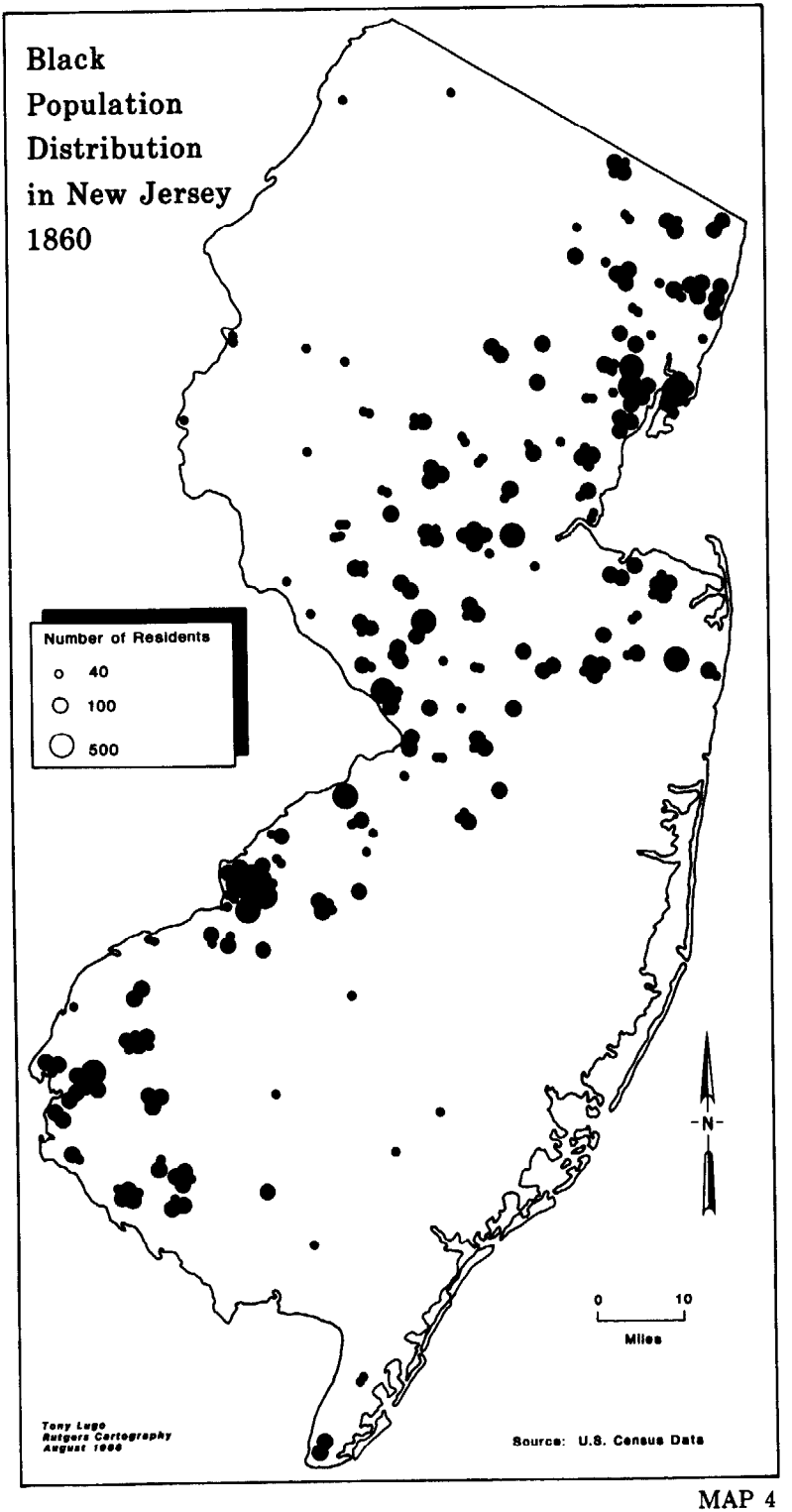
same period New York's black population grew from 39,367 to 50,031 and Pennsylvania's from 30,413 to 47,918. A large influx of white immigrants during the antebellum period raised the white population much faster. As a result, the black proportion of the total population declined sharply, from 7.7 percent in 1790 to 3.4 percent in 1870.

North and South Jersey offer interesting contrasts in black population growth between 1790 and 1870. Although blacks in 1860 in the northern counties were concentrated in the same areas as in 1790 (see Map 4), they constituted a far smaller percentage of the region's total population by the end of the period. While the heavy influx of foreign-born whites in part explains this, a substantial emigration of free blacks is probably also involved. Between 1840 and 1860, for example, the number of free blacks in New Jersey's northern counties increased by only 1,837, from 13,646 to 15,483 (see Table 4). The region contained those areas that were traditionally most hostile to blacks. In these areas slavery endured longest, and as the immigrant population grew, white workers increasingly viewed free blacks as a threat to their occupational security. Newark was among the cities to which the ugly New York City draft riots of July 1863 spread, riots in which many

TABLE 4

BLACK POPULATION IN NORTHERN NEW JERSEY, MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY

	1840		1860	
COUNTY	Free	Slave	Free	Slave
Bergen	1529	222	1663	
Essex	1908	20	1757	
Hudson	319	11	653	
Hunterdon	778	35	800	4
Mercer	2319	22	2225	
Middlesex	1535	28	1308	1
Monmouth	2180	85	2658	
Morris	911	37	687	1
Passaic	706	96	559	2
Somerset	652	105	1597	9
Sussex	354	13	324	
Union			865	
Warren	455	8	387	1
Total	13,646	682	15,483	18


Black
Population
Distribution
in New Jersey
1860
Number of Residents
40
100
500
N
0
10
Miles
Tony Lugo
Rutgers Cartography
August 1996
Source: U.S. Census Data

MAP 4

white workers, perceiving abolition as the cause of the war they were being conscripted to fight in, singled out blacks as the targets for their violence.

Fear of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 may also explain why the number of North Jersey blacks increased so little, since the state government cooperated with southern states in returning runaway slaves. In addition, a pronounced mood to limit the number of free blacks in the state took hold before the Civil War. It was reflected in proposed legislation under which all free blacks desiring to remain in the state would have to register or risk fines and arrest as fugitives. The movement to discourage free blacks seems to have succeeded best in North Jersey.

On the other hand, the free black population in New Jersey's southern counties grew from 5,524 in 1840 to 9,853 in 1860, an increase of 4,329 (see Table 5). In 1870 Camden County had more blacks than any other county, and five southern counties—Camden, Cumberland, Salem, Burlington, and Gloucester—had over two-fifths of the state's total black population although they constituted only about one-fifth of the overall population (see Table 6). Some communities in these counties, especially Camden, Stockton, Newton, Center, Burlington, Deptford, Mannington, Pilesgrove, and Fairfield, had sizable numbers of Afro-Americans.

TABLE 5

BLACK POPULATION IN SOUTHERN NEW JERSEY, MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY

COUNTY	1840		1860	
	Free	Slave	Free	Slave
Atlantic	256		194	
Burlington	1643	1	2224	
Camden			2574	
Cape May	198		273	
Cumberland			1295	
Gloucester	1631		707	
Ocean			124	
Salem	1796		2462	
Total	5,524	1	9,853	

TABLE 6

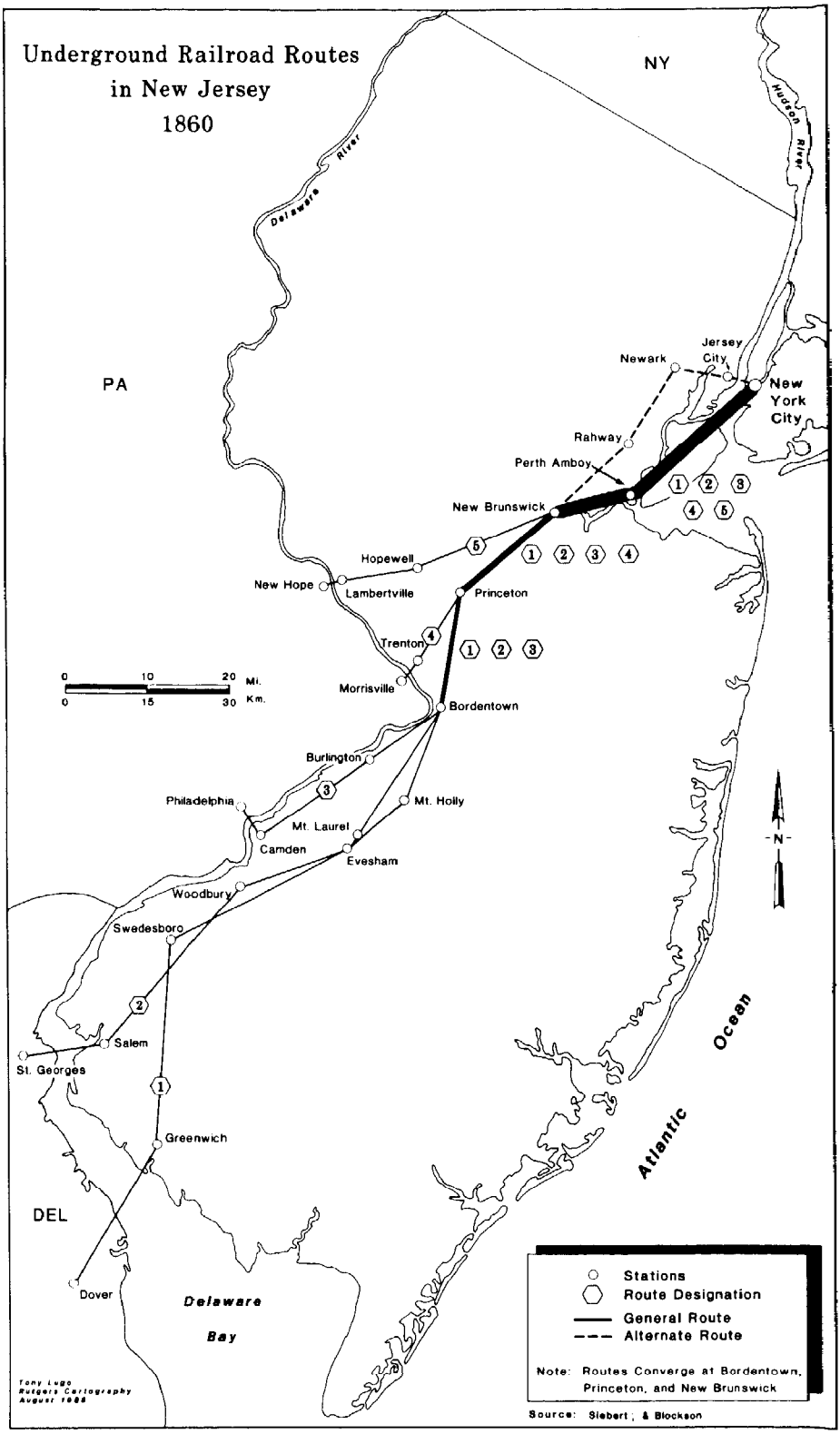
BLACKS IN THE POPULATION OF FIVE SOUTHERN NEW JERSEY COUNTIES (BURLINGTON, CAMDEN, CUMBERLAND, GLOUCESTER AND SALEM), 1870

	NEW JERSEY POPULATION	POPULATION OF FIVE COUNTIES	
		Number	Percentage
Total	906,096	179,999	19.9
Black	30,658	12,447	40.6

Most of the growth in South Jersey's black population down to 1870 arose from a steady arrival of southern blacks during the antebellum period. Having several Underground Railroad routes (see Map 5), the region became a haven for slaves escaping the South. Harriet Tubman, the fugitive slave from Maryland who became a fearless "conductor" of the Underground Railroad, primarily of Delaware and Maryland slaves, spent periods of time in Cape May between 1849 and 1852 working as a servant in hotels to earn money for her forays south. Leaving Cape May for the last time in the fall of 1852, she made a fifth journey into Maryland and took nine fugitives out.

Others adding to southern New Jersey's black population were free blacks from the South. The region appealed to them, for one reason, because of its Quakers, with their traditional liberal disposition towards blacks. Perhaps more important, by 1870 New Jersey had several all-black communities; in this it was unique among northern states. While some of these settlements were in North Jersey—for example, Skunk Hollow in Bergen County—most were in the southern part of the state. Notable examples were Guineatown and Saddlertown in Camden County, Timbuctoo in Burlington County, and Gouldtown in Cumberland County. Two that were particularly attractive to southern blacks were Springtown in Cumberland County and Lawnside in Camden County.

Located in the northern end of Greenwich Township, Springtown was established around 1800 by slaves who had been manumitted or who had escaped from bondage in Delaware, Maryland or states further south. Nearby Quakers sold small tracts of land to them. Samuel Ringgold Ward, the abolitionist orator known as "the black


Underground Railroad Routes
in New Jersey
1860
NY
PA
DEL
Delaware River
Hudson River
Newark
Jersey City
New York City
Rahway
Perth Amboy
New Brunswick
Hopewell
New Hope
Lambertville
Princeton
Trenton
Morrisville
Bordentown
Burlington
Philadelphia
Mt. Holly
Mt. Laurel
Camden
Evesham
Woodbury
Swedesboro
Salem
St. Georges
Greenwich
Dover
Delaware Bay
Atlantic Ocean
0 10 20 Mi.
0 15 30 Km.
N
Stations
Route Designation
General Route
Alternate Route
Note: Routes Converge at Bordentown, Princeton, and New Brunswick
Source: Siebert; & Blockson
Tony Lugo
Rutgers Cartography
August 1988

MAP 5

Daniel Webster," lived there from 1820 to 1826. In his autobiography he described the cooperation between local Quakers and blacks. The settlement was an important station on the Underground Railroad during the antebellum period, especially for slaves escaping from the Delmarva peninsula. Springtown reached its apogee in the 1870s, declining thereafter because many of its inhabitants moved to Camden, Philadelphia, and Wilmington. Today it has about one hundred residents.

Among Springtown's early settlers was Levin Steel, who came from the eastern shore of Maryland. Shortly after arriving he changed his surname to Still, a name associated today with one of New Jersey's outstanding black families. One of his sons was William Still, the Philadelphia abolitionist who wrote *The Underground Railroad,* an invaluable collection of documents and stories about this clandestine network. Another distinguished son was James Still, a practitioner of folk remedies in Medford, who came to be known as "The Black Doctor of the Pines." Dr. Still was one of the foremost spokesmen for the Afro-American community in New Jersey during the nineteenth century. In his autobiography, published in 1877, he outlined a course of action for the race. A leading student of New Jersey Afro-American history, Clement A. Price, has pointed out that this program bore a strong resemblance to the one set forth later in the century by Booker T. Washington, the "Sage of Tuskegee." For example, Still admonished blacks to comport themselves well, convinced that such behavior would be justly rewarded:

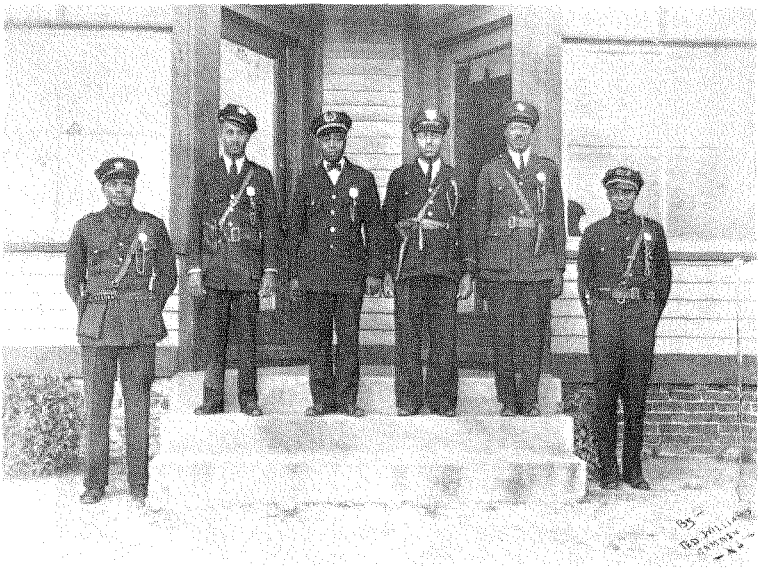
> My colored friends, should you conduct yourselves on true moral principles, not gaudy in manners nor boisterous in talk, your ways calm and decisive, your word so sacred that 'tis never violated, your promises fulfilled, your debts paid, modest in all things and meddlesome in none, you shall find the monster Prejudice only a thing to be talked about. Merit alone will promote you to respect.

The early history of Lawnside, about ten miles southeast of Camden, is similar to that of Springtown. It too was established in the latter part of the eighteenth century, became an Underground Railroad station, and benefited from the assistance of neighboring Quakers. It was known initially as Snowhill. The land comprising it was formally subdivided in 1840 by Ralph Smith, a Haddonfield abolitionist, who renamed it Free Haven. Its name was changed to Lawnside in 1887 by the Philadelphia–Atlantic City Railroad when a train stop was established there. In 1926 Lawnside became the first

Above, left: Harriet Tubman (c. 1821–1913), fugitive slave, abolitionist, nurse, spy and social reformer, was the most famous conductor of the Underground Railroad. She made approximately nineteen trips into various slave states to lead some three hundred blacks out of bondage. She spent several periods of time in Cape May between 1849 and 1852, underscoring the strong connection between the Underground Railroad and New Jersey. Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution.

Below, left: This house in Salem belonged to Abigail Goodwin (1794–1867) and her sister, Elizabeth. Abigail was a Quaker and one of New Jersey's leading abolitionists of the nineteenth century. The house, which still stands, is probably the only documented Underground Railroad station in New Jersey. Photograph collection of the New Jersey Historical Commission.

Above: Dr. James Still (1812–1885), born in Shamong, Burlington County, was one of the earliest black medical doctors in New Jersey. Mainly self-educated, he specialized in the preparation and use of traditional medicines such as powders, tinctures, salves, liniments, teas and vegetable oils. His success enabled him to acquire considerable property and to build a large house and office in Medford. His office still stands. Engraving in Early Recollections and Life of Dr. James Still *(Philadelphia, 1877), frontispiece.*



This is the first police force of the borough of Lawnside. The photo was taken in 1926, the year Lawnside became a municipality. It was the first historically all-black community in New Jersey to gain such status. Courtesy of Clarence Still.

black community in New Jersey to be incorporated as a municipality. It is today one of the few historically all-black towns in the nation that has this status. It had slightly over three thousand residents in 1980.

One constant for New Jersey blacks down to 1870 was their dim economic prospect. Throughout the state most blacks were concentrated at the bottom of the occupational hierarchy, in low-income, menial work. In southern New Jersey many farmed for themselves or worked as farm laborers, often on Quaker-owned farms and large estates. In the towns and cities with sizeable black populations, such as Newark, Trenton, Camden, Jersey City, Elizabeth and Princeton, they worked as unskilled laborers (for example, ditchdiggers, hod carriers and porters) or were engaged in the domestic and service trades. By 1870 the labor supply offered by white immigrants had reduced the position of blacks in the skilled crafts and precluded their

employment in the industrial concerns that were springing up in the state's urban centers.

As early as 1808 African-American workers combined to protect themselves and to improve their economic situation. However, their early organizations functioned more as mutual aid societies and fraternal lodges, providing financial assistance in times of need, than as agents for bargaining with employers. During the 1860s blacks started to be admitted to white labor unions and to establish their own unions. In December 1869, in Washington, D. C., the first black national labor union federation was formed: the Colored National Labor Union. New Jersey was among the eighteen states represented at the founding meeting.

1870–1910

Two major developments shaped the New Jersey Afro-American experience for the next forty years. First, the number of black New Jerseyans almost tripled, mainly because of the arrival of southern blacks. In 1890, 43 per cent of New Jersey's blacks had been born in other states, and in 1910 the figure was 58 percent; corresponding figures for whites were 22 percent and 27 percent. Second, the black population became urbanized. By 1910 almost 75 percent of the state's black residents lived in cities.

That most of these urban areas were in the northern part of the state shows that southern migrants were beginning to shift away from the tendency to settle in South Jersey. Suburban Plainfield, the seashore resorts of Asbury Park and Long Branch, and the industrial cities of Elizabeth, Paterson and Jersey City had all experienced considerable growth in their black populations by 1910. The towns and cities of Essex County demonstrated the trend most clearly. Noticeable increases occurred in Montclair, Orange and East Orange, owing perhaps to their demand for domestic help, and the size of Newark's black population rose phenomenally. In 1910 Newark had almost ten thousand Afro-Americans, five times the nearly two thousand it had in 1870. As the state's most populous city, with an expanding economy, it could offer many positions traditionally occupied by blacks in the North—jobs for unskilled laborers, deliverymen, janitors, teamsters, laundresses, maids.

Only two sizable South Jersey communities—Camden and Atlantic City—drew significant black migratory streams between 1870 and