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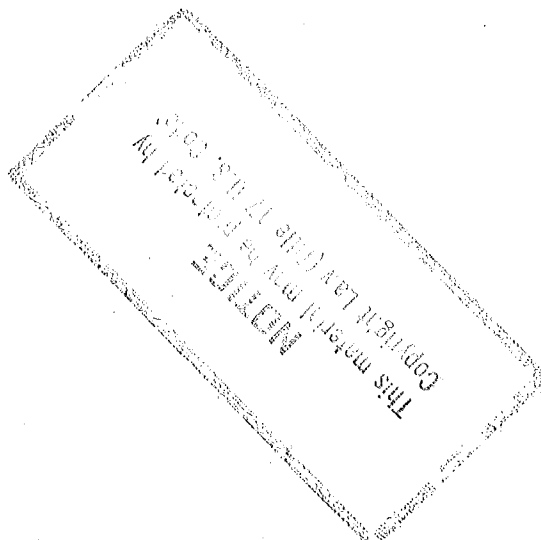
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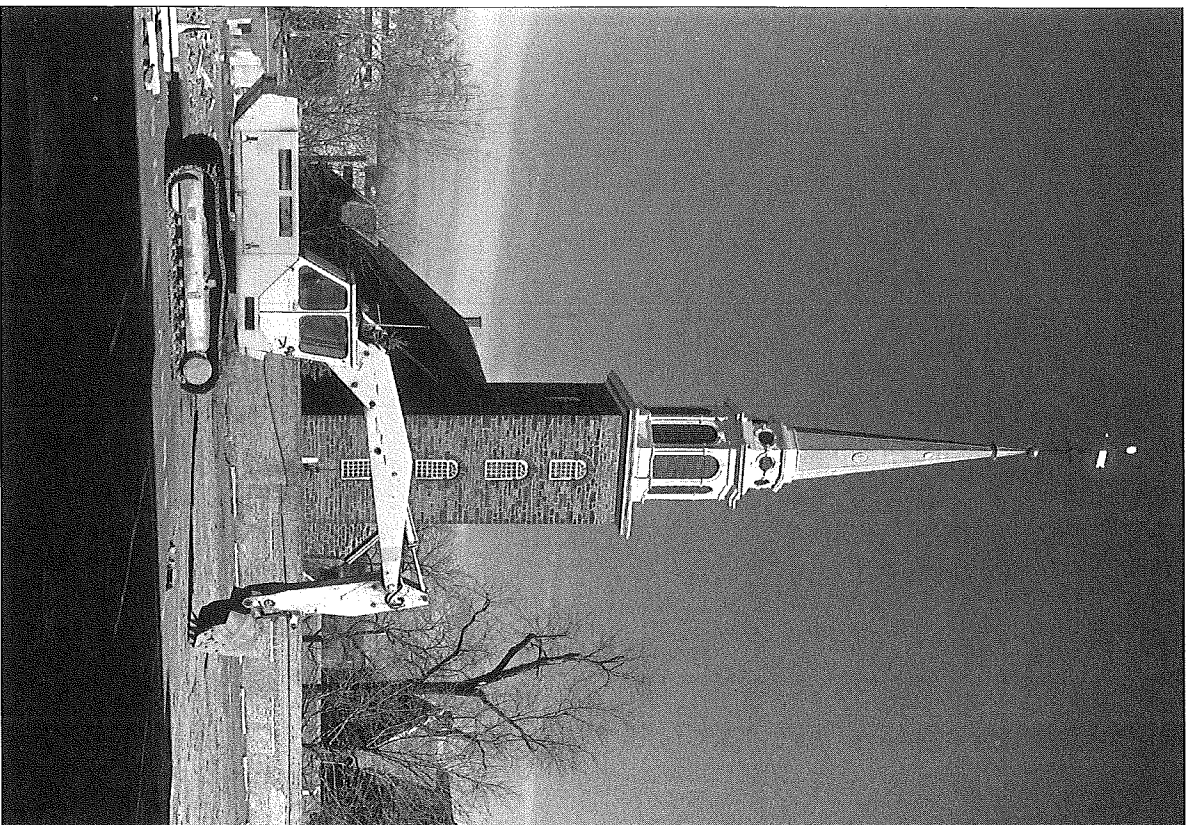


## The River, the Dutch, the District, and the Corporate Giant: New Brunswick and the Past

REBECCA YAMIN AND TONY MASSO

IN THE LAST TWENTY YEARS, New Brunswick, New Jersey, has been transformed from a decaying small industrial city into a well-groomed service center for its two major institutions—the multinational health products manufacturer Johnson and Johnson and Rutgers University. The city's redevelopment, spearheaded by Johnson and Johnson, began in the early 1970s and culminated in the construction of the company's new international headquarters and a hotel/conference center and parking facility across the street, both completed by the late 1980s (fig. 1). Redevelopment also included a good deal of destruction. Practically every building in the core downtown area was demolished over a period of ten years. Johnson and Johnson acquired the properties, left buildings to deteriorate, and ultimately had them bulldozed (fig. 2). As whole blocks were leveled many longtime storekeepers, as well as residents, were ejected in the process (fig. 3).

An inventory of architectural resources, prepared for the Middlesex County Cultural and Heritage Commission in 1977, and a book published by the Rutgers University Art Gallery<sup>1</sup> recorded changes to the city's built environment, but no comparable assess-



Constructed in 1742 and rebuilt in 1852, Christ Church was part of New Brunswick's nineteenth-century Hiram Market neighborhood, a historic district once listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Built of local brownstone, the church is the only structure in the city that predates the Revolutionary War. It is today one of only four historic buildings still extant in the neighborhood, which once included twenty-one antebellum structures. All photographs in this article courtesy Tony Masso.

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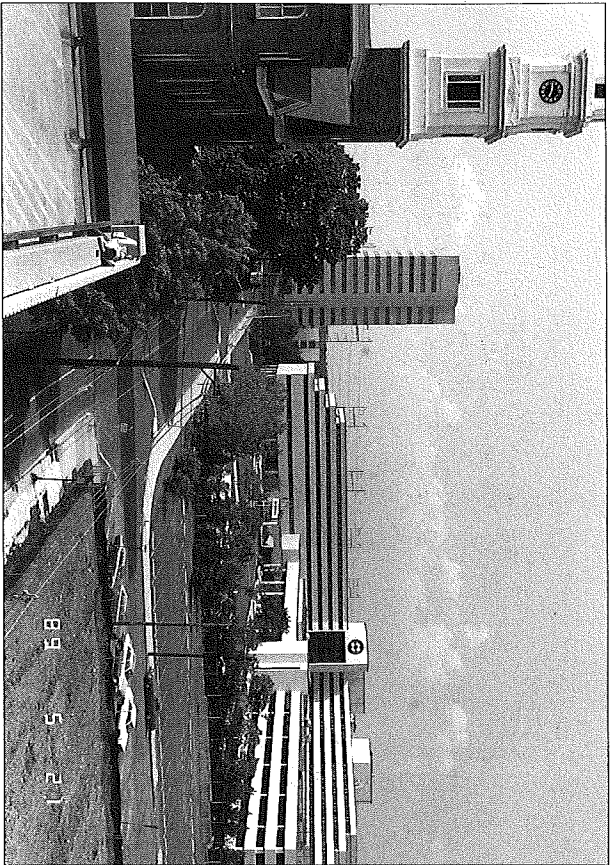


Fig. 1. The high-rise building in the center of the photograph is Johnson and Johnson's new international headquarters. The Hyatt Regency hotel and parking facility are to the right.

ments were made of New Brunswick's archaeological resources. Unlike Annapolis, Maryland, where an active archaeological program has accompanied construction projects that had an impact on historic remains, or even New York City, which has tolerated archaeological projects mandated by law and exhibited the results, New Brunswick Tomorrow, the group of community leaders that guided the city's redevelopment, chose not to include the past in its plans for the future. The group placed no emphasis on saving or restoring historic structures in spite of the unconfirmed local legend that John D. Rockefeller, Jr., considered New Brunswick for his famous restoration project before he settled on Williamsburg, Virginia, in the 1920s.<sup>2</sup> This paper attempts to explain why New Brunswick—and, by extension, other cities caught up in the urban renewal projects of the 1970s and 1980s—devalued its past to the point of destroying practically all of its remains. Elsewhere—Annapolis may again be used as an example—the problem has been to understand how the past is used in the present for social, political, and economic purposes.<sup>3</sup> In New Brunswick, the question is why the past is not used at all.

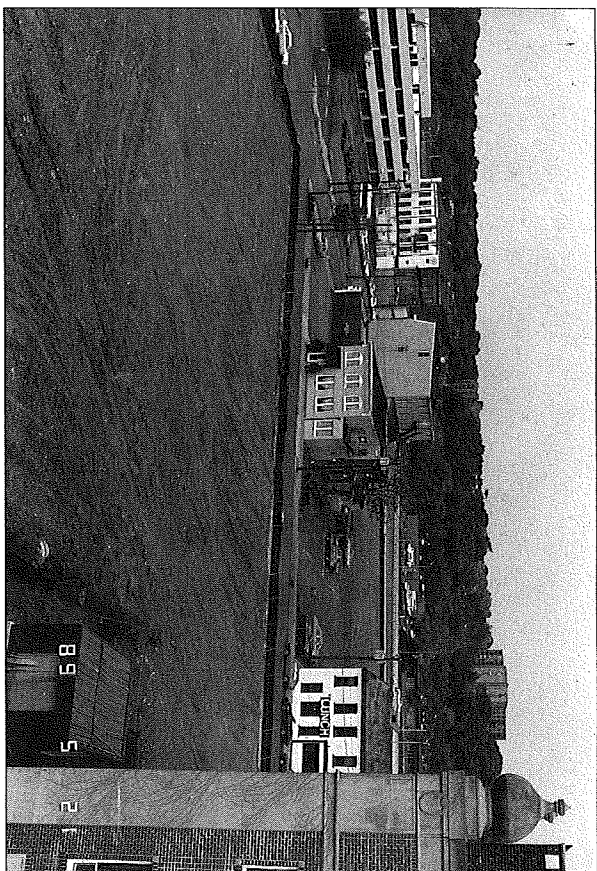


Fig. 2. Bulldozed block between Dennis and Nelson streets, New Brunswick.

### The Redevelopment Framework

In 1975 Johnson and Johnson hired a consultant to make feasibility studies for the possible redevelopment of downtown New Brunswick.<sup>4</sup> At about the same time, the company created New Brunswick Tomorrow, a consortium of community leaders devoted to promoting redevelopment in the city. As an outgrowth of these efforts, the New Brunswick Development Corporation (DEVCO) was formed in 1976 to be the principal developer for the city. Although both New Brunswick Tomorrow and DEVCO were designed as independent entities, they were initially funded by grants from Johnson and Johnson and its related foundations. The aim of New Brunswick Tomorrow was to get local citizens to support development projects; DEVCO bought properties for future development, thereby keeping out land speculators. DEVCO's president, Paul Abdalla, called it "land banking."<sup>5</sup>

New Brunswick's redevelopment plans were formulated at a time when federal legislation was being refined to cover the protection of environmental, including cultural, resources. While the major laws guiding the preservation of cultural resources were passed in the 1960s (the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act and the 1969

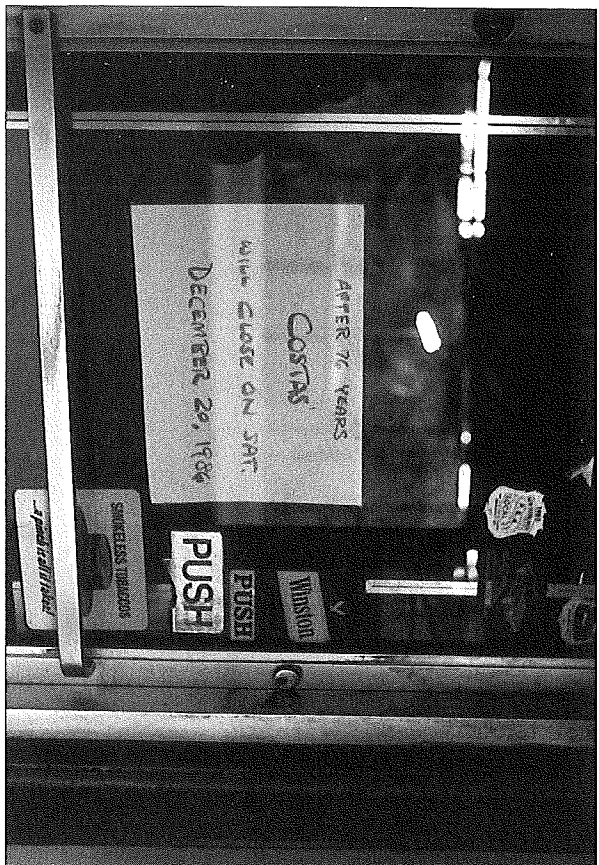


Fig. 3. The owner of a popular newspaper store forced to close in 1986 poses the news.

National Environmental Policy Act) procedures for meeting the requirements of the laws<sup>6</sup> were not developed until the mid-1970s.

In New Brunswick, two major efforts were made to follow the new procedures. Central to the first effort were archaeological investigations, one in the path of a proposed highway and the other, conducted in compliance with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act, within the bounds of a historic district that had been declared eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. The Route 18 Freeway Site was on a block adjacent to the Raritan River that included the site of the original ferry crossing, a focus of early colonial development (fig. 4). The site within the historic district, called the Hotel Site because it included the proposed location of the Hyatt Hotel/Conference Center and parking facility, covered three blocks south of the Route 18 Freeway Site. Dutch families from Albany, New York, settled one of these blocks in the 1730s and helped form the early Dutch identity of New Brunswick. The second effort involved a citizens' campaign to preserve the Hiram Market Historic District, an area centered around the site of the city's nineteenth-century fresh food market. As defined, the district included eighty-one standing structures, sixty-nine of which dated before 1900 and twenty-one before the Civil War. Among them were two historic

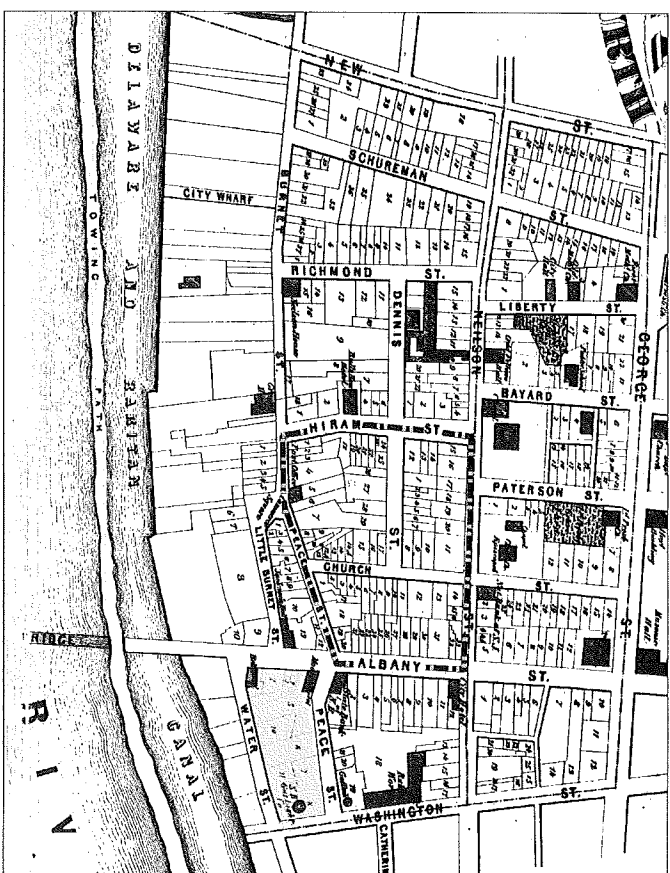


Fig. 4. The locations of the Route 18 Freeway Site (shaded) and Hotel Site (enclosed in dot-and-dash line) are shown superimposed on this 1929 map of New Brunswick.

churches, Christ Church, begun in 1742 and reconstructed in 1852, and the First Reformed Church, built in 1812.

Yet the climate created by the city's redevelopment organizations, all backed by Johnson and Johnson, prevented the archaeological investigations and the citizens' efforts from getting full recognition. Cultural resource legislative requirements were only minimally met and, in several instances, circumvented; the historic district was ultimately, and illegally, destroyed. While economic considerations were undoubtedly the most important factors guiding redevelopment, less obvious ideological issues appear also to have played a role.

### The Archaeological Investigations

New Brunswick began as two small clusters of settlement at the head of navigation on the Raritan River. The earliest houses and businesses were strung out along a road parallel to the river, eventually

called Water Street. Albany Street (first known as French) followed the path of the Assanpink Trail, a well-known Indian route to the Delaware River. Its development as one of New Brunswick's major arteries began at the river's edge—the ferry landing—and moved southwest as the city grew. By the middle of the eighteenth century a grid of streets parallel to the river and intersecting Albany had become the commercial center of the town. The grid established in the eighteenth century remained essentially unchanged into the nineteenth century (see fig. 4). The town market was at Commerce Square, the intersection of Little Burnet and Burnet streets; wharves lined the river's edge. Both areas to be excavated were in the heart of this development, and both had significant research implications.

The block adjacent to the river, called the Route 18 Freeway site, included three colonial period taverns facing Albany Street in addition to two eighteenth-century houses. These structures apparently survived into the twentieth century, unlike colonial buildings on the other three bounding streets. The opening of the Delaware and Raritan Canal between Water Street and the river in 1834 attracted new industries to New Brunswick. Structures associated with wallpaper manufacture, iron working, and rubber goods, among others, replaced the shipping facilities and private houses that had lined Peace and Water streets before. Under the terms of a memorandum of agreement negotiated with the Federal Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, the New Jersey Department of Transportation (DOT) Bureau of Environmental Analysis commissioned Temple University to conduct the archaeological investigation of the Route 18 Freeway site; Dan Crozier directed the work.<sup>7</sup>

Working under considerably less than ideal conditions—he began the field operation in March when the ground was covered with snow—Crozier exposed foundation fragments and associated cultural features relating to all three taverns on the block as well as portions of foundations belonging to the other two eighteenth-century houses (fig. 5). Because it was not immediately threatened by construction, Crozier did not investigate the remainder of the block archaeologically, but he did note the presence of many more features.<sup>8</sup>

The Indian Queen Tavern site was the closest to the river and the earliest of the three taverns. John Inian, who ran a ferry across the river in that location beginning in 1686, owned the land as part of a much larger parcel. He may have had a house on the site, but, according to Crozier's research, the first substantial structure on the property was built in 1709, after Inian's death. The next owner was

either James Hude, New Brunswick's second mayor, or Thomas Farquhar, whose father-in-law owned the ferry rights after Inian. Both were major figures in New Brunswick's early history. Gordon's *Gazetteer* of 1834 describes the first house on the property as a long, low structure of stone.<sup>9</sup> Additional stories and wooden framing, as well as cosmetic changes, were made over time, but the footprint of the structure remained essentially unchanged until 1972 when the building was dismantled. (It was eventually reconstructed in East Jersey Olde Town, a cluster of displaced historic structures arranged around a phony village square in a local park.) The house became a tavern perhaps in Hude's (or Farquhar's) time but definitely during the tenure of the next owner, James Drake. Drake owned the ferry rights between 1778 and 1784. His tavern, "Drake's," appears in convenient proximity to the city's major docks on a 1790 map.<sup>10</sup> The tavern would have been a gathering place for the sailors and traders who frequented New Brunswick as well as for visiting dignitaries. Crozier

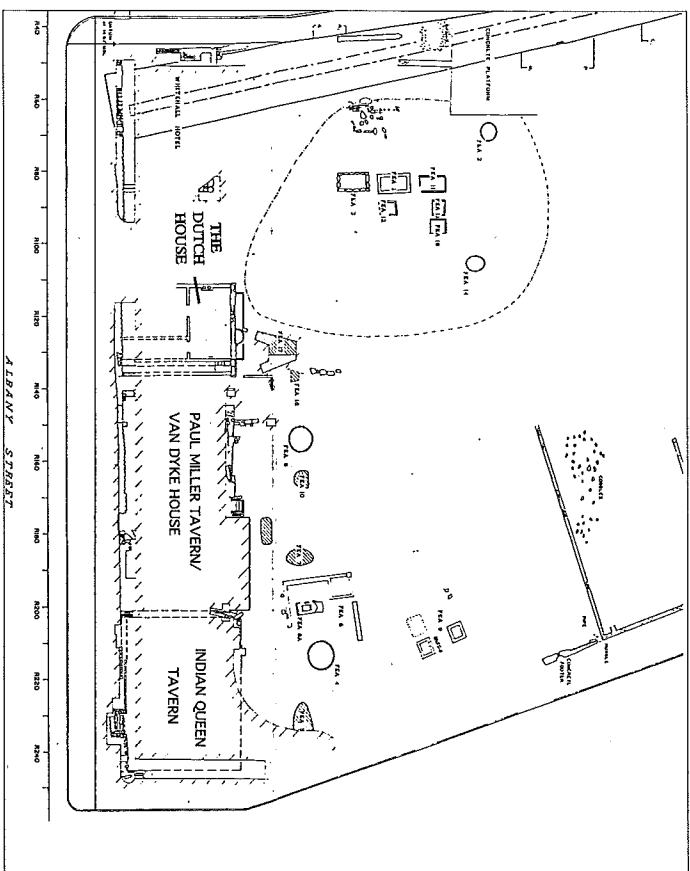


Fig. 5. This New Jersey Department of Transportation archaeological salvage map shows the sites of foundations and archaeological features identified on the Route 18 Freeway Site.

claims that Drake entertained John Adams, Edward Rutledge, and Benjamin Franklin on their way to their futile conference with Lord Howe in Staten Island in 1776, a conference that, had it been successful, might have curtailed the Revolutionary War.

Most of the Indian Queen Tavern's foundation was removed when the building was dismantled in 1972, but Crozier located four intact features behind the structure (numbers 4, 5, 6, and 6A on fig. 5). Feature 5, a shallow midden, contained primarily eighteenth-century artifacts probably relating to the period when Drake was the tavern keeper. Feature 4 was a brick-lined cistern filled late in the nineteenth century; features 6 and 6A dated to the twentieth century. The presence of an *in situ* eighteenth-century midden indicates the potential for other undisturbed remains dating to the early history of the property (the property immediately to the south also held an eighteenth-century tavern). Paul Miller built a house there in 1742; when he advertised it for sale in 1749, it had been a tavern for several years.<sup>11</sup> New Jersey's Governor Belcher was entertained at Paul Miller's in 1747 during Hude's inauguration as mayor.<sup>12</sup> The tavern continued under several different owners until 1777, when it was burned by the British. The next owner of the lot, Frederick Van Dyke, built a much larger house out of which he ran a grocery and dry goods business in the 1790s. The house abutted the Indian Queen Tavern on the north and another house on the south. Crozier states that archaeological investigations were not undertaken in depth on the Paul Miller/Van Dyke site area. However, features 7, 8, and 10 appear to relate to the property (see fig. 5). Two of them (features 7 and 10) contained mid-eighteenth-century materials probably dating to the period of the Paul Miller Tavern. Clearly, this property also contained *in situ* eighteenth-century deposits in spite of the fact that the Van Dyke house was demolished to make room for an Atlantic Refinery Company service station in 1941. Like the Indian Queen Tavern site, the archaeological remains on the Paul Miller/Van Dyke property were also covered with plastic and a protective mantle of soil. They lie below the open lot immediately south of the Route 18 overpass. Three more lots containing structural remains and related features were investigated to the south of the Paul Miller property and also lay beneath the open area, which is encircled by roadways.

Based on his finds, Crozier recommended that the entire Route 18 Freeway Site be listed on the National Register of Historic Places. According to records on file at the New Jersey DOT, however, the recommendation died there.<sup>13</sup> The DOT reviewer did not seek to

determine the site's National Register eligibility, and the New Jersey State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO) accepted the report as complying with the mitigation plan.<sup>14</sup> Road construction in the early 1990s further cut into the area that included these archaeological remains and obliterated the Whitehall Tavern site at the southwest-ern corner of the block. The Whitehall was New Brunswick's most celebrated tavern, having served as a kind of exchange market for farmers and provisioners to meet with produce agents from New York. The Provincial Congress met at the Whitehall in 1776; George Washington and others were entertained there during the war.

Crozier believed that he was to conduct controlled, systematic test excavations "sufficient to evaluate the integrity and define the limits of potential sites identified in order to develop a program of in place preservation and archaeological data recovery."<sup>15</sup> He did not anticipate that time constraints and field conditions would make even that task almost impossible, nor that his recommendations would fail to be considered. Crozier assumed that data recovery—that is, full-scale excavation—would be planned and implemented after his findings had been evaluated even as he favored leaving as much in the ground as possible so that it would remain untouched for future research.<sup>16</sup> This belief that leaving things in the ground would allow for their preservation was prevalent in the early days of compliance archaeology. Unfortunately, it often proved naive.

Betty Cosans directed the work on the Hotel Site for John Milner Associates.<sup>17</sup> Under similar time constraints and even worse field conditions than Crozier had confronted (the standing structures on two of the three lots to be investigated had not been taken down), Cosans's work was done in compliance with a Memorandum of Agreement between the Federal Advisory Council on Historic Preservation and the City of New Brunswick. The agreement was designed "to mitigate the adverse effect of the proposed development on a historic district that had been declared eligible to the National Register of Historic Places."

The archaeological work focused on the block facing Albany Street originally owned by Philip French, an important developer of early New Brunswick. In the 1730s French leased lots within the block to Dutch settlers from Albany. By the 1740s the entire front of the Hotel Site had been subdivided into ten lots and granted to ten individuals whose names are listed in French's lease book.<sup>18</sup> According to Cosans's research, the subdivision of this block also created the bounding streets, Peace on the north and Neilson (first called Queen) on the

south. It was a key component in the development of the city's slightly skewed but more or less rectilinear grid pattern. The influx of Dutch settlers from the Hudson Valley was also significant to the city's ethnic mix, and the creation of a distinct neighborhood provided a wonderful opportunity to look at the material expression of this specific group. French apparently intended the block to be strictly residential; at least one of the leases prohibited the keeping or building of "a tavern publick, ale, or tap house." Excavation of this area and the Route 18 Freeway Site would permit archaeologists to make comparisons between early settlement patterns and urban development, between second-generation Dutch and second-generation English, and between commercial and residential areas.

Unfortunately, Cosans did not recover archaeological remains relating to eighteenth-century occupation on the block. Her excavations, limited to two major test trenches cutting across the backs of several lots each, several smaller trenches, and the salvage of artifacts from five nineteenth-century privies and a section of the town sewer, produced almost twenty-three thousand artifacts including many mid-nineteenth-century glass and ceramic vessels. More than 60 percent of the artifacts came from the sewer, which had been created from Barrack Spring Brook. The 1766 Clinton map shows the brook running in a northwest/southeast direction along what would have been the back of the lots facing Albany Street. The spring emanated at the top of the hill, about eight hundred feet south of the Hotel Site, and flowed down to the river. An 1839 city ordinance ordered proprietors of lots along Barrack Spring Brook to "dock, plank, or wall up said water course on the sites . . . in a uniform manner, not less than three feet wide, and to clear it out, so as to give full vent to the water at all times, and to dig down so deep as to clear the drains from the different cellars."<sup>19</sup> Finding the archaeological evidence consistent with this date, Cosans concluded that "at the time a major engineering endeavor was apparently undertaken which involved both the construction of an extensive subsurface drainage system and substantial infilling across the site."<sup>20</sup>

She found stone walls, a wood-lined and several ceramic-lined lateral drains, and evidence for "grading to less than a foot from bedrock."<sup>21</sup> The sewer walls of dry laid stone and an adjoining building (identified as a stable) were built freestanding on the temporary graded surface, and then the area around them was filled in. The lateral drains were also presumably installed on top of the graded surface. From this evidence Cosans concluded that all *in situ* archaeo-

logical evidence of early historic occupation had been destroyed. However, the houses along the street edge were not destroyed for the sake of sewer construction, and testing in areas that were further removed from the sewer might have encountered ground that was less disturbed. Another professional archaeologist observed intact eighteenth-century features and a related occupation surface within at least one of the properties along the Peace Street side of the block.<sup>22</sup> Whole and near-whole chamber pots of creamware, redware, and salt-glazed stoneware were recovered from a privy. This general area is now under the parking garage for the hotel.

Both archaeological projects were hampered by difficult field conditions and pressures from city officials to conclude quickly. Crozier identified archaeological resources that he deemed eligible for the National Register of Historic Places and would have required full-scale excavation if they could not be avoided during construction. However, his recommendations were ignored, and no further work was recommended by the responsible agency. Cosans was prevented from investigating a large portion of her project area because buildings had not been taken down. Why the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation found this acceptable is unclear. What is clear is that not nearly enough time or effort was spent investigating either site. In both cases, taking advantage of a large number of archaeological features exposed during destruction and construction long after the professionals had left, amateur collectors reaped the best of what was left of New Brunswick's eighteenth-century heritage.<sup>23</sup>

### The Hiram Market Historic District

In 1979 the Hiram Market District was declared eligible to the National Register of Historic Places. The market itself, built in 1814 and destroyed in 1865, was a shed measuring 25 by 150 feet, but it was also the hub of the city's religious, educational, financial, and commercial activities for at least seventy-five years of the nineteenth century (the commercial district subsequently moved further south to George Street). It was on this basis that a citizens' group formed to ensure that the redevelopment of the city would not destroy this important remnant of New Brunswick's heritage. The group was instrumental in getting the district declared eligible to the state and national registers, although the city government fought the nomination pro-

cess.<sup>24</sup> As part of the campaign to win historic status for Hiram Market, the citizen group produced a walking tour map of the area showing historic sites and describing their significance. Of the eighty-one buildings within the district, nineteen were stops on the tour: today, only four of these buildings are standing (see Appendix).

As his master's thesis for the Mason Gross School of the Arts at Rutgers, Tony Masso produced a "Decade Update" of the historic Hiram Market.<sup>25</sup> Using historic and his own photographs, Masso recreated the walking tour map ten years after it was originally developed. His work documents the intentional destruction of most of the stops on the tour. Figures 6–9 illustrate the demolition of stop number 17, the Phoenix Engine Company at 24–26 Dennis Street, and the rest of the buildings on the block, also within the district. The cleared area (fig. 9) represents the heart of the district, the market house having stood directly in front of the Reformed Church.



Figs. 6–9. These photographs document the demolition of the Phoenix Engine Company on Dennis Street in New Brunswick's Hiram Market Historic District in April 1988. By 1992 the section of the historic district along Dennis Street had been completely cleared in preparation for a townhouse/condominium development. The original Hiram Market house stood in front of the Reformed Church, on the left in the last photograph.

In February 1980 the State Historic Preservation Office and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation reached a Memorandum of Agreement with city officials that called for a moratorium on all demolition, new construction, and zoning changes within the Hiram Market District. By 1981, however, DEVCO had acquired properties within the district and demolished buildings. In June of that year the local newspaper reported that real estate agent Omar Borraie had purchased seven Hiram Market properties for DEVCO over two years, the same period during which a DEVCO representative sat on a four-member committee that hired a consultant to develop a comprehensive conservation-revitalization-development plan for the district.<sup>26</sup>

The consultant concluded that the district lacked "historic fibre" and claimed that only eleven of the eighty-one designated buildings were historically important enough to be left intact.<sup>27</sup> While neither development interests nor preservationists felt well served by the document, New Brunswick's mayor, John Lynch, embraced the conclusions and moved ahead with redevelopment without waiting for the report to be reviewed by state and federal agencies.<sup>28</sup> Following the consultant's recommendations, the city planned to take down the historic buildings and construct new two- and three-story condominiums in the Federal style in their place.

In December 1983 the city building inspector condemned nine buildings within the district. All owned by DEVCO, they were razed soon after. Again in February 1984 buildings were taken down. DEVCO was accused at the local, state, and federal levels of intentionally letting historic properties deteriorate to the point that they had to be condemned. Public agencies threatened to take action against the city if any federal or state funds were used in the destruction process, but the city insisted that all demolitions (and property purchases) were done with private funds.<sup>29</sup>

The destruction of these buildings, in addition to those razed for hotel construction and street widening for hotel access, significantly altered the character of the Hiram Market District. Accordingly, the city sought to remove historic district status from Hiram Market in 1985, a process that was completed in 1992 (fig. 10).<sup>30</sup> Johnson and Johnson essentially got what it wanted, a context for its new headquarters that included only religious edifices from the past. But why was this the context the company desired?



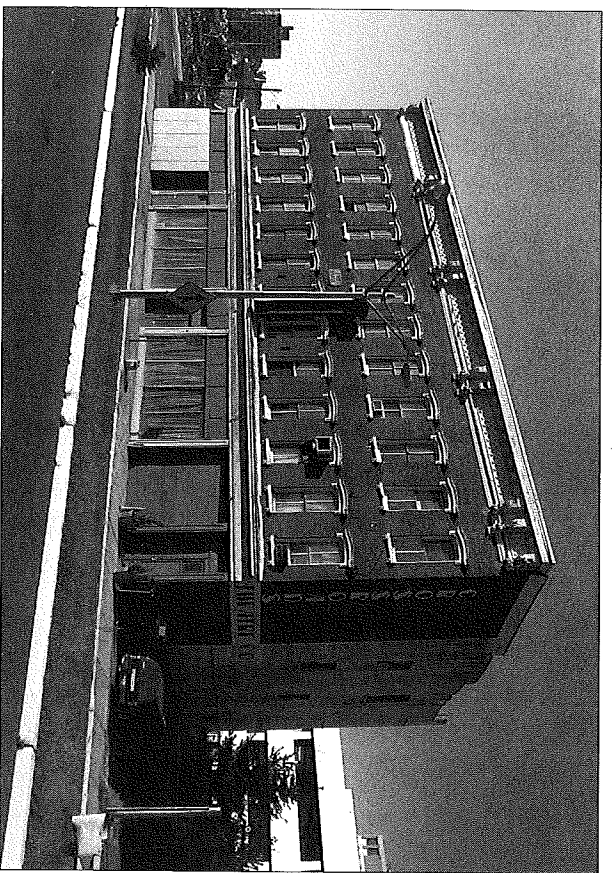


Fig. 10. Built in about 1876, the King Block was purchased by DEVCO in the early 1980s. Though it was listed on the state register of historic places in 1987 and on the National Register in 1988, the building was razed in November 1994 after the Hiram Market's historic district status was rescinded.

### The Ideological Framework

Johnson and Johnson's redevelopment plans for New Brunswick were aimed at economic revitalization above all else, but the company clearly did not believe that historic preservation on any scale could contribute to that end. In an article in *New Jersey Monthly*, two local journalists claimed that preserving the Hiram Market District would have interfered with the large amounts of money that were made from land deals.<sup>31</sup> Yet why Johnson and Johnson, a company that has prided itself in service to the community, did not feel a similar sense of pride in the past is puzzling. To investigate this problem, we did four things. We read the classic history of New Brunswick, published in 1925,<sup>32</sup> and we read Johnson and Johnson's centennial history, published in 1986.<sup>33</sup> We talked to the archaeologist who worked closely with the city throughout the redevelopment<sup>34</sup> and we tried (unsuccessfully) to talk to someone on the inside—an employee of New Brunswick Tomorrow, of Johnson and Johnson, or both.

William Benedict's *New Brunswick in History* is, in his own

words, the history of a small city. But it is also a narrowly focused history of a small city. In a style that is characteristic of the genre, he made little effort to place New Brunswick in a broader perspective than its own boundaries (and those he belabored endlessly). Reflecting the fact that Benedict's major primary source was the city council minutes, eighteenth-century events were told in terms of various mayor's administrations, banks received a great deal of attention in the nineteenth century, and the city's role as a port was virtually ignored except for some discussion of whaling privateers and the advent of steamboats. For certain specifics—the businesses that located in New Brunswick in the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s, property damages from the "great tornado of 1835," and who ate dinner with whom at the Whitehall—Benedict's history is useful. But it is not a celebrational history. It does not make New Brunswick seem even as important as it was; no great heroes emerge in Benedict's narrative. Although the book can be credited for not romanticizing history, it can be faulted for not leaving a memorable impression on readers and for failing to show the city's past as a legacy worth saving.

Johnson and Johnson's centennial history is quite different. A vanity publication, the book celebrates the company's history with particular emphasis on its contributions to society. Johnson and Johnson was founded in 1886 by three brothers, one of whom, Robert Wood Johnson, believed the theory of airborne germs propounded by English surgeon Joseph Lister (1827–1912). This Johnson initiated research in the area and at the same time began mass production of sterile cotton and gauze dressings. The company was committed to this combination of research and product development and, arguably, obsessed with asepsis, the effort to prevent infection. In the 1890s Johnson and Johnson developed sterile sutures, in the 1920s it invented Band-Aids,<sup>®</sup> and in the 1940s it produced hospital disposable products, described as "a new way to enhance asepsis in hospitals."

All of this, the book declares, made the world a better place. The perspective is broad—Johnson and Johnson donated first-aid products to San Francisco after the 1906 earthquake, kept the bandage machines running seven days a week during World War I, and thrived while smaller companies languished during World War II. Robert Wood Johnson, who led the company during the 1930s and 1940s, had ideas even about architecture. He built architect-designed plants (he abhorred the word "factory") in the middle of huge acreages because he believed there was a relationship between an attractive environment and greater output. Buildings were, in his words,

"not only frameworks of stone and steel, but frameworks of ideas and ideals."<sup>35</sup> Johnson and Johnson's new international headquarters (figs. 1 and 8) is a perfect expression of the company's ideology. The sterile tower, designed by world-renowned architect I. M. Pei, sits in the middle of pristinely kept lawns. Its modernity celebrates the company's enduring ideology.

Peter Primavera, the archaeologist whose firm did two major data recovery projects for DEVCO and who served in an advisory capacity during the redevelopment, thinks historic resources were given short shift because of the people involved. During the redevelopment, both the city's Democratic administration and the upper management of Johnson and Johnson were made up of men descended from the immigrant groups that came to New Brunswick in the nineteenth century—to build the Delaware and Raritan Canal and to work in the many industries that flourished after the canal was built. For them, New Brunswick's important history began in the nineteenth century, a period best preserved in the tales their grandfathers told them of their days as steamboat captains or in the factories. The stark material remains of their working-class roots, in the form of vernacular architecture or broken poishers and bottles, did not mesh with their romanticized view of their past.

Primavera also believes that on the whole the university community, New Brunswick's intellectual conscience, did next to nothing about preserving the physical remains of the city's past. Exceptions are Peter Wacker and John Brush of the geography department, sociologist Philip Marden, who tried to convince planners to preserve the Hiram Market, and the 1979 Urban Design Studio at Livingston College which, under the direction of Anton Nelesen, proposed an alternative plan to DEVCO's hotel/conference center. Wacker, who sat on the city's four-member Hiram Market District committee, has claimed that the structure of the committee, evenly divided between preservation and development interests, ensured that no decisions could be reached.<sup>36</sup>

Thus, it became a *we* versus *them* situation. *We* in the preservation business think they in the redevelopment business should have paid more attention to their past. *We* even think our way would have made a more successful redevelopment, which might or might not be the case. *We* do know that more archaeology in areas of the eighteenth-century city would have provided more information on New Brunswick's past that is otherwise unknowable. Exactly how extensive were the port facilities? Was New Brunswick a cultural back-

water, or did its trade create a cosmopolitan community? Did the "Dutch" settlers from Albany remain distinct from the indigenous population; how does second-generation ethnicity express itself in material culture? What were the socioeconomic dimensions of the early community? Did economic distinctions intensify over time, or did they diminish? What were consumer choices dependent on? Was there a distinctive New Brunswick subculture? Were boundaries expressed through material culture? What parts of the eighteenth-century community were preserved after industrialization in the nineteenth century? When did the past become irrelevant to the present?

The destruction of the historic district left a hole in the middle of the city. Financing for the planned townhouse/condominium development has been slow to materialize, and the lots along Dennis Street remain fundamentally empty. To date, eighteen condominiums have been built in the former Hiram Market District, all on Hiram Street, and construction has just begun (August 1996) on market-rate apartments. Because the upscale condominiums proved difficult to sell, the city is building a five-story, 142-unit apartment building in the former district.<sup>37</sup> The apartment building will offer units at rents between eight hundred and eleven hundred dollars, very different from the suburban model originally envisioned.

As in many other cities, the 1970s redevelopment plan for New Brunswick did not anticipate the economic realities of the late 1980s and 1990s. While the removal of the deteriorating historic urban fabric may have seemed like a solution to an image problem, the creation of a new image has not been easy. The emptiness of the redeveloped New Brunswick is an eloquent expression of how necessary it is to build the present on the past. If, indeed, history is "a presentation of the present to itself," as Mark Leone has argued,<sup>38</sup> the denial of history is also a presentation of the present to itself.

New Brunswick's dissociation from its past is perfectly represented by the limited-access highway that replaced the city's original street, which ran parallel to the river into the mid-1950s. The highway effectively cuts the city off from its reason to be: the river. Today the river has nothing to do with the economic well-being of New Brunswick, which is primarily dependent on the continued presence of Johnson and Johnson. The larger neighborhood in which the international headquarters building sits is merely a shell—sterile, half-empty, commercial space and vacant lots awaiting development. Most of the new commercial buildings are used for Johnson and Johnson offices, the Robert Wood Johnson Medical Facility, Rutgers University

housing, and the Rutgers art and planning schools. Thus, they give only the appearance of a diversified business community. All the downtown residents are gone, having left the preserved historic churches with barely existent congregations. While New Brunswick's redevelopment has created a complex of corporate facilities and restaurants to serve visiting businessmen and suburban theatergoers, it presents the city more as an industrial park than an urban community. The past (and people), it would appear, cannot be totally eliminated without great sacrifice.

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#### APPENDIX

The Nineteen Structures Included on the Hiram Market Walking Tour Map

- 1 • *Christ Church, 5 Paterson Street*  
The only structure that predates the Revolutionary War, built of locally quarried brownstone.
- 2 • *Bayard Street School, 24 Bayard Street*  
The first public school in New Brunswick, built in 1853. The three-story structure was originally of Italianate design with a central bell tower. The present street facade is of Romanesque design, added about 1890.
- 3 • *Keenon's Tavern, 161-63 Neilson Street*  
Built in 1801, a two-and-a-half-story brick building in Federal style. It has Second Empire dormers and paired Georgian-style chimneys at the gable end. Revolutionary War veteran Peter Keenon operated a tavern here from 1806 to 1814.
- 4 • *Bank of New Brunswick, 157-59 Neilson Street*  
A three-and-a-half-story Federal-style brick building, built in 1810. It was the first office of the Bank of New Brunswick, incorporated in 1807, the oldest bank in the city, and the third oldest in the state.
- 5 • *Congregation Poile Zedek, 141 Neilson Street*  
Built in 1923 of Byzantine design with intricate stained glass, small onion domes, and a wrought iron fence.
- 6 • *Slack's School, 141 Neilson Street*  
Two-story frame structure, with hand-sprail siding built about 1800-10. The oldest schoolhouse in the city.

- 7 • *Deinzer Block, 135-37 Neilson Street*  
Four-and-a-half-story brick Italianate building, built about 1885.
- 8 • *Congregation Achavas Achim, 31-37 Richmond Street*  
Two-story brick structure built 1880 with final modification to Temple Achavas Achim about 1930.
- 9 • *15-19, 21 Richmond Street*  
Two-and-a-half-story frame, brick-fill townhouses dating from the Civil War. The four-story brick building was built about 1890, with Romanesque detailing and a mansard roof.
- 10 • *Macom's Hotel, 262-64 Burnet Street (Route 18)*  
Three-story frame structure on a brownstone foundation, built about 1830.
- 11 • *292 Burnet Street*  
Three-and-a-half-story brick building, Federal style, built about 1820.
- 12 • *King Block, 314-20 Burnet Street*  
Three-story industrial/commercial building, built about 1876, with an Italianate facade.
- 13 • *Post Office, 328-30 Burnet Street*  
Two-story frame structure with brick fill, built 1869.
- 14 • *2-6 Peace Street*  
Two-story, three-bay brick buildings, built between 1830 and 1890.
- 15 • *The Bull's Head Hotel, 24-30 Hiram Street*  
Four-story brick building, built in 1870.
- 16 • *Home News Print Shop, 29 Dennis Street*  
Two-story industrial building, with three paired, double Romanesque arched windows, built about 1870.
- 17 • *Phoenix Engine Company, 24-26 Dennis Street*  
Two-story brick firehouse with a brownstone foundation and a sixty-foot-tall, slate-sheathed hose drying tower, built in 1876.
- 18 • *First Reformed Church, 9-11 Bayard Street*  
Built in 1812, the church has a three-tiered wooden steeple completed in 1827.

19 • *National Bank of New Jersey, 61-63 Church Street*  
Three-story brick building with intricate detailing, including third-story oval windows, built about 1870-80.

## NOTES

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1. Heritage Studies, "Inventory of Historic, Cultural, and Architectural Resources" (Princeton, N.J., 1977); Barbara Cypher Listolín, "The Architectural History of New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1681-1900" (New Brunswick, N.J., 1976).

2. Although the authors have never seen any documented evidence that Rockefeller considered New Brunswick, many sources, including New Brunswick's former mayor, John Lynch, make this claim. Lynch told local archaeologist Peter Primavera that his father had seen correspondence between Rockefeller and the city. Lynch's father was also a mayor of New Brunswick.

3. See Parker B. Potter, "Archaeology in Public in Annapolis: An Experiment in the Application of Critical Theory to Historical Archaeology" (Brown University, 1989) on how the past is used in the present in Annapolis and how a carefully structured interpretive program can educate people to see the connections between the past and the present. David Lowenthal discusses the difficulties of knowing the past in *The Past is a Foreign Country* (New York, 1985).

4. The chronology for various stages of the redevelopment presented here was pieced together from newspaper articles and from James T. Prior, "New Brunswick Focuses on Improved Quality of Life," *New Jersey Business*, April 1988, 97-99, 103-4, 106.

5. On the mayor's involvement in the city's redevelopment program, see Roland Keane, "City Proposes Redevelopment of Historic District," *The Daily Targum* (Rutgers University student newspaper), May 3, 1985.

6. Michael B. Schiffer and George J. Gumenman, *Conservation Archaeology: A Guide for Cultural Resource Management Studies* (New York, 1977).

7. Daniel G. Crozier, "The Archaeological Investigation and Preservation of a Portion of the New Jersey Route 18 Freeway Site, New Brunswick" (New Jersey Department of Transportation, Bureau of Environmental Analysis, Trenton, 1980).

8. Daniel Crozier to authors, Dec. 12, 1991.

9. Thomas Francis Gordon, *A Gazetteer of the State of New Jersey, Comprehending a General View of Its Physical and Moral Condition, Together with a Topographical and Statistical Account of Its Counties, Towns, Villages, Canals, Railroads, &c., Accompanied by a Map* (Trenton, N.J., 1834).

10. The 1790 map of New Brunswick shows "Drake's" next to three other riverside structures, all of which face two major wharves labeled "Bray and Taylor's Wharf" and "Schuyler's Old Wharf." This map is on file in Special Collections, Alexander Library, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N.J.

11. Crozier, "Archaeological Investigation," 293.

12. William H. Benedict, *New Brunswick in History* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1925).

13. Crozier to Brenda Springsted, 1980, on file, New Jersey Department of Transportation, Bureau of Environmental Analysis.

14. Jonathan Gell to authors, Dec. 9, 1991.

15. Crozier, "Archaeological Investigation," 91.

16. Crozier to authors, Dec. 12, 1991.

17. Betty J. Cosans, "Archaeological Investigations of a Proposed Urban Redevelopment Site, New Brunswick, New Jersey" (Typescript, John Milner Associates, Philadelphia, 1983).

18. Philip French lease book, Special Collections, Alexander Library, Rutgers University, New Brunswick.

19. Cosans, "Archaeological Investigations," 96.

20. *Ibid.*, 9.

21. *Ibid.*, 58.

22. David Zmoda to authors, December 1991.

23. Yamin, who lived in the area during the 1970s and 1980s, has observed and spoken to collectors who, to this day, continue to talk about the wealth of treasures found during New Brunswick's redevelopment.

24. Rudy Larini, "Hiram Market Designation Alive," *The Home News* (New Brunswick), July 13, 1979.

25. Anthony Daniel Masso, "Historic Hiram Market: Decade Update" (M.A. thesis, Mason Gross School of the Arts, Rutgers University, 1989).

26. Christopher Guidette, "Land Buys Veiled, But Satisfying," *The Home News*, June 9, 1981.

27. See Joe Cantlupé, "Hiram Market Razings Proposed by Consultant," *The Home News*, Mar. 23, 1982, on the March 1982 preliminary conservation-revitalization-development plan for the district.

28. Joe Cantlupé, "Lynch: . . . Charades and Theater Are Over," *The Home News*, Apr. 14, 1982. The article quoted Mayor Lynch as saying, "The charades and theater are over with, it's time to get moving."

29. Peter Parisi, "Market's Historic Status in Jeopardy," *The Home News*, Feb. 4, 1984.

30. Peter Primavera to authors, Dec. 2, 1991.

31. Annemarie Cooke and Neil H. Reisner, "The New Brunswick Question," *New Jersey Monthly*, November 1990, 62-64, 90-95.

32. Benedict, *New Brunswick in History*.

33. Lawrence G. Foster, *Johnson and Johnson: One Hundred Year Illustrated History of Johnson and Johnson* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1986).

34. Peter Primavera, interview with Rebecca Yamin, Dec. 2, 1991, Highland Park, N.J.

35. Foster, *Johnson and Johnson*, 111.

36. Peter Wacker to authors, January 1992.

37. Rachelle Garbarine, "New Brunswick Project Switches to Rentals," *New York Times*, Dec. 17, 1995.

38. Mark P. Leone, "Method as Message, Interpreting the Past with the Public," *Museum News*, October 1983, 35-43.