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New Jersey as a Colony
and as a State



William J. Taylor

AS A COLONY AND AS A STATE

One of the Original Thirteen

BY
FRANCIS BAZLEY LEE

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DEDICATED
TO
WILLIAM SCUDDER STRYKER

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THE ORIGINAL THIRTEEN COLONIES.

A

CAREFUL and candid examination of the true status of public sentiment prevalent in the colony of New Jersey before 1776 fails to disclose that intense opposition to the crown which prevailed in Massachusetts and Virginia. Although the spirit of the men of New Jersey had been restive since the days of Cornbury, the complaints of Assembly, as more closely representing the people, were of an economic rather than a political character. Her attitude in the French and Indian War had been but an exhibition of loyalty. While New Jersey had raised her recruits for the expedition against Canada, and had taken part in the siege of Havana, the war itself and its results possessed little more than a direct personal interest for the people of the colony. Unlike Pennsylvania, her frontier had not been deluged in blood and strewn with ashes. So long as New York stood as a barrier New Jersey had no fear of being swept out of existence should France attempt to regain her lost power.

Later, while she had taken part in the various phases of constitutional agitation that agitated the Atlantic seaboard, her protests, with the one exception of the Greenwich tea party, were firm but ever made in the hopeful spirit of compromise. Even the crowning act of statehood—

the constitution of 1776—left wide open the door for future reconciliation.

It is with extreme difficulty that the lines of demarcation may be drawn among the varying grades of opinion. Certain it is, however, that by the opening of the year 1776 there were in New Jersey two distinct parties—if such a term may be used—with a third element whose position remained somewhat in doubt.

Necessarily the Tory party was the most closely bound in a common interest, if not the most carefully organized. Its leader was Governor Franklin, who influenced a majority of the crown officers, the members of his council, and in civil life most if not all of the Episcopalians, who were active social forces in Burlington and Perth Amboy and to a somewhat less degree in Trenton and Elizabeth. Allied thereto were a portion of the descendants of the Holland settlers of the Hackensack and Passaic Valleys. Many of the leading lawyers of the State, trained in the formalities of English precedent, also had Tory sympathies.

Opposed to the crown party were the Whigs, whose call for freedom was first sounded in the meetings of the “committees.” Following the boundaries of Calvinistic settlement in East Jersey, the cause of independence had its earliest development wherever the town meeting was a

source of local political strength. Starting along the north shore of Monmouth County, it spread over Elizabethtown, Newark, along the valley of the Raritan, and over the hills of Morris County. Touching Burlington, the reactionary policy leaped to Cumberland County, where Calvinism was a power, and spread by degrees through Salem and Gloucester Counties. It drew into its ranks men of affairs, merchants, particularly those with a dash of Scotch-Irish blood in their veins, caught from the narrow confines of the meeting houses of the Society of Friends young Quakers, who preferred a wide field of action, and who were later to be led by Timothy Matlack, the "Fighting Quaker" of Pennsylvania, himself a Jerseyman born. It fired the ambitions of the yeomen, small farmers, redemptioners, indentured servants, and laboring men, many of whom had grievances against those in authority, and whom they desired to punish as much as they wished to wreak their vengeance upon the crown.

Between these two elements stood a large and respectable body of citizens who, if they leaned toward Whig or Tory, inclined toward the maintenance of conservatism. Of these inhabitants of the colony the members of the Society of Friends occupied a foremost position. The Society had practical control of the southern portion of the

State, and was strong in the eastern part of the County of Monmouth as well as in Trenton and in scattered localities. Possessing large landed and commercial interests, the Society as a body had avoided political discussion, and had held close to the doctrine of "non-resistance." Consequently they were "non-combatants." This was a part of their cherished faith, too sacred to be disturbed. Furthermore they were in the peaceable possession of lands from which they might be ousted should the Revolution be successful. To them, the various parliamentary taxes were not burthensome, particularly as the Society took the view that such impositions were laid upon them by constituted authority, to which it was necessary for a Christian to submit without rushing to arms. Thus it possessed a degree of moral courage to withstand the pressure brought to bear by the advocates of liberty. It has been elsewhere shown that this fact was recognized by the leaders of the patriotic movement in New Jersey, who were loath to send Quakers to jail, except for treasonable practices, until after due trial and strict examination into the merits of the case. It is not to be denied that there were members of the Society of Friends who gave aid and comfort to the British just as there were those who rendered assistance to the patriots, yet in each case it was simply an

expression of personal zeal overriding the teachings of the fathers of the faith. Sincerity, at least, marked the acts of the members of the Society, although vastly misconstrued by later writers.

To the Quakers were added some of the Calvinistic element, as well as the palatinate Germans of the northwestern portion of the colony. Nor were the descendants of the French Huguenots yet ready to take the side of independence.

Through these two great divisions of Tory and Whig and the accompanying neutral element may be found the ugly trail of the political demagogue. The uncertain state of the public mind gave to the unscrupulous and the vicious an excellent chance to advance their personal interests. Buried in a justly deserved oblivion it is but rarely that a record may be found of these creatures and their acts. Indeed it was not until somewhat later that these "children of chance" appear distinctively as identified with Whig or Tory interests. Men could be hired by either party to perform any required service, from murder to plundering of farms, and well-founded tradition has it that most of these people possessed double sets of protection papers. Later they were paid by the English government to aid in the distribution of counterfeit paper money, made in imitation of State or colonial

issues, or were hired by the Whigs to watch men suspected of harboring crown spies. They followed either army, ready to do the work of the "hanger on," and could only be trusted so long as they were rewarded. As the war progressed and it became more and more evident that the cause of liberty would be successful this driftwood lodged in the safe harbor of patriotism, and much to the disgust of those who knew them best became blatant advocates of popular rights. To such charlatans New Jersey offered an excellent field for operations. The rapid passing of troops and constant recruitings, the panorama of Tory and Whig proclamations, the conveniency of the State to Philadelphia and New York were all factors in contributing to the advancement of those whose only interest in the cause was the hope of illegitimate reward.

The victories of Trenton and Princeton drew the final lines, when the gallows was esteemed the reward for lack of patriotic success. All the differences of opinion among the Whigs became merged into the demand that the contest for liberty should be waged until the bitter end.

"If you are not with us you are against us," was the political cry of the leaders of the patriotic movement. By the close of the long winter spent at Morristown the people of the State had made their final choice—a choice ultimately crowned with victory.

Rouse, every generous, thoughtful mind,
The rising danger flee;
If you would lasting freedom find
Now, then, abandon tea!

THUS sung a New Hampshire rhymster, at a time when, filled with enthusiasm and longing for a constitutional redress for grievances, the colonists threw upon "the fated plant of India's shore" not only all their spite, but all their hopes for reconciliation.

In that long and bitter decade of controversy, whose culmination was the American Revolution, a single prosaic article played an important part. From the calmer view of later years the hated tea injected into the discussion of the day bore no real relation to any merit in the contest. Yet it was tea which, as a modern writer says, was the "political intoxicant" of the hour, thus given a "grotesque prominence," that made the meeting of the first Continental Congress in 1774 a possibility.

The spirit of the colonists ere tea became the paramount issue may be reviewed, but reviewed briefly. With the close of the French and Indian War the imperial power of England in America dominated the continent from the Gulf of Mexico to the icy shores of Hudson's Bay, from the Atlantic to the partially explored Mississippi.

Claiming that the struggle to drive the French from the continent had been as much for the benefit of the colonies as for her own aggrandizement, England contended that America should contribute toward paying the debt incurred. To this policy there was but little opposition, the colonies simply claiming that requisitions for the expenses of the crown should be raised through the act and operation of local Legislatures. But through blundering the American revenue act of 1764 provided that money should be raised by Parliament, and a plan mutually agreed upon failed because of the methods used to make it effective. Added to this came the hated stamps, as if from mistake the ministry drove itself into fatal error. Stupidly asserting a right to take their kinsmen's patrimony under any circumstances, the revenue act of 1767 placed duties upon six most conspicuous imports—glass, red and white lead, paper, painters' colors, and tea. The family contest lasted for three years, when to relieve the situation the ministry eliminated all tax except that upon tea. For three more years the war of words raged, until in 1773 Lord North proposed that a rebate be allowed, permitting Americans to buy English tea at a lower price than it was sold in England, yet retaining the tax of three pence per pound.

The contest was one for the preservation of a

principle—upon the one side the right to tax colonies, by acts of Parliament, whether such right be exercised or not; upon the other the demand that there should be no taxation without representation. For local self-government local and general associations had resolved not to buy or sell, or drink tea, retaining the right to fulminate against it at all times and in all places. Then came the action of Massachusetts in Boston Harbor, the closing of a great port, the cry for aid, the making of a common cause, the days of agitation, and finally the meeting of the first Continental Congress.

In England far-sighted men of affairs saw the maelstrom toward which all were drifting. As early as 1769 Junius in his first letter, and Edmund Burke, in 1774, realized that the colonies were being driven apart from the mother country by the policy of the English ministry. It was a London newspaper which presented the gist of the situation in a few trenchant lines:

Rudely forced to drink tea, Massachusetts in anger
Spills the tea on John Bull—John falls on to bang her;
Massachusetts, enraged, calls her neighbors to aid,
And gives Master John a severe bastinado!
Now, good men of the law, pray who is at fault?
The one who begins or resists an assault?

In the mass of literature which was produced at the time of the tea controversy, most of which is to be found in the columns of contemporaneous

newspapers and pamphlets, there appeared, during the latter part of 1774 and the early portion of 1775, "The First Book of the American Chronicles of the Times," which, uncompleted, is strongly satirical and amusing. The authorship is indirectly accredited to Francis Hopkinson, of New Jersey. As the name indicates "The First Book of the American Chronicles of the Times" is a parody upon the literary form of the Old Testament, and gives briefly the passage of events in 1773-74. The Tea Chest—a heathen god,—being set up by the King that the American people may worship, is cast down by them.

Throughout the colonies the protests against the use of tea took various forms. In New Jersey a demonstration in the County of Cumberland early drew attention to a fine display of Whig spirit in that portion of West Jersey where Calvinistic influence was strongest.

Throughout the colonial period the chief town along the Cohansey was Greenwich, which indeed was a place of considerable trade and noted throughout the region. Here from an excellent harbor a West India trade of no meagre proportions was conducted, while good wharves, a well-kept ferry, and passable roads made Greenwich and her open market square a large commercial center.

In the summer of 1774 a certain tea ship, the

“Greyhound,” bound for Philadelphia, entered between the Capes of the Delaware. But fearful of the state of public opinion in Philadelphia the captain of the “Greyhound” tied his vessel to the Greenwich wharves and, unloading his cargo, stored it in a nearby cellar. There the tea lay until the night of November 22, 1774, when, in emulation of the Bostonians, a party of nearly forty men in the guise of Indians entered with force into the cellar, and, seizing the tea chests, made in a nearby field a bonfire of the cargo.

This assemblage had been organized under the advice and direction of the local committee of safety. Instantly the entire colony was aroused. New Jersey had followed the example of Massachusetts, it was said, and the detested tea was banished forever from our midst. Rumors flew thick and fast. There were many young men of prominence implicated. Jonathan Elmer, the crown’s high sheriff of the County of Cumberland, as a member of the committee of safety knew of these high-handed proceedings. Young Dr. Ebenezer Elmer, who was to follow the fortunes of the Revolution as surgeon in the army and later to sit in Congress, had been among the marauders. Richard Howell, the law student, but twenty years of age, had joined the party and at the close of the century, when governor of New Jersey, delighted to tell of the night’s events,

while his twin brother, Lewis, becoming associated in the expedition, later laid down his life during the battle of Monmouth. And there were more as enthusiastic if not equally prominent.

The tea burning was at once carried to the courts. Action of trespass was begun in the Supreme Court of New Jersey against the "Greenwich Indians," counsel for the plaintiffs, the Philadelphia owners of the tea, being Joseph Reed, of Philadelphia, and Charles Pettit, of Burlington. For the defendants appeared Joseph Bloomfield, later governor of New Jersey; George Read, of New Castle, Delaware; Elias Boudinot, of Elizabethtown; and Jonathan D. Sergeant, of Philadelphia. The plaintiffs neglecting to enter security for costs, in May Term, 1776, a non-pros was entered. Subsequently security was given and the non-pros set aside; but the crown's justices of the Supreme Court having been displaced by the operation of the constitution of July 2, 1776, the matter was discontinued.

Concurrent with the civil trial an attempt was made to institute criminal proceedings. Late in May, 1775, Chief Justice Frederick Smyth, presiding at the Court of Oyer and Terminer, according to the diary of Ebenezer Elmer, "gave a very large charge to the grand jury concerning the times, and the burning of the tea the fall before, but the jury came in without doing anything,

and the court broke up." But the foreman of the grand jury was Daniel Elmer, nephew of the Whig high sheriff, and no one looked for any other result except possibly Governor William Franklin, who, removing Ebenezer Elmer, placed in his stead David Bowen, who was supposed to have strong Tory proclivities. High Sheriff Bowen drew a Tory grand jury, who made a presentment against Ebenezer Elmer and others, who, in addition to burning the tea, had caused the arrest of one Wheaton, notoriously disaffected to the cause of liberty. Wheaton had made a complaint of assault and battery and false imprisonment, but in spite of the judicial administration of the county being in the hands of the loyalists the court did not order a formal indictment to be presented. Thus the incident of the "Greenwich Tea Party" was formally closed.

The spirit of the tea-burning could not so easily be stifled. The very act itself partook of the principle of armed opposition. In New Jersey it was the first blow physically directed against the authority of the crown. It was rebellion *in petto*, but none the less rebellion. Yet so powerful was local sentiment, so strong the feeling in that section of Cumberland County, that all attempts to bring the offenders to justice proved abortive. The very boldness of such an act further stimulated the Whigs throughout the colony and made the names

of the participants noted, not only in New Jersey, but throughout the colonies. But following so soon after the affair in Boston, and attended with less dramatic incidents, the "Greenwich burning" became less and less important until it finally became little more than a memory.

IT WAS from the State of Massachusetts, where, in defense of popular rights, a movement was inaugurated in the autumn of 1772, that New Jersey caught the inspiration of the idea underlying the establishment of township and county committees of correspondence. Taking their vitality from the self-centering influences of the town meeting, these committees were established throughout the colonies and became formative agencies in the development of the political life of the communities in which they were organized.

In New Jersey the township and county committees came into being without official authorization. They were the means by which localities at first sought to give expression to public opinion, and later, when the very foundations of civil government seemed to be slipping away, when public opinion led on to independence, these committees assumed powers which, in some cases, made them autocratic. But few if any of the proceedings of these committees have been preserved. Enough remains to show the lines of their growth, and to indicate that the storm and stress of the Revolutionary movement centered in East Jersey and gradually spread itself over the colony.

Of the meetings leading to the establishment of committees of correspondence—although the

associations were known by various names—that which appears first as a matter of record was the “meeting of the Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Township of Lower Freehold,” in the County of Monmouth, upon the 6th of June, 1774. Designed to express sympathy for Boston, this meeting recommended the stoppage of importations and exportations from and to Great Britain and the West Indies until the Port Bill and other acts should be repealed. Within the same month three counties—Essex upon the 11th, Bergen upon the 25th, and Morris upon the 27th—held meetings in their respective court houses. The resolutions expressed allegiance to the crown, yet urged action concerning the repeal of the Port Bill and offered to become parties to a plan of union to redress the grievances of not only New Jersey but likewise of the other colonies. Upon the 8th of July Hunterdon County citizens met at the house of John Ringo in Amwell for a similar purpose.

Owing to the large number of the freeholders and inhabitants of Middlesex County who met in New Brunswick upon the 15th of July, 1774, the meeting was adjourned from the court house to the Presbyterian Church. The action of Sussex County was taken upon the following day at Newton, and, upon July 19th, by the County of Monmouth at Freehold. Monmouth also selected

delegates "to faithfully serve the labouring cause of freedom" at the Provincial Convention. In every instance committees of consultation and correspondence were elected, who were either to select representatives to attend the New Brunswick Provincial Convention upon the 21st of July, 1774, or attend themselves.

Seventy-two delegates assembled in New Brunswick, and, coming direct from the people, unhampered by partisan machinery, the convention gave free expression to its views. From the various plans and suggestions made at the county and township meetings the delegates presented a series of "sentiments and Resolutions." It was declared that the people of New Jersey "are and ever have been firm and unshaken in their loyalty to his Majesty King George the Third, * * * and that they detest all thoughts of an independence on the Crown." This convention was called to nominate delegates to the Continental Congress.

But it was further asserted that the principle of "taxation without representation" was unconstitutional, and that constitutional means should be used to oppose such acts of Parliament. The shutting up of the Port of Boston, the invasion of the chartered rights of Massachusetts Bay, the sending of political offenders to distant parts for trial, and the forwarding of an armed

force to America were not only subversive of the rights of subjects, "but also repugnant to the common principles of humanity and justice." To procure redress a "General Congress of Commissioners of the respective Colonies" was demanded, the Congress to regulate a "general non-importation and non-consumption agreement." It was also requested that the province send some relief to Boston by means of subscriptions of money or benefactions. To the "noble and worthy patrons of constitutional liberty in the British Senate" the convention sent its grateful acknowledgments. The closing act of the session was the selection of James Kinsey, William Livingston, John de Hart, Stephen Crane, chairman of the convention, and Richard Smith as deputies to the general Continental Congress.

So far as the organization of county and township committees is concerned no further action seems to have been taken during 1774. But in November of that year Essex County became a center of political activity. In his charge to the grand jury Chief Justice Frederick Smyth had warned that body that while they were guarding themselves against "imaginary tyranny three thousand miles distant" they ought not to expose themselves to a real tyranny at home. To this the grand jury, some of whose members were

identified with the committee movement, gave a spirited answer to the effect that in their opinion no tyranny was imaginary where taxes were imposed upon a people unrepresented in Parliament, and where the right of trial by jury was denied. They further argued that the screening from punishment of those guilty of murder was not a bare idea, and that the scheme to establish French laws and the Popish religion to further the schemes of the British ministry in Canada had something more than a mental existence. The British army and navy, continued the grand jury, were substantial and formidable realities in and around Boston, and did not exist entirely as creatures of the imagination.

Later in the month a call was issued in the County of Essex for the election of committees of "observation of the conduct of individuals." This call was in accordance with the recommendation of the Continental Congress regarding non-importation and non-exportation under the articles of association. Ten delegates were to be chosen for "Achquahanung," fifteen for Newark, and twenty for Elizabeth. Upon the 1st of December the freeholders of Elizabethtown met and approved the action of the Continental Congress, while provision was made for the election of delegates to the "next General Congress in Philadelphia." On this occasion

there was publicly burned, before the court house, two lately published Tory pamphlets, "A Friendly Address, &c.," and the other signed "A Farmer;" the act being done "in detestation and abhorrence of such infamous publications."

With the opening of the year 1775 the activity of Essex County continued unabated. The freeholders of the township of Newark having recently chosen a committee of observation, this committee met in Newark, January 5, and, after presenting its thanks to the delegates from New Jersey to the Continental Congress, begged leave to inquire whether a press that slandered Congress and sowed the seeds of faction and discord was not inimical to the country, and whether the printer was not an enemy to his country, raised to affluence from bankruptcy by his profits, and a moderate rate per cent. on Keyser's Pills? Whereupon the committees of Newark and Elizabethtown resolved to boycott Rivington, "printer of one of the New York gazettes," as "a vile Ministerial hireling."

Throughout Middlesex the districts of the county, late in December, had chosen committees of observation, members having been selected in Woodbridge, Piscataway, South Amboy, New Brunswick, South Brunswick, and Windsor. Upon the 16th of January the general committee of observation and inspection for the county met

at New Brunswick, approved of the proceedings of the Congress, whom they felicitated, and appointed a committee of correspondence to urge the General Assembly to nominate "Deputies from this Province to the General Congress to be held in Philadelphia in May next." The committee also declared their contempt "of those insidious scribblers * * * who skulk behind prostituted printing presses," and "who, with the most unexampled effrontery against the sense of every man of the least information, will persist in retailing the rotten, exploded, and ten thousand times confuted doctrines of a passive acquiescence in the measures of Government, however distempered and tyrannical." The inhabitants of Woodbridge met upon the 10th of January and among other matters recommended "Frugality, Economy, and Industry and the prohibition of all kinds of Gaming." During the same month, upon the 9th, the Morris County meeting was held in Morristown, while upon the 18th of January several of the township committees of Hunterdon met at John Ringo's. Elizabethtown, upon February 13th, resolved to break off all "trade, commerce, dealings, and intercourse" with the inhabitants of Staten Island, as the islanders had "manifested an unfriendly disposition towards the liberties of America," like action being had by Woodbridge upon the 20th.

It was not until the 15th of February, 1775, that there is any record of the West Jersey counties taking action. Upon that date Burlington City and County chose a committee of observation. In March the Cumberland County committee disciplined one of its members because he "had drank East India tea in his family," but the offender having agreed to regulate his conduct agreeably to the will of the majority of the committee, and having "apologized handsomely," he was reinstated.

The resolutions adopted in February, 1775, by the committee of observation for the Township of Hanover, Morris County, were of an economic and social rather than political character. The committee bound itself to suppress all unlawful, tumultuous, and disorderly meetings, as well as to punish offenders against the laws prohibiting horse racing, cock fighting, gaming and every species of extravagant entertainment and amusement. The killing of sheep under the age of four years, or the sale of such an animal for market purposes, was deemed a violation of the seventh article of the association, while the cultivation of flax and hemp was recommended. Forestalling and engrossing in the case of goods made in the township branded the offender an enemy of his country.

The Freehold committee, which met early in March, had given consideration to a Tory pamphlet entitled "Free Thoughts on the Resolves of the Congress," which was treated to a suit of tar and turkey buzzards' feathers and then, "in its gorgeous attire," was nailed firmly to the pillory post.

Organized force presents itself upon the occasion of the passage of the Freehold resolutions, when it is noted as a part of the proceedings that a considerable number of the inhabitants of Freehold had formed themselves into companies and had chosen military instructors, under whose tuition they had made rapid improvement. A subsequent meeting of the Freehold committee bore "publick testimony" against the inhabitants of Shrewsbury Township, because they, unlike the rest of the county, had neglected to provide a committee of observation. In spite of the neglect the Freehold people were ready to receive and treat them "as returning prodigals."

Bergen County, at least so far as the sentiment of the extreme northeastern portion of New Jersey was represented by Hackensack, still held to the hope that a reconciliation between New Jersey and the crown might be effected. In the meeting of thirty-seven of the inhabitants of Hackensack, March 14, 1775, they declared their loyalty

to the King and their willingness to venture their lives and fortunes to support the dignity of the crown. They further pledged themselves to sustain all civil officers in the lawful discharge of their duties. Furthermore, humble petitions to the throne, said these Bergen men, were the only measures which could remove grievances. An emphatic disavowal of riotous mobs and of unconstitutional acts was also placed upon record. Not so, however, in the adjoining County of Essex, where, upon the 24th of April, the members of the committee declared they were willing to risk their "lives and fortunes," not for their King, but "in support of American liberty." It was recommended that the militia captains muster and exercise their companies, that each man be provided with arms and ammunition, and that apprentices be permitted by their masters "to learn the military exercise."

In Morris County, at Morristown, upon May 1, the inhabitants and freeholders placed in the hands of nine delegates, who were vested with the "power of legislation," the raising of "Men, Money, and Arms for the common defence." The succeeding day the committee voted that three hundred volunteers be raised, divided into companies of sixty men each, provided for the character of the official staff, military discipline, the form of enlistment, the pay of the men, and that

five hundredweight of powder and a ton of lead be purchased for the use of the Morris County regiment. In other sections of East Jersey active preparations were made for war. Upon the 3d of May the inhabitants of Acquackanonk met at James Leslie's, near the bridge, and adopted the Newark resolutions. The next day the inhabitants of Upper Freehold met at Imlay's Town, subscribed £160 to purchase powder and ball, recommended every man to enter into companies, "to train and be prepared to march at a minute's warning," and chose officers of four military companies. While the people of Upper Freehold were taking action a town meeting in Newark resolved to support and carry into execution whatever measures might be recommended by the Continental Congress or the State convention. Within a few days the Somerset committee of correspondence met in the court house and heartily agreed to "arm and support" such number of men as the authorities should order raised in Somerset County. Bergen County created a standing committee of correspondence upon May 12, 1775, while upon the 18th the "General Committee of Association for the Township of Newark" recommended to the "gentlemen Traders of this Town," and generally to their constituents, that they do not supply any kind of exports to Quebec, Nova Scotia, Georgia, Newfoundland, the

fishing coasts, and fishing islands, nor furnish provisions clandestinely to the King's ships or boats. In the house of John Imlay, in the Township of Mansfield, June 24, 1775, the general committee of observation for the County of Burlington recommended the maintenance of peace and good order, and sustained the action of the Provincial Congress in raising £10,000 at a critical moment.

Henceforth the activities of the county and township committees shift from the discussion of constitutional rights to the preparation for a struggle vastly momentous. In July the Elizabethtown committee was engaged in forwarding powder from Philadelphia to Dobbs's Ferry, offering £20 proc. for every hundredweight of saltpeter made in New Jersey within three months. This committee also sent forward prisoners to the New York Congress. The New Brunswick committee, on July 27, assured the New York committee that it was ready to render the country every service in its power. The following day the freeholders of Somerset County provided for a series of committees of inspection, to be chosen for the different townships of the county, with a general committee of inspection, to whom all appeals should lie. In the latter part of August Bergen County provided for the enrollment of

its militia, comprising all male persons between the ages of sixteen and fifty.

The opening of the year 1776 found the committees of correspondence active in the discharge of their self-assumed duties. Following to a degree the example set by Morris County, no one act of a county committee of correspondence was of greater special interest than an attempt of the Somerset County committee to promote local manufactures. Upon the 14th of February the committee met at Hillsborough, with Dr. John Witherspoon, president of the College of New Jersey, as chairman. With a primary object to benefit the "inland Trade" of Somerset, the following was declared to be the fundamental principle of action:

That whatever will make it easy for every Person, old or young, rich or poor, to do a little and immediately to turn that little to their own Advantage as well as throw it into the public Service, must have the most immediate and powerful Influence.

In the establishment of such a plan it was designed that markets be held for wool, woolen yarn, cloth, fine and coarse wool cards, rough and dressed flax, linen yarn, green and whitened cloth, reeds and mounting for looms, wheels, and reels. These markets were to be established monthly at Princeton, at Pluckemin, at Bernards-town, Bound Brook, and at Somerset Court House, giving to a county having extensive terri-

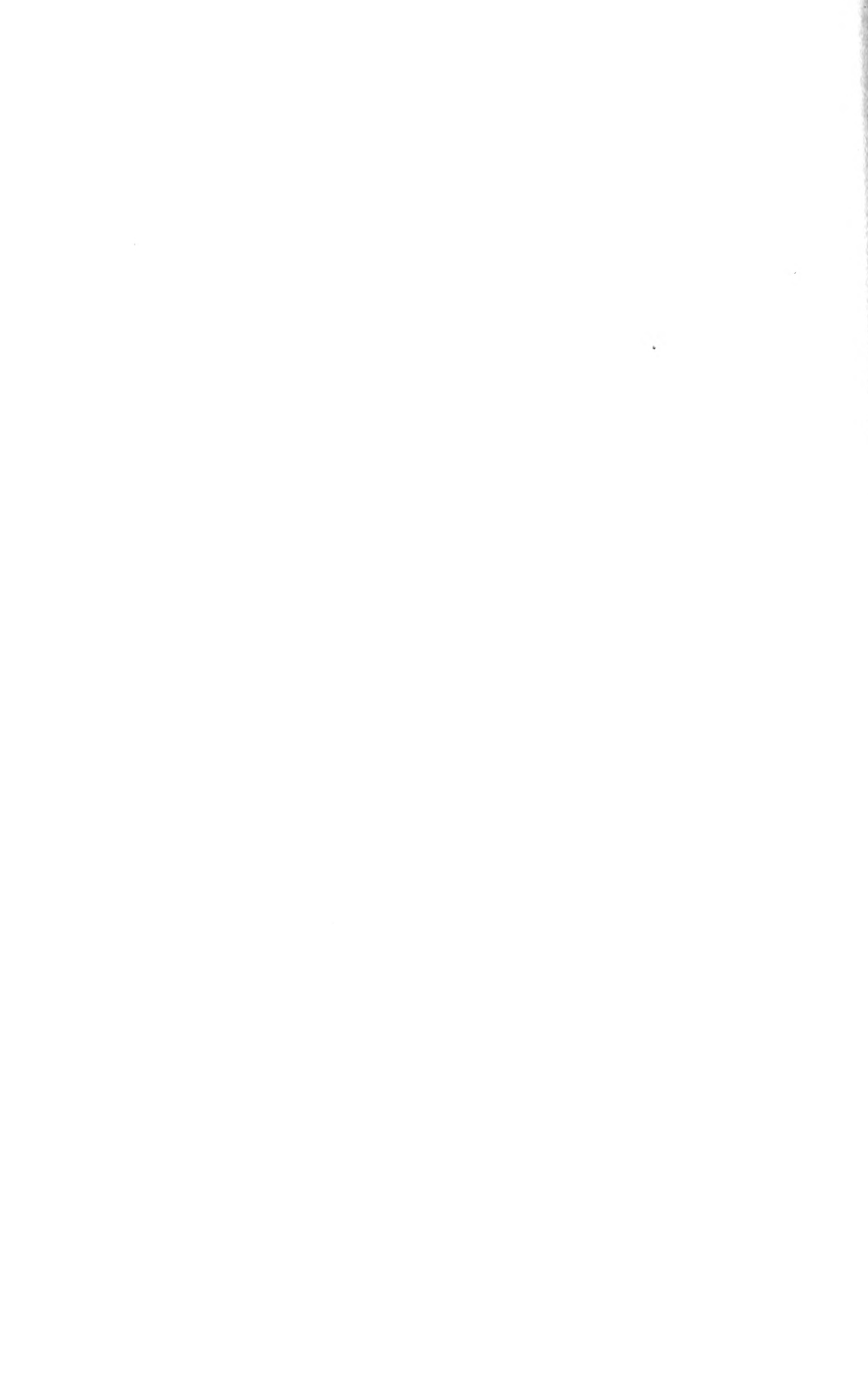
tory a weekly market. In brief the plan was not unlike that later devised in Ireland for the establishment and perpetuation of the so-called "cottage industries," of which the Somerset plan was the prototype, and which plan received the unqualified support of Dr. Witherspoon himself.

Upon the 15th of March, 1776, the Newark committee passed resolutions regulating the price of West India produce for sale in that township. The rates fixed were those established by the New York committee, with the additions caused by the retailer's loss in gauging, waste, small drafts, freight, cartage, and commissions. The articles upon which the prices were regulated were West India rum, Jamaica spirits, country rum, molasses, coffee, chocolate, loaf, Muscovado, and lump sugar, salt and pepper. Any retailer acting in defiance of the regulations was to be declared "an enemy to his country," and "neither his person nor estate will receive protection from the enemy." The Newark committee in May also recommended that no inhabitant of the township kill or eat any lamb or sheep until the following August, presumably for the purpose of fostering the wool industry.

In Trenton, during this period, the committee of observation was particularly active. The village was in the center of a community where Tory influences were powerful, and where Whig

vigilance must necessarily be alert in watching suspicious characters passing between Philadelphia and New York. In fact the Delaware Valley was overrun with crown sympathizers, who, with specious argument and gold, did their part in attempting to force back the on-rushing tide of revolution.

With the organization of civil government the need for the local committees came to an end. From time to time the organizations dissolved, leaving the administration of local affairs either to the newly created council of safety or to the peace officers of the locality.



THE first call upon New Jersey for continental troops was made upon October 9, 1775, when the Continental Congress recommended that the colony raise "at the expense of the Continent" two battalions, each containing eight companies, while each company be composed of sixty-eight privates. The term of enlistment was for one year at the wage-rate of five dollars per calendar month. In place of bounty each private was allowed one felt hat, a pair of yarn stockings, and shoes, "the men to find their own arms." The Continental Congress provided commissions for captains and subaltern officers. Advertisements issued under the authority of the Provincial Congress were immediately circulated throughout New Jersey calling for recruits, the colony providing two and two-thirds dollars per week for each officer's subsistence, while each private was allowed one dollar per week "whilst in quarters" and one and one-third dollars when on march to join the army. Four muster masters were appointed to carry out the intent of the Provincial Congress.

Throughout the autumn the Continental and Provincial Congresses politely wrangled over the matter of the selection of field officers. The influences of politics had led the Continental Congress to assume the right of appointing New Jer-

sey's field officers. This, the colony contended, should be reserved to itself, in that the service would be expedited by the selection of men of high standing, tending to encourage others of reputation to become captains and subalterns and to stimulate the enlistment of privates. After more discussion the Provincial Congress, upon October 28, recommended the names of those fitted for field officers of the First or Eastern Battalion and the Second or Western Battalion. This organization was known as the First Establishment of the continental troops "Jersey Line." Of the First Battalion William Alexander, titular Lord Stirling, was colonel, while William Maxwell was colonel of the Second Battalion.

By the 10th of November, 1775, six of the sixteen companies of both battalions had been recruited and were sent for garrison duty in the protection of the upper Hudson Valley. November 27 the remaining companies of the two battalions were barracked in New York City, where they were shortly joined by the companies which had been in the Highlands. Early in January three companies of the continental line assisted the First Battalion of the Middlesex County militia in intimidating the Tories of Long Island. Until May, 1776, Colonel Stirling's battalion, under Lieutenant-Colonel William Winds, lay at Perth Amboy and Elizabethtown.

Although it was with difficulty that arms and clothing could be secured for the Second Battalion, preventing it from reporting to General Schuyler in Albany, the Continental Congress, upon the 10th of January, 1776, called upon New Jersey to furnish a third battalion of eight companies, each consisting of seventy-eight privates. As in the First and Second Battalions the term of enlistment was for one year. The recruiting officer under the direction of the Provincial Congress was ordered to enlist "none but healthy, sound, and able bodied freemen not under sixteen years of age," and "that no apprentice whatsoever be enlisted within this Colony without the consent of his master or mistress first obtained in writing." The colonel of the Third Battalion, First Establishment, was Elias Dayton. Of the eight companies four were stationed at Staten Island and four at Perth Amboy. Upon the 3d of May the First and Third Battalions left New York City upon the Canadian expedition, being later joined by the Second, which, finally, had been equipped. As early as February 2, 1776, the Provincial Congress had urged the chairmen of the county committees to collect and send arms to Burlington or Trenton, while all the blankets in the barracks at New Brunswick, Perth Amboy, Trenton, and Elizabethtown were immediately appropriated to the use of the Second Battalion.

After service before Quebec the First and Second Battalions were ordered into barracks at Ticonderoga, and on November 5, 1776, were directed to return to New Jersey and be discharged. After nearly a year's experience in Indian warfare, at Johnstown, German Flats, Fort Dayton, Fort Schuyler, Ticonderoga, and Mount Independence, the Third Battalion returned to New Jersey and, at Morristown, was discharged upon March 23, 1777.

The Second Establishment of continental troops from New Jersey dates from September 16, 1776, when the Continental Congress enjoined New Jersey to furnish four battalions, her quota of eighty-eight battalions to be raised by the various States. Under the new establishment a bounty of twenty dollars was offered to every non-commissioned officer and private, while provision was made for land grants to everyone who enlisted, the land to be distributed according to official rank. Each State was charged with the arming, clothing, and equipping of its battalions. In lieu of the twenty dollars bounty Congress resolved that each non-commissioned officer and private be annually given a suit of clothes, consisting of "two linen hunting-shirts, two pair of overalls, a leathern or woollen waistcoat with sleeves, one pair of breeches, a hat or leathern cap, two shirts, two pair of hose, and two pair of shoes."

During the latter part of September, 1776, the three battalions of the First Establishment were in service in and near Albany. It was decided by the House of Assembly and Council that these battalions be given preference in the matter of re-enlistment. Accordingly John Cleves Symmes and Theunis Dey were appointed commissioners to ascertain the condition of the troops of the First Establishment. Upon the 25th of October, 1776, at Ticonderoga, the New Jersey regiments of the First Establishment were reviewed, the commissioners finding the men "destitute of many articles of dress, supplies of every kind they want, but shoes and stockings they are in the last necessity for, many having neither to their feet." Provisions and arms were plentiful. Under the stimulus of patriotism most of the New Jersey officers and many of the privates re-enlisted. The commissioners appointed to confer with the general officers relative to the advancement of subordinate officers, distinguished for ability, activity, and vigilance, were Theophilus Elmer, of Council, and Abraham Clark, of the House of Assembly.

By the middle of February the officers of various battalions of the Second Establishment had been selected. Of the First the colonel was Silas Newcomb; of the Second Israel Shreve was colonel. The colonel of the Third Battalion was Elias Dayton, Ephraim Martin holding a similar position in

the Fourth. These four battalions, known as "Maxwell's Brigade," were under the command of Brigadier-General William Maxwell, who had previously been colonel of the Second Battalion of the First Establishment. To this position General Maxwell had been elected by Congress October 23, 1776.

Throughout the summer and autumn of 1777 "Maxwell's Brigade" rendered service of a highly important character. Placed in the division of the American army under the command of Major-General Adam Stephen, of Virginia, the brigade in May was encamped at Elizabethtown, Bound Brook, and Rahway, a portion of the brigade taking part in the battle of the Brandywine, finally encamping at Germantown after desultory fighting in the Schuylkill Valley. During the battle of Germantown the New Jersey brigade, with a brigade from North Carolina, formed the *corps de reserve* and left wing of the American army, commanded by Major-General William Alexander. After spending the winter at Valley Forge the brigade was detached from the main army. Being joined by six hundred men under Colonel Daniel Morgan, fifteen hundred veterans under General Charles Scott, both of Virginia, one thousand troops under Brigadier-General Anthony Wayne, of Pennsylvania, all commanded by General Lafayette, "Maxwell's Brigade" harassed

and impeded General Clinton's force in its retreat through the Jerseys after the evacuation of Philadelphia. Although "sadly in want of clothing" the brigade participated in the battle of Monmouth.

The winter of 1778-79 found the brigade at Elizabethtown, with a detachment of the Second Battalion at Newark and a detachment of the Fourth Battalion at Rahway, while under Major-General John Sullivan, the brigade took part in the Indian campaign of 1779.

Following a rearrangement of the American army, upon May 27, 1778, Congress, on March 9, 1779, resolved that eighty battalions be raised for the ensuing campaign, of which New Jersey's proportion was three battalions. Each battalion was to consist of nine companies, one of which was light infantry. Upon the 9th of June, 1779, the Legislature of New Jersey passed an act for recruiting the three battalions of the State. Large bounties were paid under the provisions of the statute, which were further increased under a call of Congress upon February 9, 1780, that New Jersey supply one thousand six hundred and twenty men to complete her line. The Legislature, upon March 11, 1780, appointed muster officers who were apparently unable to secure required recruits, for the act was amended on June 14th of the same year, the call being for six hundred and

twenty-four men. Again in June, 1781, the Legislature endeavored, by the appointment of new muster officers, to supply a deficit of four hundred and fifty men. A bounty of twelve pounds in gold or silver was offered, the troops to serve until the close of the war.

The Third and last establishment of the New Jersey line of the continental troops was undertaken by a committee of Congress during the summer of 1780, the "arrangement" of officers being confirmed by the New Jersey Legislature upon September 26, 1781. Of the Third Establishment there were three regiments, the colonel of the first being Matthias Ogden, the colonel of the second being Israel Shreve, and the colonel of the third being Elias Dayton. During the autumn campaign of 1781 these three regiments took part in the siege of Yorktown, being present at the surrender, and were discharged November 3, 1783.

From time to time New Jersey men enlisted in the continental line of other States; officers of the New Jersey State troops or militia recruited in New Jersey and elsewhere, mustering men under special authority of Congress. Thus Colonel Oliver Spencer, of New Jersey, organized a battalion of Jerseymen during the period of enlistment of men for the Second Establishment. From the fact that this establishment contained four battalions Colonel Spencer's battalion was some-

times known as the Fifth. It contained about one hundred and fifty men. Brigadier-General Forman resigned from the New Jersey militia to accept command of a congressional regiment largely recruited in Maryland. A few Jerseymen joined this regiment. One hundred Jerseymen were in "Lee's Legion" of cavalry, while Jerseymen appeared in Colonel Moses Hazen's regiment, known as the Second Canadian, and in Colonel John Lamb's artillery were to be found men from Burlington, Essex, and Somerset Counties. Colonel Elisha Sheldon's regiment of light dragoons, Colonel Anthony Walton White's regiment of light dragoons, Colonel Jeduthan Baldwin's regiment of artificers, and Colonel Stephen Moylan's Pennsylvania regiment had Jerseymen upon their rosters. The Congress's Own Regiment, the Sappers and Miners, and Colonel James Livingston's regiment also contained men from this State. Such was also the case in Colonel Lewis Weltner's German regiment of Pennsylvania, Pulaski's legion, Colonel Lewis Nicola's invalid corps, and Colonel George Baylor's light dragoons. Colonel Baylor was a Virginian and was General Washington's aid-de-camp during the affair at Trenton.

To William Colfax, of Connecticut, but who, after the Revolution, settled in New Jersey, came the distinguished honor of being lieutenant and then captain of the commander-in-chief's guard.

Known by the names of the "Life Guard" and "Washington's Bodyguard," it first consisted of one hundred and eighty picked men from every State, the motto of the organization being "Conquer or Die." During the encampment at Valley Forge the guard was reorganized, one hundred men being annexed thereto "for the purpose of forming a corps to be instructed in the manœuvres necessary to be introduced into the army and to serve as a model for the execution of them."

It was upon the 3d of June, 1775, that the Provincial Congress of New Jersey, sitting in Trenton, provided a "plan for regulating the Militia of this Colony," "being apprehensive," says the resolution, "that all pacific measures for the redress of our grievances will prove ineffectual." The plan of organization embraced features which would recommend it to popular approval. One or more companies composed of men between the ages of sixteen and fifty were to be formed in each township and corporation. Each company was to contain eighty men between the ages of sixteen and fifty, and was to have the choice of its captain, two lieutenants, and one ensign, the officers to appoint sergeants, corporals, and drummers. Upon the organization of companies into regiments the company officers were to select a colonel, lieutenant-colonel, major, and adjutant.

Turning to the organization of the militia, the

first allotment of regiments and battalions among the counties was made upon the 16th of August, 1775. The militia of Bergen composed one regiment, as did the militia of Salem; Essex, Middlesex, and Somerset each two regiments; Sussex two regiments and one battalion; Burlington two regiments with a company of rangers in the Township of Egg Harbor; Morris two regiments and one battalion; Monmouth three regiments; Hunterdon four regiments; Cape May one battalion; Cumberland two battalions; and Gloucester three battalions. Details of military government of precedence, and of equipment were provided for under a series of resolutions. The call of the Continental Congress for organization of minutemen, who, in New Jersey, were to hold themselves in constant readiness on the shortest notice to march whenever and wherever their assistance might be required, did not pass unheeded. Four thousand able-bodied militia divided into companies of sixty-four men, officers included, were directed to be immediately enlisted in the several counties, of which Hunterdon was to furnish eight companies; Essex, Middlesex, Monmouth, and Morris six companies; Somerset, Sussex, and Burlington five companies; Bergen and Gloucester four companies; Salem and Cumberland three companies; and Cape May one company. Ten battalions were to be formed of the sixty-two minute companies

under officers selected by the township or company committees of correspondence. To each county was allotted one battalion, except in the cases of Gloucester and Salem, which were united, while the companies in Cumberland and Cape May were to be considered independent companies of light infantry and rangers. To the minutemen were given "precedency of rank of the common Militia of the Province," while their service was limited to the space of four months. The Continental Congress recommended, as a uniform, hunting frocks similar to those worn by riflemen in the continental service.

In the meantime a portion of the leading men of the colony had become acquainted with one who for years was destined to spend much of his military life in New Jersey—General George Washington. Appointed by Congress commander-in-chief of the army, he left Philadelphia upon June 23, 1775, with a military escort, on his way to the environs of Boston. With General Washington, who rode on horseback, were Generals Lee and Schuyler, Thomas Mifflin, and Joseph Reed. When near Trenton they were met by a courier who brought with him the news of the battle of Bunker Hill. The next day found General Washington in Newark, where, upon the 25th, he met a committee of the Provincial Congress of New York, who conducted him to Hoboken. That

afternoon, being Sunday, he crossed the river to New York City, and thence by way of Kingsbridge, New Haven, Wethersfield, Springfield, and Watertown, he reached Cambridge upon Monday, July 3.

For the purpose of effectively supporting the military establishment a sum of £10,000 was directed to be raised at once by the several counties of the colony. In the meantime, before adjournment, the thanks of the Congress were extended to the Counties of Morris, Sussex, and Somerset for their exertions in raising minute-men.

Throughout the month of October, 1777, the delay incident to collecting £10,000 apportioned to be raised by the former Congress had given to the leaders of the new movement much anxiety. This, together with the preparation of an estimate of expense necessary for the defense of the colony, had been debated, but upon the 24th of October the Congress agreed to purchase for the use of the colony three thousand stand of arms, ten tons of gunpowder, twenty tons of lead, one thousand "cartouch boxes," two medicine chests, two thousand blankets, four hundred tents, with necessary furniture, canteens, and knapsacks, and voted fourteen hundred pounds subsistence money at one shilling per man per day en route to their destination, and four thousand

pounds for payment of troops for one month when in service, three hundred pounds for axes, spades, and intrenching tools, five hundred pounds for procuring a train of artillery, and one thousand pounds for the erection of a saltpeter works, the latter sum to be distributed as a bounty for merchantable product made in New Jersey before January 1, 1777. Thirty thousand pounds proclamation money in bills of credit was ordered struck, a course necessitated by the refusal of the Continental Congress to loan money to the colony after a strongly worded application.

A new militia ordinance passed by the Provincial Congress upon the 28th of October, 1775, shows that the most active preparations were being made for war. Men enlisting were required to provide themselves with "a good musket or firelock, and bayonet, sword, or tomahawk, a steel ramrod, worm, priming wire, and brush fitted thereto," together with cartridge box, cartridges, twelve flints, and a knapsack. On alarms the "minutemen" were ordered to proceed to the homes of their captains, while from the militia provision was made for the organization of companies of light horse.

Although the expedition against the Long Island Tories in February, 1776, was ended almost as soon as it was begun, the militia of Middlesex, Essex, and Somerset Counties responded promptly

to the call of the New York committee of safety. The minutemen upon this occasion were under the command of Colonels Nathaniel Heard and Charles Stewart. Upon the 29th of February, 1776, the minutemen were "dissolved and incorporated in the militia of the districts where they resided."

Upon the 13th of February, 1776, the Provisional Congress, upon the recommendation of the committee of safety of Pennsylvania, decided to add to the equipment of the colony a train of artillery of twelve field pieces, and to increase the issue of paper bills from thirty thousand pounds to fifty thousand pounds.

In the early summer of 1776 the perilous situation of the City of New York led the Continental Congress to call for thirteen thousand eight hundred militia, of which New Jersey's quota was thirty-three hundred. Upon the 14th of June the Provincial Congress directed that the troops to be raised in the colony be divided into five battalions, each consisting of eight companies with seventy-eight privates to the company. The period of service was limited to **December 1, 1776**. Joseph Reed having declined the brigadier-generalship, Nathaniel Heard was selected for the position. In the formation of the five battalions one was composed of three companies from Bergen, three from Essex, and two from Burlington

under the command of Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt. Four companies from Middlesex and four from Monmouth completed another battalion, of which the colonel was Nathaniel Heard. A third battalion contained four companies from Morris and four from Sussex, Ephraim Martin being colonel, while Colonel Stephen Hunt was in command of a battalion consisting of three companies from Somerset and five companies from Hunterdon. Silas Newcomb was the colonel of a battalion with two companies from Burlington, two from Cumberland, two from Gloucester, and two from Salem. Apparently no provision was made for recruiting men from Cape May.

The Provincial Congress, on July 18th, in accordance with a request of the Continental Congress, resolved to enlist two thousand men to take the place of troops detailed to form the Flying Camp. The two thousand militia were to be organized in four battalions, each company to consist of sixty-four men. Under the arrangement one battalion included two companies from Bergen, three from Essex, and two from Morris under the colonelcy of Edward Thomas. For another battalion Somerset furnished two companies, Sussex two companies, and Hunterdon four companies, with Mark Thompson as colonel. Middlesex's three companies, Monmouth's three companies, and Salem's two companies composed a third bat-

talion with Samuel Forman as colonel, while Colonel Charles Read's battalion consisted of three companies from Burlington, three from Gloucester, and one from Cumberland. Under a method that lasted throughout the war one-half the militia was in constant service on a basis of monthly classes.

By acts of March 15, 1777, and April 14, 1778, the militia was further regulated, the latter statute creating two brigades, Middlesex, Somerset, Essex, Bergen, Morris, and Sussex forming one brigade, the remaining counties of the State the other. In 1781, on the 8th of January, the Upper, Middle, and Lower Brigades were created. The Upper Brigade included the militia of the Counties of Bergen, Essex, Morris, and Sussex, and of those parts of Middlesex and Somerset lying on the northern and eastern side of the Raritan and its South Branch. The Middle Brigade included the remaining portions of Middlesex and Somerset and the Counties of Monmouth, Hunterdon, and Burlington. The Lower Brigade comprised Gloucester, Salem, Cumberland, and Cape May. Throughout the duration of the war artillery companies and troops of horse were organized under the direction of the governor or the Legislature.

The county organization of the militia shows the command to have been vested in Major-General Philemon Dickinson, with Bergen County,

Colonel Theunis Dey; Burlington County, First Regiment, Colonel Joseph Borden, Second Regiment, Charles Read; Cape May County, Colonel John Mackay; Cumberland County, First Battalion, Colonel Silas Newcomb, Second Battalion, Colonel David Potter; Essex County, First Regiment, Colonel Elias Dayton, Second Regiment, North and South Battalions, Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt; Gloucester County, First Battalion, Colonel Israel Shreve, Second Battalion, Colonel Joseph Ellis, Third Battalion, Colonel Richard Somers; Hunterdon County, First Regiment, Colonel Isaac Smith; Second Regiment, Colonel Nathaniel Hunt, Third Regiment, Colonel David Chambers, Fourth Regiment, Colonel John Mehelm; Middlesex County, First Regiment, Colonel Nathaniel Heard, Second Regiment, Colonel John Wetherill, Third Regiment, Colonel John Duyckinck; Monmouth County, First Regiment, Colonel Nathaniel Scudder, Second Regiment, Colonel David Brearley, Third Regiment, Colonel Samuel Breese; Morris County, Eastern Battalion, Colonel Jacob Ford, Jr., Western Battalion, Colonel Jacob Drake; Salem County, Western Battalion, Colonel Samuel Dick, Eastern Battalion, Colonel John Holme; Somerset County, First Battalion, Colonel William Alexander, Second Battalion, Colonel Abraham Quick; Sussex County, First Regiment, Colonel William Maxwell, Second Regiment, Col-

onel Ephraim Martin, Third Battalion, Colonel John Cleves Symmes.

From the militia of the State, from time to time, occasion required that volunteers be called into service to repel raids, protect the sea coast, and perform a variety of duties upon territory which was continually the theater of strife. The volunteers liable for duty in New Jersey and in adjoining States were known as "State Troops," or as "New Jersey Levies" and "Five months Levies." As early as February 13, 1776, the Provincial Congress resolved that "two complete artillery companies be raised," one to be stationed in the eastern part of the colony and the other in the western portion. Of the eastern company, which previous to the affair at Trenton was merged into Colonel Thomas Proctor's regiment of artillery, Frederick Frelinghuysen was the captain, while Samuel Hugg was captain of the western company.

The crisis of the Revolution during Washington's retreat through the Jerseys necessitated an urgent call for volunteers to serve from November 27, 1776, until April 1, 1777. Under the act for raising four battalions Matthias Williamson was created brigadier-general, provision being made for thirty-two companies. Bergen, Essex, and Morris formed one battalion with Jacob Ford, Jr., as colonel; Somerset, Sussex, and Hunterdon

comprised another battalion with David Chambers as colonel; another battalion came from Middlesex, Monmouth, and Burlington, Charles Read being colonel; while David Potter was the colonel of the battalion from Gloucester, Salem, and Cumberland.

A new company of artillery was established September 24, 1777, the command being given to Captain Joshua Huddy, performing effectively in Monmouth County. To serve from June to December, 1779, one thousand militia were called out for defense of the frontiers of the State, while on the 9th of October, 1779, four thousand men were called into the field to serve until December 20 of that year. Under the details of organization one regiment from Bergen, Morris, Somerset, and Sussex had for its colonel Henry Van Dike; a regiment from Essex, Middlesex, and Monmouth was commanded by Asher Holmes; another regiment from Hunterdon and Burlington had John Taylor for its colonel; while the colonel of the regiment from Gloucester, Salem, Cumberland, and Cape May was Nicholas Stilwell.

During the latter half of the year 1780 six hundred and twenty-four were called for in defense of the frontiers. Under Major Samuel Hayes about two hundred and fifty men were stationed in Bergen and Middlesex, north of the Raritan River; about the same number under Colonel

Asher Holmes were in Monmouth and Middlesex; while Major Samuel Westbrook had about one hundred men in Sussex. In 1780 the Legislature made the utmost endeavor to complete the continental line by calling out six hundred and twenty-four men on June 14 and eight hundred and twenty men on December 26. In 1781 the force in Sussex County was increased owing to Indian raids, while upon December 29th of that year four hundred and twenty-two men were called out for a year's service. On the latter call the Salem, Cumberland, and Cape May companies were directed to do "duty on land or water."

OF the number of Tories in New Jersey no completely satisfactory information ever has been or probably ever will be available, for the reason that the line of demarcation between Whig and Tory was not always sharply drawn. Particularly was this true in the case of the non-combatant members of the Society of Friends, who were accounted Tories by the radical Whig element simply because the Quakers would not actively participate in hostilities. Yet the members of the society claimed to be strictly neutral, many claiming to possess Whig sympathies.

Notoriously in New York and conspicuously in Philadelphia were there many adherents to the crown—not to mention hosts of secret adherents who claimed to be friends of the movement to secure freedom, and yet who were in league with Tory leaders. Of Eastern Pennsylvania Timothy Pickering said that it was the “enemies’ country,” while some historians have claimed that the New Jersey Tories represented one-third of the total population of the State. In this estimate, which was made by Whigs, must be included a large number of Quakers.

Stripped of all local prejudice and appeals to passion, the argument advanced by the Tories in the State of New Jersey, though specious, was

founded upon a strict construction of the system of popular representation as then practiced in England. Over-sea only one-tenth of the possible electors voted for members of Parliament; yet as the King represented the royal family and the lords another distinct social element therefore the house represented the remainder of the people. And as the colonies were an integral part of the empire so were they represented just as nine-tenths of the English population was represented—by implication. Further it was added that the right of petition lay to the throne, and if the English people were satisfied why should the colonists, who had cost the government more for their support than the government had ever received in revenue, demand more recognition than their kinsfolk?

To this the reply was made that, while such an argument might be true, the representation was indirect, and consequently legislation especially designed to advance American interests never secured proper consideration by Parliament. Distance from the colonies, ignorance of their wants and needs, led to apathy or, what was worse, the passage of restrictive laws, not in the interests of the colonists, but in favor of the British workingman, of the crown revenues, or the established church.

Until the arrival of Lord Howe at Staten

Island early in July, 1776, the Tory element in New Jersey confined its efforts to argument and supporting the three great figures of their cause: William Franklin the statesman, Jonathan Odell the poet, and Cortlandt Skinner the lawyer-soldier. But relying upon the presence of the Anglo-Hessian troops, a partially successful attempt at military organization brought together those whose Tory sentiments were of sufficient strength to warrant their bearing arms. Soon after Howe's arrival sixty Shrewsbury men, inefficiently equipped, joined the royal forces. In a letter the British commander says: "I understand there are five hundred more in that quarter ready to follow their example"—a part of that supposedly "enormous body of the inhabitants" of New York and Connecticut and New Jersey who were only waiting "for opportunities to give proofs of their loyalty and zeal for government."

Already in portions of the colony the Tory sentiment found its expression in the organization of associations, created in opposition to the Whig town and county committees. One of these associations existed in Sussex County, whose members resolved not to pay the tax levied by the province as a war measure or to purchase goods that might be distrained from non-tax paying owners, or to attend militia musters. In Cumberland the committee of safety found it nec-

essary to place in close confinement those instrumental in raising a party among the ignorant and unwary whose purpose was to oppose the measures adopted for the redress of grievances, and to recommend to the assemblies, conventions, commissions, or councils of safety measures to "frustrate the mischievous machinations and restrain the wicked practices" by disarming and keeping in safe custody those who had traduced the conduct and principles of the friends of American liberty. In Salem during the months of January and February, 1776, there were "disturbances," while the committee at Elizabethtown represented that many persons were moving into the province "who may perhaps be unfriendly to the cause of American freedom."

Under Colonel (later Brigadier-General) Cortlandt Skinner recruiting officers, appointed by Howe for the Jerseys, were directed to organize the provincial troops. With headquarters on Staten Island, the rendezvous for **Tories, traitors,** and deserters, General Skinner made a desperate attempt to raise two thousand five hundred men. By May, 1777, he had secured about five hundred. One year later this number was increased to one thousand one hundred. Mainly from New Jersey, five hundred and fifty additional volunteers were sent to South Carolina. In the early summer of

1778 a complete roster of the six battalions of New Jersey volunteers was printed in Rivington's army list and republished in the late Adjutant-General William S. Stryker's monograph, "The New Jersey Volunteers (Loyalists) in the Revolutionary War." In 1777-78, in spite of the inducements held out by Howe during his winter occupancy of Philadelphia, only "174 real volunteers from Jersey, under Colonel Van Dyke," joined the provincial regiment, while in 1779 the New Jersey brigade had been reduced to four battalions. In 1782 only three battalions appear, skeleton regiments being sustained until the close of the Revolution.

The operations of these loyalist regiments were confined largely to guerrilla warfare throughout the portions of New Jersey most exposed to attack. From Staten Island and New York forage raids accompanied by plundering and massacre were of constant occurrence along the fertile and easily accessible valleys of such rivers as the Passaic, Hackensack, Raritan, and smaller streams. The north shore of Monmouth County, through their efforts, was in a constant state of unrest, while the low hills of Somerset and Hunterdon Counties were subjected, less frequently, to marauding visitations of "Skinner's Greens," as the regiments were called.

Associated with these regiments, possessing a

semblance of military organization, real or assumed, was a disjointed band of land-pirates known as the "Pine Robbers." Aided and abetted by the board of associated loyalists in New York City, whose most active spirit was William Franklin, the deposed governor of New Jersey, these "Pine Robbers," among whom were many refugees, raided the tidewater regions of Monmouth, Ocean, Atlantic, Salem, Gloucester, Camden, and Burlington Counties, their depredations being yet vividly remembered in local tradition. In contrast to their outlawry and murders the Hessian was a messenger of peace. These "Pine Robbers," most of whom were Jerseymen, were actuated by a spirit of such utter depravity that even those who hired them were said to have been in awe of their consummate wickedness. Their main purpose was to steal and murder, wreaking vengeance upon the homes and persons of unprotected Whigs. Hiding by day in the recesses of the "Pines" or amid the dunes of the seashore, they rode at night, says a recent writer, upon missions at which justice and humanity stood aghast. The record of their depredations aroused such a spirit that when one of the band was captured he was instantly killed, without an attempt at trial. Fagan, probably the most notorious of the "Robbers," was hung from a tree until, swinging in the wind, the flesh drop-

ped from the bones and the skeleton remained a warning for all future criminals.

Of the organization of the loyalist regiments material of a personal character has been preserved; a portion of its recital may throw some light upon those whose military ardor led them to take an active part. Of the long line of New Jersey loyalists many were sincerely attached to their King, ultimately sacrificing their homes and fortunes to the cause, and under the strain of poverty and social ostracism were buried in forgotten graves or died in the far away wilderness of the Canadian provinces. Others, thinking the Revolution a failure, hoped by a show of devotion to the crown to secure a reward; others were merely hired assassins.

Foremost appears Brigadier-General Cortlandt Skinner, always a consistent loyalist, the last attorney-general of New Jersey under the crown, while among his lieutenant-colonels was Isaac Allen, whose property at Trenton was confiscated. After the war Colonel Allen became a member of the provincial council of Nova Scotia. Joseph Barton, captured at Staten Island in August, 1777; Stephen de Lancey, of New York, who for some unknown reason was commissioned in New Jersey, and with Governor Franklin was held prisoner by Governor Trumbull, of Connecticut; Edward Vaughan Dongan, "a young

gentlemen of uncommon merit"; John Morris, of whom little is known; and Abraham Van Buskirk, subsequently mayor of Shelburne, Nova Scotia, also appear among the lieutenant-colonels of the loyalist regiments. In the person of John Barnes, the last royal high sheriff of Hunterdon County, Trenton furnished a major, "a worthy man and a gallant soldier." Most conspicuous in the list of majors was Robert Drummond, a merchant, of Acquackanonk Landing, now Passaic. Between 1770 and 1774 he had served as a member of the New Jersey Assembly and the Provincial Congress, voting against the adoption of the State constitution. As a recruiting officer his services were of great value to General Skinner, his activity leading to the confiscation of his property in 1778. There were among the majors Thomas Leonard, of Monmouth County; Thomas Milledge, a landed proprietor of Hanover Township, Morris County; and Richard V. Stockton, of Princeton, known as the "Land Pilot," who after capture was saved from ignominy by General Washington and later sentenced to death by general court martial for a murder. Associated with these as majors were the scholarly Robert Timpany, of Hackensack, and Philip Van Cortlandt, whose cousin was General Philip Van Cortlandt, of New Jersey, and whose kinsman

was Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt, of Essex County.

Of ten adjutants and nine quartermasters little beyond their names and military services is known, nor is there much information to be had concerning seven surgeons. John Hammell, who at the opening of the Revolution was surgeon's mate under General Heard's command, went over to the enemy, but, being later captured by General Philemon Dickinson, was committed to jail for high treason. Dr. Uzal Johnson, of Newark, like Dr. Hedden, forswore his allegiance to the Whigs, although he escaped capture. Of the chaplains Rev. Thomas Bartow had held a like position during the French and Indian War, while Rev. Charles Inglis, rector of Trinity Church, New York, and later Bishop of Nova Scotia, became first colonial bishop of the Church of England.

Captains Peter Campbell and Charles Harrison were Trentonians, Captain Richard Crayford was probably from the County of Cumberland, while Captain William Chandler was the son of the Episcopal rector of Elizabethtown, Rev. Thomas B. Chandler, D.D. From Middletown, Monmouth County, came Captain Joseph Crowell, while the notorious Captain Cornelius Hatfield, Jr., of Elizabethtown, only escaped punishment for murder by reason of the terms

of the treaty of peace of 1783. As early as July 2, 1776, Captain Joseph Lee, after capture, was ordered to be confined in the common jail at Trenton, as were Captains John Longstreet and Bartholemew Thatcher. Captain Samuel Ryer-son, of Pompton Plains, Captain John Taylor, of Amboy, and Captain Jacob Van Buskirk, son of Lieutenant-Colonel Abraham Van Buskirk, of Bergen County, were among the New Jerseymen holding that office.

Among the names of lieutenants appears that of the brave but vengeful James Brittain. Even a more conspicuous officer was James Moody, who, previous to the declaration of war, was a farmer. A man of decided views, he early espoused the loyalist cause, which led him into constant conflict with his Whig-sympathizing neighbors. Joining the provincial regiment, he became a lieutenant in 1781, possibly as a tardy reward for his military services, which were of the most unsavory character. "Moody is out" was a cry that struck terror to the hearts of Whig farmers. Engaged in an expedition to capture Governor Livingston, he was subsequently taken prisoner by General Anthony Wayne. The Whigs did not spare Lieutenant Moody in applying the doctrine of *lex talionis*—an attitude not infrequently taken by the Americans when Tory military officers of New Jersey regiments were

captured. His "Narrative," which, as General Stryker says, "was believed to have been dictated by him," was printed in London in 1783. A copy with numerous manuscript annotations by Moody is in the possession of William Nelson. Other Monmouth County lieutenants of lesser note were William Stevenson and John Vought; while the names of Andrew Stockton, suggesting Princeton or Burlington, John Throckmorton, probably of Monmouth, and John Van Buskirk, from Bergen County, appear on the lists of loyalist lieutenants.

Ensign John Brittain was a brother of Lieutenant James Brittain. Equally notorious as Lieutenants Brittain or Moody was Ensign Richard Lippincott, who, until 1777, served in the First Battalion. Called to New York, he became a member of the board of associated loyalists, ranking as Captain. For the military murder of Captain Joshua Huddy Richard Lippincott was finally rewarded with a grant of three thousand acres of land upon which a portion of the city of Toronto, Canada, is now built. General Cortlandt Skinner's son, Philip Kearny Skinner, from an ensignship, which he received in 1781, ultimately became lieutenant-general of the British army one year before his death, which occurred in 1826. Philip Van Cortlandt, Jr., also appears as an ensign in his father's battalion.

while John Woodward, also an ensign, of Monmouth County, was one of the "fighting Quakers" of Tory proclivities.

In civil life one branch of the Lawrence family of Monmouth County were ardent Tories. The elder John Lawrence, who ran one of the several division lines between the provinces of East and West Jersey, was arrested by the Whigs and kept in jail, as was his son, Dr. John Lawrence, a graduate of the first class of the Philadelphia Medical College. Another son was Elisha Lawrence, last royal high sheriff of the County of Monmouth, who, having been active in organizing a corps of loyalists, was made lieutenant-colonel of the First Battalion New Jersey Volunteers. In the skirmishing on Staten Island, August 22, 1777, Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence was captured by Colonel Matthias Ogden. Removing to Nova Scotia, and thence over-sea, Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence died at Cardigan, Wales.

Another prominent Tory of the same family name was John Brown Lawrence, of Burlington, a friend of the Rev. Jonathan Odell. One of his sons was Captain James Lawrence, the famous naval commander during the second war with England, and whose death upon the "Constitution" at the entrance of Boston Harbor, June 1, 1813, was made memorable by his dying words:

“Don’t give up the Ship.” By a somewhat peculiar coincidence another loyalist of New Jersey, Dr. Absalom Bainbridge, was the father of a distinguished naval commander of the War of 1812—William Bainbridge, who, in 1812, fought the “Java” from the decks of the “Constitution,” upon which James Lawrence later died. Dr. Bainbridge’s son Joseph was later a chaplain in the navy.

Associated with the loyalist movement were two ministers, both of whom attained conspicuous positions in their respective denominations. One was Benjamin Abbott, who, as an earnest revivalist and circuit rider, later spread the doctrines of the Methodist Episcopal Church throughout West Jersey. The other was the Rev. Thomas B. Chandler, of Saint John’s Episcopal Church in Elizabethtown, the advocate of an American bishopric and a loyalist pamphleteer of note. Of the Rev. Doctor Chandler’s wife, who was active in Elizabethtown in support of the Tory cause, General William Maxwell is reputed to have said: “I think she would be much better off in New York, and to take her baggage with her, that she might have nothing to come back for.” General Elias B. Dayton married one of Dr. Chandler’s daughters, Bishop Hobart married another, while a third was the wife of William Dayton. A brother of these eminent

women, William Chandler, was a graduate of King's College (Columbia), received a warrant as captain in the New Jersey volunteers, and died in England at the age of twenty-eight.

In the distribution of favors among the Tories who suffered at hands of the King's troops was Daniel Coxe, of Trenton, once a member of his majesty's council for New Jersey. After the burning and pillaging of his property by his friends the State of New Jersey confiscated what remained, and Daniel Coxe, impoverished and broken hearted, sailed for England in 1785.

To refugees from other colonies New Jersey early offered an asylum. Acting Governor James Habersham, of Georgia, whose philanthropic purposes led him to accompany Whitefield to Savannah, left his colony about May, 1775, and found a welcome in New Brunswick, where in a home upon the banks of the Raritan he died during the following August. In February, 1776, John Tabor Kempe, the last royal attorney-general of New York, fled to the protection of the British ships in New York Bay, and there, in eulogistic verse, welcomed his brother office holder, Cortlandt Skinner, last royal attorney-general of New Jersey.

UPON the 23d day of May, 1775, there assembled in Trenton the first Provincial Congress of the colony of New Jersey, representatives being present from the thirteen counties of the colony in the following proportions: Bergen, five; Burlington, five; Cape May, one; Cumberland, three; Essex, thirteen; Hunterdon, fifteen; Gloucester, three; Middlesex, eleven; Monmouth, seven; Morris, seven; Salem, five; Somerset, eight; Sussex, four—in all eighty-seven delegates, who, through the action of the committees of correspondence or by direct choice of the people, brought to the Congress the full force of the sentiment actuating their communities.

Proceeding to an election, the choice of president fell upon Hendrick Fisher, of Somerset, with Samuel Tucker, of Hunterdon, vice-president. Jonathan D. Sergeant, of Somerset, was chosen secretary, while the two assistant secretaries were William Paterson and Frederick Frelinghuysen, of Somerset.

The attitude of this Congress was one of deliberation in determining measures to be pursued in defending the constitutional rights and privileges of Jersey men. The president recommended that the body support civil authority, “so far as might consist with the preservation of their fundamental liberties,” for maintenance of good

order and the undisturbed administration of justice. A profession was further made of the "profoundest veneration for the person and family of his sacred majesty George III," with "due allegiance to his rightful authority and government." The action of the Assembly in selecting delegates to the Continental Congress then in session in Philadelphia was confirmed, and a request was made upon the Continental Congress for directions concerning New Jersey's "line of conduct, in which we ought to act, as may prevent any measures we shall adopt from marring or obstructing the general views of the Congress."

The work of the Provincial Congress, regulative of existing conditions, but not revolutionary, was directed toward several objects. Early in the session the non-exportation resolution of the Continental Congress was confirmed, relations with the Friends of Liberty in Connecticut and New York were established, and a form of "association" prepared. This latter document was intended for use among the subscribers in townships. It declared that the inhabitants had long viewed with concern the design of the British ministry to raise a revenue in America, and had been deeply affected by the hostilities in Massachusetts Bay. Believing that the preservation of American rights and liberties lay in a firm union, with hearts abhorring slavery and "ardently wishing for a

reconciliation with our parent state on constitutional principles," the associators, "under the sacred ties of virtue and honor and love to our Country," would resolve and endeavor to support and carry into execution whatever constitutional measures may be recommended by the Continental and Provincial Congresses. It was also further associated and agreed that support should be given the civil magistrates in the execution of their duty agreeable to colonial law, and that every effort should be made "to guard against those disorders and confusions to which the peculiar circumstances of the times may expose us."

Adjourning to the month of August of that year, the Congress, upon its assembling, recognized the gravity of the political phase of the situation. The haphazard methods of election of delegates gave place to distinct regulation. The right of electing delegates was laid upon the inhabitants of the county qualified to vote for members of the House of Assembly. The choice of each county was limited to five delegates or less, the election for the meeting of Congress on October 3d to be held in the respective county court houses upon the 21st day of September. "During the continuation of the present unhappy disputes between Great Britain and America" a popular election for delegates to the Provincial Congress, as well as the election of members of county com-

mittees of observation and correspondence, was ordered for the third Thursday of September. Township committees were directed to be chosen upon the second Tuesday in March.

Having provided for organizing the militia and raising funds for the prosecution of a possible war, various questions of religious and economic importance were passed upon by the Provincial Congress. For the non-combatant members of the Society of Friends the members, according to a resolution of August 17th, "intend no violence of conscience" and recommended to the Society liberal contributions "to the relief of their distressed brethren." From Sussex County came the complaint that shop goods were greatly advanced in price owing to the situation of the market in Philadelphia and New York, while to relieve the public roads of the presence of strollers, vagabonds, and runaway servants, who were engaged in horse stealing and other robberies, Congress, upon August 31st, recommended that the "good people of this Province * * * strictly examine all suspicious persons passing to and fro through the different parts thereof," and if the examination be unsatisfactory such offenders "be dealt with according to the laws of this Province."

It was in Trenton upon the 3d of October that a further session of the Provincial Congress was

held. Six of the counties availed themselves of the power given to choose five delegates each, such action being taken by Essex, Morris, Sussex, Hunterdon, Burlington, and Gloucester. Salem returned four, Somerset and Monmouth three, Bergen, Middlesex, and Cumberland two, and Cape May one—in all forty-seven. Of the Convention Samuel Tucker, of Hunterdon, was elected president; Hendrick Fisher, of Somerset, vice-president; and John Mehelm, of Hunterdon, secretary.

The organization of the militia, particularly the adjustment of rank, occupied much of the time of the Congress, although it is noticeable that the preparations for war, which were now conducted with activity, aroused not only a military but a political spirit. From Sussex came two numerous signed petitions praying that all who paid taxes might be permitted to vote for congressional deputies—a bold step when suffrage was limited by property qualifications. Sussex also requested that all law suits for the recovery of debts, commenced or to be commenced, might be suspended upon certain conditions until the dispute between Great Britain and the colonies be settled. To the general Sussex petitions for the extension of the suffrage came similar requests from the Townships of Kingwood and Alexandria in the County of Hunterdon and from the Townships of Greenwich and Mansfield-Woodhouse in Sussex.

Until the Provincial Congress should again meet in New Brunswick the colony of New Jersey was without *de facto* government except for a committee of safety appointed by the Congress from among its members. To the existence of this committee of safety, which met in Princeton upon January 9, 1776, is due the establishment of military posts and the erection of beacons, a plan recommended to New Jersey by the Continental Congress and the Congress of New York. In pursuance of the scheme a man and horse were directed to be kept in constant readiness by the committees of Newark, Elizabethtown, Woodbridge, New Brunswick, Princeton, and Trenton, whose duties were the carrying of expresses to the Continental Congress and notifying neighboring town committees "in case of invasion or alarm."

The presence of the British in Staten Island and the Tory sentiment prevailing in Perth Amboy caused the Provincial Congress which met in New Brunswick early in February to order the removal of the treasury of the eastern division to the house of Peter Schenck, in Somerset, while the books of the secretary of the province were forwarded to Burlington. The illicit lumber trade with the West Indies caused the passage of stringent rules regulating the granting of licenses to vessel masters, tending to effectually prohibit the practice.

During the month of February the "Asia" and

“Phoenix,” British men-of-war, lay in New York Bay and off Sandy Hook, capturing provision boats coming from New Jersey. This caused the Provincial Congress during the month of February to pass a resolution prohibiting the shipment of provisions to New York or other ports, and directing all county and township committees in the eastern division to be vigilant and active in carrying the resolution into effect.

Upon the 14th of February, 1776, William Livingston, John de Hart, Richard Smith, John Cooper, and Jonathan Dickinson, sergeant, were elected to the position of delegates to the Continental Congress for the space of one year, or until their successors be chosen.

The attitude of the members of the Society of Friends, those “of tender consciences,” proved a further source of political perplexity. In the attitude of the Congress there was a touch of conciliation in an evident desire not to alienate an influential class of citizens from a movement whose outcome was most uncertain. Yet any hope of success lay in uniformity of action and sameness of purpose, and to this end an ordinance was passed during this session of the Congress which sought to reconcile the matters in dispute. The intent of the ordinance was to permit all persons “whose religious principles would not suffer them

to bear arms ” to affix their signatures to the following proviso :

“ I agree to the above Association, as far as the same is consistent with my religious principles.” In case of refusal the offender was directed to be disarmed and to give security for future peaceable behavior. Appeals lay from the township committee to the county committee and thence to the Provincial Congress. Those who refused to attend general musters and reviews, being restrained on account of adherence to a particular religious society, were directed to pay the sum of ten shillings proclamation money, “ it being highly equitable and just that at this time of public danger all such inhabitants of this Colony should bear an equal proportion of the public expense, as an equivalent for an exemption from bearing arms.”

Turning to the subject of taxation, an ordinance was passed, during the February-March session of the Congress, which presents clearly the classes of citizens and personal and real property in New Jersey upon which the burden of taxation fell. In the enumeration under the ordinance there were merchants and storekeepers, single men who worked for hire, both those who kept “ a horse, mare, or gelding ” and those who did not. Ferries, coasting sloops, schooners, shallops, flats, passage boats, wood boats and pettiaugers, riding chairs

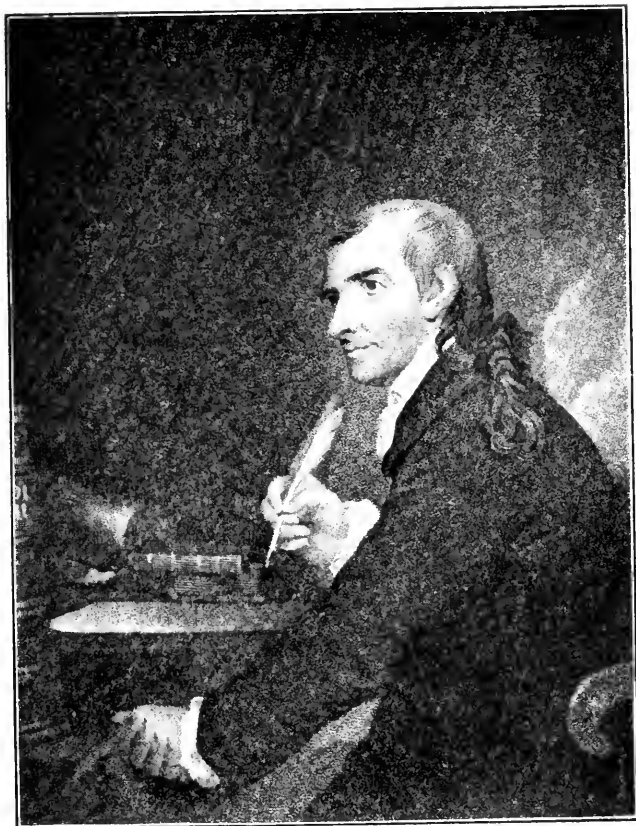
or kittereens, horse chaises or carriages, four-wheel chaises or phaetons, coaches or chariots, wagons, cattle, horses, mares, and geldings above the age of two years were to be included in the assessment. Added to this were "all profitable tracts of land" and "all unimproved tracts of land" held by deed, patent, or survey, mortgages, bonds, bills, and notes at interest. Male and female hawkers and peddlers, either on foot or with horses and carriages, "exposing goods for sale (except such goods as are manufactured in the united colonies)," were required to obtain a certificate in each county where such goods were offered for sale.

The Provincial Congress which met in Burlington upon the 10th of June, 1776, elected for its president Samuel Tucker, of Burlington, and for its secretary William Paterson, of Somerset. In this Provincial Congress the government of the colony of New Jersey was virtually lodged. During these hours of storm and stress a State was born, while in the nearby city of Philadelphia a nation came into existence. A change, vast, incomprehensible, overwhelming, shook human society, paving the way for the French Revolution, and for that later freedom of thought which has given the world new art, music, literature, applied science, economics, legislation, and theology.

Aside from the organization of the militia every

effort of the Congress was directed toward preparations for the inevitable conflict. As early as October, 1775, a bounty of one shilling per pound had been offered by the colony for merchantable saltpetre, while in 1776 a bounty of sixpence per bushel was offered for merchantable salt—two articles of prime necessity for use in the army. Arrangements were at once made to remove grain and meal from places liable to be attacked, while a diligent search was prosecuted for any lead mines that might exist in the colony. But as lead mines remained undiscovered, the Congress, upon July 16th, recommended the township committees to collect all the “leaden weights from windows and clocks and all leaden weights of shops, stores, and mills,” the collections thus made to be forwarded to the commissioners appointed for purchasing arms.

The 22d of June, 1776, was made memorable in the history of New Jersey by the election of delegates to Congress. Those chosen were Richard Stockton, Abraham Clark, John Hart, Francis Hopkinson, and John Witherspoon. To the Declaration of Independence their names are signed, acting in accordance with their instructions from the New Jersey Congress of that day, when as the Congress said: “We empower you to join with them [the delegates of the other colonies] in declaring the United Colonies independent of Great



Genl. Hopkinson

(Engraved by J. B. Longacre from a painting by Pine.)

Britain, entering into a confederacy for union and common defense, making treaties with foreign nations for commerce and assistance, and to take such other measures as to them and you may appear necessary for these great ends, promising to support them with the whole force of this Province; always observing that, whatever plan of confederacy you enter into, the regulating the internal police of this Province is to be reserved to the Colony Legislature.”

In instructing its delegates in the Continental Congress the Provincial Congress followed a precedent already well established in the colony. Cumberland County's committee, as early as September 30, 1775, represented “to the Honorable the Delegates of the thirteen United Colonies in General Congress Assembled” that Cumberland had ever shown itself forward in the cause of liberty, being the first in that part of the province to take up arms in support of the common cause. Though diligently engaged in learning the military art, its inhabitants were ill-provided with ammunition, particularly powder, a “circumstance truly alarming” when it is considered that the residents of the county would be “open, defenceless, and exposed to the depredations of Ministerial robbers, should they think proper to enter our Bay.” Fearing that General Gage would “try every method and ransack every place

* * * to furnish his Troops with fresh provisions," the committee urged the New Jersey delegates to secure a proper supply of ammunition, none of it to be used "but in support of the right and privileges of our countrymen."

From time to time other counties and committees of correspondence also instructed their delegates in the Provincial Congress, Essex County, upon one occasion, in a plea that the burden of the quota bill be equalized throughout the province, presenting the axiom later more philosophically, but no less clearly, expressed by Alexander Hamilton that money is "the *anima* that enlivens, that braces, that gives firmness to the nerves of our Constitution."

To the common jails of the county capitals, as well as to the Trenton jail, were committed disaffected Tories, not only those who openly bore arms, but those who secretly aided and abetted the King's troops or the officers of the King's ministry. During the months of June and July, 1776, the Provincial Congress acted with dispatch, arrests being made not only by the local committees, but by commissioned militia officers. To further this plan the Provincial Congress, upon July third, appointed a committee consisting of Stephen Crane, Lewis Ogden, and Caleb Camp, of Essex County, to coöperate with the secret committee of the Provincial Congress of New York

“ to issue warrants and apprehend and confine such person or persons as they may think necessary for the publick good.” Upon the following day, “ to prevent the failure of justice,” all the officers of the “ late government ” were directed to proceed in the execution of their offices “ under the authority of the people ” until the “ new government be settled and perfected.”

There is a bit of intense human interest in the case of Dr. John Lawrence, of Monmouth County, who, having been arrested, paroled, and kept under surveillance as a disaffected person, was the subject of a petition from sundry women of Perth Amboy which reached Congress upon July 17th. Dr. Lawrence had practiced his profession among the most conspicuous Tory families, and deprived of his services, with no other doctor of medicine in the town, “ fatal and melancholy consequences ” were apprehended, “ as his attendance is hourly necessary to several patients now much indisposed, who will be helpless if he be removed.” Congress was obdurate and directed its president to send a letter to Mrs. William Franklin, one of the subscribers. In reply it was said that could any application have procured greater indulgence for Dr. Lawrence, that of the women of Perth Amboy could not have failed of success. However, motives of commiseration to individuals must give place to public safety, for which

reason the Congress must abide by the steps which had been taken.

It was upon the 17th of July that the delegates to the Provincial Congress declared "That we will support the freedom and independence of the States with our lives and fortunes and with the whole force of New Jersey," the following day adopting in place of the name "The Provincial Congress of New Jersey"—the style and title "The Convention of the State of New Jersey."

The need for military stores became more and more pressing. In August, upon the application of Dr. Samuel Bard, the Congress resolved to loan him five hundred pounds, for two years, to assist and encourage the erection of a salt works, while Thomas Hutton, who had been especially appointed, made a report that in search for lead mines he had "found symptoms thereof" about four miles from Newton, Sussex County, that he had discovered black lead at Port Chuck near the "drowned lands" of that county, as well as sulphur in the Township of Mendham, Morris County, not to mention a supply of flint, "exceeding promising." "on a hill near Colonel Martin's and the brook called Beaver Run, in Sussex."

Of the ordinances passed by the Provincial Congress that "for punishing treason and counterfeiting," adopted July 18, 1776, is of especial interest. Under its provisions high treason, pun-

ishable by death, consisted in levying war against the State, within the same, adhering to the King of Great Britain or others, the enemies of this State within the same, or to the enemies of the United States, or "giving to them aid or comfort." The punishment of death was also inflicted upon those who counterfeited, altered, or uttered the bills of credit of the Continental Congress, the New Jersey Provincial Congress, or the assemblies, conventions, or congresses of any of the United States, but in all cases the offender should be charged, accused, and condemned or acquitted by verdict of a jury.

Upon the 21st day of August, 1776, the Provincial Congress of New Jersey "adjourned without day." Upon the 27th of the same month, in Princeton, with the meeting of the House of Assembly and Council proceeding to the election of a governor, and various county and State officials, the new government of the State was perfected. From the first meeting of the Congress upon the 23d of May, 1775, until its dissolution, a period of fifteen months, this remarkable assemblage of remarkable men had passed through a complete metamorphosis. Designed as an advisory body, it burst through its limitations, became declaratory, then directory, and finally tentatively assumed all governmental functions. For a few brief months during 1776 it was the Legis-

lature, the courts, and the executive of the State; its power was supreme, its ordinances the final expression of the will of the people. In its hands were life and death; in its meetings at New Brunswick, Trenton, and Burlington it wove the fabric of the State constitution, gave vigor to the first breathings of a national life, and shaped, more than any other representative body of Jersey men, the destinies of the State.

Under the provisional government the work of the committee of safety had been conducted without expressly conferred powers. But so successfully had the plan operated that the Legislature, upon March 15, 1777, reorganized the committee as a "Council of Safety," charging it with not only ample but extraordinary executive functions. The new council, which was continued from time to time until the 8th of October, 1778, was composed of twelve members, with Governor Livingston as president. Superficially it would appear that the Legislature robbed itself to grant to the council of safety a jurisdiction of marvelous comprehensiveness. As a court the council acted as a board of justices in criminal matters, apprehended disaffected persons and committed them to jail without bail; caused offenders to be tried in any county of the State; committed disaffected persons to jail until citizens kidnapped by the enemy were released; and committed to jail those

who refused to take the oaths of abjuration and allegiance, or to send these disaffected persons over to the enemy's lines. In its executive capacity the council could call out the militia to put its orders into effect or to act as a guard for the duly constituted officers of the State, and could send the families of fugitive Tories into the lines of the enemy. As a military board it was empowered to fill vacant military offices, to negotiate the exchange of prisoners, to erect beacons, disarm the disaffected, relieve wounded soldiers, and provide food for prisoners. Among its legislative functions the council could declare any room or house a legal jail.

During its almost daily sessions the council first met at Haddonfield upon the 18th of March, 1777, and in Burlington, Princeton, Pittstown, Trenton, and Ringoes during the same year. During 1778 the council met at Morristown, Trenton, Princeton, Hillsborough, and Kingston.

Not only the council of safety but the Legislature gave particular attention to the subject of confiscation of Tory estates. As early as August 2, 1776, the Provincial Congress recommended the county committees to make inventories and appraisements of the realty and personalty of those absconding from their homes and joining the enemy. Such estates, the perishable articles being sold, were to be kept safe, or to be left with

representatives of the fugitives if security were given. The first estates thus inventoried of which record has been preserved were those of Anthony Woodward and William Guisebertson, of Monmouth County.

Of a number of acts bearing upon the subject those of the most importance were passed upon June 5, 1777, and subsequent enabling legislation upon April 18 and December 11, 1778. Under the statute of 1777 all offenders were allowed until August 1 of that year to return to their allegiance, taking the necessary oaths before judicial officers. Upon a certificate filed with the county clerk a free pardon was granted together with restoration of the repentant citizen's estate. In each county after August 1st commissioners, under a fee system, were permitted to sell the real and personal property of the refugee, giving necessary assurances in law for title, a method pursued throughout the Revolution.

The powers granted the council of safety were never abused—indeed, the existence of the State apparently depended upon some form of government by a highly centralized commission, whose movements were unrestrained, whose personnel was irreproachable, whose authority could be well nigh limitless. Such a commission New Jersey had in her council of safety—a body no less remarkable for its exalted and unwavering patriot-

ism than for its discriminative use of power, which under less honest leadership than that of William Livingston could have turned it into an agency whose autocracy would have been unbearable.

GENERAL WASHINGTON remained in Cambridge, Boston, and their vicinage from July 3, 1775, until the early part of April, 1776. The evacuation of Boston had turned the eyes of the colonists upon New York. Toward this portion of the colonies Lord Howe was evidently hastening with the possible view of obtaining control of the Hudson, coöperating with the King's troops, marching southward from Canada, and thus separating New England from Philadelphia and the South.

Although uncertain as to the British plan of campaign, Washington, with all possible speed, pushed forward to New York, where he arrived upon the 13th of April. With him were ten thousand men, fit for duty, to defend military works scattered around Manhattan Island for the distance of twenty miles. Upon Brooklyn Heights, at Kingsbridge, at Red Hook, and in New Jersey at Paulus Hook American redoubts and batteries were either in course of erection or being hurried to completion, while abandoned shipping had been sunk between the Battery in New York City and Governor's Island as well as in the North River.

In the preparation for defense Washington took a direct personal interest. In pursuance of a resolution of Congress the commander-in-chief, to

advise and consult with that body, departed for Philadelphia upon the 21st of May. On his journey across New Jersey he stopped at Perth Amboy, where, as he wrote to General Schuyler, his object was "to view the ground and such places on Staten Island contiguous to it as may be proper for works of defence." He returned to New York June 5th, leaving Mrs. Washington in Philadelphia, where she had been inoculated for the smallpox. Upon the 26th he reconnoitered both banks of the Hudson as far as Tarrytown for the purpose of arranging defenses.

While the Declaration of Independence was at the point of passage the fleet of Admiral Howe arrived at Sandy Hook with the King's veterans and eight thousand Hessians, and while the Declaration was being read to the American army upon the 12th of July, the British regulars were being landed on Staten Island. To General Mercer, who was then in Amboy, with a part of his "Flying Camp," Lord Howe sent, under flag, the declaration of the appointment of himself and his brother as the King's commissioners for granting free and general pardons. A letter was also forwarded to former Governor William Franklin "requesting that he give publicity to the declaration in New Jersey." In all the British forces in the vicinity of New York amounted to about twenty-five thousand men.

Thus began the struggle for the control of the Hudson, which, lasting throughout the summer, was later, as the part of a succeeding campaign, transferred to the soil of New Jersey, and which so seriously affected every subsequent phase of the Revolutionary War.

The bitter contest for the control of Long and Manhattan Islands must be briefly told.

From the 22d of August until the 30th of that month, when General Washington, defeated if not disheartened, crossed in a dense fog from Long Island to New York, Brooklyn and its vicinity ran with blood. Utterly unable to cope with the superior force of the enemy after his defeat at the battle of Brooklyn upon the 27th, with Generals Stirling, Sullivan, and Woodhull prisoners, the militia "discouraged and intractable," subject to "disorder, irregularity, and confusion," Washington advised Congress that the City of New York be destroyed ere it fell into the hands of the enemy. To this suggestion Congress, however, refused to listen, and Lord Howe, recognizing the commercial and strategic importance of the town, also refrained from bombarding the metropolis.

Upon the evacuation of New York, which occurred September 12th, the Americans moved northward. With his shipping at the mouth of the Sound, and advantageously placed in the Hud-

son as far as Bloomingdale, General Sir William Howe prepared to occupy the city. In this attempt he was entirely successful, and by the 15th British and German troops of the King controlled Manhattan Island from the Battery to Harlem Heights. Directly to the north lay Washington with fourteen thousand men in a fortified position on the Heights, but so active was Howe that the Americans, upon the 16th of October, resolved to evacuate the whole of Manhattan Island except Fort Washington, "deemed impregnable and of great value for future operations."

Falling back upon White Plains, the American commander-in-chief, upon the 28th of October, confronted Howe with thirteen thousand men, the British general having an equal number of troops. Upon the termination of the battle of White Plains, upon the 28th, Howe suddenly altered his plans concerning the subjugation of the Hudson Valley and retired to the old city. His precipitate action was undoubtedly due to the treasonable act of Adjutant William Demont, an officer at Fort Washington, through whom Howe had become possessed of the plans of that vital point, which, with Fort Lee on the New Jersey shore of the river, made a pretence, at least, of defending the Hudson. Upon the morning of the 16th of November, after a furious assault by land and water, not only upon the fort itself, but upon

accompanying subsidiary works, Colonel Magaw, the commandant of the fort, surrendered to General Knyphausen. Two thousand six hundred Americans were taken prisoners, together with an important quantity of arms, ammunition, and stores.

With the fall of Fort Washington ended the military operations which sought to control the Hudson River. Although it left the British in absolute possession of Manhattan Island, with New York as the winter quarters of the Anglo-Hessian army, Howe had lost many troops, and in his manœuvres had not added to his reputation for generalship. Washington, with his raw recruits and lack of supplies, had relied, through modesty and courtesy, too much upon the advice of his officers. It had been, indeed, a campaign replete with military blunders, but with much show of personal daring.

The retirement of the British to New York upon the 4th of November led General Washington to write to General Lee that in his opinion Lord Howe had "designs upon the Jerseys," a supposition later borne out by the subsequent movements of the British army.

A council of American officers had decided that a body of troops should be thrown over to New Jersey for the protection of the State, and that three thousand men "should be stationed at

Peekskill and the passes of the Highlands." Leaving the command of the army on the east bank of the Hudson in the hands of General Lee, General Washington reconnoitered in the vicinity of Peekskill and West Point upon November 11, and the next day with his army crossed the river at King's Ferry. The 14th of November found General Washington with his regiments at Fort Lee, the plans of which, upon the 20th of the preceding July, had been laid out by the commander-in-chief in company with a military party. Moving toward Hackensack, in which place his army went into camp, Washington established his headquarters at the residence of Peter Zabriskie.

Flushed with their successes on Manhattan Island, determined to not only decimate but obliterate the presumptuous "Rebels," General Cornwallis was directed to capture Fort Lee, the last post on the lower Hudson remaining in the hands of the Americans. Upon the stormy night of November 19th six thousand Anglo-Hessian troops detached from the main army in New York crossed the Hudson at Closter dock, seven miles north of Fort Lee. Realizing the futility of holding his post, General Greene, with three thousand men, beat a hasty, even unceremonious, retreat to Hackensack, where he joined General Washington.

The loss of Fort Washington and the immediate abandonment of Fort Lee mark the beginning of Washington's "Retreat across the Jerseys," which, commencing in utter hopelessness and despair, was ultimately crowned with victory in the issues of the affair at Trenton and the surprise at Princeton.

Never had an army been closer to annihilation. Harassed by the immediate presence of the King's veteran troops, absolutely exposed in a *cul-de-sac* between the lower valleys of the Hackensack and Passaic Rivers, with the British preparing to land their forces on the Raritan or Newark Bay, cutting off retreat to the southwest, Washington's situation was desperate. But within the camp there was even less to lend a ray of hope. Without proper military equipment, sadly in need of food, surrounded by those who were disaffected, his forces depleted by desertion or expirations of terms of service, but one course lay open—retreat. Upon the 21st of November Washington crossed the Acquackanonk bridge to the west side of the Passaic and commenced the retreat, closely pursued by the British; so closely indeed, that, as W. S. Baker says in his "Itinerary of General Washington," "often the music of the pursued and the pursuer would be heard by each other, yet no action occurred."

From the 22d until the 28th Washington re-

mained in Newark, on the 29th reaching New Brunswick, where a halt was made until December 1. Early the next morning Washington arrived in Princeton, where, leaving troops under General Stirling to watch the advance of the British, Washington pushed on through Lawrenceville to Trenton. Arriving on the east bank of the Delaware, the military stores and equipments were collected and by the 8th of December the impedimenta of war were scattered along the Pennsylvania shore of the river.

It is one of the remarkable problems of military history that the British commander-in-chief did not immediately follow up the advantage gained at Fort Lee. Possibly an explanation is to be found in the self-confidence of Howe. His comparatively easy conquest of Manhattan Island had led him to underestimate the subjective power of the Revolutionary movement, his love of ease and the attractions of New York primarily overweighed any design he might have for the prosecution of a winter campaign. William Nelson, in his "History of Paterson," Vol. I, pp. 448-460, shows that the British army spent a great deal of time on this march in plundering the inhabitants along the route pursued. Certain it is that when Cornwallis had crossed into East Jersey he had been instructed to hold that portion of the State and proceed no further than New Bruns-

wick. But the advance of Cornwallis somewhat altered Howe's scheme of action, as he saw in a sudden move the possibility of capturing Philadelphia and thus cutting out the heart of the Revolution. Howe pushed forward to New Brunswick, where he joined Cornwallis. Leaving Cornwallis in command in New Brunswick, Howe marched to Coryell's Ferry, now Lambertville, hoping to find boats with which to cross the Delaware. Failing to secure transportation, which had been removed by Washington, he took post in Pennington and extended his lines toward Monmouth County and into central Burlington County.

The attitude of the people of Central and Eastern New Jersey during the "Retreat" was not encouraging to the cause of independence. The very appearance of a ragged army in full retreat disheartened those from enlisting who were otherwise favorably disposed toward the Whig cause. It was generally believed that the Revolution was at an end, and that to participate in a gallant but hopeless struggle meant the shadow of the gibbet for those who took part. Fair promises were made by the British officers, and many along the line of march took advantage of the amnesty proclamation of the Howes, one of the most conspicuous being Samuel Tucker, president of the New Jersey Provincial Congress. In its march

through New Jersey the nearness of an influential Tory element, in Amboy and its vicinity and along the northeastern shore of Monmouth County, gave constant support to the King's troops. Spies were everywhere; no man was safe. Although Governor Franklin had been removed to Connecticut the Tories who had rallied around him at Perth Amboy were active, communicating not only between New Brunswick, Staten Island, and New York, but even to distant Philadelphia.

In such extremity the work of holding the East Jersey Tories in check fell upon the local committees of correspondence and upon the activity of the militia. Although surrounded by foes, some degree of success attended these self-constituted attempts to restrain trade between New Jersey and the localities later in the hands of the British. Everywhere there was suspicion and doubt. Neighbor was arrayed against neighbor, friend against friend, father against son. The failure of Washington to hold the mouth of the Hudson had made the Tories bold; they talked of a speedy termination of the war so soon as the Whig army, starved and frozen, had been dismembered.

The triumphal progress of the King's troops through New Jersey was a saturnalia of lust, looting, and butchery. To this the official investigations of Congress, the newspaper accounts, letters

of the time, in fact all documentary evidence as well as confirmed tradition, point, and point unmistakably. In the commission of crimes none was spared. Wives and daughters were ravished by drunken soldiers, at times before the eyes of their husbands and fathers, homes were wantonly wrecked, fields laid waste, barns and farm implements were burned, while murder of the inoffensive was of daily occurrence. Upon Whig and Tory alike, including those who had taken protection papers of Lord Howe, the sword of the vandals fell. Not only must the American Revolution be crushed, they said, but America itself must be blotted from the map. To the righteous cry of indignation official orders were issued commanding the troops to refrain from such practices; but such orders were not enforced. Both British and Hessian troops took part in these shameless scenes; the Hessian with a greater degree of reason—if reason there was—because as an alien he had been snatched from his farm to do the bidding of his mercenary lord. Unaffiliated in any manner with America, his first thought was of rendering as slight a service as possible, and then filling his knapsack with loot ere he gratified his animal passions.

Then it was that Thomas Paine, seeing all, knowing all, wrote the immortal words:

These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier

and the sunshine patriot will in this crisis shrink from the service of his country, but he that stands by it now deserves the thanks of man and woman.

IN a grove of pines crowning a ridge overlooking the Delaware, opposite Trenton, there stood, upon the 8th of December, 1776, a mansion belonging to Thomas Barclay, of Philadelphia. Here, within view of the ferry which formed part of the main highway between Philadelphia and New York, General Washington had his headquarters in what was later the village of Morrisville until December 14th. From the porch of this mansion General Washington could command a view of the entire river front of Trenton, could even see the advance guard of the British and Hessian troops in Trenton hunting along the river bank for row boats, all of which, without their knowledge, had been removed to the Pennsylvania side of the river under orders of the commander-in-chief. The final purpose of the British commander was unknown to Washington, although the presumption was strong that an attack upon Philadelphia was soon to be made. Thinking that to gain this end the King's troops would attempt to cross the river north of Trenton, Washington, driven to desperation, grasping at what indeed was the last chance in the protection of American liberties, wrote this pathetic letter to the president of the Continental Congress:

I shall remove further up the River to be near the Main body of

my Small Army, with which every possible opposition shall be given to any further approach of the Enemy towards Philadelphia.

Upon the 14th of December Washington took up his headquarters in the farm house of William Keith, near Newtown, Bucks County, which village was the depot of his supplies. It was here that General Washington learned of the capture of General Lee, who, having been left in command of the army on the east side of the Hudson, had construed, in his own way, the urgent, not to say peremptory orders that Washington had sent him relative to prompt coöperation. From November 17 to December 2 General Lee had debated whether to join in the retreat or wait for reinforcements from the Northern army. At last, deciding to advance, he occupied from the 4th to the 11th of December in crossing the Hudson and in reaching Morristown.

Upon the 12th of December Lee's army was at Vealtown, now Bernardsville, while he occupied as his headquarters White's Tavern at Basking Ridge. Suddenly surprised by a party of British troops under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Harcourt, he was taken prisoner of war, as much to his own chagrin as that of General Washington.

Added to the disappointment of Lee's capture the commander-in-chief found himself in a disaffected country with Philadelphia upon the verge

of a panic. In that city the news of Cornwallis's advance had filled the Whigs with consternation. An exodus of the inhabitants had begun, while some of those who had been friendly to American liberty, led by Joseph Galloway, boasted of their conversion to Toryism. In the extremity Congress hastily adjourned to Baltimore, charging Washington with dictatorial powers of a military character. Many of the refugees proposed flight to the army on the river, but how little Washington was prepared for their reception is best shown by a letter he wrote from Keith's :

No man, I believe, ever had a greater choice of difficulties, and less means to extricate himself from them. However under a full persuasion of the justice of our cause, I cannot entertain an Idea, that it will finally sink, tho' it may remain for some time under a cloud.

In spite of the fact that his army had been increased by two thousand Philadelphia militia, the command of Sullivan, who had succeeded Lee, and four New England regiments under Gates, General Washington's available military force consisted in all of but ten thousand men. There were also five thousand soldiers on the sick list or on furlough.

The middle of the month of December found the position of the two opposing armies well defined. The British troops were in winter quarters in New Brunswick, Princeton, Trenton, and Bordentown,

with outposts at Burlington, Columbus, and Mount Holly. General Grant was in command at New Brunswick, Cornwallis having received permission to return to England, while the luxury-loving Howe had retired to New York. With the Anglo-Hessian troops at Trenton under Colonel Rall the Tories of Monmouth and of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, were in constant communication. All the American forces were concentrated upon the west' bank of the Delaware, reaching from Coryell's Ferry (Lambertville) to Bristol. Four brigades under Generals Stirling, Mercer, Stephen, and De Fermoy held the upper fords of the Delaware between New Hope and Yardley. Another detachment was stationed at Bristol under Colonel Cadwalader, while at Colvin's Ferry, now Morrisville, the Pennsylvania militia of the Flying Camp and the New Jersey militia were under the command of Brigadier-General Ewing, of Pennsylvania.

Upon a plan, earlier devised and now tending rapidly toward consummation, the hope of the Revolutionary movement hung. Conceived as a last resort, its boldness of execution led first to universal amazement and then to universal commendation. It was to attack the Anglo-Hessian army at Trenton, and at one blow rid West Jersey and Philadelphia of the possibility of British supremacy. Arrangements having been per-

fect, it was ordered at the council of war, held on the evening of December 24th, that Colonel Cadwalader should cross the river from Bristol to Burlington on Christmas night and beat up the posts of Mount Holly and Bordentown, for whose safety Colonel Donop was responsible; that General Ewing should cross at Trenton, land and take position south of the Assanpink Creek, so that Rall's men could not escape to Donop; and that General Washington, with a detachment of the main army, two thousand four hundred strong, with eighteen pieces of artillery, should make a direct attack on the garrison town of Trenton, where Colonel Rall was in headquarters.

During Christmas day the camps in Pennsylvania were alive with activity. By two o'clock in the morning some regiments of the main army were moving towards McKonkey's Ferry; and by three in the afternoon all those detailed for this service were on the march, tingeing, it is said, the light snow which had fallen with blood from their feet. Each soldier had three days' cooked rations and each carried forty rounds of ammunition.

The men were placed in Durham boats, in row-galleys, and in every kind of craft which could be collected in the upper waters of the Delaware. The jagged ice floated swiftly by, struck the boats severely, and they had to be handled with the greatest care. It was after three o'clock upon the

morning of December 26 when the Americans reached the New Jersey shore. The order for the expected attack on Trenton, nine miles distant, was five o'clock in the morning, which could not now be carried out.

The point where the army crossed, now known in New Jersey as Washington's Crossing, was about nine miles above Trenton. Here two roads led to Trenton, one skirting the river, the other running along the rising ground which lay but a short distance to the eastward. Washington, with a detachment, took the more easterly route, General Sullivan following the river road. Muttering the password "Victory or Death," both detachments reached Trenton at eight o'clock. Driving back the pickets, it was clear by the rapid firing that each column vied with the other to be the first in the attack on the main body of the Hessians.

As soon as Rall's grenadiers heard the firing they hurried out of their quarters on King (now Warren) Street and formed in front of what is now the American House. The Von Lossberg regiment made their formation under the poplar trees in Church Alley, near North Broad Street, on the north side of the graveyard in the rear of the English church. The Von Knyphausen regiment organized on Queen (now Broad) Street and

began to march westward along Second (now State) Street.

Under the personal supervision of General Washington, who stood upon the heights north of the present site of the Battle Monument, the batteries of Captain Thomas Forrest and Captain Alexander Hamilton swept both Warren and Broad Streets, disabling the cannon of the Rall regiment.

Immediately the brigade of General Stirling began to charge down Warren Street. Captain William Washington, his lieutenant, James Monroe, and their company of Colonel Weedon's regiment were on the right of Stirling's brigade. These two officers were wounded in the charge, but they took two fieldpieces and drove the Rall regiment off the street into the gardens between Warren and Broad Streets, pushing them back in great confusion on the Von Lossberg regiment, which was just coming out of Hanover Street into Broad Street. Then both organizations started off together from Broad Street across the fields in the direction of the place where Montgomery Street now crosses the feeder.

Colonel Rall joined the Rall and Von Lossberg regiments as they were marching in a northeasterly direction and had left the town, and he ordered them to right about and attack the village. This they promptly did. They had again reached the

junction of Broad Street and Church Alley when they found themselves sorely pressed by Stirling's men, who fired from houses and fences on Warren Street and the alley, and saw General Mercer's brigade charging down Broad Street on their broken ranks. But Rall was still shouting, "All who are my grenadiers, forward!" when a bullet struck him. He fell from his horse and was carried into the Methodist Church on the northeast corner of what is now Broad and Academy Streets, while the column of the Americans pushed the remnant of the two demoralized regiments through Hanover and Academy Streets into the orchard.

While these charges were being made General Stephen's and General De Fermoy's brigades, by Washington's orders, hurried towards the Fox Chase Tavern, on Brunswick road, to prevent the escape of the enemy to Maidenhead (now Lawrenceville). This they succeeded in doing.

With their Hessian commander wounded and soon to die, their ranks broken, and overwhelmed by superior numbers, the King's troops realized their situation and surrendered. General Stirling rode forward and Lieutenant-Colonel Francis Scheffer, then the senior officer of the Hessian brigade, surrendered his sword and his command to him. This ceremony took place on the edge of the apple orchard, east of what is now Montgom-

ery Street—on the two blocks north and the two blocks east of the corner on which the postoffice stands.

The Von Knyphausen regiment essayed first to march down along the low ground of the creek from the orchard to the stone bridge, and so to escape, but they found the bridge guarded by the Americans. They tried also to ford the creek, and in this a few succeeded. Their commander, Major Von Dechow, had been badly wounded, and had given himself up a prisoner of war. The two guns they had with them were mired in the marshy shore of the creek, and could not be saved. They heard also that the other Hessian regiments had surrendered, and they saw General Stirling, with his brigade, pushing on through the orchard toward them. Then they, too, grounded their arms near where the Montgomery Street bridge crosses the creek.

Rall was now carried from the Methodist Church to his own quarters, dying. Generals Washington and Greene called on him during the morning and took his parole, and promised him kind treatment for his men. He died on the evening of December 27th, and was buried in the Presbyterian graveyard.

In this eventful battle the loss of the Americans was two officers and two enlisted men wounded. None was killed. Of the fourteen hundred Anglo-

Hessian troops, composed of three regiments of Hessian infantry, a small detachment of artillery, fifty Hessian yagers, and twenty dragoons, the loss was five officers killed and five wounded, sixteen enlisted men killed, and seventy-five wounded. Twenty-four Hessian soldiers were known to have been buried in the village.

A council of war was called at noon, and although General Greene and Colonel Knox urged a rapid pursuit of the foe General Washington decided to recross the river immediately, and thus secure his prisoners and the trophies of victory. The march was then taken up by the river road to McKonkey's Ferry. More than one thousand of Washington's army were reported unfit for duty the next day.

Upon his return to Pennsylvania General Washington made preparations for the care of his prisoners, who were lodged in and about the jail at Newtown. Of the Grenadier Regiment Rall, the Fusilier Regiments Von Knyphausen and Von Lossberg with the allied British troops, General Washington reported that nine hundred and eighteen men had been made prisoners of war. The American army also took six brass three-pounders, forty horses, one thousand stand of arms, and fifteen colors. Upon the closing days of the year the prisoners were sent to Philadelphia, being paraded through that city for the pur-

pose of inspiring the patriots, and showing them that the warlike Hessians could be captured.

While in itself the affair at Trenton brought the highest credit upon American arms, it was unfortunate that a portion of the plans miscarried. From the British outposts at Mount Holly during the early part of the month of December annoying bands of raiders had swept over West Jersey as far as Moorestown and Haddonfield. These expeditions had been driven back by Colonel Griffin in command of two companies of Virginians aided by the local militia. Colonel Cadwalader was instructed to cooperate with Griffin to the confusion of Donop, who, by reason of distance, was unable to aid Rall in case of sudden attack. It was also urged upon General Putnam at Philadelphia that he "create a diversion" by crossing the Delaware River at Cooper's Ferry (Camden). Although it is said that Washington made the appeal in person to General Putnam the doughty Connecticut warrior refused to take part in the action. Finding it impracticable to act with either Griffin or Putnam, Cadwalader at Bristol was largely left to his own devices, as was Ewing at Trenton Ferry. Owing to a purely natural cause—the presence of ice in the river—neither Cadwalader nor Ewing was able to carry out his plans to assist Washington. On the 27th, however, Cadwalader forced his way to

Burlington, and, learning that Donop was in full retreat, followed him as far as Crosswicks. Fifteen hundred militia from Pennsylvania under Mifflin crossed to New Jersey to join Cadwalader.

Everywhere the praises of Washington were sung; everywhere men sprang to arms. The New England troops decided to remain, Jerseymen gathered at Morristown, the electricity of battle was in the air. But it was Lord George Germain, the colonial secretary of state of King George III, who voiced the opinion of the people of Great Britain on this disastrous fight when he wrote, "*All our hopes were blasted by that unhappy affair at Trenton.*"

The defeat of Colonel Rall at Trenton may be attributed to two causes. The most essential of these was the ill feeling that existed between the British and Hessian officers, which, according to a letter in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* of June 24, 1777, occurred in Princeton before the battle of Trenton. It appears that an officer of the regiment of Losberg engaged some English officers in a conversation respecting military discipline. An English officer, whether heated by liquor or irascible through passion, replied to the German by throwing a punch bowl at his head. The insult was properly resented. But the seeds of discord being thus sown, a crop of evils ensued. The pri-

vate men, adopting the quarrels of their officers, indulged themselves in frequent rencounters.

If we credit the contemporary tale bearers of the ministry the defeat of the Hessians at Trenton was ascribed to the drunkenness of Colonel Rall. That Colonel Rall was drunk upon the night previous to the battle of Trenton there is no doubt; but if there be a virtue in such a palliative Rall's military reputation must be submitted to the judgment of the world.

Washington, not only to lend encouragement to the reviving spirits of his countrymen, but likewise to pursue his advantage, recrossed the river at McKonkey's Ferry in advance of the troops, and entered Trenton. Until January 2, 1777, in that village, his headquarters were in the house of loyalist Major John Barnes, near the Assaupink Creek. Fearing the advance of the British from New Brunswick, he moved to the True American Inn on the south side of the stream. Upon its banks he concentrated his troops, a delay having been caused by floating ice "rendering their passage extremely difficult and fatiguing." The Pennsylvania militia under Generals Mifflin and Cadwalader having crossed the Delaware, Mifflin with eighteen hundred men was posted at Bordentown, while Cadwalader with an equal number of soldiers occupied Crosswicks.

In the meantime General Cornwallis, joining

General Grant at New Brunswick, left that town with eight thousand troops, whose advance was met by General Fermoy taking position at Five Mile Run on the first day of the year 1777. Upon the second day Cornwallis forced back this detachment as well as troops sent to support the slowly retreating Americans. Fighting desperately between Lawrenceville and Trenton, the militia and line were driven to the rising ground south of the Assanpink Creek, which the British did not attempt to cross. Had they done so Washington and his army would have been scattered through the southern portion of New Jersey, as the Delaware was impassable by reason of ice.

A council of war called that night in the Douglass mansion was one of the most eventful in the history of the Revolution. To turn the left flank of the enemy, strike a blow at the small garrison at Princeton, and seize the British stores at New Brunswick was decided upon. By increasing his guards and perfecting his defenses the American commander made a feint of protecting his position at all hazards. Suddenly at midnight of the 3d of January Washington, having brightened his campfires, marched eastward to Allentown and toward Cranbury. Thence moving across the country, early morning found the Americans directly south of Princeton, General Washington having detailed General Mercer to destroy the

Stony Brook bridge, breaking communication with Trenton.

The British garrison at Princeton was small, consisting of the Seventeenth, Fortieth, and Fifty-fifth Regiments and three companies of light horse. In obedience to commands the Seventeenth and Fifty-fifth, the Seventeenth being under the command of Colonel Charles Mawhood, had left Princeton to reinforce Cornwallis at Trenton. Mercer failing to destroy the bridge, Mawhood had passed over Stony Brook unaware that Mercer lay upon his flank and rear. Discovering his situation, Colonel Mawhood turned his troops toward Princeton, and a short but decisive struggle took place for control of the rising land east of the stream. Charged by British bayonets, the militia retreated through an orchard, leaving upon the field their gallant commander, General Mercer, mortally wounded, stabbed with seventeen thrusts.

Here, however, Mawhood found himself in the face of the American army, where, unable to hold his position, the British retreated toward Princeton. Making but a feeble show of resistance in the town, and occupying for a brief time Nassau Hall, the main building of the College of New Jersey, the British regiments, thoroughly disorganized, sought safety in flight across the Millstone toward New Brunswick. The Seventeenth Regiment was

also scattered, and the Stony Brook bridge was destroyed as the rear guard of Cornwallis, which had heard the firing at Maidenhead, appeared.

Although the battle of Princeton was a victory for the Americans, yet their loss of officers was large, including men of the highest distinction. Besides General Mercer, Captain William Shippen, of Philadelphia; Colonel John Hazlet, of Delaware; Captain Daniel Neil, of New Jersey; Captain John Flemming, of Virginia; Ensign Anthony Morris, of Philadelphia; and Lieutenant Bartholomew Yates, of Virginia, the latter being but eighteen years of age, were among the number of the immortal dead.

The effect of the affair at Trenton and the surprise at Princeton was electrical. The eyes of the united colonies had been turned upon the retreat through New Jersey, and had the results been other than they were the British, holding New Jersey—the key to the military situation—would have spread ruin, not only through the State, but through the newly-formed union. New Jersey lying between the North and South, plundered and devastated by guerrilla soldiery; the colonies divided; the continental line and militia butchered or hung; and the leaders of the Revolution dying as traitors in a rebellion—such would have been the result had not Washington, at a critical time, saved the confederation and the hopes of an infant nation.

THE close of the battle of Princeton found both the troops of Cornwallis and Washington utterly exhausted. In a little less than two months Washington had turned an almost certain defeat into victory, had scattered the British commander's dreams of future conquest, and had driven the King's troops from West Jersey. Except for the region around Amboy and New Brunswick, all of New Jersey had passed from the hands of the British.

To provide winter quarters for his army, giving at least a semblance of relief to men worn out with the fatigues of a winter campaign, General Washington turned toward Morristown. Upon the day of the battle of Princeton he pursued the flying British regiments as far as Kingston, where he destroyed the bridge, and, turning to the left, halted for the night at Millstone, then known as Somerset Court House. Here his headquarters were at the house of John Van Doren. Upon the afternoon of Sunday, the 5th of January, the army reached Pluckemin, where was buried with military honors Captain Leslie, of the Seventeenth British Regiment, who, wounded at the battle of Princeton, had been under the care of Dr. Benjamin Rush. The next day just before sunset the American troops reached Morristown, General Washington taking for his headquarters

a tavern owned and kept by Colonel Jacob Arnold. This frame building stood upon the northwest side of the public square. From the advantageous situation which Morristown afforded General Washington had the British hemmed into the narrow tract of land between New Brunswick and Perth Amboy, in a country from which supplies had been exhausted. After the horrors of the retreat through the Jerseys General Washington wrote with satisfaction to Governor Cooke, of Rhode Island, that affairs in Morristown "are in a very prosperous train"—a situation more relative than real.

Fortunately, however, the enemy was kept in ignorance of the true size of the American army. The terms of militia service expiring, an event of almost weekly occurrence, and the arrival of but few new regiments, kept the roster rolls in a constant state of fluctuation. This condition gave General Washington no little fear that a sudden and successful attack might be made upon him should the British commanders learn the true situation of his dependent condition.

Upon the 30th of November, 1776, Lord Howe and General Howe had issued a proclamation promising to the American "rebels" amnesty provided those accepting such favor should return to their allegiance within sixty days. A counter-proclamation was issued upon January 25, 1777,

which commanded and required every one signing Howe's proclamation to deliver any such protection, certificate, and passport, and further to take the oath of allegiance to the United States or withdraw within the British lines. Although General Washington's proclamation was issued as an act of the highest military necessity the Legislature of New Jersey regarded it as a blow at State supremacy.

During the latter part of February and the month of March the situation of the American troops in Morristown was deplorable. "The cry of want of Provisions comes to me from all Quarters. General Maxwell writes word that his men are starving." is the message that General Washington upon the anniversary of his birth—February 22—sent to Commissary Irvine. Opposed to General Howe's ten thousand troops, well disciplined and well appointed, gathered on board the transports at Amboy and in the nearby country, were the American militia at and near Morristown—"raw, badly officered, and under no government." By the middle of the month Washington wrote to the president of Congress that the total number of men under arms in New Jersey was less than three thousand. These comprised about one thousand soldiers, the skeletons of five Virginia regiments and parts of continental battalions, the two thousand remainder com-

posed of New Jersey and Pennsylvania militia. At least one thousand men and attendants were under inoculation for smallpox, inoculation camps having been established in Morristown, Philadelphia, Connecticut, and Providence. During these hours of trial Washington himself was ill, although benefited by the ministrations of his wife, who arrived in camp upon the 15th. In spite of the deplorable state of the army gambling was constantly spreading its baneful influence among the troops. So prevalent did the vice become that the commander-in-chief prohibited the officers and soldiers from playing at cards, dice, or any games "except those of EXERCISE for diversion."

During May the situation improved. By the end of the month forty-three regiments seven thousand strong had assembled from New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia. Of ten brigades five divisions were formed commanded by Generals Greene, Stephen, Sullivan, Lincoln, and Stirling, with the artillery under the command of Knox.

At Middlebrook, upon the 29th of May, General Washington established a new headquarters, where the main body of the army was encamped, General Sullivan occupying the region of the Sourland Hills. The British right lay at New Brunswick, their left at Somerset. Upon the 22d

of June the enemy evacuated New Brunswick, their march to Amboy being marked by burned houses and devastated plantations. To be nearer the enemy General Washington moved his headquarters to Quibbletown, now New Market, on the Amboy road, six miles from Middlebrook. To meet this advance General Howe moved westward from Perth Amboy to Westfield, "with the desire," says Baker, "either of bringing on a general engagement or to possess himself of the heights and passes in the mountains on the American left." The American army reoccupied Middlebrook, while the enemy, on the 27th of June, retired to Perth Amboy.

The winter at Morristown was one of uncertainty and delay. Howe had never abandoned his intention of attacking Philadelphia and only awaited an opportune movement to strike a blow at the city. But his experience at Trenton had taught him that the Revolutionary movement contained a vast reserve power. Finding that his guerrilla warfare in East Jersey did not weaken the enthusiasm of Washington, and that his army was inured to cold, nakedness, and hunger, the British general-in-chief devised the plan of sending his army to Philadelphia by sea, and, landing upon the shores of the Delaware or Chesapeake, capturing the city with one effective blow.

Of Howe's movements Washington was in

ignorance. His belief was that the British would make a second attempt to control the valley of the Hudson, a belief so firmly lodged in Washington's mind that even after the departure of Howe from Sandy Hook, about the 1st of July, Washington advanced in a northerly direction to hold the Hudson against an intruder who was sailing down the Jersey coast toward the Delaware.

In this Washington was deceived by several feints made by the British troops, who under their commanders endeavored to attract him from his position in the hills and institute a general engagement at some point near New Brunswick or Elizabethtown. Until the last he refused to accept the challenge, and, finding his enemy unconquerable at Morristown, and refusing to fight, as a body, upon the lowlands, Howe determined upon the total evacuation of the Jerseys.

The winter at Morristown was marked by no military engagements of more than local importance, although there was a constant border warfare. Early in January, 1777, General Maxwell engaged a body of British troops at Spanktown, now Rahway, as well as at Elizabethtown, and, having occupied the latter place, captured a large amount of supplies. Toward the latter part of the month Whig raiders captured a quantity of cattle, wagons, and horses near New Brunswick.

A similar raid occurred near Somerset Court House. Near Middletown, in Monmouth County, early in January, a sharp contest occurred between Major Mifflin and Lieutenant-Colonel John Morris, of the Second Battalion New Jersey Loyalists, while from Shrewsbury somewhat later the Americans drove a party of Tories to seek protection on the British men-of-war. In February the King's troops drove out the Whigs of that vicinity, while on the 8th of February, at Quibbletown, the British captured a quantity of forage. On the 23d of February Colonel Mawhood, in a foraging expedition, had a brush with the Whigs near Morristown. Early in March an expedition, although unsuccessful, was made by the Americans against the Sandy Hook light-house.

The urgent need of provisions kept both armies seeking supplies, and during the spring meetings between opposing forces were of almost daily occurrence. Some idea of the character of this type of warfare may be gathered from one of many newspaper accounts printed while the army was in quarters at Bound Brook. A correspondent of the *Pennsylvania Journal* for June 4, 1777, thus refers to an event, the descriptive terms used concerning the King's troops being of particular interest:

On Monday last we had a brush with the Philistines, killed three

light-horse men, four Highlanders, and one Lieut. Colonel, the latter was killed by a 6 pound shot. We had only two slightly wounded. The locusts have kept in since, they are not able to pay so dear for travelling so little a way.

The northeastern part of the State was laid under tribute, and although General Washington and Governor Livingston issued proclamations concerning the confiscation of private property the farmers suffered at both the hands of the organized militia and the King's troops. In spite of the claims of the British officers the Anglo-Hessian soldiery were hard pressed for food at New Brunswick, although their condition was far superior to that of the American army at Morristown.

The contest was in the mid-summer transferred to the valley of the Delaware, where for a time Philadelphia became the theater of war, and West Jersey becomes the center of military activity.

IT WAS upon the 30th of June, 1777, that General Howe, by moving his troops from Amboy while the fleet was sent around Staten Island, totally evacuated New Jersey. The close of the winter campaign was marked by a series of movements which turned the eastern part of the State into a vast military chess-board, with marches and countermarches, feints and ruses. Primarily Howe had the capture of Philadelphia as his goal, such a plan having been agreed upon early in April. Hoping to reach Philadelphia by a forced march through New Jersey, the British general-in-chief was thwarted by the presence of Arnold in Trenton and the activity of the militia in the central part of the State. Endeavoring to draw Washington into a general engagement, actions occurred in the vicinity of Quibbletown and Westfield, and at Piscataway, Bonhamtown, and Metuchen.

Although the armies lay within a few miles of each other, General Washington for nearly two months possessed no definite knowledge of Howe's purpose. During three weeks, until late in July, the British fleet remained off Sandy Hook, while Washington, fearing that a movement up the Hudson was projected for the purpose of obtaining a junction with the King's troops in Canada, removed his army to Morristown, where, as he wrote to Governor Trumbull, of Connecticut: "It

will be more conveniently situated for succoring Peeks Kill or the Eastern States and will be near enough to oppose any design on Philadelphia.”

General Sullivan was pushed forward to Pompton to the relief of Peekskill. Upon the 11th of July the whole American army marched to Pompton Plains, seventeen miles from Morristown, where, according to tradition, Washington had his headquarters in a “little frame house on the banks of the Wynockie, which stands at the bend of a road leading from Ryerson Furnace to the Passaic County Hotel.” Detained by the rain, it was not until the 14th of July that Washington reached Van Aulen’s, a short distance from Pond’s Church, arriving upon the 15th at Suffern’s Tavern in Orange County, near Smith’s Clove. Here within a short distance of West Point Washington learned that General Saint Clair had, upon the 6th of July, evacuated Ticonderoga and Fort Independence, giving to General Burgoyne the control of the Lake George region. To Washington this stroke was severe, filling him with surprise, chagrin, and distress.

While General Washington, under a misapprehension, was preparing in the North for the invasion of an imaginary foe, the foe itself was sailing down the Jersey coast. Across New Jersey to Philadelphia hastened the express riders and couriers to advise Congress of the position of the

crown's ships-of-the-line, the brigs, frigates, tenders, victualers, and armed gondolas. It was then that Washington learned of the possible destination of General Howe.

Leaving his headquarters at "Galloway's, an old log house," where he slept in a bed and his military family on the floor about him, contented with "plenty of supawn and milk," the commander-in-chief hastily removed to Ramapo in New Jersey. Upon July 24th he directed General Putnam to order Generals Sullivan and Stirling to cross the Hudson and proceed to Philadelphia. By a rapid movement Washington, on the 25th, left Ramapo for Pompton. On the following day he was in Morristown, on the 27th at Readington, and on the 28th he reached Coryell's Ferry (Lambertville). Here the news arrived by an express from Congress that two hundred and twenty-eight British sail were at the Capes of the Delaware.

With the utmost expedition, upon the morning of the 29th a brigade of the army was sent over the river, General Stephens's divisions crossed at Howell's Ferry, now Stockton, while General Stirling crossed at Trenton. The main army, which had passed the Delaware at Coryell's and Howell's Ferries, entered Philadelphia by the Old York road, reaching the city on the 31st, accompanied by Generals Lafayette, De Kalb, and Pulaski. The 1st day of August Washington made an in-

spection of the defenses of Philadelphia at Mud Island (Fort Mifflin), Red Bank (Fort Mercer), Billingsport, and Marcus Hook, spending the night in Chester.

Meanwhile Philadelphia became alarmed, especially as the militia failed to respond to repeated calls, owing to the presence of the Quaker spirit of non-combatancy, factional feeling in local politics, and a widespread belief that Howe had sailed for Charleston, in that he had not appeared up the Delaware. Following his inspection of the defenses of the Delaware, Washington established his headquarters at Neshaminy, at Schuylkill Falls, and later returning to Philadelphia upon the 23d of the month. Here the American troops, although ill-clothed and ill-equipped, were paraded as an incentive to patriotism.

At last General Washington had learned the true destination of Lord Howe's fleet, then far advanced through Chesapeake Bay. Pushing onward south of the City of Wilmington, General Maxwell, of New Jersey, with a picked corps, offered protection to the front of the American army, while the eighteen thousand troops from the British fleet disembarked upon the 25th of August, landing at the head of the Elk. Thence until the day of the fateful battle of Brandywine, September 11th, the head of the Chesapeake and its tributary streams, as well as a portion of the near-

by Delaware Valley, was the scene of constant skirmishing. At Chad's Ford and at Birmingham Meeting House General Stirling made a gallant fight against overwhelming odds, as did General Maxwell, who, retiring, fought his way to Chester.

Between that day and the 21st, when General Howe resumed his march to Philadelphia, there was continuous fighting in the valley of the Schuylkill. Congress made preparations to adjourn to Lancaster, and, powerless to aid a city in which the Tory element was more than moderately influential, General Washington was compelled to witness the occupation of Philadelphia by Cornwallis upon September 26, 1777.

To the Anglo-Hessian army, after its experiences at sea and a month of continuous fighting, Philadelphia was indeed a haven of refuge. While the city was being intrenched by General Howe the American flotilla on the Jersey shore attempted an unsuccessful bombardment of the river front, during which enterprise the "Delaware" and "Montgomery," frigates, were captured. A final blow for the recovery of Philadelphia was struck at Germantown on the early foggy morning of October 4. Although a moral victory, in which General Stirling played a conspicuous part, the loss of the Americans was most severe and formed a fitting prelude to the horrors of the never-to-be-forgotten winter at Valley Forge.

Amid the scenes of carnage one note of peace was struck at the headquarters of the American army at Pennypacker's Mills. There arrived upon the 7th of October, appearing before General Washington, certain influential members of the Society of Friends, who presented a "testimony" against war. This also included a statement of the position the Friends occupied as non-resistants and a recital of their conscientious scruples, restraining them from bearing arms upon either side. Later the same committee was directed to appear before "William Howe, General of the British army."

Much of the months of October and November, 1777, was spent by Washington in the environs of Philadelphia at Towamencin, Worcester, Whitpain, and Whitemarsh, while upon the river the effort of Lord Howe to gain a mastery of the Delaware led to the operations against Forts Mercer and Mifflin, the partial destruction of the American navy, and Lafayette's gallant affair at Gloucester. The unfortunate position of the flotilla, the germ of the American navy, led the Whig authorities of Pennsylvania to send the State's fleet under Commodore Hazelwood to a protected point on the Delaware. Thirteen galleys, twelve armed boats, and ammunition craft succeeded in reaching Burlington. At Gloucester Point ten

vessels, unable to escape, were set on fire and abandoned.

In spite of the superior force of the British in Philadelphia and immediate vicinity a council of war was called by General Washington upon November 24 to take into consideration the expediency of an attack upon Philadelphia. Of the officers in command eleven voted in the negative, among them General Greene, who was stationed in Mount Holly. Four, including General Stirling, were favorable to such a course. The plan was consequently abandoned. By way of the Gulf Mill Washington moved his army to Valley Forge, which point he occupied December 19, 1777. Here in wood huts, destitute, barefoot, and starving, Washington, with an army of eleven thousand men, of whom nearly a third were unfit for duty, went into quarters.

The horrors of the winter of 1777-78 at Valley Forge were due largely to the inefficiency of the commissary department, under the management of General Joseph Trumbull, of Connecticut. Yet to a degree he was helpless, as the country side had been stripped by both armies during the preceding autumn.

Congress had already begun to show its utter inefficiency, removed itself out of danger from Lancaster to York, and refused to remedy the situation until March 2, 1778, when General Trum-

bull was supplanted by General Greene. One of Greene's assistants was Charles Pettit, a member of the New Jersey bar and Secretary to Governor Livingston. Later Jeremiah Wadsworth, of Connecticut, was selected as commissary-general, which produced a betterment in the service. The need of food in February had almost caused the disbandment of the army. Not only had the vicinage been scoured for provisions, but, as Washington wrote to Peter Colt, purchasing commissary in Connecticut, "Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland are now intirely exhausted." Upon the 18th of February General Washington issued an address to the inhabitants of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia requesting them that cattle be prepared for army use during the approaching spring and early summer.

In the meantime there appeared the first of a series of military and political conspiracies aimed at General Washington. The growth and development of the "Conway Cabal," supported by no less men than Generals Mifflin and Conway, James Lowell, and Benjamin Rush, and stimulated by the complaints of John Adams, is a matter of national rather than State history, but its presence at Valley Forge forms one dramatic scene in that winter of hopelessness on the bleak hills of the Schuylkill.

When the British entered Philadelphia they

found the city in great disorder—houses abandoned, public buildings neglected, streets unkempt, and the Quaker element of the population, representing a fifth of the thirty thousand inhabitants of the town, in a state of despair concerning the removal of influential members of the Society, whom Congress had sent for safety's sake to Virginia. Suspicion had been directed against these Friends by reason of correspondence discovered in New Jersey, and an "address" of the meeting, which were said to be treasonable.

The King's troops pillaged and burned property belonging to both Whig and Tory sympathizers, while in the suburbs provisions and supplies were stolen from the farmers by raiding parties of both armies. Secret trade was conducted with the Tories in the city, while all intercourse with New Jersey was prohibited after January 15, 1778, except by the New and Old Ferries.

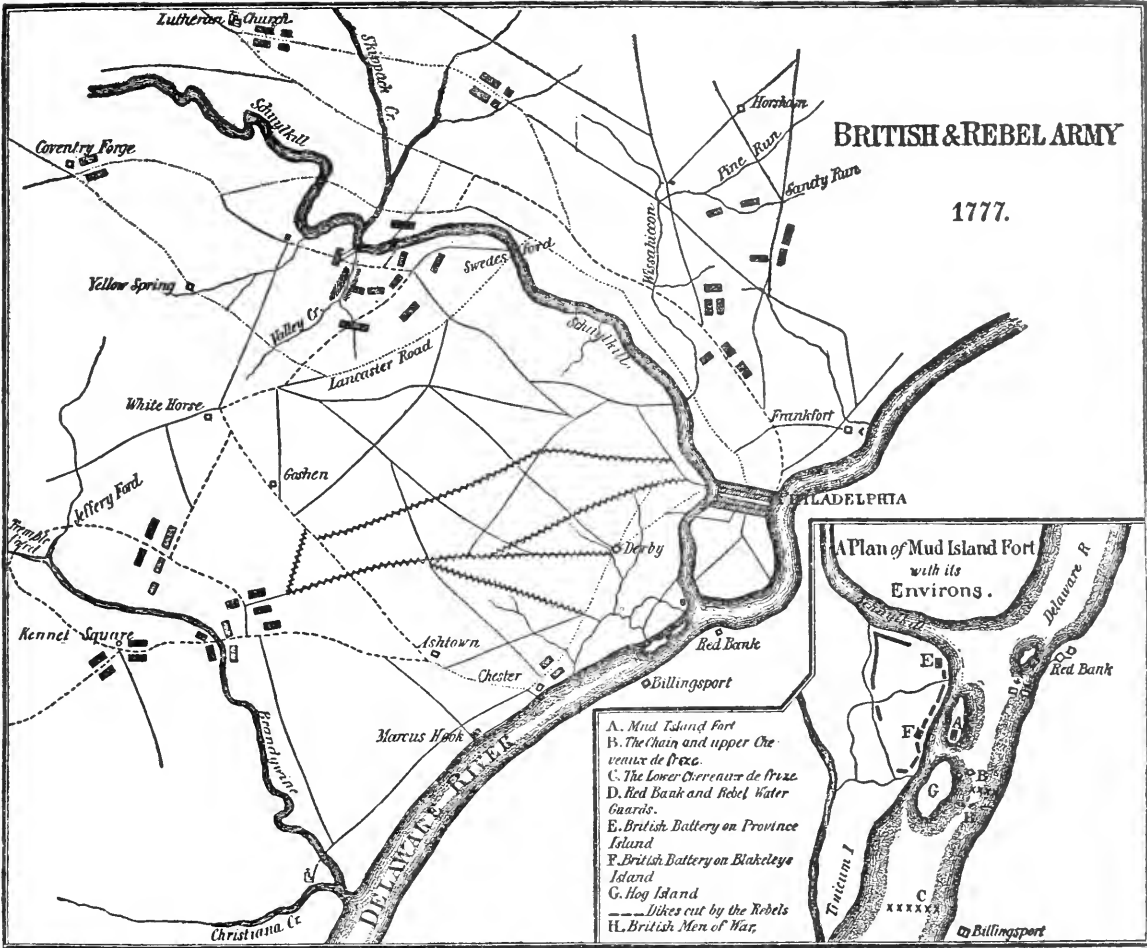
During the winter months of 1778 the city, now governed by martial law, was given over to every form of pleasure. Clubs, dances, drinking bouts, gambling, cock and prize fighting, and grosser immoralities had full sway. A theater was established, for which Major André painted the scenes, while a racetrack was opened in the spring. General Howe, intent upon his liaison with the wife of an officer, allowed the winter to pass without any display of force except in dispatching foraging ex-

peditions to nearby points in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, nor did he attempt to dislodge Washington from Valley Forge. Such were his failures, to the disgust of the British ministry, that his successor, Sir Henry Clinton, arrived in Philadelphia on the 8th of May, and in his honor the famous "Mischianza," consisting of a regatta, mock tournament, and ball, was held upon the 18th of that month.

With the coming of spring the American army at Valley Forge had been reorganized and partially equipped. The sentiment of Philadelphia had undergone a partial change, particularly as the Quakers recognized that under the domination of Howe they had fared worse than they had under the control of the Whigs. The times were ripening for a change. Cognizant of this fact, Washington, upon the 20th of April, laid before his military advisers three plans of operation for the ensuing campaign—one an attempt to recover Philadelphia, the second an endeavor to transfer the war northward by an expedition against New York, the last remaining quietly in camp and disciplining the army until the British began operations, and then taking such action as should be deemed advisable. Three generals, of whom one was William Maxwell, advised an attack upon Philadelphia; four favored an advance upon New York; General Stirling recom-

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mended an attack upon both Philadelphia and New York; the foreign allies, Steuben, Lafayette, and Du Portaille, were in favor of the third plan, which course was adopted. General Greene favored an enterprise against New York by General Washington in person, the main army to stay in Valley Forge under the command of General Lee, who had recently been exchanged for Major-General Prescott. Late in April the Conciliatory Bills, framed by Lord North, reached headquarters, while at the same time Simeon Deane brought the welcome news of the conclusion of the treaty between France and the United States.

This treaty brought consternation to the Tories in Philadelphia, which was further increased by an unsuccessful movement against Lafayette at Barren Hill, a suburb of Philadelphia. Clinton's policy was decisive, and scarce had the echoes of the "Mischianza" died away ere preparations were made to evacuate the city, leaving such of its inhabitants who had sworn allegiance to King George III to make their peace as best they might with Washington and the Congress.

Between Burlington and Bridgeton during the occupation of Philadelphia there was almost continual raiding on the part of Anglo-Hessian troops from the city, assisted by detachments from New Jersey's loyalist regiments and unorganized bands of refugee robbers. Of all the expeditions

that directed against the Whig farmers, occupants of the fertile farmlands of Salem County, was the most notable. On the 17th of March, 1778, a detached regiment from Philadelphia under the command of Colonel Charles Mawhood, having come down the river and encamped at Sharptown, marched into Salem City. Failing to surprise Colonel Anthony Wayne and a small body of troops, the British, recruiting a party of Tory adherents known by their uniform as "Greens," resolved to "chastise the insolent rebels," among whom were three hundred militia at Quinton's Bridge, three miles from Salem City. The Whig commander at this place was Colonel Benjamin Holmes. Resolving, with Spartan-like courage, to protect the people of the southern part of the county, Colonel Holmes made such preparations for his defense as the situation afforded. Early upon the morning of the 18th of March the British advanced undiscovered to within half a mile of Quinton's Bridge, secreting themselves in a swamp and in the nearby timber which lined the bank of Alloway's Creek. A small party of light horsemen then advanced as if to challenge the Whigs. The ruse was successful, and from the opposite shore the militia, under the command of Captain William Smith, rushed without military order across the bridge and into the ambushade. In spite of Captain Smith's effort to rally his

men the timely appearance of Colonel Hand with the Cumberland militia, and the personal heroism of Andrew Bacon, who cut the draw of the bridge, and in the midst of a galling fire held the King's troops in check, the Whig militia was decimated.

Thus defeated by a body of raw troops, who were in a state of exultation over their success, Major Simcoe, appealing to Colonel Mawhood, was reinforced by all the troops that could, with safety, be sent from Salem City. The night had been devoted to strengthening the position of the Whig militia, which, under the direction of Colonels Holmes and Hand, controlled the front and both flanks of the advancing British regulars. So galling was the fire that the King's troops were thrown into confusion and retreated to Salem City.

Failing in his purpose of plundering, Colonel Mawhood adopted new tactics. Addressing a letter to Colonel Hand, he proposed that the militia at Quinton's Bridge lay down their arms, promising that after paying in sterling for all cattle, hay, and corn he would reëmbark for Philadelphia. Otherwise Colonel Mawhood declared he would burn and destroy the homes of the Whigs, giving over their wives and children to the tender mercies of the refugees. To this was annexed a list of those in Salem County who would be first to "feel the vengeance of the British nation." To

the letter Colonel Hand made a bold and spirited reply, characterizing the communication as the "cruel order of a barbarous Attila," refusing to lay down arms, and promising retaliation if property was destroyed.

Unable to cope with the Whigs of Salem County, either by open attack or by threats, Colonel Mawhood determined upon a midnight assault against a body of four hundred militia who had been stationed at Hancock's Bridge. Conveyed thither by boats, followed by a short forced march, with orders issued from headquarters: "Go! spare no one—put all to death—give no quarter!" Major Simcoe was detailed to put into execution the fiendish plot, in which the most notorious of the local Tories participated. Fortunately, however, the main body of the militia had departed, leaving only a small guard stationed to guard the bridge, the headquarters being the Hancock mansion. Forcing the house, the owner of the premises, Judge Hancock, a party of non-combatant Quakers, and the guard of about twenty-five men were massacred as they slept or bayoneted as they fought for freedom. A few escaped or were taken prisoners by the enemy. This ended the expedition, and within a few days the Anglo-Hessian troops returned to Philadelphia, their vessels

laden with plunder, their persons rich with spoils.

Such was the expedition to Salem County, and such the valiant defense made by its inhabitants. Yet it was the royal *Pennsylvania Gazette*, upon the 3d of April, 1778, which contained this account of the expedition :

Nothing can be a stronger proof of the disaffection of the inhabitants of New Jersey, to the interest of rebellion, than their behaviour to the troops, who went from this city on the 11th ult. under Col. Mawhood. When they landed at Salem, none was found to oppose or impede them from collecting forage, excepting a few who had been prevailed upon to abandon their houses.

After a very brief and somewhat misleading account of the affair at Hancock's Bridge the report continues :

The rebels never afterwards appeared in force, so that the troops collected the forage without any interruption and the inhabitants from all quarters flocked to them, bringing what cattle, provision, etc., they could spare, for which they received a generous price ; but lamented much that the army was to depart and leave them again to the tyranny of the rebel faction. How far this may correspond with the pompous description which will be given to the world, by the immaculate Mr. Livingston, is a matter of little moment, as truth will shine with superior lustre to misrepresentation. If it is said that the King's troops evacuated the place, before the militia could be collected, it will stand the test ; for it is an uncontrovertible fact, that in a circuit of upwards of sixty miles, three hundred men could not be mustered ; the people being fully sensible of their error, and heartily tired of the petty tyrants, who have galled and broke their spirits. This needs no farther elucidation, than that, in the place of fourteen hundred men, who heretofore appeared, and voted at the election of their assemblymen, no more

than eight constituted the majority of the last electors, which is an evident demonstration that it is now a matter of indifference who takes the lead as tyranny and oppression is only to be expected from such as are willing to be of the number, who constitute that illegal assembly.

While Mawhood was ravaging the Salem coast one hundred and fifty Tories had been intrenching themselves at Billingsport. To invest this force Colonel Shreve, of the Second New Jersey Regiment, dispatched Major Howell and a party to coöperate with the militia of Salem and Cumberland Counties. Failing to coöperate, Major Howell returned to headquarters at Haddonfield. To circumvent and surprise Colonel Shreve, fourteen hundred men were sent from Philadelphia to Gloucester Point, but Colonel Shreve, advised of the movement, retired with a greatly inferior force to Mount Holly without losing a man except three who were bayoneted by the Tories. One of the American cavalry who had been dispatched to give notice to the guard at Cooper's Ferry, now Camden, was also killed, by which circumstance the guard had no notice of the enemy's approach. Several of the Cooper's Ferry guard were killed and taken prisoners. Among the latter was Colonel Ellis, of the Gloucester County militia. The Tories then, according to a contemporaneous Whig account, "frustrated in their design of massacring our troops, and having gasconaded through the village, where they committed many

acts of cruelty, besides burning two dwelling houses, returned to Philadelphia, in the evening of the same day.”

The last of the marauding expeditions upon the Delaware occurred early in May, when, according to the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* of May 13, 1778, “four galleys, an armed brig, and a schooner, with a detachment of light infantry in boats,” went up the Delaware in search of American shipping removed for safety between Bordentown and Trenton. Landing at White Hill, the “Washington” and “Effingham,” frigates, and several smaller craft were destroyed. Here, says the *Post*, the Whigs made a “show of resistance with about fifty light horse and the like number of militia, who were instantly dispersed with the loss of several men and four pieces of cannon, which was demolished.”

Arriving in Bordentown, “a quantity of naval stores, and some thousands of tent poles, pegs, &c. with the storehouses, were burnt; by which means the dwelling house of Joseph Borden also shared the same fate!” After committing further waste, as well as barbarously murdering four captives, while their officers dined in the house of Francis Hopkinson, member of Congress, a portion of the invading force proceeded to Biles Island, near Trenton. Here General Dickinson stopped their progress, and a possible descent

upon that village was averted. At Biles Island, on the Pennsylvania shore, and at Watson's Creek, upon the New Jersey side of the river, shipping was burned, as well as the residence of Colonel Kirkbride, opposite Bordentown. From Kirkbride's the troops marched to Bristol, where they reëmbarked, after burning two ships and cannonading the undefended village of Burlington. According to the *Post* the number of vessels destroyed, besides the two frigates, was two privateers, one of fourteen and the other of ten guns, one large ship pierced for twenty-four guns, nine other ships, besides fourteen or fifteen smaller vessels. The troops and vessels employed on this excursion returned to Philadelphia without the loss of a man.

Thus ended the attempt of the British general-in-chief to retain control of the Delaware.

NEAR the partially identified site of Fort Nassau, where, in 1638, the claims of Holland to the South River were first asserted by display of force, and near the site of the first capital of the County of Gloucester, one can trace, among the trees that skirt the shore of the Delaware River, a rounded ridge, a tangle-hidden ditch, and a few hillocks.¹ This is all that remains of the old fort at Red Bank, where four hundred soldiers of the Rhode Island line held an unfinished earthworks against an assault from the rear by two thousand well-disciplined and well-equipped Hessians, where a band of patriots met the odds of five to one, and drove back the King's troops in signal rout. Across the Delaware, in the extreme southern part of the City of Philadelphia, lies League Island with its modern battleships and the dismantled ramparts of old Fort Mifflin.

Following the defeat of General Washington at Brandywine in September, 1777, Sir William Howe's army entered Philadelphia. To aid him in the occupation of the city and in securing the control of the Delaware Lord Richard Howe appeared in the lower Delaware with his fleet,

¹The subject of the "Defense of Fort Mercer" was clearly and thoroughly presented by Alfred M. Heston, of Atlantic City, in a paper read before the Menmouth County Historical Association,

July 26, 1900. From an illustrated monograph, subsequently published by Mr. Heston, much of the material for this chapter is taken.

which having sailed up the river as far as Billingsport, opposite Chester, was stopped by a naval stockade, otherwise called a *chevaux-de-frise*. This military work had been placed in the river channel between Billingsport and Red Bank by the Americans, and consisted of poles from thirty to forty feet long driven into the mud. At the top of each pole was fastened a long, sharp piece of iron for the purpose of piercing the bottom of any vessel that might attempt to pass over the obstruction.

Captain Hammond, commanding the British frigate "Roebuck," of forty-four guns, represented to General Howe that if a sufficient force could be sent to reduce the fortifications at Billingsport, three miles below Red Bank, he would take upon himself the task of opening a passage through the *chevaux-de-frise*. General Howe at once dispatched two regiments from Chester, under Colonel Stirling, for that purpose. They crossed the Delaware a little below Billingsport, marched to the rear of the unfinished works, and made a furious assault upon the garrison. The Americans, dismayed at this unexpected attack, and believing themselves unable to make a successful resistance, spiked their guns, set fire to the barracks, and fled. The British thereupon demolished the works on the river front, made a passage seven feet wide through the stockades,

sailed through the aperture with six light vessels, and anchored in the Delaware below Red Bank, leaving the larger ships of war behind.

The American land defense of the City of Philadelphia, beside the *cheveaux-de-frise*, consisted of Fort Mifflin in Pennsylvania and Fort Mercer in New Jersey on the heights of Red Bank. Four hundred men of the Maryland line, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Smith, occupied Fort Mifflin, while in the mile-wide river was the American fleet, composed mainly of galleys under Commander Hazelwood.

The forcing of the *cheveaux-de-frise* by Captain Hammond threw upon the two forts and the American galleys the burden of repulsing the advance of the British fleet and the protection of the western division of New Jersey. Within Fort Mercer, named in honor of General Hugh Mercer, were two Rhode Island regiments of four hundred men, General Varnum's brigade, commanded by Colonel Christopher Greene, and it was in and around this fort, upon the 22d of October, 1777, that the Americans shed luster upon the national arms by "one of the most glorious stands ever made by patriots fighting for home or country."

The presence of the British army in Philadelphia and his majesty's fleet in the Delaware made the situation intensely critical. From his headquarters at Skippack, above Philadelphia, Gen-

eral Washington, upon the 9th of October, had directed Colonel Greene to proceed to Fort Mercer, where he was to coöperate with Colonel Smith at Fort Mifflin and Commodore Hazelwood, of the fleet of American galleys. Cannon and military stores were to be furnished Fort Mercer from the arsenal at Fort Mifflin. In closing General Washington said :

I have written to General Newcomb, of the Jersey militia, to give you all the aid in his power, for which you will accordingly apply when necessary. Upon the whole, sir, you will be pleased to remember that the post with which you are now entrusted is of the utmost importance to America, and demands every exertion of which you are capable for its security and defence. The whole defence of the Delaware absolutely depends upon it; and consequently all the enemy's hopes of keeping Philadelphia and finally succeeding in the object of the present campaign. Influenced by these considerations, I doubt not your regard to the service and your own reputation will prompt you to every possible effort to accomplish the important end of your trust, and frustrate the intentions of the enemy.

Upon his arrival at Fort Mercer Colonel Greene found that he had not a sufficient force of men to protect his post. Realizing the insecurity of his position, he proposed to abandon about two-thirds or the upper end of the fort, put a double board fence across the lower third, protect it with wooden pickets and the sharpened branches of trees, place the cannon in such a position as to rake the upper part of the fort, cover them with bushes, and fill the space between the two fences with hay, old lumber, and such other obstructions

as were at hand. The cannon were heavily loaded with grape shot and other destructive missiles. It was arranged that an attempt at defense should be made at the upper end of the fort, which was to be abandoned as soon as the attack was found to be in earnest, and a retreat made to the small inclosure or main fort below. This was to be defended to the last extremity.

Work upon this plan of defense was prosecuted with vigor, particularly when it was realized that the British, not only upon the river, but in the City of Philadelphia, were making preparations for attack. Scarcely had Colonel Greene established himself in Fort Mercer when Count Carl Emil Kurt von Donop, a brave German officer, was sent out from Philadelphia with four battalions of Hessian veterans, chosen from the powerful army of occupation. On Tuesday, October 21st, the attacking party crossed the Delaware at Cooper's Ferry, now Camden, and marched to Haddonfield, where they remained until morning. The next day the Hessians departed by way of a place then known as Cattle-town to the King's Highway above Woodbury and toward Red Bank. They had intended taking a more direct route, but the Americans had destroyed the bridge over Timber Creek, and the Hessians were obliged to march four miles up the creek, to a shallow ford, at or near Clement's

Bridge. A portion of their route to Red Bank still goes by the name of "Hessian road," and a stream of water that crosses the road is known as "Hessian run."

The afternoon of the 22d of October was pleasant and fair. Upon the appearance of the Hessians before the fort immediate preparations were made for its defense. The fourteen guns were double-shotted and reprimed. Within there was the roll of drums calling to quarters, the rattle of snapping flints, the hurrying footfalls of men forming a line along the parapets, the shouting of orders, the clash of steel, and the tattoo of ramrods. Without there was the roll of Hessian drums, and from the woods, across an open field, rode a Hessian officer, bearing a flag of truce, followed by a drummer. He halted close to the ramparts and shouted:

The king of England orders his rebellious subjects to lay down their arms, and they are warned that if they stand the battle no quarter will be given.

Colonel Greene deputed a man to mount the parapet and fling back the answer: "We ask no quarter, nor will we give any." One trustworthy account says the exact words were: "We'll see King George be damned first; we ask no quarter."

Simultaneously the Hessians on land and the British ships below the *cheveaux-de-frise* began a sharp cannonading. While the land attack was

in progress the British ships "Augusta," of sixty-four guns, "Roebuck," of forty-four guns, two frigates, of thirty-two, "Merlin," of eighteen, and their large galleys came through the *cheveaux-de-frise*, and kept up a great firing in order to draw off the American galleys from giving any assistance to the fort.

While the men-of-war sailed proudly up the river the Hessians advanced to the first intrenchment. Finding this abandoned, they shouted "Victory," waved their hats, and rushed into the deserted area before the redoubt. When the first of the assailants had come up to the abatis and were endeavoring to cut away the branches the Americans opened a terrific fire of cannon and musketry in front and flank. Death rode in every volley. So near were the Hessians to the caponiere or looped trench which flanked the enemy when they set upon the main fort that the wads were blown entirely through their bodies. The officers leading the attack fought bravely. Again and again they rallied their men and brought them to the charge, but they fell in heaps among the boughs of the abatis and into the moat. In the thickest of the fight Donop was easily distinguished, but his example availed nothing. Repulsed from the redoubt in front, his men made an attack upon the escarpment on the northwest or river side, but the fire from the American gal-

leys drove them back with great loss, and at last they flew in great disorder to the woods, leaving many slain.

Another column made a simultaneous attack upon the south, but was repulsed, and all retreated save twenty, who were standing on the berm against the shelvings of the parapet, under and out of the way of the guns, whence they were afraid to move. These Hessians were captured by M. du Plessis Mauduit, a French engineer, who had sallied from the fort to repair some palisades. This brave Frenchman, making another sortie a few minutes afterward to repair the southern abatis, heard a voice from among the heaps of dead and dying exclaim in broken English: "Whoever you are, draw me hence." This was Colonel Donop. The Frenchman caused his brave antagonist to be carried into the fort, where it was found that his hip was broken, from which wound Colonel Donop died three days later in the house of one Lowe on Woodbury Creek. When told that his end was near he said: "It is finishing a noble career early, but I die the victim of ambition and the avarice of my sovereign." To Colonel Clymer he said: "See in me the vanity of all human pride. I have shone in all the courts of Europe, and now I am dying on the banks of the Delaware, in the house of an obscure Quaker."

The death of Colonel Donop and of Mingerode, second in command, utterly demoralized the Hessians, who retreated toward Cooper's Creek, begging food, shelter, and transportation for their wounded. In retributive justice, upon the defeat of the Hessians, the Americans hung two prisoners, who had voluntarily acted as guides to the King's troops from Haddonfield to Red Bank.

Although the battle lasted but three-quarters of an hour the loss was heavy. Accounts differ, as in the case of most military engagements, but a correct summary probably shows Hessians: eighty-seven killed, one hundred wounded, and twenty prisoners; Americans: fourteen killed, twenty-two wounded, one prisoner.

The day following the attack upon the fort the British fleet in the river renewed the engagement. The "Augusta," having grounded, was set on fire, and, according to a "Diary of the Revolution," blew up "with an astonishing report." Later in the day the "Merlin" ran aground and was consumed by flames. The "Roebuck," after surviving the engagement, was a few years thereafter wrecked on Absecom Beach, New Jersey. Commodore Hazelwood later boarded the wrecks and captured a quantity of military stores.

Then for six days Fort Mifflin was besieged and, being evacuated, the remnant of its garrison escaped to Fort Mercer, of which spectacle the

Americans in New Jersey were hopeless and unwilling spectators.

The capitulation of Fort Mifflin, and the passage of the British fleet to Philadelphia after the reduction of that defense, left Colonel Greene in an exposed position. The failure of the Hessians to secure so great a prize spurred Howe to activity, and Lord Cornwallis was sent with reinforcements from New York to fall upon Fort Mercer. With two thousand men he crossed the Delaware from Chester to Billingsport on November 18th. Washington had been apprised of this movement and had previously sent troops under General Nathaniel Greene to relieve the garrison at Red Bank. This force was to be increased by the addition of Glover's brigade, but Generals Greene and Lafayette, the latter not yet recovered from a wound received at Brandywine, crossing to New Jersey, failed to connect with Glover's brigade. Learning the strength of Cornwallis's army, General Greene went off to Haddonfield. Under orders Colonel Christopher Greene evacuated Fort Mercer, which was blown up upon November 20th, and the forts on the Delaware passed into the hands of the British. Cornwallis arrived in Woodbury upon the day following the evacuation of the fort, and the troops began a series of depredations upon the farms of Whigs and non-combatant Quakers. Among those who suffered most was

Job Whitall, near Fort Mercer, whose plantation was raided, his barn torn down, and orchard destroyed by the soldiers of Colonel Greene's regiment, while upon the arrival of the British the latter troops, in passing, took bread, pies, milk, cheese, dishes, cups, spoons, shirts, sheets, and blankets, and then drove out the cattle.

Of the battle of Red Bank but few memorials remain. A marble shaft, weatherworn and mutilated by relic hunters and vandals, was dedicated upon the occasion of a sham battle fifty years after the affair at Fort Mercer was fought. Upon the north side of the shaft is an inscription slightly inaccurate in its statements as to Colonel Donop:

This monument was erected on the 22d Octo., 1829, to transmit to Posterity a grateful remembrance of the Patriotism and Gallantry of Lieutenant-Colonel Christopher Greene, who, with 400 men, conquered the Hessian army of 2,000 troops (then in the British service) at Red Bank, on the 22d Octo., 1777. Among the slain was found the commander, Count Donop, whose body lies interred near the spot where he fell.

The inscription on the east side is:

A number of the New Jersey and Pennsylvania volunteers, being desirous to perpetuate the memory of the distinguished officers and soldiers who fought and bled in the glorious struggle for Independence, have erected this monument on the 22d of October, A.D. 1829.

Originally the monument stood upon the edge of the river bluff, but was subsequently set further back, near the ditch surrounding the fort.

For his gallant conduct at Fort Mercer Congress directed that a sword be presented to Colonel Greene, but this sword it was not his privilege to receive. It was given to his son after the close of the war, the colonel himself being then dead, murdered in an engagement with Tories near Croton, N. Y., upon May 13, 1781.

In the moat south of the fort are the graves of the Hessian dead, while Colonel Donop was buried in the pathway halfway between the old Whitall house and the lower end of the fort, the feet towards the river. Some one placed a rough stone at his head, on which were picked in a very crude way the letters "Here lies buried Count Donop." Years afterward what was left of the Hessian was dug up and distributed among various persons as ghastly relics.

In 1872, the United States government acquired possession of the site of Fort Mercer and the Whitall house.

THAT the evacuation of Philadelphia was early premeditated is shown from the orders sent to America by the English ministry under date of March 21. It was then that the declaration had been made of a treaty between France and the United States. By May 23 General Clinton, British commander in Philadelphia, advised Lord Germain that he had determined to leave Philadelphia and proceed to New York. Upon the one hundred and eighty transports in the river, protected by bodies of British troops which lined the Jersey shore, were loaded the army supplies, the plunder from the abandoned city, and the personal effects of the most conspicuous Tories, who saw in retreat to New York City the possibility of escaping the anger of the Whigs and of saving something from the wreck.

By the 18th of June, the official date of the evacuation of Philadelphia, all preparations had been made to move the King's troops. Upon that day the soldiers of the crown were, in the main, sent over the river to Gloucester and the British retreat across the Jerseys toward Amboy was begun. Other detachments of the British army crossed at Cooper's Ferry, now a part of the City of Camden, where, as an outpost under General Abercrombie, Scotch, Hessian, and English regiments had been quartered during the occupation

of the city, and where Count Pulaski, in March, by chance had escaped ambushment. Other detachments were sent over the Delaware at nearby points.

In spite of the advice of General Charles Lee, who had returned to Valley Forge in exchange, General Washington, before the evacuation, prepared to follow Clinton across New Jersey. To accomplish this purpose the Jersey troops of the continental line under General Maxwell were sent across the river under orders to act in conjunction with General Dickinson's command of the New Jersey militia. Upon receipt of the news that Clinton had evacuated the city General Washington at once sent forward six brigades, the remaining portion of the army following upon the 19th. Arriving at Doylestown, Pennsylvania, upon the 20th of June, Washington followed the advance led by General Lee, and, although impeded by rain, arrived in Lambertville, Monday, June 22d. Designing to reach Princeton, Washington heard that the enemy were moving toward Trenton, whereupon he altered his plans and took the road toward Hopewell, where in a farm house was held a council of war, the determination influencing to a great degree the destinies of the campaign in the North as well as the future progress of the war.

General Lee urged the continuance of the policy of paralleling the line of march of the King's

troops, while Washington with Generals Greene and Wayne and the French generals was in favor of attacking Clinton should opportunity offer. In pursuit of the plan Washington turned sharply toward the east, occupying Kingston in case Clinton should attempt the passage of the Raritan.

While Washington, unhampered by the impedimenta of war, was flanking the King's troops, the Anglo-Hessian army moved northeastwardly with a slowness almost painful. Clinton was vastly hampered by a baggage train twelve miles in length, by the presence of refugees of quality who hung on the rear of the army, and by many women, favorites of the officers, who followed the Tory fortunes to New York. Added to this detachments from the army of Washington, which were commanded by Generals Morgan, Maxwell, Scott, Wayne, and Poor, harassed the enemy's left, while the New Jersey militia, under Generals Dickinson and Forman, with troops whose colonels were Phillips, Shreve, Frelinghuysen, Van Dike, Webster, and the unfortunate Jonathan Beasley, of Cumberland County, who died a prisoner of war near Haddonfield, were engaged in constantly annoying the enemy.

Owing to the presence of both armies the residents of Central Jersey, particularly in Burlington County, suffered severely. The Americans burned the bridges, filled up the wells, and

stripped the country of cattle and the ripening grain. In retaliation the King's troops burned the mill at Bordentown, the iron works at Mount Holly, and the residences of influential Whigs. In spite of the heat Clinton pressed on toward Amboy.

It was between Crosswicks and Bordentown that the first general engagement between the contending armies occurred. The local militia having destroyed a bridge over Crosswicks Creek, a detachment of the King's troops attempted to repair the damage, when several Americans were killed. At Crosswicks village another encounter took place at a bridge, in which there was loss of life, cannon balls from a battery of the local militia striking the meeting house of the Society of Friends and leaving marks still plainly visible.

The morning of the 26th of June found General Clinton at Freehold, where the court house of the County of Monmouth, from which the succeeding battle took its name, is situated. The front of the retreating British lay a mile and a half beyond Freehold on the Middletown road. On the highway from Cranbury to Freehold was Clinton's left, protected by swamps and ravines. As the British entered Freehold the Americans arrived in Cranbury, eight miles distant. General Lee was in advance, only five miles from the British. To Lee came an order from Washington directing him to

attack Clinton "unless," as stated by the late Frederick D. Stone, "it should prove that there were strong reasons for his not doing so." Lee, however, delayed the attack, and on the morning of the 28th General Knyphausen began an advance toward Middletown, followed by the main army, the rear being assailed by militia under General Dickinson.

The New Jersey troops, thus forced back, were met by Lee advancing, and, reforming, engaged the British rear, which had been reinforced. Lee, attempting to decoy the British rear from the main army, indulged in a number of strategic movements, which being misunderstood by his men disheartened them, and a retreat ensued. As the soldiers retired in confusion, they were met, says a Whig newspaper account of the time, "by General Washington with the main army, which formed on the first advantageous ground * * * In the meantime two field pieces, covered by two regiments of the detachment, and commanded by Colonels Livingston and Stewart, were advanced to check the enemy's approach, which they performed with great spirit and with considerable loss on both sides. This service being performed, they retired with the pieces to the front line, then compleatly formed, when the severest cannonade began that it is thought ever happened in America."

It was then that the famous scene between Washington and Lee took place. Few but heated were the words of the indignant commander-in-chief. Rallying the panic-stricken soldiers, Greene was assigned the right, Stirling the left, ere an engagement took place which reddened the ravine with blood, and gave to Molly Pitcher a name famous in Revolutionary annals as the bravest woman in New Jersey's history. The rear of Clinton's army, failing to silence the battery of Duplessis or to dislodge Wayne, finally gave way and joined the main army. Thus the Whig newspaper continues the story of the end of the day:

The intense heat of the weather, and the preceding fatigue of the troops made it necessary to halt them to rest, the enemy in the meantime presenting a front about one mile advanced beyond the seat of action. As soon as the troops had recovered breath, Gen. Washington ordered two brigades to advance upon each of their flanks, intending to move on in front at a proper time to support them, but before they could reach their destination night came on, and made any farther movements impracticable.

The loss upon the occasion was severe. In the return to Congress that of the American army is given as eight officers and fifty-two rank and file killed; twenty-seven officers and one hundred and twenty rank and file wounded; nine of the artillery killed and ten wounded. The loss of the King's troops was estimated by the *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury* to be one hundred and ten killed, one hundred and seventy-two wounded,

and fifty-six missing, to which must be added many deserters, the Philadelphia *Evening Post* of June 25, 1778, estimating that before the battle five hundred men had fled from the British army and returned to Philadelphia.

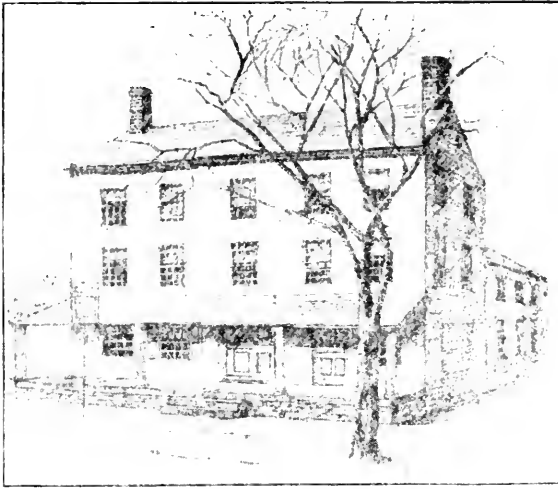
At midnight of June 28th Clinton silently withdrew to Middletown, there occupying a highly advantageous military situation, from which he later took position in New York City.

In a summary of the battle the Whig account, to which allusion has been made, thus reviews some of the important features of the affair at Monmouth:

Our troops behaved with the greatest bravery, and opposed the flower of the British army. * * * Of the enemys dead many have been found without any wound, but being heavily cloathed they sunk under the heat and fatigue. We are well assured that the Hessians absolutely refused to engage, declaring it was too hot. Their line of march from the courthouse was strewed with dead, with arms, knapsacks and accoutrements, which they dropt in their retreat. They had the day before taken many prisoners, whom in their haste they left behind. Had we been possessed of a powerful body of cavalry on the field, there is no doubt the success would have been much more compleat, but they had been so much employed in harassing the enemy during the march, and were so detached, as to give the enemy great superiority in numbers, much to their advantage. Our success, under heaven, is to be wholly ascribed to the good disposition made by his Excellency, supported by the firmness and bravery of both officers and men who were emulous to distinguish themselves on this oecasion. The great advance of the enemy in their way, their possession of the strong grounds at Middletown, added to the exhausted state of our troops, made an immediate pursuit ineligible.

With the battle of Monmouth ended extensive operations for the control of New England and the Middle States. Henceforth it was the southern commonwealths that were to feel the brunt of war. As yet the plans of Clinton were somewhat embryonic, Washington believing that he designed a further attempt to secure control of the Hudson Valley. To protect East Jersey and New York State the American commander-in-chief, on July 1st, fell back to Englishtown and thence to New Brunswick, the march being made through deep sand, and without water except such as was secured at South River. The army encamped at New Brunswick, occupying both sides of the river, and on the 4th of July celebrated the second anniversary of the Declaration of Independence by firing thirteen pieces of cannon "and a feu-de-joie of the whole line." On Sunday, July 5th, the right wing of the army left New Brunswick, which was followed by the left wing on Monday. The troops moved to Scotch Plains, Springfield, Watessing, Acquackanonk, Paramus, Kakeate, and to King's Ferry, where the crossing of the Hudson was effected.

On Saturday, July 1, General Washington had his headquarters at Paramus, while the British, after the battle of Monmouth Court House, having embarked at Sandy Hook, were encamped on Staten, Manhattan, and Long Islands. Here the



THE ARNOLD TAVERN.

(The first headquarters of Washington at Morristown in 1777.)



THE BIVOUC AT MONMOUTH.

general received the news of the arrival under command of Count d'Estaing of the French fleet of twelve ships of the line and six frigates, which reached the Capes of the Delaware on July 8th. Upon the 11th of July the French fleet arrived at Sandy Hook, and in August made an effectual demonstration against Newport. General Washington left Paramus upon July 15th, his objective point being Haverstraw. He later inspected the works at West Point, and on the 19th crossed the Hudson at King's Ferry with the last division of his army. Arriving at White Plains, General Washington, in a letter written to General Nelson upon the 20th of August, calls attention to the fact that after two years' maneuvering "both armies are back to the very point they set out from, and that which was the offending party in the beginning is now reduced to the use of spade and pickaxe for defence."

FOLLOWING the battle of Monmouth and the rehabilitation of the army General Washington remained upon the Hudson establishing headquarters at White Plains, Fishkill, and Fredericksburg. In the absence of important military land operations in the north two important problems presented themselves for his consideration. One was the finding of proper places for a horde of foreign military officers, some capable, some adventurers, who had nearly driven Franklin to distraction in Paris and then accompanied the French fleet to America. This, with an earnest effort to create a sentiment favoring a restoration of national credit, occupied the attention of the commander-in-chief.

By the 27th of November arrangements had been made for quartering the army during the coming winter. On the west side of the Hudson the North Carolina brigade was stationed near Smith's Clove, the New Jersey brigade was quartered at Elizabethtown, while the Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, and Pennsylvania troops were located at Middlebrook. A brigade was also left to guard West Point. On the east side of the river two brigades were at Fishkill and the Continental village, while the New Hampshire and Connecticut troops and Hazen's regiment were in the vicinity

of Danbury. At Pluckemin, New Jersey, a park of artillery was located.

From Fredericksburg the commander-in-chief proceeded to Elizabethtown, where he arrived upon the first of December. After viewing the arrangements made for the New Jersey brigade, and participating in a "festive entertainment" given in his honor, he returned to Paramus in view of a report that the enemy's fleet had gone up the river. As this maneuver terminated at King's Ferry Washington set out for Middlebrook, now called Bound Brook, where he arrived on the 11th of December. Here his attention was directed to the "dispositions for hutting the army."

It was in Somerville that General Washington established his headquarters, in a well appointed, newly-built mansion known as the "Wallace House." This structure, but little altered, and now well preserved through the efforts of the Revolutionary Memorial Society of New Jersey, stands amid a grove of trees upon the edge of the town, a conspicuous and much visited landmark. At nearby points other general officers were located. At Pluckemin, six miles distant from Somerville, General Knox and his artillery brigade were quartered in huts, while the main army lay at Bound Brook. In spite of the inconvenience to the officers in the effort to hut troops at the close of the campaign the soldiers entered upon

winter quarters in a reasonably comfortable manner, quite in contrast, at least, to the encampment at Valley Forge.

In obedience to a call from Congress General Washington arrived in Philadelphia upon December 22d, leaving the command of the army in the hands of General Stirling. At the close of the year, in a letter to Benjamin Harrison, General Washington draws this "picture of the times and of Men." Dated from Philadelphia where Congress was in session, its directness in allusion to existent conditions leaves no doubt that he had in mind members of that Congress and their friends who, leaving Washington to manage an unpaid, starved, and ill-equipped army in America, and Franklin to meet constant drafts, equip a privateer navy, and soothe with promises a King in France, were plunged in the depths of political inconstancy and financial imbecility. It was then that Washington wrote:

I should in one word say that idleness, dissipation and extravagance seems to have laid fast hold on most of them. That speculation—peculation—and an insatiable thirst for riches seems to have got the better of every other consideration and almost of every order of men. That party disputes and personal quarrels are the great business of the day whilst the momentous concerns of an empire—a great and accumulated debt—ruined finances—depreciated money—and want of credit (which in their consequences is the want of everything) are but secondary considerations and postponed from day to day—from week to week as if our affairs wear the most promising aspect.

While in the city he had conferred with Congress upon the operations of the next campaign, and in social life had attended the celebration of the festival of Saint John the Baptist, where before the Society of Free and Accepted Masons, at a sermon at Christ Church, he had been called the Cincinnatus of America. He had danced in the old Powel house on Second Street, been present at the banquet given by Congress in honor of the French alliance, and had sat for his portrait to Charles Willson Peale and to Pierre Eugene du Simitière, the eccentric Swiss artist. Both General and Mrs. Washington were the guests of Henry Laurens during this "the only relief he enjoyed from service since he first entered into it."

General Washington reached his headquarters at Somerville upon February 5, 1779, and within a few days after his arrival, upon the 18th, occurred one of the most notable social events of the Revolution. The affair was in honor of the first anniversary of the French alliance; the place where this notable celebration took place being the headquarters of General Knox at Pluckemin. It was then that General Knox and the wives of the artillery officers entertained the commander-in-chief, Mrs. Washington, the principal officers and their wives, and prominent people of New Jersey. With the discharge of sixteen cannon "the company collected in a large public building to par-

take of an elegant dinner," while in the evening, after a display of fireworks, "a splendid ball opened by his excellency, General Washington, having for his partner the wife of General Knox, concluded the celebration," seventy ladies and between three hundred and four hundred gentlemen being present. Of this affair General Knox, in an evident but perhaps proper spirit of self-satisfaction, says that it was a most "genteel" entertainment and the first of its kind ever "exhibited" in New Jersey.

In this connection an interesting sidelight is thrown upon Washington's social disposition in a letter written during the middle of March from General Greene to Colonel Wadsworth. At a "little dance" at General Greene's headquarters; which was at the Van Veghten house on the banks of the Raritan, half way between Bound Brook and Somerville, "His Excellency and Mrs. Greene danced upwards of three hours without once sitting down."

But there were matters of deeper moment than fêtes and dances when a foe more insidious than the Anglo-Hessian troops threatened to disrupt the States. In the quiet of the camp General Washington, in philosophic reflection, could estimate with unerring precision the dangers of the times—dangers of so great moment that he poured out his soul to James Warren in one of those

pathetic letters which more than aught else give us a true insight into George Washington as a man and as a patriot. Thus he wrote upon the 31st of March:

Speculation, Peculation, Engrossing, forestalling, with all their concomitants afford too many melancholy proofs of the decay of public virtue and too glaring instances of its being the interest and desire of too many, who would wish to be thought friends, to continue the war.

These causes, with stockjobbing and party dissensions, led to a depreciated currency. "Is there anything doing, or that can be done, to restore the credit of our money?" asks Washington late in April of the president of Congress. "It has got to so alarming a point that a wagon load of money will scarcely purchase a wagon load of provisions"—a statement entirely within reason when at the time \$2,115 in paper represented only \$100 in specie.

Again, during the month of May, Washington said in letters that he did not fear the enemy's arms, but that the rapid decay of the currency, undue party spirit, increasing rapacity, want of harmony in councils, declining zeal of the people, discontents and distresses of the officers of the army, prevailing insecurity, and insensibility to danger were symptoms of an alarming nature. We must not forget the fable of Jupiter and the

countrymen, he added, when affairs are at so low an ebb.

The arrival of M. Gérard, the French minister, and Don Juan Marailles, a Spanish grandee, was the occasion of an imposing military display upon the 2d of May. In front of the troops marched Lee's light horse, followed by General Washington, his aides-de-camp, foreign ministers and their retinue, and the general officers. After a field review the distinguished officers took seats upon a stage, where in their presence and in the presence of the ladies of the camp the army performed field maneuvers and evolutions.

Upon June 3d Washington broke camp at Middlebrook, and by way of Morristown moved toward the Highlands of the Hudson. At Ringwood he spent Sunday, June 6th, his army advancing through Troy, Pompton, and Ringwood without heavy baggage, marching rapidly to the protection of West Point, which was in danger of assault by the British. With the view of protecting the valley of the Hudson General Washington made his headquarters at West Point from July 21st until November 28th, when the American army went into winter quarters at Morristown.

Of all the events connected with General Washington's presence at Somerville by far the most interesting and important was the planning of the

“Indian campaign of 1779.” While yet the boom of Monmouth’s guns was in the patriots’ ears the Indians of the Pennsylvania and New York frontiers had murdered and pillaged inoffensive settlers, and, instigated by Tory allies, had left a trail of blood and ashes from Wyoming to Andrustown, German Flats, and Cherry Valley. Acting under advice of Congress, General Washington made immediate preparations “to take effectual measures for the protection of the inhabitants and the chastisement of the savages,” the latter composed of the Senecas, Oneidas, Cayugas, Mohawks, Onondagas, and Tuscaroras—the so-called Six Nations, and their allies, two companies of the “Royal Greens,” led by Joseph Brandt, Colonel John Butler, Wallace N. Butler, and Sir John Johnson.

After a season of preparation, during which the command of the expedition had been tendered to and refused by Major-General Horatio Gates, Washington, upon the 31st of May, selected for the important duty Major-General John Sullivan, who was instructed to destroy and devastate all Indian settlements and crops on the frontiers of Pennsylvania and New York, as well as to capture as many prisoners as possible, without reference to age or sex.

To assist Sullivan troops at Pittsburg and near Albany were directed to coöperate by diversion in

Western Pennsylvania and New York and by joining the advancing forces. The division of General Sullivan, as finally organized at Wyoming, contained about three thousand five hundred men. In one brigade under General Enoch Poor were the First, Second, and Third Massachusetts Regiments and the Second New York Regiment. General Edward Hand commanded the Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment, the German regiment, two companies of Wyoming militia, and an independent light infantry company of the Pennsylvania line. The Third Brigade under General Maxwell consisted of the First, Second, and Third New Jersey Regiments, and Spencer's regiment, while the artillery was commanded by Colonel Thomas Proctor, of Pennsylvania.

The roster of the New Jersey brigade in this Indian expedition discloses the names of Jersey-men who had won and were winning fame by valorous deeds at arms. Commanded by Brigadier-General William Maxwell, his staff was composed of John Ross, major; Aaron Ogden, aide-de-camp; Nathan Wilkinson, quartermaster; and Andrew Hunter, chaplain.

Of the First New Jersey Regiment Matthias Ogden was colonel. In this regiment were the colonel's company with Jacob Piatt as its captain-lieutenant; the lieutenant-colonel's company, Eden Burrowes, first lieutenant; major's company, Will-

iam Piatt, first lieutenant; Fourth Company, Jonathan Forman, captain; Fifth Company, Giles Mead, captain; Sixth Company, Alexander Mitchell, captain; Seventh Company, Peter V. Voorhies, captain; Eighth Company, John Holmes, captain; Ninth Company, Aaron Ogden, captain.

The Second New Jersey Regiment was under the command of Colonel Israel Shreve. Of the colonel's company Samuel Hendry was captain-lieutenant; of the lieutenant-colonel's company Samuel Naglee was first lieutenant; of the major's company Abel Weyman was first lieutenant; while the captains of the remaining companies were Fourth, John Hollinshead; Fifth, John N. Cumming; Sixth, Samuel Reading; Seventh, Nathaniel Bowman; Eighth, Jonathan Phillips; and Ninth, William Helmes.

The Third New Jersey Regiment had for its colonel Elias Dayton. The colonel's company was commanded by captain lieutenant Jonathan Dayton; the lieutenant-colonel's company by Lieutenant John Blair; the major's company by Nathaniel Leonard. William Gifford was captain of the Fourth Company; Richard Cox held like position in the Fifth Company; the captain of the Sixth Company was Jeremiah Ballard, as was John I. Anderson of the Seventh Company. The Eighth Company, in the absence of its captain, Bateman Lloyd, who

had been taken prisoner of war, was under the command of First Lieutenant Benjamin Horn, while the captain of the Ninth Company was Seth Johnson.

Of Spencer's regiment Oliver Spencer was colonel. The colonel's company was commanded by Captain-Lieutenant William Beach, the lieutenant-colonel's company by Lieutenant William Bull, the major's company by First Lieutenant John Orr, while the captains of the remaining companies were: Fourth, John Burrowes; Fifth, Benjamin Weatherby; Sixth, James Broderick; Seventh, John Sandford; Eighth, James Bonnel; Ninth, Abraham Neeley; Tenth, Nathaniel Toun; Eleventh, John Combs. The total strength of the brigade was one hundred and eleven officers and very nearly thirteen hundred men.

It was at Easton, Pennsylvania, between the middle of May and early in June, that the three New Jersey regiments reported for duty. The First New Jersey broke camp at Elizabethtown on May 11th, and upon the 29th of the same month the Second also left that village, marching by the forks of the Raritan to Pittstown and Masquenetcunk. Before their departure the officers of the Second New Jersey had been handsomely entertained by the citizens of Elizabethtown and Newark. In the meantime the Third was also on the march to Easton, while Spencer's

regiment, with the Second New York, had gone into camp at Tunkhanna, and had been engaged in cutting a military highway to Wyoming, using "unparalleled exertions in clearing and repairing the road." While in Easton Lady Washington visited the Easton camp, where she was entertained by Generals Sullivan and Maxwell.

With the departure of the main body of the army from Easton upon June 18th began a campaign as arduous in prosecution as it was successful in results. Advancing to Wyoming, a six days' march brought the troops to the vicinity of Wilkes Barre. Here Colonel Ogden's regiment was detailed to guard provision boats, while the army witnessed the departure of Lieutenant-Colonel David Brearley, of the First New Jersey, who returned to his native State to assume the office of chief justice, in which capacity he opened court at Freehold upon July 27th.

Thence until the 4th of October this gallant band of twenty-five hundred men, often ill-equipped, penetrated the wilderness of Pennsylvania and New York, in constant warfare with Indians and Tories, but ever redressing the barbarities inflicted upon the settlers. Through swamps and woodland, over mountains, along turbulent streams swollen by rains, the advancing army drew their supplies and equipment. Scarcely resting night nor day, in constant danger

of surprise, many fell sick from fatigue and exposure, among them General Sullivan. Yet the division pressed on, and none more willing than the New Jersey brigade. In their trail the troops left burned villages and devastated cornfields, destroying such Indian towns as Newty-Channing, Old and New Chemung, Newtown, now Elmira, N. Y., Middletown, and Kanawlohalla, Runonvea, Appletown, Kanadasega, Seneca Castle near Geneva, Waterloo, Gothseungquean, Kanandai-gua, and many another thriving Indian settlement in the beautiful lake region of Central New York.

It was upon October 15th that the New Jersey brigade reached Easton upon its return from the frontiers. Here congratulatory letters were exchanged between General Sullivan and the officers of the regiments composing the brigade. Upon the 26th the brigade, crossing the Delaware, camped at Oxford, and by way of Sussex Court House, Warwick, Pompton, Morristown, and Springfield reached Scotch Plains on November 5th, later encamping with General Washington during the second winter at Morristown. Both Congress and the commander-in-chief highly complimented the troops upon their bravery in an expedition during which forty towns and one hundred and sixty thousand bushels of corn had been destroyed. The mortality of the expedition was slight, but forty-two killed or died, but of fourteen

hundred horses that were on the expedition only three hundred returned, one hundred perishing at one time.

With the close of the expedition the power of the Indian in Western Pennsylvania and New York was broken, although not finally crushed. Subsequent ravages and massacres were much less severe and at last ceased. It was the beginning of the end—when New Jersey's continental line and the troops of other States, under the stern necessity of revenge, made possible the breaking down of a barrier which brought into existence Buffalo, Pittsburg, and the greater cities of a newer West.

MOVING southward from West Point late in November, 1779, it was upon the 30th of that month that General Washington crossed the Hudson at King's Ferry and proceeded on his way to Morristown. Already the British had abandoned Stony and Verplanck's Points as well as Rhode Island preparatory to the institution of a southern campaign. General Washington therefore made instant preparations to put his army into winter quarters. To Commissary-General Clement Biddle, of Philadelphia, had been given orders to impress forage for use of the army on the march between West Point and Morristown.

Upon the 1st of December General Washington arrived at Morristown, where he established his headquarters in the residence of the widow of Colonel Jacob Ford, Jr., who had commanded the Eastern Battalion of the Morris County militia. Situated a half mile from the Arnold house, which General Washington had occupied in Morristown during the winter of 1777, the Ford house has fortunately been preserved through the efforts of the "Washington Association of New Jersey." This organization, incorporated March 20, 1874, has for its object the maintaining of the Ford house "through future generations, sacred with its peculiar historic associations."

Sorry indeed was the lot of the officers and men who entered upon that winter, replete with physical and mental suffering. At West Point, upon the 2d of the preceding October, an elaborate plan of uniforms had been adopted for the troops. Thus for New York and New Jersey "Blue faced with Buff, White Lining and Buttons" was designated. The uniforms to be worn by troops of the other States were also blue, the facings differing. White was designated for the facings to be worn by the soldiers from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut; red for Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia; blue for North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. Yet with a national treasury exhausted, and the States neglecting or tacitly refusing to send their quotas, the men in the field were fortunate indeed if they possessed a rough shirt or a worn corduroy vest.

But it was not alone the lack of proper military clothing that caused alarm. For several weeks the army had been on half allowance, the magazines were exhausted, with no hope of replenishing them, as the commissaries were destitute of money or credit. The new year of 1780 brought neither bread nor meat to the starving troops. The situation was no less critical than it had been at Valley Forge. An urgent appeal for aid was issued to the magistrates of New Jersey, but even

if some relief were secured the very elements combined to render the situation more desperate. Snow lay from four to six feet deep, the roads were blocked, while in a blizzard which swept over the country some of the soldiers "were actually covered while in their tents, and buried like sheep." Thacher's *Journal* says that for ten days but two pounds of meat per man were received, then for six or eight days there was no meat; then as long a period passed without bread being issued.

The soldiers were feeble from hunger and cold, unable to perform military duty or to construct huts. The personal experience of General Washington was scarcely less distressing. Eighteen of his family were crowded together in the kitchen of the Ford house, "scarce one of them able to speak for the colds they have caught," while there was no proper provision for cooking meals nor for lodging servants.

By the end of January the situation was slightly improved so far as provision was concerned, although it was not until the middle of February that the soldiers had taken possession of their huts. As late as March Thacher wrote in his *Military Journal*:

The present winter is the most severe and distressing which we have ever experienced. An immense body of snow remains on the ground. Our soldiers are in a wretched condition for the want of

clothes, blankets and shoes * * * and provisions * * *
The causes assigned for these extraordinary deficiencies are the very low state of the public finances, in consequence of the rapid depreciation of the continental currency, and some irregularity in the commissary's department * * * It is feared that * * * very serious consequences will ensue.

To add to these discomforts the country was flooded with counterfeited paper currency made by the British in New York.

The poverty of the army was so extreme that the paymaster's department public dispatches could not be forwarded "for want of cash to support the expresses." A dancing assembly was opened in camp. Thirty-five subscribers, headed by General Washington, agreed to pay four hundred dollars each—eleven dollars in specie—to provide for these festivities.

During the month of January two military movements were executed which were of transient importance. Upon the 17th of the month, in spite of the half-starved, half-clothed, riotous condition of the army, "robbing the Country people of their subsistence from sheer necessity," Washington had in mind a plan for making an attack upon Staten Island. Under pretense of scouring the countryside for provisions two thousand five hundred troops under General Stirling were sent out of camp in five hundred sleighs, and crossed from Elizabethport to Staten Island upon the ice. The British, learning

of the contemplated movement, retired to points of safety. The Americans remained on the island twenty-four hours without covering, in a snow three feet in depth. Five hundred men were frost bitten, and six were killed by a party of British horse. The results of the raid were some tents, arms, baggage, wine, and seventeen prisoners. As a reprisal, upon the 25th of January, a party of British troops crossed over from Trembly's Point, Staten Island, to Elizabethtown. After capturing several prisoners, and burning the meeting house and town house, the one hundred dragoons and three hundred or four hundred infantry returned to Staten Island without loss.

While Washington lay at Morristown preparations were on foot in New York City to aid Sir Henry Clinton in South Carolina. As early as Christmas, 1779, Admiral Arbuthnot, General Clinton, and Lord Cornwallis, with between five thousand and six thousand troops, had left Sandy Hook, and upon the 7th of April, 1780, a second detachment of two thousand five hundred men sailed from that city.

To the American camp, worn with cold and hunger, the departure of the British and the return of spring brought new life. There were also other encouraging signs. By April 19th the French minister, Chevalier de la Luzerne, and Don Juan de Miralles, said to be a secret but unac-

credited agent of Spain, had arrived at Morristown. In their honor the army was paraded under arms upon the 24th and 25th of April, while a ball was given at the Morris Hotel, "at which were present a numerous collection of ladies and gentlemen of distinguished character." It was upon the 28th of April that the "Spanish gentleman" De Miralles, who had "remained dangerously sick of a pulmonick fever," died at headquarters, being buried at Morristown the following day. This "very respectable subject of the King of Spain * * * was dressed in rich state and exposed to public view, as is customary in Europe." The officers of the army, led by General Washington, with members of congress and citizens, "attended the funeral solemnities and walked as chief mourners," forming "a splendid procession extending about one mile." Thus expired and was interred the supposed representative of the Spanish crown, who, coöperating with the French minister, was watching the progress of events in view of possible aid which his government might render the United States.

Upon the 10th of May the Marquis de Lafayette arrived at headquarters from Boston. For over a year this distinguished nobleman had been in France, where, with Benjamin Franklin, he had laid before Vergennes, minister of foreign affairs,

a true "statement of the situation of the United States." Urging upon his government the pressing needs of the States, in which he was seconded by D'Estaing, six thousand men were being put in transports for the American campaign. This, said General Washington to James Duane, "opens a prospect which offers a most important advantage to these States."

The timely arrival of Lafayette with such stimulating news meant much to an army whose condition was still pitiable. A congressional committee visited the camp while Lafayette was at headquarters, and found the army had been unpaid during five months, being destitute of "sugar, tea, chocolate, wine, and spirits," every department being without money or the "shadow of credit." To add to this distress Charleston had surrendered upon the 12th of May, and Sir Henry Clinton, flushed with victory, was on his way to New York, where he arrived upon June 17th.

Camp at Morristown was broken early in June, Washington having moved his army to Short Hills, or the Heights of Springfield, upon the 7th. This movement was due to the action of the British, briefly but graphically described in an "Extract of a letter from Morristown," dated June 9, and printed in the *Pennsylvania Journal* June 14, 1780. The correspondent says:

The enemy came out from New York, via Staten Island, and

landed at Elizabeth Town, about 5000. Our army all moved to meet them: The militia turned out with spirit—skirmishing in abundance; one militia Captain with 4 men took 16 British. * * * They [the British] have been between Connecticut Farms and Springfield and burnt every house in the former except one.—They have been drove back to Elizabeth Town Point, where they lie behind our old entrenchments. * * * The militia are near the enemy and keep a constant popping at them.—I believe New York is very bare of troops.

This expedition was similar to a score of like raids from which New Jersey suffered, yet one incident aroused the most intense indignation. This was the willful murder of Mrs. Caldwell, daughter of John Ogden, of Newark, and wife of the Rev. James Caldwell, an uncompromising patriot and pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Elizabethtown. The Caldwell residence having been burned in 1780, Mrs. Caldwell removed to a secluded dwelling in Connecticut Farms, her husband being absent. As the British were raiding and plundering the region a soldier approached a window of the house and, seeing Mrs. Caldwell surrounded by her children, shot her as she was arising from a bed. The house was set on fire and with great difficulty was her body preserved from destruction. The Rev. Mr. Caldwell, returning to Connecticut Farms under a flag, learned the sad fate of his wife—a fate which he soon experienced. Having later become engaged in an altercation with an American sentinel at

Elizabethtown Point, Mr. Caldwell was also shot, for which the murderer, one James Morgan, was executed at Westfield on the 29th of January, 1782. A sermon upon the occasion was preached by the Rev. Jonathan Elmer, from Jer. XLIV. 4. "Oh! do not this abominable thing that I hate."

It was upon the 23d of June that the British burned the village of Springfield. The enemy, about five thousand strong, advanced from Elizabethtown, their two columns being opposed by the Americans under General Dickinson, Major Lee, Colonels Dayton, Shreve, Ogden, and Angell, and Captain Walker, protecting the roads and bridges leading into the town. Driving back the troops to higher ground, the British made no effort to attack, but wantonly destroyed the village, inflicting considerable loss of life. Having accomplished their object, they withdrew to Staten Island, evacuating Elizabethtown Point and removing the bridges.

The return of the enemy to Staten Island led General Washington to move slowly toward the Hudson River. Arriving at Whippany, June 25th, he proceeded to Ramapo and thence on July 1st to Preakness, five miles from Paterson. Here his headquarters was the stately mansion of Colonel Theunis Dey, where he remained until the 29th of that month.

It was at Preakness that General Washington,

writing upon July 6th to Fielding Lewis, gave tangible expression to those views that have led some to claim that Washington early espoused the cause of Federalism, even before the party was born or named. "I give it decisively as my opinion," he says, "that unless the States will content themselves with a full and well chosen representation in Congress and vest that body with absolute powers in all matters relative to the great purposes of war, and of general concern (by which the States unitedly are affected, reserving to themselves all matters of local and internal polity for the regulation of order and good government) we are attempting an impossibility and very soon shall become (if not already the case) a many headed monster—a heterogeneous mass—that never will or can steer to the same point."

Filled with the joyous news of the arrival of the French fleet at Newport and the possibility of success in the Rhode Island campaign, the army on July 29th moved from Preakness to Paramus, thence to King's Ferry, where the Hudson was crossed, General Washington establishing himself at the "Robinson House" on the east bank of the Hudson, a little below West Point.

TO SUPPLY the needs of the army in furnishing salt for the curing of meat, as early as June 24, 1776, the council of safety of Pennsylvania had entered into a contract with one Thomas Savadge to erect a salt works at Tom's River. Encouraged by an appropriation of four hundred pounds, Savadge erected his primitive plant on Coate's Point, near Barnegat Bay, which was followed by the construction of two similar works established near by. For the protection of the workmen, who were exempt from militia duty under the laws of the State of New Jersey, a barrack was erected, and early in 1777 a company of infantry, with two cannon, were sent to Tom's River by Pennsylvania for the protection of her property. Subsequently Pennsylvania sent Captain Richard Eyre with the armed boat "Delaware" to protect the mouth of Tom's River, as the works were not only exposed to raid on land by the Tory volunteers, but were subjected to attack by cruisers and British vessels of war. Indeed, in April, 1778, the salt works of the State of Pennsylvania were razed by British troops, but were soon reconstructed. Savadge, the manager, dying, the plant passed into the possession of John Thompson, of Burlington, and thence under the charge of the Monmouth militia. To still further advance the salt making industry, which

was conducted by the solar process, the "Union Salt Works" at Squan, and the Shark River works and Newlin's works on Barnegat Bay, had been established.

To protect the factory and the little village itself there had been erected in Tom's River a block-house. Near by the marketable salt was stored, awaiting transportation across New Jersey to such points where it might be needed. This square block-house was a simple affair, constructed of perpendicular logs each seven feet in height, set in the ground, with their upper ends sharpened. Small openings were made, through which muskets could be fired. A barrack and a powder magazine, with four small pivot-mounted cannon on the corners of the fort, completed the equipment of the block-house. Entrance and exit were accomplished by means of a scaling ladder.

Already the siege of Yorktown had determined the fate of British power in the United States, and while General Washington, in Philadelphia, and Sir Henry Clinton, in New York, were waiting the determination of the struggle Captain Joshua Huddy, at Tom's River, was in command of his little company of twenty-three men. Of those who made militia officers of New Jersey famous none was more conspicuous for daring and for acumen than this Monmouth County leader, whose

name was soon to be heard throughout America and Europe.

Not only for the purpose of destroying the block-house, but to give encouragement to the Tories on the sea coast of old Monmouth County, the board of associated loyalists in New York set on foot an expedition about the middle of March, 1782. Sailing in whaleboats, some forty refugees, commanded by officers of the Bucks County (Pennsylvania) volunteers, were sent out of New York Bay with an armed crew of eighty seamen. The "Arrogant," brigantine, accompanied the attacking party, which, owing to baffling winds, did not reach the landing place, near Tom's River, until midnight of March 23d. Once on shore they were joined by a detachment of armed refugees, commanded by Richard Davenport. Under the guidance of William Dillon, a refugee, the party took a northern route to Tom's River, escaping the scouts, who had been sent out by Captain Huddy. Appearing before the fort, the Tories made a demand of immediate surrender, which Captain Huddy, who had protected his garrison as far as possible, instantly and disdainfully answered.

The action which followed was as fierce as it was brief. With pikes and muskets the besieged held their ground against a force four times their superior. The charging refugees were driven back as they attempted to leap over the sharpened logs,

losing two brave officers, while the fort itself was red with the blood of the garrison. Depleted of power, with his men dying and wounded, Captain Huddy, who had done "all that a brave man could do to defend himself against so superior a number," surrendered with sixteen men. To the block-house the torch was applied, while fire swept away the nearby mills, salt works, store-house, and every dwelling house in the town, save two. The guns of the block-house, having been spiked, were thrown into the river, while upon the "Arrogant" there were placed the captives and some of the citizens of the village.

Thus upon the cold March Sunday, with a village laid in ashes, the expedition set sail for New York. Owing to the condition of the wounded Tories no attempt was made to ravage the section of the country near Shark River nor to demolish the salt works at Squan. Arriving in New York the next day, Captain Huddy was at once placed in the old sugar house prison.

Although the expedition against Tom's River differed but little from many another Tory raid upon the exposed Atlantic seaboard, it was destined in its consequences to have a far-reaching effect. Interest now centers around the captain of the guard-house, Joshua Huddy.

Hastily removed to the provost jail upon April 1, and thence on April 8 to the guard-ship "Brit-

ania," Captain Huddy and two associates, Daniel Randolph and Jacob Flemming, were finally placed under the custody of Captain Richard Lippincott, a refugee from Monmouth County. As to their disposal Lippincott had secret instructions from the board of associated loyalists, but what those instructions were soon became evident. Under a strong guard Captain Huddy, during the morning of April 12, was taken ashore, landing at Gravelly Point on the Navesink, near the old Highland Light House. Here, upon the shore of old Shrewsbury, was committed one of the foulest murders which blot the annals of the Revolution. Under direction of Lippincott three rails were placed on the water's edge in the form of a gallows, while upon a barrel-head Captain Huddy wrote his last will. Placing a placard on his breast, which breathed the spirit of the *lex talionis*, the authors saying they had "determined to hang man for man so long as a refugee is left existing," the body of Joshua Huddy, prisoner of war, swung above the heads of the murderers. And as Captain Huddy pronounced his last words, "I shall die innocent and in a good cause," Lippincott, swearing at his men because they would not pull the rope, dragged aloft the form of the heroic patriot. Lippincott returned to New York and reported that he had *exchanged* Captain Huddy for one Philip White.

From Monmouth County arose a cry for revenge. After burying Captain Huddy with military honors the citizens met in the court house at Freehold, and in a petition signed by men of prominence urged Congress and General Washington that a policy of retaliation might be instituted. The petition and the affidavits of some of those who had witnessed the murder, as well as the label left upon Huddy's breast, were taken to General Knox and Gouverneur Morris, who, as commissioners of prisoners, were then at Elizabethtown. Immediately these documents were conveyed to General Washington at Newburgh.

At a council of war held upon April 19th twenty-five general and field officers "agreed that retaliation was justifiable and expedient." A majority of the council favored an instant demand for the person of Richard Lippincott, which, if refused, would be sufficient cause for the selection, by lot, among the British prisoners of an officer of rank equal to that of Captain Huddy. The commander-in-chief immediately laid the matter before Congress, which appointed a committee thereupon, the chairman being Elias Boudinot, of New Jersey. Upon April 29th Congress, in a resolution, "being deeply impressed with the necessity of convincing the enemies of the United States * * * that the repetition of their unprecedented and inhuman cruelties * * *

will no longer be suffered with impunity * * * unanimously approve of the firm and judicious conduct of the commander-in-chief in his application to the British general in New York."

During the remaining part of the month of April a dignified correspondence was maintained between General Washington and Sir Henry Clinton. The commander-in-chief upon April 21 demanded the person of Captain Lippincott of the officer commanding. "In failure of it," he continues, "I shall hold myself justifiable, in the eyes of God and man, for the measure to which I shall resort." To this Sir Henry Clinton answered that he had ordered a strict inquiry concerning this "barbarous outrage against humanity," and forbade the board of associated loyalists to remove any captive from the prison house in which he had been confined.

The court-martial of Captain Richard Lippincott disclosed that he had acted under verbal orders of the board, particularly of the deposed Governor William Franklin, and that Captain Huddy, who was hung, supposedly, in retaliation for the death of Philip White, was a prisoner four days before White had been shot while attempting to escape from Monmouth County jail. It was also shown that William Franklin had read the placard placed on Captain Huddy's breast.

The defense of the associated board of loyalists

consisted of a series of accusations against Huddy, who was, they said, "very active and cruel * * * and had not been ashamed to boast of his having been instrumental in hanging Stephen Edwards, a worthy loyalist, and the first of our brethren who fell a martyr to republican fury in Monmouth County." The "Monmouth Retaliators" and the deeds of General Forman, who, by the board, was called "Black David," "fired our party with indignation." The court-martial, considering that Lippincott had acted under orders, rendered a verdict of not guilty, and tacitly threw the blame upon the board of loyalists, whereupon William Franklin hastily departed for England.

The successor of Sir Henry Clinton was Sir Guy Carleton, who assumed the position taken by his predecessor, and even went to the length of abolishing the board of loyalists, to the end, as he wrote General Washington, that he desired "to pursue every measure that might tend to prevent these criminal excesses in individuals." Without waiting for further action Captain Adam Hyler, of New Brunswick, a warm personal friend of Captain Huddy, entered New York in disguise for the purpose of capturing Lippincott. Had it not been that Lippincott was attending a cock-fight he "would have been offered as a sweet revenge to the manes of poor Huddy."

Among the British unconditional prisoners in

York, Pennsylvania, were thirteen captains, from whom, upon May 3d, General Moses Hazen, of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, was directed to conduct a drawing, by lot, to see which one should be executed in satisfaction for the death of Huddy. Upon the 27th of May, in Lancaster, thirteen slips of paper were placed in a hat, all blank except one, upon which was written the word "unfortunate." Fate fell upon Captain Charles Asgill, Jr., of the First Regiment of Foot, a mere boy of twenty, but a brave officer, the only son of an English baronet of wealth. Forwarded to Philadelphia and thence to Chatham, accompanied by a friend, Major James Gordon, of the Eightieth Regiment of Foot, Captain Asgill was placed in charge, upon June 11, of Colonel Elias Dayton, of the Second New Jersey Regiment, continental line. It was then discovered that Captain Asgill was not an unconditional prisoner of war, but had been included in the surrender at Yorktown. This mistake gave General Washington much annoyance and distress, so much so indeed that the commander-in-chief sent a messenger—a captive British officer—to Sir Guy Carleton, stating that the British commander-in-chief, knowing the alternative, might effect the sparing of the "unfortunate offering."

The *scenario* of this drama was then transferred to Europe. Owing to the invalidism of Sir Charles Asgill and the mental torture of a daughter, Lady

Theresa Asgill, the mother of the young captain, undertook to sway the sympathies of the thrones of England and France. From London George III, in response to the personal appeal of Lady Asgill, directed Sir Guy Carleton to execute Richard Lippincott, an order that was either suppressed or willfully disobeyed. From the Count de Vergennes, prime minister of Louis XVI, a letter was sent to General Washington, also in conformity with the urging of Lady Asgill, desiring that the American commander-in-chief exercise clemency at the request of the French King and Queen. To this was added a like request addressed to Congress from the States-General of Holland. In America Captain Asgill wrote to his commander-in-chief begging for mercy, while in the letters of Washington, Benjamin Franklin, and other men of prominence there are constant references to the fate of young Asgill. Possibly the clearest presentation of the affair was made by Tom Paine, when in a letter to the British commander-in-chief he wrote:

The villain and the victim are here separated characters. You hold the one and we hold the other. You disown or affect to disown and reprobate the conduct of Lippincott, yet you give him sanctuary and by so doing you as effectually become the executioner of Asgill as if you put the rope round his neck and dismissed him from the world. * * * Deliver up the one and save the other, withhold the one and the other dies by your choice.

Thus the summer passed with correspondence

between Washington and Carleton, and young Asgill late in August and September on parole about Chatham and Morristown. Upon the arrival of the letter from the Count de Vergennes, which had no small degree of weight with Washington and Congress, Captain Asgill, under direction of Congress, was liberated upon November thirteenth and shortly returned to England, where he subsequently became a general officer in the British army.

Although a call was made upon Sir Guy Carleton to further prosecute his investigation into the matter no action was taken. The close of the war drove the subject from the public mind. For his infamy Captain Lippincott received from the crown three thousand acres of land where the City of Toronto now stands, and a half-pay pension for life. He died in Toronto in 1826, at the age of eighty-two.

From the spark kindled at Tom's River and the Highlands a sudden flame illumined both sides of the Atlantic. Throughout France the interest in the fate of Captain Asgill was intense. In his honor M. de Sauvigny wrote a play, "Abdir," in which the young man was the hero; engraved portraits were sold in European capitals; and the newspapers presented every feature of the case which could possibly have any personal or political interest.

THROUGHOUT the State, told in tradition or preserved between the pages of county and town histories, there are many tales of woman's work and of sacrifice in providing clothes and nourishing food for the men of the militia, of the State troops, and of the continental line. Somewhat has been preserved—but it has been but little—of the devoted services of New Jersey's mothers, wives, and sweethearts. Fragments from newspapers tell of the gifts to the army by congregations in East Jersey, such as clothes from Dr. Jacob Green's church in Hanover, Morris County, while in the smallpox camp of that fearful winter in Morristown women braved death to minister to those who suffered. And then in West Jersey the sweet-faced Quakeresses watched over the rough-voiced Hessians, scarred by the sword at Red Bank, nursed back to life the red-coated young officers of the King, who came from London's routs to bite the dust at Monmouth, or even yet more tenderly, mayhap, looked for the last time upon the faces of their own kin who, forsaking the ways of the meeting, had been butchered in some midnight raid by the banditti of the board of loyalists. They could not fight nor side with Whig or Tory, these Quakeresses, but in that supreme hour when suffering

and death broke down the barriers of strife they could nurse and watch and pray.

Governor William Livingston, with his wealth of sarcasm, never signed his famous "Hortentius" to a more clever contribution in the *New Jersey Gazette* than his production which appeared upon the last day of December, 1777. In his reference to the County of Bergen, in which there were many "disaffected" folk of old Dutch stock, His Excellency trod upon dangerous ground, and while his reference to the women of the time and a local custom must have stung, yet the long years have taken away the bitterness and left but a laugh. Thus wrote Governor Livingston to his Quaker friend, Isaac Collins, the editor:

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, from the redundance and superfluity of certain woollen habits, which are at present applied to no kind of use whatsoever. 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 escrutoire, the top of which is decorated with a most capacious brass-clasped bible, seldom read. What I would, therefore, humbly propose to our superiors, 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.

HORTENTIUS.

It was upon July 4, 1780, that the women of Trenton organized the first society in New Jersey, the plan and scope of whose work geographically embraced the entire State. The purpose of this society was highly laudable, as the *New Jersey Gazette* of that week shows, being directed toward "promoting a subscription for the relief and encouragement of those brave Men in the Continental army who, stimulated by example and regardless of danger, have so repeatedly suffered, fought, and bled in the cause of virtue and their oppressed country."

Emulating a precedent already established by "their patriotic sisters in Pennsylvania," and being desirous "of manifesting their zeal in the glorious cause of American liberty," these women of Trenton, "taking into consideration the scattered situation of the well disposed thro' the State, who would wish to contribute to so laudable an undertaking," unanimously appointed a local committee consisting of Mrs. Cox, Mrs. Dickinson, Mrs. Moore Furman, and Miss Cadwallader. Of the committee Mrs. Furman was "treasures" and Miss Dagworthy secretary.

To carry the plan into effect the committee was directed immediately to open subscriptions and to correspond with women of known patriotism throughout the State. Fortunately the names of those who would further so humane a plan have been preserved. As printed in the *Gazette* the list is: "For the County of Hunterdon—Mrs. [Vice-President] Stevens, Mrs. [Judge] Smith, Mrs. [Charles] Coxe, Mrs. R. Stevens, Mrs. Hanna, Mrs. T. Lowrey, Mrs. J. Sexton, Mrs. B. Van Cleve, Mrs. [Colonel] Berry, Mrs. [Doctor] Burnet. County of Sussex—Mrs. [Counsellor] Ogden, Mrs. [Colonel] Thomson, Mrs. [Major] Hoops, Mrs. T. Anderson. County of Bergen—Mrs. [Colonel] Dey, Mrs. Fell, Mrs. Kuyper, Mrs. Erskine, Mrs. [Major] Dey. County of Morris—Mrs. [Counsellor] Condict, Mrs. [Parson] Jones, Mrs. [Colonel] Remsen, Mrs. Vansant, Mrs. Carmichael, Mrs. [Colonel] Cook, Mrs. Fæsch. County of Essex—Mrs. [Governor] Livingston, Mrs. C. Camp, Mrs. [Doctor] Burnet, Mrs. [Elisha] Boudinot, Mrs. Hornblower. County of Middlesex—Mrs. Neilson, Mrs. [Counsellor] Deare, Mrs. [George] Morgan, Mrs. [Colonel] Neilson, Mrs. Neilson, Mrs. [Daniel] Marsh. County of Monmouth—Mrs. [General] Forman, Mrs. [Colonel] Scudder, Mrs. Newell, Mrs. [Peter] Foreman, Mrs. [Jacob] Wickoff, Mrs. [Peter] Couvenhoven. County of Burlington—Mrs. [Colonel] Cox, Mrs. [Counsel-

lor] Tallman, Mrs. [Colonel] Borden, Mrs. [Secretary] Reed, Mrs. [Captain] Read. County of Somerset—Lady Stirling, Mrs. [General] Morris, Mrs. [Colonel] Martin, Mrs. [Attorney-General] Paterson, Mrs. R. Stockton. County of Gloucester—Mrs. [Colonel] Clark, Mrs. [Colonel] Wescott, Mrs. [Colonel] Ellis, Mrs. [Colonel] Hugg, Mrs. Bloomfield. County of Salem—Mrs. [Colonel] Dick, Mrs. Mayhew, Mrs. Tagart. County of Cumberland—Mrs. [Counsellor] Buck, Mrs. Harris, Mrs. Elmer, Mrs. Bowen, Mrs. Fithian. County of Cape May—Mrs. [Counsellor] Hand, Mrs. Whilden, Mrs. Townsend, and Mrs. Hildreth.”

Of this company of women all had attained distinction, and all were representative of the culture and social life of the day. None were better known than Lady Stirling; Mrs. Richard Stockton, who under her maiden name, Annis Bondinot, at “Morven” in Princeton, had not only written patriotic verses, but verses worthy of approving criticism; and Mrs. William Livingston, mistress of “Liberty Hall” in Elizabeth. Intimately associated with these family names by ties of kinship and friendship were Mrs. Stevens, of Hunterdon, and Mrs. Elisha Boudinot, of Essex. Those who represented the Counties of Monmouth and Cape May bore names of families who had intermarried for a century.

And so, to a less degree possibly, in the case of the other counties.

Unfortunately no record of this organization has been preserved; indeed no information can be obtained as to the results of its work. But certain it is that, instituted under such powerful influences, for so worthy an object, the society performed its patriotic labors and could enjoy within a few years the blessings that came with peace and reëstablishment of domestic relations.

WHILE awaiting the news of the terms of the definitive treaty of peace General Washington, accompanied by Governor Clinton, of New York, upon July 18, 1783, left his headquarters at Newburgh. In eighteen days he performed a tour of at least seven hundred and fifty miles, travelling through the region of Albany, Lake George, the Mohawk Valley as far as Fort Schuyler, Wood Creek, and Otsego Lake.

While Washington had been visiting the scenes made memorable in the struggle which had but recently drawn to a close a mutiny broke out among a portion of the Pennsylvania troops. The Congress of the confederation, already despised by a large part of the people, and knowing its own weakness, sought safety in flight. Upon the 21st of June the body adjourned from Philadelphia to Princeton.

The first session of Congress in Princeton was held upon the 30th of June. Scarce six weeks had passed ere Congress requested the presence of General Washington, who received his summons at Newburgh. Here, before his departure for New Jersey, the commander-in-chief had entered with Governor Clinton into negotiations for the purchase of the land where Saratoga Springs is located. This transaction, according to William

S. Baker, was never completed, as some members of the Livingston family had previously obtained control of High and Flat Rock Springs, the only ones then known.

Assigning the command of the troops to Major-General Knox, Washington left Newburgh upon the 18th of August and arrived at Rocky Hill, New Jersey, upon the 24th, where, in a residence suitably prepared by order of Congress, he established his headquarters. Standing upon an elevated point near the banks of the Millstone, this home of the then late John Berrien, associate justice of the Supreme Court of New Jersey, was throughout the autumn a center for the social life of that portion of the State. From its piazzas the commander-in-chief could see the continuation of the road over which he had pursued the British regiments flying, after the surprise at Princeton, to the shelter of New Brunswick. To the south and west lay the Hopewell Valley, where had been held the council of war which decided the fate of Monmouth and swept the King's troops from New Jersey. Over the hills lay Somerville, where had been planned the Indian campaign of 1779, while to the far east was Amboy and the Tory rendezvous of Staten Island.

It was upon the 26th of August that Congress welcomed General Washington in an address made by its president, Elias Boudinot, himself a

Jerseyman. The reception of the commander-in-chief was marked by a display of sentiment as affecting as it was real. The life of a general "who has merited and possessed the uninterrupted confidence and affection of his fellow citizens" had been preserved through a long, dangerous, and important war. This was the singular happiness of the United States. Services essential in acquiring and establishing the freedom of the United States deserved the grateful acknowledgments of an independent nation. "These acknowledgments Congress have the satisfaction of expressing to your excellency."

The routine of meetings between Congress and Washington, during which the question of peace establishment was discussed, was broken by events of a nature distinctively social. At the commencement of the College of New Jersey, held at Princeton upon September 24th, upon the request of a committee of the faculty, whose chairman was Dr. John Witherspoon, the commander-in-chief consented to the painting of his portrait, the artist being Charles Willson Peale, of Philadelphia. This portrait, representing Washington at the surprise at Princeton, one of the most valued possessions of Princeton University, hangs in Nassau Hall, occupying the space formerly devoted to a portrait of George II. During the battle of Princeton the King's

picture had been injured by a shot from an American battery. General Washington also presented to the College fifty guineas "as a testimony of his respect." In those hours, while waiting for the final ceremonials of the treaty, and longing to seek in his own home relaxations and enjoyments after eight years of intense mental and physical activity, the commander-in-chief sat for a crayon drawing, the artist being William Dunlap, a youth of eighteen.

The life of those who were fortunate enough to be guests at the Berrien house was delightful. Around the general's table sat members of Congress, State and county officials of prominence, and such of the military characters of distinction who happened to be in the vicinity. Upon the lawn in front of the Berrien house were the young New Englanders forming the guard, under the command of Captain Bazaleel Howe, whose *marqué* stood before the door; his son, Dr. John M. Howe, one of the last surviving "sons of the Revolution," lived for many years at Passaic, New Jersey, where he died in 1885. The general himself rode frequently through the country, his horse, according to Attorney-General Nathaniel Lawrence, of New York, being "a young roan, double bitted, steal bridle, and plated stirrups." Seated upon an old crooked saddle, with a short, deep blue saddle cloth, flowered, buff edged,

“double skirts, crupper, sursingle, and breast plate,” General Washington, although he weighed two hundred and ten pounds, frequently rode from Rocky Hill to Princeton, a distance of five miles, in forty minutes.

It was in the chapel of the College of New Jersey that the first authentic account of the conclusion of the definitive treaty between Great Britain and the United States was received. Upon the memorable 31st of October Congress admitted Peter John Van Berckel, minister plenipotentiary from the States-General of the United Netherlands, to public audience. With General Washington were the Chevalier de la Luzerne, members of Congress, “together with a number of ladies of the first character,” to extend a welcome to Van Berckel, which was accompanied by the usual stately ceremonials of the time. This event and the news from England made that Friday and the following day a gala occasion in the little college town.

During his leisure hours General Washington had been preparing his Farewell Address to the armies of the United States, which was issued from the Rocky Hill headquarters upon Sunday, November 2, 1783. This Address has all of the dignity, even majesty, of the man who wrote it. Without maudlin sentimentality, without strained construction, there is yet a deep affection

for those who had fought the long fight, had given their lives to the nation, and had made his own name immortal. General Washington, after alluding to the perseverance of the armies of the United States through the long arduous years of the war, the securing of national independence, and the opening of a new era of peace and prosperity, recommended to the soldiers that they carry into civil life a conciliatory spirit, proving that as they had been victorious in battle they could be useful and virtuous as citizens. Thanking the officers and men for their assistance, the commander-in-chief recommended the army to their country and their country's God. Upon those who had aided in the struggle the blessings of Heaven were invoked, and the hope was expressed that ample justice would be done on earth to those who had sacrificed all to secure innumerable blessings, not only for themselves, but for others.

The days at Rocky Hill were rapidly passing. In accordance with a recent resolution of the Continental Congress, all the troops in Pennsylvania and to the southward, except the garrison at Fort Pitt, were ordered to be discharged on and after November 15, while upon November 7 an address of the officers and militia of the County of Somerset was received and answered. This address was of a highly complimentary nature, expressing the

appreciation of the people of the county that General Washington should so long have remained in the section, calling his attention to the loyalty of the residents of Somerset, and the part played by that county in the Revolution. The reply of the commander-in-chief was appreciative and dignified.

Upon the 9th of November Captain Bazaleel Howe was ordered to escort the baggage of General Washington to Mount Vernon, leaving his accounts in Philadelphia with Robert Morris. Upon this mission Captain Howe, with six baggage teams, immediately departed, while General Washington started for West Point, where he arrived upon November 14th. On the way thither the commander-in-chief was detained for several days by a snowstorm at Tappan, where he occupied the headquarters he had used in 1780. From West Point General Washington went forward to New York, where he arrived at Day's Tavern, Harlem, upon Friday, November 21, later taking part in the ceremonies incident to the evacuation of the city by the British.

While at Rocky Hill General Washington had for his guest, during a portion of those long autumn days, one who aforetime had shared and participated in his sorrows in the Jerseys, as he later shared his joys. He who was welcome at the Berrien house was Tom Paine, who for all his

services to the cause of freedom had been neglected by Congress, reviled by the people of his adopted home—Bordentown—and at last took momentary refuge with the one man who understood his motives and who sympathized with his thwarted ambitions. There in Rocky Hill, by the banks of the Millstone, Washington and Paine discussed matters of statecraft, of the new life that would follow the peace, and in science tried some experiments in the combustion of marsh-gas, of which there was an abundance in the lowlands along the river. Those were halcyon days for Paine, days when he could be by the side of the great commander, who was disposed to overlook the indiscretion which had compelled Paine's resignation as secretary of the congressional committee on foreign affairs in 1779, and who used his influence at this time to secure from Congress some pecuniary recognition of Paine's services in writing "The Crisis" and other contributions to the cause of freedom. In 1785 Congress granted him three thousand dollars for his Revolutionary writings. It was the one ray in the black cloud of Paine's life—a life so complex, so torn, and at last so shattered that Time itself has failed to give us a just estimate of the man and what he did.

Fortunately, as in the case of the Wallace house at Somerville, the Berrien mansion at

Rocky Hill has been preserved and reverently restored. Owing to its proximity to a stone quarry the mansion has been removed from its original foundations to a safe site, where it has become an attractive object to those who take pilgrimages through the historic farms and villages of Central New Jersey.

WHILE it may be said that, with the exception of John Woolman, the Quaker preacher, Samuel Smith, the historian, and Nathaniel Evans, the poet-missionary at Gloucester, New Jersey, during the colonial period, presents a barren literary field, it is equally true that the Revolution failed not to give to New Jersey the reputation that she fought her battles with the pen as bravely as she fought them with the sword.

Professor Moses Coit Tyler, in his scholarly compend, "The Literary History of the American Revolution," justly states that the spirit of American literature during the struggle for freedom was that of a strong man arming for war. He further shows that the period between 1763 and 1783 may be divided into three unequal but well defined parts. From 1763 to 1775 Americans, feeling their political safety attacked, resented the blow, but desired to keep within constitutional bounds. From 1775 to the summer of 1776 they discussed the possibilities of declaring their liberty, and thence until 1783 it was a struggle at any cost for the preservation of human rights. During this cycle of twenty years literary expression took no less than nine forms, appearing as correspondence, private and public; State papers, as the proceedings of Congress, of the State

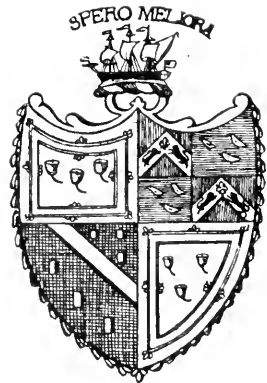
Legislatures, and treaties; oral addresses, secular and religious, which were frequently reduced to print; political essays appearing in newspapers and pamphlets; political satires in verse modeled upon the forms used by Dryden, Pope, and Churchill; popular lyric poetry sung most frequently in camp and tavern; facetiæ; dramatic compositions; and prose narratives of experiences of individuals during the war, as journals, diaries, and memoranda kept during campaigns, and particularly those of Whig captives on the prison ships.

While possibly of less literary value and of less general influence than the work of more conspicuous writers in New Jersey the contributions of Governor William Livingston had a wider circulation and came closer to the popular heart. Although Livingston did not remove to the colony until shortly before the Revolution he immediately became an integral part of his adopted home, and threw into the material and spiritual advancement of New Jersey all the vast energy of his being. Scarce had he left college, and, under the protection of a powerful family name, commenced the study of law in New York City, ere he became a candidate for literary honors. There was issued from one of the New York presses a poem of about seven hundred lines entitled "Philosophic Solitude, or The Choice of a



Wm. Livingston

(From a painting.)



Rural Life," which, while constructed upon the models of Alexander Pope, contained not a little of sparkling originality.

Thence for a time, except for occasional efforts in the New York newspapers, one hears but little of the future governor until the appearance of the pamphlets of the "Westchester Farmer" in 1774-75, and the storm of controversy which they provoked. The Whig answers to these Tory publications attracted the widest attention. The authorship of these Whig replies was unknown, but two men popularly shared the honor—John Jay and William Livingston.

With a wealth of Scotch acumen, a sterling, positive character, Livingston delighted in controversy that struck home and felled with a decisive blow. In the establishment of a newspaper which should be at once a vehicle for the dissemination of military information and a tilting field where he could meet all contestants he called to his aid a Burlington Quaker, of ancient family, a strict noncombatant, but who, not fighting, would be willing to print. This was Isaac Collins, whose press in Burlington had already gained a reputation. So it was upon the 5th day of December, 1777, that the first number of the *New Jersey Gazette* appeared, and through vicissitudes lasted until November 27, 1786. This was New Jersey's first newspaper, founded by an

English Quaker, sustained by a Scotch war governor, and supported by Whigs throughout the States. The services rendered by the *Gazette* were immeasurable. By Livingston the establishment of the *Gazette* was thought to be one of the most effective acts of his war administration. For a year, under the pen-name of "Hortentius," Governor Livingston slashed, bit, satirized, and made himself so obnoxious to the Tories that he himself said the King's party in New York would rather cut his throat for writing than for fighting.

It was designed to be printed once a week, "to contain a faithful Account of remarkable Occurrences whether foreign or domestic," with such proceedings of the Legislature and courts of justice "as may conduce to the Benefit or Entertainment of his Readers * * * Essays, useful or entertaining, Schemes for the advancement of Trade, Arts and Manufactures, Proposals for Improvements in Agriculture and particularly in the Culture of Hemp and Flax, will be inserted with Pleasure and Alacrity." Sustaining the interests of religion and liberty, treating "with disregard the intemperate Effusions of factious Zealots, whether religious or political," Isaac Collins promised to "reject every Proposition to make his Paper a Vehicle for the dark Purposes of private Malice, by propagating Calumnies against Individuals, wounding the Peace of Families and

inflaming the Minds of Men with Bitterness and Rancour against one another.”

Buried in the proceedings of the New Jersey House of Assembly are his excellency's speeches and messages, to which form of literary composition his efforts were largely directed after the members of the Legislature had protested against their governor's writing for the press. One of these speeches was pronounced by John Adams to be “the most elegant and masterly ever made in America.” They are replete with Scriptural allusions—wherein the wrath of Jehovah plays no inconspicuous part, and where the vengeance of the righteous and oppressed at last seeks the destruction of the iniquitous.

Of all those who aided William Livingston in his struggle to sustain the cause of independence in New Jersey none was more distinguished than John Witherspoon, president of the College of New Jersey from 1768 to 1794. Already famed in Scotland for his ability as preacher and publicist, his advent in Princeton was marked by expressions of pleasure and approval from every part of the colony. Erudite, fearless, and consistent, whether in the pulpit or in Congress, he became surcharged with the spirit of independence, and in newspapers, in tracts, or in more pretentious publications, dealt with a variety of problems, both religious and secular. While

much of his work has perished, that which remains shows him to have been a man who had much in common with Livingston, and one whose type of mind was sadly needed in a day when New Jersey was yet uncertain as to her course. In the lapse of years, many of the evidences of the direct influence of John Witherspoon have been lost. Sufficient, however, remains to show that his unqualified position upon every question of policy, and his uncompromising attitude in favor of separation from the mother country, so stimulated the students of the College of New Jersey that, when they later struggled for freedom, the name of Princeton became synonymous with that of liberty.

“One of your pretty little curious, ingenious men— * * * yet he is genteel, and well bred and is very social”—so, in brief, John Adams, writing to his wife on an August day, 1776, described Francis Hopkinson, member of Congress from New Jersey, whom he had just met in the studio of Charles Willson Peale, the Philadelphia artist.

Among Jerseymen of his time, Francis Hopkinson, whose fame had already graced Bordentown, was unquestionably the most versatile. Chosen to his seat in Congress by reason of his legal abilities, and statesmanship, he had earlier devoted himself to scientific research. In the world

of fine arts, Francis Hopkinson composed music, was "a writer of airy and dainty songs," an artist—under his direction, Du Simitière drew the design for the great seal of New Jersey, which design Hopkinson is said to have conceived—and a satirist, second only to that other Jerseyman, Philip Freneau, of Monmouth County.

Under the inspiration of his father, who was a most active spirit in the founding of the College of Philadelphia, now the University of Pennsylvania, Francis Hopkinson was the first pupil upon the rolls of the institution, and was a member of its first class—that of 1760. After practicing law for five years he departed for England in the year 1766. Arriving in the Old World at the age of twenty-nine, he sought that society for which his artistic soul longed, being received by Benjamin West, the Quaker president of the Royal Academy, himself a Pennsylvanian, John Penn, the proprietor of Pennsylvania, and Lord North, to whom he largely owed his future advancement. To the foreign favor of Lord North must be added the local influence of Francis Hopkinson's marriage to Ann Borden, descendant of Joseph Borden, founder of Bordentown.

It was in the year 1774 that Hopkinson first appears in New Jersey politics as mandamus member of council, but in spite of temptations never faltered in the discharge of that duty he

owed his country when he boldly signed the Declaration of Independence and afterward devoted his pen to the cause he so much loved.

During the early months of the year 1775 appeared "The First Book of the American Chronicles of the Times," which, as a scriptural parody, embracing the tea troubles, attracted a deal of attention, has been credited to Hopkinson. There is no doubt, however, as to the authorship of "A Pretty Story," by "Peter Grievous, Esq.," which was printed during the session of the Continental Congress which met in September, 1774. The "Pretty Story" is a delightful bit of satire, in which the disturbed relations between the Old Farm and the New Farm—England and America—are depicted. The "Pretty Story" ends abruptly, for only time could tell to what lengths the settlers upon the New Farm would be driven by the tyranny of the owners of the plantation.

In the debate upon the question of independence, Hopkinson had thrown himself with fervor. As a reply, to "Cato," who was the Reverend William Smith, provost of the College of Philadelphia, he had written a well conceived and well executed "Prophecy," in which effort he had been seconded by the contemporaneous newspaper articles of "Tom" Paine. Shortly afterward came his "Letter written by a Foreigner on the Character of the English Nation." Weighted

down with official cares, too busy in Congress with framing the articles of confederation and the "business of the navy" to accept the position of associate justice of the Supreme Court of New Jersey, Hopkinson devoted himself to his literary labors and as Professor Tyler suggests became the apostle of political free-mindedness—necessary to rid Americans of their sentimental attachment to the crown. Toward the "military invaders of the country and their American allies" Hopkinson drove the shafts of his ready wit. All hope of reconciliation having passed away, Francis Hopkinson sent flying through America a "series of his writings," most of which were "peculiarly characteristic of him, and of his ability to be severe without being either violent or uncivil." While Washington was retreating through the Jerseys came "A Letter to Lord Howe," and shortly afterward "A Political Catechism," a clear, succinct history of the causes of the war, and the war itself until 1777. Then for the soldiers, he wrote his "Camp Ballad," of which the last stanza is more than a memory:

On Heaven and Washington placing reliance
We'll meet the bold Briton and bid him defiance;
Our cause we'll support, for 't is just and 't is glorious.
When men fight for freedom, they must be victorious.

The summer of 1777 brought the counter proc-

lamation to Burgoyne, a peculiarly happy effort, as was his ballad dealing with the surrender of that English general.

The "Battle of the Kegs," far from being in Hopkinson's best style, gained a vast circulation. By the "Battle of the Kegs" he is best known to the mass of the people. David Bushnell, of Connecticut, had prepared kegs filled with gunpowder, which were floated down the Delaware for the purpose of annoying the British shipping at Philadelphia. At these objects, as well as everything else visible in the river, the British are said to have "discharged their small arms and cannon." The "Battle of the Kegs" seldom appears, without expurgation, on account of an allusion to Lord Howe and his relations to Mrs. Loring, a woman of prominence in Philadelphia, the wife of a member of his military family.

Nor were his attacks against the loyalists in America less satirical. His "Two Letters," his "Birds and Beasts and the Bat," the fable of the "political trimmer," his "Letter" to Joseph Galloway, and a "Letter" to Isaac Collins are but a part of his voluminous writings, which culminated in 1781, in a list of books, plays, maps, and prints, philosophical apparatus and patent medicines alleged to be offered for sale by James Rivington, the Tory printer of New York.

Upon the commencement day of the College of

New Jersey, in the year 1771, there received the degree granted by that temple of learning one whose after life forms a true romance in the history of the American Revolution. With him appeared before the faculty and an auditory composed of people of the highest reputations Hugh Henry Brackenridge, who, like his associate, did so much to advance the cause of American liberty. By the side of these young men sat their classmate, James Madison, a future President of the United States. This was the public introduction to the world of letters of Philip Freneau, a youth of eighteen. It was then that he appeared as "interlocutor in a metrical dialogue, written by himself and Brackenridge," under the imposing title of "The Rising Glory of America." Privately, to his fellow students if not to a wider circle, Philip Freneau was by no means unknown, for in his college career he had already written a poem "The Prophet Jonah," and a dramatic bit of blank verse "The Pyramids of Egypt."

Born of Huguenot ancestry, his mind was ever alert, his pen filled with imagery—often that of the sea, which he so dearly loved. But, in the mass of literary workmanship, which was a part of his contribution to the Revolution, one seeks well nigh in vain for the vivacity, the abandon, the sunlight of Francis Hopkinson. Before us

Freneau stands with the broadsword, his armor impregnable. Rushing upon his enemy, his satire bruises, crushes, and dismembers. He is ever impressive, at times sublime. At his feet lie his victims; for them he has neither sorrow nor pity. He neither forgives nor forgets.

After leaving college he apparently drifted to the eastern shore of Maryland, where for a season he taught school in Princess Ann County.

Of all the Freneau poems not devoted to fierce invective and denunciation his "Indian Burying Ground," and "To the Memory of the Brave Americans, under General Greene, who fell in the Action of September 8, 1781," are the best. In the former occurs the stanza:

By midnight moons, o'er moistening dews,
In vestments for the chase arrayed,
The hunter still the deer pursues,
The hunter and the deer—a shade.

It is the latter line that appears in Campbell's "O'Conner's Child"—and Campbell was so satisfied with Freneau's tender imagery that he neglected to give credit to the New Jersey poet!

Sir Walter Scott, from the poem to the "Brave Americans," also filched a line:

And snatched the spear—but left the shield,

but compensated by saying that Freneau's "Brave Americans" was "as fine a thing as there is of the kind in the language."

With abruptness Freneau turned to satire, crying as he did so:

Rage gives me wings, and, fearless, prompts me on
To conquer brutes the world should blush to own;
No peace, no quarter, to such imps I lend,
Death and perdition on each line I send.

Thence to the end he pursued Tories at home and abroad, from the King to the humblest farmer, allied in a common cause—the destruction not only of American liberty, but of Americans themselves. Of his earlier efforts the “Midnight Consultations,” and his “Libera Nos, Domine,” are his best. Both appeared in the autumn of 1775, and in the latter Freneau prays:

From an Island that bullies and hectors and swears
I send up to heaven my wishes and prayers,
That we, disunited, may freemen be still,
And Britain go on—to be damned if she will.

From 1776 until the middle of 1778 Philip Freneau was in the West Indies, where he turned to the writing of verse of tropical brilliancy, and yet of intense sadness. Confident of the final success of the Revolution, he returned to America and renewed his attacks upon the oppressors—chiefly upon the King and Burgoyne. Once more he finds his college friend Brackenbridge, now editor of the *United States Magazine*, and to its willing pages Freneau contributed until its sudden death in 1779. Essaying a second voyage to

the West Indies, he was captured off Cape May, and, prize of all literary prizes, was forthwith cast into the foul hold of the "Scorpion" and later transferred to the "Hunter," prison-ships in the harbor of New York. Upon escaping from these "floating hells," Freneau seemed to have concentrated all his powerful wrath upon the "base born Hessian," "the servile Scot," in whose company

Hunger and thirst to work our woe combine,
And mouldy bread and flesh of rotten swine,
The mangled carcase, and the battered brain,
The doctor's poison, and the Captains cane,
The soldiers musket, and the stewards threat,
The evening shackle, and the noonday threat !

from which, driven to the hold, crowded like sheep in a pen,

Shut from the blessings of the evening air,
Pensive we lay with mangled corpses there;
Meagre and wan and scorched with heat below,
We loomed like ghosts ere death had made us so!

Thence until the end of the Revolution Philip Freneau poured out his soul for American democracy, saw the birth of the nation and participated in the struggles which made Jefferson the idol of the people. The end came while yet he was vigorous, although past fourscore, when, upon a December evening, 1832, he was last seen walking across the Freneau estates near Matawan in the County of Monmouth. In the morning

he lay dead in a meadow, having lost his way. Sadly typical of his life was that death in the cold, gray marsh land of New Jersey, of that life of deep shadows, of but little light—a life of strange commingling of ambition, sacrifice, hope, and suffering.

When Dr. Benjamin Franklin gave to that young Englishman, Thomas Paine, a letter of introduction to old friends in a new world he sent to the goodly city of Philadelphia an “ingenious, worthy young man” for whom life had had as many hardships as usually fall to the lot of any individual. But straightway upon his arrival in November, 1774, forsaking aught else, this man of thirty-seven plunged at once into the business of friend-making and the study of American politics. He became associated with Robert Aitken, and inferentially with his employer in the publication of the *Pennsylvania Magazine*. Absorbing America, he became a thorough American. With his “mind agile, alert, vivid, impressable, humane,” he marshaled his facts and his conclusions, ere there came from his pen, “marvelous in its power of stating things—stating them with lucidity, with sparkling liveliness, with rough incisive and captivating force,”—a pamphlet designed to be known as “Plain Truth,” but which, under the suggestion of Dr. Benjamin Rush, was called “Common Sense.”

Of all the factors which altered the current of public opinion in America this "first open and unqualified argument for American Independence" was by far the most powerful. It was, says Professor Tyler, "an appeal from technical law to common sense," it stripped the constitutional argument of all sentimentality, such as filial sentiment and former prosperity and happiness, as colonies, and showed the positive disadvantages of the connection of America with England. In its arguments it presented no new facts, but it presented those already known in so clear, so unmistakable a manner, that it appealed to multitudes throughout the world. From nearly every American printing press, and in England, Scotland, Holland, and France, "Common Sense" was reprinted, while inside of three months it had reached an unprecedented edition of one hundred and twenty-five thousand copies. Received everywhere as gospel, it turned Tories into Whigs, altered men's ideas and lives, and gave to its author, the unknown Paine, the well desired title of the "Morning-Star of the American Revolution."

But "Tom" Paine, as he now became generally known, was as anxious to fight as he was to write. Volunteering in the "Flying Camp," he was at Perth Amboy and Bergen and at Fort Lee, and, daring to die as well as to do, took part in the retreat across the Jerseys. At Newark he com-

menced the writing of the first number of "The Crisis." This was continued at every subsequent stopping place, probably completed at Trenton, and signed "Common Sense," appeared in the *Pennsylvania Journal* in Philadelphia upon the 19th of December, 1776. If "Common Sense" had helped to arm men for fight, "The Crisis" helped men to suffer and be strong. Thence until December, 1783, "The Crisis" in sixteen numbers appeared that Americans might the better know what it was to love their country, to lay upon her altar their treasure and their life blood. Each number was adapted to the needs of the hour, and whether in the field, in camp at Valley Forge, in the discharge of clerical duties for Congress, or in begging money from France, Paine was none the less a hero. Though not a great figure in literature, he was none the less a great journalist, far greater even than William Livingston, but like him, no matter however he may have been assailed, represented "the faith of the American people in themselves and a Higher Power helping them."

It was at Bordentown in 1783, in that glorious autumn when New Jersey and the nation paid homage to Washington at Rocky Hill, that "Tom" Paine sat in the ashes of his poverty. In vain, from his cottage, he had begged from Congress, then at Princeton, a miserable pittance as a

recognition of his services. Sustained by his friend, Colonel Kirkbride, he had learned the bitter lesson that republics are indeed ungrateful. Although Paine had rendered such inestimable services to the cause of independence, had written the first number of "The Crisis" in New Jersey, the citizens of Bordentown looked askance at a man about whom the tongue of gossip wagged, largely because he was somewhat of a recluse and was unconventional in his mode of life.

What "Tom" Paine was or was not, either then or in after years at Bordentown, is small matter. He had been raised up, as if by a mighty hand, to do the bidding of liberty. As a "literary freelance" he had roamed through the Revolution doing good to all men, and giving his all to that supreme effort which brought forth a nation.

But there was a woman of New Jersey, in this manifestation of Revolutionary literary life, a writer of delicate yet strong-purposed verse, whose songs of freedom struck tender, sympathetic chords, and drew from Washington an expression of his highest appreciation. Annis Boudinot Stockton, wife of Richard Stockton, "the Signer," mistress of "Morven," was the central figure of social life at Princeton. Her graceful hospitality had given her home a reputation throughout the colonies. She had lived to see it ravaged by Anglo-Hessian troops, whose Hunlike desires for

lust and loot were never satiated. Yet this but nerved her to higher purpose, and gave her efforts spirit and power.

New Jersey thus played her part in the literary life of the great movement. While troopers sharpened their swords or the militia cleaned their flintlocks, "Tom" Paine sat in the Newark camp by candle light penning "The Crisis" while the beaux of the army danced in Philadelphia at the "Meschaenza"; Francis Hopkinson of Bordentown wrote the "Battle of the Kegs" while Washington lay at Morristown in 1777; Governor Livingston and John Witherspoon were contributing to the columns of Isaac Collins's *Gazette*, both at Burlington and Trenton. And all the while Philip Freneau, of Monmouth County, was raging through the world, the devil of satire incarnate, seeking whom he might devour.

A CANDID view of the writings of the loyalists of the Revolution, inferior to the Whig productions either in amount or in the presentation of argument, leads one to a conclusion that their literary failures were due to an overweening self-confidence. As succinctly pointed out by Moses Coit Tyler in his "Literary History of the American Revolution," three peculiarities mar the attitude of the loyalists: the confidence in the soundness of their own opinions, their contempt, as members of the aristocracy, for the obscure lawyers and yeomanry who took part in the movement, and their perfect expectation of the success of the British arms. For these reasons the Tory literature of the period is a mass of sarcasm, of bitter invective, of scornful vituperation, and of exultant celebration "of the nobility and might of their own cause."

To the Tories most of the printing presses of the American colonies were closed, except in the City of New York and for a time in Philadelphia, Charleston, and other places under the temporary control of the King's troops. But of all their publications James Rivington's *New York Gazette*, justly called "the great reservoir for loyalist humor and sarcasm," was preëminent. Circulating openly in New York City, and surreptitiously in New Jersey, the Whigs of this State were moved

to intense anger by the constant bitterness and frequent vulgarity stamping both Tory prose and poetry. At the beginning of the struggle the Whigs were charged with the use of coercive measures in furthering the cause of liberty by means of "associations." Then came the taunts concerning the plebeian origin and occupations of Revolutionary leaders, among whom General Maxwell, of New Jersey, was characterized as a "swineherd."

The Continental Congress was largely the object against which all Tory wit and sarcasm was cast. Described as composed of a body of profligate place hunters, "mushroom champions," "poltroons," and "traitors," its attempts to check the depreciation of the currency and to provide for the naked, hungry, and half-riotous militia and line, were the subjects of jest and of rollicking verse. But once throughout the Revolution was a really serious note sounded by the Tory writers, and that was after the ultimate success of the joint forces of America and France, although during the failures of the allied campaigns of 1778 and 1779 the Tory pamphleteers, versifiers, and paragraph writers were merry enough.

Aside from Joseph Stansbury, the "writer of festive political songs" and of playful satire, the one great figure of the Tory satirists is Jonathan

Odell, aforesaid rector of Saint Mary's Church in Burlington. Jonathan Odell was deep, stern, and virile, says his latest critic, and his sarcasm grim, scathing, and absolutely implacable. As Joseph Stansbury may be compared to Francis Hopkinson, so may Jonathan Odell be likened to Philip Freneau.

Newark, the center of the Revolutionary movement in East Jersey, was the birthplace of Jonathan Odell. Graduating from the College of New Jersey in the class of 1754, when seventeen years of age, he for a time later acted as surgeon in the British army, but subsequently, taking holy orders, was inducted into the rectorship of Saint Mary's, Burlington, where as physician of bodies and souls he remained until driven thence by the war.

Throughout the period of constitutional debate, from 1767 to 1775, Jonathan Odell remained passive, hoping for peace. Arrested by the Burlington committee in October, 1775, for certain sentiments which he had expressed in his letters touching the attitude of the Continental Congress, he brought upon himself the heavy hand of the Provincial Congress. Upon the 4th of June, 1776, in honor of the King's birthday, Odell had written a few intensely loyal verses to be sung by some British officers then prisoners in Burlington. The celebration had been held upon a nearby island

in the Delaware, but the echoes of the song rang throughout the colony. It was upon the 20th of July that the Provincial Congress directed that "a person suspected of being inimical to American liberty" — Jonathan Odell — be paroled, pledging himself to remain within a circle of eight miles, the center of which was the Burlington court house.

Until the middle of December, 1776, Jonathan Odell remained peacefully in Burlington, and upon the arrival of Count Donop, for whose winter quarters Burlington had been selected by the British commander, unquestionably secured the inhabitants of the town from insult and pillage. But the appearance of American gondolas on the river front was the signal for a chase with the rector as quarry. Hunted by a body of armed men, Jonathan Odell was later compelled to take refuge among the King's troops, leaving his wife and three children to the mercies of the soldiery. For several days he remained concealed in Governor Franklin's mansion at Green Bank, on the Burlington river front, where in a secret room, under the care of the witty Quakeress, Margaret Morris, he evaded the search parties of New Jersey militia. Here the rector of Saint Mary's hid himself in this room, called the "auger hole," until the 18th of December, when Margaret Morris records in her journal: "Our refugee gone off to

day out of the reach of gondolas and Tory hunters."

Upon his arrival in New York Odell was active, not only in the discharge of his duties as chaplain of a corps of loyalist troops, but was much sought after for his fund of information concerning the personnel of the American leaders and his knowledge of the physical and social conditions of the Middle States. In 1778 he plunged into the boiling sea of satire. In the latter part of 1779 appeared his three famous productions: the "Congratulation," "The Feu de Joie," and "The Word of Congress," and early in 1780 "The American Times." Framed upon the classic models of Dryden, Pope, and Churchill, the prevailing note of the four, as shown by Tyler, is the general idea which formed the basis of the political system of the American loyalists. While it was recognized by them that the English ministry had blundered in a system of taxation, nevertheless, by appealing to the sympathies of the English people and the Parliamentary leaders, the colonies could defeat this policy by keeping their opposition within constitutional limits. But the greater blunder, in fact the national crime, was the pushing of constitutional opposition into open rebellion, into treason, and into ultimate dismemberment. In poetic terms Odell characterized the Revolution as "a sort of insane phrensy, pro-

duced by the wicked few in administering to their victims this potion of political necromancy—this hideous hell-broth made up of lies, sophistries, ambitions, hatreds, hallucinations.”

Upon the leaders of the movement Odell pours the vials of execration. Here he scathes those whose pens had promoted the cause of American freedom,

And chief among them stands the villain Paine—
This scribbling imp, 't is said from London came.

Or yet

Amidst ten thousand eminently base,
Thou, Sullivan, assume the highest place
* * * * *
His banners last on Susquehanna waved
Where lucky to escape, his scalp he saved.

But in the “American Times,” where, summoning the demons from pandemonium, Odell calls before him for sentence John Jay, Samuel Chase, Robert Morris, Gouverneur Morris, and especially William Livingston, New Jersey’s war governor, to whom he says:

Whence and what art thou, execrable form,
Rough as a bear, and roaring as a storm?
Ay, now I know thee,—Livingston art thou,—
Gall in thy heart and malice on thy brow;
Coward, yet cruel; zealous, yet profane;
Havoc and spoil and ruin are thy gain!
Go! glut like Death, thy vast unhide-bound maw,
Remorseless, swallow liberty and law;
At one enormous stroke a nation slay,
But thou, thyself, shall perish with thy prey.

Upon Lord Stirling Jonathan Odell's attack
was as intensely vicious as it was untrue:

What matters what of Stirling may become ?
The quintessence of whiskey, soul of rum !
Fractions at nine, quite gay at twelve o'clock;
From thence to bed-time, stupid as a block.

Nor is he less choice in the language which he
applies to John Witherspoon, the president of the
College of New Jersey:

Known in the pulpit by seditious toils,
Grown into consequence by civil broils.
* * * * *
Meanwhile, unhappy Jersey mourns her thrall,
Ordained by vilest of the vile to fall—
To fall by Witherspoon ! O name, the curse
Of sound religion and disgrace of verse !
* * * * *
Fierce as the fiercest, foremost of the first,
He'd rail at kings, with venom well nigh burst ;
Not uniformly grand—for some bye-end
To dirtiest acts of treason he'd descend.
* * * * *
Whilst to myself, I've hummed in dismal tune,
I'd rather be a dog than Witherspoon.

Later came the end of the struggle, but never
to Jonathan Odell. Remaining in America, he
cried aloud that the contest should be renewed,
and, finding all in vain, sought in Nova Scotia an
asylum, where he died at a ripe old age. But the
Jonathan Odell in the Northern wilderness was
the Jonathan Odell of Burlington and New York
—proud, defiant, unbending, unconquered, and
unconvinced.

IT FELL to the lot of New Jersey, whose soil was the theater of constant strife during the Revolutionary War, to furnish the scenes of four of the most conspicuous battles of the period: Trenton, Princeton, Monmouth, and Red Bank. Of the four Trenton and its climax, Princeton, ranking with Saratoga in point of military importance, has become world-famous, not only as the turning point of the Revolution, but for the remarkable strategy displayed by General Washington.

Trenton and Princeton ended the struggle for the control of the mouth of the Hudson River and of the dependent territory in East Jersey, yet here began the military evolutions preparatory to that even more wonderful contest, the struggle for the control of the Delaware Valley, which terminated only with the battle of Monmouth. Of this latter struggle Red Bank must remain ever memorable.

Beyond these a long series of events of minor importance partake distinctively of the nature of forage and provision raids, in the main organized in New York City. The only exceptions were the movements against the Whigs of Salem County, while Philadelphia was in the occupation of the British, which were partially retaliatory. These raids were organized upon certain well defined lines, were never wholly successful, but, from 1776 to 1782, kept East Jersey in a state of con-

stant alarm. At the base of all these expeditions lay murder and rapine. They were both frequently inspired and often nominally led by Tory refugees from New Jersey, and they served to create in the raided communities a sentiment of hatred against the British nation which time has not yet effaced. In the wake of most of these raids were burned homes and outbuildings, devastated fields, murdered farmers and their servants, outraged women, and general disorder. Neither young nor old was spared, friend and foe fell victims to the barbarities of the troops, instigated in no small degree by the board of associated loyalists in New York City.

In the extent of territory covered by the raiders much of the State was exempt; yet the portions that suffered more than compensated for the immunity enjoyed by the rest of the citizens. Of the old counties Bergen, along the valley of the Hackensack, Essex, with Newark and its territory within a radius of fifteen miles, Elizabethtown, and a district reaching toward Morristown, Rahway, New Brunswick, Perth Amboy, the entire north shore of Monmouth County, including Middletown and Shrewsbury Necks, Tom's River, Cedar Bridge, and Tuckerton were exposed to constant attack. Staten Island was a frequent point of departure for armed fleets operating

against all points from Elizabethtown to Sandy Hook and thence to Tuckerton.

Upon the seacoasts of old Gloucester (now Atlantic) and Cape May Counties the naval operations were of a purely subsidiary character, while on the shore of Delaware Bay and River, with the exception of the river expeditions against Salem and Bordentown, no events of any importance occurred. All that section of New Jersey northwest of a line drawn from Trenton to Somerville, Morristown, and Greenwood Lake included nearly all the old counties of Hunterdon and Sussex as well as half of the counties of Morris and Passaic. Through Sussex, however, Moody, the Tory refugee, roamed, his traditional headquarters being near Newton in the region of the Big and Little Muckshaw. Further, with the exception of the British retreat through the Jerseys previous to the battle of Monmouth, the farm lands of Burlington and Monmouth west of the "Pines" were free from raids.

Of all the districts that suffered most from raids Elizabethtown and its vicinity was one of the most conspicuous. No less than a dozen of these expeditions, crossing from Staten Island, swept through the town and the country side, stealing cattle and crops and wantonly destroying what could not be plundered. While the army lay in the cantonments at Somerville and the two

winters at Morristown the outposts of the Americans offered fair opportunities for guerrilla warfare, although victory perched indiscriminately upon the banners of the opposing hosts.

That the character of one of these raids may be understood—all of at least fifty had much in common—the outline of one of the most prominent, as told by the British themselves, is thus presented.

While the struggle for the Delaware was in progress an effort was made by Sir Henry Clinton to devastate the Hudson Valley in East Jersey. The purpose of this expedition, between the 12th and 16th of September, 1777, is best told by the English commander himself in a letter written at Kingsbridge, September 23, 1777, and printed in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Philadelphia, during March of the following year. The principal motive was to attempt a stroke against any detached corps of the Americans, to collect a considerable number of cattle, providing a seasonable refreshment to the troops, and depriving the Whigs of resources upon which they much depended. With those plans effected the King's troops would reëmbark, return to their camp, or proceed to some other expedition. Accordingly troops were landed at Elizabethtown Point, Schuyler's Ferry on the Hackensack, Fort Lee, and Tappan early in September. The main

purpose seems to have been to center the forces at Acquackanonk, toward which point the Elizabethtown party moved by way of Newark, driving the cattle and disarming the inhabitants. The advance of this body was protected by the King's troops upon the "Heights of Schuyler," commanding the environs of Newark. The troops crossing at Fort Lee were directed to proceed by New Bridge, Hackensack, and Slougherdam to Acquackanonk, posts being left at New Bridge and Hackensack to cover a possible retreat. The Tappan party was ordered to remain awaiting orders. The subsequent events may be told in Sir Henry Clinton's own words:

I then went by Newark bay to Schuyler's landing. The cannon were that instant landed, and I ordered them to proceed, through the Cedar Swamp, to the high grounds near Schuyler's house, * * * Finding it necessary to amuse the enemy, who * * * were retiring with their cattle, the troops were ordered to shew themselves. * * * Firing of musquetry and cannon continued the whole day with little or no loss on either side. Much loose firing was heard beyond Newark, and at night we had a private report that General Campbell had taken possession of that town. I sent immediately to tell him our situation, but soon afterwards, by the noise of cattle driving and march of troops, found he had continued his route, was opposite to us, and on his way to Aquakinae. I judged it best to order him to halt till morning. At day break, the Rebels appeared in some force, and about noon, they had three pieces of cannon in battery on their side of the river. I went over to observe them, and had every reason to suppose, from their cloathing and artillery, that they were reinforced by what is called continental troops. To try their countenance, and give an opportunity to the provincials, I ordered Buskirk's battalion to march through

a corn field, with an intention of taking in flank a body of the rebels posted behind a stone wall, and which it would have been difficult to have removed by a front attack. The regiment marched with great spirit, and their march with some little movement to favour it, obliged the rebels to quit without a shot. I then re-passed the river. * * *

I received a letter from General Vaughan acquainting me, that, by information from his patrols, the Rebels were assembling in great force at the Clove. This intelligence, and their leaving us so suddenly, gave me some suspicion of their intention, and made it necessary for me to assemble our little army as soon as possible, occupy Newbridge in some force, and send Lieut. Colonel Campbell from Newbridge towards Tappan, to observe their motions in that quarter.

The whole assembled at Newbridge on the 15th, and then hearing nothing of the enemy, having collected our cattle, the soldiers without tents or blankets, and the weather threatening, I thought it adviseable to fall back. I accordingly ordered General Campbell to continue his march to English neighbourhood, taking with him the cattle, amounting to 400 head including twenty milch cows for the use of the hospital, (which is all I would suffer to be taken from the inhabitants) four hundred sheep and a few horses.

On the 16th General Campbell marched to Bergen-point, where he embarked for Staten-Island, and General Vaughan to Fort Lee not followed by a single man, where he re-passed the North-river.

This raid was similar to the movement made from New Brunswick upon the 13th of April, 1777. A strong force under Lord Cornwallis made a sudden descent upon the detachment commanded by General Lincoln, whose duty it was to protect the upper valley of the Raritan River. The contest between the Americans and the King's troops was quickly determined, the former retreating with a

loss of twenty men, two pieces of artillery, and some baggage.

The year 1778 was marked by a series of brutal raids not only in Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania, and Cherry Valley, New York, but in the State of New Jersey. Trenton and Princeton had turned the tide of war; the evacuation of Philadelphia had followed in 1778; Monmouth closed the campaign in the North. Upon New Jersey, which by this time had swung squarely into the van of an intense patriotism, the British commander in New York City attempted to wreak his vengeance. It was then that the raids became more frequent, more barbarous.

In the months of September and October, 1778, two British raids occurred within the limits of the State of New Jersey which brought no little discredit upon Sir Henry Clinton and served to infuriate the already inflamed minds of the Whigs. The first of these occurred near Tappan village, near the boundary between New Jersey and New York, the other at Egg Harbor, near and upon the southeastern termination of the old province line between East and West Jersey.

The expedition against the Dutch farmers of Northeastern New Jersey, in the vicinity of Tappan, was designed not only as a retaliation, but to secure much needed supplies for the British army in New York City. To accomplish this end

Lord Cornwallis and Major-General Sir Charles Grey, a noted raider along Long Island Sound, were dispatched with five thousand men across the Hudson with orders to move northward. They were supported by General Knyphausen on the east side of the river, who was directed to march to Dobbs's Ferry. In the meantime General Washington was established due east of West Point, the American army being encamped in Fredericksburg. Apprised of the design of the British, the commander-in-chief directed Colonel George Baylor, with the Third Regiment Light Dragoons of Virginia, to move from Paramus and, occupying vantage ground on the Hackensack River, watch the movements of the enemy.

Among the farmers of the Overkill Neighborhood road, upon the night of September 27th, Colonel Baylor quartered his troopers, numbering twelve officers and one hundred and four enlisted men. The headquarters of Colonel Baylor was the farm house of Cornelius A. Haring, nine miles from the British encampment at New Bridge and Liberty Pole. Between Overkill Neighborhood and Cornwallis's camp there were two roads, one on each side of the Hackensack River.

It was the marauding Major-General Grey, the "no flint general," so called because he compelled his men to fall to their bloody tasks using only

their bayonets, who was directed to attack Colonel Baylor. Led by some Tories and evading the American pickets, it was after midnight when the country side was thrown into terror by the onrushing British. The order had been given: "Show no quarter to the rebels," as the troops of the Second Battalion Light Infantry reached the Haring house, bayoneting, stabbing, and clubbing as they searched this mansion and those of the Blauvelts, Holdrums, Demarests, Harings, and Bogarts. Death followed in the wake of the merciless raiders; Colonel Baylor was thrice stabbed, and his major, Alexander Clough, was mortally wounded. Adjutant Robert Morrow was left for dead. Of the sleeping, unprotected regiment eleven were bayoneted to death, seventeen were left for dead, and thirty-nine were taken prisoners. Remaining until morning, the British then departed for Tappan, taking their prisoners to the village church, which was used for hospital and prison purposes.

To the horrors of the "Tappan massacre" would have been added another calamity had it not been for the military judgment displayed by General Anthony Wayne. The famous Pennsylvanian lay but a short distance north of Tappan, and against him a detachment of the Highland and the Queen's Rangers Regiments were sent. Crossing directly south of the Tappan Zee, the

British moved toward Wayne's encampment, but he, hearing of the enemy's approach, withdrew, and this portion of the expedition was rendered fruitless.

The "Tappan massacre" led to a congressional investigation, Governor Livingston being instructed "to use his utmost diligence in obtaining the best information upon oath" concerning this brutal night attack. Dr. David Griffith, of the Virginia continental line, was directed by Major-General William Alexander to obtain this information, he being singularly fitted for the office, as he attended Colonel Baylor and some of his wounded.

From the stigma of lacking military judgment in not establishing a more complete system of sentries throughout Overkill Neighborhood, and in neglecting other details of importance, Colonel Baylor never entirely recovered. Until that time his military reputation had been untarnished, having served as personal aide-de-camp to General Washington in the battle of Trenton and being the first to report the defeat of the Hessians. As a reward for his valor he had been assigned to carry news of the victory to Congress in Baltimore, and was subsequently promoted to the command of a regiment of light horse.

On the winding road leading by forest and swamp from Tuckerton to Osborn's Island there

stands a memorial tablet erected by the Society of the Cincinnati in the State of New Jersey. It commemorates the massacre of a portion of the legion commanded by Brigadier-General Count Casimer Pulaski, of the continental army, in the affair at Egg Harbor, which, upon October 15, 1778, followed within a short month the brutalities at Tappan.

Since the beginning of the Revolution the Burlington County "Shore" bounding Little Egg Harbor Bay had been the center of most active naval operations. Here with their whaleboats, sloops, schooners, rowboats, and even canoes and periaugers the warlike descendants of the peaceful Quaker settlers made almost daily expeditions along the coast, overhauling shipping, confiscating cargoes, and sending contraband goods under prize masters to various interior points, such as Gloucester, Mount Holly, Haddonfield, and Allentown. As shown by contemporaneous newspaper advertisements of sales of vessels under orders of the admiralty court of New Jersey, these captures were made with alarming frequency, so much so indeed that to the British officers in New York, Tuckerton and its vicinity were known as a "nest of rebel pirates." A crisis was precipitated in the latter part of the summer of 1778, when the "Venus" and "Major Pearson," both of London, were captured and taken into the bay. The

retaliation promised and partly executed by Sir Henry Clinton was as sudden as it was severe.

From New York Harbor on September 30 there sailed the armed sloop "Zebra," Captain Henry Collins, with two other sloops, the "Vigilant" and "Nautilus," two galleys, and four armed boats, with three hundred men of the Fifth Regiment British Foot and one hundred men of the Third Battalion New Jersey Loyalist Volunteers. In command of the detail was Captain Patrick Ferguson, the most noted shot in the British army, and who was killed during the Southern campaign in the fight at King's Mountain. It was not until the 5th of October that the little fleet reached its destination.

Filled with the horror of the Tappan massacre and the liability of its repetition upon the sea-coast, Governor Livingston, calling a meeting of the council of safety at three o'clock in the morning, sent express riders through the "Pines" to warn the residents of the coast of their danger, while General Washington, equally prompt, directed Count Pulaski and his legion to hasten with all possible speed to the settlement later known, in honor of Judge Ebenezer Tucker, as Tuckerton, but then called "Middle of the Shore," or more pertinently "Clamtown." Instantly preparations for defense were made by the shore-folk. To sea were sent three captured privateers and a pilot

boat, while the remainder of the shipping was dispatched to Chestnut Neck, a hamlet of twelve houses twenty miles distant, upon an inland waterway. Toward the destruction of Chestnut Neck the energies of the British captain, Ferguson, were directed. Unable to get his fleet inside the harbor, Captain Collins furnished Ferguson with whaleboats and galleys sufficient to hold his soldiers, and with these, under cover of a fog, upon the morning of October 6, he made an attack upon the prize vessels, wharf, and store house at Chestnut Neck. The local militia, greatly outnumbered and insufficiently armed, displayed but little resistance, and Chestnut Neck, its breastworks, two prize vessels, eight sloops and schooners, and some smaller craft were plundered, burned, and destroyed. Only twenty miles away, up the Mullica River, was "The Forks," where stood a store house rich with plunder intended for the Philadelphia market. Thence to Philadelphia was but thirty-five miles, but such alluring prospects could not keep Ferguson too far from his fleet. He thereupon returned to the Egg Harbor base of supplies during the day. On the return three small salt works and several mansions of patriots at Bass River were burned.

From the 6th to the 8th of October there had sped through the farms and pines of Burlington County, from Trenton to Tuckerton, the famous

legion of Pulaski, which upon its arrival camped upon the old Willets farm, south of the latter village. There were three companies of light infantry, a detachment of light artillery, and three troops of light horse. With them, it is said, was carried the crimson silk flag attached to a lance, and which tradition states was made for the legion by the Moravian Sisters at Bethlehem. From Count Pulaski's headquarters a lane led to the bay, and behind a clump of trees, protected from observation, was the camp of the legion. Nearer the meadows was a picket commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Baron de Bosen, while beyond lay Big Creek and Osborn's Island.

Captain Collins and his fleet still remained outside the harbor. Summoned to New York to take command of the British fleet on the American station in place of Lord Howe, contrary winds held him captive. But while endeavoring to return to his duties inside Sandy Hook a deserter, a certain Gustav Juliet, who had come to America with one of the Landgrave regiments of Hessians, had gone over to the Americans, and now returned to the British, went on board Captain Ferguson's ship. From him the British learned of the situation of the camp, and to learn was to act.

By rowing a distance of ten miles about two hundred and fifty British troops were enabled to disembark at Osborn's Island in the early morn-

ing of October 15. Advancing cautiously over rough roads, led by Juliet and a lad impressed under fear of death, Colonel de Bosen and his picket were surrounded and himself, with forty of his men, put to the sword. Only five prisoners were taken. Having in part satisfied their blood-lust, a retreat was sounded by the British commander, but none too soon. Count Pulaski, with the remainder of the legion, but half a mile away, hearing the noise of battle, started in pursuit. Gaining time by tearing up the bridge over Big Creek, the British managed to reach their boats on Osborn's Island and thence their ships with small loss.

Although General Pulaski could not avenge the murder of his men he and all the "Shore" had the satisfaction of seeing the "Zebra" go aground, and, under the orders of Captain Collins, fired. As she burned, her shotted guns were discharged, to the amusement of the onlookers. The British fleet arrived in New York on October 22, while Count Pulaski returned to Trenton.

The year 1779 was marked by one of the most brilliant events in the history of the Revolution—the surprise and capture of Paulus Hook.

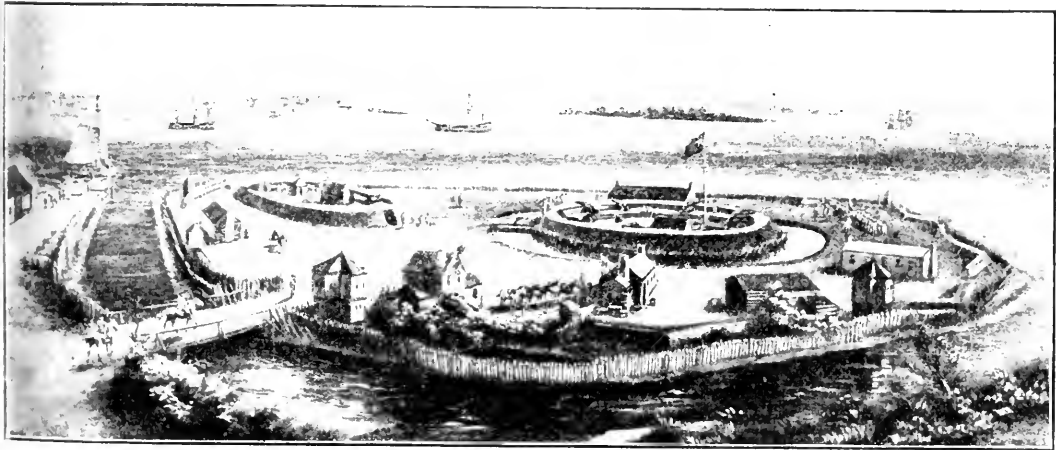
As early as March 26, 1776, General Lord Stirling made an examination of Paulus Hook, but it was not until June, while General Mercer and his flying camp were located on Bergen Neck,

that a serious attempt at fortification was made by the erection of three earthworks, one of which commanded Communipaw Cove. After the battle of Long Island the post was strengthened, being subsequently abandoned after an assault by the British upon the 23d of September. Shortly afterward Bergen was given over to the enemy and the retreat through the Jerseys was begun, and from thence until 1780 there was constant guerrilla warfare on the heights and in the meadows of Jersey City and its dependent towns.

Paulus Hook was an island of sand and marsh, now the heart of Jersey City, bounded by the coves of Ahasimus and Communipaw, then separated from the mainland by salt meadows flooded at every tide. Through these salt meadows ran a tidal creek, extending from the present corner of Morris and Van Vorst Streets to Warren Street, thence westerly through York Street to a point near Van Vorst Street, and thence to Newark Avenue. From York Street to a point midway between Grand and Sussex Streets a ditch had been cut. Further an artificial ditch had been dug from the river near Mercer Street to Warren Street, while on the line of Newark Avenue was a drawbridge, which with abatis, a strong barred gate, three block houses, a chain of breastworks, a fort mounting three twelve pounders and one eighteen pounder, a redoubt, and minor works made the



REVOLUTIONARY MONUMENT AT SUMMIT.



PAULUS HOOK.
{(From an old print.)

position naturally and artificially well nigh impregnable.

It was Major Henry Lee—"Light Horse Harry," of Virginia,—who led the fateful expedition against Paulus Hook, although it is claimed with some degree of justice that the expedition was planned and executed in part through the daring of Captain Allen McLane, of Delaware, a member of Lee's legion. Informing himself of the roads leading through old Bergen County to Paulus Hook, Major Lee left Paramus on the 18th of August, 1779, with two companies of Maryland troops under Captain Levin Handy, and was soon joined by three hundred Virginia men under Major Clark with McLane's dismounted dragoons, numbering between four hundred and five hundred. With the watchword "Be Firm!" the soldiers passed through New Bridge and English Neighborhood and thence probably a short distance north of New Durham by the Bergen woods. Here, becoming entangled in the forests and swamps between Guttenberg and Union Hill, Lee's force became separated, and some of the Virginians actually deserted. Pressing on, probably by way of Weehawken Ferry, Hoboken, and Ahasimus upland, over marsh and through creeks, the remainder of the legion reached the only main approach to the Hook, "Howe's Road," in the vicinity of Warren Street.

In three columns the legion advanced, and not until too late did the sleeping British suspect that they were in the hands of the enemy. Driving back Hessians and Tories, the Americans swarmed over the Hook, capturing the block houses and the forts at the point of the sword and bayonet, as ammunition had been destroyed while crossing the ditch. But a great danger threatened Major Lee. Unable to secure the magazine, in which the British commander, Major Sutherland, and a guard had taken refuge, Lee must needs retreat. Morning was dawning, the ships of war in New York Harbor were alive, preparations were being made in the city to send relief to the besieged garrison, and along his line of retreat lay the enemy, separated only by the Hudson. Hastily moving from the Hook, he sought to place the Hackensack between himself and his pursuers, but failed to attain this end owing to the lack of boats. At Prior's Mill he prepared for the worst—a dash to New Bridge, supported only by troops sent by Lord Stirling and harassed by bodies of refugees and regulars.

Thus after a march of eighty miles in three days Major Lee crowned his expedition with success. At the surprise of Paulus Hook he captured one hundred and fifty-nine prisoners. The loss of British in killed and wounded was small, being

less than fifty. Of the Americans but two were killed and three wounded.

So brilliant was this expedition, in spite of a subsequent court-martialing of Lee on a series of trumped-up charges, so useful in its stimulative qualities, so glorious in its bravery, that Congress upon September 24, 1779, voted Major Lee one of the only six gold medals ordered during the war. Upon the reverse of the medal are these words, the original being in Latin :

Notwithstanding rivers and intrenchments, he, with a small band conquered the foe by warlike skill and prowess, and firmly bound by his humanity those who had been conquered by his arms. In memory of the conflict at Paulus Hook, August 19, 1779.

Upon the obverse, also in Latin, is :

The American Congress to Henry Lee, Colonel of Cavalry.

Upon no less than two occasions efforts were made by the British in New York to assassinate or capture Governor William Livingston. In February, 1779, Ephraim Marsh, Jr., while on Staten Island, was approached by Brigadier-General Cortlandt Skinner, Major Philip Van Cortlandt, and one William Luce, of the loyalist volunteers, who offered him two thousand guineas and a life pension for "that damned old rascal Governor Livingston," delivered dead or alive on Staten Island. Later Major Abraham Van Buskirk renewed the negotiations, Marsh having refused to become a party to the plot. The publication of

these facts led to a sarcastic and spicy correspondence between Governor Livingston and Sir Henry Clinton. Upon the 29th of March, 1779, the governor wrote to the British commander requesting him to disavow any personal connivance in such outlawry, and threatening prompt retaliation. To this General Clinton replied on the 10th of April:

Had I a soul capable of harboring so infamous an idea as assassination, you, sir, at least would have nothing to fear ; for, be assured, I should not blacken myself with so foul a crime to obtain so trifling an end. Sensible of the power you boast, (of being able to dispose of my life, by means of intimates of yours ready to murder at your command,) I can only congratulate you on your amiable connections.

To this Governor Livingston, whom General Clinton had addressed as "Mr. Livingston" and "William Livingston, Esq.," thus taunted the British commandant, who had refused to write further:

Whatever improvement I might hope to receive from you in the art of war (and especially in the particular branches of conducting moonlight retreats and planning secret expeditions) I should not expect, from our correspondence, any considerable edification or refinement in an epistolary way.

These touches of satire referred to Clinton's statement that he had retreated from the field of Monmouth by moonlight, although the moon had set early in the evening, while Sir Henry Clinton's secret expeditions were notoriously unsuccessful, owing to his lack of generalship. Wishing Sir

Henry a safe voyage to England, “with the singular glory of having attempted to reduce to bondage a people determined to be free and independent,” the correspondence closed.

The *Pennsylvania Journal*, upon August 9, 1780, tells the story of the attempt made by Ensign James Moody to secure the person of Governor Livingston. Early in May, 1780, Moody, most conspicuous of the Tory raiders, was sent from New York “with a party of Ruffians for the purpose of burning Sussex gaol, of taking or assassinating Governor Livingston and the persons who were active in apprehending the three spies lately executed, and of inlisting our inhabitants in the service of the British tyrant.” Having arrived at English Neighborhood, Moody was captured by Captain Lawrence, of the New York levies, and upon the refugee were found the following instructions, to be used in case of capture :

HEAD QUARTERS, May tenth, New-York, 1780.

SIR,

You are hereby directed and authorized to proceed without loss of time, with a small detachment, into the Jerseys, by the most convenient route, in order to carry off the person of Governor Livingston, or any other acting in public station, whom you may fall in with in the course of your march, or any person whom you may meet with, and whom it may be necessary to secure for your own security, and that of the party under your command. Should you succeed in taking Governor Livingston, you are to treat him according to his station, as far as lies in your power; nor are you, upon any account, to offer any violence to his person. You will

use your endeavour to get possession of his papers, which you will take care of, and, upon your return, deliver at head-quarters.

By order of His Excellency, Lieut. Gen. Knyphausen.

GEO. BECKWITH, Aid de Camp.

To Ensign Moody, 1st bat. New-Jersey volunteers.

The presence of General Washington in the State of New Jersey from 1775 until the close of the second winter in Morristown (1780) has been presented with some fulness, his life having been followed from the detail presented by the late William S. Baker in his "Itinerary." Subsequently General Washington was frequently in the State before the auspicious autumn which, during 1783, he spent in Rocky Hill. Thus the summer and autumn of 1780 found General Washington either in New Jersey or upon the New York line often at Tappan. From Rhode Island the British forces late in July hurried to the defense of New York City, Washington arriving at Tappan upon the 8th of August. Removing thence to Tea Neck, Bergen County, on August 24th the commander-in-chief made his headquarters at the "Liberty Pole Tavern," near the center of Englewood, the army encamping at Steenrapie, three miles from Hackensack, from September 4th to the 20th. To be near the troops Washington occupied the "Hopper House" near the State line, a short distance from Ramapo Pass, attending the funeral of Brigadier-General Poor,

which was held in Hackensack upon the 10th of September. The army returning to Tappan, General Washington proceeded to Hartford, Connecticut, where for several days he was in consultation with the officers of the French fleet. Returning to the "Robinson House" on the 25th of September, he heard of the treachery of General Benedict Arnold, and remained in New York State until during the arrest, trial, and death of Major André.

Following the execution of Major André, which occurred upon the 2d of October, 1780, General Washington, upon the 8th of that month, arrived at Preakness, accompanied by the "main body of the army." Here the commander-in-chief reëstablished his headquarters at the home of Colonel Theunis Dye, instantly putting forth endeavors to secure forage. At Preakness Washington entered into a plan, which was unsuccessful, to capture Benedict Arnold, who had fled to New York.

In the North the paper currency had depreciated to the vanishing point. During the month of October it stood \$7,200 in "rag money" to \$100 in specie. Washington in his circular letter to the States, written from Preakness, attributes the destruction of paper currency and public credit to the "enormous expenditures" incident "to the system of temporary enlistments, and later, writing to General Sullivan, says:

A foreign loan is indispensably necessary to the continuance of

the war. Congress will deceive themselves, if they imagine that the army, or a State that is the theatre of war, can rub through a second campaign as the last. It would be as unreasonable as to suppose, that, because a man had rolled a snow ball till it had acquired the size of a horse, that he might do so till it was as large as a house.

The Marquis de Chastellux, a major-general in the French army, who visited Washington here November 23-27, has given a charming account of his entertainment, while a very full description of the encampment and location of the American army at Preakness and the Passaic Falls is published in William Nelson's "History of Paterson," Vol. I, pages 431-437. Washington set out on November 27th upon a circuitous route to establish himself in his headquarters at New Windsor, New York. Upon this journey he visited Morristown, Flemington, Hackettstown, New Germantown and Sussex Court House (Newton). In the meantime for the winter of 1780-81 the army had been cantoned from Morristown to West Point. At the former place the Pennsylvania brigade was stationed, while the New Jersey brigade was at the Clove, on the State line, covering communication. The New England troops were at West Point.

It was not until the 26th of August, 1781, that General Washington returned to New Jersey, through which State he passed on the way to the victory at Yorktown. The army, crossing at

King's Bridge, was discontented from want of pay. It was then that Robert Morris, superintendent of finances, borrowed thirty thousand dollars in specie to relieve immediate demands, twenty thousand dollars of which was secured from the Count de Rochambeau. He, strangely enough, was repaid from the 2,500,000 livres just arrived in a French vessel at Boston, being part of the gift of 6,000,000 livres made by that government, and which had been secured by Colonel Laurens and Benjamin Franklin. General Washington arrived in New Brunswick August 28th, crossing the Delaware at Trenton the next day or the day after. He remained in Philadelphia until the 5th of September, and reached Yorktown on the 29th.

In the height of popularity General Washington, having defeated Cornwallis at Yorktown, returned to New Jersey upon the 23d of March, 1782. It was then that he inspected the Second Regiment of Artillery, Continental Corps, under the command of Colonel John Lamb. Reaching Morristown by the 28th of the month, he proceeded by way of Pompton and Ringwood to Newburg, having authorized Colonel Matthias Ogden to attempt the capture of midshipman Prince William Henry, afterward William IV, King of England, and Admiral Digby. The plan did not succeed. It is traditional that the young prince earlier in

the Revolution was stationed in Mount Holly with the Anglo-Hessian troops. Again Washington passed through New Jersey early in July, 1782, moving to Philadelphia from Newburg, and later in the month, July 26, while journeying from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, to Newburg, was entertained in the Moravian village of Hope, Warren County.

Thence until his occupation of the headquarters at Rocky Hill upon August 25, 1783, General Washington did not return to New Jersey.

From June 15, 1775, until December 23, 1783, a period of practically eight and one-half years, during which the duties of commander-in-chief fell upon General Washington, he spent two years and three months in New Jersey, either at cantonments, in the field, or upon official visits. It may be very truthfully said that one-quarter of his military life during the Revolution was passed in this State, his last public appearance at the close of the struggle being upon the 6th of December, 1783, when on his way from New York City to Mount Vernon, when Governor Livingston and a committee of the House of Assembly met him at Trenton and presented him with an address.

Aside from the mutiny in Philadelphia, which in the early summer of 1783 drove Congress from Philadelphia to seek safety in Princeton, the two most notable military revolts in the history of the

Revolution were those which occurred in Morristown in the winter of 1781. New Year's Day of that year marked a mutiny among the Pennsylvania troops stationed at Kimball Hill. After killing a captain and inflicting mortal wounds upon another, thirteen hundred armed men marched to Princeton, vowing that they would either have money or blood from Congress. Through the services of General Wayne their complaints reached the council of Pennsylvania, whose president, Joseph Reed, in conjunction with a congressional committee, met the mutineers at Trenton. Upon this committee of Congress was Dr. John Witherspoon, whose efforts were largely instrumental in obtaining partial but satisfactory redress for the following grievances: detention of men beyond the terms of enlistment, lack of promptness in meeting arrearages of pay and depreciation of the currency paid them, and extreme suffering on account of insufficient food, clothing, and shelter. Two emissaries sent from New York, with British promises of reward to those who deserted, were promptly surrendered by the men, court-martialed, and executed. The complaints of the soldiers having been satisfied, many of the Pennsylvania troops were disbanded, and it was not until spring that the complement of the State was fully recruited.

Following the example set by the Pennsylvania

men, it was upon the 20th of January of the same year that one hundred and sixty soldiers of the New Jersey brigade left their huts at Pompton and, according to a contemporary newspaper account, proceeded to Chatham under the direction of their sergeants. Their demands were similar to those of the Pennsylvania troops. Instantly five hundred rank and file of the Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire lines, under command of Major-General Robert Howe, were sent in pursuit, with orders to "grant no terms while the revolted troops were with arms." According to the same newspaper the New Jersey mutineers were unacquainted with a recent resolution of the New Jersey Legislature, appointing commissioners to inquire into their enlistments. Before the arrival of General Howe the legislative commissioners had consulted with the mutineers, resulting in an adjustment, and the men returned to their duty. Upon the 27th General Howe arrived, and in consideration of the New Jersey brigade's "great penitence, and of their being unacquainted with the measures adopted for settling the disputes respecting the enlistments, promised full pardon to all who immediately returned to and continued in their duty. But upon the way to, and after their arrival at their huts, a few of the ringleaders, encouraged by emissaries from Sir Harry, and perhaps by the too

great clemency of granting them a general pardon, again became insolent and mutinous.” Thereupon, acting under specific orders, those who had forfeited the pardon by not performing the conditions were apprehended.

The military execution of several of the ring-leaders and the presence of General Washington effectually destroyed the spirit of mutiny. Thereafter every mark of penitence and respect for order was manifested by those who had offended, entire order and subordination taking place in the brigade.

No complete list of battles and minor engagements fought upon the soil of New Jersey has yet been compiled. Drawn from a great variety of sources, such an attempt is herewith made, although it is not claimed that absolute perfection as to place and date has been secured. The constant raiding in Bergen, Essex, Monmouth, and Morris Counties enhances the difficulties of presenting such a record, inasmuch as these engagements are forgotten except those culled from the columns of contemporaneous newspapers. In the main, however, it is correct as verified by unquestioned historical sources:

Assanpink (see Trenton).....	January 2, 1777
Amboy (Perth)	March 8, 1777
Amboy, skirmish near.....	July, 1777
Acquaekanok Bridge.....	September 27, 1778

Ash Swamp	May, 1777
Ash Swamp	June, 1779
Belleville (Second River)	September 27, 1778
Bergen	July 19, 1780
Block house (Bergen County)	July 10, 1780
Bordentown	May 8, 1778
Bound Brook	April 13, 1777
Brunswick (New)	December 1, 1776
Brunswick (New)	October 26, 1779
Bulls Ferry	July 21, 1780
Big Bridge	January, 1778
Blackwell's Lane	January, 1778
Bridgetown	December, 1776
Burrowes Mills	May, 1778
Bonhamtown	September, 1777
Beaver Brook	July 14, 1778
Bennett's Island	1777
Bloomfield	
Crosswicks Creek or Bridge	June 23, 1778
Connecticut Farms	June 7 and 23, 1780
Chestnut Creek	October 6, 1778
Cedar Creek	December 12-17, 1782
Cripple town	June 26, 1777
Colts Neck	
Cooper's Ferry (Camden)	
Elizabethtown	December, 1776
Elizabethtown	January 25-30, 1780
Elizabethtown	June 6, 1780
Elizabethtown Point	July 21, 1778
Elizabethtown Point	June 8, 1780
Egg Harbor	October 15, 1778
Fort Lee (evacuation)	November 18, 1776
Fort Mercer (Red Bank)	October 22, 1777

Hancock's Bridge.....	March 21, 1778
Hackensack.....	September 27, 1778
Halstead's Point.....	April, 1781
Haddonfield.....	November 25, 1777
Jersey City (Paulus Hook).....	August 19, 1779
Jumping Point.....	
Little Bridge.....	January, 1778
Monmouth (Freehold).....	June 28, 1778
Middletown.....	February 13, 1777
Middletown.....	April 27, 1779
Middletown.....	May 24, 1781
Middletown.....	June 21, 1781
Middletown.....	June 12, 1780
Millstone.....	January 20-22, 1777
Millstone.....	June 17, 1777
Minecock Island.....	October 15, 1778
Minnsink.....	1776
Navesink.....	February 13, 1777
Newark.....	January 25, 1778
New Bridge.....	April 15, 1780
Princeton.....	January 3, 1777
Paramus.....	March 22 and April 16, 1780
Paulus Hook (Jersey City).....	August 19, 1779
Piscataway.....	May 8, 1777
Piscataway.....	June, 1777
Polify.....	September 27, 1778
Punk Hill.....	March, 8, 1777
Quinton's Bridge.....	March 18, 1778
Quibbletown.....	February 8 and April 4, 1777
Rahway Meadows.....	June 26, 1781
Rahway Creek.....	September 30, 1777
Red Bank (Fort Mercer).....	October 22, 1777

Second River (Belleville)	September 27, 1778
Springfield	December 17, 1776
Springfield	February, 1777
Springfield	October, 1779
Springfield	June 23, 1780
Short Hills	June 26, 1777
Somerset Court House	January 20, 1777
Spanktown (Rahway)	1777
Strawberry Hill (near Amboy)	1777
Salt Meadows, Squan Bridge, or Inlet	1782
Toms River	March 24, 1782
Tinton Falls	June 11, 1779
Thompson's Bridge (Alloways Bridge)	March, 1778
Trimbley's Point	August or September, 1777
Trenton	December 26, 1776
Trenton (See Assanpink)	January 2, 1777
Weehawken	August 19, 1779
Woodbridge	April 19, 1777
Woodbridge	July 1, 1779
Woodbridge	September, 1782
Westfield	March 8 and June, 1777

WHILE the practical cessation of war, in the siege of Yorktown and its surrender upon the 19th of October, 1781, closed forever the possibilities of the renewal of strife upon the soil of New Jersey, peace and its blessings came in a somewhat negative guise. The State had borne much of the burden of the campaigns for the control of the Hudson and the Delaware, and had been the theater of guerrilla warfare in the foothills of the Blue Mountains, in the "Pines," and along the coast. From these physical evils New Jersey plunged into those of equally dangerous a character—recognition of the existence and the attempt to regulate a trade with those in Philadelphia, and particularly in New York, who, having failed to conquer by force of arms, were endeavoring to sap by "clandestine trafficking" the life of the young industries of the State.

Under the dominant hand of Governor Livingston New Jersey had in a manner adjusted her question of "What shall we do with the Tory?" In her acts defining high treason, in her regulations concerning the confiscation and sale of their estates, in the facilities she later offered for their emigration to the British provinces, not to mention the winked-at measures of retaliation, ranging from an insulting remark in a tavern to a mid-

night ride on a cedar rail in a coat of tar and buzzard feathers, New Jersey had but partially solved the problem. Even after the war, as before, the Tory spirit was not dead; nor did it die, neither within its own generation, nor within more than one generation succeeding. It became, as in New York City, less virile, more circumspect, more secretive, indeed, but not extinct. Though this fact has later been forgotten it lost none of its force to those who were within the sphere of its influence.

As early as July 10, 1782, General Washington recognized the tendency of the new policy of the crown. To Colonel John Laurens, from Newburgh on the Hudson, he writes: "Sir Guy Carleton is using every art to soothe and lull our people into a sense of security," while but a few days before there appeared in the *New Jersey Gazette* a letter signed "A Plain Farmer" under the caption "Look About Ye." Whereupon the attention of every man of influence in the State was attracted by its homely but direct presentation of a most important economic problem. "What is become of our money?" cried the "Plain Farmer," who continues:

A few months ago we had plenty to pay our taxes and to answer other necessary purposes. * * * It is gone; and I will tell you where: It is gone to New York to buy goods, and goods of those kinds which are not only useless, but ruinous to any people and

particularly to a plain frugal people. It is computed that no less than forty or fifty thousand pounds have gone in a few weeks. The infamous trade grows fast, for sham seizures and condemnations now spread the cover of law over it. You fair traders must either shut up your shops, or turn rogues too! These moonlight peddlars can undersell you! Sir Guy Carleton is come over with the plan. Powder and ball, musquets and bayonets, cannot conquer us, but we are to be subdued with British gewgaws. Rather than fail they will come at first cost. The Delaware is watched; our coasts are watched, that we may not be able to get goods elsewhere, or to have any market for our produce. Our money is to be drawn away, and then we can do nothing, all must stop. * * * Can those who have any concern in bringing along those New York goods be whigs? They are the worst of Tories, mean, underhanded, skulking wretches.

Bursting with an indignation as righteous as it was vehement, "The Plain Farmer" rises to a furious pitch:

We can deal with an open enemy; but now, like worms, they are eating through the bottom of the vessel, and down we go without seeing of our destruction.

Rouse brother Jersey men! Let us teach these puny schemers that if they do find means to evade the laws, we have however the same elements in our power as in the days of the stamp-act, as in the days of the tea-act. Their goods are not proof against fire or water. We are able to help ourselves in a short hand way when it becomes necessary. The state is not to be ruined, our independence is not to be defeated by a tribe of dodgers, and their paltry goods. In a word, my countrymen awake to your danger. There is no half-way. Break up this trade root and branch, or it will break up you.

The call of the "Plain Farmer" fell upon awakened ears. During the summer the citizens of Trenton, Amwell, Somerset County, Princeton, Nottingham, and Monmouth County met to con-

sider plans of association to prevent trade and intercourse with the Tories. In Trenton on July 11, 1782, one hundred and fifty-three inhabitants of the village and its vicinity subscribed to an agreement which was substantially that adopted by the other towns. Charging the King and ministry, as well as their agents and adherents, with despairing of conquering the States by force, the British resorted to duplicity and intrigue. Among the devices practiced by Jerseymen opposed to independence or devoted to sordid gain was the introduction into the country of large quantities of British goods, drawing off money in necessary payment. Thus it was expected that the people of the State would be disabled from meeting their taxes and robbed of a medium of business, and an end would be put to an opposition, in the support of which money was indispensably necessary.

It was further declared that care was taken to send out such species of goods as were not only useless, but were likely to have the greatest effect in corrupting the manners of the people. The better to insure success, the highest encouragement was offered to such as would engage in the traffic, either personally or by connection in interest. Importing channels used during the war were closed as far as possible, while those favoring the trade either "from the malignity of principle or the inordinate love of gain" resorted to

the " feigned appearance and cover of the law " to accomplish their purpose. By propagating an opinion that legislative interference was mean and dishonorable, restraining an apparently legitimate trade, the evil became so dangerous and inveterate that it was not in the power of the magistrates to correct and remove it.

What is desired, said the plan of association, is a general exertion on the part of Whig citizens to bring offenders to justice. Such traffic, it was argued, " is not only unworthy the character of men of principle, but a mark of disrespect and ingratitude to a nation from which we have derived the most seasonable and effectual aid in the progress of this revolution." It is also a discouragement and injury " to the fair and upright trader, and has a baneful tendency to lead away others by the example."

The subscribers bound themselves by six declarations of intent. In the first they agreed to detect and bring to justice all concerned in this traffic, and to use every lawful means to prevent and suppress it. This was to be accomplished by strengthening the hands of civil and military officers, and supporting the full and vigorous execution of the laws.

Furthermore, said the subscribers, " We will give every assistance to those who are vested with authority to restrain and punish all suspi-

scious persons, travelling without proper passes or certificates, or carrying British goods or other property made seizable by law," while for themselves they agreed individually to avoid, as far as possible, all intercourse, communication, and dealings with such as have been or may be concerned in trading with the enemy, or who have been or may be justly suspected of being so concerned.

The associators went still further. They promised support to others who should exert themselves in detecting or bringing to justice "moonlight pedlars," treating as "mean, false, and designing every insinuation that such endeavors are in the least degree inconsistent with honour and good citizenship, or that they are not highly becoming and praise worthy," discountenancing and opposing in the prosecution of these objects "all acts of oppression and violence, and whatever may be inconsistent with the peace and good order of the community, being determined not to resort to force, except where the same may become indispensably necessary."

Following the organization and subsequent resolutions came an "Address" which received, in the *Gazette*, wide publicity. Though somewhat platitudinous, it sufficed to generally arouse the people of the State. The principles of the association, said the "Address," lie at the founda-

tion of liberty. "A traffic has arisen destroying that simplicity of manners which is the glory of a republican government, and thus poisoning the principles and morals of the community." Draining away money which should be used to pay taxes, increasing the number of secret enemies, the "system of the war is changed from force to cunning. * * * In times of peace it is comparatively easy to support good order; in times of public commotion the exertions of every individual are more necessary. Every one can do something; and every one ought to do all he can."

Enforce the vagrant laws, the statutes to prevent illicit intercourse and trade, and the "passport" act, said the "Address," and in so doing "leave nothing else undone. The labor is great, but the object is greater. The safety of our country calls loudly upon us. Let us recollect who we are. Let us recollect what we contend for; perseverance, prudence and resolution, will insure us success."

This decisive position had a direct effect in the restimulation of patriotism. That the illicit trade was restrained is unquestioned; it remained greatly restricted, but naturally was never entirely abolished. While directly the value of such a course of action was not apparent, yet it was an agency in stimulating in the people of New Jersey a sentiment favoring economic self-reliance;

it increased that desire, always expressed in New Jersey, which leaned toward the development of higher forms of industrial life; it taught the people of the State that they had the capacity for economic development, and that the creation of local markets necessarily preceded attempts to deal in the markets of the world, or what then stood for the world—England.

Had this movement, instituted by the citizens of Trenton and the nearby towns, received the earnest and sincere coöperation of the people of the entire State, with the possible assistance of small portions of Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, the Revolution would the sooner have been brought to a close. New York, the actual base of supplies, would have been starved out, with nothing but the upper Hudson Valley upon which she could rely. And when starvation came then would have come surrender.

THE dallying with disastrous financial legislation, impotency in securing State consent to ordinances, and whimsical devices to obtain popular support and retain its own self-respect is the history made by the Continental Congress in its attempt to locate the federal capital in New Jersey. Drifting between Philadelphia, Baltimore, Lancaster, York, Princeton, and Annapolis, tolerated, abused, threatened, scoffed at, and insulted, the unfortunate body, torn by internal dissensions, and State prejudices, became truly a fugitive political camp. Without real power to accomplish its purposes, its heavy machinery ran ungoverned and threatened its own destruction.

During the Revolution the exigencies of war had kept the body in Philadelphia, or in its vicinity, but at the close of the struggle men who foresaw the necessity of a permanent capital demanded action. True to its custom of introducing new business, and seldom finishing that on hand, Congress in June, 1783, prepared to select what was called a "permanent residence," taking into consideration such offers as might be made from aspiring towns. At once the Legislature of New Jersey agreed to offer to yield to the United States jurisdiction over any district to the extent of twenty miles square, and to grant thirty thousand

pounds in specie for the purchase of lands and the erection of buildings. The attitude of New Jersey precipitated a contest far reaching in its consequences, and one that threatened to disrupt the body. Helpless in reaching a decision, with New England and the Southern States at odds, Mr. Gerry, member of Congress from Massachusetts, on the 7th of October, 1783, moved "that buildings for the use of Congress be erected on the banks of the Delaware near Trenton, or of Potomack near George Town." Amendments left only the names of the rivers, and a final resolution that the site should be "near the Falls"—that is, near Trenton on the New Jersey side, or in Pennsylvania on the opposite bank. A committee of five was appointed to view the respective situations and report to Congress.

To this the Southern members promptly objected, declared that their interests were being sacrificed to New England's commercialism, opposed Trenton or any nearby point, and supported a motion made to reconsider the proceedings, "in order to fix on some other place that shall be more central, more favorable to the Union, and shall approach nearer to that justice which is due to the Southern States." This failed of its purpose, whereupon the situation so impressed Madison that he wrote to Randolph, on October 13th, 1783: "Trenton was next proposed, on which

question the votes were divided by the river Delaware. The vicinity of its falls is to become the future seat of the Federal Government, unless a conversion of some of the Eastern States can be effected."

The opposition on the part of the South, and the intense bitterness generated in Congress and which spread to every State in the confederation, led to the usual resort among weak lawmaking bodies—a compromise, based upon pure exigency. Until suitable accommodations were provided it was directed that Congress should meet alternately at Trenton and Annapolis. Upon November 26, 1783, in obedience to the resolution, Congress met at Annapolis, where the question concerning a federal city was again discussed. Francis Hopkinson, of Bordentown, in his "Intelligence Extraordinary," described the new mechanism of government as a pendulum vibrating between Annapolis and Trenton, and, as a Jerseyman, treated with scorn so senseless a proposition.

In New Jersey there was much enthusiasm shown concerning the prospect of having the capital of the United States located at Trenton or its vicinity. The patriotic Dr. David Cowell, who died December 18, 1783, left one hundred pounds to Congress "if they settle themselves at Lambertton," which the *New Jersey Gazette* of that period announces as probably the first legacy ever

given to the United States. On August 22, 1784, to the New Jersey Council was presented a memorial from John Cox and associates, citizens of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, praying ten miles square might be laid out on the Delaware. Land in and near Trenton increased in value, and the eyes of the nation were turned to the future capital city of the United States.

Upon the 1st of November, 1784, Congress met in Trenton, either in the old jail, standing upon the site of the Trenton Banking Company's building, or in Witt's City Tavern, where the Mechanics National Bank now is located. Slowly the members convened, and it was not until the first of December that Congress began the discharge of its duties. The question of the site of the federal capital was continually in the air, the Southern States holding out against the Northern and Middle States. In spite of Southern opposition one hundred thousand dollars was appropriated for buildings, and on the 23d of December an ordinance was introduced, as follows:

Be it ordained by the United States, in Congress assembled, That the resolutions of the 20th instant, respecting the erecting of buildings for the use of congress, be carried into effect without delay; that for this purpose three commissioners be appointed, with full powers to lay out a district not less than two, nor exceeding three miles square on the banks of either side of the Delaware, not more than eight miles above or below the lower falls thereof, for a federal town; that they be authorized to purchase

the soil, or such part of it as they may judge necessary, to be paid at proper installments ; to enter into contracts for erecting and completing, in an elegant manner, a federal house for the accommodation of congress, and for the executive officers thereof ; a house for the use of the president of congress, and suitable buildings for the residence of the secretary of foreign affairs, secretary at war, secretary of congress, secretary of the marine, and officers of the treasury ; that the said commissioners be empowered to draw on the treasury of the United States for a sum not exceeding one hundred thousand dollars for the purpose aforesaid ; that in choosing a situation for the buildings, due regard be had to the accommodation of the states with lots for houses for the use of their delegates respectively ; that on the 24th day of December instant, congress stand adjourned to meet at the city of New York, on the 11th day of January following.

According to the ordinance Congress adjourned the day before Christmas, having acknowledged the attentions of the Legislature of the State and the exertions of the inhabitants of the town in providing the members with accommodations. Congress met in New York on the 11th of January, 1785. During February the three commissioners on site were chosen, being Philip Schuyler, of New York, Philemon Dickinson, and Robert Morris. Upon Mr. Schuyler's declining, John Brown was put in his place. None of these was a member of Congress. Mr. Dickinson was an inhabitant of Trenton, residing at the "Hermitage," a mile or so west of the town, and Mr. Morris had an estate on the opposite side of the Delaware, now the town of Morrisville, named for him, the eminent "Financier of the Revolution."

With the sitting of Congress in New York, where the body remained until 1788, came the death blow to the plan for a capital at Trenton. The South as a unit was opposed to the idea of the location of a capital north of the Potomac. Even the personal influence of General Washington was brought to bear upon Richard Henry Lee, president of Congress, to whom he wrote from Mount Vernon in February, 1785:

By the time your federal buildings on the banks of the Delaware, along the point of a triangle, are fit for the reception of Congress, it will be found that they are very improperly placed for the seat of the empire, and will have to undergo a second erection in a more convenient one.

But in spite of such interference the citizens of Trenton did not despair, for in May, 1785, Joseph Higbee offered for sale "a valuable tract of land, containing three hundred acres, situate within three miles of Trenton, in the county of Burlington and township of Nottingham, and within a mile of Lambertton, where it is expected the Federal town will be built."

The spring and summer of 1785 were spent by the Southern members of Congress in a successful effort to defeat the Trenton capital. In April Congress refused the payment of thirty thousand dollars for federal buildings, the first appropriation to the commissioners under the ordinance of November 23, 1784.

Here the matter rested until the 22d of September, when the appropriation of thirty thousand dollars coming before the house, Mr. Gerry, of Massachusetts, moved to make it the whole sum of one hundred thousand dollars. In the meantime the action of the Southern members had so influenced Congress that none of the States except Massachusetts and New Jersey voted for it; upon which, on motion of Mr. Hardy, of Virginia, the item was entirely stricken out of the bill.

Thus died the plan to locate the federal capital within the limits of the State of New Jersey.

Those who had hoped to secure the national capital at Trenton failed to recognize that no government as unstable as that of the confederation could possibly secure a permanent habitation. In 1784 any town would have failed to obtain so great a prize, because of the jealousies of the States, the real lack of funds, and the undeniable fact that no permanent capital was needed. Until the asperities, the intensity of sectional spirit, the distrustfulness amounting to hatred, were merged into a sentiment more politically altruistic, a shifting capital satisfied every need if it did not meet every ambitious desire. It was at best one of many problems which the government of the confederation unsuccessfully attempted to solve, but of which the answer lay in the years when a strong central authority should

wipe away pride, jealousy, and arrogance, and give the United States an existence that was more than a mere name.

Despite the effort during 1784-85 to secure the federal capital New Jersey made additional attempts to obtain the desired end. Although the trials were hopeless it is of interest to note that in accordance with the constitution of 1787, which contained a provision implying that the seat of government should be placed in a district "not exceeding ten miles square," New Jersey again made an offer. The convention of New Jersey which ratified the federal constitution recommended to the Legislature to enter into the competition for the capital, which it did by a vote, September 9, 1788, offering the requisite territory of ten miles square. In September, 1789, Elias Boudinot, in the House of Representatives, once more proposed "the banks of either side of the river Delaware, not more than eight miles above or below the lower falls of Delaware." It failed by a vote of four to forty-six.

Indeed it was as late as December 2, 1801, that the final attempt was made to secure the seat of government in or near Trenton. Upon that date the House of Assembly resolved unanimously:

That the members representing this State, in the congress of the United States, be and they are hereby requested, if eongress should resolve to remove, for the purpose of better accommodation, from the city of Washington, to use their best efforts to procure

their removal to the city of Trenton ; and they are hereby authorized to proffer, in the name of this State, the State House and other public buildings belonging to the state for the use of congress and their officers, for any length of time that the congress shall wish to occupy them, and that his excellency, the governor, be requested to transmit a copy of this resolution to the members of congress from this state, to be used by them as occasion may offer.

In 1799 Trenton practically became the seat of government, although Congress did not assemble in the town. The presence of yellow fever in Philadelphia had driven the cabinet officers to Trenton, in consequence whereof the secretary of the navy urged President Adams to follow his cabinet, remarking that "the officers are all now at this place, and not badly accommodated." The President was reluctant to come and called to his mind the experience of Congress in finding even "tolerable accommodation" in Trenton.

However, he promised to go by the middle of October, submissively assuring his correspondent "I can and will put up with my private secretary and two domestics only, at the first tavern or first private house I can find." He arrived on the 10th, and on the next day was greeted with fireworks. He found "the inhabitants of Trenton wrought up to a pitch of political enthusiasm that surprised him," in the expectation that Louis XVIII would be soon restored to the throne of France. Shortly after this event, the government offices were reëstablished in Philadelphia.

THROUGHOUT the Revolutionary War common hopes and common fears had held the States together in spite of the weakness of the articles of confederation. Devised, like most of the first State constitutions, for present needs, the articles had such circumscriptions as to render them ultimately useless in sustaining any future form of national growth. Born in times of trial, they served to hold together those commonwealths which had so far sunk pride and jealousy as to consent to any character of union. While the attention of the States was turned toward the securing of independence, purely political methods accomplishing such a consummation were of distinctively secondary importance. But once independence was secured the faults, omissions, and evasions of the articles became all too glaring. The States had but feeble comprehension of the powers, duties, and obligations of a national existence. Among all of them, and particularly in New Jersey, colonial manners, customs, and modes of life still prevailed. Dependent in a greater or less degree upon the crown, the new-born political spirit swung them not only toward independency of the mother country, but independency of one another.

The position of New Jersey during the period of confederation—from the submission of the ar-

ticles for State ratification to the adoption of the federal constitution—was to a degree different from that of the other commonwealths. Throughout the colonial period no one great center of population had arisen in the colony. Slowly but surely New York had absorbed the trade of the eastern division; Philadelphia had drawn to herself the economic vitality of the western portion of the colony. Struggle as they might for control of the sea, the ports of Burlington and Perth Amboy could never advance beyond the dignity of shire towns. Throughout the earlier years of the Revolution New Jersey had borne the brunt of the gigantic struggles for the control of the valleys of the Hudson and the Delaware. Her geographical position made her subsidiary to the growing centers of commercial and political power. Yet withal there was in New Jersey an intense conservatism, a recognition of her own capacities, which was only intensified by reason of her relation to her greater neighbors. Her elements of population—English, Scotch-Irish, French Huguenot, Dutch, Swedish, Palatinate German—had become partially fused, and were not, as in Pennsylvania, localized and largely unamalgamated. The pride of the State was strong; even East and West Jersey forgot their old differences when the commonwealth, as such, was subjected to adverse criticism or to ridicule.

As a result of the deliberation of committees appointed by the General Assembly and Council of New Jersey there was entered at large upon the minutes of the former body, under date of June 15, 1778, an "Opinion" which defines the attitude of the State relative to the articles of confederation. In his message to the Legislature delivered upon May 29, 1778, Governor Livingston had urged the Council and House of Assembly to give their "early attention" to a ratification of the articles.

Among the qualifications necessary for delegates to Congress no mention was made of any "Oath Test or Declaration" being required other than that taken to uphold the State governments. To this New Jersey desired the addition of some "Test" binding the delegate in his allegiance to the United States, which, "collectively considered, have Interests as well as each particular State." Especially should the delegate "assent to no Vote or Proceeding which may violate the general Consideration."

By the sixth and ninth articles the regulation of trade was committed to the separate jurisdictions of the States, involving, said New Jersey, "many Difficulties and Embarrassments and be attended with Injustice to some States in the Union." In the opinion of the committee "the sole and exclusive Power of regulating the Trade of

the United States with foreign Nations ought to be clearly vested in the Congress, and that the Revenue arising from all Duties and Customs imposed thereon " should be devoted to the establishment of a navy for the protection of trade and defence of the coast, " and to such other publick and general Purposes as to the Congress shall seem proper and for the common Benefit of the States. This Principle appears to us to be just, and it may be added that a great Security will by this Means be derived to the Union from the Establishment of a common and mutual Interest."

Against the establishment of a standing army, sustained by Congress in time of peace, New Jersey earnestly protested, being " totally abhorrent from the Ideas and Principles of this State." It was also recommended that " Quotas for Supplies and Aids to be furnished by the several States in Support of the general Treasury " should be " struck once at least in every five Years and oftener if Circumstances will allow."

In recommending that the " Boundaries and Limits of each State ought to be fully and finally fixed and made known," New Jersey sounded a note of warning. By a strange combination of circumstances it was in November-December, 1782, that there assembled in Trenton a congressional court which determined the dispute of long standing between Connecticut and Pennsylvania

concerning the ownership of the northern third of the latter commonwealth, and put an end to the contentions of the Connecticut claimants, which had since 1754 disturbed the settlement of the Wyoming Valley.

“It was ever the constant Expectation of this State,” said the “Opinion,” “that the Benefits derived from a successful Contest were to be general and proportionate, and that the Property of the common Enemy, falling in Consequence of a prosperous Issue of the War, would belong to the United States, and be appropriated to their Use.” The jurisdiction over the vacant and unpatented lands, known as “crown lands,” should be vested in the States whose charters or determined limits embrace those lands; but all real property existing in the “Crown of Great Britain” should belong “to the Congress in Trust for the Use and Benefit of the United States. They have fought and bled for it in Proportion to their respective Abilities, and therefore the Reward ought not to be predilectionally distributed.” Such a course would leave some States—and here came New Jersey’s special pleading—sunk under an enormous debt, while others could replace their expenditures from the hard earnings of the whole confederacy.

The ninth article of the articles of confederation provided that requisitions for State militia be proportioned to the number of *white* inhabit-

ants in each commonwealth. In the argument upon this proposition the New Jersey Legislature took a most decided stand. Quoting from the Declaration of Independence the clause that "All Men are created equal," and that they are endowed with the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, the "Opinion" argues the consequence that all inhabitants, "*be the Colour of their Complexion what it may,*" are bound to promote the interests of society according to their respective abilities. While it might be improper for persons of a particular color to bear arms in the defence of the nation, the refusal of personal liberty being justified by necessity or expediency, yet the proportion of military force should be fixed according to the whole number of inhabitants, from whatever class they might be raised. "In a State where all are white such a commonwealth obtains an undue advantage over a State of mixed population. In order to equalize the quota of State troops called to war a census should be taken every five years."

In this "Opinion" both houses unanimously concurred.

From the beginning New Jersey was placed upon the defensive. Against her and the smaller States the more powerful members of the confederation, when not quarreling among themselves, made common cause. The struggle over the

adopting of the articles continued from 1777 to 1781, and was due to the claims advanced by those States which claimed that, under royal charters, their lands extended from "sea to sea." Such was the attitude of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

To add to this complication, New York had purchased the Indian title to the Ohio Valley. New Jersey, whose boundary lines were protected north and south by natural barriers, together with Delaware and Maryland, refused to sign the articles of confederation, contending that as England did not own the Mississippi Valley until 1763, and as she drew the "proclamation line" which abrogated the "sea to sea" claims, therefore the six States should release to Congress, for the public good, all right, title, and interest which they might have in the western country. For over three years the quarrel was continued, the States acquiescing one by one until Maryland completed the union on March 2, 1781.

But having been adopted as the result of protracted compromises, the articles of confederation presented the anomaly of a series of debt-ridden States, unused to free political action, delegating to a Congress only the powers of declaring war and making peace, establishing an army and navy, contracting debts, issuing money, entering

into commercial treaties, and essaying the settlement of land disputes between or among the States. At best this government was advisory, when each State preserved such inherent rights of sovereignty as it deemed most beneficial for its interests. Even the Congress had not power to enforce its own laws. Executive and judicial departments there were none, and thus with State representatives which might be recalled at any moment, and with each State allowed only one vote, with nine States necessary to pass any act, the confederation was indeed a "rope of sand."

But of all defects which marked the articles of confederation the two most serious were the inability of Congress to levy taxes and its lack of power to regulate trade. So much of the Revolutionary spirit as had been spent in protest against the economic policy of the British crown was rendered of no avail by reason of State jealousies.

Distrustful of one another, the States refused to rely upon the judgment of Congress, and attempted individually to regulate matters of the utmost concern to their mutual interests. Although the debt of the Revolution had been incurred for the benefit of all, the commonwealths, viewing the matter in the light of moral obligations, treated disdainfully the repeated calls made by Congress. With no power to tax the States Congress, between 1782 and 1786, pled for

\$6,000,000, of which only \$1,000,000 was forwarded to the national treasury. New Jersey had been disposed to contribute her earlier quotas, but the weakness of the central government had reacted upon the Legislature. Late in 1785 the State absolutely refused to contribute her quota, \$136,000, to the treasury of the confederation, declared that Congress had redressed none of her grievances, and declared that she would assert her independence,—sentiments expressed in the Legislature and by the people.

The crisis, as is shown by John Bach McMaster in his "History of the People of the United States," brought a committee of Congress to New Jersey in March, 1786, to reason with the New Jersey Legislature. The argument was advanced that the State was in honor bound to pay her quotas, and that her drastic policy, urging other States to like measures, not only weakened the confederation in the eyes of the world, but would destroy the few vestiges of power the confederation possessed. Those who looked toward the establishment of a federal government well realized its force. On the frontier the Indians, incited by the British, were preparing for massacre; at sea American commerce was being assailed by the British and by the Moors. New Jersey, on March 17, with evident self-satisfaction, rescinded her resolution of February 20, 1786, wherein she

refused to pay her proportionate share of federal expenses, declaring she did not desire to embarrass Congress—but did not pay the requisition.

Bad as was this situation it was only intensified by the inability of Congress to regulate foreign and interstate commerce. The close of the Revolution found New Jersey destitute of manufactures of importance. The earlier policy of the crown in stifling trade, and the constant warfare on her soil, had closed such industries as struggled through the long years of oppression and neglect. Emerging into an era of peace, manufacturers were met with a flood of English goods. These were sent to New Jersey and the other States at the close of the war, drawing from the country a good portion of specie then in circulation. With neither manufactories nor money New Jersey resorted to the panacea for all economic evils—the issuance of tons of paper money and the circulation of debased copper coins which have passed into history under the name of “Horse Heads.”

Yet the policy of New Jersey, so far as paper money was concerned, was the policy of Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. The usual arguments favoring soft-money were advanced, and the State attempted, in 1786, to meet the demands of its citizens. One hundred thousand pounds was emitted and taken to New York and

Philadelphia to pay debts, which, being refused in the commercial centers, was sent back to the State, where, in spite of its being "legal tender," it soon depreciated in value.

As a phase of this disastrous situation New York and New Jersey engaged in a quarrel growing out of the sale of food supplies in the City of New York. The farmers of New Jersey had established an industry in furnishing products to the markets of the metropolis. With the sole purpose of preventing the movement of "hard money" from the city toward New Jersey the Legislature of New York enacted that every small vessel from New Jersey should be entered and cleared from the port of New York, as foreign vessels were required to do. In retaliation the New Jersey Legislature laid a tax of thirty pounds per month upon the Sandy Hook lighthouse, then the property of that city, in which shape the matter stood until the adoption of the federal constitution.

While New Jersey, in common with her sister States, was ridiculing the Congress, and, failing to secure the prompt attendance of her own delegates, she had undertaken during the period of confederation to regulate her internal affairs in accordance with the evident wishes of her people. The States-rights sentiment was an unquestioned factor in New Jersey politics of the early part of this period, and was only restrained on account of

her inability to dictate a policy. Her later Federalism was as much a leaning toward the preservation of her aristocratic form of State government as toward any overweening desire to participate in a constitutional union, although when the occasion arose the State did so with excellent grace.

One of the first acts definitive of statehood was the creation of a court of admiralty, the tribunal to be established by authority of the governor or council. This was upon October 5, 1776. As early as January of that year the capture of the British store ship "Blue Mountain Valley," off Sandy Hook, had led to the creation of a temporary court of admiralty. Upon the 5th of December, 1778, the New Jersey Legislature, under the stimulus of a recommendation from Congress, enacted a law providing for modes of practice, and prescribing a fee-bill; the officers of the court were defined to be a judge, register, marshal, proctors, and advocates. On December 18, 1781, further legislation provided among other matters a seal "with the Device of an Anchor and Thirteen Stars on the Face of it, and a Legend around the Border with these Words: 'Admiralty Seal *New Jersey.*'" This seal is probably lost and no impressions are known to exist. This act was revised in 1782 and finally repealed June 3, 1799. Under the act many prizes of war were sold, as advertisements in the newspapers of the day indicate.

The utter hopelessness of securing any encouragement from a Congress which had nothing to give caused New Jersey to attempt to regulate her own commerce and to experiment upon new and hitherto untried lines. Each step, now so evident, was then a step in the dark, a groping for some plan whereby trade could be attracted to a State whose natural advantages have proved to be almost limitless. The period of the confederation presents a number of these schemes, concerning which there is to-day but little information to be obtained, save from the pages of the acts of the Legislature. The movement toward the self-adjustment of commercial interests carries one well into the early days of the Revolution. Here, rather than stimulating trade, the acts passed under the pressure of military needs tended toward the restraint of mercantile association.

The almost constant presence of the Anglo-Hessian army upon the soil of New Jersey during the early years of the war led to a conservation of natural and artificial products. To protect her naval stores, and to prevent the exportation of pitch, tar, and turpentine, New Jersey had passed restrictive legislation as early as September, 1777, which act was repealed in 1781. In March, 1777, the distilling of wheat, rye, and other grain was forbidden, while in that year as well as in 1778 the prices of certain articles of produce, manufac-

ture, trade, and labor were limited. An attempt was made to prevent "forestalling, regrating, and engrossing" during these years—acts which contain the germs of the so-called "anti-trust" legislation of later times.

These acts with others relating to economic-military affairs having been repealed in 1782, New Jersey in 1783 entered into an agreement with Pennsylvania concerning their respective jurisdictions over the River Delaware. From the northwest corner of New Jersey to the point where the circular boundary of Delaware touches the river the Delaware was declared to be a "common highway," each State regulating the fisheries "annexed to their respective shores," that the same be not "unnecessarily interrupted during the season for catching shad." In capital and other offenses, trespasses, or damages committed on the river the juridical investigation and determination was vested in the State where the offender was first apprehended, arrested, or prosecuted. A concurrent jurisdiction was further limited. In cases where vessels were at anchor or aground such vessels were considered as being exclusively within the jurisdiction of the nearer State. A distribution of "all islands, eylots and dry land within the bed and between the shores" of the river from Trenton to the Delaware State boundary was also made. Later a similar arrangement was made

concerning the islands between the extreme north-west boundary of New Jersey and the City of Trenton.

Having adjusted the jurisdictional rights in the Delaware, Perth Amboy and Burlington were declared to be free cities for twenty-five years after October 1, 1784. To encourage commerce all foreigners, mariners, manufacturers, and mechanics who removed to these cities and resided there for one month, following their occupation and vocations, were esteemed freemen and citizens. An exception was made in the case of Tories "guilty of licentious cruelties in plundering or murder." All goods immediately imported, except slaves, were declared to be free from all duties and imposts, except as affected by acts passed to raise a revenue for the use of the United States. Merchants in these free cities were exempt from taxes upon their stock or ships, the State retaining the right to pass a prohibitive tariff upon "any goods, wares or merchandize * * * which may prove injurious to and discourage the manufactories of this State."

During the year 1784 both Perth Amboy and Burlington were incorporated as cities. Acts erecting these corporations were passed upon December 21st, and grew out of an aroused spirit of the Legislature. In the preamble of the statute establishing Perth Amboy it is stated that "the

prosperity of trade requires the collection of merchants together in sufficient numbers in order that the union of their force may render them competent to great undertakings, and that the variety of their importations and their wants may always furnish to the purchasers and to the sellers a secure and constant market." Thus in giving a special form of government merchants attracted by "peculiar immunities and privileges" could secure for a "definite duration the entire profits of their commerce without burden, abatement, or uncertainty." Upon the 1st of September, 1784, "the town of New Brunswick" was also incorporated with special privileges.

Owing to the discouragement of manufactures, due to the general prevalence of sheep-killing dogs, the Legislature in May, 1787, imposed a tax on the owners or keepers of dogs, while at the same time an effort was made to encourage good roads by defining the track of "waggon and other wheel-carriages," and imposing a penalty for violations of the statute.

Turning toward the interests of the tidewater section of New Jersey, an important act was passed in 1788 enabling the owners of tidal swamps and marshes to improve their property, and compelling those who owned meadows already banked and held by different persons to keep such improvements in good repair. From this act is

traceable much of the policy of reclamation of waste land, which later developed large dairy interests in the southern portion of the State. In the act the principle of a limited corporation is quite evident, much more so than in any previous legislation, as well as traces of the doctrine of eminent domain, later so generously exercised by railroad and canal companies. In 1789 cranberries were first protected among natural products, a penalty being imposed upon those who gathered the berries on lands not their own between June 1 and October 10. The reason for this action appears in the legislative declaration that cranberries might be a valuable article of exportation.

Thus in feeble and divergent ways—from the erection of free cities to the protection of cranberries—New Jersey provided for her own commercial interests at a time when even the friends of independency stood terrified at what might be the outcome of the wonderful expedition that had been taken into the new and unexplored land of liberty, whose attractive vistas of peace and prosperity were ever shadowed by the clouds of political uncertainty and economic despair.

IT WAS in the ancient City of Annapolis, upon the 11th of September, 1786, that a number of stout hearted men—delegates from the States of Virginia, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey—met “to take into Consideration the Trade and Commerce of the United States,” and after a session of three days dissolved, not thinking it “advisable to proceed on the Business of their Mission.”

It was from the joint agreement made between Maryland and Virginia, upon March 28, 1784, the object whereof was the regulation of navigation and trade upon the Potomac as well as the adjustment of the boundary line between the two States, that there developed the final expression of that movement which had for its object the formation of a more perfect union.

Of the States represented none entered with more alacrity into its spirit than did New Jersey. Tinged with inherited suspicion and jealousy, all the States represented, except New Jersey, had instructed their commissioners “to take into Consideration the trade and Commerce of the United States, to consider how far an uniform system in their commercial intercourse and regulations might be necessary to their common interest and permanent harmony,” and to report to the States an act which, when unanimously ratified,

would enable Congress "to provide for the same." But New Jersey, in accordance with traditions, harassed by powerful commercial rivals, and with prophetic foresight, not only embraced the subject of trade regulations, but instructed her commissioners, who were Abraham Clark, William Churchill Houston, and James Schuurman, to consider "other important matters," and to report an act that would enable Congress to provide for the regulation of trade, and in a yet more liberal spirit "for the exigencies of the Union." These commissioners had been appointed by joint meeting of the Legislature, March 21, 1786.

Between the strict limits of their sphere of action and the wider range of New Jersey's instructions the delegates wavered. They realized that the commissioners from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and North Carolina had been appointed, but were not present, and that Connecticut, Maryland, South Carolina, and Georgia had remained silent; that the representation was partial and defective, and that the opinion of all the States should be had; yet they recognized that the plan of New Jersey in extending the powers of the delegates was an improvement upon the original idea. The defects in the confederation were many; some obvious, some more subtle. That a full expression of opinion might be had it was recommended that a convention of all the

States be held in Philadelphia on the second Monday in May, 1787, to devise such provisions as shall render the "Constitution of the Federal Government adequate to the exigencies of the Union," and report such an act when agreed upon by Congress and the States as would secure the desired end.

It was upon the 21st of February, 1787, that Congress recommended to the States the appointment of delegates to attend a convention "for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation," which to Congress appeared to be "the most probable means of establishing in these States a firm national government." In the meantime, in spite of this last gasp of the Congress, before it lapsed into premature senility and became moribund, New Jersey, in her refusal to contribute \$136,000 to the national treasury upon the request of Congress, dealt the death-blow to the confederation. Consistent in her position that Congress should alone regulate foreign trade, the State held that inasmuch as the other States had nominally refused to be bound by the federal impost she could assume an independent attitude, nor could the arguments of the congressional committee, composed of Charles Pinckney, Nathaniel Gorham, and William Grayson, alter the determination of the Legislature. It was then that Pinckney, acting with rare diplomacy upon the position hereto-

fore taken by New Jersey, urged that the commonwealth join in "a general convention of the States for the purpose of increasing the powers of the federal government and not to precipitate a dissolution of the union by refusing to carry it on."

For such a position New Jersey was ready to assume the aggressive. Throughout the State the sentiment in this month of November tended toward a breaking down of existent conditions, although no man knew what would come in their place. But anything was better than drifting on the tide to certain ruin. Turning to what may be termed the popular side of the argument, one finds in Isaac Collins's *New Jersey Gazette* for November 6, 1786, a reprinted communication from Arnett's *New Brunswick Gazette* signed "Nestor," containing the stock but comprehensive arguments advanced in New Jersey against the articles of confederation.

These objections were classified under four heads, of which the first was the deficiency of coercive power; the second a defect of exclusive power to issue paper money and regulate commerce; third, in vesting the foreign power of the United States in a single Legislature; and, lastly, in the too frequent rotation of its members.

New Jersey herself had seen the evils of which "Nestor" complained. Individually, perhaps not entirely consciously, New Jersey had for ten years

sought a more perfect union, not only for the good of all, but, as a small State, for her own protection. In an address delivered before the New Brunswick Historical Club upon the centennial of the adoption of the constitution of the United States by New Jersey, President Austin Scott, of Rutgers College, showed that the New Jersey Supreme Court, in session at Hillsborough, first declared the doctrine "that the judiciary has the right to pronounce upon the constitutionality of the laws." In an opinion rendered as well for himself as his associates by Chief Justice David Brearley, he established the principle of that "supreme function of final arbitration between the two forces"—the general government and the States. Along the line of argument for coercive power was another step taken by New Jersey in 1780. Virginia had prepared for the sale of crown lands which New Jersey contended had become vested in Congress for the use of the *Federal Republic*. Such was the term used in the "Remonstrance" sent by New Jersey to Congress, and which in the opinion of President Scott and other historians is the first occasion where the phrase was used. In the "Remonstrance" occurs the expression: "that the Republic will be secured against detriment and the rights of every State in the Union be strictly maintained," a spirit of polit-

ical altruism toward which the judicious use of coercive Federal power must lead.

In "Nestor's" prayer that an exclusive power to coin money be vested in a federal government, he must have had in mind New Jersey's debased "horse head" coppers, her ragged "fiat" paper bills, the clipped and counterfeited foreign coins that were the natural results of efforts of thirteen incapable States attempting to regulate a matter which should have been left to the collective judgment of all. For the greater principle of regulating commerce New Jersey had long contended that the power should lie in Congress. For this she had striven in 1777, her Legislature demanding that members of Congress take an oath of fealty to the United States. But the federative principle that would vest in Congress the power to dispose of the western domain and to regulate trade with foreign nations was yet too weak, and New Jersey, upon the 25th of November, 1778, ratified the articles of confederation without amendment. Again in 1780 John Witherspoon, whose true position as an economist and statesman had not even yet been recognized, "revived one of the amendments to the confederacy proposed by New Jersey two years before, and moved to vest in the United States the power of regulating commerce according to the common interest." This attitude of Witherspoon was due to the posi-

tion taken by New York and the New England States—that the general government be charged with authority to collect taxes, or from duties to secure a fixed revenue. From the States Congress desired power to levy a five per cent. duty upon foreign imports, to which request New Jersey responded promptly, as she did at the end of the Revolutionary struggle when Congress, by a general revenue act, sought to pay her pressing debts.

In the demand that the power of Congress be divided into two branches “Nestor” was following the precedent set by the council and Assembly of New Jersey. Territorially he would have each State represented by a delegate in the upper house, while in the lower house, representative of population, each State could select “two, three, or four delegates chosen annually.” The President was to be chosen on joint ballot and, with a “privy council,” possess the power of appointing United States officials. These ideas were then novel, as applied to any possible federal system, as was the doctrine of retention of officeholders upon a merit system.

“Nestor” also urged the establishment of a “federal university” for the study of subjects connected with government, particularly history, international law, civil law, municipal law, commercial principles, all matters connected with offensive and defensive war, as well as political

economy. The country should be tied together by means of the postoffice. "This is the true electric wire of government * * * for the purpose of diffusing knowledge as well as extending the living principle of government to every part of the United States."

Similar had been the line of reasoning pursued officially in New Jersey in the instructions to her delegates in Congress as early as March 1, 1786, and again upon November 24th of that year. Herein they were instructed to vote against every measure for the promotion or security of the commerce of the United States, whereby any one State would be more largely benefited than would New Jersey or the United States, as well as to cast their votes against any "Ordinance, Resolution, and Proceeding" tending to charge New Jersey with any expense in acquiring or defending crown lands, when any State or States, and not the Union, should be benefited. In this connection New Jersey protested against the cession for a term of years "of the entire Navigation of the River Mississippi to the Spanish Court," believing that "the Value of the western Country, on the Sales of which we rely for the Discharge of our numerous Debts, is in some Degree dependant upon the free Navigation of this important River," a view as accurate as it was far-sighted, but greatly in advance of the general

trend of public opinion in the uninformed and indifferent East.

Thus having instructed its delegates in Congress, the State turned upon the 24th of November to the appointment of its delegates who were to take so active a part in framing the federal constitution.

Under a resolution of the House of Assembly David Brearley, William Churchill Houston, William Paterson, and John Neilson were selected to meet with other commissioners in Philadelphia, during the succeeding month of May. These delegates, under their instructions, which sound strangely like the instructions given by New Jersey to the commissioners sent to Annapolis, were appointed "for the Purpose of taking into Consideration the State of the Union as to Trade and other important Objects and of devising such further Provisions as shall appear necessary to render the Constitution of the federal Government adequate to the Exigencies thereof." Upon the 23d day of November, the date of their appointment, these delegates to the convention were commissioned by Governor Livingston. Before the convention met, however, the personnel of the New Jersey delegation underwent a change. John Neilson, distinguished for his services in the American Revolution, retired, and in his place Governor William Livingston and Abraham Clark

were commissioned upon May 18, 1787, while under another commission Jonathan Dayton was added to the delegation upon June 5 of the same year. Owing to illness Abraham Clark did not participate in the proceedings of the convention, and for the same cause William Churchill Houston took but a minor part. Neither signed the completed federal constitution, Clark being opposed to any drastic changes, had he been physically able to affix his signature.

Although the date fixed for the opening session of the convention was May 14th it was not until May 25th that a quorum of seven States assembled and chose George Washington as its president.

The New Jersey delegation, as finally chosen, was brilliantly representative. At its head was William Livingston, eleven times governor of New Jersey. Scarcely less conspicuous were David Brearley, twelve years chief justice of New Jersey; William Churchill Houston, member of Congress and professor of mathematics and natural philosophy at the College of New Jersey; William Paterson, whose public career had for its rewards the attorney-generalship, senatorship, and governorship of New Jersey, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and lastly associate justice of the United States; and Jonathan Dayton, twice speaker of the House of Representatives

and United States senator. Of these all were graduates of the College of New Jersey except Governor Livingston, who received his degree from Yale. Abraham Clark had been one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and was conspicuous as a popular leader of anti-Federalistic tendencies.

The 9th of June, 1787, was a memorable day in the history of the convention. In the opinion of an eminent American historian, to which all other constitutional writers have assented, this was the day upon which the "great debate of the session began." The Virginia delegates had early formulated a plan, not for a new government, but for a strong consolidated union. The project leaned toward centralization, and, as elsewhere abstracted, provided that each State's suffrage in Congress should be proportioned to the sum of money it paid into the treasury, as quota, or to the number of free inhabitants of its soil; the people should elect members of one branch of Congress, the State Legislatures the other; the national executive should be chosen by the national Legislature; a federal judiciary should hold office during good behavior; and a republican form of government and right of soil should be guaranteed to each State.

The State of New Jersey favored certain essential elements in a federal union, but like

another small State, Delaware, was opposed to any method whereby proportional representation would limit her influence. Connecticut and New York leaned toward the old confederation, and these States, with Luther Martin, of Maryland, made common cause in the presentation of a plan which would give a federalistic tone to the correction and enlargement of the articles of confederation. This State had declared for a change, but in its demand had not clearly foreseen the power of the larger States. Thus it was that Paterson, upon the 15th of June, laid before the delegates the "New Jersey Plan," containing some of the features of the Virginia plan, and yet which finally, though defeated, furnished in compromise some of the most important elements in the constitution.

In the series of nine resolutions which formed the "Plan" the most essential feature was New Jersey's oft-repeated contention that Congress should regulate domestic and foreign trade, levy duties on imports, and require stamps on paper, vellum, and letters. Litigation thus arising should be instituted in State courts with right of appeal to the tribunals of the United States. Congressional quotas should be apportioned according to the number of white and other free citizens and inhabitants, including those bound to servitude for a term of years, and three-fifths of all other

persons, excluding Indians not taxed. Congress should have the power of collecting the revenue under authority of the States.

The federal executive was designed to consist of several individuals elected by Congress, to be paid from the federal treasury, be ineligible for reëlection, and removable on application of a majority of the governors of the States. Not only should they direct all military operations, but they should appoint, for terms during good behavior, a supreme court having original jurisdiction in all cases of impeachment, and appellate jurisdiction in all cases affecting ambassadors, piracies, felonies, captures from an enemy, in all to which foreigners might be a party, in the construction of treaties, and in matters regulating trade and collection of federal revenue. The supreme law of the nation should be acts of Congress and treaties, by which State tribunals were bound. To enforce the execution of a law the federal government should call forth the power of the confederation, while naturalization should be uniform. If a citizen of one State committed an offense in another State he should be esteemed as guilty as if he had committed it in his own.

The debate that resulted upon this plan was one of the most notable in the history of the convention. In it there participated John Lansing, of New York, who contended that the Virginia

plan would destroy all State power, and that the New Jersey plan would alone save the States from the oppression of a central government.

In presenting his plan Paterson said the convention had its limitations, and that the delegates could go no further than the limits of their expressed powers and had no option under its call to form a "National Legislature." The convention had no right to destroy State sovereignty. Is the welfare of New Jersey, with five votes, he asked, to be submitted in a council to Virginia's sixteen votes? Neither his State nor himself, he said, would submit to despotism nor to tyranny.

James Wilson, of Pennsylvania, drew the distinction between the New Jersey and Virginia plans in a few pithy sentences, in which he said: "Virginia proposes two branches to the Legislature. Jersey one. Virginia would have the legislative power derived from the people; Jersey from the States. Virginia would have a single executive; Jersey more than one." In other words, upon the two plans began that crystallization of sentiment which led to the later formulation of the doctrines of centralization and State rights. In this view Charles C. Pinckney, of South Carolina, and Edmund Randolph sustained Wilson's view.

Alexander Hamilton, of New York, who spoke in the convention for the first time, defined the New Jersey plan as the old articles of confeder-

ation with new patches; it was pork still, with a change of sauce. James Madison, of Virginia, then assailed the New Jersey plan, in which he called Paterson's attention to the fact that as New Jersey had refused to obey a requisition of Congress, she had thereby broken her compact. The articles of confederation, Mr. Paterson urged, should be sustained by every State. New Jersey and Pennsylvania had set bounds to Delaware, and would New Jersey and the smaller States be safe in the hands of the larger ones?

It was plainly evident that the New Jersey plan had utterly failed, a fact clearly brought out in the final vote, when Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia voted against the plan, New York, New Jersey, and Delaware alone sustaining it.

In a series of great compromises the first was that suggested by Connecticut. Massachusetts, Virginia, Pennsylvania, Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina arrayed themselves upon the side of representation based upon population or wealth. Connecticut, Maryland, Delaware, and New Jersey demanded equal suffrage. New York was divided, while New Hampshire and Rhode Island were unrepresented. Hence came the plan that in the Senate the States be given an equal

vote, with a representation, based on population, in the house.

The next great question subjected to compromise was the counting of slaves in ascertaining population. New England and Pennsylvania were free soil; the rest, including New Jersey, were slave States. The result was that three-fifths of the slaves were to be counted in apportioning representation.

The remaining compromise that did not seriously affect New Jersey was the demand of the commercial States that Congress be forbidden to lay export duties. The planting States demanded the right to import slaves. To this the commercial States were opposed, as five slaves equalled three free men in apportioning representation. It was agreed that after 1808 no slaves should be imported, nor should export duties be charged. In the routine of the convention every member of the New Jersey delegation obtained prominence. Governor Livingston was a member of the "grand committee" of eleven appointed on August 18 to consider the necessity and expediency of the United States assuming all the State debts, as well as the government of the militia. Upon the 21st he brought in the report of the committee, favoring both proposals. Upon the 24th of August he also delivered the report of the grand committee relative to the slave trade capi-

tation tax, and on September 13th consented to serve upon a committee charged with reporting "articles of association for encouraging by the advice, the influence, and the example of the members of the Convention, œconomy, frugality and American manufactures."

It was not until June 21 that Jonathan Dayton took his seat. He plunged at once into the work of the convention. Upon the 24th of August Dayton was appointed on a grand committee on tariffs and port charges. In his attitude upon the questions before the convention he favored the election of President by Congress, each State having one vote, the equal vote of States in the house, the payment of senators from national treasury funds, the submission of controversies between States to the national judiciary, and insisted upon equal representation in the Senate. To this strongly federalistic attitude he added the principle that the general government on its own motion had the right to protect a State against domestic violence. Dayton upon the other hand opposed the uniformity of organization and equipment of the militia, restricting the power of Congress to such part as might be in the service of the United States, and also opposed slave representation.

William Churchill Houston, on July 17th, opposed the ineligibility of a President for a second term.

David Brearley, on July 9th, was elected upon a "grand committee" concerning representation in the house, while upon the 31st of August he appears as a member of the "omnibus committee," to which was referred "such parts of the Constitution as have not been postponed and such parts of Reports as have not been acted on." From this committee he frequently reported to the convention. In favoring equal representation in Congress Mr. Brearley opposed the election of a President by joint ballot, favoring a plan of giving each State a vote in the election of President by Congress.

It was upon June 9th that Mr. Brearley presented a curious plan to remedy the inequalities of representation. It was "that a map of the United States be spread out, that all the existing boundaries be erased, and that a new partition of the whole be made into thirteen equal parts." There were three large States and ten small ones, and all the "little States will be obliged to throw themselves constantly into the scale of some large one to have any weight at all." The evils of such a system he had seen "within N. Jersey," that where large and small counties were united into a district for electing representatives for the district the large counties always carried their point. In this view Mr. Brearley was sustained by Mr. Paterson.

William Paterson was a man of extreme views, ardent in thought, forceful in expression. He was a familiar figure in debate, and upon one occasion, through his Scotch-Irish impetuosity, was privileged to excuse his warmth of language. He served on a committee on representation in the Senate, had favored coercion of the States, the election of a President by State electors chosen in the ratio of one elector to the smallest and three to the largest States, was determined upon equal representation in the House and Senate, and was opposed to the representation of slaves.

Upon the 17th of September, 1787, the convention finished its work and the constitution was sent to Congress, and by it submitted to the several States for ratification. To the people of New Jersey the constitution was entirely acceptable.

There were apparently no dissenting voices, for the Legislature by a unanimous vote on the 1st of November authorized a convention of the people of New Jersey to accept the new organic law of the United States. Late in November those electors qualified to vote for members of the General Assembly chose thirty-nine delegates, three from each county, who assembled in Trenton upon the 11th of December, 1787. The convention remained in session for one week. The constitution was four times read and discussed section by section. Ratifying and confirming the document

upon December 18th, duplicate copies of the constitution were signed, one of which was sent to Congress, the other retained in New Jersey. Beginning with Bergen, the oldest county, the members subscribed their names, ending with Sussex. At one o'clock of the same day the secretary of the convention read the ratification "in the hearing of the people," a large crowd having assembled in front of the court house, whither the convention had gone in procession.

It would be unfair and unjust to charge to an altruistic sentiment alone the activity displayed by New Jersey in entering upon a federal union. The cause leading her thereto was largely the protection of her commercial interests, which had not only been assailed, and which were threatened to become annihilated in the growth of New York's and Philadelphia's great interests. But this motive lost none of its value because at the time no real attempt was made to conceal it. The States had drifted apart too far for reconciliations to be effected by any means other than early coercion and later compromise. Such was the position of New Jersey in her advocacy of the Annapolis convention and in the presentation of her "Plan"; such indeed to a greater or less degree was the history of every other State in its relation to one of the greatest, in some respects the greatest, of hu-

man documents—the constitution of the United States.

In the debate upon the Virginia plan, the basis upon which much of the subsequent action of the convention was based, two of the delegates from New Jersey concurred in these sentiments:

Let them unite if they please, but let them remember that they have no authority to compel others to unite. New Jersey will never confederate on the plan before the Committee.

And one said he would not only oppose the plan here, but on his return home would do everything in his power to defeat it there.

And beneath every printed copy of the constitution of the United States, as upon the original, sacredly guarded in Washington, one finds the names of William Paterson and David Brearley, who submitted to fate, and to a course which alone could have preserved the Union.

UPON the 15th of May, 1776, "the honorable the Continental Congress, the supreme council of the American Colonies," advised each of the colonies to adopt for itself such government as should secure its own happiness and safety and the well being of America in general.

Upon the 2d of July, within six short weeks after the recommendation of Congress had been received by the Provincial Congress of New Jersey, the members of that body had devised and passed "a set of charter rights and the form of a constitution," which, in spite of later opposition, remained until 1844 as the declaration of New Jersey's organic law.

Beyond brief references to the presentation of petitions and the reports of progress on the part of the committee charged with framing the document little is known as to the debates upon the subject. The members of the Provincial Congress, "having been elected by all the counties in the freest manner," were in direct touch with public sentiment, and were strongly influenced by the swinging tides of Whig and Tory sentiment. As late as July 2 New Jersey had still within her borders a powerful minority to whom such an act was treasonable, yet so rapidly did events move that upon the 10th of June,

when the Provincial Congress met in Burlington, a large proportion of the delegates were favorable toward independence, and were ready to espouse the cause.

The action of the Continental Congress in calling upon New Jersey to prepare a constitution brought forward the divergent views of the citizens of the colony. The first town to give expression to an opinion was Perth Amboy, where the lines of demarcation between the "King's men" and the "Friends of Freedom" were sharply drawn.

Two days after the meeting of the Provincial Congress the inhabitants of the South Ward of Perth Amboy presented a petition praying that the government of New Jersey, under the King of Great Britain, be suppressed, and that the Congress devise a more suitable form of government. This revolutionary petition was followed upon the 16th by a petition from the inhabitants of the North Ward of Perth Amboy urging the Congress to refrain from changing the form of provincial government, in which request certain of the inhabitants of Shrewsbury Township joined. Favoring a new form of government, petitions were presented from the Township of Windsor, Middlesex County, and from Maidenhead (now Lawrenceville) in Hunterdon (a part of which is now Mercer) County. In the latter region

the spirit of democracy had taken close hold upon the people, and, in imitation of the plan adopted by the West Jersey Quakers, the Maidenhead inhabitants urged that all elections be held annually by ballot, and that the doors of the Provincial Congress be kept open.

The first indication of official action looking toward constitution-making was the selection for that purpose of Friday, June 21st, when the convention resolved to "consider the propriety of forming a government." This action was taken upon June 17. Upon the 19th the inhabitants of Shrewsbury presented a further petition in favor of the continuance of their existing conditions, hoping that no measures would be adopted tending to separate the colony from Great Britain. Again the residents of the South Ward of Perth Amboy prayed that a new government be established and that independence be speedily declared. Morris Township, in the County of Morris, upon June 21st petitioned that all civil officers should be annually elected by the people, and that the official fees be established upon as moderate a basis as possible. Shrewsbury, aided by Middletown, with four petitions again requested that the government of the colony be not changed, while two petitions from Freehold prayed that the convention act under the advice of the Continental Congress.

In accordance with its decision the Provincial Congress, upon the 21st of June, adopted a resolution to the effect that a government "be formed for regulating the internal police." The ballots disclosed a strong Whig sentiment, the vote being fifty-four to three. The negative ballots were cast by members from the Counties of Bergen, Hunterdon, and Monmouth. Upon the 24th petitions appeared from Middletown and Freehold favoring the creation of a new government. Immediately upon its receipt the "Committee to prepare the draught of a constitution" was ordered to be thus composed: Jacob Green, of Morris; John Cooper, of Gloucester; Jonathan D. Sergeant, of Middlesex; Lewis Ogden, of Essex; Theophilus Elmer, of Cumberland; Elijah Hughes, of Cape May; John Covenhoven, of Monmouth; John Cleves Symmes, of Sussex; Silas Condict, of Essex; and Samuel Dick, of Salem County.

In its personnel this committee was distinctively representative. Jacob Green, the chairman, was pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Hanover and a man of so many interests that a letter was once directed to him:

To the Rev. Jacob Green, Preacher,
And the Rev. Jacob Green, Teacher;
To the Rev. Jacob Green, Doctor,
And the Rev. Jacob Green, Proctor;
To the Rev. Jacob Green, Miller,
And the Rev. Jacob Green, Distiller.

John Cleves Symmes, Lewis Ogden, and Jonathan D. Sergeant were members of the bar, Silas Condict was a political power in the County of Morris, while the South Jersey members were large landowners and had held position under the crown government.

But two days intervened between the appointment of the committee and its presentation of the draft of a constitution. No separate record of the action of the committee has yet been discovered, although tradition points to Jacob Green as the framer of the constitution. As a war measure haste was imperative. Thus it was that upon the 26th of June the draft was reported and ordered a second reading. The constitution was under discussion by the Congress sitting as a committee of the whole upon both the 27th and 28th. During their deliberations two petitions were presented from the Township of Upper Freehold, praying that the convention should establish such mode of government as should be fully equal to the exigencies of the colony.

The arrival of General Howe at Sandy Hook threw the Congress into confusion. In view of military exigency it was agreed, upon June 29th, that twenty members should be a quorum to transact sufficient business, "except such as may respect the formation of the constitution." Upon the same day the committee of the whole reported

that it "had come to several Resolutions" and designated July 2 as the day upon which the convention would receive the report of the committee of the whole, "at which time every member was enjoined to be punctual in his attendance."

That a sentiment looking toward delay and a possible adjustment of existing difficulties between New Jersey and the crown existed is possibly best proved by a vote taken on July 2. The question was whether the constitution be at once adopted or deferred for further consideration. Twenty-six members voted for immediate confirmation of the report of the committee of the whole, while nine votes were cast in the negative. Bergen, Salem, and Cape May each cast two votes of the nine, while Essex, Somerset, and Burlington each cast one. The matter reached a final determination upon the 3d of July, when a vote was taken as to whether the draft of the constitution be immediately printed or deferred for a few days in order to reconsider the proviso respecting reconciliation. The vote upon the matter was seventeen to eight. Frederick Frelinghuysen and William Paterson, of Somerset, John Mehelm, of Hunterdon, Josiah Holmes, of Monmouth, Joseph Ellis, of Gloucester, Jonathan D. Sergeant, of Middlesex, John Cleves Symmes, of Sussex, and Samuel Dick, of Salem, voted in the negative, whereupon it was ordered that one

thousand copies of the constitution be printed for the use of the inhabitants of the colony.

The new constitution was proclaimed throughout the State in conjunction with the Declaration of Independence and the resolve of the Provincial Congress for continuing the administration of justice until the new Legislature should assemble. At Trenton on the 8th of July, according to the *Pennsylvania Packet* of the 15th of that month, the members of the Provincial Congress, the committee, militia officers and privates, "and a large concourse of the inhabitants attended on this great and solemn occasion. The declaration and other proceedings were received with loud acclamations."

In honor of independency Nassau Hall at Princeton was illuminated upon the following night, and a triple volley of musketry was fired amid "universal acclamation for the prosperity of the UNITED STATES. The ceremony was conducted with the greatest decorum."

On the 7th of August the inhabitants of Cumberland County met at Bridgeton, where, at the court house, the Declaration of Independence, the new constitution and the treason ordinance were read. Following a "spirited address" by Dr. Ebenezer Elmer, "the peace officers'" staves, on which were depicted the King's coats of arms, with other ensigns of royalty, were burnt in the

streets." Warning the people against the dangers of falling into the power of a Julius Cæsar or an Oliver Cromwell, Elmer urged that only true and tried friends of liberty be voted for at the succeeding election. The grand jury of Burlington, in November, upon the occasion of the opening of the supreme court, stated in their address that the constitution had given great satisfaction.

The constitution adopted made no startling innovations in the existing mode of government; indeed it reflected to a large degree the political customs and habits as well as the administrative theories of the colony. One seeks in vain for novelties, such as characterized the constitution of Pennsylvania. New Jersey, in her constitution, in a degree changed the substance but scarcely altered the form of those phases of political life to which she had been accustomed for three-quarters of a century.

The preamble of the organic law of New Jersey declared that all the constitutional authority possessed by the Kings of Great Britain over the colonies was derived from the people by compact, and, being held in trust, allegiance and protection were therefore reciprocal and liable to be dissolved when refused or withdrawn. The refusal of protection to the colonists, the attempt to subject them to the absolute dominion of the King, the waging of a cruel and unnatural war, were causes

sufficient for the dissolution of reciprocal relations and the abrogation of England's civil authority. A government being necessary, not only for the preservation of good order, but to effectually unite the people in their defense, the representatives of the colony of New Jersey, in accordance with the advice of the Continental Congress, agreed upon the constitution.

In accordance with the declaration of the organic law the government of New Jersey was vested in a governor, legislative council, and general assembly. To "all inhabitants of this Colony, of full age, who are worth £50 proclamation money," and who had resided for one year in the county in which they claimed a vote, was given the elective franchise in balloting for members of council and Assembly. Legislative elections were directed to be held annually upon the second Tuesday in October, each county being entitled to a member of council and three members of Assembly. Councilmen were required to be worth £1,000 and assemblymen £500 proclamation money, in real and personal estate. Members of both houses were required to live in the county from which they were chosen for at least a year before election. The usual privileges of free political action were given both branches of the Legislature, the Council being prohibited from

preparing or altering any money bill, "which shall be the privilege of the Assembly."

The choice of a governor fell not upon the people, but upon the members of the Assembly and Council in joint meeting. The term of office of the chief executive was limited to one year, he acting as president of the Council, chancellor, commander-in-chief of the militia, and surrogate-general, with power to constitute a privy council, composed of three or more members of council. The Council and the governor were designated a court of appeals at law as well as a court of pardons. No further provisions were made concerning the organization of new tribunals or altering those already in existence. Upon the 2d of October, 1776, the Legislature confirmed all existing courts in New Jersey.

The concentration of the appointing power in the joint meeting of the Council and Assembly is a characteristic feature of the constitution. Judges of the Supreme Court, holding office for seven years, judges of the inferior court of common pleas, justices of the peace, the clerk of the supreme court, clerks of the inferior courts of common pleas and quarter sessions, the attorney-general and provincial secretary, with terms of five years, the provincial treasurer holding office one year, as well as the field and general officers of the militia, were appointed in joint

meeting and commissioned by the governor. To the people was delegated the election of county sheriffs and coroners, township constables, and commissioners of appeal, the latter acting in cases of unjust tax assessments.

The assurances of religious freedom are made in no uncertain terms. Every person in the colony was granted the right of worshipping God "agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience." No one could be compelled to attend a place of worship contrary to his faith, or be obliged to pay "tithes, taxes, or other rates" for the purpose of building or repairing churches or supporting a ministry contrary "to what he believes to be right, or has deliberately or voluntarily engaged himself to do." No one religious sect was to be established in preference to another, and all persons "professing a belief in the faith of any protestant sect" were qualified for election to any office of profit or trust.

The hope for reconciliation, the possibility of a reunion, and the reestablishment of the crown's power in America led to the insertion of a constitutional proviso that if the colonies should be again taken "under the protection and government of the crown of Great Britain this charter shall be null and void." With such a contingency in view all the common and statute law of England as hitherto practiced in the colony remained

in force so far as they were not incompatible with the provisions of the constitution. Subsequent Legislatures were given the power of altering the same, but "the inestimable right of trial by jury shall remain confirmed, * * * without repeal, forever."

The word "Colony," required by the constitution for use on the great seal, in commissions, in writs and indictments, was purely nominal. The first Legislature at Princeton refused to adopt the form and substituted "State" on the great seal, while on the 20th of September, 1777, the word "State" was declared by the Legislature as the official term by which New Jersey should be designated in commissions, writs, and indictments.

The new constitution, while it was ridiculed by Tories, possessing as it did some obvious defects, was nevertheless a powerful factor in developing a feeling of loyalty to the State. The Provincial Congresses were simply a series of rallying points; the committees of observation were operative just so far as local prejudice and sentiment would permit them to act. While the services of the committees to the cause of American independence were immeasurable, they were at best merely reflective of local conditions. Such on a larger scale were the Provincial Congresses, and it was not until the passage of the constitution that the people were able to feel the awakening impulses

of a larger degree of self-government. More than this, the constitution centralized power in the hands of the governor and the Legislature, where during the Revolution it was most needed. To the people of New Jersey, then unused to free action in elections, the indiscriminate extension of the suffrage would have plunged them into political excesses and made them easy prey for demagogues. From the narrow confines of the colony the people were emerging into a newer, wider life, full of responsibilities of which they had no knowledge. To assume these was a burden of surpassing magnitude, and with a foresight as keen as it was comprehensive the framers of the constitution did not divert the masses from their well accustomed lines of political activity. The lines remained much as of old; the activities were vastly increased.





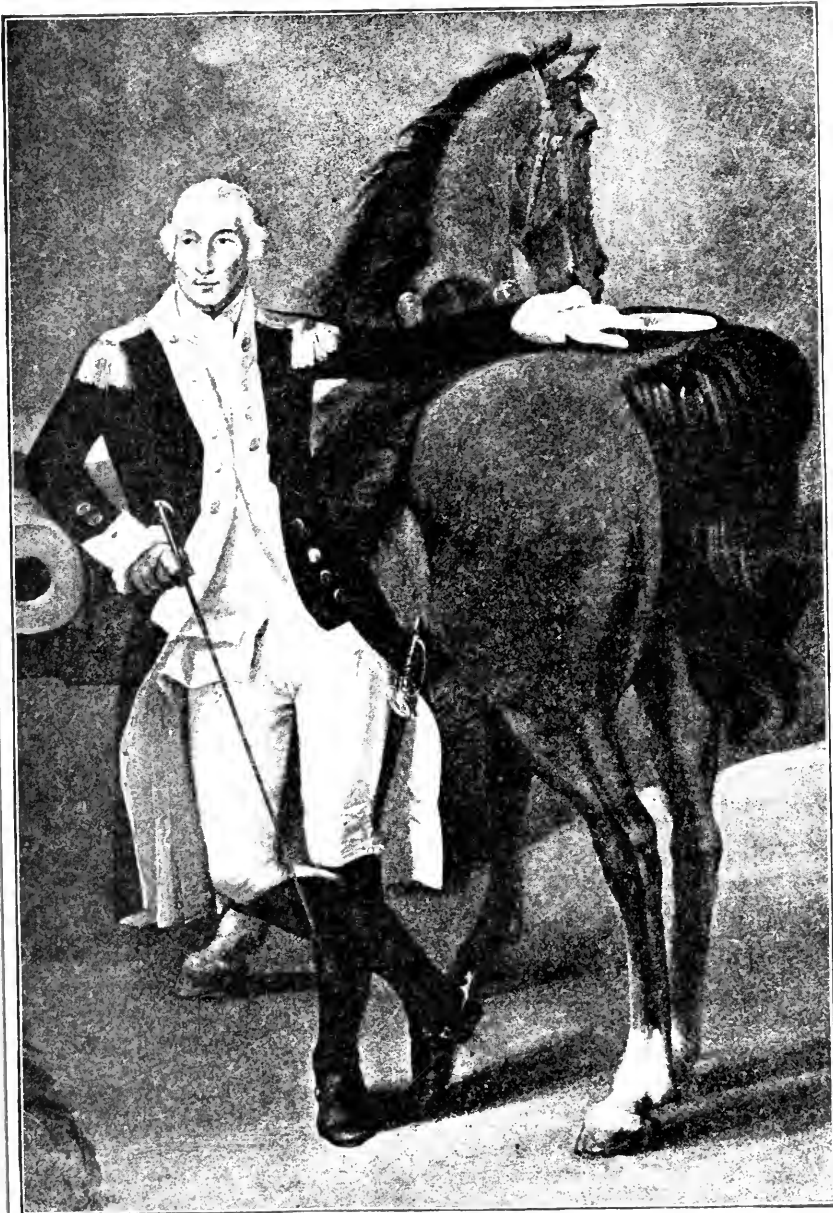
WHEN upon the 6th of April, 1789, the choice of the people of the United States fell upon George Washington as the first President of the republic, those sent to acquaint him with this signal demonstration of favor found him engaged upon his plantation at Mount Vernon. Worn with the cares of war, the bitterness of partisan politics, and the burdens of statecraft, Washington had retired to the banks of the Potomac, willing and anxious that his declining years should be spent far away from the northern centers of activity. Yet in obedience to popular demand the one great hero of the Revolution generously, yet sadly, left his home to enter once more upon a new career of devotion to the republic which he had helped to establish.

Whatever may have been the antagonisms that rankled in the breasts of Washington's personal enemies, or whatever may have been the bitter-nesses growing out of the controversy over the federal constitution, all factions united to extend to Washington a welcome as inspiring as it was spontaneous. Called to meet Congress in New York City, his pathway from Mount Vernon to the metropolis was that of a conqueror. The citizens of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania acclaimed him the "greatest of Americans," while

Philadelphia gave him a reception at once regal and inspiring.

In New Jersey the name of Washington was sufficient alone to thrill the people; his presence was electrical. Few there were in the State who could not remember the days of battle upon the icy streets of Trenton and Princeton, the huts of Morristown, the ensanguined field of Monmouth, and even children had seen Washington as he met Congress in Princeton or entertained his guests in Somerville and Rocky Hill. In the plenitude of peace, memories of the Revolution rushed over the minds of Jerseymen, and with a single thought the State united to do him the most distinguished honor ever paid any man in the New World.

Leaving the City Tavern in Philadelphia upon the morning of April 21, 1789, the carriage containing Washington and members of his staff proceeded in the rain along the Pennsylvania shore. It was about two o'clock in the afternoon when the presidential party arrived in Morrisville. Then, under the ferriage of Patrick Colvin, Washington crossed to New Jersey, where the inhabitants of Trenton and the then adjacent villages of Bloomsbury and Lambertton assembled in "an admiring concourse." Amid the shouts of the people, the presence of State dignitaries, with salvos of artillery and an escorting column of militia, the triumphal tour of New Jersey was in-



George Washington

(From the original portrait by Charles Willson Peale.)



augurated. Passing to the banks of the Assanpink Creek, Washington on horseback looked upon a scene which deeply moved him. A little over a decade before he, by a masterly movement, had turned the tide of battle and saved the fate of a nation. In memory of so auspicious an event the women of Trenton had prepared a reception both unique and gratifying. Spanning the Assanpink Creek, and uniting the Counties of Hunterdon and Burlington, was a bridge over which it was necessary to pass before the limits of Trenton should be reached. On the Trenton side of the bridge a wooden arch, a portion of which is yet preserved, was raised, supported on one side by seven and on the other by six pillars. This arch was nearly twenty feet wide and about twelve feet in length. Each of the thirteen pillars was entirely covered with masses of evergreens and wreaths of laurel, and the arches above were closely twined about with the same material, and festooned inside with long ropes of laurel and early spring flowers. On the south side of the archway, the side which first appeared to the presidential party, was this inscription in large gilt letters on a blue ground, and beautifully ornamented with flowers:

THE DEFENDER OF THE MOTHERS WILL BE THE
PROTECTOR OF THE DAUGHTERS.

Above this arch was a circlet of laurel and flowers, wreathing the memorable dates:

December 26, 1776—January 2, 1777.

On the top of this mass of evergreens was a large sunflower, which was intended to emblemize the American people, “ who turned toward him as the only Sun which would give life and warmth to the body politic.”

Upon the Trenton shore a touching and beautiful scene was enacted. Here were gathered, on one side of the arch, six little girls dressed in white, carrying baskets of flowers. On the other side were thirteen young women, representing the several States, who were dressed in a similar style, and also had baskets filled with flowers. Behind all these were a number of the matrons of the town and neighboring villages.

As Washington entered the arch the six little girls sang an ode which had been written by Major, afterward Governor Richard Howell, and which they performed with taste:

Welcome, mighty Chief ! once more
Welcome to this grateful shore !
Now no mercenary foe
Aims again the fatal blow—
Aims at thee the fatal blow.

Virgins fair, and Matrons grave,
Those thy conquering arms did save,

Build for thee triumphal bowers,
Strew, ye fair, his way with flowers—
Strew your Hero's way with flowers !

The first four lines were sung by both matrons and young women, the young women sang the fifth line, the matrons the first part and the young women the last part of the sixth line, then both sang the next two lines, the matrons the ninth, the young women the tenth line.

His horse paced slowly through the arch, and as the last two lines of the ode were sung the pathway was strewn with flowers by the young women and little girls. General Washington bowed in deep emotion, and ever referred to this event as one of the most charming incidents of his life.

After dining at the City Tavern, on the southwest corner of State and Warren Streets, a reception to the citizens of Trenton completed the day. Later in the afternoon General Washington expressed his sentiments in this letter, which is yet preserved :

General Washington cannot leave this place without expressing his acknowledgments, to the Matrons and young Ladies who received him in so novel and grateful a manner at the Triumphal Arch in Trenton, for the exquisite sensation he experienced in that affecting moment.—The astonishing contrast between his former and actual situation at the same spot—The elegant taste with which it was adorned for the present occasion—and the innocent appearance of the *white-robed* CHOR, who met him with the gratulatory

song, have made such impressions on his remembrance as, he assures them will never be effaced—

Trenton April 21st.

1789

From Trenton the same evening General Washington and his suite proceeded to Princeton, where it is generally understood that the night was spent at the residence of the president of the college, the Rev. Dr. John Witherspoon.

In company with William Livingston, the war governor of New Jersey, the general went on to Woodbridge, where tradition points to John Manning's inn as their place of entertainment. Along the route enthusiastic groups of farmers assembled at crossroads, gentry bowed dignified welcome from the porches of wayside inns, soldiers who had fought their nation's battles saluted and cheered as the presidential party passed their homes. Unbounded joy animated the people that, in the creation of their government, the power lodged in the chief executive would be directed by their Washington.

Thursday morning, April 23d, dawned bright and fair. Departing from Woodbridge, the militia and citizens met Washington and his suite near Rahway, escorting them to Elizabethtown, where they "received a federal salutation." After a popular reception, Washington received a committee of Congress at the home of the Hon.

Elias Boudinot, and thence repaired to Elizabethtown Point, attended by a vast concourse of people. He then reviewed the escorting troops and at noon departed from the confines of New Jersey. This termination to his welcome was attended by another outburst of intense devotion to the person of the President. Entering a large boat, manned by thirteen skillful harbor pilots dressed in white sailor costume, the "elegantly adorned" craft passed between the shores of New Jersey and Staten Island and thence into the Upper Bay. Among boats of all sizes, gay with bunting, their decks crowded, and even the distant shores of New York and New Jersey lined with spectators, the presidential party slowly made its way toward the Battery. With vocal and instrumental music, with the discharge of artillery and the loud welcome of the people, the President reached Murray's Wharf, now Wall Street, in the City of New York, between two and three o'clock in the afternoon. Here he was received by George Clinton, the governor of the State, and Richard Varick, the mayor of the city, and, after several days of continuous ovation, on April 30 Washington was inaugurated first President of the United States.

In April, 1889, upon the celebration of the centennial of the inaugural procession of Washington, ex-President Benjamin Harrison followed, in

part, the route taken by his predecessor. A special train conveyed the President and distinguished guests from the capital of the United States to New York. A change of plans necessitated the abandonment of a popular reception in Trenton, and the train passed through the town to Elizabeth, where President Harrison was the guest of the then governor, Robert Stockton Green. A truly royal welcome awaited the successor of General Washington, and there the enthusiasm and patriotism of all New Jersey found its expression.

To commemorate this occasion the New Jersey Historical Society, upon the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary, in May, 1895, in Newark, presented ex-President Harrison with a gold medal of exquisite beauty and workmanship, tendered on the part of the society by President Austin Scott, of Rutgers College.

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THE earliest of open protests against the policy of the federal leaders was the "Whiskey War," or the Pennsylvania Insurrection, which so deeply stirred the western part of that State and, in 1794, culminated in open lawlessness among the anti-Federalist Scotch-Irish settlers of Washington, Westmoreland, Fayette, and Allegheny Counties.

In accordance with Alexander Hamilton's plan for raising revenue by the establishment of an indirect tax Congress, in the year 1791, levied duties not only upon all distilled liquors, but upon the stills in which such liquors were made. From the view-point of those who opposed the act the "whiskey tax," as it was called, was unjust, in that it interfered with the right to use a beverage distilled from rye, which, as the Pennsylvanians claimed, should be as free for consumption as water. Further such legislation was unconstitutional, and lastly it was federalistic, autocratic, and a precedent dangerous to the liberties of a free people.

So intense did the opposition become that the matter finally culminated in the passage of an act of Congress, May 9, 1794, calling upon the States for eighty thousand effective militia, of which New Jersey's quota was 4,318 men. Upon the 20th of June of the same year New Jersey,

by act of the Legislature, authorized the commander-in-chief to detail a detachment of militia to serve against the so-called "rebels" in Western Pennsylvania.

In his proclamation of August 7, 1794, President Washington declared certain of the inhabitants of Western Pennsylvania to be in a state of war against the United States by reason of their committing acts of overt treason. It was charged in the proclamation that unlawful combinations, subversive of governmental and individual rights, had effected a criminal purpose by holding irregular meetings, where a lawless spirit was encouraged by misrepresenting the spirit and letter of the law. Individuals were deterred from accepting office through fear of public resentment and injury to person and property, while existing officers were intimidated in the discharge of their duties. Citizens who complied with the statute were subjected to "vindictive measures" in the destruction of their property and the infliction of "cruel, humiliating punishment" upon their persons, employing for all these purposes "the agency of armed banditti in such manner as for the most part to escape discovery."

To correct these evils the proclamation stated that various Legislatures had recommended that duties be lowered, while the federal government had expostulated, forborne, and advised, but to

no purpose. On the 16th and 17th of July the revenue inspector had been attacked by an armed mob, the United States marshal for the district of Pennsylvania had been fired upon and seized, and finally had been obliged to fly for safety. In addition Associate Justice James Wilson had advised the President that the Counties of Washington and Allegheny were in a state of practical insurrection. The proclamation closed with a warning to all insurgents to return to their homes.

Both upon August 23 and September 1, 1794, Governor Richard Howell promulgated general orders directing Major-General Elias Dayton to organize the New Jersey militia and hold it in readiness for instant marching, consisting of one brigadier-general, fifteen hundred non-commissioned officers and privates of infantry, and a due proportion of commissioned officers. Two companies of artillery were ordered to move with the detachment.

A portion of the troops were first sent to New Brunswick, the general rendezvous being at Trenton. The cavalry was mustered into the service of the United States at Trenton upon September 14th, and upon the 17th was ordered to move into Pennsylvania. Upon September 20th the artillery muster occurred, and thence until the end of the month the infantry was mustered. The troops of New Jersey having crossed the Delaware, the

route of march lay through Newtown, Norristown, Reading, Harrisburg, and Carlisle, at which point the army was reviewed by President Washington. Thence the road led through Shippensburg, Strausburg (where the Blue Mountains were crossed to Bedford), Parkinson's Ferry, Brown's Ferry, and lastly to Pittsburg. At Bedford Governor Henry Lee, of Virginia, was appointed commander of the troops.

Although the local militia of Western Pennsylvania had joined the mob, which numbered between six thousand and seven thousand men, and had connected itself with Republican secret societies, President Washington determined to meet force with force. Summoning the governors of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia to lend the effective fighting aid of their States, about thirteen thousand men were at once prepared for action. Commissioners to arrange terms of settlement were sent forward and met the insurgent leaders at Parkinson's Ferry, where a conference was held at a liberty pole upon which was a placard with the legend: "Liberty and no Excise! No asylum for cowards and traitors." After negotiations, among the leaders of the movement being Gallatin, a complete submission was effected upon October 24, 1794. Thus at a cost of \$1,500,000 the "Whiskey War" ignominiously collapsed. Meanwhile the army arrived,

only to start upon a return homeward, which occupied a month's time from November 21, 1794. The New Jersey troops were discharged during the following Christmas season.

So far as is known the only governor of New Jersey who ever appeared in the field as commander-in-chief was Governor Richard Howell, who not only accompanied the State troops to Pittsburg, but was assigned to the command of the right wing of the army October 9, 1794. With him were Adjutant-General Anthony Walton White, assigned to command the New Jersey cavalry brigade, and Colonels Aaron Ogden and Jonathan Rhea, comprising the staff. In advance of the army was Major-General Frederick Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, in command of a legion of Philadelphia horse, the McPherson Blues. A company of Jerseymen from Somerset County in this legion was commanded by Ford Morris.

In the organization of the First Regiment of Cavalry Benjamin Williamson was major commanding. The several troops of light dragoons included companies from Essex, Middlesex, Somerset, and Monmouth Counties.

Of the Second Cavalry Regiment William Leddel was major. This regiment was divided into two squadrons. There were light dragoons from Morris County, with troops from Bergen, Morris,

Sussex, Somerset, Monmouth, Middlesex, and Hunterdon Counties.

The infantry brigade was under the command of Brigadier-General Joseph Bloomfield, to which was attached the artillery battalion under Captain Eli Elmer commanding. Two companies of artillery composed this battalion, one being recruited from Cumberland County, the other from Morris, Essex, and Bergen Counties. The lieutenant-colonel of the First Regiment was Franklin Davenport. Here were to be found companies from the Counties of Burlington, Cumberland, Salem, Essex, and probably, in part, from Cape May.

The Second Regiment had for its lieutenant-colonel Amos Stark. There were companies from Essex, Bergen, Morris, and Sussex. The lieutenant-colonel of the Third Regiment was Jonathan Forman. To this regiment Middlesex, Somerset, Hunterdon, Sussex, and Monmouth Counties sent companies.

William Crane was lieutenant-colonel of the Fourth Regiment. Middlesex, Essex, Somerset, and Hunterdon Counties sent companies.

A characteristic figure in the "Whiskey War" was that of Joseph Louis, Count d'Anterroches, kinsman of the Marquis de Lafayette and leader of the French colony at Elizabethtown. In the private manuscript collection belonging to War-

ren R. Dix, Esq., of Elizabeth, great-grandson of the Count d'Anterroches, has been preserved a series of quaintly written, unpublished letters written to the Countess d'Anterroches, née Mary Vanderpool, of Bottle Hill.

From these letters, it is learned that the Count d'Anterroches, with the body of troops, arrived in Reading, Pennsylvania, Sunday afternoon, September 21, 1794,

To the sounds of the Bells of the Court House, &c. The streets were lined with people which is very large, and in fact we are a show; our line by two a breast extends near Halfe a mile. * * * I am happy in informing you that our governor who is our Commander in chief treats me with great friendship, and have lived in his family composed of Col^l A. Ogden and Col^l Ray (Rhea) his aids de camps since we left Trenton. You know that I expect that I am the adjutant of all the Cavalry of New Jersey and that I have four under me to assist me in my duty.

On Friday afternoon, September 26th, the Count arrived in Carlisle,

Surrounded by men opposing our good government, but without fear of them. We have sent few of them already to jail and one unfortunately was killed hiester day by a dragoon from Philadelphia. * * * We are only 200 miles from Elizabethtown or very little more, and we have been 20 days doing of it. 25 miles in one day has been the highest journey we ever had, 14 and 15 has been our common travelling per day. We crossed the Susquehanna at Harrisburg Friday morning, one mile and a quarter wide there. We all foorded it, the water not being but a little higher than our horses belly. It was a fine sight to see about four Hundred horses all mounted by their riders, all at once in the middle of that beautiful River. The weather has been very hot and very damp since we came to this place. * * * We are 180 miles

from fort Pit and the Roads are very mountaignous and very bad they says.

Again upon the 9th of November the Count d'Anterroches writes to Elizabethtown from "Westmoreland County," sending the letter by a dragoon. For some time the count had been at points distant from the post road, but at last arrived at Bonnell's Camp. Here the count joyfully says that he will be home by Christmas,

Governor Miffling mentioning to me confidentially this morning that we should not go further than 13 miles from this camp, and that all our campaigning would soon be at an end matters taking a good Turn. We march for that place tomorrow morning, where the whole army shall meet together under the command of Gen^l Lee. We have had for Twelve days Raine night and days and the worstest roads ever can be on earth. number of waggons have been Broken to pieces and several of the Horses have died of fatigue. I write by the light of a lamp full of greese. I can hardly see.

In consideration of the services of the Count d'Anterroches Governor Henry Lee, of Virginia, writing from headquarters, Powers Farm, on November 10th, addressed the following letter to General White:

SIR,

I have reflected on your proposition respecting Chevalier D'Anterroches, who has acted with your Brigade and about your person.

His merits and services during the expedition are highly spoken of by all, and particularly by the Governor of New Jersey. Compensation ought to be made to him, or he will not be treated justly.

The various and constant exertions, to which you must be exposed, in the command of so large a Brigade of Dragoons, certainly authorizes you to annex to your person the necessary assistance.

In such situations, not only a Brigade Major is allowed, but also a Brigade Aid, who has the rank and pay of Major, in this latter character, you had better consider and use the Chevalier.

It will secure to you a continuation of his useful assistance, and to him proper & honorable compensation, you are therefore hereby authorized to invest him with that appointment, & thereby secure to him the emoluments attached to it, from the beginning of his service.

Later in life other honors were conferred upon the Count d'Anterroches. On February 10, 1799, President Adams, in view of the possible war with France, appointed the count to the captaincy of a company of volunteer infantry raised in Elizabethtown for service in the provisional army.

Incidentally it may be said that, but three years previous to the "Whiskey War," three hundred and twenty-five Jerseymen had taken part in a frontier expedition in the State of Ohio.

Under the act of Congress approved March 3, 1791, providing for the protection of the frontiers of the United States against Miami Indian raids and massacres, the "New Jersey Battalion," consisting of four companies of infantry, was raised under the denomination of levies. This battalion, known as the Second Regiment, being a part of the command of Major-General Arthur Saint Clair, was called into service for six months, the colonel of the regiment being George Gibson, of Virginia. After an arduous march to the frontier the New Jersey companies took part in Saint Clair's dis-

astrous defeat near Fort Recovery, Ohio, upon November 4, 1791. The major of the regiment was Thomas Paterson, who had been captain in the Third Battalion, Second Establishment, New Jersey Continental Line, during the Revolutionary War.



THE immediate changes wrought by the completion of the War for Independence were largely of a political character. Particularly in governmental matters were the transformations most marked. In less than a quarter of a century a new-born nation had wrested supremacy from the crown, had united thirteen semi-independent States, had adopted a constitution, had passed through the bitter personal antagonisms incident to the formation of national political parties, and had received recognition as the world's greatest republic. But in the stupendous metamorphosis there had been but little outward change from the habits and customs of colonial times, and as little alteration in the State of New Jersey as elsewhere in the Union.

The close of the eighteenth century found social lines in New Jersey clearly defined. Families dominant in the colonial life of the State, in the microcosms of politics, conventional society, theology, or the law, had their representatives of equal prominence in 1800. A family name was still potent, a family influence still gained prompt recognition. Not even the taint of Toryism, and the fact that cousins were beginning life anew as refugees in Nova Scotia or New Brunswick, altered the respect paid to the head or scions of a distinguished house. Caste distinctions were

well defined and the colonial demarcations were projected until well into the nineteenth century. First came the families whose sons were members of the bar and clergy, and from which most of the State officials, members of Council, and a portion of the House of Assembly were usually selected. In West Jersey, as in the Southern colonies, the members of the Society of Friends, with their large plantation interests, formed a dignified landed aristocracy, which had a counterpart in East Jersey in the descendants of the Dutch settlers who retained ancestral holdings along the valleys of the rivers emptying into New York Bay. These may be termed the country gentry. A large portion of the population forming another group was composed of small farmers, store keepers, and artisans. Day laborers and apprentices composed another element, while slaves and half-breed Indians were at the base of the social structure. The opportunities to suddenly acquire vast wealth did not exist, consequently its employment as a factor in personal advancement was unknown. There were no sudden changes of fortune, and patrimonies were usually as slowly dissipated as they were accumulated. In such static conditions any alteration was an evolution rather than a revolution.

Social life among the men was limited to polite intercourse at their homes or in the taverns. In

New Jersey there were no clubs, in the modern sense of the term. Organizations, however, existed, which from their slow growth apparently met all demands. The most exclusive was unquestionably the Society of the Cincinnati, which organized in 1783 with George Washington as its president-general, and which was instituted the same year in the State of New Jersey with General Elias Dayton as its first State president. Annually meeting upon the Fourth of July, with a membership largely composed of Federalists in New Jersey, the organization embraced men distinguished in the annals of the Revolution. But in New Jersey its career was not marked, as in other States, by the later violent opposition which threatened its downfall and led to the establishment of the Tammany societies. The conservative spirit in the State recognized the purposes for which the society was formed, and good naturedly appreciated the display of insignia and the provisions of its constitution relating to membership by right of primogeniture. By its side stood the Masonic order, which laid claim to military lodges founded during the Revolution, and which had secured a membership among the most respectable citizens of the State.

It was, however, in political gatherings that the social spirit was dominant. Feeling ran high at all seasons of the year. Every election was bit-

terly contested, every prominent man was called upon to positively declare his sentiments, if not in the press, at least at dinners, where toasts were drunk to the success of one side and confusion to the other. It was an age of feasting and drinking, when every public occasion was the proper opportunity for a dinner and hearty potations. The successful candidate was dined, the baby was welcomed into the world with a gathering around the punch bowl, the barn raising or the laying of a frame of a new church meant the consuming of small beer, canary, and metheglin, and even the dead were hastened through the dark valley with a fitting banquet and the distribution of stimulating beverages among those who mourned. No gentleman ever neglected to keep his mahogany sideboard spotless, bright with glass and silver, and his stock of liquors in plenty. Even the humblest laborer had a bottle of spirits in the painted cupboard, if only one tin cup was in the house.

It was, however, at the taverns that the social life of the day found its freest expression. Here gathered all classes and conditions of men, particularly in the county capitals. Associate justices of the Supreme Court and lawyers on circuit, leading men of the community, ambitious politicians, postriders and coach drivers with the latest news from the cities, petty chapmen, char-

latans, impostors, and travellers, occupied private apartments or the tap room, while standing around the door were slaves, apprentices, and the rabble of the town. Day and night there was noise and bustle in the inns, with late arrivals and early departures of horsemen, coaches, mail wagons, carters, and pedestrians. Here gossip and news were retailed and disseminated, and what with drinking, card playing, and disorder incident to frequent fights the taverns of the day were usually as demoralizing as they were numerous.

Among women the Old World conditions were still binding. As an economic factor she was scarcely worth consideration, and as late as sixty years ago Miss Harriet Martineau, while visiting America, says that there were only seven employments open to women, namely, teaching, needlework, keeping boarders, working in cotton mills, typesetting, bookbinding, and household service. This list for the year 1800 may be reduced by abolishing working in cotton mills, typesetting, and bookbinding. Female activity and interest lay almost exclusively in the home. Every girl learned the elements of domestic science, and left for women yet unborn the problems of sex-emancipation.

The standard of living embraced fewer comforts than at present, the diet being heavy and

coarse. The physical difficulties of preparing meals, to which much of a woman's life was then devoted, required close attention to detail. In all America there was no cookstove; coal was simply a curiosity, wood and charcoal in an open fire being the only fuel. Not a single canned vegetable could be bought, ice houses were infrequent, water was drawn from wells, artificial light was had from wax candles or "tallow dips," while the score of kitchen conveniences, now so common, were unknown. From domestic duties the average young woman turned to her needlework and to her lover. True, in families where there was little religious prejudice the girls were permitted to dance at home or at the "assemblies," play cards, and sing, and if by chance she had visited the Park Theater in New York or the Chestnut Street Theater in Philadelphia, and had seen Mrs. Oldmixon, Mrs. Hogg, Mr. Holcroft, or Mr. Jefferson, her wide social experience was the talk of the town.

Though usually an atrocious speller, the woman of 1800 was an omnivorous reader, particularly when the romantic, bombastic novel came from faraway England. She was neither hysterical nor morbid nor given to the analysis of sex-problems, but she had genuine hearty affections, flirted with this flame or that, and ultimately settled down to a quiescent matrimonial state. Divorce

in New Jersey was practically unknown, and the marriages of the day were the results of normal love making.

The mass of the people lived much in the open air, and were accustomed to athletic exercises, but not to any of the modern games. In the larger towns of New Jersey in 1800, such as Newark, Elizabeth Town, Perth Amboy, New Brunswick, Trenton, Burlington, and Bridgeton, it was but a step to a river or stream abounding in fish or wild fowl, or to a nearby woods or fields where small game was abundant. Deer roamed through the "Pines," and bears were frequent in the mountains of the northern part of the State. Fox hunting had its devotees, and many gentlemen throughout New Jersey kept hounds. From Philadelphia members of the famous old "State In Schuylkill" club came frequently to New Jersey, and in Gloucester County were joined by the fox hunters, with whom they rode to the sea shore. From New York fishermen went by schooner or shallop to Newark or Raritan Bays to engage in contests with the gentry of Middlesex and Monmouth Counties, while the Delaware, from the shad fisheries at Gloucester to the "Forks" at Easton, was a resort for many sportsmen of prominence. Horse breeding and turf-racing had their admirers, and so prominent were the horse breeding interests of the State that

the great seal of New Jersey, adopted in 1776, bears for its crest a nag's head, as does the seal of the City of Trenton, designed in 1793. Monmouth, Somerset, Burlington, Gloucester, and Salem were counties famous for strains of racing stock, while the newspapers of the day teem with advertisements of the merits of notable horses. Road and turf racing were common, and were always for prizes of money and plate. Here, as in lotteries and card playing, there was constant gambling. Jockeys, as now, were trained, being negro boys who, like the horses, belonged to their masters.

In contests of physical strength boxing and fencing were the amusements of gentlemen. A recent writer calls attention to the fact that Thomas Jefferson boxed and fenced, and George Washington, who all but saw the nineteenth century open, could jump further and throw a stone a greater distance than any other man in Virginia.

There are allusions in old letters to prize fighting, which was always conducted in a brutal manner. Election and training-day fights, which were a mixture of tests of strength and personal antagonisms, were held in the stable yards of taverns, when eye-gouging and chewing of ears were allowable under the rough and ready "rules" governing such affairs.

One form of social entertainment, if such it

may be called, and which reached all classes, was a morbid desire to attend funerals. The death of a man or woman—children, owing to their plenitude, were not considered—was the occasion of a concourse of people varying in size with the individual's local prominence. Owing to the narrowness of environment, any person of more than mediocre ability gained a more or less conspicuous place and possessed a large though highly intensified acquaintanceship and friendship. Riders were sent with notifications of the death. To provide for the dinner extensive though hurried preparations were made. All available persons were pressed into service, and at the hour of interment the house was crowded. Either at the home or in the church the "funeral was preached," sometimes among the Society of Friends the exercises occupying two or three hours. Then the cortege took its way to the graveyard or the family burial lot, which often lay adjacent to the residence. There was intense solemnity on these occasions, in which women took an active and tearful part.

Beyond this, life was blank. Art and music, great exhibitions of the world's progress in science, travel to remote lands, study, and a wide course of reading were within the experience of but few. Simple, even crude, pleasure, a routine broken only by election or training days, by hunt-

ing or fishing and infrequent visits to Philadelphia and New York, comprised the social pleasures of even the most fortunate. With women the range was far less extensive.

The rigidity of church discipline was a powerful restraint. No one for a moment seriously questioned the declaration of the pulpit in the matter of amusement. The Society of Friends, the young but rapidly growing Methodist Episcopal connection, the Presbyterian and Reformed Dutch denominations had all spoken upon the subject, and for the time had spoken finally. All denominations were opposed to dancing, most had denounced lotteries and other forms of gambling. Excessive drinking was under the ban, and card playing was a thing of evil. Theaters, to all, were an abomination, and the sum and substance of the matter was that a woman's place was at home, and a man's place in tending to his commercial or political affairs. Thus the latitude allowed individual consciences was limited, and only those whose church membership was nominal took part in the pleasures of the age.

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