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# Papers and Proceedings

OF

## The Bergen County Historical Society

1902—1905.

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NUMBER ONE.

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*Organization and Proceedings* . . . . . REV. EZRA T. SANFORD

*Report of the Committee on Colonial and Revolutionary History and Historical Places* COL. W. D. SNOW

*Baron Steuben's Estate* . . . . . WILLIAM ALEXANDER LINN

*The Poor Monument Celebration* . . . . . EUGENE K. BIRD

*Oration Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of General Enoch Poor* . . . . . HON. HENRY M. BAKER





GEN. ENOCH POOR

*From a Painting by Kosciusko.*



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## ORGANIZATION AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE BERGEN COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

*By Rev. Ezra T. Sanford.*

On March 4, 1902, a company of those interested in the formation of a Historical Society in Bergen County met in the Johnson Public Library at Hackensack, and was called to order by William A. Linn. Rev. Herman Vandewart, Pastor of the First Reformed Church of Hackensack, was made Chairman of the meeting, and James A. Romeyn, Secretary.

A Committee was appointed to perfect the organization, consisting of W. O. Labagh, C. Van H. Whitbeck and Rev. Ezra T. Sanford.

On March 26 the Society was formed, a constitution adopted and a Committee appointed to nominate officers. The Committee made its report to a meeting held April 9, 1902, and Hon. William M. Johnson was elected first President. In connection with the other officers and various committees appointed by the President considerable work was done the first year.

On June 7 William Nelson, of the State Historical Society, made an address of encouragement.

On November 21 the Rev. Ezra T. Sanford gave the Society a lecture on "Old Bergen County Days," Mr. George Walker kindly furnishing a stereopticon to illuminate the pictures used for the lecture. A generous offering was made by the audience on the occasion, towards erecting the proposed monument to mark the site of Old Fort Lee.

At the first annual dinner, February 23, 1903, in Odd Fellows' Hall, Hackensack, addresses were made by Cornelius Christie, William Abbott, D. D. Zabriskie, C. Doremus, H. D. Winton, C. V. H. Whitbeck, A. De Baum, W. D. Snow and T. N. Glover.

At this meeting Cornelius Christie was elected President. During the year several articles of furniture were purchased for the preservation of the historical documents and relics belonging to the Society.

On November 11, 1903, Mr. B. H. Allbee gave a most interesting lecture on "Old Houses of Bergen County," illustrated with stereopticon views kindly furnished by C. Newman.

On February 22, 1904, the annual dinner was held at Oritani Hall, Hackensack, where addresses were made as follows: Rev. H. Van Derwart, on "George Washington;" W. A. Linn, on "Baron Steuben;" T. N. Glover, on "Cornwallis in Bergen County;" Rev. E. S. Wheeler, of Boston, on "General Greene;" Byron G. Van Horne, on "Descendants of Bergen County Loyalists in Nova Scotia;" B. H. Allbee, on "Monuments to the Builders of Bergen County."

At this meeting the following Committee was appointed to co-operate with the Sons of the American Revolution in erecting a monument to General Enoch Poor in the open space in front of the County Court House: C. F. Adams, W. W. Holly, A. T. Holly, E. K. Bird, B. H. Allbee, C. Christie and Rev. E. T. Sanford. With the Committee, by request of the Sons of the American Revolution, W. M. Johnson was asked to serve.

Thomas N. Glover was elected President for the ensuing year.

Various gifts of relics and historical documents were received during the year, among them being publications of the Minisink Valley Historical Society, The Newburg (N. Y.) Historical Society, State Historian Hugh Hastings, of New York, and the Holland Society.

In the month of April, under the management of Mrs. F. A. Westervelt, the Society conducted an interesting exhibition of relics and historical documents in its rooms in the Johnson Library Building.

During the year the Poor Monument Committee, Dr. C. F. Adams, Chairman, raised five hundred dollars towards the erection of the proposed monument, the State of New Jersey giving one thousand dollars, the State of New Hampshire five hundred dollars and the Sons of the American Revolution five hundred dollars.

On November 13, Frank G. Speck gave a lecture on "Indians in Bergen County."

On December 12 the two hundredth anniversary of the Old Stone House on Essex Street, Hackensack, was observed. The house was built by Abram Ackerman and his sons and was sold to Albert A. Brinkerhoff in 1825. J. G. Ackerman

read the Ackerman family history and the Rev. E. T. Sanford spoke upon the subject, "When the Old House Was New."

At a meeting of the Executive Committee on December 23, the Editorial Committee were authorized to issue a publication containing a brief History of the Society by the Rev. Ezra T. Sanford, the address of Col. W. D. Snow at the first annual dinner, the address of W. A. Linn at the second annual dinner, the oration of Hon. Henry M. Baker at the unveiling of the Statue of General Enoch Poor, with a brief introduction to said oration by E. K. Bird, and in addition to the foregoing appropriate incidental matter; two copies to be distributed to each member of the Society and other copies exchanged with Historical Societies. An edition of five hundred copies was thought desirable.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON COLONIAL AND  
REVOLUTIONARY HISTORY AND HIS-  
TORICAL PLACES.

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*Read at the Annual Dinner, February 22, 1903, by Col. W.  
D. Snow.*

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The writer of this report presents it with hesitancy as the Report of the Committee. The field assigned is so broad, the material so abundant, the difficulty of co-operative work, arising from the scattered homes of its members so great, that the writer has been compelled to assume a responsibility he would have preferred to avoid, could he have had larger opportunities for consultation and advice with his fellow members.

Justice requires that he should make this avowal, so that those who are associated with him, may not be held responsible for the errors of this document, and that he, solely, may bear the brunt of whatever is here set down, which shall not satisfy the critical taste and wider knowledge of the other members of the Committee or the Society itself.

On a subject so complex and in part so obscure as the Colonial and Revolutionary History of New Jersey, for want of earlier societies of the nature of our own, the Committee has thought, that it ought to proceed upon a system, which should first present as briefly as possible the ascertained facts of History, which have affected our territory generally or locally; whether proprietary, political, military, judicial or legislative.

Should they succeed in this, tho' in a hasty and fragmentary way, covering but a small segment of the circle of events of the past of New Jersey and the Bergen region, they feel that they will at least have striven for the position of Friar Tuck; who is said not only to have "pointed to Heaven, but led the way" in that, at least they will have emulated his many imperfect steps and numerous back slidings; of which, it will be remembered, he was a most accomplished past-master.

That unmitigated martyr to unexpected and undeserved good luck, by the grace of the treachery of Major General Monk, to the cause of the people whilom Duke of Albemarle, the Second Charles, King of England, among his early acts after the restoration of Monarchy, in utter disregard of the pledges of the English Commonwealth, under Cromwell; proceeded with true kingly arrogance in 1664, to bestow on his brother James, Duke of York and Albany, the property of other people, which, he with gracious magnanimity described as "all the lands lying within the sweep of a line drawn up the Western bank of the Connecticut River from its source, to the sources of the Hudson, thence West to the head of the Mohawk branch of the Hudson River, thence to the Eastern side of Delaware Bay (March, 1664), and thence to the ocean. By one of those rare chances of inscrutable History, these lines correspond with the outer boundary of the Dutch Republic, sprung from the discoveries of Henrick Hudson in the Republic's service, and the occupancy and peaceful settlement of the citizens of that government acquiesced in and respected from its first settlement. In persuance of this generous scheme of high-handed robbery, the next step of Royalty was the sending of Col. Richard Nichols, Sir Robert Carr, Col. George Coborough and Samuel Maverick, to take possession as Commissioners of the regally bestowed territory, to revoke their charters and assume the Government of this and other territory claimed as the heritage of Charles II. from the royal martyr, the first Charles.

The third step was in a time of profound peace between the Dutch and England, without notice of claim to the Dutch Republic or notification to the citizens of New Netherlands, with 450 soldiers and 120 guns mounted on three men of war, to take possession of the land. This proved easy. Gov. Stuyvesant, taken by surprise, without instructions from home—so secretly had the movement been made—finding himself with but 120 trained men to arms and only 20 guns at the fort, was forced to surrender without a blow. There was no choice between surrender and slaughter, and he succumbed. The crime was consummated. Bergen and its outer territory was part of the land seized. A medieval afternoon miracle has been performed, and the Dutchmen who had gone to bed, members of the glorious little republic, woke up Englishmen.

New Jersey became a political entity for the first time in July, 1665, when the English Governor Nicolls, who had

taken possession of New Amsterdam in August, 1664, and included New Jersey as a part of the grant was first apprised, that two months before he had taken possession, His Royal Highness, the Duke of York, had granted to his two friends, Lord John Berkley, Baron of Stratton and Sir George Carteret of Saltum, "all his rights, within the territory of New Netherlands, between the Hudson River and the harbor of New York and the Delaware River, and the sea ending at Cape May in the South." Col. Nicolls, who had been acting as Governor of the whole territory, was not a little disturbed at the confusion likely to ensue after a successful year's work of pacification. As the proof of the grant presented by Phillip Carteret, who had been designated as Governor by the new proprietors was incontestible, Col. Nicolls at once surrendered the territory. Before this, however, Col. Nicolls in ignorance of his want of power had already authorized a settlement at Elizabeth, and had granted rights and titles along the Hudson and outer bay; particularly in Bergen, Hoboken, Weehawken, Pavonia, Ahasimus and Constables Hook; the settlers of all of which were profoundly exercised by the uncertainties, which beset their political and pecuniary rights and titles.

Instructed by the ideas born of the Civil War, resulting in the conflict between Kingly prerogative and the fundamental rights of the people, Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret had authorized Phillip Carteret to offer gifts of land to settlers on most liberal terms, among which were religious toleration, and a free Government. This document was called:

"The Concessions and Agreements of the Lords Proprietors to and with, all and every of the adventures and all such as shall settle and plant in their territory."

It will be observed that these concessions were far in advance of the Governmental plans of most of the other proprietors, and that for the times, New Jersey started on her political career on a higher plane of recognition of human rights, than any of the then colonies enjoyed, till the advent of William Penn as proprietor some years later.

The Governor assiduously made known throughout New York and New England the liberal terms he was authorized to grant, and almost immediately a remarkable immigration, organized by whole companies, set in from New York, Connecticut and Massachusetts as well as from Sweden, the Netherlands, France and England.

The region known as Bergen comprised the present

county and what is now Hudson county, with undefined limits South and West, and from its accessibility profited most in numbers, as is shown by the fact that in the first assembly called by the Governor, May 26, 1668, Bergen was allotted more so-called "Burgesses" than any of the other divisions of the colony.

The assembling of that body revealed the significant fact that the largest immigration came from Massachusetts, and that region of Connecticut, which still maintained a theocratic Government, denying political rights to all who were not members of the prevailing church in good standing and communion.

The Puritans controlled that Assembly and passed a bill of fines and penalties against various sorts of offenders, which was drawn in some of its parts directly from the Book of Leviticus.

In that age, characterized by historians as one in which all sects wanted toleration for themselves, and none were willing to accord it to others, the New Jersey Puritans found religious toleration imbedded in the organic contract called The Concessions and left it untouched, as a basic fact which had brought to New Jersey, and especially Bergen, unbounded prosperity.

How great a boon they preserved to our forefathers is strikingly illustrated by two contemporary acts fourteen years later. The debasing effects of religious rancour even on the superior minds of devout men, were never more strikingly illustrated than in the following letter, from one of the most celebrated divines New England has ever produced.

It is addressed to another distinguished personage of the Colony of Massachusetts and is as follows:

September ye 15, 1682.

"To Ye Aged and Beloved, Mr. John Higginson:

"There is now at sea a ship called the Welcome, which has on board an hundred or more of the heretics and malignants called Quakers, with W. Penn, who is the chief scamp, at the head of them.

"The general court has accordingly given secret orders to Master Malachi Huscott, of the brig Porpoise, to waylay the said Welcome, slyly, as near the Cape of Cod as may be, and make captive the said Penn and his ungodly crew, so that



the Lord may be glorified, and not mocked on the soil of this new country with the heathen worship of these people.

"Much spoil can be made by selling the whole lot to Barbadoes, where slaves fetch good prices in rum and sugar, and we shall not only do the Lord great service by punishing the wicked, but we shall make great good for his minister and people.

"Master Huscott feels hopeful, and I will set down the news when the ship comes back.

"Yours in ye bowels of Christ,  
"COTTON MATHER."

A few months afterwards the scamp, William Penn, having escaped the fate so unctiously designed for him, was assuring by written mandate the settlers in his broad domain, which had cost him 16,000 (\$80,000) that:

"They should be governed by laws of their own making; that they should be at the mercy of no Governor, who comes to make his fortune, that all sects and conditions of men should be free to worship God as their consciences dictated; that there should be no class privileges in Church or State, and that he proposed by extraordinary precaution to leave himself and his successors, no power of doing mischief; that the will of one might not hinder the good of the whole community."

Repugnant as the spirit of Cotton Mather's letter is to the enlightened consciences of our day and glorious as seems to us, in the enjoyment of the fruition of the policy of Penn two centuries and a quarter later; who, knowing the infirmities of sincere human judgment, shall judge between the Puritan and the Quaker? Except to say, that the erring one must not be condemned by the ethics of a later century and that the other through the susceptibility of a more exquisitely attuned soul, caught the pearl and crimson morning glow of the ascending sun of human liberty, while that sun was yet below the horizon to the earnest gaze of the other, and that each was honestly true to the light that his nature permitted him to receive.

Thus was New Jersey, chiefly Bergen (the Hill County) bravely launched.

Except for the episode of the reconquest of the New Netherlands by the Dutch a few years afterwards, their possessions of seven months before the treaty of Westminster restored it to the English, and the consequences of that treaty, the division of New Jersey into East and West proprietor-

ships, and the surrender of the proprietary rights to the crown thereafter, history has only to record a peaceful, orderly growth in population, wealth and comfort; until the grievances which produced the Revolution began to be discussed almost a century afterwards.

The growth was cosmopolitan. It came from every discontented population, suffering from the disturbed state of warring Europe, and the narrow doctrines and policies of some of the surrounding Colonies.

An examination of the records of Bergen County discloses from the names attached to Wills and Deeds, that among the earliest settlers came many with scriptural names, such as Hezekiah, Rheoboam, Jethro, Azariah, etc., now supposed to represent the Puritan element. The Hugonots, then fleeing from the results of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, were represented by the Debauns, Demarests, DeVoes, Duboises and other names of pure Norman construction, while the Teutonic immigration was clearly defined by the numerous Dutch Vans dotted all over the County, occasionally varied by the German Von.

As a whole the immigrants were a religious people. From Smith's History of the Colony of New Jersey, published in 1765, we learn that there was at that time 160 meeting houses in the Colony, owned by six denominations. The Presbyterians held about one-third, the Quakers one-fifth, the Episcopalians and Baptists one-eighth each, and the Low Dutch and Dutch and Dutch Colonist a little less than one-fifth. In Bergen County at that time, the Low Dutch had the lead with seven edifices, the Presbyterians came next with six; but the Quakers, Episcopalians and Baptists were without Houses of Worship. It is needless to add that the Unitarians—if there were any—were in a like plight homeless, tho' later history discloses that the first Universalist Church in America was founded in New Jersey in Monmouth County.

In 1765 Bergen County's lines were exactly defined and embraced what is now Hudson County, East of the Hackensack River, and to the North of Hudson territory approximating its present limits.

Among the intermediary Governors of New Jersey were two of England's nobility, whose names were popularly regarded as significant of their character. Lord Cornbury was hated and recalled because of his brutality, and for the fact that he left his wife and family to starve at Albany, and

Lord Lovelace, who was popular on account of his refined taste, suavity of manner, and his sympathetic conduct. It is not known whether he visited Bergen County, but it is safe to say he would have been welcomed by the ladies at least, through the suggestiveness of his name.

It fell to the lot of an unusually good man to be the last Colonial Governor.

William Franklin personally irreproachable, wise, and a statesman from the Royalist point of view, encountered the first mutterings of the storm of the Revolution.

It is not too much to say, that by the weight of his character, the adroitness of his acts of conciliation, and the justness of his temperament, he delayed for more than two years the climax of that political action, which was to be, and it is from the tumultuous session of the Assembly of 1774 that we catch the first view of the political feeling of Bergen County.

The official record of that session does not put Bergen County, as represented, as anxious for the Revolution. On the first of New Jersey's famous resolutions: That the Assembly heartily accept the invitation of a mutual correspondence and intercourse with its sister colonies, Bergen County voted in the negative, and therefore had no representation in the Committee of Revolutionary Correspondence.

At the first Provincial Congress of the State, held by invitation of the General Congress (1776) thirteen Counties returned 65 members.

On the resolution: That the proclamation of William Franklin, "late Governor of New Jersey, appointing a meeting of the Legislature for June 20, of that year, ought not to be obeyed," there were but eleven negative votes, and Bergen County cast five of them.

On the following day, on the resolution that Governor Franklin had acted in contempt and in violation of the resolution of Congress, directing New Jersey and other Colonies to frame for themselves independent Governments, there were but eight votes in the negative and Bergen County cast three of them.

The third resolution that William Franklin had discovered himself an enemy to his country and should be arrested, was passed by 42 affirmative votes, including two from Bergen, yet three of Bergen's votes were still cast in the negative.

On the fourth resolution, that the Governor's salary

should cease, New Jersey's thrift re-inforced its patriotism, and there was but one Bergen vote in the negative. Governor Franklin was arrested; his salary was stopped; he was transferred to military custody in East Windsor, where he was held two years; was exchanged and disappeared under British protection in New York.

As early as June, 1774, a large spontaneous meeting of the citizens of Bergen County was held at the Court House, Hackensack. The meeting demanded the Repeal of the Port Bill, and offered to become parties to a closer union of the Colonies to redress all the grievances, which affected not only New Jersey, but all the Colonies.

Not to be outdone the Loyalists, citizens of Hackensack to the number of 37, as late as March 14, 1775, met and declared "their loyalty to the King, and their willingness to venture their lives and fortunes to support the dignity of the crown.

The crisis had arrived. Meetings were held throughout the County, resulting in a decided preponderance of sentiment for redress and independence, though to the last there existed a considerable body of loyalists, until the war either drove them into the ranks of the English or to New York City.

In the New Jersey Gazette of December, 1777, appears a peculiar appeal of the first Governor of the State of New Jersey, particularly addressed to Bergen County.

In a letter addressed to Isaac Collins, Gov. William Livingston says:

Sir: I am afraid that while we are employed in furnishing our battalions with cloathing, we forget the County of Bergen, which alone is sufficient, amply to provide them, with winter waistcoats and breeches. It is well known that the rural ladies in that part of our State pride themselves in an incredible number of petticoats; which, like house furniture, are displayed by way of ostentation, for many years before they are decreed to invest the fair bodies of the proprietors. Till that period they are never worn, but neatly piled up on each side of an immense escritoire, the top of which is decorated with a most capacious brass-clapsed Bible, seldom read. What I would, therefore, humbly propose, is to make prize of those future female habiliments, and after proper transformation, immediately apply them to screen from the inclemencies of the weather those gallant males, who are now fighting for the liberties of their country. And to clear this measure from

every imputation of injustice, I have only to observe, that the generality of the women in that county, having, for above a century, worn the breeches, it is highly reasonable that the men should now, and especially upon so important an occasion, make booty of the petticoats.

It is pleasant to know that this suggestion was met by patriotic women, who organized a society for the purposes indicated for the whole State; that they accumulated a large supply of material, and the records show, that notwithstanding the Governor's clumsy humor about the century worn breeches of the ladies, this country responded nobly, and that on its most important committees are found the names of the two Misses Deys, Mrs. Fell, Mrs. Knyper and Mrs. Erskine of Bergen.

Of Historical Places, the attention of the Committee has been called to houses and events in Rutherford, Lodi, Kingsland, Carlstadt, Fort Lee, New Bridge, Paramus Plains, Ridgewood, Mawah, River Edge, Sufferns, Tappan and Riverdale; all teeming with Revolutionary Romance, relics and incidents, which merit the attention of the Committee, when it shall have more time, and a better co-operative organization.

As yet the Committee have had opportunity through the reporter to give attention to but one of these places, and that the last mentioned, Riverdale, three miles northeast of Westwood.

On September 23, 1778, Sir Henry Clinton, just returned from his Bedford expedition, sent his forces along the New Jersey coast to capture some American privateers, and their prizes, and destroy grain mills, salt works, &c.

To divert attention and forage for meat and provisions, he ordered Lord Cornwallis, afterwards the Commander-in-Chief, captured by Washington at Yorktown, with 5,000 men into Bergen County.

He also ordered Gen. Knyphausen to Dobbs Ferry with 3,000 men to collect all description of craft possible to transport the whole 8,000 across the Hudson.

Gen. Washington had just left White Plains, and established headquarters opposite West Point. He thought from the direction the two columns were taking that an expedition up the Hudson was contemplated, and ordered Col. George Baylor, with parts of three companies of Light Dragoons—116

men to move from Paramus and post themselves on the upper Hackensack River to watch the Cornwallis movements.

Col. Bayer arrived at the bridge crossing the Hackensack at River Vale late in the afternoon of September 28th, and learned that Gen. Wayne, with 3,000 militia, was just north of Tappan. Deeming Wayne's command within supporting distance of him, he resolved to stay over night at that point; stabled his horses and men at the barns of the Holdrum's, De Voe's and Haring's of the immediate neighborhood on the west bank of the river, threw out a picket of twelve men at the bridge with orders for patrols of two men each to watch each of the four roads for a mile from the bridge, and then selected the house of Cornelius A. Herring for his own and his staff's dormitory, and Herring's barn for the sleeping places of twenty of his men.

Cornwallis was at New Bridge and his force scattered from there to Liberty Pole. Apprised by a spy of Col. Bayer's whereabouts, he immediately formulated a plan to capture his contingent and simultaneously have Knyhausen attack Gen. Wayne. Maj. Gen. Gray was ordered with a regiment of Light Infantry and the Second Battery to attack the sleeping Baylor.

Just before midnight Gen. Gray struck the west bank road silently and in good order, about two miles below the bridge. Here he forced a guide to take the troop through the fields and around the patrol in such manner that he captured all of them but one.

This accomplished, with picked men of six companies of his command, he went directly to the house of Cornelius A. Herring. The escaped sentinel had arrived and given Baylor the alarm but a moment before Gray's men burst in the doors. Simultaneously all the barns in which the Americans were sleeping were assaulted.

Col. Baylor and Maj. Clough, realizing the situation, endeavored to conceal themselves up the wide Dutch fireplace. Both were discovered and brought down by bayonet thrusts up the chimney. Col. Baylor received three wounds and Maj. Clough died instantly. Cornet Morrow, after being bayoneted seven times, begged for quarter, which was refused and he was stabbed again and stripped of his clothing. Dr. Thos. Evans, surgeon, was wounded, but with Col. Baylor made a prisoner.

The party attacking the barn used the bayonet freely. Lieut. John Steth, in command, finding himself surrounded,

called out that they surrendered, but was immediately wounded with a sword and yet escaped.

At a barn attacked by Sir James Bond's contingent one British soldier was killed, but of the sixteen Americans in the barn nine were killed and seven made prisoners.

Ensign Morrow, stripped and left for dead, was found by Lieut. Sleth the next morning and ultimately recovered.

The general result was of the 116 Americans thirteen were instantly killed, seventeen left behind supposed dead or dying, thirty-nine taken prisoners and forty-seven escaped.

Col. Baylor was the personal friend of Washington, had served on his staff and had been one of his family; was the first man to report to Washington the surrender of the Hessians at Trenton; had been complimented by Congress and presented by that body for gallantry with a horse fully caparisoned and promoted to a Colonelcy of Light Horse.

His disposition of his men on that fateful night was severely blamed as unmilitary. Congress ordered an investigation. Wayne, warned by surrounding patriots of Knyp-housen's advance, retreated in time to save his own command from being surrounded.

The main object of the expedition was therefor a failure, but as for Col. Baylor his ascending career as a soldier was arrested. The mistake of that night was fatal.

The graves of the humble soldiers killed still remain marked by tottering headstones in a lonely field beside the silent flowing Hackensack. Wounded and a prisoner, Col. Baylor disappeared into the mass of the unfortunate and no man knows for a certainty when and where he passed the Rubicon of death.

A single mistake had blasted a patriotic career and all we can say is, that his fate has only added another illustration to the truth of the poet, who has said :

“There is a time, we know not when,  
A point we know not where,  
That turns the destiny of men  
To glory or despair.

“There is a line, by us unseen,  
That crosses every path ;  
The hidden boundary between  
God's patience and His wrath.”

BARON STEUBEN'S ESTATE AT NEW BRIDGE,  
BERGEN COUNTY, NEW JERSEY.

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WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF HIS EUROPEAN EXPERIENCE AND HIS  
SERVICES TO THE AMERICAN ARMY.

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*Read at the Annual Dinner, February 22, 1904.*

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BY WILLIAM ALEXANDER LINN.

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All of you who have passed over New Bridge, about a mile above Hackensack, have doubtless noticed the dwelling of ancient architectural design on the west side of the river, facing the bridge. It is one of the "old houses" of Bergen county, and some interesting things in connection with its history were presented to those of us who were fortunate enough to listen to Mr. Albee's address at the Park Street Church last autumn. Sometime within the last ten years I read in one of our local papers a statement that this property was given to Baron Steuben by the State of New Jersey, after the Revolutionary War, in recognition of his services to this country during that struggle. Ever since that time, whenever I have ridden or driven over the bridge, I have looked with peculiar interest on this house, and have imagined the old soldier sitting on its porch in his latter days, smoking his pipe and slapping mosquitoes. For I accepted the statement of his ownership without question.

But when, after the organization of this society, I mentioned this incident to some of those who were looking up local history, I found that the ownership by Baron Steuben was involved in some doubt. Then I began an investigation of the matter on my own account, and I have found the results so interesting, and the Baron's story so connected with our local history, that when I was asked to say something here this evening, I decided to give you the results of my inquiries.

The subject of my investigations, William Augustus Henry Ferdinand von Steuben, was the oldest son of Capt.



Wilhelm Augustine Steuben. The Steubens were of noble family—"I am a Baron of the Holy Roman Empire," said our Steuben in later life—but like so many German families in the years following the Reformation (they were Protestants), they had lost their landed estates. Capt. Steuben was a Prussian soldier of scientific attainments, who, after serving his own country with distinction, was in 1733 ordered by King William I. to enter the service of Russia, and later served Prussia again in the Seven Years' War.

The Baron was born at Magdeburg on November 15, 1730. His father could afford no special educational advantages to his son, who said in later years that he "did not receive any better education than that which a poor young nobleman in Prussia always received." But he was without profligate habits and he was naturally studious, and so he learned to write and speak French and was well grounded in mathematics and history.

His father's calling attracted him, and when only fourteen years old he served under him during the war of the Austrian succession. The accession of Frederick the Great to the throne when Steuben was only ten years old gave the young man opportunity to take part in some of the greatest military struggles which the world has witnessed. Entering a famous regiment as a cadet, at the age of seventeen, he was promoted to be an engineer in two years, to be a lieutenant in four years and to be a first lieutenant two years later.

His military service was of the most practical and active character. He was wounded in the battle of Prague in May, 1757, helped rout the French in the battle of Rossbach in the following November and, joining von Mayr's "free corps," he participated with distinction in that daring officer's exploits; after his commander's death was appointed adjutant-general under von Hulsen and was again wounded in the disastrous battle of Kunersdorf in 1759. In 1761 he was on the staff of Gen. Knobloch, whose brigade operated against the Russians in Poland, and to him was intrusted the negotiation of the terms of surrender of Colberg, in which city Gen. Knobloch was blocked up; and he, with other officers, was sent thence a prisoner of war to St. Petersburg.

His imprisonment ended the following year with the armistice effected between Peter III. and Frederick, but he had made himself so popular with the Russians that he was urged to enter the Russian service. This invitation he declined, and

returning home, he was made a captain and appointed aide de camp on the King's staff, and in that capacity took part in the siege of Schweidnitz, with which the active campaigns of the Seven Years' War ended. Steuben's services, especially as an organizer, were so highly appreciated by the great Frederick, that he was one of the few chosen officers whom Frederick personally instructed in the military art.

Steuben, however, soon resigned from the army. Various reasons have been advanced for this step, the one accepted as most probable being a slight to his rank by Frederick, who was very inconsiderate of his officers' feelings, his favorite expression when an officer made any complaint being, "He may go to the devil."

If Steuben received that advice he did not act upon it. On the contrary, he made a trip to Hamburg and was there introduced to the Prince of Hohenzollern-Hechingen, from whom he accepted the office of grand marshal of the court. This place, the duties of which gave him supreme direction of the Prince's household and the arrangement of all court ceremonies, he held for ten years, and a contemporary has testified that "he filled his post with all that dignity and knowledge of his duty which it eminently required." But Steuben was a Protestant, and the court was Catholic, and finding that he was the object of the plottings of certain priests, he retired, and in 1769 joined the court of the Margrave of Baden, after refusing liberal offers to enter the military service of the King of Sardinia and of the German Emperor. He now held an honorary military position, leading an easy life, and having opportunity to visit France and make the acquaintance of many distinguished Frenchmen and Englishmen.

To form a just estimate of Steuben's services to our own country we must keep in view not only his military career, but his social opportunities, and remember how his previous life and surroundings corresponded with those of Valley Forge and the other camps of the poverty-stricken patriots. Had he been a mere hireling, or a mere seeker after military honors, a short period spent with Washington would have sufficed to dampen his hopes in America.

We now come to the events which led to Steuben's throwing his fortunes with the American cause. The outbreak of the rebellion of the American colonies seemed to many French statesmen to give to France the opportunity they had longed for, viz.: to take revenge on Great Britain for the humiliation

to which France had been subjected by the peace of Paris in 1763, which had deprived her of her North American possessions. But the King, Louis XVI., was timid, and while he intrigued in secret, he refused to give open aid to the American cause. His ministers did not conceal their sympathies, and Franklin's work at the French court was making progress.

While this was the situation there, Steuben set out for a visit to England by way of Paris. Arriving at the French capital he let his friend, the Count de St. Germain, then minister of war, know of his arrival. The Count's reply mystified him. It asked him not to go to Versailles, but made an appointment to meet him at the Paris arsenal. As Steuben was traveling merely for pleasure and was not an official person, he could not understand all this precaution. But he allowed himself to be conducted to the Count's apartment by an officer, and was warmly received. The greeting over, the Count opened a map, and pointing to America, said: "Here is your field of battle. Here is a republic which you must serve. You are the very man she wants at this moment. If you succeed, your fortune is made and you will gain more glory than you could hope for in Europe in a great many years to come."

Several elements entered into the making of this proposal by a French war minister to a German soldier. France wanted to help America and yet not to appear to do so. To European soldiers the American army presented itself merely as a gathering of citizens made up wholly of volunteers, without military organization, without drill masters, without orderly camp inspection, and without method or economy in the handling of supplies. No greater practical assistance, it seemed to these French well-wishers, could be given to the Americans than to send them an officer of Steuben's experience in all these matters. His selection had another feature. He was not a Frenchman. If he was captured by the British, or if Congress did not accept his services, France could in no way be held accountable for his mission, and the French could simply wash their hands of him.

The scheme did not at all appeal to Steuben's inclinations, and he gave the Count no encouragement. But other interviews followed, and he was introduced to Dr. Franklin, who also urged his acceptance of the task. But when Steuben brought up the subject of his expenses, Franklin declared that he had no authority to make him any pecuniary offer, except perhaps a grant of land of doubtful value, and his manner so

offended Steuben that the interview ended abruptly, and Steuben told his French advisors that he did not want to hear anything more of America. The Count continued, however, to urge the project on him, and at a dinner at which the Spanish Ambassador was present the Count, referring to Steuben, said: "Here is a man who will risk nothing; consequently he will gain nothing."

Instead of continuing his journey to England, Steuben returned to Germany, where letters from France followed, renewing the American proposal. Steuben accordingly took counsel of his friend, Prince Louis William of Baden, who did not hesitate to advise him that he could never hope for a better opportunity to achieve distinction. This was the turning point. The King of Prussia gave his consent to Steuben's departure; he conferred on a cousin his civil position, which brought him a yearly income of 4,600 livres, and returning to France in August, 1777, he made his preparations for sailing to this country. The decision arrived at was that he should ask for no definite promises from the American agents—not even money for his traveling expenses—but should simply propose to make one or two campaigns with the American army as a volunteer, thus avoiding the jealousy of the younger American officers.

With letters to Washington, Samuel Adams and other American leaders, he sailed from Marseilles on September 26, 1777, in the 24-gun ship *l'Heureux*, whose name for this voyage was changed to *Le Flamand*, entering his own name as Frank, and carrying, as a disguise, letters to the French governor of Martinique. M. de Beaumarchais, a warm sympathizer with the American cause, advanced to Steuben his traveling expenses as a loan, and sent to the patriots, in the same vessel, supplies of powder, cannon, mortars and small arms.

The voyage was a perilous one in several ways. Terrible gales were encountered, three times the powder-laden ship was on fire and the crew of eighty-four mutinied and had to be brought to terms by the fourteen officers and passengers. But after sixty-six days they entered the harbor of Portsmouth, N. H., where the vessel was saluted by the fort and the vessels in harbor, and the passengers were welcomed by the inhabitants who had just been cheered by the surrender of Burgoyne.

One little piece of deception was practiced in connection with Steuben's mission. In a letter to Alexander Hamilton, in 1790, concerning his remuneration, Steuben observed: "If I

should be charged with having made use of illicit stratagems to gain admission into the service of the United States I am sure the army will acquit me." This "stratagem" was the presentation of Steuben as a Prussian lieutenant-general. It was suggested by the French statesmen who induced him to serve us that not a member of our Congress had ever heard of the Margrave of Baden, and that, to limit his title to that dependency, would deprive him of the rank that was necessary to secure him the recognition that was mapped out for him in America.

From Portsmouth Steuben sent to Congress and to Gen. Washington letters defining his object and enclosing his introductions. The short letter to Congress sets forth his purpose in a few words:

"Honorable Gentlemen: The honor of serving a nation engaged in the noble enterprise of defending its rights and liberties was the motive that brought me to this continent. I ask neither riches nor titles. I am come here from the remotest end of Germany, at my own expense, and have given up an honorable and lucrative rank. I have made no condition with your deputies in France, nor shall I make any with you. My only ambition is to serve you as a volunteer, to deserve the confidence of your general-in-chief, and to follow him in all his operations, as I have done during seven campaigns with the King of Prussia. Two-and-twenty years spent in such a school seem to give me a right of thinking myself among the number of experienced officers; and if I am possessed of the acquirements in the art of war, they will be much more prized by me if I can employ them in the service of a republic such as I hope soon to see in America. I should willingly purchase at the expense of my blood the honor of having my name enrolled among those of the defenders of your liberty. Your gracious acceptance will be sufficient for me, and I ask no other favor than to be received among your officers. I venture to hope that you will grant this, my request, and that you will be so good as to send me your orders to Boston, where I shall await them, and take suitable measures in accordance."

Proceeding to Boston, John Hancock told him that it would be necessary for him to journey to York, Pa., where Congress was then in session, and he was provided with the equipment necessary for the trip, including saddle horses, vehicles and five negro servants. The start was delayed for five weeks, awaiting a reply to his letter to Washington (communication was very uncertain in those days), and he did not

get under way until January 14, 1778. His party included Duponceau, his interpreter (the Baron could not speak a word of English), two other Frenchmen and a cook whom he had brought with him from Europe. They rode on horseback, and the journey was by no means free from peril. The American army was suffering the deprivations of Valley Forge; the British had possession of Rhode Island, New York and most of Pennsylvania, and the travelers were liable to encounter parties of Tories, or to ask shelter of a Tory who would not hesitate to betray them. For instance, they had been warned against a certain landlord near the Connecticut boundary of Massachusetts, as a bitter Tory. But a snow storm left them no alternative against seeking refuge at his house. He recognized their affiliations and absolutely refused them food or beds. Steuben thereupon called for his pistols, and with these in hand and the assistance of a volley of German oaths, he soon brought the landlord to terms.

They arrived safely at York on February 5, and Steuben was warmly welcomed. Pleased with his reception, he wrote to John Hancock: "Now, sir, I am an American, and an American for life." Three members of Congress, including Dr. Witherspoon, the only member who could speak French, were appointed to ask Steuben on what terms he proposed to serve this country. In his reply he reiterated the declaration of his letter to Congress, but said that he expected to have his expenses paid, as he had relinquished his only income on leaving Germany; that if the Americans failed to win their independence he would hold them free from any further obligations to him, but if they were successful he should expect full indemnification for his sacrifices. Congress by resolution accepted this offer, and asked him to repair to Washington's headquarters as soon as convenient.

It would be almost impossible to exaggerate the conditions that he found on arriving at Valley Forge. Washington had written to Congress that unless something was done, the army must either starve, dissolve or disperse to seek food. There was neither organization, discipline nor supplies. Men, enlisted for three, six and nine months, were coming and going as their terms expired. "Sometimes," wrote Steuben, "a regiment was stronger than a brigade. I have seen a regiment consisting of thirty men, and a company of one corporal. There was no established system of manoeuvres, no settled regulations for discipline or good order, and no uniformity in the service.

The soldiers were scattered about in every direction. We had more commissaries and quartermasters than all the armies of Europe. The arms were in horrible condition, covered with rust, many from which a single shot could not have been fired. The men were literally naked. I saw officers at a grand parade mounting guard in a sort of dressing gown made of an old blanket or woollen bedcover. The idea the officers had of their duty was that they had only to mount guard or put themselves at the head of their regiment or company when they were going into action."

Washington at once asked his new assistant to sketch a plan of inspection, and he undertook the task, knowing full well how necessary it was to avoid the jealousies of officers coming from different States, and all looking askance at a foreigner. When his scheme was in order it was approved by Washington and by Congress, and from that date Steuben's influence made itself felt. He taught the value of an efficient staff, and provided Washington with one of which it has been said that it was one which Frederick would not have despised. The men themselves he had to teach such elementary practices as presenting arms, firing by platoons and the use of the bayonet. He would make his officers drill a single man first, then a company of six, and so on up to a platoon. "In less than three weeks," he says, "I executed manoeuvres with an entire division in the presence of the commander-in-chief."

All this was done by a man who had to give his orders through an interpreter. Of course, he lost his temper at times, but his patience never gave out. It must have been an amusing picture to see this military expert trying to drive the first notions of order and discipline into the minds of these rawest of recruits. Speaking only a few words of English, he would exhaust his store of German and French oaths, and then call on his aide to curse them in English. "Viens, mon ami Walker," he would cry. "Vien bon ami. Sacre bleu, gott vertamn, de gaucherie of dese badauts. Je ne puis plus. I can curse dem no more." "It was a brave attempt," says his friend North, "which nothing but virtue, or high-raised hopes of glory, could have supported."

It must be remembered that Steuben's task was performed by a man who had for years had charge of the formalities of a German court, and was accustomed to all the refinements and luxuries of such a life. Now, however, he got up at 3 a. m., smoked a pipe and drank a cup of coffee and was on horseback

ready for parade duties at sunrise. Even his imported cook could not stand what his master did. Finding little to cook at Valley Forge and no utensils to cook with, the cook asked a wagoner what he should do. "We cook our meat," was the reply, "by hanging it on a string, and thus turning it before the fire." Whereupon the cook presented himself to his master and resigned in these words: "Under happier circumstances, mon general, it would be my ambition to serve you, but here I have no chance of showing my talents; and I think myself obliged, in honor, to save your expense, since your wagoner is just as able to turn the string as I am."

Three months after Steuben's arrival at Valley Forge Congress showed its appreciation of his services by adopting a resolution appointing him inspector-general with the rank and pay of major-general. The army, too, appreciated his work. There was jealousy when his major-generalship was announced and later, but officers who first felt hurt were glad to serve under him. After the battle of Stony Point, which was won by the bayonet alone, the use of which he had first taught our soldiers, the younger soldiers, when Steuben visited the field, gathered around him and assured him that thereafter they would use their bayonets for something else than utensils on which to broil their steaks. The result of his discipline was strikingly shown at the battle of Monmouth, where he brought retiring troops to a stand under a heavy cannonade as easily as if they had been on a dress parade.

I cannot do the justice of even a mention of the many things he did in putting our army on an efficient basis. He wrote the "Regulations for the Order and Discipline of the Troops of the United States," which was the army blue book for many years to come. This work of twenty-five chapters was first written in German, then translated into bad French, put into good French by his interpreter, and finally translated into English by his aide, Capt. Walker. He made recommendations, planned campaigns and commanded troops in action as an officer of the line. With Washington in New Jersey, he ascertained Clinton's route from Allentown, took a very prominent part in the battle of Monmouth and believed himself that, in command of the left wing, he saved the day, after having a meeting with the traitor Lee, who tried in vain to make him believe that he had mistaken his orders to push on with his troops. He was with Washington in the camp at Morristown, where he received neither rations for his servants nor forage



for his horses, and where a loan kept him from starvation. Then Congress allowed him 250 louis d'ors (which netted him \$575), for his expenses in coming to this country. From Moristown he was sent by his chief to West Point when Clinton threatened that position, and thus he came to be a member of the court which passed sentence of death on Major Andree. He pitied, but could not save, and exclaimed, "Would to God the wretch who drew him to his death could have suffered in his place." Sometime later, hearing a soldier answer to the name of Jonathan Arnold on parade, he called him to his quarters and said: "You are too fine a soldier to bear the name of a traitor. Change it at once." "But what name shall I take?" asked the soldier. "Mine is at your service," was the reply, and his name was duly changed to Steuben by the Connecticut Legislature.

Sent to Virginia to help Gen. Greene when the invasion of that State by Arnold occurred, he found a condition of things worse in some respects than he had encountered at Valley Forge. He remained there until the surrender of Cornwallis, being in the trenches when that event occurred, putting forth all his energy to discipline and reinforce his commander's forces in the face of almost countless discouragements.

Without attempting to do any justice to his further military services we come now to the dark picture which his biographer draws of the ingratitude of the republic in telling the story of Steuben's long contest to obtain from Congress some pecuniary recompense for what he had done. The whole business does seem petty in the light of our days, when the nation appropriates hundreds of millions annually as pensions for those who rallied to the defense of the nation in her time of need. But our days are not Steuben's days. The country then was very poor, the government newly organized, with scant means of communication, and few newspapers to spread abroad the story of each man's achievements. Congress was slow, lamentably slow, in making an appropriation for the veteran soldier. But let us blame the times and not the men.

In 1782 Congress voted him \$2,400 and \$300 per month to enable him to take the field. In 1787 it voted him a gold-hilted sword. Finally, after seven years of efforts on his part, an act, approved June 4, 1790, gave him an annuity of \$2,500 during his life, in full discharge of all his demands. Had the appropriation been larger it would not have gone further with him; for he was no financier, and his generosity knew no limit.

If he was in funds his table must be filled with guests, and rank was not regarded in his invitations. "Poor fellows," he once remarked, when giving orders that some subordinate officers be invited, "they have field-officers' stomachs without their rations." When he took up his residence on his farm in New York State, he made to more than one needy soldier a present of from forty to one hundred of his acres. Washington observed that Congress did well to make his recompense an annuity and not a gross sum, as in the latter case his generosity would have made him die a beggar. Even this precaution did not save him from his debtors, and we find on record an assignment which he made in his later years, to cover an indebtedness of 2,271 pounds, in which he deeded 16,000 acres of land and one-fifth of his annuity. Among the creditors named are Alexander Hamilton and Brockholst Livingston.

If the nation seemed disregarding of Steuben's services, the States in which he served most actively did not. Pennsylvania made him a grant of 2,000 acres and Virginia gave him 10,000. What disposition he made of these gifts his biographer does not say.

We come now to the gift that concerns us locally, and makes the Baron an object of special interest to Bergen county. Knapp, in his life of the Baron, says: "New Jersey had given him a life lease of a forfeited estate of John Zabriskie, lying in the county of Bergen, township of New Barbadoes, at the New Bridge, in the immediate neighborhood of New York; but Steuben, when informed that Zabriskie, in consequence of that confiscation, was left without means, did not accept the gift, and interposed in behalf of Zabriskie."

If this statement was correct it settled the question of ownership of the New Bridge estate, without further research. But as I undertook the work of verification, I found that the statement was very questionable, and by the expenditure of a good deal of time and a little money, and the kind assistance of the State Librarian and the librarian of the New Jersey Historical Society, I think I have obtained all the facts as based on official records.

The New Jersey Legislature passed an act which bears date of December 23, 1783, setting forth as follows:

"Whereas, the Legislature are informed that Maj.-Gen. Baron Steuben is anxiously desirous to become a citizen of the State of New Jersey, and are also impressed with a sense of the many and signal services by him rendered to the United

States of America \* \* \* that that part of the real estate formerly belonging to John Zabriskie, and which has been forfeited to and vested in this State, lying, situate and being in the county of Bergen, township of New Barbadoes, and at the New Bridge, shall be, and the same hereby is, appropriated to and for the use of Maj.Gen. Baron Steuben, to hold, use and enjoy the said estate, and all the emoluments that may thereunto appertain and belong, in as full and ample a manner as if the fee simple of the said estate was vested in him. Provided always, and it is the true intent and meaning of this act, that the said Maj.-Gen. Baron Steuben shall have, hold, occupy and enjoy the said estate in person, and not by tenant"; otherwise the estate was to revert to the State.

The Baron did not propose to occupy the estate in person, and to meet his wishes a supplement to this act, bearing date of December 24, 1784, was passed, which set forth that the Legislature was informed that the conditions of the gift interfered materially with his views; but, being "deeply filled with a sense of the many and signal services by him rendered to the United States of America, and desirous to testify to the world the grateful sense they entertain of the said services." therefore the agent for forfeited estates was authorized to sell this estate to the highest bidder and pay the money into the State treasury, and the interest thereon should be paid to the Baron during his life.

The estate was sold, in accordance with the act, on April 1, 1875, the successful bidder being the Baron's aide-de-camp, Capt. Walker, and the price bid being 1,500 pounds. But the terms of payment were not observed, and again the Legislature manifested its generosity. A further act was passed, bearing date of February 28, 1786, which provided that, if the payment was not made by the following March, then the Baron should have the use and benefit of the estate during the time of his residence in any of the States. The bid for the estate by Walker was evidently in the Baron's behalf, for we find a letter from him to Gov. Livingston in the State library, dated November, 1785, speaking of having purchased the estate, and complaining that a certain wood lot was withheld at the sale. Undoubtedly the Baron had not the money to meet the payment, and this was why the Legislature again came to his relief.

Still he was not satisfied, and once more the Legislature manifested its generous spirit toward him. An act, bearing

date of September 5, 1788, was passed, repealing all the previous acts conferring on him any rights in the estate, and providing as follows:

“Whereas, the Legislature are still anxious to evince to the world the high sense they entertain of the important services rendered to the United States of America, during the late war by Maj.-Gen. Baron de Steuben; and whereas, the acts of the Assembly heretofore passed on behalf of said Baron have been found not to be so advantageous to him as were intended; therefore, be it enacted that (dropping the full legal text) the Baron be vested with the full title of the State in the said estate, “for the sole and only use of the said Baron de Steuben, his heirs and assigns forever.”

Thus the State of New Jersey paid finally its share of the debt which the nation owed to the old soldier. And thus it set at rest any doubt as to the ownership of this estate by the Baron. But he did not occupy it. Unquestionably he visited it, and he had a knowledge of its value. But he needed cash more than land; and if you will go down to the court house on the Green and ask for Liber F of deeds and turn to page 2, you will find a deed dated three months after this act became a law, in which for the sum of 1,200 pounds he conveyed back to John Zabriskie all this estate, “together with all and singular the edifices, buildings, grist mill, barns and stables, fences, right-of-way, privileges and advantages, hereditaments and appurtenances whatever.”

In May, 1786, the Legislature of New York, as a public testimony to his “very essential service,” voted the Baron a quarter section of a township (16,000 acres), a part of the lands recently purchased from the Oneida Indians. He made his selection near the present city of Utica, and there he spent the summers in his later years, returning in the winters to the city, where he had the entre to the most exclusive houses. While at his farm, in November, 1795, he was stricken with paralysis, and he died on November 27. He had made a will in 1794 in which he gave certain legacies to his servants on condition that “they do not permit any person to touch my body, nor even to change the shirt in which I may have died; but that they wrap me up in my old military cloak, and in twenty-four hours after my decease bury me in such a spot as I shall, before my decease, point out to them, and that they never acquaint any person with the place where I shall be buried.”

He had not designated such a place, but he was laid away under a group of trees which he had mentioned as a good place for a man to be buried under. Not many years later a highway was laid out directly over his grave, and in time the earth was so worn away that the coffin became exposed, and it is said that some one opened a corner of it and tore off a piece of the coat that formed his winding sheet. A friend came to the rescue, and gave to the Wesleyan Baptist Society fifty acres of land on condition that five acres, to the middle of which the coffin was removed, should be kept fenced and uncleared.

I do not doubt that if the Baron had chosen to become an actual resident of our township, and had died at New Bridge, we would have seen to it that his grave was properly revered, and that there would be to him today a monument in this town erected in grateful tribute to his memory.



## THE POOR MONUMENT CELEBRATION AT HACK- ENSACK, OCTOBER 7, 1904.

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BY EUGENE K. BIRD.

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In preparation for the formal unveiling and dedication of the monument many private residences, business and public houses displayed the national colors, some of them being elaborately decorated. This evidence of interest in the patriotic event was an appreciation very encouraging to the committee, in charge of the celebration, indicating, as it did, that public spirit was in accord with the demonstration.

Preceding the parade the local committee entertained the invited guests from abroad at luncheon, served at the Hackensack Golf Club House.

The parade was under the direction of Maj. Charles F. Adams, M. D., and Lieut.-Col. Alfred T. Holley, marshals, the line forming as follows:

Robinson's Fifth Regiment Band, of Paterson; Fifth Regiment, New Jersey National Guard, Col. Edwin W. Hine, commanding; Battery A, Field Artillery, of Orange, Capt. Oscar H. Condit, commanding; delegations of Sons of the American Revolution, other guests and the committee in carriages.

The procession formed on State street at the Armory of Company G, Fifth Regiment, and covered this course: North to Central avenue, west to Union street, north to Anderson square, east to Main street, south to Court square and the statue. Here the immediate exercises attending the dedication were carried out at the monument with flawless accuracy of arrangement, an assemblage estimated at 4,000 or 5,000 persons being massed around the grand-stand. The stand itself was crowded by delegations of Daughters of the American Revolution from several States, among the ladies being a number of distinguished for active prominence in the national body of the organization. Many gentlemen conspicuous in the Sons of the American Revolution were also present in recognition of the

merit due him in whose name the shaft and figure were set up as an inspiration to all who love their country.

The formal program of the unveiling and dedication was as follows: Prayer by Rev. Charles L. Pardee, chaplain New Jersey Society Sons of the American Revolution; presentation of the plot of ground to the municipality of Hackensack by Mr. B. B. Barkman and its acceptance by the Rev. E. T. Sanford on behalf of President Jacob Bauer; unveiling the statue by Mrs. Frank E. Dunbar, of Lowell, Mass., a descendant of Gen. Poor, followed by a salute of twenty-one guns by Capt. Condit's Battery A, light artillery.

The Hon. John Whitehead, president of the New Jersey Society Sons of the American Revolution, who was the first speaker, confined his remarks largely to a detail of the work involved in securing the monument. He gave credit to Eugene K. Bird, of Hackensack, for conceiving the idea of rearing the monument; to A. W. Bray, secretary of the New Jersey Society Sons of the American Revolution and chairman of the committee, whose alertness, patience, perseverance and determination were so largely instrumental in carrying the enterprise to a magnificent completion, and to all others directly concerned in forwarding the patriotic enterprise.

The Hon. Edmund W. Wakelee, of Bergen county, at that time president of the State Senate and acting Governor in the absence from the State of Governor Franklin Murphy, represented the chief executive. Following Judge Whitehead Senator Wakelee spoke as follows:

"Ladies and Gentlemen:—It is fitting that at the dedication of this monument, erected in part through the aid of the State, that the highest executive officer of the commonwealth should be present; but because of other official duties he is prevented from being here, and I have the honor of representing, upon this happy occasion, his excellency Franklin Murphy, Governor of New Jersey. He is an honored member of the Sons of the American Revolution, and commander-in-chief of the National Guard of this State here represented, and I know he regrets his inability to be present, as I do my inability to more worthily represent him and more eloquently to express thoughts which he would wish expressed.

"It is for others here today to speak of the life and works of Brig.-Gen. Enoch Poor, whose memory we have assembled to perpetuate. He served his time and generation faithfully

and well, and we serve our time and generation best by being faithful to the traditions of the past; by honoring those who by honest work and patriotic service at the birth of this country as a nation laid the sure foundation of our present greatness and all our future glory.

"I was more than interested in the diary of Col. Israel Angell, now in the possession of Judge Angell, of Etna, this county, where I read under the date of September 10, 1780, the following:

"In the afternoon the remains of Gen. Poor were interred in Hackensack church yard amidst a numerous concourse of people."

"Today, one hundred and twenty-four years after that date, another and more numerous concourse of people is gathered upon this historic spot. But how things have changed since that September afternoon when those cold remains were laid in their last resting place over there in the church yard. Then the articles of confederation had just been adopted by the Continental Congress, and only the year before had New Jersey agreed to them. There was no national existence, only a league of friendship between sovereign States; only one house of Congress; no national executive or judiciary, with no power in Congress to levy taxes or to protect itself, with the great tractless West unexplored and unknown. Those thirteen weak States were even then in the midst of that struggle which has been the marvel of the world and which resulted in setting up here the standards of liberty, justice and equality.

"And unlike that other concourse, we are not dressed in funeral garb; we are not surrounded by the sound of war and the dread fear whether our arms would finally be victorious and freedom be made secure. To-day, because they were faithful and true, we meet happy and prosperous—all citizens of this greatest, grandest and freest country in all the world, at peace with all nations."

The Hon. Henry M. Baker, of New Hampshire, a former member of the House of Representatives at Washington, was next introduced as the orator of the day. He delivered an address embodying a just and comprehensive estimate of Gen. Poor's life, services and character, given in full in the following pages.

The exercises closed with the benediction by the Rev. William Welles Holley, D. D., of Christ (Episcopal) Church, Hackensack, and "America," sung by the audience.



ORATION UPON THE UNVEILING OF THE STATUE  
OF GEN. ENOCH POOR AT HACKENSACK,  
N. J., OCTOBER 7, 1904.

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BY HON. HENRY M. BAKER, OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

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His Excellency, the Acting Governor of New Jersey, Mr. President, Members of the Hackensack Commission, Compatriots, Ladies and Gentlemen:—By monuments and statues the living commemorate and honor the dead, illustrious for service to country and humanity. Such tributes become incentives to high endeavor and brave deeds. Poets and orators, sculptors and painters vie with each other to express fittingly the approbation of the people and the people applaud their best efforts and achievements. Patriotic societies promote and sustain this natural tendency to perpetuate the honor of the individual and the glory of the State and in that they find ample justification for their existence and prosperity.

The period of the revolution is replete with examples of the highest excellence in patriotism, personal service and moral purpose. No other era of our history presents so much of high thinking and noble action. Then wise statesmen, have as wise, enunciated principles in government which have found hearty approval wherever men have aspired to personal liberty and self-government.

They began with the assertion that taxation without representation is tyranny and through a series of sagacious aphorisms declaratory of the rights of mankind passed to those sublime self-evident truths that all men were created equal and that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. The idea of civil liberty grew in their minds until, before the war ended, they had established upon an enduring basis the right of mankind to constitutional government administered for the benefit of the governed. Wherever men prayed for liberty and struggled for self-control the success of the American revolution gave sympathy and encouragement. A new epoch was begun in which manhood was the

ruling factor and the rights of each were secured and maintained through the safety and honor of all.

We cannot too often remember or too greatly honor those who endured hardships and perils and freely made sacrifices that liberty might live and men be ennobled by representative government.

To-day, two of the original States—New Hampshire and New Jersey—and two societies of the Sons of the American Revolution representing those States unite in erecting a statue and monument to the memory of a brigadier-general of the revolution who served the common cause as the representative of the one and, dying in the service, was buried in the soil of the other with the military honors due his rank and merit.

We honor ourselves and our respective States by the respect and devotion we pay the memory of Gen. Enoch Poor, who enjoyed the confidence and esteem of Washington and the friendship of Lafayette.

Enoch Poor was born on the 21st of June, 1736, in that part of Andover in the State of Massachusetts which is now incorporated as North Andover. The family was of good English stock. In the mother country it had held responsible positions in both civil and military life with a marked preference for army service. Gen. Poor was of the fourth generation in America. The homestead farm was on the Shawsheen River, near its junction with the Merrimack. Both rivers are of clear water and picturesque beauty. The country is diversified by hill and valley, river and lake. The combination is pleasing and inspiring.

Here his ancestors settled in the first half of the seventeenth century and at once began to clear and till the soil. His great-grandfather, Daniel Poor, was one of the town officers and also a member of the first military company organized in the town. His father was at the siege of Louisburg in 1745. They were all of the Puritan stock, faith and practice. Their homes were religious and their lives exemplary.

Amid such surroundings and influenced by such examples and instruction the boyhood of Enoch Poor was passed in the usual routine of New England farm life. His education was that of the district school and the home circle. He appears to have been an industrious and thoughtful boy with a wonderful adaptation to details. Whatever he attempted he generally accomplished through persistent effort and careful thought. In his early manhood he was apprenticed to a cabinet-maker

and served his time as such. Some of his handiwork remains to attest his skill and ingenuity.

When nineteen years old he enlisted as a private in the French and Indian War and was assigned to the expedition under Gen. John Winslow, which subjugated the Acadians of Nova Scotia. His brother, Thomas, was a captain in the same service. A few years later he removed to Exeter, N. H., which remained his home through life. There he engaged in trade, but soon became a shipbuilder, employing many men. Before he left Andover he had fallen in love with Miss Martha Osgood, the daughter of a neighbor, Col. John Osgood. She fully reciprocated his attachment, but her father did not give his approval. So when Enoch Poor called at the Osgood mansion for his bride he met with firm opposition. Col. Osgood had locked his daughter in her chamber. He would not permit young Poor to see or communicate with her. Defeat for the lovers seemed imminent. Col. Osgood's tactics appeared to be beyond their power of resistance or immediate skill. Just then, however, Martha appeared at her open window and quickly jumped into Enoch's extended arms. Their marriage speedily followed and Col. Osgood, in due time acknowledging his defeat, became fully reconciled to his son-in-law.

Gen. Poor's married life was happy. Three daughters crowned the union, each of whom survived him. His widow resided in Exeter until her death in 1830.

No record has been found which determines the date when he removed to Exeter and began business there. It was probably prior to his marriage, but diligent inquiry and search have failed to discover the exact date of his marriage. It is generally admitted that he must have established himself in New Hampshire about 1760, for by 1765 he had become sufficiently prominent in the town to be one of the thirty principal citizens who united in an agreement to maintain peace and order during the excitement occasioned by the Stamp Act and the determination of the people not to conform to it. Five years later the town voted not to purchase tea until the tax upon it should be repealed and to encourage so far as possible the use of home products. Mr. Poor was one of a committee of six to enforce the vote. When the Continental Congress of 1774 passed the famous non-importation resolution Exeter ratified them in town meeting and elected a committee, of which he was a member, to secure a faithful compliance with them. The following year he was elected to the third and fourth Provin-

cial Congresses of the colony. On the 24th of May, 1775, he was selected to muster into the service of New Hampshire the men at Medford under the command of Col. John Stark. The same day the Provincial Congress, of which he was a member, authorized the enlistment of three regiments to serve for the year and elected John Stark, Enoch Poor and James Reed colonels to command them. Stark, with about 800 men, was already encamped before Boston. Reed's regiment was made up of two companies detailed from Stark and from enlistments made before and after his election as colonel and soon encamped at Charlestown. Both were in the battle of Bunker Hill. Col. Poor's regiment was to be wholly enlisted and enlistment papers were promptly issued and rapidly filled. A careful examination fails to disclose that Col. Poor ever held a military commission before he was appointed colonel. We have already noted that he served as a private in the French and Indian War and he must have had service in the militia of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. In his business he had had great experience in the control of men and his appointment to muster Col. Stark's regiment into the service indicates that he was known to have military knowledge and experience. That he was believed to be competent is proved by the fact that his selection to command the second regiment appears not to have been criticised and from the further fact that men did not hesitate to enlist under him. The wisdom of his selection is attested by his subsequent service. From May, 1775, until his untimely death, he was constantly in command of a regiment or a brigade. He was not at Bunker Hill. Prior to that battle the people of New Hampshire were apprehensive that their territory might be invaded with the purpose of capturing Portsmouth, which led the attack on Fort William and Mary and Exeter, where the rebellious Provincial Congresses held their sessions. Col. Poor's men were stationed along the coast, at Portsmouth and at Exeter. At Exeter they were building fire rafts with which to destroy any vessels which might attempt to ascend the river. The next day after the battle the Committee of Safety of New Hampshire ordered the regiment, with the exception of one company which was stationed at or near Portsmouth, to join the other New Hampshire troops before Boston and they arrived there on the 25th of June and encamped at Winter Hill. From that time until the following March when the British evacuated Boston Col. Poor and his men were performing their usual

routine duty in an army of investment. The records show that the regiment discharged its full share of guard and fatigue duty and that the men were perfected in the manual of arms. The nine months during which the Americans besieged Boston were valuable to them for instruction and discipline. Before the evacuation of the city they had learned that a long contest was inevitable and that they must prepare for it in earnest. However much the patriots failed to profit by this experience they knew the necessity for drilled troops and for long terms of enlistment. They also learned the necessity for supplies and that the demands of an army are multiform and incessant. The stern realities of war confronted them and no man who loved his country could neglect or disregard the duties of the hour. On the other hand the British had been taught to respect the foe they despised at first and to recognize that a man fighting for his home and liberty is a braver soldier than the hireling of despots.

Boston having been occupied by the patriot army it became evident that the British intended to make New York their headquarters. Washington immediately ordered a march upon that city. Among the troops selected for that service was Gen. Sullivan's brigade, including Col. Poor's regiment. The British troops evacuated Boston on the 17th of March, 1776, and ten days later Col. Poor and his men marched for Long Island. Soon after their arrival there they were ordered with other regiments to join the ill-fated expedition under Montgomery which had attempted the occupation of Canada. At that time there were no steamboats and no railroads. The march of an army was literally a march. All the privates and many of the officers were on foot. There were few roads and they were in poor condition. Frequently the troops followed a trail or cut a road through the forests as they advanced. The country was too sparsely settled for an army to subsist upon it and the transportation of munitions and other supplies was by horse and ox teams or occasionally by boat. Such a march from Long Island to Canada is a hardship from which the veteran troops of today would shrink. The patriots began it without complaint and endured reverses and disasters seldom equaled. To add to their losses and ill fortune smallpox ravaged the American army to such an extent that in some regiments hardly a man was fit for duty. Col. Trumbull said: "I did not look into a tent or hut in which I did not find either a dead or dying man." Everything went wrong and the army

abandoned Canada and retired to Crown Point. There a council of war was held July 7, 1776, and it was decided to retire to Ticonderoga, which then became the only fortress held by the Americans on Lake Champlain.

Against the evacuation of Crown Point Cols. Stark and Poor, with others, protested in writing and it is conceded that Washington believed the surrender of Crown Point unnecessary and ill advised.

While at Ticonderoga Col. Poor became president of the court-martial which tried Col. Hazen, who had been arrested upon charges presented by Gen. Arnold. In the course of the trial the court refused to admit the testimony of Maj. Scott, who was one of Arnold's principal witnesses, on the ground that he was personally interested in the result. Gen. Arnold protested in a vigorous communication which the court held to be disrespectful and prejudicial to its authority. They refused to enter it upon their records and instructed their president to demand an apology from Gen. Arnold. This Col. Poor did in a letter which would have done credit to an experienced lawyer. Gen. Arnold returned an intemperate reply in which he refused to apologize and suggested his readiness to fight a duel with any member of the court. Col. Poor then reported the whole transaction to Gen. Gates in a courteous and dignified letter, but Gen. Gates thought it unwise to enforce the rights of the court at that time against an officer of Arnold's standing and popularity. Hence he dissolved the court and the trial ended. Col. Poor continued to serve under Gen. Arnold and did not permit this episode to influence his conduct toward him. In this he exhibited a magnanimity and love of country worthy the emulation of all soldiers.

The British commander, Sir Guy Carleton, went into winter quarters in November and the danger of an attack upon Ticonderoga being removed, Gen. Gates sent a considerable part of his troops to reinforce Washington in New Jersey. Col. Poor's regiment and two others from New Hampshire were included in the order and joined Washington in December. These troops enabled him to win the battles of Trenton and Princeton.

On the 7th of January, 1777, the army under Washington arrived at Morristown, where it built log huts and went into winter quarters. The army suffered for supplies of every kind. The destitution of that winter was exceeded only by that of the next at Valley Forge.

Gen. Howe occupied New York as his winter headquarters. Neither army engaged in any extensive offensive operations during the winter. The Americans were active in perfecting their military organization, in recruiting and in securing supplies. The army was established upon a more permanent basis, enlistments were made for three years or during the war and the officers were commissioned accordingly.

To meet the new conditions and to provide for an increased army, Congress appointed additional generals and on the 21st of February, 1777, Col. Poor was commissioned a brigadier-general. Col. John Stark was the senior colonel from New Hampshire and had had considerable service prior to the revolution. He was a brave officer, conspicuous at Bunker Hill, and had proved himself capable and vigilant at all times. Therefore when Congress promoted Col. Poor and other colonels and did not promote him he felt the slight bitterly, especially as he believed that his merits had once before been unrecognized. He at once resigned from the army. Col. Poor offered to decline his promotion and ask for the appointment of Col. Stark in his place. This Stark positively refused and congratulated Col. Poor upon his promotion, which he said was merited. There was no enmity between them and they remained friends through life.

In the early spring Gen. Poor was assigned to duty in the Northern Department and stationed at Ticonderoga. His brigade was composed of three regiments from New Hampshire and detachments from Connecticut and New York.

It was the purpose of the British commanders to extend their posts from Crown Point southward and from New York north until they should have a complete line of fortifications from Canada to the sea, thus segregating New England from the other colonies. To that end Burgoyne was to fight his way to Albany, where forces from Gen. Howe ascending the Hudson were to join him. The plan was excellent and almost successful.

Gen. Schuyler, who was in command at Ticonderoga, had neglected to fortify or occupy Sugar Loaf Hill, which commanded the fort. The excuse was that he did not have troops sufficient to hold both places. This may have been true, but the result was unfortunate. The British occupied this hill, sometimes known as Fort Defiance, on the 5th of July, 1777. A council of war decided to evacuate the fort, which was done early in the morning of the next day. Gen. Poor favored the

evacuation. Congress was excited by the abandonment of the fort and demanded the immediate removal of Gen. Schuyler and that the other officers be tried by court-martial. The wiser and cooler judgment of Washington prevailed. The court-martial was not held and Gen. Schuyler remained in command until superseded by Gen. Gates on the 19th of August.

At that time the tide of victory had turned in favor of the patriots. The advance of the British upon Albany by the Mohawk Valley had been defeated and the glorious victory at Bennington under Stark, who had returned to the service of his country under the authority of his State, had been achieved. The spirits of the patriots revived and confidence again ruled in camp and field.

Meanwhile Burgoyne had great difficulty in supplying his army with provisions. The devastation he had accomplished counted against him. It was almost impossible to procure sufficient supplies from Canada and there was no immediate prospect of a union with Gen. Howe. His Indian allies were importunate in their demands and failed to obey his orders. The Americans harassed him upon every side. They had abandoned Fort Edward and Fort George, but they made it difficult for Burgoyne to profit by their retreat or to follow in pursuit. Their numbers increased daily and by the time the Americans were encamped at Stillwater Burgoyne was compelled to provide against an attack upon his rear.

Upon the 19th of September, 1777, soon after noon, the British attacked the American camp. The battle, now generally known by the name of Stillwater, ensued. On the part of the Americans it was almost wholly fought by the left wing, commanded by Arnold. Gen. Poor's brigade, then consisting of about 1,600 men, constituted one-half of Arnold's division. The battle was not decisive, though generally favorable to the Americans, whose loss was only one-half that of the British. The total American loss was 321. Of this number Gen. Poor's brigade lost 217, or more than double that of all the other troops of the patriot army.

The battle of the 7th of October—one hundred and twenty-seven years ago today—became a necessity to the British, for inaction was assured starvation. There was no safety in camp or in retreat. Victory alone could save Burgoyne and his men. Therefore the British again assumed the initiative. The attack was met by a superior force and the British were soon driven from the field. Poor's brigade was in the thick



of the fight and in conjunction with Morgan's regiment really won the battle of Saratoga, as it did that of Stillwater.

Gen. Wilkinson says in his Memoirs: "After I had delivered the order to Gen. Poor, directing him to the point of attack, I was commanded to bring up Ten Broeck's brigade of New York troops, 3,000 strong. I performed this service and regained the field of battle at the moment the enemy had turned their back, only fifty-two minutes after the first shot was fired. I found the courageous Col. Cilley (of Poor's brigade) astraddle of a brass 12-pounder and exulting in the capture."

The victory was complete; the enemy being pursued and driven from his own camp. The surrender of Burgoyne occurred ten days later.

It was well known to Gen. Gates that about 2,000 men under command of Sir Henry Clinton had left New York and were marching up the Hudson with the intention of joining Burgoyne at Albany. They had captured Forts Clinton and Montgomery and in consequence Forts Independence and Constitution had been abandoned. Everywhere the Americans had retired before him. Hence it was a matter of supreme importance to occupy Albany before Gen. Clinton could arrive there.

To accomplish that Gen. Poor's brigade marched forty miles and forded the Mohawk below the falls in fourteen hours. Clinton, having heard of the surrender of Burgoyne, returned to New York.

The campaign on the Hudson having ended gloriously, Gen. Poor and his brigade joined Washington near Philadelphia. The battle of Germantown had been fought, nearly won and then lost. Washington, being urged by the Assembly of Pennsylvania and some of his officers not to go into winter quarters, but to attempt the capture of Philadelphia, required the written opinion of his officers as to the advisability of an assault upon the city. Four of them favored the attack and ten, including Gen. Poor, advised against it. The prevailing opinion was that the army was in no fit condition to risk a general engagement which might prove fatal to the patriot cause. The army went into winter quarters at Valley Forge on the 19th of December. To those who objected, Washington replied as follows: "Gentlemen reprobate the going into winter quarters as much as if they thought the soldiers were made of sticks or stones. I can assure those gentlemen that it is a much easier and less distressing thing to draw remonstrances in a comfortable room than to occupy a cold, bleak hill and

sleep under frost and snow, without clothes or blankets. However, although they seem to have little feeling for the naked and distressed soldiers, I feel superabundantly for them and from my soul I pity their miseries, which it is neither in my power to relieve or prevent."

Gen. Poor was no growler. He did his duty fearlessly and so far as possible accommodated himself to his environment. He wrote few letters. Probably there are not a score of them relating to public affairs now in existence. Such as have been found are well expressed, direct and positive.

Just before the troops went into winter quarters he wrote to a member of his State Legislature, stating their condition and needs and the duty of the State to them in simple, but burning words. An extract from that letter is as follows:

"Did you know how much your men suffered for want of shirts, breeches, blankets, stockings and shoes your heart would ache for them. Sure I am that one-third are now suffering for want of those articles which gives the soldier great reason to complain after the encouragement given by the State to supply those of its inhabitants who should engage in their service.

"But there is another circumstance more alarming still; that is when you engaged your men to serve for three years or during the war they were promised a certain sum for their services; your State at the same time fixed a reasonable price upon such articles as the country produced and which they knew their families must be supplied with which would but barely support them at those prices. But after they left home it seems by some means or other the contract on the side of the State was broken and those very articles which their families must have or suffer rose four or five hundred per cent.; soldiers' wages remain the same. How can it be expected that men under those circumstances can quietly continue to undergo every hardship and danger which they have been and are still exposed to; and what is more distressing is their daily hearing of the sufferings of their wives and children at home?

"I don't write this by way of complaint, but do wish that some mode may be hit upon that the families of those in service may be supplied or I fear we shall have many of our best officers resign and many soldiers desert for no other reason than to put themselves in a way to support their families or share with them in their sufferings; and should that be the case I fear the consequences."

Later, while in camp, he wrote the Legislature of New Hampshire: "I am every day beholding their sufferings and am every morning awakened by the lamentable tale of their distresses."

Gen. Poor's camp was on the extreme west of the encampment at Valley Forge. The best that can be said of his troops is that they suffered no more than the others. During the winter a committee of Congress visited Valley Forge and made a careful report of their observations. In mid-winter Baron Steuben arrived at the encampment and the troops were subjected to stern discipline and exacting drill. Gen. Lafayette again joined the army here. Plans were discussed and formulated for the coming campaign. It was not a winter of idleness. On the 7th of May, 1778, there was great rejoicing in camp. The treaty of alliance with France was announced to the troops while on parade at nine o'clock in the morning. The chaplains thanked God that He had given them a powerful friend. The troops sang "Praise God from Whom All Blessings Flow."

Everywhere in camp there was thanksgiving and rejoicing with cheers for the King of France, for Washington and liberty.

The encampment at Valley Forge was not broken up until late in June, but on the 18th of May Washington sent Lafayette with 2,100 chosen troops, including Gen. Poor's brigade, to occupy Barren Hill, an eminence about half way to Philadelphia. This was Lafayette's first independent command and it gave him an excellent opportunity to observe and prove the ability of Gen. Poor. Subsequent events show he was well satisfied with his ability and efficiency. Gen. Clinton sent 5,000 troops to surprise and capture Lafayette and his men.

The surprise was nearly complete, but Lafayette, with great wisdom and coolness, ordered Gen. Poor to lead the retreat, which was done so promptly and in such good order that their guns were saved and the loss in men was only nine. The British returned to Philadelphia.

At three o'clock of the morning of the 18th of June Gen. Clinton began the evacuation of Philadelphia and before noon his entire army was in New Jersey en route to New York. Washington had anticipated this movement and immediately bridges were burned and roads obstructed so as to impede his progress. A series of skirmishes led up to the battle of Mon-

mouth. Clinton did not wish to fight, but desired a safe and expeditious march to New York. Washington hoped to engage him in battle and win a victory.

Rev. Israel Evans, a native of Pennsylvania and a graduate of Princeton, was the chaplain of Gen. Poor's brigade. He was a staunch patriot and a firm believer in the rights of man. He was one of those outspoken, independent and arrogant men who

"Would shake hands with a king upon his throne  
And think it kindness to his majesty."

When the brigade was about to engage in the battle of Monmouth it paused for a moment for prayer by the chaplain, in which he is reported to have said :

"O Lord of hosts, lead forth thy servants of the American army to battle and give them the victory ; or, if this be not according to Thy sovereign will then we pray Thee stand neutral and let flesh and blood decide the issue."

Each was partially successful. Clinton escaped and joined his troops to those in New York, but Washington compelled him to fight and would have won a decisive victory had not jealousy and treachery prevented. The Americans remained masters of the field, but the British fled under cover of the night so quietly that even Gen. Poor, who was near them, did not know they were escaping. The heat was intense, the suffering extreme. The thermometer registered 96 degrees and the troops contended not only with the enemy, but with an inexpressible thirst which could not be satisfied. Washington and the whole army slept upon the field of battle. Gen. Poor was active in efforts to retrieve the fortunes of the day and received the approbation of Washington.

There were in that year no extensive field operations in the Northern States after the battle of Monmouth. Washington stationed his army so that it could be easily concentrated and at the same time restrict the British in securing supplies. The Southern States were rapidly becoming the theatre of the war.

By intrigue and purchase the British frequently availed themselves of the service of the Indians. They were unable satisfactorily to control them in the camp or in battle. The hatred and independence of the Americans thus engendered in the hearts of the Indians broke out in frequent depredations and in the massacres of Cherry Valley and Wyoming. Wash-

ington determined to end these brutalities by such an object lesson as would prevent their repetition. The so-called "Six Nations" were selected for punishment.

A total force of about 5,000 men was detailed for that service. The command was offered to Gen. Gates, but declined for the reason that in his opinion a younger man was preferable. Gen. Sullivan was then given the command. His orders were to devastate their country, destroy their villages, crops and orchards and capture those of every age and sex. Gen. Poor and his brigade constituted the right wing of Sullivan's army. Evidently from the records of the expedition he relied upon Poor and his men for faithful service in difficult situations. The Indians were overtaken on the 29th of August, 1779, and the battle of Newtown was fought. Gen. Poor was ordered to gain the enemy's rear. In doing so he encountered some 600 of the savages and a warm fight took place in which twenty of them were killed.

The Indians fought from tree to tree until our troops had gained the summit of the hill and captured their stronghold by a bayonet charge when they fled in disorder. In his account of the battle Gen. Sullivan said Gen. Poor, his officers and men deserve the highest praise for their intrepidity and soldierly conduct. The bloody work was continued until the Indians were completely subjugated.

Gen. Sullivan made a full official report of his expedition to Gen. Washington, in which he gave great credit to his troops for bravery and efficiency. Upon its receipt Washington wrote to Congress congratulating it upon "the destruction of the whole of the town and settlements of the hostile Indians in so short a time and with so inconsiderable a loss of men," and to Lafayette rejoicing that the Indians had been given "proofs that Great Britain cannot protect them and it is in our power to chastise them." The Indian confederation in New York was broken and their lands opened to peaceful settlement. A historian of the expedition has said: "The boldness of its conception was only equalled by the bravery and determination with which its hardships and dangers were met and its object accomplished."

It was late in the fall before the expedition rejoined the main army. Soon after the troops went into winter quarters. This winter was an exceedingly severe one and the hardships and suffering endured by the army were scarcely less than those of Valley Forge.

Lafayette, availing himself of the winter's inaction, went home for a visit, returning the latter part of May with renewed promises from his government of substantial help. Again he offered his services to Congress, which were gladly accepted and recognized by an appointment to the command of a division to be composed of two brigades of light infantry, a troop of horse and a battery of artillery.

He selected Gen. Poor to command one of these brigades. The whole division went into camp in New Jersey and the work of drill and discipline began under his own direction. Largely by his generosity the soldiers were uniformed. The division was known as the best clothed, equipped and disciplined in the Continental Army. It has been said that in the essentials of drill and efficiency it equaled the veteran troops of Europe. By the fortunes of war they were to see no important service during the year.

While in camp on the 8th of September, 1780, Gen. Enoch Poor died. Universal sorrow pervaded the army. He was popular with officers and men. Two days after he was buried with full military honors. The officers of his brigade followed immediately after the coffin. Then came Gen. Washington and Gen. Lafayette and other general officers of the army. The escort consisted of three regiments of light infantry and a troop of cavalry. At the grave the chaplain of the brigade delivered a eulogy in which he said:

"Oh, sacred liberty! with thee this day we condole the loss of one of thy worthy sons! Early he saw thy danger and early in this contest espoused thy cause. Happily he united the love and defense of thy glorious person with the practice of sublime virtue. That glory which results from the generous protection of the privileges of our country and that righteousness which exalteth a nation he laudably pursued. \* \* \*

"The State of New Hampshire in tears will lament the loss of a brave defender of her rights. To him she may not fear to decree the title too rarely found of a patriot. \* \* \* No charms were powerful enough to allure him from the unutterable hardships of the American war and the dangers of the field of battle. \* \* \*

"He was an unchangeable friend of the moral and social virtues and taught the excellence of them more by his amiable example than by a pompous parade of words without actions. He was an invariable advocate for public and divine worship. His virtues laid the solid foundation for all his other excell-

ences to build upon and stand immovable amidst all the seeming casualties of time. Intemperance and profaneness and every vice were strangers to him. \* \* \*

“From the time when he with his country first armed in opposition to the cruelty and domination of Britain and precious American blood was first shed in defense of our rights near Boston \* \* \* he was entitled to a large share of those laurels which crowned the American arms.”

One of his staff officers, Maj. Jeremiah Fogg, in the intensity of his love and grief, wrote: “My general is gone. A cruel, stubborn, bilious fever has deprived us of the second man in the world.”

In a communication to Congress announcing his death Gen. Washington said: “He was an officer of distinguished merit, one who as a citizen and a soldier had every claim to the esteem and regard of his country.” As a further mark of respect and esteem the Congress ordered Washington’s letter to be printed as the nation’s tribute to his memory.

Governor Plumer, of New Hampshire, said of him (quoting almost literally from the eulogy of Chaplain Evans): “As an officer he was prudent in council and sound in judgment, firm and steady in his resolutions, cautious of unnecessary danger, but calm and undaunted in battle, vigorous and unwearied in executing military enterprises, patient and persevering under hardships and difficulties, of which he had many to endure, and punctual and exact in performing all the duties assigned and devolving upon him. His mind was devoted to the improvement of the army. He possessed great self command. \* \* \* He promptly obeyed his superior officers, respected his equal and subordinate officers and thought no man who was faithful and brave unworthy of his notice. The soldiers when distressed had free access to him and he was a father to them.”

Of very few of the men famous in civil or military life during the revolution are there authentic and accurate portraits. The friends and relatives of Gen. Poor are to be congratulated that his features have been preserved to them and posterity by a talented artist known to us more by his generous patriotism than by his artistic talent and accomplishments.

Among the friendships Gen. Poor formed in the army was that of the distinguished Polish engineer and general, Thaddeus Kosciusko, who was an artist of considerable merit. Gen. Kosciusko had several times requested him to sit for his

portrait, but he had not done so. One day Kosciusko handed it to him. Gen. Poor was greatly surprised and asked, "How is this, general, I have never sat for my picture?" Kosciusko replied, "I drew it in church on the fly leaf of a hymn book and have since painted it for you." Gen. Poor presented it to his wife when on his last visit home. It represents the general in Continental uniform and is now in good preservation. From it the oil painting which adorns the hall of the New Hampshire House of Representatives and all other pictures of Gen. Poor have been copied. The graceful statue unveiled today reproduces the features preserved to us by Kosciusko.

The war of the revolution is crowded with events of pathetic and dramatic interest. Possibly no life, not even that of Washington, presents more incidents in the same number of years to attract the attention and secure the sympathy of the observant student than that of Gen. Poor. His rank was less and his field of service more limited than that of many others and hence he does not fill the space in history to which they are entitled, but there was no officer in the revolution more conscientious or more faithful, who gave more attention to details and performed within his sphere of action his whole duty more wisely and discreetly than he whom we now commemorate. He was equally beloved by his superior officers and the soldiers of his command. His courtesy was constant and uninfluenced by rank or position. He was courageous in mind as well as in body and stood firmly upon the right as he saw it. He withheld his approval from no one whose conduct was meritorious or whose intentions were kindly and honorable.

In the highest sense of the words he was a soldier, a patriot and a man. Had his life been spared fresh laurels would have crowned his work and his chosen State would have entrusted to his keeping her dearest rights and conferred upon him her highest honors.

In behalf of the people of New Hampshire I thank you, gentlemen of New Jersey, that you have guarded and honored his memory and his grave and that to-day you have distinguished yourselves and them by this further testimonial of your respect, esteem and love for one of the purest and bravest men of the most renowned era in our history.

"Long may our land be bright  
With freedom's holy light,  
Protect us by Thy might  
Great God, our king."





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