

**ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA RECOVERY  
EXCAVATIONS AND MONITORING  
NEW JERSEY ROUTE 29  
CITY OF TRENTON  
MERCER COUNTY, NEW JERSEY**

**VOLUME II**

**LAMBERT/DOUGLAS PLANTATION  
AND ROSEY HILL MANSION SITE**

**PREPARED FOR:**

**NEW JERSEY DEPARTMENT  
OF TRANSPORTATION**

**FEDERAL HIGHWAY ADMINISTRATION**

**PREPARED BY:**

**HUNTER RESEARCH, INC.**

**NOVEMBER 2011**





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EXCAVATIONS AND MONITORING  
NEW JERSEY ROUTE 29  
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**VOLUME II**

**HISTORIC SITES**

**LAMBERT/DOUGLAS PLANTATION  
AND ROSEY HILL MANSION SITE [28ME273]**

*Prepared for:*

**FEDERAL HIGHWAY ADMINISTRATION  
NEW JERSEY DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION**

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## MANAGEMENT SUMMARY

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This document - the second volume in a five-volume series of technical reports on archaeological research conducted along New Jersey State Route 29 (N.J. Route 29) in South Trenton - focuses chiefly on the results of historical research and archaeological excavation at the 18th- and 19th-century Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site [28Me273]. This site subsequently became part of the large iron and steel working complex (first, the rolling mills of the Trenton Iron Company and, later, the works of the American Bridge Company) that dominated this part of Trenton from the late 1840s until the mid-1970s. The property that forms the subject of this report lies within the northern portion of the 1.25-mile-long project alignment for the recently completed reconstruction of N.J. Route 29, some 1,500 feet south of the U.S. Route 1 crossing of the Delaware River.

The archaeological data recovery work reported on here was initiated on the basis of earlier survey-level studies that identified both prehistoric and historical archaeological resources at this location. The Rosey Hill Mansion, demolished in 1980, had previously been recognized as the much-altered early 19th-century home of John B. Sartori, the first papal consul to the United States, while 18th-century artifacts had also been recovered in several phases of subsurface testing studies in this immediate vicinity. The prehistoric resources found at this site are documented in Volume I of this report series.

Once data recovery operations began it became apparent that there was a highly significant 18th-century component to the site in addition to the anticipated prehistoric resources. The main feature proved to be a previously unknown house site located less than 100 feet to the north of the Rosey Hill Mansion, comprising an infilled cellar hole and a number of related surrounding features, including refuse pits and yard and midden deposits. The foundation of the Rosey Hill Mansion was also investigated in an effort to clarify its history and development.

Detailed historical research undertaken as part of this project shows that this area formed part of a large property originally held jointly by several prominent northern English Quakers who took up land for settlement purposes at the Falls of the Delaware in the late 1670s and early 1680s. By the early 1700s one of these families, the Lamberts, was in residence on the immediate project site. The original house on the site may have been built for John Lambert, son of the settler, Thomas Lambert I, and brother of Thomas Lambert II, who shortly afterwards bought out his brother's share of the estate.

The subsequent history of the project area from the early 18th century through to the end of the 20th century is presented in this report in some detail. This research has highlighted the radical changes in the landscape resulting from the Revolutionary War conflict and from later economic and social developments, of which the creation of an industrial landscape in the 1830s and 1840s, after the construction of what later became known as the Trenton Water Power, represented an especially radical transformation that continued, with several episodes of rebuilding, up until the late 1970s. Research has, however, also drawn renewed attention to the distinctive

## MANAGEMENT SUMMARY (CONTINUED)

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federal-era landscape of country estates, of which Rosey Hill was one, along this section of the Delaware River. These estates attracted a number of cosmopolitan and foreign-born individuals, among them John B. Sartori, and for a generation or so the area had an aura of exotic gentility that is hard to imagine today. Both Sartori and his immediate predecessor on the site, Nicholas Fresneye, included among their accomplishments the operation of a factory that was producing pasta for sale in Philadelphia (and apparently also the Caribbean), where this Italian staple was just becoming known.

In the first half of the 18th century the river frontage from the mouth of Assunpink Creek southwards saw steady development related to commerce both on the river and in Philadelphia and New York. Immediately north of the project area was the main ferry crossing to Pennsylvania, which seems to have been operating by at least 1714. The ferry landing became a focus of commercial activity, and the clusters of buildings, including a tavern, which developed on Ferry Street and immediately to the south became known as Trenton Ferry. To the south of the project area the mouth of the small stream later known as Douglas Gut, which ran through the Lambert property, was dammed to create a pond for the holding of fish, particularly sturgeon, before they were preserved for export. Still further south, wharves, warehouses and other facilities began to be developed, making use of the deeper water and steeper riverbank in the area that became known as Trenton Landing and then as Lambert. These port facilities are discussed more fully in Volume III of this report series.

In 1744 the Lambert property at Trenton Ferry was acquired by John Douglas(s), a Nottingham Township resident who made his living as a “boatman” on the river. After owning what is here termed the plantation for more than 20 years, Douglas advertised the property to satisfy debts, describing it as “fit for any gentleman’s seat.” This marketing emphasis on gentility and the attractions of the property from an aesthetic standpoint (while not ignoring its commercial potential) marked a new direction for the plantation. Ultimately the subject of a sheriff’s sale in 1769, the Douglas property was purchased by Robert Lettis Hooper II, scion of a prominent New Jersey family of lawyers, jurists and politicians. Hooper, owner at the time of the neighboring Trent House property, may indeed have viewed his acquisition as a potential country seat, but his motives were likely speculative as in the following year he sold the Douglas property as part of the larger 442-acre Trenton Ferry tract to Daniel Coxe V, arguably Trenton’s wealthiest citizen.

Daniel Coxe’s Loyalist leanings led to his losing his Trenton properties, including the Trenton Ferry tract, in 1779, but not before many of his buildings had been destroyed or badly damaged during the Revolutionary War turmoil of December 1776. The “Douglas Farm,” as it was referred to by Coxe in his post-war damage claims to the British government, was among the Coxe holdings that suffered damage during their brief period of Hessian occupation. The property passed through several ownerships after the Revolutionary War, and acquired the name “Spring Brook Farm” in the 1780s. The farm is delineated in some detail on a military route

## MANAGEMENT SUMMARY (CONTINUED)

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map produced for the French army in 1781-82, where two buildings are shown. One is almost certainly the structure that sat atop the early 18th-century house foundation; the other may be a stable or barn, or possibly a second house on the site of the later Rosey Hill Mansion.

From the 1790s until the early 1830s the former Lambert/Douglas plantation was occupied by a succession of wealthy, mostly foreign-born and well-connected individuals with Philadelphia associations, and it is believed that a more commodious and modern house had been built on the property by this time to replace the almost century-old Lambert/Douglas House. While historical data suggest that the original house was badly damaged in December 1776, archaeological evidence indicates that it may not have been finally demolished until the late 1780s. The newer house was most likely built in the late 1780s or early 1790s.

The archaeological evidence from the Lambert/Douglas House site was of outstanding quality. The mica schist basement walls had been heavily robbed before the basement was infilled, but sufficient evidence remained to demonstrate that the house was approximately 25 feet north-south by 22 feet east-west in internal dimensions. It had a chimney stack on its eastern wall, and a basement entrance on the south wall, and the building probably faced south and downriver. There may also have been a second basement entrance on the western wall, giving access from inside a probable adjoining kitchen wing. The basement was divided into two unequal parts by an east-west wall. The smaller area to the north of the wall was originally used as a cold storage area, and the southern space was probably the dairy.

Well-preserved stratigraphy in the floors enabled three phases of use of the building to be identified. Consistent dates of 1701 on a series of window leads indicate that the building was erected in the very early years of the 18th century. For about the next 60 years the building seems to have been largely unaltered, although a second floor level was laid down in the basement. In the late 1760s, modifications were made to the dividing wall, possibly to create more storage space and shelving. This corresponds to an intensification in the use of the basement (for processing of shad and sturgeon), and seems to reflect a general increase in commercial activity along this part of the river.

Comparisons with architecturally and archaeologically documented early houses in the Delaware Valley indicate that the Lambert/Douglas House falls within the middle of the size range of these buildings. Principal houses of major landowners in the Trenton area are somewhat larger than this house, but the many dwellings were also substantially smaller. This size accords well with the deduction that it was built for the younger brother of Thomas Lambert II.

Again, using records of documented buildings, a reconstructed elevation and ground plan of the house have been attempted. The evidence suggests that the house had at least two and possibly three rooms on the first floor, in addition to the hypothesized kitchen wing. Only one room (the hall or main room) appears to have

## MANAGEMENT SUMMARY (CONTINUED)

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been heated within the main section of the house. It is thought that a large kitchen fireplace would have been located in the kitchen wing, but removal of stratigraphy from this area has destroyed evidence for the chimney. It seems most likely that the main section of the house had two stories, probably with a gable roof. Archaeological evidence confirms that the house had casement windows when first built.

Artifacts from the latest floor included pearlware, suggesting that the house remained in use after the Revolution. After a fire that left a layer of charcoal on the floor, the building was torn down and materials from the surrounding area were used to fill in the cellar hole. This deposit contained in excess of 25,000 18th-century artifacts of which the latest closely datable item is a New Jersey cent of 1787.

Analysis of this assemblage and comparison with other broadly contemporary Delaware Valley sites supports the evidence from the architectural and historical data that this house and its owners and tenants were modestly affluent, justifying the use of the term “plantation” to describe the property. The inscribed names or initials of three individuals were found on glass and pewter items (Rebecca Hart, George McCall and probably Edmund Beakes). Each of these individuals belonged to families in the landowning and merchant class of the Delaware Valley. A small number of items also hint at the presence of enslaved Africans in the house. Ceramics recovered from the site include a number of vessels which subsequent work has confirmed to be products of local Trenton stoneware potter James Rhodes, who was active at two nearby kiln sites between 1774 and 1784.

Investigations around the house identified a general yard midden deposit and a series of pits and other features of 18th- and early 19th-century date. The approximate location of the Delaware River shoreline was marked by a series of midden deposits.

Investigations in and around the Rosey Hill Mansion foundation, which lay about 75 feet south of the Lambert/Douglas House, were aimed at elucidating the date of construction and development of the building. Documentation prior to demolition in 1980 had suggested that the existing 50 by 40-foot mica schist foundation was not the original structure on the site. This foundation had itself been extended several times in the 19th century. Although previous historical accounts had assumed that John B. Sartori had built the Rosey Hill Mansion after he acquired the property in 1804, the historical research for this project suggests that there was certainly a building here by at least 1800.

This earlier structure may have been built in the late 1780s or early 1790s, or perhaps even as early as the 1770s, and later extended or rebuilt. Photographs taken of the building prior to its demolition appear to show a five-bay wide, three-bay deep, south-facing federal-style house encased within the larger, later structure. This could well be the structure erected by one of the early federal owners of the property in the 1780s or 1790s. It is clear, however, that the larger 50 by 40-foot structure was not all of one “build” and probably incorporated parts of an earlier building. The ultimate expansion of the house to the 50 by 40-foot footprint (as a five-bay by five-



## MANAGEMENT SUMMARY (CONTINUED)

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bay, two-story structure) may have been effected either by Sartori, or perhaps more likely by the Trenton Iron Company in the late 1840s, when the building became the residence of Charles Hewitt, the newly appointed superintendent of the ironworks. Earlier 18th-century artifacts from around the house hint at the presence of a structure dating to well before 1800, and complexities in the basement foundation itself point in the same direction. Several configurations of this hypothesized earlier building are possible, but it is concluded that the presently available data are inconclusive in this respect. Since the bulk of the foundation still lies intact outside the reconfigured N.J. Route 29 right-of-way, additional investigations are still feasible.

During subsequent archaeological monitoring operations several additional historic features were found. Most notable of these was a rectangular stone-lined shaft that yielded more than 11,000 artifacts. Analysis of the ceramics, which made up more than a third of the assemblage, indicated that the bulk of the material dates to the 1800-1830 period, although the latest datable artifact is a glass flask manufactured no earlier than 1847. The ceramic assemblage is characterized by higher than normal quantities of Chinese export porcelain and transfer-printed pearlware in fine table and tea settings, and by a low percentage of the utilitarian redwares that dominate the 18th-century collections from the rest of the site. Glassware comprises almost 60 wine and beer bottles, and numerous locally produced tumblers and stemwares. High-quality imported decanters and other items, including two cobalt blue vessels possibly used in Roman Catholic worship at the house, were also recovered. The bulk of the remainder of the assemblage consisted of flat glass window fragments, many of them refuse from on-site trimming by glaziers. Pieces from several red earthenware sugar cone molds and lids were also found, which are considered to be evidence of late-stage processing of sugar, either for consumption on site or for resale in the marketplace, probably in Philadelphia and other towns in the region.

While certainty is impossible, it appears that much of this material represents the disposal of at least a portion of the fine china and glass of the Sartori household in a single episode in late 1847. Sartori left the property in 1832 and returned to Italy, and the ceramics and glassware must have remained somewhere on the property for another 15 years until they were disposed of in the early years of the Trenton Iron Company's use of the Rosey Hill mansion as the Superintendent's residence. It is likely that the house was extended around 1847 for residential and office use by the owners of the company, and this would explain the date of the latest artifacts, the presence of the window glass, and the infilling of the pit, which lies immediately to the rear of an extension to the house shown on several mid-19th-century maps.

Other features found during the monitoring include the steatite stone foundations of the Trenton Iron Company chain drying building, the footings of other small outbuildings, and the well for the Lambert/Douglas House. The latter appears to have been filled in about 1840, roughly contemporary with the filling of the stone-lined "Sartori" pit. Also documented in this report are several features recorded in nearby excavation areas, notably 19th-century box privies (at the Lexington and Cass Street Sites) and a barrel privy and post settings (at the Chain Shop Site). The dates of these latter features at the Chain Shop Site are unclear, but they may be part

## MANAGEMENT SUMMARY (CONTINUED)

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of the Lambert/Douglas plantation complex, or possibly evidence of earlier activity associated with Contact Period material that was found in limited quantity at both the Lambert/Douglas House Site and at the Chain Shop location.

The story of the site after Sartori's departure is one of transformation from a semi-rural pastoral estate into a landscape of the Industrial Revolution. The construction of the Trenton Delaware Falls Company's water power in the early 1830s enabled industrial operations of some scale to be established in the immediate vicinity. This little-studied water power system, and the individuals involved in its creation, is treated in detail for the first time in this report. After a short period in which textile manufacturing was established, iron (and later steel) manufacturing came to dominate the project area from late 1845 onwards. The Rosey Hill Mansion became first a superintendent's residence and then the company offices for the increasingly large iron and steel operation surrounding it. This industrial landscape prevailed until the late 1970s, when virtually all the buildings relating to it were demolished to make way for a complex of office buildings, Waterfront Stadium, a parking deck and the new alignment of N.J. Route 29.

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The final section of the last chapter of this report sets out opportunities for additional research identified during the investigations of the Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site. Further historical research is recommended for several topics, including: the early settlement at the Falls of the Delaware *circa* 1638-1714; the increase in economic activity seen after about 1750; and Revolutionary War landscape alteration and land transfers. There are also numerous opportunities for additional research on the artifact assemblages, including more extensive inter-site comparisons; specialized study of early 18th-century windows, certain ceramic types, glass (local and imported) and gaming pieces; and further analysis of the faunal material with a view to identifying foodways and market practices. Research on aspects of the architecture of the site could usefully address the English and American architectural origins and affinities of the houses of the Yorkshire Quakers of West Jersey. More specifically, the evidence for probable cold storage use of the basement of the Lambert/Douglas house could be tested experimentally. If the opportunity arises, further investigation of the Rosey Hill Mansion basement foundation is recommended to clarify the history and development of this still baffling structure. Finally, two aspects of the 19th-century industrial landscape are identified for further work: broader contextual study of the Trenton Water Power is recommended; and on-site commemoration of the nationally significant iron and steel complex, a now all-but forgotten historical element in the landscape of recreation, office space and transportation that has replaced it.

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Numerous public agencies, organizations, private companies and individuals have been involved in the multi-faceted archaeological research carried out in connection with the reconstruction of N.J. Route 29 in South Trenton and Lambertton. A comprehensive listing of participants in all aspects of the archaeological work is given below, followed by a more focused acknowledgment of individuals involved in the preparation of this volume. These archaeological investigations were funded by the Federal Highway Administration and the State of New Jersey in compliance with federal and state law.

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS (CONTINUED)

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS (CONTINUED)

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*Beta Analytic, Inc.* [Radiocarbon Dating]

*Geochron Laboratories* [Radiocarbon Dating]

*J.M.S. Co., Inc.* [Photography and Video Production]

*T. Cregg Madrigal*, Ph.D., Rutgers University [Faunal Analysis]

*Gary McGowan*, Cultural Preservation and Restoration, Inc. [Materials Conservation]

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS (CONTINUED)

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*Paleo Research Laboratories* [Phytolith, Macrofloral and Protein Residue Analyses]

*Eleanora A. Reber*, Harvard University [Ceramic Residue Analysis]

*R. Michael Stewart*, Ph.D., Temple University [Prehistoric Ceramic Analysis and Prehistoric Synthesis]

*Wilson Creative Marketing* [Public Outreach and Graphic Design]

### **Design-Build Contractor**

The design-build contractor for the N.J. Route 29 project was the joint venture firm of PKF/NCI (also referred to as PKF Mark III Contractors) of Newtown, Pennsylvania. We wish to acknowledge the support of Glenn Schwartz (Vice-President), Donald A. Brecht (Project Manager) and several of their on-site staff and subcontractors for assistance in handling archaeological issues at short notice and, in particular, for making earthmoving and other equipment available for archaeological purposes during the early stages of construction.

\* \* \* \* \*

In every respect, the completion of Volume II in this five-volume series of technical reports has been a team effort involving substantive contributions throughout all levels of the Hunter Research corporate structure. We have also benefited immensely from ongoing interdisciplinary cross-fertilization among archaeologists, historians, architectural historians and material culture specialists, not only within the company, but also among many of our professional colleagues in academe, government and the world of cultural resource management consultancy. We offer profound thanks to everyone involved and trust that this document does this complex and important archaeological site justice.

The preparation of Volume II has been led by six individuals at the Principal Investigator level: Ian Burrow, Richard Hunter, William Liebeknecht, Damon Tvaryanas, George Cress and James Lee, all of Hunter Research, Inc. Ian Burrow, who managed the bulk of the fieldwork effort for the N.J. Route 29 project, coordinated the report production, and wrote and edited substantial sections of this volume, including virtually all of Chapters 1 and 4 and, with George Cress, the greater part of Chapter 3. Richard Hunter undertook final editing of the text and wrote those sections of Chapter 2 that deal with the period from *circa* 1830 onward. William Liebeknecht, besides directing substantial portions of the fieldwork and overseeing the laboratory processing and cataloging of cultural materials, wrote the material culture sections of Chapter 3 and provided important input into Chapter 4. Damon Tvaryanas, who directed the historical and archival studies performed for the N.J. Route 29 project, wrote the greater part of Chapter 2 and supplied valuable input into Chapters 3 and 4. George Cress directed



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS (CONTINUED)

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much of the fieldwork, wrote and commented on sections of Chapter 3 of the report in draft, and assembled many of the field graphics. James Lee coordinated the editing, formatting, integration of graphics and final production of this volume.

Several other senior project staff at Hunter Research made major contributions to this volume. First and foremost, the extraordinary efforts of Michael Murphy and Rebecca White should be singled out for recognition. Michael Murphy assisted in the generation of tabular and other data from the artifact catalog for use in this volume and he prepared many of the graphics (notably the reproductions of historic maps). His research on John Baptist (Giovanni Battista) Sartori, which formed the basis for a paper delivered to the Society for American Archaeology annual symposium in 2000, was valuable in the preparation of Chapter 2. By far his greatest contribution, however, was in photographing the artifacts for inclusion in this volume, an enormous and complex task requiring great concentration and attention to detail. Similar qualities characterize the multifaceted participation of Rebecca White, who besides cataloging the bulk of the historic artifacts (an activity represented primarily in Volume IV of this series), organized and mended critical items for writing purposes and analyzed the fish scales.

No less appreciated for their skills and participation in the report production process are: Janel Bisacchino, who valiantly maintained computer hardware and software systems throughout the long-drawn-out period of writing and graphics production, and oversaw the creation of tabular artifact and stratigraphic data for use in this volume; Nadine Sergejeff and James Cox, who assisted in compiling historical and bibliographic materials for use in Chapter 2; Vivian Braubitz, Matthew Owens and Greg Tyndall, who all helped to assemble field data and wrote sections of Chapter 3 in draft; Catherine Smyrski and Frank Dunsmore, who prepared the vast array of CAD graphics; Katie Rettinger, who reworked several of the graphics using Adobe Illustrator; and Douglas Scott, who edited and reformatted several of the tables. Lindsay Lee, Graphic Specialist, under the direction of Richard Hunter and James Lee, formatted and produced this volume.

Among the subconsultants deployed on the project, three in particular participated directly in the historical archaeological research: Cregg Madrigal undertook detailed analysis of faunal materials from the Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site (his report is included in Volume V of this series, but the results of this work inform key aspects of this volume); Gary McGowan of Cultural Preservation and Restoration, Inc., conserved several critical artifacts, thereby greatly assisting the material culture analysis presented here; and Robert Wiencek of Gannett Fleming opened up the window leads and performed conservation of selected small finds.

Among our professional colleagues who showed their interest in and gave their support to our study of the Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site, we wish to single out: Richard Porter, whose historical research and writing in the 1980s and early 1990s on the subject of the Lamberton and South Trenton

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS (CONTINUED)

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waterfront underpins much of the material covered in Chapter 2; the staffs of the New Jersey State Archives, the Trenton Public Library and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania for seemingly endless research assistance over several years; the Reverend Monsignor Joseph C. Shenrock and James Francis O'Neill, Jr., who assisted our research into Giovanni Battista Sartori; Shirley Albright, Assistant Curator, Bureau of Natural History, New Jersey State Museum for assistance with shell identification; and Roger Moeller for assistance with seed identification. For various and multiple assistance with the analyses of artifacts, we also wish to acknowledge George Miller and Meta Janowitz (material culture specialists at URS) and Amy Earls (ceramics expert). In the later stages of our work, as we labored to interpret the architectural evidence intelligently, several colleagues gave us the benefit of their superior knowledge about building types in the Delaware Valley, notably Charles Hopkins Ashton, Constance Greiff, Bernard Herman, Edward Morin, Richard Veit and Clifford Zink. Finally, to the Principals' ever-tolerant wives, Cathe Burrow and Nancy Hunter, who both acceded graciously to last-minute requests to mend ceramics and glassware, our special personal appreciation is offered.

Richard W. Hunter, Ph.D., R.P.A.  
Principal

# Chapter 1

## INTRODUCTION

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### A. PROJECT BACKGROUND

This is the second of five volumes that report on archaeological research undertaken along a 1.25-mile stretch of New Jersey State Highway Route 29 (N.J. Route 29) that has recently undergone reconstruction in the southern part of the City of Trenton in Mercer County, New Jersey. These reports describe and explain discoveries made on prehistoric, colonial and late 18th- through 20th-century archaeological sites excavated on the urbanized eastern bank of the Delaware River, close to the head-of-navigation and head-of-tide (Figures 1.1-1.5).

The focus of the current volume is a group of 18th- and 19th-century archaeological features referred to as the Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site, located towards the northern end of the project alignment. Investigations centered on the sites of two closely interrelated houses and their associated landscape: one, the residence that formed the nucleus of the Lambert/Douglas plantation, an early 18th-century house that was torn down shortly before 1800; and the other, the Rosey Hill mansion, a pre-Revolutionary Georgian dwelling that underwent at least one rebuilding and several expansions, before finally being demolished in 1980. Together, these two sites are formally referred to here as the Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site; for ease of reference, a shorter version of this nomenclature, the “Lambert/Douglas and Rosey Hill Site,” is also widely used in the pages that follow. While much of the archaeological activity focused on the house sites themselves, numerous other features of interest were also studied, both on site and in the documentary record. Among these was a remarkable sealed assemblage of artifacts dating predominantly from the 1820s

and 1830s, most of which is interpreted as deriving from the household of John B. Sartori, the first Papal Consul to the United States. Various remains relating to the Trenton Iron Company/New Jersey Steel and Iron Company/American Bridge Company/U.S. Steel industrial complex and several other 18th- and 19th-century outlying features are also discussed.

All work was performed under Agreement Number 98PM44 (and four related contract modifications) between Hunter Research, Inc. and the New Jersey Department of Transportation (NJDOT). The full-time staff of Hunter Research supplied the majority of the expertise in historical and archival research, archaeological excavation and monitoring, stratigraphic analysis, artifact cataloging, report production and public outreach. Working as subcontractors to Hunter Research in providing these services were: Gannett Fleming, Inc. (archaeological excavation, monitoring, field cataloging of artifacts and prehistoric lithic analysis); Dr. R. Michael Stewart (prehistoric ceramic analysis and regional prehistoric synthesis); Dr. T. Cregg Madrigal (faunal analysis); Cultural Preservation and Restoration, Inc. (artifact conservation); Paleo Research Laboratories (paleobotanical analysis); and several other specialist consultants and vendors (see Volume V and the acknowledgments at the beginning of this volume).

The archaeological work fulfilled the responsibilities of the Federal Highway Administration (FHWA) and NJDOT under Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1996 (as amended), Section 4(f) of the Department of Transportation Act of 1966 and Section 101(b)(4) of the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969. These laws and related regulations (chiefly 36 CFR Part 800) mandate that FHWA



Figure 1.1. General Location of Project Area (starred).

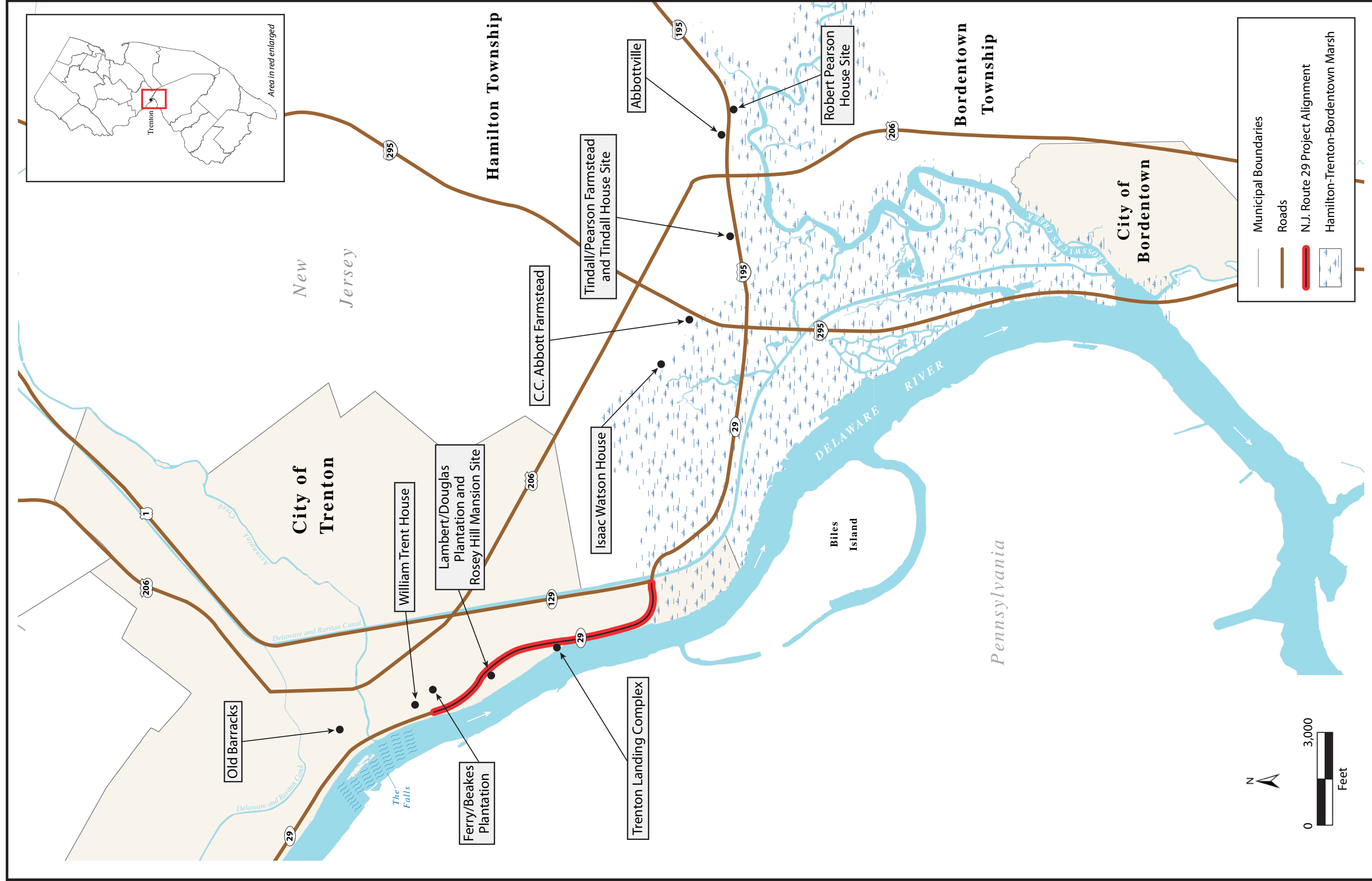


Figure 1.2. Regional Setting of Project Area Showing the Locations of Key Historic and Historic Archaeological Sites Investigated.



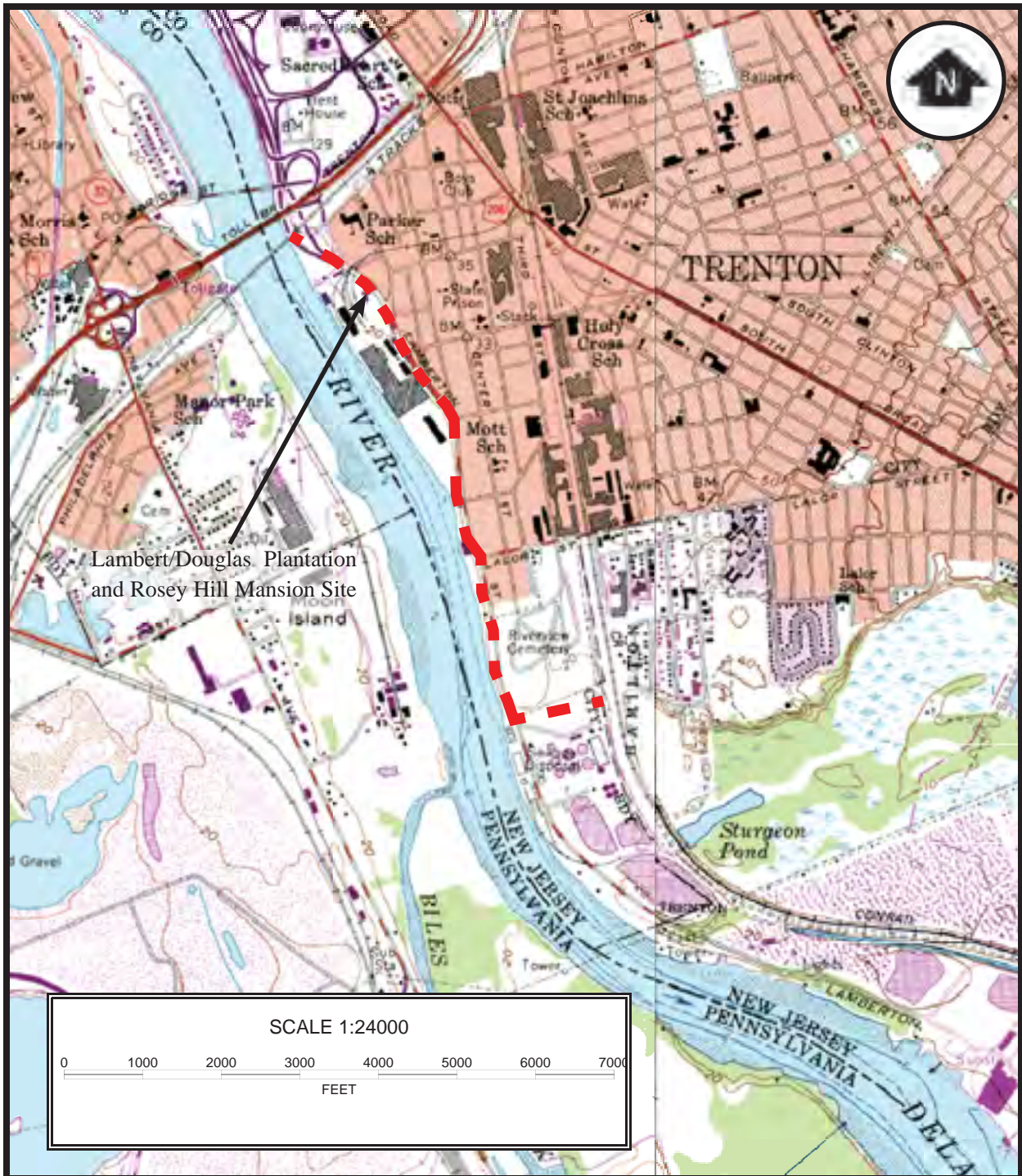


Figure 1.3. Detailed Location of Project Area. The location of the Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site is indicated toward the northern end of the N.J. Route 29 project alignment (shown as dashed line).

and NJDOT address the adverse effects the highway project may have on archaeological properties listed on or eligible for the National Register of Historic Places.

The federally funded undertaking that engendered this work was the reconstruction of the highway that now connects N.J. Route 29 north of U.S. Route 1 in the City of Trenton with N.J. Route 129 and Interstate Routes 195 and 295 in Hamilton Township. The project entailed the following components: the expansion and realignment of the pre-existing section of N.J. Route 29 south of U.S. Route 1 to Cass Street from two lanes to four; the construction of an entirely new segment of four-lane highway between Cass Street and N.J. Route 129, including the building of a tunnel along the riverbank between Landing Street and Riverview Cemetery; the construction of a connector road between Lamberton Street and Center Street along the north side of Riverview Cemetery; and several associated intersection improvements. This new stretch of N.J. Route 29 – designed to ease traffic flow from the interstate highway network into and throughout the greater Trenton area – represented the final segment of the major regional interchange located southeast of the city and referred to as the Trenton Complex.

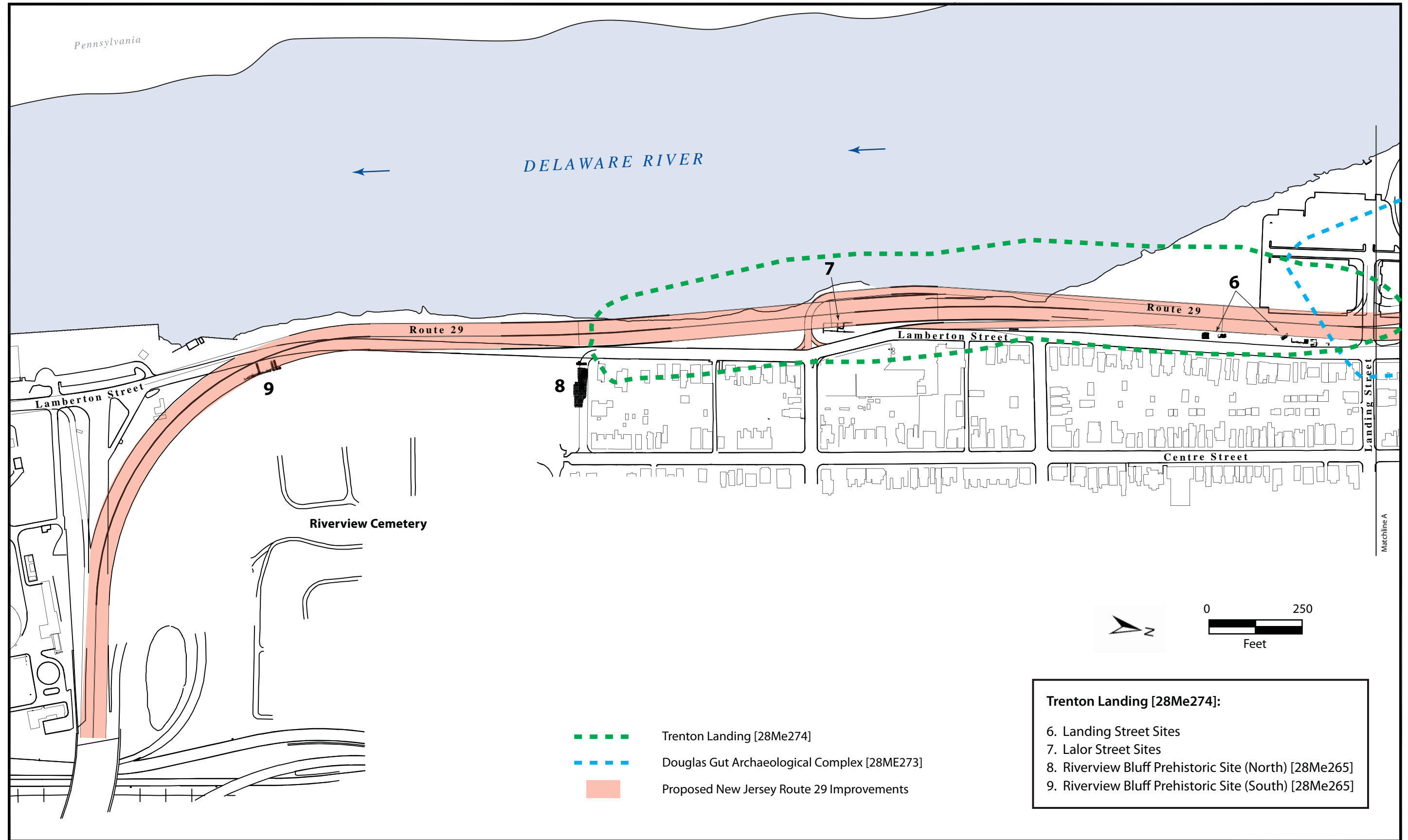
Extensive archaeological work preceded and accompanied construction of other portions of the Trenton Complex. Much of this work was concentrated along the bluffs and in the tidal marshlands immediately south and east of the present project area. Of particular relevance to the resources discussed in this volume were investigations at the Robert Pearson Farmstead [28Me104], the Abbottville Farmstead [28Me103], the Tindall/Pearson Farmstead [28Me106], the C.C. Abbott Farmstead [28Me 105] and the Tindall House foundation (Foss 1986; Louis Berger & Associates, Inc. 1998).

In January 1997 the results of several years of preliminary identification and evaluation of archaeological resources along the N.J. Route 29 project alignment, conducted by various agencies and consultants, were pulled together in a final evaluation study (Hunter Research, Inc. 1997a). This study tabulated information from 43 individual resources or related clusters of resources along the N.J. Route 29 corridor (Hunter Research, Inc. 1997a:Table 13.1). Based on the findings of that report, a Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) was drawn up in accordance with 36 CFR Part 800.6 and finalized on May 8, 1997 (Volume V, Appendix A). The agreement, between FHWA, NJDOT, the New Jersey Historic Preservation Office (NJHPO) and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (ACHP), specified that archaeological work was to be undertaken prior to and during the construction of the new highway. This document formed the basis for a detailed work plan and research design produced by Hunter Research, Inc. in August 1997 (1997b) and for archaeological specifications included under the Special Provisions (Section 108.13) of the design-build contract for the highway construction.

The final archaeological plan developed under the MOA called for a combination of data recovery prior to construction and monitoring during construction. Formal archaeological data recovery excavations were to be conducted in advance of road construction in several specific locations where earlier survey work had identified significant archaeological remains that would be affected by the highway construction activity. Most of these sites lay towards the northern end of the alignment between the Amtrak railroad bridge and Landing Street, although there was also a second, smaller focus of excavation interest close to the southern end of the construction corridor around the periphery of Riverview Cemetery (Figures 1.4a and 1.4b).

In addition, there were numerous known and suspected archaeological resources along the alignment, the integrity, significance and even location of which





- Trenton Landing [28Me274]:**
- 6. Landing Street Sites
  - 7. Lalor Street Sites
  - 8. Riverview Bluff Prehistoric Site (North) [28Me265]
  - 9. Riverview Bluff Prehistoric Site (South) [28Me265]

- - - - Trenton Landing [28Me274]
- - - - Douglas Gut Archaeological Complex [28ME273]
- █ Proposed New Jersey Route 29 Improvements

Figure 1.4a. N.J. Route 29 Project Corridor (Northern Section) Showing Locations of Archaeological Investigations.



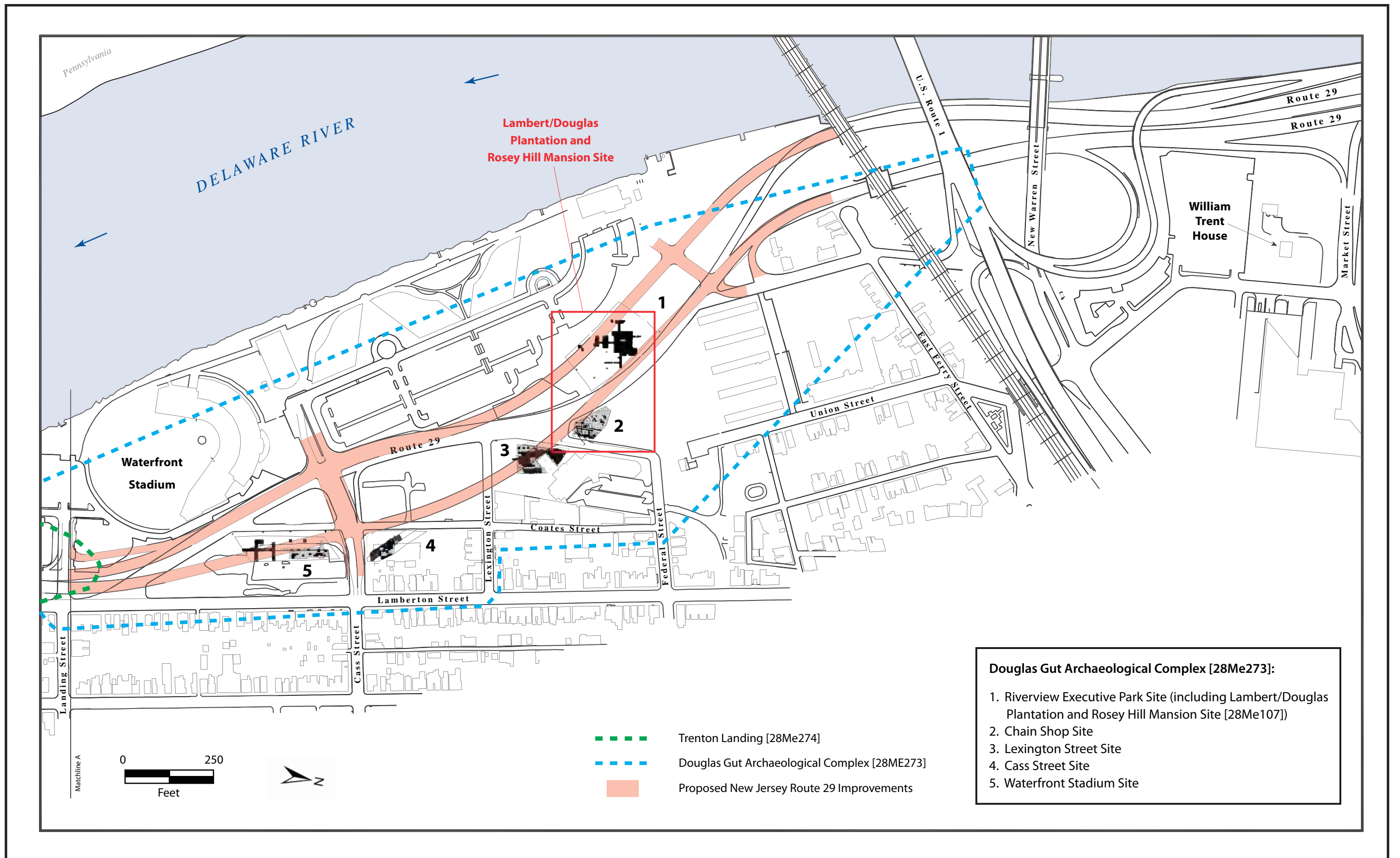


Figure 1.4b. N.J. Route 29 Project Corridor (Southern Section) Showing Locations of Archaeological Investigations.



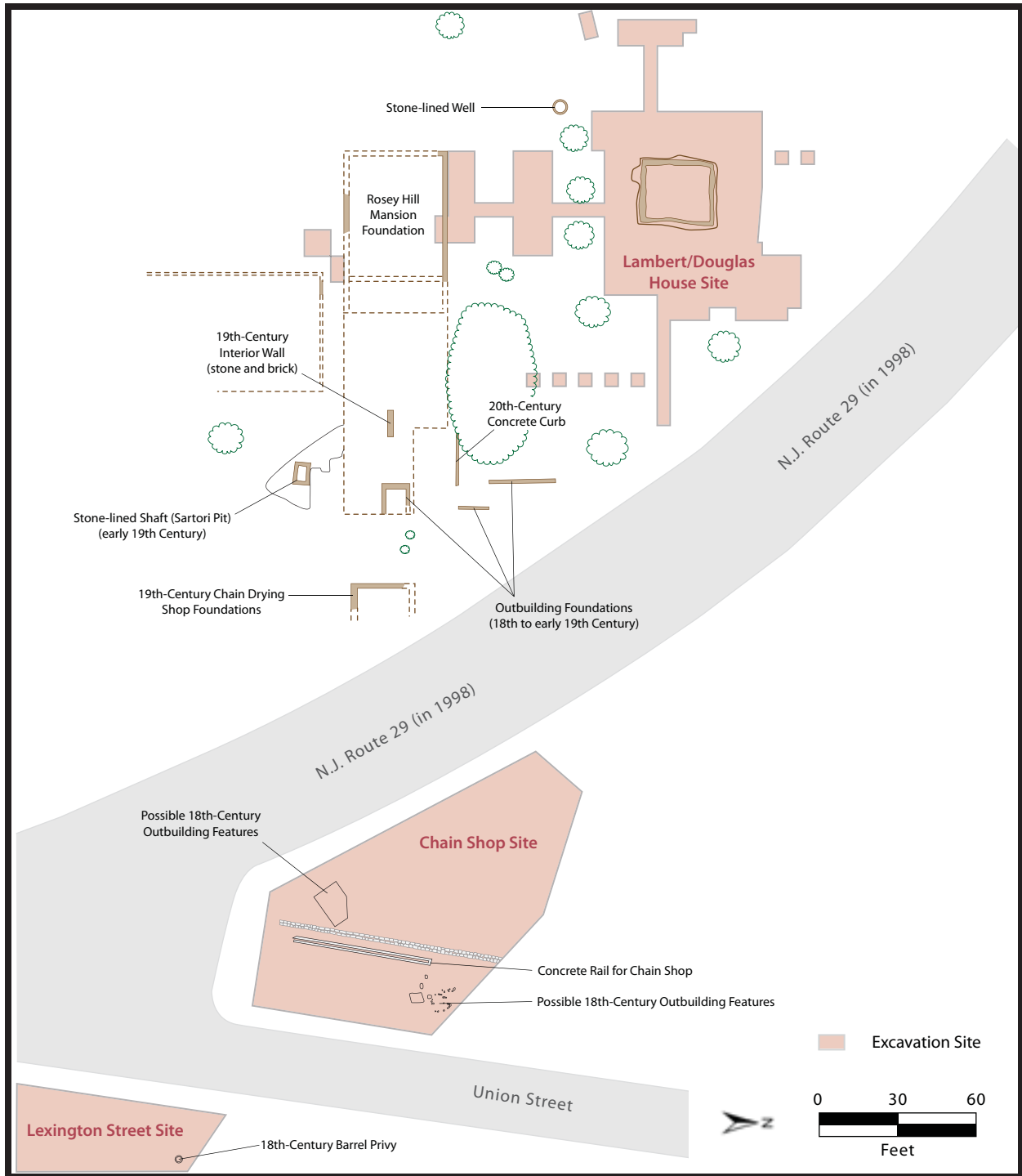


Figure 1.5. Pre-industrial and Industrial Features in the Vicinity of the Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site.

could not be established prior to construction owing to their being deeply buried beneath riverfront fill. Of the 11 eligible historic resources adversely affected by the N.J. Route 29 project, only two – the resources earlier identified as the Rosey Hill Mansion Site and the Trenton Iron Company/New Jersey Steel and Iron Company/American Bridge Company/U.S. Steel Complex (both largely subsumed within the Lambert/Douglas and Rosey Hill Site and reported on in the current volume) – were sufficiently well delineated for detailed data recovery plans to be developed. There was concurrence that any surviving physical remains of the other nine identified resources would probably be significant because of their character and historical associations. The great depth of fill covering these sites, combined in most cases with uncertainty over their precise location, led to the development of a monitoring approach in which determinations of eligibility and treatment strategies were developed during the construction process.

These less well-defined resources were identified as follows:

- The Trenton Water Power
- The Sartori Calico Factory/Union Print Works Site
- The Saxony Woolen Mill Site
- The Anderson and Hall Fish Pond, Wharves and Other Fishing-related Structures
- Remains of Wharves and Other Structures along the River Frontage
- Trenton China Company Dump Site and Associated Riverside Warehouses
- Sites of Storehouses and Other Structures on the River Bank in the Lamberton Historic District
- Maddock China Company Dump Site
- Lamberton Street Interceptor

The MOA and final work plan thus also made provision for the ground-disturbing phases of the construction to be subject to a program of archaeological

monitoring, an activity that was to be directed primarily at these resources. Detailed procedures for this type of monitoring work were established by Hunter Research in coordination with NJDOT and NJHPO staff and representatives from the construction contractor (The Joint Venture of PKF-Mark III, Inc./Neshaminy Constructors, Inc.). This resulted in the identification, evaluation and documentation of several other important archaeological resources with minimal impact on the construction schedule. These discoveries and procedures are presented in Volume III.

In the event, no significant remains were encountered relating to the Sartori Calico Factory/Union Print Works Site or of the Saxony Woolen Mill Site. With the exception of portions of the Trenton Water Power, all the other above resources, together with other features identified during construction, are discussed in Volume III. This report volume focuses on the Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site and its immediate surroundings.

During the project, the regulations for the Protection of Historic Properties (36 CFR Part 800) were revised by the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, and a new version was published in the *Federal Register*, Volume 64, May 18, 1999. Although the basic procedures and requirements for evaluating historic properties and for assessing and addressing effects of federal undertakings on eligible or listed National Register properties remained the same, these revised regulations placed more emphasis on consultation and public involvement with the Section 106 process. This was reflected in the project by the inclusion of an extensive public outreach program that included school visits, public open days, press releases, production of a network-quality video and the publication of six informational booklets. These booklets are aimed at a general readership and highlight particular aspects

of the history and archaeology of the project area. Details of the public outreach program can be found in Appendix B of Volume V.

## B. REPORT ORGANIZATION

The reporting of the archaeological work carried out as mitigation for the reconstruction of N.J. Route 29 is organized into five volumes. The focus of this volume (Volume II) is the Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site, located towards the northern end of the project alignment, which was examined during formal data recovery excavations and subsequent monitoring during construction.

Collectively, the historical archaeological resources that form the subject of this volume have been assigned the Smithsonian Institution site registration designation “28Me273,” a distinguishing number that also encompasses prehistoric remains referred to as the Douglas Gut Archaeological Complex, which is reported upon in Volume I of this series. The identifier “28Me273” here incorporates and supersedes several other Smithsonian Institution site registration designations – the Rosey Hill Mansion [28Me107]; the Trenton Water Power Canal [28Me109]; the Saxony Woolen Mill [28Me110]; the Bridge and Ironworks [28Me111]; and a cluster of prehistoric resources [28Me97, 28Me266, 28Me267 and 28Me268]. For detailed Smithsonian Institution site registration information, the reader is referred to Volume V, Appendix J.

With regard to the other volumes in this report series, Volume I presents the results of formal data recovery investigations at seven prehistoric locales. Five of these locales are grouped together as the Douglas Gut Archaeological Complex [28Me273] which supersedes and incorporates three earlier site designations in this area: the Riverview Executive Park Archaeological Complex [28Me267]; the Water’s Edge Archaeological Complex [28Me268];

and the Waterfront Stadium Archaeological Complex [28Me266]. The other two prehistoric locales, jointly designated as the Riverview Bluff Prehistoric Site [28Me265], are referred to as the Riverview Bluff Site North and the Riverview Bluff Site South and are located at opposite ends of Riverview Cemetery. This volume concludes with an overall synthesis of the prehistory of the project area. As with each of the first four volumes, a list of references specific to the volume is presented at the end of the document.

Volume III presents the results of the highly effective archaeological monitoring program that continued through most of the period of the highway construction. The main part of the text describes the discovery and identification of well-preserved structures from the mid-18th century along what was then the Delaware River waterfront, known both as Trenton Landing and Lamberton. These structures included storehouses, warehouses, a fishery boiling house, a pair of commercial bake ovens, the remains of timber wharves and docks, and an exceptionally well-preserved stoneware pottery kiln dating to the 1770s. Also described are miscellaneous individual historic resources, including the remains of a possible late 17th-century house at the Riverview Bluff Site South. Two appendices are included in Volume III. Appendix A provides a detailed inventory of the monitoring operations, and Appendix B presents information about waste ceramic pieces that were recovered. Tens of thousands of these marked and stamped waste ceramic pieces are from late 19th/early 20th-century dumps that had been placed along the waterfront and were removed by the road construction.

Volume IV summarizes artifact processing and conservation procedures and includes a series of summary tabulations of the artifact data. The full artifact catalog is included in the form of electronic files on a CD-ROM. Volume V contains supplementary technical data, including specialist reports, site forms and resumes.





## Chapter 2

### RESEARCH DESIGN

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#### A. OVERVIEW

The project-specific research design developed for historical archaeological resources along the N.J. Route 29 alignment was less detailed than that prepared for the prehistoric resources (for the latter, see Volume I, Chapter 2). The main reason for this was the lack of detailed historical and archaeological information available for many of the resources, above and beyond the data needed to assess their eligibility for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places. The limited amount of available data – archaeologically a function of resource inaccessibility in the urban environment – inevitably constrained the development of detailed research themes, and it was anticipated that the research design would be refined during the project as discoveries were made and new questions arose. Nevertheless, a series of necessarily general research topics were developed in the Phase II report and the technical proposal (Hunter Research, Inc. 1997a, 1997b).

The earlier research undertaken on 18th- and 19th-century properties along the bluff in Hamilton Township (to the southeast of the project area) as part of the Trenton Complex archaeological program formed an essential background to the work along the N.J. Route 29 corridor (Foss 1986; Louis Berger & Associates, Inc. 1998). Four colonial properties, the Robert Pearson Farmstead [28Me104], Abbottville [28Me103], the Tindall/Pearson Farmstead [28Me106] and the C.C. Abbott Farmstead [28Me105] were studied in this earlier project, resulting in the development of models for colonial settlement in the Trenton area that could be further explored as part of the N.J. Route 29 investigations.

Within the greater Trenton area, there is now a substantial corpus of information on the archaeology of 18th- and 19th-century domestic sites and buildings, virtually all of it the product of regulatory compliance with state and federal historic preservation legislation. A city-wide synthesis of Trenton archaeological data has been published (Burrow and Hunter 1996), and those projects completed within or close to the project limits are summarized as part of the Phase II studies (Hunter Research, Inc. 1997a). Much of the material, however, remains in limited-circulation technical reports on file at the New Jersey Historic Preservation Office. Of particular relevance to the present study are projects undertaken at the Beakes House Site (Kalb *et al.* 1982), the William Trent House (Hunter Research, Inc. 1995; Susan Maxman Architects 1997; Hunter Research, Inc. 2003) and the Dunhams Block at East State and North Warren Streets (Hunter Research Associates 1989). Outside the Trenton area, several important domestic sites have recently undergone archaeological investigation and provide valuable points of comparison for the Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site. These include the Luyster House in Middletown (Veit 2002:47-54), the Manalapan Village House Site (Gall *et al.* 2007) and the Foundation Site (Gall *et al.* 2008), all of which are located in Monmouth County and yielded evidence of mid- to late 18th-century occupation.

All such localized studies require viewing within the broader context of ongoing regional historical and archaeological research on 18th- and 19th-century settlement and urbanization, trade and transportation, architecture and industry. No attempt at a comprehensive review of this literature will be attempted, but some important publications and trends may be use-

fully noted here at the outset. More detail on specific research issues arising out of the investigation of the Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site will be found in subsequent chapters, with a broader-based synthetic discussion being offered in Chapter 5.

In the urbanizing context that characterizes Trenton during this period, the recent syntheses of the archaeology of Philadelphia (Cotter *et al.* 1992; Yamin 2008) and New York (Rothschild 1990; Cantwell and Wall 2001) are of particular importance. Within a wider Mid-Atlantic regional context, notable work has also been undertaken in Wilmington, Delaware (Louis Berger & Associates, Inc. 1990 and works cited therein), while further south the longstanding and ongoing research in Maryland in Annapolis (University of Maryland 1996) and St. Mary's City (Miller 1986), and in Alexandria, Virginia (Cressey and Stephens 1982; Cressey *et al.* 1982), also has relevance.

Trenton is the only urban center in New Jersey that has received archaeological attention in any way comparable to these urban places (Burrow and Hunter 1996). The lack of adequate urban archaeology in other New Jersey towns and cities is exemplified by the case of New Brunswick, an 18th-century town that is in many ways comparable to Trenton, but whose archaeology is much less well documented and is now significantly eroded (Yamin and Masso 1996). Early towns such as Salem, Burlington, Newark, Elizabeth and Jersey City (historic Bergen) have likewise received only sporadic attention from historical archaeologists and no synthesis. The excellent recent overview of historical archaeology in New Jersey by Richard Veit (2002), for example, makes little mention of urban archaeological endeavor within the state.

Other less urbanized archaeological settings in the state are, however, of relevance to the study of pre-industrial Trenton. Adjacent to New Brunswick is the port settlement of Raritan Landing, a place that has

been intensively and repeatedly studied by archaeologists since the late 1970s (e.g., Grossman 1982; Yamin 1988, 1992). \*\*re-work and add references - Large-scale data recovery investigations have recently been completed here for the New Jersey Department of Transportation in connection with planned intersection improvements ([www.raritanlanding.com](http://www.raritanlanding.com)). This settlement, with its riverine location, commercial and domestic structures, and rich artifact assemblages, provides an important body of comparative data for the 18th- and early 19th-century evidence recovered from the N.J. Route 29 project. The pre-urban 18th-century "plantation" landscape of this part of Trenton also has a regional archaeological counterpart in the prominent rural site of Beverwyck in Morris County, where a range of domestic, agricultural and other structures have been identified (Silber and Catts 2001).

Themes of economy and trade have been prominent in historical archaeology for a number of years. These have not found extensive expression in regional archaeology, although there are important published exceptions (Yamin 1988; Cantwell and Wall 2001:149-166). Much of the archaeological debate has focused on the issue of self-sufficiency *versus* market orientation in early farmsteads, a question addressed at the nearby Tindall House Site as part of the Trenton Complex studies, albeit with somewhat ambiguous results (Foss 1986:63, 262-285; Louis Berger & Associates, Inc. 1998:167-273). Historians and historical geographers have, however, made substantial contributions in this area (Levitt 1981; Fischer 1989; Wacker 1996) and their work provides a critical starting point for an archaeological perspective on trade as expressed by material remains.

The archaeological examination of buildings, both standing and ruined, has also been important in regional historical archaeology. The initial identification of the site of the late 18th/early 19th-century Rosey Hill Mansion as a subject meriting archaeo-

logical data recovery provided an opportunity to further explore the utility of archaeological techniques for understanding the history, construction and socio-cultural milieu of colonial and federal-era buildings. In the event, the project also recovered the complete basement plan of an early 18th-century house (the Lambert/Douglas House) upon which these approaches were used to even fuller effect. Regional studies by architectural historians in the last 25 years have provided a wealth of comparative information against which the archaeological information can be set. Lanier and Herman (1997) have summarized information from the region as a whole. More localized detailed studies by Ashton (1976) for Burlington County, Riesenweber (1984) for Salem County, and Hayden (1992) for Hopewell Township, immediately north of Trenton, provide a range of parallels and comparisons for excavated buildings. Toothman's doctoral dissertation on early Trenton (1977), although not strictly architectural in emphasis, is also worthy of note here for its reconstructions of building plans and sizes based on documentary material.

Initial background research on the Rosey Hill Mansion highlighted the distinctive character of the Delaware waterfront between Trenton and Bordentown in the early federal period. From the later 1780s until *circa* 1830 this area saw the creation and/or improvement of several substantial estates, characterized by large houses and in some cases by exotic and wealthy occupants, of whom Joseph Bonaparte (elder brother of Napoleon Bonaparte and briefly King of Naples [1806-08] and then of Spain [1808-13]) is perhaps the best known (Webster 1986; Stroud 2005; Veit 2007). The William Trent House and the Rosey Hill Mansion (the home of John B. Sartori, the first Papal Consul to United States) were two elements in this landscape of gentility, which was subsequently overwhelmed by Trenton's rampant industrialization from the 1830s onwards. Historical and archaeological research was also planned to throw further light on this fascinating but short-lived transitional episode in Trenton's his-

tory, which coincided with the town's interest in being selected as the seat of the emergent federal government, an aspiration soon downsized to what proved to be the more achievable goal of becoming New Jersey's state capital.

The landscape of the project area was once again transformed in the 1830s with the construction of the Trenton Water Power, a seven-mile-long raceway designed to supply energy for industrial development along the city's Delaware River waterfront. This enterprise was a local reflection of a national trend towards ambitious waterpowered industrial complexes, of which the two best known examples are those in Lowell, Massachusetts and Paterson, New Jersey (Hunter 1979:208-220; Gordon and Malone 1994). The Trenton example is much less well-known and of a smaller scale, but the N.J. Route 29 project provided an opportunity for some valuable contextual research on the quintessential American phenomenon of waterpower-based urban industrialization during the second quarter of the 19th century.

From the mid-19th century through into the 20th century the northern portion of the project area was the site of a massive industrial enterprise centered on the manufacture of first iron and then steel. Founded by Peter Cooper, and from the outset one of the key components in the Cooper & Hewitt business empire, this iron and steelmaking complex was successively and expansively operated by the South Trenton Iron Company, the Trenton Iron Company, the New Jersey Steel and Iron Company, the American Bridge Company and U.S. Steel, serving as the site of several important technological innovations, notably the development of wrought iron railroad rails and the first wrought iron and then steel structural I-beams, and the introduction into the United States of the open-hearth process for making steel (Nevins 1935; Gordon 1996:191; 226-227). Few physical remains of the site of these technological achievements survived within the project area, but the Rosey Hill Mansion (in

its later manifestations as an ironmaster's residence and then a company office) and the Trenton Water Power were both important elements within the industrial complex for several decades. Clearly, the later 19th- and 20th-century industrial history represented an important chapter in the overall land use history of the Lambert/Douglas and Rosey Hill Site, ingrained with its own historical significance. Archival research and field investigation both aimed to address this aspect of the site to provide a full and balanced understanding of its archaeology and history.

## **B. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES**

Within this general framework, bearing in mind that the existence of the Lambert/Douglas House Site was still essentially unknown at the commencement of work, three principal research objectives were defined for the archaeological data recovery program, as follows:

### **1. Characterization of Colonial Occupation along the Delaware River between the William Trent House and Riverview Cemetery**

Historical research performed as part of the supplementary Phase I and II studies for N.J. Route 29 (Hunter Research, Inc. 1997a) had begun to unravel the complex sequence of property subdivision along this stretch of the river frontage and to identify the various plantations developed here by 18th-century owners. It was anticipated that intensified and integrated archaeological and historical research in the Rosey Hill vicinity would clarify and explain this development, which was understood to include agricultural, commercial and fishery properties, some limited industrial activity and extensive wharfage. It was hoped also that remains would be found of the 18th- and early 19th-century port of Lambertton, an

important facet of Trenton's history, now entirely lost from view, although the focus of this activity proved to lie chiefly to the south of the Lambert/Douglas and Rosey Hill Site (and is therefore dealt with primarily in Volume III of this report series). As it turned out, the archaeological evidence recovered from the Rosey Hill area still exceeded all expectations, providing an extraordinarily rich picture of colonial plantation life, complete with a hitherto unknown house footprint and a wealth of material culture.

### **2. A Better Understanding of the Late 18th/Early 19th-Century Occupation of the Rosey Hill Mansion Site**

At the conclusion of the supplementary Phase I and II studies, major questions still persisted about the Rosey Hill Mansion, its date of construction and how John B. Sartori acquired and developed the property. The immediate goals of further historical and archaeological research were to elucidate the history and architectural development of the house itself, and to identify features associated with the period of the Sartori occupation. Comparisons were anticipated with the nearby Trent House and the other comparable sites along this stretch of the Delaware River waterfront between Assunpink Creek and Crosswicks Creek. Following models developed in the Trenton Complex research, attention would be paid to artifact disposal patterns, particularly to the north of the house, where most household waste disposal was predicted to have taken place, and on the location and characterization of outbuildings. Again, as the historical research and archaeological field investigations unfolded, considerable new and often unexpected information came to light, including a pre-Sartori phase of occupation involving the mansion foundation and – as exposed via monitoring during construction – the finding of a stone-lined pit crammed full of high-quality artifacts dating mostly from the 1820s and 1830s, a capsule of Sartori-era living.

### 3. Documentation of Significant Remains of Industrial Features

The historical significance of the industrial phase of land use at the Lambert/Douglas and Rosey Hill Site, and especially that relating to the iron and steelmaking period *circa* 1845-1970, is clearly evident in the documentary record in maps, manuscript materials and published secondary sources. However, Sartori's early industrial endeavors in the second and third decades of the 19th century, the pre-1845 industrial development at the terminus of the Trenton Water Power, and the means by which Peter Cooper took control of the water power and adjacent industrial properties in the mid-1840s all remained poorly understood. Historical research, and to a lesser extent archaeological field investigation, thus focused on these issues, at the same time seeking to produce a balanced understanding of the industrial history of the site that traced land use through into the mid-20th century.

\* \* \* \* \*

As typically occurs in historical archaeological inquiry, ongoing archival and field research cause the focus of investigation to shift as new information comes to light. In this case, among other things, an additional house footprint was uncovered, archaeological features of unusual material culture interest were found, and many pieces of archival information became the subject of renewed examination and fresh appreciation. As a result, the research objectives were progressively modified and refined in the light of the actual discoveries made during the fieldwork, producing countless nuggets of new information and a vastly more complete picture of history reconstructed, the ultimate goal to which this technical report aspires.



## Chapter 3

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

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October. The tenth day of October in the year 1677. It was cooler and the days were shorter. Ockanickon and his associates, Weskeakitt, Petheatu, Nauhoosing, Ahtakkones, Apperingues and Kekroppamant, had been summoned by strangers, newly arrived Quakers, who wished to treat with them and bargain for their lands (Nelson 1904a:7; West Jersey Deed B:4). Under normal circumstances this would have been the season reserved for hunting, when the woods were set ablaze to drive panicked herds of deer into the aim of waiting bowmen (Jameson 1967:108; Wacker 1975:112). Instead, the seven “Sachamakers” and all of those who had come with them were probably confined to Mattinecunk Island (or Burlington Island, as it later became known). The island was (and is today) situated in the middle of the Delaware River opposite the fledgling settlement of Burlington on the east bank of the river. The visitors were to stay there for the duration of what both they and the Quakers hoped would be but a brief visit.

The Quaker newcomers were wary of the native peoples. Earlier disputes on the river between Europeans and Native Americans had occasionally turned nasty. The deaths of people in both groups are recorded in the papers of the Dutch West India Company and the Royal Colony of New Sweden. The recently disembarked English Quakers at the newly laid out town of Burlington were concerned enough about the unpredictability of the natives and the potential for hostilities that they kept them at arms length:

When the Indians were Sent for, or come down of their own Accord, to treat with the Government, or to sell their Lands (as they often do in Considerable Numbers). This Island is the usual Place appointed for their Residence till their Business is finished, and they are ordered home again. The Officers of the

Government and Inhabitants not thinking it prudent, or to Stand with their Security, that they should continue in the town especially by night (Wacker 1975:85).

The English had arrived on the Delaware late that summer, borne across the Atlantic by the ship *Kent*. Most of the approximately 230 individuals taken aboard at Hull and London were members of the Society of Friends from the Sheffield area in Yorkshire, and from neighboring Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire (Pomfret 1956:103). Europeans were certainly not unknown to Ockanickon and his people. The first contact between the Lenape people of the Delaware Valley and European explorers may even have occurred as early as 1524 with the arrival of the Verrazano expedition, which traveled up the east coast of North America and briefly entered New York Bay. Details of Verrazano’s contact with the native population of the Delaware Valley are few, but Ockanickon’s grandfather, his great grandfather and his great great grandfather before him would each have known of the coming of men from across the sea.

The first European explorer to actually enter the Delaware Bay, Henry Hudson, had dropped anchor in the choppy waters at its mouth over 70 years prior to the arrival of the English Quakers. Erroneously believing the river to be too shallow for his ship, the *Half Moon*, Hudson continued northward up the coast encountering large numbers of New Jersey’s native peoples at Sandy Hook. Over the intervening years, Ockanickon and other representatives of his and other Native American groups on the Delaware had traded, bartered and sold land along the river’s banks to the newcomers, first to the Dutch, then the Swedes, and now the English. On a few occasions the lands sold to

the different groups of settlers overlapped, but never before had the native peoples parted with the land on the east bank near the falls (Wacker 1975:71-72; Schutt 2007:31-40).

### **A. A NATIVE AMERICAN PRESENCE AT THE FALLS OF THE DELAWARE**

Travelers for hundreds of years have been somewhat less than impressed by the “Falls of the Delaware,” the shallow, rocky stretch of the Delaware River at the head of tide. Located approximately 80 miles upstream from the head of the bay, at the mouth of Assunpink Creek, the rocky outcrops in the river bed barred further passage upstream by large boats and represented the furthest downstream point at which the river was fordable on foot. To the early Dutch and Swedish explorers and traders, it was the furthest point upriver that could be readily accessed by boat. For much of the 17th century, the falls were the barrier which separated the settled from the unsettled, the lands frequented by Europeans from those which were the domain of the Native American.

Geographically, the falls were just as significant to the native peoples as they were to the incoming Europeans, perhaps even more so. As the southernmost fording point on the river, the falls were of considerable importance to the native population. It was at this location that the Indian trail referred to as “the Falls Path,” extending up the right bank of the Delaware River from the site of present-day Philadelphia, crossed over the river and linked with the Assunpink Trail. From the falls, the Assunpink Trail cut across the waist of New Jersey heading to a point near the future site of Elizabeth. From there it connected with another pathway leading to the western shore of the Hudson or “North” River. To the Dutch, and later the English, this trail was the prin-

cipal overland link between settlements on the South (or Delaware) and North (or Hudson) Rivers (Wallace 1993:45).

In addition to being an important point of convergence in the local transportation network, the region surrounding the falls, referred to as Sanhickan or Sanhickans, was also significant both as a locus with a relatively substantial Native American population and, to the north and west of the falls, as a border area and buffer zone between rival Native American cultural groups. Samuel Smith, writing in 1765, recorded that, just below the falls, on the east bank of the Delaware, defenses had been established by the resident Indians in the form of a system of entrenchments designed to protect them from incursions from neighboring groups (Smith 1877:136). The possibility that the Sanhickan people had erected fortifications at the falls clearly implies that the local Native American population believed the falls worthy of defense.

The Falls of the Delaware have long been held to be the site of one of the largest Indian populations in New Jersey. The map of the Delaware River prepared by Captain Cornelius Hendricks in 1616 (Figure 3.1) appears to show a large grouping of Native American longhouses labeled “Stanke=kans” straddling the river near the falls. Thomas Campanius Holm’s important description of the Delaware Valley in the 1640s, published for the first time in 1702, provides the closest contemporary picture of a Native American settlement at the Falls of the Delaware. He noted simply that, at the falls, “they (meaning the native peoples) had a settlement in a wide plain” (Holm 1702:82 [Benedict 1920]). However, this is the nearest any period account comes to suggesting that the falls were the site of a nucleated village during the Contact Period. Nearly every other 17th-century account of European visits to the falls makes note of the presence of Indians there, but never are more than two or three individuals mentioned, and never is any mention made of a village or even of isolated houses.





Figure 3.1. Hendricks, Cornelius. *Map of Captain Cornelius Hendricks*. 1616. Inset enlargement shows the vicinity of the Falls of the Delaware. No scale given.

The journal of Quaker minister William Edmundson is a typical example. Traveling across New Jersey from the Raritan Valley to the Delaware in 1675, Edmundson recorded that “[W]e traveled that day and saw no tame creature. At night we kindled a fire in the wilderness and lay by it as we used to do on such journey’s. Next day, about nine in the morning, by the good hand of God, we came well to the Falls, and by his Providence found there an Indian man, a woman and a boy with a canoe. So we hired him for some wampameg to help us over in the canoe. We swam our horses, and, though the river was broad, yet got well over ....” (Benedict 1920:153).

The dearth of historical accounts documenting the existence of a specific Indian settlement at the falls may have been a function of the seasonality of the Native American occupation of the site, or may have been due to the rapid decline of the Native American population in the area during the first years of European settlement. Warfare and pestilence greatly reduced the numbers of native peoples on the Delaware River during these years and many of those who survived simply left in search of lands where they would be free to continue the lifestyle and preserve the culture of their ancestors without the pressures and threats of European neighbors.

If the defensive embankments at the falls that Samuel Smith described did indeed exist and were erected to protect a Native American settlement, then who were the peoples these defenses were intended to exclude? Probably not Europeans, whose visits so far upriver were relatively rare in these first years of contact. In the early historic period the Algonquian-speaking Delaware or Lenni Lenape Indians of the Delaware Valley were divided into two local subgroups – the Munsee (Minsi) and the Unami. Each group spoke its own unique dialect and differed somewhat in cultural practices (Wacker 1975:58, 83, 87-88; Kinsey 1972:393; Kraft 1986:199). Both the Munsee and the Unami were subdivided into smaller groups. The

Sanhickans, who occupied the area around the falls, would have been one of the largest subgroups of the Unami, who were often in friction with the Munsee to the north and west (Wacker 1975:58).

At the heart of the Munsee territory were the river islands and adjacent floodplains in the Upper Delaware Valley to the north of the Delaware Water Gap. But the Munsee interests extended downstream far enough to make the area around the Falls of the Delaware the scene of considerable tension with the Unami. Even so, the Munsee were not the biggest threat to the safety of the Sanhickans. The Sanhickans were described by early European explorers as being “the deadly enemies of the Manathans” (Jameson 1967:45) and as being in frequent conflict with the “White Minquas” or “Susquehannock” Indians, as they were alternatively known by 17th- and 18th-century Europeans.

The Susquehannocks were a larger and much more powerful people than the Lenape. Pressured by the Iroquois to the north and enticed by the siren song of European trade, the Susquehannocks shifted their territorial interests southward at the dawn of the period of European contact. In the mid-16th century their people moved approximately 200 miles downstream from settlements in the upper reaches of the North Branch of the Susquehanna River Valley to fortified villages on the main branch of the river (Kupperman 1995:97; Williams 1995:114). Thus, during the first half of the 17th century, the Susquehannocks occupied the lands due west of the Delaware River, extending along both sides of the Susquehanna Valley and southward into Maryland. This brought them into direct contact and competition, and eventually into bloody conflict, with the Lenape.

In 1632, the Dutch explorer, David Pieterszoon De Vries, noted that he had found the entire South River in a state of unrest after a party of Minquas warriors killed 90 men of the Sanhickans (Weslager 1969:39). These events were a prelude to a larger

conflict between the Lenape and Susquehannocks that took place in 1633 and 1634. Around this time, Robert Evelin, one of 15 adventurers who comprised the advance (and ultimately only) party of an ill-conceived and abortive English proprietary colony known as the Province of New Albion, wrote that he believed the full number of Indians along the Delaware below the falls, “to be eight hundred, and are in several factions and war against the Sasquehannocks” (Smith 1877:29). Evelin spent four years on the Delaware between 1633 and 1637. One of his companions, Thomas Yong reported in 1634 that a Lenape Indian told him that his people had “wholly left that side [the western bank] of the river, which was next to their enemies [the Susquehannocks], and had retired themselves on the other side farre up into the woods, the better to secure themselves from their enemies” (Myers 1912:38). This left the area open to Swedish settlement and the Unami under some degree of dominance by the Susquehannocks (Mickle 1845:33; Kupperman 1995:96; Williams 1995:114).

Although the Sanhickans and the other Unami Lenape groups that occupied the Lower Delaware Valley held most of the lands immediately adjacent to the Dutch and Swedish outposts in the mid-17th century, the Susquehannocks still managed to out-compete the Lenape in the fur trade (Kraft 1986:199). This was partially a result of their superiority in the conflict of 1633-34, but also because the Lenape had relatively quickly exterminated most fur-bearing animals in their limited territory, while the Susquehannocks had vast inland wilderness reserves in which to gather and trade for pelts (Becker 1995:123).

Largely excluded from the profitable fur trade for much of the second quarter of the 17th century, the Unami sought other commodities with which to barter for European trade goods. Maize was chief among these commodities and in much demand during the period of Swedish tenancy in the Delaware Valley. One of the goals of New Sweden had been to estab-

lish an agriculturally self-sufficient colony. However, with maize and meat so cheaply available from the Native American population, there was little impetus for the Swedish settlers to clear land, establish farms and put down permanent roots. The instructions given to Johan Printz, the Governor of New Sweden, by his superiors ordered him to first make the colony “self-sufficient in food,” second to develop tobacco crops, and third to develop other domestic products and industries (Kuppermann 1995:91). The Swedes never really managed to grow enough food to support themselves and, in fact, did not even come close to doing so until the waning years of their colony. Instead, they concentrated on the fur trade, clearing relatively little land and devoting only minimal effort to agriculture. Much of their basic sustenance was purchased either from the Dutch in New Amsterdam, from English traders in Hartford (Connecticut), or from the Native American population. Thus, the Swedes, and later the first Quakers, came to rely heavily on the Native American population for maize, venison and fish.

Prior to the arrival of the Swedes, the Unami cultivated maize “gardens” only in a relatively limited fashion. Understandably, Lenape bands are believed to have passed much of the stifling mid-Atlantic summer at fishing stations either on the banks of the Delaware or at the breezy bays along the Atlantic coastline. In the summer, small fields were planted in the vicinity of their fishing encampments, but on the whole agriculture played only a small part in their aboriginal lifestyle of seasonally transient foraging (Schutt 2007:12-16).

Speaking of maize culture among the Lenape in the vicinity of the North River in 1628, Isaack De Rasieres wrote:

At the end of March they begin to break up the earth with mattocks, which they buy from us for the skins of beavers or otters, or for sewan. They make heaps like molehills, each about two and a half feet from

the others, which they sow or plant in April with maize, in each heap five or six grains; in the middle of May, when the maize is the height of a finger or more, they plant in each heap three or four Turkish beans, which grow up with and against the maize, which serves for props, for the maize grows on stalks similar to that of the sugar. It is a grain to which much labor must be given, with weeding and earthing up, or it does not thrive; and to this the women must attend very closely. The men would not once look to it, for it would compromise their dignity too much, unless they are very old and cannot follow the chase (Jameson 1967:107).

David De Vries recorded a remarkably similar account of Native American maize propagation eleven years later in 1639:

Their food supplies are various. The principal one is maize, which is their corn, and which is called by us Turkish wheat. They pound it in a hollow tree, as may be seen in the plate. When they travel, they take a flat stone, and pound it with another stone placed upon the first, and when it is pounded, they have little baskets, which they call notassen, and which are made of a kind of hemp, the same as fig-baskets – which they make so neatly that they serve as sieves – and thus make their meal. They make flat cakes of the meal mixed with water, as large again as a farthing cake in this country, and bake them in the ashes, first wrapping a vine-leaf or maize leaf around them. When they are sufficiently baked in the ashes, they make good palatable bread. The Indians also make use of French beans of different colors, which they plant among their maize, or, as we call it, Turkish wheat. When the maize (which is sown three or four feet apart, in order to have room to weed it thoroughly) is grown two or three feet high, they stick the beans in the ground alongside of the maize-stalks, which serve instead of the poles which we use in our Fatherland, for beans to grow on. In New Netherland, the beans are raised on the maize-stalks, which grow as high as a man can reach, and higher according to the fertility of the soil (Jameson 1967:219).

Driven from the west bank of the Delaware River and largely excluded from the fur trade by the Susquehannocks, the Unami Lenape began to expand the size of their maize fields in the 1630s and 1640s in order to satisfy their hunger for trade goods and, later, for alcohol. The Swedes needed maize and could not or would not grow their own. These events culminated in the summer congregation of large groups of Lenape at Passyunk on the west side of the river in the vicinity of modern day Philadelphia. There, on fertile ground close to the Swedish settlements, large fields of corn were planted as cash crops (Becker 1995).

Significantly, several 17th-century descriptions of the landscape of the Delaware Valley, as well as a number of later secondary sources, make reference to Indian corn fields along the east bank of the Delaware between the mouth of Crosswicks Creek to that of the Assunpink. Thomas Campanius Holm described the area thus in the 1640s during the height of Swedish occupation:

From Trakonick, and further up on the east side of the river, the soil is fine, and bears black maize of the color of tar: the Indians have planted it there for many years ... About the falls of the Assunpink, and farther up the river, the land is rich, and there are a great many plantations on it. It does not produce much Indian corn, but a great quantity of grape vines, white, red, brown, and blue (Holm 1702:49).

Peter Lindstrom in his *Geographica Americae* of 1656 (as translated by the noted Swedish colonial scholar, Amandus Johnson, in 1925) further described the area and its corn fields:

Further on from Trackonick, along the east side upwards to the river fall Asinpinck and above, there is along the river a beautiful and good land, suitable for black and blue maize ... concerning the ground up here at the river fall on the east side [it can be

stated] that it is uneven and stony, wherefore the land here along the river edge is generally rich and occupied by a large number of plantations ...

Lindstrom continues, referring to:

... the west side of the river to the island of Minachkonck [identified by Amandus Johnson as Biles Island], it is to be related, that all the way upward and above the river fall on this western side and again down to Sisaessinghs Land [identified by Johnson as being in modern day Falls Township], is everywhere a low country, favorable for maize and by nature especially suited for it, which for many years has been occupied and cultivated. But now begins to be somewhat poor ... To a distance of about a half a mile from the river bank there are many good maize fields (Johnson 1925:167).

The importance of maize to the Native American population of New Jersey should not be underestimated. Evidence of this may be found in the Elizabethtown Bill in Chancery, a document published in Perth Amboy in 1746 concerning a dispute involving East Jersey property titles derived from Indian purchases. In its effort to describe how foreign to the local Native American population the concept of land ownership was the colonial author made the point of just how important corn production was to the resident Indian populations during the late 17th and early 18th centuries. The document states that “[t]he Indians had no notion of Property in Lands more than in Air, until the Christians came amongst them except in the small spots on which they planted Corn, and those spots did not occupy so much as one Acre of a Thousand Acres” (Board of General Proprietors of the Eastern Division of New Jersey 1747:11).

Although desperately needing the maize the Unami possessed in such abundance, the Swedish administration greatly resented the reliance of their settlement on native agriculture. Not only were they forced to pay the Indians for their food, but the plentiful supply of

meat, grain and vegetables available from the Unami deterred the growth of Swedish colonial farming. How could Swedish settlers be encouraged to clear fields, plant crops and raise livestock, when all the food they needed could be readily and inexpensively obtained through trade. The Unami were viewed as one of the prime obstacles to the establishment of a self-sufficient Swedish colony on the Delaware. In 1644, Johan Printz wrote to his superiors that:

nothing would be better than a couple of hundred soldiers should be sent here and kept here until we broke the necks of all them in the river, especially since we have no beaver trade with them but only maize trade. They are a lot of poor rascals. Then each one could be secure here at his work, and feed and nourish himself unmolested without their maize, and also we could take possession of the places these savages now possess ... then with the help of God not a single savage would be allowed to live on this river (Wacker 1975:82-83).

The situation would change in less than a quarter century. The Susquehannocks had other enemies to the north and west, principally the Seneca, an Iroquois group with whom they had been in fierce conflict for close to a century. In the intervening period the Swedish settlement of the west bank of the Delaware had helped to heal old wounds by establishing something of a buffer between the Lenape and Susquehannock peoples (Williams 1995:118). By the middle of the 17th century, a truce and alliance had been negotiated between the Lenape and the Susquehannocks. With the distraction of the latter by the Seneca, the Lenape were left to assume the prime role in the Delaware Valley fur trade, while the influence of the Susquehannocks faded into the central Pennsylvania wilderness and the mists of time (Becker 1995:130). Interest in maize as a cash crop among the Unami decreased with the restoration of the fur trade, but never entirely vanished during the years of Swedish occupation. Two and a half decades

later, there appears to have been a brief resurgence of Native American maize propagation during the early years of the Quaker settlement of the Delaware Valley, but the English adapted more rapidly than the Swedes to farming in the New World and their need for Indian-grown maize was limited to only the first few years of their residency.

The Unami were now free to regain their position as middlemen between the Dutch and Swedish traders and the remaining Susquehannocks and Munsee. Beavers pelts and other desirable furs were collected mostly from the west in what is today central Pennsylvania, but also from the north along the upper reaches of the Delaware and from the hilly wilderness between the head waters of the Delaware and Lakes Ontario and Erie. Game was pursued there – trapped, shot and speared, along small lakes and valley streams, in primeval forest and on the mountain sides – by native hunters who had never met a Unami or a Swede. Cleaned and dressed, the pelts were lugged back along wooded trails to distant settlements, where they were collected and temporarily stockpiled. Trades were then brokered between the hunters and members of neighboring groups. Furs were exchanged for wampum, beads and trinkets, axes and tools, shirts and cloth, alcohol and, occasionally, guns. They were traded and traded again until they passed into Susquehannock and Minsi hands and then finally into the possession of the Unami.

Again, however, the Unami garnered the ire of the Swedish colonial officials stationed in the Lower Delaware Valley. Having no furs of their own to sell, the Unami were viewed as a nuisance and a hindrance to efficient and profitable trade. A report written by Johan Rising to the Swedish crown in 1655, and paraphrased by anthropologist Marshall Becker, stated that the “Lenape [Unami] would buy Swedish goods half on credit, and then pay with difficulty. They run to the Minques [Susquehannocks], and there buy beavers and elk skins, etc., for our goods, and then proceed

before our eyes to Manathas [Manhattan], where the traders can pay more for them than we do, because more goods and more ships arrive there” (Becker 1995:130).

The Lenape were effectively outmaneuvering the Swedes in the fur trade by taking advantage of Swedish credit and catering specifically to the markets that the Swedes themselves wished to exploit. A relatively small percentage of the pelts collected at the Swedish trading posts along the Delaware River became hats on the heads of the citizens of Goteborg and Stockholm, or collars and cuffs on their coats and cloaks. Most, instead, were sold to the larger trading houses in New Amsterdam or to the English in New England or Virginia. The hostilities that persisted during this period between the Swedes, the Dutch and the English were tempered by the opportunity for profit through trade and, despite the broader political and military circumstances, deals continued to be struck up and down the eastern seaboard. When the Lenape took their furs directly to Manhattan, effectively they were cutting out the Swedes from functioning as middlemen. This is why the Swedes wanted to restore direct trade themselves with the diminished Susquehannocks and, in turn, the same reason the Dutch wanted the Swedes dislodged from forts on the Delaware. In the later 17th century, all these complex trading options that were available to the various Native American and European groups were superseded by the overarching grip of English colonial control.

## **B. DUTCH TRADERS AND SWEDISH SETTLERS**

Both the Dutch and the Swedish states maintained a presence in the Delaware Valley for almost 40 years prior to the arrival of the English (Leiby 1964). Their supply ships plied the brackish waters of the Lower Delaware, while Dutch and Swedish soldiers

manned the iron and brass cannon on the bastions of their primitive river fortifications. Dutch adventurers arrived first, establishing an outpost in the wilderness on Burlington Island, the original intended seat of the Dutch West India Company in North America. Had the initial plans of the West India Company's directors come to pass, the settlement of New Amsterdam would have risen on the banks of the Delaware River at the mouth of the Assiscunk Creek. Instead, the small group of Walloons planted by the company on Mattinecunk Island in 1624 was soon relocated to the tip of Manhattan Island and the rest is history (Weslager 1969:vii; Veit and Bello 1999:100-102).

Despite the failure of the settlement at Mattinecunk, a Dutch presence continued on the Delaware River until the English take over in 1674. Most of the Dutch West India Company's activity was focused at Nassau, a fortified outpost near present-day Gloucester City, New Jersey. Debate has also persisted for over a century about the possible existence of a Dutch trading post on the site of modern Trenton. The most vigorous proponent of this theory was Carlos Godfrey, who believed that the foundations of this trading post had been uncovered during the excavation of foundations for a group of row homes in the 1880s (Godfrey 1919:224-230; Kalb *et al.* 1982). In general, Dutch interests in the Delaware Valley were centered on trading with the Indians for furs, rather than on fostering enduring settlement.

Surely if Ockanickon's direct forefathers had not had personal contact with the Dutch, word would have soon reached them of the initial Dutch encroachments on Lenape territory and of the founding of Forts Nassau and Amsterdam. Ultimately, the coming of the Dutch had few immediate impacts on the lives of the native peoples in the Delaware Valley (in contrast to the more wide-ranging effects of Dutch settlement in the Hudson Valley). The availability of European trade goods may have altered their lives slightly, but other than a few isolated trading posts and lightly gar-

risoned forts, the Dutch had little impact on the physical landscape of the Delaware Valley. It was not until the coming of the Swedes in 1638 that a more substantial European presence, in the form of the colony of New Sweden, was established in the Lower Delaware and the diminishment of the Lenape commenced.

The Swedes established what is generally held to be the first permanent European settlement in the Delaware Valley: Fort Christina, near the site of modern Wilmington. Unlike the Dutch West India Company, the powers behind the Swedish enterprise were focused, at least initially, on planting a successful colony on the Delaware River, rather than establishing ephemeral fur trading networks. The Swedes purchased vast tracts of land from the Indians and began to settle in clusters of farmsteads that were heavily dependent on the river for access to the outside world. As a result, these farms were typically oriented towards the creeks and streams that drained into the Delaware, and the zone of settlement covered the fertile plain that extends along both sides of the river between the site of present-day Philadelphia and the head of the bay. These farming communities were established directly under the resentful noses of the Dutch, who claimed sole right to the lands of the Delaware Valley. Fortunately for the Swedes, when their ships first arrived on the river, Dutch Fort Nassau was garrisoned by only about 20 men. With insufficient troops or armament to oppose the new arrivals, the Dutch representatives could only bluster helplessly of their claim to the territory the newcomers intended to settle.

The limits of the lands that the Swedes aimed to settle were outlined in a set of instructions issued by the Swedish crown to Johan Printz, the newly appointed Governor of New Sweden, upon his departure for the colony in 1642:

... the boundaries of the country which our subjects have taken into possession, extend through the medium and by virtue of the deeds entered into with the wild inhabitants of the country, as its rightful owners, from the seacoast at Cape Hinlopen, upwards along the west side of Godin's bay, and thus further the Great South River, unto Minque's Kil, where Fort Christina is located, and then still farther up the South River and up to a place the wild inhabitants call Sankikans, where the further-most boundaries of New Sweden are to be found (Johnson 1930 [1642]:68).

The place the "wild inhabitants call Sankikans" was the farthest flung limit of either Swedish or Dutch influence on the Middle and Lower Delaware. The word "Sankikans" appears in numerous 17th-century descriptions of the South or Delaware River and on a number of similarly dated cartographic depictions. The term had a dual meaning. It was alternately used to refer to a specific location near the Falls of the Delaware or to an Algonquian-speaking Native American people that populated an area extending between the Falls of the Delaware opposite present-day Trenton and the east bank of the Hudson opposite Manhattan.

For more than 125 years, there has been debate as to the etymological derivation of the word "Sankikans." D.G. Brinton and A.S. Anthony's *A Lenâpé-English Dictionary* (1888) held that the etymological roots of the word were "achsin," meaning "stone," and "hichan," meaning "instrument." The authors further concluded that, when used together, these phrases referred to a "stone weapon people." A.R. Dunlap and C.A. Weslager, in an article titled "Toponymy of the Delaware Valley as Revealed by an Early Seventeenth-Century Dutch Map," published in the *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of New Jersey* (1958:1-13), suggested instead that the term was more likely derived from a compounding of the word "sanck," meaning "flint" and "hikan," meaning "end of flow." This was conveniently translated as

"the rocks at the head of tide," i.e., the Falls of the Delaware, the topographic landmark that most early historic cartographers of the Delaware River associated with the term "Sankikans" on their parchment maps.

On most occasions, when the word "Sankikans" ("Sanhickan" and the plural "Sanhickans" are used here as the preferred generic forms; other variants include "Sanhicans," "Sanghikans," "Sankhikans," "Stankekans," "Zanchikan" and "Zanhichan") is utilized by 17th-century Dutch and Swedish authors to mean a place and not a people, the word stands alone without qualifiers or definitions that would allow one to precisely identify the place or geographic feature to which the word refers. Almost always the term is applied to the general area around the falls, but never is an exact correspondence between the falls and the name offered. Only three known records survive that help to identify the specific location to which the name was applied. The first is a description of a trip made upriver from Fort Nassau by Andraes Hudde, the Dutch commissary of the fort. Hudde was ordered to ascend the river by Willem Kieft, the Governor of New Netherlands, in order to investigate ultimately erroneous reports of gold mines located along the upper reaches of the river. Reporting to Kieft on the failure of the expedition, Hudde wrote that he had "betook myself therefore to Sanghikans." From "Sanghikans" he tried to proceed up river "to the Great Falls, where according to the specimens, hope of good success was" (Johnson 1930:263).

Clearly, from this account, "Sanghikans" was not considered by Hudde to refer to the falls themselves, but rather to some place or feature below them. An additional clue to the identity of the specific place to which Hudde referred can perhaps be found in the second and somewhat more specific reference to the location of Sanhickans. This occurs in a much later record of the English colony of New York, dated 1678, which documents the transfer of certain land rights from



Samuel Edsall to George Heathcote involving “an Island called by the Ingen name of Sankhikans, lying in Delaware river near the falls” (Fernow 1877:570).

A third tantalizing reference to Sanhickans occurs in the report of Johan Printz, recounting an attempt in 1664 by English settlers from New Haven to establish a colony on the Delaware. Printz wrote that “the idea of the Puritans was this: to erect a fort above our post at Zanchikan and garrison it with people and cannon and then strengthen their position there, so as to draw to themselves the entire profit of the River here” (Johnson 1930:222). This statement would seem to indicate that the Swedes maintained a strategic position, possibly a trading post at Sanhickans, and presumably this post would have been located on the island that later came into the possession of George Heathcote. The corpulent Governor of New Sweden may have managed to keep New Haven colonists from usurping his North American fiefdom, but in the end neither he nor the irascible Dutch Governor Pieter Stuyvesant could keep the English off their river.

### C. QUAKERS AND THE RIVER

On March 12, 1664, King Charles II of England, in an act of flagrant nepotism, granted his brother James, the Duke of York, a patent for title to property in North America including land in Maine, Long Island and all the territory between the Connecticut River and the Delaware Bay. On June 24 of the same year, out of this familial largesse, James granted the lands roughly comprising the present-day State of New Jersey to two political allies and supporters, Lord John Berkeley (also spelled “Berkley”) and Sir George Carteret. Both the king’s generosity to his brother and the Duke of York’s generosity toward Berkeley and Carteret were tempered by the fact that the lands between the Connecticut and Delaware Rivers were still under Dutch control at the time of both sets of grants. This fact was viewed as little more than a

technicality by the royal siblings as England had never acknowledged Dutch claims to New Netherland, and an English initiative was in any event under way to forcibly remove the Dutch West India Colony from its seat in New Amsterdam (Pomfret 1956:65-105).

A substantial English naval expedition was organized, placed under the command of Colonel Richard Nicholls, and dispatched to Boston Harbor, which was to serve as the principal staging point for an assault on the Dutch-controlled Hudson River. On August 28, 1664 the English fleet entered New York Bay. Without any means of effective defense against an English force of this size, the Dutch Director, Peter Stuyvesant, was forced to surrender Fort New Amsterdam the following day. Although, with the fall of New Amsterdam, the English effectively took over control of New Netherland, it was not until late in September that English troops were sent south to remove the last vestiges of Dutch control from the Delaware River.

From 1664 to 1673, New Jersey was ruled under the joint proprietorship of Berkeley and Carteret, and was broadly subject to the Governor of New York. Despite the two proprietors’ interest in the rapid colonization of their holdings, no English settlers are recorded as occupying lands in southern New Jersey during this period and only two Dutchmen, Fop Jansen Outhout and Peter Jegou are known to have taken an oath of allegiance to the English crown as required by the Governor of New York. Although a limited number of Swedes and Finns apparently crossed over to the east side of the Delaware and squatted on lands between Raccoon and Salem Creeks, it is still estimated that there were no more than 100 European residents of southern New Jersey during this period.

In 1673 war broke out between Holland and England and for a few months (between November 1, 1673 and February 4, 1674), the Dutch briefly regained and held control over their former colony of New Netherland.

The Treaty of Westminster of 1674, signed by Charles II on February 19 and ratified by the Dutch on March 5, returned these territories to the English, with the final transfer of authority from the Dutch to the English taking place on November 10, 1674. All of the Delaware Valley once again fell under the control of the English crown. Although one might imagine that for the Dutch, Swedes and Finns who lived along the river, this would have been a period of considerable upheaval and uncertainty, in actuality the English takeover initially did little to alter the patterns of life along the river. The English, for the most part, respected private property rights to lands purchased under the earlier regimes and did not attempt to dramatically reshape the local political scene. Persons holding important posts under the Dutch tended to hold important positions under the English.

It was around this time, perhaps in 1675, that evidence of an attempt to place a permanent European settlement in the vicinity of the falls was first recorded in the early records of the Colony of New York. Preserved within these archives is an unsigned petition requesting permission from Governor Edward Andros for a group of anonymous petitioners and their families to settle on a 4,000-acre tract of land extending four miles above and four miles below the Falls of the Delaware (Fernow 1877:521). There is no evidence, however, that any action was ever taken with reference to this first petition.

Within two years, a second petition followed. In September of 1677, a group composed of the Delaware Valley's most prominent Swedish settlers – Israel Helm, Laurence Cock, Morris Cock, Andries Benckson, Swen Lom, Ephrain Herman, Caspar Herman, John Dalboo, Jasper Fiske, Hans Moenson, Fredrik Romey, Erik Mulk, Gunner Rambo, Tho: Harwood, Erik Cock, Jan Cock, Peter Jockum, Peter Cock, Junior, Jan Stille, Jonas Neelson, Oele Swenson, James Sanderlin, Mathias Mathiasse Devos and William Orain – requested of the local English court

at Upland (near present-day Chester, Pennsylvania) and the Governor of New York that they be permitted to settle together in a town on the west side of the river just below the falls. This land had been recently purchased from the Indians by representatives of Governor Andros of New York (Fernow 1877:586).

Although the court at Upland forwarded the petition to the Governor in New York, there is, once again, no evidence of formal action upon or approval of this request. The men named in this petition represented nearly all of the well known and important Swedish settlers then occupying farms and settlements scattered across the Lower Delaware Valley, most of whom lived in the vicinity of present-day Philadelphia, at Upland and in Tinicum in modern Delaware County, Pennsylvania. Their desire to relocate to a more nucleated and potentially culturally homogenous settlement at the geographically pivotal location of the falls on the eve of increased English settlement is significant. The planting of such a formal settlement would have been beneficial to the Swedes in several ways. Not least, by laying claim to some of the Delaware Valley's most desirable real estate, they would have been able to better provide for their continued economic prosperity.

As the principal residents of the Delaware Valley and those most familiar with local geography, native relations and the local political landscape (to the extent that this existed), many of the Swedish settlers had been appointed to official posts (e.g., as surveyors, sheriffs, judges and the like) by the Governor in New York. However, with the Delaware Valley now being opened up to English settlers, the influence of the Swedes, whose farms were dispersed across quite a large area, would have been diluted. By resettling as a group to a new town at the falls, the Swedes would have been able to ensure their continued existence as a recognizable cultural entity amongst the English majority. Only one of these men seems to have been successful in his efforts to acquire land in the vicinity

of the falls. This was Captain Israel Akesson Helme (1630-1701) who was granted 200 acres there on April 6, 1677:

These are to certify, that when ye unpurchased Land adjoining to that which hath been bought by the Governour neare ye Falls, shall bee purchased, his honor. Hath graunted that Capt. Israel Helme shall have two hundred Acres thereof, the which ye Surveyor is to Lay out for him. By Order of ye Governor. New Yorke Aprill 6<sup>th</sup> 1677 (Fenow 1877:572).

Helme had been a soldier under Governor Printz, and was later appointed “high magistrate” at the Court of Upland and granted a monopoly “on the Indian Fur trade among the up river Swedes.” Helme retained his position under the English, and along with William Cantwell, became the principal representative of the Governor of New York on the Delaware River. There is no evidence that Helme ever personally settled his lands at the falls, since he is known to have been resident at this time and afterwards on a plantation at Upland. He continued to live there until 1693, when he sold his property and moved across the river to other land purchased from the Indians by him in 1676 (Craig 1993:71).

The future of the Delaware Valley changed dramatically on March 18, 1674, when Lord John Berkeley sold his ½ share of the proprietary rights of New Jersey to two English Quakers, Edward Byllynge and John Fenwick, for £1,000. Byllynge provided most of the financial backing, but was himself in the midst of bankruptcy. He probably viewed the purchase as an investment through which he could quickly reclaim both his reputation and misspent fortune. Unable to formally participate in the purchase due to these ongoing bankruptcy proceedings, Byllynge arranged for Fenwick to “front” the transaction on his behalf (Pomfret 1956:65-68).

Fenwick and Byllynge had a dual motive in making such a large investment in a largely unknown and distant land. First and foremost in their minds was profit. Second, probably a distant second, was the goal of establishing a refuge for English Quakers. The territory they were purchasing was envisioned, both by them and their Quaker brethren, as a colony with cheap and plentiful land, free of the religious persecution and the morally corrupting influences encountered in England.

Unfortunately for the two would-be colonial proprietors, there were still some major unresolved issues hindering both their expected financial salvation and the establishment of a Quaker Utopia. First was the question of the right of Berkeley to sell his interests in the Colony in the first place. The Duke of York had granted New Jersey to Berkeley and Carteret jointly and undivided. There had been no actual formal division of the property. The situation was further complicated by the fact that, following the English repossession of New Netherlands in 1674, the Duke of York refused to reaffirm Berkeley’s rights to the colony in spite of the fact that he had readily done so for Carteret. The Duke, upon learning of Berkeley’s sale to Fenwick and Byllynge, was reticent to facilitate this arrangement and further the goals of English Quakerism (Pomfret 1956:67).

The second stumbling point involved Fenwick and Byllynge’s right to govern their holdings. The patent that Charles II had given the Duke of York in 1664 had specifically included the right of government subject only to the King, but the Duke’s grant to Berkeley and Carteret had not included such a caveat. Thus, the question remained as to whether Berkeley’s grant included the right of government or whether it involved only the rights to the land itself. This meant that Fenwick and Byllynge would have to battle both for the right to settle on the lands they had purchased

and for the right to set up a government independent of the Governor and bureaucracy then in place in New York.

To further complicate matters, Fenwick and Byllynge could not agree on the best manner in which to settle their colony. The squabbling over this issue became increasingly bitter and ultimately divisive. Because of his bankruptcy, Byllynge was forced to allow the deeds for the new province to be made out in Fenwick's name. Fenwick, in possession of the title, then refused to transfer them back to Byllynge's trustees (Gawen Lawrie and Nicholas Lucas). To avoid a court implemented settlement, William Penn was appointed to arbitrate the dispute. Penn agreed to join Lawrie and Lucas as a trustee of Byllynge's estate. The three trustees, Fenwick and Byllynge then signed the "Quintipartite Deed" formally recognizing Fenwick's 10% interest in the purchase in return for him signing over his rights to the remaining 90%.

Fenwick took these proceedings to mean that he had the right to take personal possession of 10% of the total acreage of the province, while Penn, Laurie, Lucas and Byllynge held that Fenwick's share was an undivided interest. While the trustees smoothed over the various disputes with Berkeley and Carteret and began preparation for the sale of shares in the colony, Fenwick independently set about planning an entirely separate settlement that would encompass within its bounds 10% of the total acreage of the Byllynge/Fenwick purchase.

During this transitional period, Byllynge's trustees also set about planning the settlement of the colony. Believing that they possessed the right to govern as well as occupy the lands purchased from Lord Berkeley, the trustees formulated a seminal document entitled *The Concessions and Agreements of the Proprietors, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the Province of West-New-Jersey in America*. They both anticipated and hoped that the shares in the new

colony would be sold to members of the Society of Friends. However, although the Concessions and Agreements were tailored towards the creation of a safe haven for Quakerism, its authors also wished to create a governmental framework attractive to all potential purchasers in order to more readily facilitate the sale of shares. Thus, the colony would be a religious haven, but first and foremost the sale of shares needed to be profitable, albeit profitable in a fair and just Quaker manner. The plainly written document that resulted from their efforts was perhaps the most liberal and democratic colonial charter of its time. It spelled out a system of government founded on the power of a General Assembly periodically elected through the secret ballot of freeholders. The cornerstone of the document was its forward-looking guarantee of individual liberties both religious and civic.

The Concessions and Agreements also spelled out the methods by which shares in the colony were to be sold. The proprietors were concerned that land rights should be openly distributed and not dominated by the interests of a relatively few wealthy individuals. This was an issue of particular importance to 17th-century Quakers. Recent research has shown that one of the principal problems facing early Quakerism in England was the dearth of available freeholds in the marginalized agricultural areas that tended to be the strongholds of Quakerism. English members of the Society of Friends found the religion to be strongly influenced by land ownership issues. Quakerism also placed a strong emphasis on the importance of family and on the nurturing of children within the faith. During the years immediately preceding the Quaker settlement of the Delaware Valley, the relatively insular Society of Friends was focused far more on the retention of "birthright" children of established friends than on attracting potential converts as "convinced" friends (Levy 1988).

Quakers felt threatened by the urbanization that came with the pre-dawn light of the British Industrial Revolution. Quaker children were drawn away from the family to apprenticeships and low paying jobs in cities where they were subject to the corrupting influences that dominated the modern urban social landscape. Few Quaker children who followed this course remained Quakers for very long. In order to preserve their families and preserve the Society of Friends, Quakers guarded their children's growth closely. Usually this meant keeping them at home within agrarian Quaker communities isolated from the corruption of the modern urban world. The difficulty was that the typical Quaker family could afford only to stake the future of the eldest son. In accordance with the generally prevailing principal of primogeniture, the eldest son would inherit the entire estate of the father. For most Quakers, this meant either outright title to the family farm or, since much of the land was still held in a declining state of feudalism, the rights to the lease thereon (Levy 1988).

Land was such a scarce commodity in England that only a few Quaker families had estates or leaseholds large enough to be divided among multiple heirs. Relatively wealthy Quakers could find suitable apprenticeships for second and third sons under the oversight of Quaker craftsmen, but in most cases these younger children were lost to their families and their faith when they were forced to leave home to support themselves. Seventeenth-century Quakers desperately sought additional land with which to buffer their families. The need for real estate to support Quaker children was just as important to the minds and hearts of 17th-century Friends as the more often cited desire to escape from religious persecution, a phenomenon that had begun to abate by the time of the initial settlement of New Jersey.

It was this desire to provide small landed estates for growing Quaker families which drove the West Jersey trustees in their efforts to establish a land distribution

system which would avoid the concentration of most of the land in the hands of a relatively few individuals. This concern was of the utmost importance, despite the trustees' fiduciary obligations to Edward Byllynge that on their own might have led them in a more expedient and profitable direction. In order to pay Byllynge's debts, funds were raised by the trustees through the sale of shares in Byllynge's 90% stake in the province. A joint stock company of 100 shares valued at £350 each was created with fractions of shares as small as 4/25ths being sold. If all of the shares were sold, £35,000 would be raised on Fenwick's and Byllynge's initial investment of £1,000. This was an amount sufficient to clear Byllynge of his debts. The purchaser of each share was to acquire rights to 1/100 of the lands of the province. After setting aside the ten shares granted to John Fenwick and additional shares tendered to some of Byllynge's creditors, the trustees were left with a block of approximately 70 shares to sell. About 40 shares were sold by 1677. In the end the wishes of the trustees were fulfilled; all but one of the purchasers, Dr. Daniel Coxe, were Quakers (Pomfret 1956:86-89).

Most buyers were Englishmen, but 17 Irishmen and three Scotsmen were also included within the list of purchasers. Of the approximately 120 purchasers in total, 32 individuals acquired one or more full shares. Most, however, acquired only a fraction of a single share. Both Quaker investors and potential settlers bought shares in the colony. Real estate speculators outnumbered potential colonists. Only 25% of the purchasers actually settled in West Jersey. Six of the 120 purchasers also held stakes in the Province of East Jersey and ten later became first purchasers of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. By and large, the purchasers were relatively affluent. Few 17th-century English Quakers could be considered wealthy, but most of those who bought shares in the colony were from the wealthiest stratum of the Society of Friends. In spite of the driving force posed by the need for agricultural land, most purchasers were craftsmen or

“middle-class” merchants. They were the individuals with the most capital to invest. Only three were identified as “yeomen” (Pomfret 1956:86-89).

John Fenwick arrived in the Delaware Bay in the fall of 1675 aboard the *Griffin* with approximately 150 settlers. This group established West Jersey’s first English colonial settlement at the site of present-day Salem, New Jersey. The initial purchasers of Byllynge’s shares did not arrive in the province until August of 1677 when the ship *Kent*, carrying 230 passengers, entered the Delaware Bay. This expedition was overseen by nine commissioners: Thomas Olive, Daniel Wills, John Penford, Benjamin Scott, Joseph Helmsley, Robert Stacy, Thomas Foulke, John Kinsey and Richard Guy (Pomfret 1956:103). Instructed to plant the colony above Fenwick’s settlement at Salem, the commissioners had the *Kent* unload the settlers at the mouth of Raccoon Creek in present-day Gloucester County, New Jersey. Nearly all of the ship’s passengers were Quakers and they were divided into two main groups: a party from London and the outlying vicinity, and a group from Yorkshire and counties in the neighboring North Midlands.

The London proprietors were determined to settle on the lands between Pennsauken Creek and Rancocas Creek and establish a town in the vicinity of present-day Gloucester City. The Yorkshire group’s financial interests in the colony were based on the single largest group of shares assigned by Byllynge’s trustees. Five Yorkshire Quakers (Thomas Hutchinson, Mahlon Stacy, George Hutchenson, Joseph Helmsley and Thomas Pearson) had purchased all the debt of Edward Byllynge to persons in Yorkshire and agreed to forgive it in return for ten shares of the colony to be used in founding a settlement for Yorkshire Friends at the Falls of the Delaware (Pomfret 1956:88). Members of the Yorkshire group were to be assigned properties between Rancocas Creek and Assunpink Creek. Upon reviewing their limited numbers, representatives of the London and Yorkshire groups came

to the conclusion that a single relatively central town made more sense. Thus, the village of Bridlington or Burlington came to be laid out at the mouth of the Assiscunk Creek opposite Mattinecunk Island (Pomfret 1956:104).

The Quaker commissioners relied on the help of the resident Swedes to act as intermediaries between themselves and the leaders of the local Native American population. On September 10, 1677, three of the Delaware Valley’s most prominent Swedish settlers, Israel Helme, Peter Rambo and Lacy Cock, assisted the commissioners in bargaining with the appropriate Native American “sachems” for the purchase of the lands on the east side of the Delaware River between Timber Creek and Rancocas Creek. Seventeen days later, a similar purchase was arranged with different Indian representatives for the area between Oldman’s Creek and Timber Creek and, finally, on October 10, 1677, the English arranged to barter with Ockanickon, Weskeakitt, Petheatatus, Nauhoosing, Ahtakkones, Apperingues and Kekroppamant for the lands from Rancocas Creek north to the Assunpink. After relatively little negotiation, Ockanickon and his compatriots relinquished their rights to this vast tract in return for a list of sundry commodities that reads like the inventory of common London peddler (Smith 1877:95):

Forty six fathoms of duffolds, thirty blankets, one hundred and fifty pounds of powder, thirty guns, sixty kettles, thirty axes, thirty hoes, thirty awls, thirty needles, thirty looking glasses, thirty pairs of stockings, seven anchors of brandy or rum, thirty knives, thirty barrows of load, thirty six rings, thirty jews harps, thirty combs, thirty bracelets, thirty bells, thirty tobacco tongs or stools, thirty pairs of sissors, twelve tobacco boxes, thirty flints, ten spoonfuls of red paint, one hundred fish hooks, one gross of tobacco pipes and thirty shirts (West Jersey Deed B:4).

This list of goods, item for item and quantity for quantity, is almost exactly identical to the lists recorded in the deeds for the two earlier land purchases made by the Quakers prior to their meeting with Ockanickon and his associates. This would imply that there was in fact little negotiation actually taking place. The English Quakers approached the designated native representatives and offered them a previously determined amount of goods for their lands. In each case the Indians accepted. Although the details of these bargains seem not to have been open to negotiation, evidence would seem to suggest that the Native American sachems were willing participants in the arrangements. Having already made two previous agreements, it turned out that, in the case of the transfer of land between the Rancocas and the Assunpink, the Quaker representatives lacked sufficient trade goods to finalize the arrangement and were “obligated to agree with the Indians not to settle till the remainder was paid” (Smith 1877:97). Ockanickon apparently harbored no ill will towards his new Quaker neighbors. His friendship with the settlers is today a subject both of documented historic fact and legend.

Of the Native Americans who signed the deed of October 10 at least three – Ockanickon, Weskeakitt and Nauhoosing – were probably the representatives of Native American peoples actually living in the area around the falls. This is demonstrated by the fact that, on July 15, 1682, William Penn journeyed to the west side of the falls in order to secure the purchase of the lands that today comprise southern Bucks County. There he met with 11 Indian sachems, including Ockanickon, Weskeakitt and Nauhoosing. Thus the community of Native American peoples at the falls, to the extent that it constituted a community in the way we understand it today, included persons on both sides of the river represented by at least some of the same individuals (Myers 1937:11).

Ockanickon’s ownership of land on the west bank of the river at the Falls of the Delaware is further borne out by the earlier account of Edward Cantwell recording Ockanickon’s response to an attempt to lay out lands at the falls by representatives of Governor Andros beyond what he (Cantwell) had purchased from the Indians. Cantwell wrote that the Indians:

did not hinder the same, so farre as the Indyans had settled w<sup>ch</sup> they have mark<sup>t</sup> & that is from the beginning of the Falls downe to the lower end of Orechton Island and no further. Where upon we made answer & shewed them the deed of sale w<sup>ch</sup> was made to y<sup>r</sup> honor. Neverthe lesse they denyed laying out of the land or to settle without purchasing of the same for they are the right owners and never have had the value of a pipe, Matapis stands w<sup>th</sup> them & the Ockenickan who are the chief owners of the Land the s<sup>d</sup> Ockenichan saying that none will or shall come upon the Land without satisfaction (Ferneow 1877:632).

Although little, if anything, is recorded about the subsequent activity of Weskeakitt and Nauhoosing after their meeting with William Penn, more is known about Ockanickon. Recorded by Thomas Budd as being one of eight local “Indian Kings,” Ockanickon was present at many of the councils held to resolve disputes between the Indians and the settlers. He had frequent interactions with the settlers and spent his final days with them, dying in Burlington in the early 1680s. Thomas Budd’s *Good Order Established in Pennsylvania and New Jersey in America*, first published in 1685, records what were held to be Ockanickon’s final words as interpreted by Henry Jacob Falkinberg and recorded by John Cripps. Ockanickon, wishing to leave behind a message to his designated successor (his brother’s son, Jachkursoe), demonstrated his interest in continuity of peace between the two peoples. In his recommendations to Jachkursoe, he instructed that:

If any Indians should speak any evil of Indians or Christians, do not joyn with it, but look to that which is Good, and to joyn with the same always. Look at the Sun from the Rising of it to the Setting of the same. In Speeches that shall be made between the Indians and Christians, if any thing be spoke that is evil, do not joyn with that, but joyn with that which is good, and refuse the evil (Budd 1865:66).

He referred to the English commissioners as his brethren and departed this world soon afterwards (Budd 1865:65-66). His earthly remains were laid to rest within the Burlington Friends burial ground and lie there today beside those of the early Quaker settlers he befriended.

The first lands to be taken up by the English were those immediately adjacent to the Delaware and its largest tributaries. These properties offered both the best and most fertile soils and, obviously, close proximity to major waterways. The watercourses represented the easiest and most efficient local transportation and communication routes. Rivers and creeks defined early West Jersey: they were the sources of place names; they formed boundaries between tenths, settlement areas and individuals properties; nucleated settlements developed at their mouths. Until bridges began to be constructed in the 1680s and 1690s, they also hindered overland traffic as readily as they facilitated waterborne transport. Although a basic road network had begun to take shape, most transportation of people, goods and produce continued to be undertaken by boat throughout most of the 17th century. Ships, shallops, ketches, canoes, barges and other watercraft linked settlement to settlement and plantation to plantation. The major overland routes that did develop followed the earlier Native American network of trails. The most significant of the early roads were those that linked Burlington with the Falls of the Delaware, the falls with Elizabethtown in East Jersey and, by the 1680s, the Salem Road or King's Highway, which linked the colony's principal settlement, Burlington, in the north with its second most

populous town, Salem, in the south. The road to Elizabethtown eventually led on to New York, later connecting this latter settlement with Philadelphia. It also served to connect the Delaware and Raritan valleys providing a vital linkage between the principal West Jersey settlements and those of East Jersey.

Craftsmen and trades people were in considerable demand in the new colony. Although agriculture was the principal task of most of the settlers, those who had formerly held other occupations possessed secondary skills that were often tapped in order to provide supplementary income. For example, carpenters, bricklayers, masons and blacksmiths were needed to erect the colony's buildings and infrastructure. Tailors, tanners, weavers and cobblers were needed to cloth the people. Millers and coopers processed and packed grain both for local use and for shipment to the ports of Burlington and Philadelphia, and beyond to the West Indies and Europe. Most of these men all practiced agriculture to some degree, but a few very early on became tradesmen opening shops at Burlington or Gloucester.

## **D. ENGLISH SETTLEMENT AT THE FALLS**

### **1. Crewcorne Village**

By 1679, a group of English settlers, many of them Quakers, had established a loose-knit settlement on the western bank of the river just below the line of the first fall. They purchased the rights to their properties from Governor Andros of New York who had obtained his rights from Indian purchases and from the Duke of York. Among the first to settle tracts on the west side of the river were John Ackerman, Thomas Scholey, Robert Scholey, John Lucas, Gilbert Wheeler, William Biles, Samuel Syche and Richard Ridgeway. A John Wood is also said to have taken up residence at the falls in 1678 on 478 acres at the site of present-day Morrisville (Dana 1909:242-245).



The settlement was nucleated enough to merit a name, “Crewcorne,” but none of the lots was smaller in size than 100 acres, making Crewcorne more of a grouping of adjacent farms than a town or village proper. The settlement appears on an early map of the lands between Burlington and the falls copied by Jasper Danckaerts in 1679 (Figure 3.2). Danckaerts and Peter Sluyter were two members of a Labadist sect sent over to the New World to scout locations for a planned Labadist settlement. They traveled together through New Netherland in 1679 passing through New Jersey and down the Delaware River, recording their experiences in a journal now preserved in the collections of the Long Island Historical Society. Their guides for much of this journey were prominent Delaware River residents Israel Helme, Ephraim Herman and Peter Aldrichs. In his journal, Danckaerts describes how he came upon the original source for his map thus:

We went to M. de Lagrange’s, where we saw a newly drawn map of the South River, from the falls to Burlington, made by the Land surveyor there. He told us the governor had given him a grant of a piece of land on the South River between those places (Jameson 1913:165).

Initially, the central focus of Crewcorne was Gilbert Wheeler’s tavern (Snipes *et al.* 1992:48). From the riverfront in the vicinity of the tavern, a ferry operated which took travelers from the head of present-day Biles Island to the start of the “wagon route” to Elizabeth, New Jersey. This path began on the east bank of the river at the foot of the bluff below the site of present-day Riverview Cemetery. Prior to the dredging of the river in the 19th century, the river in this immediate area ranged between two and three feet in depth making it the likely location of the ford on the Native American Assunpink Trail. This ford would have continued in use during the early settlement period prior to the establishment of a ferry.

Gilbert Wheeler’s tavern served as Crewcorne’s focal point until the first Bucks County Courthouse was erected. Although the records documenting the existence of the courthouse are sketchy, and there is considerable debate about exactly where the building stood, a courthouse had been erected in the vicinity of the falls by at least 1686 (Snipes *et al.* 1992:16). The house of William Biles, Crewcorne’s most prominent resident, was another important landmark. It was at this homestead that the Falls Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends was established in 1683.

Without a doubt speaking of the early settlers at Crewcorne, Jasper Danckaerts noted in 1679 that:

There are Quakers who either are more wise, or through poverty act so, who do not buy any land on the east side of the river, but buy on the west side, where it is cheaper in consequence of the Indians being there (Jameson 1913:155-156).

The presence of and difficulties presented by Native Americans at Crewcorne is demonstrated by a complaint of Robert Lucas, Richard Ridgeway, George Browne, Lionelle Britton, Samuel Field, Robert Schooley and Mary Ackerman dated September 13, 1680. The complaint was lodged with the Governor of New York (who still retained jurisdiction over the west bank of the Delaware) and concerned the sale of rum by Gilbert Wheeler to the local Indians.

According to the plaintiffs, Wheeler “entertained” Indians:

at his house by great numbers & sells it [rum] to them by both great and small measures, which sometimes they carry a little distance from his house & makes themselves drunk with it, then they revill & fight together & then they com furiously and break our fences and steales our corn & breakes our windows and doors and Carryes away our goods, and worried 3 of our chatle in one day with their dogs, which oppression if it continues will force som of us from

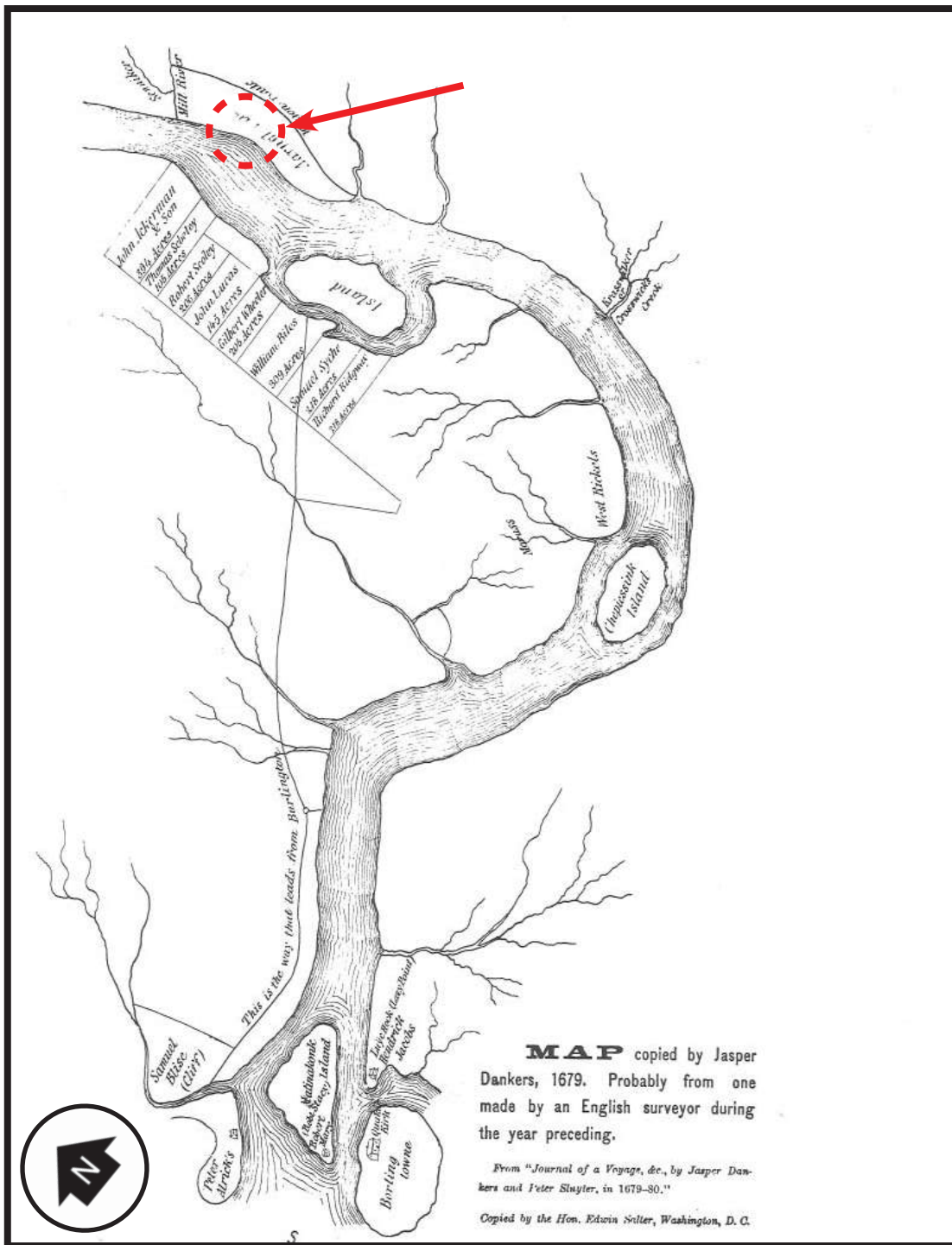


Figure 3.2. Dankaerts, Jasper. *Map of the Delaware River from Burlington to Trenton*. Circa 1679. This early cartographic depiction copied by Dankaerts from a slightly earlier survey map shows the Crewcorne lots fronting the west bank of the Delaware River opposite the site of modern day Trenton. No scale given.

our plantations, we being very weake at ye p'sent  
for resistance & ignorant in their Lingo whereby we  
can not appease them when they are mad with drink  
(Fernow 1877:658-659).

Although Crewcorne was a defined place in the minds of its residents, the term “The Falls” was a more commonly utilized appellation that described both the physical and geographic location as well as the extended community that soon developed on both sides of the river. After all, settlers on opposite sides of the river were relatively close to each other and, at the same time, relatively isolated from anyone else. The children of these first property holders inter-married frequently. Many settlers, like the brothers, Robert and John Scholey, located first on one side of the river and then moved to the other, while others owned lands on both sides of the river concurrently. Both groups of families looked to Burlington as their market town and local village center and the membership of the majority in the Society of Friends was another unifying factor. Most settlers on both sides of the river were Quakers, but initially there were no Quaker meetings on the west side of the river. The Burlington and later Chesterfield Quarterly and Monthly Meetings of Friends had oversight over all of the Quakers at the falls who met together for business and worship. Later, when the Falls Monthly Meeting of Friends was established, the site of the meeting rotated between houses on the east and west sides of the river.

## 2. Assunpink Creek to Watson's Creek

It is a country that produceth all things for the support and sustenance of man, in a plentiful manner ... I have traveled through most of the places that are settled, and some that are not, and in every place, I find the country very apt to answer the expectation of the diligent: I have seen orchards laden with fruit to admiration, their very limbs torn to pieces with the weight, and most delicious to the taste and lovely

to behold; I have seen an apple tree from a pippin kernel, yield a barrel of curious cyder; and peaches in such plenty, that some people took their carts a peach-gathering; I could not but smile at the conceit of it... For my part, I like it so well, I never had the least thought of returning to England, except on the account of trade.

Mahlon Stacy, 1680 (Smith 1877:111-113)

Settlement on the east bank of the Delaware at the falls began in the spring of 1679 with the arrival of Mahlon Stacy “of Handsworth in the County of York, Tanner” (West Jersey Deed B:311). Mahlon Stacy was one of the Yorkshire Quakers who had consolidated Edward Byllynge’s Yorkshire debt and waived it in exchange for ten shares in the Province of West Jersey, retaining two full shares for himself. Stacy, along with most of the other Yorkshire Friends in West Jersey, arrived in the New World aboard the *Shield* in 1678. His brother, Robert Stacy, had preceded him by about a year and served as one of the initial Quaker commissioners. Most of the passengers on the *Shield* spent their first winter in Burlington before taking up the properties to which they were entitled in the following spring. Each owner was permitted to select his own land, but there were a few stipulations. No one possessing more than one eighth of a share in the enterprise was permitted to layout more than 500 acres in one place. Similarly, limits were placed on how much creek or river frontage could be surveyed to any individual, and no one was to take up lands on both sides of a creek without the permission of the commissioners. With the coming of spring, Mahlon Stacy selected a large and prominent property straddling both sides of Assunpink Creek (despite the prohibitions) near its confluence with the Delaware, just above the first fall line.

Although Crewcorne on the west bank of the Delaware seems to have been plagued by a large and difficult Indian population, this was apparently not the case for Mahlon Stacy and most of the other settlers on the east bank of the Delaware. John Cripps, one of the

first settlers wrote a letter to one of Mahlon Stacy's relatives, Henry Stacy, from Burlington dated August 8, 1677, that described among other things the usually positive relations established between the local Native American population and the Quakers:

The Indians are very loving to us, except there and there one, when they have gotten strong liquors in their heads, which they now greatly love ... (Smith 1877:104).

Although most of the accounts of the interaction between the local native population and the settlers have come down to us through the writings and publications of the Quaker proprietors of West Jersey, and thus are probably biased in order to present the dealings between the two peoples as being both peaceful and cordial in line with the teachings and tenets of the Society of Friends, the local Indian population apparently did work very hard at peaceful coexistence. If nothing else, the Indians probably understood that they were sure to lose any large-scale conflict and also that the settlers offered a much-expanded opportunity for trade.

Thomas Budd, one of the most prominent early settlers in West Jersey wrote in 1685: "The Indians are but few in Number, and have been very serviceable to us by selling us Venison, Indian Corn, Pease and beans, Fish and Fowl, Buck Skins, Beaver, otter, and other Skins and Furs; the Men hunt, Fish and Fowl, and the Women plant the Corn, and carry Burthens ..." (Budd 1865:62). Mahlon Stacy himself also wrote on several occasions concerning his positive interactions with the Indian population. He noted that the settlers "had cranberries brought to our houses by the Indians in great plenty ... As for Venison and fowls, we have great plenty: We have brought home to our houses by the Indians, seven or eight fat bucks of a day; and sometimes put by as many; having no occasion for them ..." (Smith 1877:112).

Nonetheless, like the Swedish Governor Printz before him, Mahlon Stacy betrayed his own European and Christian prejudices when, in 1680, he wrote to George Hutchenson that:

The Lord is...removing the Heathen that know him not and making room for a better people, that fears His name. 'Tis Hardly credible to believe, how the Indians are wasted in Two years time: and especially the last summer (Toothman 1977:17).

The decrease in numbers of Native Americans was caused by two factors. The first and most benign was the retreat and migration of many of the Indians away from the heaviest areas of European settlement. The second and probably more significant reason why Native Americans came less frequently to Mahlon Stacy's door was smallpox. This disease swept through the Delaware Valley like wildfire, decimating the Indian population. Many of the Indians, quite correctly, blamed the Europeans for the plague and tensions rose accordingly.

Thomas Budd, again writing in 1685, noted:

The Indians told us, they were advised to make War on us, and cut us off whilst we were but few, and said, They were told, that we sold them the Small-pox, with the match Coat they had bought of us, which caused our People to be in Fears and Jealousies concerning them; therefore we sent for the Indian Kings, to speak with them, who with many more Indians, came to Burlington ... to which one of them, in behalf of the rest, made this following Speech in answer saying ..., to the Small-Pox, it was once in my Grandfathers time, and it could not be the English that could send it us then, there being no English in the Country, and it was once in my Fathers time, they could not send it us then neither; and now it is in my time, I do not believe that they have sent it us now: I do believe it is the man above that hath sent it us (Budd 1865:69).

According to this Quaker account, it would seem that both Mahlon Stacy and the council of Indian chiefs believed that it was God's will that the people who had occupied the Delaware Valley for so many years before the coming of the Europeans should be swept away and replaced by growing Quaker families. In spite of the decline in population, the Indians did not vanish from the landscape completely, nor did they abandon their remaining legal interests in the real estate they had formerly occupied. In 1703, for example, "upon the application of Mahamickwon, alias king Charles, an Indian sachem, unto the council of proprietors" requested the settlement of a dispute concerning the eastern boundary "of two Indian purchases, formerly made from Rankokas Creek to Timber Creek, and from Rankokas to Assunpink." Mahamickwon still claimed title to the lands east of the original purchase line and wished to clarify a discrepancy between the verbally agreed upon boundary and that which was set down on paper (Smith 1877:96). Interestingly, it seems that some of the Indian population that had formerly inhabited lands near the falls had since moved east and north into central New Jersey, as well as west to Crewcorne and beyond.

Free from the daily inconvenience of the native peoples, Mahlon Stacy was at liberty to start developing his plantation like the country estate, Ballifield, where he had grown up in England (Plate 3.1). As difficult as this may have been, living on the edge of what he would have considered a wilderness, Stacy set about establishing a home. In addition to building a house, Stacy also erected a gristmill on Assunpink Creek, either the second or third such mill to be constructed on the Delaware.

On their journey through New Jersey, Jasper Danckaerts and Peter Sluyter visited the gristmill at the falls and recorded the event in their journal:

[W]e arrive at the falls of the South River about sundown, passing a creek where a new grist-mill was erected by the Quakers, who live hereabouts in great numbers, and daily increase. But it seemed to us as if this mill could not stand long, especially if the flow of water were heavy, because the work was not well arranged. We rode over here, and went directly to the house of the person who had constructed it, who was a Quaker, where we dismounted, and willingly dismissed our horses. The house was very small, and from the incivility of the inmates and the unfitness of the place, we expected poor lodgings. As it was still daylight, and we had heard so much of the falls of the South River, or, at least, we ourselves had imagined it, we went back to the river, in order to look at them; but we discovered we had deceived ourselves in our ideas. We had supposed it was a place, where the water came tumbling down in great quantity and force from a great height above, over a rock into an abyss, as the word *falls* would seem to imply, and as we had heard and read of the falls of the South River are nothing more than a place of about two English miles in length, or not so much, where the river is full of stones, almost across it, which are not very large, but in consequence of the shallowness, the water runs rapidly and breaks against them, causing some noise, but not very much, which place, if it were necessary, could be made navigable on one side. This miller's house is the highest up the river, hitherto inhabited. Here we had to lodge; and although we were too tired to eat, we had to remain sitting upright the whole night, not being able to find room enough to lie upon the ground. We had a fire, however, but the dwellings are so wretchedly constructed, that if you are not so close to the fire as almost to burn yourself, you cannot keep warm, for the wind blows through them everywhere. Most of the English, and many others, have their houses made of nothing but clapboards, as they call them there, in this manner: they first make a wooden frame, the same as they do in Westphalia, and at Altena, but not so strong; they then split the boards of clapwood, so that they are like cooper's pipe staves, except they are not bent. These are made very thin, with a large knife. They are about five or six feet long, and are nailed on the



Plate 3.1. View of Ballifield, the ancestral home of Mahlon Stacy in the village of Handsworth, Yorkshire, England. This photograph shows Ballifield as it appeared in the early 20th century. The house was heavily remodeled in the centuries following Mahlon Stacy's emigration to New Jersey. (Source: Ely *et al.* 1910:123).

outside of the frame, with the ends lapped over each other. They are not usually laid so close together, as to prevent you from sticking a finger between them, in consequence either of their not being well joined, or the boards being crooked. When it is cold and windy the best people plaster them with clay. Such are almost all the English houses in the country, except those they have which were built by people of other nations. Now this house was new and airy; and as the night was very windy from the north, and extremely cold with clear moonshine, I shall not readily forget it. Ephraim and his wife obtained a bed; but we passed through the night without sleeping much (James and Jameson 1959:96-97).

Although Stacy's plantation was clearly one of the most desirable properties in the province (if not one of the most comfortable), some evidence exists that its selection may have also been tied to the continuing interest in establishing a village for Yorkshire Friends in the vicinity of the falls. The scheme seems not to have completely died with the joint settlement of the provincial capital of Burlington. Writing from Burlington in the early spring of 1679 about his immediate future, William Emley, later to become one of Mahlon Stacy's close neighbors, stated that: "We are now going to settle a Town at the Falls" (Toothman 1977:48). Four years later, Emley, along with Stacy, Thomas Lambert, John Lambert and Joshua Wright, were surveyed a tract of 2,000 acres there (*Revel's Book of Surveys* 76). At least initially, the five men, all Quakers from the North Midlands/South Yorkshire area of England (Figure 3.3), legally held the property jointly, although amongst themselves they seem to have recognized the boundaries of individual tracts. The existence of this communally held land may be additional evidence of the attempt to establish a settlement for the Yorkshire Friends at the falls.

By the date of the 2,000-acre survey, in addition to Mahlon Stacy, two others of the original five Yorkshire proprietors, Thomas Hutchinson and George Hutchenson, had also taken up tracts at the

falls. Another early settler in the area, Robert Pearson, may well have been related to Thomas Pearson, another of the five original Yorkshire proprietors. Most of the land on the eastern bank of the Delaware at the falls was either in the possession of one of the original five Yorkshire proprietors or of Yorkshire Quakers who purchased proprietary rights from them. The few exceptions seem to have been settlers crossing over the Delaware from Pennsylvania or servants in the retinue of the Yorkshiremen.

Although the recorded metes and bounds of the 2,000-acre survey of 1683 are somewhat difficult to interpret, this tract seems to have included all of the land on the east side of the falls fronting the Delaware, extending south from a point 1,320 feet north of the mouth of Assunpink Creek to the mouth of present-day Watson's Creek. This vast tract would have included the plantation on which Mahlon Stacy had already settled, and thus may represent formal legal confirmation of earlier property assignment/selection.

Another property that would have been included within the bounds of this survey was the dwelling house and six-acre lot of land of John Lambert at "the falls meadow." Lambert had purchased this property in November of 1681 from Mahlon Stacy and Thomas Revel (West Jersey Deed B:571). This lot was initially laid out for Revel, one of the earliest Quaker settlers at the falls. Revel apparently resided at the falls only briefly. After selling out to Lambert, he moved to Burlington and erected the small brick house that still stands there today and bears his name (Reed and Miller 1944:77-79; Toothman 1977:47-58).

At the time of Lambert's purchase, Revel had already constructed a dwelling house upon his lot. The existence of a smaller house lot, in and of itself, may be evidence of the expectation that a village would be established on the eastern bank at the falls. The exact location of the Revel/Lambert house lot remains unknown, but the property description of the Emley/

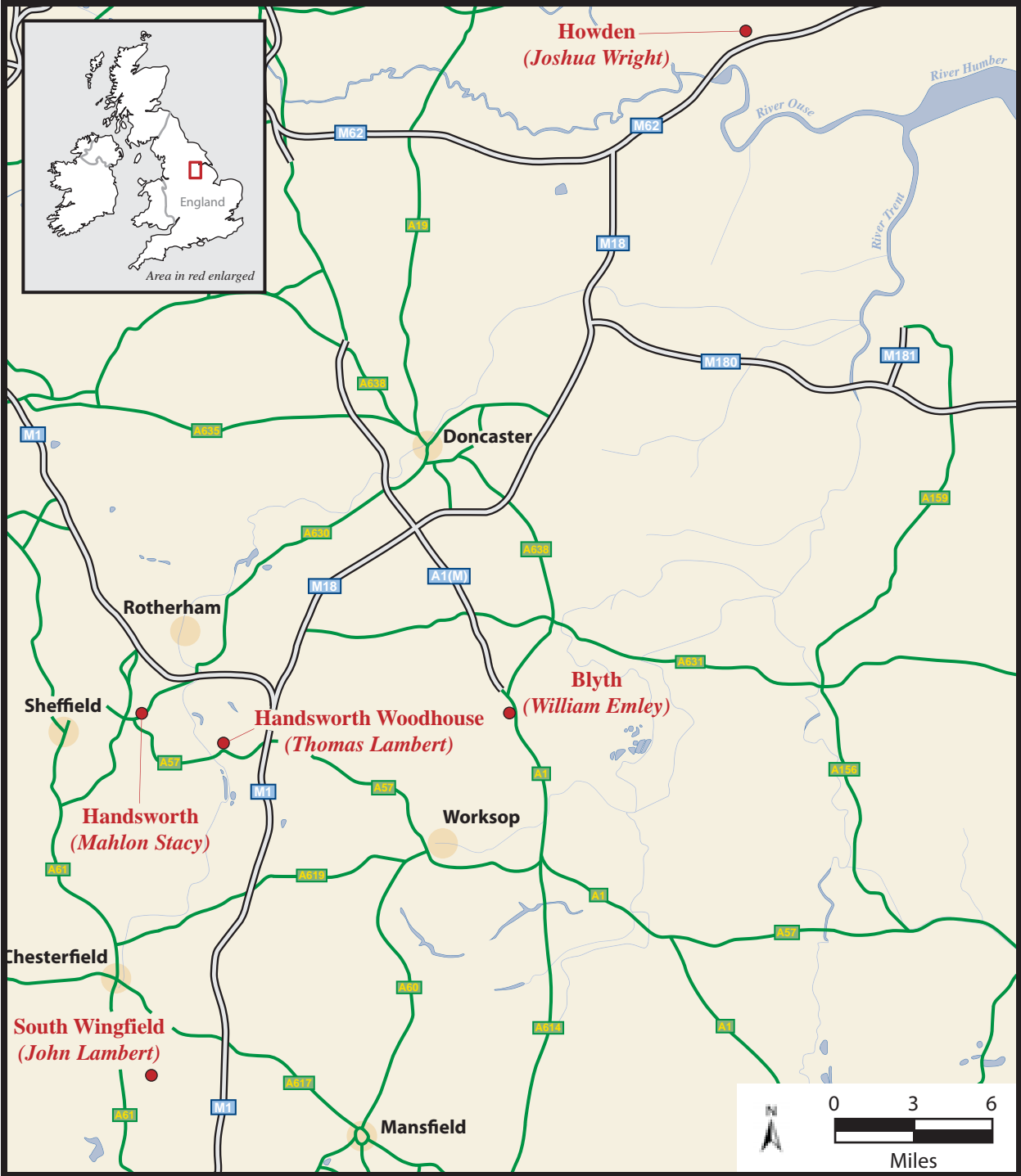


Figure 3.3. The Yorkshire and North Midlands Origins of the Five Associates of the Survey of 1683. This map of part of northern England shows where Mahlon Stacy, John Lambert, Thomas Lambert, William Emley and Joshua Wright lived prior to their emigration to North America. Scale 1 inch: 3.5 miles (approximately).



Lambert/Lambert/Stacy/Wright survey of 1683 makes it clear that the “Falls Meadow” consisted of the fens bordering the Delaware north of the mouth of present-day Watson’s Creek (Reed and Miller 1944:77-79; Toothman 1977:47-58).

The earliest properties set off at the falls mostly contained between 100 and 200 acres. Over time, however, the average size of the plots grew, with several tracts in the 300 to 400-acre range being laid out in the 1680s. Most of these properties included frontage on one or more of the navigable local waterways, with the most sought-after properties fronting the Delaware River. Mahlon Stacy’s property, as previously discussed, fronted the Delaware and also had the advantage of being bisected by Assunpink Creek. Other, only slightly less desirable properties at the falls overlooked the Delaware River and also included frontage on the smaller tributary today known as Watson’s Creek. Another geographic feature significant in the layout of these early plantations was the bluff that rises immediately to the east of the Delaware River and to the north of the marsh and lowlands surrounding Watson’s Creek. Most of the first properties surveyed extended back from the creek or river on to which they fronted so as to include areas of lowland adjacent to the watercourse suitable for grazing and meadow, as well as property atop the bluff edge that was more suitable for cultivation and wood lots.

The list of men who settled in the falls area prior to 1685 included Thomas Hutchinson, George Hutchenson, Andrew Smith, John Fullwood, Joshua Stones, Joshua Ely, William Lasswell, Robert Pearson, Peter Fretwell, Robert Murfin, James Pharo, John Rogers, Robert Scholey, Thomas Revel, Mahlon Stacy, Joshua Wright, William Emley and the brothers, John and Thomas Lambert (Toothman 1977:53-58).

Surprisingly, many of the earliest houses seem to have been located at the base of the bluff rather than on top of it (Figure 3.4). The Revel/Lambert house,

situated in “Falls Meadow,” may well have been one of these. Rather quickly, however, the risk posed to these base-of-the-bluff locations by flooding came to be understood and, by the late 1680s, an irregularly spaced string of houses lined the bluff edge overlooking Watson’s Creek and Crosswicks Creek, extending eastward from the Delaware River into what is modern day Hamilton Township. The westernmost of these houses possessed a commanding view from the bluff looking across the lowlands bordering Watson’s Creek and on down the main channel of the Delaware River to the south.

### 3. The Lambert Plantation

The second most desirable property after Mahlon Stacy’s was that which included the east bank of the Delaware River just below the falls and a section of the high bluff overlooking the “Falls Meadow.” This property was taken up by John Lambert, who probably appended his share of the 2,000-acre tract of 1683 to his six-acre house lot. Lambert’s property was attractive both for its cultivable land and for its valuable river frontage at the highest point of navigation. John Lambert had arrived in West Jersey aboard the *Shield* in 1678. Accompanying Lambert, a bachelor, were: a single servant whose name has been lost to history; his brother, Thomas; Thomas’ wife, Elizabeth Hooton Lambert; their children, Elizabeth, Thomas, John, James and Hannah; and several male and female servants bound to Thomas (Smith 1877:109).

Both John, “of South Wingfield in ye County of Derby Joyner,” and Thomas, “of Handsworth Woodhouse in the sd county of York,” possessed portions of proprietary shares in the Province of West New Jersey that they had purchased from Mahlon Stacy in January of 1677 before departing for America on the *Shield*. John Lambert purchased a 1/16th proprietary share and Thomas obtained 1/12th of a share (West Jersey Deeds B:311 and B:571). A third brother, James, also

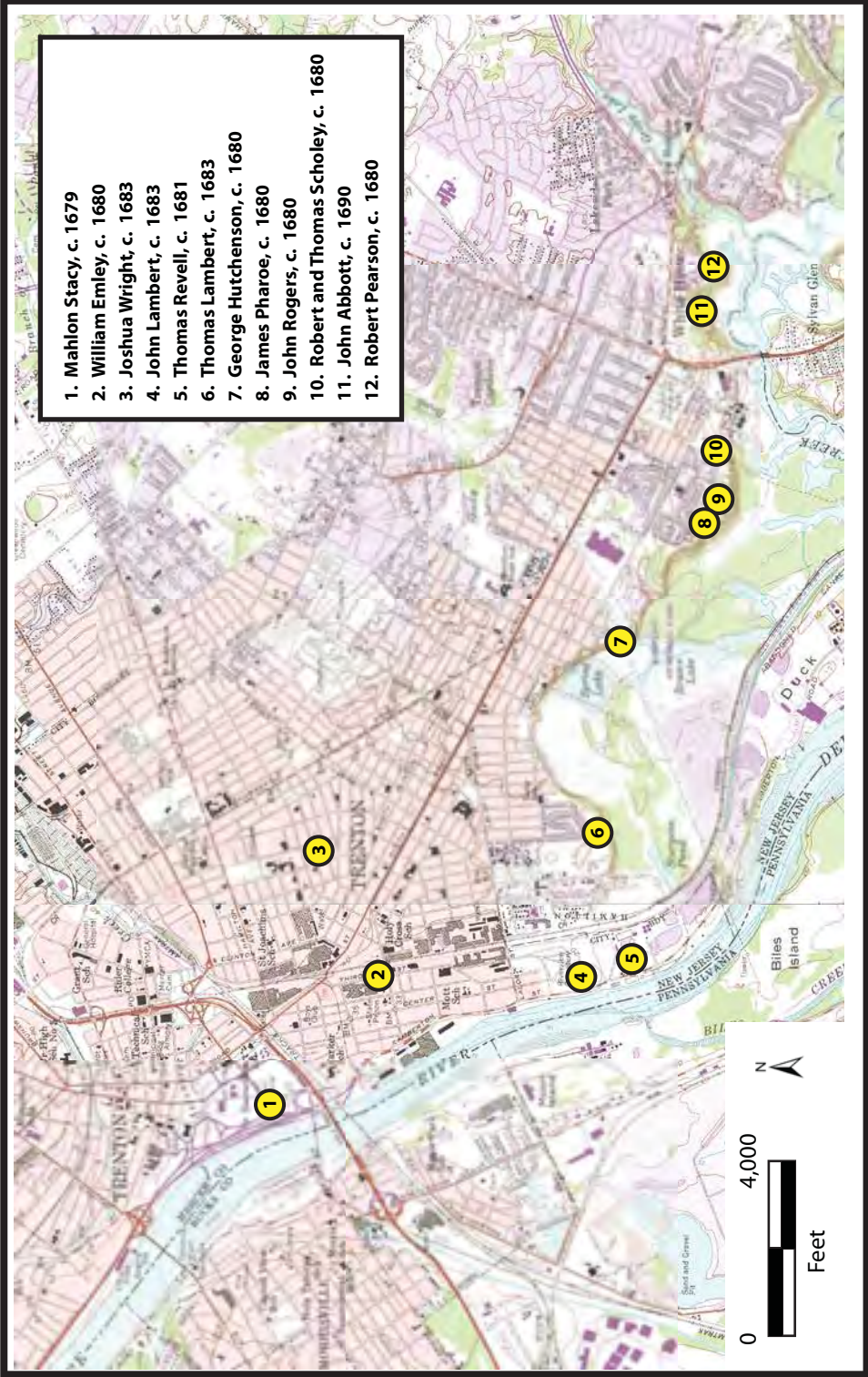


Figure 3.4. Late 17th-century Homesteads on the Bluffs South of Trenton. This map shows the locations of the principal early houses on the bluffs between Assunpink Creek and Crosswicks Creek.

purchased a 1/12th share, but died in the months prior to the *Shield's* arrival at Burlington in the summer of 1678. Thomas inherited this latter share following his brother's death (West Jersey Deed R:380). Upon their arrival in the Delaware Valley, John and Thomas Lambert stayed briefly in Burlington before relocating to the vicinity of the falls. John probably moved to the house in the "Falls Meadow" in 1681. Thomas Lambert would have followed soon after. Following the survey of 2,000 acres in 1683, John Lambert took up his share of the property on the bluff overlooking the "Falls Meadow" and the Delaware River, while Thomas Lambert settled the property immediately to the east of his brother's. The boundary line between the Lambert brothers' properties has not been recorded and is probably impossible to accurately deduce as John Lambert's plantation was later merged with Thomas's (Smith 1877:108-109, Toothman 1977:56-60).

Neither John nor Thomas Lambert came to West Jersey as a poor man. Like Mahlon Stacy, the Lamberts arrived in the colony equipped with a retinue of servants and sufficient capital to stake themselves in the venture. Thomas Lambert, in particular, was able to take a not inconsiderable amount of wealth and parlay this into an even greater fortune. He held a relatively high position in the West Jersey social and political structure from the outset. As early as 1681, he was elected along with Mahlon Stacy to serve as one of the nine commissioners of the colony as mandated by the Concessions and Agreements. Although at various times holding official appointments and posts, John Lambert seems to have played a rather more low-keyed role in the administration of the County and Province (Pomfret 1956:125).

A list of the proprietors and freeholders in 1684 contained in the Burlington Court Book records Thomas Lambert's name twice, each time showing him as possessing 400 acres as part of an undivided share. Presumably, this double entry indicates his

ownership of two parcels totaling 800 acres in area and reflects his inheritance of his recently deceased brother James's proprietary share. John Lambert was listed as possessing 300 acres; Joshua Wright held 400 acres; William Emley 400 acres; and Mahlon Stacy 700 acres. The average size of parcels held by Burlington County's freeholders at this date was about 250 acres. Thomas Lambert thus already held more than three times the average amount of property. According to the data of 1684, Thomas Lambert owned the third most acreage in the jurisdiction of the Burlington Court. John Lambert's 300-acre property was smaller, but may have been more desirable. Given its riverfront location at the head of navigation on the Delaware, its value per acre can also be expected to have been greater than most other property in the Province (Reed and Miller 1944:30-32).

Thomas Lambert erected a house and tannery on his tract. Two candidate locations are generally proffered for the site of Thomas Lambert's house. The first, and less often given, is on the riverfront bluff between Cliff and Landing Streets; the second is near the site of the late 18th-century house known as Bow Hill on Jeremiah Avenue (Hutchinson 1915, Book 5:114; Hewitt 1916; Trenton Historical Society 1929:388). John Lambert's house was probably situated on the bluff edge overlooking the "Falls Meadow" in the vicinity of present-day Riverview Cemetery.

In spite of the number of new settlers moving into the area, some idea of the isolation and yet relative safety in which the Lamberts lived during their early years at the falls can be found in the record of a rape trial held in 1687. The trial involved Elizabeth and Martha Hutchenson, the daughters of George Hutchenson, the owner of a plantation located to the east of the falls. The Hutchenson daughters brought a complaint to the Burlington Court against one Charles Sheepy, who was apparently a member of their household. Sheepy, according to the girls, had molested and eventually raped Elizabeth Hutchenson. Following an

initial incident of molestation, Elizabeth and Martha, apparently at home alone except for Sheepey's presence:

... went to Thomas Lambert's House about a myle and a halfe of, and desired Thomas Lamberts wife to give leave to her daughter Betty to goe and lye with them, in regard to the rest of the family was gone from home, but they two, and the said Charles Sheepey; but in regard Thomas Lamberts wife understood there was one man at home, shee said it was needlesse and therefore said shee could not then well spare her (Reed and Miller 1944:

Betty Lambert followed the two girls part of the way home whereupon she parted company with them. The two girls tearfully returned the rest of the way home, where Charles Sheepey overpowered Elizabeth in her bed and "had use of her body by carnall Copulation" (Reed and Miller 1944:77-78). This unfortunate episode reveals the relative distance between the two homesteads, but also suggests that by this date the area was considered safe enough for the Hutchenson family to leave their daughters alone in the care of a single man, and for them to be trusted to walk alone for a mile and a half through the woods between the Lambert and the Hutchenson plantations.

In 1686, the Chesterfield Monthly Meeting of Friends took two actions that point toward the growing population of the community at the falls. First, they accepted a deed for two acres provided by John Lambert, expressly for use as a Friend's Burying Ground and, second, they agreed that a weekday meeting be kept at the falls. The meeting was to alternate between the houses of Mahlon Stacy, Thomas Lambert and others (Chesterfield Monthly Meeting Minutes, 3rd day, 10th month 1685 [January 3, 1686]).

In 1688, the Lambertson/south Trenton area, including all of Thomas Lambert's land and a significant portion of Mahlon Stacy's property, became part of a new township named Nottingham (named for the

home county in England from whence many of the settlers came). Situated within Burlington County, Nottingham Township included within its boundaries all of the lands between Crosswicks Creek and Assunpink Creek to the west of the Keith division line that separated the two provinces of East and West Jersey (Snyder 1969:167).

Although the land on the east bank of the Delaware at the falls remained largely in the possession of the Lambert family and Mahlon Stacy (Figure 3.5), additional settlers continued to move into the area during the last quarter of the 17th century. A description of a flood on the Delaware River in 1692 noted the destruction of numerous wooden tenements and out-houses on the lowlands at the Falls of the Delaware (Smith 1877:208; Toothman 1977:68).

When Thomas Lambert died in 1694 he was one of the wealthiest and most influential men in West Jersey. An inventory of his estate taken in the same year indicates that his home was a two-story structure with a garret and cellar (Toothman 1977:71). The estate was valued at a relatively substantial £1,210 and included "the Plantation at Nottingham containing eight hundred acres of land," "town lotts at Burlington" and "four hundred acres of land by William Watson's plantation" (in the vicinity of present-day Yardville) (New Jersey Unrecorded Will 3:103-110).

Thomas left most of his estate to his three sons, Samuel, John and Thomas (hereinafter referred to as Thomas Lambert II). Samuel, the first of Thomas Lambert's children to be born in the New World, was 14 at the time of his father's death (two other sons of Thomas Lambert – James and Oliver – were already deceased by the date of their father's will). Samuel received the 400-acre tract of land "by William Watson's Plantation." This tract, without a dwelling house, was valued only at £40 in the inventory of his father's estate. Samuel lived for only a few more years, dying at the age of 20 in Pennsylvania

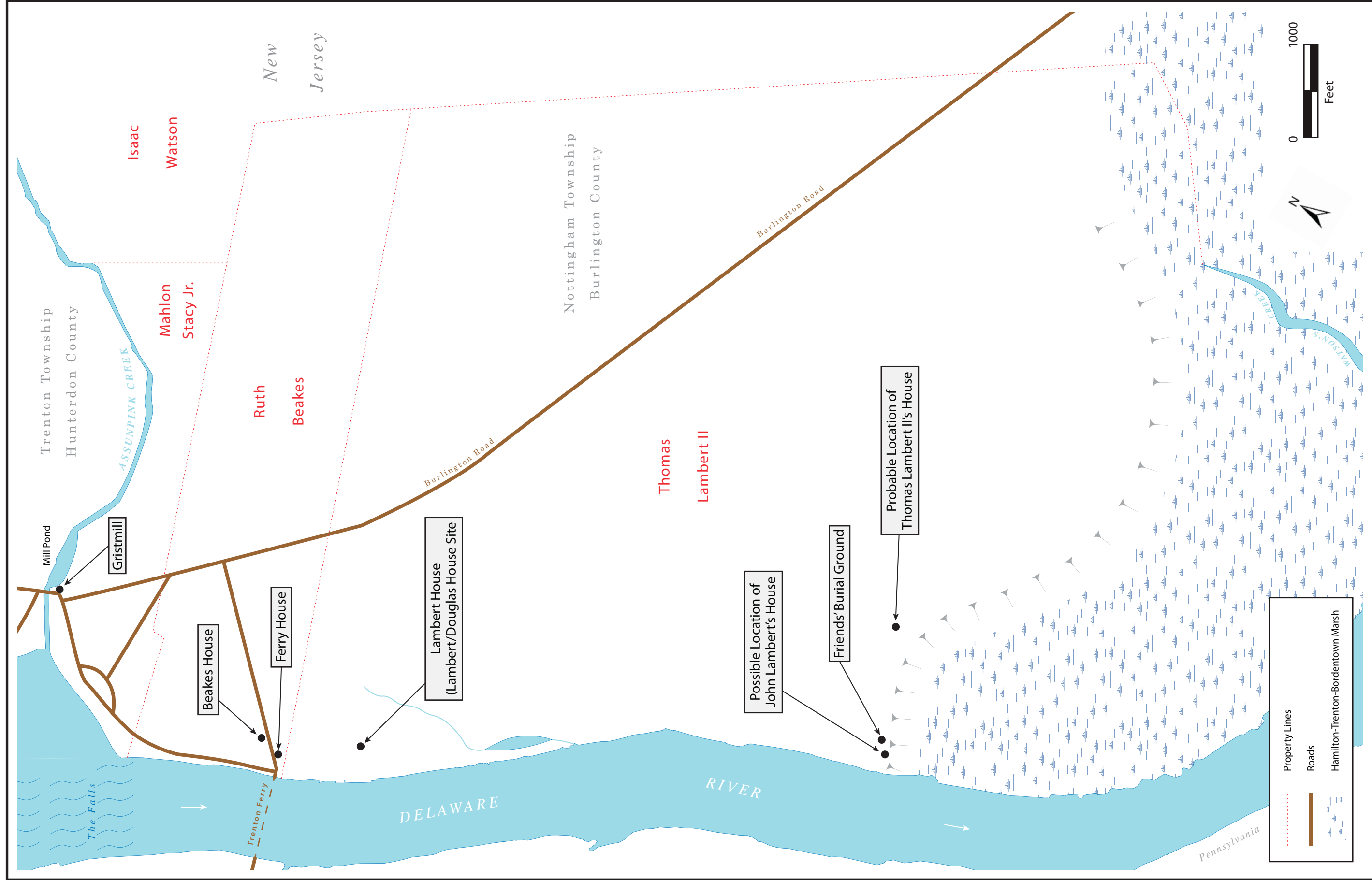


Figure 3.5. The Falls of the Delaware in 1717: A Cartographic Reconstruction. Scale 1 inch: 1,000 feet.



(Hinshaw 1969:387). John Lambert was to receive 100 acres of unsurveyed land, in addition to the plantation in Nottingham that his father had purchased for him several years prior.

John Lambert was 21 years old at the time of his father's death. Historically, John was identified in documents as John Lambert, Jr., in order to differentiate him from his uncle, John Lambert, who was referred to as John Lambert, Sr. In 1690, Thomas Lambert I, as an executor of Robert Scholey (along with Mahlon Stacy), had arranged the purchase of the recently deceased Scholey's nearby plantation for his bachelor son, John, who would have then been either 16 or 17 years of age. This 200-acre plantation was situated on the bluff overlooking Watson's Creek in Nottingham Township, approximately one mile to the east of Thomas Lambert's house. Scholey's will authorized Lambert and Stacy to sell his personal estate to provide for the financial well being of his widow and children. Lambert and Stacy sold the "Plantation and Messuage House" to Thomas' son, John, for £160, a sum that was apparently provided to him by his father (West Jersey Deed B:314).

A few years later, John Lambert, Jr. again was involved with a legacy that included a plantation. In 1693, John Hooten died. Hooten was the brother-in-law of Thomas Lambert I, who was appointed the recipient of the letters of administration on Hooten's estate on behalf of his (Thomas') wife, Elizabeth. The Lamberts' rights to the estate were disputed by the guardians of Samuel Hooten, John Hooten's lunatic brother, but Thomas Lambert presented witnesses that testified that John Hooten had, prior to his death, expressed his intention that "John, the son of his brother Thomas Lambert, should have it" (Nelson 1901:236). Hooten's plantation seems to have been located somewhere in either Burlington or Northampton Townships, but John Lambert does not seem to have ever formally taken possession of it. In the end, either the wishes of Samuel Hooten's guard-

ian prevailed, or Thomas Lambert retained the property himself in trust for his wife. John was, after all, by this time already settled on a desirable neighboring plantation. Although purchased for John Lambert, Scholey's plantation was inventoried in 1694 as part of his father, Thomas's, estate. The appraisers assessed its value as being £160, with an additional £14 being assessed for four cows and three calves, and £15 for one gelding, a mare and a colt (New Jersey Unrecorded Will 3:103-110).

The major benefactor of Thomas Lambert's will was his eldest son, Thomas II. Thomas II inherited his father's homestead plantation of 400 acres on the bluff along with an adjacent second tract of 400 acres. Clearly, these properties make up the same two tracts for which Thomas was assessed in the tax list of 1684. Prior to his father's death, Thomas Lambert II resided in Philadelphia, where he established and ran one of the city's first tanneries. Upon his father's demise, he returned to Nottingham Township to assume his father's role in West Jersey business and politics. Thomas II would have been 23 years old when he took up residence with his widowed mother in the Lambert house on the bluff. In the spring of the following year, he took a wife, Margaret Scott. Two years younger than Thomas, she was born on September 17, 1673 in Widdington, Essex, England. At the time of their marriage, Margaret had already assumed the role of her future husband's sister-in-law, as her brother, John Scott of Willingboro, had married Thomas's sister, Hannah Lambert, late in the previous winter (Hinshaw 1969:237).

Margaret and Thomas's first child was also named Thomas, like his father and grandfather. The infant Thomas lived for less than a year, being both brought into and departing this world in 1697. Their second child, born in 1700, was a daughter named Mary, who likewise lived only a short time. She died at less than two years of age in 1702. Thomas and Margaret Lambert had one more child, Elizabeth, who

was born in 1703. Unlike her siblings, she lived to maturity and married Thomas Biles of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, in 1729 (Hinshaw 1969:1009). She would become one of the best known female figures of early Trenton.

In 1709, after spending 14 years with Thomas at the falls, Margaret Scott Lambert died. Thomas was 38 years old at the time of his wife's death. In January of the following year, he took a new wife, 27-year-old Anne Wood. Ann bore Thomas three daughters, Achsah, Hannah and Margaret, all of whom grew to adulthood.

In 1695, the Minute Book of Nottingham Township recorded 39 inhabitants of the township, including Mahlon Stacy, Sr., Thomas Lambert, John Lambert, Sr., John Lambert, Jr., Mahlon Stacy, Jr., Joshua Wright and William Emley (Table 3.1). Although a definition of "Inhabitant" is not given, the list probably represents an accounting of all heads of family or property holders and not a direct census. Both John Lambert I and Thomas Lambert I (and later Thomas Lambert II) were influential within the new colony's social, economic and governmental spheres. Both Thomas Lamberts, for instance, served on several occasions as members of the New Jersey Assembly.

John Lambert, Sr., yeoman of Nottingham, outlived his brother by approximately two years. The inventory of his estate, taken following his death in 1696, describes the contents of both his house and "the house below the hill." It is a reasonable hypothesis that the house "below the hill" would have been the Revel house in the "Falls Meadow." The most likely location for John Lambert's primary residence would have been on the point of land overlooking both the "Falls Meadow" and the Delaware River near the Quaker burying ground established by John Lambert in 1685 (a location presently occupied by Riverview Cemetery). At the time of his death, John Lambert's plantation was recorded as containing only 100 acres.

This number is 200 acres less than that for which he was assessed in 1684, but no deeds survive to record the sale of any acreage of John Lambert's in Nottingham Township in the intervening years. This decrease in property size may be a consequence either of some specific method of land assessment of which we are not aware, of an unrecorded and otherwise undocumented sale of property, or of the shared nature of the Stacy/Lambert/Lambert/Emley/Wright survey of 1683. It is, for example, easy to imagine tracts of land transferring back and forth between the Lambert brothers without the issuance of formal deeds to record agreements or transactions.

John Lambert, Sr. requested that the executors of his will, Francis Davenport, Thomas Lambert II and William Emley, settle his estate in such a manner so as to provide for the education of his three young (less than 12 years old) daughters, Elizabeth, Sarah and Hannah. John's wife, Rebeckah Clows Lambert of Bucks County, whom he married in 1687, had died previous to the writing of John's will (Hinshaw 1969:1009). John's estate, exclusive of his plantation, was valued at £149.1s.10d (New Jersey Unrecorded Will 3:95-102).

John Lambert, Sr.'s plantation was sold by his executors to William Watson on May 3, 1699 for the sum of £100. The property included the "Plantation late John Lamberts in Nottingham aforesaid between the land of Thos. Lambert on the eastward side and Delaware River on the west together with one dwelling house and kitchin, barn, buildings, orchards, gardens ...." (West Jersey Deed BB:103). On the following day, William Watson re-conveyed John Lambert's plantation to Thomas Lambert II for the sum of £140 (West Jersey Deed BB:181). Thomas II held the property until 1701, when he sold the property to John Lambert, Jr. for the sum of £120 (West Jersey Deed BB:191).



**Table 3.1. Inhabitants of Nottingham Township in 1695.**

Mahlon Stacy	Thomas Smith
John Lambert, Senior	Thomas Tindall
Thomas Lambert	William Watson
Joshua Wright	Isaac Watson
William Emley	Sarah Scholey
Martin Scott	Benjamin Maple
Ann Pharo	William Bidle
John Rogers	Joshua Ely
John Lambert, Junior	Matthew Clayton
John Abbat	John Lees
Robert Pearson	Nathaniel Petit
Ann Murfin	John Brearly
Samuel Overton	Moses Petit
William Hixson	Richard Ridgeway
Thomas Gilderthorp	Jonathan Davis
Anthony Woodward	Thomas Greene
William Quicksall	Ralph Hunt
Theophilus Phillips	Samuel Hunt
Charles Biles	Thomas Coleman
	John Richardson

*Source: New Jersey Historical Society 1940:24*

In the meantime John Lambert, Jr. had recently sold the plantation his father (Thomas Lambert I) had earlier purchased for him in 1690. The 200-acre plantation and messuage was conveyed – along with an additional 260 adjoining acres his brother had had laid out for him out of his father’s 1/16th proprietary share in the province – to Thomas Tindall in 1699 for the sum of £350 (West Jersey Deeds R:377 and R:380). Where John Lambert resided in the intervening years remains unknown other than the fact that he remained in Nottingham. It is quite likely that, at least temporarily, he had returned to the Lambert homestead then under the tenure of his brother.

In 1703, Thomas Lambert was assessed for 1,050 acres of land in Nottingham Township (Table 3.2). His brother, John, held 450 acres. Yet, the inventory of John Lambert, Sr.’s estate enumerated the size of his plantation as being 100 acres. John Lambert, Jr. is not known to have possessed any other lands in Nottingham Township other than those that formerly comprised his uncle’s plantation, and yet he was assessed for 350 additional acres. No other deeds or mechanism of property transference have been identified to explain this discrepancy. The most likely scenario, once again, would be unrecorded changes in the size of Lambert’s property due to internal family agreements (New Jersey Historical Society 1940:31).

John Lambert, Jr. held his namesake uncle’s plantation for approximately five years before selling it to his brother, Thomas Lambert II, on August 20, 1705 for the sum of £250. The reasons for this sale are unknown, but on September 4, 1705, John Lambert, Jr. acknowledged to the Court at Burlington that he was indebted to “our sovereigne Lady the Queene in the sum of twenty pounds” to be levied upon “his Goods and Chattles Lands and Tenements” (Reed and Miller 1944:304).

#### 4. The Emley and Wright Plantations

During the 17th century, only one other property owner is known to have possessed valuable river frontage on the east side of the Delaware to the south of Assunpink Creek at the falls. This was William Emley (1648-1704) of Blyth parish, Nottinghamshire, England. William married Ruth Ridge (1650-1686) on November 17, 1674 at Besthrope in Nottinghamshire. Shortly thereafter, in 1676, the couple joined the Society of Friends and moved from the Emley family home at Toreworth Grange to nearby Mansfield (<http://kinnexions.com/smlawson/emley.htm#Wemley>, July 14, 2001).

William Emley was the third signer of *The Concessions and Agreements of the Proprietors, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the Province of West Jersey in America*, dated March 3, 1676/77. According to Samuel Smith’s *History of New Jersey* (1877:98), he served as one of the original Yorkshire commissioners. Emley arrived in New Jersey in 1677 with the first group of Quaker settlers aboard the ship *Kent*. He carried with him a commission to treat with the Indians for the purchase of lands and, in concert with fellow commissioners Robert Stacy (Mahlon’s brother) and Joseph Helmsley, selected the lands fronting the east bank of the Delaware River from the Assunpink to Rancocas Creek as the first or Yorkshire Tenth.

Emley’s first visit to the Delaware Valley was brief. He returned to England to escort his wife, Ruth, his three-year-old son, William Emley, Jr., and two male and two female servants to their new home in the New World. Reunited, the Emley family made their transatlantic crossing aboard the *Shield* in the company of their fellow passengers and future falls neighbors, Mahlon Stacy, John and Thomas Lambert, Peter Fretwell, Robert Murfin, Robert Scholey and Thomas Revel. The passage must have been extremely hard on Emley’s pregnant wife, but describing the voyage, Emley himself wrote that “we all crossed the seas

**Table 3.2. Land Acreage for the Inhabitants of Nottingham Township, 1703.**

Name	Amount (in acres)	Comments
Mahlon Stacy	500	
Thomas Lambert	1050	
John Lambert	450	
Joshua Wright	600	
William Emley	600	
Isaac Watson	440	
William Watson	150	
John Rogers heirs	150	
Thomas Tindal	460	
John Abbat	440	
Robert Pearson	1350	
William Murfin	900	
Caleb Wheatley	120	
Samuel Overton	200	
John Tatum	240	
Mathew Grange	260	
William Stevens	1350	
Gervas Hall	200	
Thomas Gilberthorp	700	
Harmanus King	350	
William Quicksal	300	
Henry Scott	200	for Stevens
Abraham Marshal	700	
Mathew Watson	30	
<b>Contents of the Whole</b>	<b>11,010</b>	

*Source: New Jersey Historical Society 1940:31*

very shortly and pleasantly. My wife was pretty well aboard, in respect of her condition, and was delivered of a girl in Delaware River ...” The girl was Mary Emley, the future Mary Emley Heywood (Milbourn 1681:19; Smith 1877:98, 108-109).

Like the Lamberts and Joshua Wright, Emley had purchased a share in the Province from Mahlon Stacy prior to embarking on his final passage to America. Although Mahlon Stacy sold Emley 1/3 of a proprietary share in 1678, he must have already possessed some financial interest in the new colony as a result of his prior involvement in the earliest phases of its settlement (West Jersey Deed I-K:213). Following their arrival on the Delaware, the Emley family wintered in Burlington before settling at the falls in the early spring of 1679. It would be four more years before lands were officially laid out for him there as part of the survey of 1683. As his dividend from that survey, Emley took up a 297-acre plantation at the falls with approximately 400 feet of frontage along the Delaware River, north of Watson’s Creek.

Prior to Ruth Emley’s death in 1686, the couple had three more children: Thomas (born April 3, 1681); Ruth (born January 8, 1682); and Elizabeth (born 1685). William took a second wife, Mary, shortly after Ruth’s death. Mary Emley was not a Quaker and William was disciplined by the meeting for marrying outside of the Society of Friends. William had four more children with his second wife: John (born March 5, 1691); Sarah (born 1693); Samuel (born 1684); and Mary (born after 1694) (<http://kinnexions.com/smlawson/emley.htm#Wemley>, July 14, 2001).

William Emley owned other properties at the falls in addition to the 297-acre plantation where he was living at the time of his death in 1704. One of the properties William Emley held title to was a 100-acre tract of land situated on the river immediately to the south of Mahlon Stacy’s plantation (New Jersey Unrecorded Wills I:297). This long narrow lot offered

approximately 660 feet of valuable river frontage at the very highest point that the Delaware River was navigable by substantial vessels, and extended for about mile and a quarter inland to the east (West Jersey Deed DD:370). Although the property falls within the metes and bounds of the survey of 1683, historians (Hutchinson 1915, Book 5; John T. Temple 1912, copied in Trenton Historical Society 1929:22) have suggested that the property was sold to Emley by Mahlon Stacy on May 2, 1678. However, this latter date seems to correspond to the day on which Stacy sold Emley 1/3 of a proprietary share in the Province of West Jersey, and thus not to the sale of any particular property. This revised interpretation of the documentary record seems far more likely, especially since, on May 2, 1678, William Emley and Mahlon Stacy had not yet arrived in the Province.

A third property held by Emley at the falls at the time of his death was a tract of 244 acres surveyed in 1700. This later property was described in subsequent deeds as having been adjacent to Emley’s homestead plantation, in spite of the fact that the description of the new property’s metes and bounds identified no common borders between the two parcels (West Jersey Deeds I-K:211 and I-K:213).

For several years William Emley served as a member of the West Jersey Assembly and as a member of the Governor’s Council, as a justice, and as Nottingham Township assessor and surveyor. He spent the last days of his life in a house that is said to have been located near the site of the present New Jersey State Prison (Emley Family Notes). When he died in 1704, he was one of the wealthiest and most influential men in the colony. On April 2 of that year, Emley’s body was interred in the Quaker Cemetery on the edge of the bluff overlooking the Delaware. He was the last of the original five partners of 1683 to pass away and the only one to witness the beginning of the 18th century. Five of Emley’s children – John, Ruth, Sarah, Elizabeth and Samuel – each received an

equal share in a 2,000-acre tract of land he possessed at Crosswicks. He left his 100-acre tract adjoining Mahlon Stacy's property to his eldest daughter, Mary Emley Heywood, and her husband, John Heywood. William and Thomas Emley received equal shares in proprietary lands about to be surveyed, while the remaining dividends resulting from William Emley's 1/3 of a proprietary share were to be equally divided between his sons, William, Thomas, John and Samuel. Following the death of his wife, Mary, his plantation at the falls (including the 297-acre and 244-acre tracts) passed to his son, William Emley II (New Jersey Unrecorded Deeds I:287).

The final share of the survey of 1683 still to be discussed was that of Joshua Wright (1633-1695) of Howden, East Riding, Yorkshire, England. Like the rest of his future New World neighbors, Wright was a member of the Society of Friends, but he was apparently disowned by his meeting on September 2, 1669 for marrying Elizabeth Empson out of discipline. His marriage to Empson took place on June 10, 1669 and sometime afterwards the couple relocated to Ashford-in-the-Water in Bakewell parish, Derbyshire. On July 16, 1677, Thomas Hutchinson, Thomas Pearson, Joseph Helmsley, George Hutchenson and Mahlon Stacy sold Wright a 1/16 share in the Province of West Jersey. His older brother, Thomas (1630-1706), also purchased a fractional proprietary share in 1683 (Wright 1984:12-15; [http://www.ristenbatt.com/genealogy/main\\_jw.htm](http://www.ristenbatt.com/genealogy/main_jw.htm), January 14, 2001).

Thomas Wright was the first of the Wright family to cross the Atlantic, arriving in New Castle on October 6, 1677 with his second wife, Ann, and his son, Benjamin. Thomas Wright made his way upriver and settled first in Burlington. Joshua and another brother, Samuel (1643-1690), came later aboard the *Shield*. Arriving with Joshua were his wife, Elizabeth, and four children, Elizabeth (1670-1733), Joshua (1672-circa 1741), Robert (1678-1742) and Richard (died 1691). Samuel brought with him his wife, Mary

Starkley Wright, and two children, Alice and Samuel. Another daughter, Mary, was born at sea. Samuel and his family took up a tract of land in the Yorkshire Tenth to the south of Crosswicks Creek. Joshua and his family settled on his share of the 2,000-acre survey of 1683 (Wright 1984:12-15; [http://www.ristenbatt.com/genealogy/main\\_jw.htm](http://www.ristenbatt.com/genealogy/main_jw.htm), January 14, 2001).

The exact limits and location of Joshua Wright's share of the survey have yet to be precisely ascertained. The tax assessment of Nottingham Township in 1703, recorded in the Nottingham Town Book (Table 3.2), listed the owners of properties in Nottingham, beginning with the name of the owner of the first property on the east bank of the Delaware River below Assunpink Creek, and continuing on to list the names of the property owners in order from west to east along the bluff to Crosswicks Creek and beyond (West 1954:50-51). The list begins as follows: Mahlon Stacy (Jr.); John Lambert (Jr.); Thomas Lambert (II); Joshua Wright (II); William Emley; Isaac Watson; William Watson ... Although the list puts Wright's property directly between the lands of Thomas Lambert and William Emley, it most likely sat back from the bluff in the northeast corner of the area covered in the survey of 1683. William Emley's plantation is known to have been bordered by portions of Thomas Lambert's property to the west and Isaac Watson's property to the north and east (West Jersey Deeds I-K:207, I-K:211 and I-K:213). This would have left no room for Joshua Wright's share to fall in between. The compiler of the list (probably William Emley, who was then serving as Town Clerk) simply inserted Wright's name in the most logical place to keep the sequence in order. Wright was assessed for 400 acres (New Jersey Historical Society 1940:31). Having established a relatively comfortable life for themselves in the Delaware Valley, Joshua and Elizabeth Wright set about expanding their family. The births of four more sons soon followed: Thomas (1681-1769); John (1683-1733); Joseph (1685-1715); and Samuel (1689-1762). Through the marriag-

es of their offspring the Wrights became closely related to several of their neighbors. Their eldest child, Elizabeth Wright, married Peter Fretwell, who lived on a plantation on the Delaware north of the Assunpink that Fretwell acquired from Mahlon Stacy. Joshua Wright II, their eldest son and chief heir married Rebecca Stacy, the daughter of Mahlon Stacy, Sr. Like his neighbors, Wright rose to a position of some importance, serving as a member of the West Jersey General Assembly in 1683-85. Joshua Wright died on December 8, 1695. His plantation at the falls passed to his widow and their son, Joshua Wright II. Each of his other children received parcels of land elsewhere in the Province (New Jersey Unrecorded Wills 4:241).

## E. COLONIAL CONSOLIDATION

### 1. William Trent and the Ferry

In 1714, Mahlon Stacy, Jr. sold 800 acres of his father's gristmill tract to William Trent, a prominent and very wealthy Philadelphia merchant. Prior to Mahlon Stacy, Jr.'s sale of the property, he was first required to resolve the fact that, because legally his rights to much of the property along Assunpink Creek were derived from his father's share in the five-person (Stacy, Lambert, Lambert, Emley, Wright) 2,000-acre survey of 1683, the property could still technically be claimed to be held jointly by the heirs and assigns of the other parties involved in the 1683 survey. To clarify the ownership, in August of 1714, Thomas Lambert II and William Emley II provided Mahlon Stacy, Jr. with a deed acknowledging Stacy's sole right to the 500 acres of his property that were contained within the bounds of the 2,000-acre survey. In this deed, it is stated that Thomas Lambert II was then in sole possession of the rights to his father's share in the survey, his uncle's share and Joshua Wright's share. How Thomas Lambert came to possess Wright's share of the survey remains unknown.

Joshua Wright II continued to be listed in the Nottingham Town Book at least as late as 1710, but when he died in 1741 he was living in New Hanover, New Jersey. William Emley II and Samuel Emley had also relocated to New Hanover by 1723 (Toothman 1977:106). No deed has been formally recorded documenting the transference of property at the falls between Joshua Wright II and Thomas Lambert II, although the Lambert/Emley deed to Mahlon Stacy, Jr. does claim that the deeds documenting the means by which Thomas Lambert II came to own three of the five survey shares were then in his possession (West Jersey Deed DD:415).

In return for acknowledging the bounds of his property, Mahlon Stacy, Jr. provided Emley and Lambert with a deed formally recognizing their jointly held respective shares (West Jersey Deed I-K:203). In a third deed written on the same day, William Emley II renounced any claim to Thomas Lambert II's three shares of the survey of 1683 and delineated the metes and bounds of Lambert's property. Lambert's property included three separate but closely neighboring tracts: a 52-acre parcel fronting the southern edge of Assunpink Creek to the north and east of Mahlon Stacy, Jr.'s property; and two larger tracts of land directly fronting on the Delaware separated by the approximately 480 feet of river frontage of William Emley II's plantation (West Jersey Deed I-K:207). Three years later, in 1717, William Emley II sold Thomas Lambert II all of his father's Nottingham plantation, tenement and other adjoining land for £225 (West Jersey Deeds I-K:211 and I-K:213).

A survey map produced in conjunction with the sale of Mahlon Stacy, Jr.'s lands in 1714 to William Trent depicts as many as 22 separate buildings in addition to the mill (Figure 3.6). Although several of these may have been barns, stables and outbuildings, at least some were undoubtedly tenant houses. It was William Trent who took the first steps toward turning the small cluster of homes in the neighborhood



Figure 3.6. Mahlon Stacey's Resurvey. 1714. (Source: Basse's Book of Surveys). Scale 1 inch: 1,700 feet (approximately).





of Stacy's gristmill into a thriving, well organized town. His first opportunity to do so arrived in the very year of his purchase, when a new county, Hunterdon, was set off from Burlington. The southern boundary of Hunterdon was established at the centerline of the Assunpink, thereby encompassing most of the settlement that had grown up around the gristmill and dividing Trent's holdings nearly in half.

In 1719, the Hunterdon County Court, possibly at the behest of Trent, attempted to remedy this division by defining the boundaries of the Township of Trenton as including all of William Trent's lands south of Assunpink Creek. On this basis, the southern boundary line between Trenton and Nottingham Townships was then defined as being the "line betwixt Wil. Trents and Thomas Lamberts to Delawarr River" (Toothman 1977:117). This definition represented a usurpation of a substantial chunk of Burlington County's territory, but appears to have never been recognized by Burlington County, Nottingham Township, or the residents of the disputed territory.

Trent was successful in using his personal influence to ensure that the fledgling "Trent's town" to the north was installed as the seat of Hunterdon County's government. With the town's continued growth seemingly assured, Trent laid out a street system and began selling lots. To the south of the Assunpink, on his lands which still remained within Burlington County, Trent constructed a country estate that was centered upon the large brick home today known as the William Trent House (Turk 1964; Burrow and Hunter 1996).

William Trent expanded his holdings in 1718 by acquiring the Beakes plantation, a 200-acre tract located just to the south of his initial purchase. The Beakes plantation is particularly relevant to the current study, as its lands contained the northern section of the N.J. Route 29 project corridor. The plantation consisted of two 100-acre tracts of land, both fronting the Delaware. In 1704, the northern 100-acre tract was

that formerly owned by William Emley and which was passed by will to his daughter, Mary Heywood. In 1707, when John and Mary Heywood, in turn, sold the same tract to William Beakes of Bucks County, the property description included "the messuage or tenement and plantation lately erected" (West Jersey Deed DD 370).

With the probable exception of the Stacy and Lambert residences, the Beakes house is the first dwelling known to have been erected on the river bluff below the falls within the present-day city limits of Trenton. After William Beakes died in 1710/11, his house and plantation passed by will to his son, Edmund. The property conveyed included a servant boy, two boats, farm tools and corn in the ground (Kalb *et al.* 1982:3-4). This indicates both that the land was being actively cultivated and that Beakes was utilizing the river for transportation. During this period, the little community at the falls was spread across both sides of the Delaware River. William's boats may have been used for travel between his house and Burlington, the provincial capital and closest population center, or simply for personal transport from one side of the river to the other.

By stipulation of William Beakes' will, the use of two rooms in his house was reserved for Ruth, his second wife and now his widow. Importantly, Ruth Beakes was also the daughter of Mahlon Stacy and most likely the reason William Beakes had chosen to remove from Bucks County in the first place. After his father's death, Edmund initially leased the entire plantation to his stepmother, but, in 1713, he sold her the property outright (West Jersey Deed DD:177). By the end of the next year, Ruth had also purchased from Thomas Lambert II 100 acres adjoining the first 100-acre tract to the south, thereby uniting these two parcels under single ownership (West Jersey Deed DD:375). Thomas Lambert had earlier sold this same southern parcel in 1711 to John Easton, a tailor of Nottingham (West Jersey Deed DD:413), but some-

how this parcel must have reverted back to Lambert in order for him to be in a position to sell it to Ruth Beakes. Apparently Thomas Lambert II stated in this deed that he derived his rights to this 100-acre tract through his father's share in the survey of 1683 (which derived from his father's purchase of a 1/16th share in the colony from Mahlon Stacy in 1677). While this would seem to suggest that the northernmost portion of Thomas Lambert's Delaware riverfront lands had been derived from his father's (rather than his uncle's) share of the survey of 1683, it may also be that, because Lambert effectively owned both men's rights to the survey of 1683, he was merely simplifying his rights to the property in the conveyance.

The survey of Mahlon Stacy, Jr.'s lands made in 1714 clearly shows "R Beaks House" with its house and associated outbuildings (Figure 3.6). The path leading east-west through the plantation likely follows the course of present-day Ferry Street. In 1718, Ruth and her new husband, Samuel Atkinson, sold both 100-acre properties to William Trent (West Jersey Deeds D:378 and D:379). In 1725, after William Trent's death, James Trent, William's son and primary heir, petitioned for a license from the Governor to operate a ferry at Trenton Falls. Consent was received and a patent bestowed giving James exclusive use of the eastern shore of the Delaware, extending for two miles above and two miles below the falls (Trenton Historical Society 1929:263).

The ferry was established at the foot of the lane leading through the Beakes plantation. James Trent operated the ferry until 1729, when he conveyed his father's entire estate, including the Beakes plantation and the ferry patent, to William Morris "of the Island of Barbados" (West Jersey Deeds D:382 and D:386). Four years later, Morris conveyed the same properties to George Thomas, Gentleman, of the Island of Antigua. The deed for the ferry patent included "wharfs, boats, hooks, chains, oars and other things" (West Jersey Deed DD:336). This set of deeds also

suggests that a house had been constructed on the southernmost of the two 100-acre tracts that formerly comprised the Beakes plantation (West Jersey Deed DD:338). A survey of the property dating from Thomas's period of occupancy (Figure 3.7) clearly shows that Thomas intended to lay out a grid pattern of streets and develop the land south of the road leading to the ferry as "a town to be built on Quit rent." There is no evidence that Thomas ever proceeded with this plan. Instead, he conveyed both the original Trent property and the Beakes plantation to Robert Lettis Hooper, a member of the Governor's Council and son of the Chief Justice of New Jersey.

In 1759, Hooper laid out a street system north of the road leading to the ferry, in the area he referred to as Kingsbury, and advertised lots for sale in the Philadelphia newspapers (Trenton Historical Society 1929:294-295, 599). By this date, the wharf at the foot of present-day Ferry Street had become a primary locus of settlement on the riverfront to the south of Trenton, but as sporadic commercial and residential development in the area just to the south of the ferry intensified, this latter area began to be referred to as Trenton Landing (in the vicinity of present-day Landing Street), acquiring an identity of its own separate from that of the ferry (Woodward and Hageman 1883:666; Trenton Historical Society 1929:263-264).

During the mid- and late 18th century, the day-to-day operation of the ferry was rarely undertaken by the owner of the ferry patent. Instead, the right to operate the ferry was leased. For example, Thomas Hooton was keeper of the ferry in 1750. Later, in 1753, Andrew Ramsey leased the right to operate the ferry from Robert Lettis Hooper. Ramsey attempted to link the ferry to a larger transportation network by running a stage line between the ferry and New Brunswick and a boat service between Philadelphia and Trenton. After 1756, stage service between Philadelphia and New York via Trenton Ferry was instituted by John Butler of Philadelphia (Trenton Historical Society

1929:254). Still later in 1763, Jonathan Biles also advertised an overland stage linking Philadelphia with the Pennsylvania side of the ferry (Nelson 1902:376). Another important operator of the ferry was Rennselaer Williams. Williams leased the tavern and ferry from 1773 until 1776, when Thomas Janney took over the operation (Nelson 1917:321; Trenton Historical Society 1919:268).

Throughout the 18th and early 19th centuries, Trenton Ferry remained an important waypoint for traffic between New York and Philadelphia. In keeping with this, the area began to develop services catering to travelers. In 1754, for instance, George Burns advertised that he had opened a house of entertainment at the ferry. After the erection of the tavern, the term "Trenton Ferry" came to mean more than simply the ferry service itself, and began to be used to identify the place. The innkeeper and others often gave their addresses in the Philadelphia newspapers as being at or from "Trenton Ferry" (Trenton Historical Society 1929:264).

## 2. The Passing of Thomas Lambert II

Thomas Lambert II died in 1733 without a male heir. The inventory of his estate records the extensive and expensive furnishings of the house his father had built. The rooms inventoried included a parlor and closet, a hall, a "Great Chamber" and closet, a "Blew Room", a [chamber] "over dining room," a garret, kitchen, kitchen chamber, store cellar, milk cellar, meat cellar and a kitchen cellar.

Lambert's inventory records a variety of buildings and goods related to domestic, agricultural and craft/industrial activities. The property included a shop, an old barn, a new barn, a granary, a bolting house, a leather house (near a landing) and a bark house. The

last two of these structures represent the infrastructure of Thomas Lambert's tannery (New Jersey Wills and Inventories n.d.).

Both Thomas Lambert I and Mahlon Stacy were tanners by trade, although both had elevated themselves in economic stature above the level of simple craftsmen before they boarded the *Shield* and weathered the long Atlantic crossing. Substantial evidence exists that Stacy maintained an interest in the tanning business in the New World, establishing a tannery on "Ballifield." Less is known concerning Thomas Lambert I's continued practice of the tanning trade. No contemporary references have been identified that state whether Thomas Lambert I erected a tannery on his falls plantation, although this has been suggested by some secondary sources. It may well be that Thomas Lambert II was the first Lambert to pursue the trade in the New World. As stated above, he had operated a tannery in Philadelphia before inheriting the bulk of his father's property at the falls, while the inventory of his estate clearly shows that a tannery was in operation on the Lambert plantation at the time of his death.

In order to operate a tannery a tanner needs hides. The inventory of Thomas's livestock is extensive. Twelve horses and three colts, 140 sheep, 53 hogs, 23 steer, 20 cows, six calves and one pair of oxen are enumerated. Also itemized in the inventory are one servant man named James Pricetine (valued at £6), a servant woman named Margaret Warner (valued at £12), a servant woman named Katherine (valued at £9), a servant boy named Francis Lewis (valued at £14), a servant boy called Hendrix Pont (valued at £14), a Negro man (valued at £35), a Negro man named Dick (valued at £35), a Negro woman named Hagan (valued at £30), an Indian called Peter (valued at £10) and a Mulatto boy (valued at £10) (New Jersey Wills and Inventories n.d.).

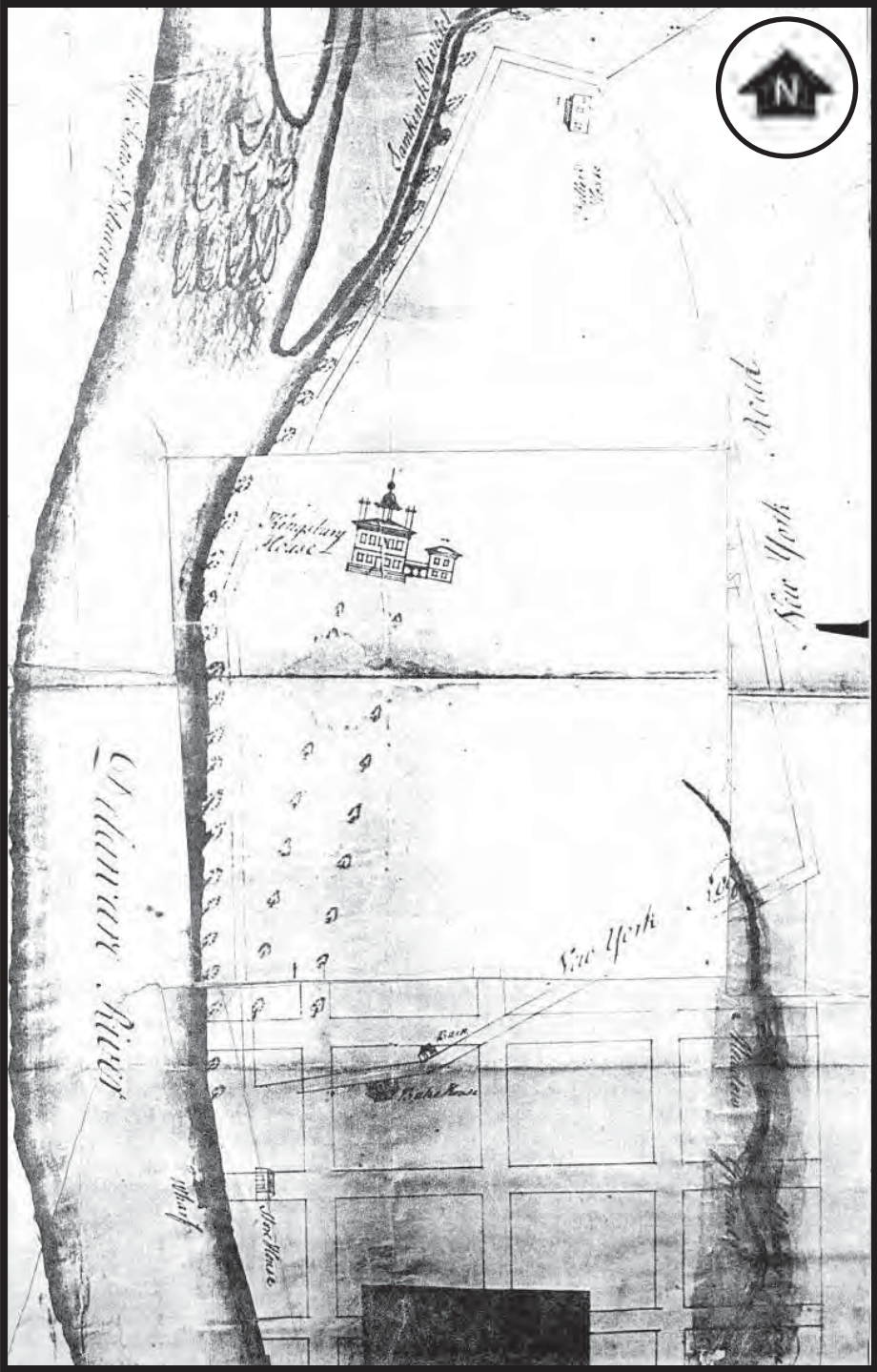


Figure 3.7. A Plan of the Front Part of Coll. Thomas's Estate in Kingsbury in West New Jersey. Circa 1750. The site of the Lambert/Douglas House is located to the south of the area depicted by the map. Scale 1 inch: 500 feet (approximately).

At least one of the slaves was soon sold out of the family. The following advertisement appeared in *The American Weekly Mercury* of March 11-20, 1734:

To Be SOLD

By the Executors of Thomas Lambert, deceas'd, at the Falls of Delaware near Trenton-Town, a very likely lusty young Negro Man, fit for all manner of Country Business (Nelson 1894:428).

Neither slaves nor indentured servants were rare among the households at the falls. Both the Stacy and the Lambert families arrived in the New World accompanied by retinues of servants who were guaranteed land upon the completion of their servitude by the stipulations of the proprietors of the colony (Toothman 1977:79). In 1697, both Thomas and John Lambert "purchased" "scotch boys" from James Trent and, having no formal agreements or contracts concerning the lengths of their services, they petitioned the Burlington Court to set such terms, a request with which the court complied. Thomas Lambert's boy, John Young, was assigned a nine-year period of servitude (Reed and Miller 1944:198, 201).

Quakers in general had an aversion to slavery, but the practice of holding slaves was not officially forbidden by the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends until later in the 18th century. Stephanie Toothman, in research done for a doctoral dissertation entitled "Trenton, New Jersey, 1719-1779: A Study of Community Growth and Organization" (1977), found that, out of the 242 households comprising "the group composed of Burlington County residents whose personal estates were inventoried between 1677 and 1719," approximately 12% held servants and 12.8% held slaves. Although both the Stacy and Lambert families were Quakers, both households contained Negro slaves. Toothman found a definite correlation between the total value of a man's estate and the likelihood that he would hold slaves. The more wealth a

man possessed, the more likely he was to own slaves, and the more wealthy he was, the more slaves he was likely to have. The Lambert and Stacy families were among the wealthiest in the county and were, in fact, among its largest slaveholders (Toothman 1977:33). Thomas Lambert II's household also contained a Native American slave, Peter, as well. Indian slaves were relatively uncommon, but not unheard of, in central and southern New Jersey during the late 17th and early 18th centuries. Some Indian slaves were imported from Central and South America, while others were indentured to pay off a fine or debt (Wacker 1975:107).

The number of slaves held by slaveholding families in West Jersey was relatively small, rarely exceeding more than one or two. This was in part due to the expense of slaves and the lack of a large-scale plantation economy to support their ownership, but also because of a fear of slave violence and a pervading suspicion of slave activities. This fear and suspicion found its way to Trenton and was expressed in unfounded rumor concerning both the Trent and Lambert families:

Philadelphia, March 7

We hear from *Trenton*, That two Negroes were last Week imprison'd on the following Occasion. 'Tis said that they were about to perswade another Negroe to poison his Master; and to convince him of the Efficacy of the Drug which they presented him for that purpose, and the Security of giving it, let him know that Mr. *Trent* and two of his Sons, Mr. Lambert and two of his Wives, and sundry other Persons were remov'd by their Slaves in that Manner. This Discourse being overheard, they were apprehended, and 'tis said have made some Confession. But as the Persons above mention'd died apparently of common Distempers, it is not fully credited that any such Method was used to destroy them. The Drugs found on one of the

Negroes, were Arsenik and an unknown kind of Root. –*The Pennsylvania Gazette, February 28 to March 7, 1737*, 8 (Nelson1894:523-524).

### 3. The Douglas Tract

Under the terms of Thomas Lambert II's will, his plantation on the Delaware was to be divided between his four surviving daughters, Elizabeth Biles, Hannah Lambert, Achsah Lambert and Margaret Lambert (Figure 3.8). Elizabeth Biles, his eldest daughter from his first marriage and Thomas Lambert II's executor, received the core of the property including Lambert's house. Elizabeth later sold this property to Elijah Bond and, as a result of this transaction, it finally passed out of the Lambert family's holdings. Achsah Lambert received several of her father's properties, including a sizeable plantation in Hunterdon County, north of Trenton. Financially secure for the rest of her life, Achsah would never marry.

In 1738, Hannah Lambert married Dr. Thomas Cadwalader of Philadelphia, forging a link between the Lambert family and one of Philadelphia's wealthiest and most influential aristocratic dynasties. Thomas Cadwalader assumed the role of head of the Lambert family following his marriage to Hannah, and he assisted the unmarried Lambert daughters in the management of their legacies. Hannah became the family's matriarch, giving birth to eight children. Hannah's two sons, Brigadier General John Cadwalader and Colonel Lambert Cadwalader, both played prominent roles in the American Revolution. Lambert Cadwalader went on to become a member of the Continental Congress and settled in Trenton after the war, becoming one of its most prominent citizens.

The majority of the N.J. Route 29 project corridor falls within the northernmost of two separate and discontinuous shares of the Lambert homestead tract, inherited by Thomas Lambert II's fourth and youngest daughter, Margaret. Margaret's two properties bor-

dered the core section of the Lambert plantation on the north and the south. In 1741, Margaret Lambert sold 222 acres of her share of her father's estate, to John Douglas[s] (Table 3.3 [West Jersey Deed T:83]). This parcel included all of the Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site and extended from the ferry property south and east along the river to where it adjoined the property of her elder sister, Elizabeth Biles. Douglas, whose profession has been listed as "boatman," married the daughter of prominent Nottingham Township residents, Robert and Elizabeth Tindall Pearson (Louis Berger & Associates, Inc. 1998:42). In 1762, John Douglas was one of 72 freeholders in Nottingham Township assessed for a poor tax. He was assessed at £1.15s., the eighteenth highest assessment for the township.

In 1763, John Douglas let a small portion of this land, located on the southwestern corner of the property adjacent to the river, to Charles Read for operation as a fishery. This was the first and most elaborate of several fishing operations that were established on Trenton's riverfront. Among several other conditions, the lease required Douglas to construct a good wharf on the premises "for the convenient reception of shallops" (West Jersey Deed T:86). Charles Read was an important New Jersey businessman, politician, agriculturalist and intellectual. Read's interest in the fishery property was not just in creating a profitable enterprise for his own benefit, but also in advancing the interests of the colony in which he lived. Read was an outspoken advocate for the economic growth of New Jersey and lobbied extensively for the development of the commercial and industrial aspects of its economy.

Read's fishery was far more infrastructure-intensive than most other Delaware River fisheries in operation, either at that time or later. Other fisheries consisted of little more than a firm lowland adjacent to the riverbank from which seines (large nets suspended vertically in the water through the use of floats and

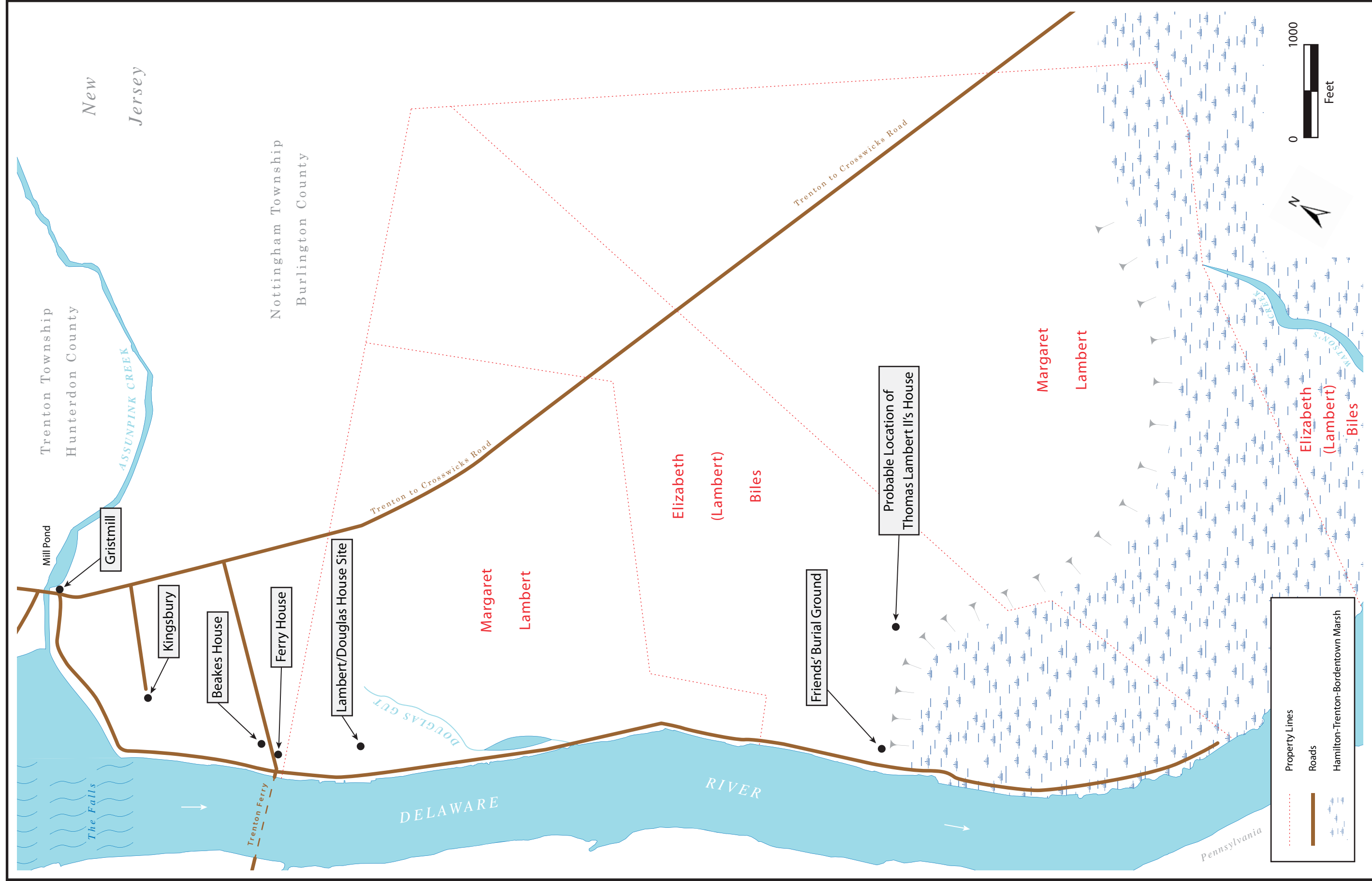


Figure 3.8. The Division of Thomas Lambert II's Homestead Plantation in 1738: A Cartographic Reconstruction. Scale 1 inch: 1,000 feet.





**TABLE 3.3. LAMBERT/DOUGLAS PLANTATION AND ROSEY HILL MANSION SITE:  
SEQUENCE OF OWNERSHIP, 1677-1910**

Period of Tenure	Owner	Size of Property/ Description	Consideration	Reference
October 10, 1677	Ockanickon Weskeakitt, Petheatus, Nauhoosing, Apperingues and Kekroppamant		46 fathoms of duffolds, 30 blankets, 150 pounds of powder, 30 guns, 60 kettles, 30 axes, 30 hoes, 30 awls, 30 needles, 30 looking glasses, 30 pairs of stockings, 7 anchors of brandy or rum, 30 knives, 30 barrows of load, 36 rings, 30 jews harps, 30 combs, 30 bracelets, 30 bells, 30 tobacco tongs or stools, 30 pairs of scissors, 12 tobacco boxes, 30 flints, 10 spoonfuls of red paint, 100 fish hooks, one gross of tobacco pipes and 30 shirts	West Jersey Deed B:4
October 10, 1677 c.1679	Joseph Holmsby, Robert Stacy, William Emley, Thomas Holde, Thomas Olive, -- Wills, John Pennford and Benjamin Scott	Tract of land lying along the Delaware River between the Assumpink and Rancocas Creeks		West Jersey Deed B:4
1683-August 1, 1714	Mahlon Stacy, Joshua Wright, Thomas Lambert, John Lambert and William Emley	2,000 acres		Revel's Book of Surveys: 76
August 31, 1714	William Emley II and Thomas Lambert II		10 shillings	West Jersey Deed K:203
August 31, 1714-1733	Thomas Lambert II	1100 acres		West Jersey Deed K:207
1733 to May 6, 1738	Elizabeth Lambert Biles, Hannah Lambert, Margaret Lambert and Achsah Lambert	1,640 acres/Messuage Plantation and Tract of Land		West Jersey Deed I-K:387 Burlington County Will 2573
May 6, 1738-August 29, 1744	Margaret Lambert	232 acres		West Jersey Deed I-K:218
August 29, 1744-c.1768	John Douglas(s)	222 acres	£360	West Jersey Deed T-83
April 19, 1769-July 3, 1770	Robert Lettis Hooper II	222 acres		(Audit Office AO 13/93, 374)
July 3, 1770-May 4, 1779	Daniel Coxé V	490 acres (including both the Douglas and Ferry tracts)	£3200	(Audit Office AO 13/93, 374)
May 4, 1779-May 7, 1779	Hugh and Sarah Runyon	496 acres (including both the Douglas and Ferry tracts)	£4,800 sterling	West Jersey Deed K:577
May 7, 1779	George Campbell (Tenants - John and Mary Mitchell)	188 acres	£12,767- 2s	West Jersey Deed K:577
?-December 18, 1792	George and Helen Campbell and John and Sarah Donaldson (Tenant - Mary Mitchell)			Burlington County Deed C:296
December 18, 1792-?	Nathan and Mary Combs	69.8 acres +25.25 acres and 23.4 acres of woodland	£1125	Burlington County Deed C:296
?-August 15, 1794	Joseph and Mary Vandergrift			West Jersey Deed A-T 319
August 15, 1794-June 2, 1798	Thomas Giese and Joseph Des Santos Bello in trust for Frances Polyart	12 + 5 acres		West Jersey Deed A-S 209 and Burlington County Deed D:62
June 2, 1798-September 13, 1800	James and Joanna Barry	12 + 5 acres	\$3,500	West Jersey Deed A-T: 233
September 13, 1800-April 6, 1803	Nicholas Lewis and Frances Gay Fresneye	12 + 5 acres		Burlington County Deed A T: 523
April 6, 1803-c. 1845	John B. Sartori	12 + 5 acres	\$4,000	Burlington County Deed O 150
1832	Trenton Delaware Falls Company	17 acres	\$10,000	Board of Managers of the Trenton Delaware Falls Company 1833
March 8, 1844	Charles Olden		\$50,000	Mercer County Deed G:73
June 2, 1845	Trenton Water Power Company		\$1,000	Mercer County Deed H:26
1845-April 17, 1847	Peter Cooper		\$25,000	Mercer County Deed H:27
April 17, 1847	Trenton Iron Company (Tenant - Charles Hewitt)		2,500 shares of Trenton Iron Company Stock	Mercer County Deed M:49
1866	New Jersey Steel and Iron Company			Hewitt Papers, Volume 19, February 10, 1880
1910	American Bridge Company			Mercer County Special Deed S:543

**TABLE 3.3. LAMBERT/DOUGLAS PLANTATION AND ROSEY HILL MANSION SITE:**

Period of Tenure	Owner	Size of Property/ Description	Consideration	Reference
1683-1696	Mahlon Stacy, Joshua Wright, Thomas Lambert, John Lambert and William Emley	2,000 acres		Revel's Book of Surveys: 76
-May 4, 1699	William Watson			West Jersey Deed Book B-B 183
May 4, 1699-August 13, 1701	Thomas Lambert II	Plantation with dwelling house, kitchens, barns etc.	140 pounds	West Jersey Deed Book B-B 181
August 13, 1701-August 6 <sup>th</sup> , 1705	John Lambert	Plantation with dwelling house, kitchens, barns etc.	170 pounds	West Jersey Deed Book B-B 191
August 6, 1705	Thomas Lambert II		250 pounds	West Jersey Deed Book B-B 193



weights) could be set and maintained. Read's fishery benefited not only from an advantageous location, but was also fitted out with all of the accoutrements required for the catching, storing, processing, preserving, packing and shipping of fish and fish products to markets in Philadelphia and the world beyond.

Most of the fish caught were sturgeon, shad or herring. Fish were handled in three different ways after being caught. Many were pickled in vinegar, packed into kegs and shipped to Philadelphia for sale. Some of the fish were rendered into one of three main products, oil, glue or isinglass (a form of gelatin found in the swim bladders of several species of freshwater fish that was used in cookery for making jellies and for clarifying liquors). The remaining fish were kept alive and later released into holding ponds. In this way, fresh fish were available for sale all year long, even when they were not naturally to be found in the river itself. The property that Douglas leased to Read already contained a manmade pond fed by a small stream known as Douglas Gut. Very likely, this pond was built specifically for the purpose of holding sturgeon. The lease also makes mention of a boiling house as being already in Charles Read's possession. The existence of both the pond and the boiling house suggests that Read had already set in place the infrastructure for an operational fishery prior to the date of the above-mentioned lease of 1763 (for further discussion of the Read fishery, see Volume III in this report series).

Douglas retained ownership of the fishery and the rest of his farm into the late 1760s, at which point he began placing advertisements in *The Pennsylvania Chronicle* indicating his interest in selling off the property. In the February 1, 1768 issue, he advertised:

One hundred acres of land, about twenty of which are cleared, part meadow, and more may be made, situated on the Delaware River, between Trenton Ferry and Lambertson, and on which there is a valu-

able fishery, and is a pleasant part of the country for a gentleman's seat, is also well situated for any person to follow the boating business between that place and Philadelphia—There is likewise a constant stream of water through the whole, which will be sold in lots of fifty acres, or together, as best suits the purchaser. For terms apply to the subscriber on the premises, by whom an indisputable title will be given.

January 26, 1768 John Douglas

In August of 1768, *The Pennsylvania Chronicle* carried a second advertisement:

Burlington County, Trenton Landing

To be sold by public venue, at the house of John Douglass, on Thursday the 8<sup>th</sup> of September next, between nine o'clock in the morning, and six in the afternoon, or at any time before by private sale;

One hundred and fifty acres of good wood land, and about fifty acres of good meadow; it fronts the river between Trenton Ferry and Messrs. Cox and Furman's works, and joins the Lambertson Fishery, and Elijah Bond's plantation; a very pleasant high shore, with meadow before the door, fit for any gentlemen's seat, who delights in fishing at Trenton falls or landing. Any person inclining to purchase twenty of fifty acres before the day of sale, by applying to the subscriber, may know the terms of sale.

John Douglass (Nelson 1904b:243-244)

It is interesting to note the large proportion of the property that was woodland at this time (at least 150 out of 222 acres), with most of the rest being meadow (rather than being cultivated). This perhaps reflects Douglas's livelihood as a boatman with his primary interest being in the river. Douglas's keen interest in selling the property may also be seen in his willingness to consider parting with even 20 of 50 acres "before the day of sale."

Although no formally recorded deeds have been found to document the ultimate disposition of Douglas's property, information contained in a recitation of the chain of title by Daniel Coxe V in connection with his claims for compensation from the British government in 1784 reveals how Douglas parted with this tract. Coxe, in proving his subsequent ownership of the property, states:

April 19th 1769 Deed from Joseph Imlay Esq<sup>r</sup> Sheriff of Burlington County to Rob<sup>t</sup> Lettis Hooper for the above 222 acres [the tract earlier passed from Margaret Lambert to John Douglas] & being sold on Execution at fiat of Sam<sup>l</sup> Tucker & for a debt due to Joseph Fox of Philad<sup>a</sup>. (Audit Office AO 13/93, 374).

It would appear that Douglas was selling the property to satisfy debts and that this course of action was ultimately achieved by means of a sheriff's sale. The purchaser was Robert Lettis Hooper II, scion of a prominent New Jersey family of lawyers, jurists and politicians (Table 3.3). Robert Lettis Hooper I, the son of Daniel Hooper of Barbados, was one of the most important figures in the government of late 17th-century New Jersey, serving as Chief Justice of the colony and a member of the Assembly, and amassing considerable real estate in the Trenton area. His son, Robert Lettis Hooper II, moved from Rocky Hill, New Jersey to the Trenton vicinity in 1753 following his purchase of the core portion of the Stacy/Trent plantation, including the William Trent House, the Trenton Mills and Trenton Ferry. It was Robert Lettis Hooper II who laid out the street network of today's Mill Hill and Bloomsbury and who, in 1759, began selling off building lots in this section of the town. He advertised that he or his sons, Robert Lettis Hooper, Jr. (III) and Jacob Roetter Hooper, living at his mill, could show lots to prospective purchasers (Trenton Historical Society 1929:598-600; Susan Maxman Architects 1997:A.3-33 thru A.3-41).

Hooper's interest in the Douglas tract was likely speculative. In 1770, he advertised the combined ferry plantation and Douglas farm for sale in *The Pennsylvania Chronicle* of May 28-June 4:

TO BE SOLD,

At Public Venue, on Tuesday, the third day of July next at the house of Pontius Stelle,

The noted patent ferry called TRENTON FERRY, in the county of Burlington, and province of New Jersey, with the boats, flats, &c, thereto belonging, together with 442 acres of land adjoining; the house at the ferry is large, commodious, and well finished, good barn, stables, coach house, store houses, and other useful and necessary out-houses, and an excellent garden. On another part of the said tract are two good dwelling houses and a stable; a large apple orchard, and a variety of other fruit trees. The whole tract is a kind, fertile soil, 40 acres whereof are low land, and with little expence may be made into extraordinary meadow, great part, whereon is a great quantity of excellent timber. This tract of land extends down the river Delaware, including the fishery called Lamberton, now in the tenure of Mr. William Richards; the situation as fine as any on the river, being at the head of tide way, from whence shallops constantly ply to and from Philadelphia. Fish are in abundance to betaken with seine or hook, and plenty of water fowl. One forth part of the purchase money will be required to be paid at the executing of the deeds and for the remainder the purchaser may have reasonable time of payment given upon interest and good security, if required – R.L. Hooper (Nelson 1905:159).

This advertisement provides the noteworthy piece of information that at the date of Hooper's proposed sale of the property, the Douglas tract included "two good dwelling houses and a stable" and an orchard, as well as the Lamberton Fishery, then under lease to William Richards, a Philadelphia apothecary and

merchant. One of the houses must have been the former residence of John Douglas, but as to the precise whereabouts, builder and occupant of the second residence, no clear evidence has been uncovered. One possibility is that the second house accompanied the Lamberton Fishery, since Daniel Coxe V's later damage claims reference such a house being destroyed in December 1776. Another possibility, discussed below, is that this second dwelling was the forerunner of his Rosey Hill Mansion and was situated just a few yards south of Douglas's former home. It is interesting to note that, although he sold his farm in 1769, John Douglas continued to be listed as a freeholder in the Minute Book of Nottingham Township until 1772 (New Jersey Historical Society 1940:179-192). This may indicate that he lived elsewhere in the township during the 1770's or perhaps remained living in this old home and was mistakenly recorded as being a freeholder.

Finally, through the documentation produced in support of Daniel Coxe V's claims for compensation from the British government in 1784, one learns that on July 3, 1770 Coxe acquired from Hooper "490 acres including the Ferry & Douglas Farm above for the Consideration of £3200 proc[urement] money ... also the patent for the Ferry to W<sup>m</sup>. Trent Esq<sup>r</sup>" (Audit Office AO 13/93, 374). The whereabouts of the original deed for this transaction are unknown.

## F. REVOLUTION

### 1. Daniel Coxe V

Only an individual of considerable personal wealth could have afforded to pay £3,200 for property as valuable as that advertised by Robert Lettis Hooper II in 1770. It was well within the means of Daniel Coxe V to be able to do this. As the appellation here implies, this Daniel Coxe was the fifth in a generational sequence of five successive Daniel Coxes. He and

his three immediately preceding namesakes had all held substantial interests in the colony of New Jersey (Cox 1912:210-217; Nelson 1916:81-92).

Daniel Coxe I lived in Stoke Newington, north of London, England, and died in 1686, never setting foot in the New World. His son, Daniel Coxe II was born in 1640 or 1641 and became a prominent chemist, scientist and physician. He served as court physician to King Charles II and Queen Anne. It was this second Daniel Coxe who purchased the remaining Byllynge family rights to the Province of West Jersey following Edward Byllynge's death. Although he, like his father, never crossed the Atlantic, he served as the disputed and little heeded Governor of the Province of West Jersey between 1687 and 1691. Daniel Coxe II also acquired the rights to a tract "imperial in its dimensions, lying between latitude 31 degrees and latitude 36 degrees, and extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific ... [t]his was called *Carolana*" (Ricord and Nelson 1886:225). Daniel Coxe II died in 1730.

The third Daniel Coxe (1673-1739) was the first to actually visit and eventually settle in the colony. Also known as "Colonel" Coxe, reflecting his appointment as commander of the colonial military forces in West Jersey, Daniel Coxe III held numerous governmental posts of considerable importance and continued to manage, profit by and, in some cases, expand the family's New Jersey possessions. It was the third Daniel Coxe who established a town house on Second (West State) Street in Trenton, which served as one of the family's primary residences up until the Revolutionary War (Audit Office AO 12/13, 204-206). The fourth and fifth Daniel Coxes were both the primary heirs of the family's New World possessions. Daniel Coxe IV, born around 1710, was named one of the burgesses in the founding charter of the borough and town of Trenton in 1746. He lived mostly in Trenton and on his enormous 1,320-acre plantation, known as "Bellemont," in northwestern Hopewell

Township, entering into numerous disputes with his neighbors over the chain of title to their lands. Daniel Coxe IV died in 1758 (Nelson 1916:83-84).

Daniel Coxe V, the eldest son of Daniel Coxe IV, was born on April 1, 1741. It was this Daniel Coxe, a licensed attorney and West Jersey Provincial Counsellor, who arranged with Robert Lettis Hooper for the purchase of the Trenton Ferry and Douglas tracts in 1770 (Table 3.3). Daniel Coxe V resided primarily in Trenton in the family's Second Street house, leasing out most of his other property in and around the town. For Example, three years of his purchase of the combined 495-acre Trenton Ferry/Douglas tract, he was leasing the ferry operations and tavern to Rensselaer Williams, a Trenton tavern keeper who had previously operated the Royal Oak Inn in downtown Trenton (Ricord and Nelson 1886:225-226; Nelson 1916:84; Kalb *et al.* 1982:3).

Coxe retained ownership of the combined Trenton Ferry/Douglas tract property through the first tumultuous years of the American Revolution (Figure 3.9). According to claims for compensation for damages and loss of property and income during the Revolution that he filed in 1784 with the British government, the ferry operation and 200-acre ferry plantation were leased in February of 1776 for one year to Thomas Janney for £200 currency (£120 sterling). On March 1, 1776, Coxe also leased the Douglas Farm to William Pidgeon, Esq. for an annual rent of £40 currency (£24 sterling), apparently receiving a £40 payment for the preceding year. On May 5, 1777, Coxe received another £35-5s from Pidgeon "for last years Rent of Douglas Place," the late and reduced payment presumably a result of the conflict that had been raging in the neighborhood (Audit Office AO 13/93, 234, 245, 365 and 389). Pidgeon was a well-to-do neighbor of Coxe and a fellow attorney who lived on King (Warren) Street in Trenton (Trenton Historical Society 1929:601-602). It seems unlikely that he would himself have lived at the Douglas Farm; he may have

maintained it as an agricultural holding, installed a tenant farmer, consuming some of the farm output in his own household and marketing the rest.

The Douglas tract is depicted as being in his possession on a survey map of 1773 showing the core section of the Lambert homestead property acquired by Elijah Bond from Elizabeth Lambert Biles (Figure 3.10). This map shows an extensive property marked "D.C." to the north of "a Town laid out called Lamberton." The survey was made in connection with a challenge to Bond's right to operate the ferry without a royal license or charter like the one granted to the Trenton or "Upper" Ferry. Bond's Ferry operated from the base of the bluff in the vicinity of the present-day Marine Terminal, near where Gilbert Wheeler's ferry had crossed the Delaware in the 17th century.

A second survey map of the same property was made a few years later in 1777 (Figure 3.11), following its sale by Elijah Bond to William Trent II (the grandson of William Trent, builder of the William Trent House). Depicting approximately the same geographic area as the survey of 1773, this map shows the lands to the north of William Trent's property as being in the possession of "Danl Cox, Esqr." It also shows both the Crosswicks Road and Lamberton Road extending through the bounds of the former Douglas tract. Lamberton Road was laid out in 1773 and extended from the Crosswicks (or Bordentown or Burlington) Road, now South Broad Street, to Water Street, now Lamberton Street (Burlington County Road Return A:66). The north eastern section of this road no longer exists, except for the short section running east-west at its western end which is today preserved as Cliff Street (known during the 19th century as Market Street). Sometime not long after these two maps were produced, two more roads were laid out parallel to Water Street. These were Front (known today as Centre) and Second Streets. These roads defined what were frequently referred to in late 18th- and early 19th-century deeds as the town lots of Lamberton.

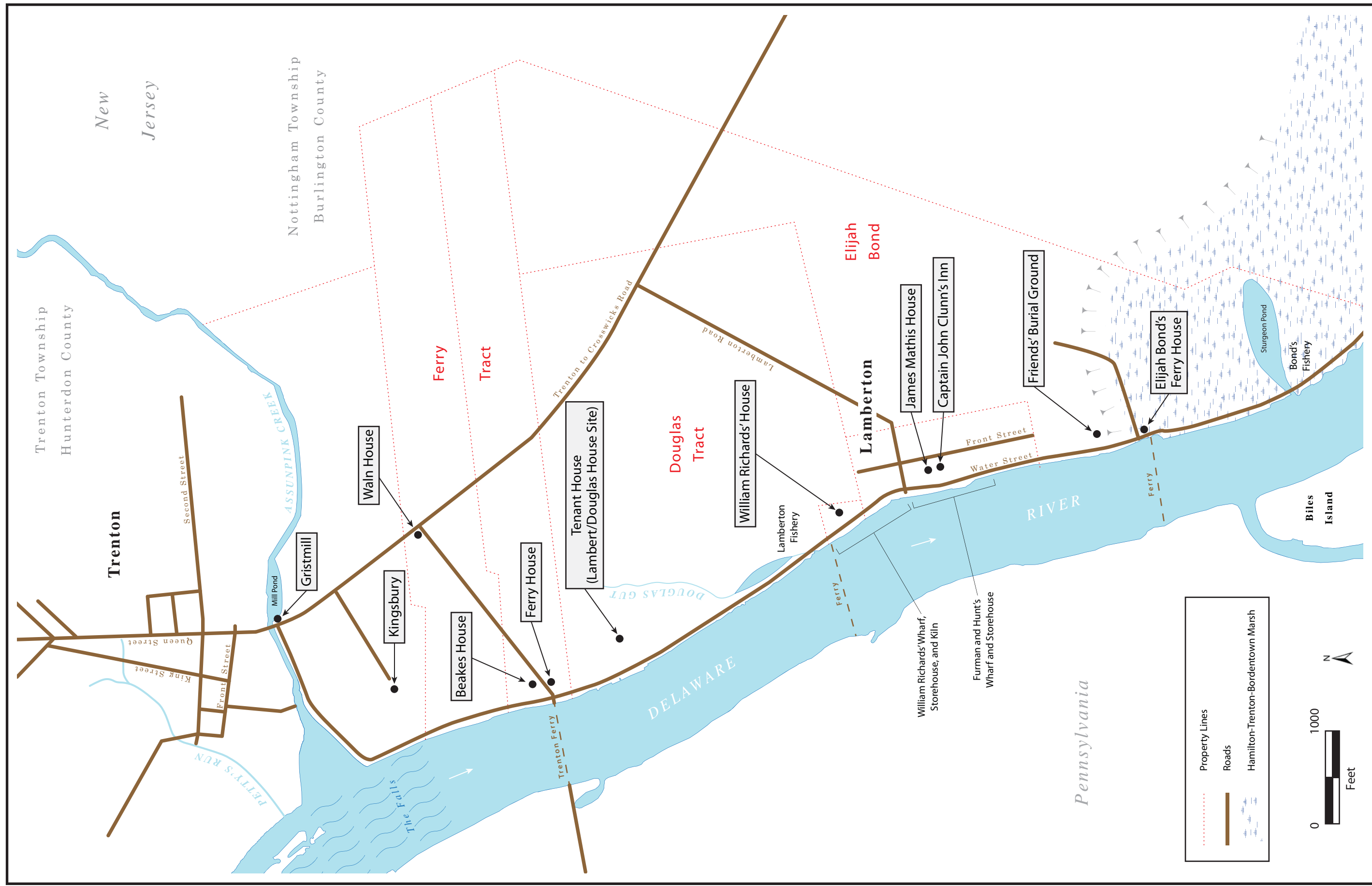


Figure 3.9. Map of Lands South of Assunpink Creek on the Eve of the Revolution: A Cartographic Reconstruction. Scale 1 inch: 1,000 feet.





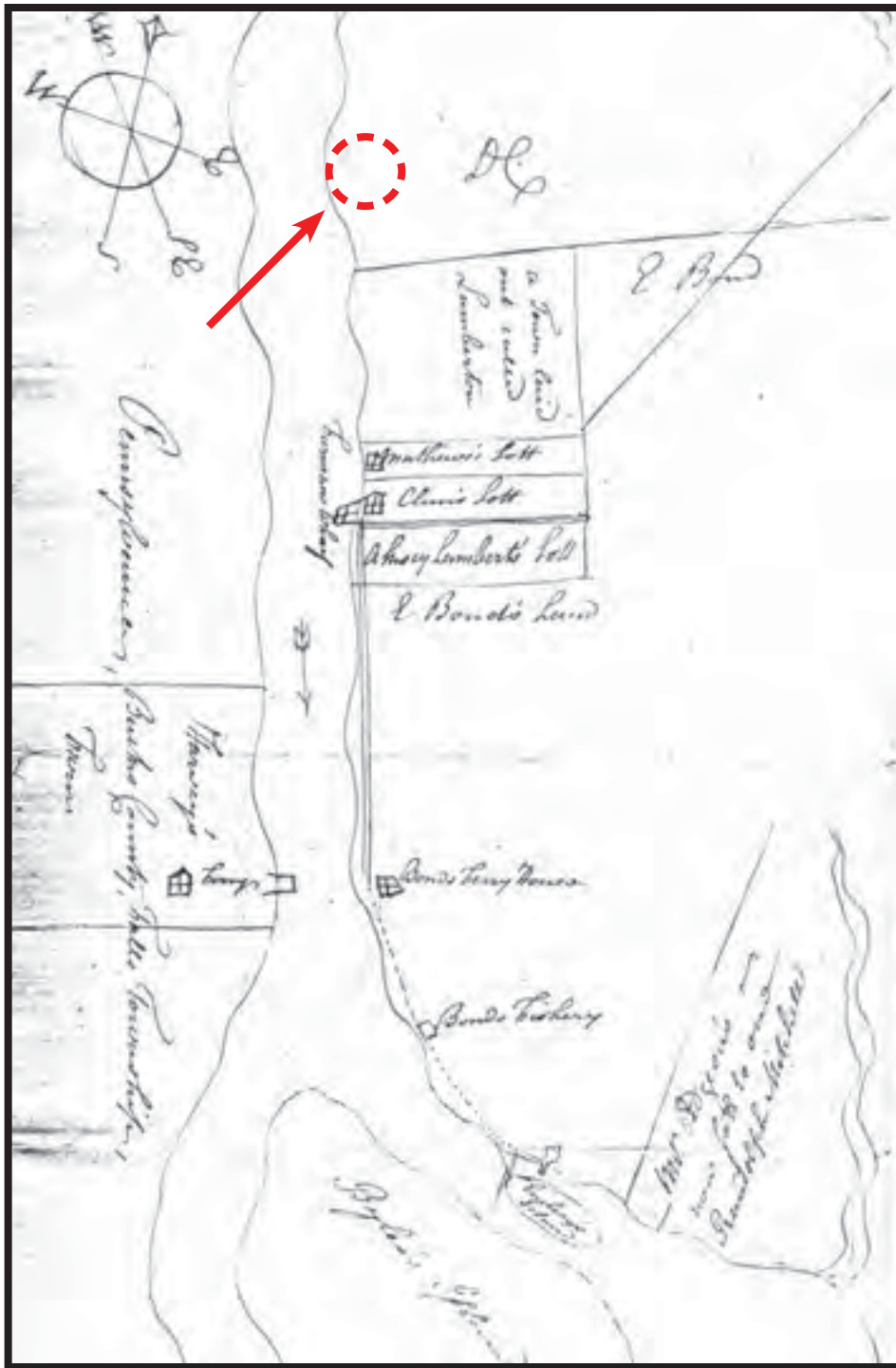


Figure 3.10. *Survey of the Lands of Elijah Bond, 1773.* Approximate location of the Lambert/Douglas House circled. Initials "D C" stand for Daniel Coxe. Scale 1 inch: 1,350 feet.



Figure 3.11. Watson, J., Jr. Survey of William Trent's 570 Acres Bo[ugh]t of Elijah Bond & Surveyd March 31st 1777. 1777. Approximate location of the Lambert/Douglas House circled. Scale 1 inch: 1,350 feet (approximately).

## 2. Trenton and War

While Trenton's prominent and pivotal role in the history of the American Revolution is well known and widely written about, the conflict's effects on the specific project site lying less than a mile south of the center of the town are less well documented. This section of Chapter 3 aims to place the history of this peripheral location more precisely within the broader regional and national context of the War of Independence. The following account makes use of many primary and secondary sources, but has drawn heavily on several standard accounts and specific studies dealing with aspects of the Revolutionary War era in Trenton (Trenton Historical Society 1929; Smith 1965, 1967; Rankin 1971; Lundin 1940; Rice and Brown 1972; Ketchum 1973; Jackson 1974; Gerlach 1975; Munn 1976; Kalb *et al.* 1982; Dwyer 1983; Hunter Research, Inc. 1998; Fischer 2004).

The ferries, ford and head of navigation, all focused along this short stretch of the Delaware, causing a notable convergence of the road network on both sides of the river, provide the strategic and geographic backcloth against which several key episodes of the Revolutionary War were played out in the Trenton vicinity. The presence of a colonial barracks in the town, originally established in 1758 as part of the British supply and defensive system during the French and Indian War, also made Trenton an obvious potential flashpoint as Patriot and Loyalist forces vied for control of the corridor between New York and Philadelphia. That the Douglas tract was affected by the war is incontrovertible and made explicit in the detailed and arduous claims that Daniel Coxe V made against the British government in the 1780's for damages and loss of property and income during the conflict, chiefly incurred in the month of December 1776. The Douglas Farm, and the larger Ferry Estate of which it was a part, were poised on the riverbank

roughly midway between Trenton Ferry and Trenton Landing, within clear view of the barracks and the Pennsylvania shore.

As a framework for the discussion that follows, four main episodes of relatively intense military activity may be recognized as occurring in the immediate Trenton area in the years 1776 through 1783, each of which may be viewed as a wave of tension flowing across the Falls of the Delaware within a broader ocean of unrest. The first and best known episode surrounds the series of events culminating in the two battles of Trenton on December 26, 1776 and January 2, 1777, in which the British and Hessian forces were set back on their heels by several surprising maneuvers by General George Washington's Continental Army. The second episode involved a series of naval actions that took place on the river below Trenton in the fall of 1777 through the spring of 1778 as part of the British advance on, capture of and withdrawal from Philadelphia. The third and fourth episodes relate to the use of the town as an encampment site by the French army en route from Rhode Island to Yorktown on September 1/2, 1781 and on their return march on September 4-7, 1782. There was also intermittent use of the town throughout the war by units of the Continental Army, as, for example, by North Carolina troops, who were present in Trenton on several occasions.

\* \* \* \* \*

Perhaps because of his obvious interest in getting the British government to recognize his family's claims to Carolina, but also because of his inherent political and social leanings, Daniel Coxe V, owner of the ferry plantation and Douglas tract at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, was a devout, if somewhat less than outspoken, Tory. His subdued personal stance was likely a function of the complex tenor of local Trenton and New Jersey politics. The political sympathies of Burlington County, in particular, were diffi-

cult to read in the early years of the Revolution. Many of the county's residents sat on the fence waiting to see which side would gain the upper hand before they declared their support. Others wavered back and forth in their allegiance based on the rise and fall of the armies. The pacifist stance of Burlington County's large Quaker population was alternately interpreted as Loyalist by the revolutionaries and unsupportive by the British.

Burlington County was unquestionably home to many with Loyalist sympathies. William Franklin, the best-known American Tory Governor and a son of Benjamin Franklin, occupied a townhouse in Burlington City and a country estate in Willingboro Township (Skemp 1990:157). St. Mary's Church in Burlington was the seat of the Anglican Church in New Jersey, which for its relatively small size, was a remarkably powerful and influential bishopric. The Anglican Church, because of its close ties to England and the British government, functioned, for obvious reasons, as a major advocate of the British cause.

Although there were many with Loyalist leanings in both Burlington and Hunterdon Counties, in general, other than the noted Loyalist Dr. William Bryant who occupied the Trent House during the Revolutionary period, most of Coxe's riverfront neighbors were staunch and active revolutionaries. The wharves and piers along the river to the south of the ferry plantation and Douglas tracts were important points of supply for Washington's army in the early years of the war when much of the military action was swirling around central New Jersey.

Perhaps the leading figure in Revolutionary Lambertton was Moore Furman. Furman controlled a large block of property on the riverfront immediately to the south of Daniel Coxe's estates and served as a Deputy Quartermaster General in the Continental Army. Through the wharves and storehouses that he owned in partnership with Abraham Hunt, he shipped

barrel upon barrel of flour to Washington's troops and worked diligently to ensure an adequate supply of teamsters and draft animals. Furman's wharf, at the foot of present-day Lalor Street, appears on both the surveys of Elijah Bond's property in 1773 and of William Trent II's lands in 1777 (see above, Figures 3.10 and 3.11). Several newspaper accounts of the time refer to the Continental Army's storehouse at Lambertton and it was probably Furman and Hunt's facility that was so designated (Nelson 1914:17).

Just to the north of the Furman and Hunt storehouse stood the wharves of William Richards, another supporter of the Revolution, who had been appointed Ships' Husband for the Pennsylvania Navy in May of 1776 (*Naval Documents of the American Revolution* 1996 [Volume 5]:192). The activity that took place at the wharves of William Richards must have been an especially glaring insult to Daniel Coxe, as it was taking place on property that he, as the proprietor of the Douglas tract and Lambertton Fishery, technically owned. Although Richards later acquired some adjacent lots outright from the Cadwalader family, the land on which the majority of his stores, wharves and warehouses stood was part of the fishery property formerly leased to Charles Read by John Douglas, a lease which was subsequently taken over by William Richards (see Volume III of this report series for greater detail on the riverfront history of Lambertton/Trenton Landing). Daniel Coxe was clearly in a delicate situation. He was a prominent Loyalist with many prominent Loyalist allies across the Delaware Valley and beyond, but he was outnumbered locally by Revolutionaries, and arrangements needed to be made to protect his person, his family and his estate. According to Governor William Franklin, Coxe "never took any oaths to the Rebels, but that when he was in the country he made interest with some of the Rebels to let him remain quiet" (Jones 1972:53).

It should have been obvious to anyone with a modicum of foresight that the ferry property would have a critical role to play in the coming conflict. Trenton stood approximately midway on the overland route between the colonies' two most populous urban centers, New York and Philadelphia. The Delaware River represented the largest physical obstacle to travelers on the road between the two cities, and Daniel Coxe controlled access to the principal crossing point. His property not only commanded the ferry crossing, but also overlooked the highest point at which the Delaware was navigable. Just as any army crossing the river would have to pass over Daniel Coxe's property, or go some distance out of its way to avoid detection, anyone coming up the river would also have to disembark inconveniently downstream or pass beneath the gaze or guns of those occupying it.

It did not take long for the American Revolution to arrive at Daniel Coxe's Trenton doorstep. In fact, as tensions mounted, Coxe removed himself and his family to Philadelphia on December 1, 1776, leaving his properties in the care of his servants (Audit Office AO 12/74, 41). After a series of defeats in New York and northern New Jersey in the late summer of 1776, the American forces retreated steadily southward over the course of the fall. News of the imminent arrival of the Continental Army and their British pursuers reached Trenton in late November and early December of 1776. Continental forces began scouring the river to collect and confiscate all of the available boats. These vessels would be used to transport Washington's army across the river to safer positions in Pennsylvania. They would then be destroyed, or placed under guard to prevent them from falling into British hands (which would thereby permit British General Cornwallis' army to cross the river in pursuit). By December 6, large numbers of refugees were crossing the Delaware River into Pennsylvania amidst scenes of confusion, making use of boats stationed at Beatty's Ferry (situated just north of Trenton, near the site occupied today by the Calhoun Street bridge) and Coxe's Trenton

Ferry (Dwyer 1983:90). On December 8, the British forces entered the town just as the final contingents of the Continental Army were escaping down Ferry Street and across the Delaware. British troops moving down Ferry Street in pursuit came under cannon fire from Continental batteries entrenched on the Pennsylvania bank (Stryker 1898:28).

General Howe's army scoured the Delaware for boats, but found none available. Unable to pursue Washington across the river, the British Army settled in for a winter stay of uncertain length. Hessian forces of approximately 1,400 in number, consisting of three regiments of infantry, a detachment of artillery and 50 yagers, plus 20 light dragoons of the 16th British Regiment, ended up occupying Trenton for almost three weeks (Stryker 1898:40). During this period, Daniel Coxe's Trenton properties, including buildings on the ferry plantation and Douglas tract, were commandeered by Hessian troops (Audit Office AO 12/74, 42-43). On the opposite side of the river, rebel forces took up defensive positions at all possible crossing points between Dunk's Ferry to the south and Coryell's Ferry to the north. Earthworks were thrown up at each potential crossing point. Components of the Pennsylvania and New Jersey militias were tasked with defending the shore between Yardley's Ferry and Bordentown. On the west bank of the Delaware, directly opposite Trenton, substantial artillery batteries were emplaced so as to include the William Trent House and the Trenton Ferry crossing within their field of fire (Stryker 1898:30).

The Hessian picket at the old ferry tavern, premises formerly kept by Rensselaer Williams (at this time kept by Thomas Janney), was composed of one commissioned officer, five non-commissioned officers and 22 men. This post maintained a guard at the William Trent House, then in the tenure of Dr. William Bryant (labeled the "Doctor House" on period plans) and at Trenton Ferry, or what might better be called the boat landing belonging to Patrick Colvin.

Hessian troops also appear to have been quartered at other houses on Daniel Coxe's ferry estate, including those on the Douglas farm and at the Lamberton Fishery (Audit Office AO 13/2, 322). The guards posted near the river bank were forbidden to show themselves in the daytime, as whenever they did so in any numbers, the Americans fired at them from a battery on the Pennsylvania side of the river. Every half hour during the night another patrol was sent to the "Doctor House" from a 19-man picket post stationed at the bridge over Assumpink Creek near the Trenton Mills. Lieutenant Zimmerman of the von Knyphausen Regiment assigned two non-commissioned officers, each with six men, to guard additional unidentified houses down by the river. Most likely these were houses standing either on the Douglas/Coxe tract and/or in Lamberton (Munn 1976; Kalb *et al.* 1982:3; Susan Maxman Architects 1997:A.3-45).

The wharves and buildings on the riverfront at Trenton Landing/Lamberton are not mentioned in other accounts of the occupation, nor are they shown on the Hessian maps (Figures 3.12-3.14) drawn up in response to German court martial proceedings (Smith 1965). All three of these Hessian maps, transcribed and printed in William S. Stryker's *The Battles of Trenton and Princeton* (1898), are somewhat questionable in their accuracy, as they were produced in the weeks and months after the events of December 1776. With regard to the lands in the vicinity of the project site, these maps focus primarily on the "Doctor's House" (the William Trent House) and the ferry, and there is relatively little difference in their depictions of this area.

"Lieutenant Piels' map" (Figure 3.12) and "Lieutenant Wiederhold's map" (Figure 3.13) agree largely in the way in which they depict the landscape of the Delaware River frontage at the time of the first battle of Trenton. Both maps show part of the Hessian contingent charged with guarding the ferry crossing as being situated on the north side of the road leading

down to the ferry, directly opposite two buildings on the south side of the street. The two buildings were probably intended to represent the ferry house and a related outbuilding. These maps also show the line of rebel batteries on the opposite side of the river facing the William Trent House and the ferry landing.

"Lieutenant Fischer's map of Trenton" (Figure 3.14) differs slightly in its depiction of both building locations and the troop positions to the south of the town at the time of the first battle. This map shows three buildings at the western terminus of the road leading to the ferry – two on the north side of the lane, and one on the south. Troop positions marked "T" (and noted in the map legend as "Commands which retreated to Burlington") are shown just north of the "Doctor's House," matching the Piels and Wiederhold maps, but also further to the east at a building close to the intersection of the road leading to the ferry and the road to Bordentown and Burlington. This latter building (the present-day Eagle Tavern) was a house owned by Robert Waln, the owner of the Trenton Mills (Hunter Research, Inc. 2005). None of the three Hessian maps shows much of the lands to the south of the road to the ferry, as this area did not play a significant role in the first battle of Trenton.

An additional map entitled *Plan de la Bataille de Trenton* (Figure 3.15), held by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, is very similar in appearance and content to the three Hessian maps, but also displays several interesting differences. This map shows only a single building in the vicinity of the ferry house. The Hessian detachment is shown to the north of the road leading to the ferry in much the same spot as indicated by the Piels and Wiederhold maps, but another building, not shown by any of the other maps, is depicted on the north side of the road, immediately adjacent to the riverbank. This map also shows an orchard extending southward below the ferry house.

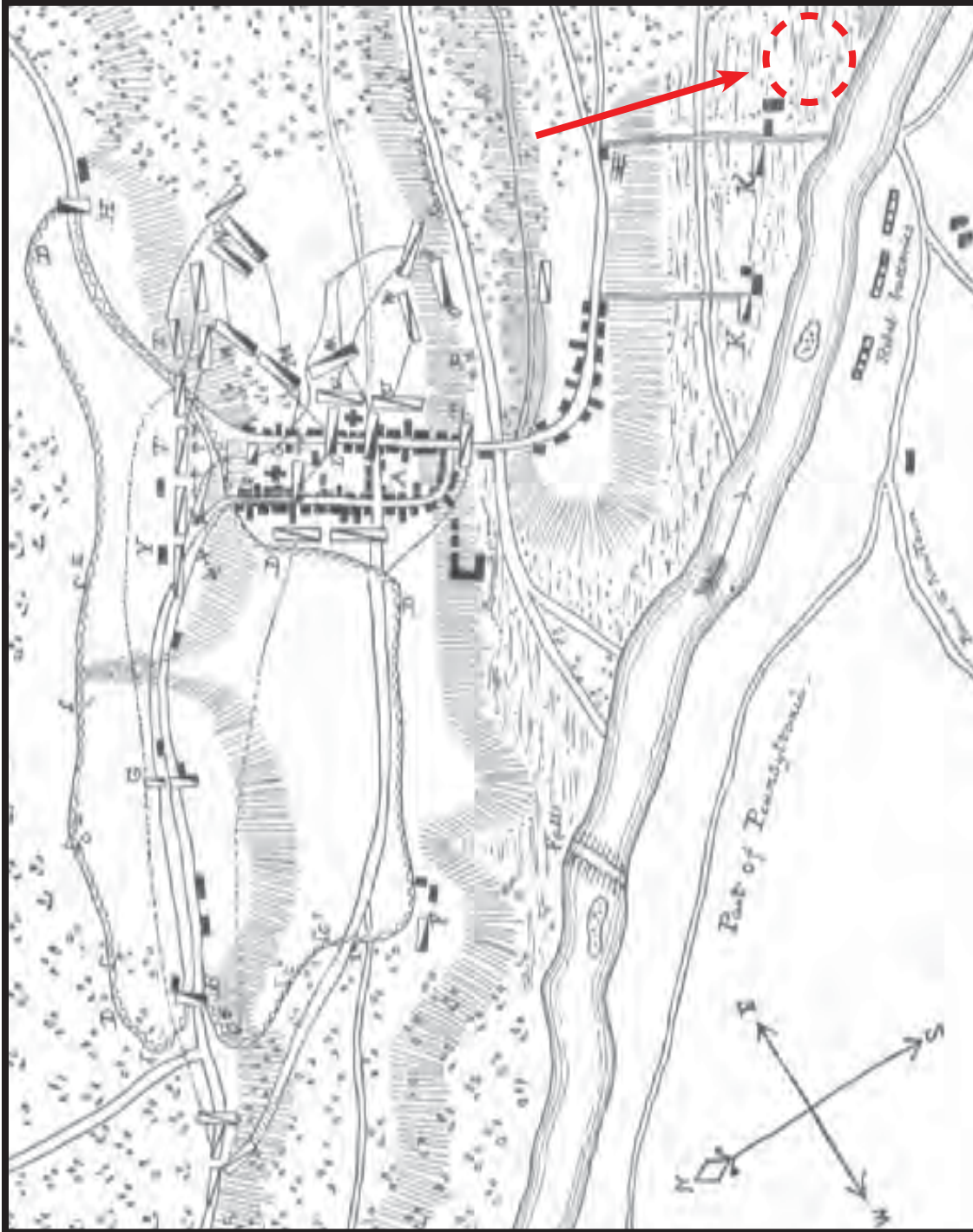


Figure 3.12. Piel, J. Lieutenant Piel's Map of Trenton in 1776. 1777. Approximate location of Lambert/Douglas House circled. Scale 1 inch: 1,750 feet (approximately).

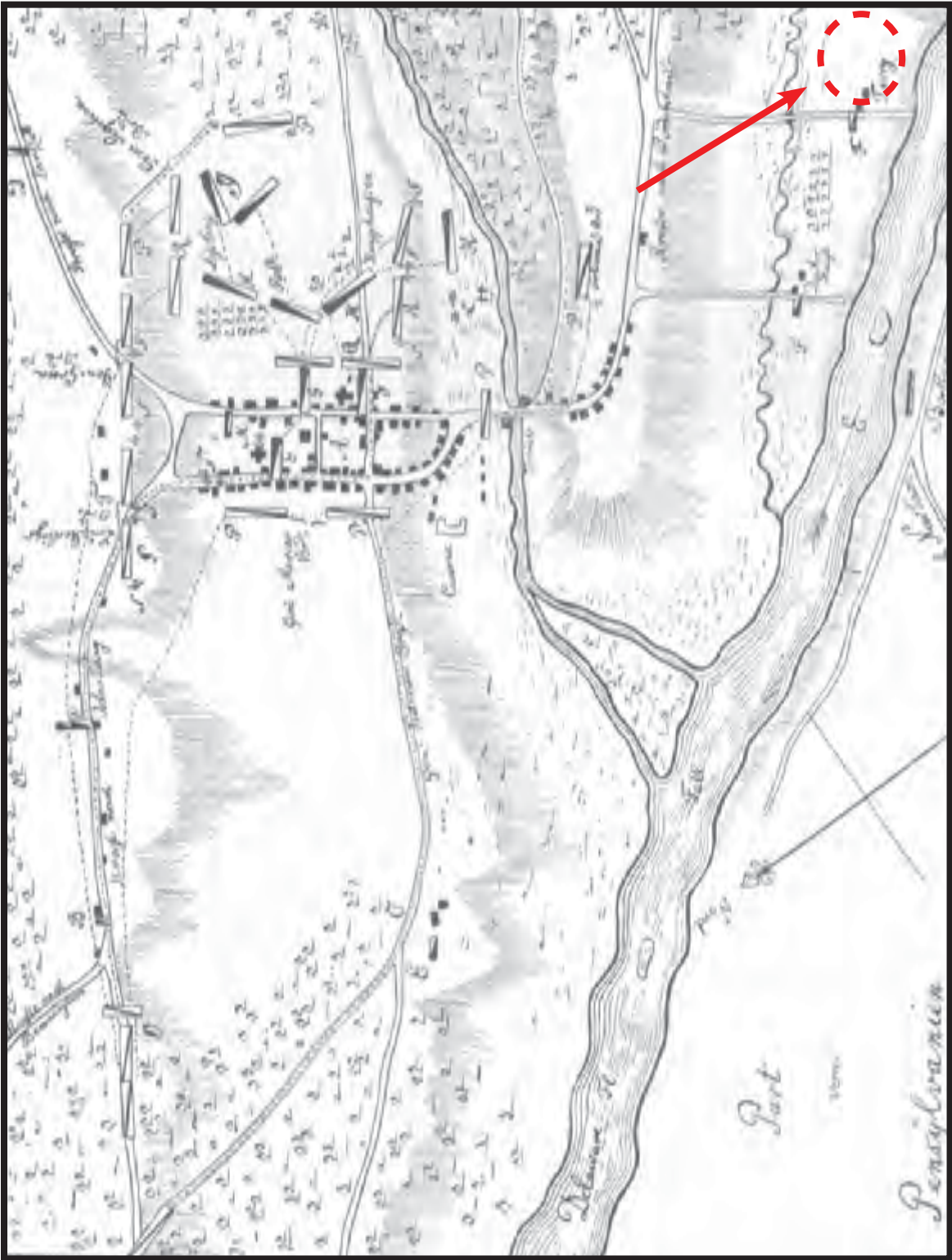


Figure 3.13. Wiederhold, A. Lieutenant Wiederhold's Map of Trenton in 1776. 1777. Approximate location of Lambert/Douglas House circled. Scale 1 inch: 1,330 feet (approximately).



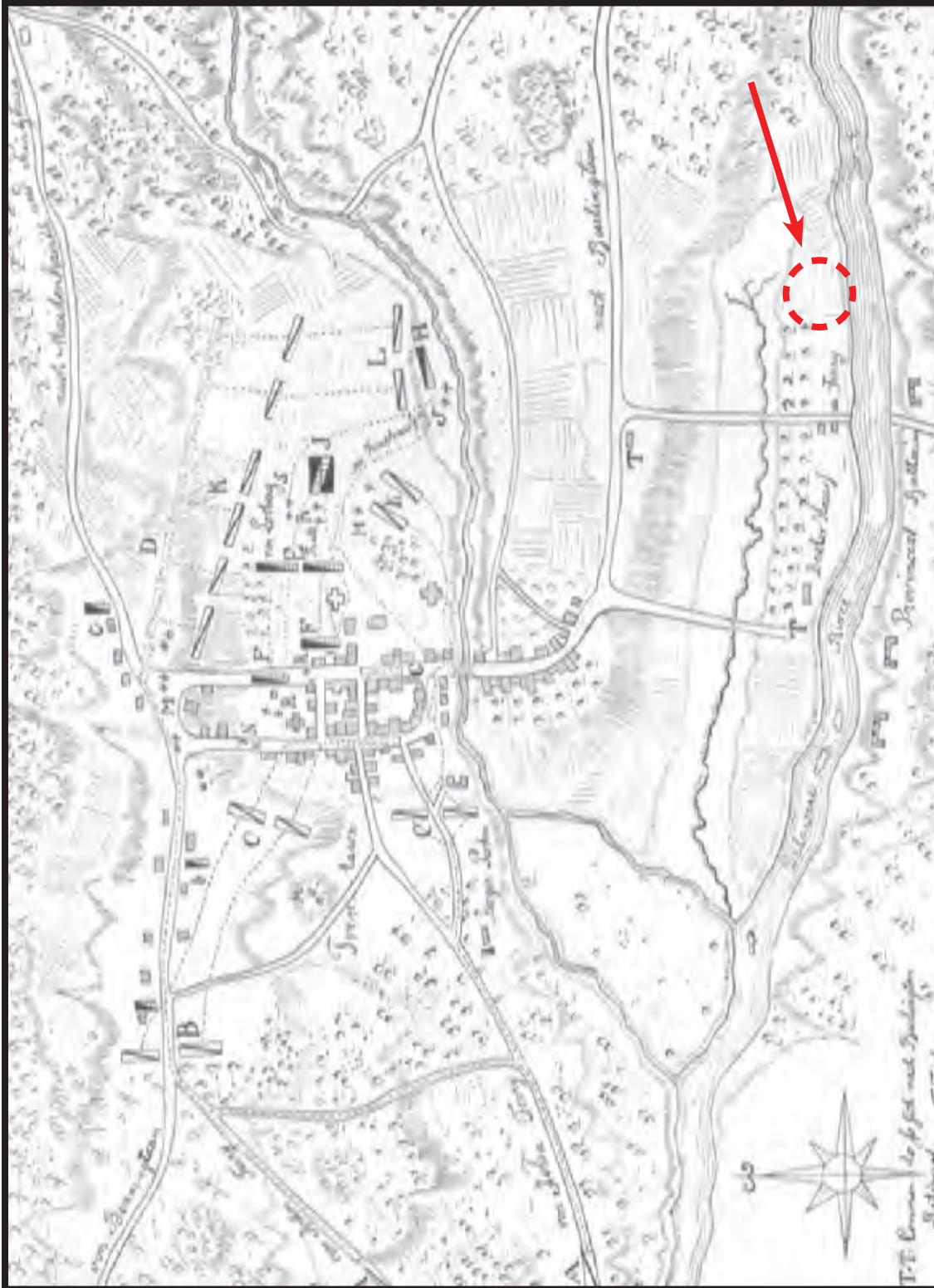


Figure 3.14. Fischer, F. Lieutenant Fischer's Map of Trenton in 1776. 1777. Approximate location of Lambert/Douglas House circled. Scale 1 inch: 1,400 feet (approximately).

Interestingly, all four of these maps from 1777 show the drainage known as Douglas Gut flowing from south to north, entering the Delaware close to the mouth of Assunpink Creek, as opposed to the opposite direction and joining the Delaware at the northern end of Lambertton (cf. Figure 3.6 and below, Figure 3.17). This latter north-to-south course is believed to be the correct flow and one suspects the four maps from 1777 were prepared each in the knowledge of one or more of the others. One effect of this cartographic confusion is that it emphasizes the position of the William Trent House, the ferry area and the Lambert/Douglas House as occupying an almost island-like landform adjacent to the Delaware.

On December 18, 1776 the American forces launched an early morning twilight raid on Lambertton. Forty men crossed the river under darkness and the protective cover of the Continental artillery batteries to plunder and burn a house at Trenton Ferry. Daniel Coxe's ferry house had been under constant threat of bombardment since the British and Hessians occupied the town. It stood well within the range of the cannons on the opposite shore and, although the guards were keeping a low profile, it was garrisoned at all times by the Hessian detachment posted to protect the ferry crossing. It was only a matter of time before serious harm befell the ferry house (while many of Coxe's other properties in town were similarly at risk having been taken over by the Hessian occupying force). On December 18, Daniel Coxe's luck ran out.

An account of one of the American soldiers who crossed the river on that day reads thus:

... about the Beginning of December 1776 he was ordered across the River Delaware to the Trenton side, and to attack a Hessian Picquet posted there ... that he distinctly observed Hessians on their return to the Post set Fire to the Ferry House, the Property of Daniel Coxe, which was totally consumed (Susan Maxman Architects 1997:A.3-59).

Thomas Janney, the tavern keeper, wrote to his landlord describing the events of the day:

Dear Sir:

These may Inform You of our Dismal Situation and Distinction which is made I Left Your House Sunday week 10 oclock to Take Care of some things was Landed on Downings Island & Wife half after oclock Landed also & in less than 25 minutes the Cannon began to fire which so Terrified my Wife that I Could Keep her on her feet. The Ball flew over our head & this morning was sent for to the Camp to see the plunder that the Soulders had Brought over & quarter after eleven we perseived 3 or 4 hessens run out the Kitching Door when Immediately a Smoake followed and fire Issued out at the Door. I Stayed Till Could Stay no Longer so my hand trembles and my hart akes I doant know Whether You are capable to Read or no but I Remain Sorrowful friend to Leave.

Thos Janney

P.S. I have Lost Everything but Loose Goods 300 Bushels of Indian Corn & 60 Bushels of buckwheat 40 Bushels of oats all my Liquors apples potatoes and Grapes hay Rye and all I have nowhere to put my head I am a Grate Distress.

TJ

(Audit Office AO 13/93, 246)

On the following day a special "heavy" patrol was organized in response to the incursion. The patrol, including a detachment of artillery and two cannon, marched from Trenton proper, over Assunpink Creek down to the Doctor's House and Trenton Ferry. On December 20, plans were developed for the construction of an earthwork fortification that was to be placed at the bridge that carried the road to the ferry over Douglas Gut. Although never constructed, the fortification was intended to be a fall back defensive position designed to prevent deeper incursions by American forces (Stryker 1898:105-106).

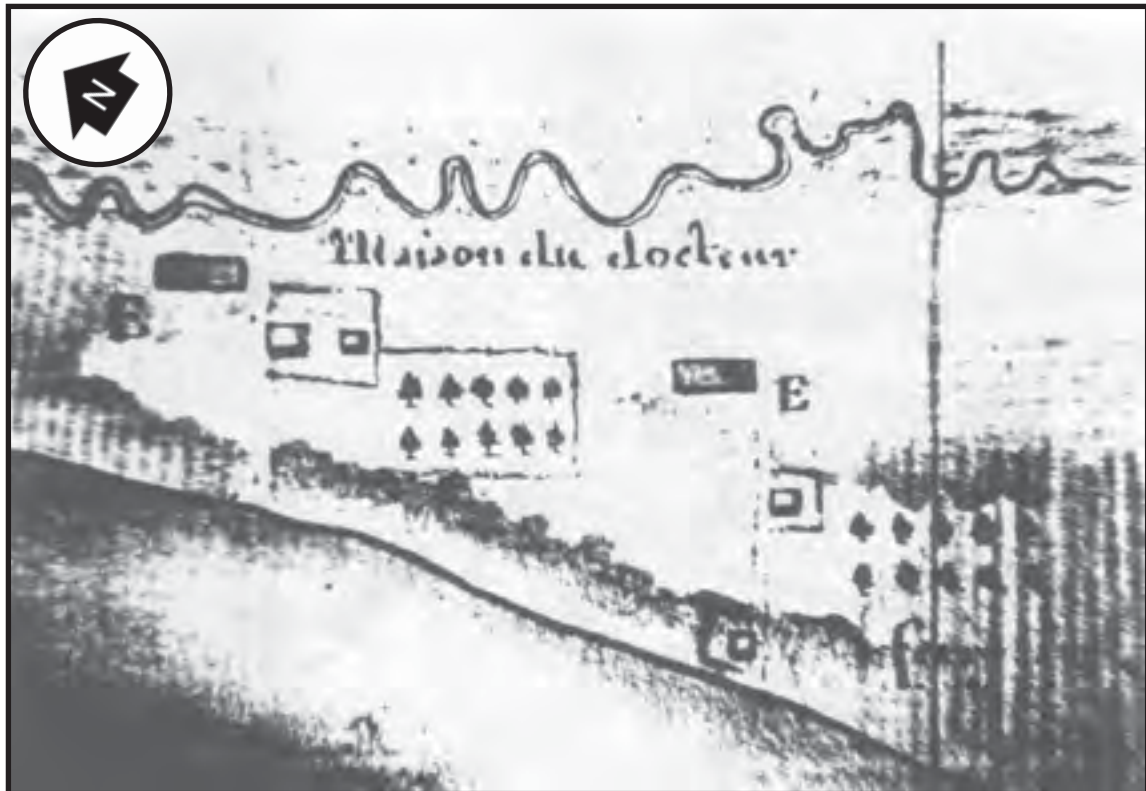


Figure 3.15. *Plan de la Bataille de Trenton*. 1777. Approximate location of Lambert/Douglas House is to the immediate south of the area depicted. No scale given.

Not long afterwards the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* published an “Extract of a letter from an officer of distinction” which remarked upon the burning of the ferry house. Referring to the British and Hessian troops, the soldier stated:

As a notable proof of their regard and favour to their friends and well-wishers, they yesterday burnt the elegant house of Daniel Cox, Esq. At Trenton Ferry, who has been their constant advocate, and supporter of Toryism in that Part of the Country (Stryker 1901:245-247).

After these preliminary skirmishes, there followed a few days of relative quiet at the mouth of the Assunpink. Unbeknownst to the British and Hessians, Washington was preparing for his surprise assault on Trenton on Christmas night, a maneuver accomplished successfully in slightly delayed fashion in the early morning of December 26. American forces crossed the Delaware River at McKonkey’s Ferry (present-day Washington Crossing), divided into two main groups – a smaller one approaching Trenton from the northwest along the River Road, and a larger contingent moving in from the north along the road from Pennington – and overwhelmed the unsuspecting Hessian forces before they could organize an effective defense. At the conclusion of the relatively brief engagement, which raged within the streets of the town and around the barracks and Quaker meeting house, American troops crossed Assunpink Creek into what is now the Mill Hill section of Trenton in order to outflank Hessian forces retreating upstream along the north bank. Aside from this activity, there was no substantial action on the Burlington County side of the creek. At the battle’s end and the Hessian surrender, only three or four of Washington’s troops had been wounded, one of whom was Lieutenant James Monroe, future fifth President of the United States. On the opposing side, of the almost 1,600 troops under the Hessian commander, Colonel Johann Rall,

24 were killed (including Rall), more than 900 were taken prisoner and roughly 650 escaped to fight another day (Stryker 1898; Smith 1965; Fischer 2004).

A few days later, on January 2, 1777, as Washington moved to build on his initial victory at Trenton with a second surprise attack on the British at Princeton, another engagement took place on the Assunpink. In this second battle of Trenton, American forces were seeking to repel a British thrust southward into the town and made a stand on the slope on the south side of the creek. Troops were ranged along on both sides of Bridge (present-day South Broad) Street between the Delaware River and the upstream end of the pond that supplied waterpower to the Trenton Mills. From this position American forces held off British attempts to storm the bridge and ford the creek from the Trenton side. The Americans suffered at least two dead and about 20 wounded; the Hessians lost eight killed and 24 wounded, and around 30 were taken prisoner. The British Light Infantry force involved in this engagement also suffered an unspecified number of dead and wounded. The night after the battle the Continental Army slipped away to the northeast en route to a second victory at Princeton on the following morning (Stryker 1898; Smith 1967; Fischer 2004).

The American victories in the battles of Trenton and Princeton represented a critical turning point in the Revolutionary War and in the fortunes of the American cause for independence. Within two years, the central role of Trenton to the success of the Patriot movement was already being widely acknowledged and steps were soon taken to embed these triumphs in the national psyche for the benefit of future generations. On January 18, 1779, the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania passed a resolution commissioning Charles Willson Peale, the pre-eminent American portrait artist of his day, to paint a portrait of George Washington for the Council Chamber. Following his selection as the artist, Peale traveled to the Princeton and Trenton battlefields in February of 1779 to make

sketches for the background of his painting. Peale, himself, had been present with the American Army during these two battles.

The original version of the portrait, now in the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, was greeted enthusiastically by its patrons and the general public. Peale soon had orders for numerous copies, especially commissions from Europe. In all but one version of the painting, Washington is depicted standing in the foreground of a view showing the battlefield at Princeton. The sole exception is a portrait that descended in Washington's family and now hangs in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City (Plate 3.2). Probably painted between June and August of 1780, it depicts Washington standing against a background showing Trenton's Delaware River waterfront as seen looking southeast down the river from roughly the location of the present-day New Jersey State House. The view provides a unique record of the area around the mouth of Assunpink Creek in February of 1779. Among the buildings depicted are what appear to be the barracks and a single large red structure dominating the shoreline further to the south, which is almost certainly the William Trent House standing out in the otherwise bleak winter landscape. Another brick structure, possibly the ferry house or perhaps a residence, is visible just downstream.

Following the events at Trenton and Princeton, the focus of military activity shifted mostly northward during the first half of 1777. Trenton remained essentially under American control, as did Philadelphia, the rest of the Middle Delaware Valley and the hilly hinterlands of New Jersey and Pennsylvania. The Continental Army established encampments and support facilities in the hills of Morris, Somerset and Middlesex counties, gathering strength and keeping a watchful eye over British troop movements in the New York City area and the lowlands around New Brunswick. Half-expecting a land assault on

Philadelphia across the waist of New Jersey, the Americans played a game of "cat and mouse" with the British in the Stony Brook/Millstone Valley area of central New Jersey. Ultimately, the British chose to move on Philadelphia from the south, with major naval support on the Delaware, a tactic that finally resulted in the British occupation of Philadelphia on October 19 of 1777 (Smith 1970).

In the ensuing months, the British sought to impose their will over the rest of the Middle Delaware Valley and there was considerable back and forth along the river. On November 16, Fort Mifflin, which had held out against British land and sea attacks after Philadelphia was taken, finally fell, followed a few days later by Fort Mercer on the opposite New Jersey shore of the Delaware. Through these difficult weeks and on into the summer of 1778, the Trenton/Lamberton area continued uneasily under American control, with a wary eye on British activities downstream. American ships of the Pennsylvania fleet escaped upriver on at least two occasions. Consideration was given to mooring them at the "wharves near Trenton of Mr Richards and Mr Turnar [sic; probably meaning "Furman"] and Hunts as safe as any I could recollect" (Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council to John Hazlewood, December 20, 1777, quoted in *Naval Documents of the American Revolution* Volume 10 1996:763).

Most evidence suggests, however, that the great majority of vessels brought upriver were taken into Crosswicks and Watson's Creeks just north of Bordentown, where several of them were deliberately sunk with a view to refloating them later (Hunter Research, Inc. 1998:3-14 to 3-17). Some were also moored at Biles Island, just south of Trenton on the Pennsylvania side of the river. Several sources indicate, though, that stores and equipment had been unloaded at Trenton Landing from the larger ships before they were scuttled, and that small galleys were operated from the Trenton/Lamberton waterfront dur-

ing the winter and early spring of 1778 (Jackson 1974:292). As the naval forces were gradually depleted during this period, discharged sailors are likely to have been present on shore, both in the town of Trenton and the port village of Lambertton.

On May 8 and 9, 1778, British forces came up the river in force from Philadelphia with the express purpose of destroying the American fleet prior to the British evacuation of the city in the following month. This raid did considerable damage to ships still afloat in the Bordentown area and at Biles Island. According to Jackson (1974:297), American resistance at Biles Island deterred the British from extending the attack further upriver to Trenton. Although none of this evidence is very specific, it seems probable that the wharves along the river south of Trenton Ferry were the scene of intermittent military activity throughout the winter and spring of 1777-78.

Finally, in June of 1778, the British abandoned Philadelphia and moved northeastward through southern New Jersey toward New York City, luring Washington's troops to the inconclusive pitched battle fought in the summer heat at Monmouth Courthouse on June 28, 1778. Over the following days, the British retired the rest of the way to New York via Sandy Hook, and central New Jersey was left in relative peace and predominantly American control for the balance of the Revolutionary War era. Several skirmishes occurred in the northeastern part of New Jersey between 1779 and 1781, mostly as a result of British sorties across the Hudson from the Loyalist stronghold of New York City. However, to all intents and purposes, New Jersey's participation in the major military events of the Revolution was now complete, and the main theater of the war shifted to the southern colonies (Lundin 1940:336-453).

One final coda of the Revolutionary War remained to be played out in central New Jersey. This was the march of the French army commanded by the Comte

de Rochambeau southward through New Jersey from Rhode Island en route to Virginia in the late summer of 1781, returning along much the same route in the late summer of the following year. In the interim, on October 19, 1781, the French army and navy assisted the Continental Army in finally forcing General Cornwallis' surrender at Yorktown, effectively concluding the military phase of the American War of Independence. The French army kept a detailed account of its itinerary from Newport, Rhode Island to Yorktown, Virginia and back, and prepared maps of the route and the communities where encampments were made (Rice and Brown 1972). This series of extraordinarily accurate and aesthetically appealing maps and plans provides valuable insights into the cultural landscape of the eastern seaboard in the later years of the Revolution. The particular renderings dealing with the Trenton area are no exception.

The map entitled *de Prince-town à Trenton*, prepared in 1781, shows the location of the main Trenton Ferry, a grouping of small buildings on the waterfront on the former Douglas tract and a cluster of wharves representing the Richards and Furman shipping interests (Figure 3.16). The map also notes that a ferry operated during this period from what appears to be the approximate location of the present-day foot of Landing Street.

A detailed plan of Trenton, entitled *25<sup>a</sup> Camp à Trenton* (Figure 3.17), which was produced at the same time as the more encompassing smaller-scale map described above, shows three small clusters of buildings to the south of Assunpink Creek, in order from right to left: the William Trent House (and one outbuilding) fronted by an allee of trees leading south toward the road that led down to Trenton Ferry; the ferry house and a second building on the riverbank at the foot of the road to the ferry; and, further south, to the west of Douglas Gut, a group of several buildings on the former Douglas tract. Fences appear to surround these latter buildings, and lanes are shown



Plate 3.2. Peale, Charles Willson. Portrait of George Washington. Circa 1779-1781. The Metropolitan Museum of Art's version of Charles Willson Peale's landmark portrait of Washington is the only copy to include the Delaware riverfront of Trenton and Lambertson as its background.





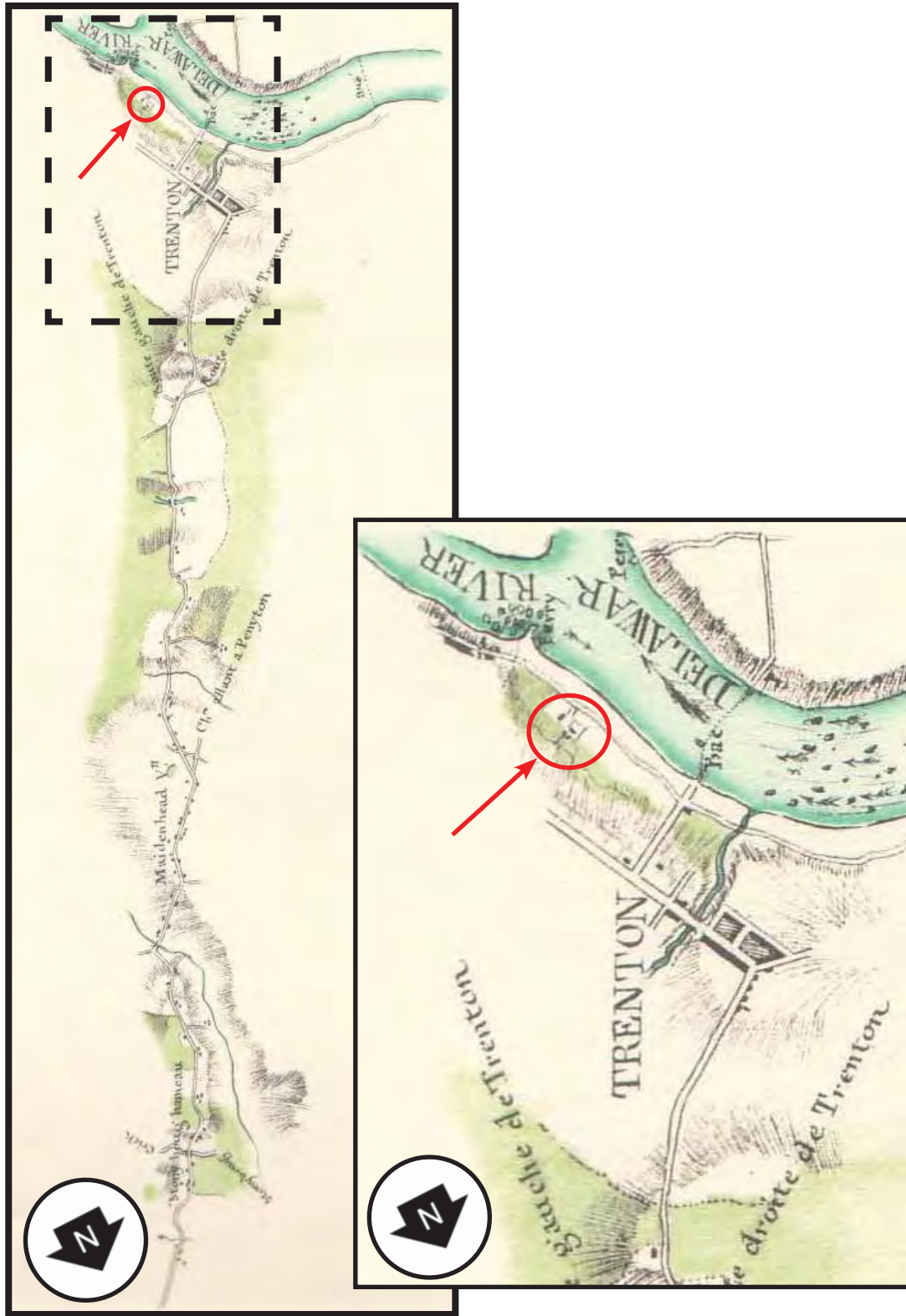


Figure 3.16. Berthier, L-A. *de Prince-town à Trenton*. 1781. Scale 1 inch: 12,800 feet (approximately). Inset enlargement shows Trenton and Lambert. Location of Lambert/Douglas House circled. Scale 1 inch: 4,570 feet (approximately).



Figure 3.17. Berthier, L-A. 25a Camp à Trenton. 1781. Scale 1 inch: 2,800 feet (approximately). Inset enlargement shows site of the Lambert/Douglas House. Scale 1 inch: 800 feet (approximately).

extending eastward to the road to Crosswicks and Burlington (*Ch[em]in de Burlington*), and westward to the river's edge. Another winding road appears to have followed the edge of the riverbank from Trenton Ferry southward to the small port community at Lamberton. The map also provides the earliest depiction of the fishpond that was impounded at the mouth of Douglas Gut, a feature of the fishery operation put in place by Charles Read in the 1760s.

This same map shows the French forces encamped on the higher ground along the southwestern side of the road to Burlington between present-day Ferry and Cass streets. The artillery and wagon park was located along the river on the south side of the road leading down to the ferry in preparation for the crossing over into Pennsylvania. The encampment on the return trip in early September of 1782 occupied roughly the same area as in 1781, but extended slightly further to the south. The accompanying narrative accounts by French officers unfortunately add little to the information on the maps. Trenton is described as "larger than Princeton but less well built and pretty," and "several houses" are noted at the ferry. The ford at the falls was evidently very well marked, since the French artillery used it (rather than the ferry) to cross the river during the return march in 1782 (Rice and Brown 1972:I-78, 163; II-72).

\* \* \* \* \*

During the period when the Revolutionary conflict was at its most intense in the Trenton/Lamberton area, extending roughly from early December, 1776 through late June of 1778, Daniel Coxe V and his family appear to have remained holed up in Philadelphia while the events at Trenton unfolded. From mid-October, 1777 until the British evacuation of Philadelphia in June of 1778, while this city was under British control, the Coxes were perhaps even able to resume a lifestyle not too dissimilar from the one they had enjoyed in pre-Revolutionary times. Despite the harm inflicted

upon his Trenton area properties by the British army and their Hessian mercenaries, Daniel Coxe seems to have maintained his pro-Loyalist sentiments. During Philadelphia's occupation by the British, he actively worked with the British forces, helping to raise the West Jersey Volunteers, a Loyalist military force, and he also acted as a magistrate of police (Nelson 1916:84-85; Jones 1972:52-54). These last actions effectively ended the uneasy truce Coxe had been able to maintain with his Revolutionary neighbors in New Jersey. As the Americans gradually regained the upper hand on the ground in the Delaware Valley during 1778, the damage to Coxe's Trenton home and the destruction of the ferry house around the time of the battles of Trenton proved not to be the only losses he would suffer.

On August 1, 1778 an inquisition was held under the jurisdiction of the Courts of Hunterdon County, New Jersey which found that Daniel Coxe did "on or about the 9<sup>th</sup> day of April in the year of Our Lord 1778 join the Army of the King of Great Brittan + did openly + publically aid and Abett the said army by acting as a magistrate of the Police of the City of Philadelphia." Coxe's properties in New Jersey were soon confiscated and, in 1779, the Commissioners of Forfeited Estates of Burlington County advertised for sale the Trenton ferry property "containing upwards of 300 acres of land, a good house and barn etc, with two orchards ...." This parcel and the adjoining Douglas tract were both purchased by Hugh and Sarah Runyon in the wake of the confiscation of the Coxe lands and, within the space of three days, conveyed to George Campbell, a prominent Philadelphia attorney, who maintained both properties as rental entities (Table 3.3 [West Jersey Deed A-K:557]) (Kalb *et al.* 1982:3-4). These transactions set the scene for the federal-era history of the Lambert/Douglas plantation that forms the subject of the next section of this chapter.

As a postscript to the upheaval wrought by the Revolutionary War, it is appropriate here to track the fate of Daniel Coxe V a step or two further. Following the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British in June of 1778, Coxe, soon after followed by his family, accompanied the British army to New York where he became a “member of the Board of Directors established for superintending and controlling the operations of the Associated Loyalists within the British Lines.” Authorized by the King and headed by William Franklin, this group of wealthy high-ranking Loyalists attempted to organize and control a Loyalist fighting force that, while designed primarily to conduct raids outside New York City, was more often distinguished for handing down personal vengeance. At the conclusion of the war, Coxe evacuated New York with the British Army in 1783 and spent the rest of his life in England in somewhat reduced - but still quite comfortable - circumstances.

In 1784, Coxe petitioned the British government to offset some of the damages he had incurred during the course of the war. Coxe wrote:

That from his invariable Opposition to the late seditious Usurpations in America, & particularly in his own Province, he was frequently subject to much personal Insult and Danger; insomuch that on the advance of the British Army into the Jerseys in December 1776, he was obliged hastily to withdraw himself and family into Pennsylvania, to avoid an intended Apprehension and Imprisonment of his Person.

On this Occasion he left his Dwelling House & Estates in Trenton, with all his Furniture standing intire and every other domestic Article complete, under the Care of his Servants; as was usual for him to do when he removed his Family to Philadelphia for the Winter Season intending to imbrace the first favorable Opportunity of returning.

But the British Army, in the mean time, very unexpectedly advancing from Brunswick to Trenton, in pursuit of Washington’s Army over the Delaware, taking post there, his Houses Offices and Estate were seized upon as Quarters for the Hessian Troops under the Command of Col. Rhode, and notwithstanding his well known public and loyal Character, & every remonstrance of his friends and Servants to the Contrary, his Rooms, Closets, Stores and cellars were all broke open ransacked and pillaged, & every species of Furniture, China, Glass, Liquors, etc. plundered destroyed or taken away; his Servants compelled to fly for Safety and Shelter elsewhere; and the most wanton Desolation committed, on his Property and Estate in and about the Town; great part of which was totally burnt & destroyed.

That Trenton and its vicinities becoming now most unfortunately, the principal Scene of War; and his Estate there so absolutely ruined and destroyed as to be rendered utterly untenantable, all possible Intercourse stopped and his own personal Safety more precarious Your Memorialist was for these reasons prevented from returning to Jersey either to join the Royal Army there, as he wished to have done, or be present on his Estate to preserve his Property from Destruction (Audit Office AO 12/13, 181-182).

Among the many far flung properties then enumerated were his dwelling house in Trenton in Hunterdon County:

No. 1. His Mansion House Offices Lots and freehold Estate in Trenton where he lived, containing about 2 acres of Land, extending 2 Chains & 100 Links in front on Second Street – held partly by Will & partly by purchase under his own Family – Vide the Will & Deeds there for valued at 1500 [Jersey Curency]... 900 [Sterling]... (Audit Office AO 12/13, 189).

and the Ferry and Douglas tracts:

No. 22. 495 acres comprehending his Trenton Ferry Estate & Patent, Douglass Farm & Lamberton just below Trenton Falls on the Delaware (since fixed on by Congress as their central permanent Residence) under three several Rent Leases held by Purchase Vide Deeds etc.

Valued at 8000.. .. 4800.. ..  
(Audit Office AO 12/13, 192).

Coxe's petition of 1784 was only partially successful in gaining compensation from the British government for his losses incurred during the Revolution (he was granted an annual allowance of £200) (Audit Office AO 12/100, 117). His claims relating to damage to his Trenton properties caused by the British Army, and most especially by Hessian troops, appear to have been disallowed, and he submitted a supplementary "demand" for compensation from the British government in June of 1789. This claim provides much information on his losses, itemizing the considerable damage done to his "Ferry Estate" in December 1776 and providing numerous witness accounts in support of his case. Within these materials it is noted more than once that the Douglas Farm, along with the Ferry House and the property in Lamberton, was "destroyed and burnt" (Audit Office A) 12/74, 39-40). However, the following extract from a "Schedule and Estimate of Mr. Coxe's Furniture and Other Effects destroyed by the Hessians at Trenton as referred to his Memorial & general Schedule of Losses, etc. also sold by the Commissioners of Forfeited Estates in Jersey" is especially revealing as it provides exceptional about the kinds of loss and damage suffered by the various different parts of the Ferry Estate:

Beside the foregoing there were totally destroyed and burnt on his Ferry Estate (the whole of which fronting on the river was occupied as advanced posts by the British Army) the following Buildings, his tenants being obliged the estate to wit

A large and commodious Brish and fframe house 2 1/2 stories high, consisting of 12 different Apartments beside the Kitchen and Offices, Store and Bar Rooms occupied by a tenant as a public inn and where the Ferry was kept.

Also a large Dutch Barn framed containing at each end 2 sets of Stables one with stalls for 20 Horses each.

Also two carriage houses -- 2 store houses -- Poultry Houses -- 3 Cedar framed English Barracks with several other small offices -- and outhouses -- Garden and Yard Cedar Board ffences, etc. etc.

The whole of these buildings had been lately fully repaired -- and put in the best order and could not be replaced again, including all the Materials which must be purchased new and the expense of rebuilding under at least ..... £2000 Currency

Also burnt and destroyed at Lamberton on the same Estate a neat fram'd Dwelling house and Store-houses Pottery and Fish houses which could not be replaced again under an expense of at least ..... £200 Currency

Damage done to two other Houses on Douglas Farm part of the same estate occupied by Tenants who were obliged to abandon them for the purpose of posts the Doors WIndows etc. being broke in burnt and destroyed wod cost to repair ..... £100 Currency

Upwards of 4000 Pannel of Post and Rail Fence Cedar Chestnut and White Oak, newly set, and which surrounded and divided this whole Estate into 3 several parts all burnt and destroyed during the Establishment of this post by the British Army and Attacks of Washington's Troops -- estimated at 4/- a Pannel ..... £800 Currency

Upwards of 1200 Pannel of Worm Fence mostly new, on same Estate and inclosing some Outfields intersections etc. at 2/- a Pannel ..... £120 Currency

Much Wood and Timber cut and destroyed on this Estate, of considerable value

(Audit Office AO 13/2, 336)

From the foregoing, and from the comparative value of assessed damage to the ferry estate properties, it would seem that the two Douglas farmhouses (possibly both the Lambert/Douglas House and the forerunner to the Rosey Hill Mansion) were severely damaged and partially burned, but not completely destroyed. The damage to these houses would appear to have been somewhat less than that incurred by the ferry house and the buildings in Lambertton. The considerable loss of fencing and woodland would appear to be the direct result of the two armies' need for firewood during a notably hard winter. The ultimate outcome of Coxe's claim for compensation for these losses and damages is unclear, although a more thorough examination of voluminous documentation held by the National Archives in London may reveal this information. (Audit Office AO 12/74, 39-40 and 12/100, 117).

While Daniel Coxe never again returned to America, his wife, Sarah, the daughter of a prominent Philadelphia physician who served as a surgeon in the Continental Army during the Revolution, maintained a closer bond. She returned for a period in 1806, for example, to help care for her aging parents. *The Gentleman's Magazine* announced the death of Daniel Coxe as follows: "March 10, 1826. In Upper Seymour-st. [a well-heeled section of Regency-style buildings in central London], aged 87, Daniel Coxe, esq."

## G. FEDERAL LAMBERTON

### 1. Spring Brook Farm

On May 7, 1779, Hugh Runyon and Sarah, his wife, of the Township of Nottingham, sold their interest in both the Trenton Ferry and the Douglas tracts to George Campbell, Esq. of the City of Philadelphia for the sum of £12,767 and five shillings (Table 3.3 [West Jersey Deed A-K:577]). As transferred, the Douglas tract at that date included 188 acres. Hugh Runyon reserved the right to land and load and unload ferry boats along the riverbank at this location and excluded Campbell or anyone else from having the right to do the same.

Campbell, a Philadelphia attorney, does not appear to have ever resided at either of the properties. On August 16, 1780, less than a year after it was acquired by Campbell, the Douglas tract was advertised for sale in the *New Jersey Gazette*:

TO BE SOLD,

The Farm, commonly known by Douglass Tract, on the river Delaware, joining Trenton Ferry on the one side, and the Lambertton landing on the other; containing about 190 acres, with all the buildings and improvements. Its situation is beautiful for prospect up and down the river, and for improvement, by building wharfs and storehouses at Lambertton.

Any person inclined to purchase, are requested to apply to Mr. Abraham Hunt, in Trenton, or Randle Mitchell, at Bowhill farm, who will shew them the premises, and let them know the terms of sale (Nelson 1914:584).

Approximately four years later, another advertisement appeared in the *New Jersey Gazette* offering a portion of the former Douglas tract for sale. In the intervening years, the property had acquired the more enticing appellation "Spring Brook." The advertisement

provides the information that the property, although still owned by George Campbell, was then occupied by one “John Mitchell”:

13 September 1784

Spring Brook. Twenty acres on the farm where Mr. John Mitchell lives, adjoining Lambertton, to be let. Apply to Mr. George Davis or Mr. Abraham Hunt in Trenton or to Mr. Randle Mitchell, Bowhill Farm (Wilson 1988:71).

Although the exact identity of John Mitchell remains unknown, it is likely that he was related to his neighbor, Randle Mitchell, then resident at Bow Hill Farm (which occupies the nucleus of the former Thomas Lambert plantation). In the 1770s, John Mitchell was a concerned party in several land sales in Western Pennsylvania and related financial arrangements involving himself, George Campbell, George Davis and William Trent II, the owner of Bow Hill Farm prior to Randle Mitchell’s residency there (Library Company of Philadelphia Manuscripts, George Campbell and William Trent, Agreement, June 4, 1777:Y.7309.F55 and John Mitchell, George Campbell and George Davis to William Trent, Letter, 1779, Y.7310.F23-31). A second advertisement in the *New Jersey Gazette*, posted about six months later, offered a lease on a “Spring Brook Farm” of considerably reduced acreage. John Mitchell still occupied the farmhouse.

10 January 1785

To be let, Spring Brook farm, commonly called Douglass’s Tract, on River Delaware joining Lambertton about a half mile from Trenton, containing about 120 acres clear land besides woodland. Apply to Mr. Abraham Hunt or Mr. George Davis in Trenton, Mr. George Campbell, Philadelphia, or Mr. John Mitchell at the farmhouse (Wilson 1988:75).

It was during this period that Lambertton truly began to coalesce into a village. Prior to 1782, the term Lambertton had largely been used to describe the infrastructure of William Richards’ fishery and a few outlying properties. In 1792, Lambert Cadwalader, the son of Thomas Cadwalader and Hannah Lambert, began the subdivision of his holdings along this section of the riverfront. Typical lots extended between Front (present-day Centre) Street and the river, and were from 50 to 100 feet in width and 300 feet in depth. Lots were conveyed either by fee simple or on ground rent (Boyer 1962:70).

## 2. Federal City?

During the 1780s Lambertton had its one brush with international fame. In 1783, the Congress of the United States took up the issue of selecting a location for a permanent national seat of government. As part of this effort, Congress solicited recommendations from each of the states as to the best location for its official home. New Jersey responded by authorizing the expenditure of £30,000 in specie for the erection of a national capital and proposing to cede jurisdiction of any 20-square-mile area within the state over to the control of the new national government. The residents of Lambertton also responded by specifically presenting the advantages of their small town to Congress. One indication of how seriously the residents of Lambertton took this effort to court the nation’s capital can be seen on the plan of the estate of Daniel W. Coxe, prepared shortly after 1804 (see below, Figure 3.21). This map shows the beginnings of a street system laid out over the lands just south of Ferry Street, a hold-over from the plans of the 1780s. The names of the two main streets were Washington and Federal, and both of these streets were actually laid out with those names. Washington is today known as Cass Street; Federal Street retains its name.

In October of 1783, Congress debated the best location for its new home. After a fruitless day-long debate, Eldridge Gerry of Massachusetts suggested that “buildings for the use of Congress be erected on the banks of the Delaware near Trenton, or on the Patowmack, near Georgetown.” The main opposition to the Trenton location came from the representatives of the southern states who felt that the city should be located in a much more southerly location. The motions of the southern states were blocked by an alliance between representatives from New England and the Middle Atlantic states (Trenton Historical Society 1929:189-191).

The compromise finally achieved had Congress meeting alternately in two locations. Initially, Congress would meet alternately at Annapolis and Trenton, while buildings were constructed both on “the banks of the Delaware” and “at Patowmack.” This plan was enacted, but when Congress assembled in Trenton in the fall of 1784 after completing their term in Annapolis, the issue was immediately re-opened by the northern factions who tried to force the selection of a Delaware River site as the sole permanent home of Congress. A sum not to exceed \$100,000 was appropriated for the erection of buildings and three commissioners were appointed to “lay out a district of not less than two nor exceeding three miles square on the banks of either side of the Delaware, not lower than Lambertton and no more than six miles above.” A sketch plan in the National Archives (Figure 3.18), said to have been drawn up around 1783 as part of the site selection effort, shows that the commissioners were indeed focusing on Lambertton as the preferred location of the new “Federal City.” A note describing the area between Ferry Street and the southern edge of the bluff on which Riverview Cemetery is located, reads: “the Natural Banks High & Extremely pleasant in this Part.” The map shows a cluster of buildings labeled “Lamberton” and “Trenton Landing,” but does

not depict buildings in the vicinity of the Douglas tract, probably because of the less-than-detailed character of the survey (Trenton Historical Society 1929:192-193).

Lamberton’s hopes of becoming the national capital were soon dashed. Considerable displeasure was developing in the south over the issue. The debate surrounding the national capital clearly showed that the northern states could impose their will at whim over the national government. In February of 1785, no less a figure than George Washington stepped into the debate to try and defuse the situation. Washington lobbied hard for the selection of the southern site. The representatives from the northern states acquiesced and, in 1791, the final selection of the Potomac site as the future city of Washington was made. During this period several individuals speculated in properties in or adjacent to Lambertton, anticipating its selection as the site of the national capital. Within this context, the Douglas tract would have been among the most prime examples of potentially developable Lambertton real estate (Trenton Historical Society 1929:193-194).

Apparently, the John Mitchell noted as being in residence on the Douglas tract advertisement of 1785 had taken on a 30-year lease for the property. But in 1792, George Campbell and John Donaldson (one of Campbell’s in-laws) and their wives are recorded as selling the 70-acre core section of the Douglas tract (this being the portion that extended south along the river from the southern edge of the ferry tract) along with 20 acres of nearby woodland to Nathan and Mary Combs (Table 3.3 [Burlington County Deed C:296]). The Combses had acquired the remainder of the 30-year lease that same day. Both the 70- and 20-acre tracts of land were described as being late in the possession and tenure of Mrs. Mary Mitchell, presumably the widow of John.

On December 19, 1792, the day after purchasing the core of the Douglas tract, Nathan Combs began advertising in the New York City newspapers that



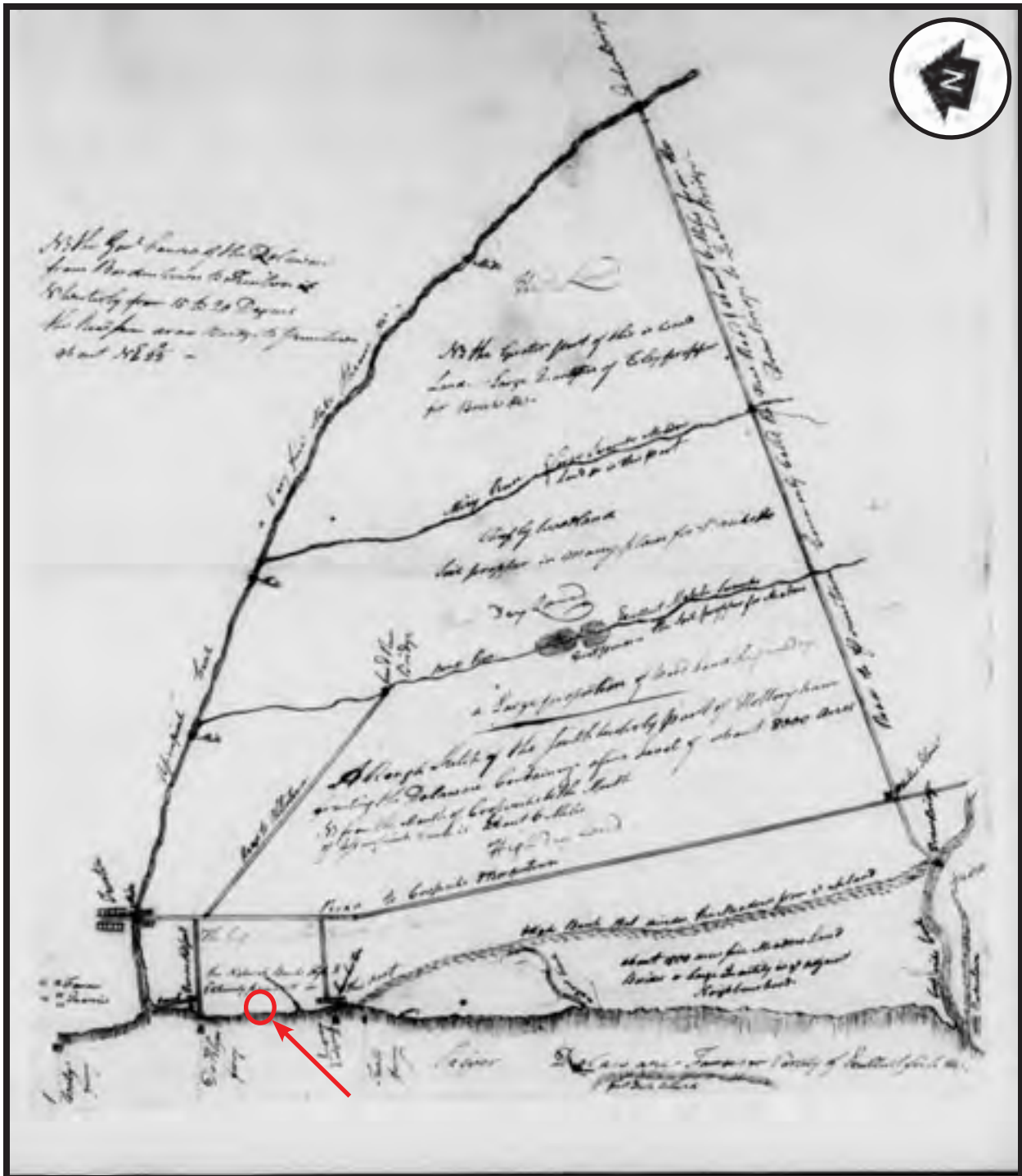


Figure 3.18. A Rough Sketch of the Southwesterly Part of Nottingham fronting the Delaware ... Circa 1783. Approximate location of Lambert/Douglas House circled. Scale 1 inch: 2,500 feet.

he possessed “a number of very valuable Farms and Country Seats, in different parts of this state [New Jersey]” which were available for purchase. Combs may indeed have held properties across the state, but the focus of his real estate activities seems to have been focused on Lambertton where he maintained an office and continued to broker building lots, properties and residences as late as September of 1798 (*State Gazette & New Jersey Advertiser*, January 3, 1797 and February 21, 1797; *Federalist & New Jersey Gazette*, September 17, 1778).

Of particular note during the early 1790s is the fact that Combs was specifically targeting foreign nationals with his advertisements, publishing his notices in both French and English (Hartridge 1945:73). At this time, the Trenton/Lamberton area and several other cities along the east coast of the United States were in the midst of being deluged by wealthy refugees from a slave revolution in Santo Domingo. The Santo Domingo connection with South Trenton and Lambertton during the 1790s is one of the more colorful and fascinating threads in the history of the Middle Delaware Valley, an aspect that is brought out in more detail in the following section of this chapter.

## H. THE COUNTRY SEAT OF CONSULS

### 1. Ignatius Polyart, Esquire

On August 15, 1794 Joseph Vandegrift, innkeeper of Trenton, and his wife, Mary, sold 12 acres of the Douglas tract, including the residential core of the property, to Thomas Giese and Joseph des Santos Bello, merchants of Philadelphia, for the sum of £500 (Table 3.3 [West Jersey Deed A-S:209]). The means by which Vandegrift and his wife came into possession of this parcel has not yet been identified. A few months later, Thomas Giese and Joseph des Santos

Bello purchased an adjoining five-acre lot from Nathan and Mary Combs creating a 17-acre parcel (Table 3.3 [Burlington County Deed D:62]).

Giese and des Santos Bello purchased the properties for the use of Frances Polyart, “wife of Ignatius Polyart Esquire, Consul General of her majesty the Queen of Portugal for the United States.” Ignatius Polyart was, as the above referenced deed indicates, the Consul General of the Portuguese delegation to the United States of America. Clement Biddle’s *Philadelphia Directory of 1791* lists Ignatius Polyart as being resident at 208 South Second Street in that city. A “Polyart & Co. merchants” was also listed at 109 South Front Street. Why Frances Polyart was represented by Thomas Giese and Joseph des Santos Bello in this purchase remains unknown, but the most likely explanation is that Ignatius had left Philadelphia on business and tendered his wife to the care of associates. Frances Polyart’s reasons for purchasing the Trenton property were more apparent. Well-situated properties along the Delaware were in considerable demand during this period as summer residences for the wealthy. Time and time again, when the Douglas tract and other large riverfront parcels were offered for sale in newspaper advertisements, their suitability for a gentleman’s country seat was noted. Daniel Coxe and his family, after all, had wintered in Philadelphia and summered in Trenton, and most affluent Philadelphians had country houses or farms to retire to in the summer to avoid the heat, smells and general filth that made Philadelphia an uncomfortable place to be at that time of year. Furthermore, in 1794, there was an even greater reason to retire from the city – yellow fever. Over the course of the preceding year yellow fever had cut a deadly swath through the City of Philadelphia in what was probably the worst plague of 18th-century America, and it had returned to Philadelphia again in 1794.

Doctor Benjamin Rush, a signer of the Declaration of Independence and the most eminent of the City's physicians, declared the source of the epidemic of 1793 to have been a pile of putrescent coffee left to rot on the Arch Street wharf, thereafter spreading a foul effluvia across the surrounding area. This diagnosis was based on the fever's first revealing itself among residents of the docks. In reality, however, the sickness arrived on the wharves of Philadelphia among a group of refugees from Santo Domingo fleeing their homes one step ahead of a murderous slave revolt that ripped through the island's plantations. The spread of yellow fever was then fueled by swarms of mosquitoes born of an extremely wet spring (Weigley 1982:182).

The plague caused some 17,000 people to flee the city in panic. The federal government relocated to nearby Germantown, and ports up and down the eastern seaboard closed to ships from Philadelphia, including the wharves a short distance upstream on the Trenton/Lamberton waterfront. Lamberton was popularly viewed as one of the best havens for Philadelphians wishing to flee the plague-wracked city. But Lamberton's residents, wary of the potential for the fever to spread upriver, greeted new arrivals with a muted welcome, if not open animosity. Any of these refugees could have been a potential wellspring of pestilence. One, a certain, "W. Buckley," arrived in Lamberton late in the summer of 1793 and found its population in a state of heightened anxiety. Buckley stayed in Lamberton, but shortly returned downstream to Cooper's Ferry (modern Camden), where he found the population more hospitable. Writing from Cooper's Ferry to Dr. Rush in Philadelphia, Buckley remarked that:

the people at Lamberton are so universally alarmed that they seem devoid of common reflection or the least spark of humanity, two men died there the 15<sup>th</sup> and it was with difficulty they were interred, they seem thous'd times more alarmed than the inhabit-

ants of this place many of whom I believe visit your city daily (Letter, W. Buckley to Dr. Benjamin Rush, September 20, 1793).

Of the 23,000 individuals who remained behind to weather the pestilent Philadelphia summer, an estimated 2,000 to 5,000 died, representing as much as 10% of the city's normal permanent population. By the time the worst was over in October, only about 7,000 persons remained in the city (Scharf and Westcott 1884:470; Weigley 1982:197).

Yellow fever had gripped the city before, but never had the loss been so great. Despite the presence in Philadelphia of many of the greatest medical minds of the period, including Dr. Benjamin Rush, nothing could be done to stem the spread of sickness. The city's residents felt helpless. Not understanding the source of the fever, without any means of predicting when or where it might strike next, Philadelphians had no sure way of knowing, when the fever abated in the fall, whether or not it would return the following summer. Those who had remained in the city to brave the fever in 1793 thus sought ways of escaping the risk before any potential return of the sickness in the following year. In this context, the river breezes and open spaces of Trenton must have seemed a safe haven to Mrs. Polyart. Fever did return in 1794, 1796 and 1797, although not in as virulent a form as in 1793 (Weigley 1982).

The Nottingham Township ratables of 1795, 1796 and 1797 all record that a "Polyard" or "Mr. Polyard" was taxed for a property consisting of 12 improved acres assessed at 80 dollars. Compared with most of the other properties included in these ratables, Polyart's land had a remarkably high assessed value per acre, suggesting that the property included substantial improvements. Moore Furman's 185-acre farm on the eastern edge of Lamberton, for example, was assessed at \$35 or approximately \$0.19 an acre compared with the rate for Polyart's property of approximately \$6.70

an acre. Some of the difference in value can be attributed to the premium riverfront location of the Polyart land, but the evidence suggests that at least one very substantial building stood on the property during the Polyart period of ownership (Nottingham Township Tax Ratables).

Frances Polyart enjoyed the use of her riverfront property for less than three years. On June 2, 1798 Thomas Giese (through his attorney, Mark Prayer, Jr.) and Joseph des Santos Bello conveyed both the 12-acre and five-acre tracts that made up the Polyart estate to James Barry for the sum of \$3,500 (Table 3.3 [West Jersey Deed A-T:233]). James Barry and his wife, Joanna, retained the property for less than two years before selling it on September 13, 1800 to Nicholas Lewis Fresneye, merchant of Philadelphia (Table 3.3 [West Jersey Deed A-T:523]).

A survey map of the western (riverfront) portion of the old ferry tract, dated November 8, 1800, was made in connection with the subdivision and sale of building lots on the same by John Longstreth (Figure 3.19). The large open area, south of the tract being subdivided and bounded by Federal Street, Lamberton Street, the Delaware River and the edge of the map, is labeled “[I]gnatious Polyarts Land.” The drafter of the map was either unaware or unconcerned that Polyart, through Giese and Bello, had relinquished ownership of the property more than two years earlier. The map shows the old ferry house on the southeast corner of Front and Ferry Streets, another house on the east side of Front Street between Ferry and Federal streets, and, at the foot of Federal Street on the Delaware riverbank, an open plot of land labeled “General Landing Place” (West Jersey Deed AT:549).

Interestingly, the Nottingham Township tax ratables of 1802 do not include a listing for a Fresneye, but do include an entry that reads “Mr. Fincy (Polyards)” (presumably a misspelling of Fresneye). Mr. Fincy was assessed for 17 acres of improved land (most

probably the 12-acre and five-acre lots) valued at 300 dollars, as well as one householder, one horse and one dog. Although the more than 300% increase in the assessed value of the land at first seems to suggest that significant improvements had been made to the property since the tax assessment of 1797, a comparison of other identifiable properties represented in both ratables indicates an average 200 to 300% increase in the assessed value of most properties in Nottingham Township during this period.

Apparently Fresneye introduced an epicurean industry to Lamberton that was quite unique amongst the commercial landscape of the United States during the federal period. Evidence suggests that Fresneye began the commercial manufacture of vermicelli in Lamberton sometime between the date of his purchase of the Polyart property in September of 1800 and November of 1802. In the latter month and year, Fresneye, then resident in Philadelphia, wrote to Dr. Benjamin Rush promoting his new product:

Philadelphia, 4 November, 1802

Dear Sir,

I have the honor of presenting you a sample of Vermicelli paste manufactured at lamberton, New Jersey, by Italian workmen brought up to that business, and have it in my power to inform you that they have succeeded in making it equal if not superior to that imported from Italy.

I shall not make a long explanation of the use and advantage of this article in this country, as you, no doubt, are well acquainted with the great use made of it in Italy, France, Spain +c. to supply a dish of meat. And in the Hospitals and to the sick it has proved a very salutary nourishment. The materials which compose this article are so simple as not to require an explanation but if any one of your profession should desire to know the whole composition I shall always do my self the pleasure to gratify their curiosity.

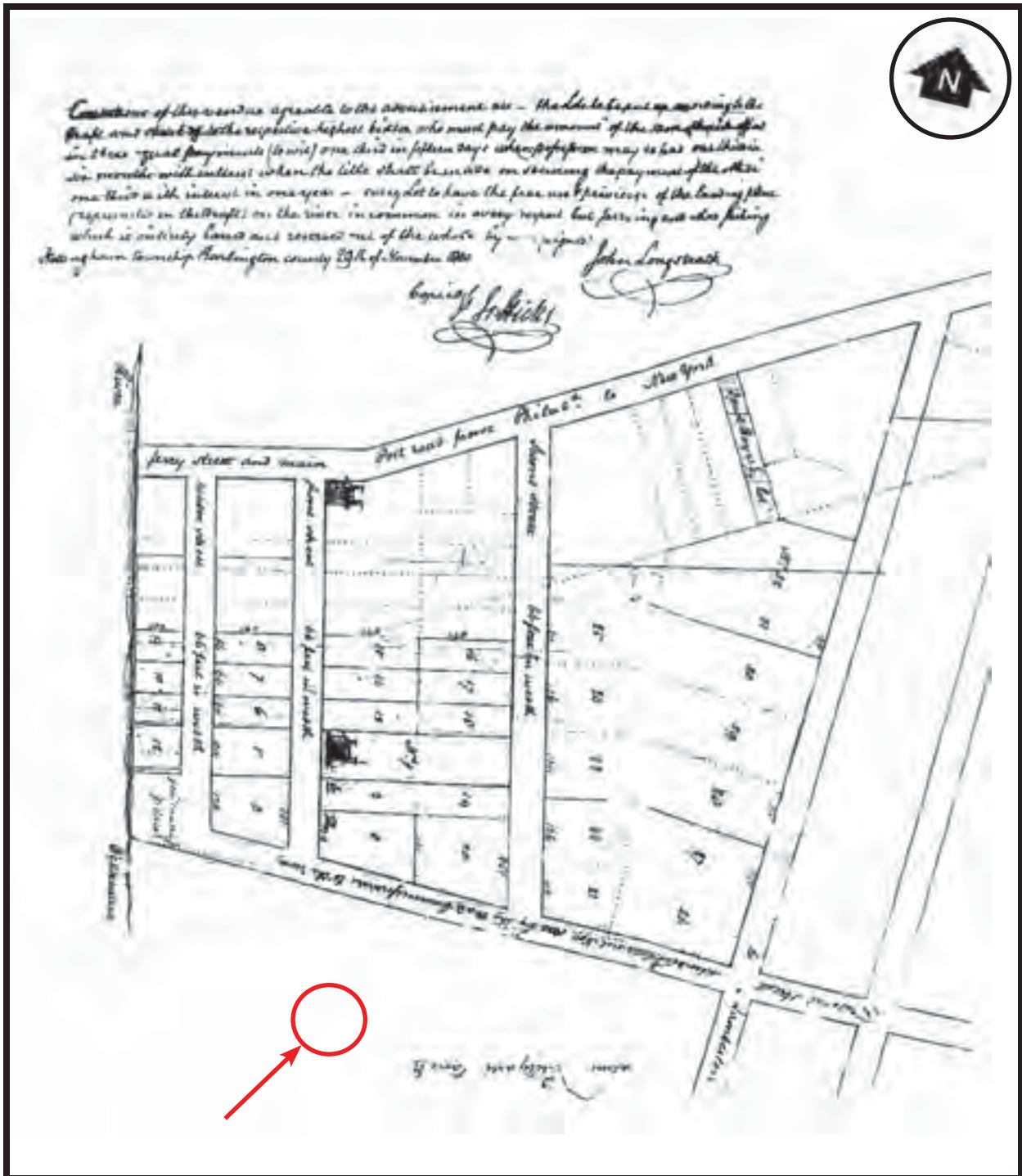


Figure 3.19. Map of the Lands of John Longstreth. 1800. Approximate location of Rosey Hill Mansion circled. Scale 1 inch: 330 feet (approximately).

*To make Soup of Vermicelli, Maccaroni and  
other kinds of Paste.*

DIRECTIONS.

**T**AKE a pound or two of meat or a fowl, and boil it as usual, when the meat or fowl is sufficiently boiled, and the broth has arrived to a proper consistency, take about six cakes of the paste to a pint of broth, break them in your hands; take the meat or fowl out of the pot, and while the broth is boiling, stir the paste in with a spoon, then let it boil about eight minutes..... But if the paste is of a larger size boil it more in proportion.....It is then fit for use.

It may also be made by boiling the paste in milk, or in water with a little butter, in which a little grated parmesan or other good cheese will be an addition. It is in this manner that it is very salutary and nutritive for persons of a weak stomach, and in a weak and debilitated state of body, and is much used in the Italian Hospitals. This dish may well be substituted in the place of meat especially in the hot seasons of the year, when the too great use of meat is prejudicial to the health.

*It is also prepared like pudding, thus:*

**T**AKE six pints of water and boil it with a sufficiency of salt, when boiling, stir in it one pound of paste, let it boil as above, then strain the water well off, and put the paste in a large dish, mixing therewith six ounces of grated parmesan or other good cheese; then take four ounces of good butter and melt it well in a saucer or small pot, and pour it over the paste while both are warm. It would be an improvement after all is done, to keep the dish a few minutes in a hot oven, till the butter and cheese have well penetrated the paste.

It may be rendered still more delicate by boiling the paste in milk instead of water, and put a little gravy of meat, or any other meat sauce thereon

*T. S. Mawing, Printer, 41, Chestnut Street, Philadelphia.*

Figure 3.20. To make Soup of Vermicelli, Maccaroni and other kinds of Paste. Circa 1802.

I respectfully remain,  
Sir, Your Hble servnt,  
L. Fresneye  
South Front Street No. 57

A broadside, entitled “*To make Soup of Vermicelli, Macaroni and other kinds of Paste*” (Figure 3.20), printed in Philadelphia, accompanies Fresneye’s letter in Benjamin Rush’s papers in the archives of the Library Company of Philadelphia (Library Company of Philadelphia Manuscripts, Letter, Nicholas Fresneye to Benjamin Rush, November 4, 1802:24-Rush-MS 110-111). Nicholas Fresneye and his wife, Frances, held the old Polyart property until 1803, when it was sold, following Nicholas’ death in August of that year, to John B. Sartori for the sum of \$4,000 (Table 3.3 [Burlington County Deed O:150]).

## 2. John B. Sartori

Giovanni (John) Battista (Baptist) Sartori, the son of Carlo Satori, jeweler to the Pope, was born in Rome in 1765 into a family that was active around the periphery of the papal court. Although considered well connected, the Satori family (“Sartori” evidently became the dominant spelling in 1788 by order of Pope Pius VI) did not occupy the upper echelons of the Vatican see. The story of how this privileged young Italian from Rome came to eventually make his home on the banks of the Delaware in the south Trenton/Lamberton area is a complicated and somewhat romantic tale. In 1793, at the age of 28, Sartori emigrated to America and took up residence in Philadelphia. Why Sartori initially left Rome has not been documented. What is recorded is that, before his departure, he sought the counsel of Cardinal Leonardo Antonelli, who advised the young man not to grow lax in his faith or its practice. Catholics and the practice of Catholicism were, after all, viewed with some skepticism throughout most of the predominantly Protestant United States.

Early in the spring of 1794, after living in Philadelphia for a year or so, Sartori took as his wife a young Quakeress named Teresa Henrietta Musgrove (sometimes also referred to as “Margrove”). How different the lives and experiences of the bride and groom must have been. In order to satisfy the requirements of the Catholic Church and the anticipated questions of his parents, Sartori’s prospective wife entered into a course of instruction in Catholicism. Led in her studies by a Philadelphia priest, Teresa was baptized and accepted into the Catholic Church prior to the couple’s marriage. Sartori requested that Bishop Carroll of Baltimore write to Cardinal Antonelli to assure both the Cardinal and Carlo Sartori that the marriage was fully “in accord with ecclesiastical law” (Shenrock 1993:21).

In September 1795, after a little over a year of marriage, Sartori had his bride pack up her belongings and the couple bade farewell to Philadelphia. Boarding a ship bound for Rome, Sartori may indeed have been returning to the city of his birth, but his relationship with his new adopted home, the United States, was far from over. In March of 1797, he petitioned Robert Morris, one of Philadelphia’s wealthiest merchants and an influential figure within the United States government, to support his efforts to be appointed as the United States’ first formal representative to the Vatican. Central to Sartori’s request was his interest in becoming involved in the burgeoning trade between Italy and the United States, justified as follows: “the Swedish, Portuguese, Polish, Russians, and many other Nations, also they have if no trade at all but very little in this Country in comparison of the Americans now. Notwithstanding that they have here their ministers or Agents as to inform their Nations, on every subject, to protect their little trade, and to assist their respective Countrymen, who are traveling through Italy.” As Morris had no personal familiarity with the Sartori family, John B. included the following personal reference: “As to who I am, and what my

family is you please to enquire to John Adams Esq. as the Senator of Rome has particularly wrote to him about it” (Meehan 1936:170-171).

On June 26, 1797 John Adams signed papers making John B. Sartori the first United States consul to the Vatican. There is some irony in the fact that it was President Adams who issued this commission as, in 1779, Adams had reported to Congress that “the Court of Rome attached to ancient customs, would be one of the last to acknowledge our independence, if we were to solicit for it. But Congress will probably never send a Minister to His Holiness who can do them no service, upon condition of receiving a Catholic legate or nuncio; or, in other words, an ecclesiastical tyrant which, it is to be hoped, the United States will be too wise ever to admit into their territories” (Thorning 1931:9).

Sartori’s diplomatic posting proved to be long lived. He retained the title of consul for the next 26 years, a remarkable length of service considering not only the ever changing nature of international political affairs, but, even more remarkably, the fact that Sartori moved back to the United States in 1800 and did not return to Italy until 1832. The vast majority of Sartori’s term of service was spent in absentia. The relatively few duties required of the American consulate in Rome were attended to by Sartori’s brother, Vincent. Sartori was also appointed to the post of *Il Console Generale Pontificio Presso Gli Stati Uniti D’ America* and thus became the Pope’s official representative to the new American federal government. Sartori was formally recognized in this post by President Andrew Jackson (New Jersey Supreme Court Docket 35582; Peck 1919:65).

As noted above, John B. Sartori returned to Philadelphia in April of 1800, but whether or not his wife accompanied him has not been recorded. Mrs. Teresa Henrietta Musgrove Sartori was last mentioned in Sartori’s letters of 1797. In all likelihood, Teresa

Sartori died in Italy between 1797 and 1800, and was never again to return to her homeland. Sartori spent the next three years in Philadelphia before purchasing the core section of the old Douglas tract in 1803. Exactly why it was that Sartori, with his international connections and diplomatic pretensions, chose to take up residence in Trenton is not made explicit in the documentary record, but the presence of an emerging Catholic community here dominated by refugee aristocrats from Europe and the Caribbean (an elite group into which he soon married) is likely to have been a major factor.

By early in the first quarter of the 19th century, Trenton and its surrounding area supported an unusually large population of Catholics, a number of whom were expatriate aristocracy, perhaps the best known being Joseph Bonaparte and his nephew, Prince Murat. This enclave had its roots in the early 1790s, when the Trenton area – and especially Lambertton – became the temporary home of a number of wealthy French refugees from Santo Domingo. These individuals were mostly plantation owners, colonial officials and their followers displaced from their properties by a slave revolt that had deposed the island’s French colonial government. Between 1791 and 1793 Santo Domingan refugees flooded into many different American ports as the island’s former elite clambered aboard any available outbound ship in their haste to escape almost certain death. Even so, a few towns and cities, among them Trenton and Philadelphia, seemed to have held special attraction for this refugee population. As noted earlier, in the south Trenton/Lamberton area, some real estate brokers like Nathan Combs pitched their sale advertisements in both English and French in the hope of finding suitable buyers among those refugees who managed to enter the United States with at least some of their assets intact.

Among the first and most prominent Santo Domingans to settle in Trenton was Marie Henriette Magdalena L’Officiale de Wofoin. According to the account of



her son, unlike other Santo Domingans, Henriette had actually arrived in Trenton as a young child before the slave revolt occurred in 1791. Apparently, at the age of three, following the death of her mother, Henriette's father had sent her from Santo Domingo to Paris to be educated, entrusting her care and protection in Paris to the Countess of Gramont. Threatened by the French Revolution, the Countess and Henriette were forced to flee Paris, and Henriette soon found herself having to adapt from her brief indoctrination into the grand life of the French capital to a much less grand daily existence in Trenton, New Jersey. Henriette's father, Chevalier Marie Basil Gaston de Wofoin, was reunited with his daughter shortly after the slave revolts on Santo Domingo began. Chevalier de Wofoin fled to Trenton with his son and, in September 1792, purchased the large brick house today known as the William Trent House for the use of his reunited refugee family (Burlington County Deed AR:285). The happy reunion did not last long, however, since de Wofoin and his son then returned to Santo Domingo in 1795 in an attempt to reclaim their estates. They were both killed within a few days of their return, leaving Henriette, at the age of eight or nine years old, to fend for herself, presumably with family retainers, in the big brick house in Trenton (Meehan 1936:173-174).

It was into this scene that Sartori injected himself, acquiring in 1803 the core of the former Douglas tract, just recently occupied by the Polyarts, the Barrys and the Fresneys. Sartori may have originally come to Trenton on his own, driven by a desire to live among other expatriate European Catholics. He certainly would have moved in similar circles to Ignatius Polyart, the Portuguese consul at Philadelphia, and it may well have been this type of familiarity with recent owners of the former Douglas tract that bought the property to his attention. Such a prominent riverfront parcel in a town recently considered as a potential site for the nation's capital would have been eminently suitable for a diplomat in search of a country seat.

However, there was maybe one other lure in the south Trenton/Lamberton area for Sartori, namely his soon-to-be second wife, the young (16-year-old) orphaned Catholic aristocrat, Henriette de Wofoin, who had grown up on the neighboring estate to the north in the William Trent House.

The exact whereabouts of Henriette from 1795 to 1804 remain somewhat unclear. She may have continued as a resident at the William Trent House after 1795, when her father, shortly before his death, conveyed this property back to the widow and executors of the late John Cox, who had owned the Trent House from 1778 to 1792. Two years later, in 1797, the Cox estate sold the Trent House property to Daniel William Coxe of Burlington, whose family retained ownership until 1835 (Burlington County Deed AT:181). It seems unlikely that Henriette de Wofoin's occupancy of the house would have survived this second transfer, which raises the question, assuming, as seems likely, she was still resident in the south Trenton/Lamberton area: where exactly was she living? One candidate home certainly might be the Polyart/Barry/Fresneye property, which Sartori was now purchasing; other nearby Catholic-friendly residences would perhaps have included the Hargous family home and "Bow Hill" (or "Beau Hill"), the brick mansion erected by Barnt DeKlyn in the late 1780s.

John B. Sartori and Marie Henriette Magdalena L'Officiale De Wofoin (Plate 3.3) were married on March 8, 1804 in Lambertton, New Jersey. The couple resided at Rosey Hill, a large frame house located on the former Douglas property. It has most often been said that Rosey Hill was constructed by Sartori for his new bride, but the possibility exists that the core of the house may have included an earlier structure extensively remodeled to suit the consul (see the final section of this chapter and Chapter 5 for further discussion of this topic). A map titled "A Plan of Sundry Lots of Land the Property of Daniel W. Coxe, Esquire, Part of His Bloomsbury Estate," provides the earliest



Plate 3.3. Portraits of John Baptist Sartori and Marie Henriette Magdalena L'Officiale De Woolfoin Sartori. (Source: Shenrock 1993:20 and 22).

depiction of the Rosey Hill property following its acquisition by Sartori in 1803 (Figure 3.21). On this map, the Sartori residence appears to have been added to the original map as a later alteration and is depicted as a crudely drawn box faintly labeled “Mr. Sartori.”

Two dates or ranges of dates for this map have been previously suggested. A date of 1804 has been assigned to the map based on an inscription on a later transcription of the map that reads “A Plan of Sundry Lots of Land the Property of Daniel W. Coxe Esquire Part of his Bloomsbury estate, probable date 1804.” A much later date range of 1815-1835 has also been proposed. The beginning date in this broader range is based on the earliest record in a ledger documenting the sale of Daniel W. Coxe’s lots at Bloomsbury, the assumption here being that the cartographic record of the sale of lots would match the ledger information. The end date of 1835 is the year in which Daniel W. Coxe’s ownership of property in Bloomsbury finally terminated. Upon review of information in the map itself, it is quickly apparent that it reflects a date much closer to 1804 than 1815, since the map has been altered from its original state to show the new alignment of the street leading to the first bridge over the Delaware River Bridge, a structure that was constructed in 1804. As the unaltered version of the map shows conditions prior to the erection of the bridge it is reasonable to assume a date of 1804 or earlier. Coxe acquired his Bloomsbury property in 1802, placing the likely date of this map somewhere between 1802 and 1804. Daniel W. Coxe, incidentally, was the son of William Coxe of the Philadelphia and Trenton merchant firm of Coxe and Furman and was thus related to – but not in the direct male line of – the succession of five Daniel Coxes so central to the history of West Jersey in the colonial period. Born in 1769 and dying in 1852, he descended from a line of Coxes who were resident primarily in Burlington and Philadelphia in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

The Nottingham Township tax ratables of 1805, 1806 and 1808 all assess John B. Sartori as owning 17 improved acres valued at \$400. The ratable of 1808, for instance, lists Sartori as possessing 17 improved acres, a riding chair, a covered wagon, three horses, three cattle and two dogs. One of Sartori’s sons, Commodore Louis Constant Sartori, born at Rosey Hill in 1812, stated specifically that his father had constructed the house himself. There are, however, several inconsistencies in his account of his mother’s life, which brings the accuracy of the statements about the house somewhat into question (Meehan 1936:173). The house became a focal point for Trenton’s Catholic elite and played host to many of the best-known early Catholic families in the area, including the Rossignols, the Boissons and the Hargouses. Following his relocation to nearby Bordentown soon after his arrival in the United States in 1815, Joseph Bonaparte is known to have made frequent visits to the Sartori family and was present at the baptism of at least one of their fourteen children. Interestingly, John B. and Henriette’s first child, a daughter born in February of 1805, was named Teresa Henrietta Sartori after Sartori’s first wife. Mass was often held by visiting priests at Rosey Hill until, in 1814, Sartori and John Hargous sponsored the construction of the small house of worship that was known as St. John’s Catholic Chapel of West New Jersey (Trenton Historical Society 1929:446-449, 460-461).

Still in his 40s, with a wife more than 20 years his junior, and with a rapidly growing brood of children, it soon became clear that Sartori had not returned to the United States to play the role of a retiring diplomat, but rather sought to tie his family’s economic future to the bright prospects of the new nation that he called his home. He was energetic both as a promoter of local manufacturing and as a merchant with close connections to Philadelphia.

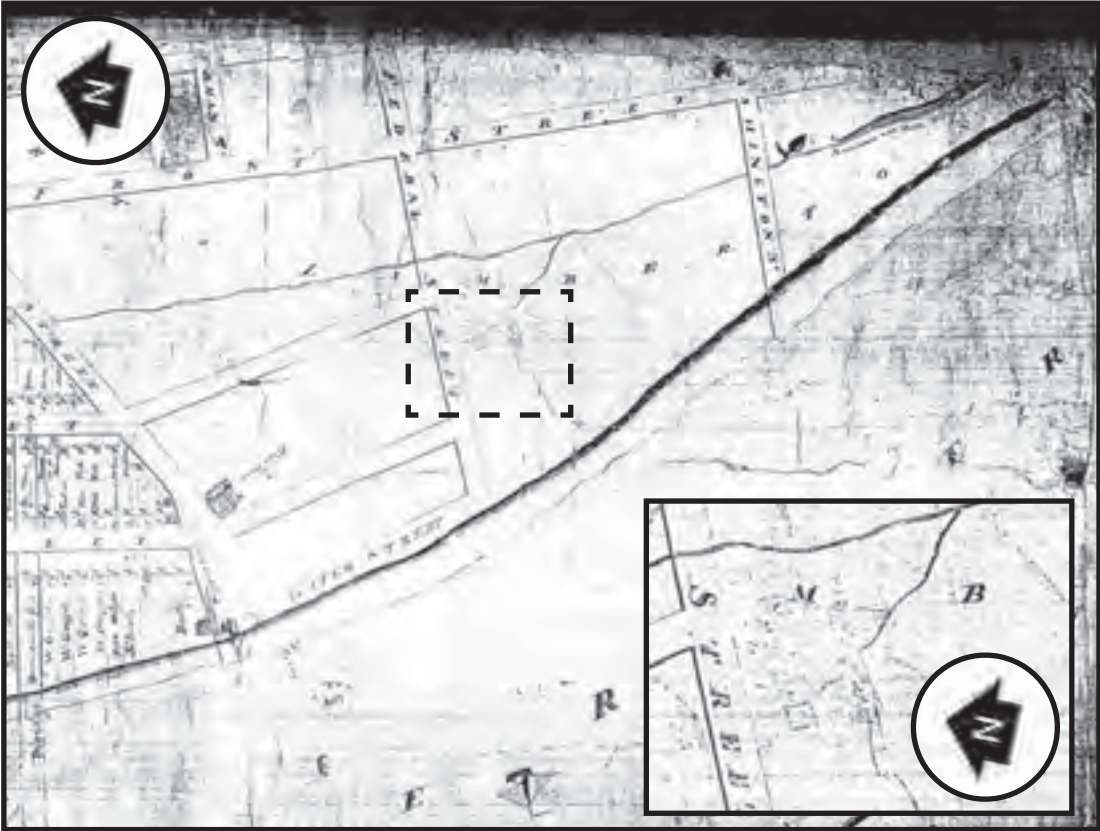


Figure 3.21. *A Plan of Sundry Lots of Land the Property of Daniel W. Coxe, Esquire, Part of His Bloomsbury Estate. Circa 1804.* Inset enlargement shows the footprint of Rosey Hill Mansion (labeled “Mr. Sartori”) as a later addition to the map. Scale 1 inch: 530 feet (approximately).

Although the information concerning the enterprise is very limited, Sartori appears to have continued the Fresneye pasta manufacturing operation, producing this relatively rare, upscale foodstuff for sale in the Philadelphia market and beyond for much of the first quarter of the 19th century. Several secondary sources have identified Sartori as the proprietor of a spaghetti or macaroni factory that was said to have been located on his Rosey Hill property (e.g., Trenton Historical Society 1929:460). Although none of these accounts offer primary archival information in support of this tantalizing nugget of local Italian-American lore, a deed of 1808 for property adjoining Rosey Hill to the north does make reference to “the Vermacillai Manufactory house of John B. Sartory” on the riverbank as the beginning point for the metes and bounds (Burlington County Deed Y:579). More than a decade later, at least one receipt from Jeremiah Boone to John B. Sartori, dated June 28, 1820, records the payment of \$82.50 in return for 30 boxes of “vermicelly” (Jeremiah Boone Papers 1782-1833). Indeed, the Boone papers contain well over 100 separate references to the purchase and/or sale of vermicelli in the years between 1800 and 1824 indicating that substantial quantities of the “paste” were being made available to the market, much of it probably being supplied by the Trenton factory. The Philadelphia-based Boones were shippers and merchants of some note in the Middle Atlantic-Carolinas-West Indies-Spanish Main trade. The investments of Sartori and the Boones in pasta products, which would have required careful introduction and marketing to potential consumers previously unfamiliar with such food, may initially seem curious, but this line of business evidently met with some reward in the increasingly cosmopolitan cities of the United States and Caribbean.

A substantial portion of Lambertton’s commerce in the century between 1750 and 1850 was based on the production, processing and shipment of goods suitable both for consumption in the burgeoning American markets and for the Caribbean trade. The manufac-

ture of vermicelli is an example of taking an abundant local commodity (grain), turning it first into flour and then into pasta, and in the process adding value to it – a value that was realized in financial terms upon its shipment and sale in predominantly urban markets. At the same time, this local commodity, which was difficult to ship long distance due to its bulk and the potential for spoilage, was transformed into an easily transportable, more easily storable and less perishable product. In much the same fashion, commercial bakeries in Lambertton and other Mid-Atlantic ports had been producing hard biscuit for the Caribbean trade for several decades before the production of vermicelli began in Lambertton (see Volume III of this report series for historical and archaeological elaboration of this point). Vermicelli, it should be noted, required more than common baking knowledge to produce, and thus offered Sartori and the Boones the opportunity to establish a virtual monopoly on a product with a higher cash value than bread.

In addition to his pasta making operation, Sartori erected a calico manufactory on his property. This facility evidently stood on the riverbank, just west of the house and south of Federal Street, probably very close to the pasta manufactory. According to the late 19th-century Trenton historian, John Raum (1871:237), the factory was established in 1817 and “was worked by hand,” suggesting that it did not rely on waterpower. In 1820, the business was incorporated by John B. Sartori and P.A. Hargous as “The Trenton Calico Printing Manufactory of Bloomsbury” for the purpose of manufacturing and printing wool, cotton, silk, flax and hemp” (Records of the Union Manufacturing Company n.d.).

Calico, in its narrowest and most widely understood sense, is printed cotton cloth, although the printing process was also applied to other types of fabric. The history and production of calico printing were thus closely tied to the manufacture of cotton, a segment of the textile industry that was rapidly becoming mecha-

nized in the United States from the 1790s onwards, especially in Rhode Island, where Samuel Slater had introduced water-powered manufacturing processes developed in England, but also in Middle Atlantic towns like Paterson and Trenton.

The earliest documented cotton mill in Trenton appears to have been a short-lived facility built by Joseph Fithian around 1813-14 on the site of the former iron and steelworking complex where West Front Street crossed Petty's Run. A more substantial cotton manufacturing operation was started very shortly afterward in 1814 by Robert Waln and Gideon Wells at the South Broad Street crossing of Assunpink Creek at the site of the Trenton Mills (near where Mahlon Stacy had erected his gristmill in the late 1670s). Within a few years, this facility, known as the Eagle Factory, occupied three separate buildings, and was joined by another mill, the Trenton Cotton Factory, located just downstream on the left bank of the Assunpink. One or both of these two latter water-powered cotton mills are likely to have supplied cotton fabric to the Trenton Calico Printing Manufactory (see below, Figure 3.24) (Raum 1871:234-235; Mount 1992:27-29; Hunter *et al.* 2009).

The calico printing process used by Sartori and Hargous is not known. Most likely, since it was being conducted by hand, it involved the pressing down on to fabric of wooden blocks or flat copper plates, each prepared with a pattern that would be used with coloring substances. Such blocks or plates may have been applied with the help of manually operated machinery, but clearly the more advanced water-powered printing machinery, where cloth was made to pass over engraved copper cylinders, was not in use (*Knight's American Mechanical Dictionary* 1876 [Volume I]:426-428). Calico printing, while certainly still rare in New Jersey late in the second decade of the 19th century, had been conducted in the state as early as the 1790s. Print works are reported in Springfield in 1792, Paterson in 1794 and Pompton

in 1796, although again the extent of the technological development and use of waterpower remains unclear (Mount 1992:27).

The Trenton Calico Printing Manufactory continued in operation through into the late 1820s, but there is reason to believe it was not a highly profitable concern. In 1829, a court judgment was made against the company in favor of Jonathan L. Shreve and George Potts for \$6,000. At that time, Peter A. Hargous and Stacy A. Paxson were listed as directors, William Potts was serving as President, and Samuel L. Shreve was the Treasurer. Sartori is conspicuous in his absence from the roster of officers, and one wonders if he had divested his interest in the company by this time. The Trenton Calico Printing Manufactory fades into obscurity following the court judgment of 1829 and the firm was presumably dissolved soon after. The Shreve brothers, Jonathan and Samuel, who had been on opposite sides of the judgment, went on to found a more successful, multi-faceted and more fully integrated water-powered textile manufacturing operation in Shreveville, Burlington County in the 1830s. A similarly upgraded facility was established on the site of the Trenton Calico Printing Manufactory by the newly formed Union Manufacturing Company in 1836-37, following the completion of the Trenton Water Power in 1834 (see below) (Raum 1871:343; Mount 1992:29-30).

For much of the 1820s, Sartori was also pursuing other business opportunities beyond pasta and calico. From at least 1819 onward, he maintained a strong connection with the Philadelphia shipping merchants, Jeremiah Boone and his son, William R. Boone, that involved much more than the distribution and sale of pasta noted above. The Boones dealt extensively with South Jersey farmers and businessmen, filling the holds of Boone-owned ships with American products destined for the wharves of Charleston, South Carolina and for the Caribbean islands of Cuba, Puerto Rico and Trinidad. On the return trips from the Caribbean,

the Boones' vessels carried West Indian goods such as sugar, molasses, taffies, coffee, hides, indigo, bark and logwood. At least four brigs – the *Philadelphia*, the *Hamlet*, the *Buck* and the *Horatio* – were in use in the early 1820s. Sartori was one of the Boones' principal associates in this import/export business. Although not officially a member of a formal merchant company, or a partner in the ownership of the ships, Sartori was financially involved with many of the cargos, as is evident from correspondence, invoices, receipts and bills of lading in the Boone Papers at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Henriette de Woofoin Sartori died in 1828 at the age of 42, as a result of giving birth to twins. By most accounts, John B. Sartori was devastated by the loss of his wife and her death is given as a factor in his decision to return to Italy, a journey which he completed in November of 1832, arriving in Leghorn (Livorno) on the coast of Tuscany, accompanied by his 21-year-old daughter, Clementina, and probably other of his children. Around the time of his departure from the United States he completed the sale of the 17-acre Rosey Hill property to the Trenton Delaware Falls Company, the entity then engaged in the construction of the raceway later known as the Trenton Water Power (Board of Managers of the Trenton Delaware Falls Company 1833:11). The removal of the Sartori household from Rosey Hill to Italy must have been an enormous undertaking, conducted with some sadness, and involving the tearing up of roots put down over more than 30 years. Despite what must have been a wrenching experience for Sartori at his relatively advanced age of 67, he lived in Italy for another two decades, eventually dying in Leghorn in 1853.

For most of the period extending from the Polyart purchase in 1794 through the departure of Sartori in 1832, the core of the Douglas tract was owned by foreign born (non-Anglo) individuals. The most prominent of these owners were Polyart and Sartori. Although little is known about Nicholas Fresneye and his wife,

Frances, they probably belonged to this group as well. James Barry and his wife, Joanna, who held the property for less than two years, seem to have been the only exceptions. Nearly all of these individuals had strong Philadelphia links.

This pattern of ownership reflects the existence of a relatively insular and elite Philadelphia social stratum comprised of foreign nationals, most of whom adhered to the Catholic faith. Isolated by language and culture from the rest of Philadelphia's largely Anglo and Germanic population, these wealthy French, Italian and Hispanic nationals would have had good reason to maintain close associations for both social and business purposes. As a result, they probably saw a great deal of one another, looked for similar types of properties on which to live, and may well have known one another's properties intimately and exchanged their ownership. For example, both Polyart and Sartori were foreign consuls who lived in Philadelphia and pursued local mercantile and shipping interests. The Douglas tract/Rosey Hill property may therefore have been attractive to both men, not just as a riverfront country seat, but also as a place of business, a location from which to engage in river trade. Certainly, Sartori's calico printing and pasta enterprises reflect this type of interest.

## I. WATERPOWER AND INDUSTRY

### 1. The Trenton Delaware Falls Company

The departure of John B. Sartori for Italy in the fall of 1832 occurred midway through the Trenton Delaware Falls Company's construction of the raceway later known as the Trenton Water Power, a massive seven-mile-long engineering project that ushered in the first coordinated phase of industrial development in the City of Trenton. This hydro-engineering project – along with its better-known companion and almost exact contemporary, the Delaware and Raritan Canal –

was a key building block in Trenton's rise as a powerhouse of the Industrial Revolution. The Sartori tract, conveyed to the Trenton Delaware Falls Company sometime between mid-1832 and June of 1833, was the final piece of the Trenton Water Power land acquisition puzzle, lying at the extreme downstream end of the raceway alignment, where it emptied back into the Delaware River and where a series of critical mill seats was planned.

From at least the early 1770s in Pennsylvania, and as early as 1808 in New Jersey, laws were passed in support of navigation improvements on the Delaware River in which concern was expressed over wing dams obstructing shipping channels and drawing water out of the river for canals and mills. In the second decade of the 19th century, continuing into the 1820s, plans began to be seriously developed for what eventually became the Delaware and Raritan Canal, and the use of the Delaware River as a source of water for canals and mills along its banks became a major bi-state issue. In 1829, New Jersey and Pennsylvania both appointed commissioners to jointly meet to decide where and how water might be taken from the Delaware for canals and waterpower. It was against this background that the Trenton Delaware Falls Company was incorporated on February 16, 1831 and granted the right to build a wing dam in the Delaware River anywhere between the mouth of Assunpink Creek and Wells Falls (just below New Hope) and a raceway to bring waterpower into the heart of Trenton. Although it was firmly stated that the dam was not to "impede the passage of rafts, fish, arks, or boats," as history soon showed, this structure ultimately proved to be a major bone of contention between industrial development interests and other users of the Delaware River (Swain 1885:93-94).

At the time of the Trenton Delaware Falls Company's incorporation in early 1831, construction had already begun on the Delaware and Raritan Canal. The relationship between these two waterways – the Delaware

and Raritan Canal and the raceway later known as the Trenton Water Power – is an interesting one, both in terms of geography and design concept. The Delaware and Raritan Canal, whose primary purpose was to provide a water transportation linkage across the waist of New Jersey between the Delaware and Raritan Rivers, was a 65-mile-long system comprising a 43-mile main channel between Bordentown on the Delaware and New Brunswick on the Raritan, supplied by a 22-mile feeder canal that paralleled the left bank of the Delaware River from its intake at Bulls Island to its confluence with the main channel in Trenton. The five-mile stretch of the main channel immediately upstream from New Brunswick was also fed from the Raritan by an intake at the Fieldville dam, while a few smaller creeks intersecting with the feeder, such as Wickecheoke Creek, flowed literally through the canal and, in doing so, helped maintain and regulate the supply of water in the system.

At its point of entry into the main channel in Trenton, on the northern edge of the city at Old Rose Street, the Delaware and Raritan feeder canal supplied the southern end of the system's critical 14-mile long upper segment that extended from Lock 7 at Second (East State) Street in Trenton to Lock 8 in Kingston. The need to maintain supply to this upper level limited the scope for drawing off water for hydropower usage in Trenton itself. Indeed, the only location in the city where water was drawn off the Delaware and Raritan Canal for waterpower purposes was where the feeder canal crossed over Petty's Run on the western side of town; here, the canal was tapped to ensure that an adequate flow of water was maintained to Garrett D. Wall's paper mill on West Front Street and other mills and tanneries extending downstream along the run. By 1870 a flour mill was also separately fed by the feeder canal in this location, with its tail race emptying into Petty's Run (Beers 1870). Both the feeder and the main channel were routed through the outskirts of Trenton, thus limiting the prospects for basing water-powered industrial development in the



heart of the city using the Delaware and Raritan Canal system. A rather different situation prevailed in New Brunswick, where the lowermost level of the main channel passed through the downtown along the right bank of the Raritan, and the Fieldville dam ensured a steady supply of water that could support both transportation and the development of water-powered mills in the downtown.

With the Delaware and Raritan Canal, through constraints of geography and hydro-engineering, primarily serving a water transportation function in Trenton, the city fathers pursued an entirely separate engineering solution to bring water-powered industrial development into the community. It was with this purpose in mind that several prominent Trenton investors and business entrepreneurs set about founding the Trenton Delaware Falls Company, effectively as a complement to the Delaware and Raritan Canal.

At its incorporation, the capital stock of the Trenton Delaware Falls Company was fixed at \$60,000, with provision to increase this to \$200,000, and shares were sold off at \$50 apiece. A group of 13 managers was appointed to run the company, among whom were: Charles Parker (a banker and future State Treasurer); Robert McNeely (a former Mayor of Trenton); Philemon Dickinson (son of the Revolutionary War hero of the same name); Dr. John McKelway (a prominent local physician, Trenton postmaster and mill owner); Thomas Gordon (a Trenton-based surveyor and preparer of an exceptionally accurate and detailed map of New Jersey in 1828, as well as a map of Trenton in 1836 [see below, Figure 3.24]); Stacy G. Potts (an attorney and justice of the New Jersey Supreme Court); and Samuel Shreve (a mill owner and past Treasurer of the Trenton Calico Printing Manufactory). A smaller group of five individuals, including Parker and McNeely, were authorized to sell stock (*Acts of the Fifty-Fifth General Assembly of the State of New Jersey* 1831:31-33; Raum 1871:237-238).

In addition to being granted the right to build a wing dam in Delaware River above Trenton and a race-way along the riverbank, the Trenton Delaware Falls Company was permitted to build “lateral or branch race-ways, locks, weirs, gates and other works, from the said main race way to the Delaware River . . . for the purpose of creating and using the said water power for mills, manufacturing, and no other purpose.” The company could also build “embankments, reservoirs, aqueducts, culverts, locks, weirs, gates, ways, bridges, and other works,” as necessary (*Acts of the Fifty-Fifth General Assembly of the State of New Jersey* 1831:31-33).

The project got under way quickly. During the year of its incorporation, the Trenton Delaware Falls Company sold stock, began acquiring land, appointed engineers to survey the route and prepare plans, hired contractors, and began construction in the fall. By this time \$90,000 worth of stock had been issued and the estimated cost of the project was put at around \$100,000.

The company availed themselves of the services of a notable triumvir of engineers comprising Benjamin Wright, Stephen Long and Charles Potts. Judge Benjamin Wright (1770-1842), the project’s senior designer, was a seminal figure in the development of a formal engineering profession in the United States (Plate 3.4). He was among the country’s first generation of canal engineers, serving as Chief Engineer for the Erie Canal and playing a leading role in numerous other waterway construction projects, including the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal, the Delaware & Hudson Canal and the Union Canal. Lieutenant Colonel Stephen H. Long, a former Army engineer turned consultant, was better known as a bridge and railroad engineer, contributing in particular to the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, but he also occasionally applied his skills to canal building. Charles Potts, son of Stacy Potts and brother of Stacy G. Potts, was one of the surveyors of the Union Canal working under

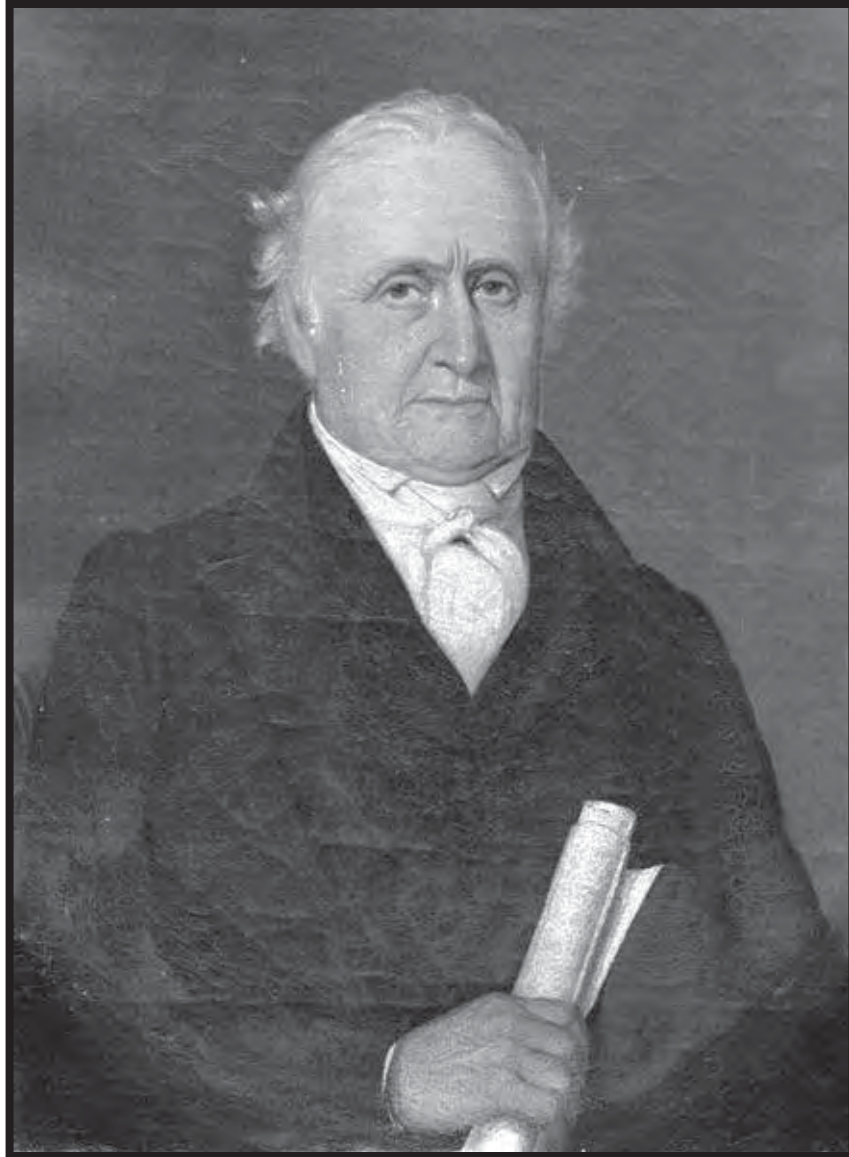


Plate 3.4. Portrait of Benjamin Wright. Date and artist unknown. (Source: Jervis Public Library).

Judge Wright during the 1820s. As the junior of the three engineers and a sometime Trenton resident, Potts probably did much of the legwork for the project. By the 1850s he was a formally qualified civil engineer working as Trenton's City Surveyor (Charles Potts Papers; Calhoun 1960:104-130; Shaw 1990).

The raceway of the Trenton Delaware Falls Company was designed as a seven-mile-long, 60-foot-wide and six-foot-deep canal, extending from a wing dam and intake at Scudders Falls, roughly 5.75 miles upstream along the Delaware from the mouth of Assunpink Creek, to a terminus and outfall on the former Sartori tract in South Trenton (Figure 3.22). Over the total distance of the canal the water level in the raceway dropped only 18 inches and, at its downstream end, mills could expect to make use of a fall of 18 feet to drive their waterwheels and turbines. The major engineering feature along its route was an impressive masonry and timber aqueduct built to carry the raceway over Assunpink Creek just below South Warren Street. Mills using the raceway in this central section of the city could make use of a fall of around 14 feet.

Although one mill complex drew power from the raceway in the hamlet of Brookville, a short distance upstream from Trenton in Ewing Township, mill development was originally earmarked for two principal locations along its route: on either side of the mouth of the Assunpink in the heart of the city; and in the area to the south of Federal Street on the former Sartori tract. All in all, the waterpower system, calculated to have a capacity of about 500 gross horsepower with an average fall of at least 12 feet, had the potential to transform the industrial character of the entire city, a process that indeed began to occur over the next two decades. While Trenton's city-wide system of waterpower was hardly of a scale to match that being developed at the Great Falls in Paterson (with its 66 feet of fall distributed among three tiers of mills, each with a 22-foot head, and an estimated 2,350 gross horsepower), it was easily the largest waterpower on

the main stem of the Delaware River, its only rival – a distant second – being the waterpower at Lambertville (Swain 1885:89-136).

Despite the surge of activity in 1831, the construction of the Trenton Delaware Falls Company's raceway soon became bogged down in a series of logistical, engineering and labor difficulties. The *Second Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Trenton Delaware Falls Company to the Stockholders*, issued on June 15, 1833, provides a detailed accounting of the work undertaken in the preceding year. Up to that point, construction had focused entirely on the 5.75-mile stretch between the wing dam and Assunpink Creek, which had been divided into 11 different sections. The report makes clear that the project was behind schedule and over budget. Among the problems highlighted were: poor contractor performance (some were replaced mid-project); labor shortages (due in part to the Asiatic cholera outbreak of 1832 which ran rife among canal workers); severe weather (winter ice and spring freshets); and the need to purchase more quarried stone than anticipated, as excavation had produced only limited quantities of rock suitable for masonry construction. The estimated final cost of construction for the work north of the Assunpink was revised upward by roughly one third from \$67,165.71 to \$91,158.68. The total project cost for construction and land acquisition was similarly revised upward to \$142,452.47, with the board of managers offering the opinion that "provision should be made for increasing the effective means of the company to \$150,000" (Board of Managers of the Trenton Delaware Falls Company 1833).

By the summer of 1833, construction was thus quite well advanced to the north of Assunpink Creek. Indeed, the board of managers stated that it had already "disposed of one mill power, of from 120 to 150 square inches, above the Assunpink" and that "one other, already erected, is preparing to receive water from the Raceway." However, work had appar-



Figure 3.22. The Alignments of the Trenton Water Power Canal and the Delaware and Raritan Canal Leading to Trenton. Scale 1 inch: 3.9 miles.

ently barely commenced on the roughly one-mile-long section of the raceway heading south from Assunpink Creek. The annual report noted that this section of the alignment “passes through a slough [Douglas Gut], between the villages of Bloomsbury and Mill-Hill, to the Company’s property in Bloomsbury ... and is free from difficulty, the soil being easy of excavations, and the route perfectly secure from the invasion of the river.” The delay in starting construction on this segment was likely related to the purchase of the Sartori property, which had only been accomplished within the past year at a cost of \$10,000 (Table 3.3). The tract was noted as “containing about 17 acres of land, on which is some valuable buildings” and was described to the stockholders in the following glowing terms: “It is situated directly at the termination of the Company’s works, upon the river bank, a short distance below the steamboat wharf, and affords the most advantageous sites for the location of factories to be found any where in the country, being directly on navigable water, and but a short distance from the Canal [the Delaware and Raritan]” (Board of Managers of the Trenton Delaware Falls Company 1833).

A map that was prepared to accompany the Second Annual Report shows the intended route of the raceway and areas of planned mill development from the State House downstream to its terminus on the Sartori tract (Figure 3.23). From the aqueduct, the canal was to curve inland away from the river to make use of the “slough” that followed the minor drainage formerly known as Douglas Gut. Several new design features, developed since the beginning of construction, are depicted on the map for the area below Bridge Street, some of which were eventually implemented, while others were not. A reservoir was newly planned (and subsequently built) between Bridge Street and Federal Street for an estimated additional cost of only \$300. Downstream from the dam formed by Federal Street, the design, as of the summer of 1833, envisaged three raceways: a central “Main Tail Race,” which was to serve primarily as a means of siphoning off excess

water from the reservoir; and a pair of head races, one to the west that looped around to the south and then the west of Rosey Hill, the mansion recently vacated by Sartori, and the other to the east, that ran along the terrace edge paralleling the west side of Lamberton Street. While the first of these head races was constructed, it appears that the second was not. The main tail race, an essential component in the entire system, was built, but ultimately pursued a slightly different alignment, emptying into the Delaware further south near the foot of present-day Landing Street.

The map accompanying the Second Annual Report also shows clearly the intention of concentrating the mill development around the mouth of the Assunpink and below Federal Street, where the surveyors have added the annotation “Sites.” The text of the annual report further notes that part of the area south of Federal Street “has been surveyed, and divided into 19 mill sites and 77 building lots.” The mill sites were placed into two groups: one, comprising nine projected sites along the western looping head race, where the price per site, including water privileges, was \$1,000; the other, consisting of ten sites along the head race paralleling Lamberton Street, where the equivalent cost was set at \$680 per site (Board of Managers of the Trenton Delaware Falls Company 1833:11-12). Technically, only four of the 19 proposed mill sites, all of them along the western looping head race, were ever developed, although by the late 1840s, as will soon become apparent, one particularly large and rapidly expanding industrial entity began to assume a disproportionate role in the use of the terminal section of the waterpower system.

Also issued by the President and Managers of the Trenton Delaware Falls Company in 1833 was a proposal laying out how the company intended to rent “their mill power and land.” This document referenced the same map as the Second Annual Report (Figure 3.23) and established various rental rates and regulations. Mill owners were to be charged perpetual

annual rents “for each and every foot front of the company’s land” (meaning per linear foot of frontage along the raceway), as follows: 30 cents per foot above the Assunpink; 40 cents per foot along the eastern head race below Federal Street; and 50 cents per foot for the prime mill sites along the western looping head race. These rates clearly reflect the difference in waterpower potential between the Assunpink (with its 14-foot “head and fall”) and the downstream end of the raceway system (where the drop was 18 feet), and the superior situation of those mill sites along the western head race below Federal Street compared with those along Lamberton Street (President and Board of Managers of the Trenton Delaware Falls Company 1833).

The company also intended charging the mills for use of the water brought to their doorsteps “for each and every square inch area in the aperture through which the same shall be drawn and let off.” The annual rent was set at \$3 per square inch for water used above the Assunpink and \$4 per square inch below the Assunpink. Numerous other conditions were laid out, as for example, relating to the type of aperture permitted, and issues of maintenance and repair. In addition to laying out the ground rules for the industrial operations, the company also offered for rent more than 200 residential building lots, the majority of which lay in the Federal Street/Lamberton Street area where lands had been bought up both for the waterpower project and for future mill workers housing (President and Board of Managers of the Trenton Delaware Falls Company 1833).

The notes appended to the proposal document of 1833 also reveal some useful basic hydraulic data concerning the Trenton Delaware Falls Company’s waterpower. The company estimated the column of water descending the raceway as flowing at “23,868 cubic feet per minute, at the lowest state of the river ever known,” and being capable of generating 335 gross horsepower, if all water were to be released at

the Assunpink, or 575 gross horsepower, if it were released below Federal Street. With an eye to the future, the final note in the document calculates the projected power supply, should the company enlarge the raceway, raise the elevation of the water in the raceway by two feet and reconfigure the dam at Scudders Falls. Such an expansion of the system, debated at length in the years to come, but never brought to reality, would supposedly have more than doubled the flow and potential power output (President and Board of Managers of the Trenton Delaware Falls Company 1833).

The Trenton Delaware Falls Company’s waterpower was finally completed in 1834, but the mill sites along its course were slow to be developed. Although ultimately of some benefit to industrial development in the city, the raceway was far from profitable in its early years. Indeed, one of the principal early stockholders in the Trenton Delaware Falls Company, James M. Redmond, owner and resident of the William Trent House from the mid-1830s until 1852, found himself in some financial difficulty in the later 1830s, in part because of the sluggish return on his investments in the waterpower (Susan Maxman Architects 1997:A.3-65).

The first mills to be erected and tied in to the waterpower were those immediately north of the Assunpink – Dr. John McKelway’s sawmill, on the southerly extension of Peace Street, and the merchant gristmill, later known as the City Mills, built by Samuel S. and Thomas J. Stryker on the north bank of the Assunpink at the foot of Warren Street. Both appear to have been constructed in 1834. In the following year, the Strykers’ mill was expanded and another sawmill was erected on Petty’s Run (but drawing waterpower from the raceway) by William Grant, William G. Cook and Charles Green (Raum 1871:238-239).

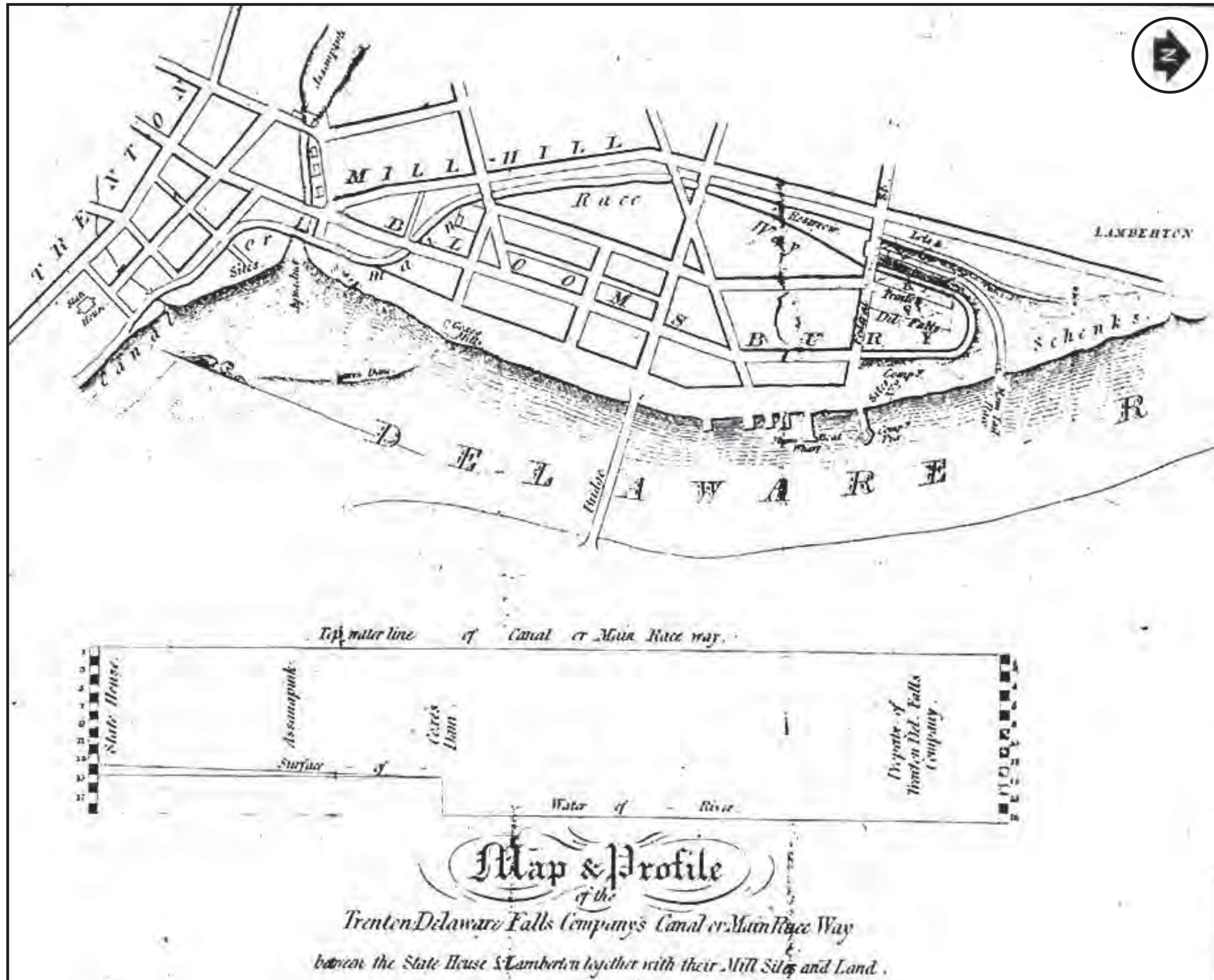


Figure 3.23. Board of Managers of the Trenton Delaware Falls Company. Map and Profile of the Trenton Delaware Falls Company's Canal or Main Raceway. 1833. Scale 1 inch: 588 feet (approximately).





All three facilities are shown on the map published by Thomas Gordon in 1836 (Figure 3.24) and probably represent the full extent of the completed mill development around this time. Interestingly, the Gordon map shows the projected, but never fully executed, configuration of the raceway below Federal Street and depicts only “Mill Sites,” but no mill buildings. This presumably means that, whenever it was that Gordon conducted his survey (presumably at some point in 1835), no mills were in existence in this area. The recently vacated Sartori residence, perhaps by this time occupied by tenants of the Trenton Delaware Falls Company, is clearly depicted on this map encircled by the loop of the western head race.

## 2. Cotton and Wool

One of the high hopes invested in Trenton’s newly expanded access to waterpower in the mid-1830s was that this energy source would propel the city into the front ranks of American textile manufacture. In New England, several cities on the Merrimack River, most notably Lowell and Manchester, were already engaged in large-scale water-powered textile production. In the Middle Atlantic region, the vast waterpower potential of the Great Falls in Paterson was finally beginning to be harnessed effectively, with much of this energy being applied to textile production. While the hydrology of the Delaware River could not match that of the Merrimack and Passaic in terms of sheer scale of waterpower potential, the Trenton Delaware Falls Company’s scheme still offered considerable scope for expanding textile manufacture in Trenton (Trumbull 1882; Kenyon 1960; Hunter 1979:251-291; Hunter *et al.* 2009; Hunter Research, Inc. *et al.* 2010).

As noted earlier in this chapter, Trenton already had some tradition of cotton production and calico printing, dating from the second decade of the 19th century. A somewhat lesser involvement in woolen manufacture was also in evidence during this period. By the

early 1830s, Trenton’s textile industry was limited to a pair of cotton mills (the Eagle Factory and the Trenton Cotton Factory) that were still operating on Assunpink Creek, upstream from the waterpower aqueduct. By this time, the Trenton Calico Printing Manufactory, a non-water-powered factory established by John B. Sartori next to his Rosey Hill mansion in Lambertton, was no longer functioning and at least two woolen manufacturing ventures had folded (one started by John Denniston in a mill on the Assunpink downstream of the Trenton Cotton Factory; another in the mills of Daniel W. Coxe on the Delaware adjacent to the Trent House). Against this background and with the completion of the waterpower to the south of Assunpink Creek in 1834, there appears to have been a concerted effort by Trenton industrialists over the following decade to develop the area below Federal Street as a new center of textile production in the city (Hunter *et al.* 2009:64-71).

The beginnings of this particular thread of mill development are evident in Joseph C. Potts’ *New Jersey Register*, published in 1837, which contains a gazetteer of industrial enterprises in the state. Potts lists all mills in operation along the Trenton Delaware Falls Company’s waterpower and also notes those under construction and about to be built. Upstream from the Assunpink, where most of the operating mills were located, were two gristmills, two sawmills, an oil mill, a wood turning mill and a cotton mill. A paper mill was also under construction, and one other mill (of unspecified function) was to be erected beginning in the following spring (Potts 1837:253).

South of the Assunpink, mention is made of Philemon Dickerson’s mills to which a branch raceway was about to be built from the main raceway. This branch raceway was an entirely new and belatedly added design feature of the waterpower that it is not shown either on the map of 1833 that accompanied the Second Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Trenton Delaware Falls Company (Figure

3.23) or on the Gordon map of 1836 (Figure 3.24). Presumably, tying these mills into the new waterpower ensured a more reliable and potent source of energy than was available via the wing dam in the Delaware River. Dickerson, who at this time was serving as Governor of New Jersey, owned the William Trent House and also the Bloomsbury Mills, both recently acquired from Daniel W. Coxe (Susan Maxman Architects 1997:A.3-63). One suspects that Philemon Dickerson, a major booster of industrial enterprise in Paterson, was also a leading figure in Trenton's efforts to develop a solid base in textile manufacture. The Bloomsbury Mills were located on the riverbank between the mouth of the Assunpink and the bridge over the Delaware, and drew their waterpower from a wing dam. As seen in a watercolor painted by the Philadelphia writer, physician and artist Robert Montgomery Bird in 1826, the mills formed a massive two-section structure, one comprising the original gristmill built in 1814-15, the other a somewhat later addition thought to have been erected by Coxe with manufacturing in mind (Bird 1826).

Also lying south of the Assunpink on the waterpower, according to Potts' *New Jersey Register*, were five other mills, three of them under construction and two to be built in the spring. The largest of the mills under construction was the calico works of the Union Manufacturing Company, later known as the Union Print Works, with a capital investment of \$75,000 and a 370-square-inch waterpower aperture (Potts 1837:253). The Union Manufacturing Company, founded in 1836 by Dr. John McKelway, Thomas J. Stryker and Xenophon J. Maynard, seems to have represented a reconfiguration of the old Trenton Calico Printing Manufactory. The new company adapted the old calico works "on the Sartori Place," so that it could be operated using the Trenton Delaware Falls Company's waterpower. A deep sluiceway, wheel pit and tail race were constructed on the property in 1837 (Records of the Union Manufacturing Company n.d.; Raum 1871:343). The location and layout of this mill

at the end of the loop of the western head race below Federal Street is shown on a plan prepared the Trenton Delaware Falls Company *circa* 1838 (Figure 3.25) and several maps produced in the 1840s and early 1850s (Figures 3.26-3.31).

Of the other two mills under construction, one was the button works of Samuel Croft, evidently a small textile-related operation (\$8,000 capital investment; 40-square-inch aperture) located on the south bank of the Assunpink immediately upstream of the aqueduct; the other was a much larger mill being erected by John Paxson for the manufacture of "Ch. Stf" or chair parts (\$20,000 capital investment; 110-square-inch aperture). A machine shop of S.W. and J. Putnam (\$8,000 capital investment; 56-square-inch aperture) and a trunk manufactory of William Brown (\$10,000 capital investment; 50-square-inch aperture) were both to be erected in the following spring (Potts 1837:253). The latter three of these mills (those of Paxson, the Putnams and Brown) all appear to have been situated on the branch raceway.

It remains unclear if all five of these mills to the south of the Assunpink were actually put into operation in 1837. With the economic downturn that began on May 10 of this year (the so-called "Panic of 1837"), a depression that lasted some seven years, it is possible, in view of the sparsity of information on these mills in the documentary record, that some of them never made it into production. Aside from the Union Print Works the only one of these mills for which clear references have been found in the late 1830s and early 1840s is the button works. This factory, supposedly erected by Samuel Croft and Daniel Lodor, burned down on May 3, 1837, was rebuilt, was inundated in the "Great Flood" of January 8, 1841, and then was damaged again by fire on May 3, 1853. The mill building was used for a variety of manufacturing endeavors, amongst which were tobacco cutting,



Figure 3.24. Gordon, T.F. *Map of the City of Trenton and its Vicinity*. 1836. The location of Rosey Hill Mansion indicated by arrow. The number "25" is identified in the map legend as "Mill Sites." Scale 1 inch: 1,270 feet.

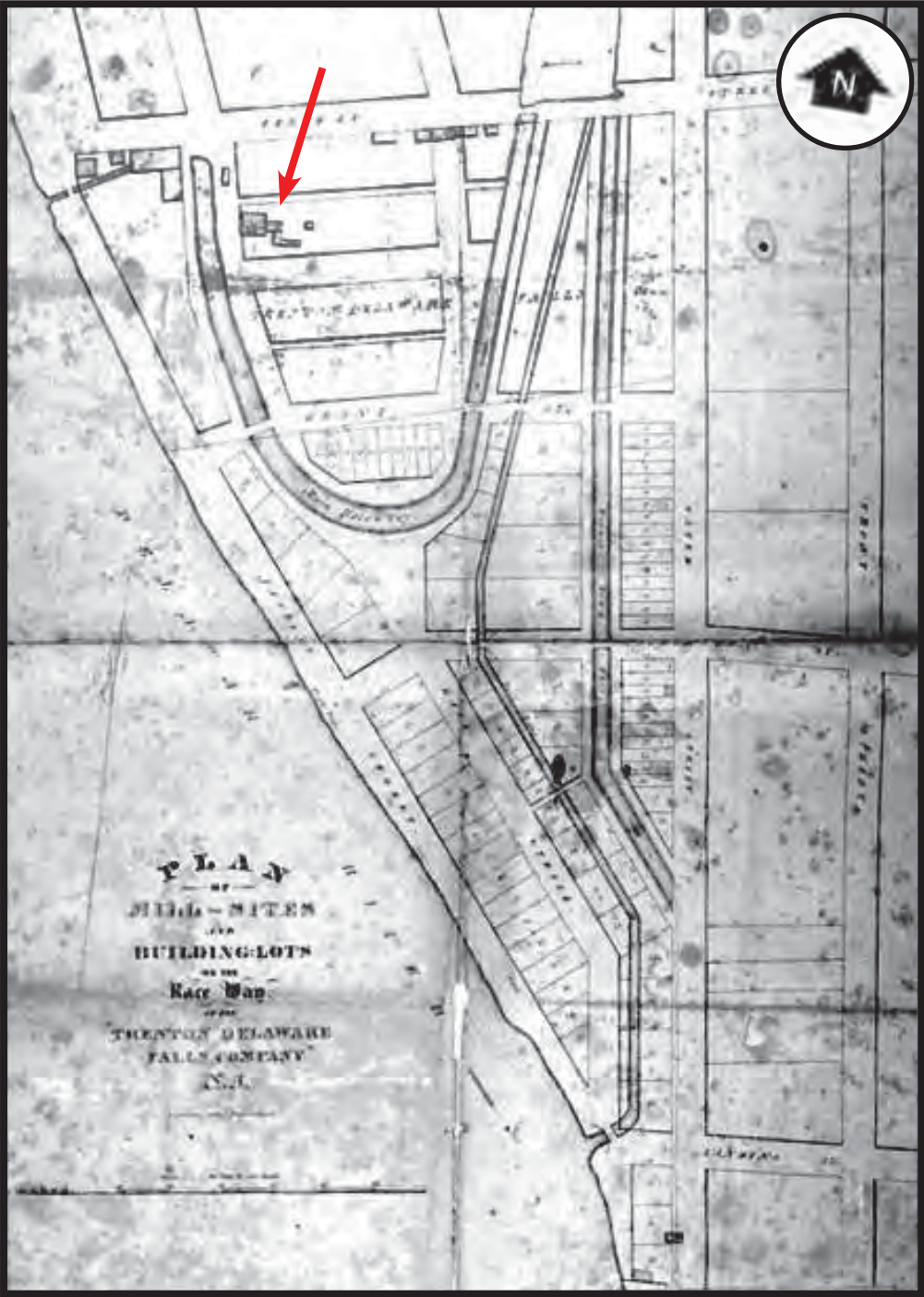


Figure 3.25. Plan of Mill-Sites and Building Lots on the Race Way of the Trenton Delaware Falls Company. Circa 1838. The location of Rosey Hill Mansion indicated by arrow. Scale 1 inch: 300 feet (approximately).

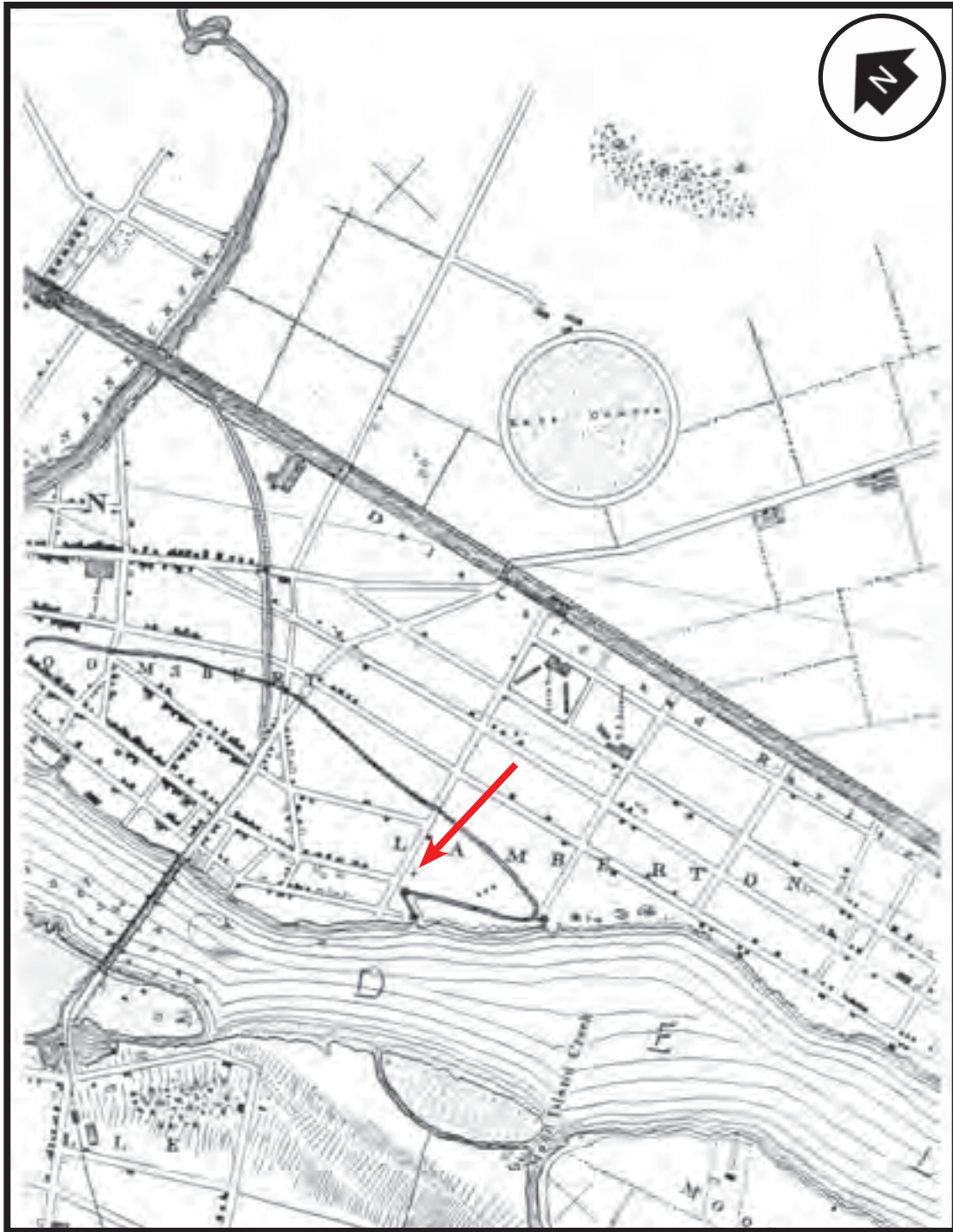


Figure 3.26. United States Coast and Geodetic Survey. *Delaware River from Bordentown to Trenton, New Jersey*. 1844. Location of Rosey Hill Mansion identified by arrow. Scale 1 inch: 1,000 feet.

stocking weaving and the fabrication of saws, trowels and squares (*Emporium and True American*, January 12, 1841; Raum 1871:242-243).

The growth of textile manufacturing at the southern end of the Trenton Delaware Falls Company's waterpower below Federal Street was therefore sluggish to say the least during the late 1830s and early 1840s. Certainly, the depressed economic atmosphere would not have been conducive to the establishment of relatively capital-intensive cotton factories with their elaborate machinery. Furthermore, the main raceway sustained major flood damage in January 1841, which is likely to have deterred investors in mill building projects along Trenton's Delaware River frontage (see below).

As already noted, the Union Print Works managed to survive the rigors of the economy and nature, and this factory was finally joined in 1842 by a second textile mill erected on the next lot along the waterpower, immediately adjacent to the south. This latter mill was built by the New England Manufacturing Company of South Trenton, a firm that was incorporated on March 4, 1842 for the purpose of "manufacturing, bleaching and printing all goods of which cotton or other fibrous materials form a part." Because of their close proximity and the similar nature of their operations, it is probable that the Union Manufacturing Company and the New England Manufacturing Company were related. It is definitely a fact that Thomas J. Stryker was an incorporator of both firms, in addition to also serving as a manager of the Trenton Delaware Falls Company. Also listed among the incorporators of the New England Manufacturing Company was none other than Joseph C. Potts, compiler of the *New Jersey Register* (Raum 1871:346).

Within a few years of the erection of the New England Manufacturing Company's cotton factory, a third and final textile mill, later known as the Saxony Woolen Mill, was established on the waterpower below

Federal Street. This mill, situated at the foot of Cass Street and wedged between the western looping head race and main tail race of the waterpower, is reported to have been constructed as a cotton mill by Andrew Allinson in 1846, and was later converted into a manufactory of shirts and drawers (Raum 1871:442-443). There is a good possibility that this mill originated a few years earlier than 1846, since an Andrew Allison [sic] is referenced as a mill owner on the waterpower in a deed of June, 1845 (see below) and a mill asterisk symbol is shown at the foot of Cass Street on the U.S. Coast Survey map of 1844 (Figure 3.26). This map gives a somewhat loose depiction of the waterpower, but indicates three separate mills below Federal Street, presumably corresponding to the facilities of the Union Manufacturing Company, the New England Manufacturing Company and Andrew Allinson.

The U.S. Coast Survey map also shows the downstream end of the waterpower at the point where textile manufacturing in South Trenton was roughly reaching its peak, immediately before the industrial landscape began to be radically altered following the arrival of Peter Cooper and the South Trenton Iron Company (see below, Section I.4). All three textile operations continued for a few more years, and, in the case of the Saxony Woolen Mill, co-existed with the ironworks for several decades.

A sequence of five maps dating from the period 1844-52 (Figures 3.27-3.31) shows the location and layout of the Union Print Works and the New England Manufacturing Company's cotton factory. The first of these factories grew to encompass more than half a dozen buildings, including drying houses and a padding house, in addition to the main mill building. The print works was destroyed by fire in 1850 and the site was acquired by the Trenton Iron Company in 1856, but its ruins were still visible in the early 1870s (Raum 1871:343; Trenton Iron Company n.d.:44). The operations of the neighboring New England cotton factory were housed in two or three buildings, one of which

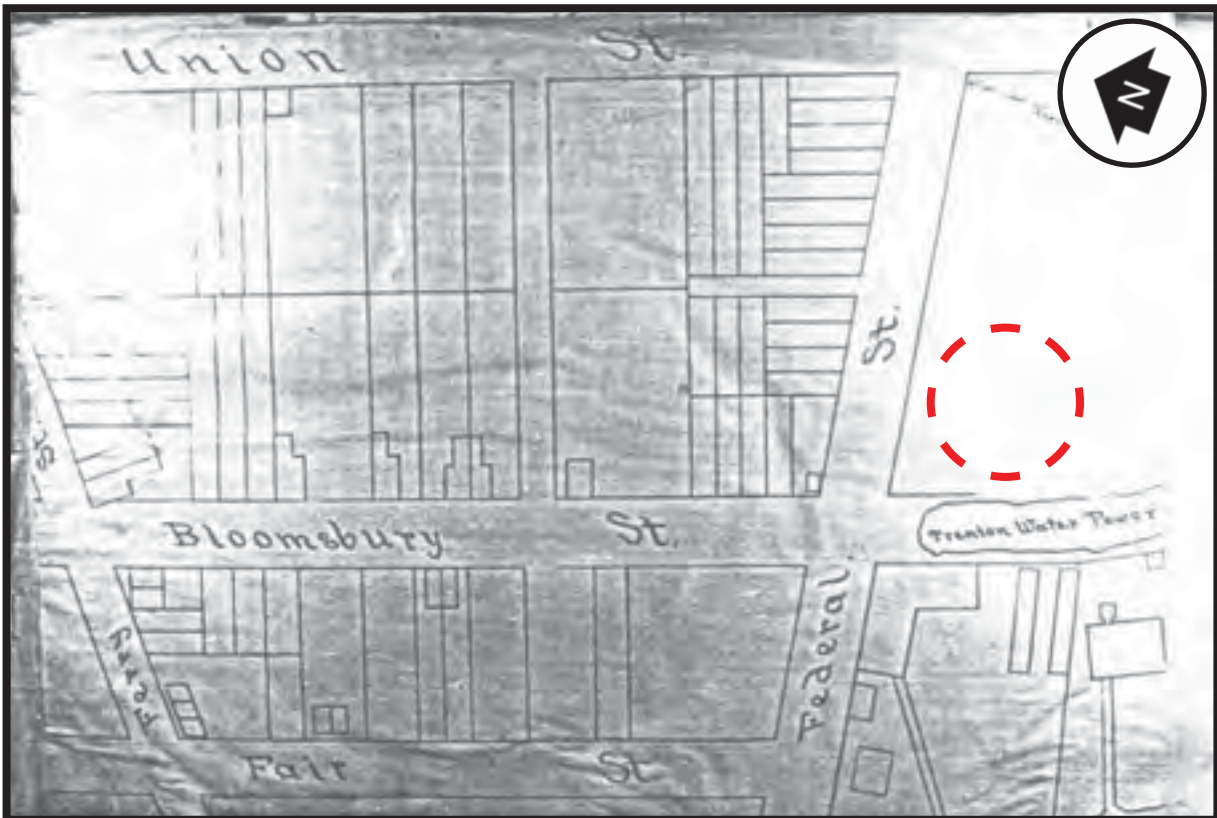


Figure 3.27. Plan of Union, Ferry, Federal and Fair Streets. Circa 1842. Location of Rosey Hill Mansion circled. Scale 1 inch: 140 feet (approximately).

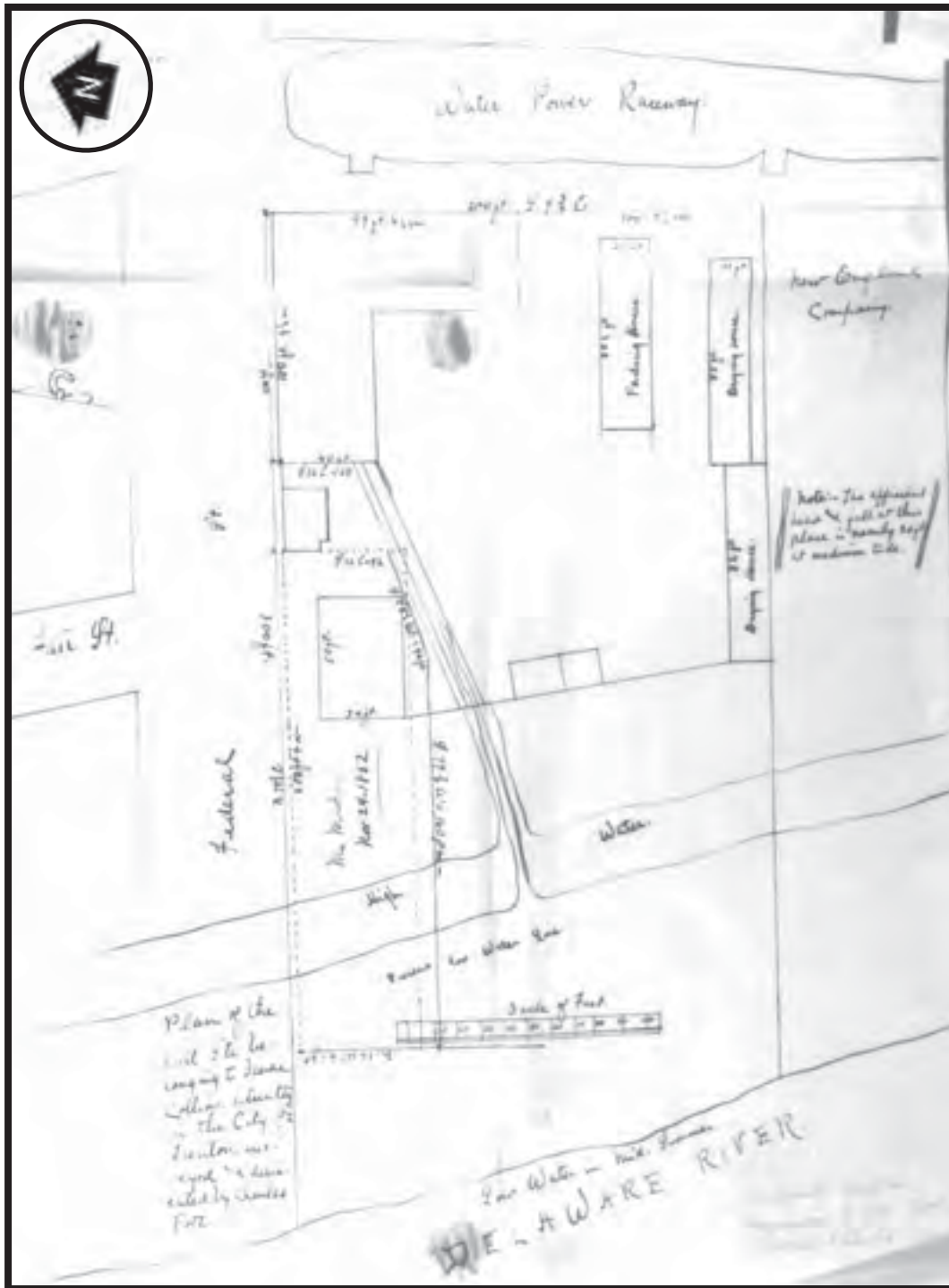


Figure 3.28. Potts, C. *Plan of the Mill Site belonging to Isaac Collins, situated in the City of Trenton, surveyed and delineated by Charles Potts. Circa 1845. Scale 1 inch: 60 feet (approximately).*





Figure 3.29. Sidney, J.C. *Map of the City of Trenton, New Jersey*. 1849. Location of Rossey Hill Mansion indicated by arrow. Scale 1 inch: 315 feet (approximately).



Figure 3.30. Otley, J.W. and J. Keily. Inset Map of Trenton. *Map of Mercer County*. 1849. Location of Rosey Hill Mansion Indicated by arrow. Scale 1 inch: 330 feet (approximately).



Figure 3.31. Redmond, J.M. Map Showing Properties of the Trenton Iron Company. *Prospectus For the Sale by Subscription of 295 Building Lots, Together with a Valuable Mansion House and Ornamental Grounds.* 1852. Location of Rosey Hill Mansion indicated by arrow. Scale 1 inch: 200 feet.

appears to have been the cotton mill. The exact fate of this factory is uncertain, although it may well have closed down in the aftermath of the destruction of the Union Print Works. In 1854, the mill lot and other property occupied by the New England cotton factory were acquired by the Trenton Iron Company and redeveloped as part of the latter's rolling mill complex (Mercer County Deed 29:304).

The Saxony Woolen Mill survived well into the 20th century. By 1849 it was functioning as a woolen factory run by "S.G. Wheeler" (Figures 3.29 and 3.30) and the mill's continuing existence can be traced on the bird's eye view of Trenton in 1874 and several subsequent maps of this section of the city up until at least 1905 (see below, Figures 3.33-3.35, 3.37, 3.38 and 3.40). At some point in the third quarter of the 19th century, the factory began specializing in the manufacture of shirts, an activity carried on by a Mr. Hubbard of Philadelphia, and afterwards by James Brooks, and then, in the early 1870s, by Isaac Weatherby (Raum 1871:442-443). By 1903, the Colonial Woolen Company, then owners of the mill, were engaged in a legal dispute with the Trenton Water Power Company over the latter's discharge of water through the mill property and the textile mill at this time appears not to have been in operation (Colonial Woolen Co. v. Trenton Water Power Co. 1903). In the late 1920s, the mill building was still standing, but vacant (Sanborn Map Company 1927). By 1930 it had been re-tooled as a bottling factory (see below, Figure 3.41), a function that continued on the site at least into the mid-1950s (see below, Figure 3.42).

### 3. The Trenton Water Power Company

Even as mill sites were gradually appearing along the Trenton Delaware Falls Company's waterpower in the later 1830s and early 1840s, the company itself was struggling financially. In many respects, despite

its success as an engineering scheme, the project was doomed to financial failure from the outset, having cost more than half as much again to build as the original estimates and invested capital allowed. The situation was only compounded by the Panic of 1837 and the economic depression that followed, which slowed the rate at which mill development might have been expected to occur. As a result, the rental income from mill buildings and from waterpower usage lagged behind the company's revenue projections, the stockholders saw a minimal return on their investments, and the enterprise was forced into carrying burdensome loans just to stay in operation.

And then there was the Great Flood of January 8, 1841, an event that only rubbed salt into the Trenton Delaware Falls Company's wounds. By all accounts, and especially those in the local newspapers, this was a flood of immense proportions that did considerable damage along the Delaware from the mouth of the Lehigh River in Easton at least as far downstream as Trenton. The river rose an extraordinary 35 feet above low water at Easton and 20 feet at Lambertville (Swain 1885:610). Although an actual figure was not reported for Trenton, one suspects the rise in water level was in the order of 15 to 20 feet.

In news accounts written on the day of the flood, it was noted that "the raceway of the Falls Company is filled almost to overflowing. The water has risen to some height in the factories on the Bloomsbury shore" (*State Gazette*, January 8, 1841). Three days later, as the waters were subsiding, news reports related that "[t]here are serious breaches in the bank of the waterpower, at Crossley's and Scudder's. Most injury was done after the river began to subside, by the water's running out of the raceway into the river" (*State Gazette*, January 11, 1841). Two days later, it would appear that the Trenton Delaware Falls Company was attempting to downplay the damage to the waterpower itself, as local newspapers report that "the whole damage done by the water to the works of this company

will not amount (exclusive of the loss by bridges) to more than \$700.” The public was assured that repairs would be made in a matter of days, and the same news account goes on to add that “[t]he rapid current has cleared out a great deal of sand, which the company was thinking of removing, and the removal of which, it was estimated, would cost more than it is now supposed the repairing of the breaches will cost. In explanation of the exclusion of the bridges from this statement, we remark that the company does not contemplate the repairing of them at their own expense” (*State Gazette*, January 13, 1841). The company’s somewhat unreal optimism, its blithe acceptance of “dredging by flooding,” and its reluctance to shoulder the burden for bridge repairs all perhaps hint at some underlying corporate difficulty.

The Trenton Delaware Falls Company began to unravel in February, 1843 when its properties were seized by the sheriff of Mercer County following the filing of several lawsuits against the company in the Court of Chancery by creditors seeking payment on long overdue debts (Mercer County Deed P:1). Efforts by court-appointed receivers to sell off the company’s rights and properties were at first unsuccessful, due to its being “encumbered for more than it would bring” at a public sale, but the New Jersey legislature, on February 14, 1844, passed an act incorporating the Trenton Water Power Company in place of the Trenton Delaware Falls Company, permitting the sale of the latter entity “free and clear of encumbrances” and requiring its purchasers to form a joint stock company (*Acts of the Sixty-Eighth General Assembly of the State of New Jersey* 1844:85). On March 8, 1844, Charles S. Olden of Princeton, a director of the Trenton Banking Company, State Senator and future Governor of New Jersey, acting as a middleman, acquired the rights and property of the Trenton Delaware Falls Company from the court-appointed receivers for \$50,000 (Table 3.3 [Mercer County Deed G:73]). On June 2 of the following year, Olden

conveyed the same rights and property to the newly constituted Trenton Water Power Company (Table 3.3 [Mercer County Deed H:26]).

This complicated sequence of events essentially enabled what may now be officially termed the Trenton Water Power to continue operation under different ownership and management, but it also laid the groundwork for a major and far-reaching change in Trenton’s industrial character. Not surprisingly, many of the same individuals who had promoted and supported the Trenton Delaware Falls Company – mill owners and operators like the Stryker brothers and Philemon Dickinson – remained heavily involved with the Trenton Water Power Company, since they still needed to rent frontage on the main raceway and also pay to draw off waterpower for their industrial operations. Thomas J. Stryker, a stakeholder in the City Mills on Warren Street and the Union and New England Manufacturing Companies, for example, was a manager of both corporations. James M. Redmond, the owner of the Bloomsbury estate and Bloomsbury Mills on the branch raceway, who had been a major stockholder of the Trenton Delaware Falls Company, continued as the “owner of a large portion of the joint stock” of the Trenton Water Power Company and was duly elected its President in 1845 (Mercer County Deed H:27).

However, the real driving force behind the reconstituting of the waterpower was Peter Cooper, the well-known industrialist of New York City, who was now turning his attention to the large-scale manufacture of iron. Cooper saw in South Trenton, on the still only partially developed land at the downstream end of the main raceway, an opportunity to establish a key element in the iron making industrial process: a state-of-the-art, water-powered rolling mill where semi-processed bar iron could be fashioned into beams, rods, plates, sheets and various other shapes and sizes of wrought iron suitable for use by the nation’s metalworkers. A fully functional and economically viable Trenton Water Power was an essential component of

Cooper's plans – hence his interest and involvement in the creation of the Trenton Water Power Company. A more extended discussion of Peter Cooper, his rolling mill and the iron and steel working enterprise that emerged on the banks of the Delaware in South Trenton follows in Section I.4 below. The remainder of this section of the chapter is given over to tracing the fate and fortunes of the Trenton Water Power, with an emphasis on its terminal segment below Federal Street.

On the same day, June 2, 1845, that Charles Olden passed on the rights and property of the former Trenton Delaware Falls Company to the Trenton Water Power Company, a tripartite indenture was drawn up and signed between James M. Redmond and Peter Cooper, as individuals (and Trenton Water Power Company stockholders), and the new corporate entity (Table 3.3 [Mercer County Deed H:27]). This critical agreement effectively formalized Peter Cooper's ownership of the block of land extending from the Delaware River east to Union Street, between Federal Street on the north and Grant (present-day Lexington) Street on the south, and gave him the rights to one third of the water in the waterpower (less a portion guaranteed for a mill of Philemon Dickinson). The property conveyed to Cooper thus included the rolling mill site and the site of the Rosey Hill mansion. Cooper also acquired a third share in the ownership of the Trenton Water Power Company, committed to pay a third of the waterway's maintenance costs, and took on the role of landlord to several other mill owners (the Stryker brothers, Dickinson, Joseph Moore, Andrew Allison and Daniel Brister), agreeing to lease them water for their industrial operations. Several other conditions of operation were laid out in the indenture, most of them protecting and favoring Cooper and his future development interests involving the waterpower.

It was through this agreement of 1845 that Peter Cooper and the ironworking entities he was subsequently instrumental in establishing – successively

the South Trenton Iron Company (from 1845-47), the Trenton Iron Company (1847-66) and the New Jersey Steel and Iron Company (1866-1910) – gradually began to take control of the Trenton Water Power, a transition that was finally and fully achieved in 1853. The other principal figure in the emergence of the ironworks below Federal Street, Abram S. Hewitt, Cooper's son-in-law, also puts in an appearance in the documentary record in 1845, being one of three witnesses to the deed in which Charles S. Olden conveyed the Trenton Delaware Falls Company rights and properties to the Trenton Water Power Company (Mercer County Deed H:26). In the spring of 1845, Hewitt, along with Peter Cooper's son, Edward (a close friend with whom he had just survived a shipwreck in the Atlantic in the preceding year), were both on the scene in Trenton overseeing the construction of the rolling mill and its hook-up to the waterpower (Nevins 1935:82-84).

The adaptation of the waterpower for ironworking usage likely entailed some considerable design and construction work, and it appears that the Trenton Iron Company, at its own expense, may have reconfigured the main raceway in the process. At the June 1, 1847 board meeting of the Trenton Iron Company, a draft of a deed (later executed) was discussed that involved a "change of raceway in front of the Works" and released to the Trenton Water Power Company a section of new raceway built by the Trenton Iron Company in exchange for a segment of the old raceway and "the street leading to Federal Street" (Trenton Iron Company n.d.:5).

However, virtually from the outset, the Trenton Water Power proved to be a problem for the ironworking operations below Federal Street. The rolling mill was a substantial, yet intermittent consumer of waterpower, "at one moment requiring the full power of a wheel, and the next, none at all." Such power needs did not fit well with "the fluctuating flowage of a raceway supplied by a river of uncertain level,"

besides which it was very difficult to gauge the mill's actual water usage (Hewitt Papers, Volume 23, June 2, 1851). As a result, the ironworks were frequently in conflict with other users of the Trenton Water Power in downtown Trenton and with other interests represented within the corporate structure of the Trenton Water Power Company. As the ironworks complex expanded rapidly in the late 1840s and early 1850s, and its power requirements grew apace, this conflict was only exacerbated.

As just one example of this friction, in 1849, the Trenton Iron Company became embroiled in a dispute with the Trenton Water Power Company over the level of waterpower consumption by the ironworks. The Water Power Company's President, James M. Redmond, went so far as to try and defuse this situation by personally writing to Abram S. Hewitt. Redmond wrote Hewitt that "members of the Water Power Co. are not entirely satisfied in relation to the use of the water at the rolling mill and propose to appoint arbitrators to settle the question," further adding that "the Company are under the belief (& I think correctly) that when the rolling mill is running you are using more than the 1/3 of the water without the mill of Mr. Moore, and if that fact be proved upon a final adjustment, they will under the deed have a fair claim for the use of the excess" (James Redmond to Abram S. Hewitt, Letter, November 2, 1849). Hewitt responded by accusing Jonah and Charles Moore, owners of a mill near the Assunpink, of improperly drawing water without the use of the required iron aperture. The implication here is that the rolling mill was being unfairly blamed for the Moores' water consumption (Hewitt Papers, Volume 23, November 5, 1849). The resolution of this particular disagreement has yet to be revealed, but clearly the ironworks was perceived as a thirsty and consumptive competitor by its milling neighbors along the waterpower.

One solution to the irregular and often inadequate supply of waterpower would have been to enlarge the raceway and perhaps even extend it further upstream, and the Trenton Iron Company expended a great deal of time and effort attempting to do just this. On February 19, 1847, in response to political pressure from the iron manufacturing interests, the New Jersey legislature passed an act authorizing the Trenton Water Power Company to extend the raceway upriver, but not beyond the head of "Taylor's rift" (at Washington Crossing). As was customary, such an engineering work was not to impede fish, rafts, arks and boats (*Acts of the Seventy-First Legislature of the State of New Jersey 1847:76; Swain 1885:94*). On September 2 of the following year, following a sheriff's sale in the preceding month, the Trenton Water Power Company and the Trenton Iron Company jointly purchased, in a 2/3 to 1/3 ratio, for a meager \$10,400, all of the other properties that had been seized from the bankrupt Trenton Delaware Falls Company five years earlier. James Redmond represented the Trenton Water Power Company and Abram S. Hewitt the Trenton Iron Company in this transaction (Mercer County Deed P:1).

With the necessary legal authority behind them and now with clear title to all the lands along the waterpower alignment, one might have expected the Trenton Water Power Company (in response to Trenton's industrial interests, and in particular the interests of the Cooper & Hewitt enterprises) to have embarked on a major expansion and enlargement of their raceway. This was not to be the case, and in the years to come, despite their best and continuing efforts, neither the Trenton Water Power Company nor the Trenton Iron Company succeeded in extending or radically enlarging the capacity of the Trenton Water Power. Although the option existed to extend the raceway upriver, the cheaper and more expedient course of action from an engineering standpoint would have been to build a substantially bigger dam across the Delaware at the Scudder's Falls intake.

This solution, much preferred by the Trenton Water Power Company and the Trenton Iron Company, was pursued with vigor throughout the third quarter of the 19th century. However, such an undertaking aroused intense and continuing resistance from fishing and navigation interests on the Delaware and was fought also by residents of Bucks County, Pennsylvania.

Finally, in the summer of 1852, the Trenton Water Power Company, with the support of the Trenton Iron Company, began to implement a scaled-down project to improve and reconfigure the dam and waterpower intake at Scudder's Falls. Despite court injunctions brought by Bucks County residents, the project was essentially completed, only to become the subject of an attack by local fishermen and stone-hackers, who saw their livelihoods under threat of extinction (stone-hackers made their living mining the riverbed of the Delaware at Scudder's Falls for cobbles that could be used for paving or as ship's ballast). So ensued the so-called "stone-hackers' war," which resulted in the wrecking of the dam on at least two occasions in August and a tense stand-off between local fishermen and stone-hackers, on the one hand, and ironworkers from the rolling mill, on the other. Ultimately, order was restored, the dam was re-built and the water-powered mills of Trenton resumed their business (Hewitt Papers, Volume 23, January 20, 1852 and June 29, 1852; Cleary 1941).

One solution open to the Trenton Iron Company in their efforts to reduce tensions with other mill owners represented in the Trenton Water Power Company, and also actuate improvements to the raceway, was for their corporation to acquire the Trenton Water Power Company *in toto*. The Hewitt Papers and other records held by the Cooper Union Library in New York City contain several letters, memoranda and notes from the late 1840s and early 1850s which show the officers of the Trenton Iron Company (and notably Abram S. Hewitt) weighing the pros and cons of wholly owning, or disowning, the Trenton Water

Power Company. This ambivalence is reflected in the Trenton Iron Company's sale of its stake in the waterpower on January 30, 1852 to the Trenton Water Power Company for \$60,000, and then, in May of the following year, the former company's increasing of its capital stock to enable it to complete the purchase of the waterpower system in its entirety (Trenton Iron Company n.d.:22, 26 and 27). In the interim, of course, there had been the debacle at Scudder's Falls, and one can only assume that the Trenton Iron Company, after this, figured that it would be better off owning the raceway in its entirety and putting up with the headache of its maintenance and rental rather than trying to run it cooperatively with other waterpower shareholders.

Thus, for better or worse, the Trenton Iron Company, by mid-1853, was in total control of the Trenton Water Power Company, and the latter corporation, from this point onward for the rest of its useful life, effectively functioned as a minor subsidiary of the Cooper & Hewitt industrial and business empire, being most closely linked with the two main entities still drawing off water below Federal Street in South Trenton – the Trenton Iron Company, and its successor at this site, the New Jersey Steel and Iron Company. The Trenton Iron Company's official attitude to the Trenton Water Power in the mid-1850s, when hydropower was still very much a viable alternative to coal-fired steam power in the iron and steel industry, is neatly encapsulated in two documents held at the Cooper Union Library. In the first, a confidential report prepared in 1853 by Abram S. Hewitt, Secretary of the company, for Edwin Post of New York, a prominent New Jersey ironmaster and prospective and soon-to-be major stockholder, the relationship of the waterpower to the ironworks in South Trenton is described thus, in rather overly rosy terms:

The Rolling Mill is driven in part by water power. This is owned by the Trenton Water Power Co., a company organized under an irrevocable charter.



The power is derived from the Delaware River. The raceway is seven miles long, sixty feet wide, and eight feet deep. It ruined the Company who made it. It cost \$250,000. The Company broke because they ran in debt, and could not wait for the water to be rented, which took several years. Its present capacity is all absorbed. The capital of the Company is \$100,000; its debt is about \$100,000, on bonds maturing gradually in 5 to 10 years. We own \$99,500 of the capital stock. The other \$500 belongs to unknown owners. This stock cost us \$71,670.06. The Trenton Iron Company are entitled to one-third of the water flowed by the raceway, for which it agrees to keep the work in order. The other two thirds are rented for about \$10,000 per annum; of this, \$6,000 is required to pay the interest on the debt, and the balance we devote to a reduction of the principal.

This work has great undeveloped capacity. It is constructed for the flowage of three times the water now supplied. If this were supplied, the rents would be from \$30,000 to \$40,000 per annum. There is a great demand for the power, and it would easily rent. There is abundant water in the river. To obtain it, a dam must be thrown in the river. We have applied for authority to do this for several years. It has always passed the House, and been lost in the Senate by a single vote. We know that soon the authority will be granted, as the prejudice is dying away. The additional water may, however, be procured by extending the raceway about three miles. For this we have authority. The cost would be \$30,000. We could have done it long since, but that we considered the dam more desirable than so long a raceway. It is quite as sure in its results, however, and we have nearly determined to make the extension the present year. I regard the charter and rights of the Water Power Company as exceedingly valuable, and have bought up the stock with a view to a large ultimate profit. The Trenton Iron Company being so large a consumer of water, should have this property and its management (Trenton Iron Company 1853:8-9).

In November of the following year, in conjunction with a stock issue, a somewhat more measured, but still positive-sounding description of the waterpower was offered by the board (Peter Cooper, President, and Abram S. Hewitt, Secretary), excerpted here:

The water power in the city of Trenton ... is a first class work, with solid stone river walls, and of sufficient capacity to earn at the present rates of rental about \$30,000 per annum. Its present annual revenue over and above the expenses of maintenance, is about \$11,000 per annum, chiefly on perpetual leases, which are a lien on the mills – of which thirteen are supplied with power. The only impediment in the way of a large increase of rents is the impossibility in midsummer of drawing a larger supply of water from the river. This can be easily effected, by the erection of a slight dam in the river. Authority to erect this has not yet been received, although attempts to obtain it have been made, but the Legislature, though inclined from considerations of public interest, to grant the requisite privileges, thus far have yielded to the unfounded prejudices of the fishermen against the dam. This prejudice is subsiding, and it is hoped to secure the desired authority at an early day. Authority *exists* for the extension of the work up the river, but no attempt has been made to use it, because the dam is really less objectionable and will be more efficacious.

The work is owned by the Trenton Water Power Company, whose capital stock is owned entirely by the Trenton Iron Company ... The inducement to purchase the stock was to get the control of a work essential to the mills of the Company, but the Directors feel assured that with the dam in the river, the revenue from this source will be fully equal in rate to that derived from the other investments of the Company ... It may be observed that the original cost of the work was much larger than its cost to this Company, and that it could not at the present time be built for less than \$250,000 (Trenton Iron Company 1854:14-15).

However, internally within the Trenton Iron Company, the waterpower was viewed rather differently and was the subject of frequent informal derogatory comments. Less than five years later, Abram S. Hewitt, writing to Timothy Abbott, Esq., a Vice President of the Trenton Iron Company and President of the Trenton Water Power Company, noted: “The stock of the Water Power Co., is entered on the books at \$70,000 [down from the \$100,000 figure quoted in 1853-54] because it cost the Co. so much, but you have lived long enough to know that cost is no criterion of value. There is scarcely an item on the Company’s books standing at the actual value. Some is worth more and some less. The Water Power stock is worth nothing I am sorry to say. I would not give \$100 for it, subject to the debts. As President of the Co. you know that it yields no income” (Hewitt Papers, Volume 23, January 12, 1859). Nearly four years later, in even balder terms, Hewitt complained: “So far as I am concerned, I am quite ready to give up the Trenton Water Power to anyone who will buy it. It is, and has been, and always will be, a nuisance” (Hewitt Papers, Volume 23, November 19, 1862).

In reality, from the mid-1850s through into the post-Civil War era, the same combination of factors that had always beset the waterpower in its earlier years – periodic disputes with other users of the waterpower, opposition to improving and enlarging the dam on the Delaware, floods, the never-ending burden of maintenance, and persistent debt – continued to plague the Trenton Water Power Company while it was under Trenton Iron Company control. In January 1869, for instance, the Trenton Water Power Company was engaged in a dispute with the Golding & Company flint and spar mill, located just north of the Assunpink, over the rate at which water should be rented, and was considering cutting off the water supply to this business (Hewitt Papers, Volume 23, January 16, 1869).

Earlier in the 1860s, Pennsylvania interests partially modified the dam at Scudder’s Falls to improve navigation, and apparently in so doing inadvertently helped stabilize the water supply into the raceway intake. However, severe flooding in early October of 1869 washed out the dam almost in its entirety, depleting the flow of water into the waterpower. This prompted the Trenton Water Power Company, on February 22, 1870, to seek an act of the New Jersey legislature authorizing them to “maintain and protect said dam at Scudder’s falls, and chute or passage-way thereon for rafts, boats, or fish, as now constructed, so that the navigation of the river and the supply of water to the race-way of said company may be secured and maintained.” Legal actions taken by Pennsylvanian interests delayed any effective rebuilding or maintenance of the dam for at least three years (*Daily True American*, October 7, 1869; Hewitt Papers, Volume 23, November 12, 1872; Swain 1885:94).

Despite these obstacles, the waterpower remained in use and continued to play an important role in Trenton industry into the final quarter of the 19th century. In the early 1870s, there were 19 other mills drawing waterpower from the raceway, in addition to the works of the New Jersey Steel and Iron Company (Hewitt Papers, Volume 23, December 29, 1871). The waterpower is a prominent feature on mid- to late 19th-century maps and views of the city, fueling concentrations of mills between the New Jersey State House and the Assunpink, along the branch raceway on the Bloomsbury frontage of the Delaware River, and below Federal Street (see below, Figures 3.29-3.31, 3.33-3.35, 3.37 and 3.38). Another important additional use to which the waterpower was applied during this period was the provision of a city water supply. Beginning in the early 1850s a pumping station was erected at the foot of Calhoun Street and the waterpower was used to raise water out of the Delaware River and up into a reservoir on Reservoir Street (Elliott 1887:203; Trenton Historical Society 1929:372-373).

However, by the 1880s, the shift from water to steam power was becoming commonplace in industrial processing, especially in urban centers across the United States. It is during this decade that the demise of the waterpower becomes clearly evident in Trenton, beginning, perhaps not surprisingly with the New Jersey Steel and Iron Company plant below Federal Street. The *Reports on the Water-Power of the United States*, issued by the Department of the Interior Census Office in 1885, using data gathered earlier in the decade, notes that “[t]he mills supplied [by the Trenton Water Power] are some 15 in number, and consist of small saw-, flour, planing, woolen, and other mills, together with machine shops, carpenter shops, the rolling mill of the Trenton Steel & Iron Company, and the city water-works, using in all about 360 cubic feet per second, or with an average fall of 12 feet, about 500 gross horse-power. The mills can not obtain full capacity, however, during several months, the power sinking as low as one-half at times, so that many of the mills have steam in reserve” (Swain 1885:95).

Insofar as the works of the New Jersey Steel and Iron Company was concerned, use of the waterpower must have been quite minimal, as Abram S. Hewitt, in May of 1883, remarked to a correspondent in Philadelphia that “[t]he object for which we purchased the stock of the Trenton Water Power Company has now ceased to be of any importance to us, as we do not use the power in our works” (Hewitt Papers, Volume 23, May 31, 1883). Indeed, with a rail link in place as early as 1853 from the rolling mill on the riverbank to the Trenton Iron Company wire mill that were located across town on the Delaware and Raritan Canal and Camden & Amboy Railroad, coal for use in the furnaces had been brought into the site with ease for many years. It was only a matter of time before this fuel source was used to supply steam power to those mechanical processes hitherto undertaken with the help of waterwheels and turbines.

By 1891, when a statewide inventory of water-powered sites was compiled, the number of mills using the Trenton Water Power had dropped to 13, including the city waterworks. The only facility still in operation south of Federal Street was the Saxony Woolen Mills at the foot of present-day Cass Street (Vermeule 1894 [Appendix A]:15). A Sanborn fire insurance map of 1890 indicates that the segment of the looping head race to the west of Union Street (i.e., beyond the point where water was drawn off to drive the woolen mill) was “to be filled in & to have iron pipe” (see below, Figure 3.38), confirming that the steel works was no longer needing access to the waterpower and that the pipe was merely to carry surplus water back into the Delaware. By 1905 the head loop terminated at Union Street, having been duly filled in and placed within a conduit further to the west, and the woolen mill was being fed by a head race that left the main raceway north of Lexington Street (see below, Figure 3.40).

Most of the section of the Trenton Water Power lying to the south of Assunpink Creek, including the terminal segment below Federal Street, went out of use and was filled in during the 1920s, as is clear from the Franklin Survey Company maps of Trenton, published in 1930 (see below, Figure 3.41). The section of the waterpower extending upstream from the Assunpink enjoyed a brief period as a linear landscape feature known as Sanhican Creek within Mahlon Stacy Park from the second decade of the 20th century into the 1930s, while continuing to assist in the operation of the city’s water pumping station and filtration plant. By 1940, the waterpower flowed only as far downstream as the water filtration plant where it was redirected back into the Delaware via a pair of spillways. Finally, beginning in the mid-1950s, the construction first of the “East-West Highway” and then N.J. Route 29 along the bulk of the then surviving waterpower alignment resulted in the filling of the raceway and its almost total removal from the visible urban landscape (Hunter Research, Inc. 2000, 2008).

#### 4. Iron and Steel

The arrival of Peter Cooper in Trenton in 1844, with his far-reaching plans to establish an ironworks on the banks of the Delaware River at the downstream end of the ailing waterpower of the Trenton Delaware Falls Company, put an entirely new complexion on the industrial future of the city. Cooper, an inventor and industrialist, already enjoyed a national reputation by the time he descended upon Trenton (Plate 3.5). Born in 1791, he had achieved early success in the glue business, gone on to help found the Canton Ironworks in Baltimore in 1829, and then constructed the *Tom Thumb*, one of the first locomotives to be built in the United States and a key factor in the establishment of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

Peter Cooper ultimately spent much of his career engaged in the manufacture of iron and steel, and much of his inventive energy was expended on improving the properties and usefulness of structural wrought iron. He began his solo venture into the world of iron making in 1838 with the purchase of a New York City manufacturing plant. This location soon proved to be less than ideal. Not only was New York distant and difficult to reach from the nation's plentiful sources of both coal and iron, but the city was crowded and real estate was expensive. In Trenton, Cooper saw an ideal location with reasonably priced and available land, excellent canal and rail transportation links to the rest of the country and a source of waterpower, where he could erect a large-scale rolling mill and wire mill, and fashion semi-processed bar iron into beams, rods, plates and other items of wrought iron used in the fabrication of locomotives, railroad infrastructure, steamships and eventually, even buildings. In conjunction with iron mines at Andover and elsewhere in the New Jersey Highlands, and primary ore processing facilities in Phillipsburg, Trenton became a critical hub in an iron and steel production triangle that sustained the

business interests of the Cooper and Hewitt families through the remainder of the 19th century (Nevins 1935).

This section of this chapter does not claim to provide a thorough overview of the Cooper and Hewitt iron and steel empire, an immense topic lying at the heart of the saga of the American Industrial Revolution and the nation's rise to a global manufacturing colossus. Rather, this narrative will focus more narrowly on the history of the Trenton Iron Company site on the South Trenton Delaware River waterfront (actually one of the company's two massive industrial complexes in the city) and attempt to place this factory within the broader context of iron and steel production in the second half of the 19th century. Emphasis will be placed on the physical development of the site and, in particular, on the Rosey Hill locus within the site, where the highway-related archaeological studies have mostly occurred. While homing in on this location, let there be no misunderstanding – the site of the Trenton Iron Company/New Jersey Steel and Iron Company works below Federal Street, today the setting for a baseball stadium, an office complex, a parking deck, a major regional highway and a single adaptively re-used industrial building (the Katmandu Restaurant née a former New Jersey Steel and Iron Company machine shop) is one of the nation's most storied and significant industrial places that lies virtually unrecognized within the 21st-century urban landscape.

\* \* \* \* \*

For much of 1844, as the nation emerged from a period of economic depression, Peter Cooper appears to have been working behind the scenes to acquire control of the defunct Trenton Delaware Falls Company (soon to resurface as the Trenton Water Power Company) and to purchase the necessary land for his ironworks in South Trenton. One suspects that he was forging political alliances, at both the state and local levels, to assist him in realizing his plans, and that he was attempting

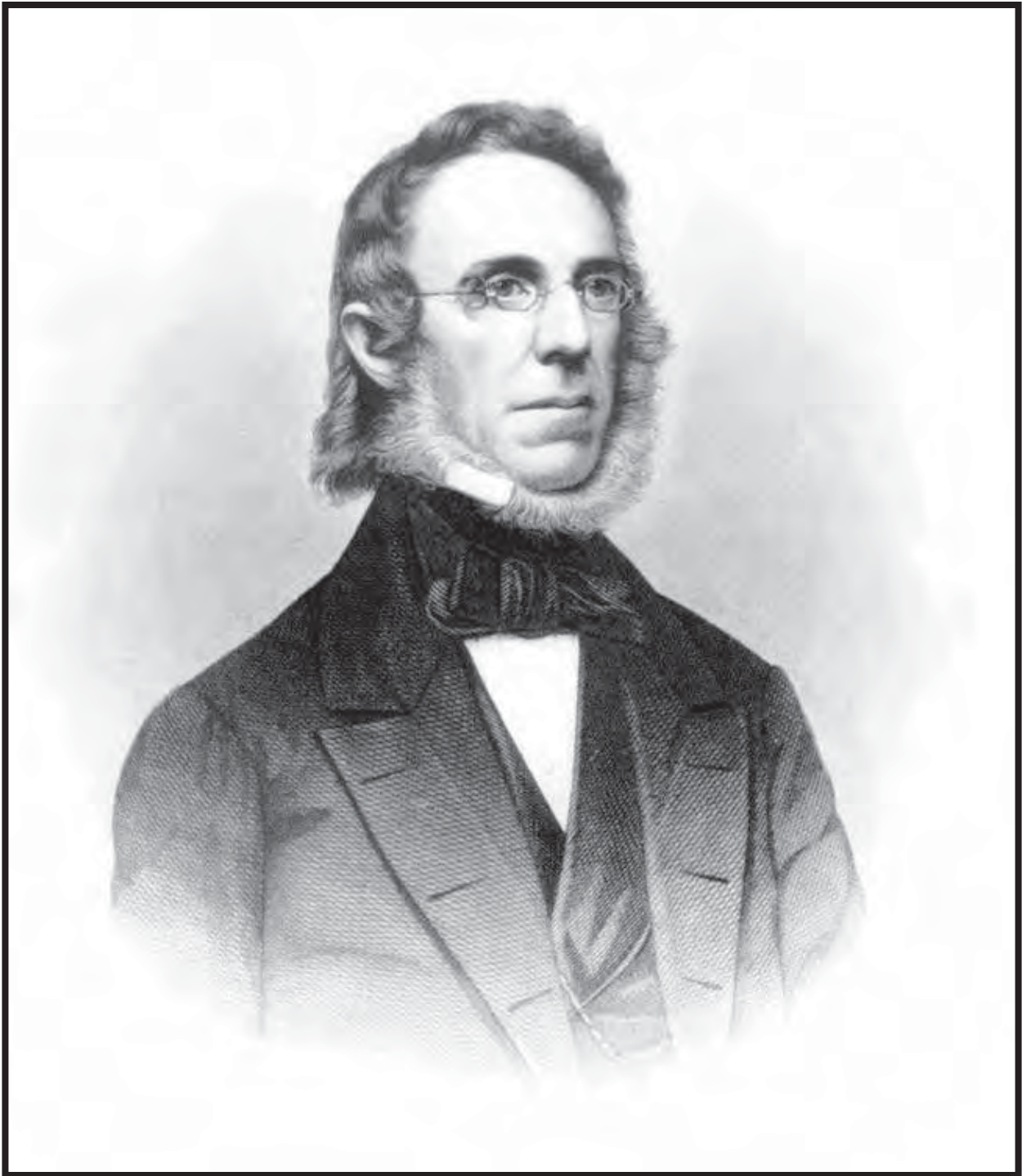


Plate 3.5. Portrait of Peter Cooper. (Source: Nevins 1935).

to attract support from wealthy Trenton investors like James Redmond and other local mill owners with an interest in the waterpower. An ironworking operation of the scale and complexity envisaged by Cooper can hardly have passed unnoticed among state and city politicians and local businessmen.

On June 2, 1845, in the same agreement that spelled out how the newly established Trenton Water Power Company would conduct its business, Peter Cooper cemented his ownership over the two key lots in South Trenton where he planned to erect his rolling mill (Mercer County Deed H:27). This property adjoined the mill property of the New England Manufacturing Company on the north, straddled a segment of the looping head race at the downstream end of the waterpower, and included valuable river frontage where freight-carrying vessels could potentially dock. It also contained within its limits the former Sartori residence known as Rosey Hill. The condition of the mansion, and whether or not the building was being lived in at the time, remain unclear. Over the course of the next couple of years, Peter Cooper would continue to acquire land in the immediately surrounding area to allow for expansion of the ironworks, all of which would eventually get folded into the holdings of the Trenton Iron Company through a conveyance formalized on April 17, 1847 (Table 3.3 [Mercer County Deeds H:291, I:129, K:189, K:389 and M:49]). During these early years, up until the incorporation of the Trenton Iron Company on February 16, 1847, Cooper undertook all of the property acquisition in his own name, while the ironworking enterprise was referred to as the South Trenton Iron Company (Raum 1871:349; Nevins 1935:82-85; Trenton Iron Company n.d.:1-4).

For much of 1845 and 1846, Cooper and his partners in the South Trenton Iron Company were occupied designing and constructing buildings, industrial plant, the waterpower system and roads, and hiring contractors and workers for the mill complex below Federal

Street. Simultaneously, plans were being developed to set up a wire mill on property that Cooper had acquired on the south side of the Delaware and Raritan Canal and the Camden & Amboy Railroad, alongside present-day Hamilton Avenue, directly opposite where John A. Roebling was soon to establish his wire rope business. The canal (along with a basin on Cooper's property) and the railroad were key to the industrial development plans, as these transportation elements provided a means for importing coal and iron and shipping out manufactured products. On April 15, 1846, Cooper obtained authorization to build a railroad "from his basin on the Delaware and Raritan Canal, in the township of Nottingham, upon any public road or other land over which he has or may have the right of way, by the best and most eligible route, to his rolling-mill, on the raceway of the Trenton waterpower, provided the same does not interfere with the ordinary travel upon any road" (Raum 1871:349). It took several years for this rail link to be realized. Finally, in February, 1853, the Trenton Iron Company board reported that it had contracted for the right-of-way for the railroad from the "wire mill to the rail mill" (Trenton Iron Company n.d.:24), the line being constructed shortly thereafter.

Cooper was greatly assisted in the construction of the rolling mill complex by several members of his extended family, most of whom became officers and stockholders in the Trenton Iron Company (and eventually also the Trenton Water Power Company). The two most important family members at the outset were his son, Edward, and his son-in-law Abram S. Hewitt (Plates 3.6 and 3.7), who had recently returned from a trip to Europe together, surviving on the return home the wreck of the *Alabamian* on December 12, 1844. Edward Cooper's interests lay mostly in the area of mechanical engineering and production processes, so he was occupied mostly with designing the physical workings of the plant. Hewitt, with his legal training, shrewd business mind and take-charge personality, excelled more in the area of business management



Plate 3.6. Portrait of Peter Cooper and Family. (Source: Nevins 1935).

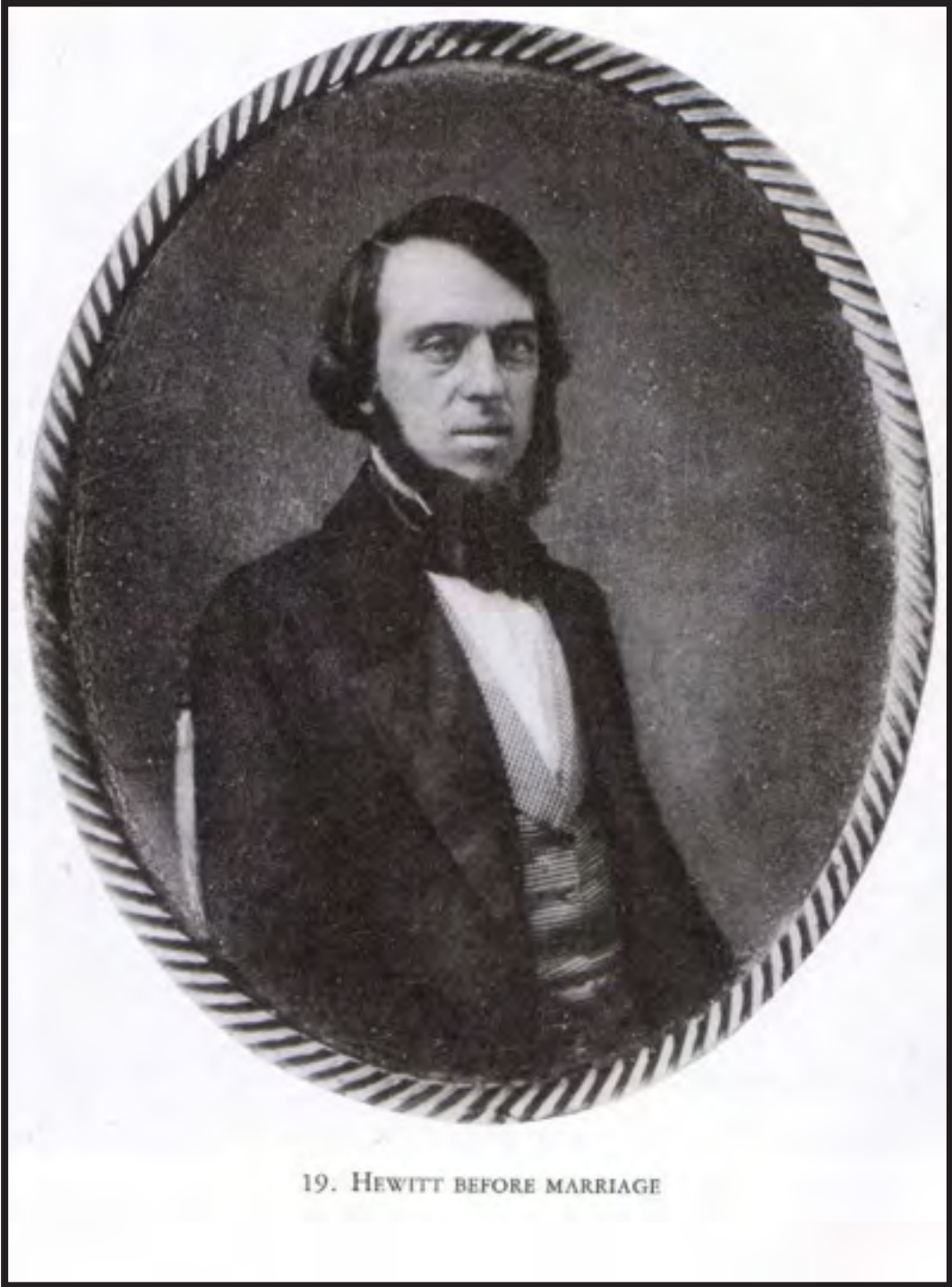


Plate 3.7. Portrait of Abram Hewitt. (Source: Nevins 1935).



and he emerged as the driving force behind the actual creation of the Trenton iron manufacturing facilities on the ground. A third member of the family, Abram S. Hewitt's younger brother, Charles, a talented engineer and mathematician, also assisted in setting up the mills and took on an increasingly prominent role in the supervision of the Trenton operations (Plate 3.8) (Nevins 1935:31-44, 74-94).

By the fall of 1845, the rolling mill was up and running, as was the wire mill, and the production of rods, wire and bars was begun in earnest. By Christmas, the first wrought iron rails were being rolled and early in the New Year the factory began filling an order from the Camden & Amboy Railroad for 2,000 tons of Robert L. Stevens' patent T-rail. Delivered on time (despite serious flooding on the Delaware in March which damaged the waterpower), and compensated in cash at the rate of \$90 a ton, the enterprise was off to a flying start. By the end of 1846, the ironworks had more orders for iron rail than it could meet and was employing some 500 workers on site to produce between 40 and 50 tons of rail daily (Nevins 1935:86-90).

The extraordinary and immediate success of the rolling mill required the establishment of a strong corporate framework, which Peter Cooper and his associates proceeded to put in place in 1847. On February 16, "an Act to incorporate the Trenton Iron Company" was approved by the New Jersey legislature. The original incorporators of the company were Peter Cooper, James Hall, Edward Cooper and Abram S. Hewitt. Capitalization was limited to \$500,000, with the company being authorized to make an initial stock offering of \$250,000 in shares of \$100 each. In actuality, the initial stock issue made on March 1, 1848 amounted to \$300,000, with Peter Cooper holding \$151,000 and a newly established firm "Cooper & Hewitt" holding \$149,000. This latter partnership, underwritten in part by Peter Cooper, linked Edward Cooper and Abram S. Hewitt in what was essentially a

managing company that would oversee and coordinate the many aspects of this growing iron and steel business – from the mining of ore, through the primary and secondary processing of the metal, to the marketing and distribution of the final product.

The Trenton Iron Company's first board meeting was held on April 17, 1847 at the offices of the "Trenton Iron Works." A charter deed was executed that transferred all of Peter Cooper's privately held ironworks properties, fixtures and machinery, waterpower and water privileges to the Trenton Iron Company in exchange for capital stock in the corporation. Peter Cooper was elected as President, James Hall as Treasurer (receiving a \$2,000 annual salary), and Abram S. Hewitt as Secretary. Edward Cooper was elected Superintendent of the ironworks, also receiving an annual salary of \$2,000. Charles Hewitt, a minor stockholder, was elected a director of the company and appointed to the position of Cashier at a salary of \$500 a year. It was also agreed by the board that Charles Hewitt would assume residency of the "Sartori House" rent-free (Mercer County Deed M:49; Trenton Iron Company n.d.:1-4). Later that summer, Charles Hewitt resigned as Cashier and was appointed instead as Deputy Superintendent at the same salary and with the specific responsibility of overseeing the puddling furnaces (Trenton Iron Company n.d.:6-8).

The plant, output and value of the Trenton Iron Company grew rapidly in the late 1840s and through into the mid-1850s, despite intense competition from British manufacturers between 1849 and 1852, which caused the market price of iron rail to fall precipitously. The company continued to acquire land in the area below Federal Street to allow for expansion, taking up undeveloped mill sites to the south of Grant (Lexington) Street and also purchasing the mill lot of the now defunct New England Manufacturing Company. Some of these purchases were also related to the imminent arrival of the long-awaited rail link in 1853, while others were intended to support new

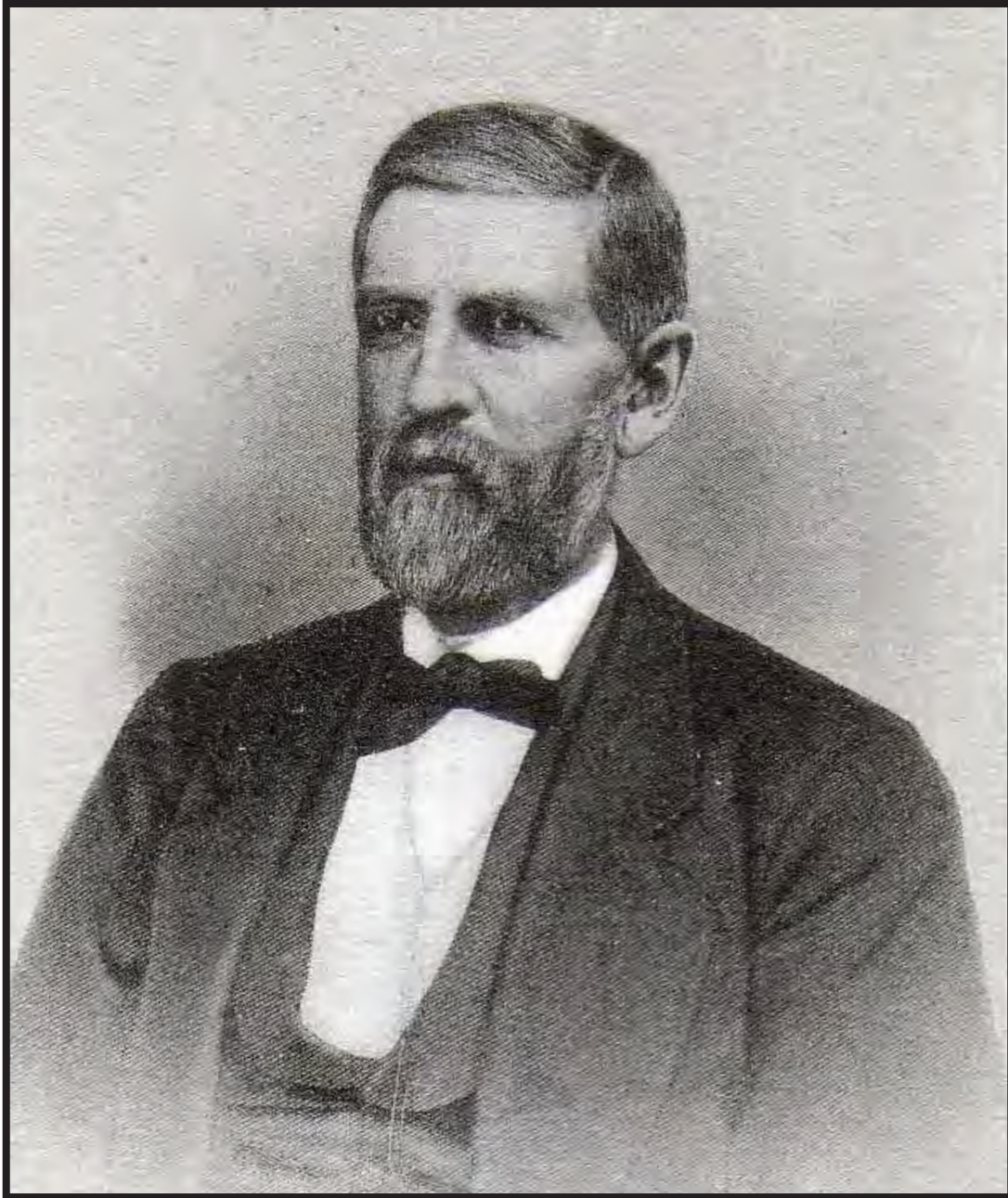


Plate 3.8. Portrait of Charles Hewitt. (Source: Nevins 1935).

industrial facilities and workers housing (Mercer County Deeds L:525, L:527, Q:56, Q:58, X:85 and 29:304). The site of the Union Print Works, the old “calico mill,” finally fell under the control of the ironworks in the late summer of 1856 (Trenton Iron Company n.d.:44).

Maps of Trenton in the mid-19th century – the Sidney map of 1849 (Figure 3.29), the Otley and Keily map of the same year (Figure 3.30) and a map prepared in conjunction with the sale of the Bloomsbury (William Trent House) estate of James M. Redmond in 1852 (Figure 3.31) – all show the swelling holdings of the Trenton Iron Company. On the first two of these maps, the rolling mill is clearly evident as one of the largest buildings in the entire city. Its irregularly shaped footprint is shown adjoining a slightly reconfigured waterpower which, at this time, included a separate pond for the older mills lying to the north of the ironworks. The office for the ironworks and Charles Hewitt’s home (in the old Sartori house) were both located south of Federal Street to the east of this pond, along with several other buildings, all of them lying within the loop of the head race that served the rolling mill.

The industrial schedules of the 1850 federal census show that at this date the rolling mill had 16 furnaces, was making use of both steam and waterpower, and employed 90 male hands (United States Census for New Jersey, Industrial Schedules 1850). At this time, the company was continuing to focus its production efforts primarily on the manufacture of iron rails, despite stiff British competition. Among the many railroads purchasing Trenton Iron Company rails in the early to mid-1850s were the Hudson River Railroad, the Rutland & Burlington Railroad, the Pennsylvania Railroad, the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, the Chicago and Mississippi Railroad, the Illinois Central Railroad and the Long Island Railroad. However, in response to the threat from British iron producers, the Trenton Iron Company was also developing other lines of iron

and steel goods. The company pursued two main courses. The first was to step up their production of wire in order to provide a comfortable profit base, and the second was to develop new and more efficient methods of rolling better quality wrought iron beams, not just for rail production, but also for structural use in buildings and bridges (Hewitt Papers, Volume 17, 1847-67; Porter *circa* 1985).

The company’s shift toward producing structural iron for use in building construction began in 1852, ironically just at the point when a marked rise in the price of rails was occurring in response to a worldwide surge in railroad-building (brought on in part by the stimulating effects of gold mines being opened up in California and Australia). By 1854, the Trenton Iron Company had reconfigured the rolling mill at an expense of \$150,000 and was producing seven-inch-deep wrought iron members with rounded top edges and a profile similar to that of an iron rail. These first beams, known as “bulb-tees,” were used as floor joists for various buildings in New York City, including the Cooper Union Foundation building which still stands today in Cooper Square. By 1856, the company was rolling nine-inch-deep I-beams, the first true I-beam manufactured in the United States (Figure 3.32) (Friedman 1995:31, 69; Gordon 1996:190-192).

The introduction of the I-beam to American building produced a revolution that permanently transformed the practice of architecture and engineering worldwide. Neither the traditional wooden nor cast iron members could come close to matching the structural advantage of the wrought iron I-beam. The I-beam was used in buildings, ships and bridges to carry immense loads and span vastly increased spaces. Out of these early contracts fulfilled by the Trenton Iron Company, and the experimental work carried out at the firm’s South Trenton plant, grew a vastly expanded repertoire of architectural and structural

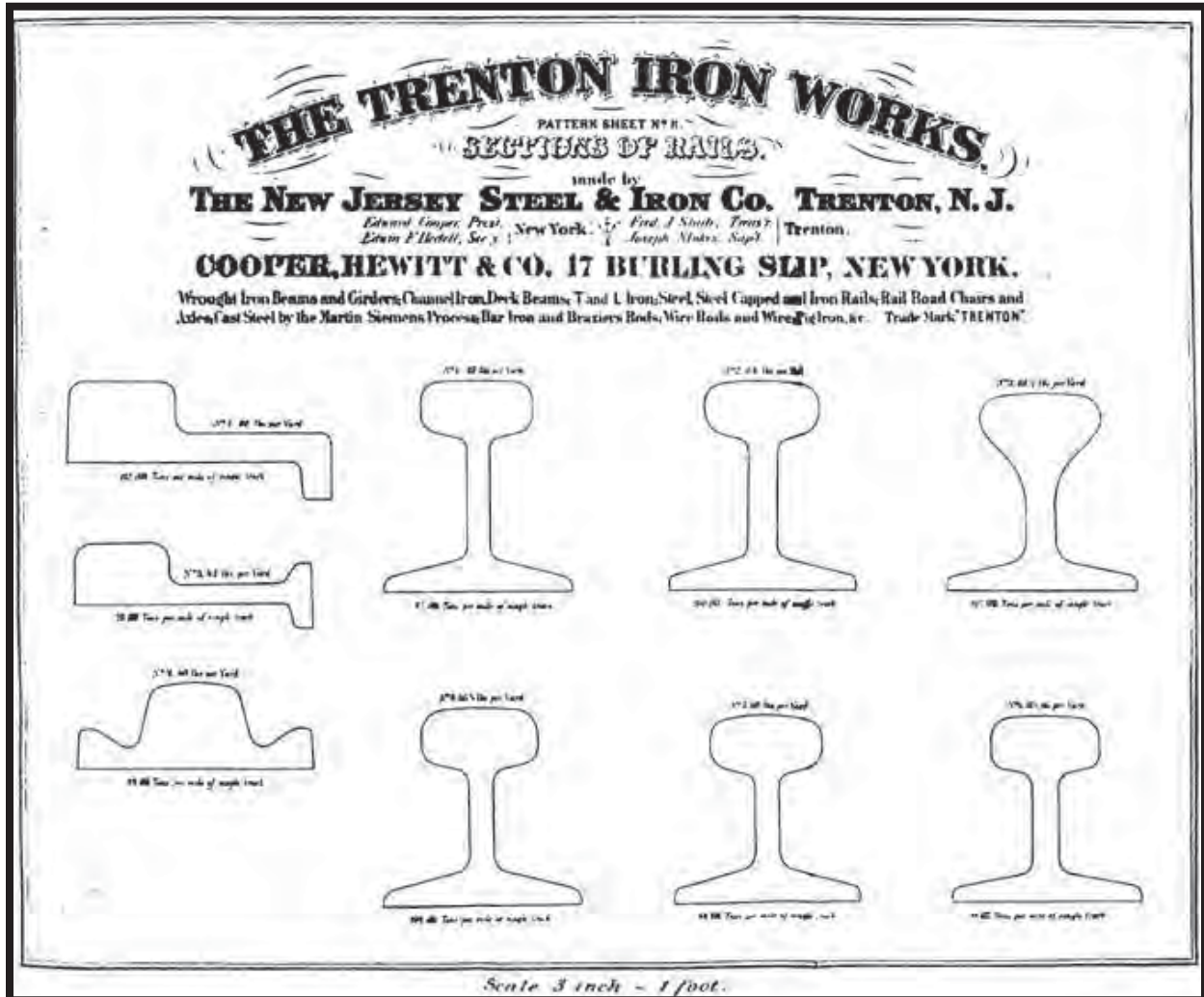


Figure 3.32. New Jersey Steel and Iron Company. *Iron Beams and Channels Made by the New Jersey Steel and Iron Company. 1874.*

forms that is ultimately reflected in such internationally renowned edifices as the Empire State Building and the Brooklyn Bridge (Peterson 1983).

A summary of business conducted by the Trenton Iron Company in the first four months of 1857 is revealing in that it shows the company maintaining a blend of business being forged with both the railroad companies (for rails) and the federal government (for structural iron). Iron rails were still being made for various railroads, including the Camden & Amboy, the Philadelphia & Reading, the Belvidere & Delaware and the Illinois Central, but beams and girders were also being shipped out in large quantities for construction use at nine U.S. Custom Houses across the country, as well as the U.S. Capitol Extension, the U.S. Patent Office, Fort Sumter, the Branch Mint in New Orleans, two marine hospitals and a post office extension (Hewitt Papers, Volume 17, 1847-67).

On the basis of this two-pronged production (plus a strong line in wire being manufactured for the nearby Roebling company), the value of Trenton Iron Company stock blossomed mightily during the relatively strong nationwide economic growth that characterized the decade from 1846 to 1856. In August of 1850, 2,000 additional shares were issued raising the capital stock of the Trenton Iron Company to \$500,000. In 1852, the distribution of the 5,000 shares, each then valued at \$10,000 apiece, was as follows: Peter Cooper (3,507 shares); Edward Cooper (1,490); James Hall (1); Abram S. Hewitt (1); Charles Hewitt (1). The capital stock was increased again in May of 1853 (to \$600,000) and on several other occasions until, in November of 1854, a \$175,000 issue brought the capital of the company to \$1,000,000. Along with the company's rising capital stock, investors could look back over the seven-year period from 1848 to 1854 and see a steady stream of dividends being paid out, averaging some 13% per annum (Trenton Iron Company 1854:15; Trenton Iron Company n.d.:17, 22, 27).

The price of iron, however, had been falling during 1856 and consumption also soon declined. The security markets in London and New York wavered and railway bonds began to fluctuate violently. A wave of financial panic then struck in 1857, banks began to call in loans, and all of a sudden the Trenton Iron Company was in cash flow difficulty and was forced to lay off workers (Nevins 1935:169-175). Production at the rolling mill began to grind to a halt, despite several orders that still required filling. The seriousness of the situation was not lost on Abram S. Hewitt, who berated his brother Charles: "Thus far our business at Trenton has been an utter failure, and a failure it will remain, unless the standard is raised. To remain stationary will not do. You must improve, and unless you do so now, we shall have little hope for the future. We repeat that you shall have, and we authorize to procure, whatever assistance you need. But do not stand still. It is death to the company" (Hewitt Papers, Volume 17, April 14, 1857). The company eventually weathered the storm, but had to resort to various cost-cutting measures, such as reducing the inventory of iron bar stock and compensating workers for their labor with supplies from the company stores (Hewitt Papers, Volume 17, September 14, 23 and 28, 1857).

By the spring of 1858, the markets were rebounding and the iron business slowly began to pick up steam again. The Trenton Iron Company, which had managed to avoid a total shutdown, survived surprisingly unscathed, with its capital intact and no major debts. Interestingly, in the lead-up to the panic of 1857, Abram S. Hewitt had become aware of the Bessemer steel making process then under development in Europe, and there was a brief period where the Trenton Iron Company was experimenting with this technique and might, were it not for the panic, have introduced it into the United States a decade or so earlier than ultimately proved to be the case (Hewitt Papers, Volume 17, January 15, 1857). As it was, when the Trenton Iron Works resumed production at a scale approaching its pre-1857 levels, the com-

pany installed new blooming rolls and a heavy steam hammer, and chose to rely largely on tried and true manufacturing methods based on the puddling process (Nevins 1935:175). During this period, the Trenton Iron Company continued to produce mostly iron rails and structural beams and girders (Figure 3.32). Charles Hewitt, in 1859, also went overseas seeking patents and potential customers for the rolling mill machinery he had installed in the Trenton Iron Works (Figure 3.33). By 1860, the number of furnaces in the rolling mill had been increased to 27 and the operation now employed 475 hands (United States Census for New Jersey, Industrial Schedules 1860).

With the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, the Trenton Iron Company lost most of its clients in the American South but rapidly shifted its production emphasis yet again to manufacture war materiel for the Union Army. By the end of 1861 the company's Trenton factories had retooled and were equipped with new machinery that could produce 1,000 gun barrels a week. The rolling mills at first had difficulty making good-quality gunmetal, requiring Abram Hewitt to travel overseas and observe English manufacturing processes. By late 1862, however, the Trenton Iron Company was a major supplier of gunmetal to the Springfield and Watertown armories and of gun barrels to several private gun manufacturers working under contract to the government. In the following year the company was capable of producing as much as 10 tons of gunmetal daily and in late 1863 the U.S. Ordnance Bureau placed an order for 5,000 long tons of gunmetal, enough iron for a million rifles and muskets. The Trenton-Springfield rifle, a standard weapon at this time, was assembled *en masse* at the Springfield Armory using gunmetal produced in Trenton. The Trenton Iron Company further provided the Army with rails, wire, pig iron, artillery carriages, gun-sockets and entrenching tools (Woodward and Hageman 1883:683-687; Trenton Historical Society 1929:690; Nevins 1935:192-228).

After the war, a sluggish economy set in and led to a re-organization of the Trenton-based iron and steel manufacturing entities within the Cooper & Hewitt business empire. As explained by Abram S. Hewitt in a letter to Edward F. Green of Trenton, written in 1880:

Prior to 1866 the capital stock of the Company [the Trenton Iron Company] was \$1,000,000 and there was a bonded debt of \$500,000. This represented the mines, furnaces, rolling mills and other property of the Company which had cost over a million and a half dollars. The business of the Company was not then satisfactory to the share-holders, and it was determined to reduce the capital by a sale of a portion of the property. Accordingly an act of the legislature was procured in March, 1866, authorizing the Directors to sell so much of the property as they might see fit and to take payment in either stock or bonds at their par value. During the year 1866 the large rolling mill in the Delaware in Trenton and the water power were sold, by which means the bonded debt was reduced to \$165,000 and the capital stock to \$750,000. In 1867 the remaining property of the Company was sold, except the wire mill [on Hamilton Avenue], by means of which sale, the capital stock was reduced to \$50,000, representing the wire mill subject to a mortgage of \$15,000. The Directors tried to sell the wire mill for \$65,000 but could find no purchaser ...

The N.J. Steel & Iron Co., by virtue of the act of March, 1866, acquired the mill on the Delaware for its capital stock, which was \$47,200 subject to so much of the bonded debt of the Trenton Iron Co., which it assumed, amounted to \$350,000. They thus paid for the property all it was worth, and they have never been able to discharge the debt up to this time [i.e., to 1880]. The capital stock remains and the debt has been increased ... (Hewitt Papers, Volume 19, February 10, 1880).

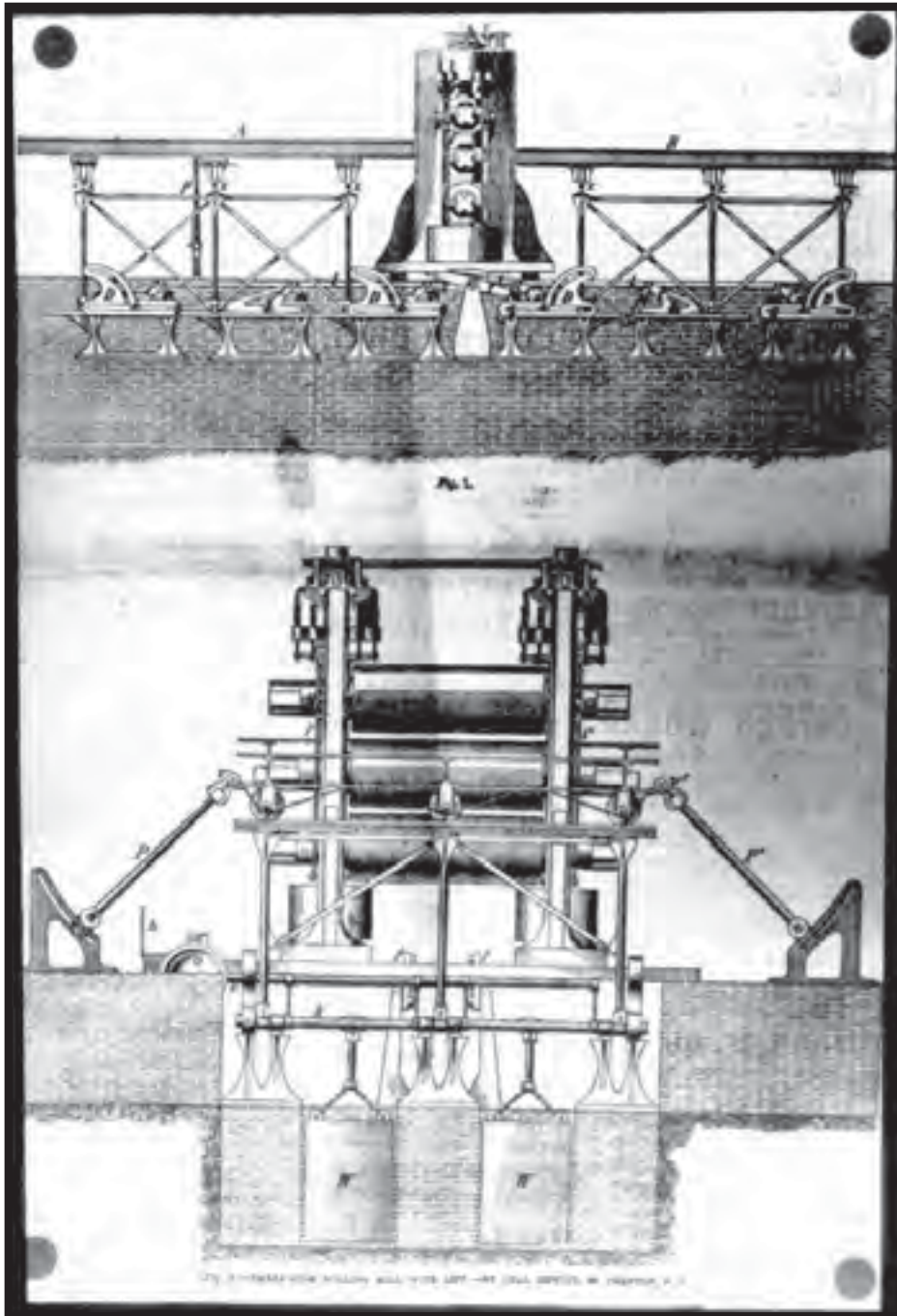


Figure 3.33. *Three-High Rolling Mill With Lift.* 1875. This machinery was developed by Charles Hewitt in the late 1850s for use in the Trenton Iron Company's rolling mills in Trenton.

In this manner, in 1866, the rolling mill plant below Federal Street and the Trenton Water Power became the property of the newly incorporated New Jersey Steel and Iron Company, while the wire mill complex on Hamilton Avenue remained under the control of a much reduced Trenton Iron Company, along with the Andover iron mines, the Phillipsburg furnaces and various other properties (Table 3.3).

The New Jersey Steel and Iron Company, as its name implies, placed its production emphasis on steel rather than iron, and through the efforts of Abram S. Hewitt, his brother Charles, and other stalwarts of the old Trenton Iron Company, the new corporation was soon making steel on the old rolling mill site using the previously untried open hearth process. The first large-scale hearth of this type in America was put into operation at the plant by Charles Hewitt in 1868, and the company began producing an entirely new product, a combination iron and steel rail. The new rail was only mildly successful, however, as the Trenton steelworkers had difficulty maintaining the necessary temperature control in the furnace. By 1872 rails made by the open hearth process had been replaced throughout the industry by all steel rails made using the Bessemer process, a production method not adopted by the New Jersey Steel and Iron Company. The open hearth steel making process made a come-back in the late 1870s, however, following its perfection at the Cambria Works at Johnstown, and remains a dominant mode of steel production even today (Nevins 1935:229-250; Porter *circa* 1985; Gordon 1996:226-229).

Over the course of the 1870s, the New Jersey Steel and Iron Company withdrew from the manufacture of iron and steel rails, ceding this business to other companies in western Pennsylvania and beyond. Instead, the firm turned its attention to producing steel beams, girders, plates and chains for use in the fabrication of bridges, ships and other items such as ships anchors (Nevins 1935:263, 441). In 1870, the industrial schedules of the federal census report the

annual production at the New Jersey Steel and Iron Company plant as 14,657 tons of rails and 1,519 tons of merchant bar iron. The factory made use of two waterwheels generating 100 horsepower and ten steam engines generating 400 horsepower. In 1880, rail production had ceased altogether and the company reported two facilities: an anchor and chain shop producing goods valued at \$60,002; and a bridge shop producing bridge parts valued at \$387,291 (United States Census for New Jersey, Industrial Schedules 1870, 1880).

This transition coincided with the departure of Charles Hewitt, who appears to have moved out of the old Sartori residence prior to 1870, whereupon this building became the company office. Charles Hewitt died in 1879 at the relatively young age of 55, leaving his son, Charles E. Hewitt, to succeed him as the company's general manager.

By this time, the interest of Peter Cooper and Abram S. Hewitt in the fate of their original, groundbreaking ironworking site had long been on the wane. Cooper, in the late 1850s, when he was well into his 60s, began turning his attention more and more to matters unrelated to iron and steel – the laying of transatlantic telegraph cable; his educational brainchild, Cooper Union; and various other philanthropic endeavors. He also ran as the Greenback Party's Presidential candidate in 1876, polling over 80,000 votes. Based principally in New York City for most of his working life, he died there in 1883 at the grand old age of 92. Abram Hewitt, since the conclusion of the Civil War, had felt increasingly that the Trenton plant was uneconomic and fast becoming obsolete. He lobbied unsuccessfully to move the Trenton operations to urban centers further west. Always of a political bent, he was elected a congressman in 1874, serving in Washington continuously, except for one term, until 1886, when he became Mayor of New York City. While continuing to maintain a strong business interest in the New Jersey Steel and Iron Company and



the Trenton Iron Company, he was only minimally involved in their operations from the early 1870s onward. Hewitt died in 1903, living to see the absorption by the United States Steel Corporation of most of the iron and steel entities he had been so instrumental in founding. Edward Cooper, likewise, served as a Mayor of New York from 1878 to 1880, and from the early 1870s onward, had little direct contact with the Trenton mills.

The shifts in production emphasis at the New Jersey Steel and Iron Company works after the 1870s and other changes in the layout of the plant may be traced to good effect in late 19th-century maps and views of South Trenton. On the Beers map of Trenton published in 1870 (Figure 3.34), the first feature of note is the rail spur that had been built in the mid-1850s. This line linked the complex directly to the Trenton Iron Company's Hamilton Avenue plant and to the Trenton to New Brunswick branch of the Camden & Amboy Railroad, thereby providing the company both with a means of importing coal and iron, and with easy access to distant markets. The railroad tracks looped around the southern end of the waterpower and the rolling mill, giving access to several sidings around the perimeter of the building. The track also continued round the west side of the rolling mill, through the old New England Manufacturing Company and Union Manufacturing Company properties, and then passed north of Federal Street and east across the reservoir to connect again with the spur to Hamilton Avenue. This arrangement placed the rolling mill at the center of a very large rail loop, eliminating the need for locomotives to travel in reverse. Aside from the sprawling rolling mill complex and the company office in the Rosey Hill mansion, seven other buildings of unspecified function are shown on the Beers map. The waterpower is depicted with a shortened alignment as a result of the filling of the terminal segment that formerly fed the New England Manufacturing Company cotton factory and the Union Print Works.

The Fowler and Bailey bird's eye view of Trenton published in 1874 (Figure 3.35) provides a more three-dimensional representation of the New Jersey Steel and Iron Company plant and its growing infrastructure. This view conveys well the complexity of the main rolling mill with its numerous workshops and workspaces, and helps to impart some of the smoke – but not the noise – from what must have been a decidedly neighbor-unfriendly industrial activity. Of particular note is the group of buildings, roughly L-shaped in plan, and apparently erected between 1870 and 1874, which occupies the waterfront just north of the rolling mill. Later maps identify these buildings as a blacksmith shop and a machine shop, the latter structure being the one architectural survival on the site today. Other new buildings erected between 1870 and 1874 include a pump house, located on the riverbank at the end of the raceway that brought waterpower to the rolling mill, and a large two-story pattern shop and carpenter shop with a clerestory situated close to the southernmost edge of the main looping raceway, just west of the Saxony Woolen Mill. The linear loops of the rail spur and the head race both stand out quite starkly in the bird's eye view, encircling a cluster of buildings, among them Rosey Hill, to the east of the rolling mill, but especially evocative of the site and its manufacturing product are the rows of rolled rails and bars stacked and waiting for delivery. These can be seen ranged alongside the rail line at the northern edge of the site and at the southern end of South Warren Street, next to the terminus of the Trenton Water Power.

In contrast to the bird's eye view of 1874, which is remarkably accurate in its depiction of individual buildings and their relationships to one another in the landscape, a very stylized view of the New Jersey Steel and Iron Company works was published in Frank Leslie's *Popular Monthly* in 1877 (Plate 3.9). Although the industrial flavor of the site is faithfully captured, it is difficult to match the various buildings in this engraving with those shown on contempo-

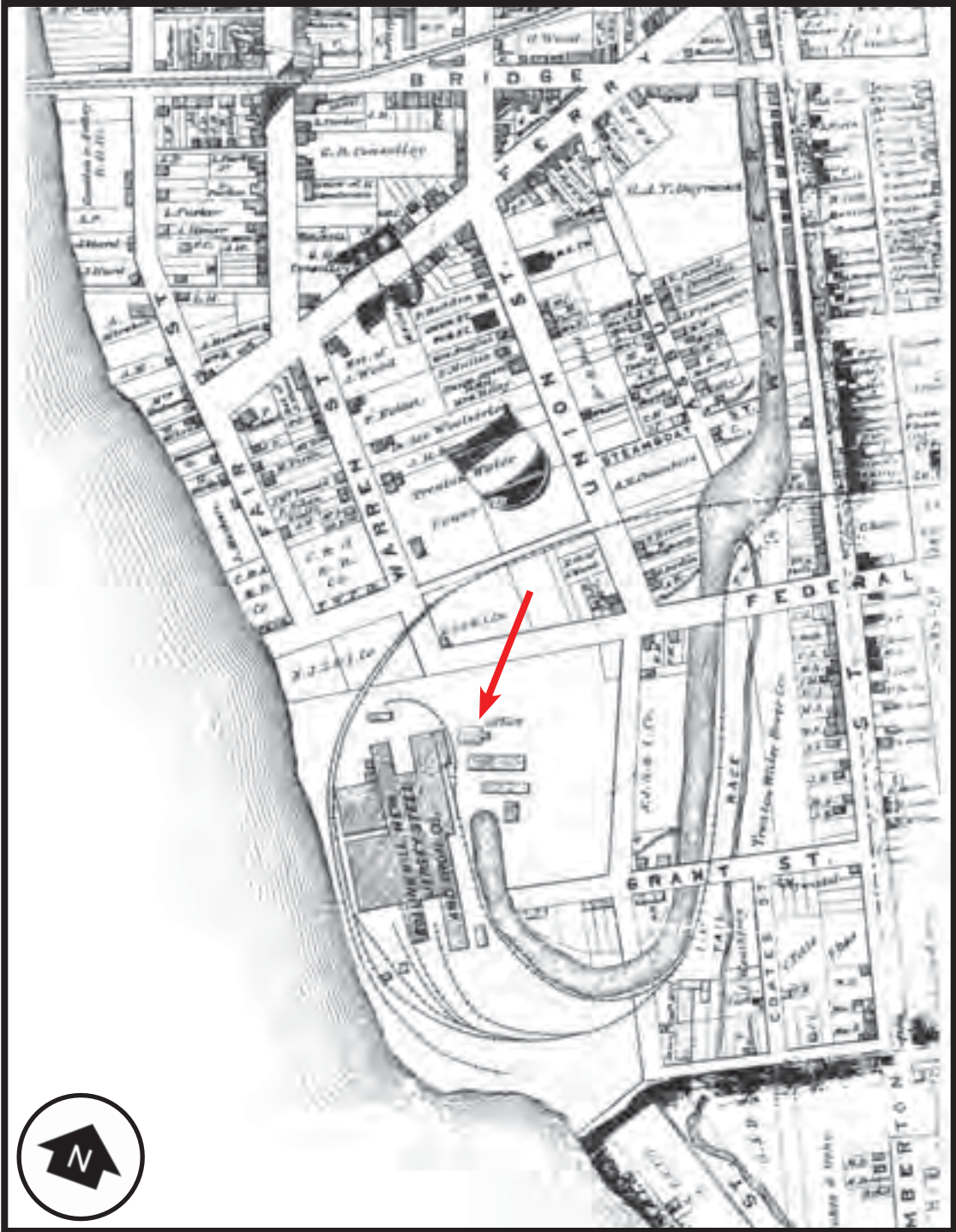
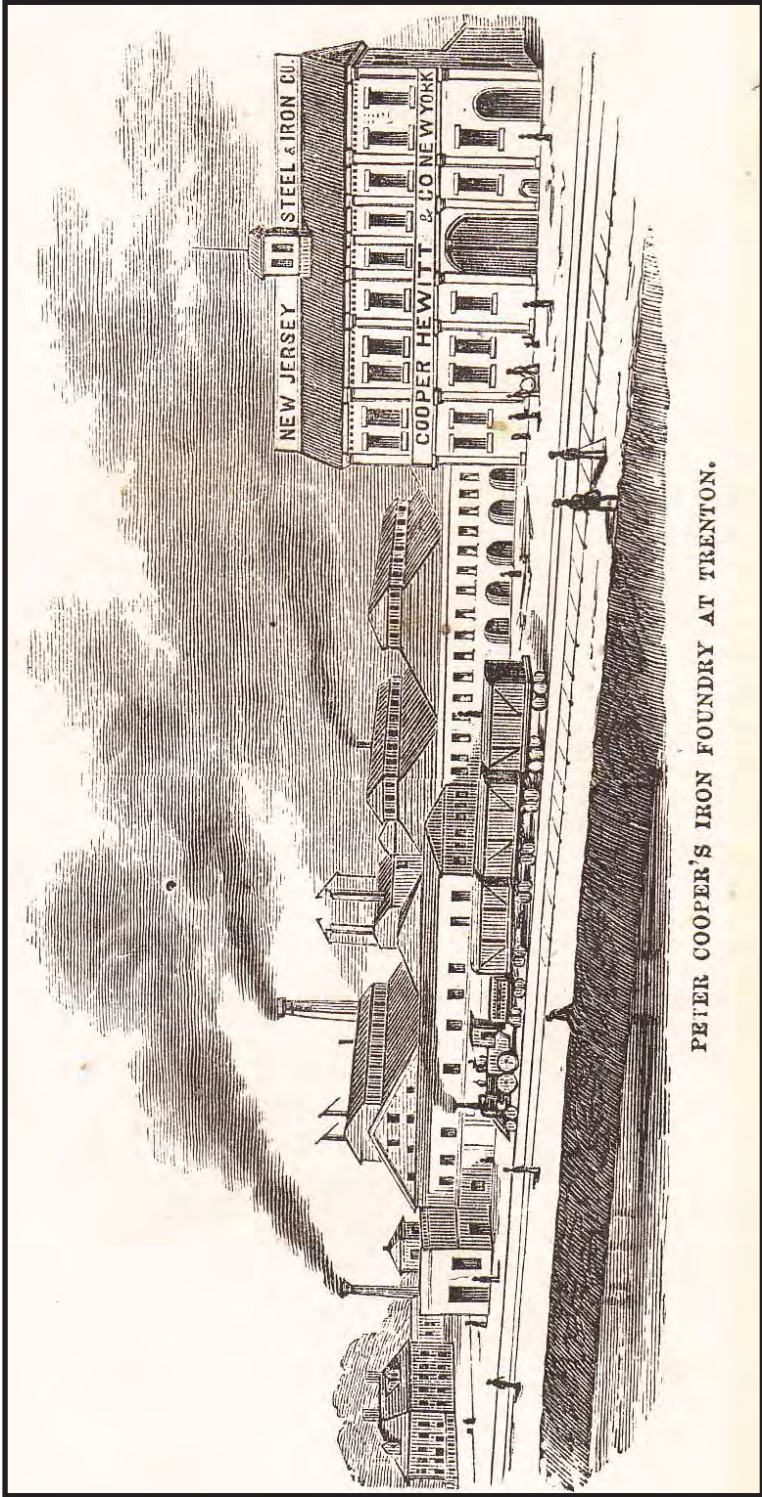


Figure 3.34. Beers, F.W. *Map of the City of Trenton, New Jersey*. 1870. Location of Rosey Hill Mansion indicated by arrow. Scale 1 inch: 330 feet (approximately).



Figure 3.35. Fowler & Bailey. *Bird's Eye View of Trenton*: Trenton, New Jersey, 1874. Locations of Rosey Hill Mansion indicated by arrow.



PETER COOPER'S IRON FOUNDRY AT TRENTON.

Plate 3.9. Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly. Peter Cooper's Iron Foundry at Trenton. 1877.

rary maps and in the bird's eye view. The series of structures in the center of the image are intended no doubt to be the rolling mill itself, while the house-like edifice with a hipped roof and dormers is probably the old Rosey Hill mansion, refashioned as the company office. However, the large, two-story, ten-bay building in the right foreground, emblazoned with the two company names "NEW JERSEY STEEL & IRON CO." and "COOPER HEWITT & CO NEW YORK." is something of an enigma. Following careful comparison of the Leslie engraving with the later bird's eye view of the site in 1893 and a photograph of *circa* 1880 (see below, Figure 3.40 and Plate 3.10), this building would appear to be the recently erected machine shop viewed as approached from the north along South Warren Street. (Note: the machine shop building as it appears today has been affected by early 20th-century alterations; its northern section was raised slightly higher and its roof orientation turned through 90 degrees). The water (presumably the Delaware River) and rail line in the foreground of the Leslie engraving, it must be admitted, do not fit well with this interpretation of the buildings and one can only conclude that their depiction is the result of a heavy dose of artistic license.

As seen in the earliest fire insurance map available for this section of Trenton, several other substantive changes were made on the rolling mill site in the mid-to late 1870s and early 1880s. The Sanborn map of 1874 (Figure 3.36), although hard to decipher because of periodic updating through 1886 that entailed pasting down pieces of new information over the original sheet, appears to depict two large new buildings that clearly reflect the shift away from rail production: a one-story bridge shop to the south of the rolling mill; and a chain shop, long and T-shaped in plan, mostly one-story, but with a two-story center section, fronting on to Union Street and containing a series of 14 forges. Shown to the northwest of the rolling mill on this map are the blacksmith shop and machine shop, while to the southeast is shown the pattern shop, all

three of which were shown for the first time in the bird's eye view of 1874. The office in the old Sartori mansion, Rosey Hill, to which access was conspicuously refused, lies wedged amid a cluster of smaller buildings between the rolling mill and the chain shop. Significantly, while the northern half of the main section of the rolling mill was still equipped with rollers, the southern half and an eastern wing were mostly taken up with heating (?open hearth) and puddling furnaces.

The Haven real estate and insurance map of 1882 (Figure 3.37) shows virtually the same arrangement of buildings and infrastructure at the site as the Sanborn map of 1874/1886, but in considerably less detail. The principal contribution of this map is its depiction of property ownership in the Federal Street area. The New Jersey Steel and Iron Company owned substantial tracts to the north, east and south of the plant itself, no doubt held in reserve for future industrial expansion or for sale as residential lots. The buffer of relatively open land around the factory probably did little to lessen the company's invasive effect on the surrounding neighborhood in the form of noise, smoke, dust, pungent smells and an unappealing blocking of a viewscape that might otherwise include the River Delaware. The deceptively "soft" image of the plant from the Pennsylvania side of the river, offered in a lithographic view prepared around 1880 (Plate 3.10), likewise belies the reality of living within close range of an industrial enterprise founded around a rolling mill, furnaces and forges.

The Sanborn-Perris and Scarlett & Scarlett fire insurance maps of the area produced in 1890 (Figures 3.38 and 3.39) also show surprisingly few changes at the site compared with the earlier maps of 1882 and 1874/1886. The larger buildings – the rolling mill, chain shop and bridge shop – appear to be essentially the same structures, modified only with a few minor additions, while the three-story pump house on the river side of the rolling mill remains as in earlier

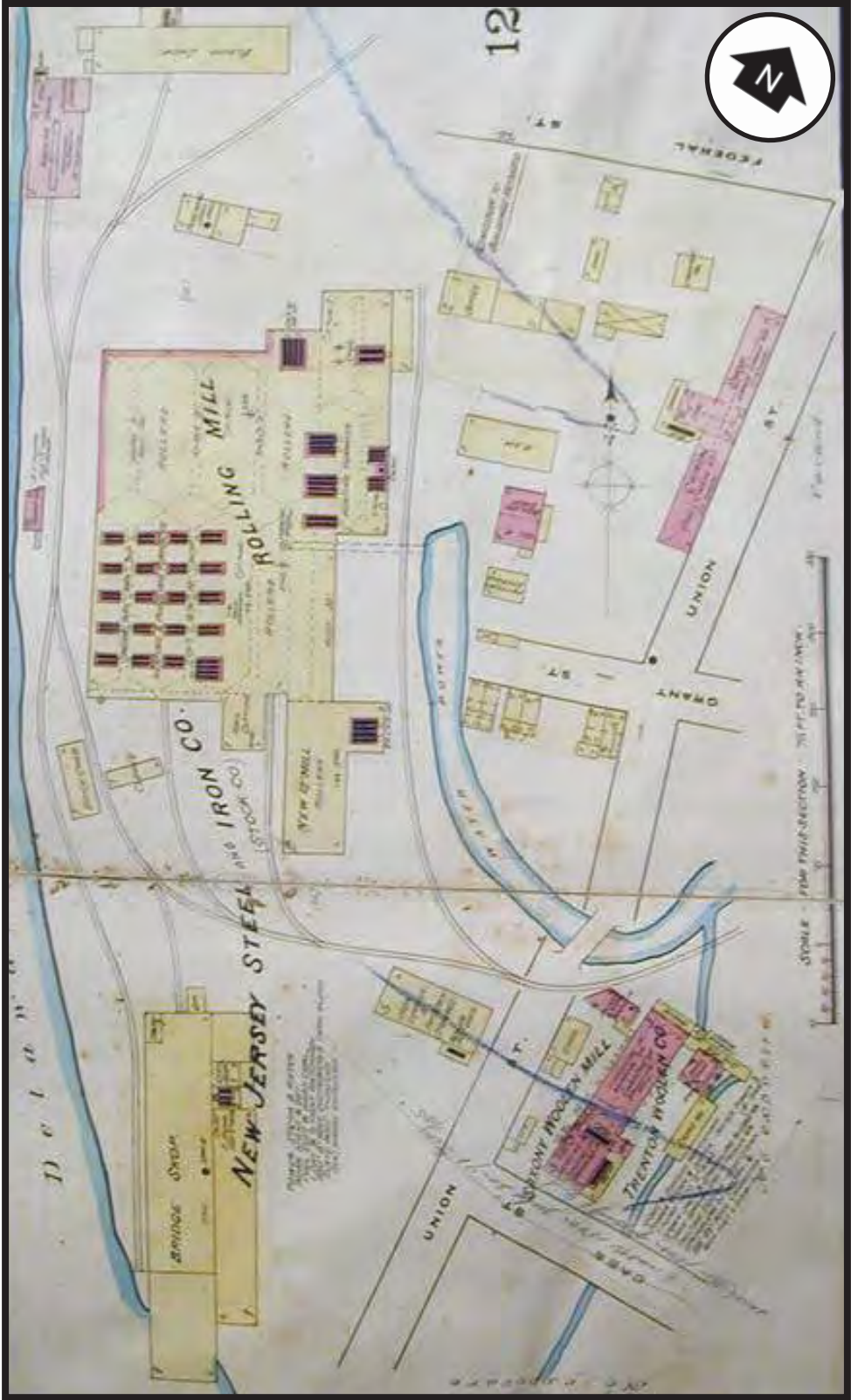


Figure 3.36. Sanborn, D.A. *Insurance Diagrams of Trenton*. 1874 (corrected to 1886). Location of Rosey Hill Mansion Indicated by arrow. Scale 1 inch: 135 feet (approximately).



Figure 3.37. Haven, C.C. A *New Real Estate and Insurance Map of the City of Trenton*. 1882. Location of Rosey Hill Mansion Site indicated by arrow. Scale 1 inch: 130 feet (approximately).

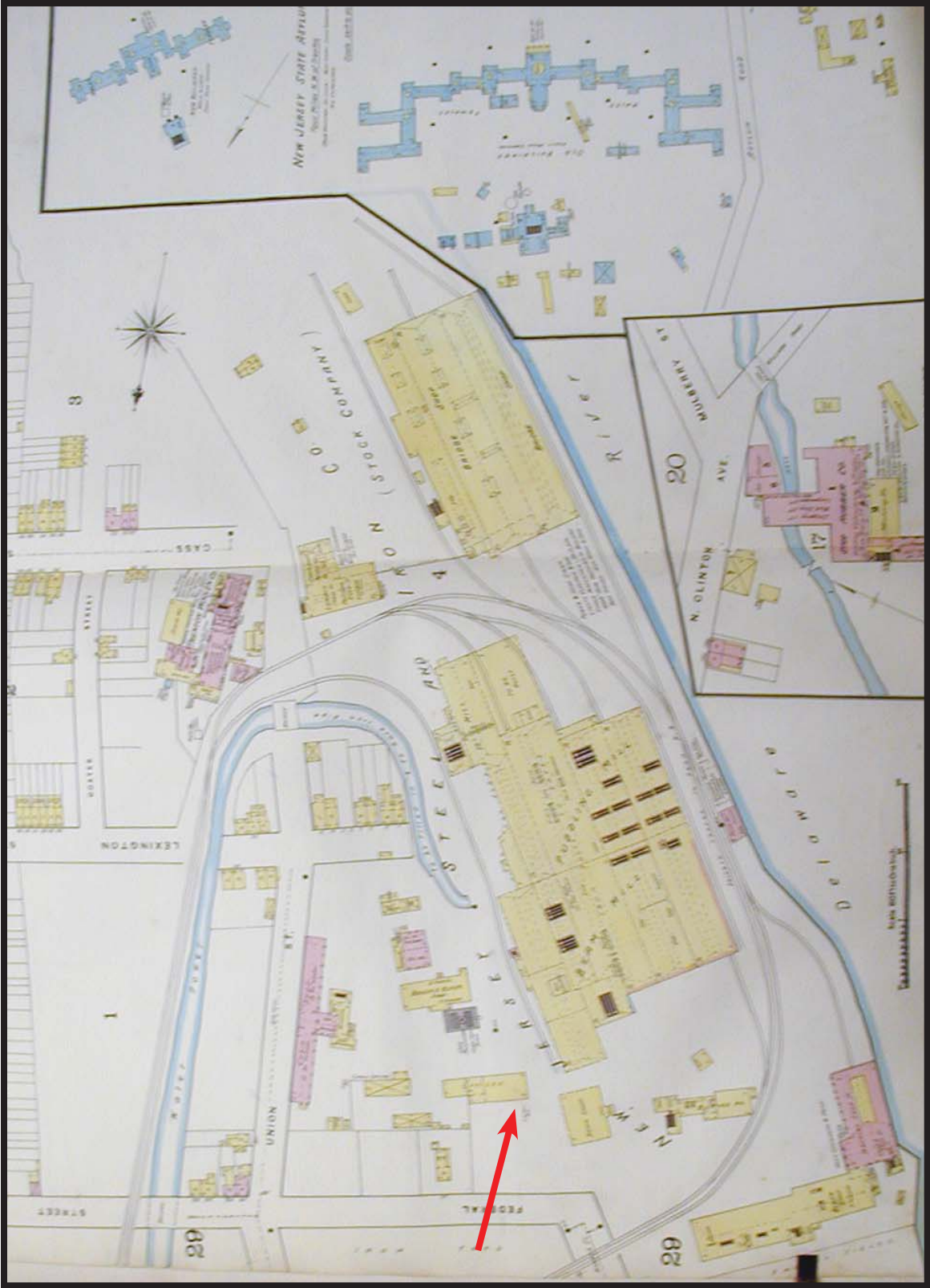


Figure 3.38. Sanborn-Perris Map Company. *Insurance Maps of the City of Trenton, Mercer County, New Jersey*. 1890. Location of Rosey Hill Mansion indicated by arrow. Scale 1 inch: 135 feet (approximately).



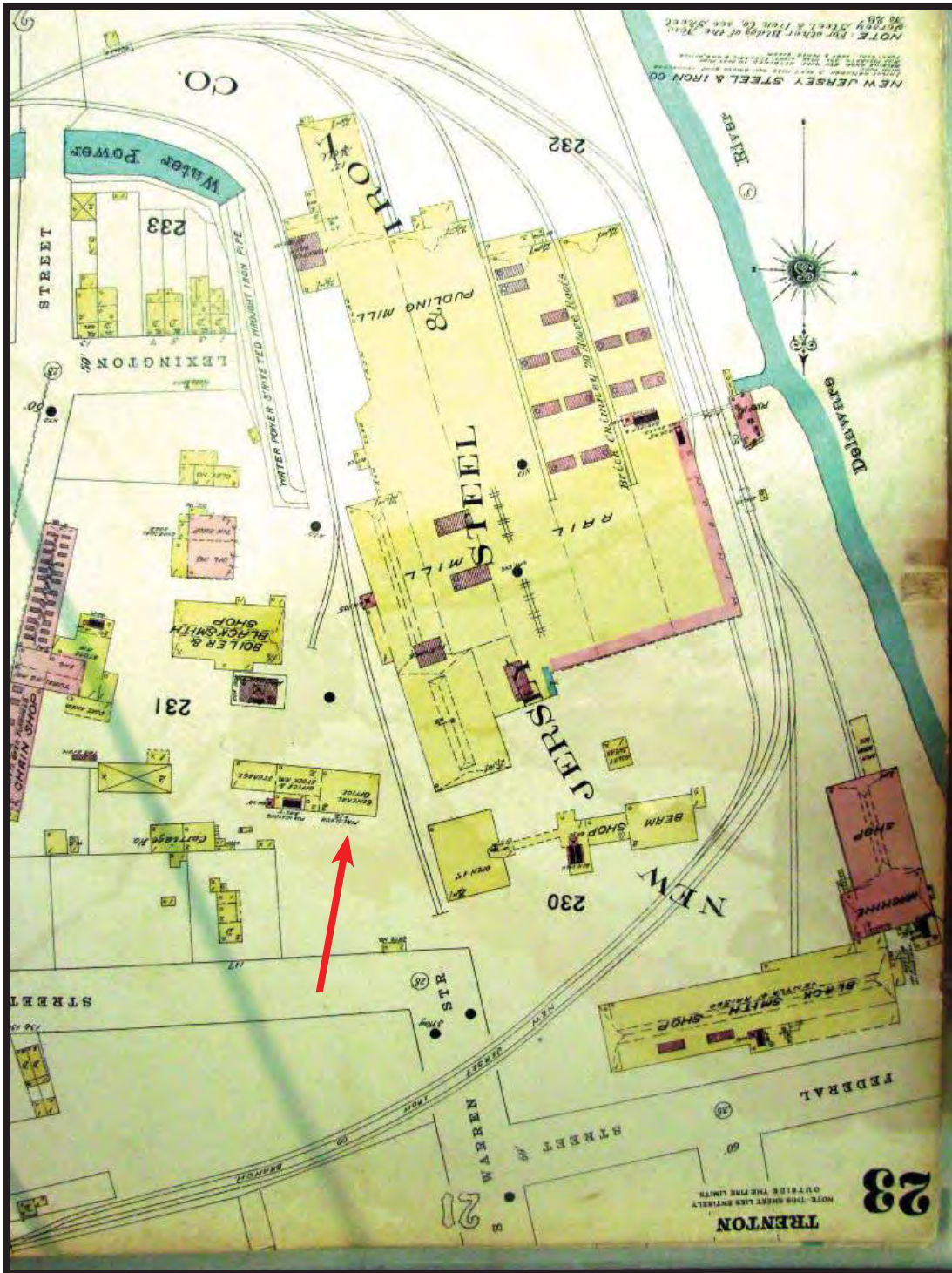


Figure 3.39. Scarlett & Scarlett. *Scarlett & Scarlett's Fire Map of Mercer County*. 1890. Location of Rosey Hill Mansion indicated by arrow. Scale 1 inch: 135 feet (approximately).

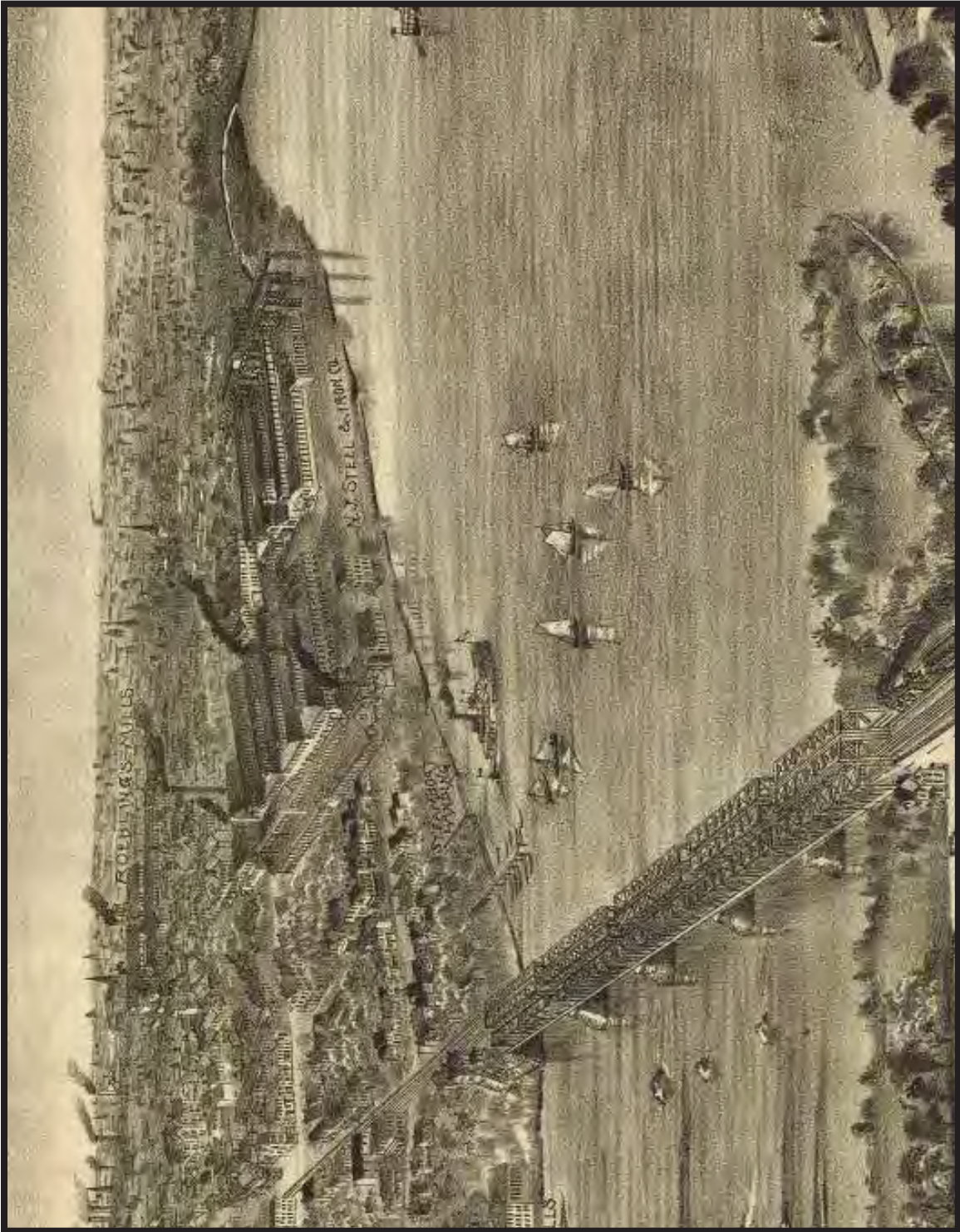


Figure 3.40. Fowler, T.M. Morrisville Island, PA Opposite Trenton, NJ. Circa 1893.



Plate 3.10. View of the New Jersey Steel and Iron Company works from the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware River. Circa 1880. (Source: Nevins 1935).

years. The rolling mill retains its essential two-fold division, although the component parts are now identified as the “rail mill” and the “puddling mill.” There are fewer furnaces shown and useful detail is included on the Sanborn map concerning the placement of rolls, engines, saws, shears and a trip hammer. The fire insurance maps of 1890 also record for the first time the existence of a beam shop and boring house to the north of the main rolling mill.

On the Sanborn-Perris map of 1890 the terminal segment of the waterpower head race is annotated “To be filled in & to have Iron Pipe.” The Scarlett & Scarlett map of 1890 goes a step further (the map was presumably produced slightly later that year) and shows the final 300 feet of the headrace as “WATER POWER 3’ RIVETED WROUGHT IRON PIPE.” On both maps, five frame residences and one store, all of which appear to have been erected prior to 1874 (Figure 3.35), are shown nestled in the loop of the head race on the south side of Lexington Street, west of Union Street. Alongside the rail loop and Federal Street are several large open areas that seem to have been storage yards for the raw materials and products of the rolling mill. Four buildings are shown on the Sanborn-Perris map of 1890 (three on the Scarlett & Scarlett map) in the area between Rosey Hill, Lexington Street and the rolling mill. These are identified as a corrugated iron “gas producer” building, a one-story boiler/blacksmith shop containing seven forges, an oil house/tin shop and a two-story clay house. The basic footprints of the oil house/tin shop and the boiler/blacksmith shop appear to correspond with buildings shown in the same locations on the Beers map of 1870 and the Sanborn map of 1874/1886. The clay house corresponds with a pattern shop shown on the latter map.

The former Sartori residence, Rosey Hill, the building containing the company offices, is depicted on both fire insurance maps of 1890 as having a large rear ell with both two- and one- story sections. The Scarlett & Scarlett map identifies the main (western) section

of the mansion as the general office with one of the rear wings being used as an office and stock room, the other for storage. Two historic photographs of this building – one a view showing the south façade of the older western end (Plate 3.11), the other looking southeast at the rear and west side of this same portion of the building (Plate 3.12) – were probably taken sometime between 1890 and the 1920s and generally match the structure shown on the fire insurance maps of 1890. Another bird’s eye view, from a more oblique avian vantage point over Morrisville (Figure 3.40), confirms the dominance of the New Jersey Steel and Iron Company works sprawled across the South Trenton Delaware River waterfront during the early 1890s.

In 1900 the New Jersey Steel and Iron Company was sold to the American Bridge Company, which was formed that same year. In the following year, the American Bridge Company was itself purchased by the United States Steel Corporation. The American Bridge Company continued in existence in the form of a trust that oversaw the operation of 27 previously competing firms that were now cooperatively engaged in the manufacture and construction of bridges under the umbrella of U.S. Steel (Nevins 1935:592, 597; Pillon and Vieyra 1980). It was not until 1910 that a formal agreement of sale was drawn up through which the American Bridge Company acquired the property of the New Jersey Steel and Iron Company – it being noted in the deed that the latter corporation was entirely dependent on the former for its business. The sale included all real property connected with the “Trenton Plant” and “all machinery, engines, boilers, fixtures, equipments, appliances, tools, implements, duplicates,, patterns, castings, moulds, supplies, material manufactured, unmanufactured or in process of manufacture, and all other movable or immovable property” (Table 3.3 [Mercer County Special Deed S:543]).



Plate 3.11. Historic photograph of Rosey Hill. Date unknown. (Source: Shenrock 1993:21).



Plate 3.12. Historic photograph of Rosey Hill. Date unknown. (Source: Trenton Public Library).

The end result of the American Bridge Company/U.S. Steel transactions involving the New Jersey Steel and Iron Company in 1900-01 was that the South Trenton plant became almost entirely focused on the fabrication of bridge components and functioned as a sort of giant real-life erector set. By 1905, the bridge shop had been expanded, the rolling mill and several other buildings demolished, and the entire layout of the plant, including the internal rail network, had been rearranged (Figure 3.41). Most of the plant's functions were shifted south to the foot of Cass Street where the bridge shop was located, along with a power house, blacksmith shop and template shop.

The Sanborn Map Company fire insurance map of 1927 (not illustrated) and the Franklin Survey Company map of 1930 (Figure 3.42) both document a number of other changes that occurred over the first three decades of the 20th century in the portion of the site located north of Cass Street. Based on the annotations on the Sanborn map of 1927, a major building campaign occurred in 1920. In this year, the template shop at the foot of Cass Street was replaced by a new, much larger, rectangular steel frame and brick building that served as a pattern shop, while a new two-story forge shop, also of steel frame and brick construction, was erected just to the south. The bridge shop to the west was similarly replaced with a new steel-framed, brick-walled structure on the same site. Also, by 1927, another building containing a template shop, pattern shop and cutting shop was constructed over part of the site of the rolling mill, close to the riverbank, and a series of crane ways was erected running perpendicular to the shoreline (Sanborn 1927:Sheet 245). By 1930, a large oil storage facility had been established on the south side of the now filled-in Trenton municipal basin, where the western extension of Federal Street had formerly been located. The old machine shop, in the northwest corner of the site, the Rosey Hill mansion/office and the pump house on the riverbank all remained standing and were apparently in use throughout this period. A good sense of the

layout of the American Bridge Company operations around this time may also be obtained from aerial photographs taken in the late 1920s and early 1930s (Plates 3.13 and 3.14).

Additional construction campaigns took place at the American Bridge Company plant in 1941 and 1948, but on the whole, a Sanborn map of 1955, updated to 1971 (Figure 3.43), shows very little change in the layout of the site during the mid-20th century. The most notable alteration to the industrial complex documented by this map is the extension of John Fitch Way through the eastern section of the property. The construction of this portion of John Fitch Way in the 1930s necessitated the removal of the former chain shop on Union Street and several residential and commercial buildings at the foot of Lexington Street.

The American Bridge Company's South Trenton plant stayed in production, albeit with dwindling output, until 1976, when U.S. Steel closed the site during a period of nationwide downsizing in the steel industry. Over the course of its 75-year life span, the plant provided structural iron and steel products for the Chrysler Building, the General Motors Building, Rockefeller Center, the United Nations Complex, One Liberty Plaza, One Penn Plaza and the Verrazano Narrows Bridge (all in New York City), the Tappan Zee Bridge over the Hudson River, and the Delaware Memorial, Walt Whitman and Tacony-Palmyra Bridges (all spanning the Delaware River). In 1914, the American Bridge Company's Trenton plant produced some 4,960 tons of steel for use in the erection of 824 power transmission towers along the railroad corridor adjoining the Panama Canal (American Bridge 2004).



Figure 3.41. Lathrop, J.M. *Atlas of the City of Trenton and Borough of Princeton*. 1905. Location of Rosey Hill Mansion indicated by arrow. Scale 1 inch: 400 feet (approximately).





Figure 3.42. Franklin Survey Company. *Real Estate Plat-Book of the City of Trenton and Borough of Princeton, Mercer County, New Jersey*. 1930. Location of Rosey Hill Mansion indicated by arrow. Scale 1 inch: 300 feet (approximately).



Figure 3.43. Sanborn Map Company. *Insurance Maps of the City of Trenton, Mercer County, New Jersey*. 1927 (revised to 1955). Location of Rosey Hill Mansion indicated by arrow. Scale 1 inch: 300 feet (approximately).

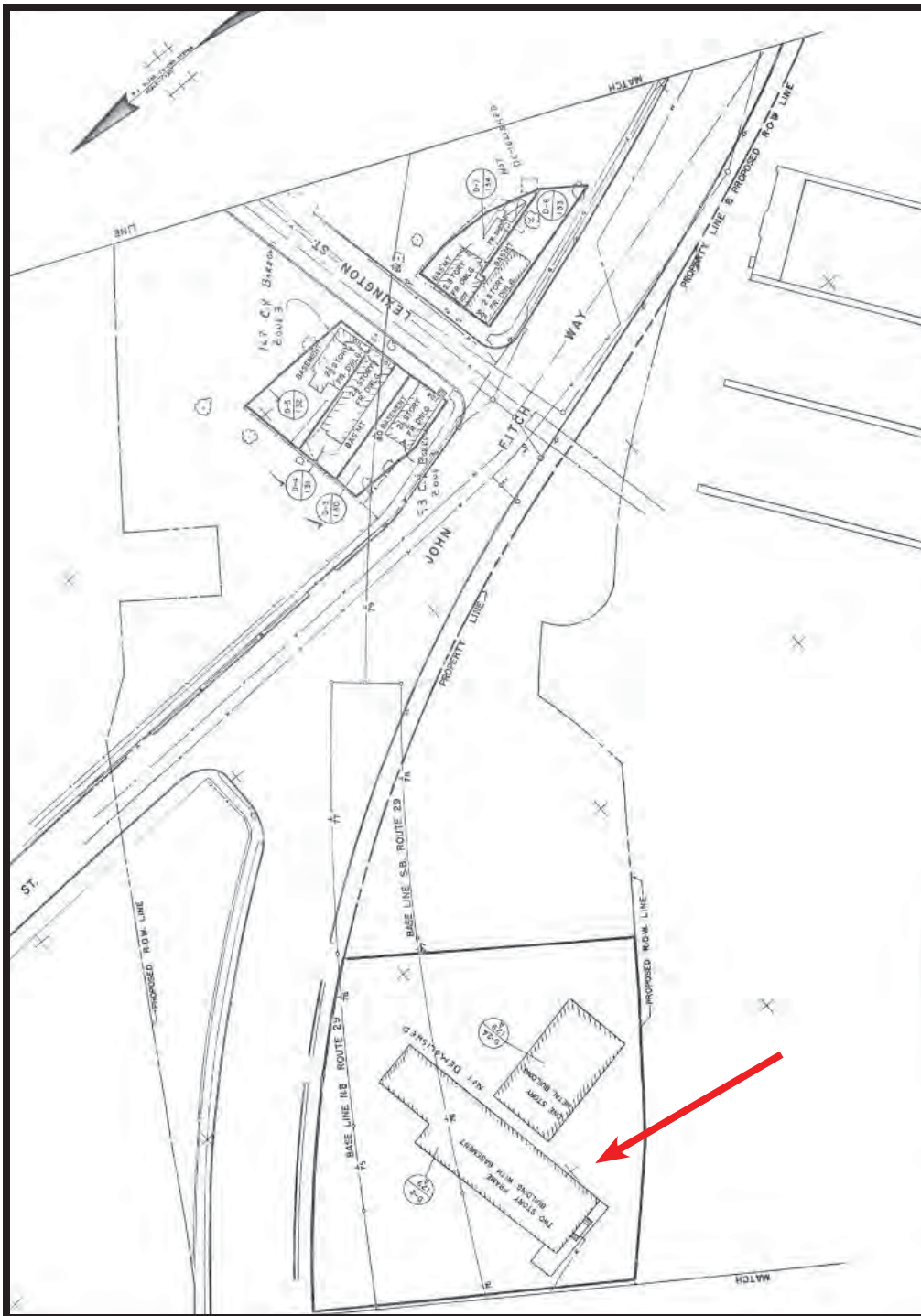


Figure 3.44. New Jersey Department of Transportation. Project Plans for Route 29 Freeway, Section IIC, from Ferry to Lalor Street (Demolition of Buildings). 1973. Location of Rosey Hill Mansion indicated by arrow. Scale 1 inch: 80 feet (approximately).

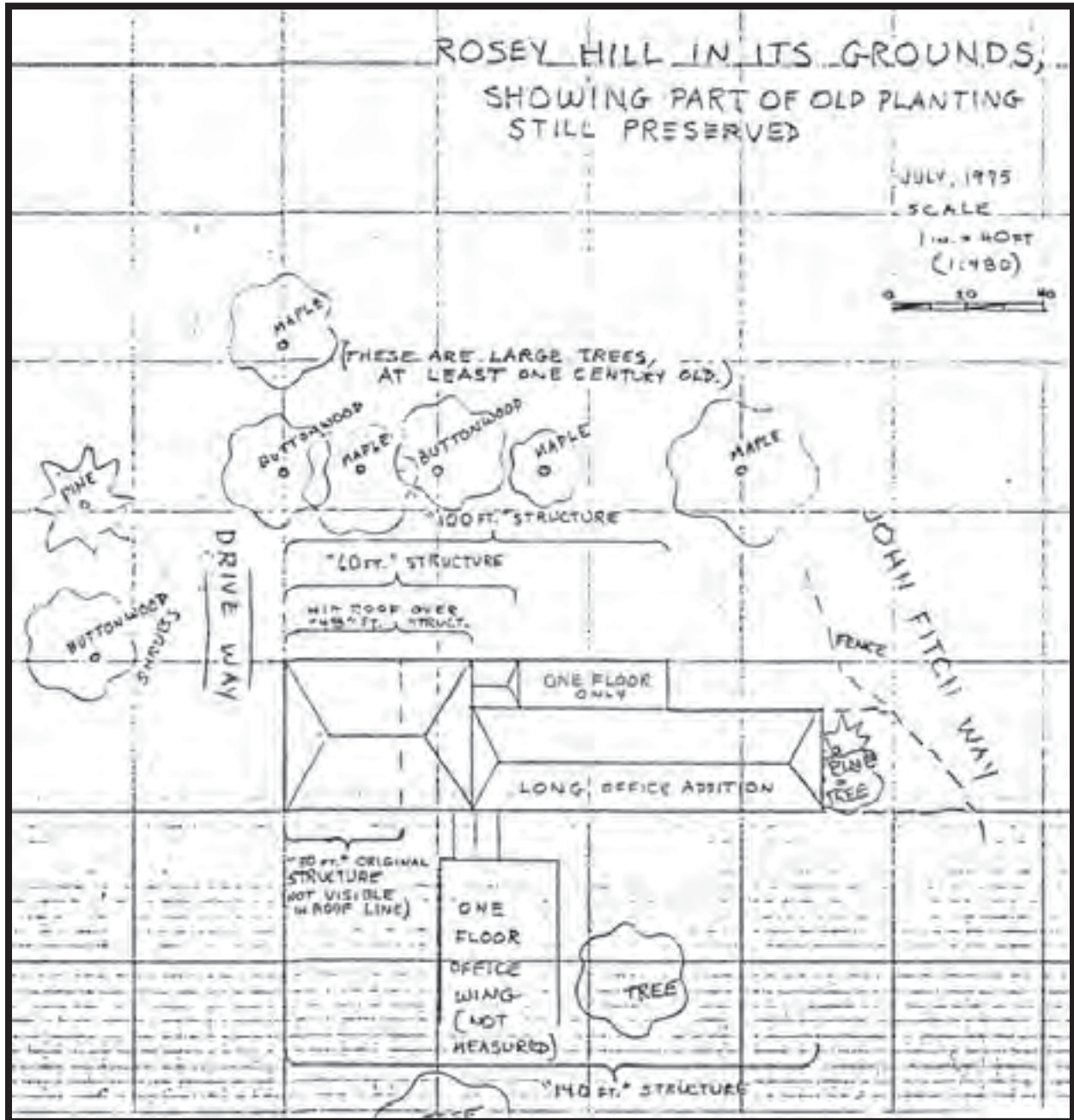


Figure 3.45. New Jersey Department of Transportation. Rosey Hill in its Grounds. 1975. Scale 1 inch: 45 feet.



Figure 3.46. New Jersey Department of Transportation. 2nd Floor of Rosey Hill. 1975. Scale 1 inch: 18 feet.

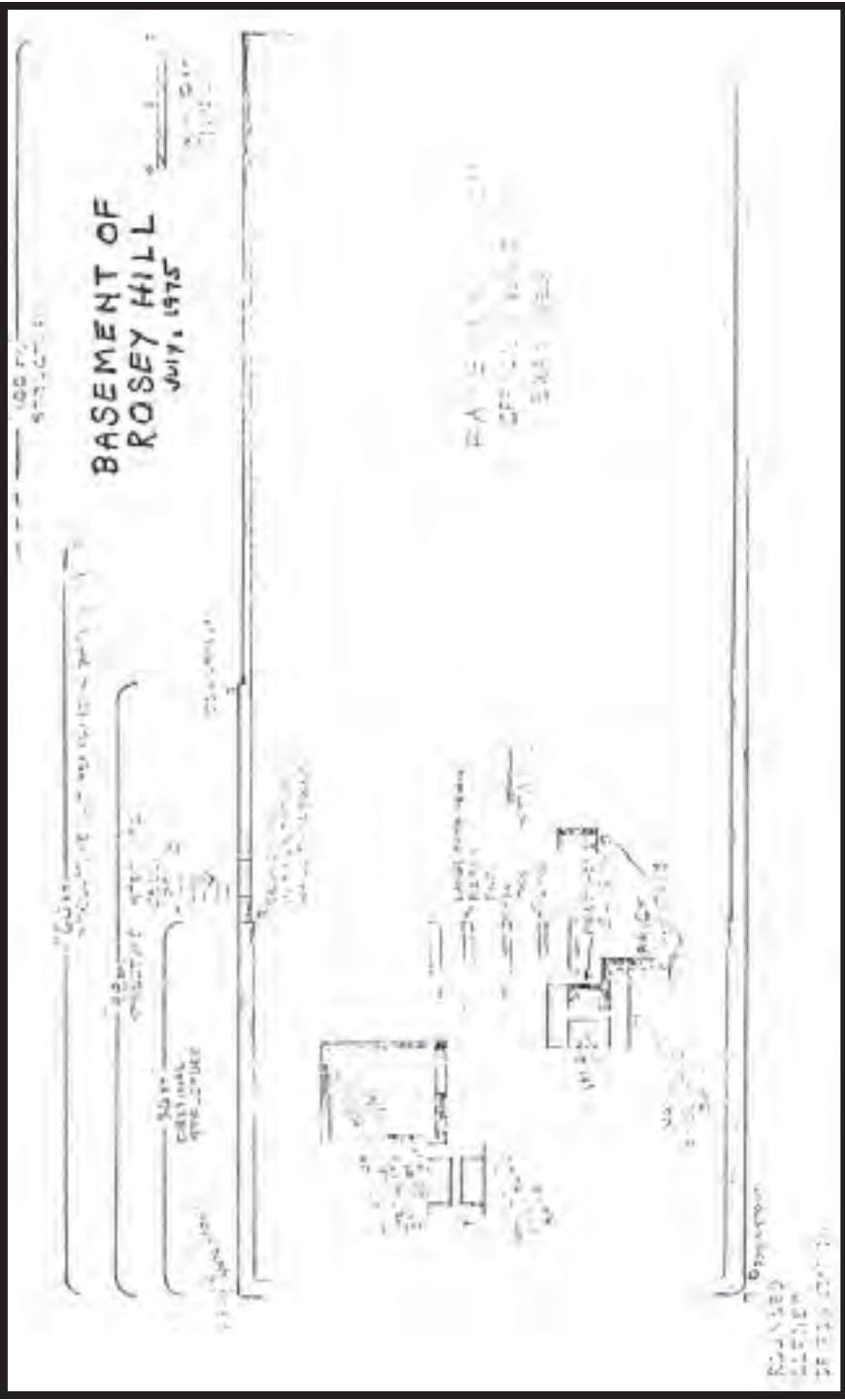


Figure 3.47. New Jersey Department of Transportation. Basement of Rosey Hill. 1975. Partially redrawn for current report. Scale 1 inch: 12 feet.



Plate 3.13. Oblique aerial view of South Trenton in 1928. Inset enlargement shows Rosey Hill Mansion. (Source: Trenton Public Library).



Plate 3.14. Aerial view of South Trenton in 1931. Inset enlargement shows Rosey Hill Mansion. (Source: Hagley Museum and Library).





Plate 3.15. View of the southern façade of Rosey Hill Mansion. 1975. (Source: New Jersey Department of Transportation 1975).



Plate 3.16. View of the southern and western façades of Rosey Hill Mansion. 1975.  
(Source: New Jersey Department of Transportation 1975).



Plate 3.17. View of the western façade of Rosey Hill Mansion. 1975. (Source: New Jersey Department of Transportation 1975).



Plate 3.18. Historic photograph of Rosey Hill Mansion just prior to demolition, looking north and east. Circa 1980. (Source: New Jersey Department of Transportation).



Plate 3.19. Historic photograph of Rosey Hill Mansion, looking north and east with the site of the Trenton Iron Company/New Jersey Steel and Iron Company/American Bridge Company works in the foreground. The New Jersey Steel and Iron Company machine shop erected in the early 1870s, now the Katmandu restaurant, is at the far left. Circa 1980. (Source: New Jersey Department of Transportation).

## 5. Abandonment and Demolition

Following its closure in 1976, most of the principal structures on the American Bridge Company site sat idle and vacant for a brief period, and were then pulled down. The penultimate building to be demolished was the old Sartori residence, Rosey Hill, which stood in a steadily deteriorating condition, forlorn and unrecognized for its role in history, until 1980 (Figure 3.44). Although the subject of some preliminary examination by architectural historians and archaeologists in the late 1970s in conjunction with environmental impact studies being performed for the Trenton Complex highway project (of which the reconstruction of N.J. Route 29 had always been a part), the building was unexpectedly torn down by the New Jersey Department of Transportation in the late summer of 1980. Some very limited archaeological exploration was conducted around the foundation of the house in the immediate aftermath of its demolition, but unfortunately the opportunity of thoroughly documenting the architectural evolution of this highly significant historic building was lost. The less than adequate drawings and photographs reproduced here (Figures 3.45-3.47; Plates 3.15-3.19) are presented as the sum total of the Rosey Hill field documentation compiled in the late 1970s and 1980. They are included in this report for their tantalizing and largely unfulfilled bearing on the interpretations of archaeological and historical data discussed in the following chapters.

In the late 1980s, the American Bridge Company site was redeveloped as Riverview Executive Plaza, a corporate office complex. In the mid-1990s Waterfront Stadium, home of the Trenton Thunder minor league baseball team, was constructed by Mercer County at the southern end of the former ironworks property, partially over the site of the 20th-century American Bridge Company bridge shops, along with numerous surrounding parking lots. N.J. Route 29 was reconstructed through the eastern portion of the ironworks

site, with a slight expansion and westward shift of its alignment in the area of the Rosey Hill Mansion Site. In 2001-02, Mercer County added a new parking deck structure, located over the southeastern part of the old rolling mill site. Today, the only historic industrial building still standing on the entire iron and steel working property is the former New Jersey Steel and Iron Company machine shop, constructed in the early 1870s, which was rehabilitated and converted into the Katmandu restaurant in June of 1997.

## Chapter 4

### ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS

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#### A. PREVIOUS INVESTIGATIONS AND SITE TERMINOLOGY

Phase I archaeological testing was carried out at the Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site by Greenhouse Consultants Inc. in 1993 and 1994. This work entailed the excavation of 31 shovel tests and one excavation unit. Seven of the shovel tests revealed a soil sequence consisting of two fill deposits overlying modified A and B soil horizons. Artifacts recovered from these exploratory excavations indicated historic occupation ranging from the early 18th century through the 20th century. The 18th-century artifacts were erroneously attributed to John B. Sartori who occupied the property between 1803 and 1832. Prehistoric artifacts were also recovered from the site, suggesting a Late Woodland occupation of this area (Greenhouse Consultants, Inc. 1993, 1994).

Supplementary Phase I and II archaeological investigations were performed at the site by Hunter Research, Inc. in 1996. This work revealed a full soil sequence reflecting both prehistoric and historic occupation. The historic component of this sequence included two fill episodes containing prehistoric and mid-18th-through 20th-century artifacts. These deposits overlaid a mixed historic occupation deposit consisting of a possible buried plowzone/yard deposit or A horizon. An intact B horizon containing prehistoric artifacts dating largely to the Middle and Late Woodland period was identified beneath the historic A horizon. The former alignment of Federal Street was also encountered during these investigations in Excavation Unit A-6. The north foundation wall of the Rosey Hill Mansion was also examined, along with a builders' trench containing closely-spaced, charred wooden posts. A pocket of sandy soil containing early and mid-18th-

century artifacts was also observed below the possible plowzone to the north of the mansion foundation in Excavation Unit A-10 (Hunter Research, Inc. 1997a).

As a result of the Phase I and II archaeological studies the Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site was initially designated as part of the Riverview Executive Park Archaeological Complex. As discussed in Chapter 1, Section B, this designation was superseded by and incorporated into the more extensive Douglas Gut Archaeological Complex [28Me273]. In historical and archaeological terms, the Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site is composed of two main components: features relating to the previously known late 18th- and 19th-century Rosey Hill Mansion; and the area adjacent to the north containing the remains of an early and mid-18th-century structure termed the Lambert/Douglas House and associated features. The overall configuration of the site is shown in Figure 4.1. This site map shows the principal modern landscape features as they existed in 1998, areas that were archaeologically investigated and the main historic features.

#### B. EXCAVATION STRATEGY

The project site consisted of a nearly rectangular-shaped fenced lot measuring approximately 160 feet east-west by 290 feet north-south, comprising an area of roughly 46,600 square feet (Figure 4.1). Prior to excavation, the landscape consisted of a level grass-covered lot with a series of mature sycamore and maple trees aligned east-west and dividing the site roughly in half. A large hedgerow and a few smaller trees were also present. The site was bordered by asphalt parking lots to the north and south, and a berm

to the west. N.J. Route 29 formed the eastern boundary. The site currently lies beneath the southbound lanes of the reconfigured N.J. Route 29.

The Phase II archaeological testing had identified intact prehistoric soil horizons and 18th-century cultural deposits and structural remains. The archaeological data recovery plan recommended the use of mechanical excavation equipment to expedite the removal of demolition debris from selected portions of the Rosey Hill Mansion basement, which would allow for a detailed examination and recording of the building foundation. Mechanically assisted excavation was not part of the original overall field strategy for the site outside the mansion foundation. As the excavation proceeded, however, it became apparent that mechanically stripping off the upper fill deposit in selected areas would aid in locating additional features. The original data recovery plan for the site envisaged 160 five-foot-square excavation units (4,000 square feet), but this was increased to 292 five-foot square units (7,300 square feet), the expanded coverage being facilitated in large part by the judicious use of mechanical excavation equipment.

A coordinate grid system oriented to the north wall of the Rosey Hill Mansion was surveyed over the site using a total station theodolite. Nails were placed over the site grid at 5-foot intervals, dividing the site into 5 x 5-foot squares. A scaled site plan was then produced to document the site prior to the commencement of data recovery excavations (Figure 4.1). The site was divided into three areas (A, B and C) to simplify the excavation process and recording, with each area making use of independent sequences of context numbers. Blocks of excavation unit numbers were assigned to each area as follows: Area A comprised the northwestern portion of the site (Excavation Units 1-100, 500-544, 600-618 and 99A-99Y); Area B comprised the northeastern portion of the site (Excavation Units 101-185); and Area C comprised the southern portion of the site (Excavation Units 207-220 and

240-244). The distribution of excavation units in Areas A and B is shown in Figure 4.2; excavation units in Area C are shown in Figure 4.3.

Initially, a 5-foot-wide, 120-foot-long, east-west trench was manually excavated as a series of 5-foot units traversing Areas A and B (Figure 4.2). This trench was excavated to gain insight into the overall stratigraphic composition of the portion of the site lying to the north of the Rosey Hill Mansion. The trench incorporated Excavation Units 1 through 11 in Area A, and Excavation Units 101 through 113 in Area B; it was later extended westward to the site of the Trenton Water Power through Excavation Units 611 and 614-618 (Figures 4.2, 4.4 and 4.5). Within Area A, Excavation Units 3 through 8 quickly encountered the previously undiscovered south wall of the early 18th-century Lambert/Douglas House basement, resulting in a major adjustment to the field strategy.

In Area A, the 28 x 24-foot area bounded by the cut for the Lambert/Douglas House basement was initially excavated as Excavation Unit 99. This expanded excavation unit was later subdivided into 5-foot squares to provide greater control over artifact provenience, a strategy developed following the identification of potentially surviving floor deposits within the basement. These excavation units were assigned letter designations (99A-99Y). Excavation Units 3 through 8 were part of the trench excavated across Areas A and B, prior to the designation of Excavation Unit 99. Although these units were later determined to be within the early 18th-century basement cut (along the interior of the south wall), their original unit numbers were retained, but stratigraphic and artifactual data were considered to be within Excavation Unit 99 for analytical purposes (Figures 4.2 and 4.3).

All field data were recorded on pre-printed "Area Excavation Unit" forms using the context system. Field graphics were prepared on gridded mylar. Soil strata and features were documented using black and



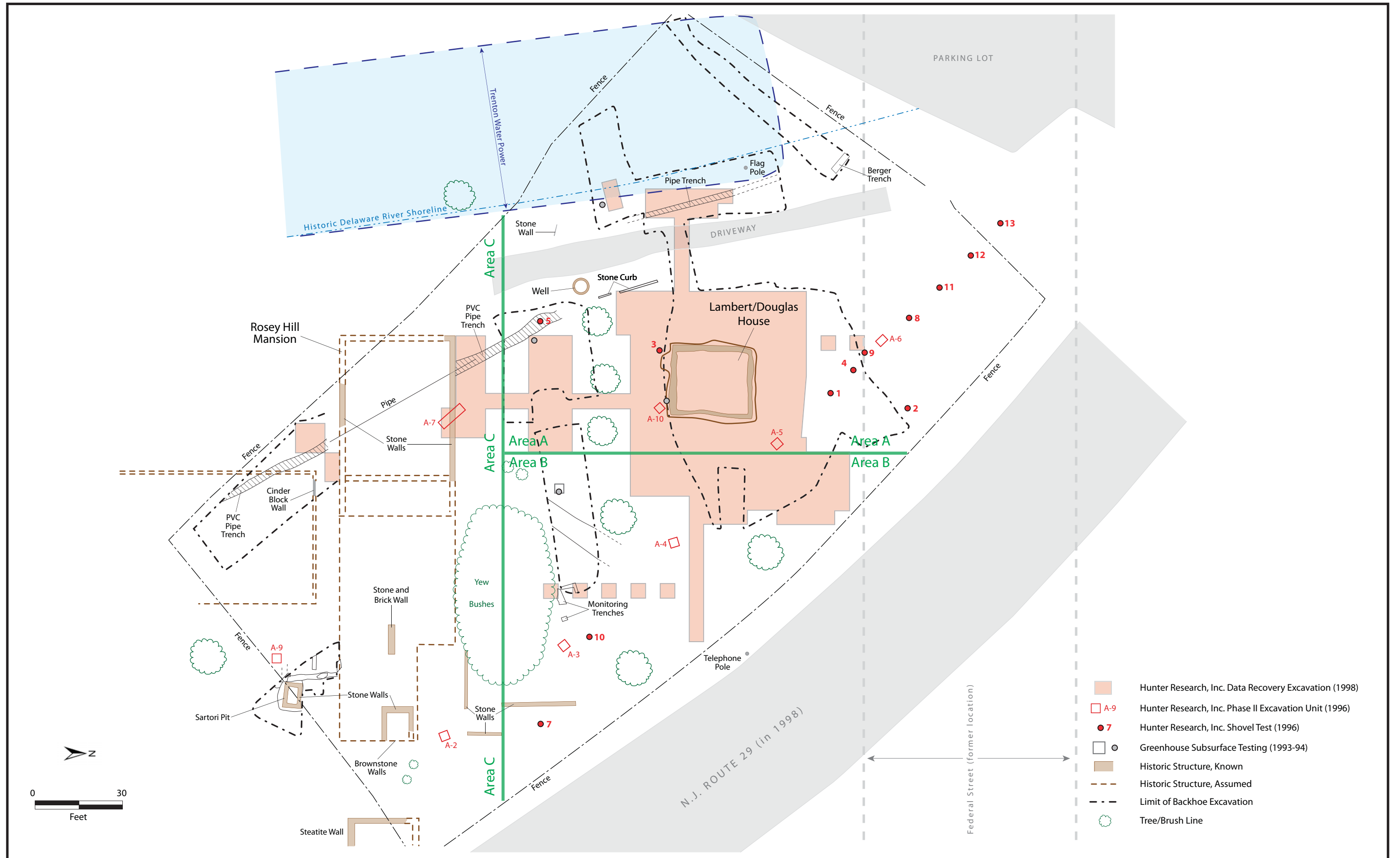


Figure 4.1. Overall Site Plan of the Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site.



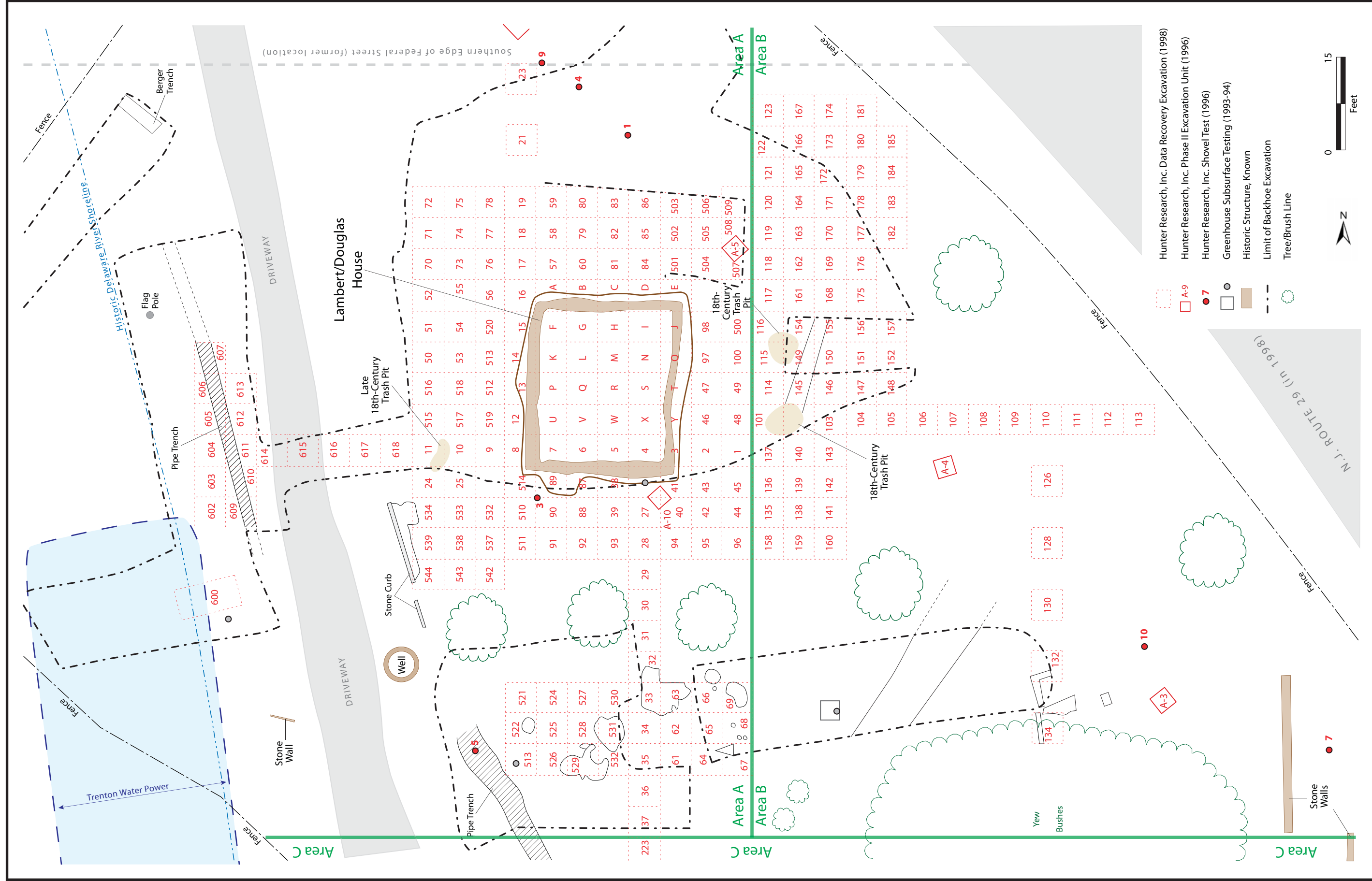


Figure 4.2. Lambert/Douglas House Site: Detailed Site Plan Showing Locations of Excavation Units and Principal Archaeological Features.



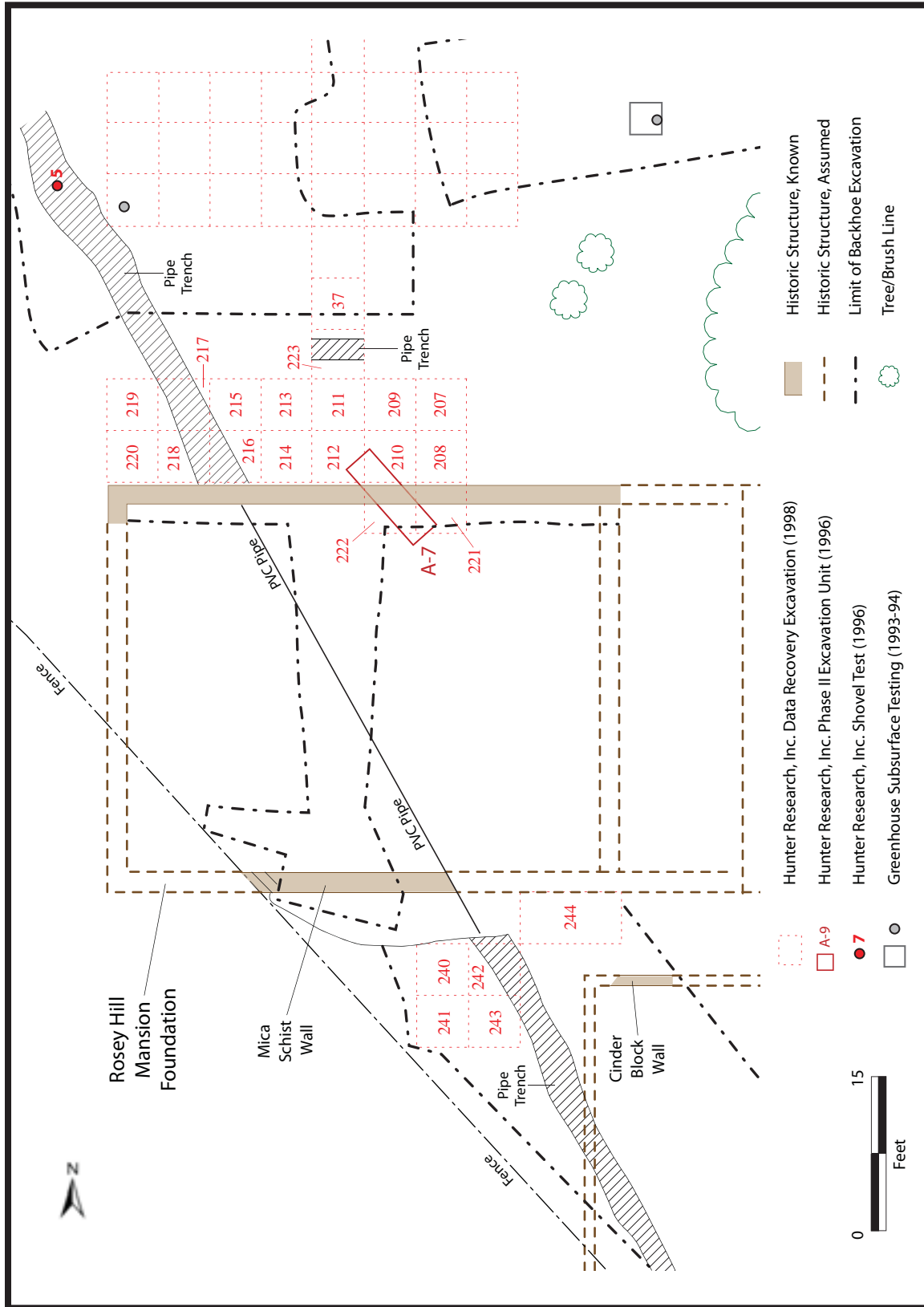


Figure 4.3. Rosey Hill Mansion Site: Detailed Site Plan Showing Locations of Excavation Units and Principal Archaeological Features.

white and color slide photography and pre-printed photo log forms. Within each of three areas of the site, all strata were excavated by visible stratigraphy and assigned context numbers and descriptions within a single sequence beginning with context 1. Excavation was carried out within designated 5-foot-square units in order to maintain control over artifact provenience, but an “open-area” approach was used for on-site stratigraphic analysis which enabled relationships between strata and other context types (especially pits) to be seen on a large scale. Excavation units within the B horizon were further subdivided into 2.5-foot-square “quads” (NE, NW, SE, SW) to allow for more detailed artifact control and analysis when investigating Native American cultural deposits and features.

### **C. STRATIGRAPHY, KEY CONTEXTS AND MATERIAL CULTURE**

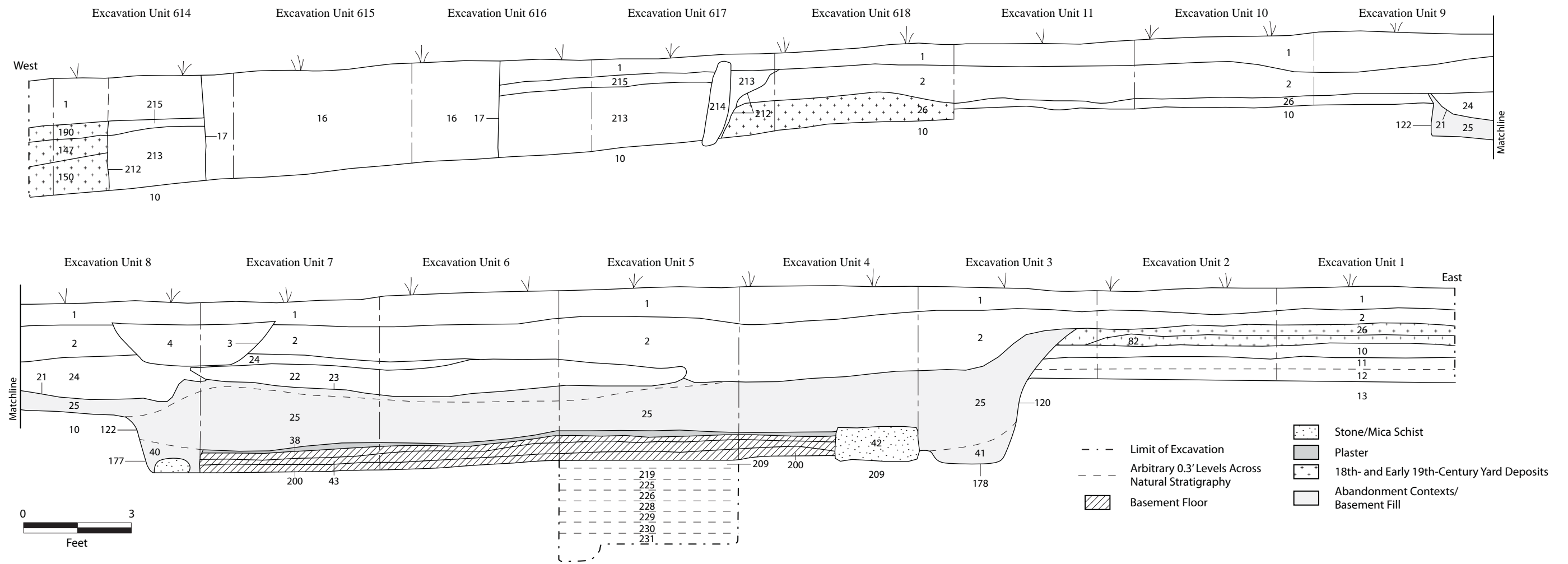
At the beginning of the archaeological data recovery excavations the site consisted of a generally level, grassy area with a few large trees and shrubs reflecting the landscaping that formerly surrounded the Rosey Hill Mansion. There was a gentle decline in elevation from north to south and from east to west across the site, reflecting the natural topographic bounded by the historic pre-industrial riverbank to the west and the lowlying land around the mouth of Douglas Gut to the south (see Volume I for further detail concerning the natural topography). Prior to the extensive landscape changes of the 19th century the site occupied the southern end of a “tongue” of alluvial terrace material (the Valley Heads Terrace) that extended south from Assunpink Creek to Cass Street and Waterfront Stadium. This feature is defined by the Delaware River on the west and the marshy area occupied by Douglas Gut on the east. The Trenton Water Power followed the natural topography when it was constructed in the early 1830s, running down the course of Douglas Gut and then looping back to the west

and north around the southern end of the landform, passing close to the Delaware riverbank and creating a “fish-hook” configuration which encompassed the earlier historic site (Figures 3.24 and 3.25).

Overall, the cultural stratigraphy at the Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site reflected every phase of historic occupation from the end of the 17th century through the late 20th century, particularly in Area A. A full stratigraphic profile was established in Area A to the north of the Rosey Hill Mansion in the initial 5 x 120-foot, east-west trench (Figure 4.2; Plate 4.1). Figure 4.4 shows the profile of the major historic horizons observed in this trench and the relationship of these horizons to the early 18th-century basement foundation. Such a full historic stratigraphic sequence was not encountered in the majority of units excavated in Area B. The cultural stratigraphy in Area B appears to have been truncated in some areas by 19th- and 20th-century activities such as the installation of pipes, the filling of trenches with slag, and the construction of N.J. Route 29 (Figure 4.5; Plate 4.2). The historic stratigraphic sequence in Area C was also less complete than the profile observed in Area A. The soil sequence around the Rosey Hill Mansion foundation appears to have been truncated (Figure 4.6). It was fortunate that the best-preserved early historic strata on the site were primarily located around the earlier house foundation to the north of the mansion.

The following account presents the stratigraphy and artifacts in broadly sequential groupings based on the detailed analysis of the archaeological data and further informed by the historical data. The raw data are provided in Volumes IV and V of this report. The description of the stratigraphy is followed in each case by an illustrated discussion of the artifact assemblage from each grouping. The artifact data for each grouping is also summarized in each case in two tables. The first provides a breakdown of all cultural material by “class,” the categories for which are described in

### Excavation Units 1-11, 611 and 614-618, North Profile



#### Context List

Context	Description [Interpretation]	Munsell
1	Silty loam with pebbles and slag [20thc fill/landscaping deposit]	10 YR 4/2
2	Mottled silty sand [19thc fill/landscaping deposit]	10 YR 3/3, 10 YR 3/2
3	Linear cut containing context 4 [late 19th/early 20thc path?]	--
4	Mottled silty loam with pebbles [late 19th/early 20thc path base?]	10 YR 3/3, 10 YR 4/4
10	Mottled silty loam [B horizon]	10 YR 3/3, 10 YR 4/4
11	Mottled silty loam [B horizon]	10 YR 3/3, 10 YR 4/4
12	Compact silty loam [B horizon]	10 YR 3/6, 10 YR 4/4
13	Silt loam [B horizon]	10 YR 4/3
16	Mottled silty loam [late 20thc pipe trench fill]	10 YR 3/6, 10 YR 4/4
17	Linear cut containing context 16 [late 20thc pipe trench]	--
21	Cut containing context 24 [early 19thc disturbance]	--
22	Silty loam with cobbles, pebbles, metal, ash and brick [early 19thc fill]	10 YR 3/3
23	Cut containing context 22 [early 19thc disturbance]	--
24	Mottled silty loam with brick and coal [early 19thc fill]	10 YR 2/1, 10 YR 4/4

Context	Description [Interpretation]	Munsell
25	Mottled silty loam with plaster lens at base [late 18thc basement fill]	7.5 YR 3/3, 10 YR 3/6
26	Mottled silty loam [18th/early 19thc yard deposit]	10 YR 4/4, 10 YR 5/4
38	Very fine silty loam [late 18thc basement floor surface]	7.5 YR 4/2
40	Mottled silty loam and mica schist [late 18thc robber trench fill, remnants of west basement wall]	7.5 YR 3/3, 10 YR 3/6
41	Mottled silty loam and mica schist [late 18thc robber trench fill, remnants of east basement wall]	7.5 YR 3/3, 10 YR 3/6
42	Mica schist footing [18thc fireplace foundation, south side]	--
43	Very fine silty loam with charcoal and patches of corroded metal [mid-18thc basement floor surface]	7.5 YR 4/3, 7.5 YR 6/2
82	Mottled silty loam [early/mid-18thc yard deposit]	10 YR 3/4, 10 YR 5/4
120	Cut filled by basement demolition, east side [late 18thc]	--
122	Cut filled by basement demolition, west side [late 18thc]	--
147	Silty loam with charcoal and brick [late 18th/early 19thc riverbank stratum]	10 YR 4/2

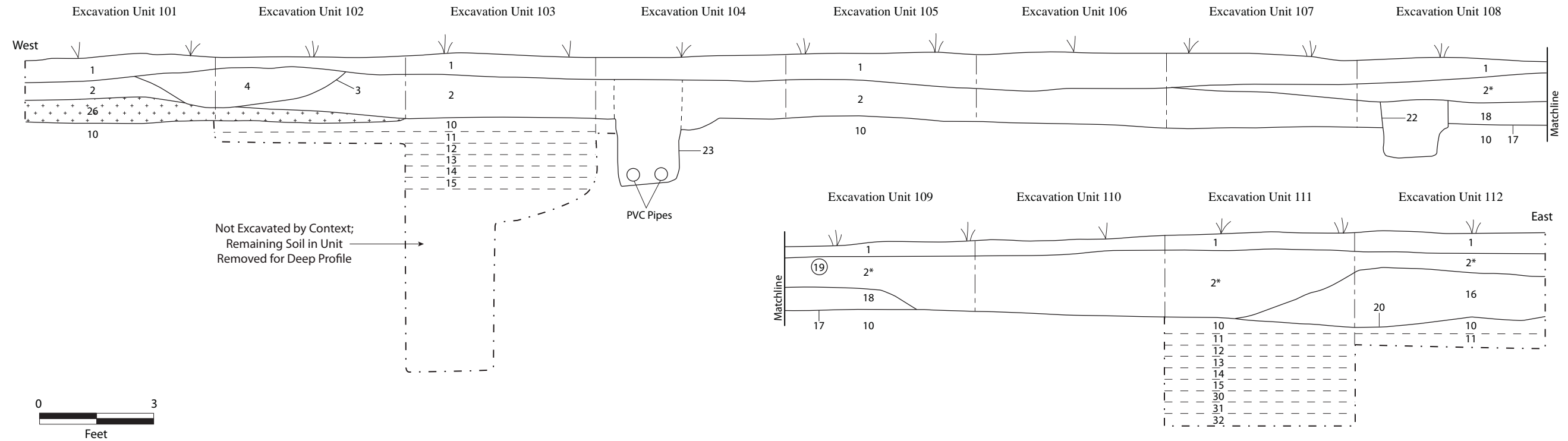
Context	Description [Interpretation]	Munsell
150	Silty loam [early/mid-18thc riverbank stratum]	10 YR 4/2
177	Cut containing context 40 [late 18thc robber trench]	--
178	Cut containing context 41 [late 18thc robber trench]	--
190	Mottled fine sandy loam with charcoal flecks [late 18th/early 19thc riverbank stratum, redeposited midden?]	10 YR 2/2, 10 YR 4/2
200	Silty loam [early/mid-18thc basement floor surface]	10 YR 4/3
209	Mottled silty sand with sandy clay [C horizon]	7.5 YR 4/4, 10 YR 4/4
212	Linear cut containing context 213 [late 19th/early 20thc driveway]	--
213	Gravel, slag and asphalt [late 19th/early 20thc driveway base]	--
214	Greenstone curb [late 19th/early 20thc driveway edging]	--
215	Gravel [late 19th/early 20thc driveway surface]	--
219-225	Mottled silty sand with sandy clay [C horizon]	7.5 YR 4/4, 10 YR 4/4
226	Mottled silty sand with clay [C horizon]	7.5 YR 4/4, 10 YR 4/4
228-230	Mottled silty sand with clay and cobbles [C horizon]	7.5 YR 4/4, 10 YR 4/4
231	Mottled fine sand with clay and cobbles [C horizon]	7.5 YR 4/4, 10 YR 4/4

Figure 4.4. Lambert/Douglas House Site: Excavation Units 1-11, 611 and 614-618, North Profile Showing the Basement and Adjacent Stratigraphy.





### Excavation Units 101-112, North Profile



#### Context List

Context	Description [Interpretation]	Munsell
1	Silty loam with pebbles and slag [20thc fill/landscaping deposit]	10 YR 4/2
2	Silt [19thc fill/landscaping deposit]	10 YR 3/4
2*	Silt [mid-20thc redeposited context 2; roadway fill?]	10 YR 3/4
3	Cut containing context 4 [late 19th/early 20thc disturbance]	--
4	Silty loam with pebbles and slag [late 19th/early 20thc fill]	10 YR 3/1
10-12	Silty loam [B horizon]	10 YR 4/4
13-15	Silty clay loam [B horizon]	10 YR 5/6
16	Silty clay loam with gravel [mid-20thc roadway fill]	10 YR 5/6
17	Cut containing context 18 [mid-20thc]	--

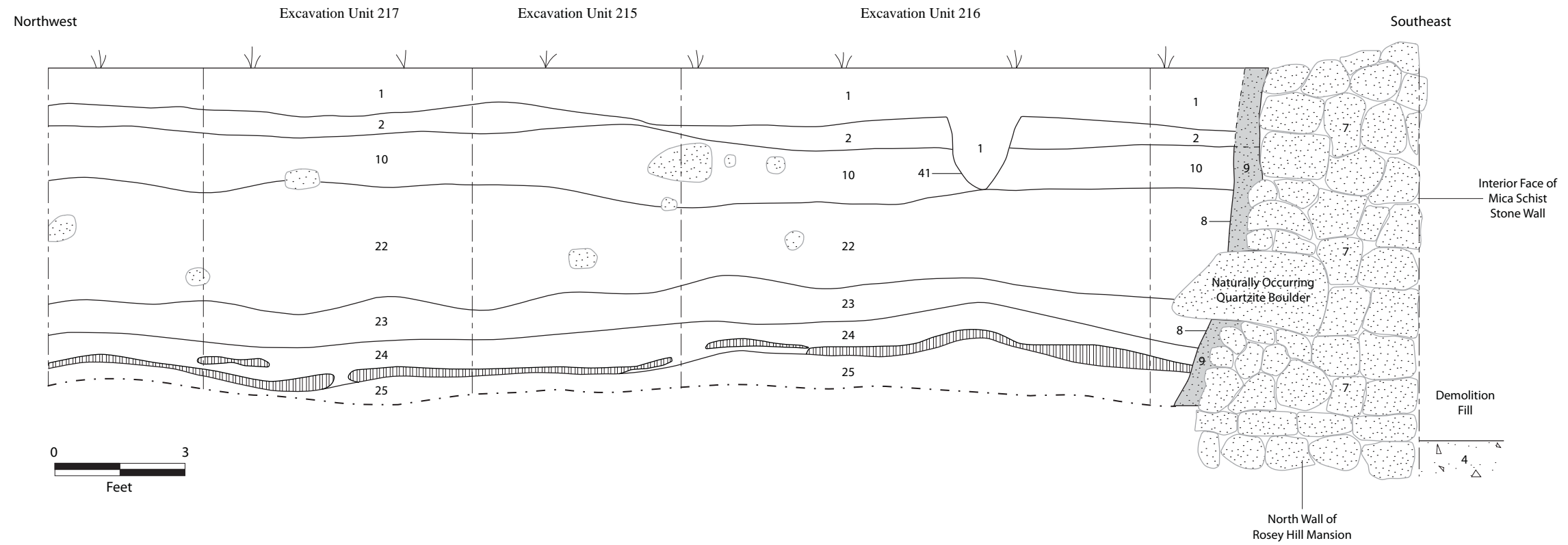
Context	Description [Interpretation]	Munsell
18	Silty loam with cobbles, pebbles, slag and brick [mid-20thc roadway fill]	7.5 YR 3/2
19	Metal pipe [mid-20thc]	--
20	Cut containing context 16 [mid-20thc]	--
21	Silty sand with pebbles, coal ash and slag [mid-20thc pipe trench fill?]	10 YR 3/4
22	Linear cut containing context 21 [mid-20thc pipe trench]	--
23	Linear cut containing two PVC pipes [mid/late 20thc]	--
26	Mottled silty loam [18th/early 19thc yard deposit]	10 YR 4/4, 10 YR 5/4
30	Mottled sandy silt [B horizon]	7.5 YR 4/4, 10 YR 4/6, 10 YR 5/4
31	Mottled silty loam [B horizon]	5 YR 4/4, 10 YR 6/6
32	Mottled silty loam [B horizon]	5 YR 4/6, 10 YR 4/6

- + + 18th- and Early 19th-Century Yard Deposits
- - - Limit of Excavation
- - - Arbitrary 0.3' Levels Across Natural Stratigraphy

Figure 4.5. Lambert/Douglas House Site: Excavation Units 101-112, North Profile Showing the Stratigraphy to the East of the Basement.



### Excavation Units 215-217, Northeast Profile



#### Context List

Context	Description [Interpretation]	Munsell
1	Silty sand with pebbles, brick fragments and concrete [20thc fill/landscaping deposit]	10 YR 3/3
2	Mottled silty loam [19thc fill/landscaping deposit]	10 YR 3/3, 10 YR 3/6
4	Concrete floor [early/mid-20thc]	--
7	Mica schist foundation [late 18thc foundation of Rosey Hill Mansion]	--
8	Cut containing context 9 [late 18thc builders trench]	--
9	Charcoal [late 18thc trench fill]	10 YR 2/1
10	Silty loam [B horizon]	10 YR 4/4
22	Silty loam [B horizon]	10 YR 5/6
23-25	Mottled silty sand with clay [C horizon]	7.5 YR 4/4, 10 YR 4/4
41	Cut containing context 1 [possible historic pit]	--

- Stone
- Lamellae Bands
- Limit of Excavation

Figure 4.6. Rosey Hill Mansion Site: Excavation Units 215-217, Northeast Profile of Pipe Trench Showing Rosey Hill Mansion Foundation and Adjacent Stratigraphy.



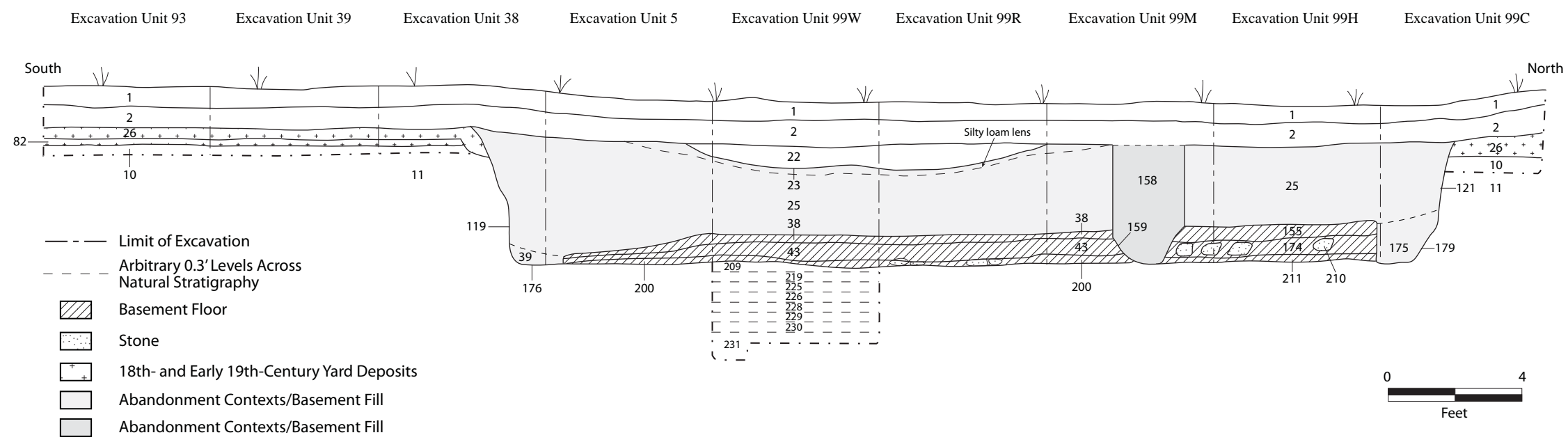


Plate 4.1. General view looking west showing initial trench excavations at the Lambert/Douglas House Site; the digging of Excavation Unit 103 is in progress; Contexts 1, 2, 26 and 10 are visible in the soil profile in the foreground (Photographer: Paul Jung, October 1997) [HRI Neg. #97045/7:11].



Plate 4.2. General view looking east showing initial trench excavations at the Lambert/Douglas House Site; the digging of Excavation Unit 103 is in progress in the foreground (Photographer: Paul Jung, October 1997) [HRI Neg. #97045/7:4].

Excavation Units 5, 38, 39, 93, 99C, 99H, 99M, 99R, and 99W, West Profile



Context	Description [Interpretation]	Munsell
1	Silty loam with pebbles and slag [20thc fill/landscaping deposit]	10 YR 4/2
2	Mottled silty sand [19thc fill/landscaping deposit]	10 YR 3/3, 10 YR 3/2
10	Mottled silty loam [B horizon]	10 YR 3/3, 10 YR 4/4
11	Mottled silty loam [B horizon]	10 YR 3/3, 10 YR 4/4
22	Silty loam with cobbles, pebbles, metal, ash and brick [early 19thc fill]	10 YR 3/3
23	Cut containing context 22 [early 19thc disturbance]	--
25	Mottled silty loam with plaster lens at base [late 18thc basement fill]	7.5 YR 3/3, 10 YR 3/6
26	Mottled silty loam [18th/early 19thc yard deposit]	10 YR 4/4, 10 YR 5/4
38	Very fine silty loam [late 18thc basement floor surface, south of partition wall]	7.5 YR 4/2
39	Mottled silty loam and mica schist [late 18thc robber trench fill and remnants of south basement wall]	--
43	Very fine silty loam with charcoal and patches of corroded metal [mid-18thc basement floor surface, south of partition wall]	7.5 YR 4/3, 7.5 YR 6/2
82	Mottled silty loam [early/mid-18thc yard deposit]	10 YR 3/4, 10 YR 5/4
119	Cut filled by basement demolition, south side [late 18thc]	--
121	Cut filled by basement demolition, north side [late 18thc]	--
155	Sandy silt with lenses of sand and clay [late 18thc basement floor surface, north of partition wall]	7.5 YR 4/3, 10 YR 4/2

Context	Description [Interpretation]	Munsell
158	Mottled silty loam [late 18thc robber trench fill]	10 YR 4/3, 10 YR 4/4
159	Cut for context 158 [late 18thc robber trench]	--
174	Mottled silty loam with silty sand and mica schist [mid-18thc basement floor surface, north of partition wall]	10 YR 4/3, 10 YR 5/4
175	Mottled silty loam and mica schist [late 18thc robber trench fill and remnants of north basement wall]	--
176	Cut containing context 39 [late 18thc robber trench]	--
179	Cut containing context 175 [late 18thc robber trench]	--
194	Cobbles in and on top of context 200 [early/mid-18thc basement floor surface]	--
200	Silty loam [early/mid-18thc basement floor surface, south of partition wall]	10 YR 4/3
209	Mottled silty sand with sandy clay [C horizon]	7.5 YR 4/4, 10 YR 4/4
210	Clay with mica schist within context 174 [mid-18thc basement floor surface, north of partition wall]	7.5 YR 5/4
211	Silty clay with cobbles [early/mid-18thc basement floor surface, north of partition wall]	7.5 YR 5/4
219-225	Mottled silty sand with sandy clay [C horizon]	7.5 YR 4/4, 10 YR 4/4
226	Mottled silty sand with clay [C horizon]	7.5 YR 4/4, 10 YR 4/4
228-231	Mottled silty sand with clay and cobbles [C horizon]	7.5 YR 4/4, 10 YR 4/4
231	Mottled fine sand with clay and cobbles [C horizon]	7.5 YR 4/4, 10 YR 4/4

Figure 4.7. Lambert/Douglas House Site: Excavation Units 5, 38, 39, 93, 99C, 99H, 99M, 99R and 99W, West Profile Showing the Basement and Adjacent Stratigraphy.





Volume IV. The second presents a breakdown of the ceramic material by “ceramic type.” Faunal materials (bone, shell, etc.) are excluded from the artifact class and ceramic type tables unless present in an assemblage in the form of a recognizable artifact (e.g., a bone button). When appropriate, faunal materials, and especially food waste, are summarized following the discussion of artifacts, drawing primarily on the specialist report provided in Volume V, Appendix G, of this report series. A synthetic discussion of the cultural stratigraphy, structural remains and material culture is presented in Chapter 5.

## 1. Eighteenth-Century Soil Horizons and Yard Deposits

### a. Context 82 (Yard Deposit)

#### i. Stratigraphy

The earliest historic soil horizon defined in the project area consisted of mottled silty loam [Context 82] ranging in thickness from 0.10 feet to 0.30 feet (Figure 4.4 and south end of profile in Figure 4.7). This material was identified around the south and east side of the early 18th-century foundation within Areas A and B, extending at least 25 feet south and east from the basement cut (Figure 4.8). This stratum, probably a yard deposit, directly overlaid the upper B horizon [10] and contained a mix of historic and prehistoric artifacts. The stratum does not appear to have survived west of the early 18th-century basement.

#### ii. Artifacts

The artifacts recovered from Context 82 suggest that this soil layer is a truncated Middle/Late Woodland A horizon (see Volume I), with early historic yard refuse mixed in. Context 82 probably extended over the entire property prior to historic occupation. The

absence of Context 82 and the overlying Context 26 on the west side of the Lambert/Douglas House may provide clues to its structure, a topic that is addressed further in Chapter 5.

A total of 245 artifacts were recovered from Context 82 (Table 4.1). The artifacts are all small, most measuring less than one inch and with few cross-mends evident, which is generally consistent with a domestic sheet midden. Their date range is *circa* 1700 to 1760. These materials may represent part of the overlying sheet midden assemblage [26], possibly trampled into Context 82. The artifact assemblage from Context 82 is dominated by ceramic vessel sherds (138 items [56%]) followed by building materials (69 [28.2%]) and glass vessel fragments (28 [11.4%]). Ceramics consist of local, Delaware Valley-produced utilitarian redware and red-bodied slipware (83 sherds) and a wide variety of imported wares including tin-enamelled earthenware (4), buff-bodied coarse earthenware and slipware (4), Whieldon-type ware (4), creamware (11), white salt-glazed stoneware (8) and Chinese porcelain (4) (Table 4.2). Sherds of grey and other types of stoneware (8) are also present in the assemblage and are probably locally made. Some sherds are of later date, e.g., pearlware (2) and whiteware (8). These are viewed as intrusive, most likely finding their way into Context 82 as the result of rodent action and/or disruption by tree roots.

### b. Contexts 26 and 80 (Yard Deposit)

#### i. Stratigraphy

The earliest historic yard deposit consisted of mottled silty loam, approximately 0.30 feet thick (Areas A and B, Context 26; Area C, Context 80). This horizon extended over much of the excavated area (Figure 4.9). Context 26 directly overlaid Context 82 or the top of the B horizon [10] in areas where Context 82 was not present (Figures 4.4 and 4.5). Although

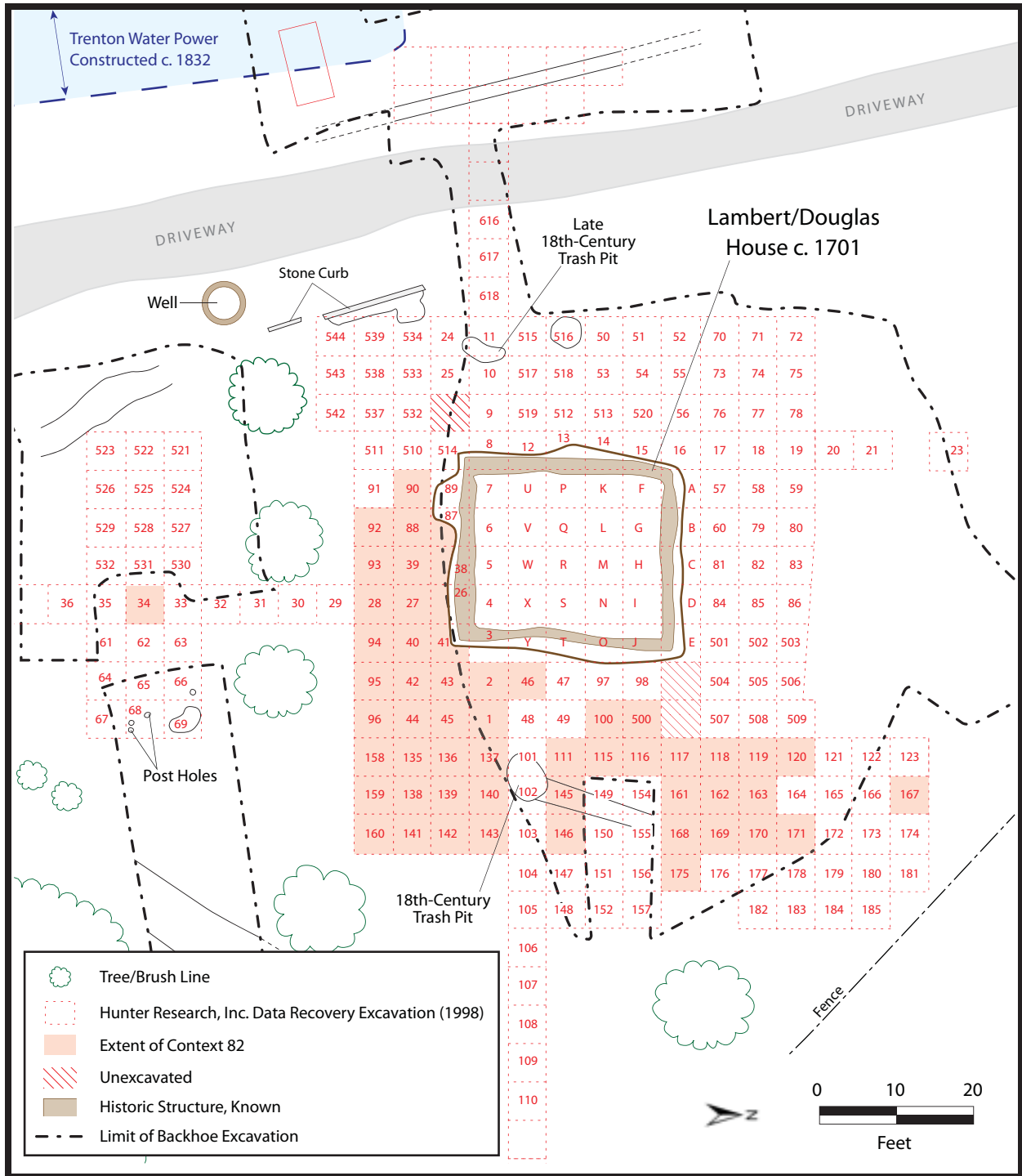


Figure 4.8. Lambert/Douglas House Site: Site Plan Showing the Extent of the Earliest Historic Horizon [Context 82].

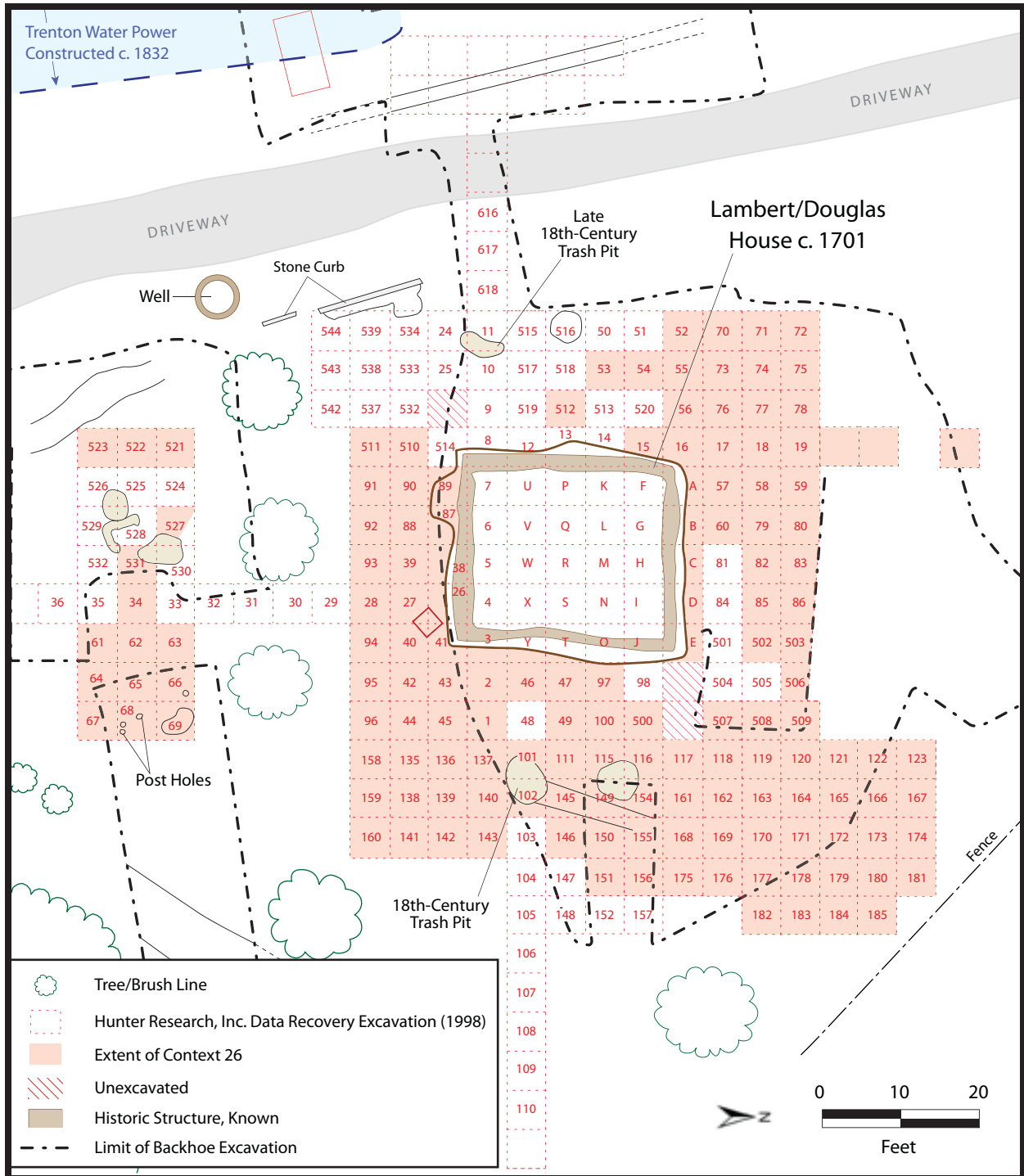


Figure 4.9. Lambert/Douglas House Site: Site Plan Showing the Extent of the Earliest Yard Deposit [Context 26].

Context 82

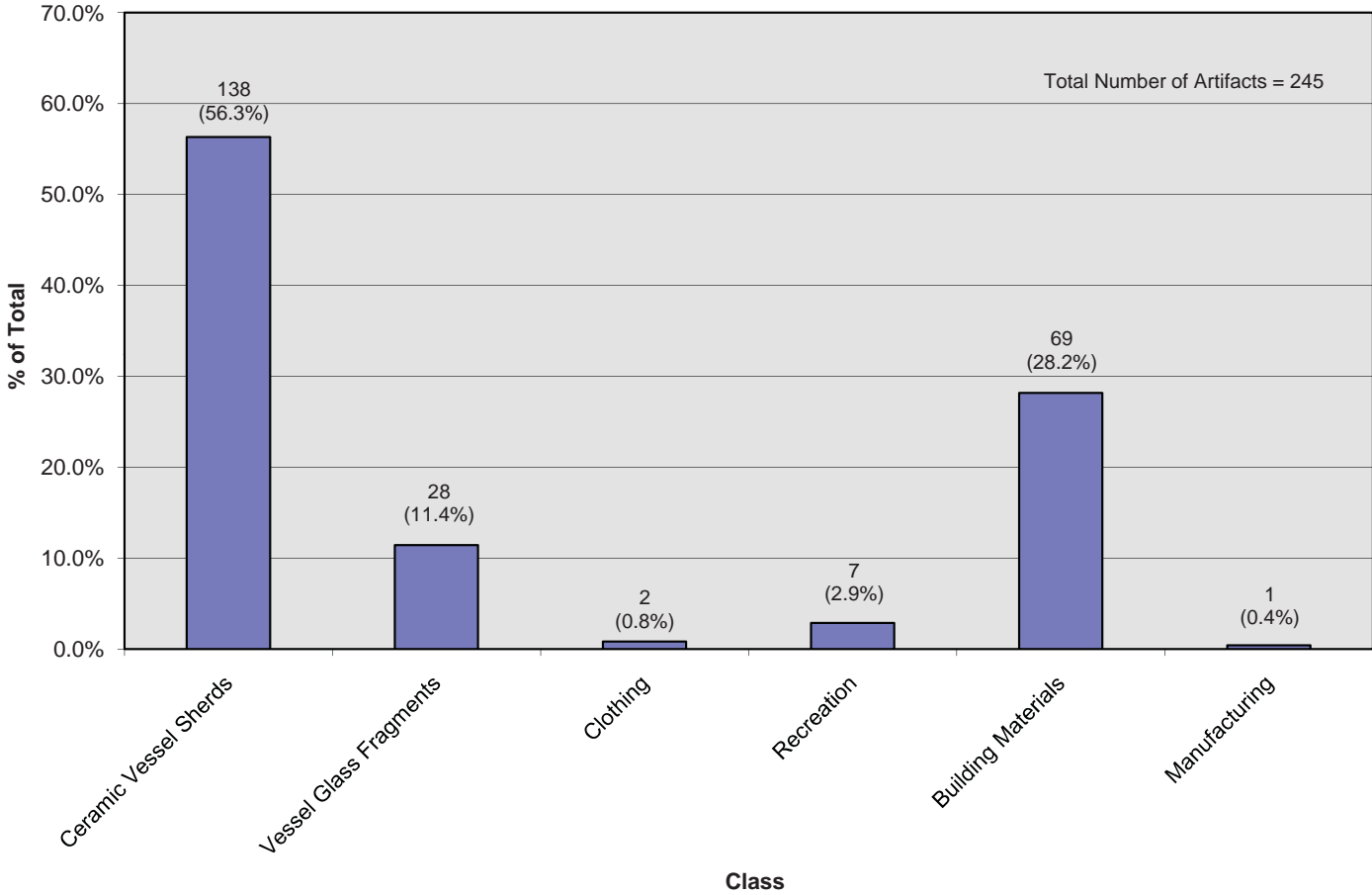


Table 4.1. Lambert/Douglas House Site: Earlier 18th-Century Yard Deposit, Context 82, Historic Artifact Frequency by Class.

Context 82

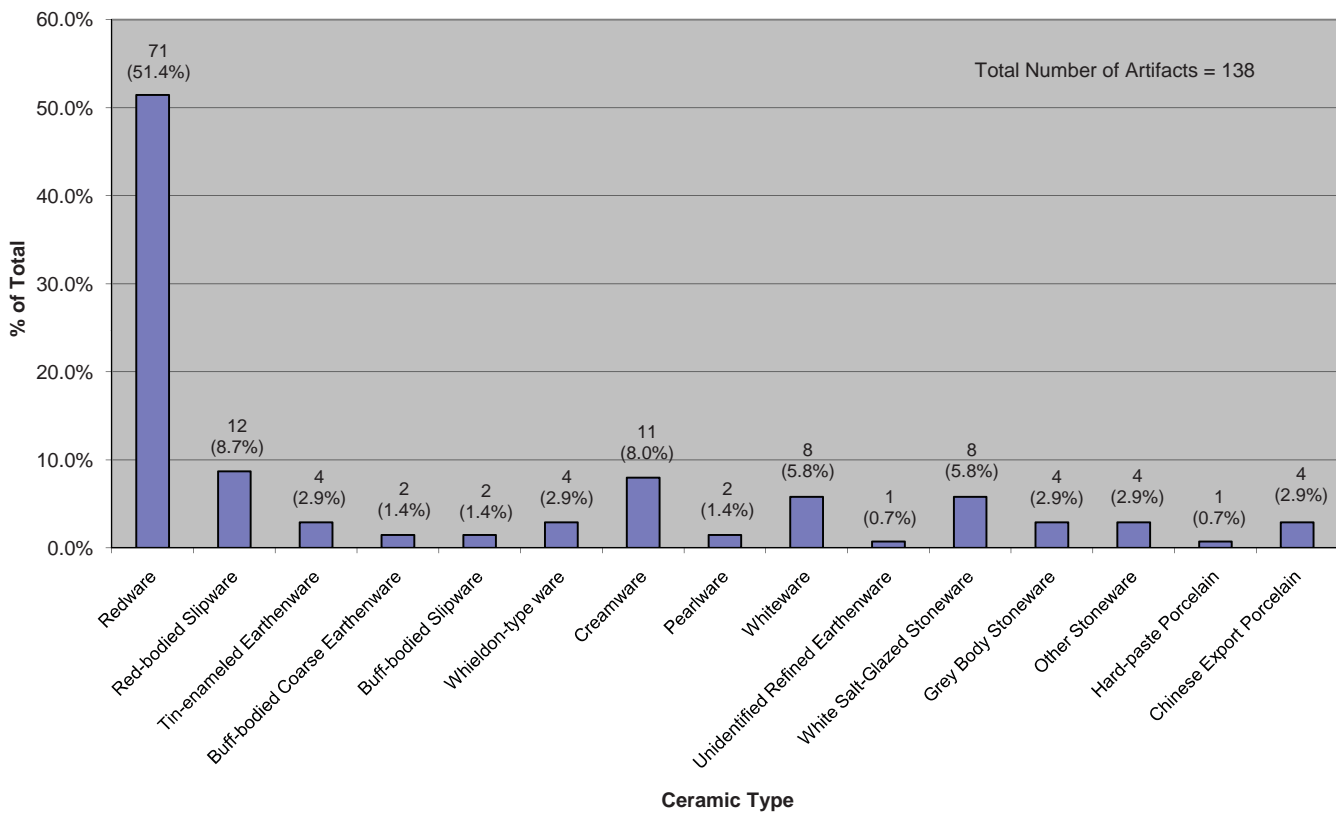


Table 4.2. Lambert/Douglas House Site: Earlier 18th-Century Yard Deposit, Context 82, Historic Ceramic Frequency by Type.

the profiles shown in Figures 4.4 and 4.7 appear to indicate that construction of the early 18th-century foundation cut through the 18th-century yard horizon [26], it is more likely that yard deposit accumulation occurred around the exterior of the structure. This conclusion is based on the date range indicated by the artifact assemblage from Context 26, which spans the 18th century and extends into the early 19th century. The apparent cut is more probably a result of robbing of the mica schist stone foundation and demolition.

This stratum was not found south of the Rosey Hill Mansion in Area C, with the exception of a small surviving patch [80] exposed in Excavation Unit 244 along the exterior of the building's southern foundation. Context 80 extended for 5 to 7 feet to the south of the foundation wall and for a distance of about 10 feet east-west alongside the building.

## ii. Artifacts

A total of 6,135 artifacts were recovered from this yard deposit [26 and 80] (Table 4.3; Plates 4.3-4.7). The assemblage represents a rich accumulation of domestic artifacts in the form of a sheet midden, with a date range of *circa* 1700 to 1840. As one might expect the assemblage is dominated by ceramic vessel sherds (3,348 [54.6%]), followed by building materials (1,907 [31.1%]) and glass vessel fragments (554 [9%]). Although relatively small in number, a variety of brass or copper alloy clothing-related items (11), such as thimbles, buttons, buckles, hooks and eyes, were recovered from Context 80. Other artifact classes are less well represented.

### *Ceramic Vessels*

Ceramic vessel sherds recovered from Contexts 26 and 80 consist mainly of locally produced utilitarian redwares and red-bodied slipware (1,920 sherds) but,

once again, a wide variety of wares imported by British merchants is also evident and includes tin-enameled earthenware (89), buff-bodied coarse earthenware and slipware (138), Whieldon-type ware (7), creamware (291), white salt-glazed stoneware (115) and Chinese porcelain (100) (Table 4.4; Plates 4.3-4.5). Again, sherds of grey and other types of stoneware (226) and later ceramic types, such as pearlware (179), white-ware (180) and yellowware (18), are represented. The pearlware and whiteware sherds suggest that Contexts 26 and 80 continued to accumulate into the mid-19th century. The single sherd of ironstone china appears to be intrusive.

**Redware and Red-Bodied Slipware:** Several redware milk pan sherds were also recovered from Context 26 (Plate 4.3 [top row]). Twelve of these sherds mend to form two different vessels. Both have an interior black or mottled manganese brown lead glaze covering and unglazed exteriors (see Context 25 below for further discussion of milk pans).

Within the red-bodied slipware category are several sgraffito sherds that are from hump-molded and coggle-edged plates (Plates 4.3 [middle row, left], 4.4 [top row] and 4.5 [top row, right]). These vessels are stylistically similar to examples commonly made by Pennsylvanian German potters in the vicinity of Nockamixon Swamp in Bucks County, Pennsylvania (Barber 1970:105-123). Although fragmentary the decoration appears to show a tulip, a decorative motif that was popular among these potters and which has led collectors to refer to this type of pottery as tulip ware (Barber 1907; Garvan 1982:170-218; Ketchum 1991:10). Similar sherds were also recovered from Contexts 150 and 240. The main centers of sgraffito production were North Devon and Somerset in southwestern England, Wales and southeastern Pennsylvania. British production of sgraffito reached peak export levels during the second half of the 17th century with the trade falling off during the 18th century (Draper 1984:22). The decline in exports of

Contexts 26 and 80

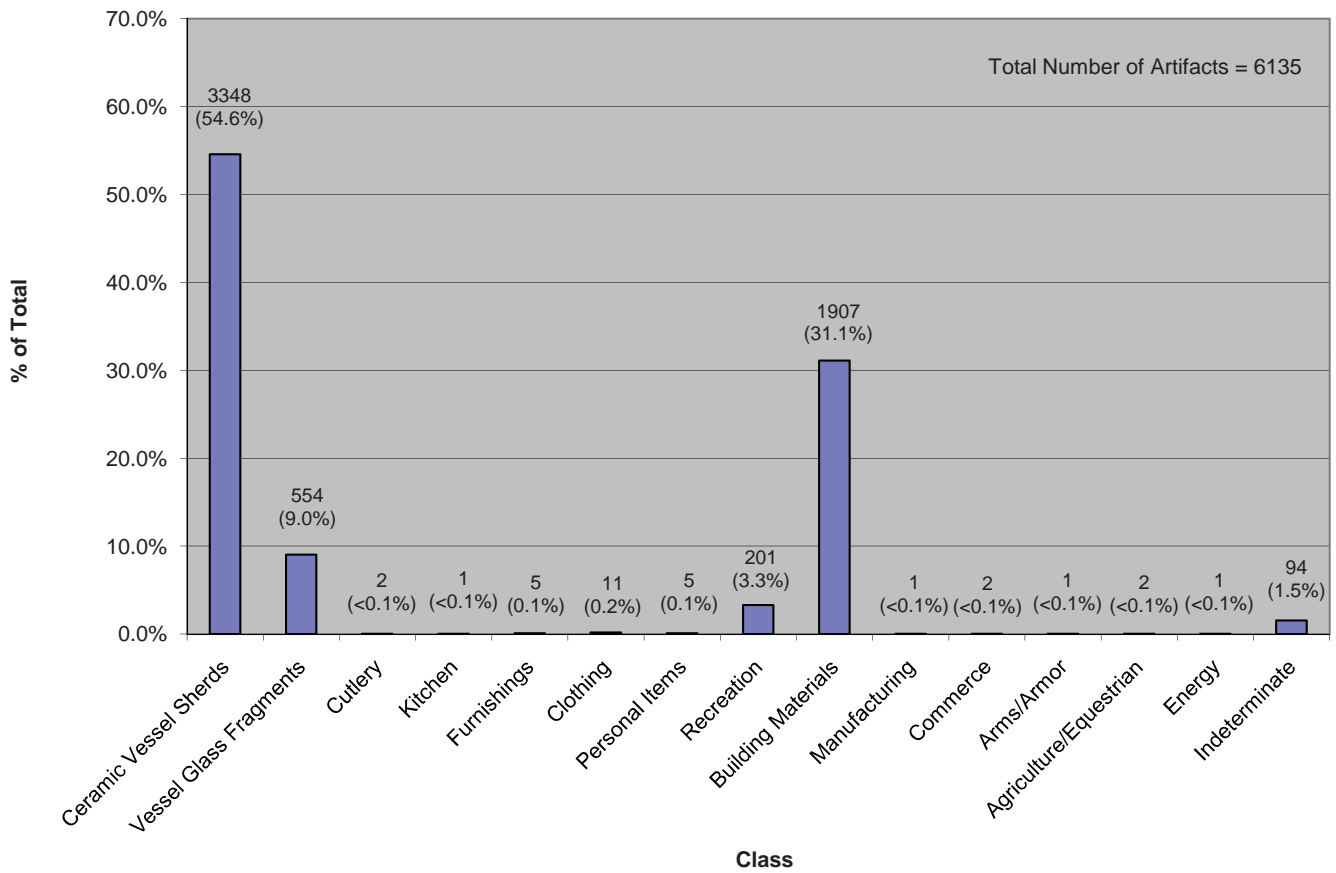


Table 4.3. Lambert/Douglas House Site: Later 18th-Century Yard Deposit, Contexts 26 and 80, Historic Artifact Frequency by Class.

Contexts 26 and 80

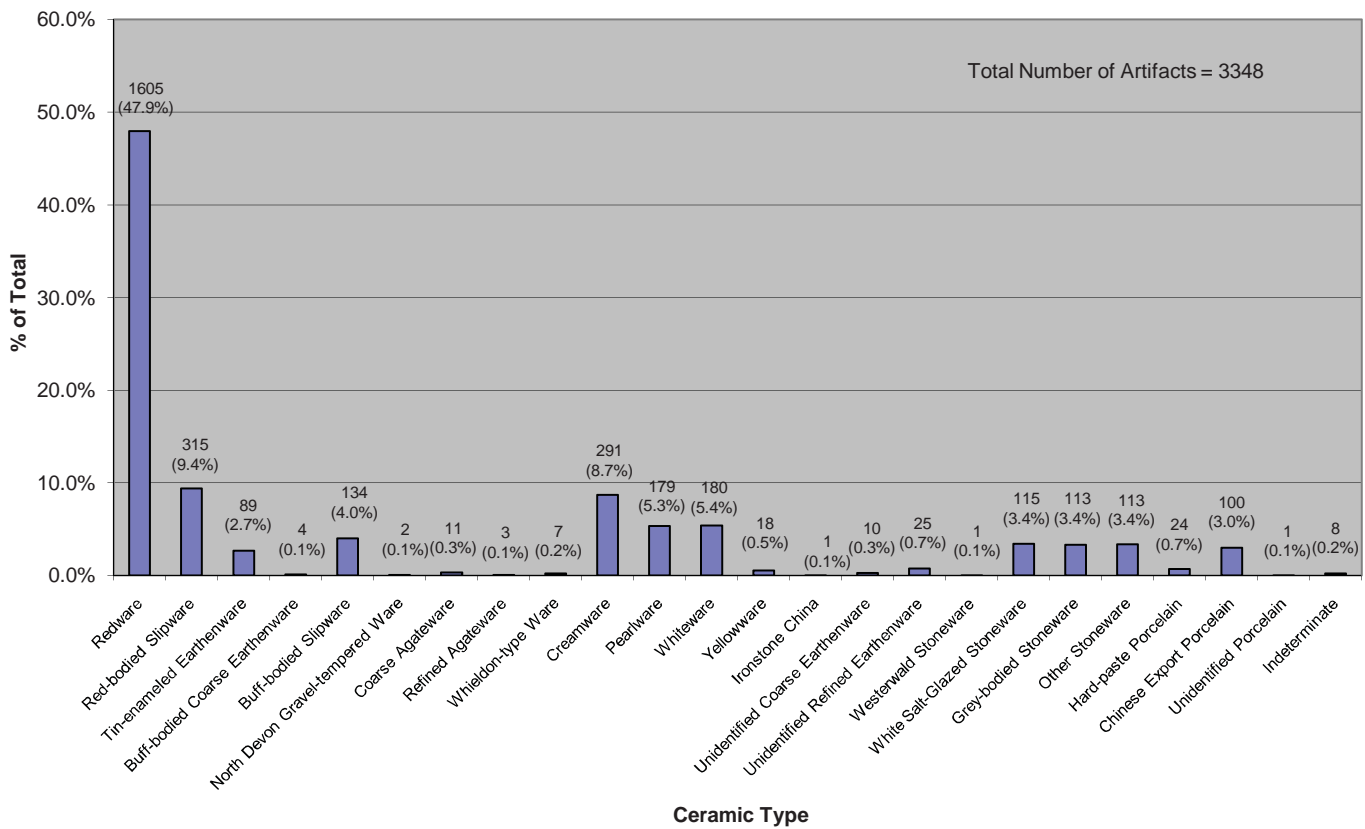


Table 4.4. Lambert/Douglas House Site: Later 18th-Century Yard Deposit, Contexts 26 and 80, Historic Ceramic Frequency by Type.





Plate 4.3. Lambert/Douglas House Site: selected 18th- and early 19th-century ceramics from Context 26. *Top row, left to right*: two mended rims from redware milk pans with interior mottled lead glaze; redware mug or tankard base sherd; redware porringer base sherd with interior/exterior black lead glaze. *Middle row*: two redware plate rim sherds with white, brown and green slip decoration *over* two Delaware Valley-style redware sgraffito pie plate rim sherds; five hump-molded redware plate rim sherds (two mended) with wavy slip-trailed decoration and green copper oxide highlights under a clear lead glaze; three buff-bodied gravel-tempered ware body sherds similar to North Devon gravel-tempered ware and Staffordshire ware *over* two Midlands mottled tankard body sherds *over* four Whieldon-type cream-colored, refined earthenware teapot sherds. *Bottom row*: six buff-bodied slip-combed plate and hollowware sherds (including one handle); five white salt-glazed stoneware tableware sherds (three with scratch blue decoration; one with a molded lion's paw foot); three Chinese porcelain tea ware body sherds with hand-painted blue scenic and floral decoration *over* grey-bodied salt-glazed stoneware chamber pot body sherd with a sprigged lion; two grey-bodied salt-glazed Westerwald stoneware sherds with incised decoration, probably locally made by James Rhodes (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:E2b].

British-made sgraffito ware to North America correlates with the rise of sgraffito production among local redware potters. Most British examples of sgraffito plates from this period are wheel-thrown (Grant 1983).

**Buff-Bodied Slipware:** Among the 134 sherds of imported Staffordshire buff-bodied slipware are several decorative styles (Plates 4.3 [middle row, right and bottom row, left] and 4.4 [middle row]). These include vessels decorated with brown dots, marbleized tri-colored slips, combed slips, slip-trailed yellow over dark brown and dark brown over yellow, all of which commonly appear in the period *circa* 1670-1775 (Noël Hume 1969:107; Barker 1993)

**Gravel-Tempered Ware:** Of special note is the occurrence of three sherds of gravel-tempered ware not normally seen in the Delaware Valley (Plate 4.3 [middle row, right]). This ware is similar to North Devon gravel-tempered ware in that it has a quartz gravel temper, but the body paste resembles certain buff-bodied Staffordshire earthenware types (e.g., Midlands mottled and slip-combed earthenware). Sherds from this vessel were shown to numerous ceramic researchers with no positive identification other than the vessel probably has a British point-of-origin. These sherds appear to be from the same vessel as 11 other gravel-tempered sherds recovered from Contexts 25 and 54.

**Refined Agateware:** Three sherds from a thin-bodied, refined agateware bowl were also found in Context 80 (Plate 4.4 [middle row, left]). This distinctive ware was achieved by mixing two different-colored clay bodies to create a marbleized appearance through the clear lead glaze. Agateware ware was extensively, although not exclusively, produced by the Staffordshire potters John Astbury and Thomas Whieldon during the second quarter of the 18th century (Noël Hume 1969:132, 134).

**Westerwald Stoneware:** A stoneware sherd of particular note is a body sherd decorated with a sprig-molded lion which is believed to be part of a grey-bodied, salt-glazed, Westerwald-style chamber pot (Plate 4.3 [bottom row, center right]). Other examples of this type of chamber pot have been excavated in Williamsburg and are dated to the third quarter of the 18th century. They may be of Flemish origin (Noël Hume 1969:280-281). Other sherds potentially from the same vessel were recovered from Contexts 26 and 80. One final piece of stoneware worthy of mention is a body sherd from a bellarmine-type jug, probably imported from Europe (Plate 4.5 [middle row, left]) (Gussett 1980; Miller 1983:84-100; Gaimster 1997:95; Skerry and Hood 2009:31-63).

**Grey-Bodied Stoneware:** Also within the stoneware category are several grey-bodied stoneware sherds from Contexts 26 and 80 which may be from vessels made by the local stoneware potter James Rhodes (Plate 4.3 [bottom row, right]). Rhodes was active first at the stoneware pottery of William Richards, located a short distance to the south on the Lamberton waterfront in the 1770s (see Volume III) and then went on to establish his own pottery in the late 1770s on the Bordentown Road near its intersection with Ferry Street (Hunter 2001: 239-243; Hunter Research, Inc. 2005).

#### *Other Artifacts*

**Vessel Glass:** Several pieces of probable 18th-century vessel glass were recovered from Contexts 26 and 80 (Plate 4.6). Included among these were base and body fragments of dark olive green wine bottles, a number of closure fragments (two with applied string lips and one which had been completed using a finish forming tool), some pieces of pale green case bottles and fragments of clear tumblers etched with geometric decorations (see Context 2044 below for further discussion).



Plate 4.4. Lambert/Douglas House Site: selected 18th- and early 19th-century artifacts from Context 80. *Top row, left to right:* three Delaware Valley-style redware sgraffito pie plate rim and body sherds; five buff-bodied earthenware slip-combed plate rim and body fragments. *Middle row:* three thinly potted agaware body sherds with interior/exterior clear lead glaze; two mended buff-bodied earthenware mottled slip-decorated plate body sherds; six buff-bodied earthenware slip-combed hollowware body sherds (including one handle). *Bottom row:* brass thimble; three brass straight pins; brass clothing hook; two brass furniture tacks; hand carved ivory or bone hair pin with incised linear decoration; five white salt-glazed stoneware tableware sherds (barley and dot-diaper-basket patterns) (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:E1].



Plate 4.5. Lambert/Douglas House Site: selected 18th-century artifacts from Context 26. *Top row, left to right:* large oyster shell; copper oxide slip-trailed, wheel thrown redware bowl rim sherd; Delaware Valley-style redware sgraffito pie plate rim sherd. *Middle row:* Bellarmine-type stoneware jug body sherd; tin-enameled hand-painted tableware sherd; mottled slip-decorated redware plate sherd accented with green copper oxide. *Bottom row:* two dark olive green wine bottle base fragments; ten white clay tobacco pipe stem fragments; two white clay tobacco pipe bowl fragments (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048 D1:B].



Plate 4.6. Lambert/Douglas House Site: selected 18th- and early 19th-century artifacts from Context 26. *Top row, left to right:* two dark olive green wine bottle closure fragments with string rims; dark olive green beer-type closure fragment with a finishing tool lip; three olive green case bottle closure/body/base fragments. *Bottom row:* dark olive green, free-blown wine bottle base; olive green bottle base fragment with a shallow sand pontil; clear glass tumbler rim fragment with etched geometric decorations (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:E2c].



Plate 4.7. Lambert/Douglas House Site: selected 18th- and early 19th-century artifacts from Context 26. *Top row, left to right*: five white clay tobacco pipe stem and bowl fragments; four white clay tobacco pipe bowl fragments with embossed makers' marks. *Second row*: cut copper George II halfpenny (1729); copper William III halfpenny (circa 1695-1701); hand-wrought iron nail; brass furniture tack; lathe-turned bone disk. *Third row*: small bone button; two brass buttons (top and side views); two brass thimbles; two brass bed curtain rings *over* two brass clothing hooks and a brass buckle. *Bottom row*: pewter spoon bowl and stem fragment; window lead marked "\*EW\*1701\*TD\*"; oyster shell (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048 D1:E2a].

**Cutlery:** A pewter spoon bowl with part of its stem attached was recovered from Context 26 (Plate 4.7 [bottom row, left]). The spoon is of a simple design which could have been cast in a household mold (see Contexts 25 and 143 below for further discussion).

**Furnishings:** Two cast copper alloy curtain rings with a one-inch diameter were found in Context 26 (Plate 4.7 [third row, right]). These would most likely have been used to suspend curtains around a bed with the rings being slid over a wooden or iron rod (typically  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an inch in diameter) that would have been attached to the bedposts just below the tester or upper frame. The ring was normally attached to the curtain with a tape loop, which was sewn to the inside of the curtain. Curtain rings are common in 18th-century assemblages (Little 1994:49-58) and the use of bed-curtains is an indication of above-average wealth. Identical curtain rings were also recovered from Context 25.

**Clothing:** Two fancy, cast brass clothing hooks recovered from Context 26 would have been part of a middle- to upper-class woman's dress (Plate 4.7 [third row, right]).

**Personal Items:** A hand-carved ivory or bone hair pin etched with a double lined cruciform motif appears to have been fashioned from a broken or old toothbrush (Plate 4.4 [bottom row, left]). No firm parallels for this item have been identified during research for this project, but one professional colleague has expressed the opinion that it closely resembles artifacts from African-American contexts (Sharla Azizi, personal communication, May 12, 1998). If this is correct, then this artifact offers one of several hints of an African-American presence at the site.

**Recreation:** Two fragments from a white ball clay tobacco pipe bowl exhibit molded floral decoration around a cartouche "...EDW" over "...RDS" (Plate 4.7 [top row, right]). This tobacco pipe was manufactured

in Bristol, England by one of the members of the Edwards family at some time between 1699 and 1823 (Walker 1977:1122-1126, 1418-1425).

**Building Materials:** A window lead (used to hold small panes or "quarries" of glass in an iron casement frame) was recovered from Context 26 (Plate 4.7 [bottom row, center]). The interior of the lead is marked "\*EW 1701 TD\*." The initials "EW" may stand for Edward White of London whose name appears on a vice dated 1717 used for milling window leads (Noël Hume 1969:233). This vise is part of the collections of the Connecticut Historical Society (Egan *et al.* 1986:304). Window leads found with the "EW" mark have been found in Jamestown and Williamsburg, Virginia; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Gloucester City, New Jersey; Louisbourg, Canada; and Essex and Kent, England, and display a date range of 1678 to 1730 (Egan *et al.* 1986:305; Ross 1994:4-6; MAAR Associates, Inc. 1985:IV-9; Meta Janowitz, personal communication, January 5, 1999). The date of 1701 represents the date the window was assembled and most likely closely reflects the construction date of the house in which the window would be installed. No other example marked "EW" has been documented accompanied by the initials "TD," suggesting that the latter may refer to the local glazier who ran the lead through the mill. A lead found in Philadelphia marked "\*EW 1701..." perhaps implies that either the windows were assembled in Philadelphia or that they were assembled in England and then shipped to Philadelphia and on to Trenton. A window glass factory was in operation as early as 1683 in Philadelphia and glaziers were working in New York by 1638 (McKearin and McKearin 1941:77; Wilson 1976:155).

**Commerce:** Two British copper coins were recovered from Context 26 (Plate 4.7 [second row, left]). One is a William III halfpenny minted between the years 1695 and 1701. This coin is heavily worn from long-term circulation and is representative of the first significant influx of copper coinage into the colonies.

British silver and gold coins were not allowed to be exported to the colonies during this period (Jordan 1999:1-8), while no copper halfpennies were minted during the reign of Queen Anne (1702-1714). This led to a shortage of copper coins in the colonies and to extended use of older copper coins minted early on in the reign of William and Mary (1689-1702). The second coin is a cut piece of a George II halfpenny dated 1729. The clipping or trimming of coinage was a practice usually adopted with gold or silver coins to obtain free bullion (Noël Hume 1969:154). This particular coin was not clipped but was cut, possibly to make change in an economy constrained by a lack of hard currency.

## 2. Eighteenth-Century Riverbank Midden Deposits

Evidence of domestic occupation also accumulated along the 18th-century riverbank and took the form of an expansive stratified midden. The probable former edge of the riverbank was exposed in Excavation Units 600-607 and 609-613 along the western edge of the project site (Figure 4.2). Figure 4.10 illustrates historic deposition and natural strata gradually dipping down to the west, suggesting the slope of the riverbank. The bank was cut and altered in the 19th century during the construction of the Trenton Water Power in the 1833-34. The riverbank deposits exhibited a more stratified accumulation than was evident in the yard deposit [26] around the foundation of the Lambert/Douglas House. In contrast to the yard deposits around the house, the midden deposits consisted of at least three distinct strata, the lowest dating to the 18th century, the upper two apparently dating to the federal period.

### a. Context 150 (*Earliest Riverbank Stratum*)

#### i. Stratigraphy

The earliest historic stratum encountered along the pre-industrial riverbank consisted of silty loam [150], approximately 0.25 feet thick, that was observed in Excavation Units 600 and 610-613 (Figure 4.10). This context directly overlaid the B horizon [10] and was cut by the construction of the east bank of the Trenton Water Power [149].

#### ii. Artifacts

A total of 255 artifacts were recovered from this deposit (Table 4.5). The artifacts are for the most part small, most measuring less than 2 inches across and with few cross-mends. This is consistent with domestic refuse middens found along riverbanks and hillsides. The artifacts have a date range of *circa* 1700 to 1780. The assemblage may represent a continuation of Contexts 26, 80 and 82, the sheet midden assemblages found adjacent to the foundation of the Lambert/Douglas House. As seen in these other midden deposits further to the east, the artifact assemblage from Context 150 is dominated by ceramic vessel sherds (178 [69.8%]) followed by building materials (49 [19.2%]) glass vessel fragments (13 [5.1%]) and items representing recreational activities (13 [5.1%]).

#### *Ceramic Vessels*

Ceramic vessel sherds consist of locally produced utilitarian redwares and red-bodied slipware (113) and a wide variety of imported wares including tin-enameled earthenware (6), buff-bodied slipware (4), Whieldon-type ware (2) and stoneware (22) (Table 4.6). Sherds of creamware (23) and pearlware (4) suggest that the pattern of refuse disposal in the Delaware River and along the riverbank continued



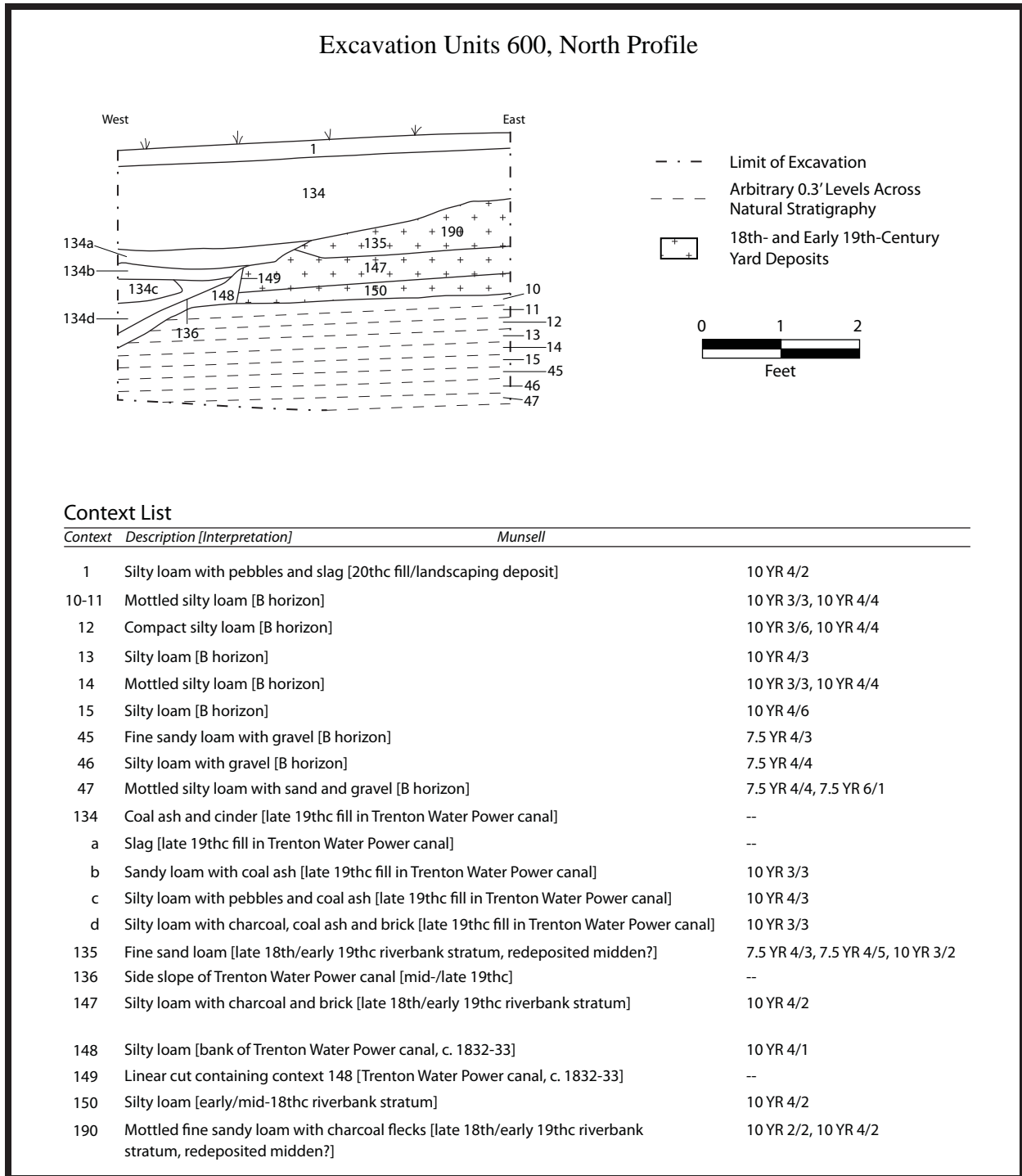


Figure 4.10. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: Excavation Unit 600, North Profile Showing the Historic Riverbank and Edge of the Trenton Water Power.

Context 150

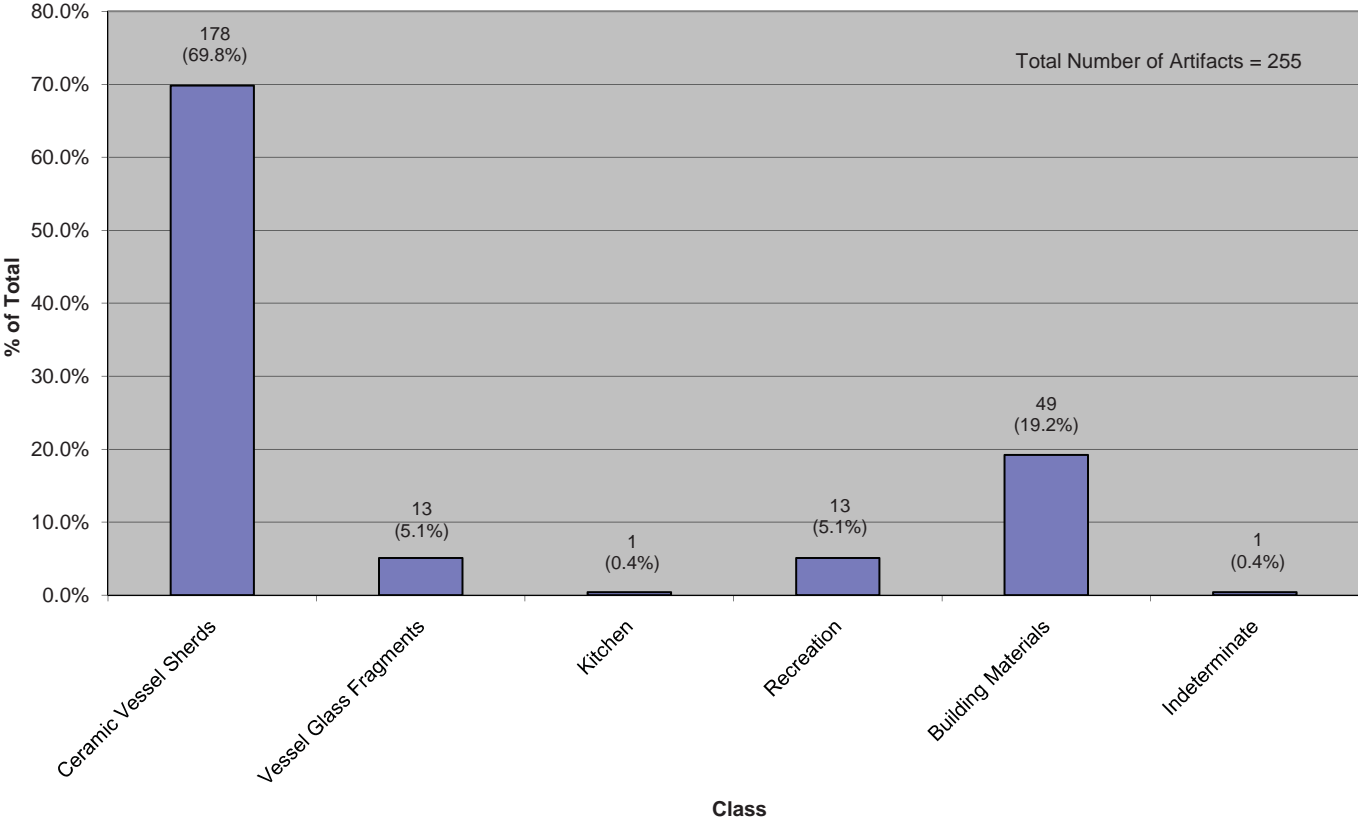


Table 4.5. Lambert/Douglas House Site: Earlier 18th-Century River Bank Deposit, Context 150, Historic Artifact Frequency by Class.

Context 150

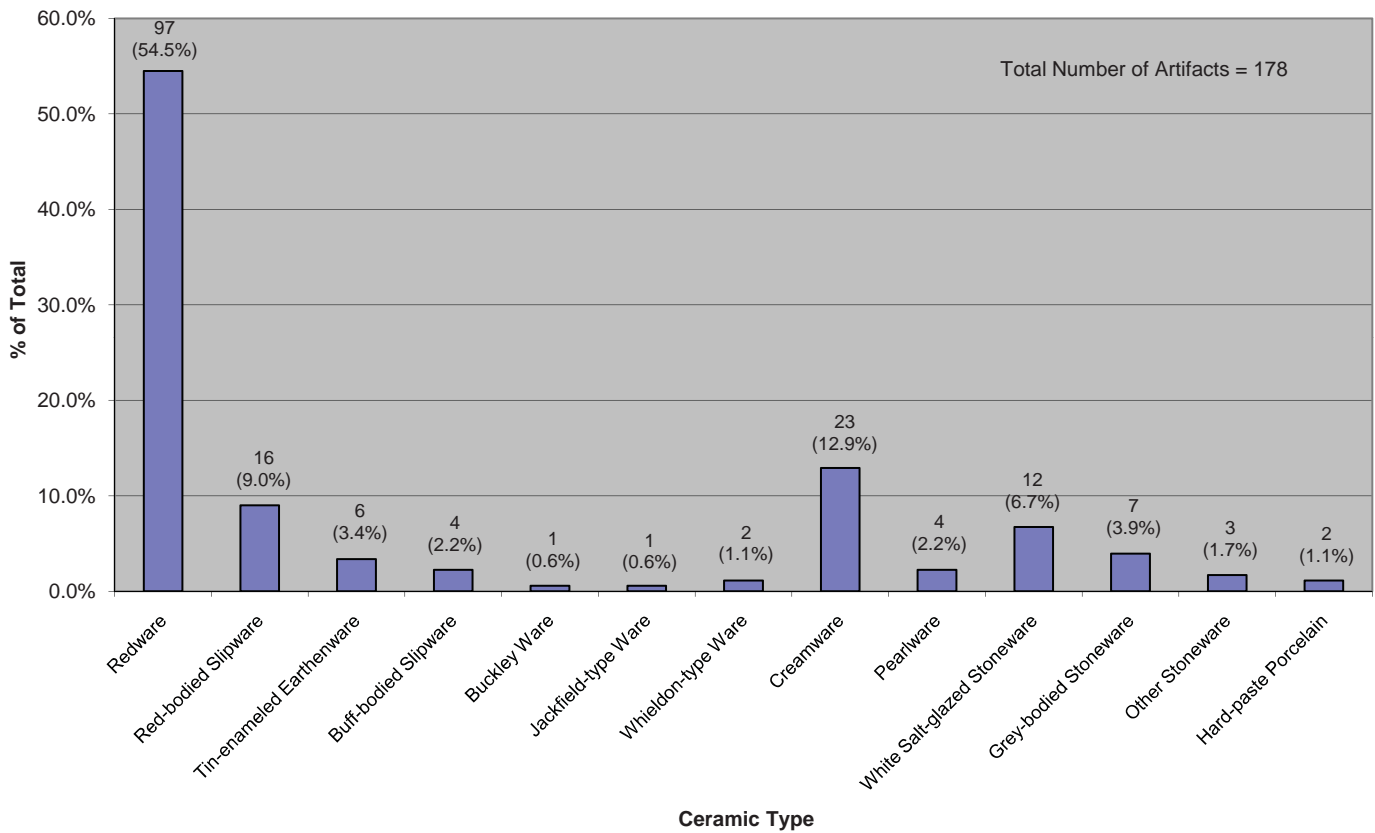


Table 4.6. Lambert/Douglas House Site: Earlier 18th-Century River Bank Deposit, Context 150, Historic Ceramic Frequency by Type.

into the late 18th century, although some possible mixing with upper levels during spring freshets may have taken place.

**Red-Bodied Slipware:** The red-bodied slipware recovered from Context 150 includes several hump-molded and coggle-edged sgraffito sherds from plates that are stylistically similar to examples made in the Nockamixon Swamp area of Bucks County, Pennsylvania (Barber 1970:105-123). Similar sherds were recovered from Contexts 26, 80 and 240 (see above, Contexts 26 and 80 for further discussion).

**Buckley Ware:** The single sherd of Buckley ware recovered from Context 150 is from a storage jar. Buckley ware, manufactured *circa* 1720-1775 in Flintshire, North Wales, is rarely found on archaeological sites in the Middle Delaware Valley (Noël Hume 1969:132 and 135; Maryland Archaeological Conservation Laboratory 2002). The occurrence of this vessel at the site may be as much a function of the vessel's contents being sought after by the inhabitants as opposed to the pottery type itself having any particular value.

**Grey-Bodied Stoneware:** Four grey-bodied stoneware sherds recovered from Context 150 may have been produced by local stoneware potter James Rhodes, either at the nearby William Richards pottery during the 1770s, or at Rhodes's own pothouse established in 1778 and in operation until 1784. Sherds of stoneware believed to have been made by James Rhodes were also recovered from Contexts 25, 26, 38, 80, 147 and 158. More detailed discussion of James Rhodes and Trenton's late 18th-century stoneware potteries is contained in Volume III of this report series.

**Hard-Paste Porcelain:** Chinese export porcelain is noticeably absent from this context, but two small sherds cataloged as hard paste porcelain may in fact have originated in the Orient.

## **b. Context 147 (Middle Riverbank Stratum)**

### **i. Stratigraphy**

The middle midden stratum [147] was differentiated from the lower midden deposit by having charcoal and brick flecks mixed in the silty loam matrix (Excavation Units 600 and 610-613) (Figure 4.10). This 0.70-foot-thick stratum directly overlaid Context 150, and was also cut by the construction of the Trenton Water Power. Artifacts from this context are summarized in Tables 4.7 and 4.8.

### **ii. Artifacts**

Context 147 yielded a total of 2,353 artifacts, most measuring less than 2 inches with few cross-mends (Table 4.7; Plates 4.8-4.10). As with Context 150, the assemblage is consistent with the type of material found in domestic refuse middens along riverbanks and hillsides. The artifacts have a date range of *circa* 1770 to 1820. The assemblage represents a distinct layer of accumulation above Context 150. As seen in the other midden deposits, the artifact assemblage from Context 147 is dominated by ceramic vessel sherds (1,417 [60.2%]), followed by building materials (678 [28.8%]), and glass vessel fragments (202 [8.6%]). Prehistoric lithic debitage was also recovered within this context.

#### *Ceramic Vessels*

Ceramic vessel sherds recovered from Context 147 belong to a wide of pottery types and date chiefly from mid-18th through early 19th centuries (Table 4.8; Plate 4.8). Locally made utilitarian redware and red-bodied slipware (548) dominate but there is also a wide variety of imported pottery types including tin-enameled earthenware (49), buff-bodied earthenware and slipware (24), Buckley ware (3), coarse

Context 147

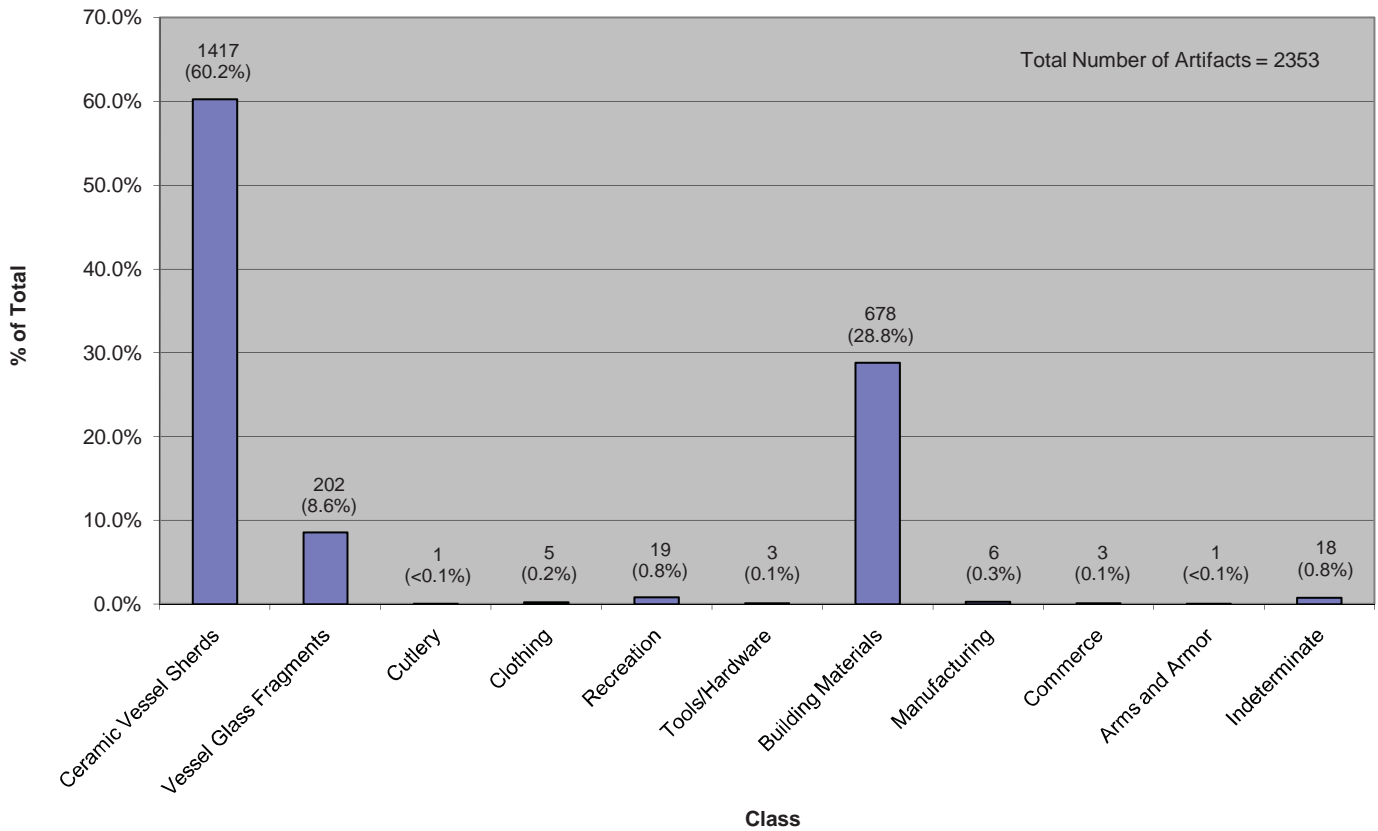


Table 4.7. Lambert/Douglas House Site: Later 18th/Early 19th-Century River Bank Deposit, Context 147, Historic Artifact Frequency by Class.

Context 147

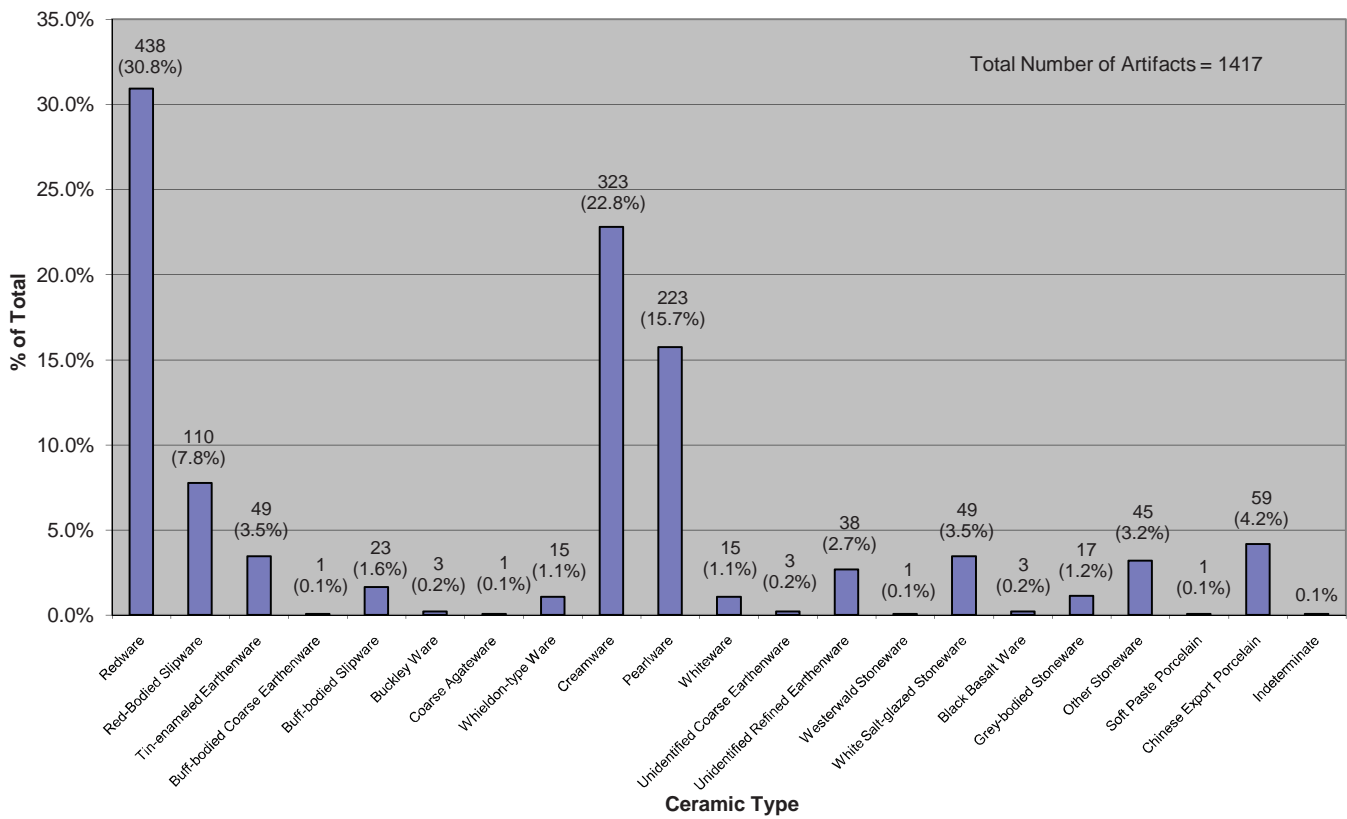


Table 4.8. Lambert/Douglas House Site: Later 18th/Early 19th-Century River Bank Deposit, Context 147, Historic Ceramic Frequency by Type.



Plate 4.8. Lambert/Douglas House Site: selected late 18th- and early 19th-century ceramics from Context 147. *Top row, left to right*: four Chinese export porcelain sherds with hand-painted blue decoration (sherd at upper right in this group exhibits the Canton pattern circa 1800-30); five creamware tableware sherds; creamware rim sherd with a Queensware border *over* two pearlware plate rim sherds with molded green shell edge decoration. *Middle row*: five slip-covered redware hollowware sherds with green copper oxide highlights; black basalt ware teapot rim sherd *over* four buff-bodied earthenware sherds with mottled and combed slip decoration; grey-bodied salt-glazed stoneware hollowware base sherd, probably locally made by James Rhodes *over* redware slip-trailed plate body sherd. *Bottom row*: three redware milk pan rim and body sherds with interior dark mottled lead glaze (one exhibits a pouring lip); two Buckley ware body sherds with black lead glaze (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:F2b].

agateware (1), Whieldon-type ware (15), creamware (323), pearlware (223) and whiteware (15), as well as white salt-glazed stoneware (49), black basalt ware (3), soft-paste porcelain (1) and Chinese export porcelain (59). Several sherds of grey-bodied and other untyped stoneware (62) may come from vessels made locally.

**Redware:** Several redware milk pan sherds were recovered from Context 147 (Plate 4.8 [bottom row]). All have a black or mottled manganese brown lead glaze on the interior surface and unglazed exteriors (see below, Context 25, for further discussion of redware milk pans). The rich thick black glaze has been observed elsewhere on redware recovered from sites in the Delaware Valley and Chesapeake region, usually on butter pots and milk pans, and typically dates from *circa* 1680 to 1720 (Miller 1983:92).

**Black Basalt Ware:** A sherd from a black basalt teapot lid was recovered from Context 147 (Plate 4.8 [middle row, center]). The name of this dry, thin-bodied ware was coined by Josiah Wedgwood to describe an unglazed black ceramic body also known as “Egyptian black.” This ware type was in everyday use by the 1760s and was advertised in American newspapers by 1762 (Godden 1974:151; Elliott 1998). Black basalt ware was produced by nearly every Staffordshire potter of the period.

**Grey-Bodied Stoneware:** As in Contexts 25, 26, 38, 80, 150 and 158 several of the grey-bodied stoneware sherds are thought to derive from vessels made by local Trenton potter James Rhodes (Plate 4.8 [middle row, right]) (see Volume III of this report series for more detail).

**Chinese Export Porcelain:** Although no Chinese export porcelain was recovered from the lower portion of the bank deposit [150] several sherds were recovered from Context 147 and represent at least seven different vessels (Plate 4.8 [top row, left]). Eight

sherds are decorated with the familiar underglaze blue and white hand-painted decoration. Two sherds exhibit the Canton pattern *circa* 1800 to 1830 (Miller *et al.* 2000:9). From the end of the 18th century and throughout the 19th century, the Canton pattern was extremely popular with all classes of society (Tindall 1975:157-164). One sherd exhibits an overglaze hand-painted polychrome floral border with gold highlights typical of higher-end Chinese porcelain.

#### *Other Artifacts*

**Vessel Glass:** Fragments of domestic glass vessels such as paneled tumblers, stemware and olive green wine bottles and case bottles are all part of the assemblage from Context 147 (Plate 4.9). Among the more important items are body and applied string lip closure fragments from a dark olive green wine bottle, pieces of a dark olive green case, fragments of clear stemware and a base fragment from a clear decanter base with a ground pontil (see Context 2044 below for further discussion).

**Clothing:** The two pieces of a simple brass and iron shoe buckle were recovered from this context (Plate 4.10 [top row, left]). These belong to a single buckle with a face and chape with two teeth (see Context 25 below for further discussion).

One half of a copper alloy ovate sleeve link with a banded geometric decoration along the margins was also identified from Context 147 (Plate 4.10 [top row, right]). An attached oval loop exhibits a small break most likely resulting in the separation and loss of its opposing counterpart. Sleeve links were common amongst the middle class throughout the colonies, although “oval sleeve buttons ... do not seem to have become popular until the second half of the [18th] century and are more common in the 1770’s and thereafter” (Noël Hume 1969:89).





Plate 4.9. Lambert/Douglas House Site: selected late 18th- and early 19th-century glass artifacts from Context 147. *Top row, left to right:* clear wineglass bowl fragment; dark olive green glass wine bottle closure fragment with a string lip; clear glass tumbler base with a ground and polished pontil. *Bottom left:* three dark green olive case bottle body fragments; three dark olive green wine bottle body fragments (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:F2c].



Plate 4.10. Lambert/Douglas House Site: selected late 18th- and early 19th-century artifacts from Context 147. *Left*: large oyster shell. *Top row, left to right*: two brass shoe buckle fragments; one half of a copper alloy ovate sleeve link with a banded geometric decoration; lead disk with small shield embossed in the center, possible bail seal. *Bottom row*: six white clay tobacco pipe stem and bowl fragments; two chunks of dark brown English flint ship's ballast used to ignite fires (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:F2a].

**Commerce:** Two pieces of non-domestic flint were recovered from Context 147 (Plate 4.10 [bottom row, right]). One of these specimens is dark brown and displays white cortex typical of the kind found on English flint dredged from the River Thames or gathered from the beaches near Dover, England and used as ship's ballast.

*c. Contexts 135 and 190 (Latest Riverbank Stratum)*

**i. Stratigraphy**

The uppermost and latest midden stratum appeared to be redeposited because the artifact assemblage does not contain any whiteware or later 19th-century materials in contrast to the stratigraphically earlier Context 147. Contexts 135 and 190 consisted of mottled fine sandy loam with charcoal flecks and were observed in Excavation Units 600 and 611-613. The deposit ranged in thickness from 0.40 feet in Excavation Units 611-613 along the western edge of the units, and 1.20 feet along the eastern edge of Excavation Unit 600.

**ii. Artifacts**

A total of 1,164 artifacts were recovered from this uppermost riverbank deposit [135 and 190] (Table 4.9; Plate 4.11). The deposit and its constituent artifact assemblage represent a distinct layer of accumulation above Context 147. The artifacts are for the most part small, most measuring less than 2 inches across with few cross-mends, which is consistent with the earlier domestic refuse midden layers discussed above, although this particular context does appear to have been redeposited. As with the other midden deposits, the artifact assemblage from Contexts 135 and 190 is dominated by ceramic vessel sherds (594 [51%]), followed closely by building materials (487 [41.8%]) and glass vessel fragments (61 [5.2%]). The artifacts have a date range of *circa* 1770 to 1820.

*Ceramic Vessels*

Ceramic vessel sherds consist primarily of refined white-bodied British earthenware such as creamware (274) and pearlware (167) with lesser amounts of locally produced utilitarian redware and red-bodied slipware (80) and Chinese export porcelain (28) (Table 4.10). When compared to the underlying Context 147, Contexts 135 and 190 show a roughly 25% reduction in the amount of redware sherds, and marked increases in the amounts of creamware (23%) and pearlware (12%). These ratios are similar to those evident in the ceramic assemblage recovered from the nearby "Sartori" stone-lined shaft (see below, Table 4.23) and may reflect landscaping activity and redeposition connected with the vacation of the property in the early 1830s (see below, Context 2044, for further discussion).

**Tin-Enameled Earthenware:** One tin-enameled sherd was identified exhibiting the "Fazackerley" pattern, a type of decorated pottery that was commonly available in the English ports of Bristol and Liverpool *circa* 1760 (Plate 4.11 [top row, center]) (Grimm 1970:159-163). This pattern was observed on a Liverpool mug inscribed "T.F.Fazackerly 1757" (Miller *et al.* 2000:11). Tin-enameled sherds with this pattern were also found in Contexts 2, 25, 26 and 38 with mending sherds occurring in Contexts 25 and 38.

*Other Artifacts*

**Vessel Glass:** The two elaborate cobalt blue, hand-blown, bell-shaped glass tableware pieces of identical but indeterminate form are broken in roughly the same place along the top and bottom (Plate 4.11 [top row, left]). Possible forms for these pieces are goblets, jellies, salts or candlesticks. The color is typical of glass manufactured by several southern New Jersey firms in the late 18th and early 19th centuries (Palmer 1993).

Contexts 135 and 190

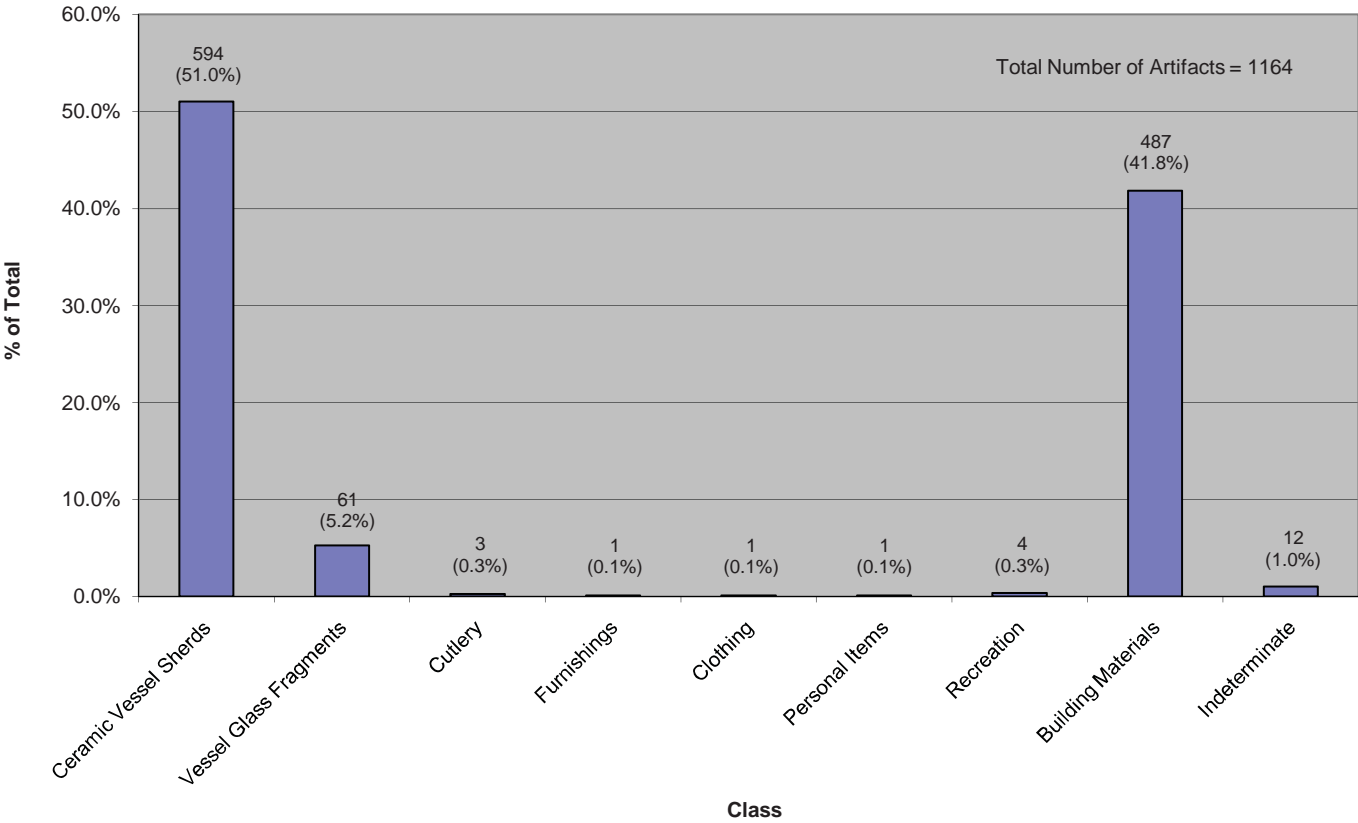


Table 4.9. Lambert/Douglas House Site: Later 18th/Early 19th-Century River Bank Deposit, Contexts 135 and 190, Historic Artifact Frequency by Class.

Contexts 135 and 190

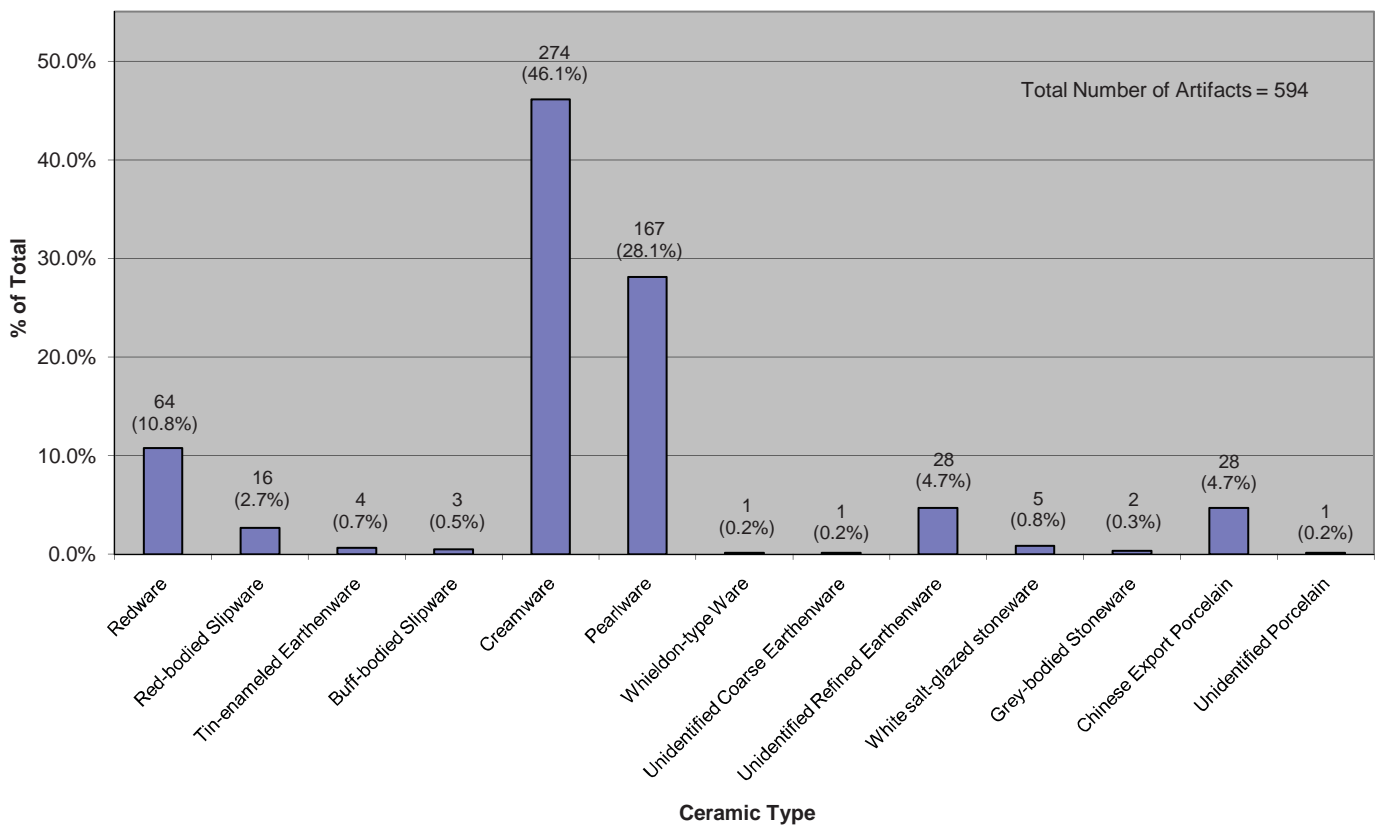


Table 4.10. Lambert/Douglas House Site: Later 18th/Early 19th-Century River Bank Deposit, Contexts 135 and 190, Historic Ceramic Frequency by Type.



Plate 4.11. Lambert/Douglas House Site: selected late 18th- and early 19th-century artifacts from Context 190. *Top row, left to right:* two cobalt blue hand-blown, bell-shaped glass tableware pieces, possibly wine goblets; mended rim of a redware storage crock with interior clear lead glaze *over* bone button; buff-bodied earthenware sherd with combed slip decoration *over* tin-enameled sherd with the “Fazackerley” pattern; two mended redware hump-molded pie plate rim sherds with slip-trailed decoration *under* clear lead glaze *over* creamware body sherd; oyster shell. *Bottom row:* six dark olive green wine bottle body neck and closure fragments; several pale aqua crown glass window pane fragments *over* four white clay tobacco pipe stem and bowl fragments; bone utensil handle; two clam shell fragments (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:F1].

### 3. Lambert/Douglas House Basement Foundation

Figures 4.11-4.18 present the excavated data from the basement of the Lambert/Douglas House in a broadly chronological sequence extending from the first decade of the 18th century until around 1790 and encompassing three major occupation horizons and an abandonment and demolition phase. The house was located 70 feet north of the Rosey Hill Mansion, with its main axes on the same orientation as its successor residence. The earliest contexts directly related to the house are the identifiable cuts in the soil created by the construction of the basement and related entrance ways. The construction cuts [119-122] for the basement foundation contained the remains of mica schist stone walls that defined a structure measuring about 28 feet north-south by 24.5 feet east-west in exterior dimensions (Figure 4.11; Plate 4.12). The cuts containing the foundation walls were approximately 4 feet deep, flaring out slightly at the top to a width of approximately 0.50 feet. This widening of the upper part of the cuts most likely occurred at the time of the house's demolition or robbing of its foundation stone (Figures 4.4 and 4.7).

Other cuts likely related to the original construction of the foundation were found along the west and south sides of the building. A somewhat enigmatic cut feature [144], perhaps for an entranceway or stairway, was identified in Excavation Units 13 and 14 extending 1.70 feet out from the west basement cut [122] and measuring approximately 6.50 feet in width (Figure 4.11). Mica schist stone and cobbles [217] lined the interior of the cut, possibly functioning as a revetment or retaining wall.

A basement entry or stairwell and probable footpath were located along the exterior of the south foundation wall at its western end. The entry consisted of three step-like cuts in the subsoil [218] leading down to the level of the bottom course of the basement foun-

ation wall (Figures 4.11 and 4.12; Plate 4.13). The cut for the entry was approximately 5.50 feet wide and most likely contained steps constructed of wood. No evidence for brick or stone steps was found. A possible footpath, consisting of a 2-foot wide shallow trench [156, 157] observed in Excavation Units 89, 90, 510, 511 and 514, appears to have led to the basement entry. It extended south, away from the house, for at least 12 feet. The mottled silty sand trench fill contained patches of tightly packed cobbles, suggesting that the path may have had a cobble surface.

The foundation walls were 1.50 feet wide and constructed of dry-laid mica schist stone and cobbles [39, 40, 175, 184] (Figure 4.11). Only small sections of the basement foundation walls survived, generally only one or two courses deep. The poor condition of the foundation is probably due to robbing of the stone at the time of demolition. A 7-foot section of the west wall consisted of one course of flat mica schist stones [184], each measuring 2.00 feet long and 1.50 feet wide. This section of the foundation wall may have supported an interior basement entry or stairway [122, 217] along the west wall. The flat stones may have functioned as the threshold for the entry or doorway opening.

Within Excavation Units 3, 4, 99S, 99T, 99X and 99Y two rectangular mortared mica schist and cobble footings [42, 44], each approximately 1.60 feet by 3.60 feet and three courses thick, were found projecting from the interior face of the east wall of the basement foundation (Figure 4.11; Plates 4.12 and 4.14). The two footings were oriented east-west, 5.30 feet apart, and constructed directly on top of C horizon subsoil. They abutted the east basement wall [41] and were probably the base of an arched support for a first-floor fireplace. Figure 4.4 illustrates the southern footing [42] in profile, showing the base of the pier constructed directly on top of the C horizon and its east end abutting the eastern foundation trench.



Plate 4.12. Lambert/Douglas House Site: general view of the basement looking north showing the floor stratum [43] contained within the west [40], north [175] and east [41] foundation walls; footings [42, 44] for a large fireplace are visible at lower right; other fireplace footings [180, 181, 182, 183] are visible at left; refuse pits [160, 161, 162, 163] at lower left; builders' trench for a partition wall [159, 227] is visible in center of view; scales in feet and inches (Photographer: Matthew Lazur, February 1998) [HRI Neg. #97045/39:14].



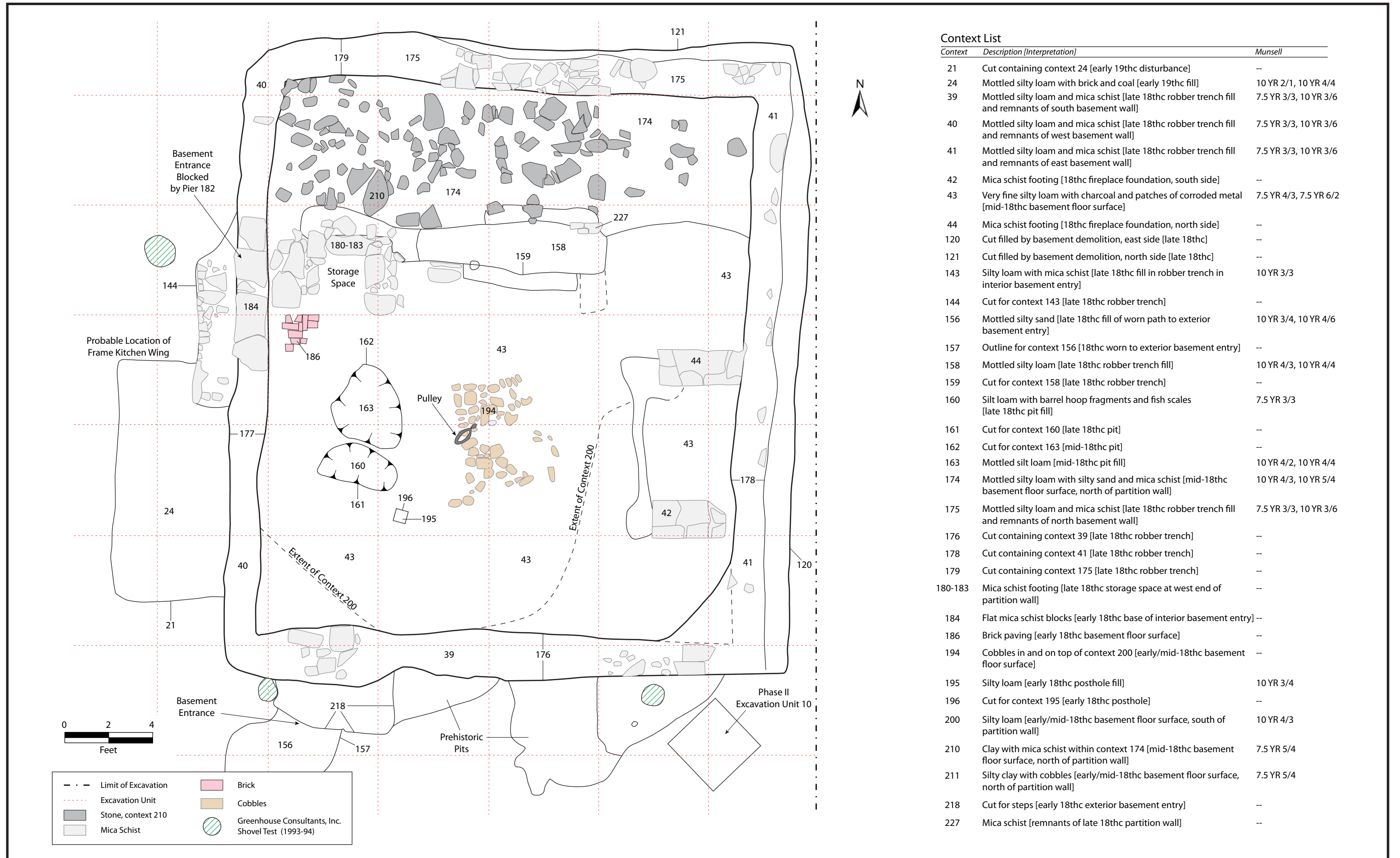


Figure 4.11. Lambert/Douglas House Site: Detailed Plan of Excavated Features within the Basement.



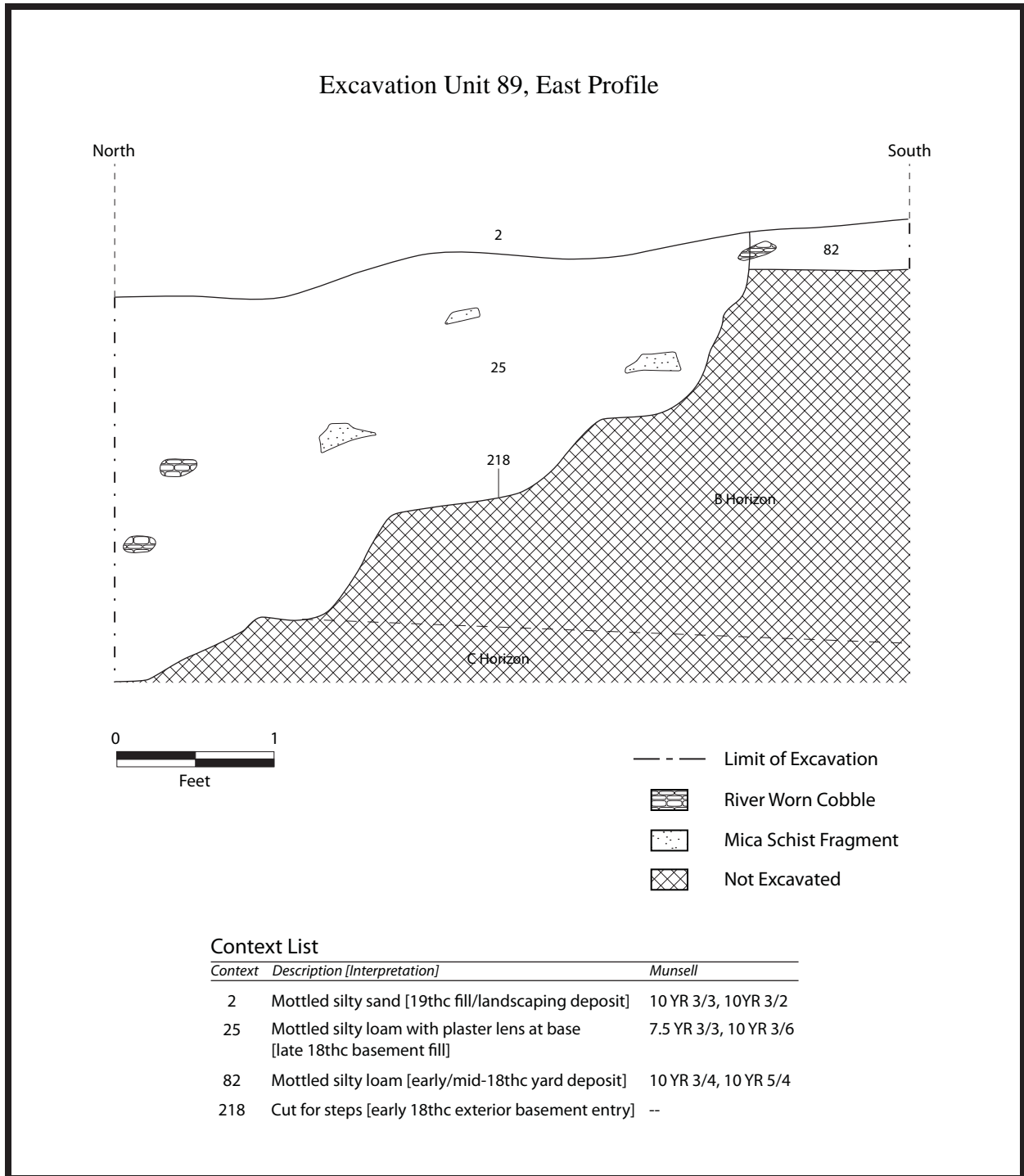


Figure 4.12. Lambert/Douglas House Site: Excavation Unit 89, East Profile Across Entry in the Southwest Corner of the Basement.



Plate 4.13. Lambert/Douglas House Site: view looking south showing the exterior entry into the southwest corner of the basement; note the remnant of the south foundation wall [39] at the bottom of the stairway cut; scales in feet and inches (Photographer: Aaron Levinthal, January 1998) [HRI Neg. #97045/23:11].



Plate 4.14. Lambert/Douglas House Site: general view looking east showing the basement after removal of Context 43; cobble concentration [194] in the center of the view, west wall fireplace footings [180, 181, 182] at lower left and east wall fireplace footings [42, 44] at top; scales in feet and inches (Photographer: Matthew Lazur, March 1998) [HRI Neg. #97045/40:8A].

Remains of a foundation for a probable load-bearing partition wall [159, 227] extended east-west across the northern third of the basement in Excavation Units 99K-99N, dividing the basement into unequal north and south sections. The northern section of the basement measured 5.50 feet by 21.8 feet, the south section 17 feet by 21.8 feet (both interior dimensions) (Figure 4.11; Plates 4.12 and 4.14). A small portion of dressed mica schist at the east end of the builders' trench was all that remained of the foundation for the partition wall at the east end. The west end of the foundation appeared to have been incorporated into a later footing that is described below. The length of the foundation was inferred from the remains of its builders' trench, which measured 13.8 feet by 2.30 feet. The wall appears to have been free standing, the west end terminating 1.50 feet from the west foundation wall, the east end 6.50 feet from the east foundation wall. The larger space at the east end of the partition wall suggests there may have been an opening or access to the northern third of the basement at this location. The builders' trench was filled in by Context 158, probably at the time of the house's demolition. Datable artifacts recovered from this context comprised sherds of creamware (*circa* 1762 to 1820), pearlware (*circa* 1776 to 1820), tin-enameled earthenware with blue hand-painted decoration (*circa* 1700 to 1800), white salt-glazed stoneware with scratch blue decoration (*circa* 1744 to 1775) and grey-bodied salt glazed stoneware probably made locally by Trenton potter, James Rhodes (*circa* 1760 to 1787).

Three sequential and distinct basement floor deposits, Contexts 200, 43 and 38, were identified within the area to the south and east of the partition wall within the basement. The northern third of the basement contained two distinct soil deposits to the north of the partition wall, Contexts 155 and 174. A small portion of Context 38 also extended into the north section. These three horizons could be linked to the structural history of the building and are described below in the

sequence in which they were deposited, along with several related contexts and the overlying abandonment fill layers.

**a. Context 200 (Basement Floor Surface; Earliest Horizon) and Contexts 194-196 (Cobbles)**

**i. Stratigraphy**

Context 200 was identified in Excavation Units 5-7, 99K-99S and 99U-99W and was the earliest of the three floor deposits identified in the south section of the basement (Figure 4.13). It consisted of a thin layer of compact silt loam approximately 0.10 feet thick, with small fragments of brick and mica schist mixed in, and directly overlaid sterile C horizon subsoil [209] (Figures 4.4 and 4.7). This floor deposit encompassed an area approximately 12 feet by 19 feet and did not extend over the entire south section of the basement floor area. The fragments of brick and mica schist may be debris related to the original construction of the building.

A concentration of cobbles [194-196] was encountered within Context 200 in Excavation Units 99Q, 99R, 99V and 99W (Figure 4.7; Plates 4.14 and 4.15). The cobbles encompassed an area measuring roughly 5 feet by 4 feet and were imbedded into Context 200 and the underlying C horizon. The cobbles may have been part of an early basement floor surface contemporary with or immediately post-dating Context 200.

**ii. Artifacts**

A total of 152 artifacts were recovered from this basement floor deposit (Table 4.11; Plate 4.16). The assemblage represents a low-density accumulation of domestic artifacts on the floor of the basement, with a date range of *circa* 1700 to 1760.

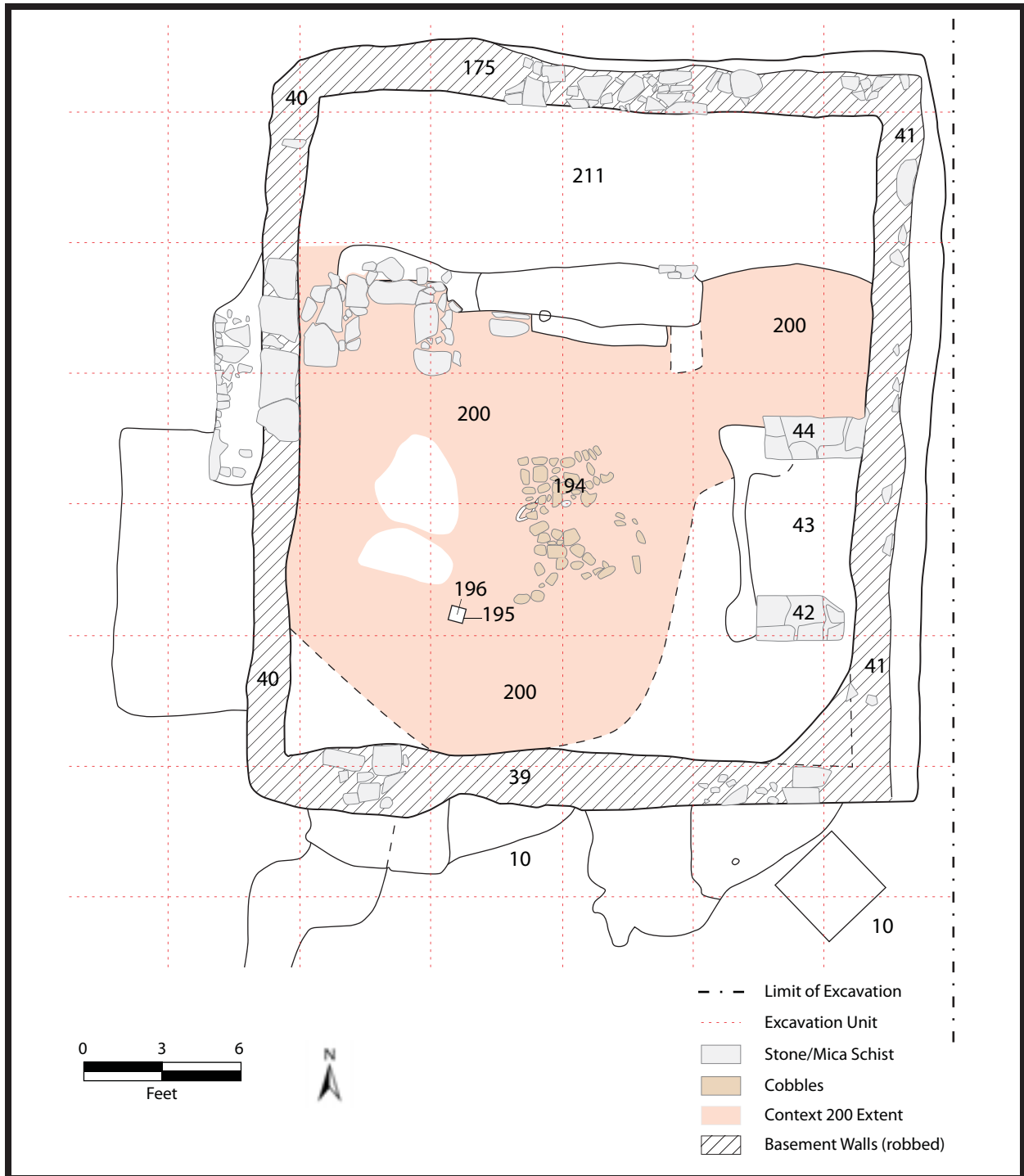


Figure 4.13. Lambert/Douglas House Site: Site Plan Showing the Extent of the Earliest Surface in the Basement [Context 200]. See Figure 4.11 for key to other contexts.



Plate 4.15. Lambert/Douglas House Site: close-up view looking east showing the cobble concentration [194] in the basement floor, which may be a remnant of an earlier basement floor surface; east wall fireplace footings [42, 44] at top; scales in feet and inches (Photographer: Matthew Lazur, March 19980 [HRI Neg. #97045/41:8A]).



Contexts 43, 162, 163, 194, 195, 196 and 200

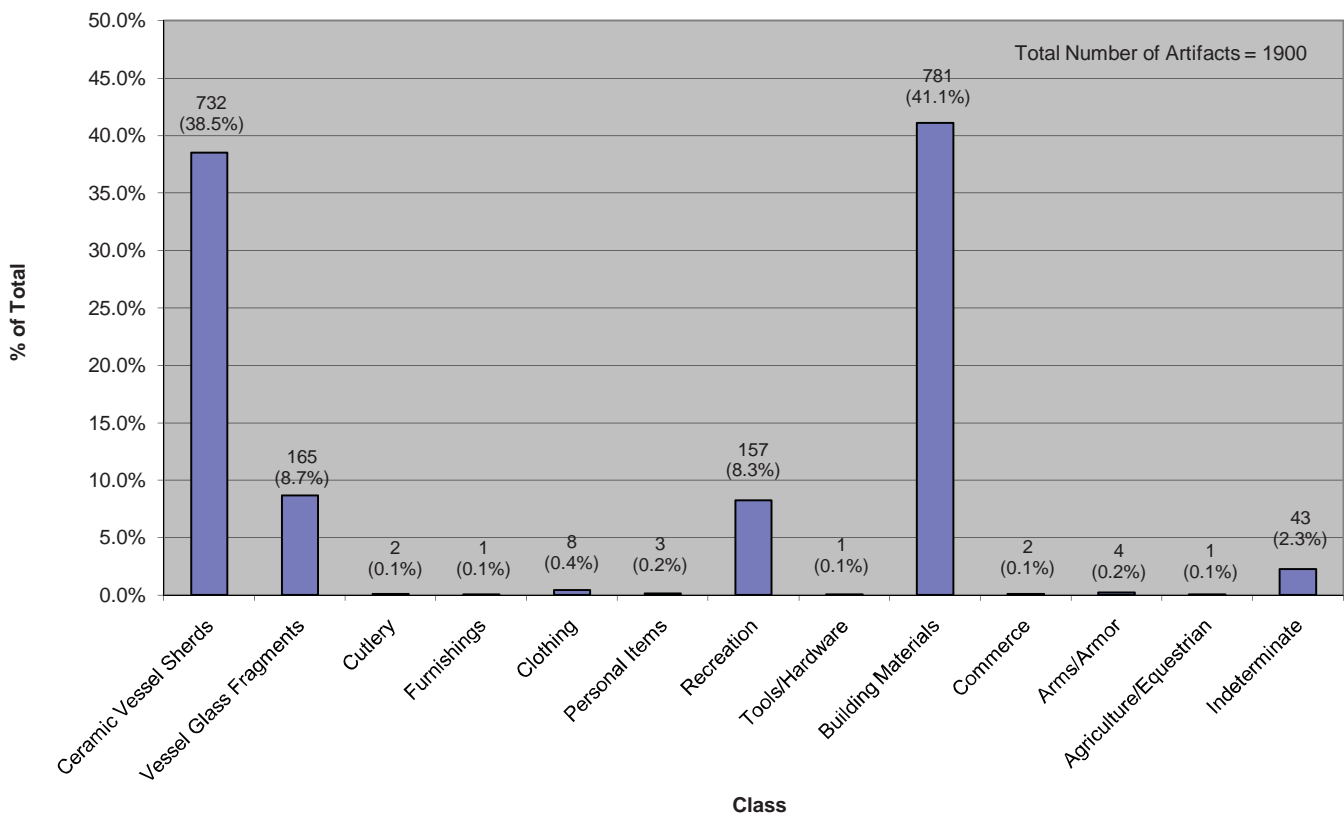


Table 4.11. Lambert/Douglas House Site: Early 18th-Century Basement Floor Deposits (South), Contexts 43, 162, 163, 194-196 and 200, Historic Artifact Frequency by Class.

Contexts 43,162,163,194-196 and 200

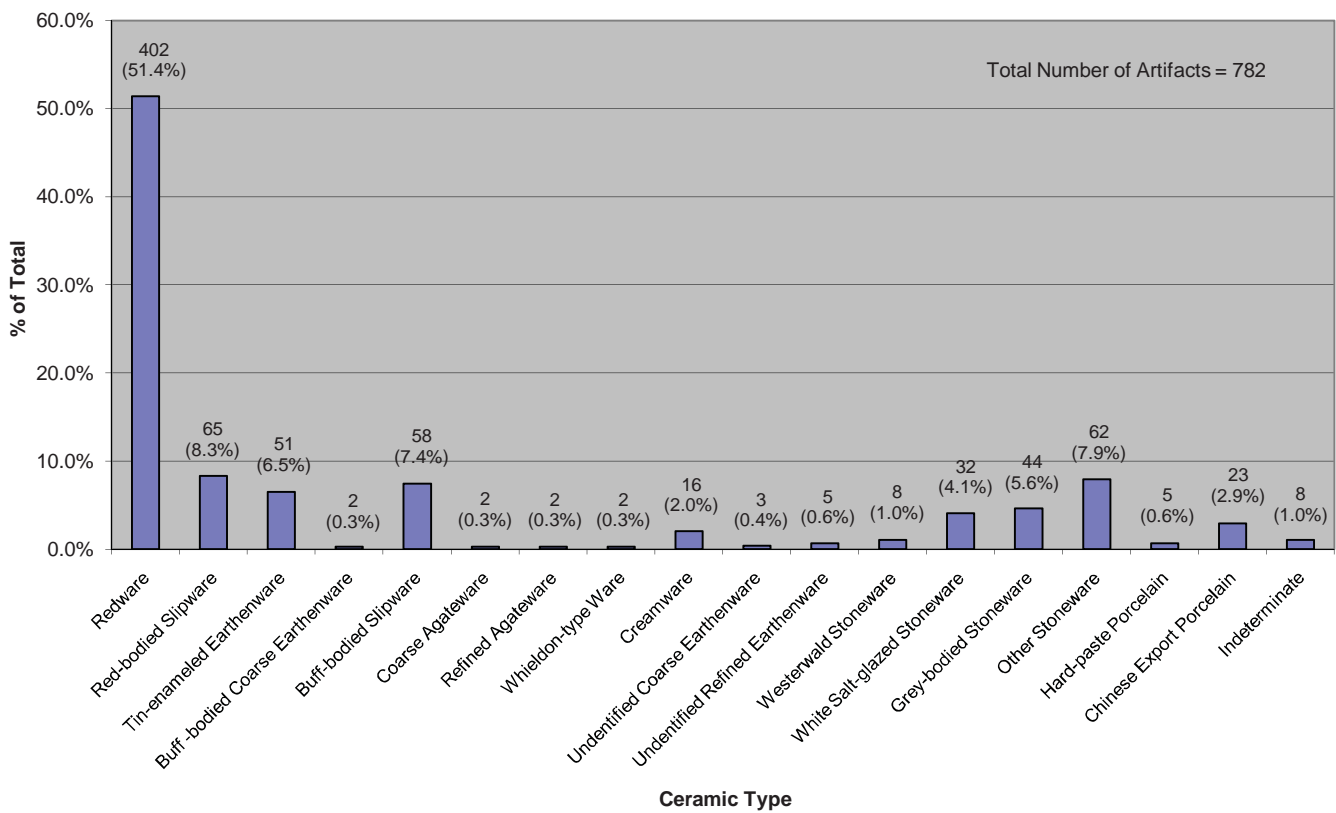


Table 4.12. Lambert/Douglas House Site: Early 18th-Century Basement Floor Deposits (South), Contexts 43, 162, 163, 194-196 and 200, Historic Ceramic Frequency by Type.



Plate 4.16. Lambert/Douglas House Site: selected early and mid-18th-century artifacts from Context 200. *Top row:* rim sherds from two redware storage crocks with interior manganese brown lead glaze over window lead marked “\*EW\*1701\*TD\*” and two buff and red earthenware pie plate rim sherds. *Bottom row, left to right:* glazed red brick fragment; two cobalt blue decorated drinking vessel sherds (one grey-bodied Westerwald stoneware and one buff-bodied earthenware) over five white clay tobacco pipe stem and bowl fragments; two buff-bodied hollowware sherds (the sherd on the right has gravel temper); two red earthenware drinking vessel sherds (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:D1].

### *Ceramic Vessels*

Ceramic vessel sherds consist of utilitarian redware (25) (both domestic and British), tin-enameled earthenware (4), buff-bodied earthenware and slipware (10) and some imported stoneware (17) (both German and British) (Table 4.12). The absence of cream-colored wares suggests a closing date sometime before 1762 and most likely before 1750.

**Redware:** Several pieces of redware recovered from Context 200 mend to form two redware storage crocks or butter pots (Plate 4.16 [top row]). The interiors of these vessels are covered with a manganese brown lead glaze, while the exteriors are unglazed. The lips are thickened on the rim exterior presumably so that a cheese cloth could be lashed down over the tops of the vessels. These vessels would have been used in a kitchen or dairy (Beaudry *et al.* 1983:18-39).

**Westerwald Stoneware:** A shoulder sherd from a bulbous Westerwald stoneware jug or tankard is decorated with incised geometric and floral decorations in-filled with cobalt blue pigment (Plate 4.16 [bottom row, left center]). Vessels of this type are broadly datable to *circa* 1700 to 1775 (Miller *et al.* 2000:10; Gaimster 1997; Noël Hume 2001:96-115). Other sherds from this same vessel were recovered from Contexts 38, 43 and 155.

### *Other Artifacts*

**Recreation:** Nine white ball clay tobacco pipe bowls and stem fragments were recovered from Context 200 (Plate 4.16 [bottom row, left center]). Three stem fragments have a 5/64-inch-diameter bores and one fragment has a 6/64-inch-diameter bore. Using the Harrington system for dating pipes based on bore diameters, 5/64-inch would correlate to a date of

manufacture/peak period of usage of *circa* 1710 to 1750 and 6/64-inch would correlate to *circa* 1680 to 1710 (Noël Hume 1969:298-299).

**Building Materials:** Three window lead fragments were recovered from Context 200 (Plate 4.16 [top row, left]). All three were marked with all or part of the inscription “\*EW\*1701\*TD\*.” Leads with this inscription were also found in Contexts 25, 26, 43 and 80 (see above, Contexts 26 and 80, for further discussion).

### *b. Context 43 (Basement Floor Surface; Middle Horizon)*

#### **i. Stratigraphy**

The middle stratum was the most substantial of three distinct floor deposits (Figure 4.14; Plates 4.12 and 4.17). It was observed in Excavation Units 3-7 and 99K-99X and consisted of very fine silty loam with patches of charcoal [43] which was very compact in certain areas. This stratum generally maintained a consistent thickness of 0.40 feet and directly overlaid Contexts 194-196 and 200.

#### **ii. Artifacts**

A total of 1,509 artifacts were recovered from this middle basement floor deposit (Table 4.11; Plates 4.18-4.20). The assemblage represents an accumulation of domestic artifacts on the floor of the basement, with a date range of *circa* 1700 to 1776.

### *Ceramic Vessels*

Ceramic vessel sherds consist of utilitarian redwares (359) (both domestic and British), tin-enameled earthenware (32), buff-bodied earthenware and slip-

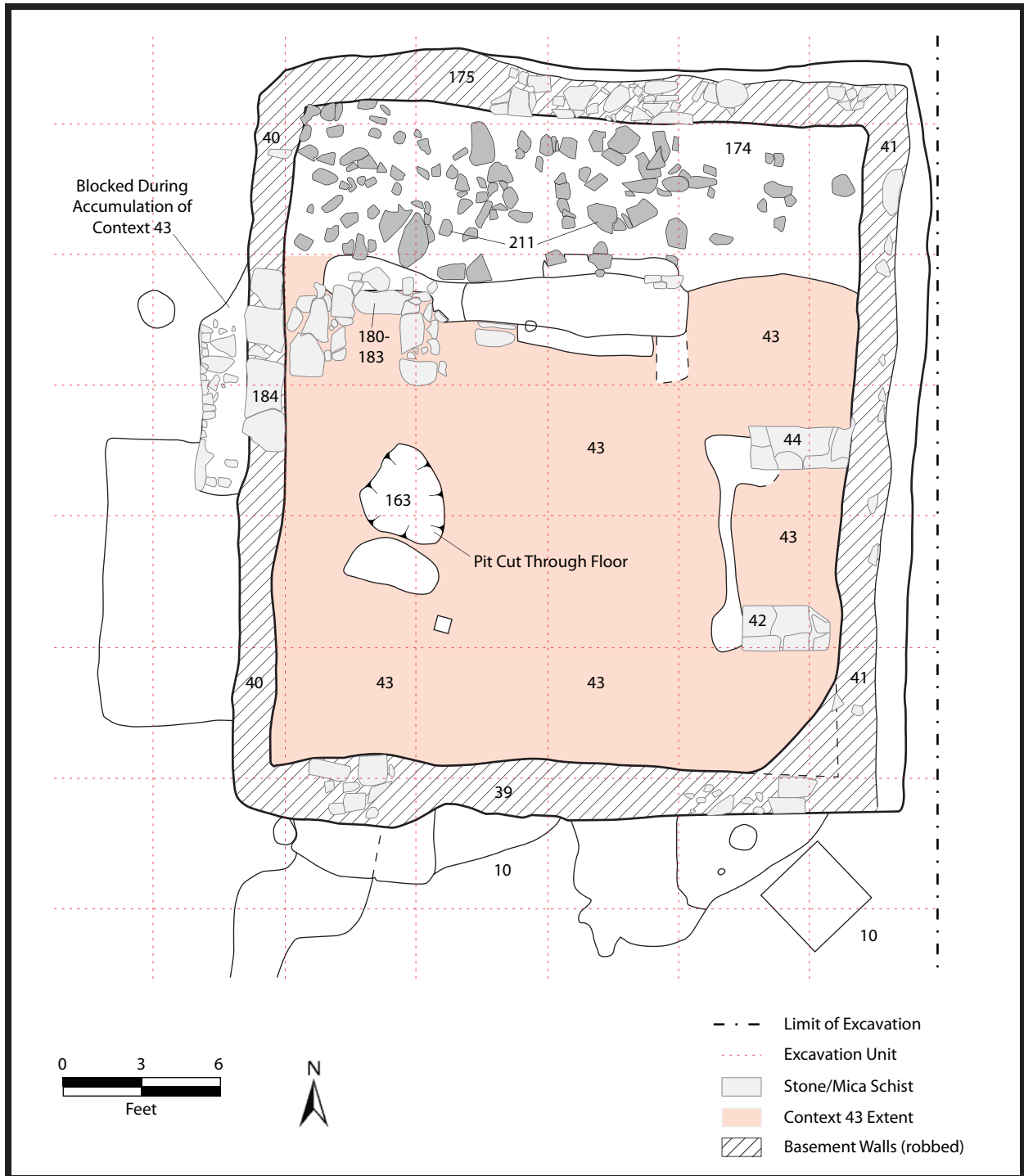


Figure 4.14. Lambert/Douglas House Site: Site Plan Showing the Extent of the Intermediate Surface in the Basement [Context 43]. See Figure 4.11 for key to other contexts.



Plate 4.17. Lambert/Douglas House Site: close-up view of eyeglasses found on top of the basement floor deposit [43]; scale in inches (Photographer: Matthew Lazur, February 1998) [HRI Neg. #97045/32:7].

ware (48), Whieldon-type ware (2), creamware (15), imported and local stonewares (63), and Chinese export porcelain (22) (Table 4.12; Plate 4.18). The presence of creamware and Whieldon-type ware and the absence of pearlware suggest a closing date for this context between 1762 and 1776.

**Westerwald Stoneware:** Context 43 yielded four mending sherds from a cylindrical, cordoned Westerwald tankard (Plate 4.18 [right side, bottom]). This vessel is decorated with incised petals around a rectangular medallion containing a crown or an upper-case “R” (for Regina [queen] or Rex [king]). A very similar 18th-century specimen depicted by Noël Hume is marked “AR” for Queen Anne who reigned from 1702 to 1714 (Noël Hume 2001:107). These sherds may represent heirlooms from an earlier period given the durability of this ware. Other Westerwald stoneware recovered from this context includes a sherd which appears to be a part of the vessel also represented in Contexts 38, 155 and 200, and a sherd from another tankard decorated in the checkerboard pattern (Plate 4.18 [right side, bottom]). This pattern was later copied by domestic stoneware potters, including James Rhodes in the 1770s and early 1780s.

#### *Other Artifacts*

**Vessel Glass:** Several dark olive green wine bottle fragments, case bottle fragments and pieces of clear stemware are included in this context (Plate 4.19), along with fragments of flat window panes of both crown and roll types. A more extended discussion of vessel glass recovered from the site can be found under Context 2044.

**Furnishings:** A single fragment of delftware wall or fireplace tile with a hand-painted purple scenic decoration within a double-line circle was recovered from Context 43 (Plate 4.20 [middle row, left center]). This type of interior decor would normally only be found in

the homes of the upper and upper middle class. Since tiles can be added to a wall or fireplace at any time, and decorative styles remained similar over long periods, no date can be assigned to this tile fragment. It is the only piece of tile to be recovered from the entire site, which suggests that any other tiles were likely robbed from the house prior to its demolition.

**Clothing:** The pair of round copper sleeve links recovered from Context 43 have a clear or white glass setting on both sides creating a “jeweled” effect (Plate 4.20 [middle row, center]). This type of round link was more popular prior to the 1770s (Noël Hume 1969:89). Similar examples were recovered from 18th-century contexts in Pemaquid, Maine (Bradley and Camp 1994:97).

**Personal Items:** A small wooden folding or clasp knife with iron blade was found in this context (Plate 4.20 [middle row, right center]). The knife has an iron blade set in the closed position, two iron side plates, a divider bar between the plates, and two badly deteriorated wooden pistol-shaped grips attached to the side plates with three iron rivets. Similar examples with bone and brass grips have been recovered at Fort Stanwix (1758-1781) (Hanson and Hsu 1975:149) and Fort Michilimackinac (1761-1781) (Stone 1974:264). A brass pistol grip clasp knife with a bone inset and an iron blade was also recovered from Context 155.

**Recreation:** A single cast-brass mouth harp, also known as a jaw or “Jew’s” harp, is included in the assemblage from Context 43 (Plate 4.20 [middle row, center]). The cross section is diamond-shaped and exhibits filing marks from casting. As is typical with many archaeological specimens the center iron tongue is missing. The cross section, length (2 inches), width (1 inch) and thickness (¼ inch) all match an example recovered from archaeological investigations at Fort Stanwix (1758-1781) (Hanson and Hsu 1975:149). Jews’ harps are common on 18th-century sites (Noël Hume 1969:320).



Plate 4.18. Lambert/Douglas House Site: selected early and mid-18th-century ceramics from Context 43. *Top row*: mended redware milk pan rim sherds with interior lead glaze. *Left side, top to bottom*: redware milk pan rim/pouring lip sherd with interior lead glaze; three hump-molded, slip-trailed, redware pie plate rim and body sherds (two mended rim sherds); six buff-bodied, slip-combed plate and dot-type hollowware sherds. *Right side, top to bottom*: five tin-enameled body sherds with hand-painted polychrome decoration; four redware bowl rim and body sherds decorated with white and green slip trailing; eight grey-bodied salt-glazed Westerwald stoneware drinking vessel sherds (four mend as a rim; one handle) with cobalt blue sprigged, tooled and incised decoration. *Bottom center*: Chinese export porcelain body sherd with hand-painted blue floral decoration (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:D3b].





Plate 4.19. Lambert/Douglas House Site: selected early and mid-18th-century glass artifacts from Context 43. *Upper left, upper right, center and lower right*: five dark olive green glass wine bottle fragments. *Lower left*: two sections from a clear glass wine glass. *Bottom center left*: pale aqua knob over pale aqua pharmaceutical bottle closure (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:D3c].



Plate 4.20. Lambert/Douglas House Site: selected early and mid-18th-century artifacts from Context 43. *Top row, left to right:* large clam shell; small clam shell; oyster shell. *Middle row:* glazed red brick fragment *over* window lead marked “\*EW\*1701\*TD\*”; tin-enameled delftware wall or fireplace tile with hand-painted purple scenic decoration; brass mouth harp, bone die and lead gaming piece *over* three halfpence *over* pair of glass studded brass sleeve links; bone-handled clasp knife *over* two hollow-cast buttons; four brass pins *over* brass drawer pull *over* 0.54 caliber lead rifle ball. *Lower left:* 30 white clay tobacco pipe stem and bowl fragments. *Lower right:* several pale aqua window pane fragments (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:D3a].

Two gaming pieces were also recovered from this context (Plate 4.20 [middle row, center]). One piece is a bone die made from a utensil handle and appears unfinished. One side clearly has six dots and another side has two (but in the position of a four or five). None of the other sides are marked and two opposing sides are pitted where the marrow is exposed. The pitting may have occurred during the course of marking the piece, leading to its discard, or it may have occurred more gradually during usage as the two surfaces would have been susceptible to wear. Similar examples have been excavated from 18th-century military contexts at Fort Michilmackinac (1715-1781) (Stone 1974:152-153), Fort Albany (1610-1686) (Kenyon 1986:118) and Pemaquid, Maine (Bradley and Camp 1994:107). Gambling with dice was very popular during the 18th century. The other gaming piece consists of a coin-sized white metal disc with a concave center and equal-sized tri-folded margins (resembling a cocked hat), which may have been used as a counter. Its size suggests it may have originally been a counterfeit halfpenny made of a mix of cheaper metals, common at the time.

One hundred and sixteen fragments of white ball clay tobacco pipe bowls and stems were found in Context 43 (Plate 4.20 [lower left]). The pipe stems include pieces with bore diameters of 4/64, 5/64 and 6/64. Using the Harrington method for dating pipes based on bore diameters, 4/64 inch correlates to a peak period of usage *circa* 1750-1800, 5/64 inch to *circa* 1710-1750 and 6/64 inch to *circa* 1680-1710 (Noël Hume 1969:298-299). These dates fall within the projected ceramic date range for Context 43 as noted above. Pipe bowl styles match Noël Hume's Types 17 (*circa* 1680-1710) and 18 (*circa* 1720-1820) (Noël Hume 1969:301).

**Tools/Hardware:** Four brass straight pins, each with wire wound spherical heads measuring slightly over one inch in length, were found in Context 43 (Plate 4.20 [middle row, right]). Similar examples have been

recovered from archaeological excavations at Fort Stanwix (1758-1781) in Rome, New York (Hanson and Hsu 1975:138-139). Straight pins were used not only for sewing but also to hold together paper documents and monetary scrip. A total of 53 other straight metal pins and a heavily corroded pair of iron scissors were also recovered from this context.

**Building Materials:** Another window lead with the inscription “\*EW\*1701\*TD\*” was recovered from Context 43 (Plate 4.20 [middle row, left]). Leads with this inscription have also been found in Contexts 25, 26, 80 and 200 (see above, Contexts 26 and 80, for further discussion). The presence of a window lead in this context may reflect replacement of some of the old casement windows with double-hung sash windows in the 1760s or 1770s (Noël Hume 1969:233).

**Commerce:** Two copper coins were identified in Context 43 (Plate 4.20 [middle row, center]). One is a George II 1753 halfpenny depicting the “old bust” of King George II facing left. This coin shows some wear from limited circulation but is in overall fairly good shape. The other coin is completely worn smooth but, based on its size and weight, is probably a halfpenny. Such wear would also suggest it would have been minted in the 1694-1702 period either during the reign of King William III and Queen Mary, or during King William's subsequent reign as sole monarch following Mary's death.

**Arms/Armor:** A .54 caliber lead rifle ball was found in Context 43 (Plate 4.20 [middle row, right]) (Parrington *et al.* 1984:125-161), along with a brass trigger guard. Rifles were in common usage on the early colonial frontier for hunting and defense.

*c. Contexts 180-183 and 187 (Modification to Partition Wall)*

**i. Stratigraphy**

During the course of excavating Context 43 a mortared mica schist foundation [180-183, 187], U-shaped in plan, was identified along the west basement foundation wall [40] (Figures 4.11 and 4.14; Plates 4.12, 4.14 and 4.21). This feature also incorporated the west end of the partition wall [227]. Context 181 consisted of a mortared mica schist stone wall, three courses thick and 5 feet long, and possibly served as the west end of the partition wall. Two mica schist footings or piers [180, 182], each 1.50 feet wide, abutted the south side of Context 181 and extended south from this context for 2.50 feet. Context 182, the west pier, was constructed adjacent to the flat stones comprising the west foundation wall [184] (Plates 4.22 and 4.23). Context 183 consisted of mica schist tumble, probably related to the building demolition. This foundation is apparently not part of the original building construction, as the western pier, placed against the west foundation wall, would have blocked part of the hypothesized opening in the western basement wall that was discussed above. Furthermore, the middle basement floor stratum [43] was found extending under and around the foundation, suggesting a renovation to the building in the third quarter of the 18th century.

**ii. Artifacts**

Three heavily patinated, olive green, free-blown wine bottle bases with high push-ups and sand pontil marks were recovered from Context 187 (Plate 4.24 [left side and lower right]). Two of the push-ups exhibit parabolic cross sections ( $4\frac{3}{4}$  inches in diameter), while the other has a rounded cone profile ( $4\frac{1}{8}$  inches in diameter) (Jones and Sullivan 1985:113-114). The differences in diameter reflect the differences in capacity. By around 1730 English wine bottles were starting to

be mold-blown on a large scale to accommodate the desire for standardized capacities and specific shapes (Jones and Sullivan 1985:22). Two heavily patinated, olive green, free-blown wine bottle neck/tops were also recovered from Context 183 (Plate 4.24 [top right]). One has an applied, down-tooled string lip and the other an applied, up-tooled lip that is V-shaped in profile (Jones and Sullivan 1985:95). These neck/top and base fragments from Context 183 are likely from the same wine bottles found in Context 187. In their complete form these bottles would have been mallet- or cylinder-shaped. This type of wine bottle was manufactured over a long period from *circa* 1730 until about 1820 (Dumbrell 1983).

*d. Context 186 (Possible Brick Floor) and Contexts 162 and 163 (Pit)*

**i. Stratigraphy**

Remnants of a possible brick floor [186] were exposed in Excavation Unit 99P around the support pier [182], overlying the middle floor stratum (Figure 4.11; Plates 4.12 and 4.21). The brick masonry appeared to be arranged in a pattern, and is the only area within the basement where brick flooring was found intact. This suggests that at least part of the basement floor may have been paved after the deposition of Context 43.

A probable trash pit [162, 163] was identified in Excavation Units 99P, 99Q, 99U and 99V (Figures 4.11, 4.14 and 4.15; Plate 4.12). The 3 x 4-foot pit cut the middle and lower floor strata [43, 200] and extended into subsoil to a depth of 2.60 feet below the top of Context 43. The pit fill consisted of mottled silt loam [163].





Plate 4.21. Lambert/Douglas House Site: view looking west showing the west wall fireplace footings [180-182]; note remnants of brick floor along the left side of the footings; flat stones of the west foundation wall [184] are visible overlaid by the fireplace remains; traces of a possible stone retaining wall and a possible interior basement entrance [144] are visible above the foundation wall; the builders' trench for the partition wall is at lower right; scales in feet and inches (Photographer: Dawn Turner, February 1998) [HRI Neg. #97045/35:8].



Plate 4.22. Lambert/Douglas House Site: view looking south showing the west wall fireplace footings [180-182] and their relationship to the west basement wall [40, 184]; note portion of fireplace footing extends over flat stones of the earlier foundation or basement entranceway; scales in feet and inches (Photographer: Dawn Turner, February 1998) [HRI Neg. #97045/35:16].



Plate 4.23. Lambert/Douglas House Site: view looking northwest showing the west wall fireplace footings [180-182] after removal of the upper portion Context 43 and stone rubble; U-shaped outline of fireplace footing is evident; scales in feet and inches (Photographer: Matthew Lazur, February 1998) [HRI Neg. #97045/39:29].





Plate 4.24. Lambert/Douglas House Site: selected 18th- and early 19th-century glass artifacts from Contexts 183 and 187. *Left side and lower right*: three dark olive green free-blown wine bottle base fragments. *Top right*: two neck/closure fragments with applied string rims (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:H2].

## ii. Artifacts

A total of 239 historic artifacts were recovered from the fill [163] of this refuse pit (Table 4.11; Plates 4.25-4.27). The assemblage comprises predominantly domestic artifacts with a date range of *circa* 1720 to 1745.

### *Ceramics*

Ceramic vessel sherds consist of utilitarian redware and red-bodied slipware (82) (both domestic and British) and a small variety of imported wares including buff-bodied earthenware and slipware (4), tin-enameled earthenware (15), creamware (1), stoneware (8) and Chinese porcelain (5) (Table 4.12 ; Plate 4.25).

**Redware:** Sherds from two thin, red-bodied hollowware vessels, both made in the Philadelphia tradition, are included in the assemblage. These have a dark iron/lead glaze on the interior and exterior. The first example is a chamber pot represented by four mending sherds; the other specimen is a large rim sherd from a cylindrical cider or ale tankard (Plate 4.25 [top left and bottom left]).

One indeterminate sherd with a high-fired light brown body (possibly over-fired redware) was recovered from Context 163 (Plate 4.25 [right side, second from top]). The vessel from which this sherd derives appears to be a storage jar used for holding some kind of liquid. The interior of the sherd is glazed and exhibits an unidentified residue; the exterior is unglazed and has a projecting lid seat which would have allowed a cover to be lashed down. Similar over-fired redware vessels have recently been recovered from the Wistarburgh Glassworks site in Salem County, New Jersey. These vessels are thought to have contained some sort of liquid used in the manufacture of 18th-century glass (Hunter Research, Inc. 1999, 2004).

**Westerwald Stoneware:** A sherd from a Westerwald or Rhenish-type grey-bodied stoneware mug/tankard with reeded collar and hand painted cobalt blue annular decoration was recovered from Context 163 (Plate 4.25 [right side, bottom right]). This vessel type was manufactured over a relatively long period extending from *circa* 1575 to 1725.

### *Other Artifacts*

**Vessel Glass:** Dark olive green wine bottle body and closure fragments (including one from a vessel with an applied string lip), case bottle fragments and pieces of clear stemware were all recovered from Context 163 (Plate 4.26) (see below, Context 2044, for further discussion of this material).

**Personal Items:** A small plain brass child's ring and a small rectangular cast brass knee buckle, decorated with an alternating raised "V" motif, were recovered from Context 163 (Plate 4.27 [middle row, right center]).

**Tools:** A total of 15 brass straight pins, each measuring slightly over one inch long and with wire wound spherical heads, were recovered from Context 163 (Plate 4.27 [bottom row, right]) (see above, Context 43, for further discussion).

## iii Faunal Materials

Ten egg-shell fragments were recovered from Context 163, most likely from a single egg (Plate 4.27 [top row, center]). The species has not been identified, but the projected size and thickness of the shell suggests duck or chicken. This material may indicate that the basement was used for cool storage of eggs.



Plate 4.25. Lambert/Douglas House Site: selected mid-18th-century ceramics from Context 163. *Top left:* mended portion of a black-glazed redware chamber pot, two rim sherds and two body sherds. *Bottom left:* black-glazed redware mug rim sherd. *Right side, top to bottom:* interior/exterior black-glazed redware storage vessel base sherd ; over-fired redware industrial storage vessel rim sherd with exterior lid seat; two hump-molded, slip-trailed and mottled redware plate rim sherds; hump-molded, slip-trailed redware plate body sherd; hump-molded, buff-bodied slip-combed plate rim sherd; buff-bodied slip-combed hollowware body sherd; tin-enamelled earthenware bowl rim sherd with hand-painted blue scenic decoration; cobalt blue decorated, grey-bodied salt-glazed Westerwald stoneware mug rim sherd (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:D2b].



Plate 4.26. Lambert/Douglas House Site: selected mid-18th-century glass artifacts from Context 163. *Top left*: three dark olive green wine bottle body fragments. *Top center right*: dark olive green wine bottle closure with an applied string rim over clear hand-blown glass stemware bowl fragment. *Right*: clear hand-blown stemware stem fragment. *Bottom left*: dark olive green wine bottle base fragment (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:D2c].



Plate 4.27. Lambert/Douglas House Site: selected mid-18th-century artifacts from Context 163. *Top row, left to right:* large oyster shell; egg shell fragments; fish scales. *Middle row:* brass knee buckle; single piece brass button; small brass child's ring; four white clay tobacco pipe stem and bowl fragments. *Bottom row:* two pale aqua window pane fragments; 16 brass pins with applied heads (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:D2a].

Fifty-one fish scales were also found in Context 163 (Plate 4.27 [top row, right]). Microscopic analysis revealed that these scales belong to either white perch (*Morone americana*) or striped bass (*Morone saxatilis*) (Carlson and Fowler 1980:16-21). These two related species have very similar characteristics. Some of the scales have their back portion, which would have been attached to the skin, ripped off in a consistent pattern suggesting some of the fish were scaled. White perch, an anadromous fish commonly found in the shallows and tidal reaches of the Delaware River, can attain a weight of one or two pounds (Kasper 1994:131). In the spring, adult perch swim upstream to spawn. Striped bass are predators typically found in estuarine systems. A larger relative of the white perch, these fish can weigh as much as 50 pounds. Striped bass feed on a range of marine species including alewife, shad, crab, soft shell clam and mussel. The number of bass in the Delaware River will typically be in proportion to the number of bait fish such as shad and alewife (Kasper 1994:106-108). Like perch, striped bass are anadromous and swim upstream to spawn (Carlson and Fowler 1980:20).

***e. Contexts 174, 210 and 211 (Northern Portion of the Basement; Possible Cold Storage Area)***

**i. Stratigraphy**

The northern third of the basement contained two distinct soil deposits [155, 174] to the north of the partition wall. Context 174, the lower and earlier stratum, consisted of silty sand, 0.50 feet thick with thin horizontal bands of silty sand throughout. This deposit was identified in Excavation Units 99A-99J and 99L-99O and directly overlaid the silty clay C horizon [211] (Figures 4.7, 4.11 and 4.14). The silty clay is probably a natural lamella band within the C horizon silty sand matrix that functioned as a base for the floor.

Context 174 does not appear to be the result of domestic basement accumulation as relatively few artifacts were recovered from within this deposit. The thin banding in the matrix suggests gradual soil deposition from water, possibly from melting ice (Figure 4.16; Plate 4.28). Mica schist fragments [210] were found scattered throughout the north section of the basement within Context 174 (Plate 4.29). The soil matrix and mica schist fragments suggest that a combination ice house/dairy cellar may have occupied the northern portion of the basement. The soil may have been deposited by slow melting ice, probably brought from the river and placed between the schist fragments. The schist blocks may have supported wood boards on which milk pans or other utilitarian vessels rested.

**ii. Artifacts**

Only 42 artifacts were recovered from Contexts 174, 210 and 211 (Plate 4.30). The largest category within the assemblage is building materials; only a small number of domestic artifacts are present, with a date range of *circa* 1700 to 1750. The building materials consist of 16 wrought nails and three glass window pane fragments. Ceramic vessel sherds comprise locally made utilitarian redware (4) and some imported British wares consisting of tin-enameled earthenware (3), buff-bodied slipware (1), agate ware (1), grey-bodied stoneware (1) and white salt-glazed stoneware (1). The presence of white salt-glazed stoneware and the absence of cream-colored wares suggest a closing date for these contexts between 1744 and 1750.

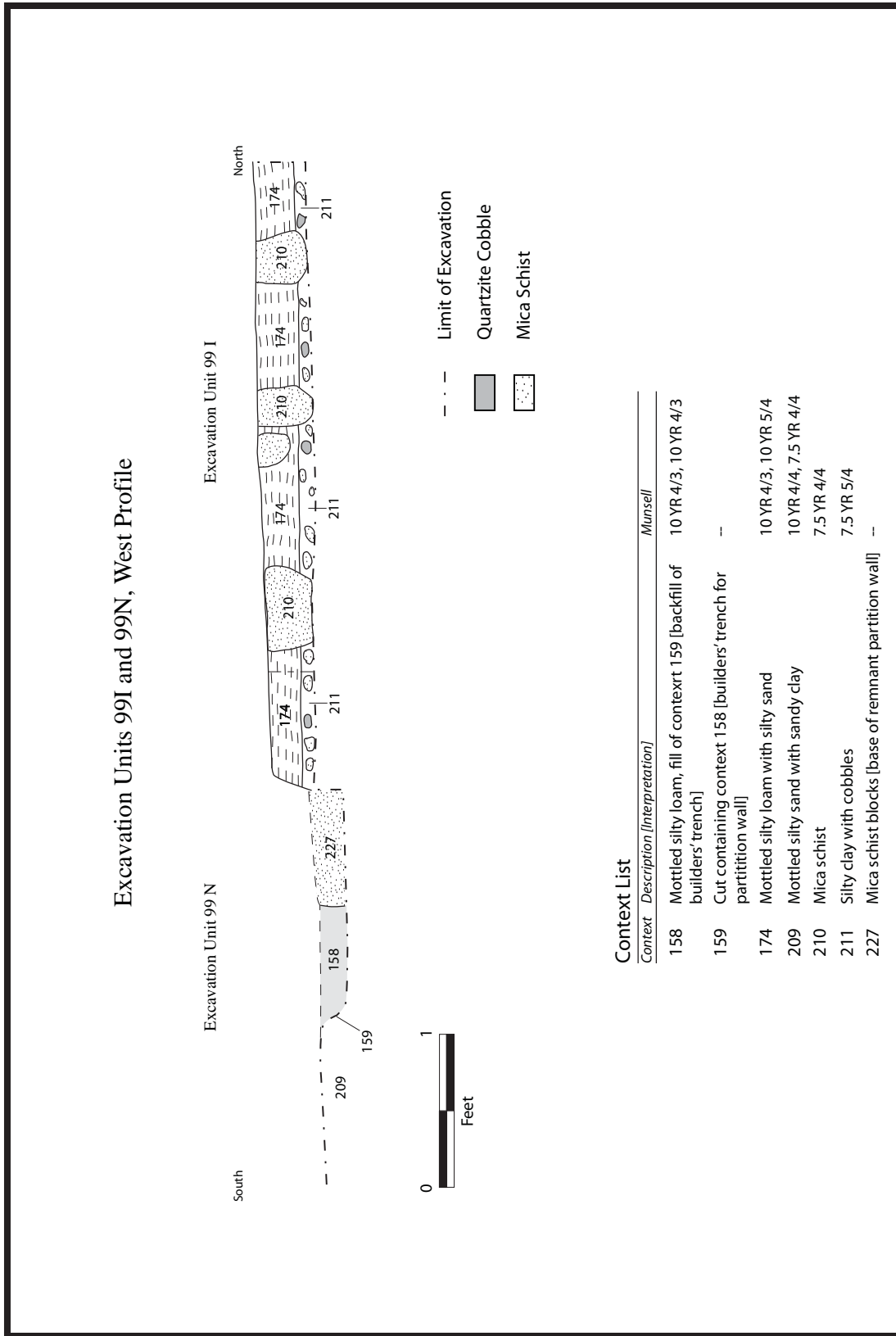


Figure 4.16. Lambert/Douglas House Site: Excavation Units 99I and 99N, West Profile Showing Subfloor Deposits in the Northern Portion of the Basement [Contexts 174, 210 and 211].

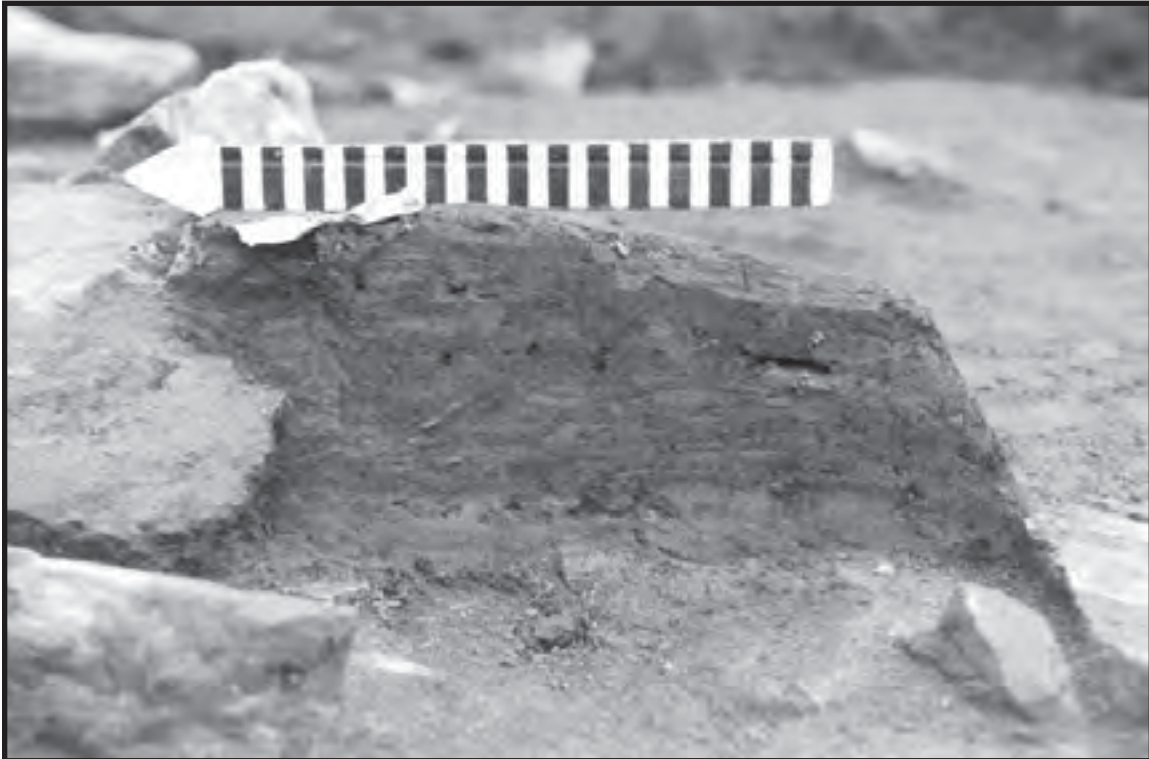


Plate 4.28. Lambert/Douglas House Site: view of soil profile showing bands of accumulated sand between mica schist blocks in the northern portion of the basement, possibly the result of the use of this area for cold storage or as a creamery; trench for partition wall footing is at right; scale in inches (Photographer: Dawn Turner, March 1998) [HRI Neg. #97045/42:28A].





Plate 4.29. Lambert/Douglas House Site: view looking east showing the mica schist debris [174, 210] in the northern portion of the basement; trench for partition wall footing is at right; north foundation wall [175] is at left; scales in feet and inches (Photographer: Dawn Turner, March 1998) [HRI Neg. #97045/42:25A].



Plate 4.30. Lambert/Douglas House Site: selected 18th-century artifacts from Contexts 174, 210 and 211. *Top row, left to right:* pale aqua crown glass window pane fragment; four white clay tobacco pipe stem and bowl fragments. *Bottom row:* two oyster shells (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:C].

*f. Context 155 (Northern Portion of the Basement; Possible Cold Storage Area)*

**i. Stratigraphy**

Context 174 was directly overlaid by Context 155, which consisted of sandy silt with lenses of sand and clay, 0.30 feet thick (Figures 4.7, 4.11, 4.16 and 4.17). This stratum was also confined to the northern portion of the basement. The friable composition of the soil matrix suggests an isolated sub-floor accumulation that was not compacted by pedestrian traffic. This stratum probably formed by gradual accumulation filtering down through a floor above.

**ii. Artifacts**

A total of 337 artifacts were recovered from the northern basement floor deposit [155] (Table 4.13; Plates 4.31-4.33). Datable items range from *circa* 1700 into the third quarter of the 18th century, and perhaps as late as 1780. The artifacts are for the most part small, measuring less than 2 inches across. Unlike the artifacts recovered from the domestic refuse middens found along the riverbank and dating from the same period, there were several cross-mends between ceramic sherds within Context 155. The lack of complete mended vessels suggests this area of the basement was periodically cleaned. As seen in the other deposits, the artifact assemblage from Context 155 is dominated by ceramic vessel sherds (136 [40.4%]) followed closely by building materials (112 [33.2%]), items related to recreational activities (33 [9.8%]) and glass vessel fragments (28 [8.3%]).

*Ceramic Vessels*

Ceramic vessel sherds consist of utilitarian redware (62) and red-bodied ware (18) and a wide variety of imported wares including tin-enameled earthenware

(18), buff-bodied earthenware and slipware (16), creamware (2) and pearlware (1), stoneware (15) and hard-paste porcelain (2) (Table 4.14; Plate 4.31). The presence of creamware and pearlware suggest that the period of development of this context continued into the late 18th century.

**Redware:** Twenty-five reassembled sherds from a red earthenware milk pan cross-mend with one sherd from Context 174 which lies directly below Context 155 (Plate 4.31 [top row]). The milk pan has a 14-inch-diameter rim with an everted lip. The interior exhibits an iron-streaked and speckled clear lead glaze, while the exterior is unglazed. This specific, relatively small form of milk pan is uncommon and its function, although utilitarian, is unknown. It is also uncertain whether the bowl is a European import or was produced locally.

Several other redware milk pan sherds were recovered from Context 155. Seven of these sherds mend to form two different vessels. Both have interior manganese brown lead glaze and unglazed exteriors (see below, Context 25, for further discussion). Another vessel exhibits the classic Philadelphia “black” glaze.

**Tin-Enameled Earthenware:** Four mending sherds from a tin-enameled earthenware bowl (4½ inches in diameter) exhibit a hand-painted blue scenic decoration (Plate 4.31 [bottom row, left]). The foliage is depicted as horizontal bars “resembling small whirlwinds speeding across the countryside.” This decorative style has been attributed to potters in Bristol, England, who were active *circa* 1750 to 1765 (Noël Hume 1969:290).

**Westerwald Stoneware:** Six sherds from a beautifully decorated bulbous Westerwald stoneware jug or tankard were recovered from Context 155 (Plate 4.31 [bottom row, center and right]). Five of the sherds mend into three pieces. The decoration consists of incised geometric and floral motifs in-filled

Context 155

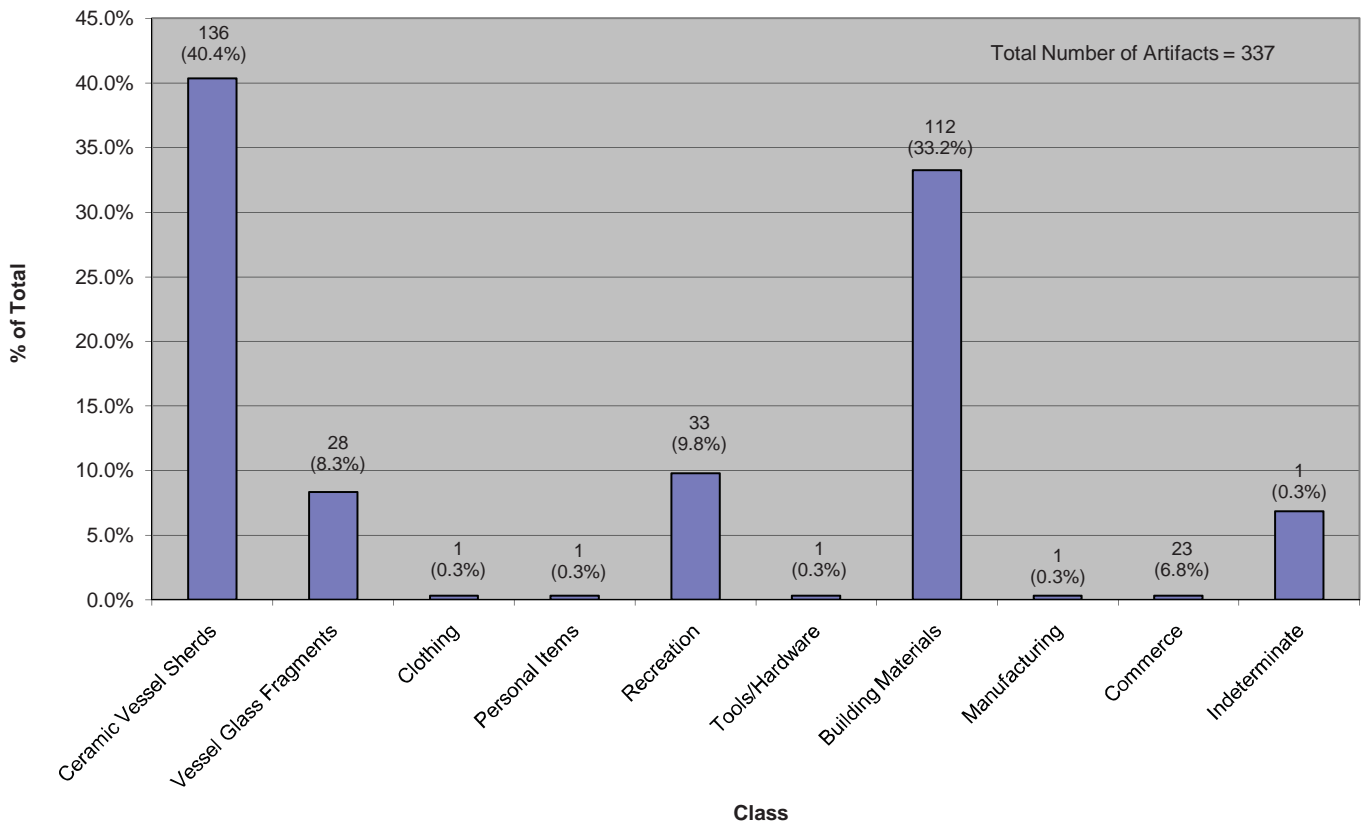


Table 4.13. Lambert/Douglas House Site: Later 18th-Century Basement Floor Deposit (North), Context 155, Historic Artifact Frequency by Class.

Context 155

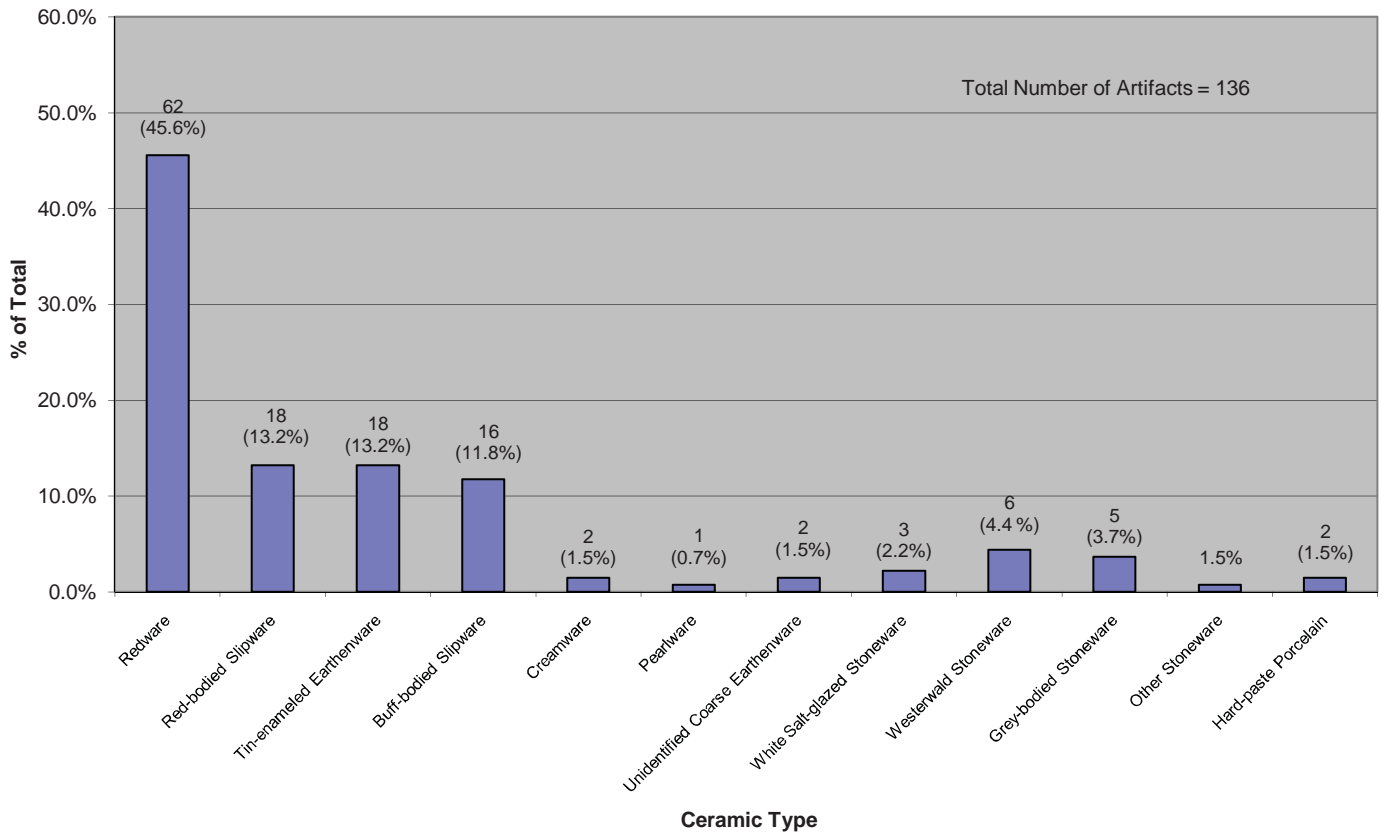


Table 4.14. Lambert/Douglas House Site: Later 18th-Century Basement Floor Deposit (North), Context 155, Historic Ceramic Frequency by Type.

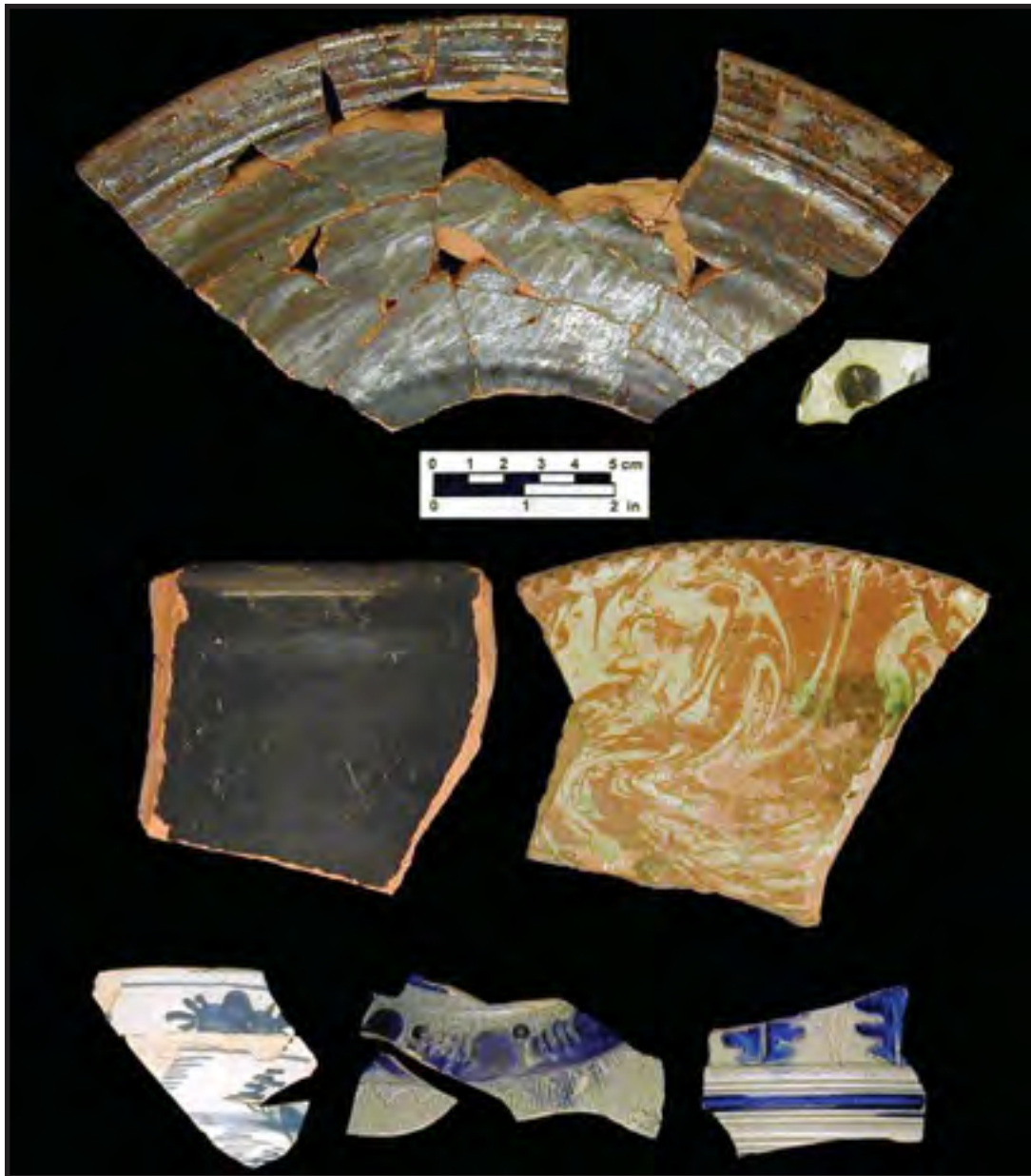


Plate 4.31. Lambert/Douglas House Site: selected 18th-century ceramics from Context 155. *Top row, left to right*: mended rim, base and body sherds of a milk pan (full profile) with interior dark mottled lead glaze; buff-bodied earthenware hollowware sherd with Staffordshire-type dot style slip decoration. *Middle row*: redware storage vessel rim sherd with interior black lead glaze; hump-molded redware plate rim sherd with swirled white slip decoration and green copper oxide highlights. *Bottom row*: mended rim and body sherds of a Bristol-style tin-enameled bowl with hand-painted scenic decoration; three grey-bodied salt-glazed Westerwald stoneware drinking vessel body sherds with cobalt blue and incised decoration (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:Gb].



Plate 4.32. Lambert/Douglas House Site: selected 18th-century glass artifacts from Context 155. *Top left:* hand blown clear wine glass bowl fragment. *Top center:* dark olive green wine bottle body fragment. *Right:* olive green case bottle body fragment. *Bottom left:* pale aqua crown and rolled glass window pane fragments (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:Gc].



Plate 4.33. Lambert/Douglas House Site: selected 18th-century artifacts from Context 155. *Top row, left to right:* oyster shell; egg shell fragments *over* brass thimble *over* bone-handled clasp knife. *Bottom row:* obverse and reverse views of hollow-cast button; 11 white clay tobacco pipe stem and bowl fragments (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:Ga].



with cobalt blue pigment, a treatment datable to *circa* 1700-1775 (Miller *et al.* 2000:10; Gaimster 1997; Noël Hume 2001:96-115). Other sherds probably from the same vessel were recovered from Contexts 38, 43 and 200.

#### *Other Artifacts*

**Vessel Glass:** Vessel glass recovered from Context 155 consists of dark olive green wine bottle body fragments, case bottle body fragments and pieces of clear glass stemware (see below, Context 2044, for further discussion) (Plate 4.32 [top left, top center and right]). Other glass mainly consists of flat window pane fragments of both crown and roll types (Plate 4.32 [bottom left]).

**Clothing:** A hollow cast button of French type with a soldered eye was recovered from Context 155 (Plate 4.33 [bottom row, top left]). The back of the button has two holes to release expanding gases. Using South's button typology, this button would be classified as belonging to Type 2 with a date of manufacture between *circa* 1726 and 1776 (Noël Hume 1969:90-91).

**Personal Items:** A brass pistol grip clasp knife with a bone inset and an iron blade was found in Context 155 (Plate 4.33 [top row, bottom right]). Its brass frame is held together with two iron pins and notched for blade access (see above, Context 163, for further discussion).

**Commerce:** A counterfeit King George II halfpenny was recovered from Context 155. This coin displays characteristics of both the young and old bust halfpennies. The most obvious flaw is in the lower portion of the bust in which the counterfeiter omitted Roman-style armoring. The reverse side is mutilated beyond recognition. This coin may have been identified as a forgery and purposely destroyed. The weight of the

coin is also more than normal copper halfpennies and probably contains a mix of cheaper metals, such as lead or tin. Prior to an act passed by Parliament in 1742 the counterfeiting of regal copper coinage was not regarded as a criminal act. After 1742 counterfeiting of copper coins was considered a misdemeanor punishable by a maximum of two years in jail (Jordan 1999:1-11).

#### **iii. Faunal Materials**

Eight egg shell fragments, most likely from a single egg, were identified in Context 155 (Plate 4.33 [top row, top right]). The species has not been identified, but the projected size and thickness of the shell suggests duck or chicken. Similar egg shell fragments were recovered from Contexts 38 and 163.

#### ***g. Context 38 (Basement Floor Surface; Latest Horizon)***

##### **i. Stratigraphy**

The latest basement floor deposit consisted of compact very fine silt loam [38], which was generally 0.30 feet thick (Figures 4.7, 4.15 and 4.17; Plates 4.34 and 4.35). Context 38 was identified in Excavation Units 3-7 and 99H-99Y throughout the south portion of the basement and extending into the north section between the east end of the partition wall and the east basement foundation wall. This stratum overlaid Context 43 (south basement), a portion of Context 155 (north basement) and the probable trash pit [162, 163].

##### **ii. Artifacts**

A total of 1,184 artifacts were recovered from Context 38, with a date range of *circa* 1700 to 1780 (Table 4.15; Plates 4.36-4.40). The artifacts are for the most

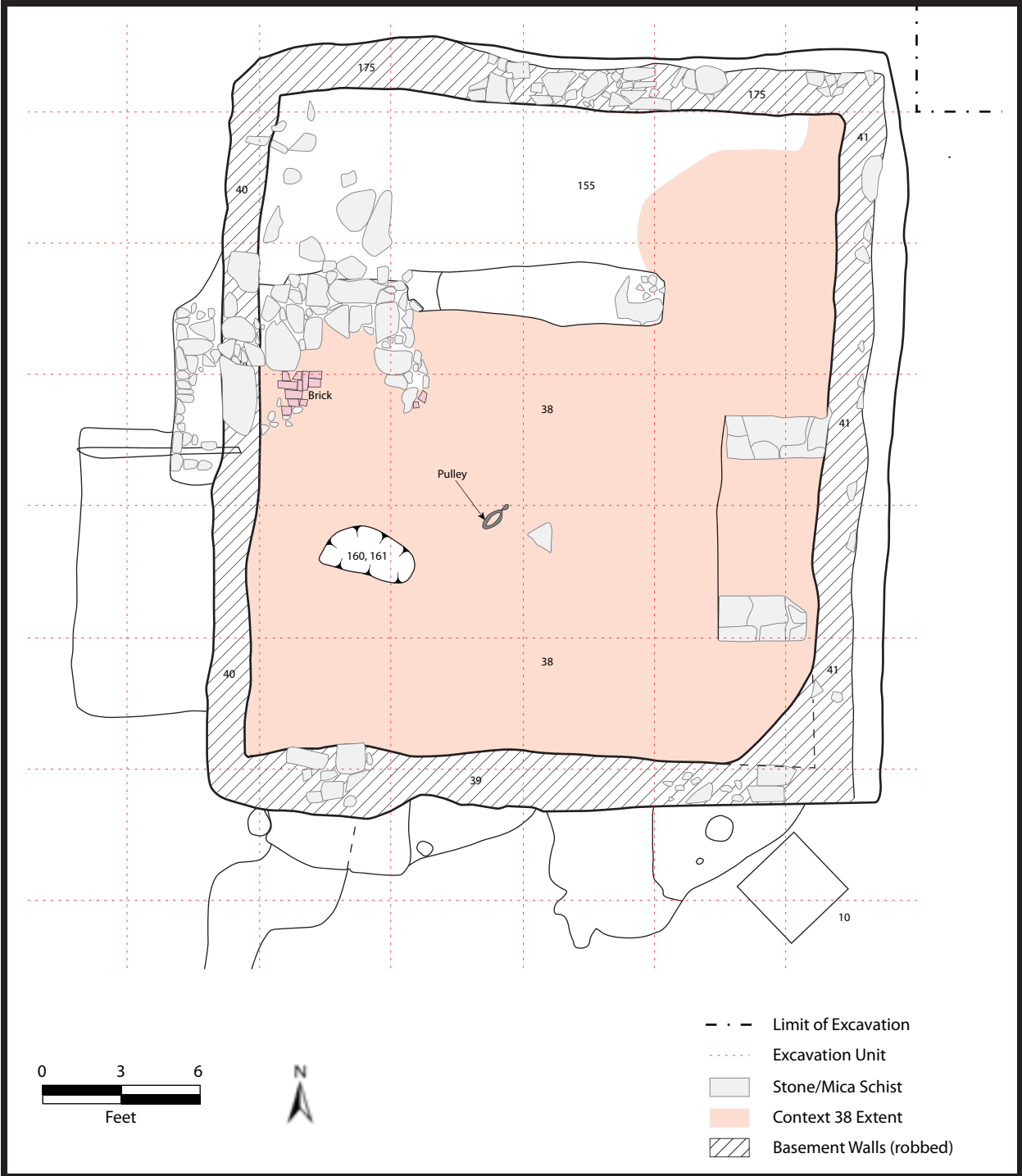


Figure 4.17. Lambert/Douglas House Site: Site Plan Showing the Extent of the Latest Surface in the Basement [Context 38]. See Figure 4.11 for key to other contexts.



Plate 4.34. Lambert/Douglas House Site: general view of the basement cut looking south showing the basement floor [38]; the east wall fireplace footings [42, 44] are along the east side of the basement at left; the later west wall fireplace footings [180-182] are along the west side of the basement at right; the cut for the exterior basement entry is at the upper right corner of basement; scales in feet (Photographer: Dawn Turner, February 1998) [HRI Neg. #97045/29:23A].



Plate 4.35. Lambert/Douglas House Site: general view of the basement cut looking east showing the basement floor [38]; the west wall fireplace footings [180-182] are in the foreground; the east wall fireplace footings [42, 44] are at the top; remnants of the north stone foundation wall [175] are visible at left; scales in feet (Photographer: Dawn Turner, February 1998) [HRI Neg. #97045/29:26A].

Context 38

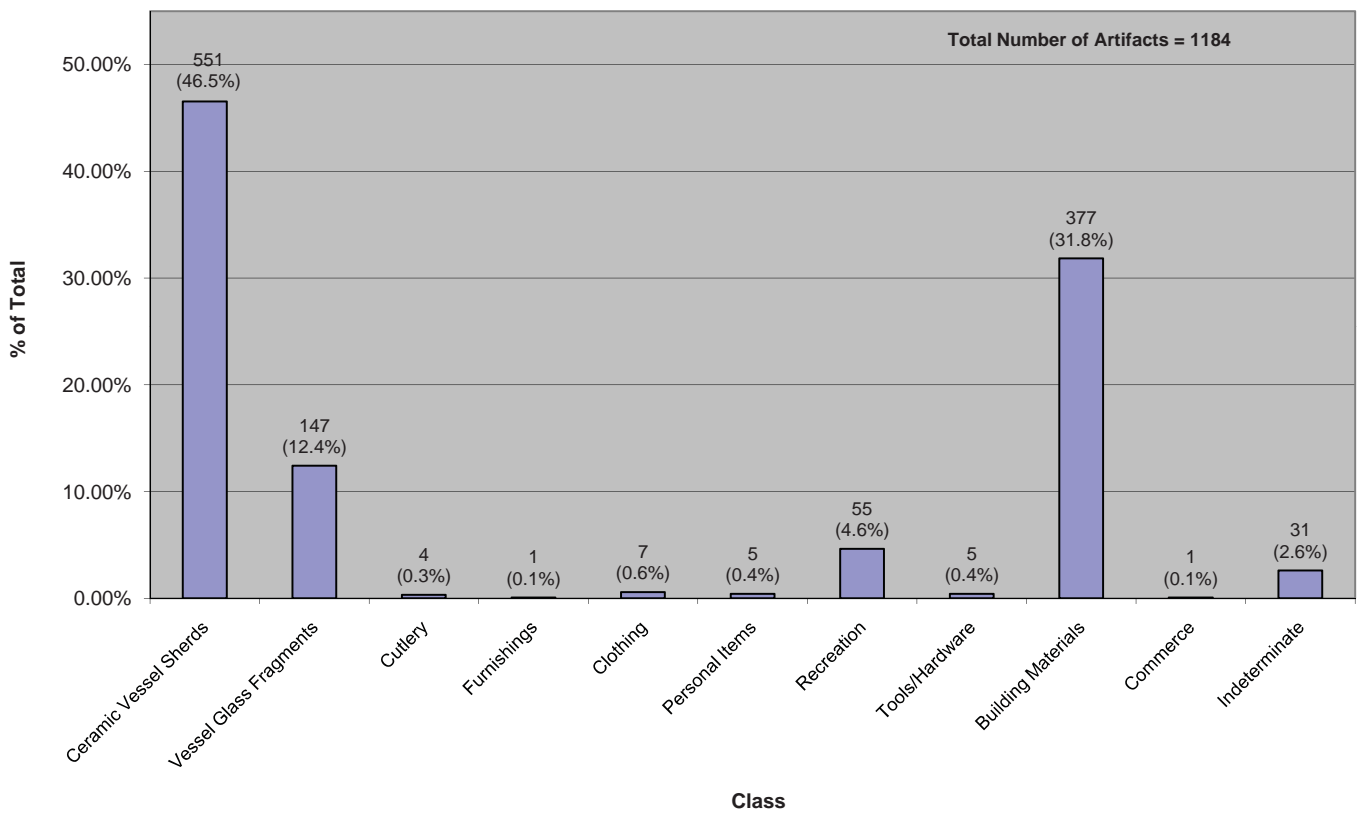


Table 4.15. Lambert/Douglas House Site: Later 18th-Century Basement Floor Deposits (South), Contexts 38, 160, 183, 186 and 187, Historic Artifact Frequency by Class.

Context 38

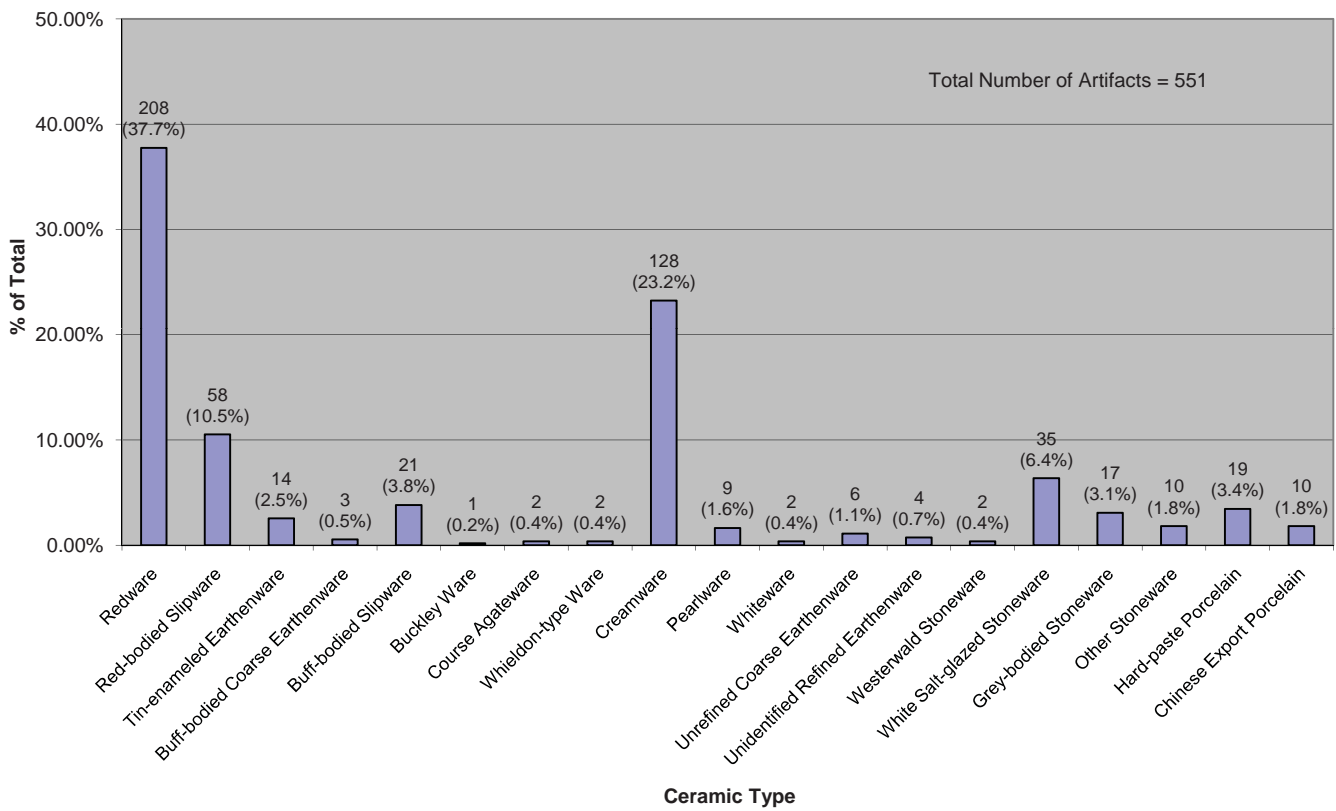


Table 4.16. Lambert/Douglas House Site: Later 18th-Century Basement Floor Deposits (South), Contexts 38, 160, 183, 186 and 187, Historic Ceramic Frequency by Type.



Plate 4.36. Lambert/Douglas House Site: 18th-century redware storage jar from Context 38. Twenty-eight mended sherds from an ovate redware storage jar (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048D1:H1d].

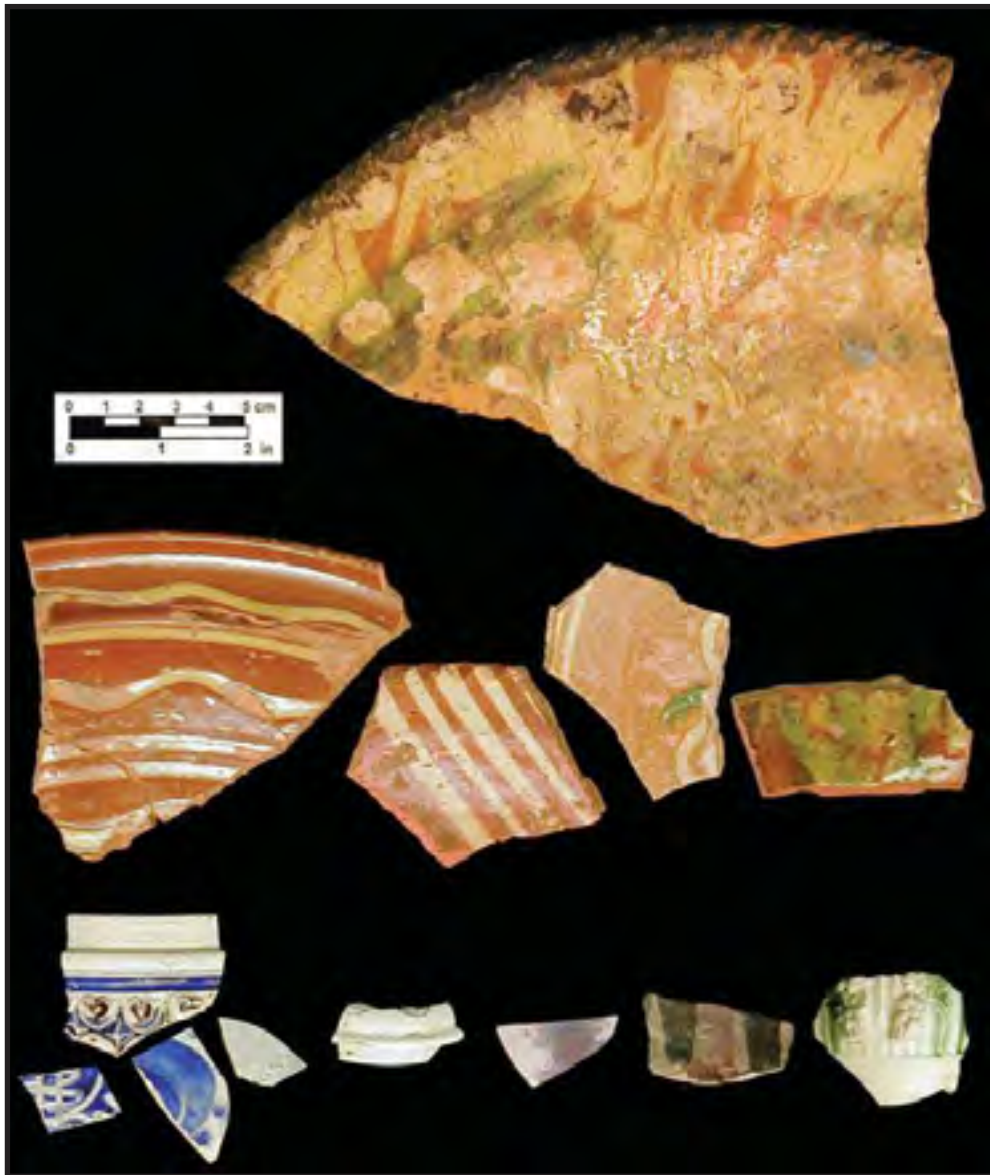


Plate 4.37. Lambert/Douglas House Site: selected 18th-century ceramics from Context 38. *Top*: hump-molded redware pie plate rim sherd with mottled white slip decoration and green copper oxide highlights. *Middle row, left to right*: mended rim and body sherds of a redware mixing bowl with slip-trailed straight and wavy lines; hump-molded redware pie plate rim sherd with white slip-trailed decoration; hump-molded redware pie plate body sherd with mottled white slip decoration and green copper oxide highlights *over* wheel-thrown redware plate body sherd with white and green slip-trailed decoration. *Bottom row*: four grey-bodied salt-glazed Westrwald stoneware tankard rim and body sherds; white salt-glazed stoneware teapot rim sherd with scratch blue decoration; buff-bodied tin-enamelled hollowware sherd with purple decoration; Buckley ware body sherd with black lead glaze; creamware hollowware body sherd with molded flowers and green highlights (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:H1b].





Plate 4.38. Lambert/Douglas House Site: selected 18th-century glass artifacts from Context 38. *Top row, left to right:* dark olive green free-blown wine bottle base/body fragment; dark olive green free-blown wine bottle neck/closure fragment with an applied string rim; green chestnut-shaped wine bottle base fragment. *Bottom row:* thin clear glass rectangular bottle base with a blowpipe pontil scar (side and bottom views); clear glass tumbler base fragment (side and bottom views); two dark olive green wine bottle base fragments (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048D1:H1c].

part quite large with many items measuring more than 2 inches across. This context produced multiple cross-mends between ceramic sherds. The lack of complete mended vessels suggests that this area of the basement was periodically but inadequately cleaned (a similar hypothesis was advanced for Context 155). The artifact assemblage is dominated by ceramic vessel sherds (551 [46.5%]), followed by building materials (377 [31.8%]) and glass vessel fragments (147 [12.4%]).

#### *Ceramic Vessels*

Ceramic vessel sherds consist of utilitarian redware and red-bodied ware (266) and a wide variety of imported wares including buff-bodied earthenware and slipware (24), tin-enameled earthenware (14), Buckley ware (1), coarse agateware (2), Whieldon-type ware (2), creamware (128), pearlware (9), white-ware (2), stoneware (64), Chinese export porcelain (10) and hard-paste porcelain (19) (Table 4.16; Plate 4.36). The presence of a large quantity of creamware coupled with a small quantity of pearlware suggests that development of this context continued to occur into at least the early 1780s.

**Redware:** Eight redware sherds from Context 38 mend with 20 sherds from Context 43 to form roughly 65% of an ovate redware storage jar (Plate 4.36). The interior diameter of the mouth of this vessel is 4 inches. Its projected height is 13 inches and the diameter of its bulbous middle portion is 9½ inches.

**Buckley Ware:** One sherd of Buckley ware was recovered from Context 38 (Plate 4.37 [bottom row, second from right]). Other isolated Buckley ware sherds were recovered from the riverbank midden deposits (Contexts 147 and 150) along the Delaware River (see above, Context 150, for further discussion).

**Westerwald Stoneware:** Two sherds from a finely decorated Westerwald stoneware jug or tankard were recovered from Context 38 (Plate 4.37 [bottom row, left]). The decoration consists of incised geometric and floral motifs in-filled with cobalt blue pigment, a style that was prevalent *circa* 1700 to 1775 (Miller *et al.* 2000:10; Gaimster 1997; Noël Hume 2001:96-115). These sherds are most likely from the vessel that was represented by sherds recovered from Contexts 43, 155 and 200.

A single rim sherd from a Rhenish tankard was recovered from Context 38 (Plate 4.37 [bottom row, left]). The tankard is decorated with a cobalt blue band on the cordoning below the rim and has a sprig-applied band of purple manganese hearts with cobalt blue diamonds. This type of vessel with this style of decoration typically dates from *circa* 1700 to 1730 (Hughes 1960:36-37; Skerry and Hood 2009:46).

**Grey-Bodied Stoneware:** As in Contexts 25, 26, 80, 147, 150 and 158, several grey-bodied stoneware sherds were identified as being produced by local potter James Rhodes in the 1770s or early 1780s, either at William Richards' stoneware pottery located a short distance to the south on the Lambertson waterfront or at Rhodes's own pottery on the Bordentown Road (South Broad Street) near its intersection with Ferry Street (see Volume III of this report series and Hunter Research, Inc. 2005 for further detail).

#### **Other Artifacts**

**Vessel Glass:** Vessel glass from Context 38 consists of dark olive green wine bottle body, base and closure fragments (including one with an applied string lip), olive green chestnut bottle body and base fragments, clear glass tumbler fragments and a base fragment with a blowpipe pontil scar from a thin clear glass rectangular bottle (Plate 4.38).

**Cutlery:** Two pieces of cutlery – a fork and a knife – were found in Context 38 (Plate 4.39 [top row, left]). The iron fork has two tines and a handle with bone side plates decorated with a cut cross-hatched diamond pattern. The handle is held together with two iron rivets. This type of fork was popular during the mid-18th century. The knife is broken off at the handle; the blade is missing. The handle consists of two bone pistol grip plates held together with two rivets. This type of knife dates to the early 18th century (Noël Hume 1969:182).

**Clothing:** A total of four brass straight pins, each measuring slightly over one inch long and with wire wound spherical head, were recovered from Context 38 (see above, Context 43, for further discussion) (Plate 4.39 [middle row, center group, right]).

**Tools/Hardware:** A felling axe is included in the assemblage from Context 38 (Plate 4.40 [bottom]). This specimen has a flat top and a rounded blade which extends below the hafting socket. The socket is squared off along the back or butt (Hanson and Hsu 1975:100-104). This type of axe is also commonly referred to as a trade axe (Russell 1967:269) and as a tomahawk (Peterson 1968:104).

A large iron pulley housing, 13 inches long with a hook at one end, was recovered from Context 38 in Excavation Unit 99V (Plate 4.40 [top]). A pulley of this size would normally be used to hoist objects to the upper stories of building or off of ships, but it could also have been used to hang carcasses (e.g., deer, pig, sheep or cow) in the basement for butchering or salt curing.

A long flat piece of iron bar stock, tapered at one end and wrought into a closed loop, was recovered from this context. Its overall length is 22 inches, while its width at one end measures 1.15 inches, tapering to 0.5

inches at the loop end. The function of this artifact is unknown. A similar piece of iron was recovered from Context 25.

**Building Materials:** Numerous pieces of mortar coated with plaster and whitewash were recovered from Context 38. The mortar is  $\frac{3}{8}$  inches in thickness and composed of fine sand and small pieces of lime. No horse hair is visible in the matrix. The plaster coat and whitewash cover measures one-sixteenth of an inch in thickness. This material appears to derive from wall coverings. Plastering and whitewashing of basement walls and ceilings was a common feature in early 18th-century houses, especially when basements were being used as creameries (as an alternative to freestanding ice houses). Whitewashed walls would have helped to keep the temperature cool.

**Commerce:** A single cowrie shell (*Cypraea moneta*) was recovered from Context 38 (Plate 4.39 [middle row, bottom group, right]). *Cypraea moneta* or money cowries can be found in the shallows of warm lagoons and basins in the Indian and Pacific Oceans. They were typically traded by weight, by volume, or by counting (about 400 to the pound). Money cowries are difficult to break and their durability has been compared to metal coins. Unlike coins, the money cowrie is almost impossible to counterfeit. For that reason they were preferred over coins in many cultures. Cowries show up in the Americas as a result of the slave trade, in part due to a demand for them among transplanted Africans who were familiar with this type of currency from their homeland. The English and Dutch were the largest inter-oceanic shippers of the cowrie in the 18th century. The imported shells were regularly traded at the English East India Company's auction sales held for the African slave trade (Hogendorn and Johnson 1986). The specimen from the basement of the Lambert/Douglas House was positively identified by Shirley S. Albright, Assistant Curator, Collections and Exhibitions, New Jersey State Museum, Bureau of Natural History. It should



Plate 4.39. Lambert/Douglas House Site: selected 18th-century artifacts from Context 38. *Top row, left to right:* bone-handled two-tine fork; bone pistol-grip knife handle; fish scales over egg shell fragments; clam shell. *Middle row, top group:* brass hollow-cast button (top and side views); brass one-piece button (top and side views); two bone buttons. *Middle row, center group:* tin-plated brass solid cast coat button (top and side views); brass thimble; four brass straight pins. *Middle row, bottom group:* lead 0.69 caliber musket ball generally used in the British Brown Bess; copper William III halfpenny (circa 1695-1701); small white glass seed-type trade bead; cowrie shell (*Cypraea moneta*). *Bottom row:* 11 white clay tobacco pipe stem and bowl fragments (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:H1a].



Plate 4.40. Lambert/Douglas House Site: selected 18th-century artifacts from Context 38. *Top*: large iron pulley housing with a hook at one end used to hoist heavy objects. *Bottom*: iron felling axe or trade axe with a flat top and a rounded blade (circa 1700 to 1750) (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:H1e].

be noted that a single glass turquoise seed bead, 0.08 inches in diameter, was also recovered from Context 38 (Plate 4.39 [middle row, bottom group, second from right]). Glass seed beads are normally associated with trade involving Native Americans, although in light of the money cowrie, this item may perhaps have a Caribbean or African connection.

A single copper King William III halfpenny was recovered from Context 38 (Plate 4.39 [middle row, bottom group, second from left]). The coin is heavily worn and no date is visible. During King William III's reign copper halfpennies were produced from 1695 to 1701 (Seaby 1971:194). Counterfeit copies of this coin were also made during the late 1720s and passed off as well circulated worn coins. In 1975 a hoard of 362 counterfeit 1699 William III halfpence were found in Philadelphia during the construction of Interstate 95 (Jordan 1999:1-11). It is impossible to tell if this coin is authentic or counterfeit.

**Arms/Armor:** A .69 caliber musket ball generally used in the British Brown Bess was found in Context 38 (Plate 4.39 [middle row, bottom group, left]) (Sivilich 1996:101-109). It is not impossible that this musket ball found its way on to the site during the hostilities around the time of the Battles of Trenton in December 1776 and early January 1777.

### iii. Faunal Materials

A total of 14 fish scales were recovered from Context 38 (Plate 4.39 [top row, center]). Four were identified as shad and one as striped bass or white perch (see above, Context 163, for further discussion).

Twelve egg shell fragments were recovered from Context 38, most likely from a single egg (Plate 4.39 [top row, center]). The species has not been identi-

fied, but the projected size and thickness of the shell suggests duck or chicken. Similar egg shell fragments were recovered from Contexts 155 and 163.

### h. Contexts 160 and 161 (Pit)

#### i. Stratigraphy

A shallow depression or pit [160, 161], 0.90 feet deep, was identified in Excavation Units 99U and 99V (Figures 4.11 and 4.17; Plate 4.12). The pit measured 4 feet by 2 feet and cut Context 38. The pit fill consisted of silt loam. Barrel hoop fragments and numerous fish scales were recovered from the fill, suggesting that the pit may have contained a barrel, which perhaps served as a receptacle for cool storage.

#### ii. Artifacts

Ten artifacts were recovered from the fill of this pit: a redware sherd of 18th- or early 19th-century date; a creamware sherd, *circa* 1762-1820; four olive green wine bottle fragments of 18th- or early 19th-century date; one heavily encrusted nail; and three barrel hoop fragments. The latter are of particular interest as the pit matrix also contained thousands of fish scales which may reflect fish processing and preservation being undertaken in the basement. One soil sample weighing 6lb. 10 oz. was examined from this context and found to contain 998 scales and scale fragments. More than 350 of the scales were identified as being from shad and herring (*clupeidae*) and 12 were white perch or striped bass (*percichthyidae*). The remaining specimens were too fragmentary to identify but are most likely from shad and herring.

*i. Contexts 25 and 143 (Basement Fill; Main Abandonment Deposit)*

**i. Stratigraphy**

A single 2.70-foot thick fill deposit [25] was contained within the basement footprint in Excavation Units 99A-Y, 3-8, 12-16, 26, 38, 41, 87, 89 and 514, and overlaid the floor deposits identified as Contexts 38 and 155 (Figures 4.7, 4.8 and 4.12; Plate 4.41). The fill consisted of demolition rubble (brick, mortar, stone, plaster, wood) in a mottled silty loam matrix [25, 143 in Excavation Unit 13]. Lenses of plaster, charcoal and ash were also identified in the matrix. Context 25 filled in the entire basement/foundation cut, including the basement wall trenches, and appears to have been deposited in one episode. A lens of plaster directly overlaid Contexts 38 and 155, and may relate to the collapse of the basement ceiling or (less likely) the walls of the first story. Remains of a door, consisting of a metal strap hinge and decayed sections of wood, were identified overlying Context 155 in the northwest corner of the basement. Context 25 also overlaid the partition wall trench fill [158], the east wall fireplace supports [42, 45] and the possible fireplace foundations [180, 181, 182] abutting the partition wall. The stairway entrance cuts [144, 218] along the west and south walls were likewise filled by Contexts 25 and 143.

**ii. Artifacts**

A total of 25,695 artifacts were recovered from this massive single fill episode in the basement (Table 4.17; Plates 4.42-4.77). Datable items fall within the range *circa* 1700 to 1790 (in terms of their date of manufacture). The presence of a large quantity of monochrome (blue), hand-painted pearlware and an unworn New Jersey copper dated 1787 (see below) suggests that this context was deposited prior to 1790. The artifacts are for the most part large, with

many artifacts measuring more than 2 inches across. Numerous cross-mends between ceramic sherds were found. Many of the vessels mend to more than 70% completion suggesting they were in the building when it was demolished, or in some other nearby place from which they were brought in to the site as part of the fill. The artifact assemblage is dominated by ceramic vessel sherds (13,923 [54.2%]), followed by building materials (8,324 [32.4%]) and glass vessel fragments (2,313 [9.0%]).

*Ceramic Vessels*

Ceramic vessel sherds consist of utilitarian redware and red-bodied slipware (8,652), mostly of local manufacture, and a wide variety of other wares, mostly imported, including tin-enameled earthenware (427), buff-bodied earthenware and slipware (253), gravel-tempered ware (10), agateware (26), Whieldon-type ware (108), Jackfield-type ware (1), creamware (1,520), pearlware (581), whiteware (18), white salt-glazed stoneware (611), grey-bodied and other stoneware (1,027 [including vessels of local manufacture]), soft-paste porcelain (4) and Chinese export porcelain (655) (Table 4.18; Plates 4.42-4.59).

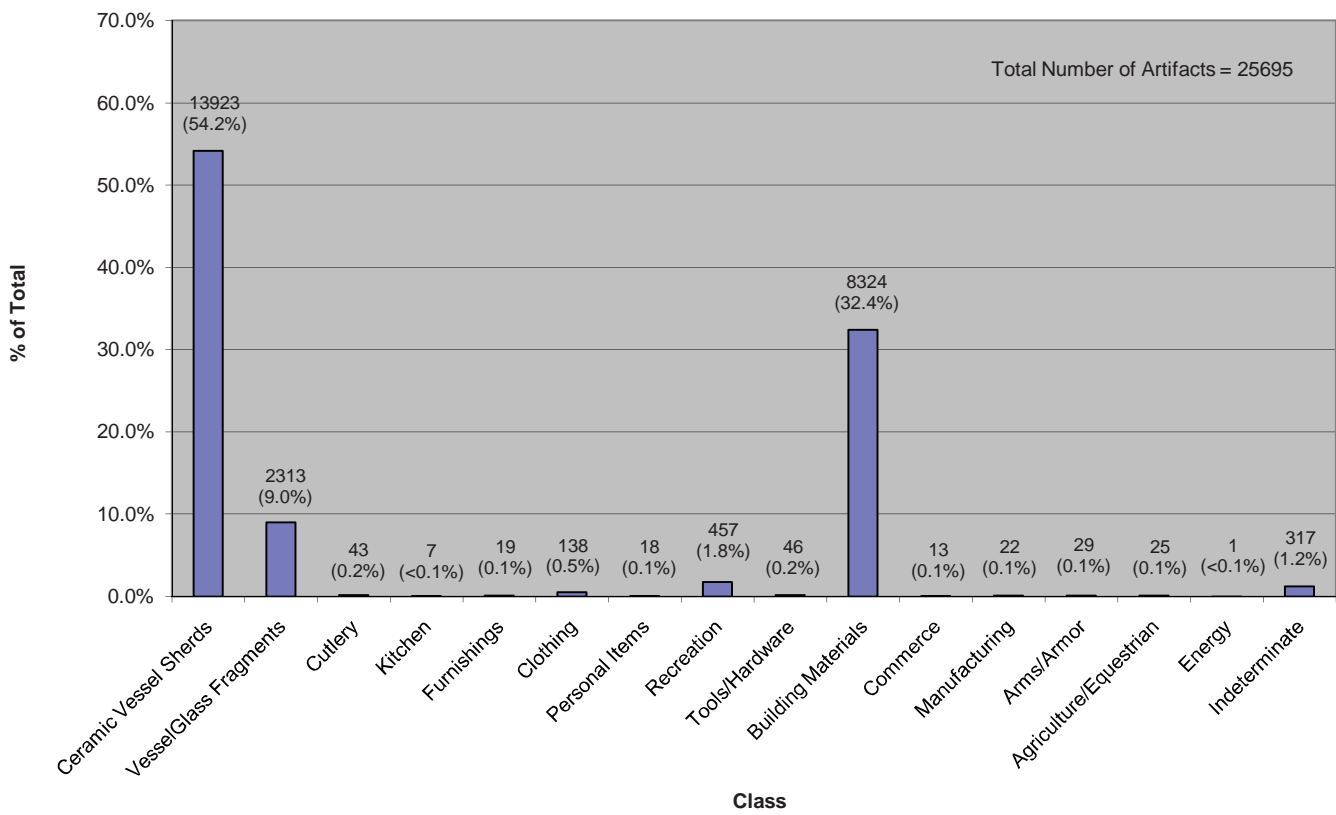
**Redware and Red-Bodied Slipware:** Several red-bodied slipware vessels, mostly “pie” plates, pans and shallow bowls and dishes, were recovered from Context 25 (Plates 4.42-4.44). The majority of these vessels fall within the category referred to as Philadelphia, Delaware Valley or Lower Delaware Valley redware (Louis Berger & Associates, Inc.1997:V181-V187). Generally, earlier (*pre-circa* 1750) examples of these plates are wheel-thrown, while later varieties are hump-molded and semi-mass produced. All hump-molded examples exhibit coggled or rouletted rims. Coggling also served to strengthen the edge against chipping (Nelson 1985:47).



Plate 4.41. Lambert/Douglas House Site: general view looking east showing the principal basement fill deposit [25] in the lower portion of the soil profile (between the two horizontal scale poles); the east wall fireplace footings [42, 44] are overlaid by the south end of the profile; the top of the basement floor deposit [38] is exposed in the foreground; scales in feet and inches (Photographer: Aaron Levinthal, December 1997) [HRI Neg. #97045/16:17].

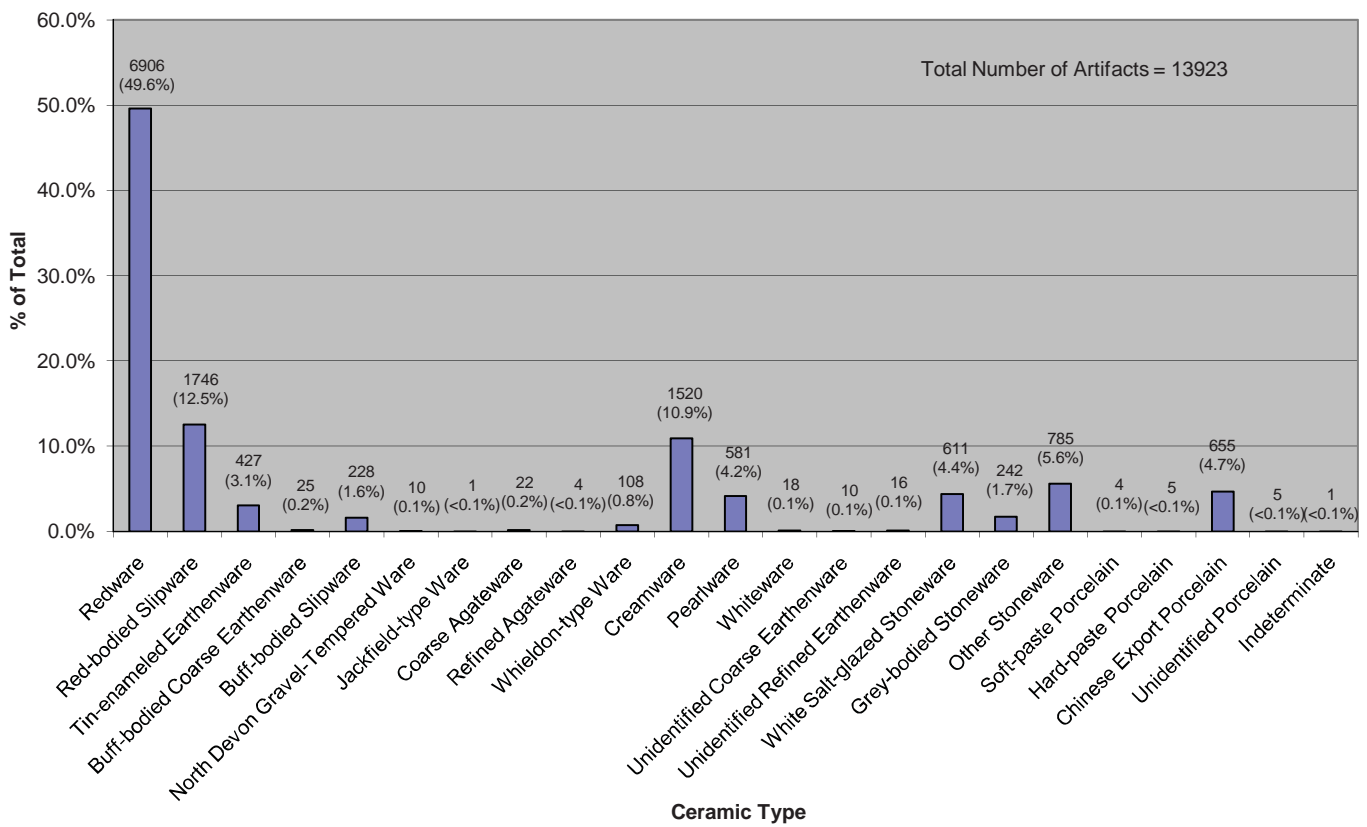


Contexts 25 and 143



4.17. Lambert/Douglas House Site: Late 18th-Century Basement Fill Deposits, Contexts 25 and 143, Historic Artifact Frequency by Class.

Contexts 25 and 143



4.18. Lambert/Douglas House Site: Late 18th-Century Basement Fill Deposits, Contexts 25 and 143, Historic Ceramic Frequency by Type.

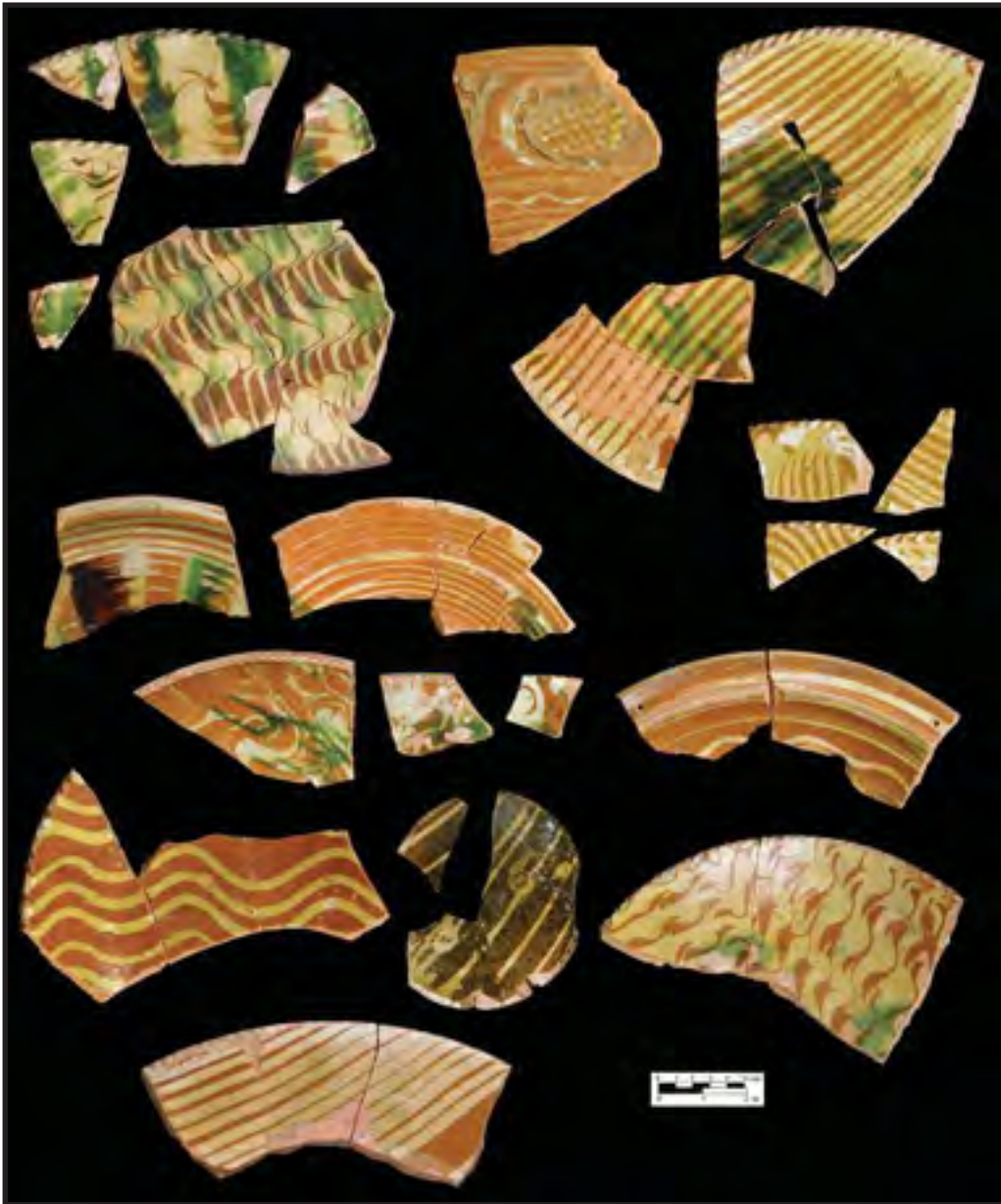


Plate 4.42. Lambert/Douglas House Site: selected 18th-century Delaware Valley-style slip-trailed redware vessels from Context 25. Various rim, base and body sherds, many mended, from pie plates and bowls with combed, swirled and wavy line slip-trailed decoration and copper and iron oxide highlights (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:J8].



Plate 4.43. Lambert/Douglas House Site: two 18th-century Delaware Valley-style slip-trailed redware bowls from Context 25. The upper bowl is unmistakably in the Philadelphia style with a slipped interior to within a  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an inch of the rim, streaked with iron, copying a Chinese bowl shape; the lower vessel is a large wheel-thrown bowl with slip-trailed decoration in the Delaware Valley tradition displaying bands of four lines alternating with single wavy bands (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048 D1:J12].



Plate 4.44. Lambert/Douglas House Site: early 18th-century Delaware Valley-style slip-trailed redware pan or deep dish from Context 25. This vessel is decorated with alternating bands of white slip and wavy bands of green slip on the interior body with alternating sprigs or foliates (consisting of four lines and curl) in white and green in the Germanic style (cross-mends with sherds from Context 38) (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:J33].

The diameters of the red-bodied slipware vessels recovered from Context 25 range between 5 and 14 inches with most specimens measuring between 10 and 12 inches. These vessels display a range of decorative styles, including straight and wavy single and repeated slip-trailed lines or bands, “zig-zag” slip, marbled or jogged slip and slipped grounds. Slip decorations were added by means of a cup fitted with from one to eight small spouts. The cup, filled with slip created from white ball clay and water, was passed across the unfired vessel several times leaving a distinctive pattern. Intended for baking, most of these vessels are oven-scorched, a result of food brimming onto the porous, unglazed exterior surfaces.

Typically, a clear lead glaze covered the slip decoration. This glaze was made by combining powdered red lead, clay and pulverized sand (silica) in water to make a slip solution which, when applied to the surface of redware and fired in a kiln, would result in a transparent covering. Due to health hazards these lead glazes have long since been discontinued on pottery vessels used in the preparation, storage and service of food. The hazards of lead glaze were well appreciated, even by the 18th century. In 1785, for example, *The Pennsylvania Mercury* warned “...even when it [lead glaze] is firm enough so as not to scale off, it is imperceptibly eaten away by every acid matter, and mixing with drinks and meats of the people, becomes a slow but sure poison, chiefly affecting the nerves, that enfeebles the constitution, and produces paleness, tremours, gripes, palsies...” (Ketchum 1991:6-8). Several of the red-bodied slipware sherds from Context 25 exhibit splashes of brown from manganese or iron and/or green from copper oxides in the covering glaze, a trait that is commonly found prior to 1820.

Rim sherds from an 11-inch-diameter red-bodied slipware bowl exhibit two widely spaced drilled holes close to the edge of its everted lip (Plate 4.42 [right side, second from bottom]). This bowl, decorated with white slip in parallel concentric bands and waves,

was most likely used in the kitchen or dairy (Beaudry *et al.* 1983:33). The holes, spaced  $6\frac{3}{4}$  inches apart, were drilled after the pot was made. They may have been used to suspend or mount the vessel on a wall or mantel (perhaps it was converted into a display item following recognition of the health risk from the lead glaze). Alternatively the holes may have facilitated the repair of a broken vessel with wire or string. The relatively low cost of these locally produced redware vessels may make their repair seem unusual, but recent excavations by URS Corporation at the Wilson Site (*circa* 1790-1820) have unearthed several slip-trailed redware vessels with similar drilled holes (George Miller, personal communication, June 24, 2002). The need to repair cracked vessels implies a lower economic status of the household or person making use of this type of pottery (Meta Janowitz, personal communication, June 24, 2002). Redware cooking vessels were prone to cracking with repeated use on hot stove-top surfaces which does not allow for the escape of heat from under the vessel.

A smaller red-bodied slipware plate from Context 25, 5 inches in diameter, is hump-molded and is decorated on the interior with white slip-trailed bands (Plate 4.42 [center]). The smaller diameter of this vessel causes the two center bands to be extremely close and at one point make contact. The exterior unglazed surface exhibits charring which extends over a broken edge of the plate, implying it was used for cooking even after it was chipped. The pattern of charring on the exterior also suggests it sat up on a trivet of some sort. Similar charring patterns were observed on redware vessels excavated in Philadelphia (Louis Berger and Associates, Inc. 1997:V-51).

A large thin-bodied slipware bowl is unmistakably made in the Philadelphia style with its interior completely covered in slip up to within a  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an inch of the rim and streaked with iron (Plate 4.43 [top]). The height of the bowl is  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches with a rim diameter of  $8\frac{1}{4}$  inches and a base diameter of  $3\frac{1}{4}$  inches. The foot

is hollowed out on the interior and trimmed on the exterior. This vessel was most likely manufactured by a Philadelphia potter copying a Chinese bowl shape (Louis Berger & Associates, Inc. 1997:V55).

One large slip-trailed, wheel-thrown redware bowl, made in the Delaware Valley tradition with bands of four lines alternating with single wavy bands, was identified in this context (Plate 4.43 [bottom]). This vessel is over 60% complete. The height of the bowl is 3½ inches with a rim diameter of 12½ inches, while the base diameter is 6½ inches. The unglazed exterior base shows extensive wear, but no evidence of charring from use. The interior surface shows little wear suggesting it came in little contact with utensils. This bowl was perhaps used for mixing dough or for setting dough aside to rise.

Sherds of a large slip-trailed, wheel-thrown pan or deep dish were also identified in Context 25 (Plate 4.44). This vessel is close to 60% complete. The height of the vessel is 2½ inches with a rim diameter of 13 inches and a base diameter of 7 inches. The unglazed exterior is charred through use in cooking. The slip-trail decoration on the interior of this vessel is quite complex with concentric bands of white, wavy bands of green and sprigs or foliates (consisting of four lines and a curl) applied in white and green in the Germanic style. The interior central portion of the vessel is largely missing, but shows signs of white and green (possibly floral) decoration.

Only 23 sherds were actually cataloged as belonging to redware milk pans, but many others were probably from these vessels (Plate 4.45). Milk pans were used in separating milk from cream. Fresh milk was poured into these wide-mouthed, flared-wall vessels and stored in a cool place such as a springhouse or cellar. The cream would then rise to the top at which point it was skimmed and stored in a separate container (Ketchum 1991:28-29). The design of the milk pan helped facilitate this process (Nelson 1985:46).

All of the milk pans from Context 25 exhibit interior surfaces covered with a black or mottled manganese brown lead glaze and unglazed exteriors. A minimum of 12 redware milk pans is calculated in the ceramic assemblage from Context 25 based on rim profiles and glaze characteristics. This estimate may under-represent the actual number, as two grey-bodied stoneware milk pans were also found in Context 25 (see below). In any case, 12 to 14 milk pans in a single household at any one time is a high number and perhaps suggests that they were being stored in the house when it was demolished.

The lower part of a footed, ovoid redware storage jar filled with a red powdered substance was found in Context 25 (Plate 4.46). Ten sherds were uncovered lying *in situ* containing the red powdered substance (all ten sherds mend as one). Visual analysis of the substance suggests it is pigment. The vessel exhibits iron or manganese/lead glaze on both interior and exterior.

Two styles of redware porringer were noted in this context (Plate 4.47 [bottom row, center left]). Flat-bottomed porringers are similar in form to metal examples, while those with recessed centers are more typical of the Delaware Valley or, more exactly, Philadelphia tradition. Both types exhibit “black” iron oxide/lead glaze covering on the interior and exterior.

The center section of a candlestick holder has interior and exterior surfaces exhibiting an iron speckled clear lead glaze (Plate 4.47 [bottom row, center right]). The interior is perfectly cylindrical, while the exterior has a wavy profile. Ceramic candlestick holders were comparatively common in the Tidewater region from at least 1630 on through the 19th century, but they are not often found on 18th-century sites in the Delaware Valley. The shape of this candlestick or “chamberstick” follows metal and glass forms. Noël Hume suggests that “cheap, lead glazed red earthenware”



Plate 4.45. Lambert/Douglas House Site: selected locally produced 18th-century redware milk pans from Context 25. These vessels, black lead-glazed on the interior, would have been widely used in a dairy setting for separating milk from cream (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:J3].





Plate 4.46. Lambert/Douglas House Site: 18th-century ovoid, black lead-glazed redware storage jar containing an indeterminate red powder from Context 25 (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:J3].



Plate 4.47. Lambert/Douglas House Site: selected 18th-century redware ceramics from Context 25. *Top row, left to right:* mended base and body sherds from chamber pot (two side views); body sherd from large unglazed lug-handled storage container (front and side views). *Bottom row:* two storage jars, black lead-glazed interior and exteriors; porringer (top and side views), black lead-glazed interior and exterior; candlestick (side and top views), black lead-glazed exterior; three mug/tankards, black lead-glazed interior and exteriors (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:J10].

candlesticks were short-stemmed holders with which “the less wealthy lighted their way to bed” (Noël Hume 1969:95-97).

Parts of a locally manufactured redware tankard or tall mug with a reeded base (4¼-inch base diameter) were recovered from Context 25 (Plate 4.47 [bottom row, right]). Only the base portion of this vessel was mended (five sherds mend as one vessel). The interior and exterior both exhibit a speckled iron oxide/lead glaze in the Delaware Valley style.

A body/handle sherd from a large redware storage crock/jar was recovered from this context (Plate 4.47 [top row, right]). The handle has a massive cup-shaped lug form, which is blended well into the unglazed exterior body of the vessel. The interior exhibits a speckled iron oxide/lead glaze. This vessel was meant to hold a large quantity of some sort of liquid. A similar type of vessel was used as a container for soap at Mount Vernon during the third quarter of the 18th century (Detweiler 1982:168).

Four sherds from a refined dry-bodied redware teapot were recovered from Context 25 (Plate 4.49 [lower right]). Although none of these sherds mend, they are probably from a single vessel. Both interior and exterior surfaces are unglazed with the exterior surface being decorated with a wide engine-turned geometric band. Dry-bodied redware of this type is more commonly referred to as Elers ware and was originally developed in the late 17th century by both the Elers brothers in Staffordshire and by John Dwight in Fulham to copy similar wares imported from Yi-hsing, China. This ware type was manufactured in England from *circa* 1690 to 1775 (Noël Hume 1969:120; Elliot 1998).

**Tin-Enameled Earthenware:** A total of 427 tin enameled earthenware sherds were recovered from Context 25 (Plate 4.48). All of these sherds are from tableware vessels and they display a range of painted

decoration. Most sherds exhibit hand-painted blue decoration using motifs of flowers, bugs or birds. A number of sherds also exhibit polychrome floral decoration (see below for discussion of the Fazackerley pattern), while others make use of purple sponge-painted or manganese-stippled designs (Noël Hume 1977:27).

An 8-inch diameter plate is especially finely decorated with a bird sitting on a fence adjacent to a moth in flight set within a garden (Plate 4.48 [top left]). This scene is encircled by two sets of thin annular bands with another thin blue band near the rim. The rim is painted with a red terra-cotta band.

An 8-inch diameter, tin-enameled serving bowl (13 sherds mend as one) exhibits the “Fazackerley” pattern which was mainly distributed from the English ports of Bristol and Liverpool *circa* 1760 (Plate 4.48 [top right]) (Grimm 1970:159-163). The name of this pattern derives from a Liverpool-made mug inscribed “T.F. Fazackerly 1757” (Miller *et al.* 2000:11). Sherds of tin-enameled hollowware vessels with this pattern were also found in Contexts 2, 25, 26, 38, 135 and 190 with mends occurring between Contexts 25 and 38.

**Buff-Bodied Earthenware and Slipware:** Seven sherds from a Midlands mottled tankard were recovered from Context 25 (Plate 4.49 [top right]). This vessel has a pale or buff body similar to Staffordshire ware. Both the interior and exterior exhibit a clear lead glaze streaked with iron oxide. Similar vessels have been found throughout the Delaware Valley from contexts dating from *circa* 1700 to 1775.

Large portions of a buff-bodied, slip-trailed Staffordshire earthenware plate were also found in this context (Plate 4.50 [top left]). This plate was hump-molded and exhibits a coggled edge. The decoration consists of a tulip outlined with dark brown slip and roughly in-filled with a lighter brown slip. Other buff-bodied Staffordshire wares include vessels deco-

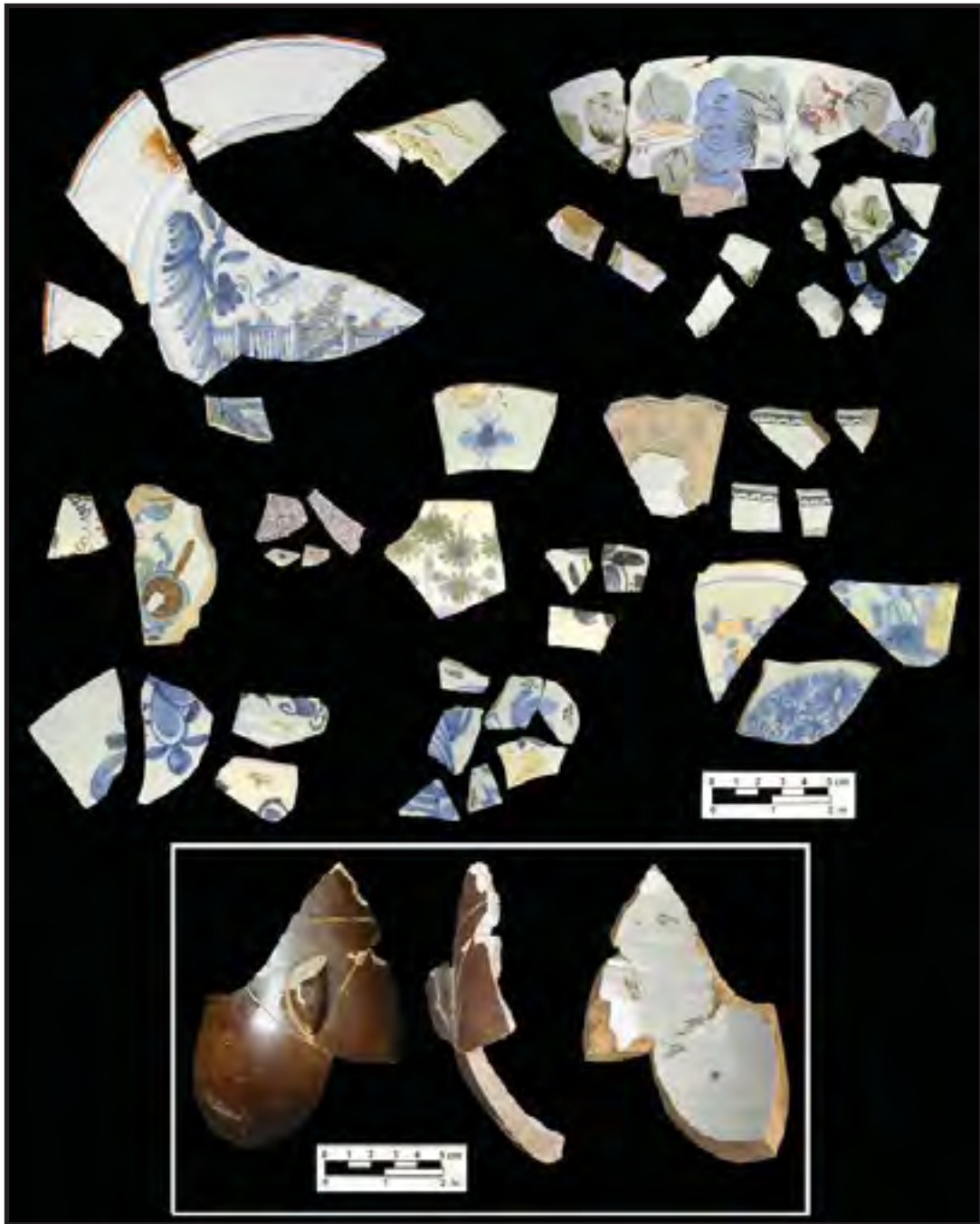


Plate 4.48. Lambert/Douglas House Site: selected 18th-century buff-bodied tin-enamelled earthenware from Context 25. Rim, base and body sherds, many mended, with hand-painted floral and scenic decoration in blue, brown, green and grey from various plates, bowls and cups; vessels probably manufactured in England and Holland. *Bottom inset:* mended body sherds from handled mug with pink body typical of tin-enamelled faience wares produced in Rouen, France (front, side and interior views) (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:J4].



Plate 4.49. Lambert/Douglas House Site: selected 18th-century British earthenware from Context 25. *Left*: nine body sherds (two mended) from an un-typed buff-bodied gravel-tempered ware. *Top right*: seven sherds (one handle) from a Midlands mottled tankard or mug. *Bottom right*: two rim sherds and two body sherds from a dry-bodied engine-turned redware teapot, Elers-type ware (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:J34].

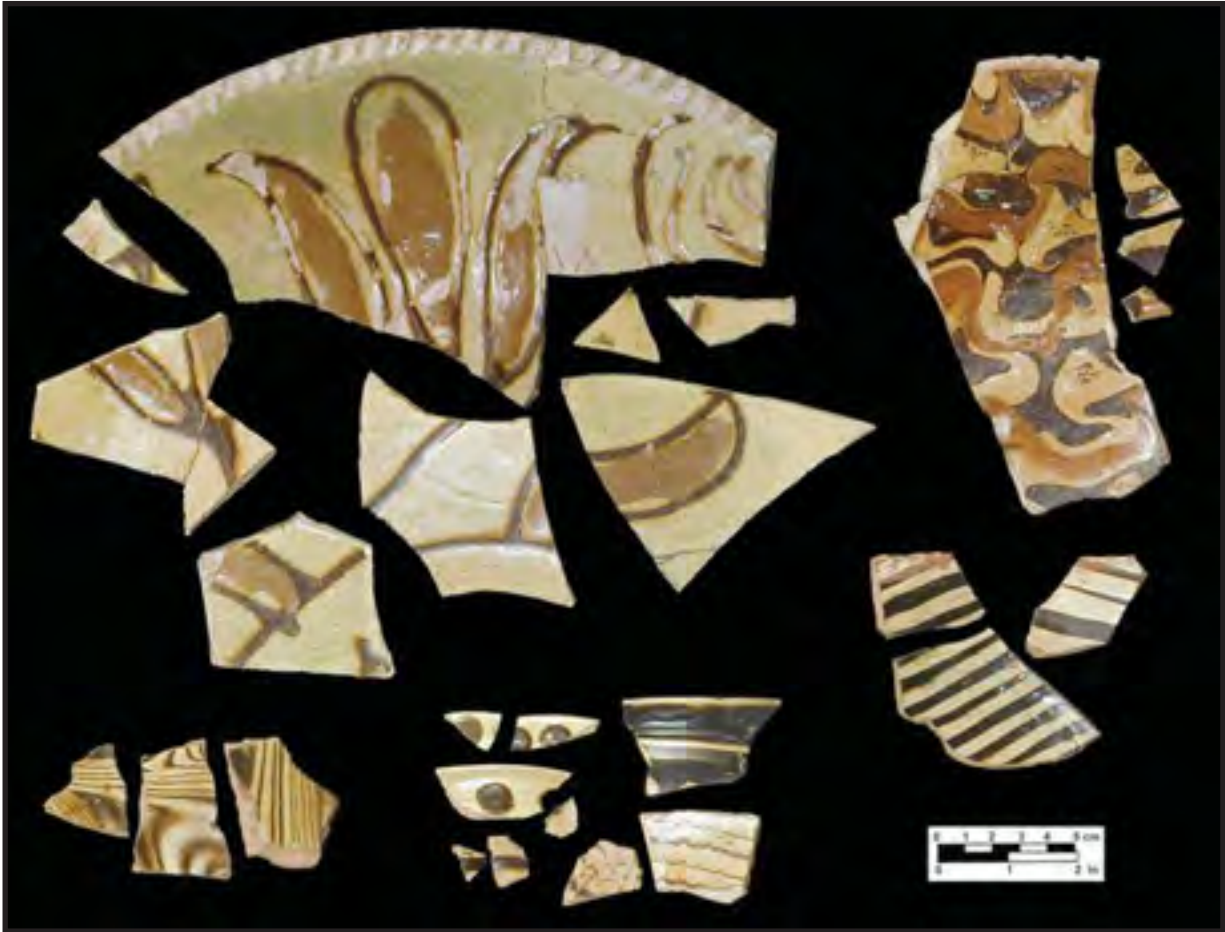


Plate 4.50. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: selected late 17th- and 18th-century slip-decorated, buff-bodied Staffordshire tableware from Context 25. Rim, base and body sherds from various vessels with combed, swirled and dot-style slip decoration; plate at upper left is decorated with a tulip in brown slip (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:J09].

rated with brown dots, marbled tri-colored slips, slip combed, slip trailed yellow on dark brown, and dark brown on yellow, all dating to *circa* 1670-1775 (Plate 4.50).

**Whieldon-Type Ware:** Several sherds from a range of Whieldon-type cream-colored, refined earthenware vessels were recovered from Context 25 (Plate 4.51). All of these vessels are tea wares with the majority consisting of teapots. Some sherds exhibit cast-molded decoration in typical forms such as pineapples and cauliflowers. Whieldon-type ware, distinguished by its combinations of colorful (green, blue, purple and brown) semi-translucent glazes, was produced by many English potters, especially in the period from *circa* 1750 to 1775 (Noël Hume 1969:124; Godden 1974:98).

**Creamware:** A total of 1,520 creamware sherds were found in Context 25 (Plate 4.52). Most of these sherds are from well-known tableware forms recognizable through the use of molded patterns, e.g., Royal, feather edge, *fer de lance*, octagonal, banded-molded dots, engine-turned vertical panels or stripes in-filled with brown paint (possibly Wedgwood), which broadly date from *circa* 1762 to 1780 (Noël Hume 1969:116; Adams 1996:53; Campbell 1996). Wares of this type were manufactured in many British pottery manufacturing centers in Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Liverpool, Swansea and Staffordshire (Jennings *et al.* 1981: 223-228).

Eighty-nine sherds of overglazed red terra-cotta and green hand-painted creamware with flowers and leaves are included in the ceramic assemblage from Context 25 (Plate 4.53). The interior rims are decorated with a band of convex and concave scrolls or feathers. The interior bases exhibit small-stemmed flowers with leaves. The exteriors are decorated with large rose-like flowers with thin black stems and olive green leaves. The majority of these sherds mend to form a group of nearly complete vessels from a single

tea service set. A creamware pitcher with a very similar decoration has been attributed to the Leeds Pottery *circa* 1770 to 1780 (Kybalova 1989:23). Another similar vessel from Norwich, England, has been dated to *circa* 1770 (Jennings *et al.* 1981:228-229 [#1647]).

**Pearlware:** A total of 301 sherds of underglazed blue hand-painted pearlware with chinoiserie decoration were recovered from Context 25 (Plate 4.54). The interior rims are decorated with a band of “X”s situated between annular lines. The majority of these sherds mend to form a nearly complete tea service set for six (minus the teapot). The style of chinoiserie decoration typically referred to as the “House and Willow” motif is taken from similar Chinese porcelain forms dating from *circa* 1775 to 1810 (Noël Hume 1969:126-129; Miller *et al.* 2000:12).

**White Salt-Glazed Stoneware:** White salt-glazed stoneware vessels from Context 25 are represented by a variety of sherds displaying molded patterns (Plate 4.55). These patterns include the use of dot, diaper and basket, bead and real or gadrooned, barley or seed motifs, dating from roughly 1740 to 1780 (Noël Hume 1969:116; Gusset 1980; Jennings *et al.* 1981:222-223). One plate with molded bead rim in the Royal pattern is nearly 60% complete. There are also several examples of cups and tea bowls or saucers decorated with scratch blue floral designs (Noël Hume 1969:117; Gusset 1980).

**Westerwald Stoneware:** Several sherds of finely decorated Westerwald stoneware were recovered from Context 25 (Plate 4.56 [right]). These include parts of mugs or tankards and storage jars and the decorative treatments include incised geometric and floral motifs in-filled with cobalt blue pigment, a style that was prevalent *circa* 1700 to 1775 (Miller *et al.* 2000:10; Gaimster 1997; Noël Hume 2001:96-115).

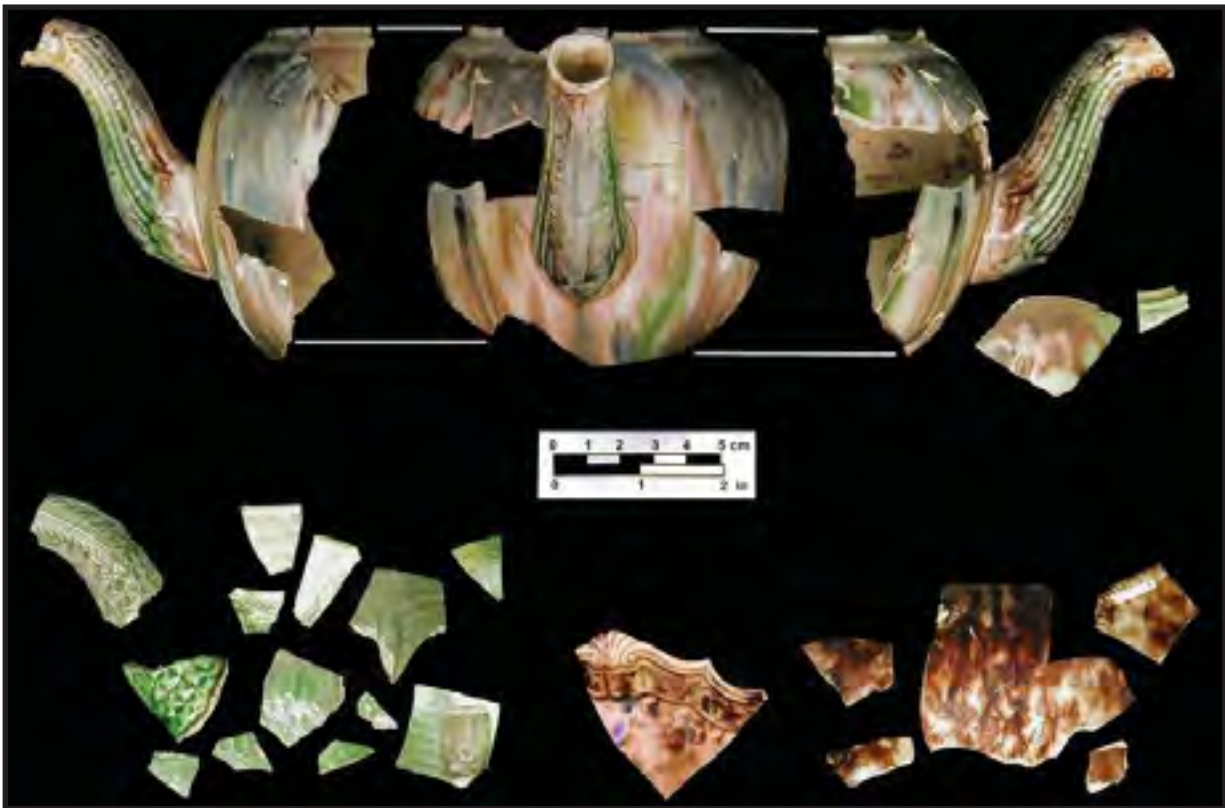


Plate 4.51. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: selected mid-18th-century Whieldon-type tableware and tea ware from Context 25. *Top row*: three views of tea pot with streaky green, brown and red colors on cream-colored body; rim and body sherds, possibly from same vessel. *Bottom row*: greenish colored tea pot spout, rim and body sherds; reddish brown colored rim and body sherds (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:J30].





Plate 4.52. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: selected mid- to late 18th-century creamware tableware from Context 25. *Left column*: various sherds with beaded sprig-molded decoration. *Center column*: engine-turned and brown painted bowl and saucer (similar to vessels produced by Josiah Wedgwood); two bowl rim sherds; base sherd of small vase. *v*: selection of molded plate rim sherds (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:J29].



Plate 4.53. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: selected mid- to late 18th-century creamware tea ware from Context 25. Rim, base and body sherds, many mended, from hand-painted cups and bowls with large rose-like flowers, thin black stems and olive green leaves (similar decoration has been attributed to the Leeds Pottery, circa 1770 to 1780) (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:J31].



Plate 4.54. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site : selected late 18th- and early 19th-century pearlware tableware and tea ware from Context 25. Rim, base and body sherds, many mended, from several dishes and bowls hand-painted with the blue “house and willow” motif (copied from similar Chinese porcelain forms, circa 1775 to 1810) (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:J5].



Plate 4.55. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: selected mid-18th-century white salt-glazed stoneware tableware and tea ware from Context 25. Rim, base and body sherds, many mended, from plates, bowls, cups and saucers, most with plain molded decoration. *Upper left*: two small tankard rim sherds with brown iron oxide slip rims are of the dipped variety, circa 1720 to 1775. *Bottom*: tea ware vessels exhibit scratch-blue floral and geometric decoration popular during the third quarter of the 18th century (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:J6].



Plate 4.56. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: selected 18th-century British and European salt-glazed stoneware from Context 25. *Left*: large jug of uncertain origin but similar to British brown stoneware types. *Right top row, left to right*: closure for a brown stoneware bottle or jug; buff-bodied body sherd from a hollowware vessel; body sherd from a grey-bodied jug with a cobalt spiral/watch-spring decoration. *Right second row*: body sherd from a chamber pot stamped with a partial medallion; cordoned body sherd from a tankard with cobalt decoration; body sherd from a tankard with incised cobalt checkerboard decoration; rim/body sherd with incised cobalt diamond checkerboard decoration. *Right third row*: four hollowware body sherds with stamped and incised decoration. *Right bottom row*: three hollowware body sherds with stamped and incised decoration; hollowware body sherd with a partial badge with a partial “R” (abbreviation for “Rex,” Latin for “King”) that would have been preceded by another letter, most likely a “G” (abbreviation for “George”) (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:J28].

**Grey-Bodied Stoneware:** Many of the grey-bodied salt-glazed stoneware sherds recovered from Context 25 are believed to have been made locally in Trenton by James Rhodes who worked at William Richards' stoneware pottery in Lambertown in the mid-1770s and then operated his own pottery works on the Bordentown Road near the head of Ferry Street in the late 1770s and early 1780s (Hunter 2001:239-243; Hunter Research, Inc. 2005). A more detailed account of James Rhodes and of the wares being made at William Richards' pottery on the Lambertown waterfront can be found in Volume III of this report series.

A total of 420 sherds have been identified as probably having been made by James Rhodes (Plates 4.57 and 4.58). A number of these sherds mend to form nearly complete vessels. All of the nearly complete vessels are flawed in one way or another and are defective enough to be considered as discards or wasters. In fact, the potter himself probably would have considered many of these vessels as less than seconds. Some are under-fired, some are over-fired and warped, while a number of others exhibit an uneven glaze cover. Some vessels have thick areas of glaze (agglutinated) which have been ground down so they could be functional (cf. Greer 1981:205). One small saucer or tea bowl has parts of another vessel adhering to its base, the result of poor stacking in the kiln. Vessel forms represented in this assemblage consist of saucers (or tea bowls), teapots, milk pans, storage jars (in a variety of sizes), jugs, chamber pots, pitchers and tankards or mugs (Plate 4.57). Decorative treatments consist of incised (or scratched), brushed (or painted) and sprig molding. Incised decorative motifs include cascading fish scales or grapes and flowers composed of double-lobed or heart-shaped petals. Brushed decoration takes the form of fleurs-de-lis, interlocking, opposite-facing "C"s and double stacked spirals. Sprig-molded decoration may be seen in the incised flower produced in relief to form a finial and in a mold for a small, shallow dandelion-like flower (Plate 4.58). Handles consist of lug, pulled vertical loops and rolled horizontal

loops. Other items probably assignable to James Rhodes are a large shooter-size marble and a sagger base sherd with salt adhering to the interior.

Items such as the mold, marble and sagger fragment perhaps suggest that someone closely involved with James Rhodes's pottery manufacturing activities (possibly even Rhodes himself) visited or was living at the Lambert/Douglas House toward the end of its period of occupation. The mold would not be an item normally found in a typical household, but might have accidentally found its way home in the pocket of a potter. The marble adds personality to the assemblage as potters were known to make marbles in their spare time as gifts for children. The single sagger fragment may also be taken as an indication that someone connected with Rhodes's pottery making ventures was present at the Lambert/Douglas House. Saggars (clay containers within which pots were placed inside the kiln to protect them from direct exposure to flames), other kiln furniture and manufacturing debris were often used as fill material, but since only one sagger piece was found in Context 25 this suggests that it came to the site by some other means, perhaps stuck to the bottom of one of the waster vessels described above.

**Soft-Paste Porcelain:** Although only four sherds of English soft-paste porcelain were recovered from Context 25 (Plate 4.59 [bottom right]), these reflect the early importation of English porcelain to the colonies. Soft-paste porcelain, sometimes referred to as "artificial porcelain," was developed in Europe in an effort to imitate Chinese hard-paste porcelain. Experimenters used a wide variety of materials in their attempts at producing a substance that was hard, white, and translucent. They eventually developed soft-paste porcelain by using blends of fine clay and glasslike substances such as steatite or soapstone. These materials tended to melt at the high tempera-



Plate 4.57. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: selected late 18th-century locally made grey-bodied salt-glazed stoneware from Context 25. *Top row*: milk pan with pouring lip, undecorated; chamber pot with banding and painted cobalt blue floral swirl; tankard painted with cobalt blue interlocking “C”s. *Bottom row*: three storage jars, undecorated; saucer with incised blue decoration of double-lobed flower with heart-shaped petals. Many of these vessels are of poor quality, warped and/or show evidence of overfiring. They are considered wasters and are thought to be products of local stoneware potter James Rhodes, who was active at two nearby kilns in the late 1770s and early 1780s (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg#98048/D1:J1].



Plate 4.58. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: selected late 18th-century locally made grey-bodied salt-glazed stoneware from Context 25. *Left side top row*: four mended sherds from an over-fired milk pan with an everted lip. *Left side second row, left to right*: body sherd from cylindrical storage vessel with an incised flower, a signature motif of local stoneware potter James Rhodes, who was active at two nearby kilns in the late 1770s and early 1780s; two mended pipkin rim/body sherds with a pouring lip. *Left side third row*: body sherd from cylindrical storage vessel with an incised flower identical to the one above, attributed to James Rhodes; coffee or chocolate pot lid sherd with a steeping hole and cobalt decoration. *Left side bottom row*: sprig mold, used to make decorative applications to vessels; molded double-lobed flower lid finial (top and side views), attributed to James Rhodes; stoneware clay “shooter” marble. *Right side top row*: three mended sherds from large storage jar with exterior cobalt decoration. *Right side middle row*: bulbous storage crock body sherd with cobalt slip decoration and incised partial flower, attributed to James Rhodes; two mended sherds from bulbous storage crock with horizontal handle. *Right side bottom row*: five mended base and body sherds from an undecorated tankard; extruded tankard handle sherd; tankard base sherd with cordoned and cobalt decoration (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:J2].





Plate 4.59. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: selected 18th-century porcelain tea ware from Context 25. *Top row, left to right*: mended sherds from small Chinese bowl with hand-painted blue floral decoration; mended sherds from a Chinese handle-less tea bowl/cup with hand-painted blue floral decoration; Chinese teacup with partial handle and hand-painted blue floral decoration. *Second row*: two mended sherds from bowl with exterior brown Batavia slip and interior with under-glazed, hand-painted blue flowers and over-glazed, hand-painted orange flowers highlighted with gold; three rim sherds from Chinese teacups with interior and exterior under-glazed, hand-painted blue geometric and floral decorations highlighted with over-glazed hand-painted orange and gold. *Third row*: six Chinese teacup rim/body/base sherds from six different vessels exhibiting under-glazed, hand-painted blue and grey scenic, floral and geometric decorations highlighted with over-glazed orange and gold; bowl rim sherd decorated with under-glazed, hand-painted geometric decoration similar to the dot-diaper decoration found on English white salt-glazed stoneware. *Bottom row*: four English soft-paste porcelain tea cup base and body sherds decorated with under-glazed, hand-painted floral and geometric patterns copying Chinese designs (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:J7].

tures used in making hard-paste porcelain and so were fired at lower temperatures in order to prevent complete vitrification, thus creating soft-paste porcelain.

As observed from finds at archaeological sites in the Tidewater region, English soft-paste porcelain is mostly confined to tea wares with hand-painted, underglazed blue decoration. Two tea cup body/rim sherds recovered from Context 25 depict a willow tree next to a bridge copying Chinese pieces of the period. Two other base sherds from a tea bowl exhibit what appear to be geometric decoration but when viewed on a complete vessel may prove to be something else. All four pieces fluoresce to a light purple, confirming their identification as soft-paste porcelain. Exposure to incandescent light reveals a green hue, narrowing the soft-paste type down to a steatite or soapstone variant, possibly manufactured in Worcester or Caughley, both of which were producing wares of this description from *circa* 1755 to 1775 (Noël Hume 1969:37).

**Chinese Export Porcelain:** A total of 651 Chinese porcelain sherds were recovered from Context 25 (Plate 4.59). All of these sherds are from tea wares made for export from China via English and Dutch traders. As trade with the Orient expanded during the 17th century, porcelain became popular with the general public in Europe and the Americas. The custom of drinking tea, coffee and chocolate became widespread and created a huge market for porcelain cups and saucers. Typical decorative treatments are Batavia brown engobe, under-glazed hand-painted blue floral and geometric, and over-glazed hand-painted orange flowers with gilt highlights. Over-glazed floral decorations were particularly designed to appeal to western tastes (Louis Berger & Associates, Inc. 1997:V-44). Many of these pieces are high-style and reflect the wealth of their owners.

In the assemblage from Context 25, a base from a bowl (five sherds mending as one) has a Batavia brown exterior, while the interior exhibits under-glazed, hand-painted, blue flowers, with over-glazed, hand painted, orange flowers highlighted with gold gilt (Plate 4.59 [upper left, second from top]). Porcelain vessels with brown glazes (ranging from light tan to dark chocolate) originated during the Ming dynasty. By the 18th century they had become common export items (Palmer 1976:18).

A tea cup with a handle (3 inches in diameter; three sherds mending as one) deserves special mention (Plate 4.59 [upper right]). This is a very unusual form for Chinese porcelain in the 18th century (Mudge 1981). Its manufacture for export may represent again a desire to appeal to western tastes or possibly it was the subject of a special order placed by a merchant or by a discerning customer through a merchant.

#### *Other Artifacts*

**Vessel Glass:** Vessel glass from Context 25 consists of body, base and closure fragments from free-blown dark olive green wine bottles and case bottles with various types of applied string lips, and many pieces of stemware (Plates 4.60 and 4.61). The bases of the bottles exhibit high kick-ups and pronounced blowpipe pontil scars. Several fragments are from an olive green case bottle (used for spirits, mainly gin) and from an English-style olive green rectangular or octagonal-shaped spirits bottle with chamfered corners dating from *circa* 1730 to 1790 (Dumbrell 1983:87-90).

A wine bottle seal marked “Geo: M’Call 1734” was recovered from Context 25 (Plate 4.60 [upper right]). George McCall, who died in 1740, was a native of Scotland and a prominent merchant of Philadelphia. He was appointed to various civic offices in the city and was a member of the vestry of the Episcopal



Plate 4.60. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: selected 18th-century glass artifacts from Context 25. *Top row, left to right:* three hand blown wineglass stem fragments; wine bottle seal embossed with Bordentown merchant's name "Geo: M'Call 1734". *Bottom row:* base fragment of hand-blown square clear glass bottle (side and bottom views); eight enameled and etched clear drinking vessel fragments (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:J36].



Plate 4.61. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: selected 18th-century glass artifacts from Context 25. Selected 18th century wine and spirits bottle fragments. *Top row, left to right*: eight neck/closure fragments from dark olive green wine and spirits bottles with a variety of hand-applied and tooled string lips. *Middle row*: four base fragments from dark olive green wine and spirits bottles. *Bottom row*: base fragments from two dark olive green free-blown wine bottle bases with high kick-ups and blowpipe pontil marks (side views and bottom views); base fragment from dark olive green rectangular spirits bottle with chamfered corners (side and bottom views). *Right*: eight fragments from dark olive green case bottle (top and side views) (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:J15].

Christ Church. McCall owned extensive property and wharfage in Philadelphia, as well as large estates elsewhere in Pennsylvania. He also owned a 300-acre plantation with two dwellings and landings along Crosswicks Creek in Nottingham Township near Bordentown (Keen 1879:452-455).

Three different glass stem fragments from different styles of wine glasses were recovered from Context 25 (Plate 4.60 [top row]). One specimen has a clear stem containing a pair of air spirals encircling multiple spirals. The bowl would have been of a “waisted” type. This wine glass was possibly locally produced by Henry William Stiegel in Elizabeth or Manheim, Pennsylvania *circa* 1763 to 1785 (Hunter 1950:Plate 34; Jones and Smith 1985:40-41). A second specimen has a pale green, plain conical foot attached to an uneven drawn stem with an elongated tear-drop air bubble. The color of this piece and its less-than-perfect quality suggests that it was locally made, possibly at the Wistarburgh Glassworks in Salem County, *circa* 1739 to 1780 (Hunter Research, Inc. 1999). The third specimen is a plain clear glass of drawn-stem type with a decorative tear-drop air bubble in the stem. The bowl, largely missing, appears to have been trumpet-shaped. This type of wine glass, sometimes referred to as a “cotton stem,” was very popular during the 1750s and 1760s (Hunter 1950:Plates 45, 46 and 159).

Two small clear pieces of Stiegel-type glass were recovered from Context 25. Both pieces have hand painted polychrome decoration similar to vessels blown in Continental Europe or possibly locally produced by Henry William Stiegel in Elizabeth or Manheim, Pennsylvania *circa* 1763 to 1785 (McKearin and McKearin 1941:84-85; Palmer 1993: 356; Hunter 1950). The vessel form was most likely a rectangular bottle, (case, drug or cordial). This style was popular from *circa* 1750 to 1800.

Part of the base of a dark green flat octagonal bottle with two long sides and six short sides of equal length was recovered from Context 25 (Plate 4.61 [lower right center]). In its complete form example, this bottle would have been 6 to 7½ inches tall with a wide mouth and a short neck. Widely used in the second half of the 18th century as a container for snuff, this type of bottle was also used for holding many other materials, such as powdered or wet condiments, thick sauces, pourable preserves or alcoholic beverages (Jones and Smith 1985).

**Cutlery:** Eight pewter spoon handles and a variety of knives and forks, some with bone handles, were recovered from Context 25 (Plates 4.62 and 4.63). Pewter “became the common American spoon metal of the eighteenth century. So simple was it to work that householders frequently cast their own spoons” (Noël Hume 1969:183). Three handles have knob or trifid ends and four have up-curved spatula-type ends. Trifid terminals were popular in the colonies until about 1715 after which time spatulated handles gained favor (Noël Hume 1969:183). One of the trifid handles has the molded initials “E\*B”, which may refer to Edmund Beakes, who lived a short distance to the north on the Ferry tract in the early years of the 18th century (see above, Chapter 3). Two of the spatulated handles have a central ridge. Another spatulated handle has molded scroll decoration on the front and a hallmark stamped on the back. The mark reads “T (a plumed crown) P”. The plumed crown is the symbol for the Prince of Wales. There was no designated Prince of Wales during the reigns of William and Mary (1688-1702) or Queen Anne (1702-1714), which establishes a date later than 1714 for the manufacture of this spoon.

**Kitchen:** Four cast iron kettle or cauldron fragments (three body fragments and one leg piece) were recovered from Context 25 (Plate 4.64). The body fragments have two thicknesses (3/16 and 4/16 of an inch), indicating two different vessels. The thinner



Plate 4.62. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: 18th-century pewter spoon handles from Context 25. The three spoons on the left date stylistically to before circa 1715, while the remainder post-date circa 1715. The second spoon from the left is embossed “E\*B”, possibly for Edmund Beakes. The detailed inset below the fourth spoon from the left shows the reverse side of the handle stamped with a “T [plumed crown] P” (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:J35].



Plate 4.63. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: selected 18th-century kitchen-related artifacts and food waste from Context 25. *Top row, left to right:* clam shell; oyster shell. *Bottom row:* two-tined fork with bone handle; three knives, two with pistol-gripped bone handles; three pewter spoon fragments; iron clasp knife (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:J19].



Plate 4.64. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: 18th-century cast iron kettle fragments from Context 25. *Top and lower right*: three body fragments, each exhibiting a casting seam. *Bottom left*: foot fragment (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:J32].



vessel is projected to have a 12-inch-diameter body, while the thicker vessel is smaller with an estimated eight-inch-diameter body. All three of the body fragments exhibit a vertical casting seam.

**Furnishings:** Seven small brass upholstery tacks were recovered from Context 25 (Plate 4.65 [upper right]). These tacks have circular concavo-convex heads with square shanks. Brass tacks were commonly used to ornament and anchor leather to items of furniture such as chairs and settees. Brass tacks were also used on leather harnesses, where their use is distinguishable by their being clenched over, as opposed to furniture tacks, which were typically driven in straight (Noël Hume 1969:227). Some of the shanks from Context 25 are clenched and some are straight, suggesting both types of usage were occurring at the site. One large brass tack is discussed separately under the “agriculture/equestrian” category (see below).

Two cast copper alloy curtain rings with a one-inch diameter used to suspend curtains around a bed were recovered from Context 25 (Plate 4.65 [center]). Identical curtain rings were recovered from Contexts 26 and 80 (see above for further discussion).

A hint of the quality of furnishings in the house in the first half of the 18th century is provided by a finely made drawer pull or bale handle recovered from Context 25 (Plate 4.65 [top row, center left]). This specimen, datable to *circa* 1720 to 1750, has everted ends with balusters and a central knob. By 1750 drawer pulls or bale handles were anchored to decorative brass plates by means of hollow-headed posts, threaded on the opposite end, which were secured by a nut on the inside of the drawer (Noël Hume 1969:228-229). A hollow-headed screw from Context 25, at first thought to be a vice screw to a musket, turns out to fit the bale handle (Plate 4.65 [top row, center right]). The screw is cast with the top of the shank being square, suggesting that the hole in the plate was square. The length of the screw (1

inch) probably indicates that the drawer was approximately 6/8 to 7/8 inches thick. Many contemporary furniture pieces made in the Delaware Valley, often fashioned in walnut, have drawer fronts of this size (Evans 1970:151-153; Greene 1996:133). Handles of this type are known to have been used on dressing tables, high chests and secretary desks (Heckscher 1985:238; Lindsey 1999:135). Another brass handle found in Context 25 is a teardrop-shaped pull, usually datable to *circa* 1685 to 1730 (Plate 4.65 [middle row, left]). Pulls of this type are known to have been used on chests-of-drawers, spice boxes and miniature cased drawers on stands (Noël Hume 1969:228-229; Lindsey 1999:103, 130 and 139). A small decorative brass plate with two holes was also recovered from this context (Plate 4.65 [upper left]). The holes are presumably for attaching a bale handle to a small drawer or desk.

Two iron stock-locks were found in Context 25 (Plate 4.65 [bottom row]). One lock, which measures 2¼ by 3¾ inches, was probably used on a piece of furniture like a chest of drawers. The other stock-lock measures 3 inches by 4 inches and was probably used on a trunk or cupboard.

**Clothing:** A total of 108 buttons were recovered from Context 25 (Plate 4.66). Typical of the 18th century, these buttons are fashioned in a range of materials – bone, pewter, brass, copper alloy and white metal. A range of manufacturing techniques is also in evidence and the assemblage includes stamped, solid-cast, hollow-cast, one-piece, two-piece and cut specimens. The means of attaching the buttons would have been through drilled holes (between one and four), or via a cast eye. It is tempting to view some of these buttons as being from military uniforms, but the reality is that buttons of these types were worn by both soldiers and civilians throughout the 18th century.



Plate 4.65. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: selected 18th-century hardware furnishings from Context 25. *Top row, left to right:* decorative brass plate to a drawer pull or bale handle; a brass drawer bale handle; brass screw; seven small brass furniture tacks. *Middle row:* brass teardrop drawer pull; large brass furniture tack; two brass bed curtain rings; two notched threaded nuts. *Bottom row:* two iron stock locks (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:J27].



Plate 4.66. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: selected 18th-century buckles, buttons and sleeve links from Context 25. *Upper left:* various brass and iron shoe, belt, strap and knee buckles. *Middle left* (below buckles): three octagonal brass sleeve links; black glass faceted button inset (obverse and reverse views). *Lower left, upper right, lower right:* various 18th-century buttons worn on civilian and military apparel (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:J20].

Some 24 brass dress buckle fragments were also recovered from Context 25 (Plate 4.66). Most of these brass buckles are simple, but a few of them exhibit molded decoration. Two shoe buckles display remnant tin plating, made to resemble silver. The larger buckles would have been worn on shoes, while the smaller buckles were likely used on spurs and belts and as knee buckles. Two brass "Figure 8"-type buckles used on belt and spurs are broadly datable to the 18th century (Noël Hume 1969:84-88). Two iron or steel shoe buckle back pieces match examples dating to the second half of the 18th century (Abbitt 1973:51). It is generally held that buckles "do not occur on American sites prior to *circa* 1700 and that they will be rare after *circa* 1815" (Noël Hume 1969:86).

**Personal Items:** A brass English-style watch key or "crank key" was recovered from Context 25 (Plate 4.67 [bottom left]). The key has two different-sized sockets used in winding a pocket watch. One end would have held a "male shank" (now missing). One hand was used to wind the watch and the other was used to set the hands. The handle is heart-shaped with embossed decorative motifs on both sides and it has a ring that would have been used to attach the key to a ribbon or fob. The fob was attached to the watch to make it easier to retrieve the watch from the pocket. A similar two-socket example was recovered from Fort Ligonier in Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania (1758-1766) (Grimm 1970:97 and 101).

Another telling personal item recovered from Context 25 is a fragment from a stamped copper alloy book clasp (Plate 4.67 [top row, center]). The body of the clasp is ovate with a tapered concavo-convex flat-ended tang. Three rectangular holes are cut into the tang, while the body exhibits lightly hand-hammered stylized-floral decoration. A fragment of a ferrous metal attachment adheres to the back of one end. Book clasps were common on Bibles of the 18th century, but were used on other books as well (Noël Hume 1969:232). This clasp is one of two recovered

from the site. Although a strong emphasis was placed on education in Quaker culture, there was also a certain skepticism of formal and academic learning and of reading as a distraction from more serious matters. Literacy rates among women and people of both sexes of lower rank were lower in the Delaware Valley than in New England (Fischer 1989:530-538). The significance of these book clasps should not be over-stated, but they do provide support for other evidence that the occupants of the Lambert/Douglas House were educated people of means.

An unusual personal item found in Context 25 (although it could also be treated as a piece of building material) is a large section of a pale aqua window pane with a name scratched into the surface (Plate 4.68). The lettering is in well-fashioned cursive and reads "Rebe... Hart" (Rebecca Hart). Genealogical research reveals four Rebecca Harts living in the area in the mid- to late 18th century. In descending order of likely linkage to the site, these individuals are:

Rebecca Hart, born July 19, 1741 in Hopewell, New Jersey; related to the Hunt and Furman families who operated warehouses on the Lambertton waterfront just south of the Lambert/Douglas House

Rebecca Hart, born *circa* 1745 in Pennington, New Jersey; married Ezekiel Furman

Rebecca Hart, born *circa* 1748 in Hopewell, New Jersey; married John Marshall

Rebecca Hart, born January 14, 1772 in Doylestown, Pennsylvania

**Recreation:** A total of 428 white ball clay tobacco pipe stems and bowl fragments were recovered from Context 25 (Plate 4.69). Bore diameters range from 4/64 inches to 6/64 inches, which provides a date range for the pipes' manufacture of *circa* 1680 to



Plate 4.67. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: selected personal and recreational items from Context 25. *Upper left*: two lead merchant weights (1 and 2 ounces). *Top center*: brass book clasp. *Top right*: child's toy lead buzzer. *Center*: five brass pins. *Center right*: two stone marbles over whelk shell gaming piece. *Bottom row*: brass two-socket watch key; three glass beads; two bone fan slat fragments (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048D1:J21].

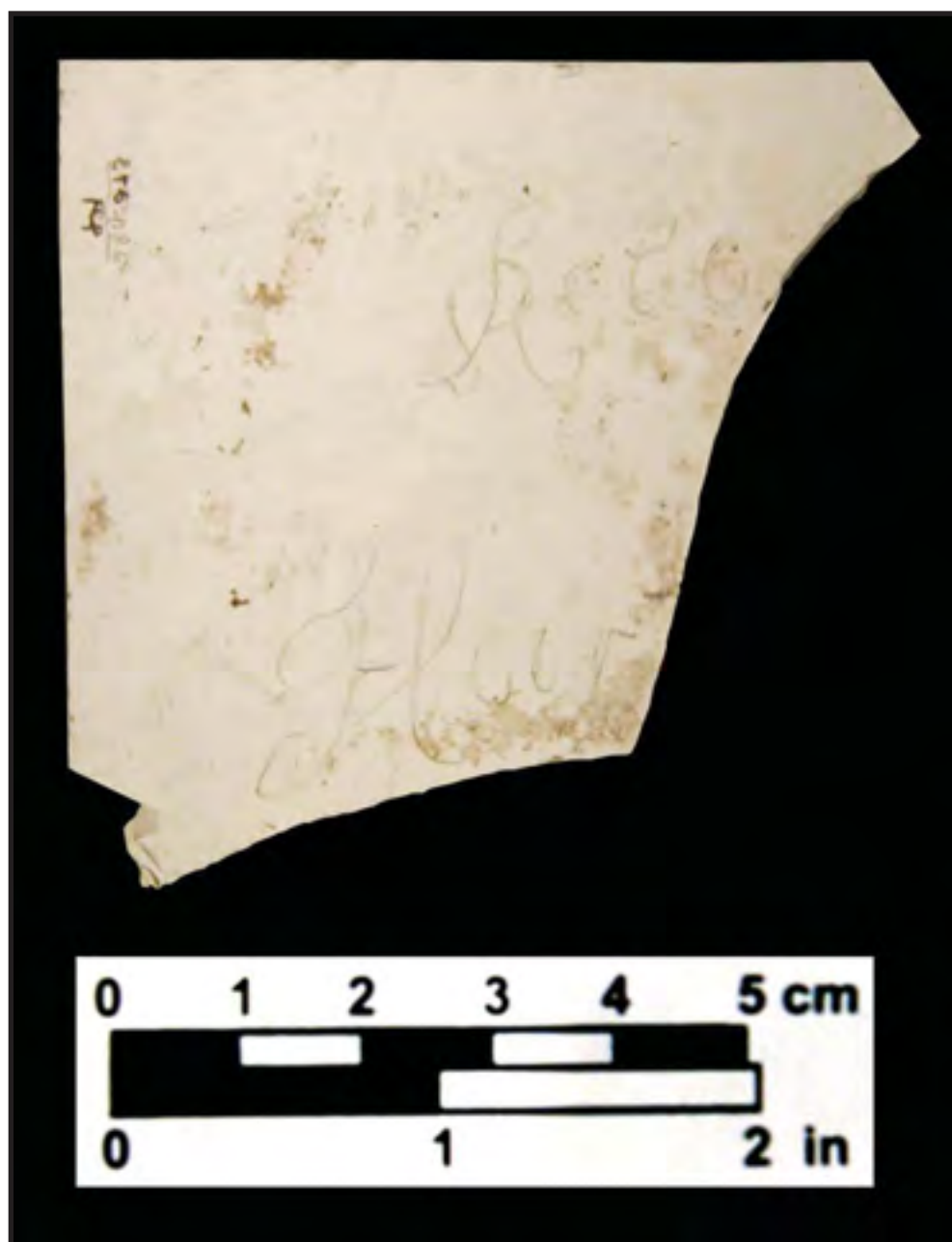


Plate 4.68. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: Pale aqua glass window pane fragment from Context 25. This piece has the name “Rebe[cca] Har[t]” scratched into the surface. Several women with that name lived in the Trenton area during the 18th century (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:J25].

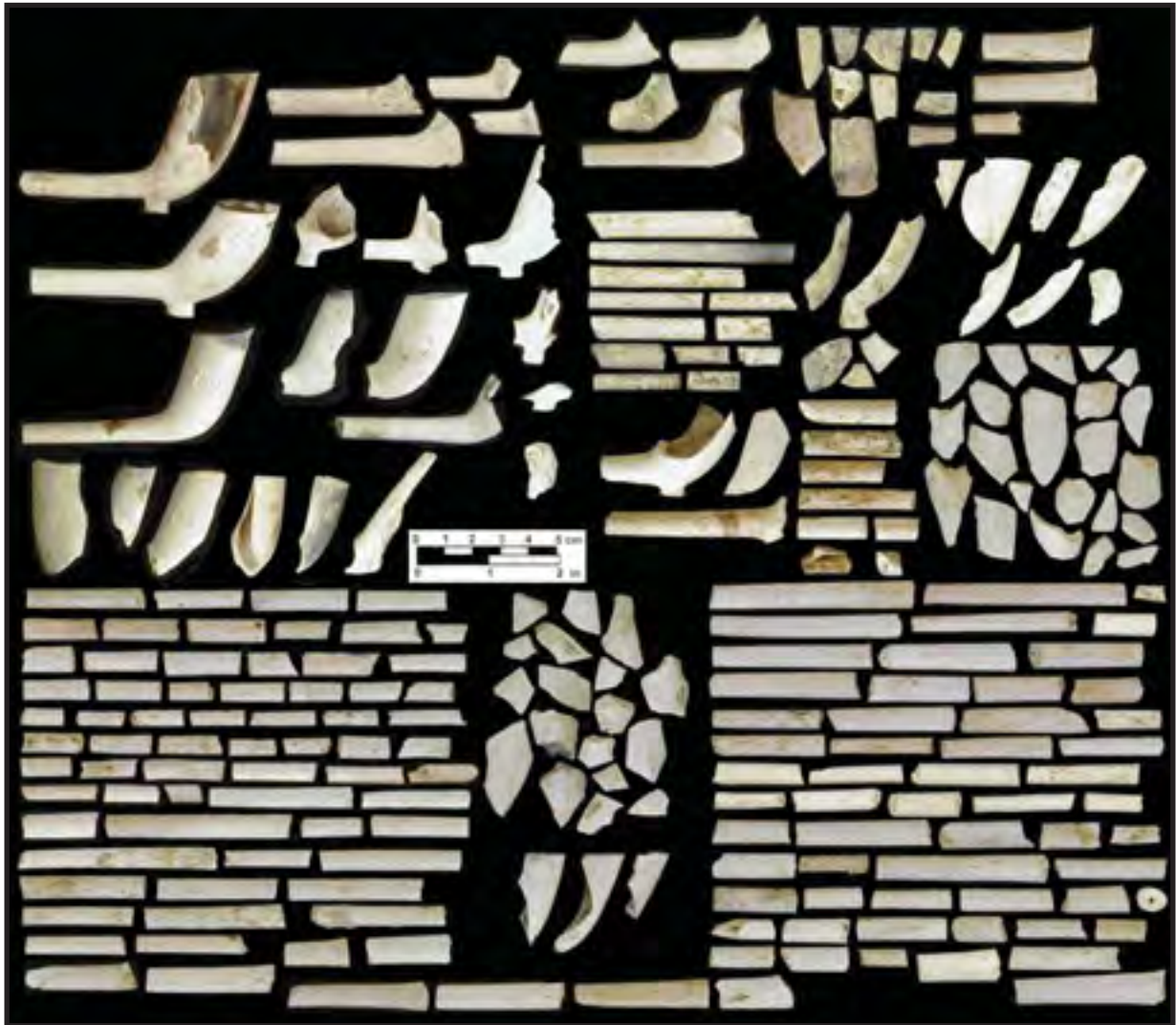


Plate 4.69. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: selected late 17th- and 18th-century white ball tobacco pipe bowls and stems from Context 25. Bore diameters range from 4/64 to 6/64 of an inch. Marked bowls include examples made by Robert Tippet II (1678-1713) and Robert Tippet III (1713-1720) in Bristol, England. Several bowls are marked “TD” (maker uncertain; dated circa 1670-1680). Another bowl fragment exhibits a partial heart-shaped cartouche marked “E” (possibly Philip Edwards II, a Bristol pipe maker active circa 1668-1696, who used a similar mark on the heel of some of his pipes) (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:J22].

1800. Marked bowls include four partial and one complete mark of Robert Tippet within a cartouche, all on heelless bowls. This cartouche is associated with both Robert Tippet II (1678-1713) and Robert Tippet III (1713-1720), who were among the most prolific pipe makers in Bristol, England (Walker 1977:1314-1320 and 1493-1502). Heelless or spurless pipes appear to have been made specially for the export market to North America (Walker 1977:1493).

Another pipe bowl with a spur is marked with the initials "TD" on the spur and exhibits a stamped cartouche in the shape of a corded heart with initials "TD" and a Tudor rose inside. The identity of the pipe maker "TD" has been the subject of debate for many years, but this mark is usually dated to *circa* 1670 to 1680. The mark "TD" was used by at least three English pipe makers: Thomas Darkes active *circa* 1700, in Broseley, Shropshire; Thomas Dennis, active *circa* 1734, in Bristol; and Thomas Dormer, active *circa* 1763, in London (Oswald 1967:34). Four other bowl fragments from Context 25 are marked with "TD" in a circular cartouche. A bowl fragment with a similar mark displays an "F" above the "TD" in a circular cartouche. Another bowl fragment exhibits a partial heart-shaped cartouche (right side) marked "E". Philip Edwards II, a Bristol pipe maker active *circa* 1668 to 1696, used a similar mark on the heel of some of his pipes (Walker 1977:1126, 1420-1421).

A notched circular lead child's toy, known as a buzzer or whizzer, was recovered from Context 25 (Plate 4.67 [top row, right]). This notched or serrated disk would have been pierced with two holes in the center. A piece of twine would have been threaded through the holes and tied off to complete a loop. The loop would then be twisted several times by the child, then pulled in and out (Neumann and Kravic 1975:127). The sawtooth edge would create a buzzing sound that grew louder as the child's hands moved faster. Similar 18th-century examples have been found at military camps in Manhattan, New York and Fort Michilimackinac,

and it has been hypothesized that buzzers were sometimes fashioned from flattened lead bullets (Calver and Bolton 1950:80, 237-238; Stone 1974:154). Two of the coins discussed below under the "commerce" category show indications that they were going to be made into buzzers but were left unfinished. One is a copper George II halfpenny of 1731 which exhibits notching along a quarter of the margin; the other is a tin George II token or counterfeit halfpenny-size coin with two perforated holes (see below, Plate 4.75 [bottom row, center left and center right]).

Two stone marbles and a shell gaming piece were recovered from this context (Plate 4.67 [right center]). The stone marbles are perfectly round and of standard size (0.6 to 0.7 inches in diameter); these are referred to as "commonneys" (Baumann 1970:8). One of the marbles is split in half along a natural cleavage plane. Historically, the most common marble game was called "Ring-Taw," today known as "Ringer." The basic premise is that the first player to shoot seven marbles out of the ring with their shooter (a larger marble) wins the game (Baumann 1970:12). A similar example was found in archaeological excavations at the Zabriskie/Steuben House in River Edge, Bergen County, New Jersey (Hunter Research, Inc. 2001). The circular shell gaming piece (0.75 inches in diameter) is fashioned from a thick whelk shell. This species of whelk is only found in Caribbean waters (Shirley Albright, personal communication June 19, 2002). Two other gaming pieces were found in Context 43.

**Tools/Hardware:** An eyeless iron claw hammer head with forged side reinforcing straps or languets was recovered from Context 25 (Plate 4.70). The languets are used to secure the head firmly to the handle with rivets. This type of hammer was known as a London, Exeter or Warrington joiner's hammer and dates to roughly 1514 to 1840 (Salaman 1975:218; Wilbur 1992:110).





Plate 4.70. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: 18th-century carpenters' tools from Context 25. *Left*: eyeless iron claw hammer head with forged side reinforcing straps. *Right*: small wedge (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:J17].



Plate 4.71. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: 18th-century iron digging implements from Context 25. *Top row*: two straight socket/blade fragments from shovel or spade. *Bottom row*: two spade blade fragments, one with attached straight socket, the other of two-piece construction (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:J16].

Parts of four iron spades or shovels were also found in this context (Plate 4.71). One specimen is a spade with a hollow core which would have been shod to a one-piece wooden, hand-carved paddle and handle (Noël Hume 1974:72-75). The metal portion of the blade consists of two pieces of iron welded together (the socket is missing). The rectangular blade measures 7¼ by 9 inches (Plate 4.71 [lower left]). A similar example was excavated at Fort Stanwix in Rome, New York and dates to *circa* 1758-1781 (Hanson and Hsu 1975:98-101). Another spade is in poor condition but is projected to have a square blade with a straight handle socket (Plate 4.71 [lower right]). The one clearly identifiable shovel consists of the back portion of the blade and a straight socket. The blade is tapered, indicating its use as a shovel versus a spade (Plate 4.71 [upper right]). A straight socket fragment belonging to another spade or shovel is too small to make a positive identification (Plate 4.71 [upper left]). All sockets have 2-inch diameters. Straight sockets are typically a diagnostic feature of 18th-century spades and shovels (Tully 2002:1-2).

An iron thimble used as part of a hoisting mechanism and an iron “L” shaped tool referred to as a hook were recovered from Context 25 (Plate 4.72 [top row]). This latter tool would have had the long part of the “L” or shaft set into a large block of wood or stump and was used to hold objects in place while they were being worked on (Wilbur 1992:160).

An iron handsaw blade was recovered from Context 25 (Plate 4.72 [center]). The tapered blade has five coarse teeth per inch. The teeth are sharpened into tiny chisels (with a gullet angle of 60 degrees and a rake angle of zero degrees) designed to push out the sawdust and cut along the grain. The back has two circular holes used to attach a wooden handle. Saws of this description are known as rip saws and became popular *circa* 1780 (Salaman 1975:405-443; Wilbur 1992:112).

Also found within this context was a wrought iron strap hinge measuring 18½ inches long (Plate 4.72 [bottom]). The body exhibits five square nail holes (three with nails in place) with possibly one more on the finial or distal end. Forged from a single sheet of wrought iron, the distal end is rolled or wound to produce a vertical shaft or eye to accommodate the pintle hinge pin (Priess 2000:51). The opposite end has a bulbous or spear-shaped ornamental finial which tapers and thins to a point. The nails are hand wrought with rose heads. A strap hinge extends horizontally across a door and is attached to the door frame by a pintle. A hinge of this size could be for a cabinet or an interior door. Strap hinges made in this style were popular from the late 17th to the mid-18th centuries (Kelly 1952; Sonn 1989). During this period they were often referred to as “hooks and hinges” (Lounsbury 1999:182).

The iron “HL” hinge, a common find on 18th-century sites, could have been used on the interior or exterior of a hinged door of virtually any size (Plate 4.73 [lower middle row, left]). “HL” hinges tended to be used in place of “H” hinges on heavier doors (Noël Hume 1969:236).

**Building Materials:** A section of an iron casement window frame found in Context 25 indicates that the house’s windows were not fixed but were meant to open, probably by swinging inward (Plate 4.73 [bottom]). The casement frame would have been glazed with small quarries or panes of glass, (often diamond-shaped but also sometimes square or rectangular), set in a network of lead H-shaped strips (Noël Hume 1973:78). This item, together with the quarries and dated window leads found on the site, provide firm evidence for the fenestration of the building in the earlier 18th century.

Ten window lead fragments were recovered from Context 25 (Plate 4.74). All ten were marked with the same full or partial inscription “\*EW\*1701\*TD\*”.



Plate 4.72. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: selected 18th-century iron artifacts from Context 25. *Top left*: iron thimble (part of a hoisting mechanism). *Top right*: iron L-shaped tool called a “hook,” used to hold objects in place for working purposes. *Center*: iron/steel handsaw of a type popular circa 1780. *Bottom*: early 18th-century iron strap hinge (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:J26].



Plate 4.73. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: selected 18th-century iron hardware and building materials from Context 25. *Top left*: glazed red brick fragment. *Top right*: ten wrought iron nails. *Second row, left to right*: three small wrought iron tacks; large wrought iron nail; eight used or clenched wrought iron “J” nails. *Third row*: part of an iron H/L hinge; iron hinge fragment; two wrought iron staples; two wrought iron nails with attached square iron washers. *Bottom*: part of an iron casement frame with four nail holes (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:J18].



Plate 4.74. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: early 18th-century window leads from Context 25. Nine window lead fragments marked “\*EW\*1701\*TD\*” or part thereof. *Inset at upper right:* detail of molded script (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:J14].

Leads with this inscription were also found in Contexts 26, 43, 80 and 200 (see above, Contexts 26 and 80, for further discussion). The relatively high number of window leads from Context 25 suggests that not all of the windows were replaced by sash windows and that when the building was pulled down at least one case-ment window became part of the basement fill.

**Commerce:** Two lead merchants weights were recovered from Context 25 (see above, Plate 4.67). The first weight weighs exactly 2 ounces and has an irregular disk shape, flat on one side with an illegible stamped mark (the lettering surrounding the motif is contained within a circle in the center). The other weight weighs exactly 1 ounce, also has an irregular disk shape and is stamped with an illegible mark. Such weights would have been used on a small counter balance scale.

Ten copper coins and one tin token or counterfeit coin were recovered from Context 25 (Plate 4.75). These items range in date from 1693 to 1787 and are listed below:

One William and Mary Irish farthing of 1693 (Plate 4.75 [top row, left]); well circulated; this coin depicts the Gaelic harp on the reverse side; according to Irish mythology, the harp belonged to the god Dagda and was capable of expressing things which are beyond language

One William and Mary halfpenny of 1694 (Plate 4.75 [top row, center left]); well circulated; 1694 was the only year halfpence were circulated during William and Mary's reign

Two William III halfpence of 1695-1701 (Plate 4.75 [top row, center right and right]); well circulated

One George I halfpenny of 1719-1724 (Plate 4.75 [bottom row, left]); good condition

One George II halfpenny of 1731 (Plate 4.75 [bottom row, center left]); good condition with one quarter of the edge serrated (possible buzzer); limited circulation

One George II tin and lead token or counterfeit coin of 1727-1760 (Plate 4.75 [bottom row, center right]); poor condition with two perforations (possible buzzer)

Two copper halfpence-sized coins; worn smooth and in bad condition; probably British

One copper farthing-sized coin; worn smooth and in bad condition; probably British

One New Jersey copper of 1787 (Plate 4.75 [bottom row, right]); excellent condition; apparently not in circulation for very long and possibly lost shortly after it was minted

The New Jersey copper is classifiable as Maris Type 43-d and has been attributed to James Atlee of Rahway (Maris 1981; Bowers and Merena, Inc. 1984:121). On June 1, 1786, the New Jersey legislature authorized Walter Mould, Thomas Goadsby and Albion Cox to mint three million copper coins, each to weigh 150 grains, over a period of two years. The coins were to circulate at a ratio of 15 coppers to the shilling. The obverse side depicts a plow beneath a horse's head facing right with the legend "NOVA CAESAREA" (alternative Latin name for New Jersey) and the date. The reverse side of the coin depicts the American shield along with the national motto as the legend "E PLURIBUS UNUM" ("out of many, one"). New Jersey coppers were the first American coins to bear the national motto (Jordan 2002:1-6). To date 148 different varieties of the New Jersey coppers have been recorded.



Plate 4.75. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: selected 18th-century coins and tokens from Context 25. The obverse and reverse of each is shown (one above the other). *Top row, left to right:* William and Mary copper Irish farthing (1693); William and Mary copper halfpenny (1694); two William III copper halfpence (1695-1701). *Bottom row:* George I copper halfpenny (1719-1724); George II copper halfpenny (1731) with a  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the edge serrated, possibly from being made into a buzzer; George II tin and lead token or counterfeit coin with two perforations (1727-1760); New Jersey copper (1787) (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048D1:J13].



**Arms/Armor:** A total of 28 artifacts from Context 25 are arms and/or military related. These items consist of a Continental Army button, a frizzen, lead flint sheaths, lead shot, gunflints, a four-pound cannon ball and a lancet (Plate 4.76).

The Continental Army button is made of cast pewter and is 0.7 inches in diameter (Plate 4.76 [top row, center]). The button has the entwined letters “U.S.A.” and exhibits a raised “pie-crust” border. This type is classifiable as belonging to the small size “Enlisted Man’s Pattern” (AUSA.sb-Type), a common form which is broadly datable to *circa* 1778-1779 (Troiani 2001:100). After 1779 U.S.A Continental Army buttons were supposed to be worn on the coats of all American soldiers; state buttons were reserved for their hats (Peterson 1968:232). U.S.A. buttons, manufactured by the thousand, have been found on countless Revolutionary War period sites from New York to Georgia and it is thought that the Continental Army formally adopted their use sometime in the late spring or summer of 1777 (Troiani 2001:97-102). A brass mold to for making U.S.A. buttons was found in excavations near Independence Hall in Philadelphia by the National Park Service (Robert Giannini, personal communication, 1997).

Cast steel frizzens of the type found in Context 25 are a common feature on a multitude of rifles, muskets and pistols of the 18th century (Plate 4.76 [middle row, center right]). The lead flint sheaths were wrapped around gunflints to protect them from being crushed in the vice of the cock when the vice screw was tightened (Plate 4.76 [top row, right]).

Three pieces of lead shot (different sizes) were recovered from Context 25 (Plate 4.76 [bottom row, center]). The smallest piece of lead shot, 1/5 of an inch in diameter, would have been used in a shotgun, probably for hunting medium-sized game such as geese, turkey, swan and fox. Another smaller caliber shot measures 33/100 of an inch in diameter (“00” size buckshot) and

would have been used for hunting large game such as deer or bear, although it was also used in military weapons. Military muskets often made use of paper cartridges containing a single large musket ball and from one to eight pieces of smaller buckshot (Norman 2000). The larger caliber musket ball, 59/100 of an inch in diameter, was used in the French “Charleville” musket, a firearm that was employed by American troops during the Revolutionary War (Parrington *et al.* 1984:125-161). This musket ball is three-quarter cast which would have theoretically caused it to travel in an irregular pattern causing considerable damage to whomever it hit. While this item may have found its way on to the site during the hostilities of December 1776/January 1777, it could also have been dropped in the fall of 1781 or 1782 when French and American troops were passing through Trenton on their way to and from Yorktown (see above, Chapter 3).

Sixteen gunflints and 4 strike-a-lites were also found in Context 25 (Plate 4.76). Of the 16 gunflints, five are of blade type (one grey and four honey-colored) and 11 are spall type (four grey, six honey-colored and one burnt white [see below, Context 2, for further discussion]). The four strike-a-lites are fashioned from chunks of dark grey or black flint ballast. These pieces show reduction as a result of impact from a C- shaped or oval piece of steel known as a fire steel. No fire steels were found at this site as these were a valuable commodity and would have been kept close at hand (Stone 1974:186-189).

A solid 4-pound (actual weight 3lb 4 oz owing to corrosion) iron cannon ball was recovered from Context 25 (Plate 4.76 [right]). This 3-inch-diameter shot, along with the U.S.A. button (discussed above), provide the best evidence for military occupation of this house during the American Revolutionary War during the winter of 1776/1777.



Plate 4.76. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: selected 18th-century military artifacts from Context 25. *Upper left, top three rows*: 12 French and English musket to rifle-size gunflints. *Bottom left*: four strike-a-lites fashioned from chunks of dark grey or black flint ballast. *Top center*: pewter U.S.A. Continental Army button. *Top right*: two lead gunflint sheaths. *Center middle row, left to right*: iron lanceet, part of a portable medical kit used to treat ailing and wounded soldiers; French-type iron frizzen; solid cast iron 3 pound 4 ounce cannon ball. *Bottom center*: three pieces of lead shot, the largest, 59/100 of an inch in diameter, was used in the French “Charleville” musket (employed by the Continental Army); the smaller pieces are buckshot and medium game load (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:J23a].

The iron lancet side plate found in Context 25 would have been for letting blood from an ailing patient (Plate 4.76 [middle row, center]). Lancets have been recovered from numerous Revolutionary War sites along the eastern seaboard. This tool, which has a fragment of an iron rivet attached to one end, may have been part of a portable medical kit used to treat ailing and wounded soldiers (Peterson 1968:163-172; Neumann and Kravic 1975:187).

**Agriculture/Equestrian:** Some 24 equestrian-related items were recovered from Context 25 (Plate 4.77). These items consist of horseshoes (13), buckles (7), bits (2), a stirrup and a brass tack/harness ornament. All of the horseshoes are of the same U-shaped variety with converging fullered sides, typical of the 18th century. One complete horseshoe measures  $4\frac{7}{8}$  inches in width (Plate 4.77 [upper left]). One bit is a snaffle or watering type bit with straight cheek pieces and a central rein loop (Plate 4.77 [upper right]). A parallel for this, discarded *circa* 1730, has been documented in Virginia (Noël Hume 1969:241). The stirrup is fashioned in wrought iron with a divided foot bar and an oval swivel loop riveted to the top for attachment to the harness (Plate 4.77 [lower right]). A similar stirrup was excavated at Fort Stanwix and can be dated to *circa* 1758 to 1781 (Hanson and Hsu 1975:110-111), while other virtually identical stirrups have been documented elsewhere (e.g., Neumann and Kravic 1975:157, #18). Large brass tacks measuring up to one-inch in diameter, like the specimen found in Context 25, were used as harness ornaments (Noël Hume 1969:227).

### iii. Faunal Material

Over 2,600 pieces of shellfish were sampled from Context 25, about 20% of the estimated total (see above, Plate 4.63). The majority of these shells were mollusks, chiefly oyster (*Crassostrea virginica*) (1,488) and clam (*Vereridae*) (1,074), with a much

smaller quantity of Atlantic ribbed mussel (*Modiolus demissus*) (48). The large size of the oyster shells suggests that they were harvested from deep water sources such as the Delaware Bay (Kent 1988). Oysters thrive in areas where salt water and fresh water meet, including estuaries and salt marshes. Unlike in Europe, where oyster were becoming depleted, when the colonists first came to North America they found Native Americans enjoying seemingly unlimited supplies of oysters. Eaten in massive quantity, oysters were enjoyed by rich and poor alike.

### j. Context 22 (Basement Fill; Upper Deposit)

#### i. Stratigraphy

Context 22 appears to be a fill deposit used to level a depression formed from the settling of Context 25 (Figure 4.7). This deposit was found primarily in the center of the main section of the basement area (Excavation Units 99Q, 99R, 99V and 99W) overlying Context 25, and may be related to landscaping activities conducted during the period of Sartori ownership between 1803 and 1834. The soil matrix consisted of silty and sandy loam with cobbles, pebbles, metal, ash and brick.

#### ii. Artifacts

A total of 46 artifacts were recovered from the uppermost basement leveling fill deposit [22] and displayed a date range of *circa* 1700 to 1840 (Plate 4.78). The artifacts vary in size with some being quite large, while others measure less than 2 inches across. Many of the artifacts are similar to those recovered from the underlying fill level [25], but the mixed nature and wide temporal range of the assemblage suggests it may have originated from a broader area of the site, possibly relating to expansion of the Rosey Hill Mansion.



Plate 4.77. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: selected 18th-century equestrian items from Context 25. *Top row*: complete horseshoe; snaffle or watering-type bit with straight cheekpieces and a central rein loop. *Bottom row*: three horseshoe fragments; wrought iron stirrup with a divided foot bar and oval swivel loop (riveted to the top) for attaching to the harness (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:J40].



Plate 4.78. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: selected 18th and early 19th-century artifacts from Context 22. *Top row, left to right:* glazed red brick fragment; buff-bodied stoneware body sherd of indeterminate type; redware hollowware rim sherd with interior/exterior dark mottled lead glaze. *Middle row:* pale aqua window pane fragments; dark olive green wine bottle base fragment; dark live green wine bottle closure fragment with applied string rim; Chinese export porcelain tea ware body sherd with hand-painted geometric decoration over a dry red-bodied creamer rim sherd and handle with copper luster and blue glaze. *Bottom:* large oyster shell (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:J41].

The artifact assemblage from Context 22 is dominated by building materials (23 [50%]) followed by ceramic vessel sherds (12 [26.1%]) and glass vessel fragments (8 [17.4%]). Ceramic vessel sherds consist of locally produced utilitarian redwares (5) and imported wares consisting of creamware (1), pearlware (1) whiteware (2), refined redware (1), stoneware (1) and Chinese export porcelain (1).

The one sherd of a refined redware mug or cup falls within the luster family of ceramics and is datable to the 1830s and early 1840s (Plate 4.78 [center right]). The body resembles a dry-bodied red stoneware. The interior surface is coated with white slip under the glaze. The handle exhibits fancy molded rigaree with gold gilt. This piece could be of French origin.

Red brick fragments or bats with glazed headers were sampled from this context (Plate 4.78 [upper left]). Glazed headers are generally associated with 18th-century construction and may represent remains of the original structure (perhaps part of a fireplace or chimney) or secondary building. No whole bricks were found, suggesting this deposit is not primary.

#### **4. Other 18th- and Early 19th-Century Contexts Adjacent to the Lambert/Douglas House**

Figure 4.18 shows the location of a number of 18th-century features located close to the Lambert/Douglas House. Two probable 18th-century refuse pits were located to the east of the early 18th-century basement.

##### **a. Contexts 27 and 28 (Pit)**

###### **i. Stratigraphy**

A circular pit filled by silty loam [27, 28], approximately 5 feet in diameter, was located 15 feet to the east of the early 18th-century basement cut in Excavation Units 101, 102 and 140 (Figures 4.18 and 4.19; Plate 4.79). The pit extended 0.60 feet into the B horizon [10, 11], and was cut from the lower 0.10 feet of the 18th-century yard deposit [26].

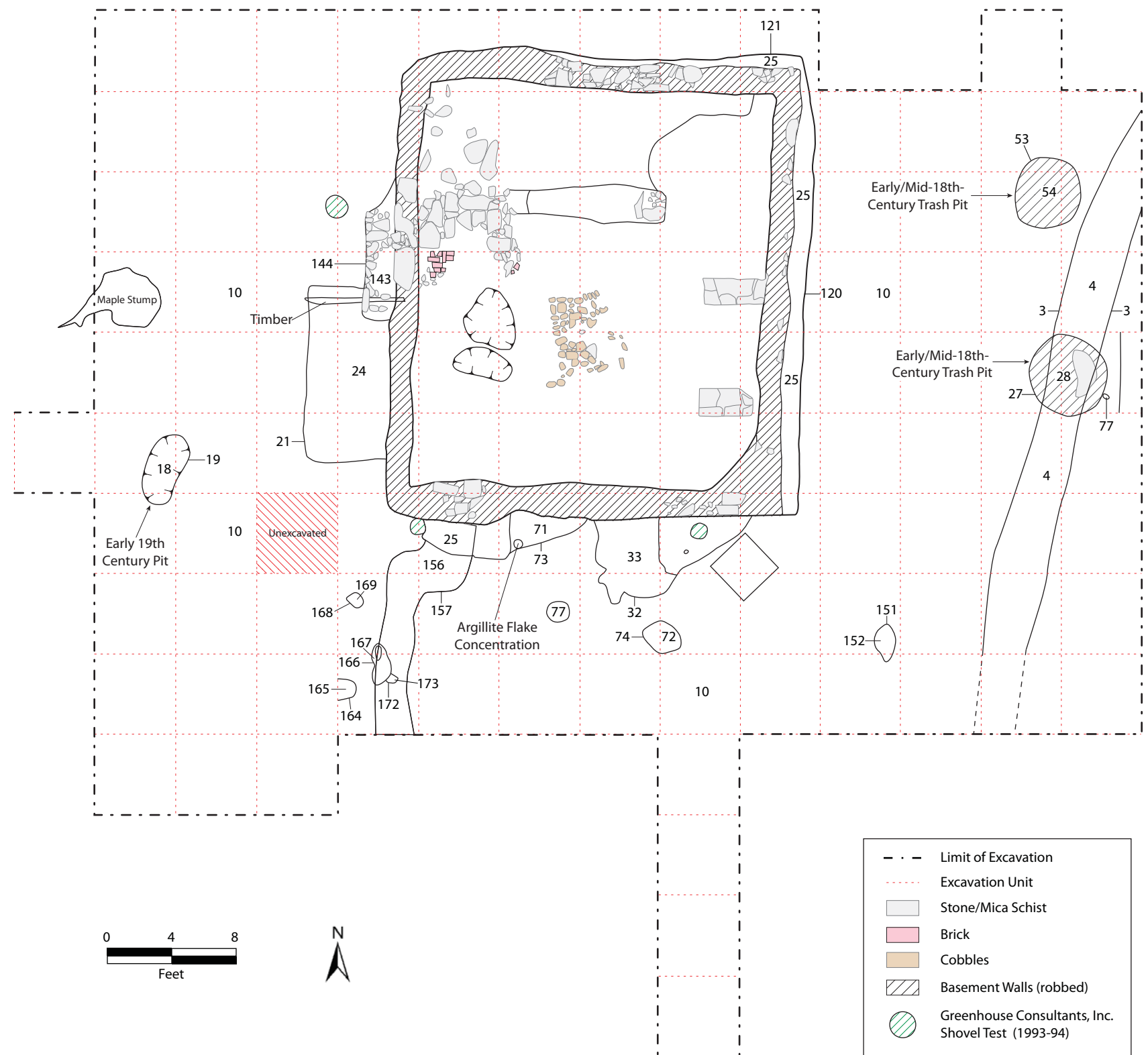
###### **ii. Artifacts**

A total of 16 artifacts were recovered from this context. These materials comprise: seven sherds of redware of 18th- to early 19th-century date; a sherd of buff-bodied slip-decorated earthenware of Staffordshire type, datable to *circa* 1670 to 1775; a sherd of white salt-glazed stoneware with scratch blue decoration, datable to *circa* 1744 to 1775; a sherd of Chinese porcelain of 18th- to early 19th-century date; a tobacco pipe stem fragment, with a 4/64-inch bore diameter, datable to *circa* 1750 to 1800; two light aqua window glass fragments; a clam shell; and two heavily encrusted nails.

##### **b. Contexts 53 and 54 (Pit)**

###### **i. Stratigraphy**

The other 18th-century pit [53, 54], circular and 4.50 feet in diameter, was also located 15 feet to the east of the early 18th-century basement cut and exposed within Excavation Units 115, 116, 149 and 154 (Figures 4.18 and 4.20). The pit was apparently cut from the top of Context 26 (a yard deposit), suggesting a slightly later date of deposition than Contexts



**Context List**

Context	Description [Interpretation]	Munsell
3	Cut containing context 4 [late 19th/early 20thc disturbance]	--
4	Silty loam with pebbles and slag [late 19th/early 20thc fill]	10 YR 3/1
10	Mottled silty loam [B horizon]	10 YR 3/3, 10 YR 4/4
18	Silty loam with charcoal flecks [early 19thc pit fill]	10 YR 3/6
19	Cut for context 18 [early 19thc pit]	--
21	Cut containing context 24 [early 19thc disturbance]	--
24	Mottled silty loam with brick and coal [early 19thc fill]	10 YR 2/1, 10 YR 4/4
25	Mottled silty loam with plaster lens at base [late 18thc basement fill]	7.5 YR 3/3, 10 YR 3/6
27	Cut for context 28 [late 18thc pit]	--
28	Silty loam with brick and mortar [late 18thc pit fill]	10 YR 3/6
32	Cut for context 33 [prehistoric pit]	--
33	Silty loam [prehistoric pit fill]	10 YR 4/4
53	Cut for context 54 [early/mid-18thc pit]	--
54	Sandy loam with brick [early/mid-18thc pit fill]	10 YR 4/4
71	Silty loam [prehistoric pit fill]	10 YR 3/3, 10 YR 4/3
72	Sandy loam [prehistoric pit fill]	10 YR 3/3
73	Cut for context 71 [prehistoric pit]	--
74	Cut for context 72 [prehistoric pit]	--
77	Jasper cache within context 26 [prehistoric feature]	--
120	Cut filled by basement demolition, east side [late 18thc]	--
121	Cut filled by basement demolition, north side [late 18thc]	--
143	Silty loam with mica schist [late 18thc fill in robber trench in interior basement entry]	10 YR 3/3
144	Cut for context 143 [late 18thc robber trench]	--
151	Cut containing context 152 [prehistoric pit]	--
152	Mottled silty loam [prehistoric pit fill]	7.5 YR 2.5/2, 7.5 YR 3/3
156	Mottled silty sand [late 18thc fill of worn path to exterior basement entry]	10 YR 3/4, 10 YR 4/6
157	Outline for context 156 [18thc worn to exterior basement entry]	--
164	Cut containing context 165 [prehistoric pit]	--
165	Silty loam [prehistoric pit fill]	7.4 YR 4/3
166	Cut containing context 167 [prehistoric pit]	--
167	Silty loam [prehistoric pit fill]	10 YR 4/4
168	Cut containing context 169 [prehistoric pit]	--
169	Silty loam [prehistoric pit fill]	10 YR 4/4
172	Cut containing context 173 [prehistoric pit]	--
173	Silty loam [prehistoric pit fill]	10 YR 4/4

Figure 4.18. Lambert/Douglas House Site: Site Plan Showing Prehistoric, 18th- and Early 19th-Century and Prehistoric Features in the Area around the House.





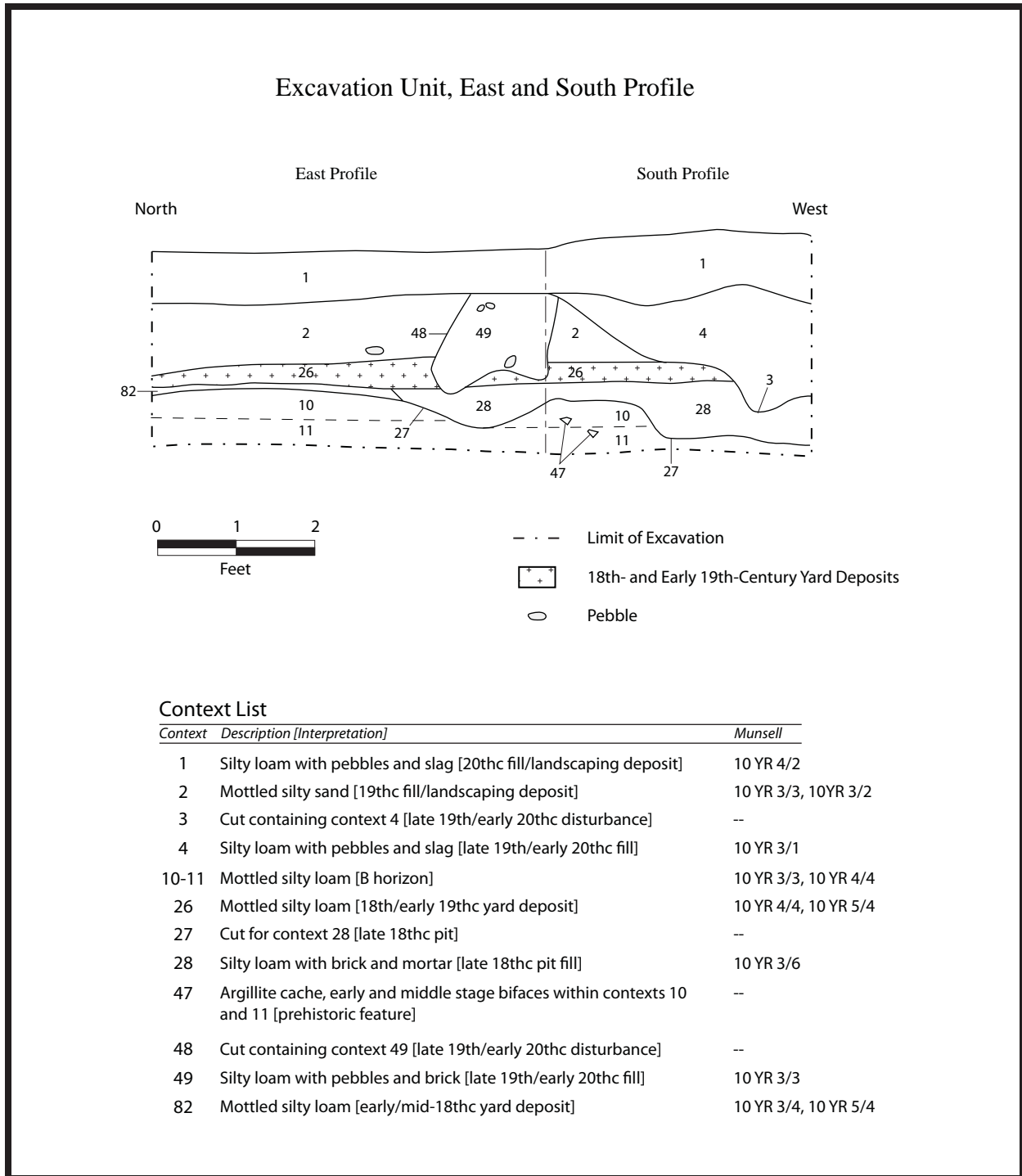


Figure 4.19. Lambert/Douglas House Site: Excavation Unit 102, East and South Profile Across 18th-Century Pit [Contexts 27 and 28] Above Argillite Cache [Context 47].



Plate 4.79. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: view looking north showing pit [27, 28] found in Excavation Units 101 and 102. This pit was cut from the lower 0.10 feet of the yard deposit [26]; scales in feet and inches (Photographer: George Cress, November 1997) [HRI Neg. #97045/10:11].

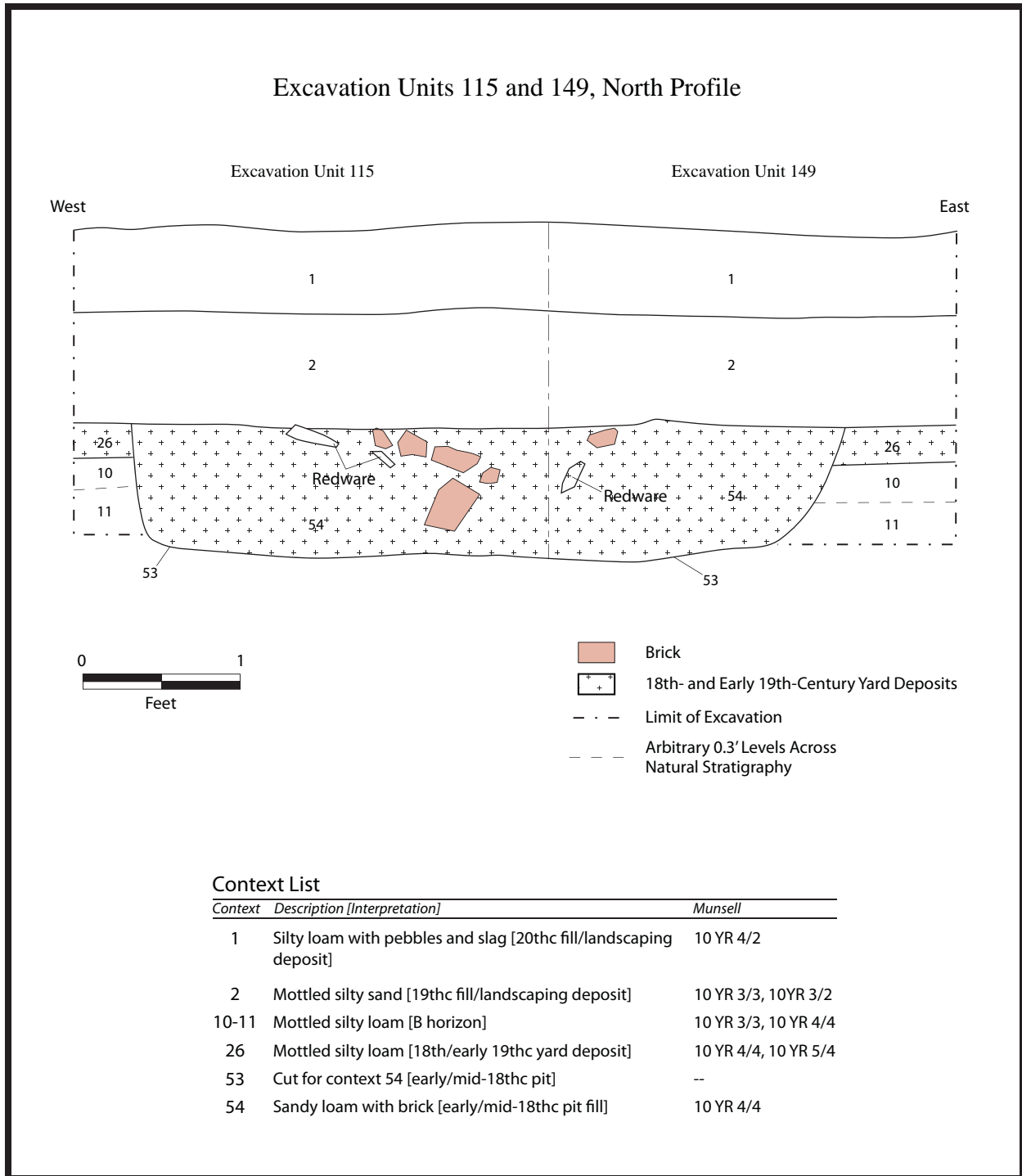


Figure 4.20. Lambert/Douglas House Site: Excavation Units 115 and 149, North Profile Across 18th-Century Pit [Contexts 53 and 54].

27 and 28. The fill consisted of silty loam and brick fragments. The center of the pit extended to a depth of 1 foot below the top of Context 26.

## ii. Artifacts

A total of 121 artifacts were recovered from the fill of this feature. These materials provide a date range of *circa* 1700 to 1750 for what was probably a small trash pit. Large portions of several ceramic vessels from this context mend. The artifact assemblage from Context 54 is dominated by ceramic vessel sherds (76 [62.8%]), followed by building materials (27 [22.3%]) and glass vessel fragments (17 [14%]).

### *Ceramic Vessels*

Ceramic vessel sherds consist of utilitarian redware (68) and some imported wares including tin-enameled earthenware (1), buff-bodied coarse earthenware (1), gravel-tempered ware (1), white salt-glazed stoneware (2) and other types of stoneware (2) (Plate 4.80). The presence of white salt-glazed stoneware and the absence of cream-colored wares suggests a closing date between 1744 and 1750 for this feature. The ceramic assemblage is very similar to those derived from contexts in the northern portion of the lower basement floor.

**Redware:** Sherds from two manganese/lead-glazed redware milk pans suggest a connection to dairying that would further link this pit to the northern portion of the basement (Plate 4.80 [top and lower right]) (see above, Context 25, for further discussion of milk pans). Two hump-molded redware plates are beautifully decorated in the Delaware Valley style, one with white slip-trailed decoration and the other with white slip-trailed decoration and copper splashes (three sherds mend as one) (Plate 4.80 [center left and lower left]). Also of note is a small, 6-inch-diameter wheel-

thrown plate with slip-trailed decoration and copper highlights in the Philadelphia tradition (Plate 4.80 [bottom center]) (Steen 1999:62-72).

**Gravel-Tempered Ware:** The un-typed British gravel-tempered ware sherd cross-mends with a sherd from Context 25 suggesting that the top of this pit was truncated and used as basement fill. Twelve other gravel-tempered ware sherds, apparently from the same vessel, were also recovered from Contexts 25 (10) and 26 and 80 (2) (see above Contexts 26 and 80, for further discussion).

## c. Contexts 18 and 19 (Pit)

### i. Stratigraphy

An irregular-shaped depression [19] was encountered west of the early basement foundation in Units 10, 11, 24 and 25 (Figure 4.18). The fill consisted of silty loam with charcoal flecks [18] mixed in the matrix, along with a dense concentration of early 19th-century artifacts which are probably reflective of the Sartori period of occupation at the site. The depression may have been created by a tree fall.

### ii. Artifacts

A total of 846 artifacts were recovered from Context 18, which appears to be a moderate-sized refuse pit with a date range of *circa* 1800 to 1830 (Table 4.19; Plate 4.81). Portions of several ceramic vessels and glass vessels from this context mend. The artifact assemblage from Context 18 is dominated by building materials (407 [48.1%]) followed by glass vessel fragments (264 [31.2%]) and ceramic vessel sherds (160 [18.9%]).



Plate 4.80. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: selected early 18th-century ceramics from Context 54. *Top*: four mended redware milk pan rim sherds with interior black lead glaze over hump-molded redware pie plate rim sherd with white slip-trailed decoration and small wheel-thrown dish rim sherd with missing slip-trailed decoration. *Bottom row*: three mended sherds (two rim and one body) from a hump-molded redware pie plate with white slip-trailed decoration and green copper oxide highlights; two mended buff-bodied gravel-tempered ware body sherds similar to North Devon gravel-tempered ware and Staffordshire ware; three mended redware milk pan rim sherds with interior black lead glaze (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:I3].

**Context 18**

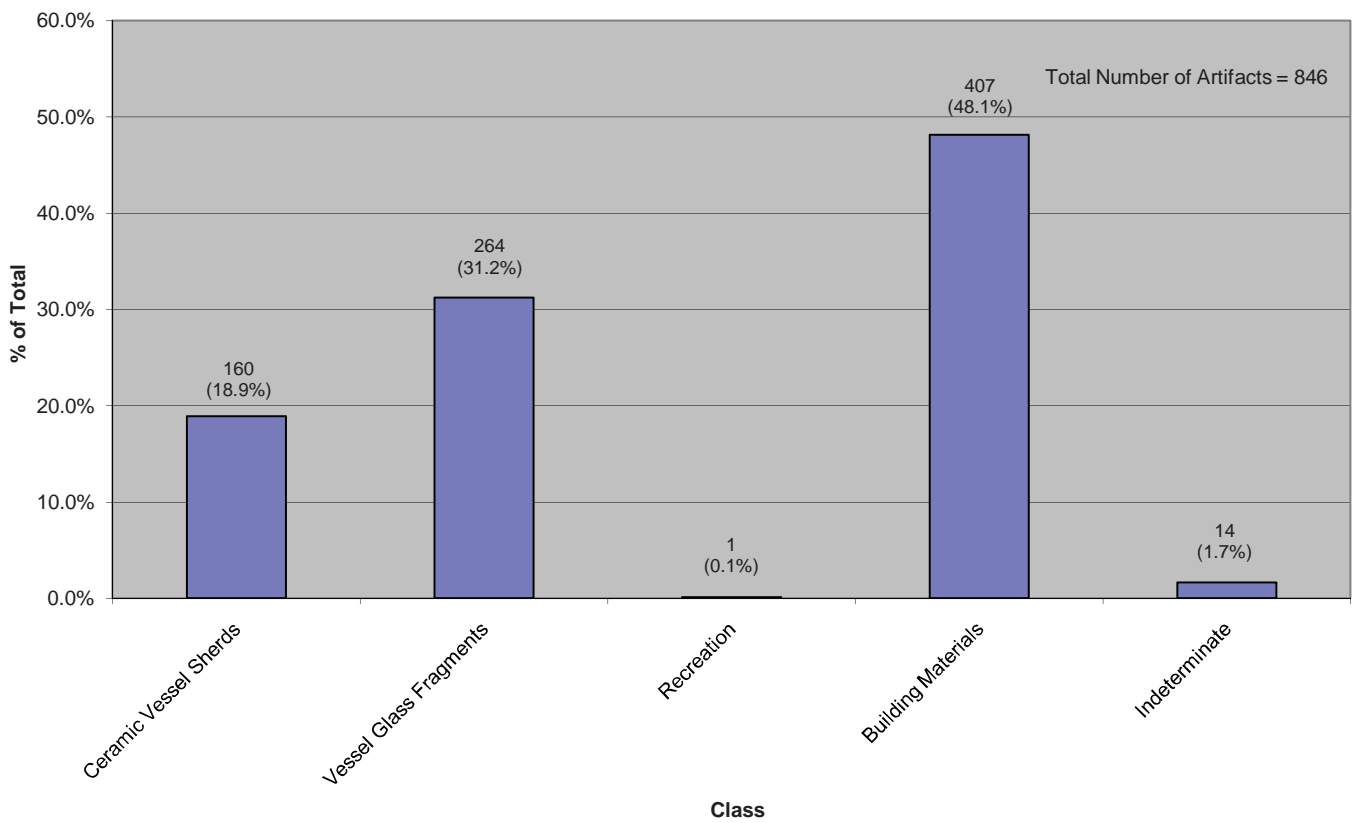


Table 4.19. Rosey Hill Mansion Site: Early 19th-Century Pit Fill Deposit, Context 18, Historic Artifact Frequency by Class.

Context 18

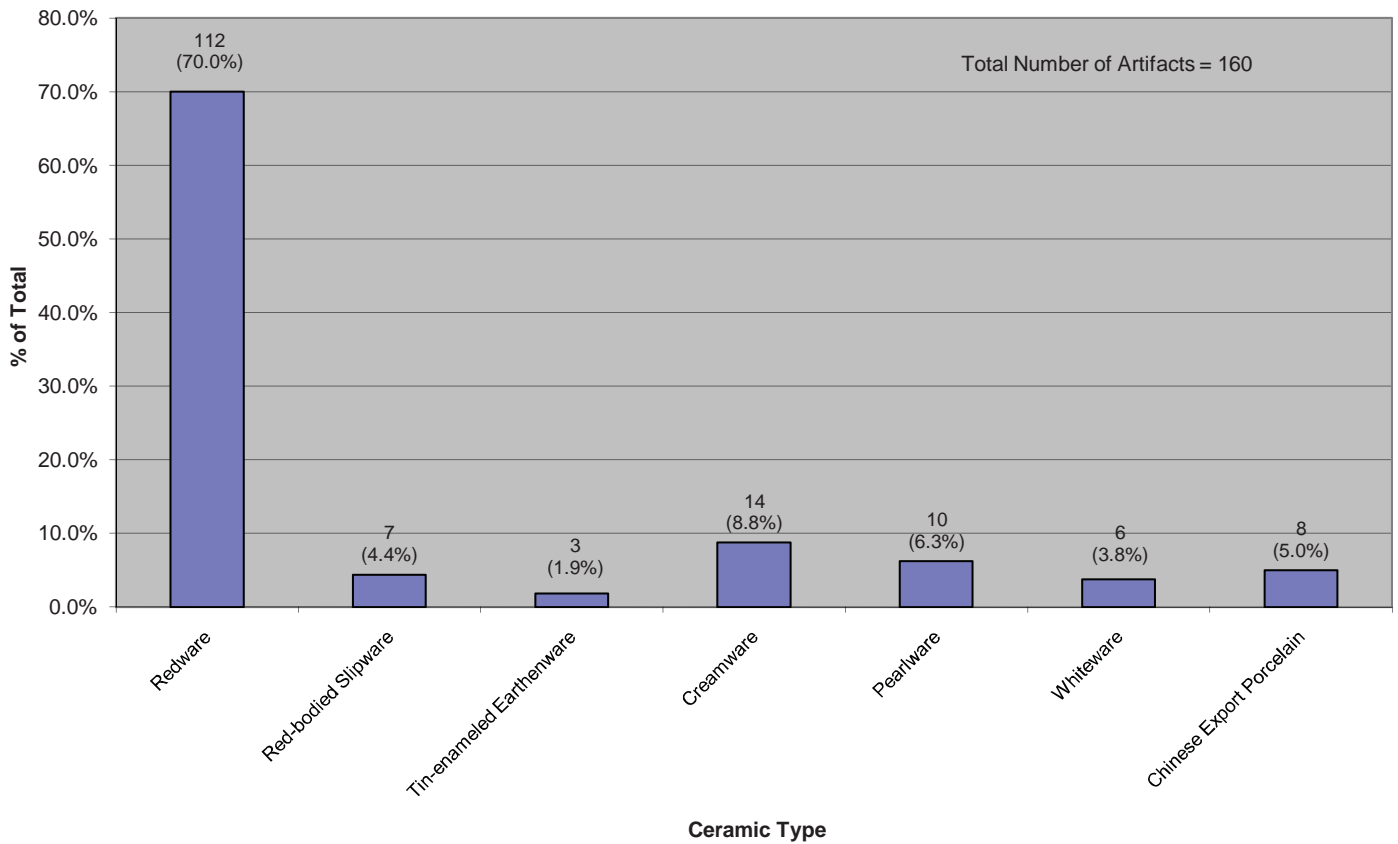


Table 4.20. Rosey Hill Mansion Site: Early 19th-Century Pit Fill Deposit, Context 18, Historic Ceramic Frequency by Type.



Plate 4.81. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: selected early 19th-century artifacts from Context 18. *Top, left to right*: two mended wine bottles blown in a turn or paste mold with a blowpipe pontil scar (side and bottom views); blue/green glass French flacon with an expanded mouth *over* clear glass tumbler base fragment (side and bottom views) *over* oyster shell; four mended rim sherds and two mended base sherds from a redware storage crock *over* redware pie plate rim sherd with slip-trailed decoration *over* creamware body sherd with a molded flower *over* white clay tobacco pipe stem fragment; nearly complete redware porringer with interior/exterior mottled lead glaze (top and side views). *Bottom row*: two squared pieces of pale aqua window pane fragments; several pale aqua rolled glass window pane fragments; several pieces of lime (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:I1].



In contrast to most other contexts, the ceramics form a relatively small proportion of the overall assemblage (Tables 4.19 and 4.20). The ceramic assemblage includes sherds of redware and red-bodied slipware (119), tin-enameled earthenware (3), creamware (14), pearlware (10), whiteware (6) and Chinese export porcelain (8). Tin-enameled earthenware was recovered from the top of Context 18 and may be intrusive from Context 2, which lies directly over Context 18.

Twenty-three pieces from a single, wide-mouthed, French-style green glass flacon were recovered from Context 18. Several similar vessels were recovered from the rectangular stone-lined shaft referred to as the “Sartori pit” (see below, Context 2044) and other examples have also been excavated at the fortress of Louisbourg, Canada. The Louisbourg vessels were used to store brandied fruits, anchovies, olives and capers, and the excavators concluded that “flacons commonly occur on British [military] sites during the 1750s and 1760s but are extremely rare in later contexts” (Jones and Smith 1985:63; Harris 2000:233-258). Other researchers, however, state that “... French ‘flacon’ forms ...occur regularly on 18th- and 19th-century colonial sites” (Faulkner and Faulkner 1987:234). The flacon from this refuse pit may reflect the Sartori family’s taste for upscale French goods.

Building materials recovered from Context 18 consist primarily of trimmed window glass (287 [70.1%]) followed by chunks of lime used in the manufacture of mortar (64 [15.7%]), nails (31 [7.6%]) and brick bats (25 [6.1%]). Building material ratios such as these are suggestive of construction activity of some kind, perhaps a remodeling episode or the building of an addition, *circa* 1820-1825.

*d. Contexts 56, 57, 60, 85, 86, 105 and 107 (Tree Stump/Pit)*

**i. Stratigraphy**

A probable burned tree stump/pit containing early 18th-century artifacts was identified in Excavation Units 32-34, 62, 63 and 66 between the Lambert/Douglas House and the Rosey Hill Mansion, approximately 35 feet south of the early 18th-century basement foundation (Figures 4.2 and 4.21). An area roughly 8 feet in diameter was affected by the stump, with pockets of sandy silt and charcoal filling probable root holes [56, 57, 60, 105 and 107] and extending into the B horizon [10]. The surrounding cut for this amorphous feature [86] may relate to the removal of the tree stump. The main fill [85] comprised a silty loam with cobbles and brick.

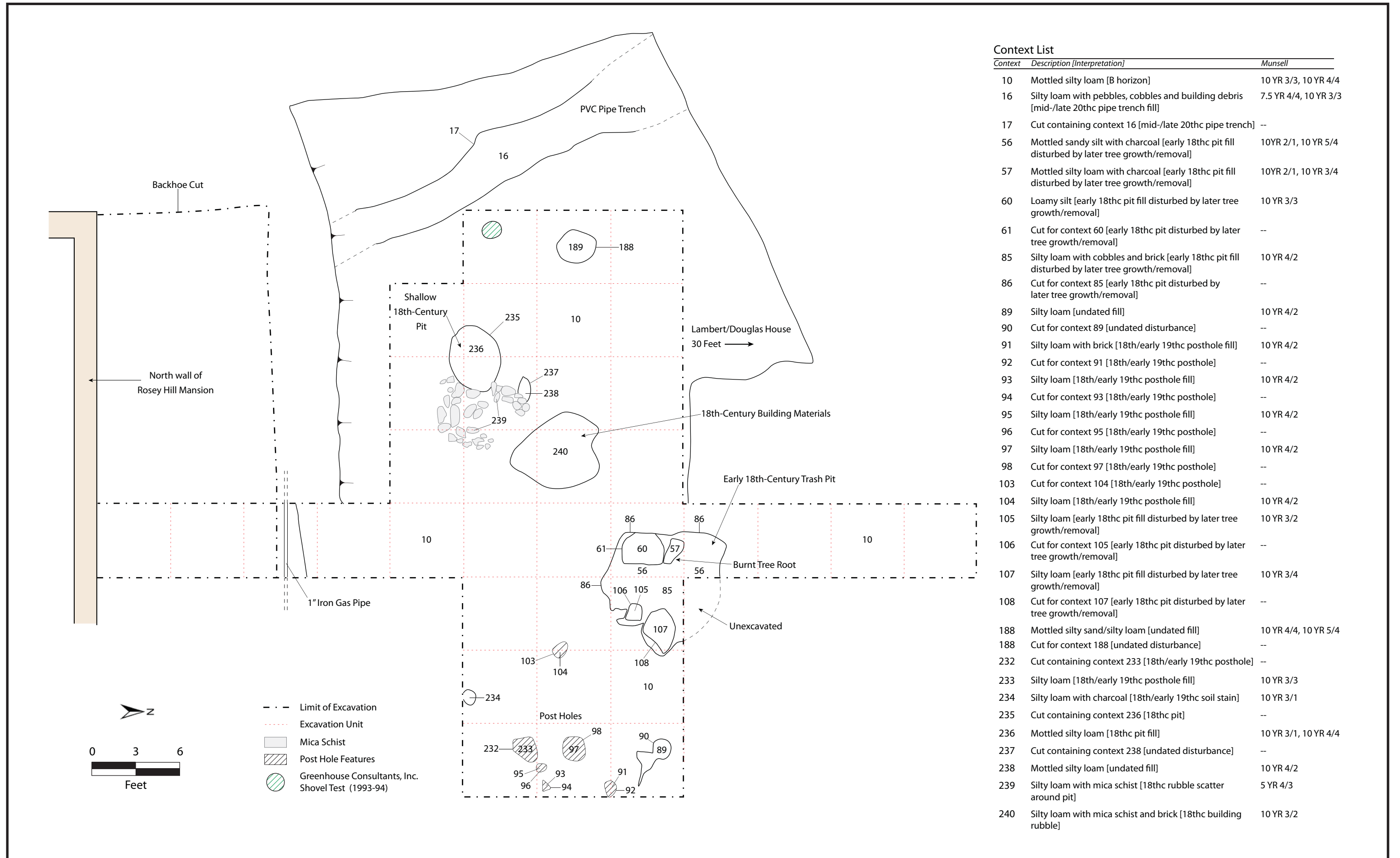
**ii. Artifacts**

A total of 455 artifacts were recovered from the fill and several small cavities associated with the root system of a burned tree (Contexts 56, 57, 60, 105 and 107). These small pockets of refuse have a date range of *circa* 1700 to 1750. Several fragments of ceramic vessels from Context 56 mend. The artifact assemblage is dominated by ceramic vessel sherds (215 [47.3%]), followed by building materials (95 [20.9%]) and glass vessel fragments (76 [16.7%]).

Ceramic vessel sherds consist of utilitarian redware (173) and a variety of imported wares including tin-enameled earthenware (17), buff-bodied earthenware (10), pearlware (4), Westerwald stoneware (1), white salt-glazed stoneware (1) and grey-bodied stoneware (3) (Plate 4.82). One ceramic sherd of special note is a sherd from a Westerwald stoneware chamber pot (Plate 4.82 [bottom row, right center]). The side of the chamber pot exhibits a sprig-molded wreath. Examples of this type of vessel have been excavated



Plate 4.82. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: selected early 18th-century ceramics from Context 56. *Top group*: five redware serving vessels with interior/exterior black glaze. *Bottom row, left to right*: two wheel-thrown redware dish rim sherds with white slip-trailed decoration; grey-bodied Westerwald salt-glazed stoneware chamber pot body sherd with a sprig-molded wreath; two mended body sherds from a grey-bodied stoneware hollowware vessel with a crawled brown glaze typical of bellarmine jugs; white salt-glazed stoneware plate rim sherd with a molded “bead and reel” border (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:14].



Context	Description [Interpretation]	Munsell
10	Mottled silty loam [B horizon]	10 YR 3/3, 10 YR 4/4
16	Silty loam with pebbles, cobbles and building debris [mid-/late 20thc pipe trench fill]	7.5 YR 4/4, 10 YR 3/3
17	Cut containing context 16 [mid-/late 20thc pipe trench]	--
56	Mottled sandy silt with charcoal [early 18thc pit fill disturbed by later tree growth/removal]	10YR 2/1, 10 YR 5/4
57	Mottled silty loam with charcoal [early 18thc pit fill disturbed by later tree growth/removal]	10YR 2/1, 10 YR 3/4
60	Loamy silt [early 18thc pit fill disturbed by later tree growth/removal]	10 YR 3/3
61	Cut for context 60 [early 18thc pit disturbed by later tree growth/removal]	--
85	Silty loam with cobbles and brick [early 18thc pit fill disturbed by later tree growth/removal]	10 YR 4/2
86	Cut for context 85 [early 18thc pit disturbed by later tree growth/removal]	--
89	Silty loam [undated fill]	10 YR 4/2
90	Cut for context 89 [undated disturbance]	--
91	Silty loam with brick [18th/early 19thc posthole fill]	10 YR 4/2
92	Cut for context 91 [18th/early 19thc posthole]	--
93	Silty loam [18th/early 19thc posthole fill]	10 YR 4/2
94	Cut for context 93 [18th/early 19thc posthole]	--
95	Silty loam [18th/early 19thc posthole fill]	10 YR 4/2
96	Cut for context 95 [18th/early 19thc posthole]	--
97	Silty loam [18th/early 19thc posthole fill]	10 YR 4/2
98	Cut for context 97 [18th/early 19thc posthole]	--
103	Cut for context 104 [18th/early 19thc posthole]	--
104	Silty loam [18th/early 19thc posthole fill]	10 YR 4/2
105	Silty loam [early 18thc pit fill disturbed by later tree growth/removal]	10 YR 3/2
106	Cut for context 105 [early 18thc pit disturbed by later tree growth/removal]	--
107	Silty loam [early 18thc pit fill disturbed by later tree growth/removal]	10 YR 3/4
108	Cut for context 107 [early 18thc pit disturbed by later tree growth/removal]	--
188	Mottled silty sand/silty loam [undated fill]	10 YR 4/4, 10 YR 5/4
188	Cut for context 188 [undated disturbance]	--
232	Cut containing context 233 [18th/early 19thc posthole]	--
233	Silty loam [18th/early 19thc posthole fill]	10 YR 3/3
234	Silty loam with charcoal [18th/early 19thc soil stain]	10 YR 3/1
235	Cut containing context 236 [18thc pit]	--
236	Mottled silty loam [18thc pit fill]	10 YR 3/1, 10 YR 4/4
237	Cut containing context 238 [undated disturbance]	--
238	Mottled silty loam [undated fill]	10 YR 4/2
239	Silty loam with mica schist [18thc rubble scatter around pit]	5 YR 4/3
240	Silty loam with mica schist and brick [18thc building rubble]	10 YR 3/2

Figure 4.21. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: Site Plan Showing the Locations of Historic Pits and Other Features between the Lambert/Douglas House Site and the Rosey Hill Mansion Site.



at Williamsburg and date to the third quarter of the 18th century. This rare type may be Flemish (Noël Hume 1969:280-281).

The absence of cream-colored wares suggests a closing date for this feature between 1744 and 1750. The pearlware is considered intrusive and out of character with the rest of the assemblage and is therefore not included in the date range. The four sherds of pearlware from Context 107 exhibit blue transfer-printed decoration which dates from *circa* 1815 to 1835. No other ware types dating between 1750 and 1815 were present, which tends to support the conclusion that the pearlware is probably intrusive.

The main pit matrix [85] produced a total of 203 artifacts, also with a date range of *circa* 1700 to 1750. The artifact assemblage is dominated by ceramic vessel sherds (97 [47.8%]), followed by building materials (53 [26.1%]) and artifacts related to recreational activities, principally tobacco pipe fragments (22 [10.8%]). Ceramic vessel sherds consist of utilitarian redware (63) and a variety of imported wares including tin-enameled earthenware (11), buff-bodied earthenware (3), white salt-glazed stoneware (2), grey-bodied stoneware (7) and Chinese export porcelain (1). The absence of cream-colored wares again suggests a closing date between 1744 and 1750.

**e. Contexts 235, 236 and 239 (Pit)**

A shallow oval-shaped pit was also located between the Lambert/Douglas House and the Rosey Hill Mansion in Excavation Units 525, 526, 528 and 529 (Figures 4.2 and 4.21). The cut for this feature [235] measured 4.50 feet by 3.50 feet in plan and contained mottled silty loam fill [236]. The pit cut into the B horizon [10] and extended to a depth of approximately 0.30 feet. In addition, a concentration of mica schist fragments [239] was found scattered around and beyond the eastern edge of the pit (Figure 4.21; Plate

4.15). The pit and mica schist may be associated with a small outbuilding, subfloor root cellar or landscaping feature.

**f. Context 240 (Building Rubble)**

**i. Stratigraphy**

A concentration of mica schist and brick in a silty loam matrix [240] was identified five feet northeast of Contexts 235 and 236 in Excavation Units 527, 530 and 531 (Figure 4.21). Context 240 overlaid the B horizon, and does not appear to have been a pit. The concentration of brick and stone suggests building rubble related to the demolition of an outbuilding or other structure, such as that posited in the discussion of Context 239 (see above). Artifacts recovered from this context suggest a late 18th-century date of deposition.

**ii. Artifacts**

A total of 574 artifacts were recovered from Context 240 (Plates 4.83-4.85). Items to which a date of manufacture or use can be assigned fall within a range of *circa* 1700 to 1775. Large portions of several ceramic vessels from this context mend. The artifact assemblage from Context 240 is dominated by ceramic vessel sherds (273 [47.6%]), followed by building materials (168 [29.3%]) and glass vessel fragments (66 [11.5%]).

*Ceramic Vessels*

Ceramic vessel sherds consist mostly of utilitarian redware (170) along with a small variety of imported wares including tin-enameled earthenware (52), buff-bodied earthenware (35), creamware (1), whiteware (1), white salt-glazed stoneware (2), grey-bodied



Plate 4.83. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: selected 18th-century ceramics from Context 240. *Top group, top to bottom:* 15 mended rim and body sherds from large cylindrical redware storage crock with interior clear lead glaze and a thick, exterior, folded, collared rim; Midlands mottled tankard body sherd; redware storage crock rim sherd; redware tankard handle. *Bottom row, left to right:* seven rim and body sherds (two mended) from a tin-enameled bowl with polychrome floral decoration; hump-molded redware plate body sherd with sgraffito decoration; buff-bodied hollowware rim sherd with dot-type slip decoration (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:I2b].



Plate 4.84. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: selected 18th-century glass artifacts from Context 240. *Left and center*: four dark olive green wine bottle base fragments and two neck and closure fragments with applied string rims. *Top center*: two hand-blown clear wine glass stem fragments; large pale aqua window glass pane fragment. *Right*: five fragments from a pattern-molded flask with a blowpipe pontil scar (side and bottom views) (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:I2c].



Plate 4.85. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: selected 18th-century artifacts from Context 240. *Top row, left to right*: bone pistol-grip handle; iron knife. *Left side, top to bottom*: 16 white clay tobacco pipe stem and bowl fragments; four hand wrought nails. *Right side, left to right and top to bottom*: brass hollow-cast button (obverse and side views); dark brown gunflint fragment, spall-type; bone double-sided comb; wire-wound barrel-shaped peach-colored trade bead; nickel-silver ornament fragment; oyster shell; wrought iron door latch (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:I2a].



stoneware (4) and Chinese export porcelain (6) (Plate 4.83). The single sherd of whiteware is considered intrusive and has been excluded in the assignation of a date to this context.

A body sherd from a hump-molded redware plate with sgraffito decoration was recovered from this context (Plate 4.83 [bottom row, center right]). The incised decoration on this sherd is part of a tulip leaf. Similar sherds were recovered from Context 150 (see above, Context 150, for further discussion). Sherds from two cylindrical redware storage crocks with thick, exterior, folded, collared rims and lead-glazed interiors were also recovered (Plate 4.83 [top and center]). Both vessels are locally made and appear to part of a nested set. The rim diameter of the smaller vessel (14 sherds mend as one) is 9 inches, while that of the larger vessel (three sherds mend as one) is 14 inches. The rims are both rectangular in cross section. The smaller vessel exhibits some damage along the rim from where it was stuck to another vessel in the kiln. These vessels would have been used in a kitchen or dairy (Beaudry *et al.* 1983:18-39).

#### *Other Artifacts*

**Vessel Glass:** Vessel glass from Context 240 consists mostly of fragments of free-blown dark olive green wine bottles (Plate 4.84 [left and center]). Base fragments with low and high kick-ups and closure fragments with applied string lips are represented. There are also several fragments from an aqua pattern-molded oval flask with a blowpipe pontil scar and two clear glass stem, stem/bowl fragments from wine glasses (Plate 4.84 [right and center]).

**Cutlery:** A socketed, pistol-grip, bone-handled knife with an iron blade was recovered from Context 240 (Plate 4.85 [top]). The handle is split and fractured along the socket. The surviving portion of the blade

is slightly convex along the cutting edge and measures 5¾ inches long. This style of knife typically dates to the early 18th century (Noël Hume 1969:178-182).

**Personal Items:** A double-sided rectangular bone fine-toothed comb found in this context has two sizes of teeth on opposing sides (plate 4.85 [center]). Commonly known as a close and narrow-tooth comb, this type of head comb is now commonly referred to as a lice comb (Noël Hume 1969:174-175). Two complete examples were excavated from Fort Stanwix in Rome, New York. The first example has 24 teeth per inch on one side and 35 teeth per inch on the other. The second example has 14 teeth per inch on one side and 28 teeth per inch on the other (Hanson and Hsu 1975:146-147).

**Recreation:** A pale, peach-colored, barrel-shaped, wire-wound glass bead was recovered from Context 240 (Plate 4.85 [upper right center]). This bead was commonly used for trade with Native Americans from *circa* 1750 to 1800 (Hayes 1983; Fogelman 1991).

A total of 32 white clay tobacco pipe stem and bowl fragments were found in Context 240 (Plate 4.85 [left center]). The majority of the stems have bore diameters of 5/64 of an inch (datable to *circa* 1710 to 1750) with one stem having a 4/64 inch bore diameter (*circa* 1750-1800) (Noël Hume 1969:298).

**Tools/Hardware:** A total of 89 wrought nails and various other hardware items such as a wrought iron door latch were found in Context 240 (Plate 4.85 [bottom row]). The latch has a spatulated end similar to one excavated from the Parson Russell House in Branford, Connecticut, *circa* 1701-1702 (Sonn 1989:104-105).

*g. Other Contexts*

Other possible 18th-century contexts identified in Area A between the Lambert/Douglas House and the Rosey Hill Mansion include a cluster of probable postholes in Excavation Units 62, 65, 67 and 68 [91, 92], [93, 94], [95, 96], [97, 98], [103, 104], and [232, 233] (Figure 4.21). The larger postholes [91, 92], [97, 98] and [232, 233] measured approximately 1.00 to 1.50 feet square and extended to a depth of 1 foot. Artifacts recovered from the fill of these features generally consisted of redware, pipe stem fragments, prehistoric lithic debitage and shell. Although no discernible pattern was observed, the postholes may relate to garden fences or pens.

## 5. Rosey Hill Mansion Foundation

Excavation of the Rosey Hill Mansion was carried out primarily with the aid of a backhoe. A north-south trench was initially excavated across the mansion basement foundation exposing the north wall, the basement floor and the south wall (Figure 4.22; Plates 4.86 and 4.87). An additional trench, roughly 50 feet in length, was then excavated perpendicular to the first trench along the interior of the north wall. This latter trench revealed the full width of the basement beneath the original, late 18th-century main section of the mansion. Remains of a stone footing were found at the eastern end of this second trench forming the northeast corner of the original mansion and pre-dating the 19th-century additions that were appended to the eastern side of the building.

The Rosey Hill Mansion remains something of an enigma, even after considerable archaeological and historical study. As discussed in Chapter 3, earlier accounts that attribute the building of Rosey Hill to John B. Sartori at some point shortly after his purchase of the property in 1803 seem to be in error. This is deduced from a combination of historical, archi-

tectural and archaeological evidence. Historically, it is likely that one of the two buildings shown on the Berthier map of 1781 is the mansion (Figure 3.17), and there is a good possibility that it was erected by Robert Lettis Hooper II between 1768 and 1770. Based on maps and surviving photographs and architectural evidence recorded in the 1970s the structural development of the building was clearly complex. Unfortunately the archaeological data gathered in 1998 have not been particularly informative. The chief archaeological discovery was evidence for an intense fire observed on the exterior of the north and south basement foundations, extending to a depth of at least 6 feet below grade. The issues surrounding this building are discussed further in Chapter 5.

The foundation construction cut [8] is the earliest context relating to the mansion, extending along the foundation wall exterior, forming a trench approximately 0.40 feet wide that was filled by a dense concentration of charcoal [9]. The eastern side of a 20th-century pipe trench [16, 17] that cut through the mansion basement foundation from southeast to northwest provided a useful cross section through the north foundation wall, its builders' trench and the charcoal deposits along the wall exterior (Figure 4.6). The charcoal extended below a large boulder that was left in place and incorporated into the wall.

It is unclear how this charcoal deposit came into being. One explanation is that there were timbers placed in the space between the outside of the basement wall and the trench wall at the time of construction, and that these subsequently caught fire. An alternative explanation is that the great heat of the fire caused shrinkage of the soils around the house, opening up a void into which the charcoal fell from the conflagration above. Either way, the quantity of charcoal suggests an intense and destructive fire. The possible date of such a fire is further discussed in Chapter 5, but in view of the relatively well documented history of the building after 1803, it seems virtually certain that this



Plate 4.86. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: view looking southwest showing mechanical removal of fill from the basement of the Rosey Hill Mansion. North wall of mansion in foreground (Photographer: George Cress, November 1997) [HRI Neg. #97045/10:18].



Plate 4.87. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: view looking southeast showing trench excavated through Rosey Hill Mansion basement floor; scales in feet and inches (Photographer: Matthew Lazur, March 1998) [HRI Neg. #97045/44:9].

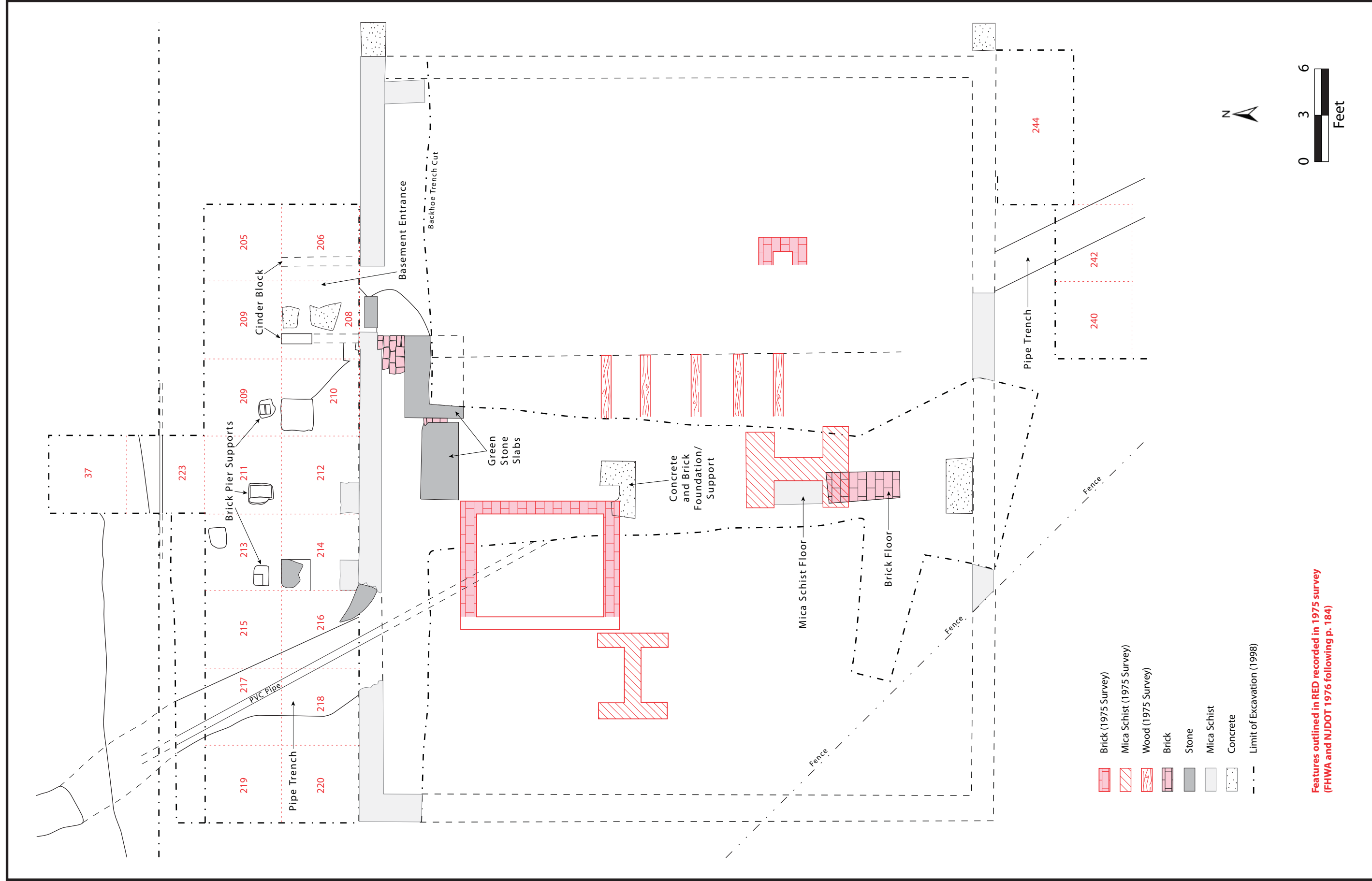


Figure 4.22. Rossey Hill Mansion Site: Site Plan Showing Mansion Foundation and Features Observed in 1975-76 Prior to Demolition.



fire must have taken place before that time, perhaps at the same time as the burning of the Lambert/Douglas house structure and perhaps during the hostilities of December 1776. The basement foundation walls were 2 feet wide and constructed of mortared mica schist and cobbles, extending approximately 6 feet below the modern ground surface.

The floor of the basement was exposed in the backhoe trench that extended across the basement (Figure 4.22; Plate 4.87). Trenching within the mansion basement proved to be logistically difficult because of the restricted area of the site and the unstable character of the fill. These factors, and the unanticipated need to concentrate the main excavation effort on the site of the Lambert/Douglas House, limited the scale of the investigation. Three distinct floors were encountered adjacent to the north foundation wall. The uppermost floor consisted of finely cut stone slabs overlying a brick floor. This middle brick floor overlaid a mica schist stone floor constructed on top of C horizon soils. A U-shaped concrete platform (3.50 feet by 2.50 feet) was also exposed in the backhoe trench, 14 feet south of the north basement foundation wall. This platform supported a safe (New Jersey Department of Transportation 1975). Two basement floors were identified to the south of the platform, consisting once again of a brick surface overlying mortared mica schist. In the center of the basement the floor surface was composed of intractable concrete that was only penetrated in places. Overall, the evidence recovered from the basement was of limited value in contributing to the understanding of the development of the building.

Three brick piers or post supports [18-21, 87-89, 70-72] were encountered 5.50 feet north of the mansion's north wall in Excavation Units 209, 211 and 213 (Figure 4.22). The piers measured approximately 1.50 feet square and were situated 5 feet apart. These features are probably related to a former porch along the north wall of the mansion. A cinder block wall [14]

abutted the north wall of the foundation in Excavation Unit 208 (Figure 4.22). This wall extended for 5 feet to the north and appears to have been a retaining wall related to a later basement entrance.

## **6. Nineteenth-Century Contexts and Soil Horizons Associated with Rosey Hill Mansion**

### ***a. Context 2 (Landscaping/Fill Deposit)***

#### **i. Stratigraphy**

A fill or landscaping horizon consisting of redeposited A and B horizon soils extended over the entire project site. This deposit was characterized by mottled silty sand [2], approximately 0.80 feet thick (Figures 4.3-4.7). Figures 4.4 and 4.5 illustrate the relationship of Context 2 to the 18th-century yard deposit [26] in Areas A and B. Context 2 appears to have been a single-episode landscaping fill deposit placed directly on top of the 18th-century A horizon [26] and the fill of the early 18th-century basement foundation in Area A. In Area B, Context 2 overlaid surviving patches of Context 26 and the top of the B horizon [10]. Figure 4.6 shows Context 2 directly overlying the top of the B horizon [10]. Context 26 was not found immediately north of the Rosey Hill Mansion foundation. The source of this extensive fill deposit may be surplus soil from the construction of the Trenton Water Power and/or 19th-century industrial buildings and roads.

#### **ii. Artifacts**

A total of 13,884 artifacts with a date range of *circa* 1700 to 1900 were recovered from Context 2. Large portions of several ceramic vessels from this artifact-rich context mend. The artifact assemblage from

Context 2 is dominated by ceramic vessel sherds (8,614 [62%]), followed by building materials (3,565 [25.7%]) and glass vessel fragments (1,229 [8.9%]).

#### *Ceramic Vessels*

A wheel-thrown redware bowl (13 sherds mend as one) was recovered from this context which cross mends with sherds from Context 4 (Plate 4.88 [upper left]). The vessel is approximately 30% complete. The bowl has white and brown slip-trailed decoration with copper green splashes and is approximately 14 inches in diameter. An over-fired redware sugar mold fragment was also recovered from Context 2 (Plate 4.89 [lower right]). This fragment closely resembles the sugar mold sherds found in the rectangular stone-lined shaft referred to as the “Sartori pit” [2044] (see below, Context 2044, for further discussion). This sherd cements the connection between Context 2 and the site as a whole, showing that this deposit originated on the property and was not fill material brought in from somewhere else.

A white salt-glazed stoneware plate with the barley corn pattern was found in Context 2 (Plate 4.90 [upper left]). This pattern was manufactured from *circa* 1740 to 1785. Eleven sherds mend as one vessel which is 40% complete. The large size of these sherds implies that Context 2 could not have been derived entirely from a sheet midden, but must have included refuse from pits or manure piles.

A single body/handle sherd from a buff-bodied salt-glazed stoneware chamber pot was identified. This sherd is stamped with a cartouche below the applied handle and contains the letters “A:D” (Plate 4.90 [bottom row, left center]). This is the mark of Anthony Duché, a Philadelphia stoneware potter who was active from about 1720 to 1762 (Giannini 1981:198-203; Cotter *et al.* 1992:115).

#### *Other Artifacts*

**Clothing:** An oval silver sleeve link half incised with a crude floral motif on the front was recovered from Context 2 (Plate 4.91 [middle row, left]). Silver sleeve links were a definite sign of wealth in the colonies during the 18th century; brass sleeve links were more commonly worn. Oval sleeve links became more popular following the American Revolution (Bradley and Camp 1994:95).

**Commerce:** A silver Carolus III real, minted in Mexico in 1786, and three British copper coins were recovered from Context 2 (Plate 4.91 [top row]). One of the three British coins is a clipped George III halfpenny, while another is a George I halfpenny dated 1717, a so-called “dump” issue (Seaby 1971:201). Due to a shortage of copper coins small “dump” issues were minted for George I in 1717 and 1718 using smaller than normal diameter copper disks (Chard 2002:1-6). The third British coin is a heavily worn William III halfpenny. This specimen has no detail surviving on the reverse side and only the hair ribbon and shoulder remaining on the obverse side. This coin was minted between 1695 and 1701 (see above, Contexts 26 and 80, for further discussion).

An iron disc counterbalance weight was found in Context 2 (Plate 4.92 [upper left]). The weight weighs 10.6 ounces, measures 2.5 inches across and is 2 inches thick. Its surfaces appear to be unmarked but are pitted due to corrosion. A loss of about 1.5 ounces is projected, making the original weight 12 ounces or three quarters of a pound. Two lead bale seals were also recovered from this context (Plate 4.92). One is a 1.17-inch-diameter disk topped with a 0.38-inch-diameter hub stamped with a shield motif. The other bale seal is fragmentary, but is also 1.17 inches in diameter with a 0.38-inch-diameter hub stamped with chevrons.





Plate 4.88. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: selected 18th-century slip-decorated redware vessels from general contexts. *Top left*: several mended sherds from wheel-thrown deep dish with white and brown slip-trailed decoration and copper oxide highlights. *Bottom row*: four rim sherds (two mended) from three smaller wheel-thrown plates with slip-trailed decoration. *Right side, top to bottom*: porringer with slip-covered interior in the shape of a lobed flower; four pie crust-shaped deep baking dishes with slipped interiors (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:Ex3].



Plate 4.89. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: selected 18th-century ceramics from general contexts. *Left to right*: large buff-bodied tin-enamelled bowl base sherd with hand-painted blue floral decoration; buff-bodied tin-enamelled plate body sherd with hand-painted blue geometric decoration *over* seven slip-decorated buff-bodied earthenware body, rim and foot sherds; over-fired redware sugar mold body sherd (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:Ex5].

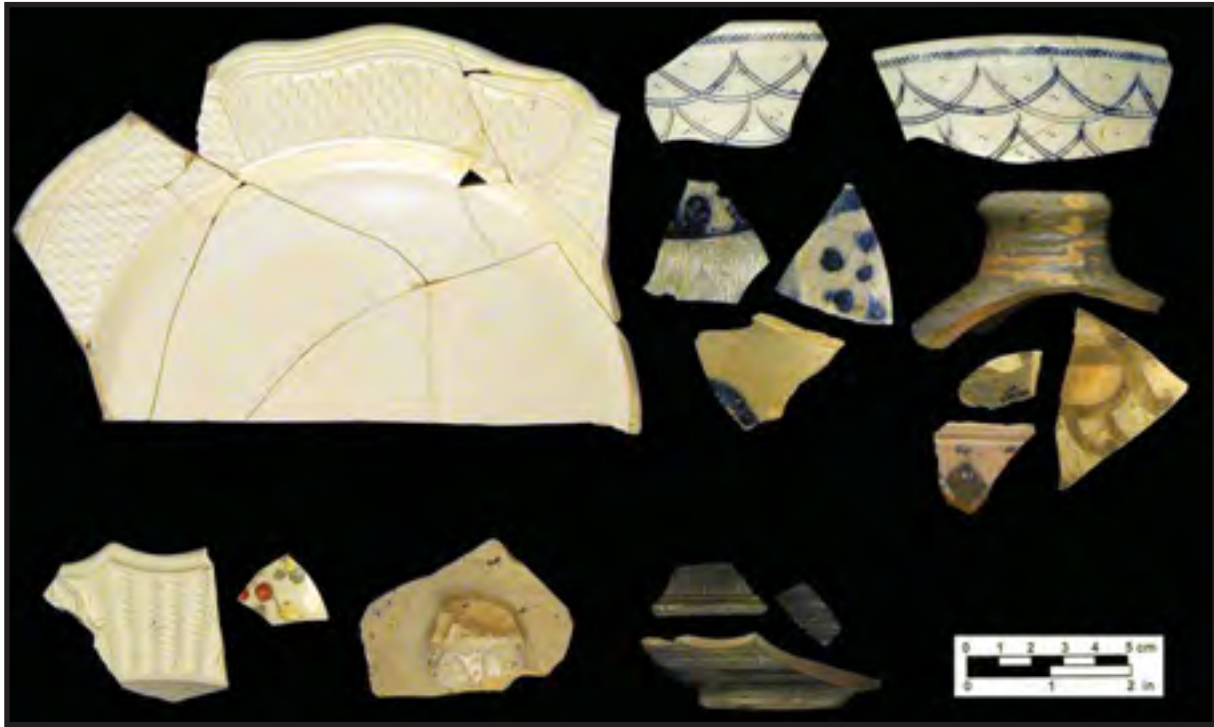


Plate 4.90. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: selected 18th-century stoneware vessels from general contexts. *Top row, left to right:* mended portion of white salt-glazed stoneware plate with barley pattern; two white salt-glazed stoneware tea bowl rim sherds with scratch blue geometric decoration *over* three grey bodied British or German stoneware salt-glazed body sherds and four grey-bodied salt-glazed stoneware sherds, probably locally produced by James Rhodes. *Bottom row:* white salt-glazed stoneware plate rim sherd with basket pattern; white salt-glazed stoneware hollowware body sherd with hand-painted over-glaze polychrome floral decoration; tan-bodied hollowware salt-glazed body/handle sherd stamped “A\*\*D” (Anthony Duché, stoneware potter from Philadelphia active circa 1720 to 1762; three dry-bodied black basalt teapot base and body sherds (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:Ex4].



Plate 4.91. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: selected 18th-century coins and button from general contexts. *Top row, left to right:* obverse and reverse of each coin is shown (one above the other): Carolus III silver Spanish two real piece (1786); George III clipped copper Irish halfpenny (circa 1760-1820); George I copper halfpenny (1717); heavily worn copper William III halfpenny (circa 1695-1701). *Second row:* silver sleeve link with etched floral decoration; three brass hollow-cast button (top and side views). *Third row:* three brass flat disk type coat buttons with applied eyes (top and side views). *Bottom left:* thick flat brass disk type coat button with an applied eye (top and side views) (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048:D1:Ex1].



Plate 4.92. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: selected 18th-century artifacts from general contexts. *Top row, left to right:* disk-shaped merchant's weight; two lead bale seal; decorative brass musket part (side and top views); brass spoon bowl. *Bottom row:* brass buckle fragment; brass thimble over pair of iron scissors; clay marble; two fragments of white metal hollow toy soldier head; four gunflints; two brass book clasp fragments (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:Ex2].

**Arms/Armor:** Two gunflints were recovered from Context 2 (Plate 4.92 [right center]). One is a blond or honey-colored blade-type gunflint. Honey-colored flints are usually regarded as French, which are primarily of spall type (whereas blade manufacture of gunflints is regarded as a British tradition). Honey-colored flints were also considered to be superior to the darker English flints (Noël Hume 1969:220). The second gunflint was knapped from a piece of English ballast and is thus classified as a spall type. A fragment of a cast brass trigger guard from a musket from a musket was also recovered from Context 2 (Plate 4.92 [top row, right center]). This specimen has some hand-etched scroll decoration on its outer surface.

***b. Contexts 600 and 602-607 (East Bank of Trenton Water Power)***

The east bank of the Trenton Water Power was identified in Excavation Units 600 and 602-607 at the western edge of the project site (Figures 4.1 and 4.10). The cut for the eastern (inland) bank of the canal [136, 149] appeared to be close to the edge of natural bank of the river. An exploratory machine-excavated trench to the west of Excavation Unit 600 revealed the base of the canal at 9 feet below the ground surface (17.27 feet asl). Fill deposits consisting of silty loam with brick, stone, slag and coal ash [109] overlaid a grey clayey stratum that presumably lined the bottom of the canal.

A second backhoe trench 78 feet long, was excavated across the waterpower canal in the northwest corner of the project site (Figure 4.1). Similar stratigraphy was encountered consisting of silty loam fill with ash, slag, and cinders in the matrix. Part of a square concrete foundation or footing was exposed at the western end of the trench (Plate 4.93). This possibly relates to the waterpower canal, or may be a pier for a late 19th-

century industrial building or railroad line. The canal bottom was not encountered in this trench due to the limited reach of the backhoe.

A brick foundation or footing was also exposed roughly 70 feet to the southeast of the Lambert/Douglas House in Excavation Unit 132 and in an associated exploratory backhoe trench. This footing was composed of mortared brick, one foot wide, forming the northwest corner of a probable late 19th- or early 20th-century outbuilding.

***c. Other Contexts***

Three linear industrial gravel and slag features approximately 4 to 6 feet wide were identified in the following locations: Excavation Units 7, 8, 13, 15, 89, 90 and 91 [3, 4]; Excavation Units 101 and 102 [3, 4]; and Excavation Units 111 and 112 [16]. Figure 4.4 shows the first of these features [3, 4] in profile, cut from the top of Context 2 and extending to a depth of one foot. This linear feature was oriented northwest/southeast and extended for at least 40 feet between Excavation Units 15 and 91. Figure 4.5 shows a cross section of Contexts 3 and 4 exposed in Excavation Units 101 and 102. This feature cut Context 2, the landscaping/fill deposit. Context 16, in Excavation Units 111 and 112, did not appear to cut other strata, and resembled a surface feature such as a berm, possibly deposited as upcast during construction of N.J. Route 29 (Figure 4.5). The function of these features is uncertain, but they may be walkways or paths.

Stone curbing [214] was encountered along the east edge of the former driveway for the Rosey Hill Mansion property (Figure 4.2). The original construction of the driveway and curbing eliminated yard and fill deposits relating to the 18th- and 19th-century occupation of the site (Figure 4.4). The driveway was approximately 12 feet wide, extending at least 140



Plate 4.93. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: view looking south showing concrete footing exposed in backhoe trench [1007, 1008] adjacent to Trenton Water Power (Photographer: Matthew Lazur, February 1998) [HRI Neg. #97045/34:21A].

feet in a northwesterly direction and situated approximately 15 feet to the east of the edge of the Trenton Water Power.

Additional backhoe trenching in the northeast corner of the project site revealed stone curbing and a road surface that was originally part of Federal Street (Figure 4.1). This was also encountered during Phase II testing. The road consisted of very compact silty loam and clay with slag and coal ash pressed into the matrix.

A landscaping horizon consisting of silty loam with pebbles and slag [1], 0.50 to 1.00 feet thick, overlaid the entire project site (Figures 4.4-4.6 and 4.10). Artifacts recovered from this horizon indicate a late 19th- to 20th-century deposition.

## 7. Eighteenth- and Early 19th-Century Outlying Features

### *a. Rectangular Stone-Lined Shaft (“Sartori Pit”) and Associated Features*

#### **i. Stratigraphy**

A rectangular stone-lined shaft was encountered approximately 80 feet east southeast of the Rosey Hill Mansion during monitoring of road grading in the summer of 1999 (Figures 4.1 and 4.23; Plate 4.94). This shaft feature is colloquially termed the “Sartori pit” on account of the exceptional collection of artifacts found in its fill which are believed to have originated in the Sartori household. The walls of the shaft [2039-2042], roughly 15 inches in width, were constructed of mortared mica schist with some cobbles, forming a structure with exterior dimensions in plan of 6 feet by 9 feet. Two parallel stone footings [2023], each 1 foot wide and situated 10 feet apart, were also encountered, extending west from the west shaft wall toward the mansion. These footings were

also constructed of mortared mica schist and they both extended west outside of the graded area into the edge of the road cut. A 5-foot length of the northernmost of the two footings was exposed (Plate 4.95). A 2-foot length of the southern footing extended eastward out of the road cut.

The earliest context related to the construction of the shaft was the cut for a builders’ trench [2046] which extended out between 1 and 2 feet from the exterior faces of the shaft walls (Figure 4.23). The cut sloped down and in toward the walls to a depth of 1 foot below the top of the shaft. The builders’ trench cut into the 18th-century sandy loam A horizon [2020] identified during data recovery excavations on the property. The builders’ trench was filled with silty loam [2047].

The floor of the shaft consisted of mortared mica schist, 0.40 feet thick, laid at a depth of 6 feet below the tops of the walls. The top of the floor was constructed up against the bottom of the interior face of the walls and did not extend beneath the walls. The floor was constructed on top of B horizon subsoil consisting of mottled silty clay and medium sand with gravel [2049]. The interior of the shaft contained silty loam fill [2044], 4.50 feet thick, directly overlying the floor. A lens of brick and brick fragments 0.80 feet thick was observed at a depth of 4 feet below the tops of the shaft walls. A large quantity of artifacts of unusual interest was recovered from Context 2044, which is discussed in some detail below. A fill deposit consisting of slag and silty loam [2038], approximately two feet thick, overlaid Context 2044 within the shaft feature. The same fill deposit extended over and outside the shaft walls and was designated as Context 2043. This deposit was probably used to fill in the shaft after Context 2044 had slumped, leaving a 1.50-foot-deep void in the upper part of the shaft. Outside the shaft, Context 2043 overlaid mottled silty loam [2045], upcast soil related to the construction of the shaft.



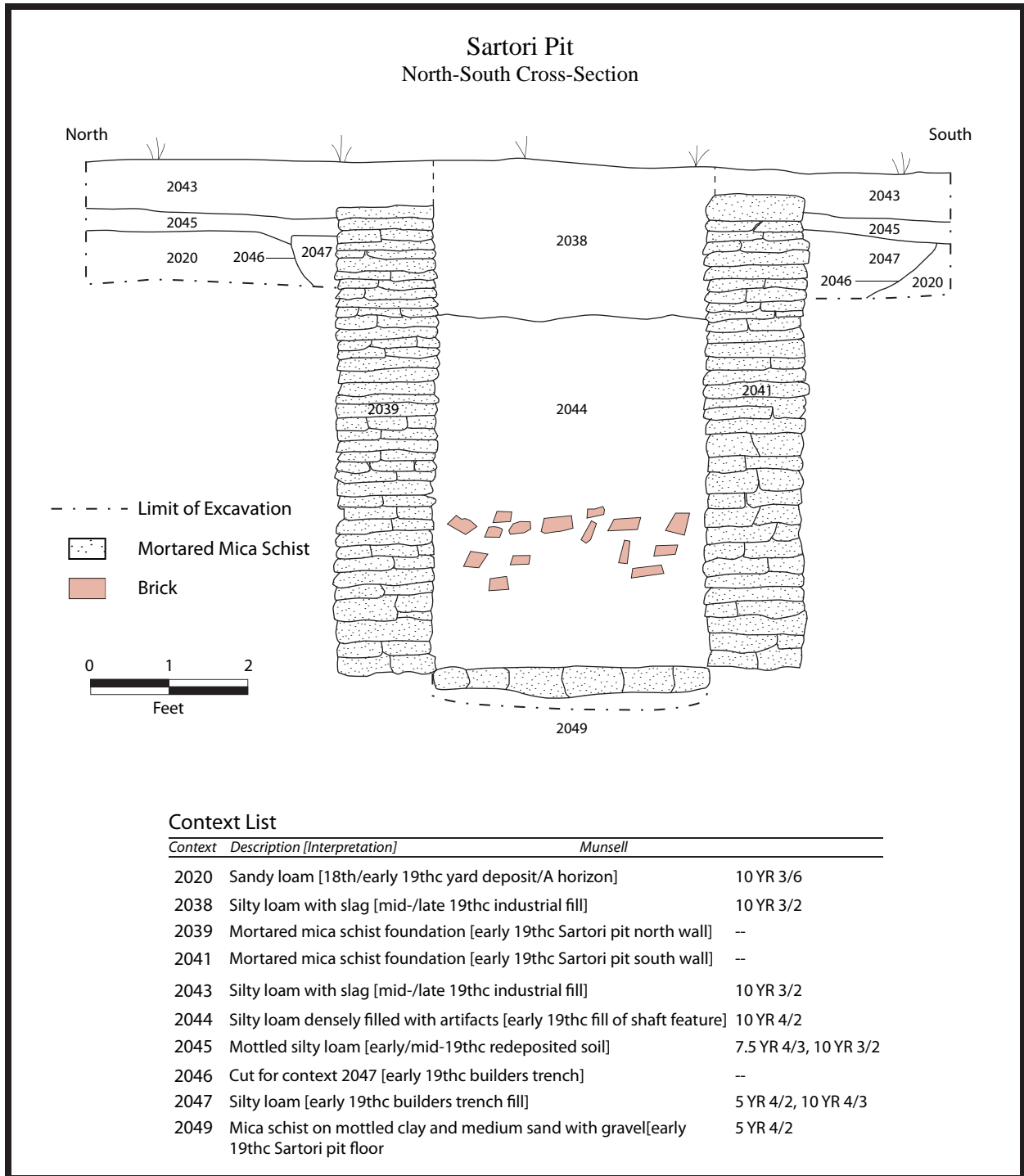


Figure 4.23. Rosey Hill Mansion Site: North-South Cross Section Across Stone-Lined Shaft Feature (the “Sartori Pit”).



Plate 4.94. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: view looking north showing stone-lined shaft feature referred to as the “Sartori pit.” Western half of pit fill has been removed; note the 18th/early 19th-century A horizon visible in lower portion of profile beyond pit; scales in feet and inches (Photographer: Dawn Turner, June 1999) [HRI Neg. #99011/5:35].



Plate 4.95. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: view looking east showing stone footings related to possible covered walkway or outbuildings adjoining the Sartori pit; scales in feet and inches (Photographer: George D. Cress, June 1999) [HRI Neg. #99011/5:15].

One small circular pit [2033, 2034] and a rectangular posthole [2021, 2022] were identified adjacent to the northernmost of the two footings [2023] that extended west from the rectangular stone-lined shaft. The circular pit, 1 foot in diameter, extended to a depth of 1.50 feet. Few artifacts were recovered from the pit fill, and it may have been a rodent burrow. The posthole, 0.60 feet by 0.70 feet in plan, extended to a depth of 1.20 feet below the top of the B horizon [2027] (Plate 4.96). The stone-lined shaft and the footings to the west appear to be related and together match part of the footprint of a structure shown on maps of the site produced in 1838 and 1852 (Figures 3.25 and 3.31). The shaft appears to be situated at the eastern end of the structure shown on the maps and it is possible that both the shaft and the related footings lay within or supported a covering structure, perhaps a series of connected additions or even a colonnade.

The original function of the shaft is unclear, although it is thought most likely to have served as a double privy. The shaft interior measures 3.5 feet by 6.5 feet in plan by 6 feet deep (roughly 135 cubic feet), which is considered too small and difficult to access for a root cellar or ice house. The shaft is not deep enough to be a well (also, a well would almost certainly not have had a mortared stone floor). While the dimensions are suitable for a cistern, the sides of the shaft were not mortared (making it porous), and it is located some distance from the main house (making it inefficiently positioned for gathering rainwater from its roof and gutters). There is no indication of a subterranean water source which might have indicated its use as a spring house.

The plan dimensions and capacity of the shaft are reasonably well suited for a double privy, although its shallow depth and mortared stone floor are unusual and would have necessitated the privy contents being emptied often and with regularity. The impervious floor would have prevented liquid waste material from percolating downward into the soil below, as would

normally be the case in a privy shaft. The absence of primary privy deposits at the base of the shaft is also unusual; most privies, including those that were cleaned regularly, have at least a trace of organic deposits clinging to the walls or floor.

Although rectangular privies are rare in the Middle Atlantic region, a number have been identified in Paterson, New Jersey. The shaft feature connected with the Rosey Hill Mansion also appears to match descriptions of privy boxes published in a 1902 sanitary engineering manual for refuse disposal that illustrates urban examples from Boston, Massachusetts. These pits were described as “wet middens” containing a combination privy and ash-pit. The foundations of the Boston privies, unlike English examples, extended to the bottom of the privy pits, which also contained cemented floors (John Milner Associates, Inc. 1999, Chapter 6).

Irrespective of its original function, the shaft’s final usage was unequivocally as a trash receptacle. The date at which it became filled, however, has proved difficult to establish. The bulk of the datable material recovered from the fill was manufactured in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, between *circa* 1790 and 1830, which strongly suggests that the discarded items belonged to the Sartori household. On this basis one might reasonably expect the filling of the shaft to have occurred around 1832-33, when John B. Sartori finally vacated the property and sold it to the Trenton Delaware Falls Company. However, one notable artifact found deep within the fill – a glass flask with images of George Washington and Zachary Taylor impressed on its surface – is known to have been produced only after 1847 at the Bridgeton Glassworks (see below for further discussion). This critical specimen provides a *terminus post quem* for the filling episode. Based on this find, it is thought that the artifacts found in the shaft remained unused in the house, in storage or consigned to a refuse heap throughout the 1830s and much of the 1840s, and

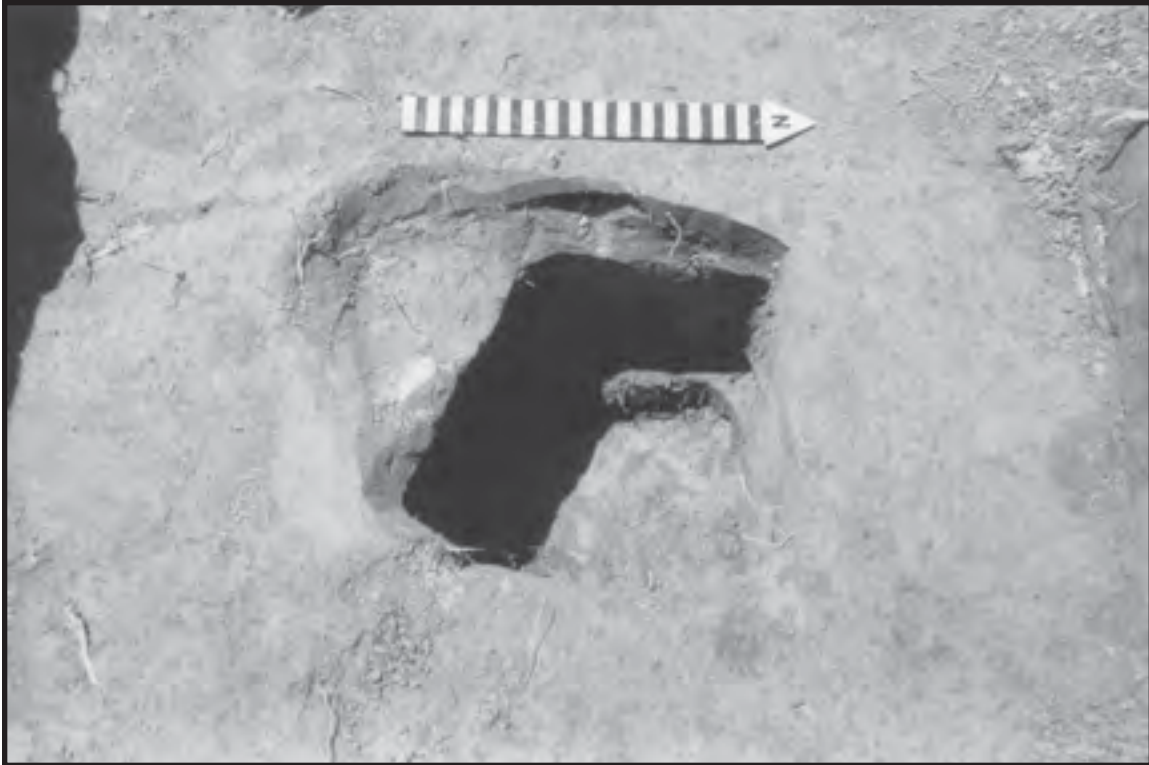


Plate 4.96. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: view looking west showing rectangular posthole adjacent to the Sartori pit; scale in inches (Photographer: George D. Cress, June 1999) [HRI Neg. #99011/5:18].

then were discarded not long after the property was acquired by Peter Cooper and the Trenton Water Power Company in 1845. The filling of the shaft is therefore seen as part of a property clearing episode that occurred prior to the development of the site for industrial purposes by the Trenton Iron Company, a transition that seems to have commenced in the second half of 1847 (see above, Chapter 3). Under this scenario, the glass flask was likely cast into the shaft by one of the workers responsible for disposing of the Sartori “left-overs,” perhaps in advance of Charles Hewitt’s moving into the mansion and converting it into his home and office.

## ii. Artifacts

The bulk of the materials recovered from the stone-lined shaft were found in the lower fill deposit [2044]. Nearly two-thirds of the 11,228 artifacts from this deposit are ceramic sherds and glass vessel fragments (34.1% and 31.7% respectively) (Table 4.21). The remaining third is mostly represented by flat glass fragments (29.1%), although there are also a number of other small finds (about 4%), some of which are of particular interest. Flat glass fragments were identified throughout the fill deposit. After collection of several thousand pieces of this material, recovery of this artifact type was suspended to save time and effort in the excavation of the feature. Other building materials, such as brick and schist fragments, were also not retained.

Soil samples from Context 2044 were subjected to flotation, leading to the recovery of various floral remains which were examined under the microscope by Roger Moeller, Ph.D., of Bethlehem, Connecticut. Hundreds of raspberry seeds and grape seeds were identified, along with at least one cherry pit and an assortment of sedges (Plate 4.97). It seems reasonable that the raspberry and grape seeds and cherry pit are from preserves, jellies or jams stored within glass

or ceramic containers thrown into the shaft, which perhaps argues for these vessels having been left in storage in a larder before they were discarded.

### *Ceramic Vessels*

A total of 3,830 ceramic sherds were recovered from Context 2044 within the shaft feature, 57% of which have been mended and represent a total of 150 separate vessels. Ceramic vessel sherds consist of utilitarian redware (700) and a variety of imported wares including tin-enameled earthenware (36), buff-bodied earthenware (65), creamware (821), pearlware (1,261), whiteware (395), yellowware (7), ironstone china (6), black basalt ware (1), white salt-glazed stoneware (2), grey-bodied stoneware (104), soft-paste porcelain (20) and Chinese export porcelain (362) (Table 4.22). The ceramic assemblage represents a wide range of periods, but the majority of the larger mended pieces date from *circa* 1790 to 1830. Older ware types are represented by small sherds, most of them less than 2 inches across, suggesting they were from vessels broken and dispersed across the site and introduced into the shaft as part of fill derived from surrounding soils.

**Mean Ceramic Date Analysis:** Because of the quality and nature of the artifact collection from Context 2044, and the specific historic context to which it could be related, it was decided to undertake Mean Ceramic Date Analysis on the datable ceramics in the assemblage. The working hypothesis was that this material represented ceramics used by the Sartori household in the first quarter of the 19th century, and that it found its way into the stone-lined shaft as a single-episode deposit, probably made some time not long after the end of the Sartori occupation (see above). It was therefore predicted that the Mean Ceramic Date for the assemblage should lie somewhere close to 1820, the approximate median date of the Sartori use of the Rosey Hill property.



Plate 4.97. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: seeds recovered from flotation of the fill of the Sartori pit [Context 2044]. Top left: raspberry seeds. Top right: grape seeds. Bottom left: wild grass seeds. Bottom right: cherry pit (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:S15].

Context 2044

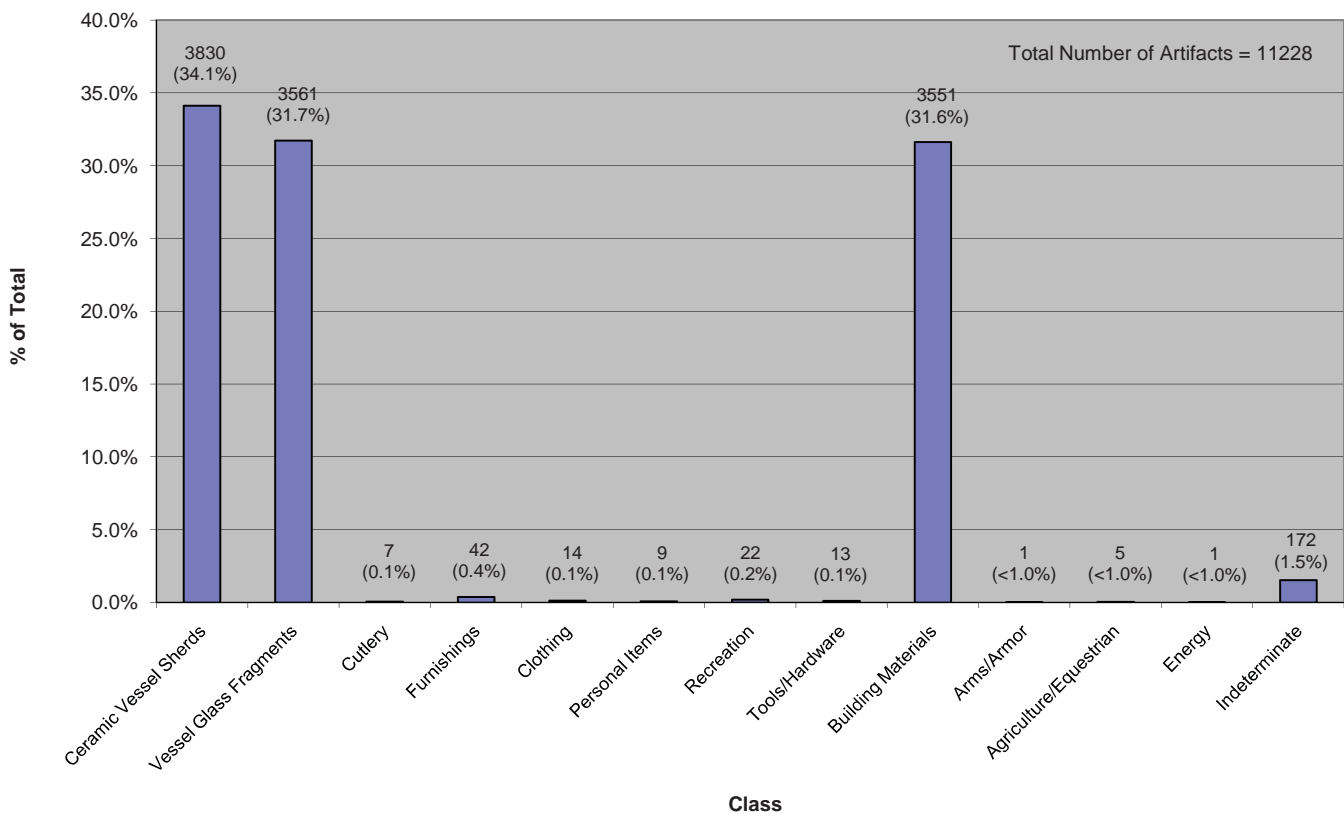


Table 4.21. Rosey Hill Mansion Site: Sartori Pit, Context 2044, Historic Artifact Frequency by Class.



Context 2044

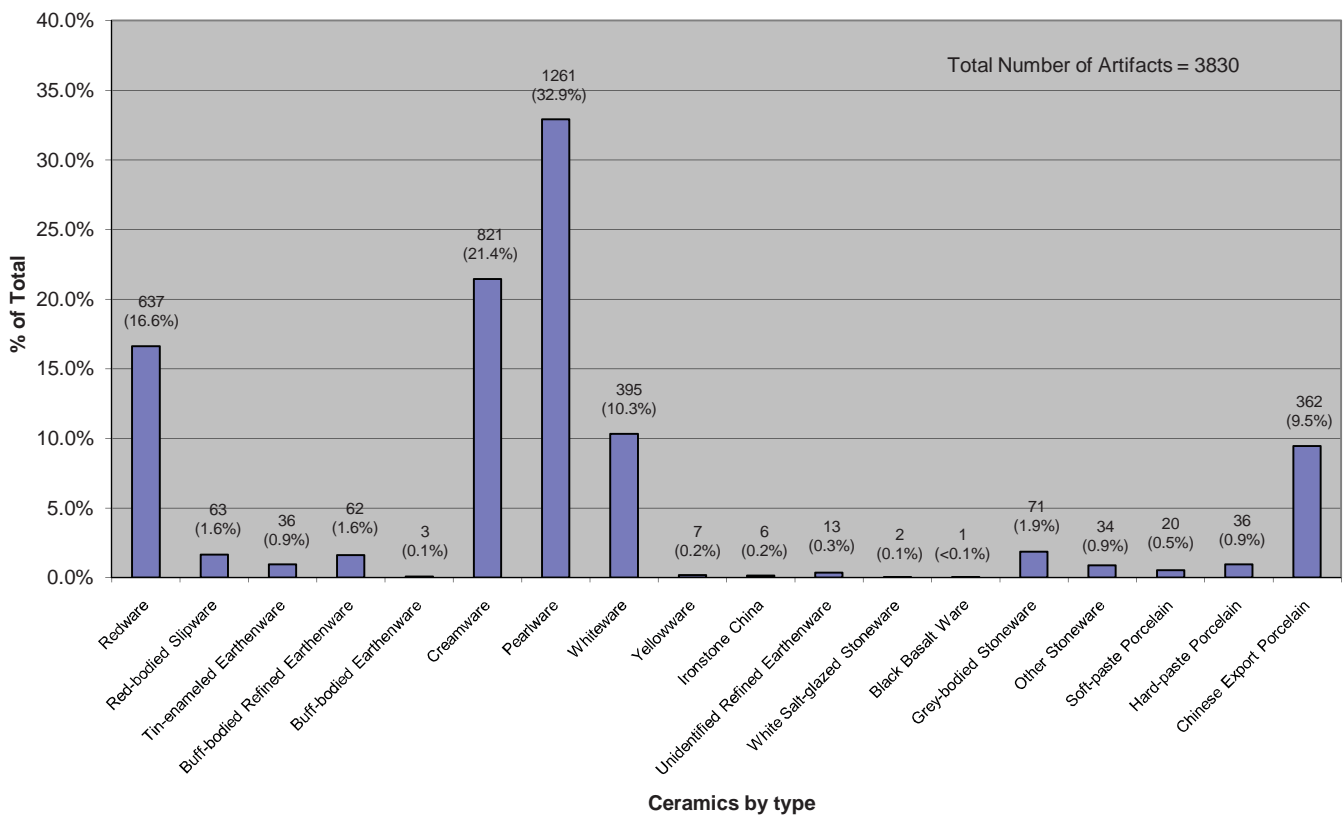


Table 4.22. Rosey Hill Mansion Site: Sartori Pit, Context 2044, Historic Ceramic Frequency by Type.

TABLE 4.23. ROSEY HILL MANSION SITE: SARTORI PIT CONTEXT 2044, MEAN CERAMIC DATE CALCULATION.

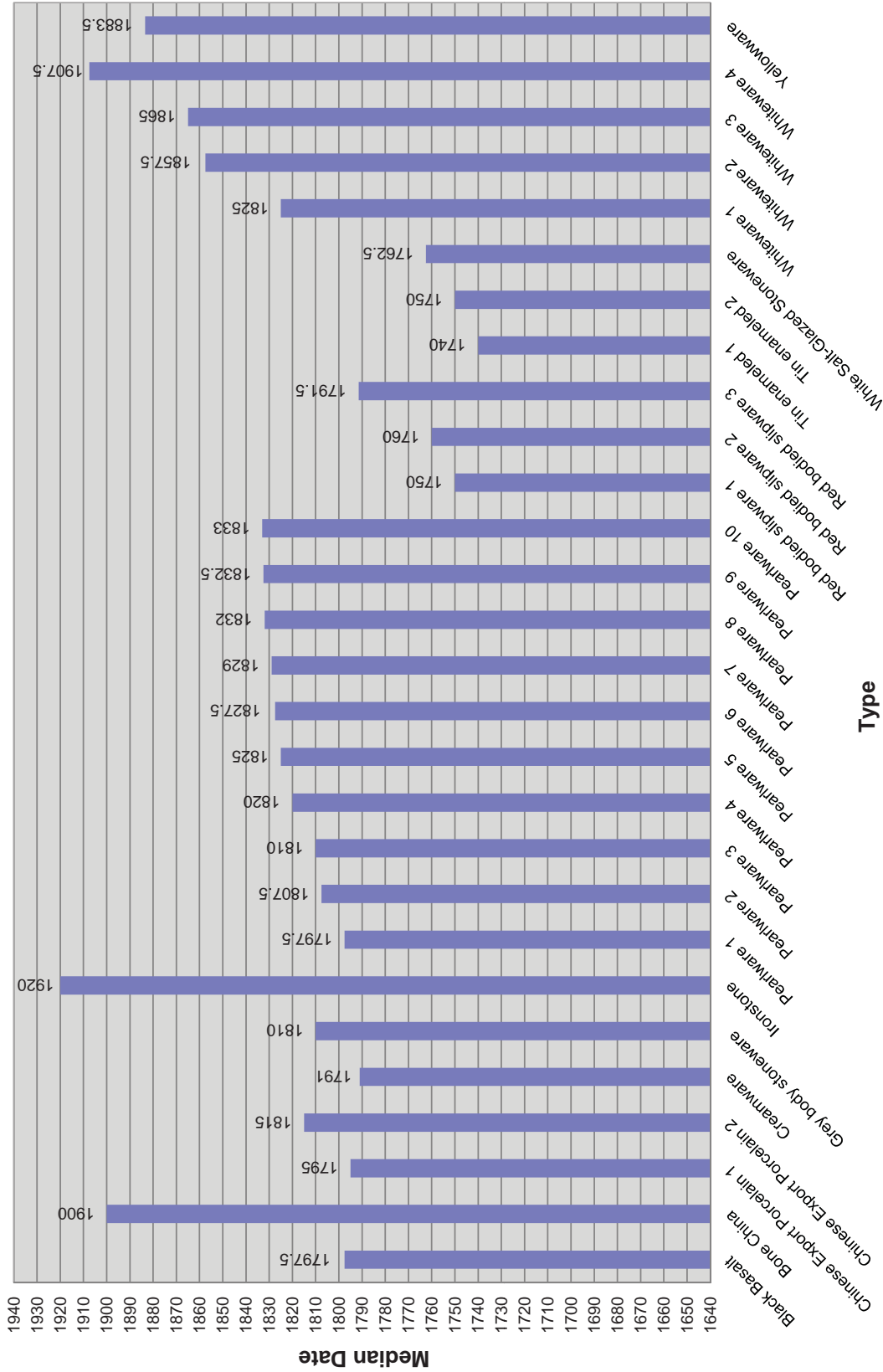


Table 4.23. Rosely Hill Mansion Site: Sartori Pit, Context 2044, Mean Ceramic Date Calculation.

Mean Ceramic Date Analysis is a well-known method for establishing the median date of occupation of a historic archaeological site. The technique was first fully expounded in the 1960s by Stanley South who began to develop a methodology for dating sites using frequency occurrences of recognizable types of ceramics rather than merely their presence or absence. Using independently dated sites as controls, he was able to demonstrate that sites of similar dates would have comparable ceramic “signatures” in terms of types and frequencies (South 1978).

Drawing extensively on (and slightly modifying) the earlier work of Ivor Noël Hume on colonial artifacts (Noël Hume 1969), South used the well-documented date ranges of 78 European ceramic types of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries as a data source. He then developed a simple formula for calculating the Mean Ceramic Date. The formula takes into account both the absolute frequency of each ceramic type in the sample and its median date, in order to derive a number that is claimed to represent the “date of occupation” of the archaeological entity being analyzed.

There are caveats to the use and interpretation of the procedure, although “where its results have been tested against historically documented occupations, the mean ceramic dates have been generally consistent” (Orser 2003:132). One primary issue is the relationship between the date of manufacture of the ceramic type and its date of deposition in the ground (South 1978:69). South does however emphasize that the actual utility and significance of the mean ceramic date value is dependent on the nature of the deposit and, importantly, on the “judgment of the archaeologist” (South 1978:74).

The procedure for deriving a Mean Ceramic Date is as follows:

1. Once the sampling universe is defined (in this case the contexts within the stone-lined shaft feature), the ceramics are examined to identify which examples from the 78 types in the South list are present.
2. The sherd count from each identified South type is established and then entered into a data sheet.
3. The median date (the central date in the defined accepted date range) for each identified type is calculated and entered into a data sheet.
4. For each identified South type, the number of sherds is multiplied by the median date to produce a product value for each identified South type.
5. The sums of the numbers of sherds and the product are calculated.
6. The sum of the product is divided by the sum of the numbers of sherds to produce the Mean Ceramic Date.

Of the 3,830 sherds recovered from Context 2044, a total of 2,787 (72.8%) proved to be usable for South’s calculation. A total of 28 of South’s 78 types were identified in the context. The results of the calculation are shown in Table 4.23, where a value of 1818.94 is derived for the Mean Ceramic Date. Detailed characterizations of the various types are not given in the table, but the mean dates and types may be compared to those in Figure 1.A of South’s paper for specific identifications (South 1978:72), and these can also be found in the artifact catalog and database accompanying this report (see Volume IV).

The Mean Ceramic Date of 1819 is certainly strikingly coincident with what we know of John B. Sartori’s occupation of the Rosey Hill property. It confirms, unsurprisingly, that the household contin-

ued to acquire ceramics during their residence at the site, rather than relying on sets brought with them on arrival and conserved thereafter. It may perhaps best be seen in a methodological context as a validation of South's methodology in an early federal context.

**Redware:** A well represented group of ceramics in the shaft feature is vessels belonging to what are commonly referred to as the Lower Delaware red earthenware tradition (Plate 4.98). These wares, ubiquitous throughout the Delaware Valley from the early 18th century through into the late 19th century, are characterized by particular forms and decorative traits, represented in the Sartori pit collection by two red earthenware chamber pots, red-bodied slipware serving dishes and the hallmark vessel, the red earthenware Chinese-shaped bowl with a slipped interior, of which one nearly whole example was recovered from Context 2044. A minimum of 30 red earthenware and red-slipped vessels have been identified in the assemblage.

A red earthenware hump-molded pie plate recovered from Context 2044 is nearly 95% complete, consisting of 17 sherds (Plate 4.99). The interior is decorated with three wide wavy white slip-trails, each surrounded by two narrow white slip-trails with copper green highlights, all under a clear lead glaze. The surface near the center exhibits cut marks from a metal knife. The plate edge exhibits cogging, while the exterior is unglazed and shows no signs of charring. Based on the positions of the cut marks on the surface this plate was probably used for food service.

Indirectly related to this ceramic tradition are two Chinese-shaped bowls fashioned in a refined buff-bodied earthenware and exhibiting a variable yellow tinted clear glaze. This vessel type is considered to belong to a group of early yellowwares, identified in excavations at the site of the Arch Street Detention Complex (Louis Berger & Associates, Inc. 1997:V181-V188). These wares are poorly

understood; although they are believed to have been manufactured in Philadelphia, it remains a possibility that they were produced in England (Meta Janowitz, personal communication 2001). Whatever their origin, these wares were certainly manufactured in the first few decades of the 19th century.

A total of 262 red earthenware sherds recovered from Context 2044 are considered to be parts of several sugar cone molds and mold covers or lids (Plates 4.100-4.102). Sugar cone molds were used in the sugar refining process to form crystallized sugar as it dried out after being boiled. The molds were placed point down into vase-shaped syrup jars (Figure 4.24). A hole at the tip or apex of the mold (referred to as a bunghole) was plugged, but after a day or two the plug or bung was removed allowing the liquid molasses to drain into the jar as the sugar crystallized in the mold above. The unglazed, usually low-fired body of the mold also allowed for evaporation through the side walls. A technique referred to as "claying" was often used to assist in this process whereby a slip-like clay mixture was poured on top of the sugar in the mold, seeping downward and cleansing the molasses. Repeated claying would result in a sugar cone that graded from white at the top to dark brown at the bottom and a jarful of liquid molasses beneath suitable for conversion into rum. When the drying and crystallizing process was complete the molds were turned over and the conical sugar loaves were pushed out using a stick. The finished loaves were sold commercially and used in homes and retail food service facilities (Abbott 2009:20; Wayne 2010:31; Lucy Wayne, personal communication, June 2011).

The bulk of the sugar processing-related sherds were from sugar cone molds (242 sherds from at least eight separate vessels), rather than from covers or lids. The body color of these sherds ranges from reddish brown to dark grey/brown and the fabric has the appearance of a fairly high-fired red earthenware. The majority of the sherds have striations running in



Plate 4.98. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: mended redware vessels from the Sartori pit [Context 2044]. All vessels probably locally manufactured in the Delaware Valley. *Top row, left to right:* chamber pot with dark grey brown glazed interior and exterior; chamber pot with dark brown glazed interior; milk pan with heavily worn dark brown glazed interior. *Bottom row:* teapot with dark grey brown glazed interior and exterior; porringer with dark grey brown glazed interior and exterior; Philadelphia copy of a Chinese style bowl with clear glazed interior and exterior; small mug with brown glazed interior and exterior (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048//D1:S11].



Plate 4.99. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: mended redware plate from the Sartori pit [Context 2044]. Vessel is 11½ inches in diameter, hump-molded and has wavy slip decoration with green copper oxide highlights under a clear lead glaze (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:S12].



Plate 4.100. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: mended redware sugar cone mold from the Sartori pit [Context 2044] (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:S1].

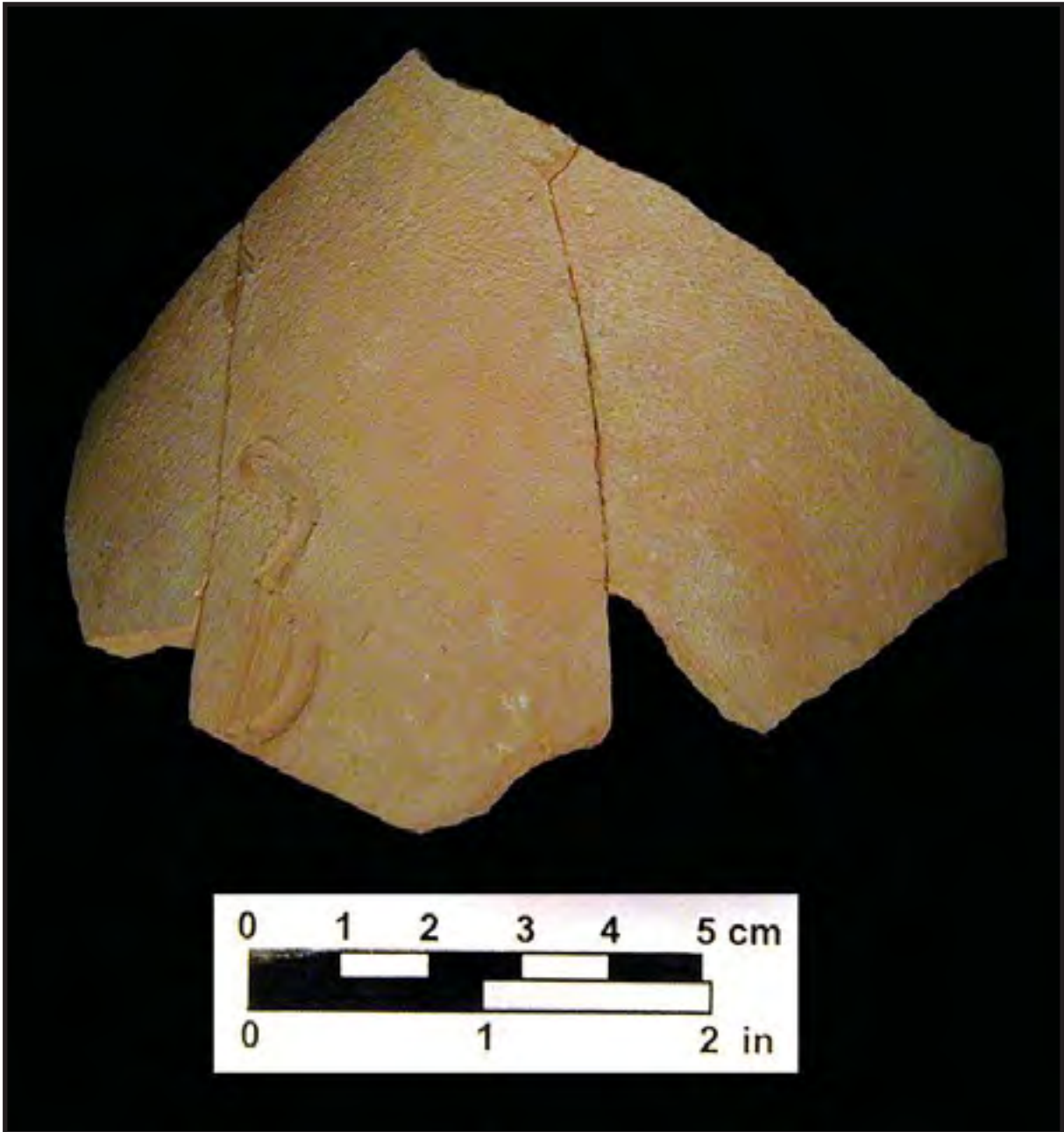


Plate 4.101. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: mended redware sugar cone mold sherds from the Sartori pit [Context 2044]. This vessel displays an incised number "3" (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:S9].



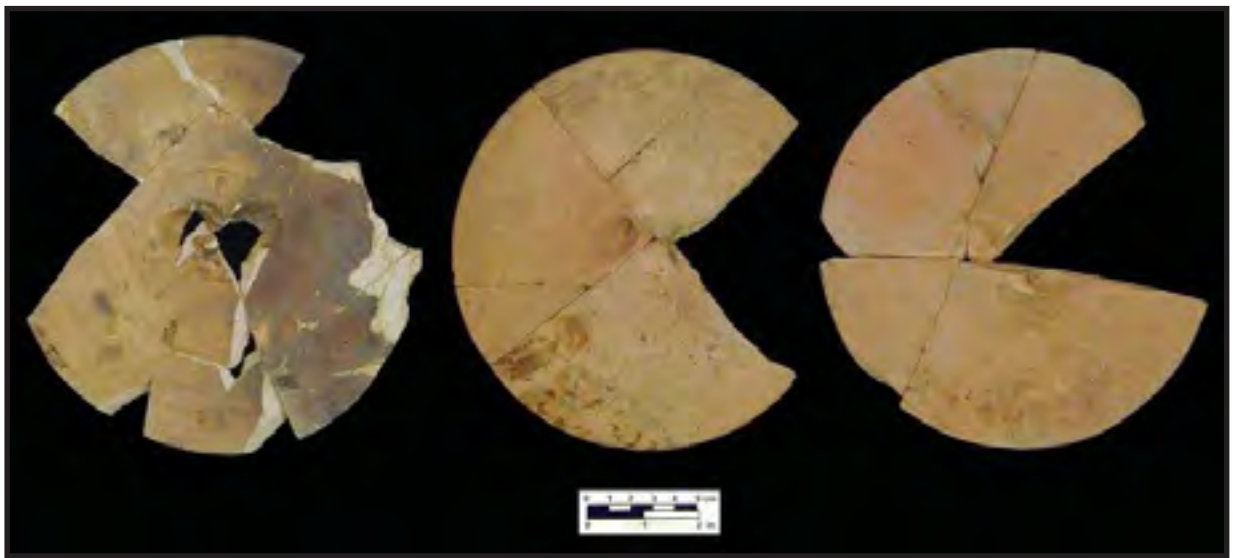


Plate 4.102. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: mended redware and stoneware sugar mold lids from the Sartori pit [Context 2044]. Each of these lids has a central pinch grip (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:S10].

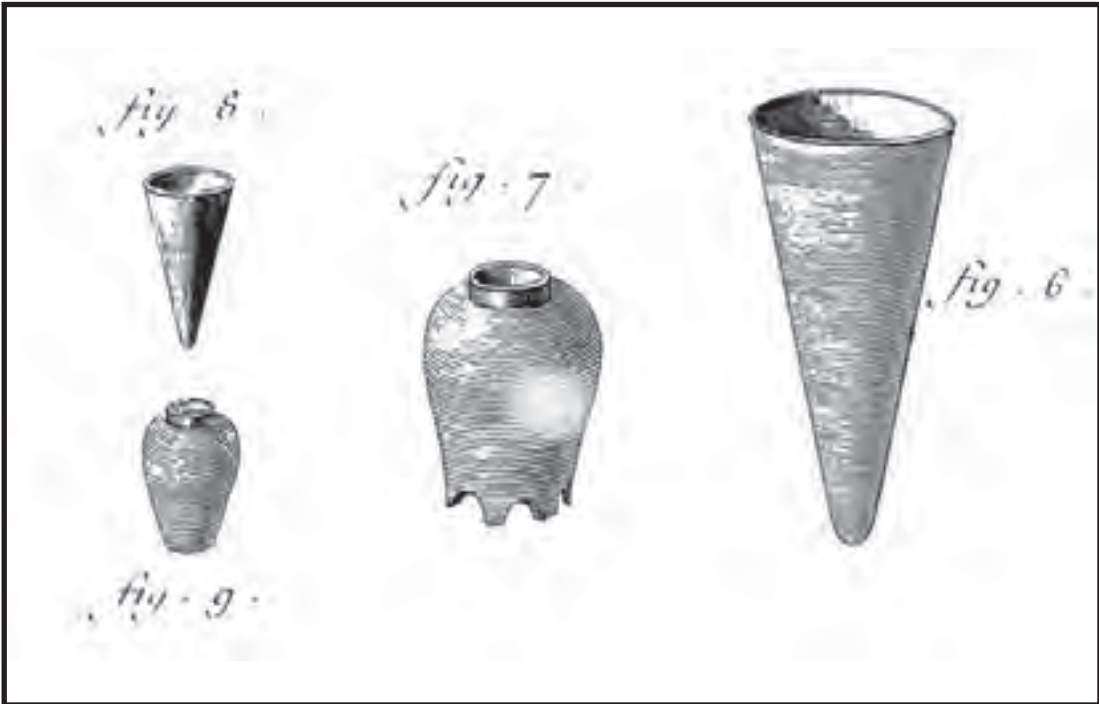


Figure 4.24. The Process Known as “Claying” in which Sugar Loaves are Formed in Conical Earthenware Molds, as Illustrated in Denis Diderot’s *Encyclopedie, ou Dictionnaire Raisonné des Sciences, des Arts et des Métiers*, Published 1751-77. Source: Gillispie 1959:Plate 41.

multiple directions on their surfaces (especially on their interior surfaces), which is probably the result of smoothing. Mending revealed at least two sizes of molds, the first measuring 15 inches tall (taken from a nearly complete mold with a full profile [Plate 4.100]) and the second between 23 and 25 inches tall (projected). The shorter, more complete mold has an ovoid mouth, 8 inches across in its longest dimension, 6 inches in its shortest, and a slightly flattened cone shape. The size of this smaller mold fits within the smallest of six recently recognized standard size ranges (Brooks 1983:7). Its flattened cone shape may have been deliberately or accidentally formed, but is not thought to have rendered it unusable as a mold (i.e., this vessel is not considered to be a waster). One of the taller molds is incised with a script number "3" (Plate 4.101); it is unclear, however, if this number is intended to signify the size or capacity of this mold.

In addition to the sugar cone mold sherds, several fragments of mold covers or lids were identified (20 sherds from at least five different specimens) (Plate 4.102). The wide, open ends of sugar cone mold were typically capped with a customized circular cover or lid (made of redware, stoneware or possibly wood). The covers/lids were probably used to keep insects and animals away from the sugar while it was drying. The examples recovered from Context 2044 are wheel-thrown and have cut, beveled edges and centered pinch-type grips. Most are fashioned in redware and measure 7 inches in diameter; a single stoneware example measures 7.5 inches in diameter. These covers would probably not have been seated within the interior of the mold cone and appear to have been designed to rest atop and overlap the mold's flat lip. Covers/lids of this type are often not recognized in archaeological assemblages since their simple disk-like shape defies easy identification. Covers/lids may also have been made of wood and not have survived in abundance in the archaeological record.

The date and place of manufacture of the sugar cone molds and covers/lids found in the Sartori pit are uncertain, and how this particular and very distinctive batch of ceramics wound up being included with the rest of the assemblage in the shaft also raises some interesting questions. Since this material was deposited at the same time as the upscale ceramic and glass items that seem so obviously to have originated in the Sartori household, and since these latter items date overwhelmingly to the period *circa* 1790-1830, it seems reasonable to assign a similar date range and Sartori connection to the sugar cone molds and covers/lids. Consideration was given to the molds and covers/lids being associated somehow with the trading activities of William Richards and the stoneware pottery production of James Rhodes, who had been previously identified as a probable redware potter, but this avenue of interpretation was ultimately abandoned (cf. Branin 1988:52; Liebeknecht 2000). No examples of sugar cone molds were recovered at either of the kiln sites operated by James Rhodes, and the fabric of the clay used in the molds does not resemble that of the typical Rhodes stoneware products. Also compelling is the absence of a large quantity of artifacts in the Sartori pit dating from the 1770s and early 1780s, the period when Richards and Rhodes were active (Rhodes died in 1784; Richards in 1787).

While the manufacture of sugar cone molds was a specialized task, not taken on by most potters, and required the use of wooden or hollow cast-iron core molds as a form, it is still possible that the examples recovered from the Sartori pit could have been made locally in the Trenton area, or perhaps more likely in Philadelphia, where Sartori had many connections. Domestic production of sugar processing pottery has a long history in North America, extending back into the mid-17th century, where sherds were recovered at the Green Spring pottery in Virginia dating from *circa* 1646 to 1650 (Straube 1995:17-20). By the early 19th century there were numerous sugar refineries in existence along the eastern seaboard, in

New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore and other urban centers, to which American potteries could have been supplying molds (Deer 1949-50:461-462). Two recently excavated archaeological sites on the eastern seaboard where evidence for the manufacture of sugar processing pottery has been found are the Metropolitan Detention Center Site in Philadelphia (Louis Berger & Associates, Inc. 1997:V-108 thru V115) and the Faneuil Hall site in Boston, where sherds were warped and over-fired, rendering their use for sugar cone production questionable (Louis Berger & Associates, Inc. 1993:V-110). However, most sugar cone molds found on colonial and early federal sites in North America are believed to be of non-local manufacture and thought to have been made in England, France, Spain, Portugal or Holland (Hurst 1977:66; Brooks 1983:11). Recent excavations on the site of the East India Company Dockyards in Deptford, London, found a large quantity of sugar cone molds deposited as wasters from nearby potteries (Jarrett 2004:109-110). It seems likely that molds such as these were being made not only for use in local London sugar refineries, but also for export to the various colonies where sugar production and refining was taking place.

The recovery of several sugar cone molds from the Sartori pit is indeed curious. That this material was found in an essentially domestic, as opposed to industrial or commercial, context begs a number of questions. Are these merely a fortuitous find or was Sartori, an entrepreneurial and experimental sort by all accounts, engaged in refining sugar on the Rosey Hill property? Certainly there was small-scale industrial activity taking place here (notably the making of pasta and the printing of calico) and it would not have been out-of-character for Sartori to have been dabbling in sugar refining. If so, was this being done to provide sugar for consumption in his own household, where he and his wife undoubtedly entertained many dignitaries, business associates and friends, perhaps serving them desserts and delicacies sweetened with

home-refined sugar? Or was he processing raw or muscovado sugar (coarse brown sugar) or molasses, refining it into purer and whiter sugar, as a commercial enterprise catering to the Philadelphia market and elsewhere? As yet, no mention has been found in the documentary record concerning Sartori's involvement with sugar refining, although this may be forthcoming as research into this important figure in Delaware Valley history continues.

**Creamware:** Fourteen creamware chamber pots were recovered from the shaft (Plate 4.103). Creamware continued to be produced through the early to mid-19th century, but as whiter wares evolved, its use was largely relegated to non-tableware utilitarian forms. The wide variety of cream to green to greenish-blue examples in this assemblage is indicative of the experimentation carried out by potters on creamware formulas in the early 19th century in an effort to make their wares more attractive to the market (Campbell 1996; Kybalova 1989).

**Pearlware:** Transfer-printed pearlwares make up 15% of all ceramic sherds recovered, representing at least 34 different vessels (Plate 4.104). Transfer-printed decorations are mainly accomplished in blue, although vessels with brown, black, mulberry and red decoration are also represented. Decorative motifs used on transfer-printed wares are a good indicator of the period of production, as makers strove to keep up with the changing trends within the market, in particular the growing and profitable American market that opened up after the War of 1812. Oriental motifs were replaced in the years prior to 1820 by fanciful landscapes, romantic scenes and pastoral vistas. In the early 1820s, depictions of actual places became extremely popular, especially with American consumers.

Examples of this latter trend within the Sartori ceramic assemblage include two pieces produced by the Clews Pottery in Staffordshire: the well known "Landing



Plate 4.103. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: mended creamware chamber pots from the Sartori pit [Context 2044]. Two of 14 plain bulbous creamware chamber pots recovered from the pit, dating from circa 1790 to 1820. The example on the left has a typical flat angular rim, while the example on the right has an atypical rolled rim (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:S227].



Plate 4.104. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: mended pearlware tableware from the Sartori pit [Context 2044]. These vessels display blue transfer-printed decoration, circa 1820 to 1840 (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048 D1:S7].



Plate 4.105. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: mended pearlware tableware from the Sartori pit [Context 2044]. Both vessels produced by the Clews Pottery in Staffordshire, England. The plate on the left depicts the “Rapids Above Hadley Falls” from the Picturesque Views series produced from 1829 to 1836. The plate on the right depicts the “Landing of Lafayette” scene commemorating the return of the French general to America on August 16, 1824 (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:S6].



Plate 4.106. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: mended whiteware tea ware from the Sartori pit [Context 2044]. These vessels display hand-painted sprig floral decoration popular during the first quarter of the 19th century (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:S5].





Plate 4.107. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: mended “mocha” ware from the Sartori pit [Context 2044]. These factory-made slipwares, known popularly as “mocha” or “dipped” wares were popular for much of the 19th century. The two bowls at the top exhibit rims with engine-turned green-washed decoration and blue slipped bodies with mocha bands. The three bowls on the bottom are decorated with annular bands; the center vessel has “cats eyes” decoration on the body (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048 /D1:S4].



Plate 4.108. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: mended stone-ware storage crock from the Sartori pit [Context 2044]. Probably manufactured by Warne and Letts in Cheesequake, New Jersey, circa 1805 to 1815 (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:S8].



Plate 4.109. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: mended Chinese export porcelain tableware vessels from the Sartori pit [Context 2044]. All three vessels display the Canton pattern, circa 1810 to 1835 (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:S2].

of Lafayette” depicting the return of the French general to America on August 16, 1824; and the “Rapids Above Hadley Falls” from the *Picturesque Views* series produced from 1829 to 1836 (Plate 4.105). Another vessel decorated with a scenic illustration, “Castle Forbes/Aberdeenshire,” was produced by Enoch Wood & Sons and was included in the popular *Grapevine Border* series made and marketed between 1818 and 1829 (Larsen 1975; Coysh and Henrywood 1982). Viewed as a whole, the transfer-printed wares from the stone-lined shaft mostly fall within a date range of *circa* 1815 to 1835.

Another 15% of the ceramic sherds comprise blue- and green-edged pearlwares. Seven of the minimum of 18 identified vessels display the impressed anchor mark used by the Davenport Pottery of Longport, Staffordshire in the 1820s (Godden 1964:189-191). The popularity of the carinated bowl shape as used in pearlware also occurred within the range of Sartori’s occupation of the Rosey Hill Mansion (Sussman 1997).

**Whiteware:** Hand-painted whitewares are well represented in the ceramic assemblage from the Sartori pit (Plate 4.106). Twenty-eight different vessels have been identified, mostly represented by tea ware forms. There is no fixed date for the onset of whiteware production, but it is generally accepted that it was a discrete ware type by at least the late 1820s.

One other type of refined white earthenware found in the Sartori feature is the factory-made slipware customarily known as “mocha ware” or “dipped ware” (Plate 4.107). This type, a variant of creamware, pearlware and whiteware, is not a good chronologically diagnostic marker, for its popularity spanned the entire 19th century (Sussman 1997).

**Grey-Bodied Stoneware:** A large stoneware storage jar was found in Context 2044. Based on its form and decoration this vessel is attributable to the

Cheesequake stoneware pottery industry in eastern Middlesex County/western Monmouth County, New Jersey. The jar closely resembles vessels produced by the Warne & Letts Pottery from around 1805 to 1815 (Hunter Research, Inc. 1996a) (Plate 4.108). Other stoneware sherds recovered from within the shaft feature are very fragmentary in nature, suggesting that they were most likely redeposited from surrounding soils.

**Chinese Export Porcelain:** Twenty-two separate Chinese export porcelains tableware and tea ware vessels have been identified (Plate 4.109). Decorative styles include the use of overglaze hand-painted pseudo-armorial and floral motifs, while several underglaze blue hand-painted vessels depicting the popular “Canton” motif. This latter style of decoration enjoyed great popularity on tableware in the period from 1810 to 1835 (Tindall 1975:157-170; Palmer 1976; Mudge 1981).

#### *Other Artifacts*

**Vessel Glass:** The majority of the glass vessel fragments recovered from Context 2044 are from dark olive green wine bottles, spirits bottles and beer bottles. Sorting of these fragments resulted in the identification of a minimum number of 131 separate vessels (this total being determined from discrete and unique base fragments).

Based on an analysis of neck/closure fragments, a total of at least 19 dark olive green beer bottles are identifiable (Plate 4.110). Fifteen of these vessels have down-tooled string rims with fire-polished, short bulging necks, a vessel type datable to *circa* 1790-1820 (Jones and Smith 1985:21). One complete bottle, 9¼ inches in height and with a base diameter of 3¾ inches, falls within the parameters established for beer-style bottles (Jones and Smith 1985:18). Four other dark olive green beer-style neck/closure frag-



Plate 4.110. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: beer bottles from the Sartori pit [Context 2044]. Several dark olive green beer bottles display down-tooled string rims and fire-polished, short, bulging necks, circa 1790 to 1820. Four neck/closure fragments in the left top row exhibit closures completed using a finish forming tool, circa 1820 to 1865. The base fragments have sand pontil marks (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:S26].

ments appear to have been made with a finish forming tool. The use of this tool on dip-molded bottles is typically found between *circa* 1820 and 1865 (Jones 1986:45-47 and 86). Three base fragments associated with these bottles (as well as the complete example) exhibit sand pontil marks.

Again based on an analysis of neck/closure fragments, a total of 48 wine bottles can be recognized (Plate 4.111). Twenty-three of these vessels have flattened string rims with fire-polished, long tapered necks. Eleven vessels have rounded string rims with fire-polished, long tapered necks. Three vessels have U-tooled string rims with fire-polished, long tapered necks and one vessel has a down-tooled string rim with a long tapered neck. All of these styles were in use from *circa* 1770 through the 1840s (Jones and Smith 1985). The majority of the wine bottles have bases that are 3 inches in diameter. Thirty-one examples exhibit blowpipe pontil scars. One example has a section of the blowpipe, one inch in diameter, adhering to its base.

At least a dozen square-bodied dark olive green case bottles, most of them of the blown, dip-molded variety, are represented in the vessel glass assemblage from Context 2044. These would most likely have contained spirits such as gin, rum and brandy. The square body made these bottles suitable for packing into wooden cellars or boxes for shipping (McKearin and Wilson 1978:224-225; Jones and Sullivan 1985).

Substantial pieces of two large free-blown carboys or demijohns were recovered from Context 2044 (Plate 4.112). The first consists of 17 fragments with 12 pieces mending in two large sections (base and shoulder/neck/closure). This vessel has a hand-applied, banded or flattened string-type closure with an exterior diameter of 1¾ inches and a one-inch-diameter interior opening. The base has a well-defined blowpipe pontil scar, 1¾ inches in diameter. The volume of this vessel is estimated at two gallons. The second

vessel also consists of 17 fragments with nine pieces mending in two sections (base/body and body). The base of this vessel is highly fire-polished leaving no evidence of a pontil scar. The volume of this vessel is also estimated at two gallons. The physical character and condition of these two vessels suggests they were produced by different manufacturers.

Vessels of this type were manufactured in southern New Jersey, New England and Europe from *circa* 1825-1870 (Spillman 1983:43). This type of vessel was typically used for shipping large quantities of acids, spirits, wine, oil or honey. Both of these vessels would have been covered in wicker baskets, which would have had a pair of handles for carrying purposes. The wicker also protected the vessels from breakage during shipping.

Other bottles in this assemblage include several small blown bottles, vials, flasks and flacons (Plate 4.113). One small pale green mustard bottle (ten pieces mend as two portions of one bottle) was blown into a two-piece mold. The body of this bottle is square with concave chamfered corners and one side panel embossed “[L]ONDO[N]”. The mouth is wide and has a folded-in lip. Bottles of this type have been dated on military sites in Canada to after *circa* 1800 and would have held approximately 2 ounces of dry mustard (Jones and Smith 1985:65). Two other like-shaped olive green bottles are not embossed but are also believed to be for dry mustard or some similar product. A nearly complete clear medicine bottle, 5 inches in height, has six sides separated by six concave flutes. This bottle (five pieces mend to give a complete profile) was blown into a two-piece mold. The neck is bulged and the lip is flanged. The base exhibits a blowpipe pontil scar, a feature datable to *circa* 1800 to 1830.

Two identical, complete, pale aqua, free-blown, glass pharmaceutical vials, each 4 inches high and 1 inch in diameter, were recovered from Context 2044 (Plate



Plate 4.111. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: wine bottles from the Sartori pit [Context 2044]. Several light olive green wine bottles display flattened and rounded string rims with fire-polished, long tapered, necks, circa 1770 to 1840. The majority of the wine bottle bases are 3 inches in diameter and have blow pipe pontil scars (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:S25].



Plate 4.112. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: carboys or demijohns from the Sartori pit [Context 2044]. Mended portions of two large dark olive green free-blown carboys or demijohns. The vessel on the left has a hand-applied banded or flattened string-type closure (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:S22].





Plate 4.113. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: selected glass bottles and flasks from the Sartori pit [Context 2044]. *Left side*: six fragments of three olive green dry mustard bottles, one embossed “[L]ONDO[N]”. *Top row, left to right*: two pale aqua fragments from an embossed medicine bottle; four pale aqua fragments from three flasks, including one with a pictorial design and one with molded floral decoration. *Bottom row*: mended clear medicine bottle with six sides separated by six concave flutes; two pale aqua free-blown pharmaceutical vials (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:S21].

4.113 [lower right]). Both vials have short narrow necks with flanged lips and thick bases with flat pontil scars. This type of pharmaceutical vial was produced from *circa* 1760 to 1815 (Noël Hume 1969:72-73; Jones and Smith 1985:92).

Several pieces of pictorial flasks were recovered from Context 2044 (Plates 4.113 and 4.114). Two pieces are pale aqua and appear to be from an embossed medicine bottle pictorial flask (Plate 4.113 [top row, center right]). Embossed lettering “...HIA” may indicate Philadelphia as a place of manufacture or the location of a merchant or pharmaceutical supplier. One of the other flask fragments is clear with embossed lettering “GLA...” (Glassworks) over “...TT...”. This style is similar to examples manufactured by the Dyottville Glassworks during the 1820s. The Dyottville Glassworks of Philadelphia was active in the production of pictorial flasks from the 1820s through the 1840s (McKearin and Wilson 1978). Another flask fragment is also clear with embossed scroll decorations on a thin body (Plate 4.113 [top right]). Flasks of this type date from *circa* 1790 through the 1830s (Spillman 1983:46).

The pictorial flask of greatest interest, however, is a pale aqua specimen with embossed profile views of General Zachary Taylor on one side and of George Washington on the other (Plate 4.114). The embossed words “WASHINGTON”, “BRIDGETON” and (probably) “NEW JERSEY” are all discernible on the two faces of the flask. This well documented vessel was produced by the Bridgeton Glassworks in the late 1840s (McKearin and Wilson 1978:529). Zachary Taylor rose to prominence during the Mexican War of 1846-48 and after winning the battle of Buena Vista in February of 1847 he became a national hero (McEvedy 1988:76). Production of this particular flask commemorated Taylor’s success in the Mexican War and was also used as a marketing item in his subsequent victorious campaign for the U.S. Presidency in 1848 (McKearin and Wilson 1978:482-483). Based

on the history of the Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site the flask is thought most likely to date from late in 1847; it is unclear if production of this item continued on into the early 1850s. The Bridgeton Glassworks changed ownership and was renamed in 1855 (Van Rensselaer 1926:129), so this flask was certainly no longer produced after this date.

A minimum of eight blue green French-style glass flacons were recovered from Context 2044 (Plate 4.115). The term “flacon” is generally used to refer to blue green glass multipurpose containers made in France (Harris 2000:235). Six of the flacons have base diameters between 2 and 2 $\frac{1}{8}$  inches, long cylindrical bodies with a projected height of 10 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 11 inches, long flared necks and wide mouths, 1 $\frac{3}{4}$  inches diameter. These dimensions place these flacon roughly within Harris’s Type 3 and Type 5. A wide variety of items were packed in these vessels, including spirits, oils and toiletries (Harris 2000:243). The seventh flacon is representative of what Harris terms a variant of Type 3 with a flared lip. The base diameter of this specimen is 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches and it has a rounded conical push-up and a remnant pontil blowpipe scar. The only other flacon fragments recovered from this area were found in a refuse pit near the Lambert/Douglas House Site (see above, Contexts 18 and 19).

At least 30 leaded glass tumblers were identified, in both plain and fluted base forms (Plate 4.116). In addition to these, at least five small stemware vessels were recovered (Plate 4.117). Whether these items were imported from Europe by the Sartoris or were manufactured in the United States is unknown. On the one hand, Sartori certainly maintained many European links, which would have allowed him to purchase and import fine glassware from abroad; on the other, because of the uncertainty surrounding international politics and trade in the early decades of the 19th century, these vessels could just as easily have been made at one of the many American glass-



Plate 4.114. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: George Washington/Zachary Taylor glass flask from the Sartori pit [Context 2044]. Two faces of a mended portion of a pale aqua glass flask (George Washington on one side; Zachary Taylor on the other) produced by the Bridgeton Glassworks, circa 1847 (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:S13].



Plate 4.115. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: French-style glass flacons from the Sartori pit [Context 2044]. Portions of eight mended hand-blown blue green French-style glass flacons, two with expanded mouths, one with a restricted mouth (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:S14].



Plate 4.116. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: glass tumblers from the Sartori pit [Context 2044]. Parts of 27 hand-blown clear glass tumblers, some exhibiting sand pontil scars, while others pontils are ground and polished leaving no scars (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:S19].



Plate 4.117. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: wine glasses from the Sartori pit [Context 2044]. Parts of five hand-blown clear glass, stemmed wine glasses (side and bottom views) (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:S23].

houses that flourished during this period (Hughes 1956; McKearin and McKearin 1941). Somewhat easier to provenience are four etched non-lead glass tumblers and a matching decanter. These lightweight, high-quality vessels are similar to pieces held in the collection of the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, which lists them as being made *circa* 1790 to 1820, possibly in Bohemia (Palmer 1993).

The remainder of the glassware from the Sartori pit consists of oil light chimneys and miscellaneous tablewares (salt cellars, bowls, decanters and cruets) (Plates 4.118-4.120).

A clear glass rectangular salt cellar exhibits waffle block decoration around the sides and a sunburst pattern on the base formed in a multi-part mold (Plate 4.118 [upper left]). The rim is cut and polished. This type of decoration has been attributed to Irish and English glassworks operating in the early 19th century (Jones and Smith 1985:69). Salt cellars, usually sold by the pair, are small open dishes, usually circular or rectangular, which were shared by two people. A small spoon would have been used to serve the salt. A second small clear glass circular vessel with molded vertical ribs is also thought to be a salt cellar (Plate 4.118 [lower left]).

Two clear glass fragments from a 6-inch-diameter bowl exhibit a pressed three-leaf and large bull's eye-like motif (McKearin and McKearin 1941:371-377 [Plate 184.64]). Three fragments from another 6-inch-diameter glass bowl exhibit a pressed Roman rosette-like motif (McKearin and McKearin 1941:371-377 [Plate 151.6]). These vessel fragments are illustrated in Plate 4.118 (upper right).

Five clear glass body fragments derive from a single decanter which exhibits the "diamond quilted sunburst" motif (Lee 1939:143-149) (Plate 4.118 [lower right]). It has been suggested that decanters like these were used for "liquors such as port which tend

to throw sediment" (Jones and Smith 1985:25). In upper class homes like Rosey Hill, decanters would have been featured on the dining table, sideboard or side tables, placed in shallow stands made of wood or metal.

Two cobalt blue glass stemmed hollowware vessels (49 pieces mend as six portions of two vessels) were recovered from Context 2044 (Plate 4.119). The two vessels are identical, both having trumpet-shaped bases with a folded-under foot ring. The stems are short, each with a V-shaped knob (a small decorative knob or boss). The bodies are curved at the base and shoulder but are basically cylindrical. Attachment scars indicate that each vessel had a handle connected to the body (although no actual handle fragments were found). The proportions of these vessels are sketchy since a complete profile could not be assembled. Based on disjointed fragments the upper portion of each vessel is constricted and shows a thinning of the vessel body. No rim fragments were recovered but the thinness of the body pieces suggests that the vessel would not have been strong enough to support a stopper. Because of this, the terminal end is thought to have had a small opening with a pouring lip. Vessels fitting this description would normally be classified as cruets (Jones and Sullivan 1985:133). Although highly speculative, cruets of this sort could have been used to hold the water or wine during masses which were held in the Sartori home prior to the construction of the first Catholic church in Trenton.

As noted above, an abundance of flat glass fragments was recovered throughout the fill of the stone-lined shaft (Plate 4.120). Roughly 2,780 window light fragments were retained and examined. The majority of these pieces consist of refuse discarded during on-site trimming of window panes, during either installation of new windows or replacement of old ones. The vast quantity of trimmings suggests wholesale replacement of windows or installation of fenestration in a new addition, possibly occurring at the time when the



Plate 4.118. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: press-molded glass tableware from the Sartori pit [Context 2044]. Left: eight fragments of press-molded clear glass salt cellars. *Top right*: four fragments of press-molded clear glass bowls. *Bottom right*: two fragments of a press-molded clear glass decanter (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:S20].





Plate 4.119. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: glass stemmed hollowware vessels from the Sartori pit [Context 2044]. Mended parts of two cobalt blue glass stemmed hollowware vessels (side and bottom views), probably cruets. Both vessels are identical with trumpet-shaped bases and a folded-under foot ring, short stems with a V-shaped knop, and cylindrical bodies curved at the base and shoulder (attachment scars indicate that each vessel had a handle) (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:S24].



Plate 4.120. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: window pane fragments from the Sartori pit [Context 2044]. *Top*: pale aqua rectangular trimming fragments. *Bottom left*: several irregularly fractured pieces of window panes. *Bottom right*: two pieces of window panes trimmed in a roughly circular fashion for unknown reason (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:S18].

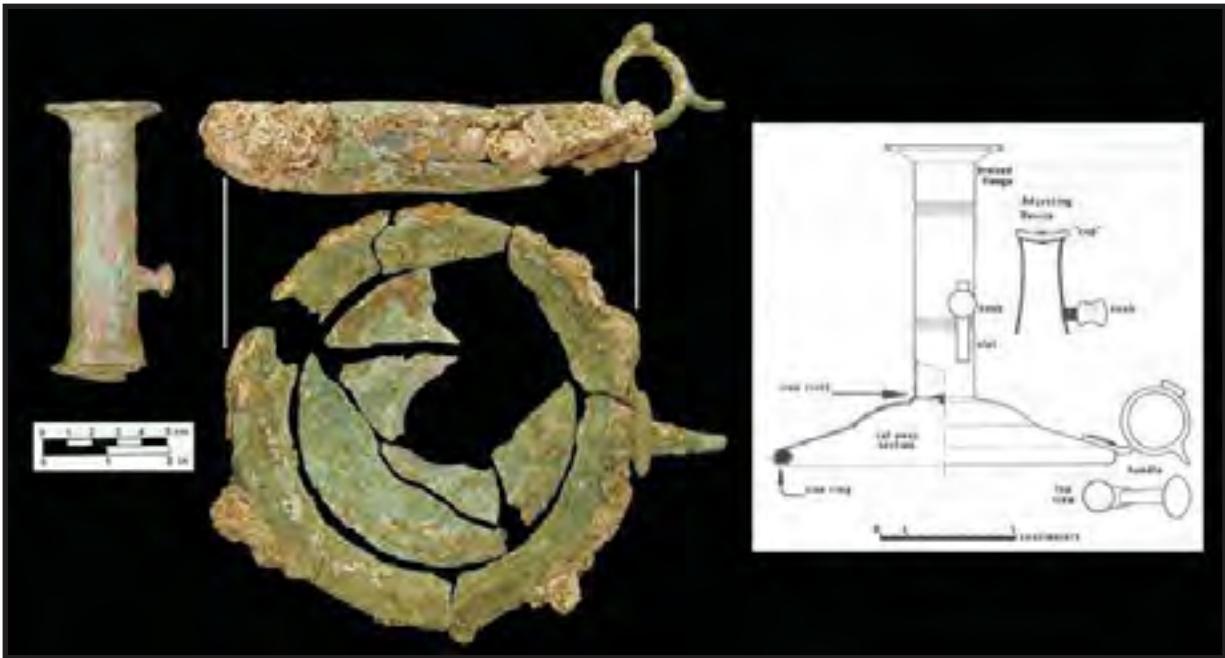


Plate 4.121. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: brass candlestick from the Sartori pit [Context 2044]. *Left*: parts of an adjustable brass candlestick (side and top views). *Right*: drawing of a complete example from Barcelona Harbor, New York, held by the Monroe Collection, circa 1790 to 1830 (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:S16].



Plate 4.122. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: selected small finds from the Sartori pit [Context 2044]. *Top row*: three white clay tobacco pipe bowl/stem fragments. *Second row, left to right*: four glass beads; three vertical ribbed white clay tobacco pipe bowls. *Third row*: bone toothbrush; bone needle case top over clay marble; brass watch key over brass tack; two brass thimbles over bone button; honey-colored French gunflint. *Bottom row*: three slate pencils; child's writing slate fragment (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:S17].

mansion was adapted as the residence for ironmaster Charles Hewitt in the late 1840s. Similar window trimmings were recovered from a refuse pit near the Lambert/Douglas House Site (see above, Contexts 18 and 19).

**Furnishings:** Thirteen fragments from a brass candlestick holder were recovered from Context 2044 (Plate 4.121). The candlestick holder has a tubular center terminating in a flared opening. The central portion has a knob that runs along a slot to adjust the height of the candle. The central portion is riveted to the wider circular 7-inch base. A loop handle is also riveted to the base. An identical example was excavated in 1965 from Barcelona Harbor, New York and is part of the Monroe Collection (Kolb 1983:41). Kolb reports this type of brass candlestick was mass-produced during the Late Georgian Period in England (1790-1830), but could also have been made in France.

**Miscellaneous:** Numerous other small finds, including personal items, recreational objects, pieces of hardware, etc., were found in the Sartori pit (Plate 4.122). Among the more notable of these artifacts are several pieces of white clay tobacco pipes, a French-type spall gunflint, two thimbles, a clay marble, four glass beads, a child's blackboard/slate, four slate pencils, an octagonal brass watch key (see above, Context 25, for further discussion), a brass furniture tack (see above, Context 25, for further discussion), a bone tooth brush, a small cylindrical bone container (possibly for pins) and five pieces of small lead shot were also recovered from the shaft fill context.

*b. Stone-Lined Well*

**i. Stratigraphy**

A stone-lined well was exposed roughly 50 feet north-west of the Rosey Hill Mansion foundation during pipe trench excavations (Figures 4.1 and 4.2; Plate

4.123). The top of the 4-foot-diameter shaft [2006], capped with a slate slab, was exposed approximately 3 feet below the ground surface. A 9-foot-wide shoring box was placed over the shaft to facilitate its excavation. A 1-foot-wide builders' trench [2004, 2005] was identified around the exterior shaft walls, filled in with coarse sand and gravel. A trackhoe removed 16 feet of the well when it was determined that the shaft was empty to this depth below ground surface. The upper 8 feet of the shaft was constructed of mortared cobbles and schist blocks. Dry-laid schist blocks formed the lower section of the shaft, which extended to 25 feet below the ground surface. Fill consisting of silty loam was observed in the shaft interior at 16 feet below the ground surface. The fill was removed by trackhoe in 2-foot-thick increments and placed in eight separate piles designated Contexts 7 through 14. Each pile was screened for artifacts. Context 12 appeared to represent the lowest extent of the fill; Contexts 13 and 14 were subsoil deposits.

**ii. Artifacts**

A total of 264 artifacts were recovered from the interior fill of the well [Contexts 2006-2014] and displayed a date range of *circa* 1700 to 1840 (Plate 4.124). The assemblage is dominated by ceramic vessel sherds (231 [55.8%]), followed by building materials (115 [27.8%]) and glass vessel fragments (28 [6.8%]). Ceramic vessel sherds consist of utilitarian redwares (80) and a variety of wares, mostly imported from Britain, consisting of tin-enameled earthenware (8), buff-bodied coarse earthenware (4), Whieldon-type ware (4), creamware (14), pearlware (61), whiteware (17), white salt-glazed stoneware (12), other stoneware (14), soft-paste porcelain (6) and Chinese export porcelain (9). The ceramic assemblage represents a wide range of periods with the majority of the larger mended pieces dating from *circa* 1800 to 1840. Older



Plate 4.123. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: view looking south showing stone-lined well (Photographer: George D. Cress, November 1998) [HRI Neg. #98049/12:20].



Plate 4.124. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: selected 18th- and early 19th-century ceramics and glass artifacts from the fill of the stone-lined well. *Top row, left to right:* blue transfer-printed 10-inch-diameter whiteware soup plate with the “Wild Rose” pattern, circa 1830 to 1840; pearlware teapot lid with blue hand-painted floral decoration; six stoneware body sherds and one stoneware rim sherd (large body sherd may be locally made by James Rhodes); a tin-enameled earthenware body sherd, two Whieldon ware body sherds, two white salt-glazed stoneware body sherds with scratch blue decoration, three slip-decorated buff-bodied earthenware body sherds over three Chinese export porcelain body sherds with blue hand-painted decoration and three red earthenware storage vessel sherds (two rim sherds, one base sherd). *Bottom row:* stoneware beer bottle top; whiteware bowl with molded blue beaded rim; two clear glass tumbler bases and four olive green wine bottle fragments (two base fragments and two neck/closure fragments with applied banded string rims) (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:RHW].

ware types are represented by small sherds, most of them less than 2 inches across, suggesting they were introduced to the well when it was filled and capped.

A few individual ceramic vessels bear specific mention. A hand-painted pearlware teapot lid has a wide blue band decorated with a dark blue vine and berry motif (Plate 4.124 [top row, left center]). Ten sherds mend as one forming about 70% of this lid. A 10-inch-diameter blue transfer-printed whiteware soup plate is decorated with the “Wild Rose” pattern (Plate 4.124 [upper left]). Twenty-seven sherds mend to give three sections, making up roughly 50% of this plate and providing a full profile. This pattern depicts a view of Nuneham Courtenay, a manorial village about five miles southeast of Oxford, England. The main feature of the pattern is the rustic bridge and bridge tender’s thatched cottage. The boats in the foreground appear to represent a ferry crossing. The “Wild Rose” title applied to this pattern was used by as many as 21 English and Scottish potters working in blue transfer print (Coysh and Henrywood 1982:399). It is unknown which potter made this piece, although it can be broadly dated to the decade between 1830 and 1840. Three sherds of grey-bodied salt glazed stoneware probably represent the handiwork of local potter James Rhodes who was active in the later 1770s and early 1780s (see Volume III for more detail).

### *c. Outbuilding Foundations*

An 11-foot-square outbuilding foundation shown on several mid-19th-century maps (see above, Figures 3.25 and 3.29-3.31) was recorded within the footprint of the late 19th-century addition to the east of the Rosey Hill Mansion (Figure 4.25). This structure was observed during road grading activity in 1999. The footing, constructed of mica schist stone, was located by shovel scraping within the Rosey Hill Mansion foundation addition. Three walls related to the outbuilding were exposed inside the northeast cor-

ner of the addition: a north wall [2058]; a west wall [2059]; and a south wall [2060]. Each of these walls was approximately 1.20 feet wide. The east wall of the outbuilding was removed by the construction of the addition to the Rosey Hill Mansion. This latter wall was 1.50 feet wide and consisted of brownstone blocks.

Two intersecting trenches, one oriented north-south, the other east-west, were excavated inside the outbuilding foundation (Plate 4.125). In these trenches a B horizon subsoil consisting of sandy loam [2027] was found to overlie a 0.40-foot-thick sandy loam A horizon. The A horizon was the same 18th-century stratum identified during excavation of the “Sartori” shaft and the Rosey Hill Mansion. The walls of the outbuilding extended to a depth of 0.60 feet below the top of the A horizon. A 19th-century stratum consisting of slag and silty loam [2038] overlaid the A horizon, but had been extensively truncated by the road grading operations.

A trench was also excavated between the north wall of the outbuilding foundation [2058] and the interior north wall of the Rosey Hill Mansion addition [2056]. A builders’ trench [2054, 2055], 0.30 feet wide and filled with charcoal, was identified along the exterior of outbuilding’s north wall. The builders’ trench along the interior of the Rosey Hill Mansion addition was also 0.30 feet wide but was filled with silty loam [2069]. A rectangular post-hole, 0.90 feet by 1.70 feet in plan, was identified in the center of the foundation and extended to a depth of 0.40 feet. The posthole cut [2061] was filled with silty loam and slag and brick fragments [2062]. The post may have supported a wood floor.

Two additional isolated foundations were identified during road grading: a 12-foot-long section of mica schist foundation, located approximately 20 feet north of the square outbuilding foundation; and a 25-foot-long section foundation, also composed of mica



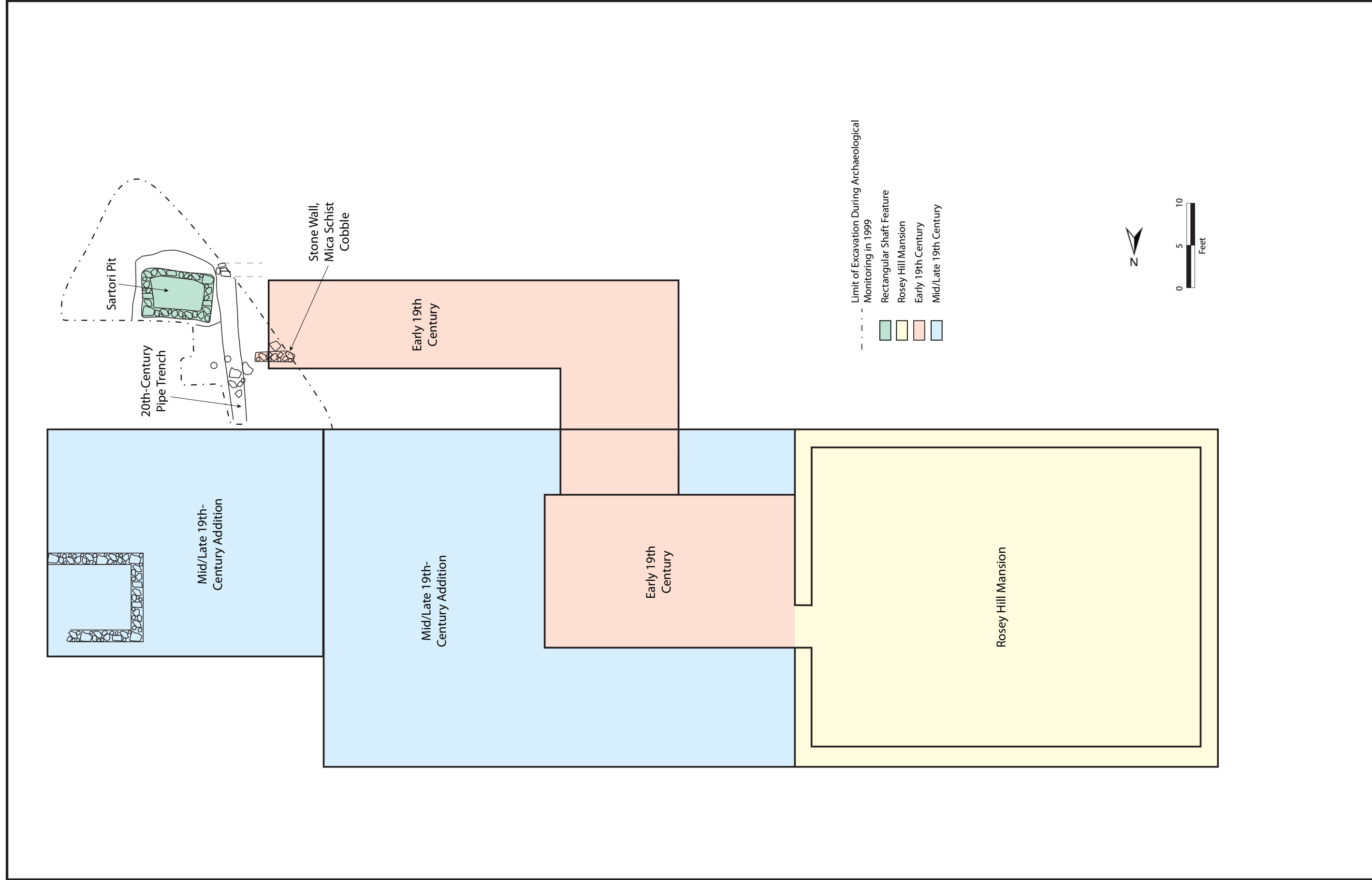


Figure 4.25. Rosey Hill Mansion Site: Plan Showing Evolution of the Mansion and the Locations of Outbuildings and the “Sartori Pit.”





Plate 4.125. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: view looking east showing outbuilding foundations to the east of the mansion; scales in feet and inches (Photographer: Greg Tyn-dall, July 1999) [HRI Neg. #99011/7:32].



Plate 4.126. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: view looking north showing isolated outbuilding foundation to the east of the mansion; scales in feet (Photographer: George D. Cress, July 1999) [HRI Neg. #99011/10:27].

schist, roughly 30 feet north of the outbuilding (Figure 4.1; Plate 4.126). Both walls were two courses deep and 1.20 feet wide. These foundations do not appear to be related to one another and are probably remnants of outbuilding structures, such as barns or stables.

**d. Barrel Privy at the Lexington Street Site**

A barrel privy was identified beneath four feet of fill at the north end of the Lexington Street Site, roughly 180 feet to the east southeast of the core of the Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site (Plate 4.127 [see Volume I for precise location]). This feature was 3.50 feet in diameter and was cut into the B horizon [3]. The earliest context was the cut [108] that contained the barrel. Remnants of the barrel itself consisted of decomposed wood present in the form of reddish brown staining [109], which was exposed at 22.78 feet asl and extended to a depth of 3.50 feet to the bottom of the feature. Four barrel hoops were found intact within Context 109. The upper hoop was 3.00 feet in diameter and located 1.30 feet below the top of the feature. The second hoop was located 2.20 feet below the top of the feature, the third hoop at 2.80 feet and the fourth hoop at 3.30 feet. The recovery of creamware sherds and olive green bottle glass fragments from the fill [107] indicates a late 18th-century date of deposition. The privy was probably related to the occupation of the Lambert/Douglas property and may have been positioned to cater to users of possible outbuildings (described below) located to the north-east of the main residential core of the site.

**e. Possible Post-and-Beam Structures at the Chain Shop Site**

**i. Stratigraphy**

Two possible early historic post-and-beam structures, represented by two groupings of postholes, were identified at the Chain Shop Site, roughly 125 feet to the east of the core of the Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site (Figure 4.26). One group of four postholes was located within the footprint of the chain shop foundations; the other group of three postholes was found immediately west of the chain shop's west foundation wall.

The set of postholes within the chain shop comprised four rectangular cut features, each measuring 0.60 by 1.80 feet. Three appeared to be arranged in an east-west alignment, approximately 7 feet apart, extending for a linear distance of 16 feet (Excavation Unit 444, Contexts 111 and 112; Excavation Unit 460, Contexts 114 and 115; and Excavation Unit 413, Contexts 126 and 127). The fourth feature (Excavation Unit 460, Contexts 116 and 117) was situated two feet south of this alignment. Fill contained within the posthole cuts generally consisted of fine sandy loam and extended to a depth of approximately 2.50 feet.

The three postholes in the second grouping (Excavation Units 619 and 620, Contexts 59 and 60; Excavation Units 553 and 554, Contexts 62 and 63; and Excavation Unit 596, Context 84) were not as rectangular as the postholes described above, each measuring approximately 1.50 feet by 1.00 feet.

No coherent plan is apparent from the distribution of these postholes and their date is likewise uncertain, except that they clearly pre-date the late 19th-century construction of the chain shop. While it is possible that they are associated with the Contact Period Native American features at the Chain Shop Site (see Volume

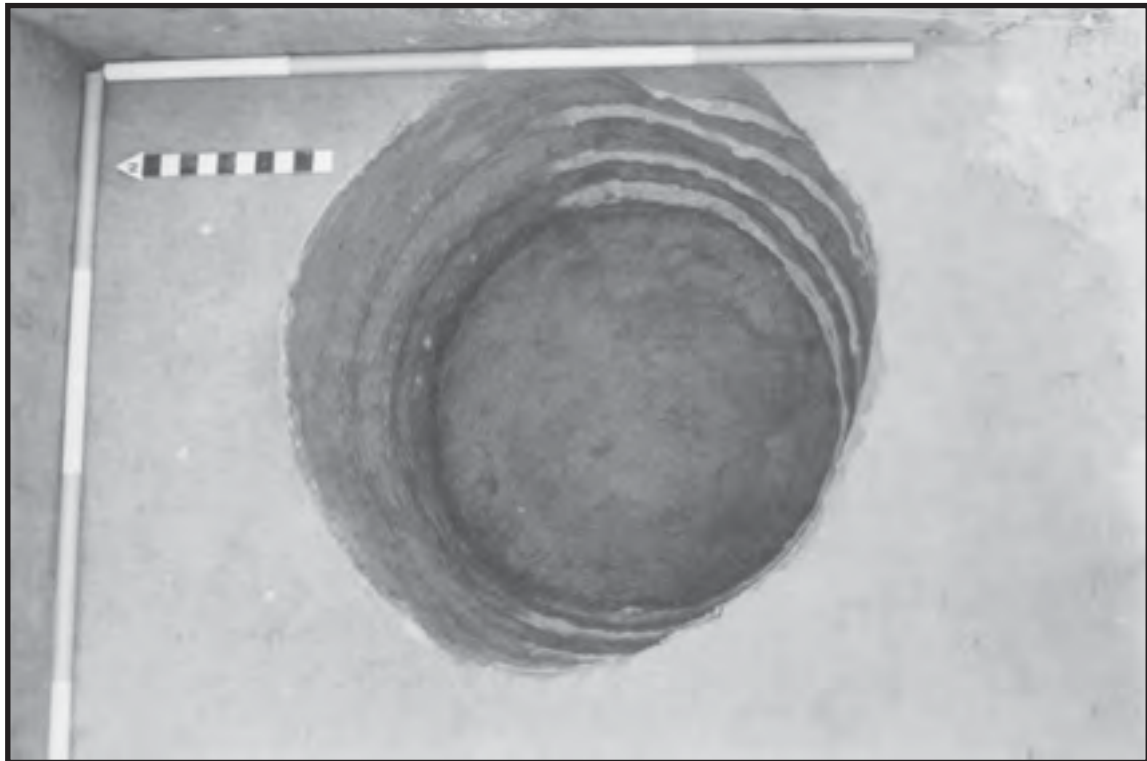


Plate 4.127. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: view looking down and east showing barrel privy. Note metal barrel hoops around interior wall; scales in feet and inches (Photographer: Vincent Maresca, November 1998) [HRI Neg. #98048/432:3].

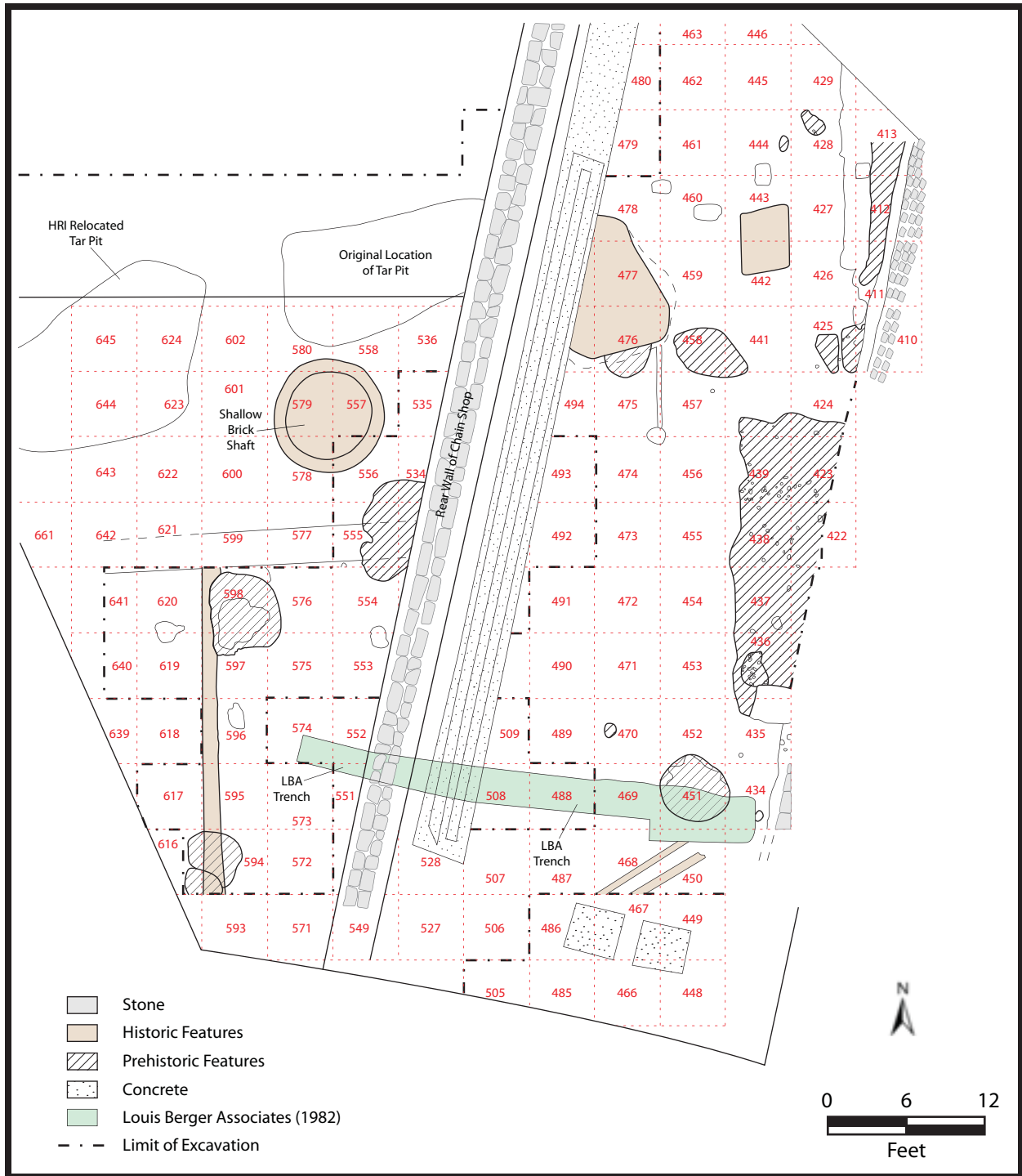


Figure 4.26. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: Site Plan Showing Historic Features on the East Side of N.J. Route 29 at the Chain Shop Site.



Plate 4.128. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: Contact Period artifacts from the Chain Shop Site. *Top row, left to right:* small copper bead [182], cylindrical, 3/16 inches long with an 1/8-inch outer diameter and a 1/16-inch bore diameter (side and top views); large copper bead [30], roughly spherical and measuring 0.32 inches in diameter with a 1/8-inch bore diameter (side and top views); three small copper sheeting fragments [190], possibly pieces of tinkling cones or other ornaments. *Bottom row:* aqua blue glass bead [190], 0.16 inches in diameter with a 1/32-inch bore diameter, classified by Kidd as Type IIa34 (top and side views); dark blue glass bead [148] with a thin white band near the center bore, 0.18 inches in diameter with a 1/16-inch bore diameter, classified by Kidd as Type IVa17 (top and side views); aqua blue glass bead [205], 0.18 inches in diameter with a 1/32-inch bore diameter, classified by Kidd as Type IIa36 (top and side views) (Photographer: Michael Murphy, June 2002) [HRI Neg. #98048/D1:CS1].



I for further detail), they could also reflect 18th- or early 19th-century occupation of the Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site.

## ii. Artifacts

Discussion of Contact Period artifacts from the Chain Shop Site is included here, although it should be emphasized that there is no firm association between these artifacts and the possible post-and-beam structures. This Contact Period trade material could – and is perhaps more likely to – be related to the concentration of features in the northwestern portion of the Chain Shop Site (see Volume I for further detail).

European trade goods from the Contact period recovered from the Chain Shop Site consist of five beads (three glass and two copper) and three small fragments of copper sheeting (Plate 4.128). The two copper beads were recovered in the vicinity of the hypothesized post-and-beam structures. One, recovered from Context 30, is roughly spherical and measures 0.32 inches in diameter and has a bore diameter of  $\frac{1}{8}$  inch. The other, recovered from Context 182, is  $\frac{3}{16}$  inch long and cylindrical with a  $\frac{1}{8}$ -inch outer diameter and a  $\frac{1}{16}$ -inch bore diameter. Copper beads were made by both Europeans and Native Americans. No analyses were conducted to establish the source of the copper used for these beads.

All three of the glass bead are wire-round. One, recovered from Context 148, is dark blue with a thin white band near the center bore. Its diameter is 0.18 inches and it has a  $\frac{1}{16}$ -inch-diameter bore. Beads of this description have been classified by Kidd as Type IVa17 (Hayes 1983:230). A second glass bead, from Context 190, is aqua-blue, 0.16 inches in diameter and has a  $\frac{1}{32}$ -inch-diameter bore. Beads of this description have been classified by Kidd as Type IIa34 (Hayes 1983:228). The third glass bead, from Context 205, is also aqua-blue with a diameter of 0.18

inches and a  $\frac{1}{32}$ -inch-diameter bore. Beads of this description have been classified by Kidd as Type IIa36 (Hayes 1983:228). On Pennsylvania sites, all three glass beads would be broadly datable to the first half of the 17th century (Fogelman 1991).

The three small copper sheeting fragments, all found in Context 190, may be pieces of tinkling cones or other ornaments (Kent 1984:204-205). Tinkling cones are crudely made conical ornaments rolled from small, usually trapezoidal pieces of sheet metal attached to clothing or bags, or if strung, worn around the wrist or ankle (Brain 1979:195).

## 8. Late 19th-Century Outlying Features

### a. Chain Drying Shop Foundation

An L-shaped section of foundation wall constructed of steatite blocks was exposed along the eastern edge of the northbound lanes of the new N.J. Route 29 alignment (Figure 4.27; Plate 4.129). Two abutting walls 1.70 feet wide were encountered (an east-west wall butted up against a north-south wall) and appeared to form the southwest corner of a building. The north-south wall [2050] was exposed for a distance of 19.5 feet to a point where it intersected with the western edge of the old N.J. Route 29 roadway. The east-west wall [2051] extended six feet from the southern end of the north-south wall to the same western edge of old N.J. Route 29. A 3-foot by 1.5-foot excavation unit placed in the interior southwest corner established that the building had no basement. The foundation was cut three feet into the B horizon subsoil [2027]. The foundations appear to be part of a building identified on late 19th-century maps as a “Chain Drying Shop” (Figures 3.37-3.39). This structure is part of a complex of buildings related to the chain manufacturing operations of the New Jersey Steel and Iron Company, the most notable structure being the chain shop itself,

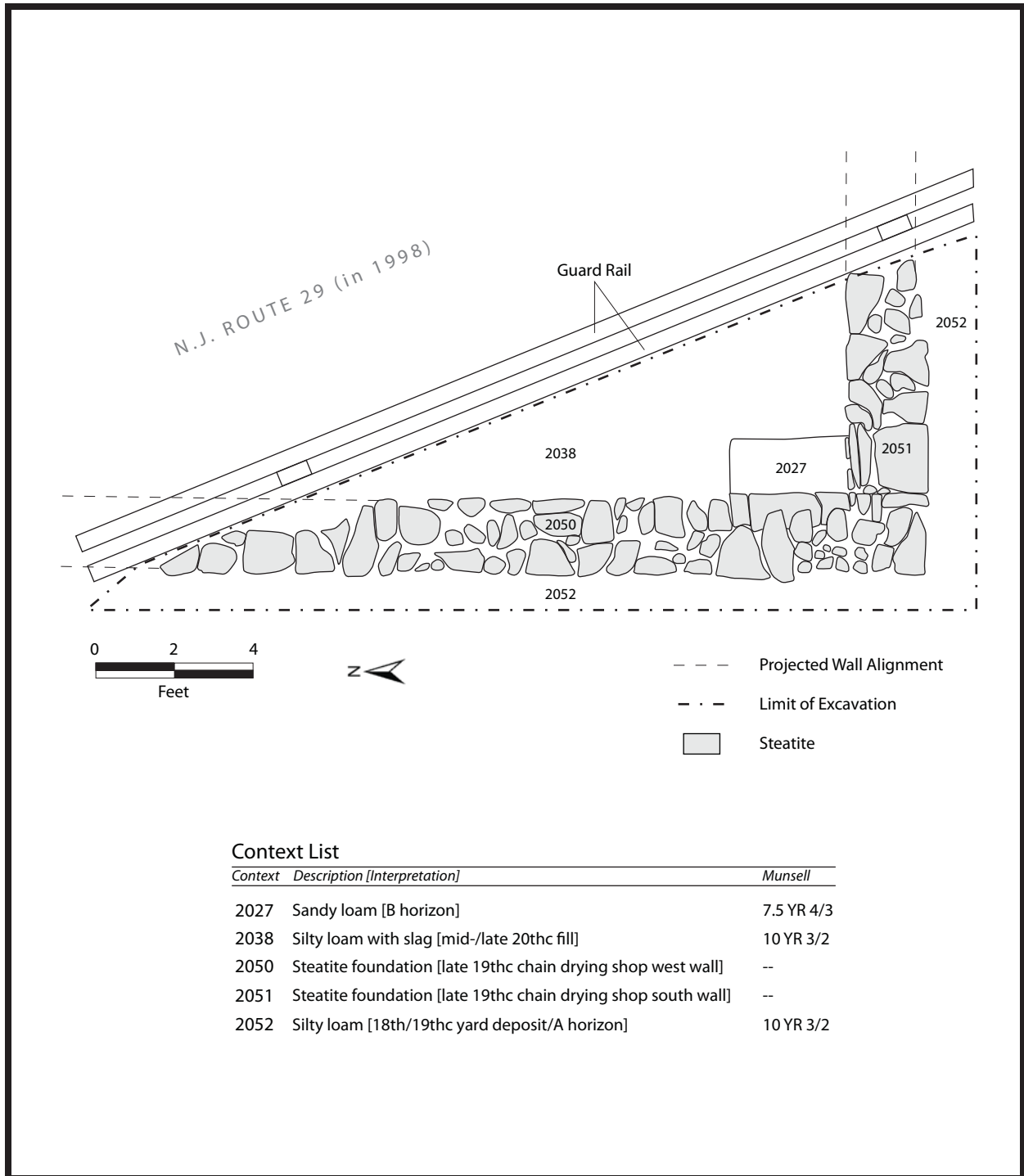


Figure 4.27. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: Site Plan Showing the Foundation of the Chain Drying Shop of the New Jersey Steel and Iron Company.



Plate 4.129. Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site: view looking south showing New Jersey Steel and Iron Company chain drying shop foundation; scales in feet and inches (Photographer: George D. Cress, July 1999) [HRI Neg. #99011/9:20].

located at the intersection of Union Street and old N.J. Route 29, approximately 100 feet east of the chain drying shop.

*b. Nineteenth-Century Wood-lined Box Privies at the Cass Street Site*

Three wood-lined box privies were identified within the Cass Street Site excavation area (see Volume I for more detail). These shaft features were located in the backyards of 19th-century row homes that fronted onto Cass Street and Coates Street. The privies were approximately 4 feet square and extended to a depth of about 5 feet below the ground surface. Wood lining was identified in all three privies, surviving in variable condition from traces of wood to complete planks with 2-inch square corner-post supports. The shafts contained early to mid-20th-century fill. Square wood-lined privies of this sort have been identified in Paterson, New Jersey (John Milner Associates, Inc. 1999:94-101). Some of the privies identified in Paterson contained clay-lining around the sides of the shaft. The privies at Cass Street did not exhibit clay-lining, but the liquid contents of the privy apparently seeped through the wood-planking causing the surrounding soils to turn a green yellow color (2.5Y6/8) reminiscent of soil found in wet anaerobic conditions.

## Chapter 5

### SYNTHESIS AND COMPARISONS

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#### **A. THE LAMBERT/DOUGLAS PLANTATION AND ROSEY HILL MANSION SITE AS A HISTORIC CULTURAL LANDSCAPE**

##### **1. Prehistoric Prelude**

The Late Woodland and early Contact period landscape of the Trenton/Lamberton waterfront can be partially reconstructed using a combination of archaeological, geoarchaeological, paleoenvironmental and historical data. Much of the detailed evidence on which this discussion of the prehistoric landscape is based is described in Volume I of this report series. This initial section of the final chapter of this volume will concentrate primarily on the period of actual European contact, rather than the full range of Late Woodland Native American occupation, in an attempt to assess the type of landscape that the incoming Dutch and Swedish explorer/traders and English Quaker settlers might have seen when they came up the Delaware River to the falls area in the mid- to late 17th century.

At the time of European/Native American contact, the almost flat, broad terraced area extending south from Assunpink Creek to the mouth of Douglas Gut was probably largely open land, dominated by tall, water-tolerant grasses. Other grass and herb species known to have been growing here in late prehistoric times include goosefoot, pokeweed, smartweed and knotweed. A short distance back from the riverbank the land dropped slightly into the shallow valley of Douglas Gut, which probably originated as a back channel carrying surplus water from the Assunpink when the latter's outlet to the main river became blocked or overflowed. The gut certainly had flowing water in it during the 18th century, although its upper

portions were little more than a swampy swale. It was clearly not a significant barrier either, given the manner in which the early colonial lots crossed it (see above, Figure 3.5). The presence of hickory nuts, butternuts and acorns in late prehistoric archaeological contexts is insufficient to demonstrate that these species were growing close by, but there do seem to have been wooded areas in the general vicinity, possibly along the gut, in the 18th century, and these were probably here in earlier times also.

It is very likely that the Contact period landscape was already in part the product of human activity. The archaeological evidence from the prehistoric sites examined during this project (see Volume I of this report series) suggests that a certain degree of landscape alteration and organization had already taken place, with, for example, some areas evidently being set aside for burials. There was a persistent focus of settlement activity on the western side of Douglas Gut, extending back some 300 to 400 feet from the bank of the Delaware River in the Lexington Street/Chain Shop area. This occupation continued into the second quarter of the 17th century, and shows clear evidence of European contact in the form of trade items and evidence for the presence of wheat.

One reason for this increased frequentation in the earlier 17th century was the opportunities afforded to Native Americans for the commercial growing of maize for sale to the Dutch and Swedish settlers downriver (see above, Chapter 3). Early accounts of the Falls of the Delaware at this time mention extensive fields of corn in settings which match those of the project vicinity. This represented a radical transformation of the riverside landscape, and reflects a considerable cultural shift among the Lenape popula-

tion. It would also have resulted in the clearance of areas of land that may previously have been at least covered by scrub. Even if these fields had been abandoned by the late 1670s, their former existence would have been apparent in the landscape that greeted the eyes of Mahlon Stacy and his companions on their arrival at the falls. While they may have chosen to regard this as, in some sense, a virgin land, they were probably well aware that in reality they were moving into a landscape that had already been modified by humans, and which they could consequently occupy with relative ease.

## 2. The Colonial Farm on the River

By 1700, and particularly after 1714 (see above, Figure 3.5 and Chapter 3), the landscape along the river had begun to be divided up into properties that were laid out to extend back from the Delaware River shoreline, as owners sought to obtain as much river frontage as was permitted. The survey of Mahlon Stacy's land in 1714 shows houses along Ferry Street (see above, Figure 3.6), but does not show the Lambert/Douglas House, even though it was certainly built by this time. Prior to the date of this map there may actually have been more buildings along the banks of the Delaware River and Assunpink Creek, but severe floods in the 1690s had encouraged people to move away from the more exposed river edge settings. On the other hand, the locations of the substantial Mahlon Stacy and Beakes plantations immediately north of the Lambert/Douglas property suggest that this particular area was not considered especially vulnerable in this respect.

The Stacy map of 1714 clearly shows Douglas Gut as marshy in its northern reaches, but turning into a flowing stream in the area of the Lambert/Douglas Plantation. The road to Burlington (present-day South Broad Street) was already a well-established route along the higher ground to the east. To the south, the freshwater marsh extending from the base of the bluff

to Crosswicks Creek, was already well developed as the "Falls Meadow," presumably providing both summer grazing for cattle and hay crops, and perhaps implying the presence of fenced enclosures to control the grazing.

Less controlled were the pigs. In 1694, Nottingham Township drew up rules to address the "frequent nuisances dayly done by Hoggs, and for reducing their numerous Herds into lesser Companies &c." Landowners were to own no more than six pigs, the pigs were to have nose rings, and they were to be closely pounded (Wacker and Clemens 1995:64). Pigs were capable of great damage, but were let loose in oak woodlands in the autumn to fatten for slaughter. Their regulation at this time suggests that they were poorly controlled and numerous, and that oak woodland was plentiful in the township.

Across the Delaware Valley, pigs were being slaughtered and cured for the export market in the 18th century, and southern Hunterdon and northern Burlington Counties specialized in smoking pork into Burlington hams (Wacker and Clemens 1995:187). They were one and a half times more numerous than cows in Burlington County in the 1760s. The archaeological evidence from the site of the Lambert/Douglas House shows that this plantation was part of this economy. Pigs are the best represented animal in the bone assemblage here and the reconstructed 18th-century agricultural landscape can be regarded as populated with these animals, particularly in the wooded areas further back from the river, although they would also likely have been kept in more open areas and fed on corn, turnips, milk and cultivated grasses, such as timothy, rye and clover (Wacker and Clemens 1995:188). The grasses, in this instance, would have been grown in managed pastures. Cultivated fields are shown in this area and on the east side of South Broad Street on the Fischer map of 1777, the only one of the Hessian

maps showing the Battle of Trenton that extends this far south (see above, Figure 3.14). Apple and peach orchards were also present in the area.

By the mid-18th century, the character of the riverfront on either side of the Lambert/Douglas Plantation had started to change from this purely rural character. The clusters of buildings at the wharf and landing at the bottom of Ferry Street (including a tavern) and the section of riverfront further to the south in the area, known both as Trenton Landing and Lambertton, were the focus of considerable activity less than a quarter mile from the plantation focus. By 1763, Charles Read had already begun to develop a commercial fishery just south of the property, an enterprise that involved damming Douglas Gut close to its mouth to create a fishpond. Further to the south, wharfage, warehouses and commercial and manufacturing enterprises were being developed, and streets were being laid out to define the emerging port community of Lambertton.

In 1768, the Lambert/Douglas property itself was described as having 150 acres of “good” woodland, and about 50 acres of “good” meadow, probably reflecting the use to which the land had been put over much of the previous 60 years. The dominance of woodland and paucity of cultivated land is noteworthy and perhaps in part a reflection of John Douglas’s livelihood as a “boatman.” The farm’s place in the landscape is well expressed in an advertisement of 1770 in which the property is described as fronting “the river between Trenton Ferry and Messrs. Cox and Furman’s works, and joins the Lambertton Fishery” and containing a “large apple orchard, and a variety of other fruit trees” (see above, Chapter 3).

The Douglas farm, a tract of 222 acres, was sold at a sheriff’s sale in 1769 to Robert Lettis Hooper II, who in the following year sold the property in combination with the neighboring ferry plantation to Daniel Coxe V. Coxe, certainly one of the wealthiest and

most prominent landowners in the colony, likely invested money in improving what he referred to as his “Ferry Estate”. His lease of the Lambertton fishery to Philadelphia merchant William Richards seems to have led to Richards pursuing various commercial enterprises on the riverfront (see Volume III), while the Douglas farm, by 1776, had gained a second dwelling. Coxe also appears to have installed thousands of new “panels” of fencing in an effort to better define and protect the estate.

The effects of the Revolutionary War on the riverfront landscape extending downstream from the mouth of Assunpink Creek were considerable, immediate and direct. It is apparent from the documentary record, and most especially from Daniel Coxe V’s post-war claims against the British government for property damage and loss of income, that the month of December 1776 brought widespread disruption and dislocation to the Trenton area. The Coxe family left for the relative safety of Philadelphia, tenants were displaced by incoming Hessian soldiers, and from roughly December 18 through into the early days of January 1777 skirmishes and the need for firewood took their toll on the ferry estate, the Douglas farm and the Lambertton fishery. Several houses and outbuildings were burned to the ground; others, including the Lambert/Douglas House and a second dwelling on the Douglas farm, were severely damaged; and several miles of fencing and acres of woodland were consumed for fuel by British, Hessian and Continental troops trying to stay warm during a bitter winter. The scale of this damage is difficult to envisage, but the Revolution wrought a change in the landscape that must have had a lasting impact and perhaps hastened the conversion of woodland to cropland and pasture.

This war-ravaged landscape, at the threshold of the federal period, is captured in convincing detail on the French route maps showing the encampments of General Rochambeau’s army in Trenton in 1781 and 1782 (Figure 5.1; see above, Figures 3.16 and 3.17).

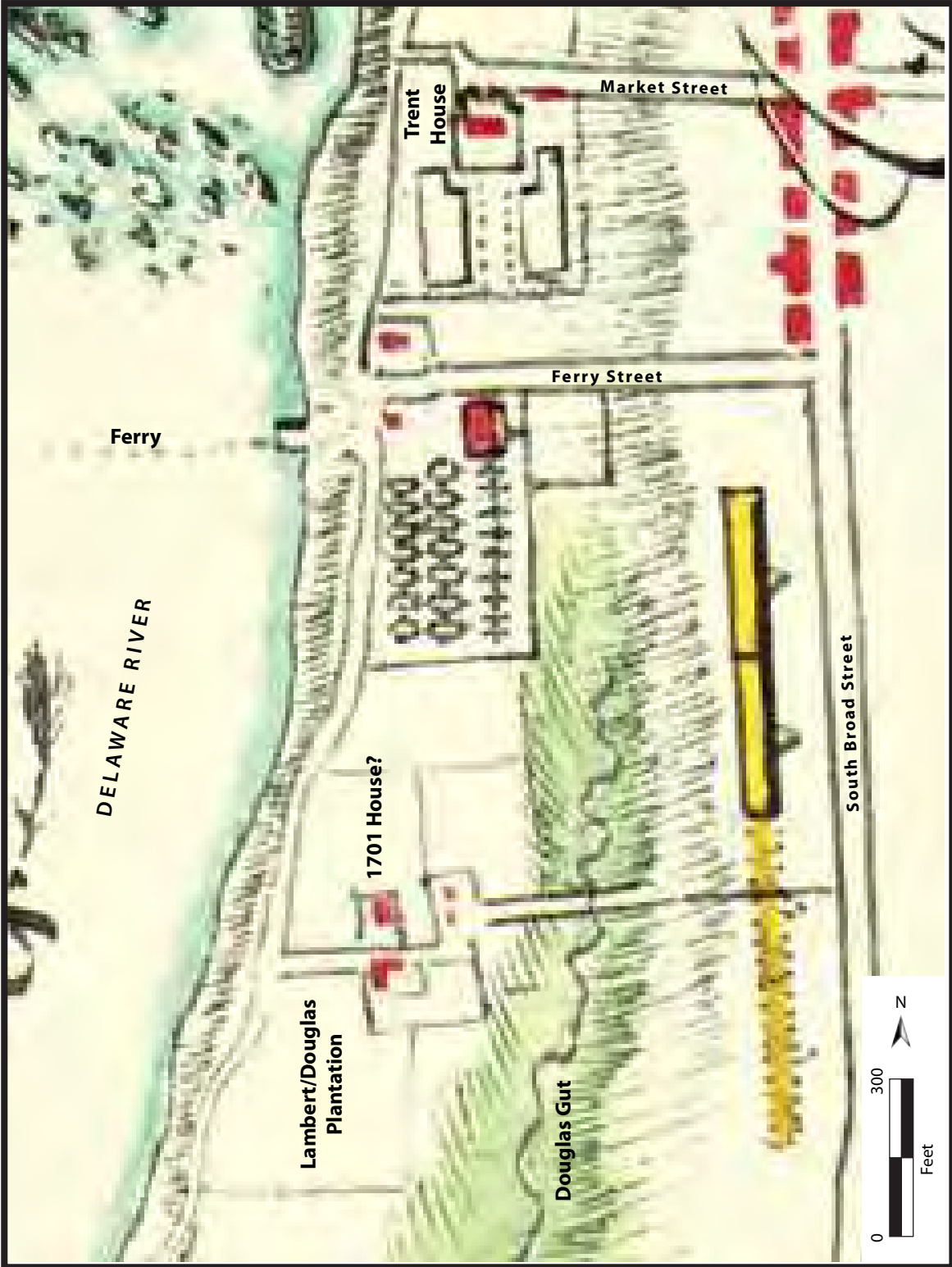


Figure 5.1. Berthier, L-A. 25a Camp à Trenton. 1781. Annotated Enlargement. Scale 1 inch: \*\* feet (approximately).



The Lambert/Douglas property was evidently reached by a road or lane leading west from South Broad Street that crossed the clearly delineated Douglas Gut, opening into a yard occupied by two small outbuildings. The lane exits the yard at its southwest corner, running west between two larger buildings, the southern one L-shaped in plan and the northern one rectangular. Both of these buildings are set within fenced enclosures, which perhaps defined gardens. The lane continues west as far as the riverbank, where it meets a road running along the Delaware River shoreline between the foot of Ferry Street and Lamberton. Rectilinear field enclosures lie north and south of the buildings. To the north, the French artillery park can be seen on the ferry tract, and to the north of that, lies the William Trent House with its formal gardens and allee of trees extending south toward Ferry Street. The French infantry encampments of September 1 and 2, 1781 and September 3-7, 1782 are shown to the east of Douglas Gut on the west side of the road to Bordentown and Burlington (modern South Broad Street) (Rice and Brown 1972, Volume II:150).

### 3. "Gentleman's Seat"

Even before the American Revolution the Lambert/Douglas property was being seen as more than simply a farm and was being specifically identified as a residence suitable for a "gentleman," which at this time may be assumed to mean a person able to derive his income from property and not from his own labor. Its naming as "Spring Brook Farm" in the 1780s may perhaps suggest the influence of Romantic attitudes to rural life and landscapes characteristic of the late 18th and early 19th centuries. From being merely a source of wealth and social standing, improved rural property was now increasingly being viewed as a source of aesthetic pleasure and personal refreshment (Conzen 1990; Gidley and Lawson-Peebles 1990). The outbreaks of yellow fever in Philadelphia in the 1790s gave a practical aspect to this search for attractive and

uncrowded properties along the breezy river, and it is likely that this was a motivation for locating along this section of the Delaware River for some of the owners of this and other properties in the late 1700s and early decades of the 19th century.

It is clear, however, that both Nicholas Fresneye and the papal consul, John B. Sartori, in particular, were something more than landed gentlemen. Their pasta making and, in Sartori's case, also calico printing activities both took place on the former Lambert/Douglas property, probably not very far from the house that came to be known as Rosey Hill. These appear to have been relatively small, purely manual operations, implemented without water or steam-powered machinery. Nevertheless their presence close to the house suggests a somewhat different attitude to the spatial separation of work and domestic life than might be expected from the full-blown gentleman farmer. In this context, it is notable also that Daniel W. Coxe established a large, water-powered textile mill very close to his Bloomsbury mansion (the William Trent House) in 1814-15, just a short distance upstream from Rosey Hill. Characterization of these properties as "country seats" may therefore give a misleading impression.

This apparent contradiction between commercial endeavor and gentility highlights the lack of detailed information on this period of Trenton's landscape history and on the properties that gave expression to it. These included Bloomsbury (the William Trent House), Rosey Hill, the Hargous property on North Clinton Avenue (see above, Chapter 3.H), the Dickinson and Cadwalader family estates upriver on River Road, and Joseph Bonaparte's Point Breeze estate downriver in Bordentown.

#### 4. The Landscape of Industry

As detailed in Chapter 3.I, this at least somewhat genteel landscape was effectively swept away in the 1830s, and more particularly in the 1840s and 1850s, by the construction, first, of the raceway system later known as the Trenton Water Power and, then, of the rolling mill complex of the Trenton Iron Company. The waterpower project brought a head of water into the area below Federal Street and surrounded Rosey Hill on all sides except the north, cutting it off from the riverbank. After a decade or so during which a cluster of textile mills dominated the landscape and Rosey Hill may have stood somewhat neglected, the area came to be dominated by the works of the Trenton Iron Company (later the New Jersey Steel and Iron Company).

Rosey Hill retained something of its mansion attributes during the industrial era, particularly in the landscaping and plantings on its northern side facing Federal Street, when it served as a latter-day “iron-master’s” residence, occupied chiefly by Charles Hewitt, younger brother of Abram S. Hewitt and the superintendent of the ironworks. By 1870, however, the building had ceased to be a residence and became the offices of the New Jersey Steel and Iron Company. In 1853 a railroad spur was built from the Camden and Amboy Railroad (which paralleled the Delaware and Raritan Canal), bringing a second major landscape component of the Industrial Revolution to the terrace by the Delaware. To the south and west of Rosey Hill, frequently enlarged and rebuilt industrial structures were erected on fill placed in the river, radically altering the configuration of the waterfront. In these buildings, major developments in iron and steel technology and mass production – notably the perfection of rail iron and the structural I-beam, and the successful use of the open-hearth method of steel manufacture – were achieved through the efforts of Peter and Edward Cooper, Abram and Charles Hewitt and a labor force, that at its peak, amounted to several hundred workers.

The street grid that had been strongly established north of Federal Street and east of Lamberton Street by 1849 was now extended onto the former Lambert/Douglas property in a less regular fashion, constrained by the presence of the water power. The final development of this grid was largely complete by the 1870s, but in contrast to the more purely residential areas to the north and east, the vicinity of Rosey Hill and the iron and steel works emerged as an irregular mixture of commercial, industrial and residential buildings portrayed to advantage in a fine sequence of late 19th and early 20th-century historic maps (see above, Figures 3.34-3.42) and aerial photographs taken of the area *circa* 1930 (see above, Plates 3.13 and 3.14), by which time the rolling mill had metamorphosed into a sprawling industrial plant primarily engaged in bridge fabrication.

#### 5. The Landscape of Transportation and Recreation

The landscape in the early 21st century is again radically different from its predecessor. By the late 1920s, the Trenton Water Power had been filled in in this part of Trenton, removing one component of the industrial landscape that had been present for almost a century. The construction of John Fitch Way in the 1930s emphasized the growing importance of the automobile, breaking through the partially developed grid of industrial streets and housing which had developed through the 19th century. The now largely redundant network of railroad sidings and rail spurs installed in the 1850s was reconfigured to service the works of the American Bridge Company and remained as a somewhat diluted presence in the urban landscape into the 1970s.

From the mid-1970s onward, the pace of change greatly increased with the initial phases of planning for improvements to N.J. Route 29 and associated development. Virtually all of the iron and steel com-

plex had been removed by 1980, to be replaced by the Riverview Executive Park office complex in the late 1980s, supplemented by the Waterfront Stadium complex in 1994. These two recent development projects represent economic endeavors and assumptions very different from each other, and from the enterprises that preceded them. The ever-increasing dominance of the automobile is reflected in the conversion of former house lots to parking lots, the presence of the newly-reconfigured four-lane divided highway and the construction in 2001-02 of a parking deck on a portion of the original rolling mill site.

Waterfront Stadium reflects a renewed emphasis on recreation, which was an important component of the riverfront immediately south of the iron and steel works in the early 20th century following the creation of the Sixth Ward Park in 1918-19. This now-destroyed strip of riverfront park landscape has been recreated to some degree in South River Walk Park that was opened in 2004 on top of the new tunnel that carries N.J. Route 29 below the bluff in Lambertton and across the site of its 18th-century port. Associated with this park is the planned development of a bikeway which will eventually extend along the left bank of the Delaware from Mahlon Stacy Park (north of the water filtration plant) to Duck Island and the mouth of Crosswicks Creek, helping to re-connect the city to the river frontage which was so important in its earlier history.

As with the previous landscapes, this most recent transformation is unlikely to remove all traces of its predecessors. Indeed, a portion of the new N.J. Route 29 alignment was adjusted in order to preserve a piece of prehistoric landscape south of Lexington Street that contains Native American burials. Most of the foundation of the Rosey Hill Mansion also still survives underground beneath a parking lot to the west of the realigned highway's southbound lanes. The stoneware kiln of William Richards, discussed at

length in Volume III of this report series, is encased in sand beneath the median wall at the upstream end of the N.J. Route 29 tunnel.

## **B. THE LAMBERT/DOUGLAS HOUSE: THE STRUCTURE, AFFINITIES AND EVOLUTION OF AN EARLY 18TH-CENTURY VERNACULAR BUILDING**

The data recovered from the site of the Lambert/Douglas House represent a significant addition to the limited corpus of archaeologically studied early 18th-century houses in the Delaware Valley, and provide important new information on early West Jersey buildings. This is because the archaeological information and cultural materials from this house site are of outstanding quality when compared with other excavated examples. In particular, the delineation of so much of the ground plan of a house of early 18th-century date is exceptional in the archaeology of the Delaware Valley region. The most relevant comparable excavated building plan to the Lambert/Douglas House is, serendipitously, also the closest geographically and an archaeological resource studied in conjunction with the Trenton Complex highway improvements. This is the Tindall cellar foundation [28Me106] in Hamilton Township, Mercer County, New Jersey (Foss 1986:198-217; Louis Berger & Associates, Inc. 1998), which will be discussed in greater detail below.

A relatively common situation in the archaeological study of historic house sites is the recovery of only portions, rather than entire footprints, of buildings. Such sites may provide important stratigraphic and artifactual data, but they tend to be of limited utility for the broader discussion of architectural form and building size that is the focus of this section of this chapter. Examples of partial recovery of this type are the earliest phase of the Hancock House [28Bu264] in Florence Township, Burlington County, New Jersey (Hunter Research, Inc. 1997c, Volume 2:13-47), Site

28Ca50 in Gloucester City, Camden County, New Jersey (MAAR Associates, Inc. 1985), the first house on the Hardenbrook/Ducykinck/Van Ranst property [28Mi89] at Raritan Landing (URS Corporation 2008) and the Old Swedes Parsonage building in Wilmington, New Castle County, Delaware (Louis Berger & Associates, Inc. 1990). As detailed in Chapter 4, excavations on the site of the Lambert/Douglas House were successful, not only in exposing the entire basement area and its immediate surroundings, but also in identifying many of the main elements of the building's structure and their changes through time. In the paragraphs that follow, the house will be placed within the cultural context of 18th-century building in West Jersey and somewhat beyond.

Fortunately, some buildings of the late 17th and early 18th centuries have also survived as standing structures in West Jersey and the Delaware Valley, and several of these have been studied in some detail by architectural historians and historians. The Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) also recorded many buildings in the 1930s that have since been demolished, and their documentation is an invaluable research tool. Architectural and historical studies undertaken in the region (e.g., Ashton 1976; Riesenweber 1984; Lanier and Herman 1997) made extensive use of HABS material, applying to it the insights and techniques of pioneers of vernacular architecture and folk culture analysis such as Henry Glassie (1975) and Abbott Lowell Cummings (1979).

The Lambert/Douglas House provides an opportunity to integrate archaeological and architectural data sets to develop an understanding of this particular building and its meaning within the social and cultural setting of the Trenton area, West Jersey and the Delaware Valley. Despite some limitations to the data resulting from the building's robbing and demolition in the late 18th century, and uncertainty about the hypothesized wing adjoining on the west, a great deal can still be deduced about this structure from dialog between the

evidence from the site itself and the documentary and architectural evidence from roughly contemporary buildings in the region.

## 1. A Summary of the Evidence and Its Limitations

This summary of the data relating to the house is derived from the much fuller presentation of the information given in Chapters 3 and 4 above, to which the reader is referred. As set forth in these earlier chapters, the historical and archaeological data relating to this building are deficient in many respects. The building is not specifically referred to in any identified documents, although its existence may be inferred. It is depicted on only a pair of French military maps, dating from the late summer of 1781. The archaeological remains of the house represent only a small percentage of what once existed at the site in material culture terms. The basement floors are the best-preserved component, providing a clear stratigraphic sequence through the 18th century. The stone walls of the basement have been extensively robbed. A kitchen wing is thought to have adjoined the west side of the cellared main section of the house, but virtually all trace of this building element had been removed since it likely had only a crawlspace. Evidence for the superstructure is available only in the form of artifacts found in the demolition deposit within the basement, and from the data for size and proportion encoded in the basement foundations. The reconstruction attempted in this section must be viewed in the light of these limitations.

The date of construction of the house is derived from archaeological and, to a much lesser extent, documentary evidence. The series of window leads dated to 1701 (Plate 4.74) provide a convincing *terminus post quem* for the construction of the building. Studies of early window glass and windows (e.g., Davies 1973; Wilson 1976; Cummings 1979:155) indicate that these leads could either have been imported directly

from England as part of completed panels of glass quarries, or have been produced more locally (perhaps in Philadelphia) using milling machines brought to the colonies. In the former case, the actual inclusion of these leaded casement windows into the house might have taken place at a later date than if they had been assembled locally, but it is reasonable to suppose that, in neither case, would the date of installation be more than a couple of years after 1701.

The documentary evidence is less helpful. In the early 1700s, the land on which the house was situated was part of a large estate inherited in 1694 by John Lambert, Jr. and Thomas Lambert II from their father, Thomas Lambert I. The main Lambert house lay elsewhere on the property. It is possible that the Lambert/Douglas House lies on the part of the estate that fell to John Lambert, but which was later acquired by Thomas Lambert II.

Whatever the precise date of the building, those initiating its construction were English Quakers from the north of England. While a diversity of early buildings at the Falls of the Delaware is discernible in the documentary record (Toothman 1977:188), the overwhelmingly northern English Quaker character of the settlers is not in question (Fischer 1989:419-604). Given the Quaker propensity for maintaining cultural boundaries with non-Quakers, and the known practice of employing Quaker craftsmen for Quaker buildings (Tvaryanas 1993), this house, at this time, can be confidently described as a “Quaker” structure, and possibly even one with northern English characteristics.

The structural changes that took place during the life of the building are difficult to date precisely. As discussed in Chapter 4, these consisted of additions and modifications to the western portion of the basement partition wall, blocking of a postulated interior entry in the western wall of the house, abandonment of the hypothesized cold storage functions of the northern part of the basement, and an intensification of the use

of the basement’s larger southern section. The floor level that accumulated after these changes [Context 38] produced a mean ceramic date of 1777 and contained pearlware, indicative of a post-Revolutionary War-era date. Context 43, onto which these alterations were made, contained some creamware, but no pearlware, indicating that it probably went out of use in the 1760s or 1770s.

A more specific time and context for these changes may be provided by the documentary record, although certainty is impossible. As discussed in Chapter 3, the French maps of 1781 produced by Louis-Alexandre Berthier for Rochambeau’s army (Figures 3.16, 3.17 and 5.1) show two main buildings at the core of the Lambert/Douglas plantation, which around this time became known as “Spring Brook Farm.” Their spatial relationship resembles that of the Lambert/Douglas House and the Rosey Hill Mansion (or the latter’s immediate predecessor on the same site), and it is suggested that both buildings were standing at this date. The changes observed in the Lambert/Douglas foundation can plausibly be related to the construction of the Rosey Hill Mansion (or its predecessor), the transfer of some functions to the new house, and a change in use and status for the old Lambert/Douglas dwelling. If this argument is valid, then the date of construction of Rosey Hill, which may have occurred in the 1770s, when the property was held by Daniel Coxe V, might also date the alterations. There is a strong possibility, based on Daniel Coxe V’s post-war claims for compensation for property damage and loss of income, that the two houses were both in existence prior to 1776 (see above, Chapter 3).

The date of demolition of the Lambert/Douglas House is also difficult to determine. The damage claims of Loyalist Daniel Coxe V, filed in 1784 and 1789, would seem to suggest that the Douglas Farm was burnt, and if not entirely destroyed, certainly severely damaged in December of 1776 in the lead-up to the first Battle of Trenton (see above, Chapter 3). The mean

ceramic date for the main infilling episode is 1775, which conforms well with this scenario, but the presence of a *Nova Caesarea* coin of 1787 would seem to imply that the fill could not have been placed here before this date, although it could have been deposited some time afterwards. The latest datable ceramics from this context are hand-painted pearlware sherds consistent with the date of the coin. On historical and archaeological grounds therefore, it seems likely that the building may have been damaged in 1776 and then pulled down and filled in later in the 1780s.

## 2. The Structure

### a. Size

The basement of the Lambert/Douglas House had a rectangular footprint with interior dimensions of approximately 25 feet north-south by 22 feet east-west (Figure 5.2). The cellar walls were roughly 18 inches wide, giving overall exterior dimensions of about 29 by 26 feet. The usable floor space within the walls would have been about 550 square feet. The size of the hypothesized wing adjoining to the west, which would probably have contained the kitchen, cannot be stated with any accuracy, although its north-south exterior dimension was most likely 29 feet or less and it could have measured up to perhaps 24 feet east-west. The first question to consider about these overall cellar dimensions is how they compare with those of cellars in other early 18th-century houses in the area and in the Delaware Valley region. Pertinent data are presented graphically in Table 5.1. Basement plans of some of these buildings are shown in Figure 5.3.

Of the documented cellars in the Trenton area, the example of the late 17th/early 18th-century Thomas Tindall house, with a cellar floor area of only 225 square feet, stands out as remarkably small, even when compared to small one-room cellared buildings

such as the Kiger house in Salem County, New Jersey (330 square feet) and the Dilworth house in Port Penn, New Castle County, Delaware (400 square feet) (Foss 1986:198-201; Lanier and Herman 1997:287; Historic American Building Survey NJ-445). It is likely that the Tindall house, as is suggested in the case of the Lambert/Douglas House, originally included an adjoining kitchen wing without a basement.

The cellar in the Ruth Beakes house, located only a short distance north of the Lambert/Douglas House on an immediately adjoining property, has about 475 square feet of floor space compared to 550 square feet within the Lambert/Douglas basement (Kalb *et al.* 1982:8). Two other Trenton-area farmhouse cellars, those in the standing Isaac Watson house and the recently excavated Robert Pearson house, have somewhat larger interior spaces of about 780 and 740 square feet respectively (Louis Berger & Associates, Inc. 1998:63). These fall short in terms of floor area when compared with the Joseph Cooper house in Camden with its cellar floor area of 1,000 square feet (Historic American Buildings Survey NJ-70). These substantial houses were all built by successful plantation owners as their main residences in the first decade of the 18th century.

Other examples of houses further afield that have basements similar in size to the Lambert/Douglas House are the Creely house in Burlington Township (500 square feet), the William Grovatt house near Rancocas (500 square feet) and the John Woolston house in Ewansville (580 square feet), all in Burlington County, New Jersey (Historic American Buildings Survey NJ-204, NJ-365 and NJ-369). The far larger William Trent house, erected in 1719, is included in Table 5.1 to emphasize the difference in scale between this Philadelphia merchant's formal mansion and these more vernacular farmhouses.

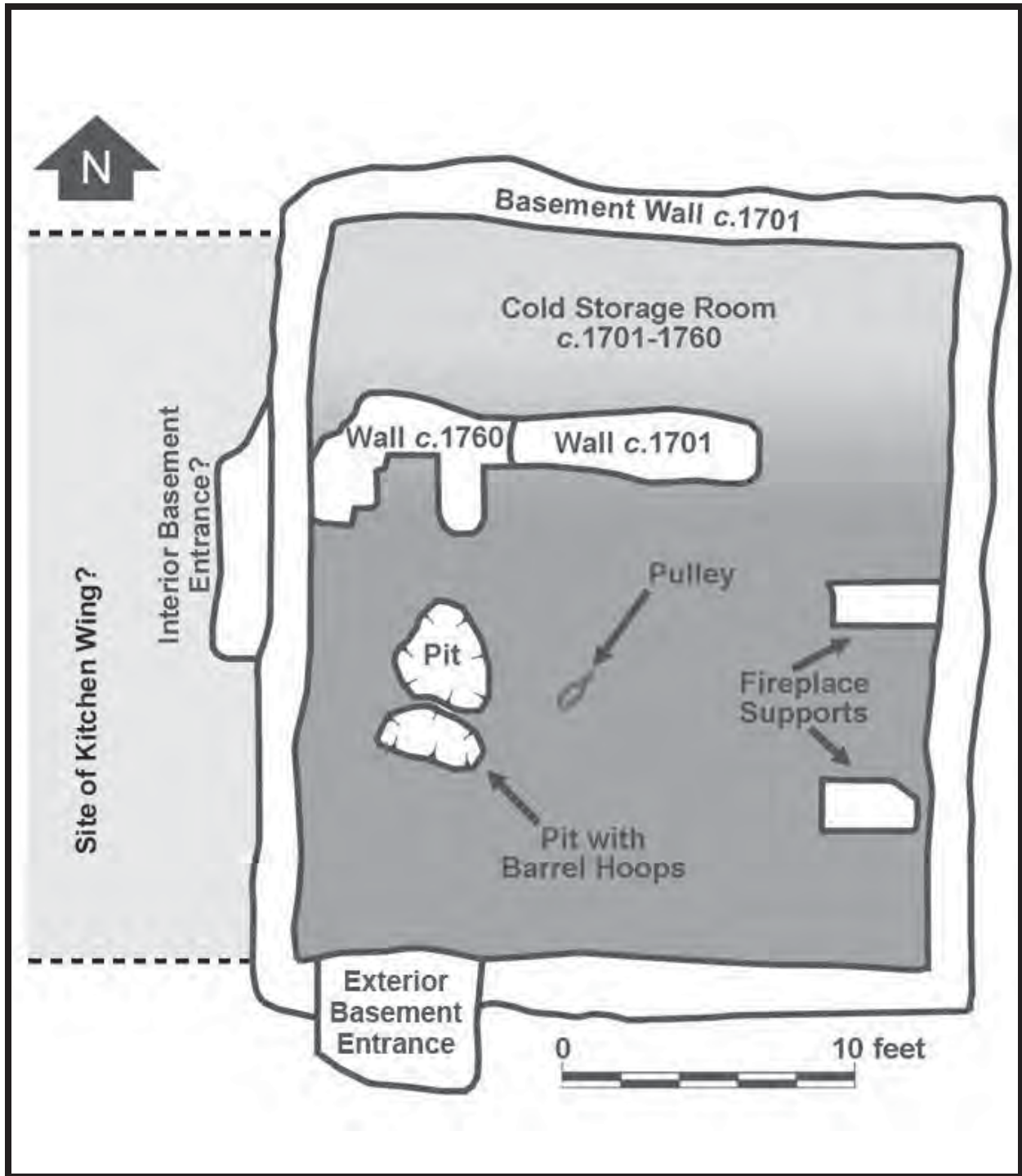
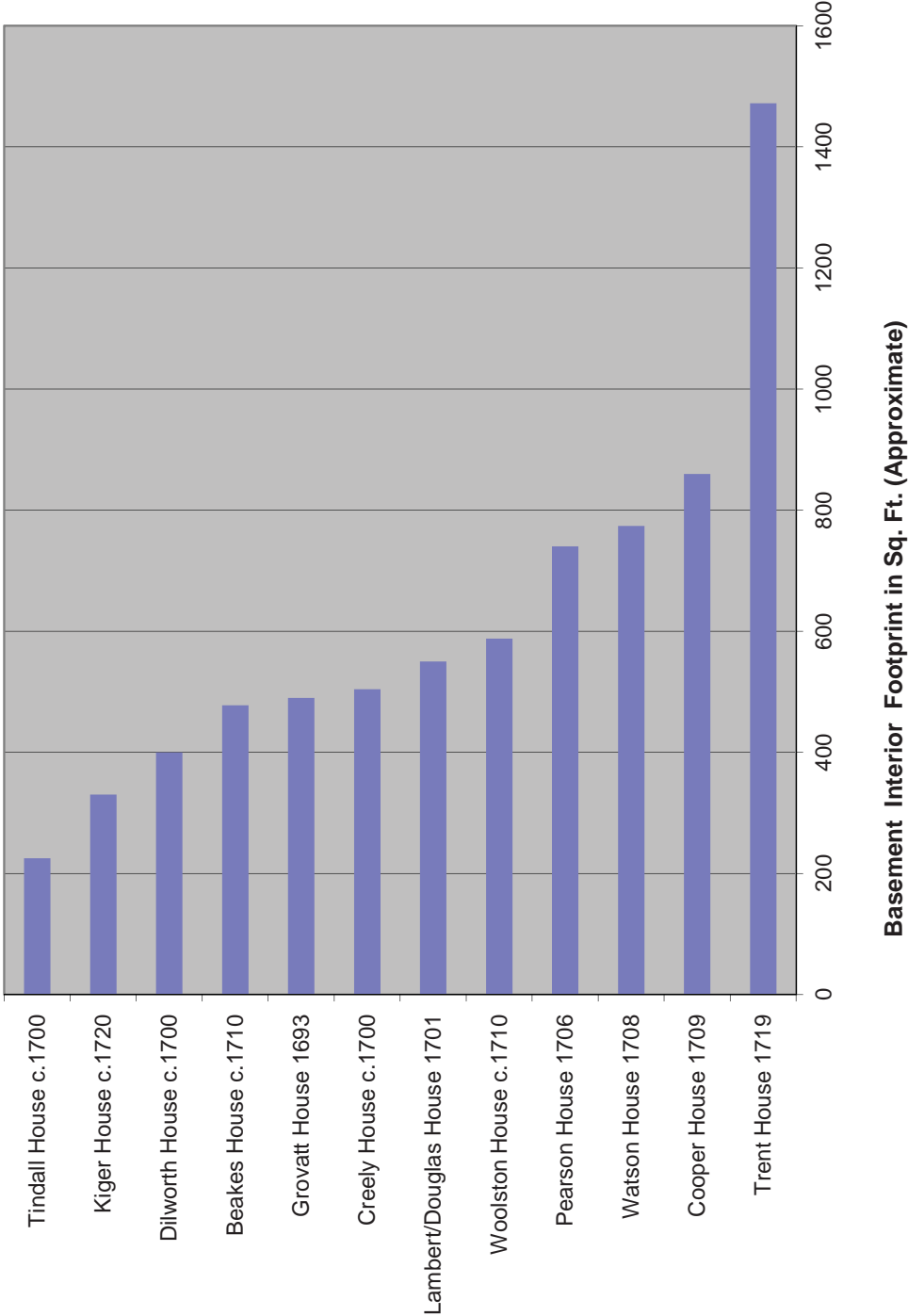


Figure 5.2. Lambert/Douglas House: Basement Plan.

Table 5.1. Size Comparison of Selected Late 17th/Early 18th-Century House Basements in the Delaware Valley.





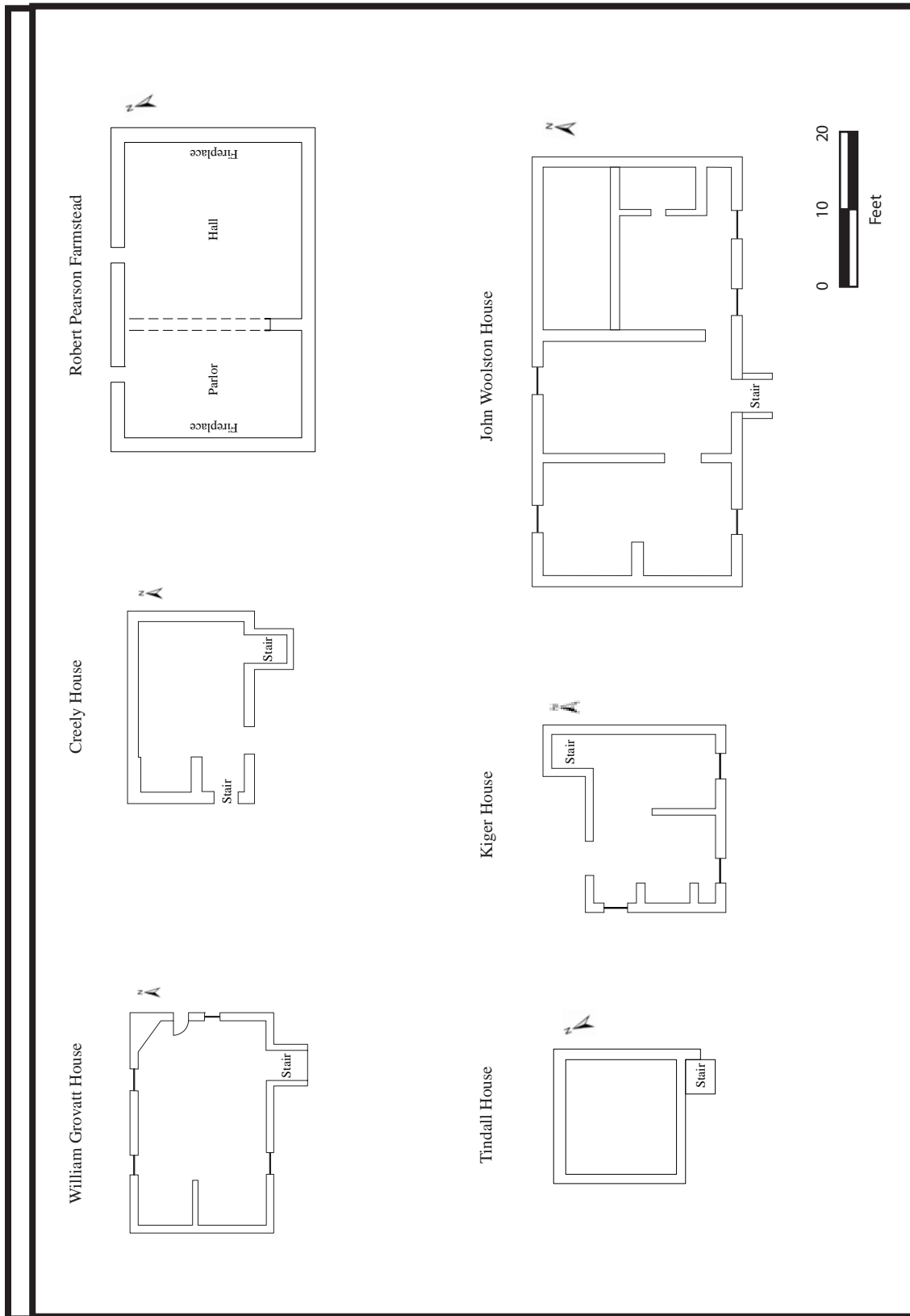


Figure 5.3. Basement Plans of Selected Late 17th/Early 18th-Century Houses in West Jersey.

Many of the early 18th-century rural farmhouses that have been archaeologically examined in the region, both with and without cellars, seem to fall within the lower part of the size range. Four excavated earthfast (post-in-ground) houses in Delaware, for example, have floor areas between 408 and 440 square feet (University of Delaware Center for Archaeological Research 1995:123-124), while the post-1703 Hancock house in Florence Township, Burlington County, New Jersey had an estimated floor area of 486 square feet (Hunter Research, Inc. 1997c).

These somewhat randomly assembled examples serve to demonstrate that the cellared section of the Lambert/Douglas House lies toward the lower end of the floor area size range evident within farmhouses in the region. Although the house is believed to have comprised two sections, one of which had only a crawl space, its cellar is considerably smaller than the cellars noted in other nearby residences, such as those of prominent contemporary landholders like Robert Pearson and Isaac Watson. This may be in part a reflection of the Lambert/Douglas House being a secondary dwelling on the original Lambert plantation.

On the basis of its cellar dimensions, the building appears to more closely resemble in size the neighboring farmhouse occupied by William and Ruth Beakes. The Beakes, who held a 200-acre property immediately north of the Lambert holdings, were a rung or two below the Pearsons, Watsons and Lamberts on the socio-economic ladder. On the other hand, it is clear that there are also other early 18th-century house cellars that are substantially smaller than the Lambert/Douglas example, which are nevertheless part of the residences of freeholder farmers in this period. Given Toothman's conclusions about the generally direct relationship between wealth and house size in the Trenton area in this period, it seems reasonable to conclude from the physical evidence, that this house

was the residence of a family of some means, although not a major landowner in the local context (Toothman 1977:54-77).

**b. Plan**

The basement foundation of the Lambert/Douglas House provides limited but useful data pertinent to establishing the plan of the building (Figure 5.2). Of key importance are the two supporting walls for a fireplace (and chimney) along the east wall. These indicate that this wall corresponded with one of the building's gable ends, and that the front of the house therefore likely faced south, taking advantage of the sun's rays for heat in the winter, and with a view downriver. Exterior basement entrances are also typically located on the south-facing front walls of 18th-century Delaware Valley houses, as is the case here. No archaeological evidence was observed for corner fireplaces.

The fireplace supports are so placed that they are central to the space defined by the basement partition wall, the southern portions of the east and west walls, and the south wall. This strongly suggests that the basement partition wall also supported an internal partition at the first floor level, which implies at least a two-room plan on the first floor. On this basis, the basement partition wall probably also supported a summer beam, a critical component within a traditional English timber-framing system.

The basement itself was clearly divided functionally into two spaces. Archaeological evidence presented in Chapter 4 concludes that the narrower smaller space may have served a cold storage/creamery function. In the first phase of the cellar's usage this space was characterized by a series of silt bands, while the second phase stratigraphy appears to represent a sub-floor deposit. This silt banding seems to reflect a very wet, if not periodically flooded, environment. These

deposits could well be derived from the slow melting of ice in this part of the basement. This appears unlikely to be a formal ice house structure, but could well have been a cool storage area for dairy products and meats, with ice being placed on the earth floor and covered with wooding planking or a less formal arrangement of boards. In such a space, milk pans could be set into spaces in direct contact with the ice, and food could also be placed on the boards or shelves above, or hung from the ceiling.

Above-ground dairy-related rooms are recorded in local inventories, for instance in Thomas Tindall's inventory of 1714 in Nottingham Township (Louis Berger & Associates, Inc. 1998:185). Such rooms for dairying are also listed in Massachusetts Bay Colony inventories, but in many cases there the actual dairying equipment was located in cellars and basements, which was unusual in England, but whose advantages in the more severe American climate led to their rapid adoption. The rooms themselves, however they were described in dairying terms in the inventories, seem often to have been used for other purposes (Cummings 1979:28-31).

The larger space within the cellar, partially cobbled in the first phase, was evidently used for other purposes. Phytolith analysis by Paleo Research Labs suggests that cereal grains were present in the southern portion of the building, but less common to the north (Volume V, Appendix H of this report series). In the final phase, perhaps from about 1770 onwards, the southern side of the partition wall was modified and extended west to the west wall for unknown purposes. It may have included heavy-duty shelving or possibly a secondary chimney. The flooring of the two spaces was similar, but there was much more intensive use of the southern section.

The first-floor room arrangements above the cellar are much less certain, but by setting the archaeological evidence from the house against the ground plans of

surviving buildings, the number of possibilities can at least be narrowed considerably. A point to re-emphasize here is the somewhat unusual proportions of the cellared section of the house, in which the gable end walls are longer than the front and back walls. This would have given this section of the house a somewhat high and narrow appearance when viewed from the front, as compared to the more common arrangement in which the front and back walls are considerably longer than the gable end walls (the presence of a kitchen wing to the west, however, would have concealed this appearance somewhat). These proportions are more commonly seen in urban houses than rural ones, ultimately reflecting the typically narrow lots available in towns.

With regard to the plan of the first floor of the Lambert/Douglas House it is probable that an east-west partition was placed atop the basement wall partition, dividing the first floor into two main rooms, perhaps a hall or chief living room in the front with a parlor to the rear. The larger front room was clearly heated; no evidence was found for a fireplace in the rear room. Because of the exterior basement entry in the southwest corner and the fireplace along the east wall in the front room, it is thought that the main front door into this section of the house would have been located in the center of the south wall. A corresponding outside door may have existed in the north wall and a door in the center of the interior partition wall would have allowed for a much-needed thru-draft in the summer. It is also possible that the first-floor plan in this section of the house could have been divided into three or even four rooms, although its relatively small size perhaps makes this unlikely.

It is likewise difficult to assess, purely on the basis of the archaeological evidence, whether the building had a full second floor, although comparison of the basement and ground floor plans (and floor area) with other houses would suggest that it probably did. Of the early houses examined here, the Creely house, a

one-and-half story frame building, has a gambrel roof with dormers, but several of the frame dwellings with hall/parlor plans, e.g., the William Grovatt and John Woolston houses, have two stories. Stone and brick houses, like the Isaac Watson house, are often two full stories in height. If the cellared section of the Lambert/Douglas House was indeed two stories high, the likely location for a stair, again by analogy, would most likely be along either the east or west walls.

An important factor in establishing the height of the Lambert/Douglas House is the probable existence of a kitchen wing attached to the western side of the house. A wing of this sort cannot readily be attached to a single-story house because its roof must be connected to a continuous length of gable wall at or below the eaves line. On a single-story house it is not possible to do this and obtain any usable height in the adjoining wing. If the existence of a kitchen wing is accepted, then it may also be concluded that the building probably had two full stories, although a gambrel arrangement is also possible with a slightly narrower lean-to.

With regard to the Lambert/Douglas House's kitchen, there is no indication that the basement was ever used for cooking, as there was no sign of a kitchen hearth between the chimney supports. In the early 1700s it is unlikely that the hall or main room in a house of this size would also have been used for cooking. In Salem County, New Jersey, for example, almost half of the less wealthy properties (valued at between £95 and £250) had either detached kitchens or kitchen rooms clearly separate from the hall or main room, while the proportion is much higher in wealthier income brackets (Riesenweber 1984:81). No evidence was found for a detached kitchen structure in the areas excavated. The most likely location for the kitchen is in the hypothesized wing adjoining to the west of the cellar. It should be noted that traces of what may have been a second (interior) basement entry were observed midway along the western cellar wall, providing support for the hypothesized kitchen wing. It may be objected

that there is no evidence for the substantial chimney stack that would be expected in a kitchen, but it is clear that the ground surface in the area to the west of the cellar had been lowered at some point, which would have effectively removed most archaeological traces of a structure with a crawl space. Indeed, it may well be that a substantial portion of the material used to fill in the basement were derived from this area.

### *c. Building Materials*

As indicated above, the evidence suggests that the above-grade structure of the building adopted an English-style timber frame, which would be consistent with the early Quaker ownership of the Lambert/Douglas Plantation. The limited quantity of masonry rubble in the basement fill and surrounding yard surfaces suggests that the building material used for the house's superstructure was neither stone nor brick. If brick and stone building materials had been salvaged and removed from the site, there would have been clear evidence in the form of quantities of dust, chips and rubble, which was not the case. There is sufficient brick on the site, however, to assume that the chimney stacks, fireplaces and hearths were composed of this material. The recovery of well over 3,000 iron nails from the basement fill [Context 25] also strongly points to the superstructure being frame, most likely clad with clapboard siding. This accords with the critical Danckaerts and Sluyter account of buildings at the falls a generation earlier (see above, Chapter 3).

### *d. Details*

It is clear from the archaeological evidence that the Lambert/Douglas House had leaded glass windows set in iron casements (Plates 4.73 and 4.74). This is of interest because sash windows were just beginning to become fashionable in the English colonies in the early 1700s (Cummings 1979:155). No shutter dogs

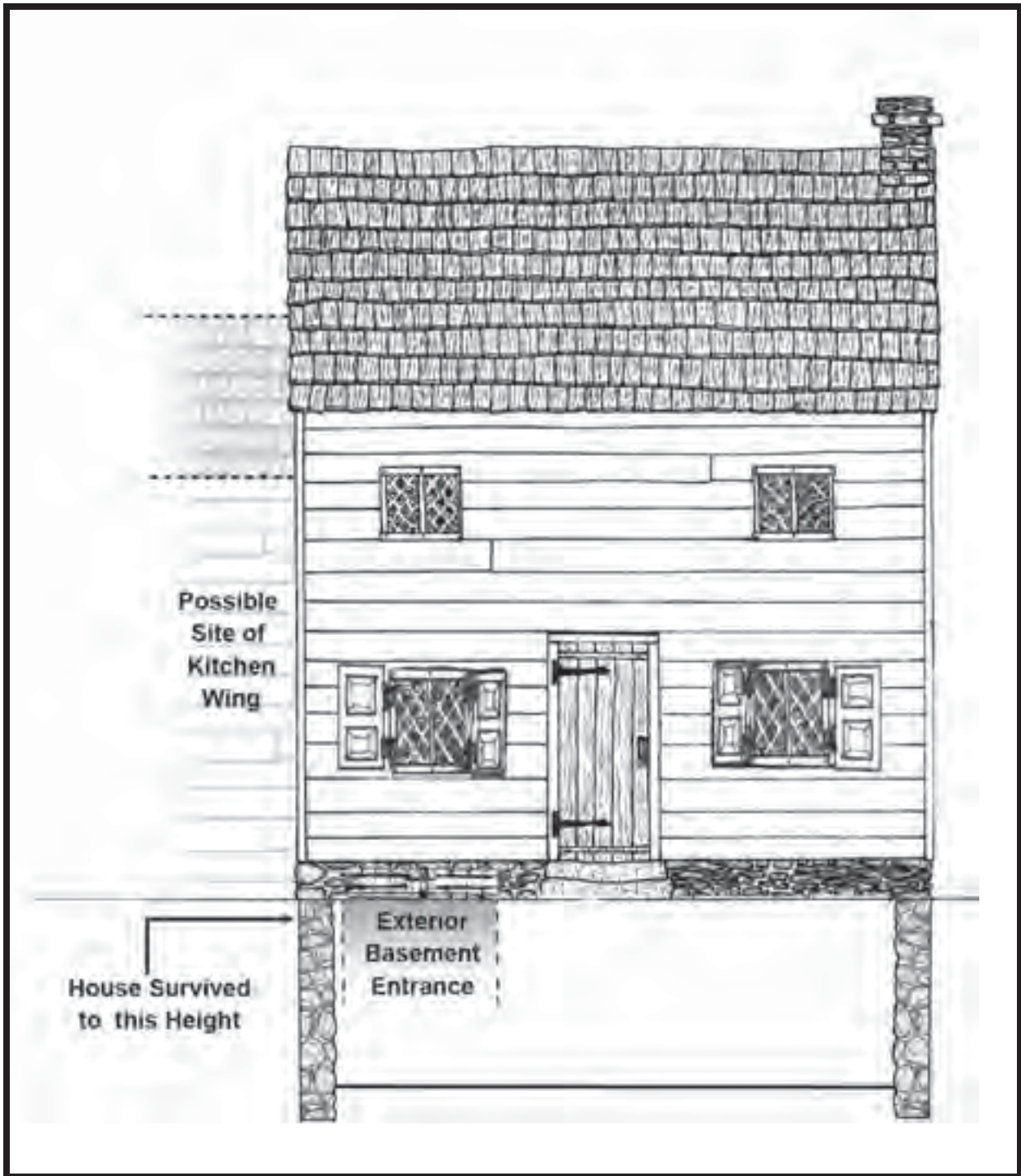


Figure 5.4. A Reconstruction Rendering of the Southern (Front) Façade of the Lambert/Douglas House.

were identified, so it cannot be determined whether the windows were shuttered. The strap hinge (Plate 4.73) is probably from an interior door, and is likely typical of fittings in the house as first built. Slight though these indications are, they are sufficient to suggest that the building had a “post-medieval” quality very different from the Georgian aesthetic which began to replace it in the middle years of the 18th century.

Interior wall and ceiling treatments are unknown. The original location of the plaster/whitewashed mortar fragments found in some quantity in the basement fill is unknown, but the absence of horsehair and lath impressions indicate that this was not part of a ceiling treatment. It may in fact be material that was applied to the basement walls. In a rural farmhouse of this date and social class, the interior walls would most likely have been sheathed with vertical boards (Cummings 1979:169).

The fireplace in the hall or main room (the only fireplace for which there is clear evidence) was equipped with square fireplace bricks, and may have had a Delft tile surround of the type still present, for example, in several rooms at the Cornelius Low House, built *circa* 1740, at Raritan Landing, Piscataway Township, Middlesex County (Historic American Buildings Survey NJ-360). The locks for cupboards or chests imply a need for security and the presence of valuables in the house. The delicate drawer pull of *circa* 1720-50 (Plate 4.65), furniture tacks and book clasps all provide some insight into the material circumstances of the house.

#### *e. Reconstruction*

Figure 5.4 presents a hypothetical southern elevation of the cellared section of the Lambert/Douglas House. This reconstruction is based on the foregoing discussion and assumes this portion of the building to have

been frame-built and two stories in height. No attempt is made to depict the adjoining kitchen wing, which was probably also timber-framed and may have been one-and-a-half or two stories high, but was probably not as tall as the cellared section.

The intention here is to present a plausible reconstruction of the south elevation of this house as it might have appeared soon after it was completed. The exercise is considered worthwhile since it can stimulate ideas which themselves may lead to more accurate reconstructions in the future. It is also a graphic example of the way in which different data sets may be combined to gain a fuller picture of the past. It should be admitted that a one or one-and-a-half-story house, or a gambrel-roofed building, are quite possible, but on the basis of the analogies cited above, a full two-story configuration is preferred. It should be noted, nevertheless, that the Nathan Beakes house in Trenton was a one-and-a-half-story, gambrel-roofed structure possibly of similar size to the Lambert/Douglas House (Toothman 1977:201).

### **C. THE ROSEY HILL MANSION: ARCHITECTURE AND DEVELOPMENT**

The Rosey Hill Mansion remains something of an enigma. In the mid- to late 1970s, just prior to its demolition, the building’s historical significance was under-appreciated (Kalb 1980). The structure had admittedly lost much of its architectural integrity by this time, but the archaeological resources around it were considered eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places in the opinion of the State Historic Preservation Officer of New Jersey Heritage (as a result of initial cultural resource studies carried out for the planned improvements to N.J. Route 29). However, no final determination of National Register eligibility had been made.

With the benefit of hindsight, one can see that the importance of this property is now much better understood than a quarter century ago, and even during the planning and early stages of the work being reported on here. The factors leading to this conclusion are: 1). the firm association of the property with John B. Sartori and his role in the diplomatic and religious history of the Roman Catholic church in the United States; 2). the place of Rosey Hill (and the preceding Lambert/Douglas Plantation) in the federal-era riverside landscape of country estates on the Delaware, with their exotic and foreign-born residents; 3). the extraordinary archaeological assemblage from the “Sartori pit;” 4). the role of the house as a managerial focus for industrial activity in the immediately surrounding area (in both the Fresneye/Sartori and the Trenton Iron Company/New Jersey Steel and Iron Company eras); and 5). the architecture of the house itself.

It is therefore somewhat disappointing that the historical, architectural and archaeological data for this house remain so incomplete and tantalizing. While there is every reason to accept that John B. Sartori carried out significant building at the site, it remains far from clear whether he constructed a completely new house, as his son later asserted (Meehan 1936:173; Hunter Research, Inc. 1997a:5-3), or remodeled an existing dwelling, as the historical, architectural and archaeological data hint, but do not conclusively prove.

### 1. The Documentary Sources

As discussed in Chapter 3, there is some evidence to suggest that the Lambert/Douglas Plantation was being viewed as more than just a farm even before the American Revolution. In 1768, the property was “fit for any gentleman’s seat” and, in 1770, there were evidently “two good dwelling houses and a stable” in

this vicinity. The latter reference raises the possibility that the second dwelling house was Rosey Hill or its predecessor on the same site.

There are historical reasons for concluding that, if there was a house at the Rosey Hill location by the 1770s, it was not the 50 by 40-foot basement foundation documented in the current investigations and earlier surveys. Such a building would have had a ground floor area of about 1,600 square feet, larger even than the William Trent House. Such a building would surely have been remarkable for Trenton at this time, and can be reasonably expected to have been described as a “mansion house.” In this regard it should be noted that Daniel Coxe V, who owned the property from 1770 until the Revolution, clearly described his house on Second (West State) Street as his “mansion house” in his petitions submitted to the British government in 1784 and 1789 (see above, Chapter 3), and did not refer to the buildings on the “Ferry Estate” and “Douglas Farm” in such terms. Moreover, Coxe, in 1776, was leasing the Douglas farm to his in-town neighbor, William Pidgeon, Esq., who may in turn have rented out the property to others actually living there. It seems very unlikely that the Douglas House or houses would have exceeded the Trent House in size.

In 1781, the French maps showing the ford on the Delaware at Trenton used the William Trent House as a reference point. It is identified as “Chateau” and clearly was a major landmark at that time (Rice and Brown 1972:Plate 71). The Charles Willson Peale portrait of Washington at Trenton, probably painted around 1780 (Plate 3.2) also seems to give prominence to the William Trent House over any major buildings located to the south of it. This view downstream from the site of the later New Jersey State House encompasses the area of the Lambert/Douglas Plantation, but does not show any especially prominent buildings there.

Taken together, these somewhat unspecific references support the view that, up until 1781 at least, there was no *large* dwelling house at the Lambert/Douglas and Rosey Hill site. The French maps of 1781 do, however, clearly show two buildings there, apparently in the same spatial relationship as the Lambert/Douglas House and the Rosey Hill Mansion (Figures 3.16, 3.17 and 5.1). If it is assumed that the northern of the two buildings shown is the Lambert/Douglas House, what is the southern building? Could this be the second of the two houses mentioned in Daniel Coxe V's claim for losses at the Douglas farm in 1776? The southerly building shown on the more detailed of the two maps of 1781 is L-shaped in plan, with a fenced enclosure attached to the eastern end of the north wing and the southern end of the west wing (Figure 3.17). The building projects into the lane that leads from Douglas Gut and the Bordentown/Burlington road (South Broad Street) towards the river. While too much should not perhaps be made of this, few other buildings are portrayed in this way on the maps, and houses in rural settings are normally shown set back from roads and lanes. This depiction might therefore be taken to mean that this was not a dwelling, but rather a barn or a stable. On the other hand, the other, smaller-scale French map of 1781 appears to show the more southerly building as a single rectangular block accessed by a lane from the road running along the riverbank (Figure 3.16).

The complex history of the property in the 1780s and 1790s has been presented in Chapter 3. During this period, the property was clearly well maintained and potentially attractive to wealthy purchasers, and by 1784 had become known as "Spring Brook Farm" (presumably a reference to Douglas Gut). In 1792 it was one of Nathan Combs' "very valuable Farms and Country Seats" in the Lamberton area which he began to advertise for sale at that time. In the period between 1794 and 1800 the value of the property also increased quite significantly, suggesting that there was "at least one very substantial building" in existence at that time

(see above, Chapter 3). Taken collectively, there is therefore some reasonably strong, if circumstantial, documentary and archaeological evidence that a new dwelling may have been erected on the property in the later 1780s or, more likely, in the early 1790s – a residence that could serve as the focus of a "country seat" (and summer refuge from the yellow fever outbreaks in Philadelphia) for the likes of the wife of the Consul General of Portugal, Frances Polyart.

One final major piece of documentary evidence relevant to the early history of the Rosey Hill Mansion is a map showing the lands of Daniel W. Coxe, Esq., dating from *circa* 1804 (Figure 3.21). On this map, a house (ascribed to Sartori) appears to have been sketched on after the map itself was completed. This could be taken to mean that Rosey Hill had not been built when the map was drawn, which would be consistent with the assertions of Sartori's son that Sartori built the house after he purchased the property. On the other hand, since the prime purpose of the map was again to show lots laid out on the Coxe property north of Ferry Street (and which did not include the Lambert/Douglas Plantation), the later addition of the Sartori residence to the map may have no bearing on the date of construction of the house. Someone using the map later may simply have added the building as a reference point, for example.

It appears, therefore, that only limited conclusions can be reached about the early history of the Rosey Hill Mansion from the documentary record. These are as follows:

1. The property was being marketed as a potential "upscale" estate as early as the late 1760s.
2. By 1770, there were two houses on the property, but it is uncertain if one of these occupied the location of the Rosey Hill Mansion.



3. Daniel Coxe V, who owned the property from 1770 until the Revolution had a “mansion house” in Trenton, but it was not at this location. This suggests that neither of the houses on the Lambert/Douglas Plantation was particularly large or imposing, a conclusion also suggested by the French military maps of 1781, the Peale view of Trenton of the same period and Daniel Coxe V’s post-war claims on the British government for damages to the Douglas farm in December 1776.

4. In the 1790s, the property was owned by people of wealth and position and being used in part, at least, as a summer seat away from the heat and health hazards of Philadelphia. The value of the property increased markedly at this time, and it seems likely that a building of some quality was standing on the site.

5. There was one house on the property during the first decade of the 19th century, probably on the site of the Rosey Hill Mansion. This house, on archaeological grounds, is judged very unlikely to be the Lambert/Douglas House.

6. The house is likely to have been re-worked and modernized, and perhaps expanded, in the late 1840s (and later in the 19th century), when it became the residence of Charles Hewitt, Superintendent of the Trenton Iron Company rolling mill (and subsequently the offices of the New Jersey Steel and Iron Company).

## 2. Architecture and Archaeology

How does the above picture, demonstrating the presence of a building on the Rosey Hill site from around 1800, and perhaps as early as 1770, match with the archaeological and architectural evidence? The archaeological evidence will be addressed first, since this may provide information on the date of construction of the possibly multi-phased stone foundation observed during field investigations in the late 1970s and late 1990s.

The evidence from the surrounding stratigraphy is less than satisfactory, since this has been considerably disturbed and truncated. Despite this, however, there is a consistent pattern of recovery of artifacts of mid-18th-century and later date around the house footprint (Hunter Research, Inc. 1997a: 5-11 to 5-20 [also see above, Chapter 4]). It is possible that this material represents sheet midden from the Lambert/Douglas House 70 feet to the north, but on balance this seems unlikely. Evidence from the Lambert/Douglas locus suggests strongly that the front of the house faced south, and the French maps of 1781 have been interpreted as showing the house as set back in a fenced yard with a lane on the south side of the yard. It seems unlikely that trash from the Lambert/Douglas House would have been thrown into its front yard and into the lane and enclosures beyond. A separate source for these artifacts, closer to where they were found, seems more probable. To this extent, the archaeological evidence around the Rosey Hill Mansion supports the hypothesis of a domestic structure being located here in the latter part of the 18th century.

The house foundation itself presents many difficulties of interpretation. The George II halfpenny of 1729-39 found deep in the fill of the builders’ trench in the Phase II work ostensibly provides a *terminus post quem* for the stone foundation (Hunter Research, Inc. 1997a:5-19). As discussed below, however, the trench fill is not necessarily contemporary with the construc-

tion of the entire foundation and, in any event, such an artifact could readily find its way into such a context if the builders were cutting through an existing occupation level, as may well have been the case.

The actual stone basement foundation itself shows clear evidence of structural complexity and is probably, though not certainly, of more than one period. The field studies of 1976 proposed a five-stage development of the building, of which only the first two, the so-called “30-foot” and “48-foot” structures occupied the footprint of the mica-schist foundation (Federal Highway Administration and New Jersey Department of Transportation 1976). This scheme will now be re-examined.

Apparently on the basis of the presence of an offset on the interior face of the north wall, and of the eastern limits of a row of hand-hewn beams (reshaped with a circular saw [Kalb 1980:11]) supporting the first floor which line up with this offset, the field investigators in 1976 postulated the existence of a primary three-by-five-bay building, 30 feet east-west and 40 feet north south, occupying the western portion of the stone basement foundation and with its front facing west (Figure 5.5). Kalb (1980:11-12) also noted the presence of hand-hewn lath, hand-wrought nails, and upright beams with an L-shaped cross-section. Such a layout might be reflected in the building footprint shown on the more detailed of the two French maps of 1781, if the east wing on that plan was an unclarified addition to the north-south structure, while the hints from Kalb’s observations could also support a pre-Revolutionary date for such a building.

Evidence from photographs of the standing building, however, does not appear to support this scheme (Plates 3.15-3.18). It is clear that the northern two bays on the west façade are of a different “build” (and, by extension, different date) from the three bays to the south, and a distinction can also be seen in the siding and exterior foundation wall, and possibly on

the interior face of the wall also. This might suggest an alternative layout of a south-facing building measuring about 50 feet east-west with five bays by perhaps 25 feet north-south with three bays deep, later extended to five bays deep. Such a house would have a floor area of about 1,000 square feet, compared to the 1,500 square feet of the William Trent House and the 550 square feet of the Lambert/Douglas House.

In both of these scenarios it is necessary to postulate the removal of some of the earlier basement walls: the east wall in the case of the “30-foot” building, and the north wall in the case of the proposed 50 by 25-foot house. Unfortunately there is very little supporting structural or archaeological evidence for either model, since the key areas of the floor in which such evidence might be found were not fully examined in any of the studies that have been undertaken at the site. The two paired chimney bases and the possible cold cellar foundation noted in the previous studies (Federal Highway Administration and New Jersey Department of Transportation 1976:181; Kalb 1980:12) do not appear to relate to either of these postulated layouts.

There is one final piece of archaeological evidence to be considered. Wherever the outside of the 50 by 40-foot foundation was examined, evidence was found of burnt posts and horizontal boards in a surrounding mass of charcoal. It is important to stress that this material was found on the north, south and west walls, both in the areas which would have been occupied by the hypothesized “30-foot” and 50 by 40-foot buildings, and around the presumed later expansion of the foundation to 50 by 40 feet (Figure 5.5). Whatever this charcoal represents, it apparently relates to a destruction episode that occurred during or after the construction of the full extent of the stone foundation.

What does this evidence mean? For the complete carbonization of these evidently structural components to a depth approaching six feet, it seems necessary to postulate an intense and long-burning fire. What

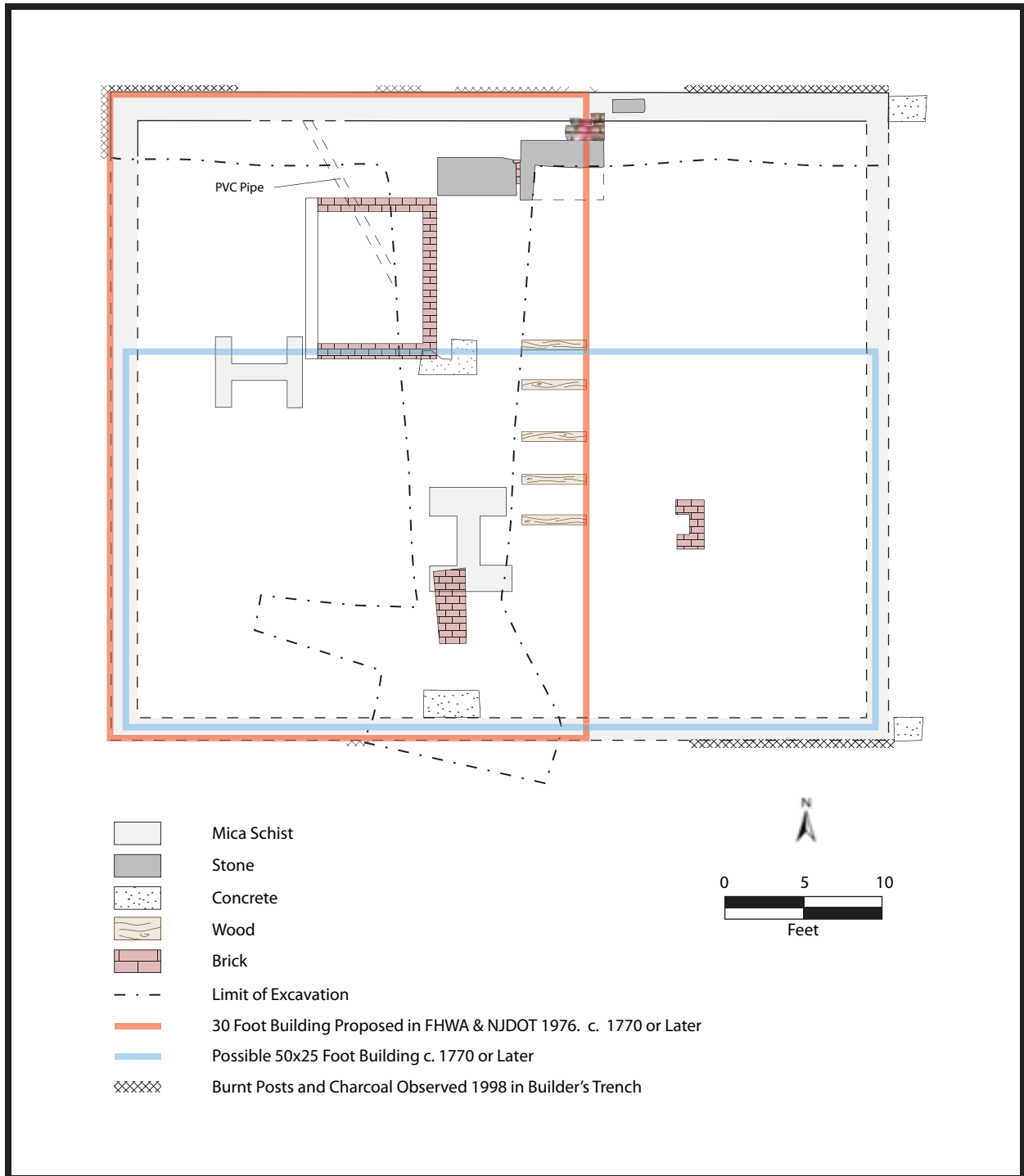


Figure 5.5. Rosey Hill Mansion: Structural Evidence in the Basement and Possible Building Sequence.

was the purpose of these timbers anyway? While no certainty appears possible, they can perhaps best be seen as some form of shoring structure in the builders' trench, and as timbers which subsequently caught fire. If these timbers had been left in place, and the trench backfilled after construction and prior to the fire, it seems very unlikely that they would have burnt so completely. It can therefore be suggested that this fire took place while the builders' trench was open.

This evidence seems to point to a phase of construction when a smaller foundation (either the "30-foot", the 50 by 25-foot, or some other configuration) was being expanded to 50 by 40 feet. For some reason, posts and boards were placed around the entire perimeter of the building, including the pre-existing sections (perhaps to gain access for waterproofing?). While this work was in process an intense fire broke out, and this destroyed the posts and boards and presumably also anything above ground level.

If this reconstruction of events is correct, the best context for them is an extensive renovation and expansion of a pre-existing building either by Giovanni Sartori after 1803 or by Charles Hewitt and the Trenton Iron Company in the late 1840s, or possibly by one of Sartori's predecessors in the 1790s. Questions remain, however. If, for example, Sartori or Hewitt was building a new five-by-five-bay mansion onto an expanded foundation, why is there evidence for a break in build between the northern two and southern three bays on the west façade? Surely the fenestration along all the walls would have been made uniform? If, on the other hand, they simply added two bays on to the rear of an existing house and extended the foundation to the north, how could the existing structure possibly have survived the fire that clearly occurred around the foundation? Why is there (so far as is known) no record of such a fire in the local newspapers or histories?

While the above interpretation of the charcoal deposit around the perimeter of the Rosey Hill Mansion foundation envisages a 19th-century burning episode, there also remains the possibility that this deposit may somehow relate to the damaging of the Douglas farm in December 1776, an event that appears to be documented in Daniel Coxe V's petitions to the British government in the 1780s (see above, Chapter 3). It seems plausible that a house partially burned in 1776 and rebuilt shortly thereafter could provide an explanation for this destruction level, although this would require a thorough re-evaluation of the various suggested sequences of the mansion's architectural development. This hypothesis deserves further testing in the field, with particular attention being given both to the configuration of the foundations and to datable artifacts within and immediately above and below the charcoal deposit. Sufficient archaeological stratigraphy probably does still survive on the site today to allow for further consideration of this alternative interpretation at some point in the future.

### 3. Conclusions

Although evidence for a house or houses on the site of the Rosey Hill Mansion before the arrival of John B. Sartori is not conclusive, there is cumulative and powerful circumstantial information in support of at least one, if not two, buildings here in the later part of the 18th century. From the late 1760s onwards there are hints in the documentary record that such a building may be present, and the recovery of artifacts from the mid-1700s onwards from around Rosey Hill provides general support for this. Somewhat enigmatic evidence from the foundation suggests that this earlier building (or buildings) was (or were) smaller than the 40 by 50-foot foundation that the mansion occupied prior to its demolition in 1980.

It seems most probable that either Sartori in the early years of the 19th century, or Charles Hewitt and the Trenton Iron Company in the late 1840s, reworked and expanded an existing foundation, and that the 40 by 50-foot foundation and the fully built-out superstructure above are related to one or other of these parties and the major transitions in land use that their ownerships brought about. Further expansion of the building to the east also occurred later in the 19th century as its office usage intensified. Indeed, it should be cautioned that the appearance of the westernmost five-by-five-bay structure in *circa* 1890-1920 historic photographs, and in photographs taken in 1975-76 and 1980, will inevitably reflect the use (and alteration) of the residence during the post-1845 industrial era by the Hewitt family, and by the corporate entities (notably the New Jersey Steel and Iron Company) that used the building as company offices. Clearly, substantial questions remain about the development of the building that occupied the Rosey Hill foundation footprint ... questions that further archaeological and archival study may yet resolve.

#### **D. ASPECTS OF THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE LAMBERT/DOUGLAS PLANTATION**

The artifacts analyzed in Chapter 4 present a rich picture of the 18th- and early 19th-century material culture of this riverside farmstead and plantation. The bulk of the material was recovered from what must be regarded as secondary deposits: the mixed yard surfaces of Context 2 and the basement fill material of Context 25. It seems likely that Context 25 is derived from deposits close to the Lambert/Douglas House and does not reflect the demolition contents of the house itself. The lack of complete items, particularly ceramic vessels, points in this direction. The fact that substantial portions of individual vessels, and even of creamware and pearlware tea sets, were recovered from this context does suggest, however, that trash middens not far from the house were incorporated

into the basement fill. There is little doubt, in any case, that the artifacts from these contexts reflect the material culture of the site and were not brought in from elsewhere. As discussed above, there is reason to believe that some of this material may derive from a house on the site of the Rosey Hill Mansion, and not from the Lambert/Douglas House. This might influence some of the conclusions about the latter house, but does not affect the overall picture of the material culture expression of the site.

The commentary that follows provides overall observations on aspects of the material culture assemblage and compares the evidence from this site with the small number of regional archaeological parallels for which full reporting is available. The reader is referred to the detailed descriptions in Chapter 4 for more details of individual items. Only a summary discussion of the "Sartori pit" assemblage is offered here, since this remarkable deposit, and its likely date of accumulation and deposition, and its associations with John B. Sartori, have been covered in detail in Chapter 4.

##### **1. Ceramics**

The discussion may usefully begin with ceramics, which remain among the most important artifacts for interpreting 18th-century archaeological sites because of their distinctive styles, well-understood chronology, and functional and cultural significance.

A broad distinction is normally made between refined wares, generally the more expensive imported ceramics intended chiefly to reflect the social sophistication of their owners and used in formal dining settings, and utilitarian wares, chiefly locally made and increasingly relegated to food preparation, storage and processing functions as the 18th century progressed. There is no firm boundary between these two categories, but porcelain, tin-enameled delft-type wares, white salt-

glazed stoneware, Whieldon wares and related types, creamware and pearlware are refined wares, while the slipped and glazed and unglazed redwares and the coarser stonewares are regarded as utilitarian wares. There is a chronological bias in this distinction, in that the finer slipped redwares and imported wares, such as Staffordshire slipped and dot wares, were in some sense “refined” in terms of their use in the early decades of the 18th century.

Tables 5.2 and 5.3 present the sherd ratios of these two broad groups of ceramic material from the main horizons at the Lambert/Douglas House site. They do not include Context 2, or the materials from the “Sartori pit” or other 19th-century contexts. In Table 5.2 the dominance of the main basement fill and deposits on the riverbank and in yard areas is apparent. As can be seen in both tables, utilitarian wares are greatly dominant in most contexts. In most of the occupation levels in the house basement, utilitarian wares represent at least 60% of the total, the percentage increasing to over 80% in the earlier floors of the southern portion of the basement and in the latest level in the northern portion. From the site as a whole, well over two-thirds of the sherds are from utilitarian wares.

Only in one case, the later 18th- and early 19th-century deposits close to the riverbank, is the ratio reversed. These contexts are thought to reflect disposal practices somewhat different from those of the rest of the site and to be related to the Sartori occupation from 1803 onwards; they do not affect the broad pattern observed here. Higher than usual percentages of refined wares are seen in the latest basement floor [Context 38] and in the upper basement fill.

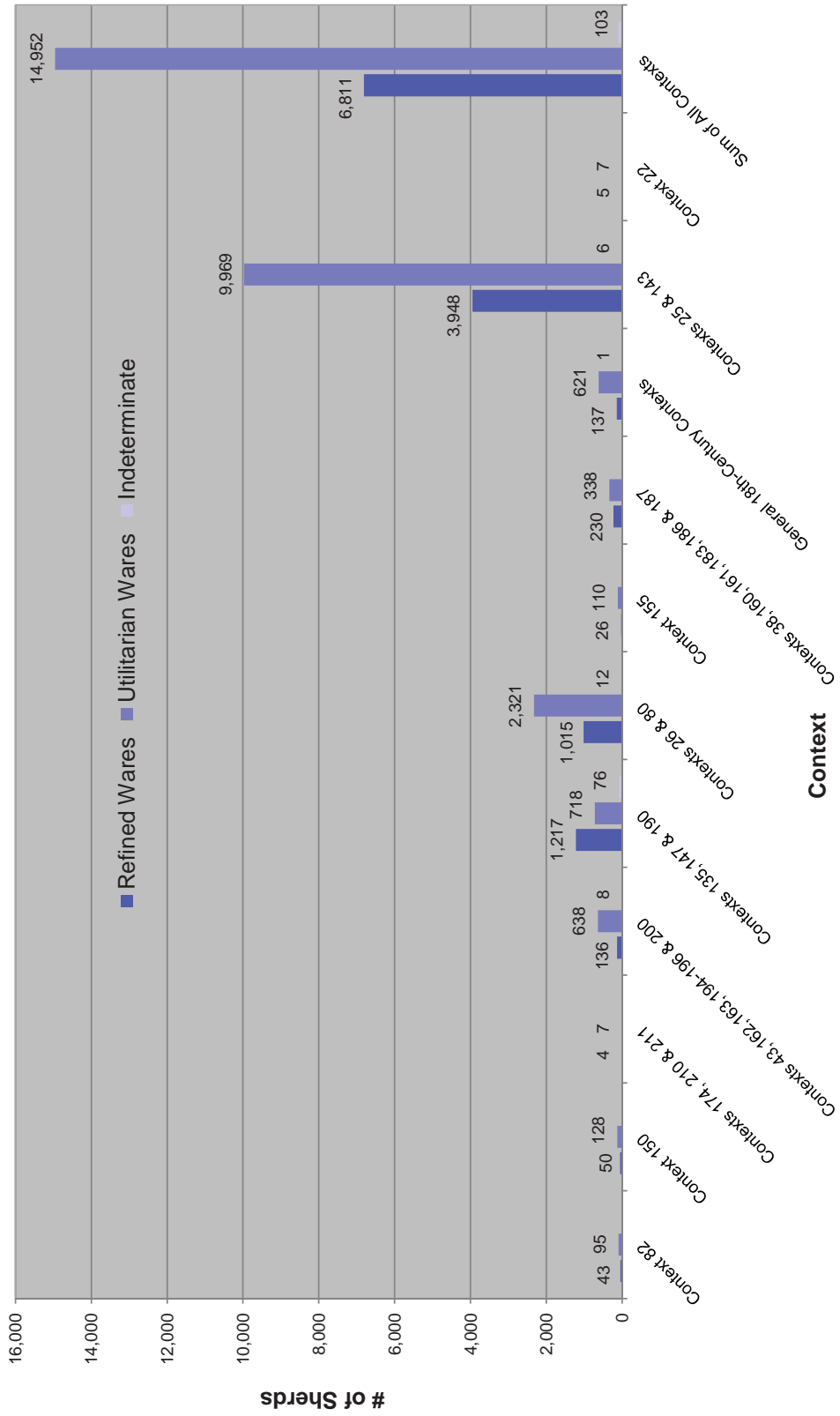
These figures can be compared with those from the small number of other Delaware Valley sites where similar archaeological data are available (Table 5.4). The Parsonage House in Wilmington, Delaware was the property of the Swedish Church in the town, and was either the residence or rental property of the

pastors sent from Sweden. The pastors were men of education, if not wealth, and the site is characterized as an “urban farmstead” in which some agricultural activities were carried on, although within the context of a growing settlement with established markets (LeeDecker *et al.* 1990: 194-195; LeeDecker 1993). The status and ownership of site 28Ca50 in Gloucester City, Camden County, is unclear, but the site is interpreted as a small farm close to the Delaware River and the ferry to Philadelphia, a location somewhat analogous to that of the Lambert/Douglas property (MAAR Associates, Inc. 1985). The Tindall house in Hamilton Township, Mercer County, was in the ownership of the Tindall and Pearson families in the early 18th century and was part of a plantation of several hundred acres, although the status of the excavated building is uncertain (Foss 1986; Louis Berger & Associates, Inc. 1998). It lay about a mile from the Delaware River. The Hancock house, located about five miles inland from Burlington along Assiscunk Creek, seems to have been a modest, probably two-room residence of about 480 square feet on a 100-acre farm property (Hunter Research, Inc. 1997c).

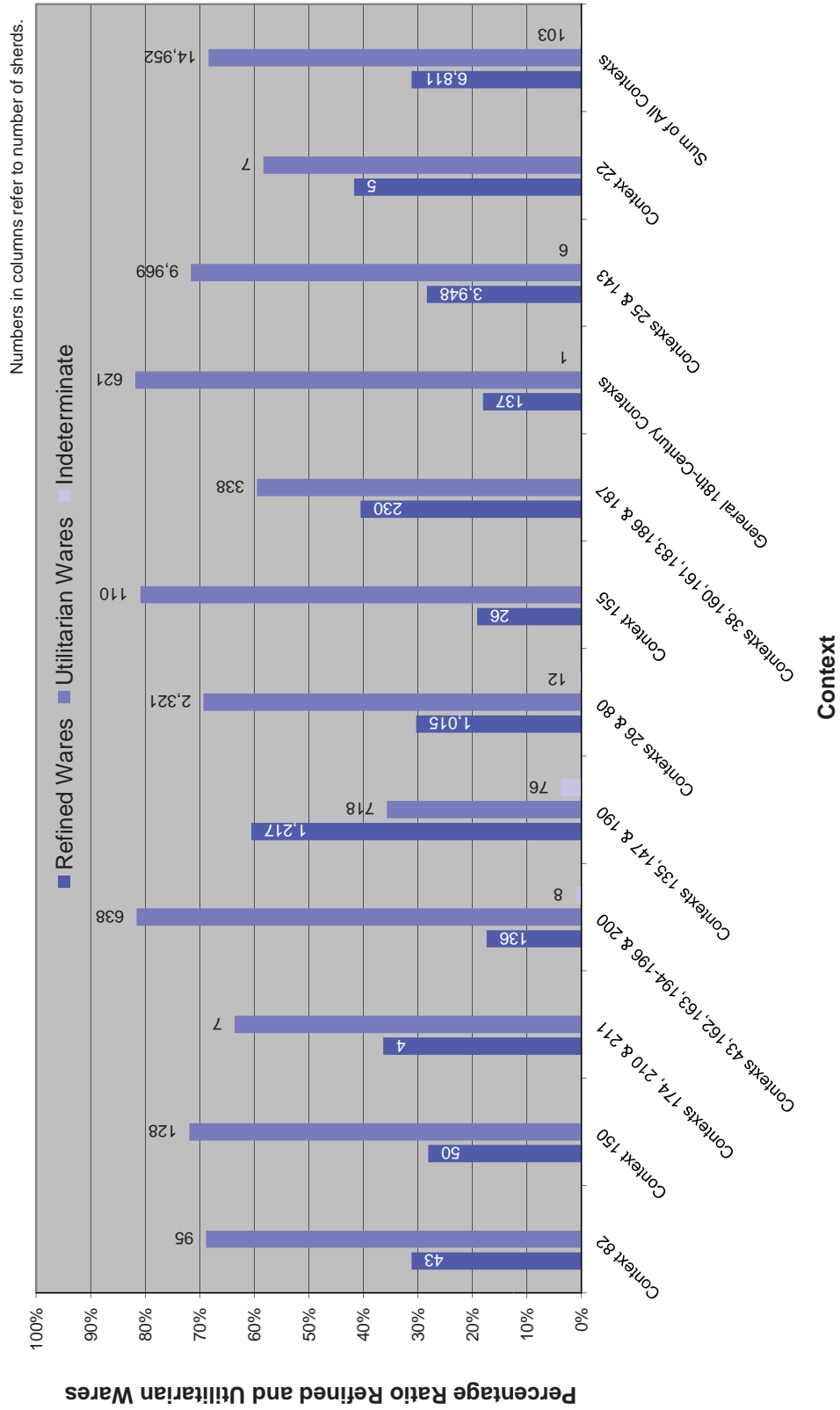
The small number of comparable sites makes firm conclusions difficult to draw. It may be noted that the three sites with the lowest percentage of utilitarian wares are all located very close to the Delaware River. The Parsonage site in Wilmington is located within a planned and developing urban settlement, while both the Gloucester City site and the Lambert/Douglas House site are in near-waterfront locations close to ferries. The other two sites are some distance from the river, and are certainly smaller buildings than the Lambert/Douglas House (no dimensions were recovered for the Wilmington and Gloucester City buildings).

At the Tindall house site, the predominance of local or regionally produced utilitarian wares was seen in the context of two models of site usage. The first model viewed the site in terms of a single occupation, and

Table 5.2. Sherd Frequencies of Refined and Utilitarian Wares from 18th-Century Contexts at the Lambert/Douglas House Site.

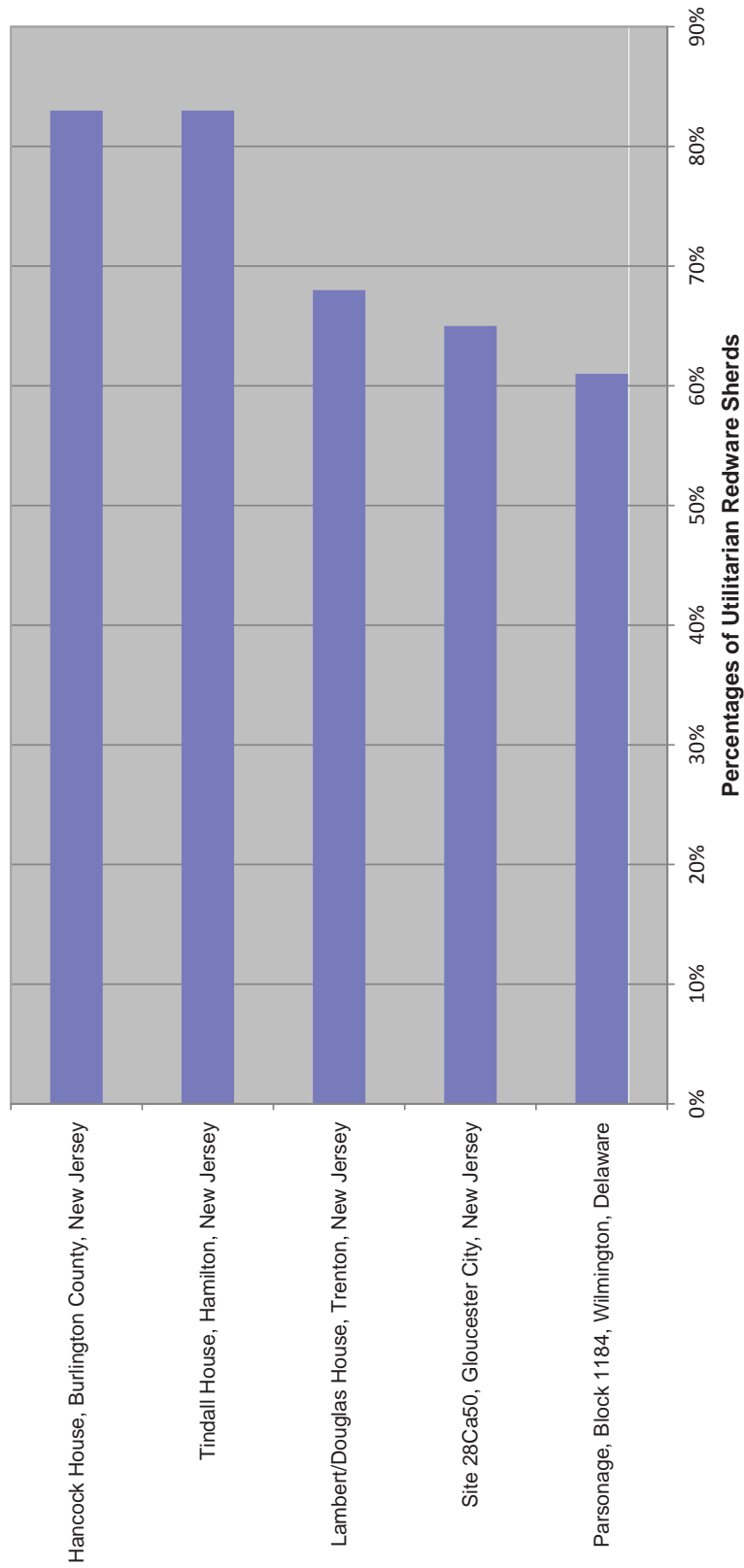


5.3. Percentage Ratios of Sherds of Refined and Utilitarian Wares from 18th-Century Contexts at the Lambert/Douglas House Site.





**Table 5.4. Percentages of Utilitarian Redware Sherds at Selected 18th-Century House Sites in the Delaware Valley.**



Sources of Data:  
 Tindall House and Parsonage from LeeDecker et al. 1990:Table 29  
 Site 28Ca50 from MAAR Associates, Inc. 1985  
 Hancock House from Hunter Research, Inc. 1997:Figure 14.1

as having little contact with the wider world. The second saw the ceramics as reflecting a secondary tenant occupancy similarly unable to acquire imported goods, but with an earlier owner occupancy more involved in the broader economy. It was not possible to decide between these two models on the basis of the recovered data.

Given the similarity of the percentage of utilitarian wares at the three sites located on the river, and the much higher percentage at the two inland sites (despite their possibly somewhat different economic status in terms of landholdings), it may be suggested that the key factor in the acquisition of refined wares was accessibility. Farms in 18th-century New Jersey were not subsistence operations, and even the Hancock farm, inland from Burlington, was undoubtedly growing corn and other products for market. Opportunities for acquiring high quality ceramics may, however, have been more limited than for people living adjacent to foci of mercantile activity like Trenton Landing, Wilmington and Gloucester.

The evaluation of the utilitarian wares themselves is a developing field of study. It remains difficult to identify specific sources for the glazed vessels of Denker's Lower Delaware red earthenware tradition (Louis Berger & Associates, Inc. 1997), and therefore to obtain information about the marketing of these wares and the different forms produced. Among the vessels at the Lambert/Douglas House may be noted the large number of milk pans, testifying to dairying activities, almost certainly being conducted in the basement of the house and almost certainly by women.

More decorative and less utilitarian redwares with slip-trailed designs clearly remained popular well into the 18th century. Sgraffito plates with tulip designs from Bucks County reflect acceptance of the products of Pennsylvania German potters by the occupants of the Lambert/Douglas House, and buff-bodied Staffordshire earthenware, some with similar

floral-like designs, also continued to be used at the site. Many of the redware vessels show signs of intensive use, and one example of a repair was identified in Context 25. Most of the pie plate vessels are oven-scorched, where food had brimmed over and burned onto the unglazed exteriors.

Turning to the refined wares, the most revealing comparison is with porcelain. This ware forms 9.1% of the Wilmington Parsonage assemblage, and 6.4% of the basement fill ceramics at the Lambert/Douglas House site. The other three sites produced negligible amounts of this material, which was undoubtedly a high-status item. The same pattern is observable with white salt-glazed stoneware (7.5% at the Wilmington Parsonage; 5.1% at the Lambert/Douglas House site; less than 3% at the Gloucester City and Tindall house sites; not identified at the Hancock house site). The presence of these materials in greater quantity at the Lambert/Douglas House site than at any of the other sites, other than the home of the Lutheran pastor in proto-urban Wilmington, can probably be taken as another indicator of the economic and social prominence of the Lambert/Douglas property. Thought-provoking though such comparisons are, the small number of studies where truly comparable data are available should be emphasized. In no way can these observations be regarded as other than tentative, and they clearly have no statistical validity.

The locally produced stoneware found on the site, believed to have been made by James Rhodes either at William Richards' pottery on the Lambert waterfront between 1774 and 1778 or at Rhodes's own pottery near the head of Ferry Street between 1778 and 1784, is of particular interest (see Volume III of this report series and Hunter Research, Inc. 2005). Sherds from these vessels were found in the later yard surfaces [Contexts 26 and 80], the riverbank midden deposits [150, 147], the latest floor in the basement [38] and the basement fill [Contexts 25 and 158]. There is no doubt that several seconds and waster

vessels of this material were present on the site, as well as one saggar fragment, which seem to indicate a close contact and familiarity with James Rhodes and his pottery operations.

Rhodes-made vessels brought to the site range from tea ware (saucers, tea bowls, tea pots) through more rugged tablewares (pitchers and tankards or mugs) to utilitarian containers (milk pans, storage jars, jugs and chamber pots). Rhodes's range of products is more fully discussed in Volume III, but what is noteworthy here is that the stoneware brought to the house was not simply storage and utility vessels, but included finer tablewares. The extent to which this reflects the economic status of the occupants of the house from the mid-1770s to the mid-1780s (a time when the house was lived in mostly by tenants renting the property from Daniel Coxe V) is unclear. Of particular interest is the inclusion of tea ware, normally made in refined imported wares. The fact that such wares were being made locally in stoneware, and presumably being sold cheaper than imported refined tea wares (and distributed as "seconds"), may imply that the price of tea was becoming more affordable to the middle and lower classes in the colonies.

## 2. Other Classes of Material

### *a. Glass Vessels*

The glass vessels (meaning both containers, such as bottles and flasks, and drinking vessels, such as tumblers and stemware) appear to be a mixture of imported and regionally produced items, with the former predominating. The development of the Wistar glassworks in southern New Jersey in the late 1730s, and of other glassmaking operations like the two Stiegel works in Elizabeth and Manheim, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, *circa* 1763-85, enabled the

house occupants to purchase at least some cheaper, locally produced glass as a substitute for higher-priced imported pieces.

### *b. Cutlery*

With the exception of one brass example, all the spoons, as represented by several handles and a bowl, were made of pewter and may have been made locally, if not on the property itself. The molded initials "E\*B" on one of the handles, possibly an item belonging to a neighbor, Edmund Beakes, may confirm local production of these items. The bone-handled fork and knife from Context 25 show that more complex and expensive cutlery was also available. The pattern and quantity of items recovered from the Lambert/Douglas House is similar to that seen at site 28Ca50 in Gloucester, the Wilmington Parsonage and the Tindall house site.

### *c. Kitchen*

The majority of the ceramics from the Lambert/Douglas House site fall within the kitchen functional group, and these have been discussed above. Other kitchen-related items include cast iron kettles or cauldrons, while there is indirect evidence for trivets in the form of scorch patterns on redware. The location of the kitchen at the Lambert/Douglas House remains uncertain, but the options have been discussed above in Section B of this chapter.

### *d. Furnishings*

Several items relating to the furnishing of the Lambert/Douglas House were found and have also been discussed in Section B of this chapter. Beds with cur-

tains, desks or tables with drawers, lockable closets and chests, and upholstered furniture are all implied by the evidence.

*e. Clothing*

In common with other 18th-century sites, including the Tindall house and the Wilmington Parsonage, numerous buttons, buckle fragments, and hooks and eyes were found at the Lambert/Douglas House site. These items must have been quite frequently lost. Pins and thimbles reflect the making and repair of clothing on site. A silver sleeve link found in Context 2 reflects greater wealth than the several examples of brass or bronze also recovered here.

*f. Personal Items/Recreation*

Gaming pieces, including a metal cocked hat, were found in the main floor of the Lambert/Douglas basement and in the basement fill. Many of these items imply gambling by adults, although child activity is also illustrated by the recovery of a marble and whizzers.

A socketed pistol grip bone-handled knife with an iron blade was recovered from Context 240. Context 43 produced a small wooden folding or clasp knife with an iron blade, while a brass pistol grip clasp knife with bone insets and an iron blade was recovered from Context 155.

*g. Tools/Hardware/Building Materials*

Several tools likely to have been used around the yard and farm were found, including two iron spades, one iron shovel, one iron spade/shovel and an iron hand-saw blade, all recovered from the basement fill within Context 25. Other tools and hardware items, found

within the basement and surrounding yard deposits, include a felling axe, a claw hammer, a strap hinge and door latch, a pulley housing and numerous brass pins, mostly likely used for sewing or attaching sheets of paper. The voluminous building materials (brick, stone, mortar, wrought iron nails, window leads and a piece of iron window casement frame) have mostly been remarked upon in earlier discussion of the building.

*h. Manufacturing/Commerce*

There is considerable and varied evidence reflecting the involvement of the Lambert/Douglas property in manufacturing and commercial activities. Some of the most specific evidence comes from the basement floors. In the earlier phase of the building, perhaps extending up to *circa* 1770, the stratigraphic evidence for a cool storage area, together with the numerous milk pan fragments and a butter pot found on the site, suggest strongly that dairying was carried out on the property. This confirms the function of the house as a central focus of a farm that was processing milk into butter and cheese, probably both for home consumption and for sale. Pigs appear to have been the most common domestic animal, and this is consistent with the known importance of pork as an exported product for the West Indies trade (Wacker and Clemens 1995:185). The large iron pulley housing and hook found in the latest floor level could have been used to hoist objects to the floor[s] above, but could equally have been used to hang pig carcasses from joists in the ceiling for butchering or salt curing.

One of the pits in the basement floor contained iron barrel hoops and many fish scales from shad and other species. Plentiful evidence of sturgeon, perch, bass and other fish perhaps also suggest that barrels in the basement may have been used for storage of fish. Although the Lamberton Fishery adjoined the Douglas property in the mid- to late 18th century,

these fish remains are considered insufficient evidence for postulating the Lambert/Douglas House site as the scene of commercially oriented fish processing.

Hints of other activities are provided by the unknown residue on the inside of a vessel in one of the basement pits [Context 163], the long flat iron pieces of bar stock, each tapered at one end and wrought into a closed loop and clearly designed for some specific purpose. The recovery of sugar cone molds and lids from the “Sartori pit” may also imply on-site processing of sugar during the early 19th century (see below).

Mercantile activity is reflected in the two lead merchants weights recovered from Context 25, and the two lead bale seals and iron disk counterbalance weight found in Context 2. The counterfeit, worn, clipped and otherwise modified coins found in various contexts are witness to the constant difficulty in obtaining adequate coinage from Britain that prevailed until the Revolution, as is a Spanish silver piece.

#### *i. Arms/Armor*

Weaponry found at the Lambert/Douglas House site includes a rifle ball, a British “Brown Bess” musket ball, a frizzen, lead flint sheaths, lead shot from a French “Charleville” musket and gunflints. While it is tempting to ascribe the range of weaponry found on the site to Revolutionary War events, such items are common in these kinds of quantities on 18th-century sites, similar material being found at the Tindall house site (Foss 1986:216) and the Wilmington Parsonage (LeeDecker *et al.* 1993:131). More unusual, and perhaps more specifically military, are the four-pound cannon ball, Continental Army button and lancet. These latter items may be testimony to the events of December 1776.

#### *j. Agriculture/Equestrian*

Direct evidence of agricultural activities (e.g., plows or other implements, such as scythes for cutting hay in the nearby meadows) is lacking. This might imply that the barns and other agricultural buildings were some distance away. This may not be true of the stable, however, since horseshoes, buckles, bits, a stirrup and a brass tack/harness ornament were all found in the basement fill. The sale advertisement of 1770 for the property mentions a stable in the same context as “two good dwelling houses”, of which the Lambert/Douglas House is almost certainly one.

### **3. Overall Conclusions**

#### *a. Variability Across the Site*

The frequency distribution of artifact classes from the different context groupings were presented in tabular form in Chapter 4. These were then examined to see if major differences were apparent between these groupings. Context 25, the basement fill, was taken as a standard, since it can be assumed that this reflects the overall composition of the artifact assemblage from the site. Within this context, building materials and ceramics make up 32.4% and 54.2% of the assemblage respectively. The percentage of ceramic materials across the site ranges from as low as 26%, in the earliest northern basement floor level, to 70% within the early riverbank deposits. The yard deposits have very closely similar percentages to those of the basement fill, tending to confirm that the basement fill is derived from the site. The observed variability can be satisfactorily related to the nature of the context groupings, and since building materials and ceramics are overwhelmingly predominant in the assemblage they are present in inverse proportion to each other.

Glass vessel distribution is at 9% of the total assemblage in the basement fill, and ranges from 5.2% within the later riverbank deposits and up to 13% in the latest basement floor level. As with building materials and ceramics, the yard deposits have similar percentages of glass (11.4% and 9%) to those of the basement fill.

The percentages of artifacts in the recreation group are higher in the basement floors, but the actual numbers of these – and of items in most other class groups – are so small that meaningful conclusions cannot be drawn.

Variations in the distribution of artifacts of different class groupings from the context groups across the site can therefore be related satisfactorily to the location and function of the contexts. The main conclusion is that the basement fill indeed reflects the overall composition of the site assemblage.

#### ***b. Standard of Living***

There is a striking overall similarity between the assemblage from the Lambert/Douglas House site and those from the Tindall house site, site 28Ca50 in Gloucester and the Wilmington Parsonage site, suggesting that there is a real commonality of material culture in the Delaware Valley prior to the Revolution (LeeDecker *et al.* 1993:186). As already noted, there is an apparent correlation between accessibility to the river (and perhaps more specifically to landings) and the percentage of refined ceramics on the sites. The higher percentage of the significantly more costly porcelain at the Wilmington Parsonage and Lambert/Douglas properties does appear to point to a higher standard of living at these houses, or at least to consumer choice that placed a high emphasis on the acquisition and use of quality material goods.

The basement fill deposits and other contexts from these sites display a consistent range of artifact types. In addition to ceramics, all the sites produce such items as cutlery, buttons and other fasteners, thimbles, pins, clasp knives, musket balls and gun pieces, horse-shoes and harness pieces. Such is the similarity that it seems almost possible to define an 18th-century Delaware Valley “tool kit”, the validity of which can be tested in future excavations.

#### ***c. Personalities, Gender and Ethnicity***

Two, and possibly three, names are presented to us from the archaeological record, and it is noteworthy that all three are identifiable in the documentary record. At a date that we may guess is no earlier than 1760, and perhaps before 1776, a “Rebecca,” almost certainly from the prominent Hart family of Hopewell Township, wrote her name on a window pane. The Hart family’s connections with the Hunt and Furman families, who had commercial interests at the wharves in Lambertton, perhaps provide a context for Rebecca Hart’s presence in the Lambert/Douglas House. We have no evidence that the wealthy Philadelphian, George McCall, actually visited the house, but one of his wine bottles reached here sometime after 1734, and he did own property along Crosswicks Creek to the south. If the “E\*B” molding on a pewter spoon handle does refer to Edmund Beakes, this would be unsurprising as he lived on the farm immediately to the north and within easy walking distance of the Lambert/Douglas property. Taken together, these personalized items suggest that the Lambert/Douglas Plantation was part of a wider social world of locally and regionally prominent individuals and families. They support the overall picture of the prosperity and social attainment of the English-descended owners and occupants presented by the archaeology.

The archaeology may also be providing glimpses of people who lived at the plantation in less fortunate circumstances. Research at such sites as Beverwyck in Morris County (Silber and Catts 2001) and Longbridge Farm in Middlesex County (Hunter Research, Inc. 2002) has heightened awareness both of the presence of enslaved Africans in New Jersey in the 18th century, and of the possibilities of identifying them archaeologically. There is also plentiful evidence for slaves in the 18th-century Trenton area (see above, Chapter 3). It is perhaps in this context that we should view the distinctive bone pin found in the yard, the single cowrie (*Cypraea moneta*) shell from the latest floor in the house basement, and some of the blue beads, particularly the glass turquoise seed bead from this same floor deposit. No distinctive artifact caches of the type identified in Annapolis (Adams 1993) and elsewhere were identified at the Lambert/Douglas House site, and so no certainty is possible on this matter. The increasingly ability of archaeology to identify these largely invisible populations is something which should be taken fully into account in future work in the city.

#### **4. Observations on the “Sartori Pit” Assemblage**

The artifact assemblage from the “Sartori pit” is of great interest since it can be related with some confidence to a particular individual and household, and to the occupation of the Rosey Hill Mansion. John B. Sartori was a prominent member of the Trenton and Philadelphia communities, with an important social, political and religious position, as well as a number of business interests. His material belongings and those of his household should reflect that position.

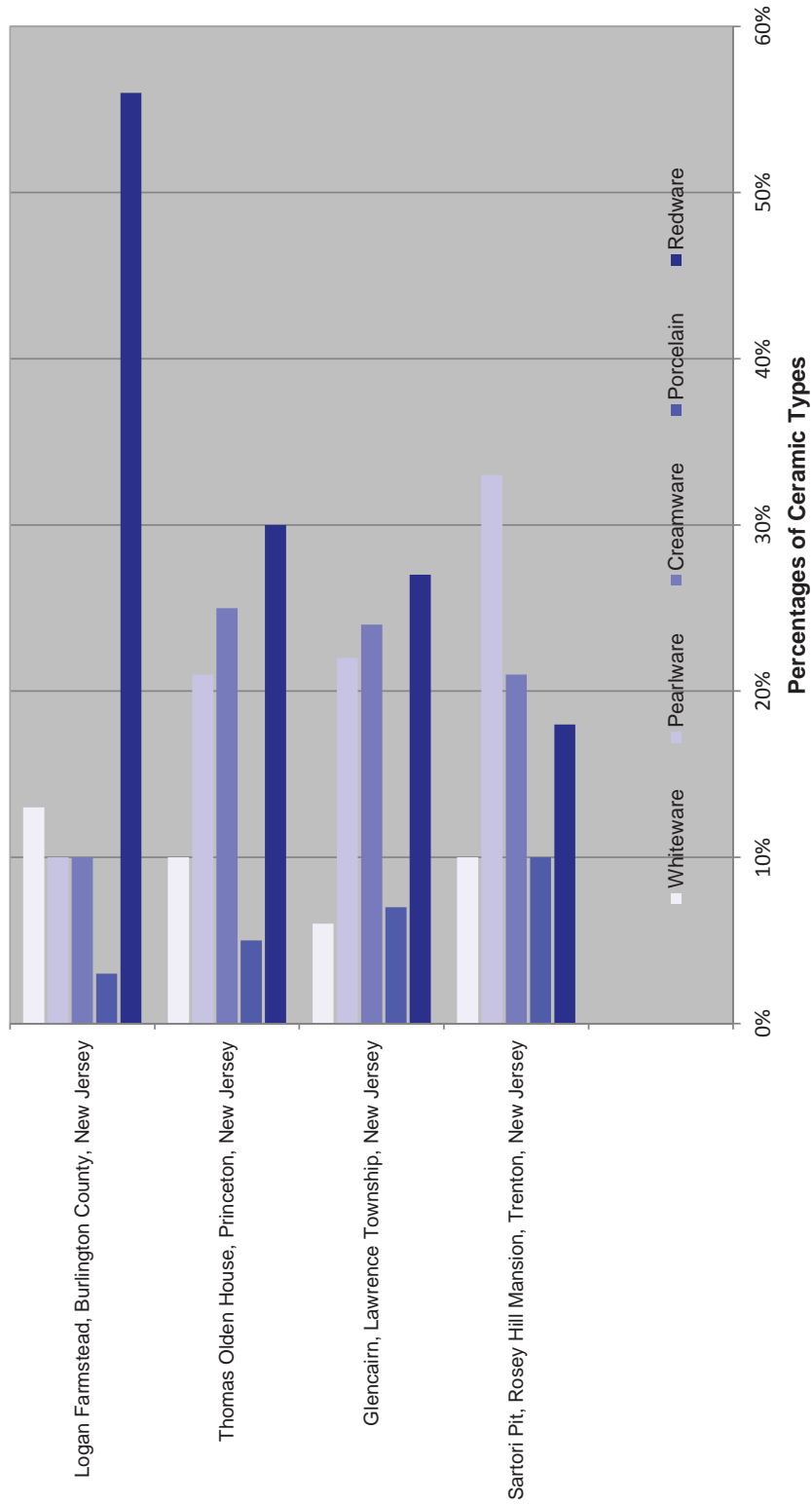
The ceramic assemblage is dominated by various types of pearlware. These make up 33% of the total number of sherds and 35% of the reconstructable vessels, half of which are of the more expensive

transfer-printed wares. Porcelain, the majority of it of Chinese export type, makes up 10% of the assemblage, higher than that reported for the 18th-century Wilmington Parsonage assemblage, and nearly twice the percentage seen in the 18th-century assemblage at the Lambert/Douglas House site itself. Utilitarian redwares were typically dominant in the 18th-century assemblages, comprising 61% to 83% of the ceramics at the sites examined (Table 5.4); they make up only 18% of the total number of sherds from the pit assemblage, and 20% of the reconstructable vessels.

Are these differences purely related to overall economic change in the federal period, or does the Sartori pit stand out among contemporary early 19th-century assemblages? As with the 18th-century contexts, readily comparable data is somewhat limited, but Table 5.5 compares the Sartori data with that from three other sites. Glencairn, in Lawrence Township, was a prosperous plantation property on the King’s Highway, the main road between Trenton and New Brunswick (Hunter and Zink 1979); the Thomas Olden House was a more modest house, roughly three miles further to the north of Glencairn along the same road in Princeton Township, whose occupants were not primarily farmers (Hunter Research Associates 1988); the Logan farmhouse in Burlington County was the nucleus of a substantial Inner Coastal Plain farmstead whose prosperity was at its peak in the 1820s and 1830s (Hunter Research, Inc. 1997c).

Although the comparison is flawed in that it measures an artifact assemblage from a single episodic archaeological feature with assemblages from entire sites with multiple features derived from extended periods of occupation, it is nevertheless clear that the Sartori assemblage is extraordinarily distinctive. Percentages of porcelain and pearlware, the most expensive ceramics, are notably higher than at the other sites, and the redware percentage is considerably lower. Creamware percentages are roughly the same at three of the sites, but the bulk of the creamware

**Table 5.5. Percentages of Ceramic Types at Selected Early 19th-Century House Sites in Central New Jersey.**



Sources of Data: Hunter Research, Inc. 1997:Figure 14.3



from the Sartori pit appears to have been in the form of chamber pots and not tablewares, emphasizing the role which finer pearlware and porcelain were playing in the Sartori household.

One ceramic subcategory that merits particular mention is the several red earthenware sugar cone molds and lids that were found in the Sartori pit. This rare material is judged to date from the early 19th century, based on its association with other ceramics and glassware from the stone-lined shaft. Challenging from the standpoint of interpretation, these sherds are thought to be evidence of on-site, late-stage processing of sugar by John B. Sartori, either for consumption within his household and social circle or for resale in the marketplace, probably in Philadelphia and other towns in the region.

The glass assemblage from the Sartori pit is dominated by bottles for beer (19 examples) and wine (48 examples), but also includes seven examples of small French flacons. Drinking vessels include possibly imported etched tumblers and a decanter, and locally produced tumblers (30 examples) and stemwares. Tumblers were actually more expensive than stemwares in the early 19th century, but they were much more robust and were a good investment for places like taverns (and, perhaps, Sartori's large family). More exotic glass items include several cobalt-blue stemmed vessels, which may have had a religious function, and a number of smaller sophisticated items including a salt cellar and mustard bottle.

Cutlery is notably absent from the assemblage, and the remaining finds are a mixture of materials. The presence of children within the Sartori household is reflected in the presence of marbles, slates and slate pencils. The bulk of the remaining material is trimmed window glass.

What processes brought this assemblage together in this pit? The collection has all the characteristics of what Pearce (2000) defines as a "clearance assemblage": large quantities of pottery; large, frequently joining sherds; closely datable materials; minimal contamination; and low degree of fragmentation and abrasion. Such clearance assemblages are often associated with taverns, both in the United Kingdom and the United States, although, as Pearce demonstrates, the variability of composition of these assemblages makes it difficult to develop a functional interpretation based simply on types and ratios of material. Pearce rightly notes that there may be many reasons for the creation of these assemblages, including death, disease, departure, refurbishment and replacement of ceramics and glass to remain fashionable, and exceptional events such as riots or disturbances. Pearce favors the latter explanation on the grounds that only portions of services are represented, and only portions of some vessels.

In the case of the Sartori material, an alternative explanation can be put forward for the partial nature of the ceramic services and of many of the vessels. If, as seems apparent from the small amount of later material mixed in with the assemblage, deposition in the pit took place in the second half of 1847, the earlier ceramics and glass must have been at another location in a reasonably intact state for a number of years. We have no way of knowing where this was. It is possible, however, that it remained in use, but in such a way that broken items were not being replaced. Such could well have been the situation after 1832 when the Trenton Delaware Falls Company owned the property. The company soon fell into financial difficulty, and the situation at Rosey Hill during the company's ownership is unknown (see above, Chapter 3). It may be that tenants, caretakers or squatters found these ceramics and glassware, which had been left behind by Sartori, and used them (with consequent breakages) over a period of years, or alternatively these items may merely have languished in storage

in some out-of-the way part of the mansion or one of the outbuildings. The conversion of the house by the Trenton Iron Company into a Superintendent's residence, probably in the summer or fall of 1847, would provide a context for final disposal of this partial, and by now old-fashioned, collection. On April 17, 1847 Charles Hewitt was authorized by the Trenton Iron Company to live rent-free at Rosey Hill (see above, Chapter 3), and the large quantity of window glass and glass trimmings found with the other material may well be related to extensive work on the building shortly after that time.

## E. FURTHER RESEARCH

Inevitably, the extensive and varied body of data produced concerning the Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site has raised many questions additional to those anticipated in the research design. This report and the citations from other works and primary sources, together with the supporting data in Volumes III, IV and V, provide a basis for several additional research topics which are outlined here. These topics will, for convenience, be addressed by discipline, although this is not intended to downplay the importance of interdisciplinary approaches, which are identified as appropriate.

### 1. Historical Research Issues

#### *a. Early Settlement at the Falls of the Delaware circa 1638-1714*

Although there has been a considerable amount of research on this subject, and particularly on Quaker settlement around the Falls of the Delaware from 1679 onwards (e.g., Toothman 1977), the investigations reported on here emphasize how much remains to be clarified. The nature and location of the Dutch presence at the Falls of the Delaware remains unclear, and

this is perhaps as likely to be resolved archaeologically as through documentary research. The efforts to establish settlement at the falls prior to the West Jersey Quaker emigration, and the hitherto poorly-known late 1670s settlement of Crewcorne on the Pennsylvania side of the river, both merit more study than has been possible within the framework of the current project.

#### *b. Lands and Families*

The current investigations have also highlighted the complex landholding arrangements of some of the early Quaker settlers at the Falls of the Delaware and the difficulty of reconstructing the precise property boundaries in the first generation of settlement. Some of this complexity may in part be related to unfulfilled plans by Mahlon Stacy and others to establish a formal town here, rather than a series of plantations. The nature and composition of the community that developed around Stacy's gristmill on Assunpink Creek could be researched in more detail in this context. Social, familial and religious connections between the settler families in England, prior to emigration, as well as the broader socio-cultural context of the North Midlands/South Yorkshire area, could be usefully investigated through genealogical, local historical and other research in the United Kingdom.

#### *c. Fords and Ferries*

The locations of the earliest regular crossing points on the Delaware River in the area of the falls remain somewhat unclear. This is an important issue, as it may have influenced decisions on the establishment of plantations and roads and trails. Additional archival research on this topic could be undertaken using the Pennsylvania evidence for the locations of landings and ferries on that side of the river.

*d. Economic Development after 1750*

As will be presented in more detail in Volume III, there is a distinct increase in investment and commercial activity along the waterfront south of the falls after 1750, and particularly in the 1760s and 1770s, just prior to the Revolution. The reasons for this are not entirely clear, although Trenton was certainly viewed as an important hub in the exploitation of the agricultural and mineral wealth of the Middle and Upper Delaware Valley. They are probably related to much broader patterns of economic development in the region and the colonies as a whole, but contextual research needs to be undertaken to make the reasons more explicit. One important aspect of this, which will be addressed further in Volume III, is the developing commercial trade with the sugar-producing islands of the British West Indies.

*e. Revolutionary War Landscape Alteration and Land Transfers*

The Revolutionary War was truly a “game changer” for Americans, yet there is a tendency in studying its history to focus on the major flashpoints of military conflict, the battlefields and sites of armed combat, to the exclusion of considering the broader effects of the war on resident populations. The local context and cultural landscape surrounding Trenton and its two well known tide-turning battles are often overlooked. The historical and archaeological investigations described here demonstrate the value of detailed site-specific study of the events leading up to and following the battles of Trenton as the realities of war were brought home to the local population. The displacement of proprietary, freeholder and tenant families, the commandeering of private homes and commercial premises for military purposes, the destruction and confiscation of property, the re-settling and re-working of the landscape by new owners (the beneficiaries of “regime change”) – these are all part and

parcel of the Revolutionary conflict and are visible in some measure in the documentary and archaeological record at the Lambert/Douglas Plantation and Rosey Hill Mansion Site. From this brief glimpse through the keyhole of the Douglas farm, it is clear that a wider-ranging, systematic examination of American and Loyalist claims against the British and United States governments, and of the documentation of forfeited estates, can offer new perspectives not only on how the Revolutionary War overwhelmed the Trenton area during the winter of 1776-77 but how, in the succeeding years, much of the land changed hands and the landscape shifted to a new republican paradigm.

**2. Buildings and Landscapes**

*a. The Houses of the Yorkshire Tenth*

The data from the Lambert/Douglas House were of sufficient quality to enable a reconstruction to be attempted using analogies from other buildings, chiefly those recorded by the Historic American Buildings Survey. These late 17th- and early 18th-century houses were constructed for and by the first and second generation of English Quakers who settled the Yorkshire Tenth, most of whom hailed from the Sheffield/Chesterfield area of South Yorkshire and the North Midlands in England. These houses differ in plan from those of the New England and the Virginia Tidewater culture hearths, but more work can clearly be done on the specifics of their origins both in the United States and in England.

Basement size, expressed as interior square footage, has been used to compare the Lambert/Douglas House with some of its neighbors in the Delaware Valley and the encompassing building is judged to have been of moderate scale. As the ubiquitous “cellar hole,” a commonly found archaeological trace, the basement may serve as a useful measure of vernacular architecture and an indicator of socio-economic sta-

tus. The material contents of basement fill deposits, especially when they are the result of large and easily recognizable episodic actions occurring soon after a building's abandonment (as was the case with the Lambert/Douglas House), offer other opportunities for meaningful analysis of household wealth and living habits. Expanded analysis of the dimensions and contents of late 17th/18th-century house basements in the Delaware Valley would be fruitful and will stimulate cross-disciplinary dialog between archaeologists, architectural historians and historians.

***b. Basements and Cold Storage***

The evidence of silts and sands from the northern portion of the Lambert/Douglas basement was interpreted as the product of melting ice. This was most probably used for the storage of dairy and other food products. Similar evidence has been found at other sites in the region, but has been interpreted differently. Experimental storage and melting of ice in a similar environment to that of a stonewalled basement would clarify the processes involved.

***c. Rosey Hill***

Despite multiple campaigns of architectural and archaeological documentation, the history and development of this house are still unclear. The bulk of the foundation remains in place below ground, and if an opportunity arises, it should be re-examined. A final archaeological investigation could usefully remove the later concrete flooring to locate evidence for earlier, smaller basement footprints. This could be combined with detailed examination of the exterior and interior faces of the basement walls, with particular attention being given to locations where structural discontinuities are predicted. Continuous lengths of

the builders' trenches could also be exposed to better understand the structure and purpose of the burned posts and boards located in the previous work.

***d. Water Power***

The research presented in this report has highlighted the limited amount of available synthesized information on water power systems outside of the well-known urban manufacturing centers such as Lowell, Massachusetts, and Paterson, New Jersey. The Trenton Water Power was considerably smaller than these schemes, but still played a formative role in the rise of the city into an industrial center. Many other towns in New Jersey and elsewhere along the eastern seaboard developed water powers in the first half of the 19th century, implementing engineering schemes that propelled entire communities into the industrial era. Most of these water power systems are now forgotten and largely buried beneath later urban fabric. A comparative study of small and medium-sized urban water powers in the Middle Atlantic region – their capacity, date of operation, location, circumstances of construction, and role in urban and industrial growth – would constitute a valuable contribution to industrial history and archaeology.

***e. Iron and Steel***

The historical importance of the iron and steel complex in the project area is hard to overstate. It is therefore a matter of regret that this center of American technological and industrial development is not commemorated on the site, and its very existence is in danger of being forgotten. Although not strictly a research issue, it is strongly recommended that attention be given to memorializing this enterprise on site in some permanent form.

### 3. Material Culture Studies

The rich 18th- and early 19th-century collection of artifacts from the Lambert/Douglas House site and the Sartori pit present many opportunities for additional research. There remains a need for broader inter-site comparisons and analyses than has been undertaken here. Such research is hindered by the continuing absence of adequate bibliographic and other databases for the cultural resource management studies that continue to generate the bulk of the data. Attempts are currently being made to address this problem in New Jersey, but communication of the results of completed work remains inadequate. The limited number of sizeable archaeological assemblages from closely comparable 18th-century domestic sites in the Delaware Valley emphasizes the difficulty in drawing meaningful conclusions about regional patterns of material culture. In this study, the generalization has been offered that there is considerable uniformity in the types and range of artifacts recovered from deposits at these 18th-century Delaware Valley domestic sites, but this requires much more extensive support from both inside and outside the region. Additional research could be fruitful for the following specific items:

#### *a. Windows*

The craft of glazing and window-making in the early colonial period merits further research. Of local interest is the date of transition from casement to sash windows. The original Lambert/Douglas House clearly had casements, but was this a deliberate archaism in 1701, or had the sash window style not yet reached this part of the Delaware Valley? When were casements replaced? There are hints from the house that this may have been a piecemeal process, perhaps with the windows on the more important facades and floors being replaced first.

It is clear that windows could be pre-assembled, either in England or in American regional centers such as Philadelphia, or they could be custom-made on the spot during the construction of houses. Which of these procedures was most commonly followed and why? In this context, what is the significance of the “EW” and “TD” initials on the window leads of 1701 found at the Lambert/Douglas House site? Were these items made in London, or where they produced on an exported milling machine somewhere in the colonies?

#### *b. Ceramics*

A group of gravel-tempered ceramics of unknown origin, probably English but not from the well-known North Devon tradition, has been identified. It is not known if similar wares have been found on other 18th-century sites, or if this is a known ware in England. The locally made stoneware of potter James Rhodes is of great importance and merits more detailed characterization through typological study of the wares and chemical and other analysis of the clays. This topic is addressed in more detail in Volume III.

#### *c. Glass*

The ratio of imported to regionally produced glass in the 18th-century assemblage is of importance to the much broader debate about mercantilism and self-sufficiency in the colonial economy. Some of the glass from the Lambert/Douglas House site appears to originate from the Wistar glassworks in southern New Jersey, but chemical analysis of the signatures of the glass is needed before such identifications can be made with certainty.

*d. Gaming Pieces and Ethnicity*

The small number of possible gaming pieces includes a Caribbean whelk shell. Research could be undertaken to identify 18th-century games that used these gaming pieces, and to establish possible connections with African or Afro-Caribbean games. This research would be chiefly directed towards further developing the methodologies currently in use for identifying enslaved Africans through archaeological patterning.

be to investigate both ethnic foodways reflected in the cuts, and also to attempt to establish whether on-site slaughtering or market purchase predominated.

*e. Processes*

Tantalizing evidence of on-site sugar processing in the early 19th century is provided by the many sherds of sugar cone molds and lids recovered from the Sartori pit. Although the documentary record is so far silent on this matter, it is thought that Sartori, a proven entrepreneur, or someone in his employ, was refining sugar at his Rosey Hill estate either for consumption by the Sartori household, or for sale in nearby urban markets. Further research into Sartori's commercial and business dealings, along with examination of contemporary newspaper sale advertisements and store account books, may be able to generate further information on this fascinating topic.

One of the redware vessels from Context 25 contained a red powdered substance, possibly pigment. Detailed chemical analysis of this material could identify its purpose and throw light on activities on the site.

**F. FAUNAL ANALYSIS**

Further analysis of the faunal material from both the 18th-century deposits and the Sartori pit is recommended. The main objective would be to identify any similarities and contrasts between the meat cuts in the two groups of material. The objective would

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