

Rediscovering Raritan Landing

“It is terribly important that the small things forgotten be remembered. For in the seemingly little and insignificant things that accumulate to create a lifetime, the essence of our existence is captured. We must remember these bits and pieces, and must use them in new and imaginative ways.... The written document has its proper and important place, but there is also a time when we should set aside our perusal of diaries, court records, and inventories and listen to another voice.”

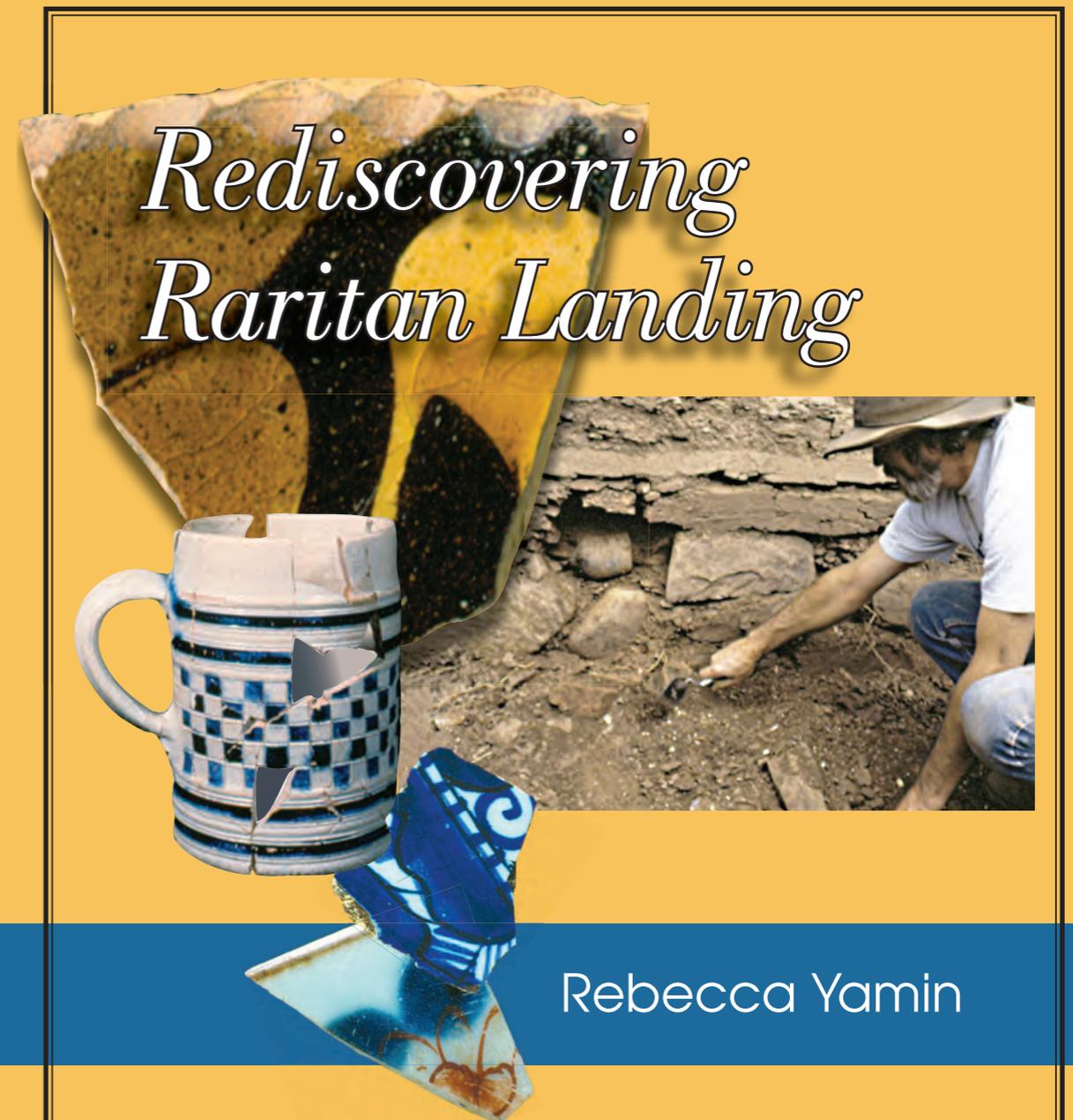
James Deetz
In Small Things Forgotten

This book listens to voices from Raritan Landing. They speak through material things—artifacts and building remains—unearthed by archaeologists over the past thirty years. The book brings to life an otherwise forgotten community in the middle of New Jersey and in so doing fills a gap in history. Instead of representing the state as a barrel tapped at both ends—caught between the great cities of New York and Philadelphia—the book tells a story from the inside out, with the Landing as the central character.

“Why is money set aside to support archaeological and historical research concerning construction projects in which federal funds are involved? Why does the New Jersey Department of Transportation employ archaeologists? Rebecca Yamin (and David Zmoda) eloquently answer these questions in this book, which is a very good read. Written by Rebecca Yamin, the book reflects her involvement since the 1970s with her “Brigadoon”—Raritan Landing. Why did Raritan Landing disappear? This book will tell you that and more, not only discussing archaeology, but also the history and the people involved. You will enjoy the journey!”

Peter Wacker,
Professor Emeritus
Department of Geography
Rutgers University

Rediscovering Raritan Landing



Rebecca Yamin

An Adventure in
New Jersey Archaeology

Yamin

REDISCOVERING RARITAN LANDING

*An Adventure
in New Jersey Archaeology*

by

Rebecca Yamin

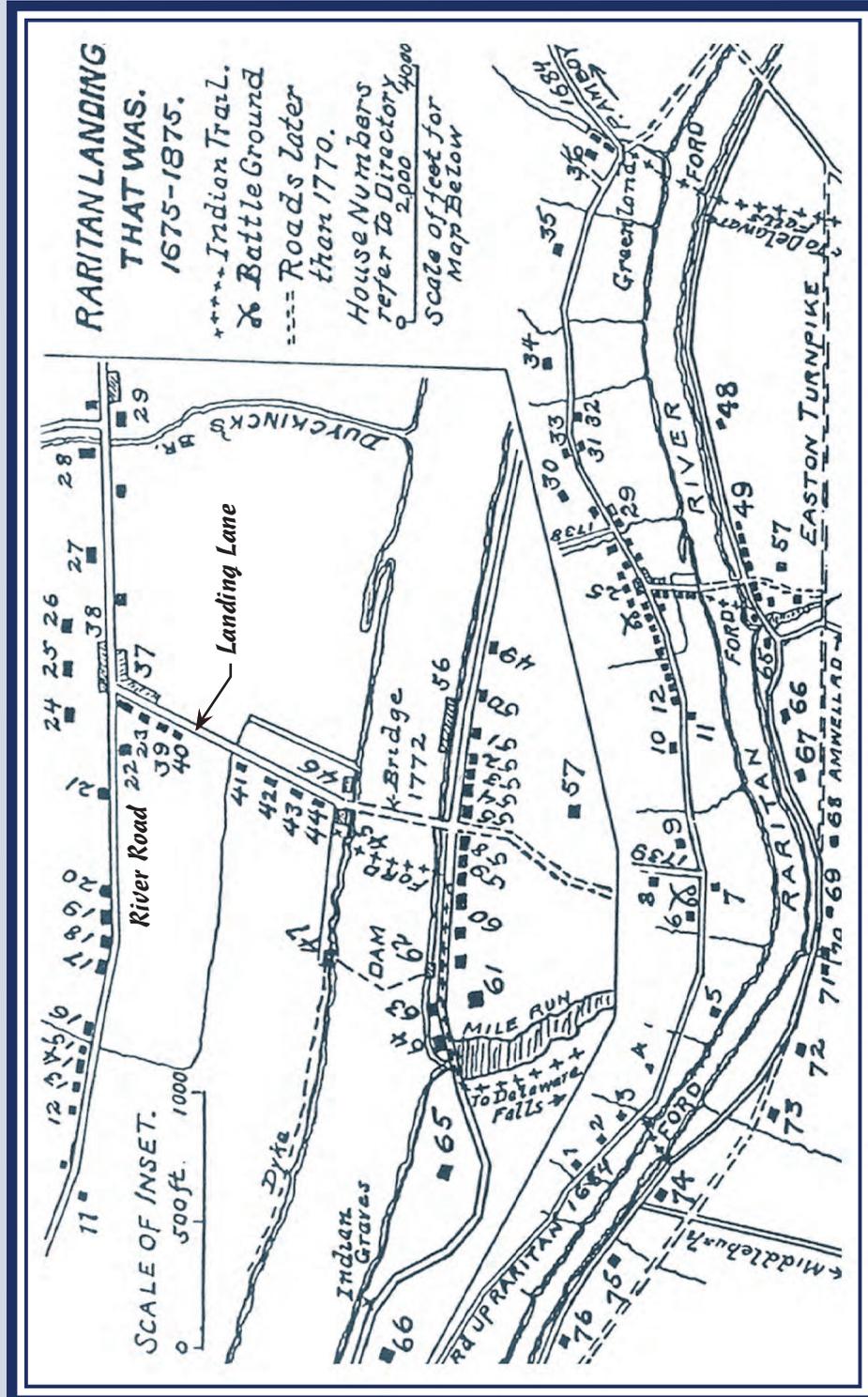
Prepared for

The New Jersey Department of Transportation
and
The Federal Highway Administration

2011

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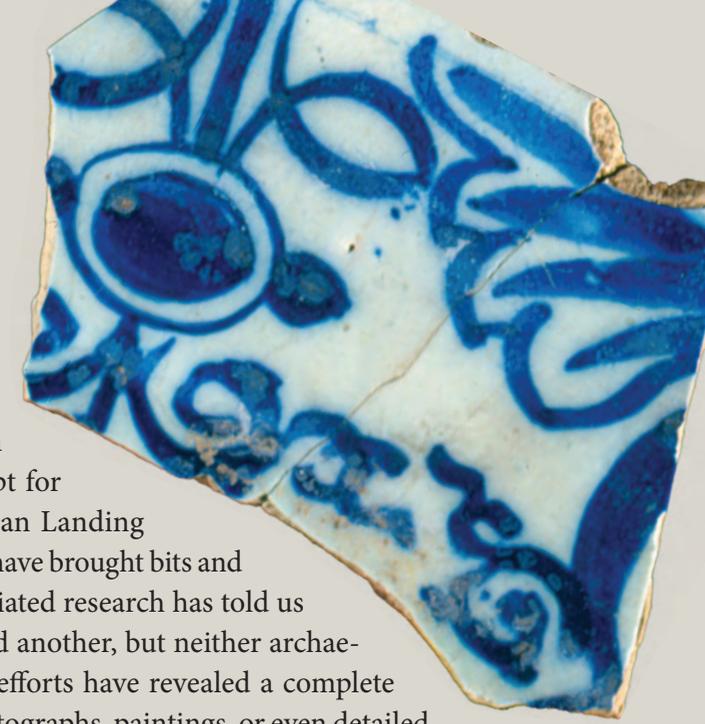


Prologue

For over 30 years Raritan Landing has been my Brigadoon. Like the legendary eighteenth-century Scottish town that is shrouded in mist except for one day every hundred years, Raritan Landing appears and disappears. Excavations have brought bits and pieces of the town to light and associated research has told us who was living there at one time and another, but neither archaeologists' discoveries nor historians' efforts have revealed a complete picture of the town. There are no photographs, paintings, or even detailed historic maps. No daily journals were kept by residents, or, at least, none that survived, although a young diarist who lived in New Brunswick in the first decade of the nineteenth century walked from one end of Raritan Landing to the other without describing what she saw.¹

The only known image of the Raritan Landing community is a map reconstruction published in the Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society in 1936 (Figure P.1). Made by Cornelius C. Vermeule, an avocational historian, the map is tantalizing in its detail and frustrating in its lack of attribution. It portrays a community that spanned the Raritan about a mile upriver from New Brunswick, a community that has completely disappeared from the landscape.²

Recurrent sewer and road construction projects over the last thirty years requiring archaeological excavations have begun to reveal the dimensions of this long gone community and the accompanying historical research has begun to fill in the gaps left by Vermeule. I have worked on three of those projects—the first in the 1970s and the last in 2008. In between I completed a doctoral dissertation about local trade in pre-Revolutionary New Jersey focusing on Raritan Landing and its place in a network of connections that reached from the heartland of New Jersey to the wharves in New York City. I also wrote a small book about people at Raritan Landing for the Middlesex County and Heritage Commission in 1998, drawing the information from an old-fashioned card file compiled while I was doing my dissertation research.³



At least two other people have as long a history with Raritan Landing as I do. Richard Porter did the historical research for the first major investigation at the Landing. He went well beyond Vermeule's map reconstruction of the community to build a picture of a thriving port. He mapped property boundaries with exactitude—a next to impossible task—and projected them onto construction plans. Porter also guided and conducted additional detailed research for several projects in the 1990s.⁴

David Zmoda is the third person who has been thinking about Raritan Landing since the beginning. Zmoda was a field technician on the first major excavation at the Landing in the 1970s and the New Jersey Department of Transportation's (NJDOT's) archaeological supervisor on the biggest one in 2000. During his 25 years with the NJDOT he developed the scopes of work for virtually every project done at Raritan Landing and conducted or oversaw the subsequent field work.⁵ He has retired from the NJDOT, but he maintains an interest in New Jersey's local trade through the study of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century account books that he has collected over the years. This book was David's idea and it is dedicated to him. ☞

Acknowledgments

It is not clear who is most responsible for first recognizing the importance of Raritan Landing as an archeological site, but surely Joel Grossman is in the running. As soon as the Rutgers Archeological Survey Office uncovered buried remains of the long forgotten community at the corner of Landing Lane and River Road, Grossman knew it deserved state-of-the-art attention. Lorraine Williams at the New Jersey State Museum and Jonathan Gell and Larry Schmidt at the New Jersey State Historic Preservation Office also recognized the potential significance of the site and along with John Vetter of the Environmental Protection Agency, made sure it was properly protected and investigated. Since the 1970s when Susan Ferguson first turned up eighteenth-century artifacts along the edge of Landing Lane while conducting archaeological testing for a proposed new bridge across the river, the New Jersey Department of Transportation (NJDOT) has been involved in the rediscovery of Raritan Landing. Howard Zahn, Andy Fekete, and Gary Toth recognized the importance of those finds and have since supported innumerable investigations in the path of highway construction. Lauralee Rappleye, Supervising Environmental Specialist at the NJDOT, provided encouragement and professional guidance over the years.

This book was written as part of the Route 18, Section 2A, 2B project. While the NJDOT has a history of including public outreach in archaeological projects, the support of a full-fledged book covering not just one, but many projects and many years of work is unusual, and I am deeply grateful to the NJDOT for the opportunity to write it. The Route 18, Section 2A, 2B project involved the excavation of fourteen sites by four consulting companies: Gannett Fleming, Inc., John Milner Associates, Inc., Hartgen Archaeological Associates, Inc., and URS Corporation. As an employee of the NJDOT David Zmoda oversaw the work of the four companies and colleagues David Drach, Suzanne Szczepkowski, and Ihor J. Sypko assisted with fieldwork when needed. The Federal Highway Administration supplied the funding for the Route 18 project and we are grateful to Daniel Clark for his early and unwavering support of the need for appropriate data recovery. We are also grateful to Mike Gregg at the New Jersey Historic Preservation Office (NJHPO) for reviewing the final site reports, as well as this book, and for providing beneficial insights along the way. John McCleerey, NJDOT's project manager, showed patience and understanding during the decade plus it took to complete the project and Janet Fittipaldi and Amy Polachak took over when David Zmoda retired.

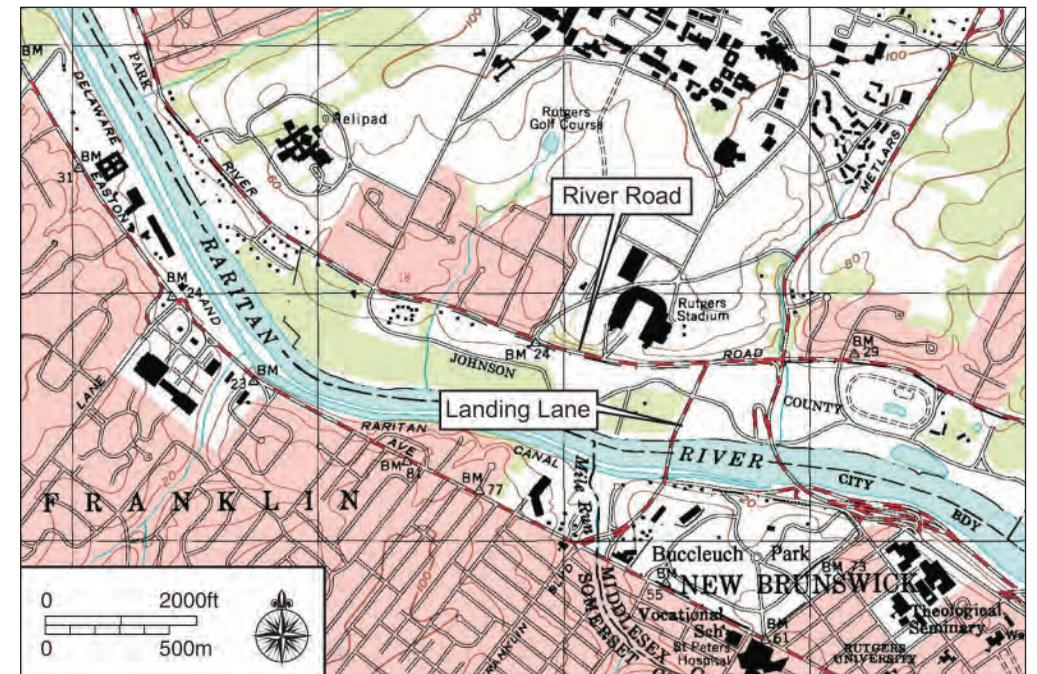
Many archaeologists have applied their talents to learning more about Raritan Landing. Some of them were involved in the project that includes this book, but others conducted earlier investigations. The principal investigators for the recent project were (in alphabetical order): Wade Catts, Meta Janowitz, John Martin, Ed Morin, Scott Stull, Steve Tull, Richard Veit, and Rebecca Yamin. Terry Klein, formerly of URS, put the team together and got the project off to a flying start. Others who have done important research at Raritan Landing include Len Bianchi, Ian Burrow, John Cavallo, Jean Howson, Richard Hunter, Richard Porter, and Grace Ziesing. Scholars outside our own field have also contributed to our understanding of the Landing in the context of New Jersey history. We are particularly grateful to cultural geographer Peter Wacker for his wonderful work as well as his appreciation for ours and to David Cohen who brought the perspective of a historian to papers we presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology in 2003.

One of the joys of doing archaeology in public places is the public interest it generates. We benefitted enormously from the interest and enthusiastic support that Connie O'Grady gave us during our excavations in 2000 and 2001. We have also benefitted from the ongoing support of the Middlesex County Cultural and Heritage Commission staff under the direction of Anna Aschkenes. The Commission has generously agreed to archive the complete artifact collection from 2000 as well as the mid 1990s collections and will also mount a permanent exhibit based on the results of the excavations. The on-site presence of Mark Nonestied at East Jersey Olde Towne and Ken Helsby at the Cornelius Low House is greatly appreciated and makes us feel that Raritan Landing will never again be completely forgotten. June Sadowski and the Metlar/Bodine House staff are also actively caring for the local history and have supported various archaeological excavations at Raritan Landing including one in their own backyard.

The manuscript benefitted from many peoples' comments and from careful copy-edits by Anna Aschkenes and Dan Roberts. The book's design was developed by Mary Paradise and Sarah Ruch of John Milner Associates, Inc.'s, graphics department. The graphics were prepared by Sarah Ruch, Rob Schultz, and Mary Paradise. With her usual attention to detail, Grace Ziesing laid out the manuscript. As always, I am grateful for the support I receive at JMA and feel very lucky to work with so many talented people on a daily basis. ☺

Chapter 1. An Invisible Place

Landscapes are deceiving. There is nothing along the edges of Landing Lane in Piscataway that suggests the river port that once thrived there. Nothing but the name, that is. Names preserve pieces of the past, but if we don't notice, if we take them for granted the way we take all the other landmarks in our everyday lives for granted, we miss the references. There are the Indian names that go unnoticed in local landscapes, names like Rancocas Creek, Lenape Court, and Oswego Lake. And then there are the historic ones: Blackwells Mills Road, School House Lane, Mine Brook Road. Landing Lane is such a name. The reference is to Raritan Landing, but that name, along with all the things it referred to, has disappeared from the landscape.



1.1

Landing Lane in our own time has more to do with connecting the Rutgers College campus on the New Brunswick side of the Raritan River with the Busch Campus on the Piscataway side than with anything in the past. The lane runs in a straight line from the banks of the river and the bridge that crosses it to a T-intersection with River Road (Figure 1.1). A jog to the right and another to the left takes you up the hill to the Busch Campus, but in the

eighteenth century the destinations were different. Landing Lane was the road that led from the wharf to the “Road Up Raritan” (now River Road), a road that was crowded with wagons bringing agricultural products downriver to the Landing for export and imported goods upriver for delivery to the general stores that served the countryside. Warehouses lined the riverbank and stores, shops, and dwellings lined the lane, which was officially surveyed as a road in 1738. Landing Lane was the center of a village that stretched out along both sides of River Road; houses and warehouses filling the lowland lots on the south side of the road and grander houses and their outbuildings crowning the high ground on the north side of the road. One of those houses—the Cornelius Low House—still stands, but its relationship to the long gone community is not visible (Figure 1.2). It stands alone as a kind of



1.2

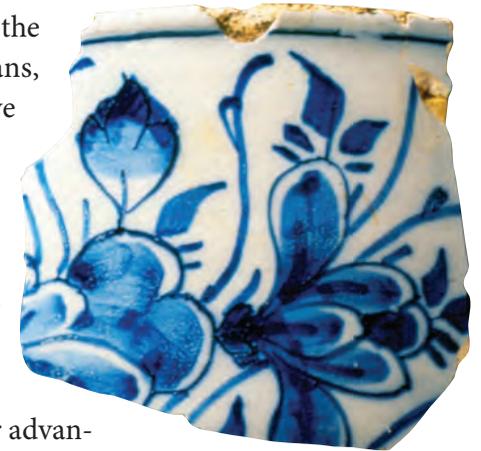
curious clue to a hidden past.

Public memory works in mysterious ways.¹ How could a whole community disappear and not be remembered? Why was Raritan Landing forgotten? It is easy enough to explain why it went out of business—

times changed, boats got too large to reach the Landing, local business interests turned to new modes of transportation and new industries. Why it disappeared from memory is another matter. Why was this once bustling port completely forgotten, left out of the history books?

More often than not New Jersey’s history is eclipsed by the history of its more powerful neighbors, New York and Philadelphia. New Jersey, the books say, didn’t have any important ports, it didn’t even have any big cities. Historians claim that in the eighteenth century New Jersey was a satellite of New York and Philadelphia. Even the state’s first governor thought so. “New Jersey is a barrel tapped at both ends,” wrote William Franklin, New Jersey’s last royal

governor.² But something else was going on in the interior of the state, something that historians, cultural geographers, and archaeologists have only recently begun to understand. Small ports and landings along New Jersey’s many inland waterways undermined the success of the bigger ports, Perth Amboy in the eastern part of the state and Burlington in the west. Places like New Brunswick and Raritan Landing on the Raritan River, with their easier access to the hinterland, the source of exportable goods, exploited their advantage. Deep water at New Brunswick allowed it to host larger boats than could reach Raritan Landing, which was located a mile or so above New Brunswick at the falls of the river, and new evidence suggests that there was direct trade between New Brunswick and the Caribbean and even with Europe. Raritan Landing’s trade was mainly coastal, probably focusing on New York, Rhode Island, and South Carolina, although an advertisement dating to 1745 called one Landing property “convenient...for both foreign or inland trade.” New York City was credited with much of East Jersey’s trade because so many of its products were exported from there. Neither New Brunswick nor Raritan Landing was a legal entryport for trans-atlantic trade, which meant that no records were kept and we are left to reconstruct these unsanctioned port activities from other kinds of evidence.³



Peter Wacker, a cultural geographer and long time Rutgers University professor, has used various documents to illuminate New Brunswick’s eighteenth-century trade. From Peter Kalm’s journal, he draws a description of “vessels from New Brunswick laden with wheat which lay loose on board, and with flour packed up in barrels and also with great quantities of linseed.” Kalm was a Swedish botanist who spent three years exploring the eastern seaboard in the 1740s. Letters between John Watts in New York City and James Neilson in New Brunswick suggest to Wacker that Neilson was supplying Watts with white oak hogshead staves which he then sent on to the Windward Islands and Jamaica. Most interesting of all are the flood damage accounts that Wacker uses to describe New Brunswick’s port facilities. In 1730, for instance, a property was auctioned consisting of a dwelling, stable, bolting house, two warehouses, “and a good Wharff with a Crane upon it, any Sloop that can

go up the River may Load along side of the Wharff; the Yard enclosed.” Other newspaper advertisements described “a good Ware-house, Store-house, Crane, and other Conveniences” and yet another reported destroyed warehouses “and much Wheat, Flower, Beef and Pork lost.”⁴

Archaeologists also use these kinds of documents when they are available, but they use them in conjunction with evidence from the ground. It was the evidence from the ground that began the process of rediscovery at Raritan Landing. Practically no one remembered the small port, but legislation passed in the mid-1960s required that construction paid for with federal funds take cultural resources into account. What led to the rediscovery of Raritan Landing were road and sewer construction projects in the 1970s and 80s.⁵

Looking for the Landing

Besides the name, Landing Lane, few clues suggested that the remains of a town lay buried beneath the well-groomed lawns of Johnson Park. No foundations protruded through the grass and no irregularities in the lawns suggested that anything lay below. It was not obvious that the lone elegant



1.3

mansion on the bluff above the intersection of Landing Lane and River Road was once flanked by other grand houses. Called Ivy Hall in the middle of the twentieth century, the ivy-covered mansion was privately owned and it was not until years later that its original eighteenth-century owner was identified as Cornelius Low, prob-

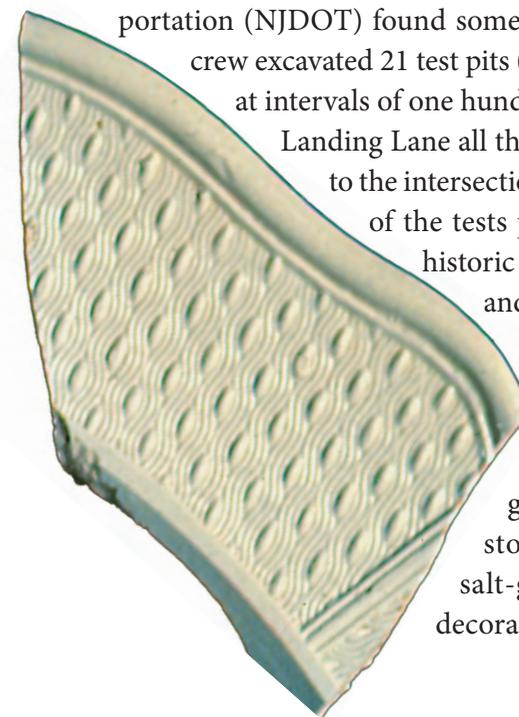
ably one of the richest members of the Raritan Landing community. A more literal clue to the invisible community was the name “RARITAN LANDING” written on an aerial photograph taken in the 1930s (Figure 1.3). The trouble was that nothing was visible on the aerial photograph that suggested buried foundations. The photograph shows lots of various sizes, but they are large

lots, not the narrow lots we now know were characteristic of the community.

The first archaeologists who looked for historical evidence near Landing Lane didn't find any. Hired by the Middlesex County Sewerage Authority to conduct the required archaeological surveys of the land along the Raritan River between Bound Brook and Sayerville where sewers were proposed, Susan Kardas and Ed Larrabee, both Ph.D.s, didn't know about Raritan Landing and they didn't find anything near Landing Lane that suggested a town once existed there. Although they had proposed what we call shovel tests (in this case two-by-two-foot holes excavated to sterile subsoil) within the portion of Johnson Park the sewer would cross, a long stretch of the right-of-way was already scraped for a new park access road and they examined the exposed area for a distance of 3,000 feet down to Landing Lane instead of digging their own tests. The absence of shell, ceramic sherds, lithic flakes, or any other debris relating to past occupation led them to conclude there were no prehistoric or historic sites in the area.⁶



Just one year later, Susan Ferguson of the New Jersey Department of Transportation (NJDOT) found something very different. She and her crew excavated 21 test pits (again measuring two feet square) at intervals of one hundred feet or so along both edges of Landing Lane all the way from the base of the bridge to the intersection with River Road. At least seven of the tests produced significant numbers of historic artifacts. There were lots of clam and oyster shells, charcoal fragments, white clay pipestems, hand wrought nails, and ceramic sherds. Ceramic styles change over time and the ones that Ferguson found—Westerwald type stoneware and scratch-blue white salt-glazed stoneware, combed slip-decorated buff earthenware, Whieldon,



and delft—dated to the eighteenth century. Local historian, Walter Meuly, visited Ferguson in the field, looked into the holes, and told her she had found the first evidence of the invisible and forgotten Raritan Landing. Meuly knew of Vermeule's article and map reconstruction and fully appreciated the significance of the finds. The planned bridge construction that required the survey was dropped shortly thereafter and the NJDOT archaeologists didn't get to do any further work.⁷

Ferguson's survey may not have led to additional archaeology, but her introduction to Vermeule ensured that all future archaeologists would be aware of his map reconstruction. Cornelius C. Vermeule was an engineer by training, but he was also a serious avocational historian (Figure 1.4). His particular interest in Raritan Landing grew out of his family's connection to the place. Cornelius's father, Adrian Vermeule, bought the house that once stood immediately west of Ivy Hall in 1856, just two years before his son, Cornelius, was born. In fact, one wonders if Cornelius was named for Cornelius Low, the man who built Ivy Hall in 1739. Adrian Vermeule ultimately owned the entire western half of what remained of the village of Raritan Landing. He took down cellar walls, falling chimneys, and wrecked buildings, but not before his son could wander among them. As an adult, Vermeule remembered



“lumps of coral brought as ballast lying about

the ancient warehouses” and buildings in “dilapidated condition.” These memories are a little suspect, though, since the buildings were probably long gone by the time Vermeule was old enough to explore them.⁸

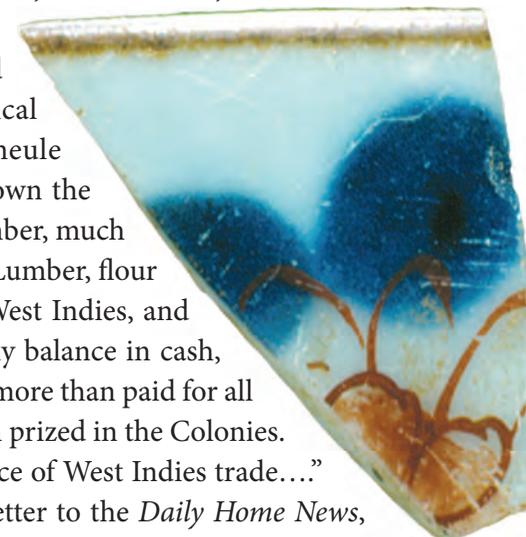
Vermeule's article, entitled “Raritan Landing That Was, The History of a River Port from 1675 to 1875,” was originally read before the New Brunswick Historical Club on April 17th, 1930. There are no citations and much of it appears to be based on childhood memories and stories the young Cornelius heard from relatives. But Vermeule also conducted research. His papers, which reside in the Special Collections of the Alexander Library at Rutgers

1.4

University, include references to land titles, deeds, and wills as well as notes to himself.⁹ A handwritten note, for instance, says “I want to locate at Landing the following persons: Daniel Bray Estate, there in 1776, to whom did he convey? John Bray 1776 or later? Francis Brazier 1776 or later?” Sandwiched between long recitations of genealogical details in the published article, Vermeule paints a picture of a bustling port. “Down the river came grain, flour, ships bread, lumber, much cooper's stock, beef, mutton and pork. Lumber, flour and ships bread were shipped to the West Indies, and rum, sugar and molasses, with a goodly balance in cash, were brought back. Madeira, however, more than paid for all goods sent thither, by its wines so much prized in the Colonies. The writer, in his boyhood, saw evidence of West Indies trade...”

His notes add even more detail. In a letter to the *Daily Home News*, published on February 19, 1947, for instance, he claims John Duyckinck, with help from Michael Field from Middlesex County and John Vroom and John Gaston from Somerset County, raised the money for the bridge across the Raritan in 1772 and rebuilt the wharf just below the new bridge. This is the only specific reference to a wharf at Raritan Landing and it is not even mentioned in the “Raritan Landing That Was” article.

Vermeule's article is valuable not so much for its specific content (the genealogical details), but for its recognition of the significance of the place. Vermeule presents himself as a witness and the amount of detail he manages to convey makes him a convincing one. The archaeologist is a different kind of witness. We witness the physical remains of the past. The remains do not speak for themselves, but they also are not the product of distorted memories or wishful thinking. They are an undeniable record of what once was. The problem, of course, is to figure out what they represent. Chapter 2 of this book tells the story of looking for the physical remains of Raritan Landing over a thirty-year period, of the people who did the looking, and what they found. Much of Raritan Landing is still buried beneath the lawns of Johnson Park, but the area around the intersection of Landing Lane and River Road, the area where the search began in the 1970s, has finally been thoroughly explored and that is where we begin our story.



Finding the physical remains is only the beginning of the process. What we really want to know is what those remains mean: how the buildings were being used and most of all, who was using them? The third and fourth chapters turn to the people who lived and worked at Raritan Landing before the Revolutionary War. In Chapter 5 we talk about the war itself, the six-month long occupation by at least three British regiments and the damage they left behind. The rebuilding of the community after the war is described in Chapters 6 and 7. Raritan Landing endured into the middle of the nineteenth century although economic developments and changes in transportation made it difficult for the small port to survive. By 1856, Vermeule claims, the Landing was nothing but “rows of abandoned stores and dwellings” and by 1875 “green grass grew and cattle grazed over the site of Raritan Landing.”¹⁰ The final chapter, Chapter 8, looks ahead to future research. What is there still to know about this place that was forgotten in history and why is it worth knowing? There are too few books about New Jersey’s history and practically no community studies. Archaeological projects done in the path of construction have begun to bring this one small community out of the fog, but there is still much more to do. ∞

Remembered scenario: It was freezing. My toes were cold, my nose was cold, and I wasn't sure I would make it to lunch. If worse came to worst, of course, I could sit in the truck, but that would be embarrassing. I was older than the rest of the crew—an ancient 35 and the mother of two—but I didn't want to seem weak. I wasn't weak. I was just cold, very cold and the wet snow in my face didn't help. Then we found something that made all the difference. It was just a fragment of a stone wall but it was an old stone wall and that meant that something was left of Raritan Landing after all. The corner of Landing Lane that seemed so empty in 1978 once had a building on it. It was hard to imagine how different it must have looked in the 1700s, but there was no denying the evidence. Brushed by the constantly falling snow, the wall appeared and disappeared and then we saw something else—the base of a stoneware mug tucked into the corner of the wall. It was like seeing a ghost from the past—someone long ago had put down the mug and it was still there after 200 years. What else was left?

Chapter 2. Finding Foundations

In February of 1978 the Rutgers Survey Archaeological Office (RASO) was charged with figuring out if there were any remains of Raritan Landing within the alignment of a sewer line that was already under construction. The course of the sewer was to be parallel with the southern edge of River Road. Its trench was just about to reach the intersection with Landing Lane when Lorraine Williams, the chief archaeologist at the New Jersey State Museum in Trenton, alerted the powers that be—in this case, the Environmental Protection Agency—that construction was about to go right through a significant historical site. She remembered Susan Ferguson’s finds and she also remembered Vermeule. She knew that the intersection of Landing Lane and River Road was the center of the community and even though Kardas and Larrabee had found nothing there, it was important to be absolutely sure. RASO was given four days to do the job.¹



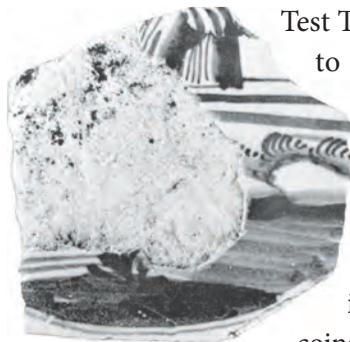
Testing in the Snow

With snow blowing in our faces we laid out a base line along River Road and spent the first day trying to get through the frozen ground with a hand held power auger (Figure 2.1). It didn't work, which left just three days to find



something that did. The Middlesex County Sewerage Authority was impatient to get on with construction. Huge 8-foot diameter sewer pipes were already lined up near the intersection ready to be put in the ground and the machines that would lift them were parked nearby. RASO's archaeological team was determined, though, and after the augers failed (two actually broke) we brought in a backhoe (Figure 2.2). Under archeological supervision, the backhoe dug four trenches

on the east side of the intersection and two on the west side. The east side was the location of an L-shaped warehouse on Vermeule's map reconstruction of Raritan Landing and trenches were placed to intersect its north and west walls, which were believed to extend for 150 feet along each roadway (No. 37 on Figure P-1).



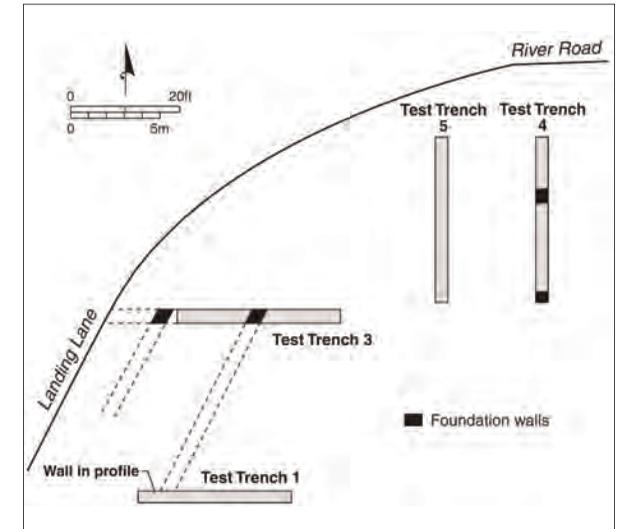
Test Trench 1, located 75 feet south of River Road, was dug to a depth of about 3 feet. At 2½ feet, the trench hit a foundation wall laid on clay that appeared to be an eighteenth-century ground surface. There was a thick lens of dark charcoal on one side of the wall, presumably the inside, and unburned soil on the other. Artifacts recovered from the burned layer and above it included eighteenth-century ceramic types and a few coins with legible dates (Figures 2.3 and 2.4). Another trench, placed 20 feet to the north, revealed two foundation wall sections, one that lined up (on a diagonal) with the foundation in Test Trench 1 and the other located about 14 feet to the west. We concluded we had the inside and outside walls of the wing of the warehouse that ran parallel to Landing Lane.



Another trench, placed 20 feet to the north, revealed two foundation wall sections, one that lined up (on a diagonal) with the foundation in Test Trench 1 and the other located about 14 feet to the west. We concluded we had the inside and outside walls of the wing of the warehouse that ran parallel to Landing Lane.

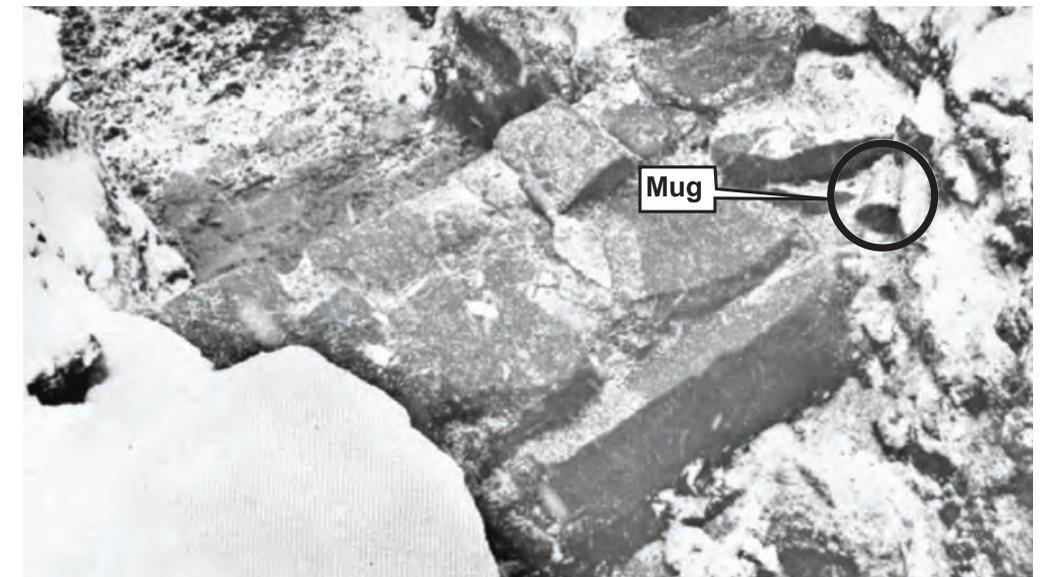
Next we looked for the River Road wing. Two foundation walls appeared in Test Trench 4, one located 20 feet south of River Road and the other 16 feet farther south (Figure 2.5).

A small, brown stoneware drinking mug was wedged into the interior of the southernmost foundation (Figure 2.6). Like a mirage in the driving snow, it evoked a past we hadn't dared to imagine before. Whose mug was it? When did they put it down? What was going on around them at the time? There were no walls in Test Trench 5, a fact we ignored in our effort to believe we had



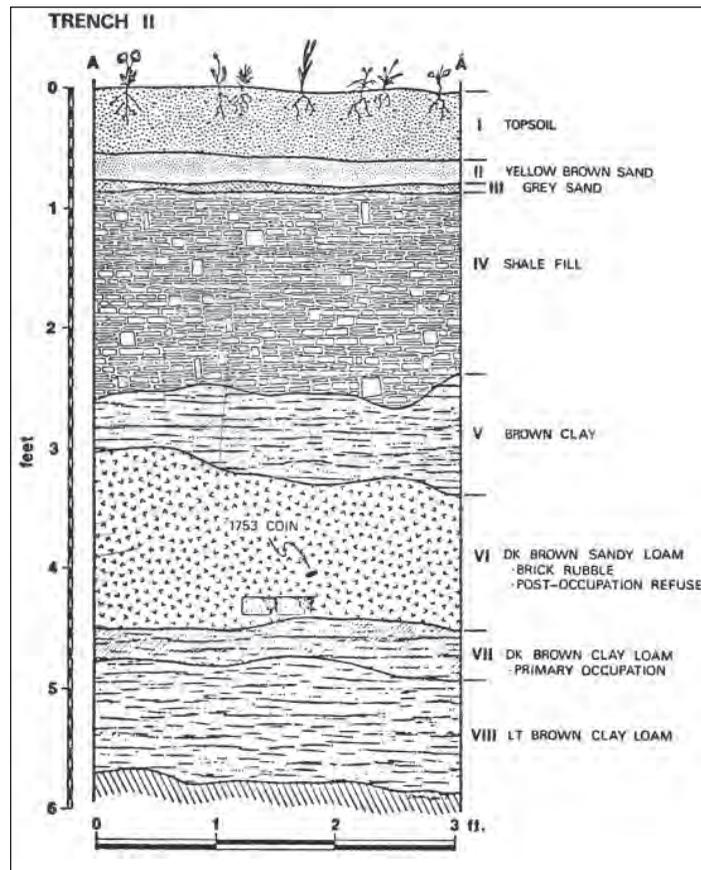
both wings of the L-shaped warehouse on Vermeule's map. The next task was to see what was on the other side of Landing Lane.

Test Trench 2, on the west side of Landing Lane, was actually two trenches, one dug parallel to River Road and a connecting trench dug parallel to Landing Lane. When the sod and two thin layers of sand that lay underneath



2.5

2.6



2.7

it had been scraped off to a depth of 10 inches it appeared that no historic foundations or ground surfaces would be found. The soil that lay below was sterile shale, the natural subsoil in this part of New Jersey. Discouraged, we left one person in charge of the site while the rest of us went to warm up in the River Road Tavern. While we were gone, a Rutgers University grounds keeper stopped by to see what was going on. He recognized the shale in the trench as fill that was placed there when they built the Rutgers football stadium in the 1930s. It was native subsoil, but it was subsoil removed from the stadium site down the road and dumped at the corner to make the ground less wet. Armed with the new information, we directed the backhoe to dig through the fill to see what lay below. At about 3 feet below grade the machine hit a very compact layer of soil, later identified as consolidated layers of floodsilt. Below the floodsilts were several more soil layers full of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century artifacts. The artifact-bearing layers began at 3 feet below the present ground surface and continued to 6 feet (Figure 2.7). We had struck paydirt. There was a deeply buried, undisturbed record of the forgotten Raritan Landing and it was in the path of a sewer that might have cut right through it were it not for Lorraine Williams's call. The remains appeared to be eligible to the National Register of Historic Places, but their extent would have to be determined. To solve this problem RASO turned to a new technology, at least new in archaeological situations.

Instead of using conventional shovel testing in combination with historical research, Joel Grossman, the director of the RASO, recommended ground penetrating radar (GPR). GPR was originally developed to look for deeply buried things—ice-filled cavities in the permafrost during the construction of the Alaskan pipeline, for instance—but Grossman knew that a recently developed antenna had resolution at much shallower depths. He argued that such an antenna could be used to delineate the boundaries of the historic remains beneath the 3 feet of shale fill that overlay the historic remains. GPR would also provide information on whether there were any areas where remains were not present. Vermeule's map reconstruction of the Landing shows a gap in structures along the western edge of Landing Lane and if the gap was real, the sewer pipe might be re-routed through it.

Grossman was ahead of his time. He saw the advantage of using a non-invasive technique to determine the presence of archaeological remains rather than digging hundreds of holes, which in itself, would have disturbed what we already knew was a precious site. This technique, and other non-invasive techniques, have become an accepted part of the archaeologist's repertoire, but in 1978 they were rarely used. The Raritan Landing project was one of the first applications of GPR in a historical archaeological situation.²

A firm called Geophysical Survey Systems, Inc. (GSS), based in New Hampshire brought their antenna to New Jersey in a plain wooden box and Bruce Bevan, another expert with GPR, provided quality control. The GSS team, assisted by RASO employees, laid out a grid at 5-foot intervals over the site and dragged the antenna back and forth (Figure 2.8). The grid ran for 800 feet along the western edge of Landing Lane and extended 150 feet to the west. Computer print-outs showed anomalies at various depths below the surface, but the print-outs were not easy to interpret.



2.8

To make the data more legible, depths were color-coded to produce a map that could be used to interpret the locations of possible subsurface historic remains (see GPR map, bottom of page 60). The pattern of anomalies and their complexity suggested buried foundations all along the edge of Landing Lane. The gap in structures on Vermeule's map reconstruction did not appear



to be present. The entire site was declared eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places, which meant that an archaeological excavation would have to take place unless the sewer could be re-routed around the site. Since that was not possible, the Middlesex County Sewerage Authority re-designed the sewer corridor. Instead of 40 feet

wide, it would be 15 feet wide. RASO began full-out excavation within that narrow corridor in the Fall of 1979 and finished a few days before Christmas—again in the snow.

The First Major Excavation at Raritan Landing

A huge machine scraped the overlying 3 feet of shale fill off the 15-foot wide corridor in preparation for the excavation (Figure 2.9). To speed up the process—the archaeology had to be completed in three months—Grossman



introduced a laser transit for recording locational information, another instrument that was not in wide use at the time (Figure 2.10). Measurements were dumped directly into a hand-held computer that could then be downloaded into a larger system. Grossman envisioned daily mapping of archaeological features and artifact densities, something that never really happened. He also had an overhead photographic system designed that would produce three dimensional plan views of foundations and other features as they were uncovered (Figure 2.11). The photographs replaced the time-consuming kinds of measured drawings that archae-

ologists usually make. Pasted together into mosaics, the photographs provided a detailed record of what was uncovered. Although fancy photography has yet to become widely accepted on American excavations, electronic transits are pretty much general practice. In 1979, however, most of us had never seen anything like the transit or the photography and we were mystified at why such elaborate (and expensive) technology was necessary.

Three foundations were uncovered within the excavation corridor to the west of Landing Lane. The three buildings included two associated with pre-Revolutionary War occupation and one associated with post-Revolutionary War occupation. The most massive of the pre-war foundations (what the excavators referred to as Building B) consisted of three to five courses of fieldstone and cut shale blocks resting on cobbles laid in a shallow trench (Figure 2.12). Only the northwestern corner and portions of the north and west walls were within the excavation corridor. Three large post holes with the bases of the posts still *in situ* punctuated the north wall of the building. The posts measured a little over 1 foot across and were spaced at approximately 9-foot intervals. A less substantial building (Building C) constructed of cut shale blocks was found slightly northwest of Building B (Figure 2.13). This building, only the rear of which was exposed in the excavation corridor, was most likely a house or barn. The larger Building B was probably a warehouse built parallel to Landing Lane.



2.11



2.12

2.9

2.10

2.13

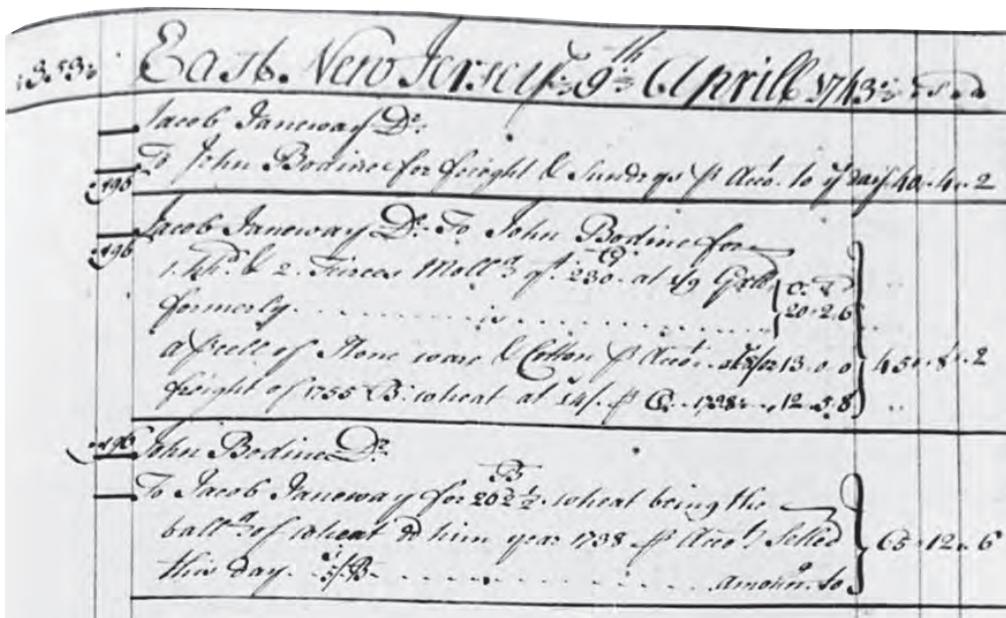


Both buildings fell within a property that belonged to John Bodine in 1735. Bodine was a trader who, in partnership with his brother-in-law Paul Le-Boyteaux, freighted up and down the River Road (Figure 2.14). In 1742, Bodine sold the northern part of his lot to another trader, Alexander Blair, and his wife, Jannetje (Jane).

The Blairs added a storehouse, perhaps to replace Building B, which may have belonged to the southern portion of the property that Bodine retained.

Another foundation, this one located to the northeast of Building B, was even less substantial than Building C. Its foundation, however, was laid on top of the fill that separated the pre- and post-Revolutionary occupation layers. Only the north and south walls of the building were present, although the east and west walls could be defined by robbed-out trenches. This building probably replaced one destroyed during the Revolutionary War.

2.14



No new foundations were found to the east of Landing Lane in the sewer trench, but more of the wall that was originally exposed in Trench 3 was visible in the excavation corridor and an interior brick support was also uncovered to the west of the wall. The artifacts in this area dated to the late eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries. John Bray wasn't at the Landing as early as Bodine and the Blairs, but he owned the warehouse at the corner by 1778 and the material collected during the 1979 excavation probably related to his occupation.

Other Fragmentary Remains at the Corner

In 1993 the Rutgers University Center for Public Archaeology, a kind of re-born RASO, conducted an excavation as part of a larger project involving the installation of a traffic control system at the corner of River Road and Landing Lane. The Center excavated three trenches on the southeastern side of the intersection and one trench on the southwestern side. The only substantial find was a 1.8-foot-wide dry-laid cut shale foundation wall running parallel to River Road on the west side of Landing Lane with a stoneware chamber pot on top of it. The wall originated about 3 feet below the present ground surface and was cut into a layer of clay that was about 5 feet below present grade. The investigators speculated that the wall belonged to a building on the Bodine/Blair lot that post-dated the Revolutionary War, but they also thought it might have been "superimposed on an earlier building."³ Perhaps the earlier building was the storehouse the Blairs added to the property.

During this same project, the Center also recorded a foundation on the north side of River Road. The exposed wall was 33 feet long and was probably a portion of what was left of Cornelius Low's warehouse. When it was advertised for sale in 1774 the warehouse was described as "80 feet long, and 25 feet deep divided into proper apartments, a shop, etc., on the ground floor, and a wheat loft on the second, capable of holding several thousand bushels, besides other apartments there being two convenient rooms, one below the other above, with fire places, in which a small family is at present, and may be much more properly accommodated."⁴ The Center's archaeologists thought the foundation belonged to the back wall of the warehouse, the front wall lying within the alignment of the present River Road.

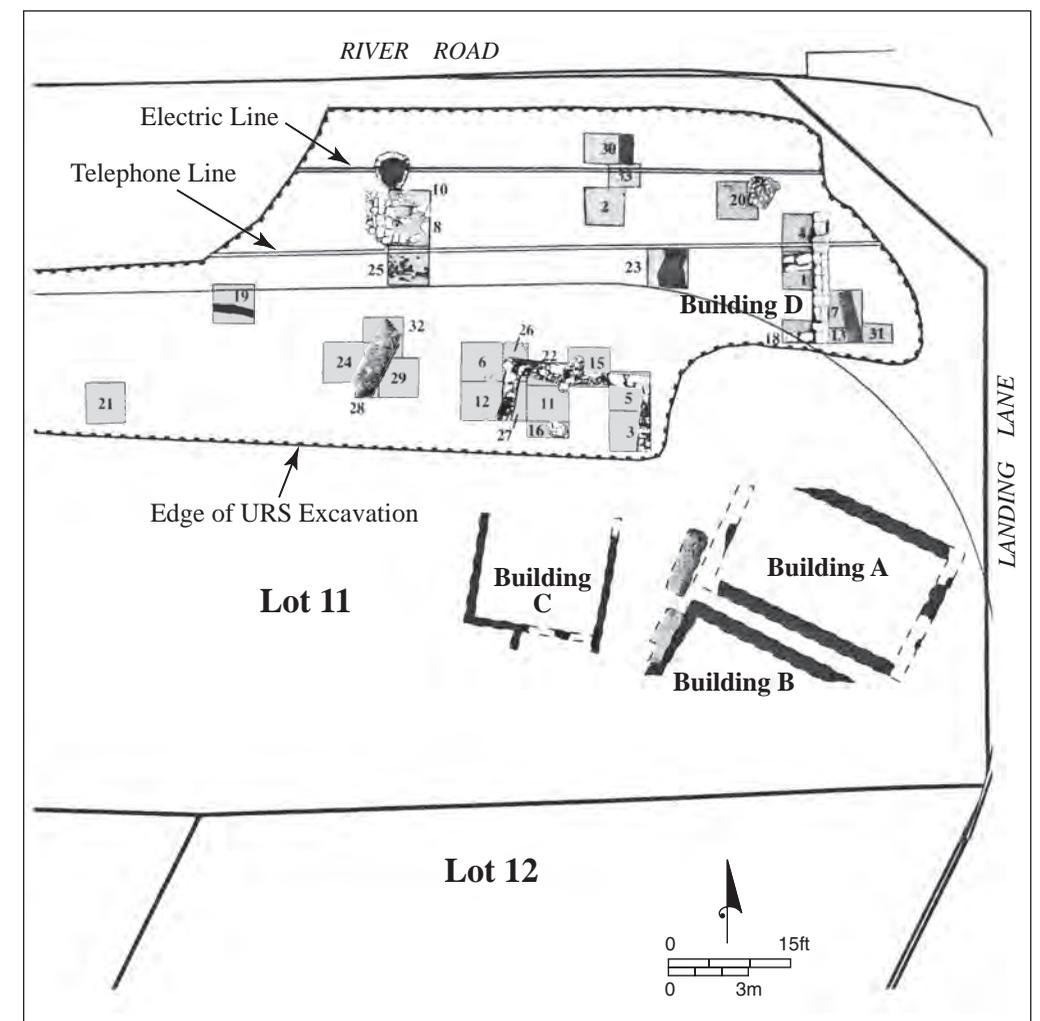
Piecing It All Together

In 2000, after many years of planning, the NJDOT finally scheduled the construction of a major interchange at the intersection of Route 18 and River Road. The interchange and related widening of River Road encompassed much of the previously defined Raritan Landing National Register Archaeological District and a good deal of archaeology was required before construction could begin. In 1980 NJDOT archaeologists, under the direction of Brenda Springsted, had identified at least five sites within the area that would be disturbed by the proposed construction and the time had finally come to investigate the sites further. To speed up the process, the NJDOT hired four companies to simultaneously conduct excavations on all known historic properties. The fieldwork began in August of 2000 and was completed a year later. URS Corporation excavated the portion of the Bodine/Blair property between the sewer corridor and the southern edge of River Road; John Milner Associates, Inc. (JMA), did further work on the warehouse property on the east side of Landing Lane. URS also excavated two sites on the north side of the road and JMA excavated several house sites along the south side of the road. Gannett Fleming worked on warehouse foundations on the south side of the road and further up the bluff to the north where there were remains of a Revolutionary War encampment as well as a prehistoric Indian site. Hartgen Associates excavated a house site to the west of the Bodine/Blair property.

Machinery was again used to strip off the 3 feet of fill that lay over the historic remains on the west side of the intersection of Landing Lane and River Road, the location of the Bodine/Blair property. This time a hefty foundation was exposed very close to Landing Lane. The foundation appeared to be the eastern wall of the same building that the Rutgers University Center for Public Archaeology had found further north. The wall exposed in 2000 trended north-south; the wall found by the Center trended east-west. Both were constructed of dry-laid cut shale blocks and both appeared to have been built on the early occupation layer (before the Revolutionary War). This building stood throughout the Landing's history.

URS also found more of one of the buildings RASO had uncovered in 1979. The east, west, and north walls of Building C appeared at the southern edge of URS's excavation area. Unfortunately there was still a gap between the

walls that RASO found and the newly uncovered walls, but when the space between them was taken into account, the building measured 36 feet by 20 feet with a door along the east wall about 7.5 feet from the north end (Figure 2.15). Building C apparently burned since both RASO and URS found charcoal and ash mixed with destruction rubble inside its walls. Artifacts (there were 14) recovered from builder's trenches associated with the east and west foundation walls dated no later than 1730, putting the building's construction close to the time John Bodine bought the property in 1735. Perhaps this was the house (or barn) he built when he first arrived and subsequently sold to Alexander Blair. We know that Bodine later lived in a house on the lot to the south.⁵

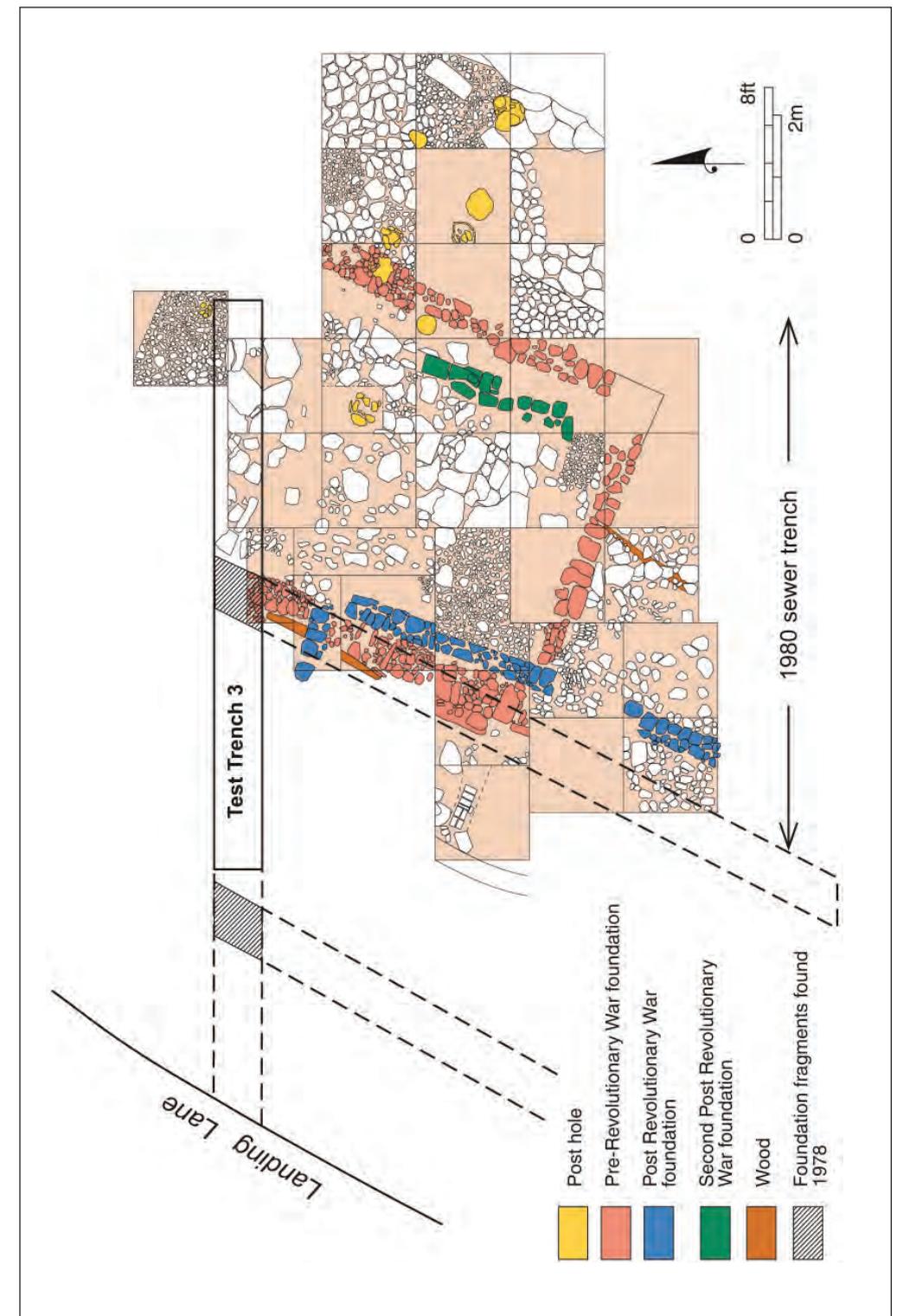


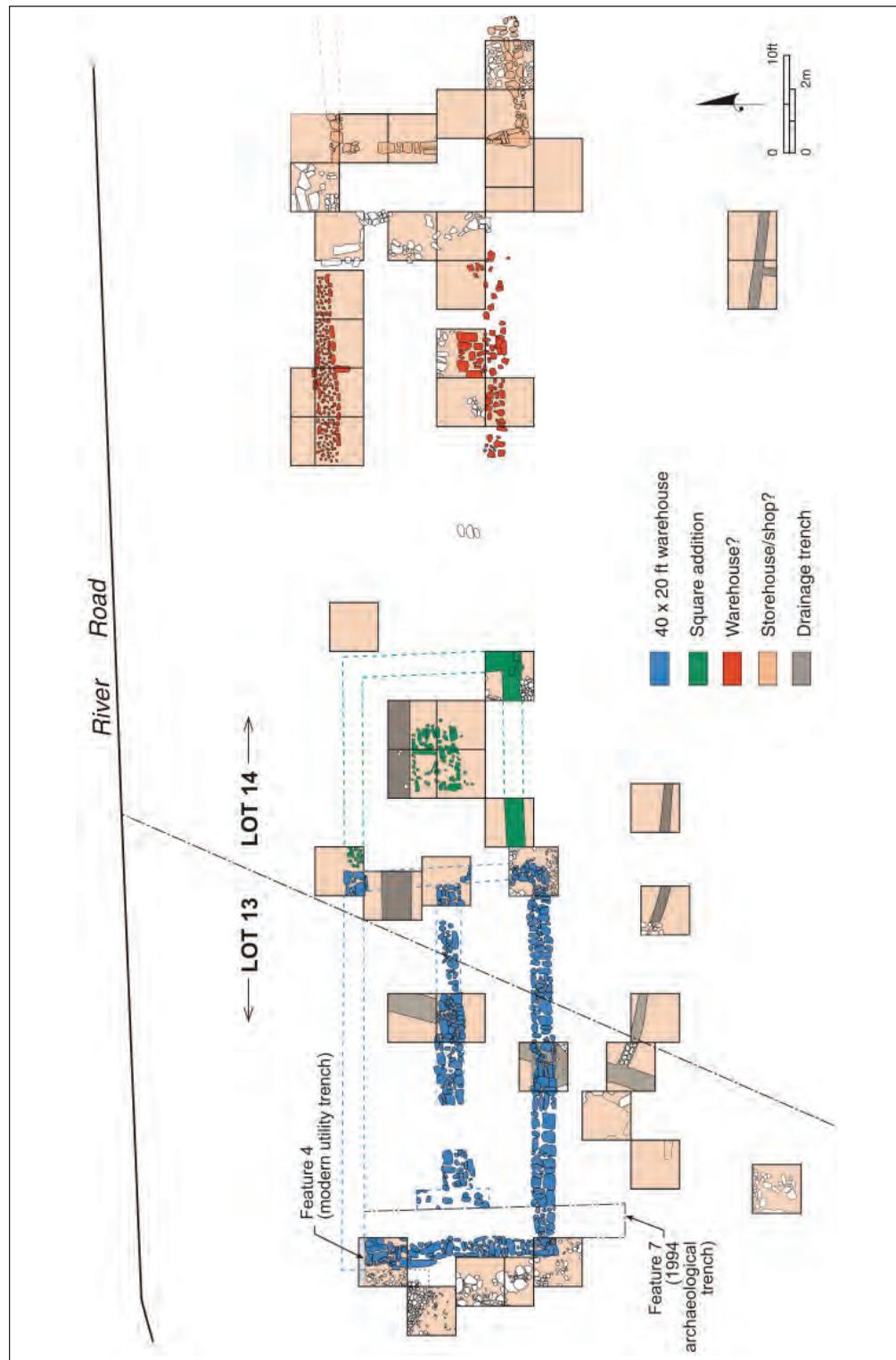
The finds on the east side of the intersection were even more surprising. Once the overlying fill was stripped away, it became clear that Vermeule's L-shaped warehouse was actually many warehouses. At least two successive warehouse foundations were found parallel to Landing Lane and a very substantial foundation, probably for a two- or three-story building, was parallel to River Road on the corner property. A string of foundations, both large and small, lined the southern edge of the road to the east, an area that had never been investigated before.

The foundation for the earliest building parallel with Landing Lane coincided with one of the wall sections that was uncovered in 1979 (Figure 2.16). It measured 20 feet from north to south, but its northern portion had been cut off by modern construction. Eastern and southern walls were also present although some foundation stones at the southeast corner were missing. A curious feature of this foundation was a wooden sill along the outside of the western wall. It is possible that this was actually an interior wall; one of the wall sections uncovered in 1979, located 8 feet closer to Landing Lane, was its outside wall. This would have made the building—probably a warehouse—23, or maybe 24, feet wide. Its length couldn't be determined.

The floor was paved with small irregular slabs of shale except at the north end where the stones were larger and smoother, perhaps to support a fireplace. Wooden planking and possible wagon ruts had been covered with paving outside the southern and eastern walls of the building. The paving and earlier planking were presumably put down to cover the often wet, muddy ground in front of the big door at the southern end, most likely the main entry to the warehouse. This warehouse was probably destroyed during the Revolutionary War and replaced afterward. Its ruins were covered with about 1 foot of fill and another foundation was built on top of the fill. Only the eastern wall of the more recent building survived, but enough of a corner was present to indicate that its western wall was close to Landing Lane. A second building parallel to this one was located further east on the lot. It appears to have taken two buildings to replace the much larger earlier one.

There was another massive warehouse structure on the River Road side of the corner lot (Figure 2.17). The Rutgers University Center for Public Archeology had crossed a section of its southern foundation in 1994 and RASO





2.17

had exposed the corner of the same foundation in 1978. RASO thought it represented the River Road wing of the L-shaped warehouse, but it actually belonged to a separate building that was even bigger than the one along Landing Lane. This warehouse measured 40 by 20 feet and had a 2.5-foot-wide foundation down the center, probably to support one or two upper stories. The brown stoneware mug found in the blizzard of 1978 was still wedged into the corner of the foundation wall and still provided a tantalizing connection to the people who once worked there (Figure 2.18).

This building was altered over time, probably for industrial purposes. Its eastern wall had been cut through in order to connect it to a small square building located on the next property to the east. The property line was apparently ignored, or, perhaps, the owner of the corner lot paid rent to the owner of the lot to the east. The square addition had a four-course high stone pad or platform in the middle, as if to support something heavy. The platform measured 5 feet on one side and 7 feet on the other. Mortar, charcoal and ash, red and yellow brick, animal bones, and domestic artifacts were found in and around the platform. Unlike the main warehouse, the addition had a cobble foundation, only a small portion of which remained at the northern end. A drainage ditch extended from the interior of the original building across the northern edge of the stone platform. This was one of several drainage ditches that had been dug after the original foundations were laid, perhaps to retrofit the building for a new use. The ditches were about 2 feet wide and 1 foot deep. The ditch that ran through the middle of the original portion of the warehouse continued beyond its southern wall in a southwesterly direction, but a narrower drain branched off toward the southeast. The narrower drain was lined with cobbles.



2.18

The geochemical analysis of soil associated with the stone pad revealed an elevated level of copper. The levels of both cadmium and copper on this site were much higher than elsewhere in the Raritan Valley and they were also high on several of the lots east, and downwind, of the hearth feature. The

archeological evidence suggests that whatever rested on the stone platform, perhaps a forge, related to working with copper.⁶

An eighteenth-century coppersmith shop would generally have included a forge or hearth, a series of workbenches and above-ground boxes for storage, barrels or bins (also above ground), and a sink and drain system.⁷ No obvious copper working tools (e.g., hammers, shears, iron “horses” or cranks, and stakes) were found around the stone platform, but there were some iron hooks, bolts, and pieces of small iron casting. There was also plenty of charcoal and coal. Copper ore processing in a smelter or furnace generally occurred at the mine seat or in the immediate vicinity of the source of the copper away from public view. This was mainly because of the difficulty of transporting the raw or unprocessed ore, but it was also because the British didn’t want the colonists to practice industries that might compete with their own. A coppersmith shop would have been acceptable, though, and that is probably what was present at Raritan Landing.

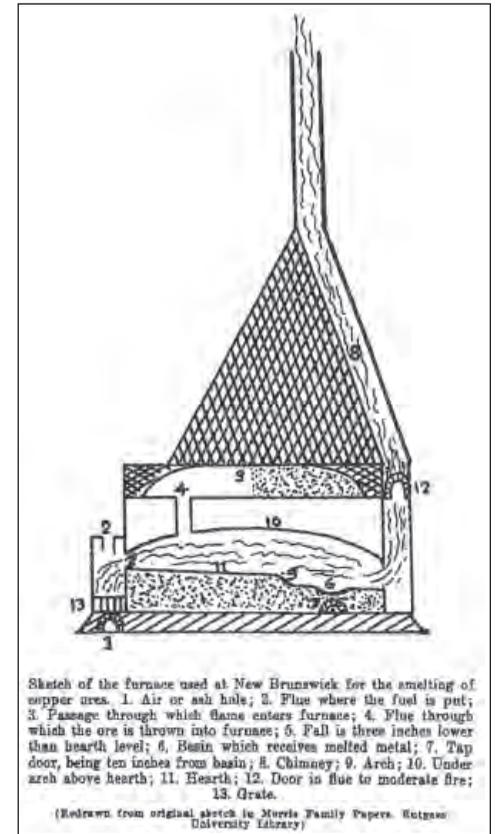
Cornelius Van Horne, who, along with his brother-in-law Joseph Reade, owned a strip of land along the east side of Landing Lane, also owned a copper mine further up the Raritan Valley. The mine, known by a variety of names—the Bridgewater Mine, the American Mine, and at least once as the Cornelius Van Horne mine—was located on the southwest flank of the First Watchung Mountain, probably within the large tract that Van Horne inherited from his father-in-law, Philip French, in 1722.⁸ The mine was not mentioned in the historic record, though, until December of 1759, when the sale of a 5/8th part of the mine was advertised in the *Pennsylvania Journal*. The furnace that Van Horne built near the mine was partially destroyed by Crown Forces during the American Revolution, but it is not clear if the mine had operated much after 1770 when Van Horne died and the property passed out of the family.⁹

The documentary record includes very little about the Van Horne mine, or any copper mine in colonial New Jersey for that matter. This may be because the mine owners intentionally underreported their activities as a direct result of the well-known success—in both quantity and quality—of the ore from the Schuyler mine in northern New Jersey. The speed with which the Bristol and Birmingham brass and copper merchants clamored for, and received, a

duty on exported copper following the first shipment of Schuyler ore appears to have encouraged owners to hide their own mining activities. The Iron Act of 1750 forbade smelting, which meant that any design or construction of furnaces and smelters was illegal. The diagram of a smelter (Figure 2.19) designed for the French Mine in New Brunswick, found in the Morris Papers in the Special Collections at Rutgers University, was probably secret.¹⁰

Van Horne’s other brother-in-law, Philip French, operated the French Mine in New Brunswick at the same time Van Horne’s mine in the Watchung Ridge was active and it is very possible that both men took advantage of the copper smithing operation at Raritan Landing. Van Horne may well have brought copper ore via flat boat or overland by wagon from Bound Brook to Raritan Landing and stored it in his warehouse at the corner. Whether French stored his ore in Van Horne’s warehouse or at a more convenient location on the south side of the river is not known. Vermeule doesn’t mention copper-smithing at the Landing and there is no record of losses being claimed after the Revolutionary War, but it is likely that when Van Horne died in 1770 the copper-smithing ceased. John Bray took possession of the corner property during the Revolution and as assistant commissary of issues he was mainly concerned with storing goods to supply the troops.

There were more buildings on the property to the east of the three-story warehouse and its addition. By 1738 that property was owned by Cornelius Low and it is likely that the two buildings on the lot were built during his tenure. What was notable about these buildings is how closely they were spaced, one just 20 feet east of the coppersmith shop and the next one just 8 feet east of that. Both buildings ran parallel to River Road and both had



fireplaces. The first building had a façade made of dressed stone and the second building was sub-divided into sections that may have served different functions, possibly including a storehouse and shop. The lack of domestic artifacts in the vicinity suggests that no one actually lived in these buildings although fireplaces would have kept shop workers warm in cold weather.

Peter Low, Cornelius's New York-based brother, owned the next two lots to the east. The most complete foundation found on his property may have belonged to the storehouse, "chairhouse" (carriage house), and stable that were advertised for sale when his wife, Rachel, died in 1769. The foundation measured 29 feet by 16 feet, just about right for a stable with a 16½ by 14 foot addition on the east end (a tack room?) that was built of more finished, cut stone than the rest of the structure. The associated artifacts, including an iron step for a carriage, dated to the last quarter of the eighteenth century, though, and it is possible that the stable belonged to the next owners. When the archaeologists found the "carriage step" it seemed to confirm the identification of the building, but the artifact analysts in the laboratory called it a hoe.

The final meadow lot along this strip of the road was owned by Evert Duyckinck until 1773 and by Abraham Van Ranst after him, but the structural remains appeared to date after the Revolutionary War. They consisted of brick and stone piers in combination with a line of postholes at the back of the lot. The piers outlined a building that measured approximately 29 feet east-west by 28 feet north-south. Associated artifacts dated to the nineteenth century.

Beyond Vermeule

Vermeule was wrong about the L-shaped warehouse, but he wasn't wrong about the scale of trade-related facilities. There was a complex of large warehouses at the corner of Landing Lane and River Road well before the Revolutionary War. Warehouses flanked the intersection and there were more along the southern edge of River Road to the east and on the north side of the road to the west. JMA archeologists identified three warehouses along the north side of the road in the winter of 2005 and another in 2008. Cornelius Low's huge warehouse, recorded by the Rutgers University Center for Public Archaeology in 1995, was directly across from where Landing Lane

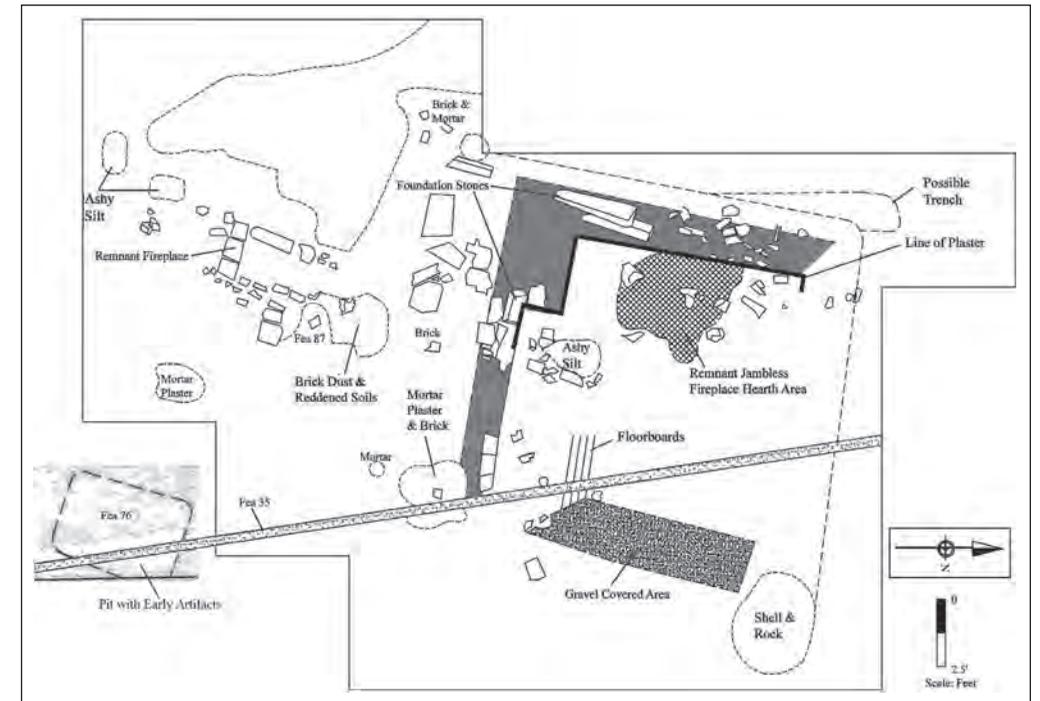
intersected River Road. From his house on top of the bluff Low would have looked down on its roof and also on the roofs of the many other buildings. The cluster of buildings must have been an impressive site as traders approached the Landing from the east or west along the Road Up Raritan and from the wharves at the foot of Landing Lane. Coming from the east they also would have seen smoke rising from the chimney of the coppersmith shop and from the west there would have been long lines of wagons waiting to unload the agricultural produce they brought from upriver.

It took 30 years to uncover evidence for all this activity at the corner of Landing Lane and River Road. Those backhoe trenches in the snow began the process, but it was the efforts of the NJDOT and four consulting firms in 2000—25 archaeologists working in tandem—that revealed the complexity of what was once there. The buildings themselves tell us something about the men who invested in Raritan Landing, but there is much more to know, about them and about the many other families that lived at the Landing. The next two chapters focus on life at the Landing before the Revolutionary War. ∞

Imagined scenario No. 1: Adolphus Hardenbrook watched the sun rise on that beautiful October day. The warehouse was done, or at least the workers said it would be done by nightfall, and Hardenbrook wanted to be there. It had taken almost three weeks to build, a good deal longer than his house on the hill, but then, it was bigger, much bigger. The house was only about 15 feet on a side while the warehouse was more than 20 feet long, a few feet longer than the one Joseph Reade had built a couple of years earlier across the way. It was just lucky those slaves he brought from New York knew carpentry. Hardenbrook was optimistic. How could he miss? There was the river to the hinterland and there was the road. East Jersey may not have had the furs that made New Yorkers rich in the Hudson Valley, but there was plenty of grain and he, the descendant of a long line of Dutch merchants, would make money off the grain. Just a little nervousness gnawed at his optimism. What if there wasn't enough to go around? He had convinced the Roosevelts and the Lows to come to the Landing too. What if they didn't make money? He tried not to think about it. They were all building grand houses with glorious views of the river; they all believed in this new port on the Raritan. And besides, if it didn't work out, they were all still well connected in New York. They could always go home.

Chapter 3. New Yorkers on the High Ground

Adolphus Hardenbrook was only 23 when he came to Raritan Landing. We don't know if it was his idea to venture south from New York or his family's, but the Raritan Valley, like the Hudson Valley to the north of the city, held much promise. The Raritan reaches into the rich interior where industrious Dutch farmers were raising pigs, growing grain, and harvesting timber, all of which were getting a good price in urban markets. Commerce and agriculture were "of nearly equal importance" in Dutch colonial New York and the New York Dutch families who came to the Raritan Valley—the Beekmans, Coeymans, DePeysters, Hardenbrooks, Lows, Roosevelts, Staats, and Ten Eycks—saw the same potential in New Jersey. Already involved in trade, these families believed the highest docking point on the Raritan River—where Hardenbrook settled—was a perfect location to continue the kind of lucrative business they had known in the Hudson Valley. The warehouse that Hard-



3.1

brook built on the riverbank in about 1720 probably held both products for export and products for distribution—grain and timber from upriver and molasses, rum, ceramics, and textiles brought in from New York and maybe even from abroad. The place wasn't known as Raritan Landing yet. In fact, the first name that refers to a community at the falls of the river was Hardenbrook's Landing, so named in a road record dating to 1738.¹

Hardenbrook was gone by 1735 or 1736, leaving behind a house on a hill about 250 yards east of the intersection of River Road and Landing Lane, or maybe the house burned down. The archaeological remains of the house were sparse, consisting mainly of a southern wall made out of pieces of shale laid directly on subsoil (Figure 3.1). Two parallel trenches may have held floor joists that ran perpendicular to this southern wall. A decorated sherd from a Chinese porcelain bowl made no later than 1720 (Figure 3.2) was found in one of the trenches, perhaps dropped there



3.2

during construction. A thin line of plaster was still visible along the interior of the stone foundation and it seemed to continue around to the west side of the house even though there were practically no foundation stones still in place on that side. Remnants of a probable jambless fireplace—an area of reddened soils, ash, charcoal, and decayed plaster—were found inside this line of plaster and an area covered with gravel was found along the inside of the possible floor joist trench on the opposite (east) side of the house. Still *in situ* floorboards abutted the gravel but appeared to date slightly later in time. The gravel may have originally covered the earthen floor with the floorboards being added later. If these structural remains represent the whole structure it would have measured a mere 15 by 15 feet, small but not unreasonable for an early house at the Landing. It probably had casement windows; dates tucked into the folds of three discarded window leads read “1717” and one was marked with the initials “EW,” possibly for Edward White, a New York glazier.

Although the jambless fireplace in Hardenbrook’s house was built in the Dutch style, his household possessions were less distinctively Dutch. There were no three-legged pipkins or hollow handled frying pans. He owned a few Delft plates (Figure 3.3), but his teawares were mainly made of white saltglazed stoneware imported from England. For drinking other beverages there were English slipware mugs, the dot and comb decorated kind that were common at Raritan Landing right up to the Revolutionary War. Utilitarian dishes were made of redware and there were also lots of slipware “dishes” that could have been used for a variety of purposes.²



3.3

Remnants of another fireplace, perhaps for a separate kitchen building, were found south of the house foundation. Whoever was doing the cooking seems to have thrown hearth sweepings down the slope to the west (see Figure 3.1). Burned bones, nails, and a few early eighteenth-century artifacts were mixed in with the ash. A rectangular pit to the southeast of the possible kitchen yielded the earliest artifacts found on the site. Among them were a 1699 William III farthing and an English-

made vessel marked with an AR, for Queen Ann who reigned from 1702 to 1714. Food remains found at the bottom of the pit consisted mostly of locally caught birds and fish. The bones belonged to quail, ducks, geese, and pigeons as well as cod, shad, small mouth bass, striped bass, white perch, and sturgeon. Deer, cow, immature cow, sheep and pig bones were also present, but in much smaller proportions (20% of the assemblage) than the birds and fish. Like the dishes, these food remains do not suggest that Hardenbrook’s household followed Dutch style cuisine. Food remains from a household dating to the same period in the Netherlands included no deer and few birds and fish. Instead they favored the basic domesticated animals, i.e., cattle, sheep/goat, and pig, and ate lots of fruits and vegetables. The great variety of fruits and vegetables available in the Netherlands, and maybe even in New York, were apparently not available at Raritan Landing and Hardenbrook may have missed the more varied diet he grew up on.³

Another possible explanation for the high proportion of wild birds and fish found in the pit is that the household included enslaved Africans. As has been observed elsewhere, they may have hunted and fished in the local forests and waters for food that reminded them of the West African style they preferred. Besides the wild species named above, there were two squirrels and a shrew in the assemblage, small animals that have been found in food remains on other sites associated with slaves.⁴

As far as we know, Hardenbrook was unmarried and he may well have employed enslaved Africans to do household work as well as work in his warehouse. Slaves are known at Raritan Landing from wills and advertisements for runaways. While none of these documents refers specifically to Hardenbrook, other artifacts recovered on the property suggest their presence. Eighteen glass beads were found in the same pit with the food remains and another 18 beads were recovered from the general area of the house. The 18 from the pit included 10 relatively large, round, black opaque beads that have three undulating lines of white or lemon yellow glass inlaid on their surfaces (Figure 3.4); 4 medium sized, oval, white opaque beads with three sets of a “bright navy” stripe surrounded by “redwood” stripes; and four small, round, green opaque beads. According to the scholar who studied them, the striped ovals and small



3.4

green beads might have come from one piece of jewelry, a necklace or waistband, for instance, or from two or more bracelets.

Historical archeologist Anne Yentsch claims that beads were not routinely worn by European women until the middle of the nineteenth century, but they *were* used as trade goods. The URS archaeologists who excavated Hardenbrook's house site first thought the beads reflected trade with Native Americans, but if they were for trade, there would have been more and there also would have been other trade goods. Since no trade goods were found, a more likely interpretation is that the beads belonged to an enslaved woman or women, for whom they might have had a variety of meanings. Beads associated with enslaved peoples have been interpreted as marking rites of passage, as separating one sex from another, older from younger, and indicating special talents in life and death. In a burial context they have been associated with fertility and they have also been thought to have magical properties, that is, to ward off evil.⁵

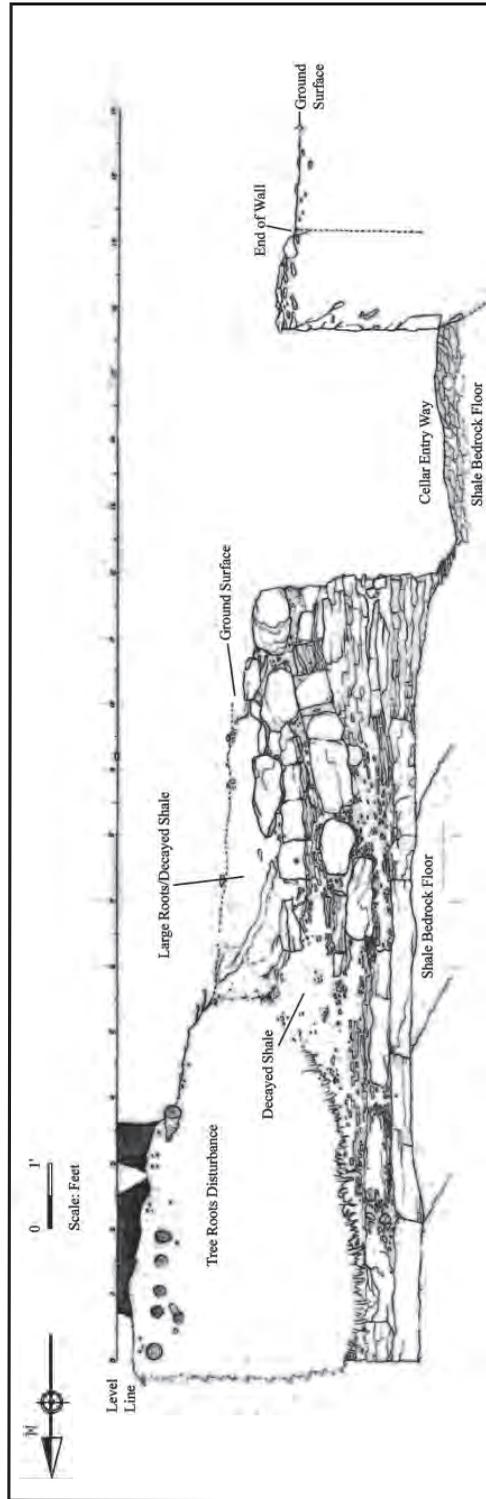
Besides the beads, there were lots of straight pins in the pit—145—as well as 14 buttons and a large eye element from a hook and eye. These things suggest sewing and another interpretation of the beads could be that they were spangle beads attached to bobbins used in lace making. There were, however, no other tools associated with lace making.⁶

Hardenbrook may have been the only New Yorker who had actually taken up residence at the highest docking point on the Raritan River by the 1720s, but he was not the only New Yorker to invest in its potential. According to Vermeule, Joseph Reade built a warehouse on the banks of the river in about 1720 and he may also have built a house and another warehouse on the Great Road Up Raritan. His house was located about the same distance (300 yards) west of the intersection of the Great Road and the road to the wharf (Landing Lane) as Hardenbrook's house was east of the intersection. Reade, however, built his house on flat ground below the bluff and he probably never lived there. He and Cornelius Van Horne, another New York investor at the Landing, had married sisters (Ann and Elizabeth French) and through them inherited a 33-foot-wide strip of land along the east side of the road to the wharf. They also inherited land 6 miles further up the river and it was there that they built summer houses. Van Horne, who owned the copper mine discussed in Chapter 2, eventually spent more time at Middlebrook than in New York, but Reade remained New York based and the house he built on the Great Road was probably for the overseer of his warehouses.⁷

The site of Reade's warehouse on the Great Road was excavated by John Milner Associates in 2005 (Figure 3.5). The floor of the building consisted of mudstone slabs laid flat, but the floor had been hollowed out in the southwest corner and covered with bricks and brick rubble. Below the rubble was an ash-filled depression containing burned bone, early eighteenth-century artifacts, and a pocket of shell and lime at the very bottom. Among the shells was a jingle shell (*Anomia simplex*), a generally inedible kind of oyster (windowpane oyster) that presumably would have been collected for its aesthetic rather than nutritional value. Jingle shells are shiny and translucent and come in a variety of pale colors ranging from yellow to apricot. Perhaps it was some kind of talisman. Like the things found on the Hardenbrook property, this find, too, may relate to the presence of enslaved Africans at the Landing.



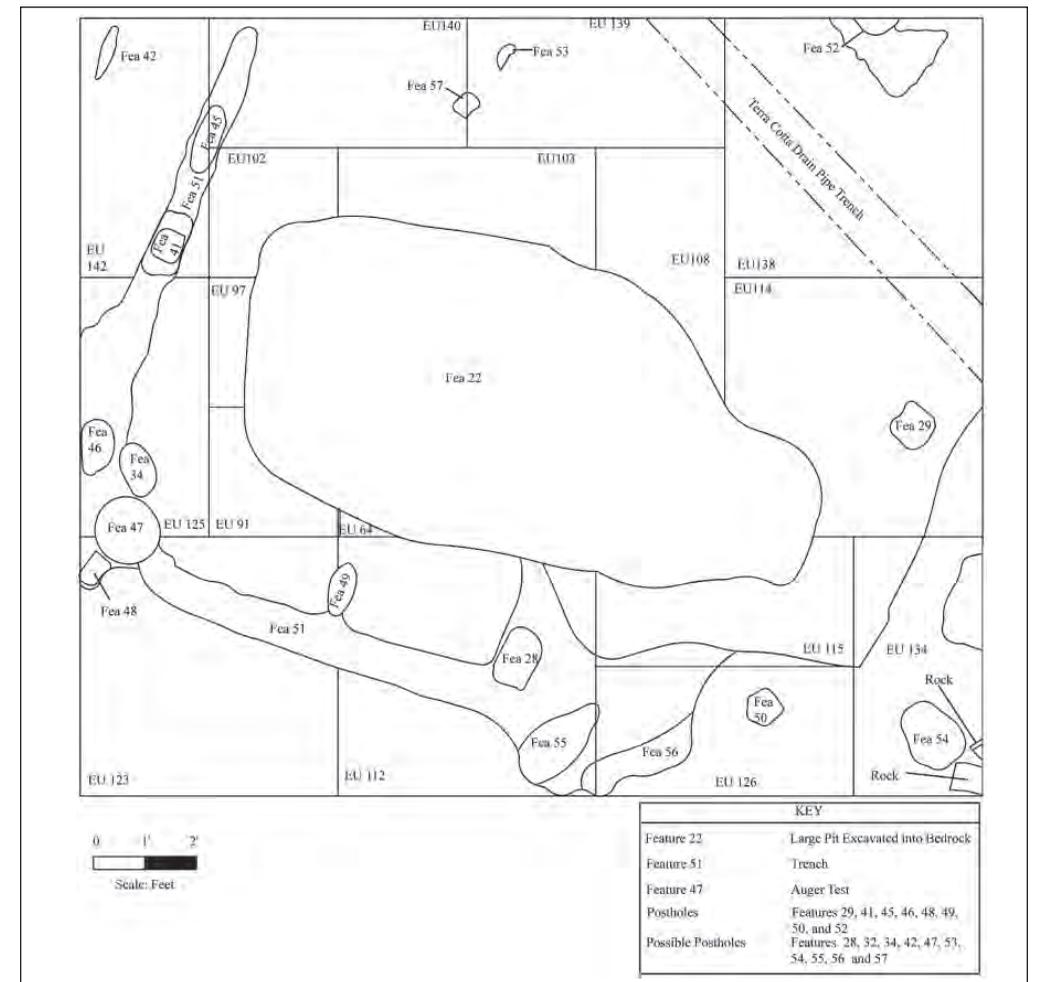
3.5



By 1735 Peter Bodine had taken over Hardenbrook’s warehouse on the river and Evert Duyckinck had taken over the property on the hill. Duyckinck, also a New Yorker, was married to Hardenbrook’s younger sister, Effie. He identified himself as a painter, but he came from a long line of Duyckincks who, in addition to being painters, were glaziers and limners (painters who specialized in portraiture). The last mention of Hardenbrook at the Landing was a debt to him “for freight” recorded in the Janeway and Broughton Store ledger in 1735, but he may have left a year or so earlier. He died in New York in 1742 and was buried in the Dutch Reformed Church of New York.⁸

The archaeological evidence suggests that Duyckinck built a house on the hill in the 1730s—just to the east of the house where Hardenbrook lived. In fact, Duyckinck eventually may have reworked Hardenbrook’s house into an addition on his own, or perhaps it served as the kitchen wing. The main part of Duyckinck’s new house had a cellar built partially into the hillside, a style known as a “bank” house (Figure 3.6). There was no evidence for a chimney even though similar “bank” houses are known to include the kitchen in the cellar, which became a kind of lower story on one side of the house. The foundation for Duyckinck’s house measured about 19 by 21 feet with 1.5-foot-thick walls made of river cobbles at the base and slabs of shale

3.6



3.7

above. Lead coming and pieces of turned lead found in the cellar fill suggest that this house, like the original Hardenbrook house, had casement windows. The glass for the windows in both houses may have been cut in a small post-in-ground building located about 50 feet north of the house foundations (Figure 3.7 shows the feature in detail). The large number (598) of glass trimming pieces found in the oval shaped depression inside that building suggests it was a window workshop located well behind the house (Figure 3.8). Most of the pieces were narrow rectangles with edges that looked “nibbled” (Figure 3.9). The three compass/dividers recovered on the site were most likely used for window manufacture (Figure 3.10). Perhaps Duyckinck (or a close relative) made the windows, or maybe it was Paul LeBoyteaux, another Raritan Landing resident in the 1720s and 1730s who identified himself as a glazier.



3.8

Duyckinck’s cellar was reached by a relatively long corridor in the southeast corner. There were niches on opposite walls marked where the cellar door had been attached and sherds of a broken slipware mug and worn copper alloy coin marked “FRANC A” were pressed into the mortar at the doorway. The coin was decorated with two fleur-de-lis, but its date was illegible. Artifacts had also collected in depressions in the cellar floor. In one corner there were 100 pieces of bone and lots of shell; a depression in another corner was filled with oyster shells. The most fascinating artifact found in the cellar was a dark green wine bottle tucked into a niche in the back (north) wall (Figure

3.11 and book cover). Elsewhere, concealed bottles have been attributed to African American spiritual practices and the possibility was raised here. Chemical testing of the bottle’s contents, however, did not detect urine or anything else that might be associated with conjuring.

The two copper nodules and one slightly bent straight pin found nearby were suggestive, but the URS archaeologists who analyzed the bottle were not comfortable attributing it to spiritual practices by enslaved Africans, or anyone else for that matter. Whether or not the bottle was put there by slaves, it would not be surprising if Duyckinck’s household, like his much older brother-in-law’s, included enslaved Africans.⁹

By the early 1740s Duyckinck was selling off portions of the property to the west of his new house. In 1746 he and his nephew, John Roosevelt (a son of Hardenbrook’s older sister, Catherine, and her husband, Jacobus Roosevelt), advertised a property described as “A Very good dwelling House, Store-House, and Bake House, together with the Utensils belonging to the Baker’s Trade” in the *The New York Evening Post* (January 20, 1746). Roosevelt lived in New York, but the ad said Duyckinck lived “near the premises.” In 1747 another property was advertised, this one possibly including Duyckinck’s own house. The ad read, “A dwelling with approximately 10 acres of land...pleasantly situated on the Hill, with a good Prospect.” Duyckinck’s house probably didn’t sell, but by 1769 he and his son, John, were “occupying” the house that had belonged to Peter Low and his wife, Rachel. Peter had died in 1750, but Rachel continued to rent the property until she died in 1769 when it was advertised for sale: “A lot of Up-land



3.9



3.10



3.11

of about Two and a Half Acres with a large and convenient Store and Bake-House, Garden, Well, and Orchard. From the Dwelling House there is a very beautiful Prospect of the River, and the elegant Seat of Anthony White, Esq.”

Cornelius Low and his wife, Johanna, were in their house on

the bluff by 1741. Unlike the other transplanted New Yorkers, the Lows remained at the Landing right up to the Revolutionary War, conducting business first through Cornelius’s brothers, John and Peter, in Newark and New York respectively, and later through their own son, Isaac, in New York. They had arrived at Raritan Landing in 1730, living first near the wharf on what was to become Landing Lane. Low came from a New York merchant family and his wife, Johanna Gouverneur, was the daughter of Isaac Gouverneur, a prominent merchant in Newark. Their business mainly consisted of shipping agricultural produce, “notably grain,” to New York and bringing in finished goods from New York for retail distribution, possibly within a store Low maintained at the Landing.¹⁰

Vermeule claims the stone for the Low’s house was quarried at Chimney Rock near Bound Brook but more recent research concludes that the stone came from “near Newark.” The front of the house is made of carefully cut blocks while the other three sides are rubble. There were three open arches in the basement that led directly out to the slope down to the warehouse and road, a style that was common for merchant dwellings in the eighteenth century. Archeological investigations conducted by Hunter Research, Inc., in association with landscaping improvements to the Low property in the mid 1990s, determined that intact eighteenth-century ground surfaces may survive southeast of the house. The ground surface was lower than it is today, which would have been necessary to accommodate entry and exit from the basement doorways.¹¹

Two, and possibly three, of the New York families who built houses on the north side of the Great Road Up Raritan were involved in baking. There was

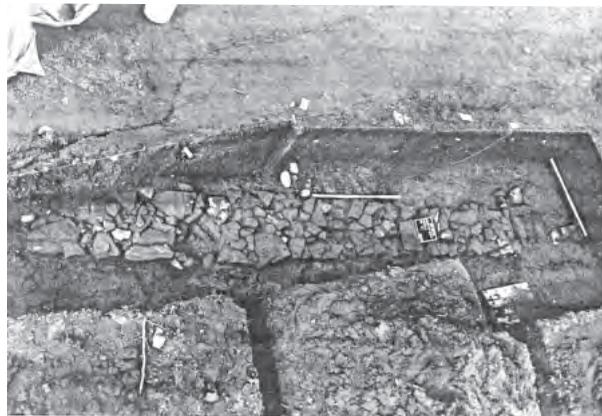
a bakehouse on the Jacobus Roosevelt property as early as 1746 and one on the Peter Low property by 1762. An account book that resides in the New York Historical Society contains entries that relate to the building of a bakehouse at Raritan Landing in 1760-1761.¹² The account book belonged to an unnamed storekeeper who was selling specialized dry goods, possibly imported directly from Ireland, in New Brunswick in 1756, but had moved to Raritan Landing where he dealt in more general merchandise—nails, rum, thread, allspice, sugar, cloth, sundries—by 1759. He also served as a kind of banker for the community in this period, making loans and even attempting to increase his capital by participating in lotteries. Entries in his account book show expenditures on lotteries including Bedminster, for Brunswick Church, at Newark, Hackensack, Elizabethtown, Bound Brook, Second River, on the horse races in 1760, and in Dunlaps Province. He entered the Prince Town College Lottery in 1761 and in 1762 he entered a Philadelphia lottery, a sundries Amboy lottery, and a bridge lottery. Prizes for some of the lotteries, as well as cash on the horse race, are recorded in the contra column.

Both Cornelius Low and Cornelius Low, Jr., who was Peter Low’s son, seem to have supported the storekeeper in one way or another. Cornelius Low paid his 1759 bill with “stock for sundry merchandise, 13½ yards black taffety, 11 lb. of pepper, cash, 210¾ bushels salt, and freight of 394 boards.” In 1760 Cornelius Low, Jr., paid a debt with “materials for the bake house.” It is not clear whether this reference is to Cornelius Low, Jr., the elder Cornelius Low’s son, or to the Cornelius who was Peter Low’s son. An entry dating to 1761 lists various items purchased by Cornelius Low—3 quarts of molasses, a vest and two coat buttons, a quart of rum, etc.—that were paid for “by two years house rent,” suggesting the possibility that Peter Low’s son, Cornelius, was both supporting the building of the bakehouse and supplying the storekeeper a place to live while he went into the baking business.

Evert Duyckinck was also a regular customer and supplier of the storekeeper in 1760 and 1761. Among other things, he paid for miscellaneous purchases with 106 gallons of molasses and 500 skins including their freight. In 1762 he paid his bill by boat freight of 77 [illegible] of bread to York. By 1762 the storekeeper was established in the baking business and the remaining 1762 and 1763 entries relate to baking and sale of bread. Debts are to various people for cornell (fruit used in confectionary), wheat, bran, salt, cartage, and cooperage of bread, etc. and there are many entries to Jacob

Remsen for commission. They are balanced by charges on baking, bread sold, and bills to various individuals who bought the product. In 1763 there is an item labeled, "Voyage to Rhode Island." Expenses include "to Bake House for 24 Tirces and for freight to Rhode Island." They are balanced by "Capt. John Sleight sold by him of Rhode Island." Sleight and several other individuals including John Abeel and Paul Miller, also captains, appear regularly in subsequent entries as do David McKinney and James Neilson. The storekeeper was apparently baking for export, working through regular clients, and entrusting delivery to a small group of ship's captains.

The storekeeper's transition to the baking business coincides closely with increased demands in Europe due to shortages and the relaxation of the Corn Laws. Imported colonial produce was finally being allowed and the Lows and their kinsmen, Evert and John Duyckinck among them, were clearly taking advantage of the lifting of restrictions. An even greater demand for flour and bread in this period was coming from the British West Indies. In the years 1768 to 1772, bread and flour composed 14 percent of total exports compared to 25 percent for tobacco and 10 percent for rice. Bread and flour



were valued at £412,000, tobacco at £766,000, and rice at £312,000. Dried fish, coming primarily from New England was valued at £287,000 and indigo at £117,000.¹³

Not surprisingly, there was also a bakehouse on the Duyckinck property (referred to in a Revolutionary War loss claim). The

49-foot-long wall excavated to the south of Duyckinck's house foundation in 1995 was built on a ground surface dating to the middle of the eighteenth century and it is likely that the wall belonged to the storehouse with bakehouse addition referred to in the claim¹⁴ (Figure 3.12). There is no record of the storekeeper-turned-baker leaving the Landing, but it seems likely that the Duyckincks took over his bakehouse when Rachel Low died. With the acquisition of that property they may well have been producing baked goods for export in two places at once.

3.12

The younger Duyckinck, John, also had other interests. In 1772, he and Charles Suydam initiated construction of a bridge across the Raritan at the base of Landing Lane. They originally sought private subscriptions, but an appeal was made to the General Assembly that resulted in assessing £450 in equal parts upon Middlesex and Somerset counties to complete the work. Entries in a journal for a general store, sawmill, and gristmill in South Branch, about 15 miles upriver from the Landing, list sales of plank and boards to John and James (another brother) Duyckinck in 1772, 1773, and 1774. A record for 577-foot 2½-inch plank, sawing of "1,818 feet Hendrick Van Middleswart timber," and "sawing 1,113 foot Bogarts timber" referred directly to "Rariton Bridge" and one final reference was for cartage of 350 planks. Once open, the bridge connected the Great Road more conveniently to New Brunswick and grain that was previously offloaded at Raritan Landing could be transported directly into the deeper port. It also made the crossing of the river easier for troops during the Revolutionary War.¹⁵

While the hillside in the area of the Low-Roosevelt-Duyckinck properties must have bustled with activity from the 1740s through the 1760s, the flats below were equally busy. The transplanted New Yorkers living on the bluff, or at least their descendants, looked down on a community of traders and shopkeepers, most of whom had strong family ties to the Raritan Valley. ∞

Imagined Scenario No. 2: Starting anew. That's what coming to Raritan Landing meant to Peter Bodine. He would escape all that arguing over the minister—some folks liked his new-fangled style and others, he and his wife included, hated it. That's why they decided to move to the Landing even though there wasn't any kind of church there. It was the accusation against his wife that was the final straw. She was not a "perfidious woman" and they would not live where anyone thought so. What a relief to escape the pettiness and how fine that their son, John, had already paved the way. John was married to Catherine LeBoyteaux whose family had been at the Landing from the very beginning. Her parents lived west of the village on the Great Road and John and Catherine bought land right in the center in about 1735. In partnership with Catherine's brother, Paul, John was already trading up and down the Great Road and it was actually his idea that Peter take over the Hardenbrook warehouse. Peter liked that. He liked that he and John would again be working side by side and he liked that the warehouse was already established. Goodness knows, they might even try to trade overseas. Peter knew his old neighbors in the country were ready for all the imported goods they could get and they were even getting rich enough to afford them. He would make contacts. The Neilsons were trading abroad. If the Neilsons of New Brunswick could do it, why not the Bodines of Raritan Landing? Yes, a new beginning was a good thing. He would work hard, they would make new friends.

Chapter 4. The Traders in the Flats

At around the same time Evert Duyckinck took over his brother-in-law Adolphus Hardenbrook's property on the high ground, Peter Bodine took over Hardenbrook's warehouse on the river. Bodine came from Raritan (now Somerville) about 8 miles up the valley. Vermeule says he built his house on the north side of the Great Road Up Raritan in about 1728, but a more likely date is 1735 when he bought a large tract of land from Duyckinck.¹ Perhaps the controversy over the minister at Raritan—Rev. Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen—had something to do with the move. The controversy was resolved in 1734, but the Bodines were on the wrong side of the issue. They stood with other members of their community against Frelinghuysen and tried unsuccessfully to have him removed. He was too emotional for their liking and they, and others, may have moved to avoid having to put up with his "modern" style.²

Once at the Landing, Bodine made his living as a trader; he is mentioned eight times in the early pages of the Janeway and Broughton Store journal (1735-1736). The store was located 7 miles up the Great Road from Raritan Landing and was frequented and supplied by a number of Landing residents. Bodine appears to have bought grain from the growers in the surrounding country and sold it to the store, which had it freighted to various places including Raritan Landing and Perth Amboy. In addition to supplying goods to the Janeway and Broughton store, Peter Bodine was paid for freighting. Entries in 1735 read, "To Peter Bodine for freight of 2,124 wheat 2½ B 13.5.6" and "To Peter Bodine for freight of 2,000 B wheat to Amboy." The Janeway and Broughton records also show Peter Bodine owing Adolphus Hardenbrook and John Bodine for "assignments," presumably imported goods that Bodine delivered to the storekeeper. The store was clearly a thriving operation and when Janeway died in 1747, the business moved to New York.³

Bodine's house on the north side of the road was located to the east of the Hardenbrook/Duyckinck property on the other side of the brook (Figure 4.1). He also owned a substantial amount of land on the south side of the road, presumably part of the "farm" he advertised for sale in 1747. The ad described "a small farm or plantation with a good and convenient storehouse, with sash windows, a very good garden, orchard and barn on it. The whole containing 130 acres, all in good fence; fifteen acres thereof being choice good English meadow, 75 acres of cleared upland or pasture land, and the remainder, about 40 acres of woodland, very convenient for either merchant, storekeeper or farmer." The large parcel didn't sell and two years later Bodine organized a lottery. A total of 195 lots of land were offered in the lottery "situated some of them in the very heart of that growing place, known by the name of Raritan Landing, which is a market for the most plentiful wheat country of its bigness in America." Nine of the lots fronted the south side of the main road; "63 feet front and 132 feet back and some larger and 16 lots



between the main road and the river, each lot containing near an acre; all which lots are conveniently situated for loading boats and for the market.”⁴



The still-standing Metlar House includes the earliest portion of Bodine’s house (Figure 4.1, left side). It consists of a fireplace with a built-in cabinet to the left, a sleeping loft, and a stone-lined root cellar. In 2000 the remains of a small house, which appears to have had a similar layout, were excavated on the south side of the road.

This house may well have been one of the prizes in Bodine’s lottery. Its foundation measured roughly 17 feet east-west by 20-some feet north-south (Figure 4.2). Although a fiber-optic trench running parallel to River Road destroyed the front (north) end of the foundation, the longer extant north-south dimension suggested that the gable end of the house had faced the road, a characteristically Dutch style that is seen on several still-standing eighteenth-century houses in the vicinity (Figure 4.3).



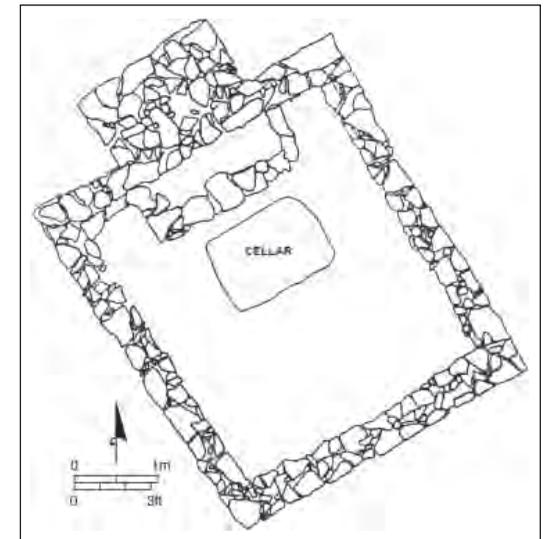
There was a stone chimney base for a five-foot-wide fireplace at the back (south) end of the foundation and an approximately 5-by-5 foot pit in front of the chimney. The pit may have been a root cellar, not quite the same as the stone-lined pit in the original Bodine house, but very similar, at least in size and shape.

The root cellar was virtually identical to root cellars that have been seen on sites in the Chesapeake area (Figure 4.4). It measured 5½ feet at the top and 4 feet at the bottom. Because the Chesapeake

root cellars were first noted in slave cabins, some scholars thought they might be part of a slave site pattern. This seemed especially likely because root cellars of similar size and shape were known characteristics of sites in Africa. An English sea captain’s description of one he saw in West Africa in the early nineteenth century, for instance, claims the Ibo of the area buried their valuable property “under the floors of their houses.” Bonny, the specific place the

captain visited, was located in the general region thought to have supplied a significant proportion of the enslaved Africans brought to the Chesapeake in the eighteenth century.⁵

None of the artifacts or food remains excavated from the root cellar at Raritan Landing, however, suggested that African Americans occupied the lot. The artifacts included a bone-handled knife and fork, a pewter spoon (Figure 4.5), numerous pipe stems and pipe bowls, and the lid of a probable sugar bowl with a bird-shaped finial (Figure 4.6). A Scottish made coin with the date “1687” also came from the pit and two other seventeenth-century coins were found nearby. While other evidence does not suggest that the small house was built before the second decade of the eighteenth century, the coins may have been lost earlier. There was a pattern of post holes on the site that could have belonged to a post-in-ground structure, perhaps a barn or maybe even a rudimentary house that predated Peter Bodine’s ownership of the land. The postholes outlined a possible structure measuring about 22 feet long by 8 feet wide. It was oriented on a diagonal to the road rather than at a right angle, which was consistent with the original property lines.



Sheet midden found just outside the door on the east side of the stone foundation included artifacts dating to the middle of the eighteenth century. There were lots of broken ceramics (white salt-glazed stoneware, tin-glazed earthenware, slip-decorated buff-bodied earthenware, etc.), but there were also tobacco pipes, belt buckles, shoe buckles, and buttons (Figure 4.7). The many head and foot

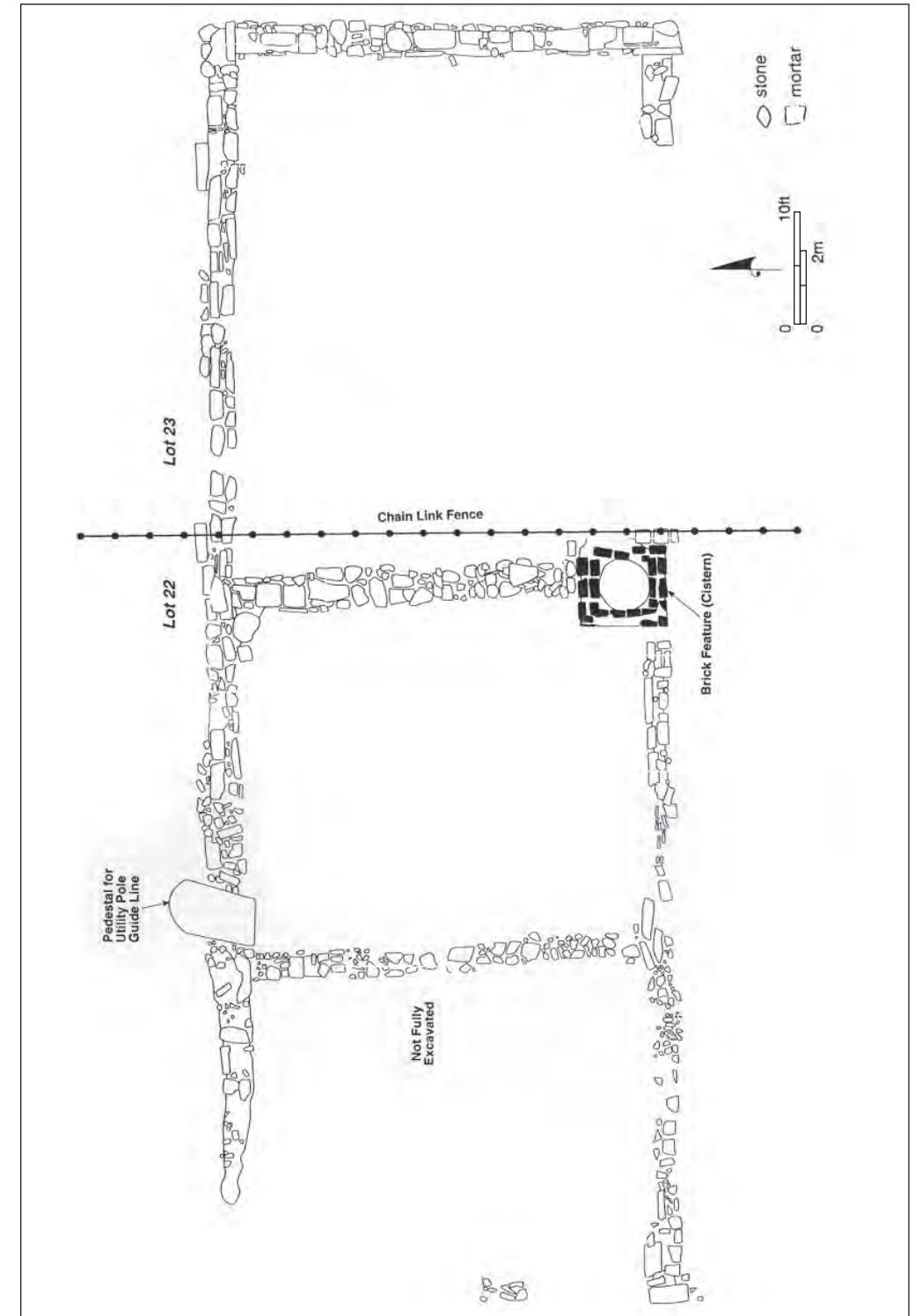


bones from pigs suggested they were being raised and butchered on the site, probably for sale. Later in time the area outside the door was landscaped and trash was apparently deposited out of view on the other side of the house. The landscaping consisted of a thin layer of gravel spread on top of the old yard surface. Flat stones on top of the gravel created a path trend-

ing from the door toward the back of the property. By the time the path was laid, the root cellar inside the house had been filled and camouflaged beneath a layer of soil that extended beyond its edges. Many straight pins and clay pipe fragments, as well as small fish bones and lead net sinkers, were found in this layer of soil, possibly dropped through the floorboards by people sitting in front of the fireplace. The archaeologists who excavated the site thought this layer represented the second occupation of the house, either by a new family or possibly just by the next generation of the same family.

Unfortunately we don't know the names of either the first or the second family who lived in this small house. The house stood through the Revolutionary War, but was demolished soon after and never re-occupied. No damage claims refer to this specific property and there was no archaeological evidence of occupation during the war. Another stone foundation, found along the western edge of the lot and extending into the next lot, however, probably burned during the war (Figure 4.8). The foundation enclosed a two-part building, the eastern part measuring about 22 feet by 21 feet and the western part measuring 30 feet by 21 feet. The entire western portion was within the neighboring lot and its dimensions exactly match a warehouse advertised for sale by Henry Dumont in 1755. It was apparently once a freestanding structure on a property that Dumont won in Bodine's lottery. Vermeule's map reconstruction of Raritan Landing shows two structures on the lot, the warehouse and a house further to the west. He called the house "The Lottery House" and claimed it was still standing in 1870, although an archaeological investigation of the site in 1979 failed to find anything dating to the eighteenth century. The site is now under the Route 18 bridge.

4.7



4.8

The eastern portion of the foundation consisted of fieldstone cobbles overlain by two or three courses of rectangular cut stones. The fill inside a corner of the cobble foundation was burned and the rectangular stones may have been added when the warehouse was rebuilt, or perhaps, when it was connected to Dumont's warehouse to the west. The two lots were transferred together as one property in the nineteenth century and it is not inconceivable that they were combined after the Revolution. The cobble foundation probably belonged to an early storehouse that was connected to the warehouse next door when the two properties became one.⁶

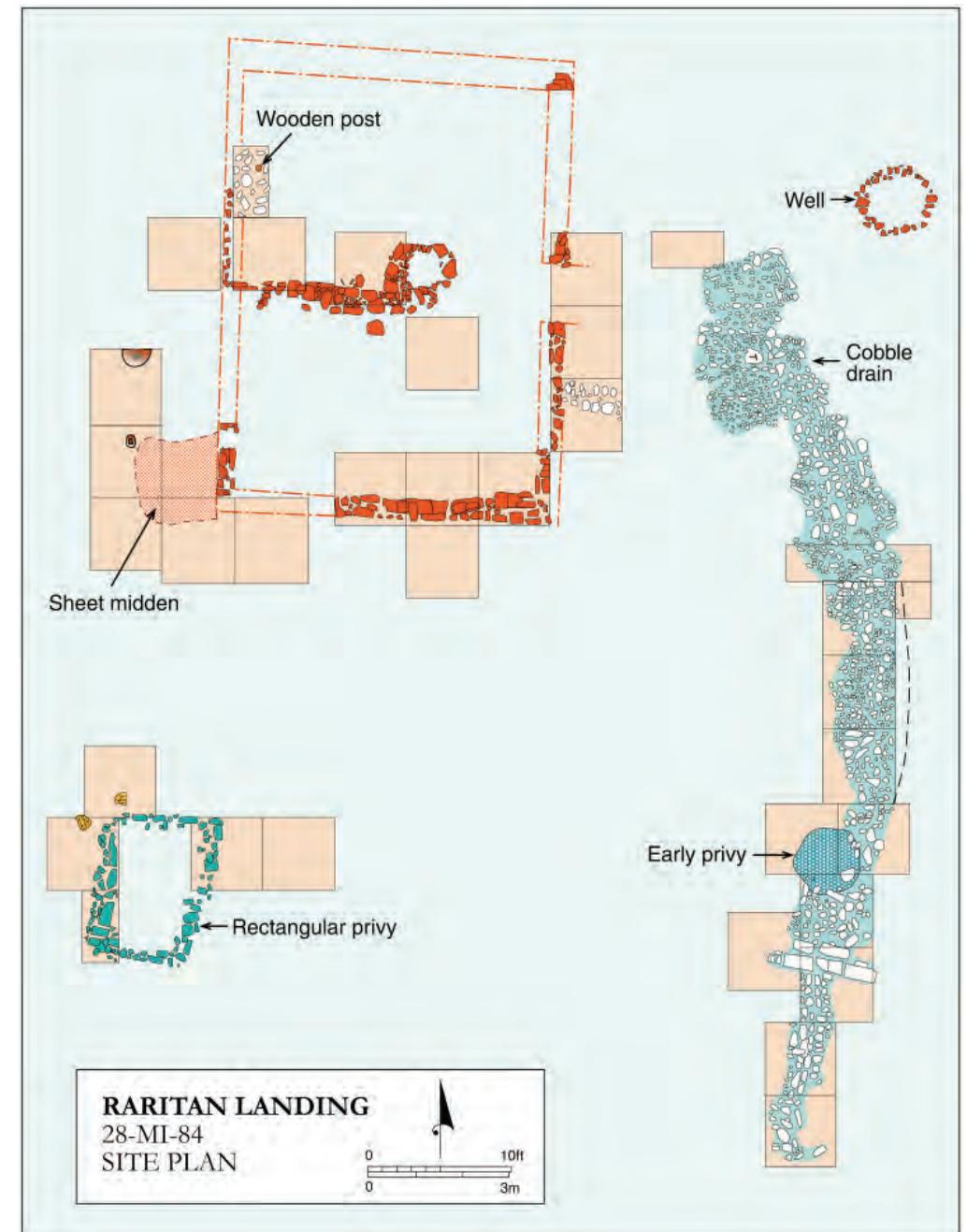
The next house along the Great Road stood on a small knoll approximately 400 feet beyond the Dumont warehouse. Built in about 1740, the house probably started off with just two rooms, one up and one down, very likely with the gable to the road in the Dutch style. About 20 years later, the house was expanded by adding a room behind the fireplace. The added room created a hall and parlor layout, a more English than Dutch form. Perhaps the front (original) room was a shop and the back (added) room was the living space. There were two doorways, one in the middle of the east wall



and a second at the back (southwest) corner of the addition. An accumulation of trash (sheet midden) outside the back door suggests this was the location of the kitchen and it is likely that the concentration of brick found on the east side of the added room came from a cooking fireplace (Figure 4.9).

A rectangular, stone-lined privy was uncovered about 25 feet to the southwest of the back door and a circular, stone-lined feature located 45 feet to the east of it may have been an earlier privy (Figure 4.10). The rectangular privy was built about the same time the house was expanded, probably around 1760. A cobble drain, which began at the top of the slope to the east of the house, emptied into the old circular privy and it, too, was probably part of the improvements made to the property. Artifacts recovered from the privy/sump

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4.10

included several fragments from chamber pots, early ceramics, and chimney glass as well as bottle glass and large quantities of faunal bone, seeds, and



4.11

fruit pits. A wooden ladder back chair had been placed in the hole, presumably to prevent people (children?) from falling in once it was no longer surrounded by a shed (outhouse). The cobble drain continued beyond the sump, but there the cobbles had been replaced with well-formed shale blocks that resembled the blocks that were used to build the rectangular privy.



4.12

The most complete ceramic vessels recovered on the site were found in the nightsoil (human waste) at the bottom of the rectangular privy (Figure 4.11). There were squat-bodied cups or pots with combed or dot decoration for drinking anything but tea and large English slipware dishes (sometimes called pie plates)

probably used for serving or cooking (Figure 4.12). These ceramics were the same style that were found during the first major excavation at Raritan Landing in 1979 and were interpreted as an expression of local identity (see dish, bottom of page 61). The ceramics were not necessarily fashionable, but they were distinctive and would have been a way for people to set themselves apart from others.⁷ For tea there were Chinese porcelain cups and saucers and there were also two plates and two bowls made out of porcelain (Figure 4.13). More utilitarian were the redware and stoneware vessels found while the delicate pewter



4.13

porringer may have been used to feed a child. This was not an unsophisticated household. Two French flacons (Figure 4.14), that is, bottles that held things like capers or brandied fruit, as well as a delicate globular decanter, would have added a certain elegance to the table (Figure 4.15).⁸ The food bones recovered from the nightsoil included mostly pork, but there were also beef and chicken bones and a large variety of vegetables, fruits, and condiments including chicory, mint, mustard, parsley, pepper, and poppy.

The changes to the house and property were likely made by William Warren Letson. Letson came to Raritan Landing at the time of his marriage to Esther Stillwell in about 1760. He was supposedly the keeper of the Rising Sun Tavern, but he was also a cordwainer and would have required running water for his trade. Duyckinck's Brook ran along the east side of this property making it a perfect location for a trade that involved preparing the hides (tanning) as well as sewing shoes. Perhaps Letson rented the land when he arrived and expanded the house for his growing family. Eight children were born between 1761 and 1776, all curiously with the middle name Warren. John Bray is the recorded owner of the property during the Revolutionary War, but Letson reported the following losses after the war, which might have been incurred as a renter.



4.14



4.15

1 new Horse Cart
And Tan'd Calf Skins@7/
1 Set of China Cups & Saucers
½ doz. Cre'm Col'd. Plates
6 sides of Tan'd Upper Leather
1 Man's Saddle ½ worn
1 good Bridle 5/
12 pannels of new post & rail fence—4 rails to ye pannel
1 good Wheel barrow 25/ 1 pr of new spoons
1 side of shoe leather 15/—6 window lights@9-16/
Damages Sustained in Buildings worth 25/

The sworn claim notes that “he [i.e., Letson] has just reason to believe that the British Troops has taken the above Articles for they was in the possession of the Premises And that he has received no Satisfaction for any part Thereof.” The claim is dated “Oct. 1, 1782,” but the damages were done during the British occupation of the Landing between December of 1776 and June of 1777 (discussed in Chapter 5 to follow). Letson moved to the north side of the road after the war.

It is no wonder British officers chose this as one of the houses to occupy in 1776. It was well-stocked and well-organized. Whether the Letsons (or other residents) remained when the officers arrived is unknown, but it is unlikely. Most of the traders living in the flats had connections to Somerset County and may well have sought shelter and safety with relatives during the war. A single regimental button (marked “35”) was found in the privy soil, providing clear evidence that the officers took advantage of the well-built facility. There was also a good well at the top of the slope and that too would have added to their comfort.

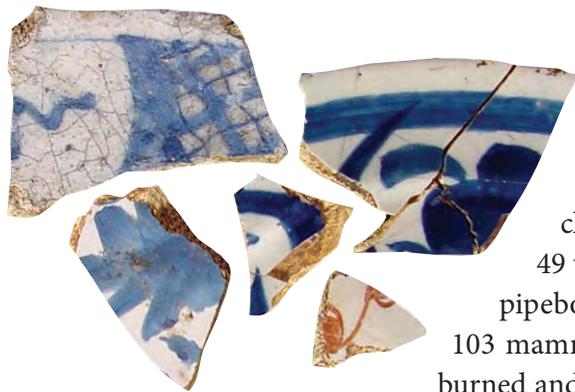
To the west of this house was a line of warehouses and shops (Chapter 2), located there for easy access to the road leading to the river, now Landing Lane. On the other side of the Lane were more houses and warehouses. Peter Bodine’s son, John, owned the corner property as early as 1735. He may have come to Raritan Landing even earlier as he was married to Catherine Le-Boyteaux whose family had been at the Landing since the 1720s. Like his father, John, too, supplied the Janeway and Broughton store in the 1730s and

1740s and freighted between the store and the Landing. Entries in the store ledger describe payments made by the storekeeper to John Bodine and Paul LeBoyteaux (Catherine’s brother) “in part for freight,” “to buy wheat,” “for 455 gallons rum bought at Brunswick,” for “100½ gallons rum bought at Brunswick,” and for “freight of 7 hogsheads.” A 1740 entry describes what is owed to John Bodine for “30B wheat wanting of the Quantity sent by Capt. Miller last ship 190B ship and 160B delivered R. Bowne at 3/? Per bushel York 5:10:0 in Jersey.” And in 1743 the partners were again paid for freight. John died in April of 1747 at the age of 35, just a year before his father began to organize his lottery. Perhaps there is a relationship although nothing in writing explains the coincidence. Peter administered his son’s estate and executed a quit-claim for his property in Piscataway.⁹

John Bodine’s land at the corner extended south along the edge of Landing Lane for about 185 feet. In 1742 he sold the two-acre parcel immediately adjacent to the corner to Alexander and Jane Blair. Bodine had already built a house on the parcel, but he presumably built another for himself on the piece of the property he retained further south along the Lane. His original house, excavated as Building D by URS in 2000, was built of dry-laid red shale blocks with smaller pieces filling in the spaces. Only a portion of the north-south wall of this building was exposed in 2000 although a wall running east-west was uncovered further to the north on the lot by the Rutgers University Center for Public Archaeology. It is likely that the two walls belonged to the same structure. This substantial building appears to have stood into the 1870s when most of the buildings at Raritan Landing were dismantled. It was probably built at the same time as Building C, first uncovered by RASO in 1979, and further exposed in 2000. Building C’s foundation was also made of dry-laid shale blocks with upper walls of brick. Although we can’t be sure, Building C may have been the barn that Jane Blair claimed as a loss after the Revolutionary War. There was plenty of archaeological evidence for its destruction by fire.

An artifact found in one of the builder’s trenches for Building C indicated that it was built after 1730, but there is a possibility that the lot was occupied before Bodine even bought the land. A diagonal trench cut into the earliest occupation surface yielded several very early pieces of tin glazed earthenware (Figure 4.16). One was a type of Dutch majolica that was generally not made

4.16



after about 1675 and the other was a large burned tin-glazed plate with a chinoiserie design similar to some made in England during the 1690s. The ashy fill of the trench also included a redware mug and a porringer, 49 white clay pipe pieces including two pipebowls marked “Robert Tippet,” and 103 mammal bones. Most of the bones were burned and there were also charred grape, rye, and wheat seeds. The burned bones and seeds were probably hearth sweepings. If the artifacts found in the trench belonged to a household that pre-dated Bodine’s purchase of the property it wouldn’t have been the only early household at the Landing. The seventeenth-century coins found on the lot across the road from Peter Bodine’s house also suggest early eighteenth-century occupation. The possible post-in-ground structure that pre-dated that structure and the one that pre-dated the probable Letson house might also have dated to the early eighteenth century. Hardenbrook apparently had company at the Landing in the 1720s.

Another possibility is that Building C was the house and Building D was a warehouse. The presence of a midden including domestic artifacts found west of D and north of C makes D the more likely candidate for the house, or maybe there were living accommodations in both buildings. Bodine’s new house—excavated as Building B in 1979—used a technique that was intended to combat the recurrent flooding in the area. As noted in Chapter 3, a serious freshet (flood of the river) in 1739 convinced many early Landing residents to move to higher ground. Bodine stayed in the floodplain, but built himself a house more adapted to the conditions. As described in Chapter 2, his new house’s stone foundations were laid on top of cobbles placed in a trench and the cobbles were punctuated by oak posts set at 8.8-foot intervals. The posts would have removed the building’s weight load from the foundation stones and transferred it to the posts themselves, making them the primary structural support. This construction allowed flexibility that, according to experts, would have withstood flood conditions better than the usual stone foundation alone.¹⁰

4.17



Most of the artifacts recovered on the corner lot, however, probably belonged to Alexander and Jane Blair’s household. Like the Bodines, Blair was a trader and he also may have kept an ordinary on the lot. Sherds from many slip-decorated posset cups and pie plates, the kinds of dishes that might be used in a tavern, were found in the lean-to addition to the barn (Building C) excavated by RASO (Figure 4.17). While they may be remnants of goods Blair was storing for transport upriver, it is also possible that he and his wife provided food and drink to passers by. An entry in a Raritan Landing storekeeper’s ledger dating to October of 1759 shows Alexander Blair paying a bill for “miscellaneous” goods by “3 months Diet @ ? week £4.4” and in December by “6 weeks and 5 days ditto.” The slip-decorated dishes were cheap, colorful, and easily replaceable, characteristics that have been noted elsewhere for dishes used in public eating establishments.¹¹ Food remains found in the yard midden came mainly from sheep and pigs, and there were also some chicken, turkey, duck, goose, and pigeon bones.

Alexander Blair died in 1768, leaving the land and business to his wife, Jane. With the help of her brother-in-law, Jeremiah Van Deventer, and at least two enslaved men, she kept up the business until her death in 1784. Her war damage claim (1782) mentions the loss of one “Negro man” worth £100 and the inventory that accompanied her will (1785) mentions two more. While no enslaved women are mentioned as members of Jane Blair’s household, a number of glass beads recovered on this lot suggests their presence. The beads were found and photographed during the RASO excavation in 1979 (Figure 4.18), but are not discussed in the report. Very little thought was given to evidence of slavery at Raritan



4.18

Landing in the 1970s even though runaway advertisements clearly referred to slaves.

Jane Blair's business partner, Jeremiah Van Deventer, lived along the Great Road to the west of the intersection with Landing Lane. Evidence found in an account book belonging to Peter Dumont of South Branch suggests that Van Deventer, like other Landing traders, worked between South Branch upriver, the Landing, and New York. On October 4, 1768, for instance, Dumont recorded a debt to himself for "voyage to New York, cash sent J.V. Deventer to buy goods." This is followed by "J.V. Deventer is returned and brought 1 hogshhead of rum and [some illegible amount of] tea." A February 2, 1769, entry reads, "voyage to New York D [owed] to store, cash sent of Jeremiah Van Deventer to buy goods" followed by "Jeremiah Van Deventer D to store cash for him in full at the Landing." In 1772 Van Deventer is owed for carting "22 barrels of flour," and in 1785, when Dumont appears to be closing out his accounts, Van Deventer owes for ½ B fish he brought from New York in May 1772." Many of the recorded trips (23/50) refer to "voyages to New York" while about a quarter of the trips (12/50) are to the Landing. Some of these trips may well have been in partnership with Jane Blair since the years in the account book coincide precisely with the years Van Deventer assisted her.¹²

Jane Blair's inventory gives a fuller picture of her possessions than the archaeology alone. At her death, she owned a wood sleigh, a plough and share, 3 cows, 3 tables, 11 chairs, numerous beds (one including a "curtain"), a kitchen cupboard and a kitchen dresser, as well as andirons, looking glasses, curtains, bedding, chests, and a trunk. Food related items included a pot and 2 small kettles, a tea pot, a milk pot, a glass tumbler, and a bowl, sundry bottles, 4 pewter plates, and 11 plates. Also listed are 4 tons of hay, 15 bushels of corn, 1 barrel of meat, cash, old silver and gold, one Dutch Testament, bonds and notes, and an account book. She bequeathed the property to her brother, Benjamin Field.¹³

Maybe it was a coincidence that Dr. John Neilson and his wife, Johanna, bought the property next door to the Blairs the same year as the Blairs, but probably not. Although the sale is not recorded, it is likely that the Neilsons also acquired their property from John Bodine and therefore also became

owners at the Landing in 1742. John Neilson and his brother, James, who settled in New Brunswick, originally came from Ulster in Scotland. They first worked for Philip Kearney in Perth Amboy, which was the only legal entryport in East Jersey and was primarily a Scottish settlement. It is somewhat surprising that the brothers moved away from a community of their countrymen, but maybe it was to get closer to the grain-producing country in the Raritan Valley or to give the traders in Perth Amboy contacts in the competing ports. The traders at Raritan Landing, and especially in New Brunswick, were taking trade away from Perth Amboy by virtue of having their own docks and warehouses as well as their own contacts in New York. Even after the move James Neilson continued to keep boats in Perth Amboy, thus maintaining his ties to that port while he became the leading merchant in New Brunswick.¹⁴

How active John Neilson ever was in trade is unclear. He moved to the Landing just one year after his marriage to Johanna Coeymanns.¹⁵ Johanna came from a wealthy Dutch family and perhaps the move to the Landing was to be near Dutch neighbors. Unfortunately their time at the Landing was short. Three years after the move, Dr. Neilson was thrown from his horse into a puddle of icy water en route to a patient's house in the mid-winter cold of February. As the story goes, the doctor was taken to the house of a "Mr. Flatt" on the road to Bound Brook and Flatt's son ran to tell the doctor's wife. She was about to give birth to their second child and the baby—a boy named for his father—was born between the doctor's accident and his death on March 19, 1745. Johanna and her children eventually went to live with John's brother James's family in New Brunswick and, under his uncle's tutelage, the younger John followed in his uncle's footsteps, becoming one of that town's leading merchants.

Water management is something the Dutch did well and Johanna Neilson (and her relatives) may have brought such knowledge to the Neilson family. During the excavation in 2000 Hartgen Associates archaeologists found evidence of a drainage ditch that had been dug along the eastern boundary of the property where John and Johanna Neilson lived. The ditch apparently required constant maintenance as various deposits of mud, stone, and artifacts found along its edges reflected recurrent cleaning. A feeder drain led from the back of the house out to the ditch and it may or may not have

kept the floors dry. Like all the houses in the flats, there was no cellar. The archaeologists also found evidence of a severe hurricane that flooded the property in 1749 and it may have been that hurricane that convinced Johanna to move her family across the river. Although James Neilson and Johanna, John's executors, tried to sell the property a new owner was not found until 1768.¹⁶

Jacob Flatt, possibly one and the same as the boy who reported Dr. John Neilson's accident to his pregnant wife, was the buyer. The house, which had presumably stood empty for years, was probably in bad condition. The severe



hurricane that flooded the property in 1749 left clay caked to the bottom of the house foundations, and the drainage ditch was clogged with silty clay mixed with brick fragments. Flatt rebuilt the house, placing new cut stones on top of the old ones. Only the southeast corner of the foundation was uncovered archaeologically, but it suggested a substantial structure,

albeit slightly smaller than the original (Figure 4.19). The house had fireplaces surrounded with the same Dutch tiles decorated with biblical designs that surround the fireplaces in the still-standing Low house, and broken pieces of marble appeared to come from mantles or lintels.

Flatt was probably a middling trader like his neighbors. His household goods suggest a respectable but not lavish lifestyle. There were creamware dishes along with other English ceramics and fine-stemmed glasses with a twist of color in them for wine. Tea was served from a fine, red, engine-turned English teapot and drunk from English creamware and Chinese porcelain cups and saucers. The family ate well including beef, pork, mutton, chicken, duck, turkey, goose, oysters, and fish. The Flatt family may have remained in their house during the British occupation or, at least, it does not appear to have been visited by more than a passing soldier. No damage claims were made after the war. Perhaps soldiers were as averse to the wet conditions as Johanna Neilson had been. Flatt family members lived on the property until 1825.

How the Flatt family dealt with the flooding is unknown, as they did not have a drainage ditch separating their property from the Blair property next door. A major hurricane in 1775 probably affected both properties and many years later both were covered with 3½-4 feet of fill. But long before that fill was spread over the ground, a layer of gravel was used to cover the ruined buildings on the lot at the corner—the lot where Jane Blair lived until her death in 1784. Blair lived to see the end of the Revolutionary War, but she never saw the rebuilding of the community. The war caused a good deal of disruption at Raritan Landing and the community that emerged after the war was different than the one that thrived before it. First, the story of the war itself. ∞



Delft ceramic sherds



Bone-handled pocket knife



British coin, 1738



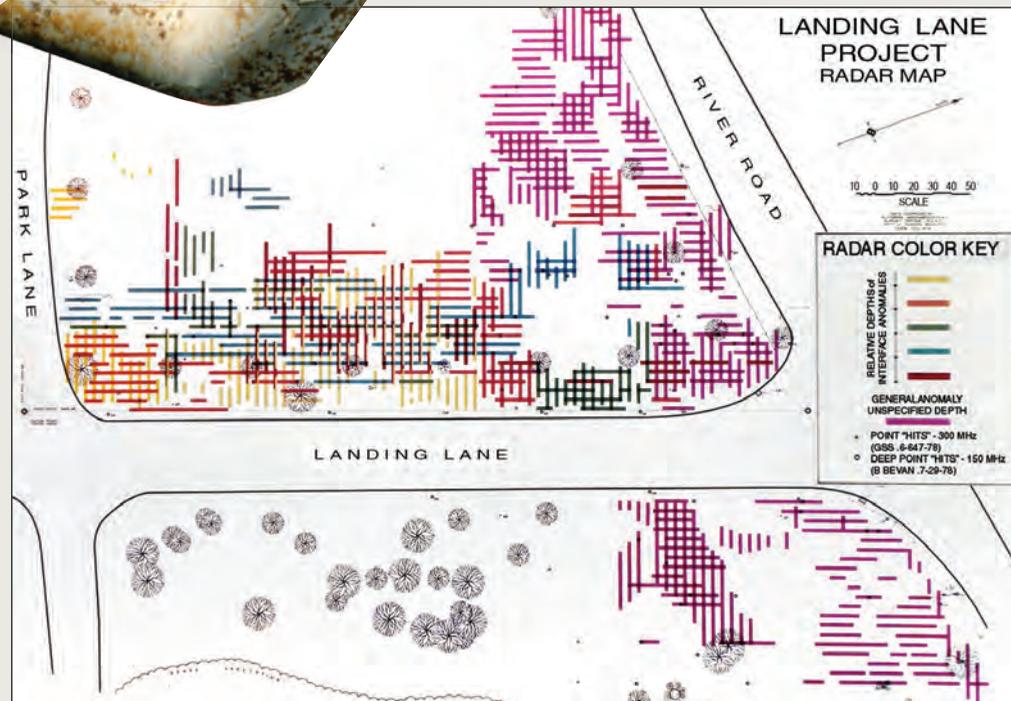
Wine bottle, 1778

Eighteenth-century artifacts, found by the Rutgers Archaeological Survey Office beneath three feet of fill in February of 1978, indicated that remains of the long forgotten community of Raritan Landing still existed. Ground penetrating radar was used to define the boundaries of the buried remains.

Guided by the color-coded radar map, the Rutgers Archaeological Survey Office excavated a 15-foot wide corridor parallel to River Road through the buried remains. Thousands of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century artifacts were found in association with ground surfaces dating to before and after the Revolutionary War.



Robert Tippett pipe



Ground penetrating radar map



Slip decorated buff earthen-ware dish



In 2000 a second major excavation was done at Raritan Landing in anticipation of the extension of Route 18. The project, which included the excavation of 14 historic properties, revealed the dimensions of the community, which included a line of warehouses along the southern edge of River Road and house foundations dating from the early eighteenth century up to the middle of the nineteenth century.



Rebecca Yamin leading tour

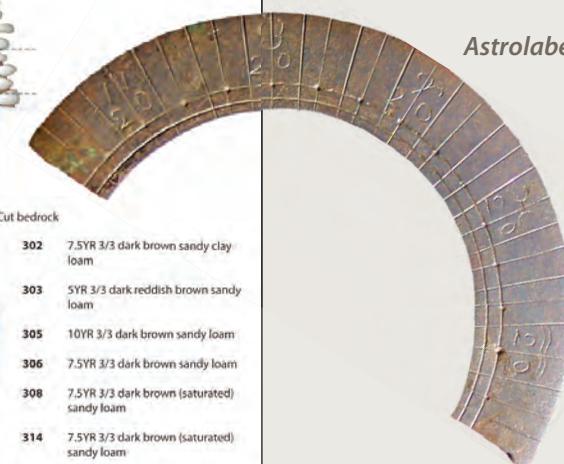
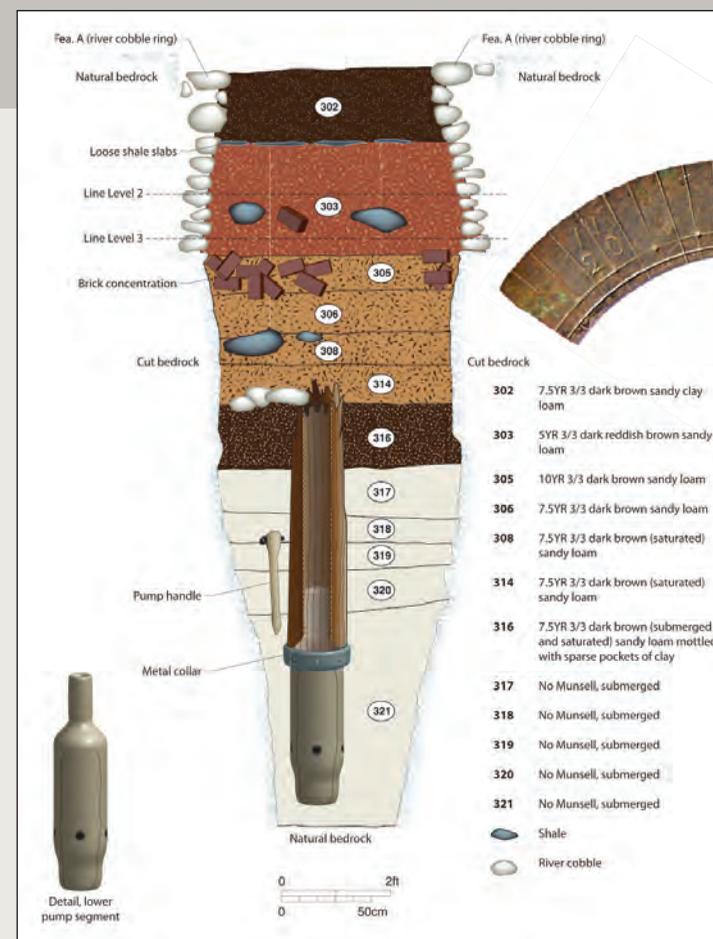
During the project in 2000 there were tours for the public and for school classes. The outreach program also included the writing of this book.



Brass coin scale



Bodine/French house site



Astrolabe

Well, Rising Sun Tavern

Imagined scenario No. 3. It wasn't pleasant pushing those people out of their houses. It wasn't pleasant living in them either. It was a long winter and there were too many men with too many bad habits all crammed into one or two rooms. I was lucky though. At least the house where I stayed with other officers had a well-built privy out back. Plenty of the other houses didn't and the troops left an awful mess behind. We made do—we worked on our guns, we melted lead to mold musket balls, we played cards, and even made music. One of the men played the harmonica and if it didn't make you mourn for home, it took your mind off the misery—and the cold. It was bitter; we huddled together for warmth at night and kept the fires burning all day. Some foolish souls swooned over local women—Johann Ewald was one of them. He was a Hessian captain and he actually thought he would marry Philip Van Horne's daughter, Jeannette. Staying right there among us he wrote letters swearing "devotion to the tomb" and love "more than my blood and my life." Jeannette, however, went off to Long Island with her family and Ewald, who had promised to "stay in America after the peace," returned home after all. Perhaps the sausages he sent to her family did not win their approval (or her heart).¹

Chapter 5. The Coming of the Revolutionary War

The Committee of Correspondence for New Jersey held its first meeting in New Brunswick from July 21 to July 23, 1774. Seventy-two men representing all eleven existing counties attended the meeting. Among them were three from Piscataway, including Michael Field, John Dennis, Esq., and Rune (or Reune) Runyon. Although none of the three appeared to live at Raritan Landing, Field and Runyon had family members there. Participants in the illegal meeting were outspoken in their stand against "taxation without representation" and were as determined as other colonists to "obtain relief for an oppressed people." Just six weeks later the First Continental Congress, meeting in Philadelphia, appointed 12 Piscataway men to committees of observation including at least two—Charles Suydam and Daniel Bray—from the Landing. Suydam had built a mill at the Landing in 1750; Bray lived on the Great Road Up Raritan.²

The first call for Continental troops from New Jersey came on October 9, 1775, about the same time Daniel Bray's son, John, began to acquire property at the Landing. Although records of the exact transactions have disappeared, Bray was at the Landing when the British arrived in 1776; he owned the old Reade warehouse at the corner of Landing Lane and the Great Road Up Raritan by 1778, and he also owned at least three house lots to the east of the intersection on the south side of the road and two more on the north side of the road. Bray was a patriot and by 1779 he was serving as Assistant Commissary of Issues to Charles Stewart. In 1776, however, he was skeptical about the American chances of success and advised relatives to declare allegiance to the Crown for their own protection. The following is a letter Bray wrote from Raritan Landing to his uncle, Andrew Bray, in Lebanon, New Jersey. The British had arrived at the Landing on December 1.

Rariton Land[in]g 17th Dec. 1776

Dear Uncle

You are acquainted that the British Troops have Possession of this Place and you may depend that they will go through the Country wherever they attempt it and great destruction follows wherever they go that I would recommend it to all my Relations & friends to come in and Receive Protection. The Proclamation which no doubt you have heard of is free to all during its limitation. Great numbers flock in dayly to head Quarters which is at this place. You can come down & receive Protection & return home without molestation on the Part of the Kings Troops and you best know the Situation of the Provincial Army. Do advise Couzin Johny & Th [oma]s & Couzin Th[oma]s Jones for if they do stay out to the last they will undoubtedly fair the Worst. 40,000 Hessians have offer'd their service to the King of England of which 24,000 are to embark in the Spring but I hope the mater will be settled before that time. I have upwards of 30 [illegible] lately which if you think Proper to come down with your waggen you can have tho' I cannot recommend if for you to come with a Team yet times begin so very difficult. I expect to see you here shortly. In the Interim Remain, my Wife Joining me in Self & family.

Yr. Very H. Servt

JOHN BRAY



5.1

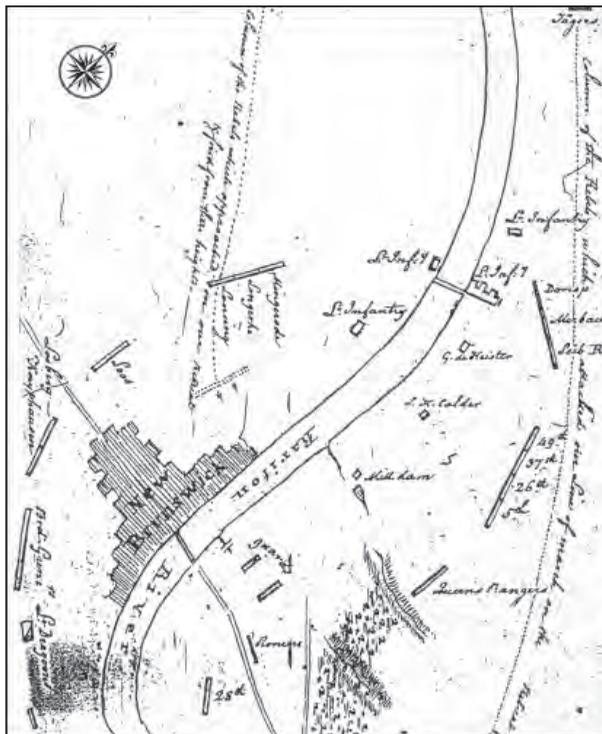
Approximately 2,500 men took advantage of General William Howe's offer to pardon and protect anyone who signed a declaration of allegiance to the Crown, but the so-called "protections," the statements signed by an authorized civil or military official declaring that a designated individual and his family were not to be molested in their person or property, were "not worth the paper

they were written on." Hessians, after all, couldn't read English and the British ignored the certificates.³

British troops occupied New Brunswick and Raritan Landing from December 1, 1776, to June 22, 1777. Generals Howe and Cornwallis established

headquarters at Colonel John Neilson's house on Burnet Street in New Brunswick (Figure 5.1). Regiments were camped on both sides of the river, some on the grounds of Anthony White's house (now known as Buccleugh Mansion) and another plantation and others on the low and high ground at Raritan Landing and beyond in Piscataway (Figure 5.2). Writing about Piscataway in the Revolution, local historian Walter Meuly speculated that the troops probably outnumbered the inhabitants, especially after many families had fled. Johann Ewald, a Hessian officer who was cantoned in New Brunswick, wrote

in his diary that "this whole region had been completely sacked during the army's march in the past autumn, and had been abandoned by all the inhab-



5.2

itants." More specific to Raritan Landing, Sergeant Thomas Sullivan of the 49th Regiment of Foot claimed "the inhabitants were mostly fled from it [Raritan Landing], being persuaded by the Rebels, that if they remained there our army would destroy them."⁴

It is hard to believe that everyone left. John Bray clearly didn't and damage claims filed after the war were signed by witnesses who had seen the damage done. John Smock, for instance, lost two mares, four horses, one drill, five swine (100 lbs each!), 400 posts, seven tons of hay, and two tons of soft hay, all of which he swore was "just and true. That he was present and knowing at the British taking and [illegible]." William Horn "was present and knowing to the Enemies destroying and damaging" the barn, house, and store house belonging to Henry Beekman. Horn reported his own losses (witnessed by Nathaniel Hand), which included a set of shoe maker's tools, a work bench, a parcel of leather, and a variety of clothes and domestic goods, six Queensware plates and six Queensware cups and saucers among them. John Shippy and William Letson witnessed the damages to the estate of Daniel Bray, including one horse, a good deal of fence, 45 hides, and a silver cased-watch. Letson witnessed his own losses which he had "just reason to believe that the British Troops has taken...for they was in the possession of the Premises." Hugh Dunn and William Horn witnessed damages done to the dwelling house of Abraham Van Ranst and William Horn, John Shippy, and Thomas Islinger swore to the damages done to Francis Brasier's property. John Austin witnessed John Bray's losses, which were the most considerable of any claimed by Raritan Landing residents. They included: "1 purse with upward of £200 in gold, 100 Spanish milled dollars, and £150 of Jersey, New York, Pennsilvan. & Continental paper money" as well as wine and liquor supplies, household goods, furniture, and clothing. Jane Blair who witnessed her own losses as "she was present and knowing to the Enemies taking and destroying the major part of the above said Articles, and that she hath good reason to believe the whole was taken and destroyed by the Enemy."⁵

A letter included in Vermeule's papers paints a bleak picture of the Landing in 1777:

My wife has been sick all winter, and is poorly yet, occasioned by an Affright when the Hessians came on the first of December last. General Washington's cannon sent two balls through my house, which struck

*her into a panic...I suppose you would gladly hear how we have fared the winter past, with the regular soldiers, which in a word is beyond my tongue or pen to express. I could not have thought there was such a lot of blackguards in the world.*⁶

*From the Pennsylvania Evening Post
June 5, 1777*

It wasn't easy to remain at the Landing during the occupation. According to Meuly there were skirmishes throughout the winter. On January 23, 1777, American militia attacked a British foraging party at Charles Suydam's and Hendrick Smock's place on the Road Up Raritan and on February 22, fifteen British soldiers were captured "beyond Raritan Landing" during an attempt to capture the British guard at the Landing Bridge, where the Crown had thrown up defensive earthworks. In April, General Charles Cornwallis led 4,000 men through Piscataway on a surprise raid on the major outpost of Bound Brook, forcing the Americans to retreat into the mountains. Meuly claims the British were harassed at Raritan Landing on their return, leading to heavy fighting in the vicinity of the Low mansion. While Raritan Landing residents presumably would have been able to avoid these military exchanges, they could not avoid the officers and soldiers who occupied their very houses and outbuildings.⁷

As reported in Ewald's diary, "the entire [British] army went into cantonment on the plantations along the Raritan River opposite New Brunswick." As applied to the occupation of Raritan Landing, cantonment meant that men were quartered in houses, barns, and other outbuildings rather than in tents or huts. Specifically referring to Raritan Landing, Ewald wrote, "Leslie's brigade was cantoned on the plantations up to Raritan Landing." Lt. Colonel Alexander Leslie of the 64th Foot commanded the Second Brigade, which included the 35th, the 5th, and the 49th Regiments of Foot. Sergeant Sullivan recorded that the garrison at the Landing constructed redoubts to defend the village and the cantonments from American attacks and "to shelter the Guards and the Picquets from the Fierceness of the Weather."⁸

While published journals⁹ describe where the various regiments were located at the Landing—the "Hessian Chasseurs [jagers] and the Brigade of Guards... on the road leading to Boundbrook; the 2nd Brigade [5th, 28th, 35th, 49th regi-

ments of foot] on the road leading to Piscataway"—artifacts, especially buttons, left behind identify particular houses that the soldiers and officers occupied. Three buttons marked "35" were found on the probable Letson house site just beyond the warehouses along the south side of River Road. Another button, possibly marked "16," and one with no number were also recovered. We are not sure if the Letson family abandoned the house during the war, but we do know that members of the 35th occupied the property (Figure 5.3). John Bray acquired ownership sometime during the war and it is not inconceivable that it was available because it had been abandoned during the occupation. After the war, the Letsons lived in the Hardenbrook/Duyckinck house on the north side of the road.



5.3

The members of the 35th who lived and/or worked in the house left their mark. Besides the buttons, nine musket balls, a gun barrel, and a fabric pouch were found together in a location that would have been under the floorboards of the house on the property. Figure 5.4 shows the musket balls *in situ*; the excavation unit where they were found abutted the chimney base shown on Figure 4.10.



5.4

Presumably, the musket balls had been inside the pouch. Thirteen more musket balls were found nearby, and an even greater number (23) were found in 1980 between 4 and 5 inches below the surface east of the house foundation. The musket balls were associated with slip-decorated buff earthenware sherds and faunal bone. A shovel-shaped slot

cut into the shale bedrock beneath the front part of the house contained a cache of arms-related artifacts. Included were a decorative brass buckle, a brass escutcheon plate, four brass gun parts, a brass ram pipe, a brass rammer,



two brass trigger guards, at least seven iron gun parts, and a musket ball (Figure 5.5). The buckle and gun parts would have belonged to an officer as would the one 35th Foot button that had a silver cover with the “35” set inside a decorative swag in a circle (Figure 5.6). An ornate, grotesque butt cap from a pistol also probably belonged to an officer.¹⁰

5.5

A variety of tools including a chisel, a file, two wedges, a gouge, and a number of decomposed items that might have been chisels and knives were found associated with the gun parts and it is possible that an armourer was working on the property. Citing Section 13, Articles of War, historian DeWitt Bailey notes that “every captain of a troop or company was charged with maintaining arms, ammunition, accoutrements, clothing or other warlike stores belonging to the troop or company under his command.” Bailey goes on to say that one of the most frequent subjects referred to in the day-to-day routine of the army was the maintenance of arms, ammunition, and accoutrements in good working order, tasks that were carried out in the field by “regimental armourers, often grouped together and working under the supervision of the Artillery.”

Individuals were not to repair their own arms “on any account whatever without leave from an officer.” The tools in the armourers’ kit included vices, wrenches, stakes, hammers, punches and cold chisels, iron braces, square bits of sorts, screw plates with seven taps, drills of sorts, drill bows, drill boxes, drill strings, knots, breast pieces, rubbers, nine different files, file handles, emory, burnishers, various kinds of nails, hooks, tongs, and wiping rods. While only a

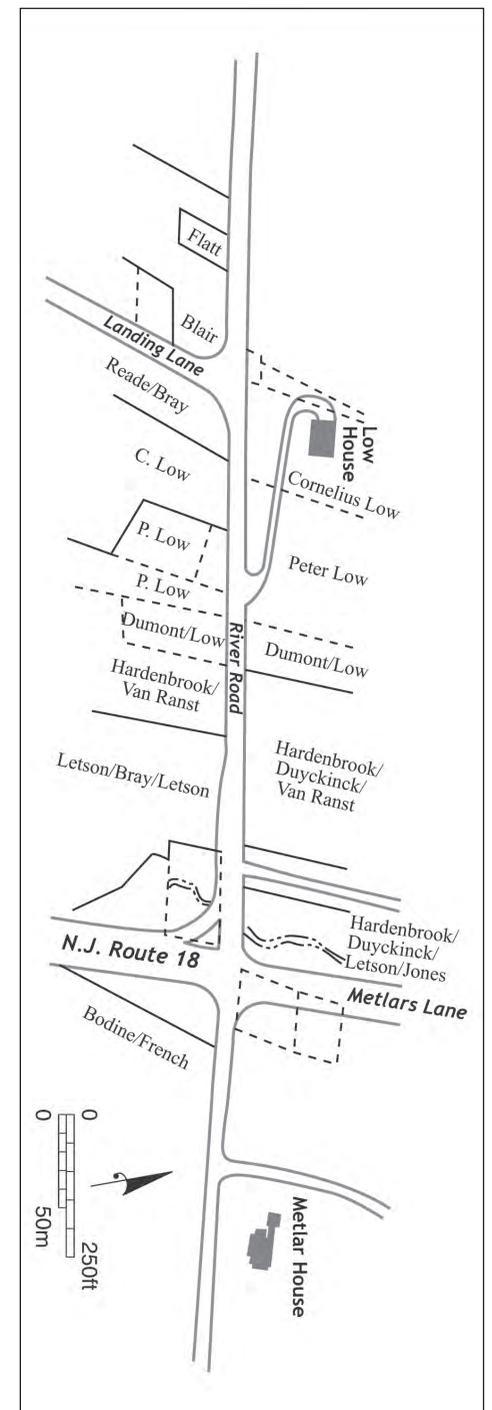


5.6

file and a chisel were specifically identified on the site, the presence of the various gun parts and a ram pipe point to on-site gun repair. Since individuals were not allowed to do their own, it is more than likely that an armourer was present.¹¹

A 35th Regiment of Foot button was also found on the Hardenbrook/Duyckinck/Letson/Jones property on the other (north) side of the Great Road (Figure 5.7). If, indeed, the properties north and south of the road, owned by William Letson and John Bray respectively before and after war, were treated as one before the war it is not surprising that the 35th Foot occupied both. In addition to the button, seven gunflints, seven .69-caliber lead musketballs, and one piece of lead shot were also recovered from the Revolutionary period midden on the north side of the road. Other artifacts possibly left during the occupation were 12 pieces of lead type (meant to be melted down into musketballs?), two folding knives, and a copper pot handle that the excavators thought was similar to the metal portion of a pot with a detachable wood handle from a mess kit.¹²

The 35th Regiment under the command of Lt. Colonel Robert Carr had landed in Boston in the Spring of 1775 and remained there until March of 1776. They participated in the attack on New York and then moved on to New Jersey. In May of 1776 the 35th, along with the 5th and 49th, were part of the Second Brigade under the command of Major General Robert Pigot although Lt. Col. Alexander Leslie of the 64th Foot had replaced Pigot as commander of the brigade by December. Recruits were added to the 35th from the 28th Regiment in August of 76, from the 10th Foot and 65th Foot in late October, and from the 50th in early December. The four companies of the 35th at Raritan Landing were composed of Lt. Colonel



5.7

Cockburn's company (27 effectives), Major George Barclay's company (23 effectives), Captain-Lieutenant Hugh Massey's company (25 effectives), and Captain Cornelius Smelt's company (27 effectives). According to records in the National Archives, conditions for these troops were not good. Fifteen men died from either combat wounds or disease between January and April of 1777 and approximately 16 percent of the regiment's enlisted men were recorded as sick in April. The 35th appears to have remained at Raritan Landing until May of 1777.¹³

The Brigade of Guards was also cantoned at the intersection of Landing Lane and the Great Road. Although we can't be sure whose household they occupied, firsthand accounts give a feeling for the conditions. In January 1777 Captain Dowdeswell of the First Foot Guards regiment complained that "six or seven officers with their servants are obliged to lay upon the Floor in the Same Room for want of Quarters" and Lt. Martin Hunter of the 52nd Regiment of Foot later noted that the situation did not change all winter and was as disagreeable for the soldiers as for the families whose homes they occupied. He described light infantry enlisted men as "quartered in barns, and the officers of three Companies in one room...the light infantry were in barns the whole winter, and twelve officers in a small room, lying upon straw, and a very genteel Royalist family in an inner room, the only way out of which was through ours."¹⁴

The reference to a "genteel Royalist family" is tantalizing. According to the documentary record, most Raritan Landing residents were patriots with some notable exceptions. Among the exceptions were Cornelius Low, one of the richest men in town, and Bernardus Legrange, who was burned in effigy and dragged through the streets of New Brunswick in 1775 (or 1776, the record is contradictory). An advertisement, posted throughout New Brunswick in July of 1776 and signed by "A. Mechanic," called Legrange "an avowed enemy of the Liberty and true virtue" and warned "there is a fatal day approaching which will bring ruin to your devoted head." A letter written at the same time to Legrange's wife, this one signed by "K.L. a Mechanic" urged her husband to "come out as a friend of his country" (Figure 5.8). The letter warned that unless he "joins his countrymen in supporting the cause of freedom" his estate shall be "seized and made use of the Publick." His estate, including many lands in addition to the Raritan Landing house on the southeastern corner of Landing Lane and the Great Road, was confiscated

and sold at auction and while there is no documentary evidence that this is how Bray acquired the corner property, it is not inconceivable. Legrange and his family fled to Staten Island in 1778 and eventually to London where they lived out their days.¹⁵ The advertisement and letter were written five months before the Guards came to the Landing, but they would have found a hospitable host in Legrange.

John Duyckinck was also accused of deserting the cause and even imprisoned. He joined the Second Middlesex Regiment at the outset of the war and in August of 1776 was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel. Within two weeks he was put in charge of a newly formed Third Middlesex Regiment, which apparently did not do well in battles in and around New York City. During the difficult and chaotic retreat across New Jersey, Duyckinck swore allegiance to the British Crown causing Washington to issue an order that led to Duyckinck's imprisonment on February 10, 1777. His properties in New Brunswick were confiscated in 1778 and when he witnessed his father's will in 1782 he was living in Somerset. Duyckinck returned to New Brunswick several years later only to suffer various financial difficulties.¹⁶

Buttons belonging to members of the Coldstream and Third Guard were recovered during RASO's excavations at the corner of Landing Lane and River Road in 1979. A rectangular pit (Pit 220 on Figure 2.15) containing 31 Coldstream and Third Guard buttons had been cut into the demolition debris that covered the Revolutionary War period destruction rubble on the Bodine/Blair lot at the northwestern corner of Landing Lane and River Road (the opposite corner from the Legrange house). Some of the buttons belonged to officers and others to enlisted men.

The officers' buttons were made of a goldfoil-covered copper alloy and decorated in relief with the insignia of the Coldstream Guards. The insignia consists of a sunburst and Cm Gds in relief. All of the officers' buttons were made in three pieces with bone backs, seven with one hole drilled in the center, two with four holes, and one with one hole drilled in the center and four others equidistant from it. There were also Cold Stream Guard buttons that belonged to enlisted men. These were cast pewter, made in one-piece with iron wire loops cast into the center of the reverse side. The obverse sides were decorated with the molded sunburst design surrounding a circle containing the legend, CmGds.¹⁷

to Mr LeGrange

Madam

July 28 1776

It is with pleasure I look around me, and behold so many of my Countrymen fired with a martial spirit who cheerfully leave their wives and children at home, and undergo the hardships of a Campaign, and hazard their all in the field of Battle; Behold how firm, and united they stand! taking each other by the hand, are determined to support our just rights, and Privileges, or fall together. I say, this sight affords me real satisfaction, as I think it must every true friend to Liberty; But amidst the many Thousands who pour forth from every Quarter, I behold one, nay one of my Neighbours for whom I formerly had respect, basely hanging back, who as yet has given no assistance to the general defence; But has by the whole of his conduct proved himself an enemy to the Independent States of America, and for some time past (conscious of his own wickedness) concealed himself from publick view; he is supposed by many to be in his own house in Town, a search will shortly be made, I therefore as a Friend intreat you to advise Mr LeGrange to appear in publick, no man will molest him, if he could not before so cheerfully obey the Congress, because he thought he owed allegiance to the King of Great Britain, that objection is now removed by the Declaration of Independence, beg of him to join with his Countrymen in supporting the cause of Freedom. He surely can not spend the remainder of his life in the secret manner he does at present. — I shall be very sorry to see Mr LeGrange's estate seized, and made use of for the Publick which will shortly be the case unless he proves more friendly to his Country, I would not have you imagine that this all conjecture, or that this Letter comes from a person unacquainted with the proceedings of the Convent of this State; therefore if Mr LeGrange is desirous of living happy, and enjoying peace, in America, let him come out as a friend to his Country; otherwise I would advise him to repair

to Staten Island, where I wish he was, unless he alters his conduct. Your son in law, E. V. D. has ruined himself by his folly. Let the Father take warning by the example; Mr Dorsald is not a fit Companion for your Husband. I pity some others in this Town whose estates are in a fair way to be confiscated, one of whom is Bishop Collins, —

According to your wishes the fleet has at last arrived and what have they done, or what are they likely to do? they have made your cowardly Husband run, and meanly hide himself. Remember it is high treason to revile against the States of America, or the ruling Body of them. — Mr LeGrange used to say that Church which he belonged was in danger of being destroyed let him read the New Constitution of this Province, and ever after keep silent upon that head, the Presbyterians are not such Devils, as you formerly imagined. neglect not giving good advice to your Husband. —

I remain yours K. L. a Mechanic.

As you remember me of old by my name. —

Eighteen buttons from the same pit (and probably the same jacket) were identical. Their obverse sides were decorated with a molded stylized sunburst surrounding a circle containing the numeral 3, a thistle, and the letter G (Figure 5.9). This is the insignia of the British Third Guard and the fact that these buttons were pewter means they belonged to an enlisted man. Another button from the pit was also made in one piece and could have belonged to an enlisted member of the Coldstream or Third Guards. The pit where the



5.9

buttons were found and another pit contained other artifacts that may or may not have been left by occupying members of the Guard. The pits were filled after the war and it is possible that some things dated from the time of filling and others from the time before and during the

war. Among the artifacts that might have been left by soldiers were a West-erwald drinking mug (Figure 5.10) and wine bottles dating to the Revolutionary War period (Figure 5.11).

Other soldiers at the Landing endured even more uncomfortable circumstances. An encampment site located on the high ground north of the houses that stood along the bluff at Raritan Landing was investigated by Gannett Fleming archaeologists in 2000. Two archaeologists using metal detectors walked parallel transects up and down the length of the study area and found a total of 395 artifacts, 42 of them clearly military.



5.10

Twenty-seven of the military items were un-fired musket balls. The ones that could be measured (20 out of 25) were .69 caliber, which is diagnostically British, and two of them showed tooth marks. The tooth marks were probably made by soldiers biting down on them during field surgery since no local anesthetics were available. Other gun hardware included a brass ramrod pipe from a British Land Pattern Musket and a brass scabbard holder (Figure 5.12).¹⁸

Six British military buttons were among the other artifacts found. Four of them were too badly corroded to read, but two were legible. One, made of white metal in a pre-1778 pattern, was identified as a British 5th Regiment of Foot enlisted man's button with a Roman numeral "V" and a variant border. The other was a small brass Royal Navy captain's button.

The investigators thought that horse shoe fragments and a broken stirrup might "indicate the presence of horsemen and perhaps officers."¹⁹ There were also fragmentary eating utensils, camp kettles, an iron bucket handle, and a section of a brass spigot.

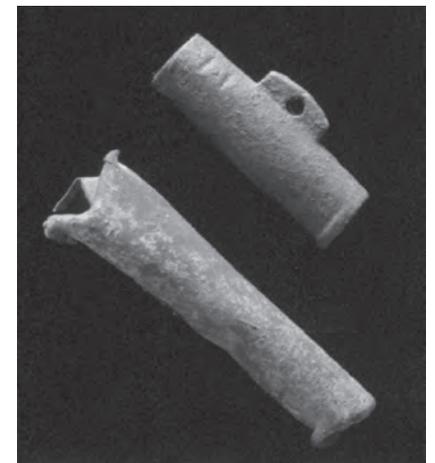
The metal detecting revealed two distinct clusters of finds trending parallel to each other with an empty area in between. The pattern appeared to follow camp layout prescribed in military manuals such as Bennett Cuthbertson's, *A System for the Compleat Interior Management and Oeconomy of a Battalion of Infantry*, published in 1768. According to Cuthbertson, "As soon as a regiment arrives on the ground markt [sic] out for its encampment, an Officer of a



5.11

Company should remain in each street, until the men have pitched their tents, and fixed themselves in a comfortable manner." The layout imitated the line of battle, with colors at the front and kitchens and latrines to the rear (Figure 5.13). The encampment at Raritan Landing unfortunately did not include the kitchens and latrines, although their remains might well have been outside the study area. Cuthbertson served as a captain with the 5th Regiment of Foot in the 1760s and his manual was reprinted in 1776. It would not be surprising if it was the most widely read officer's manual of the time.²⁰

The archaeologists who investigated the encampment site did not find evidence of actual tents. The soldiers of the 5th may instead have built impermanent shelters that resembled wigwams. Ewald's map of Raritan Landing (Figure 5.14) includes wigwam-like structures on the high

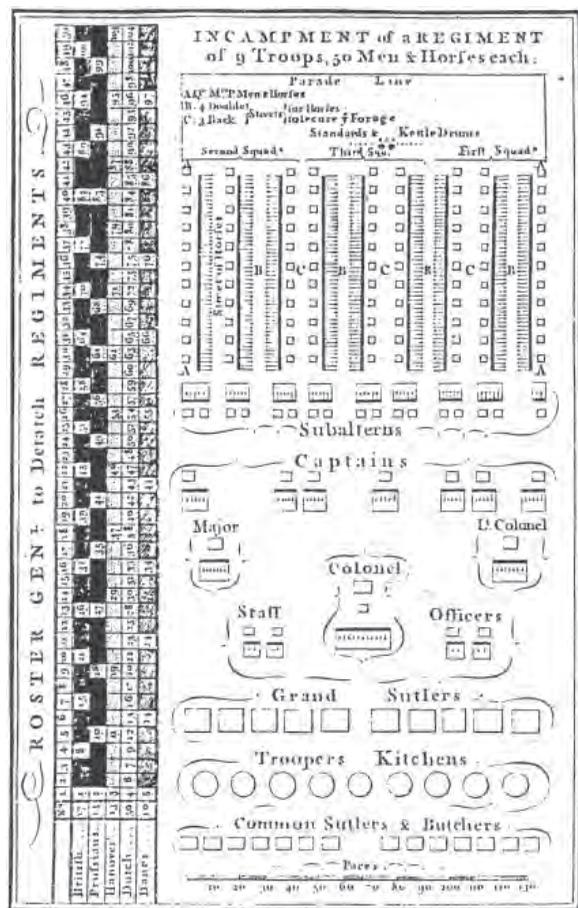


5.12

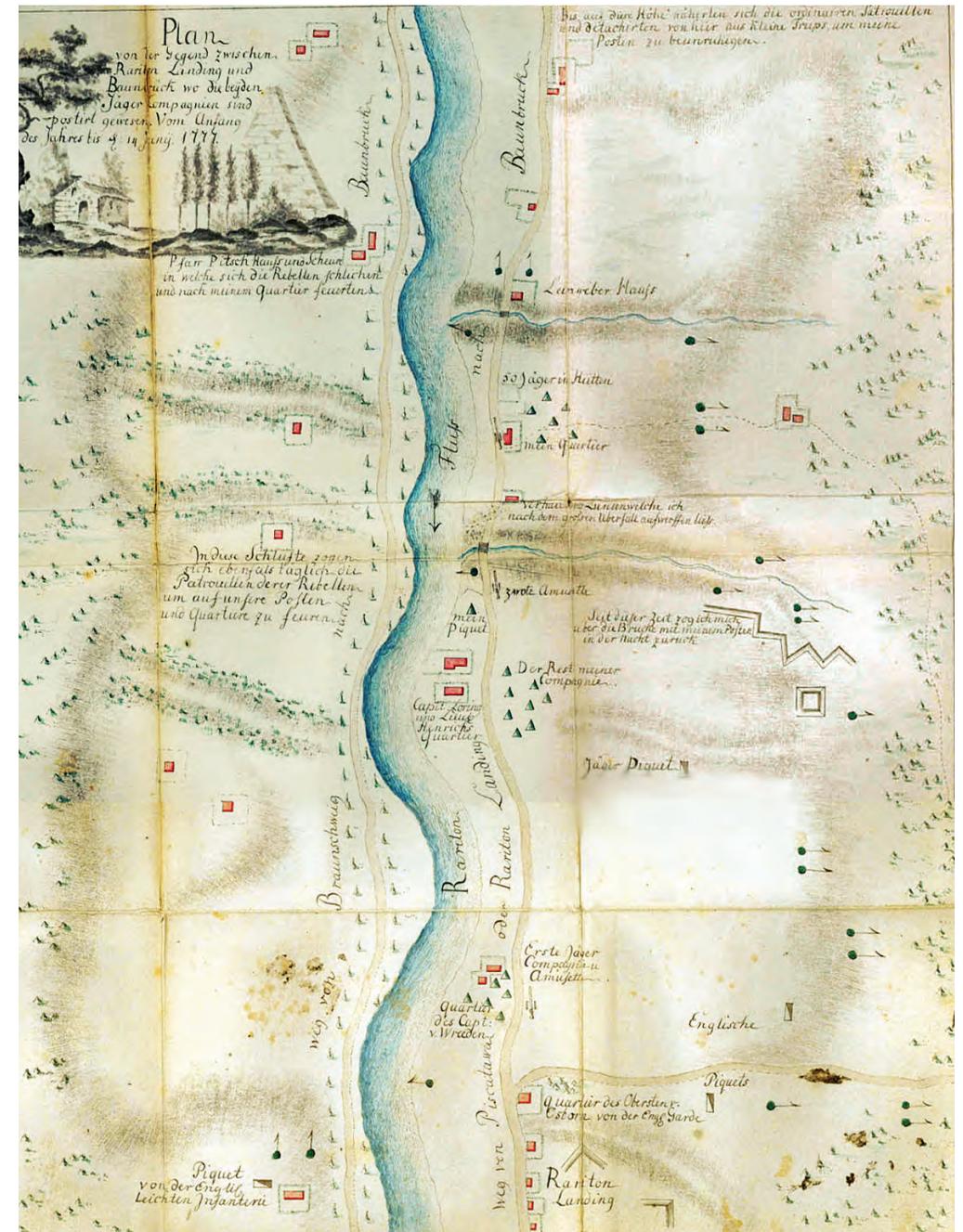
ground above the Landing and while they are not in the exact location of the investigated encampment they are nearby. The wigwags, referred to as brush huts or booths in military manuals, were “enclosed lodgings, with frames made of cut trees or tree limbs, covered with leafy branches or pine boughs.” The British apparently used them extensively, leading one officer to write that, “the Light Infantry were always in front of the army and were not allowed tents.” The brush huts would not have left an imprint, especially on land that was subsequently plowed, making the artifact distribution pattern the only evidence of their former presence.²¹

The British had evacuated Raritan Landing and New Brunswick by the end of June 1777, withdrawing to Staten Island. It was not until a year later, from Philadelphia, that they re-entered New Jersey and met up with Washington’s army at Monmouth Courthouse. The Battle of Monmouth, fought on a very

hot day in June of 1778, lasted only a day and, while the battle was indecisive, the British lost 600 men. Richard McCormick, New Jersey’s premier historian, claimed “it...demonstrated that the American troops were sufficiently disciplined to meet British and Hessian regulars on equal terms.”²² Exhausted, the Americans were allowed a few days of rest at Raritan Landing. They encamped on July 2nd and celebrated the 4th—the second anniversary of independence—with a parade. According to local historian Walter Meuly, “the troops, with green sprigs in their hats, paraded along River Road, across Landing Bridge, and took up positions along the Raritan. At precisely five o’clock, amidst the firing of cannon and muskets, the



5.13



5.14

troops threw their hats into the air and gave three cheers for Independence.” Meuly’s source was an eyewitness account, which he quotes although he does not say where it came from:

*After his Excellency [Washington] with his Suite had rid round the lines and returned to his quarters, on a signal given from thence, 13 pieces of cannon were fired, which were followed by a running fire of musketry and artillery...after this, three huzzas to the perpetual and undisturbed Independence of the United States of America...My situation being high, the whole presented by far the grandest sight I ever beheld.*²³

Conditions at the Landing, or even the number of residents at this time, are not known, but John Bray's correspondence relating to his role as Assistant Commissary of Issues provides some idea of activities during the war. In June of 1779 Bray wrote from Lebanon, New Jersey concerning a "quantity of salt 50 and 60 Bushs [bushels] which will be at Trenton this week belonging to a particular acquaintance who I believe would be glad to have it in Cash soon as possible. Thirty Dollars per bush." Writing from Raritan Landing on July 6, 1779, Bray reported that he had "about 40 blls [barrels] flour on hand but have but one bll [barrel] salt provisions, spared Mr. Blair 6 a few days past as he was entirely out. In case I want before I get from Trenton I know there is some in Brunswick which can be had. As for Liquor I have 4 or 5 blls. I know not when I shall be up, Mrs. Bray I expect down tomorrow..."²⁴

Bray apparently gathered goods from Trenton, New Brunswick, and Raritan Landing, and probably any number of other places in between. Records dating to 1781 mention Bray's charges for 29½ days carting with a two horse team, wintering a horse, and 9½ cords of wood owed him as Commissary of Issues. In July of 1782 he was owed for repairs "ordered by the Quartermaster General" to the bridge across the Raritan at the Landing and a month later for nine days service of a four-horse team transporting spirits, flour, and biscuit from Trenton to Raritan Landing for the use of the Army.²⁵

Raritan Landing residents also fought with the Continental troops. Meuly names William French, Robert Kip, John Shippy, Peter Schenck, and Charles Suydam as well as members of the Stelle, Piatt, Smalley, Van Deventer, Smock, and Field families, all of which were represented at the Landing. Perhaps it was when the men went off to war that the women left the Landing to join family members in safer, less strategic locations. The exact extent of physical

damage to the community by both British and Continental troops is not known, but the archaeological investigations of properties adjacent to the intersection of Landing Lane and River Road suggest that at least some buildings on both sides of the intersection were leveled and rebuilt after the war. The war took its toll, but Raritan Landing's position on the river and the Great Road was still advantageous after the war and trade resumed, at least for a while. Archaeological evidence for the re-building of the community suggests that Landing residents, and especially traders, had believed the port would again thrive. The next chapter tells the story of what actually happened. ∞

Imagined scenario No. 4. It wasn't the dishes I minded losing or even the scow and the long boat, but the barn! Did they have to burn down the barn just for sport? It didn't do those redcoats any good after all, not like the fence posts they used for firewood. Why did the Third Guard choose us? And why especially did they move right into my house? As if I didn't have enough trouble with my beloved husband, Alex, passing just a few years before. Worst of all was losing my faithful slave--my man, the one who supervised all the work that needed to be done around here. The one who could do almost anything--carpentry, blacksmithing, farming. How was I supposed to do without him? I claimed a £100 loss for him. It took two to replace him--Tom and Henry, that is. They are good workers, both, but things just aren't the same. So many good black men are gone from the Landing now. I shouldn't complain. I am fortunate to have the help that I do and, of course, the devotion of my brother-in-law, Jeremiah Van Deventer. Without him, I couldn't continue the business at all.¹

Chapter 6. After the Revolution

Jane Blair weathered the Revolution in her house along Landing Lane, or, maybe she stayed with family members up the road during the British occupation and returned once they were gone. Her house survived the British occupation, but a barn was burned and the property suffered the deprivations of the occupying force. It also continued to be ravaged by flooding and Blair, or maybe Jeremiah Van Deventer, her business partner after her husband died in 1768, finally decided to do something about it. They used a team of oxen or horses and a wagon to bring pebbles from the riverbank to raise the

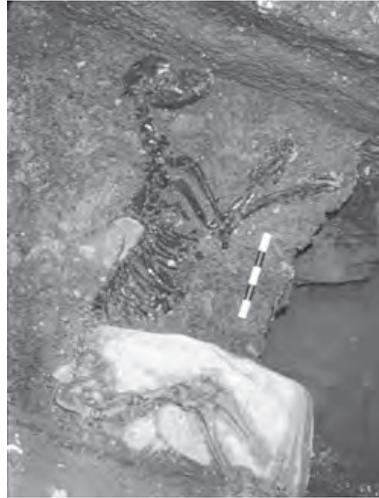
ground level a foot and a half or so and at the same time cover the remains of the ruined barn. The animals, and the men who worked alongside them, left their footprints in the mud as they shoveled the fill onto the wet ground (Figure 6.1).² The artifacts found in the overlying fill dated to after 1780 and it is likely that the work was done in anticipation of starting business back up after the war was over.



6.1

Jane Blair died in 1784. She left the property to her brother, Benjamin Field, who six years later willed it to his son, Jacob. Jacob may have lived and run some kind of business at the corner even before his father died in 1790. He was taxed for a shop in 1791-1792 and again in 1795-1796. Business would not have been easy and Jacob Field may never have been as successful as the Blairs before him.³ Economic conditions were different after the war and so were expectations. According to Thompson's study of the Neilson family in New Brunswick, trade was restricted with New York between 1783 and 1789, which "brought the customary flow of goods from the Raritan to Manhattan to a standstill." The Neilsons looked elsewhere for trading partners, carrying flaxseed to London and Dublin and Newry in Ireland, wheat and corn to Madeira and Portugal. They shipped beef, pork, hams, butter, dried apples, honey, rye and wheat flour, corn meal, and bread to Saint Eustatius and to a few other West Indian ports open to American trade, and exchanged these commodities for the rum, sugar, and molasses that were in demand in the American market. They could conduct this kind of trade because boats reaching New Brunswick were large enough to ply the open seas, although it was dangerous and their products often reached foreign ports too late to get a good price. Boats with shallow enough draft to reach the Landing wouldn't have been able to attempt such long voyages, which may well be one of the main reasons that Landing traders became more and more dependent on New Brunswick as an outlet for goods. As soon as free trade between the states was re-established under the Federal Constitution, Thompson claims the Neilsons, and presumably other New Brunswick shippers, turned back to domestic markets, "goods out of New Brunswick rarely travelling farther than New York City." Raritan Landing apparently supplied that trade, taking full advantage of the bridge that had been completed over the Raritan just before the war.⁴

Vermeule claimed that "flat boats were still coming down the river, but down the Raritan Road [River Road] came hundreds of great covered wagons drawn by from four to eight horses. Often wagons waiting to be unloaded, stretched in a compact line one mile up the river road. On some days five hundred vehicles passed Bound Brook on the Raritan Road, the larger part of these being large covered wagons bound to or from the Landing or New Brunswick."⁵ John Pool, who bought the Blair lot from his cousin, Jacob Field, in 1801, was most likely the beneficiary of the renewed trade and it was probably he



6.2

who added yet another building to the property. Its remains, excavated as Building A by RASO in 1979, measured approximately 25 by 15 feet with a 15-foot-wide addition off the north side. The foundation consisted of un-mortared red shale blocks and the amount of shale rubble in the vicinity suggested that at least a portion of the side walls may have been stone. The rectangular pit dug directly behind the building, and another very close-by, may have originally been intended as privies, but there was no evidence of nightsoil (human waste). The whole skeleton of a dog was found at the bottom of one of the pits (Figure 6.2). The other yielded 32 British

military buttons, probably from an officer's coat, the last remnants of the Revolution at the Landing. Perhaps Pool rented the new building to a shopkeeper, who cleaned up the property to make a good impression. Or maybe it was Pool himself in an effort to attract a tenant.

Another small building that may have been a shop was excavated on the other side of Landing Lane. That building, probably built in the last decade of the eighteenth century, was about the same size as the post-war building on Jane Blair's former property at the corner.⁶ The shop's dry-laid stone foundation measured 21.5 by 18 feet with the long side parallel to Landing Lane (Figure 6.3). A line of footings off the north end of this building may have supported a storehouse or barn. No evidence for subdivisions within



6.3

the foundation was present, but there was a substantial hearth at the north end. The paucity of stone rubble on the site led the investigators to speculate that the structure had been clapboard. They surmised it had one and one-half stories with a shop located downstairs and living quarters upstairs. It is also possible that it was the kit-

chen for a house located elsewhere on the property. A good deal of domestic debris was found in two fill deposits inside the foundation, one dating to the late eighteenth century and the more substantial one dating to the first or second decade of the nineteenth century, when the structure was apparently demolished.

John Bray had acquired eight of the lots (Van Horne's) bordering the east side of the Lane by 1778. Bray moved to New Brunswick in 1782, but he continued to do business at the Landing. In fact, in 1781 Bray petitioned the Middlesex County Court of Quarter Session for the right to open or reopen a store at his dwelling in Raritan Landing. Perhaps he operated out of the small shop building until he had replaced the warehouse on the corner that was destroyed during the Revolution. The fill covering the ruined warehouse foundation walls contained a 1787 New Jersey coin and, with the exception of 10 ceramic sherds, the datable artifacts found in rubble associated with the two structures on top of the fill dated to the late eighteenth century. As noted in Chapter 2, Bray replaced the old corner warehouse with two buildings, one behind the other. The rear one, like the shop next door, had an extension off the back supported by posts.

The Gannett Fleming archaeologists who analyzed the artifact assemblage associated with the "shop" thought the many unmatched serving vessels, large quantity of bottle glass, and smaller amount of table glass suggested a commercial enterprise. There was also a lot of domestic debris, suggesting that someone lived on the property, perhaps upstairs. Among the ceramics were sherds of hand-painted Chinese porcelain with overglaze decoration, a rather elegant item for a small household living upstairs from a shop, but perhaps Bray himself lived there when he stayed at the Landing. Other ceramics in the assemblage were made of creamware and pearlware, much of it edge decorated in blue and green, and there were also numerous teawares, including several refined redware teapots and at least one sugar bowl. As noted elsewhere, tea may have been served as part of business transactions.

Among the artifacts were 13 copper coins, ten of them with dates falling within the 20-year span from 1787 to 1807, just the time when Bray was probably rebuilding at the corner. Three of the coins were English halfpennies



6.4

(one of them probably counterfeit), four were early state issues (two from New Jersey and two from Connecticut), and the other six were early American issues. Many buttons—69—were also found on this site, another sign that it might have been at least a partially public place, and there were 240 fragments of smoking pipes, another indication of public activity. Most of the buttons were made of copper alloy and some may have been left over from the war (a possible regimental button with a number beginning with “3” might have belonged to yet another member of the 35th, which was cantoned nearby). Clothing items included shoe buckles (three), strap buckles (two), knee breech buckles (two), and a probable buckle for horse tack. Best of all was half of a pair of fire place tongs, 21 inches long. With the help of an image entitled, “The Tough Story—Scene in a Country Tavern,” the investigators imagined two men sitting by the fireside after a long day’s work (Figure 6.4). Other metal objects included an intact iron spade (Figure 6.5), an iron axe or adze, a hand wrought iron pail handle, and a lead fishing weight. There were horse shoes (five), one manufactured circa 1800, and two others manufactured in the middle of the eighteenth century, and horse shoe nails, some still attached to the shoes. Personal items included marbles, a pocket watch lens, and a lice comb. This was one of the



richest and most varied artifact assemblages recovered at Raritan Landing and suggests that more such assemblages may still lay buried along both sides of Landing Lane.



6.5

The Landing was a very different place in the early decades of the nineteenth century than it had been in the eighteenth century. It appears never to have recovered the residential population that fled during the war. Instead, a few entrepreneurs bought up large tracts of land, combining small holdings into much larger ones. These men—John Pool, Jr., John Bray, John Post, and to a lesser extent, William Letson—did not limit their commercial activities to Raritan Landing. Instead, they operated on both sides of the river, investing in business in New Brunswick at the same time they invested in Piscataway. John Pool, Jr., was one of the largest investors. He bought Cornelius Low’s grand house “on the mountain” in 1795 and lived there with his wife, Mary, until his death in 1825. The Low property included the warehouse that was advertised for sale 20 years earlier and Pool may have made the always large warehouse even larger. Vermeule described the warehouses at the head of Landing Lane in the nineteenth century as stretching “fully two hundred feet in length, running along the ‘Great Road’ and standing snug up under the high bank which had been cut down vertically to make room for them.” When Low originally advertised the warehouse it was only 80 feet long. Pool also acquired other properties: Peter Low’s lot just to the east of his brother Cornelius’s in 1817, and another lot east of that in the same year. Pool bought Cornelius Low’s meadow property on the south side of the road in 1795, the same year he acquired the house, and Peter Low’s meadow lot in 1802.⁷ Abraham Van Ranst was on the property still further east that had belonged to Adolphus Hardenbrook and then to his brother-in-law, Evert Duyckinck. Van Ranst, who was probably in the baking business, was there until his death in 1802 and then his property, too, was acquired by the Pools.

William Letson and his large family lived on the lot to the east of Abraham Van Ranst. They were probably friends, most certainly acquaintances since Letson inventoried Van Ranst’s possessions for his will. Letson was a cordwainer and as discussed in Chapter 4 he did his own tanning. He was also

an entrepreneur and between 1778 and 1790 he had acquired 100 acres and a tanyard in Piscataway, much of it at Raritan Landing. Letson suffered losses at the hands of the British during their occupation of the Landing, but he clearly believed in the revival of the community and invested accordingly. He also supported domestic industry and was a founding member and the first treasurer of the Middlesex Society for the Encouragement of Domestic Manufactures.⁸

The Letson house was located right next to River Road. No intact foundation walls belonging to the house were uncovered during excavations in 2000 although one had been found by the Rutgers University Center for Public Archaeology in 1997 and by NJDOT archaeologists many years earlier.⁹ In 2000 all that remained of the house was architectural rubble mixed with fragmentary nineteenth-century household artifacts. A cobble-lined well and cobbled ground surface were uncovered to the northeast and east of the rubble scatter. Both the well and cobble surface were probably improvements Letson made to the property. Before the Revolutionary War he had covered a portion of ground next to his house on the south side of the road with cobbles and he appears to have used the same technique on the north side, in this case to cover a ground surface and creek bank strewn with food bone and other debris, probably left by British soldiers during their occupation of the property in 1777.

Although there were no major artifact deposits associated with the Letson household, there was enough to know that the family ate their meals on plates made of creamware and whiteware; there was a mustard pot made of creamware, and they used China Glaze and redware bowls, the latter probably for food preparation in the kitchen. They had China Glaze, Chinese Porcelain, and creamware tea cups and saucers and a handsome Jackfield-type teapot. There was a redware milkpan and storage jars made of both salt-glazed stoneware and redware. There was more redware in this assemblage than in other assemblages recovered at Raritan Landing, which may indicate that Letson turned to Philadelphia rather than New York for his supply of moveable goods. Some things though—the stoneware mugs with incised and painted decoration, for instance—were made in a distinctive New York style, (Figure 6.6). The food remains suggest that the Letson household ate well, preferring beef to lamb and pork but consuming all three.

The Letsons remained next to the old Hardenbrook/Duyckinck/Van Ranst property until Letson died in 1830. Letson's grown children sold the property as they had settled elsewhere, at least one of them in New Brunswick. Like his father, Thomas Letson was a cordwainer and the large stoneware jar inscribed, "Made for Thomas Letson July 1, 1808," was brought to the attention of the archaeologists working at Raritan Landing in 2000 by Deborah Thoms, a Letson descendant now living in Maine. The jar was apparently used for tanning small, relatively delicate pieces of leather, possibly gloves or other fine pieces (Figure 6.7). It was signed "P.K." and was most likely made by Peter Kemple of Ringoes, in Hunterdon County. Ms. Thoms said her aunt had claimed it was used for tanning, which seemed doubtful because of its small size, but archaeological conservator Gary McGowan identified tannic acid in cracks in the jar while he was conserving it.



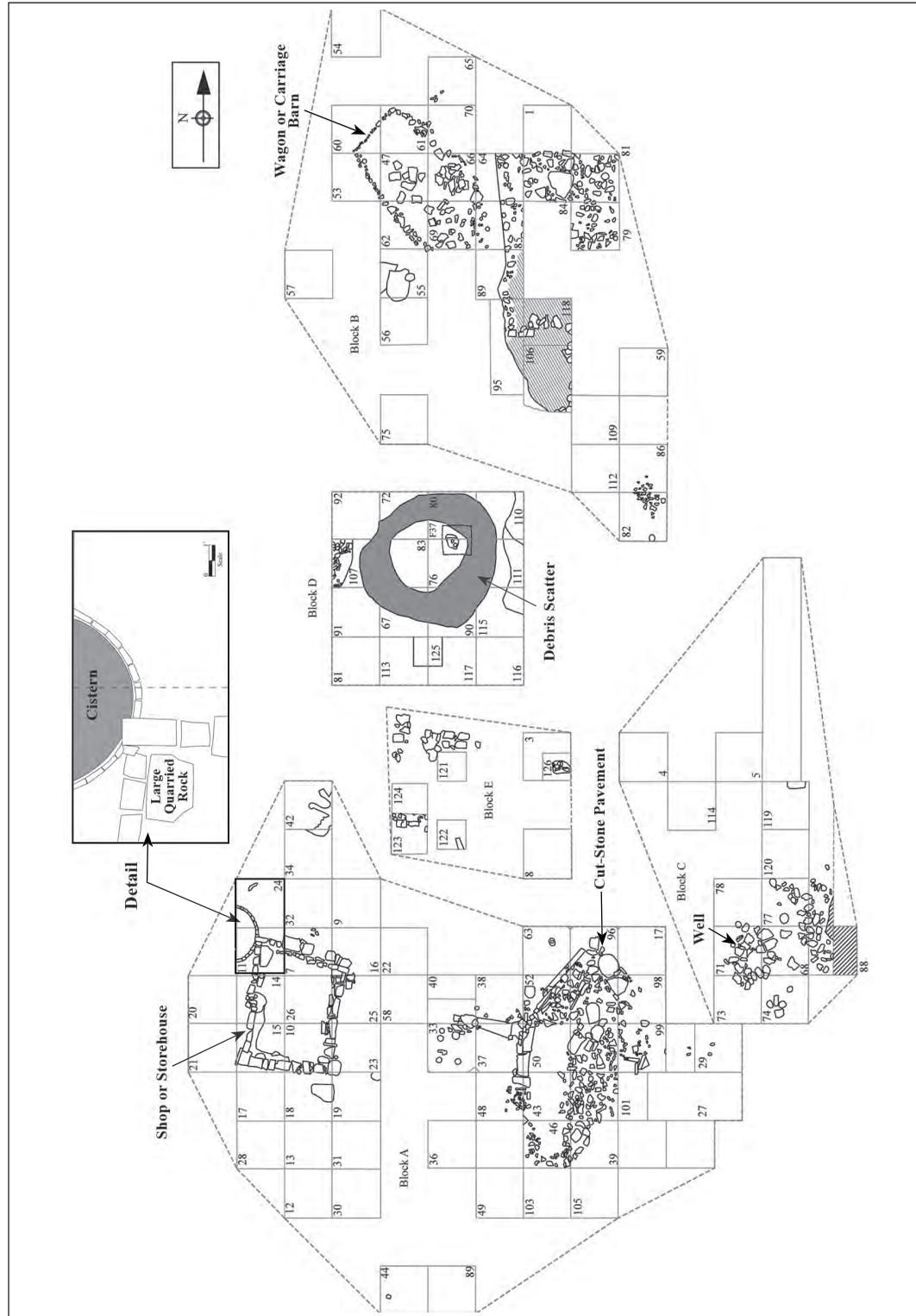
6.6

John Jones, Sr., bought the Letson property and he also bought a narrow strip of land on the west edge of the lot from John A. and Peter V. Pool. John A. and Peter V. Pool had inherited their father's business in 1825 and continued to accumulate property at the Landing and elsewhere. Jones used the lot he bought from the Pools for his wheelwright and blacksmith shop, a business his son, John Jr., also practiced until later life when he became a farmer. A small rectangular building uncovered archaeologically appeared to belong to the shop or, perhaps, it was a storehouse for the business or later the farm. A partial cistern was located off its northwest corner (Figure 6.8). Another building at the back of the lot appeared to belong to the Jones occupation and may have been a wagon or carriage barn.¹⁰



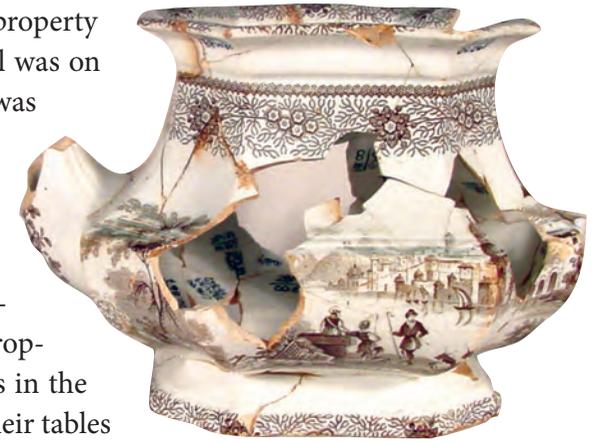
The Jones family also left a material record of their lives on the property although their debris was mixed with debris left by the Letsons before them. A clearer picture of the Jones's possessions was found in the

6.7



6.8

bottom of the well on the adjacent property to the west.¹¹ Even though the well was on top of the hill and the Jones house was at the bottom, trash seems to have been hauled up there for disposal, probably when Metlar bought the property in 1871. Metlar had bought the hilltop (the former Hard-enbrook/Duyckinck/Van Ranst) property the year before. Broken dishes in the trash suggest that the Joneses set their tables with English made, blue transfer-printed dishes with romantic names like Tuscan Rose, Cologne, or Canova. A teapot was decorated with the exotic Damascus pattern, an odd-seeming choice for a modest nineteenth-century household (Figure 6.9). Unusual in the assemblage was a white granite plate marked “Manufactured for E.A. W. & R. Filley/St. Louis, Mo/By T.J.& J. Mayer, Longport” (Figure 6.10) The Filley firm was a major importer of goods to St. Louis at mid-century, but the plate’s presence on the East Coast was unusual. At least 47 bottles came from the well, none of them for alcohol. Seven were for liniments, including How’s Improved Liniment, made in New Brunswick, and five different bottles that held Dr. Tobias Venetian Liniment, made in New York (Figure 6.11). An 1853 advertisement for Dr. Tobias’s liniment claimed it was “THE GREATEST DISCOVERY OF THE AGE: No remedy can be purchased equal to Dr. Tobias’ Venetian Liniment, for the cure of dysentery, colic, sea-sickness, croup, chronic rheumatism, toothache, sore throat, coughs, cuts, burns, old sores, pains in the limbs, chest, back etc.”¹² It was probably aching muscles that were being treated in the Jones household, considering the hard work required of either a wheelwright or a blacksmith. Or maybe the liniment was needed to treat the aches and pains of age. John Jones, Sr., was in his early seventies when he died. It is also possible that it was Jones’s son who needed the liniment as he suffered from a permanent spinal



6.9



6.10

injury. Which of these men was worried about baldness is not known, but someone in the household was treating their hair with Barry's Tricopherous, which was purported to "restore the hair to bald heads."



The Nineteenth-Century Reality

While the Joneses went about their daily lives, Raritan Landing lost its character as a river port. Since the turn of the nineteenth century New Brunswick's leading merchants had been talking about improving navigation and investors on both sides of the river put their stock in construction of a canal to link the Raritan with the Delaware River. Overseas trade had become increasingly dangerous and it was harder and harder to ensure that

New Jersey's produce would arrive at overseas ports in time to sell at an advantage. James Neilson, whose grandfather, John, had been born at Raritan Landing, was among the merchants who were interested in improving the connection between Philadelphia and New York. James's father, Colonel John Neilson, had continued the overseas trade that his uncle began in the years immediately after the Revolutionary War, but the Colonel also entered into an agreement with merchants at Lambertton on the Delaware to operate a shipping line between Philadelphia and New York. The partners offered a through-freight service twice a week between the two cities and wagons plied back and forth between New Brunswick and Lambertton while two sloops at each of these places completed the water segments of the route. The major product shipped out of New Brunswick at the beginning of the nineteenth century was Indian corn, but the Neilsons moved pipe and barrel staves, meal, wheat and rye flour, pork, hams, flaxseed, butter, and honey as well.¹³

Colonel John Neilson and his partners had also attempted to incorporate the Raritan Navigation Company. They envisioned a company empowered to

6.11

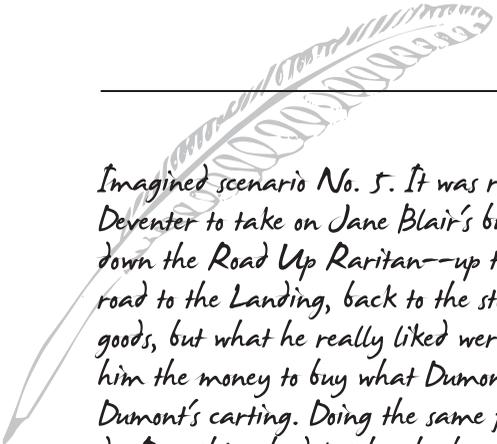
construct dams to deepen the river channel and to build canals around the dams unless they interfered with the passage of fish up and down the river. Among the original incorporators in this effort were John Bray, who had wharves and warehouses at Raritan Landing and in New Brunswick, and Miles Smith, who bought the house that had belonged to Edward Anthill at Raritan Landing in 1792 and built a large mill on the south side of the Raritan above Raritan Landing in 1833 (Figure 6.12). The Pools, who were buying up properties at Raritan Landing, also owned properties adjacent to the river on the New Brunswick side and were clearly as committed to that community as they were to Raritan Landing. In 1804 the Raritan Navigation Company applied for the authority to construct a canal between the Delaware and Raritan. Although the canal was not built in Colonel Neilson's lifetime, his son, James, was a major promoter. It took ten years, but a charter was finally granted in 1824. A viable company to build the canal, however, did not come into being until February 4, 1830, the same day a charter was granted to the Camden and Amboy Railroad and Transportation Company. Neither the canal nor the railroad was good for Raritan Landing and in the long run they weren't good for New Brunswick either.¹⁴

The canal and the railroad have traditionally been blamed for Raritan Landing's demise, but it was actually more complicated than that. Raritan Landing did not lose out because the canal and railroad went into New Brunswick. Landing investors like Bray and Letson and the Pools were not victimized by competition from New Brunswick. They invested in a future that moved away from dependence on the river and produce from the Raritan Valley.



6.12

Agriculture was less and less the key to the area's economic future. Instead it was industry and when the canal failed to produce the traffic anticipated it was used to fuel factories located on its banks. Both New Brunswick and Raritan Landing declined in the last decades of the nineteenth century, but for different reasons. The canal was not profitable as a canal (at least partly because of competition from the railroad) and it was only minimally successful as a source of water power. Raritan Landing continued its role as a transshipment place for agricultural produce as long as there was a demand for the produce, but as that faded the community's reason to be disappeared. Its last stand appears to have been along the Great Road, to the west of its intersection with Landing Lane, an area that recent archaeology has just begun to explore. ∞



Imagined scenario No. 5. It was really no more work for Jeremiah Van Deventer to take on Jane Blair's business. He was already trading up and down the Road Up Raritan--up to Peter Dumont's store in Raritan, down the road to the Landing, back to the store, and so on. He didn't mind carting extra goods, but what he really liked were the trips to New York. Dumont advanced him the money to buy what Dumont needed--usually rum--and he also did Dumont's carting. Doing the same for his sister-in-law was the least he could do. Poor thing had lost her husband in '68 and a good deal of property in '77 when the damned British guard occupied her house. She lost her boats too, but just as well, trade was shifting to the road and she couldn't have been located any better for that, right there on the corner. True of Van Deventer too. He lived a quarter mile or so above Jane Blair on the Great Road. It was a perfect location for trading and it was also perfect for stopping by the Rising Sun. There was nothing like a good beer to clear the dust from his throat and even better than the beer was the company. They traded stories, compared prices, and put off going home. There was only more work to do at home and it was good to put it off as long as possible.¹

Chapter 7. On the Great Road Up Raritan

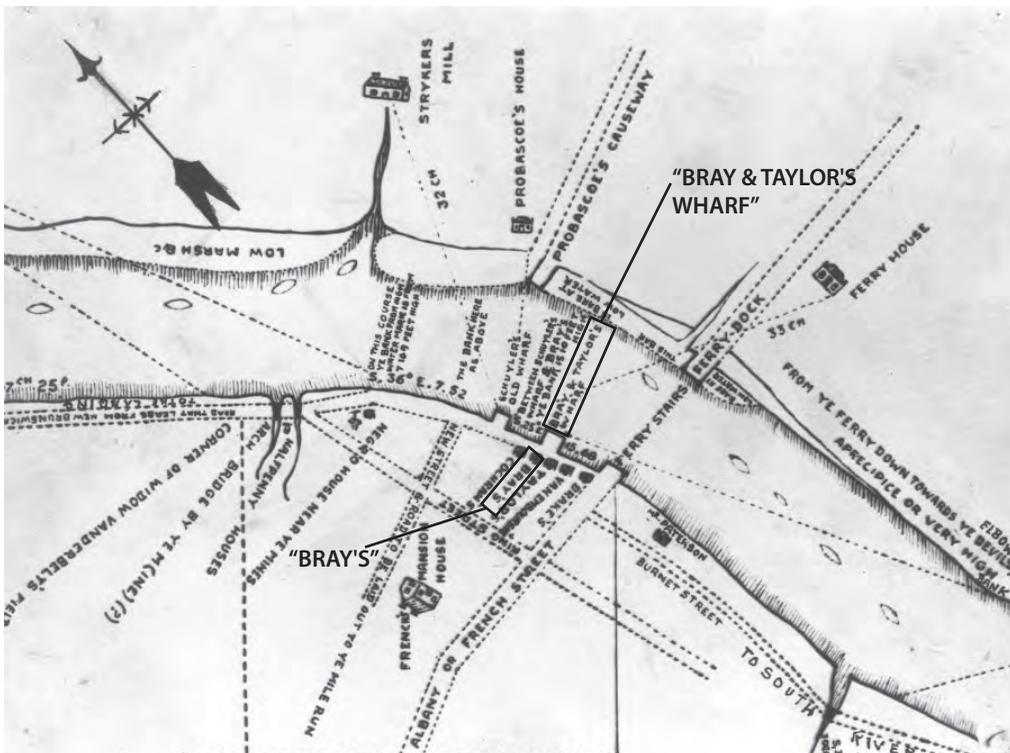
While the Pools took control of the River Road/Landing Lane intersection and the land to the east, the land to the west along the Great Road had a completely different history. Joseph Reade built at least one warehouse and a house there early in the eighteenth century, and the warehouse seems to have survived the Revolutionary War. When overland traffic outpaced flatboats after the War, Reade's properties, then in the hands of John Bray, appear to have played a major role. Three foundations were archaeologically investigated within the property once owned by Reade. The one located furthest to the west, a house, was apparently damaged during the War, but a warehouse survived and was improved by Bray.²

The 50-foot-long warehouse foundation was uncovered in 2005. It was made of nice blocks of stone and two breaks in the wall suggested openings onto River Road. Another wall perpendicular to the foundation sub-divided the interior space (Figure 7.1). Excavation units placed in what would have been



the interior of the building revealed a sequence of fills. A fragment of a buff-bodied salt-glazed stoneware mug manufactured after 1725 was found in rubble under the floor in the southwest corner of the building. The early mug dates to the time when Reade still owned the building. The floor laid on top of the rubble dated to the end of the eighteenth century and was probably installed by Bray.

Artifacts in the debris covering that floor included a cut nail manufactured after 1790. The warehouse was presumably in use until the middle of the nineteenth century when its destroyed walls were covered with fill. Bray sold the property in 1805, but he may have continued to rent the warehouse for business purposes. That would have given him two warehouses at the Landing as well as his warehouses and wharf in New Brunswick (Figure 7.2).³



7.2

Unlike Bray, the new owners of the property, James and Robert Campbell, were more interested in rebuilding the house that had belonged to John Bray's father, Daniel Bray, during the Revolution than the warehouse. The house was located a little less than 200 feet to the west of the warehouse. It must have been heavily damaged during the war because the new house was not even built on the old foundations.⁴ Instead, new foundation walls were laid next to the old ones (Figure 7.3). Both the old and new foundations measured 27 feet from one outside corner to the other. Brick and stone footers aligned north-south extended from the outside of the foundation wall to the base of the escarpment to the north. The footers probably supported a second story, the bulk of which sat on a leveled out spot on top of the escarpment. Vermeule described the house, which he thought was the original built by Joseph Reade, as "under a high bank," which, indeed, it was. In fact, it appeared to be built right into and over the bank (Figure 7.4). A



7.3



7.4



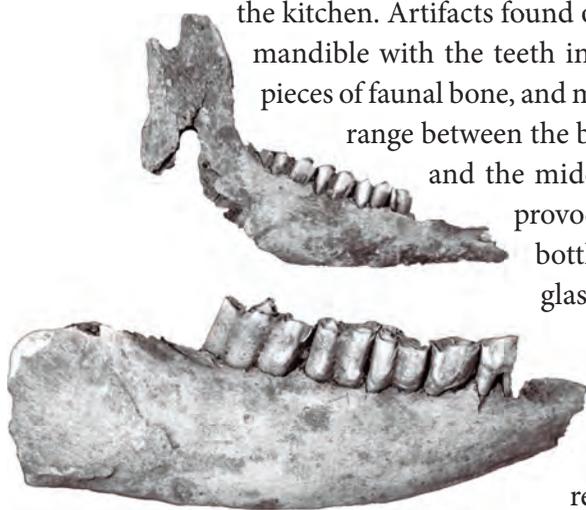
7.5

much less substantial brick foundation wall outlined an extension off the northeast corner, which had a curious terracotta pipe under its floor. The fact that a house was built here at all suggests how valuable the location must have seemed. It was certainly not a comfortable place to construct a building or, for that matter, to live. There wasn't even enough space in front of the escarpment to accommodate a garden or any kind of work or play area.⁵

The new foundation walls abutted the old ones on the west and another and considerably less well organized foundation wall extended off the northwest corner. That foundation may

have belonged to the first house on the property. It abutted a cobbled-covered area tucked into a kind of niche in the escarpment (Figure 7.5). The cobbled surface was probably a work area outside the kitchen door and a threshold stone found along the wall most likely marked the location of the door into

the kitchen. Artifacts found on top of the cobbles included a pig mandible with the teeth intact (Figure 7.6), at least 30 other pieces of faunal bone, and many ceramic sherds spanning a date range between the beginning of the eighteenth century and the middle of the nineteenth. Particularly provocative were a nearly whole medicine bottle, a brass skeleton key, and an eye-glass lens (Figures 7.7 and 7.8).



7.6

Who actually lived in this house in the nineteenth century is unclear. The Campbells probably rented to tenants, just as Reade and Bray had done in the eighteenth century.

Robert Campbell sold the property to Randal and Catherine McDonald in 1852, but by 1861 it was under the auspices of the county sheriff because of an unpaid mortgage. According to Vermeule the house, which he described as "a fine old gambrel roofed house...a good front door with diamond panes

in the side lights, and splendid mantels with tiles of blue delft bordering the large open fire places," was still standing in 1865, but he was mistaken in thinking it was the same house that Reade had built.

The escarpment swings even closer to the road further to the west leaving no room at all for a building. It opens up again at the mouth of a gully that once cut

through the hillside, now the location of the Rutgers University Football Stadium. Although no primary references have been found, Vermeule claimed the Rising Sun Tavern sat on the eastern bank of the gully as early as 1733. He named Abraham Lane as the tavern keeper from 1733 to 1750 and George Vroom as the keeper from 1755 to 1756. Abraham Lane, however, petitioned to keep a tavern in Readington in 1732 and is not mentioned as a tavern keeper at the Landing until 1756 when the Middlesex County, New Jersey, Minutes of the Court of Common Pleas included a "recommendation in honor of Abraham Lane Esq. for a license to keep a tavern in the house where he now lives at the Landing." George Vroom's father, Hendrick, a yeoman from Bridgewater in Somerset County, bought land on the north side of the Great Road, including the tavern site, from William Williamson in 1739. The elder Vroom built a house on the high ground (eventually the kitchen wing of the much later Vermeule house) and his son, George, may well have lived in the house in the 1750s or in a house on the property closer to the road. George's wife, Sarah, applied for a tavern license in "the house where George Vroom deceased lastly lived" in 1757 and it may have been she rather than her husband who kept the tavern. William Letson supposedly took over as tavern keeper in 1762 and stayed until at



7.7

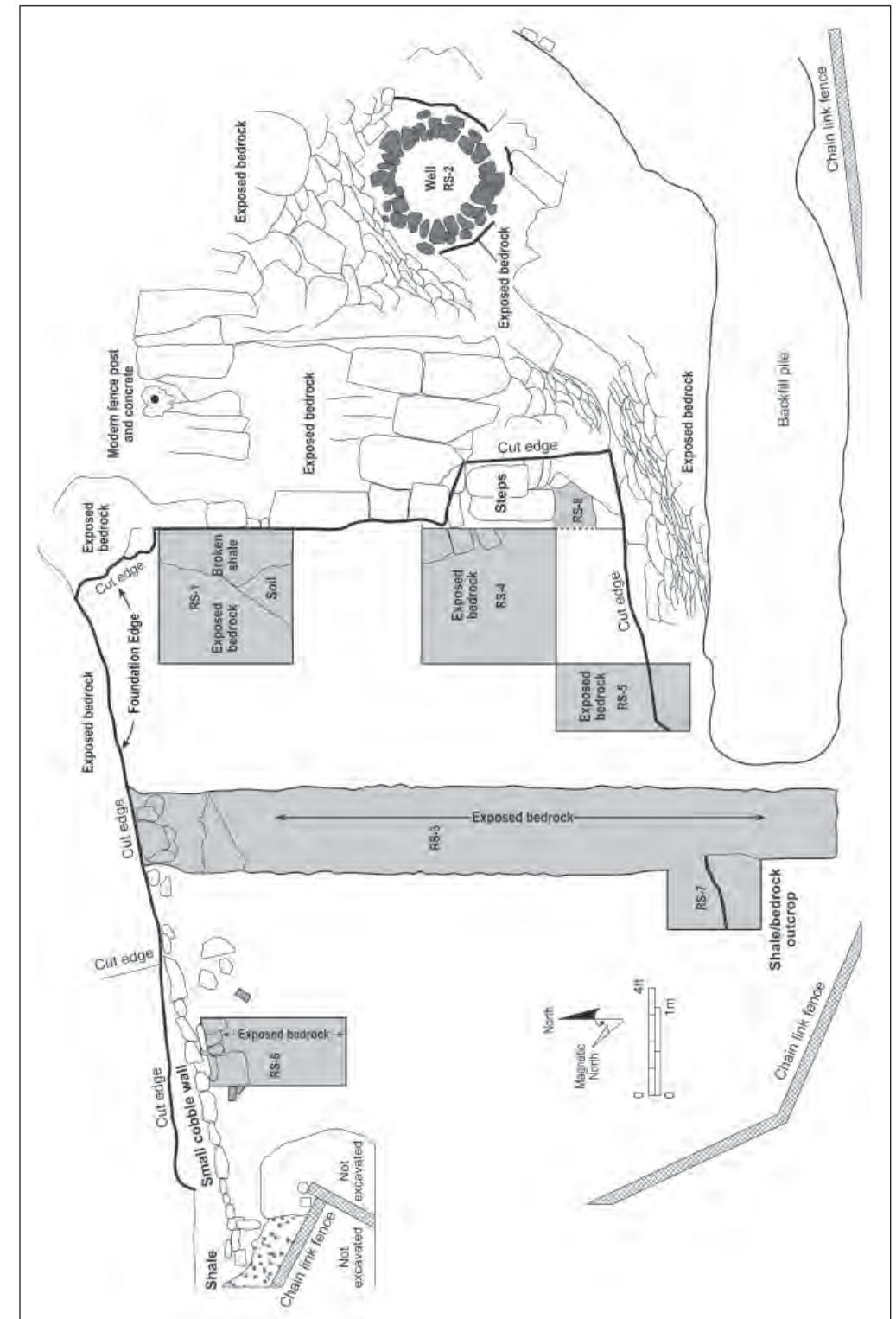


7.8

least 1773. No primary reference to William Letson as a tavern keeper at Raritan Landing has been found either, but John Letson is listed in the Middlesex County, New Jersey, Board of Chosen Freeholders Accounts of Tavern Licenses (1795-1829) in 1802, 1804-1809, and on and off up to 1829. Vermeule has him at the Rising Sun “to 1846” when the tavern probably closed. In his history of New Brunswick, William Benedict associates John Letson with the Rising Sun Tavern in 1805, but the mention is in the context of “later and unlocated taverns.”⁶

The archaeological investigation of the site didn’t do much to clear up this confusion. Eighteenth-century ceramic sherds were found, but most were in mixed deposits that included many later nineteenth-century artifacts. The structural remains consisted of a foundation and a well shaft. The foundation was mainly cut into the natural bedrock, which was very close to the surface in this location (Figure 7.9). Some portions of the eastern wall consisted of stacked dry-laid stones and at the southeast corner the bedrock had been cut back to create space for steps that led up to the exposed bedrock abutting the building on the east. The foundation presumably enclosed a crawl space that measured about 16 feet east-west by 20 feet north-south. A wall extending off the northwest corner appeared to belong to some kind of addition that extended the building to the west for at least another 10 feet and probably more, but it had been disturbed by the driveway into the football stadium and could not be well defined.⁷

The artifacts recovered from the demolition debris inside the foundation were very fragmentary, but various historic ceramic types were present—mostly creamware and pearlware, not necessarily the kinds of dishes you would expect at a tavern and also not what you would expect at Raritan Landing before the Revolutionary War. Elsewhere at the Landing buff-bodied earthenwares made up the highest proportion of the ceramic assemblage in pre-Revolutionary War deposits and this inexpensive ceramic type would have been an obvious choice for a tavern where dishes might be easily broken. The 37 pipe stems found—omnipresent on tavern sites—possibly fell through the floorboards when the building was in use. There were also a fair number of buttons—26—which are often found on sites where the public gathered.





The well was conveniently located about eight feet to the east of the foundation. The cobble-lined shaft measured six feet in diameter from one outer edge to the other, but it was constructed in a larger circular opening that had been cut into bedrock (Figure 7.10). Beneath the uppermost fill inside the shaft there was a

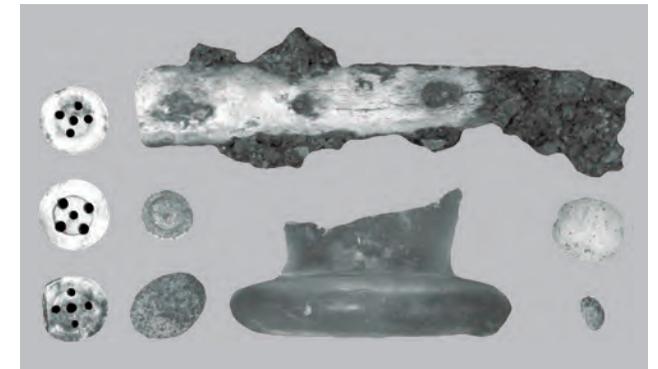
thin layer of shale that more or less sealed the earlier fills below (see profile drawing, bottom of page 63). The cobble lining continued to about 3 feet below the top of the shaft and the rest was cut directly through bedrock. The intact pump mechanism (see image above) began about 6 feet below and even the pump handle was buried in the muck. Eighteenth- and some nineteenth-century ceramic sherds, as well as other artifacts, were recovered from the saturated layers of fill in the lower portion of the well. Mixed with the ceramics were many (908) fragments from tumblers and seven coins, four with legible dates in the nineteenth century. There was an 1807 half cent, an 1838 large cent, an 1840 large cent, and an 1857 half dime. There were also 69 clay pipe fragments and 73 buttons and other clothing items (Figure 7.11). The tumblers, at least, suggest a tavern.

7.10

Studies of tavern assemblages found elsewhere have identified several characteristic patterns. One comparative study of eighteenth-century taverns, for instance, concludes that tavern assemblages typically included a large number of vessels, most of them for drinking and a large percentage of those made out of ceramic types most often found in the form of drinking vessels. Slip-decorated earthenware and stoneware would fit that description, but neither was prevalent on the Rising Sun Tavern site. Large numbers of wineglasses, specialized glassware, and pipestems are also considered characteristic of tavern sites. Pipes are considered particularly telling, and “large” in this case means thousands. Another study, which compared rural and urban taverns, claimed that urban taverns would have more pipes because socializing was the most important activity that took place in them whereas rural taverns tended to have more artifacts related to the serving of food. Raritan Landing, of course, was neither strictly urban nor strictly rural and, not surprisingly, the assemblage found on the Rising Sun Tavern site didn’t fit either pattern.⁸

Another study, however, provides a better fit. This study proposed comparing vessels associated with drinking, eating, and living.⁹ Vessels associated with living

are things like chamber pots, flower pots, and medicine bottles, the kinds of things you would not expect in a tavern context, at least not in significant numbers. There were few of these at Rising Sun although there were enough fragments from dishes and glasses to suggest eating on the premises. If indeed the tavern was located somewhere on the site, the artifacts recovered suggest that meals were served as well as alcohol. The tavern may or may not have kept overnight guests although its proprietor probably lived there too. It may have been much like the tavern in New Brunswick from which a page was found in the Special Collections in the Rutgers University library. The tavern belonged to Ann Hillyer. On one day in May 1803 she recorded: “4 bottles wine, 2 bottles porter, 2 pints brandy, 2 wine ‘slings,’ and 1 Gin plus 44 quarts oats, and hay for horses.” On a second day there were costs for “2 slings, 1 pint beer, 27 quarts oats, 2 slippers, 7 lodgings, 9 breakfasts, 4 slings, 2 quarts



7.11

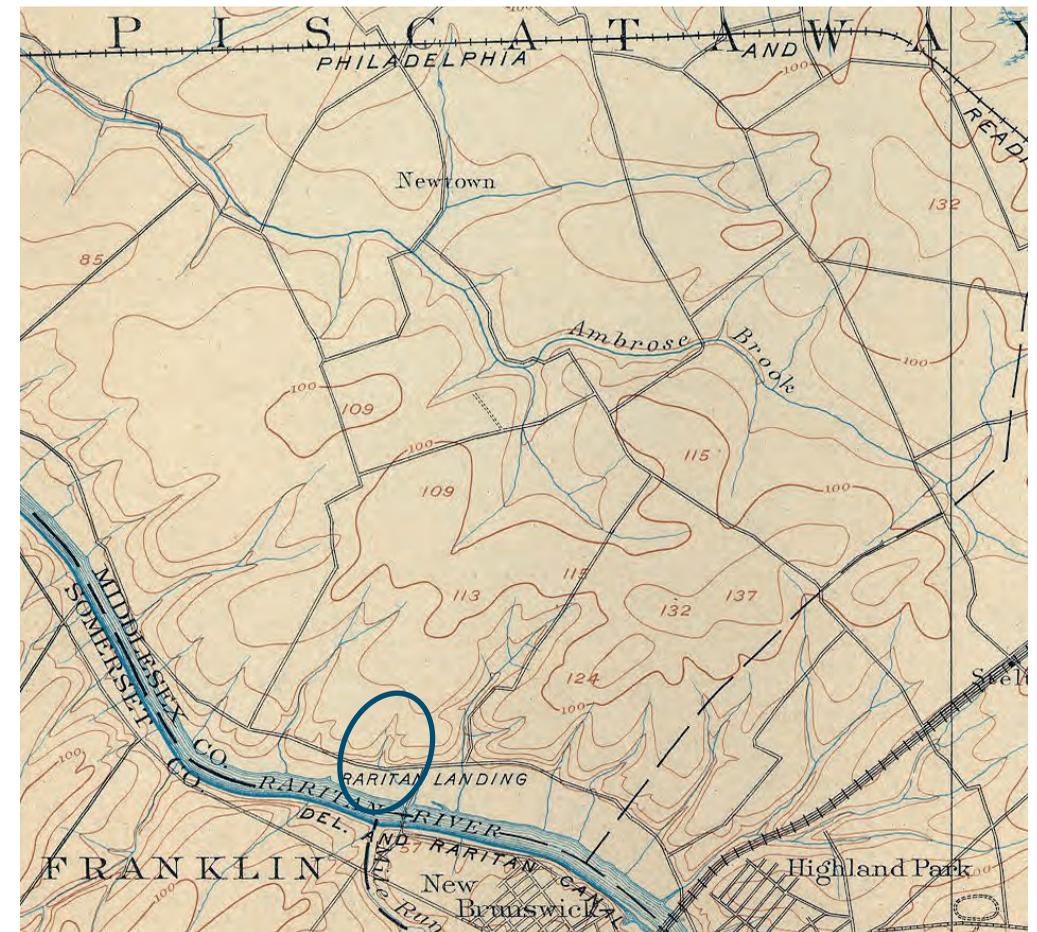
rum, 13 dinners, 1 pint gin, 34 quarts oats and 1 pint brandy.” She also listed supper and lodging for Captain Angus in her accounts, hay and oats for Captain Angus and “ferriage” (ferry transport) for Mr. Marsh and Mr. Parker. In addition to housing travelers, taverns also provided food and shelter for horses.¹⁰

It is likely that the foundation on the Rising Sun Tavern site belonged to an outbuilding rather than the actual tavern which was probably closer to the road. The foundation lacked a chimney, but it might have been the small barn where travelers sheltered their animals. Although most of the artifacts found inside the foundation and in the well dated to the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries, the coins found among them were much later. Perhaps the coins dropped out of the pockets of the men who demolished the tavern and barn behind it in the 1840s or 50s. They filled the well with architectural debris and also with the artifacts and soil that had accumulated around the buildings over its many years of existence.

It is hard to imagine the gully that separated the Rising Sun Tavern property from the next property up the road, but it is clearly visible on early twentieth-century topographical maps (Figure 7.12). The owner of the property for at least 40 years during the eighteenth century was a cordwainer named John Van Tine and he may well have valued the land for its proximity to running water. Cordwainers—shoemakers—tanned the hides for the shoes they sewed, and running water as well as still water were necessary for tanning.

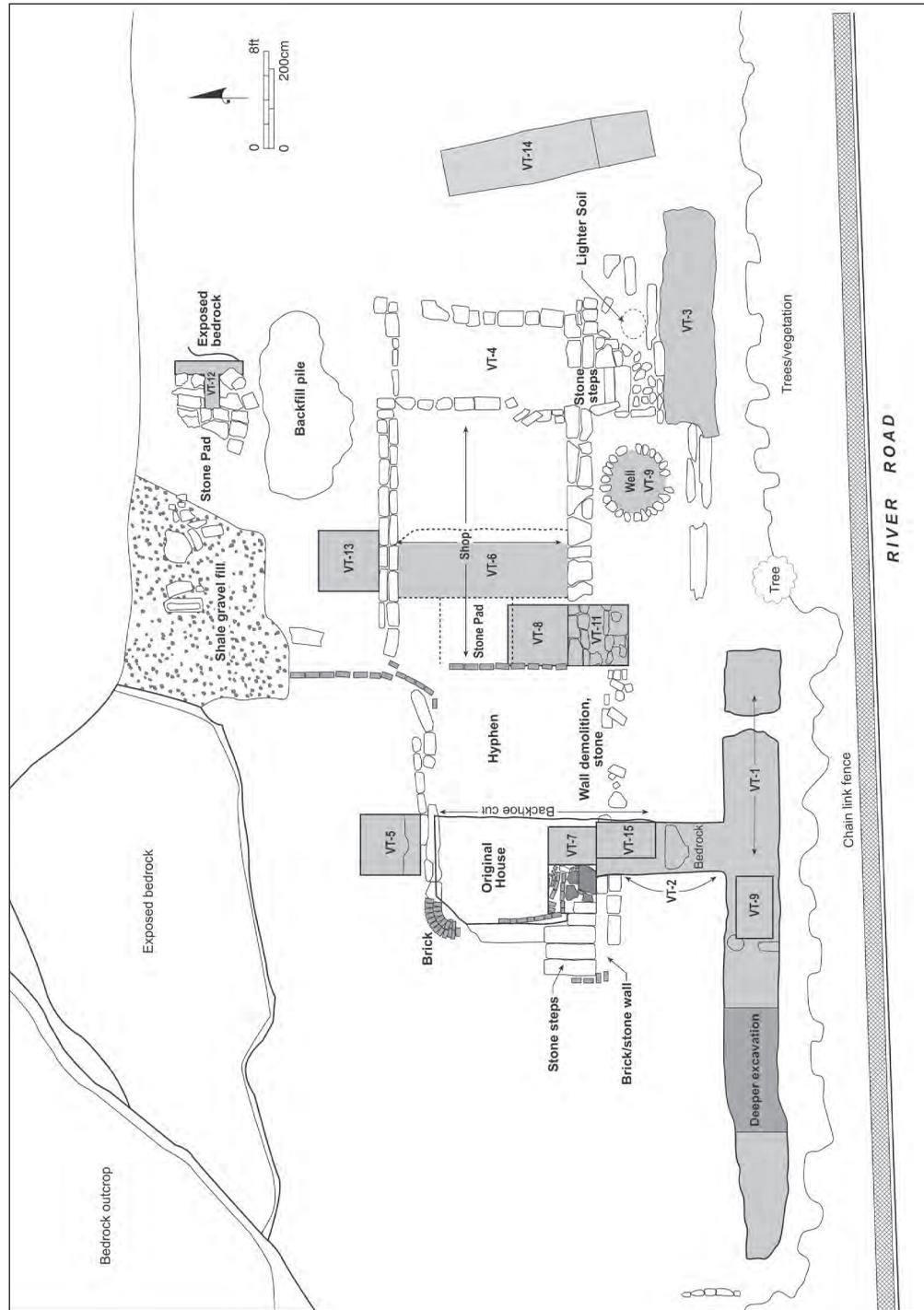
Like the tavern property on the east side of the gully, the property on the west side had also belonged to Hendrick Vroom in the early eighteenth century, but it had passed through several hands by the time John Van Tine bought it from Jacob Bogert in 1742. Bogert acquired it from Paul LeBoyteaux (John Bodine’s business partner) who was apparently selling off his father’s estate at the time.¹¹ Van Tine remained on the property until 1780, claiming losses worth £62 due to damages to buildings and household goods during the Revolutionary War.

The archaeological evidence suggests that Van Tine, or perhaps an earlier owner, built a small shop at the eastern end of the lot overlooking the gully.



7.12

Substantial northern and southern foundation walls outlined the basement for the shop although the eastern wall had been destroyed. A line of stones along the east side of the remaining basement appeared to be someone’s effort to reconstruct the wall after it was knocked apart (probably by a bulldozer), but an *in situ* threshold stone located a little way to the east suggested the original building extended at least that far and probably further (about 10 feet?). The west wall of the shop—also a substantial mortared stone foundation—had become the eastern wall of a later hyphen that connected the original house on the property with the shop (Figure 7.13). Stone stairs at the southwest corner of the shop foundation led down into its cellar. The steps were located only a couple of feet (2-2.5) to the east of a cobble-lined well and there appeared to be some kind of paving between the well and the shop. The archaeologists concluded that the well and shop were probably the first structures built on the property.¹²



7.13

The original house, which was located further to the west, also had a basement and its foundations were also made of well cut, mortared stone blocks (Figure 7.14). Artifacts found in a builder's trench along the north wall of the foundation included a 1723 Britannia coin, but there were also a few sherds of creamware which was not available until 1762. More ceramics dating to the 60s were found in a possible builder's trench along the eastern wall. The house measured 20.5 feet from east to west and about 15 feet from north to south. Steps down into the cellar made of un-mortared stone blocks had been cut through the west wall. The cellar floor was paved with brick and a v-configuration of bricks at the base of the steps may have been made out of the bricks that were removed when the steps were added. A concentration of bricks found at the northwest corner of the foundation probably supported a corner chimney.



7.14

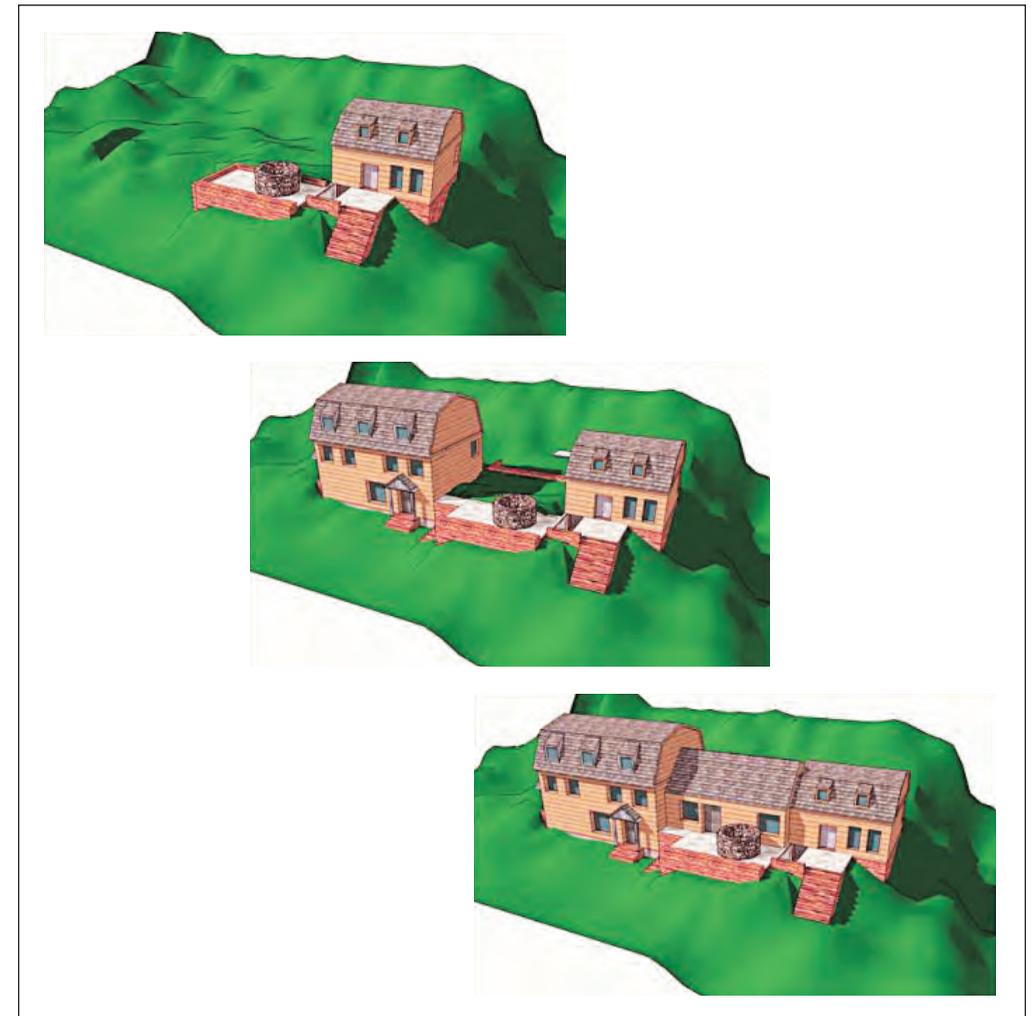
It is likely that about two feet of the foundation were exposed above the ground surface when the house was first built because a thick layer of fill, including large quantities of shell and ceramic sherds dating to the late eighteenth century, had been placed against the foundation before an addition was added to the east. Artifacts in the fill included buckles, buttons, pipestems, and comb fragments, presumably left by the Van Tine family (Figure 7.15). The addition—a hyphen between the two original buildings—was probably built by the next occupants of the property, either Francis Brazier or Michael Garrish. Both were shopkeepers and the hyphen addition, or perhaps the old shoe maker's shop on the east end, may have held their businesses.



7.15

Adapted to fit many different eras, this tripartite house stood until Rutgers University purchased the property in 1935. We don't know when plumbing was installed and we also don't know where the privies were that served the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century households. The flat expanse behind the house seemed like a logical place for an outhouse, but none was found. Bedrock reached virtually up to the surface in that area and extended all the way back to an escarpment. A small paved area about 15 feet behind the eastern part of the house was probably the floor of a long gone outbuilding. Eighteenth-century artifacts among the stones included clay pipestems, fragments of olive green bottle glass, and creamware and redware sherds. Otherwise there were very few concentrations of artifacts on the property, undoubtedly because it had been bulldozed after the university took the house down.

The properties, and most likely the houses on the west side of the River Road/Landing Lane intersection, were smaller than the properties and houses on the east side. In general, they were owned by traders, shopkeepers, and artisans with connections to Somerset County rather than merchants connected to New York. With the exception of the Lows, the New York merchants who invested in Raritan Landing before the Revolutionary War were gone by the war's end. Also with the exception of the Low's house, practically all of the above-ground evidence for the presence of either group is also gone, sacrificed to the growth of Rutgers University. Rutgers had acquired most of the lots along the north side of the road by the 1930s. The university built a house for its president on land that once belonged to Peter Low, Evert Duyckinck, and John Roosevelt, and a football stadium on land once owned by William Williamson that included the sites of the Rising Sun Tavern, Joseph Reade's house and warehouse, and the Van Tine/Brasier/Garrish house. Tennis courts behind the county-owned Cornelius Low House were once part of that property and the Rutgers woods and houses built in the 1960s stand where Edward Anthill's elegant mansion once was. No amount of archaeology can capture what this area looked like in the decades following the Revolutionary War. New technology, however, has enabled us to visualize what some of the houses looked like. Beginning with the footprint outlined by the foundations of the Van Tine house, project archeologists used a computer program, SketchUp, to illustrate what the house may have looked like in its many iterations. Figure 7.16 shows its evolution from a house and



7.16

free-standing shop to the single structure that was probably still standing when Rutgers bought the property in 1935. Once this technology is applied to all the foundations that have been uncovered at Raritan Landing we may finally have the image of the community we have been longing to see since archaeological investigations first began there in the 1970s. ∞

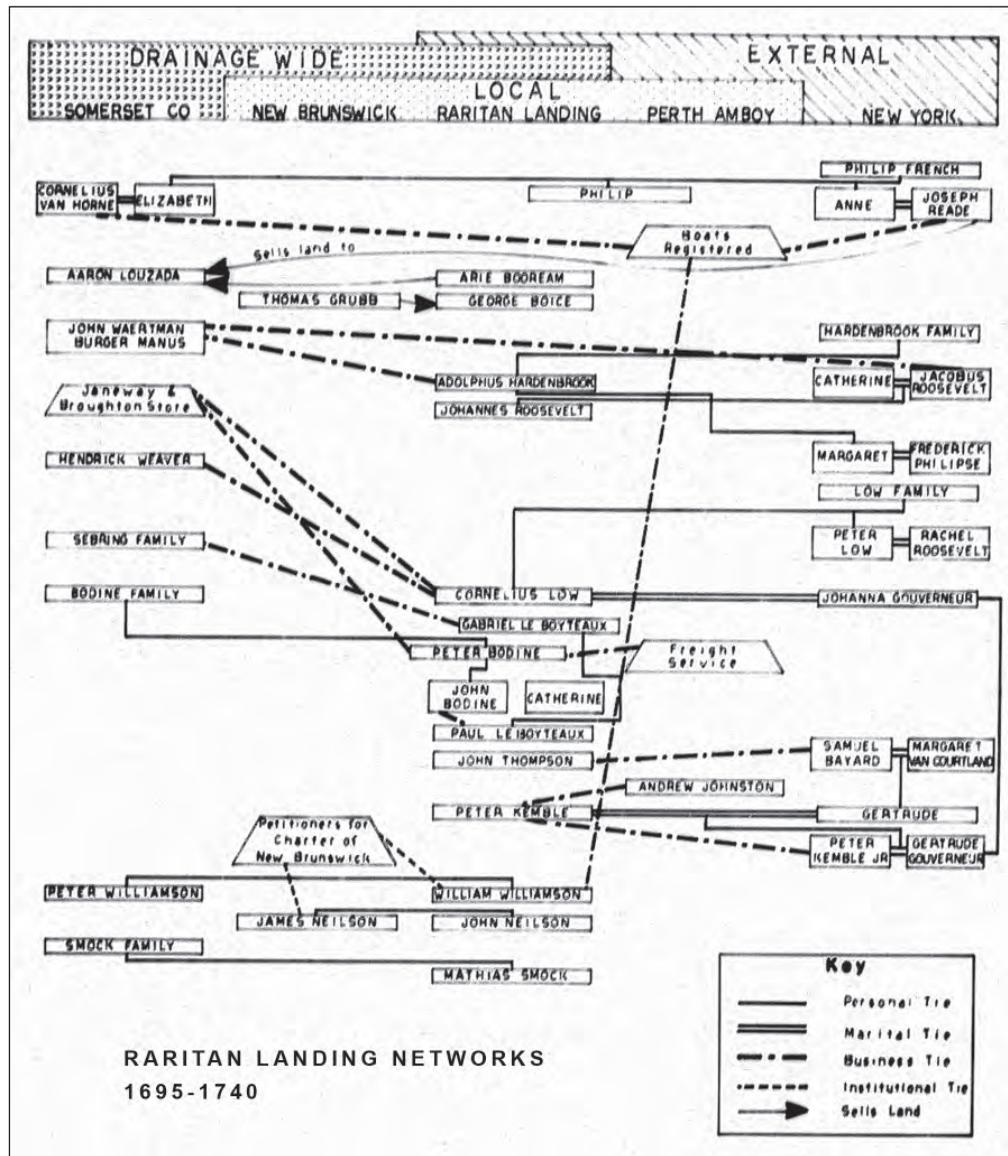
Hoped for scenario. As much as we have learned since finding the first buried evidence of Raritan Landing in that snowy February long ago, there is still more to know. It is only very recently that we have come to recognize the important role enslaved labor may have played at the Landing—building the first warehouses, loading and unloading boats, practicing all the other trades needed at a port—coopering, carpentry, boat building. Slaves are barely mentioned in Vermeule’s famous article about Raritan Landing; they were apparently invisible to him as they have been to us for too long. The beads that were recovered during the excavation in 1979 were not even mentioned in the report, their importance lost on the investigators. May they be a lesson for the future. Archaeologists and historians who do further work at Raritan Landing will probably find meaning in things that we still can’t figure out—I hope so. I also hope there will finally be opportunities to uncover the remains of the warehouses that lined the riverbank at the base of Landing Lane. Their remains lie tantalizingly below the grass in Johnson Park. I wish I could be there when they are finally uncovered.¹

Chapter 8. Raritan Landing—Lost and Found

The archaeological excavations conducted at Raritan Landing over the last 30 years or so have uncovered much more than the physical remains of the community and the artifacts left behind by its residents. Beginning with Richard Porter’s detailed documentary study and Joel Grossman’s ambitious excavation in a mere 15-foot-wide corridor, questions have been raised about the role of trade in pre-Revolutionary War New Jersey. As I lamented in the introduction to my doctoral dissertation (1988), New Jersey is barely mentioned in Menard and McCusker’s monumental study of the economy of British America and when they do talk about New Jersey, it is as “a barrel tapped at both ends,” a place between New York and Philadelphia. Even more astonishing is the more recently published book, *The Market Revolution* (1991). While that book deals with the early decades of the nineteenth century, its author, Charles Sellers, does not mention New Jersey at all in the index and only very occasionally in the text. For Sellers, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore were the places that counted. The unspecified hinterlands were just the suppliers of the “agricultural and extractive commodities” that fed commerce.

The importance of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore in the nineteenth century has, I think, made it difficult for historians to consider the possibility that the influence of those cities was different in the eighteenth century. Governor Franklin may have characterized New Jersey as a barrel tapped at both ends, but there was a good deal going on inside the barrel. The study of Raritan Landing has allowed us to look at this activity in detail. What we have found is different than what is in the history books and it is hoped that this volume will contribute to allowing New Jersey a larger role in the economic history of the middle colonies.

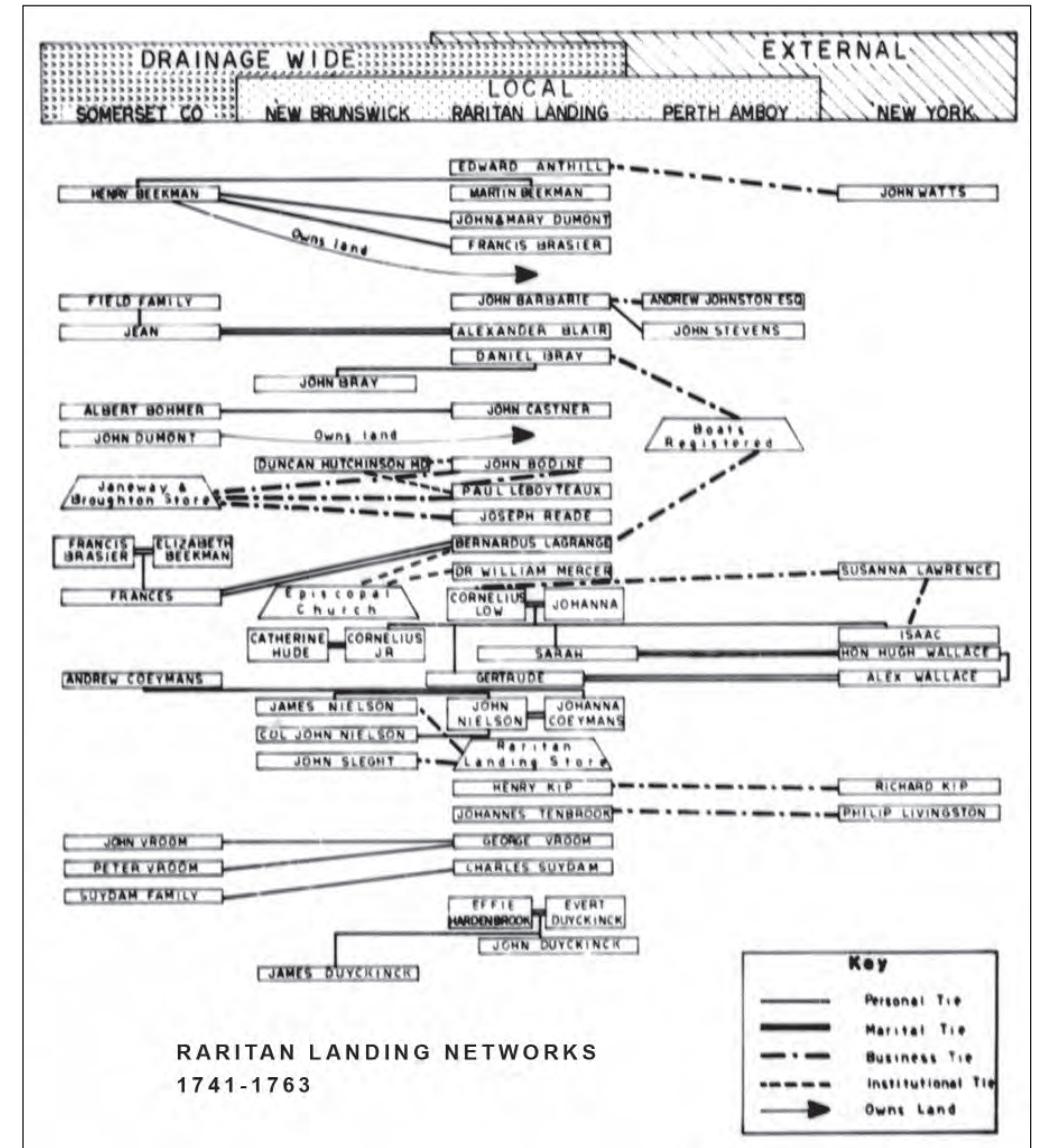
The earliest investors in Raritan Landing were from New York. They were young members of established New York merchant families who saw opportunities in the Raritan Valley not unlike the opportunities their families had exploited in the Hudson Valley. Adolphus Hardenbrook and Joseph Reade, who built the first warehouses at Raritan Landing (referred to as Hardenbrook’s Landing as late as 1738), most likely used enslaved labor on their wharves. They attracted other members of their class to join them at the Landing, building their houses on the high ground overlooking the floodplain, while they nurtured a small but lively trading community in the flats. It would appear that until about 1740 these transplanted New Yorkers were the most influential members of the community. Diagrams first developed for Grossman’s 1982 report, “Raritan Landing, The Archaeology of a Buried Port,” showed family, commercial, and institutional ties between the Landing and drainage-wide communities on the one hand and external communities, including New York, on the other. In the period 1695 to 1740, the network of connections stretched out from the Landing in both directions. Raritan Landing families had ties to the French, Reade, Hardenbrook, Roosevelt, Philipse, Low, Gouverneur, Bayard, and Kemble families in New York City and they also had ties to the Codrington, Van Horn, Louzada, Sebring, Bodine, Williamson, and Smock families in Somerset County (Figure 8.1). Between 1741 and 1763, however, the pattern changed (Figure 8.2). There were fewer ties to families in New York and many more to families in Somerset County and to individuals in New Brunswick. New Jersey traders seem to have broken out from under the domination of New York merchants. They had become what economic historian, Jacob Price, calls “secondary traders.” They dealt directly with country storekeepers, delivering imported goods for distribution and hauling produce from the store to the wharves at



8.1

Raritan Landing for export. They didn't need to be controlled by New Yorkers although they must have continued to maintain factors in the city. Unfortunately, research so far has not been able to identify those factors, a project for the future.

In my dissertation I speculated that the ceramics we found during that first major excavation in 1979 were intentionally chosen to mark the Raritan Landing traders' independence from New York. I compared the ceramics



8.2

available and used at Raritan Landing with ceramics available and used in New York City and I also compared the ceramics used in New York with those used at a place in the Hudson Valley about the same distance north of the city as Raritan Landing was to the south. What I found was that "vessels in which there was conspicuous variation were the vessels that would be most visible—the ones kept in the 'big room under the stairs,' as the Piscataway inventories describe the main room of the house, or in the cupboard—presumably a dresser on which dishes were displayed. At Raritan Landing

those dishes were made of delft, slip-decorated buff earthenware, and white salt-glazed stoneware; in New York City they were made of delft and creamware.” Instead of acquiring the newly available ceramics (especially creamware) that were becoming fashionable in New York, Raritan Landing residents continued to use old-fashioned ones. The idea of New Jersey traders’ economic independence was rather radical at the time and I did not dare challenge the historical orthodoxy in print.²

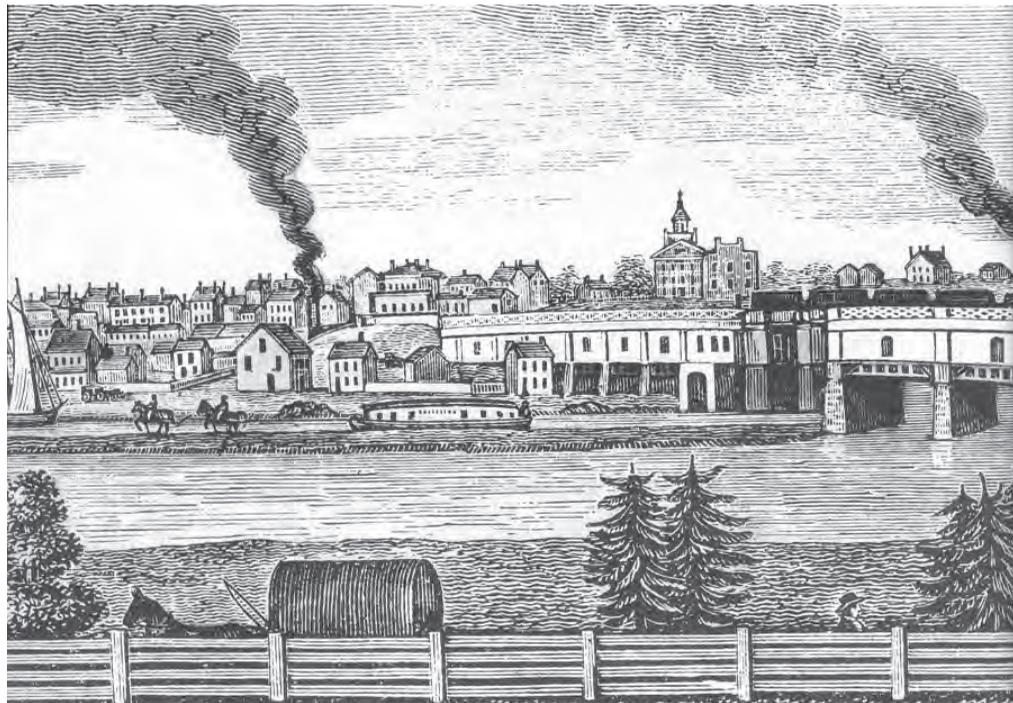
More recent historical scholarship, however, suggests that the patterning I saw in the artifacts and the diminishing documented connections to New York was part of a struggle for property and power that took place in the middle decades of the eighteenth century. In his book, *These Daring Disturbers of the Public Peace*, historian Brendan McConville argues that the colony’s yeomen resisted New Jersey’s Proprietors’ efforts to replicate the hierarchical system they knew in Europe.³ New Jersey’s communities, be they Puritan, Dutch, or multi-ethnic, were internally hierarchical but strictly local. “Deference was given to prominent people within specific groups or communities but withheld from outsiders.” In many cases, McConville says, communities would defer to, elect, or obey only leaders who shared their majorities’ religious or ethnic identity, a phenomenon he calls “ethnodeference.” “A gentleman might have money and political place, but without shared cultural experiences, his status was never fully secure.” Raritan Landing may well have been organized around this principle or something like it. New Yorkers at Raritan Landing may have been culturally “Dutch,” but their city ways and expectations of elite status based on outside political connections would not necessarily have held sway in a community of local traders whose status was based on their own hard work. It is noteworthy that Raritan Landing resident Peter Bodine, who was rich in land when he ran his lottery in 1748, divided it up into small, relatively regular parcels. He was envisioning a community of equals rather than one that allotted great tracts to a few elite families.

According to McConville, the conflicts between the Proprietor and Anti-Proprietor factions came to a head in the 1740s, just when the archaeological evidence suggests Raritan Landing’s traders expressed their independence from their New York benefactors through distinct consumer choices. McConville’s concept of localism applies and goes a long way toward explaining why Raritan Landing does not appear to have had formal governmental

institutions or even its own church. While he is generally talking about farmers (yeomen) rather than traders, the same model appears to apply to the mainly Dutch traders at Raritan Landing. According to McConville, “Dutch yeomen were the second largest identifiable cultural group participating in anti-proprietor activity in the 1740s and 1750s” which he thinks can be understood “as an expression of a broader resistance to their own Anglicization.” Raritan Landing traders also seem to have resisted Anglicization. Only a very few Landing families (Antill, LaGrange, Mercer, Kemble) were involved in the building of the Anglican Church in New Brunswick in 1758 while almost all of the other residents belonged to the Dutch Reformed Church where, in New Brunswick at least, services were not conducted in English until after 1800.

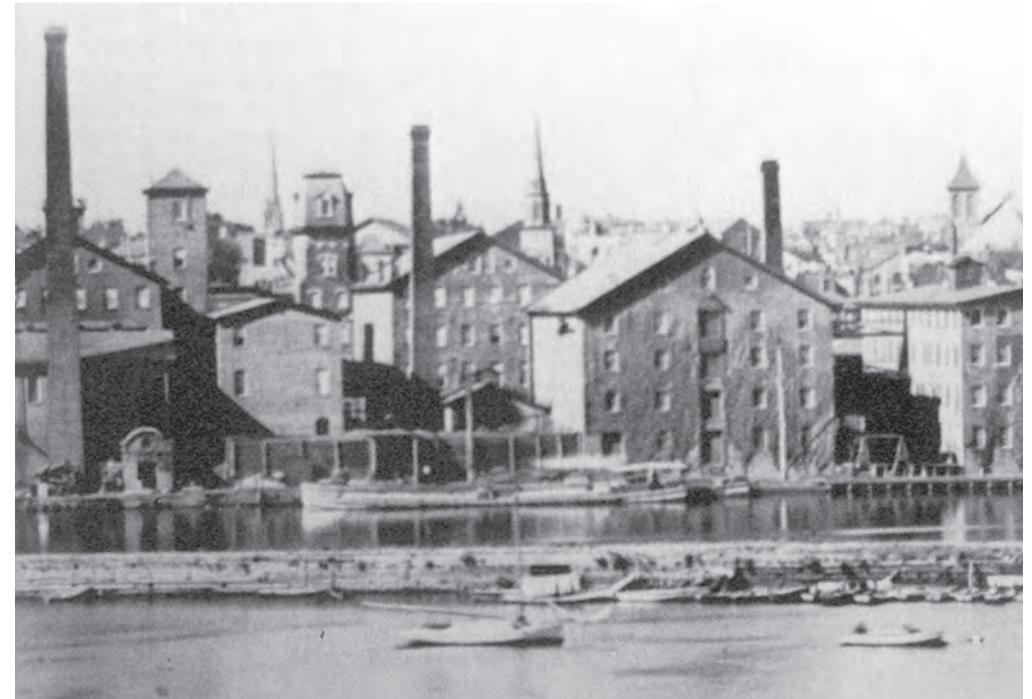
In keeping with their anti-elitism, practically all Raritan Landing residents sided with the American cause leading up to and during the Revolutionary War. An exception was Cornelius Low, who was an avowed Tory, and Bernardus Legrange who was famously hung in effigy and chased out of town. As the archaeology has revealed, Raritan Landing was a different place after the war. The idea of a community of equals seems to have been lost as a few men bought up large tracts of land and turned their talents to developing industry, mainly in New Brunswick. Historian Gordon Wood claims that once ties were severed with Britain and the post war depression was behind them, Americans wanted, above all else, to make money. If you were white and male, the possibilities for economic gain seemed infinite. There was no limit to what ingenuity and a good work ethic could produce. Patents for devices in metallurgy, chemical processes, hydraulic implements, machine tools, and household conveniences proliferated. Banks provided the resources and ordinary men provided the ideas. Some got rich, some went bankrupt, and many became something they had not been before: farmers founded factories, sailors built steamboats, shoemakers became manufacturers, and Doctor Jayne in Philadelphia stopped practicing medicine to open the city’s first drugstore. Everyone consumed more, which some historians think is what drove the economy.⁴

In this period of experimentation, men in New Brunswick seem to have behaved as men behaved elsewhere. They founded banks, incorporated the Raritan Navigation Company to improve navigation, and spent years plan-



8.3

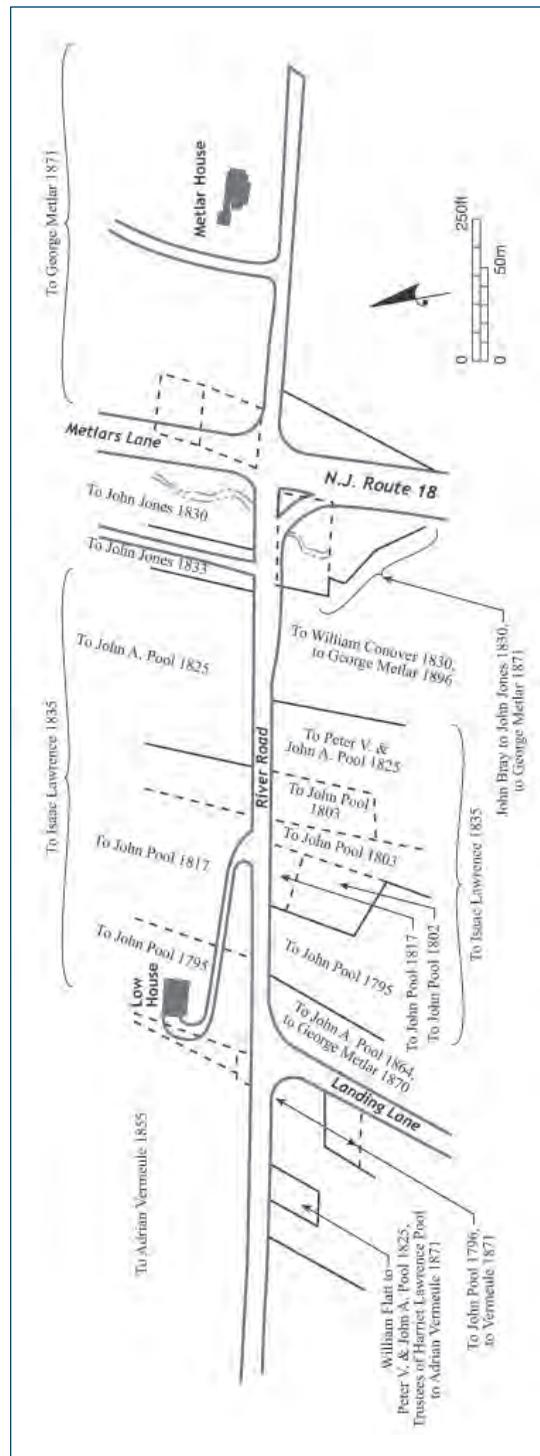
ning a canal to link the Raritan with the Delaware. They invested in steamboats, railroads, and turnpikes and encouraged manufacturing. In 1819 the New Brunswick Association for Encouraging Domestic Manufacture was founded and by 1822 a cotton factory, including a dyeing plant, was in operation. There was an iron and brass castings factory by 1821 and a large pottery that made tile, earthenware, and black teapots by 1822. Sawmills, tanneries, gristmills, and distilleries were the chief industries in the early 1830s, but by 1836 the New Brunswick Manufacturing Company (a kind of reborn Association for Encouraging Domestic Manufacture) was empowered to acquire land and water-power rights along the finally built (but unsuccessful) canal to engage in the manufacture of cotton, wool, flax, hemp, silk, iron, and copper products. James Neilson's sawmill was the first industry to use the water power, but by 1838 there was a "manufactory of Paper Hangings" (wallpaper) along the canal and the city's first rubber goods factory soon after (Figures 8.3 and 8.4).⁵ The enlargement of the canal in 1854, however, diminished the supply of water for power and factories had to convert, at least partially, to steam. Ultimately, New Brunswick's "industrial revolution" didn't last beyond the end of the nineteenth century.



8.4

The "revolution," however, didn't happen at all at Raritan Landing. In fact, the men (John Bray, Thomas Letson, John Duyckinck) who might have developed industry at the Landing invested in New Brunswick instead. Others simply continued the kind of trade that had thrived before the war. In the early decades of the nineteenth century, at least, agricultural produce continued to flow into the Landing, and as long as the demand lasted traders continued to warehouse goods for export and transport imports upriver for distribution. When the demand for New Jersey's produce declined—in great part due to the cheaper products coming via canal from the west—Raritan Landing's "reason to be" disappeared and it is no wonder that the well-to-do men who had combined small properties into large ones dismantled the warehouses in favor of converting the land to pasture. Raritan Landing did not go out of business because it was bypassed by the canal and the railroad. It went out of business because it never entered the industrial age.

To a great extent, Vermeule's picture of Raritan Landing before the Revolutionary War as a small, thriving river port has been borne out by the archaeological evidence. The warehouse foundations uncovered along the south



side of River Road suggest the scale of the eighteenth-century community and the houses on the high ground attest to its early prominence. What Vermeule didn't take into account were the overall changes in society after the war, and especially after the Constitution was signed. Raritan Landing did not attempt the industrial developments that were tried in New Brunswick. The Landing never had a very large population and although we don't know how many enslaved Africans worked on the docks, they may have constituted a good portion of the labor force but worked elsewhere (on Dutch farms in the country?) after the war. The decision to build the canal on the New Brunswick side of the river ensured that New Brunswick got an infusion of workers, many of whom were Irish and were from New York. Although New Brunswick lost population during various economic downturns (it was described as full of empty houses and stores in 1817 and again in the 1820s), it seems to have attracted enough workers when there was work to be had.

New Brunswick's cadre of investors may not have been hugely successful as industrialists, but they had smartly not put all their eggs in one basket. James Neilson, for instance, still called himself a farmer in 1855. By 1841 he

8.5

owned about 250 acres, representing 16 different purchases, and employed a fulltime man to run the operation. He grew many different kinds of grapes for wine and had apple, peach, and eventually cherry orchards, using the scientific methods of the time. He also raised stock, some coming from "Dr. Pool and others in the vicinity of New Brunswick." Pool lived at Raritan Landing and along with his brother owned a large tract of land where they apparently grazed sheep. His father-in-law, Isaac Lawrence, had acquired most of the land that made up the center of the Raritan Landing community by 1835 (Figure 8.5) and it was probably he and his son-in-law, John A. Pool, who initially dismantled the buildings in order to convert the land into pasture. Lawrence and the Pool brothers also owned land on the New Brunswick side of the river, but that land was adjacent to the canal and was valuable for its industrial potential.⁶

The fact that industrial developments were never even attempted at Raritan Landing is what has made the site so valuable archaeologically. There are no intact remains of warehouses or wharves associated with eighteenth-century trade in New Brunswick. They were destroyed by the construction of the canal adjacent to the river where they had stood. Others were probably



8.6

ignored in the fervor of developing factories along the canal that used it for water power. The nineteenth-century buildings that were built along the canal are gone too, sacrificed to a mid-twentieth-century highway along the riverbank and the construction of Johnson and Johnson's international headquarters in the 1980s.

We have our Brigadoon on the other side of the river because the buried remains of the "Raritan Landing That Was" are still there (Figure 8.6). The buildings were abandoned and dismantled when they were no longer needed, but their foundations and the artifacts that go with them still lie where they were discarded. Even the foundations that were uncovered in 2000 are still there, buried beneath the new roadside berm. Raritan Landing endures through its archaeology. Its history is better understood after 30 years of investigating it, but there is more to learn, a job for a new generation of archaeologists and historians with new questions and insights. I wish you well. ∞

Epilogue: The Seventies

by David Zmoda

Hundreds of individuals, from volunteers and college students to seasoned professionals, have contributed to painting a picture of the once bustling port of Raritan Landing. In previous chapters, the place and its residents—Evert Duyckinck, Peter Bodine, William Letson, John Jones, and many others—have come into focus, but it has taken many years and many minds to bring this long-forgotten community to life. The story of Raritan Landing was 30 years in the making, or, more accurately, 300. When the New Jersey Department of Transportation (NJDOT) first began archaeological testing for a proposed extension of Route 18 in 1979, the road ended at a series of untopped bridge piers in the Raritan River (Figure E-1). The artifacts recovered by the Rutgers Archaeological Survey Office (RASO) the year before were still being analyzed and the NJDOT archaeologists invited the RASO team



out to examine what they had found in the path of the proposed road. Much to everyone's wonder, a cluster of 23 musket balls lay just inches below the grass within a space about the size of a garbage can lid (Figure E-2). With the discovery of this site (identified years later as Lot 20) and four equally



impressive ones, Rebecca Yamin and I began to realize the enormous extent of the archaeological remains at Raritan Landing. What we didn't realize, however, was that we would be involved with Raritan Landing for the rest of our professional careers.

Through all this time, Vermeule's map reconstruction of Raritan

Landing, published in 1936, was a guide to what might be left buried in the ground. Vermeule wasn't always accurate, though. Buildings he thought were there in the 1700s were really built in the 1800s and some areas he thought were vacant were filled with structures. As is often the case, archaeology provides a different picture of a place than written history and it provides insights into the daily lives of people who are completely absent from the written record. Except for Vermeule's account, Raritan Landing had been historically ignored until we began to rediscover it in the 1970s.

For many of us, the 1970s marked significant milestones in our lives. I graduated from high school and college in the 70s, and I became an archaeologist. Three-hundred years earlier—in the 1670s—Piscataway Township was in its infancy, having been founded in 1666. The Proprietors of New Jersey divided the land along the Raritan River into lots in those 70s and Benjamin Hull purchased the lot that, within a few decades, was settled by Adolphus Hardenbrook and eventually became known as Raritan Landing. In the 1770s, when Raritan Landing was at its commercial peak, the village was occupied by British and Hessian forces bent on crushing the revolutionary ideas of the American colonists, Raritan Landing residents among them. In the process, Raritan Landing suffered a good deal of destruction as the occupying forces helped themselves to supplies and burned whatever they could to keep warm through the long winter. Fences, outbuildings, barns,

E.2

and even houses, appeared to substitute for cordwood, or were just maliciously burned. Many local inhabitants fled from the village, and some apparently never returned to their homes, or what was left of them.

Those that did return resumed lives as traders, but the community never regained its former prominence. By the 1870s, wealthy new investors had consolidated the smaller lots into farms; they tore down the remaining structures, and grazed cattle and sheep where homes, shops, and warehouses once stood. Above ground, Raritan Landing was visually erased from the landscape. In the 1970s, growing environmental awareness, and the Federal regulations that came with it, required that archaeological testing be conducted before certain sewer or highway projects could be built. When NJDOT archaeologist Susan Ferguson turned a shovelful of eighteenth-century ceramics into her sifting screen, she unknowingly gave birth to New Jersey's most long lasting historical archaeology project. Over two dozen individual sites and properties have been excavated in whole or in part over



E.3

the last 30 years and the historical research that has gone with it has made a large contribution to understanding a part of New Jersey's past that is too often omitted—its role in trade, especially before the Revolutionary War.

But what now? The artifacts have all been counted, the reports written, and the highway built (Figure E-3). What will the 2070s bring to Raritan Landing? There is no doubt that today's highways will, in time, become as obsolete as those before them. Much of Raritan Landing still survives below the lawns of Johnson Park and under the pavement of Route 18 and River Road. Will future highway projects, in the name of progress, require the same environmental scrutiny and the excavation of other sites, or will changing attitudes towards the past mean that the sites will be bulldozed unnoticed? The full study of Raritan Landing is no less important than that of Williamsburg or Jamestown, or any other place where important events occurred in the past. Through future excavations, research, and more in-depth analysis of existing artifact collections, Raritan Landing has many more stories to tell; not only of Presidents (George Washington celebrated the Nation's second Fourth of July there), but of common men and women; merchants, shopkeepers, coopers, bakers, blacksmiths, and farmers; the free, the indentured, and the enslaved. The more that is uncovered and analyzed the more possible it will be to paint a complete picture of the Raritan Landing community. Although Raritan Landing is gone from view, this work will keep it alive forever. ∞

Figure Captions

- P-1 Vermeule map reconstruction of Raritan Landing. (adapted from Vermeule 1936:196)
- 1.1 Detail, USGS New Brunswick, NJ, Quadrangle, 2000.
- 1.2 The Low House and ongoing excavation, 2000.
- 1.3 1930 aerial photograph labeled "Raritan Landing." (from Rutgers Archaeological Survey Office [RASO]) files; New Jersey Department of Transportation)
- 1.4 Cornelius C. Vermeule.
- 2.1 Dick Regensberg supervising Rebecca Yamin as she laid out the baseline in 1978. (from RASO files; New Jersey Department of Transportation)
- 2.2 RASO personnel directing the backhoe's initial trench on the down-river side of the intersection.
- 2.3 Delft tile fragment identical to the fireplace surround tiles in the Low House.
- 2.4 Georgius II Rex coin, reverse-seated, dated 1753.
- 2.5 Plan view showing backhoe trenches and foundation fragments found in 1978 on the east side of the intersection of Landing Lane and River Road.
- 2.6 Warehouse wall foundation exposed in Trench 4, 1978. (from RASO files)
- 2.7 Profile drawing showing occupation layers below the shale fill dumped on the west side of the intersection of Landing Lane and River Road during construction of the football stadium in the 1930s. (RASO)
- 2.8 GPR antenna being dragged across the site. (RASO)
- 2.9 The excavation corridor once the fill had been mechanically removed. (RASO)
- 2.10 Dave Zmoda, left, holding prism and Mark Clymer "shooting in" a feature with the laser transit. (RASO)
- 2.11 Overhead photography system—the "bipod." (RASO)
- 2.12 Photograph of Building B foundation. (RASO)
- 2.13 Building C foundation. (RASO)

- 2.14 Page from Janeway and Broughton account book. (Special Collections, Alexander Library, Rutgers University)
- 2.15 Building C including foundation uncovered in 1979 and foundation uncovered in 2000 plus other features found by URS archaeology team. (adapted from Janowitz, Marston, and Morin 2005)
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- 3.3 Tin-glazed plate decorated with Chinese sacred symbols around the border and a central floral motif found on the Hardenbrook site.
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- 3.6 Drawing of Duyckinck house foundation cut into the hillside. (Janowitz 2008: figure 10)
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- 3.8 Plan view drawing showing the relationship between Duyckinck's house, Hardenbrook's house, and the post-in-ground structure that was probably a window workshop. (Janowitz 2008: figure 18)
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- 4.7 Artifacts displayed for visiting school children.
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- 4.14 French flacons.
- 4.15 Globular glass decanters, one (right) from the nightsoil in the rectangular privy and the other (left) from the circular privy.

- 4.16 Sherds from early tin-glazed tablewares. *Top left*: burned rim sherd from a charger or large plate; *center and top right*: plate sherds; *bottom right*: bowl sherd with polychrome decoration; *bottom left*: majolica sherd. Found on the Bodine/Blair house and store site by URS in 2000.
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- 5.5 Regiment button marked "35," Haversack buckle, and escutcheon plate, Bray/Letson meadow site.
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- 6.1 Animal and human footprints impressed in the flood silt on the Bodine/Blair house and store site.
- 6.2 Complete dog skeleton found at the bottom of a pit on the Bodine/Blair site dating to after the Revolutionary War.
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- 6.5 Spade blade formed from two sheets of metal hammered together, an eighteenth-century manufacturing technique documented by Neumann and Kravic (1990).
- 6.6 New York style stoneware mug.
- 6.7 Stoneware jar made for Thomas Letson. (photograph courtesy Deborah Thoms, descendant of Thomas Letson)
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- 6.10 T.J. and J. Mayer maker's mark on plate imported by a St. Louis firm.
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- 6.12 Remains of Miles Smith mill. Courtesy of the New Brunswick Public Library.
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- 7.4 Photograph of house site showing JMA archaeologists working next to the escarpment.
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- 7.7 Utilitarian pottery sherds and a medicine bottle found on the cobble surface.

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- 7.15 Collar stud, belt and shoe buckles, pipe stems, a button, and a comb fragment from the Van Tine site.
- 7.16 Sketch-up visualization of the evolution of the Van Tine house done by Matt Harris.
- 8.1 Raritan Landing Networks, 1720-1739. (after Grossman 1982: figure VI. 4-1)
- 8.2 Raritan Landing Networks, 1740-1763. (after Grossman 1982: figure VI. 4-2)
- 8.3 Along the River in 1841, New Brunswick. (Regan 1996)
- 8.4. Photograph of wallpaper and other factories along the canal. (Special Collections, Alexander Library, Rutgers University)
- 8.5. Diagram showing land holdings of Pool and his father-in-law by 1835.
- 8.6 Portion of Raritan Landing within Johnson Park that has never been excavated.
- E-1 Supports for bridge in the Raritan River, 1972.
- E-2 Musket balls found by NJDOT archaeologists.
- E-3 The completed interchange.

Notes

Prologue

1. Lucia McMahon and Deborah Schriver, editors, *To Read My Heart, The Journal of Rachel Van Dyke, 1810-1811* (2000).
2. Cornelius C. Vermeule, "Raritan Landing That Was: The History of a River Port from 1675 to 1875.: *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, Vol. 54, No. 2, 1936, pp. 79-115 and 196-205.
3. Yamin 1988, 1998.
4. Richard Porter conducted the historical research for "Ground-Penetrating Radar Survey of Raritan Landing: Archeological Findings, Documentary Evidence, and Data Recovery Options," Joel Grossman, Principal Investigator (1978) and he co-wrote the National Register nomination. Porter also did the research for the Hunter Research, Inc., "Historical and Archeological Assessment of the Low House, Piscataway Township, Middlesex County, NJ" (1990), and conducted research and co-wrote several of the reports produced by the Rutgers University Center for Public Archaeology in 1995 (Porter, Cavallo, and Hartwick [February] 1995 and Howson, Bianchi, and Porter [August] 1995).
5. David Zmoda's written contributions include "Archaeological Investigations at the Letson Site" (n.d.) and "An Archeological Survey for the Route 18 Extension, Piscataway Township, Middlesex County, New Jersey (1985). He also co-wrote the addendum to the Raritan Landing National Register nomination.

Chapter 1. An Invisible Place

1. Charlene Mires (2002) explores public memory in her book about Independence Hall in Philadelphia.
2. Many scholars have noted the lack of attention to New Jersey as an entity unto itself. James Levitt, for instance, began his dissertation by saying, "Relatively little has been written about New Jersey as a colony and much of what has been produced has been the result of studies of surrounding colonies which have integrated into their development something of New Jersey's past (Levitt 1973:1). In *The Economy of British America, 1607-1789*, John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard (1985:87) characterize East Jersey as "belonging to New York" in an economic sense and West Jersey as "belonging to Philadelphia."
3. Peter O. Wacker (1996) discusses New Jersey's trade with the Caribbean in an article on Colonial and early National trade. Yamin's (1988:71) dissertation includes the quote from a newspaper advertisement for a property at Raritan Landing.
4. Wacker (1996:56) includes the quotes from Peter Kalm and a discussion of the letters between John Watts and James Neilson. The description of the New Brunswick facilities is on p. 65.
5. Section 106 of the The National Historic Preservation Act, first passed in 1966,

stipulates that construction projects on federal land, using federal funds or assistance, or requiring federal permits, take into account historic and archaeological resources that might be impacted by the work. Various amendments, regulations, and executive orders define the steps necessary to achieve this end.

6. Kardas and Larrabee 1975:18.
7. Ferguson 1977.
8. Biographical information on Vermeule was taken from Hartwick and Cavallo (1997:28). Vermeule mentions the lumps of coral on p. 100 of his 1936 article and the dilapidated buildings on p. 115.
9. Vermeule (1936) refers to “childhood memories” on p. 114. Rebecca Yamin studied Vermeule’s notes for her dissertation. At that time they were in a cardboard box. They have since been incorporated into the collection under different headings. His colorful description of the Landing appears on p. 100 of the 1936 article.
10. Vermeule 1936:115.

Chapter 2. Finding Foundations

1. The early work is described in “Ground Penetrating Radar Survey of Raritan Landing: Archaeological Findings, Documentary Evidence, and Data Recovery Options,” Joel W. Grossman, Principal Investigator (1978). Rebecca Yamin was a member of the field crew. Williams’s contact at the EPA was John Vetter, also a product of NYU’s graduate program. Williams, Vetter, and Yamin had studied with and been influenced by Bert Salwen, who was an early proponent and framer of the legislation that guides cultural resource management.
2. Grossman (1978:V-3) knew that Bruce Bevan and Jeff Kenyon used GPR at the Stenton Mansion in the Nicetown section of Philadelphia as part of the architectural planning for a barn that had once stood on the property and he turned to Bevan for advice at Raritan Landing.
3. Porter, Cavallo, and Hartwick 1995:35.
4. Quoted in Porter, Cavallo, and Hartwick 1995:14.
5. Janowitz, Marston, and Morin 2005.
6. The geochemical analysis of the soil samples was done by Dr. William Chadwick at JMA (John Milner Associates, Inc.). His results appear in Appendix E of the Ziesing et al. (2005) report. Chadwick compared the level of copper (556 ppm) and cadmium (.0629 ppm to 0.0157 ppm) at Raritan Landing with samples from elsewhere in the Raritan Valley and found that the levels of both were much higher at the Landing than would be expected. According to Chadwick, the primary source for copper in New Jersey is intrusive igneous bodies, but there are none immediately associated with Raritan Landing. Cadmium occurs in small quantities, usually less than 0.2 ppm within igneous rock bodies, the only naturally occurring source being volcanic activity. Chadwick concluded that the elevated levels could have been caused by the processing of copper ore.
7. Fuller 1993:6-13; Tunis 1965:76-80.

8. Weiss and Weiss 1963:30-31; Woodward 1944:77.
9. Hunter et al. 2003:3-9; Weiss and Weiss 1963:31.
10. Mulholland 1981:46

Chapter 3. New Yorkers on the High Ground

1. In his book, *The Musconetung Valley of New Jersey* (1968:42), Peter Wacker argues that land hunger drove Dutchmen from other colonies farther and farther into the interior, including the Raritan Valley. Patricia Bonomi (1971:56) mentions the equal importance of commerce and agriculture.
2. The Hardenbrook ceramics mentioned here came from AU (analytical unit) IA and AU IC, described in “Route 18 Section 2A Extension Project, Technical Report No. 5, Hardenbrook/Duyckinck/Van Ranst Property,” by Meta Janowitz for URS Corporation (2008). The ceramic descriptions were compared to the ceramics found at the Van Lidth de Jeude site in the Netherlands, as reported by Michiel H. Bartels in “The Van Lidth de Jeude Family and the Waste from Their Privy” (2005).
3. The information on Dutch diet came from Bartels’ (2005) article on the Van Lidth de Jeude Family.
4. Otto (1984:47) notes that at Cannon Point in Georgia fish supplied more “wild flesh” than hunting, but the slaves there both fished and hunted. There were remains of opossums, raccoons, rabbits, wood rats, and mink as well as sturgeon, long nosed gar, catfish, sheepshead, silvery perch, spotted sea trout, kingfish, Atlantic croaker, two kinds of drum, and flounder. Evidence of wild foods has been found elsewhere in the south in association with slave cabins on plantations (e.g., Wheaton and Garrow [1985] in South Carolina) although excavations at slave quarters in Massachusetts produced “exclusively domestic or market species” (Chan [2007:190] quoting Newman and Landon who did the faunal analysis). Yentsch (1994:203) cites European travelers who claimed that Guinea fowl and a variety of birds were the basic source of meat in West Africa. According to DeCorse (2001:104), who studied Elmina in present day Ghana, a “mixed reliance on domesticated and wild resources” was characteristic of West African subsistence all the way back to the Iron Age.
5. Yentsch (1994:193) discusses beads as magical and “emblematic of a cultural identity in a hetero-cultural society.” They might distinguish the parents of boy twins from girl twins or from single births. “Jewelry and body scarification,” she says, “helped separate one sex from another, older from younger, marked rites of passage, and told of special talents in life and death.” LaRoche’s (1994:17) analysis of the girdle of beads found at the African Burial Ground in New York suggests they were related to fertility and also possibly used to ward off evil.
6. Mary C. Beaudry, *Findings, The Material Culture of Needlework and Sewing* (2006), p. 158.
7. Grace H. Ziesing and Rebecca Yamin, “Archaeological Investigations at the Joseph Reade Property” (2009).

8. Howson, Bianchi, and Porter 1995:45.
9. Spiritual caches are discussed in Merrifield (1987), Leone and Frye (1999), Leone (2005), and Fennell (2007). Concealed bottles, however, are not always spiritual. In a recent paper, Matthew Reeves (2009), the chief archaeologist at Montpelier in Virginia, described bottles with broken necks found in two opposing cellar niches at Montpelier. A careful analysis of their context made it more likely that the niches, which turned out to be a pass-through between the secure cellar and the outer cellar, were more likely an example of resistance to being excluded from the secure cellar than related to symbolic activity.
10. Chapter 2 of "Historical and Archaeological Assessment of the Low House" prepared by Hunter Research, Inc. (1990) includes the overview of the Lows' arrival at Raritan Landing and the nature of their business.
11. Vermeule 1947:2; Hunter Research, Inc., 1995.
12. When I was doing research for my dissertation the archivist at the New York Historical Society asked if I wanted to look at an account book from "somewhere in New Jersey." Much to my surprise (and delight) it was from New Brunswick and Raritan Landing. It is cataloged as belonging to Francis Brasier (1759-1764), although it is not clear why he was associated with it.
13. The classic work by Emory R. Johnson, T.W. Van Metre, G.G. Huebner, and D.S. Hanchett (1915) lists flour and biscuit ahead of beef, pork, bacon, and horses as "regularly shipped" to Great Britain and "largely" to the West Indies. The statistics are quoted from Shepherd and Walton (1972:98).
14. The excavation was done by the Rutgers University Center for Public Archaeology and Hunter Research, Inc.. It was reported jointly by Porter, Hartwick, Madrigal, Burrow, and Liebeknecht (1994).
15. Vermeule 1936:99. The South Branch store journal belonged to Peter Dumont (1768, [1779]-1788).

Chapter 4. The Traders in the Flats

1. Howson, Bianchi, and Porter 1995:52.
2. The controversy is discussed in detail in the *Somerset County Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 3 (1914), Nos. 3 and 4. Led by Peter Dumont, Simon Wyckoff, and Hendrick Vroom, a group of disgruntled members of Frelinghuysen's congregation complained that their pastor "did not teach correct doctrines, in that he taught that no one in the congregation had exhibited true sorrow for sin; that they had eaten judgment to themselves at the Lord's table; that they were un-renewed; and also that he had refused baptism of a child" (p. 174). One of their specific complaints against the minister was "That you had not invited the wife of Pieter Bodyn, because, as you said, she was of the Claas Haagman's people; notwithstanding the protestations of the woman." Frelinghuysen answered, "That he in face of all her professions knew that she belonged to that people, but from ignorance that she had been against him, and had humbled herself therefore, subsequently became quite as malignant as

- before" (p. 181). Frelinghuysen survived the attacks, although both he and the complainants were scolded for "mistakes" made (pp. 243-244).
3. Bodine (and others at Raritan Landing) were what historian Jacob Price (1974) calls "secondary traders." He defines them as "wholesalers, who, in addition to performing functions for farmers and planters, also acted as wholesale suppliers to the primary traders, taking their agricultural purchases in return" (1974:138). The primary traders were the "country storekeepers who bought goods produced by the agricultural sector and supplied farmers and planters with most of the manufactured and foreign goods they required." Price's work and its relevance to Raritan Landing is discussed at greater length in Chapter III of Yamin's 1988 dissertation. Hagavours or Hagawout Mill was on land originally owned by Joseph Reade in Middlebrook although by 1735 it may have belonged to Janeway himself. According to an article about Martinsville (Maas 1975:90), Reade agreed in 1731 "to let John Hagawout have his mill in Somerset County...and John Hagawout promises to grind...and pack 10,000 bushels of wheat for Joseph Reade, owing said term as rent, and Joseph Reade agrees that John Hagawout shall have the use of his negro man, Dick, for the said term, and if Dick should die, to supply him with another in Dick's place."
4. The ad appeared in *New Jersey Archives, Newspaper Extracts*, Vol. XII, p. 374. The description of the lottery is quoted in Yamin (1988:75).
5. William Kelso found root cellars at Kingsmill (Kelso 1984), Monticello (Kelso 1997), and Carter's Grove (personal communication 1990) in Virginia. Richard Kimmel (1993:107) has suggested the pits were dug to obtain clay for "filling the hearth." He cites documentary evidence for the practice dating to 1850. Anne Yentsch (1992:3-4) reported the subfloor pits in Bonny in a short note in the *African-American Archaeology Newsletter*.
6. Vermeule (1936:199) claimed that the "Lottery House" stood on the lot that was ultimately combined with the small house lot. The name "Lottery House" refers to Bodine's lottery, but there is no evidence for a house standing here in the eighteenth century. A review of historic maps does not show a house on the property until 1876 (Howson, Bianchi, and Porter 1995) and that house was located to the west of the foundation that was uncovered. A large domed cistern, or perhaps a water closet, had been installed at the southern intersection of the eastern and western portions of the warehouse foundation. It was probably built in the nineteenth century when the house was built, possibly by the Metlar family who are identified as owners of the property on the 1876 Everts and Stewart map of Piscataway Township. Practically no eighteenth-century archaeological material was recovered from this lot.
7. The idea that people use things to express a distinct identity on a community rather than just on an individual level has been explored by a number of scholars and is included in the literature as "boundary maintenance theory." In 1979 Ian Hodder made the point that people who have identical economies and are in competition for the same resources tend to stress material cultural dichotomies (Yamin 1989:53).

Basic to his and others' work was the idea that artifacts have a recursive role in culture, that they do not "passively reflect society" but participate in its creation. When I wrote my dissertation on Raritan Landing I used this theory as a way of explaining the distinct patterns I saw in the ceramics recovered there. Raritan Landing residents chose ceramics that set them apart from the New Yorkers on whom they had become less dependent. It was a way to tell themselves, as well as others, that they were different and to reinforce their desire to be different.

8. A matching globular decanter was found in the circular privy suggesting that the features were filled by the same household. Like the house on the property down the road, this house, too, may have been upgraded by the second generation of the same family.
9. Information from typed manuscript, 1905, supplied by the Metlar/Bodine House.
10. Grossman 1982:19-21.
11. In an article that compares an eighteenth-century tavern assemblage with an assemblage from a contemporaneous household, Kathleen Bragdon (1988:90) characterizes the tavern assemblage as having a large number of vessels, many of them for drinking. In the case of the Wellfleet Tavern in Massachusetts, a high percentage of the vessels were made of local slip-decorated redware suggesting that "cheap but decorative vessels were purposely supplied for the use of discriminating but sometimes careless customers" (Bragdon 1988:90). While the slip-decorated vessels recovered on the Bodine/Blair property were not locally made, they were inexpensive and decorative and included at least two of the vessel types that Bragdon thought were common to tavern assemblages: posset pots and cups.
12. Peter Dumont, "Journal Accounts of General Store, Sawmill, and Gristmill, South Branch, New Jersey" (1768, [1779]-1778).
13. Inventory of the Goods belonging to the Estate of Jane Blair, Dec'd on December 28, 1784 (New Jersey Wills 6703-6707L).
14. Scott D. Stull, "Route 18 Section 2A Extension Project. Technical Report No. 2, The Jacob Flatt Property" (2002).
15. Benedict 1925:7.
16. Stull (2004) speculates that the house was rented between the time Johanna left in the 1740s and its sale.

Chapter 5. The Coming of the Revolutionary War

1. Johann Ewald's letters to Jeanette Van Horne are included in the appendix to *Diary of the American War: A Hessian Journal*, edited and translated by Joseph P. Tustin (1979).
2. Walter Meuly (1976:92) discusses the events leading up to the Revolutionary War in Chapter VI of his book, *History of Piscataway Township, 1666-1976*.
3. "New Jersey in the American Revolution, 1763-1783: A Documentary History" is an on-line resource published by the New Jersey Historical Commission. Edited by Larry R. Gerlach, it consists of a compilation of primary sources relating to the

American Revolution in New Jersey. The page may be accessed through the New Jersey State Library.

4. Meuly 1976:100; Tustin 1979:51; Boyle 1997:114.
5. Revolutionary War losses, copied from the original manuscripts, New Jersey State Archives, Trenton. Copies on file, John Milner Associates, West Chester, PA.
6. Letter transcribed by Cornelius C. Vermeule from the *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, June 5, 1777. Contained in the Papers of Cornelius C. Vermeule in the Special Collections, Alexander Library, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey.
7. Meuly 1976:102.
8. Tustin 1979:24; Webster 1828.
9. "Ensign [Thomas] Glyn's Journal on the American Service with the Detachment of 1,000 Men of the Guards Commanded by Brigadier Mathew in 1776" by Thomas Glyn (1776-1777).
10. The test units and structure shown in Figure 4.10 were excavated by John Milner Associates in 2000. The site was originally located and reported 20 years earlier by the New Jersey Department of Transportation (Springsted et al. 1980:77). The technical report on the more recent excavation is by Yamin, Parker, and Tobias (2002) and is on file with the collection at East Jersey Olde Towne.
11. Chapter 18 of *Small Arms of the British Forces in America, 1664-1815* by Bailey De Witt (2009:269-272) describes the requirements for maintenance of arms in the field and Appendix IV of the book includes six descriptions of the armourer's tools. Particularly relevant to Raritan Landing and referenced here is the list of armourer's tools "for the army and the navy, being sent to America, October 1778."
12. These finds are described in "A Cultural Resource Survey and Archaeological Data Recovery Completed in Connection with the Route 18 Extension and Interim Improvements Project, Piscataway Township, Middlesex County, New Jersey" by Carolyn L. Hartwick and John A. Cavallo (1997). Two more 35th Regiment buttons were found on the the Hardenbrook/Duyckinck/Van Ranst site on the high ground to the west.
13. Richard McCormick (1964:133) describes the arrival of the 35th in America in his book, *New Jersey From Colony to State, 1609-1789*. Wade Catts's (2004:4) unpublished research on the 35th includes information on other regiments that were also present at Raritan Landing during the winter of 1777.
14. A book edited by J.F. Tyler (1952:136) includes Captain Dowdeswell's description; Hunter's (1894:24-26) recollections are in his published journal.
15. The letters to Bernardus Legrange were transcribed from A. Digital Archive of New Jersey History, Bernardus Legrange folder, Rutgers University Special Collections and University Archives, on line.
16. Howson, Bianchi, and Porter (1995) cited Revolutionary War cards and secondary sources regarding Washington and Duyckinck. Vermeule (1947) is the source for where Duyckinck served. Vermeule did not believe Duyckinck deserted, but rather "his untrained troops panicked and deserted him." McNichol et al. (2009) found a notice addressed to the creditors of John Duyckinck, Senior, of the City of New

Brunswick, in *Greenleaf's New York Journal and Patriotic Register*, January 8, 1794, which absolved two gentlemen of New Jersey, John Crommelin and Jacob Ten Eyk, of their agreement to help Duyckinck deal with his creditors, of which there were apparently many.

17. Grossman 1982: Vol. 3.
18. General information about the encampment site was taken from Veit, Wiencek, and Martin (2005) and from Veit and Wiencek's (n.d.) manuscript "Where We Spent A Very Disagreeable Winter": Searching for a British Encampment from 1777 at Raritan Landing." Land Pattern Musket identification from Hanson and Hsu (1975:68); brass scabbard holder from Neumann and Kravic (1990:35) and Starbuck (1994).
19. Veit and Wiencek n.d.:15.
20. The quote from Cuthbertson (1768) comes from pages 48-50. Veit and Wiencek (n.d.), quoting Fischer (2004:40), speculate that Cuthbertson's manual may have been the most widely read manual of the period.
21. Veit and Wiencek (n.d.:17) quoting military historian John U. Rees (1999:2).
22. McCormick 1964:147
23. Meuly 1976:105
24. An article in the journal *New York History*, edited by Marian Brophy and Wendell Tripp (1979) includes quotes from the correspondence between Bray and Charles Stewart, the Commissary of Issues. Direct quotes are from pp. 270 and 277.
25. The references to Bray are found in *Certificates and Receipts of Revolutionary New Jersey*, edited by Dorothy A. Stratford and Thomas B. Wilson (1996), pp. 56, 88, and 89.

Chapter 6. After the Revolution

1. This scenario is based on Jane Blair's damage claim which appears in its entirety in Appendix E of "Route 18 Section 2A Extension Project, Technical Report No. 4, The Bodine/Blair House and Store" by Meta Janowitz, Jennifer Marston, and Edward Morin (2005), and on her will. The Janowitz, Marston, and Morin report discusses the will on pp. 4-5.
2. A thin layer of flood silt was identified during the RASO excavation and again by URS immediately below the gravel fill. A British Third Guard uniform button pressed into the silt indicated that the stratum post-dated the British occupation and probably the war (Janowitz, Marston, and Morin 2005:40).
3. The historical information comes from Janowitz, Marston, and Morin (2005).
4. Drawing on what he calls the "enormous mass of family [Neilson] papers in the Rutgers University Library," Thompson (1940:13-15) discusses the post-Revolutionary War conditions for trade in New Brunswick as well as subsequent developments.
5. Vermeule 1936:114.
6. Information on the Landing Lane site was taken from the data recovery report on

the Landing Lane East Property by Richard F. Veit, John W. Martin, Mark C. Brosnan, and Johnette E. Davies (2010).

7. Vermeule 1924:114. Vermeule also discusses the Pool's role at the Landing in the early decades of the nineteenth century in his 1936 article.
8. *The Centinel of Freedom*, Vol. XXI, Issue 31, p. 2, March 15, 1817.
9. Hartwick and Cavallo 1997; Springsted et al. 1980.
10. McNichol et al. 2009.
11. Janowitz et al. 2005.
12. Quoted in McNichol et al. (2009:96).
13. Thompson 1940:20.
14. See Thompson (1940), Chapter 7, for the history of the canal effort in New Brunswick. John Pool's sons, Peter V. and John A. Pool, bought No. 12 Water Street from William Forman, who was married to Eleanor Pool, in 1811. John A. Pool bought 8-10 Water Street in 1833, and the brothers together sold 8-10 and 12 to Isaac Lawrence in 1835. Lawrence, who was John A.'s father-in-law, also bought the Pools' holdings at Raritan Landing including the house that had once belonged to Cornelius Low. Water Street ran parallel to the river on the New Brunswick side and ultimately bordered the canal.

Chapter 7. The Great Road Up Raritan

1. The Peter Dumont store journal (1768, [1779]-1788) resides in the Special Collections of the Alexander Library at Rutgers University in New Brunswick.
2. Ziesing and Yamin 2009.
3. Bray's property in New Brunswick is discussed in Chapter 8 of *Once Upon a Time in New Brunswick*, by Rebecca Yamin et al. (2006).
4. Daniel Bray claimed losses due to the "Enemies" including "damage sustained on Buildings," two garden fences, three tons of English hay, 250 bushels of wheat, 45 hides, one eight-day clock, a very good pleasure sleigh, the "Valuable Part of his House Hold Furniture," and "150 [illegible] fence down to the Raritan River."
5. Ziesing et al. 2005.
6. Vermeule 1936:198; Benedict 1918:142; Middlesex County, New Jersey, Board of Chosen Freeholders Minutes 1795-1829.
7. Yamin, Ziesing, and Harris 2009
8. Bragdon (1988) characterized a mid-eighteenth century tavern assemblage by comparing Eckhold and Deetz's study of the Wellfleet Tavern in Massachusetts with an assemblage from a contemporaneous mid-eighteenth-century household. Rockman [Wall] and Rothschild (1984) looked at four taverns on a continuum from New York City to Wellfleet with Jamestown and the J. Earthy Tavern in Pemaquid, Maine, in between.
9. John Chenoweth's (2006) approach was developed for his study of an eighteenth-century tavern assemblage recovered on the Constitution Center site in Philadelphia.

10. Ann Hillyer (n.d.) tavern records.
11. James J. deWaal Malefyt, Gabriel LeBoyteaulx (1652-1734) of La Rochelle, France, New York City, and Piscataway, New Jersey (1998).
12. Yamin, Ziesing, and Harris 2009: Chapter 4.

Chapter 8. Raritan Landing—Lost and Found

1. In his book, *Slavery and Freedom in the Rural North*, which uses data from Monmouth County, New Jersey, Graham Hodges (1997) compares the number of slaves listed on the tax rateables for 1751 in Monmouth and Middlesex Counties. There were 262 male slaves and 194 single white males without property in Monmouth and 281 male slaves and 81 free white laborers in Middlesex (Hodges 1997:47). The numbers suggest that more people depended on slave labor in Middlesex than in Monmouth, which may or may not have been the case. Unfortunately no comparable study to Hodges' has been done for Middlesex County and we only have occasional references to slaves at Raritan Landing. Hodges does quote a man (William Dunlap) who recollected that in his childhood in Revolutionary Perth Amboy, "every house in my native place where any servants were to be seen, swarmed with black slaves" (Hodges 1997:49). The presence of "swarms" of slaves in the nearby port of Perth Amboy strongly suggests the possibility that there would have been many slaves at the port of Raritan Landing and also in New Brunswick. The runaway ad for "Mr. Low's Cato" in 1763 described him as "an extremely handy fellow at any common work, especially with horses and carriages of almost any sort, having been bred to it from a little boy, and to the loading and unloading of boats."
2. Yamin 1988:412. Historians in this period generally argued that East Jersey (with its official entryport at Perth Amboy) was dominated by New York City and West Jersey (with its official entryport at Burlington) was dominated by Philadelphia.
3. McConville 1999. As a discussant at the symposium on Raritan Landing convened by NJDOT's four consulting firms at the annual meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology in 2003, David Cohen pointed out the relevance of McConville's book to understanding East Jersey's relationship with the elite proprietors. Direct quotes from McConville, in the order of their appearance, come from pages 48, 49, 28, and 58.
4. In *The Radicalism of the American Revolution*, Gordon Wood (1991) traces the American proclivity for hard work and making money to before the Revolutionary War. Joyce Appleby (2000:63) characterizes the period after the revolution as "ebullient" giving the number of patents as just one example.
5. The information on New Brunswick was taken from Thompson (1940), Chapter 9: "Beginnings of Manufacturing in New Brunswick."
6. John Pool began to acquire lots at Raritan Landing in the 1790s. By his death in 1825, he owned the former Low, Dumont, Duyckinck/Van Ranst, and Letson properties on the north side of River Road and the Blair and Bodine properties on the south side of the road. At his death in 1825, the properties went to his two sons,

Peter V. Pool and John A. Pool. Peter V. took over the business and lived in the house on what had been the Low property, and the brothers continued to accumulate land including the former Flatt and Letson properties on the south side of the road. In 1835, John A. Pool's father-in-law, Isaac Lawrence, assumed ownership of all the Pool holdings and at his death in 1839, the properties went to a trustee of Harriet Lawrence Pool, John A. Pool's wife. Harriet and her husband, John, had taken over the house from his brother very soon after her father acquired the property. John was a graduate of Queens College (eventually Rutgers) and a physician by training. During their tenure in the house, it was no longer a center of mercantile activities, but he continued to acquire land including the strip along the east side of Landing Lane that had belonged to John Bray. The year after John A. Pool's death in 1869, that land and the house where he and Harriet had lived were sold to George Metlar. Metlar acquired much of the land to the east of the intersection on both sides of the road in the 1870s while Adrian Vermeule, Cornelius C. Vermeule's father, acquired the land to the west of the intersection. These transactions are detailed in the Howson, Bianchi, and Porter (1995) report. See Hunter Research, Inc. (1990), for the sequence of residents in the Low house.

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