A man in 18th-century military uniform stands in a wooded area. He wears a black tricorn hat with two white stripes, a red coat with buff lapels and cuffs, buff breeches, and a buff sash. He holds a sword in his right hand. The background is a large tree trunk and green foliage.

NEW JERSEY LEGACY

TEACHERS GUIDE

New Jersey Legacy

A Teachers Guide to the Ten-part Television Series

Producers: David S. Cohen, New Jersey Historical Commission;
Lou Presti, NJN Public Television

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Cover and Book Design: Fred Ehmann

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ABOUT THE SERIES

New Jersey Legacy is a series of ten half-hour television documentaries that tell the history of New Jersey from 1609 to the present. It is a co-production of the New Jersey Historical Commission in the Department of State and NJN Public Television and Radio. The goals of *New Jersey Legacy* are to reach a broad audience with high-quality television programs about New Jersey history; to place New Jersey history in the context of American and world history; to show how a knowledge of the past helps us understand the present; and to incorporate women's history, African-American history, ethnic history, and labor history into the study of New Jersey history.


Funding for the series is provided by the Geraldine R. Dodge Foundation, the office of the New Jersey Governor, the NJ State Legislature, the NJ Historical Commission in the N.J. Department of State, the EJ Grassmann Trust and the Union Foundation. Additional funding is from the Bunbury Company, the Society of Colonial Wars in New Jersey, the Charles Edison Fund, and Beneficial Management Corporation.

For a transcript of these programs, write to: New Jersey Legacy transcripts, c/o New Jersey Historical Commission, P.O. Box 305, Trenton, NJ 08625-0305; or e-mail: david.cohen@sos.state.nj.us

PROGRAM ONE: *Fortunes in Furs*

By: Patricia Matuszewski, David S. Cohen, Howard L. Green

Summary

 or centuries the ancestors of the Lenape Indians lived on the land that would become New Jersey. Starting in 1609 their way of life began to change drastically. In that year Henry Hudson, looking for a northwest passage to Asia, explored the Atlantic shoreline of New Jersey. While he did not find the passage for which he was searching, he did find a wealth of natural riches, including fur-bearing animals.

In 1621, anticipating potential fortunes from the fur trade, the Dutch established the West India Company to trade with the west coast of Africa, Brazil, the Caribbean islands, and North America. To conduct the fur trade in North America, the company founded the colony of New Netherland, claiming territory from the Connecticut to the Delaware rivers.

The Dutch soon realized that they needed permanent agricultural settlements as well as seasonal fur trading posts. These settlements brought the Dutch into conflict with the Lenape Indians, resulting in Kieft's War (1640–1643) and the Peach War (1655). The fur trade had a devastating effect on the Lenape. It made them dependent on European goods, put them in competition with neighboring tribes, led to unsuccessful wars, and exposed them to deadly diseases to which they had no immunities.

The anticipated fortunes in furs never materialized. Instead, the fur trade brought the Dutch into conflict with other European countries eager to gain a foothold in the region. In 1638 Swedes and Finns settled on both sides of Delaware Bay in the colony of New Sweden. The Dutch under Peter Stuyvesant conquered New Sweden in 1655. But their victory was short-lived. In 1664 the Dutch themselves were conquered by the English, who divided New Netherland into New York and New Jersey.

While the English now controlled the government, the Lenape Indians, the Swedes, the Finns, the Dutch, and the African slaves whom the Dutch brought to New Netherland, remained. In contrast to the Native-American culture which was in crisis, the European and African groups maintained distinctive cultural features, such as Scandinavian log houses, Dutch inheritance patterns, and Afro-Dutch folk traditions, well after the English conquest.

WHERE *FORTUNES IN FURS* FITS IN THE CURRICULUM

AMERICAN HISTORY	IMPORTANT PEOPLE	IMPORTANT PLACES	TERMS THAT MAY REQUIRE EXPLANATION
exploration and discovery of the Americas	Henry Hudson	Burlington Island	aboriginal
colonization of Massachusetts and Virginia	Peter Minuit	Fort Elfsborg (outside Salem)	archaeology
	Cornelis Jacobsz May	Fort Nassau (Gloucester City)	epidemic diseases
early conflict with the Indians	Johan Printz		longhouse
	Willem Kieft	New Amsterdam (New York City)	Northwest Passage
world history	Peter Stuyvesant	North River (Hudson River)	patroonship
European expansion		South River (Delaware River)	role
			status
			tribute
			wampum

CORE LESSONS

FUR TRADE

THEME

The explorations of Henry Hudson prompted interest in establishing a fur trade with the Indians. The trade that developed led to competition for colonies among the Dutch, the Swedes, and the English.

OBJECTIVE

The students will interpret the problems of conducting the fur trade.

BEFORE VIEWING THE PROGRAM

Tell the students that one of the themes of the program is competition among European countries for the fur trade. Ask them to pay special attention to the strategies used by the Dutch, the Swedes, and the English.

AFTER VIEWING THE PROGRAM

Divide the class into three groups (the Dutch, the Swedes, and the English). Ask each group to design a strategy for conducting the fur trade. Among the things they should consider are the following: What should be the medium of exchange? What factors would be considered in locating fur trading posts? What should be the policy toward the Indians? How should the profits be divided? Should there be permanent settlements or seasonal trading posts? How should they deal with competing European countries? A speaker for each group should present the group's plan to the class, and the class should discuss the pros and cons of each plan.

INDIANS

THEME

During the first half of the seventeenth century, as more and more Europeans moved into New Netherland, the population of the Lenape Indians declined drastically, and their culture underwent a crisis.

OBJECTIVE

The students will describe the problems experienced by Lenape Indians as a result of their contacts with Europeans.

BEFORE VIEWING THE PROGRAM

Tell the class that one of the themes of the program they are about to see is the effect of contacts with Europeans on the Lenape Indians. Ask them to pay special attention to the problems that the Lenape Indians experienced. You might want to ask them to take notes on this theme.

AFTER VIEWING THE PROGRAM

Ask the students to write a short speech (one page long) to be delivered by a Lenape Indian in a meeting with Governor Peter Stuyvesant of New Netherland. The speech should describe the troubles facing the Indians, who is to blame for them, and how they should be redressed. Volunteers can read their speeches to the entire class.

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WOMEN

THEME

The role and status of women in Dutch, English, and Lenape societies differed.

OBJECTIVE

The students will define the terms role and status, apply these concepts to three different societies, and judge the meaning of the different roles and statuses of women in these societies.

BEFORE VIEWING THE PROGRAM

Explain to the students that status refers to the position one occupies within a society and that role is the expected behavior in that position. Ask them to take notes on the role and status of women among the Lenape Indians, the Dutch, and the English.

AFTER VIEWING THE PROGRAM

Divide the class into three groups, representing the Lenape Indians, the Dutch, and the English. Ask each group to make a list of roles and/or rights of women in that society based on information in the program. Reconstitute the groups into smaller groups of three, with a student from each of the larger groups in each of the smaller groups. Ask these smaller groups to judge in which society women had a higher status. A speaker from each group should report the group's findings with an explanation to the entire class.

SUPPLEMENTARY LESSONS

HISTORICAL MAP

OBJECTIVE

The students will analyze a historical map as a primary source of information about the past.

ACTIVITY

Distribute copies of the Map of Novi Belgii by Nicolaes Visscher, 1655.

- Ask the students how many names on the map are Indian. Discuss why Indian names may have been so important to the mapmaker. Why are so many of these names unfamiliar to us today? What other languages are represented in the place names on the map (e.g., Dutch)? Which of these names survive today? Why are there no English names?
- What does the map tell us about what was significant to the mapmaker? What political boundaries are missing from the map (e.g. New York and New Jersey)? What does the map tell us about the importance of waterways for transportation and settlement in the seventeenth century?

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

OBJECTIVE

The students will analyze a historical document as a primary source of information about the past.

ACTIVITY

Distribute the Instructions to Willem Verhulst, Director of New Netherland, dated 1625.

- Ask the students to describe in brief phrases what major things Verhulst was instructed to do (e.g. keep the peace, deal fairly with the Indians).

- Ask the students to discuss the following questions: If you were writing this document, what would you add, omit, or change? How was Verhulst instructed to deal with the Indians? How was he instructed to deal with other European countries? Why did events not turn out as planned?

CURRENT ISSUE

OBJECTIVE

The students will describe the uses of animal resources in different cultures in the past and present and judge these uses in terms of the present day debate about wearing furs and eating meat.

ACTIVITY

Ask two four-person teams to debate the proposition that Indians were more justified in using animal meat, furs, and skins than were Europeans, both in the past and in the present.

OTHER HISTORICAL THEMES

- **The plans of nations and individuals are often altered by events beyond their understanding or control.** Three examples in this film are the discovery of America, the failure of the fur trade to live up to European expectations, and the changing balance of power in Europe. Other examples?
- **Competition among nations, tribes, groups, or between individuals is common:** What examples are found in this film? How was Verhulst instructed to deal with rivals? How can people from different cultures deal with each other without resorting to threat, intimidation, or violence?
- **The past affects the present:** What modern examples (names, places, foods, holidays, styles, language, etc.) can you find of New Jersey's Indian, Dutch, and Swedish heritages?
- **There are many sources for the study of history:** How many different sources are used in this film? What are primary documents and how can they be used? What is an example of a secondary source? What can the work of archaeologists add to our understanding of history? How can the reliability of documents be judged? What do the period illustrations used in the program show about what was important to people during this period of time? To society? To the illustrator? Are there obvious stereotypes or inaccuracies in any of the illustrations? What different styles and types of art are represented by the illustrations? In what ways was seventeenth century art the same or different in purpose and technique from later art?

SUGGESTED FIELD TRIPS

- Visit the reconstructed Lenape Indian village at Waterloo Village in Netcong, New Jersey.
- Visit a Swedish log cabin or a Dutch–American farmhouse. A list of historic museums may be obtained through New Jersey Network's LINK computer system or by writing to the New Jersey Historical Commission.
- Visit Philipsburg Manor in Tarrytown, New York, for their springtime Pinkster (Whitsunday) celebration in Spring, which incorporates Afro-Dutch traditions.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES

FOR STUDENTS

Leiby, Adrian. *The Early Dutch and Swedish Settlers of New Jersey*. The New Jersey Historical Series, Vol. 10. Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1964.

A short, popular account of New Netherland and New Sweden that focuses on New Jersey. Contains information about the architectural, religious, and linguistic heritage of the Swedes and Dutch.

Weslager, C. A. *Dutch Explorers, Traders, and Settlers in the Delaware Valley, 1609–1664*. Philadelphia: University Of Pennsylvania Press, 1961.

A narrative history of early exploration and settlement by the Dutch and Swedes. While it focuses on the Delaware Valley, it contains general information about New Netherland and the fur trade as well.

FOR TEACHERS

Dowd, Gregory Evans. *The Indians of New Jersey*. New Jersey History Series, No.3. Trenton: New Jersey Historical Commission, Dpt. of State, 1992

A short history of the Lenape from prehistoric times to the present. Chapter Two covers the period from contact to 1664 and Chapter Three from 1664 to 1801.

Kraft, Herbert C. *The Lenape: Archaeology, History, and Ethnography*. Collections Of The New Jersey Historical Society, Vol. 21. Newark: New Jersey Historical Society, 1986.

A detailed description of the occupation by the ancestors of the Lenape Indians from about 12,000 B.C. to the departure of the Lenape from the Brotherton Reservation in 1802. The emphasis is on archaeology and material culture, but there are chapters on European contact and the removal of the Indians from New Jersey.

Rink, Oliver. *Holland on the Hudson: An Economic and Social History of Dutch New York*. Ithaca And London: Cornell University Press; Cooperstown: New York State Historical Association, 1986.

A scholarly treatment that places New Netherland in the context of Dutch domestic politics and the competition between European countries for colonies in America. While it emphasizes the Hudson Valley, much of the book applies to New Jersey.

Weslager, C. A. *The Delaware Indians: A History*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1972.

An extensive narrative history of the Lenape or Delaware Indians with an emphasis on their relationships with Europeans, including the Dutch, the Swedes, and the English. Much of the book deals with their history after they left New Jersey.

SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS FOR STUDENTS

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1655 Map of New Netherland	14
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**INSTRUCTIONS FOR WILLEM VERHULST,
PROVINCIAL DIRECTOR OF THE NEW NETHERLAND COLONY, 1625**

First, he shall take care that divine service be held at the proper times both on board ship and on land...and see that the community there is properly served by him in the ministration of holy baptism, in reading sermons, [offering] prayers...and that the Indians be instructed in the Christian religion out of God,s Holy Word. He shall also prevent all idolatry, in order that the name of God and our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ be not blasphemed therein by any one and the Lord,s Sabbath be not violated, but that by the example of godliness and outward discipline on the part of the Christians the heathen may the sooner be brought to a knowledge of the same.

He shall also see that no one do the Indians any harm or violence, deceive, mock, or condemn them in any way, but that in addition to good treatment they be shown honesty, faithfulness, and sincerity in all contracts, dealings, and intercourse, without being deceived by shortage of measure, weight, or number, and that throughout friendly relations with them be maintained.

Whereas we have received and examined a report about the condition of a certain island to be called the High Island [Burlington Island], situated about 25 miles up the South River [Delaware River], below the first falls [Trenton], we deem it expedient, unless a still more suitable place be found, to settle there all the families together with the hired farmers and the cattle that will be sent thither in the ship Den Orangenboom [The Orange Tree] and the following ship...

In case any Indians should be living on the aforesaid island or make any claim upon it, or upon any other places that are of use to us, they must not be driven away by force or threats, but by good words be persuaded to leave, or be given something therefore to their satisfaction, or else be allowed to live among us, a contract being made thereof and signed by them in their manner, since such contracts upon other occasions may be very useful to the Company.

And for the better security of the trade and the exclusion of foreign nations, he is to consider whether it would not be practicable so to contract with the natives of the country in various districts as would make them promise us to trade with no one but those of the Company, provided that we on our part bind ourselves to take all the skins which they could bring us upon such terms as would be considered reasonable, or at such price as we have hitherto bought them.

And whereas those tribes are very quarrelsome among themselves, suspicious and vindictive, he shall be very careful not lightly to embroil himself in their quarrels or wars, or to take sides, but to remain neutral and to pacify and reconcile the respective parties by the most suitable means.

He shall by small presents seek to draw the Indians to our service, in order to learn from them the secrets of that region and the condition of the interior, but not feed them in idleness or give in too much to their wanton demands.

He shall also as far as feasible avoid getting into any dispute with the French or English, and especially avoid all acts of violence, unless he be obliged to defend himself and those who are committed to his charge against open aggression.

But if any persons belonging to a foreign nation...attempt to trade with the Indians, he shall spoil the market for them by [outbidding them].

He shall endeavor to increase the trade in skins and other articles that are obtained in the country, and at the place of trading with the Indians have a cabin erected so that the goods may be stored therein, and at a suitable time he shall send one or more sloops thither to carry on trade...He shall not neglect to send as a sample some deerskins and other skins that are prepared by the Indians, also such things

as the Indians make of them according to their ingenuity.

He shall give the colonists and other free persons full permission to trade in the interior and to catch the animals with the skins, but they must deliver up the said skins and goods to the Company at the price for which we obtain them at the trading-place from the Indians, and he shall not permit them, by selling the skins [to others], to make the Company pay a higher price for them.

Source: A. J. F. Van Laer, *Documents Relating to New Netherland, 1624–1626, in the Henry E. Huntington Library*. San Marino, Calif.: Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, 1924

TIMELINE

NEW JERSEY	AMERICA	EUROPE
<p>1609 Henry Hudson explores the coast of New Jersey</p> <p>1624 New Netherland is settled</p> <p>1629 The Patroonship system is started</p> <p>1640 Kieft's War begins</p>	<p>1607 Jamestown, Va., founded</p> <p>1620 Plymouth Plantation is founded</p> <p>1630 Massachusetts Bay Colony is settled</p> <p>1638 New Sweden is settled</p> <p>1655 The Dutch conquer New Sweden</p>	<p>1603 The Stuarts come into power in England</p> <p>1621 The Dutch West India Company is chartered</p> <p>1642 The English Civil War begins</p> <p>1649 Charles I is beheaded; Oliver Cromwell takes power</p> <p>1660 The Stuarts are restored to the throne</p>

PROGRAM TWO: *The Two New Jerseys*

By: Patricia Matuszewski, David S. Cohen, Howard L. Green

Summary

In 1664, after the English conquered New Netherland, King Charles II granted the former Dutch territories as a proprietary colony to his brother James, Duke of York, who later became King James II. The Duke divided the colony into New York and New Jersey, reserving New York for himself as the “Duke’s province” and giving New Jersey to his friends John, Lord Berkeley, and Sir George Carteret. Berkeley and Carteret eventually sold their shares to other investors, called proprietors, resulting in the division in 1676 of the colony into East and West Jersey.

From the outset of the grant from the Duke of York to Berkeley and Carteret, jurisdictional disputes arose between New York and New Jersey. Before he learned about the gift to Berkeley and Carteret, Governor Richard Nicolls of New York made land grants in New Jersey to some New Englanders, causing a confusion of land titles that lasted into the eighteenth century. There was also a question of whether the grant to Berkeley and Carteret included the right to govern, which led to the arrest of Governor Philip Carteret of East Jersey and John Fenwick of Salem by a later New York governor, Sir Edmund Andros.

During this period the population of New Jersey diversified. Besides Europeans, there were Native-Americans, who were the original settlers, and African-Americans, who first were brought into the colony by the Dutch. To this racial diversity was added ethnic and religious diversity. In addition to the Dutch, Swedish, and Finnish, there were English and Scottish settlers. Among the religious denominations there were the Dutch Reformed, Puritans, Quakers, and Anglicans. In East Jersey resentment accompanied the passing of power from the English Puritans in Newark and Elizabeth to the Scottish Presbyterians in Perth Amboy. In West Jersey, the Quakers resented the growing influence of the Anglicans.

Finally, the proprietors of both East and West Jersey gave up their efforts to govern this disorderly, heterogeneous society. In 1702, they petitioned the crown to take over the colony, while retaining their rights to the land. This brought to an end the period of the two New Jerseys.

WHERE *THE TWO NEW JERSEYS* FITS IN THE CURRICULUM

AMERICAN HISTORY	IMPORTANT PEOPLE	IMPORTANT PLACES	TERMS THAT MAY REQUIRE EXPLANATION
Mercantilism	Charles II	Burlington Island	Quakers
Colonization	James, Duke of York (James II)	Fort Elfsburg (outside Salem)	Corporate colony
Multiculturalism	Sir George Carteret	Fort Nassau (Gloucester City)	Proprietary colony
Types of colonies	John, Lord Berkeley	New Amsterdam (New York City)	Royal colony
Social history	Governor Richard Nicolls		English Civil War
Economic system	Governor Philip Carteret	North River (Hudson River)	Puritans
Women's history	George Fox	South River (Delaware River)	Land patents
	John Fenwick		Self-government
	Governor Edmund Andros		Concessions and Agreements
	William Penn		Quitrent
	George Keith		Calvinists
			Anglicans

CORE LESSONS

REASONS FOR COMING

THEME

Different groups of colonists came to East and West Jersey for a variety of reasons.

OBJECTIVE

Students will analyze why different groups came to East and West Jersey and realize that some people are motivated by a number of considerations.

BEFORE VIEWING THE PROGRAM

Ask the students to analyze why people live in New Jersey today and what they hope to achieve here. Come to a consensus on the rank ordering of reasons the students enumerate, such as: security, money, proximity to family, a good job, opportunity, education, happiness, success, possessions, fame, contribution to society. Explain that different groups of people in the past had their own reasons for coming to New Jersey and the students should pay special attention to this theme in the program they are about to watch.

AFTER VIEWING THE PROGRAM

Divide the class into groups to discuss and agree on a group answer to the following questions: Why did the different groups of settlers identified in the program come to East and West Jersey during the late seventeenth century? What were the groups? What were the reason(s) for coming of each group? Did they all have the same reason? Did some of them have more than one reason? Did all of them come voluntarily? If not, which groups did not come voluntarily? What are the differences and similarities in the reasons people choose to live in New Jersey today as opposed to in the seventeenth century?

ARE THERE TWO NEW JERSEYS TODAY?

THEME

New Jersey was once two colonies—East Jersey and West Jersey.

OBJECTIVE

Students will evaluate the implications of the fact that New Jersey was once two colonies and determine whether this history affects the present.

BEFORE VIEWING THE PROGRAM

Ask the students to list any ways in which North Jersey and South Jersey differ today (for example, a separate telephone area code, different television stations, the Jersey Shore, the Pine Barrens, etc.). Explain that New Jersey was once two colonies and ask the students to pay special attention to the differences between East and West Jersey mentioned in the program. Do these historic differences between East and West Jersey explain current distinctions between North and South Jersey?

AFTER VIEWING THE PROGRAM

Referring to the list of differences between North and South Jersey compiled before viewing the program, ask the class which, if any, of the items on the list are linked to the historical fact that New Jersey was once two colonies? Which items are linked to historical circumstances that occurred between 1700 and the present? Are any of these differences totally unrelated to history?

SOURCES OF GOVERNMENTAL AUTHORITY

THEME

There was a question about whether the land grant that established New Jersey included the right to govern and be governed separately from New York.

OBJECTIVE

Students will distinguish between government from the bottom up and from the top down.

BEFORE VIEWING THE PROGRAM

Ask the students by what authority the monarch rules in a monarchical form of government. Discuss the meaning of the term “divine right.” Then ask by what authority does the government rule under the United States Constitution. Discuss the meaning of the terms “democracy” and “representative government.” Tell the students that the question of who had the authority to govern New Jersey is one of the themes of the program they are about to watch. The students should ask themselves by what authority various individuals in the program claimed the right to govern New Jersey.

AFTER VIEWING THE PROGRAM

Ask the students by what authority the following individuals claimed the right to govern New Jersey: Charles II, the Duke of York, Governor Edmund Andros, Governor Philip Carteret, and John Fenwick. How does the issue of establishing the authority to govern differ in the seventeenth century from the present? Based on the information in the program did Carteret and Fenwick make a good case that New Jersey should be governed separately from New York?

DIVERSITY VERSUS HOMOGENEITY

THEME

The increasing racial, ethnic, and religious diversity in New Jersey led to misunderstandings and sometimes to conflict.

OBJECTIVE

Students will assess the relative advantages and disadvantages of diversity and homogeneity in society.

BEFORE VIEWING THE PROGRAM

Ask the students to name the religious denominations that exist in New Jersey today. Have them do the same with ethnic groups and races. Often this can be done by determining the variety of racial, ethnic, and religious backgrounds represented in the class. Explain that since the late seventeenth century New Jersey has been a diverse society. Ask them to pay special attention to the program to how the racial, ethnic, and religious make-up of New Jersey was different then and what difficulties those groups had in getting along with one another.

AFTER VIEWING THE PROGRAM

Divided the class into small groups to discuss the differences and similarities between New Jersey society in the late seventeenth century and today. Did groups get along with one another better or worse then than now? What were the causes of discord then as opposed to today? What are the advantages and disadvantages of a diverse versus a homogeneous society? Have each group report its findings to the entire class.

SUPPLEMENTARY LESSONS

TWO HISTORIC MAPS

OBJECTIVE

Students will be able to compare and contrast two historic maps from different periods and draw conclusions about changes that occurred during the intervening years.

ACTIVITY

Reproduce and distribute the two historic maps in the Supplementary Materials section: the Map of Novi Belgii by Nicolaes Visscher (1655), and John Thornton's map of East and West New Jersey (1706). You may also want to use a current road map to contrast with the two historic maps.

Ask the students the following questions, based on a comparison of the two maps: What new political units and boundaries are found on the Thornton map that are not on the Visscher map? Is there an equal amount of detail for both East and West Jersey on the Thornton map? What indications are there on the Thornton map of new forms of transportation not evident on the Visscher map?

HISTORIC DOCUMENT: PROMOTIONAL LETTER

OBJECTIVE

Students will interpret a historical document and use information from it in completing a creative writing assignment.

ACTIVITY

Reproduce and distribute the letter from Esther Huckens to John Sunison, which is in the Supplementary Materials section.

Explain that Huckens was an English Quaker who settled in West Jersey. Ask the students to note the terminology in Huckens's letter that reflects her Quaker background (such as the familiar pronouns "thee" and "thou"). Ask the students why do they think the Quakers used these terms.

Explain that this letter was published in 1679 in England in a pamphlet whose purpose was to encourage settlers to move to America. Ask the students whether, considering this fact, the letter was an objective account of conditions in West Jersey. Why would people want to recruit others to settle in New Jersey?

Divide the class into work groups of four students each and ask each group to design and write a promotional brochure to encourage settlers to move to West Jersey based on information contained in this letter.

SUGGESTED FIELD TRIPS

- A Friends meeting house
- Burlington
- Perth Amboy

BIBLIOGRAPHIES

FOR STUDENTS

Mccormick, Richard P. *New Jersey From Colony To State, 1609–1799*. The New Jersey Historical Series, Vol. 1. Princeton: D. Van Nostrand, 1964.

A good, overall summary of New Jersey colonial history from 1609 to the Revolutionary War. Chapters 2 and 3 deal with proprietary East Jersey and the Quaker Commonwealth of West Jersey, respectively.

Pomfret, John E. *The New Jersey Proprietors And Their Lands*. The New Jersey Historical Series, Vol. 9. Princeton: D. Van Nostrand, 1964.

Takes the topic of proprietary lands from Berkeley and Carteret through the land riots. Chapters 1 through 7 deal with the period of the two New Jerseys.

FOR TEACHERS

Gladfelter, Valerie G. *Power Challenged: Rising Individualism In Burlington, New Jersey, Friends Meeting, 1678–1720*. In *Friends And Neighbors: Group Life In America's First Plural Society*. Edited By Michael Zuckerman, Pp. 116–144. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982.

Deals with the challenge to the Quakers represented by the growth in importance of the Anglicans in West Jersey and the status of women among the Quakers. ed. by Michael Zuckerman, pp. 65–89. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, Argues that the Scottish proprietors who came to dominate the province of East Jersey in the late seventeenth century sought to model New Jersey landholding on the large tenanted estates in Scotland.

Pomfret, John E. *The Province Of East New Jersey, 1609–1702: The Rebellious Proprietary*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962.

Covers the proprietary of Berkeley and Carteret, the rebellion of 1672, the conflict between Philip Carteret and Edmund Andros, the Scottish migration, and the surrender of 1702.

Pomfret, John E. *The Province Of West New Jersey, 1609–1702: A History Of The Origins Of An American Colony*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962.

A detailed narrative covering the English conquest and settlement, John Fenwick and Salem, the Quaker commonwealth, the Keithian controversy, the Anglican presence, and the surrender to the crown.

SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS FOR STUDENTS

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Promotional Letter	26
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Map of East and West New Jersey	28
Map of New Amsterdam	30

PROMOTIONAL LETTER

Dear and loving friend John Sunison,

My kind love unto thee and to thy wife, hoping these lines may find thee in good health, as thanks be unto the Lord, we are all safe through mercy arrived at New Caesarea¹ or New Jersey...

If any are minded to come over, they may go thither and know what goods to bring that are fit to sell or use here. Here is not want of anything but good people to inhabit. Here is liberty for the honest-hearted that truly desire to fear the Lord. Here is liberty from the cares and bondage of this world, and after one year or two, you may live very well with very little labor. Here is great store of fish and fowl, and plenty of corn, and cows, hogs horses, oxen, sheep, venison, nuts strawberries, grapes, and peaches. Here is good English wheat, ripe in three months. Wheat is 4 shillings² a bushel, barley at three, good white rye at three, good Indian corn at 2 shillings, 6 pence³ a bushel. Half a bushel when it is planted, will find a great family a whole year with bread and drink...The beef fats itself, and hogs fat themselves. They are fat all the year, and people may kill them when they have occasion. Here is good land enough, and wood enough. Servants are in great request. Young men and maids come to great fortune...and do very well.

My mother remembers her to thee, and she would not have you be discouraged, because of the water, for the Lord is well able to preserve by sea as land. We were near two hundred people on board the ship we came in. There was an ancient woman judged near four score years of age, and she did very well. And several others that were very ancient. We lost but two...I rest, thy loving friend till death,

Delaware, New Jersey

Esther Huckens
April the 4th, 1676

1. The Isle of Jersey, home of Sir George Carteret, had been named Caesarea by the Romans.
2. Under the old English monetary system, twenty shillings equalled one pound sterling.
3. Under the same system, twelve pence equalled one shilling. The term “penny” in the American monetary system comes from the English pence.

TIMELINE

NEW JERSEY	AMERICA	EUROPE
<p>1664 Charles II grants part of New Netherland to his brother the Duke of York who grants the southern part to Carteret and Berkeley</p> <p>1665 Elizabethtown is founded by Puritans from Long Island</p> <p>1666 Newark is founded by Puritans from New Haven</p> <p>1675 Quaker John Fenwick establishes the town of Salem</p> <p>1676 New Jersey is divided into East and West Jersey</p> <p>1679 Governor Andros of New York arrests Governor Carteret of East Jersey</p> <p>1684 Perth Amboy is founded by Scottish proprietors</p> <p>1702 East and West Jersey are united into the royal colony of New Jersey</p>	<p>1664 the English capture New Netherland from the Dutch</p> <p>1673 the Dutch reconquer New York</p> <p>1676 Nathaniel Bacon leads a rebellion in Virginia</p> <p>1681 Pennsylvania is founded as a Quaker colony by William Penn</p> <p>1686 England establishes the Dominion of New England</p> <p>1689 King William's War between England and France begins</p> <p>1691 Jacob Leisler leads a rebellion in New York</p>	<p>1642 English Civil War begins</p> <p>1649 Charles I is beheaded; Commonwealth declared</p> <p>1660 the Stuarts are restored to the throne of England; Charles II becomes king</p> <p>1672 England and France declare war on the Dutch</p> <p>1685 James II becomes the king of England</p> <p>1688 the Glorious Revolution in England occurs</p> <p>1689 William and Mary become King and Queen of England</p>

EAST/WEST NEW JERSEY MAP
FROM 1706



COPY OF THE MAP OF NOVI BELGII BY NICOLAES VISSCHER, 1655



PROGRAM THREE: *Royal Rule and Religious Revival*

By: Patricia Matuszewski, David S. Cohen, Howard L. Green

Summary



In 1702, East and West Jersey were united into a single royal colony, but the jurisdictional dispute between New York and New Jersey was not resolved, and New York and New Jersey still shared a governor. Lord Cornbury, the first royal governor, aroused the ire of many New Jerseyans, because he took the side of the Anglicans against the Quakers in West Jersey and was a staunch advocate of British imperial power. His political opponents accused him of moral and political corruption and succeeded in having him recalled. In 1738, New Jersey obtained its own governor, Lewis Morris, a wealthy member of the East Jersey Board of Proprietors.

Land titles in New Jersey remained confused through the middle of the eighteenth century for several reasons. Some settlers had received grants in the 1660s from former Governor Nicolls of New York. Some had purchased land from local Indians, while others had purchased it from the New Jersey proprietors. Still others claimed the land by living on it and improving it. The boundaries between New York and New Jersey and between the former provinces of East and West Jersey continued to be disputed, increasing confusion in land titles. The proprietors of East and West Jersey continued to insist upon the collection of rent due on lands they considered to be under their jurisdiction, and many settlers refused to pay them. In the late 1740s a series of land riots broke out and continued off and on through the American Revolution.

During the same period, a religious revival spread throughout British North America. In New Jersey the revival was led by the Dutch Reformed minister Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen and the Presbyterian pastor Gilbert Tennent. The Great Awakening, as this revival was called, resulted in the founding of Princeton and Rutgers as colleges to train revivalist ministers. The revival became a factor in the American Revolution, because the revivalists tended to become supporters of the Revolution. Many African-Americans and Native-Americans were drawn into this religious movement, which represented an acculturation to European ways. In 1758, during the French and Indian War, many of the Lenape Indians remaining in New Jersey were confined on a reservation in Burlington County, which further contributed to the destruction of their traditional way of life.

WHERE *ROYALE RULE & RELIGIOUS REVIVAL* FITS IN THE CURRICULUM

AMERICAN HISTORY	IMPORTANT PEOPLE	IMPORTANT PLACES	TERMS THAT MAY REQUIRE EXPLANATION
Multiculturalism	Lord Cornbury	New Brunswick	Great Awakening
Women's history	Gilbert Tennent	Newark	Dutch Reformed
Types of colonies	Lewis Morris	Perth Amboy	Royal colony
Social History	David Brainerd	Princeton	Presbyterian
Religion	Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen	Burlington	Dissenters
Economic systems	Teedyuscung	Indian Mills (Brotherton)	Evangelical
Politics			Squatting
			Seven Years War (French and Indian War)
			Conversion experience
			Pietism

CORE LESSONS

NEW JERSEY IDENTITY

THEME

From 1702 to 1738 New Jersey was a royal colony that shared a governor with New York, making it difficult for New Jersey to establish its own political identity.

OBJECTIVE

Students will think about and discuss the relationship between political boundaries and the identity of a place.

BEFORE VIEWING THE PROGRAM (CHOOSE ONE OF THE FOLLOWING)

1. Write on the board:

- New Jersey resembles a beer barrel tapped at both ends, with all the beer running into Philadelphia and New York.
- Wherever the nation is going, New Jersey is going to get there first.

In four-person groups, have the students discuss the following questions about the above comments and report to the class: What do you think these comments mean? Do you agree with them?

2. Brainstorming on Perception and Reality

- Ask the students to imagine that they meet someone from another state and they tell that person that they are from New Jersey. What do you think his/her first response will be? Write the responses on the board. For each perception of New Jersey listed, how might one balance the picture based on personal knowledge of the state?

AFTER VIEWING THE PROGRAM

In four-person groups, have the students discuss the following questions and report back to the class: Did the historical fact that after 1738 New Jersey had its own governor establish the basis for a separate New Jersey identity? If so, is that identity tied to New Jersey's history? If not, does it matter? How would your life be different today if New Jersey had not become a separate state?

LAND OWNERSHIP

THEME

Conflicting land claims led to a series of land riots, raising the issue of how one proves ownership of land.

OBJECTIVE

To involve students in a problem-solving activity which will help them realize that ownership of land is an important political, economic, and social issue, which can lead to legal and physical confrontation.

AFTER VIEWING THE PROGRAM

Simulation Exercise: Land Claims Commission Meeting

Student teams of two to four member will represent each of the following fictional claimants to the same piece of land: Asysung, George Williams, Henry Gibson, and Ralph Hayes. The rest of the class will constitute the land commission, which is charged with ruling of the legitimacy of the conflicting land claims.

Background information: The land in dispute is three hundred acres of productive farm and pasture land in Monmouth County. It is attractive and productive land. A stream provides year-round water supply and power for a grist mill. It is currently farmed by several families, all of which claim ownership. There have been increasingly violent confrontations over the land. The basis of the claims are as follows:

George Williams has produced a deed to the land, which was granted to his family by the proprietor, Sir George Carteret.

Henry Gibson's deed was granted by Governor Richard Nicolls of New York, by the authority of the Duke of York, before Nicolls knew that the Duke had granted New Jersey to Sir George Carteret and John, Lord Berkeley. In addition, Gibson purchased the land from the Indians.

Ralph Hayes's family has lived on the land for the past thirty years. He says that they moved to unimproved land and increased its value through their efforts. He has no formal deed to the land, but he claims that the improvements to his family's farmstead of about fifty acres gives him the right of ownership.

Asysung, a Lenape Indian who lives in Pennsylvania, has returned to Monmouth County, claiming that when his ancestors sold the land to Henry Gibson's ancestors, they did not mean to give away their right to hunt and fish on the land. He is claiming those hunting and fishing rights.

RELIGIOUS REVIVAL

THEME

The Great Awakening was a religious revival that led to the founding of Princeton and Rutgers colleges. Supporters of the revival tended to become supporters of the American Revolution.

OBJECTIVE

Students will understand that religious revivals often occur in times of political, economic, or social crisis and that religion in America often has political implications.

AFTER VIEWING THE PROGRAM

Ask the students to list some current examples of religious controversies which have become political issues (eg. abortion, school vouchers, federal or state assistance to religious schools, school prayer). How is the current wave of religious fervor the similar or different from that which occurred during the Great Awakening? Does it reflect social or economic crisis? If so, explain.

THE LENAPE IN CRISIS

THEME

The traditional culture of the Lenape, already threatened by the effects of European settlement, was further eroded by the conversion of many to Christianity and the confinement in 1758 of most of the remaining Indians on a reservation at Brotherton (Indian Mills, today).

OBJECTIVE

Students will describe and assess the changes that occurred to tribal cultures, when confronted by Europeans.

AFTER VIEWING THE PROGRAM

Students may be divided into random groups of four to formulate positions on the following questions: In what ways was the traditional Lenape culture threatened by European settlement? Give examples of social and cultural dislocation that resulted from contact with Europeans? Could there

have been another other outcome to the confrontation between the Lenape and Europeans? If so, what might have been done differently?

SUPPLEMENTARY LESSONS

LORD CORNBURY PORTRAIT

OBJECTIVE

Students will discuss a portrait as a historical document, questioning its attribution in light of other historical documents.

ACTIVITY

Reproduce and distribute the portrait of Lord Cornbury and the related quotations pertaining to Cornbury in the Supplementary Materials section.

Replay the segment of the program in which Professor Bonomi discusses Lord Cornbury and the portrait.

Lead a discussion about the theory proposed by Professor Bonomi that the portrait is not of Cornbury. Ask the class to consider the following issues: the claim that the portrait is of Cornbury did not come until seventy-five years after Cornbury's death; those who accused Cornbury of dressing like a woman were his political opponents in New Jersey; not all the accusations were contemporaneous with the events; Cornbury and his supporters denied the accusations against him.

HISTORIC DOCUMENTS PERTAINING TO THE LAND RIOTS

OBJECTIVE

Students will analyze three historical documents about the land riots of the 1740s and distinguish between the arguments in each document.

ACTIVITY

Reproduce and distribute the documents in the Supplementary Materials section pertaining to the land riots.

Introduce the documents by explaining that as the program has shown, New Jersey witnessed a series of land riots. The proprietors argued that ownership of land came from royal authority by way of the grant from the Duke of York to John, Lord Berkeley, and Sir George Carteret. Some of the rioters argued that ownership of land should come from settling on it and improving it. Explain that the documents present three points of view on this issue.

Ask the class to rephrase the argument in each document in one sentence. With which position do they agree and why?

SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS FOR STUDENTS

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Documents Relating to the Portrait	39
Documents Relating to the Land Riots	40
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PORTRAIT OF LORD CORNBURY



Courtesy of the New York Historical Society

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE PORTRAIT OF LORD CORNBURY

Lewis Morris, writing in 1707 to recommend a third person to be governor of New York and New Jersey:

He is a honest man, and the reverse of my Lord Cornbury, of whom I must say something which perhaps nobody will think worth their while to tell, and that is his dressing publicly in woman's clothes, every day, and putting a stop to all public business while he is pleasing himself with that peculiar but detestable maggot.

Quoted in James Grant Wilson, *Memorial History of the City of New York*, 2: 86N.

Janet Montgomery, the widow of General Richard Montgomery, who was killed at the Battle of Quebec in 1775, writing in her unpublished memoirs:

He [Lord Cornbury], in consequence of a vow, obliged himself for a month in every year to wear every day women's clothes. He was a large man, wore a hoop and head dress, and with a fan in his hand was seen frequently at night on the ramparts.

Quoted in *ibid.*

Robert Quarry, Commissioner of Revenue for the Colonies, writing to the Board of Trade, June 28, 1707

[Cornbury's New Jersey opposition has] agreed on a most scandalous libel, of which they got a vast number printed, and took care to disperse them through the whole Province. Perhaps there was never a more scandalous libel published...They have treated his Excellency most inhumanly without the least regard to his character under the Queen nor have they so much as considered him a gentleman, but loaded him with scandals, which they very well know are false and cannot be proved...

New Jersey Archives, 3: 236–237.

Lord Cornbury, writing to his father, January 25, 1709:

I can vindicate myself from all the clamours raised against me so clearly that the worst of my enemies will be ashamed of believing what a parcel of wretches here have writ, and which the whole country here knows to be false. (Still, it is hard to be turned out of his government) upon the complaints of a few people who when the matter is well examined will be found to be wicked liars. (It seems as if) a porter in the streets of London is a happier man than a governor in America, (for a porter could gain a hearing for the worst crimes, whereas a governor) shall be condemned upon bare allegations.

Clarendon Papers, John Carter Brown Library

Quotations courtesy of Professor Patricia U. Bonomi
History Department, New York University

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE LAND RIOTS

Excerpts from an anonymous letter to the New York Weekly Post Boy, June, 1746:

No man is naturally entitled to a greater proportion of the earth than another; but though it was made for the use of all, it may be appropriated by every individual. This is done by the improvement of any part of it laying vacant, which is thereby...made the property of that man who bestowed his labor on it, from whom it cannot afterwards be taken without breaking through the rules of natural justice; for thereby he could be actually deprived of the fruits of his industry.

Yet if Mankind, who were designed by the Almighty to be tenants in common of the habitable globe should agree to divide it among themselves into certain shares or parts the contract will be binding by the laws of nature and ought therefore to be inviolably observed. Such a division has been attempted by the treaties made between the several princes and states of Europe with regard to the vast desert of America. But each prince stipulated, or ought to be understood to have stipulated, for the general benefit of the people under his government and not for his particular profit. The kings of England always held lands in America...in trust for their subjects; which lands, having lain uncultivated from the beginning of the world, were therefore as free as common for all to settle upon, as the waters of the rivers are to all to drink. Yet to prevent the confusion that would follow, on every man's being his own carver, governors were from time to time appointed by the crown to parcel out to the subjects as much land as each could occupy. But the mischief of it was that the best parts...have been granted to a few particulars in such exorbitant quantities that the rest of the subjects have ben obliged to buy it for their use at an extravagant price: a hardship, that seems as great as if they had been put under the necessity of buying the waters of the rivers.

New Jersey Archives, 12: 308–309

Message of Governor Jonathan Belcher to the Council and Assembly of New Jersey, 1747:

I have received sundry complaints from numbers of persons who say they are unjustly disturbed in the possession of their lands...I wish both houses would so far reconsider the matter as to...be able to report what may be proper to be done by the legislature to bring an end to the disorders and confusions that have so long subsisted in the province...to the dishonor of God, in high contempt for the King's authority and of the good and wholesome laws of the province. As it well becomes rulers to encourage and support them that do well so it is their indispensable duty to be a terror to evil doers....Assaults and batteries, breaking open the king's jails...must soon bring things to this question: whether his Majesty's authority shall be supported in this province of New Jersey or whether a number of rioters shall take the government into their own hands. If any persons think themselves hardly treated as to any lands they possess their recourse must be to the laws, and having gone through the whole course of law here and yet unsatisfied, they have a *dernier*¹ to his Majesty in council, where they will find...their case heard with great patience and finally closed according to the strictest rules of reason, law and equity. For the King always delights in the happiness of his subjects and esteems Righteousness the greatest stability of his throne.

New Jersey Archives, 7: 68–69

1. An abbreviated form of the French term *dernier ressort*, which means “a last resort.”

EXCERPTS FROM A PETITION OF THE EAST JERSEY PROPRIETORS TO THE KING, 1748

New Jersey...was granted by King Charles the Second to his Royal Highness James, Duke of York, by him conveyed to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret in the year 1664, who began to plant and improve the same....Sir George Carteret...made considerable improvements and brought into the province great numbers of inhabitants to whom he gave lands as a encouragement, upon small rents.

The...eastern part...of New Jersey together with the powers of government were under the said Sir George Carteret afterwards conveyed to twenty-four persons who were called the General Proprietors and who went on in planting and improving the said province at their own very great cost and charge.

...[T]he said Proprietors exercised the powers of government in the said province from the time of their grant in 1664 until the year 1702, when they made a surrender thereof to the Crown, reserving to themselves the rents and soil and all things granted them aforesaid, the government only excepted.

But...great numbers of men...entered into a combination to subvert the laws and constitution of the province and to obstruct the course of legal proceedings; to which end they...endeavored to infuse the minds of the people that neither Your Majesty nor Your Noble Progenitors, Kings and Queens of England, had any right whatsoever to the soil or government of America and that Your Majesty's and their grants thereof were void and fraudulent. Having by those means associated themselves, great numbers of the poor and ignorant part of the people of the province...broke open the jail of the County of Essex and took from thence a prisoner...and have since that time gone on...dispossessing some people of their estates...plundering the estates of others who do not join with them...breaking open Your Majesty's prisons as often as any of them are committed and rescuing their accomplices from thence and...traveling often in armed multitudes to different parts of this province for those purposes....

Your Majesty's petitioners,...having not the least hopes or expectations that their persons or properties will be protected by their own legislatures, do find themselves under a necessity of laying this their petition at the feet of your most Sacred Majesty the gracious Guardian and Protector of all your faithful subjects.

New Jersey Archives, 7: 193–197.


TIMELINE

NEW JERSEY	AMERICA	EUROPE
1702 East and West Jersey are united as the royal colony of New Jersey	1702 Lord Cornbury becomes governor of New York and New Jersey; Queen Anne's War begins between England and France	1701 The War of Spanish Succession begins 1702 Anne becomes queen of England 1707 Great Britain is formed by the union of England and Scotland 1714 George I becomes king of England 1727 George II becomes King of England
1738 New Jersey gets its own royal governor, Lewis Morris	1732 The royal colony of Georgia is founded 1733 The Molasses Act puts a duty on imports from the West Indies	1733 The War of Polish Succession begins
1758 The Brotherton Indian Reservation is established	1754 The French and Indian War begins	1740 The War of Austrian Succession begins

PROGRAM FOUR: *The Republican Rebellion*

By: David S. Cohen

Summary

 series of regulations and taxes imposed by the British in the aftermath of the French and Indian War set the stage for republican rebellion. In response to the Stamp Act of 1765, New Jersey lawyers met in Perth Amboy and resolved not to buy the hated stamps. Parliament repealed the Stamp Act, but replaced it with duties on various products, including paper, glass, and tea. Students at the College of New Jersey (today Princeton University) refused to buy British products.

In 1770, Parliament repealed all the duties except that on tea. The residents of Greenwich burned tea in a bonfire, and locally elected committees enforced a boycott. After the battles of Lexington and Concord in April 1775, the New Jersey Committee of Correspondence called for a Provincial Congress, which met in Burlington.

By the spring of 1776, the military situation was becoming critical, and an invasion of New Jersey seemed imminent. The Provincial Congress appointed a committee to write a new state constitution. It was approved on July 2, 1776, the same day that the Continental Congress in Philadelphia voted for independence. Under this new state constitution, a General Assembly convened in Nassau Hall in Princeton and elected William Livingston of Elizabethtown as the first governor of the State of New Jersey.

The suffrage qualifications under New Jersey's constitution of 1776 required the ownership of property in order to vote, but not necessarily the ownership of land as was previously required. The wording was vague enough to permit free blacks and single women who owned property to vote. In the wake of a fraudulent election in 1807, however, suffrage was taken away from free blacks and women.

The Revolution did not materially affect the lives of most New Jersey's African-Americans. Samuel Sutphen was a slave who had been promised his freedom in exchange for his service in the Continental Army. After the war, his master reneged on his promise, but the republican ideals unleashed by the Revolution paved the way for the gradual abolition of slavery in New Jersey in 1804.

New Jersey was on the front lines during much of the Revolutionary War. After abandoning New York City to the British in the late summer of 1776, Washington retreated across New Jersey in the fall and crossed the Delaware River into Pennsylvania. In reference to this retreat Thomas Paine wrote his now famous words: "These are the times that try men's souls." On Christmas night, Washington turned the tables on the British by recrossing the Delaware River and surprising the Hessian forces at Trenton.

New Jersey was again center stage at the end of the Revolutionary War. In Princeton, the Continental Congress was meeting in Nassau Hall; the president of Congress, Elias Boudinot of Elizabethtown, took up residence at Morven, the home of his married sister; and George Washington made his headquarters at Rocky Hill, where he wrote his Farewell Orders to the Continental Army. On November 1, 1783, news arrived from Paris that a peace treaty had been signed.

WHERE *THE REPUBLICAN REBELLION* FITS IN THE CURRICULUM

AMERICAN HISTORY	IMPORTANT PEOPLE	IMPORTANT PLACES	TERMS THAT MAY REQUIRE EXPLANATION
Revolutionary War	George Washington	Perth Amboy	republicanism
women's history	Thomas Paine	Burlington	revolution
African–American history	Charles, Lord Cornwallis	Delaware River	independence
	William Livingston	Fort Lee	duty (taxation)
	Elias Boudinot	New Brunswick	Provincial Congress
	Samuel Sutphen	Trenton	suffrage
		Princeton	gradual abolition
		Haddonfield	

CORE LESSONS

TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION

THEME

In the aftermath of the French and Indian War, the British imposed a series of regulations and taxes. In reaction to the Stamp Act of 1765, New Jersey lawyers met in Perth Amboy and resolved not to use the stamps. Parliament repealed the Stamp Act, but replaced it with duties on paper, glass, and tea.

OBJECTIVE

Students will comprehend and analyze a primary-source document, describing a rally in Woodbridge, New Jersey, to celebrate the repeal of the Stamp Act.

ACTIVITY

Reproduce and distribute to the class the description of a rally in Woodbridge, New Jersey, to celebrate the repeal of the Stamp Act in the Supplementary Materials.

Read the description aloud with the class. Ask the students to discuss the following questions: What evidence is there in this description that New Jerseyans at that time still thought of themselves as loyal British subjects? What symbols of liberty were used at the rally? What do the toasts tell us about attitudes of New Jerseyans toward the royal family, Parliament, their allies in the fight against the Stamp Act, lawyers, the importance of freedom of the press, debtors prisons, and their economic interests?

COCKPIT OF THE REVOLUTION

THEME

The Battle of Trenton on December 26, 1776, was a turning point for Washington as a military leader and a national hero. After abandoning New York City to the British in the summer of 1776, Washington retreated across New Jersey and crossed the Delaware River into Pennsylvania. On Christmas night 1776, Washington recrossed the Delaware and surprised the Hessian forces in Trenton.

OBJECTIVE

Students will compare and contrast an eyewitness description of a historical event to a famous painting of the same subject.

ACTIVITY

Reproduce and distribute to the class the “Eyewitness Account of the Battle of Trenton” and the print based on Leutze’s famous painting, *Washington Crossing the Delaware*.

Explain to the class the painting was done by Emanuel Leutze, a German-born painter who grew up in Philadelphia but returned to Germany to pursue his artistic studies. He completed the painting in Germany in 1851, during the peak of American nationalism as expressed in the concept of Manifest Destiny. The painting today is housed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City.

Ask the students to read the “Eyewitness Account of the Battle of Trenton.” Then have them discuss the following questions: How does the eyewitness account of Washington crossing the Delaware differ from Leutze’s painting of the same subject? What do you think was Leutze’s purpose in his painting? Given his purpose, how important was it that Leutze be accurate to the historical facts? Who was the author of the eyewitness account and what do you think was his purpose? Given the author’s purpose, how trustworthy is the eyewitness account? What character traits are attributed to Washington in this account that helped make him a national hero? Cite specific passages for each answer.

SOCIAL REVOLUTION

THEME

In addition to being a war for independence from Great Britain, the American Revolution was a social revolution in the sense that the ideas of republicanism and equality used to justify the rebellion had ramifications for women and African-Americans who did not participate equally in the political system with white males at that time.

OBJECTIVE

Students will interpret the 1776 state constitution in the context of the American Revolution.

ACTIVITY

Reproduce and distribute the “Excerpts from the New Jersey State Constitution of 1776” in the Supplementary Materials.

Ask the students to read the excerpts. Then have them discuss the following questions:

To what famous document in American history are these passages similar? How would you explain this similarity? Who was included and who was excluded from voting? Do you think that this language was intentional or the result of the constitution’s being written in haste? How was the governor elected then as opposed to how the governor is elected today? Why do you suppose they did it this way? How did the concept of religious freedom under the 1776 constitution differ from our concept of it today? Why do you think it singled out Protestants for special mention? Read the last paragraph. Why do you think the clause—that this constitution shall be “null and void” if a “reconciliation between Great Britain and these Colonies should take place”—was inserted in the constitution? What does it say about the resolve of the people of New Jersey at the outset of the Revolution?

SUGGESTED FIELD TRIPS

- Visit the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City to view the original Leutze painting of Washington Crossing the Delaware.
- Visit Washington Crossing State Park
- Old Barracks in Trenton
- Princeton Battlefield State Park.
- Visit Jockey Hollow in the Morristown National Historic Park
- Ford Mansion in downtown Morristown.
- Visit the Monmouth Battlefield State Park outside of Freehold.

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“The Petition of Rachel Wells (1786),” pp. 65–66;

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SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS FOR STUDENTS

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WOODBIDGE CELEBRATES THE REPEAL OF THE STAMP ACT

Woodbridge, June 5, 1766

Mr. Printer,

Yesterday, being the birthday of our most gracious Sovereign, George the third, the sons of Liberty belonging to this town assembled at the Liberty Oak on the square, making a company of many hundreds to celebrate the same and publicly to testify their joy at the justice and equity of the British legislature in repealing the American Stamp Act.

The morning was ushered in with the beat of drum and sound of trumpet, by which the Sons of Liberty were soon assembled. A large ox was roasted whole and liquor of different kinds in great plenty provided for the company. His Majesty's colors were displayed in different parts of the square, and Liberty Oak was handsomely decorated.

The ladies, likewise genteely dressed graced the entertainments of the day, dined principally upon plumb puddings in honour to the Queen, and afterwards regaled themselves with plumb cake, tea, &c.

In the evening the town was illuminated, and a large bonfire made near Liberty Oak as the safety of that ancient tree would admit of; when the following toasts were drank:

1. George the third.
2. The Queen.
3. The royal family.
4. To the memory of the Duke of Cumberland.¹
5. The present honest ministry.²
6. The House of Lords.
7. The Parliament.
8. Pitt and freedom.³
9. Lord Camden.⁴
10. All those who distinguished themselves to obtain the repeal of the Stamp Act.
11. America's friends in Great Britain.
12. America's friends in Ireland.
13. The Sons of Liberty in America.
14. The noble assertors of liberty in St. Christophers and Nevis.⁵
15. The liberty of the press.
16. May the gentlemen of the law prosecute their business with moderation.⁶
17. Peace and happiness to those who treat their debtors with lenity.
18. Prosperity to the Jerseys.

The whole rejoicings were conducted with the utmost regularity and decorum, not the least accident happening; and we flatter ourselves His Majesty has no loyaler subjects, either in Europe or America, as the most firm loyalty seemed to glow in every breast, and each endeavored to excel in honouring the day.

Supplement to the *New-York Gazette; or, The Weekly Post-Boy*, June 19, 1766

NOTES

1. William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, uncle of George III who in the early summer of 1765 negotiated the formation of the Rockingham ministry, which eventually repealed the Stamp Act.
2. The ministry of Charles Watson–Wentworth, Marquis of Rockingham, which replaced the Glenville administration in July 1765 and sponsored repeal of the Stamp Act.
3. William Pitt, chief critic of the Stamp Act and champion of American resistance to the tax in the House of Commons.
4. Charles Pratt, Baron Camden, outspoken opponent of both the Stamp Act and the Declaratory Act in the House of Lords.
5. St. Christopher (St. Kitts) and Nevis were the only West Indian colonies to resist implementation of the Stamp Act.
6. There was growing resentment against lawyers because of allegedly excessive fees and litigations; the suspension of legal activities for nearly nine months because of the Stamp Act greatly compounded the problem.

Reprinted in *New Jersey in the American Revolution, 1763–1783; A Documentary History*, edited by Larry R. Gerlach

AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF TRENTON

Written by an Officer on Washington's Staff

New Town, Pa., Dec. 22, 1776

Things have been going against us since last August, when we were forced to give up Long Island, losing 3000 men and a great amount of supplies. In October we were forced to evacuate New York and cross the Hudson into New Jersey. We reached Trenton Dec. 2. It was prudent forethought on the part of General Washington to send General [William] Maxwell ahead to secure all the boats on the Delaware River and have them at Trenton upon our arrival. If it had not been done we should have been in a bad fix with [British Army Lieutenant General Charles] Cornwallis at our heels. As it was the Hessians under Count [Carl von] Donop and Colonel [Johann] Rall arrived in that village in season to fire a few shots at the last boat. According to last accounts General [William] Howe [the British commander-in-chief] and General Cornwallis have gone to New York leaving General [Sir James] Grant with a few hundred English troops at Princeton, Colonel Rall with 1500 Hessians at Trenton and Count Donop with 2000 at Bordentown, ten miles down the river from Trenton.

Washington's headquarters are here in this little village of New Town, back from the river northwest of Trenton. General [Nathaniel] Greene and General [John] Sullivan, with their divisions, numbering 2500 men and sixteen cannon, are ten miles up stream at McConkey's Ferry. A portion of the boats are there. General [James] Ewing, with 2000 men, is on this side of the river a little below Trenton, and General [John] Cadwallader and General [Israel] Putnam are at Bristol, ten miles further down, with as many more.

I rode along the river yesterday morning and could see the Hessians in Trenton. It is a pretty village, containing about 130 houses and a Presbyterian meeting-house. A stone bridge spans the Assunpink creek on the road leading to Bordentown. There are apple orchards and gardens. Rall has his own regiment and Knyphausen a few dragoons and fifty riflemen. The Hessians call them Yagers. He has six cannon. Knyphausen has two of them, two stand in front of Rall's headquarters, and two up by the Pennington road. A scout just in says that General Howe has issued a proclamation, offering pardon to everybody in New Jersey who will lay down their arms and take the oath of allegiance. He says that Howe and Cornwallis are well satisfied with what they have accomplished. Cornwallis is going to England to tell the King that the rebellion is about over. Howe is going to have a good time in New York attending dinner parties. For what I see I am quite certain Washington intends to make some movement soon. He keeps his own counsel, but is very much determined.

Dec. 23—Orders have been issued to cook rations for three days. Washington has just given the counter sign, "Victory or Death." He has written a letter to General Cadwallader at Bristol, which he has entrusted to me to copy. He intends to cross the river, make a ten-mile march to Trenton, and attack Rall just before daybreak. Ewing is to cross and seize the bridge crossing the Assunpink. Putnam and Cadwallader are to cross and make a feint of attacking Donop so that he can not hasten to Rall's assistance.

Dec. 24—A scout just in says that the Hessians have a picket on the Pennington road half a mile out from Trenton, and another at [brigadier general of the New Jersey militia Philemon] Dickenson's house, on the river road.

Dec. 25—Christmas morning. They make a great deal of Christmas in Germany, and no doubt the Hessians will drink a great deal of beer and have a dance to-night. They will be sleepy to-morrow morning. Washington will set the tune for them about daybreak. The rations are cooked. New flints and ammunition have been distributed. Colonel [John] Glover's fishermen from Marblehead, Mass., are to manage the boats just as they did in the retreat from Long Island.

Christmas, 6 pm—The regiments have had their evening parade, but instead of returning to their quarters are marching toward the ferry. It is fearfully cold and raw and a snow-storm is setting in. The wind is northeast and beats in the faces of the men. It will be a terrible night for the soldiers who have no shoes. Some of them have tied old rags around their feet; others are barefoot, but I have not heard a man complain. They are ready to suffer any hardship and die rather than give up their liberty. I have just copied the order for marching. Both divisions are to go from the ferry to Bear Tavern, two miles. They will separate there; Washington will accompany Greene's division with a part of the artillery down the Pennington Road; Sullivan and the rest of the artillery will take the river road.

Dec. 26, 3 am—I am writing in the ferry house. The troops are all over, and the boats have gone back for the artillery. We are three hours behind the set time. Glover's men have had a hard time to force the boats through the floating ice with the snow drifting in their faces. I never had seen Washington so determined as he is now. He stands on the bank of the river, wrapped in his cloak, superintending the landing of his troops. He is calm and collected, but very determined. The storm is changing to sleet, and cuts like a knife. The last cannon is being landed, and we are ready to mount our horses.

Dec. 26, Noon—It was nearly 4 o'clock, when we started. The two divisions divided at Bear Tavern.

At Birmingham, three and a half miles south of the tavern, a man came with a message from General Sullivan that the storm was wetting the muskets and rendering them unfit for service. "Tell General Sullivan," said Washington, "to use the bayonet. I am resolved to take Trenton."

It was broad daylight when we came to a house where a man was chopping wood. He was very much surprised when he saw us. "Can you tell me where the Hessian picket is?" Washington asked. The man hesitated, but I said, "You need not be frightened, it is General Washington who asks the question." His face brightened and he pointed toward the house of Mr. Howell.

It was just 8 o'clock. Looking down the road I saw a Hessian running out from the house. He yelled in Dutch [German] and swung his arms. Three or four others came out with their guns. Two of them fired at us, but the bullets whistled over our heads. Some of General [Adam] Stephen's men rushed forward and captured two. The other took to their heels, running toward Mr. [Alexander] Calhoun's house, where the picket guard was stationed, about twenty men under Captain Altenbrockum. They came running out of the house. The Captain flourished his sword and tried to form his men. Some of them fired at us, others ran toward the village. The next moment we heard drums beat and a bugle sound, and then from the west came the boom of a cannon. General Washington's face lighted up instantly, for he knew that it was one of Sullivan's guns. We could see a great commotion down toward the meeting-house, men running here and there, officers swinging their swords, artillerymen harnessing their horses. Captain [Thomas] Forrest unlimbered his guns. Washington gave the order to advance, and rushed on the junction of King and Queen streets. Forrest wheeled six of his cannon into position to sweep both streets. The riflemen under Colonel [Edward] Hand and [Charles] Scott's and [Robert] Lawson's battalions went upon the run through the fields on the left just ready to open fire with two of their cannon when Captain [William] Washington and Lieutenant [James] Monroe with their men rushed forward and captured them. We saw Rall come riding up the street from his headquarters, which were at Stacy Potts' house. We could hear him shouting in Dutch, "My brave soldiers, advance." His men were frightened and confused, for our men were firing upon them from fences and houses and they were falling fast. Instead of advancing they ran into an apple orchard. The officers tried to rally them, but our men kept advancing and picking off the officers. It was not long before Rall tumbled from his horse and his soldiers threw down their guns and gave themselves up as prisoners.

While this was taking place on the Pennington road, Colonel John Stark, from New Hampshire, in the advance on the river road was driving Knyphausen's men pell mell through the town. Sullivan

sent a portion of his troops under [Brigadier General Arthur] St. Clair to seize the bridge and cut off the retreat of the Hessians toward Bordentown. Sullivan's men shot the artillery horses and captured two cannon attached to Knyphausen's regiment.

Dec. 26, 3 pm—...We have taken nearly 1000 prisoners, six cannon, more than 1000 muskets, twelve drums, and four colors. About forty Hessians were killed or wounded. Our loss is only two killed and three wounded...

I have just been with General Washington and Greene to see Rall. He will not live through the night. He asked that his men might be kindly treated. Washington promised that he would see they were well cared for.

Dec. 27, 1776—Here we are back in our camp with the prisoners and trophies. Washington is keeping his promise; the soldiers are in the New Town Meeting-house and other buildings. He has just given directions for to-morrow's dinner. All the captured Hessian officers are to dine with him. He bears the Hessians no malice, but says they have been sold by their Grand Duke to King George and sent to America, when if they could have their own way they would be peaceably living in their own country.

It is a glorious victory. It will rejoice the hearts of our friends everywhere and give new life to our hitherto waning fortunes. Washington has baffled the enemy in his retreat from New York. He has pounced upon the Hessians like an eagle upon a hen and is safe once more on this side of the river. If he does nothing more he will live in history as a great military commander.

Reprinted from *The Battles of Trenton and Princeton*, by William S. Styker (1898).

EXCERPTS FROM THE NEW JERSEY STATE CONSTITUTION OF 1776

Whereas all the constitutional authority ever possessed by the kings of Great Britain over these colonies, or their other dominions, was, by compact, derived from the people, and held of them, for the common interest of the whole society; allegiance and protection are, in the nature of things, reciprocal ties, each equally depending upon the other, and liable to be dissolved by the others being refused or withdrawn.

And whereas George the Third, king of Great Britain, has refused protection to the good people of these colonies; and, by assenting to sundry acts of the British parliament, attempted to subject them to the absolute dominion of that body; and has also made war upon them, in the most cruel and unnatural manner, for no other cause, than asserting their just rights all civil authority under him is necessarily at an end, and a dissolution of government in each colony has consequently taken place.

And whereas, in the present deplorable situation of these colonies, exposed to the fury of a cruel and relentless enemy, some form of government is absolutely necessary, not only for the preservation of good order, but also the more effectually to unite the people, and enable them to exert their whole force in their own necessary defense: and as the honorable the continental congress, the supreme council of the American colonies, has advised such of the colonies as have not yet gone into measures, to adopt for themselves, respectively, such government as shall best conduce to their own happiness and safety, and the well-being of America in general:

We, the representatives of the colony of New Jersey, having been elected by all the counties, in the freest manner, and in congress assembled, have, after mature deliberations, agreed upon a set of charter rights and the form of a Constitution, in manner following, viz.

- I. That the government of this Province shall be vested in a Governor, Legislative Council, and General Assembly...
- IV. That all inhabitants of this Colony, of full age, who are worth fifty pounds proclamation money, clear estate in the same, and have resided within the county in which they claim a vote for twelve months immediately preceding the election, shall be entitled to vote for Representatives in Council and Assembly; and also for all other public officers, that shall be elected by the people of the county at large.
- ...
- VII. That the Council and Assembly jointly, at their first meeting after each annual election, shall, by a majority of votes, elect some fit person within the Colony, to be Governor for one year, who shall be constant President of the Council, and have a casting vote in their proceedings; and that the Council themselves shall choose a Vice-President who shall act as such in the absence of the Governor...
- XVIII. That no person shall ever, within this Colony, be deprived of the inestimable privilege of worshipping Almighty God in a manner agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience; nor, under any pretense whatever, be compelled to attend any place of worship, contrary to his own faith and judgment; nor shall any person, within this Colony, ever be obliged to pay tithes, taxes or any other rates, for the purpose of building or repairing any other church or churches, place or places of worship, or for the maintenance of any minister or ministry, contrary to what he believes to be right, or has deliberately or voluntarily engaged himself to perform.

- XIX. That there shall be no establishment of any one religious sect in this Province, in preference to another; and that no Protestant inhabitant of this Colony shall be denied the enjoyment of any civil right, merely on account of his religious principles; but that all persons, professing a belief in the faith of any Protestant sect, who shall demean themselves peaceably under the government, as hereby established, shall be capable of being elected into any office of profit or trust, or being a member of either branch of the Legislature, and shall fully and freely enjoy every privilege and immunity, enjoyed by others their fellow subjects....
- XXII. That the common law of England, as well as so much of the statute law, as have been heretofore practiced in this Colony, shall still remain in force, until they shall be altered by a future law of the Legislature; such parts only excepted, as are repugnant to the rights and privileges contained in this Charter; and that the inestimable right of trial by jury shall remain confirmed as a part of the law of this Colony, without repeal, forever....

Provided always, and it is the true intent and meaning of this Congress, that if a reconciliation between Great-Britain and these Colonies should take place, and the latter be taken again under the protection and government of the crown of Britain, this Charter shall be null and void—otherwise to remain firm and inviolable.

In PROVINCIAL CONGRESS, New Jersey,
Burlington, July 2, 1776.
By order of Congress.



PROGRAM FIVE: *Monopolies and Mechanics*

By: David S. Cohen

Summary



At the end of the eighteenth century New Jersey was predominantly rural and agricultural. The decades following the War for Independence witnessed a market revolution that changed the way goods were made and sold. To accomplish this transformation, new forms of business organizations were chartered by the State of New Jersey. Under existing legal theory, corporations were grants from the state that bestowed exclusive privileges.

A prerequisite for the market revolution was an improved transportation network. The New Jersey legislature decided that rather than spending public funds to construct turnpikes and bridges, it would authorize private companies to do the job. To ensure that these privately financed internal improvements would be profitable, the charters prohibited other roads or bridges from being built in the general vicinity.

These monopolies granted to the turnpike and bridge companies established the precedent that was invoked to promote the steamboat and the railroad in the early nineteenth century. In 1798 Robert Livingston and Robert Fulton obtained a monopoly grant from the State of New York for steamboat transportation on the Hudson River. This put Livingston in competition with his brother-in-law, Colonel John Stevens, who ran a steam-driven ferry between Hoboken and New York City. The Livingston–Fulton monopoly continued in force until 1824, when it was finally overthrown by the United States Supreme Court in the famous *Gibbons v. Ogden* case.

Meanwhile, John Stevens and his sons shifted their attention from steamboats to steam-driven railroad engines. They came up with a plan to build a railroad line between South Amboy and Camden. But they had competition from other interests, including Robert F. Stockton of Princeton, who had plans to build a canal between New Brunswick and Trenton. A compromise was proposed by New Jersey governor Peter Vroom. On February 4, 1830, the legislature chartered both the Camden and Amboy Railroad and the Delaware and Raritan Canal. However, the canal company had trouble selling its stock, so the railroad and canal merged into the so-called Joint Companies, with Robert Stockton as president. In 1832 the legislature granted the Joint Companies a monopoly on transportation between New York and Philadelphia in exchange for a so-called transit duty, which provided most of the funds for the state government in the years prior to the Civil War.

Improvements in transportation and the chartering of corporations in the first two decades of the nineteenth century transformed the lives of average New Jerseyans. In cities such as Newark, the local market economy based on small farmers and craftspersons was transformed. The nineteenth-century mechanics began to expand their workshops to appeal to larger markets. Yet, this transformation was slow, because as late as 1860 most of Newark's wage earners worked in small workshops rather than in factories.

The Market Revolution transformed the home as well as the workplace. The colonial housewife, who worked alongside her husband producing goods primarily for their own consumption, found herself constricted to taking care of the household and the children, while for her husband work became more removed from the home. The colonial goodwife became the republican mother.

WHERE *MONOPOLIES & MECHANICS* FIT IN THE CURRICULUM

AMERICAN HISTORY	IMPORTANT PEOPLE	IMPORTANT PLACES	TERMS THAT MAY REQUIRE EXPLANATION
The Transportation Revolution	Alexander Hamilton	Paterson	industrialization
Jacksonian Democracy	John Fitch	Newark	market revolution
The Industrial Revolution	Robert Livingston	Camden	internal improvements
	Robert Fulton	South Amboy	monopoly
	Colonel John Stevens	Hoboken	charter
	Aaron Ogden	New Brunswick	corporation
	Thomas Gibbons	Trenton	mechanic
	Robert F. Stockton		turnpike
	Cornelius Vanderbilt		

CORE LESSONS

TWO OPPOSING VIEWS ON MONOPOLIES

THEME

The decades following the War for Independence witnessed a market revolution that changed the way goods were made and sold. To accomplish this transformation, new forms of business organizations were chartered by the State of New Jersey. Under existing legal theory, corporations were grants from the state that bestowed exclusive privileges.

The monopolies granted to the turnpike and bridge companies established the precedent that was invoked to promote the steamboat and the railroad in the early nineteenth century.

OBJECTIVE

Students will analyze two opposing views from primary sources on the issue of state-granted transportation monopolies.

ACTIVITY

Reproduce and distribute the “Two Opposing Views on Monopolies” provided in the Supplementary Materials section.

Divide the class into two groups and give both documents to each group. Assign Group A the pro-monopoly position and Group B the antimonopoly position. Have each group meet to summarize the arguments in the document for their position and refute the arguments for the opposing position. Then, each group should choose a spokesperson. The spokespersons should present the arguments either for or against monopolies and answer challenging questions from the opposing group.

THE TRANSPORTATION REVOLUTION

THEME

The period between 1777 and 1850 saw major changes in transportation that had profound societal implications.

OBJECTIVE

Students will use and interpret historic maps to analyze, explain, and solve geographical problems.

ACTIVITY

Reproduce and distribute the two maps included in the Supplementary Materials section.

Explain to the class that the first map was drawn in by William Faden in 1777, during the American Revolution. The second map was drawn about seventy years later, in 1850, and appeared in Thomas F. Gordon’s *Gazetteer*.

Ask the students to look carefully at the two maps and answer the following questions: What was the most prominent transportation feature on the 1777 map? What additional transportation modes are indicated on the 1850 map that are not on the 1777 map? What does the prominence of roads indicate about the way the Revolutionary War was fought? (You might refer back to the “Eyewitness Account of the Battle of Trenton” in the previous program’s guide to reinforce the importance of roads in Washington’s military strategy.) What New Jersey cities are on the 1850 but not on the 1777 map?

Ask the students to locate and trace the routes of the following transportation routes on the 1850 map: the Morris Canal, the Delaware and Raritan Canal, the Camden and Amboy Railroad. What natural resources did the Morris Canal connect? What urban centers did the Delaware and Raritan Canal and the Camden and Amboy Railroad connect?

Finally, ask the students to theorize why topographical features are so prominent on the 1777 map, but not on the 1850 map.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF NEWARK

THEME

Improvements in transportation and the chartering of corporations in the first two decades of the nineteenth century transformed the lives of average New Jerseyans. In cities such as Newark, the local market economy based on small farmers and craftspersons was transformed. The nineteenth-century mechanics began to expand their workshops to appeal to larger markets. Yet, this transformation was slow, because as late as 1860 most of Newark's wage earners worked in small workshops rather than in factories.

OBJECTIVE

Students will analyze the cultural and historical significance of a public celebration.

ACTIVITY

Reproduce and distribute the description of a Fourth of July parade that took place in Newark in 1821 in the Supplementary Materials section.

Ask the students to read the description to themselves. Then ask the class as a whole to discuss the following questions: How does this parade differ from Fourth of July parades they have seen or attended? On what other occasions do we have parades? How are they similar to or different from the parade in this description? What does the parade tell us about the economy of Newark in the early nineteenth century? What do the toasts tell us about the politics of that time?

SUGGESTED FIELD TRIPS

Museum of Early Trades and Crafts, Madison

Paterson Museum and the Falls of the Passaic River, Paterson

Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. to see the John Bull, the Camden and Amboy railroad coach, and the exhibition on steamboats.

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SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS FOR STUDENTS

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A REMARKABLE INDUSTRIAL PARADE OF 1821

In 1821 came the most ambitious demonstration in the history of the town [of Newark] up to that time. By dint of great activity, it was contrived to have nearly every manufacturing interest in the community in the [Fourth of July] procession. The newspapers spoke of this display as “correctly representing the great mechanical interests of Newark,” which means that the program of the floats or “stages” is little short of being an industrial directory....Great crowds flocked in from all the surrounding towns. It was the largest assemblage in the town’s history, thus far. The list of “stages” or floats of about forty different establishments is as follows, being taken from the *Sentinel of Freedom* for July 5, 1821:

AGRICULTURAL REPRESENTATION

Capt. Moses Baldwin and Daniel Tichenor, two farmers of distinction, on horseback, with sprigs of wheat in their hats.

A citizen bearing a stubbing scythe for clearing the field of briars, etc.

Plough, drawn by four yoke of oxen.

A citizen sowing grain.

Harrow, drawn by two yoke of oxen.

A citizen, bearing a cradle, and making the motion of cutting the waving harvest....

A waggon, drawn by two horses on which a stage was erected; three men were threshing sheaves and another separating the wheat from the chaff by a fanning mill....

Wood’s famous patent plough, exhibited on a waggon and made and sold by E. Meeker & Co.

A large country waggon, with 32 citizens from Orange drawn by six horses.

MECHANICAL REPRESENTATION

Moses Harris and Son, merchant tailors: A stage erected on a waggon, drawn by four horses, with a handsome awning, and a carpet on the floor. Hanging up were seen a variety of ready-made clothing; also on the shelves—cloths, cassimeres, vestings, etc.; and one of the firm ready to receive orders of customers and several persons actually at work....

E. Meeker & Co., potter-bakers; their works erected as above, exhibiting ready-made ware, a potter’s wheel in operation, etc. Motto: “Success to the Shuttle and Plough.”...

Messrs. Dey, Tice and others, representing the tanners, curriers and morocco dressers. A number of hands were at work, and a variety of leather, calf and morocco skins were exhibited. An elegant flag was erected, emblematical of their profession.

Messrs. Goble and Thomas and Jabez Canfield, boot and shoe manufacturers. Their stages were on two waggons. In front was exhibited a ware-room and persons engaged in packing shoes, writing letters, etc. In the rear a work shop and several hands at work on seats; one of whom made a shoe before the procession entered the church....

David Alling’s fancy chair establishment, represented by two dozen ready made chairs, and workmen making rush bottom and windsor chairs, together with painting and ornamenting....

The following six branches were from the Washington factory (on Mill Brook), each distinguished by appropriate signs:

George Rohde's coach spring factory; five men at anvils, filing at springs and putting them together.

Andrew Wilson's silver plating factory, represented by four men at work.

William Steven's worsted manufactory, represented by a comber combing wool of various colors, for the spinning machinery, for which machines were very ingeniously kept in motion by the hind wheels of the waggon. Every part was kept in complete operation and seven hands were at work.

William Steven's coach lace factory, represented with a loom in full operation, with several other branches of business, and four hands at work.

Thomas Owens' woolen manufactory, represented by five hands weaving, shearing and dressing cloth; with flannels, satinets, etc., ready for sale.

Samuel Simpson, stocking weaver, represented by a loom erected and in full operation; also exhibiting a number of ready-made articles.

COMMERCE

Represented by a beautiful vessel about 12 feet long, mounted on ways, (drawn by two grey horses) completely rigged in the style of a man-of-war, and called the "Independence." The motto: "Free trade and Sailor's rights," was seen flying at the fore royal mast head; and was manned by two boys.

TOASTS TELL SPIRIT OF THE TIMES

The exercises were held in the Second Presbyterian church in 1822 and for a number of years afterward. By studying the list of "toasts" given at the dinner after the church exercises, and which were published in the town newspaper, one may come into close touch with the burning topics of the time, for the popular thought of the moment was expressed. Sometimes they had thirteen toasts, for the original United States; sometimes they had the same number of toasts as there were States in the Union. They invariably had a number of "volunteer" toasts after the regular program. A salute was fired (after each toast was read off and drunk) by the gun's crew posted in the neighborhood of the tavern where the festivities were held....The President of the United States, the Country, the friendly countries, George Washington, and after a time, Jefferson, were always toasted, as was the State of New Jersey, and sometimes Essex county, and now and then, Newark.

In 1822 the seventh toast was: "The House of Representatives; All talk and no cider." No gun; three groans. Tune, "Go to the Devil." The fifteenth toast was quite characteristic of the feeling of the times: "Kingcraft on its last legs on the Western Continent"; referring especially to insurrections in South America, "May its star soon set in the East." Three cheers. Tune, "O dear, what can the matter be." The twenty-first toast was: "The County of Essex; may its inhabitants pay more attention to their clergy than to their lawyers." The fourth of the "volunteer" toasts that year was "The next Congress; may they think more of their business and less of their pay."

From *A History of the City of Newark* by Frank J. Urquhart (1913) Vol. 1

TWO OPINIONS ABOUT MONOPOLIES

To the Honorable, the Legislative Council, and the General Assembly of the State of New Jersey—
Greetings

The Petition of the Undersigned respectfully Represents:

That all acts of incorporation, are so many exclusive privileges, granted to a few, in derogation of the rights of the mass of people—and that they, from their nature, are calculated to subvert the fundamental principles of any republican government—and being desirous to preserve that equality, necessary to perpetuate a government like our own, based upon principles of republicanism; as, also the happiness, independence, and union of a free people, your petitioners most unequivocally declare, that they view the numerous petitions for acts of incorporation, now before your honorable bodies with the utmost distrust and alarm!! That they recognize in them, a proposed increase, or extension, of that inequality of rights and privileges, which already exists to an alarming extent, among the people of this, as well as other states of this Union.

That they view the incorporation of Railroad Companies—petitions for which already occupy an extensive space upon the business files of your honorable bodies—as anti-republican, and unwarranted by the spirit of that instrument, upon which our national independence was established.

Not only because they, like all other corporations, enjoy by special legislation, certain exclusive, or monopoly privileges, which no other class of our citizens can enjoy, and thus beget a power that may be wielded for the most corrupt purposes, but also because they, by their charters, are permitted to take possession of, and use for their own private purposes, any property, through which they may think it expedient to run their road, whether the owner give his consent or not. And thus exercise a right, which few, if any of the despots of Europe could exercise....

Entertaining no doubts, therefore, as to the nature and tendency of incorporations; and relying with implicit confidence upon the wisdom and patriotism of your honorable bodies, your petitioners must earnestly entreat your honorable bodies to refrain from granting any act or acts of incorporation, for any purpose or purposes, under any pretense whatever, during your present term.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

Monmouth County, New Jersey, January 1836

Address of Commodore R. F. Stockton to the People of New Jersey, in relation to the existing contracts between the State and the united Delaware and Raritan Canal and Camden and Amboy Railroad Companies, September 24, 1849.

Fellow-Citizens:—Upon the faith of a contract made with the State of New Jersey in the years 1830, '31, '32, I invested a very large amount of my property in the enterprise of constructing a Canal and Railroad across the State of New Jersey.

I have been from the first, and I am at this day, I believe, the largest stockholder of the united Delaware and Raritan Canal and the Camden and Amboy Railroad and Transportation Companies....

I have read the address and resolutions which the assembly calling themselves an anti-monopoly convention recently adopted in Trenton....They say in their address, "We wish to have free roads, free ferries, free ingress and egress and free transit in, out, and over the State. We wish to be equally free from

the tyranny of the railroad kings, ferry kings, and turnpike kings; this is what we aim at, and what we call upon the people of the State in achieving.”...A great deal has been said in like phrases, by similar rhetoricians, about the somewhat extensive monopolies of property of other descriptions, particularly of a class of lords familiarly known in this State as landlords. But it seems that turnpikes, ferries, and railroads possess the exclusive power of constituting kings; though, for myself, I never could perceive how the possession of a certificate of road or ferry stock made a man a king.

But is this doctrine of free rights any thing more or less than the specious idea of socialism rife in our day? Is it not of the same species as the cant about free farms, free houses, free corn-cribs, and free pockets? All property is held by contract. Every farmer has a monopoly in his farm, if the “exclusive right” to it is a monopoly; and it may be well for the citizens to consider whether the doctrine of treating contracts as things, in derogation of popular rights, will stop with the crusade against railroad, ferry, and turnpike contracts. It will be well for them to remember that it is as easy to put a firebrand to a dwelling-house or a barn as it is to put a pickaxe to a railroad....

It has been and shall be my constant aim and desire, as a stockholder and officer of the joint companies, to do whatever I can to meet the public wants and conform to the wishes of my fellow-citizens....The fares and freights have both been put down to a point, as far as I can learn, satisfactory to the great mass of the people.

It is our intent and desire to accommodate the people to the best of our ability. And we shall not fail to do so. We have invested, and have induced others to invest, millions of dollars in Jersey property, in canals and railroads, works of public improvement and universal benefit, long desired and clamoured after, but never ventured on til we took the hazard of their construction on the faith of a clear and explicit agreement with the State....

We encountered the risk and the labour. The State risked nothing, and reaps a large share of the profits, with a reversion of the whole. These great works completed rest in the bosom of New Jersey, and there they will remain forever. They have a place in the history of the past, and they will have a place in the history of the future. If that future history shall point to them as memorials of the broken faith and violated contracts of New Jersey, it shall record on the same page that so foul a stain upon her escutcheon was not impressed without resistance from her sons.






MAP OF NEW JERSEY
(1850)
BY THOMAS F. GORDON
COURTESY OF THE
NEW JERSEY STATE
LIBRARY

PROGRAM SIX: *Vistas of Democracy*

By David S. Cohen

Summary

he American Revolution unleashed a flurry of new ideas about freedom and equality, but not everyone in the early nineteenth century enjoyed these rights. New Jersey had gradually abolished slavery, but the law applied only to children born of slave parents in 1804 or after. Furthermore, while women and free blacks who owned property could vote under New Jersey's first constitution in 1776, that right was taken away from them in 1807.

The presence of a growing free black population caused some whites to question whether a biracial society could exist in America. The Presbyterian minister Reverend Robert Finley of Basking Ridge helped form the American Colonization Society, which was committed to establishing a colony in Africa for free black Americans. Robert F. Stockton of Princeton, then a lieutenant in the United States Navy, sailed for Africa in 1821 with an agent for the A.C.S. At gunpoint Stockton forced a local African leader to cede to the American Colonization Society the territory that became the country of Liberia.

Not everyone in New Jersey agreed with Finley and Stockton. African-Americans and Quakers helped slaves from the South escape through New Jersey on the Underground Railroad, even though this was illegal under the Fugitive Slave Law. Theodore Dwight Weld, his wife Angelina Grimké Weld, and her sister Sarah Grimké, who had settled in Belleville, were outspoken abolitionists. Weld later became the director of the Eagleswood School at the Raritan Bay Union outside Perth Amboy, which was a stop on the Underground Railroad.

Many of the early abolitionists, such as Weld and the Grimké sisters, were also feminists. Under English common law, a married woman could not vote, nor could she own property independently from her husband. New Jersey feminists succeeded in altering this legal principle of coverture with the Married Women's Property Act of 1852. In 1858 feminist leader Lucy Stone refused to pay property taxes on her house in Orange on the grounds of taxation without representation.

After the Civil War, the women's movement split over the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the United States Constitution, which guaranteed the right to vote to African-American men, but not to women. In 1870 Thomas Mundy Peterson of Perth Amboy became the first African-American man in the United States to vote under the Fifteenth Amendment. In 1880 Elizabeth Cady Stanton, accompanied by her friend Susan B. Anthony, attempted to vote in Tenaflly on the grounds that she was a citizen of the United States under the Fourteenth Amendment and the New Jersey Constitution of 1776. She was turned away. It was not until the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920 that New Jersey women regained the right to vote.

WHERE *VISTAS OF DEMOCRACY* FITS IN THE CURRICULUM

AMERICAN HISTORY	IMPORTANT PEOPLE	IMPORTANT PLACES	TERMS THAT MAY REQUIRE EXPLANATION
African colonization movement	Reverend Robert Finley	Liberia	African Colonization Society
abolitionist movement	Commodore Robert F. Stockton	Belleville	abolitionist
Underground Railroad	Theodore Dwight Weld	Raritan Bay Union	coverture
women's movement	Angelina and Sarah Grimké	Orange	suffrage
Civil War and Reconstruction	Lucy Stone	Tenafly	disfranchisement
	Thomas Mundy Peterson	New Brunswick	Thirteenth Amendment
	Elizabeth Cady Stanton	Trenton	Fourteenth Amendment
			Fifteenth Amendment

CORE LESSONS

AFRICAN COLONIZATION AND BLACK SUFFRAGE

THEME

While some African–Americans decided to settle in Liberia on the west coast of Africa, there were others who argued against African colonization and for enfranchisement of African–American males.

OBJECTIVE

Students will comprehend and analyze a nineteenth-century document that argues against African colonization and in favor of enfranchisement.

ACTIVITY

Reproduce and distribute the letter to the editor of John S. Rock in the Supplementary Materials section.

Explain to the class that John S. Rock was an African–American from Salem, New Jersey. He was a physician, a dentist, and a lawyer, and the first African–American to argue a case before the United States Supreme Court.

Ask the students to read his letter to the editor and answer the following questions: What document from American history does Rock invoke in arguing for enfranchisement? On what other grounds does he argue for enfranchisement? What is Rock’s attitude toward immigrants and how does he invoke them in his argument? Is there any evidence that Rock includes women in his call for enfranchisement? How does he argue against African–Americans colonizing Africa?

WOMEN’S RIGHTS

THEME

Women in New Jersey not only campaigned for the right to vote but for married women to own property independently from their husbands. The Married Women’s Property Act of 1852 altered the legal principle of coverture. However, under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution, African–American men, but not women, gained suffrage.

OBJECTIVE

Students will comprehend and analyze an important document in the history of the women’s movement in America.

ACTIVITY

Reproduce and distribute the “Declaration of Sentiments” in the Supplementary Materials section.

Explain that this declaration was written by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and was approved by the Woman’s Rights Convention that was held in Seneca Falls, New York, July 19–20, 1848.

Ask the students to read the document and answer the following questions: What document in American history is this declaration based on? What are the specific grievances mentioned in the declaration? Who is the surrogate for King George in this document? How effective is this rhetoric in bringing about reform? Which of the grievances remain unresolved today?

THE CIVIL WAR AMENDMENTS

THEME

The Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the United States Constitution were passed in the aftermath of the Civil War.

OBJECTIVE

Students will understand why there was opposition in New Jersey to the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

ACTIVITY

Reproduce and distribute to the students the texts of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the United States Constitution in the Supplementary Materials section.

Explain to the class that a Democratic controlled legislature in New Jersey refused to ratify the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865. The amendment was later ratified in January, 1866, after the Republicans took control of the legislature. This Republican controlled legislature also ratified the Fourteenth Amendment in September of 1866. However, the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment was later rescinded in March 1868, after the Democrats regained control of the New Jersey legislature. The Democrats also defeated the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870. The amendment took effect in March 1870 without New Jersey's support. After the fact, New Jersey finally ratified the Fifteenth Amendment in 1871.

Ask the class to discuss the following questions: What did each of these three amendments do? Was it Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation or the Thirteenth Amendment that freed the slaves? What effect if any would this have in New Jersey, which gradually abolished slavery in 1804? Why do you think anyone in New Jersey would have opposed the Thirteenth Amendment? Who was defined as a citizen under the Fourteenth Amendment? Who was guaranteed the right to vote under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments? Who was excluded from suffrage under these amendments? Why did some women's rights advocates oppose the Fourteenth Amendment? Was Elizabeth Cady Stanton legally correct in invoking the Fourteenth Amendment in her attempt to vote in Tenafly in 1880?

Finally, ask the students to write an editorial commenting on New Jersey's actions in reference to these three amendments to the United States Constitution.

SUGGESTED FIELD TRIPS

- Seneca Falls, New York
- Susan B. Anthony House, Rochester, New York

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SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS FOR STUDENTS

	page
John S. Rock Argues for Enfranchisement, 1850	77
The Declaration of Sentiments Adopted by the Women's Rights Convention Seneca Falls, New York July 19–20, 1848	79
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JOHN S. ROCK ARGUES FOR ENFRANCHISEMENT, 1850

Citizens, in addressing you in favor of a disfranchisement portion of the legal tax-payers of New Jersey, I feel, from the success our enterprise has already been crowned with, that intelligence, humanity and justice, may be styled characteristics of the citizens of this State.

Knowing, then, that I am speaking to an intelligent and human people, who believe in that noble sentiment set forth in the Declaration of Independence, that “all men are created free and equal,” etc. I take the liberty of speaking to you, being one of the disfranchised, and I do not believe your hearts are so callous as not to listen to the voice of the oppressed.

Although the above Declaration declares that “all men are created free and equal,” those noble words, in their common acceptance, do not and cannot apply to the disfranchised people I am now speaking of; because, indirectly, you deny the disfranchised are men. You say that all men are created free and equal, and at the same time, you deny that equality, which is nothing more nor less than denying our manhood. If we are not free and equal (according to the Declaration of Independence), we are not men, because “all men are created free and equal.”

We confess that there is something about this we never could understand. We are denied our rights as men, at the same time are taxed in common with yourselves, and obliged to support the government in her denunciations. If we are not men, why are we dealt with as such when we do not pay our taxes, or when we infringe the laws?...

There are many reasons why colored men should be enfranchised. We have been reared in this State, and are acquainted with her institutions. Our fidelity to this country has never been questioned. We have done nothing to cause our disfranchisement; on the contrary, we have done all a people could do to entitle them to be enfranchised.

It is said, “there is not sufficient intelligence amongst us to warrant the restoration of those rights,” and that we are not sufficiently acquainted with the government, etc.; but they do not say we do not have sufficient intelligence and knowledge of government, to warrant us to pay our taxes, because we cannot thoroughly understand how the money goes!...

If we, who have always been with you, do not understand something of the regulations of this country, how miserably ignorant are the thousands of voters who arrive in this country annually, who know nothing of this government, and but little of any government! There is no just plea, and apology for you to shut every avenue to elevation, and then complain of degradation; what else can be expected, while we are looked upon as things, and treated worse than unthinking animals?

In the Revolution, colored soldiers fought side by side with you in your struggles for liberty; and there is not a battlefield from Maine to Georgia, which has not been crimsoned by our blood, and whitened by our bones....In the battle on Lake Erie, Commodore Perry’s fleet was manned chiefly by colored seamen. Many black sailors served under Commodore McDonough when he conquered Lake Champlain....Gen. [Andrew] Jackson called out colored troops from Louisiana and Alabama, and in solemn proclamation attested to their fidelity and courage.

But some of our enemies say, we “had better go to Africa.” We ask, Why? They say, we “cannot rise in this country, the prejudices are too strong to overcome,” that we had better be “kings among beggars, than beggars among kings.” As neither of the positions is enviable, we will not quarrel about the beggarly or kingly conditions. We think these titular philanthropists who try to make the people believe we can never rise in this country, and that money must be raised, by appropriation or otherwise, to expatriate us, would do well to hold their peace—give their extra change to the poor, emigrate to the country of their forefathers as quickly as possible, and take their incendiary reports along with them.

They say, “this is not our country.” We would ask, Whom does it belong to? If this country is yours, and was gained by conquest, then we are *particeps criminis* [Latin for “party to the crime”], and are equally entitled to the spoil.

Africa is urged upon us as the country of our forefather! If this is good sophistry—and we think it will pass—then it follows that all men must go to the country of their forefathers: in this case, the blacks will go to Africa, and the whites to Europe; and where will the mixed races go? We suppose, in such an event, they would occupy the inter-medium—that is, the Mediterranean Sea! What would become of the Indians? Would they go to the country of their forefathers? If so, where is it?

This sophistry is not designed to aggrandize any but the descendants of the European nations; Africa is the country for Africans, their descendants and mongrels of various colors; Asia the country of the Asiatics; the East Indies the place for Malays; Patagonia the country for the Indian; and *any place the white man chooses to go*, HIS country!...

From the *Rochester North Star* February 8, 1850 Reprinted in Clement Alexander Price, *Freedom Not Far Distant*.

**THE DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS
ADOPTED BY THE WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION
SENECA FALLS, NEW YORK
JULY 19–20, 1848**

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one portion of the family of man to assume among the people of the earth a position different from that which they have hitherto occupied, but one to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes that impel them to such a course.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

Whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of those who suffer from it to refuse allegiance to it, and to insist upon the institution of a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their duty to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of the women under this government, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to demand the equal station to which they are entitled.

The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise.

He has compelled her to submit to laws, in the formation of which she had no voice.

He has withheld from her rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded men—both natives and foreigners.

Having deprived her of this first right of a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation, he has oppressed her on all sides.

He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead.

He has taken from her all right in property, even to the wages she earns.

He has made her, morally, an irresponsible being, as she can commit many crimes with impunity, provided they be done in the presence of her husband. In the covenant of marriage, she is compelled to promise obedience to her husband, he becoming, to all intents and purposes, her master—the law giving him power to deprive her of her liberty, and to administer chastisement.

He has so framed the laws of divorce, as to what shall be the proper causes of divorce; in case of separation, to whom the guardianship of the children shall be given; as to be wholly regardless of the happiness of women—the law, in all cases, going upon the false supposition of the supremacy of man,

and giving all power into his hands.

After depriving her of all rights as a married woman, if single and the owner of property, he has taxed her to support a government which recognizes her only when her property can be made profitable to it.

He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments, and from those she is permitted to follow, she receives but a scanty remuneration.

He closes against her all the avenues to wealth and distinction, which he considers most honorable to himself. As a teacher of theology, medicine, or law, she is not known.

He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education—all colleges being closed against her.

He allows her in Church as well as State, but a subordinate position, claiming Apostolic authority for her exclusion from the ministry, and, with some exceptions, from any public participation in the affairs of the Church.

He has created a false public sentiment, by giving to the world a different code of morals for men and women, by which moral delinquencies which exclude women from society, are not only tolerated but deemed of little account in man.

He has usurped the prerogative of Jehovah himself, claiming it as his right to assign for her a sphere of action, when that belongs to her conscience and her God.

He has endeavored, in every way that he could to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life.

Now, in view of this entire disfranchisement of one-half the people of this country, their social and religious degradation—in view of the unjust laws above mentioned, and because women do feel themselves aggrieved, oppressed, and fraudulently deprived of their most sacred rights, we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of these United States.

In entering upon the great work before us, we anticipate no small amount of misconception, misrepresentation, and ridicule; but we shall use every instrumentality within our power to effect our object. We shall employ agents, circulate tracts, petition the State and national Legislatures, and endeavor to enlist the pulpit and the press in our behalf. We hope this Convention will be followed by a series of Conventions, embracing every part of the country.

Firmly relying upon the final triumph of the Right and the True, we do this day affix our signatures to this declaration.

THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT

(Adopted in 1865)

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT

(Adopted in 1868)

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Section 3. No persons shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability...

Section 4. The Congress shall have the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT

(ADOPTED IN 1870)

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

PROGRAM SEVEN: *A State of Many Nations*

By David S. Cohen

Summary



ew Jersey had been ethnically and religiously diverse since colonial times. However, the colonial ethnic groups (Dutch, Swedes, Finns, English, and Scots) and religious denominations (Puritan, Quaker, Anglican, Presbyterian) were all Protestant.

In the early nineteenth century immigration shifted to Germany and Ireland, and most of these newcomers were Catholic, not Protestant. They settled in New Jersey's newly industrializing cities, such as Newark, Hoboken, and Jersey City. They also brought with them traditions of drinking beer and wine on the Sabbath, which were shocking to the old Protestant establishment. Members of the American Party (commonly referred to as the Know-Nothings) sought to restrict immigration and naturalization in order to protect so-called American values.

Middle-class reformers attempted to "Americanize" the German and Irish immigrants by promoting temperance. They also sought to use the newly created public schools to make the immigrants into "good Americans" (meaning, convert them to Protestantism). Not surprisingly, the German and Irish immigrants resisted these attempts to use the public schools for religious proselytizing. In response, they created their own parochial school system and requested that the state provide equal funding for their schools as well.

Rather than allowing the Irish to come into political power, the Protestant establishment in Jersey City in 1871 requested that the state legislature take over the city government. Both the issue of the state takeover of Jersey City's municipal government and state funding to parochial schools came to a head in amendments proposed to the New Jersey State Constitution of 1844. The 1874 amendments banned the kind of special legislation that resulted in the Jersey City municipal government takeover and guaranteed a "thorough and efficient" system of free public schools. The trade-off was that the Irish came into political power in Jersey City and the principle of separation of church and state would be applied to the public schools. However, the parochial schools were denied access to public tax money. President Ulysses S. Grant adopted the New Jersey solution to public school funding as a model for the nation.

WHERE A STATE OF MANY NATIONS FITS IN THE CURRICULUM

AMERICAN HISTORY	IMPORTANT PEOPLE	IMPORTANT PLACES	TERMS THAT MAY REQUIRE EXPLANATION
immigration	Commodore Robert F. Stockton	Jersey City	immigration
public schools	Millard Fillmore	Hoboken	naturalization
parochial schools	Ulysses S. Grant	Newark	temperance
Germans in the U.S.	Elizabeth Seton	Trenton	proselytizing
Irish in the U.S.			Know-Nothings
American Party			

CORE LESSONS

CHANGING POPULATION OF NEW JERSEY

THEME

During the early nineteenth century there was an influx of immigrants to New Jersey from Ireland and Germany.

OBJECTIVE

Students will comprehend and interpret population data from the United States Census.

ACTIVITY

Reproduce and distribute the population data from the 1850 United States Census provided in the Supplementary Materials section.

Explain to the class that these charts are taken from the original United States Census for the year 1850.

Ask the students to answer the following questions based on data in the charts: What was the total population of New Jersey in 1850 born in the United States? Of that number what was the total number of New Jerseyans born in New Jersey? In what state were born the second highest number of native-born New Jerseyans? In what state second to New Jersey lived the greatest numbers of people born in New Jersey? What was the total population of New Jersey born outside the United States? What percentage of New Jersey's population in 1850 was foreign-born? From what country did the highest number of foreign-born New Jerseyans come? From what country did the next highest number of foreign-born New Jerseyans come? What states had more Irish-born residents than New Jersey? What states had more German-born residents than New Jersey? What general conclusions can you reach about immigration to and migration from New Jersey?

AMERICAN PARTY

THEME

The American, or Know Nothing, Party sought to restrict immigration and naturalization in America.

OBJECTIVE

Students will comprehend and analyze a historical document.

ACTIVITY

Reproduce and distribute the document titled Commodore Robert F. Stockton on Immigration in the Supplementary Materials section.

Explain to the class that this is a letter written in 1855 by Commodore Robert F. Stockton from Princeton. Tell them that Stockton was a naval officer and a veteran of both the War of 1812 and the Mexican War. He was active in the African Colonization Society and had been responsible for the ceding of land that became the country of Liberia. He was also the director of the Joint Companies, which resulted from the merging of the Camden and Amboy Railroad and the Delaware and Raritan Canal. Stockton was an active member of the American Party, also known as the Know Nothings, and almost ran for president in 1856 on the Know-Nothing ticket.

Have the students read the document and answer the following questions: To what national figure does Stockton attempt to relate his position on naturalization? Is this a fair interpretation of Washington's warning against foreign entanglements? Who does Stockton include and exclude in his concept of Americans? How does this differ from other definitions of who the true Americans are? What does Stockton see as the opposite of the American Party? What does Stockton see as the danger of what he calls the "Foreign party"? Do you see any parallels in modern politics to Stockton's views about immigrants?

PUBLIC AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS

THEME

In the nineteenth century the Protestant establishment sought to use the public schools to proselytize the largely Catholic Irish and German immigrants of New Jersey's cities. In response, the immigrants established their own parochial school system and asked the state to provide funding for their schools.

OBJECTIVE

Students will interpret and analyze a political cartoon from the nineteenth century.

ACTIVITY

Reproduce and distribute the political cartoon by Thomas Nast provided in the Supplementary Materials section.

Explain that Thomas Nast was an immigrant, born in Landau, Germany. He came to America at age six and settled with his family in New York City. He worked as a political cartoonist for *Harper's Weekly Magazine*, covering the Civil War as a war correspondent. During the 1870s Nast achieved national fame by exposing the corruption of the political bossism of William Marcy Tweed and Tammany Hall in New York City. He was also the originator of a number of American symbols we take for granted, including Uncle Sam, Santa Claus, the Democratic donkey, and the Republican elephant. In 1872 Nast moved to Morristown, New Jersey, where he lived for the next twenty years of his life.

Ask the students to interpret the Thomas Nast cartoon by answering the following questions: What was Nast attempting to say about the issue of public funding for parochial schools? What distinction does he draw between the "common," or public schools versus the "sectarian," or parochial schools? What stereotypes does Nast use of Jews, the Irish, and the Chinese? What similarities and differences are there between the nineteenth-century issue and the current debate over school vouchers?

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FOR STUDENTS (GRADES 5–8)

“Urbanizing the Garden State,” pp. 222–242. In *New Jersey: A Mirror on America*, by John T. Cunningham. Andover, N.J.: Afton Publishing Co., 1976.

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FOR TEACHERS

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SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS FOR STUDENTS

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“Our Common Schools,” by Thomas Nast	100

THE SEVENTH CENSUS.

REPORT

OF THE

SUPERINTENDENT OF THE CENSUS

FOR

DECEMBER 1, 1852;

TO WHICH IS APPENDED THE

REPORT FOR DECEMBER 1, 1851.

PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES.

WASHINGTON:
ROBERT ARMSTRONG, PRINTER.
1853.

No. 1—Nativities.

STATES.	Maine.	New Hampshire.	Vermont.	Massachusetts.	Rhode Island.	Connecticut.	New York.	New Jersey.	Pennsylvania.	Delaware.	Maryland.	Dist. Columbia.	Virginia.	North Carolina.	South Carolina.	Georgia.	Florida.
Maine	517,117	13,509	1,177	16,535	410	460	973	134	201	36	113	28	94	27	31	24	24
New Hampshire.....	9,635	261,591	11,266	18,495	364	1,105	1,171	49	148	10	34	14	48	10	21	16	1
Vermont	835	19,609	232,086	15,059	801	4,551	7,218	171	158	1	23	5	21	7	5	18	6
Massachusetts	29,507	39,592	17,646	695,236	11,414	15,602	14,483	778	1,831	90	744	196	796	196	224	237	32
Rhode Island	768	716	459	11,888	102,641	3,976	2,055	193	427	50	365	64	191	76	57	68	22
Connecticut	670	795	1,508	11,366	6,890	292,653	14,416	1,174	1,055	58	265	50	228	95	116	217	46
New York	4,509	14,519	52,599	55,773	13,129	66,101	2,151,196	35,319	26,252	899	3,953	538	3,347	673	935	510	135
New Jersey.....	287	301	280	1,494	264	2,105	20,561	385,429	15,014	1,384	1,400	82	628	98	141	87	17
Pennsylvania	1,157	1,775	4,532	7,330	1,946	9,266	58,835	29,117	1,844,672	12,552	21,013	767	10,410	409	559	176	21
Delaware	24	31	12	113	204	50	218	1,186	5,067	72,351	4,360	28	139	18	13	14	4
Maryland	456	260	262	1,421	209	484	2,646	1,321	16,076	4,373	400,594	1,940	7,030	225	158	74	37
District of Columbia.	87	84	43	331	23	135	817	163	1,164	99	9,245	24,967	4,950	100	100	67	26
Virginia	271	239	231	1,193	100	556	2,934	11,447	6,323	542	10,328	1,184	872,923	7,343	381	193	26
North Carolina.....	69	26	27	261	59	272	468	174	665	96	635	28	10,838	556,248	4,420	844	54
South Carolina.....	68	39	37	407	97	228	884	182	362	14	320	30	1,621	6,173	262,160	1,504	55
Georgia	178	122	186	594	138	712	1,203	331	642	117	703	72	7,331	37,522	52,154	402,666	1,103
Florida	140	61	55	235	66	179	614	83	240	9	194	33	643	3,537	4,470	11,316	20,563
Alabama	215	151	155	654	74	612	1,443	271	876	73	757	66	10,387	28,521	48,663	58,997	1,060
Mississippi	139	100	141	339	62	242	952	221	981	67	791	73	8,357	21,487	27,908	17,506	629
Louisiana	816	247	283	1,620	239	469	5,510	498	2,493	117	1,440	156	3,216	2,923	4,583	5,917	372
Texas	226	97	144	414	56	369	1,589	205	1,005	61	521	35	3,580	5,155	4,482	7,639	365
Arkansas	80	49	82	174	36	121	537	117	702	51	326	49	4,737	8,772	4,587	6,367	38
Tennessee.....	97	64	179	331	38	261	1,019	248	2,146	95	1,554	101	46,631	72,027	15,197	4,863	369
Kentucky	227	225	277	665	226	448	2,881	1,249	7,491	507	6,470	176	54,894	14,279	3,164	892	30
Ohio	3,314	4,821	14,320	18,763	1,959	22,855	83,979	23,532	200,634	4,715	36,698	598	85,762	4,807	1,468	447	17
Michigan	1,117	2,744	11,113	8,167	1,031	6,751	133,756	5,572	9,452	368	537	45	1,504	312	81	68	12
Indiana	976	886	3,183	2,678	438	2,485	24,310	7,837	44,245	2,737	10,177	227	41,819	33,175	4,069	761	21
Illinois	3,693	4,288	11,381	9,230	1,051	6,899	67,180	6,848	37,979	1,397	6,898	226	24,697	13,851	4,162	1,341	23
Missouri.....	311	304	630	1,103	124	742	5,040	885	8,291	518	4,253	238	40,777	17,009	2,919	1,254	67
Iowa.....	713	580	1,645	1,251	256	1,090	8,134	1,199	14,744	439	1,888	70	7,861	2,589	676	119	51
Wisconsin.....	3,252	2,520	10,157	6,265	690	4,125	68,595	1,566	9,571	141	462	23	1,611	322	107	495	4
California	2,700	904	1,194	4,760	861	1,317	10,160	1,022	4,506	305	1,164	86	3,407	1,027	519	876	64
TERRITORIES.																	
Minnesota ..	1,334	365	47	100	92	48	488	115	227	3	31	3	59	6	4	4	.....
Oregon.....	3,125	129	44	111	187	72	618	69	317	18	73	15	469	201	34	22	4
Utah	1,381	151	123	232	350	193	1,430	96	553	17	27	1	99	92	53	12	4
New Mexico. 58,421	12	6	8	24	1	10	161	9	97	6	37	12	77	13	18	9	5
Total... 64,311	584,310	371,469	377,741	894,818	145,941	447,544	2,698,414	518,810	2,266 727	104,316	528,393	32,236	1,260,982	839,325	448,639	525,620	25,297

No. 1—Nativities—Continued.

STATES.	Alabama.	Mississippi.	Louisiana.	Texas.	Arkansas.	Tennessee.	Kentucky.	Ohio.	Michigan.	Indiana.	Illinois.	Missouri.	Iowa.	Wisconsin.	California.	Territories.	Total native.
Maine.....	6	16	21	9	6	6	14	68	19	5	38	11	1	10	2	4	551,129
New Hampshire.....	13	9	9	2	8	3	11	66	48	20	31	12	4	10	1	2	304,227
Vermont.....	11	5	12	1	2	6	7	165	86	15	34	10	5	32	.....	1	280,966
Massachusetts.....	71	34	179	10	10	25	75	593	122	60	165	58	12	32	7	9	830,066
Rhode Island.....	13	8	21	4	.....	4	19	98	22	11	15	13	9	6	.....	40	124,299
Connecticut.....	74	23	64	20	.....	13	41	400	89	47	80	28	18	23	25	3	332,525
New York.....	184	164	563	46	20	116	369	3,743	1,921	415	605	173	70	360	7	53	2,439,296
New Jersey.....	36	43	83	6	2	21	64	372	66	61	61	28	7	15	3	1	430,441
Pennsylvania.....	87	101	187	17	10	158	497	7,729	224	399	333	220	70	45	3	2	2,014,619
Delaware.....	4	6	4	1	.....	4	16	54	12	19	5	8	.....	1	.....	2	83,968
Maryland.....	51	143	181	24	14	39	131	535	16	65	54	86	5	4	1	1	438,916
District of Columbia.	45	55	58	7	4	58	90	123	28	29	24	28	1	2	.....	3	42,956
Virginia.....	92	78	93	7	150	1,560	2,029	5,206	32	268	126	223	37	11	4	3	926,154
North Carolina.....	131	57	14	6	1	2,037	141	48	2	67	23	33	3	4	.....	.....	577,750
South Carolina.....	225	60	30	1	9	188	73	23	2	11	6	3	.....	.....	1	.....	274,813
Georgia.....	3,154	184	42	28	25	8,211	458	46	3	50	41	60	1	2	.....	.....	518,079
Florida.....	2,340	92	146	8	5	112	87	53	7	14	8	7	.....	3	.....	.....	45,320
Alabama.....	287,542	2,852	628	55	91	22,541	2,694	276	2	93	114	158	7	3	.....	.....	420,032
Mississippi.....	34,047	140,885	2,557	139	456	27,439	3,948	594	10	413	311	303	7	4	1	5	291,114
Louisiana.....	7,346	10,913	145,474	864	803	3,352	2,968	1,473	68	414	401	909	28	7	1	1	205,921
Texas.....	12,040	6,545	4,472	49,160	4,693	17,692	5,478	947	125	1,799	2,855	5,139	109	42	.....	14	137,053
Arkansas.....	11,250	4,463	1,096	336	63,206	33,807	7,428	1,051	17	2,128	3,276	5,328	106	13	6	9	160,345
Tennessee.....	6,398	2,137	261	100	496	585,084	12,609	742	7	769	872	920	30	8	.....	2	755,655
Kentucky.....	792	657	671	71	271	23,623	601,769	9,985	59	5,898	1,649	1,467	59	11	.....	3	740,881
Ohio.....	209	422	648	29	141	1,873	13,829	1,219,432	2,238	7,377	1,415	656	378	196	.....	24	1,757,556
Michigan.....	19	34	30	4	25	101	402	14,677	140,648	2,003	496	92	59	332	3	36	341,591
Indiana.....	395	287	321	44	151	12,734	68,651	120,193	1,817	541,079	4,173	1,006	407	99	.....	11	931,392
Illinois.....	1,335	490	480	63	727	32,303	49,588	64,219	2,158	30,953	343,618	7,228	1,511	1,095	3	16	736,931
Missouri.....	2,067	638	746	248	2,120	44,970	69,694	12,737	295	12,752	10,917	277,604	1,366	123	4	80	520,826
Iowa.....	180	138	133	10	163	4,274	8,994	30,713	521	19,925	7,247	3,807	50,380	692	3	135	170,620
Wisconsin.....	49	35	78	4	67	449	1,429	11,402	1,900	2,773	5,292	1,012	445	63,615	.....	26	197,912
California.....	631	772	929	250	350	3,145	4,690	5,500	284	2,077	2,722	5,890	341	248	6,602	317	69,610
TERRITORIES.																	
Minnesota.....	6	.....	4	.....	11	21	71	241	41	35	168	90	81	301	1	7	4,007
Oregon.....	20	8	6	15	61	402	730	653	37	739	1,023	2,206	452	10	25	7	11,992
Utah.....	62	119	8	6	7	294	256	694	121	303	1,285	519	726	30	14	76	9,355
New Mexico.....	5	.....	4	46	17	25	62	34	8	11	24	93	3	1	6	56	59,261
Total.....	390,930	172,473	160,253	51,641	74,122	826,690	859,407	1,514,865	153,057	633,117	369,507	315,428	56,738	66,790	6,698	949	17,737,578

No. 2—Nativities.

STATES.	England.	Ireland.	Scotland.	Wales.	Germany.	France.	Spain.	Portugal.	Belgium.	Holland.	Turkey.	Italy.	Austria.	Switzerland.	Russia.	Norway.	Denmark.
Maine	1,949	13,871	532	60	290	143	18	58	2	12	4	20	3	11	2	12	47
New Hampshire	1,469	8,811	467	11	147	69	8	8	.....	1	.....	.....	1	9	.....	2	3
Vermont	1,546	15,377	1,045	57	218	40	3	5	.....	2	.....	7	.....	2	1	8	.....
Massachusetts	16,685	115,917	4,469	214	4,319	805	178	290	36	138	14	196	10	72	38	69	181
Rhode Island	4,490	15,944	988	12	230	80	14	58	2	12	1	25	1	8	1	25	15
Connecticut	5,091	26,689	1,916	111	1,671	321	12	74	2	19	2	16	20	55	5	1	16
New York	84,820	343,111	23,418	7,582	118,398	12,515	461	194	401	2,917	12	833	168	1,850	617	392	429
New Jersey	11,377	31,092	2,263	166	10,686	942	23	16	43	357	.....	30	20	204	22	4	28
Pennsylvania	38,048	151,723	7,292	8,920	78,592	4,063	101	34	126	257	2	172	49	914	139	27	97
Delaware	952	3,513	155	17	343	73	1	.....	1	5	.....	.....	.....	22	1	.....	1
Maryland	3,467	19,557	1,093	260	26,936	507	18	29	5	106	11	82	16	68	23	10	35
District of Columbia	682	2,373	142	20	1,404	80	20	6	14	4	.....	74	3	36	2	.....	6
Virginia	2,998	11,643	947	173	5,511	321	29	51	7	65	.....	65	15	83	8	5	15
North Carolina	394	567	1,012	7	344	43	4	12	1	4	.....	4	2	3	8	.....	6
South Carolina	921	4,051	651	10	2,180	274	30	14	.....	9	.....	59	11	18	19	7	24
Georgia	679	3,202	367	13	947	177	13	5	41	11	1	33	13	38	8	6	24
Florida	300	878	182	11	307	67	70	17	4	8	.....	40	8	7	2	17	21
Alabama	941	3,639	584	67	1,068	503	163	39	4	1	1	90	33	113	10	3	18
Mississippi	593	1,928	317	10	1,064	440	49	2	3	8	.....	121	16	41	9	8	24
Louisiana	3,550	24,266	1,196	48	17,507	11,552	1,417	157	115	112	48	915	156	723	65	64	288
Texas	1,002	1,403	261	17	8,191	647	62	5	8	14	.....	41	11	134	10	105	49
Arkansas	196	514	71	11	516	77	3	3	2	2	.....	15	.....	12	6	1	7
Tennessee	706	2,640	327	17	1,168	245	3	2	4	57	.....	59	10	266	9	.....	8
Kentucky	2,805	9,466	683	171	13,607	1,116	21	5	27	38	.....	143	12	279	70	18	7
Ohio	25,660	51,562	5,232	5,849	111,257	7,375	28	7	103	348	1	174	29	3,291	84	18	53
Michigan	10,620	13,430	2,361	197	10,070	945	10	2	112	2,542	2	12	21	118	25	110	13
Indiana	5,550	12,787	1,341	169	28,584	2,279	3	6	86	43	.....	6	17	724	6	18	10
Illinois	18,628	27,786	4,661	572	38,160	3,396	70	42	33	220	.....	43	65	1,635	27	2,415	93
Missouri	5,379	14,734	1,049	176	44,352	2,138	46	11	58	189	7	124	71	984	29	155	55
Iowa	3,785	4,885	712	352	7,152	382	1	8	4	1,108	.....	1	13	175	41	361	19
Wisconsin	18,952	21,043	3,527	4,319	34,519	775	4	4	45	1,157	.....	9	61	1,244	71	8,651	146
California	3,050	2,452	883	182	2,926	1,546	220	109	12	63	.....	228	87	177	48	124	92
TERRITORIES.																	
Minnesota	84	271	39	2	141	29	1	.....	1	16	.....	1	1	22	2	7	1
Oregon	207	196	106	9	155	45	.....	.....	11	1	.....	5	.....	8	1	1	2
Utah	1,056	106	232	125	50	13	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	3	1	1	32	2
New Mexico	43	292	29	1	215	26	8	1	.....	2	.....	1	.....	11	4	2	2
Total	278,675	961,719	70,550	29,868	573,225	54,069	3,113	1,274	1,313	9,848	106	3,645	946	13,358	1,414	12,678	1,838

No. 2—Nativities—Continued.

STATES.	Sweden.	Prussia.	Sardinia.	Greece.	China.	Asia.	Africa.	British America.	Mexico.	Central America.	South America.	West Indies.	Sandwich Isl'ds.	Other countries.	Total foreign.	Unknown.	Aggregate.
Maine.....	55	27	.....	.....	3	5	5	14,181	2	.....	31	61	1	51	31,456	584	583,169
New Hampshire.....	12	2	.....	.....	.....	4	3	2,501	5	.....	11	17	3	7	13,571	178	317,976
Vermont.....	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	7	.....	14,470	.....	.....	3	6	4	23	32,831	323	314,120
Massachusetts.....	253	98	1	23	2	31	27	15,862	32	7	84	303	89	466	160,909	3,539	994,514
Rhode Island.....	17	5	.....	.....	.....	1	9	1,024	7	21	4	57	8	52	23,111	135	147,545
Connecticut.....	13	42	.....	1	5	16	72	970	4	.....	35	192	45	57	37,473	794	370,792
New York.....	753	2,211	.....	.....	34	66	80	47,200	83	29	179	1,067	40	1,941	651,801	6,297	3,097,394
New Jersey.....	34	57	1	4	4	10	17	581	23	2	27	265	.....	66	58,364	528	489,333
Pennsylvania.....	133	413	.....	7	1	42	40	2,500	42	4	83	666	3	361	294,871	22,96	2,311,788
Delaware.....	2	28	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	21	3	.....	3	25	.....	35	5,211	63	89,242
Maryland.....	57	188	.....	.....	1	2	10	215	6	.....	52	279	2	251	53,288	462	492,666
District of Columbia.....	5	11	.....	.....	1	4	2	32	9	.....	5	15	.....	17	4,967	77	48,000
Virginia.....	16	36	.....	.....	3	4	3	235	4	1	7	72	1	76	22,394	585	949,133
North Carolina.....	9	19	.....	.....	2	.....	2	30	2	4	3	37	.....	5	2,524	217	580,491
South Carolina.....	29	44	.....	1	1	4	9	57	4	.....	8	177	.....	50	8,662	48	283,523
Georgia.....	11	25	.....	1	.....	2	13	108	8	.....	8	95	.....	58	5,907	517	524,503
Florida.....	33	17	.....	.....	.....	3	23	97	6	.....	3	599	.....	37	2,757	58	48,135
Alabama.....	51	45	.....	7	.....	.....	18	49	39	3	2	28	3	116	7,638	1,109	428,779
Mississippi.....	14	71	.....	.....	.....	2	6	79	13	1	4	25	.....	110	4,958	576	296,648
Louisiana.....	249	380	9	23	33	17	50	499	405	3	15	1,337	1	1,173	66,413	619	272,953
Texas.....	48	75	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	137	4,459	3	1	22	5	60	16,774	604	154,431
Arkansas.....	1	24	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	41	68	.....	.....	7	.....	50	1,628	824	162,797
Tennessee.....	8	32	2	2	.....	3	5	76	12	.....	.....	20	.....	59	5,740	1,759	763,154
Kentucky.....	20	198	1	1	.....	3	4	275	42	1	2	41	.....	133	29,189	1,354	771,424
Ohio.....	55	765	15	.....	3	6	7	5,880	26	12	41	86	1	544	218,512	4,359	1,980,427
Michigan.....	16	190	2	1	1	.....	3	14,008	4	.....	5	34	2	66	54,852	1,211	397,654
Indiana.....	16	740	.....	.....	.....	4	4	1,878	31	.....	4	12	.....	108	54,426	2,598	988,416
Illinois.....	1,123	286	.....	4	1	2	11	10,699	30	.....	12	75	9	495	110,593	3,946	851,470
Missouri.....	37	697	1	.....	.....	3	7	1,053	94	.....	20	50	1	954	72,474	1,322	594,622
Iowa.....	231	88	.....	1	.....	2	.....	1,756	16	.....	1	14	.....	124	21,232	362	192,214
Wisconsin.....	88	3,545	1	1	.....	17	1	8,277	9	11	6	20	1	191	106,695	784	305,391
California.....	102	158	1	9	680	117	65	834	6,454	39	877	64	319	400	22,358	629	92,597
TERRITORIES.																	
Minnesota.....	4	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,417	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	2,048	22	6,077
Oregon.....	2	1	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	293	1	.....	6	.....	50	57	1,159	143	13,294
Utah.....	1	6	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	338	7	.....	.....	2	.....	12	1,990	9	11,354
New Mexico.....	1	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	38	1,365	.....	1	2	.....	5	2,063	223	61,547
Total.....	3,559	10,549	34	86	758	377	551	147,711	13,317	141	1,543	5,772	588	8,214	2,210,839	39,154	19,987,571

COMMODORE ROBERT F. STOCKTON ON IMMIGRATION

Princeton, November 14, 1855

Gentlemen:—I am informed by your letter of yesterday, that a meeting is to be held at Trenton on Friday, the 16th instant, commemorative of the principles of the American party. You also say “that it is well known that you have for several years approved those principles, therefore, you are earnestly invited to be present and to address your fellow-citizens on that occasion.” I thank you for the invitation, although previous engagements will prevent my being present.

I am unwilling, however, to permit the occasion to pass without expressing my entire concurrence in the patriotic principles of the American party, which have had for so many years the approval of my head and heart. They are

First. The Constitution with its Compromises.

Second. The preservation of the Union at all hazards.

Third. The naturalization laws should be abolished or essentially modified.

Fourth. Americans alone should rule America. They only should be appointed to high and responsible executive offices under our Government.

The men of the Revolution, notwithstanding, they gratefully acknowledged the aid derived from France, were fully sensible of the dangers of foreign influence. They incorporated in both the Federal and State Constitutions provisions carefully designed as barriers against the influence of any foreign ingredient in the population. The protracted war which succeeded the French Revolution powerfully affected the public mind in the United States, and the political parties were more or less biased in favour of one or the other belligerent. It required the whole weight of the great Washington’s character to prevent the young republic from being entangled in the meshes of European politics...

Washington did not anticipate that, in half a century from his age, Europe would be brought within ten days’ sail of America, or that within that period half a million of foreigners annually would come to exercise the prerogatives of American sovereigns. Had such a state of things been presented to him, his warning voice would have been heard on the subject, and would have inspired our statesmen with the wisdom and the courage to avert the danger which he would have foreseen. Such was the jealous virtue and patriotism which distinguished the era, that, had the immigration of that period been one-tenth of what it has now become, it is more than probable that no power would have been granted by the people to the Federal Government to enact any laws of naturalization.

The evil is upon us which Washington deprecated. The evil is radical, and the correction is must be equally radical. We must awaken in the public mind that sensitive regard for the preservation of the Constitution and American liberty which inspired the souls of those patriots who were the counsellors and supporters of Washington and the fathers of the country. The safety and prosperity of our institutions must be made the cardinal objects of attainment....The doctrine that “Americans alone should rule America,” designed to restore the government, as it was in the days of Washington, to the hand of “Americans alone,” is stigmatized by the organized cabal of politicians who wield the machinery for manufacturing the incumbents of office, from that of the Presidency downwards, as a pestilent heresy, and those who hold to this ancient American doctrine are denounced as traitors.

The progress of events is rapidly bringing the country to the condition when but two parties

will contend with each other—the one the American party, the other the Foreign party. The American party will seek the restoration of the Government to American control, such as it was when it came fresh from the American people. The Foreign party will seek to propitiate the foreign element, pander to its insolent ambition and aspiring predominance, contend for the continuance and extension of its privileges, cringe with servility to its dictates, and offer new brides for its friendship....

There is no country—there never has been any country—where such an issue, if squarely, fairly, and distinctly presented to the people, could be decided any other than one way, and that in favour of the “country—born.” Will the people of the United States repudiate a sentiment of this sort? They will do no such thing. Already they have arisen spontaneously and rushed to the standard inscribed with the words, “The Americans shall rule America.” It is vain for politicians to attempt to arrest the progress of the American party by efforts to compel it to adopt portions of the creeds which distinguish other parties.

It will not thus be induced to endanger the cause in which it is engaged. The safety of the people is the supreme law, and, while that safety is endangered, everything else is of subordinate interest. “Place none but Americans on guard,” was the order of Washington at a crisis of imminent danger.

With assurances of high regard, I am your friend and obedient servant.

R. F. Stockton

THOMAS NAST CARTOON



"UNION IS STRENGTH."



DISTRIBUTION OF THE SECTARIAN FUND.



SECTARIAN BITTERNESS.

Th. Nast.

February 26, 1870

PROGRAM EIGHT: *Technology in the Garden*

By David S. Cohen

Summary



n 1876, Thomas Alva Edison opened his so-called invention factory on a hill in Menlo Park overlooking the Pennsylvania Railroad tracks. Edison assembled a team of chemists, engineers, and mechanics with the expressed purpose of pursuing patents. Between 1876 and 1882 they filed more than 300 patents, including the phonograph.

After seeing an electric dynamo in 1877 on a visit to the William Wallace and Sons brass and copper foundry in Connecticut, Edison and his team began work on producing a practical incandescent light. The chief problem was finding a material for the filament that would not burn up when an electrical current was run through it. On the night of October 22, 1879, one of Edison's workers, a mechanic named Charles Batchelor, was testing different materials for the filament encased in a vacuum glass bulb attached to an eighteen-cell battery. When he tried a particular kind of carbonized thread, the bulb glowed for fourteen and a half hours.

Edison realized that the incandescent bulb would only be a novelty unless a way was found to deliver electricity to homes and factories. So Edison moved his operations from Menlo Park to New York City, where he established the Edison Electric Illuminating Company in December 1880. There he developed large steam-powered dynamos to generate electricity and an underground distribution system to deliver electricity to his customers. Edison built electrical power plants in other cities across the country, including Paterson, New Jersey. Paterson was by then a center for silk production. While the mills were powered by steam, electric lighting was superior to gaslight in these fire-prone places.

However, there were social implications for technological development, as subsequent events in Paterson exemplified. In the 1870s, the mills in Paterson began using power looms, which could be worked by teenage girls and women. They worked long hours and were paid less money than men. Many of the silk workers in Paterson were highly skilled immigrants, including northern Italians and Polish Jews from textile centers in Europe. There was a militant tradition among these immigrant workers, many of whom had socialist and anarchist political views.

In 1910, Paterson broad-silk manufacturer Henry Doherty increased the loom assignment of his weaver from two to four looms. The weavers went on strike, but they were ordered back to work by their union. In January 1913, Doherty's workers again went on strike, this time with the support of the radical Industrial Workers of the World, also known as the Wobblies. Wobbly leaders "Big Bill" Haywood and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, who had led a successful strike of textile workers in Lawrence, Massachusetts, in 1912, came to Paterson. Local officials considered them outside agitators and had them arrested. New York intellectuals from Greenwich Village, including Margaret Sanger, Jack Reed, and Mabel Dodge, attempted to aid the strikers' families by placing their children in homes in New York and organizing a pageant in Madison Square Garden to raise relief funds. Notwithstanding these efforts, the strikers eventually returned to work. They continued to work ten hours a day, but they had succeeded in preventing the increase loom assignments from being implemented.

WHERE *TECHNOLOGY IN THE GARDEN* FITS IN THE CURRICULUM

AMERICAN HISTORY	IMPORTANT PEOPLE	IMPORTANT PLACES	TERMS THAT MAY REQUIRE EXPLANATION
technology and invention	Thomas A. Edison	Menlo Park	patent
business and industry	Charles Batchelor	Paterson	filament
immigration	“Big Bill” Haywood	Haledon	dynamo
labor history	Elizabeth Gurley Flynn		socialism
Italians in the U.S.			anarchism
Jews in the U.S.			

CORE LESSONS

INVENTION AND TECHNOLOGY

THEME

Thomas Edison was not only an inventor; he was also a businessman. Edison expected all of his invention to make a profit.

OBJECTIVE

Students will comprehend the problems in translating new technology into new businesses and how entrepreneurs need to take risks.

ACTIVITY

Reproduce and distribute the excerpts from “The Beginning of the Incandescent Lamp and Lighting System” by Thomas Alva Edison provided in the Supplementary Materials section.

Have the students read this account written by Thomas Edison himself about the relationship between the incandescent lamp and the lighting system.

Ask the students to answer the following questions based on this account: What does this account indicate about the thought processes of Thomas Alva Edison? How does he break down the steps needed to be taken into a work plan? What does this account indicate about Edison’s problems in raising financing for new ideas? Do you find this surprising given the fact that Edison already was being touted as “The Wizard of Menlo Park”? What was Edison’s attitude toward Wall Street financiers? How did Edison eventually finance his business scheme? What does this suggest about Edison’s willingness to take risks in business?

WORKING CONDITIONS OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN

THEME

Women and children were subjected to unsafe working conditions in factories prior to health and safety regulations by government.

OBJECTIVE

Students will interpret a primary-source historical document and draw conclusions from it.

ACTIVITY

Reproduce and distribute the document titled “Investigation of Accidents at Elizabeth Cordage Works, Held in the Office of the Works, February 16th, 17th, 18th, 1888,” provided in the Supplementary Materials section.

Explain to the class that in 1883 New Jersey passed a Child Labor Law stating that no boy under the age of twelve or girl under the age of fifteen could work in a factory. The law also required that that child must have attended school within the year prior to their employment, five days or evenings per week for at least twelve consecutive weeks. Furthermore, no child under the age of fourteen could be employed in a factory for more than an average ten hours per day or sixty hours per week.

Have the students read the document and answer the following questions: What was the accident being investigated? How old was the girl who got hurt? Who was conducting the investigation? Where was the investigation being conducted? Who was being blamed for the accident? Who was placing the blame? Are you surprised by this? Were there any existing state or company rules or regulations that

were being violated? Should those rules or regulations have been posted for everyone to see? How might piecework have contributed to the accident? Does this document lead you to conclude that there was a need for further government regulations of health and safety in factories in 1889? If so, what specific regulations would you propose?

TWO ACCOUNTS OF THE 1913 PATERSON SILK STRIKE

THEME

Technology has social implications. The introduction of the power loom and a subsequent order to increase the loom assignments of weavers from two to four looms were the causes of the Paterson Silk Strike of 1913.

OBJECTIVE

Students will read and analyze two opposing interpretations of the same historical event.

ACTIVITY

Reproduce and distribute the article titled “War in Paterson” by John Reed from *The Masses* (June 1913) and the report titled “The Silk Industry Strike, 1913, Paterson” from the New Jersey Bureau of Statistics of Labor and Industry Annual Report (1913), both provided in the Supplementary Materials section.

Explain that John Reed was a socialist who later wrote an eyewitness account of the Russian Revolution titled *Ten Days That Shook the World*. Also, explain that *The Masses* was a socialist magazine.

Ask the students to discuss whether John Reed’s account of the strike is objective. Whom does Reed blame for the violence that occurred during the strike? What was the ethnicity of the strikers? What do you think of Reed’s choice of words in describing the strikers as “foreign-faced”? Why did the strikers call the workman with a tin pail a “scab”? Do you think the fact that Reed wrote about this incident in dialect suggests something about his own attitudes toward immigrants? What does this account suggest about the hatred engendered by the strike?

Then ask the students to discuss the New Jersey Bureau of Statistics of Labor and Industry report. Is it any more objective than John Reed’s account? What does the report have to say about the Industrial Workers of the World? What is implied by the depiction of IWW appeal being limited to “immigrant workmen of the non-English-speaking races”? What does the report suggest is the real agenda of the IWW? On what basis does the report reach this conclusion? On whom does the report blame the economic conditions of the strikers?

Finally, ask the students to conclude with which interpretation of the strike they agree and why?

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SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS FOR STUDENTS

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**EXCERPTS FROM
"THE BEGINNING OF THE INCANDESCENT LAMP
AND LIGHTING SYSTEM"**

By Thomas Alva Edison

The invention of a practical, commercial incandescent lamp was only the opening number of my program, for upon my taking up the electric light problem in 1878, my concept was a complete system for the distribution of electric light in small units in the same general manner as gas. And now that the keystone was provided, it became necessary to prepare the other part of the structure, (including the distribution of electric current for heat and power also.) Some idea of the task may be gained from a perusal of the following partial program which confronted me:

First—To conceive a broad and fundamentally correct method of distributing the current, satisfactorily in a scientific sense and practical commercially in its efficiency and economy....

Second—To devise an electric lamp that would give about the same amount of light as a gas jet, which custom had proven to be a suitable and useful unit. This lamp must possess the quality of requiring only a small investment in the copper conductors reaching it. Each lamp must be independent of every other lamp. Each and all the lights must be produced and operated with sufficient economy to compete on a commercial basis with gas....

Third—To devise means whereby the amount of electrical energy furnished to each and every customer could be determined, as in the case of gas, and so that this could be done cheaply and reliably by a meter at the customer's premises.

Fourth—To elaborate a system or network of conductors capable of being placed underground or overhead, which would allow of being tapped at any intervals, so that service wire could be run from the main conductors in the street into each building....

Fifth—To devise means for maintaining at all points in an extended area of distribution a practically even pressure of current, so that all the lamps, wherever located, near or far away from the central station, should give an equal light at all times, independent of the number that might be turned on; and safeguarding the lamps against rupture by sudden and violent fluctuations of current....

Sixth—To design efficient dynamos, such not being in existence at the time, that would convert economically the steam-power of high-speed engines into electrical energy, together with means for connecting and disconnecting them with the exterior consumption of circuits; means for regulating, equalizing their loads, and adjusting the number of dynamos to be used according to the fluctuating demands on the central station....

**EXCERPTS FROM
INVESTIGATION OF ACCIDENTS AT ELIZABETH CORDAGE WORKS, HELD IN THE OFFICE OF THE
WORKS, FEBRUARY 16TH, 17TH, 18TH, 1888.**

***Samuel Williams*, superintendent of entire factory:**

INSPECTOR: Was there a girl hurt in the factory?

WILLIAMS: Yes, sir.

INSPECTOR: What was her name?

WILLIAMS: Maggie Holleran.

INSPECTOR: How old was she?

WILLIAMS: Seventeen years.

INSPECTOR: What room did she work in?

WILLIAMS: Room F.

INSPECTOR: When was she hurt?

WILLIAMS: Three weeks ago to-day.

***Edward Long*, foreman of room F:**

INSPECTOR: How was Maggie Holleran hurt?

LONG: She had a little brush, brushing off a machine; the jenny and flyer were in motion.

INSPECTOR: How did it happen?

LONG: Her dress caught in the flyer and the form.

INSPECTOR: Was she cleaning the machine?

LONG: Yes, sir.

INSPECTOR: Is there a rule that no machine should be cleaned while in motion?

LONG: I believe there is.

Long further stated that the girl was receiving her wages during her sickness just the same as if she were working.

Mary Flannery, an employee of the factory for the past eighteen years:

INSPECTOR: How long have you worked in this factory?

MISS FLANNERY: Eighteen years.

INSPECTOR: What is the rule with reference to cleaning the jennies?

MISS FLANNERY: There is no rule regularly laid down.

INSPECTOR: Is there any rule that they should not be cleaned while in motion?

MISS FLANNERY: Anybody with sense would not clean them while they are in motion; I never cleaned them while in motion; a girl can stop a machine any time she want to, and keep it stopped for an hour if she likes.

INSPECTOR: Do you think there is sufficient distance between the machines?

MISS FLANNERY: In my judgment there is; there is no danger at the sides, as the belts will run off the wheels easily; it is at the backs of the jennies where the danger is.

INSPECTOR: Do the girls have to go to the backs of the machines?

MISS FLANNERY: No, it is unnecessary.

INSPECTOR: Have you known girls to do that?

MISS FLANNERY: Yes, sir.

INSPECTOR: Why did they?

MISS FLANNERY: Just a notion of theirs, I suppose; some of them would do it because they like to be where the danger is, I suppose....

Annie Evans, employed in the factory for five years:

INSPECTOR: Were you an operator on the jennies?

MISS EVANS: Yes, sir.

INSPECTOR: Do you think the jennies are too close together?

MISS EVANS: I do not.

INSPECTOR: Do you think they are dangerous to the operators?

MISS EVANS: I do not; I do not know of any special danger from them.

INSPECTOR: If a person's garments got caught what would be the result?

MISS EVANS: Nothing could get caught except through carelessness.

INSPECTOR: What would be the result?

MISS EVANS: The belt would come off and that would release the garments; there is no danger in cleaning the machines when not in motion.

INSPECTOR: Still, the girls clean them while in motion?

MISS EVANS: Sometimes.

INSPECTOR: Why?

MISS EVANS: They do it, I believe, because they think they might gain time.

INSPECTOR: Are they on piece work?

MISS EVANS: Some of them are, I believe.

INSPECTOR: Is there any rule against cleaning them while in motion?

MISS EVANS: I don't know.

INSPECTOR: You never heard of such a rule?

MISS EVANS: I never did.

INSPECTOR: Is there any part of the work requiring a girl to go to the back of the machine?

MISS EVANS: No.

INSPECTOR: Do you know of any improvements that could be made for the better protection of the girls?

MISS EVANS: I know of none.

INSPECTOR: You think they are perfectly safe if they are not careless?

MISS EVANS: I do.

From *Sixth Annual Report of the Inspector of Factories and Workshops of the State of New Jersey, 1888*.
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“WAR IN PATERSON”

There’s a war in Paterson. But it’s a curious kind of war. All the violence is the work of one side—the Mill Owners. Their servants, the Police, club unresisting men and women and ride down law-abiding crowds on horseback. Their paid mercenaries, the armed Detectives, shoot and kill innocent people. The newspapers, the *Paterson Press* and the *Paterson Call*, publish incendiary and crime-inciting appeals to mob-violence against the strike leaders. Their tool, Recorder Carroll, deals out heavy sentences to peaceful pickets that the police-net gathers up. They control absolutely the Police, the Press, the Courts.

Opposing them are about twenty-five thousand striking silk-workers, of whom perhaps ten thousand are active, and their weapon is the picket-line. Let me tell you what I saw in Paterson and then you will say which side of this struggle is “anarchistic” and “contrary to American ideals.”

At six o’clock in the morning a light rain was falling. Slate-grey and cold, the streets of Paterson were deserted. But soon came the Cops—twenty of them along with their night-sticks under their arms. We went ahead of them toward the mill district. Now we began to see workmen going in the same direction, coat collars turned up, hands in their pockets. We came into a long street, one side of which was lined with silk mills, the other side of which was lined with wooden tenement houses. In every doorway, at every window of the houses foreign-faced men and women, laughing and chatting as if after breakfast on a holiday. There seemed no sense of expectancy, no strain or feeling of fear. The sidewalks were almost empty, only over in front of the mills a few couples—there couldn’t have been more than fifty—marched slowly up and down, dripping with the rain. Some were men, with here and there a man and woman together, or two young boys. As the warmer light of full day came the people drifted out of their houses and began to pace back and forth, gathering in little knots on the corners. They were quick with gesticulating hands, and low-voiced conversation. They looked often toward the corners of the side streets.

Suddenly appeared a policeman, swinging his club. “Ah-h-h!” said the crowd softly.

Six men had taken shelter from the rain under the canopy of a saloon. “Come on! Get out of that!” yelled the policeman, advancing. The men quietly obeyed. “Get off this street! Go home, now! Don’t be standing here!” They gave way before him in silence, drifting back again when he turned away. Other policemen materialized, hustling, cursing, brutal, ineffectual. No one answered back. Nervous, bleary-eyed, unshaven, these officers were worn out with nine weeks’ incessant strike duty.

On the mill side of the street the picket-line had grown to about four hundred. Several policemen shouldered roughly among them, looking for trouble. A workman appeared, with a tin pail, escorted by two detectives. “Boo! Boo!” shouted a few scattered voices. Two Italian boys leaned against the mill fence and shouted a merry Irish threat, “Scab! Come outa here I knocka you’ head off!” A policeman grabbed the boys roughly by the shoulder. “Get the hell out of here!” he cried, jerking and pushing them violently to the corner, where he kicked them. Not a voice, not a movement.

A little further along the street we saw a young woman with an umbrella, who had been picketing, suddenly confronted by a big policeman.

“What the hell are you doing here?” he roared. “God damn you, you go home! And he jammed his club against her mouth. “I no go home!” she shrilled passionately, with blazing eyes. “You bigga stiff!”

Silently, steadfastly, solidly the picket-line grew. In groups or in couples the strikers patrolled the sidewalk. There was no more laughing. They looked on with eyes full of hate. These were fiery-blooded Italians, and the police were the same brutal thugs that had beaten them and insulted them for nine weeks. I wondered how long they could stand it.

From *The Masses*, John Reed, June, 1913

THE SILK INDUSTRY STRIKE, 1913, PATTERSON

The most long continued, wasteful, and bitterly contested strike known in the history of the silk industry of New Jersey, followed a protest which a number of weavers of the Henry Doherty Silk Company of Paterson, laid before their employers on January 23, 1913, against the practice of permitting weavers on broad silk goods to operate more than two looms each, or in other words against what has become known through the literature of the strike as the “three and four loom system.”

...In this and in previous strikes, grossly incorrect statements relative to the profits of employers and the oppression of the workers on strike were spread broadcast over the country, the children of strikers were taken from their homes to the large cities on the plea that they were starving, and there paraded on the streets and exhibited at gatherings in halls for the purpose of making sentiment against the employers of their parents. This is a startlingly new policy in American trade disputes, and is ominously suggestive of the “march of the Marseillaise” in the early days of the French Revolution. The organization responsible for these things calls itself the “Industrial Workers of the World.” Its headquarters are at Chicago, and in the eastern part of the country its operations are practically limited to immigrant workmen of the non-English-speaking races, most unskilled laborers, who are easily persuaded to regard themselves as victims of social and industrial injustice; it has practically no following among skilled workmen, at least in the eastern states....

In this strike, as in all others instigated or controlled by the representatives of this organization, the efforts put forth appear to have been much less for the purpose of improving the material circumstances of the strikers and their families, than for the creation of conditions favorable to the radical social revolution which it is the avowed purpose of the I.W.W. to bring about. The policy pursued is very simple and its operation has been fully illustrated in several strikes that have taken place under the same auspices in this state and elsewhere during the last few years. The work of spreading discontent is vigorously pushed in industries or industrial centers having the largest number of non-English-speaking workmen, among whom are many who have brought with them from their old homes very pronounced leanings toward theories of political and social relations that differ radically from ours, and these are easily persuaded to believe that employers, being in a sense capitalists, are natural enemies between whom and themselves there is a conflict of irreconcilable interests which cannot be ended satisfactorily until the workers, to again quote the preamble [to the constitution of the I.W.W.] have “taken possession of the earth, and of all the instrumentalities of production.”...

In many respects this strike will be remembered as one of the most notable that has occurred in the history of the country, in that it illustrates the astonishing readiness with which a large army of wage workers whose living depended on their daily labor were moved to cease work, place themselves in an attitude of bitter antagonism to their employers, bring confusion and riot in the city in which they had made their homes, and most pitiful of all, reduce themselves and their families to such circumstances as left them dependent upon charity for the commonest necessities of life, all at the instance and demand of a few irresponsible, reckless agitators—perfect strangers to them all, who were utterly ignorant of everything relating to the affairs of the great industry, the control of which they were intent on securing through the instrumentality of its thousands of deluded or intimidated operatives.

N.J. Bureau of Statistics of Labor and Industry 36th Annual Report 1913

PROGRAM NINE: *The Progressive Banner*

By David S. Cohen

Summary



In 1906, the muckraking journalist Lincoln Steffens called New Jersey “a traitor state” because in his view New Jersey was controlled by a corrupt alliance between political bosses and big corporations. Large trusts, such as Standard Oil, were incorporated in New Jersey because its corporation laws were favorable to large holding companies.

The first challenge to this status quo came from the so-called New Idea Republicans. In Jersey City a young Irish–Catholic undertaker named Mark Fagan was elected mayor on a reform platform advocating equal taxation of corporations and regulation of public utilities such as Public Service Electric and Gas. However, the New Idea movement was short-lived. Fagan and his fellow reformers were repudiated at the polls in the election of 1906.

As the gubernatorial election of 1910 approached, Democratic bosses James Smith of Essex County and Bob Davis of Hudson County endorsed the candidacy of Woodrow Wilson, who was at the time the president of Princeton University. The bosses thought they could control Wilson, who won the election in a landslide. However, once he became governor, Wilson turned against the bosses. Governor Wilson proposed and got through the legislature reform laws, that instituted direct primary elections, the banning of ballot-box stuffing, the creation of an authority to regulate public utilities, and a workmen’s compensation act. These reforms gave Wilson a national reputation as a Progressive reformer, which led to his successful election in 1912 as the President of the United States.

Despite his reputation as a reformer, there were some aspects of the reform agenda that Wilson was not ready to endorse. Born and raised in the South, Wilson retained prejudicial attitudes toward African–Americans that were common not only in the South but also in the New Jersey town of Princeton. He continued policies at Princeton University that denied admission of African–Americans.

Wilson was also reluctant to support woman’s suffrage. New Jersey suffragists unsuccessfully had tried to get Wilson as governor to endorse a referendum on a woman’s suffrage amendment to the New Jersey state constitution. In 1913, thousands of suffragists from around the country led by a New Jersey–born Quaker named Alice Paul went to Washington, D.C., to convince President Wilson to endorse a woman’s suffrage amendment to the federal Constitution. Wilson stated that he believed the issue should be settled through amendments to state constitutions, not a federal constitutional amendment. However, in October 1915, New Jersey voters defeated a referendum for a woman’s suffrage amendment to the state constitution. Alice Paul then organized picketing the White House for the federal amendment, and finally Wilson reluctantly endorsed it. New Jersey became the twenty-ninth state to ratify the Nineteenth Amendment, in February 1920.

One of Wilson’s Progressive reforms as governor was the Walsh Act, which attempted to replace the boss-ridden weak-mayor/strong-council form of government with the city commission form of government. However, after Wilson became president, a young Irish Jersey City politician named Frank Hague became mayor under the city commission government. Although he ran as a Progressive reformer, who wanted to tax the railroads and the public utilities, Mayor Hague was to become the most powerful political boss in New Jersey history until a new state constitution in 1947 undercut his power.

The period after World War I also witnessed a major migration of African-Americans from the South to New Jersey cities, such as Newark and Camden. Fleeing segregation in the South and attracted by job opportunities in the factories of the North, those who participated in this so-called Great Migration were forced to settle in segregated ghettos within these cities. During the Great Depression of the 1930s many African-Americans in New Jersey switched their political allegiance from the Republican Party of Abraham Lincoln to the Democratic Party of Franklin Roosevelt. World War II brought an end to the Depression and set the stage for the civil rights movement in the second half of the twentieth century.

WHERE *THE PROGRESSIVE BANNER* FITS IN THE CURRICULUM

AMERICAN HISTORY	IMPORTANT PEOPLE	IMPORTANT PLACES	TERMS THAT MAY REQUIRE EXPLANATION
Progressivism	Mark Fagan	Jersey City	trust
political bossism	Woodrow Wilson	Princeton	holding company
woman's suffrage	Alice Paul	Newark	public utility
Great Migration	Frank Hague		city commission
			suffrage

CORE LESSONS

WOODROW WILSON AS A PROGRESSIVE GOVERNOR

THEME

Woodrow Wilson's term as governor of New Jersey was a dress rehearsal for his presidency.

OBJECTIVE

Students will interpret a primary source in order to relate Progressive reforms on the state level to Progressive reforms on the national level.

ACTIVITY

Reproduce and distribute the excerpts from "Woodrow Wilson's Inaugural Address as Governor of New Jersey, January 17, 1911," provided in the Supplementary Materials section.

Have the students read this speech in which Wilson lays out his agenda of Progressive reforms.

Ask the students to answer the following questions based on this speech: What were the main the reforms that Wilson was proposing? What conditions did he feel needed to be reformed? How effective were each of these reforms in correcting the problems they were intended to correct? Which of these Progressive reforms continue to the present day? How did these reforms prepare Wilson for his presidency?

YOUNG ALICE PAUL AS AN ADVOCATE OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE

THEME

Alice Paul made her reputation as an advocate of woman suffrage during her sojourn in England.

OBJECTIVE

Students will interpret a primary-source historical document and draw conclusions from it.

ACTIVITY

Reproduce and distribute the article from a local newspaper titled "Hunger Striker Describes Forcible Feeding," provided in the Supplementary Materials section.

Explain to the class that this article appeared in a local newspaper upon Alice Paul's return from England. Ask the students to discuss the following questions: What tactics did Alice Paul use while in England to promote the cause of woman suffrage? How effective were her tactics? Do you believe that the tactics used were justified? Do you think that the punishment meted out to Paul was justified? What effect do you think this article might have had on the American public?

THE GREAT MIGRATION

THEME

Beginning during World War I and continuing throughout the 1920s tens of thousands of African-Americans migrated to northern cities, such as Newark and Camden.

OBJECTIVE

Students will interpret and analyze oral history interviews.

ACTIVITY

Reproduce and distribute the excerpts from “The Third Ward” by Vivian P. Mintz, provided in the Supplementary Materials section.

Explain that these interviews were conducted by the Federal Writers Project in 1940 with African-Americans residing in Newark. They are comparable to the famous Slave Narratives also collected by the Federal Writers Project in the South. Explain that while these oral histories were collected at the end of the Great Depression as a way to make work for unemployed writers, the narratives describe the experiences years earlier of African-Americans who participated in the Great Migration.

Ask the students to discuss the following questions about these narratives: What different backgrounds did the migrants come from? What were the main reasons they mention for migrating to the North? What kinds of work did they find in the North? What kinds of adjustments did they need to make to life in a northern city? What kinds of support networks did they draw upon? Were all the migrants from the same social class? What was the effect of Great Depression on the lives of many of the migrants?

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SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS FOR STUDENTS

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**EXCERPTS FROM WOODROW WILSON'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS AS GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY,
JANUARY 17, 1911**

Gentlemen of the Legislature:

I assume the great office of governor of the state with unaffected diffidence. Many great men have made this office illustrious. A long tradition of honorable service connects each incumbent of it with the generation of men who set up our governments here in free America to give men perpetual assurance of liberty and justice and opportunity....

...The whole world has changed within the lifetime of men not yet in their thirties; the world of business, and therefore the world of society, and the world of politics. The organization and movement of business are new and upon a novel scale. Business has changed so rapidly that for a long time we were confused, alarmed, bewildered, and in a sort of terror of the things we had ourselves raised up....

...No wise man will say, of course, that he sees the whole problem of reform lying plain before him, or knows how to frame the entire body of law that will be necessary to square business with the general interest, and put right and fairness and public spirit in the saddle again in all the transactions of our new society; but some things are plain enough, and upon these we can act.

...In the first place, it is plain that our laws with regard to the relations of employer and employee are in many respects wholly antiquated and impossible. They were framed for another age, which nobody now living remembers, which is, indeed, so remote from our life that it would be difficult for many of us to understand it if it were described to us. The employer is now generally a corporation or huge company of some kind; the employee is one of hundreds or thousands brought together, not by individual masters whom they know and with whom they had personal relations, but by agents of one sort or another. Workingmen are marshaled in great numbers for the performance of a multitude of particular tasks under a common discipline. They generally use dangerous and powerful machinery, over whose repair and renewal they have not control. New rules must be devised with regard to their obligations and their rights, their obligations to their employers and their responsibilities to one another. New rules must be devised for their protection, for their compensation when injured, for their support when disabled.

...We call these questions of employers' liability, questions of workingmen's compensation, but those terms do not suggest quite the whole matter. There is something very new and very big and very complex about these new relations of capital and labor. A new economic society has sprung up, and we must effect a new set of adjustments. We must not pit power against weakness. The employer is generally in our day, as I have said, not an individual, but a powerful group of individuals, and yet the workingman is still, under our existing law, an individual when dealing with his employer, in case of accident, for example, or of loss or of illness, as well as in every contractual relationship. We must have a workingman's compensation act which will not put upon him the burden of fighting powerful composite employers to obtain his rights, but which will give him his rights without suit, directly, and without contest, by automatic operation of law, as if of a law of insurance....

...If I may speak very plainly, we are much too free with grants of charters to corporations in New Jersey. A corporation exists, not of natural right, but only by license of law, and the law, if we look at the matters in good conscience, is responsible for what it creates. It can never rightly authorize any kind of fraud or imposition. It cannot righteously allow the setting up of a business which has no sound basis, or which follows methods which in any way outrage justice or fair dealing or the principles of honest industry. The law cannot give its license to things of that kind. It thereby authenticates what it ought of right to forbid.

...I would urge, therefore, the imperative obligation of public policy and of public honesty we are under to effect such changes in the law of the State as will henceforth effectually prevent the abuse of privilege of incorporation which has in recent years brought so much discredit upon our State....

...And such scrutiny and regulation ought not be confined to corporations seeking charters. They ought also be extended to corporations already operating under the license and authority of the State. For the right to undertake such regulation is susceptible of easy and obvious justification. A modern corporation—that is, a modern joint stock company—is in no proper sense an intimate or private concern. It is not set up on the risk and adventure of a few persons, the persons who originated it, manage it, carry it to failure or success. On the contrary, it is set up at what may be called the common risk. It is a risk and adventure in which the public are invited to share, and the hundreds, perhaps thousands, who subscribe to the stock do in fact share in it, oftentimes without sharing also, in any effectual manner, in the control and development of the business in which their risk is taken. Moreover, these modern enterprises, with their exchequers replenished out of the common store of the savings of the Nation, conduct business transactions whose scope and influence are as wide as whole regions of the Union, often as wide as the Nation itself. They affect sometimes the lives and fortunes of whole communities, dominate prices, determine land values, make and unmake markets, develop or check the growth of city and of countryside. If law is at liberty to adjust the general conditions of society itself, it is at liberty to control these great instrumentalities which nowadays, in so large part, determine the character of society. Wherever we can find what the common interest is in respect of them we shall find a solid enough basis for law, for reform.

...The matter is most obvious when we turn to what we have come to designate public service, or public utility, corporations—those which supply us with the means of transportation and with those common necessities, water, light, heat, and power. Here are corporations exercising peculiar and extraordinary franchises, and bearing such a relation to society in respect of the services they render that it may be said that they are the very medium of its life. They render a public and common service of which it is necessary that practically everybody should avail himself.

...We have a Public Utilities Commission in New Jersey, but it has hardly more than powers of inquiry and advice....This will not do. It is understood by everybody who knows anything of the common interest that it must have complete regulative powers; the power to regulate rates, the power to learn and make public everything that should furnish a basis for the public judgment with regard to the soundness, the efficiency, the economy of the business—the power, in brief, to adjust such service at every point and in every respect, whether of equipment or changes or methods of financing or means of service, to the general interest of the communities affected. This can be done, as experience elsewhere has demonstrated, not only without destroying the profits of such business, but also with the effect of putting it upon a more satisfactory footing for those who conduct it no less than for those who make use of it day by day.

...There is an uneasy feeling throughout the State, in which, I dare say, we all share, that there are glaring inequalities in our system—or, at any rate, in our practice—of taxation. The most general complaint is that there is a great inequality as between individuals and corporations. I do not see how anyone can determine whether there are or not, for we have absolutely no uniform system of assessment....An efficient Public Utilities Commission will be a beginning towards a system of taxation as well as towards a system of corporate control. We cannot fairly tax values until we have ascertained and established them.

...And the great matter of conservation seems to me like a part of the same subject. The safeguarding of our water supply, the purification of our streams in order to maintain them as sources of life, and their protection against those who would divert them or diminish their volume for private profit, the maintenance of such woodlands as are left us and the reforestation of bare tracts more suited for forest than for field, the sanitation of great urban districts such as cover the northern portions of our

State, by thorough systems of drainage and of refuse disposal, the protection of the public health and the facilitation of urban and suburban life—these are all public obligations which fall sooner or later upon you as the lawmakers of the commonwealth, and they are all parts of the great task of adjustment which has fallen to our generation. Our business is to adjust right to right, interest to interest, and to systematize right and convenience, individual rights and corporate privileges, upon the single basis of the general good, the good of whole communities, the good which no one will look after or suffice to secure if the legislator does not, the common good for whose safeguarding and maintenance government is intended.

...There is widespread dissatisfaction with what our legislatures do, and still more serious dissatisfaction with what they do not do. Some persons have said that representative government has proved too indirect and clumsy an instrument, and has broken down as a means of popular control. Others, looking a little deeper, have said that it was not representative government that had broken down, but the effort to get it. They have pointed out that with our present methods of machine nomination and our present methods of elections, which were nothing more than a choice between one set of machine nominees and another, we did not get representative government at all—at least not government representative of the people, but government representative of political managers who served their own interests and the interests of those with whom they found it profitable to establish partnerships....

...Our primary laws, extended and perfected, will pave the way. They should be extended to every elective office, and to the selection of every party committee or official as well, in order that the people may once for all take charge of their own affairs, their own political organization and association; and the methods of primary selection should be so perfected that the primaries will be put upon the same free footing that the methods of election themselves are meant to rest upon....

...Another matter of the most vital consequences goes with all these; namely, systematic ballot reform and thorough and stringent provisions of law against corrupt practices in connection alike with primaries and elections....

...This is a big program, but it is a perfectly consistent program, and a perfectly feasible program, and one upon whose details it ought to be possible to agree even within the limits of a single legislative session. You may count upon my co-operation at every step of the work....

...It is not the foolish ardor of too sanguine or too radical reform that I urge upon you, but merely the tasks that are evident and pressing, the things we have knowledge and guidance enough to do; and to do with confidence and energy. I merely point out the present business of progressive and serviceable government, the next stage on the journey of duty. The path is as inviting as it is plain. Shall we hesitate to tread it? I look forward with genuine pleasure to the prospect of being your comrade upon it.

HUNGER STRIKER DESCRIBES FORCIBLE FEEDING

Philadelphia, Jan. 22.—“Revolting” is the word Miss Alice Paul, the American suffragette, who returned on Thursday by the steamer *Haverford* from exciting adventures in England, applies to the forced feeding which she endured in Holloway jail. Miss Paul, by the way, doesn’t look at all like the popular conception of an agitator. She astonishes persons who see her for the first time, after hearing of her doings, by her exceedingly feminine appearance. She is a delicate slip of a girl, whom no one would suspect of being an interrupter of public meetings and a victim of prison hardships.

...“I resorted to the hunger strike method twice,” she added to a *Tribune* reporter. “I was clapped into jail three times while in England, and during my first and second terms I refused to eat. Once I didn’t touch food for five days. Then the authorities decided to feed me by force. I refused to wear the prison garb, too, and I would not perform the labor I was sentenced to do; so, of course, I had to spend my days in bed. When the forcible feeding was ordered I was taken from my bed, carried to another room and forced into a chair, bound with sheets and sat upon bodily by a fat murderer, whose duty it was to keep me still. Then the prison doctor, assisted by two woman attendants, placed a rubber tube up my nostrils and pumped liquid food through it into the stomach. Twice a day for a month, from November 1 to December 1, this was done.”

...When Miss Paul was asked if she ever threw a stone through a window, she said: “No, indeed. I never did and I never shall. I think such deeds belong to rioters and women are seldom rioters.” Miss Paul merely threw words at the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, and frightened him, she says, nearly to death. It was during a meeting at Guild Hall. Miss Paul, who seems not to mind going without food for any length of time, got into the hall the night before, disguised as a scrubwoman, and secreted herself until the meeting began.

...“It was a weary vigil,” she said, “but it paid. The Prime Minister made a most eloquent speech, and I listened, waiting for a chance to break in. At last there came a pause. Summoning all my strength, I shouted at the top of my voice: ‘How about votes for women?’

...“You would have thought I had thrown a bomb. There was serious disorder, but Mr. Asquith was the most startled of all. You see, the hall was guarded by a cordon of police, and he felt safe from interruption. While the officers searched for me he stood like a statue, after one great start. I was found and arrested, and imprisonment followed.”

...Miss Paul left Philadelphia for her home in Moorestown, N.J., immediately after landing, and intends to give her attention for the present to the recovery of her health, which suffered somewhat from her stormy experience. She is a graduate of Swarthmore College and had gone to England to continue her studies, when she was drawn into the militant suffrage movement.

Source: Elizabeth Smith Miller and Anne Fitzhugh Miller suffrage scrapbooks; National American Woman Suffrage Association Collection (Library of Congress)

**EXCERPTS FROM “THIRD WARD” BY VIVIAN P. MINTZ
FROM THE FEDERAL WRITERS’ PROJECT’S
NEW JERSEY ETHNIC SURVEY (1940)**

Almost half of Newark’s 40,000 colored citizens are packed and jammed into fifty-six hundredth of a square mile of sound and fury. This is the Third Ward; in area, the seventh smallest of the entire city, with a density of seventy-four persons to an acre. Situated in the center of what is locally called the “Hill” section, the Third Ward is a cross-section of every city’s Negro population, replete with bad housing, delinquency, poor health, the various strata of society, big-time rackets and a tremendous church-going population....

Perhaps you will...go toward the Third Ward, on High Street, Avon, or South Orange Avenue. Keep going until you hear the Third Ward. Walk slowly so that you don’t miss anything. Walk until you hear the sound of Negro voices happy, angry, drawled, intense, rich, and colorful voices....

“I was born in Marianna, Florida, January 23, 1883. I never knew my mother, as she died the day after I was born. I was brought up by a stepmother. I went to school to the third year; school was only three months in the winter. The rest of the year I worked on a rented farm. When I was eighteen I went to live in Georgia and got a job tapping trees in turpentine fields. They paid ten cents a thousand boxes. After I got the hang of it, I averaged about 10,000 boxes a week.

“During the war [World War I] I worked in a powder plant in Alabama and made from thirty to seventy-five dollars a week. After the war there wasn’t much to do around, and my sister always wrote from Jersey City, telling us how well they were getting along up there, so I left the South. When I got to Jersey City I couldn’t find work, but after a few months I landed a job at Crucible Steel. After work slacked, I was let go and found jobs in different foundries during the Depression. Now I’m too old to get another job. They want young men, and a man like me hasn’t got a chance. For the last two year up to August, I worked on WPA.¹ They laid me off there because of some 18-month rule. Now I’m doing nothing and can’t even get on relief, because my daughter is working, and the investigator says my daughter has to support me.”...

“In 1922, my husband heard things were good up here and so, moved us to Newark. He got a job with a cement company here, and we did fine until 1931. Business got bad, his salary was cut in half, and finally he lost his job. Since that time he’s worked on WPA, and right now we’re on relief.”...

“I guess I can tell you the little that happened in my life. I was born in Green County, Alabama, October 15, 1866. I was the last of fourteen children. Most of the children in our family died soon as they were born or when they were little kids. I think one of the reasons they died so young was because there was no care taken of colored mothers expecting children.”...

“I was born on a farm and worked there for many years. I went to school only a few weeks of my life. We worked very hard trying to make big crops. The school ran three months a year; I only went during the three months when the rain and snow were so bad we couldn’t work.

“When I was seventeen I started courting. My girlfriend was still going to school. We spent our evenings together with her teaching me to read and write. I never could learn arithmetic, but reading and writing came easy to me.

“I married early so I started to farm for myself. I had a mule and some farm equipment and got to be the best farmer around there, real prosperous. We had seven children, and we all worked hard, so we saved some money. Then I got a job in Louisiana as a Right Boss and stayed there from 1902 to 1910. I stayed until the Boll Weevil² ran me away. I was growing bales of cotton on my own tract of land, but in 1910 the crop fell to forty bales a year.

"In 1910 I moved to Arkansas. The Boll Weevil didn't get there yet, and I had some pretty good crops. I voted the first time in Arkansas. I was afraid to vote at first, because I never could vote before, and I wasn't sure how the Whites would feel having a Negro vote. My first vote was for Harding. The first year Harding was president, I lost \$1,700, and I was never prosperous after that. I came to Newark about ten years ago from Arkansas. My daughter lived here and talked me into coming to live with her. Her husband still got a pretty good-paying job. I sold all my horses and farm implements and came here with that money. I just ain't had any luck since."...

"I was born in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1900. I finished the local school and was graduated with honors. I went to Talladega College in Alabama and majored in physical science. When I completed my work there, I taught for a year.

"I saved most of the money that I made while teaching and then came North to Women's Medical College at the University of Pennsylvania to study medicine. I worked hard each summer, trying to earn enough money for tuition the following September. My work was that of waitress, chambermaid, or any of the other jobs that one finds at a summer resort. After a terrific struggle, which almost led to a nervous breakdown, I received my MD.

"After graduation, I went to Kansas, where I served my internship. When my internship had been completed, I came back East. I didn't have enough money to buy equipment and open an office, so I worked as a maid with a wealthy family here. After a year, I had saved enough money to open an office, and did so in Philadelphia. I practiced in Philadelphia for several years and enjoyed my work, but was not too successful financially. Just at that time, I married and moved to Newark with my husband, who is a dentist.

"I've been practicing in Newark since, and thoroughly enjoy my work. After I was here for a while, I was appointed to the venereal clinic of the Department of Health. I became interested in the study of syphilis and saw the need of much publicity and education to spread information about syphilis and its treatment to the people. I gave lectures at churches, schools, and before various organizations.

"At present I am doing graduate work at Columbia University, beside my clinic work and private practice."

"I was born in Winsboro, South Carolina, 1889, one of twelve children. My father, a minister, died when I was fourteen years old, and I had to go work to help support my mother and the other children. My education was neglected through lack of time, and I was thirteen before I reached the third grade. My mother died, when I was seventeen, and I was filled with a consuming ambition to go to school and make something of myself.

"After leaving the Winsboro School, I matriculated at Friendship College in Rockhill, South Carolina, and was graduated in the Class of 1909. I later attended Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina, and was a four-letter man in athletics. After graduating from Shaw in 1915, I continued my studies at Howard University in Washington, D.C., where I went to the School of Dentistry. I was married while still in dental school and derived great inspiration from my wife who was as interested in education as I.

"I was graduated from dental school in 1918 and spent the following year in the United States Medical Corps. I've been practicing dentistry in the Third Ward since 1920 and have participated in many phases of community life through my church and through political organizations."...

"I was born in Hartford, North Carolina, in 1905....I was the youngest of four children, two boys and two girls. My father died when I was twelve years old. He was very strict with us, and it seemed that we went to seed when he died. But, anyway, I managed to finish my first year in high school.

“I fell in love with a fellow who became the father of my first child. He didn’t marry me, but left town instead. One year later, I met another fellow that I went with steady, and after a few months I discovered that I was going to have another baby. This time I went to the law, but discovered this fellow was already married.

“My reputation at home had become very bad, but I only felt that I had hard luck and didn’t feel that I was really bad. My mother was good and kind to me during all of my trouble. I got a job in service, sleeping in, at five dollars a week. Most of the five dollars I got I sent to my mother, who was keeping the children.

“One Thursday, when I was off I met Jim, who was working at the local oil mill. He asked to be my beau, and I consented. After going with him for a few months I found that I was to become a mother for the third time.

“He didn’t marry me right away, but instead came to New Jersey to work in a brickyard. He made very good money there, and after the baby was born he sent for me, and we were married. After the first summer, he got a job in Newark running an elevator, and I started doing work by the day and cooking special dinners and preparing special dishes for parties. I had learned to prepare these dishes at school, and from my mother who has been a good cook all her life.

“My husband worked as elevator operator for about a year, then the people put self-service elevators in the building. With my husband out of work and me not making enough to support five of us and with a fourth child on the way, we applied for relief. We were given relief, and my first child came about the same time as our first check.

“I guess we were some of the first people on relief under President Roosevelt, because my husband worked under all the systems of work relief.

“He was working when you had to do a certain amount of work to get any relief, he was working when you got paid every night, he worked when you got relief for your food and clothing, and had to work on the side for everything else. He is still working on WPA.

“During this time I have had four more children, which makes eight altogether. Two of them are twins. In August, I am having another addition to my family. I hope it’s a boy, because my only son says he needs someone to play with.

“At present my mother lives with me. She is a great help, because she can do my cooking and take care of the smaller children, while I am out working.

“My husband is very faithful about spending his WPA check for the children and the rent. The relief still gives us food. We deny ourselves all the luxuries and many of the necessities. We try to send the children to school looking nice. We hope they will repay us someday for our sacrifices.”

NOTES

1.The WPA, or Work Progress Administration, later renamed the Works Projects Administration, was a federal agency created in 1935 by the New Deal to create jobs for unemployed workers.

2.The boll weevil is a parasite that attacked the cotton crop in the American South during the 1920s and 1930s, causing severe economic dislocation for poor whites and African-Americans.

PROGRAM TEN: *The Suburban State*

By David S. Cohen

Summary



he second half of the twentieth century witnessed a major shift in political power in New Jersey. In the early 1900s a coalition of rural Republicans and urban Democrats controlled state politics. In the second half the century political power shifted to the suburbs.

The essence of suburban living was residing in the country and commuting to work in the city. In the nineteenth century, the railroad was one of the chief means of commuting. It was also the main way of transporting freight. However, the freight bound for New York City had to be unloaded on the Hudson County side of the Hudson River and transferred onto barges to cross the river. In order to alleviate this problem, the Port Authority of New York was established in 1921. While its original mission was to expedite railroad transportation, the authority soon shifted its attention to trucks and automobiles by building a network of bridges and tunnels. The consequence of these Port Authority projects was to spur suburban development in New Jersey.

Federal policy also encouraged the growth of the suburbs. The Federal Housing Administration created in 1934 and the GI Bill in 1944 provided low-cost mortgages to families who otherwise would not have been able to afford to buy their own houses. However, these agencies tended to discriminate against urban centers, reinforcing racial and class segregation in housing.

Another factor that led to the decline of the cities was the development in the 1950s of regional shopping centers located near suburban communities. These centers were modeled on the small town square, except that they were private, not public, property. Furthermore, it was difficult for poor and nonwhite residents of the cities to get to the shopping centers, except possibly to work at low-paying jobs. Thus, the shopping centers not only undermined the downtown department stores, but also resulted in a new form of class and racial segregation. Newark went into an economic decline as downtown stores closed and businesses and residents that could moved to the suburbs.

The new state constitution of 1947 established a powerful supreme court, which became a flashpoint for controversy in the last half of the twentieth century. In 1973, the New Jersey Supreme Court decided that the reliance on property taxes to fund public education violated the clause of the state constitutional guarantee of a “thorough and efficient” education to every schoolchild. However, the state legislature refused to provide funding for attempts to equalize the spending for urban and suburban schools, and so the supreme court ordered the closing of the public schools. This forced the governor and legislature to pass the state’s first income tax. But the inequalities continued, and in 1990 the court again decided that the state’s poorest districts must have equal funding with the state’s wealthiest districts.

In the 1970s, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) sued the township of Mount Laurel, claiming that the township’s zoning ordinance discriminated against the poor, the young, and the old. The case made its way up to the state supreme court, which in 1975 declared the township’s zoning law unconstitutional. The decision led to years of controversy about the appropriate remedy. Finally, in 1985, the state legislature established an Affordable Housing Council, which was empowered to determine the affordable housing obligation of developing suburban communities. However, the council also permitted these communities to sell part of their affordable housing obligation to nearby cities.

WHERE *THE TWO NEW JERSEYS* FITS IN THE CURRICULUM

AMERICAN HISTORY	IMPORTANT PEOPLE	IMPORTANT PLACES	TERMS THAT MAY REQUIRE EXPLANATION
Growth of Suburbs	Llewellyn Haskell	Llewellyn Park	suburbs
Decline of Cities	Alexander Jackson Davis	Newark	commuting
New Jersey State Constitution	William Cahill	Mount Laurel	Port Authority
History of Education	James Florio		mortgages
	Thomas Kean		State Constitution of 1947
			zoning

CORE LESSONS

NEW JERSEY STATE CONSTITUTION OF 1947

THEME

The New Jersey State Constitution of 1947 was a major factor in the shift of political power from the cities to the suburbs.

OBJECTIVE

Students will interpret the 1947 New Jersey state constitution in order to understand the basis for state politics in the second half of the twentieth century.

ACTIVITY

Reproduce and distribute the excerpts from the New Jersey State Constitution of 1947, provided in the Supplementary Materials section.

Have the students read these excerpts. Ask the students to answer the following questions based on this document: Which clause or clauses set(s) the stage for the civil rights movement in the 1950s? Which clause reflects the new power of organized labor? Which clause was the constitutional basis for the *Abbott v. Burke* decision? Which clause made it necessary to amend the constitution in enable a state income tax? Which clause was a compromise with the women who wanted an equal rights clause in the state constitution?

SCHOOL FUNDING

THEME

One of the major issues that pitted the cities against the suburbs was equal funding for urban schools districts.

OBJECTIVE

Students will interpret the issue of school funding based on an analysis of a newspaper account.

ACTIVITY

Reproduce and distribute the article from a local newspaper titled “School Aid Formula Voided: Court Allows a Year for Change,” provided in the Supplementary Materials section.

Have the students read the newspaper account. Ask them to discuss the following questions: What was the problem that the *Abbott v. Burke* decision was trying to correct? On what basis did the court decide that the method of funding 28 urban school districts was unconstitutional? What was Chief Justice Robert Wilentz’s answer to the argument that additional funding would not solve the problems of urban school districts? Do you agree with him? Why?

RESTRICTIVE ZONING

THEME

Another issue that pitted the cities against the suburbs was restrictive zoning.

OBJECTIVE

Students will interpret the issue of restrictive zoning based on an analysis of a newspaper account.

ACTIVITY

Reproduce and distribute the article from a local newspaper titled “\$125 Million Housing Subsidy Voted to Help Fund Mt. Laurel Mandate,” provided in the Supplementary Materials section.

Have the students read the newspaper account. Ask them to discuss the following questions: What was the problem the court sought to correct with the Mount Laurel decision? What was meant by “the builder’s remedy”? What was the compromise reached by the governor and the legislature in order to conform with the Mount Laurel decision? How was the issue changed from restrictive zoning to affordable housing? Was the original Mt. Laurel decision anti-urban? Was the establishment of the Affordable Housing Council an improvement on the original decision or an attempt to circumvent it?

POLITICAL CARTOON

THEME

The politics that characterized New Jersey in the second half of the twentieth century pitted a strong supreme court against a suburban dominated Legislature.

OBJECTIVE

The students will interpret a political cartoon and/or express their own views in the form of a political cartoon.

ACTIVITY

Reproduce and distribute the political cartoon provided in the Supplementary Materials section.

Ask the students the following questions about the cartoon: What is the issue that is the subject the cartoon? Does the cartoonist take a stand on the issue? If so, what is the cartoonist’s opinion on the issue? Create your own cartoon on either the Mount Laurel decision or the Abbott v. Burke decision.

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FOR TEACHERS

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EXCERPTS FROM THE NEW JERSEY STATE CONSTITUTION OF 1947

A Constitution agreed upon by the delegates of the people of New Jersey, in Convention, begun at Rutgers University, the State University of New Jersey, in New Brunswick, on the twelfth day of June, and continued to the tenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty-seven.

We, the people of the State of New Jersey, grateful to Almighty God for the civil and religious liberty which He hath so long permitted us to enjoy, and looking to Him for a blessing upon our endeavors to secure and transmit the same unimpaired to succeeding generations, do ordain and establish this Constitution.

ARTICLE I

RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES

1. All persons are by nature free and independent, and have certain natural and unalienable rights, among which are those of enjoying and defending life and liberty, of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property, and of pursuing and obtaining safety and happiness.
2. All political power is inherent in the people. Government is instituted for the protection, security, and benefit of the people, and they have the right at all times to alter or reform the same, whenever the public good may require it....
3. No person shall be deprived of the inestimable privilege of worshipping Almighty God in a manner agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience; nor under any pretense whatever be compelled to attend any place of worship contrary to his faith and judgment; nor shall any person be obliged to pay tithes, taxes, or other rates for building or repairing any church or churches, place or places of worship, or for the maintenance of any minister or ministry, contrary to what he believes to be right or has deliberately and voluntarily engaged to perform.
4. There shall be no establishment of one religious sect in preference to another; no religious or racial test shall be required as a qualification for any office or public trust.
5. No person shall be denied the enjoyment of any civil or military right, nor be discriminated against in the exercise of any civil or military right, nor be segregated in the militia or in the public schools, because of religious principles, race, color, ancestry or national origin.
6. Every person may freely speak, write and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right. No law shall be passed to restrain or abridge the liberty of speech or of the press. In all prosecutions or indictments for libel, the truth may be given in evidence to the jury; and if it shall appear to the jury that the matter charged as libelous is true, and was published with good motives and for justifiable ends, the party shall be acquitted; and the jury shall have the right to determine the law and the fact....
18. The people have the right freely to assemble together, to consult for the common good, to make known their opinions to their representatives, and to petition for redress of grievances.
19. Persons in private employment shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively. Persons in public employment shall have the right to organize, present to and make known to the State, or any of its political subdivisions or agencies, their grievances and proposals through representatives of their own choosing.

20. Private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation. Individuals or private corporations shall not be authorized to take private property for public use without just compensation first made to the owners....

ARTICLE IV

LEGISLATIVE

Section I

1. The legislative power shall be vested in a Senate and General Assembly....

Section II

1. The Senate shall be composed of one Senator from each county, elected by the legally qualified voters of the county, for a term beginning at noon of the second Tuesday in January next following his election and ending at noon of the second Tuesday in January four years thereafter....

Section III

1. The General Assembly shall be composed of members elected biennially by the legally qualified voters of the counties, respectively, for terms beginning at noon of the second Tuesday in January next following the election and ending at noon of the second Tuesday in January two years thereafter. The members of the General Assembly shall be apportioned among the several counties as nearly as may be according to the number of their inhabitants, but each county shall at all times be entitled to one member and the whole number of members shall never exceed sixty....

Section VI

2. The Legislature may enact general laws under which municipalities, other than counties, may adopt zoning ordinances limiting and restricting to specified districts and regulating therein, buildings and structures, according to their construction, and the nature and extent of their use, and the nature and extent of the uses of land, and the exercise of such authority shall be deemed to be within the police power of the State. Such laws shall be subject to repeal or alteration by the Legislature....

ARTICLE V

EXECUTIVE

Section I

1. The executive power shall be vested in a Governor....

ARTICLE VI

JUDICIAL

Section I

1. The judicial power shall be vested in a Supreme Court, a Superior Court, County Courts and inferior courts of limited jurisdiction....

Section VI

1. The Governor shall nominate and appoint, with the advice and consent of the Senate, the Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court...

3. The Justices of the Supreme Court and the Judges of the Superior Court shall hold their offices for initial terms of seven years and upon reappointment shall hold their offices during good behavior....

ARTICLE VIII

TAXATION AND FINANCE

Section I

1. Property shall be assessed for taxation under general laws and by uniform rules. All real property assessed and taxed locally or by the State for allotment and payment to taxing districts shall be assessed according to the same standard of value, and such real property shall be taxed at the general tax rate of the taxing district in which the property is situated, for the use of such taxing district....

Section IV

1. The Legislature shall provide for the maintenance and support of a thorough and efficient system of free public schools for the instruction of all the children in the State between the ages of five and eighteen years....

3. The Legislature may, within reasonable limitations as to distance to be prescribed, provide for the transportation of children within the ages of five to eighteen years inclusive to and from any school.

ARTICLE X

GENERAL PROVISIONS

...

4. Wherever in this Constitution the term “person”, “persons”, “people” or any personal pronoun is used, the same shall be taken to include both sexes....

Done in Convention, at Rutgers University, the State University of New Jersey, in New Brunswick, on the tenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the one hundred and seventy-second.

SCHOOL AID FORMULA VOIDED: COURT ALLOWS A YEAR FOR CHANGE

By Kathy Barrett Carter

The New Jersey Supreme Court declared in a landmark ruling yesterday that the state's system of financing education is unconstitutional as applied to the 28 poorest school districts and the 265 richest.

The 7-0 ruling in the case known as *Abbott v. Burke* gives the Legislature a year to come up with a plan that eliminates minimum aid and raises spending in the 28 districts to the average amount spent in the state's wealthiest districts.

The case is named for Raymond Abbott, who was a 12-year-old Camden schoolboy at the time the suit was filed, and Fred Burke, then the state education commissioner. Now 21, Abbott has just finished serving time in a Suffolk County, N.Y., prison on burglary charges and is awaiting sentencing in Camden County Jail for a probation violation. Burke is a professor at the University of Connecticut in Storrs.

With their decision, the justices struck down as unconstitutional minimum state aid to wealthy districts, paving the way for that money, which totaled \$148.4 million in the 1989-90 school year, to be cut off. According to Molly Rowley, a spokeswoman for the state Education Department, 265 of the 611 school districts receive minimum aid.

The court said the sole function of minimum aid "is to enable richer districts to spend even more, thereby increasing the disparity of educational funding between richer and poorer."

Effective with the 1991-92 school year, the court said, minimum aid is unconstitutional. However, the court said if the Legislature adopted a new funding system and provided for a phase-in of the new with a phase-out of the old, minimum aid may be eliminated in accordance with that timetable.

The court said that while it could not conclude that the funding law is unconstitutional as applied across the board to the overwhelming majority of school districts, for the 28 poorest it is.

"Whatever the cause, these school districts are failing abysmally, dramatically and tragically," said Chief Justice Robert Wilentz in a 156-page decision. While he acknowledged that money is not a cure-all, he said many of the disparities between the poorest districts and the wealthiest are traceable to the lack of funding.

Close to 200,000 schoolchildren in districts such as Newark, East Orange, Trenton, Paterson, Keansburg, Perth Amboy, Phillipsburg, New Brunswick, Jersey City, Asbury Park and Camden are expected to benefit from the ruling.

The justices said if the changes they proposed had been adopted in the 1989-90 school year, it would have cost the state approximately \$440 million more.

"We find that under the present system the evidence compels but one conclusion. The poorer the district and the greater the need, the less the money available and the worse the education. That system is neither thorough nor efficient," Wilentz said.

Referring to those districts, Wilentz declared:

"Education has failed there, for both the students and the state. We hold the act must be amended to assure funding of education in poorer urban districts at the level of property-rich districts, that such

funding cannot be allowed to depend on the ability of local school districts to tax, that such funding must be guaranteed and mandated by the state and that the level of funding must also be adequate to provide for the special educational needs of these poorer urban districts in order to redress their extreme disadvantages.”

Outgoing Education Commissioner Saul Cooperman, who has steadfastly defended the current education formula, acknowledged yesterday that there are disparities in educational spending but said, “Leadership is and will be the critical factor in effecting substantial, far-reaching educational improvement.”

Although the ruling did not bring the sweeping changes some advocates had originally called for, most of those who had sought to have the funding formula for state education aid declared unconstitutional hailed yesterday’s ruling.

Public Advocate Wilfred Caraballo said, “There is nothing more critical for the future of our state and our nation than the education of our children. The promise of the future for many of our urban children has never been realized because of the disparities in funding and programs declared unconstitutional by the court today.”...

The court case which led to yesterday’s decision was brought nearly a decade ago by Marilyn Morheuser of the Education Law Center of Newark on behalf of 20 schoolchildren from Irvington, Camden, East Orange and Jersey City.

Morheuser had argued that New Jersey relies too heavily on property taxes to finance public schools, creating a system that exacerbates the disparities between the poorest districts and the richest ones. She contended that the situation, which has worsened in recent years, deprives children from property-poor districts of the “thorough and efficient” education that the state constitution requires.

After eight months of hearings, Administrative Law Judge Steven Lefelt agreed that the state’s school financing formula was unconstitutional. In a 6–7-page decision, he said there was a wide gulf between the educational opportunities available to city kids and those available to suburban students.

Yesterday, the court highlighted those disparities. The justices said the education offered to students in some of the poorer districts is “tragically inadequate.”

For example, in Princeton there is one computer for every eight students, while 43 students in East Orange share a single computer and in Camden 58 students must share one computer.

Urban schools offer science in buildings constructed in the 1920s and 1930s, where sinks don’t work, microscopes are unavailable, and hands-on investigative techniques cannot be taught, the court said. For example, in East Orange middle school teachers wheel a science cart into a 3 by 6 foot science area for instruction, the court noted.

The courts said that since the Legislature adopted the school financing law in the early 1970s—a measure designed to remedy the disparities—the gap between rich and poor districts has grown.

Before the 1971–72 school year, the spread between the lowest and highest spending districts was \$800 per pupil. The poorest districts were spending \$700 per pupil while the wealthiest were spending \$1,500. By the 1984–85 school year, the gap in per pupil spending exceeded \$2,000, the courts said.

While the disparity alone is not unconstitutional, the court said, it is undeniable that children in the poorest districts, often with the greatest needs, are not receiving the kind of education that will equip

them “to fulfill their roles as citizens and competitors in the market.”

Acknowledging the view advanced by the state, Wilentz said, “...funding alone will not achieve the constitutional mandate of an equal education in these poorer urban districts; that without educational reform, the money may accomplish nothing and that in these districts, substantial, far-reaching change in education is absolutely essential to success.”

But he added, “We reject the argument, however, that funding should not be supplied because it may be mismanaged and wasted.”

“Money can make a difference if effectively used; it can provide the students with an equal educational opportunity, a change to succeed.”

Newark Star-Ledger, June 6, 1990

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\$125 MILLION HOUSING SUBSIDY VOTED TO HELP FUND MT. LAUREL MANDATE

by Dan Weisman

The Assembly yesterday gave final approval to a bill that could end a decade of debate and court fights on the issue of opening the suburbs to low- and moderate-income housing development.

By a 44–30 vote the Assembly approved and sent to Gov. Thomas Kean a \$125 million housing bill (S–2046) designed to help finance housing construction and programs to reduce housing costs.

The action took less than 20 minutes and involved little debate. The Senate had followed a similar course on Monday. The quick approval of the housing measure that had been revised to meet terms and conditions set by the Governor in a conditional veto message represents a clear victory for Kean.

It marks the first time in the debate over housing that a program called for by any governor has achieved final approval in the Legislature. The housing bill was drafted in response to the state Supreme Court's Mt. Laurel decisions, which said that all municipalities must adopt zoning ordinances that allow for the construction of low- and moderate-income housing.

Carl Golden, Kean's press secretary, said there is not question that the Governor will sign the program. "The bill has his conditional veto and the Legislature went along with it and he has to sign it in 10 days."

In related action, the Assembly and Senate approved and sent to the Governor a companion bill (A–3117) that would dedicate \$3 million of the realty transfer tax to a neighborhood improvement program. The Assembly vote was 49–23 and the Senate vote 28–8.

But the Democrats, who gave only minimal support to the housing bill that had been altered by the Governor, defeated an attempt by the Republican minority to force a floor vote on a proposed constitutional amendment that would have asked the voters to determine if they wanted to change the Constitution to put limits on the court's future role in housing cases.

The move was rejected by a 39–33 vote, with 41 votes needed for passage.

None of the Democratic leadership supported the Governor's conditional veto on the housing legislation. The vast majority of votes came from Republicans who all rejected the original version of the legislation sent to Kean by the Democratic majority.

"In my judgment, the bill we sent to the Governor was a better bill," said Assembly Housing and Urban Committee Chairman David Schwartz (D-Middlesex), one of only 11 Democrats voting to concur in the Governor's veto.

"But I urge concurrence because this bill is better than no bill, better than court domination. It is the only game in town."

Schwartz complained that the bond funds Kean proposed to finance the housing plans are not enough. "But they are some dollars where none were earmarked before," he said.

And, the Middlesex Democrat said, if additional money is needed in the future, the state could amend the legislation.

The thrust of both housing programs is to provide a means of dealing with the court demands without the pressure of the court-imposed “builder’s remedy” formula. Under it, the courts have authorized developers to build housing in greater density and in areas of municipalities that previously had been zoned to prevent such cluster homes. The courts have agreed to builders’ plans provided 20 percent of the development is designed for low- and moderate-income families. The 80 percent of more expensive homes would help subsidize the lower-cost homes.

“The municipalities feel swamped,” said Schwartz. He said the impact of the builder’s remedy has been imposition of rulings to force construction of thousands of units in sparsely populated municipalities. He said that occurs because towns settle cases brought by developers before the three judges assigned to hear all housing cases.

In his conditional veto, Kean called for a \$125 million low- and moderate-income housing program, operated through the Housing and Mortgage Finance Agency, “rather than set up a new housing funding mechanism” through a Housing Trust Fund proposed in the original measure.

Both versions call for a one-year moratorium on further court rulings on the 135 pending low- and moderate-income housing cases generated as a result of the high court declaration that access to affordable housing is a constitutional right that cannot be denied by restrictive zoning.

Under the revised bill, a special Affordable Housing Council will be formed to determine the overall need for low- and moderate-cost housing in the suburbs. The original estimate, however, will be based on calculations made by towns on the basis of expected population growth and projected industrial development.

One of the major changes made by Kean would allow the municipalities taking part in the program to work out arrangements with neighboring urban areas to transfer up to half of their housing obligation. The original bill limited the transfer provision to one-third of the housing.

The Democratic plan that Kean vetoed had proposed an initial \$25 million state appropriation and annual spending of \$100 million in the future to subsidize suburban housing.

Kean also called for a revision of a Democratic plan to dedicate the entire proceeds of the realty transfer tax, projected at some \$38 million a year, to support of a housing subsidy program. Kean changed the program to limit the dedication to \$8 million. But Schwartz, who supported the change, said the state still would provide for the construction of 45,000 housing units in the cities over the next 10 years.

“The Governor’s change merely surrounds the cities. This is the epitome of plantation politics,” charged Assemblyman Wayne Bryant (D–Camden), sponsor of the Assembly version of the housing legislation Kean conditionally vetoed.

“Great,” said William Dressel, executive director of the League of Municipalities, which has been supportive of virtually all versions of the housing legislation produced in the last two years.

“It’s a long-awaited legislative responsibility and is a step in the right direction of taking the courts out of making decisions on housing allocations.”

Kevork S. Hovnanian, who heads a company actively involved in the construction of so-called Mt. Laurel-type housing, said if terms of the new bill are enforced—especially the one-year moratorium on court decisions—only the projects now “in the pipeline will be processed.”

“We are going to see a housing shortage like we never saw before because the municipalities are going

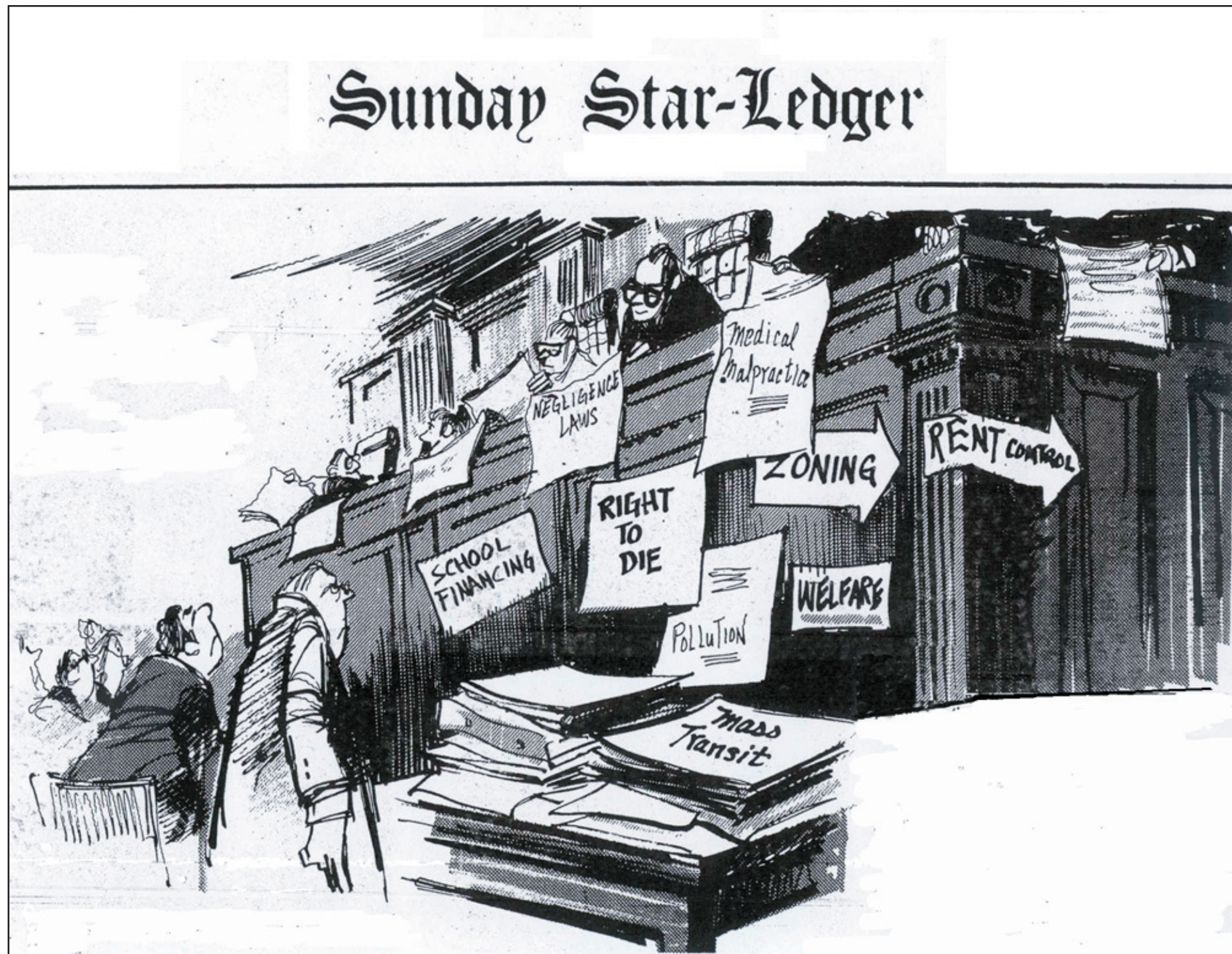
to adhere to the policies they followed before the court decision,” Hovnanian warned.

Despite his complaints, Hovnanian said he would “meet with other powers that be” to discuss the next step. “But I don’t think the answer is to challenge and go to court. We have to find an avenue to keep housing New Jersey residents.”

Newark Star-Ledger, June 28, 1985

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POLITICAL CARTOON



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