Historical Geography of Southern New Jersey as Related to Its Colonial Ports.

Roger Thomas Trindell

Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College

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HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF SOUTHERN NEW JERSEY AS RELATED TO ITS COLONIAL PORTS,

Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, Ph.L., 1966
Geography

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HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF SOUTHERN NEW JERSEY
AS RELATED TO ITS COLONIAL PORTS

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of Geography and Anthropology

by

Roger Thomas Trindell
B.A., Montclair State College, 1958
M.A., University of Colorado, 1960
August 1966
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ABSTRACT

This dissertation in historical geography is concerned with reconstructing the cultural landscape of colonial southern New Jersey as related to the development of its maritime ports and their significance in the colonial geography of the Atlantic Seaboard. The study area centers about these ports and their navigable streams which connected them with Delaware Bay; specifically, Salem and Salem Creek, Greenwich and Cohansey River, as well as a number of lesser places on the Maurice River and Alloway and Dennis Creeks.

Initial patterns of settlement and land use were established by the Dutch who, in addition to exploiting timber and fur resources, introduced European plants and animals, architectural styles, and toponyms. However, the Dutch contributed little to the development of maritime trade, as only small and infrequent cargoes entered and cleared the Delaware colony and no central collecting-distributing centers were established.

With the arrival of Swedes and Finns the importance of the Dutch waned, and the lower reaches of the river and bay became a New Sweden colony. Additional plants and animals and toponyms were introduced, and the Swedes-Finns were the first to bring techniques of horizontal log-house construction to the Eastern Seaboard. More populous and vigorous than the Dutch colony, New Sweden was considerably involved in maritime trade, including the building of ships. However,
this activity by the Dutch and the Swedes-Finns was but preparatory to the major developments brought about by the coming of the English.

From the first, the English settlements were focused on the many streams which emptied into the Delaware. Agriculture was the major pursuit and the landscape was one of individual and dispersed farmsteads of variable size. Food surpluses and an abundance of timber led, quite expectedly, to the establishment of maritime ports. A favorable situation near the mouth of a large estuary between the northern and southern colonies enabled the region to become, by mid-eighteenth century, an important part of the Middle Colonial breadbasket.

Custom Records were poorly kept and often in error, but several newly discovered sources in addition to the well-known Customs 16/1 were used to provide insights into the character and nature of port activity in south Jersey. The coasting trade was the most important and south Jersey bottoms sailed to all the colonies, but especially to the West Indies where agricultural supplies were exchanged for sugar and rum.

After 1750 changing conditions of time and place resulted in a slackening trade for the smaller ports in favor of the large, interior collecting center of Philadelphia, and agricultural and wood products from southern New Jersey moved more directly to that port city. An examination of Customs 16/1 and the newly used sources -- CO 5/1448, 1449, and 1450 -- proves that a large percentage of agricultural and wood products exported from Philadelphia were obtained elsewhere, most certainly from south Jersey and areas to the south which were not contiguously part of Philadelphia's hinterland.
Attempts to revitalize the maritime traffic of the south Jersey ports after the disruptive Revolutionary War were unsuccessful. Geographical, historical, and technological factors combined and interrelated to bring about the seemingly inevitable conclusion. Regardless, the colonial ports of southern New Jersey were of much greater importance during the colonial period than has generally been assumed, contributing heavily to the development of the port of Philadelphia, the Delaware Valley, and the prominence of the Middle Colonies as the colonial breadbasket.
INTRODUCTION

This study in historical geography attempts to reconstruct and trace the development and evolution of the colonial cultural landscape of southern New Jersey. More specifically, however, the study is concerned with the colonial ports of that section of New Jersey fronting primarily on Delaware Bay and the role that they played in the colonial geography of the Atlantic Seaboard, particularly in the culturally and historically important Middle Colonies.

Quite enough, it seems, has been written about the nature of historical geography so as to make any lengthy discussion unnecessary. It should suffice to note that the two major approaches to historical geographical studies are 1) evolutionary, a study of changes through time; oftentimes referred to as "sequent occupancy," and 2) the study of one particular period in the past. This study, however, purports to combine some aspects of both approaches. In part it is evolutionary in order to comprehend the processes of cultural growth which brought the landscape into being, but additionally, and more importantly, the study is concerned with a particular stage during which time the colonial ports of the region were most active. Temporally, the study covers the entire colonial period from the first European settlements until the

---

American Revolution. The study begins, however, with a "view of the land" as seen through the eyes of the first explorers, early visitors, and settlers.

The study of south Jersey and its colonial ports was selected for a variety of reasons, not the least of which was the feeling that the area in question is somewhat of a micro-culture region. Its cultural-historical development, the backgrounds of the settlers and their economies, and the association of a number of cultural elements all seem to be united in a rather unique and distinctive combination.

Perhaps legitimately then, for the same reasons, the study area could have been expanded, particularly up the Delaware River. The decision to ignore the colonial ports and their hinterlands above Salem (chiefly Burlington) was made because it was felt that their nearness to the port and metropolis of Philadelphia resulted in their subordinate position, overwhelming dependence, and ultimate identification with that place; and it was the writer's desire to indicate the role played by the relatively isolated and independent smaller ports and their hinterlands south of that large and well-studied Philadelphia port. Moreover, the study area, by-passed by the modern New Jersey

\[\text{\cite{Hanna1917}}\]
\[\text{\footnotesize One writer (Mary A. Hanna, "Trade of the Delaware District Before the Revolution," Smith College Studies in History, Vol. II [1917], p. 243), apparently enamoured with the dominating role of the colonial port of Philadelphia, said, "There was no port in the Province [New Jersey] which had a very extensive trade."}\]

\[\text{\footnotesize The most recent and perhaps the best comprehensive study of the port is Arthur L. Jensen, The Maritime Commerce of Colonial Philadelphia, (Madison, Wisconsin: The State Historical Society, 1963), Pp. viii + 312.}\]
Turnpike on the west and the Garden State Parkway on the east, proved to be a good one in terms of the number of cultural relics remaining largely undisturbed.

Southern New Jersey ports on the Atlantic Ocean, most notably the Great Egg and Little Egg Harbor districts, have had a considerably different development, evolution, and economic basis and were not considered for those reasons.

Field work was carried on during the summers of 1962, 1963, and 1964. Archival research was conducted almost continuously from 1962 until mid-1965.

In conclusion, it is my hope that this study will make some contribution to the better understanding of a much neglected area of study -- the cultural-historical geography of the Eastern Seaboard of the United States.
CHAPTER I

A VIEW OF THE LAND

Of all the important coastal stretches of the eastern United States, the Delaware Bay region was the last to be explored and settled. Despite this undeniable fact, this development was not the result of any recognizable differences in the physical landscape of the area, which is a part of a rather flat, gently sloping, coastal plain, extending almost the entire length of the Eastern Seaboard. As a matter of fact, in many ways the physical attributes of the Delaware Bay might be considered superior to other sections of the coastal plain. Nevertheless, at the time of Delaware exploration

\[1\]

In historical geography, more than perhaps in any other field of geography, it would seem necessary to see the environment through the eyes of the earliest visitors, for after all, the value and potentialities of the environment are obtained from what individuals thought it to be at a given time. Of course, there is some danger in placing complete reliance upon the accounts of the early visitors to the New World. They undoubtedly often sent back glowing reports in order to impress their Old World audience. Nevertheless, their accounts do afford significant insights into early views of the landscape, and if interspersed with comments and observations of more recent knowledge, their observations will become more meaningful and understandable. Further, this may help separate false impressions from fact.

The American historical geographer, Ralph H. Brown, in his book Mirror for Americans (New York: American Geographical Society, Special Publication No. 27, 1943, Pp. 312.), attempted just such a reconstruction by writing about colonial America through the eyes of a fictitious contemporary, Thomas Pownall Keystone. Unfortunately, Brown's knowledgeable insights as a twentieth century geographer were not made a part of the book, an omission which would probably have made it an even more worthwhile contribution to the historical geographical literature.

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and settlement, there were already distinct and permanent areas of settlement north and south of the Delaware estuary.²

THE BAY AND RIVER

The first European to set eyes upon the Delaware Bay scene was probably Henry Hudson.³ Sailing in the employ of the Dutch East India Company, Hudson was seeking a northwest passage around North America to the East Indies. He and his crew first encountered Delaware Bay in late August of 1609. An officer of the Half Moon, Robert Juet, wrote in his journal:

The eight and twentieth, faire and hot weather, the winde at South South-west. In the morning at sixe of the clocke wee weighed, and steered away North twelve leagues till noone, and came to the Point of the Land [Cape Henlopen]; and being hard by the Land in five fathomes, on a sudden wee came into

²Originally, the London Company was given the right to settle between the 34th and 41st degrees of north latitude, and the Plymouth Company was given the right to settle between the 38th and the 45th degrees. In the overlapping territory between 38 and 41 degrees, the two companies were to maintain a neutral zone and were not to establish colonies within one hundred miles of one another. In 1609, and again in 1620, the grants were somewhat modified. Regardless, actual settlement prior to 1620 was limited to Virginia and New England. Between these two settlement areas, of course, lay the Hudson and Delaware River systems, the future New Netherland and New Sweden colonies.

three fathomes; then we beare up and had but ten foote water, and joyned to the Point. Then as soone as wee were over, we had five, sixe, seven, eight, nine, ten, twelve, and thirteen fathomes. Then wee found the Land to trend away North-west; with a great Bay and Rivers [Delaware Bay]. But the Bay wee found shoal; and in the offing wee had ten fathomes, and had sight of Breaches and drie Sand. Then wee were forced to stand backe againe; so we stood backe South-east by South, three leagues. And at seven of the clocke wee Anchored in eight fathomes water; and found a Tide set to the North-west, and North North-west, and it riseth one fathome, and floweth South South-east. And hee that will thoroughly Discover this great Bay, must have a small Pinnasse, that must draw but foure or five foote water, to sound before him. At five in the morning wee weighed, and steered away to the South-east. So wee had two, three, foure, five, sixe, and seven fathomes, and so deeper and deeper.

Juet and Hudson were undoubtedly aware that this was not the "much-sought" Northwest Passage. The description of the nature of the estuary, however, was most observant, for shallow water depths and shifting sand bars hinder navigation to this very day.

Originating in the Catskill Mountains of New York State, the Delaware River flows down a fairly steep gradient before crossing the gently dipping Coastal Plain to empty into the broad estuary of the bay, forming the boundary between the lower portion of the present states of New Jersey and Delaware (Plate I). The low gradient of the outer edge of the Coastal Plain, averaging less than five or six feet per mile, causes the deposition of material and the formation of

---

4Robert Juet, "The Third Voyage of Master Henrie Hudson...," reprinted in Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes, by Samuel Purchas (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1906), XIII, pp.359-360.

5At its widest point, the distance from Cape Henlopen to Cape May is ten miles.

flats, bars, and shoals. Despite the fact that tides extend far inland, reaching, for example, as far as Trenton on the Delaware, Sharptown on Salem Creek, Bridgeton on Cohansey Creek, and Millville on Maurice River, tidal scour is apparently not sufficient to completely clean out the basin mouth. A recent description of the estuary by the United States Army Corps of Engineers indicates that conditions have obviously not changed much since colonial times:

"Delaware Bay has a deep and broad entrance, and no offshore bars obstruct navigation. Above the entrance gorge the bay is generally filled with long streamer shoals, between which lie the deep navigated channels."^7

In addition to the unfavorable, but accurate, comments regarding the shoals in the mouth of the bay, many of the early observers noted quite favorably other navigational aspects of the bay.®

Glossing over the dangerous shoals and bars, "... dangerous for inexperienced navigators, but not so for those who are acquainted with the channels," the authors of "The Representation of New Netherland" continue by writing:

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® The Worlidge map, Plate VII, with its display of "shoals" and "bars," indicates the early interest in the navigational aspects of the bay.
This bay and river are compared by its admirers with the river Amazon, that is, by such of them as have seen both; it is by everyone considered one of the most beautiful, and the best and pleasantest rivers in the world of itself and as regards its surroundings. Fourteen streams empty into this river, the least of them navigable for two or three leagues; and on both sides there are tolerably level lands of great extent.9

Pehr Lindeström, geographer and engineer of the New Sweden Company, remarked even further by writing in his Geographica Americae that "On the sides of the South River10 are found some remarkable creeks and large brooks, which we can navigate with sloops a considerable distance up into the country."11

Captain Thomas Yong, an Englishman searching for the Northwest Passage, sailed into Delaware Bay and River in 1634 and observed that "The river is broad and deepe, and is not inferior to any in the


10The Dutch generally referred to the Delaware River as the South River (Svydt Rivier) in order to differentiate it from the North (Noordt Rivier), or Hudson, River.


According to the Coastal Pilot records of 1904, the Cohanseay was navigable at high tide for ships of eight-foot-draft to Bridgeton, of seven-foot-draft to Quinton on Alloway Creek, of nine-foot-draft to Millville on the Maurice and to Salem on Salem Creek, and eight-foot-draft could be taken into Stow Creek to Hancock's Bridge (U. S. Department of Commerce, "Atlantic Coast," U. S. Coast Pilot, Coast and Geodetic Survey 3rd ed; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), Part V, pp. 63, 79, 80, and 81). From the records it is doubtful if any serious dredging attempts had been made prior to 1904 to materially alter the more "natural" conditions, although silting in the streams has possibly increased since white settlement.
North of America, and a ship of 300 Tonnes may sail up within three leagues of the rockes [Trenton Falls]."  

Other "views of the land" were not so systematic as the preceding descriptions of the bay and its navigability, but were more general in scope, covering a greater variety of topics concerning the physical landscape. A typical example was the summation of a Dutch navigator, David Pieterszoon De Vries, who first visited the Delaware in 1632. After ascending the river possibly as far as present Chester, Pennsylvania, De Vries recorded:


13Although the list of early explorers of the Delaware is rather lengthy, including such names as Sir Samuel Argall, the Englishman, and Dutch sea captains Cornelius Hendricksen, Cornelius Jacobsen May, and Adrian Block, their descriptive contributions are either negligible or lost. Accounts of the activities of Argall and Hendricksen are found in the following: "The Voyage of Captaine Samuel Argal," in Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus*, XIX, pp. 73-84; and "Captain Hendricksen's Report of his Discoveries in New Netherland-August 1616," *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, ed. E.B. O'Callaghan (Albany, New York: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1856), I, pp. 13-14. Hereafter referred to as O'Callaghan, *Documents*.


Argall apparently named both the southerly cape, "Cape La Warre" (now Cape Henlopen), and the "great Bay," "De la Warre Bay," after his employer, Baron de la Warr, the Governor of Virginia. On some early Dutch maps, May's name was applied as a designation for the bay, "Nieuw Port May." His name remains today as the appellation for the northern cape.

14De Vries revisited the area in 1643.
This is a very fine river, and the land all beautifully level, full of groves of oak, hickory, ash, and chestnut trees, and also vines which grow upon the trees. The river has a great plenty of fish, the same as those in our fatherland, perch, roach, pike, sturgeon, and similar fish. Along the sea-coast are codfish, the different kinds of fish which are in our fatherland, and others. After we had taken in some ballast, we fished with our seines, and caught in one draught as many as thirty men could eat of perch, roach, and pike.  

VEGETATION COVER

De Vries' description leaves the erroneous impression that the vegetation cover of the Eastern Seaboard was largely natural and undisturbed. Although the density of the forest was noted by some early observers, it was certainly not natural or undisturbed. Yong, writing in 1634, noted that "The earth being fruitful is covered over with woods and stately timber, except only in those places, where the Indians had planted their corn."  

The Indian practice of firing the land, however, produced an additional, and more serious, disturbance of the vegetation. Only a

15David De Vries, "From the 'Korte Historiae1 Ende Journaels Aenteyckeninge,' (Short Historical and Journal-Notes) by David Pietersa. De Vries, 1630-1633, 1643 (1655)," in Myers, Narratives, p. 25.

16Traveller Isaac Weld, as late as 1795, reported that "The shores of the bay and of the river Delaware, for a very considerable distance upwards, are low; and they are covered, like the coast, with one vast forest, excepting merely in a few places, where extensive marshes intervene" (Travels Through the States of North America and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada from 1795, 1796, 1797, 4th ed.; London: John Stockdale, 1807), I, p. 4).

17Yong in Myers, Narratives, p. 48.

few days journey away from Delaware Bay, Juet reports seeing a "great Fire," and the very day before sailing into the bay in 1632, De Vries wrote in his notes:

The 2d [December, 1632], threw the lead in fourteen fathoms, sandy bottom, and smelt the land, which gave a sweet perfume, as the wind came from the north-west, which blew off land, and caused these sweet odors. This comes from the Indian setting fire, at this time of year, to the woods and thickets, in order to hunt...."20

Sailing along the east coast in 1524, Verazzano saw "everywhere a multitude of fires."21

Regardless, or perhaps in spite of the Indian's effect upon the vegetation,22 trees were quite plentiful and their usefulness was early realized and recorded as a natural resource of outstanding value. De Vries, writing again in 1632, noted that "Sand-hills are seen from the thirty-fourth to the fortieth degree, and the hills

20 De Vries in Myers, Narratives, p. 15.
22 From reading the many accounts of the early explorers and settlers, one gets the impression that although Indians were certainly present in the area their numbers were not very great. Permanent settlements seemed not too common in the immediate vicinity, and it is likely that the Indians visited the area intermittently, on a periodic or seasonal basis. Alfred L. Kroeber estimated the native Delaware Indian population at 4,000 (Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America, [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963], p. 171). In an earlier study, James Mooney estimated the population of Delaware Tribes at approximately 8,000 in 1600 ("The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico," Smithsonian Institute Miscellaneous Collection, LXXX, No. 7 [February 1928], p. 4).
rise up full of pine-trees, which would serve as masts for ships.\textsuperscript{23} Lindeström regarded the trees as "exceedingly large in height and thickness, from which planks and excellent material can be sawed and exported....\textsuperscript{24}

Quite obviously the plant associations seen in the area today are not identical to those which the Europeans first encountered. However, reconstruction of the vegetation indicates that it was quite similar to that found today. These associations include the oak-pine-chestnut\textsuperscript{25} and the pine-oak (Plate II).\textsuperscript{26} Important species are the post white oak (\textit{Quercus stellata}), red oak (\textit{Quercus borealis}), white oak (\textit{Quercus alba}), black oak (\textit{Quercus velutina}), and shortleaf pine (\textit{Pinus echinata}); while the pitch pine (\textit{Pinus rigida}) predominates in the pine-oak forest, or Pine Barrens as it is commonly called. Also found are such southern species as sweet gum (\textit{Liquidambar styraciflua}) and magnolia, or sweetbay (\textit{Magnolia virginiana}), in association

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{De Vries} De Vries, \textit{loc. cit.}\textsuperscript{23}
\bibitem{Lindeström} Lindeström, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 177.\textsuperscript{24}
\bibitem{Chestnut} The chestnut (\textit{Castanea dentata}), which grew predominately on the uplands, is no longer important due to a fungus disease which struck the tree in the early 1900's.\textsuperscript{25}
\end{thebibliography}
SOUTHERN NEW JERSEY VEGETATION

- Forested Lands
- Cedar Swamps
- Maritime Marshes
with the Atlantic white cedar (Chamaecyparis thyoides); the latter occurring quite extensively in the original forest, often in pure stands, in the numerous swamps of the low-lying coastal plain. The red maple (Acer rubrum) and gray birch (Betula populifolia) are also frequently associated with the Atlantic white cedar.

Although we may err in assuming that the early explorers and travellers were expert in plant identification, or that their observations were infallible, early records of these observers would seem to substantiate this reconstruction of the early vegetation. Lindeström, writing of forest conditions in 1654-55, indicated that the trees which "exist in great abundance" are "oak of white, red, yellow and brown color...walnut trees, chestnut trees, fish trees [probably the gum tree] which smell like raw fish and do not burn well and can not be split...mulberry trees, plum trees, sassafras trees, crab-apples, bullace tree, linden, birches, spruces, juniper, alder...."

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29 Ibid., p. 30.

30 However, as Carl O. Sauer has indicated ("The Settlement of the Humid East," Climate and Man: Yearbook of Agriculture, 1941, U.S. Department of Agriculture [Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941], p. 159), "In most cases, the colonists were at no loss to identify the native plants and animals which they found on the western side of the Atlantic. It would be impossible, indeed, to cross an ocean anywhere else and find as little that is unfamiliar in nature on the opposite side."

31 Lindeström, op. cit., pp. 177 and 178.
A further, and perhaps more authoritative, indication of vegetative conditions comes from the initial survey records of the area. In the metes and bounds method of laying off land in southern New Jersey, frequent mention is made of the "white oak," "black oak," "gum tree," "hickory," "cherry," "red oaks," "cedar swamps," "pine tree" as one or more of the landmarks for property lines.

This obvious familiarity with the vegetation by the first explorers and settlers was undoubtedly encouraging and provided future impetus for the initiation of certain economies based upon its exploitation. As De Vries and Lindeström intimated, this coastal forest was simply awaiting the axe and the saw.

An important exception to the "dense" forest cover was a zone of salt and brackish-water marshes. Flanking the forest on the bay side and extending nearly continuously from Salem Creek midway down the west side of Cape May County (Plate II), these marshes and their surrounding tidal flats formed a rather intricate arrangement of ponds, bays, and creeks separated by salt meadows. Lindeström wrote, "... there are found at Oydsessingh [district around Salem] lands which are at some places one-half and two miles in width from the edge of the river to the forest...." Writing somewhat later, Thomas Budd referred to the fact that:

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32 Council of Proprietors of the Western Division of New Jersey, Minutes and Surveys, 1681-1952, (14 reels, microfilm, Special Collections, Rutgers University), passim.
33 Shelford, op. cit., p. 63.
34 Lindeström, op. cit., p. 157.
...on the River and Cricks are great quantities of rich fat Marsh Land, which causeth those parts, to some fresh People, to be somewhat unhealthful in the latter part of the Summer, at which time some of them have Agues: Also in and near these Marshes, are small Flies called Musketoes, which are troublesome to such People as are not used to them....

SOIL

The fertility of the soil was considered self-evident from the forested vegetation which it supported. Thus, early writers paid little attention to actual soil properties. Lindström, however, did consider the soil "quite light, mixed with black earth and sand." Yong thought the "soyle" sandy. And even the experienced Kalm considered it "sandy and very poor." Budd, although not mentioning soils directly, considered the lands "for the most part very rich."

Obviously a difference of opinion existed concerning the fertility or infertility of the soil; but, in fact, both expressions are correct, for the region is composed of two general soil zones. These two zones are closely related to the "inner" and "outer" Coastal

35Good Order Established in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, reprinted from the original edition of 1685, introduction and notes by Frederick J. Shepard (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company, 1902), pp. 29-30.

36Lindestrom, loc. cit.

37Yong in Myers, Narratives, p. 48.

38Pehr Kalm, The America of 1750; Peter Kalm's Travels in North America: The English version of 1770, revised from the original Swedish and edited by Adolph B. Benson...with a translation of new material from Kalm's diary notes... (New York: Wilson Erickson, Inc., 1937), I, p. 175.

39Budd, op. cit., p. 29.
Plain provinces (Plate III).\textsuperscript{40} Materials occupying the outer coastal plain are predominately sand, generally lacking in fertility, moreover, swamps and marshes are more extensive in this area than in the other. Contrariwise, soils of the inner division are more noted for their fertility, being formed of alternating layers of clay, sand, and greensand marls.\textsuperscript{41}

Thus, for the most part, soils in the vicinity of Salem Creek, Stow Creek and Cohansy River are fairly productive, medium-textured silts and clays, fairly well drained; soils east of the Cohansy become lighter and sandier, and east of the Maurice are quite sandy and thought formerly to be quite useless for agricultural production.

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{40}The outer coastal plain deposits are of Tertiary age and are younger than the inner, or Cretaceous, deposits.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{41}Henry B. Kummel, "Geography of New Jersey," Archaeology of New Jersey, ed., Dorothy Cross (Trenton: New Jersey State Museum, 1941), I, p. 11. See also: Linwood L. Lee, "The Principal Soils of New Jersey and Their Utilization for Agriculture," New Jersey Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin, No. 569 (June 1934), pp. 7-8.

"Greensand marls" is the popular term for earth containing the mineral glauconite. It contains small amounts of potassium and sometimes lime-bearing shells. Physically, it has a high degree of cohesion and moisture retention. It was not generally exploited, however, until the early nineteenth century (Alfred M. Heston, South Jersey: A History, 1664-1924, New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1924, II, p. 938).}
ANIMAL LIFE

In contrast to the scanty observations of soil conditions, the abundant animal life in the landscape was well inventoried. In addition to the fish life already mentioned by De Vries, he reported several sightings of whale in the bay and up the river. His party also "Shot many wild turkeys, weighing from thirty to thirty-six pounds," and traded with the Indians for beaver skins. Yong stated, "The River aboundeth with beavers, otters, and other meaner furrs, which are not only taken upon the bankes of the mayne River, but likewise in other lesser rivers which discharge themselves into the greater...." Yong goes on to indicate that,

The Countrey is very well replenished, with deere and in some places store of Elkes. The low grounds of which there is great quantitie excellent for meadowes and full of Beaver and Otter. The quantity of fowle is so great as can hardly be beleeved, wee tooke at one time 48 partriches together, as they crossed the river, chased by wild hawkes. I myselfe sprang in two houres 5 or 6 covies in walking of a mile. there are infinit number of wild pidgeons, black birds, Turkeyes, Swans, wild geese, ducks, Teales, widgins, brants, herons, cranes, etc. of which there is so great aboundance, as that the Rivers and creekes are covered with them in winter. Of fish heere is plentie, but especially sturgeon all the sommer time....

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42 De Vries in Myers, Narratives, pp. 15 and 18.
43 Ibid., p. 21.
44 Ibid., p. 22.
46 Yong in Myers, Narratives, p. 47.
Lineström presents an extensive listing of animals present in the area in 1654: bears, wild hogs, wolves, lynxes, polecats, wild cats, elks, raccoons, minks, beavers, otters, red deer, foxes, hares, squirrels, rattlesnakes, eagles, vultures, hawks, herons, quails, wild geese, wild turkeys, pigeons, sturgeon, shad, shrimps, lobsters, sea turtles, crabs, oysters, and catfish.  

Budd, again in 1685, writes:

The Bay and River of Delaware, and the Rivers and Cricks that runs into it, are plentifully stored with various sorts of good Fish and Water-Fowl, as Swans, Geese, Ducks, Wigeons, &c. And a considerable Whale-Fishery, may be carried on in the Bay of Delaware, and on the Sea-Coasts of New Jersey...

Writing in the same year, William Penn noted rather poetically that, "Mighty Whales roll upon the Coast, near the Mouth of the Bay and Delaware," and "Sturgeon play continually in our Rivers in Summer."

CLIMATE

Climatic conditions were undoubtedly little different from those existing today. However, it has been frequently pointed out that the prospective American colonist because of his lack of under-

\[\text{\textsuperscript{48}}\] Lineström, op. cit., pp. 185-189.
\[\text{\textsuperscript{49}}\] Budd, op. cit., p. 28.
\[\text{\textsuperscript{51}}\] Idem.
standing of meteorological processes thought that the climate of North America, owing to its more southerly latitude, would be a great deal more temperate than that of Northwest Europe. Although most colonists may have been ignorant of climatic controls, the more astute observer, once he arrived on the Delaware, noticed and commented upon the important climatic differences which existed in spite of the apparently favorable latitude.

For example, as early as 1698 Gabriel Thomas, a pioneer in Penn's colony, wrote in his "Historical and Geographical Account" that, "The Air is very Clear, Sweet and Wholesom; in the depth of Winter it is something colder, and as much hotter in the height of Summer than in England."^53

Lineström apparently experienced the extremes of the climate as revealed in the following:

They know nothing of autumn and spring there, for when winter sets in, it sets in mighty suddenly, so that if the ocean waves did not so forcibly agitate the water in the river, it would be covered with the thickest ice in about 3 or 4 nights. And when it thaws up, it breaks loose in all the kills and creeks suddenly, and in an astonishing manner, and floats away with the ebb towards the sea, like large mountains, with such an inexpressible cracking, rumble and din, like a continuous discharge of a great number of large guns. Then it immediately becomes warm summer, with such a heat that the colonists who plant are not able to do anything in the middle of the day, during the summer, and cannot wear any other clothes but linen clothes,


made quite wide, on account of the oppressive heat. Rain does not often fall there, but when it does, it is generally in connection with heavy thunder, that we hear and see the heavens with great horror, for when it thunders the whole heaven appears to be on fire, that nothing can be seen but flames of fire and smoke.

However, it is in a 1634 account (noticeably early in itself) by David De Vries that a detailed analysis is offered to explain the seemingly harsh climate. After finding his ship frozen-in while exploring the river near present Gloucester, New Jersey, he writes:

...no pilot or astrologer could conceive, that in a latitude from the thirty-eight and a half to the thirty-ninth, such rapid running rivers could freeze. Some maintain that it is because it lies so far west; others adduce other reasons; but I will tell how it can be, from experience and what I have seen, and that is thus: inland, stretching towards the north, there are high mountains, covered with snow, and the north and northwest winds blow over the land from these cold mountains, with a pure, clear air, which causes extreme cold and frost, such as is felt in Provence and Italy, which I have often experienced when I was at Genoa, when the wind blew over the land from the high mountains, making it as cold as in Holland. I have found by experience in all countries, during winter, that when the wind blows from the land, the hardest frost makes.55

The impression should not be left, however, that the climate of southern New Jersey is one of significant temperature extremes. Temperature conditions of this part of the state are relatively mild in both winter and summer because the region is nearly surrounded by the Delaware Bay and the Atlantic Ocean and fairly well removed from the influences of the major storm tracks that cross the Northeast United

54 Lindeström, op. cit., pp. 175-176.

Isotherm patterns in winter, especially, show a marked temperature gradient, being more widely spaced from southern New Jersey southward than they are from central New Jersey northward (Plate IV). Thus, southern New Jersey has winter temperatures more nearly like those of areas farther south. During the summer months, conditions are somewhat reversed and the temperature gradient is less steep, meaning that temperatures are closely akin to cooler areas to the north (Plate IV).

Pastorius, the Pennsylvania-German, in writing, "The air is clear and pleasant, the summer longer and warmer than in Germany...," and Yong in regarding the spring and the beginning of summer as "so temperate" would seem to be indications of the existence of relatively mild temperature conditions then as now. Nevertheless, the realization that the climate was one of greater seasonal contrasts than in Europe was an obvious and much discussed fact even prior to general settlement!

The growing season (frost-free period), averaging 200 days along the Delaware Bay, also compares quite favorably with growing seasons farther south and is sufficient for a great variety of agricultural products.

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58 Yong in Myers, Narratives, p. 48.
Locally, the length of the growing season is perhaps the most marked climatic variation, amounting to more than 200 days along the Delaware Bay and less than 160 days in the northern highlands (Plate IV).

Although droughts during the spring and summer are not uncommon, the average annual precipitation of more than 40 inches (Plate IV), likewise sufficient for most western European agricultural products, is fairly well distributed throughout the growing season.

**RESOURCE POTENTIAL**

It was only to be expected that from all the reports of natural fertility and bounty would come expressions of land-use possibilities in anticipation of taking possession of the land. Most of the early explorers, being sailors, envisioned the exploitation of various products and the commencement of a great trade. Yong spends a good portion of his 1634 account of the Delaware in discussing his beaver- and corn-trading activity with the Indians with the obvious intention of interesting his English employers.

De Vries also had traded rather extensively with the Indians two years previously; additionally, however, he pointed out the possibilities of a whale fishery, "The whales so numerous;" lumbering, "masts for ships;" and agriculture, "The land so fine for cultiva-

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60 De Vries in *Myers, Narratives*, p. 15. De Vries was aware of the fact that a Dutch whaling settlement had been made on the Delaware several years earlier (*ibid.*, pp. 7-8).

Thus it was that the most common European economic activities of the day—fishing, lumbering, planting, and trading—were indicated as possible land-use activities. Perhaps an excerpt from the inscription on the Seller and Fisher map of 1677 (Plate IX) sums it up best:

In short, there's nothing wanting that can reasonably be desired (by tolerable Industry) for the Delight and Sustenance of Man. But that which makes it compleat, are the many good Harbours for Shipping, both on the Sea-Coasts, and upon the said South, or Delaware River: The which descends by the West-side of the Province, as aforesaid, to the Mouth or Bay of Delaware, from the Country Northward, about two hundred miles. In which are great numbers of Sturgeons, Lobsters, Oysters, and many other Sea-Fish: And upon which River may be established a considerable Trade for Beaver, Tobacco, Iron, Fish, Pork, Beef, Salt, Corn, Tanning, Masts, Building of Vessels, etc. This River being Navigable for Ships of great Burthen, above an hundred miles into the Country; and so for lesser Vessels farther upwards.

62 Idem.
CHAPTER II
THE FIRST EUROPEAN SETTLERS

The settlement of southern New Jersey is inextricably bound with the settlement of the Middle Colonies of which it is a part. A major characteristic of that settlement was, of course, the funneling in, largely via the Delaware estuary, of significant numbers of settlers from several parts of the European continent rather than from any one particular country. As compared to the more nearly homogenous English settlement areas, which flanked it, the ethnic composition of the Middle Colonies was quite heterogenous; Dutch, Swedes, Finns, English, Germans, Scots, and Irish were representative peoples who contributed to this varied population. The result was that the Middle Colonies acted as a colonial "melting-pot" while also providing the point of origin for the American "frontier," and, quite importantly, the basic source for the American farm and for American agriculture. In all of this activity, southern New Jersey shared to a greater or lesser degree.

THE DUTCH

The Dutch, even while the exploration of the Delaware continued, had been quick to send settlers there shortly after Hudson's return. In 1624, eight years before the Dutch navigator De Vries

1Sauer, Climate and Man, p. 164.
PLATE V. (Following page) "Caerte vande Svydt Rivier in Niew-Nederland" by Johannes Vingboons. This early seventeenth-century (c. 1639) Dutch map of the "Svydt Rivier" and "Godyns Bay" gives a good indication of Dutch activity on the Delaware. The map contains dotted markings to represent shoals, anchor signs for anchorage sites, depth markings, trees, and Indian habitation areas. The writing in the margin contains information about the local Indian tribes. Most of the Dutch place names on this map have not been perpetuated.

Courtesy of Library of Congress.
sailed into the Bay, the Dutch West Indies Company established the first European settlements in the valley. This was followed by several other Dutch settlements, all as part of Dutch colonial enterprise in what slowly evolved as "New Netherland," which the Dutch considered extended, at its greatest development, from Long Island Sound, including the Connecticut River Valley and the Hudson River Valley, to the Delaware. Effective areas of settlement, however, were largely limited to the coastal and riverine areas of the Hudson River, New York Bay, Delaware River, and, to a lesser extent, Delaware Bay.

Settlements

The purpose of the 1624 settlement (on Burlington Island) is not clear, and, regardless, the "settlers" were removed from it a few years later. Settlement at Swanendael, or Zwaanendael (near present-day Lewes, Delaware) on the banks of the Hoerenkill, had, according to

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3 The Dutch name for Delaware Bay has varied: Zuyt Baye, Nieuw Port May and Godins, or Godyn, Bay were all used at various times. The latter name, commerative of one of the directors of the Dutch West Indies Company, Samuel Godyn, seems to have enjoyed the greatest usage during the period of Dutch tenure on the Delaware (see Plate V for 1639 Dutch map on which this name appears).

4 See Plate VI.

5 Wassenaer in Jameson, Narratives, p. 88.
MAJOR
DUTCH SETTLEMENTS
ON THE DELAWARE
1624-1664

ZUYDT BAYE

PLATE VI
De Vries, however, a very definite purpose: "... to carry on the whale fishery in that region, as to plant a colony for the cultivation of all sorts of grain, for which the country is very well adapted, and of tobacco." A year later, when De Vries voyaged to the Swanendael patroonship, he found that the settlement had been wiped out by the Indians.

The nearest the Dutch came to an actual settlement in southern or western New Jersey was in the locating of a post, Fort Nassau, in 1626 near present Gloucester, New Jersey (Plate VI). The fort was built solely as a trading site for the Indian fur trade and was occupied only intermittently. Closer and more important to southern New Jersey was the establishment of a relatively permanent and thriving Dutch center in 1651 at what was first called "Fort Casimir," later changed to New Amstel, or what is presently New Castle, Delaware. At the time the Dutch lost their New Netherland colony in 1664, New Amstel was the economic and governing center of Dutch activity on the Delaware.

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6De Vries in Myers, Narratives, p. 7.

7Patroonships (or patroons), much like feudal estates, were established by the Dutch West Indies Company in 1629 under the terms of its charter, "Privileges and Exemptions," in order to encourage settlement in New Netherland. See: John Fiske, The Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1899), I, pp. 133-134.

Patroonships were located on navigable bodies of water and had a shore frontage of 16 miles on one side, or eight miles on both sides, extending inland as far as was considered practical. See: Oscar T. Barck and Hugh T. Lefler, Colonial America (New York: Macmillan Company, 1958), p. 180.

8De Vries in Myers, Narratives, p. 15.
Quite obviously, settlements were widely dispersed and centered primarily about the trading fort or post. Contrary to often expressed opinion, the "patroon" was not the major type of land-division system in New Netherland. Of two such patroons laid out in the Delaware Valley, the one at Swanendael was destroyed, and the other on the east side of the bay near Cape May was never occupied. Even in the more populous New Amsterdam-Hudson River area, the patroon system was a failure, and distribution of lands under the system was prohibited in 1646.

The imprint of Dutch traits on the cultural landscape of the Delaware region, in general, and in southern New Jersey, in particular, is rather unassuming. For the most part, the major objectives of the organization and settlement of New Netherland were commercial, although agriculture and coastal trade was carried on. As an example, Vice-Director Alrichs, writing from New Amstel to the "Commissioners of the Colonie on the Delaware," petitioned for a "small vessel" for coastwise trade, particularly with the Virginia tobacco colon-


10 Barck and Lefler, op. cit., p. 181.

11 Gabriel Thomas said that "...the Dutch (who call'd the Country New Neitherland) ... were the first Planters in those Parts [Delaware Valley]; but they made little or no Improvement, (apply­ing themselves wholly to Trafique in Skins and Furs ...)." Thomas in Myers, Narratives, p. 316.
ies. He had previously sent some timber directly to Holland, and intended to set up buoys in the bay in anticipation of even greater

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12 Jacob Alrichs, "Vice-Director Alrichs to the Commissioners of the Colonie on the Delaware (New Amstel, October 10, 1658)," in O'Callaghan, Documents, II, pp. 51-54. According to Alrichs, the colony was unable to build its own craft because "no persons ever came over acquainted with such business and willing or able to work at it" (ibid., p. 52). However, a small galiot (a small, light Dutch merchant ship of shallow draught, with a single mast, somewhat resembling a sailing barge) was kept rather busy going to and from the colony to New Amsterdam ("Skipper Huys to the Commissioners of the Colonie on the Delaware River (December 24, 1659)," Pennsylvania Archives, eds. John B. Linn and William H. Egle (Harrisburg: Clarence M. Busch, 1895), 2nd series, V, pp. 396-398). Hereafter referred to as Linn, Archives.

13 Jacob Alrichs, "Vice-Director Alrichs to the Commissioners of the Colonie on the Delaware (New Amstel, October 10, 1658)," op. cit., p. 51. However, the timber was not greatly appreciated. The Commissioners wrote to Alrichs saying, "The timber received ... like that previously sent, is found to be so indifferent that half the ships freight could not be realized from it at public sale.... Therefore, you are hereby again admonished and ordered, in case there be no heavier oak or hickory to be had there, to suspend sending any in future, unless the ships chartered by the city must otherwise leave that place or Manhattan without a cargo; you have, then, to regulate yourself accordingly" ("Commissioners of the Colonie on the Delaware River to Vice-Director Alrichs (Amsterdam, April 22, 1659)," in O'Callaghan, Documents, II, p. 61).

14 "The buoys will, on the earliest opportunity, be laid down, as soon as possible, in the most suitable parts of the Bay..." (Jacob Alrichs, "Vice-Director Alrichs to the Commissioners of the Colonie on the Delaware (New Amstel, October 10, 1658)," op. cit., p. 50).
Alrichs also sent beaver skins and tobacco to Holland via New Amsterdam. The beaver trade with the Indians on the Delaware in 1662 was estimated to be "30 to 40 and more thousands of beavers during one trading season." One shipment in 1658, however, was criticized for its "bad quality." Tobacco, for the most part, was purchased from the English in Virginia and transhipped.

Nonetheless, because of the small Dutch population and little

15 "The Bay of this river is shallow, and such appropriation ought to be made to render it safer and better for incoming ships, that operations may be commenced without delay; this would bring a greater resort, commerce and improvement to this place, not only from thence but also from the neighboring Colonies" (Jacob Alrichs, "Vice-Director Alrichs to the Commissioners of the Colonie on the Delaware [Fort New Amstel, August 13, 1657]," in O'Callaghan, Documents, II, p. 20).

16 Andries Hudde, "Andries Hudde to Vice-Director Beeckman [Fort Altena, May 16, 1662]," in Linn, Archives, VII, p. 727.

17 Jacob Alrichs, "Jacob Alrichs to Director Stuyvesant [New Amstel, October 7, 1658]," in Linn, Archives, VII, p. 582.

18 Jacob Alrichs, "Vice-Director Alrichs to the Commissioners of the Colonie on the Delaware [Fort New Amstel, May 25, 1657]," in O'Callaghan, Documents, II, p. 16. See also: "Commissioners of the Colonie on the Delaware River to Vice-Director Alrichs [Amsterdam, April 22, 1659]," op. cit., p. 63.

19 In 1646 there were only 1500 people in all of New Netherland, and of that number 450 were living in New Amsterdam (Andrews, op. cit., p. 78). At the conclusion of Dutch control of New Netherland in 1664, about 10,000 persons were in the entire province, and the population of New Amsterdam was 1,600 (Barck and Lefler, op. cit., p. 182). Alrichs reported about "600 souls" at New Amstel in 1658. Undoubtedly some of these were Swedes and Finns ("Vice-Director Alrichs to the Commissioners of the Colonie on the Delaware [New Amstel, October 10, 1658]," op. cit., p. 55).
actual activity in southern New Jersey, the significance of the Dutch here can not be compared, for instance, with that in northeastern New Jersey and the Raritan River Valley. Despite this, some traits were diffused and carried, if not by the Dutch themselves, then by later settlers, into southern New Jersey. The major contributions and introductions by the Dutch to the cultural landscape of the Delaware Valley, and indirectly to southern New Jersey, were in the areas of agriculture, architecture, and toponymy.

Agriculture

The Dutch were the first to introduce European livestock and domesticated grains into the Delaware Valley.20 The ships which brought the colonists to Swanendael, for example, carried a cargo of bricks, cattle and other provisions.21 Designated primarily as a whaling post, farming and livestock raising were nevertheless carried on: "... in July of the same year [1631] their cows calved and their lands were seeded and covered with a fine crop."22 Although the settlement was short-lived, later Dutch activity at New Amstel and elsewhere continued this initial beginning.

Of the "bouweries" or farms on the Delaware, we have little information. That there were farms there, centered about each post,

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20 Most of the major grains were grown by the Dutch on the Delaware: wheat, rye, oats, barley, and Indian corn; in addition, cattle, horses, cows, pigs, and goats were raised.

21 Editor's footnote to De Vries in Myers, Narratives, p. 7.

seems certain beyond a doubt. They were probably much like the bouweries established on lower Manhattan, each under the control of the company and supervised by an overseer or "Bouwmeister." "Bouwlieden," or indentured servants, worked the farms, although "free" colonists were also allowed to own land and farm. It seems likely, especially on the Delaware, that most, if not all, of the early limited farming activity was in the hands of company agents. Later changes in the company's agricultural and settlement policies are said to have brought about significant developments. Beginning in 1638 a farmer and his family willing to go to New Netherland would be carried there for no charge and furnished with a farm of "such size as he could adequately cultivate, together with a house and barn, four horses, four cows, sundry sheep and swine, and the needful tools..."

23 Barck and Lefler, op. cit., p. 181.
24 Idem. Free or indentured, the company retained first option on the crops produced (ibid., p. 182).
25 Fiske (op. cit., p. 133) states that because of favorable economic conditions in Holland at this time, it was difficult for the company to attract freemen to the colony. Undoubtedly, also, the semi-feudal system inaugurated in the colony, a system long outmoded in Holland itself, was a detriment to inducing large numbers of free Dutch yeomen to go to New Netherland. See: Richard H. Amerman, "Dutch Life in Pre-Revolutionary Bergen County," New Jersey Historical Society, Proceedings, LXXVI (1958), p. 164.
26 Fiske, op. cit., p. 171. "The effect of these measures was remarkable. Settlers of excellent quality began coming in considerable numbers, so that, for example, in the year 1639 the seven farms or bouweries on Manhattan increased to more than thirty."
for which he had to pay a yearly rent of about $200 and 80 pounds of butter, plus the eventual return of the original number of animals supplied.  

Later conditions on the Delaware, however, were somewhat different than those in Manhattan and in other parts of the New Netherland colony. New Amstel, for example, was, after 1656, under the jurisdiction of the burgomasters of the City of Amsterdam.  

In an attempt to improve and increase settlement at New Amstel and elsewhere on the Delaware, the burgomasters offered certain "conditions" to settlers who would go there. In essence, the City of Amsterdam was to "furnish everything necessary for clothing, housekeeping and farming." Alrichs indicates that each of the colonists and free trademen was provided with a lot 30 feet by 180 feet; "The greatest

27 Idem.  

28 Jeannette Eckman, "Life Among the Early Dutch at New Castle," Delaware History, IV (1950-51), p. 277. Control of the colony at New Amstel, and apparently all activity on the Delaware, was taken over from the West India Company because of its indebtedness to the City of Amsterdam.  

29 "Conditions offered by the City of Amsterdam to Settlers on the Delaware River [August 12, 1656]," in O'Callaghan, Documents, I, pp. 630-636.  

30 Ibid., p. 631. The city offered to provide settlers with seed, clothing, animals, land, trading accommodations, storehouses, warehouses, free fishing and hunting, and free use of mineral resources for ten years.
portion of them are prepared for gardens. However, these were primarily house-lots because the "conditions" provided additionally for "as many morgens, as well as of plough land as of pasture and meadow, as he and his family will be able to improve, and will require for grazing...." Regardless, these "conditions" appear to have had little effect upon the Delaware settlements, for as late as 1663 Alrichs asked the Burgomaster to "send thither immediately 50 negroes... for ... heavy work ... also for advancement of agriculture." 

Quite obviously, agricultural activity at the major Dutch settlement of New Amstel, and undoubtedly also on the rest of the Delaware, was poorly developed. Vice-Director Alrichs found himself frequently requesting agricultural supplies from New Amsterdam. As late as 1659, in undisguised disgust, he wrote, "I have found, that of

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31 Jacob Alrichs, "Vice-Director Alrichs to the Commissioners of the Colonie on the Delaware [Fort New Amstel, May 8, 1657]," in O'Callaghan, Documents, II, p. 10.

32 "Conditions offered by the City of Amsterdam to Settlers on the Delaware River [August 12, 1656]," op. cit., p. 632.

33 "Draft of a Proposal of the Commissioners and Directors for the Management of the South River in New Netherland [October 23, 1663]," in O'Callaghan, Documents, II, p. 213.

34 The Dutch did drain some land and construct dykes in order to extend the grazing meadow lands about New Amstel, however (Weslager, op. cit., p. 207).

35 Jacob Alrichs, "Jacob Alrichs to Director Stuyvesant [New Amstel, January 24, 1658]," in Linn, Archives, VII, p. 589. "... there is a scarcity and lack of everything...."
all the few Netherlanders, who have settled here upon our arrival, have
as yet in our time, not gathered one skepel of grain." In the same
year, he also reported to his superiors that the "grains" were neglect-
ed, cattle had died, and 100 people had perished.

Architecture

In a consideration of Dutch architectural contributions, the
situation is somewhat confusing. The early houses built by the Dutch
on the Delaware, as on the Hudson, were most certainly constructed of
wood because of a local shortage of bricks, the general building materi-
al at home. Alrichs, when he wrote about building a storehouse in
1657, indicated, "But as we have no bricks here ... it must be con-
structed entirely of wood...."

The following year Alrichs further

36 Jacob Alrichs, "Jacob Alrichs to Director Stuyvesant [New
Amstel, May 14, 1659]," ibid., p. 595.

A skepel, also spelled schepel, is equal to approximately three-
fourths of a U. S. bushel.

37 Jacob Alrichs, "Vice-Director Alrichs to Burgomaster de
Graaff [New Amstel, August 16, 1659]," in O'Callaghan, Documents,
II, p. 69.

A blistering chastisement of Dutch policy in New Netherland is
given in the document "The Representation of New Netherland, 1650,"
in Jameson, Narratives, pp. 293-354. "As we shall speak of the
reasons and causes which have brought New Netherland into the ruinous
condition in which it is now found to be, we deem it necessary to
state first the difficulties (ibid., p. 320).

38 Early houses on Manhattan Island were "of the bark of
trees," although some buildings ("The counting-house there...")
were constructed of stone and roofed with reed (Wassenaer in Jameson,
Narratives, p. 83).

39 Jacob Alrichs, "Vice-Director Alrichs to the Commissioners
of the Colonie on the Delaware [Fort New Amstel, August 13, 1657],"
op. cit., p. 18.
reported that a "frame house" 30 feet wide and 36 feet long had been built. Apparently this use of wood as a building material was disconcerting to Alrichs who pleaded with the directors for "... one or two brickmakers to come hither ... [as] there is a good opportunity for them ...." An apparent exception, the Swanendael settlement, was provided with bricks, and they "built a brick house inside the palisades." Dutch wooden houses were seemingly built of boards and planking, and there appears to be no reason to suppose that the Dutch knew the art of horizontal log construction and corner-notching until after the arrival of the Swedes. When they did use logs it was a vertical fashion as in the erection of palisades, probably following the known European

40 Jacob Alrichs, "Vice-Director Alrichs to the Commissioners of the Colonie on the Delaware [New Amstel, October 10, 1658]," op. cit., p. 55.

41 Jacob Alrichs, "Vice-Director Alrichs to the Commissioners of the Colonie on the Delaware [Fort New Amstel, August 13, 1657]," op. cit., p. 21.

42 Editor's footnote to De Vries in Myers, Narratives, p. 7.


44 The first Swedes arrived on the Delaware in 1638 and in 1659 Alrichs indicates that a commissary was built of "square timber" (Vice-Director Alrichs to Burgomaster de Graaff [New Amstel, August 16, 1659]," op. cit., p. 69).
mode. At a later time a brickmaker and a variety of carpenter's tools were sent to New Amstel, but both bricks and boards were usually shipped to the Delaware from elsewhere in New Netherland, particularly Fort Orange.

Pantiles were the natural roofing material for Dutch houses, but once again a shortage of them in the colony led to the use of other materials as a substitute. At New Amstel the soldier's barrack

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45 Jacob Alrichs, "Vice-Director Alrichs to Director Stuyvesant [New Amstel, September 1, 1657]" in Linn, Archives, VII, p. 548. And a brick-kiln was "established in the country near here..." (Jacob Alrichs, "Jacob Alrichs to Director Stuyvesant [New Amstel, May 14, 1659]" op. cit., p. 597). Nevertheless, Alrichs continually bemoaned the fact that "bricks were wanting" (Jacob Alrichs, "Vice-Director Alrichs to the Commissioners of the Colonie on the Delaware [Fort New Amstel, August 13, 1657]" op. cit., p. 18; and Jacob Alrichs, "Vice-Director Alrichs to the Commissioners of the Colonie on the Delaware [New Amstel, October 10, 1658]" op. cit., p. 50), and in 1658 he quite prosaically wrote, "The brick-maker is dead" (ibid., p. 52).

46 Idem.

47 "In accordance with your Honor's advice I have decided, that the galiot may make a trip to Fort Orange [now Albany, New York] for bricks and boards" (Jacob Alrichs, "Vice-Director Alrichs to Director Stuyvesant [Fort Amstel, October 29, 1657]" in Linn, Archives, VII, p. 553). "...your Honor's favor reached me by the Galiot in which were also brought over a party of bricks made at Fort Orange and ordered thence, besides 250 boards etc." (Jacob Alrichs, "Vice-Director Alrichs to Director Stuyvesant [New Amstel, November 14, 1657]" ibid., p. 555). According to the Reverend Jonas Michaëlius, the first minister of the Dutch Reformed [Presbyterian] Church in New Netherland, bricks, although "very poor" were manufactured at Manhattan as early as 1628 ("Letter of Reverend Johan Michaëlius, 1628," in Jameson, Narratives, p. 131).
was "covered with reed,"\textsuperscript{48} and the guard house was "covered with boards"\textsuperscript{49} as was the commissary, "for want of tiles."\textsuperscript{50} Tiles, although costly and difficult to make,\textsuperscript{51} seemed more easily obtainable than bricks, for at the same time bricks were unavailable in 1658, a tile-roof house was built at New Amstel.\textsuperscript{52}

No extant examples of Dutch-period houses\textsuperscript{53} are to be found on the Delaware. However, the "Old Dutch House" in New Castle, Delaware, built around 1690, is probably a good example of the early Dutch style. The house is a brick and frame story-and-a-half high, with a steep gable, and shingle roof that projects beyond the front wall (Figure 1). More typically thought of as Dutch style is the Von Steuben house, Bergen County, New Jersey (Figure 2). Although located outside of the Delaware Valley, it, and many others like it in northern New Jersey, is

\textsuperscript{48}Jacob Alrichs, "Vice-Director Alrichs to Burgrämster de Graaff [New Amstel, August 16, 1659]," \textit{op. cit.}, p. 69.

\textsuperscript{49}\textit{Idem.}

\textsuperscript{50}\textit{Idem.}


\textsuperscript{52}Jacob Alrichs, "Vice-Director Alrichs to the Commissioners of the Colonie on the Delaware [New Amstel, October 10, 1658]," \textit{op. cit.}, p. 55.

\textsuperscript{53}Dutch New Netherland lasted from 1624 until 1664, and for a short period between 1673 and 1674.
Figure 1. The "Old Dutch House," New Castle, Delaware. Built around 1690.

Figure 2. The Von Steuben house, Bergen County, New Jersey. Built in 1752 and the present home of the Bergen County Historical Society. The bell-shaped gambrel roof is Flemish in origin.
actually a fine example of Flemish architecture, especially with respect to its bell-shaped gambrel roof.\textsuperscript{54}

Barns and other outbuildings dating from Dutch occupation are also unknown in the area. However, once again extant examples survive in northern New Jersey. They are wooden frame, generally one story, and with a broad roof coming down on both sides to low-lying walls which sometimes end in an overhang. Large doors in their gabled ends complete the general exterior features (Figure 3).\textsuperscript{55} The interior was formerly divided into several parts: a central threshing floor, stalls for horses and cattle on the sides, and a hay loft, or garrett, above. In overall size the Dutch barns were not very large. A 1638 account of a Dutch farm on Long Island states that "one barn was 40 feet long, 18 feet wide, and 29 feet high with the roof,"\textsuperscript{56} a general standard adhered to by most extant examples.

The most commonly associated farming accouterments were berghs

\textsuperscript{54}Wertenbaker, op. cit., pp. 69-70 and 73-74.


\textsuperscript{56}"Inventory of the Effects and Goods at Achtervelt Belonging to Andries Hudde and Wolfert Gerritsen [July 9, 1638]," in O'Callaghan, Documents, XIV, p. 10.
Figure 3. Dutch barn type (on right), near Pluckamin, New Jersey.

Figure 4. Dutch "bergh" or hay-barn, Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Built for the Pennsylvania Dutch festival.
and fences.\textsuperscript{57} A bergh, or barrack as it is now more frequently called, was a type of hay and grain storage shed, consisting of several poles placed in the ground in rectangular fashion and covered by a roof which was raised or lowered according to the amount of hay (Figure 4). Wertenbaker and Shoemaker feel that this structure was brought directly from Holland to New Netherland by the early Dutch.\textsuperscript{58}

In New Netherland the purpose of fencing, as was true in most of the early colonial settlements, was to exclude farm animals which had the run of the land.\textsuperscript{59} Only later, and apparently never in New Netherland, did fencing in the colonies become a means of containing the livestock.\textsuperscript{60} On the Delaware each Dutch settler was required, as early as 1655, to "enclose his plantation and lot under a penalty of

\textsuperscript{57}It is perhaps rather strange that the ubiquitous grain-grinding windmill of Holland was not a common feature of the Dutch cultural landscape on the Delaware. It is a known fact that the Dutch did construct windmills in New Netherland, however. The Reverend Jonas Michaëlius, for example, wrote in 1628, "They are making a windmill to saw lumber...." (Michaëlius in Jameson, Narratives, p. 131). The grinding of grain at New Amstel was accomplished by a horse mill, constructed for that purpose (William Beeckman, "William Beeckman to Director Stuyvesant [Altena, May 12, 1662]," in Linn, Archives, VII, p. 725).

\textsuperscript{58}Wertenbaker, op. cit., p. 64; and Alfred L. Shoemaker, "Barracks," Pennsylvania Folklife, IX (Spring 1958), p. 3.

\textsuperscript{59}Reporting upon the farming activity in the colony, Alrichs wrote that after the lands were cleared and sowed, "the whole remains to be fenced and so ordered, that wild and domestic animals may not destroy or trample the crops or render all the labor fruitless" (Jacob Alrichs, Vice-Director Alrichs to the Commissioners of the Colonie on the Delaware [New Amstel, October 10, 1658]," op. cit., p. 52).

\textsuperscript{60}John F. Hart and Eugene Cotton Mather, "The American Fence," Landscape, VI (Spring 1957), p. 5.
The reasons given was "so that the difficulties and the damages to the fields ... might be stopped." In order to ensure the carrying out of the regulation, two men were elected "Overseers and Surveyors of Fences" on the Delaware.

Dutch lands on Long Island, and presumably therefore on the Delaware, seem to have been most commonly fenced with posts and rails. Fences of vertically set logs were also used, but primarily as a defensive measure or palisade. The Dutch also appeared to have utilized pale fences of narrow, pointed stakes about their property.

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61 Minutes of the Administration of Jean Paul Jacquett, Vice-Director at the Delaware, and His Council, 1655," in O'Callaghan, Documents, XII, p. 140.

62 In one report, Alrichs mentions that he undertook "to have the lands fenced, because the people were without means, and could not accomplish this themselves." About "400-500 rods of fence" were made for this purpose ("Vice-Director Alrichs to Burgomaster de Graaff August 16, 1659," op. cit., p. 69).

63 Idem.

64 "... land to be enclosed once for all with posts and rails" ("Lease of a Bowery Near the Narrows on Long Island," in O'Callaghan, Documents, XIV, p. 73). "...lessee shall fix the post and rail fence" ("Lease of a House and Lot of Land at Breukelen on Long Island," ibid., p. 75). "... and half the land, enclosed complete with posts and rail" ("Lease of a Bouwery on the South side of Hans Hansen's Bouwery, Called in Indian Rinnegackonck," ibid., p. 145).

65 "In the construction of a paled fence, clapboards or slabs of wood were often used as pales" (Weslager, op. cit., p. 195).
Toponymy

During their tenure on the Delaware, the Dutch were quite active in applying names to various features. Although few names have had lasting permanence, enough remain to attest to the former Dutch presence. Some important and representative place names are Cape Henlopen, Cape May, and Maurice River. Dutch generic terms, however, are more general. "Hoeck," for a point of land (for example, Bombay Hook, Delaware), and "kill," for a creek or stream (for example, Schuylkill River, Pennsylvania) are fairly common terms on the Delaware and in areas of former Dutch occupancy.

Although no Dutch "kills" or "hooks" are found in southern New Jersey, the Dutch term "gut," meaning "channel" or "passage," occurs some twelve times in the coastal lowlands of extreme southeastern Salem County and southwestern and south-central Cumberland County, particularly in the area south of Newport where seven examples are found. All twelve "guts" are located in the low marsh areas and are applied mainly to minor tributaries of larger creeks. Frequently, the "guts" cut across the marsh to connect with another creek or body of water which may help explain their application.

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66 Cape Henlopen, earlier called Cape Cornelius and Zuijt Hoek (South Cape), and sometimes spelled Hinloopen, was named after a place in Holland. Cape May was named after its discoverer, Captain Cornelius Jacobsen May, and the Maurice River, earlier called Graeff Hendricx Rivier (Count Henry's River) and Prince Maurice River, was named after an historical Dutch personage.


Another term, found in rather good numbers in southern New Jersey and probably also of Dutch derivation, is "neck" meaning a dry point or "neck" of land between creeks. Some writers, however, attribute its origin to the Indians. Interestingly enough, one usage incorporates both neck and gut together in "Blizzard Neck Gut."  

Summary

The initial settlement of an area is often of considerable importance for it frequently sets down persisting patterns of space and land use. In contributing to the development of the cultural landscape and to the central theme of this study, the evolutionary development and geographical nature of the colonial ports, the Dutch, as the first settlers, contributed a number of significant patterns. For instance, the introduction of European plants and animals and the associated farming and living features, including the division and settlement of the land; construction of houses, barns, and fences; and the naming of places and features are occasionally still visible elements of the landscape.

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70Twelve examples are found on the U.S.G.S. quadrangle maps (1:24,000, 1948-1957) for the coastal areas of Salem and Cumberland Counties.

71Stewart, in the same source (op. cit., p. 63), suggests that the word may have come over from the Indian word naiac, meaning "point" or "corner."

72U.S.G.S. Quadrangle, 1:24,000, "Cedarville, New Jersey, 1956."
As a commercial enterprise, however, the colony, founded primarily for that purpose, was a failure, owing not to a lack of exploitable and marketable resources, but to the general inattention paid the colony by the West Indies Company. Regardless, some initial, albeit incipient, patterns in commercial-maritime activity were generated, particularly in the shipment of furs and timber. Negatively, the Dutch established no central collecting-distributing centers, nor did they carry on their sundry activities in south Jersey. Nonetheless, many of their traits were diffused into south Jersey and contributed to the development of its cultural landscape.
THE SWEDES AND FINNS

"Soon after them came the Swedes and Fins [sic], who apply'd themselves to Husbandry, and were the first Christian People that made any considerable improvement there."

Near the beginning of the seventeenth century, Sweden had grown into an important European power and had become interested in colonial expansion. After looking about for a suitable site, she decided upon the weakly settled and poorly defended Dutch areas on the Delaware. This decision resulted in the founding of the New Sweden Company in 1637 and the subsequent establishment of a colony on the Delaware. The major goals of the company, which consequently set the settlement motives and activities, were incorporated in one of several

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73 At the time of Swedish activity on the Delaware, Finland was politically united as an integral part of the Kingdom of Sweden, and many "Swedish-Finns" were among the settlers who came to the Delaware.

74 Thomas in Myers, Narratives, p. 316. The coming of the Swedes and Finns to the Delaware added another element to the developing heterogeneous nature of that region. More importantly, however, the Swedes and Finns contributed much to the cultural landscape of southern New Jersey, as Thomas intimated.


76 The New Sweden Company was initially a joint Swedish-Dutch enterprise, but in 1641 Sweden acquired the Dutch interest and continued to operate from that time on as a wholly Swedish activity (Gunnar Jarring, "New Sweden and New Jersey," New Jersey Historical Society, Proceedings, LXXXI [1963], p. 153).
points in Queen Christina's "Grant and Privilege" for the New Sweden Colony in 1637:

It is also granted to the patrons to establish in this colony all sorts of industry and manufacture, to engage in all commerce and trade in the country and out of it, as also to go with their vessels and carry on trade with all the coast of the West Indies and Africa, belonging to potentates with whom we are not at war, as well as in the rivers and bays which belong to them; not otherwise nevertheless than with vessels and yachts which have been built in New Sweden—and our desire is for the advantage of their expeditions to lend them all the assistance which depends upon us.77

As was to be expected, conflicts arose between the Dutch and the Swedes as to the rightful ownership of the Delaware region. The Swedes, however, were numerically superior and distributed their settlements over a greater area. Thus, the Dutch, initially anyway, were literally forced into a policy of relatively peaceful coexistence. Settlements78

The first Swedish settlement on the Delaware was made in 1638 at Fort Christina, near the present site of Wilmington, Delaware. Shortly thereafter, the New Sweden Company purchased land from the Indians on the west side of the Delaware, extending from about 40 miles south of the Christina River north to the Schuylkill River and inland an indefinite distance.79 In 1640 the Swedes again purchased lands from the Indians and extended that boundary northward from the Schuylkill to the falls at Trenton; additional purchases lengthened the

77"Queen Christina's Grant and Privilege for the Establishment of a New Colony in New Sweden [1637]," in Linn, Archives, V, p. 792.

78The definitive study of the Swedes on the Delaware is Johnson, op. cit., 2 vols.

79Ibid., I, p. 184.
southern boundary on the west shore to Cape Henlopen. Land on the
east side of the river from Raccoon Creek to Cape May was obtained in
1641. An initial settlement in that area was made in 1642 with the
establishment of (Fort) Nya Elfsborg, near the present-day city of
Salem, New Jersey. Other settlements were made on both sides of the
river by the Swedes up until about 1654 (Plate VII). In one respect, that of dispersed settlements, the Swedish
settlement pattern was similar to the Dutch. Differences, however, pre-
dominated and are of more significance. For example, as already indica-
ted, the Swedes and Finns were more numerous than the Dutch, although
the New Sweden population was never what might be considered large. In
1664 the Governor of New Sweden, Johan Printz, reported the number of
adult males in the colony at ninety, twenty-six having died during the
preceding year, and five having returned home to Sweden. Near the

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80 Ibid., p. 200.
81 Ibid., p. 201.
82 Many of these settlements were selected for their strategic locations, and were obvious attempts by the Swedes to "bottle-up" the Dutch and secure trade advantages. In this they were quite successful, and the Dutch governor was quick to report to his superiors that trade was depressed because of the Swedish activity ("Extracts of Divers Letters Written by Willem Kieft, late Director in New Netherland, to the Managers of the Incorporated West India Company, Chamber at Amsterdam - of a letter dated 2 October, 1639," in Linn, Archives, V, pp. 256-257).
83 Records do not allow for a satisfactory numerical breakdown between the Swedes and the Finns. John H. Wuorinen (The Finns on the Delaware, 1638-1655 [New York: Columbia University Press, 1938], p. 133) states that probably one-third or more of the population of New Sweden was Finnish.
time of the surrender of New Sweden to the Dutch in 1655, Governor Rising, successor to Printz, reported that there were "altogether three hundred and seventy souls" in the colony.  

The apparent inclination of the Swedes and particularly the Finns, who came in greater number in the later "Swedish" emigration to the Delaware, was to settle in "scattered places" on the Delaware. Although the more important settlements, like those of the Dutch, were centered about forts or posts, there was a general tendency for Swedes and Finns to settle along the navigable and non-navigable streams which emptied into the Delaware River and Bay.

Another feature of their settlement was a general eastward movement and penetration of lands on the east bank of the Delaware. Swedes and Finns were the first, in any large number, into southern and western New Jersey, clearing lands and planting crops. Swedes are said to have been the first to settle in the area around the Maurice River and Cohansey and Alloway creeks. Most of this movement took place in 1655, however, after the Dutch gained political

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88 John W. Barber and Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of the State of New Jersey* (New York: S. Tuttle, 1844), p. 147 ("Probably between 1637 and 1654").
89 Federal Writers' Project, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
control over New Sweden. At that time many Swedes, perhaps rather than swear allegiance to the Dutch, pay taxes, and serve in the military, moved west and south into the more unsettled regions of Virginia and the Sassafras River area and eastward into New Jersey. Swedish and Finnish settlers continued to emigrate to the Delaware as late as 1663, and many of them moved into southern New Jersey, particularly after the English gained ascendancy over New Netherland in 1664. Similar requirements of allegiance by the English may have been the motivating factor. Regardless, this cultural diffusion caused their influence to be felt for a considerably longer period of time than their short sojourn on the Delaware and relatively small numbers would seem to warrant.

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90 However, so-called "desertions" by individual settlers into the outlying areas from the established New Sweden settlements before 1655 were apparently quite common. See for example: Johnson, op. cit., I, p. 341; and Johan Rising, "Report of Governor Johan Rising, 1655," in Myers, Narratives, p. 160.


94 Federal Writers' Project, op. cit., pp. 62-64.

95 Alan Gowans indirectly attributes this to the fact that the continued support of Swedish churches in America by the Swedish crown until 1789 enabled the Swedes to maintain their cultural identity for a longer period of time than might otherwise have been the case (Images of American Living [Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1964], p. 63).
The larger population of New Sweden and the greater spread of its activities, especially into present-day New Jersey, meant that the overall importance of the Swedes and Finns in southern New Jersey was far more significant than was that of the Dutch. Similarly, the major contributions and introductions by the Swedes and Finns to the evolving cultural landscape of the Delaware and southern New Jersey were in the areas of agriculture, architecture, and toponymy. However, one important difference was in the establishment of a rather well developed maritime activity in New Sweden.

**Agriculture**

Although the New Sweden Company, like the Dutch West Indies Company, was commercially oriented and interested in profiting from its undertaking, indications are that the New Sweden Company was concerned with making New Sweden a permanent agricultural and self-sustaining settlement as well. The first expedition to the Delaware carried seeds of rye, oats, buckwheat, and barley; agricultural tools - spades, hoes, and other implements - were also carried on board the ship. Later expeditions brought horses, goats, sheep, and cattle.

The Swedes and Finns appeared to have enjoyed a reputation on

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96 Instructions for the first expedition in 1638 directed Peter Minuit, the leader, to establish friendly relations with the Indians "in order to trade with them" (Weslager, *op. cit.*, p. 173).


98 Johnson, *op. cit.*, I, p. 112.

the Delaware as being better farmers than their Dutch neighbors.\textsuperscript{100}

In 1660, several years after the demise of the New Sweden Colony, the Dutch authorities requested that more agriculturalists be sent to the Delaware settlements, "not Hollanders, however, but other nations and especially Finns and Swedes, who are good farmers."\textsuperscript{101} Finns, particularly, seemed well suited to the early New Sweden Colony. During the sixteenth century, Finns had been encouraged to emigrate to Sweden, notably into the central interior provinces.\textsuperscript{102} At that time the Finns were noted for their methods of clearing lands by felling and burning trees and planting in the ashes,\textsuperscript{103} a type of agricultural system, frequently referred to as slash-burn agriculture\textsuperscript{104} and oftentimes associated with preliterate groups in tropical areas.\textsuperscript{105}

\textsuperscript{100} Strangely enough, the Swedish Governor appears to have thought otherwise. Reporting to the Crown in 1654, he wrote that "if some Dutch farmers could be brought here and settled on the company's own land it would be very useful and more such things" (Johan Rising, "Report of Governor Rising, 1654," \textit{op. cit.}, p. 142).

\textsuperscript{101} Quoted in Johnson, \textit{op. cit.}, II, p. 666.

\textsuperscript{102} Twelve to thirteen thousand Finns are said to have emigrated to Sweden between 1580 and 1650, largely into the southern and central provinces of Värmland, Nerike, and Södermanland (Wuorinen, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 13-14).

\textsuperscript{103} Johnson, \textit{op. cit.}, II, pp. 527-528. The Finns (and/or Swedes - for they were not generally differentiated by others) continued to be noted for their woodsmen's abilities in the colonies. For instance, after first commenting upon the dense forests and large trees of the Delaware, Thomas Paschall, English settler in Philadelphia, wrote, "A Swed will fell twelve of the bigger [oak trees] in a day..." ("Letter of Thomas Paschall, 1683," in Myers, \textit{Narratives}, p. 252).


that was called svedjebruket in Sweden.\textsuperscript{106} Later, their promiscuous burning and destruction of the forest\textsuperscript{107} caused them to become undesirable citizens, and they were ordered to leave Sweden and return to Finland.\textsuperscript{108} Some Finns remained, however, and when settlers were needed for the New Sweden Colony many of them were encouraged to emigrate, often forcibly, in order, paradoxically, to clear lands and initiate farming in a new forested environment.\textsuperscript{109}

In spite of seemingly apparent advantages, the New Sweden Colony was never completely self-sustaining. Writing in 1644, the Governor of New Sweden said:

\begin{quote}
I planted last year maize all over, thinking ... to receive yearly food for nine men from the planting of one man, but I received, as well on the place as on the other, from the work of nine men hardly a year's nourishment for one man.\textsuperscript{110}
\end{quote}

\begin{footnotes}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[107] Johnson, \textit{op. cit.}, I, p. 147.
\item[108] Ibid., p. 148.
\item[109] In 1649, the Governor of Nerike Province, after writing to the government complaining of the Finns and desiring to know what to do about them, was instructed to persuade such Finns 'to migrate to New Sweden with wives and children.' Also, 'he should explain to them the great advantages to be had in the country; that there was an abundance of forests, and wild animals, and that a large number of Swedes were already there' (quoted in Johnson, \textit{ibid.}, I, pp. 148-149).
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotes}
As a result, the governor found it necessary to purchase supplies from the Dutch at Manhattan, obtaining there at one time, seven oxen, one cow, and seventy-five bushels of rye.\footnote{111} By 1654 the colony suffered from desertions into neighboring areas,\footnote{112} and in 1655 it was almost entirely dependent upon New England for provisions.\footnote{113}

Quite obviously, New Sweden suffered from the same lack of adequate attention and assistance from the crown as did the New Netherland settlements on the Delaware. The first governor of the colony, Printz, wrote:

\[\text{that this} \ldots \text{was a remarkably beautiful country, with all the glories that a person can wish on earth ... It was adorned with all kinds of fruit-bearing trees. The soil was suitable for planting and sowing, and, if Her Majesty would make a serious beginning: the country would soon become a desirable place to live in.}\footnote{114}

Nonetheless, by 1653 an inventory of land and other property of New Sweden indicated that there was 136 morgens\footnote{115} of cultivated lands on both sides of the river and 32 morgens of "field"land.\footnote{116} During the following year, the colony claimed to have more than doubled the extent of cultivated land.\footnote{117}

\footnote{111}{\textit{Ibid.}, p. 99.}
\footnote{112}{Johan Rising, "Report of Governor Johan Rising, 1654," \textit{op. cit.}, p. 136. Some of these desertions were partly caused by what was considered the harsh treatment of the settlers at the hands of the previous governor, Printz, and the rest, undoubtedly, by the tendency of the Swedes and Finns to search for greener pastures (\textit{ibid.}, p. 137).}
\footnote{113}{Johan Rising, "Report of Governor Johan Rising, 1655," \textit{ibid.}, pp. 158 and 162.}
\footnote{114}{Quoted in Johnson, \textit{op. cit.}, I, p. 307.}
\footnote{115}{A Dutch measurement equal to about two-thirds of an acre.}
\footnote{116}{Johnson, \textit{op. cit.}, II, pp. 526-527.}
\footnote{117}{\textit{Ibid.}, p. 527.}
The nature of agricultural land holdings in New Sweden is not clear. According to Johnson, the lands belonging to the colony were divided into "plantations," but apparently not of any uniform size or shape. Individual tracts of land, however, were granted and sold to individuals. Again, the size and shape of these "tracts of country" are not indicated.

Some of the agricultural tools probably used by the colonists in New Sweden are illustrated in Figure 5. Additionally, a windmill for grinding grains was constructed at Fort Christina in the early

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118 Johnson, op. cit., I, pp. 318, 319, and passim. The writer has found no use of this term in the available reports of the various New Sweden governors, nor in Lindeström. The word plantation was used, undoubtedly, in place of colony. They were not self-contained units, and few slaves were in the New Sweden Colony.

119 "Whoever buys lands of the Company or of anyone else shall pay in whole or according to the area ..." (Lindeström, op. cit., p. 277). Some consideration in the size of farms was given to how much land was needed to plant one barrel of seed, and the land was apparently sold by the tunnaland (from the Swedish word tunnor, meaning barrel), a unit of land approximately one acre in area as used in Sweden. Because of the richer soil in New Sweden, Lindeström found a tunnaland there to be somewhat larger, approximately 51,892.5 square feet (ibid., p. 278). No indication is given, however, as to how many tunnalands were considered sufficient for the needs of a settler and his family.

In the 1653 inventory referred to previously (Johnson, op. cit., II, pp. 526-527), reference is made to one plantation of eight morgens, three plantations of twelve total morgens, and five plantations of sixteen total morgens.

120 "Donation to Captain John Amundson Besh, of a Tract of Land in New Sweden August 20, 1653," in Linn, Archives, V, pp. 811-812; and "Donation to Lieutenant Swen Schute of Land in New Sweden [August 20, 1653]," ibid., p. 812.

121 Lindeström, op. cit., p. 277.
"Branch-harrow," used for preparing the ground after sowing and after the burning. It was dragged over the ground.

"Hand-harrow" (made of wood) for preparing the ground.

Wooden plow.

Sickle. Stones for a hand-mill.

Figure 5. Swedish Agricultural Tools. Source: Amandus Johnson, Swedish Settlements on the Delaware, II, between pp. 528-529.
days of the colony.\textsuperscript{122} With the building of a grist mill upstream,\textsuperscript{123} probably on a branch of Darby Creek north of present Chester, Pennsylvania,\textsuperscript{124} the windmill was discarded. This single mill was supplemented by numerous handmills.\textsuperscript{125}

**Architecture**

The log house, quite general in seventeenth-century Sweden and Finland,\textsuperscript{126} seems without doubt to have been first introduced into colonial America by the Swedes and Finns on the Delaware.\textsuperscript{127} However, it appears that a secondary introduction by Germans provided

\textsuperscript{122}Johnson, *op. cit.*, I, p. 203. Johnson intimates that it was built in 1642.


\textsuperscript{124}Johnson, *op. cit.*, I, p. 328.

\textsuperscript{125}Ibid., II, p. 531.


\textsuperscript{127}Sauer, *Climate and Man*, p. 164.
the major log cabin type and symbol of the American frontier. 128

Although contemporary detailed descriptions of the houses built by the Swedes and Finns on the Delaware are rare, all evidence points to the fact that these settlers built, not only their houses, but also their forts, storehouses, mill, churches, and other buildings, of logs. Apparently such a commonplace mode of construction was not considered worthy of extensive reporting or discussion. From the writing of early observers who passed through the former Swedish settlements at a later time, however, the general nature of these log houses is made available. One of the earliest such accounts comes from the journal of a Dutchman, Jasper Danckaerts, in which he describes a house near "Borlington" in 1679:

The house, although not much larger than where we were last night, was somewhat better and tighter, being made according to the Swedish mode, and as they usually build their houses here, which are block-houses, being nothing else than entire trees, split through the middle, or squared out of the rough, and placed in the form of a square, upon each other, as high as they wish to have the house; the ends of these timbers are let into each other, about a foot from the ends, half of one into half of the other. The whole structure is thus made, without a nail or a spike. The ceiling and roof do not exhibit much finer work, except among the most careful people, who have the ceiling planked and a glass window. The doors are wide enough, but very low, so that you have to stoop in entering. These houses are quite tight and warm; but the chimney is placed in a corner. 129


This statement is in contrast to the oft expressed opinion that Swedish log culture on the Delaware was the center of later dispersal, and that others, particularly the Scotch-Irish, borrowed it from the Swedes and carried it with them as they moved into the frontier (See: Morrison, op. cit., p. 13; and Harold Shurtleff, The Log Cabin Myth Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939, p. 211).

Technical features of early Swedish log construction were the use of unhewn logs,\textsuperscript{130} round top and bottom notching,\textsuperscript{131} and projecting log ends or "headers" (Figure 6). Morphologically, the buildings were generally one-room, with front and back doors, medium-steep roof, storage-loft, interior chimney, and corner fireplace.\textsuperscript{132}

Few, if any, extant examples of Swedish log houses are presently surviving, although several Swedish-type log houses, incorporating some of the Swedish tradition, are found in the Delaware region. The Price's Corner log cabin (Figure 7), the log cabin at Salem (Figure 8), and the "Swedish House" at Hancock's Bridge (Figure 9) are all morphologically similar to older cabins. However, except for the hexagonal headers,\textsuperscript{133} the hand-hewn timbers, wide spacing (caulked), enclosed joints, and v-shaped notching are more typical of German log construction (Figure 10).\textsuperscript{134} The more recent Salem log house and the

\textsuperscript{130}Logs hewn with hand adzes were undoubtedly also used at an early date on the Delaware. In 1643 "oak planks" were purchased from the English colony, presumably in New England (Johnson, \textit{op. cit.}, I, p. 315), and by the following year saws for a saw mill arrived in the colony from New Sweden (\textit{ibid.}, p. 316) so that planks were available for construction purposes. Johnson is unclear, however, and other sources are silent on the matter, as to when the saw mill, if ever, was constructed.


\textsuperscript{132}Morrison, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 169-170

\textsuperscript{133}According to Erixon (\textit{op. cit.}, p. 16), hexagonal ends are quite old, appearing towards the end of the Middle Ages in Sweden. Their distribution usage in Sweden is closely related to the Värmland area from which many of the first settlers came (\textit{ibid.}, p. 27).

\textsuperscript{134}Wertenbeker, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 304.
Single notching

Double notching

1. crown  3. top notch
2. head   4. bottom notch

Double round notch

protruding ends or "headers"

Figure 6. Modes of Swedish log construction.  
Source: Erixon, _op. cit._
Figure 7. Price's Corner Log Cabin. Formerly at Price's Corner, near Marshalltown, Delaware; now at Fort Christina Monument, Wilmington, Delaware.

Figure 8. Log Cabin at Salem, New Jersey.
Figure 9. "Swedish House," Hancock's Bridge, New Jersey.

Figure 10. Price's Corner Log Cabin. Note hand-hewn timbers, v-notching, and hexagonal headers. Chinked with various substances.
so-called "Swedish House" at Hancock's Bridge, erroneously publicized as "built in 1640," are definitely not of the Swedish period, not only because they are built of well-fitting hewn logs, but also, and primarily, because of the "dovetail" notching (Figures 11 and 12), a technique not utilized by the Swedish peasant until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Little is known of other buildings and farming accouterments, such as barns and fences, except that in the case of barns "they were constructed along the same principles as the dwellings and out of the same material." The enclosure of fields and pastures with wooden fences was common practice in Sweden, and Swedish wooden fences (Figure 13) on the Delaware were probably similar to types used in Sweden. In the early days of the settlement, however, the cattle were apparently allowed to wander and were only kept in the barnyard overnight. Swine, also, were originally allowed to run wild, and horses and sheep were probably fenced. At a later date (1654), the settlers were ordered, 'on penalty of punishment,' to enclose their

135 Swedish political control on the Delaware lasted from 1638 until 1655.
136 This type of log construction was more common to the Germans (Wertenbaker, op. cit., pp. 303-305).
137 Erixon, op. cit., p. 32. Dovetail notching was also practiced by the Germans (Wertenbaker, op. cit., p. 305).
139 Lindeström, op. cit., p. 38.
140 Johnson, op. cit., I, pp. 319-320
141 Ibid., p. 320; also Lindeström, op. cit., p. 139.
142 Johnson, op. cit., p. 320.
Figure 11. "Dovetail" corner-notching, well fitting hewn timbers, and enclosed joints. Salem Log Cabin.

Figure 12. "Dovetail" corner-notching, "Swedish House" at Hancock's Bridge. Note the extremely well finished and well fitted hewn timbers.
Figure 13. A model of a Swedish-type fence, commonly known as "dog-leg." Courtesy of the Mercer Museum, Doylestown, Pennsylvania.
plantations and watch that their cattle did no damage.\textsuperscript{143}

\textbf{Toponomy}

Swedish and Finnish place names on the Delaware, in contrast to Dutch generic, common terms, are largely proper nouns. Some representative ones garnered from present-day topographic maps\textsuperscript{144} are Swedesboro, Fort Elfsborg, and Finn's Point. Lesser places are Swedes Bridge, Swedes Bridge Road, and Swedes Run, all in the area northeast of Salem. Swedish and Finnish family names are also applied to places or features: Helm's Cove, near Salem; Mullica River, north of Atlantic City; Mullica Hill, near Swedesboro; and Peterson Run, near the Maurice River, are a few examples.\textsuperscript{145}

Another example of place-name application was the introduction of the Finnish "sauna" or bath house.\textsuperscript{146} The Swedish word for this type of building was "bastu" or "Finsk bastu,"\textsuperscript{147} several of which were constructed in the Swedish and Finnish settlements on the Delaware.\textsuperscript{148} This Swedish word, with minor changes in the spelling, has been incor-

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\textsuperscript{143}Quoted in Johnson, \textit{op. cit.}, II, p. 523.

\textsuperscript{144}U.S.G.S. Topographic Maps, \textit{op. cit.}

\textsuperscript{145}Mullica is one of the few recognizable Finnish family place names on the Delaware (A.R. Dunlap and E. J. Moyne, "The Finnish Language on the Delaware," \textit{American Speech}, XXVII [1952], p. 88).


\textsuperscript{147}Johnson, \textit{op. cit.}, I, p. 358.

\textsuperscript{148}Idem.
porated into several place names in southern New Jersey. Bastowe Creek, north of Salem, and probably Stow (minus the "bat") Creek, between the Salem and Cohansey rivers. Outside of the immediate area, northwest of Atlantic City, is Batsto and the Batsto River.

Family names of Swedish and perhaps also Finnish origin are found in fairly large number in south Jersey. Many of these names, despite their having been Anglicized, are still recognizable; for example, Banks from Bengtson, Keen from Kyn, Swanson from Svenson, Wheeler from While, Hoffman from Hopman, Boon from Bonde, and Jones from Jonesson. Typical unadulterated names are Erickson, Helm, Johnson, Steelman, Tallman, and Vanneman.

Maritime Activity

Swedish trade and commerce were far more considerable than that of the Dutch, and the Swedes were the first to develop any substantial amount of inter-colonial maritime trade. As in the case of New Netherland, New Sweden was first to serve the needs and wishes of the mother country. The colony's overseers were directed to clear land, plant tobacco, sow grain, experiment with silk worms and the growing of ginger and sugar-cane, select harbors, and commence com-

149 Dunlop and Moyne, op. cit., p. 87.

150 The records indicate that Finnish family names were generally recorded by the Swedes in a non-Finnish manner and that the appellation "the Finn" was then added (ibid., p. 88).

151 Federal Writers' Project, op. cit., p. 106.
merce, seeking to bring all Delaware trade into the hands of the Swedes.

A desire in Sweden for tobacco, silk, and sugar was the obvious cause for their inclusion in these directions. The only one of the three to succeed was tobacco, and although it was grown in New Sweden, the amount was never very large and the colony depended upon purchases from Virginia and Maryland and from the English settlement on the Delaware at Varkens Kill (Salem Creek, New Jersey).

152 Johnson, op. cit., II, p. 499. See also: "Instruction for John Printz, Governor of New Sweden [August 15, 1642]," in Linn, Archives, V, pp. 797-806.

153 Certain concessions were given to the New Sweden Colony to help them develop their trade. In 1653, for example, Swedish subjects were permitted to trade on the Delaware and its surrounding area "without paying any longer duty or tax, on condition, however they pay an indemnification of two per cent, upon all merchandize, according to a reasonable valuation. And if they import the merchandize they may procure by trading in the said river, upon Swedish vessels, into any part belonging to her Majesty, they can there land and sell the same exempt from all duty and charge. But it shall not be permitted to foreign vessels to trade upon the said river with the Savages or with any others, but with the company alone" ("Orders of the College of Commerce Concerning Freedom of Trade to New Sweden [December 1653]," in Linn, Archives, V, p. 813).

154 This 1641 settlement, made by Englishmen from New Haven, was the only successful occupation of land on the Delaware by the English during the Dutch and Swedish periods. Another attempt at settlement was made by the English at the mouth of the Schuylkill in 1642 (later the site of the Swedish Fort Nya Korsholm in 1647), but the Dutch destroyed the English-built blockhouse and carried the settlers to New Amsterdam (Johan Printz, "Report of Governor Johan Printz, 1644," op. cit., p. 100). The Varkens Kill settlement numbered about 60 persons and carried on trade and agriculture, particularly tobacco culture (Johnson, op. cit., I, p. 211).
Tobacco, obtained in the West Indies and amounting to 11,873 pounds, along with several thousand pelts from the Delaware, comprised the first shipment of goods sent to Sweden in 1640. Trade in tobacco generally increased throughout the life of the colony while trade in furs showed a continuing decrease.

Although the major traffic in trade was with Sweden, the colony did engage in trade with its neighbors, including the West Indies, the New Netherland colony on both the Delaware and Hudson Rivers, New England, and Virginia and Maryland. The greater part of this trade, except that already mentioned, was in the exchange of provisions and other goods of local economic necessity.

In addition to the Swedish-built and owned ships sailing between the colony and Sweden, and in order to take better advantage of the coastal commerce, a number of colony-owned ships were built on the

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155 Johnson, op. cit., I, pp. 117 and 159.
156 Ibid., p. 119.
157 Ibid., II, pp. 637-639 (chapter L, "The Tobacco Trade of the American Company, 1654-1658").
158 Ibid., I, pp. 288-289.
159 Ibid., p. 195. A Negro slave, probably the first in New Sweden, and apparently also the last, was part of a return cargo from the West Indies in 1639.
160 Ibid., p. 313.
161 Ibid., p. 314.
Delaware by the Swedes. This included two "large boats" built near Fort Christina wharf in 1644 for use at Fort Elfsborg and Fort Christina, several sloops for the coastal and river trade, and a large ship of 200 tons burden built in 1652, presumably for purposes of defense and for preying on Spanish commerce.

The Swedish colony suffered mostly from its late start as a colony; consequently, as compared to its older neighbors, it had developed little in the way of potential trade items from its available resources and was primarily an importing colony, importing, as has been indicated, basic provisions for the pioneer needs of the colonists and the colony. Even the cargoes from Sweden to the colony, supposedly to assist them in their trade, were more needed by the settlers there and could not be exchanged in trade. For quite similar reasons, the Swedish College of Commerce sent to the colony a Captain of the Navy "to superintend carefully the construction of vessels, in order that they be faithfully and diligently built" ("Orders of the College of Commerce Relative to the Superintending of the Construction of Vessels in New Sweden [November 1653]," in Linn, Archives, V, p. 814).

162 The importance of this activity can be seen by the fact that the Swedish College of Commerce sent to the colony a Captain of the Navy "to superintend carefully the construction of vessels, in order that they be faithfully and diligently built" ("Orders of the College of Commerce Relative to the Superintending of the Construction of Vessels in New Sweden [November 1653]," in Linn, Archives, V, p. 814).


164 Ibid., pp. 321 and 340.

165 Ibid., p. 341.

166 "This cargo which we now have brought with us cannot be used for much else at this time than to enlist and hold the savages in good friendship and for the buying of provisions and necessaries, without which we could not subsist here..." (Johan Rising, "Report of Governor Johan Rising, 1654," op. cit., p. 143).
the Dutch colony on the Delaware found itself in the same position, and the worthiness of the regions was never fully realized by the Dutch or the Swedes during their tenure on the Delaware.

Summary

The Swedes and Finns, coming to the Delaware almost contemporaneously with the Dutch, also established a number of initial patterns of settlement and land use. For instance, the Swedes and Finns introduced additional European plants and animals and associated elements, principally the log cabin. Living in dispersed, riverine locations, the Swedes and Finns were the first Europeans on the Delaware to penetrate, clear, and settle the coastal hinterland. Most significantly they established, although not in south Jersey, an earnest commercial-maritime enterprise which included the building of ships.

In comparison with the Dutch, it would appear that the Swedes and Finns were greater contributors to the development of the cultural landscape, largely because they settled over a greater area. This dispersion carried them directly into southern New Jersey, particularly along the navigable streams, where even today tangible evidence of their former presence can be noted.

\[167\] The Dutch, even as late as 1663, long after they had gained ascendancy on the Delaware, were aware of the fact that they lagged considerably in maritime activity. In "Some Thoughts on the Colonie at the South River in New Netherland" (Linn, Archives, V, p. 483), it was written that, "The English afford us an instance of the worthiness of New Netherland, which from their Colony alone already sends 200 vessels, both large and small, to the Islands."
CHAPTER III

THE ENGLISH COLONIAL LANDSCAPE

Some few Years since, there were several Printed Papers published, giving Account of this Colony, which gave Encouragement to many Persons to Purchase Lands, and Transport Themselves, Servants, and Families thither, who have settled Themselves in that Colony, upon the Great River of Delaware, and the Creeks and Harbors thereof; and have Built some Towns apt for Trade, with Convenient Ports, where large Ships of Considerable Burthen have already unloaded.

And there are also many Families, who have settled Themselves in that Country; some about Husbandry, others have Erected Mills for Grinding Corn, and several other necessary Tradesmen have There settled Themselves in Towns, and in the Country, fit for their Respective undertakings.

With the end of Dutch activity on the Delaware, brought about by English expansion, and with the creation of the Province of Nova Caesarea or New Jersey, with its division of East and West Jersey

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1Two important propaganda pieces published were: Budd, op. cit., and Gabriel Thomas, An Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and Country of Pensilvania; and of West-New-Jersey in America (London: A. Baldwin, 1698), pp. 34.


3The Dutch surrendered New Netherland to England in 1664, but regained control for a short time in 1673. However, by the Treaty of Westminster, 1674, the Dutch relinquished their claim for the final time.
(Plate VIII) and the acquisition of the latter by English Quakers, a new period of settlement took place in southern New Jersey.

**LAND DIVISION**

Initially, it had been intended to divide West Jersey into ten parts or "tenths" and that into one hundred parts for the purpose of

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4 Charles II, King of England, granted to his brother, James, The Duke of York, all the region included in New Netherland. In turn, the Duke deeded part of the territory, calling it Nova Caesarea or New Jersey, to Sir George Carteret and Lord John Berkeley. In 1674, Berkeley sold his share to Edward Byllinge, a London Quaker, who later deeded it in trust to a group of English Quakers, William Penn being one. This sale marks the beginning of the division of East and West Jersey. A separating line, running from Barnegat Creek to a small creek (probably Pensauken Creek) south of Rancocas Kill (south of Burlington and not shown on Plate VIII) was informally established in 1674, but was later changed several times, although by the Quintipartite Deed of 1676 the matter was temporarily solved and later confirmed by King George II in 1773 and by the New Jersey Supreme Court in 1855, by a line from Little Egg Harbor to the northernmost branch of the Delaware River, latitude 41° 41' North.
Plate VIII (Following Page). John Worlidge's "A New Mapp of East and West New Jersey [1690?]."

This map shows "The Line of Partition Actually Drawn Between East and West Jersey." Obviously, West Jersey might better be called South or Southwest Jersey, including all of the area bordering on the middle and lower Delaware River and Bay. East Jersey, then, is perhaps better designated as North Jersey. The so-called "Line of Partition between Burlington and Glocester Counteys" indicates the initial line of demarcation between the two divisions. Courtesy of Library of Congress.
selling and settling the land, but this was not carried out to any extent, although the later development of counties was based, in part, upon the "tenth" system. Instead, land was sold and surveyed, often

5"The Epistle of Penn, Lawrie, and Lucas, Respecting West Jersey, 1676," in Myers, Narratives, p. 183. Prior to Quaker control, certain concessions and agreements relating to settling and governing the colony were promulgated by Berkeley and Carteret. For example, "freemen" who went to the colony before the end of January 1666 were to be given 150 acres of land, plus 150 acres for every able-bodied servant who accompanied them; 75 acres for less able-bodied servants, male or female; and 75 acres for each slave, male or female, above the age of fourteen ("The Concessions and Agreements of the Lords Proprietors of the Province of New Cesarea or New Jersey to and with all and every the Adventurers and all such as shall settle or plant there [1655]", New Jersey Archives, eds. W. A. Whitehead, F. W. Ricord and W. Nelson (Newark: Daily Advertiser Printing House, First Series, Vols. I-X, 1880-1886), I, p. 37. Hereafter referred to as Whitehead, Archives). Proportionally smaller amounts were given to those going at a later date. No known English settlements took place in the western or southern part of New Jersey between this time and 1676, thus the nature of the land grants is only of historical interest.

6The first counties in West Jersey were laid out prior to 1700. They included Salem, Burlington, Gloucester, and Cape May, but with quite indefinite boundaries. Salem County, which included much of present-day Salem and Cumberland counties, was derived in part from the "Salem Tenth," Burlington from the "Yorkshire" and "London Tenth," and Gloucester from the "Third" or "Irish Tenth." Cape May, with no previous tenth association, bordered Salem to the east on the Maurice River. In 1748 Cumberland County was created from Salem County and included parts of Cape May, east of the Maurice River, which had been added to Salem in 1710. See: Carlos E. Godfrey, "Origins of the Counties in New Jersey," New Jersey Historical Society, Proceedings, IX (1924), pp. 371-374.
irregularly,\(^7\) by propriety to individuals who, upon the purchase of a share of approximately 13,000 acres, became proprietors.\(^8\) Many of these proprietors remained in England as absentee landowners and resold all or fractional parts of their propriety to others, some of whom came to settle and others who were merely seeking an investment. In order to handle the growing complexity of division and subdivision of land, a body, known as the West Jersey Council of Proprietors, was established as the agent of the proprietors in West Jersey.\(^9\)

\(^7\)It is readily apparent from the records that no one knew the total acreage of land in West New Jersey.

\(^8\)In order that settlement at first might be "the more speedily planted," the proprietors provided for a temporary system of land distribution contained within their "Concessions and Agreements," a document quite similar to that previously issued by Berkeley and Carteret in 1665. Under the terms, persons who settled in the colony before April 1, 1677 were entitled to 70 acres of land, plus an additional 70 acres for every able-bodied male servant and 50 acres for every less able-bodied servant, male or female, above the age of fourteen. For those who went after that date, during the next two years, a smaller amount of land was provided ("The Concessions and Agreements of the Proprietors, Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Province of West New Jersey, in America [1677]", in Whitehead, Archives, I, pp. 244-245).

\(^9\)For a detailed study of the Proprietors in West Jersey, see: Andrews, op. cit., pp. 138-181. A somewhat later development was the formation of another real-estate group, the West Jersey Society in 1692, which purchased several large proprieties of unsold lands in the province. See: West Jersey Society, West New Jersey Society Records, 1692-1920, 14 reels microfilm, Special Collections, Rutgers University Library.
A perusal of the early survey books of the Council\textsuperscript{10} indicates that the surveying and division of land became an entangled mosaic of metes and bounds. Throughout the surveys, streams and creeks appear as important boundary lines. Trees, marked with various initials, swamps, cedar woods, cranberry marshes, and Indian paths also served as reference points for property bounds. Although the total area was almost always given in acres, dimension measurements such as rods, perches, and degrees of angle were used.

Land was sold in irregular tracts of anywhere from less than 100 acres to several thousand. Nevertheless, one thing stands out: Large land holdings were divided and subdivided over and over in order to be of manageable and purchasable size for the average settler, and although large land holdings did exist, the myth of a large plantation aristocracy and slave-holding economy is one that should be dis-

\textsuperscript{10}Council of Proprietors of the Western Division of New Jersey, \textit{loc. cit.}
After the initial confusion over land grants, land ownership, and governmental authority, activity in West Jersey settled down to one of permanency, and the colonial cultural landscape of southern New Jersey began to take shape.

11When comparing East Jersey to West Jersey, many historians and writers make a statement similar to the following: "In contrast with West Jersey, most of the farms [in East Jersey] were small and were operated with free white labor" (Barck and Lefler, op. cit., p. 196). However true this might be, and although it is difficult to ascertain to what use each slave was put, it is important to note that in 1726 there were 1,915 Negro slaves in East Jersey (white population of 16,147) and only 666 in West Jersey (white population of 13,714 - "Census of the Province of New Jersey, Anno 1726," in Whitehead, Archives, V, p. 164). More complete records in 1745 show that this disparity had continued, for in that year East Jersey, with a white population of 26,290, had 3,182 slaves, and West Jersey, with a white population of 30,487, had but 1,424 ("Population of New Jersey in 1737-38 and in 1745," in Whitehead, Archives, VI, pp. 242-243).

12In 1702 the Proprietors of West Jersey, because of the confusion and resultant outbreaks of dissension over their authority, along with the Proprietors of East Jersey, surrendered their governing rights to the Crown, and New Jersey became a united Royal Colony under the administration of the Governor of New York. However, the two Jerseys continued in effect with separate capitals established (Burlington in West Jersey and Perth Amboy in East Jersey) for the alternate meeting of the legislature. This situation continued until 1738 when New Jersey was recognized as a separate colony and appointed its own governor.
In the hands of Quakers, West Jersey attracted many of similar religious belief, and during the first five years of settlement 1,400 migrants (800 in the first 18 months), mostly Quakers from England, came to the colony. Later migrants, however, were largely non-Quakers, being Presbyterians and Baptists from Ireland, New England, and New York, so that by 1699 only one-third of West Jersey's population was Quaker and only one-fifth by 1745.

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About 400 Swedes had made their homes along the Delaware River and Bay in south Jersey, and under the terms of the surrender of New Netherland to the English, they were to retain their lands and other possessions (Samuel Smith, *The History of the Colony of Nova Caesaria, or New Jersey* [2nd ed.; Trenton, New Jersey: William S. Sharp, 1877], pp. 48-49). However, they were deprived of their claims by the proprietors, probably because they held land along the navigable rivers, land that the Quakers were desirous of obtaining (see Acrelius, *op. cit.*, p. 126 for a similar occurrence in Pennsylvania), and although they often remained as squatters, they eventually purchased or rented lands (John E. Pomfret, *The Province of West New Jersey* [Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1956], pp. 277-278). In 1756, for example, Jacob Spicer reported in his diary that a Swede wanted to lease his plantation on the Maurice River ("Diary of Jacob Spicer, 1755-56," *New Jersey Historical Society, Proceedings*, Vol. LXIII (1945), p. 183.

Nevertheless, the Quakers, many of aristocratic background, dominated the affairs of West Jersey for a longer time than their numbers would seem to warrant, which has led to the general belief that West Jersey was almost entirely Quaker.

Owing to a great deal of promotion and other factors, the population of West Jersey rapidly increased during the eighteenth century from an estimated four to five thousand in 1699, to 16,147 in 1726, and to 31,931 in 1745. The southern portion of the province also shared in this increase. Fronting on the lower Delaware River and Bay, Salem County, which then included what later became

16 Several of these promotional pieces have already been indicated. Others included: "The Epistle of Penn, Lawrie, and Lucas, Respecting West Jersey, 1676," in Myers, Narratives, pp. 182-185; "The Present State of the Colony of West-Jersey, 1681," ibid., pp. 191-195; and An Abstract or Abbreviation of Some Few of the Many (Later and Former) Testimonys from the Inhabitants of New Jersey, and other Eminent Persons, Who have Wrote particularly concerning That Place (London: Thomas Milbourn, 1681), Pp. 32. For a general discussion of this literature see: Harry B. and Grace M. Weiss, The Early Promotional Literature of New Jersey (Trenton, New Jersey: New Jersey Agricultural Society, 1964), Pp. 82. An early and quite unusual promotional piece was the Seller and Fisher map of 1677, with its laudatory description of the province of West Jersey (Plate IX). See also p. 24, chapter 1. After 1681, William Penn's Holy Experiment in Pennsylvania undoubtedly distracted settlers from West Jersey.

17 Reed and Miller, loc. cit.

18 "Census of the Province of New Jersey, Anno 1726," loc. cit.


Courtesy of Library of Congress.
Cumberland County, claimed 3,977 inhabitants in 1726;\textsuperscript{20} 5,784 in 1737-38;\textsuperscript{21} 6,847 in 1745;\textsuperscript{22} and, combined with the newly formed Cumberland County, 10,609 in 1771-72.\textsuperscript{23}

Emigration to West Jersey was the cause of some concern among local officials in England. One wrote to the High Treasurer of England in 1677 stating:

My Lord, I thought it my duty to offer another matter to yr Lordshipps consideration, viz several persons with their wifes and children (in all to near the number off 200) many of them Quaquaers and other dissenters inhabitants about sheffield and the adjoining parts of Nottinghamshire and Darbyshf haue lately gone and are every day as yet going by the way of Hull to trans­port themselfes to an Island in America called west Jersey, and are dayly followed by others upon the same design; Insomuch as soe many leaving the Country togather giues some discouragement thes parts, that suffer already ffor want of people....\textsuperscript{24}

As the settlers came into the Delaware, they began to spread along a relatively narrow coastal strip from the falls at Trenton east to the Cohansesey and later to the Maurice River. Because of the generally swampy and marshy lands bordering the lower Delaware River and Bay, the earliest settlements were made on the first "fast" or firm

\textsuperscript{20}"Census of the Province of New Jersey, Anno 1726," \textit{loc. cit.}

\textsuperscript{21}"Population of New Jersey in 1737-38 and in 1745," \textit{loc. cit.}

\textsuperscript{22}\textit{Idem}.

\textsuperscript{23}"An Account of the Dwelling Houses and Inhabitants of Part of the Province of New Jersey and of the Marriages, Births and Burials in the said Province for one year, from the 1st of July 1771 to the 1st of July 1772," in Whitehead, \textit{Archives}, X, pp. 452-453.

\textsuperscript{24}"Documents," \textit{American Historical Review}, Vol. II (1897), p. 472.
ground inland from the tidal marshes and on the major streams. Thus Salem, the first permanent English settlement in West Jersey, on the east bank of Salem Creek; Hancock's Bridge on the east bank of Alloway Creek; Greenwich (also known as Cohansey) on the west bank of the Cohansey; and Bridgeton (formerly called Cohansey-Bridge and Bridgetown), also on the Cohansey, were all laid out prior to 1690 (Plate X). A few years later English migrants from Fairfield, Connecticut settled opposite Greenwich on the Cohansey, calling their Presbyterian Church, Fairfield, and their hamlet, New England Cross Roads, later changing it to Fairton, as it is known today.

Considering the New England origin of a number of the settlers, it is not surprising that there is a New England character to many of the south Jersey towns, consisting of a township organization, an occasional town square, and an architectural sameness. However, it should be emphasized that despite these similarities, south Jersey towns were not duplications of the New England compact farm village, but instead were, right from the start, true, functional towns, centers of some business and commerce and the home of artisans and craftsmen. A more significant difference, however, was the fact that the New England communal system was not found in the colonial towns of southern

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25 One important exception to this location was the establishment of Burlington (originally New Beverley, after the town of that name in East Riding, Yorkshire, England, then Bridlington, and finally Burlington) upstream on the inner coastal plain where tidal marshes and swamps were largely absent.

26 See p. 116. With the exception of the township organization (Pomfret, The Province of West New Jersey, pp. 168-169), it would appear that these characteristics developed in the south Jersey towns at a later date in the colonial period.
New Jersey.

Interior movement was restricted, undoubtedly, by its remoteness, uncleared forests, and the notable infertility of the Pine Barrens. In this sense, then, the boundary separating East Jersey from West Jersey was a logical one, for it passed through wasteland and the least populous part of the province. Movement east of the Maurice River was hindered by the extensive marshes and cedar swamps, and although there were English Quakers in Cape May at an early date, they had come primarily south along the coast from Long Island, and few settlements were made east of the Maurice until the mid 1700's.

Exclusive of the towns, which were clustered on the major streams, individual homesteads were dispersed, occupying individual sites of varying sizes between and along the streams. The first lands taken up, quite naturally, were those along the navigable streams, a situation which caused the General Assembly to pass a law in 1681 forbidding anyone to take up lands on both sides of a creek and to have "no more than 40 perches front to the river and navigable creek for each and every 100 acres." This general, dispersed pattern of settlement shows a definite continuity from the earlier Dutch and Swedish periods, although it would not have been unknown to eighteenth century

settlers from New England.\textsuperscript{30}

Detailed mapping of any part of southern New Jersey in the colonial period is non-existent. In 1842, however, the land-use of the immediate coastal area of southern New Jersey was surveyed and mapped at a scale of 1:20,000 or 3.17 inches to the statute mile (Figures 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18).\textsuperscript{31} Although of a late and non-colonial date, these maps do provide an insight into the colonial pattern of distribution and land-use. Changes from a period less than fifty years earlier were relatively insignificant, and the maps can probably be considered representative of conditions during the middle and late colonial period. The most significant and readily apparent features of these maps are the dispersed and riverine settlement pattern, the multi-purpose land-use, and the variable size of the land holdings.

\textbf{ROADS, BRIDGES, AND FERRIES}

Few roads worthy of the name connected either the farms or the towns. A law was passed in 1681 authorizing the construction of a "highway" (The King's Highway) from Bridlington (Burlington) to


Figure 14. The area around Salem and Salem Creek, 1842. In this and the following figures, note the dispersed and riverine settlement pattern, the irregular division of land, and the variable size of the land holdings. Photo-reduction from the original, about one-fourth size. (Reproduced at scale of approximately 1:80,000).
Figure 15. The area south of Hancock's Bridge and Alloway Creek, 1842.
Figure 16. The area around Greenwich and the Cohansey River, 1842.
Figure 17. The area south of the Cohancey River and New England Cross Roads, 1842.
Figure 18. The area around the Maurice River, 1842.
Salem. The completion of this road within a few years time is suggested by its appearance on the 1690 Worlidge map (Plate VIII). In 1697 the West New Jersey Assembly ordered a highway to be built connecting Salem to Cape May. Although not completed until 1707 because of the difficulty encountered in crossing the marsh lands between the Maurice River and Cape May, the first leg from Salem to Greenwich appears to have been built and in use somewhat earlier. This road lay inland from the Delaware and passed across Alloway Creek at Quinton. Later it was extended across the Cohansey to Fairton and to Dorchester on the Maurice (Plate XI). Several years later another road was built, south of the first and nearer the bay, passing from Salem to Greenwich via Hancock's Bridge (Plate XI).

The only major road leading into the interior was one running from Greenwich and Fairfield to Bridgeton and then northwest to connect with the King's Highway (Plate XI). The greater part of this road does not appear to have been completed until the mid 1700's. Minor roads, private and public, often very rough, also helped connect the smaller settlements.

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32 Leaming and Spicer, op. cit., p. 435.
33 Ibid., p. 556.
PLATE XI (Following page). Faden's map of 1777. Shows major roads, towns, ship channels, dividing lines between East and West Jersey, etc.
Courtesy of Library of Congress.
The problem of keeping the roads in repair was a real one during the colonial period. According to the General Assembly in 1767, a great deal of damage and unnecessary rutting of the public roads was caused by the varying gauges and narrow wheels of the carriages. Consequently, a law was enacted in that year whereby "Waggons or Carriages of Burden, to be drawn by four or more Horses, Oxen, or other Cattle, made and constructed after the first Day of May, 1768, traveling or passing on the publick Roads or Highways" had to have tracks measuring from center to center of not less than five feet and have wheel surfaces of at least four inches under penalty of 20 shillings.

One of the difficulties in the building of roads, such as they were in south Jersey, running across the grain of the land, was that encountered in crossing the streams. Thus, the first roads were located upstream with convenient fording places in mind. The later construction of roads nearer the bay, where the streams are wide, resulted in

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38 Idem.
the relatively costly construction of wooden bridges. Moreover, stationary bridges were subject to being swept away by freshets, and they also interfered with water transportation. In order to overcome these problems, drawbridges, or swinging bridges as they were sometimes called, were frequently built in their place in the late 1700's.

The building of a bridge often resulted in the development of a small settlement at the place with the appended word "bridge," or, in the case of a settlement already there, in the changing of its name so as to include the term: Hancock's Bridge, Quinton Bridge, Maurice River New Bridge (now Millville), Lummis Bridge (south of Millville), Thompson's Bridge (later Allowaystown, now Alloway), Dayton's Bridge, (later Centerville, now Centerton), and Cohansey Bridge (later Bridgetown, now Bridgeton).

Ferries were used to a lesser extent in crossing the streams, although they were not inconsequential and were probably quite general at places where the depth of the water prohibited fording prior to bridge construction. There was a ferry at Salem before a bridge was

39 The covered bridge first appeared in southern New Jersey in the early nineteenth century. The earliest such bridge may have been the one built at Salem in 1831 (Salem County Historical Society, "Place Names of Salem County, New Jersey," Salem County Historical Society, Publications, Vol. II, No. 4 [1964], p. 52). Another covered bridge is reported to have been built across Manumsuskin Creek near Port Elizabeth in 1838 (F. W. Bowen, History of Port Elizabeth, Cumberland County [Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1885; republished Millville, New Jersey: Millville Publishing Company, 1936], p. 74). For a discussion of the origin, spread, and cultural significance of the covered bridge, see: Fred B. Kniffen, "The American Covered Bridge," Geographical Review, Vol. XLI (1951), pp. 114-123.
built, and a ferry undoubtedly crossed the Cohansey at Greenwich, for a bridge was never built across the stream at that place; however, a law was not passed officially establishing a ferry there until 1766. Another likely ferry crossing was on the Maurice River south of Dorchester where, at what is now Port Norris, a place called Dallas Ferry existed in the late eighteenth century.

THE USE OF THE LAND

Agriculture

For the Soyl it is Good, and capable to produce any thing that England doth: [and] the Yearly Increase is far Greater.

From the start, West Jersey was primarily an agricultural colony, and the importance of agriculture cannot be overstated. As early as 1682, a weekly (Tuesday) market was started at Salem, and in 1685 two yearly agricultural fairs were also established there. Two yearly fairs were also established at Greenwich in 1695. The fairs continued in operation until the early 1760's when acts were passed

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40 Salem County Historical Society, op. cit., p. 52.
44 Learning and Spicer, op. cit., p. 454.
45 Ibid., p. 518. A year earlier similar fairs were organized at Burlington (Ibid., p. 453).
46 Ibid., p. 537. The fairs were held in the early spring before planting, and the late fall after harvesting.
"suppressing" them.  

The relatively fertile soils about the major riverine settlements made for the planting of a variety of crops. Thomas appears to have included them all in his account of West Jersey in 1698:

As for Corn, they have Wheat, Rye, Pease, Oates, Barley, Rice, etc., in vast quantities: Also Indian-Corn, Pease and Beans, likewise English Hemp and Flax, which prospers there exceedingly. Eating Roots, Pumpkins, Cashews, Water-Melons, Muskmellons, Cucumbers, Squashes, Carrots, Artichokes, Potatoes, Turnips, Garlic, Onions, and Leeks grow there in greater plenty than in England. And for Herbs, they have Cabbages, Coleworts, Savoys, Lettice, Purslane, and other Sallads in abundance.  

The large variety of crops testifies perhaps to the experimental and undoubtedly to the subsistence nature of early agriculture practiced by the English farmers. Soon, however, south Jersey farmers began to concentrate on the various grains, chiefly wheat and Indian corn, which had greater productivity and market value. Acrelius writing of the lower Delaware in 1759 said that "Wheat is the land's chief product," and Douglass claimed in 1749 that New Jersey raised more wheat than any other English colony in America.

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47 Allinson, op. cit., pp. 260 and 273. According to the act, the fairs had been found "inconvenient and unnecessary" (idem.). This may have been due to Quaker reaction against the frivolity associated with the fair, but more likely because of changing conditions, particularly the urban growth of Philadelphia. It is interesting to note that the fairs were suppressed in order of their proximity to Philadelphia: Burlington in 1722, Salem in 1763, and Greenwich in 1765. See also: Fred B. Kniffen, "The American Agricultural Fair: The Pattern," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. XXXIX (1949), pp. 264-282.


The first residents of Salem brought hand mills with them from England, but the availability of moving water enabled them to construct grinding mills at an early date. One of the first, a tide mill, was located at Greenwich prior to 1700. Several tide mills were also built in and around Salem at early times. Tide mills, however, had certain natural disadvantages, the most significant being that operations were limited to tidal periods. Most early mills were undoubtedly powered by stream movement, probably constructed with undershot water wheels that did not need the construction of a dam and race, as they made use solely of the natural forces of the moving water. Windmills were not too common in southern New Jersey, and even today a windmill of any type is an uncommon sight. In Salem a grist mill was advertised for rent as a windmill, although others referred to it as a tide mill.

Although the mention of individual mills is made here and there during the colonial period, apparently no enumeration was made prior to 1794; in that year Salem County was estimated to have thirty-two mills

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53 Bishop, loc. cit.

54 Weiss and Sim, op. cit., p. 27.

55 Ibid., p. 31.

56 Ibid., p. 35.
and Cumberland County sixteen. A fairly good number of place names, twenty-seven in all, incorporating the term "mill" in one way or another, appear on modern topographic maps of these two counties; additionally, the landscape is dotted with straight-ended ponds constructed, quite obviously, for mills.

Many farm holdings appear to have been fragmented. That is to say, farmers often owned different types of land having various capabilities. Thus, a farmer might have arable crop land, some unimproved grazing land, meadow land, and forested, often cedar-swamp, land. For example, in 1755-56, Jacob Spicer, farmer and public official in West Jersey, harvested wheat, looked after his cattle on the "Morris" River, and divided some cedar-swamp with one John Townsend. In all probability, depending upon the farmer's circumstance, this was a general situation. In fact, one of the initial concessions was that all settlers have proportions of meadow land in addition to their other

57 "An estimate of the Rateables in the State of New Jersey, taken by the Legislature, January 25, 1784," quoted in Weiss, ibid., p. 22. The number of mills in the two counties seems to have been underestimated. Tax rateables for Pittsgrove Township (one of eleven townships in Salem County) lists six grist mills in 1798, and there is nothing unusual about the size or location of this particular township (Salem County Historical Society, "Tax Rateables, Pittsgrove, 1798," MN. 193).

58 U.S.G.S. Topographic Maps, op. cit.


60 "Diary of Jacob Spicer, 1755-56," op. cit., pp. 85-86.
Most of this meadow land was located, however, in low, wet areas, and suffered from the intrusion of the tides. In 1687 an act was passed for draining meadow and keeping the tide out "in and about" Alloway Creek in Salem County. Similar laws were passed at later times in the 1700's authorizing landowners to construct means (dikes) to "stop out the tide" from overflowing their meadows around Salem Creek, Cohansey River, and the Maurice River. Since a considerable amount of land bordering southern New Jersey was in fresh and salt water marsh, a good amount of usable grazing land could be obtained in this manner. As a result, so-called meadow companies, whose job it was to construct and repair dikes (or banks as they were generally called) for the land owners, arose.

In constructing the banks a minor foundation of about four feet across and two feet in depth was excavated at a distance of approximately one rod from the water, leaving a narrow side of marsh called the "guard" or "shore." Then a trench twelve feet by three feet was excavated next to the creek, providing material for the bank itself. The bank was then built on and over the previously excavated foundation.

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61 Learning and Spicer, op. cit., p. 438.
62 Ibid., p. 554.
63 Allinson, op. cit., pp. 33 and 211.
64 The approximate acreage of fresh and salt meadow is 30,000 in Salem County, 48,000 in Cumberland, and 58,000 in Cape May (New Jersey State Geological Survey, "The Tide Meadows Along Delaware Bay," 3rd Annual Report, Trenton, 1866, p. 21.
65 See, for example: Männington Meadows Company, "Minute Book, 1756-1828," Salem County Historical Society, Mn. 70.
In Salem County, the general size of banks was four feet in height, eight feet wide at the base, and three feet wide at the top (Figures 19 and 20). Deposition of material on the guard also provided suitable material for repairing the banks, frequently damaged by muskrats and crabs. As the meadow level usually dropped noticeably after being diked off, the banks were opened on occasion to allow flooding and deposition of material which then built it back up and also, not incidently, increased fertility.

Budd regarded the natural marsh grass as "course," and suggested the sowing of "English Grass-Seed, which here thrives very well." According to Acrelius this was done, and became so successful that, in 1751, "the price of an acre of swamp meadow advanced to six hundred dollars copper coin." Banked meadow lands were primarily pasture areas for the livestock, although crops providing good yields were not infrequently grown there also.

The extensive development of banked pasture land for the livestock did not take place until rather late in the colonial period. Previously, horses, sheep, cattle, but especially swine, were allowed to run at large. In order to establish ownership, an elaborate sys-

67 Construction of the banks cost about $1.00 per linear rod; repairs cost .50 to $1.00 per acre (ibid., pp. 17-18).
68 Budd, op. cit., p. 34.
69 Acrelius, op. cit., p. 154.
Figure 19. "Shore" side of meadow bank, south of Hancock's Bridge, lower Alloway Creek.

Figure 20. Meadow side of banked land, looking directly toward the bank, south of Hancock's Bridge, lower Alloway Creek.
tem of identification, particularly by the method of marking ears, was used. This consisted quite simply of cutting notches of various shapes and designs in the animal's ear. The first ear marks were recorded in 1695 at a cost of six pence.  

Concomitant with the increase of free-ranging animals, and perhaps taking a cue from the Dutch and the Swedes, came laws regulating fences and fencing. The first of these laws in 1682 defined a lawful fence to "be a substantial fence, containing five feet in height, within this Province," changed the following year to "a fence substantially made, consisting of four foot and half a foot in height." At first these regulations were concerned solely with fencing in property and keeping livestock out, for the animals did quite well foraging for themselves in the almost virgin forests.

Additional fencing laws were passed at a later date. In 1730, for instance, the size, type, and purpose of a fence was regulated as "four feet and two inches high made of Posts and Rails ... strong and


71学习和斯派塞, op. cit., p. 455.

72 Ibid., p. 459.

73 "They have likewise great Stocks of Horses and Hogs, raised in the Woods; of the latter of which I have seen some of a Prodigious Weight that only fed there, their Horses are very hardy, strong, and of Good Spirit for Labour or Travelling..." (Thomas in Myers, Narratives, p. 349).
sufficient to prevent Horses and neat Cattle going through or under the same, Sheep only excepted."\(^{74}\) If cattle or horses broke down a fence and damaged fields, their owner was liable for the pounding, tending, and feeding of the captured offending animals.\(^{75}\) About the same time a law was passed preventing "small Stone Horses" from running at large.\(^{76}\) However, this law was established to better control his breeding and not because the animal was causing a great deal of damage. For the same reason, a law preventing the running at large of rams "at certain Seasons of the Year" was passed in 1775.\(^{77}\)

**Industry**

Although agriculture dominated human activity in colonial southern New Jersey, a certain amount of industry and manufacturing did develop there during the colonial period despite British regulations to the contrary.\(^{78}\) Many of these activities were, to be sure, largely of an intra-colonial nature, providing needed items for the local population, but in some cases providing goods for the inter-colonial and inter-continental market as well. In the first category were the usual

\(^{74}\)Allinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-97. However, other types of fences in addition to the post-and-rail were lawful if four feet, six inches high, "measuring from the level or surface of the earth." A supplementary law in 1775 considered all meadow ditches five feet wide and three feet deep to also be "good and lawful fences" (*ibid.*, p. 454).

\(^{75}\)Ibid., pp. 94-97.

\(^{76}\)Ibid., p. 93.

\(^{77}\)Ibid., pp. 492-493.

\(^{78}\)The various British "Acts of Trade" and "Enumeration of Goods" will be discussed more fully in the following chapter as they pertain particularly to port activity.
local industries associated with an agricultural economy: grist mills, saw mills, breweries, distilleries, tanning and currying, and the making of textiles. The first, and perhaps primary, market for the finished products of these industries was local, although a large amount was undoubtedly surplus and thus entered the general market.

Only a few industries in southern New Jersey were based upon the manufacture of non-agricultural products. They included the making of glass, iron, and wood articles.

The first "commercially successful and enduring glass works in the colonies" was established in 1738-39 approximately one mile from the village of Thompson's Bridge, now Alloway, on some two-thousand acres of land. Founded by Caspar Wistar, the famous works was known as the Wistarburg Glass Company. Based upon local sands, clays, forests, and a navigable stream to the bay, the Wistarburg glass factory manufactured dishes, pitchers, glasses, jars, bottles, lamps, and the like.

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The Wistarburg glass industry was quite successful, continuing in operation until the Revolution and also forming the basis of the future glass industry in southern New Jersey. Nevertheless, the governor of New Jersey, Franklin, in a report (purposefully negative?) regarding manufacturing in the colony wrote to his English superiors in 1774 that, "We have no other Manufacture carried on here (without the Coarse kind of Glass made at an old Glass-House near Salem may be reckoned such) that can at all interfere with those established at Great Britain."82

Several small iron furnaces were built in the southern part of New Jersey at an early date, smelting local bog ores and obtaining lime from oyster shells. Most of these furnaces were located on the northern fringe of the area, particularly within the Pine Barrens,83 and a bona fide iron works was not established in the bay region of Cumberland or Salem counties until the early 1800's.84

Lumber products became of some commercial importance during the period of Dutch and Swedish occupation. However, not until the English period did the cutting of the timber resource and the prepara-


83 Moreover, the outlet for most of this iron was via the Great Egg and Little Egg Harbor area. See: Arthur D. Pierce, Iron in the Pines (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1957), pp. 244.

84 In 1814-15, the Cumberland Nail and Iron Works was established at Bridgeton (James M. Swank, History of the Manufacture of Iron in All Ages [Philadelphia: The Author, 1884 J , p. 120).
tion of wood products develop in earnest. Much of the timber was consumed directly in the local construction of ships, fences, and building, but a great deal in the form of naval stores, charcoal, shingles, posts, staves, poles, and the like was exported. The presence in the southern coastal-plain swamps of the valuable white cedar (see Figure 21 and Plate II), a durable, non-resinous, and straight-grained wood contributed mightily to lumbering activity in southern New Jersey.

In summary, colonial manufacturing and industry in southern New Jersey, with the possible exception of the exploitative lumber industry, was not very substantial. The general success of agricultural crops and livestock raising, coupled with the lack of a considerable local market and significant quantities of natural resources, did little to advance manufacturing in the area.

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85 Shipbuilding and shipping are considered in chapter four.

86 Little, op. cit., p. 3.

87 For a detailed study of lumbering in New Jersey, see: A. Philip Muntz, "Changing Geography of the Woodlands of New Jersey, 1600-1900" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1959), Pp. 313.
Figure 21. White cedar swamp, vicinity of Dennis Creek, South Dennis (Courtesy: John M. Bernard).
HOUSES AND BUILDINGS

A distinctive characteristic of the cultural landscape of southern New Jersey is its houses and other buildings. Particularly outstanding are the brick and patterned-brick houses which are clustered about the lower Delaware in Salem and Cumberland counties. So readily apparent is this distribution that it serves as a convenient element for determining the general limits of southern New Jersey and its colonial ports as used in this study.

Patterned brickwork takes its name from the technique of over-burning ordinary red bricks at its head end, changing its color to a neutralized blue or deep bluish gray. The vitrified header, sometimes incorrectly called a glazed brick, is then used to produce a design by alternating headers with stretchers, the long side of the brick.

Two terms diaper and bond are used to describe the various patterned brickwork produced. A diaper pattern is one in which one or more units of design is constantly repeated, as in the zigzag pattern of the Chambless house and the Hancock house (Figures 22 and 23). The term bond refers simply to the pattern of bricks set in lines or courses. Flemish bond, most common in the south Jersey houses, has headers and stretchers alternating in each course or layer, with the courses staggered so that the header in the lower one is centered under the stretcher in the one above, resulting in a checkered pattern as in the Pissant house and the Shrouds house (Figures 24 and 25). A bond in which alternate courses consist entirely of headers and entirely of stretchers is referred to as English bond.
Figure 22. Zigzag diaper pattern of the Nathaniel Chambless house, built in 1730, near Hancock's Bridge.

Figure 23. Hancock House, Hancock's Bridge, built in 1734. Zigzag patterned brickwork.
Figure 24. The Pissant house, near Woodstown (north-central Salem County), with initials of original owners (Zaccheus and Deborah Dunn) and date built worked into the checkered pattern.

Figure 25. Thomas Shourds house built by Joseph Ware, 1730, near Salem. Checkered pattern and split-level.
According to Love, patterned brickwork in one form or another was used in all of the early colonies from New York to North Carolina, although the greatest concentration and the most ornate is found in the southern parts of New Jersey (Figures 26 and 27). Again according to Love, this type of brickwork was fairly well distributed throughout northern Europe during the seventeenth century, so that any of several migrant groups might have brought it to America. However, its heavy concentration in the English settlement areas indicates initial influence from England and represents continuation of an English tradition.

The early English Quaker settlers in western and southern New Jersey did not build brick or patterned-brick houses, but undoubtedly adopted some of the housing techniques of the Swedes, although Danckaerts makes it quite clear that in 1679 English colonists were living in frame and clapboard houses while their Swedish neighbors were living in log cabins. Love states that there was no brick building among the Swedes before 1675 in spite of a brick tradition in Sweden. However, as Gowans points out, it is interesting to speculate on the amazing coincidence between the distribution of patterned-brick houses in southern New Jersey and the former Swedish settlement area. Perhaps one contribution by the Swede to the domestic architecture of the

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89 Ibid., p. 185.

90 James and Jameson, op. cit., pp. 96-97.

91 Love, op. cit., p. 185.

Figure 26. The Dickinson house, near Oakland Station, Alloway Township, Salem County, north of Alloway.

Figure 27. Padgett house, near Harmersville on road between Hancock's Bridge and Canton, circa 1735. Note the changed roof line.
region is the so-called Swedish gambrel roof which differs from the Dutch and English gambrel by having upper and lower slopes of nearly equal length, but a lower slope which is steeply pitched. A number of patterned-brick houses in southern New Jersey give striking evidence of a former Swedish-like gambrel roof line, all since changed by raising the roof (Figures 27 and 28), with the two lone exceptions of the Oakford house and Vauxhall (Figures 29 and 30).

In general morphology, the brick and patterned-brick houses of southern New Jersey are typical examples of Quaker architecture found in and around Philadelphia, having two stories, interior end chimneys, pent roof, and an occasional hooded door. However, in addition to the highly decorative brickwork and the possible presence of the Swedish gambrel roof, the split-level appearance of many of the south Jersey houses (Figures 25 and 28), produced by adding an appendage to the immediate left or right of the main building, in "true Flemish style," provides another point of difference between the houses of southern New Jersey and those located across the bay and river.

Extant colonial brick and patterned-brick houses are found in good numbers in southern New Jersey from the area around Salem to the Maurice River. The more important areas are along the major streams.

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93 Wertenbaker, op. cit., p. 239.

94 Ibid., p. 154. This split-level extension is quite in contrast to the New England mode of adding appendages in the form of an L.

95 The split-level construction was also practiced in East Jersey despite a strong architectural influence from New England (Wertenbaker, op. cit., pp. 149 and 154).
Figure 28. Samuel Tyler house, split-level, near Salem, circa 1774. Roof raised from a gambrel roof to a gabled one.

Figure 29. Oakford house, built in 1754, below Hancock's Bridge on Alloway Creek. Gambrel roof.
Figure 30. Vauxhall near Greenwich, built in 1699. Gambrel roof.

Figure 31. The Falkinburg house, South Dennis, 1801.
which empty into the Delaware, particularly Salem River, Alloway Creek, Stow Creek, and Cohansey River. Significant concentrations are found in and about the towns of Salem and Greenwich. East of the Maurice River, however, colonial brick and patterned-brick houses are virtually nonexistent. One exception is the Falkinburg house in South Dennis, near Dennis Creek (Figure 31). This general distribution would seem to substantiate several concepts concerning the colonial economy of southern New Jersey: 1) Brick and patterned-brick houses are indicators of wealth and substance associated with this economy. 2) Salem and Greenwich shared and participated most in the economy, particularly in port activity, and thus the greater concentration of such houses in those places. 3) The area east of the Maurice, where soil conditions were poorer, was late in developing, and the Maurice River itself did not generally share in the economic gains related to port activity; nevertheless, although farms and farm buildings, as well as brick houses, are sparse east of the Maurice, the wooden buildings are similar to those to the west, indicating a common origin.

The most common wooden house type in the vicinity today is a fairly large, four-square, clapboard house (Figures 32 and 33). Although of a later date, it is probably representative of the more typical house type of the colonial period of southern New Jersey, and closely resembles the brick and patterned-brick houses. More pretentious wooden houses were obviously built during that period, but many

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96 This is not to deny the importance of wooden houses as similar indicators, but that few of the substantial ones are still in existence and thus do not aid in the analysis.
Figure 32. Common wooden house type, southern New Jersey. Between the Maurice River and South Dennis.

Figure 33. Similar style as above, somewhat larger and better preserved. Near Greenwich.
of them, unfortunately, are no longer standing. One possible example, built in 1833, is the Townsend house (Figure 34). This house has a symmetrical, rectangular plan with a central hallway extending from front to back, rooms on each side, and chimneys at the gabled end. Houses of this type were quite plain, lacking almost any attempt at embellishment, for most of them were built by Friends who objected to ornamentation.

In addition to dwellings, the other most typical building of the English colonial landscape was the barn. According to the anonymous author of *American Husbandry* (published in 1775), the Swedes upon their first arrival in the Delaware made stables for their livestock as in Sweden, but as the English came and settled among them and left their cattle in the fields all winter, as was the custom in England, the Swedes too adopted the practice. The major feature of the English barn was that its door was on the side, rather than in the gabled end (Figures 35 and 36). Possibly two types of farm buildings can be associated with the colonial English; the larger barn mentioned, and the carriage-house (Figure 37). Both of these buildings are found generally distributed throughout the area and into adjoining areas as well, and thus are not quite so diagnostic as are the brick and patterned-brick houses which have a more limited distribution.

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98 Wertenbaker, op. cit., p. 63.
Figure 34. The William Townsend house, circa 1833, Dennisville. Note the similarity to the brick-constructed Falkinburg house.

Figure 35. English barn type near Hancock's Bridge.
Figure 36. Close-up of side door, fairly large English barn type, near Greenwich.

Figure 37. Carriage-House, near Salem.
CHAPTER IV

THE COLONIAL PORTS

All these small towns and places, upon both sides of the Delaware river, carry on trade with Philadelphia and the country people ... 1

The American colonies were looked upon by the English as commercial sources of goods not obtainable in England, but needed there for consumption and manufacturing purposes. From the standpoint of commerce and economy, historians and others have traditionally divided the English colonies in the New World into four geographical sections: New England, the Middle Colonies, the South, and the West Indies.2 Major trade items differentiating one section from the other are usually generalized as follows: New England-- rum, fish, and lumber; the Middle Colonies-- diversified staples (the "bread" or "provision" colonies); the South-- unit staple crops, including tobacco, rice, indigo, timber,

1Acrelius, op. cit., p. 145.

2However, as Meinig has so aptly pointed out, "It is important to realize that such a grouping is not a product of a backward glance, in which such generalizations are apt to appear more clearly than to the people of that time. New England, the Middle Colonies, and the South were well recognized in Colonial times as distinct regions of differing cultures and economies, and provided the main contemporary geographic framework of thought" ("The American Colonial Era: A Geographic Commentary," Proceedings of the Royal Geographic Society of Australasia, South Australian Branch, Vol. LIX [Spring 1957-58], p. 19).
and naval stores; and the West Indies - the "sugar" islands. 3

According to most authorities, the Middle Colonies were less important in the eyes of a self-sufficient empire than were the other sections, 4 obviously the result in part of the often overlooked competition given the mother country by the "bread" colonies in the provision trade of the other sections, particularly the West Indies. Regardless, it was the Middle Colonies which had the largest ports, a central location, and at mid-seventeenth century, despite its late start in settlement, a population nearly one third of the total population of the mainland colonies.

Although it has often been pointed out, correctly or incorrectly, by both contemporary 5 and modern

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5 The Reverend Burnaby wrote in 1759-60 that, "There is no foreign trade carried on from this province [New Jersey]; for the inhabitants sell their produce to the merchants of Philadelphia and New York ..." (Burnaby's Travels Through North America, Re-Printed from the 3rd edition of 1798, introduction and notes by R. R. Wilson [New York: A Wessels Company, 1904], p. 108). Even the governor of the province wrote in 1741 that, "The Province of New Jersie sends but few Vessels abroad; what they raise is chiefly sent from the Eastern division of it to New-York and from the Western to Philadelphia from which places they are for the most part supply'd with what European Commodities they want; they importing but little of that kind themselves ..." ("Letter from Governor Lewis Morris to the Lords of Trade-about New Jersey Affairs [Trenton, August 16, 1741]," in Whitehead, Archives, VI, p. 135).
authorities⁶ that New Jersey's commerce went through New York or Philadelphia, it is the purpose of this chapter, as well as this study, to comprehend the factors responsible for the development of the so-called "lesser ports" of the southern part of West New Jersey,⁷ to examine their geographical nature, to see what their role was in the commercial activity of that region in particular and of the Middle Colonies in general, and last, but not least, to establish reasons for their eventual decline.

FOUNDING OF THE PORTS

In spite of the precedent established by the Dutch and Swedes-Finns for maritime trade and commerce, there was no definite focus to this activity in southern New Jersey until the late seventeenth century and the more extensive and permanent settlement of the region by the English. By the concessions of 1677, the establishment of ports and the carrying on of commerce was officially sanctioned, and settlers going to the province of West New Jersey were given the right to:

... direct and appoint Places for such and so many Towns, Cities, Ports, Harbours, Creeks, and other Places for the convenient lading and unlading of Goods and Merchandize, out of the Ships, Boats, and other Vessels, as Shall be expedient; with such Jurisdictions, Privileges and Franchises to such

⁶Albion states (loc. cit.) that, "although New Jersey produced its fair share [of wheat and corn], most of its seaborne trade went through the big ports just across the Hudson or the Delaware."

⁷West New Jersey is here regarded not only as an early political faction which continued until united with East Jersey in 1702 (footnote 12, chapter three), but also as that part purported to be economically related to Philadelphia.
Cities, Ports, Harbours, Creeks or other Places as they shall Judge most conducing to the general good of the Province and People thereof. 

The first ports established, Salem on Salem Creek and Greenwich on the Cohansey were located on the first "fast" ground inland from the Delaware; and their designation as "ports of entry" in 1682 and 1687 respectively signaled the successful inauguration of port activity in southern New Jersey. At a later time and further inland, near the head of navigation, two additional towns were also formally established as official ports: Bridgeton on the Cohansey and Port Elizabeth on the Maurice. Other riverine settlements, of uncertain significance, were located generally at points in between, or on smaller

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8 "The Concessions and Agreements of the Proprietors, Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Province of West New Jersey, in America [1677]," op. cit., p. 267.

9 Defined as a place where customs officials check foreign goods entering the colony.


11 Sickler, loc. cit. One shilling was paid for entering, and one shilling for clearing, for all vessels under 100 tons, and two shillings for vessels over 100 tons (Leaming and Spicer, op. cit., p. 446).

The first customs collector at Salem, James Nevill, was appointed at about the same time.

12 Their formal establishment as official ports did not take place until 1789 (Cushing and Sheppard, op. cit., p. 716).

13 Undoubtedly they were of considerable importance, helping to connect the hinterland of Salem and Greenwich, the major collecting and distribution centers. Unfortunately, though, no data relating to these secondary ports are available.
streams; for example, Hancock's Bridge and Thompson's Bridge (now Alloway) on Alloway Creek, Maurice River New Bridge (now Millville), Dallas Ferry (now Port Norris) on the Maurice River, and Dennisville on Dennis Creek.

Although small, Salem and Greenwich, the chief port towns, were not unimpressive. Both were laid out with a wide street leading to the waterfront and the wharfs (Figures 38 and 39). In Salem this street, originally called Salem Street or Wharf Street, was 90 feet in width (Figure 40). Ye Greate Street in Greenwich, 100 feet wide to the landing, was laid out in 1684 (Figure 41). Along both streets, substantial houses and at least one Quaker church were built. As early as 1681, Thomas described Salem as a town with "very many fine stately Brick-Houses built, and a commodious Dock for Vessels to come in at ... ." By the middle of the eighteenth century, according to Acrelius, Salem had 120 houses; however, Greenwich was much smaller, having only "between 40 or 50 dwellings" as late as 1834.

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15Sickler, op. cit., p. 8.
16Myers, Narratives, p. 345.
17Acrelius, op. cit., p. 145. Acrelius was writing about his seven years experience in the colony between 1749 and 1756.
Figure 38. Location of colonial wharfs at Greenwich. View is looking upstream on the Cohansy from the Greenwich side.

Figure 39. Salem docks, looking upstream from the right bank. Highway bridge crosses Salem Creek north of the former Salem Street.
Figure 40. Salem Street, Salem. View is from the wharfs.

Figure 41. Ye Greate Street, Greenwich. View is towards the wharfs.
THE PORTS AND THEIR HINTERLAND

Because of inadequate and restricted means of overland movement during much of the colonial period, most, if not all, of the inter-colonial trade, and probably much of the intra-colonial trade as well, went by water. Of course, commerce with the mother country, other European nations, and the West Indies was solely by water. Consequently, the port town was the economic focal point of colonial trade and commerce.

The south Jersey ports of Salem, Greenwich, and others would seem to have been well situated for active participation in this maritime trade. In addition to their protected riverine sites and a near-central position between the northern and southern colonies, they also had the apparent advantage of an early start, for at the same time Salem became a port of entry in 1682, Philadelphia was just being laid out and the entire province of Pennsylvania had a population of but one thousand.20

The development of a port, however, depends in large measure

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19 See page 92, chapter three.

20 Oliver P. Chitwood, A History of Colonial America (New York: Harper and Brothers, 3rd ed., 1961), p. 206. However, the population of Philadelphia increased rapidly thereafter to 7,000 in 1685 and 30,000 at the time of the Revolution.
upon the geographical nature and extent of its hinterland, which provides the port with exports. Conversely, it would seem that the port should have an important effect upon the development of the hinterland, for it receives goods through the port. Regardless, after first examining the activity of the ports and their trading patterns, it will also be the purpose of this chapter to analyze the interrelationships of the colonial ports with the hinterland.

Generally speaking, the hinterland of the south Jersey ports varied little during the colonial period, remaining largely agricultural and extending approximately from Dennis Creek on the east, to Salem Creek on the west, and to the Pine Barrens on the north (Plate XII). Throughout most of the period it remained a "primitive"

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21 Guido G. Weigend ("Some Elements in the Study of Port Geography," Geographical Review, Vol. XLVIII [1958], p. 185) defines the hinterland as "organized and developed land space which is connected with a port by means of transport lines, and which receives or ships goods through that port."

22 See page 103, chapter three.

23 Because the source of goods exported and the distribution of those imported is seldom stated, the geographical limits of the hinterland is based primarily upon indirect evidence, such as the general and regular association of other places and areas with Salem and Greenwich.
HINTERLAND
OF THE
COLONIAL PORTS
SOUTHERN NEW JERSEY

PLATE XII
hinterland,²⁴ poorly connected, severely limited, and sparsely populated.²⁵ Despite these limitations, undoubtedly common to other colonial areas as well, the hinterland did serve an important function, was rather effectively exploited, and helped contribute to the growth and importance of the port towns.

PORT ACTIVITY: EXPORTS AND IMPORTS

The geographical nature of the colonial ports of southern New Jersey, as well as their hinterland, is best seen, first, through an examination of the types and quantities of goods exported, and, secondly, through the types and quantities of goods imported, although in the latter case, the regular importation of a certain item may be geographically significant, indicating some possible shortage in the physical environment.

Unfortunately, accurate and official records regarding the

²⁴"Port hinterlands which are simple in composition and outline may be called 'primitive.' They lie behind ports on islands or behind ports along coasts where there is no cheap and easy lateral transport communication with the hinterland of the next port along the coast. Then all goods entering into the trade of each isolated community pass through each port and the hinterland of each port is the entire local inhabited area" (F. W. Morgan, Ports and Harbours [London: Hutchinson University Library, 2nd ed. rev., 1964], p. 111).

²⁵The founding of Penn's colony and Philadelphia across the Delaware in 1682 attracted many Quakers from West Jersey (Andrews, The Colonial Period ..., III, pp. 70 and 300), and thus contributed to keeping the population small.
exports and imports of south Jersey ports are largely lacking, particularly for the earliest period. Contemporary accounts indicate, however, only minor differences between the nature of early colonial exports and later ones. Writing in 1698, Gabriel Thomas states the chief commerce of Salem to be rice and cranberries. This is the first and only mention made of these two products as export items and probably indicates the early experimental nature of some of the agricultural activity, although cranberries continue to be a current product of parts of southern New Jersey. Sickler, a local historian, writing more recently and without reference, states that "the first articles exported from Greenwich and Salem for foreign consumption were deer skins, pelts, cedar posts, shingles, staves, wheat, corn, beef, and tallow."  


27Myers, Narratives, p. 352.

There is little doubt that the early and continued exploitation of the woodlands of southern New Jersey\textsuperscript{29} provided the south Jersey ports with one of their most significant exports throughout the colonial period (Tables 1 and 2). Confirmatory is Governor Morris' letter to the Lords of Trade in 1742 that without timber from New Jersey "Pensilvania cannot build a ship or even a tolerable House, nor ship off a Hogshead or a pine stave."\textsuperscript{30}

It is difficult, if not impossible, to assay the significance of the volume of wood exports from Salem and Greenwich for the earlier period, 1736-1740 (Table 1), as comparable records are lacking. Nevertheless, except for staves, the amounts do not appear to be very considerable. However, it is interesting to note that in both periods raw timber was only a small part of the total wood export. Obviously most of the timber went first to the sawmill where it was turned into some functional form, such as shingles, cedarboards, pine and oak staves, and hoops, which, of course, were worth more.\textsuperscript{31}

For the period 1768-1772 (Table 2), quantitative comparison of selected wood exports from Salem-Greenwich has been made with other

\textsuperscript{29}This activity is traceable, of course, back to the Dutch (page 32, chapter two).


\textsuperscript{31}According to an authority cited by Defebaugh, there were nearly 500 sawmills in operation in New Jersey in 1798 (J. E. Defebaugh, History of the Lumber Industry of America [Chicago: American Lumberman, 1907], II, p. 499).
**TABLE 1. EXPORTS OF WOOD PRODUCTS FROM SALEM AND COHANSEY [Greenwich], 1736-1740**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Staves (number)</th>
<th>Walnut logs (number)</th>
<th>Walnut logs (tons)</th>
<th>Shingles &amp; Clapboards</th>
<th>Hoops</th>
<th>Barrel Headings</th>
<th>Boads (feet)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1736</td>
<td>56,000</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1737</td>
<td>20,800</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>18,000</td>
<td>2,100</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1738</td>
<td>90,200</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>26,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1739</td>
<td>2,160</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>61,000**</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1740</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 169,160  3  800  79,000  2,100  1,000  30,000

* Calculated from CO 5/975

** Of the 61,000 exported, 30,000 clapboards and 25,000 shingles were specifically enumerated as "cedar".
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Boards &amp; Planks (number)</th>
<th>Cedar Boards (feet)</th>
<th>Shingles (number)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>oak and pine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salem and Cohansey</td>
<td>665,250^a</td>
<td>36,000</td>
<td>2,850,800^b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Jersey (remainder)c</td>
<td>1,094,600</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6,122,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Jersey d</td>
<td>70,589^e</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>53,600^f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delaware Valley (remainder)</td>
<td>10,285,895^h</td>
<td>66,421^i</td>
<td>13,114,399^j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Colonies (remainder)</td>
<td>7,898,877^l</td>
<td>360^m</td>
<td>6,242,275^n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. 370' of boards and planks imported coastwise during the same period.
b. 181,800 shingles imported coastwise during the same period.
c. Port of Burlington.
d. Port of Perth Amboy.
e. Imported 2,000 boards and planks coastwise during the same period.
f. Imported 152,800 shingles coastwise during the same period.
g. Principally the Port of Philadelphia, although including data for exports from other Delaware River ports, e.g., New Castle.
h. Imported 819,506 boards and planks coastwise during the same period.
i. Imported 53,780' cedar-boards coastwise during the same period.
j. Imported 836,420 shingles coastwise during the same period.
k. Port of New York.
l. Imported 232,032 boards and planks coastwise during the same period.
m. Imported 19,848' cedar-boards during the same period, coastwise.
n. Imported 1,020,685 shingles during the same period, coastwise.

* Calculated from Customs 16/1.
divisions of the Middle Colonies. With the lone exception of cedarboards, which was plainly the hinterland's most notable offering, the south Jersey exports are quite modest. However, it is difficult to ignore this trade as unimportant, for all of the enumerated wood exports from Salem and Greenwich went to either the West Indies or entered into the coastal trade. Moreover, it is well known that customs records for that trade were poorly kept. Despite the lack of evidence, it seems likely that some of the wood products imported into the various sections, particularly Philadelphia, came from southern New Jersey via Salem and Cohansey.

Comparison of the two sets of records does reveal several changes in the nature and quantity of wood exports. For instance, the export of cedar products appears to have fallen off sometime between 1740 and 1768, and although the data for 1768-1772 (Table 2) contain only selected wood exports, the exportation of staves and hoops during that period amounted to but 29,000 and 500 respec-

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32 John F. Walzer, "Colonial Coastwise Commerce, 1763-1775," (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1960), p. 24. In the case of cedarboard exports and imports, one example would tend to substantiate this statement: total cedar imports for all of the English colonies in 1769 was 43,860 feet based upon exports of only 13,275 feet, and no source for the difference can be found (Customs 16/1).

33 "But as the Chief Part of the Produce is sent to N. York & Philadelphia (without being entered at the Custom House here) from whence it is exported to other Countries, our Custom House Acc't of Exports, can be of very little if any Use in forming an Idea of the Quantity of our produce sent to foreign Markets" ("Letter from Governor Franklin to the Earl of Dartmouth, transmitting answers to inquiries relative to the present state and condition of His Majesty's Province of New Jersey [March 28, 1774]," in Whitehead, Archives, X, p. 442).
An act passed as early as 1713-14 for preventing the waste of "timber Pine and Cedar Trees and poles," as well as laying a duty upon staves shipped out of the colony,35 and another act, passed in 1772, making it mandatory to inspect and cull staves, hoops, shingles, planks, and boards before being exported36 would seem to indicate that there was a general decrease in the quantity and quality of the forest stands being cut.

The exploitation and export of naval stores from southern New Jersey was never of any apparent significance. For the two periods of quantitative data available, the only such item exported from Salem and Cohansey was twenty barrels of tar in 1770-71.37 In fact, 104 barrels of pitch were entered into Salem from North Carolina in 1737,38 revealing a lack of certain vital naval stores in south Jersey necessary to shipbuilding and repairing.39 The main reason for the dearth of a naval store production was the general remoteness of large stands of pine trees from which such products are obtainable.

Of course, a great amount of the wood production of southern New Jersey was consumed locally, particularly in the shipbuilding

34Customs 16/1.
35Allinson, op. cit., p. 17.
36Ibid., pp. 381-383.
37Customs 16/1.
38CO 5/975.
39Pitch was also used in waterproofing roofs of houses.
industry, and nearly every port, in addition to its wharfs and warehouses, had ship repairing and shipbuilding facilities, although Dorchester and Leesburg on the Maurice River (Figure 42) and Dennisville on Dennis Creek were most noted for this activity. However, scanty and incomplete records allow no estimation to be made of the total or average number of ships built in these yards. Moreover, many of the ships that were built there were later registered elsewhere, particularly in Philadelphia, yet carrying on trade from south Jersey ports.

Most of the ships constructed in southern New Jersey were of small tonnage, averaging less than 25 tons, and similar to other

---

40 Muntz, op. cit., pp. 157-158; and Cushing and Sheppard, op. cit., pp. 322 and 333. Shipbuilding in the English colonies was not greatly hampered by the British Acts of Navigation, for they allowed merchant vessels to be English or colonial built; and as colonial ships could be built more cheaply, they were eagerly purchased, so that by the time of the American Revolution one third of all ships in British registry had been built in the colonies (Albion, op. cit., p. 79).

41 Cushing and Sheppard, op. cit., pp. 716-717.

42 Marion V. Brewington ("Maritime Philadelphia, 1609-1837," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. LXIII [1939], p. 106) states that a majority of the 3,241 vessels, wholly or partially owned in Philadelphia between 1722 and 1776, were built along the Delaware.


Figure 42. This recent (1963) photograph of a shipyard at Dorchester, one of several on the Maurice River, illustrates the historic and geographic continuation of such activity since the colonial period.
such vessels built in the colonies. Chief among these, listed according to their largest percentage on the lists of ship registers, were sloops, shallops, schooners, and snows. A few larger vessels, ships and brigatines, averaging about 50 tons, are also listed.

In light of the recognized agricultural nature and productivity of southern New Jersey, it is surprising to find no substantial quantities of agricultural products listed as exports from Salem and Greenwich during the period from 1768-1772 (Table 3). For the entire period, the only grain reported exported was 220 bushels of Indian corn. However, for the four-year period, 1736-1740, Salem and Greenwich exported fairly large amounts of grain and other food supplies (Table 4). Although the two sets of records would not seem to compliment one another, it would be incorrect to assume a change in the nature or amount of these exports from south Jersey. The disparity exists, in all probability, from several factors: (1) the incomplete and frequently inaccurate record-keeping by the Customs Office, especially with respect to

45 There appears to be no unique boat type associated with the south Jersey shipyards (Brewington, personal communication, letter, July, 1964).

46 Calculated from "Ship Registers ...," loc. cit.

47 See page 103, chapter three.

48 Customs 16/1.
TABLE 3. FOOD AND LIVESTOCK EXPORTS FROM SALEM AND COHANSEY (GREENWICH), 1768-1772*

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* Calculated from Customs 16/1.
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<td>2</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

* Calculated from CO 5/975
(2) the fact that customs districts were so large and so inadequately supervised that smuggling to avoid paying the custom was quite successful, and (3) the undoubted fact that many...
agricultural products went to the urban area of Philadelphia and were not enumerated.51

The self-subsistence of southern New Jersey in agricultural production is seemingly substantiated by the almost complete absence of staple crops from import lists for the two period (Tables 5 and 6). However, a somewhat different picture is obtained from the Naval Officer's records for the several port districts of colonial Virginia (Table 7). Except for 2,000 staves exported from the Accomac district in 1762, all the remaining exports to Salem are agricultural products. Although there is no evidence that these products were imported for local consumption, it does pose a perplexing problem. However, when the Accomac imports from Salem (Table 8) are studied, it becomes likely that ships from Salem were acting as intermediaries for other places, most obviously Philadelphia,52 for few of the goods imported were produced or even generally obtainable in southern New Jersey.

---

51 Philadelphia imported coastwise considerable amounts of wheat, but re-exported even more, generally as ground flour, to foreign markets (Jensen, op. cit., p. 72). For example, in 1769 Philadelphia exported 188,035 bushels of wheat and imported, coastwise, 74,302. Similar occurrences are noted for each of the five years between 1768 and 1772, and in 1771 and 1772 Philadelphia imported, again coastwise, slightly more bushels of wheat than were exported (Customs 16/1). The same pattern is repeated for other food products, including Indian corn (idem.). One likely source for these agricultural staples would have to be southern New Jersey.

52 According to Jensen (ibid., p. 77), large amounts of Philadelphia capital were involved in the purchase of agricultural surpluses, most notably wheat, from the tobacco colonies. Salem and Greenwich bottoms were almost certainly participating in this trade, freighting durable goods from Philadelphia in exchange for Virginia foodstuffs.
TABLE 5. GENERAL IMPORTS, SALEM AND COHANSEY [GREENWICH], 1736-1740*

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<td>8</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>7000</td>
<td>11000</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
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</table>

* Calculated from CO 5/975
TABLE 6. GENERAL IMPORTS, SALEM AND COHANSEY \[GREENWICH\], 1768-1772*

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<td>1000</td>
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<td>20</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>1770</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>2900</td>
<td>1260</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-</td>
<td>7500</td>
<td>1700</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1650</td>
<td>2357</td>
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<tr>
<td>1772</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>5000</td>
<td>-</td>
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| Total | 1810 | 1 | 8200 | 4600 | 1260 | 20 | 2100 | 7357 | 230 |

* Calculated from Customs 16/1.
### TABLE 7. SALEM IMPORTS FROM VIRGINIA, 1762, 1763, 1764, 1765 and 1768*

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<td>600</td>
<td>4,800</td>
<td>2,600</td>
<td>94 20</td>
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<td>400</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>350 -</td>
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<td>1764&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>40 90</td>
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<td>1765&lt;sup&gt;d&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>900</td>
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</tr>
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<td>190</td>
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<td><strong>5,890</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,750</strong></td>
<td><strong>484 110</strong></td>
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</table>

a. Accomac District, 4 quarters.
b. Accomac district, 1st and 4th quarters.
c. Accomac district, 4 quarters.
d. South Potomac district, 4 quarters.
e. Accomac district, 4 quarters.
f. Upper James River district, 4 quarters.

*Source: CO 5-1448, 1449 and 1450.
<table>
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<th>Goods</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Goods</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
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<td>Ballast</td>
<td>15 Tons</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dollars, cash</td>
<td>1,230</td>
<td>Molasses</td>
<td>2 Hhds.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rum</td>
<td>3 Bbls., 5 Hhds.</td>
<td>Rum</td>
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<tr>
<td>Molasses</td>
<td>6 Bbls., 1 cask, 10 Hhds.</td>
<td>Molasses</td>
<td>1 Hhds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earthenware</td>
<td>2 Shipments</td>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>1 Bbl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nails</td>
<td>2 Bbls.</td>
<td>Cider</td>
<td>3 Hhds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt</td>
<td>310 Bu.</td>
<td>Goods, European</td>
<td>1 Shipment</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rum, W.I.</td>
<td>5 Hhds.</td>
<td>Dollars, cash</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goods, European</td>
<td>1 Bale</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>1 Bbl.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raisins</td>
<td>1 Keg</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Rice</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cider</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chairs</td>
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</table>

a. four quarters
b. four quarters

* Source: CO 5-1449 and 1450.
Nevertheless, it is quite apparent that foodstuffs were the single most important export product of southern New Jersey, and throughout the colonial period several acts were passed to help guarantee the quality and accurate measurement of these products. The first, in 1751, was designed to prevent the exportation of "unmerchantable" flour to foreign markets. A similar, but more extensive, act in 1772 provided for the branding of each flour cask with an identifying mark of the packer, the examination of both cask and flour, plus the inspection and measurement of all grains, including corn and rye, before shipping. Additional acts regulated the packing and quality of beef and pork.

54Ibid., pp. 378 and 382.
55Ibid., p. 451. The casks of pork and beef were also to be branded with letters "N.J." for New Jersey "and also with the Brand Mark of the Trader or Traders who shall direct the Packing of the same, and with the initial letters of the Christian and Sir Name at large of the Packers ... ."

Obviously, acts that attempted to insure quality of merchandise could only serve to increase, not decrease, their desirability, and almost without exception the West Jersey government and the subsequent united government of New Jersey attempted to formulate legislation favorable to trade and commerce. Few import duties were levied (Albert A. Giesecke, American Commercial Legislation Before 1789 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1910), p. 38), and the major purpose of export duties was ostensively to encourage home industries. For example, an export duty on wheat in 1714 was made in order to encourage the inhabitants to make their own flour ("Letter from Governor Hunter to the Lords of Trade - about New Jersey Affairs (New York, August 27, 1714)," in Whitehead, Archives, IV, p. 196). Bounties were placed on the production of certain products for the export trade, for example, flax and hemp (Allinson, op. cit., p. 281). Restrictive legislation was generally passed only during times of armed conflict when conditions were such that it had little actual meaning.
Few manufactured food products were reported exported from Salem and Cohancey (Tables 3 and 4). However, there is substantial evidence that two of them, rum and beer, plus several closely related items, sugar and molasses, may have been more significant than the data indicate because of the widespread smuggling involved in the importation of such products from the non-English, chiefly French and Dutch, West Indies. Although it does not appear that southern New Jersey carried on any extensive amount of distilling and processing of molasses to produce sugar, rum, beer, and other products, these goods did enter and clear the ports of Salem and Cohancey legally.  

56 Governor Franklin wrote, "The Chief Smuggling here, I suspect is the Produce of the foreign West India Islands . . ." ("Letter from Governor Franklin to the Earl of Dartmouth ..., [March 28, 1774]," op. cit., pp. 443-444). The smuggling was intended to avoid the effects of the various acts of the English Parliament (Molasses Act of 1733 and the Sugar Act of 1764) which imposed high duties upon the importation of these items from foreign sources in an attempt to protect and develop the British sugar islands in the West Indies. Gilman M. Ostrander ("The Colonial Molasses Trade," Agricultural History, Vol. XXX [1956], p. 77) claims that the Molasses Act was generally unenforced, and Albion (op. cit., p. 52) states that "complaisant customs officials winked at it for years."

57 Molasses was also used for cooking, medicinal purposes, curing meat, and pickling fish (Ostrander, op. cit., p. 82).

58 It should be realized that if some of these products entered illegally and were not consumed they could not be legally accounted for and would also have to be illegally exported. As the records show, more of these products were legally imported than legally exported.

59 CO 5/975 notes "duties paid" where appropriate.
and illegally.\textsuperscript{60}

TRADE TRIANGLES

Rather than following any classic "triangle of trade," vessels from Salem and Cohansey were involved in a number of trade routes which might be classified into three groups. First, and probably most important, although not supported by the available data, was the coastwise trade. The West Indian trade was second; the European trade, third.

The greater part of the coastwise trade was with Philadelphia, and much of the wood products,\textsuperscript{61} grain, and other foodstuffs shipped outwards from that port was most certainly of south Jersey origin.\textsuperscript{62} Coastwise trade was also carried on with both New England and the southern colonies. Once again, however, it is difficult to obtain a complete picture of this trade because of the incomplete and generally unkept records.\textsuperscript{63}

\textsuperscript{60}A report of Francis Hopkinson, who was appointed collector of customs for Cohansey (Greenwich) in 1763, states that "Smuggling was prevalent, chiefly in sugar and molasses" (quoted in Pierce, Smuggler's Woods, p. 22). It would appear that some advantage was obtained by illegally entering goods at Salem and Greenwich, from which places they could then be transhipped, unnoticed and with their duties unpaid, by smaller boats to Philadelphia ("Letter from Collector of Customs, Philadelphia [September 7, 1766]," Custom House Papers, MSS Pennsylvania Historical Society, Vol. V, p. 614).

\textsuperscript{61}Unfortunately, few journals of ships operating out of the South Jersey ports are extant. One, the journal of the shallop Cornwell (Peter Grubb, Merchant's Shipping Accounts, MSS Rutgers University, Special Collections, No. 185), which is probably representative of others, shows that in 1749 and 1750, shingles, cedarboards, staves, and cordwood were obtained from the Maurice River and Dennis Creek areas and shipped to Philadelphia.


\textsuperscript{63}Albion, op. cit., p. 74; and Walzer, op. cit., p. 24.
It is especially difficult to ascertain the nature and extent of the trade with the southern colonies, for during the entire period, 1736-1740, only one ship (Table 9)\(^4\) entered and cleared Salem-Greenwich for a southern port. A larger number of such sailings occurred between 1768 and 1772 (Table 10), and, as a matter of fact, exceeded all the remaining coastwise entries and clearings, but the arrangement of the data does not allow an analysis of the types and quantities of goods exported and imported.\(^5\)

Most likely, this southern trade was much as Acrelius described it in the mid-eighteenth century when he wrote of the Delaware ports that, "To North Carolina are sent wheat flour, bread, and cheese; and thence are brought tar, pitch, turpentine, hides, and tallow."\(^6\) However, as a result of increased agricultural production in the southern

\(^4\)In both cases it was the sloop Endeavour, built in New Jersey, but registered in Philadelphia. Imports included pitch and beaver and raccoon hides. Salt, rum, beer, and sugar were exported (CO 5/975). In 1730 the sloop Charming Betty carried beef, potatoes, pork, and fish to Cape Fear (William Burroughs, Salem, New Jersey, 1730-37, Sloop Charming Betty, MSS Rutgers University, Special Collections, No. 1547.

\(^5\)In addition to being incomplete, coastwise exports and imports in Customs 16/1 are simply grouped together and do not indicate destination or port of origin.

\(^6\)Acrelius, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 145.
TABLE 9. PORT OF ORIGIN AND DESTINATION OF SHIPS (AND THEIR NUMBERS) ENTERING AND CLEARING PORTS OF SALEM AND COHANSEY [GREENWICH], 1736-1740*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Port</th>
<th>Number of Entries</th>
<th>Number of Clearings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Castle, Pa.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nantucket</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhode Island</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long Island</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newport, Rhode Island</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbados</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lisbon, Portugal</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>26</strong></td>
<td><strong>27</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Calculated from CO 5/975.
TABLE 10. PORT OF ORIGIN AND DESTINATION OF SHIPS (AND THEIR NUMBERS) ENTERING AND CLEARING PORTS OF SALEM AND COHANSEY [GREENWICH], 1768-1772*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Port</th>
<th>Number of Entries</th>
<th>Number of Clearings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryland</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhode Island</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bermuda</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British West Indies</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>41</strong></td>
<td><strong>48</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Calculated from Customs 16/1.
colonies, a late eighteenth century change in the pattern of exchanging foodstuffs for naval supplies is evidenced by the cargo lists of the eleven ships entering Salem from tidewater Virginia between 1762 and 1768 (Table 7).

Although a generally clearer picture of trade to the north, including New England, is possible, it is made somewhat more complicated because several ports were involved. Ships entered and cleared from and to New York (rather infrequently), Long Island, Boston, Newport, and Nantucket (Tables 9 and 10). The chief product imported was New England rum ("The produce of His Majesty's Plantation upon oath here made," and "Legally Imported"). Additionally, furniture, iron, and Maderia wine came from Boston; whale oil and codfish from Long Island and Nantucket; and iron products from Rhode Island. Exports to all the New England ports consisted primarily of grain and agricultural supplies, although some wood products were also shipped.

Trade with the West Indies was closely related to the coastwise commerce. Vessels sailing to the "sugar islands" went there directly

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67 By the middle of the eighteenth century both Virginia and Maryland were producing sufficient agricultural supplies for their own needs, and began to export surpluses shortly thereafter (Jensen, op. cit., p. 77). Parts of North Carolina were exporting Indian corn before the seventeenth century, with large amounts being exported after 1750. Wheat was grown almost exclusively for export and fairly large amounts cleared North Carolina ports in the fourth quarter of the eighteenth century (Harry R. Merrens, Colonial North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century [Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1964], pp. 108-119).

68 See footnote 52 above.

69 CO 5/975
very infrequently; rather, the ships "wandered, without prearranged plans, from port to port." Vessels entering and clearing the ports of Salem and Greenwich from and to the West Indies were most numerous, particularly in the later period (Table 10). Exports were made up largely of grain, food products, and lumber, all of which were in short supply in the islands. In order of importance return cargoes consisted of rum, sugar, molasses, and salt.

Direct trade between Salem-Greenwich and Europe, including the mother country, was extremely limited for a number of reasons. For one thing, south Jersey products were not especially desired or needed in many parts of Europe. Other factors were the restrictions of the Navigation Acts which limited "tradable" Europe by both products and service.  

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70 Bell op. cit., p. 276. This was also a trait of the coastwise commerce.

71 This is obtained directly from CO 5/975 in which actual cargoes are listed, but only indirectly from Customs 16/1 in which the West India exports are grouped as "Imports from West India ports and ports south of Cape Finisterre in Europe."

Trade in Negro slaves, via the coastwise and West India routes, was never very important to Salem and Greenwich or its hinterland. See: Elizabeth Donnan, Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America (Washington: Carnegie Institute, 1932), III, p. 405; and Henry S. Cooley, "A Study of Slavery in New Jersey," Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Vol. XIV (1896), p. 31.

72 England, and much of the rest of Europe, was generally self sufficient in agricultural supplies; while New England was regarded as the best source of forest products (Albion, op. cit., pp. 53-55).
geographical regions, and the general use of larger ships (requiring larger harbors) in the transoceanic trade. The effects of these limiting factors become noticeably impressive during the period 1768-1772, for which no entries or clearing for Europe are shown (Table 10).

The one vessel from Ireland, a snow built in Salem and registered in Philadelphia, arrived in Salem in 1739 carrying only ballast. Of the two vessels clearing for Ireland, 1736-1740 (Table 9), flax and staves were the major products carried. Most of the European goods needed in south Jersey, particularly those of English origin, were obtained from Philadelphia.

The nature of port activity in southern New Jersey after 1776 is not of direct concern to this study, and although minor port activity continued for sometime thereafter, and, in fact, continues even to


74Vessels used in trans-Atlantic voyages, such as brigs and ships, were as large as 500 tons (Albion, op. cit., p. 57).

75"... most if not all their European Commodities are supply'd from New York and Pensilvania ... (New Jersey Historical Society, The Papers of Lewis Morris ..., p. 156).
this day,\textsuperscript{76} the American Revolution conveniently marks the end of the relative and external significance of the ports of southern New Jersey. However, a slight reprieve and momentary impetus for the ports was obtained shortly after that conflict in 1789 by an act of Congress which created districts for the collection of duties.\textsuperscript{77} On the Delaware, a district from Camden to Cape May was established with Bridgeton as port of entry and Salem and Port Elizabeth as ports of delivery.\textsuperscript{78} Never-\hfill

\textsuperscript{76}As recently as 1895, annual water commerce from Salem was estimated at 350 steamers, 120 sailing vessels, and 100 barges and canal boats. However, the total freight of 35,346 tons and a value of $1,134,700 was carried solely between Salem and Philadelphia (U.S. Congress, House, Preliminary Examination of Salem River, New Jersey, 53d Congress, 3d Session, 1895, Executive Document No. 34, p. 3). The lower bay also became the center of a fishing and oyster industry. See: Mary E. Miller, "The Delaware Oyster Industry, Past and Present," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Boston University, 1962), Pp. 415.

\textsuperscript{77}Cushing and Sheppard, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 716.

\textsuperscript{78}Despite these enactments, the total value of foreign and domestic exports in 1790-91 from all New Jersey ports amounted to less than twenty-eight thousand dollars. At the same time, the value of exports from Pennsylvania was nearly three million dollars, and even Delaware exceeded New Jersey with an export value of nearly one hundred and twenty thousand dollars (American State Papers, Commerce and Navigation \textit{[Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1832]}, I, p. 155). Further, by the end of the War of 1812, in 1815, the total value of exports from New Jersey was but five thousand, two hundred and seventy-nine dollars, obtained entirely from domestic commerce. In comparison, Pennsylvania had approximately four and one half million dollars worth of exports and Delaware slightly more than one hundred thousand dollars (\textit{ibid.}, II, p. 23).
theless, the ports had apparently started their downward trend even prior to the Revolution, and comparison of the customs record for 1736-1740 and 1768-1772 appears to reflect this development.

**PORT DECLINE**

No simple explanation for the declining importance of the colonial ports of southern New Jersey can be made. Rather, their seemingly inevitable demise was brought about by a number of interrelated factors of geography, history, and technology.

**Geographical Factors**

During colonial times, navigation on the Delaware between the Capes and Philadelphia was never considered easy because of the numerous bars and shoals and inadequately marked channels, although to experienced ship captains it appears not to have been a serious problem and relatively few groundings are recorded. The publication in 1756 of a truly useful navigation guide, Fisher's Chart (Plate XIII),


80 This fact was early noted by the Dutch who proposed in 1658 that, "the buoys will, on the earliest opportunity, be laid down, as soon as possible, in the most suitable parts of the Bay ... " ('Vice-Director Alrichs to the Commissioner of the Colonie on the Delaware River [New Amstel, October 10, 1658]," op. cit., p. 50.

81 As ships grew larger and their draft increased, the problem became more severe; however, there was no serious dredging of the Delaware until about 1885 (United States, Senate, Delaware River Between Philadelphia and the Sea, 75th Congress, 3d Session, 1938, Miscellaneous Documents, Vol. II, No. 159, p. 2).
not exceeded in excellence of detail until the survey undertaken by the United States Coast Survey in the 1840's,82 forewarned of many of the navigational problems of the bay.

A more immediate and potential danger and interruption to navigation was presented by ice and storms, and the earliest improvement made to safeguard navigation was the construction of a protected harbor and breakwater immediately inside of Cape Henlopen.83 Although today it is rare to see the Delaware frozen solidly from shore to shore, early newspaper reports indicate that almost every year the river was frozen over for at least part of the winter season. Several examples should suffice:

December 20, 1720 - Our River is full of ice.

January 3, 1744 - No entries this week-river full of ice.

March 4, 1780 - The Delaware became navigable after having been frozen nearly three months. This is denominated the hard winter.84

This phenomenon was not limited solely to the upper Delaware as attested to by the following additional reports:

82Brewington, op. cit., p. 96. The map fails to note the primitive lighthouse erected on the dunes near Cape Henlopen, probably about 1725.

83The breakwater was constructed between 1897 and 1901. Fifteen detached piers, built in a line north of the breakwater, were added in 1900 and 1903 to protect ships anchored there from ice coming down the river (Brysson Cunningham, Port Studies [New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1929], p. 41).

January 8, 1740 - Our river has been fast some time, and we heard from Lewes that 'tis all ice towards the sea as far as the eye can reach.'

February 12, 1784 - Bay full of ice.85

Because of the broad and open mouth of the bay, the lower Delaware is particularly vulnerable to storms. Northeasterlies and thunderstorms are most frequent in occurrence,86 and hurricanes, although less numerous in affecting the Delaware, have been recorded for as early as 1635.87

However, these were problems common to all navigation on the bay, not just to the ports of southern New Jersey. More specifically, it has been suggested, or at least intimated, that many of the streams which formerly carried a considerable amount of commerce are now "no more than winding brooks,"88 probably the result of increased sedimentation following deforestation and clearing of the land for agriculture. What is meant is quite clear -- silting reduced the effectiveness of the streams for navigation. The appearance of several of these streams

85Ibid., pp. 24 and 380.

86Flood-producing storms were undoubtedly also of potential hazard for navigation. The earliest evidence of such flooding on the Delaware appears to be a 1692 reference by Hazard (op. cit., p. 23). Contemporary accounts of the potential or actual damage to ships and wharfs by flooding, however, are absent, probably because of its general infrequency. Neither is there any evidence that the clearing of the land in southern New Jersey increased runoff and flooding in that area.


88Lane, op. cit., p. 59.
today is such that one may find it difficult to realize their former serviceability and to suspect physical geographical changes, such as silting and the choking of some channels by water plants (Figure 43), but it must be remembered that the sailing ships of the day were relatively small and of shallow draft. Significantly, the lower reaches of a number of streams, particularly the Cohansey and Maurice, are rather broad and deep (Figures 44 and 45). As a matter of fact, natural depth in those two streams exceeds natural depths in Delaware Bay. As one knowledgeable fisherman resident of Greenwich put it, "If all the water ran out of the bay, there would still be water in the Cohansey." No attempt has been made to analyze the possible physical changes of the streams since colonial times, for detailed and accurate maps of the area do not exist. However, it appears that silting of the stream channels has not been a major problem; navigation impediments of these streams involves bar obstructions near their mouths and shallow


90Brewington, op. cit., p. 105.

91U. S. Department of Commerce, Coast and Geodetic Surveys, Charts 294 and 1218, Delaware Bay.


93Because of the relatively coarse and porous soils of the south Jersey coastal plain, rainfall percolates readily so runoff and erosion would be at a minimum, even after clearing of the land.
Figure 43. A portion of the Stow Creek drainage system (Canton Drain), overloaded and choked with plant debris and vegetation, including water lilies (*Nymphaea* spp.) and arrowheads or swamp potatoes (*Sagittaria latifolia* and *S. gramminea*).
Figure 44. The Cohansay River, looking across and down the broad and winding channel from Greenwich.

Figure 45. The Maurice River, looking upstream towards Leesburg.
water depths of much of the bay. Additional hindrances to navigation were such human practices as the erection of dams and banks and the felling of trees across creeks. These activities became such a problem that in 1755 legal steps were taken to eliminate them by passage of an "Act to Preserve the Navigation of the River and Creeks within the Colony of New-Jersey."

The large demand for wood products, particularly white cedar, in the local shipbuilding industry and as an item for maritime export quickly brought the near deforestation of southern New Jersey. The exhaustion of suitable timber is said to have brought an eventual decline in shipbuilding, and in 1749 Kalm states that the inhabitants of New Jersey were not only lessening the number of white cedar, but even extirpating them entirely. As wood products were a significant export

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96 Muntz, op. cit., p. 159.

97 Kalm, op. cit., p. 20. One of the major uses of white cedar was the making of shingles, which Kalm stated roofed nearly all the houses in New York and Philadelphia (ibid., pp. 299-300). An act for the preservation of timber within New Jersey was passed in 1759 (Allinson, op. cit., p. 225).
from south Jersey ports, the diminution of this natural resource had adversely to affect that trade.\textsuperscript{98}

The changing geographical distribution of population in the Delaware Valley and Middle Colonies appears also to have had a negative effect upon the maritime economy of the south Jersey colonial ports, for as the region began to fill up and as people moved increasingly toward the interior, a more central location for collecting and distributing goods became an immediate advantage. In this respect Philadelphia was better situated than Salem or Greenwich. Additionally, Philadelphia's commodious port, directly on the Delaware, was capable of accommodating larger and more ships than any other port on the bay or river. It quickly became the chief port of the Delaware, and by the time of the Revolution was the leading port on the eastern seaboard.\textsuperscript{99}

At the same time that the port of Philadelphia and its hinterland were increasing in size, the ports and hinterland of south Jersey were seriously lagging. No great influx of settlers came to southern New Jersey after the initial years of settlement, and in comparison with

\textsuperscript{98}There is little evidence that soil erosion or soil exhaustion accompanied deforestation, nor that soil erosion or soil exhaustion brought about a decrease in agricultural productivity. The use of large deposits of marl from along Stow Creek as a fertilizer, however, may have alleviated any soil problem which did exist, although the first large-scale digging of the marl deposits did not begin until 1819 (Heston, op. cit., pp. 937-938).

\textsuperscript{99}Albion, op. cit., p. 75.
other regions population growth was quite slow (Table 11). This sparsely populated hinterland obviously failed to command the quantity of trade and commerce associated with more settled areas.

**Historical Factors**

England's Navigation Acts, passed by the English Parliament beginning in 1651, were the most significant of a number of historical factors affecting colonial maritime trade and commerce. The major lineaments of the acts were established by three basic principles.

First, all colonial trade had to go in English or colonial ships. Secondly, all colonial imports, with few exceptions, had to come from England, or at least by way of England. Third and last, certain enumerated colonial products could be shipped only to England.

Disagreement over the general effects of these regulations upon the colonies is common. Some have regarded them as oppressive, others as salutary. The truth of the matter would seem to be that the

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100 This trend has continued even to this day, notably in the case of Salem County which had a population of only 58,711 in 1960, ranking it third lowest in population density in the state (of 21 counties), although it is fourth largest in area. In 1960 the population of Cumberland County was 106,850; however, nearly three quarters of that number was concentrated in three cities; Bridgeton, Millville, and Vineland.

101 The implementation of the acts was motivated by the maritime rivalry and mercantile success of the Dutch. See: Andrews, *op. cit.*, chapter two, pp. 22-49.

102 Albion, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

103 These were items that England did not herself produce. Chief examples from the customs records would seem to have been wine from the Maderia Islands and salt from southern Europe.
### TABLE 11. POPULATION CHANGES, SOUTHERN NEW JERSEY, 1699-1790

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Salem County</td>
<td>326 b</td>
<td>3977 e</td>
<td>5844</td>
<td>6847 i</td>
<td>5960 l</td>
<td>10437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape May County</td>
<td>70 c</td>
<td>654 f</td>
<td>1044</td>
<td>1188 j</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumberland County</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>8248</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(after 1745 census)

- b. Freeholders. At that time Salem County extended as far east as the Maurice River. The boundary was changed in 1720 and again in 1748.
- c. Freeholders. At that time Cape May bordered Salem County at the Maurice River; part of that territory is now Cumberland County, established in 1748 (see chapter III, footnote 6).
- e. Includes 150 Negroes.
- f. Includes 14 Negroes.
- h. Idem.
- i. Includes 1090 Quakers and 187 slaves.
- j. Includes 54 Quakers and 52 slaves.
- l. Includes 298 Negroes.
- m. No longer relevant due to boundary changes.
- n. Includes 110 Negroes.
acts fell unevenly upon the several colonial-economic regions and were slovenly enforced. In the case of the Middle or Bread Colonies, the acts were almost unbelievably helpful, albeit often indirectly. For example, the first principle actually favored the shipbuilding industry of the Middle and New England colonies, where ships could be constructed cheaper and better than in England. Furthermore, most of the articles enumerated for English export only were commodities not produced in the Middle Colonies, such as tobacco, sugar, and indigo; consequently, their products, particularly the agricultural staples, which England herself grew, were allowed to seek a market almost anywhere, and, as a matter of fact, a market had to be actively sought in order to obtain the specie necessary to purchase needed items obtained only from England. Undoubtedly this helps explain the scattered nature of the maritime trade of the south Jersey ports and a general lack of trade with the mother country.

The restriction upon colonial imports was designed to retain the colonies as a selling ground for English products and to maintain colonial dependence. Specifically, this portion of the act was aimed at preventing the development of competitive colonial industries and did not discourage south Jersey manufactories associated with the


105 Andrews, op. cit., IV, pp. 85-107

106 See pages 164-165 above.
processing of food or the manufacturing of wood products. Moreover, because southern New Jersey was not endowed or equipped for extensive industrial enterprises in colonial times, this portion of the act can hardly be considered completely detrimental to her development. It may well be that the actual effect of it was to concentrate attention on that which she did well -- agriculture. Regardless, ships from all of the colonies, particularly the Middle Colonies and south Jersey enjoyed practically free rein under the acts, and such products as they had found their chief outlet in the coastal or West Indies trade.

The frequent shipment of agricultural supplies to the islands, however, often resulted in a glut in the market and depressed prices. In order to save their cargoes, captains would then sail their ships to the foreign islands where the cargo could often be sold at a substantial profit. Because this activity was contrary to English law, Parliament passed, in 1733, the Molasses Act which put a high duty upon sugar from the non-British sources. This act, generally unenforced, was followed by a similarly designed act in 1764, the

107 "This Act [...] is intended to encourage the Manufacture of the grain and timber of the province among themselves, so that the wheat may be ground and bolted before it is exported, and the Casks of different size made within the Province [...]" ("Governor Burnett to the Lords of Trade [...]", in O'Callaghan, Documents, V, p. 767.

108 Andrews, op. cit., IV, p. 347. Colonial cargoes of food-stuffs also had to compete in the West Indies with similar cargoes from England.


110 Ostrander, op. cit., p. 77.
Sugar Act, neither of which had much direct effect upon the trade of southern New Jersey, for both acts were systematically evaded by smugglers.111

Profitable maritime commerce between south Jersey ports and the foreign West Indies, particularly those belonging to France--Guadeloupe, Martinique, Haiti, and Dominique--was interrupted by the French and Indian War,112 although an embargo placed in 1757 upon ships sailing to the West Indies from New Jersey113 probably served only to make that illicit trade more profitable.114 Privateering and piracy were also associated with this conflict, and in 1748, even prior to the actual start of the war, French privateers were reported in the Delaware, penetrating as far inland as New Castle and Salem.115

111See footnote 56 above.

112The related war in Europe was known as the Seven Years War. The conflict in North America lasted from 1754 until 1760. The Treaty of Paris in 1763 practically eliminated France from North America and the West Indian islands and left England virtually supreme.

113"Whereas it hath been represented to his Majesty, that the several Islands and Colonies belonging to the French in America, have, in Times of War, been frequently supplied with Provisions of various Kinds, by Means of the Trade carried on from his Majesty's Islands and Colonies ... " ("Proclamation of Governor Belcher relating to the exportation of provisions [From New Jersey-1757]," in Whitehead, Archives, VIII, Part II, p. 237).

114Andrews (op. cit., IV, p. 244) states that clandestine trade between the colonies and the foreign West Indies during the French and Indian War was notorious.

The most serious interruption, and the virtual elimination of all maritime trade from the Delaware and elsewhere, occurred with the opening of hostilities between the American colonies and England. Shortly after fighting began at Lexington and Concord in April of 1775, the Provincial Congress of New Jersey in May of 1775 passed a resolution in favor of a policy of non-exportation aimed against giving aid or supplying the British directly or indirectly. The resolution was of little actual consequence, for the superior naval force of the British very quickly dried up all Delaware traffic by a tight blockade.

Recovery after the war was quite slow and was challenged in rapid succession by a series of retaliatory acts among the two major antagonists of the Napoleonic wars in Europe, France and England, and the United States. The more important of these as concerns maritime trade were 1) Napoleon's Berlin (1806) and Milan (1807) decrees which blockaded the British Isles and authorized seizure of neutral (American) vessels trading there; 2) British Orders of Council (1793 and 1807) which blockaded French commerce, forbade neutral (American) trade with Napoleon, and authorized interference with neutral shipping, including the seizure of American vessels and the impressment and imprisonment of


American seamen; 3) United State's talionic acts of Embargo (1807) and Nonintercourse (1809) designed to interdict all seaborne commerce with foreign nations and aimed particularly at France and England; and 4) another strangling blockade of the Delaware by the British during the War of 1812.  

Technological Factors

The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were times of significant technological changes and developments in the various modes of transportation, and although most of these accomplishments were post-Revolutionary, their general effect was to apply the coup de grace to the importance and activity of the south Jersey ports.

One such technical development was the construction of the large, steam-propelled ship which, by the middle of the nineteenth century, had become fairly commonplace on the rivers of the eastern United States, including the Delaware. However, south Jersey ports, because of their inadequate entrances and small harbors, were ill equipped to handle or attract the larger vessels. Even Philadelphia may have suffered somewhat, for deeper-draft ships were also hindered in going to that port by the shoals and bars which obstructed the natural channel

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118 Ibid., p. 120.
of the bay and river.\textsuperscript{121}

Two new means of transportation, the turnpike and the canal, also made their debuts in the early years of the nineteenth century. The turnpike, however, was not well represented in southern New Jersey,\textsuperscript{122} and overland transportation in that part of the state was not greatly improved over that existing prior to the Revolution.\textsuperscript{123} Consequently, the turnpike era did little to change the established patterns of transportation and commerce in southern New Jersey.

In contrast, all existing methods of carriage and whatever commerce the south Jersey ports may have been able to retain, were directly threatened by the construction of two canals in the Delaware Valley. First to be completed, in 1829, was the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal which cut across the narrow neck of land between the upper Chesapeake and the lower Delaware.\textsuperscript{124} This canal enabled maritime traffic to save considerable distance and time between Baltimore and Philadelphia and also to avoid the potential hazards of an open-water

\textsuperscript{121}Despite incipient and periodic attempts at clearing the channel beginning in 1836, no systematic dredging took place until 1885 (J. Hampton Moore, "The Delaware River," \textit{Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science}, Vol. XXXI \textsuperscript{1908}, pp. 68-69). See also footnote 81 above.

\textsuperscript{122}Between 1801 and 1829, the major turnpike era in New Jersey, only one company, the Burlington Company, was organized to operate in southern New Jersey and it proved unsuccessful (Lane, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 151).

\textsuperscript{123}Yet at various times, such as during the War of 1812 when traffic on the Delaware was halted by a blockade, considerable freight was hauled overland (\textit{ibid.}, p. 147).

journey around the capes. Although Salem was directly opposite the eastern terminus of the canal, it benefited little, for mud flats on the eastern side of the river and a sand bar at the mouth of Salem Creek limited navigation to Salem to vessels of 50 tons or less, drawing but eight feet of water.

The second canal, the Delaware and Raritan Barge Canal, connected the upper Delaware at Trenton with the Raritan and thus New York harbor. With its opening in 1834, coastwise bulk traffic between Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York could be accomplished by an all-inland water route which bypassed southern New Jersey. The net effect of the two canals was to change the geographical situation of the south Jersey ports by placing them off a major route of maritime traffic.

South Jersey ports, especially Salem, attempted to compete. In 1830 Salem Creek was straightened by a canal of one-half mile, cutting the distance from Salem City to the Delaware by about two miles. About the same time, dredging of the creek increased the depth of the channel below the city from its four and one-half feet natural depth to approximately nine feet. Needless to say, these achievements had


126 Gordon, op. cit., p. 232. "... but within the bar, there is water it is said, for vessels of 300 tons burden."

127 Cushing and Sheppard, op. cit., p. 333.

little effect upon improving its commerce. Moreover, and finally, the introduction of the railroad, only a short time after the canals were put into operation,\textsuperscript{129} quickly brought about their obsolescence and radically changed all previous methods and concepts of transportation and commerce.

\textsuperscript{129}The first railroads in New Jersey were built across the narrow neck of the state in the 1830's, but connecting links to southern New Jersey came later: Bridgeton was connected in 1862, Salem the following year, and Millville in 1869 (Lane, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 396-397).
CHAPTER V
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The belated exploration and settlement of the lower Delaware Valley and southern New Jersey cannot be ascribed to unfavorable geographical conditions. Environmental perceptions voiced by the first explorers were in the main laudatory, except for the very correct observation that the seasons, despite the low latitude, were extreme. Such optimism attracted the attention of two European peoples, the Dutch and the Swede-Finns, both of whom developed the region as part of their first colonial possessions and settlements in the New World.

Initial activity by the Dutch, and to a lesser degree by the Swede-Finns, was related to the commercial exploitation of the area, particularly in furs and lumber products. The Swede-Finns, however, brought about an even greater change in the landscape, contributing heavily to initial patterns of settlement and land use, largely because of their perception of the environment as suitable for both resource exploitation and permanent residence. Major developments such as clearing of the land, introduction of plants and animals, and associated cultural accouterments of house types, place names, small land holdings, dispersed settlements, and tools and techniques, including the building of ships, are still very much in evidence in the landscape today as cultural relics. However, the Swede-Finns did little
to propagate their culture either to the neighboring colonies or to their successors on the Delaware. Nevertheless, agriculture and lumbering were significant forerunners of later activity in the area.

Environmental perception changed little after the more extensive and permanent settlement of the area by English Quakers. Significantly, however, the English did bring about a more extensive use of the land in agricultural pursuits and the landscape became one of individual and dispersed farmsteads of variable size producing mostly agricultural products, chiefly grain and livestock. Lumbering continued to be a profitable undertaking, but fur trading quickly fell off as interior areas developed and as local fur resources became depleted. Nevertheless, the great production of agricultural and wood products more than sufficed for the relatively small local population and inevitably led to the establishment of maritime ports for purposes of exporting the surpluses.

The exploitation and evolution of southern New Jersey can best be seen and studied through the activities of her colonial ports. At first the ports were well situated for their function, located as they were near the mouth of a large estuary and protected by their interior, riverine setting. Their agricultural and wooded hinterland contributed the types and quantities of goods which enabled the region, by mid-eighteenth century, to be considered the center of the Middle Colonial breadbasket and perhaps the most singularly productive area. To be sure, the quantities given in the customs records are not overwhelming, but the ports and their hinterland quite obviously supplied Philadelphia with agricultural and lumber exports that helped that place
to become the leading port of the eastern seaboard by the end of the colonial period.

South Jersey ports were also active in furthering their own commercial development and carried on a busy, although irregular and not carefully enumerated, trade with all the colonies, but especially with the West Indies, where foodstuffs and timber seemed to be always in demand. Trade with the European continent, however, was quite limited and almost exclusively in the hands of the larger ports and their larger ocean-going ships.

After 1750, changing conditions of time and place resulted in a slackening trade for the smaller ports in favor of the large, interior, collecting center of Philadelphia; and agricultural products from southern New Jersey moved more directly to that place. However, some semblance of port activity was sustained by the participation of Salem and Greenwich bottoms in the go-between trade of Philadelphia and the Chesapeake tidewater, carrying European goods to that region in return for more agricultural supplies, chiefly wheat and corn, which were then re-exported from Philadelphia to foreign markets.

After the Revolutionary War attempts were made to revitalize the maritime traffic of these small colonial ports, but nineteenth century technological advances in the various modes of transportation prevented their resurgence. The development, for example, of the large steam-propelled ship, the construction of inland canals, and the coming of the railroad radically affected the established means of transporting goods, further isolating the south Jersey ports, and, when added to
the earlier factors of history and geography, spelled the end of any considerable port activity in southern New Jersey.

It would seem that the rôle of the ports of southern New Jersey during the early colonial period might be comparable to the relationship of the English outports to London and perhaps also to other ports and burgeoning urban centers, for example, Perth Amboy and New York. Basically, the role was one of an early importance based primarily on geographical location and exploitable resources; then, because of changing urban and economic conditions, plus a limited hinterland and new modes of transportation, the ports found themselves closely related to more significantly located places. Their eventual doom was due to their loss of identity and the virtual swallowing of their hinterland and its production by the very place they helped to create. An analogy between a host and its rampaging parasite turned consumer would not be far removed.

Regardless, it can be said unhesitatingly that the colonial ports of southern New Jersey were of much greater importance during the colonial period than has generally been assumed,¹ contributing

¹This would seem to be due in part at least to the fact that heretofore it has been considered fashionable to laud other sections, particularly New England. Now the Middle Colonies are being recognized more and more as the important cultural-historical center of the settlement and development of the United States. A recent lament regarding insufficient attention being paid to the Middle Colonies is the published result of a symposium "The Middle States Tradition in American Historiography," American Philosophical Society, Proceedings, Vol. CVIII, No. 2 (April 15, 1964), pp. 145-161.
heavily to the development of the port of Philadelphia, the Delaware Valley, and the prominence of the Middle Colonies as the colonial breadbasket, which was the result of significant activity in an area possessing important resources.
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