

*New Jersey's
Revolutionary Experience*

17

*New Jersey Society
in the
Revolutionary Era*

THOMAS J. ARCHDEACON

New Jersey Historical Commission

NEW JERSEY'S REVOLUTIONARY EXPERIENCE

Larry R. Gerlach, *Editor*

This series of publications is dedicated to the memory of Alfred E. Driscoll, governor of New Jersey from 1947 to 1954, in grateful tribute to his lifelong support of the study and teaching of the history of New Jersey and the United States. He was a member of the New Jersey Historical Commission from 1970 until his death on March 9, 1975.

*New Jersey's
Revolutionary Experience*

17

*New Jersey Society
in the
Revolutionary Era*

THOMAS J. ARCHDEACON

New Jersey Historical Commission

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Archdeacon, Thomas J.

New Jersey society in the Revolutionary era.

(New Jersey's Revolutionary experience; no. 17)

Bibliography: p.

SUMMARY: A brief history of New Jersey during colonial and Revolutionary times emphasizing the prevailing social and economic conditions.

1. New Jersey—Social conditions—Juvenile literature. 2. New Jersey—History—Colonial period, ca. 1600-1775—Juvenile literature. 3. New Jersey—History—Revolution, 1775-1783—Juvenile literature. [1. New Jersey—History—Colonial period, ca. 1600-1775. 2. New Jersey—History—Revolution, 1775-1783] I. Title. II. Series.

E263.N5N78 no. 17 [HN79.N33] 974.9'03s [309.1'749'02] 76-10290

Price: \$.50

Designed by Peggy Lewis and Lee R. Parks

Copyright ©1975 by the New Jersey Historical Commission. All rights reserved. Printed in the United States of America

THE NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL COMMISSION is an official agency of the state of New Jersey, in the division of the State Library, Archives and History, Department of Education. Fred G. Burke, Commissioner, Ralph H. Lataille, Deputy Commissioner.

113 West State Street, Trenton, NJ 08625

John T. Cunningham, Chairman • Henry N. Drewry, Vice-Chairman • Assemblyman William J. Bate • Kenneth Q. Jennings • Assemblyman Thomas H. Kean • Richard P. McCormick • Senator Anne C. Martindell • Eleanor N. Shuman • Donald A. Sinclair • Senator James P. Vreeland, Jr.

Ex Officio: David C. Palmer, Acting State Librarian • David N. Poinsett, State Supervisor of Historic Sites.

PUBLISHED WITH A GRANT FROM



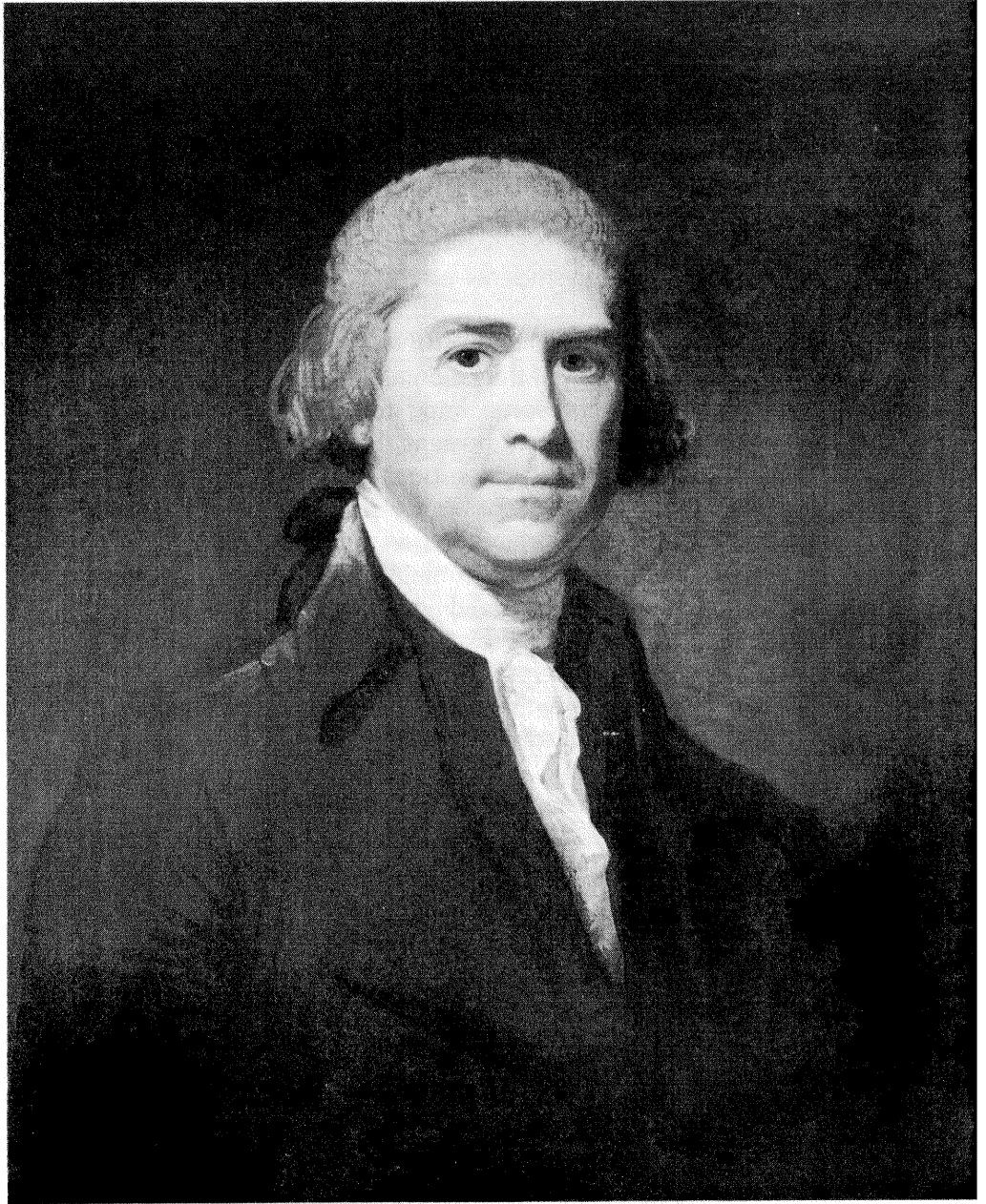
**THE NEW JERSEY AMERICAN
REVOLUTION BICENTENNIAL
CELEBRATION COMMISSION**

Foreword

New Jersey's Revolutionary Experience is a Bicentennial pamphlet series published by the New Jersey Historical Commission with a grant from the New Jersey Bicentennial Commission. The twenty-six numbers and two teachers' guides are intended to acquaint secondary school students and the general public with the state's history during the era of the American Revolution. Some titles treat aspects of the Revolution in New Jersey, while others show how important themes of the colonial period developed during the revolutionary years; some bring together the results of existing scholarship, while others present the findings of original research; some are written by professional historians, and others by laymen whose investigations of Jersey history exceed avocation. Because the series is directed to a general audience, the pamphlets have no footnotes but contain bibliographical essays which offer suggestions for further reading.

New Jersey's Revolutionary Experience is the product of a cooperative venture by numerous individuals and agencies. On my behalf and that of the pamphlets' readers, I accord recognition and appreciation to the individual authors for their contributions to New Jersey history, to the New Jersey American Revolution Bicentennial Celebration Commission and the New Jersey Historical Commission for their support of the project, to Hank Simon, president, Trentypo, Inc., for his invaluable suggestions and cooperation in producing the series, and to the staff of the Historical Commission: Richard Waldron, Public Programs Coordinator, who as project director supervised the series from commencement to completion; Peggy Lewis, Chief of Publications and Information, and Lee R. Parks, Assistant Editor, who edited and designed each number; and William C. Wright, Associate Director, who contributed valuable suggestions at every stage of production.

Larry R. Gerlach
University of Utah



Charles Pettit (1736-1806), the wealthiest resident of Trenton Township in 1779 (see text, p. 20). Portrait by Gilbert Stuart, oil on canvas, 28½ x 23¾. From the New Jersey State Museum exhibition, "The Pulse of the People: New Jersey, 1763-1789" (January 16-April 4, 1976). Collection of Mrs. T. Charlton Henry.

New Jersey ranked ninth in population among the thirteen rebellious colonies which formed the new United States. Beginning in 1726, the government of the province periodically counted the inhabitants under its jurisdiction and reported the number to the Lords of Trade, a committee established by the authorities in England to supervise the affairs of the American settlements. The last tabulation before the War for Independence took place in 1772. Since the assessors of taxes in Bergen, Essex, Middlesex, Monmouth, and Somerset, who had the responsibility for making the enumeration in those counties, refused to carry out their duties that year, the exact number of persons living in New Jersey on the eve of the uprising against Great Britain cannot be determined. The best estimate, based on the reports of eight cooperating counties and data on the other five derived from a later census is 122,000 Jerseymen.

Hunterdon was the most populous county. The number of its inhabitants, rounded to the nearest hundred as are the other figures mentioned, reached 15,600. Burlington with 13,100 ranked second, and Monmouth with 12,500 was third. Essex and Morris each had 11,500 residents, and Middlesex, with 10,200, was the only other county to have a five-digit total. Sussex, Somerset, Gloucester and Bergen followed with 9,200, 8,900, 8,800, and 8,000 respectively. Salem with 6,000, Cumberland with 5,100, and Cape May with 1,800 completed the list.

The concentration of more than 60 percent of the citizens of New Jersey in the northern counties was not accidental. Like the vast majority of early Americans, most Jerseymen were farmers,

and they gravitated naturally to the best available land. The soils of the Piedmont Plain, which covered large portions of Bergen, Essex, Hunterdon, Morris, and Somerset counties, were not especially fertile, but the area had gently rolling hills, wide flat valleys, and meadows drained by the Raritan, Hackensack, and Passaic rivers. In addition, the region lies between Philadelphia and New York, whose markets offered the farmer outlets for his surplus crops.

New Jersey, a growing colony in the eighteenth century, had developed a number of its own cities and towns to expedite buying and selling goods. By 1750, five communities—Perth Amboy, Burlington, Trenton, New Brunswick, and Elizabethtown (modern Elizabeth)—were incorporated as cities. Although officially a town, Newark was also populous. And dozens of villages and hamlets, including Bergen (now part of Jersey City), Salem, and Princeton, were scattered across the province, especially along the route between Philadelphia and New York.

Perth Amboy once appeared destined to become a metropolis. The twenty-four proprietors, who had bought half of New Jersey from the estate of Sir George Carteret, established the town in 1683. For two decades they fought to make Perth Amboy a free port and a competitor of New York City, but their hopes of grandeur disappeared in 1702 when New Jersey became a royal province administered by the chief executive of New York colony.

Eighteenth century Perth Amboy won social distinction as the home of a number of wealthy proprietors, and it achieved political importance as the seat of the colony's legislature in alternate years. Dr. Alexander Hamilton of Annapolis, Maryland, who passed through the city in 1744, described it as laid out "in the shape of a St. George's cross, one main street crossing the other at right angles." Hamilton noted that the finest residences were located along the waterfront, a pattern typical of early cities. Another traveler, James Birket, who was probably a merchant from the Caribbean island of Antigua, estimated that there were about one hundred fifty houses in the town in 1750.

Burlington, on the Delaware River, suffered a fate similar to that of Perth Amboy. Established by the Quaker proprietors of West Jersey in 1677, it was once the dominant town on the river, but Philadelphia soon surpassed it. The capital of West Jersey,

Burlington became the alternate host of the meetings of the provincial assembly.

Twelve miles up the river from Burlington lay Trenton. Situated at the falls of the Delaware, the city, which was founded in 1709, by 1740 had become an important transportation center for both north-south and east-west traffic. Many of Trenton's families were involved in the transshipping of wheat and lumber sent down the river in large, shallow-draft boats by the farmers and loggers of Hunterdon and Sussex counties. And by the time of the Revolution, the city had become the favored point for crossing the Delaware on the overland trip from New York City to Philadelphia.

New Brunswick, located on the west side of the Raritan River, received its charter in 1731. Lying near the point of farthest inland navigation for sloops, the vessels most commonly used in colonial commerce, New Brunswick's trade was naturally oriented toward New York, where it sent large amounts of grain, flour, bread, linseed, boards, and timber.

According to the Swedish botanist Peter Kalm, who visited the city in 1748, New Brunswick had two streets extending the length of the settlement and another lying perpendicular to them at the northern end. Although most of its houses were made of wood, a substantial amount of stone construction particularly impressed travelers. Several major buildings were stone, and many homeowners adorned their wooden houses with brick facades. In 1771 the city gained another attraction with the opening of Queen's College, the forerunner of Rutgers, the State University.

Elizabethtown, which had as many as twelve hundred residents in 1775, was the largest city in New Jersey. The original settlers, who had emigrated there in 1665 from Jamaica, Long Island, probably named the community in honor of the wife of Sir George Carteret. Served by a port a few miles away on Newark Bay, Elizabethtown was the only important Jersey town not situated immediately on a navigable stream. Peter Kalm commented favorably on the city's many orchards and gardens, and thought that its two churches outshone those of Philadelphia. The Anglicans (members of the Church of England) used a house of worship built of bricks with a steeple equipped with bells. The balustrade around it provided an excellent view of the countryside. The shingled

meetinghouse of the Presbyterians also had a steeple and bells.

Whether they lived in the colony's handful of cities or on its innumerable farms, Jerseymen represented an assortment of European national backgrounds. Subjects from many European countries came to every American province, and the "English colonies" were not as "English" as the term implies. Still, according to estimates based on the federal census of 1790, only in New Jersey and Pennsylvania did persons of non-English origin comprise the majority of the white population. The percentage of English was as great as 82 in Massachusetts and 68.5 in Virginia, the leading colonies of New England and the South respectively. In contrast, the English accounted for only 47 percent of the Jersey total.

Swedes, whose area of settlement in America was concentrated in the vicinity of the Delaware River, were perhaps the most exotic element in the population of New Jersey. In 1638, the Swedes established a colony at the site of Wilmington, Delaware, and in the following decade placed a seventeen-man garrison at Fort Elfsborg, several miles below the mouth of Salem Creek. The Dutch captured the colony in 1655, and the English gained control in 1664, but the demise of New Sweden did not result in the removal of Swedish settlers. Indeed, the major influx of Swedes to New Jersey came in the years after the English takeover. In 1668 three Swedes obtained a patent for the territory which is now Gloucester County. To the south a number of other Scandinavians — Finns — made homes in the neighborhood of the English town of Salem.

Swedesboro, known then as Raccoon, was the center of Swedish settlement in New Jersey. It was established around 1703 at the Raccoon Creek along the highway which the English were building between Burlington and Salem. The opening of a church at Raccoon in 1705 symbolized the coming to maturity of the Swedish community on the east side of the Delaware.

The Swedish experience in New Jersey is one of the earliest examples of the process by which non-English settlers in America became acculturated to Anglo-Saxon ways. Peter Kalm, the Swedish botanist who traveled in North America, devoted several pages in the account of his journey to a description of the incorporation of English words into the Swedish spoken by the colonists.

He also mentioned that a large number of persons born to Swedish immigrants did not speak their mother tongue. In some cases they had not properly learned the language, and, in others, the people simply refused to use it lest they appear inferior to the English who held sway in New Jersey. Swedes who had taken English spouses were even less likely to speak any language except the official one. As a result, Kalm predicted that the Swedish tongue would disappear in America.

The Swedish church was also transformed. Sweden continued to send missionaries to America until the time of the Revolution, but the position of these clergymen became increasingly distressed. Ministers who attempted to preserve the use of the Swedish language and of the rituals of the Swedish Lutheran Church were doomed. Only those willing to concede to the changing circumstances enjoyed success. The Reverend Dr. Carl Magnus Wrangel, for example, gained adherents by using the English language and the prayer book of the Anglican Church. By 1800 all Swedish congregations had become Episcopalian and had informed the ecclesiastical authorities in Sweden that they no longer desired their missionaries.

The Dutch element in New Jersey was much more important than the Swedish. They accounted for 16.6 percent of the white population, whereas the Swedes totaled only 3.9 percent. The Dutch, after the English, were the largest ethnic group in the colony, and their strength of numbers delayed their absorption into the English population.

Colonists from the Dutch settlement on Manhattan Island crossed the Hudson River in the 1630s to establish communities in the area between present-day Jersey City and Hoboken. But, like the Swedes, the Dutch enjoyed their greatest successes in New Jersey during the era of British rule. In 1664 the Dutch presence was limited to the tiny village of Bergen, but in the following years it spread across the Hackensack, Passaic, and Raritan valleys. The Dutch also migrated to the Minisink area of the upper Delaware River in search of valuable mineral deposits.

Dutch manners and institutions long survived Swedish ones. The large size of the Dutch population made its absorption by the English a process which would require more than a century. And,

enjoying prosperity and the comfort of numbers, the Dutch felt little need to hide their nationality.

The Dutch language proved remarkably resilient. Peter Kalm reported that the Dutch never resorted to English when conversing among themselves. The churches in particular favored retention of the old tongue. Even after the Revolution the controlling body of the Dutch church at Hackensack allowed the use of English only on alternate Sundays.

Located between New York and Pennsylvania, New Jersey naturally attracted some of the Germans who had settled in those colonies. According to calculations made from the federal census of 1790, more than 9 percent of Jersey's residents came from the petty states of which Germany was then composed, or were descended from German immigrants. Most of the early German colonists were refugees, either from religious persecution or from the dislocations of war.

The approximately twelve thousand Germans who settled in New Jersey during the colonial period favored Essex County and communities in the northwest section of the province, including Amwell, Bedminster, New Germantown (now Oldwick), and Rockaway. In the early stage of settlement, they, like other minorities in the population, attempted to preserve the old customs and the language. But the Germans of New Jersey had access only to a few German Lutheran, Reformed, and Moravian ministers. This deprivation made it more difficult to maintain the old ways, and evidence suggests that by the time of the Revolution, English was being used even in the church services. In one humorous incident during the War for Independence, an English army officer who visited a German church reported his surprise that the German language sounded so much like English. In actuality, the minister whom the officer had heard was delivering his sermon in English but, obviously, had not yet mastered the language.

Scots-Irish immigrants also found their way to New Jersey, and by the time of the Revolution they constituted over 6 percent of the population of the province. Although they came from the British Isles, the Scots-Irish formed a group distinct from the English. They were descendants of Presbyterians who had migrated from Scotland to Ulster or northern Ireland in the early 1600s. King James I of England, himself a Scot, had encouraged that

colonization as part of his program for subjugating the indigenous Catholic population. But the Scots eventually experienced hard times in Ireland. Increasing farm rents, droughts, parliamentary prohibitions against the exportation of Irish woolens to England, and the harassment of the Presbyterian Church drove the Scots-Irish to seek refuge in America.

Great numbers of Scots-Irish immigrants came to the American colonies in the half century before the Revolution. Most of them settled in Pennsylvania, the Carolinas, and Georgia, but some made their way to New Jersey. They were especially prominent among the residents of the hill country of Somerset and Morris counties and in Hunterdon and Sussex.

Not all Jerseymen migrated to the province voluntarily. During the colonial era most of the large numbers of Africans brought to America spent their lives as slaves. The best estimates suggest that blacks composed about 12 percent of the population in the eastern sector of the colony which lay close to New York City, a major port in the slave trade. In Bergen County, the proportion of blacks reached 20 percent. Africans accounted for approximately 5 percent of the people of West Jersey, where many Quaker settlers had at least some doubts about the morality of slavery. Statistics on the total number of blacks in New Jersey are not available, but according to the census of 1772, 3,313 were present in the counties of Burlington, Cape May, Cumberland, Gloucester, Hunterdon, Morris, Salem, and Sussex.

Jerseymen held bondsmen as chattels, which they could buy and sell as pieces of property. Slaves had no legal rights and could not even testify in court cases involving whites. They could not hold property, and in a measure designed to protect masters from pilfering by their bondsmen, the legislature in 1682 forbade all citizens to engage in trade with slaves. A black could not even marry without permission from his master.

Africans were an alien and feared element in the population. The stringency of the laws which Jerseymen enacted to control their slaves is an indication of the fear which the presence of blacks generated in the colony. In 1703, the legislature called for the execution by fire of slaves convicted of murder or arson. Queen Anne invalidated the measure when it reached England for review, but in 1713 the Jersey authorities passed a law similar, but more

vague, which allowed the courts to determine the mode of execution for slaves condemned for arson, murder, or rape. The death penalty was imposed from time to time, and in the 1730s at least twelve slaves suffered execution before audiences of their fellow blacks. The spectacle was supposed to inspire awe of the authorities.

Northern colonies did not organize their agriculture around the cultivation of a staple crop such as tobacco. As a result, slaves in New Jersey were not usually employed in the work gangs familiar on the plantations slowly developing in the South. But some Jersey enterprises used relatively large numbers of blacks. Several wealthy planters from Barbados who obtained sizable land grants in the province late in the seventeenth century employed slaves to clear their acres. The operators of the Jersey mines, such as Lewis Morris, who had between sixty and seventy slaves at his ironworks, also found profits in large bound-labor pools.

Blacks were not the only persons in America or in New Jersey who were not free. At any given time during the colonial period, as much as one-tenth of the white population lived in a state of bondage known as "indentured servitude." For any of a number of reasons colonists might enter into contracts which bound them to serve masters for a specified number of years; the periods ranged from two to seven years, and the average was probably four. The term "indenture" originated in the practice of making two copies of the agreement on a single piece of parchment, which was cut apart along a jagged or indented line. The master retained one of the copies and the servant the other, and officials could judge the authenticity of both by comparing their complementary ragged edges.

At least half of the immigrants to America entered the colonies as "redemptioners," a special type of indentured servant. Lacking funds to pay for the transatlantic passage, they bound themselves as servants to persons who would pay their fares. The captains of the ships on which the redemptioners crossed the ocean held the contracts and sold them before allowing the bound passengers to disembark in America. Unfortunately, arrival in America sometimes meant the breakup of families, as fathers, mothers, and children were sold to different masters.

British convicts also appeared in the ranks of indentured

servants. Perhaps as many as fifty thousand of them were transported to the continental colonies under British programs to rid England of undesirables and to populate the labor-starved settlements. Some of the convicts were merely vagabonds, but a goodly number were true felons, including murderers. Persons transported for less serious offenses were bound for seven years and those convicted of crimes bearing the death penalty were assigned for fourteen years. Many colonies, among them New Jersey in 1730, passed legislation to restrict the importation of desperadoes, but the crown consistently rejected these measures.

Colonial courts resorted to indentured servitude to handle a variety of problems. Judges often "bound out" persons convicted of larceny if the guilty parties were unable to provide their victims with the restitution required by law. For other crimes, convicts became forced laborers on public work projects. America's scarcity of labor led to the substitution of bondage for imprisonment in the punishment of debtors, and the courts provided for the care of orphans and other young paupers by binding them to families with whom they stayed until maturity.

Apprenticeship, another form of indentured servitude, served as a major means of educating the youth of the colonies. With the approval of their parents or guardians, young persons could be bound to masters for a specified term, which usually lasted seven years or until maturity. During that time, female apprentices learned spinning, weaving, and other household arts. Males learned reading, writing, arithmetic, and the techniques of their masters' trades. Sometimes the master also had to provide the apprentice with clothing and a set of tools at the end of his service. For his part, the apprentice agreed to live as a member of the master's family and to assist him in his house and business. In addition, if the master was a professional or a substantial businessman, the youth's parents had to pay a fee for the privilege of apprenticing their child.

Unlike black slaves, white servants eventually regained their freedom. Unfortunately, research has not yet shown whether the former bondsmen achieved success or remained marginal members of society. Scholars have often pointed to the case of Daniel Dulany of Maryland, who became wealthy and politically prominent after his term of service, but he had been well educated in England before coming to America. Most indentured servants

were less prepared than Dulany to compete in the colonial marketplace. Men who had learned a skilled trade as apprentices were probably able to join the ranks of the economically secure, but the prospects of the many redemptioners emerging from servitude may not have been so bright.

The last wills and testaments made by the citizens of the colony shed some light on the types of occupations in which the majority of free Jerseymen were engaged. Farmers and yeomen naturally constituted the bulk of the population in the rural colony. Of the 139 persons who noted their occupations in their wills between 1769 and 1771, 105, or 75.5 percent, were engaged in agriculture.

Men not directly involved in farming earned their livelihoods in a wide variety of employments, professions, and trades. Of the persons making wills in 1759-1761 or 1769-1771 who recorded their occupations in the documents, thirteen were carpenters or joiners, eleven were weavers, and eleven were laborers lacking specific skills. Others identified themselves as bakers, blacksmiths, coopers or barrlemakers, cordwainers or leatherworkers, doctors, lawyers, mariners, masons, merchants, millers, ropemakers, sawyers or operators of sawmills, schoolmasters, soldiers, and tanners or leather processors.

Persons pursuing these callings could be found in every colony, but the presence of Maurice Robeson, an ironmonger, among the testators points to New Jersey's most distinctive industry, the mining and processing of iron ore. The mountainous areas of northwest Jersey contained lodes of magnetite and hematite ore, and the swamps and water courses of the southern sector contained bog iron. The rivers of the colony were harnessed to generate water power to operate bellows and other processing equipment, and the forest supplied wood which in turn became the charcoal used for smelting.

The years between 1740 and the Revolution brought the apex of the mining industry in New Jersey. In 1784 the state reported eight furnaces for smelting ore and seventy-nine forges for processing iron located within its boundaries, especially in Morris and Sussex counties. Peter Hasenclever, a Prussian immigrant, became Jersey's most famous ironmaster. The guiding spirit of the London Company, he brought a sizable group of German miners to its Jersey properties at Charlottenburg (or Charlotteburg), Long Pond,

Pompton, and Ringwood. At its high point Hasenclever's operation employed as many as six hundred people and had stock and equipment valued at approximately £30,000.

Of course, half of the population of New Jersey was female. As in Europe, woman's role was primarily that of wife and mother. But the economic impact of her domestic labors went far beyond the important value of her housekeeping and child care. Women were responsible for a substantial portion of the extensive manufacturing that went on in the homes of early America. Almost every family made its own soap from the ashes of its fireplace and its own candles from the fat of farm animals or whales. The production of clothing involved the efforts of both sexes, but the most laborious part of the endeavor fell to the females. After the men sheared the sheep, the women had to clean the wool, separate the fibers and twist them on the spinning wheel into yarn, and wind it in turn onto reels to form skeins. Trained weavers then made the yarn into cloth from which the women fashioned apparel.

To report that the typical colonial woman was considered socially subordinate to her husband and that she rarely enjoyed economic independence or the refinements of education is to state the obvious. Most people accepted these arrangements as inevitable, and the women of early America do not seem to have been especially frustrated by their position. Life was tough, but recent research has dispelled several myths about colonial marriages. Most women married in their early twenties rather than in their teens, and they enjoyed relatively long lives. Widowers and widows often remarried, but most colonists had only one mate; the settler who survived five or six spouses was unusual. The percentage of women who died in childbirth was nowhere near what scholars once thought, though it may have been as high as one in ten. And the average woman bore many children, probably one for every two years of fertility during her married life.

The legal position of women was much improved in the colonies, and this situation particularly benefited members of the propertied classes. The small number of females present in the early stages of most settlements put women in a better bargaining position. But more important was the absence of a class of highly trained lawyers who could transfer to American practice the feudal restrictions imposed on women in Europe.

Page three of "A List of the Ratables in the Township of Franklin in the County of Bergen . . . with the Assessments made thereon in the Month of August . . . 1779." Courtesy New Jersey State Library, Archives and History Bureau.

According to English law, a married woman lost her legal identity in that of her husband, who became the sole person capable of acting on behalf of the family and its members. The American woman retained her legal individuality. She was able to make contracts and to convey land. She was even able to negotiate postnuptial contracts through which she might gain financial favors or guarantees from her husband as the basis of a separation or reconciliation. In the case of her husband's death, the colonial woman was usually assured at least one-third of his estate as her "dower right," regardless of any provisions for its disposal which he had made in his will.

The majority of Jersey's men and women were free, but in colonial times, as now, all did not share equally in the wealth of the province. The inventories of the personal property of Jerseymen who made their wills in 1759-1761 or 1769-1771 show that unskilled laborers ranked at the bottom of the economic scale. Only those men among the unskilled who were unencumbered by family obligations could hope to save any money. Soldiers likewise accumulated only modest estates, but presumably many of them were young and had not enjoyed the time to accumulate more of the world's goods. And schoolmasters, despite their claims to learning, fared as poorly as laborers and soldiers.

Skilled artisans or craftsmen formed the bulk of the middle-class citizenry not engaged in farming. The inventories of estates show that laborers, schoolmasters, and soldiers averaged 37 pounds, 5 shillings, 0 pence (£37 5s. 0d.), £39, and £42 respectively. But wheelwrights had £145, weavers £153, cordwainers £160, tailors £214, carpenters £236, and blacksmiths £256. In general, these figures correspond with findings from other colonies about the comparative remuneration of various trades (though tailors usually did not prosper as much as in New Jersey).

Successful tradesmen could become part of the upper economic class. Samuel Morgan, a blacksmith from Salem County, had an estate of £1,575; Samuel Crow, a carpenter from Middlesex, had £1,255; and William Reid, a cooper from Gloucester, had £664. These men were probably not only skilled craftsmen but also independent contractors who employed a number of artisans.

Professionals ranked among the affluent. John Kaighin, a "doctor of physic" from Gloucester County, had an estate of £992,

and another physician, James Johnson of Cumberland, had one of £515. Ebenezer Bryant, who made his will in 1760, was an Essex County lawyer with personal property valued at £535. The appearance in America of trained lawyers like Bryant by the middle of the eighteenth century was an important indicator of the maturation of the colonies. In the early years of settlement lawyers were scarce, and the rudimentary level of existence made them superfluous. But with the growth of population and the increasing complexity of the patterns of business the advice of skilled practitioners became a necessity.

Merchants were the core of the colonial business community. Some were simply shopkeepers restricted to retail trade. But an important merchant would also be active in the larger arena of buying and selling farm produce and importing and exporting goods from and to other colonies and Europe. The leading merchants formed one of the richest groups of citizens in every colony.

The typical merchant turned part of his home into a shop from which he conducted his retail business. The inventory of the estate of Charles Philpot Hughes of Mount Holly in Burlington County, who died in June 1779, contains a detailed description of the £769 15s. 3d. worth of goods which he kept in his store. Hughes carried an incredibly large assortment of items. His clothing selection included nine pairs of children's thread stockings, twenty-three women's straw and chip hats, six pairs of boy's mitts, and one pair each of men's and women's mitts. He also kept an ample supply of cloth and of sewing equipment for those who made their families' apparel. Among the items Hughes had in stock were ten and a half ounces of mohair, fourteen ounces of worsted cord for cloaks, seventeen yards of stamped muslin which cost £6 per yard, ten and a half yards of Dutch lace, twenty-two yards of buckram, more than a gross of thimbles, ten dozen sleeve buttons, ten and a half dozen knitting needles, eleven dozen stay hooks, and sixteen and three-quarters ounces of thread.

Hughes could also supply toiletries and jewelry to his customers. He had nineteen razors costing 5s. apiece, twelve small snuff-boxes, eighteen sets of hairpins, seventy-one watch chains, and four pairs of aqua earrings. For those in need of medicine, Hughes had four boxes of pills of an unspecified type, two bottles of "Bakman's

drops,” and one bottle of “Daffey’s Elixir.”

Householders could buy hardware from Hughes. The store contained, among other items, two dozen small bolts, one dozen hinges, fifty-one pounds of nails, fifteen padlocks, two pairs of tongs and shovels, and a number of screws. Persons desirous of cleaning their houses and ridding them of pests could choose from his two and a half dozen brooms and twenty-one mouse traps. And Hughes sold a variety of kitchen utensils, including nine japanned or lacquered servers, three dozen japanned sugar tongs, and two and a half dozen pewter spoons.

Hughes was also a stationer and bookseller. For writers he had eight dozen black lead pencils and eight sticks of sealing wax. And for the children of the community who were learning to write and read, Hughes carried four spelling books and four primers.

New Jersey’s merchants were neither as numerous nor as prominent as those in the ports of New York and Philadelphia. Only two persons among the more than seven hundred Jerseymen who wrote wills in 1759-1761 identified themselves in their testaments as merchants or shopkeepers. One of them, Joseph Ballard of Burlington County, had only £12 in personal property. But the other, Preserve Brown of Nottingham in Burlington County, had personal property worth £5,835 10s. 1d. Brown had £667 8s. 11d. in shop goods and £1,351 10s. 2d. in bills and bonds. Brown’s estate and that of Hughes, which totaled £4,950 11s. 10d., give ample proof that merchants could become men of great wealth.

The September 1779 tax rolls for Trenton Township reveal the composition of a New Jersey community’s upper class at the time of the Revolution. Charles Pettit, the richest man in the town, was rated at £1,076 15s. He was the quartermaster and commissary in the area and apparently had a lucrative business supplying the American military with food and other necessities. Pettit owned a slave, a riding chair, and the only four-wheeled chaise in the township. The three next most well-to-men, all of whom were rated over £200, were also identified as merchants in the tax lists.

Several other wealthy residents of Trenton, all rated over £100, were engaged in nonfarming businesses. John Howell had two stills, and Richard Green, a still and a ferry. Stacy Potts had a tanyard, where leather was processed, and Amos Scudder operated a fishery. Joseph Green had a one-fifth share in a sawmill and David Howell operated a tavern and a ferry.

John Mott, rated at £103 15s. and Samuel Henry, rated at £119 5s. had perhaps the most essential businesses in the township. Mott owned two gristmills, where grain could be ground into flour, and Henry another. In many communities, millers had an official franchise to carry out their task, which was too difficult and time-consuming to be done in the home. Efficient mills used water power to move the two grinding stones, and the most sophisticated equipment produced not only roughly ground flour for local consumption but also a finer variety for export.

Some of the wealthy were active as moneylenders. William Bryant, rated at £143 15s., had £10,000 at interest; Stacy Potts had £3,000; Samuel Henry £2,250; and Abraham Hunt £2,000. And many of the 10 percent most well-to-do of the community combined business pursuits with land ownership. John Howell had 304 acres; Joseph Green, 300; Amos Scudder, 280; and Abraham Hunt, 144.

In a farming society land ownership alone could be a way to wealth. Jacob Carle, the Trenton Township resident with the largest number of tillable acres, 447, was rated at £181. Benjamin Clark, with 364, was rated at £144, and Benjamin Moore, with 189, at £97 15s.

Of course, the land did not bring riches to all who worked it. Many farmers operated at a subsistence level, just growing and raising those crops and animals which would supply the needs of their own families. But with more than 70 percent of the population involved in agriculture, farmers were inevitably found in every social stratum and more than any other occupational group represented New Jersey's substantial middle class.

Ten persons who died in Burlington County in 1774 and left accounts of their estates were primarily farmers; one combined farming with weaving; another was both farmer and large landholder. Most of them were financially comfortable; one had less than £200; four, including the farmer-weaver, had between £200 and £500; and seven, including the farmer-landholder, had more than £600. Jersey farmers owned twice as much personal property as their counterparts in New England; the average inventory among 105 who made wills between 1769 and 1771 amounted to £454.

New Jersey farmers owed their prosperity to the province's role as a "Bread Colony," producing food for export as well as for

domestic consumption. Corn was the most important crop. The Indians cultivated maize before the arrival of the Europeans; consequently, it was well adapted to the area. The settlers originally ate the vegetable only out of necessity, but eventually they came to enjoy it. And the grain was good for animals as well as for people. Jerseymen had no export market for corn, but the sale of livestock fattened on it made substantial increments to the incomes of many farmers.

Wheat was the money crop of the eighteenth century. It was the most popular export grain, and the market for wheat from the middle colonies increased when black stem disease brought an end to New England's production of the crop. Winter wheat was the dominant variety, and, accordingly, the times for planting and harvesting came in late August and early July respectively.

Several other grains were also popular with Jersey farmers. Rye was not as favored a cash crop as wheat, but it gave better pasturage, provided the best straw for making thatched roofs and, in the opinion of many people, tasted better when made into bread. Jerseymen correctly considered oats excellent fare for horses but overlooked its potential for human consumption. Almost all Jersey families grew flax. Milling could extract linseed oil from the seeds of the plant, and dexterous fingers could separate from the stalk the fibers which became homespun cloth.

Animals were an important part of the farm economy. In Trenton, a town of 314 ratable adults in 1779, there were 380 horses, 622 cattle, and 531 hogs. In Elizabethtown, which had 232 ratables in the same year, there were 332 horses, 705 cattle, and 191 hogs. Horses were valued as work animals, cows were kept for the dairy products which they supplied, and hogs provided the basic meat, pork. Farmers also kept sheep as a source of wool for clothing and mutton for food.

Access to land was an obvious prerequisite for success in farming, and the availability of this precious resource was the magnet which drew migrants from Europe to the New World. In New Jersey, real estate holdings accounted for about 60 percent of the average individual's economic net worth. But not all Jerseymen were able to obtain title to land.

At the time of the Revolution, radical differences existed among Jersey communities in the availability and distribution of

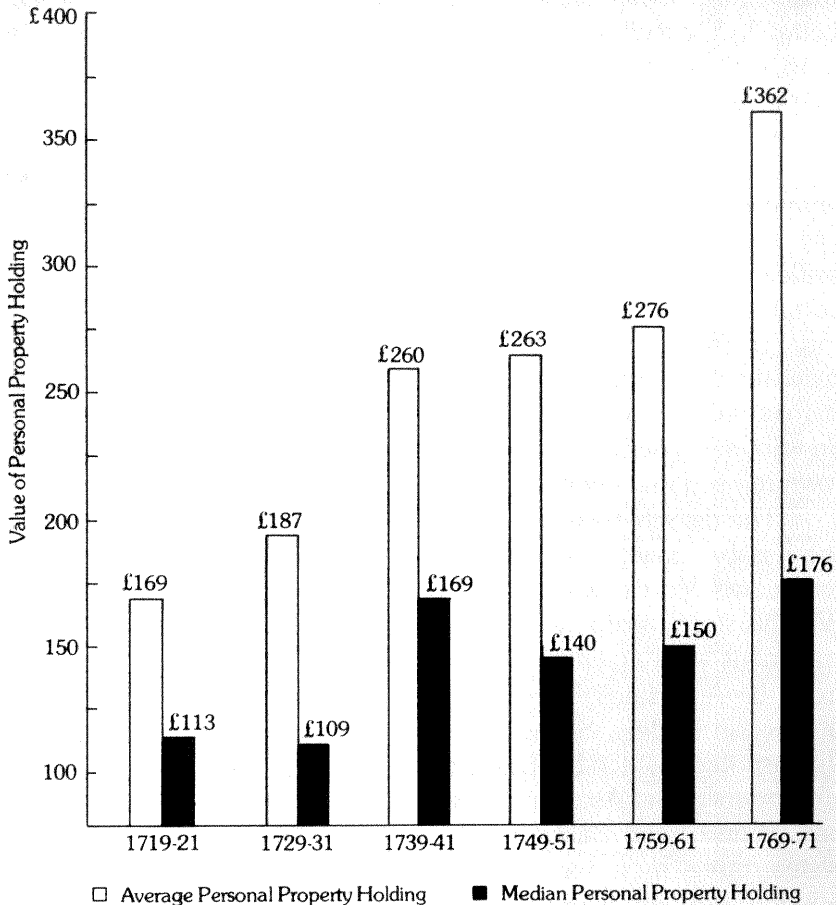
land. In particular, great inequities seem to have existed in the western section of New Jersey, where some men had accumulated a large proportion of the real estate. In Trenton Township, the top 10 percent of the landowners, all of whom held 100 acres or more, owned 69 percent of the improved land, and 53.5 percent of the ratable inhabitants had no land at all. The situation in the east was better. In Elizabethtown in 1779 only one of the taxpayers had more than 200 acres. The top 10 percent of the landowners held only 33 percent of the improved acres, and only 24 percent were without real estate.

Control of the land could cause problems even in communities where the distribution of it was apparently equitable. Elizabethtown was a center of controversy from its founding in 1665. Its original settlers obtained land patents from Colonel Richard Nicolls, the commander of the military expedition which conquered the territory for England in 1664. When Lords Berkeley and Carteret, who received the proprietorship of New Jersey from King Charles II, demanded that the residents accept new titles from them and pay an annual quitrent for the use of the lands, the people of Elizabethtown refused to comply.

The dispute between the proprietors and the group known as the Elizabethtown Associates dragged on until one of the proprietors, Lewis Morris, was appointed governor of New Jersey in 1738. With his strong support the proprietors began a series of successful ejectment suits against persons claiming their land through titles from the Associates. The proprietors in 1745 even had one of the opposition leaders, Samuel Baldwin, arrested for cutting timber in the disputed district. His imprisonment culminated in a crisis when supporters of the Associates broke into the Newark jail on September 19 and freed Baldwin. When the sheriff in January 1746 arrested three men for their role in the Baldwin escape, three hundred opponents of the proprietors engaged militiamen protecting the Newark jail in hand-to-hand fighting and liberated the prisoners.

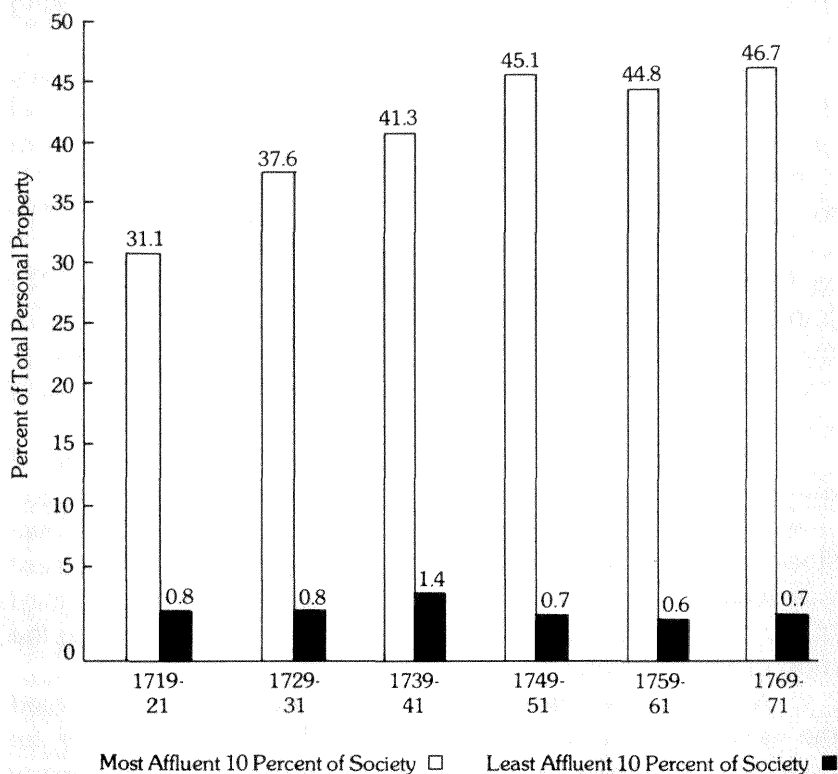
Rioting spread throughout the northern counties of New Jersey in the years after 1745. Governor Jonathan Belcher, who took office in 1747, was unable to control the uprisings. When the assembly refused to take action against the rioters, Belcher's only recourse was to seek advice from England. The home authorities

Figure 1
Personal Property Holdings, 1719-1771



The *average* personal property holding for a given year is found by dividing the sum of the values of the estates surveyed by the number of estates. The *median* is that estate ranking halfway between the highest and lowest. For example, in a group of estates valued at £1, £2, £3, £4, and £90, the average value is £20 and the median is £3. Source: William A. Whitehead et al. eds., *Archives of the State of New Jersey ...* 1st. ser., 42 vols. (Various Places: State of New Jersey, 1880-1949).

Figure 2
Disparity in Personal Property Holding



Source: William A. Whitehead et al. eds., *Archives of the State of New Jersey* ...
1st. ser., 42 vols. (Various Places: State of New Jersey, 1880-1949).

were not of assistance, and the disturbances continued into the 1750s. The coming of the French and Indian War (1756-1763) finally distracted the Jerseymen from fighting each other, but the controversy over lands remained a sore point in the years before the American Revolution.

Questions about the availability of land lead to more general ones about the distribution of wealth in New Jersey on the eve of independence. Was the standard of living acceptable? Was the division of the colony's economic resources equitable? The records provide factual information relating to the queries, but making judgments about "acceptability" and "equity" is very difficult.

The standard of living seems to have been rising in New Jersey during the eighteenth century. The size of the average personal property holding, according to the inventories of estates, rose from £169 in 1719-1721, to £187 in 1729-1731, to £260 in 1739-1741, to £263 in 1749-1751, to £276 in 1759-1761, to £362 in 1769-1771. The median estate changed, over the same years, from £113 to £109 to £169 to £140 to £150 to £176. (See Figure 1, p. 24.) Improvements in the standard of living were experienced throughout the colonies in the eighteenth century, and the New Jersey increases seem to have been more than a reflection of the existing inflation.

Much of the wealth in the inventories was in the form of durable goods. Producer durables — possessions used in production — accounted for more than one-half of the material wealth. Live-stock was the most important item in this category, and equipment was second. Consumer durables accounted for almost one-third of the physical assets, with household furnishings and clothing the most prevalent items.

An imbalanced distribution of wealth, however, accompanied the rising standard of living. The most affluent 10 percent of the population controlled 31.1 percent of the total personal property recorded in the inventories of estates in 1719-1721. They increased their share of the wealth in the ensuing decades, holding 37.6 percent in 1729-1731, 41.3 percent in 1739-1741, 45.1 percent in 1749-1751, 44.8 percent in 1759-1761, and 46.7 percent in 1769-1771. The least well-to-do 10 percent enjoyed only 0.8 percent in 1719-1721, and 0.8, 1.4, 0.7, 0.6, and 0.7 percent of the wealth in the ensuing inventories to 1769-1771. (See Figure 2, p. 25.)

Comparing the inventories of estates of several Jerseymen who died in the era of the Revolution illustrates the disparities in the distribution of wealth and gives an insight into the standard of living in the colony. Roger McBride of Princeton had personal property worth only £4 10s. 4d. at his death in 1769. A coat worth £1 was his most precious possession. Peter Brinck of Montaque, who died in the same year, was a little more prosperous. In his estate of £28 14s. 9d. there were three milch cows (£9 10s.), a two-year-old heifer (£2), three hogs (£1 10s.), and a bed (£1). John Hepburn of Piscataway who died in 1771, had three cows worth £12, bedding and furniture worth £10, wearing apparel worth £9, and a horse valued at £7 10s. as the major items in his £86 7s. 5d. inventory.

The estate of Michael Miller, who died in 1769, is representative of those of comfortable middle-class Jerseymen. His inventory amounted to £570 6s. 11d., of which £206 16s. 9d. came from his share in a business partnership. The rest of his goods indicate that he was engaged in farming. He had six horses and their gear (£52), twenty-eight sheep and a plough (£12 15s.), wheat, oats, hay, and other fodder (£10), five cows (£12 10s.), young cattle (£9 10s.), and grain in the ground (£9). His bed, furniture, clothes, and personal horse were worth £44 19s.

Charles Philpot Hughes of Mount Holly, whose estate totaled £4,950 11s. 10d. at the time of his death in 1779, was one of New Jersey's wealthiest citizens. As they passed through his large house the assessors noted three rooms (which they called 1, 2, and 3), an entry, two parlors, a lower bedroom, a shop, a kitchen, and a cellar. In examining his possessions they found all the accessories of a life of luxury. A tea table (£31 10s.), a card table (£36), and a washstand (£15), all made of mahogany, adorned Room 1, as did a feather bed (£81 15s.) and a large looking-glass (£35). Six leather chairs (£12), a dressing glass (£16), and two feather beds (£76 15s. and £65) were part of the furniture in Room 2, and two more beds (£71 15s. and £34) were located in Room 3.

The entry contained, among other items, two oil (oilcloth?) umbrellas (£5 5s.) and a silk one (£2 12s. 6d.), a bed (£16), a walnut cradle and chair (£9 4s. 6d.), a spinning wheel (£3 15s.), and a woman's saddle and bridle (£16). One parlor had a pair of large looking-glasses (£80), a clock (£30), dining tables of mahogany

(£24) and walnut (£12), a walnut tea table (£7), and thirteen chairs (£28 10s.). The other parlor contained the family's assortment of china dishes and serving vessels (£48 17s. 6d.). The Hughes house also had twenty-four pewter pieces (£30 11s. 8d.) and a variety of dishes (£53 9s. 3d.).

Hughes owned a library of almost seventy books. Many of them were of a religious nature, including the *New Testament*, *Wesley's Journal*, *The Articles of the Church of England*, and *The History of Jesus Christ*. He had several volumes of philosophical and social commentary, including eight numbers of the *Spectator* (a newspaper published in London), Jonathan Swift's *A Tale of a Tub*, and John Locke's *Essay on Human Understanding*. *The Naval History of Britton*, the *Proceedings of the House of Peers*, and the *Present State of France* were also on his shelf.

Wealth brought political power as well as comfort. In the colonial period in New Jersey, members of one extended family, created by intermarriages among the Skinners, Kearneys, Johnstones, and Parkers, held one-half of the seats on the Provincial Council—the upper house of the legislature, which also served as an advisory body to the governor. These men did not agree on all political matters, but the similarity of their backgrounds is evidence of the emergence of a native-born leadership elite in New Jersey in the eighteenth century. The councillors were almost all merchants, lawyers, and judges; they held large amounts of land but lived in the colony's urban centers and did not farm. Moreover, their wealth was old: they were descendants of families which had gained prominence early in the history of the province.

Members of the assembly had social and economic characteristics similar to those of the councillors. Most of them were merchants, lawyers, and large landowners who lived in New Jersey's urban enclaves. But the assemblymen did not have pedigrees as distinguished as members of the upper house; although some were children of well-endowed families, the majority had emerged from modest backgrounds.

Did the perceptions of Jerseymen about the economic and political system of their colony affect the coming and conduct of the Revolution? Answering this question requires the consideration of many subtle issues. Were Jerseymen angered by the unequal distribution of wealth, or did they accept it as part of the inevitable

order of life? Those who had come from Europe may have found the American situation an improvement over their earlier experiences. Were Jerseymen more impressed by the increase in the standard of living since the time of their grandfathers or by the day-to-day successes and failures of their own lives? The absence of detailed commentaries by ordinary Jersey citizens makes objective evaluation of these problems difficult.

In its essence, the American Revolution does not seem to have been caused by domestic issues, but economic and social factors were definitely among the myriad considerations which could affect an individual's reaction to it. Among the political elite, persons who had enjoyed great success under the empire were the most likely to value the old order, while leaders with primarily local ties were more aware of the opportunities offered by independence. These divergent patterns of response ultimately had important social consequences.

One of the most obvious effects of the Revolution was the redistribution of political power. The Revolution removed from politics the people who had aligned themselves with the English, and about half the members of the council fell into this Loyalist group. Independence also brought the creation of a new national government, where many former local politicians found new careers. As a result, officeholders in state governments came to resemble common men more closely as ordinary citizens entered the political vacuum at the local level.

The change was obvious in the Legislative Council, which replaced the Provincial Council as the upper house of the legislature under the state constitution of 1776. The apportionment of one seat to each county reduced the importance of New Jersey's urban centers, and professional men, artisans, and farmers of modest means created a balance with the merchants, lawyers, and great landholders in the new body. Moreover, the new tended to be men from common backgrounds; fewer than one-third belonged to old, elite families, and at least one-fifth of them started their careers without the benefit of property.

To an even greater extent than the council, New Jersey's assembly became popular in its composition. The average councillor although not as wealthy as the former councillors, still ranked among the state's well-to-do, but the typical assemblyman was a

person of middling status. Of the thirty-nine members of the lower house in 1785, only four or five were men of wealth; and nearly half were men of modest means whose fathers had been simple farmers.

These changes in the political order did not automatically or necessarily transform the economic one. But the ideals espoused by the revolutionaries at least established a goal of equal opportunity and sufficiency for all. And the shifts which increased the social similarity of the governors and the governed gave some hope that these aspirations would not be forgotten.

For Further Reading

Readers interested in learning more about the society of colonial New Jersey can turn to a number of books for information. John E. Pomfret's *Colonial New Jersey: A History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), presents a good overview of the provincial era in a single volume. Richard P. McCormick's *New Jersey from Colony to State, 1609-1789* (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1964), also covers the period well.

Adrian C. Leiby's *The Early Dutch and Swedish Settlers of New Jersey* (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1964), is an excellent brief account of the experiences of those people. James G. Leyburn's *The Scotch-Irish: A Social History* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1962), has some material relating to New Jersey, as does Theodore Huebener's *The Germans in America* (Philadelphia: Chilton Co., 1962). John E. Pomfret, *The Province of West New Jersey, 1609-1702: A History of the Origins of An American Colony* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), and *The Province of East New Jersey, 1609-1702: The Rebellious Proprietary* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962), provide information about the Quaker founders. Frances D. Pingeon, "Slavery in New Jersey on the Eve of Revolution," in William C. Wright, ed., *New Jersey in the American Revolution: Political and Social Conflict* (rev. ed., Trenton: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1974), reviews the position of the African in the colony. Rudolph J. Vecoli, *The People of New Jersey* (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1965) offers the best general overview of the subject.

James H. Levitt's doctoral dissertation, completed at the University of Utah in 1973, examines "New Jersey Shipping, 1722-1764: A Statistical Study," and his *New Jersey's Revolutionary Economy* (Trenton: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1975) examines the economic impact of the war upon New Jersey society. Jeannette Paddock Nichols, "Colonial Industries of New Jersey, 1618-1815," in Irving S. Kull, ed., *New Jersey: A History* (New York: American Historical Society, 1930-1932), vol. 1, pp. 228-262, represents a pioneering effort to analyze the province's economic history. Richard B. Morris, *Government and Labor in Early America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1946), remains a brilliant treatment of the topic, but it deals with New Jersey only to illustrate general themes. Carl R. Woodward, *The Development of Agriculture in New Jersey, 1640-1800* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1927), and Hubert G. Schmidt, *Agriculture in New Jersey: A Three-Hundred-Year History* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1973) examine the basic element in the colony's prosperity.

Several works shed light on the controversies over New Jersey's lands. John E. Pomfret, *The New Jersey Proprietors and Their Lands, 1664-1776* (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1964), provides interesting material on the origin of the disputes, and Donald L. Kemmerer, *Path to Freedom: The Struggle for Self-Government in Colonial New Jersey, 1703-1776* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940), devotes more than a chapter to the subject. Gary S. Horowitz, "New Jersey Land Riots, 1745-1755," in William C. Wright, ed., *Economic and Social History of Colonial New Jersey* (Trenton: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1974) sheds light on some of the problems faced by farmers.

Oral S. Coad, *New Jersey in Travelers' Accounts, 1524-1971* (Metuchen: Scarecrow Press, 1972), contains synopses of remarks made about the province and state and gives citations to the works in which they appear. Some of the most acute observations came from persons who visited not only New Jersey but also several other colonies. Pehr Kalm, *The America of 1750: Peter Kalm's Travels in North America*, edited by Adolf B. Benson, 2 vols. (New York: Wilson-Erickson, 1937); James Birket, *Some Cursory Remarks Made by James Birket in His Voyage to North America, 1750-1751* (1916. Reprint. Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1971); and Andrew Burnaby, *Travels through the Middle Settle-*

ments in North-America, in the Years 1759 and 1760; With Observations Upon the State of the Colonies (1775. Reprint. Ithaca, New York: Great Seal Books, 1960), rank among the best. Nicholas Collin, *The Journal and Biography of Nicholas Collin, 1746-1831*, translated by Amandus Johnson (Philadelphia: New Jersey Society of Pennsylvania, 1936) is also of special interest.

The works of Harry B. Weiss treat many facets of Jersey life. In particular, see *The Early Breweries of New Jersey* (Trenton: New Jersey Agricultural Society, 1963), *The Early Lotteries of New Jersey* (Trenton: Past Times Press, 1966), *The Early Promotional Literature of New Jersey* (Trenton: New Jersey Agricultural Society, 1964), *An Introduction to Crime and Punishment in Colonial New Jersey* (Trenton: Past Times Press, 1960), *The Personal Estates of Early Farmers and Tradesmen of Colonial New Jersey, 1670-1750* (Trenton: New Jersey Agricultural Society, 1971), *Some Early Industries of New Jersey* (Trenton: New Jersey Agricultural Society, 1965), and *Some Legislation Affecting Rural Life in Colonial New Jersey* (Trenton: Past Times Press, 1957). Grace Ziegler Weiss collaborated on many of these books.

A number of other writings touch on diverse aspects of the history of New Jersey. Alice Hanson Jones, *Wealth Estimates for the American Middle Colonies, 1774*, which appeared as vol. 18, no. 4, part 2 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, July, 1970), of *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, and Jackson Turner Main, *The Social Structure of Revolutionary America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), contain some analyses of the distribution of wealth and property in the province. Main's *The Sovereign States, 1775-1783* (New York: New Viewpoints, 1973), has information about Jersey politics. Wallace N. Jamison, *Religion in New Jersey: A Brief History* (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1964) succinctly examines that important topic, and Nelson R. Burr, *Education in New Jersey, 1630-1871* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1942), is the standard work on that subject. Finally Linda Grant DePauw, in *Fortunes of War: New Jersey Women and the American Revolution* (Trenton: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1975), examines the status of women in colonial society and their special experiences in the revolutionary conflict.

New Jersey's Revolutionary Experience

Larry R. Gerlach, Editor

1. Richard F. Hixson **The Press in Revolutionary New Jersey**
2. John P. Snyder **The Mapping of New Jersey in the American Revolution**
3. Bruce W. Stewart **Morristown: A Crucible of the American Revolution**
4. Peter O. Wacker **The Cultural Geography of Eighteenth Century New Jersey**
5. Mark E. Lender **The New Jersey Soldier**
6. John T. Cunningham **New Jersey's Five Who Signed**
7. Larry R. Gerlach **The Road to Revolution**
8. Thomas Fleming **The Battle of Springfield**
9. James H. Levitt **New Jersey's Revolutionary Economy**
10. Edward J. Cody **The Religious Issue in Revolutionary New Jersey**
11. Charles H. Kaufman **The Music of Eighteenth Century New Jersey**
12. David L. Cowen **Medicine in Revolutionary New Jersey**
13. Larry R. Gerlach **William Franklin: New Jersey's Last Royal Governor**
14. Frances D. Pigeon **Blacks in the Revolutionary Era**
15. Richard J. Connors **The Constitution of 1776**
16. Lewis F. Owen **The Revolutionary Struggle in New Jersey, 1776-1783**
17. Thomas J. Archdeacon **New Jersey Society in the Revolutionary Era**
18. Donald W. Whisenhunt **Elias Boudinot**
19. Dennis P. Ryan **New Jersey's Whigs**
20. Dennis P. Ryan **New Jersey's Loyalists**
21. Carl E. Prince **William Livingston: New Jersey's First Governor**
22. Kemble T. Widmer **The Christmas Campaign: The Ten Days of Trenton and Princeton**
23. Suzanne Corlette **The Fine and the Useful Arts in New Jersey, 1750-1800**
24. Douglas Sloan **Education in New Jersey in the Revolutionary Era**
25. Samuel S. Smith **The Battle of Monmouth**
26. Linda Grant DePauw **Fortunes of War: New Jersey Women and the American Revolution**
27. Stanley N. Worton **Teachers' Guide: Secondary**
28. George C. Lindemer **Teachers' Guide: Elementary**

**Order from New Jersey Historical Commission, 113 West State Street,
Trenton, NJ 08625.**

THOMAS J. ARCHDEACON is assistant professor of History, University of Wisconsin. He has advanced degrees from Columbia University. His broad interests in United States history range from the colonial period and the Revolution to modern urban problems. His numerous publications include contributions to *Harper's Encyclopedia of the Modern World* (1970) and *The Encyclopedia of American History* (1973) as well as articles and reviews in historical journals. His *New York City, 1664-1710: Conquest and Change* was published by Cornell University Press in 1975. He received a grant-in-aid from the New Jersey Historical Commission in 1974 in support of his project on the social structure of colonial New Jersey.

