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# OLD TIMES

IN

# OLD MONMOUTH.

HISTORICAL REMINISCENCES OF

## OLD MONMOUTH COUNTY NEW JERSEY.

Being a series of Historical Sketches relating to Old Monmouth County,  
Now Monmouth and Ocean Counties, originally published in  
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BY  
EDWIN SALTER.

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IN

## OLD MONMOUTH.

### THE MONMOUTH PATENT.

As this noted instrument, though familiar to those who have made the early history of our State a special study, is not readily accessible to some of our readers, we copy it here for convenient reference to all interested in the history of Old Monmouth :

“ To all whom these presents shall come: I Richard Nicolls Esq, Governor under his Royal Highness the Duke of York of all his Territories in America, send greeting.

“ Whereas there is a certain tract or parcel of land within this government, lying and being near Sandy Point, upon the Main; which said parcel of land hath been with my consent and approbation bought by some of the inhabitants of Gravesend upon Long Island of the Sachems (chief proprietors thereof) who before me have acknowledged to have received satisfaction for the same, to the end that the said land may be planted, manured and inhabited, and for divers other good causes and considerations, I have thought fit to give confirm and grant and by these presents do give confirm and grant unto WILLIAM GURDING, SAMUEL SPICER, RICHARD GIBBONS, RICHARD STOTT, JAMES GROVER, JOHN BOWN, JOHN TILTON, NATHANIEL SYLVESTER, WILLIAM REAPE,

WALTER CLARKE, NICHOLAS DAVIS, OBADIAH HOLMES, patentees, and their associates, their heirs, successors and assigns, all that tract and part of the main land, beginning at a certain place commonly called or known by the name of Sandy Point and so running along the bay West North West, till it comes to the mouth of the Baritan River, from thence going along the said river to the westernmost part of the certain marsh land, which divides the river into two parts, and from that part to run in a direct Southwest line into the woods twelve miles, and thence to turn away south east and by south, until it falls into the main ocean; together with all lands, soils, rivers, creeks, harbors, mines, minerals (Royal mines excepted) quarries, woods, meadows, pastures marshes, waters, lakes, fishings, hawkings, huntings and fowling, and all other profits, commodities and hereditaments to the said lands and premises belonging and appertaining, with their and every of their appurtenances and of every part and parcel thereof, TO HAVE AND TO HOLD all and singular the said lands, hereditaments and premises with their and every of their appurtenances hereby given and granted, or herein before mentioned to be given and granted to the only proper use and behoof of the said patentees and their associates, their heirs successors and assigns forever, upon such terms and conditions as hereafter are expressed, that is to say,

that the said patentees and their associates, their heirs or assigns shall within the space of three years, beginning from the day of the date hereof, manure and plant the aforesaid land and premises and settle there one hundred families at the least; in consideration whereof I do promise and grant that the said patentees and their associates, their heirs, successors and assigns, shall enjoy the said land and premises, with their appurtenances, for the term of seven years next to come after the date of these presents, free from payment of any rents, customs, excise, tax or levy whatsoever. But after the expiration of the said term of seven years, the persons who shall be in possession thereof, shall pay after, the same rate which others within this his Royal Highness' territories shall be obliged unto. And the said patentees and their associates, their heirs successors and assigns shall have free leave and liberty to erect and build their towns and villages in such places, as they in their discretions shall think most convenient, provided that they associate themselves, and that the houses of their towns and villages be not too far distant and scattering one from another; and also that they make such fortifications for their defence against an enemy as may be needful.

"And I do likewise grant unto the said patentees and their associates, their heirs successors and assigns, and unto any and all other persons, who shall plant and inhabit in any of the land aforesaid that they shall have free liberty of conscience, without any molestation or disturbance whatsoever in their way of worship.

"And I do further grant unto the aforesaid patentees, their heirs, successors and assigns, that they shall have liberty to elect by the vote of the major part of the inhabitants, five or seven other persons of the ablest and discreetest of the said inhabitants, or a greater number of them (if the patentees, their heirs, successors or assigns shall see cause) to join with them, and they together, or the major part of them, shall have full power and authority, to make such peculiar and prudential laws and constitutions amongst the inhabitants for the better and more orderly governing of them, as to them shall seem meet; provided they be not repugnant to the public laws of the government; and they shall also have liberty to try all causes and actions of debts and trespasses arising amongst themselves to the value of *ten pounds*, without appeal, but they may re-

mit the hearing of all criminal matters to the assizes of New York.

"And furthermore I do promise and grant unto the said patentees and their associates aforementioned their heirs, successors and assigns that they shall in all things have equal privileges, freedom and immunities with any of his majesty's subjects within this government, these patentees and their associates, their heirs, successors and assigns rendering and paying such duties and acknowledgments as now are, or hereafter shall be constituted and established by the laws of this government, under obedience of his Royal Highness, his heirs and successors, provided they do no way infringe the privileges above specified.

"Given under my hand and seal at Fort James in New York in Manhattan Island the 8th day of April, in the 17th year of the reign of our sovereign lord Charles the Second by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith &c., and in the year of our Lord God 1665.

RICHARD NICOLLS.

*"Entered in the office of record in New York, the day and year above written."*

MATTHIAS NICOLLS, Secretary."

About seven years after the date of the above instrument, the following confirmations to portions of it were agreed to by Governor Carter and Council:

NEW JERSEY May 28th 1672.

Upon the address of James Grover, John Bowne, Richard Hartshorne, Jonathan Holmes, patentees, and James Ashon and John Hulse, associates, empowered by the patentees and associates of the towns of Middletown and Shrewsbury, unto the Governor and Council for confirmation of certain privileges granted unto them by Colonel Richard Nicolls, as by patent under his hand and seal bearing date the 8th day of April Anno Domini One thousand six hundred sixty five, the Governor and Council do confirm unto the said patentees and associates, these particulars following, being their rights, contained in the aforesaid patent, viz:

*Imprimis:* That the said patentees and associates have full power, license and authority to dispose of the said lands expressed in the said patent, as to them shall seem meet.

II. That no ministerial power or clergyman shall be imposed on among the inhabitants of the said land, so as to enforce any that are contrary minded to contribute to their maintenance.



III. That all causes whatsoever (criminals excepted) shall first have a hearing within their cognizance, and that no appeals unto higher courts where sentence has been passed amongst them under the value of ten pounds be admitted.

IV. That all criminals and appeals above the value of ten pounds, which are to be referred unto the aforesaid higher courts, shall receive their determination upon appeals to his Majesty, not to be hindered.

V. That for all commission officers both civil and military, the patentees, associates and Freeholders, have liberty to present two for each office to the Governor when they shall think fit, one of which the Governor is to *Commissionate* to execute the said office, and that they have liberty to make peculiar prudential laws and constitutions amongst themselves according to the tenor of the said patent.

PIL. CARTERET.

John Kenney, Lordue Address, Samuel Edsall, John Pike, John Bishop, *Council*.

The causes which induced the following very material modification in the grants and privileges to the Monmouth patentees and their associates will be referred to hereafter.

"Directions, instructions and orders made by the late Lords Proprietors of the province of East New Jersey, to be observed by the Governor, Council and inhabitants of the said province, bearing date the 31st day of July, Anno Domini, 1674, amongst which there is as followeth, viz: as to inhabitants of Nevisinks, considering their faithfulness to the Lords Proprietors that upon their petition, their township shall be surveyed and shall be incorporated, and to have equal privileges with other the inhabitants of the Province, and that such of them who were the pretended patentees and laid out money in purchasing Land from the Indians, shall have in consideration thereof five hundred acres of land to each of them to be allotted by the Governor and Council, in such places that it may not be prejudicial to the rest of the inhabitants, and because there is much barren land, after survey taken, the Governor and Council may give them allowance."

OLD MONMOUTH DESCRIBED BY AN ANCIENT WRITER.

MIDDLETOWN, SHREWSBURY AND FREEHOLD IN 1708.—NEW JERSEY A PARADISE.

We copy the following from the celebrated but quite rare work of Oldmixon, published in 1708. The Capitals, orthography and italics are about as in the original.

After describing Middlesex county, he says: "We cross over the river from Middlesex into

*Monmouth County*; Where we first meet with *Middletown* a pretty Good Town consisting of 100 Families and 30,000 Acres of Ground on what they call here *Out Plantations*. 'Tis about 10 or 12 miles over Land, to the Northward of Shrewsbury and 26 miles to the Southward of Piscataway. Not far off, the Shear winds itself about like a Hook and being sandy gives Name to all the Bay.

*Shrewsbury* is the most Southern Town of the Province and reckon'd the chief Town of the Shire. It contains about 100 Families and 30,000 Acres of *Out Plantations*, belonging to its Division. 'Tis situated on the Side of a fresh Water Stream, thence called Shrewsbury River, not far from its Mouth. Between this Town and *Middletown* is an Iron Work but we do not understand it has been any great Benefit to the Proprietors. Col. *Morris* is building a Church at the Falls. There's a new town in the County called

*Freehold*, which has not been laid out and inhabited lo.g. It does not contain as yet above 40 Families and as to its *Out Plantations* we suppose they are much the same in number with the rest and may count it about 30,000 acres.

We have not divided the counties into Parishes and that for a good reason, there being none, nor indeed a Church in the whole Province worth that Name. But there are several Congregations of Church of *England* men as at *Shrewsbury, Amboy, Elizabeth Town* and *Freehold* whose Minister is Mr. *John Beak*; his Income is 65l. a year; and a Church is building at Salem.

In another place Oldmixon in speaking of the first settlers of New Jersey says:

"We must note that most of the first English Inhabitants in this country (East

and West Jersey) were Dissenters, and most of them Quakers and Anabaptists. These people are generally industrious; Be their Hypocrisy to themselves if they are Hypocrites; but we must do them the Justice to own that they are the fittest to inhabit a new discovered Country, as possessing Industry, and shunning those public Vices which beget Idleness and Want. Their enemies drove great numbers of them out of England, and the Jerseys had their share of them. The People here are for this Reason Dissenters to this Day, their being but two Church of England Ministers in both Provinces; and this may be one reason why there are no Parish Churches, which the Inhabitants may be afraid to build, least it might be a temptation for more Orthodox Divines to come among them.

"A gentleman asking one of the Proprietaries 'If there were no Lawyers in the Jerseys?' Was answered 'No.' And then 'If there were no Physicians?' The Proprietor replied 'No.' 'Nor Parsons?' adds the Gentleman, 'No,' says the Proprietor. Upon which the other cry'd 'What a happy place must this be and how worthy the name of Paradise!' We do not perhaps differ more from this gentleman than we agree with him."

Oldmixon derived his information of New Jersey from two of the Proprietors as will be seen by the following extract from his preface:

"Mr Dockwra and Dr Cox were both so kind as to inform him fully of the JERSEYS and Mr. Pen did him the same Favor for Pennsylvania; these three Gentlemen doing him the Honor to admit him into their Friendship."

#### OLD MONMOUTH UNDER THE DUTCH.

Governor Parker, in his valuable address before the New Jersey Historical Society, produced the old town book of Middletown township, which gives the history of this section of East Jersey from 1667, to 1702. After the Dutch conquest in 1673, it was stated that little or nothing is recorded in the town book during their brief rule of less than a year.

Your readers may remember that the Dutch had the supremacy in New York and New Jersey until 1664, when the

English conquered the Dutch. In 1673, a war having again broken out between England and Holland, a small Dutch squadron was sent over and arrived at Staten Island, July 30th. Captain Manning, the English officer temporarily in command at New York, surrendered at once without any effort to defend the place and the Dutch again resumed sway over New York, New Jersey and settlements along the Delaware. They retained it however only a few months, as by a treaty made in February following, these places were ceded back to England, though the English appear not to have taken formal possession until November following. During this short time while the Dutch were again in authority, embracing the time that Governor Parker says the Middletown township book records but little or nothing, the following items relating to Old Monmouth, are found among the official records of the Dutch at New York. The first is an order issued shortly after their arrival; the orthography is given as we find it:

"The inhabitants of Middletown and Shrewsbury, are hereby charged and required to send their deputies unto us on Tuesday morning next, for to treat with us upon articles of surrendering their said towns under the obedience of their High and Mighty Lords, the States General of the said United Provinces, and his serene Highness, the Prince of Orange, or by refusal we shall be necessitated to subdue the places thereunto by force of arms.

"Dated at New Orange this 12th day of August, A. D. 1673.

"CORNELIS EVERTSE, Jr."  
"JACOB BENCKES."

In compliance with the above order, deputies from Shrewsbury, Middletown and other places in East Jersey, appeared in court on the 18th of August, and upon their verbal request the same privileges were granted to them as to Dutch citizens.

"August 19th 1673. Middletown, Shrewsbury and other towns in Achter Coll, to name two deputies each, who shall nominate three persons for Schout and three for Secretaries, out of which said nominated persons by us shall be elected for each town, three magistrates and for the six towns, one schout, and one Secretary.

"JACOB BENCKES,"  
"CORNELIS EVERTSE, Jr."

Achter Coll above mentioned, is said to mean "beyond the hills," that is, beyond Bergen Hills. The Dutch in New York it

is stated sometimes called Old Monmouth and other parts of East Jersey, beyond Bergen Hills, by this name.

"August 23d. 1673. Middletown and Shrewsbury, reported that they had nominated double the number of magistrates.

"August 24th, from the nominations made by the inhabitants, the following were selected and sworn, viz :

"John Hanco (Hance?), Eliakim Wardel, Hugh Dyckman.

"Sept. 6th, 1673. Captain Knyff and Captain Snell were sent to administer the oath of allegiance to the citizens of the various towns in East Jersey to the Dutch.

"14th of 7 ber, Captain Knyff and Lieut. Snell having returned yesterday from Aghter Coll, report that, pursuant to their commission, they have administered the oath of allegiance in the form herein before set forth, under date of ——— to the inhabitants of the undersigned towns, who are found to number as in the lists delivered to Council.

"Elizabethtown 80 men: 76 took oath, rest absent.			
Newark.....	86 "	75	" "
Woodbridge.....	54 "	53	" "
Piscataway.....	43 "	43	" "
Middletown.....	60 "	52	" "
Shrewsbury.....	68 "	38	" 18 Quakers promised allegiance, the rest absent."

The following officers of the militia, elected, were sworn in by Captain Knyff and Lieut. Snell, by order of the Council of War, viz :

Middletown, Jonathan Hulmes, Captain; John Smith, Lieutenant; Thomas Whitlock, Ensign.

Shrewsbury, William Newman, Captain, John Williamson, Lieutenant; Nicles Brown, Ensign.

"29th, 7 ber, 1673, Notice is this day sent to the Magistrates of the towns, situated at the Nevesings, near the sea coast, which they are ordered to publish to their inhabitants, that on the first arrival of any ship from sea, they shall give the Governor the earliest possible information thereof.

"Sept. 7th, 1673, Whereas, the late chosen Magistrates of Shoursbury, are found to be Persons whoes religion Will Not Suffer them to take on any oath, or administer the same to others, whereof they Can Not be fit Persons for that office, I have therefore though fit to order that by ye sd inhabitants of ye sd towne a New Nomination, shall be made of four persons of true Pro-

testant Christian religion, out of which I shall Elect two, and Continue one of ye former for Magistrates off ye sd towne."

"Dated att ffort William hendrick, this 29th, 7 ber, 1673. A. Colver."

The date 7th ber, in the above extracts, means September, and the persons in Shoursbury [Shrewsbury] who could not take the oath were Quakers.)

"March 8th, 1674. In council at fort William Hendrick :

"Read and considered the petition of Bartholomew Applegadt, Thomas Applegadt and Richard Saddler, requesting in substance that they be allowed to purchase from the Indians, a tract of land, situated about two leagues on this side of Middletown, near the Nevesings, fit for settlement of 6 or 8 families &c. Wherefore it was ordered:

"The Petitioners request is allowed and granted on condition, that after the land be purchased, they take out patents in form for it and actually settle it within the space of two years, after having effected the purchase, on pain of forfeiture.

"April 18th, 1674, John Bound (Bowne?), and Richard Hartshoorne, residing at Middletown, both for themselves and partners give notice that the land granted to Bartholomew Applegadt, Tho. Applegadt and Richard Sadler, in their petition is included in their, the Petitioners patent, requesting therefore that the said land may be again denied to said Applegadt.

"Ordered, That the petitioners shall within six weeks from this date, prove, that the said land is included within their patent, when further order shall be made in the premises.

"April 19th, 1674, A certain proclamation being delivered into council from the Magistrates of the Toune of Middletowne, prohibiting all inhabitants from departing out of said towne, unless they give bail to return as soon as their business will have been performed, or they be employed in public service &c., requesting the Governers approval of the same, which being read and considered, it is resolved and ordered by the Governer General and Council, that no inhabitant can be hindered changing his domicile, within the Province unless arrested for lawful cause; however ordered that no one shall depart from the towne of Middletowne, unless he previously notifies the Magistrates of his intention."

## RANDOM REMINISCENCES

OF THE

## EARLY HISTORY OF OLD MONMOUTH.

## THE WHITES ENTERING SANDY HOOK.

The earliest accounts we have of the whites being in the vicinity of Monmouth county is contained in a letter of John de Verazzano to Francis 1st, King of France. Verazzano entered Sandy Hook in the spring of 1524 in the ship *Popolin*. On his return to Europe, he wrote a letter dated July 8th, 1524, to the King, giving an account of his voyage from Carolina to New Foundlnd. From this letter is extracted the following:

"After proceeding a hundred leagues, we found a very pleasant situation among some steep hills, through which a very large river, deep at its mouth, forces its way to the sea; from the sea to the estuary of the river any ship heavily laden might pass with the help of the tide, which rises eight feet. But as we were riding at good berth we would not venture up in our vessel without a knowledge of its mouth; therefore we took a boat, and entering the river we found the country on its banks well peopled, the inhabitants not differing much from the others, being dressed out with feathers of birds of various colors. They came towards us with evident delight, raising loud shouts of admiration and showing us where we could most securely land with our boat. We passed up this river about half a league when we found it formed a most beautiful lake three leagues in circuit, upon which they were rowing thirty or more of their small boats from one shore to the other, filled with multitude who came to see us. All of a sudden, as is wont to happen in navigation, a violent contrary wind blew in from the sea and forced us to return to our ship, greatly regretting to leave this region which seemed so commodious and delightful, and which we supposed must also contain great riches, as the hills showed many indications of minerals."

Historians generally concede that the foregoing is the first notice we have of the whites entering Sandy Hook, visiting the harbor of New York or being in the vicinity of old Monmouth.

## ARRIVAL OF SIR HENRY HUDSON.

In the year 1609, Sir Henry Hudson visited our coast in the yacht or ship *H.M. Moon*, a vessel of about eighty tons burthen. About the last of August he entered the Delaware Bay, but finding the navigation dangerous he soon left without going ashore. After getting out to sea he stood northeasterly and after a while hauled in, and made the land probably not far distant from Great Egg Harbor. The journal or log book of this vessel was kept by the mate, Alfred Juer, and as it contains the first notices of Monmouth county by the whites, remarks about the country, its inhabitants and productions, first landing, and other interesting matter, an extract is here-with given, commencing with September 2nd, 1609, when the *H.M. Moon* made land near Egg Harbor. The same day, it will be seen, the ship passed Burnegat Inlet, and at night anchored near the beach within sight of the Highlands.

Their first impression of old Monmouth, it will be seen, was "*that it is a very good land to fall in with, and a pleasant land to see!*" an opinion which in the minds of our people at the present day show that good sense and correct judgment were not lacking in Sir Henry Hudson and his fellow-voyagers!

*Extract from the Log-Book of the H.M. Moon.*

Sept. 2nd, 1609.—When the sun rose we steered nor' by east and saw land from the west by north to the northwest. It alike, broken islands, and our soundings were eleven fathoms and ten fathoms.—The course along the land we found to be north east by north. From the land when we first had sight of until we came to a great lake of water, as we could judge it to be, (*Harbor and Bay*) being down of land which made it rise like island, which was in length ten leagues. The mouth of the lake (*the Inlet Bay*) had many shoals, and the sea banks upon them as it is east out of the mouth of it. And from that lake or bay the land lies north by east, and we had a great stream out of the bay, and from thence our soundings was ten fathoms two leagues from land. At five o'clock we anchored, being light wind, and rode in eight fathoms water; the night was fair. This night I found the land to haul the compass eight degrees. Far to the northward of us we saw high hills (*Hughes Hill*)

for the day before we found not above two degrees of variation.

This is a very good land to fall in with, and a pleasant land to see.

Sept. 3d.—The morning misty until ten o'clock; then it cleared and the wind came to the south-east, so we weighed and stood northward. The land is very pleasant and high and bold to fall withal. At three o'clock in the afternoon we came to three great rivers (*Narrows, Rockaway Inlet and the Kariten*); so we stood along the northward (*Rockaway Inlet*), thinking to have gone in, but we found it to have a very shoal bar before it for we had but ten feet water. Then we cast about to the southward and found two fathoms, three fathoms and three and a quarter, till we came to the southern side of them; then we had five and six fathoms and returned in an hour and a half. So we weighed and went in and rode in five fathoms, ooze ground, and saw many salmon and mullets and rays very great. The height is  $40^{\circ} 30'$  (*Latitude*.)

*First Landing of the Whites in Old Monmouth.*

Sept. 4th.—In the morning as soon as the day was light, we saw that it was good riding farther up; so we sent our boat to sound, and found that it was a very good harbor and four or five fathoms, two cable lengths from the shore. Then we weighed and went in with our ship. Then our boat went on land with our net to fish, and caught ten great mullets of a foot and a half long, a pike and a ray as great as four men could haul into the ship. So we trimmed our boat and rode still all day.—At night the wind blew hard to the north-west, and our anchor came home, and we drove on shore, but took no hurt, and thank God, for the ground is soft sand and ooze. This day the people of the country came aboard of us, and seemed very glad of our coming, and brought green tobacco leaves and gave us of it for knives and beads. They go in deer skins, loose and well dressed. They have yellow copper. They desire clothes and are very civil.—They have a great store of maize or Indian wheat, whereof they make good bread.—The country is full of great and tall oaks.

Sept. 5th.—In the morning, as soon as the day was light, the wind ceased and the flood came. So we heaved off the ship again into five fathoms and sent our boat to sound the bay, and we found that there was three fathoms hard by the southern shore. Our men went on land then and saw a great store of men, women and chil-

dren, who gave them tobacco at their coming on land. So they went up into the woods and saw a great store of very goodly oaks and some currants, (*probably huckleberries*). For one of them came on board and brought some dried, and gave me some, which were sweet and good. This day many of the people came on board, some in mantles of feathers, and some in skins of divers sorts of good furs. Some women also came with hemp. They had red copper tobacco pipes, and other things of copper they did wear about their necks. At night they went on land again, so we rode very quiet but durst not trust them.

*The First White Man Killed.*

Sunday, Sept. 6th.—In the morning was fair weather, and our master sent John Colman, with four other men, in our boat over to the North side to sound the other river (*Narrows*), being four leagues from us. They found by the way shoal water, being two fathoms; but at the north of the river, eighteen and twenty fathoms, and very good riding for ships, and a very narrow river to the westward between two islands (*Staten Island and Bergen Point*).—The land they told us, was as pleasant with grass and flowers and goodly trees as ever they had seen, and here very sweet smells came from them. So they went in two leagues and saw an open sea (*Newark Bay*), and returned, and as they came back they were set upon by two canoes, the one having twelve men and the other fourteen men. The night came on and they began to rain, so that their match went out; and they had one man slain in the fight, which was an Englishman named John Colman, with an arrow shot in his throat, and two more hurt. It grew so dark that they could not find the ship that night, but labored to and fro on their oars. They had so great a strain that their grapple would not hold them.

Sept. 7th.—Was fair, and by ten o'clock they returned aboard the ship and brought our dead men with them, whom we carried on land and buried and named the point after his name, Colman's Point. Then we hoised in our boat and raised her side with waist boards, for defence of our men. So we rode still all night, having good regard for our watch.

Sept. 8th.—Was very fair weather; we rode still very quietly. The people came aboard of us and brought tobacco and Indian wheat, to exchange for knives and beads and offered us no violence. So we fitting up our boat did mark them to see

if they would make any show of the death of our man, which they did not.'

Sept. 9th.—Fair weather. In the morning two great canoes came aboard full of men; the one with their bows and arrows, and the other in show of buying knives, to betray us; but we perceived their intent. We took two of them to have kept them, and put red coats on them, and would not suffer the others to come near us. So they went on land and two others came aboard in a canoe; we took the one and let the other go; but he which we had taken got up and leaped overboard. Then we weighed and went off into the channel of the river and anchored there all night.

The foregoing is all of the log-book of Juet that relates to Monmouth county.—The next morning the Half Moon proceeded up the North River, and on her return passed out to sea without stopping.

In the extract given above, the words in italics are not of course in the original, but are underscored as explanatory

#### THE COMING OF THE WHITE MAN.

What the Indians thought of the Whites and their ships.—The Natives Astonished.—The Man in Red and the Red Man.—Fire Water and its First Indian Victim.—The First Indians Drunk, &c.

After Sir Henry Hudson's departure from the shores of Monmouth he proceeded towards Manhattan Island and thence up the river now bearing his name. The following traditional account, the coming of the Whites according to Heckwelder, was handed down among both Delaware and Iroquois Indians. It is not often we meet in fact or fiction a more interesting story than this plain, simple Indian tradition. After explaining that the Indian chiefs of old Monmouth County, notified the chiefs on York or Manhattan Island, and that the chiefs of the surrounding country finally gathered at the last named place to give a formal reception, the tradition says:

A long time ago before men with a white skin had ever been seen, some Indians fishing at a place where the sea widens, espied something at a distance moving upon the water. They hurried ashore, collected their neighbors, who together returned and viewed intently this astonishing phenomenon. What it could be

baffled conjecture. Some supposed it to be a large fish or other animal, others that it was a large house floating upon the sea. Perceiving it moving towards the land, the spectators concluded that it would be proper to send runners in different directions to carry the news to their scattered chiefs, that they might send off for the immediate attendance of their warriors.—These arrived in numbers to behold the sight, and perceiving that it was actually moving towards them, that it was coming into the river or bay, they conjectured that it must be a remarkably large house in which the *Manitô* or Great Spirit was coming to visit them. They were much afraid and yet under no apprehension that the Great Spirit would injure them. They worshipped him. The chiefs now assembled at New York Island and consulted in what manner they should receive their *Manitô*; meat was prepared for a sacrifice. The women were directed to prepare their best victuals. Idols or images were examined and put in order. A grand dance they thought would be pleasing, and in addition to the sacrifice might appease him if hungry. The conjurors were also set to work to determine what this phenomenon portended and what the result would be. To the conjurors, men, women and children looked for protection. Utterly at a loss what to do, and distracted alternately between hope and fear, in the confusion a grand dance commenced.—Meantime fresh runners arrived, declaring it to be a great house of various colors and full of living creatures. It now appeared that it was their *Manitô*, probably bringing some new kind of game. Others arriving declared it positively full of people of different color and dress from theirs, and that one appeared altogether in red. (This was supposed to be Sir Henry Hudson.) This then must be the *Manitô*.—They were lost in admiration, could not imagine what the vessel was, whence it came, or what all this portended. They are now hailed from the vessel in a language they could not understand. They answered by a shout or yell in their way. The house or large canoe as some call it, stops. A smaller canoe comes on shore with the red man in it; some stay by the canoe to guard it. The chief and wise men form a circle into which the red man and two attendants enter. He salutes them with friendly countenance, and they return the salute after their manner.—They are amazed at their color and dress,

particularly with him, who glittering in red wore something, perhaps lace and buttons, they could not comprehend. He must be the great Manitto, they thought, but why should he have a white skin?

A large elegant *Hockback* (gourd, *i. e.* bottle, decanter, &c.,) is brought by one of the supposed Manitto's servants, from which a substance is placed into smaller cups or glasses and handed to the Manitto, he drinks, has the glasses refilled and handed to the chief near him. He takes it, smells it, and passes it to the next, who does the same. The glass in this manner is passed around the circle and is about to be returned to the red clothes man, when one of the Indians, a great warrior, harangues them on the impropriety of returning the cup unemptied. It was handed to them, he said, by the Manitto, to drink out of as he had. To follow his example would please him—to reject might provoke his wrath; and if no one else would he would drink it himself, let what would follow, for it were better for one man to die, than a whole nation to be destroyed. He then took the glass, smelled it, again addressed them, bidding adieu, and drank its contents. All eyes are now fixed upon the first Indian in New York, who had tasted the poison, which has since effected so signal a revolution in the condition of the native Americans. He soon began to stagger. The women cried, supposing him in fits. He rolled on the ground; they bemoan his fate; they thought him dying; he fell asleep; they at first thought he had expired, but soon perceived he still breathed; he awoke, jumped up, and declared he never felt more happy. He asked for more, and the whole assembly imitating him became intoxicated. While this intoxication lasted, the whites confined themselves to their vessels; after it ceased, the man with the red clothes returned and distributed beads, axes, hoes and stockings. They soon became familiar, and conversed by signs. The whites made them understand that they would now return home, but the next year they would visit them again with presents, and stay with them awhile; but as that they could not live without eating, they should then want a little land to sow seeds, in order to raise herbs to put in their broth.

Accordingly a vessel arrived the season following, when they were much rejoiced to see each other; but the whites laughed when they saw axes and hoes hanging as ornaments to their breasts, and the stock-

ings used as tobacco pouches. The whites now put handles in the axes and hoes and cut down trees before their eyes, dug the ground, and showed them the use of stockings. Here, say the Indians, a general laugh ensued—to think they had remained ignorant of the use of these things, and had borne so long such heavy metals suspended around their necks. Familiarity daily increasing between them and the whites—the latter prepared to stay with them—asking them only for so much land as the hide of a bullock spread before them would cover; they granted the request.—The whites then took a knife, and, beginning at a place on the hide, cut it up into a rope not thicker than the finger of a little child. They then took the rope and drew it gently along in a circular form, and took in a large piece of ground; the Indians were surprised at their superior wit, but they did not contend with them for a little ground, as they had enough.—They lived contentedly together for a long time, but the new comers from time to time asked for more land, which was readily obtained, and thus gradually proceeded higher up the *Mahicannattuck* (*Hudson River*), until they began to believe they would want all their country, which proved eventually to be the case.

The name which the Indians first gave to the whites was *Wapsieel Lennape*, which signified white people. But in process of time, when disagreeable events occurred between them, the Indians laid aside this name and called them *Schuwonack*—the salt people—because they came across the salt water; and this name was always after applied to the whites.

The foregoing traditions are said to have been handed down among both Delaware and Iroquois. It has also been said that the Indian name for the Island upon which New York is situated (Manhattan) is derived from a word signifying “the place where we all got drunk together.” Some New York writers take umbrage in this statement, and say the drunken scene occurred up the river; but the exact place where it occurred is immaterial. Perhaps some may think the city has since that time fairly earned that name! Ancient writers testify that the first Indians who drank liquor generally became intoxicated by one drink, by two at most.

The Delawares owned and were spread over the whole country, from New York Island to the Potomac. They say they had a great many towns, among other

places a number on the Lannapewihittack or Delaware river, and a great many in *Shagohbi* on that part of the country now named Jersey. That a place named *Chichohaci*, now Trenton, on the Lannapewihittack a large Indian town had been for many years together, where their great chief re-ided. The Delawares say Chickomaeki is a place on the east side of the Delaware river above Philadelphia, at or near a great bend where the white people have since built a town which they call Trenton. Their old town was on a high bluff, which was always tumbling down, wherefore the town was called Chichohaci, which is *tumbling* banks, or *falling* banks.

When the Europeans first arrived at York Island the Great Unami, chief of the Turtle tribe, resided southward across a large stream or where Amboy now is.— That from this town a very long sand bar (Sandy Hook) extended far into the sea. That at Amboy and all the way up and down their large rivers and bays and on great islands they had towns when the Europeans first arrived, and that it was their forefathers who first discovered the Europeans on their travel, and who met them on York Island after they landed.

#### SIR HENRY HUDSON'S VISIT TO OLD MONMOUTH.

A celebrated historian, in speaking of Hudson's visit to Monmouth County and vicinity in September, 1609, says:

"For a week Hudson lingered in the lower bay, admiring the godly oaks which garnished the neighboring shores, and holding frequent intercourse with the native savages of Monmouth, N. J. The Half Moon visited in return by the wandering Indians, who flooke on board the strange vessel, clothed with mantles of feathers and robes of furs and adorned with rude copper necklaces. Meanwhile a boat's crew was sent to sound the river which opened to the northward. Passing through the Narrows they found a noble harbor with very good riding for ships; a little further on they came to the Kills between Staten Island and Bergen Neck—a narrow river to the westward between two islands. The lands on both sides were as pleasant with grass and flowers and goodly trees as ever they had seen,

and very sweet smells came from them. Six miles up the river they came to an open sea, now known as Newark Bay. In the evening, as the boat was returning to the ship, the exploring party was set upon by two canoes full of savages, and one of the English sailors, named John Colman, was killed by an arrow shot into his throat. The next day Hudson buried, upon an adjacent beach, the comrade who had shared the dangers of his polar adventures, to become the first European victim to an Indian weapon, in the placid waters he had now reached. To commemorate the event, Sandy Hook was named Colman's Point. The ship was soon visited by canoes full of native warriors; but Hudson, suspecting their good faith, took two savages, put red coats on them, while the rest were not suffered to approach."

In regard to the place where Colman was buried, most writers have taken it for granted that it was Sandy Hook, and one that it was Coney Island. But there is much plausibility in the following, from a paper published many years ago in the Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society:

"Dr. Strong, in his History of Flatbush, supposes Colman's Point to be Coney Island, and that Colman had been corrupted into Coney, but (in the opinion of the writer of this paper), it is a point about seven miles west of Sandy Hook, called by the Indians Mones-conk, and on Gordon's map called Point Comfort. Hudson, on the fifth of September, removed from his anchorage in the Horse Shoe, not counting it safe to remain there. A strong northwest wind had the night previous brought home the anchor and driven them ashore. In the morning, having got off without injury, he sent the boat to sound the bay and found three fathoms *hard by the Southern shore*. If, then, he left the Horse Shoe, as it is probable, there is no such roadstead as that described, with three fathoms hard by the southern shore, until we reach the bay between Point Comfort and Brown's Point, where the steamboats now land. The waters and a part of the shore in this vicinity were called by the Indians Chingarora—pronounced Shingarora—a name which ought by all means to have distinguished the flourishing village adjacent, instead of the uncouth name of Keyport."

The paper from which the foregoing extract was made, was furnished to the N. J. Historical Society by the Rev. Mr. Mar-



cellus, well known to the older citizens of Freehold who took great interest in all matters pertaining to the early history of Old Monmouth, and whose decease was not only regretted by an extensive circle of personal friends, but by every person interested in the early history of our state, cognizant of his earnest efforts to rescue from oblivion the fading records of the pioneers of Old Monmouth.

In commenting upon Hudson's first landing, Mr. Marcellus says :

"The first interview with Hudson and his crew presented an interesting spectacle—a grand subject for a painter. The Indians had never before seen a ship. The complexion of the men, their dress, language and manners, the sails and tackling of the ship—the vastness of the vessel itself—all was wonderful."

The fourth of September, 1609, is a memorable day in the annals of our state, as on that day, on the soil of Monmouth, occurred the first landing of whites in New Jersey.

Two days before this—that is, on September 2nd—Sir Henry Hudson sailed near the inlet now known as Barnegat Inlet. The log book of his ship speaks of the sea breaking upon its shoals, and from this it derives its name. The first Dutch explorers named it on their chart "Barendegat," meaning "breakers inlet," or an inlet with breakers. Barendegat was gradually corrupted to Bardegat, Bardeget, and finally to Barnegat.

RANDOM REMINISCENCES

OF THE

EARLY HISTORY OF OLD MONMOUTH.

TRAVELLING TWO CENTURIES AGO.

DISTINGUISHED QUAKERS VISIT OLD MONMOUTH.

Crossing the State in Ancient Times—Perilous Travelling—Indian Hotels and Hospitalities—Singular Accident and Remarkable Recovery—Friends' Meeting, in Middletown and Shrewsbury—Purgatory in Old Monmouth—Where was it?—Novel Life Preservers, &c.

It is doubtful if any more ancient accounts of travelling across New Jersey can be found than the following, extracted from the journals of John Burnyeate and George Fox, distinguished members of the Society of Friends; in company with them were Robert Withers, George Patison and others, some of whom returned by the same route a few months afterwards.—These noted Quaker preachers left Maryland in the latter part of February, 1672, and arrived at New Castle, Delaware, about the first of March. From thence Burnyeate gives the following account of their journey across the State to Middletown :

"We staid there (New Castle) that night, and the next day we got over the river (Delaware). When we got over we could not get an Indian for a guide, and the Dutchman we had hired would not go without an Indian, so we were forced to stay there that day. The next day we rode about to seek an Indian, but could get none to go; but late in the evening there came some from the other side of the town, and we hired one, and so began our journeying early the next morning to travel through the country, which is now called New Jersey; and we travelled we supposed nearly forty miles. In the evening we got to a few Indian wigwams, which are their houses; we saw no man nor woman, house nor dwelling, that day, for there dwelt no English in that country then.

"We lodged that night in an Indian wigwam, and lay upon the ground as the Indians themselves did, and the next day we travelled through several of their towns, and they were kind to use, and helped us over the creeks with their canoes; we made our horses swim at the sides of the canoes, and so travelled on. Towards evening we got to an Indian town, and when we had put our horses out to grass we went to the Indian King's house, who received us kindly, and showed us very civil respect. But alas! he was so poorly provided, having got so little that day, that most of us could neither get to eat or drink in his wigwam; but it was because he had it not—so we lay as well as he, upon the ground—only a mat under us, and a piece of wood or any such thing under our heads. Next morning early we took

horse and travelled through several Indian towns, and that night we lodged in the woods; and the next morning got to an English plantation, a town called Middletown, in East Jersey, where there was a plantation of English and several Friends, and we came down with a Friend to his house near the water-side, and he carried us over in his boat and our horses to Long Island."

Though Burnyeate says "there dwelt no English in that country then" it must not be inferred that the Europeans at this time had no settlements in West Jersey. The settlements there were near the Delaware river; Burnyeate, Fox and their companions had to travel inland some distance from the Delaware so as to be able to more easily to cross the head of streams which empty into that river.

These Friends were travelling in great haste to get to a half yearly meeting at Oyster Bay, L. I. "to settle some difficulties there, which was the cause of our hard travelling." Crossing the State then in three or four days was considered fast travelling.

#### GEORGE FOX VISITS MIDDLETOWN AND SHREWSBURY.

The following is George Fox's account of the same journey and also of his return trip.

"We departed thence from New Castle, Del., and got over the river not without great danger of some of our lives. When we were got over we were troubled to procure guides; which were hard to get and very changeable. Then had we that wilderness to pass through since called West Jersey not then inhabited by English; so that we have travelled a whole day together without seeing man or woman, house or dwelling place. Sometimes we lay in the woods by a fire and sometime in the Indians' wigwams or houses. We came one night to an Indian town and lay at the king's house, who was a very pretty man. Both he and his wife received us very lovingly and his attendants (such as they were) were very respectful to us. They laid us mats to lie on; but provision was very short with them, having caught but little that day. At another Indian town where we staid the king came to us and he could speak some English. I spoke to him much and also

to his people, and they were very loving to us. At length we came to Middletown, an English plantation in East Jersey, and there were friends there, but we could not stay to have a meeting at that time, being so earnestly pressed in our spirits to get to the half yearly meeting of Friends at Oyster Bay, Long Island, which was near at hand. We went with a friend, Richard Hartshorne, brother to Hugh Hartshorne, the upholster in London, who received us gladly to his house, where we refreshed ourselves and then he carried us and our horses in his own boat over a great water, which held us most part of the day in getting over, and set us upon Long Island."

From thence Fox proceeded to Gravesend, L. I. In June following he returned to New Jersey. Of his return trip he writes as follows:

"Being clear of this place, we hired a sloop and the wind serving set out for the new country now called Jersey. Passing down the bay by Conny Island, Naton Island and Stratton Island we came to Richard Hartshorn at Middleton harbor about break of day on the 27th of sixth month. Next day we rode about thirty miles into that country through the woods and over very bad bogs, one worse than all the rest, the descent into which was so steep that we were fain to slide down with our horses and then let them lie and breathe themselves before they go on.— This place, the people of the place called Purgatory. We got at length to Shrewsbury in East Jersey, and on First day had a precious meeting there, to which Friends and other people came far, and the blessed presence of the Lord was with us. The same week we had a men and women's meeting out of most parts of New Jersey. They are building a meeting place in the mid-st of them, and there is a monthly and a general meeting set up, which will be of great service in those parts, in keeping up the gospel order and government of Christ Jesus, of the increase of which there is no end, that they who are faithful may see that all who profess the holy truth live in pure religion and walk as becometh the gospel. While we were at Shrewsbury an accident befel which for a time was a great exercise to us.

John Jay, a friend of Barbadoes who came with us from Rhode Island and intended to accompany us through the woods to Maryland, being to try a horse, got upon his back and the horse fell a running, cast him down upon his head and

broke his neck as the people said. Those that were near him took him up as dead, carried him a good way and laid him on a tree. I got to him as soon I could and feeling him, concluded he was dead. As I stood pitying him and his family I took hold of his hair and his head turned any way, his neck was so limber. Whereupon I took his head in both my hands and setting my knees against the tree I raised his head and perceived there was nothing out or broken that way. Then I put one hand under his chin and the other behind his head and raised his head two or three times with all my strength and brought it in. I soon perceived his neck began to grow stiff again and then he began to rattle in his throat and quietly after to breathe. The people were amazed but I bade them have a good heart, be of good faith and carry him into the house. They did so and set him by the fire. I bid them get him something warm to drink and put him to bed. After he had been in the house a while he began to speak, but did not know where he had been. The next day we passed away and he with us, pretty well, about sixteen miles to a meeting at Middletown through woods and bogs and over a river where we swam our horses and got over ourselves upon a hollow tree. Many hundred miles did he travel with us after this.

To this meeting came most of the people of the town. A glorious meeting we had and the truth was over all, blessed be the great Lord God forever. After the meeting we went to Middletown harbor about five miles, in order to take our long journey next morning through the woods towards Maryland, having hired Indians for our guides. I determined to pass through the woods on the other side of the Delaware that we might head the creeks and rivers as much as possible. The ninth of seventh month we set forward, passed through many Indian towns and over some rivers and bogs. When we had rid over forty miles we made a fire at night and lay by it. As we came among the Indians we declared the day of the Lord to them. Next day we travelled fifty miles as we computed, and at night finding an old house, which the Indians had forced the people to leave, we made a fire and lay there at the head of Delaware bay. The next day we swam our horses over a river about a mile, at twice, first to an Island called *Upper Dindock* and thence to the main land, having

hired Indians to help us over in their canoes."

The island called by Fox *Upper Dindock* is now known as *Burlington Island*; it was formerly called *Matincunk*, which name Fox has misunderstood. He also calls the Delaware river here *Delaware bay* as he does in other places. By his journal it would seem no whites at that time lived at *Burlington* though a few whites had lived there and in the vicinity many years before.

It is impossible to read the accounts of travelling at this early period without being forcibly reminded of the contrast in travelling then and now. Many of the Quaker preachers speak of crossing streams in frail Indian canoes, with their horses swimming by their side; and one, the fearless, zealous *John Richardson*, (so noted among other things for his controversies with "the apostate *George Keith*") in substance recommends, in travelling across *New Jersey*, "for safety, travellers' horses should have long tails." The reason for this singular suggestion was that in crossing streams the frail canoes were often capsized, and if the traveller could not swim, he might probably preserve his life by grasping his horse's tail. *Mr. Richardson* describes how one man's life was preserved by this novel life preserver; in this case the life-preserver being the long tail of *Mr. R.'s* own horse; and in commenting upon it he quaintly observes "that he always approved horses' tails being long in crossing rivers."

Long before Fox and *Burnyeate* crossed the state the whites, particularly the Dutch, frequently crossed our state by Indian paths, in going to and fro between the settlements on the Delaware and *New Amsterdam (New York)*, though they have left but meagre accounts of their journeyings, and their are strong probabilities that the Dutch from *New Amsterdam*, after furs and searching for minerals, crossed the state as far as *Burlington Island, Trenton*, and points far up the Delaware from forty to fifty years before the trip of these Quaker preachers.

That their journeyings were not always safe, is shown in the following extract of a letter written by *Jacob Alricks*, September 20th, 1669:

"The Indians have again killed three or four Dutchmen, and no person can go through; one messenger who was eight

days out returned without accomplishing his purpose."

The next day he writes :

I have sent off messenger after messenger to the Manhattans overland, but no one can get through, as the Indians there have again killed four Dutchmen.

At the time of writing these letters Alicks resided in Delaware, and they were addressed to the Dutch authorities at New York.

#### CONFISCATION IN THE REVOLUTION.

LOYALISTS OF FREEHOLD, MIDDLETOWN,  
SHREWSBURY, UPPER FREEHOLD AND  
DOVER.

The sales of property in New Jersey adjudged to be confiscated during the war, appear to have been in accordance with the act of the Legislature, April 18th, 1778, entitled "An Act for taking charge of or leasing the real estates and for forfeiting the personal estates of certain fugitives and offenders, &c."

We give below a copy of an official advertisement of property to be sold in old Monmouth under this act. While among the names are found some who were quite noted for their services under the British, of whom mention is made in another chapter, yet there are probably several, who, because of conscientious scruples against war and to avoid being drafted, left the county and sought refuge in the British lines on Long Island or New York. This was probably the case in the township of Shrewsbury where Quakers were quite numerous. How the Quakers fared who stayed at home and risked drafting may be inferred from an extract, which we propose to give hereafter, describing drafting in Burlington county.

During the course of the war it would seem that almost every man in the county capable of bearing arms, except Quakers, took an active part in the fearful strife on one side or the other.

As an evidence of how not only neighbor was arrayed against neighbor but relative against relative, it is only necessary to compare the names in this advertisement, with the names given in the list of the Monmouth militia. Not only are old fami-

lies represented on both sides, but in some cases persons of the same name are prominent on both sides; for instance, Elisha Laurance, mentioned below, was a Colonel in the Loyalists, while another Elisha Lawrence, was a Lieutenant Colonel on the American side.

Most of the persons mentioned below were of the most honorable class of Tories, or loyalists, as they called themselves—persons of education, wealth and standing, and for that very reason their activities in and advocacy of the British cause was very injurious to the Americans, so much so that it is said that at one time in the early part of the war the Refugees gained the ascendancy and had possession of Freehold village for about a week or ten days and we find that about Nov., 1776, General Washington "found it necessary to detach Colonel Forman of the New Jersey militia to suppress an insurrection which threatened to break out in Monmouth county, where great numbers were well disposed to the Royal cause."

"*Monmouth County, ss:* Whereas inquiry has been made and final judgment entered thereon in favor of the State of New Jersey against persons herein mentioned—NOTICE is hereby given that the real and personal estates belonging to Samuel Osburn, Thomas Leonard, Hendrick Van Mater, John Throckmorton, Daniel Van Mater, John Longstreet jr, Alexander Clark, Joseph Clayton, Israel Britton, John Okeson, John Thompson, Thomas Bills and Benzeor Hinkson, all of the township of Freehold, will be sold at Freehold Court House, beginning on Wednesday the 17th day of March next and continue from day to day until all are sold.

"Thomas Crowl, George Taylor jr, James Stillwell, John Mount, boatman, Conrad Hendricks, Joseph Baley, John Cottrell, Richard Cole, Samuel Smith, John Bown, James Pew, Thomas Thorne, Ezekiel Tilton, Joseph Taylor, John Tilton, of Middletown and William Smith of Middlesex having lands in said town, will be sold at public vendue, beginning on Monday the 22nd day of March next at the house of Cornelius Swart and continue from day to day until sold.

"John Taylor and William Walton at New York but having property in Shrewsbury, John Williams, Christopher Talman, John Wartell, Michael Price, James Mount, John Williams, Jr., John Pintard, Clayton Tilton, Samuel Cook, James Boggs, James Curlis, Asael Chandler,

John Morris, William Price, Robert Morris, Peter Vannote, James Price, John and Morford Taylor, John Hankinson, Timothy Scobey, William Laurence, Peter Wardell, Oliver Talman, Richard Lippencott, Josiah White, Benjamin Woolley, Ebenezer Wardell, Robert Stout, Nathaniel Parker, John Hampton, Samuel Layton, Jacob Harber, Samuel Layton, Jacob Emmons, Britton White, Tobias Kiker and Daniel Lafetter, (Lafetra?), late of the township of Shrewsbury, and Garnadus Beekman of New York, having property in said township, will be sold at public vendue, beginning on Monday the 29th of March at Tinton Falls and continue from day to day until all are sold.

“John Leonard, Gisbert Giberson, Samuel Stillwell, Barzilla, Joseph, Thomas, William and Samuel Grover, John Horner, Fuller Horner, John Perne, William Giberson, Jr., Mallakeath Giberson, John Polhemus, Jr., Benjamin Giberson, Samuel Oakerson, Elisha Laurence and John Laurence sons of John, late of Upper Freehold and Isaac Allen late of Trenton, will be sold at public vendue beginning on Monday the 5th day of April next at Walls Mills and continue until all are sold.

“John Irons and David Smith, of the township of Dover, will be sold at Freehold Court House at the time of sales there.

“The two emissions called in and bank notes will be taken in pay. No credit will be given. The sale will begin at 9 o'clock each day. Also deeds made to the purchasers agreeable to act of Assembly by

“SAMUEL FORMAN

“JOSEPH LAURENCE

“KENNETH HANKINSON

“Commissioners.

“February 17th, 1779.”

CAPTAIN WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM.

How American prisoners were treated by the British at New York. Horrible confession by the British Provost Marshal.

The following is copied from the *American Apollo*, February 17th, 1792. In it will be found some startling confessions, showing how hellish was the treatment of our ancestors who were confined as prisoners in New York during the Revolution by this fiend in human shape. It furnishes

another reason why our forefathers so detested the British. It will amply repay perusal. Captain Joshua Huddy, and many other old Monmouth patriots, were for a time in this villain's charge :

“The life, confession, and last dying words of Captain William Cunningham, formerly British provost marshal in the city of New York, who was executed in London the 10th of August, 1791.

“I, William Cunningham, was born in Dublin barracks in the year 1738. My father was trumpeter to the Blue Dragoons, and at the age of 8 years I was placed with an officer as his servant, in which station I continued until I was 16, and being a great proficient in horsemanship, was taken as an assistant to the riding master of the troop, and in the year 1761 was made sergeant of dragoons, but the peace coming the year following, I was disbanded.— Being bred to no profession, I took up with a woman who kept a gin shop in a blind alley near the Coal Quay; but the house being searched for stolen goods and my doxy taken to Newgate, I thought it most prudent to decamp; accordingly set off for the North and arrived at Drogheda, where in a few months after I married the daughter of an excise-man by whom I had three sons.

“About the year 1772 we removed to Newry where I commenced the profession of scowbanker, which is the enticing of mechanics and country people to ship themselves for America on promises of great advantage, and then artfully getting an indenture upon them; in consequence of which, on their arrival in America, they are sold or obliged to serve a term of years for their passage. I embarked at Newry in the ship Needham, for New York, and arrived in that port the 4th day of August, 1774, with some indented servants I kidnapped in Ireland, but who were liberated in New York on account of the bad usage they received from me during the passage. In that city I used the profession of breaking horses and teaching ladies and gentlemen to ride, but rendering myself obnoxious to the citizens in their infant struggles for freedom, I was obliged to fly on board the *Asia* man of war, and from thence to Boston, where my own opposition to the measures pursued by the Americans in support of their rights, was the first thing that recommended me to General Gage; and when the war commenced I was appointed provost marshal to the royal army,

which placed me in a situation to wreak my vengeance on the Americans. I shudder to think of the murders I have been accessory to, both with and without orders from government, especially while in New York, during which time there were more than two thousand prisoners starved in the different churches by stopping their rations, which I sold.

"There were also two hundred and seventy-five American prisoners and obnoxious persons executed, out of which number there were only about one dozen public executions, which chiefly consisted of British and Hessian deserters. The mode of private executions was thus conducted: A guard was dispatched from the provost about half after twelve at night to the Barrack street, and the neighborhood of the upper barracks, to order the people to shut their window shutters and put out their lights, forbidding them at the same time to presume to look out of their windows and doors on pain of death, after which, the unfortunate prisoners were conducted, gagged, just behind the upper barracks and hung without ceremony and there buried by the black pioneer of the provost.

"At the end of the war I returned to England with the army and settled in Wales, as being a cheaper place of living than in any of the populous cities, but being at length persuaded to go to London, I entered so warmly into the dissipation of the capital, that I soon found my circumstances much embarrassed, to relieve which I mortgaged my half pay to an army agent, but that being soon expended, I forged a draft for three hundred pounds sterling on the board of ordnance, but being detected in presenting it for acceptance, I was apprehended, tried and convicted, and for that offence am here to suffer an ignominious death.

"I beg the prayers of all good christians, and also pardon and forgiveness of God for the many horrid murders I have been accessory to.

"WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM."

#### THE ATTACK ON TOMS RIVER.

Burning of the village. Capture of Captain Joshua Huddy. A day of horrors.

In giving an account of this affair we shall first copy a brief statement from Have's Collections, the editor of which

visited the place in 1842 in search of historical information relating to ouden times in Old Monmouth:

"In the American Revolution, a rude fort or blockhouse was erected a short distance north of the bridge, at the village of Toms River, on a hill about a hundred yards east of the road to Freehold, on land now belonging to the heirs of Elijah Robbins, deceased. In the latter part of the war, this blockhouse was attacked by a superior force of the enemy. Its commander, Captain Joshua Huddy, most gallantly defended it until his ammunition was expended and no alternative but surrender left. After the little brave garrison was in their power, it is said they deliberately murdered five men asking for quarters. From thence Captain Huddy, Justice Randolph, and the remaining prisoners were taken to New York, where, suffering the various progressions of barbarity inflicted upon those destined to a violent or lingering death, those two gentlemen, with a Mr. Fleming, were put into the hold of a vessel. Captain Huddy was ironed hand and foot, and shortly after barbarously hanged on the shore of the Highlands of Navesink."

During the war of the Revolution the chief organ of the tories and British in America was "Rivington's Royal Gazette," published in New York, of which paper and its editor we may have occasion to speak hereafter. Quite complete files of this paper are preserved in the library of the New York Historical Society. The following is its version of the attack on Toms River:

"The authentic account of the expedition against the rebel post on Toms River, New Jersey, under the Honorable Board of Associated Loyalists:

"On Wednesday the 29th inst (March 1782), Lieutenant Blanchard of the armed whale boats, and about eighty men belonging to them, with Captain Thomas and Lieutenant Roberts, both of the late Bucks county volunteers, and between thirty and forty other refugee loyalists, the whole under the command of Lieutenant Blanchard, proceeded to Sandy Hook under the convoy of Captain Stewart Ross, in the armed brig Arrogant, where they were detained by unfavorable winds until the 23d. About 12 o'clock on that night, the party landed near the mouth of Toms River and marched to the blockhouse at the town of Dover (now Toms River) and reached it just at daylight. On their way they were

challenged and fired upon, and when they came to the works they found the rebels, consisting of twenty-five or twenty-six twelve months men and militia, apprized of their coming and prepared for defence.

"The post into which they had thrown themselves was six or seven feet high, made with large logs with loop holes between and a number of brass swivels on the top, which was entirely open, nor was there any way of entering but by climbing over. They had, besides swivels, muskets with bayonets and long pikes for their defence. Lieutenant Blanchard summoned them to surrender, which they not only refused, but bid the party defiance; on which he immediately ordered the place to be stormed, which was accordingly done, and though defended with obstinacy, was soon carried. The rebels had nine men killed in the assault, and twelve made prisoners, two of whom are wounded. The rest made their escape in the confusion.— Among the killed was a major of the militia, two captains and one lieutenant. The captain of the twelve months men stationed there, is amongst the prisoners, who are all brought safe to town. On our side, two were killed—Lieutenant Fredell of the armed boatmen and Lieutenant Inslæe of the loyalists, both very brave officers, who distinguished themselves on the attack and whose loss is much lamented. Lieutenant Roberts and five others are wounded, but it is thought none of them are in a dangerous way.

"The Town, as it is called, consisting of about a dozen houses, in which none but a piratical set of banditti resided, together with a grist and saw mill, were, with the blockhouse burned to the ground, and an iron cannon spiked and thrown into the river. A fine large barge (called Hyler's barge,) and another boat in which the rebels used to make their excursions on the coast, were brought off. Some other attempts were intended to have been made, but the appearance of bad weather, and the situation of the wounded, being without either surgeon or medicines, induced the party to return to New York, where they arrived on the twenty-fifth."

The attack on Toms River was made on Sunday morning, March 24th, 1782. Captain Huddy received notice of the expected attack on the previous evening, and at once notified the inhabitants; sentinels were carefully stationed, and towards morning Captain Huddy sent a scouting party to reconnoitre. This party missed

the British; it is probable they went down along the river, while the enemy, guided by a refugee named William Dillon, came up the road near where the Court House now stands. The sentinels stationed some distance outside of the fort, on the enemy's approach, fired their guns to notify the little garrison. Before reaching the fort, the British were joined by a band of refugees under Davenport, whose stamping ground was in old Dover township; himself and men had cabins and caves in the woods, by the head waters of Cedar Creek, Toms River and other streams. No Tory or Tory sympathizer was tolerated in the village of Toms River, which was the only reason that caused Rivington's *Royal Gazette* to call its people "banditti."

Upon the approach of the British, the Americans opened fire so effectually that the British account acknowledges that seven were killed or wounded, though the damage inflicted upon them must have been greater. A negro refugee killed, was left by them outside of the fort for the Americans to bury. On the side of the Americans, among the casualties, were Major John Cook, John Farr and James Kinsley, killed; Moses Robbins wounded in the face; John Wainwright fought until shot down with six or seven bullets in him. From circumstantial evidence it is probable that Captain Ephraim Jenkins was among the killed. Among the prisoners taken were Captain Joshua Huddy, Daniel Randolph, Esq., and Jacob Fleming. One of the guards named David im lay, escaped and hid in a swamp until the British left. Major Cooke (at one time of the 2nd regiment, Monmouth militia), it is said was killed outside the fort by a negro.

All the houses in the village were burned except two, one belonging to Aaron Buck and the other to Mrs. Studson. Aaron Buck was an active Whig, and one reason why his house was spared was owing, it is supposed, to the fact that his wife was a niece of William Dillen, the refugee guide. Mrs. Studson's husband, Lieutenant Joshua Studson, had been murdered by the refugee Captain John Bacon, a short time before, and the British probably thought injury enough had already been done to her. Among the houses burned was one belonging to Captain Ephraim Jenkins, and also one in which Abiel Aikens lived in which the first Methodist sermon at Toms River was preached, by Rev Benjamin Abbott, in 1778.

What a terrible day to the inhabitants of Toms River was that memorable Sabbath! Probably not less than a hundred women and children were rendered homeless; the killed and wounded demanded immediate attention; husbands and fathers were carried away captive, their household goods, provisions—their all destroyed. Some families were entirely broken up, the heads killed, mothers and children scattered, never as families meeting again.

MEMORANDA RELATING TO PERSONS MENTIONED  
IN THE FOREGOING.

William Dillon, the refugee guide, had once been tried and sentenced to death at Freehold, but subsequently pardoned, and the first we hear of him afterwards was as pilot of a British Expedition, which came from New York into old Cranberry inlet, then open, opposite Toms River, to recapture the ship "Love and Unity," which a short time previous had been captured by the Americans.

Aaron Buck was an active member of the militia. The Dillon whose daughter he married was a much better man than his brother, who acted as guide to the refugees. Aaron Buck left two daughters from whom have descended several respectable shore families. One married Judge Ebenezer Tucker, formerly member of Congress, after whom Tuckerton, in Burlington county, was named. The other married John Rogers, of Dover township, ancestor of many persons now residing in Ocean county. It is said that after the war Mr. Buck in a temporary fit of insanity, committed suicide by hanging himself on board his vessel at Toms River.

Daniel Randolph, who then resided at Toms River, was well known throughout old Monmouth. A tory witness on the trial of Captain Richard Lippencott, in New York, testified that "Esquire Daniel Randolph, was a man of prominence and influence among the Whigs." He was soon afterwards exchanged for Captain Clayton Tilton.

Captain Ephraim Jenkins was in command of a militia company during the war. After the fight at the Block House, his family was scattered and his children cared for by strangers.

Abiel Aikens suffered severely during the war. In his old age (1808), the Legislature passed a law for his relief. He was the earliest friend of Methodism in that vicinity.

TOMS RIVER DURING THE REVOLUTION.

Toms River during the Revolution was a place of considerable importance owing chiefly to the fact that old Cranberry Inlet, nearly opposite, was then open and perhaps the best inlet on our coast, except Little Egg Harbor. On this account it was a favorite base of operations for American privateers on the lookout for British merchant vessels carrying supplies to the enemy at New York. In another chapter are given some extracts from ancient authorities, showing that Toms River and vicinity was the scene of many stirring incidents during the war. The village was occupied by the Americans; as a military post probably during the greater part of the Revolution. The soldiers stationed here were sometimes twelve months men, commanded by different officers, among whom it is supposed were Captains Bigelow, Ephraim Jenkins, James Mott, John Stout and Joshua Huddy. The duties of the militia stationed at Toms River, appear to have been to guard the inhabitants against depredations from the refugees; to check contraband trade by way of Cranberry Inlet to New York, and to aid our privateers who brought vessels into old Cranberry Inlet.

A TERRIBLE DAY FOR THE REFUGEES.

Peace Declared—How the news was received by the friends of the "Lost Cause"—Confiscation, Banishment, Despair.

Civil wars have ever been noted for being more terrible than those where one nation was against another; as in the last named case stranger meets stranger on the battle field, while in civil wars oftentimes, neighbor is arrayed against neighbor, father against son, brother against brother. In the war of the Revolution it was the lot of our ancestors to be compelled to undergo the hardships of both at the same time. They had not only to face the armies which England landed upon our soil but also thousands of native born Americans, who from what they thought a sense of duty, or for plunder or revenge,



rallied to the cause of King and crown.—The number of Loyalists, that is, Americans who aided the British, was much larger than is generally supposed. Sabine in his history of the Loyalists estimates the number who took up arms to aid the enemy at 25,000. The Loyalists themselves, in an address to the King, 1779, claimed that “*the Americans then in his Majesty’s service exceeded in number the troops enlisted by Congress to oppose them, exclusive of those who were in private ships of war.*” In 1782 they stated that there were *many* more Loyalists in the King’s service than troops in the Continental army. At the close of the war they claimed that their losses were £7,046,178, besides debts to the amount of £2,354,135. Of their claims the British Government in 1788 had liquidated about £2,000,000.

Old Monmouth suffered during the war to an extent hardly equalled, certainly not surpassed by any other section of the country, and when the welcome news of peace was announced the patriots of this as well of every other section of the Union were overjoyed beyond expression. But the news which brought gladness to their hearts, was a terrible blow to the Refugees. It was not only the announcement to them that the cause for which they had so long fought was irretrievably lost, but also that they must forsake the land of their birth and seek homes elsewhere, that their property here would be confiscated and that without money or friends they must commence life anew on the cold shores of Nova Scotia or elsewhere. The following from an ancient authority, describes how the news of peace was received by the Refugees in New York :

“When the news of peace was known, the city of New York presented a scene of distress not easily described; adherents to the Crown who were in the army tore the lappels from their coats and stamped them under their feet and exclaimed that they were ruined; others cried out that they had sacrificed everything to prove their loyalty and were now left to shift for themselves without the friendship of their King or country.”

In September, previous to the final evacuation of New York by the British, upwards of 12,000 men, women and children embarked at the city and at Long and Staten Islands for Nova Scotia and the Bahamas.

Some of these victims to civil war tried to make merry at their doom by saying

that they were bound to a lovely country where there are nine months winter and three months cold weather every year! While others in their desperation would have torn down their houses, and had they not been prevented would have carried off the bricks of which they were built.

Those who went north landed at Port Roseway (now Shelburne) Nova Scotia and at St. Johns, where many, utterly destitute, were supplied with food at public charge and were obliged to live in huts built of bark and rough boards. Among the banished ones were persons whose hearts and hopes had been as true as Washington’s, for in the division of families, which every where occurred and which formed one of the most distressing circumstances of the conflict, their wives and daughters, who although bound by the holiest ties to Loyalists, had given their sympathy to the right from the beginning, and who now in the triumph of the cause which had their prayers, went meekly—as woman ever meets a sorrowful lot—in hopeless, interminable exile.

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 GEORGE KEITH, THE FOUNDER OF  
 FREEHOLD.

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 The following outline of the life of Rev. George Keith is by William A. Whitehead Esq. author of the History of East Jersey

Among those selected by the Proprietaries in England to serve them in East Jersey was George Keith, a native of Aberdeen, an eminent Quaker, although originally a Scotch Presbyterian; and among all whose names subsequently became widely known, his was one of those which obtained the greatest renown. Those who first welcomed him to the province as a fellow helper in subduing the wilderness could hardly have prefigured for him the course which events opened to him in this and the adjoining province of Pennsylvania. The circumstances which probably led to his acquaintance with the leading Scotch Proprietaries was his having under his charge in 1683 at a school which he taught in Theobalds, a son of Robert Barclay. He was appointed Surveyor General on the 31st of July, 1684, but did not reach the province until the spring of the following year. On the 9th of April he presented his credentials to the Council of Proprietors, but as the office to which he was appointed was already filled by William

Haige, under a commission emanating from Deputy Governor Rudyard, they found themselves delicately situated, and postponed the consideration of Mr. Keith's commission until their next meeting. It was unanimously agreed, however, that he should have one of their houses as directed by the Proprietors. (Thomas Warne was directed to "clear out" the one he inhabited to make room for him.)

The Council at the appointed time were urged by Keith to decide in his favor, and they finally desired both of the applicants to appear before them on the 12th of June, when the office, in consequence of the absence of Mr. Haige and the inability, from some cause of his deputy, Miles Forster, was declared vacant and Mr. Keith authorized to take the oaths and assume the duties.

Besides performing the general duties of his office, for which he was well qualified, being "an excellent surveyor," he ran the division line between East and West Jersey in 1687; but in 1689 he left the province for Pennsylvania. Then residing at Freehold, of which settlement he was the founder, and where at the time of his removal he had "a fine plantation," he was induced by the solicitations of the Quakers of Philadelphia to accept the superintendence of a school in that city for fifty pounds, a house for his family, and whatever profits might accrue, with the promise of an increase to one hundred and twenty pounds after the first year, the poor to be taught gratis. This is the first and only allusion to his family I have noticed. He did not remain long in this humble situation (vacating it the next year) and we are warranted in attributing its acceptance to other inducements more likely to affect a man of his character than the pecuniary remuneration named. Having been eminent as a preacher and writer among the Quakers for several years, he became a public speaker in their religious assemblies in Philadelphia. Possessing quick natural talents improved by considerable literary attainments, he was acute in argument and able in logical disputations and discussions of nice distinction in theological matters; but having great confidence in his own superior capacity he was apt to indulge in an overbearing disposition, not altogether in accordance with christian moderation and charity.

These peculiarities of mind and temperament naturally impelled him to assume

the part of a leader, and he soon, through his talents and energy, gathered a party inculcating plainness of garb and language and other points of discipline; there being in his opinion "too great slackness therein." Connected with these religious tenets were the political doctrines of the abandonment of all forcible measures to uphold secular or worldly government and the emancipation of the negroes after a reasonable term of service.

Although his opinions and views met the approval of a large number of Friends, occasioning a serious division in that before united body—father and son, husband and wife, friends and relatives who had usually worshiped together, though still professors of the same faith in the main, being seen going to different places of worship, "heats and bitterness" being engendered, occasioning "many labors and watching, great circumspection and patience;" yet as they did not meet with the general acceptance he expected, Keith became captious and indulged in censure and reproach, accusing some of the most esteemed and approved ministers with promulgating false doctrines—although it is said the points he now condemned had been strongly advocated in his writings—and declaring those only who were associated with him true Quakers.

He was charged with exercising an overbearing temper and an unchristian disposition of mind in disparaging many of the society, and at a meeting of ministers in Philadelphia in June, 1692, "a declaration or testimony of denial" was drawn up, in which both he and his conduct were publicly denounced.

From this decision Keith appealed to the general meeting of Friends, at Burlington, and in the meanwhile wrote an address to the Quakers in which, as on different occasions verbally, he spoke in such disparaging, if not calumnious manner of the Deputy Governor and other functionaries, as to bring upon him the ire of the civil magistrates (themselves Quakers) and he was in consequence proclaimed in the market place, by the common crier, a seditious person and an enemy to the King and Queen's government. The general meeting confirming the declaration of the ministers, the separation became complete, but Keith continued preaching and writing in support of his views and for the establishment of his followers until early in 1694, when he appealed to the yearly meeting in London and

appeared there in person ; but his behavior was such as led to the approval of the proceedings against him and his authority and influence were at an end.

This controversy occasioned much disturbance in the province of Pennsylvania and many of the pamphlets to which it gave birth are yet extant.

Excited it would seem by the opposition he had met with, although for a time he retained a considerable number of adherents in England, and disgusted with the society from which he had received so little sympathy while aiming for its advancement in what he conceived the essentials of true religion, Keith abjured the doctrines of the Quakers and became a zealous clergyman of the established Church of England.

He officiated for some time in his mother country, and in 1702 returned to America as a Missionary of the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts ; sent out to travel through the different provinces for the purpose of inquiring into their true condition, their wants in regard to their spiritual interests and to arouse in the people a sense of the duties of religion."

His labors are said to have been very successful, particularly in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York to which he devoted more of his time than he did to the other provinces—from his previous acquaintance with the people. In the first two especially a large number of those Quakers who had adopted his views in the dissensions of 1691 and 1692, became converts to the doctrines and discipline of the Church of England.

He returned to England by way of Virginia and received a benefice in Sussex, worth one hundred and twenty pounds per annum, where he continued until his death to write against the doctrines of the Quakers. Prund's History of Pennsylvania says from well authenticated account it is asserted that he thus expressed himself on his death bed : " I wish I had died when I was a Quaker for then I am sure it would have been well for my soul."

SINGULAR INDIAN CLAIMS.

About the last remnant of Indians remaining in our state, sold their lands to the whites about 1801, and the year following removed to New Stockbridge, near Onondaga Lake, New York, from whence, about 1824, they removed to Michigan,

where they purchased a tract of land of the Menomonic Indians, on both sides of the Fox river near Green Bay.

In 1832, the New Jersey tribe, reduced to less than forty souls, delegated one of their number named Bartholomew S. Calvin, to visit Trenton and apply to our Legislature for remuneration for hunting and fishing privileges on unenclosed lands, which they alleged had not been sold with the land. Calvin was an aged man who had been educated at Princeton, where he was at the breaking out of the Revolution when he joined the American army. The claim, so unusual, was met in a spirit of kindness by our Legislature, who directed the State Treasurer to pay to the agent of the Indians, the sum of two thousand dollars, thus satisfactorily and honorably extinguishing the last claim the Indians brought against our state. Hon. Samuel L. Southard, at the close of a speech made at the time, said: "It was a proud fact in the history of New Jersey, that every foot of her soil had been obtained from the Indians by fair and voluntary purchase and transfer, a fact that no other state of the Union, not even the land which bears the name of Penn, can boast."

In 1678, a somewhat similar claim was brought by the Indians, against Richard Hartshorne, an early settler of old Monmouth, who had previously bought of them Sandy Hook, and lands around the Highlands. In that year, to prevent their trespassing upon his lands, he had to pay them to relinquish their claims to hunt, fish, fowl, and gather beach plums. The following is a copy of the agreement :

"The 8th of August, 1678. Whereas the Indians pretend that formerly, when they sold all the land upon Sandy Hook, they did not sell, or did except liberty to plumbs, or to say the Indians should have liberty to go on Sandy Hook, to get get plumbs when they please, and to hunt upon the land, and fish, and to take dry trees that suited them for cannows. Now know all men by these presents, that I, Richard Hartshorne, of Portland, in the county of Monmouth, in East Jersey, for peace and quietness sake, and to the end there may be no cause of trouble with the Indians and that I may not for the future have any trouble with them as formerly I had, in their dogs killing my sheep, and their hunting on my lands, and their fishing, I have agreed as followeth :

"These presents witnesseth, that I, Vowavapon, Hendricks, the Indians son,

having all the liberty and privileges of pluming on Sandy Hook, hunting, fishing, fowling, getting cannows &c., by these presents, give, grant, bargain, sell, unto Richard Hartshorne, his heirs and assigns forever, all the liberty and privilege of pluming, fishing, fowling, and hunting, and howsoever reserved and excepted by the Indians for him, the said Richard Hartshorne, his heir and assigns, to have hold, possess, and enjoy forever, to say that no Indian, or Indians, shall or hath no pretense to lands or timber, or liberty, privileges on no pretense whatsoever on any part a parcell of land, belonging to the said Richard Hartshorne, to say Sandy Hook or land adjoining to it, in consideration the said Hartshorne, hath paid unto the said Vowavapon, thirteen shillings money; and I the said Vowavapon, do acknowledge to have received thirteen shillings by these presents. Witness my hand and seal.

“VOWAVAPON X his mark.

“TOCUS X his mark.

“Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of JOHN STOUT.”

#### THE RARITAN INDIANS.

An ancient work says that when the whites first came to this country, the Raritans lived on the south side of Raritan bay and river, but they were flooded out by a storm, previous to 1650, and then removed to the north side. They afterwards it is supposed mingled with the Saphicans or Wapingas, who finally left the state and located on the east side of the Hudson river, in New York state, near Anthony's Nose.

#### AN INDIAN DINNER—A SAVORY DISH.

##### BETHSHEBA, THE INDIAN QUEEN.

The last remnant of the Indians who frequented the lower part of old Monmouth, had their principal settlement at a place called Edgepelick or Edge Pillock about three miles from Atsion in Burlington county, from whence they removed to Oneida Lake, New York, in 1802. Before their removal, members of this tribe with their families would visit the shore once a year and spend some time fishing, oyster-

ing, making baskets, &c. The most noted among the last Indians who regularly visited the shore were Charles Moluss, his wife, and wife's sister, who bore the euphonious names of Bash and Suke, among the ancient residents of old Stafford township, but in Little Egg Harbor, Burlington county, where they also were frequent visitors, Moluss' wife was known as Bathsheba, and considered as a kind of Indian Queen, on account of the great respect shown to her by her people and by the Quakers of Burlington, because of her possessing more intelligence, and having a more prepossessing personal appearance than the rest of her tribe. At Tuckerton, when her company visited there and put up their tents, Bathsheba was generally invited to make her home with some one of the principal inhabitants of the place. At Barnegat, her company generally camped on the place now owned by Captain Timothy Falkinburgh, where they were on friendly terms with the whites and quite disposed to be hospitable, but Bathsheba, Indian Queen though she may have been, occasionally prepared Indian delicacies for the table which the whites seldom appreciated. Some twenty years ago Eli Collins, a well remembered aged citizen of Barnegat, told the writer of this, that when he was a young man, one time he had been out from home all day, and on his way back, stopped at the hut of Moluss. His wife Bash, or Bathsheba, was boiling something in a pot which sent forth a most delightful odor to a hungry man, and he was cordially invited to dine. As he had been without anything to eat all day he willingly accepted the invitation; but he soon changed his determination when he found the savory smelling dish was *hop toad soup!*

#### INDIAN PETER.

##### A TRADITION OF IMLAYSTOWN.

About a century ago an Indian named Peter, said to have been connected by relationship and in business with the noted Indian Tom, after whom some, we think erroneously, considered Toms River to be named, resided at Toms River, but owing to an unfortunate habit of mixing too much whisky with his water, he became unfortunate, and about the time of the war removed with his family to the

vicinity of Imlaystown, where he built a wigwam by a pond not far from the village.

Shortly after he located here his wife sickened and died. Peter dearly loved his squaw, and was almost heart-broken on account of the unlucky event. He could not bear the idea of parting with his wife, of putting her under ground out of sight. For a day or two he was inconsolable and knew not what to do; at length a lucky idea occurred to him; instead of burying her where he never more could see her, he would put a rope about her neck and place her in the pond and daily visit her. This idea he at once put into execution, and as he daily visited her, it somewhat assuaged his poignant grief.— On one of his melancholy visits to the departed partner of his bosom, he noticed in the water around her a large number of eels. To turn these eels to account was a matter of importance to Peter, for though he loved his wife yet he loved money too. So he caught the eels daily, and for a week or so visited the village regularly and found a ready sale for them among the villagers.

But at length the supply tailed—his novel eel trap gave out. A few days thereafter he was in the village and numerous were the inquiries why he did not bring any more of those good eels.

“Ah,” said Peter very innocently, drawing a long sigh, “me catch no more eels—me squaw all gone—boo—hoo!”

His grief and singular reply called for an explanation, and he, thinking nothing wrong, gave it.

The result was a general casting up of accounts among the villagers, terrible anathemas upon the Indian, and a holy horror of eels among that generation of Imlaystown citizens, and even to this day it is said some of their descendants would as soon eat a snake as an eel.

(The above tradition we have no doubt is substantially correct; we derived it from Hon. Charles Parker, for many years State Treasurer, father of Gov. Parker, who some sixty years ago, while at Toms River, met with some of the disgusted purchasers of Indian Peter's eels.)

#### A BRAVE YOUTH.

One fine morning in May, 1780, as the family of David Forman, Sheriff of Monmouth County, were at breakfast, a soldier

almost out of breath suddenly burst into the room and stated, that as he and another soldier were conducting to the Court House two men taken up on suspicion at Colt's Neck, they had knocked down his comrade, seized his musket and escaped. The Sheriff, on hearing this relation, immediately mounted his horse and galloped to the Court House to alarm the guard.— His son Tunis Forman, a lad of about 17, and small of his age, seized a musket loaded only with small shot to kill blackbirds in the cornfields, and putting on a cartridge box, dispatched his brother Samuel (the late Dr. Samuel Forman of Freehold,) upstairs for a bayonet, and then without waiting for it, hurried off alone in the pursuit.

After running in a westerly direction about a mile, he discovered the men sitting on a fence, who on perceiving him ran into a swamp. The morning was warm, he hastily pulled off his coat and shoes and dashed in after them, keeping close upon them for over a mile, when they got out of the swamp and each climbed into separate trees. As he came up they discharged at him the musket taken from the guard. The ball whistled over his head. He felt for his bayonet, and at that moment perceived that in his haste it was left behind. He then pointed his gun at the man with the musket, but deemed it imprudent to fire, reflecting even if he killed him, his comrade could easily master such a stripling as himself. He compelled the man to throw down his musket by threatening him with death if he did not instantly comply. Then loading the prize from his cartridge he forced his prisoners down from the trees and armed with his two loaded muskets, he drove them toward the Court House, careful however, to keep them far apart, to prevent conversation. Passing by a spring they requested permission to drink.

“No” replied the intrepid boy, understanding their design. “You can do as well without it as myself; you shall have some by and by.”

Soon after, his father, at the head of a party of soldiers in the pursuit, galloped past in the road within a short distance.— Tunis hallooed, but the clattering of their horses hoots drowned his voice. At length he reached the village, and lodged his prisoners in the county prison.

It was subsequently discovered that these men, whose name was John and Robert Smith, were brothers from near

Philadelphia, that they had robbed and murdered a Mr. Boyd, a collector of taxes in Chester county, and when taken, were on their way to join the British. As they had been apprehended on suspicion merely of being refugees, no definite charge could be brought against them. A few days after, Sheriff Forman saw an advertisement in a Pennsylvania paper describing them, with the facts above mentioned, and a reward of \$20,000 Continental money offered for their apprehension. He, accompanied by his son, took them there, where they were tried and executed. On entering Philadelphia young Tunis was carried through the streets in triumph upon the shoulders of the military. In the latter part of the war this young man became very active, and was a peculiar favorite of General David Forman. He died not far from 1835. (The foregoing account is as related by the late Dr. Samuel Forman to Henry Howe, Esq.)

#### CAPTAIN JOSEPH COWARD.

In a Philadelphia work containing Sketches of Revolutionary Heroes is found the following notice of one of the patriots of old Monmouth:

"Joseph Coward was a native of Monmouth county, N. J. In view of his cognomen we may well exclaim, 'What's in a name, my Lord?' He was a Coward; and yet one of the bravest of the Revolutionary Captains. He was a great terror to the Refugees *alias* Tories. At the Battle of Monmouth and at several other places, his undaunted courage was conspicuous.—When the British fleet lay off Sandy Hook, one of the supply ships ran too near the shore and stuck fast. With a few, Captain Coward captured her in defiance of two barges manned with superior numbers that were sent to the rescue. At the close of the war he returned to his farm, became the esteemed citizen and fully exemplified the noble attributes of an honest man."

From his name we should not be surprised if the above named hero was a relative of the late Captain Joseph Coward of Toms River, formerly a member of the Legislature, a gentleman much esteemed and popular among his political opponents, as well as friends.

#### A JERSEY BLUE AT THE BATTLE OF GERMANTOWN.

BARKALOW, OF OLD MONMOUTH.

The following story which we find in an old work is worth repeating:

"*A Brave Fellow.*—Among numerous feats of valor performed by individuals of the American Revolutionary army, none has pleased me more than the following, related by an eye witness.

"During the heat of the battle at Germantown, while bullets flew thick as hailstones, one Barkalow, of Monmouth, N. J., was leveling his musket at the enemy when the lock was carried away by a ball. Undismayed, he caught up the gun of a comrade, just killed by his side, and taking aim, a bullet entered the muzzle and twisted the barrel round like a corkscrew! Still undaunted, our hero immediately knelt down, unscrewed the whole lock from the twisted barrel, screwed it on the barrel from which the lock had been torn, and blazed away at the enemy.

"Can ancient Sparta or modern Britain boast a more brilliant display of cool, deliberate, unshaken courage? This hero is still living."—*Niles' Pict. Revolution*, 1822

#### THE REDSTONE COUNTRY.

OLD MONMOUTH CITIZENS EMIGRATING WEST.

At different times between fifty and a hundred years ago, a large number of the citizens of old Monmouth emigrated to what then was termed "the Redstone country." These emigrants left behind numerous relatives, and among their descendants are often heard inquiries as to the precise locality of this "Redstone country." The origin of the name at the present day seems somewhat singular.

The term "Redstone settlements" or "Redstone country," was employed to denote most of the country in Pennsylvania and Virginia west of the mountains. The name Redstone was applied to a creek which enters the Monongahela below Brownsville, Pa., upon which was a settlement called "Redstone Old Fort."

In that day coal, as an article of fuel, was unknown. It is stated that "the hills abounded with bituminous coal; and along water courses where the earth had been washed off, the coal was left exposed which often caught fire; these fires came in contact with the surrounding earth and

stones and gave them a red appearance—indeed so much so that when pulverized they were used in painting a Spanish brown color. Hence the name. Many of these red banks are now visible, the most prominent of which are in Redstone Creek, Fayette county, Pa.”

The last considerable exodus of citizens of old Monmouth bound for the Reds one country, occurred some fifty odd years ago. Some of the emigrants from the county who went previous to this time, experienced great hardships, and at one time were so seriously annoyed by the Indians that they had to return until the troubles were over. One native of old Monmouth named Conover, during the Indian troubles, became quite noted for his skill and bravery in meeting the savages, and his adventures were so thrilling that we shall try to find place for them hereafter; it will be seen that he did no discredit to the county that gave him birth.

INDIAN WILL.

AN ECCENTRIC ABORIGINAL OF OLD MONMOUTH.

In days gone by the singular character and eccentric acts of the noted Indian Will, formed the theme of many a fireside story among our ancestors, many of which are still well remembered by our older citizens, especially those belonging to the Society of Friends. Some of the incidents given below, derived many years ago from aged Friends, differ in some particulars, but we give them as related to us now, in hopes some of our readers can furnish corrections and additions. The first story given below, was published some thirty years ago, and as will be seen differs from other versions.

“About the year 1670, the Indians sold out the section of country near Eatontown to Lewis Morris for a barrel of cider, and emigrated to Crosswicks and Cranbury.—One of them, called Indian Will, remained and dwelt in a wigwam between Tinton Falls and Swimming river. His tribe were in consequence exasperated, and at various times sent messengers to kill him in single combat; but being a brave, athletic man, he always came off conqueror. On a certain occasion, while partaking of a breakfast of suppawn and milk at Mr. Eaton’s with a silver spoon, he casually re-

marked that he knew where there were plenty of such. They promised if he would bring them they would give him a red coat and a cocked hat. In a short time he was arrayed in that dress; and it is said that the Eatons suddenly became wealthy. About 80 years since, in pulling down an old mansion in Shrewsbury, in which a maiden member of this family in her lifetime had resided, a quantity of *cob* dollars, supposed by the superstitious to have been Kidd’s money, were found concealed in the collar wall. This coin was generally of a square or oblong shape, the corners of which wore out the pockets.”—(*Howe’s Hist. Coll.*)

A somewhat similar or a variation of the above tradition, we have frequently heard as follows:

“India Will often visited the family of Derrick Longstreet at Manasquan, and one time showed them some silver money which excited their surprise; they wished to know where he got it, and wanted Will to let them have it. Will refused to part with it, but told them he had found it in a trunk along the beach, and there was plenty of yellow money beside; but as the yellow money was not as pretty as the white, he didn’t want that, and Longstreet might have it. So Longstreet went with him, and found the money in a trunk covered over with tarpaulin buried in the sand; Will kept the white money and Longstreet the yellow (gold,) and this satisfactory division, made the Longstreets quite wealthy.”

It is very probable that Will found money along the beach, but whether it was from some shipwrecked vessel, or had been buried by pirates, is another question.—However, the connection of Kidd’s name with the finding of the money would indicate that Will lived long after the year mentioned in the first quoted tradition, (1670.) Kidd did not sail on his practical cruise until 1696. And from the traditional information the writer of this has been able to obtain, Will must have lived many years subsequent.

In personal appearance, Will is described as having been stout, broad shouldered, with prominent Indian cast of features and rings in his ears, and a good sized one in his nose. The following are some of the additional traditions related of him:

Among other things which Will had done to excite the ill will of other Indians he was charged with killing his wife. Her brother named Jacob, determined on re-

venge; so he pursued him and finding Will unarmed, undertook to march him off captive. As they were going along, Will espied a pine knot on the ground, and managed to pick it up and suddenly dealt Jacob a fatal blow, and as he dropped to the ground, Will tauntingly exclaimed, "Jacob, look up at the sun—you'll never see it again." Most of the old residents who relate stories of Will, speak of his finding honey at one time on the dead body of an Indian he had previously killed, but whether it was Jacob or some other is not mentioned.

At one time, to make sure work of killing Will, four or five Indians started in pursuit of him, and they succeeded in surprising him so suddenly that he had no chance for defence or fight. His captors told him they were about to kill him and he must at once prepare to die. He heard his doom with Indian stoicism, and he had only one favor to ask before he died, and that was to be allowed to take a drink out of his jug of liquor which had just been filled. So small a favor the captors could not refuse. As Will's jug was full, it was only common politeness to ask them to drink also. Now if his captors had any weakness it was for rum; so they gratefully accepted his invitation. The drink rendered them talkative, and they commenced reasoning with him upon the enormity of his offences. The condemned man admitted the justness of their reproaches, and begged to be allowed to take another drink to drown the stings of conscience; the captors condescendingly joined him again—indeed it would have been cruel to refuse to drink with a man so soon to die. This gone through with, they persuaded Will to make a full confession of his misdeeds, and their magnitude so aroused the indignation of his captors, that they had to take another drink to enable them to do their duty becomingly. Indeed, they took divers drinks, so overcome were they by his harrowing tale; and then they become so unmanned, that they had to try to recuperate by sleep. Then crafty Will, who had really drunk but little, softly arose, found his hatchet, and soon despatched his would-be captors.

It was a rule with Will not to waste any ammunition, and therefore he was bound to eat all the game he killed, but a buzzard which he once shot sorely tried him, and it took two or three days starving, before he could stomach it. One time when alone upon the beach he was seized with a

fit of sickness and thought he was about to die; and not wishing his dead body to lie exposed, he succeeded in digging a shallow grave in which he lay for awhile, but his sickness passed off and he crept out and went on his way rejoicing. He would never, in the latter years of his life, kill a willet, as he said a willet once saved his life. He said he was in a canoe one dark night crossing the bay, somewhat the worse for liquor, and unconsciously about to drift out the inlet into the ocean, when a willet screamed, and the peculiar cry of this bird seemed to him to sound, "this way, Will; this way, Will!" and that way Will went and reached the beach just in time to save himself from certain death in the breakers.

When after wild fowl he had a singular way of talking to them in a low tone:—"Come this way, my nice bird, Will won't hurt you; Will won't hurt you!" If he succeeded in killing one he would say: "You fool, you believe me eh? Ah, Will been so much with the whites he learned to *lie like a white man!*"

An old resident of the present county of Ocean, says that "Indian Will sometimes travelled down along shore as far as Barnegat Inlet and always attended by a lot of big, lean, hungry looking dogs, to help him fight off other Indians."

Near the mouth of Squan River is a place known as "Will's Hole." There are two versions of the origin of the name.—One old gentleman living in the vicinity, says it was so called because Will was drowned in it. The other version is that Will drowned his wife here.

The following traditions of Indian Will were told last summer by the venerable Thomas Cook of Point Pleasant, recently deceased, to a correspondent of the *New York World*. Though copied in this paper at that time, yet in this connection they will bear republishing:

Along the shore of Squan river a small inlet was pointed out to me which is known as "Indian Will's Hole." Some three quarters of a century ago, an old Indian chief made his home in the woods attached to the Cook farm. He was a brawny, muscular savage, peaceably inclined towards the whites and suffered no molestation from them. Many of his people lived around him, but he preferred to occupy his cabin alone with his wife, while he spent most of his time in hunting and fishing.

But one day Indian Will brought home



a muskrat, which he ordered his spouse to prepare for dinner. She obeyed, but when it was placed upon the table, refused to partake of it. "Very well," grunted the noble red man, "if you are too good to eat muskrat you are too good to live with me." And thereupon took her down to the little bay spoken of, and caused her to sink so effectually that she has not yet come to the surface.

Indian Will had three brothers-in-law, two of whom resided on Long Island, and when in course of time word reached them of the manner in which the chief had "put away" their sister, they went down to Jersey to avenge her death. When they reached Will's cabin, he sat inside eating clam soup. Knowing their errand, he invited them in to dinner, telling them that he would fight it out with them as soon as the meal was concluded. "Barkis was willin'" and they gathered around the aboriginal board, complimenting the steaming soup which was placed before them, and scooped it into their capacious jaws in the very felicity of sensuous enjoyment.

Before dinner was over Indian Will pretended that he heard some one approaching, and springing up hurried out of his cabin as if to meet him. But the instant he was out of sight of the two visitors, he caught up their two guns, which they had left leaning up against the cabin in full trust of his honor, and through the open door shot both, the last redskin falling dead as he was rushing out to close in with his treacherous host.

In those days it was the custom of the Indians to hold a yearly meeting or council at a place now known as Burrsville, somewhat like a dozen miles from this point. It was here that Indian Will encountered the third brother-in-law, and they started homeward together having no weapons with them, but carrying a jug of whiskey. Deep in the gloomy recesses of the pine woods, when his blood was inflamed with fire-water, this Indian told the chief that he must die as the death of his relatives must be avenged.

They halted and closed in the deadly struggle. Both were active and powerful men and it was a fight unto death; but late in the evening Indian Will appeared at his cabin with no companion but his whiskey jug. The next day he received several visitors from his race who had been at the Council the day before, and who had seen the two depart together. Inquiring as to what had become of his com-

rade, he told them to search and they would probably find out.

They took the back trail of the chief and after an hour's tramping found the dead body. The crushed skull and a bloody pine knot near told the tale. Henceforth Indian Will was let alone and quietly died in his own cabin many years after. I find that in the deed of the Cook farm, this "Indian Will's Hole" is recognized, and its margin is given as one of the landmarks."

CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION—  
PRINCIPLES INVOLVED.

Early Stand taken by the Citizens of Monmouth.—Proceedings of Meetings in Different Townships in 1774-5.—Freehold leads the State.—County Resolutions.—An Admirable Document.—Patriots Appeal to their Descendants.—"A Faithful Record" of 1774, and its Message to 1873.

Historians of other States have always conceded that the citizens of New Jersey were among the earliest and most active opponents of those tyrannical acts of Great Britain which brought on the war, and finally resulted in separation. Large and spirited public meetings were held in various parts of the State in 1774-5, to denounce the obnoxious laws, and to organize for counsel and defence.

At this stage of affairs, separation from England had not been proposed, and most of these meetings, while condemning the acts of the British Ministry and Parliament, still expressed decided loyalty to the King. Our ancestors warmly seconded the stand taken by the people of Boston, and freely forwarded contributions to the suffering inhabitants of that city.

We annex extracts from the proceedings of some of these meetings in Old Monmouth, as they exhibit the timely zeal and firm and decided spirit of its citizens, and also furnish the names of some of the leading spirits who were prominent in the early stages of political movements which brought on the Revolution. The several counties of the State were requested to send delegates to meet at New Brunswick, July 21st, 1774, to consider what

action should be taken by the citizens of the Province of New Jersey. This convention was generally spoken of as the "Provincial Congress of New Jersey," and was a different body from the Legislature; in several instances, however, the same persons were members of both bodies. A number of persons named in these proceedings were afterwards, during the war, conspicuous in military or civil life, for their services in behalf of their country in legislative halls and on the field of battle.

For a year or two the citizens of the county appear to have been about unanimous in their sentiments, but when finally the subject of a separation from the mother country was boldly advocated, there was found to be a diversity of opinion, and some who were among the most active in the meetings of 1774-5, earnestly opposed the proposition, and eventually sided with England in the later years of that memorable struggle. The fearful consequences of this division, in which it would seem almost every man capable of bearing arms was compelled to take sides, we have endeavored to give in other chapters.

The citizens of Freehold had the honor, we believe, of holding the first meeting in New Jersey to denounce the tyrannical acts of Great Britain—of inaugurating the movements in our State which finally resulted in Independence. The date of their first meeting is June 6th, 1774; the earliest date of a meeting in any other place that we have met with, is of a meeting at Newark, June 11th, 1774.

The following is a copy of the Freehold Proceedings:

#### LOWER FREEHOLD RESOLUTIONS.

"FREEHOLD June 6th 1774.

"At a meeting of the Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Township of Lower Freehold in the county of Monmouth in New Jersey, on Monday the 6th day of June 1774 after notice given of the time place and occasion of this meeting

*Resolved* That it is the unanimous opinion of this meeting, that the cause in which the inhabitants of the town of *Boston* are now suffering is the common cause of the whole Continent of North America; and that unless some general spirited measures, for the public safety be speedily entered into there is just reason to fear that every Province may in turn share the same fate with them; and that therefore, it is highly incumbent on them all to unite in some

effectual means to obtain a repeal of the Boston Port Bill and any other that may follow it, which shall be deemed subversive of the rights and privileges of free born Americans.

"And that it is the opinion of this meeting that in case it shall hereafter appear to be consistent with the general opinion of the trading towns and the commercial part of our countrymen, that an entire stoppage of importation and exportation from and to Great Britain and the West Indies, until the said Port Bill and other Acts be repealed, will be conducive to the safety and preservation of North America and her liberties, they will yield a cheerful acquiescence in the measure and earnestly recommend the same to all their brethren in this Province.

*Resolved, moreover* That the inhabitants of this township will join in an Association with the several towns in the county and in conjunction with them, with the several counties in the Province (if, as we doubt not they see fit to accede to the proposal) in any measures that may appear best adapted to the weal and safety of North America and all her loyal sons.

*Ordered* That

JOHN ANDERSON Esq PETER FORMAN  
HENDRICK SMOCK JOHN FORMAN  
ASHER HOLMES Capt JNO COVENHOVEN  
and Dr. NATHANIEL SCUDDER

be a committee for the township to join those who may be elected for the neighboring townships or counties to constitute a General Committee for any purpose similar to those above mentioned; and that the gentlemen so appointed do immediately solicit a correspondence with the adjacent towns."

(Dr. Scudder subsequently was a Colonel in the First Regiment Monmouth Militia, and killed October 15th, 1781, as described elsewhere.)

The following week the citizens of Essex sent the following to the patriots of Monmouth:

ESSEX TO MONMOUTH.

"ELIZABETHTOWN June 13th 1774.

"Gentlemen: The alarming Measure which have been lately taken to deprive the Inhabitants of the American Colonies of their constitutional Rights and Privileges, together with the late violent attacks made upon the rights and liberties of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay (for asserting and endeavoring to maintain their rights) manifestly intended to crush them without Mercy and thereby dismrite and

weaken the Colonies, and at the same time dare them to assert or own their Constitutional Rights, Liberties or Properties, under the Penalty of the life, and if possible, worse treatment; and as the Assembly of New Jersey are not like to meet in time to answer the Design proposed, and the neighboring Colonies are devising and expecting the immediate union of this Colony with them.

"Sundry of the Inhabitants of the County of Essex by Advertisements, convened a general Meeting of said County at Newark on Saturday last, when the said inhabitants unanimously entered into certain Resolves and Declarations upon that occasion, a copy of which you have enclosed. We the Committee appointed by the said Meeting, do earnestly request that You will immediately by Advertisements or otherwise, call a general Meeting of your County for the purposes aforesaid as soon as possible, as we have intelligence that it is most probable the General Congress of the Colonies will be held the latter end of July next. We think New Brunswick the most suitable place for the committee to meet, and with submission to them desire they will meet us at New Brunswick on Thursday July 21st next at 10 o'clock in the morning, unless some other time and place more suitable shall in the meantime be agreed upon.

"We earnestly request your answer as soon as possible.

"Letters of this Tenor and Date we now despatch to the other Counties in this Colony.

We are, Gentlemen,

your most ob't servants

STEPHEN CRANE Chairman

"By order :

"To Messrs Edward Taylor, Richard Lawrence, Elisha Lawrence, John Taylor and Henry Wadell, and other Inhabitants of the County of Monmouth, Friends to the Liberties and Privileges of the American Colonies."

(The above letter was directed to the above named gentlemen "or to any body else in Monmouth County.")

Delegates from the different townships in the county assembled at Freehold, July 19th, and the result of their decision is found in the following admirable document. It is lengthy but will well repay perusal. In the closing paragraph they trust that some faithful record will transmit the reasons which actuated them, to their posterity to whom they make a brief but eloquent appeal. As they desired, this

record has been preserved, and as they desired, we do what we can to place it before their descendants:

MONMOUTH COUNTY RESOLUTIONS.

"On Tuesday July 19th 1774, a majority of the Committees from the several townships in the county of Monmouth of the Colony of New Jersey met according to appointment at the Court House at Freehold in said county; and appearing to have been regularly chosen and constituted by their respective townships, they unanimously agreed upon the propriety and expediency of electing a committee to represent the whole county at the approaching Provincial Convention to be held at the city of New Brunswick, for the necessary purpose of constituting delegates from this Province to the general Congress of the Colonies and for all other such important purposes as shall hereafter be found necessary.

"They at the same time also recorded the following Resolutions, Determinations and Opinions, which they wish to be transmitted to posterity as an ample testimony to their loyalty to his British Majesty, of their firm attaçment to the principles of the glorious Revolution and their fixed and unalterable purpose, by every lawful means in their power, to maintain and defend themselves in the possession and enjoyment of those inestimable civil and religious privileges which their forefathers, at the expense of so much blood and treasure, have established and handed down to them.

"1st. In the names and behalf of their constituents, the good and loyal inhabitants of the county of Monmouth, in the colony of New Jersey, they do cheerfully and publicly proclaim their unshaken allegiance to the person and government of his most gracious Majesty King George the Third now on the British throne, and do acknowledge themselves bound at all times, and to the utmost exertion of their power to maintain his dignity and lawful sovereignty in and over all his colonies in America; and that it is their most fervent desire and constant prayer that in a Protestant succession, the descendants of the illustrious House of Hanover, may continue to sway the British sceptre to the latest posterity.

"2d. They do highly esteem and prize the happiness of being governed and having their liberty and property secured to them by so excellent a system of laws as

that of Great Britain, the best doubtless in the universe; and they will at all times cheerfully obey and render every degree of assistance in their power to the full and just execution of them. But at the same time will, with the greatest alacrity and resolution oppose any unwarrantable innovations in them or any additions to or alterations in the grand system which may appear unconstitutional, and consequently inconsistent with the liberties and privileges of the descendants of free born American Britons.

"3d. As there has been for ages past, a most happy union and uninterrupted connection between Great Britain and her colonies in America, they conceive their interests are now become so intimately blended together and their mutual dependence upon each other to be at this time so delicately great that they esteem everything which has a tendency to alienate affection or disunite them in any degree, highly injurious to their common happiness and directly calculated to produce a Revolution, likely in the end to prove destructive to both; they do therefore heartily disclaim every idea of that spirit of independence which has, of late, by some of our mistaken brethren on each side of the Atlantic, been so groundlessly and injuriously held up to the attention of the nation, as having through ambition, possessed the breasts of the Americans.— And moreover they do devoutly beseech the Supreme Disposer of all events, graciously to incline the heart of our Sovereign and all his Ministers, to a kind and impartial investigation of the real sentiments and disposition of his truly loyal American subjects.

"4th. Notwithstanding many great men and able writers have employed their talents and pens in favor of the newly adopted mode of taxation in America, they are yet sensible of no convictive light being thrown upon the subject; and therefore, although so august a body as that of the British Parliament is now actually endeavoring to enforce in a military way, the execution of some distressing edicts upon the capital of the Massachusetts colony, they do freely and solemnly declare that in conscience they deem them, and all others that are, or ever may be framed upon the same principles, altogether unprecedented and unconstitutional, utterly inconsistent with the true original intention of Magna Charta, subversive of the just rights of free born Englishmen, agreeable

and satisfactory only to the domestic and foreign enemies of our nation, and consequently pregnant with complicated ruin, and tending directly to the dissolution and destruction of the British Empire.

"5th. As they, on the one hand firmly believe that the inhabitants of the Massachusetts colony in general, and those of the town of Boston in particular, are to all intents and purposes as loyal subjects as any in all his Majesty's widely extended dominions; and on the other, that (although the present coercive and oppressive measures against them may have taken rise in some part from the grossest and most cruel misrepresentation both of their disposition and conduct) the blockade of that town is principally designed to lead the way in an attempt to execute a dreadful deep laid plan for enslaving all America. They are therefore clearly of opinion, that the Bostonians are now eminently suffering in the common cause of American freedom, and that their fate may probably prove decisive to this very extensive continent and even to the whole British nation; and they do verily expect that unless some generous spirited measures for the public safety be speedily entered into and steadily prosecuted, every other colony will soon in turn feel the pernicious effects of the same detestable restrictions. Whence they earnestly entreat every rank, denomination, society and profession of their brethren, that, laying aside all bigotry and every party disposition, they do now universally concur in one generous and vigorous effort for the encouragement and support of their suffering friends, and in a resolute assertion of their birth right, liberties and privileges. In consequence of which they may reasonably expect a speedy repeal of all the arbitrary edicts respecting the Massachusetts government, and at the same time an effectual preclusion of any future attempts of the kind from the enemies of our happy Constitution, either upon them or any of their American brethren.

"6th. In case it shall hereafter appear to be consistent with the result of the deliberation of the general Congress, that an interruption or entire cessation of commercial intercourse with Great Britain and even (painful as it may be) with the West Indies, until such oppressive Acts be repealed and the liberties of America fully restored, stated and asserted, will on this deplorable emergency be really necessary and conducive to the public good, they

promise a ready acquiescence in every measure and will recommend the same as far as their influence extends.

"7th. As a general Congress of Deputies from the several American Colonies is proposed to be held at Philadelphia soon in September next, they declare their entire approbation of the design and think it is the only rational method of evading those aggravated evils which threaten to involve the whole continent in one general calamitous catastrophe. They are therefore met this day, vested with due authority from their respective constituents, to elect a committee to represent this county of Monmouth in any future necessary transactions respecting the cause of liberty and especially to join the Provincial Convention soon to be held at New Brunswick, for the purpose of nominating and constituting a number of Delegates, who in behalf of this Colony may steadily attend to said general Congress and faithfully serve the laboring cause of freedom and they have consequently chosen and deputed the following gentlemen to that important trust viz;

Edward Taylor	John Anderson
John Taylor	Dr Nathaniel Scudder
John Burrowes	John Covenhoven
Joseph Holmes	Josiah Holmes
Edward William	James Grover

John Lawrence.

Edward Taylor being constituted chairman and any five of them a sufficient number to transact business. And they do beseech, entreat, instruct and enjoin them to give their voice at said Provincial Convention, for no persons but such as they in good conscience and from the best information shall verily believe to be amply qualified for so interesting a department; particularly that they be men highly approved for integrity, honesty and uprightness, faithfully attached to his Majesty's person and lawful government, well skilled in the principles of our excellent constitution and steady assertors of all our civil and religious liberties.

"8th. As under the present operation of the Boston Port Bill, thousands of our respected brethren in that town must necessarily be reduced to great distress, they feel themselves affected with the sincerest sympathy and most cordial commiseration; and as they expect, under God, that the final deliverance of America will be owing, in a great degree, to a continuance of their virtuous struggle, they esteem themselves bound in duty and in interest to afford

them every assistance and alleviation in their power; and they do now in behalf of their constituents, declare their readiness to contribute to the relief of the suffering poor in that town; therefore they request the several committees of the country, when met, to take into serious consideration the necessity and expediency of forwarding under a sanction from them, subscriptions through every part of the Colony, for that truly humane and laudable purpose; and that a proper plan be concerted for laying out the product of such subscriptions to the best advantage, and afterwards transmitting it to Boston in the safest and least expensive way.

"9th. As we are now by our Committees in this, in conjunction with those of other colonies, about to delegate to a number of our countrymen a power equal to any wherewith human nature alone was ever invested; and as we firmly resolve to acquiesce in their deliberations, we do therefore earnestly entreat them, seriously and conscientiously to weigh the inexpressible importance of their arduous department, and fervently to solicit that direction and assistance in the discharge of their trust, which all the powers of humanity cannot afford them; and we do humbly and earnestly beseech that God, in whose hand are the hearts of all flesh and who ruleth them at his pleasure, graciously to infuse into the whole Congress a spirit of true wisdom, prudence and just moderation; and to direct them to such unanimous and happy conclusion as shall terminate in His own honor and glory, the establishment of the Protestant succession of the illustrious House of Hanover, the mutual weal and advantage of Great Britain and all her Dominions and a just and permanent confirmation of all the civil and religious liberties of America. And now lastly, under the consideration of the bare possibility that the enemies of our constitution may yet succeed in a desperate triumph over us in this age, we do earnestly (should this prove the case) call upon all future generations to renew the glorious struggle for liberty as often as Heaven shall afford them any probable means of success.

"May this notification, by some faithful record, be handed down to the yet unborn descendants of Americans, that nothing but the most fatal necessity could have wrested the present inestimable enjoyments from their ancestors. Let them universally inculcate upon their beloved offspring an investigation of those truths,

respecting both civil and religious liberty, which have been so clearly and fully stated in this generation. May they be carefully taught in all their schools; and may they never rest until, through Divine blessing upon their efforts, true freedom and liberty shall reign triumphant over the whole Globe.

"Signed by order of the Committee,

"EDWARD TAYLOR Chairman"

BOSTON GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGES MONMOUTH CONTRIBUTIONS.

The patriots of Monmouth promptly and freely contributed to the suffering inhabitants of Boston. In forwarding their first contribution "they entreated their brethren not to give up, and if they should want a further supply of bread to let them know it."

On the 21st of October, 1774, a letter was written on behalf of the Bostonians, to the citizens of Monmouth, in which they say:

"The kind and generous donations of the County of Monmouth in the Jerseys we are now to acknowledge and with grateful hearts to thank you therefore, having received from the Committee of said county, per Captain Brown, eleven hundred and forty (1140) bushels of rye and fifty barrels of rye meal, for the suffering poor of this town which shall be applied to the purpose intended by the donors; and what further cheers our hearts, is your kind assurances of a further supply, if necessary, to enable us to oppose the cruel Parliamentary Acts, levelled not only against this town, but our whole Constitution."

"COMMITTEES OF OBSERVATION AND INSPECTION."

"FREEHOLD December 10th 1774.

"In pursuance of the recommendation of the Continental Congress and for the preservation of American Freedom, a respectable body of the freeholders of Freehold township met at the Court House and unanimously elected the following gentlemen to act as a Committee of Observation and Inspection for said township:

John Anderson	Hendrick Smock
John Forman	John Covenhoven
Asher Holmes	Dr. Nathl Scudder
Peter Forman	David Forman
Dr. T. Henderson.	

"The committee were instructed by their constituents to carry into execution the several important and salutary measures

pointed out to them by the Continental Congress and without favor or affection to make all such diligent inquiry as shall be found conducive to the accomplishment of the great necessary purposes held up to the attention of Americans."

Upper Freehold, Dover and Middletown formed similar committees, and notified the Freehold committee.

Shrewsbury however failed to appoint a committee. This may have been owing to the prevalence of Quaker principles in the township. An attempt by the patriots of Shrewsbury was made to have a Committee appointed, as will be seen by the following copy of an advertisement put up in this township:

"ADVERTISEMENT.

"SHREWSBURY January 2nd 1775.

"Agreeable to the Resolutions of the late General Continental Congress—The Inhabitants of the town of Shrewsbury, more especially such as are properly qualified for choosing Representatives to serve in the General Assembly are hereby warned to meet at the house of Josiah Halstead, in said Shrewsbury, on Tuesday the 17th of this instant January at noon, in order to choose a Committee for the several purposes as directed by the said Congress.

"As the method ordered by the Congress seems to be the only peaceable method the case will admit of, on failure of which either confirmed Slavery or a civil war of course succeeds; the bare mention of either of the two last is shocking to human nature, more particularly so to all true friends of the English Constitution.

"Therefore it becomes the indispensable duty of all such to use their utmost endeavors in favor of the first or peaceable method, and suffer it not to miscarry or fail of its salutary and much desired effects by means of any sinister views or indolence of theirs. Surely expecting on the one hand to be loaded with the curses arising from slavery to the latest posterity, or on the other hand the guilt of blood of thousand of their brethren and fellow Christians to lay at their door and to be justly required at their hands.

"Think well of this before it be too late, and let not the precious moments pass."

A number of the citizens of Shrewsbury assembled at the time and place mentioned in the advertisement but they failed to appoint a committee. The following shows the conclusion to which the meet-

ing came. It concludes more like a Quaker Meeting epistle than a town meeting resolve :

“ Extract from a letter to a gentleman in New York dated Shrewsbury N. J. January 18th 1775.

“ In consequence of an anonymous advertisement fixed up in this place, giving notice to freeholders and others, to meet on Tuesday the 17th inst in order to choose a Committee of Inspection etc, between thirty and forty of the most respectable freeholders accordingly met and after a few debates on the business of the day, which were carried on with great decency and moderation it was generally agreed (there being only four or five dissenting votes) that the appointment of a committee was not only useless, but they were apprehensive would prove a means of disturbing the peace and quietness which had hitherto existed in the township, and would continue to use their utmost endeavors to preserve and to guard against running upon that rock on which, with much concern, they beheld others, through an inattentive rashness, daily splitting.”

The Freehold Committee of Observation and Inspection at a meeting held March 17th, 1775, took up the case of Shrewsbury township, and after stating the subject in a preamble they resolved that from and after that day they would esteem and treat the citizens of Shrewsbury as enemies to their King and country and deserters of the common cause of Freedom ; and would break off all dealings and connections with them “ unless they shall turn from the evil of their ways and testify their repentance by adopting the measures of Congress.”

The New Jersey Provincial Legislature, in May following, authorized other townships to appoint delegates for Shrewsbury, but the same month the refractory township, as will be seen by the following, chose delegates and also a committee of observation, and so the unpleasantness ended.

SHREWSBURY FALLS INTO LINE.

“ At a meeting of Freeholders and Inhabitants of the township of Shrewsbury this 27th day of May 1775, the following persons were by a great majority, chosen a committee of observation for the said town agreeable to the direction of the General Continental Congress held at Philadelphia September 5th 1774 viz.

Josiah Holmes      John Little  
 Jos. Throckmorton Samuel Longstreet  
 Nicholas Van Brunt David Knott  
 Cor, Vanderveer Benjamin Dennis  
 Daniel Hendrickson Samuel Breese  
 Thomas Morford Garret Longstreet  
    Cornelius Lane.

“ Ordered : That Daniel Hendrickson and Nicholas Van Brunt, or either of them, do attend the Provincial Congress now setting at Trenton, with full power to represent there, this town of Shrewsbury. And that Josiah Holmes, David Knott and Samuel Breese be a sub committee to prepare instructions for the Deputy or Deputies who are to attend the Congress at Trenton.

“ Josiah Holmes was unanimously chosen chairman. JOSIAH HOLMES.

“ Chairman and Town Clerk.”

FREEHOLD PATRIOTS INDIGNANT.—NOVEL PROCEEDINGS.

March 6th, 1775.

A Tory pamphlet entitled “ *Free Thoughts on the Resolves of Congress by A. W. Farmer* ” was handed to the Freehold Committee of Observation and Inspection for their opinion. The committee declared it to be most pernicious and malignant in its tendencies and calculated to sap the foundation of American liberty. The pamphlet was handed back to their constituents who gave it a coat of tar and turkey buzzards feathers, one person remarking that “ although the feathers were plucked from the most stinking of fowls, he thought it fell far short of being a proper emblem of the authors odiousness to the friends of freedom and he wished he had the pleasure of giving the author a coat of the same material.”

The pamphlet in its gorgeous attire was then nailed to the pillory post.

The same committee severely denounced a Tory pamphlet written by James Rivington, editor of Rivington's Royal Gazette, the Tory paper, printed in New York.

By the following resolves it will be seen that the citizens of Upper Freehold favored arming the people if necessary, to oppose the tyrannical acts of Great Britain. A striking illustration of the stirring events of that perilous time is found in the fact that before a year had elapsed some of the prominent men in this meeting were aiding Great Britain to the best of their ability by voice, pen or sword :

## UPPER FREEHOLD RESOLUTIONS.

"May 4th 1775. This day, agreeable to previous notice a very considerable number of the principal inhabitants of this township met at Inlaystown.

"John Lawrence Esq. in the chair: When the following resolves were unanimously agreed to :

"Resolved, That it is our first wish to live in unison with Great Britain, agreeable to the principles of the Constitution ; that we consider the unnatural civil war which we are about to be forced into, with anxiety and distress but that we are determined to oppose the novel claim of the Parliament of Great Britain to raise a revenue in America and risk every possible consequence rather than to submit to it.

"Resolved. That it appears to this meeting that there are a sufficient number of arms for the people.

"Resolved. That a sum of money be now raised to purchase what further quantity of Powder and Ball may be necessary ; and it is recommended that every man capable of bearing arms enter into Companies to train, and be prepared to march at a minutes warning ; and it is further recommended to the people that they do not waste their powder in fowling and hunting.

"A subscription was opened and one hundred and sixty pounds instantly paid into the hands of a person appointed for that purpose. The officers of four companies were then chosen and the meeting broke up in perfect unanimity.

"ELISHA LAWRENCE, Clerk."

## THE OUTLAWS OF THE PINES.

Among the most noted of these scoundrels may be mentioned Lewis Fenton, Jacob Fagan, Thomas and Stephen Burke alias Emmons, Ezekiel Williams, Richard Bird, John Bacon, John Giberson, John Wood, John Farnham, Jonathan and Stephen West, DeBow and Davenport.

Bird and Davenport appear to have operated principally in old Dover township. Giberson's head quarters appear to have been in the lower part of Burlington, from whence he made occasional raids into Stafford, then the southern township of Monmouth county.

In speaking of the Pine Robbers, Howe's Collections give several items derived chiefly from traditionary sources, relating to some of these notorious scoundrels. We give their substance below, appending occasional corrections and a large amount of additional matter. The compiler of the above named work derived his information from aged citizens of the country over three score years after the events referred to occurred. By comparing their traditionary accounts with letters written from Freehold and vicinity at the time, it will be seen that they differ only in minor details.

In speaking of Howell township, Howe says :

"Superadded to the other horrors of the Revolutionary war in this region, the pines were infested with numerous robbers, who had caves burrowed in the sides of sand hills, near the margin of swamps, in the most secluded situations, which were covered with brush so as to be almost undiscernable. At dead of night these miscreants would sally forth from their dens to plunder, burn and murder. The inhabitants, in constant terror, were obliged for safety to carry their muskets with them into the fields, and even to the house of worship. At length, so numerous and audacious had they become, that the state government offered large rewards for their destruction, and they were hunted and shot like wild beasts, when they were almost entirely extirpated."

The first of whom we shall speak is

## LEWIS FENTON.

Fenton was originally a blacksmith, and learned his trade at Freehold. On one occasion he robbed a tailor's shop in that township. Word was sent him that if he did not restore the clothing within a week he should be hunted and shot. Intimidated by the threat, he returned the property accompanied by the following fiendish note :

"I have returned your d---d rags. In a short time I am coming to burn your barns and houses, and roast you all like a pack of kittens."

In August, 1779, this villain, at the head of his gang, attacked, at midnight, the dwelling of Mr. Thomas Farr, in the vicinity of Inlaystown. The family, consisting of Mr. Farr and wife (both aged persons) and their daughter, barricaded the door with logs of wood. The assailants first attempted to beat in the door



with rails, but being unsuccessful, fired through a volley of balls, one of which broke the leg of Mr. Farr. Then forcing an entrance at the back door, they murdered his wife and dispatched him as he lay helpless on the floor. His daughter, though badly wounded, escaped, and the gang, fearing she would alarm the neighborhood, precipitately fled without waiting to plunder.

After perpetrating many enormities, Fenton was shot, about two miles below Blue Ball, under the following circumstances :

Fenton and Burke beat and robbed a young man named VanMater of his meal, as he was going to mill. He escaped and conveyed the information to Lee's Legion, then at the Court House. A party started off in a wagon in pursuit, consisting of the Sergeant, VanMater and two soldiers. The soldiers lay on the bottom of the wagon concealed under the straw, while the sergeant, disguised as a countryman, sat with VanMater on the seat. To increase the deception, two or three empty barrels were put in the wagon. On passing a low groggery in the pines, Fenton came out with a pistol in hand and commanded them to stop. Addressing VanMater he said :

" You d — d rascal ! I gave you such a whipping I thought you would not dare to show your head ;" then changing the subject inquired, " where are you going ?"

" To the salt works," was the reply.

" Have you any brandy ?" rejoined the robber

" Yes ! will you have some ?"

A bottle was given him ; he put his foot on the hub of the wagon, and was in the act of drinking, when the sergeant touched the foot of one of the soldiers, who arose and shot him through the head. His brains were scattered over the side of the wagon. Burke, then in the woods, hearing the report and supposing it a signal from his companion, discharged his rifle in answer. The party went in pursuit, but he escaped.

Carelessly throwing the body into the wagon, they drove back furiously to the Court House, where, on their arrival, they jerked out the corpse by the heels, as though it had been that of some wild animal, with the ferocious exclamation : "*Here is a cordial for your Tories and wood robbers !*"

In the above version it is stated that Fenton's companion was Burke, but an-

cient papers published during the war say it was DeBow. Of the two Burkes alias Emmons, Thomas and Stephen, we shall have occasion to speak before concluding.

By the following extract it will be seen that the brutal attack by Fenton and his gang on Thomas Farr and family, occurred in July, instead of August, as stated in the foregoing traditinary account from Howe :

" July 31st, 1779.—Thomas Farr and wife were murdered in the night near Crosswicks Baptist meeting house, and daughter badly wounded by a gang supposed to be under the lead of Lewis Fenton. About the same time Fenton broke into and robbed the house of one Andrews, in Monmouth County. Governor Livingston offered £500, reward for Fenton and £300, and £250 for persons assisting him."

The Pennsylvania Packet (1779) gives a notice of the attack on VanMater by Fenton, which corresponds with the following from another ancient paper, Sept. 29, 1779, probably written by a Freehold correspondent :

" On Thursday last (September 23d, 1779), a Mr. VanMater was knocked off his horse on the road near Longstreet's Mills, in Monmouth County, by Lewis Fenton and one De Bow, by whom he was stabbed in the arm and otherwise much abused, besides being robbed of his saddle. In the meantime another person coming up, which drew the attention of the robbers, gave VanMater an opportunity to escape. He went directly and informed a serjeant's guard of Major Lee's light dragoons, who were in the neighborhood, of what had happened. The serjeant immediately impressed a wagon and horses and ordered three of his men to secrete themselves in it under some hay. Having changed his clothes and procured a guide, he made haste, thus equipped, to the place where Fenton lay. On the approach of the wagon, Fenton (his companion being gone) rushed out to plunder it. Upon demanding what they had in it, he was answered a little wine and spirit. These articles he said he wanted, and while advancing toward the wagon to take possession of them, one of the soldiers, being previously informed who he was, shot him through the head, which killed him instantly on the spot. Thus did this villain end his days, which it is to be hoped will at least be a warning to others, if not to induce them to throw

themselves on the mercy of their injured country."

In the early part of September, 1779, shortly before the VanMater affair, four of Fenton's gang were captured by the militia and lodged in Freehold jail.

#### JACOB FAGAN.

Fagan, also a monster in wickedness, was killed in Shrewsbury by a party of militia under Major Benjamin Dennis. The account here given is from Mrs. Amelia Coryel, a daughter of Mr. Dennis, living in January, 1843, in Philadelphia, and who, as will be seen in the narration, narrowly escaped death from the ruffians:

"On Monday in the autumn of 1778, Fagan, Burke and Smith came to the dwelling of Major Dennis, on the south side of Manasquan river, four miles below Howell Mills, to rob it of some plunder captured from a British vessel. Fagan had formerly been a near neighbor. Smith, an honest citizen, who had joined the other two, the most notorious robbers of their time, for the purpose of betraying them, prevailed upon them to remain in their lurking place while he entered the house to ascertain if the way was clear. On entering he apprized Mrs. Dennis of her danger. Her daughter Amelia (afterwards Mrs. Coryel), a girl of fourteen, hid a pocket book containing \$80, in a bed-tick, and with her little brother hastily retreated to a swamp near. She had scarcely left when they entered, searched the house and the bed, but without success.

"After threatening Mrs. Dennis, and ascertaining if she was unwilling to give information where the treasure was concealed, one of them proposed to murder her. "No," replied his comrade; "let the d—n rebel b—h live. The counsel of the first prevailed. They took her to a young cedar tree, and suspended her to it by the neck with a bed cord. In her struggles she got free and escaped. Amelia, observing them from her hiding place, just then descried John Holmes approaching in her father's wagon over a rise of ground two hundred yards distant, and ran towards him. The robbers fired at her; the ball whistled over her head and buried itself in an oak. Holmes abandoned the wagon and escaped to the woods. They then plundered the wagon and went off.

"The next day Major Dennis removed his family to Shrewsbury, under protec-

tion of the guard. Smith stole from his companions, and informed Dennis they were coming the next evening to more thoroughly search his dwelling, and proposed that he and his comrades should be waylaid at a place agreed upon. On Wednesday evening the Major, with a party of militia, lay in ambush at the appointed spot. After a while Smith drove by in a wagon intended for the plunder, and Fagan and Burke came behind on foot. At a given signal from Smith, which was something said to the horses, the militia fired and the robbers disappeared. On Saturday, some hunters in a groggery, made a bet that Fagan was killed. Search was made and his body was found and buried. On Sunday, the event becoming known, the people assembled, disinterred the remains, and after heaping indignities upon it, enveloped it in a tarred cloth and suspended it in chains, with iron bands around it, from a large chestnut tree about a mile from the Court House, on the road to Colts Neck. There hung the corpse in mid air, rocked to and fro by the winds, a horrible warning to his comrades, and a terror to travellers, until the birds of prey picked the flesh from its bones and the skeleton fell piecemeal to the ground. Tradition affirms that the skull was afterwards placed against the tree, with a pipe in its mouth in derision.

"Mrs. Dennis, wife of Major Dennis, on another occasion came near being killed by a party of Hessians, who entered her dwelling, and after rudely accosting her, knocked her down with their muskets and left her for dead. In the July succeeding the death of Fagan, her husband was shot by the robbers Fenton and Emmons, as he was travelling from Coryel's Ferry to Shrewsbury. After the murder of her husband, she married John Lambert, acting Governor of New Jersey in 1802. She died in 1835."

Fagan's death above referred to occurred in September, 1778. An ancient paper has a communication dated October 1st, 1778, which says:

"About ten days ago Jacob Fagan, who having previously headed a number of villains in Monmouth county that have committed divers robberies and were the terror of travellers, was shot. Since which his body has been gibbeted on the public highway in that county, to deter others from perpetrating the like detestable crimes."

THE OUTLAWS OF THE PINES.

STEPHEN BURKE *alias* EMMONS, STEPHEN WEST AND EZEKIEL WILLIAMS.

The following is an extract from a letter dated at Monmouth Court House, January 29th, 1778 :

“The Tory pine robbers, who have their haunts and caves in the pines and have been for some time past a terror to the inhabitants of this county, have during the course of the present week, met with a very eminent disaster.

“On Tuesday evening last (January 26th) Captain Benjamin Dennis, who lately killed the infamous robber Fagan, with a party of his militia, went in pursuit of three of the most noted of the Pine Robbers and was so fortunate as to fall in with them and kill them on the spot. Their names are Stephen Burke *alias* Emons, Stephen West and Ezekiel Williams. Yesterday they were brought up to this place and two of them it is said will be hanged in chains. This signal piece of service was effected through the instrumentality of one John VanKirk who was prevailed upon to associate with them on purpose to discover their practices and to lead them into our hands. He conducted himself with so much address that the robbers and especially the three above named, who were the leading villains, looked upon him as one of their body, kept him constantly with them and entrusted him with all their designs.

“VanKirk at proper seasons gave intelligence of their movements to Captain Dennis who conducted himself accordingly. They were on the eve of setting off for New York to make sale of their plunder, when VanKirk informed Captain Dennis of the time of their intended departure (which was to have been on Tuesday night last) and of course they would take to their boats. In consequence of which and agreeable to the directions of VanKirk, the captain and a small party of his militia planted themselves at Rock Pond, near the sea shore, and shot Burke, West and Williams in the manner above related.

“We were at first in hopes of keeping VanKirk under the rose, but the secret is out and of course he must fly the county, for the Tories are so highly exasperated against him that death will certainly be

his fate if he does not leave Monmouth County. The Whigs are soliciting contributions in his favor, and from what I have already seen, have no doubt that they will present him with a very handsome sum. I question whether the destruction of the British fleet could diffuse more universal joy through the inhabitants of Monmouth than has the death of the above three most egregious villains.”

REFUGEE VERSION OF THE DEATH OF BURKE *alias* EMMONS, WEST AND WILLIAMS.

William Courlies, of Shrewsbury, who joined the British about the last of 1778, testified before a British Court Martial in answer to the question as to what he knew respecting the deaths of Stephen West, Stephen Emons *alias* Burke, and Ezekiel Williams, as follows :

“He (the deponent) was carried prisoner to Monmouth in January, 1779, on the night of the 24th of that month. He saw Captain Dennis of the rebel service bring to Freehold Court House three dead bodies ; that Captain Dennis being a neighbor of his (the deponent's) he asked where those men were killed. He replied, they were killed on the shore, where they were coming to join their regiments. Two of them, he said, belonged to Colonel Morris' corps, in General Skinner's brigade ; the other had been enlisted in their service by those two belonging to Colonel Morris' corps. He said, also, he (Capt. Dennis) had employed a man to assist them in making their escape at a place where he (Dennis) was to meet with them on the shore, at which place he did meet them ; that on coming to the spot he (Dennis) surrounded them with his party ; that the men attempted to fire, and not being able to discharge their pieces, begged for quarters and claimed the benefit of being prisoners of war. He ordered them to be fired on, and one of them by the name of Williams fell ; that they were all bayoneted by the party and brought to Monmouth ; and that he (Dennis) received a sum of money for that action, either from the Governor or General Washington ; which of the two he does not recollect.”

It is only necessary to say in connection with the above by Courlies's own statement, that at least two, if not all three, deserved death by the usual rule of warfare. They had evidently been noted for their marauding expeditions, as a reward was offered for them. They may have belong-

ed to Skinner's "Greens" (the Loyalist organization of Jersey men, so termed from their uniforms), but they had been noted for their frequent visits within the American lines, plundering, acting of course as spies, and endeavoring to enlist men for the British service within the patriot lines. The third man we infer remained in hiding places in the county, and when the others came over from the British lines would join them in their marauding expeditions, and he was shot while trying to join the enemy.

#### JONATHAN WEST.

"Jonathan West, another of this lawless crew, in an affray with some of the inhabitants of Monmouth, was taken prisoner to the Court House. His arm, being horribly mangled, was amputated. He soon after escaped to the pines and became more desperate than before. He used the stump of his arm to hold his gun. Some time later he was again pursued, and on refusing to surrender, was shot."

#### FIVE MEN CONDEMNED.

The following item was published December, 1782:

"Five men were convicted at Monmouth Court House of burglary, felony, &c., and sentenced to be hanged—three on one Friday, the other two the next Friday."

Three refugees named Farnham, Burge and Patterson were executed at one time at Freehold. Our impression is that they are the three men referred to in the above paragraph, and that the other two were reprieved. We presume that Farnham is the same man who tried to shoot young Russell (as mentioned in speaking of the Russell outrage) while he was lying on the floor supposed to be mortally wounded but was prevented by Lippencott, who knocked up his musket.

#### EXECUTION OF THOMAS BURKE AND JOHN WOOD.

The following is from an ancient paper: "July 22nd 1778. We learn that the Court of Oyer and Terminer and General Jail delivery held in Monmouth in June last, the following persons were tried and found guilty of burglary viz: Thomas Emmons alias Bourke, John Wood, Michael Millery, William Dillon and Robert McMullen. The two former were executed on Friday last and the other three reprieved. At the same time Ezekiel For-

man, John Polhemus and William Grover were tried and convicted of high treason and are to be executed on the 18th of August next."

William Dillon and Robert McMullen, mentioned above, were pardoned, but they showed no appreciation for the favor, for we find that shortly after, in September, Dillon piloted a British expedition into old Cranberry Inlet, opposite Toms River, to endeavor to recapture the ship "Love and Unity," which a short time before had been made a prize of by the Americans, the particulars of which will be given in speaking of privateering at Toms River and other places in old Monmouth during the war. When this expedition arrived at the Inlet, Robert McMullen, who seems to have been on shore waiting for them, seized a small boat, hurrached for the British, and rowed off to join their ships.

#### EXECUTIONS AT FREEHOLD.

The late Dr. Samuel Forman stated that no less than thirteen pine robbers, refugees and murderers were executed at different times on one gallows, which stood near the tree where Fagan was hung in the vicinity of the Court House, and that he assisted in the erection of the gallows.

We are not certain who the thirteen were, but most of them are probably mentioned in the foregoing and other chapters, if those hung in chains after being shot are included.

Stephen Edwards was executed at Freehold for being a spy. Thomas Emmons alias Burke, John Wood, Farnham, Burge and Patterson were hung for burglary, felony, &c. Ezekiel Forman, John Polhemus and William Grover were sentenced to be executed, but we have found no mention of the sentence being carried into effect—but from circumstantial evidence it is probable that they were reprieved. Fagan was hung in chains after being shot, though not on the gallows. After Stephen Burke, West and Williams were shot and brought to Freehold, the American account says the bodies of two of the three were to be hung in chains.

In addition to executions, &c., above mentioned, a refugee named James Pew, formerly of Middletown township, joined the British and was taken prisoner by the Americans November 10th, 1779, and confined in Freehold jail, and five days after was shot by James Tilley, who was acting as sentry over him. It is probable that Pew was shot in attempting to escape. It

is said that a coroner's jury condemned Tilley, but after two or three days confine ment he was discharged.

DAVENPORT, THE REFUGEE LEADER OF DOVER.

The refugee leader Davenport appears to have confined most of his operations within the limits of the old township of Dover, then in Monmouth, now in Ocean. The militia stationed at Toms River were so active that Davenport and his band of desperadoes had but little chance to do serious mischief except by plundering dwellings at a distance from the principal settlements.

The most noted affair in which Davenport was concerned was in aiding the British expedition which captured the Block House at Toms River, and burned the village March 24th, 1782. One account of this affair says that Davenport was wounded when attacking the Block House, if so it must have been slightly; as on the first of June following he landed at Forked River, ten miles below Toms River, with eighty men, half white and half black, in two barges. They first landed on the north side of Forked River and plundered, among others, the houses of Samuel Woodmusee and his brother who resided on what are now known as the Jones' and Holmes' places. They then proceeded across the south branch to the place in late years best known as "the Wright place" (formerly belonging to the father of Caleb Wright, the popular railroad conductor) in which at this time lived Samuel Brown, an active member of the old Monmouth militia.

They plundered Mr. Brown's dwelling, insulted his family, and burnt his salt works and came near capturing Mr. Brown himself, who had barely time to escape into the woods. They were particularly incensed against him for his activity in the patrioteause, he having, among other duties, served a year at the military post at Toms River.

After completing their work of destruction at Forked River, they proceeded down Forked River to the mouth, when one barge went up Barnegat bay, while the other, with Davenport himself, proceeded south to endeavor to destroy the important salt works of Newlin's at Waretown, and other salt works along the bay. Davenport expected to meet with no opposition, as he supposed there were no militia near enough to check him. But he had hardly got out of the mouth of

Forked River into the open bay when he perceived a boat heading for him. His crew advised him to return as they told him the other boat must have some advantage or they would not venture to approach. Davenport told them that they could see the other boat was smaller and had fewer men and he ridiculed their fear. He soon found, however, why it was that the American boat ventured to attack them. Davenport's men had only muskets with which to defend themselves; the Americans had a cannon or swivel, and when within proper distance, they fired it with so effective an aim that Davenport himself was killed at the first discharge, and his boat damaged and upset by the frightened crew. It happened that the water where they were was only about four feet deep and his crew waded ashore, landing near the mouth of Oyster Creek, between Forked River and Waretown, and thus escaped, scattering themselves in various directions in the woods and swamps.

At Barnegat, some five miles south of where Davenport was killed, lived many Quakers who took no part in the war.

A day or so after Davenport's death some of his crew in a starved condition called on Ebenezer Collins and other Quakers at Barnegat, begging for food, which was given them, after which they left for parts unknown.

Thus ended the career of Davenport whose most noted exploit was in aiding a foreign foe to murder men who were once his neighbors and friends, burn their houses, and turn their families adrift upon the world.

Some distance back of Toms River is a little stream called "Davenport's Branch," which some suppose derives its name from Davenport's having places of concealment in the woods and swamps along its banks.

RICHARD BIRD, THE POTTERS CREEK OUTLAW.

This scoundrel, who was probably connected with Davenport's gang, was very obnoxious to the Americans on account of the many outrages in which he was concerned.

He was intimately acquainted with all the roads and bye paths in the woods and swamps in Dover township, and for a long time he managed to elude the vigilance of the militia. One day, however, he with a companion was seen along the road, a little south of Toms River, by some one, who at once notified the militia, two or three of whom immediately started in pur-

suit. Bird's comrade escaped by hiding under a bridge over which the pursuers passed, and Bird himself managed to elude them till after dark. His pursuers had heard that he occasionally visited a young woman of low character who lived in a lone cabin in the woods, and late in the evening they approached the cabin, and looking through the window saw Bird seated in the lap of a young woman. One of the militia fired through the window and Bird dropped off the girl's lap on the floor dead. The girl was so little affected by his death, that when the pursuers burst open the door and entered the room they found her busily engaged in rifling his pockets. Bird appears to have made his headquarters in the vicinity of the village of Bayville, formerly Potters Creek, in Dover township.

Bird was a married man, but when he joined the refugees, his wife forsook him and went to Toms River, where she resided many years after his death. While he was pursuing his wicked career, she bitterly denounced him, yet when she heard of his death, she greatly grieved, so much so that her neighbors expressed their surprise, knowing the disgrace he had been to her. The simple minded woman replied in substance, that it was not the man she so much cared but he often sent her a quarter of venison when he had more than he could use, and she should so miss such presents now!

A Bayville correspondent of the New Jersey *Courier* mentions the death of a relative of Dick Bird, a lady named Mrs. Mercy Worth, who lived to the remarkable age of 106 years, 6 months, and 24 days, who died March 5th, 1873. Her father was one of Washington's soldiers and served throughout the war. Her mother was a sister of the notorious Richard Bird, and moved away from Cedar Creek, Lacey township, for fear that Bird would be killed at her house, near which he had a cave where he stayed at night, which can still be seen.

#### CAPTAIN WILLIAM TOM.

A West Jersey Pioneer—After whom was Toms River named?—The coming of the English—Indian Justice—Discovery of Toms River.

In regard to the origin of the name of Toms River, we have two distinct traditions; one alleging that it was named after a somewhat noted Indian, who once

lived in its vicinity; the other attributes it to a certain Captain William Tom, who resided on the Delaware two hundred years ago, and who it is said penetrated through the wilderness to the seashore, on an exploring expedition, where he discovered the stream now known as Toms River; upon his return he made such favorable representations of the land in its vicinity, that settlers were induced to come here and locate, and these settlers named it Toms River, after Mr. Tom, because he first brought it to the notice of the whites. While the writer of this, after patient investigation acknowledges that he can find nothing that *conclusively* settles the question, yet he is strong in the belief that the place derives its name from Mr. Tom, for the following reasons: First, Though there was a noted Indian residing at Toms River a century ago, known as "Indian Tom," yet the place is known to have borne the name of Toms River when he was quite a young man; it is not reasonable to suppose the place was named after him when he was scarce out of his teens. Second, the position and business of Captain William Tom, was such as to render it extremely probably that the tradition relating to him is correct. Much difficulty has been found in making researches in this matter, as Capt. Tom was an active man among our first settlers before our West Jersey records begin, and information regarding him has to be sought for in the older records of New York and New Castle, Delaware. In his day Southern and Western Jersey were under control of officials, whose headquarters were at New Castle, Del.; these officials were appointed by the authorities at New York. In his time Capt. John Carr appears to have been the highest official among the settlers on both sides of the Delaware, acting as Commissioner, &c. But at times it would seem that Capt. Tom was more relied upon in managing public affairs by both the Governors at New York, and the early settlers than any other man among them. In the various positions which he held, he appears to have unselfishly and untiringly exerted himself for the best interests of the settlers and the government.

He held at different times the positions of Commissary, Justice, Judge, Town Clerk and Keeper of Official Records relating to the settlements on both sides of the Delaware, collector of quit rents, &c. As collector of quit rents and agent to sell lands, his duties called him throughout

the Southern half of our State, wherever settlers were found, and in search of eligible places for settlers to locate. And here his duties seem to have been somewhat similar to those performed for the Proprietors by the late Francis W. Brinley, so well remembered by our citizens. We find that Capt. Tom was continually traveling to and fro in the performance of his duties, was among the first white men to cross the State to New York, was on good terms with the Indians, with whom he continually must have mingled, and it is not at all unlikely in the performance of his duties, he crossed to the shore by Indian paths, so numerous and so frequented by the red men in his time, and thus visited the stream now known as Toms River.

As no outline of Capt. Tom's life and services has ever been published, we give the substance of the facts found relating to him, not only because of its probable bearing on the history of old Monmouth, and that our citizens may know who he was, but also because it gives an interesting chapter in the history of our State. It will be seen that he was a prominent, trusted and influential man before the founding of Philadelphia, Salem or Burlington, or before any considerable settlements existed in New Jersey. In looking back to the past, it seems a long while to Indian Tom's day, but Capt. William Tom lived nearly a century before him. The following items are collected from New York, Pennsylvania and Delaware records.

CAPT. WILLIAM TOM came to this country with the English expedition under Sir Robert Carre and Col. Richard Nicholls which conquered the Dutch at New Amsterdam, (New York) August, 1664. Immediately after the English had taken formal possession of New York, two vessels, the "Guinea" and the "William and Nicholas," under command of Sir Robert Carre were despatched to attack the Dutch settlements on the Delaware river. After a feeble resistance the Dutch surrendered about the first of October of the same year (1664). Capt. Tom accompanied this expedition, and that he rendered valuable service there is evidence by an order issued by Gov. Nicholls June 30, 1665, which states that for William Tom's "good services at Delaware," there shall be granted to him the lands of Peter Alricks, confiscated for hostility to the English. Capt. Tom remained in his majesty's service until August 27, 1668; during the last two years of this time he was Commissary on

the Delaware. He was discharged from his majesty's service on the ground as is alleged "of good behaviour," in the early part of 1668, a servant of Mr. Tom's was killed by some evil disposed Indians, who it is said also killed one or more servants of Peter Alricks at the same time. The Indians generally were disposed to live on amicable terms with the whites, and these murders were the result it would seem of selling liquor to the Indians, the majority of whom seeing its evil effects, requested the white authorities to prohibit the sale of it among them. The perpetrators of these outrages were not apprehended, and because this was not done, Gov. Lovelace attributes another murder two years later; he severely censured the authorities "for too much remissness in not avenging the previous murder on Mr. Tom's servant, &c."

On the 12th of August, 1669, Capt. Tom was appointed collector of quit rents, which were imposed on all persons taking up land along the Delaware river on both sides.

This office he held for three years when he resigned. Its duties must have been of considerable responsibility and labor, as it involved the necessity of visiting all places where settlers located from the Capes of the Delaware to the Falls of the Delaware (Trenton.) While engaged in this business it is probable that as he travelled from place to place he made it a point to search for eligible places for new settlers to locate, and acted as agent for the sale of lands. At one time he acted as land agent for John Fenwick the noted Salem proprietor.

We find that Capt. Tom not only stood well in the estimation of Gov. Nicholls, but also in the opinion of his successor, Gov. Lovelace, who at the suggestion of Capt. T. issued several orders relating to affairs on the Delaware. Aug. 12, 1669, Gov. Lovelace at request of Wm. Tom, grants certain special favors to Finns and others removing near New Castle, Del. By his order "permission on request of Mr. Tom" was granted to families from Maryland to settle in the same vicinity "to the end that the said place may be inhabited and *manured*, it tending likewise to the increase of the inhabitants." An order of the same date is preserved, which allows William Tom to kill and mark all wild hogs in the woods near his land.

In 1671 an extraordinary council was convened in New York on the occasion of the

arrival of William Tom and Peter Atricks, just from the Delaware, with the particulars of the Indians murdering two Christians (Dutch) near Burlington. These murders were committed by two Indians who were known and who resided at "Suscunk," four miles east of Matinicook or Burlington Island. Gov. Lovelace in a letter to Capt. Tom dated October 6, expresses great surprise at what he has learned from Mr. Tom in regard to these murders. This letter gives stringent orders to guard against evil disposed Indians in the future, and from it we find that Burlington Island was then occupied as a kind of frontier military station. Gov. Lovelace "recommends a good work about Matinicook house (on Burlington Island) which strengthened with a considerable guard would make an admirable frontier." Vigorous efforts were made to secure these Indian murderers, and the result is seen in the following letter written by Capt. Tom to Gov. Lovelace, Dec. 25th, 1671. He says "that about 11 days since, Peter Atricks came from New York, and the Indians desired to speak with us concerning the murders, whereupon they sent for me to Peter Rambo's, where coming they faithfully promised within six days to bring in the murderers dead or alive; whereupon they sent out two Indians to the stoutest, to bring him in, not doubting easily to take the other, he being an Indian of little courage; but the least Indian getting knowledge of the design of the sachems, ran to advise his fellow, and advised him to run or else they would both be killed, who answered he was not ready, but in the morning would go with him to the *Maquas*, and advised him to go to the next house for fear of suspicion, which he did: and the two Indians, coming to his house at night, the one being his great friend, he asked him if he would kill him, who answered "No, but the sachems have ordered you to die;" whereupon he demanded "what his brothers said;" who answered "they say the like." Then he, holding his hands before his eyes said "Kill me;" whereupon the Indian that comes with Cocker shot him with two bullets in the breast, and gave him two or three cuts with a bill on the head and brought him down to Wicaco, from whence we shall carry him tomorrow to New Castle, there to hang him in chains for which we gave to the Sachems five match coats which Mr. Atricks paid them. When the other Indian heard the shot in

the night, naked as he was, he ran into the woods; but this sachem promised to bring the other alive, for which we promised three match coats. The sachems brought a good many of their young men with them, and there before us they openly told them "Now they saw a beginning, and all that did the like, should be served in the same manner." They promised if any other murders were committed to bring in the murderers. How to believe them we knew not, but the Sachems seem to desire no war."

What official position Capt. Tom held in these transactions is uncertain, but he appears to have been more relied upon than any other man to settle difficulties, at this time.

In 1673 Capt. Tom was appointed one of four appraisers to set a value on Tinicum Island in the Delaware. In 1674 he was appointed secretary or *clerk* of the town of New Castle, and he appears to have had charge of the public records for several years. In 1673 the Dutch regained their power in New York, New Jersey and Delaware, but retained it only a few months; after they were again displaced in 1674, Gov. Andross appointed Captains Cantwell and Tom to take possession for the King's use, of the fort at New Castle, with the public stores. They were authorized to provide for the settlement and repose of the inhabitants at New Castle, Whorekills (Lewes) and other places."

In 1675 some settlers complained against Capt. Tom for molesting them in the enjoyment of meadow lands which adjoined their plantations. The settlers probably supposed because they owned uplands, they should also have the use of meadow land without paying for the same. The Governor ordered a compromise. In 1676 he was appointed one of the Justices of the Peace and a Judge of the court. He sat as one of the Judges in an important suit in which the defendant was John Fenwick, the Salem Proprietor. Judgment was given against Fenwick, and a warrant issued to take him dead or alive. Fenwick finding it useless to resist, gave himself up, and was sent prisoner to New York.

Capt. Tom was reappointed justice and judge in 1677. Towards the latter part of this year complaint was made that the town records of New Castle were in confusion, and Mr. Tom was ordered to arrange and attest them. It is not improbable that ill health prevented him from com-



pleting this task, as we find his death announced January 12, 1678, coupled with the simple remark that, "his papers were in confusion."

From the foregoing and other facts that are preserved, it would appear that Wm. Tom was about the most prominent, useful and trustworthy man among the settlers from the time of the coming of the English to his decease, that he enjoyed the confidence of Governors Nicholls, Lovelace and Andross, that his varied duties were performed with general satisfaction to settlers, Indians and officials, and we may safely infer that he did as much or more than any other man in his day "towards the settlement and repose of the inhabitants" on both sides of the Delaware. It is no discredit to the name of Toms River that it should be derived from such a man.

In speaking of Capt. Tom's discovering Toms River, we do not refer to its original discovery, nor wish to convey the idea that he was the first white man who visited it. The stream was discovered by navigators fifty years before Capt. Tom came to America. They simply marked the stream on their charts without naming it. The particulars as far as is known of the original discovery of Toms River, and other places along our bay are too lengthy to be given here and may hereafter be furnished in another chapter. We will say, however, before concluding, that the fact that this river had been previously visited by the Dutch, was probably not known to Capt. Tom and the English in this day.

CAPTAIN JOHN BACON.

The Refugee Leader of Monmouth and Burlington—An Outlaw's Career and its Dreadful End.

This noted refugee leader, whose name is so well remembered by old residents of Monmouth, Ocean and Burlington, appears to have confined his operations chiefly to the lower part of old Monmouth county, between Cedar Creek in what is now Ocean county and Tuckerton in Burlington county. His efforts were mainly directed to plundering the dwellings of all well known, active members of the old Monmouth militia. Many old residents in the section where his operations were carried on, considered him one of the most honorable partisan leaders opposed to the patriot cause. Himself and men

were well acquainted with the roads and paths through the forests of Burlington and old Monmouth, and had numerous hiding places, cabins, caves, &c., in the woods and swamps, where they could remain until some trustworthy spy informed them of a safe chance to venture out on what was then termed a *picarooning* expedition.

The following items, gleaned from various sources, give the most prominent events in which he was an actor. They aid to give a more vivid idea of the perils by which our ancestors were surrounded at home, and of the character of the man who, probably with the exception of Lieutenant James Moody, was about the most effective refugee leader in our state.

In ancient papers we have found notices of refugee raids in Burlington county, but they do not give the names of the leaders. It is probable that Bacon commanded some of these expeditions as he was well acquainted in Burlington, and his wife resided at Pemberton in the latter part of the war. About September, 1782, it is announced that a man, supposed to be a spy of Bacon's, was shot in the woods near Pemberton, by some of the inhabitants who went out to hunt him; and we find that the citizens of Burlington were so much exasperated against him that they organized expeditions to follow him in old Monmouth.

BACON KILLS LIEUTENANT JOSHUA STUDSON.

The *New Jersey Gazette*, published at Trenton during the later years of the Revolutionary war, has a brief item to the effect that "Lieutenant Joshua Studson was shot, December, 1780, by a refugee, near the inlet opposite Toms River."

Joshua Studson had been a lieutenant in the Monmouth militia, and was also appointed lieutenant in the State troops in Capt. Ephram Jenkins' company, Colonel Holmes' battalion, June 14, 1780. He resided at Toms River.

The following particulars of his death we believe to be substantially correct, though derived from traditional sources:

Three men named Collins, Webster and Woodmansee, living in the lower part of old Monmouth, hearing that farming produce was bringing exorbitant prices in New York city among the British, loaded a whole boat with truck from farms along Barnegat bay, and proceeded to New York by way of old Cranberry inlet opposite Toms River, which inlet though now

closed, was, during the war, the next best to Egg Harbor, as square rigged vessels (ships and brigs) occasionally entered it. These men were not known as refugees but undertook the trip merely to make money. They arrived safely in New York, sold out their produce, and were about returning home when Captain John Bacon called on them and insisted on taking passage back with them. Much against their will, they were forced to allow him to come on board. They arrived safely outside the beach near the inlet before sundown and lay there until after dark, being afraid to venture in the bay during daylight. In the meantime the patriotic citizens of Toms River had got wind of the proceedings of these men, and being determined to put a stop to the contraband trade, a small party under command of Lieutenant Studson took a boat and crossed over to the inlet and lay concealed behind a point inside, close to the inlet. After dark the whale boat came in, but no sooner had it rounded the point, than to the consternation of those in it, they saw the boat of the militia so close by, that there was no apparent chance of escape. Lieutenant Studson stood up in his boat and demanded their immediate surrender. The unfortunate speculators were unarmed and in favor of yielding, but Bacon, fearing that his life was already forfeited, refused, and having his musket loaded, suddenly fired it with so deadly an aim, that the brave lieutenant instantly dropped dead in the boat. The sudden, unexpected firing and the death of Studson, threw the militia into momentary confusion, and before they could decide how to act, the whale boat was out of sight in the darkness. The militia returned to Toms River the same night and delivered the body of the lieutenant to his wife, who was overwhelmed with sorrow at his sudden and unexpected death.

The crew of the whale boat, knowing it was not safe for them to remain at home, after this affair, fled to the British army, and were forced into service, but were of little use as "they were sick with the small pox, and suffered everything but death," as one of them afterwards said, during their brief stay with the British. Taking advantage of one of General Washington's proclamations offering protection to deserters from the British army, they were afterwards allowed to return home.

#### SKIRMISH AT MANNAHAWKIN.

A Patriot Killed—Sylvester Tilton, an old Colts Neck citizen—His Wounding and Revenge.

Another affair, in which Bacon was a prominent actor, was the skirmish at Mannahawkin, in Ocean County, December 30th, 1781. The militia of this place, under command of Captain Reuben F. Randolph, having heard that Bacon, with his band, was on a raiding expedition and would probably try to plunder some of the patriots in that village, assembled at the inn of Captain Randolph's, prepared to give them a reception. After waiting until two or three o'clock in the morning, they concluded it was a false alarm, and so retired to rest, taking the precaution to put out sentinels. Just before daylight the Refugees came down the road from the north on their way to West Creek. The alarm was given and the militia hastily turned out but were compelled to retreat, as the refugees had a much larger force than they anticipated. As they were retreating, Bacon's party fired and killed one of the patriots named Lines Pangborn and wounded another named Sylvester Tilton. The refugees did not stop to pursue the Americans but passed on south towards West Creek.

In regard to the wounding of Sylvester Tilton, it is a well attested fact, that the ball went through him below one of his shoulders, and that the surgeon passed a silk handkerchief through his body, in search of the ball. He recovered his health and strength, much to the surprise of all who knew how seriously he had been wounded. He was convinced that a refugee named Brewer, one of Bacon's gang, was the man who had wounded him, and he always vowed to have satisfaction if he could ever find him. After the war he heard that Brewer was living in a cabin in some remote place near the shore, and he started on foot, one time, to find him. As he was on his way, he met a man named James Willets, then quite a noted and highly esteemed Quaker, of old Stafford, who upon finding out Tilton's errand, vainly endeavored to persuade him to turn back. Finding he would not Willets asked permission to go along, hoping something would turn up to make a peaceable ending of the affair. Tilton consented to his going but plumply told the Quaker that if he interfered he would flog him too.

Arriving at the house where Brewer was Tilton suddenly opened the door and rushed in upon him before he could reach his musket, which he always kept in the room expecting such a visit.

Tilton was a powerful man and he dragged Brewer to the door and gave him a most unmerciful pummelling, and then told him "You scoundrel! you tried to kill me once, and I have now settled with you for it, and I want you now to leave here and follow the rest of your gang." Most of the refugees had then gone to Nova Scotia.

After this affair Tilton removed to Colts Neck, near Freehold, where we believe his descendants yet live.

BACON AT GOODLUCK, FORKED RIVER AND WARETOWN.

On one of his picarooning or raiding expeditions, Bacon with fifteen or sixteen men plundered the dwelling house of John Holmes at Forked River, who then lived at the mill known in late years as Francis Cornelius' mill. The party camped in the woods, near the house, until daylight and then came and demanded money. Mr. Holmes was supposed to be somewhat forehanded and they hoped to have made a good haul. In the expectation of such a visit, he had buried many of his valuables in his garden. The refugees pointed a bayonet to his breast and threatened to kill him if the money was not forthcoming. Mr. Holmes' wife happened to have some money about her, which she delivered up and this seemed to satisfy them as far as money was concerned; they then ransacked the house and took provisions and such other things as they wanted.

An ancient paper says that about the last of April, 1780, "the refugees attacked the house of John Holmes, Upper Freehold, and robbed him of a large amount of Continental money, a silver watch, gold ring, silver buckles, pistols, clothing, &c." It is possible that this refers to the same affair—if so it occurred in old Dover township instead of Upper Freehold.

While a part of the gang remained at the mill a detachment went over to Goodluck, about a mile distant, to plunder the houses of two staunch patriots named John Price and William Price, two brothers who had lived in West Jersey during the first part of the war, but for the last two or three years of the struggle, had resided at Goodluck. These men had not only

been active in the field during most of the war, but, to the extent of their abilities, aided the families of those who suffered at the hands of the enemy. When the dwelling of Capt. Ephraim Jenkins, at Toms River, was burned, and his family scattered, as described in a previous chapter, Lieut. John Price, (in after years, better known as Major Price,) took one of the children, a girl, and gave her a home. The activity of the Prices made them marked objects of refugee attentions.

Bacon's party, at this time, entered the houses of the Prices, and took whatever they could carry, though, we believe, these patriots, like others in those dark days, kept buried in gardens and fields many things they feared the refugees might covet. We have heard from an aged resident of Goodluck, a tradition of the visit of the refugees to the house of an American Lieutenant, at this village, and that the officer saw them just before they reached the house; he sprang up and grasped his lieutenant's commission, which he valued highly, from a high shelf, and sprang out of the back door just in time to escape. We presume this officer must have been Lieut. Price, as we know of no other officer then residing at Goodluck. Among other things found at Major Price's was a musket, fife and drum, the two last of which came near causing trouble among the Tories themselves, for as they marched back to Holmes' Mill to rejoin Bacon, they used them for their amusements with such effect, that Bacon thought it was a party of Americans after him, and he arranged his men on the mill hill, prepared to fire as soon as the party emerged from the woods. Unfortunately for justice, he saw who the men were in time to stop firing. The Refugees then impressed Mr. Holmes' team to carry of the plunder they had gathered, and forced his son William Holmes to drive it; they went on to Waretown and took possession for a short time of a public house (of David Bennet's?) until they could find some safe way of getting their plunder to one of their secret rendezvous, one of which was supposed to be at this time in Mannahawkin swamp.

Among other zealous Americans for whom Bacon had strong antipathy were Joseph Soper and his son Reuben, both members of Captain Reuben F. Randolph's militia company. They lived about half way between Waretown and Barnegat at a place known as "Soper's Landing." His attentions to the Sopers were so frequent

that they often had to sleep in the adjacent swamps along Lochiel brook.

Mr. Soper's son Reuben was murdered by Bacon on Long Beach about a mile south of Barnegat Inlet, the particulars of which will be given hereafter.

At this time there lived at Waretown an Englishman, named William Wilson, better known as "Bill Wilson," who seems to have acted as a kind of jackall for Bacon to scent out his prey for him. Mr. Soper was a vessel builder; at one time he had received pay for building a small vessel. Wilson accidentally was a witness to his receiving the money, but he did not know the amount. After Wilson had left, Mr. Soper suspected he would inform Bacon, and so he divided his money into two parcels; a small amount in one parcel, and the larger part in another, and then buried both lots in separate places not far from the house. Sure enough, in a very short time, Bacon and his gang visited the house, piloted by a man with a black silk handkerchief over his face that he should not be recognized. This man was generally believed to be Bill Wilson, though strong efforts were made to make the Sopers believe it was another man then residing at Waretown. Mr. Soper at this time, had taken refuge in the swamp, and the house was occupied only by women and young children. When the refugees entered they at once began behaving very rudely and boisterously, flourishing their weapons in a menacing manner, jangling bayonets in the ceiling, and other similar acts to frighten the women. Their threats compelled the women to lead them into the garden, to the spot where the smallest amount of money was buried, when they received which they seemed to be satisfied, thinking it was all they had; they then returned to the house and made a clean sweep as they had done several times before, of provisions and clothing, and such other articles as they could carry. Among other things taken by Bacon at this time was one of Mr. Soper's shirts, which afterwards served Bacon's winding sheet, as he was subsequently killed with it on. Bill Wilson could never be fairly convicted of actual complicity in overt acts with the refugees, but all who knew him were convinced that he was a spy of Bacon's. It was alleged that he was with Bacon at Holmes' Mill's and at the Price's, at Goodluck. After the war closed he remained for some years in the vicinity of Waretown, but he found it a very uncomfortable place

for him to live, for though no legal hold could be taken of him, yet occasionally some zealous whig, who had occasion to hate refugees, would take him in hand on a very slight pretext, and administer off-hand justice. At one time at Lochiel brook, below Waretown, Hezekiah Soper, whose brother was killed by Bacon, gave Wilson a sound thrashing and then nearly drowned him in the brook. At length, finding the place did not agree with him, he left Waretown, and moved over to the North beach, a few miles above the inlet, where he lived a lonesome, miserable life until his death, which occurred some sixty odd years ago.

#### THE MASSACRE ON LONG BEACH.

Bacon Kills Capt. Steelman, Reuben Soper and Others—Murder of Sleeping Men.

This was the most important affair in which Bacon was engaged. The inhuman massacre of sleeping men was in keeping with the memorable affair at Chestnut Neck, near Tuckerton, when Count Pulaski's guards were murdered by the British and Refugees.

The massacre at Long Beach took place about a mile south of Barnegat light house, and there were we think more men killed and wounded than in any other action in that part of Old Monmouth now comprised within the limits of Ocean county.

A tory paper gives the following version of the affair;

"A cutter from Ostend, bound to St. Thomas, ran aground on Barnegat Shoals, October 25, 1782. The American galley Alligator, Captain Steelman, from Cape May, with twenty-five men, plundered her on Saturday night last of a quantity of Hyson tea and other valuable articles, but was attacked the same night by Captain John Bacon, with nine men, in a small boat called the Hero's Revenge, who killed Steelman and wounded the first lieutenant, and all the party except four or five were either killed or wounded."

In this account the number of Steelman's men is doubtless overestimated and Bacon's underestimated. When the cutter was stranded on the shoals, word was sent across the bay to the main land for help to aid in saving the cargo, in consequence of which a party of unarmed men, among which were Joseph Soper and two of his sons, proceeded to the beach to render what assistance they could. The party

worked hard while there to get the goods through the surf on the beach. At night they were tired and wet, and built fires, around which they meant to sleep. It is supposed that as soon as they were all asleep that Bill Wilson who was there arose up slyly, got a boat and rowed off to the main land to inform Bacon how matters stood.

THE LOYALISTS OF OLD MONMOUTH.

To fairly comprehend the dangers by which our patriotic ancestors were surrounded during the early part of the Revolution, it is necessary to remember that those of its citizens who openly or secretly favored the enemy, were not a mere handful of men, but they were numbered by hundreds, and among them were men of all classes, from the highest to the lowest; clergymen, lawyers, physicians, merchants, farmers, mechanics and laboring men, and unprincipled men of no particular profession or business, who rejoiced at the opportunities given by the war for plunder, revenge and ofttimes murder.

The best class of Tories were too honorable to engage in midnight marauding expeditions against their former friends and neighbors, but cast their lot with the British, most of them in the military organization known as the "First Battalion New Jersey Royal Volunteers," commanded by an ex-Sheriff of Monmouth county. They rarely committed acts dishonorable as soldiers, yet their former high standing and influential positions served to exert a most injurious influence on the patriot cause among their former friends and acquaintances; the example of such men served to entice many to the ranks of the enemy and to cause others secretly to wish them well, or at least to strive to remain neutral at a time when their country most needed their services and in a country which suffered probably more severely during the war than did any other in the country. When we remember that our patriotic ancestors had to contend with such men, and with bands of marauding refugees, and also lawless robbers scattered through the pines—all in addition to a foreign foe, we cannot too highly extol the determined, vigilant, ceaseless efforts, the wisdom in planning, the skill and bravery in execution, shown by those noble patriots during the long, bloody and at times seemingly hopeless struggle. Though we

may concede that some who deserted their country were in some respects wise and brave, yet they were no match for those left behind.

As was the case in the late war for the Union, the Revolution brought out from obscurity men whose abilities were never before known or suspected.

For the first year or two of the war our ancestors were seriously annoyed by Tory sympathizers who remained at home, some of whom had sons, brothers or other relatives in the British army. Some of these remained at home because age or other disability unfitted them for field service. These men for a time endeavored to injure the American cause by their insidious wiles wherever and whenever opportunity offered, when their acts came to the knowledge of the whigs, they were at once ordered to leave, while those who remained quiet, though closely watched were rarely molested.

Though the names Loyalist or Royalist would properly include all who favored the cause of the Crown, yet they were often limited to the more honorable class who joined the Royal Volunteer organization, to distinguish them from the small marauding bands commonly known as Refugees.—Among the most prominent of these loyalists, were some noticed below; it will be seen they numbered among them men of wealth, position, and learning; one succeeded in raising five hundred men to follow him over to the enemy, and it is not a little curious to find that from two of these Tories, descended certain men who, in after years, nobly served our country in many a hard fought battle.

In this connection it is well to add, that as an offset to the Tories who left Monmouth and other parts of our state, to join the enemy, there were a large number of whigs, who came here and into other decided patriotic counties, from Long and Staten Islands, when the British took possession of those places.

Another fact should not be lost sight of, as it furnishes additional evidence of the peculiar troubles the patriots had to contend against, and that is, that many leading men who sided with them in this and other counties of the state, during the first year or two of the war eventually abandoned them and went over to the Royalists. Of some of these and their alleged reasons we shall endeavor to speak in another chapter.

For much of the following we are indebted to Sabine, but we have added many items from other sources which we deem reliable.

#### NOTICES OF PROMINENT LOYALISTS.

**THOMAS CROWELL**, of Middletown, joined the Loyalists and was commissioned Captain. His property was confiscated and advertised to be sold at the house of Cornelius Swart in Middletown, March 22d, 1779. During the war Governor Franklin, of the Refugee Board, ordered him to execute, without trial, a Monmouth officer, probably one of the Smocks, but the refugees who captured him protested so earnestly that the order was not executed.

**LAWRENCE HARTSHORNE**, of Shrewsbury, made himself so obnoxious as a Royalist, that he was compelled to fly to New York. He was a merchant and gave the British valuable information.

**JOHN TAYLOR**, formerly Sheriff of Monmouth County, a gentleman of great wealth was born in 1716. When Lord Howe arrived in this country to offer terms of reconciliation, he appointed Mr. Taylor "His Majesty's Lord High Commissioner of New Jersey." This office, as well as the fact that all his children adhered to the Crown, and were in the British army, made him obnoxious to the whigs. He was indeed once tried for his life but acquitted. His property was applied to public use, but not confiscated, since he was paid for it in Continental money, yet such was the depreciation of that currency that payment was little better than confiscation. He died at Perth Amboy, in 1798, aged 82 years. His grandson was the celebrated Commodore Bainbridge, his daughter Mary having married Dr. Bainbridge, father of Commodore's William and Joseph Bainbridge. A Dr. Absalom Bainbridge was surgeon in "Skinner's Greens," the Royalist organization, elsewhere noticed.

*2. edit by G. Stuart*  
**WILLIAM TAYLOR**, son of the above named John Taylor, had his estates confiscated, but after the war he purchased them again. He was a lawyer by profession and at one time Chief Justice of Jamaica.— He died at Amboy 1806.

**COLONEL TAYLOR**, of the New Jersey Royalists who sent Stephen Edwards as a spy into Monmouth, was from Middletown.— It is possible that he may have been one of the Taylors whose property was confiscated and advertised to be sold at Middletown, March 22d, 1779. He may have

been a son of the John Taylor mentioned above, as it seems he had more than one son in the British service.

**REV. SAMUEL COOKE, D.D.**, of Shrewsbury, Episcopal minister, was educated at Cain's College, Cambridge, England, and came to America as a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, in September, 1751, locating in Shrewsbury as successor of Rev. Thomas Thompson, in the care of the churches in Freehold, Middletown and Shrewsbury.— The Revolution divided and dispersed his flock. As a minister of the Church of England he thought it his duty to continue his allegiance to the Crown, and joined the British in New York. At the Court Martial trial of Captain Richard Lippencott, in New York, in June, 1782, he was a witness and styled "Reverend Samuel Cooke, clerk, deputy chaplain to the brigade of guards." His property we believe was confiscated and advertised to be sold at Tinton Falls, March 29th, 1779.

In 1785, he settled at Fredericktown, New Brunswick, as rector of a church there. In 1791, he was commissary to the Bishop of Nova Scotia. He was drowned in crossing the river St. John, in a birchen canoe, in 1795. His son who attempted to save his life perished with him.

**THOMAS LEONARD**, a prominent citizen of Freehold, was denounced by the patriot committee for his Tory principles and every friend of freedom advised to break off all connection with him on that account. He went to New York and after the war went to St. Johns, New Brunswick.

**JOSEPH HOLMES**, by adhering to the Tories, lost £900. After the war he went to Nova Scotia and settled at Shelburne.

**ANDREW BELL**, a name familiar to our older citizens on account of its frequent recurrence in deeds relating to Proprietor lands, joined the British army as secretary to Sir Henry Clinton. A diary kept by him up to the battle of Monmouth is preserved in the library of the New Jersey Historical Society. He died in 1843.— Though we believe he was not a resident of Monmouth yet he was well known and influential throughout the county.

**JOHN LAWRENCE**, of Monmouth county, was born in 1709. He was a justice of the court and a surveyor, and ran the division line known as "Lawrence's line," between East and West Jersey. Advanced in life at the beginning of the Revolution he did not bear arms, but accepted from the enemy the important duty of granting

British protections to such Americans as he could induce to abjure the cause of their country and swear allegiance to Great Britain, for which he was arrested by the Americans and confined in Burlington jail for nine months. He died in 1794 aged 86 years. We propose to refer to John and Elisha Lawrence, in giving the proceedings of the patriot meetings in Upper Freehold and elsewhere in the county in 1774-5, and in other chapters.

ELISHA LAWRENCE, son of the above, was born in 1740. At the beginning of the Revolution he was Sheriff of Monmouth County; he soon joined the British, and raised by his own efforts chiefly, five hundred men whom he commanded, and was commissioned by the British, Colonel of the First Battalion, New Jersey Royal Volunteers. He was taken prisoner on Staten Island by Colonel Ogden under General Sullivan in 1777. His property was confiscated and advertised to be sold at Wall's Mills, April 5th, 1779. At the conclusion of the war he left with the British army, retained his rank as Colonel and retired on half pay. He was awarded by the British Government a large tract of land in Nova Scotia, to which he removed, but finally went back to England, and from thence to Cardigan, Wales, where he died. He married Mary Ashfield, of New York.

JOHN LAWRENCE, son of the above named John, and brother of Elisha, was born in 1747, graduated at Princeton College, studied medicine in the Philadelphia Medical College and became a physician of repute. In 1776 he was arrested by order of General Washington, and ordered by the Provincial Congress to remain at Trenton on parole, but leave was afterwards given him to remove to Morristown. As his father and brother held office under the British, he was narrowly watched. Fired at, after much annoyance (says one account—apparently a Tory one) by a party of militia, he retired to New York among the British, where he practiced medicine and commanded a company of volunteers for the defence of the city. After the war in 1783, he returned to Monmouth, where he lived unmolested. He died at Trenton, April 29th, 1830. In the list of names of persons in Upper Freehold whose property was confiscated and advertised to be sold at Wall's Mills, April 5th, 1779, are found the names of "Elisha and John Lawrence, son of John."

JOHN BROWN LAWRENCE was a member of Council and a lawyer. Because of his official relations to the Crown, he was arrested and imprisoned in Burlington jail for a long time on the charge of holding treasonable intercourse with the enemy but was tried and acquitted. He went to Canada after the war, where he received a large tract of land. His son was the celebrated Commodore Lawrence of "Don't give up the ship" fame, and Commodore Boggs, distinguished in the late rebellion, was a descendant.

CLAYTON TILTON, of Shrewsbury, joined the loyalists and was commissioned as Captain. He was captured by the Americans in the spring of 1782, about the same time that Phil White was, and confined in Freehold jail, but shortly exchanged for Daniel Randolph, Esq. He probably went to the British Provinces at the close of the war, as mention is made of a certain Clayton Tilton, a loyalist from New Jersey, marrying the widow of Thomas Green, at Musquash, New Brunswick, shortly after the war.

JOHN WARDELL, of Shrewsbury, an associate judge of Monmouth, on account of his Tory proclivities, sought refuge within the British lines. His property was confiscated and advertised to be sold at Tinton Falls, March 29th, 1779. He was a neighbor and warm friend of Captain Richard Lippencott.

CAPTAIN RICHARD LIPPENCOTT, THE REFUGEE WHO HANGED CAPTAIN HUDDY.

This refugee who obtained such unenviable notoriety for hanging Captain Joshua Huddy, was born in New Jersey in 1745, and died at Toronto, Canada, in 1826, in his 82d year. At the breaking out of the war he was a resident of Shrewsbury township. Early in that memorable struggle he left Monmouth and went to New York and expressed to the Board of Associated Loyalists a desire for authority to raise a company, which was given him by the Board upon his signing the usual articles requiring him to obey the orders of Governor William Franklin, its President. On account of his activity in the Royal service, his property was confiscated and advertised to be sold at Tinton Falls, March 29th, 1779. He appears to have had many relatives among both the patriots and loyalists. The character he bore among the adherents of the Royal cause is shown by the following extracts. During the British Court Martial trial held in New York in June, 1782, to try him for

the murder of Captain Joshua Huddy, Colonel John Morris, commander of the second battalion of the brigade of New Jersey Royal Volunteers, testified as follows:

"He had known the prisoner (Lippencott) many years; he always supported a good character ever since deponent has known him; and he always endeavored to serve the Government all in his power, and that with propriety. Deponent has never known him guilty of plundering or any action of that kind."

John Wardell, late of Shrewsbury township, and formerly an associate judge of Monmouth, testified that "he had been acquainted with Lippencott more than ten years; that he was his neighbor and was always looked upon as a peaceable, inoffensive man."

Rev. Dr. Samuel Cooke, the noted Episcopalian clergyman who settled in Shrewsbury in 1751, where he remained until the breaking out of the Revolution, and to whom reference is made in other chapters, at the time of Lippencott's trial was deputy chaplain to the brigade of guards in the British service; upon being sworn he said:

"He had not known Lippencott before the rebellion, but has been acquainted with him upwards of three years since Lippencott has been within his Majesty's lines. That he has been particularly acquainted with him, and has every reason to think his character stood as fair as that of any refugee within his Majesty's lines."

After the Revolution, Lippencott went to England to claim compensation for his losses and services. He obtained the half pay of captain for life, and the grant of 300 acres of land at York, (now Toronto) in Canada, upon which he settled about 1794. His only child, Estler Borden Lippencott, married George Taylor Dennison, and her son, George T. Dennison, some twenty odd years ago, was a member of the Canadian parliament. Sabine, in the first edition of his history of the loyalists, having made some remarks not very complimentary to Captain Lippencott, his grandson, George T. Dennison, addressed him a letter in which he endeavored to defend the acts and character of his grandfather. He says:

"Lippencott was naturally a person of the most harmless and quiet disposition. Philip White was half brother to his wife, and Lippencott was exasperated by the butchery of an innocent relative (*Stephen*

*Edwards?*) who, found on a visit to his mother's house, was treated by Huddy as a spy. The old man (Lippencott) was respected by all who knew him in the country, rich and poor, and was so well known to all old loyalists who settled there, that persons came uninvited thirty or forty miles to pay tribute to his memory; hundreds still living will repudiate the unfavorable character as a man and a soldier given him by the American historian.—He was true to his Sovereign both in property and peril, and nobly maintained the Lippencott family motto, "*Secundus datusque rectus.*" Indeed the truth is, as I have always heard it declared by himself and others, that he had the authority from Sir Henry Clinton himself to hang Huddy in retaliation for White."

As to what Mr. Dennison says in regard to the character of Lippencott after the war, it may be all quite true but it has but little to do with the hanging of Huddy during the war. Mr. Dennison is in error in saying that Sir Henry Clinton authorized the execution. On the contrary he was so indignant at the act that he at once ordered Lippencott to be Court Martialed, and Sparks, the historian, says that while in London, he saw original letters from Sir Henry Clinton and his successor, Sir Guy Carleton, expressing in the strongest terms their indignation at Huddy's murder. The fact probably is, that Mr. Dennison errs only in the name of the person; it is probable that his grandfather stated that he had the authority of his superior officer to hang Huddy, and from this Mr. D. inferred that this superior officer was Sir Henry Clinton. Who this superior officer really was will be seen by extracts we shall hereafter give from official British records, which show quite conclusively how far Lippencott was responsible for the murder of Huddy. It will be seen that Lippencott was not the only guilty party; as to whom the most guilt should be attached may be judged from the evidence produced on his trial.

#### THE NEW JERSEY ROYAL VOLUNTEERS.

The following are the names of some of the officers of this noted organization, composed mainly of Jerseymen, who aided the British during the Revolution.—The commanding officer was Cortland Skinner, and his brigade was often called "Skinner's Greens." The officers and men were from different counties, chiefly in East Jersey. Most of the Old Mon.



mouth Loyalists joined the First battalion of this brigade.

CORTLAND SKINNER, BRIGADIER GENERAL.

*First Battalion.*

- Elisha Lawrence, Colonel.
- B. G. Skinner, " 1781.
- Stephen Delancey, Lieut. Colonel.
- Thomas Millidge, Major.
- William Hutchinson, Captain.
- Joseph Crowell, "
- James Moody, Lieutenant.
- John Woodward, "
- James Brittain, "
- Ozias Ausley, Ensign.
- Joseph Brittain, "

*Second Battalion.*

- John Morris, Colonel, Second battalion.
- Isaac Allen, Lieut. Colonel " "
- Charles Harrison, Captain, " "
- Thomas Hunlock, " " "
- John Combs, Lieutenant " "

*Third Battalion.*

- Abraham Van Buskirk, Lieutenant Colonel, Third battalion.
- Robert Timpany, Major, " "
- Philip Cortland (N. Y.) " " "
- Jacob Van Buskirk, Capt. " " "
- James Servanier, Lieut. " " "
- Philip Cortland, Jr., Ensign " " "
- John Van Orden, " " "

The following named were also officers in this organization :

- Elisha Skinner, Lieutenant Colonel.
- John Barnes, Major, R. V. Stockton, Major, Thomas Lawrence, Major, John Lee, Captain, Peter Campbell, ditto, John Barbara, ditto, Richard Cayford, ditto, William Chandler, ditto, Daniel Cozens, ditto, — Keating, ditto. Lieutenants, Troup and Fitz Randolph. Absalom Bainbridge, Surgeon. Peter Myer, Ensign.

LIEUTENANT JAMES MOODY.

In the above list of Loyalist officers will be noticed the name of James Moody, Lieutenant in the First Battalion, in which were so many former residents of Monmouth. At the close of the war, Moody went to England, and shortly after his arrival there published a pamphlet entitled, "Lieutenant James Moody's Narrative of his Exertions and Sufferings in the cause of the Government since the year 1776; authenticated by proper certificates. London, 1783."

As this publication is rare, we propose hereafter to extract the substance which will be found to contain many things of

value to the historian, and of much interest to the general reader. As a matter of course he strives to depreciate the Americans and their cause, and to exalt Tories and Toryism to the best of his ability, and on this particular account his narrative deserves a place in our local history, for to obtain a comprehensive view of life and times in the Revolution it is necessary to look at the causes and effects from a Tory stand-point. As during the war all who joined the Americans were not wholly good, so all who joined the British were not wholly bad, and to one who is curious to know what reasons were offered for their course by the more honorable Tories and what versions they gave to scenes in which they were actors, Lieutenant Moody's narrative will have peculiar value. His career, it will be seen, furnishes exciting incidents sufficient to form the ground work for half a dozen modern sensational novels. He made many raids into New Jersey, and on one expedition into Monmouth it was alleged that he caused the death of two Monmouth militia officers under circumstances so contrary to the usual rule of warfare, that when, afterward, he was captured, he was sentenced to be executed, but escaped almost miraculously.

THE FIRST SETTLERS IN OLD MONMOUTH.

THE STOUT FAMILY.

Indians on the War Path—Firm Stand of the Settlers—A League of Peace Never Broken.

Among the first whites who permanently settled in old Monmouth, was Richard Stout, who, with his own family and five other families, it is said, located in Middletown in 1648. The history of the Stout family, though familiar to those versed in the ancient history of our state, yet is so remarkable on account of the wonderful preservation of the life of Mrs. Stout, and of so much general interest because their descendants in our county and elsewhere are so numerous, and also because this family were among the first Baptists in New Jersey, that it will bear repeating, especially as it may prove new to many of our readers. The version of the remarkable history of Penelope Stout, as given in Benedict's History of the Baptists, is the one most familiar to our older citizens

but believing that many of our readers may wish for preservation both this version and the one given in 1765, by Smith in his history of New Jersey, we append them with additional items from other sources.

The ship in which Penelope came to this country was wrecked on the coast of Monmouth, some two hundred and fifty years ago. The story of her remarkable preservation was handed down by tradition, in various parts of the state, for a century and a half with little variation except that some traditionary versions, at one time, located the place of the shipwreck on the Delaware.

The following version is the one published by Smith in 1765 :

“ While New York was in the possession of the Dutch, about the time of the Indian war in New England, a Dutch ship, coming from Amsterdam, was stranded on Sandy Hook, but the passengers got ashore—among them was a young Dutchman who had been sick most of the voyage ; he was so bad after landing that he could not travel, and the other passengers, being afraid of the Indians, would not stay until he recovered ; his wife, however, would not leave him, and the rest promised to send for them as soon as they arrived at New Amsterdam (New York.) They had not been gone long before a company of Indians, coming to the water side, discovered them on the beach, and hastening to the spot, soon killed the man and cut and mangled the woman in such a manner that they left her for dead. She had strength enough to crawl to some logs not far distant, and getting into a hollow one hived within it for several days, subsisting in part by eating the excrescences that grew from it. The Indians had left some fire on the shore, which she kept together for the warmth. Having remained in that manner for some time, an old Indian and a young one coming down to the beach found her ; they were soon in high words, which she afterwards understood was a dispute ; the old Indian was for keeping her alive, the other for dispatching her.— After they had debated the point awhile, the oldest Indian hastily took her up and tossing her upon his shoulder, carried her to a place near where Middletown now stands, where he dressed her wounds and soon cured her. After some time the Dutch at New Amsterdam, hearing of a white woman among the Indians, concluded who it must be, and some of them came to her

relief ; the old man, her preserver, gave her the choice to go or stay ; she chose to go. A while after, marrying one Stout, they lived together at Middletown among other Dutch inhabitants. The old Indian who saved her life used frequently to visit her ; at one of his visits she observed him to be more pensive than common, and sitting down, he gave three heavy sighs ; after the last, she thought herself at liberty to ask him what was the matter. He told her he had something to tell her in friendship, though at the risk of his own life, which was that the Indians were that night to kill all the whites, and headvised her to go to New Amsterdam ; she asked him how she could get off ? He told her he had provided a canoe at a place which he named. Being gone from her she sent for her husband out of the field, and discovered the matter to him, who, not believing it, she told him the old man *never deceived her*, and that she with her children would go ; accordingly at the place appointed they found the canoe and paddled off. When they were gone, the husband began to consider the matter, and sending for five or six of his neighbors, they set upon their guard. About midnight they heard the dismal warwhoop ; presently came up a company of Indians ; they first expostulated and then told the Indians if they persisted in their bloody designs, they would sell their lives very dear. Their arguments prevailed, the Indians desisted, and entered into a league of peace, which was kept without violation. From this woman, thus remarkably saved, is descended a numerous posterity of the name of Stout, now inhabitants of New Jersey. At that time there were supposed to be about fifty families of white people, and five hundred Indians inhabiting those parts.”

The account of Penelope Stout, as given in Benedict's History, is as follows :

“ She was born in Amsterdam, in Holland, about the year 1602 ; her father's name was Vanprincis. She and her first husband (whose name is not known) sailed for New York (then New Amsterdam) about the year 1620 ; the vessel was stranded at Sandy Hook ; the crew got ashore and marched towards New York ; but Penelope's (for that was her name) husband being hurt in the wreck, could not march with them ; therefore, he and his wife tarried in the woods ; they had not been long in the place before the Indians killed them both (as they thought) and stripped them to the skin ; however, Pen-

elope came to, though her skull was fractured and her left shoulder so lacerated that she could never use that arm like the other; she was also cut across the abdomen so that her bowels appeared; these she kept in with her hand; she continued in this situation for seven days, taking shelter in a hollow tree, and eating the excrescence of it; the seventh day she saw a deer passing by with arrows sticking in it, and soon after two Indians appeared, whom she was glad to see, in hope they would put her out of her misery; accordingly, one made for her to knock her on the head; but the other, who was an elderly man, prevented him; and, throwing his match coat about her, carried her to his wigwam and cured her of her wounds and bruises; after that he took her to New York and made a present of her to her countrymen, viz: an *Indian* present, expecting ten times the value in return.— It was in New York that one Richard Stout married her; he was a native of England, and of good family; she was now in her 22nd year, and he in his 40th. She bore him seven sons and three daughters, viz: Jonathan, John, Richard, James, Peter, David, Benjamin, Mary, Sarah and Alice; the daughters married into the families of the Bounds, Pikes, Throckmortons and Skeltens, and so lost the name of Stout; the sons married into the families of Bullen, Crawford, Ashton, Taux, &c., and had many children. The mother lived to the age of 110, and saw her offspring multiplied into 502 in about 88 years."

Richard Stout, who married Penelope, was the son of John Stout, of Nottinghamshire, in England. His father interfered in a love affair with a young woman beneath his rank, so he got angry and went to sea in a man of war, and served seven years. He was discharged at New York (then New Amsterdam) and lived there some years, when he fell in with the Dutch widow, whom he afterwards married.

#### INDIAN CLAIMS IN OLD MOX- MOUTH AND VICINITY.

Conference of Whites and Indians—Description of last lands claimed by Indians—Names of leading Indians—Indians satisfactorily paid for all their land—Our ancestors as "doers of justice."

The last lands in Old Moxmouth claimed by the Indians were described in certain papers, powers of attorney, &c., presented

to a conference between the whites and Indians held at Crosswicks, N. J., in February, 1758. For several years previous the Indians had expressed much dissatisfaction because they had not received pay for several tracts of land, some of them of considerable extent in this and other counties. When the ill feeling of the Indians became apparent, the Legislature appointed commissioners to examine into the causes of dissatisfaction. Several conferences were held at Crosswicks, Burlington, Easton, Pa., &c. At the second conference at Crosswicks the commissioners on the part of the state were Andrew Johnson and Richard Salter, of the Council, and Charles Read, John Stevens, William Foster and Jacob Spicer.

The Indians were Teedyescunk, king of the Delawares; George Hopaycock, of the Susquehannas; Andrew Woolley, George Wheelwright, Peepcy, Joseph Guish, William Lonlax, Gabriel Mitop, Zeb Conchee, Bill Nevis, John Pembolus, of the Crosswick Indians; Moses Totamy and Philip of the Mountain Indians; Tom Evans, of the Baritans; Robert Kekott, Jabob Mullis, Samuel Gosling of the Rancoeus Indians; Thomas Store, Stephen Calviri, John Pompsire, Benjamin Claus, Joseph Woolley, Josiah Store, Isaac Still, James Calvin, Peter Calvin, Derriek Quaquay, Ebenezer Woolley, Sarah Store, widow of Quaquahela of the Cranbury Indians; Abraham Lacques, Isaac Swanelea, Southern Indians.

John Pompsire acted as interpreter.

The Indians informed the Commissioners that the lands they claimed could not by them be described by lines very intelligible to persons not on the spot, as they went to hollows and small brooks which had no certain names, but that they had described them as well as they could, and they delivered lists of the tracts they esteemed unpurchased as follows:

No. 1. A power of attorney from Capoose and Telamen, to Moses Totamy, dated January 30th, 1743-4, for lands on the south and southwest side of the south branch of the Raritan river, joining thereto, as explained by said power.

No. 2. A paper declaring the lands from the half way, from the mouth of Motetecunk to Toms River, from the heads of the rivers, belong to Captain John, Totamy Willockins; and from John Eastels (Estells?) to Hockanetecunk on Crosswicks; then on a straight course to Mount Holly and so up Rancoeus creek

and along the said creek to Jarvis Pharo's mill and so to the sea. Pomphshire and Stephen Calvin say they are concerned in the tract.

No. 3. A power of attorney to Totamy and Captain John, dated February 21st, 1747, from Tawlayenum, Tohokenum, Gooteleck, to sell lands in Egg Harbor between Mount Holly and Crosswicks.

They have a tract of land beginning at the Old Ford by John Fowler's; then in a line to Doctor's Creek, above but in sight of Allentown; then up the creek to the lower end of Inlaystown; then in a line to Crosswicks creek by Duke Horseman's; then along said creek to the place of beginning. Teedyscung and Totamy are concerned in the above lands.

Then they said that from the mouth of Squan to No. 2, belongs to Sarah Store, to whom it was given by her husband, to the heads of the branches, and so across from one branch to the other.

Tom Store and Andrew Woolley, claim a tract between Cranbury and Devil's Brook, possessed by Josiah Davidson's sons that has two new houses built thereon, in which is included the whole tract of the late President Hamilton *probably John Hamilton, governor from 1736 to 1738*; and also Mr. Alexander's surveys where Thomas Sowden lives; he has sold part of this tract to Hollinshead where McGee lives; also has sold some to Josiah Davidson, to Doore Marlet, John Wetherill and James Wilson. He claims lands from Cranbury brook to the cross roads lying on the right hand of the road, and is claimed by William Pidgeon; James Wall and John Story live upon one corner of it. They also claim from the mouth of Squan to the mouth of Shrawsbury, by the streams of each to their heads and across from one head to another. Also Vannote's place on the west side of Squan river. Also a piece at Topaneraus bridge; in this piece Ben Claus is concerned.

Tom Store and Andrew Woolley, also claim a piece on the north side of South River—Polly Ritchies place.

Also a piece between Allentown and Millstone brook, where Hockan Gapee used to live, joining on the east side of the post road to Amboy, part of Dunstan's tract.

Also Vance's place, adjoining Millstone brook, on Amboy road, part of Fullerton's tract.

Also a swamp near Gawen Watson's place, belonging to the Johnston families and the Furmans.

Jacob Mullis claims pine lands on Edge Pillock Branch and Goshen Neck Branch, where Benjamin Springer and George Marpole's mills stands and all the lands between the head branches of those creeks to where the waters join or meet.

The Indians in general, claim their settlements near Cranbury on *Menolapan* river, near Falkner's tract, whereon many Indians now live. Also a few acres below the plantation of Robert Pearson's, on the North side of Crosswicks creek.

Having delivered these claims to the Commissioners, the Indians present executed a power of attorney to Tom Store, Moses Totamy, Stephen Calvin, Isaac Still and John Pomphshire, or the major part of them, to transact all future business with the state government respecting lands.

In 1757 the government had appropriated £1,600 to purchase a release of Indian claims; one half to be laid out in purchasing a settlement for the Indians on the south side of the Raritan, whereon they might reside; the other half to purchase latent claims of back Indians not resident in the province. At the conference at Easton, in October, 1758, it was decided to purchase a tract of land in Evesham township, Burlington, containing over 3,000 acres, for the Indians to locate upon. There was there a saw mill and cedar swamp and satisfactory hunting ground. The Indians soon removed to this reservation, named Brotherton; in removing their buildings they were assisted by government. A house of worship and several dwellings were soon put up.

In 1765, it is said, there were about sixty persons settled there.

The remnant of these Indians sold out the tract and left the state in 1802, as elsewhere described. We believe they left behind a lot of half breeds, who also left the state some thirty years later.

#### HOW THE BRITISH REWARDED THE TORIES.

Dazzling Promises and how they were fulfilled—Loyalists die broken hearted.

The following is from the Albany Statesman, Sept. 1820:

By the following extract from the proceedings of the British House of Commons June 19th, 1820, it will be seen that the

Tories of the Revolution were but poorly rewarded for their loyalty to England and their base desertion of their own country. It seems the most fortunate of them received but *seven shillings in the pound*, of what had been promised them, as a remuneration for their losses and treasonable services. The conduct of the British government towards these miserable beings who were dazzled with promises and anticipations of princely wealth and princely honors, furnishes a monitory lesson of the wretched fate of the traitor. Many of them, it is said, *died of broken hearts* conscious of their own degradation, neglected and despised by those they had served, and treated with scorn and reproach by their own countrymen. How different was their lot from that of the revolutionary patriot and soldier, who was true to his country and whose motto was "Liberty or Death."

AMERICAN LOYALISTS.

A vote of £9,000 was proposed for American Loyalists.

Mr. Hume asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether government meant to take into consideration the claims of those loyalists who had been resident in America at the breaking out of the war, and who had been assured by their government that any losses they might sustain, would be made good by this country? Whereas in violation of the public faith they never had been remunerated.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer admitted that the people alluded to were a most *meritorious and unfortunate* class of men, but on the other hand, if the *claims of individuals were to be listened to* by his majesty's ministers, a dangerous precedent would be established and a door opened for their endless repetition.

Mr. Courtney observed that this claim stood on the *plighted faith of the country*. His conviction was, their case was quite different from that of all other claimants, and was, at least, entitled to the serious consideration of parliament—(*Hear.*)

Mr. Williams added his testimony to that of the last speaker. It was considerably more than thirty years since the claims accrued. Three fourths of the claimants were dead, and many of them *of broken hearts*.

Mr. Lockhart said that the American loyalists had never received any compensation for their losses. It was the merchants trading to America who consented

to accept of £500,000 to be distributed amongst them by commissioners; and when the resident loyalists applied to the courts in America, they were met with the plea of being *attainted persons and traitors to their country*.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said the individuals in question had received their fair proportion of the £500,000 from the commissioners.

Mr. J. Smith said that they had received but *seven or eight shillings in the pound* of their reduced debt or claim.

The resolution was postponed to the following week.

EPISCOPALIANISM IN OLD MONMOUTH.

Pioneers of the Society.—Rev. Messrs. Keith, Talbot and Inness—First Converts to the Protestant Episcopal Church—One Hundred and Seventy Years Ago.

The most noted among the first clergymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church, who held services in the county, was the celebrated Rev. George Keith, an outline of whose life has been given in another chapter. When he first located at Freehold he was an active member of the Society of Friends, as it would seem were others of the first settlers. He left Freehold in 1689 and went to reside in Philadelphia.—In 1694 he went to London and soon after abjured the doctrines of the Quakers, and became a zealous clergyman of the Church of England. He officiated some time in his mother country, and in 1702 he was sent to America as a missionary of the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts." He sailed from England April 28, 1702, in the ship Centurian bound for Boston. After his arrival he travelled and preached in various parts of New England and New York, accompanied and assisted by the Rev. John Talbot, who had been chaplain of the ship, and who, a few years later, located at Burlington, N. J., in charge of the Protestant Episcopal Society there. Mr. Keith arrived at Amboy, and preached his first sermon in New Jersey in that place, October 3d, 1702. He says that among the audience were some old acquaintances, and some had been Quakers but were come over to the church, particularly Miles Forster and John Barclay (brother to Robert Barclay, who published the "Apology for Quakers.") After stopping a few days with Miles Forster, he left for Monmouth county, where

he preached his first sermon, October 10, 1702. Of his travels and services in Monmouth we give his own account from his rare and curious little work entitled "A Journal of Travel from New Hampshire to Caratuck, on the Continent of America, by George Keith, A. M. late Missionary from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and now Rector of Edburton, in Sussex. London: printed by Joseph Downing, for Brab. Aylmer at the Three Pigeons over against the Royal Exchange, Cornhill, 1706."

It will be noticed that he speaks of the Quakers at Freehold holding meetings separate from other Quakers. The cause of this separation is explained in the chapter giving an outline of his life.

Of his visit to Monmouth he says :

October 10, 1702.—We went to the meeting of the Quakers at *Toponcones* in Freehold in East Jersey, who used to keep a separate meeting from the other Quakers for their gross errors and joined with me and my friends in the separation about 1692; and it happened to be their yearly meeting where divers came from West Jersey and Pennsylvania. One of their preachers prayed and preached before I began. After he had done, I used some Church Collects I had by heart, in Prayer; and after that I preached on Heb. 5 : 9.—There was a considerable auditory of divers sorts, some of the Church, and some Presbyterians, besides Quakers. They heard me without interruption and the meeting ended peaceably. Their two speakers lodged in the same house with me that evening at the house of Thomas Boels, formerly a Quaker but now of the church. I had some free discourse with them about several weighty things. I told them so far as they used their gifts to instruct the ignorant and reclaim the vile errors of Quakerism, they were to be commended; but that they had taken upon them to administer baptism and the Lord's Supper to any, they were greatly to be blamed, having no due call or ordination so to do.

We met again next day and after that I prayed, using the same Collects as the day before and preached on 1st Thes. 5 : 9 without any interruption, and the meeting peaceably ended. I could blame nothing in the matter of the second speaker, nor in the former, except where he said in his discourse "*That they who were in Christ, need not fear Hell.*" I endeavored to clear the matter in my discourse by distinguishing

between an absolute fear of hell, such as wicked men ought to have and a conditional fear which good men, even such who are in Christ, ought to have; and about this he and I had some private discourse also betwixt us, but he was dissatisfied and would not own *that any who were in Christ, ought to have any less of hell*, so much as conditional.

Sunday, October 17th, 1702. I preached at Middletown in East Jersey, where before sermon Mr. Talbot read the Church Prayers, and I preached on Matt. 28 : 19, 20. One main part of my sermon being to prove Infant baptism to be included in the Apostle's commission as well as that of adult persons, their being several of the audience who were Anabaptists, who heard me civilly without interruption; but most of the auditory were Church people or well affected to the Church.

October 24th, 1702. I preached at Shrewsbury at a house near the Quaker Meeting House, and it happened it was the time of the Quaker Yearly Meeting at Shrewsbury. My text was 2d Peter, 2 : 1, 2. The Church Prayers being read before sermon, we had a great congregation, generally well affected to the Church, and divers of them were of the Church, and that day I sent some lines in writing to the Quakers at their Yearly Meeting; which Mr. Talbot did read to them in their meeting, wherein I desired them to give me a meeting with them some day of that week before their meeting was concluded: in which meeting I offered to detect great errors in their Author's books, and they should have full liberty to answer what they had to say in their vindication. But they altogether refused my proposition, and several papers passed betwixt us. In some of their papers they used gross reflections on the Church of England as much as on me.—We continued our meeting three days, as the Quakers did theirs. And the second day of our meeting at the same house, where we had formerly met, I detected Quaker errors out of their printed books, particularly out of the Folio Book of *Edward Burrough's Works*, collected and published by the Quakers after his death, and did read quotations to the Auditory, laying the pages open before such as were willing to read them for their better satisfaction, as some did read them.

(Mr. Keith here quotes what he considers some of their errors.)

October 26th. I preached again at Shrewsbury, on Matt. 7 : 13. In these

meetings in Shrewsbury, Middletown and *Toponemes*, or where else in the Nethesinks (Nevisinks) Mr. Louis Morris and divers others of the best note in that county, frequented the congregations and places where we preached and did kindly entertain us at their houses where we lodged as we travelled too and again, particularly at Mr. Morris, Mr. Inness, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Boels and Mr. Read. Mr. Inness being in Priest's orders often preached among them and by preaching and conferences frequently with the Quakers and other sorts of people, as also by his pious conversation, has done much good among them and been very instrumental to draw them off from their errors and bring them over to the Church.

Mr. Keith left Monmouth about the last of October, 1702, for Burlington and elsewhere. He returned in December, and says:

December 20th, 1702. I preached at Dr. Johnston's at Nethersinks, on *Rev.* 22:14.

Dec. 25th, Friday, being Christmas. I preached at the house of Mr. Morris, on Luke 21.10, 11. And after sermon divers of the auditory received with us the Holy sacrament; both Mr. Morris and his wife, and divers others. Mr. Talbot did administer it.

December 27th, Sunday. I preached at Shrewsbury Town, near the Quaker Meeting House, at a Planter's house, and had a considerable auditory of Church people, lately converted from Quakerism, with divers others of the Church of best note in that part of the country. My text was Heb. 8.10, 11.

January 1st, 1703, Friday. I preached at the house of Thomas Boels, in Freehold, in East Jersey. My text was Isaiah 59.20, 21. Before sermon, after the Church Prayers, I baptized all his children, two sons and three daughters. He was formerly a Quaker, but is now come over to the Church; also a son of Samuel Dennis, a late convert from Quakerism.

Jan. 3d, 1703. I preached again at his house on the same text, and before sermon Mr. Talbot baptized two persons belonging to the family of John Read, formerly a Quaker, but was lately come over to the Church, with all his children, one son and two daughters. His two daughters were baptized by Mr. Talbot, October 20th, 1702; as also the same day was baptized William Leads (Leeds?), and his sister Mary Leads, late converts from Quakerism

to the Church. And some days before at the house of John Read, Mr. Talbot baptized the wife of Alexander Neaper and his three children. Both he and his wife had been Quakers, but were come over to the Church.

January 4th, 1703. I came to the house of Robert Ray, in Freehold, in East Jersey, accompanied with Thomas Boels, and lodged at his house that night. At his and his wife's desire, I baptized all his children, some boys and some girls, in number five. His wife is come over to the Church, but he was not then come thoroughly out of Quakerism.

Mr. Keith after this proceeded to Burlington, Philadelphia, and so on to Maryland, Virginia, and elsewhere; in October, 1703, he returned to Monmouth, and of his services here he adds in his journal the following;

"October 10th, 1703, Sunday. I preached at *Toponemes*, in Freehold, in East Jersey, on Acts 24:12, and had considerable auditory, divers of them late converts from Quakerism to the Church. Mr. Inness above mentioned, did read the Prayers.—Mr. Talbot stayed to preach in several places in Pennsylvania and West Jersey for some time.

October 17th. I preached at Shrewsbury, near the Quaker Meeting House there, on Psalms 103:17, 18.

October 24th. I preached again there, on Heb. 8:10, 11, and Mr. Inness baptized two men and a child.

On the 31st of October, Mr. Keith preached at Amboy, after which he proceeded to New York and New England. On his return he says:

January 9th, 1704. I preached at the house of Dr. Johnston, in Neverthesinks, on Psalms 119:5, 113, and had considerable auditory.

January 16th. I preached at Mr. Morris's house at the Falls of Shrewsbury, in East Jersey, on 2 Cor. 5:17.

January 23d. I preached again at Mr. Morris's house, on 2 Peter 1:5.

January 30th. I preached at the house of Mr. Thomas Boels, in Freehold, in East Jersey, on 1 Cor. 15:58.

February 6th. I preached at the house of Mr. John Read, in Freehold, East Jersey, on Psalms 119:96.

After this Mr. Keith went to Burlington, Philadelphia, and shortly sailed for England.

LIEUT. JAMES MOODY, THE REFUGEE PARTISAN.

A Daring Renegade—Raid in Monmouth—Refugee Versions and Boasts—Death of Captain Chadwick and Lieutenant Hendrickson.

In the days of the Revolution, about the most shrewd and effective partisan leader in New Jersey, was James Moody. During the war we do not believe there was a single other Tory who was more noted throughout the State for his daring operations, than was he, and yet it is rare to find his name in any general or local history of New Jersey.

In Howe's Historical Collections of New Jersey, mention is made of a certain refugee, said to have been named *Bonnell* Moody, as having been active against the whigs in Sussex county. We very much doubt if ever there was a prominent refugee of that name in our State; we have no doubt but James Moody was the man referred to; certain it is that some of the deeds attributed to *Bonnell* Moody were performed by James Moody. An interesting account of James Moody's career in New Jersey, was published shortly after the war in London; though dictated by himself, and consequently more or less one sided, yet it contains many things of value to the historian and of interest to the general reader. At some future time we shall endeavor to give place to the substance of his narrative with the high British endorsements it obtained, but for the present we can only copy the substance of so much of it as relates to one of his raids in Monmouth. It will be seen that where he strives to depreciate Americans and laud the Tories to the best of his ability, yet he mentions some things worth recording in our local history.

"June 10th, 1779, Lieutenant James Moody requested a Tory friend named Hutchinson, with six men and some guides, to join him in a raid into Monmouth.—Moody had besides sixteen men. They started from Sandy Hook for Shrewsbury, and managed to elude the Rebel guard, and gained a place called *the Falls* (Tinton Falls.) There they surprised and took prisoners one Colonel, one Lieutenant Colonel, one Major and two Captains, with several other prisoners of lesser note, and without injury to private property, destroying a considerable magazine of pow-

der and arms. With these prisoners and such public stores as they were able to bring off, Mr. Hutchinson was charged, whilst Moody brought up the rear with his sixteen men to defend them. They were as they expected, soon pursued by double their number and soon overtaken. Moody kept up a smart fire on his assailants, checking and retarding them till Hutchinson with his booty had got ahead to a considerable distance. He then also advanced for the next advantageous position, and thus proceeded from one good spot to another, still covering the prisoners till they gained a situation on the shore at Black Point where the enemy could not flank him. But just at this time the enemy was reinforced by ten men, so they were near forty strong. Hutchinson with one man crossed the inlet, behind which he had taken shelter, and came to Moody's assistance; and now a warm engagement ensued which lasted three quarters of an hour. By this time all their ammunition, amounting to 80 rounds was exhausted, and ten men, only three of whom were wounded, were in any capacity to follow a charge.

"The bayonet was Moody's only resource, and this the enemy could not withstand; they fled, leaving eleven of their number killed or wounded. Unfortunately for Moody, his small but gallant party could not follow up the blow, being in a manner utterly exhausted by a long harassed march in hot weather. They found the rebel Captain dead, and their Lieutenant also expiring on the field. There was something peculiarly shocking and awful in the death of the rebel captain. He was shot by Moody whilst with the most bitter oaths and threats of vengeance, after having missed fire once, he was again leveling his piece at him. Soon after the engagement, one of the rebels came forward with a handkerchief on a stick, and demanded a parley. His signal was returned and a truce agreed upon, the conditions of which were, that they should have leave to take care of their dead and wounded, while Moody and his party were permitted to return unmolested to the British lines.—None of Moody's men were mortally wounded. The public stores which they brought away, besides those destroyed, sold for upwards of £500, every shilling of which was given by Moody to his men, as a reward for meritorious."

From a subsequent paragraph in Moody's narrative, it appears that the names of the



officers killed were Captain Chadwick and Lieutenant Hendrickson.

Moody was afterwards captured by the Americans, and was to have been hung for the murder of Captain Chadwick, but he managed almost miraculously to escape.

Some circumstances mentioned in different accounts of this raid, lead to a suspicion that Moody placed Captain Chadwick and Lieutenant Hendrickson in the rear of their company to prevent the firing of the Americans upon them, and that Chadwick and Hendrickson were shot in attempting to escape or after escaping.

The following is an American version of this raid from an ancient paper :

"A party of about fifty refugees landed in Monmouth and marched to Tinton Falls undiscovered, where they surprised and carried off Colonel Hendrickson, Colonel Wyckoff, Captain Chadwick and Captain McKnight, with several privates of the militia, and drove off sheep and horned cattle. About thirty of our militia hastily collected and made some resistance, but were repulsed with the loss of two men killed, and ten wounded, the loss of the enemy unknown."

MOODY'S CAPTURE AND ESCAPE.

The following is Moody's own account of his capture, imprisonment for the killing of Captain Chadwick and Lieutenant Hendrickson, and escape. After referring to a raid in which he had been engaged, his narrative states that while he was tracing his steps with thirteen men towards New York, on the 21st of July, 1780, Moody and the greater part of his men fell into the hands of General Wayne, much to the joy of his captors, and to the whigs of New Jersey. "Moody is in the toils at last," was the word far and near. He was first sent to a place called the *Stote*, thence to Stony Point, thence to West Point, thence to Esopus, and thence back to West Point. Arnold who was then plotting to surrender the latter post, treated Moody with absolute barbarity, for by his order he was placed in a dungeon excavated in a rock, the bottom of which was ankle deep in water, mud and filth. In this dismal hole the wretched prisoner was fettered hand and foot, and compelled to sleep on a door raised on four stones above the disgusting mixture and proffered food at which he revolted which was brought to him in a wooden bowl that was never washed, and that was encrusted with dough, dirt and grease.—

The irons upon his wrists were ragged on the inner side and caused sores which gave him great pain, while his legs became irritated and swollen. He implored Arnold for relief, declaring that he preferred death to sufferings so intense. Some days after his second petition to be treated as a prisoner of war, an officer came into his prison and asked, "are you Moody, whose name is a terror to all good men?" When answered, the officer pointed to a gallows near by, and said: "A swing upon that you have long merited." Moody replied that he hoped to live to see him and a thousand other villains like him hanged for being rebels. The fetters were examined but not removed. His case was at last reported to General Washington, who ordered the irons to be taken off, and the serving of wholesome provisions, with leave to purchase milk, vegetables, &c.—Soon the prisoner was transferred to the Chief's own camp, where the Adjutant General examined his limbs and shocked at their condition, gave instant orders for humane treatment. While Moody was recovering he felt himself much at ease, expecting soon to be exchanged, when he was unexpectedly told that in two days, by order of Dr. Livingston, he was to be brought to trial; the court-martial was to be composed of picked men, and that Moody was sure of conviction—that he was charged with assassinating a Captain Chadwick, and a Lieut. Hendrickson.—These were the two officers who had fallen fairly in battle, near Black Point, in Monmouth county, as elsewhere related. The Ensign replied that he felt himself much at ease on that account, as it could be sufficiently cleared up by their own people who had been in and survived the action, as well as by some of their officers, who were at that time prisoners. He was told that this would be of little avail, as he had been so obnoxious to the whigs, and besides he had enlisted men in the State for the King's service, and this, by their laws, was death.

Moody says he affected an air of unconcern at this information, but at the same time he believed it was too serious and important to him to disregard. He resolved therefore, from that moment, to escape or perish in the attempt. His place of confinement was near the centre of the rebel camp. A sentinel was placed within the doors of his prison, and another without, besides four others close around and within a few yards of the place. The

time now came on when he must either make his attempt or forever lose the opportunity. On the night of September 17th, busy in ruminating on his project, he had under pretence of being cold, got a watch coat thrown across his shoulders, that he might better conceal from his unpleasant companion the operations he meditated against his hand cuffs. While he was racking his invention to find some possible means of extricating himself from his fetters, he happened to cast his eye on a post fastened to the ground, through which a hole had been bored by an auger, and it occurred to him that it might be possible, with the aid of this hole, to break the bolt of his hand cuffs. Watching the opportunity therefore from time to time of the sentinel's looking another way, he thrust the point of the bolt into the above mentioned hole, and by cautiously exerting his strength and gradually bending the iron backwards and forwards he at length broke it. Let the reader imagine what his sensations were when he found the manacles drop from his hands. He sprang instantly past the inside sentinel, and rushing on the next, with one hand he seized his musket, and with the other struck him to the ground. The sentinel within and the four others who had been placed by the fence surrounding the place of his confinement, immediately gave the alarm, and in a moment the cry was general, "Moody is escaped from the provost!" It is impossible to describe the uproar which now took place throughout the camp. In a few minutes every man was in a bustle, every man was looking for Moody, and multitudes passed by him on all sides—little suspecting that the man they saw deliberately marching along with a musket on his shoulder, could be the fugitive they were in quest of. The darkness of the night which was also blustering and drizzly, prevented any discrimination of his person, and was indeed the great circumstance that rendered his escape possible. But no small difficulty still remained to be surmounted. To prevent desertion, which at that time was very frequent, Washington had surrounded his camp with a chain of sentinels, posted at about forty or fifty yards from each other; Moody was unacquainted with their stations; to pass there undiscovered would certainly be fatal. In this dilemma Providence again befriended him. He had gained their station without knowing it, when luckily he heard their watchword, "Look

sharp to the chain—Moody is escaped from the Provost." From the sound of their voices he ascertained the respective situations of the sentinels, and throwing himself on his hands and knees, he was happy enough to crawl through the vacant space between two of them, unseen by either. Judging that their line of pursuit would be towards the British army, he made a detour into the woods on the opposite side. Through the woods he made his way with as much speed as the darkness of the night would permit, steering his course after the Indian manner by occasional groping and feeling the white oak; on the south side the bark of this tree is rough and unpleasant to the touch, but on the north side is smooth; hence it serves the sagacious traveller of the woods by night as well as by day, for his compass. Through the dismal woods and swamps he wandered until the night of the 21st, a space of 56 hours, during which time he had no other sustenance than a few beach leaves, (which of all the woods afforded, were the least unpleasant to the taste, and least pernicious to the health), which he chewed and swallowed to abate the cravings of hunger. In every inhabited district he knew there were friends of the British, and he had learned where and how to find them out, without endangering their safety, which was always the first object of his concern. From some of their good men he received minute information how the pursuit was directed, and where every guard was posted. Thus assisted he eluded their keenest vigilance, and at length by God's blessings, to his unspeakable joy, he arrived safe at Paulus Hook (Jersey City)."

#### PHIL WHITE, HIS CAPTURE AND DEATH.

A correct version of the affair—Refugee slanders refuted and vindicated—Affidavits of Aaron White and of Philip White, guards—Statement of General Forman, &c.

Though the death of the refugee Philip White, generally called Phil White, is occasionally referred to in modern historical works, there are none which give complete or correct accounts of the affair. In the brief statement given in Howe's Collections unjust imputations are cast upon his guard, as will hereafter be seen. When Captain Huddy was so brutally murdered by the Refugees near the Highlands, it

will be remembered that a label was fastened to his breast, the last sentence of which was

*Up goes Huddy for Philip White.*

Though the Refugees at one time asserted that Captain Huddy had an agency in the death of Phil White, yet this preposterous charge was at once shown to be an infamous falsehood, as when White was killed, Captain Huddy was a prisoner, confined in New York in the old Sugar House (Duane's sugar house.) The British asserted that "he had taken a certain Philip White, cut off both his arms, broke his legs, pulled out one of his eyes, damned him and then bid him run."

How much of this was true will be seen by the conclusive evidence hereafter given, before quoting which we will copy the version of the affair given in Howe's Collections, derived in 1842, from a traditional source:

"White, the Refugee, was a carpenter and served his time in Shrewsbury. Six days after Huddy was taken, he was surprised by a party of militia light-horse, near Snag Swamp, in the eastern part of the township. After laying down his arms in token of surrender, he took up his musket and killed a Mr. Hendrickson.— He was however, secured, and while being taken to Freehold, was killed at Pyle's Corner, three or four miles from there.— He was under a guard of three men, the father of one of whom was murdered at Shrewsbury the year previous, by a band of refugees, among whom was White, and he was therefore highly exasperated against the prisoner. Some accounts state that he was killed while attempting to escape; others with more probability that they pricked him with their swords and thus forcing him to run, cruelly murdered him."

There are several errors in the foregoing and it is to be regretted that the untrue charge of wanton cruelty, should have found its way into so useful a book. Correct versions of this affair are found in ancient papers, but for the present we will give several affidavits taken at the time as being the most conclusive evidence. These affidavits were forwarded to General Washington, and by him transmitted to Congress, April 20th, 1782.

These affidavits are of Aaron White, taken prisoner with Phil White, and of each of Phil White's guards. Before quoting them, we will say in regard to the statement in the extract from Howe's Col-

lections that after Phil White had surrendered, "he took up his musket and killed a Mr. Hendrickson," that as no allusion is made to it in these affidavits, it may have occurred at some previous time, and this murder as well as his participation in the murder of John Russell, and in other outrages, undoubtedly caused the patriots to be anxious to capture him.

DEPOSITION OF AARON WHITE.

County of Monmouth, ss: Aaron White being duly sworn, deposeseth:

That he was taken prisoner with Philip White; that the deponent left New York in company with Philip White, Jeremiah Bell, negro Moses, John Fennimore and Robert Howell, on Thursday night, the twenty-eighth of March last; that they sailed from New York to the Hook, where they remained till next morning, being Friday, the twenty-ninth; that Philip White and negro Moses were landed at Long Branch that morning; that the deponent understood that Captain Joshua Huddy was then a prisoner; that on the day following, being Saturday the thirtieth, the deponent being off in a boat with Fennimore, and having observed that the said Philip White and Moses had an engagement with some of the troops on shore, he (the deponent) went in a boat to their relief, meaning to take them off; that when he came on shore he joined the said Philip White and negro Moses, and pursued one Thomas Berkeley, with whom they had been engaged; that in their pursuit, the light horse came down, and the deponent with the said Philip White were made prisoners; that they were put under guard to be sent to Freehold for confinement; that on the way from Colt's Neck to Freehold, between Daniel Grandin's and Samuel Leonard's, the deponent was told by one of his guard, that Philip White was running away; that the deponent looked back and saw the horsemen in pursuit of something, but being about half a mile distant, could not distinguish after whom or what the pursuit was; that the field in which they were pursuing was near the brook next to Mr. Leonard's, adjoining a wood; that Lieutenant Rhea and George Brindley left the deponent under guard of two men, and ran their horses back towards the place the other men were pursuing; that the deponent afterwards understood that it was Philip White they were pursuing, and that he was killed in the pursuit; that Captain

Joshua Huddy was not one of the guard or party, and the deponent understood and verily believes, that he was then a prisoner in New York; and the deponent further and lastly declares, that the above is the truth as related without any fear, threats or compulsion whatever.

AARON WHITE.

Sworn before me this 15th day of April, 1782.

DAVID FORMAN,

*Justice of Peace, Monmouth County*

That a clear idea of the order of the principal events referred to in these affidavits may be obtained, we will here state that Captain Joshua Huddy was taken prisoner at Toms River, on Sunday, March 24th, 1782; on Saturday, the 30th of March, six days after, Phil White and Aaron were taken prisoners by the Monmouth militia; the same day (March 30th), Philip White was killed, at which time Captain Huddy was confined in the sugar house prison in New York, where he had been put on Tuesday, March 26th, and remained here and in provost jail, until Monday, April 8th, when he was taken on board a sloop and put in irons, and four days later, April 12th, 1782, he was hanged near the Highlands; his body was delivered to the Americans, sent to Freehold and buried with the honors of war.—Three days after his death—on the 15th of April, these affidavits were taken while the recollections of all the circumstances referred to, were fresh in the minds of the witnesses.

#### STATEMENTS OF PHIL WHITE'S GUARDS.

Phil White's guards were William Borden, John North and John Russell. They were probably at the time attached to Captain John Walton's troop of light horse, but Russell and perhaps the other two had been in the regular Continental army previously. Their statement of the details of Phil White's death are undoubtedly correct. We shall hereafter, in the court martial trial at New York, of the Refugee captain, Richard Lippincott, give the Tory evidence, and it will be seen that there was nothing offered to invalidate the affidavits of the guards. The first statement we give is the

#### AFFIDAVIT OF WILLIAM BORDEN.

County of Monmouth, ss: William Borden, of full age, being duly sworn, deposesh:

That he with a certain John North, and John Russell, were ordered to guard a certain Philip White, mentioned in an ad-

dress to his excellency, General Washington, to Freehold. That the guard was ordered to shoot him if he attempted to escape, of which the said Philip was informed; that on their way the said Philip jumped off his horse, and on passing a fence next to the woods, the deponent fired and shot him through the body, the bullet entering his back and coming out of his right breast; that the said Philip at first fell, but recovered again, and attempted to get into the woods about two hundred yards distant; that the deponent having leaped the fence on horseback, intercepted him in the way to the woods; upon which he turned and threw himself into a bog, where the said John North met him and gave him a stroke with his sword; that as the said Philip White turned, the deponent struck him with the butt end of his carbine, and he still continued to run till he was struck by the said John North as aforesaid; that this deponent, three or four times called to him, "White give up and you shall have quarters yet." That Captain Joshua Huddy was not one of the guard nor in company, but the deponent understood, and has no reason to doubt, that he was then a prisoner in New York. That the above happened between Daniel Grandin's and Samuel Leonard's in a field adjoining the woods, and through which the brook next to said Leonard's did run. On Saturday, the 30th of March last.

WILLIAM BORDEN.

Sworn before me this 15th day of April, 1782.

DAVID FORMAN,

*Judge of Court of Common Pleas Monmouth Co.*

#### AFFIDAVIT OF JOHN NORTH.

County of Monmouth, ss: John North being duly sworn, deposeth and saith: That he, the deponent, was one of a certain guard that had custody of Philip White mentioned in the memorial to his excellency General Washington; that the said guard was ordered to conduct the said Philip White from Long Branch (the place at which he with one Aaron White was taken prisoner,) to Freehold; that the said guard was ordered, if he attempted to make his escape, to kill him; that they were both informed that if they attempted to run they would be killed; that on the way to Freehold, the said Philip White went sideways off his horse and ran to the fence next to the wood; that the deponent fired at him but believes the ball did not take place upon him; that William Borden, another of the guard, fired at him also, about the

same instant of time, and shot him through the body, the bullet entering his back and passing out under his right breast; that he fell upon his hands and knees, but recovered himself and arose and ran across a small field making for the woods; that the deponent left his horse and dropped his gun and pursued with his drawn sword; that the deponent overtook him in a bog, and as he was passing, gave him a stroke across the face with his sword, upon which he fell and cried he was a dead man; that the said William Borden several times called to him saying: "White, if you will give up you shall have good quarters yet;" that notwithstanding he continued to run to the last moment, when he was cut down by this deponent as aforesaid; and was within three or four paces of a fence, which if he had passed, he would in all probability have effected his escape, provided the gunshot should not have proved fatal; that Captain Joshua Huddy was not one of the guard, it being notoriously well known that he was then a prisoner with the enemy. That the above happened between Daniel Grandin's and Samuel Leonard's in a small field; that the brook nearest Leonard's runs through the field; that it was on Saturday the thirtieth day of March last.

JOHN NORTH.

Sworn before me this 15th April 1782.

DAVID FORMAN,

Justice C. C. Pleas Monmouth Co.

AFFIDAVIT OF JOHN RUSSELL.

County of Monmouth, ss: John Russell of full age, being duly sworn deposeseth:

That he was one of the guard appointed to conduct Philip White and Aaron White to Freehold; that the deponent was present at the time of the said Philip White's attempt to make his escape; that he has heard the affidavits of William Borden and John North and knows every circumstance therein mentioned to be true; and in addition informs that in course of their pursuit after the said White, he passed the said deponent, and he, the deponent, gave him a slight wound in the forehead, but he still continued to run, although frequently desired to give up and he should have good quarters; that this was the first blow he received; that it was entirely his own fault; that he received a single stroke with a sword, he running and refusing to submit to the last minute; that Joshua Huddy was then

a prisoner in New York; that this happened on Saturday the thirtieth of March last.

JOHN RUSSELL.

Sworn before me this 15th April, 1782.

DAVID FORMAN,

Justice of Peace Monmouth Co.

SECOND AFFIDAVIT OF WILLIAM BORDEN.

Four days after the foregoing affidavits were taken, it was thought advisable to take additional evidence, and William Borden was again sworn, and deposed as follows:

County of Monmouth, ss: William Borden, of full age, being duly sworn, saith:

That he, the deponent, was one of the guard appointed to conduct Philip White, a refugee prisoner, taken and killed as is at large set forth under oath of this deponent, taken the 15th of April instant; and farther this deponent saith that *the aforesaid Philip White received no other wounds* to the knowledge or belief of this deponent than those set forth and described in this deponent's oath as aforesaid; that the report said to be circulated in New York, viz: that the said Philip White had his arms cut off, and one of his (the said White's) eyes pulled out and both his legs broken, is false and without any the least foundation; for that he, the aforesaid Philip White, did not to this deponent's knowledge or belief receive any the least wound or hurt on either his (the aforesaid Philip White's) arms or legs neither was either of his (the aforesaid Philip White's) eyes pulled out.

Lastly, this deponent saith, that he this deponent was present at the time the aforesaid Philip White attempted to make his escape; was in pursuit of him, the aforesaid Philip White, and was present at the time that the aforesaid Philip White was killed; that this deponent saw John Russell and John North carry and put his (the aforesaid Philip White's) body in a wagon and attended the wagon up to the village of Freehold where his (the aforesaid Philip White's) body was the same evening buried; and farther this deponent saith not.

WILLIAM BORDEN.

Sworn before me this 19th April, 1782.

DAVID FORMAN.

CERTIFICATE OF CAPTAIN JOHN WALTON.

This may certify that the within deponent, William Borden, has for several years last past, resided a near neighbor to me; that he was at the time the within mentioned Philip White was killed, a soldier

in my troop of horse ; and that during my acquaintance with him, the deponent, William Borden, he has on all occasions been reputed a man of strict veracity and humanity.

Given under my hand this 19th April, 1782.

JOHN WALTON,  
Captain Light Dragoons.

CERTIFICATE OF JUDGE DAVID FORMAN.

This may certify that on Saturday the 30th of March, 1782, or thereabouts, I the subscriber, was present at the village of Freehold, when the body of Philip White was brought up ; that I went to the wagon and saw the corpse ; the guard attending showed me the gun shot wound on his breast, also the cuts of a sword on his face. At that time the corpse appeared to be laid with as much decency as could be, and without any appearance of wounds in either of his arms or legs ; neither did I ever hear that his (the aforesaid Philip White's) arms had been cut off or his legs broken, &c. until after the execution of Captain Joshua Huddy, viz. ; on Saturday the 13th of April instant, and then I heard by a person from the British lines that a report prevailed there that the aforesaid Philip White had been most cruelly murdered by having his arms cut off, his legs broken, &c.

Given under my hand this 19th day of April, 1782.

DAVID FORMAN.

The foregoing affidavits and certificates furnish a clear, satisfactory account of the cause and manner of Phil White's death, and completely exonerate his guard from the charge of wanton cruelty toward him. The probability is that Phil White supposed if he was taken to Freehold jail that he would be tried and hanged for his participation in the murder of the father of John Russel, one of his guards, and for other misdemeanors and so he determined to try to escape and he made the effort at a place where he thought the woods, marsh, and brook would favor him and impede the light horsemen.

The accounts published in ancient papers are substantially the same as given in these affidavits. A month or so afterward the British at New York made desperate efforts to trump up evidence of wanton cruelty against North, Borden and Russell, the three guards, but that it signally failed, will be seen by an abstract of the second affidavit of Aaron White, taken June 19th, about six weeks after Phil White's death. Aaron White, it will be

remembered, was taken prisoner at the same time that Phil White was captured, and his affidavit while at Freehold, has already been given. It is probable that Aaron White was exchanged a few days after his first affidavit was taken, as we find by a copy of an order from the Board of Associated Loyalists that the officer in charge of prisoners at New York was ordered to deliver up Daniel Randolph and Jacob Fleming, two Americans captured at Toms River, with Captain Huddy, to be exchanged for the refugee, Captain Clayton Tilton and another refugee name not specified ; but it is stated on the trial of Captain Richard Lippencott, that they were to be exchanged by Governor Franklin's order for Captain Clayton Tilton and Aaron White. A British military commission, of which Major General James Paterson was president, was organized in New York, to examine into the circumstances of Captain Huddy's death and Captain Richard Lippencott's responsibility therefore, and before this commission Aaron White testified substantially as follows :

"That he was taken prisoner by the rebels at Long Branch ; that one of the rebel militia named George Brindley told him if they did not take Phil White, that they would put him (deponent) to death ; that after Philip White was taken, he heard the said George Bridley swear by God that Phil White should not go alive to Freehold ; that the rebels stopped at Colts Neck and changed guard ; that while at Colts Neck, Philip White told him he was afraid the rebels would murder him before they got to Freehold ; that when they started from Colts Neck he (deponent) was taken on ahead and Philip White kept behind under a guard of three men ; that these three men were John Russell, John North and one Borden who he had heard called three of as bad persecuting fellows as any in the country ; that it was his opinion the rebels intended to murder Philip White ; that the sergeant of the guard that had charge of Philip White as far as Colts Neck, informed him in Freehold jail that if Phil White had not been removed from his care he would not have been killed ; that General David Forman with a lawyer came to him while he was in jail at Freehold and wanted him to make affidavit that Phil White was killed while endeavoring to escape ; that he told General Forman that he would die before he made such affidavit :

that after he escaped (was exchanged?) from Freehold jail, his friends all unanimously told him that their opinion was that Philip White was most cruelly and inhumanly murdered; that he did make an affidavit before General Forman, relating the circumstances of his leaving New York, of the skirmish, of a light horseman leaping over a fence and that the people of Freehold told him that Philip White was killed fairly; that if General Forman sent in any other affidavit it must have been forged."

The foregoing was the strongest evidence the British and refugees could bring against Phil White's guard, and it will be seen that it amounts to but little and in no particular does it sustain the charge of wanton cruelty. It is a matter of profound satisfaction that the evidence preserved is so conclusive not only because it exonerates the guards from the malicious charges made against them, but also because many descendants of these guards now live within the limits of old Monmouth, as do also multitudes of descendants of the four hundred citizens who assembled at Freehold, on the 14th of April, 1782, who inquired into and justified the acts of the guard.

The Refugees were very profuse at all times in their charges against the Monmouth patriots; because the citizens of old Monmouth would not remain quiet and allow these precious scoundrels to roam at will throughout the county, robbing and murdering, they were denounced as guilty of inhumanity, wanton cruelty, persecution, &c.

The Refugees had a very simple way of avoiding trouble from Monmouth patriots—they had only to refrain from attempting to commit outrages among them.

#### ATTACK ON THE RUSSELL FAMILY.

As this outrage was an unusually aggravated one even for the Refugees, and as mention of some of the parties concerned in it is made in other chapters detailing other events during the Revolution, we give the particulars as derived from various sources. The first extract is from *Colin's New Jersey Gazette*:

"On the 30th of April, 1780, a party of negroes and refugees from Sandy Hook, landed at Shrewsbury in order to plunder. During their excursion, a Mr. Russell, who attempted some resistance to their depredations, was killed, and his grandchild

had five balls shot through him, but is yet living. Captain Warner of the privateer brig Elizabeth, was made prisoner by these ruffians, but was released, by giving them two half joes. This banditti also took off several persons, among whom were Captain James Greene, and Ensign John Morris of the militia."

The following statement is from Howe's Collections: "Mr. Russell was an elderly man, aged about 60 years; as the party entered his dwelling, which was in the night, he fired and missed. William Gilian, a native of Shrewsbury, their leader, seized the old gentleman by the collar, and was in the act of stabbing him in the face and eyes with a bayonet, when the fire blazed up and shedding a momentary light upon the scene, enabled the younger Russell who lay wounded on the floor, to shoot Gilian. John Farnham, a native of Middletown, thereupon aimed his musket at the young man, but it was knocked up by Lippincott who had married into the family. The party then went off. The child was accidentally wounded in the affray."

The Lippincott above referred to, we presume, was Captain Richard Lippincott, who had command of the party which executed Captain Joshua Huddy. An outline of his life will be given elsewhere. In regard to John Farnham, a refugee of this name was afterwards captured, tried and hung at Freehold—probably the same man.

In the extract from Howe's Collections, it will be noticed that a younger Russell is referred to as being wounded and lying on the floor. This was John Russell, at this time belonging to the Continental army, at home on a furlough to see his wife and parents. After the war, John Russell removed to Cedar Creek, in Ocean county, where he lived to quite an advanced age. His account of the affair was substantially as follows:

There were seven refugees, and he (John) saw them through the window, and at one time they got so that he told his father he was sure they could kill four of them, and he wished to fire, as he believed the other three would run. His father persuaded him not to fire, but to do so when they broke into the house. When they broke in, the father fired first, but missed his aim; he was then fired upon and killed. John Russell then fired and killed the man (Gilian) who shot his father. During the affray young Russell was shot in

the side, and the scars of the wound were visible until he died. After being wounded he fell on the floor and pretended to be dead. The refugees then went to plundering the house. The mother and wife of John were lying in a bed with the child; the child awoke and asked, "Grandmother, what's the matter?" A refugee pointed his gun at it and fired and said "that's what's the matter." Whether he really intended to wound the child, or only to frighten it, is uncertain, but the child, as before stated, was badly wounded but eventually recovered. As the refugees were preparing to leave, one of the number pointed his musket at young Russell as he lay on the floor, and was about firing, saying he didn't believe he was dead yet, whereupon another (Lippincott?) knocked up his musket, saying it was a shame to fire upon a dying man, and the load went into the ceiling. After the refugees were gone, John got up and had his wounds dressed and exclaimed to his wife, "Ducky! bring me a glass of whisky—I'll come out all right yet." He did come out all right and we have good reason to believe that before the war ended he aided in visiting merited retribution on the refugees for their doings at this time. Among the party was the notorious Phil White who was killed near two years later (March 30th, 1782.)

Of the seven refugees concerned in this outrage, at least three are known to have met with their just deserts, viz: Gilian, killed at the time, Farnham, hanged at Freehold, and Phil White, killed while attempting to escape from his guards between Colts Neck and Freehold.

#### EXECUTION OF A SPY.

One affair which caused the most intense excitement throughout old Monmouth, and elsewhere during the war of the Revolution, was the arrest, trial and execution of a young man named Stephen Edwards, on the charge of being a spy for the British. Though reference to it is rarely met with in our histories, yet there were but few events in the county during the Revolution, that created a greater sensation than did this.

One of the officers who tried Edwards, and assisted at his execution, was Captain Joshua Huddy, and this furnished one of the excuses the refugees gave for his inhuman murder near the Highlands some three years after. On the trial of the ref-

ugee leader, Captain Richard Lippincott, by a British Court Martial at New York, in the summer of 1782, for his participation in the hanging of Huddy, refugee witnesses testified that even while Huddy was a prisoner in their hands, and but a few days before his death, he boldly acknowledged his participation, and justified it on the ground that he was found with treasonable papers in his possession, which conclusively proved him to be a spy. On this trial, William Courlies, husbandman, late of Monmouth, then one of the Associated Loyalists (as the refugees called themselves,) testified—

"That in regard to the death of Stephen Edwards, he (Courlies) then resided at Shrewsbury, in Monmouth county. Edwards was taken out of his bed at his own house and carried to Freehold; the following day he was brought to some kind of a trial, and the day following executed.—The offense alleged against him was said to be his having some papers found in his pocket. Edwards bore an excellent good character. Deponent heard there was complaint made to General Washington or the Governor, about Edwards' death, but he cannot tell the result. General Forman was one of the Judges who presided at Edwards' trial; Huddy was another of the judges; he had the information from Huddy himself; did not recollect hearing who the other judges were; deponent was not present at the execution of Edwards, but was present at his burial.—Understood Edwards was tried for treason in consequence of papers found on his person."

Captain Wm. Cunningham, who then was the British Provost Marshal at New York, and who by his own confession, (which has been given,) just previous to his execution in London, in 1791, was as heartless a wretch as ever lived, testified on this trial that he (Cunningham) told Huddy while he was a prisoner in the provost, that he, the deponent, had heard that Huddy had hanged a refugee on a large oak near the Court House at Freehold, and deponent asked Huddy concerning this report. Huddy avowed, it saying: "By God he did, and he slushed the rope well, and that Colonel Forman assisted in pulling the rope hand over hand"—that was the very expression Huddy used.

John Tilton, carpenter, a refugee from Monmouth, testified that when the refugee party was putting Captain Huddy in irons on board the sloop which conveyed



him to the Highlands, "he, the deponent, was present, and he asked Huddy if he thought it was good usage to iron him.--- Huddy replied that he did not think it was; but as he expected to be exchanged in a day or two, he did not mind the irons; and Huddy also said he expected to have the killing of deponent and many more yet. Deponent then asked Huddy if he expected to hang deponent as he had done poor Stephen Edwards? Huddy replied that he did not hang Stephen Edwards, he only tied the knot and greased the rope that it might slip easily."

The foregoing give the strongest points that we have been enabled to find against Captain Huddy for his participation in the trial and execution of Edwards. It will be seen that there was no attempt to disprove the charge that Edwards was a spy.

From all the information that we have been enabled to obtain, we are satisfied that the following account of Stephen Edwards arrest, trial and execution, from "Howe's Collections" is substantially correct:

Stephen Edwards, a young man, in the latter part of the war, left his home in Shrewsbury and joined the loyalists (refugees) in New York. From thence he was sent by Colonel Taylor of the refugees, a former resident of Middletown, back to Monmouth county, with written instructions to ascertain the force of the Americans there. Information having been conveyed to the latter, Captain Jonathan Forman of the cavalry, was ordered to search for him. Suspecting he might be at his father's residence half a mile below Eatontown, he entered at midnight with a party of men, and found him in bed with his wife, disguised in the night cap of a female.

"Who have you here?" said Forman.

"A laboring woman," replied Mrs. Edwards.

The captain detected the disguise, and on looking under the bed, saw Edwards' clothing, which he examined, and in which he found the papers given him by Colonel Taylor.

He then said "Edwards, I am sorry to find you! You see these papers? You have brought yourself into a very disagreeable situation---you know the fate of spies!"

Edwards denied the allegation, remarking that he was not such and could not so be considered.

This occurred on Saturday night. The prisoner was taken to the Court House,

tried by a Court Martial next day, and executed at 10 o'clock on Monday morning. Edwards' father and mother had come up that morning to ascertain the fate of their son, and returned with the corpse. Edwards was an amiable young man. The Forman and Edwards families had been on terms of intimate friendship, and the agency of the members of the former in the transaction, excited their deepest sympathies for the fate of the unfortunate prisoner.

The guilt of Edwards was conclusively proven; deep sympathy was felt for his parents and wife, but the perils of the patriots at this time were so great that prompt and decisive action was necessary for their own preservation.

The foolhardiness of Edwards in keeping treasonable papers about him was remarkable. Some features of this affair will remind the reader of the unfortunate Major Andre. It is probable that Edwards was executed about September, 1778.

#### PRIVATEERING ON OUR COAST.

##### TOMS RIVER DURING THE REVOLUTION.

Prizes taken—Americans captured—An enemy searching for water loses his rum—Old Cranberry Inlet, &c.

Toms River appears to have been occupied by the Americans as a military post during the greater part of the Revolution. The soldiers stationed here were generally twelve months men, commanded by different officers, among whom may be mentioned, Captains Bigelow, Ephraim Jenkins, James Mott, John Stout and Joshua Huddy. Captain Mott had command of a company called the "Sixth company" of Dover, and Captain Stout of the Seventh company. The Fifth company was from Stafford, and commanded by Capt. Reuben F. Randolph. These companies all belonged to the militia organization of old Monmouth.

The duties of the militia stationed at Toms River, appear to have been to guard the inhabitants against depredations from the refugees; to check contraband trade by way of old Cranberry Inlet to New York, and to aid our privateers who brought prizes into the Inlet, which was a favorite resort for New Jersey, New England and other American privateers.

By the following extracts, it will be seen that old Dover township was the scene of many stirring incidents during the war.

About the 1st of April, 1778, the government salt works near Toms River, were destroyed by a detachment of British under Captain Robertson. One building they alleged belonged to Congress and cost £6,000. The salt works on our coast at Manasquan, Shark River, Toms River, Barnegat and other places, were so important to the Americans during the war that we propose to notice them in a separate article.

May 22d, 1778, it is announced that a British vessel with a cargo of fresh beef and pork, was taken by Captain Anderson and sixteen men in an armed boat, and brought into Toms River.

In the early part of August following, the British ship "Love and Unity," with a valuable cargo was brought into the Inlet; the cargo was saved but the ship was subsequently retaken by a large British force; the particulars of the capture and recapture are as follows from ancient letters:

"August 12th, 1778. We learn that on Thursday night, the British ship "Love and Unity" from Bristol, with 80 hhd's of loaf sugar, several thousand bottles London porter, and a large quantity of Bristol beer and ale, besides many other valuable articles, was desiginedly run ashore near Toms River. Since which, by the assistance of some of our militia, she has been brought into a safe port and her cargo properly taken care of."

The cargo of this ship was advertised to be sold at Manasquan, on the 26th of August, by John Stokes, U. S. Marshal. The articles enumerated in the advertisement show that the cargo must have been a very valuable one. The Americans were not quite so lucky with the ship as with the cargo, as will be seen by the following extract.

"Friday, September 18th, 1778. Two British armed ships and two brigs, came close to the bar off Toms River (Crabury) Inlet, where they lay all night. Next morning between seven and eight o'clock, they sent seven armed boats into the Inlet, and re-took the ship Washington formerly "Love and Unity" which had been taken by the Americans; they also took two sloops near the bar and captured most of the crews.

The captain of the ship and most of his officers escaped to the main land in one of the ship's boats. After they got ashore a man named Robert McMullen, who had been condemned to death at Freehold but

afterwards pardoned, jumped into the boat, hurrahing for the British, and rowed off and joined them. Another refugee named William Dillon, who had also been sentenced to death at Freehold and pardoned, joined this party of British as pilot."

By the following extract it will be seen that the regenades McMullen and Dillon, had been out of jail but a very few weeks, when they aided the British in this expedition:

"July 22d, 1778. We learn that at the Court of Oyer and Terminer, held at Monmouth in June last, the following parties were tried and found guilty of burglary, viz: Thomas Emmons alias Burke, John Wood, Michael Millery, William Dillon and Robert McMullen. The two former were executed on Friday last, and the other three reprieved."

McMullen probably had some connection with the expedition—perhaps to spy out the whereabouts of the captured cargo, as he would not have been in that vicinity unless assured that a British force was at hand.

One tradition states that when he jumped into the boat he was flying for his life—"that he was pursued by the Americans and escaped by swimming his horse across the river near its mouth to a point which he called *Goodluck Point* to commemorate his escape."

Goodluck Point near the mouth of Toms River, undoubtedly received its name from some person flying for his life in the above manner, and it is possible that it might have been McMullen.

"On the 9th of December, 1778, it is announced that a British armed vessel, bound from Halifax to New York, and richly laden, came ashore near Barnegat. The crew, about sixty in number, surrendered themselves prisoners to our militia. Goods to the amount of five thousand pounds sterling were taken out of her by our citizens, and a number of prisoners sent to Bordentown, at which place the balance of prisoners were expected. About March, 1779, the sloop *Success*, came ashore in a snow storm, at Barnegat. She had been taken by the British brig *Diligence*, and was on her way to New York. She had a valuable cargo of rum, molasses, coffee, cocoa, &c., on board. The Prize master and three hands were made prisoners and sent to Princeton. In the case of this vessel and the one previously mentioned it is probable the Toms River militia aided, as the name of Barnegat was frequently ap-

plied to the shore north of the inlet, both on the beach and on the main land.

Feb. 8th, 1779, the sloop *Fancy* and schooner *Hope*, with cargoes of pitch, tar and salt are advertised for sale at Toms River by the U. S. Marshal. They were probably prizes. The Major Van Emburg mentioned in the following, belonged to the 2d Reg. Middlesex militia; he was taken May 14, 1780.

On the 5th of June, 1780, an ancient paper says: "On Sunday morning, Major Van Emburg and eight or nine men from West Jersey, on a fishing party, were surprised in bed at Toms River by the Refugees, and put on board a vessel to be sent prisoners to New York, but before the vessel sailed they fortunately managed to escape."

Toms River then did not seem quite as desirable place for pleasure resort as it is in the present day. History does not tell us whether the Major was successful in catching fish; all we know is that he got caught himself.

About the middle of December, 1789, a British brig in the West India trade, was captured and brought into Toms River.— This brig was short of water and provisions and mistaking the land for Long Island, sent a boat and four men ashore to obtain supplies. The militia hearing of it manned two boats and went out and took her. She had on board 150 hhd's of rum and spirits, which our ancestors pronounced "excellent," by which we conclude they must have considered themselves competent judges of the article! With the British, rum must have been a necessity, as in every prize taken from them rum was an important part of the cargo.

The British brig *Molly*, was driven ashore in a snow storm near Barnegat; her prize crew were taken prisoners by the militia and sent to Philadelphia.

In December, 1780, Lieut. Joshua Studson of Toms River, was shot by the refugee Bacon, inside of Cranberry inlet. The particulars of this affair are given in a notice of Bacon's career, and therefor it is unnecessary to repeat them.

March 19, 1782. The privateer *Dart*, Capt. Wm. Gray, of Salem, Mass., arrived at Toms River with a prize sloop, taken from the British galley *Black Jack*. The next day he went with his boat and seven men in pursuit of a British brig near the bar. Unfortunately for Capt. Gray, instead of taking a prize he was taken himself. For a long time after, the Toms Riv-

er people wondered what had become of him. In August following they heard from him. After getting outside the bar he was taken prisoner, and carried to Halifax, and subsequently released on parole. He stated he was well treated while a prisoner.

A few days after Capt. Gray was taken, the British attacked and burned Toms River. This was the last affair of any importance occurring in the immediate vicinity of Toms River during the war. But south of Toms River several noted affairs afterwards occurred. Davenport burned the salt works at Forked River, and was himself killed in June; in October, Bacon attacked and killed several men on the beach south of Barnegat lighthouse; in December, occurred the skirmish at Cedar Creek, where young Cooke was killed; on the 3d of April following, (1783,) Bacon was killed near West Creek.

A RHODE ISLAND PRIZE.

The original and following certificate is in possession of Ephraim P. Empson, Esq., of Colliers Mills:

PROVIDENCE, Feb. 21, 1777.

This may certify that Messrs. Clark and Nightingale and Captain William Rhodes have purchased here at vendue, the schooner *Pope's Head*, which was taken by the privateers Sally and Joseph (under our command) and carried into Cranberry Inlet, in the Jerseys, and there delivered to the care of Mr. James Randolph by our prize masters.

JAMES MARO.

JOHN FISH.

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS.

During the war there were interesting events occurring at Toms River, outside of military and naval matters.

In January, 1778, the sloop *Two Friends*, Capt. Alex. Bonnett of Hispaniola, was cast away near Barnegat, with 1,600 bags of salt, 49 hhd's molasses, also a lot of rum, sugar, &c. Only 160 galls. rum saved. The shore people went to their assistance but one man was lost. The Capt. of the *Two Friends*, Alex. Bonnett, then shipped as a passenger in the sloop *Endeavor* of Toms River, for New York, but sad to relate, while she lay at anchor in the inlet, a storm at night parted the cable and all on board were drowned in the bay.

In December, 1778, Capt. Alexander of the sloop *Elizabeth* of Baltimore, was taken by the British, but he was permitted to leave in his small boat, and landed in Toms River inlet.

It was during the war, in the year 1777, that Rev. Benjamin Abbott, expounded the then new principles of Methodism, to the people of Toms River, first at the house of Esquire Abiel Aikens, and then at another place when "a Frenchman fell to the floor, and never rose until the Lord converted his soul. Here (at Toms River), we had a happy time," so says Abbott in his journal.

During the war there was of course no communication with New York, but the people of Toms River had considerable overland intercourse with West Jersey, Philadelphia and Freehold.

### THE REFUGEES.

Historians generally concede that no state among the old thirteen suffered during the war of the revolution more than did New Jersey; and it is generally admitted that no county in our State suffered more than did old Monmouth. In addition to the outrages to which the citizens were subjected from the regular British army, they were continually harassed by depredations committed by regularly organized bands of Refugees and also by the lawless acts of a set of outcasts known as "the Pine Woods Robbers," who though pretending to be Royalists yet if opportunity offered, robbed Royalists as well as Americans.

The Refugees or Loyalists, as they called themselves, were renegade Americans, regularly organized with officers commissioned by the "Board of Associated Loyalists" at New York. Of this body the first president was Daniel Coxe, a Jerseyman. It was organized in 1779, and its objects were the examination of captured Americans and suspected persons, and the planning of measures for procuring intelligence, and otherwise aiding the Royal cause. Coxe was appointed President (said a Refugee) to deprive him of the opportunity of speaking, as "he had the gift of saying little with many words." Another President of the Board was William Franklin, a natural son of Benjamin Franklin, and the last Tory Governor of New Jersey.

It is not probable that all who were called Jersey Refugees were natives of the state; too many were it is true; but the thrift and industry of the inhabitants of old Monmouth, once the richest county in the state, the advantage of deep swamps for hiding, the proximity of Raritan Bay

and the seaboard rendering it convenient to send plunder to New York, all formed attractions to draw here villains from other parts whose chief object was plunder, who scrupled at no crime to obtain booty or to gratify revenge.

The character of some of these men is clearly set forth in the following extracts, the first from Whig and the other from Tory authority.

Gov. Livingston, the able, fearless and eloquent first patriot Governor of New Jersey, in a message to the Legislature in 1777, says:

"The Royalists (Refugees) have plundered friends as well as foes; effects capable of division they have divided; such as were not they have destroyed. They have wasted on decrepid old age and upon defenceless youth; they have committed hostilities against the professors of literature and against the ministers of religion; against public records and private monuments, books of improvements and papers of curiosity, and against the arts and sciences. They have butchered the wounded when asking for quarter, mangled the dead while weltering in their blood; refused to the dead their right of sepulture, suffered prisoners to perish for want of sustenance, violated the chastity of women, disfigured private dwellings of taste and elegance, and in their rage of impiety and barbarism, profaned edifices dedicated to Almighty God."

Strong and emphatic as is the foregoing language of the patriotic Livingston, yet it fails to portray the brutality of some wretches who pretended to be Refugee Loyalists as clearly as the following brief extract from the evidence of a Tory named Galloway, of Pennsylvania, given under oath before Parliament. At the breaking out of the Revolution, Galloway, a Pennsylvanian of wealth and standing, sided with the Whigs, but soon turned Tory, and his property to the amount of £40,000 was confiscated. Speaking of Refugee outrages, he said:

"Respecting indiscriminate plunder it is known to thousands. In respect to rapes, a solemn inquiry was made and affidavit taken by which it appears that no less than twenty-three were committed in one neighborhood in New Jersey, some of them on married women, in presence of their helpless husbands, and others on daughters while their unhappy parents with unavailing tears and cries could only deplore their savage brutality."

This was the evidence of as reliable a man as ever sided with the Tories. In corroboration of the foregoing we might instance, among other things, the burning of churches in Essex county, of ravishment of women (one of them nearly seventy years old), &c. And Jerseymen have the mortification of knowing that wretches pretending to be natives of this state disgraced the soil that gave them birth by acts of brutality elsewhere, among which may be mentioned the cold blooded murder of the brave Col. Ledyard at Fort Griswold, Conn., by a wretch known as the " Jersey Refugee, Bromfield." After the Americans had surrendered the fort, Bromfield asked who commanded it. The heroic Ledyard replied " I did, but you do now," and he delivered his sword to Bromfield. The cold blooded villain took it and immediately stabbed Ledyard to the heart.

That all the regularly organized Refugees or Loyalists as they called themselves were not as hardened villains as above described we shall endeavor to show hereafter. The best class of them were too honorable to engage in midnight marauding expeditions against their former friends and neighbors, but cast their lot with the regular British army, most of them in a military organization known as the " First Battalion New Jersey Royal Volunteers," of which a prominent officer was an ex-sheriff of old Monmouth. These New Jersey Royalists were sometimes termed " the Greens " and " General Skinner's Greens." General Skinner was their most noted commander, of whom a notice will be given hereafter, as also of other prominent officers.

To give an idea of the troublous times in which lived the citizens of old Monmouth, the following extracts from various sources are furnished, before which, we give the names of some of the officers of

THE MONMOUTH MILITIA IN THE REVOLUTION.

The following are some of the officers of the militia of old Monmouth during the war:

*First Regiment.*

George Taylor, Colonel. (Deserted to the enemy.)

Nathaniel Scudder, Lieutenant Colonel, Colonel.

Asher Holmes, First Major, Colonel.

John Smock, Captain, Major, Lieutenant Colonel, Colonel.

Thomas Seabrook, First Major, Lieutenant Colonel.

Elisha Walton, Ensign, Captain, Second Major, First Major.

Thomas Humm, Captain, Second Major.

Kenneth Anderson, Adjutant.

David Rhea, jr., Adjutant.

John Stilwell, Quartermaster.

John Campbell, Quartermaster.

Richard Hartshorne, Quartermaster.

Thomas Barber, Surgeon.

Jacob Hubbard, Surgeon.

John Scudder, Surgeon's Mate.

*Second Regiment.*

David Brearley, Colonel.

Joseph Salter, Lieutenant Colonel.

Samuel Forman, Captain, Lieutenant Colonel, Colonel.

Elisha Lawrence, jr., First Major, Lieutenant Colonel.

Wilham Montgomery, Captain, First Major.

James Mott, Second Major.

John Cook, Captain, Second Major.

*Third Regiment.*

Samuel Breese, Colonel.

Daniel Hendrickson, Colonel.

Auke Wikoff, Lieutenant Colonel, Colonel.

Dennis Denise, First Major.

Hendrick VanBrunt, Lieutenant, Captain, Second Major.

Of the First Regiment the first Colonel (Taylor) went over to the enemy; its next Colonel, Nathaniel Scudder, was killed at Black Point, Oct. 15th, 1781. Asster Holmes appears to have been transferred to a State Regiment.

A more extended list of officers and privates in these and other organizations will be furnished hereafter.

REFUGEE RAIDS IN OLD MONMOUTH.

" June 3d, 1778. We are informed that on Wednesday morning last, a party of about seventy of the Greens from Sandy Hook, landed near Major Kearney's (near Keyport) headed the Mill Creek, Middletown Point, and marched to Mr. John Burrows, made him prisoner, burnt his mills and both his store houses, all valuable buildings, besides a great deal of furniture. They also took prisoners Lieutenant Colonel Smock, Captain Christopher Little, Mr. Joseph Wall, Capt. Joseph Covenhoven (Conover) and several other persons, and killed Messrs. Pearce and

Van Broekle, and wounded another man mortally. Having completed this and several other barbarities, they precipitately returned the same morning to give an account of their abominable deeds to their bloody employers. A number of these gentry, we learn, were formerly inhabitants of that neighborhood."

April 26th, 1779. An expedition consisting of seven or eight hundred men under Colonel Hyde, went to Middletown, Red Bank, Tinton Falls, Shrewsbury and other places, robbing and burning as they went. They took Justice Covenhoven and others, prisoners. Capt. Burrows and Col. Holmes assembled our militia and killed three and wounded fifteen of the enemy. The enemy, however, succeeded in carrying off horses, cattle and other plunder.

In May, two or three weeks after the above affair, some two or three hundred Tories landed at Middletown on a "picarooning" (plundering) expedition, but were repulsed before doing much harm.

June 9th, 1779. A party of about fifty Refugees landed in Monmouth and marched to Tinton Falls undiscovered, where they surprised and carried off Col. Hendrickson, Col. Wyckoff, Capt. Chadwick and Capt. McKnight, and several privates of the militia, and drove off sheep and horned cattle. About thirty of our militia hastily collected, made some resistance, but were repulsed with the loss of two men killed and ten wounded, the enemy's loss unknown.

April 1st, 1780. About this time the Tories made another raid to Tinton Falls, and took seven prisoners. Another party took Mr. Bowne prisoner at Middletown, who but three days before had been exchanged and had just got home.

About the last of April the Refugees attacked the house of John Holmes, Upper Freehold, and robbed him of a large amount of continental money, a silver watch, gold ring, silver buckles, pistols, clothing, &c.

June 1st, 1780. The noted Colonel Tye, a mulatto, and formerly a slave in Monmouth county, with his motley company of about twenty blacks and whites carried off prisoners Captain Barney Smoock and Gilbert Van Mater, spiked an iron cannon and took four horses. Their rendezvous was at Sandy Hook.

#### THE ATTACK ON CAPTAIN HUDDY AT COLTS NECK.

Sept. 1780. It is perhaps proper to give first the version of this affair as found in

Howe's Historical Collections of New Jersey, as the compiler of that work probably obtained his information from aged persons living in 1842, when he visited the locality.

After mentioning that the dwelling in which Captain Huddy resided during the war, was then owned by Thomas G. Haight, Esq., and standing in a central part of Colts Neck, he says:

Huddy distinguished himself on various occasions during the war, and became an object of terror to the Tories. In the summer of 1780, a party of about 60 refugees, commanded by Tye, a mulatto, one evening attacked this dwelling. Huddy, assisted only by a servant girl aged about twenty years, defended it for some length of time. Several muskets were fortunately left in the house by the guard generally stationed there, but at this time absent.—These she loaded, while Huddy by appearing at different windows and discharging them, gave the impression that there were many defenders. He wounded several and at last, while setting fire to the house, he shot their leader, Tye, in the wrist.—Huddy finding the flames fast increasing, agreed to surrender, provided they would extinguish the fire.

It is said that the enemy on entering were much exasperated at the feebleness of the defenders, and could with difficulty be restrained by their leader from butchering them on the spot. They were obliged to leave, as the militia soon collected and killed six on their retreat. They carried off with Huddy several cattle and sheep from the neighborhood, but lost them fording the creeks. They embarked on board their boats near Black Point between Shrewsbury and Navisink rivers. As the boats pushed off from shore, Huddy jumped overboard and was shot in the thigh as was supposed by the militia, then in close pursuit. He held up one of his hands towards them exclaiming, "*I am Huddy! I am Huddy!*" swam to the shore and escaped.

The name of the heroine who loaded the muskets for Huddy, says the above writer, was Lucretia Emmons, afterwards Mrs. Chambers, and she died at Freehold about 20 years before his visit.

Titus or Col. Tye as he was commonly called, usually commanded a mongrel crew of negroes and tories. He died of lockjaw, occasioned by the wound in his wrist. He was a slave of John Corlies, and was born and bred in the south part of

this township. He was an honorable, brave, but headstrong man. Several acts of generosity are remembered of him, and he was justly more respected as an enemy than many of his brethren of a fairer complexion.

Marks of the fire were plainly discernable when the above writer visited the house in June, 1842, and on the eastern end of the house were several bullet holes.

In a Philadelphia paper published at the time, is a letter from Monmouth county dated Sept. 9th, 1780, which gives a version of this affair, stated to have been on the authority of Captain Huddy himself. The following is the substance of the letter:

"There were 72 men attacked him at his residence at Colts Neck. They were under the command of Lieutenant Joseph Parker and William Hewlett, and commenced the attack about an hour before day. They commenced staving a window to pieces, which aroused Huddy; the girl helped him to defend himself. Mrs. Huddy and another woman tried to persuade him to surrender, as defense was useless. Tye, "one of Lord Dunmore's crew," received a severe wound. After Huddy surrendered, they plundered the house. The fight lasted two hours. Six militia men came near and fired and killed their commander. Ensign Vincent and sixteen of the State Regiment attacked the refugees as they embarked, and wounded Huddy. The firing made confusion in the boats, and one overset and Huddy swam ashore."

The letter adds that the refugees made a silent, shameful retreat, loaded with disgrace, and the Americans made quite merry over the fact that it took seventy-two of the enemy two hours to take one man.

Oct. 15th, 1781. A party of refugees from Sandy Hook, landed at night at Shrewsbury and marched undiscovered to Colts Neck and took six prisoners. The alarm reached the Court House about four or five o'clock, P. M., and a number of inhabitants, among whom was Dr. Nathaniel Scudder, went in pursuit. They rode to Black Point to try to recapture the six Americans, and while firing from the bank Dr. Scudder was killed.

Dr. Scudder was Colonel of the First Regiment Monmouth Militia, and one of the most prominent, active and useful patriots of Monmouth, and his death was a severe loss to the Americans. He was buried with all the honors of war. General Forman's original order to Captain

Walton to bury Dr. Scudder with all the honors of war, was presented to the New Jersey Historical Society in May, 1847, by Mrs. Forman.

About the beginning of August, 1782, Richard Wilgus, an American, was shot below Allentown, while on guard to prevent contraband trade with the British.

February 8th, 1782. About forty refugees under Lieutenant Steelman, came over Sandy Hook to Pleasant Valley.— They took twenty horses and five sleighs which they loaded with plunder; they also took several prisoners, viz: Hendrick Henderson and his two sons, Peter Covenhoven, Esq., (Esq. Covenhoven or Conover as the name is now called, was made prisoner once before, in 1779, as before related,) Garret Hendrickson, Samuel B. wne and son and Jaques Denise. At Garret Hendrickson's a young man named William Thompson got up slyly and went and informed Captain John Schenck, of Colonel Holmes' regiment, who collected all the men he could to pursue. They overtook and attacked the refugees, and the before mentioned William Thompson was killed and William Cottrell wounded.— They however took twelve refugee prisoners, three of whom were wounded. But in returning, they unexpectedly fell in with a party of sixteen men under Stevenson, and a sudden firing caused eight of the prisoners to escape. But Captain Schenck ordered his men to charge bayonet and the Tories surrendered. Captain Schenck retook nineteen horses and five sheep, and took twenty-one prisoners.

The first of the foregoing extracts relating to the raid of the British in Middletown township in 1778, and then landing near Major Kearney's in the vicinity of Keyport, is probably the affair referred to in a tradition given in Howe's Historical Collections, which we append, as it explains why the refugees fled so precipitately. It will be noticed, however, that it does not agree with the extract quoted as to damage done, but we are inclined to believe that the extract copied from the ancient paper (Collins' Gazette) is correct, as it was written but a few days after the affair took place.

"The proximity of this part of Monmouth county to New York, rendered it, in the war of the Revolution, peculiarly liable to the incursions of the British troops. Many of the inhabitants, although secretly favorable to the American cause, were obliged to feign allegiance to the

crown or lose their property by marauding parties of refugees from vessels lying off Sandy Hook. Among those of this description was Major Kearney, a resident near the present site of Keyport. On one occasion, a party of thirty or forty refugees stopped at his dwelling on their way to Middletown Point, where they intended to burn a dwelling and some mills. Kearney teigned gratification at their visit, and falsely informed them that there were probably some rebel troops at the Point, in which case it would be dangerous to march thither. He ordered his negro servant Jube thither to make inquiry, at the same time giving him secretly the cue to act. In due length of time, Jube, who had gone but a short distance, returned and hastily entered the room where Kearney and the refugees were, and exclaimed, "Oh, Massa! Massa! the rebels are at the Point thick as blackberries! They have just come down from the Court House and say they are going to march down here to-night." The ruse succeeded; the refugees, alarmed, precipitately fled, retreated to their boats, leaving the Major to rejoice at the success of the stratagem which had saved the property of his friends from destruction."

The probability is that the ruse prevented the refugees from doing as much damage as they had intended, although they remained long enough to inflict considerable injury as has been related.

#### CAPTAIN JOSHUA HUDDY, THE HERO MARTYR OF OLD MONMOUTH.

Among the multitude of heroic men furnished by our State in aid of the struggle for independence, the name of Captain Joshua Huddy should ever occupy a conspicuous place in the memory of Jersey-men. Yet when we recall his daring deeds, his patriotic efforts and sacrifices and his unfortunate end, it is doubtful if less justice has been done to the services and memory of any other hero of his day.— Though the Continental Congress, as well as General Washington and other noted men testified their warm appreciation of his services; though his name at one time was a household word, not only throughout this country but at the courts of England and France; and though his unfortunate death and its consequences, for a time, caused the most intense excitement on both sides of the Atlantic, yet in the substance of the language of a report

adopted by Congress in 1837, "It is fearful to state that after a lapse of fifty years, while the services of others of so much less merit have been made the theme of the biographer and the poet, the memory of Huddy has not been honored with an epitaph. His country, it would seem, has outlived the recollection of his services, and forgotten that such a victim was sacrificed for American Liberty."

#### OUTLINE OF CAPTAIN HUDDY'S LIFE.

The following extracts from the archives of the State Department of New Jersey, were furnished in 1837 to a Congressional committee at the request of the chairman, by the late Governor Philemon Dickenson:

"Joshua Huddy signs his name as *Captain*, to a petition from the militia officers of the county of Monmouth, to the Legislature, which is dated the 12th of May, 1777.

"Captain Joshua Huddy is appointed by an act of the Legislature, passed September 24th, 1777, to the command of a company of artillery, to be raised from the militia of the State, and to continue in service not exceeding one year.

"In the accounts of the paymaster of the militia there is an entry of a payment made on the 30th of July, 1778, to Captain Joshua Huddy, of the artillery regiment for services at Haddonfield, under Colonel Holmes. In the same accounts a payment is also made to Captain Huddy on the 1st July, 1779, for the use of his horses in the artillery.

"I find a petition to the Legislature from the people of Monmouth, dated December 10th, 1781, recommending Captain Joshua Huddy as a proper person to command a guard, to be stationed at Toms River. On examining the minutes of both houses of the Legislature, I find no action had on this petition; in fact there is no mention of its being presented. The Legislature adjourned on the 29th of December, and did not meet again until May 15th, 1782. Huddy was taken by the tories at Toms River, Sunday, March 24th, 1782, and it is not unlikely (as the Legislature had no action on this petition) he was ordered to that post by the Council of Safety, which exercised legislative powers during the recess of the Legislature. The minutes of the Council of Safety must be either lost or destroyed, as they cannot be found."

The above extracts were made and furnished to Governor Dickenson by George C. Westcott, then secretary of State. (In the original is an error corrected above;



it says that Captain Huddy was taken prisoner April 2d; it should be March 24th.)

The details of the attack on Toms River have been given.

Captain Huddy, with other prisoners, was taken to New York and lodged in the noted Sugar House prison, from whence he was taken on Monday, April 1st, 1782, to the prison of the Provost Guard in New York, where he was closely confined until Monday, April 8th, when he, with Daniel Randolph and Jacob Fleming, (both of whom were taken prisoners with Huddy at Toms River, but soon exchanged for two Tories, named Captain Clayton Tilton and Aaron White,) were taken on board a sloop and ironed.

The following is a copy of the order to the Commissary of Prison at New York, to deliver him to the care of Captain Richard Lippincott, of the Refugees, to be taken on board the sloop:

NEW YORK, April 8th, 1782.

SIR:—Deliver to Capt. Richard Lippincott the three following prisoners: Lieutenant Joshua Huddy, Daniel Randolph and Jacob Fleming, to take down to the Hook, to procure the exchange of Captain Clayton Tilton and two other associated loyalists.

By order of the Board of Directors of Associated Loyalists.

S. S. BLOWERS, Secretary.

To Mr. Commissary Challoner.

Huddy, Randolph and Fleming were kept in irons in the hold of the sloop, until Tuesday evening, April 9th, when they were transferred to the guardship at Sandy Hook, where they were confined between decks until Tuesday, April 12th, on the morning of which day, Huddy was taken on shore by a party of refugees under command of Captain Richard Lippincott, and at about ten o'clock executed. One refugee account says the hangman was a negro. Captain Huddy executed his will under the gallows, signing it on the barrel from which he was a few moments after launched into another world.

CAPTAIN HUDDY'S WILL.

The following is a copy of the will of Captain Huddy, signed by him under the gallows:

"In the name of God, amen: I, Joshua Huddy, of Middletown, in the county of Monmouth, being of sound mind and memory, but expecting shortly to depart this life, do declare this my last will and testament:

"First: I commit my soul into the hands of Almighty God, hoping he may receive it in mercy; and next I commit my body to the earth. I do also appoint my trusty friend, Samuel Forman, to be my lawful executor, and after all my just debts are paid, I desire that he do divide the rest of my substance whether by book, debts, notes or any effects whatever belonging to me, equally between my two children, Elizabeth and Martha Huddy.

"In witness whereof I have hereunto signed my name this twelfth day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-two.

"JOSHUA HUDDY."

The will was written on half a sheet of foolscap paper, on the back of which was the following endorsement, evidently written shortly after the will was executed:

"The will of Captain Joshua Huddy, made and executed the same day the refugees murdered him, April 12th, 1782."

The will was found some years ago among the papers of his executor, the late Colonel Samuel Forman. It was signed by Captain Huddy, but was apparently written by another person. Captain Huddy's daughters subsequently became Elizabeth Green and Martha Piatt—the last named lived to an advanced age. In early life she removed to Cincinnati, Ohio; both daughters we believe left descendants.

After Captain Huddy's inhuman murder his body was left hanging until afternoon, when the Americans came and took it to Freehold, to the house of Captain James Greene, where it was April 15th. He was buried with the honors of war. His funeral sermon was preached by the well remembered Rev. Dr. John Woodhull, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Freehold.

CAPTAIN JOSHUA HUDDY, THE HERO MARTYR OF OLD MONMOUTH.

MEASURES FOR RETALIATION.

The execution of Huddy was regarded by General Washington as a matter of so much importance, that he directed that a number of general officers of the army should meet at West Point to decide on what measures should be adopted. At this council it was unanimously decided that retaliation should be made, and that it should be inflicted on an officer of equal rank, and the designation should be made by lot from among prisoners of war, unless

the British surrendered Captain Richard Lippincott. A formal demand was made for the surrender of Lippincott and refused, and in consequence on the 13th of May, lots were cast among the British officers held as prisoners, (at this time confined at Lancaster, Pa.,) and the unfortunate victim was Captain Charles Asgill, (afterwards Sir Charles Asgill) of a noble family, at this time but nineteen years old. He was among the prisoners captured at Yorktown, Va.

The particulars of the casting of lots and the events consequent upon the selection of Captain Asgill, are of thrilling interest, and excited so much attention at the time that the celebrated Baron de Grimm speaking of the affair being made the ground work of a tragedy brought out in Paris, in 1789, says:

"The public prints all over Europe resounded with the unhappy catastrophe which for near eight months impended over the life of this young officer. The general curiosity in regard to the events of the war yielded, if I may say so, to the interest which young Asgill inspired, and the first question asked of all vessels from any port in North America, was always an inquiry as to the fate of that young man. It is known that Asgill was thrice conducted to the foot of the gibbet, and that thrice General Washington, who could not bring himself to commit the crime of policy without a struggle, suspended his punishment; his humanity and justice made him hope that the English general would deliver over to him the author of the crime Asgill was condemned to expiate.— Sir Henry Clinton, either ill-advised or insensible to the fate of young Asgill, persisted in refusing to deliver up the barbarous Lippincott. In vain the King of England, at whose feet the unfortunate family of Asgills fell down, had given orders to surrender up to the Americans the author of a crime which dishonored the British nation; George the Third was not obeyed.

"In vain the States of Holland entreated the United States of America the pardon of the unhappy Asgill. The gibbet erected in front of his prison did not cease to offer to his eyes those dreadful preparations more awful than death itself. In these circumstances, and almost reduced to despair, the mother of the unfortunate victim bethought herself that the Minister of a King armed against her own nation, might succeed in obtaining that which was refused her own King. Madam Asgill

wrote to the French Minister, Count de Vergennes, a letter, the eloquence of which, independent of oratorical forms, is that of all people and languages, because it derives its power from the first and noblest sentiment of our nature."

Before giving farther details of Captain Asgills' case, his mother's letters, and the course of the French court, of Gen. Washington and of the Continental Congress relating to the affair, it would perhaps be proper to return to Captain Huddy and recall the particulars of such of the events of his life as have been preserved. The following, a part of which at least will be familiar to most of our readers, comes first in order:

#### HUDDY'S CAPTURE AND EXECUTION.

The next important affair in which we find Captain Huddy engaged, was in the defence of the military post at Toms River. As we gave elsewhere a detailed account of the attack of the British on this post, burning of the village, massacre of the men after asking for quarters, and other particulars relating to this affair, it is not now necessary to repeat them, except as they are incidentally given in some important papers, which will be copied hereafter. These papers contain many authentic, interesting particulars which should be preserved by the citizens of Old Monmouth. Before copying these, we quote the following extracts from "Howe's Collections":

While Huddy was confined on board the guardship, he was told by one of the refugees, that he was to be hanged, "for he had taken a certain Philip White, a refugee in Monmouth county, cut off both his arms, broke his legs, pulled out one of his eyes, damned him and bid him run." He answered, "It was impossible I could have taken Philip White, I being a prisoner in New York, closely confined, and for many days before he was made a prisoner." One or two of his comrades corroborated this statement. Four days after (April 12th,) Huddy was taken by 16 refugees under Capt. Lippencott, to Gravelly Point, on the sea-shore at the foot of Navisink hills, about a mile north of the Highland lighthouse where he was deliberately executed. He met his fate with an extraordinary degree of firmness and serenity. It is said he even executed his will under the gallows, upon the head of that barrel from which he was to make his exit, and in a hand writing fairer than usual.—

The following label was attached to his breast:

"We, the refugees having long with grief, beheld the cruel murders of our brethren, and finding nothing but such measures daily carrying into execution; we therefore determined not to suffer without taking vengeance for the numerous cruelties; and thus begin, having made use of Capt. Huddy as the first object to present to your view; and further determine to hang man for man while there is a refugee living.

"Up Goes Huddy for Philip White."

The gallows was formed of three rails, and stood on the beach, close to the sea. Tradition states that Capt. Lippincott, observing reluctance in some of his men to take hold the rope, drew his sword and swore he would run the first through, who disobeyed orders. Three of the party, bringing their bayonets to the charge, declared their determination to defend themselves—that Huddy was innocent of the death of White, and that they would not be concerned in the murder of an innocent man.

The British version of the execution of Huddy will be given in the account of the trial of the refugee Captain Richard Lippincott.

CAPT. JOSHUA HUDDY, THE HERO  
MARTYR OF OLD MONMOUTH.

MEETING AT FREEHOLD.

As soon as the citizens of Old Monmouth received information of the barbarous murder of Capt. Huddy, a large meeting numbering some four hundred of the most respectable citizens of the county, assembled at Freehold to take appropriate action.—This meeting was held on the 14th of April, one day before Huddy's burial, and while his corpse was lying at the house of Capt. James Greene. This meeting considered and approved the following address:

To his Excellency George Washington, Esq., Commander in Chief of the combined Armies of America and France, acting in North America, &c., &c., &c.

The inhabitants of the county of Monmouth, being assembled on account of the horrid and almost unparalleled murder of Capt. Joshua Huddy, by the refugees from New York, and as we presume by approbation, if not by the express command of

the British commander in chief, Sir Henry Clinton; hold it as our indispensable duty, as well to the United States in general, as ourselves in particular, to show to your excellency, that the aforesaid Captain Joshua Huddy, late commanding the post at Toms River, was after a brave and gallant defence made a prisoner of war, together with fifteen of his men, by a party of refugees from New York, on Sunday, the 24th of March, last past. That five of the said Huddy's men were most inhumanly murdered after the surrender; that the next day at night, to wit, on Monday, the 25th of March, aforesaid, the said Capt. Huddy and the other prisoners who had been spared from the bayonet, arrived at New York, and were lodged in the main guard, during that night; that on Tuesday morning, the 26th of the same month, the said Huddy was removed from the main guard to the sugar house, where he was kept closely confined, until removed from thence to the provost guard, on Monday, April 1st, where he, the said Captain Huddy, was closely confined, until Monday, the 8th of April, instant; when the said Captain Huddy, with two other prisoners, was removed from the provost jail at New York, on board of a sloop, then lying at New York dock, was put in the hold of said sloop in irons; and then the said Captain Huddy was told he was ordered to be hanged, although the said Captain Huddy had never been charged, or brought to any kind of trial. That the said Captain Huddy demanded to know upon what charge he was to be hanged; that a refugee by the name of John Tilton, then told him that he, (the said Captain Huddy meaning,) was to be hanged for that he had taken a certain refugee by the name of Philip White, and that he, (the said Captain Huddy, meaning,) had, after carrying him, the aforesaid Philip White, five or six miles, cut off his (the aforesaid Philip White's) arms, broke both his legs, pulled out one of his eyes, and most cruelly murdered him, the aforesaid Philip White; and further said, that he, the aforesaid Captain Huddy, was ordered to be hanged for the murder aforesaid; that Capt. Huddy replied that he had never taken the aforesaid Philip White prisoner; and further said, that he, the aforesaid Philip White was killed after he, the said Captain Huddy, was taken prisoner himself, and was closely confined at New York at the time the said Philip White was killed. Which in fact, and in truth, was ex-

actly as the said Captain Huddy had related; for he, the aforesaid Philip White, was in New York, on Wednesday, the 27th of March, last past, and did on the night of that day, sail from New York to Sandy Hook, where he lay until Friday, the 29th of March; that late the same night, he in company with Aaron White, John Fennimore, negro Moses, John Worthley, and one Isaac, all refugees, weighed anchor for Sandy Hook, and ran down to Long Branch, in the township of Shrewsbury; that the said Philip White, (so as aforesaid mentioned to have been killed by the said Captain Huddy,) and the said negro Moses, landed on Long Branch, in Shrewsbury aforesaid, on Saturday morning, the 30th of March; he, the said Joshua Huddy, being then a close prisoner in the sugar house at New York.

That he, the said Philip White, was taken prisoner on the same 30th of March, in the afternoon, and as a guard was conducting him, the said Philip White to jail, the said Philip in attempting to escape, was killed by his guard. That on Friday, the twelfth instant, a party of refugees, said to have been commanded by a Capt. Richard Lippencott, brought the said Capt. Huddy over to the Highlands of Middletown, hanged him at ten o'clock in the forenoon of the same day, and left him hanging until four o'clock in the afternoon, with the paper herewith annexed pinned upon his breast; at which time a party of the inhabitants having been informed of the cruel murder, went to the place of his execution, and cut the unhappy victim from the gallows.

These being a state of indubitable facts, fully proven, we do, as of right we may, look up to your excellency, as the person in whom the sole power of avenging our wrongs is lodged, and who has full and ample authority to bring a British officer of the same rank to a similar end; for what man after this instance of the most unjust and cruel murder, will presume to say that any officer or citizen, whom the chance of war may put into the hands of the enemy, will not suffer the same ignominious death, on some such groundless and similar pretence.

And we do with the fullest assurance rely upon receiving effectual support from your excellency, because,

First, the act of hanging any person without any (even a pretended) trial, is in itself not only disallowed by all civilized people, but is considered as barbarous in

the extreme, and most certainly demands redress.

Secondly, because the law of nature and of nations, points to retaliation as the only measure which can, in such cases, give any degree of security, that the practice shall not become general.

Thirdly, because the honorable, the Continental Congress, did on the 30th day of October, 1778, resolve in the following words:

"We, therefore, the Congress of the United States of America, do solemnly declare and proclaim, that it our enemies presume to execute their threats, or persist in their present career of barbarity, we will take such exemplary vengeance as shall deter others from a like conduct.— We appeal to that God who searcheth the hearts of men, for the rectitude of our intentions, and in his holy presence declare, that as we are not moved by any light and hasty suggestions of anger or revenge, so through every possible change of fortune, we will adhere to this, our determination."

Fourthly, because the minds of the people are justly irritated, and if they have not compensation through a public channel, they may, in vindicating themselves, open to view a scene at which humanity itself may shudder.

The above and within, was read to, considered of, and approved, by upwards of four hundred respectable citizens.

Ordered by them, that the Committee by us appointed, do in our names sign it.

Ordered. That General Forman and Col. Holmes be requested to wait on his excellency, General Washington, with it, and that they do wait his excellency's final determination.

MONMOUTH, April 14, 1782.

John Covenhoven,	Samuel Forman,
Thomas Seabrook,	William Wilcocks,
Peter Forman,	Asher Holmes,
Richard Cox,	Elisha Walton,
Joseph Stillwell,	Stephen Fleming,
Barnes Smock,	John Smock,
John Schanck,	Thomas Chadwick.

Accompanying the address is a copy of the label (elsewhere given) fastened to Huddy's breast. The committee appointed to wait on General Washington, in addition to the foregoing address, furnished him with the affidavits of Aaron White, John North, William Borden and John Russell, in relation to Philip White's case. These have been given in speaking of Philip White. They also furnished the affidavit of Daniel Randolph, a copy of which will

begiven hereafter. When General Washington received their papers, he at once transmitted them to the President of Congress, with the following letter :

HEAD QUARTERS, )  
NEWBURGH, April 20, 1782. }

SIR :—The enclosed papers, which I have the honor to transmit to your excellency, contain a state of facts, with their testimonials, respecting the death of Captain Joshua Huddy; who after being a prisoner some days, with the enemy at New York, was sent out with a party of refugees, and most cruelly and wantonly hanged on the heights of Middletown.

This instance of barbarity, in my opinion, calls loudly for retaliation; previous however, to adopting that measure, and for my own justification, in the judgment of an impartial world, I have made a representation by letter, (a copy of which is herein transmitted,) to Sir Henry Clinton, and have demanded from him, the actual perpetrators of this horrid act.

If, by Sir Henry's refusal, I should be driven to an act of retaliation, a British officer of equal rank must atone for the death of the unfortunate Huddy.

Happy, if I find that my resolutions meet the approbation of Congress, I have the honor to be, with the sentiments of sincere respect and esteem, Your Excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant,  
GEO. WASHINGTON.

His Excellency, the President of Congress.

CAPT. JOSHUA HUDDY, THE HERO  
MARTYR OF OLD MONMOUTH.

AFFIDAVIT OF DANIEL RANDOLPH  
ESQ., OF TOMS RIVER.

STATE OF NEW JERSEY, }  
Monmouth County, } ss.

Personally appeared before me, David Forman, Esq., Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, of the county aforesaid, Daniel Randolph, Esq., of full age, who, being duly sworn according to law, deposeth and saith, that he, this deponent, did reside at Toms River, in the county aforesaid; that on Saturday night of the 23d of March, they, the inhabitants of Toms River, aforesaid, were informed by Captain Joshua Huddy, then commanding the guard at that post, that he, the afore-

said Captain Joshua Huddy, had information that a body of refugees were approaching to attack that post; that this deponent did join himself to the guard; that just as day began to appear on Sunday morning, Captain Huddy detached a party of his guard to make a discovery, where the enemy were, and to bring him accounts; that as this deponent expects, and believes the guard so sent out, as aforesaid, entirely missed the enemy, for that soon after, viz: before it was yet broad daylight, the enemy appeared in front of their small and unfinished blockhouse, and immediately commenced an attack, without any previous demand of a surrender; that Capt. Huddy, aforesaid, did all that a brave man could do, to defend himself against so superior a number; that after quarters were called for, and the blockhouse surrendered, this deponent saw a negro, one of the refugee party, bayonet Major John Cooke, and he also saw a number of the refugees, as aforesaid, jump into the blockhouse, and heard them say that they would bayonet them, but this deponent did not see the deed done to any other person but Major John Cooke. This deponent further saith, that the same day, viz: Sunday, the 24th day of March, they were carried on board the refugees' boats, and arrived at New York the evening of the same day; that he, this deponent, Capt. Huddy, and the other prisoners, were that night lodged in the main guard at New York; that on Monday morning, the 25th of March, aforesaid, Captain Huddy, this deponent, and the other prisoners, were carried and confined in the sugar house, where they remained close confined, until Monday, the 1st day of April; that on Monday, the 1st day of April, instant, aforesaid, Capt. Huddy, this deponent, and the other prisoners, aforesaid, were removed from the sugar house, aforesaid, to the provost guard at New York, aforesaid, and were there closely confined, until Monday, the 8th of April, instant, when this deponent, Capt. Joshua Huddy, and a certain Jacob Fleming, were taken out of the provost guard, aforesaid, and carried immediately on board a sloop, put down in her hold, and ironed; the aforesaid Joshua Huddy having irons on both feet and both hands. And further, this deponent saith, that a certain refugee, called John Tilton, told the aforesaid Capt. Joshua Huddy, that he, the aforesaid Joshua Huddy, was ordered to be hanged; that the aforesaid

Capt. Huddy, then asked the aforesaid John Tilton, what charge was brought against him; that the aforesaid Tilton replied, for that he, the aforesaid Capt. Huddy, had taken a certain Philip White prisoner, and after carrying him, the aforesaid Philip White, six miles up in the country, that he, the aforesaid Capt. Huddy, had cut off both his, (the aforesaid Philip White's,) arms, broke both his, (the aforesaid Philip White's,) legs, pulled out one of the aforesaid Philip White's eyes, and then had damned him, the aforesaid Philip White, and bade him run; that he, the aforesaid Captain Huddy replied, and said, he never had taken Philip White; and moreover said, that it was impossible that he could have taken him, for that he, the aforesaid White was taken and killed, while he, the aforesaid Huddy, was a prisoner closely confined in New York. This deponent further saith, that he, this deponent, so said that the aforesaid White, was taken and killed, while Capt. Huddy was a prisoner, and therefore could not possibly be chargeable; upon which this deponent was told that he, this deponent should be hanged next; further this deponent saith that the aforesaid Capt. Huddy, was frequently charged with the murder of the aforesaid Philip White, in manner and form aforesaid. This deponent saith that he and Capt. Huddy were kept in irons, on board the sloop aforesaid, until they were put on board the guard ship at Sandy Hook, which was done on Tuesday evening, the 9th instant; that on board this guard ship, this deponent, Captain Huddy, and Jacob Fleming, were confined between decks until Friday, the 12th instant; that on Friday, the 12th inst., some men, strangers to this deponent, came between decks and told him, the said Capt. Huddy, to be prepared to be hanged immediately, for having murdered Philip White, as aforesaid, and took off the said Capt. Huddy's irons; that Capt. Huddy again said he was not guilty of having killed the aforesaid White, and should die innocent, and in a good cause; and with uncommon composure of mind and fortitude, prepared himself for his end; that they, then for the first time since the capture of this deponent, and the said Capt. Huddy, took the aforesaid Capt. Huddy from this deponent. That about noon of the same day, the aforesaid John Tilton told this deponent, that he, the aforesaid Capt. Joshua Huddy was hanged, and further said he, that Capt. Hud-

dy died *with the firmness of a lion*. Further, this deponent saith, that the aforesaid Capt. Joshua Huddy was never taken from him, this deponent, until he was taken off to be executed, and that he, the aforesaid Captain Huddy, never was called to any kind of trial, or allowed to make any defence; and lastly, this deponent saith, the corpse of the said Captain Joshua Huddy is now at the house of Capt. James Greene, and that he verily believes he came to his death by being hanged.

DANIEL RANDOLPH.

Sworn before me, this 15th of April, 1782.

DAVID FORMAN, Judge of the Ct of C. P.

—  
A COUNCIL OF WAR.  
—

The execution of Huddy was regarded by the Commander-in-Chief as a matter of such high import, that, in anticipation of the action of Congress upon his letter, he had directed that the general officers of the army, and the officers commanding brigades and regiments, should assemble at West Point, and decide on what measures should be adopted. On the 19th day of April, the meeting was held at the quarters of General Heath, when the following questions propounded by Washington were stated:

"Shall there be retaliation for the murder of Huddy?"

"On whom shall it be inflicted?"

"How shall the victim be designated?"

General Heath in his Memoirs describes the deliberations of the officers as independent of each other; no conversation was permitted between them on the question submitted, but each one was to write his own opinion, seal it up, and address it to the Commander-in-Chief. By this process, it was found the decision was unanimous that retaliation should take place; that it should be inflicted on an officer of equal rank; and the designation should be made by lot from among the prisoners of war who had surrendered at discretion, and not under convention or capitulation.

This decision was approved by Washington, who gave immediate information of his intention to retaliate, to the British Commander, unless the perpetrator of the bloody deed should be given up for execution.

No farther action for a time was taken, that Sir Henry Clinton might have oppor-

tunity to decide upon Washington's demand.

In the meantime occurred the following proceedings in Congress.

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS, April, 1782.

The letter of General Washington to Congress, when received, was referred to a Committee consisting of Mr. Boudinot,

Mr. Scott and Mr. Bee. The committee reported on the 20th day of April, 1782, and the following proceedings were then had :

A letter of the 20th, from the Commander-in-Chief, was read together with a memorial from the inhabitants of the county of Monmouth, in the State of New Jersey, and sundry affidavits, respecting the death of Capt. Joshua Huddy, who after being a prisoner some days with the enemy in New York, was sent out by a party of refugees, and was most cruelly and wantonly hanged on the heights of Middletown.

These papers being committed, and the committee having reported thereon :

*Resolved*, That Congress having deliberately considered the matter and the paper attending it, and being deeply impressed with the necessity of convincing the enemies of these United States, by the most decided conduct, that the repetition of their unprecedented and inhuman cruelties, so contrary to the laws of nations and of war, will no longer be suffered with impunity, do unanimously approve of the firm and judicious conduct of the Commander-in-Chief in his application to the British Gen. of New York; and do hereby assure him, of their firmest support in his fixed purpose of exemplary retaliation.

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

HEAD-QUARTERS, }  
April 21st, 1782. }

SIR:—The enclosed representation from the inhabitants of the county of Monmouth, with testimonials to the facts, (which can be corroborated by other unquestionable evidence,) will bring before your excellency, the most wanton, unprecedented, and inhuman murder that ever disgraced the arms of a civilized people.

I shall not, because I conceive it altogether unnecessary, trouble your excellency with any animadversions upon this transaction. Candor obliges me to be ex-

PLICIT. To save the innocent, I demand the guilty. Capt. Lippencott therefore, or the officer who commanded, at the execution of Captain Huddy, must be given up; or if that officer was of inferior rank to him, so many of the perpetrators as will, according to the tariff of exchange, be equivalent.

To do this, will mark the justice of your excellency's character; on the failure of it I shall feel myself justifiable in the eyes of God and man, for the measure to which I shall resort.

I beg your excellency to be persuaded, that it cannot be more disagreeable to you to be addressed in this language, than it is for me to offer it; but the subject requires frankness and decision.

I have to request your speedy determination, as my resolution is suspended but for your answer.

I have the honor to be, sir, your excellency's most obedient servant.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

His Excellency, SIR HENRY CLINTON.

Sir Henry Clinton replied to Gen. Washington on the 25th of April. He expressed surprise at the strong language which had been used. He refused to give up the perpetrator of the murder, but informed the American commander, that he had ordered a court martial to examine the charge against Capt. Lippencott before he received the letter. He did not pretend to justify the conduct of the loyalists, and expressed his regret for the fate of the sufferer. On the 1st of May, General Robertson, who had succeeded Clinton, reiterated the same sentiments which had been previously expressed by his predecessor, but still the culprit was protected in New York; and the American commander replied, in the strongest terms, that he had resolved upon retaliation, and given orders that a British officer should be designated to suffer. When Sir Guy Carleton took command of the British forces, in May, he communicated to General Washington his intention to preserve "the name of every Englishman from reproach, and to pursue every measure that might tend to prevent these criminal excesses in individuals." He did not hesitate "to condemn the many unauthorized acts of violence, which had been committed," and concluded that he should do every thing to mitigate the evils of war.—From these extracts, as well as the history of that day, it is evident that the British commander disavowed any participation

in the death of Huddy, on the part of the British authorities. And it is said, by Dr. Thatcher, that the British Government were inclined to direct that Lippencott should be given up to Gen. Washington, but were finally prevented by the influence of the American loyalists, (or refugees.)

Baron de Grimm, in his celebrated *Memoris*, states, without any qualifications, that *George III gave orders "that the author of a crime which dishonored the English nation, should be given up for punishment,"* but he was not obeyed. It is highly probably that this statement is true; the writer recorded it in 1775, and from the advantageous position he occupied, must be presumed to have known the fact. (vol. iv. p. 272.)

The people of New Jersey were exasperated beyond measure at the bloody catastrophe; but when it was ascertained that the murderer would not be surrendered or punished, their indignation prompted the bold attempt to seize the miscreant by force. To effect this purpose, Capt. Adam Hyler, of New Brunswick, having ascertained that Lippencott resided in Broad street, New York, with a crew disguised as a British press gang, left the Kills at dark, in a single boat, and arrived at White Hill about nine o'clock. Here he left the boat in charge of a few men, and passed directly to Lippencott's house, where, on inquiry, it was ascertained he had gone to Cock Pit. (Naval Mag. Nov., 1839.) The expedition of course failed; but the promptness with which it was conducted, proves the devotion of the brave men who were engaged to the common cause, and their execration of Huddy's assassin.

(Capt. Adam Hyler, above referred to, is the one who commanded the barge taken by the British at Toms River. In their accounts they boasted, it will be remembered, of capturing "one of Hyler's barges." We have accounts of a large number of the exploits of Hyler, in the waters around Old Monmouth, which we trust to find room for at some time, for it is rare to find, in fact or fiction, more skillfully planned and fearlessly executed deeds than those performed by Capt. Adam Hyler and his heroic companions.)

#### CASTING LOTS.

Exciting Scene—Captain Asgill the Victim—Affecting Incidents—Courts of Enquiry Exeuted.

The demand for Lippencott having been refused, General Washington, on the 4th of May, directed Brigadier General Hogan to designate by lot, from among the prisoners at either of the posts in Pennsylvania or Maryland, a British Captain who had been unconditionally surrendered; as it was ascertained that no such officer was in his power, a second order was issued on the thirteenth of May, extending the selection to the officers who had been made prisoners by convention or capitulation.—Under this last despatch, the British Captains, who had been captured at Yorktown, were assembled at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and the lot fell upon Captain Asgill.

Charles Asgill was a Captain of the guards, of a noble family, and at the time he was designated to suffer, but nineteen years of age. He was captured at Yorktown, confined during the winter of 1781-82 at Winchester, in Virginia, and had been removed but a short time to York, Pennsylvania, when the lot was cast against him. The officers from whom the victim was to be selected, were ordered to Lancaster, and were there informed by General Hogan the object for which they were assembled. Major Morgan, who was the senior British officer at that place, remonstrated, and used the following language:

"These gentlemen form but a small proportion, out of the total number of Captains who became prisoners at Yorktown, and I am sure, if time be afforded, there is not one of their comrades who will not hasten, even from England, for the purpose of placing himself by their side, in so trying an emergency, and staking his life with theirs."

The General, however, replied his orders were peremptory, but feelingly remarked, "when the lot has been declared on whom this blow shall fall, then you may rely upon it that every indulgence shall be shown which you could expect, or my own feelings dictate." The ceremony is minutely described by an eye witness, the late Gen. Graham, Lieutenant Governor of Sterling Castle, whose manuscript is published in the *United Service Journal*, November, 1834. To use his language:

"The excitement of the scene was now over, and we gazed upon poor Asgill with a bitterness and intensity of feeling, such as defied control. He was barely nineteen years of age; lively, brave, handsome;



an only son, as we all knew, and an especial favorite with his comrades. To see him as we did, at that moment, in the full bloom of youth and beauty, and to know that his days, nay, his hours, were numbered—that was a demand upon the fortitude of those who loved him, such as they could not meet. We lifted up our voices and wept; and while a warm pressure of the hand was exchanged with each in his turn, the object of so much commiseration found it no easy matter, himself, to restrain his tears. Nor, to do them justice, were the Americans, either within or without the house, indifferent spectators to the drama. The Brigadier at once consented to delay the removal of the victim till the following morning; and readily granted a passport to enable an officer to set out on the instant for New York."

Captain Asgill was conducted to Philadelphia, and from thence was removed to Chatham. He was accompanied by his friend, Major Gordon, who attended him with the devotion of a parent to a child.

In the meanwhile the execution was suspended, but every effort was exerted, every plan that ingenuity could devise or sympathy suggest, adopted to save the innocent sufferer. Major Gordon appealed to the French Minister, then in Philadelphia; he wrote to the Count de Rochembeau, and despatched messengers to numerous influential Whigs throughout the Colonies, to interest them in behalf of his friend; and so eloquent and importunate were his appeals, that it is said by General Graham, "that even the family of Captain Huddy became themselves suppliants in Asgill's favor." These untiring exertions, unquestionably contributed to postpone the fate of the victim, until the final and successful intercession of the French Court obtained his release.

When Lady Asgill heard of the peril which impended over her son, her husband was exhausted by disease, and while the effect of the intelligence was pent powerfully up in her mind, it produced delirium in that of her daughter; under all these embarrassments she applied to King George the III. who, it is said, ordered the cause of this measure of retaliation, the wretched Lappencott, to be delivered up, which Clinton contrived to avoid. She did not cease her importunities, until she had dictated the following letter to the Count de Vergennes, who laid it before the King and Queen of France, and was

immediately directed to communicate with General Washington, and implore the release of the sufferer. A letter, says the Baron de Grimm, "the eloquence of which, independent of oratorical forms, is that of all people, and all languages, because it derives its power from the first and noblest sentiment of our nature."

LADY ASGILL TO COUNT DE VERGENNES.

Eloquent Pleadings of a Mother for the Life of an only Son.

SIR:—If the politeness of the French court will permit a stranger to address it, it cannot be doubted but that she who unites in herself all the more delicate sensations with which an individual can be penetrated, will be received favorably by a nobleman who reflects honor not only on his nation, but on human nature. The subject on which I implore your assistance is too heart-rending to be dwelt upon; most probably the public report has already reached you. This relieves me from the burden of so mournful a duty. My son, my only son, dear to me as he is brave, amiable as he is beloved, only nineteen years of age, a prisoner of war, in consequence of the capitulation of Yorktown, is at present confined in America as an object of reprisals.

Shall the innocent suffer the fate of the guilty? Figure to yourself, sir, the situation of a family in these circumstances.—Surrounded as I am with objects of distress, bowed down by fear and grief, words are wanting to express what I feel, and to paint such a scene of misery; my husband given over by his physicians some hours before the arrival of this news, not in a condition to be informed of it; my daughter attacked by a fever, accompanied with delirium; speaking of her brother in tones of wildness and without an interval of reason, unless it be to listen to some circumstances which may console her heart. Let your sensibility, sir, paint to you my profound, my inexpressible misery, and plead in my favor. A word—a word—from you, like a voice from heaven, would liberate us from desolation, from the last degree of misfortune. I know how far General Washington reverences your character.—Tell him only that you wish my son restored to liberty, and he will restore him to his desponding family; he will restore him to happiness. The virtue and courage of my son will justify this act of clemency. His honor, sir, led him to America; he was born to abundance, to independ-

ence, and to the happiest prospects. Permit me once more to entreat the interference of your high influence in favor of innocence, and in the cause of justice, of humanity. Despatch, sir, a letter from France to General Washington, and favor me with a copy of it, that it may be transmitted from hence. I feel the whole weight of the liberty taken in presenting this request; but I feel confident, whether granted or not, that you will pity the distress by which it is suggested; your humanity will drop a tear on my fault and blot it out forever.

May that heaven which I implore, grant that you may never need the consolation which you have it in your power to bestow on  
THERESA ASGILL.

—  
A NOBLEMAN TELLS ASGILL'S  
STORY.  
—

Excitement in Holland and throughout Europe—The Gibbet—Asgill thrice conducted to it—Intense anxiety in Europe to hear of his fate, &c.

The statement of Captain Asgill's case would not be complete without the following extract, which contains some interesting facts not elsewhere given. It is from Baron de Grimm, who was led to notice the case on account of its being made the ground work of a tragedy called "Abdir," by de Sauvigny, represented in Paris in January, 1780.

"You can well remember the general interest which Sir —— Asgill inspired, a young officer in the English guards, who was made prisoner and condemned to death by the Americans, in reprisal for the death of Capt. Huddy, who was hanged by order of Capt. Lippencott. The public prints all over Europe resounded with the unhappy catastrophe, which for eight months impended over the life of this young officer. The extreme grief of his mother, the sort of delirium which clouded the mind of his sister, at hearing the dreadful fate which menaced the life of her brother, interested every feeling mind in the fate of that unfortunate family. The general curiosity in regard to the events of the war, yielded, if I may say so, to the interest which young Asgill inspired, and the first question asked of all vessels that

arrived from any port in North America, was always an inquiry into the fate of that young man. It is known that Asgill was thrice conducted to the foot of the gibbet, and that thrice Gen. Washington, who could not bring himself to commit this crime of policy without a great struggle, suspended his punishment; his humanity and justice made him hope that the English general would deliver over to him the author of the crime Asgill was condemned to expiate. Sir Henry Clinton, either ill advised or insensible to the fate of young Asgill, persisted in refusing to deliver up the barbarous Lippencott. In vain the King of England, at whose feet the unfortunate family fell down, had given orders to surrender up to the Americans the author of a crime which dishonored the English nation: George the 3d, was not obeyed. In vain the State of Holland entreated the United States of America the pardon of the unhappy Asgill. The gibbet, erected in front of his prison, did not cease to offer to his eyes those dreadful preparatives, more awful than death itself. In these circumstances, and almost reduced to despair, the mother of the unfortunate victim bethought herself that the Minister of a King, armed against her own nation, might succeed in obtaining that which was refused to her King. Madam Asgill wrote to the Count de Vergennes a letter, the eloquence of which, independent of oratorical forms, is that of all people and languages, because it derives its power from the first and noblest sentiment of our nature."

For seven months, the fate of this interesting young officer remained suspended, when, chiefly through the intercession of the French Court, he was set at liberty.—The following are the proceedings of Congress directing his discharge:

THURSDAY, November 7th, 1782.

On the report of the Committee, consisting of Mr. Rutledge, Mr. Osgood, Mr. Montgomery, Mr. Boudinot, and Mr. Duane, to whom were referred the letter of the 19th of August last, from the Commander-in-Chief, the report of a committee thereon, and the motives of Mr. Williams and Mr. Rutledge; and also, another letter, from the Commander-in-Chief, with a copy of a letter to him from the Count de Vergennes, dated July 29th last, interceding for Capt. Asgill:

*Resolved.* That the Commander-in-Chief

be, and he hereby is directed, to set Captain Asgill at liberty?"

A copy of the foregoing proceedings and resolutions was forwarded by Gen. Washington to Capt. Asgill, together with a letter, given below, which exhibits the moral excellence, the great and commanding attributes that always distinguished the Father of his Country. "The decision of Gen. Washington in this delicate affair, the deep interest felt by the American people for the youthful sufferer, the pathetic appeals of Lady Asgill to the Count de Vergennes in behalf of her son, (in the language of Congress, in 1837,) forms one of the most important and instructive portions of revolutionary history."

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO CAPTAIN ASGILL.

SIR:—It affords me singular satisfaction to have it in my power to transmit to you the enclosed copy of an act of Congress of the 7th inst., by which you are relieved from the disagreeable circumstances in which you have been so long. Supposing that you would wish to go to New York as soon as possible, I also enclose a passport for that purpose. Your letter of the 18th came regularly to my hands. I beg of you to believe that my not answering it sooner did not proceed from inattention to you, or a want of feeling for your situation; but I daily expected a determination of your case and I thought it better to await that, than to feed you with hopes that might in the end prove fruitless. You will attribute my detention of the enclosed letters, which have been in my possession a fortnight, to the same cause. I cannot take leave of you, sir, without assuring you that, in whatever light my agency in this unpleasant affair may be viewed, I was never influenced throughout the whole of it by sanguinary motives, but what I conceived to be a sense of duty, which loudly called upon me to use measures, however disagreeable, to prevent a repetition of those enormities which have been the subject of discussion; and that this important end is likely to be answered without the effusion of the blood of an innocent person, is not a greater relief to you that it is to me.

Sir, &c.                      GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Immediately after this letter released him, Captain Asgill prepared himself to return to England, and in a short time embarked. The following letters from

his mother exhibit a tone of high-wrought gratitude that was worthy of her exalted spirit:

Second Letter of Lady Asgill to Count de Vergennes—Outpourings of a Grateful Heart.

Exhausted by long suffering, overpowered by an excess of unexpected happiness, confined to my bed by weakness and languor, bent to the earth by what I have undergone, my sensibility alone could supply me with strength sufficient to address you.

Condescend, sir, to accept this feeble effort of my gratitude. It has been laid at the feet of the Almighty; and believe me, it has been presented with the same sincerity to you, sir, and to your illustrious sovereigns. By their august and salutary intervention, as by your own, a son is restored to me, to whom my whole life was attached. I have the sweet assurance that my vows for my protectors are heard by the Heaven to whom they are ardently offered. Yes, sir; they will produce their effect before the dreadful and last tribunal, where I indulge in the hope that we shall both meet together—you to receive the recompense of your virtues; myself, that of my sufferings. I will raise my voice to that imposing tribunal: I will call for those sacred registers in which your humanity will be found recorded—I will pray that blessings may be showered on your head—upon him, who, availing himself of the noblest privileges received from God—a privilege no other than divine—has changed misery into happiness, has withdrawn the sword from the innocent head, and restored the worthiest of sons to the most tender and unfortunate of mothers.

Condescend, sir, to accept this just tribute of gratitude due to your virtuous sentiments. Preserve this tribute, and may it go down to your posterity as a testimony of your sublime and exemplary beneficence to a stranger, whose nation was at war with your own, but whose tender affections had not been destroyed by war. May this tribute bear testimony to my gratitude, long after the hand which expresses it with the heart, which at this moment only vibrates with the vivacity of grateful sentiments, shall be reduced to dust; even to the last day of my existence, it shall beat but to offer you all the respect and all the gratitude with which it is penetrated.

THERESA ASGILL.

LADY ASGILL TO MAJOR GORDON.

A Grateful Mother to a True and Tried Friend of her Son.

Sir:—If distress like mine has left any expression but for grief, I should long since addressed myself to you, for whom my sense of gratitude makes all acknowledgments poor indeed. Nor is this the first attempt; but you were too near the object of my anguish to enter into the heart-piercing subject. I constantly prayed to Heaven that he might not add to his sufferings the knowledge of ours. He had too much to feel on his own account, and I could not have concealed the direful effect of his misfortune on his family, to whom he is as dear as he is worthy to be so. Unfit as I am at this time, by joy almost as insupportable as the agony before, yet sir, accept this weak effort from a heart deeply affected by your humanity and exalted conduct, as Heaven knows it has been torn by affliction. Believe me, sir, it will only cease to think in the last moments of life, with the most grateful, affectionate, and respectful sentiments to you. But a fortnight since, I was sinking under a wretchedness I could no longer struggle with. Hope, resignation, had almost forsaken me. I began to experience the greatest of all misfortunes—that of being no longer able to bear them.—Judge, sir, the transition the day after the blessed change takes place. My son is released; recovered; returned; arrived at my gate; in my arms. I see him unsubdued in spirits, in health; unapproached by himself, approved by his country in; the bosom of his family, and without anxiety, but for the happiness of his friend; without regret, but for having left him behind. Your humane feelings that have dictated your conduct to him, injured and innocent as he was, surely will participate in our relief and joy. Be that pleasure yours, sir, as well as every other blessing that virtue like yours and Heaven can bestow. This prayer is offered up for you in the heart of transport, as it was in the bitterness of my anguish. My gratitude has been soothed by the energy it has been offered with. It has ascended to the throne of mercy and is, I trust, accepted. Unfit as I am, for nothing but susceptibility so awakened as mine could enable me to write; and exhausted by too long anxiety; confined at this time to a bed of sickness and languor—yet I could not

suffer another interval to pass, without this weak effort. Let it convey to you sir, the most heartfelt gratitude of my husband and daughters. You have the respect and esteem of all Europe, as an honor to your country and to human nature, and the most zealous friendship of, my dear and worthy Major Gordon.

Your affectionate and obliged servant,  
THERESA ASGILL.

The fate of Captain Asgill, while it was suspended in doubt, "filled the public prints all over Europe with anxious wishes for his release;" and in the year 1785, when the excitement of a former period had subsided, the story of this intended reprisal was made the groundwork of a tragic drama by the celebrated French writer, M. de Sauvigny; while in Anderson's History of the American War, published immediately after the peace, the author has deemed the incidents so memorable, that he has given a portrait of the young Asgill in the costume of the day.

While Captain Asgill's fate was in doubt, the British instituted a court martial to try Captain Lippencott, who was supposed to be the principal agent in the murder of Huddy. It will be seen, by extracts from the evidence of witnesses, hereafter given, that Governor Franklin, the President of the Board of Associated Royalists, gave verbal orders for the execution of Huddy, and that he afterwards basely endeavored to throw the whole blame on Lippencott. When Franklin gave the verbal orders, he designated Huddy as a proper subject for retaliation, as he said Huddy had been a chief prosecutor of refugees, and particularly instrumental in hanging Stephen Edwards, the refugee spy. The decision of the court will be given hereafter. It cleared Lippencott—perhaps justly. If so, Gov. William Franklin should have been hanged for Huddy's murder. Sir Guy Carleton, who was the British commander at New York, when Lippencott was acquitted, appeared disposed to do justly, and assured Washington, "that notwithstanding the acquittal of Lippencott, he reprobated the measure, and gave assurance of prosecuting a further inquiry."—Thanks to Sir Guy, he broke up this Board of Associated Royalists. The war was about closing, and the necessities for retaliation about over; and hence the request of the King and Queen of France, through Count Vergennes, for the release of Asgill, were favorably received.

PETITION TO CONGRESS OF MARTHA PIATT,  
 DAUGHTER OF CAPTAIN JOSHUA HUDDY,  
 PRESENTED DECEMBER 21ST, 1836.

To the Congress of the United States:—  
 Your Memorialist, Martha Piatt, now  
 residing in Cincinnati, State of Ohio,  
 Respectfully represents:

That she is the only surviving child of  
 Captain Joshua Huddy, who was inhumanly  
 put to death by a party of Tories under  
 the immediate command of Captain Lip  
 pencott, in the month of April, 1782.

Her deceased father, ever ready at the  
 call of his country, had for from the com-  
 mencement of the revolutionary war, from  
 his devotion to the cause of liberty, be-  
 come obnoxious to the enemy. He was  
 made a prisoner of war by the refugees, in  
 March, 1782, while he commanded a block-  
 house in Monmouth county, N. J.:  
 having defended that post with great  
 bravery, until his ammunition was entire-  
 ly expended. He was then taken to New  
 York, and detained in close confinement  
 for two or three weeks, when, without  
 form of trial, he was told that he was or-  
 dered to be hanged. In pursuance of this  
 resolution, he was carried over to the New  
 Jersey shore, and executed, in a manner  
 so barbarous, that the annals of savage  
 warfare do not present an instance of hu-  
 man sacrifice more wantonly cruel.

This act, so dishonorable to the British  
 character, (for Sir Henry Clinton, the  
 Commander-in-Chief, refused to give up  
 the perpetrator of the crime), was not less  
 disastrous to the family of the lamented  
 patriot, who was not permitted to die a  
 soldier's death, much less to enjoy the  
 last kind offices of those dear to him by  
 the strongest earthly ties. The first in-  
 telligence they received of his decease,  
 was that he had perished on the scaffold.  
 His widow left desolate, with two daugh-  
 ters of tender age, in common with the  
 high-souled females of the revolution,  
 trusted in Providence, and hoped that the  
 country for which her husband's life had  
 been sacrificed, would not forget her or  
 her children.

The subject of Captain Huddy's mur-  
 der, (for such is the appropriate name it  
 deserves,) was referred to the American  
 Congress by Gen. Washington, and the  
 mode of retaliation he adopted unanimo-  
 usly approved by that body; and the people  
 of New Jersey, roused by the bloody deed  
 to vengeance, addressed a spirit-stirring

memorial to the Commander-in-Chief, de-  
 tailing the facts, and requiring exemplary  
 as well as summary retribution at his  
 hand. While in obedience to these claims,  
 a British officer was selected by lot, as the  
 victim of retaliation, and while the melan-  
 choly interest which youth and innocence  
 associated with the name of Captain Asgill,  
 excited the deep sympathy of the Ameri-  
 can people; while the heart-rending ap-  
 peal of his noble mother to the Count de  
 Vergennes, in behalf of her devoted son,  
 induced the mediation of the French  
 Court to effect his release; the name and  
 fate of Capt. Huddy are only remembered  
 as among the many instances of cruelty  
 incident to a state of war. And the wid-  
 ow and the children of that martyred  
 hero, have been left hitherto without the  
 least token of the gratitude of their coun-  
 try.

Your petitioner appeals to the Justice  
 of Congress. She is now seventy years of  
 age; her mother is dead, and her sister  
 also; she alone survives to feel anew the  
 horrors of that dreadful moment, when  
 she was told that she was fatherless, and  
 that her gallant sire met the death of  
 a malefactor; while his only crime was  
 his ardent attachment to the cause of  
 American liberty. The gratitude of the  
 country has been long deferred, and  
 though late, your petitioner asks, that in  
 common with the representatives of her  
 deceased sister, she may be allowed such  
 sum in money, and such quantities of land  
 as her father would have been entitled to,  
 had he served until the conclusion of the  
 revolutionary war.

She commits her appeal to Congress in  
 the full assurance that her claim will not  
 be disregarded. And as in duty bound,  
 &c. MARTHA PIATT.

This petition was presented to Congress  
 December 21st, 1836, and referred to a  
 special committee, consisting of Mr. Storer,  
 of Ohio; Mr. Buchanan, of Penn.; Mr.  
 Hardan, of Ky.; Mr. Elmore, of S. C.; and  
 Mr. Schenck, of N. J., in February follow-  
 ing, reported a bill extending to the heirs  
 of Captain Huddy the benefits of existing  
 pension laws, the same as if he had been  
 in the regular army, and also granting  
 them six hundred acres of land, and also  
 paying the sum of twelve hundred dollars,  
 being the sum due Captain Huddy for  
 seven years' service as Captain of Artillery.

The report of this committee, adopted  
 by Congress February 14, 1837, is so ably  
 written, and contains such vivid pictures

of Old Monmouth during the war, and of Captain Huddy's services and sacrifices that it is well worth perusal and preservation, and we therefore append so much of it as has not already been quoted.

REPORT ADOPTED BY CONGRESS,  
IN RELATION TO PETITION OF  
MARTHA PIATT.

Huddy's services appreciated by Congress—

Graphic picture of affairs in Old Monmouth;—Is the nation grateful?—Eloquent extracts.

The memorialist is the only surviving daughter of Captain Joshua Huddy of New Jersey, who was a soldier of the war of the revolution. Her father in 1776, was an officer in the militia of his native state, and in the autumn of 1777, was appointed by the Legislature to command a company of artillery, who were enlisted for twelve months. In 1779, he was engaged in the same duty; and in 1781, the people of Monmouth County, having recommended him for the purpose, he was selected to command the post at Toms River. While gallantly defending himself against a superior force, he was there taken prisoner in 1782, and reserved for an ignominious death on the scaffold.

The tours of duty thus detailed, are extracted from official records, as will appear by papers attached to this report; but the history of the whole war in that region, if it should be minutely described, was a series of bold and hazardous efforts to sustain the cause of liberty; in all which Capt. Huddy was eminently conspicuous. Brave, patriotic and persevering, he perilled his property and his life for his country, and at last perished in her defence.

Perhaps the annals of the civilized world do not present a more melancholy spectacle than was exhibited in New Jersey, while the British army occupied the city of New York. The people were all a arms, their substance wasted by the enemy, their farms untilled their families dispersed. In addition to the constant and harassing incursions of the British, there was a foe within her very borders more watchful and more relentless than the common enemy. Traitors to American liberty filled the land, willing to sacrifice their former friends to gratify their malignant passions, or to prove their loyalty to their King.—These men combined together for the avowed object of murder and plunder,

were to be met at all points; and it required the utmost energy, activity and address to oppose them. Their movements were sudden, and from their intimate knowledge of the country their march was often unknown until their object had been effected. Hence, the most untiring vigilance was required to counteract their plans; and Capt. Huddy became so zealously engaged as a partizan leader, that he was more obnoxious to the Tories than any individual in the American service. To these desperate men, it was then all important that one whom they so much dreaded should be deprived of power to oppose them and no means were left unattempted to effect their purpose.

(The report here proceeds to give an account of Capt. Huddy's capture, imprisonment and execution, which we have given elsewhere, after which it says:)

The documents which the committee have annexed to the report, minutely describe the horrid tragedy, and they forbear to state here the incidents which are there recorded in the language of eye witnesses. There is something so revolting in the mode a brave soldier was doomed to die; something so fiendlike in the haste to sacrifice him without the parting farewell of his friends and the consolations of religion that no age however barbarous can furnish a stronger instance of refined, deliberate cruelty. Yet, even here, the devoted sufferer sustained his high reputation for moral firmness and heroic devotion to liberty. Mr. Randolph testifies that when the refugees were taking the irons from Capt. Huddy, to conduct him to the gallows, the brave man said that he should die innocent, and in a good cause; and with uncommon composure and fortitude, prepared himself for his end. And to use the language of one who assisted at the execution, 'he met his fate with all the firmness of a lion.' His executioner was a negro.

The immediate agent in this deed of blood, was Richard Lippencott, a native of New Jersey, and then a Captain in the British service; he was the instrument of a board of associated loyalists in New York, at the head of which was William Franklin, once the royal Governor of New Jersey, and Sampson S. Blowers, formerly of Boston, Secretary. The members of this board, after the murder had taken place, endeavored for a time to deny that they had directed it; but the evidence adduced on the trial of the perpetrator as

well as on the subsequent publications of the loyalists themselves, abundantly prove that without the courage to act themselves they had the baseness to authorize the deed to be committed and the meanness to attempt the concealment of their privity to its perpetration.

Immediately after the murder, the people of Monmouth assembled and addressed to General Washington the spirit-stirring and eloquent memorial which he afterwards communicated to Congress, with the memorable correspondence which he held on the same subject with Sir Henry Clinton. These documents the committee annex, and would recommend their perusal, not only as an authentic narrative of facts, (which are but little known at the present day,) but as proud examples of the lofty patriotism which distinguished the men of the revolution.

(The committee here recite Washington's measures for retaliation, and the action of the Congress of 1782, given elsewhere, and then continue as follows:)

It is painful to state that after a lapse of fifty years, while the story of Asgill's captivity has been made the theme of the biographer and poet, the memory of the murdered Huddy has not been honored with an epitaph. His country it would seem, has outlived the recollection of his services and forgotten that such a victim was sacrificed for American liberty. The resolution of Congress, adopted on the day subsequent to the discharge of Asgill, and which required that, "the British commander should be called to fulfil his engagement to make further inquisition into the murder of Capt. Huddy and to pursue it with all the effect that a due regard of justice will admit," is yet unfulfilled and unrequited; and the only memorial on the public journals of America, gratitude for the services of the living and the character of the dead are resolutions of retaliation—none of sympathy or condolence.

The committee in the consideration of the case, cannot account for the silence of an American Congress upon a claim like this present which the history of the revolution so amply established. It is true, his representatives have made no appeal until they offered their memorial at this session, but it is believed the principles of natural justice are independent of all such agency. If their modesty has hitherto deterred them, it is at least the gratifying evidence that there is an American family who have forborne to remind the Legislature of the

nation of its high duties and are contended to await the judgment of their countrymen, however tardy may have been its announcement.

The children of Captain Huddy were both females, and were left at an early age to their mother's protection. She struggled as did the high-souled women of the revolution with the ordinary vicissitudes of war, and sustained himself by the prospect of future independence. When her gallant husband was in the field, she knew he was engaged in a holy cause and prepared herself for whatever result might occur; but when she found that she was left desolate and the father of her children had been cruelly and wantonly murdered, she thenceforward lived but for them.—These orphans after the return of peace were married: one of them with her mother is dead; the survivor, who is the memorialist, at the advanced age of seventy years, now resides in the west and asks, ere she joins those who have already departed, that the sufferings of her father might be remembered and his services, even at this late day, requited by some token of national gratitude.

As Captain Huddy was not in the regular army there is no one of the resolutions of the old Congress that would include this case, were it a claim for military service merely. But when it is considered that he was actively engaged from 1776 until 1782 in a most hazardous and important duty, at a time when ordinary zeal would have become cold and ordinary courage crushed, when they regard his exposure, his position and his untimely death, the committee can not but conclude that the spirit of these resolutions should be extended to your memorialist; and if there is such an attribute as national gratitude, it should now be exerted.

The committee report the following resolutions for the consideration of the House:

*Resolved*, That the Congress of the United States hold in high estimation and grateful remembrance the service of Captain Joshua Huddy, of New Jersey, in the war of the revolution, and unites in the opinion of the Continental Congress of 1782, that he was wantonly and inhumanly sacrificed by the enemy while in the heroic discharge of his duty.

*Resolved*, That in consideration of the services rendered to his country by Captain Joshua Huddy, and in the performance of which he was taken prisoner

and afterwards executed for no other crime than his devotion to liberty, it is the duty of Congress to appropriate to his children the same sums they would have received had their father been a continental officer and had continued in the service until the close of the war; and the whole benefit of the resolutions of September 19th, 1777, and August 24th, 1780, be extended to them.

To carry which resolutions into effect, your committee report a bill.

(The substance of this bill has already been given.)

— — —  
CAPTAIN ASGILL AND HIS COMPANIONS.

— — —  
HUMOROUS ACCOUNT OF A SERIOUS AFFAIR.

In speaking of casting lots among British officers for the purpose of retaliation for the murder of Captain Joshua Huddy, extracts were quoted from British writers who endeavored to make out that Captain Asgill's companions acted very unselfishly and generously towards him, but by the following extract it will be seen that their conduct was nothing to boast of. It is from James Smith, one of the authors of that celebrated work "Rejected Address." Smith occasionally used to visit Colonel Greville, once a somewhat noted character in connection with several literary journals. On one visit the Colonel related the particulars of what he termed the most curious circumstance of his life. He was taken prisoner during the American Revolution along with three other officers of the same rank; one evening they were summoned into the presence of General Washington, who announced to them that the conduct of the British government in condemning one of his officers (Captain Huddy) to death as a rebel compelled him to make reprisals; and that much to his regret he was under the necessity of requiring them to cast lots without delay, to decide which of them should be hanged. They were then bowed out and returned to their quarters. Four sheets of paper were put into a hat and the shortest was drawn by Captain Asgill, who exclaimed "I knew how it would be, I never won so much as a hit at backgammon in my life." Greville said he then was selected to set up with Captain Asgill, under pretext of companionship, but in reality to prevent Asgill from escaping and leav-

ing the honor of being hanged to be settled between the remaining three!

"And what," said Smith, "did you say to comfort him?"

"Why I remember saying to him, when he left us, *D—n it, old fellow, never mind;*" but it may be doubted, added Smith, whether Asgill drew much comfort from the exhortation.

This Colonel Greville was the one upon whom Lord Byron has conferred a not very enviable notoriety in the following lines:

"Or had at once the patron and the pile  
Of vice and folly, Greville and Argyle."

— *Law Quarterly Magazine London* —

— — —  
THE REMARKABLE TRIAL OF REV. WILLIAM TENNENT FOR PERJURY.

The remarkable trial of Rev. William Tennent, of the old Tennent church, for perjury, took place at Trenton in 1742 before Chief Justice Robert Hunter Morris.

The indictment upon which Mr. Tennent was tried was one of a series of indictments all growing out of the same transaction—the alleged stealing of a horse by the Rev. Mr. Rowland; and the individual who was the cause of all the woes and perils which befel the unfortunate gentlemen who were supposed to be implicated, was a notorious scoundrel named Tom Bell, whose exploits would not suffer by a comparison with those of Jonathan Wild or Jack Sheppard. He was an adept in all the arts of fraud, theft, robbery and forgery. But his chief amusement consisted in travelling from one part of the country to another personating different individuals and assuming a variety of characters.— By turns he was a sailor, a merchant, a lawyer, a doctor, a preacher, and sustained each character in such a way for a time as to impose on the public. The late Judge Richard S. Field, in a paper read before the N. J. Historical Society in 1851, reviewing the reports of this remarkable trial, furnished quite a list of the misdeeds of this villain.

By far the most brilliant of all Tom Bell's achievements was unquestionably that out of which grew the indictment of Rev. William Tennent for perjury. It so happened that Bell bore a striking resemblance to the Rev. Mr. Rowland, a popular preacher of the day, and a friend and associate of Whitfield and the Ten-



One evening Bell made his appearance at a tavern in Princeton dressed in a dark grey coat. He there met John Stockton, Esq., father of Richard Stockton, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, who coming up to him at once accosted him as the Rev. Mr. Rowland and invited him to his house. Bell assured him that he was mistaken—that his name was not Rowland. Mr. Stockton acknowledged his error and told him it proceeded from the very close resemblance he bore to that gentleman. This link was enough for Tom Bell. It at once occurred to him that here was a chance for playing one of his tricks. The very next day he went into what was then the county of Hunterdon and stopped at a place where the Rev. Mr. Rowland had occasionally preached, but where he was not well known. Here he introduced himself as Mr. Rowland, was invited to the house of a gentleman in the neighborhood, and asked to preach on the following Sabbath. He consented to do so, and notice to that effect was accordingly given. When the day arrived he accompanied the ladies to church in the family wagon while the master rode alongside, on a very fine horse. As they approached the church, Bell suddenly discovered that he had left his notes behind him and proposed riding back after them on the fine horse. This was at once agreed to and Bell mounted the horse, rode back to the house, filled the desk of his host and took his departure, leaving the assembled congregation to wonder what had become of the Rev. Mr. Rowland.

We may imagine the satisfaction which Bell must have derived from this exploit. Mr. Rowland was a noted preacher of great pungency and power, and thundered the terrors of the law against all impenitent sinners. He was called by the professed wisemen of the day "*Hell Fire Rowland*." He was literally a terror to evil doers, and therefore it may be presumed an object of peculiar aversion to Tom Bell. The idea then of bringing such a man into disgrace and at the same time of pursuing his favorite occupation must have been doubly pleasing to him.

Rev. Mr. Rowland was at this time absent from New Jersey. He had gone for the purpose of preaching in Pennsylvania or Maryland in company with Rev. Wm. Tennent and two pious laymen of the county of Hunterdon by the names of Joshua Anderson and Benjamin Stevens, members of a church contiguous to the

one at which Tom Bell proposed to officiate. As soon as they returned Mr. Rowland was charged with the robbery of the horse. At the next term of Oyer and Terminer for Hunterdon county an indictment was preferred against him.

Great was the excitement produced by this event, owing in part to the peculiar state of the Colony at the time. Through the labors of Mr. Whitfield and his associates, among whom were Messrs. Tennent and Rowland, a great revival of religion had taken place in the Provinces. But there was a party in the Colony who were very hostile to this religious movement, who denounced its authors as fanatics and enthusiasts, and some of whom did not hesitate to brand them as hypocrites and imposters. Conspicuous among this party was the Chief Justice, Robert H. Morris, who whatever claim he may have had to respect, was certainly not distinguished either for religion or morality. To such men this charge against Mr. Rowland, one of the preachers who were turning everything upside down, was of course occasion of great triumph and rejoicing, and the most strenuous efforts made to procure his conviction. The grand jury at first refused to find a bill against him, but they were reproved by the Court and sent out again. They again returned without an indictment but the Court sent them out a second time with threats of punishment if they persisted in their refusal, and then they consented to find a true bill.

Thus Mr. Rowland was subjected to the ignominy of a trial. A clear case was made out on the part of the prosecution. A large number of witnesses swore positively that he was the identical person who had committed the robbery. On the other hand, the defendants called as witnesses, Messrs. Tennent, Anderson and Stevens, who testified that on the very day on which the robbery was committed they were in company with Mr. Rowland at some place in Pennsylvania or Maryland, and heard him preach. An alibi being thus clearly proved, the jury without hesitation acquitted him.

But still the public mind was not satisfied. The person whose horse had been stolen and whose house had been robbed was so convinced that Mr. Rowland was the robber, and so many individuals had, as they supposed, seen him in possession of the horse that it was resolved not to let the matter drop. Messrs. Tennent, Anderson and Stevens were therefore arraign-

ed before the Court of Quarter Sessions, of Hunterdon, upon the charge of having sworn falsely upon the trial of Mr. Rowland, and indictments were found against each of them for perjury. These indictments were all removed to the Supreme Court. Anderson, conscious of his innocence and unwilling to be under the imputation of such a crime, demanded his trial at the next term of Oyer and Terminer. What evidence he offered in his defence does not appear, but he was convicted and condemned to stand one hour on the Court House steps with a paper on his breast whereon was written in large letters, "*This is for wilful and corrupt perjury.*" The trials of Tennent and Stevens were postponed.

Tennent, we are told, being entirely unused to legal matters and knowing no person by whom he could prove his innocence, had no other resource but to submit himself to Divine will, and thinking it not unlikely that he might be convicted, had prepared a sermon to preach from the pillory. True he employed Mr. John Coxe, an eminent lawyer of the Province to assist, and when he arrived at Trenton he found that William Smith one of the most distinguished members of the New York bar, who had voluntarily attended on his behalf; and Mr. Tennent's brother Gilbert who was then pastor of a church in Philadelphia, had brought with him Mr. John Kinsey, an eminent lawyer of that city, to aid in his defence. But what could they do without evidence? When Mr. Tennent was desired by his counsel to call on his witnesses that they might examine them before going into Court, he declared he knew no witnesses but God and his conscience. His counsel assured him, that however well founded this confidence might be, and however important before a heavenly tribunal, it would not avail him in an earthly court. And they therefore urged that an application should be made to postpone the trial. But this he would by no means consent to. They then informed him they had discovered a flaw in the indictment and proposed that advantage should be taken of it. (Mr. Stevens took advantage of this flaw and was cleared) Mr. Tennent resisted with great vehemence saying it was another snare of the devil, and before he would consent to it he would suffer death. In the meantime the bell summoned them to the Court. While on the way to the Court House Mr. Tennent is said to have met a man and

his wife who stopped and asked if his name was Tennent. He said it was and begged to know if they had any business with him. They replied "You know best." They then informed him that they resided in a certain place in Pennsylvania or Maryland, and that upon one occasion he in company with Rowland, Anderson and Stevens, had lodged at their house; that on the following day they had heard him and Rowland preach; that some nights before they left home, they had each of them dreamed that Mr. Tennent was at Trenton in the greatest possible distress, and that it was in their power, and in theirs alone to relieve him; that this dream was twice repeated and in precisely the same manner to each of them, and that it made so deep an impression on their minds that they had at once set off upon a journey to Trenton, and were there to know of him what they were to do. Mr. Tennent handed them over to his counsel, who to their astonishment found that their testimony was entirely satisfactory. Soon after, Mr. John Stockton, who mistook Tom Bell for Rev. Mr. Rowland, also appeared and was examined as a witness for Mr. Tennent. In short the evidence was so clear and conclusive, that notwithstanding the most strenuous exertion of the Attorney General to procure a conviction, the jury without hesitation acquitted Mr. Tennent.

MEMBERS OF THE NEW JERSEY  
PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY FROM  
MONMOUTH COUNTY.

FROM THEIR FIRST SESSION BEGAN NOVEMBER  
10th, 1703, AT PERTH AMBOY, TO THE  
REVOLUTION.

In the list of members of the Assembly, or "House of Representatives of the Province of Nova Cesarea or New Jersey," from 1703 to 1709, during which time there were four sessions, the names of the counties to which they severally belonged are not given. The records simply mention that they are from East or West Jersey as the case may be. Among the members from East Jersey it is probable that the following are from Monmouth County:

1st Assembly, 1703,	Obadiah Bowne, Rich'd Hartshorne,
2d       "       1704,	{ Richard Hartshorne, John Bowne,
	{ Richard Salter, Obadiah Bowne.
3d       "       1707,	{ John Bowne, William Lawrence,
	{ Lewis Morris.
4th       "       1708-9,	Gershom Mott, Elisha Lawrence.

After this session the names of the country to which the members belonged are given.

5th Assembly.	1709.	Elisha Lawrence, Gershom Mott.
6th "	1710.	Gershom Mott, William Lawrence.
7th "	1716.	William Lawrence, Elisha Lawrence.
8th "	1721.	William Lawrence, Garret Schenck.
9th "	1727.	John Eaton, James Grover.
10th "	1730.	John Eaton, James Grover.
11th "	1738.	John Eaton, Cornelius Vandervere.
12th "	1740.	John Eaton, Cornelius Vandervere.
13th "	1743.	John Eaton, Robert Lawrence.
14th "	1744.	John Eaton, Robert Lawrence.
15th "	1745.	John Eaton, Robert Lawrence.
16th "	1746.	John Eaton, Robert Lawrence.
17th "	1749.	John Eaton, Robert Lawrence.
18th "	1751.	Robert Lawrence, James Holmes.
19th "	1754.	Robert Lawrence, James Holmes.
20th "	1761.	James Holmel,* Richard Lawrence.
21st "	1769.	Robert Hartshorne, Edward Taylor.
23d "	1772.	Edward Taylor, Richard Lawrence.

Robert Lawrence was speaker of the Assembly in 1746-7, and again from 1754-1758.

THE PROVINCIAL CONGRESS OF NEW JERSEY.

The delegates appointed by the several counties to take action in regard to the tyrannical acts of Great Britain, assembled at New Brunswick, July 21st, 1774, and continued in session three days. Seventy-two delegates were present. The following had been elected from Monmouth county by a meeting held at Freehold Court House, July 19th, viz :

Edward Taylor, John Anderson, John Taylor.  
James Grover, John Lawrence, Dr. Nath'l Scudder.  
John Burrowes, Joseph Holmes, Josiah Holmes  
Edward Williams.

Edward Taylor was appointed chairman of the delegation. The Provincial Congress elected Stephen Crane, of Essex, Chairman, and Jonathan D. Sargent, of Somerset, clerk. Resolutions were passed similar in character to those adopted by the Monmouth meeting, recently published.

\* James Holmes died and John Arder son was chosen in his place.

WASHINGTON AND LEE AT THE BATTLE OF MONMOUTH.

In the battle of Monmouth when Major General Charles Lee had very nearly lost the day by ordering a retreat, it is related by Irving that Washington "galloped forward to stop the retreat, his indignation kindling as he rode." "The commander-in-chief soon encountered Lee approaching with the body of his command in full retreat." "By this time" says Irving he was thoroughly exasperated.

"What is the meaning of this sir?" demanded he, in the sternest and even fiercest tone as Lee rode up to him. Lee, stung by the manner more than by the words of demand, made an angry reply and provoked still sharper expressions which are variously reported.

The "variously reported" expressions are the swearing, concerning the quality of which all the great historians including Irving are silent.

WHAT LAFAYETTE SAID

But the Marquis de Lafayette, when relating the circumstance to Governor Tompkins, of New York, in 1824, said that 'this was the only time I ever heard General Washington swear. He called Lee a *damned pettroon*, and was in a towering rage. Another witness said that Washington cried to Lee "In the devil's name, sir, go back to the front or go to hell."

A PROFANE VIRGINIAN'S VERSION.

The late General Charles Scott, of Virginia, who had himself a most inveterate habit of swearing, being asked, after the Revolutionary war, whether it was possible that the beloved and admired Washington ever swore, replied in his inimitable way :

"Yes sir, he did once. It was at Monmouth and on a day that would have made any man swear. Yes sir, he swore that day *Till the leaves shook in the trees, charming, delightful*. Never have I enjoyed such swearing before or since. Sir, on that memorable day he swore like an angel from heaven!"

The foregoing would seem to justify General Lee's statement on his Court Martial trial, that he was "disconcerted, astonished and confounded" by Washington's words and manner.

WEEMS' ACCOUNT OF THE AFFAIR.

Says Weems, in his life of Washington : "As Washington was advancing, to his infinite astonishment he met Lee retreating and the enemy pursuing.

'For God's sake, General Lee,' said Washington, in great warmth, 'what is the cause of this ill timed prudence?'

'No man sir,' replied Lee, 'can boast a larger portion of that rascally virtue than your Excellency.'

Darting along like a madman, Washington rode up to his troops, who at sight of him rent the air with "God save great Washington."

"My brave fellows can you fight?" said he.

They answered with three cheers.

"Then face about, my heroes, and charge!"

This order was executed with infinite spirit.

#### REV. C. W. UPHAM'S ACCOUNT.

Upham in his life of Washington says:

"When General Washington met Lee retreating at the battle of Monmouth he was so exasperated as to lose control of his feelings for a moment and in his anger and indignation burst forth in violent expressions of language and manner.—Very harsh words were exchanged between him and Lee and a sharp correspondence ensued, which resulted in Washington's putting Lee under arrest. He was tried by Court Martial, convicted of disobedience of orders, of misbehavior before the enemy in making an unnecessary and disorderly retreat, and of disrespect to the Commander-in-Chief in the letters subsequently addressed to him and sentenced to be suspended for one year."

#### AN OLD CITIZEN OF MONMOUTH TELLS THE STORY.

The late Dr. Samuel Forman, whose father, David Forman and Peter Wikoff, acted as guides to General Washington, gave in 1842 the following version of what transpired on this memorable occasion.

"The action commenced in the morning after breakfast in the vicinity of Briar Hill, distant a half or three quarters of a mile beyond the Court House. From thence the Americans under Lee slowly retreated before the enemy about three miles to the vicinity of the Parsonage, where a final stand was made and the principal action fought. Here Washington met Lee in the field immediately north of the dwelling, and rising up to him, with astonishment asked "What is the meaning of this?" Lee being somewhat confused and not distinctly understanding the question, replied: "Sir! sir!" Washington the second time said "What is all that confusion for and retreat?"—Lee replied "He saw no confusion but arose from his orders not being properly obeyed." Washington mentioned that "he had certain information that it was but a strong covering party of the enemy." Lee replied that "It might be so, but they were rather stronger than he was and that he did not think it proper to risk so much," or words to that effect. Washing-

ton said "You should not have undertaken it," and passed by him. Shortly after Washington again met him and asked "if he would take command there; if not, he (Washington) would; if General Lee would take command there, he would return to the main army and arrange it."—Lee replied that "his Excellency had before given him the command there."—Washington told him he expected he would take proper measures for checking the enemy there. Lee replied that his orders should be obeyed and that he would not be the first to leave the field; and Washington then rode away. Immediately after this General Hamilton, in a great heat, rode up to Lee and said "I will stay here with you, my dear General, and *die with you; let us all die here rather than retreat.*"

#### OTHER HISTORIANS.

Marshall, Bancroft and Sparks in their lives of Washington merely state in substance that "Washington spoke in terms of warmth, implying disapprobation of Lee's conduct."

Mr. George H. Moore, librarian of the New York Historical Society published in 1860 a small volume entitled "The Treason of Charles Lee, &c" which gives some important facts in General Lee's career to which we shall endeavor to refer hereafter, but his work stops short of the battle of Monmouth.

Gen. Washington rarely used profane language, but there is no doubt that he did on this occasion, being exasperated at Lee's conduct, which gave suspicion of treachery. The charge of treason against Lee we shall endeavor to examine hereafter.

Our older readers remember the story of the College Divinity Professor who always held up Washington as a model for his pupils in all things. One day he was laboring to convince his scholars of the wickedness of profanity when one of them rose up and said: "Professor you told us to take Washington as an example in all things and you know he swore terribly at the battle of Monmouth." The Professor was nonplussed, but finally stammered "Ahem? ah, well—if ever any body *did* have an excuse for swearing it was Washington at the battle of Monmouth!"

#### GENERAL LEE'S OWN VERSION.

General Lee, in his defence before the Court Martial, said:

"When I arrived first in his (Washington's) presence, conscious of having done

nothing which could draw on me the least censure, but rather flattering myself with his congratulation and applause. I confess I was disconcerted, astonished and confounded by the words and manner in which His Excellency accosted me. It was so novel and unexpected from a man whose discretion, humanity and decorum I had from the first of our acquaintance stood in admiration of, that I was for some time unable to make any coherent answer to questions so abrupt and in a great measure unintelligible. The terms I think were these: "I desire to know, sir, what is the reason whence arises this disorder and confusion?" The manner in which he expressed them was much stronger and more severe than the expressions themselves. When I recovered myself sufficiently I answered that I saw or knew of no confusion but which naturally arose from disobedience of orders, contradictory intelligence and the impertinence and presumption of individuals who were invested with no authority, intruding themselves in matters above their sphere; *That the retreat in the first instance was contrary to my orders and wishes.*

Washington replied all this might be true but he ought not have undertaken the enterprise unless he intended to go through with it."

EPISCOPALIANISM IN OLD MONMOUTH.

Freehold, Middletown, Shrewsbury, Stafford, &c. Missionary Efforts from 1745 to 1751. Freehold Presbyterians and Episcopalians—Strife in Good Works.—Heathens (?) in the Pines. Rogerine Baptists, &c.

The following account of the missionary efforts of Rev. Thomas Thompson in old Monmouth, some century and a quarter ago is worthy of preservation by all interested in the early religious history of the county. We have seen it stated that but two copies of Mr. Thompson's work were to be found in America, one in the Connecticut Historical library and the other in the Astor library at New York. In our visits to the latter library in past years we have been surprised to see the value placed upon this little old fashioned book by people versed in the history of olden times in America, and it is almost as well known among them as Gabriel Thomas' History of West Jersey, &c., published 1698, of which the only known copy of the original

edition is in the Franklin Library, Philadelphia, a copy of which we hope to find room for, before concluding these sketches. Lately another copy of Mr. Thompson's little book was discovered in an Episcopal library in South Carolina, and placed in the Congressional Library, at Washington.

In Mr. Thompson's account of his visit it will be noticed that he speaks disparagingly of the early settlers in the lower part of the county. His zeal for the tenets of this society by which he was employed, seems to have led him to make animadversions against the people there, which it would appear were not entirely deserved according to the testimony of ministers of other denominations, which we may give hereafter in sketches of the early history of other societies. It will be noticed that while he accuses them of great ignorance, yet he acknowledges having many conferences and disputes on religious topics with them, which shows that they were considerably posted in scriptural matters, but undoubtedly opposed to the Church of England.

Mr. Thompson's little work gives an account of his visit to Monmouth and also to Africa. We give all that relates to Old Monmouth. His remarks about heathenism in the pines is rather severe, when it is remembered that it was made after his visit to the negroes in Guinea, Africa. The society he terms "Culvers" were Rogerine Baptists, who were located some eleven years at Waretown, Ocean county, and then left and went to Schooley's Mountains.

An Account of the Missionary Voyages by the Appointment of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts. The one to New Jersey in North America, and then from America, to the coast of Guinea.

By REV. THOMAS THOMPSON, A. M., VICAR OF RECVLVER, IN KENT. London; printed for Benj. Dod at the Bible and Key, in Ave Mary Lane, near St. Pauls. MDCCCLVIII.

In the spring of the year 1745 I embarked for America, being appointed Missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts upon recommendation of my Reverend Tutor Dr. Thomas Cartwright, late Archdeacon of Colchester

and a member of the Society, myself then a Fellow of Christ's College Cambridge. I went in a ship called the Albany, belonging to New York which sailed from Gravesend on the 8th day of May and providentially escaping some instant dangers on the passage, arrived at New York on the 29th of August. The Sunday following I preached both Morning and Afternoon at the Episcopal Church in that city, whereof the Reverend Mr. Commissary Vesey had then been rector more than forty years. On the next Sunday I passed over to Elizabethtown in New Jersey on my journey to Monmouth County in the Eastern Division where I was appointed to reside and have the care of Churches in that county, being also licensed thereto by the Right Reverend the late Lord Bishop of London.

Being come to the place of my mission I presented my credentials and was kindly received and took the first opportunity of waiting upon the governor Lewis Morris Esq., at his seat at Kingsburg which is in the Western Division, and took the oath of allegiance and supremacy and also the abjuration oath and subscribed the Declaration in presence of his Excellency.

Upon making inquiry into the state of the churches within my District, I found that the members were much disturbed and in a very unsettled state, insomuch, that some of them had thoughts of leaving our communion and turning to the Dissenters. The particular occasion of this I forbear to mention.

As I came to gather more information, it presented to me, that many of those who frequented the Church worship never had been baptized; some heads of families and several others of adult age, besides a number of young children and Infants.

I perceived that it was not altogether neglect, but there was something of principle in the cause, that so many persons had not received the sacred ordinance of baptism and others did not procure it to their children. That part of the country abounding in Quakers and Anabaptists, the intercourse with these sects was of so bad influence, as had produced among the Church people thus conforming with their tenets and example. However the main fault was rather carelessness of the baptism and a great deal was owing to prejudice respecting the matter of god fathers and god mothers.

I seriously declare that the reconciling this order of the Church to the minds of people in the American colonies, is of more

difficulty and trouble to the Missionary than almost all their work and business besides. And I am well assured that many of the Sectaries dislike nothing in the Church so much as that; and some I am apt to think, do stand out from our Communion purely upon that account and for no other reason.

I had many tedious arguments with my people upon this head. I also made it the subject of some of my discourses in the pulpit, till by one means or other, I at length brought them to a better understanding thereof and to be in a good degree satisfied with it.

After sometime they began to bring their children to Baptism, and when some had led the way, the rest followed, and presented those of their children which were under years of maturity, to be received into the Church and I christened thirteen in one day. After this it went on regularly. Parents had their children baptized as soon after they were born as conveniently could be done and one whole family, the man (whose name was Joseph West) his wife and nine children were baptized all at one time.

By frequent exhortations to the elder sort and often calling upon them to consider how they deferred a thing of that consequence to their salvation, I prevailed with many to take upon themselves the baptismal engagement, to whom I gave all necessary instruction both to inform their understanding and prepare their minds thereto.

The Churches which I served were well filled every Sunday and divers families that lived out of the county came to Divine service from several miles distance and were very constant devout attendants.— Besides these some of the Dutch Church often made a considerable addition to the number of my hearers.

I had three churches immediately in my charge, each of them situated in a different township, which had regular duty in such proportion as were agreed upon and subscribed to at a general vestry meeting soon after my coming there. The names of the townships are Freehold, Shrewsbury and Middletown, I also officiated at Allentown in Upper Freehold while that church was destitute of a minister, which was afterwards supplied by Mr. Michael Houdin, a convert from the Church of Rome, and a worthy clergyman, now the Society's missionary. These four townships comprised the whole county although 40 or 50

miles in length and in some parts of it considerably wide. I also did occasional duty at other places as will be farther mentioned.

This mission to Monmouth County had been very early recommended to the Society but was not presently established. Dr. Humphrey's in his Historical account makes mention "that Colonel Morris, a gentleman of character and considerable interest in New Jersey (the same who was afterwards governor of the province) did in a letter in the year 1703 very earnestly solicit Dr. Beveridge (late Bishop of St. Asaph, a member of the Society) to send a missionary to Monmouth county in East Jersey where a considerable body of Church people had formed themselves into a gathered church and had promised all the help their narrow circumstances could afford their minister. The Society were not then able to support a missionary there, but the Reverend Alexander Innis, happening to be in those parts took the care of that people upon him. After a worthy discharge of his functions he died;" and by his last will and testament appointed ten acres of land lying in Middletown to the service of God, which is the ground whereon the church now stands. Since that Mr. William Leeds became a benefactor to the church by making over his house and plantation to the society for the use and habitation of a missionary to be appointed to preach the gospel to the inhabitants of Middletown and Shrewsbury.

As to the church buildings I have found them all much out of condition, especially the church at Middletown, which was begun to be built, but the year before I came there, and had nothing done on the inside, not even a floor laid. So that we had no place for the present to assemble in Divine worship, only an old house which had formerly been a meeting house

I had now a great and very difficult task of it to bring people to the communion. They that were conformable to this sacred ordinance were in very small numbers. Many persons of 50 or 60 years of age and some older had never addressed themselves to it. In this case it appeared to me that their will was less in fault than their judgment, which hung so much on the side of fear, that it overbalanced the sense of duty. I took all possible pains to satisfy their scruples, gave them frequent opportunities of the communion, and by the blessing of God gained most of the ancient people,

besides many others, who gave due and devoted attention to it ever after.

That I might lay a good foundation for the children and build them up in sound christian principles I began to catechize; at first only asking questions in the Church catechism, but after a while I changed the method with them, so as still to keep the words of the catechism but raised other questions to the several clauses and matters contained therein to try what they understood of it; and by this means led them further into the sense and meaning of every part of it.

The number of my catechumens began now to increase and several of riper years presented themselves with a seeming earnestness to receive the benefit of this instruction. So I carried it further and put Lewis' Exposition into their hands and appointed them a day about once a month to come to the Court House and say the parts which I set them to get by heart, and this course I continued till some of them could recite it from end to end.

There were others willing and desirous to be put forward in the way of godly knowledge who had not so good memories. To these I propounded two or three questions at a time upon some point of doctrine which they were to prepare themselves to answer the next meeting and to have the Scripture proofs written down to be then also produced. To this they applied themselves with great industry and gave extraordinary instances of their good understanding as well as diligence.

When the others had no more of Lewis' catechism to learn I made them repeat the Thirty Nine Articles of religion and then taught them to divide these into questions and answers, and they gave me in monthly the texts they had collected in proof of them.

In the interim I was not unconcerned for the poor negroes who wanted enlightening more than any, and therefore spake to their Masters and Mistresses to be at the pains to teach them the Catechism. And thus was taken good care of in some pious families and I catechized them in the Church a certain Sunday, and sometimes at home and after due instruction, those whom I had good assurance of I received to baptism, and such afterwards as behaved well I admitted to the communion.

Speaking here of negroes I will mention the case of one in whom it pleased God to give an example of his influencing favor under circumstances of a condemned crim-

inal. This man was a servant at a place called Crosswicks, to a Quaker and had been convicted of a rape. He after his apprehension, and also at his trial did seem to be a very hardened wretch. According to the strictness of the laws, a negro is to be executed immediately after sentence; but the Judges were pleased to be so far favorable as to allow him the space of a fortnight to be prepared for death; which Christian indulgence gave me an opportunity to perform those offices to him which by the blessing of God and with the assistance of a neighboring clergyman, worked upon him by degrees, and at length brought him to a true repentance. For some time he held in a very obstinate temper, but when it began that I could get anything from him, I found he was not wholly ignorant in the principles of christianity; and as he became more disposed to seriousness, his readiness of apprehension and aptness to learn made it easy to supply to him the further knowledge of religion, which, if he had considered sooner, might have prevented his coming to that untimely end. One particular in my dealing with him I shall speak of, as it may suggest a useful hint to those whose office may call them upon a like occasion and which practice I can from other experience recommend.

I took out of the Psalms such verses as are proper to a penitent sinner; which I made him repeat verse by verse after me, every now and then bidding him raise up his mind and thoughts to Heaven and consider that he was speaking to Almighty God. By this means putting the best words of devotion into his mouth, the most pertinent to his use; also holding up his attention; calling him to awe and reverence the poor criminal was drawn out into a sort of involuntary confession of his guilt and the sense of his soul soon corresponded with what his tongue uttered and he felt in himself, those affections which worked duly and properly after they had thus been excited. Being thoroughly instructed and grounded in the christian faith and there being no room to doubt the sincerity of his repentance, three days before his execution I baptized him and on that day gave him the communion.

In the year 1746 the Church at Middletown which had stood useless, being, as I have before mentioned, only a shell of a building, had now a floor laid and was otherwise made fit to have divine worship performed in it. The congregation of this

church was but small and as the service could not be oftener than once a month, it was morally impossible to increase the number much, especially as there was a weekly meeting of Anabaptists in that town, so that it was the most I could propose to prevent those that were of the church from being drawn away by dissenters.

After necessity had been answered its demand in the fitting up of one church, expediency came next to be consulted for the finishing another, viz: St. Peters in the township of Freehold, which had been built many years but was never quite completed. The ground on which the church stands was the gift of one Mr. Thomas Boel, who had been a Quaker, but was brought over with many others of that persuasion by Mr. George Keith, one of the Society's first Missionaries, who himself had been one of that people but became a very zealous member and diligent servant of the church and was a person well learned. After his return from abroad he had the living of Edburton in Sussex and published his journal of missionary travel.

The situation of St. Peters church at *Typonemes*, which is distant from any town, is however convenient enough to the congregation and was resorted to by many families in Middlesex county living within the several districts of Cranberry, Macheponneck, and South River; their missionary, my friend and brother Mr. Skinner gladly remitting to me the care of them, which he could not well attend to by reason of a wide and often dangerous Ferry over the Ruritan which divides Middlesex county.

I was therefore willing to give them all possible attendance and did often meet them and baptize their children and appointed certain days to preach at those places and there also catechize.

At a town called Middletown Point I preached divers times, the place being remote and few of the settlers having any way for convenience of coming to church.

The inhabitants of Freehold township, were at least half of them Presbyterian. The church people and these interspersed among each other, had lived less in charity and brotherly love than as becomes churches. But they began on both sides to think less of the things in which they differed in opinion than of those in which they agreed. And when bickering and disputing were laid down, which was done at last, with the full consent of both parties, another strife arose from a better spirit in the way of



peace, to *provoke love and to do good works*, in which neither side was less forward than the other.

The Church of England worship had at Shrewsbury been provided for by the building of a church, before there was any other in the county; but this church was now too small for the numerous congregation. People of all sorts resorted thither and of the Quaker which are a great body in that township, there were several who made no scruple of being present at divine service and were not too precise to uncover their heads in the house of God.

I went sometimes to a place called Manasquan almost twenty miles distant from my habitation where, and at Shark River, which is in that neighborhood some church families were settled who were glad of all opportunities for the exercise of Religion. I baptized at Manasquan two Negro brethren, both servants to Mr. Samuel Osborne an eminent and very worthy member of the church, in whose family they had been taught good christian principles. The honest men were so gratified that each of them offered me a *Spanish* dollar in acknowledgment and would have thought themselves more obliged if I had not refused their presents.

From Manasquan for twenty miles further on in the country, is all one pine forest. I traveled through this desert four times to a place called Barnegat, and thence to Mannahawkin, almost sixty miles from home and preached at places where no foot of minister had ever come. Only at Mannahawkin, one Mr. Neill, a dissenting minister, who is now a presbyter of the Church of England (then living at Great Egg Harbor) visited Mannahawkin.

In this section I had my views of heathenism just as thoroughly as I have ever since beheld it. The inhabitants are thinly scattered in regions of solid wood. Some are decent people who had lived in better places, but those who were born and bred here, have neither religion nor manners and do not know so much as a letter in a book.

As Quakerism is the name under which all those in America shade themselves that have been brought up to none, but would be thought to be of some religion; so these poor people call themselves Quakers, but they have no meetings and many of them make no distinction of days, neither observing Lords Day nor the Sabbath; only some New England families were then lately settled there who were called Culvers and had

a form and manner of their own which they held too sacred (though perhaps rather it was too monstrous) to be communicated and did not admit others into their assemblies. As for those who had removed thither from other parts of the country, they seemed very sensible of the unhappiness of their situation, living where they had no opportunity for the worship of God nor for the christian education of their children. I would have taken this difficult journey oftener, finding that some good might be done among them but having too much duty to attend to in other parts of my mission I could not do it.

As people were desirous of having a Schoolmaster and spoke of making up among themselves a competency for one, I proposed it to Mr. Christopher Robert Reynolds, the Society's schoolmaster at Shrewsbury; and those parts being within that township, it was not inconsistent with his appointment. He was willing to go and set up school there, and accordingly went down and taught a year, employing his diligence to good effect.

But his employers living so far asunder that they could not send their children to school all at one place, he was obliged to be often shifting and to go from one house to another, which was such a fatigue and labor to him, being in years and an infirm man, that he was not able to continue it and returned to Shrewsbury his former station.

In my journeying through this part of the country I had many conferences and disputes with the people. Some of them were willing to see their errors and others were as obstinate in defending theirs. And though ignorant minds and prejudiced cannot easily be made to apprehend the nature and necessity of the christian ordinances yet it pleased God that I brought some to a true sense of them and I gained a few to the communion, and baptized, besides children seventeen grown persons, of which number was Nicholas Wainwright nearly 80 years of age.

I had now seen a great change in the state of my mission within the space of three years, through the grace of God rendering my labors effectual to a good end; in particular as to the peace and union which the church members, after having been much at variance among themselves, were now returned to, and the ceasing animosities betwixt them and those of other societies; for these I account the most valuable success that attended my ministry.

After this the churches continued to flourish and in the latter end of the year 1750, having then been above five years in America upon this mission, I wrote to the venerable and honorable society a letter requesting of them to grant me a mission to the coast of Guiney, that I might go to make a trial with the natives and see what hopes there would be of introducing among them the christian religion. The summer following I received an answer to that letter from the Rev. Dr. Bearcroft, acquainting me that the Society had concluded to support me in the design of that voyage and would appoint another missionary in my stead for Monmouth county. And the next September Mr Samuel Cook of Caius college arrived with his proper credentials and I delivered up my charge to him.

Having took my leave of the congregation I set out on the 13th of November 1751 for New York, from thence to go upon my voyage to Africa, and at Elizabethtown waited on Governor Jonathan Belcher Esq., who succeeded Colonel Morris, to pay my respects to him before I left the province.

November 24th 1751 I preached both in the morning and the afternoon in the English church in New York of which Reverend Mr Barclay is the worthy Rector and the next day went on board a brigantine called the "Prince George," Captain William Williams, bound for the coast of Africa.

#### METHODISM IN OLD MONMOUTH.

The Pioneers of the Society—Bishop Asbury at Freehold, Allentown, Long Branch, Squan, Kettle Creek, Goodluck &c—Rev. Benjamin Abbott's visit during the Revolution.

We have reason to believe that the pioneers of Methodism visited the county within a very few years after the principles of the society were first proclaimed in America, and that occasionally some preacher would hold forth in some of our churches, school houses or private houses as early as 1774. Some uncertainty exists as to where the first preachers held services in the county, owing to the fact that the early heroes of Methodism were not always very precise in giving the names of places where they preached, dates and other particulars interesting to the historian of the present day. The most complete and satisfactory journal is that of the

faithful, zealous, untiring Bishop Francis Asbury, which is the more remarkable as it is doubtful if any minister of any denomination ever performed as much labor as he did in travelling and preaching. We append extracts from his journal relating to his labors in Monmouth. But other preachers had preceded him. Rev. William Watters the first Methodist travelling preacher of American birth was stationed in our state in 1774, and he may have visited our county, though he makes no mention of it in his journal. That earnest, self-sacrificing minister of the gospel, Rev. Benjamin Abbott visited old Monmouth in 1778. Mr. Abbott in his journal speaks of preaching at various places in that part of old Monmouth now composed within the limits of Ocean county, among which were Mannahawkin, Waretown, Goodluck and Toms River. But after leaving Toms River, he omits to name places: he merely uses such expressions as "at my next appointment, &c.," without naming where it was. He probably preached at Freehold and other places within the limits of the present county of Monmouth. At some future time we shall endeavor to find room for so much of his journal as may relate to old Monmouth.

Though it is somewhat uncertain who were the first Methodist preachers in the county, yet the probabilities are that some, if not all the following named persons preached here before Abbott's visit in 1778, viz: Captain Thomas Webb, Reverends Philip Gatch, Caleb B. Pedicord, William Watters, John King, Daniel Ruff and William Duke.

Rev. John Atkinson in his "Memorials of Methodism in New Jersey," says:

"The Methodist Society of Monmouth (Freehold?) must have been formed at an early period, probably about 1780, as in that year Job Throckmorton of Freehold was converted under the ministry of Rev. Richard Gametson and became a member of the Society. He was one of the first members in that region. The Methodists were much persecuted there at that time. His house was a home for preachers, and very likely Asbury was entertained at his dwelling during his visits to Freehold.—Everitt, Freeborn Garretson, Ezekiel Cooper, Ware, and others were accustomed to stop at his house. He was accustomed to relate incidents of Rev. Benjamin Abbott's powerful ministry, one of which is as follows:

"On one occasion meeting was held in the woods, and after Freeborn Garretson had preached, Abbott arose and looked around over the congregation very significantly, and exclaimed: "Lord, begin the work; Lord, begin the work now! Lord, begin the work just *there!* pointing at the same time towards a man who was standing beside a tree, and the man fell as suddenly as if he had been shot and cried aloud for mercy."

In 1786 Trenton circuit probably included Trenton, Pemberton, Mount Holly, Burlington and Monmouth, Reverends Robert Sparks and Robert Cann preachers. In 1787 Rev. Ezekiel Cooper and Rev. Nathaniel B. Mills were the preachers. In 1788 Rev's John Merrick, Thomas Morrell and Jettus Johnson were the preachers.

BISHOP ASBURY IN OLD MONMOUTH.—EXTRACTS FROM HIS JOURNAL.

September 14th 1782. I came to New Mills (now Pemberton in Burlington county). I passed through Monmouth in Upper and Lower Freehold; here lived that old saint of God, William Tenment, who went to his reward a few years ago.

Friday September 9th 1785. I heard Mr. Woodhull preach a funeral discourse on "Lord thou hast made my days as a handbreadth." In my judgment he spoke well.

(The Mr. Woodhull above referred to by Mr. Asbury, was probably the Rev. John Woodhull, D. D., who succeeded Rev. Mr. Tenment at the old Tenment Church, and who died Nov. 22d, 1824, aged 80 years.)

Saturday September 10th, 1785. I had liberty in preaching to the people of Monmouth on Joshua 24—17 and felt much for the souls present. (Freehold then was often called Monmouth and Monmouth Court House.)

Friday September 22nd, 1786. We dined at Amboy and reached Monmouth at night.

September 23rd, 1786. I preached life and love at Leonards. The people here appear very lifeless. I had lately been much tried and much blessed.

Tuesday September 26th, 1786. I had many to hear me at Potter's Church, but the people were insensible and unfeeling.

(This Potter's Church was at Goodluck in Ocean County, and built by a benevolent resident of that place named Thomas Potter. Its singular history will be given in speaking of the Universalists' society.)

From Goodluck, Bishop Asbury proceeded to Batsto, Burlington county. In October, 1790, he preached at Crosswicks, Allentown and Cranbury. Of his next visit to this county he says:

Monday September 5th, 1791. I rode through much rain to Monmouth, N. J., where I preached to a considerable congregation on "The just shall live by faith; but if any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him." There is some stir among the people; at Long Branch within eighteen months, as I am informed, nearly fifty souls have professed conversion.

Sept. 6th, 1791. I found the Lord had not left himself without witnesses at Kettle Creek.

Sept. 7th, 1791. At P——s Church (Potter's Church?) I learn some were offended. Blessed be God, my soul was kept in great peace.

From there Mr. Asbury proceeded to Little Egg Harbor.

October 28th, 1795. We came to Monmouth; we would have gone to Shrewsbury but time and our horses failed us. I learn that the ancient spirit of faith and prayer is taking place below. I was shocked at the brutality of some men who were fighting; one gouged out the other's eye; the father and son then both beset him again, cut off his ears and nose and beat him almost to death; the father and son were tried for a breach of the peace and roundly fined; and now the man that has lost his nose is come upon them for damage. I have often thought that there are some things practiced in the Jerseys which are more brutish and diabolical than in any other of the states; there is nothing of this kind in New England; they learn civility there at least.

We rode twenty miles to Emley's Church where the great revival of religion was some years ago. I felt a little of the old good spirit there still.

May 30th, 1806. I preached at Lower Freehold. I came home with Simon Pyle. Ah! what a death there is in the Leonard family.

May 1st, 1806. I breakfasted with Throckmorton; his loss is his gain—he has lost his birthright as a citizens of the state but he has the blessing of God on his soul.

Sunday April 23rd, 1809. I preached at Tuckerton; my subject was 2 Cor. 4—2. In the afternoon I preached again. On Monday I preached at Waretown. I staid awhile with Samuel Brown and came to

Thomas Chamberlain's; I was compellen by uncomfortable feeling to go to rest at six o'clock. At David Woodmance's (Goodluck?) on Tuesday I preached on 2nd Tim. 2-15. On Wednesday after a rain I set out for Polhemus' chapel (Polhemus Mills) where I preached. My friends were exceedingly kind and I was very sick. I rose unwell on Thursday and took medicine and set out for Squan river. My host here, Derrick Longstreet, has been married twenty-four years; his wife once had twins and she has made him the father of sixteen children all of whom are sound and well. I had a noble congregation here of women and children; the men were generally gone from the neighborhood, either to the waters or to work. I was seriously unwell. On Friday at Newman's at Shark river I had women not a few. I suited my subject to my hearers and preached from Luke 10. 44-42. Ah! how many Marthas' and how few Marys! In the afternoon I spoke again at P. White's. We have meetings twice a day and sometimes at night, and the prospects are pleasing. The weather is severely cold.

Sunday, September 30th. 1809. At Long Branch my subject was Acts 3-26. It was given me to speak in strong words, words of God and from God. At 3 o'clock I preached in the Episcopal church at Shrewsbury. I came home with John Throckmorton.

Monday, May 10th 1813. I preached at Allentown, nearly two hours and had gracious access to God and to truth. We lodged with John Hughes. I am filled with God.

REV. WILLIAM MILLS—AN OLD MONMOUTH PREACHER; A HERO OF THE WAR AND A SOLDIER OF THE CROSS.

The following sketch of Mr. Mills is by Rev. George A. Raybold, author of Methodism in West Jersey, whose ministrations in Monmouth county some forty odd years ago are so favorably remembered by many of our older citizens.

"Mr. Mills was a native of Monmouth, of Quaker descent. The fire of patriotic feeling induced him, Quaker as he was, in 1776, to enter the American army in which he became an officer. He was taken prisoner by the British and was sent, after being changed from one vessel to another, to the West Indies. At length he was carried to Europe, from whence at the close of the war, he returned home and again settled in New Jersey. About the year 1792 the Methodist preachers came

into the region of country where he resided. His wife solicited him to hear them, but he resisted; stating his belief that he had been so wicked his day of grace was past. By a remarkable dream he was at length convinced that there was mercy for him. He then attended the means of grace, until as he sought the Lord with all his heart, he soon found mercy and peace through faith in Jesus. He became a member of the first class formed in the vicinity of Shrewsbury in Monmouth. Soon after he found the Lord, he began to exhort others and was appointed class leader; and in the spring of 1799 he was received into the travelling connexion. His labors as an itinerant began on Milford circuit, Delaware, from whence he was sent to various places and finally returned to Jersey. In 1813 he was sent to Freehold, the place of his nativity and the first field of his Christian efforts. The soldier who had faced death at the cannon's mouth on the land and on the sea, now, as his end approached in reality felt no fear. He had a presentiment of his death and told his wife that "death seemed to follow him everywhere." His zeal for God and labors for the salvation of souls increased. The last time he left home he gave his wife sundry directions and advices in case he should die. He started as well as usual, and filled all his appointments, preaching most fervently until a short time before his death. On the 4th of December he left Long Branch, met class, and then returned to Mr. Lippencott's at the Branch. On Sunday morning he went into a room in Mr. Lippencott's to prepare for the service in the church, which was to commence at half past ten o'clock. The congregation was then collecting and the family, thinking he stayed too long in the chamber sent in to know the cause and found him fallen in a fit of apoplexy, almost deprived of sense. After a time he revived a little and on being asked if they should send for medical aid, he replied, "The Lord is the best physician." At about twelve o'clock the stupor and other unfavorable symptoms returned; he lingered until about six the next morning and then peacefully departed for a world of rest. Thus suddenly fell into the arms of death another faithful minister of the gospel; a zealous, faithful and acceptable preacher; an Israelite, indeed, in whom there was no guile; long however has he lived in the affectionate remembrance of the people of West Jersey, who knew him well."

In the year 1812, the year previous to Mr. Mills being sent to preach in Freehold circuit, the number of members embraced in the charge was seven hundred and thirty-six.

MONMOUTH COUNTY—WHEN ESTABLISHED.

OFFICIALS ONE HUNDRED AND NINETY YEARS AGO.

The name Monmouth was officially given to the county March 7th, 1683, as will be seen by the following extracts:

“Att a Council held the 7th day of the month called March 1683 \* \* \* \* \*

“A bill sent downe from the Deputyes for deviding the p'vince into Countyes read and agreed vno.”—*Journal of Proceedings of Gov. & Council*, 1682—1703.

The following is an extract from the bill referred to:

“At a General Assembly begun and holden at Elizabethtown in this Province of East New Jersey, the first day of the Month called March Anno Domini 1682 and in the Five and Thirtieth year of the reign of King Charles the Second, over England &c, and there continued by several adjournments thereof until the twenty eight day of the said Month of March, for the public Weale of this Province was Enacted as follows:

\* \* \* \* \*

“IV. *An Act to divide the Province into Four Counties.*—Having taken into consideration the necessity of dividing the Province into respective Counties for the better governing and settling Courts in the same:—

“*Be it Enacted*, by this General Assembly, and the Authority thereof, that this Province be divided into four counties as followeth: (Here follows the bounds of Bergen, Essex, and Middlesex, after which the bounds of Monmouth are given as follows:)

“*Monmouth County* to begin at the Westward Bounds of Middlesex county, containing Middletown and Shrewsbury and so extend Westward, Southward, and Northward to the extream Bounds of the Province. Provided this distinction of the Province into Counties, do not extend to the infringement of any Liberty in any Charter already granted.”—*Leaming and Spicer*.

THE LEGAL AND THE HISTORICAL YEAR—DISCREPANCIES EXPLAINED.

In the foregoing may be noticed an apparent discrepancy in giving the year when the act referred to was passed.—Some authorities give the date as March, 1683; the “*Journal of the Proceedings of the Governor and Council of the Province of East New Jersey, from 1682 to 1703,*” gives the date as March 1683, which leaves the general reader in doubt as to which year is meant—1682 or 1683; and “*Leaming & Spicer’s Grants and Concessions,*” published in 1752, expressly says the act was passed in March, 1682. This apparent discrepancy is explained by the fact that at that time the English legal year commenced March 25th; hence the legal year 1682 began March 25th, 1682, and ended March 24th, 1683. (See *Leaming and Spicer*, p 74;) and all acts passed in 1683 previous to March 25th, would be dated the legal year 1682. In the *Journal of the Proceedings of the Legislature from 1682 to 1703*, before referred to, two dates are given in such a manner that it would seem quite puzzling were it not for this explanation. On page 32 the date of the meeting of the Council is March 24th, 1683. As March 25th, was Sunday the next daily session was March 26th, when the year is given as 1683. In ancient records when a date is given with what seems a fraction at the righthand, as in the case above mentioned, 1683, the meaning is that the upper figure gives the legal year and the lower one the historical year.

ORIGIN OF THE NAME OF THE COUNTY

The name Monmouth was given to the county through the influence of Col. Lewis Morris who at the beginning of this session (March 1st,) was said to have been “Elected for Shrewsbury” as a Deputy, but his place declared vacant, probably because he had been selected by the Governor as a member of the council at that time.

Colonel Morris had purchased a large tract of land, in what was afterwards known as Monmouth County, October 25th, 1676, said to contain 3540 acres, whereupon he located, as described in 1680, “his iron mills, his Manors, and divers other buildings for his servants and dependants; together with 60 or 70 negroes about the Mill and Husbandry. To this plantation he gave the name of Tintern (corrupted afterwards to Tinton) after

an estate which had belonged to the family in Monmouthshire, England, and from him Monmouth county received its name."

Col. Lewis Morris, Joseph Parker, Peter Tilton and John Hance of Shrewsbury; and John Bowne and John Throgmorton (Throckmorton?) of Middletown. Richard Gardner was elected Clerk of the County Courts, Richard Hartshorne High Sheriff, and Richard Lippencott coroner. Richard Hartshorne tendered his resignation as Sheriff the following May, but it was not accepted; he appears to have refused to serve still, and May 31st Eliakim Wardell of Shrewsbury was elected.

In the act erecting County Courts it is enacted that "the Judge or Justices of the respective sessions of the County Courts shall be the Justices of the Peace of the said respective counties or three of them at least." Col. Morris was probably presiding judge. The following year the same justices were reelected, with the addition of James Grover of Middletown.

Two or three days after the passage of the acts establishing the two Courts above referred to the General Assembly passed "A Bill to settle the Court of Common Right," which was "the Supreme Court of this Province," to which actions or suits from lower Courts, the debts or damages of which were five pounds or upwards, could be removed, and which had power to "Correct Errors in Judgment and reverse the same if there be just cause for the same." Of this Court the first members from Monmouth were Col. Lewis Morris

(The learned, indefatigable corresponding Secretary of the New Jersey Historical Society, Hon. Wm. A. Whitehead, to whom our state is indebted more than to any other person for efforts to preserve the fading records of the past history of New Jersey, and to whom we have been indebted for several items in these chapters, a few years ago published a sketch of Col. Morris's life to which we may refer hereafter.)

As to the probability of some of the prominent early settlers favoring Col. Morris's proposition to name the county Monmouth, because of a friendly feeling for the Duke of Monmouth, beheaded a few years later, we shall endeavor to speak hereafter.

#### COURTS ESTABLISHED AND OFFICERS APPOINTED.

On the 13th of March, 1683, two acts were passed under the following titles:

"An Act to erect a Court of small Causes" and "An Act to Erect County Courts."—The Court for the trial of small causes was to be held in every township the first Wednesday of every month, and to have jurisdiction for "determining small causes and debts under forty shillings."

The act establishing County Courts fixed the following times and places for sessions in Monmouth, viz:

"The County of Monmouth, their sessions to be the fourth Tuesday in March in the public meeting house at Middletown yearly. The fourth Tuesday in June in the public meeting house at Shrewsbury yearly. The fourth Tuesday in September in the public meeting house at Middletown, and the fourth Tuesday in December in the public meeting house in Shrewsbury."

The next day after the passage of the above acts (on March 14th, 1683.) Lewis Morris, jr., was elected by the Council "high Sheriff for the succeeding year from the 25th of this Instant Month," which he probably declined, as Richard Hartshorne was confirmed for the same office some ten days subsequently.

The following were the first Justices of the Peace appointed for Monmouth County (March 24th, 1683), viz: (by virtue of being a member of the Council) and John Bowne.

During the same session (March, 1683), the following persons were authorized "to make and settle highways, passages, landings, bridges and ferries" in the county, viz:

The Surveyor-General Samuel Groome, Col. Lewis Morris, Capt. John Bound, Richard Hartshorne, John Hance, Joseph Parker, Lewis Morris, jun.

Among the members of "The General Assembly of the Province of East New Jersey" which met at Elizabethtown March 1st, 1683, were, from Monmouth, Colonel Lewis Morris of the Council, and Richard Hartshorne, John Bowne, Joseph Parker and John Hance, Deputies.

When Monmouth County was established its population was supposed to be between nine hundred and one thousand.—Secretary Nicholls (of N. Y.) estimated the population in 1682 of Shrewsbury at four hundred inhabitants; and Middletown one hundred families which would probably be about five hundred inhabitants.

AN ACT FOR THE MILITIA—FIRST OFFICERS IN MONMOUTH.

An act with the above title was passed December 1st, 1683, and December 3d it was ordered for the better settling and exercise of the Militia under its provisions "that there bee one Major, and so many Captaines Com'issionated in each County as there be inhabitants to make up Companies." For the County of Monmouth Captain John Bound was commissioned Major, and for Middletown James Grover Lieutenant, Safety Grover Ensign. For Shrewsbury, John Slocomb Captain, Geo. Stowlett Lieutenant, and Lewis Morris Ensign.

The Act for the Militia ordered that every male person between the ages of sixteen and sixty should be provided with arms, equipments, ammunition, &c., at his own expense under penalty of prescribed fines for each article not provided. A sergeant and corporal were authorized "to view arms every quarter or as often as the officer shall see cause." It was enacted that there should be four training or mustering days in a year, "two in the Spring and two in the Fall of the Leaf," under prescribed penalties.

CHIEF RANGER OF MONMOUTH.

December 3d, 1683, Captain John Slocomb was appointed "Chief Ranger" for Monmouth County. The duty of this officer is thus described:

"Forasmuch as many abuses are and have been committed within this Province, in the taking up, marking, selling and disposing of horses, mares and geldings \* \* be it enacted that there shall be one person appointed for each County who shall take up and receive all strays, register the same &c." The Chief Ranger was authorized to employ as many deputies as he thought proper. The importers of all cattle and horses were required to furnish the Ranger with a description of each head imported, and all drovers were required to do the same. The fees and penalties under the act must have made the office of the Ranger of considerable importance.

HOW TAXES WERE LEVIED—ASSEMBLY MEN'S SALARIES.

The following persons were appointed to make assessment of taxes in Monmouth under an act passed Dec. 5th, 1683, viz:

Captain John Bound, John Throgmorton (Throckmorton?) Peter Tilton, John Hance, Judah Allen and Joseph Parker.

This act "for defraying the public charges of this Province," enacted that fifty pounds be raised to defray public charges as follows: Bergen eleven pounds, Essex fourteen pounds, Middlesex ten pounds, Monmouth fifteen pounds. By this it would seem that even at this early date Monmouth was considered the richest county in East Jersey.

The taxes were to be paid in wheat at four shillings and sixpence the bushel; summer wheat at four shillings the bushel; Indian corn at two shillings and sixpence the bushel; and good merchantable pork at fifty shillings the barrel. Henry Lyon of Essex was appointed Treasurer of the Province to whom the tax was to be handed for the purpose of paying the clerks of the Council and Deputies four shillings each per day and ten pounds for transcribing the laws.

In addition to the above tax each town was required to pay its own Deputy to the General Assembly at the rate of four shillings per day; the year previous the rate of pay for the Deputies had been three shillings each, and as many of the towns had failed to pay their representatives then, provisions were inserted in this act to enforce the assessing and collecting the arrearages.

A fair idea of how far a member of the Assembly's per diem would go then towards meeting his expenses is gained by noticing the prices fixed for grain in the bill. The first year his per diem would buy a little over a bushel of corn; the second year a bushel of summer wheat. If he expended it for pork it would buy sixteen pounds.

THE BAPTIST CHURCH AT MIDDLETOWN.

THE FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH IN NEW JERSEY. ITS MEMBERS, PASTORS, TRIALS AND TRIUMPHS.

The following sketch of the noted church is from "Morgan Edwards, Materials, &c., of the State," published in 1792, with additions by Rev. David Benedict of Rhode Island, and published in his History of the Baptists, sixty years ago, (1813.)

"This is the oldest Baptist church in the State; it is thus distinguished for the village where the meeting house stands in a township of the same name, and county of Monmouth, about seventy-nine miles E. N. E. from Philadelphia. The meeting

house is forty-two feet by thirty-two, erected on the lot where the old place of worship stood."

For the origin of this church, we must look back to the year 1667, for that was the year when Middletown was purchased from the Indians by 12 men and 24 associates. Their names are in the town book. Of them the following were Baptists:—

Richard Stout,	William Cheeseman,	William Layton,
John Stout,	John Wilson,	Wm. Compton,
James Grover,	Walter Hall,	James Ashton,
Jonathan Brown,	John Cox,	John Brown,
Obadiah Holmes,	Jonathan Holmes,	Thos. Whitlock,
John Buckman,	George Mount,	Ja. Grover, Jr.

It is probable that some of the above had wives and children of their own way of thinking; however the forenamed 18 men appear to have been the constituents of the church at Middletown, and the winter of 1668 the time.

How matters went on among these people, for a period of twenty-four years, viz., from the constitution to 1712, cannot be known. But in the year 1711, a variance arose in the church, insomuch that one party excommunicated the other and imposed silence on two gifted brothers that preached to them, viz., John Bray and John Okison. Wearied with their situation, they agreed to refer matters to a council congregated from neighboring churches. The council met May 12th, 1712. It consisted of Rev. Messrs Timothy Brooks, of Cohansay; Abel Morgan and Joseph Wood, of Pennepack; and Elisha Thomas, of Welsh Tract; with six elders, viz.: Nicholas Johnson, James James, Griffith Mills, Edward Church, William Bettridge and John Manners. Their advice was—"To bury the proceedings in oblivion and erase the records of them;" accordingly four leaves are torn out of the church book. "To continue the silence imposed on John Bray and John Okison, the preceding year." One would think by this that these two brethren were the cause of the disturbance. "To sign a covenant relative to their future conduct;" accordingly 42 did sign and 26 refused; nevertheless most of the non-signers came in afterwards; but the first 42 were declared to be the church that should be owned by sister churches. "That Messrs. Abel Morgan, Sen., and John Burrows, should supply the pulpit till the next yearly meeting, and the members should keep their places and not wander to other societies," for at this time there was a

Presbyterian congregation at Middletown, and mixed communion in vogue.

The first who preached at Middletown was Mr. John Bown, of whom we can learn no more than he was not ordained, and that it was he who gave the lot on which the first meeting house was built. Contemporary with him was Mr. Ashton, of whom mention will be made hereafter, and after him rose the forementioned Bray and Okison, neither of whom were ordained and the latter disowned. Mr. George Eaglesfield was another unordained preacher; but the first that may be styled pastor was—

REV. JAMES ASHTON.—He probably was ordained by Rev. Thomas Killingsworth, at the time the church was constituted in 1688; for Killingsworth assisted at the constitution, which gave rise to the tradition that he was the first minister. Mr. Ashton's successor was—

REV. JOHN BARROWES.—He was born at Tamton, Somersetshire, England, and there ordained; arrived at Philadelphia in the month of November, 1711, and from thence came to Middletown in 1713, where he died at a good old age. Mr. Barrowes is said to have been a happy compound of gravity and facetiousness; the one made the people stand in awe of him, while the other produced familiarity. As he was travelling one day a young man passed by him at full speed, and in passing Mr. Barrowes said "If you would consider where you are going you would slacken your pace." He went on but presently turned back to inquire into the meaning of that passing salute. Mr. Barrowes reasoned with him on the folly and dangers of horse-racing (to which the youth was hastening;) he gave great attention to the reproof. This encouraged Mr. Barrowes to proceed to more serious matters. The issue was a serious conversation. Here was a bow drawn at venture and a sinner shot flying! Mr. Barrowes was succeeded by—

REV. ABEL MORGAN, A. M.—He was born in Welsh Tract, April 13th, 1713, had his learning at an academy kept by Rev. Thomas Evans in Pencader; ordained at Welsh Tract in 1734, became pastor in 1748; died there November 24th, 1785.—He was never married, the reason it is supposed that none of his attention and attendance might be taken off his mother, who lived with him and whom he honored to an uncommon degree. Mr. Morgan was a man of sound learning and solid



judgement; he has given specimens of both in his public disputes and publications, for it appears that he held two public disputes on the subject of baptism.—The first was at Kingswood, to which he was challenged by Rev. Samuel Barker, a Presbyterian minister. The other was at Cape May in 1743, with the Rev. (afterwards) Dr. Samuel Finley, President of Princeton College. Mr. Morgan's successor was—

REV SAMUEL MORGAN.—He was born in Welsh Tract August 23d, 1750; called to the ministry in Virginia; ordained at Middletown November 29th, 1785, at which time he took on him the care of the church. No account of Mr. Morgan's death has been obtained. This ancient church has for its pastor (1813) Mr. Benjamin Bennett. It was once well endowed but a considerable part of its temporalities were sunk by that sacrilegious thing (as Edwards calls it) *Congress money*.—What are its present possessions I have not learned.

PHILIP FRENEAU, THE POPULAR  
POET OF THE REVOLUTION.

AN ANCIENT MONMOUTH JOURNAL.

In the library of the New York Historical Society is preserved a copy of an ancient journal published in Monmouth county, which presents quite a contrast with the papers published in the county at the present time. This journal was called "*The New Jersey Chronicle*," and was published at "Mount Pleasant, near Middletown Point." The first number was issued May 2nd, 1795 and continued weekly for a year when it suspended for want of support. This *Chronicle* was quite a curious affair. It was printed by the author, Philip Freneau himself, who had mustered a medley of types for the purpose. The first number was of the humble dimensions of eight small quarto pages of seven inches by eight. This spirited little paper was soon enlarged, but typographically, at least, it always appeared of a somewhat sickly constitution.

The office types however were well employed in printing, this year, 1795, a new and comprehensive edition of Freneau's poems, in an octavo volume of 456 pages to which we shall refer before concluding. Its typographical execution is admirable for its day and speaks well for the pioneer printing press of Monmouth county.

From one sketch of Freneau's we extract the following:

OUTLINE OF HIS LIFE.

Philip Freneau, the popular poet of the days of the Revolution, who cheered the hearts of the citizens by his ready rhymes in behalf of the good cause, and opposition to its foes, while patriots were struggling for independence, was born in Frankfort street, in New York city, January 2nd, 1752. The family was of French Huguenot descent. Pierre Freneau the father of Philip and of Peter Freneau, distinguished in the history of South Carolina, bought an estate of a thousand acres at Mount Pleasant, Monmouth county, New Jersey, a family inheritance which his son afterwards occupied, and where he wrote many of his poems. Both the father and grandfather of Philip Freneau are buried in a vault in Trinity Churchyard, New York, by the side of their family relations.

Of the boyhood of Philip Freneau we know little, but we may infer from the position of his family and his subsequent attainments, that he was well instructed at the schools of the city, for we find him, in 1767, a student at Princeton College, N. J., where he graduated with credit after the usual four years course, in 1771. He began early the practice of versification; for in his sophomore year, at the age of seventeen, he composed a rhymed poem of decided promise, entitled "The Poetical History of the Prophet Jonah," which appears at the head of his first general collection of poems. Other compositions in various metres, on classical and historical themes, preserved in the same volume, were written during his collegiate course.

It was a creditable year for the institution when he graduated, for in his class were James Madison, afterwards President, and other men of note.

The commencement exercises at Princeton, in 1771 were of unusual interest. It was in the Presidency of that eminent patriot John Witherspoon, who, though born in Scotland, was proving himself, by his enlightened sagacity and devotion to freedom, an "American of the Americans." The political independence of the country, though not yet formally proclaimed, was ripening in Massachusetts and elsewhere, to its great declaration and invincible resolve. The young patriots of Princeton, on a spot destined to become memorable in the struggle, were already animated by the kindling promise of the future. Hugh

Henry Brackenridge, a graduate with Freneau, afterwards a celebrated Judge and author, and Freneau, had already developed a taste for poetry, and they united, for their commencement exercise, in the composition of a dialogue: "A Poem on the Rising Glory of America," which they pronounced together, sounding in animated blank verse, the achievements of colonization in the past and the visionary grandeur of empire hereafter. This joint poem was published in Philadelphia, in 1772. The portion written by Freneau opens the collection of his poems published in 1865 by W. J. Middleton, New York.

The next information we have of Freneau is gathered from the dates of the poems which he contributed to the journals published by Hugh Gaine and Anderson, in New York, in 1775. They exhibit his interest in the important military affairs of the year in Boston and are found in the work above named.

In a poem of this year, "Mac Sniggen," a satire on some hostile poetaster, he expresses a desire to cross the Atlantic:

"Long have I sat on this disastrous shore,  
And sighing, sought to gain a passage o'er  
To Europe's towns, where, as our travellers say,  
Poets may flourish, or perhaps they may;"

An inclination for foreign travel, which was gratified in 1776, by a voyage to the West Indies, where he appears to have remained some time in a mercantile capacity, visiting Jamaica and the Danish island of Santa Cruz. Several of his most striking poems, as the "House of Night," and the "Beauties of Santa Cruz," were written on these visits.

In 1779, Freneau was engaged as a leading contributor to "The United States Magazine: A Repository of History, Politics and Literature," edited by his college friend and fellow patriot, Hugh Henry Brackenridge, and published by Francis Bailey, Philadelphia. It was issued monthly from January to December, when its discontinuance was announced "until an established peace and a fixed value of the money shall render it convenient or possible to take it up again." The volume forms a most interesting memorial, in its literary as well as historical matter, of this important year of the war. Freneau wrote much for it in prose and verse and with equal spirit in both.

His poem on "Santa Cruz," in this magazine, is prefaced by an interesting prose description of the island. In it occurs a

noticeable testimony of the author on the subject of negro slavery.

Freneau has also recorded his detestation of the cruelties of West India slavery in verse, in the poem, a terrific picture of slave life, addressed "To Sir Toby, a sugar planter in the interior parts of Jamaica:"

"If there exists a HELL—the case is clear—  
Sir Toby's slaves enjoy that portion here."

In another poem "On the Emigration to America, and Peopling the Western Country," published in his volume of 1795, Freneau comes nearer home, in the declaration of his opinions on this subject, when he writes:—

"O come the time and haste the day,  
When man shall man no longer crush,  
When reason shall enforce her sway,  
Nor these fair regions raise our blush,  
Where still the African complains,  
And mourns his yet unbroken chains."

In after life, when the poet himself, under the mild system of Northern servitude, became the owner of slaves in New Jersey, he uniformly treated them with kindness, manumitted them in advance of the Emancipation Act in the State, and supported on the farm those of them who were not able to take care of themselves. One of these, a veteran mammy, proud of having opened the door in her day to General Washington and been addressed by him in a word or two on that important occasion, long survived the poet.

In the year following the publication of the Magazine, Freneau, having embarked as passenger in a merchant vessel from Philadelphia, on another voyage to the West Indies, was captured by a British cruiser off the Capes of the Delaware and carried with the prize to New York. There he was confined, on his arrival, in the *Scorpion*, one of the hulks lying in the harbor used as prison-ships. The cruel treatment which he experienced on board, with the aggravated horrors of foul air and other privations, speedily threw him into a fever, when he was transferred to the hospital ship, *Hunter*, which proved simply an exchange of one species of suffering for another more aggravated. How long Freneau was confined in this hideous prison we are not informed, nor by what influences he gained his discharge. He carried with him, however, on his escape, a burning memory of the severities and indignities he had endured, which he gave expression to in one of the most characteristic of his poetical productions, "The British Prison Ship,"

which was published by Francis Bailey, Philadelphia, 1781.

Freneau now became a frequent contributor of patriotic odes and occasional poems, celebrating the incidents of the war, to "The Freeman's Journal" of Philadelphia. Literature was, however, not then a profitable occupation; and Government, which had exhausted its resources in keeping an army in the field, had scant opportunity of rewarding its champions. The poet, looking to other means of subsistence, returned to his seafaring and mercantile habits and became known by his voyages to the West Indies as "Captain Freneau." He still however, kept up the use of the pen. In 1783, besides his poetical contributions to the newspapers, including several New Years Addresses, written for the carriers of the Philadelphia journals, a species of rhyming for which he had great facility, we find him publishing in that city a translation of the travels of M. Abbe Robin, the chaplain of Count Rochambeau, giving an account of the progress of the French army from Newport to Yorktown. In 1784 Freneau was at the island of Jamaica, writing a poetical description of Port Royal.

The first collection of his poetical writings which he made, entitled "The Poems of Philip Freneau, written chiefly during the late War," was published by Francis Bailey "at Yorrick's Head, in Market street," Philadelphia, in 1786. It is prefaced by a brief "Advertisement" signed by the publisher, in which he states the pieces now collected had been left in his hands by the author more than a year previously, with permission to publish them whenever he thought proper.

The success of this volume led to the publication, by Mr. Bailey, of another collection of Freneau's writings in 1788. It is entitled "The Miscellaneous Works of Mr. Philip Freneau, containing his Essays and Additional Poems." This volume, as not uncommon even with works of very limited extent in that early period of the nation, was published by subscription. Among the subscribers were DeWitt Clinton, Edward Livingston and other distinguished citizens of New York; Matthew Carey, David Rittenhouse, John Parke A. M., and others of Philadelphia; thirty copies were taken in Maryland; but the largest number was contributed by South Carolina, that State supplying two hundred and fifty, or more than half the entire list. Captain Freneau was well known and highly appreciated at Charleston, which he fre-

quently visited in the course of his mercantile adventures to the West Indies, and where his younger brother, Peter, who subsequently edited a political journal in that city, and was in intimate correspondence with President Jefferson, was already established as an influential citizen.

After several years spent in voyaging, we find Freneau again in active literary employment in 1791, as editor of the "Daily Advertiser," a journal printed in New York, the superintendence of which he presently exchanged for that of the "National Gazette," at Philadelphia, the first number of which appeared under his direction in October of the same year. He was employed at the same time by Jefferson, the Secretary of State,—the seat of government being then at Philadelphia,—as translating clerk in the State Department, with a salary of two hundred and fifty dollars a year. It was a time of fierce political excitement, when the newly framed Constitution, not yet fully established in its working, was exposed to the fierce criticism of its adversaries; while popular opinion was greatly excited by the rising tumult of ideas generated in the French Revolution. In this strife of parties Freneau was an active partisan of the new French ideas, was a supporter of Genet, the minister who sought to entangle the country in the great European struggle, and, as might be expected, was an unsparing assailant of the policy of Washington, whose character he had heretofore eulogized. Washington was annoyed, and Hamilton attacked Jefferson for his official support of the troublesome editor. Jefferson replied that he had befriended Freneau as a man of genius; but that he had never written for his paper. It is unquestionably true, however, that Freneau's political writings, at this time, had Jefferson's warmest sympathy.

The "Gazette" came to an end with its second volume and second year, in 1793, after which Freneau became a resident of New Jersey. He had still, however, an inclination to editorial life, and we accordingly find him, in the spring of 1795, publishing at Mount Pleasant, near Middletown Point, a new journal entitled "The Jersey Chronicle," before alluded to.

The same year from his press at Mount Pleasant he issued a volume of his poems entitled "Poems, written between the years 1768 and 1794, by Philip Freneau, of New Jersey." There are other editions of his poems, but this one is so rare that it is highly prized by antiquarians. In a late

catalogue of a London bookseller it is advertised for sale, price £ 3.10 s. The last copy we have heard of for sale in this country was one in a Washington antiquarian bookstore for which the dealer asked some forty odd dollars, and finally got down to thirty-five, for a small octavo volume of 456 pages!

In 1797 he edited and aided in printing and publishing in New York, a miscellaneous periodical entitled "The Time Piece and Literary Companion." It was printed in quarto form and appeared three times a week. In 1799 he published in Philadelphia a thin octavo volume of "Letters on various subjects, &c." under the nom de plume of "Robert Slender, A M."

For some years after this we have no particular account of his occupation, but he appears to have resided still in New Jersey, penning occasional verses on topics suggested by the day. In 1809 he published the fourth collection of his writings entitled "Poems published during the American Revolution," &c.

(Remainder of the article on Freneau next week.)

Freneau lived to commemorate the incidents of the second war with Great Britain in 1812. He wrote various poems celebrating the naval actions of Hull, Porter, Macdonough and others. His traditional hatred of England survives in these and other compositions which he published in New York, in 1815, in two small volumes entitled "A Collection of Poems on American Affairs and a variety of other subjects, &c." A distinguished writer says in reviewing this volume: "He depicts land battles and naval fights with much animation and gay coloring; and being himself an old son of Neptune, he is never at a loss for appropriate circumstance and expressive diction, when the scene lies at sea."

After witnessing and chronicling in his verse the conflicts of two wars, Freneau had yet many years of life before him.—They were mostly passed in rural retirement at Mount Pleasant. He occasionally visited New York, keeping up acquaintance with the leaders of the Democratic party. His appearance and conversation at this time has been graphically described by the late Dr. John W. Francis, in whom the genius and history of Freneau excited the warmest interest, and which was published in the "Cyclopedia of American Literature."

"I had, says Dr. Francis, when very young, read the poetry of Freneau, and as we instinctively became attached to the writers who first captivate our imaginations, it was with much zest that I formed a personal acquaintance with the Revolutionary bard. He was at that time about seventy-six years old, when he first introduced himself to me in my library. I gave him an earnest welcome. He was somewhat below the ordinary height; in person thin yet muscular; with a firm step though a little inclined to stoop; his countenance wore traces of care, yet lightened with intelligence as he spoke; he was mild in enunciation, neither rapid nor slow, but clear, distinct and emphatic. His forehead was rather beyond the medium elevation; his eyes a dark gray, occupying a socket deeper than common; his hair must have once been beautiful; it was now thinned and of an iron gray. He was free of all ambitious displays; his habitual expression was pensive. His dress might have passed for that of a farmer. New York, the city of his birth was his most interesting theme; his collegiate career with Madison, next. His story of many of his occasional poems was quite romantic. As he had at command types and a printing press, when an incident of moment in the Revolution occurred, he would retire for composition, or find shelter under the shade of some tree, indite his lyrics, repair to the press, set up his types and issue his productions. There was no difficulty in versification with him. I told him what I had heard Jeffrey, the Scotch reviewer, say of his writings, that the time would arrive when his poetry like that of Hudibras, would command a commentator like Grey. It is remarkable how tenaciously Freneau preserved the acquisitions of his early classical studies, notwithstanding he had for many years, in the after portion of his life, been occupied in pursuits so entirely alien to books.—There is no portrait of the patriot Freneau; he always firmly declined the painter's art and would brook no "counterfeit presentment." (*Cyclopedia of Amer. Lit.*)

The aversion of Freneau to sitting for his portrait, noticed by Dr. Francis, was one of his peculiarities, for which it is not easy to suggest a sufficient explanation. As an author he was careful of the preservation of his fame. Certainly the cause was not to be found in any unfavorable impression his likeness might create, for he was, as accurately described by Dr. Francis, of an interesting appearance in

рге. In youth he was regarded as handsome. His brother Peter was renowned in South Carolina for his personal beauty. But whatever the motive, Freneau resolutely declined to have his portrait painted. He was once waited upon by the artist, Rembrandt Peale, with a request for this purpose, by a body of gentlemen in Philadelphia; but he was inexorable on the subject. On another occasion, the elder Jarvis, with a view of securing his likeness, was smuggled into a corner of the room at a dinner party at Dr. Hosack's, to which the poet had been invited; but the latter detected the design and arrested its accomplishment. In late years, the neglect has been in a measure repaired. The portrait prefixed to the volume of his "poems with a memoir by Evert A. Duyckinck," published in 1865, was sketched by an artist, at the suggestion and dictates of several members of the poet's family, who retained the most vivid recollection of his personal appearance. It was pronounced by them a fair representation of the man in the maturity of his physical powers, previous to the inroads of old age. His daughter, Mrs. Leadbeater, and his grandson and adopted son, Mr. Philip L. Freneau, of New York, were among those who pronounced it a satisfactory likeness.

The poems of Philip Freneau, if we may be allowed here to repeat an estimate of his powers from a sketch written some years ago, represent his times, the war of wit and verse no less than of sword and stratagem of the Revolution; and he superadds to this material a humorous, homely simplicity, peculiarly his own, in which he paints the life of village rustics, with their local manners fresh about them; of days when tavern delights were to be freely spoken of, before temperance societies and Maine laws were thought of; when men went to prison at the summons of inexorable creditors, and when Connecticut deacons rushed out of meeting to arrest and waylay the passing Sunday traveller. When these humors of the day were exhausted, and the impulses of patriotism were gratified in song; when he had paid his respects to Rivington and Hugh Gaîne, he solaced himself with remoter themes; in the version of an ode of Horace, a visionary meditation on the antiquities of America or a sentimental effusion on the lives of Sappho. These show the fine tact and delicate handling of Freneau, who deserves much more consideration in this respect from critics than he has received. A

writer from whom the fastidious Campbell in his best day thought it worth while to borrow an entire line, is worth looking into. It is from Freneau's *Indian Burying Ground*, the last image of that fine visionary 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."

Campbell has given the line a rich setting in the lovelorn fantasy of O'Connor's Child:

"Bright as the bow that spans the storm  
In Erin's yellow vesture clad,  
A son of light—a lovely form,  
He comes and makes her glad;  
Now on the grass green turf he sits,  
His tassell'd horn beside him laid,  
Now o'er the hills in chase he flits  
The hunter and the deer a shade."

There is also a line of Sir Walter Scott which has its prototype in Freneau. In the introduction to the third cants of *Marion*, in the apostrophe to the Duke of Brunswick, we read—

"Lamented chief!—not thine the power  
To save in that presumptuous hour,  
When Prussia hurried to the field,  
And snatched the spear but left the shield."

In Freneau's poem on the heroes of Eutaw, we have this stanza:

"They saw their injured country's woe;  
The flaming town, the wasted field;  
Then rushed to meet the insulting foe  
They took the spear—but left the shield."

An anecdote which the late Henry Brevoort was accustomed to relate of his visit to Scott, affords assurance that the poet was really indebted to Freneau, and that he would not on a proper occasion, have hesitated to acknowledge the obligation. Mr. Brevoort was asked by Scott respecting the authorship of certain verses in the battle of Eutaw, which he had seen in a magazine, and had by heart, and which he knew were American. He was told that they were by Freneau, when he remarked "The poem is as fine a thing as there is of the kind in the language." Scott also praised one of the Indian poems.

We might add to these instances that in 1790 Freneau, in his poetical correspondence between Nanny, the Philadelphia Housekeeper, and Nabby her friend, in New York, upon the subject of the removal of Congress to the former city, hit upon some of the peculiar pleasantries of Moore's Epistles in verse, of the present century.

"Freneau surprises us often by his neatness of execution and skill in versification.

He handles a triple-rhymed stanza in the octosyllabic measure particularly well. His appreciation of nature is tender and sympathetic,—one of the pure springs which fed the more boisterous current of his humor when he came out among men, to deal with quackery, pretence and injustice. But what is, perhaps, most worthy of notice in Freneau is his originality, the instinct with which his genius marked out a path for itself, in those days when most writers were languidly leaning upon the old foreign school of Pope and Darwin. He was not afraid of home things and incidents. Dealing with facts, realities, and the life around him, wherever he was, his writings have still an interest where the vague expressions of other poets are forgotten. It is not to be denied, however, that Freneau was sometimes careless. He thought and wrote with improvidence. His jests are sometimes misdirected; and his verses are unequal in execution. Yet it is not too much to predict, that, through the genuine nature of some of his productions and the historic incidents of others, all that he wrote will yet be called for and find favor in numerous editions"—*Cyclopedia of Amer. Literature*.

This prediction was ventured nearly twenty years ago. It is in a measure fulfilled, an edition of his poems having been published in 1865, the only publication of any of his poems since 1815.

#### FRENEAU'S FAMILY.

Philip Freneau left a family of four daughters, all of whom were living in 1865. The mother of Governor Seymour of New York (Mary, the daughter of General Jonathan Forman) was a niece of Mrs. Philip Freneau, the wife of the poet. The Freneaus, through the second marriage of the poet's mother, are connected with the Kearney family of New Jersey. Philip Freneau married at about the age of thirty Miss Eleanor Forman, daughter of Samuel Forman, a wealthy citizen of New Jersey. General Jonathan Forman and Denise Forman, who were much engaged in military affairs in the State during the Revolution, were her brothers. David Forman also in military life was her cousin. This lady, who shared her husband's talent for poetry, corresponding with him, for several years before their marriage, in verse, was of marked character and intelligence. She was devotedly attached to the Episcopal Church, which the family attended, having left the French Church in the lifetime of

the poet's father. Mrs. Freneau survived her husband many years, retaining in her latter days much of the most interesting memories of the days of the Revolution.

The remains of Mrs. Freneau repose, with those of her husband, in the family burial ground at Mount Pleasant, N. J. A monument to the poet's memory, within a few years has been erected on the spot.

Freneau lived nearly to the completion of his eightieth year. He lost his life, December 18th, 1833, "by exposure and cold while going on foot in the night during a snow storm to his residence near Freehold."

The *Monmouth Inquirer* thus announced his death:

"Mr. Freneau was in the village and started, toward evening, to go home, about two miles. In attempting to go across he appears to have got lost and mired in a bog meadow, where his lifeless corpse was discovered yesterday morning. Captain Freneau was a staunch Whig in the time of the Revolution, a good soldier and a warm patriot. The productions of his pen animated his countrymen in the darkest days of '76 and the effusions of his muse cheered the desponding soldier as he fought the battles of freedom."

"The eulogy of the *Monmouth journal*," says one writer, "will remain Freneau's highest distinction. He was the popular poet of the Revolution."

The following extract from a brief notice by Anna Maria Woodhull, of Freneau, is from the *MONMOUTH DEMOCRAT* of May 29th, 1873:

"He first saw the light in the city of New York and was graduated at New Jersey College. For some time a resident of Monmouth, he was frequently the guest of the late Col. Elias Conover, grandfather of William H. Conover, Sr., of Freehold. At the time of his death he owned and occupied the house now belonging to Mr. John Buck situated about two miles below the town. He was a great admirer of Shakspeare. I own an old copy, formerly in his possession (Theobalds, London, 1772.) which I prize highly; also an autograph bold and free, dated 1781."

In his volume of poems before referred to, printed and published by himself at Mount Pleasant in this County, he gives vivid local descriptions of a Monmouth county printing office in the olden time, and of other local matters which deserve preservation in our local history, and in another chapter we purpose quoting them

and also a few other pieces as specimens of his style and as giving his sentiments on politics, temperance and religion and other subjects.

The most recent volume of his poems was published in 1865 by W. J. Middleton, New York, with an introductory memoir by Evert A. Duyekinek, to which we are indebted for many of the facts in the foregoing outline of his life. Though this volume only gives his poems relating to the Revolution yet the fine likeness of the poet prefixed make it a work which would be highly prized by many of our readers.

In the collection of his poems published in 1809, we find the list of subscribers which he procured for it headed by the names of James Madison then President, and Thomas Jefferson; and in Monmouth County we find the following subscribers, viz: Middletown: Jehu Patterson, Esq., Capt Hendrick Hendrickson, James Mott, Esq., Col. Jarrett Stillwell, Capt. Isaac Van Dorn, Capt. Denise Hendrickson, B. Gen. Richard Poole. Middletown Point: Cornelius P. Vanderhoof, Esq., Dr. William Reynolds, Capt. John Hall. Near Middletown Point, John Van Pelt, Merchant. Peter Johnson, William Walton. Ailentown, Richard Stout, Merchant, Freehold, John Quay, Esq., Mr. David Cook. Monmouth, Hon. James Cox.

#### OLD MONMOUTH DURING THE REVOLUTION

Historians generally concede that no state among the old thirteen suffered during the war more than did New Jersey; and it is generally admitted that no county in our state suffered more than did old Monmouth. In addition to the outrages to which the citizens were subjected from the regular British army, they were continually harassed by depredations committed by regularly organized bands of Refugees, and also by the still more lawless acts of a set of outcasts known as the Pine Woods Robbers, who, though pretending to be Tories, yet, if opportunity offered, robbed Tories as well as Whigs.

The Refugees, or Loyalists as they called themselves, were generally native born Americans who sided with the British, regularly organized, with officers commissioned by the Board of Associated Loyalists at New York, of which body the President was William Franklin, the last Tory governor of New Jersey, an illegitimate son of Dr. Benjamin Franklin. The Ref-

ugees had a strongly fortified settlement at Sandy Hook, the lighthouse there defended with cannon and British vessels of war always lying in the vicinity. From this settlement or "Refugees' town," as it was sometimes called, these marauders would sally forth to plunder and murder in the adjoining county. To show the perils by which the citizens of old Monmouth were surrounded and the outrages to which they were subjected, we append some extracts chiefly from ancient papers, which though plain and unvarnished yet will give a vivid idea of life and times in this county in the dark days of the Revolution.

#### REFUGEE RAIDS IN OLD MONMOUTH.—PROMINENT PATRIOTS ROBBED, CAPTURED AND MURDERED.

"June 3d 1778. We are informed that on Wednesday morning last, a party of about seventy of the Greens from Sandy Hook, landed near Major Kearney's (near Keyport,) headed the Mill Creek, Middletown Point, and marched to Mr. John Burrows, made him prisoner, burnt his mills and both his store houses—all valuable buildings, besides a great deal of his furniture. They also took prisoners, Lieutenant Colonel Smock, Captain Christopher Little, Mr. Joseph Wall, Captain Joseph Covenhoven (Conover) and several other persons, and killed Messrs Pearce and Van Brockle and wounded another man mortally. Having completed this and several other barbarities they precipitately returned the same morning to give an account of their abominable deeds to their bloody employers. A number of these gentry, we learn, were formerly inhabitants of that neighborhood."

The "Greens" above mentioned, it is said, were Refugee or Loyalist Jerseyman who joined the British. Their organization was sometimes called "the New Jersey Royal Volunteers" under command of General Cortlandt Skinner, of whom some farther particulars may be given hereafter.

"April 26th, 1779. An expedition consisting of seven or eight hundred men under Col. Hyde went to Middletown, Red Bank, Tinton Falls, Shrewsbury and other places, robbing and burning as they went. They took Justice Covenhoven and others prisoners, Captain Burrows and Colonel Holmes assembled our militia and killed three and wounded fifteen of the enemy. The enemy however suc-

ceeded in carrying off horses, cattle and other plunder."

In the above extract the name of Justice "Covenhoven" is mentioned. The names of different members of the Covenhoven family are frequently met with in ancient papers and records among those who favored the patriot cause. Since that time the name has gradually changed from Covenhoven to Conover.

In May, two or three weeks after the above affair, some two or three hundred Tories landed at Middletown, on what was then termed a "picarooning" expedition. The term "picaroon" originally meaning a plunderer or pirate, seems to have been used in that day to convey about the same idea that "raider" did in the late Rebellion.

"June 9th, 1779. A party of about fifty Refugees, landed in Monmouth and marched to Tinton Falls undiscovered, where they surprised and carried off Colonel Hendrickson, Colonel Wyckoff, Captain Chadwick and Captain McKnight, with several privates of the militia, and drove off sheep and horned cattle. About thirty of our militia hastily collected, made some resistance but were repulsed with the loss of two men killed and ten wounded, the enemy's loss unknown.

April 1st, 1780. About this time, the Tories made another raid to Tinton Falls, and took off seven prisoners. Another party took Mr. Bowne prisoner at Middletown, who, but three days before, had been exchanged, and had just got home.

About the last of April, the refugees attacked the house of John Holmes, Upper Freehold, and robbed him of a large amount of continental money, a silver watch, gold ring, silver buckles, pistols, clothing, &c.

June 1st, 1780. The noted Colonel Tye, (a mulatto formerly a slave in Monmouth Co.) with his motley company of about twenty blacks and whites, carried off prisoners Capt. Barney Smock, and Gilbert Van Mater, spiked an iron cannon and took four horses. Their rendezvous was at Sandy Hook.

Shortly after this Colonel Tye aided in the attack on Capt. Joshua Huddy, at his house at Colts Neck. The particulars of this affair, we purpose publishing in a sketch of Captain Huddy. Colonel Tye, (or Titus, formerly a slave belonging to John Corlies,) though guilty of having a skin darker than our own, yet was generally acknowledged to be about the most honora-

ble, brave, generous and determined of the refugee leaders. Like our forefathers, he fought for his liberty, which our ancestors unfortunately refused to give him.

October 15, 1781. A party of refugees from Sandy Hook landed at night, at Shrewsbury, and marched undiscovered to Colt's Neck, and took six prisoners. The alarm reached the Court House about four or five o'clock, P. M., and a number of inhabitants, among whom was Dr. Nathaniel Scudder, went in pursuit. They rode to Black Point to try to recapture the six Americans, and while firing from the bank Dr. Scudder was killed. Dr. Scudder was one of the most prominent, active and useful patriots of Monmouth, and his death was a serious loss to the Americans.

About the beginning of August, 1782, Richard Wilgus, an American, was shot below Allentown, while on guard to prevent contraband trade with the British.

February 8th, 1782. About forty refugees under Lieut. Steelman, came via Sandy Hook to Pleasant Valley. They took twenty horses and five sleighs, which they loaded with plunder; they also took several prisoners, viz: Hendrick Hendrickson and his two sons, Peter Covenhoven, or Conover as the name is now called, was made prisoner once before in 1779, as before related,) Garret Hendrickson, Samuel Bowne and son, and James Denise. At Garret Hendrickson's a young man named William Thompson, got up slyly and went off and informed Capt. John Schenck, of Col. Holmes' regiment, who collected all the men he could to pursue. They overtook and attacked the refugees, and the before mentioned William Thompson was killed and Mr. Cottrel wounded. They however took twelve refugees prisoners, three of whom were wounded. But in returning, they unexpectedly fell in with a party of sixteen men under Stevenson, and a sudden firing caused eight of the prisoners to escape. But Capt. Schenck ordered his men to charge bayonet, and the Tories surrendered. Capt. Schenck took nineteen horses and five sleighs, and took twenty-one prisoners.

The first of the foregoing extracts, relating to a raid of the British in Middletown township, in 1778, and landing near Major Kearneys, in the vicinity of Keyport, is probably the affair referred to in a tradition given in Howes collections, which we give below, as it explains why the Refugees fled so precipitately. It will be noticed, however, that the tradition does not



agree with extract quoted as to damage done; but we have no doubt but that the statement copied from the ancient paper (*Collins Gazette*) is correct, as it was written but a few days after the affair took place.

"The proximity of this part of Monmouth county to New York rendered it, in the war of the Revolution, peculiarly liable to the incursions of the British troops. Many of the inhabitants, although secretly favorable to the American cause, were obliged to feign allegiance to the crown, or lose their property by marauding parties of the refugees, from vessels generally lying off Sandy Hook. Among those of this description was Major Kearney, a resident near the present site of Keyport. On one occasion a party of thirty or forty refugees stopped at his dwelling on their way to Middletown Point, where they intended to burn a dwelling and some mills. Kearney feigned gratification at their visit, and falsely informed them there were probably some rebel troops at the Point, in which case it would be dangerous for them to march thither. He ordered his negro servant, Jube, thither to make inquiry, at the same time secretly giving him the cue how to act. In due length of time Jube, who had gone but a short distance, returned and hastily entered the room where Kearney and the Refugees were, and exclaimed: "Oh Massa! Massa! the rebels are at the Point thick as blackberries! They have just come down from the Court house and say they are going to march down here to night. The ruse succeeded; the Refugees, alarmed, precipitately retreated to their boats, leaving the Major to rejoice at the stratagem which had saved the property of his friends from destruction."

The probability is that the ruse prevented the Refugees from doing as much damage as they had intended, although they remained long enough to inflict considerable injury, as has been related.

ATTACK ON THE RUSSELL FAMILY.

As the outrage was an unusually aggravated one, even for Refugees, and as it will be necessary to refer to some of the parties concerned in it hereafter, to explain other events, we give the particulars as derived from various sources. The first extract is from *Collin's New Jersey Gazette* :—

"On the 30th of April, 1780, a party of negroes and refugees from Sandy Hook landed at Shrewsbury, in order to plun-

der. During their excursion a Mr. Russell, who attempted some resistance to their depredations, was killed, and his grandchild had five balls shot through him, but is yet living. Captain Warner, of the privateer brig Elizabeth, was made prisoner by these ruffians, but was released by giving them two half joes. This banditti also took off several persons, among whom were Capt. James Green and Ensign John Morris, of the Militia."

The annexed additional particulars are from Howe's collections—"Mr. Russell was an elderly man, aged about 60 years; as the party entered his dwelling, which was in the night, he fired and missed.—William Gilian, a native of Shrewsbury, their leader, seized the old gentleman by the collar, and was in the act of stabbing him in the face and eyes with a bayonet, when the fire blazed up, and shedding a momentary light upon the scene, enabled the younger Russell, who lay wounded on the floor, to shoot Gilian. John Farnham, (A Refugee named Farnham was afterwards captured, tried and hung at Freehold—we presume it was the same man,) a native of Middletown, thereupon aimed his musket at the young man, but it was knocked up by Lippencott, who had married into the family. The party then went off. The child was accidentally wounded in the affray."

The Lippencott above referred to was, during the late years of the war, quite a noted refugee leader—the same Captain Richard Lippencott who executed Captain Joshua Huddy. (A New York publication entitled "Tales and traditions of New York, says that Capt. Lippencott was among the Refugees who attacked and burned Toms River.) It will be noticed that a younger Russell is referred to as having been wounded and lying on the floor. This was John Russell, a very active member of the Militia, who at the time of this outrage was at home on a furlough with his parents and wife. This John Russell after the war removed to Cedar Creek, in Ocean County, where he lived to quite an advanced age. His account of the affair is as follows:

There were seven refugees and he (John) saw them through the window, and at one time they got so near that he told his father he was sure they could kill four of them and wished to fire, as he believed the other three would run. His father persuaded him not to fire, but to do so when they broke into the house.—

When they broke in the father fired first but missed his aim: he was then fired upon and killed. John Russell fired and killed the man who shot his father. John Russell was shot in the side (the scars of the wound were visible until he died)—After being wounded he fell on the floor and pretended that he was dead. The refugees then went to plundering the house. The mother and wife of John were lying in a bed with the child; the child awoke and asked: "Grandmother what's the matter?" A refugee pointed his gun at it and fired and said "that's what's the matter." Whether he really intended to wound the child, or only to frighten it, is uncertain, but the child was, as before stated, badly wounded, but eventually recovered.

As the refugees were preparing to leave, one of the number pointed his musket at young Russell, as he lay on the floor, and was about firing, saying he didn't believe he was dead yet; whereupon another knocked his musket up, saying it was a shame to fire upon a dying man, and the load went into the ceiling. After the refugees were gone, John got up, had his wounds attended to, and exclaimed to his wife: "Ducky! I'll come out all right yet." He did come out all right, and we have good reason to believe before the war ended he aided in visiting severe retribution on the Refugees, for their doings at this time. Among this party of Refugees was the notorious Phil White.

THE CAPTURE AND DEATH OF THE REFUGEE,  
PHIL WHITE.

*A correct version of the Affair. Slanders refuted and Patriots Vindicated. Affidavits of Aaron White, of Philip White's guards; Statements of Gen. Forman, &c.*

Though the death of the refugee Philip White, (commonly called Phil White) is occasionally referred to in modern works, there are none which give complete or correct accounts of the affair. In the brief statement given in Howe's collections, unjust imputations are cast upon his guard, as will hereafter be seen.

When Capt. Huddy was so brutally murdered by the Refugees near the Highlands, it will be remembered that a label was fastened to his breast, the last sentence of which was

"Up goes Huddy for Phil White."

Though the refugees at one time asserted that Capt. Huddy had an agency in the death of Phil. White, yet this prepos-

terous charge was at once shown to be an infamous falsehood, as when White was killed, Capt. Huddy was a prisoner, confined in the old sugar house, New York, (Duane's sugar house). The British asserted that "he had taken a certain Philip White, cut off both his arms, broke his legs, pulled out one of his eyes, damned him and then bid him run." How much of this was true will be seen by conclusive evidence given below, before quoting, which we will give a version of the affair as given in Howe's collection, from a traditional source.

"White, the Refugee, was a carpenter, and served his time in Shrewsbury. Six days after Huddy was taken, he was surprised by a party of militia lighthorse, near Snag Swamp, in the eastern part of the township. After laying down his arms in token of surrender, he took up his musket and killed a Mr. Hendrickson. He was however secured, and while being taken to Freehold, was killed at Pyle's Corner, three miles from there. He was under a guard of three men, the father of whom was murdered at Shrewsbury the year previous, by a band of refugees, among whom was White, and he was therefore highly exasperated against the prisoner. Some accounts state that he was killed while attempting to escape; others with more probability that they pricked him with their swords and thus to run and cruelly murdered.

There are several errors in the foregoing and it is to be especially regretted that the untrue charge of wanton cruelty, contained at the close of this extract, should have found a place in so useful a book as the one containing it. Correct versions of this affair are found in ancient papers, but for the present we will give several affidavits taken at the time as being the most conclusive evidence. These affidavits were forwarded to Gen. Washington, and by him transmitted to Congress, April 20th, 1782.

These affidavits are of Aaron White, who was taken prisoner with Phil. White, and of each of the three guards.

*Deposition of Aaron White.*

COUNTY OF MONMOUTH, ss:—Aaron White being duly sworn, deposeseth:

That he was taken prisoner with Philip White, that the deponent left New York in company with Philip White, Jeremiah Bell, negro Moses, John Fennimore and Robert Howell, on Thursday night, the

28th day of March last; that they sailed from New York to the Hook, where they remained until morning, being Friday; that the deponent understood that Capt. Huddy was then a prisoner; that on the day following, being Saturday, the 30th, the deponent being off in a boat with Fenimore, and having observed that the said Philip White and Moses had an engagement with some of the troops on shore, he, the deponent, went in a boat to their relief, meaning to take them off; that when he came on shore he joined the said Philip White and negro Moses, and pursued one Thomas Berkley, with whom they had been engaged; that in pursuit, the light horse came down, and the deponent with the said Philip White were made prisoners, that they were put under guard to be sent to Freehold for confinement; that on the way from Colt's Neck to Freehold, between Daniel Grandin's and Samuel Leonard's the deponent was told by one of his guards that Philip White was running away; that the deponent looked back and saw the horsemen in pursuit of something, but being about half a mile distant, could not distinguish after whom or what the pursuit was; that the field in which they were pursuing was near the brook next to Mr. Leonard's adjoining a wood; that Lieut. Rhea and George Brindley left the deponent under guard of two men and ran their horses back towards the place the other men were pursuing; that the deponent afterwards understood that it was Philip White they were pursuing, and that he was killed in the pursuit; that Joshua Huddy was not one of the guard or party, and the deponent understood and verily believes that he was then a prisoner in New York; and the deponent further and lastly declares, that the above is the truth as related without any fear, threats or compulsion whatever.

AARON WHITE.

Sworn before me this 15th of April, 1782—  
DAVID FORMAN,

*Justice of the Peace, Monmouth County.*

That a clear idea of the order of the principal events referred to in these affidavits may be obtained, we will here state that Capt. Joshua Huddy was taken prisoner by the British at Toms River, on Sunday, March 24th, 1782; on Saturday, the 30th of March, six days after, Phil. White and Aaron, were taken prisoners by the Monmouth militia the same day

(March 30th,) Philip White was killed, at which time Capt. Huddy was confined in the sugar house prison at New York, where he had been put on Tuesday, March 27th, and remained until Monday, April 8th, when he was taken on board a sloop and put in irons, and four days later—on the 12th of April, 1782—he was hung near the Highlands; his body was delivered to the Americans, sent to Freehold, and buried with the honors of war. Three days after his death—on the 15th of April, these affidavits were taken, while the recollections of all the circumstances referred to were fresh in the minds of the witness.

ORIGIN OF FAMILY NAMES.

A surname is an additional name added to a proper or given name for the sake of distinction, and so called because originally written *over* the other name instead of after it, from the French *Surnom*, probably derived from the Latin "Super nomen," signifying above the name.

Surnames have originated in various ways. Some are derived from the names of places; others from offices and professions, from personal peculiarities; from the Christian or proper name of the father; from the performance of certain actions; from objects in the animal, mineral and vegetable world, and from accidental circumstances of every varied character.

According to Camden, surnames began to be taken up in France about the year 1000, and in England about the time of the Conquest (1066) or a very little before.

Local names form the largest class of our surnames. First among these are those which are national, expressing the country whence the person first bearing the name came, as English, Scott, French, Ireland, Britain, Fleming (from Flanders) Gaskin, (from Gascony), &c. Names were taken from almost every county, town and hamlet, as Cheshire, Chester, Hull, Ross, Kent, Cunningham, Huntingdon, Preston, Compton, etc., so that local names of this class may number many thousands. For instance, a person whose native place was Chester, might remove to another place the inhabitants of which, to distinguish him, would give him the surname of Chester, originally prefixing it with "of," frequently shortened to "O" or "A," signifying *from* or *at*, as *John of Chester*, *John O'Chester*; *John at Kirby*, *John A'Kirby*.

The prefixes after a time were dropped and the names descended to children as simply Chester and Kirby.

Besides these we have a great number of local surnames which are general and descriptive of the nature or situation of the residence of the persons upon whom they were bestowed, as Hill, Wood, Dale, Park, &c. The prefix *At* or *Atte* was generally used before these names as *John At Hill*, meaning John at the hill; *James At Well*, *John At Wood*, now Atwell and Atwood. In this way men took surnames from rivers and trees from residing at or near them, as Beek, Gill, Grant, Beach, Bush, Ash, Thorn.

Surnames derived from Christian or baptismal names are probably next in number to the local surnames; some of these are probably the most ancient of all surnames, many of them varied by prefixes and suffixes. Of this class we have first, the names terminating in *son*, which was added to the name of the father; John the son of William, was called John, William's son—John Williamson; *Johnson*, John's son; *Thompson*, Thomas' son; *Simpson*, Simon's son; *Wilson*, Will's son.

The Welsh merely appended "s," in stead of son, as *Edwards*, son of Edward; *Davis*, son of David; *Jones*, son of John; *Hughes*, son of Hugh; *Williams*, son of William, &c.

Then we have surnames formed from abbreviated names, pet names and nicknames, as *Watson* the son of Wat or Walter; *Watts*, signifying the same; *Tobson*, son of Dob or Robert.

A great many surnames are formed of abbreviated and nurse names with the addition of the diminutive terminations *ette*, *kin*, *cock* or *cox*, all of which signify "little" or "child." From the termination *ette* we have such names as *Willett*, which means little Will, or son of Will; *Hallett*, Little Hal or Henry. From *kin* or *kun's* we have Wilkins, Simpkins, Atkins, Higgins, Hawkins, Dobbins. From *cock* or *cox* we have Wilcox, Simcox, &c.

Some surnames have the prefix *Fitz*, of Norman origin, signifying *son*, as *Fitz Clarence*, son of Clarence, *Fitzgerald*, son of Gerald. *Fitz* was applied to sons both legitimate and illegitimate.

The Welsh in like manner prefixed *Ap* to denote son, as *David Ap Howell*, David son of Howell; *Evan Ap Rhys*, Evan son of Rhys or Reese; *Richard Ap Evan*, Richard son of Evan; *John Ap Hugh*, John son of

Hugh. These names are now abbreviated into Powell, Price, Bevan, Pugh.

The affix "Ing" is of Teutonic origin, denoting progeny; *Whiting* means fair offspring; *Browning*, the dark or brown child, etc. *Let* of Anglo Saxon origin means little, as *Barlett*, little Bart or Bartholomew; *Willott*, little Will.

The prefixes "*Mac*" and "*O*" found in Irish names signify the first, son, the latter grandson or descendant. Donnell's son would be called Mac Donnell; the grandson or descendant would be called O'Donnell; Mac Neall, the son of Neal; O'Neal, the grandson of Neal.

Names of trades, occupations and pursuits are next in number, as Smith, Carpenter, Taylor, Barker, Barber, Brewer, Sherman (a shearman, one who shears cloth), Naylor (nailmaker), Tucker (a fuller), etc. John the Smith was shortened to John Smith, Peter the Carpenter, to Peter Carpenter, &c.

Many surnames are derived from official names, both civil and ecclesiastical. Among these may be mentioned King, Earl, Knight, Pope, Bishop, Bailey, Marshall, Chamberlain, Priest, etc.

Personal characteristics have given origin to another class of surnames descriptive of mental or bodily peculiarities.—Among these are the names of color and complexion, as Black, Brown, White, Gray, Dunn (brown); and from the color of the hair, Whitehead, Fairfax (fair hair), Swartz (black), Fairchild, Blackman, etc.

Among those which indicate the mental or moral qualities are such as Goodman, Wise, Wiley, Meek, Moody, Bliss, Gay, Sage, Joy.

Among those derived from bodily peculiarity and from feats of personal strength or courage are Strong, Mickle, Little, Long, Armstrong, Turnbull, etc.

A few surnames are derived from animals, fishes and birds, generally for the reason given hereafter.

Of surnames derived from animals may be mentioned Wolf, Lion, Fox, Hare, Roe, &c. From Wild boar comes Wilbur; from Little Wolf or *Lupellus* comes Lovel; Todd means fox in Scotch; and from *Eber* or *Eufer*, a boar, is derived Everard, Everitt, Everingham, Everton, &c. Oliphant is from elephant.

Among the names of fishes and birds taken as family names may be mentioned, Pike, Salmon, Burt, Bass, Fish, etc; Dove,

Finch, Peacock, Swan, Jay, Wildgoose (Wilgus), Heron, &c.

The mineral and vegetable kingdom have contributed their full quota, as instance Garnett, Jewell, Steel, Irons, Stone, Flint, Pine, Rose, Thorn, Burch, etc.

One reason why persons received as surnames the names of animals, fishes, birds, flowers, &c, was because in ancient times in England, not only innkeepers but tradesmen and mechanics of all kinds put on the signs over their doors a representation of something to attract attention and as a distinguishing mark of their place of business, as Wild boars, Elephants, Bulls, Swans, Peacocks, Dolphins, Cranes, Griffins, Guns, Bells, Pots, Pitcaers, &c., which gave rise to the surnames of those who put them up or to some of their employes.

Camden says "that he was told by them who said they spake of knowledge, that many names that seem unfitting for men, as of brutish beasts, etc., came from the very signs of the houses where they inhabited. That some, in late time, dwelling at the sign of the Dolphin, Bull, Whitehorse, Racket, Peacocke, etc., were commonly called *Thomas at the Dolphin, Will at the Bull, George at the Whitehorse, Robin at the Racket*, which names, as many others of the like sort, with omitting *at*, became afterward hereditary to their children."

A few surnames have originated in nicknames, epithets of contempt and ridicule, imposed for personal peculiarities, habits, qualities, incidents or accidents which happened to their original bearers, as Doolittle, Bragg, Trollope, Silliman, &c.

The foregoing gives the principal sources from which the greater part of our surnames are derived, but many names yet remain, the origin of which are not accounted for, but all surnames must have been originally significant. The best authorities as to the origin and meaning of surnames are Lover, Camden and Arthur, the work of the last named being the most convenient and accessible.

We give below the meaning and origin of many familiar surnames as accepted by some authorities. In a few instances there is a difference of opinion among those who have investigated the subject. At some future time we shall endeavor to find room for a more complete list of surnames and quote different authorities—In some cases where different opinions are given as to the origin of surnames each may be correct owing to the fact

that many names now common may have had different origins.

SURNAMES—THEIR ORIGIN AND MEANING.

Acheson, Atcheson. (Cornish British). An inscription or memorial.

Ackerman. (Saxon). From *Acker*, oaken, made of oak, and man. Signifying the brave, firm, unyielding man.

Acton. (Saxon). Oak-town or oak hill.

Agnew. (Norman French). From the town of Agneau, in Normandy, whence the family originated. Agneau, in Normandy French signifies lambs.

Ackers, Aikens, Akers, Akms &c. (Saxon). Signify *oaken* or *place of oaks*, or oak man, a man firm and unyielding as an oak.

Allen, Allan. This name is derived, by one authority from the Slavonic *Alud*, a wolf-dog or hound. Camden thinks it is a corruption of Aelinus, which signifies sun-bright. In the Gaelic, *Aluim* signifies exceedingly fair, handsome, elegant, lovely. Irish, *Alun*, fair beautiful. The Gaelic and Irish derivations are probably correct.

Anderson. Son of Andrew.

Armstrong. A name given for strength in battle.

Austin. (Latin) A contraction of Augustine, from *Augustinus*, imperial, royal, great, renowned.

Bailey. A name of office.

Barculo, Barkalow. From the town Borculo or Borkulo in Holland.

Barnes. A distinguished family of Sotterly, Suffolk county, England. *Bearn*, a city in France. *Barnz*, (Cornish Br.) a judge.

Bartlett. A diminutive of Bartholomew, meaning little Bart, or son of Bartholomew.

Barton. (Saxon). Local. From a town in Lincolnshire, England, meaning a corn town or barley village, from *berc*, barley, and *ton* an inclosure, house or village. In Devonshire *Barton* is applied to any freehold estate not possessed of manorial privileges.

Bates. (Anglo Saxon) Contention.

Bauer. (German). Farmer.

Baxter. (Anglo Saxon). Baker. Sir Walter Scott says that in Scotland it also meant a baker's lad.

Beadle. A name of office; an officer belonging to a university or parish.

Bedell. The same as Beadle, of which it is a corruption.

Beers. From *Beer*, a town in Dorsetshire, England, so called from *berc*, grain, barley; a fruitful place.

Bell. A name taken from the sign of an inn or shop. "John at the Bell" became "John Bell."

Bennett. A contraction or corruption of Benedict, from *Benedictus*, blessed.

Blair. A cleared plain or battle field.

Blake. A corruption of *Ap Lake*, son of Lake.

Bogart (Dutch) From boomgard, an orchard.

Bond. The father or head of a family, whence husband, a contraction of *house bond*.

Bonnal. (Cornish British). The house on the cliff. (See Burnell).

Bowen. (Welsh). A corruption of *Ap Owen*, son of Owen.

Bowne. (Cornish Br.) Signifies ready, active, nimble.

Bowman. A military name; one who used a bow; an archer.

Bowers. A shady recess; a cottage. The German *Bauer* is sometimes corrupted to Bower.

Bowyer. One who used or made bows.

Bradshaw. A broad wood or grove. One who lived near a wide grove.

Breese. (Welsh). A contraction of *Ap Reese*, son of Reese.

Brewer, Brewster. A brewer of malt liquor.

Briek. A corruption of Breek, signifying *broken*, a gap.

Britton, Brittain. A native of Britain.

Brower. From the Dutch *Brouer*, a brewer.

Bryan, Brian Brien. Nobly descended; also one who is fair spoken, wordy, specious.

Bunnell. A corruption of *Bonhill*, a parish in the county of Dumbarton, Scotland.

Burden, Borden. Louver says the surname Burden is probably a corruption of *bourdon*, a pilgrim's staff. It may also be derived from two Saxon words *Bour* and *den* signifying a house in the valley.

Chadwich. Cottage by the harbor.

Clayton. The Clay hill.

Cole. An abbreviation of Nicholas, common among the Dutch.

Connell, Connelly. From Celtic and Gaelic, *conul*, love, friendship.

Conway. From a river of this name in Wales.

Coombs. (Cornish Br.) A place between hills, a valley; in the Welsh *Coom*.

Courtney. From a town in France, *Courtenay* fifty-six miles south of Paris.—The name signifies "The court near the river."

Cox. From *cock* or *cox*, little, a term of endearment. The word was sometimes used to denote a leader or chief man. In West Jersey, some two centuries ago, Peter, Lacey, and Laurence Cock were prominent settlers; their descendants generally now spell the name Cox.

Crawford. From Crawford in Lancashire, Scotland, which some say derived its name from *cru* bloody and *ford*, a pass—bloody ford.

Crowell. From a town in England by that name.

Curtis. An abbreviation of courteous.

Dennis. A corruption of the Greek name *Dionysius*, divine mind.

Dunn. *Gaelic*, a heap, hill, mount, fortress. *Saxon*, brown, of a dark color, swarthy.

Dunning. Brown offspring, Child of Dunn.

Errick, Herrick. "There is a tradition" says Dean Swift "that the ancient family of Erricks or Herricks derive their lineage from Erick the Forester, a great commander who raised an army to oppose the invasion of William the Conqueror."

Erickson. Son of Eric. The old settlers of Monmouth of this name were probably of Swedish descent and first settled in West Jersey. Eric Erickson came over with the first Swedish settlers (1638?) A census of Swedes taken in 1693 gives the names of Joran Ericson, one child, Mats Erickson, three children, Eric Erickson, one child. An old tradition says that the first of the family who came to New Jersey, descended from Eric, king of Sweden.

Erwin, Irwin. Welsh *Erywn*, very fair, white beautiful.

Evans. The Welsh for John, same as Johns, meaning son of Evan or son of John.

French. One who came from France.

Goudy, Gowdy. From *Gouda*, a town in Holland.

Gordon. A strong man, a hero, a giant.

Harris, Harrison. Son of Henry.

Hartshorne. The horn of a hart or male deer; an emblem or sign over a shop or inn, whence the name "Will at the Hartshorn."

Havens. From haven, a harbor. One who lived near a haven.

Henderson, Hendrickson. Son of Henry or Hendrick.

Herbert. (Saxon) From *Here*, a soldier, and *berht*, bright—meaning an expert soldier, famous in war.

Higgins. Little Hugh, or son of Hugh.

Hilyard. Anciently Hildheard, *Hild* in Saxon is a hero or heroine, and *heard*, a pastor or keeper.

Hodges. Hodge was a nickname of Roger, and Hodges mean son of Hodge.

Hoffman. (Dutch) From *Hoofd*, a captain or head man, *Hof*, from *Hof*, a court—the man of the court.

Holman. A corruption of *Allemant*, a German, that is a mixture of all men, *Alle mann*.

Holmes. From *Holm*, a river, island or meadow; also cultivated rising ground.

Hume, Hulmes. Same as above.

Hood. (Saxon) From *hond*, the wood.

Hooper. A cooper.

Hopkins. Little Robert or son of Robert.

Hunn. A native of Hungary.

Iving, Irvine. From a river and town of same name in Ayrshire, Scotland.

Jeffrey. Corrupted from Geoffrey or Godfrey, from the German, signifying God's peace or joyful peace. This name was borne by the chief of the royal house of Plantagenet.

Jenkins. From Jenks or John; son of John.

Jennings. Same as Jenkins.

Kemble, Kimble. A corruption of Campbell, which family claims to be able to trace its lineage to the fifth century. *Cam* meant crooked, and *beul*, mouth—the man whose mouth inclined a little on one side.

Laird. The same as Lord.

Lane. (Gaelic) A plain; a narrow way.

Lawrence. Flourishing, spreading, from *Laurus*, the laurel tree. Sir Robert Lawrence of Ashton Hall, Lancashire, England, accompanied Richard I. to the Holy Land 1191.

Leonard. The disposition of a lion. Lion hearted.

Lippencot. German. A town on the coast; one who lived on the coast—from *leben* to dwell, and *cote* side or coast.

Lloyd. (Welsh) Grey or brown.

Lowe. A hill.

Martin. Warlike, a chief man, a warrior.

Moore. (Gaelic) Great, chief, tall, mighty, proud.

Morgan. One born by the sea.

Morris. (Welsh) A hero, a brave man.

Norris. A North king; the third king at arms.

Osborn. From *hus*, a house, and *beorn*, a child—a family child or adopted child.

Owen. The good offspring, good child.

Palmer. A pilgrim from the Holy Land; so called because he carried a palm branch as a pledge of his having been to Palestine.

Pancoast, Pancost. A corruption of *Pentecost*, a name probably given to a child born on Pentecost day.

Pangburn, Pangbourn. A town in Berkshire, England.

Parker. The keeper of a park.

Powell. The son of Howell, which is from Cornish British *Houl*, the sun.

Potter. One who makes earthen vessels.

Price. The son of Rice or Reese, from *Ap Rice*.

Quacker boss. A thicket, a grove, mountain ash.

Randolph, Randall. Fair help. Good help.

Reeves. From *Reeve*, a bailiff, provost, or steward.

Reynolds. Sincere or pure love; a strong, firm hold.

Rice, Reese. A brave, impetuous man.

Roger. One who keeps the peace; strong counsel.

Rogers. Son of Roger.

Russell. Red haired, or somewhat reddish.

Schenck. An inn or public house, from the German *schenke*.

Sherman. One who shears cloth.

Smith. The most common of all surnames. The name is derived from the Anglo Saxon *Smitan*, to strike or smite.

"From whence comes *Smith*, all be he knight or squire,

But from the *Smith* that *forgeth* at the fire?"

*Verstegan*.

Among the Highland class, the smith ranked third in dignity to the chief, from his skill in fabricating military weapons and his dexterity in using them. In Wales there were three sciences which a tenant could not teach his son without consent of his lord, *Scholarship*, *Bardism* and *Smithcraft*. This last was considered one of the liberal sciences, and the term had a more comprehensive sense than we now give it. The smith was required to have different branches of knowledge which are now practiced separately, such as raising the ore, converting it into metal, etc. It originally applied to all mechanical workmen whether in metal, wood or other materials.

The name John Smith is so common that it almost ceases to be a distinctive name. One writer contends, in an amus-

ing article, that the name Smith is not only common in Great Britain and America, but among all the nations of the earth. He insists that the Hebrew name of Shem (Noah's son) was thus corrupted: Shem, Shemit, Shmit, Smith. A Philadelphia humorous writer, after asserting that Shem in Hebrew is the origin of Smith, says the name John Smith is found in other nations one and indivisible. Thus, Latin, Johannes Smithius; Italian, Giovanni Smithi; Spanish, Juan Smithas; Dutch, Hans Schmidt; French, Jean Smeets; Russian, Jonloff Sknuttowski; Polish, Ivan Schmittiweiski; Chinese, Jahon Shimmitt; Icelandic, Jahne Smithson; Welsh, Jihon Schmidd; Tuscarora, Ton Qu Smittiu; Mexican, Jontli F. Smitti.

Snyder. (German) Schneider, a tailor.

Stanton. From *stan* a stone and *ton*, a hill or town.

Stewart. Malcolm III, king of Scotland, created Walter, the son of Fleance and grandson of Banquo, Lord High Steward of Scotland, from which office his family afterwards took, and retained the name of Stewart, and from thence descended the royal family of Stuart.

Stockton. A town in Durham, England.

Stokes. A parish in Buckinghamshire, England.

Stryker. (Danish.) From *strige*, to strike, to roam, to travel; hence a worker at a trade, a traveller.

Sutphen. (Dutch.) Originally Van Zutphen, that is, from the city of Zutphen in Germany.

Taggart. (Welsh.) A meeting house.

Tunison. Probably son of Tunis or Tunis.

Throckmorton. A corruption of *Ut Rock-moor-town*, "a town on a rock in a moor," in the vale of Eversham, Warwickshire, England.

Thwaite. A piece of ground cleared of wood.

Tice. (Dutch.) A familiar abbreviation of Matthias.

Tilton. Derived from Tilton, a village in England, probably an ancient place of tilling or tents. *Till*, Saxon, a tent.

Todd. *Tod*, a Scotch word for fox.

Townsend. One who lived at the end of the town.

Trux. (Cornish Br.) The place on the waters.

Van Cleve. From the city of Cleve or Cleves in Westphalia, Germany.

Vanderveer. From the ferry.

Voorhees. (Dutch.) From *voorhuis* the fore room or best room of a house, or from *voor Hess*, before the town of Hess.

Walton. The name of several villages in England, from *wald*, a wood, and *ton* a town or village.

Watson and Watts. Son of Walter.

Worden. Werden. From *Wehr*, a fortification and *den*, a hill; a town in Netherlands called Woerden.

Westvelt. The west field.

Woodruff. The governor or keeper of a wood, a forester.

Woodward. Wood-ward, a forest keeper or officer who had charge of a park or forest, and took charge of all offences committed.

Woolley. From *Wolley*, uncultivated lands, hills without woods.

Worth. (Saxon.) A court, farm, place.

#### THE DEATH OF BACON.

John Bacon was a notorious refugee who had committed many depredations along the shores of Monmouth and Burlington counties. After having been a terror to the people of this section for some time, John Stewart, of Arneytown, (afterwards Captain Stewart), resolved if possible to take him. There had been a reward of fifty pounds sterling offered by the Governor and Council for his capture, dead or alive. A short time previous, in an engagement at Cedar Creek Bridge, Bacon and his company had discomfited a considerable body of State troops, killing a brother of Joel Cook, of Cook's Mills, (now Cookstown), Burlington county, which excited much alarm and exasperated the whole country. On the occasion of his arrest, Captain Stewart took with him Joel Cook, John Brown, Thomas Smith, John Jones, and another person whose name is not recollected, and started in pursuit, well armed. They traversed the shore and found Bacon separated from his men at the public house or cabin of William Rose, between West Creek and Clamtown (now Tuckerton), in Burlington County. The night was very dark, and Smith being in advance of the party, approached the house, and discovered through the window a man sitting with a gun between his knees. He immediately informed his companions. On arriving at the house, Captain Stewart opened the door and presenting his musket demanded a surrender. The fellow sprang to his feet, and cocking his gun was



in the act of bringing it round to the breast of Stewart, when the latter, instead of discharging his piece, closed in with him and succeeded after a scuffle in bringing him to the floor. He then avowed himself to be John Bacon, and asked for quarter, which was at once readily granted to him by Stewart. They arose from the floor, and Stewart (still retaining his hold on Bacon) called to Cook, who, when he discovered the supposed murderer of his brother, became exasperated, and stepping back gave Bacon a bayonet thrust unknown to Stewart or his companions. Bacon appeared faint and fell. After a short time he recovered and attempted to escape by the back door. Stewart pushed a table against it. Bacon hurled it away and struck Stewart to the floor, opened the door, and again attempted to pass out: but was shot by Stewart (who had regained his feet) while in the act. The ball passed through his body, through a part of the building, and struck the breast of Cook, who had taken a position at the back door to prevent egress. Cook's companions were ignorant of the fact that he had given Bacon the bayonet wound, and would scarcely credit him when he so informed them on their way home. They examined Bacon's body at Mount Misery, and the wounds made by both bayonet and ball were obvious. They brought his dead body to Jacobstown, Burlington county, and were in the act of burying it in the public highway, near the village in the presence of many citizens who had collected on the occasion, when Bacon's brother appeared among them and after much entreaty succeeded in obtaining his body for private burial."

This affair took place on Thursday evening, April 3rd, 1783.

As there have been some disputes in traditional accounts as to the exact manner of Bacon's death, we have been at much trouble to get at the truth. Some old residents of the vicinity where he was killed are positive that he was shot down after asking for quarter. They say that Captain Stewart's party suddenly opened the door and pointed a musket at Bacon, who instantly rose up and held a table before him and begged for quarter, but the musket was fired, and the ball went through the table and killed him. But after much patient investigation and inquiry we believe this story is untrue, and that the correct version is about as Governor Fort has given it. We are sorry to add, however, that the party treated the body with unjustifi-

ble indignity. As soon as Bacon was killed his body was thrown into a wagon with his head over the tail-board, and the party drove for home that same night. Young Cook seemed quite "carried away" to think he had avenged his brother's death, and at the inns at Mannahawkir and Mount Misery, insisted on treating Bacon with liquor, fastening open his mouth while he poured liquor into it. The descendants of British sympathisers have charged the party with much cruelty, but the only foundations are the indignities offered to his body; and even there we can find some palliation for it, when we consider the excitement bordering on frenzy, of young Cook.

In addition to what has been quoted from Governor Fort regarding Bacon's burial, we have heard it stated that in accordance with an ancient custom with great criminals, the intention was to bury Bacon at the forks of some public roads, with a stake driven through the body; but his brother's arrival changed their plan. This brother of Bacon's was generally respected where he was known.

The writer of this is under impression that before the war Bacon's home was in Burlington county, though he occasionally worked in Stafford township, in Ocean county, and he has been told that Bacon left a wife and two sons at Pemberton; that his widow married a man named Morris, and that the two sons emigrated West, and became respectable and useful citizens.

It is but just to add that among old residents, generally of the Society of Friends, who though sympathizing with the Americans, yet were non-combatants, that Bacon was held to be among the most honorable of the refugee leaders. They say that except calling for a meal's victuals for himself and men in passing, he never molested the persons or property of any but Americans in the militia service.

Before closing, we will say that, although our State Council of Safety had declared Bacon an outlaw, and offered a reward for him dead or alive, yet it is probable that if he had been taken alive and delivered to the civil authorities he would have been liberated in pursuance of the treaty with England.

Hetfield, a much worse man than Bacon, many years after the war, had the impudence to return to Essex county (to endeavor to secure some property there), when he was arrested for his misdeeds dur-

ing the Revolution; but the judge decided he must be liberated in pursuance of the treaty with England. Most of the old residents in Essex well remember the intense excitement and indignation raised by the return and liberation of this scoundrel.

The refugee leaders in our State—Helfield, Bacon, Lippincott, Davenport, Moody and others—all doubtless held commissions from the "Board of Associated Loyalists," of which the President was William Franklin, the last British Governor of New Jersey.

#### CAPT. ADAM HYLER,

##### THE DARING PRIVATEER OF THE WATERS IN AND AROUND—OLD MONMOUTH.

It is rare to find in fact or fiction, more daring exploits recorded than those performed chiefly in the waters around old Monmouth, by Captain Adam Hyler, who resided at New Brunswick during the latter part of the Revolutionary war. From some unaccountable cause, the heroic deeds of this man have received but little notice from historians; indeed, we remember of but one modern work that makes any allusion to them, and that gives only two or three of the items published below.

Capt. Hyler's operations were carried on in Raritan bay, and along our coast as far down as Egg Harbor—chiefly, however, in the first named place. Though he sometimes used sail craft, yet he generally depended upon whale boats or large barges, rowed by skillful crews. These barges were generally kept at New Brunswick, but some were at times concealed in small streams emptying into Raritan bay and river, which place was then reached by old Cranberry Inlet.

Though the Refugee band which had its headquarters at the settlement on Sandy Hook, around the lighthouse, gave great annoyance to the patriots of Monmouth, yet their operations were much circumscribed by the efforts of Capt. Hyler and his brave compatriots, who seriously interfered with the vessels of the refugees, as well as of the British, and when opportunity offered as will hereafter be seen, hesitated not to attack their settlement, and even the lighthouse fort itself. The refugees would sometimes boast of successful midnight marauding expeditions into the adjacent country, but the bold, skillful exploits of Hyler, far eclipsed their best planned efforts.

A clear idea of Capt. Hyler's manner of harassing the enemy is given in the following extracts, copied from various ancient papers published at the time. They serve to aid in completing the picture of life and times in and around Old Monmouth during the Revolution.

"October 7th, 1781. On Friday last, Capt. Adam Hyler, from New Brunswick, with one gun boat and two whale boats, within a quarter of a mile of the guard ship at Sandy Hook, attacked five vessels, and after a smart conflict of fifteen minutes carried them. Two of them were armed, one mounting four six pounders, and one six swivels, and one three pounder. The hands made their escape with their long boats, and took refuge in a small fort, in which were mounted twelve swivel guns, from which they kept up a constant firing; notwithstanding which he boarded them all without the loss of a man. On board one of them was 250 bushels of wheat and a quantity of cheese belonging to Capt. Lippincott, bound to New York. He took from them fifty bushels of wheat, a quantity of cheese several swivels, a number of fuses, one cask of powder and some dry goods; and stripped them of their sails and rigging—not being able to bring the vessels into port, in consequence of a contrary wind and tide. After which he set fire to all save one, on board of which was a woman and four small children, which prevented her from sharing a similar fate."

On the 13th of October, a week or ten days after the above mentioned affair, Capt. Hyler with one gunboat and two whale boats, boarded a sloop and two schooners, which all hands, except two, had previously left, and which lay under the cover of the light house fort at Sandy Hook, and brought them all off; but the sloop being a dull sailor, and being much annoyed from a galley lying near Staten Island, she was set on fire about three miles from the fort. One of the schooners running aground by accident, was stripped and left; the other a remarkably fine fast sailing Virginia built pilot, mounted with one four pounder was brought, with two prisoners, safely off.

On the 24th of the same month, he started with one gunboat to surprise the "refugee town" at Sandy Hook. He landed within three quarters of a mile of the light house, but found the refugees were out in Monmouth County on a plundering expedition. He however fell in with six noted

villains who he brought off and lodged in a safe place. A subsequent notice of Capt. Hyler, says that at one time he captured the Captain of the guard at the light house, with all his men, but whether it was at this or some other time, is not stated.

Nov. 14th, 1781. On Saturday night, Capt. Hyler, with a gunboat and a small party of men went to the Narrows, where he captured a ship with fourteen hands, and brought her off with the intention of running her up the Raritan river, but near the mouth she unluckily got aground, and as the enemy approached in force, he was obliged to set her on fire. She was loaded with rum and pork; several hogsheads of the former he got out and brought off with the prisoners.

This ship captured was probably "The Father's D-sire," as twenty hogsheads of rum and thirty barrels of pork were advertised by the U. S. Marshal to be sold a few days after; which the advertisement states were taken from a ship of this name by Captain Hyler.

"On the 15th of December, Capt. Hyler, who commands seven or eight stout whale boats, manned with near one hundred men, at the Narrows, fell in with two refugee sloops trading to Shrewsbury, one of them commanded by the noted villain, 'Shore Stephens,' and had on board £600 in specie, besides a considerable quantity of dry goods; the other had similar articles, also sugar, rum, etc. They were taken to New Brunswick."

The many daring exploits of Capt. Hyler, following so close one after another, aroused the British at New York, and they fitted out an expedition with the determination of destroying his boats, and if possible, capturing him. The following account of this expedition is derived chiefly from Philadelphia papers, of the date of January 15th and 16th, 1782:

"A party of the British lately (about January 9th) made an incursion to New Brunswick with the design, it is said, of carrying off the boats of the celebrated partizan, Capt. Adam Hyler. They landed at New Brunswick and plundered two houses, but were gallantly opposed by the neighboring militia, and the enemy were driven off with some loss. Farther accounts say there were some 200 refugees and British, and that they succeeded in destroying the whale boats. No Americans were killed, but five were wounded and six taken prisoners. Several Tories were killed—four known to be, and sev-

eral were seen to be carried off. The British made the attack about 5 o'clock, A. M., just before daylight, and the American account says the expedition was well planned, and that the Tories held the town for about an hour. The British regulars were detachments from the 40th and 42d regiments, under command of Capt. Beckwith, in six boats, and they took away all of Hyler's boats. The British alleged that Captain Hyler was a deserter from the Royalists."

It is probable that at this time, besides his boats at New Brunswick, Capt. Hyler had others concealed elsewhere, as we find early in the following spring he was at work as usual, apparently, but little inconvenienced by the loss of the boats taken by the British, though he may have built some in the meantime. In March following, when the British attacked and burned Toms River, they boasted of having captured there a fine large barge, belonging to Capt. Hyler.

In April, 1782, Capt. Hyler, in an open boat, boarded and took a large cutter, almost ready for sea, lying near Sandy Hook, and near the Lion man-of-war, 64 guns. This cutter mounted twelve 18 pounders, and was commanded by one White, formerly of Philadelphia, but turned apostate. Hyler blew up the vessel, which was designed as a cruiser, and took forty prisoners. Another account says the number of prisoners was fifty, and the cutter's armament was six 18 pounders and ten 9 pounders. At the same time he took a sloop which was ransomed for £400. The Captain of the cutter gives an amusing account of the way Hyler captured his vessel, which will be found hereafter.

"On the 25th of May, 1782, Capt. Hyler, with his armed boats, being in Shrewsbury river, a party of British troops, consisting of twenty-five men, under Capt. Shaak, was detached to intercept him in the gut. Hyler discovered them, and landed thirteen men, with orders to charge; when four of the enemy were killed or wounded, and the Capt. and eight men taken prisoners. By the firing of a gun it was supposed others were killed, as they were seen to fall. Just before this affair, Capt. Hyler had met with a hurt, or otherwise he probably would not have let a man escape."

On the 2d of July, Captain Hyler, assisted by Captain Story, another brave partizan, in New York bay, with two whale boats, boarded and took the schooner Skip

Jack, carrying six guns, besides swivels, and burned her at noon, in sight of the guard-ship, and took the captain and nine or ten men prisoners. About the same time he also took three or four trading vessels, loaded with calves, sheep, &c.

These were probably about the last exploits in which Captain Hyler was engaged, as we find no farther mention of his name in ancient papers until the announcement of his death, some two months after. He died at New Brunswick, on the 6th of September, 1782.

The following from an ancient paper gives a graphic account of his manner of conducting his operations. It was originally published June 19th, 1782 :

"The exertions of the celebrated water partizan, Captain Adam Hyler, have been a considerable annoyance to the wood shallops, trading vessels, and plundering pirates of the enemy about Sandy Hook, Long Island, and Staten Island, for several months past. You have heard that his effort to take an eighteen gun cutter was crowned with success. It was indeed a bold and hazardous attempt, considering how well she was provided against being boarded. He was, however, compelled to blow her up, after securing his prisoners and a few articles on board. His surprising a captain of the guard, at the light-house, with all his men, a short time ago, was a handsome affair, and gained him much credit. He has none but picked and tried men; the person who discovers the least symptom of fear or diffidence, be he who he will, is immediately turned on shore, and never suffered to enter again.—

In the next place, they are taught to be particularly expert at the oar, and to row with such silence and dexterity as not to be heard at the smallest distance, even though three or four boats be together, and go at the rate of twelve miles an hour.

"Their captures are made chiefly by surprise or stratagem; and most of the crews that have hitherto been taken by these boats declare they never knew anything of an enemy being at hand till they saw the pistol or cutlass at their throats.

"There was a droll instance of this some weeks ago, as one of the prisoners, a shrewd, sensible fellow, and late captain of one of the captured vessels, relates it himself. Said he, 'I was on deck with three or four men, on a very pleasant evening, with our sentinel fixed. Our vessel was at anchor near Sandy Hook, and the

Lion man-of-war about one quarter of a mile distant. It was calm and clear, and we were all admiring the beautiful and splendid appearance of the full moon which was then three or four hours above the horizon. While we were thus attentively contemplating the serene luminary, we suddenly heard several pistols discharged into the cabin, and turning around, perceived at our elbows a number of armed people, fallen as it were from the clouds, who ordered us to 'surrender in a moment, or we were dead men!' Upon this we were turned into the hold and the hatches barred over us. The firing, however, had alarmed the man-of-war, who hailed us, and desired to know what was the matter. As we were not in a situation to answer, at least so far as to be heard, Captain Hyler was kind enough to do so for us, telling them through the speaking trumpet that 'all was well.'—After which, unfortunately for us, they made no farther inquiry."

After the notorious refuge, Lippencott, had barbarously murdered Captain Joshua Huddy, near the Highlands, General Washington was anxious to have the murderer secured. He had been demanded of the British General, and his surrender refused. Captain Hyler was determined to take Lippencott. On inquiry he found that he resided in a well known house, in Broad street, New York. Dressed and equipped like a man-of-war press gang, he left the Kills, with one boat, after dark, and arrived at Whitehall about nine o'clock. Here he left his boat in charge of three men, and passed to the residence of Lippencott, where he inquired for him and found that he was absent, having gone to a cock pit. Thus failing in his object he returned to his boat, with his *press gang*, and left Whitehall, but finding a sloop lying at anchor off the battery, from the West Indies, laden with rum, he took her, cut her cable, set her sails, and with a north east wind sailed to Elizabethtown Point, and before daylight had landed from her and secured forty hogshens of rum. He then burned the sloop to prevent her re-capture.—(This again furnishes the groundwork of a very interesting story, published originally in Major Noah's New York Sunday Times, and afterwards republished by the author, in a book entitled "Tales and Traditions of New York."—The writer however, occasionally blends fiction with facts, which, though perhaps serving to increase the interest of his sto-

ries, yet renders his work unreliable as a matter of history).

The writer of this has been unable to find any notice of Captain Hyler previous to 1771. The occasion of this probably is that he was in the British service in the early part of the war, but being convinced of the unjustness of the cause in which he was engaged, he left them and joined the Americans. The British at New Brunswick, as before stated, charged him with being a deserter, and the Tory paper published in New York (Rivington's Royal Gazette), Jan. 12, 1782, says: "This Hyler is a deserter from the royal service, and ever since his defection has proved too successful an enterprizer in his various descents upon our vicinities."

The fact of Captain Hyler's having been formerly in the British service, increases our admiration for his bold operations.—Had he been taken by the British, he probably would have received a deserter's punishment.

The writer of this has had occasion to make a thorough examination of the original pay rolls of all vessels of war in the service of our government in the war of 1812, and previous, which rolls are now preserved in the Treasury Department at Washington. In looking over the rolls containing the list of officers and men serving under Commodore Perry and other noted heroes on the lakes is to be found the name of an under officer named Adam Hyler, who faithfully served throughout that war, who was evidently named after and probably a near relative of the Captain Adam Hyler of Revolutionary fame.

#### OTHER PRIVATEERS.

##### CAPTAIN STORER.

The following is from an ancient paper published in 1782, just previous to the close of the war.

"We learn that the brave Captain Storer, commissioned as a private boat-of-war under the State, and who promises to be the genuine successor of the late Captain Hyler, has given a recent instance of his valor and conduct in capturing one of the enemy's vessels. He went in two boats through the British fleet in the Narrows, and boarded a vessel under the flag staff battery. He captured the vessel without alarm. She was a sloop in the Engineers department of H. B. M. service, and was carried away safely."

##### CAPTAIN WILLIAM MARRINER.

Captain Marriner lived in New Brunswick during the war. From notice of him in ancient papers, we find he was another brave enterprising partizan, as the following extracts will show. The first is from a letter dated June 17th, 1778.

"William Marriner, a volunteer, with eleven men and Lieutenant John Schenck, of our militia, went last Saturday evening from Middletown Point to Long Island, in order to take a few prisoners from Flatbush, and returned with Major Moncrieff and Mr. Theophilus Bacho (the worshipful Mayor and Tormentor-General, David Matthews, Esq., who has inflicted on our prisoners the most unheard of cruelties, and who was the principal object of the expedition, being unfortunately in the city,) with four slaves, and brought them to Princeton, to be delivered to his excellency the Governor. Mr. Marriner with his party left Middletown Point on Saturday evening, and returned at six o'clock next morning, having traveled by land and water above fifty miles, and behaved with greatest prudence and bravery."

The following is from an official naval work in the Library of Congress:

"The privateer Blacksnake was captured by the British, but in April, 1780, Captain William Marriner, with nine men in a whale boat, retook her. Captain Marriner then put to sea in his prize, and captured the Morning Star, of 6 swivels and 33 men, after a sharp resistance, in which she lost three killed and five wounded; he carried both prizes into Egg Harbor."

After the war Captain Marriner removed to Harlem, where he lived many years.

The Daniel Matthews above spoken of was the Tory Mayor of New York, during the Revolution, and noted for his enmity to all favoring the Americans.

##### CAPTAIN JACKSON.

"December 18th, 1782.—Capt. Jackson of the Greyhound, in the evening of Sunday, last week, with much address, captured within the Hook, the Schooner Dolphin and sloop Diamond, bound from New York to Halifax, and brought them into Egg Harbor. These vessels were both condemned to the claimants, and the sale amounted to £10,200.

##### SUCCESSFUL EXPLOIT.

In the following item from the *Packet*, Jan. 1779, no names are mentioned.

"Some Jerseymen went in row boats to Sandy Hook and took four sloops, one of which was armed. They burned three and took one; also nineteen prisoners.

The share of prize money per man, was £400."

#### PASSAGES IN THE RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF OLD MONMOUTH.

##### THE UNIVERSALISTS—ORIGIN OF THE SOCIETY IN AMERICA.

###### THE POTTER CHURCH.

A Free Church in the Olden Time—A Refuge for Methodism in its Dark Days—The Cradle of Universalism in America—Its Benevolent Founder and Remarkable Incidents in his Life.

A singular and interesting chapter in the religious history of our State, and one but little known outside of members of the Universalist society, relates to a church formerly called "the Potter church," built not far from 1760 to 1765, at Goodluck, in that part of old Monmouth now confined within the limits of Ocean county, by a benevolent resident of that village named Thomas Potter. Before building the church, Potter had been in the custom of opening his house to travelling preachers of all persuasions; and, after a while, to accommodate them, he built this church free for all denominations. His object is best expressed in his own words: "As I firmly believe that all mankind are equally dear to Almighty God, they shall all be equally welcome to preach in this house which I have built." After it was built, it was used by traveling ministers of the Presbyterian, Baptist, Quaker, Methodist and other societies, and in it was preached the first Universalist sermon ever delivered in America. The Methodist society in New Jersey owe a debt of gratitude to Thomas Potter for always opening his church to the noble pioneers of Methodism in the dark days of its history, when Methodism not only met with opposition from other societies on account of difference in religious sentiments, but also, when during the Revolution, their enemies most unwarrantably slandered them by charging them with being in sympathy with Great Britain. Though these slanders had the effect of rendering the heroes of Methodism so unpopular that they could hardly obtain a hearing in most parts of this State, as well as in other

States, yet the Potter church was always open to them, and so often used by them, that some Methodist writers at the present day who have found the name of this church frequently mentioned in the journals of these pioneers, have concluded it must have been a Methodist church, though where it was situated, and why it was so called, they have been unable to divine. Among the preachers well known in the annals of Methodism who preached in it, were Benjamin Abbott and Bishop Asbury; and in it was married James Sterling, the most earnest, effective layman the society had in its early struggles in New Jersey.

The most satisfactory account of Thomas Potter and his church is given by Rev. John Murray, who preached in it the first Universalist sermon ever delivered in America, under circumstances so very singular that his narrative forms an interesting as well as important part of our church history. As *Murray's Journal* is rarely to be met with except occasionally among some of his own denomination, we give the substance of his account, though, before giving it, it is necessary to say a few words in regard to Mr. Murray himself.

The Rev. John Murray, the first preacher of Universalism in America, sailed from England for New York, July 21st, 1770.—When he left England though a warm advocate of the principles of that society, yet he was not a regular preacher and had but little idea then of becoming one in America. During a thick fog in the early part of the month of September, the brig "Hand in Hand," in which he was acting as supercargo, struck on the outer bar of old Cranberry Inlet (now closed) nearly opposite Toms River; she soon passed over and was held by her anchors from going on shore. Here she remained several days before she could be got off. While lying here the provisions of the brig were exhausted, and after locking up the vessel, all hands proceeded in a boat across the bay to the main in search of sustenance. Being unacquainted with the main, they spent a great part of the day before they could effectuate their purpose, after which, it being late, they proceeded to a tavern to stay all night. Mr. Murray's mind appears to have been much exercised by eventful scenes in his previous life and to have longed to get somewhere where the busy cares of the world would not disturb his meditations; and hence as soon as the boatmen arrived at the tavern he

left them for a solitary walk through the dark pine grove. "Here," said he, I was as much alone as I could wish and my heart exclaimed, Oh that I had in this wilderness the lodging of a poor wayfaring man; some cave, some grot, some place where I might finish my days in calm repose." As he thus passed along musing, he unexpectedly reached a small log house where he saw a girl cleaning fish; he requested her to sell him some. She had none to spare, but told him he could get all he wanted at the next house. "What, this?" said Mr. Murray pointing to one he could just discern through the woods.—The girl told him no, that was a meeting house. He was much surprised to find a meeting house there in the woods. He was directed to pass on by the meeting house and at the next house he would find fish. He went on as directed and came to the door near which was a large pile of fish of various sorts, and standing by was a tall man, rough in appearance and evidently advanced in years. "Pray sir," said Mr. Murray, "will you have the goodness to sell me one of those fish?"—"No sir," was the abrupt reply of the old gentleman. "That is strange," replied Mr. Murray, "when you have so many fish, to refuse me a single one!"

"I did not refuse you a fish, sir; you are welcome to as many as you please, but I do not sell the article; I do not sell fish, sir, I have them for taking up and you may obtain them the same way." Mr. Murray thanked him; the old man then inquired what he wanted of them, and was told he wished them for supper for the mariners at the tavern. The old man offered to send the fish over for him, and urged Mr. Murray to tarry with him that night. Mr. Murray consented to return after visiting the crew at the public house. This old gentleman was Thomas Potter.—Mr. Murray says he was astonished to see so much genuine politeness and hospitality under so rough an exterior, but his astonishment was greatly increased on his return. The old man's room was prepared, his fire bright and his heart opened.—"Come," said he, "my friend, I am glad you have returned, I have longed to see you, I have been expecting you a long time." Expecting him! Mr. Murray was amazed, and asked what he meant. Mr. Potter replied, "I must answer in my own way; I am a poor ignorant man, I know how neither to read or write; I was born in these woods and worked on these

grounds until I became a man, when I went on coasting voyages from here to New York; I was then about getting married, but in going to New York once I was pressed on board of a man-of-war and taken in Admiral Watren's ship to Cape Breton. I never drank any rum, so they saved my allowance; but I would not bear an affront, so if any of the officers struck me I struck them again, but the admiral took my part and called me his new-light man. When I reached Louisburg I ran away and traveled barefooted through the country and almost naked to New York, where I was known and supplied with clothes and money, and soon returned home, when I found my girl married. This rendered me unhappy, but I recovered my tranquility and married her sister. I settled down to work and got forward quite fast; constructed a saw mill, possessed myself of this farm and five hundred acres of adjoining land. I entered into navigation, own a sloop and have now got together a fair estate. I am, as I said, unable to read or write, but I am capable of reflection; the sacred Scriptures have been often read to me, from which I gathered that there is a great and good Being who has preserved and protected me through innumerable dangers, and to whom we are all indebted for all we enjoy; and as He has given me a house of my own I conceived I could do no less than to open it to the stranger, let him be who he would; and especially if a traveling minister passed this way he always received an invitation to put up at my house and hold his meetings here.

"I continued in this practice for more than seven years, and illiterate as I was I used to converse with them, and was fond of asking them questions. They pronounced me an odd mortal, declaring themselves at a loss what to make of me; while I continued to affirm that I had but one hope; I believed that Jesus Christ suffered death for my transgressions, and this alone was sufficient for me. At length my wife grew weary of having meetings held in her house, and I determined to build a house for the worship of God. I had no children, and I knew that I was beholden to Almighty God for everything which I possessed, and it seemed right I should appropriate a part of what He bestowed for his service. My neighbors offered their assistance, 'But no,' said I, 'God has given me enough to do this work without your aid, and as he has put it in my heart to do so, so I will do.' 'And

who,' it was asked, 'will be your preacher?' I answered, God will send me a preacher, and of a very different stamp from those who have heretofore preached in my house. The preachers we have heard are perpetually contradicting themselves; but that God who has put it into my heart to build this house, will send one who shall deliver unto me his own truth; who shall speak of Jesus Christ and his salvation. When the house was finished I received an application from the Baptists, and I told them if they could make it appear that God Almighty was a Baptist, I should give them the building at once. The Quakers and Presbyterians received similar answers. No, said I, as I firmly believe that all mankind are equally dear to Almighty God, they shall all be equally welcome to preach in this house which I have built. My neighbors assured me I should never see a preacher whose sentiments corresponded with my own, but I uniformly replied I assuredly would. I engaged for the first year with a man whom I greatly disliked; we parted, and for some years we have had no stated minister. My friends often asked me, 'where is the preacher of whom you spoke?' and my constant reply, 'he will by and by make his appearance.' The moment, sir, I saw your vessel on shore it seemed as if a voice had audibly sounded in my ears, 'There, Potter, in that vessel, castaway on that shore, is the preacher you have so long been expecting.' I heard the voice and believed the report, and when you came up to my door and asked for the fish the same voice seemed to repeat, 'Potter, this is the man—this is the person whom I have sent to preach in your house!'"

As may be supposed Murray was immeasurably astonished at Mr. Potter's narrative, but yet had not the least idea that his wish could ever be realized. He asked him what he could discern in his appearance to lead him to mistake him for a preacher. 'What,' said Potter, 'could I discern when you were in the vessel that could induce this conclusion? Sir, it is not what I saw or see, but what I feel which produces in my mind full conviction.'—Murray replied that he must be deceived, as he should never preach in that place or anywhere else.

"Have you never preached—can you say you never preached?"

"I cannot, but I never intend to preach again."

"Has not God lifted up the light of His countenance upon you? Has he not shown you the truth?"

"I trust he has."

"Then how dare you hide this truth?—"

Do men light a candle and put it under a bushel. If God has shown you His salvation why should you not show it to your fellow men. But I know that you will, I am sure that God Almighty has sent you to us for this purpose. I am not deceived, sir, I am sure I am not deceived."

Murray was much agitated when this man thus spoke on, and began to wonder whether or no God who ordains all things, had not ordained that this should come to pass, but his heart trembled, he tells us, at the idea. He endeavored, he says, to quiet his own fears and to silence the warm hearted old man by informing him he was supercargo of the vessel, that property to a large amount was entrusted to his care, and that the moment the wind changed he was under solemn obligations to depart.

"The wind will never change," said Potter, "until you have delivered to us in that meeting house a message from God."

Murray still resolutely determined never to enter any pulpit as a preacher, but being much agitated in mind asked to be shown to bed after he had prayed with the family. When they parted for the night, his kind host solemnly requested him to think of what he said.

"Alas, says Murray, he need not have made this request; it was impossible to banish it from my mind; when I entered my chamber and shut the door, I burst into tears; I felt as if the hand of God was in the events which had brought me to this place, and I prayed most ardently that God would assist and direct me by His counsel."

So much exercised was he in mind that he spent the greater part of the night in praying and weeping, "dreading more than death, he says, supposing death to be an object of dread, the idea of engaging as a public character." In his writings he gives the substances of his meditations and prayers on that memorable night. In the morning his good friend renewed his solicitations: "Will you speak to me and my neighbors of the things which belong to our peace?"

Murray seeing only thick woods, the tavern across the fields excepted, requested to know what he meant by neighbors.



"O, sir, we assemble a large congregation whenever the meeting house is opened; indeed when my father first settled here he was obliged to go twenty miles to grind a bushel of corn, but now there are more than seven hundred inhabitants within that distance."

Murray still could not be prevailed upon to yield, but Potter insisted and seemed positive the wind would not change until he had spoken to the people. Thus urged, Murray began to waver and at length he tells us he "implored God, who sometimes condescends to indulge individuals with tokens of his approbation, graciously to indulge me upon this important occasion, and that if it was His will that I should obtain my soul's desire by passing through life as a private individual, if such was not his will that I should engage as a preacher of the ministry, He would vouchsafe to grant me a wind as might bear me from this shore before another Sabbath. I determined to take the changing of the wind for an answer."

But the wind changed not, and towards the close of the Saturday afternoon he reluctantly gave his consent to preaching the next day, and Mr. Potter immediately despatched his men on horse back to notify the neighbors, which they were to continue to do until ten o'clock in the evening. Mr. Murray appears to have had but little rest that night, thinking over the responsibilities of the avocation he was so unexpectedly about to be engaged in, and of what he should say and how he should address the people; but the passage "Take no thought what ye shall say," etc., appears to have greatly relieved his mind. Sunday morning they proceeded to the church. Potter very joyful and Murray uneasy, distrusting his own abilities to realize the singularly high formed expectations of his kind host. The church at that day is described as being "neat and convenient, with a pulpit rather after the Quaker mode, with but one new pew and that a large square one just below the pulpit in which sat the venerable Potter and his family and visiting strangers; the rest of the seats were constructed with backs, roomy and even elegant." As Murray was preaching Potter looked up into the pulpit, his eyes sparkling with pleasure, seemingly completely happy at the fulfillment of what he firmly believed a promise long deferred. We have no record of the substance of this, the first Universalist sermon in America, nor of its impression upon

any of the hearers save one—that one Thomas Potter himself, appears to have had all his expectations realized, and upon their return home overwhelmed Murray with his frank, warm-hearted congratulations; and soon visitors poured in.—Said Potter to them "This is the happiest day of my life; there, neighbors, there is the minister God has sent me." Murray was so overcome by the old man's enthusiastic demonstrations that he retired to his room and tells us he "prostrated himself at the throne of grace, and besought God to take him and do with him what he pleased."

After a while he returned to the company and found the boatmen with them, who wished him to go on board immediately, as the wind was fair. So he was compelled to leave. His host was loth to part with him and exacted a promise from him to return, which he soon did, and preached often in the Potter church and other villages. The first place he visited during this stay was Toms River. He relates two or three interesting scenes occurring here, in explaining to individuals his peculiar religious views. The next village he visited was probably Mannahawkin, for though he does not mention the name, yet he speaks of a Baptist preacher and church, of a family of Pangburns, &c., and there was then a Baptist church at that village, and the Pangburn family were then prominent members of it. (Lines Pangburn was a delegate from the Mannahawkin Baptist church to the Baptist General Association, in 1771. A man named Lines Pangburn was afterward killed by refugees at Mannahawkin—probably the same one.)

For many years, and though travelling in various parts of the United States, yet as long as Thomas Potter lived, his house at Goodluck was considered by Murray as his home. At length, after being away some time upon a religious mission, he returned and found that his good old friend was dead; his letter describing this visit, recounting some of the scenes of Potter's life, his traits of character, his own feelings, etc., is full of tender feeling and sincere grief, admirably expressed, and the substance of the discourse which he preached on that occasion, in that memorable old chapel, is a touching specimen of Murray's eloquence. A brief extract will serve to give an idea of Murray's style and of his feelings towards his departed friend. His text was "For ye are bought with a price; therefore glorify God in your body

and in your spirit which are God's." Towards the close of his discourse, pointing towards Potter's grave which could be seen from where he stood, he says :

"Through yonder open casement I behold the grave of a man, the recollection of whom swells my heart with gratitude, and fills my eyes with tears. There sleeps the sacred dust of him who well understood the advantages resulting from the public worship of God. There rests the ashes of him who glorified God in his body, and in his spirit, which he well knew were the Lord's. He believed he was bought with a price, and therefore he declared that all that he had and all that he was, were righteously due to God, who created and purchased him with a price, all price beyond. There rests the precious dust of the friend of strangers, whose hospitable doors were ever open to the destitute, and him who had none to relieve his sufferings; his dust reposes close to this edifice, itself a monument of his piety. Dear, faithful man, when last I stood in this place, he was present among the assembly of the people. I marked his glistening eye; it always glistened at the emphatic name of Jesus. Even now, I behold in imagination, his venerable countenance, benignity is seated on his brow, his mind, apparently open and confiding, tranquility reposes upon his features, every varying emotion evincing faith in that enduring peace which passeth understanding.— Let us, my friends, imitate his philanthropy, his charity, his piety. I may never meet you again until we unite to swell the loud hallelujahs before the throne of God. Loud to hear of your faith, of your perseverance, of your works of charity, of your brotherly love, will heighten my enjoyments and soothe my sorrows, even to the verge of mortal pilgrimage."

Potter in his will left the church to Murray. The clause in his will reads, as given in Murray's life, as follows :

"The house was built by me for the worship of God; it is my will that God be worshipped in it still, and for this purpose I will that my ever dear friend, John Murray, preacher of the gospel, possess it, having the sole direction, disposal and management of said house and one acre of land upon which it stands and by which it is surrounded."

It was Mr. Murray's desire as well as Mr. Potter's, that the church should be kept free to all denominations for the worship of God. In his sermon just quoted he

says: "Thomas Potter built this house that God might be worshipped without interruption, that he might be worshipped by all whom he should vouchsafe to send. This elegant house, my friends, the first friends who hailed my arrival in this country, this house with its adjoining grove is yours. The faithful founder bequeathed it to me that none of you may be deprived of it," and in Mr. Murray's will he expressly left it *free to all denominations*.

This church property is now under the control of the Methodists, the Universalists, though manifesting little or no disposition to dispute their claim, yet contend that its sale was through "the mismanagement of the executor to satisfy illegal claims, &c." The Universalists held an interesting conference at the church, May 15th, 1833, which was attended by many of their leading preachers and laymen, and while there erected the tombstone over Potter's grave, which yet marks the spot where he was buried. The ceremony was quite impressive. Rev. A. C. Thomas delivering an appropriate discourse, after which a hymn composed for the occasion, was sung among other exercises. This conference, while there, adopted a circular letter to their churches generally, in which, among other things they say: "We have been on a mission of love and gratitude, have assembled in the ancient house of our Fathers, have convened around the grave of the venerated Potter, and dropped a tear of grateful remembrance on the spot where repose his ashes, etc.," and then earnestly invite their brethren from the East and from the West, from the North and from the South to unite with them "in an annual pilgrimage to this sacred spot—this Holy Land, in order that we may all receive a little of the Godlike spirit of benevolence which warmed the soul of that man of God, and friend of man, Thomas Potter."

Their earnest and feeling appeal to their brethren to make this annual pilgrimage, however, has met with a very feeble response, though since the time that John Murray delivered his first sermon in September, 1770, the churches of his followers have increased to perhaps twelve hundred, yet only once in a long while does one of their members make this pilgrimage to this 'Holy Land'; when they do and express a desire to preach, the doors are thrown open to them, and as long as the trustees are thus liberal to them as well as other denominations, they cer-

tainly can have no occasion to question the title.

The substance of the foregoing account is derived from Everett's life of Murray and from writings of Murray himself. The warm unqualified endorsement of the character of Murray, as a man, by such noble hearted men as General Greene of Revolutionary fame, and others who knew him, well show that implicit reliance can be placed upon his statements. In 1832, the Rev. A. C. Thomas visited Toms River and Goodluck, and in both places found persons who had listened to Murray in their youth, and cherished the faith they heard from him, and he conversed with several who remember having heard the circumstances related by Murray of his first meeting with Potter, corroborating Murray's statements.

Before dismissing the subject it may not be amiss to add that one tradition of the origin of the name of Goodluck, as applied to this village, is that when Murray was looking for provisions on his first arrival, and finding Potter so kind and open hearted, and the magnificent groves of pine so suited to his meditative mind, he exclaimed: 'Good Luck!' that I have found such a place and such a man. (There is another tradition of the name of Goodluck Point, near Toms River, which is different from the origin of Goodluck village.)

An old gentleman brought up in the vicinity of the church, whose father was a neighbor and friend of Thomas Potter, stated that he often heard his father relate Potter's story of the naming of the place on this account; that in relation to Potter being carried off by a man of-war, he was gone so long the neighbors thought him dead, and the girl to whom he was to be married, thinking so also, she had married another man just before his return; that Potter often told his neighbors, after he built the church, that God would send a minister after his own heart, and that in Murray he found fulfilled his long deferred expectations.

#### THE CENTENARY OF UNIVERSALISM.

The one hundredth anniversary of the introduction of Universalism into the United States was celebrated by a large convocation of clergy and members of the Society at Gloucester Mass., in September, 1870; and the week following, on Sept. 28th, memorial exercises conducted by that father in the church, Rev. Abel C. Thomas, of Philadelphia, was held at the old

Potter Church at Goodluck. The exercises consisted of praying, singing, address by Mr. Ballou, of Philadelphia, &c., after which the congregation were dismissed until one o'clock, when the grave of Mr. Potter the founder, of the church, was decorated with appropriate ceremonies. Forty years ago Rev. A. C. Thomas caused a wooden fence to be put around Potter's grave; on the centenary occasion this was removed and a neat iron fence substituted.

The following letter from Rev. A. C. Thomas, to the Editor of the *New Jersey Courier*, giving some interesting details of the celebrations at Gloucester and Goodluck, and also items in the rise and progress of the Society, is worthy a place in the history of the church:

THOMAS POTTER AND JOHN MURRAY.

*Mr. Editor:*—In behalf of many Universalists, I thank you for your late fair and liberal article respecting Thomas Potter, of Good Luck, and the Rev. John Murray.--- We expect no man to endorse the statements of the latter, as recorded in his autobiography; nor the traditional accounts of his remarkable interview with the former; but we are happy to know that the time has arrived for a truly catholic representation of our history as a people, as illustrated recently in your columns.

In one item you were misinformed. We had no expectations of large "delegations" of our members at the late celebration in Goodluck. Our centenary had been attended the week previously in Gloucester, Mass., the number present being variously estimated from ten thousand to fifteen thousand, including two hundred and fifty out of our six hundred and fifty clergymen. It was the date of the stated annual session of our General Convention, and was appointed to be held in Gloucester under the following circumstances.

In 1770 a Mr. Gregory, presumably a mariner, brought from London to Gloucester a book written by Rev. James Relly, in advocacy and defence of the doctrine of the restoration of all souls, in the Lord's own time and way. This book was passed from hand to hand, and made happy converts of a number of influential, religious people.

It would require no great stretch of the imagination to date the landing of that book on the 28th of September, of the year named; and on that day Rev. John Murray, a disciple of Relly (in the sense that Relly was a disciple of Christ) landed on

the coast of New Jersey, as narrated in your recent article.

After an extended missionary service in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and New England, Murray was for the second time in Boston in 1774. Having heard of him as a disciple of Rely, the Gloucester people sent for him. He accepted the invitation, the visit being a meeting of the lines of providence in the case. Here he afterwards settled as pastor, his meetings for worship being held in private houses until 1788. In that year a meeting house was erected, and a more pretentious one in 1805. The old building was then sold and devoted to secular uses in the village. Ten years later it was removed to a farm about two miles distant, and since that time has been used as a hay-barn.

In 1804 Murray removed to Boston, and his successor in Gloucester, Rev. Thomas Jones, for forty-two years was minister of the parish, dying in 1846.

During the session of our General Convention last week, we had a memorial service at the old church barn, and also at the grave of Father Jones, the latter being marked by a huge granite obelisk in the cemetery.

The late great convocation in Gloucester antedated the landing of Murray by the space of one week; and a few of us determined to spend the exact centenary at Goodluck. This was what took us there; and there, precisely one hundred years from the landing of Murray, we held a memorial service in the old church, and also at the grave of Thomas Potter—the order being substantially the same that we had used in Gloucester. The only change was in this: "We strew this evergreen and these flowers in memory and honor of Thomas Potter, the friend and patron of John Murray, our early preacher of Universalism in America."

After a brief address by the Rev. Abel C. Thomas, who conducted the services, the following hymn was sung, and the service proceeded in the order given below.

Whilst far and wide thy scattered sheep,  
Great Shepherd, in the desert stray,  
Thy love by some is thought to sleep,  
Unheedsful of the wanderer's way.

But truth declares they shall be found,  
Wherever now they darkling roam,  
Thy love shall through the desert sound,  
And summon every wanderer home.

Upon the darkened ways of sin,  
Instead of terror's sword and flame,  
Shall love descend—for love can win  
Far more than terror can reclaim.

And they shall turn their wandering feet,  
By grace redeemed, by love controlled,  
Till all at last in Eden meet,  
One happy, universal fold.

All the ends of the world shall remember and turn unto the Lord, and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before thee:

*For the kingdom is the Lord's and he is the Governor among the nations.*

Send forth thy light and thy truth, O Lord; let them lead us and bring us to thy holy hill, and to thy tabernacles, even unto God our exceeding joy.

*Thou wilt show us the path of life: in thy presence is fulness of joy: at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore.*

How amiable are thy tabernacles, O Lord of Hosts! My soul longeth, yea, even fainteth for the courts of the Lord:

*My heart and my flesh crieth out for the living God.*

As the sparrow findeth a house, and the swallow a nest for herself where she may hide her young, so let me dwell at thine altars, O Lord of Hosts, my King and my God.

*Blessed are they who dwell in thy house: they will be still praising thee.*

A day in thy courts is better than a thousand elsewhere: I had rather be a door-keeper in the house of my God than to dwell in the tents of ungodliness.

*O Lord of Hosts, blessed is the man that trusteth in thee.*

Thy perfection is higher than heaven: what can we do to celebrate thy praise? It is deeper than hell: what can we know of thy fathomless love?

*We praise thee, O God: we acknowledge thee to be the Lord.*

All the earth doth worship thee, the Father everlasting. To thee all angels cry aloud, the heavens and all the powers therein. To thee, cherubim and seraphim continually do cry.

*Holy, holy, holy Lord of Sabaoth! heaven and earth are full of the majesty of thy glory!*

The illustrious procession of the patriarchs praise thee:

The jubilant assembly of the prophets praise thee:

The glorious company of the apostles praise thee:

The noble army of martyrs praise thee:

The Holy Church throughout all the world doth acknowledge thee, the Father of an infinite majesty:

*Also thy well-beloved and consecrated Son and the Holy Ghost the Comforter.*

O God, the King of Glory, help thy servants whom thou hast redeemed by the hand of thy mighty power :

*Make them to be numbered with thy saints in glory everlasting.*

O Lord, save thy people and bless thy heritage: govern and lift them up forever.

*Day by day we manifest thee ; and we worship thy name ever ; world without end.*

Vouchsafe, O Lord, to keep us evermore without sin. All our trust is in thee.

*O Lord, in thee have I trusted : Let me never be confounded.*

It is nothing wonderful that the occasion should have special attractions for me. After the final visit of Murray to Goodluck (it was I believe in 1790) no Universalist clergyman had been there until my first visit in 1832—being accompanied by Richard Norton and James Ely, of Hightstown. I was again there, accompanied by several friends, in May 1833—at which date we erected a plain headstone at the grave of Potter, and engaged Benjamin Stout (then owner of the Potter farm) to erect a paling fence. This was removed a few weeks since, and a beautiful and substantial iron one substituted, by an organization known as the Goodluck Association. This Association also recently bought an acre of wooded ground adjacent to the meeting house as a sort of perpetual memorial.

We have no present thought of establishing a worshipping assembly in that vicinity, and the courteous treatment received from all the neighbors, and from the Rev. Mr. Johnson, Methodist minister in charge, gives us assurance that the door of the old meeting house will not be closed against us for an occasional service in years to come.

Truly yours, ABEL C. THOMAS.  
PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 30, 1770.

WHO WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR CAPT HUDDY'S MURDER ?

MONMOUTH REFUGEES IN NEW YORK AND BOARD OF ASSOCIATED LOYALISTS' ACTION.—CAPTAIN RICHARD LIPPENCOTT'S TRIAL, &c.

Captain Joshua Huddy, Daniel Randolph, Esq., and Jacob Fleming, it may be remembered, were made prisoners by the British, at Toms River, March 24th, 1782. While they were in the custody of the British at New York, the Americans on

the 30th of the same month, captured Philip White, Aaron White and other refugees as elsewhere described, and also captured at or about the same time Captain Clayton Tilton. Aaron White, Tilton and probably the others, except Phil White killed in attempting to escape, were taken to Freehold and lodged in the jail. Tilton and Aaron White were subsequently exchanged for Randolph and Fleming, before which it will be seen, by the following extracts, that while the Board of Associated Loyalists, in their official capacity ordered Huddy to be delivered to the custody of Lippencott for the ostensible purpose of having him exchanged for Tilton, yet that this was only a pretext; that the real object was to have him executed and that without any form of trial. The following is a copy of the order on the commissary of prisoners.

NEW YORK, April 8th, 1782.

SIR: Deliver to Captain Richard Lippencott the three following prisoners:—Lieutenant Joshua Huddy, Daniel Randolph, and Jacob Fleming to take them to the Hook (*Sandy Hook*) to procure the exchange of Captain Clayton Tilton and two other associated loyalists.

By order of the board of directors of associated loyalists.

S. S. BLOWERS, Secretary.

Mr. Commissary CHALLONER.

On the trial of Lippencott, Walter Chaltoner the commissary of business testified in substance as follows :

"He never knew anything of Joshua Huddy's being to be delivered to Lippencott, till Lippencott brought the order.—In going from deponent's house to the provost with Lippencott, he told deponent that the three prisoners, whom that order concerned, were intended to be exchanged for Philip White, Captain Tilton and another White. In their conversation in going to the provost, Capt. Lippencott told deponent that if White was murdered as reported, they intended to execute Huddy for him."

It will hereafter be seen that at this time Lippencott knew that Phil White was really dead.

The Secretary of the Board of Associated Loyalists, S. S. Blowers, gave his testimony which, as far as it goes seems to palliate the action of that body. His evidence refers to what transpired before the Board in its official capacity and it may be substantially true so far as his knowledge extended but that it did not give all the facts relat-

ing to the order for Huddy to be delivered to Lippencott will be seen by the testimony of other witnesses. This Secretary, Mr. Blowers, stood high among the loyalists.— He was a graduate of Harvard College.— After the war he went to Halifax and was appointed Attorney General, elected Speaker of the House of Assembly, and in 1797 appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

According to Mr. Blowers' testimony, Lippencott appeared before the Board on the 8th of April and stated that Captain Tilton was a prisoner at Freehold and he was afraid the Americans would hang him unless he could have some prisoner to hold for Tilton's security; he proposed to have Huddy delivered to him and also two others named Randolph and Fleming. He wished to take these three men to Sandy Hook and to offer Huddy for Tilton, and if that offer did not answer, to give all three to procure his exchange; but if the first offer was accepted, then to give Randolph and Fleming for two other Loyalists. The order was thereupon given him as the Commissary of prisoners for Huddy, Randolph and Fleming. The next day, April 9th, Lippencott again appeared before the Board and proposed to make an expedition into the Jerseys with a view to

#### FORCE FREEHOLD JAIL.

with a party of about thirty loyalists and rescue Clayton Tilton, or if that was found impracticable, to seize General Forman, that he might by one of these means, procure the release of Tilton, and he requested a requisition for men, ammunition and provisions for the expedition. The proposal was agreed to. While the necessary orders were being made out, Lippencott took a paper from his pocket and went towards Governor Franklin and said, "this is the paper we mean to take down with us."— This paper it would seem, was the label afterwards fastened to Huddy's breast when he was hung. The secretary said that Governor Franklin only looked at the paper but did not read it, that Mr. Stewart, another member of the Board, tried to read it by looking over Franklin's shoulder and that Daniel Coxe, of N. J., also of the Board and its first president, hastily said "we have nothing to do with that paper; Captain Lippencott, keep your paper to yourself."

From the evidence of Mr. Blowers and more particularly from that of other witnesses it is plainly evident that the mem-

bers of the Board were acquainted with the nature of the contents of the paper although they did not choose to recognize it in their official capacity.

Captain Thomas Crowell, a refugee from Middletown, testified in substance as follows:

"In consequence of several loyalists having been executed in Monmouth, deponent obtained from the commandant, through Governor Franklin, orders to receive three prisoners and follow such directions as deponent might give with respect to their confinement. That it was proposed to have executed one of them by way of retaliation, the Board of Directors having promised deponent that orders should be given for that purpose; but some dispute intervening among loyalists who had taken those prisoners, the order was not given, nor did the execution take place; but deponent in consequence of the declaration made by the Board, dated December 28th, 1780, should have thought himself justifiable in executing one of those prisoners, even had he received only a verbal order from the Board, having never seen any prohibition against the declaration alluded to."

#### HUDDY'S MURDER SUGGESTED.

Samuel Taylor, a refugee from New Jersey, probably from Shrewsbury, in his testimony said:

"Early in April he waited on Governor Franklin and informed him that the Americans had taken Captain Tilton and Philip White and had murdered the latter in a cruel manner, and requested the Governor to give an order for the delivery of Joshua Huddy and Randolph in order to exchange the latter for Tilton and execute Huddy in retaliation for White. The Governor replied that *he would give the necessary orders, if he thought the deponent would execute Huddy*; to which deponent replied 'he need not fear that.' After the prisoners were removed to the provost, deponent waited on Governor Franklin who told him he would give the desired orders; and as deponent was ordered on another service, the Governor asked what officer he thought should command the party to go out and execute Huddy. Deponent answered, he thought CAPTAIN LIPPENCOTT A PROPER PERSON TO

#### EXECUTE HUDDY,

and deponent believed he would undertake it. The Governor then told him he wished Captain Lippencott would call at the Board room next day at 2 P. M; in

consequence of deponent's telling this to Lippencott, the latter accordingly attended at the appointed time and place; but the directors would not give Captain Lippencott the order unless deponent was sent for by the Board; that when he asked for the order to be given to Captain Lippencott, a member of the Board said he should have it; that in the course of the conversation with Governor Franklin, *the governor told him that they were not only to hang Huddy, but that if the rebels hanged any other in retaliation for him, they (the loyalists) should continue retaliating, by hanging man for man, and if necessary he would give up all the prisoners taken at Toms River for the purpose.* Deponent said as to Governor Franklin's powers, *the Associated Loyalists looked upon him as their commanding officer and felt bound to obey his orders whether verbal or written; that he considered Franklin's orders for executing Huddy, lawful orders, which if not obeyed would have been censurable by a Court Martial, and if the orders had been given to deponent he would have thought himself answerable for disobeying them.*"

GOVERNOR FRANKLIN WANTS HUDDY HANGED.

At this point in the trial, the prisoner, Captain Lippencott, asked the witness Taylor "Did he ever hear Governor Franklin say that they should not have Huddy unless they would execute him?" To which Taylor replied:

"On asking for Huddy, Governor Franklin said to deponent, 'Will you execute him when you take him out?' He replied he would or would not have made application for him; and Governor Franklin then said 'You shall have him.'

Another refugee from Monmouth, Mofat (Mortord?) Taylor of Shrewsbury in his testimony said:

"Deponent was with Governor Franklin on the subject of executing Huddy, that Governor Franklin said Randolph and Fleming were to be kept as hostages to be exchanged for Captain Tilton and Aaron White *and that Huddy was to be executed for Philip White, and if Huddy was not executed, he had better be left in jail, as one prisoner by the name of Smock had been taken out of jail to be executed but was not, which occurrence gave cause to the rebels to think the loyalists were afraid of them and dared not hurt them.* Deponent told Governor Franklin he had no commission, upon which Franklin said that Captain Lippencott had a commission

and told deponent to go to him and he dared say that Lippencott would be fond of the job. Deponent then went to Lippencott and told him that Governor Franklin had appointed deponent to call on him and ask if he was willing to go. After that Lippencott went to Governor Franklin and deponent had nothing farther to do with it."

The above witness refers to a Smock having been taken out of jail to be executed. Captain Barnes Smock and Lieutenant Henry Smock of Monmouth, were captured by the British in September 1870, the officer referred to was probably the first named and he may have been the officer referred to in the evidence of Captain Thomas Crowell already quoted.

THE HANGING OF HUDDY.

Captain Huddy, Randolph and Fleming were taken by Lippencott and his party on board a sloop on the 9th of April, and sailed for Sandy Hook, where they found the British man of war, *Brittania*, on board of which they lodged the prisoners a day or two after. Early on the 12th, Lippencott came for Huddy, and showed Captain Morris, of the *Brittania*, two papers, one being the label which was afterwards fastened to Huddy's breast. Captain Morris asked Lippencott what he intended to do with Huddy. Lippencott replied that he intended to put the orders of the Board of Refugees in execution which was to hang Huddy. Lippencott borrowed a rope from Captain Morris and then proceeded on his infamous mission.

Timothy Brooks, a Pennsylvania Refugee, who was one of Lippencott's party when Huddy was hanged, testified that he saw Huddy hanged and that he was executed by a negro, that Lippencott shook hands with Huddy as he (Huddy) was standing on the barrel, with Huddy's request; that on the 9th of April he heard that Governor Franklin had ordered Huddy to be hanged; the party which hanged Huddy consisted of twenty-three, counting Captain Lippencott, exclusive of the prisoner. Among the number was a Mr. Tilton who some said was an officer. This Tilton was John Tilton, a refugee from Middletown, Monmouth, who testified that he called on Governor Franklin, before Huddy was delivered to Lippencott, and Franklin said Joshua Huddy must be executed or the loyalist prisoners would all be hanged; that when the party was putting Huddy in irons on board the sloop, he was present

and he asked him if he thought it good usage to iron him. Huddy replied "he did not think it was; but as he was about to be exchanged in a day or two he did not mind being in irons." This Tilton witnessed the hanging of Huddy and returned to the *Britannia* about noon and reported that "Huddy died with the firmness of a lion."

GENERAL WASHINGTON ENDORSES THE DECISION OF FREEHOLD PATRIOTS.

The Freehold patriots heard of the execution of Huddy the day that it occurred and that it was done without any form or pretense of a trial. They at once instituted a thorough investigation of the circumstances attending it, and of the pretexts plead in justification. The evidence produced, published in the chapter relating to Phil White, his capture, attempt to escape and manner of death, show that the alleged cruelties were absolute fabrications. General Forman and Colonel Holmes were requested to wait on and present the evidence to General Washington who considered it a matter of so much importance that on the 19th of April he convened a board of officers to take it into consideration; this board after mature deliberation decided that retaliation should be made by selecting an officer of equal rank unless Lippencott was given up. The next day General Washington wrote a letter to Congress informing them that he deemed the murder of Huddy so barbarous as to require retaliation and trusts that his decision will meet the approval of that body (which was subsequently given); and the day following (April 21st) he wrote to Sir Henry Clinton demanding that Lippencott should be given up.

Sir Henry Clinton replied to General Washington on the 25th of April. He refused to give up the perpetrator of the murder, but informed the American commander that he had ordered a court martial to examine the charge against Lippencott before his letter was received. He did not pretend to justify the conduct of the loyalists and expressed his regret for the fate of the sufferer.

On the trial of Lippencott, which took place in June, the main points at issue were: "Was the execution of Captain Huddy justifiable;" and "Did Captain Lippencott execute Huddy on his own responsibility or did he do it by orders of the Loyalist Board."

DECISION OF THE BRITISH COURT MARTIAL.

The following is a copy of the decision of the Court:

"The court having considered the evidence for and against the prisoner Captain Richard Lippencott, together with what he had to offer for defence; and it appearing that (although Joshua Huddy was executed without proper authority) what the prisoner did in the matter was not the effect of malice or ill will, but proceeded from a conviction that it was his duty to obey the orders of the Board of Directors of Associated Loyalists, and his not doubting their having full authority to give such orders, the court are of opinion that he, the prisoner, Captain Richard Lippencott is *not guilty* of the murder laid to his charge, and do therefore acquit him."

This decision not only virtually admits that the execution of Huddy was murder, but throws the blame on the Board of Associated Loyalists at the head of which was Governor William Franklin. The evidence we have already quoted will show the grounds upon which they based their decision. It is worthy of note that before the trial was concluded Governor Franklin left New York and sailed for England and so avoided any investigation of his conduct that might have been contemplated.

Sir Guy Carleton took command of the British forces in New York in May, and he evidently looked upon the Board with less favor than had Clinton. In a letter to General Washington, immediately after his assuming command, he expressed his intention to preserve "the name of Englishmen from reproach and to pursue every measure that might tend to prevent these criminal excesses in individuals."—He did not hesitate to condemn the many unauthorized acts of violence which had been committed, and concluded that he should do everything to mitigate the evils of war. As one proof of his sincerity he at once broke up the Board of Associated Loyalists.

On the 13th of May, the lot was ordered by General Washington which resulted in the selection of Captain Asgill to be held as hostage for Lippencott.

LIPPENCOTT'S OWN DEFENSE ON THE TRIAL.

After Lippencott was arrested and confined in the Provost jail he had frequent conversations with Captain William Cunningham, the Provost Marshal, about the



execution of Huddy. Cunningham, expecting to be called upon as a witness at the trial, noted down Lippencott's statements and after submitting them to Lippencott, he made deposition on the 10th of May as follows :

"He heard Captain Lippencott say that Governor Franklin often said there was no way of stopping the rebels from massacring the refugees but by retaliation, and he wanted one Mason to be the object. Captain Lippencott said he would be the man who would cause it to be done, if the Governor would give him an order in writing, so that he might stand fair in the eyes of his excellency the commander-in-chief.— Governor Franklin replied that he could give no written order, but would answer the consequences to the commander-in-chief, as it was the only way of putting a stop to the rebels hanging and murdering the loyal refugees. And he farther heard Captain Lippencott say that he had been told some time ago, by two refugees, that the honorable board would give up Captain Huddy and two other prisoners; and that Huddy should be executed for Philip White, and the other two should be executed for Captain Tilton and another for Aaron White (supposing Tilton and White had been executed by the rebels; if not they were to be offered in exchange for them. That Captain Lippencott waited on the honorable board with a label that was intended to be fixed on Huddy's breast, and gave it into the hands of the Governor and asked him if he thought that would do, or something to that effect. Mr. Cox, who was present, made answer, and said Captain Lippencott ought to have kept that to himself; Captain Lippencott answered, he never did anything but what was done above board. The Governor read it and then gave it to another of the board to read; and when Captain Lippencott was going, the Governor wished him luck or success, or words to that effect.— He further says Captain Lippencott seemed a little affected when deponent gave him a copy of his crime, and expressed a seeming surprise, by saying, "Hail is this the way the board is going to leave me!" or words to that purpose.

He further saith, before Lippencott was made a prisoner, he (Lippencott) told him the board sent him near three sheets of paper written, the contents of which were to acquit the board of knowing anything of Huddy's death, and that he (Lippencott) should take it entirely on himself,

and sign the paper and send it to the board; which he believed he should have done, but deponent making him prisoner at the time he was copying it had hindered him from so doing."

It will be noticed, that Lippencott asserted that Governor Franklin promised him if he would execute Huddy without a written order that he (Gov. Franklin) would answer the consequences to the British commander-in-chief, and this assertion is substantiated by the evidence of others. How Franklin performed his promise will be seen by the following.

COWARDLY ACT OF THE LOYALIST BOARD.

In the affidavit of Captain Cunningham, reference is made to a certain paper sent by the Board of Loyalists to Lippencott to sign; the purport of the paper being to exonerate the Board from all responsibility, for the murder of Huddy. Cunningham was such an unmitigated scoundrel, as proven by his own confession given in another chapter, that but little credence would be attached to his affidavit but for the fact that it is corroborated by other reliable evidence. The paper referred to was produced before the Court which tried Lippencott. It was written by Mr. Alexander, one of the Board, at the office of the Board, at the instigation of the members. We give the whole of this paper, remarkable as showing the cowardice and duplicity of the Board and their efforts to sacrifice the man they had used as a tool, to save themselves. It was to have been sent to Governor Franklin as the chief of the Board.

"SIR:—In compliance with the orders of the honorable board of directors, we beg leave to communicate to your excellency, for their information, an account of the proceedings of the loyalists from Monmouth on the late expedition for the relief of Captain Clayton Tilton and two other loyalists, then prisoners with the rebels in that county.

Being frustrated in the design of bringing off Captain Tilton by force and our offers for exchange rejected, we dreaded that he was reserved for a fate similar to that our associate Philip White had suffered, who was taken at the same time with Captain Tiltou, and inhumanly and wantonly murdered by the guard who were conveying him to Monmouth jail. This recent instance of cruelty, added to the many daring acts of the same nature which have been perpetrated with impunity by a set of vindictive rebels, well known

by the name of the Monmouth Retaliators, associated and headed by one General Forman (whose horrid acts of cruelty have gained him universally the name of Black David,) fired our party with an indignation only to be felt by men who for a series of years have beheld many of their friends and neighbors butchered in cold blood under the usurped form of law, and often without that ceremony, for no other crime than that of maintaining their allegiance to their government under which they were born, and which the rebels audaciously call treason against the States.—We thought it high time to convince the rebels we would no longer tamely submit to such glaring acts of barbarity; and though we lament the necessity to which we have been driven, to begin a retaliation of intolerable cruelties long continued and often repeated, yet we are convinced that we could not have saved the life of Captain Tilton by any other means. We therefore pitched upon Joshua Huddy as a proper subject for retaliation, because he was not only well known to have been a very active and cruel persecutor of our friends, but 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. Huddy was the man who tied the knot and put the rope about the neck of that inoffensive sufferer. This fact will appear by two affidavits which we have the honor to enclose.

It is true in this instance we have acted without the orders or knowledge of the honorable board; but we hope, when they are pleased to take into consideration the motives which induced us to take this step, and that Huddy was executed in the county where so many acts of cruelty have been committed on Refugees, they will not think our conduct reprehensible, more especially when your excellency peruses the following state of facts. (*The facts alluded to are not found in the originals.*) Many of the above facts are ascertained by affidavits; and such as are not are too notorious to be denied even by General Forman himself, the most persecuting rebel in the country. By a strange fatality, the loyalists are the only people that have been treated as rebels, during this unhappy war; and we are constrained by our sufferings to declare that no efforts have been made by the Government, under whose protection we wish to live, to save our

brethren from ignominious deaths. It is our fixed determination, however repugnant to our feelings (having on all occasions treated our prisoners with tenderness, and often indulge them with paroles which they have frequently violated) that should the rebels, to answer their malignant purposes, continue to punish the loyalists, under their usual distinction of prisoners of state from prisoners of war, they shall feel a severe retaliation in every instance—the just vengeance due to such enormities. Blood shall flow for blood, or the loyalists will perish in the attempt.

We have the honor to be on behalf of the associated loyalists of Monmouth County, your excellency's most obedient servants."

This paper prepared by the Board for Lippencott to sign, it will be seen by reference to the evidence of different witnesses already quoted, was false in every essential particular. While it is true that the written order to get Huddy out of the Provost jail, into the charge of Lippencott makes the pretext that it was to have him exchanged for Tilton, yet the real object as expressed by verbal orders of Governor Franklin was to have him taken within the limits of Monmouth and there executed. They were not frustrated in any attempt to bring off Tilton by force, for if any such attempt had been made it would have been shown on the trial, nor was any attempt to have him exchanged mentioned. It was not Lippencott who suggested the hanging of Huddy—he was only a tool, perhaps too willing, of Governor Franklin and his associates. There was no reason to fear that "Tilton was reserved for a fate similar to Phil White's;" no evidence was produced to show that the Monmouth patriots considered him other than a prisoner of war captured under usual circumstances and to be held for exchange. General Forman, or Black David as they preferred calling him, and his associates never executed a refugee unless under circumstances justifiable by the rules of warfare, as has already been shown in other chapters. The Pine Robbers, Fagan, Fenton, Burke and others of that class met their fate for burglary, murder and other crimes, for committing what Sir Guy Carleton called "unauthorized acts of violence" and what he pointedly condemned. Stephen Edwards came into the American lines as a spy; treasonable papers were found in his possession; so positive was the proof against him that one of the

warmest friends of his family, who would have been glad of any pretext to save him, was compelled to vote for his condemnation.

Put the most noticeable falsehood which the Board asked Lippencott to sign was that he "had acted without the knowledge or consent of the Board!"

On this point, in addition to the evidence already quoted, we copy the testimony of Henry Stephenson, a surgeon in the British legion, relating a conversation between himself and two members of the Board that took place at the office of *Rivington's Royal Gazette*, the Tory paper at New York. Mr. Stephenson was asked:

"Did he recollect a conversation between himself and several other gentlemen, at Mr Rivington's (soon after the confinement of the prisoner for the crime now charged against him) respecting a paper that was sent to the prisoner by some one of the honorable board of directors, to be signed by the prisoner, assigning reasons for the execution of the said Joshua Huddy; and was deponent then censuring a part of said paper which expressed the execution of Huddy to be without the knowledge of the Board? During the conversation, did Messrs. Stewart and Alexander, both members of the Board, come into Mr. Rivington's and what further conversation passed on the subject?"

Surgeon Stephenson deposed in answer as follows:

"Yes, he recollects a conversation. He was at Mr. Rivington's one evening, some little time after the prisoner was confined in the provost, and was mentioning to some gentlemen that a report had prevailed in town that the board of directors had drawn up an instrument in writing, which they wished Captain Lippencott to sign, purporting that Captain Huddy was executed without their knowledge or consent. Just at the time they were talking on the subject Mr. Alexander and Mr. Stewart, two of the board, came in; and after mentioning the above report, deponent put the following question to them: 'First, Did you gentlemen send such an instrument in writing to Captain Lippencott to sign or not?' They replied, there had been a paper sent to him but that Captain Lippencott might alter it as he thought proper, or words to that effect.—Mr. Alexander particularly mentioned that he had objected to the words "without their knowledge or consent," being in-

serted. The second question was 'Though Huddy was executed, was it not done by your knowledge and consent or approbation.' They assented and said it was."

The office of Rivington's *Royal Gazette* was quite a noted resort for British officers and it is evident they criticised pretty freely the action of the Board. Both Alexander and Stewart had personal knowledge of the falsity of the statement "without knowledge or consent of the board," as when, on the 8th of April, Lippencott appeared before the Board in response to Gov. Franklin's request to consent to take command of a party to hang Huddy, both of these men were present and fully talked over the matter. Mr. Alexander objected to putting in the words but was overruled by the other members, who quieted his scruples by telling him Lippencott could alter it if he chose. They well knew the fearful predicament into which they had got Lippencott.

This paper was gotten up by the Board to shield themselves, because, to their surprise, no sooner was the news of Huddy's execution heard in New York than the regular British officers generally denounced it as "a reproach to the name of Englishmen," and a desire was expressed to have an investigation to find out the real author or authors to hold responsible. Alarmed at the threatening aspect of affairs they drew up this paper to be signed by Lippencott. It would seem as though they thought as Lippencott found his action so severely denounced by the regular British and that they were arrayed against him, that he would want to retain the active friendship of the Board to stand between him and the regular British authorities, and that to secure their active services in his behalf he would probably consent to sign this paper. And their calculation proved correct, for he had commenced copying it off when he was arrested. The truth then flashed upon him that the Board to save themselves wanted to sacrifice him, and then he determined to let matters take their course and simply look out for himself, and, as he expressed it, "to have the saddle put on the right horse."

An idea of the feeling among the regular British officers in regard to Huddy's death may be inferred from the testimony of Surgeon Stephenson, but it was most emphatically shown by the action of Sir Henry Clinton himself, who was so indignant at the barbarous murder of Huddy

that he had ordered Lippencott's trial by Court Martial before he received General Washington's letter demanding his surrender. There is good reason to believe that Sir Henry thought the really guilty party was the Board of Associated Loyalists, and especially its head, Governor Franklin, who so cowardly fled to England leaving both Lippencott and Asgill to their fates; and Clinton's successor, Sir Guy Carleton, was so satisfied of the disgraceful conduct of the Board that he broke it up.

As before stated, the decorum of the court martial virtually threw the blame of Huddy's murder on Governor Franklin and his associates, and this decision was subsequently endorsed by competent American authority, as will be seen by the following extract from a report made to Congress in 1837 by a select committee of that body which had thoroughly investigated the whole subject:

"The immediate agent in this deed of blood was Richard Lippencott, a native of New Jersey and then a captain in the British service. He was the instrument of a board of associated loyalists in New York, at the head of which was William Franklin, once Royal governor of New Jersey. The members of this body, after the murder had taken place, endeavored for a time to deny that they had directed it; but the evidence adduced on the trial of the perpetrator, as well as subsequent publications of the loyalists themselves, abundantly prove that, without the courage to act themselves, they had the baseness to authorize the deed to be committed, and the meanness to attempt the concealment of their privy to its perpetration."

#### A BOY TRIED FOR MURDER.

##### THE STATE AGAINST AARON, A SLAVE OF LEVI SOLOMON'S.

The defendant, Aaron, a black boy about eleven years of age, was indicted in the Court of Oyer and Terminer of Monmouth in October, 1817, for the murder of Stephen Connelly, a child little more than two years old. The indictment in the usual form charged the prisoner with the murder on the 26th of August, 1817, by throwing the child into a well. It appeared in evidence that the prisoner was born in July, 1806, was of ordinary size and in the opinion of some witnesses, possessed com-

mon capacity and intelligence; by the testimony of others he was more cunning and smarter in his play than usual for boys of his age. Stephen Connelly was a stout healthy child, and on the 26th of August, in the after part of the day, was found in a well about 18 or 19 feet deep, having a curb two and a half feet high, so that he could reach the top with his hands, and it was in such a state that all the witnesses thought it impossible for him to get over it. The well was in a cornfield and orchard about one hundred rods from two public roads and the same distance from the house in which Stephen lived. The corn was so high and thick that a person at the well could not be seen except by looking along the rows. It was in the neighborhood of a number of houses.

Stephen was seen playing in the road with the prisoner a short time before he was missed by the family; and when they were searching for him the prisoner was up in a cherry tree. Being asked if he had seen him, he said, "yes, he is gone up the road;" being told to come down and help look for him, he looked along the road and called aloud three or four times but did not get down. After the body was found and taken out of the well, he came up and seeing it lying there he said, "so you've found Stephen." There was yet nothing in his manner which excited attention or suspicion. That night he went to bed earlier than usual, and without his supper. The next morning he told a young lad, an apprentice to his master that he saw Stephen fall into the well; and that he was ten or twelve paces off; that he went up and saw Stephen splash the water and then went to pick apples which his master had directed him to do. Being asked why he did not tell it he gave no answer. On his trial (May, 1818) the prisoner was defended by Garret D. Wall, L. H. Stockton and Joseph W. Scott. For the state appeared R. Stockton, jr., Deputy Attorney General and R. Stockton.

His counsel objected to any evidence of his confessions as improper and incompetent, he being under the age of twelve years. After argument the court admitted the confessions in evidence. It then appeared that at the coroner's inquest the prisoner was summoned; at first he appeared terrified but soon became composed. He then repeated the story he had told before, adding that Stephen climbed over the curb and fell in; and that he did not tell anybody for fear they would think he

did it. He was very closely pressed by the jury with questions as to his own guilt and told that he had better tell the whole truth to them. He steadily denied doing the act. After examining him some time, the jury went to the well that he might shew them how Stephen got over. He shewed them. His master and one of the jurors then took him aside and asked him about it. He then told them he had done it; that Stephen went to the well and put his hands on the curb and he took hold of his legs and threw him over; that he gasped and caught his breath and made the water splash as he fell; and that he (prisoner) being frightened, ran away to picking apples; that he denied it before because he was afraid they would send him to jail. He repeated the same thing to the whole jury. He was urged and questioned closely but all the witnesses denied that either promises or threats or improper contrivances were used to induce him to make the confession, but he was frequently and constantly told to tell the truth and that would be best for him. He seemed to understand what he was about and to understand his answers.

He continued for three or four weeks to make the same confession to the gaoler and many other persons; and then he began to deny the fact and continued the denial until the time of trial.—When he first denied, the gaoler asked him why he had owned it before; he said that one of the jurymen told him the devil would get him if he denied it, but if he confessed it he would not be sent to jail. This was explicitly denied by the juror referred to; he was further asked who had been to see him, and he replied his master but that he did not tell him to deny it.

At the time of his first confession, and frequently afterwards, he gave as a reason for the act that he did it to spite the father of Stephen because he had driven him out of the shop and threatened to whip him; at other times he said he said he had no reason for it.

The case was ably argued and the court gave a minute charge to the jury who found the prisoner guilty.

A motion was then made for a new trial, it being desired by the court that the opening of the Supreme Court of N. J., at bar upon several legal questions (given in 1st Southard reports) might be known.—The trial took place in May, 1818. In September following it was taken up by the

Supreme Court and its decision on the various points was made by Chief Justice Kirkpatrick. In regard to the liability of minors under fourteen years of age to punishment, the Chief Justice quoted various authorities from which the Court decided that upon this naked confession of Aaron's he could not be convicted of a capital offence—"that the confession is a simple, naked confession, disclosing no fact, pregnant with no circumstances to give it authority or in any way to corroborate it. It did not even lead to the discovery of the body of the deceased, for it was found before; it opens no proof of malice or hatred or ill will against the child but rather to the contrary; it is a mere naked confession of an infant under the age of eleven years obtained by some degree of pressure. at least, after a firm denial and as such (I speak with great deference to the learning of the Court which tried the cause) I should incline to think it ought not to have been admitted as evidence; and if admitted that it ought not to have been the ground of conviction."

A new trial was granted at which the prisoner was discharged; and we have been told by an old gentleman, a regular attendant of the Freehold Courts in that day, that it was believed the boy was afterwards sold as a slave in the West Indies.

## THE INLETS OF OLD MONMOUTH

### OLD CRANBERRY INLET.

A century ago Cranberry Inlet, nearly opposite Toms River, was one of the best inlets on the Jersey coast. The question as to the exact year when it was opened was brought before one of our courts a few years ago in a suit involving title to land in the vicinity, but no decisive information was elicited upon the trial. It is probable, however, that it broke through about 1750. It is laid down on Lewis Evans's map, 1755, and Jeffrey's (English) map, same year, and on the latter and other maps it is called New Inlet. On Jeffrey's map Toms River is called Goose Creek, and Barnegat Bay is called Flat Bay Sound. Cranberry Inlet closed about the year 1812, though for several years previous it had commenced filling up, gradually shoaling more and more each year until it was finally closed up. During the Revolutionary war it was a place of considerable importance as it afforded conveniences to

our privateers on the lookout for British vessels bound in and out of New York.— Though we have no exact account of the depth of water on the bar, yet in its best days it must have been equal to the best inlets now on our coast, as we find that loaded, square-rigged vessels occasionally entered it. David Mapes, the much esteemed and noted colored Quaker of Tuckerton, when a boy, resided in this vicinity, and was employed by Solomon Wardell to tend cattle on the beach when the inlet broke through. He slept in a cabin and one morning on awakening was surprised to see that the sea had broken across the beach during the night.

(In a previous article relating to Capt. Adam Hyler, by the accidentally omission of one line in the copy it was made to appear that Cranberry Inlet opened into Raritan Bay. Though most of our readers would infer it was from a typographical error yet it reminded us that a brief notice of this Inlet, so frequently referred to in Revolutionary times, but now among the things of the past, should be given to explain events related in previous chapters referring to it.)

#### ATTEMPTS TO OPEN NEW INLETS.

The closing of Cranberry Inlet caused great inconvenience to persons along Barnegat Bay engaged in the coasting trade as it compelled vessels from the upper part of the bay to sail several miles out of their way to Barnegat Inlet to get to sea. About the year 1821 an attempt to open a new inlet near the head of the bay was made by a man named Michael Ortlely.— He worked at it off and on for several years and spent considerable money in the undertaking; at length, one day a large company of men volunteered to aid him in completing the enterprise. In the evening after finishing it, Mr. Ortlely and his friends had quite a merry time in celebrating the completion of the work. But great was their disappointment the following morning to find that the running of the tide which they had supposed would work the inlet deeper, had on the contrary raised a bulkhead of sand sufficiently large to close it up, and the result was the inlet was closed much more expeditiously than it was opened.

Many supposed that if an effort was made to open an inlet farther down the bay in the vicinity of old Cranberry, it would prove more successful. Acting upon this supposition, another effort was

made to open one about opposite Toms River. The work was completed July 4th, 1847, by some two or three hundred men under the direction of Anthony Ivins, jr. In this undertaking, care was taken to let in the water when it was high tide in the bay and low water outside; but this enterprise also proved a failure as it filled up about as soon as Ortlely's.

#### SHREWSBURY INLET.

Shrewsbury inlet was open in 1778; it closed again about 1800; again opened about 1830; and again closed about 1847. Just before the closing of the inlet at this time, the writer of this was engaged in the coasting trade and one time in sailing down the beach noticed a little steamer, called the *Cricket*, from New York, wrecked on the bar. This wreck seemed to hasten the closing of the inlet by gathering the sand around it as it washed in and out.

#### BARNEGAT INLET.

This inlet has always been open from our earliest accounts. It was first noticed by a Dutch navigator, probably Capt. Mey in the celebrated little yacht *Restless* in 1614, who on account of its dangerous bar called it "Barendegat," which means breakers inlet or an inlet with breakers.— The character of the inlet has always been the same as at present except during the few years when Cranberry was open when it was much shoaler than before or since. It has shifted up and down the beach two or three miles and is still shifting and changing. A few years ago it washed down the old lighthouse built in 1834 and now exhibits a decided inclination to wash down the new one.

#### LONG BRANCH IN 1819.—BATHERS AT FAULT.

The company at this salubrious retreat is represented to be very numerous and respectable this season. The *New York Advocate* says there is a kind of military or naval regulation there which strangers often contravene from ignorance; that is when the stipulated time for ladies bathing arrives, a white flag is hoisted upon the bank, when it is high treason for a gentleman to be seen there; and when the established time for gentlemen arrives, the red flag is run up which is sometimes done by mistake and produces rather ludicrous misunderstandings. A wag lately hoisted both flags together which created some awful squinting and no little confusion.— (*Niles' Register*, 1819. Sup., p. 159.)

TOWNSHIPS IN MONMOUTH—WHEN ESTABLISHED.

When the county of Monmouth was established in 1683 it was divided into two townships, Middletown and Shrewsbury. Stafford was established in 1749. Upper Freehold, Freehold and Dover were defined by an act passed June 25, 1767, to take effect in March of the following year. Howell was established in 1801 and Millstone in 1844; Jackson, now in Ocean county in 1844; Plumsted, now in Ocean, in 1845, and Union, now also in Ocean, in 1847; Atlantic, in 1847; Raritan, Marlboro and Manalapan in 1848; Ocean, 1849; Wall, 1851; Holmdel and Matavan in 1857.

THE FIRST TEMPERANCE SOCIETY IN THE U. S.

Old Monmouth has the honor of organizing the first Temperance Society in the country, which was established at Allentown in 1805 and called "The Sober Society," and was composed of fifty-eight members. (*Newark Daily Adv. and Hist. Rec.* 1859).

A VALUABLE MONMOUTH DOG.

In the Journal of a Quaker named James Craft, published in *Historical Record*, Oct., 1851, it is said:

"1780, 2nd mo. 20th: Money very plenty. £300 given for a dog in Monmouth."

COL. JONATHAN FORMAN AND DAUGHTER.

The following is from the *Utica N. Y. Observer*, 1859.

"Died, at her residence in Utica, Sept. 16th, 1859, Mrs. Mary Ledyard Seymour, wife of the late Hon. Henry Seymour. She was the daughter of Col Jonathan Forman, and was born at Monmouth, New Jersey, Feb. 18th, 1785. Her father at the age of 19, left Princeton College to join the American army. He entered it as a lieutenant, and served during the war, rising to the rank of colonel. The mother of Mrs. Seymour was a niece of Col. Ledyard who was in command of Fort Griswold, opposite New London, Conn., at the time of its capture by the British. She aided in taking care of the wounded of that massacre, by which nineteen of her relatives perished. When Mrs. Seymour was about twelve years old she removed to Cazenovia, in Madison county, at that time a "frontier settlement." There was then no carriage road west of Whitestown, and

in many places they were obliged to use axes to make their way in that direction. It is said that the carriage of Col. Forman, was the first conveyance of the kind that passed beyond the site of Whitestown.—He drove to Chittenango and the family went thence to Cazenovia on horseback.—Her parents died many years ago, but her uncle, Major Samuel S. Forman, of Syracuse, still lives, in his 96th year. Miss Forman was married to Mr Seymour at Cazenovia on the 1st of January, 1807. Mr. Seymour was then a merchant in the town of Pompey, Onondago County. He continued in business there, exercising a wide and beneficial influence in that county until 1819, when he removed with his family to Utica. His subsequent honorable and useful career is known to the people of the State. He died in August, 1837, at his dwelling in Whitesboro street, in this city, where Mrs. Seymour has ever since resided."

Mrs. Seymour above mentioned, a native of Monmouth, was the mother of Gov. Horatio Seymour, of N. Y., and a niece of Philip Freneau, the poet of the Revolution. Col. Ledyard above referred to, was brutally murdered by a renegade New Jersey refugee, named Bromfield. After the Americans had surrendered the fort, Bromfield asked who commanded it. The brave Ledyard replied, "I did but you do now," and handed his sword to Bromfield. The villain took it and immediately stabbed Ledyard to the heart.

About the time Col. Forman left for New York, many families of old Monmouth emigrated to the western part of that state to what they then termed "the Genesee country."

THE TILTON FAMILY.

Among the twelve original patentees of old Monmouth is found the name of John Tilton, and members of this family were among the first English settlers who located here. The earliest mention we have found of the Tilton family is in the Lynn, Mass., records which speak of John Tilton and William Tilton as being there in 1640. About the time of their arrival the Puritans of New England were much exercised by the advent among them of the Baptists and strong efforts were made by the Puritans to get rid of them. At this time in Lynn the most noted, influential person among the Baptists was Lady Deborah Moody, afterwards long and favorably

known among the original settlers of Long Island. Among others who were inclined to adhere to the Baptists with Lady Moodie was Mrs. Tilton, as will be seen by the following extract from the Lynn records of the date of December 12th, 1642, which we give literally with its quaint wording and peculiar orthography:

The Lady Deborah Moodie, Mrs. King, and the wife of John Tilton were presented for *hooldinge* that the baptising of infants was *noe* ordinance of God."

The proceedings against them resulted in their leaving Lynn, and the next year, (1643,) we find mention of Lady Moodie, the Tiltons, William Gouling, Samuel Spicer, and others at Gravesend, Long Island, founding the settlement from which afterwards came many persons to Old Monmouth. For a long time, John Tilton was a prominent man at Gravesend, enjoying the respect of the English and the confidence of the Dutch authorities at New York or New Amsterdam as it was then called, and holding official positions until the appearance, in 1657, of the Quakers among the Gravesend settlers. No sooner did the Quakers begin to promulgate their views than the Dutch authorities issued severe edicts against them and all who harbored "those abominable impostors, runaways and strolling people called Quakers." The following year John Tilton was fined £12 Flemish money for harboring a Quaker woman. From that time forward both Tilton and his wife seem to have strongly sympathized with the persecuted sect and soon cast their lot among them altogether, which greatly excited the ire of the Dutch and especially of old Governor Peter Stuyvesant. On the 5th of October, 1662, John Tilton and Mary his wife were summoned before the Governor and his council, at New Amsterdam, (New York,) charged with having entertained Quakers and frequenting their conventicles. They were condemned and ordered to leave the province before the 20th of November following, under pain of corporal punishment. It is supposed that through the efforts of Lady Moodie, who had great influence with Governor Stuyvesant, that the sentence was either reversed or changed to the payment of a fine. The following derived from the record of their trial is a curiosity in these days of religious toleration, especially to Jersey men whose state has the proud distinction of never having allowed religious

persecution within its borders. From the record it appears that

"Goody Tilton, (Mrs. Tilton,) was not so much condemned for assisting at conventicles as for having, *like a sorceress, gone from door to door to lure and seduce the people, yea even young girls, to join the Quakers.*"

On the 19th of September, 1662, John Tilton was fined, as the record says, for *per-mitting Quakers to quake* at his house at Gravesend. Many other persons were prosecuted at this time by the Dutch on similar charges, among whom were the Bownes, Spicers, Townsends, Holmeses and others, ancestors of numerous Jersey families of these names. Some of these families had been persecuted by the Puritans of New England, to escape which they came to Long Island. Here, being again persecuted by the Dutch, they seem to have determined to seek some place where they could worship God as they pleased.—The lands in Monmouth county impressed them so favorably that the following year (1663) they made large purchases of the Indians, which greatly excited the indignation of the Dutch at New Amsterdam, who laid claim to the land asserting that they had bought the best of it of the Indians ten or twelve years before. The details of the controversy which ensued and the arguments advanced by both sides are too lengthy to introduce in this place.— Suffice it to say that some of the difficulties were ended by the conquest of the Dutch by the English the following year. In 1665 John Tilton and eleven associates obtained from Gov. Richard Nicholls the celebrated document known as "the Monmouth Patent," which has been published in another chapter, which guaranteed liberty of conscience to all settlers.

After the conquest of the Dutch by the English, though we have met with no positive information on the point, yet we are inclined to believe that John Tilton found, by the change, that he could remain at Long Island without molestation, he preferred to end his days there and leave his share in his Monmouth purchases to his children. He died at Gravesend, L. I., in 1688; his wife died a few years before, in 1683. His will dated 15th of 7th month 1687 was recorded at Brooklyn, L. I., April 3d, 1688, in Book of Records Vol. 1, page 108. This will shows he left two sons named John and Thomas, and daughters named Sarah, who married John Painter, Abigail who married — Scott, Esther, who married Samuel Spicer, and Mary,



who married — Carman. In his will he left a lot of land at Gravesend to his executors, to be used as a graveyard for them and their successors, and “for all friends of the everlasting truth of the Gospel as occasion serves, forever, to bury there dead therein.”

OLD MONMOUTH THE PIONEER OF RELIGIOUS TOLERATION.

Every citizen of old Monmouth has just cause to be proud of the fact that the original patentees were among the first in America to guarantee toleration to all settlers in religious matters. In Rhode Island while Roger Williams advocated “a free, full and absolute liberty of conscience” it is charged that Roman Catholics were excepted in the charter of 1663. The much vaunted toleration act of Maryland limited toleration to “all who believed in Jesus Christ.” William Penn did not arrive in America until October, 1682, nearly eighteen years after the Monmouth patentees declared that every settler should have FREE LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE WITHOUT ANY MOLESTATION OR DISTURBANCE WHATSOEVER IN THE WAY OF THEIR WORSHIP.

THE ROGERINE BAPTISTS.

A SINGULAR RELIGIOUS SOCIETY IN OLD MONMOUTH.

About the year 1737 a society of Rogerine Baptists, or Quaker Baptists as they were then called, located at Waretown, now in Ocean county. From various notices of the history of this singular sect and how a society came to be located in Old Monmouth, we extract the following:

This society was founded by John Rogers, about 1674. His followers baptized by immersion; the Lord's supper they administered in the evening with its ancient appendages. They did not believe in the sanctity of the Sabbath; they believed that since the death of Christ all days were holy alike; they used no medicines nor employed doctors or surgeons; would not say grace at meals; all prayers to be said mentally except when the spirit of prayer compelled the use of voice; they said “all unscriptural parts of religious worship are idols,” and all good christians should exert themselves against idols, &c. Among the idols they placed the observ-

ance of the Sabbath, Infant baptism, &c. The Sabbath they called the New England idol and the methods they took to demolish this idol were as follows: They would on Sundays try to be at some manual labor near meeting houses or in the way of people going to and from church. They would take work into meeting houses, the women knitting, the men whittling and making splints for baskets, and every now and then contradicting the preachers.— “This was seeking persecution,” says one writer, “and they received plenty of it, inasmuch that the New Englanders left some of them neither liberty, property nor whole skins.”

John Rogers, the founder of the sect, who, it is said, was as churlish and contrary to all men as Diogenes, preached over forty years, and died in 1721. The occasion of his death was singular. The small pox was raging terribly in Boston and spread an alarm to all the country around. Rogers was confident that he could mingle with the diseased and that the strength of his faith would preserve him safe from the mortal contagion. Accordingly he was presumptuous enough to travel one hundred miles to Boston to bring his faith to the test; the result was that he caught the contagion, came home and died with it, the disease also spreading in his family and among his neighbors. This event one would think would have somewhat shaken the faith of his followers but on the contrary it seemed to increase their zeal.

In 1725, a company of Rogerines were taken up on the Sabbath in Norwich, Conn., while on their way from their place of residence to Lebanon; they were treated with much abuse and many of them whipped in a most unmerciful manner.— This occasioned Gov. Jenks, of Rhode Island, to write spiritedly against their persecutors, and also to condemn the Rogerines for their provoking, disorderly conduct.

One family of the Rogerines was named Colver or Culver, (Edward's History spells the name one way and Governor Jenks the other). This family consisted of John Colver and his wife, who were a part of the company which was treated so rudely at Norwich, and five sons and five daughters, who, with their families, made up the the number of twenty-one souls. In the year 1734, this large family removed from New London, Conn., and settled in New Jersey. The first place they pitched upon for a residence, was on the east side of

Schooley's Mountain, in Morris county.— They continued here about three years and then went in a body to Waretown, then in Monmouth but now in Ocean county. While here they had their meetings in a school house, and their peculiar manner of conducting services was quite a novelty to other settlers in the vicinity. As in England, during the meeting the women would be engaged in knitting or sewing, and the men in making axe handles, basket splints or engaged in other work, but we hear of no attempt to disturb other societies.

They continued at Waretown about eleven years, and then went back to Morris county and settled on the west side of the mountain from which they had removed. In 1790 they were reduced to two old persons whose names were Thomas Colver and Sarah Mann; but the posterity of John Colver, it is said, is yet quite numerous in Morris county. Abraham Waier from whom the village of Waretown derives its name, tradition says was a member of the Rogerine Society. When the main body of the society left, he remained behind, and became quite a prominent business man, generally esteemed; he died in 1768, and his descendants removed to Squan and vicinity near the head of Barnegat bay.

Before concluding this notice of the Rogerines, it should be stated that another thing in their creed was that it was not necessary to have marriages performed by ministers or legal officers; they held that it was only necessary for the man and woman to exchange vows of marriage to make the ceremony binding. A zealous Rogerine once took to himself a wife in this simple manner, and then to tantalize Governor Saltonstall called on him to inform him they had married themselves without aid of church or state, and that they intended to live together as husband and wife without their sanction. "What," said the Governor, in apparent indignation, "do you take this woman for your wife?" "Yes, I most certainly do," replied the man. "And do you take this man for your husband?" said he to the woman. The woman replied in the affirmative. "Then," said the wily old governor, "in the name of the Commonwealth I pronounce you husband and wife—whom God hath joined together let no man put asunder? You are now married according to both law and gospel."

The couple retired much chagrined at the unexpected way the Governor had turned the tables upon them, despite their boasting.

## THE WAR OF 1812.

### SCENES ON OUR COAST.

During the last war with England the vigilance of the British cruisers on our coast seriously injured the business of New Jersey coasting vessels. Commodore HARDY in his flag ship the "Ramillies," a 74 gun ship, had command of the British blockading vessels on our coast. Most accounts, written and traditional, concede that he was one of the most honorable, high-minded men in the British service, entirely different from the infamous Admiral Cockburn, who commanded the blockading squadron farther south. Commodore Hardy rarely took private property except contraband of war without offering compensation. Most of the coasters in the southern part of Old Monmouth, along Barnegat bay, were engaged in the lumber business and the stoppage of their trade was seriously felt. Occasionally some bold fortunate captain would manage to run the blockade and reach New York and be well repaid for his risk, but others who tried the experiment or were preparing to, were not quite so fortunate.

On the 31st of March, 1812, Commodore Hardy, in the Ramillies, came close to Barnegat Inlet and sent in two long barges loaded with armed men after two American vessels lying in the inlet waiting a chance to slip out. They first boarded the schooner Greyhound, Capt. Jesse Rogers, of Potters Creek, and attempted to take her out but she grounded and the enemy fired her and both vessel and cargo were burned up. They then set fire to a sloop belonging to Waretown, owned by Captain Jonathan Winner, Hezekiah Soper and Timothy Soper; this vessel was saved, however, as signals were unexpectedly fired from the ship which caused the barges hastily to leave for the ship that she might start in pursuit of some vessel seen at sea. As soon as the barges left, the Americans went on board the sloop and extinguished the fire. While the British were in the Inlet a party landed on the beach near the present lighthouse and killed some fourteen or fifteen head of cattle belonging to Jeremiah Spragg and John Allen. The owners were away but the British left word

if they presented their bill to Commodore Hardy, he would settle it, but they were too patriotic to do anything that savored of furnishing supplies to the enemy. In some instances on the New Jersey coast where cattle and other things had been taken by Hardy and word left that he would pay for them, the owners thought themselves justifiable in going off to his ship and getting the money, as the supplies were not furnished voluntarily but taken by force.

The appearance of the *Ramihies* at this time at Barnegat Inlet created much excitement in the villages along the bay.— At Waretown, for fear that the barges might land and commit excesses like those which disgraced the operations of Cockburn, the women and children, and valuables easily carried were sent to a hamlet in the woods a few miles west of the place. At Forked River the late Hon. Charles Parker (father of Gov. Parker) had just completed a large building for a dwelling, store house, &c., at the upper landing. The roof of this building was crowded with spectators, who, though six or seven miles distant, had a fair view of the ship, burning vessel and movements of the enemy.

At another time the schooner *President*, Captain Amos Birdsall, of Waretown, bound to New York, was taken by Commodore Hardy, who at once commenced taking from the schooner her spars, deck plank, &c. Captain Birdsall had liberty to leave with his crew, in a yawl, whenever he pleased, but on account of high winds he was detained a day or two, when he succeeded in getting on board a fishing smack and thus got home. Before he left, his schooner's masts had been sawed into planks by the British.

The sloop *Elizabeth*, Captain Thomas Bunnell, of Forked River, was captured by barges sent in Barnegat Inlet; she was towed out to sea, but the British shortly after lost her on Long Island. She was owned by William Platt and Thomas Bunnell.— At another time Captain Bunnell was captured by the British and detained some time and then put on board a neutral (Spanish?) ship and finally reached New York.

The sloop *Traveller*, Captain Asa Grant, was fired by the British but the fire was extinguished before much damage was done. The sloop *Maria* and another sloop not remembered were chased ashore near Squan Inlet.

AN AMUSING STRATAGEM.

The noted Commodore Percival, who died a few years ago, familiarly named "Mad Jack Percival," in the early part of his naval career was the hero of an adventure on the coast of Monmouth which is thus described by a paper published in New York at the time:

"On Sunday morning, July 4, 1813, the fishing smack *Yankee* was borrowed by Commodore Lewis, who has command of the American flotilla stationed at Sandy Hook, for the purpose of taking by stratagem the sloop *Eagle*, tender to the *Poictiers* 74, cruising off and on Sandy Hook, which succeeded to a charm. A calf, a sheep and a goose were purchased and secured on deck. Thirty men, well armed, were secreted in the cabin and forepeak. Thus prepared the *Yankee* stood out of Mosquito Cove as if going on a fishing trip to the Banks; three men only being on deck dressed in fisherman's apparel with buff caps on. The *Eagle* on perceiving the smack immediately gave chase, and after coming up with her and finding she had live stock on board ordered her to go down to the Commodore, then five miles distant. The helmsman of the smack answered "Ay! ay, sir!" and apparently put up the helm for that purpose which brought him alongside the *Eagle* not three yards distant. The watchword *Lawrence* was then given when the armed men rushed on deck from their hiding places and poured into her a volley of musketry which struck the crew with dismay and drove them so precipitately into the hold that they had not time to strike the flag. Seeing the enemy's deck clear, Sailing-master Percival, who commanded the expedition, ordered the men to cease from firing; upon which one of the men came out the hold and struck the *Eagle's* colors. They had on board a thirty-two pound brass howitzer loaded with canister shot, but so sudden was the surprise they had not time to discharge it. The crew of the *Eagle* consisted of H. Morris, master's mate of the *Poictiers*, W. Price, midshipman, and 11 seamen and marines. Mr. Morris was killed, Mr. Price mortally wounded, and one marine killed, and one wounded. The *Eagle* with the prisoners arrived off the Battery in the afternoon and landed the prisoners at Whitehall, amid the shouts and plaudits of thousands of spectators assembled at the Battery to celebrate the anniversary of independence.— Mr. Morris was buried at Sandy Hook with

military honors. Mr. Price was carried to New York, where on Thursday he died; and was buried with military ceremonies in St. Paul's churchyard."

A traditional version of this affair, which we have heard from old citizens, says that Percival wished to make his boat appear as a market boat, that he placed one of his men on a seat close to the bulwark disguised as an old Quakerish looking farmer, with broad brimmed hat and long staff in hand, while he looked like an ignorant boor at the wheel and by his answers made the British think he was half-witted. When ordered to drop along side under threat of being fired into, he made a silly reply to the effect "You had better not try it, for Dad's big molasses jug is on deck and if you broke that he would make you sorry for it."

#### THE LAWRENCE FAMILY.

The Lawrence family claim to be descended from Sir Robert Lawrence, of Ashton Hall, Lancashire, England, who went to Palestine during the Crusades with Richard Cœur de Leon, and participated in the siege of St. Jean de Acre, in the year 1119, and was the first to plant the banner of the cross on the battlements of the town for which he was knighted. A grandson of Sir Robert Lawrence, named Sir James Lawrence, married into the Washington family, having been united to Matilda Washington in the reign of Henry III.—General George Washington's half brother Lawrence, was so named on account of his relationship to this family.

The first Lawrences who came to America were two brothers, John, aged 17 years, and William, aged 12 years, and also Mary Lawrence, aged nine years, who embarked in the barque *Planter*, April 2nd, 1635; her passengers were chiefly from St Albans, Hertfordshire, England. Another brother named Thomas, came over in 1655, twenty years later. The greater portion of the Lawrences in America are descended from William, the second brother.

The first Lawrence who settled within the limits of Old Monmouth, whose name the writer has met with, was Elisha, a son of William. Elisha commenced business as a merchant, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, at Cheesequakes, on the south side of the Raritan, but his store having been pillaged by the crew of a French privateer, he removed to Upper

Freehold then a wilderness. He represented the county in the provincial Assembly in 1708—9. His residence was called Chestnut Grove. He was born in 1666, and died May 27th, 1724. He married Lucy Stout and had children as follows; sons, Joseph, Elisha and John, and daughters, Hannah, who married Richard Salter, Elizabeth, who married Joseph Salter, Sarah, who married John Embler and Rebecca, who married a New Yorker named Watson. The second son, Elisha, had a son named John Brown Lawrence, who was the father of the celebrated Commodore Lawrence of "Don't give up the ship" fame, and grandfather of Commodore Boggs, who so distinguished himself in the Varuna in passing the forts below New Orleans during the late rebellion.

The genealogy of the Lawrence family has been traced out and published with more or less completeness in several works, the most extensive of which is one devoted to giving the history and genealogy of the family, published by T. Lawrence, New York, in 1858. In the present article it is impracticable to give the genealogy of all the Lawrences in old Monmouth, but we append that of one branch, members of which were quite noted in the Revolutionary history of the county as will be seen by reference to sketches of them in chapters previously published.

As above stated, the first, named Elisha, had a son named John, who ran the noted Lawrence's line between East and West Jersey, who was born 1708. This John married Mary, daughter of William Hartsborne, and had children as follows; John, a physician, who died unmarried; Helena who married James Holmes, merchant, New York; Lucy, who married Rev. Henry Waddell, of New York, and who was installed pastor of the Episcopal church, at Shrewsbury, in 1788; Elizabeth, who married William LeCompte of Georgia; Mary and Sarah who died single, and Elisha, who married Mary Ashfield, of New York, and who was Sheriff of Monmouth county at the breaking out of the Revolution.

#### THE HENDRICKSONS.

This family is of Dutch origin, and members of it were among the first whites who came to New Amsterdam, (now New York). Captain Cornelis Hendrickson, (says our account,) was the first navigator who set foot on the soil of Pennsylvania and West Jersey, and probably the first white man who set foot in that part of

old Monmouth now comprised within the limits of Ocean. About the latter part of 1614 he cruised along the New Jersey coast making explorations in the celebrated little yacht "Onrest" (Restless) the first vessel built in New York. He returned to Holland, in 1616, to give an account of his discoveries.

Of the Hendricksons who settled in this country among the first comers, were Rutgers and Legar, who settled up the Hudson river at Rensaelters-wyck, 1630; Cornelis, who was there in 1642; another Cornelis came over in the ship Gilded Beaver and landed at New York in May, 1658.—Gerrit came from Scrool, in Holland, in the ship St. Jean Baptiste, and landed May, 1661 Alfred came from Maersen, in the ship "Fox" May, 1662. Hendrick came from Westphalia in the ship Rose-tree, March, 1663.

Some of the family at a very early day settled in old Monmouth, and during the Revolution many of them were in the service of their country in various capacities, meeting with the usual vicissitudes of war. This family appear to be great sticklers for handing down old family names.—Among the first comers over two hundred years ago and from that time on down through the Revolution to the present wherever Hendricksons have been or may be, there are found the Cornelius's, Gerrits, Alberts and Hendricks or Henrys.

THE RANDOLPH FAMILY.

The ancient name of this family, so numerous in New Jersey and elsewhere, was Fitz Randolph, for which reason members retain at the present day the letter F as the initial of a middle name. They are said to be descended from Edward Fitz Randolph who came when a lad with his parents to Barnstable, Massachusetts, in the year 1630. The following items relating to him are from New England authorities.

In a manuscript of the Rev. John Lthrop, the first pastor of the churches at Barnstable and Scituate, the names of owners of dwellings which were built when he arrived, and also those built shortly after are given. From his manuscript, copied in a modern New England work, the following items are extracted :

"The Houses in ye planta—(*manuscript obliterated.*)

*Scituate.*

Att my comeing hither, onely these wech was aboute the end of Sept. 1631."—After naming those which were already built on his arrival, he says the 36th one, built in 1636, was occupied by "the young Master Edward Fittsrandolfe."

From the church records of Barnstable and Scituate are derived the following items relating to the founder of this family in America.

"Married. Edward Fittsrandolfe to Elizabeth Blossome, May 10th, 1637."

Miss Blossome was a daughter of "Widow Blossome" whose name is frequently mentioned in Old Plymouth colony records as far back as 1632.

"Edward Fitts surrandolfe joyned (church) May 14th, 1637. Our Brother Fittsrandolfe's wife joyned August 27th, 1643.

Baptized: Nathaniell son of Edward Fittsrandolfe, Aug. 9th, 1640. Died Nathaniell son of Edward Fitts Randolfe, December 10th, 1640. Baptized Nathaniell son of Edward Fittsrandolfe, May 15th, 1642. Baptized Mary daughter of Edward Fittsrandolfe, October 6th, 1644. Baptized Hannah daughter of above, April 23d, 1648. Baptized Margaret, daughter of above, June 2nd, 1650. Baptized John, son of above, Jan. 2nd, 1652.

"Mary Fitzrandle, daughter above named married Samuel Hincley, 1668."

The last named Nathaniell became quite a conspicuous man in after years.—It is said that descendants of Edward Fitz Randolph went to Piscataqua, New Hampshire, and from thence removed to Piscataqua, New Jersey, and from thence descendants went to Monmouth and elsewhere. Bennington F. Randolph, Esq, formerly of Freehold, the late Judge Joseph F. Randolph, formerly M. C., and Senator Theodore F. Randolph, are, we believe, descendants of Edward Fitz Randolph.

By the extracts quoted above, it will be seen that the old Puritan pastor was sorely puzzled as to the proper mode of spelling the name Fitz Randolph, but we certainly must give him credit for noting down minute particulars.

We have been informed that quite a complete history of the Fitz Randolph family has been preserved by some descendants in Philadelphia, especially by Hon. Ross Snowden, a prominent member of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

## LONG BRANCH.

## WHO FIRST BROUGHT IT INTO NOTICE.

The earliest mention of Long Branch as a watering place in any historical work that the writer of this has found, is in Watson's Annals of Philadelphia, published in 1830, as follows:

"This place, before the Revolution, was owned by Colonel White, a British officer, and an inhabitant of New York. The small house which he occupied as a summer residence was existing among a clump of houses owned by Renshaw, in 1830.—In consequence of the war the place was confiscated. The house was first used as a boarding house by Elliston Perot of Philadelphia in 1788. At that time the whole premises were in charge of one old woman left to keep the place from injury. Of her Mr. Perot begged an asylum for himself and family, which was granted, provided he could get beds and bedding from others. Being pleased with the place he repeated his visit there three successive years, taking some friends with him. In 1790-1, Mr. McKnight, of Monmouth, noticing the liking shown for the place deemed it a good speculation to buy it.—He bought the whole premises containing one hundred acres for £700 and then got Mr. Perot and others to loan him two thousand dollars to improve it. He then opened it for a watering place and before his death it was supposed he had made forty thousand dollars by the investment. The estate was sold to Rehshaw for \$13,000."

In the foregoing extract Watson says the property originally belonged to a British officer named White, whose property was confiscated during the Revolution.—We cannot now recall the name of but four loyalists of the name who belonged to or held property in old Monmouth, viz: Philip, who was killed by his guards in attempting to escape on the way to Freehold; Aaron, (brother of Philip) and John, both of whom went to the British Provinces at the close of the war, and Josiah White, of old Shrewsbury township, whose property was confiscated and advertised to be sold at Tinton Falls, March 29th, 1779. The last named may be the one referred to as we have found no mention of the confiscation of property of others.

According to Watson it would seem

## ELLISTON PEROT WAS THE FOUNDER

of Long Branch as a watering place. The Perot family has been a prominent one in Philadelphia annals. During the Revolution the Perot mansion at Germantown was used by Lord Howe as a residence, and after the war, while General Washington was president, he also occupied it for a time during the prevalence of the yellow fever in the city in 1793. Members of this family have always been patrons of some of our New Jersey watering places.

## THE LAST INDIAN CLAIMANTS.

At a conference between the whites and Indians held at Crosswicks, N. J., in February, 1758, two Indians known by the whites as Tom Store and Andrew Woolley claimed the land "from the mouth of Squan river to the mouth of Shrewsbury, by the streams of each to their heads and across from one head to another." This claim was satisfactorily settled at a subsequent conference held at Easton, Pa., in October of the same year. These Indians belonged to a band of the Delawares then known as the Cranbury Indians; their principal settlement was about two miles northeast of the present village of Cranbury and was established through the instrumentality of the celebrated Rev. David Brainerd, and by him called Bethel. The Indians came here in 1746 from Crosswicks "to be away from bad whites." At the above mentioned Crosswicks conference, several delegates, beside Tom Store and Andrew Woolley, attended from the Cranbury Indians with papers, claims, powers of attorney, &c., for themselves and the rest of the band, all of which were settled to the satisfaction of the Indians.

## HISTORY AND TRADITIONS OF LONG BRANCH.

The following extracts are from the *New York Gazette*, *Morris' Guide*, and other authorities, to which some comments are added:

"The nomenclature of popular resorts has become a matter of acknowledged interest. Various surmises—some of them absurd, all incorrect—have gone the rounds as to the origin of Long Branch, among them an hypothesis in a traveler's directory, that it was termed longest branch or route from that point on the seashore to Amboy."

From the best sources we find a tradition generally credited among the best informed descendants of old settlers, that a party of Indians whose grounds lay back of this

portion of the coast, visited the shore in the fall of 1734. So well pleased were the red men with this inaugural visit to the seaside, that like many of their modern white brethren, they became *habitués* of the place, still adhering to the original camping ground, a location near the present Clarendon Hotel—the nearest to the depot. Here they made their annual pilgrimage for fishing, &c., and welcoming, after a long march, the termination of the land, called the place “Land’s End;” this became a general term for the extent of waste which they gradually explored, and on which they established other camping grounds, such as Squaw beach, &c., and the original spot was designated as “Land’s End at the Long Branch,” a small stream branching from the South Shrewsbury (Shrewsbury) River and extending for a considerable distance nearly parallel with the coast. This stream still meanders through the vicinity of the depots and supplies an abundance of ice during the winter. The locality was thus designated by the abbreviated term Long Branch.

A few years thereafter settlers bought crown lands for twenty shillings per acre, and to protect their dwellings from the winter winds upon the coast, located them a short distance from the shore, pursuing the double calling of farmers and fishermen. They opened the Burlington pathway to Monmouth Court House and attracted other settlers, thus establishing old Long Branch village, one and a half miles from the beach, and within a radius of this distance embracing a population of over three thousand. A portion of this village just beyond the toll gate, is still quaintly termed “the pole”—from a liberty pole having been constantly renewed at this point with patriotic devotion since 1812. That portion which the wealthier citizens have erected for summer resorts is naturally termed “the shore,” the nearest spot Branchville, the South Shrewsbury river landing Branchport, three quarters of a mile from the village, beside Rockville on the south and Loyalton on the west.—Guests at the beach still go over to “the Pole” for purchases, in which a greater variety is desirable than can be found at the shore. Here is the red post office, though for greater convenience a branch shore post office has been established.

When the old settlers at the “Pole” had opened the Burlington pathway to Monmouth Court House, intersecting a road to Burlington, communication was

then opened with this point of the Atlantic coast, possessing advantages as a salubrious seaside resort far superior to any other. We are credibly informed that no other portion of this coast commands a bluff of more than from half a mile to a mile extent, while Long Branch has a continuous range of five miles of bluff, which extends over a rolling country of increasing elevations back to Monmouth Court House at Freehold, a distance of seventeen miles. At the early period indicated, Philadelphians availed themselves of the opportunity thus presented to drive over the new road and enjoy the luxuries of a sea bath, but there being no inns for many miles they were compelled to return a long distance on their way homeward for a night’s entertainment. A Mr. BENNETT proved himself the man for the times by erecting a small building for the accommodations of these summer visitors, and upon a site a little east of the present Metropolitan Hotel; the exact ground has long since been confiscated by old Neptune and is now available only for bathing purposes. This, by the way, is in the vicinity of the Indians’ first camping ground in 1734. The next man of enterprise of whom we have an account was named McKnight; he built a hotel about a mile down the beach beyond Pitman’s. It was called Bath, or Green’s hotel. This was destroyed by fire a few years ago.

To the above readable article, which we find credited to the New York *Gazette* a few years ago, and which was copied into many papers in our State, we take exceptions on one or two points. The writer evidently had not read the account of Watson, who had been familiar with the *habitués* of Long Branch forty or fifty years before. And we believe the Indians had visited the place long before 1734; in fact before the time the whites had any knowledge of the locality. Long before this the fierce, warlike Mohawks of New York, the terror of New Jersey Indians, occasionally made inroads into our State, conquering and plundering the red men within our borders, who were no match for them. When anticipating their raids, our West Jersey Indians would send their squaws and children to the sea shore for safety; and it is probable that Squaw received its name from this fact, being probably derived from the Indian words *Squaw*, or Squaw’s place. The Indians who visited Long Branch in 1734 were probably from Crosswicks, and after 1746 the Cranbury Indians frequented this

section and laid claim to it as elsewhere stated.

#### ORIGIN OF NAME—THE GREAT WRESTLING MATCH.

“Long Branch takes its name from a brook, a branch of the South Shrewsbury river, which runs in a direct line northward with the coast. It is of little use except for gathering ice for the hotels and cottages.

Tradition points to an Indian fishery, established in 1734, as the first occupation of this place, which was styled at that time ‘Land’s End.’ A legend tells us that in those early times four men, named Slocum, Parker, Wardell and Hulet, came from Rhode Island in quest of land. They found the Indians friendly but not disposed to sell. It was proposed by the Yankees that a wrestling match should be made up between one Indian and one of the whites, to be decided by the best in three rounds. If the champion of the white man won, they were to have as much land as a man could walk around in a day; if otherwise they were to leave peaceably. John Slocum was selected for the struggle—a man of great proportions, athletic and of great strength, courage and inflexibility of purpose. Great preparations were made to witness the encounter. The chosen Indian wrestler practiced continually for the event. The day long expected proved cloudless and auspicious. The spot chosen was the present Fish Landing. A circle was formed and the Indian champion, elated, confident and greased from head to foot, appeared. Slocum advanced coolly and the struggle began; it was long and doubtful; finally Slocum threw his antagonist but in an instant the Indian was again on his feet. A murmur ran through the circle.—Again the Indian made a violent effort and both fell. Another murmur was heard.—Silence prevailed as they came together again, broken only by the roaring of the surf. A long struggle. Slocum injured to toil, hardy and rugged, proved too much for the Indian and threw him, to the intense disappointment of the Indians and undisguised joy of the whites. The terms were then all arranged. John Slocum had two brothers and they located that part of Long Branch reaching from the shore to Turtle Mill brook, embracing all lands lying north of the main road, from the sea to Eatontown, between these two points, to the south of Shrewsbury, except Fresh Pond and Snag Swamp, which was located

by one of the Wardell family. A considerable portion of these lands continued in the possession of the Slocums until thirty or forty years ago. All are now gone into other hands. The Parkers placed themselves on Rumson’s Neck. Hulet lived for a time at Horse Neck but afterwards left this region. Indian warrants, it is said, still exist in the county conveying these lands to the white owners.

After some years a few hardy settlers from neighboring provinces purchased lands from the agents of the Crown at the rate of twenty shillings per acre, deeds for which, it is stated, are in existence over the signature of King George III or his agents.”

A notice of Long Branch in 1819, from a paper published at the time, has been given in a previous article. Probably the most noted Indian in this section of Old Monmouth was the celebrated Indian Will, of whom a number of traditions were published in the DEMOCRAT, June 5th, 1873. He was well known at Eatontown, Long Branch and vicinity, at Squan and along the coast down as far as Barnegat. A tradition in Howe’s Collections says the Indians in this section sold out their lands to Lewis Morris in 1670, but Indian Will refused to leave. The probability is that this tradition has confounded two transactions. Indian Will, according to the best traditionary authority, lived near a century later and the Indian sale of land with which his name has been connected was probably the one originating at a conference held at Crosswicks in February, 1758, and concluded at Eastern Pennsylvania in the same year, particulars of which were given in the article headed “Indian Claims in Old Monmouth,” in the DEMOCRAT of July 24, 1873.

#### NEW JERSEY WATERING PLACES—THEIR ORIGIN.

The first seaside resorts in New Jersey in all probability were Long Beach in Monmouth, and Tucker’s Beach in Little Egg Harbor. The first named place, now in Ocean county, is opposite to the villages of Barnegat and Manahawkin and the latter opposite Tuckerton. Of these places Watson’s Annals of Philadelphia says:

“We think Long Beach and Tucker’s Beach in point of earliest attraction as a seaside resort for Philadelphians must



claim the precedence. They had their visitors and distant admirers long before Squan and Deal and even Long Branch itself had got their several fame. To those who chiefly desire to restore languid frames and to find their nerves braced and firmer strung, nothing can equal the invigorating surf and general air. \* \* \* Long Branch—last but greatest in fame—because the fashionables who rule all things have made it so, is still inferior as a surf to those above named.”

Before the Revolution, Philadelphians and others from a distance, who visited Long and Tucker beaches, went in old fashioned shore wagons on their return trips from the city and took with them their stoves, blankets, &c. Some people on the beaches began to make provisions to receive these transient boarders and so originated this business in New Jersey in which now annually is spent such an immense amount of money. The shore wagons carted fish and oysters to Philadelphia, Trenton and other places over a hundred years ago, and these primitive conveyances on their return trips were first used to convey health or pleasure seekers to our earliest seaside resorts. What a contrast between then and now—between an oyster wagon and a palace car!

Long Branch comes next in order being first known as a watering place about 1788.

Cape May began to be known as a watering place about 1813. Atlantic City was founded some forty years later, about the time of the completion of the Camden and Atlantic Railroad.

The foregoing watering places from Long Branch to Cape May, it is said, were all brought into notice by Philadelphians.

A Sea Shore correspondent says:

“The first seaside health or pleasure seekers from Philadelphia would present quite a contrast with the great majority of visitors at our watering places at the present day in their methods of enjoying themselves. At home, being citizens of property and standing they would of course conform to the customs of city life in dress and other matters, but at the seashore they often adopted the common fisherman clothes and enjoyed themselves by fishing, oystering, bathing, &c., unrestrained by fashionable conventionalities. From the shore villages, the inhabitants young and old would often get up “beach parties” to have a good time bathing in the surf during the day, and enjoying

themselves by plays and dances in the evening, and it was no uncommon thing to see the visitors from the city mixing in with their sports, evidently enjoying and being benefitted by them. Some twenty years ago I frequently met, at one of our seaside resorts a prominent young Philadelphia merchant whom I especially noticed because an ancestor of his first brought Long Branch into notice and his method of enjoying himself was similar to our first shore visitors. He had his own fishing boat and pleasure yacht; at times in red flannel shirt and fisherman clothes he would engage in fishing, oystering, &c., and he was an expert in handling his yacht whether by himself, racing with other boats, or taking rural parties on pleasure excursions. He evidently enjoyed himself in these healthful methods of passing away his time, reminding me of the celebrated Prince Murat's manner of spending his time in the same locality some forty or fifty years before.”

CAPTAIN MOLLY FITCHER.

*Her bravery at Fort Clinton and Monmouth—  
Her Sad End.*

From various articles relating to this noted woman the following are selected:

“The story of a woman who rendered essential service to the Americans in the battle of Monmouth is founded on fact.—She was a female of masculine mould, and dressed in a mongrel suit, with the petticoats of her own sex and an artilleryman's coat, cocked hat and feathers. The anecdote usually related is as follows: Before the armies engaged in general action, two of the advanced batteries commenced a severe fire against each other. As the heat was excessive, Molly, who was the wife of a cannonier, constantly ran to bring her husband water from a neighboring spring. While passing to his post she saw him fall and on hastening to his assistance, found him dead. At the same moment she heard an officer order the cannon to be removed from its place, complaining he could not fill his post with as brave a man as had been killed. “No,” said the intrepid Molly, fixing her eyes upon the officer, “the cannon shall not be removed for the want of some one to serve it; since my brave husband is no more, I will use my utmost exertions to avenge his death.” The activity and courage with which she performed the office of cannonier during the action, attracted the attention of all

who witnessed it, and finally of Washington himself, who afterward gave her the rank of lieutenant and granted her half-pay during life. She wore an epaulette and was called ever after Captain Molly. (*Howe's Collections.*)

LOSSING in his Field Book of the Revolution thus mentions MOLLY PITCHER:

"She was a sturdy young camp follower only twenty two years of age and in devotion to her husband, who was a cannonier, she illustrated the character of her countrywomen of the Emerald Isle. In the action (Battle of Monmouth) while her husband was managing one of the field pieces, she constantly brought him water from a spring near by. A shot from the enemy killed him at his post; and the officer in command, having no one competent to fill his place, ordered the piece to be withdrawn. MOLLY saw her husband fall as she came from the spring and also heard the order. She dropped her bucket, seized the rammer and vowed that she would fill the place of her husband at the gun and avenge his death. She performed the duty with a skill and courage which attracted the attention of all who saw her. On the following morning, covered with dirt and blood, General GREENE presented her to General WASHINGTON, who admiring her bravery, conferred upon her the commission of Sergeant. By his recommendation her name was placed upon the list of half pay officers for life. She left the army soon after the Battle of Monmouth and died near Fort Montgomery among the Hudson Highlands. She usually went by the name of Captain MOLLY. The venerable widow of General HAMILTON, who died in 1854, told me she had often seen Captain MOLLY. She described her as a stout, red-haired, freckled-faced young Irish woman with a handsome, piercing eye. The French officers, charmed by the story of her bravery, made her many presents. She would sometimes pass along the French lines with her cocked hat and get it almost filled with crowns."

The same writer visited the locality of Forts Montgomery and Clinton on the Hudson, where MOLLY PITCHER ended her days and there found old residents who "remembered the famous Irish woman called Captain MOLLY, the wife of a cannonier who worked a field piece at the battle of Monmouth on the death of her husband. She generally dressed in the petticoats of her sex with an artilleryman's coat over. She was in Fort Clinton with

her husband when it was attacked in 1877. When the Americans retreated from the fort, as the enemy scaled the ramparts her husband dropped his match and fled. MOLLEY caught it up, touched off the piece and then scampered off. It was the last gun the Americans fired in the fort. Mrs. Rose remembered her as *Dirty Kate*, living between Fort Montgomery and Buttermilk Falls, at the close of the war, where she died a horrible death from syphilitic disease. WASHINGTON had honored her with a lieutenant's commission for her bravery in the field of Monmouth nearly nine months after the battle, when reviewing its events."

#### IS AN OYSTER A WILD ANIMAL OR A TAME ONE?

This question to many may appear absurd but it has been broached in lawsuits in our state involving business enterprises to the amount of some thousands of dollars yearly. It originated in the question whether or not a man had an exclusive right to oysters which he had planted.—The first case carried up to the New Jersey Supreme Court relating to planted oysters began in old Shrewsbury township about seventy years ago. A man named Leverson sued two men named Shepard and Layton for the larceny of 1,000 oysters which he had planted in North river, Shrewsbury township. The case came before Esquire Tiebout who gave judgment for the plaintiff, three dollars. The defendants' appealed to the Monmouth Common Pleas where the Justice's decision was confirmed. The case was then carried to the Supreme Court and tried in 1808. The decision, however, was confined to one point, that of planting where there is a natural growth: "Action does not lie for taking oysters claimed as planted by him in a common navigable stream, in which others were found." The court seemed to consider the throwing of oyster plants where there is a natural growth, as an abandonment, and compared it to a man "who should take a deer in a forest and be simpleton enough to let it go again in the same forest, saying, 'this is my deer and no man shall touch it; it would never be asked by the next taker what was the intention of the simpleton; the very act of letting it go was an abandonment."

The question of the right to planted oysters was again brought before the Supreme

Court in 1821, in the noted case of Arnold vs Mundy, on an appeal in a case from Perth Amboy; but this suit hinged mainly on title to lands under water, the plaintiff having purchased from the East Jersey Proprietors some forty odd acres of land under water on which was the oyster bed.

Just fifty years after the laws relating to planted oysters had been first discussed in Monmouth, the subject was finally and clearly settled by the Supreme Court. On an appeal from Cape May, tried in 1858, it was charged that Thomas Taylor had stolen oysters to the value of eighteen dollars from George Hildreth. This time the question of the right to oysters planted where there was no natural growth was reached and decided. As regards the question whether an oyster is a wild animal or a tame one the inference from the trial is that an oyster from a natural growth bed is a wild animal and one from a bed planted where there was no natural growth, is a tame one! The counsel for the defendant (Taylor) plead that "oysters being animals *ferā natura* (of a wild nature—wild animals) there can be no property in them unless they be dead or reclaimed or tamed or in the actual power or possession of the claimant."

The Chief Justice in giving the opinion of the Court said :

"The principle (advanced by defendant's counsel) as applied to animals *ferā natura* is not questioned. But oysters, though usually included in that description of animals, do not come within the reason or operation of the rule. The owner has the same absolute property in them that he has in inanimate things or domestic animals. Like domestic animals they continue perpetually in his occupation and will not stray from his house or person. Unlike animals *ferā natura*, they do not require to be reclaimed and made tame by art, industry or education, nor to be confined in order to be within the immediate power of the owner. If at liberty, they have neither the inclination nor power to escape. For the purposes of the present inquiry they are obviously more nearly allied to tame animals than to wild ones, and perhaps more nearly allied to inanimate objects than to animals of either description. The indictment could not aver that the oysters were dead, for they would then be of no value; nor that they were reclaimed or tamed for in this sense they were never wild and were not capa-

ble of domestication; nor that they were confined for that would be absurd."

It was the decision of the court that

"The owner has the same absolute property in oysters that he has in inanimate things or domestic animals, and the rule that applies to animals *ferā natura* does not apply to them," and that an indictment would lie for stealing oysters planted in a public or navigable river where oysters do not grow naturally, and the spot designated by stakes or otherwise.

ALLEGED INFRINGEMENTS OF OYSTER LAWS.

The Newark *Evening Courier* of December 21st, 1874, contained an interesting article relating to the oyster trade of Newark Bay, Staten Island Sound, Perth and South Amboy, &c., during the year 1874, from which we extract the following :

"The great beds at the mouth of the Raritan river, now retained and staked by private individuals for their own use, are one mile and a half long and one mile wide. They were what is termed a natural bed up to forty years ago, and were first taken possession of by a company from Perth Amboy. They were held by this company without color of law for about five years, when the people interested in the oyster business compelled this monopoly to relinquish their claims on the beds, but in return they severally staked them off for their own use, and still retain them to the exclusion of citizens of their own and other counties without the least shadow of law. It is thought that this question, together with a law looking to the better preservation of oysters in the beds, will receive the attention of the Legislature."

We should suppose the law in this case had been clearly settled by the Supreme Court, which those interested can find stated at length in 1st Halsted, case of Arnold vs Mundy, and 3d Dutcher, State vs Thomas Taylor.

COLONEL MONCKTON AND THE  
ROYAL GRENADIERS AT THE  
BATTLE OF MONMOUTH.

Lieutenant Colonel Honorable H. Monckton, generally called Colonel Monckton, according to both written and traditinary accounts was one of the most honorable officers in the service of the British—accomplished, brave, of splendid personal appearance and of irreproachable moral character. He was in the battle of Long Island

in August 1776, when he was shot through the body and lay for many weeks at the point of death. He recovered and for his gallantry on that occasion was promoted from the 5th Company, 2d Grenadiers, to be Lieutenant Colonel and was in command of the battalion at the battle of Monmouth, in which the 1st and 2nd Royal Grenadiers bore a conspicuous part and in a charge, the heroic Monckton and the greater part of the officers of the grenadiers, the flower of the British army, fell from a terrible fire from the Americans under General Wayne. The spot where Colonel Monckton was killed is said to be about eight rods north-east of the old parsonage and he was buried about six feet from the west end of the church. About thirty years ago a board was set up to mark his grave by William R. Wilson, a native of Scotland, who will long and favorably be remembered by hundreds of citizens of Monmouth and Ocean as a successful teacher and for his many good qualities of head and heart. He died at Forked River, in Ocean county, about nineteen years ago, and the respect retained for him by his old scholars near the battle ground, and elsewhere in Monmouth, was evidenced by the fact of their sending for his body and giving it a suitable final resting place in the vicinity of his first labors in this county. Mr. Wilson, or "Dominie Wilson" as he was familiarly called on account of his once having been a clergyman, deserves a more extended notice than we have space for in the present article.

On the board prepared and set up by Mr. Wilson was inscribed

HIC JACET  
COL. MONKTON  
KILLED 28 June  
1778

W. R. W.

Mr. W. may have been induced to put up the board by noticing that in the reminiscences of the battle published by Henry Howe, who visited the ground in 1842, attention was called to the fact that no monument marked the grave.

In 1850, Benson J. Lossing visited the battle ground and made a sketch of the head board which was given in his valuable work, the Field Book of the Revolution, and it is also given in a late number of the American Historical Record. Mr. Lossing says that when he visited the grave "the only monument that marked the spot was a plain board painted red, much weath-

er worn, on which was drawn in black letters the inscription seen in the picture given. The board had been set up some years before by a Scotch school master named William Wilson, who taught the young people in the school house upon the green near the old Meeting House." In speaking of Col. Monckton he says: "At the head of his grenadiers on the field of Monmouth, he kept them silent until they were within a few rods of the Americans, when waving his sword he shouted "Forward to the charge!" Our General Wayne was on his front. At the same moment "Mad Anthony" gave a signal to fire. A terrible volley poured destruction upon Monckton's grenadiers and almost every British officer fell. Amongst them was their brave leader.—Over his body the combatants fought desperately until the Americans secured it and bore it to the rear."

CAPTAIN WILSON AND DOMINIE WILSON.  
THE GRENADIER FLAG.

A writer in the American Historical Record, June, 1874, referring to the above notice says it reminds him "of the relics of the Royal Grenadiers and of their gallant Colonel which are still in existence; and I was struck with the coincidence in name of the Scotch schoolmaster, William Wilson, who set up the board that marks the Colonel's grave, with that of the Irish Captain, William Wilson, by the rifles of whose company Monckton fell. On the parlor table of Captain William Wilson Potter, of Bellefonte, Pennsylvania, a great grandson of General James Potter, of the Revolution, may be seen any day for the asking, the flag of the Royal Grenadiers, captured on the field of Monmouth, by his (maternal) grandfather, the late Judge William Wilson, of Chillisquaque Mills, Northumberland county, Pennsylvania. The ground or main surface is lemon or light-yellow heavy corded silk, five feet four inches by four feet eight inches. The device at the upper right corner is twenty inches square, and is that of the English Union which distinguishes the Royal standard of Great Britain. It is composed of the cross of St. George, to denote England, and St. Andrews cross in the form of an X to denote Scotland. The field of the device is blue, the central stripes (cross of St. George) red, the marginal ones white. The flag has the appearance of having been wrenched from its staff, and has a few blood stains on the device, otherwise it looks as bright and new as if it had just come from the gentle

fingers that made it, although ninety-six years have rolled away since its golden folds drooped in the sultry air of that June day battle."

The following is an account of that part of the engagement relating to

THE CHARGE OF THE GRENADIERS.

After General LEE's retreat was checked by General WASHINGTON in person, the latter formed a new line for his advanced troops, and put LEE again in command. General WASHINGTON then rode back to the main army and formed it on an eminence, with a road in the rear and a morass in front. The left was commanded by Lord STIRLING with a detachment of artillery; LAFAYETTE with WAYNE was posted in the centre, partly in an orchard and partly sheltered by a barn; General GREENE was on the right with his artillery under General KNOX, posted on commanding ground. General LEE maintained his advanced position as long as he could, himself coming off with his rear across a road which traversed the morass in front of STIRLING's troops. The British followed sharp, and meeting with a warm reception, endeavored to turn the left flank but were driven back; they then tried the right, but were met by General GREENE's forces and heavy discharges from KNOX's artillery, which not only checked them but raked the whole length of the columns in front of the left wing. Then came a determined effort to break the centre maintained by General WAYNE and the Pennsylvania regiment; and the Royal Grenadiers, the flower of the British army, were ordered to do it. They advanced several times, crossing a hedge-row in front of the morass and were driven back. Col. MONKTON, their commander, then made a speech to his men (the troops at the parsonage and those in the orchard heard his ringing voice above the storm of battle), and forming the Grenadiers in solid column, advanced to the charge like troops on parade; the men marching with such precision that a ball from Combs Hill enfilading a platoon isarmed every man.

WAYNE ordered his men to reserve their fire, and the British came on in silence within a few rods, when MONKTON waved his sword above his head and ordered his grenadiers to charge. Simultaneously WAYNE ordered his men to fire and a terrible volley laid low the first ranks and most of the officers. The colors were in

advance to the right with the Colonel and they went down with him. Captain WILLIAM WILSON and his company who were on the right of the 1st Pennsylvania regiment, (Colonel JAMES CHAMBERS) made a rush for the colors and the body of the Colonel. The Grenadiers fought desperately and a hand to hand struggle ensued, but the Pennsylvanians secured his body and the colors; the Grenadiers gave way, and the whole British army fell back to LEE's position in the morning. They decamped so quietly in the night that General POOR, who lay near them with orders to recommence the battle in the morning, was not aware of their departure.

The following reminiscences, published by Howe were mainly derived from the late venerable Dr. SAMUEL FORMAN, who was on the battle field the day after the action.

The advanced corps of Americans under WAYNE was on high ground close by a barn about twelve rods back of the parsonage, while a park of artillery were on Combs Hill, a height commanding that of the enemy. The British grenadiers several times crossed the fence and advanced toward the barn, but were as often driven back by the fire of the troops stationed there and the artillery from Combs Hill. At length Col. MONKTON made to them a spirited address which was distinctly heard by the Americans at the barn and parsonage, distant only twenty or thirty rods. They then advanced in beautiful order as though on parade. As they appeared within a few rods of the barn, WAYNE ordered his men to pick off the officers. \* \* \* The spot near where Col. MONKTON was killed is (1842) marked by an oak stump about eight rods northeast of the parsonage. \* \* \* The most desperate part of the conflict was in the vicinity of where MONKTON fell. There the British grenadiers lay in heaps like sheaves on a harvest field. Our informant states that they dragged the corpses by the neels to shallow pits dug for the purpose and slightly covered them with earth; he saw thirteen buried in one hole. For many years after, their graves were indicated by the luxuriance of the vegetation. Among the enemy's dead was a sergeant of the grenadiers, designated as the "high sergeant." He was the tallest man in the British army, measuring seven feet four inches in height.

The day was unusually hot even for the season and both armies suffered severely;

the British more than the Americans, because of their woollen uniforms and burdened with their knapsacks and accoutrements, while the latter were divested of their packs and superfluous clothing. The tongues of great numbers were so swollen as to render them incapable of speaking. Many of both armies perished solely from heat and after the battle were seen dead upon the field, without mark or wound, under trees and beside the rivulet, where they had crawled for shade and water. The countenances of the dead became so blackened as to render it impossible to recognize individuals. Several houses in Freehold were filled with the wounded of the enemy, left on their retreat in care of their surgeons and nurses. Every room in the Court House was filled. They lay on the floor on straw, and the supplication of the wounded and the moans of the dying presented a scene of woe. As fast as they died, their corpses were promiscuously thrown into a pit on the site of the present (1842) residence of Dr. THROCKMORTON, and slightly covered with earth.

In addition to the above statements of Dr. FORMAN regarding the heat of the day, we remember on our first visit to the battle ground forty odd years ago being told by an old gentleman residing in the vicinity, while describing the battle, that both the British and Americans were so overcome by the heat, and were suffering so much from thirst, that as they approached the stream, the troops of both armies, regardless of discipline, broke from their ranks and rushed to the brook to quench their thirst at the same time, and but a little distance apart. Many were unable to resume their places in the ranks and were found dead as above related. Of the British it is stated that fifty nine perished from the heat.

#### VISITORS AT THE BATTLE GROUND.

"If there's a hole in all your coats  
I rede you tent it;  
A child's among you taking notes,  
And faith he'll prent it."

So said the poet Burns in reference to Captain Grose, noted for his peregrinations through Scotland collecting antiquities of the kingdom, and we have been forcibly reminded of his lines in reading various comments made by visitors to the Monmouth battle ground. These comments are in the main very favorable to the citi-

zens of old Monmouth, but occasionally we meet with an unpalatable note.

The author of the Field Book of the Revolution says:

"I visited the battle ground of Monmouth toward the close of September, 1850, and had the good fortune to be favored with the company of Doctor John Woodhull, of Freehold, in my ramble over that interesting locality. Dr. Woodhull is the son of the beloved minister of that name who succeeded Rev. William Tennent in the pastoral care of the congregation that worshipped in the Freehold meeting house, and who, for forty-six consecutive years, preached and prayed in that venerated chapel. Dr. Woodhull was born in the parsonage yet upon the battle ground, and is so familiar with every locality and event connected with the conflict, that I felt as if traversing the battle field with an actor in the scene."

Mr. Lossing next speaks of a heavy storm which compelled him to take shelter in the old Tennent church; resting his portfolio on the high back of an old pew he sketched a picture of the neat monument erected to the memory of Rev. John Woodhull, D. D., who died Nov. 22nd, 1824, aged 80 years. He next refers to Rev. William Tennent who was pastor of that flock for forty-three years, and gives an outline of his life, and then says:

"When the storm abated we left the church and proceeded to the battle ground. The old parsonage is in the present possession of Mr. William T. Sutphen, who has allowed the parlor and study of Tennent and Woodhull to be used as a depository of grain and of agricultural implements! The care-less neglect which permits a mansion so hallowed by religion and patriotic events to fall into ruin, is actual desecration and much to be reprehended and deplored. The windows are destroyed, the roof is falling into the chambers; and in a few years not a vestige will be left of that venerable memorial of the *field of Monmouth*."

"We visited the spot where Monckton fell; the place of the causeway across the morass (now a small bridge upon the main road); and after taking a general view of the whole ground of conflict and sketching a picture, returned to Freehold.

"It had been to me a day of rarest interest and pleasure, notwithstanding the inclement weather; for no battle field in our country has stronger claims to the rever-

ence of the American heart than that of the plains of Monmouth. \* \* \*

"The men and women of the Revolution but a few years since, numerous in the neighborhood of Freehold, have passed away, but the narrative of their trials during the war have left abiding records of patriotism upon the hearts of their descendants. I listened to many tales concerning the Pine Robbers and other desperadoes of the time, who kept the people of Monmouth county in a state of continual alarm. Many noble deeds of daring were achieved by the tillers of the soil, and their mothers, wives and sisters; and while the field of Monmouth attested the bravery and endurance of American soldiers, the inhabitants whose households were disturbed on that memorable Sabbath morning by the bugle and the cannon peal, exhibited in their daily course the loftiest patriotism and manly courage. We will leave the task of recording the acts of their heroism to the pen of the local historian."

The following item we find published in a magazine over a year ago: "Attention has lately been called to the condition of the grave of Col Monckton, in the burial ground of the Freehold Meeting House in Monmouth Co., N. J. It should be properly cared for, for Monckton, though a foe to the Americans when he fell mortally wounded at the battle of Monmouth, was a gallant officer, and a man of irreproachable moral character."

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#### OUR GOOD LOOKING GRAND-MOTHERS.

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#### WHY JERSEY LADIES ARE SO ATTRACTIVE.

All histories of Revolutionary times concede that in patriotism our forefathers were not excelled by the people of any other state. From the following extracts it will be seen that during the last century the women also of New Jersey were held in high repute by people in other states. - Jerseymen of the present day very well know that the ladies of our state now are hard to excel in beauty, intelligence, amiability, industry and other deservable qualities. And it is gratifying to know that their maternal ancestors obtained such marked commendation from competent judges in other states.

Guthrie's Geography, published by the celebrated Matthew Carey in 1795, says:

"There is at least as great a number of industrious, discreet, amiable, genteel and handsome women in New Jersey in proportion to the number of its inhabitants as in any one of the thirteen states."

Winterbottom's Geography, published in New York the following year, quotes the above extract, but the author thinking such compliments unusual in such a work prefaces his quotation with the remark that "It is not the business of the geographer to compliment the ladies, nor would we be thought to do so when we say that there are in New Jersey as great a number of industrious, discreet, &c."

Morse's Geography, published in New York by the father of the celebrated Professor Morse, quotes and endorses the remarks of both of the above writers, and adds that "the ladies of New Jersey are as well educated and intelligent as the ladies of any other state." We will take the liberty here of expressing our gratification that Morse quoted the most of his complimentary remarks from other writers; had he expressed them in his own language we might reasonably fear as bungling work as he made in describing Albany and its inhabitants. In an early edition of his geography, which we found in the library of the New York Geographical and Statistical Society, he says:

"There are over six hundred houses in Albany and the population is over ten thousand mostly of the gothic style of architecture with their gable ends turned to the streets."

Ten thousand people of the gothic style of architecture with their gable ends turned to the street would have presented a remarkable spectacle. He probably meant this description to apply to the houses and not the people.

Among more ancient writers who described the people of New Jersey was Gabriel Thomas, who published a work in 1698, describing Pennsylvania and West Jersey, but one copy of which is known to be in existence. From this copy, in the Philadelphia Franklin Library, we extract the following, relating to the inhabitants of Pennsylvania and New Jersey:

"The men are all industrious and healthy, the children born here are beautiful, without spot or blemish, and every married lady has a baby in her lap, or one —" Ahem! well, these old writers have sometimes such a blunt way of expressing themselves, that a bashful man feels rather dubious about the propriety of quoting ex-

actly the conclusion of the sentence, but it substantially means "that they present external evidence of soon being able to have one to tend."

From the foregoing it will be seen that it is perfectly natural that Jersey ladies should be fascinating; they take after their mothers and female ancestors; like them they are "industrious, discreet, amiable, genteel, handsome and intelligent." But these complimentary expressions are left out of modern geographies, not because they are inappropriate, but doubtless out of respect to ladies of other states and to the men of this; for if they were now published in our text books, men from other states might flock here for partners to the aggravation of the girls they left behind them, and of the young men of New Jersey, who would naturally object to such inroads for such a purpose.

OUR ANCESTORS OF ENGLISH ORIGIN.—THE BEST BLOOD OF NEW ENGLAND.

The following complimentary remarks about our first white settlers of English origin are from Watson's Annals of Philadelphia :

"The vicinity of Philadelphia to New Jersey has had the effect to contribute a great deal of Jersey population to the city and a good race of citizens they make.—They may be considered as a people much formed from the best Yankee blood. All along the seaboard, the first settlers there, as their names show, came from New England in colonial times. In the Revolution the Governor of Pennsylvania (Reed) was from New Jersey; so too Attorney General Sargent and Commissary General Boudinot. Not long since, all the officers of the Mayor's Court, Mayor, Recorder, prosecuting officers and even the crier were Jersey born."

THE FIRST WHITE OPINION OF OLD MONMOUTH.

On the 2nd day of September, 1609, Sir Henry Hudson in the ship *Half Moon*, cruised along the shore of the county, and at night anchored not far from Long Branch. His journal or log book was kept by his mate, Alfred Just. After describing the coast, &c., at the close of the day's record, he says :

"This is a very good land to fall in with, and a pleasant land to see."

This is the most ancient opinion of the county to be found expressed by a white person, and one in which all its citizens

will agree as correct and applicable at the present day.

CONGRESSIONAL REPRESENTATIVES.

By an act of Congress approved June, 1842, all members of Congress were required to be elected by Congressional Districts. Under that law the following persons have been elected to Congress to represent the districts to which Monmouth has belonged.

SECOND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT.

28th Congress	1842-4	George Sykes	of Burlington	Co.
29	"	1845-6	"	"
30	"	1847-8	William A. Newell	Monmouth
31	"	1849-50	"	"
32	"	1851-2	Charles Skelton	Mercer
33	"	1853-4	"	"
34	"	1855-6	George R. Polbins	"
35	"	1857-8	"	"
36	"	1859-60	J. L. N. Stratton	Burlington
37	"	1861-2	"	"
38	"	1863-4	William A. Newell	Monmouth
39	"	1865-6	George Middleton	"
40	"	1867-8	Charles Haight	"
41	"	1869-70	"	"
42	"	1871-2	Samuel C. Forker	Burlington

THIRD CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT.

43	"	1873-4	Amos Clark, Jr.	Middlesex
44	"	1875-6	Miles Ross	"

It is a coincidence that since the District law of Congress passed, the Democrats have elected nine members and their opponents just nine including Samuel G. Wright elected, but who died before taking his seat.

CONGRESSIONAL MEMORANDA.

Among those who were natives of, or have represented Old Monmouth in the National councils, may be mentioned the following :

DR. NATHANIEL SCUDDER.

Dr. Scudder was a delegate to the Continental Congress from New Jersey from 1777 to 1779, and was one of the signers of the articles of Confederation. He was the son of Col. Jacob Scudder of Monmouth Court House, born May 10th, 1733. After graduating at Princeton College in 1751, he gave his attention to the practice of medicine. At the outbreak of the Revolution he was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel, First Regiment; Colonel same regiment Nov. 28th, 1776. Delegate to Congress 1777-9. He was killed by the Refugees, Oct 16th, 1781, at Black Point (Shark River?) He was at the time engaged in conversation with General David Forman and it is supposed the shot was aimed at the latter. General Forman at-



tributed his marvelous escape to an involuntary step backward which became "the most *fortunate step* in all his life."

An interesting outline of Dr. Scudder's life was published in the *MONMOUTH DEMOCRAT*, May 29th, 1873, by Anna Maria Woodhull.

JOHN ANDERSON SCUDDER, M. D.,

Was a representative in Congress from New Jersey for the unexpired term of James Cox who died in 1810. He was the eldest son of Dr. Nathaniel Scudder, above mentioned. He was born March 22nd, 1759; served as Surgeon's mate in the Revolutionary army; was a member of the Assembly for several years and finally removed to Kentucky.

GENERAL JAMES COX.

James Cox was a native of Monmouth County, born in 1753; served several years as a member of the Legislature, and was Speaker of the Assembly; commanded a company of militia in the Revolution and was at the battles of Germantown and Monmouth; was subsequently a Brigadier General of militia. Was a representative in Congress 1809-10. Died September 12th, 1810.

REV. BENJAMIN BENNETT.

Born in 1762, was a Baptist minister and a Representative in Congress from 1815 to 1819. He died at Middletown, N. J., October 8th, 1840.

GARRET D. WALL

was born in Monmouth county, March 10th, 1783; licensed attorney in 1804 and as counsellor in 1807. Appointed clerk of the Supreme Court in 1812, holding the position for five years; commanded a volunteer company at the defence of Sandy Hook in the war of 1812, and was Quarter Master General of the State from 1815 to 1827. In 1827 he was elected to the General Assembly; in 1829 was appointed United States District Attorney for New Jersey and the same year was elected Governor of the State by the Legislature but he declined the appointment. General Wall was elected a member of the United States Senate to serve from 1835 to 1841. In 1843 his health was impaired by a stroke of paralysis, but in 1848 he was

appointed Judge of the Court of Errors and Appeals, which office he occupied until his death at Burlington, N. J., Nov. 22, 1850.

His son, Colonel James W. Wall, born in Trenton, was elected Senator in 1863 to fill an unexpired term.

JOHN C. TEN EyCK,

was born at Freehold, March 12th, 1814.— In 1839 was appointed Prosecutor of the Pleas for Burlington county, holding the position for ten years; was a member of the Convention to frame a new state constitution in 1844, and was elected United States Senator in 1859 to serve six years.

DANIEL B. RYALL

was born at Trenton, Jan. 30th, 1798.— Came to Freehold to practice law in 1820, where he remained in practice 35 years.— He was a member of the State Legislature for three years, and Speaker of the House for the same time. He was Representative in Congress from 1839 to 1841. He died at Freehold, Dec. 17th, 1864.

SAMUEL G. WRIGHT was elected a member of Congress in the fall of 1844 but died July 30, 1845, before taking his seat. He was born in 1787, and died near Allentown (at Harrison's Hill?)

JAMES H. IMLAY was a representative in Congress from 1797 to 1801. We have found no record of his nativity but presume he was from Monmouth. He graduated at Princeton in 1786, and was for a time a tutor in that college.

WILLIAM L. DAYTON was born at Baskinridge, Somerset County, February 17th, 1807; graduated at Princeton in 1825, practiced law in Freehold many years, was appointed Judge of the Supreme Court in 1838; and appointed in 1842 to fill vacancy caused by death of Samuel L. Southard, and again in 1845 serving to 1851 United States Senator. In 1857 was Attorney General of the State; appointed Minister to France by President Lincoln in 1861, and died in Paris at Hotel de Louvre Dec. 1st, 1864. The most laudatory notice of him published in the Paris papers was written by John Slidell, the Rebel Commissioner whom Judge Dayton for three years had earnestly opposed.











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