreneur, Charles Read. Several furnaces are recorded by K. Brad-dock-Rogers, "The Bog Ore Industry in South Jersey Prior to 1845," in *Journal of Chemical Education*, VII, no. 7 (July, 1930), 1493-1519. One of the most flourishing enterprises was Batsto at the forks of the Mullica River, established in 1765 by Charles Read. It became an industrial feudal domain, controlled in the early nineteenth century by the Richards family, and also made glass and bricks, iron during the Revolution, and ships. The story of its rise, decline, and sale in 1876, is told by Lorin Weisenfeld in "Death of a City," *Proceedings*, LXXVIII, no. 3 (July, 1960), 149-160; also by Carmita De Solms Jones, "Batsto and the Bloomaries," in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XLVII (July, 1923), 185-195. The rise and fall of another iron town is related in Halstead H. Wainwright, *The Howell Iron Works and the Romance of Allaire* (Freehold, 1925) and James S. Brown, *Allaire's Lost Empire* (Freehold, 1958). The abandoned town is now preserved as a State Monument.

The industry had several other centers. William Nelson's *Beginnings of the Iron Industry in Trenton, New Jersey—1723-1750* (Philadelphia, 1911) has references, and ascribes its origin to William Trent, John Porterfield and Thomas Lambert, and mentions Benjamin Yard's plating mill, a steel works—the first in New Jersey, if not in America, which used iron from up the Delaware. Ione M. Sonn, "Highlights of Newark Iron-ware" [1784-] in *Proceedings*, LXXIII, no. 4 (Oct., 1955), 316-319, reviews the history of the early foundries, which made utensils, stoves, architectural ornaments, etc.

She assisted her father, Albert H. Sonn, in preparing his *Early American Wrought Iron* (3 vols.; New York, 1928), which refers to New Jersey, and has a bibliography. An early furnace, started in the eighteenth century to provide military supplies, is described in W. Fred Allen, "History, Myth and Legend of Hanover, New Jersey," *Proceedings*, new series, XIV, no. 4 (Oct., 1929), 475-481. It is supposed to have been the first blast furnace in the eastern states.

The prosperity of the industry in the northwestern counties as late as the Civil War is shown by an article in the *American Exchange and Review*, VIII (1865), 1925-1928, reprinted as "New Jersey Iron Mines," *Proceedings*, LXXIII, no. 1 (Jan., 1955), 42-46, including mines, companies, production, etc. A special phase is vividly described in J. R. Chapin, "Among the Nail-Makers," in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, XXI, no. 22 (July, 1860), 145-164, with engravings. This details the processes and machinery of making nail plates at Boonton. New Jersey's importance in metals is further evidenced by E. D. Shuster, *Historical Notes on the Iron and Zinc Mining Industry in Sussex County* (Franklin, 1927), and New Jersey Zinc Company, *The First Hundred Years of the New Jersey Zinc Company . . . 1848-1948* (New York, 1948), illustrated, on a firm with headquarters in New Jersey and several branches elsewhere. Copper is well covered by Herbert Preston Woodward, *Copper Mines and Mining in New Jersey* (Trenton, 1944), with bibliographies, illustrations, and maps; and in Harry Bischoff Weiss, *The Old Copper Mines of New Jersey* (Trenton, 1963), with bibliography, illustrations, and maps.

Two industries closely allied to iron manufacture have been charcoal and ship-building. The charcoal industry flourished mostly in South Jersey to supply the bog-iron manufacture. Details of the process and of the colliers' lives are interestingly related by Robert J. Sim and Harry Bischoff Weiss, in *Charcoal-burning in New Jersey From Early Times to the Present* (Trenton, 1955), with bib-

liography and illustrations, a glossary of terms, and statistics of costs, sales, etc. Much of the information came from interviews with aged operatives. Clare Campbell, "Charcoal Burning—Old Cape May Industry," in *Cape May County Magazine of History and Genealogy*, III (June, 1950), 124-125, describes the process as carried on by Samuel Nichols in Belleplain, 1940, after seventy years of experience.

The contribution of New Jersey to American shipbuilding is not generally known. The most detailed account is David Budlong Tyler's *The American Clyde; a History of Iron and Steel Shipbuilding on the Delaware from 1840 to World War I* (Newark, 1958), with bibliographical notes. There are references to the industry at Camden, Gloucester, Newark, and Elizabethport. He mentions the distinguished records of John Dialogue and Henry G. Morse of Camden, Lewis Nixon and the United States Shipbuilding Company of Elizabeth, the Pusey and Jones Company of Gloucester, and especially the production of cargo vessels in World War I. Of special interest and significance is the anniversary history, *New York Shipbuilding Corporation, 50 Years* (Camden, 1949), illustrated, reviewing the enterprise organized in 1899 at Camden, backed by Pittsburgh steel tycoons, including Henry C. Frick, and with Andrew Mellon as a director.

A striking revelation of the forest resources and products of New Jersey is found in Albert H. Pierson, *Wood Using Industries of New Jersey* (Union Hill, 1914), comprising facts on lumber consumption, various kinds of wood, many industries, and a directory of hundreds of manufacturers. The long-established tar industry is described in detail by M. E. Blinn, "The Old Time Tar Kiln," in *Vineland Historical Magazine*, III, no. 2 (Apr., 1918), pp. 29-30, and Marcus Fry, "A Tar Kiln," in *Vineland Historical Magazine*, III, no. 1 (Jan., 1918), 13.

The ceramics industry, which has won international fame, is generally reviewed by George Herbert Brown, Professor of Ceramics at Rutgers University, in Kull, *New*

Jersey, A History, IV, chap. 59, "History of the Ceramics Industry in New Jersey," with references. Extracts from authoritative writings are gathered in Newark Museum Association, *The Work of the Potteries of New Jersey from 1685 to 1876* (Newark, 1914), illustrated. General history since 1684 is summarized by two articles in the *Review of New Jersey Business*: "The Miracle of Clay," and John H. Koenig and Edward J. Smoke, "The Ceramic Industry in New Jersey," in X, no. 3 (Oct., 1954), 9-11. The first asserts that New Jersey then ranked second only to Ohio and notices several pioneers of the industry, Trenton as the nation's pottery center, and Lenox china. The second gives statistics, reviews the work of various plants, and mentions the close association with the Rutgers School of Ceramics and the New Jersey Ceramics Research Station. A typical small shop, which continued until about World War I, is described in Elmer T. Hutchinson, "Keen Pruden's Earthenware Pottery in Elizabethtown" [1819-1911], *Proceedings*, LXXIII, no. 1 (Jan., 1955), 24-27, with notes. Leo Albert Buskey, "The Story of Lenox Pottery," in *Antiques Journal*, X, no. 4 (Apr., 1955), 9-11, 22, relates the effort of a master craftsman of Trenton to rival the best ceramics in the world. Trenton appears as the center of the pottery plumbing fixtures industry in Archibald M. Maddock II, *The Polished Earth . . .* (Trenton, 1962), chaps. 9-11, illustrated, which also mentions plants elsewhere in the state.

Industrial sands, since the colonial period, have made New Jersey a leader in the art of fine glassware. "Glass Makers of New Jersey" [since 1738] in *Proceedings*, LXXIII, no. 3 (July, 1955), 209-213, with illustrations, gives a detailed account of the South Jersey industry as developed by the Wistars at Wistarburgh and the Stangers at Glassboro, and its spread elsewhere in the state, mentioning many firms and places. Another is Charles Boyer and Stephen Van Rennselaer, "History of Southern Jersey Glass Works," in *Annals of Camden*, no. 5 (Camden, 1926).

An excellent source of information on particular industries is the *Review of New Jersey Business*, especially a series of articles in 1953-1954: Borden R. Putnam, "The Chemical Industry in New Jersey," VIII, no. 4 (Jan., 1953), 3-6, 13; Harvey H. Segal, "The Petroleum Industry . . .," IX, no. 2 (July, 1953), 3-5, 12; Louis Fisher, "The Paint Industry . . .," IX, no. 2 (July, 1953) 8, 13; Allen B. Du Mont, "The Television Industry . . .," IX, no. 3 (Oct., 1953), 3-4, 13; Herbert A. Schmieder, "The Pharmaceutical Industry . . .," IX, no. 3 (Oct., 1953), 5-7, 19; "The New Giant: Plastics," IX, no. 4 (Jan., 1954), 3-5, 19. All these show the state in a leading or high position, and stress the role of invention and research. Another growing giant is appreciated in *Electrons Unlimited; the Story of Electronics and Electronic Research in New Jersey* (Trenton, 1952), a catalog of an exhibition at the New Jersey State Museum in 1952.

Another series of industrial histories, concentrating upon the early period, is the result of nearly a decade of careful research by Harry Bischoff Weiss and Grace M. Weiss: *The History of Applejack or Apple Brandy in New Jersey from Colonial Times to the Present* (Trenton, 1954); *The Early Fulling Mills of New Jersey* (Trenton, 1957); *The Early Woolen Industry of New Jersey* (Trenton, 1958); *Early Tanning and Currying in New Jersey* (Trenton, 1959); *The Revolutionary Salt Works of the New Jersey Coast . . .* (Trenton, 1959); *The Early Hatters of New Jersey* (Trenton, 1961); *The Early Snuff Mills of New Jersey* (Trenton, 1962); *The Early Breweries of New Jersey* (Trenton, 1963). The authors have performed a praiseworthy service to economic history by rescuing from obscurity a knowledge of many well-nigh forgotten industrial processes. Many illustrations and anecdotes give a pleasant, unpedantic antiquarian flavor to these very readable and entertaining volumes, derived from a multitude of local histories, old advertisements, manuscript business records, and interviews with experts. Harry Bischoff Weiss has written also *The Early Grist and Flouring Mills of New Jersey* (Trenton, 1956), with

sketches by Weiss, photographs by Robert J. Sim, and a bibliography.

Patient researchers have uncovered the equally fascinating records of other old occupations. Hubert Schmidt's *Flax Culture in Hunterdon County, New Jersey* (Flemington, 1939) was derived from letters, diaries, account books, and reminiscences of workers, and depicts a pre-mechanized industry in detail from planting to spinning, emphasizing cooperative pulling and spinning "frolics." Mary B. Sim's *Commercial Canning in New Jersey; History and Early Development* (Trenton, 1951) relates the growth of this major industry since the 1840's, an astonishing story of experimentation and invention, with illustrations of early cans, canners, plants, labels, and machines. It covers also early food packing and the organizations of the industry.

Popular knowledge usually identifies whaling with New England. But New Englanders, who become Jersey-men, as early as the seventeenth century pursued leviathan. Their ventures are related by James C. Connolly in "Whale Industry in New Jersey," *Proceedings*, new series, XIII, no. 4 (Oct., 1928), 417-421. It was important as early as 1683, continued into the early nineteenth century, and contributed many seamen to American naval forces in the Revolution and the War of 1812.

An occupation that was unique in the state is chronicled in Frances A. Westervelt, "The Final Century of Wampum Industry in Bergen County, New Jersey," *Proceedings*, new series, X, no. 3 (July, 1925), 283-290. A water-powered factory, run by the Campbell family at Pascack, made wampum from Long Island clam shells and West Indian conchs for Indian traders and especially the Western fur business, as well as for various other uses. This is published also in the Bergen County Historical Society *Papers*, no. 12 (1916-1917), [20]-38; and was reprinted by the Society (1924) as a pamphlet with the same title.

3. Industrial Leaders

New Jersey never could have attained its industrial "know-how" without its early business entrepreneurs and inventors. Among the foremost were the men of the amazing Stevens family. The accomplishments of five generations are summarized in Archibald Douglas Turnbull's *John Stevens: An American Record* (New York, 1928), illustrated. The founder's multifarious activities are the theme of Dorothy Gregg, "John Stevens, General Entrepreneur, 1749-1838," in William Miller (ed.), *Men in Business* (Cambridge, Mass., 1952), 120-152, 321-324, on his promotion of steamboats and many other inventions, especially in New York and New Jersey, and his methods of competition. A capitalist of similarly broad interests is appreciated in Robert T. Thompson, *Colonel James Neilson, a Business Man of the Early Machine Age in New Jersey, 1784-1862* (New Brunswick, 1940), illustrated. He is considered as a representative leader in the emergent industrial society of the pre-Civil War era.

The "Society for Establishing Useful Manufactures" of Paterson may stand as a symbol of the coming machine age. Its history appears in William Nelson, *The Founding of Paterson as the Intended Manufacturing Metropolis of the United States . . .* (Newark, 1887), a paper read to the New Jersey Historical Society, May 19, 1887. Likewise, the work of its two early superintendents, Peter Colt and Roswell L. Colt, his son, which is reviewed in "Two Famous Colts," Passaic County Historical Society, *Bulletin*, III (Feb., 1951), 9-11. They flourished c. 1793-1814.

New Jersey capitalists and industrialists influenced the nation, especially when they became philanthropists. Such a benefactor appears in Anna Wharton Morris, "Joseph Wharton: Discoverer of Malleable Nickel in the United States," in *Germantowne Crier*, V, no. 2 (May, 1953), 7-8. This considers his nickel and iron industries in New Jersey as well as Pennsylvania, and

his founding (1881) of the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, University of Pennsylvania. Hardin T. Shields, *The Colgate Story* (New York, 1959) is the success story of an English family, which moved its soap business to Jersey City in 1847, and became identified with New Jersey industry and patronized the state's religious, social and educational work. Another typical saga of the industrious immigrant who made good is David Barnard Steinman, *The Builders of the Bridge; the Story of John Roebling and His Son* (2d ed.; New York, 1950), with illustrations and extensive bibliography. Founded upon "enormous" research, this thoroughly and readably explains their contribution to New Jersey industry in founding (1848) the famous wire-rope factory at Trenton—the world's largest—to which all American construction has been indebted.

A less brilliantly written but solid and reliable story of another immigrant genius is David Oakes Woodbury's *A Measure for Greatness; a Short Biography of Edward Weston* (New York, 1949). Settling in Newark in 1875, he established a dynamo business, the first electrical machinery plant in America, and by his many inventions and enterprises helped greatly to put Newark and New Jersey "on the map" industrially. Weston, who had many quarrels with other inventors, applied the term promoter to another electrical "wizard," Thomas Edison—perhaps because of the irresponsible legend fabricators. An effort to depict him realistically characterizes George Sands Bryan's *Edison, the Man and His Works* (London and New York, 1926), with illustrations and bibliography. The author indicates the New Jersey origin of the American Edison family, and completely covers his invention, experimentation and research at Jersey City, Newark, Menlo Park, and West Orange, deriving much of the material from people who knew Edison. Matthew Josephson's *Edison; a Biography* (New York, 1959) views him as a transitional figure in the history of invention, between the early "untaught" experimenters and modern organized research. His place at Menlo Park is seen as,

in reality, the world's first industrial research laboratory. There are many quotations from Edison's papers.

B. AGRICULTURE

Although New Jersey is generally considered as an industrial state, in 1955 more than 36 per cent of its acreage was in farms. It has the highest-priced farmland in the nation, and the highest gross farm income per acre. Its agricultural diversification is said to be unrivaled, and Seabrook Farms is the largest agricultural enterprise in America. The State stands first in many phases of production, and its farms are unsurpassed in the use of electricity. Highly specialized horticulture meets the demands of its own and neighboring great urban markets.

This achievement is due largely to emphasis upon high and intensive development of scientific and mechanized farming, and upon research and new methods. Government aid to agriculture originated in colonial times, and has been continued by the outstanding work of the State Department of Agriculture and the Agricultural Experiment Station. The result is a vast, highly organized, and commercialized type of farming.

Colonial legislation to encourage agriculture—much of it not very effective—is briefly outlined in Carl Raymond Woodward, "Agricultural Legislation in Colonial New Jersey," *Agricultural History*, III, no. 1 (Jan., 1929), 15-28, with bibliography. Most of the laws were intended to meet specific economic conditions, and included bounties for certain crops, inspection, and protection of natural wealth.

A good brief history is in Myers, *The Story of New Jersey*, II, chap. 5, "Agriculture in the State of New Jersey," by W. H. Allen, Secretary of Agriculture, with brief bibliography. An interestingly presented account, grounded upon a wide variety of published and unpublished material, is Carl Raymond Woodward, *The Development of Agriculture in New Jersey, 1640-1880*

. . . (New Brunswick 1927), with a large bibliography, and concentrating upon the educational influences affecting agricultural development. The same author continues the story into the scientific era, in his "New Jersey Agriculture: 1860-1930," in Kull (ed.), *New Jersey, A History*, II, chap. 30, with a brief bibliography. The modern agricultural scene is vividly depicted, with numerous illustrations, by John T. Cunningham's *Garden State: the Story of Agriculture in New Jersey* (New Brunswick, 1955). This is based upon research in publications and many interviews with agricultural experts, farmers, professors, and county agents; and stresses the importance of research and of the 4-H clubs. A purely factual survey appears in New Jersey, Department of Agriculture, *New Jersey, the Garden State* (Trenton, 1941), illustrated, with an introductory glance at the state's general agricultural importance, and a review of many topics, and maps of the chief crop sections. In "New Jersey's Growing Agriculture," *Review of New Jersey Business*, VIII, no. 3 (Oct., 1952), 12-13, 19, Alan G. Waller and John W. Camcross stress the state's contribution to better farming in the nation: the vast increase in production of poultry, milk and vegetables; and of nursery and greenhouse crops.

New Jersey has always been noted for its gardening, which now is "big business." This fact is pressed home by George W. Luke, "Floricultural Industry in New Jersey" and O. Wesley Davidson, "The Orchid Industry in New Jersey," both in *Review of New Jersey Business*, X, no. 2 (July, 1954), 4-6. These point out that urbanism and industrialization have compelled agriculture to shift from livestock and grains to vegetables, dairy products, fruit, poultry, and flowers. The origins of gardening in the State are included in Garden Club of America, *Gardens of Colony and State; Gardens and Gardeners of the American Colonies and of the Republic before 1840* (2 vols.; New York, 1931-1934). The section on New Jersey, I, 305-327, has photographs of trees, homes, parks,

public squares, landscapes, gardens, etc., historical notes, and plans of estates and gardens.

New Jersey has achieved its name of "Garden State" through a long experience of education and experiment. Much of the early zeal for improvement proceeded from the New Jersey Agricultural Society, which has published its own *History . . . Early Attempts to Form a Society, Proceedings, Fairs, Activities, and Accomplishments, 1781-1940* (Trenton, 1947), with illustrations and references, and biographies of some officers, and special emphasis upon the Waverly Fairs. The unremitting official efforts of the State to promote and improve agriculture are chronicled in Harry Bischoff Weiss, *History of the New Jersey State Board of Agriculture, 1872-1916* (Trenton, 1949) and his *The New Jersey Department of Agriculture, 1916-1949* (Trenton, 1950), illustrated, with some general bibliography and listing of official publications. The first gives credit to the early agricultural societies (1781-1880) and the latter to many individuals who served the department. The vital part of research is exhaustively related in two scholarly, well-documented histories: Carl Raymond Woodward, and Ingrid Nelson Waller, *New Jersey's Agricultural Experiment Station, 1880-1930* (New Brunswick, 1932) and Ingrid Nelson Waller, *Where There Is Vision; the New Jersey Agricultural Experiment Station, 1880-1955* (New Brunswick, 1955), both illustrated. The first has a bibliography and a list of the Station's official publications, and is a plain-style factual history and reference work. The second is an estimate of the spirit and accomplishments of men associated with the Station, and the accomplishments of research in improving methods and products; and is written with a minimum of technical language and statistics.

A most attractive portrait of life in an old-time farming community, before agriculture became highly mechanized, is presented by Hubert G. Schmidt's *Rural Hunterdon, an Agricultural History* (New Brunswick, 1945), with illustrations and a huge bibliography of

primary and secondary sources. Before reading, one could hardly believe that a book like this could be so entertaining; few other counties in the nation could boast of such a work. Other insights into old-time farm life are afforded by Harry Bischoff Weiss and Grace M. Ziegler (comps.), *Some Legislation Affecting Rural Life in Colonial New Jersey* (Trenton, 1957); and Robert J. Sim, *Pages from the Past of Rural New Jersey* (Trenton, 1949), with illustrations.

C. TRANSPORTATION

The state's vital participation in the national economy has been dependent upon its highly articulated transportation system. Because of its importance as a corridor between New York and Philadelphia, New Jersey had efficient highway and stage lines even before the Revolution. With this long head start, it became and has remained a leader in the improvement of roads. The New Jersey Turnpike and the Garden State Parkway are the outcome of early rivalry of stage lines for the fastest travel. The State's roads are vital to the economy of the Northeast.

In colonial times waterways were an essential factor, for the province was the most accessible by water of the colonies. As industry expanded, and demanded more speedy transportation, New Jersey naturally assumed a significant and leading part in the development of steam navigation, canals, and railroads. The reputed father of the American railroad was John Stevens of Hoboken.

The most complete, scholarly, and definitive history of early transportation by land and water is Wheaton Joshua Lane's *From Indian Trail to Iron Horse; Travel and Transportation in New Jersey, 1620-1860* (Princeton, 1939), with illustrations, maps, and bibliography. It relates the spread of early settlement to transportation facilities, and throughout ties the subject to general economic and social history, with many picturesque de-

tails. An entertaining essay, carrying the story to about 1840, is Cornelius C. Vermeule's "Early Transportation in and about New Jersey," in *Proceedings*, new series, IX, no. 2 (Apr., 1924), 106-124. There is special emphasis upon the Camden and Amboy Railroad, the Delaware and Raritan and Morris Canals, and the Raritan Valley and the early importance of Raritan Landing. A good bibliography is included in Richard Pitts Powell's prize essay, "Transportation and Travel in Colonial New Jersey," in *Proceedings*, new series, XVI, no. 3 (July, 1931), 284-310. Based upon news items, advertisements, laws, and travel narratives, the story features development of postal service, governmental aid to transportation, an entertaining account of stage travel, the growth of commerce, fairs, peddlers, the great influence of inns and taverns upon transportation, and the hazards and discomforts of travel.

Much interesting local history is woven into Charles S. Boyer's "Indian Trails and Early Paths," in Camden County Historical Society, *Camden History*, II, pt. 2 (Camden, 1938), an account of old roads in South Jersey, taverns, ferries, travel, etc.—a "stage coach and tavern days" romance. Another entertaining history, from the first quarter of the eighteenth century, is his "Stage Routes in West Jersey," in *Camden History*, I, nos. 10-12, a detailed study from original records, on the route from Philadelphia to New York, and with data on many local lines, rates, and ferries across the Delaware. A brief, illustrated account is Margaret S. Pierce, "Early Stage and Mail Routes Through West Jersey (1759-1854)," in American Philatelic Congress, 14th (1948), *Original Papers*, 18-26.

Early in the nineteenth century the drive for improved roads burgeoned into a full-blown internal improvements fever. The rage for toll roads is described by Wheaton Joshua Lane in "The Turnpike Movement in New Jersey," *Proceedings*, LIV, no. 1 (Jan., 1936), 19-52, with references. New Jersey plunged into the movement to favor its farm and mine products, and build up New

York as a market, attracted New York capital, and granted many special favors. The companies often suffered from poor management and unwise routing, and after a brief period of prosperity, yielded to the competition of railroads and canals. The interest in better highways survived and inspired the modern revival of toll roads. This is studied in Richard William Reed, "Toll Roads in the State Highway System," since c. 1937, including New Jersey, a Clark University thesis (*University Microfilms*, Ann Arbor, Mich., pub. no. 13,021; *Dissertation Abstracts*, XV, 1746-1747). A typical modern toll road is thoroughly described by "New Jersey Turnpike, Tomorrow's Highway Built Today," in *Civil Engineering* (January, 1951), 26-94, including 13 articles by members of the Turnpike Authority staff. The early turnpike company method of financing by private capital is a prominent feature in an article by Paul L. Troast, Chairman of the Authority: "The New Jersey Turnpike," in *Traffic Quarterly*, V, no. 3 (July, 1951), 262-271, with illustrations and a map. This points out the necessity of New Jersey's turnpikes to the economy of the whole Northeast. The general supervision of the State's roads is detailed by Sidney Goldmann and Thomas J. Groves, *The Organization and Administration of the New Jersey State Highway Department* (Trenton, 1942).

Among the attractive features of old-time travel was the wayside inn. New Jersey had many famous ones, and some are mentioned in Lee, *New Jersey as a Colony and as a State*, I, chap. 17, "Ordinaries, Inns, and Taverns." Brief histories of many (chiefly in the Southern counties) are in Charles S. Boyer, *Old Inns and Taverns in West Jersey* (Camden, 1962), derived from close study of court minutes, license applications, wills, deeds, other manuscript sources, and many books. He associated the hostleries with social life and customs, legislation, and local history. New Jersey had about 450 taverns in 1784, with 246 in West Jersey!

The first complete story of New Jersey's water transportation, emphasizing the state's position as a focus of

routes, is Charles S. Boyer's *Waterways of New Jersey; History of Riparian Ownership and Control over the Navigable Waters . . .* (Camden, 1915), with maps. This thoroughly reviews legislation (citing cases and grants), regulation of navigation and commerce, Federal authority over navigable waters, improvements, etc. Early development and use of waterways is outlined in Wheaton J. Lane, "Water Transportation in Colonial New Jersey," *Proceedings*, LIII, no. 2 (Apr., 1935), 77-89, with references. This stresses early river traffic, landings, industries at the head of navigation, stores, types of vessels, hazards, ports, and especially the importance of Delaware River traffic and measures to improve navigation.

Nature kindly endowed the state with rivers and harbors, and entrepreneurs strove to improve the advantages by enthusiastic investment in canals. The movement is described by Horace Jerome Cranmer, "The New Jersey Canals: State Policy and Private Enterprise, 1820-1832," a Columbia University thesis, *University Microfilms*, Ann Arbor, Mich., pub. no. 13,974, 1955; *Dissertation Abstracts*, XV, 2053), with bibliography. A general history is given in Richard F. Veit, *The Old Canals of New Jersey* (Little Falls, 1963), including also railroads and bridges. For a time it seemed doubtful whether the canal or the railroad would win as the prime factor in transportation, according to Julius Rubin, "Canal or Railroad? Imitation and Innovation in the Response to the Erie Canal in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Boston," in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, new series, LI, pt. 7 (Nov., 1961).

One of the waterways attained, c. 1850-1870, a prosperity "rarely equalled in America by any other canal save the Erie." This is the opinion of Crawford Clark Madeira, Jr., in *The Delaware and Raritan Canal, A History* (East Orange, 1941), derived from many manuscript and printed sources. This business history omits the political and most legal aspects, and relates it to the New Jersey and general American canal movement; and has an entertaining account of canal traffic and life.

Abandonment followed loss of freight to the Pennsylvania Railroad and of pleasure boats to the ocean route. There is valuable material on this canal also in Robert T. Thompson's *Colonel James Neilson . . .* (New Brunswick, 1940). The story of the Morris Canal, from its origin in 1822 until its abandonment in 1924, is related in: H. Jerome Cranmer, "Internal Improvements in New Jersey: Planning the Morris Canal (1822-24)," *Proceedings*, LXIX, no. 4 (Oct., 1951), 324-341, a condensation of a master's thesis, Columbia University; Wheaton J. Lane, "The Morris Canal," *Proceedings*, LV, nos. 3, 4 (July, Oct., 1937), 214-231, 251-263; and Cornelius C. Vermeule, "The Morris Canal," *Newcomen Society Transcript*, XV, 195-202. This canal connected the Delaware and Passaic rivers and was intended chiefly to carry anthracite coal. Another vital artery is described in Edwin D. Le Roy, *The Delaware and Hudson Canal: a History* (Honesdale, Pa., c. 1950), with illustrations and maps; Wayne County Historical Society, Honesdale, Pa., *The Delaware & Hudson Canal, and the Gravity Railroads Connecting with the Mines, 1829-98* (Honesdale, 1949), with large map, views, and historical notes; and Dorothea O. Benner, "The D. and H. Canal, Pennsylvania and New York," in *New York Folklore Quarterly*, VI (Winter, 1950), 260-267, from recollections of Tom and John McGinnis and others. This canal connected the coal fields of northeastern Pennsylvania with the Hudson River.

These canals all helped to bind New Jersey's economy more closely to the great seaports, especially New York. A full explanation of the connection is given by Robert Greenhalgh Albion, *The Rise of New York Port . . .* with the collaboration of Jennie Barnes Pope (New York and London, 1939) with illustrations, maps, and a bibliography; also his "New Jersey and the Port of New York," in *Proceedings*, LVIII, no. 2 (Apr., 1940), 84-92. The latter exploration explores the reasons the state's foreign trade passed through New York and Philadelphia rather than its own ports, but credits New Jersey with

a very important part in the development of steam navigation. The Port of Newark is the great bid for foreign commerce. Another answer is cooperation with the Port of New York Authority, which has issued accounts of its activity in *The Port of New York Authority: A Monograph* (New York, 1936), illustrated; and *A Selected Bibliography, 1921-1962* (New York, 1962), a classified list of periodical articles, separate publications and documents.

As Albion has demonstrated, New Jersey began to develop commercially in the 1840's, when railroads brought freight to the Hudson River and steamship companies were based at Jersey City and Hoboken. An excellent brief review of railroad history is Raymond Duryea Bessey, *The Railroads in the State of New Jersey* . . . (Oradell, 1945). He traces the development from 1825, when Colonel John Stevens of Hoboken built the first practical steam locomotive. His accounts of 26 railroads were derived partly from their records. An outstanding and readable history, with many illustrations and a bibliography, is John T. Cunningham's *Railroads in New Jersey* (New York, 1952), a collection of articles written for the magazine of the *Newark Sunday News*, January 7-April 29, 1951, and published by the Associated Railroads of New Jersey. The place of New Jersey in the history of railroading is indicated in Thomas T. Taber, "Description of the Transportation Collection," *Proceedings*, LXIX, no. 1 (Jan., 1951), 1-15.

The railroad era began with the Camden and Amboy, chartered in 1830, opened in 1831, and placed in operation in 1833. Its history, until its absorption by the Pennsylvania Railroad in 1873, is related by Anna M. Brakeley, "The First Railroad in New Jersey," *Proceedings*, new series, X, no. 3 (July, 1925), 273-282. She mentions especially its rivalry with the Delaware and Raritan Canal and interestingly describes its operations. Its ambitions to control transportation are reviewed by Roger Avery Barton, "The Camden and Amboy Railroad Monopoly," in *Proceedings*, new series, XII, no. 4 (Oct.,

1927), 405-419; and in Robert T. Thompson, "Transportation Combines and Pressure Politics in New Jersey, 1833-1836," *Proceedings*, LVII, no. 1 (Jan., 1939), 1-15, and no. 2 (Apr., 1939), 71-86.

How the "Pennsy" absorbed the Camden and Amboy (and much more) is the theme of Howard Ward Schotter, *The Growth and Development of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company . . .* (Philadelphia, 1927), reviewing its spread over the state by acquisition of other properties by lease or purchase. An earlier account, illustrated with engravings of scenery on the route, is William B. Sipes, *The Pennsylvania Railroad: Its Origin, Construction, Condition, and Connections . . .* (Philadelphia, 1875). A few other histories trace the development of New Jersey's amazing mesh of rails: Leslie E. Freeman, Jr., "The New Jersey Railroad and Transportation Company (1831-71)," in Railway & Locomotive Historical Society, *Bulletin*, LXXXVIII (May, 1953), 100-159, with map and views, based on a Princeton University thesis; Charles L. Towle, "History of the Camden and Atlantic Railroad and Associated Railroads, 1852-1897," in Railway & Locomotive Historical Society, *Bulletin*, LXXIII (May, 1948), pp. 16-45, with maps and views; William White, *The Lackawanna, "the Route of Phoebe Snow," 1851-1951: a Centenary Address* (New York, 1951), on the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company; Joseph F. Folsom, "The Beginnings of the Morris and Essex Railroad," in *Proceedings*, new series, I, no. 2 (Apr., 1916), 60-71; Jim Alan Ross, "The Pioneer Erie," in *Erie Railroad Magazine*, XLVII, no. 3 (May, 1951), 4-9, 50-51, with references to New Jersey, especially gaining access to Paterson and Jersey City, 1852-1853; Howard E. Johnston, *The New Jersey Short Line Railroads . . .* (Plainfield, 1959), a de luxe album of photographs; Jules Irwin Bogen, *The Anthracite Railroads; a Study in American Railroad Enterprise* (New York [c 1927]), with map and bibliography; published also as a Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, 1927.

The long-passed trolley car era of New Jersey is in-

cluded in John Anderson Miller, *Fares Please! A Popular History of Trolleys, Horse-Cars, Street-Cars, Buses, Elevateds, and Subways* (New York, 1960), with bibliography. There are references to several street railway lines and to the rise and activities of Public Service of New Jersey, and the career of Thomas N. McCarter as a traction magnate.

The immense importance of New Jersey's transportation system to the economy of metropolitan New York is "nowhere else so well summarized" as in L. Alfred Jenny, *Report on the Acute Transportation Problem Existing between Northeastern New Jersey and the City of New York* (Trenton, 1951). This reviews the problem since 1908, and was prefaced by a railroad consulting engineer, who had reported on the question also in 1921, 1934, 1935, and 1936.

D. LABOR AND LABORING CLASSES

New Jersey's early importance in the American labor movement is revealed by the fact that the state organization of the American Federation of Labor is believed to be the oldest in continuous existence. It was among the first to agitate for workmen's compensation and unemployment insurance. Some of the earliest and most prominent American labor leaders were Jerseymen. In the State were fought some pioneer battles for union recognition, such as the textile strikes at Paterson and other places in 1912. There occurred some early efforts to achieve industrial unionism. New Jersey was a pioneer in the struggle to correct working conditions of women and children. It has led the states in caring for migrant workers, and in 1953 was the only one with a migrant bureau.

Literature on laboring folk in the State is scanty, excepting official government reports, and publications of labor organizations. The major general histories barely mention the subject. Lee, *New Jersey as a Colony and as a State*, has notes on slaves, redemptioners, and ap-

prentices in his first volume, Chapter 10, "Some Phases of Early Life." (For slavery, see Chapter VI, under Negroes.) There are no separate chapters on the labor movement in Lee, Kull, or Myers; and excepting articles on slavery, the *Proceedings* of The New Jersey Historical Society contain very little.

There are frequent references to New Jersey in Richard B. Morris, *Government and Labor in Early America* (New York, 1946), an exceptionally able and scholarly account of labor conditions in the colonial and early national periods.

A vast amount of statistical and other information is contained in the New Jersey Bureau of Statistics of Labor and Industry, *Annual Reports*, especially the tenth, details on organization of trade unions and the Knights of Labor, apprenticeship practices, and strikes. An early history of labor legislation is Franklin M. Fort, *The Labor Laws of New Jersey and Cases Under the Law of Master and Servant* (Camden, 1903), issued under the auspices of the New Jersey Statistics and Records Bureau. Another excellent, well-documented account is Philip Charles Newman's *The Labor Legislation of New Jersey* (Washington, D.C., 1943); with an exhaustive bibliography of books, official documents of the United States, of New Jersey, and of organizations; magazine articles, unpublished theses and dissertations, pamphlets, and New Jersey newspapers. This reviews the major basic economic and political forces behind legislation, various phases of the labor movement, and the growth of the Department of Labor. The story is continued in Harry C. Harper, *Labor Legislation in New Jersey, 1944-1950* (Trenton, 1950). Important decisions affecting the interests of laboring people appear in Philip C. Newman, "Labor Legislating by the New Jersey Court of Chancery (1883-1947)," in *University of Detroit Law Journal*, XI (Mar., 1948), 67-91, with notes; and in Martin Greenberg, "Injunctions in Labor Disputes in New Jersey," in *Rutgers Law Review*, XI, no. 2 (Winter, 1956), 445-464, a critical analysis of the Court

of Chancery's issuance of injunctions under the New Jersey anti-injunction law.

The beginnings of labor unions came before the Civil War, as is related in Frank T. DeVyver, "The Organization of Labor in New Jersey Before 1860," a doctoral thesis at Princeton University, 1934, a richly detailed account that should be studied closely for a perception of the trends. The earliest major organization was the American Federation of Labor. Its development is related in Louis P. Marciante, "The A. F. of L. in New Jersey," in *American Federationist*, LX, no. 2 (Feb., 1953), 12-13, 27-31, written for its 75th anniversary. The state organization existed before the national one, and this essay surveys its legislative accomplishments and many activities for the betterment of working conditions, and mentions some Jerseymen as leaders in the American labor movement. The manifold activities are gathered into the New Jersey State Federation of Labor, *Annual Legislative Reports*, compiled and edited by James Hoover of the Workers' Education Bureau; also in the *Proceedings* of the Annual Convention and officers' reports; New Jersey State Building Trades Council (AFL), *Proceedings* of Annual Convention and officers' reports; and New Jersey State Industrial Union Council (CIO), *Proceedings* of Annual Convention and officers' reports, all with details and trends in activities. Great growth of organized labor membership occurred during the period of the "New Deal" and World War II.

The beginnings of industrial unionism are recorded by Philip Charles Newman, "The First I. W. W. Invasion of New Jersey," in *Proceedings*, LVIII, no. 4 (Oct., 1940), 268-283, with bibliography. He relates the labor-management conflicts over recognition of the union, in the Paterson, Passaic and Garfield textile mills in 1912. The strikers generally lost, but industrial unionism eventually won with the coming of the C. I. O. Internal conflicts in the unions also are mentioned. The importance of the textile industry in labor history is emphasized in Grace Hutchins, *Labor and Silk* (New York, 1929),

with illustrations and bibliography; and in Morton Seigel, "The Passaic Textile Strike of 1926," a first-rate and complete account, Columbia University thesis, 1952, with bibliography (*University Microfilms*, Ann Arbor, Mich., pub. no. 4596, 1953; *Dissertation Abstracts*, XIII, 84-85).

Other important material on the textile troubles is in Albert Weisbord, *Passaic* (New York, 1926), written during the crisis; Mary Heaton Vorse, *Passaic* (Chicago, n. d.). An outstanding one among the many periodical articles is Justine Waterman Wise, "Principles and Realities in Passaic," in *The Independent*, CXVII (July 10, 1926). There is material also in Charles Shriner, *Four Chapters of Paterson History* (Paterson, 1919) and William Nelson and Charles Shriner, *History of Paterson and Its Environs* (New York and Chicago, 1920), with background information.

An excellent, scholarly study of union organization in this important industry is James E. Wood, *History of Labor in the Broad Silk Industry, 1872-1940*, a doctoral thesis at the University of California, 1941, with a superb account of the I. W. W. and its two factions, the United Textile Workers, and independent unions in silk manufactories. An official story is found in New Jersey Statistics and Records Bureau, "The Silk Strike of 1913," reprinted from the Bureau's *Annual Report of 1913*.

Such violent troubles inspired efforts to promote mediation and better employer-labor relations. A scholarly consideration of mediation is William Weinberg, "An Administrative History of the New Jersey Board of Mediation," a doctoral thesis at the University of Pennsylvania. The beginnings of "labor relations" in industry appear in New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, *Shop Committees and Industrial Councils* (Newark, 1919), a report of the Bureau of Research, with a brief account of the background of employee representation plans and a detailed presentation of their structure, including the pioneering one of "Esso" at Bayonne.

Labor history in New Jersey has been distinguished

by a continual and successful battle of labor unions and middle-class humanitarians to remedy working conditions. A summary of half a century of effort is in Consumers' League of New Jersey, "Fiftieth Anniversary Booklet" (Newark, 1952), on the struggle to improve conditions among women and children in factories and home industries. The archives of the League are in the manuscript collection of the Rutgers University Library. The origin and growth of New Jersey's policy for treatment of working children is surveyed to 1910 in Arthur Sargent Field, "The Child Labor Policy of New Jersey," in *American Economic Association Quarterly*, 3rd series, XI, no. 3.

The State's industrialized and mechanized agriculture has attracted great numbers of migrant laborers. The generally humane and intelligent handling of the problem has been indicated by Mary Heaton Vorse's essay, "America's Submerged Class: the Migrants," in *Harper's Magazine*, CCVI, no. 1233 (Feb., 1953), 86-93, on conditions in the South Jersey agricultural labor camps. In spite of some scandalous instances of neglect, it is stated that New Jersey has headed the states in caring for migrants, with Freehold and the Seabrook Farms as good examples. Agitation by the Consumers' League has spearheaded improvement. Detailed information is available in John G. Scholl (ed.), *Annual Reports of the Division of Migrant Labor* (New Jersey Department of Labor, 1945-1948).

Supervision of such care, and reports on working conditions, etc. are handled by the Department of Labor. Its activities are summarized by James A. T. Gribbin, *The Organization, Duties, and Functions of the New Jersey State Department of Labor and Industry, 1948-1950* (Trenton, 1950). A mine of information is in the Department's *Annual Reports* (Trenton, 1878-1950). An important statement on official policy in promoting labor's welfare is Howard Eastwood's *Labor Security in the Post-War Period, Second Report of the State Commission on Post-War Economic Welfare* (Trenton, 1945).

The State is striving to eliminate racial discrimination in employment, and in fact the movement for equality began early in the present century, as is shown in a very important study of racial discrimination in W. C. Garrison, *The Negro in Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries* (Trenton? 1903?), a detailed discussion of discrimination in hiring and in membership in trade unions.

Few people know that our annual observance of the honor of manual labor resulted from the efforts of a Jerseyman. His victory is celebrated by "An American Dream Come True; Peter J. McGuire, Father of Labor Day," in *New Jersey Labor Herald* (August, 1957), 7, 12. The files of the *Herald* are a rich source of information about modern labor union activities and labor legislation.

X

ARTS AND INTELLECTUAL LIFE

A. GENERAL HISTORY: ART AND CRAFTS

This is a comparatively neglected field. What might be done is suggested in Jane Boicourt's essay, "Antiques in New Jersey," in *Antiques*, LXII, no. 3 (Sept., 1962), 202-203. She states that colonials imported many household furnishings from abroad, or from New York and Philadelphia. She mentions, however, numerous craftsmen, local manufactories, and well-known artists who worked in the state, and includes glass, ceramics, coins, paintings, sculpture, furniture, and especially silversmiths' work.

Writings on the history of art are not abundant. There is too little on the subject in general histories; very few articles appear even in *The New Jersey Historical Society Proceedings*. A cursory review is included in Federal Writers' Project, New Jersey, *New Jersey, A Guide to Its Present and Past* (New York, 1939), 181-186, "Painting, Sculpture and Crafts."

Exhibit catalogs and other publications of the State Museum in Trenton are a copious source of information on New Jersey's arts. The museum's work is reviewed in Kathryn B. Greywacz, "The New Jersey State Museum: a History of Service, 1890-1955," in *State Government*, XXVIII, no. 2 (Feb., 1955), 44-45, 51. This describes aid to schools, the educational program, extensive archaeological exploration, exhibits, catalogs featuring the state's culture from Indian times, and contributions to Ameri-

can civilization. (For Indian art, see Chapter on Indians and Antiquities.) Examples of the exhibit catalogs generally entitled "Early Arts of New Jersey" are: "Furniture, Pewter, Samplers, 1695-1840," introduction by Carl M. Williams (Trenton, 1953); "New Jersey Iron, 1674-1850," introduction by Boris Erich Nelson (Trenton, 1954); "The Potter's Art, c. 1680-1900" (Trenton, 1956), with 376 items, and historical information quoted from notes by the late Robert J. Sim, adviser on colonial pottery, stoneware and redware. Another evidence of the riches is the catalog of an exhibition by the Newark Museum Association, Newark, *Owned in New Jersey; Paintings and Decorative Arts from New Jersey Homes . . .* (Newark, 1946).

Further witness to the artistry of Jersey folk in their homes is in Thomas Smith Hopkins and Walter Scott Cox, *Colonial Furniture of West New Jersey* (Haddonfield, 1936), published (with illustrations and descriptions) by the Haddonfield Historical Society. Furniture is described at length in Newark Museum Association, *Early Furniture Made in New Jersey; 1690-1870; an Exhibition, October 10, 1958—January 11, 1959 . . .* ([Newark] c. 1958), with illustrations and bibliography. Folk arts are well illustrated by Jean (Herzberg) Lipman, *American Folk Decoration . . .* (New York, 1951), with bibliography. This includes painting or stenciling of furniture, wall tinware, coaches, signs, birth and baptism certificates, and decorative needlework in the northeastern states for the period 1675 to 1850. Instructions for restoration or imitation are by Eve Meulendyke.

New Jersey's most famous early art, glass making, is featured in Chapter 9 of Lurette Van Arsdale Guild, *The Geography of American Antiques* (Garden City, N.Y., 1927), with bibliography, special attention to Wistar and Stanger glass, and references to Jersey City pottery and Burlington stoneware. Silversmithing also had an early start, according to Julia Sabine's "Silversmiths of New Jersey, 1623-1800, Compiled from Books and Newspapers," in *Proceedings*, LXI, no. 3 (July, 1943), 145-177,

and no. 4 (Oct., 1943), 249-271, with references. She lists 47 men and firms, and calls attention to the large amount of silver owned before 1800, but states that there was no distinctive New Jersey style or motif. Carl Mark Williams, *Silversmiths of New Jersey, 1700-1825, with Some Notices of Clockmakers Who Were Also Silversmiths* (Philadelphia, 1949), with bibliography, mentions about 70 craftsmen, with 50 illustrations of their silverware and clocks. He includes an historical account of the art in New Jersey.*

Perhaps the best known art of New Jersey is that of pottery, which attained its pinnacle in the Trenton business described by George Sanford Holmes, *Lenox China; the Story of Walter Scott Lenox* (Philadelphia, 1924), illustrated. This is the story of an idealist who devoted his life to making American ceramic art equal to the best. It celebrates also his manager, Henry A. Brown, his designer, Frank G. Holmes, and the decorator, William H. Clayton.

There are references to the State's accomplishments in various writings on the development of the art in the United States, all by Arthur W. Clement: *Notes on American Ceramics, 1607-1943* ([Brooklyn, 1944]), written for an exhibition at the Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, with a bibliography.—*Our Pioneer Potters* (New York, 1947), with a bibliography and illustrations.—*Notes on Early American Porcelain, 1738-1838* ([New York, 1946]).—*Notes on American Pottery* ([New York, 1942]), with part 1 on "Some Early New Jersey Potteries."—Newark Museum Association, Newark, N. J., *The Pottery and Porcelain of New Jersey, 1688-1900; an Exhibition, April 8-May 11, 1947* (Newark, 1947), illustrated.

* He deplores the general lack of writing on the early history of the arts in New Jersey.

B. ARCHITECTURE AND GRAPHIC ARTS

1. Architecture

Many people think of New Jersey buildings as factories, office blocks, and more or less monotonous housing "developments". They will be pleasantly surprised by examination of a few books on American architecture. A brief review is on pages 172-181 of Federal Writers' Project, New Jersey, *New Jersey, A Guide to Its Present and Past* (New York, 1939, 1946).

The variety and artistry are delightful, and suggest the state's cosmopolitan diversity. Alan Gowans, *Images of American Living; Four Centuries of Architecture & Furniture as Cultural Expression* (Philadelphia, 1964) includes New Jersey examples, and bibliographical data on architects who have worked in the state. Dorothy and Richard Pratt, *A Guide to Early American Homes: North* (New York, 1956) briefly describes about fifty in New Jersey, including most of the well-known ones. John Maass, *The Gingerbread Age, A View of Victorian America* (New York, 1956), with a selected bibliography, presents examples of Victorian, American Gothic, Italianate, and Mansard architecture—some attractive, some fascinatingly bizarre. Notes and illustrations occur also in Vincent Joseph Scully, *The Shingle Style* (New Haven, 1955), and in Federal Writers' Project, *New Jersey, A Guide . . .* (New York, 1939, 1946), which points out architectural monuments in the smaller and relatively unchanged towns.

The best overall treatment of colonial houses is by the noted architectural photographer, Thomas Tileston Waterman, *The Dwellings of Colonial America* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1950), with many illustrations, plans, maps, notes, and a bibliography. He emphasizes especially Swedish influence in West Jersey and Dutch in the northern counties, and mentions also German, Huguenot, and English influences. Some New Jersey examples are found in Herbert Clifton Wise and H. Ferdinand Beidle-

man, *Colonial Architecture for Those About to Build* . . . (Philadelphia and London, 1913), with many good photographs of exteriors and interiors, but less text on each building than would be expected in a book of such pretensions. All the examples are in West Jersey. Harold Donaldson Eberlein and Cortlandt Van Dyke Hubbard, *Colonial Interiors, Federal and Greek Revival* . . . (New York, 1938) covers the Georgian period, pays special attention to the Regency and Federal styles, and includes about forty New Jersey photographs. It demonstrates the high level of artistry in the State, and suggests more wealth and refinement there than is generally supposed.

Books and articles devoted solely to New Jersey architecture appear more numerous than for any other art, and are generally of high quality, although repetitious. A good general survey is the notes by Julia Sabine on William S. Turner's lecture, "New Jersey Architecture," in *Proceedings*, LV, no. 4 (Oct., 1937), 289-295. This indicates the influences of surrounding states and of the national character of the settlers, gives examples of influences and styles, and includes Dutch and Quaker religious buildings, Dutch homes, Swedish influence in southern brick architecture, and patterned brick houses. One of the most complete pictorial works on architecture in an American state is Lars De Lagerberg, *New Jersey Architecture, Colonial & Federal* (Springfield, Mass., 1956), covering the period from first settlement to about 1830. It is illustrated by many sketches of architectural detail, photographs of houses and their interior details, and colored pictures of wallpaper. It also includes churches and other public buildings. The text relates architecture to changing conditions of living. For many years the only such book was Witmer Jay Mills, *Historic Houses of New Jersey* . . . (Philadelphia and London, 1902), with photogravure illustrations from drawings, photographs and prints. Its accounts of 47 houses include history, traditions, family recollections, and anecdotes about the inhabitants. Eight historic homes are featured, with pictures and notes on events and persons, in

"Famous Houses of New Jersey," *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine*, LXX, no. 6 (June, 1936), 526-530.

Interest in New Jersey architecture at first concentrated largely upon the picturesque and much imitated Dutch farmhouses of the northern counties. One of the earliest admirers was the professional architect, Aymar Embury, II. He recognized them as a distinctive style, in an essay, "Three Old Dutch Roads and the Houses Along Them," *Country Life*, XVI, no. 6 (Oct., 1909), 590-594, 656, 658, 660, 662, with photographs, mostly of exteriors. The houses excited attention by their homely dignity, excellent proportions, sound workmanship, and handsome decorative details. After more extensive study, Embury summarized his observations in *An Architectural Monograph on Farm Houses of New Netherlands* (St. Paul, Minn., 1915), with photographs of several houses in northern New Jersey.

This charming style, adapted to modest and comfortable farm life and using the local red sandstone, is appreciated by several other authors: John T. Boyd, Jr., "Some Early Dutch Houses in New Jersey; an Architectural Study of Origin, Evolution and Detail," in *Architectural Record*, XXXVI, no. 1 (July-Sept., 1914), 31-48, 148-158, 221-230, pays special attention to interiors and handsome mantels. He states that much of the early work (particularly the cut stone) was done by slaves. Rosalie Fellows Bailey, *Pre-Revolutionary Dutch Houses and Families in Northern New Jersey and Southern New York* (New York, 1936), with an introduction by Franklin D. Roosevelt, is sumptuously illustrated, and has genealogies of the dwellers in each house. A brief illustrated review is Rowland C. Ellis, *Colonial Dutch Houses in New Jersey* (Newark, 1933).

The southern counties also evolved a peculiar style, featuring artistic brickwork, as described in Paul Love, "Patterned Brickwork in Southern New Jersey," in *Proceedings*, LXXIII, no. 3 (July, 1955), 182-208. This detailed study has photographs and a list of over one

hundred examples, mostly of the eighteenth century in Burlington and Salem counties. Ornamental use of vitrified headers continued a late-mediaeval European tradition. An excellent appreciation of this style is Joseph Sheppard Sickler's *The Old Houses of Salem County* (Salem, 1934; 2nd ed., Salem, 1949), including about fifty erected between 1687 and 1815, with histories and descriptions. It is said that Salem has more houses built before 1750 than any other county and is remarkable for its peculiar, skillful brickwork. *Colonial and Old Houses of Greenwich, New Jersey* (Vineland, 1907), illustrated, is by Bessie Ayars Andrews. She depicted old-time life through extensive documentary research and personal knowledge of many homes and their inhabitants.

One of the most careful studies is Helen Way Fitzpatrick's "Some Old Houses of Cape May County," in *Cape May County Magazine of History and Genealogy*, III, nos. 4-6 (June, 1950-June, 1952), 103-116, 163-176, 214-224. Arranged by roads, this has a large amount of local history, descriptions and sketches of architectural features, and much genealogical information. Other survivals are described by Charles S. Boyer, "The Old Houses in Camden, New Jersey . . ." in *Annals of Camden*, no. 1 (Camden, 1920). The associations and architecture of an ancient house are explained in his "Pomona Hall, The Home of Joseph Cooper, Jr.", Camden County Historical Society, *Camden History*, I, no. 7, with a detailed account of the property and the family.

For many references to American church architecture, see James Ward Smith and A. Leland Jamison (eds.), *Religion in American Life: Volume Four, A Critical Bibliography of Religion in America*, by Nelson R. Burr (Princeton, 1961), Part Four, "Religion in the Arts and Literature," for guides and bibliographies, general histories of American church architecture, types and periods.

One may read much about New England, Virginia, and Maryland churches and little of those in New Jersey; and yet some of them can stand comparison with the best. Many are included in Harold Wickliffe Rose, *The*

Colonial Houses of Worship in America: Built in the English Colonies Before the Republic, 1607-1789, and Still Standing Ad Majorem Gloriam Dei . . . (New York, 1964), with the author's photographs and maps, historical notes, and a bibliography; New Jersey houses of worship appear on pages 259-291. Their fine craftsmanship appears in Philip B. Wallace, *Colonial Churches and Meeting Houses, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware* (New York, 1931), with measured drawings, and exterior and interior views illustrating details of workmanship. One should consult also Matilda Hardendorf Perry, "Historic Churches of New Jersey," in *American Monthly Magazine*, XLI, no. 3 (Sept., 1912), 129-131; and Marian Card, "Early Church Architecture of New Jersey," (Master's thesis, Oberlin College, 1948); an abstract appears in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, VII, nos. 3-4 (July-Dec., 1948), 31. One of New Jersey's distinctive styles is that of the Quaker meetinghouse, illustrated by views in Horace Mather Lippincott, *Quaker Meeting Houses, and a Little Humor* (Jenkin-town, Pa., 1952), with accounts of individual meetings since 1682.

Among the most impressive and tasteful public edifices are the older courthouses, described in John Marshall College, *Court Houses and Court Rooms, United States and New Jersey, Their History and Architecture . . .* (Jersey City, 1937), illustrated, with historical sketches by William G. McLoughlin. The most impressive public building of the colonial period is considered by six essayists in Henry Savage (ed.), *Nassau Hall, 1756-1956* (Princeton, 1956), including illustrations and floor plans, and notes on the significance in state and national history; and on the President's house. The alterations in its architecture, reflecting changing tastes, are related by Robert Chester Smith, "John Notman's Nassau Hall," in *Princeton University Library Chronicle*, XIV (Spring, 1953), 109-134, with views and a plan. A unique colonial building is described by Alden Tucker Cottrell, *The Old Barracks at Trenton* (Trenton, 1951), with illustra-

tions of this unusual landmark, erected in 1758, restored in 1917, the only survivor of five built by the British during the French and Indian War. The present Governor's Mansion receives a scholarly appreciation in Alfred Hoyt Bill, and Walter E. Edge, *A House Called Morven, Its Role in American History, 1701-1945, with an Essay on the Architecture by George B. Tatum* (Princeton, 1954), with plans, portraits, views, a bibliography, and essays on members of the Stockton family. They occupied the house until 1945, when it was sold to the former governor, Walter E. Edge, who gave it to the State in 1951.

2. Artists

From colonial times New Jersey has attracted painters and other graphic artists, who recorded its scenery or portrayed eminent persons. Some of their work appears in the catalog of an exhibition given by the Newark Museum: *Early New Jersey Artists, 18th and 19th Centuries . . .* (Newark, 1957), comprising 111 examples, with several illustrations and a list of New Jersey artists and members of the Newark Sketch Club. The lure of New Jersey scenery for painters is suggested by the Curator of Painting and Sculpture at the Newark Museum, William H. Gerdts, Jr., "Visiting Artists in New Jersey," in *Proceedings*, LXXIII, no. 1 (Jan., 1955), 47-51, on eleven portraitists and landscapists who painted in the state, 1714-c. 1880, including some of nation-wide fame.

By the same author are "Rembrandt Lockwood, an Artist of Newark," *Proceedings*, LXXVI, no. 4 (Oct., 1958), 265-279, with references and a list of his paintings and sculptures; and "Henry Inman in New Jersey," LXXVIII, no. 3 (July, 1960), 178-187. Lockwood, an artist of very considerable talent, flourished for many years in Newark and New York, but turned to architecture and designed churches, because of contemporary lack of interest in religious painting. The essay on In-

man states that New Jersey became artistically important "from its role as host to visiting artists"—landscape and portrait painters, mostly the former. Inman lived in Burlington in the 1830's and did some of his best work there. Some artists had summer studios in New Jersey, while George Innes and Asher Durand had permanent homes there. The latter's activity in New Jersey is mentioned in John Durand, *The Life and Times of A. B. Durand* (New York, 1894), illustrated.

New Jersey was the home of one of the first firms of American engravers. Their activity is completely recorded by Stephen De Witt Stephens, in *The Mavericks: American Engravers* (New Brunswick, 1950), with facsimiles, portraits, a bibliography, and a check list of their engravings and lithographs. Three generations flourished in New York City and Newark from 1775 to 1845.

Widespread artistic activity in the present century is revealed by Lolita Lucia Woolrich Flockhart, *Art and Artists in New Jersey* (Somerville, 1938), comprising: biographies of 72 artists, a list of several hundred artists and 16 potters, illustrations of work, notes on the *Art Digest* (established in 1926), the art department of the New Jersey Federation of Women's Clubs, the Penny Art Fund, art galleries and museums, and a list of 19 art associations.

Artistic activities, including music, are reported in *New Jersey Music and Arts*, founded in West Orange, September, 1945, and from December, 1945 the official publication of the New Jersey Federation of Music Clubs and other music organizations. Music and choreography are thoroughly covered by *Music and Dance in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware*, edited by Sigmund Spaeth (New York, 1954), with numerous biographies, portraits, and a classified professional directory. A review of the history of the theater and music is in Federal Writers' Project, New Jersey, *New Jersey, A Guide to Its Present and Past* (New York, 1939, 1946), 161-172.

C. PRINTING AND NEWSPAPERS

Printing came to New Jersey as early as 1723. *The Earliest New Jersey Imprint* (Newark, 1932), illustrated, relates to the laws printed by William Bradford at Perth Amboy, 1723. The business did not become well established until after 1754, because most early work for the Province was done in New York or Philadelphia. The first scholarly study was written by the historian and bibliographer, William Nelson. His *Check-list of the Issues of the Press of New Jersey, 1723, 1728, 1754-1800* (Paterson, 1899) includes a brief notice of printers and presses; a list of 502 titles, and lists of offices and printers, with the number of issues of each press. This is supplemented by his "Some New Jersey Printers and Printing in the Eighteenth Century" (Worcester, Mass., 1911), reprinted from *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, new series, Part I, XXI, (April, 1911), 15-56.

Much more thorough is Constance Helen Humphrey's "Check-list of New Jersey Imprints to the End of the Revolution," in *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* (Chicago, 1931), XXIV, pts. 1-2, 1930, 43-149, with references and bibliography. This has 306 imprints, 1723-1783, and adds 90 titles to Nelson's list. It reviews printing and printers, discusses the titles by classes, also collections of New Jersey imprints, and includes a partial list of 62 New Jersey official publications that were printed elsewhere. Lucile M. Morsch, *Check List of New Jersey Imprints, 1784-1800* (Baltimore, 1939) chronologically lists 501 imprints, and has a bibliography, a key to location symbols, and indexes of places, printers, authors, and titles. A useful brief review is George C. Rockefeller, "New Jersey Printing Before 1800," in *Proceedings*, LV, no. 4 (Oct., 1937), 295-297, notes on a lecture, giving a varied assortment of titles, including the only novel known to have been published in New Jersey before 1800.

The first well-established printer is discussed by William H. Benedict, "James Parker, the Printer, of Wood-

bridge," in *Proceedings*, new series, VIII, no. 3 (July, 1923), 194-199. Elmer T. Hutchinson, "A Pioneer New Jersey Printer," in *Proceedings*, LV, no. 2 (Apr., 1937), 133-148, examines the work of Shepard Kollock (1751-1839), one of the first printers in the state. A varied list of over sixty of his titles, with location symbols, is given by the same author in "Products of Shepard Kollock's Press, 1801-1818," in *Proceedings*, LXXVI, no. 2 (Apr., 1958), 114-131.

The general and rapid spread of printing for the masses is suggested by Charles Frederick Heartman, *Preliminary Checklist of Almanacs Printed in New Jersey* (Metuchen, 1929); and by Milton Drake, *Almanacs of the United States* (2 vols.; New York, 1962), with bibliography. Further evidence appears in some writings on local presses. The immense and various production in the chief city is listed in F. P. Hill and Varnum Lansing Collins (comps.), *Books, Pamphlets and Newspapers Printed at Newark, N. J., 1776-1900* (Privately printed, Newark, 1902)—295 pages, with an index of printers, authors, and titles, and many publications on the history of Newark and of other New Jersey areas and communities. An example of how much a country town could issue is Douglas Crawford McMurtrie's *A Bibliography of Morristown Imprints, 1798-1820* (Newark, privately printed, 1936), reprinted from *Proceedings*, LIV, no. 2 (Apr., 1936), 129-155, comprising 74 titles located in "a number of prominent libraries." Grace D. Rose, "Early Morristown Imprints," in *Proceedings*, LIII, no. 3 (July, 1935), 156-163, briefly reviews some previous works on New Jersey imprints, and lists 34 local ones (1798-1829) in the Morristown Library. All these writings reveal the wide cultural interests of Jerseymen in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

That they were kept well informed of the world's affairs is obvious from some scholarly accounts of their many newspapers and other periodicals. Francis Bazley Lee, *New Jersey as a Colony and as a State*, reviews the field in the second chapter of his third volume, on

newspapers before 1800; and in chapter 20, he discusses mid-nineteenth century journalism, methods of news-gathering, typographical styles, and personal journalism. The most complete history is in the works of Kenneth Quad Jennings, a professor of journalism at Rutgers University. His "The Press of New Jersey," in William Starr Myers (ed.), *The Story of New Jersey*, II, chap. 3, is an account (with references) of newspapers and magazines from their origins to 1945, with many pages on the colonial press, and Revolutionary and foreign-language newspapers. One of the references cited is his own *The Political and Social Force of the New Jersey Press Association, 1857-1939* (New Brunswick, 1941). A briefer treatment is B. H. Goldsmith, "The Press," in Irving S. Kull, *New Jersey, A History*, IV, chap. 43, with a bibliography. By the 1870's most larger communities had daily or weekly newspapers, according to a list in "New Jersey Newspapers in 1874," in *Proceedings*, new series, XV, no. 2 (Apr., 1930), 262-265.

There are several good references on local newspapers. William Lewin, *A Story of New Jersey Journalism* (Newark, 1928), illustrated, includes early papers, but especially *Wood's Newark Gazette*, the earliest Newark newspaper, founded in 1791. An interesting insight into the influence of the newspaper in local life is Hubert G. Schmidt, *The Press in Hunterdon County, 1825-1925* (Flemington, 1961). It is derived mostly from newspapers, with special attention to heated controversies, political rivalries, and wars, with notes on eminent editors and on the part of the *Hunterdon County Democrat* in county history. Other local histories are: Elma Lawton Johnston, *Trenton's Newspapers, 1778-1932* (Trenton, 1932); Charles S. Boyer, *History of the Press in Camden County, New Jersey* (Camden, 1921); and Frank D. Andrews, "History of Vineland Newspapers," in *Vineland Historical Magazine*, X, no. 1 (Jan., 1925), 10-12; no. 2 (Apr., 1925), 33-35; no. 3 (July, 1925), 54-55; no. 4 (Oct., 1925), 71-72; XI, nos. 1-4 (Jan.-Oct., 1926), 94-96, 116-118, 137-139, 157-159; XII, no. 1 (Jan., 1927), 180-183.

The only full history of education in journalism in the state is Allen Sinclair Will's *Education for Newspaper Life; an Account of the Cooperation of a University and the Press* (Newark, 1931). He relates the origin and development of such teaching, and the cooperation between the New Jersey Press Association and Rutgers, where the school of journalism was begun as an experiment, free from precedent.

References to early magazines are found in Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1741-1885* (3 vols.; Cambridge, Mass., 1930, 1938), the standard history. New Jersey's first magazine is discussed by Kenneth Quad Jennings, "The New American Magazine," in *Rutgers University Library Journal*, XIII, no. 1 (Dec., 1949), 29-31. The magazine was issued at Woodbridge, from January, 1758 to March, 1760. Another short-lived effort was the *New Jersey Magazine and Monthly Advertiser* (New Brunswick, Dec., 1786—Feb., 1787). It is described by Richard E. Amacher, "New Jersey's First Magazine," in *Rutgers University Library Journal*, XII, no. 1 (Dec., 1948), 28-31. This actually was the second magazine. (See the chronological list in Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines*, I, 1741-1850 (Cambridge, Mass., 1957) 788.)

D. LITERATURE: FICTION AND POETRY

New Jersey has been the home of numerous authors, and the subject of almost innumerable poems and novels. But it still has no general literary history. Disappointingly little on the subject is found in general state histories, periodicals, or theses. The only thing like a comprehensive account is by Charles H. Whitman, professor of English at Rutgers University, in Kull's *New Jersey, A History*, II, chap. 21, "The Literature of New Jersey"; IV, chap. 61, "New Jersey in Literature—Walt Whitman," and chap. 62, "Writers of [the] Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," with a bibliography, brief biographies of 178 authors, and a list of authors of juveniles.

These chapters have been reprinted as a booklet, *The Literature of New Jersey* (New York, 1930), with a selected bibliography. There is a brief survey in Federal Writers' Project, New Jersey, *New Jersey, A Guide to Its Present and Past* (New York, 1946), "Literature," 151-160. A special period is discussed in Francis Bazley Lee, *New Jersey as a Colony and as a State*, II, chap. 18, "New Jersey's Literary Life During the Revolution."

References to New Jersey literature and authors occur in numerous general reference works: William Peterfield Trent [and others] *The Cambridge History of American Literature* (New York, 1917-1921, 4 vols.; New York, and Cambridge, Eng., 1945, 3 vols. in 1)—Robert E. Spiller [and others] *The Literary History of the United States* (New York, 1940, 3 vols., with extensive bibliographical essays in vol. 3; New York, 3rd ed., rev., 1963, 2 vols., with bibliography)—Fred L. Pattee, *A History of American Literature Since 1870* (New York, 1915, 1916, 1917), with bibliographies, and his *The New American Literature, 1890-1930* (New York and London, 1930, 1932), with bibliographical references.—Vernon L. Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought; an Interpretation of American Literature from the Beginnings to 1920* (New York, 1927-1930, 3 vols., with bibliographies; also 1939, 1947, 3 vols. in 1).—James D. Hart, *The Oxford Companion to American Literature* (London and New York, 1941, 1944; 2nd ed., rev. and enl., New York, 1948).—Lewis Gaston Leary (ed.), *Articles on American Literature Appearing in Current Periodicals, 1920-1945* (Durham, N. C., 1947).—Stanley J. Kunitz and Howard Haycraft, *American Authors, 1600-1900; a Biographical Dictionary of American Literature* (New York, 1938); *Twentieth Century Authors; a Biographical Dictionary of American Literature* (New York, 1942; 1st supplement, ed. by Stanley J. Kunitz and Vineta Colby (New York, 1955), superseding *Living Authors* (1931) and *Authors Today and Yesterday* (1933).

The number of historical and other novels with a New Jersey setting is enormous. (For fiction on the

Revolution, see Chapter IV, under "The Revolution in Literature.") A suggestion of the riches is Horace G. Richards (comp.), *One Hundred South Jersey Novels, A Bibliography of Fiction with a Southern New Jersey Setting* (Trenton, 1947), including historical and general fiction and juvenile stories, with enough "local color" to lend authenticity. There are no critical notes. Some titles for New Jersey appear in A. T. Dickinson, *American Historical Fiction* (2nd ed., New York, 1963), with a bibliography. There are entries of New Jersey interest also in Middle States Council for the Social Studies, Bibliography Committee, *Bibliography of Historical Fiction and Biography of the Middle Atlantic States* (New York? 1958), with a title index. A novel set partly in New Jersey appeared in London as early as 1796, and is described in "The First New Jersey Novel," *Proceedings*, 3rd series, V, no. 1 (Jan., 1906-1907), 21-29. The novel is "Berkeley Hall: Or, the Pupil of Experience," a story of adventures in America, probably by a civilian officer in New Jersey before the Revolution.

Popular reading is described by Harry Bischoff Weiss in *A Book About Chapbooks, the People's Literature of Bygone Times* (Trenton, 1942). A popular modern anthology is *A New Jersey Reader*, with a foreword by Henry Charlton Beck (New Brunswick, 1961). This is a delightful collection of stories about people, places, and events, real or fictional, ancient or modern; with brief introductions on the authors of selections, by William Sloane. It is the first such book on the State. An older and more formal collection, Margaret Tufts Yardley's *The New Jersey Scrap Book of Women Writers* (2 vols.; Newark, 1893) was the first such anthology. It comprises 274 writers, with selections of prose and verse, magazine and newspaper articles, essays, short stories—mostly ephemeral. Julia Keese Colles, *Authors and Writers Associated with Morristown . . .* (2nd ed., rev. and enl., Morristown, 1895) has selections by about one hundred and twenty authors in many fields. The intellectual history of a unique community is related in Frank D. Andrews'

"Literary Vineland," *Vineland Historical Magazine*, VIII, nos. 3, 4 (July-Oct., 1923), 117-123, 140-144; and IX, nos. 1-4 (Jan.-Oct., 1924), 152-155, 183-184, 202-204, 220-224.

The amount of poetry about New Jersey history and scenes is astonishing. Probably few states have such a good anthology of their poetry as Eugene Richard Musgrove's *Poems of New Jersey, An Anthology* (New York, 1923), for general readers and school children. The 250 selections comprise an interesting variety of subjects, 90 were already in anthologies of national scope; and there are bibliographies of the 160 authors. Modern trends are represented in *New Jersey Poets, An Anthology of 40 Contemporary Poets* (New York, 1936), comprising 191 pieces, with a foreword by Benjamin Masser on the state's poets and poetry. Poems by women are gathered in New Jersey State Federation of Women's Clubs, *A Book of Verses by New Jersey Club Women* (Newark, 1929). The 136 selections include some prize poems in state contests for original work, with many reflections of personal experiences.

Revolutionary events in New Jersey, especially, inspired an outpouring of poetry. William Clinton Armstrong collected it in *Patriotic Poems of New Jersey . . .* (Newark, 1906), with 99 selections, portraits, brief biographies of 52 authors, explanatory notes, and a descriptive list of illustrations. Some of the pieces are on scenery, Princeton, Rutgers, and religion. A similar devotion to the State inspired Aloysius Michael Sullivan's *New Jersey Hills* (Prairie City, Ill., 1940), illustrated, dedicated to his country neighbors, and intended to preserve the lore of the northern counties, gleaned in adventures on the side roads.

The most complete list of New Jersey authors was compiled by Rudolf and Clara Marburg Kirk: *Authors of New Jersey; a Checklist* (Trenton, 1955). It includes those who published books or pamphlets, omitting textbooks, sermons, and theological, scientific and technical works. There are over nine hundred writers, with birth

and death dates, places of death, and the localities with which they were associated; and a list of books consulted. Rudolf Kirk's "A Quizzical Look at Authors of New Jersey," in *Rutgers University Library Journal*, XVIII, no. 2 (June, 1955), 50-55, considers local associations of famous authors who lived and wrote in the State after 1771. Rufus Rockwell Wilson and Otilie Erickson Wilson, *New York in Literature: The Story Told in the Landmarks of Town and Country* (Elmira, N. Y., 1947) has two chapters on New Jersey literary history: Chapter 16, "North Jersey and Its Bookmen," and Chapter 17, "Walt Whitman and Other Worthies." It includes 42 authors since the days of Washington Irving, c. 1807, with comments on their lives and writings, titles of their books, and an index of authors and titles.

To review the lives and works of all important authors associated with New Jersey would be obviously impossible in a selective bibliography. The above titles furnish the means of tracing them. A good way to begin with the most notable ones would be to read the general survey in Federal Writers' Project, New Jersey, *New Jersey, A Guide to Its Present and Past*, 151-160, from John Woolman (1720-1772) to the late 1930's, including about sixty writers with brief notes.

CONCLUSION

However large and detailed it may seem, this bibliography is merely a small fraction of the almost infinitely varied writings about New Jersey over a period of more than three hundred years. These few hundreds of titles reveal only some of the vast terrain of periodical literature, including much of an ephemeral character.

Far more was rejected than could possibly be accepted. As one reader of the manuscript once said, no bibliography could include everything ever published about New Jersey. Much, certainly, would not be worthy of inclusion. This bibliography is intended to provide ways of penetrating the mass of material that it could not include.

Deeper exploration will be the task of future scholars. There is still much to be done in recording the State's history, for in some areas the amount of writing so far accomplished is distressingly small. This is true especially with respect to New Jersey's part in the nation's wars, except the Revolution; many phases of politics in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; and large tracts of spiritual and cultural history, such as religion, literature, arts and crafts, social life and customs. The compiler of this bibliography would feel amply rewarded for his labor if it should inspire scholars to round out unfinished parts of the story and supply chapters as yet scarcely begun.

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



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