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Very truly yours
William Nelson

THE
NEW JERSEY COAST
IN
THREE CENTURIES

HISTORY OF THE NEW JERSEY COAST
WITH
GENEALOGICAL AND HISTORIC-BIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX

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ILLUSTRATED

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PREFACE.

In the following pages it has been the purpose so to present the history of the Coast Region of New Jersey as to outline the salient facts of the long and interesting story in such manner as would prove acceptable to the general reader, and at the same time include much of that purely antiquarian lore which is to many the most delightful feature of local history, as it is, indeed, one of the most instructive. Hence much attention has been given to tracing the ancestry of the sturdy races which peopled the region with which the narrative is concerned, and to presenting a series of pen pictures of their manner of living and their accomplishments in the establishment of the community and the institutions of civilization.

In the compilation of this history all previous works relating to the history of the Coast Counties of the State have been laid under contribution. In their use, and particularly in that of the great mass of pamphlet and other rare material found in the rooms of the State Historical Society in Newark, our writers have had the advantage of direction by that accomplished historian, Hon. William Nelson, of Paterson, who has out of his broad knowledge pointed the way to wellnigh forgotten sources of information, and has in other ways rendered helpful assistance in the work of preparation.

To the principal staff writer, Dr. Peter Ross, a ripe scholar, and his associate, Captain E. Y. Hedley, an experienced writer, and to the various contributors and local historians who have afforded their aid, the publishers are desirous of expressing their deep gratitude. Mrs. M. C. Murray Hyde, of New York City, furnishes a rarely interesting chapter concerning "Early Historic Families," and valuable information for other chapters on "Social Life," etc. She has also contributed sketches of some historic landmarks from her own pencil. Mrs. Mary T. Rush, of Ocean City, contributes the excellent chapter "Along the Strand," and various illustrations from her own printed work, the "Ocean City Guide Book." The Rev. A. E. Ballard, D. D., of Ocean Grove, writes of that famous religious resort. Mr. A. M. Heston, of Atlantic City, has permitted the use of matter and illustrations from his published works, particularly for the chapter on "New Jersey in

the Revolution." Similar favors were accorded by Mr. J. F. Hall, of the same city, whose local volume has been drawn upon, and from which are taken, among other illustrations, the beautiful plates accompanying the chapter "Along the Strand." The local historians of Ocean and Cape May Counties, Mr. William H. Fischer, of Toms River, and Mr. Lewis T. Stevens, of Cape May, also permitted the use of their works, and provided various plates. Others to whom gratitude is due for able assistance are Judge John Whitehead, of Newark, author of "The Judicial and Civil History of New Jersey;" the Rev. Allen H. Brown, of Atlantic City, for valuable historical data of church history and for the plates of the Boyd Monument; to Hon. John S. Applegate, of Red Bank, particularly for access to the archives of the Monmouth County Historical Association; to Judge George C. Beckman, of Freehold, for the use of his published volumes; and to Mr. O. B. Leonard, of Perth Amboy, for direction to needed authorities.

The publishers also desire to thank the numerous correspondents to whom they are much indebted for details of considerable importance in the history of various towns and regarding particular industries and interests. The correspondents of this class are so numerous that only a general acknowledgment can be made.

THE PUBLISHERS.

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THE NEW JERSEY COAST IN THREE CENTURIES

PROEM.

POSITION OF THE COAST COUNTIES IN THE HISTORY OF NEW JERSEY.

In none of the histories of our common country is sufficient credit given to New Jersey for the part she has played as one of the original Thirteen States in the upbuilding of the Union and the promulgation of those edicts of liberty, equality and fraternity, of perfect religious and civil freedom, and of the maintenance of an open door by which the weary and oppressed of every race—except the Chinese—might enter, which have been the real sources of the greatness which the nation has attained, and have brought it to its present recognized position as one of the great powers of the world.

The entire story of New Jersey, from the earliest days to the present, is a wonderfully interesting revelation of the adaptability of its people to the circumstances of the times—of their accurate realization of conditions, and of their masterly ability in meeting them and in turning them to account, to their own immediate advantage, and to the far greater advantage of their posterity. Coming from various lands, with different traditions and habits of thought, they soon united in sufficient degree to labor together for the establishment of civil institutions based upon a broad conception of personal liberty. So well did they build that when the State was organized, at the time of the revolution, the new government grew so naturally out of the old that the change was without shock and almost imperceptible.

In statesmanship, in warlike achievements, in literature, in science

and in art, New Jersey stands, as she has ever stood, in the forefront among her sister States. Indeed, at the beginning, in the early stages, when history was being made and precedents were being established—while in a degree overshadowed by her great neighbors on either side—New York and Pennsylvania—she occupied an absolutely unique position and exerted a clearly traceable and unmistakable influence upon the destiny of the entire country. Her people were always obedient to established authority, but when the rights of the individual or the community were assailed or trampled upon—be the government Dutch or English—they led the way in defending those rights, and Colonial Governors and Proprietors found the farmers of the Jerseys more troublesome and determined at times, than even were the burghers of New Amsterdam. She was from the first, to a certain extent, a community in herself, as she so remains in a great measure to the present day, and presents, in fact, in her own career, an epitome of all that makes a country really great—thrift, honesty and religion leavening the whole, while progressiveness, energy and a watchfulness for opportunities add year by year to the general wealth.

The keynote of liberty resounded over the Jersey colonies long before the call to arms was made. In Monmouth county was first given formal and emphatic utterance to the doctrine that those actual colonists abiding upon its soil, holding title by honest purchase from the natives and by compliance with legal requirements, were freemen and not serfs. The "Monmouth Declaration of Independence" in which this principle was embodied, as was also that of local self-government, was of weighty importance in the formation of that public opinion which found final and unequivocal expression in the Declaration of Independence by all the Colonies.

New Jersey was one of the first of the colonies to assert itself as an independent commonwealth, and in the formation of the Union she bore a wonderfully important part. In one scene she occupied a grand position of her own—she was the one State alone among all her sisters to adopt the Constitution of the New Nation unanimously and without amendment. There were those of her sons whose names are imperishable in national history—those signers of the Declaration of Independence, Richard Stockton, the eminent lawyer of Princeton, the revered John Witherspoon, President of the College of New Jersey, now Princeton University, Francis Hopkinson, whose pen inspired statesmen and soldiers; John Hart and Abraham Clark, men of piety and learning; and those who affixed their signatures to the Federal Constitution—William Livingston, the Revolutionary War Governor, and his successor in office, William Paterson; David Brearley, Chief Justice of New Jersey, and Jonathan Dayton, an eminent patriot. Illustrious, too, were the soldierly achievements of the men of New

Jersey, who, by their effort and with their lives, supported the infant Nation, and brought it to a place among the great governments of the world.

The position the State held in the momentous affairs of the middle portion of the Revolutionary War, when it was regarded by the veteran generals of King George as the key by which the continent was to be opened up again to British authority, was alone sufficient to exalt it to a position among the shrines of the nation, and it became one of the spots upon which the struggle for liberty was most strenuously waged, and where it was shown that in military skill and finesse the Continentals were the equal of their adversaries, the veterans of many wars. It was there, too, that Washington—on the glorious field of Monmouth—rose to the height of majesty as a soldier, and vindicated his right to be regarded as one of the greatest captains of his time or of any time.

From the days when the echoes of the Revolutionary War had died away, New Jersey has always been found ranged on the side of liberty, and she has fully met every claim made upon her. In the War with Great Britain in 1812 she was ready to meet any invading force, and her ships aided in winning the victory and in wresting from that nation, for a time, at least, its old claim to invincibility on the sea. In the Civil War she liberally contributed men and treasure to preserve intact what the founders of the Republic had fought for: and in the War with Spain she freely responded to the call of the General Government.

Even before the Revolution, the people of New Jersey demonstrated their ability to rule themselves, and the various town governments were models of local authority for the rest of the country. Even under the Dutch the townships enjoyed a generous measure of local rule, and what was not allowed by the Colonial and Proprietary authorities they took themselves. In fact, the whole course of the history of New Jersey shows that the less the general government interfered with local affairs the better the result for all concerned. Dutch and English, differing widely in many ways, could forget even important differences, could respect each other's religious views and notions of statecraft, and could live together in peace and harmony—significant conditions which were not lost upon the statesmen who were engaged in the work of bridging this country safely across the chasm which separated the disjointed and jealous colonies and combining them into a strong and united nation.

New Jersey's Governors and her representatives in Congress and in the Assembly have been men who by their talents commanded respect and by their efforts added largely to the progress the nation has made in all the arts that render men happy and insure the prosperity of the country.

William Livingston, the first Governor of the sovereign State of

New Jersey, in his inaugural address, delivered before the legislature, September 13, 1776, closed with the expression of lofty sentiments which became basic principles in the statecraft of the commonwealth during all the days which followed. He said:

"Let us, then, as it is our indispensable duty, make it our invariable aim to exhibit to our constituents the brightest examples of a disinterested love for the commonweal. Let us, both by precept and example, encourage the spirit of economy, industry and patriotism, and that public integrity and righteousness that cannot fail to exalt a nation, setting our faces at the same time like a flint against that dissoluteness of manners and political corruption that will ever be the reproach of any people. May the foundation of our infant State be laid in virtue and the fear of God, and the superstructure will rise glorious and endure for ages!"

Our narrative is primarily concerned with the Counties of the Coast. Middlesex, which is not geographically of these, is considered to some extent, its settlement having been practically coincident with that of Monmouth. Monmouth County has a history of its own, owing to its position, and particularly during the revolutionary period. The other Coast Counties—old Gloucester (out of which was created Atlantic County) and Cape May—were at an early day the abode of a peculiarly simple and conscientious people who builded for all time in the establishment of communities based upon the tenets of Him who would that all men were brothers. Their sons, too, have ever borne a noble part in every struggle in behalf of liberty. Their seamen, in times of war, have written down deeds of daring which have afforded inspiration to succeeding generations, and, in times of peace, they have extended commerce to every clime.

CHAPTER I.

INDIANS AND PREHISTORIC NOTES, LEGENDARY AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL.

In the early history of New Jersey, the Indian plays no such important part as in the story of most of the other colonies. With the exception of the trouble raised by the maladministration of Governor Kieft, and in which what is now Hudson County was practically laid waste and made the scene of many atrocities on both sides—notably the massacre of Pavonia in 1643—the annals of New Jersey contain comparatively little of that sanguinary story of bloodshed which makes so much of the early colonial history of America reflect any thing but credit on the morals and the Christian spirit of the pioneers.

Of course there were outbreaks now and again, and some terrible stories of cruelty have come down to us, but these are mainly individual and local. As a general rule, the white settlers in New Jersey treated the red men with thoughtful consideration, and, according to their lights, strove to deal fairly and honestly with them. The Indian had to go—that was a foregone conclusion, although apparently neither he nor the white intruder understood that point with any degree of clearness. But the aborigine was a hunter, and made his living upon the land which the white man also needed whereon to earn his living, and one must needs give way to the other. There was no getting away from this fact. The red man had to be edged out or squeezed out, or frozen out, or cozened out, or burned out, or sent by some rapid dispatch to his happy hunting ground, but, whatever the method, out he had to go; for the two races could not live together harmoniously and on equal terms for any great length of time.

As a hunter the Indian required a great deal of territory for his support. Some one has figured out that a pioneer farmer might make his living from a cleared patch of twenty acres, but each Indian, on an average, required six hundred acres to yield him sufficient animal food for sustenance. The Dutch really paid little attention to New Jersey during the

time they ruled in New Amsterdam, and to that in a great measure is due the absence of much that is a blot upon the history of the colony of New York. The most disagreeable episode in the entire story, as has been said, took place under Governor Kieft, and for its occurrence and revolting details he and his associates were wholly to blame.

Governor Carteret, as soon as he arrived, saw the necessity of buying up the rights the Indians claimed in the land, and the Long Island settlers who began to people East Jersey knew enough of the Indian problem to understand the necessity of dealing with them by treaty. This they scrupulously did, even, it seems to us, getting more than one deed for the property covered by another. For example, Denton and his associates by deed practically secured the whole territory between the Hudson and the Delaware rivers, and settled around what is now Elizabeth, while the Connecticut pioneers who settled in what is now Newark protected themselves with several other deeds from Indian owners and claimants, in which, in addition to a miscellaneous collection of axes, coats, kettles, pistols and wampum, we find such commodities as "thirteen cases of rum," "four barrels of beer," "two ankers (thirty-two gallons) of liquors," and the like. In New Jersey, as elsewhere, the red man fell a victim to intemperance, and, in the long run, liquor had more to do with his disappearance than even his loss of land and the poverty and hopelessness of his condition. The Quaker settlers in West Jersey, themselves opposed to drinking, did not throw much temptation of that sort in the way of their red brethren, and had no thought of such a development of their relations or of extermination, but the Indian disappeared from West Jersey as surely and as silently as he did from the eastern section.

It has been pointed out by several New Jersey historians that the credit of being the first to deal honestly with the Indians for their lands has been erroneously bestowed upon William Penn. For, before his time, the settlers on the Delaware had been as scrupulous in this respect as it was possible to be—that is to say, they met the idea of the Indians as to price as closely as possible, and when a bargain was struck they carried out its details to the letter. So it was in East Jersey, and it seems that direct land dealings with the Indians continued to a comparatively late day, for we find that a tract of land in Monmouth County was covered by a deed given to George Willocks by an Indian named Wesquehetah, June 10, 1703.

In 1832 occurred the final act of official intercourse—the extinguishment of certain rights reserved to the Indians—between the people of New Jersey and the Indians, the former named through their State legislature, and the latter through their living descendant, Bartholomew S. Calvin,

who said, "Not a drop of blood you have spilled in battle; not an acre of our land have you taken but by our consent." And it was upon this occasion that the Hon. Samuel L. Southard said, "It is a proud fact in the history of New Jersey that every foot of her soil has been obtained from the Indians by fair and voluntary purchase and transfer, a fact that no other State in the Union, not even the land which bears the name of Penn, can boast of." Calvin, who is quoted above, was an Indian whose native name was Shawuskukung, meaning "Wilted Grass." He had been a Revolutionary war soldier. He was educated by the Society, became a teacher, and taught in white schools as well as among his own people.

We are not aware that any satisfactory effort has ever been made to determine the number of Indians who had their habitat in New Jersey, but the probability is that, at the best, the territory was never thickly populated even in an aboriginal sense. Dr. Beesley has estimated the entire number in West Jersey, when the European settlement began, at eight hundred, and figures out that by 1708 they had been reduced to two hundred. Probably the figures for East Jersey would be about the same.

The early records speak of the Indians near the white settlements as never very numerous. There are traditions of Indian towns, but the traditions have never been verified and are probably exaggerated stories of general encampments during the height of the hunting season. One of these traditions may here be given.

Soon after Elizabeth was settled a party of Dutchmen were on an expedition, seemingly for the purpose of exploration, in company with some of the pioneers who were Long Island colonists. They made their way along a river for quite some distance, and then decided to go no further. One of the party, prompted by curiosity, or love of adventure, or fascinated by the beauty of the scene—probably by all these considerations—passed on alone, and after a time came most unexpectedly upon a town of wigwams built closely together and evidently having a large population. He was detected as soon as he discovered the place, and was at once surrounded by a wild and angry mob anxious to punish him on general principles. With entire equanimity the adventurous visitor drew a paper out of his pocket, which he announced was a message from the Governor on Manhattan Island to the Indians before him, and proceeded to read it. He manufactured his story as he went on, and his sheet of paper promised to the Indians all sorts of gifts and concessions, and all this so pleased the red men that they permitted the discoverer to depart unharmed. As soon as he reached Manhattan Island he laid what he saw before the government, and offered to lead a party to the spot. As Indians

in such numbers as were represented were always sooner or later dangerous, the authorities determined to disperse them, and accordingly dispatched a force under the direction of the informant upon that mission. They timed their progress so as to get to the vicinity of the settlement after nightfall, and, sneaking up, they set fire to the frail wigwams built of branches of trees, brushwood and other easily inflammable matter. The Indians, taken by surprise, quickly retreated out of the burning mass, but when they recovered from their astonishment they used their bows and arrows on the marauders with considerable effect, until finally put to flight by the muskets of the white invaders.

In this story there is likely to be little more than the customary grain of truth, but, like all traditions, it is useful in giving us a little light on the matter with which it deals. All the old tellers of this tradition seem to look upon the discoverer of the settlement as a hero, and express smug satisfaction at the easy way in which the surprise was effected, the town burned and the Indians sent flying. Had it been a huge rat burrow, the satisfaction could not be greater, and so from the story we get an idea of the value attached to Indian life and property in those early days. So far as we can see, and judging by our own code of ethics, the white men in this entire transaction were the aggressors, and had all concerned been wiped out in the midst of their perfidious and cruel work the most just verdict would have been—it served them right.

Generally speaking, the Indians of New Jersey belonged to the great family of the Leni Lenape, a family distinguished even in aboriginal history for their gentleness, their innate spirituality, their reverence for nature, and for their misfortune in war. In New Jersey they were split up into small tribes, and while those dwelling on the Minisink seem to have possessed considerable warlike spirit, and to have raised fortifications to defend themselves from attack, those in what may still for convenience sake be called East Jersey were apparently without any such spirit, and were crushed either by forays from the wilder tribes around Kingston, or from the warlike chiefs on Staten Island.

Among the tribes may be mentioned the Weckquaesgeeks, Raritans, Tankitekes, Assumpinks, Rankokas (or rather Chichequas), Mingos, Andastaka, Neshaminc, Shackamaxon, Mantas (Delaware group), Narraticongs (on the north side of the Raritan), Capitanasses, Gacheos, Munseys, Pomptons, Maquas, Keehemeches (Cape May), Senecas and Navisinks.

Regarding the first peopling of the State by the Lenapes, Heckewelder wrote:

"The hunters of the Lenape covered the Allegheny mountains and discovered the great rivers Susquehanna and Delaware. Exploring the Sheyichin country (New Jersey) they reached the Hudson, to which they subsequently gave the name of Mahicamittuck river. Upon their return to their nation, they described the country they had visited as abounding in game, fruits, fish and fowl, and destitute of inhabitants. Concluding this to be the home destined for them by the Great Spirit, the tribe established themselves upon the four great rivers—the Hudson, Delaware, Susquehanna and Potomac, making the Delaware, to which they gave the name of the Lenape Wihittuck (the river or stream of the Lenape), the center of their possessions.

"They say, however, that all of their nation who crossed the Mississippi did not reach this country; and that a part remained west of the Nameasi Sipi. They were finally divided into three great bodies; the larger, one-half of the whole, settled on the Atlantic; the other half was separated into two parts; the stronger continued beyond the Mississippi, the other remained on its eastern bank.

"Those on the Atlantic were subdivided into three tribes—the Turtle, or Unamis, the Turkey, or Unadachtgo, and the Woli, or Minsi. The two former inhabited the coast from the Hudson to the Potomac, settling in small bodies, in towns and villages upon the larger streams, under chiefs subordinate to the great council of the nation. The Minsi, called by the English, Muneys, the most warlike of the three tribes, dwelt in the interior, forming a barrier between the nation and the Mengwe. They extended themselves from the Minisink, on the Delaware, where they held their council seat, to the Hudson on the east, to the Susquehanna on the southwest, to the head waters of the Delaware and Susquehanna rivers on the north, and on the south to that range of hills now known in New Jersey by the name of the Musconetcong, and by that of Lehigh and Coghnewago in Pennsylvania.

"Many subordinate tribes proceeded from these, who received names either from their places of residence, or from some accidental circumstance, at the time of its occurrence remarkable, but now forgotten.

"The Mengwe hovered for some time on the borders of the lakes, with their canoes, in readiness to fly should the Aligewi return. Having grown bolder, and their numbers increasing, they stretched themselves along the St. Lawrence, and became, on the north, near neighbors to the Lenape tribes.

"The Mengwe and the Lenape, in the progress of time, became enemies. The latter represent the former as treacherous and cruel, pursuing, pertinaciously, an insidious and destructive policy towards their more generous neighbors. Dreading the power of the Lenape, the Mengwe resolved, by involving them in war with their distant tribes, to reduce their strength. They committed murder upon the members of one tribe, and induced the injured party to believe they were perpetrated by another. They stole into the country of the Delawares, surprised them in their hunting parties, slaughtered the hunters, and escaped with the plunder.

"Each nation or tribe had a peculiar mark upon its war clubs, which, placed beside a murdered person, denoted the aggressor. The Mengwe

perpetrated a murder in the Cherokee country and left with the dead body a war club bearing the insignia of the Lenape. The Cherokees, in revenge, fell suddenly upon the latter and commenced a long and bloody war. The treachery of the Mengwe was at length discovered, and the Delawares turned upon them with the determination utterly to extirpate them. They were the more strongly induced to this resolution as the cannibal propensities of the Mengwe had reduced them, in the estimation of the Delawares, below the rank of human beings.

"Hitherto, each tribe of the Mengwe had acted under the direction of its particular chief; and, although the nation could not control the conduct of its members, it was made responsible for its outrages. Pressed by the Lenape, they resolved to form a confederation which might enable them better to concentrate their force in war, and to regulate their affairs in peace. *Thannawage*, an aged Mohawk, was the projector of this alliance. Under his auspices, five nations, the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagoes, Cayugas and Senecas formed a species of republic, governed by the united counsels of their aged and experienced chiefs. To these a sixth nation, the Tuscaroras, was added in 1712. This last originally dwelt in the western parts of North Carolina, but, forming a deep and general conspiracy to exterminate the whites, were driven from their country, and adopted by the Iroquois confederacy. The beneficial effects of this system early displayed themselves. The Lenape were checked, and the Mengwe, whose warlike disposition soon familiarized them with firearms procured from the Dutch, were enabled, at the same time, to contend with them, to resist the French, who now attempted the settlement of Canada, and to extend their conquests over a large portion of the country between the Atlantic and the Mississippi.

"But, being pressed hard by their new, they became desirous of reconciliation with their old, enemies; and, for this purpose, if the tradition of the Delawares be credited, they effected one of the most extraordinary strokes of policy which history has recorded.

"The mediators between the Indian nations at war are the women. The men, however weary of the contest, hold it cowardly and disgraceful to seek reconciliation. They deem it inconsistent in a warrior to speak of peace with bloody weapons in his hands. He must maintain a determined courage, and appear, at all times, as ready and willing to fight as at the commencement of the hostilities. With such dispositions, Indian wars would be interminable if the women did not interfere and persuade the combatants to bury the hatchet and make peace with each other.

"Their prayers seldom failed of the desired effect. The function of the peace-maker was honourable and dignified, and its assumption by a courageous and powerful nation could not be inglorious. This station the Mengwe urged upon the Lenape. 'They had reflected,' they said, 'upon the state of the Indian race, and were convinced that no means remained to preserve it unless some magnanimous nation would assume the character of the woman. It could not be given to a weak and contemptible tribe; such would not be listened to; but the Lenape and their allies would at once possess influence and command respect.'

"The facts upon which these arguments were founded were known to the Delawares, and, in a moment of blind confidence in the sincerity of the Iroquois, they acceded to the proposition and assumed the petticoat. The ceremony of the metamorphosis was performed with great rejoicings at Albany, in 1617, in the presence of the Dutch, whom the Lenape charged with having conspired with the Mengwe for their destruction.

"Having thus disarmed the Delawares, the Iroquois assumed over them the rights of protection and command. But, still dreading their strength, they artfully involved them again in war with the Cherokees, promised to fight their battles, led them into an ambush of their foes, and then deserted them. The Delawares at length comprehended the treachery of their archenemy, and resolved to resume their arms, and, being still superior in numbers, to crush them. But it was too late. The Europeans were now making their way into the country in every direction, and gave ample employment to the astonished Lenape.

"The Mengwe deny these machinations. They aver that they conquered the Delawares by force of arms, and made them a subject people. And, though it be said, they are unable to detail the circumstances of this conquest, it is more rational to suppose it true than that a brave, numerous, and warlike nation should have voluntarily suffered themselves to be disarmed and enslaved by a shallow artifice; or that, discovering the fraud practiced upon them, they should unresistingly have submitted to its consequences. This conquest was not an empty acquisition to the Mengwe. They claimed domination over all the lands occupied by the Delawares, and in many instances their claims were distinctly acknowledged. Parties of the Five Nations occasionally occupied the Lenape country, and wandered over it at all times at their pleasure.

"Whatever credit may be due to the traditions of the Lenape, relative to their migration from the west, there is strong evidence in support of their pretensions to be considered the source whence a great portion of the Indians of North America were derived. They are acknowledged as the "grandfathers," or the parent stock, of the tribes that inhabited the extensive regions of Canada, from the coast of Labrador to the mouth of the Albany river, which empties into the southernmost part of Hudson's Bay, and from thence to the Lake of the Woods, the northernmost boundary of the United States; and also by those who dwelt in that immense country stretching from Nova Scotia to the Roanoke, on the sea-coast, and bounded by the Mississippi on the west. All these nations spoke dialects of the Lenape language, affording the strongest presumption of their derivation from that stock. The tribes of the Mengwe, interspersed throughout this vast region, are, of course, excepted. They were however, comparatively few in number."

However, more recent writers, who have also been more careful investigators, have shed more abundant light upon the Indian occupation of New Jersey. This narrative, however, concerns only the Atlantic coast region of the State, and to it we turn our attention.

Dismissing at the outset the speculations which have been indulged in as to the primary Indian origin in some one of the ten lost tribes of Israel, the Lenape tradition that they came from the Hudson Bay region may be accepted with reasonable confidence. It may be assumed that the time of their coming was long before the Christian era, and evidence in support of this is found in the kitchen middens or kitchen leavings, traces of which are found in the shell-heaps of New Jersey. These shell-heaps were the production not only of the Indians living along the coast from Raritan Bay southward to Cape May, but of tribes living along the shores of the Lenape-Whittuck, who made periodical journeys to the seashore for the triple purpose of fishing, fowling and bathing. One of the largest of these shell-heaps was found on the marsh skirting what is known as Great Bay, about a mile from the mainland. It has been conjectured that this mound marks the site of an ancient settlement.

Here was doubtless the seat of one of the great aboriginal mints, or wampum factories, if such terms may be used in such a connection. Wampum had been the currency of the red man from time immemorial. Wampum was of two kinds—white and black. The white money was made of the stock of the periwinkle or suckahock, and the black money was made from the purple inside of the shell of the quahaug or clam, a shellfish that buried itself in the sand and was generally found in deep water. The black money was equal in value to twice that of the wampum or white money. The crude material was transformed into cylinders, highly polished, about an eighth of an inch in diameter, and a quarter of an inch long, and strung upon hempen or skin cords. The unit of value was a "fathom," a string measuring from the end of the little finger to the elbow, and equivalent to five shillings in English colonial money and four guilders in Dutch. It used to be averred among the Dutch colonists that the Indians always sent an agent with a very long forearm or a very short forearm according to the circumstances in which the measuring was to be done! Wampum was received in payment of taxes, judgments and all court fees, and, as Weeden says, was the magnet which drew beaver out of interior forests. It passed current in contribution boxes on Sunday, and served all purposes for which tobacco was legal tender in Virginia.

It is curious that at an early day there was talk of depreciated currency in wampum transactions. The Indians presented oyster shells which had no intrinsic value among themselves, but were accepted implicitly by the unsophisticated white colonists but a later generation of the latter got even with the red man by handing him wampum made in French factories.

Wampum was also used for purposes of personal adornment, and belts, necklaces and other ornaments made of this material were regarded as indisputable evidence of personal wealth. A wampum belt was among the chiefs an emblem. "A belt," says Thompson, "was sent with all public messages and preserved as a record between nations. If a message was sent without the belt it was considered an empty word unworthy of remembrance. If the belt was returned, it was a rejection of the offer or proffer accompanying it. If accepted, it was a confirmation, and strengthened friendships or effaced injuries. The belt with appropriate emblems worked in it was also the record of domestic transactions. The confederation of the Five Nations was thus recorded. The cockle-shell had indeed more virtue among Indians than pearls, gold and silver had among Europeans. Seawant was the seal of a contract—the oath of fidelity. It satisfied murders and all other injuries, purchased peace and entered into the religious as well as civil ceremonies of the natives. A string of seawant was delivered by the orator in public council at the close of every distinct proposition to others as a ratification of the truth and sincerity of what he said; and the white and black strings of seawant were tied by the pagan priest around the neck of the white dog, suspended to a pole and offered as a sacrifice to *Thalonghyawagon*, the Upholder of the Skies, the God of the Five Nations."

In all the great seals of the province of New York from 1601 to the Revolution a roll of wampum is held in the hands of one of the two Indians represented as offering tribute to the British sovereigns. As many as ten thousand shells were often woven into a single belt four inches wide.

Other points afford numerous evidences of a very early Indian occupation. In the vicinity of Hill's Creek, near Chelsea, there were until very recently large shell-mounds, and Indian implements of a very archaic character were found in them. Another great shell-mound occupied a part of the ground upon which now stands Atlantic City, and from it were taken thousands of bushels of shells for road making. At Pleasantville, also in Atlantic county, in 1890, twenty-one Indian skeletons were exhumed. The bones were found about three feet under ground, and with them several flints, many arrows, a stone knife, two flakes, and a stone mill used for cracking corn. The latter had been worn nearly in two by use. At Chestnut Neck, a short time previously, were found two Indian skeletons beneath the branches of a large cedar, the head of one encased in a turtle-shell, indicating that it was that of an Indian who had belonged to the Unamis, or Turtle Indians, a tribe of the Lenapes, whose emblem was a turtle. Many other mementoes of the aborigines have

been found at different times in the vicinity of Chestnut Neck and places farther inland.

Such instances could be multiplied, but sufficient has been shown to identify the Jersey coast territory as affording evidences of Indian occupation, and, in all, the conditions support the assumption of their great antiquity.

Robert Evelyn, who passed four years in the Jersey region, wrote a letter which was printed in 1748 by Beauchamp Plantagenet in a pamphlet entitled "A Description of the Province of New Albion" (the territory lying between the Hudson and Delaware rivers), and in this he enumerates numerous tribes, but his description of their armies of "bow-men" and of their "kings" is more picturesque than reliable, and real information must be looked for elsewhere.

Coming down to the days really known of by white men, we find a comparatively few Indians of the Raritan tribe (of the Unamis and Unalachtgo branches of the Lenape family) in Middlesex and Monmouth counties. Those inhabiting regions of the Shrewsbury and Navesink rivers were known as Navesinks. A tribe of the Unamis lived at what is now Leeds Point, another at Wills and Osborne Islands, to the north, and still another at Manahawkin. The first named were a branch of the warlike tribe of Atsionks, or Axions, who had their principal settlement near where the present village of Atsion now stands. They claimed the exclusive right to fish in and hunt along all the tributaries of the Mullica. The Tuckahoe Indians, a more peaceful tribe, dwelt along the river of that name, on the southern boundary of Atlantic county.

So far as we can determine, the general stories as to the manners, habits, customs and belief of the Indians in New Jersey have been based upon facts gathered regarding the aborigine in New Netherland generally; at least, we have failed to notice anything recorded which is not fully detailed in the Dutch letters and other documents presented us. They were rather given to hunting than to fighting, and, when we first meet them, their main weapon, whether in the chase or in defence, was a flint-headed arrow. Their food, outside of the game which they sought with such splendid zeal, was maize (or Indian corn) and beans, which were grown on patches here and there, beside their dwelling, by the women. The latter were treated much as the Indian women were all over. They carried the burdens in moving from place to place, cooked the food, watched the fields, and waited on their lord and master and husband with solicitude. Divorce seems to have been easy and frequent.

As to their religious belief, quite a variety of opinion exists. Many archaeologists assert that while they believed in a future life, and even

in disembodied spirits, they had no conception of a Divine Father or a future life at all different in its character or incidents from that which they were passing through. They believed in good spirits and evil ones, but they had no conception of a hell until they listened to the preaching of the Quakers. "We have an opinion," said one, "that those who have behaved well are taken under the care of *Esaugetuh Emissce*, and are assisted, and that those who have behaved ill are left to shift for themselves, and that there is no other punishment." At times, in the course of our reading, we seem almost impelled to believe that the *Lenapes* did believe in one who was "the soul of the world," "the Mother and Father of Life," "the Creator of all that is," but again we are almost driven to the belief that these expressions did not betoken their idea of an ever-living and ruling God and Father. Still they show that the Indians acknowledged a higher power than man, and that that power fashioned the earth and peopled it. Then, too, some authorities have mentioned as a curious circumstance that the figure of the cross was deemed sacred, and entered largely into some of their ceremonies. They had great feasts and grand council meetings, and, so far as New Jersey was concerned, lived lives of pleasant intercourse, broken now and again, it is true, by trilling feuds, but without leaving any of the terrible traditions of bloody wars and treacherous forays which mark the traditions which elsewhere serve as Indian history prior to the advent of the white man.

But it is evident that when the Quakers and Long Islanders, Dutch and English, began to descend on New Jersey, the aborigines there had already begun to dwindle in numbers and in importance. They gave little trouble to the new comers, seemed rather to welcome them, and came to terms with them promptly and easily. They were at first innocent of the wiles of the Europeans, but soon began to beware of them, but the strong religious influence which characterized the pale-faces—outside of the Dutch—prevented any violent attempts to take any advantage of the unsophisticated Indians. After all, what had they to fear? They were but a handful, and their country was boundless, giving plenty of room for all. So, with a few exceptions, they may be said to have maintained harmonious relations with the whites until 1755. To that time the story had been one of continued retrogression in wealth, in numbers and in morals. European diseases such as small-pox had made sad inroads among them, and rum was already master of the situation. Whenever they could procure liquor they went on a debauch, men and women, until the supply was exhausted. But, even in their decline, these people seemed to retain much of their original gentleness and desire to remain in friendly

relations with their white brethren who had so soon become their superiors and their masters.

The great exception to all this was in 1754, and was mainly brought about by the disturbing influence which the defeat of General Braddock, at Fort Duquesne, had upon the entire body of Indians in the Eastern States. The movement among the Indians was first felt in Pennsylvania, where wild bands overran the northern and eastern counties, murdering and destroying as they went. People in Bucks and Northampton counties crowded over into New Jersey to escape, and a few managed to get their cattle across the Delaware. New Jersey soon became alive to its own danger. Troops were raised all over the State, forts and block-houses were erected at what might be called the portage of the Delaware, and armed scouts patrolled the river on either side to give timely warning of any advance of the aroused redskins. To this watchfulness and energy is probably due in a measure the fact that beyond a few cases of barbarity and murder in the northern part of the State, in Sussex county, the Indian excesses in New Jersey during this period of excitement amounted to very little.

But, in a much greater measure, is the practical immunity from disturbance to be ascribed to the wise measures taken within the colony to show the Indians, in the first place, the strength of the armed force ready to meet them should they join with their wild brethren from across the Delaware, and, in the second place, to grapple thoroughly with the entire Indian question, and to listen to whatever wrongs the red man might have to tell about, and attempt to redress those wrongs and to pacify him. A convention was held at Crosswicks, Burlington county, in 1756, at which a large number of Indian representatives were present, and the entire causes of trouble were pretty thoroughly discussed. The Indians complained that they had been wronged by individuals when intoxicated, that is to say they were inveigled into transactions, especially in the sale of land, when intoxicated, on terms to which they would never have agreed when sober; that some of the land which they had not sold had been settled upon without their consent in any form; and that their hunting privilege had been curtailed by private rather than public encroachment. In all this there was felt to be a good deal of truth. In fact the Indian had been left pretty much to slide down on the way to his inevitable end without let or hindrances.

In 1757, however, as a result of this conference, the Assembly passed a law regulating the sale of liquor to the Indians, and set aside £1,600 to be used in settlement of disputed land, and in other ways strove to smooth the pathway of the red man. Another conference at Crosswicks

served to bring the questions at issue still nearer a satisfactory solution. Fortunately, the number of Indians was so small, and the stretches of unoccupied territory so large, that there was plenty of room for the wants of both people. Then Francis Bernard, on assuming the governorship of New Jersey, in 1758, alarmed by the inroads and massacres on the Walpack, in Sussex county, held a personal conference with several of the chiefs at Burlington. As a result of this and several later confabs and pow-wows, the Indians agreed, October 18, 1758, in consideration of £1,000, to abandon their claim to any land in New Jersey not actually held by them.

This practically settled the Indian question, but it did not remove the Indians. They had to live, and three thousand acres of land in Burlington county were purchased and set aside for their use, but there were only two residents on the tract in 1795, and they removed in 1802 to Oneida Lake. There were other scattered settlements, but they were of trifling extent numerically. In 1832 the legislature settled the last Indian claim by a payment of two thousand dollars. It was hardly a claim that could have stood the test of a white man's law court, but the Indians believed it to be a valid one, and it was the last, apparently, that even Indian ingenuity could devise. So the question was settled on the basis above named, and the Indian, except as an individual, troubled the body corporate no more.

But a degree of sympathy goes out to the Indian in his extinguishment as an individual. One of the last members of the Navesink tribe, perhaps the very last, who lived in Monmouth county, was "Indian Peter," who had become so susceptible to civilization that he built a cabin near Inlaystown. His squaw died soon afterward, and he lived alone thereafter until his death. He made his living by selling fish to the whites, a large share of his earnings being spent for "fire-water." Notwithstanding his intemperate habits, he was well disposed and peaceable. His life had almost a counterpart in that of Elisha Ashatama, who, when temporarily tired of wandering, made Tuckerton his resort. He served on the unfortunate frigate "Cesapeake" during the war of 1812. About 1833 he was drowned in the Mullica river, while intoxicated, and his remains lie in the old Methodist church yard at Tuckerton.

As the last pages of this work were passing into the hands of the printer (August, 1902) the last of the Delaware tribe in New Jersey died in a little hut in a secluded spot near the shores of the Raritan river, about ten miles from Flemington, in Hunterdon county, and he was buried according to his wish under the shadow of an ancient elm where once his forefathers sat in solemn council.

He was Kiankia, descendant of a long line of chiefs. Kiankia claimed

to be of pure Lenape blood. He said of his branch that it traveled toward what was then known as "the devouring great water"—now called the Delaware river. There he was born, his mother, who was a daughter of the chief, passing away with a gentle sigh—"Kiankia"—and the word was given him as his name. He went among the white men and learned to read and write their language. Yet, as he said shortly before his death, although he was civilized, deep in his heart was a great love for the ways of his forefathers. He had a sister, Anne, but they drifted apart, and she died in 1804, at Mount Holly, New Jersey, believing that her brother had preceded her to the happy hunting grounds, and that she was the last of the Delawares.

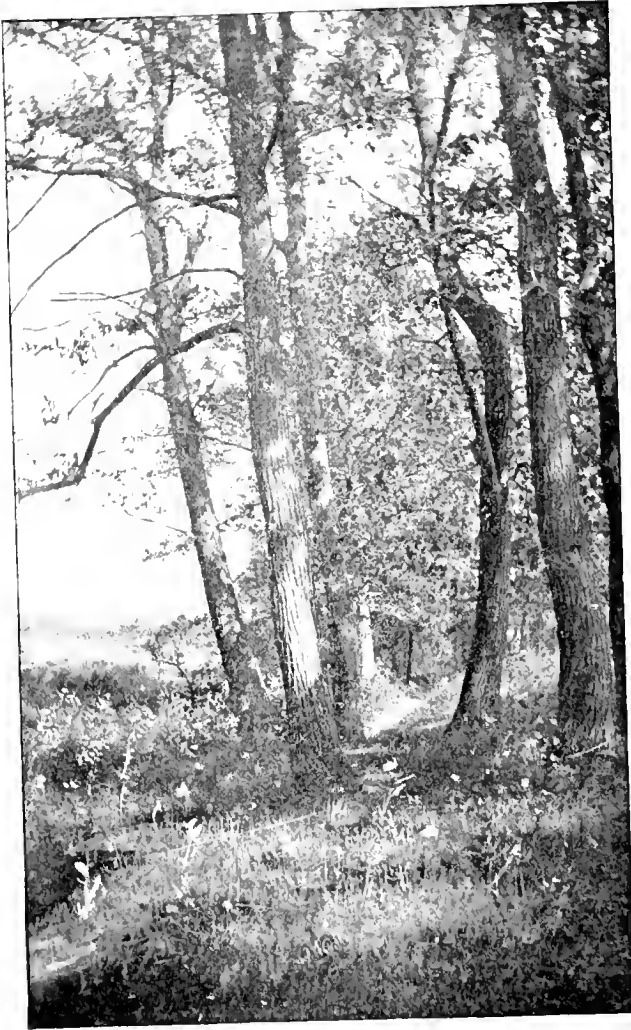
CHAPTER II.

GEOLOGY, BOTANY AND PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS.

New Jersey presents many curious features which, in the language of the American wit and humorist, "makes her stand out in bold relief among her sister States." Physical conditions have, in fact, isolated her, and "out of the United States and into New Jersey" has passed into a common saying. It is well cut off from the adjoining territory by water, for, out of its circuit of four hundred and fifty miles, some four hundred miles are fronting on the ocean or on rivers. About three hundred miles of this extent of water front is adapted to commercial purposes, so that the State is eminently adapted for carrying on trade with the outside world. The length of the State, from Carpenter's Point, in Sussex county, to Cape May is one hundred and sixty-seven miles, and its average width is fifty miles, these figures enclosing five hundred and seventy-six square miles, or 4,849,000 acres. It is still described as an agricultural State, but it contains no fewer than one hundred and ninety incorporated cities, towns, villages and boroughs. They are rapidly growing in population, or the greater number of them are, but the farming interest continues to predominate, and New Jersey still preserves the significance of her State coat-of-arms, adopted in 1776, which shows three plows on a silver ground, with figures of liberty and Ceres as supporters. The crest is the head of a horse, signifying the importance of the stock raising industry. The motto, "Liberty and Prosperity," which is often seen surrounding the arms, appears to have no official authority.

While our work deals primarily with the coast, we may be permitted at times to wander into the interior. The hills of New Jersey play an important part in its domestic economy as do its water and river fronts. The Navesink Highlands, the best known of all the New Jersey eminences, have of late years really added as much to the popularity of the State as has any similar extent of water front. At their base the waves formerly rolled, and it has been figured that in a long distant era these Highlands were really islands, the summit standing in lonely grandeur amid a waste of waters. At their base and for considerable distance up their sides

we find oyster shells and marine relics. The shore of New Jersey has been slowly rising out of the sea for many years, just as the shore of Long Island has been undergoing a process of depression. Indeed, there



A WOODLAND SCENE.

does not seem to be a more wonderful story in nature than that which could be furnished by the valley of the Hudson, that of the Hackensack, and the Bay of New York, at least as far as Sandy Hook. And an equally instructive story might be woven out of the change of the New Jersey coast—its pockets, its washouts, its sand banks, its bays, its harbors, and its creeks.

But we must lie back to the hills. If we draw a line from Jersey City to Trenton, and from there to the New York State line, we are in a region in which the old red sandstone predominates, broken here and there by trap hills and formations and other evidences of early physical changes and excitement. Bones of the mastodon and other prehistoric animals have been found in some of the swamps bordering on the old red sandstone, and in the latter itself a considerable quantity of fossil remains have been discovered. The trap, which seems to have forced its way in a soft aqueous condition through the sandstone, at places stands up in bold relief in hills.

The most interesting development of the trap excitement is the range facing the Hudson, now known as the Palisades. Some of our geologists think that before the irruption of nature which left the face of things as it is to-day, the Hudson and the Hackensack rivers formed one mighty stream, and that one violent outburst of nature's fury threw up that long line of wall and divided it into two. If we are to credit all the theories which have been woven on this point, the demonstration which sent the Palisades into their present position must have been one of the most terrible convulsions of which ever geological speculation has told the story. It is averred that these Palisades are part of the outbreak which gave to the world the Giant's Causeway in Ireland, and a similar range of columns in the Himalayas.

It might be said that the entire territory of New Jersey, north of the line we have indicated between Jersey City and Trenton, was one continuous succession of hills developing (the nearer we get to the boundary line) into a series of ranges of hills, the real Highlands of the New World, and which for beauty of scenery and charming admixture of mountain, loch and glen, sunny hillside and smiling valley, flowing river and rock bound tarn, have become known as the New Jersey Trossachs. The Oranges are every year becoming more and more covered with fashionable residences. Much quarrying has been done wherever the sandstone has appeared, and even huge abrasions have been made in the face of the Palisades for the sake of the stone there found. But it would seem that the public spirit of both the States of New York and New Jersey have united to bring this last named exhibition of vandalism to a close.

In the northern part of the State iron has been worked with marked success, copper has been found in workable quantities from an early period, and graphite (or black lead) is common. It has been estimated that one hundred and sixty varieties of minerals have been found in the State, but the one which has aided most in the development of the State is iron.

Magnetic iron ores are found mainly in Sussex, Warren, Morris and Passaic counties. Zinc ore was formerly found plentifully in Sussex county, but of late years the product of that commodity has greatly decreased. The geologic products of highest value to the industrial development of the State are the splendid fields of pure marl, clay marl and shell marl, all of which, used along with other fertilizers, have aided in giving to New Jersey its agricultural importance. "Porcelain and potter's clay," says a writer who appears to have made a thorough canvass of the industries of New Jersey, "of excellent quality, found in the State, are used in manufacturing to the amount of three hundred thousand tons annually. Kaolin also is found in large deposits, though much of it is not of superior quality. Morris county furnishes infusorial earths used in the manufacture of dynamite and giant powders and for polishing purposes, and sand valuable for moulding purposes and to enter into the composition of fire brick for reverberatory furnaces. Burlington county also supplies these sands. A pure white sand of the finest quality for glass making is found in southern New Jersey, and is used in the glass works of Glassboro and Millville. The variety of building stones furnished by the quarries of New Jersey is great, and includes fine granite, or gneiss granite, sandstones of a variety of tone and quality, limestones, bluestones, traprock, slate and freestones, all together providing the great cities around New York with a large part of all their building and paving stone. Trinity church in New York is one example of brown sandstone from a New Jersey quarry.

New Jersey is well supplied with internal waterways. Although few of these are navigable for any great distance for purposes of commerce, yet the power furnished by them has developed many of the most prosperous of the cities in the State, and all have aided in the irrigation of the farm lands. At times the people living along these rivers feel that they have too much of them, as when, for instance, they are swollen by successive spring floods which overflow their banks and sweep to destruction everything that opposes them. This was sadly evident in the spring of 1902, when the Passaic river became a torrent, flooded a wide section of country, swept away houses and works and bridges and embankments, and caused a terrible financial loss. Places like Dundee and Garfield were for days practically uninhabitable, and large sections of the cities of Passaic and Paterson were under water. In the last named city such a visitation was cruelly felt, coming as it did just as the citizens were beginning to gird up their loins and clear away the debris of the fire which, but a few weeks before, had reduced much of the business portion of their city to ashes.

The Passaic and the Hackensack rivers, in spite of their almost yearly breaches of the proprieties, add much to the wealth of the State. The Raritan, which almost cuts the State in two, reaching almost to the Delaware, is also a valuable asset of the commonwealth. The Shrewsbury and the Navesink, both of which enter the sea at Raritan Bay, have within recent years become fringed with summer residences and are really as popular for that purpose as is any other section in the State. The Rahway river discharges itself into the Kill Von Kull. Newark Bay, which also empties into the sea at the Kill Von Kull, with its marshes and meadows and general appearance of usefulness, promises in a short time to become the scene of most wonderful improvements and to develop into one of the most valuable sections of the State. The other rivers of importance are the Walkill, on the north, and, to the south, Toms river, the Assumpink, the Shark, the Manasquan, Cedar creek, Forked river, the Mullica, Great Egg Harbor river, Maurice, Salem, Old Man's and Raccoon. New Jersey, truly, is well supplied with watercourses, and is one of the best naturally drained and irrigated States in the Union.

We have said enough, however, of rivers and mountains to show their value in the economy of New Jersey. Our principal concern in this volume is with the coast, and to it we must again repair.

Is the New Jersey coast line rising or falling? That seems a question as to which there are many differences of opinion. Scientists tell us that the entire Atlantic coast of this continent is gradually sinking, and that in the course of fifteen or twenty millions of years, be the figures more or less correct, we will all be drowned, and our possessions will be under the water. Here, we are told, the traveler along what is now the gay coast of New Jersey may stop his boat and gaze down upon the remains of cities lying two or three fathoms down, somewhat after a famous scene in Ireland which Thomas Moore prettily described:

"On Lough Neagh's banks as the fisherman strays
 When the clear cold eye's declining,
 He sees the remains of other days
 In the waves beneath him shining,
 Thus shall memory often in dreams sublime
 Catch a glimpse of the days that are over,
 And, sighing, look through the waves of time
 For the long faded glories they cover."

Of course, in spite of the poetical aspect of the idea which the great Irish poet presents us, the prospect is not an encouraging one, but, as there is no help for it, we must consider it as cheerfully as we can. The

scientists seem to have fully proven their contention, as far as reasoning and logic and the comparison of data could aid in the demonstration.

But we question whether a non-scientific resident of the New Jersey coast, from Raritan Bay to Cape May, will be found who would agree with them. The old titles rather seem to indicate the very reverse. As in all other sections of the Atlantic coast, each winter's storms play strange havoc with the configuration of the seaboard, and each year many a landmark is pitilessly swept away. But others are as regularly raised in their places. Then, too, it is easy, as we journey along the water front, to make out, very distinctly, wide stretches of what look like older beaches than that on which we are walking, sometimes as far away from the present high tide-mark as a mile, and by a little patient examination we can clearly trace by a succession of ridges the point at which for a time the sea had made a halt. These ridges or beaches are all clear sand, full of the remains of the sea life which was somehow stranded as the waters gradually receded, and we find the same conditions confronting us, which, in the old world, enabled the geologists to grasp the theory of the earth's subsidence in places and its elevation in others. The difference is, that in the old world they had to treat the theory with the aid of geologic time—spoke of a thousand years as we would speak of a week—while in New Jersey the oldest of the beaches does not appear to date over three hundred years, and the forces which produce them are still at work, even before our eyes. At Ocean Grove, for instance, and along that stretch of sea front say to Point Pleasant, we can trace tide-marks in places fully a mile inland, and some of the older residents aver that the change has been brought about within the past half century. The older beaches are to be found on Cape May. At Absecon Beach, houses now stand where in 1850 was the low tide-mark, and Long Beach has had its area greatly increased by the agency of nature. In fact, the conditions prevailing are so peculiar and so confusing that some writers find refuge in the theory that, as periods of depression are invariably followed by periods of elevation. New Jersey may now be just at the turning. Certainly there seems to have been, on the whole, little material change on the New Jersey coast for two hundred years, and what change there has been seems to have been in the direction of elevation. But then we must remember that in such processes a couple of centuries are but as a fraction of time.

The inlets along the coast, too, furnish a most instructive study. They present evidence of more persistent and sometimes more violent changes than the open coast itself. The shifting sands, tossed hither and thither by each storm, sometimes stop up the free passage of the water

altogether. Then an inland lake is formed, and if the obstruction is not removed by another outburst of nature's power, a new bed for the inlet may be formed, and the entire configuration of the mouth of the stream completely changed. Along these inlets are many of the finest hunter's paradises to be found in New Jersey, and the early chronicles of the art of "lunttygic ye game" each seem to have an inlet for its theme, or some one of the salt water marshes which have been formed, either temporarily or permanently, by some of the changes constantly taking place on the water front.

These salt marshes deserve a word or two here, for they form one of the most noted characteristics of the New Jersey coast. It has been estimated that altogether these marshes cover one hundred and sixty thousand acres in the State. They are invariably covered with grasses and reeds of all sorts, and are full of game. But their actual economic value to the commonwealth does not depend upon their popularity as hunting grounds. Year after year, slowly at first, but afterward with wonderful fertility, they produce a succession of crops of grass and hay, apparently with but little effort on the part of man, and gradually gather a soil of rich black earth which, as it increases in thickness around the roots of the grasses and reeds, makes them each year become higher, closer and more succulent, nutritious and valuable, even although fully retaining their salty flavor. When cut and stored, most of these grasses are invaluable for stock-feeding, the grass fed with hay to horses seeming to keep them in prime condition, and the black grass especially being deemed one of the most valuable fodder products of which the stock raiser can get a supply. The hay produced in these marshes is also splendid for pasturing cattle, although some agricultural experts claim that dairy animals yield a less liberal supply of milk when permitted to subsist mainly on such provender. The salt in the various grasses seems, in fact, to be just enough to be beneficial, and as a result a farm near the water front has its marketable value enhanced by including within its bound a corner of a salt marsh.

In the midst of many of these marshes fresh water springs often bubble up and afford drinking places for the pasturing cattle, and often send to the surface eels, perch and other fish. These spots are zealously watched by the local anglers and visiting sportsmen, who readily fill at them a generous basket. Scientists seem puzzled at the existence of these springs in such places, and many explanations have been offered, the most probable of which is that the same disturbance which created these marshes dammed up their natural course to the sea and compelled them to seek a fresh outlet.

Several times reference has been made to the New Jersey coast as

being a veritable hunters' paradise. In years gone by, long before it became a happy camping ground for the summer boarder, the skilled nimrod or fisherman from New York or Philadelphia would steal away on every chance to some well-known nook where he was certain to find plenty of excitement and reward for rod and gun. The advance of population in recent years has frightened away many of the wild fowl which used to haunt our shores, and sent our modern sportsmen away further south in search of the excitement and the health-giving exercise they prize so much. But the Jersey coast still has its charms. Its waters teem as of old with bluefish, sheephead, flounders, porgees and weakfish, and it is difficult to say how many other varieties. The shad in Egg Harbor are as toothsome as those found in the Hudson, and the inlets and creeks are full of perch, drumfish and similar dainties. For the sportsmen who prefer to use the gun there are all sorts of wild fowl, snipe, ducks, rails, plovers and swans, plentiful enough in their season to afford employment to an army of sportsmen, and the semi-annual migration from north to south, and *vice versa*, gives opportunity for a snap at many a bird of passage as it wings its way across the State to its summer or its winter home.

There are fossil evidences of a wonderfully luxuriant prehistoric forest growth. While in all Europe the number of species of native trees does not exceed a half hundred, in New Jersey more than one hundred have been identified, while plant remains point to a tropical variety and immensity of development.

But it is not necessary to hark back to such an unknowable epoch. When the white man came he found forests which in extent, and in variety and magnitude of woods were marvels in his eyes—so far did they surpass all he had known in the land whence he came. Here were vast expanses covered with stately pines, and great tracts bearing the most handsome of deciduous trees—oak, hickory, beech, chestnut, maple, willow, poplar, sycamore, tulip and others. The shipbuilding, lumbering and charcoal interests had wrought a vast denudation of the best varieties nearly a half-century ago, and fearful havoc was afterwards made by forest fires. The result is seen in the revelations made through the official reports of 1890, when the sawmills reported mercantile lumber cut from only 8,355 acres, whereas in New York the acreage was one hundred and twenty times and in Pennsylvania one hundred and seventy-five times as much, and the quantity has greatly decreased since then, with the increased demand for poles for telegraphs, telephones and trolley lines, and for timber for bridge piling and railroad ties, to say nothing of fuel wants. The most completely deforested sections are the Raritan valley, including Piscataway

township in Middlesex, and nearly all of Somerset and Hunterdon counties, Mercer county, and the belt of fertile land extending back about twelve miles from the Delaware river from Trenton down to Bridgeton. Similarly bare of forest are the valleys of Warren county and a small area about the Shrewsbury river, in Monmouth county. All of these districts have less than ten acres of forest to one hundred acres of upland.

While this is true, there is yet much available native timber in the State. The total forest area is something more than two million acres, almost equalling the area of cleared farm land. Of this, 800,000 acres is practically all deciduous timber, mainly chestnut, the several varieties of oak and maple, with many other kinds interspersed; and 1,200,000 acres is coniferous forest, mainly pitch pine on the uplands and white cedar in the swamps. This coniferous forest is the well known pine belt of Southern New Jersey. Next to it in importance is the forest of the Northeastern Highlands, 211,000 acres, covering the northern portions of Morris and Passaic counties, the southeastern border of Sussex county and a small part of Bergen county, and next in size is the forest region of Kittatinny mountain, in Sussex and Warren counties, comprising 58,000 acres.

The present timber cuttings do not amount to forty thousand acres per annum. Taking that as an estimate of the future consumption, it is estimated that the supply would become exhausted in a half-century. And this gives point to the speedy necessity, urged by some of the best informed economists, for intelligent action looking to forest preservation and reproduction.

Nor is this solely an industrial question, but one which pertains also to politics and morals. Physical geographers long ago, and with great plausibility, ascribed in large measure the decay of certain nations to the annihilation of their forests. Nor are we without warning nearer home. Even thus early after the opening of the country to settlement, in the wonderfully well watered and fertile Mississippi valley, within the memory of men now living, considerable streams have shrunk into mere brooks, and others have absolutely dried up, and accompanying these changes has been noted a certain diminution of rainfall and impoverishment of agricultural lands.

Even so near the coast as is New Jersey, conditions have so changed as to make the question of moisture one of growing importance. In this region the need for irrigation is not apparent when the average annual rainfall is considered. It varies from 41.00 inches in the north-west, to 19.79 inches on the seacoast, though the annual precipitation sinks as low as 31.05 inches in localities, which is as low as the annual rainfall on the border

of the sub-humid regions of the West, and drouths which result in a very considerable loss occur more frequently than is popularly supposed during the growing months, April to August, inclusive. In other words, the average rainfall, while sufficient to meet the needs if properly distributed, is found to be very unevenly distributed. Besides, much of the rain that falls during the summer months proves of less service than is possible from the amount received. The dashing showers so common in summer do not penetrate the soil as do the early spring and late fall rains and a large proportion runs off from the surface.

It was noted by a reporter of the State Agricultural Experiment Station that in the season of 1899 there was such lack of moisture in May and early June that the yield of hay, an important crop, was very light, the shortage being estimated at more than one-half, which at a low estimate averaged fifty dollars per farm, or a loss of more than \$1,500,000 for the State. In the dairy regions the deficiency of rainfall also materially reduced the yield of the pastures and early forage crops, thus affecting the returns from this branch of farming. The rain deficiency also resulted in very serious injury to early garden crops, particularly asparagus and early beets, strawberries and other small fruits.

These conditions have led to propositions looking toward storage reservoirs and a system of irrigation, and the mere fact suggests the wisdom of utilizing the provisions of nature through the preservation of forests by constant reproduction.

CHAPTER III.

ALONG THE STRAND.

We can not know the wealth the deep withholds;
But on its shores are cast such wondrous forms,
Their beauty dazzles as the eye beholds
The splendor of the aftermath of storms—
The spoils laid bare by the recurring tides.

A wealth of ocean life is continually coming up on the strand. From the highest and most gigantic forms, on down through the lower orders, arousing our admiration at every step, in the auroral tints upon the curved scroll of the shell; the delicate carving of the sea urchin; the prismatic lights of the medusae; still down to those lower forms that mark the confines of the two great divisions of organic life, animal and plant, apparently having so little in common with each other, though always mingling with the former—are specimens cast from sub-aqueous forests in a wonder of profusion. Twice in every twenty-four hours the tide traces long lines upon the beach in shells and seaweed. During some months of the year in the brilliant but delicate greens and scarlets, browns and purples of sea algae, these blend with the quiet lines of other varieties of seaweed and mosses into an elusive tint that evades the sense of color, and in these lines sparkling here and there with jeweled shells, we read the poems of the sea.

Here, too, the ocean has recorded its tragedies in the unmistakable characters of broken spars, twisted cordage and dismantled hulls of vessels. What the mission of these wrecks may have been or whither bound can seldom be determined. In many cases the plot has been revealed to the actors alone; the crew and passengers. So broad is the ocean highway, that even of its immense traffic no passing vessel has constituted an audience when the curtain was rung down to the roar of the tempest upon the last act, in which mute white faces were covered over, unshriven by priest or unhallowed by prayer, in a cemetery where no separate plot is retained for their burial and no gravestone marks the place of their equal

ture; and only after many years, perhaps, have these tangible records been cast up for us to decipher what best we may. These ruins are usually clothed with an infinite variety of ocean life gathered in the deep. Those that are still partly submerged retain much of these stores, and we are enabled to learn the growth and manner of attaching to deep sea moorings much better than from those specimens which have been cast up by the tide. Over battered mast and prow and useless helm trail lichens and algae, while groups of mussels and barnacles, firmly secured to the wood, or waving by long threads to the motion of the water, search for food with open mouths as nature has ordained.

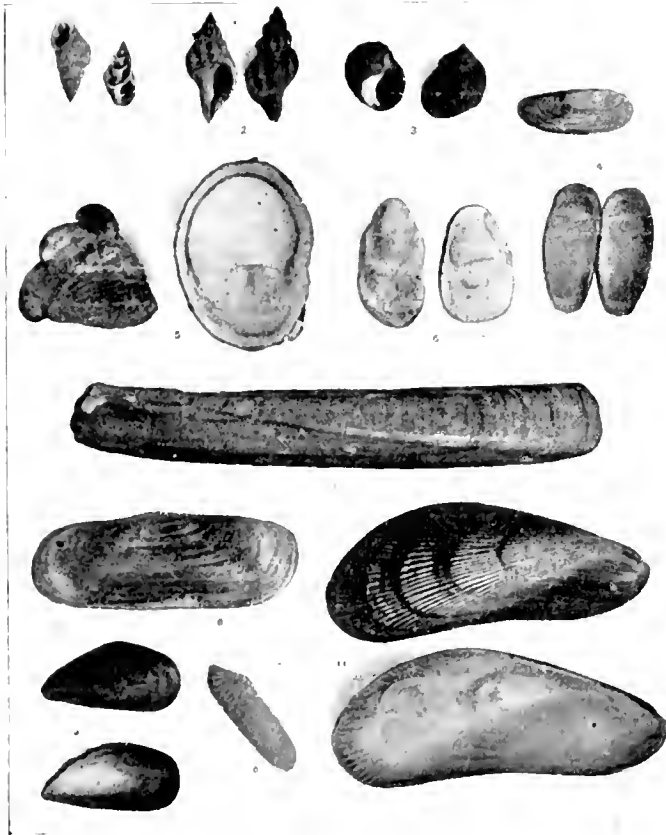
The spring months are productive of the greatest variety of specimens of marine life. It would be useless to attempt classification in a short space that would exhaust volumes, and only those that arrest the attention of the casual observer may be mentioned.

Of crustaceans, the crab family is the most numerous and the habits of these animals are intensely interesting and amusing. The king crab (*limulus polyphemus*) the largest existing along the Jersey coast, reaching an average diameter of ten inches and a length of nearly two feet, including the file-like horny tail, sustains the dignity of the numerous members. The high dome-like shell of a rich chestnut color covers the body and extends beyond the claws, so that the means of locomotion are not visible as the huge form moves slowly and majestically along the sand or burrows silently beneath. In sharp contrast to the king crab is the small pale gray and freckled lady crab (*platonichus ocellatus*) which scurries away from the water line, where it has been indulging its omnivorous appetite, to a deep hole in the dry sandhills with a rapidity that requires a quick eye to follow the direction it has taken. The ungainly, sprawling spider crab (*libinia emarginata*) is covered with a thorny shell, and upon these thorns or hooks it hangs fine seaweed, which it cuts from the parent stalk with its sharp claws, thus transforming itself into a waving mass of beauty to betray unsuspecting prey.

The hermit crab (*eupagurus bernhardus*) is without a home or character of its own. The anterior portion of the body somewhat resembles the crawfish; the posterior, fleshy and soft, serving as a dainty morsel for its many foes, is without any natural shell covering, and any kind of a deserted univalve shell, snail, winkle or conch, is appropriated and becomes the protection and home of this nomad.

The defiant fiddler crab (*gelasimus minax*) is a native of New England shores, but has become happily acclimated and flourishes as well as in its original home. It takes its name from the huge lone claw which the male crab carries aloft in a manner that is in flat contradiction to all known

laws of gravitation. The claw, more than an inch in length, is as great as the diameter of the crab. Its habitat is the mud-flats and shores of the inlets and bays. Fierce in conquest, jealous in domestic life and a pugilist at all times, the stamping ground of the fiddler crab is constantly strewn with remnants of its foes.



SEA SHELLS.

1. *Hyamassa obsoleta* and *Nassa trivittata*. Drills.
2. *Urosalpinx cinerea*. Drills.
3. *Littorina littorea*.
4. *Siliqua costata*.
5. *Crepidula convexa* or *fornicata*. Boat-shell.
6. *Crepidula unguiformis*. Boat-shell.
7. *Solen ensis*. Sailors razor.
8. *Siliquaria gibba*.
9. *Mytilus edulis*.
10. *Petricola pholadiformis*. burrowing shellfish.
11. *Modiola plicatula*.

The blue or edible crab (*Callinectes hastatus*) is found in very large numbers in the bays and inlets. It is eagerly sought for its food qualities, and at the time it sheds its shell, when it is known as the soft shell crab, it is most highly prized.

The tiny pea crab, appropriately named as to size (*pinnotheres ostreum*) inhabits the oyster, which it does not seem in any way to annoy. It constitutes a delicacy that is a favorite but costly article of commerce on account of its size.

The tiny anomura (*trippa talpidea*), a white crustacean in the form of a beetle, from a half to three-quarters of an inch in length, is carried up by the waves in myriads and thrown on the beach at certain seasons of the year. Scarcely do they alight on the sand before the burrowing becomes fast and furious, and they sink out of sight in an instant. The parent anomura is sometimes covered with progeny, clinging to the back, abdomen and sides, and in the mad scramble to reach cover some of them are thrown off, but no sooner do they touch the sand than they begin the same energetic operation and are lost to sight as quickly.

More than seventy-five varieties of shell-fish inhabit the Jersey waters. Some of these are carried by the Gulf Stream from the tropics and survive the colder waters of the temperate regions for a long time, but do not propagate, and their numbers are reinforced only in the above manner. Of the univalve shells of this character the cowry (*cyprodea*) which is the ornament, jewel and currency of savage tribes, and the keyhole limpet or fissurilla (*listeri*) are among the number.

The small destructive "drill," a native, of two varieties, (*ulyanassa obsoleta* and *nassa trivittata*) is very abundant. They are spiral or conch-shaped, dark brown and green in color, and about three-quarters of an inch in length. Very rapid in their movements, covering an incredible space in a short time, they are the inveterate foe and exterminator of other mollusks. The "drill" will secure a foothold on its intended victim, and using for a tool its long file-like tongue will saw a hole through the hardest or most delicate shell with equal ease, and suck up the unfortunate creature, which seems incapable of offering but little defense against a foe, that strews the beach with victims. They are also scavengers, and will not refuse dead crabs and mollusks.

Another little conch-shaped shell-fish is the urosalpinx cinera, found in the quiet waters of the bays and inlets, clinging to piling and submerged wood of any character. It is very slow in its movements, but is exceedingly pretty and graceful in shape, and the most destructive of "drills."

Two of the most delicately colored shells are the large snails (*natica heros* and *natica duplicata*). They are cast up on the strand in the infinitesimal specks of newly hatched young, up to the adult shell, the size of an orange. They move rapidly and feed upon mussels and tender shells, which they perforate. The eggs of this shell-fish are deposited in a nest known as the "Nidas," or sand saucer; this is composed of a glutinous

substance mixed with sand, in form and size not unlike a saucer, when held up to the light the eggs are revealed in tiny amber specks.

The *littorina littorea* is of foreign ancestry, but thrives well on this coast. It is a vegetarian, and is growing in favor with fishermen who cultivate it on the oyster beds to free them from certain kinds of injurious seaweed. It is an edible shell fish but is not much valued for its food qualities in this country.

Two of the largest shells, resembling each other in size and shape but different in the character of the whorls, are the winkles (*fulgar carica* and *fulgar canaliculata*). This pear-shaped univalve inhabits deep waters and was at one time very abundant, but is now growing scarce. It is much sought for to decorate flower beds and lawns, and was used by the Indians to make wampum. The inside of the shell is a beautiful deep orange shading to white. It is very destructive to the oyster, perforating and breaking the shell to feed upon the soft body within. The spawn of the winkle is formed of strings (over a foot long) of cases which contain the eggs. These cases are a little larger than a penny (slightly flattened) when fully developed, and like parchment in texture and color; there are nearly a hundred cases on a string and about forty eggs in a case. The young winkles are the size of a grain of rice when hatched, and are perfectly formed. The eggs are eagerly eaten by fish, and comparatively few arrive at maturity. There is usually found in the same masses of seaweed that contain these strings the "sailor's purse," the egg of the skate. This curiosity is horny in texture, oblong in shape, and of a deep amber color, with a long tendril on each corner. It contains a yolk and albumen like the egg of the barnyard fowl. The "boat shell" (*crepidula convexa*) so named from its form and small inferior deck, is a small bowl-shaped univalve that adheres to deserted shells and rocks. It occupies the interior of old shells, and piles up one upon the other until seven or eight form a solid group. It attaches itself to a smooth or irregular surface with equal ease, the shell conforming to the shape of the object, and fastening by a strong muscle that has the power of suction. There are several varieties, all of which feed on seaweed.

Of the bivalve class, the oyster (*ostrea virginiana*) is the best known and the most important of its numbers and commercial value. It has a rapid growth, and is found adhering to rocks or any fixed object in shallow water. On the sandy bottom the old shells of the oyster are the favorite objects of the many foes—"drifts," "winkles" and "stars," destroy it in great numbers, and some kinds of seaweed are detrimental to its growth. The oyster, as reared on the Jersey coast is a coarse sponge that has no value.

In a recent test made by the Oyster Commission, it was found

in Great Egg Harbor and other inlets, the following result was obtained: Oysters planted August 15, 1899, reached an average size of three-fourths of an inch in length by one-half inch in width by April 1, 1900. By June 8, of the same year, they were one and one-half by three-fourth inches; October 6, three by one and three-fourths; and by May 15, 1901, four inches by two inches, and in a fine marketable condition.

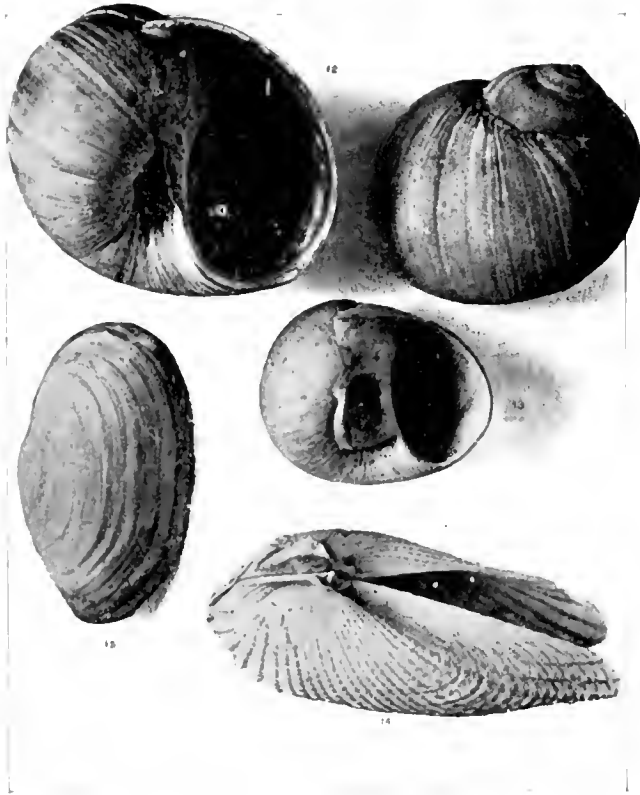
The *anomia glabra*, a mollusk closely allied to the oyster, is plentiful, but very small, and of little commercial value in consequence. Its valves are of unequal size. It adheres to fixed objects by a tiny but powerful muscle that protrudes through a perforation in the lower shell.

The clam is a native, and of many varieties. The "quahog" (*venus mercenaria*) is found buried in the sand and mud of the bays and inlets. The shell is very thick and hard. It was used by the Indians to make wampum, and for ornamental purposes. The animal itself, when dried and strung, formed a staple article of food for the Indians and early white settlers along the coast. The demand for Jersey clams, which seem to have a flavor all their own, is constantly growing, and large quantities are being shipped even to the far west. The "manose" (*mya arenaria*) is found on the mud flats; it burrows very rapidly but remains in the hole it has once made for its home in a locality overflowed by the tide. The shell is very soft, and can be easily crushed with the fingers. The "manose" is the aristocrat of the clam family on account of its delicate flavor. It is growing too scarce to be an article of commerce to any great extent.

The sand clam (*spisula solidissima*) comes up in great numbers on the ocean strand after a storm or some special condition of the sea. It is the largest of all the varieties that inhabit the Jersey waters, is very active, and can burrow out of sight rapidly. The coarse, stringy flesh is a favorite food of starfish and drills. The young clams are devoured by sea gulls, which carry them in their bills to a great height and let them fall and break upon the ground, when they descend with lightning-like rapidity and eat them. The chief commercial use of the sand clam is for bait for codfish, and they are gathered and shipped to the fisheries in large quantities.

The most curious of clams is the "sailor's razor" (*solenus ensis*) resembling the blade of a razor in shape and size. It inhabits deep, sandy bottoms, and is seldom found alive on the sea beach; the tender shell can not withstand the action of the waves. It is noted for its swift movements, jumping rather than swimming in the water. On the same grounds inhabited by the "manose" it also finds a home. Here it assumes a perpendicular position halfway out of the hole which it has burrowed, and

where a number are congregated the ground resembles a forest of small sticks. At the slightest intimation of danger it disappears, burrowing so rapidly that it is impossible to find it after it has once been alarmed. A careful approach, noiselessly and without jarring the sand by the foot-steps, may reward the hunter with a chance to grasp the shell, but even then the work of withdrawing it from the ground must be done with



SEA SHELLS.

12. *Natica heros*. Snails.
 13. *Natica duplicata*. Snails.
 14. *Pholas bakeri*.—Burrowing Shellfish.
 15. *Mya arenaria*.—Manose Clam.

great skill, for so tenaciously does it retain its hold that the empty shell is often all that remains in the hand, the powerful suction of the animal separating it from the shell and the body remaining in the ground. It is an edible shell fish, but not greatly in demand.

Closely allied to the razor and inhabiting deep waters, is the "*siliquaria gilba*." This avoids mud-flats or marshy grounds and is quite rare. Its frail shell is usually broken when carried up by the waves, and a perfect specimen is seldom seen.

The common mussel, of three varieties, is very numerous. All of these propagate in deep water, where they remain a year, when they seek shallow water and attach themselves to rocks, submerged wrecks and seaweed by a thread or byssus which the animal spins. The *mytillus edulus* is the smallest. All have an elongated shell tapering to a point at the hinge. The *modiola plicatula* is about two inches long and an inch wide. The outside is corrugated and black or very dark, and the inside of the shell is an exquisite deep blue. It is unfit for manufacturing purposes of any kind, as it is very soft. It is an edible mussel, and the animal, of a deep yellow color, presents a peculiar appearance resting on the deep blue shell. The "horse mussel" (*modiola modiolus*) remains in deep water longer than the other kinds. It is larger, but not so much sought for as a delicacy.

The *pholas bakeri* is a burrowing shell-fish, seldom found in a perfect condition on the beach except when it has been carried up in the object in which it is burrowing; a block of wood, for instance, may contain a dozen fine specimens that have burrowed circular tunnels through it, and not in any case does one shell encroach upon its neighbor or pierce the tunnel made by another. Fine lateral lines radiate from the hinge, and the beautiful white shell adds to its other charms a phosphorescent character that gives it a peculiarity seldom found in other shells. The *petricola pholadiformis* resembles the *pholas bakeri* closely in form and habits, but is much smaller and more abundant.

The scallop (*pectens irradians*) is very abundant. It is almost circular in form, about an inch and a half in diameter, and has a ribbed shell. Its chief characteristic is the rapidity with which it moves about in search of food. It is edible, but the larger varieties elsewhere along the coast are more sought for.

The green sea urchin (*strongylocentrotus drobachiensis*) when living, is covered with long movable spines protruding from the slightly flattened globe-like shell, but when dead and divested of the spines the naked shell discloses a delicate tracery exceeding the sculptor's art in execution and design. In size it seldom exceeds that of a walnut in temperate waters.

The "sand dollar," another sea urchin (*echinarachnius parma*) is very numerous. It is flat and smooth on one side and slightly convex on the other, and a perfect star is carved in the center of the convex side, the rays extending almost to the edge of the shell. It grows about an inch and a half in diameter and is perfect in its disc-like proportions.

Very common are the acorn and goose barnacles (*chalanus elanus* and *lepas fascicularis*) found adhering to submerged wood. They are the scourge of large vessels from their habit of adhering to the part of the

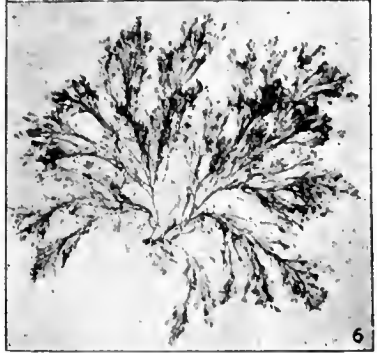
hull in the water; so deeply as to sometimes impede the progress of the vessel. The latter takes its name from the feathery-like threads that issue from the shell. As if to atone for the disrepute in which it is held, a beautiful legend is told every time it is seen or mentioned, the world over, that "when it reaches maturity a tiny white goose emerges from the shell, and spreading its wings flies away to become a messenger for the sea gnomes and fairies."

Nature is constantly at work. When one shell dies it serves as a foundation for smaller ones, and for the innumerable varieties of bryozoa or inferior coral to build upon, and on these, in turn, a thousand kinds of seaweeds fasten their roots and flourish. An old shell may constitute a valuable zoological and botanical garden of the sea, which years of study would not exhaust.

Unlike the land, the sea is largely protected from the ravages of man, and nature asserts her voluptuous sway undisturbed and unmolested, withholding her wonders from curious eyes on nether rocks and deep sea foundations, and revealing to us only what the storms may wrest from her unwilling hands, or those forms which she herself may cast up when their mission is fulfilled and their span of life completed.

Plant life upon land has its wonderful crelads, its gorgeous or sombre blossoms of stately stalk and trailing vine, found in the soil to which they are indigenous, or transplanted and cultivated by skillful hands to different climes and greater perfection; but plant life of the ocean remains, unrevealed by art and untrammelled in its growth by forced migration. No forest trims the marvelous length of the chorda filum over trellised arbors, nor confines the waving tangle of kelp and grasses to hanging baskets or beds of prescribed geometric lines. More than six thousand marine species riot over the rocks and valleys beneath the sea or float upon its surface in fitful or prolonged life. The shallow, green waters of the shores and inlets, and the blue waters of the deep sea, each yields its own flora—as far removed in structure and habits as land plants of the tropics are removed from those of the temperate regions.

The favorable location of the New Jersey coast presents many advantages for the growth of different varieties of ocean flora. Lying midway between the extremes of vegetation which affect alike both land and sea plants, together with the shoal waters extending far out and the deep sea beyond, it yields not only the growth of each condition of the waters, but the Gulf Stream, at an average distance of but sixty miles, sweeps up from the tropics, losing here and there portions of its flotsam which the tide catches and carries up on the beach, laying at our feet specimens that belong to far distant waters.



SEA ALGAE.

The best time to gather seaweed is in the early morning, before the sun has withered its dainty crispness or bleached its delicate coloring. It may be found about eight months of the year, from February to October. No place along the Jersey coast, perhaps, offers greater facilities for this fascinating pursuit than the point of land at the northern part of the island upon which Ocean City is located, bounded by the ocean, Great Egg Harbor Inlet and Great Egg Harbor Bay. The long line of seawrack left by the ebb-tide curves around the prolific harbor, bends sharply to the Inlet, and then sweeps down the shining sands of the sea-beach as far as the eye can reach. Nature in her primeval condition is here revealed as the rising sun casts long quivering beams of red light over the broken swirl of waters on Great Egg Harbor Bar, changing the banks of vapor in the eastern sky to gold and purple and crimson, which slowly vanish to give place to the clear blue ether as the sun mounts higher in the heavens. The wash of the waves upon the strand and the low cry of an occasional gull are the only sounds that break the silence.

Cryptogams, or flowerless plants, including sea algae, are without true stamens or pistils, and propagate by spores, and these are divided and subdivided into many classes. Roots of seaweed fulfill their function when they secure the plants to a foundation, and have but little influence over their growth.

All strictly marine plants are included under the head of algae, and have been divided accordingly to their color into three great sub-orders.

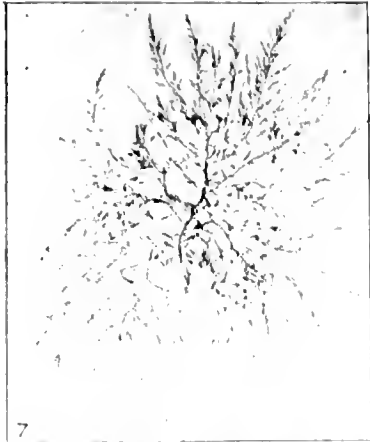
No. 1, *Melanospermeae*.—Brown colored seaweed with olive brown spores, found growing between the tide-lines. It is very abundant in the tropics, but is also found largely in the temperate regions.

No. 2, *Rhodospermeae*.—Rose colored seaweed, with red and purple spores, grows in deep waters and belongs chiefly to the temperate zones. Where rhodospermeae is abundant the waters assume a rosy, scarlet or purple hue that is gorgeous in its effect. The seaweeds of this order vie in color with the delicate pink of the wild rose, the flaming scarlet of the trumpet creeper and the purple of the passion flower. Their fairy-like structure is seen in figure 2, *dasya elegans*, dark purple in color; figures 4 and 10, *grinellia*, rosy red; figures 6 and 11, *calithonium*, pale red and pink; figure 3, *polysiphonia*, light purple shading to brown and black. So delicate are many of the plants of all classes of algae that they can not be discovered on the beach with the naked eye, but must be sought for floating in the water. The hair-like plumes and fronds must be seen to be appreciated. A spray extending over four or five square inches, when mounted on a card, the usual manner of preserving them, will, when rubbed between the thumb and finger, disappear like gold leaf, leaving scarcely a trace.

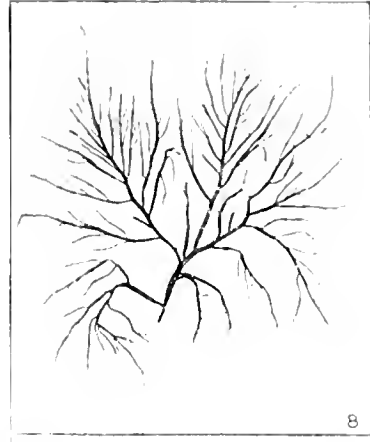
No. 3. *Chlorospermeae*.—Bright green-colored seaweed with green spores growing in shallow waters. It is very common all along the Atlantic coast, and is the lowest order in organization. The genus *ulva* includes sea lettuce among its coarser plants. This is found adhering to shells and piling in thin papery leaves that are very perishable, tearing easily and withering rapidly. It resembles in color and shape the vegetable of the kitchen, but grows in the wild form of scattered leaves and not in leads. It is not valued in a collection, as it can not be preserved by ordinary process, although the effect when lying on the beach against the gray sands and driftwood is very pleasing. Sea beard (*cladophora rupestris*) figure 3, *bryopsis plumosa*, figure 1, both belong to this genus and grow in deeper waters, but are most beautiful in their dainty pencilings; the former is so delicate that its dense tufts must be separated and mounted in single sprays before its structure is revealed.

Eel grass (*zostera marina*) having long dark green or brown ribbon-like leaves, is found clinging to and winding about nearly every object that comes up from the bays and shallow inlets, and much of it is found on the sea beach. A mass of flotsam, the size of a coconut, wound about with eel grass, will prove a veritable museum, containing among its varied collection a fragment of Irish moss (*chondrus crispus*) which has floated down from northern waters, a leaf of red dulse (*rhodymenia*), a wrapping of kile, mussel shells the size of a pin's head, the discarded claw of a crab, a sea bean (*mecyna urens*) of the West Indies, a sea onion or squill, fungi, and lastly, a solid fibrous covering holding securely in the center a mass of fish eggs. The sea horse (*hippocampus*) is often found in the collection. This tiny creature makes its home among the growing eel grasses in the water; it is a poor swimmer and to partially overcome its feeble powers of motion it secures itself to the long tufts by its prehensile tail, and, assuming an upright position, floats back and forth with the swaying plants, often coming to grief when a storm tears this seaweed loose and casts it up on the shore, together with the little animal so often given a place in fable instead of in truth, where it belongs by right of existence. Another curiosity, rare it is true, which sometimes serves as a nucleus for this flotsam, is the sea fan (*gorgonia flabellum*). It comes from Florida, and the West Indies, a species of coral that hardens into a horny-like texture as soon as it reaches the air. It is of dark brown color, and the closely interlaced branch and clearly defined root seem to dispute its place in zoology and assert its position in botany. The sea fan grows to a foot or more in diameter, and is less than a sixteenth of an inch in thickness. Its growth in the tropics far exceeds the specimens that float up to this coast.

Fucus grows between the tide lines, upon piling and submerged wood



7



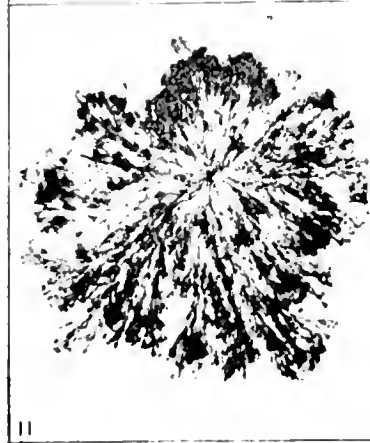
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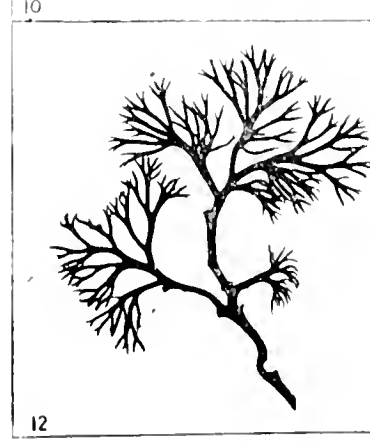
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and rocks, and there are many varieties of this tough leathery plant. The kind most found in this locality has long narrow leaves, attached to which are little capsules or berries filled with water. It is olive brown and green, and although coarse dries nicely and is much used for decorating seashore homes of summer residents. It serves as a foundation when growing in the water for innumerable smaller plants.

Gulf weed, or seagrass (*sargassum bacciforme*) and *sargassum vulgare*, figure 5, has clusters of air vessels like tiny cherries attached to its thick-leaved foliage. It comes up in detached sprays from the beds that float on the surface of the ocean in different parts of the globe. Its presence in the great masses in which it collects gives the name "Sargossa sea." It is never attached to any object, but is always found floating. Properly speaking, kelp is an incineration of seaweeds for the production of iodides, chiefly iodine, but certain natural brines and crude Chili saltpetre have superseded it in the manufacture of these chemicals. The name kelp is broadly applied to the laminarian seaweeds used for this purpose. Two kinds of kelp (*laminaria saccharina* and *laminaria digitata*) having long graceful fluted leaves, so abundant on the coast of Europe, are well known in the northern waters of the Atlantic and come up on the Jersey coast. The larger leaves, which are of an immense size and great length, are broken and torn into fragments, but the smaller leaves can be found in a perfect condition.

Compared with the abundant growth and immense available quantities, seaweed seems to have but little commercial value all over the world. Sea colander (*agarum turni*) so appropriately named, the fronds of which are punctured with many little holes, is very odd in appearance, conveying the idea that it has been pierced by worms or insects, until a close inspection reveals the fact that it is the natural growth of the plant.

Sea Apple (*manicura plunkenette*), a fruit of the West Indies, is occasionally found floating in temperate waters. It has many legends attached to its origin.

Dulse, reddish brown in color, is eaten in Scotland and Ireland, but is not sought for its food qualities in this country, where little seaweed is used for that purpose. The true dulse (*sarcophyllis edulus*) is rare, but the common dulse (*rhodymenia*) comes up frequently. There are many land plants that grow in the salt marshes and on the beach where they are submerged daily by the flood-tide. When the storm tides sweep over the meadows and up on the sand hills, they are torn loose and carried out to sea, to come up again in the seawrack with the true marine plants. Among these are the sea rocket, a fleshy cruciferous plant of two varieties (*cakile maritima* and *cakile Americana*), sea chickweed (*caerenaria plepoida*) also

called sandwort and purslane; sea grape (*Coccoloba uvifera*) a tropical plant; marsh rosemary, widely known for its medicinal properties; sea blue (*Suaeda maritima*) of the goose foot family, growing in the marshes; and black grass (*Juncus gerardi*) a small rush also growing in the marshes and used for making salt hay. Sea holly, sea hulver and many other kinds are common.

There is an undefined charm in walking along the ocean strand. Some object or many objects which we have never seen before always greet us, while those with which we are familiar, grow a hundredfold more interesting. Thus, the study is never ending, the charm is ever new. A fragment of Iceland moss carries our imagination to the land of perpetual snows, and the long hollow tube of the sea trumpet transports us to the sweltering heat and luxuriant vegetation of the tropics; while the waves of the deep roll over such forms of life that we know are beyond the powers of mind to conceive or imagination to fancy.

CHAPTER IV.

EARLY VOYAGES AND DISCOVERY.

In 1497 England sent out an expedition under the direction of the Cabets to endeavor to discover a northwest passage to the West Indies. As we all know, the quest proved a failure; but the expedition sailed along the coast of the North American continent from Newfoundland to Florida. It very possibly sighted the New Jersey coast. Did it stay for awhile in New York harbor? That is a question which we fear can never be answered. All we know of that voyage seems to indicate that the adventurers simply sailed as close to the coast line as possible, and seldom sent landing parties ashore. The meager details we have, simply represent the discovery of a coast line, although that was enough, it would seem, when the time came, to give England a foundation for a claim to the whole of the continent by right of discovery. Almost as shadowy is the story of John Verazzano, who, in 1524, sailed along the American coast on a voyage of discovery. It seems more than likely that, after feeling his way carefully along the banks and pockets off the New Jersey coast, he spent some time in New York harbor and landed on some of its shores. His description is well worth remembering, for it is the first glimpse we get of a scene which was soon to undergo remarkable changes:

"After proceeding one hundred leagues we found a very pleasant situation among some steep hills, through which a large river, deep at the mouth, forced its way into 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 anchor in a good berth, we would not venture up in our vessel without a knowledge of the mouth. Therefore we took the boat, and entering the river we found the country on the banks well peopled, the inhabitants not differing much from the others, being dressed out with the 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 our boats. We passed up this river about half a league, where we found it formed a most beautiful lake, upon which they were rowing thirty or more of their small boats filled with multitudes who came to see us."

He did not stay long in this beautiful scene but passed northward. He saw natives gathering wampum on what is now known as Rockaway Beach as he passed out, and on his way to Nantucket discovered Block Island, to which he gave the name of Louise, the mother of King Francis, of France.

We have vague and shadowy records of other voyageurs who looked in more or less through the Narrows from the Lower Bay, but what has reached us regarding their movements and their discovery is so vague and unsatisfactory that the details belong rather to the antiquary than to the historian. Estevan Gomez, a Spanish adventurer, began a voyage across the Atlantic in 1525 and looked in at the Hudson, so it is claimed; but if he did that much he did no more. About 1540 we read of French skippers ascending the "River of the Steep Hill" as far as what is now Albany, in search of furs, and there is some evidence of their having there built a fort to protect themselves and their possessions. In 1542 Jean Allefonsee, of Saintonge, passed through Long Island Sound and so reached New York harbor, being the first (it is supposed) to have managed that bit of seamanship. Up to that time little was known of the Hudson, although if we agree with Mr. A. J. Weise ("The Discoveries of America") that it is the Norambega River laid down upon some early maps, it was the subject of much conjecture and even geographical romance.

It was early in September, 1609, that the "Half Moon"—sixty tons burden, under command of Hendrick, or properly Henry, Hudson—dropped anchor in the Lower Bay, somewhere between Sandy Hook and Coney Island, resting there, as it were, in the course of a voyage of discovery up the coast from Chesapeake Bay. On August 28, 1609, he had entered Delaware Bay, but finding the course barred by a sand bank or two he did not proceed very far and kept on his northerly course. He was sent here by the East India Company, of Amsterdam, and hoped, with the experience gained in two previous voyages, to discover the *ignis fatuus* of seamanship, even to our own day—a northwest passage to India. Sand banks and shallow water such as he struck in Delaware Bay were not likely to lead to such a passage, and so, although he has been called the discoverer of the great bay, he did little more than merely look at it, and passed on as quickly as he could. When he entered the river which now bears his name, he fondly imagined that he had at last solved the great problem. He spent a few days exploring the shores of New York Bay and questioning the natives as to the course and extent of the water which led inland. Sad to say, he also had to note on the coast some very unamiable and ungracious people, and they killed one of his crew, and he was obliged to

edy was enacted on Coney Island or on Sandy Hook is a point on which the antiquaries have not yet made up their minds. The long Island investigators are positive in locating the scene of this on Coney Island, while the New Jersey authorities will point out the exact spot on Sandy Hook—and there you are! They all agree, however, that a man—John Colman—was killed, and we may call it a tragedy, because it was the beginning of a warfare which, whether carried on by firearms, steel, rum or the diseases of civilization, exterminated in time the native population, whose gentle, inoffensive qualities Verazzano so clearly describes. Having learned all he could, he passed up the river almost to Albany, and then, having seen enough to show him that he had not yet discovered the long-sought passage, he made his way back to the open sea.

In one respect, the story of his journey along the river which has preserved his name and is his most enduring memorial, is not pleasant reading. His treatment of the natives was the reverse of kindly, and it has been computed that two hundred were killed by Hudson and his crew during the trip up and down the river. They seem to have been generally friendly and inoffensive, over-curious in many respects, and off Stony Point one was caught, so it is said, in the act of stealing from the ship. To this malefactor was at once applied the law of the white man, and he was shot while trying to escape with his plunder. This led to a rupture of friendly relations in that neighborhood, and when the upper end of Manhattan Island was reached there was a sort of naval battle—Indians, canoes and arrows on the one side, and the "Half Moon" and firearms on the other, and the "Half Moon" won. We read of another naval battle a little way further down, but with the same result. The natives could not withstand gunpowder. So Hudson reached the open sea in safety, but left behind him memories which in after years were to help, with later stories of cruelty and wrong, to prompt the red man, as occasion offered and as long as opportunities remained, to wreak a terrible vengeance. But Hudson did even more than this, for he must be credited with being the first to open up to their knowledge the influence and power of rum. Wherever he landed and the Indians proved friendly, or whenever a party of them on kindly service bent visited the "Half Moon," "fire-water" was produced to bring about a revel, and of the orgies and excesses which followed each production of that agent of civilization the Indian traditions told in graphic vividness for many a year.

Hudson's report to his employers in Amsterdam was in one sense a disappointment. It did not unveil the desired northwest passage, and so was a failure; but its account of the resources of the country he had seen and its opportunities for trade were not lost in a community whose mer-

chants were then the most far-reaching and enterprising in the world. He told of the rich trade in peltries that awaited a gatherer, and it was not long before some enterprising merchants chartered a ship to cross the ocean and bring back a load of furs. That venture proved a signal success, and the trade of the old Netherlands with the New Netherland may thus be said to have commenced. In 1612 Holland merchants syndicated and sent out the "Fortune," under command of Hendrick Christiaensen, and the "Tiger," under command of Adriaen Block, and in the following year three more vessels were dispatched to the Maurits River, as for a time the Hudson was called.

Of these expeditions much general interest attached to that of Block. His ship performed her mission successfully and was loaded ready for the return journey when she was destroyed by fire. He and his crew at once got sufficient timber to build another ship and constructed one, but as it was too small to attempt to cross the ocean, Block determined to spend the time in local exploration until a fresh ship could come from Holland. In his new boat—the "Restless"—he accomplished more than he had anticipated; he had built a really staunch, even ocean seaworthy craft, and one that judging from its performance might easily have braved even the fury of mid-Atlantic. In this ship Block explored the waters of Long Island, both on the sound and the ocean front, discovered it to be an island, and then passing along the main land he explored the Connecticut River, the Narragansett, and rounded Cape Cod, entering Massachusetts Bay. Every day seemed to bring forward a new discovery, and his imagination was kept on the stretch inventing names for the rivers, points, islands and bays which he passed. His own name survives to us in Block Island, and to him also is due the name of Hellegat—now Hellgate—simply after a branch of the Scheldt in his native land, and it is believed that he erected a block-house or small fort somewhere on the water-front, now part of the territory incorporated under Jersey City.

Block and his discoveries, however, in spite of the fort on the Jersey shore just mentioned, really belongs as a discoverer to Long Island Sound and the New England coasts, rather than to that of New Jersey. For the pioneer of discovery in New Jersey we must look elsewhere for a hero, and on that point we are confronted with a good deal of tradition that is vague and legendary, and which apparently can not be unravelled by antiquarian ingenuity or historic investigation. One great trouble is, that most of our information concerning the Northern Atlantic coast of those early times comes from Dutch sources, and when those early Dutch chronicles spoke of New Netherland they included, in a vague sort of a way, all the coast line from the Delaware Bay to Cape Cod, and the territory stretch-

ing back from it to—they neither knew nor cared where. Beyond Cape Cod the Plymouth Company had obtained a footing, and its claim the authorities at Amsterdam seemed willing to regard as perfect. Then there was the London Company, founded like that of Plymouth, in 1606, but above all such companies was the claim of England to sovereignty over the whole of the continent, based on the idea of the priority of discovery of the Cabots. All these questions afterward settled themselves, and really, except for the purpose of local history, it is useless to expend time in investigating what sections of the new territory belonged respectively, according to the laws and ideas prevailing at the beginning of the century, to England and to Holland.

This much, however, is certain—the Dutch regime extended over most of what is now incorporated into the State of New Jersey, but so far as an exploitation or settlement went, the rulers of the New Netherland or their people cut comparatively but a small figure. A few scattered points on the Hudson and the Delaware would be all that could be included in the story, for the bulk of the Dutch immigration stopped at New Amsterdam and passed up the Hudson River. There was an abundance of territory immediately outside of the wall of New Amsterdam for farm or bouwerie, and no need of crossing a wide and flowing river for some time to come.

So the pioneers of New Jersey—the bulk of them, that is—were from Great Britain, men and women mainly imbued with religious zeal, men and women who did not come to conform to the doctrinal system there endorsed by law, and who crossed the sea in the hope of founding colonies where they could worship God according to their own ideas, the promptings of their own consciences, and where true religious liberty and perfect toleration might prevail. They did not believe, as did the New England Puritans, in setting up a new religious despotism to take the place of the one against which they had murmured and from which they had fled. There is a legend, indeed, but a legend which seems to have been accepted as true by such an authority as the late John Fiske—that the historic "Mayflower," when she started on her memorable voyage, was really headed for the Delaware Bay, and that the brethren intended landing somewhere on its shores, but that stress of weather and the ignorance of their pilot carried the craft against the rocky coast of New England and to the soil which had been pre-empted (on paper) by the Plymouth Company. There has been some speculation as to how these people would have gotten along had they really entered the Delaware Bay and squatted on the Jersey shore. They would then have been under Dutch rule, and it is questionable how far the rulers of New Amsterdam would have per-

mitted them to go in setting up a theocracy in the territory. The general opinion seemed to be that there would have been trouble, a perpetual dissension of authority, although why this notion should have found supporters it is difficult to say. Southold was in territory claimed by the Dutch; it was not so far away from the fort at New Amsterdam as was the shore of the Delaware, and yet as perfect a theocracy flourished there as ever ruled in New England, and, nearer home, the Dutch permitted Lady Moody to found the town of Gravesend on religious principles, or rather on principles of the widest kind of religious toleration.

In 1610, or thereabout, Captain Argall passed along the coast, but it is doubtful if he landed anywhere, and we have scant references of visit along the shore by Cornelius Hendrickson in 1616, and by Captain Thomas Derner in 1620, but the real hero of the discovery of New Jersey was undoubtedly Cornelius Jacobse Mey, the first Director General of New Netherland. In 1623, with a party of pioneer spirits, he left New Amsterdam, then itself but newly founded and little more than a settlement, and proceeded southward to explore the territory which Hudson had reported upon, and particularly the South River, the name at first given to the Delaware, and which rejiced at various times under such designations as Nassau River, Prince Hendrick's and Charles's River. He seems to have experienced none of the trouble which Hudson encountered, finding navigation easy, and he passed in triumph and safety between the Capes, giving to one the name he bore, and which it still retains, that of Cape Mey or May, and bestowing his christian name on the other, calling it Cape Cornelius, afterward changed to Cape Henlopen. He had a weakness of bestowing his name wherever he went. New York Bay he christened "Port Mey" and the Delaware he put down on his map as "New Port Mey."

Mey did more, however, than name the territory through which his course led. He passed through the bay and followed the course of the river beyond where Camden now stands, and near the site of the present city of Gloucester established a settlement to which he gave the name of Fort Nassau. This was the first real settlement in New Jersey, that is, a settlement designed on a permanent basis, and which carries us back to the same year that New Amsterdam and Fort Orange (Albany) had their beginning. There are more or less vague stories of earlier settlements. One chronicle tells us of a village at Bergen, about 1620; a party of pilgrims led by the Rev. John Robinson get credit for settling on the Delaware in the same year, and England used to claim the whole territory, and enforced the claim as early as 1614, but the settlement of Fort Nassau claims historic priority, and that claim can not be successfully refuted.

It has long since disappeared, the more's the pity. Mey made it his headquarters, and as he had the happy art of knowing how to cultivate and retain the friendship of the red man, there were many pleasant and profitable trading scenes enacted before it and within it for several years. "It is better to govern by love and friendship than by force," he once wrote to the directors of the West India Company, and that motto seems to have actuated him in all his dealings with the aborigines, who at that time had not become suspicious of the honesty of the white visitors, which afterwards they learned to doubt by sad experience. It is a pity that the reign of Mey did not last longer than it did, but in 1625 William Verhulst assumed authority over the region, and a year later Peter Minuit received the appointment of Director General, and with the first of these changes Mey disappears from our record.

In 1629 the redoubtable Walter the Donbrier entered the Delaware and bought land around Cape Henlopen from the Indians, and a year later (May 5, 1630) acting for other parties, Captain Peter Heyssen (Heyse) of the "Walrus" bought some sixteen square miles of water front in exchange for "certain quantities of goods." The deed which was given in the transaction was discovered by M. J. R. Brodhead.

If Mey be given the credit of being the sea hero among the discoverers of New Jersey, the honor of being the land pioneer must be awarded to David Petersen De Vries, one who seems to have been adapted by nature for a colonizer, and who was at once a man of brains and resources, a soldier and statesman, and of undoubted courage. The authorities at Amsterdam, then in the height of their colonizing fever, knew that the mere purchase of large tracts of land like that reported to them as having been made at Cape May, could be no possible source of profit without being backed up by the work of actual settlers, and so they permitted the foundation of companies of colonists or guilds. One of these organized in 1630 was designed to plant a colony on the South River, and in this guild De Vries was the moving spirit, and he lost no time. The same year the guild was formed he sent out two vessels with the South River as their destination, each having a number of intending colonists on board, and being well loaded with cattle, supplies and such tools and implements as might be needed in a new and strange country. One of these vessels was promptly seized by pirates as soon as she reached the open sea, but the other, the "Walrus," made her way in safety across the Atlantic and landed her people (thirty-two in all) and her cargo a few miles above Cape Henlopen. There a stockade was built, and the poetic name of Zwaanendael (Swan Dale) given to it, and having thus made a satisfactory beginning the new comers proceeded to settle down quietly

and engage in the raising of grain and tobacco, and to prepare themselves for engaging in whaling, which promised, according to their calculations, to yield the largest financial return. Captain Heyse appears to have been in charge of this part of the scheme, and the "Walrus" was to figure in the business, and so did not at once return; indeed, the whaling part of the expedition probably, as promising the quickest results in the way of dividends to the good folks in Amsterdam, was to be put in operation at once. But, even by that time, the trustfulness of the Indian had vanished; the pioneers from the first had trouble with the aborigine; agricultural progress seems to have come to a standstill, and, with the base of operations in this unsatisfactory condition, there was little opportunity of engaging in the pursuit of whales.

Bad news from the colony began to reach Holland, and the story of failure was confirmed by the arrival there of the "Walrus," which, tired of waiting, had left the settlers to their fate and made its way home. De Vries was a man of action. As soon as the evil tidings came to him, he began arrangements for a new expedition which he was to command in person, and he also promised to settle on the territory he had acquired or should acquire as patron. So he sailed for the new world May 24, 1632, with a couple of vessels, receiving just before leaving the intelligence that Zwaanendal had been attacked by the Indians and burned to the ground, and that all of the colonists had been murdered. This information was grimly confirmed when, early in December following, he reached the site of the stockade and saw its charred ruins and the skeletons of many of the pioneers. The first expedition was a complete failure in every way, but De Vries was not much given to mourning over what had been done or what might have been accomplished. He saw at once that nothing was to be gained if the Indians were to continue in an ugly mood, so his first business was to have a meeting and an understanding with the owners of the soil. He seems to have had considerable tact in his makeup, and as he had not force enough to crush out the red man he resolved to conciliate him. So he managed to get up a meeting, had what he described as "a nice talk," showed how desirable it would be for the Indians to have white men as neighbors and friends, and in a judicious thrifty manner distributed gifts of one sort or another among the chiefs who were likely to appreciate such generosity. As a result of this, and of several subsequent pow wows, De Vries seems to have gained the confidence and the friendship of the Indians. So matters were cleared up, and he passed over to Fort Nassau. There, according to his journal, he had a narrow escape from being murdered, along with his companions, by the Indians, but, being warned by a native, managed to

was ready to meet the aborigines when they boarded his ship for the purpose of putting their evil designs into execution. He told them that the Great Spirit had told him of their purpose, and this so impressed these children of nature that they abandoned their purpose and entered into a treaty of peace. However, he judged it safest to make no effort at a permanent settlement.

De Vries, who was the patroon of an extensive territory—all of Cape May—seems to have gone to Virginia in search of fresh supplies for his crew, (which shows that the Indians were not overfriendly,) leaving them in the interval to prosecute the whalefishing. That industry, in fact, was the main hope of the expedition, so far as financial results were concerned, and, as it turned out a failure, De Vries was compelled to return to New Amsterdam for a time, a sadly disappointed man.

The real reason for the failure of the entire project was that it was not founded on true colonizing lines. The primal necessity in such matters is to have an independent source of supplies. That is, a means of providing for the necessities of the colonists under their own control, and that, as a matter of course, resolves itself, in the circumstances, into the cultivation of the soil or the ability to purchase its products. This matter De Vries neglected; his aim was to capture as many whales as possible, and so satisfy the cravings of his partners at home for dividends. The settlement was not made. The Indians, while not murderous, were by no means genial neighbors. "De Vries," wrote John Fiske, "had been more intent upon catching whales than upon planting corn, but whales were scarce on that coast, and bread gave out, so that it was necessary to return to Holland." The partners had already begun to quarrel, and on his return the partnership was dissolved, the land titles were sold back to the Company, and such was the somewhat ignominious end of Swan Dale, the first of the patroonships.

Cape May was visited in 1634 by an English expedition sent out apparently with the general purpose of "spying out the land." Lieutenant Robert Evelyn, of this expedition, wrote home to England some interesting details of what he saw on this cruise, and as he was the first white man to land on Cape May and penetrate the country behind the coast line, he is entitled to a prominent place among the pioneers of New Jersey. Dr. Beesley says:

"His (Evelyn's) account of the great abundance and variety of fowl and fish seems within the range of probability, and his story of the turkey that weighed forty-six pounds would have less of the 'colour de rose' were it not qualified in the same paragraph with 'deere that bring three young at a time.' And what a sight it must have been to see the woods

and plains teeming with wild animals, the shores and waters were covered in every variety, where they had existed unharmed and unmolested through an unknown period of years; and the magnificent forest, the stretch of evergreen cedar swamp, untouched by the axe of the despoiler, all revealing in the beauties of nature in her pristine state, the realities of which the imagination only can convey an impression or give a foretaste of the charms and novelties of these primitive times."

So far we have been dealing with English and Dutch pioneers. But it should be remembered that although they came later upon the scene, much good pioneering work was done in New Jersey by the Swedes. In 1626 a company was formed at Stockholm after a manner somewhat similar to that at Amsterdam, and with the same aim— that of securing for the home land capitalists some of the wondrous wealth which reports indicated the new world contained. There is much uncertainty as to their movements and their accomplishments. That they made a beginning of their colonizing movement in 1627 is certain, and that they landed on the south side of the Gulf is also certain, but there is considerable mystery as to what part of New Jersey, (if, indeed, any) was settled by them then or afterward. It was subsequently claimed on their behalf that they had purchased from some Indians the territory on both sides of the Delaware from Cape Henlopen almost to Trenton, but the right of the guileless natives to make such a sale has been questioned. There is no doubt, however, that the Swedes acted in perfect good faith in the matter. They formed several settlements on what is now the Delaware side of the Gulf, and may be regarded as the pioneer colonists of that State; but, so far as New Jersey territory is concerned, they were less in evidence, and their occupation seems to have been limited solely to some trading posts of the most temporary character.

CHAPTER V.

THE PROPRIETARY SYSTEM.—EARLY LAND GRANTS.

The early settlers of New Jersey builded to themselves two enduring monuments in their behavior toward the Indians whose lands they acquired, and in their strong assertion of their rights as settlers against the arrogant claims of non-resident proprietors who bartered away their unseen possessions as they did their coin over the gambling table. These are indisputable facts, established by authentic records.

The English had laid claim to the lands of America from Maine to the Carolinas, basing their pretensions to the discoveries of the Cabots prior to the year of 1500, but it was more than a century and a half later before they attempted to enter upon possession of that portion of it with which we are concerned—the region now known as New Jersey—and when they came it was to find the Dutch well established in New Netherland. The latter also laid claim to the contiguous territory southward—the Achter Koll, which designation was evidently intended to apply to the entire region now known as New Jersey. The Dutch possession of the Achter Koll was, as a matter of fact, a fiction, except as to a few small settlements along the Hackensack as far south as Newark Bay.

Commercial instinct led the English to New Netherland before any attempt was made to assert rights of political sovereignty. In 1662 the Royal African Company (English) was organized, and its patent was granted January 10th, 1663. The purpose was to prevent the Dutch from controlling the African or Guinea trade with its mines and the slave trade, the charter setting forth that "The very being of the Plantation depends upon the supply of negro servants for their work." Every member of the Royal family, Sir George Cartaret, Lord Berkley, Sir William Coventry, Colonel Richard Nicolls and many others were the principal stockholders. The Duke of York (James Stuart) was at the head of this enterprise. He was a stronger character than his brother, the King, and he showed himself to be a shrewd business man. The two were equally selfish and unprincipled. About forty vessels sailed under orders of the Royal Company, and their captains knew the colonial markets well. Among

them were Captain William Crawford of the "Charles," Captains William and John Morris, Captain Dennis, Captain Cooper and others.

On January 26th, 1664, Sir John Berkley, Sir George Cartaret and Sir William Coventry reported (Colonial State Papers) that they had discussed with several persons well acquainted with the affairs of New England, some having lately inhabited on Long Island, where they have yet an interest. They further reported that the Dutch in those colonies did not exceed one thousand three hundred, with English intermixed with them to the number of about six hundred men. Many "turbulent republicans" were reported as residents on Long Island.

When the year 1664 opened, "all the court was mad for a Dutch war." It would make an excuse for taxation that would be popular, and court officials would dispose of the money collected. The Royal Company's vessels and the navy could cruise upon the coast of Africa and capture the rich Dutch merchantmen returning laden with the wealth of the East and West Indies. The New Netherlands could be surprised and taken from the Dutch, giving the crown full possession of the colonies from Canada to Carolina. All these enterprises were undertaken, and some were successful even before war was officially declared, the King, in short, wondering how he might answer for them to the Dutch ambassador still at his court.

Colonel "Dick" Nicolls, groom of the bed chamber to the Duke of York, and a stockholder in the Royal Company, with Sir Robert Carr, a gay cavalier, George Cartwright and Samuel Maverick, were deputed in April, 1664, to visit New England and determine all complaints and appeals for settling their peace and security. The King, in his public instructions to Colonel Nicolls, emphasized his most loving attention to the welfare of the colonies of New England. Well knowing the religious sentiments of the colonists, he advised caution in the promotion of the State Church, and insisted upon a most strict protection of all the provisions of the Old Charters for Liberty of Conscience. But in his private instructions to Colonel Nicolls he declares that "the great end of your designe is the possessing of Long Island, and reducing that people to an entire submission and obedience to us and our government, now vested by our grant and commission in our Brother the Duke of York." The Old Charter granted during the previous year to the "Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations" as a "lively experiment that a most flourishing civil State may stand and best be maintained, and that among our English subjects, with a full liberty in religious concernments." But too plainly proved to the Dutch that the King was not sending Nicolls to New England to establish uniformity in Church and State, but to con-

quer the New Netherlands for the Duke of York, to whom they had already been granted. The whole story of the methods used by the King and his brother to obtain for the latter the New Netherlands, as told in the documentary records of those transactions, is one of the most degraded selfishness and dishonesty. After possession was obtained, their policy was equally rapacious and contemptible. Their agents were always well-chosen representatives of themselves. Sir George Downing, their ambassador to Holland, was one of the most unprincipled and treacherous men of his time.

Another of the coarser tools used in the beginning for the rough trimming of their plans, and who was ruthlessly thrown aside later, was Captain John Scott, of Long Island. He belonged to the family of Scott of Scott's Hall, Kent, England. Sir Thomas Scott of Scott's Hall (said to have been the son of Prince Prospero and Mrs. Scott) married Caroline, the second daughter of Sir George Carteret, who was conspicuously prominent in colonial affairs even in the troubled reign of Charles I. Probably through this influence, we find Captain Scott concerned in colonial matters in Connecticut, on Long Island and in the West Indies. His record seems to indicate that he was one of the King's dangerous friends described by Pepys. He was accused of stealing the moneys of his regiment in Scotland, of stealing State papers in Connecticut, of incompetence in the West Indies, of murdering a coachman in England, and of other offenses. Although arrested, imprisoned in the Tower and tried, he seems to have had some means of escaping justice. Pepys, against whom he gave false evidence, hints at his holding State papers. In July, 1663, Captain Scott had complained to the "Council for Foreine Plantations" of the intrusion of the Scotch on Long Island. About the close of the same year he appeared upon the Island as a disturber of the peace and quiet of the people. Long Island was a "bone of contention." The Dutch claimed it; the Colony of Hartford claimed it; it had been granted, in 1635, at the request of Charles I, by patent from the Plymouth Company, to Sir William Alexander, Earl of Sterling and Viscount of Canada, from whom Lord Sterling, of New Jersey, the hero of the Battle of Long Island, was descended, and now Charles II had granted it to the Duke of York. In 1651, at a meeting in Hartford of Dutch and English, the Island was divided by treaty, the line crossing it about at Oyster Bay, the English holding the east end and the Dutch the west end, the inhabitants of either coming under the jurisdiction of the other if they desired to reside out of their own division. Again, in October, 1663, after twelve years of Indian wars, neglected by the home government, and troubled by constant contention with the English, a delegation was sent to Hartford to negotiate

for peace. Unable to settle upon any terms whatever, the Dutch urged that the affairs of the colonies remain *in statu quo* until the home governments could decide the difficulties between them, but no conclusive answer was given by the New Englanders. Then, in January, appeared on Long Island Captain John Scott, with a troop of horse and foot, demanding the surrender of the Island to "His Majesty Charles II, Sovereign of Long Island." At Midmont the Dutch Commissioners, Secretary and Receiver General Cornelius Van Ruyven, Burgomaster Olof Stevensz van Cortlandt; Captain Lieutenant Martin Cryger and Burgher John Lawrence (Lawrence)—met Captain John "Schott" on January 14th, 1664, and requested him to show his commission. At first, with a great deal of arrogance and bluster, he refused, but finally drew forth a letter of instruction or memorial from the Colony of Hartford to inquire by what right the Dutch held Long Island. Among many violently brought charges he claimed that the Dutch "had broken the peace between England and Holland because the General (Stuyvesant) had dispatched a frigate with armed soldiers in pursuit of some English of Gravesend at Nieuwchings (Navesinks). Peter Stuyvesant, in his reply to this charge on January 14, 1664, wrote:

"As regards the last, 'tis false and untrue that we sent a frigate with men, as we are accused, against the English of Gravesend, and had recourse to any outrage or force there against them; the truth of this matter is only, that, on the order and letters of our Principals, we have endeavored to purchase some waste lands both behind the Coll (Kill van Kull) and in the Newchings (Navesinks), in which we were prevented by the last war with the Esopus and other Indians, and other inconveniences, and lately some English and Dutch; yea, were we informed and warned by the Barbarians themselves that some from Gravesend sought to prevent us, and, indeed, had gone to the number of twenty to Newchings (Navesinks) and the Raritan Indians to purchase lands from them, which, as no person is allowed to do so privately in New England, Virginia and elsewhere, without the consent or knowledge of the government, so it is also publicly forbidden here by enacted and frequently renewed placards. I have, therefore, sent not a frigate, but a small yacht of six to seven tons burthen, with Captain Lieutenant Cryger, thither, whom I have expressly charged, both verbally and in writing, to exhibit no hostility toward either Indians or Englishmen, but in the civillest manner to request the former not to sell any sold or unsold lands to any person except the government, and to warn the latter not to purchase any, as it was directly contrary to the public order and published placards of the government; and, in case of disobedience, to protest civilly against the English of Gravesend. We have further cause to complain of said English of Gravesend on account of their disobedience, their violation of the public orders and placards and infraction of the contract of Hartford,

and especially for hailing our Captain Lieutenant and some unarmed men, when coming ashore, and demanding what they were doing there, putting themselves, to the number of eighteen rank and file, in a posture of defense, with arms in their hands. We are wholly ignorant of any particular insulting words being exchanged, and declair we have not given the least order or command thereto."

When the Commissioners again met Captain Scott and delivered the "General's" letter, they asked once more for his commission. He then "produced an unsigned writing, which he read, wherein his Majesty of England granted him the whole of Long Island." "But he said that it was afterward granted to the Duke of York, whose agent he now was, and charged all his subjects to assist Captain Scott." Those of Hartford had requested him to assist His Majesty's subjects on Long Island, of which he now claimed to be President."

Captain Scott stated to some of the commissioners that he knew that the Island had been granted to the Duke of York by the King, and, as it was "said to produce £3,000 sterling," he would have it peaceably or by force. If by force, Captain Scott would command his frigate. The colony of Hartford afterward arrested Captain Scott for claiming the Island for himself under the King and Duke, and not for that colony.

The English and Dutch of Gravesend implicated in the charges brought by Captain Scott against the Dutch were, some of them, the same men who, more than a year later, obtained the "Monmouth Patent" from Colonel Nicolls, for, in 1663, William Goulding, John Bowne, John Tilton, Samuel Spicer, Thomas Whitlock, James Halbert and Sergeant Gyblings, (Richard Gibbons) returned to the region now known as Monmouth county and purchased from the Indians three necks of land. The first was the Newsink, between Sandy Hook Bay and the Navesink River, and extending to the Highlands of Navesink, embracing the site of old Middletown. This purchase was made for a few pence less than one hundred and fifty pounds sterling, paid in money, guns, tobacco, liquor, etc., and included the expenses of the voyage of the sailors. The two other necks were Navarunksink, between the Navesink and Shrewsbury rivers, and including the site of the Shrewsbury settlement; and the Poota-peck, to the south of Shrewsbury River. Their western and southwestern bounds were illy defined and are not recognizable. These cost a trifle less than three hundred and sixty pounds sterling each, paid in money and such commodities as in the former case. These purchases were prior to the assertion of English sovereignty, but it has been presumed that the English colonists had an inkling of what was soon to follow in that respect.

Among the old Indian deeds to land in New Jersey is one dated Au-

gust 5th, 1650, in which Govert Loockermans and Skipper Willem Claes declare that they have bought for Lulburtus van Dincklager from a Dutch chief of the Indians, "the lands, bays, creeks and rivers, etc. . . . on the south side of the Bay of the North River." "Van Dincklager apparently acted as agent of Alexander and Henry van der Cappellen, to whom he gives order for the sum mentioned (equivalent to \$77,200) and advanced by Govert Loockermans, December 5th, 1663." (New Jersey Archives, Vol. xxi). The Indian sachem who received the above amount in goods from Govert Loockermans probably brought to Governor Stuyvesant the news of the English expedition to the Navesinks and the Raritan. For the next day (December 6th) the company's (Dutch West India) sloop with Captain Lieutenant Martin Cregier (Cryger), Govert Loockermans, Jacques Cortelyou, Peter Zevel, ten soldiers, two sailors, the sachem, and a savage from Staten Island, sailed from New Amsterdam down the Bay, through the Kill von Kull, and on the 7th rowed down the creek behind Staten Island. There they met Peter Layrson and Jacob Cowenhoven with a small sloop, who said that "they had been out to trade for venison." They had seen the English the day before sail up the Raritan River to meet the Indians. Captain Lieutenant Cryger's party immediately sent "our savage John" to warn the Navesinks and Raritan not to sell any lands. Negotiations were thus interrupted, and the English sailed down the Raritan to meet the Dutch, who were awaiting them in the Bay. After a short parley, the English sailed down toward the Navesink hills, the Dutch following. The English and Dutch party from Gravesend landed, probably a little west of the present town of Atlantic Highlands, where a creek came through a break in the circle of the Navesink hills, and the point was later called Portland Point. Here, on December 10th, 1663, the "English and Dutch" made their first claim for the defence of Old Monmouth. The party on the Dutch West India Company's "yacht" reported the event as follows:

"We departed again from Raritan River, accompanied by two Indians who were acquainted with the lands of the Navesink. We went down the bay and arrived at the creek which enters between Reusselaer's Pier (the Highlands) and the said point; met here again Christopher Elsworth in his little sloop, and the English sitting on shore near the creek. We went with our boat on shore, and went toward them along the strand. When we approached them we saw every one standing with their weapons. When the Sheriff, Charles Morgan, Constable of Gravesend, and John B. were advanced toward us, I asked them 'What their business was?' They answered, 'They were trading.' We replied, 'If they went to trade, why then had they such a strong force with them?' They said 'Indians were villains and could not be trusted, and therefore they went in such numbers.' We told them that we were angry if they

came to purchase lands from the Indians.' They answered, 'We went only there to see the lands.' We again told them 'that they ought not to undertake to purchase any land of the Indians, as the largest part was already purchased by the Dutch.' John Bowne then asked me under what government I presumed that they resided.' I answered 'that they lived under that of the States General and under that of the Director General and Council here.' To which he replied, 'Why then are we not permitted to trade and explore lands as well as you?' I answered them 'that they ought not to undertake to purchase any lands from the Indians except they had previously obtained the consent of Governor Stuyvesant and Council,' to which John Bowne replied, 'It shall be well.' Then said Christopher Eisworth, 'I told them the same before, that they should not do it.' Govert Loockermans told them then, '*Ye are a party of traitors, and you act against the Government of the State.*' They said 'the King's patent was quite of another cast.' Loockermans asked, 'from whom have you your pass?' They answered 'from the Manhattans.' Loockermans retorted, 'Why do you act then against the State?' To which Charles Morgan answered, 'Sek no ty *bey affel*'—(probably Indian). Both parties entered the Navesink River before their return home. (From "Albany Record," quoted in "Old Times in Old Monmouth").

Truly neither the English nor the Dutch knew which had the best right to these lands. The priority of their claims had never been described. Only the half-naked savage was justly owner of these grand hills, and forests, those rivers and bays, and of him did the white man purchase before the question of sovereignty had been determined.

In 1663-4, Charles II, "King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith," sent out a squadron of three vessels carrying one hundred and fifty guns, with a force of six hundred soldiers. The command was vested in Colonel Richard Nicolls, who (September 3d, 1634) received the surrender of Stuyvesant, the Dutch Governor at New Amsterdam, who was unable to resist the force brought against him, and this virtually established the English supremacy, the subsequent temporary Dutch re-establishment being too inconsequential to consider in this connection.

Colonel Nicolls also bore a commission as Deputy Governor under the Duke of York, a brother of the King, and who afterwards became King James II. The grant to the Duke of York is important as the first official proclamation of English authority upon which was founded an actual governmental establishment in the territory known as New York and New Jersey. The lands conveyed comprised "all that part of the main land of New England beginning at a certain place called or known by the name of St. Croix, next adjoining to New Scotland (Nova Scotia) in

America," and extending to the east side of Delaware Bay. The western boundaries were not prescribed.

The King's Patent conferred upon the Duke of York all necessary governmental powers, as witness the following extracts:

And we do further of our special Grace, certain knowledge and meer Motion, for us, our Heirs and Successors, give and grant unto our said dearest Brother James, Duke of York, his Heirs, Deputies, Agents, Commissioners and Assigns, by these Presents, full and absolute Power and Authority to correct, punish, pardon, govern and rule all such the subjects of us, our Heirs and Successors, as shall from time to time adventure themselves into any the Parts or Places aforesaid; or that shall or do at any time hereafter inhabit within the same, according to such Laws, Orders, Ordinances, Directors and Instruments as by our said dearest Brother, or his Assigns, shall be established; and in defect thereof, in Case of Necessity, according to the good Directions of his Deputy's, Commissioners, Officers and Assigns respectively; as well as in all Causes and Matters Capital and Criminal, as Civil both Marine and others; so always as the said Statutes, Ordinances and Proceedings be not contrary to, but as near as conveniently may be, agreeable to the Laws, Statutes and Government of this our Realm of England; and saving and reserving to us, our Heirs and Successors, the Receiving, Hearing and determining of the Appeal and Appeals of all or any Person or Persons of, in or belonging to the Territories or Islands aforesaid, in or touching any Judgment or Sentence to be there made or given. AND further, that it shall and may be lawful to and for our said dearest Brother, his Heirs and Assigns, by these presents from time to time, to nominate, make, constitute, ordain and confirm, by such Name or Names, Stile or Stiles, as to him or them shall seem good, and likewise to revoke, discharge, change and alter as all and singular Governor's Officers and Ministers which hereafter shall be by him or them thought fit and needful to be made or used within the aforesaid Parts and Islands; And also to make, ordain and establish all manner of Orders, Laws, Directions, Instructions, Forms and Ceremonies of Government and Magistracy fit and necessary for and concerning the Government of the Territories and Islands aforesaid; so always that the same be not contrary to the Laws and Statutes of this our Realm of England, but as near as may be agreeable thereunto."

By the terms of his commission as Deputy Governor, issued by the Duke of York, Colonel Nicolls was empowered to "perform and execute all and every the powers which are by the said Letters Patent (from the King) granted unto me."

Shortly afterward (September 30th, 1664) Governor Nicolls issued a printed proclamation promulgating regulations to govern the creation of settlements in the territory which had been committed to his charge. These were in terms exceedingly fair and liberal, particularly with respect to the

manner in which Indian title should be acquired, and in the provisions authorizing the settlers to make their own laws, plant their own towns, call their own ministers, and elect their own civil and military officers. This important document was as follows:

"The Conditions for new Planters in the Territories of his Royal Highness, the Duke of York.

"The Purchases are to be made from the Indian Sachems, and to be recorded before the Governour.

"The Purchasers are not to pay for their Liberty of Purchasing to the Governour.

"The Purchasers are to set out a Town and inhabit together.

"No Purchaser shall at any Time contract for himself with any Sachem without consent of his Associates, or special Warrant from the Governour.

"The Purchasers are free from all manner of Assessments or Rates for five Years after their Town Platt is set out, and when the five years are expired they shall only be liable to the publick Rates and Payments, according to the custom of other Inhabitants, both English and Dutch.

"All Lands thus purchased and possessed shall remain to the Purchasers and their Heirs as free Lands, to dispose of as they Please.

"In all Territories of his Royal Highness Liberty of Conscience is allowed, provided such Liberty is not converted to Licentiousness, or the Disturbance of others in the Exercise of the Protestant Religion.

"The severall Townships have Liberty to make their particular Laws, and deciding all small Causes within themselves.

"The Lands which I intend shall be first Planted are those upon the West Side of Hudson's River, at or adjoining to the Slopes; but if any number of Men sufficient for two or three or more Towns shall desire to Plant upon any other Lands, they shall have all due Encouragement, proportionable to their quality and undertakings.

Every Township is obliged to pay their Minister according to such Agreement as they shall make with them, and no man to refuse his Proportion, the Minister being elected by the Major part of the Householders, Inhabitants of the Town.

"Every Township hath the free choice of all their Officers, both Civil and Military, and all men who shall take the Oath of Allegiance, and are not Servants or Day Labourers, but are admitted to enjoy a Town Lot, are esteemed free Men of the Jurisdiction, and cannot forfeit the same without due Process of Law.

"R. NICOLLS."

Evidence of purchase from the Indians having been laid before Governour Nicolls, he proceeded to issue patents to various persons.

The settlement at Elizabethtown was made under a grant dated December 1, 1664, but the precise time of occupation there is not ascertain-

able. It is presumable that a few families were already upon the ground. The original petitioners are to be briefly named.

John Strickland was an Englishman, who came to the Bay Colony with Winthrop. He was a patentee of Huntington, Long Island, and he was afterward a resident of Hempstead. He appeared at Elizabeth Town as agent for "A company of the inglish nasion."

John Bailies (also appearing as Baylie and Baily), who was probably him of the same name who resided in Guilford, Connecticut, in 1642, does not appear to have become a resident, as he sold his interest to Governor Carteret.

Daniel and Nathaniel Denton were sons of the Rev. Richard Denton, who came from England to Massachusetts, and thence in turn to Connecticut and to Hempstead, Long Island.

Daniel Denton was a man of great usefulness. He was first clerk of the town of Jamaica, Long Island, and also a Justice of the Peace; he was at different times a school teacher and a physician. He soon sold his interest in the Elizabeth Town grant to John Baker, of New York, and John Ogden, of Long Island, and is believed to have returned to England. In 1670 he published in London a volume which is notable as being the first description of the region, now known as New York and New Jersey, ever printed in the English language. The title of this rarely interesting work was "A Brief Description of New York, formerly called New Netherlands, with the Places therunto Adjoining; Likewise a Brief Relation of the Customs of the Indians there, by Daniel Denton." The preface is a curiosity of literature:

"Reader,—I have here through the Instigation of divers Persons in England, and Elsewhere, presented you with a Brief but true Relation of a known and unknown part of America. The known part which is either inhabited or lieth near the sea I have described to you, and I have writ nothing but what I have been an eye witness to all or the greater part of it. Neither can I surely say was I willing to exceed my Commendation, which I question will not be owned by those that shall travel thither. For the unknown part, which is either some places lying to the Northward yet undiscovered by any English, or the Bowels of the earth not yet opened, though the natives tell us of Glittering Stones, Diamonds, or Pearls in the one, and the Dutch hath boasted of Gold and Silver in the other; yet I shall not feed your expectation with any thing of that nature; but leave it till a better discovery shall make way for such a Relation. In the mean time accept of this from him who desireth to deal impartially with every one."

Denton's book was largely instrumental in quickening immigration, and the instructions it contained are worthy of reproduction as showing

the inducements held out, and as being inviting to only the most desirable class of settlers:

“To give some satisfaction to people that shall be desirous to transport themselves thither (the country being capable of entertaining many thousands), how and after what manner people live, and how land may be procured, etc., I shall answer that the usual way is for a company of people to join together, either enough to make a town, or a lesser number: these to go with the consent of the Governor and view a tract of land, there being choice enough, and finding a place convenient for a town, they return to the Governor, who upon their desire admits them to a colony, and gives them a grant or patent for the said land, for themselves and associates. These persons being thus qualified, settle the place, and take in what inhabitants to themselves they shall see cause to admit of, till their town be full; these associates thus taken in have equal privileges with themselves, and they make a division of the land suitable to every man's occasions, no man being debarred of such quantities as he hath occasion for, the rest they let lie in common to the whole town.”

The other pioneers were Thomas Benedict (or Benydiek), who had represented Jamaica in the Hempstead convention in 1665; John Foster, also from Jamaica, and Luke Watson. The last named was the only one of the petitioners who retained his interest in the enterprise, and became one of the founders of the town. He had been a magistrate at Jamaica.

These named, with John Baker and John Ogden, were the original patentees. Baker had been the principal military officer at Albany. He became one of the leading men of Elizabeth Town, and was foremost in resisting proprietary aggression. Ogden came from Connecticut to Long Island, and was one of the Hempstead patentees. He became one of the most influential men of Elizabeth Town.

The patentees gathered about them associates to the number of eighty, most of them vigorous men between the ages of twenty-five and forty years. A majority of them were married. The town which they founded will ever be remembered in American history as the seat of the first English government in what is now New Jersey.

The land covered by the grant made by Governor Nicolls to the Elizabeth Town Associates, and known as the Elizabeth Town grant, extended from the mouth of the Raritan river on the south to the mouth of the Passaic river on the north, a distance of not less than seventeen miles in a straight line, and extending inwardly into the country for about thirty-four miles. It embraced the present towns of Woodbridge and Piscataway, the whole of the present Union county, parts of the towns of Newark

and Clinton, a small part of Morris county, and a considerable part of Somerset county—aggregating about five thousand acres.

April 8, 1665, Governor Nicolls issued twelve patents, one of them, that grant or charter which has long been famous as the "Month Patent," covering a part of the county of Middlesex, the county of Monmouth, except Freehold township and the Western part of Millstone, and a part of Ocean county. The east line extended from Sandy Hook to Little Egg Harbor, being more than one half of the coast of New Jersey.

In its terms it was scarcely as liberal as was the prior proclamation of Governor Nicolls containing the pledges to the new settlers who were invited to the territory. The proclamation promised a greater liberty than did the patent, in the matter of choice of ministers and of civil and military officers. But it does not appear that any discontent was manifested on this account. The following is the full text of the historic Month Patent:

"To all to 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 Sachens (chief proprietors thereof), who before me have acknowledged to have received Satisfaction for the same; to the end the said Land may be planted, manured and inhabited, and for divers other Causes and Considerations, I have thought fit to give, confirm and grant, and by these Presents do give, confirm and grant unto William Gubling, Samuel Spicer, Richard Gibbons, Richard Stout, James Grover, John Bown, John Tilton, Nathaniel Sylvester, William Reape, Walter Clark, Nicholas Davies, 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 Raritan 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 South West Line unto the Woods Twelve Miles, and then 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), Orchards, Woods, Meadows, Pastures, Marshes, Waters, Lanes, Fishings, Huntings, Huntings and Bowlings and all other Profits, Commodities and Advantages, and every of their appurtenances, and in every Part and Parcel thereof. To Have and to Hold, all and singular, the said Lands, Heres, Heirs, and

and Premises, with their and every of their Appurtenances hereby given and granted, or hereinbefore 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 fr^m 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 the Possession thereof shall pay after the same Rate which others within this, his Royal Highnesses 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 Discretion 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 they make such Fortifications for their Defence against an Enemy as may seem 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 or prudential Laws and Constitutions amongst the Inhabitants for the better and more orderly government of them as to them shall seem meet; provided they be not repugnant to the publick Laws of the Government; and they shall also have Liberty to try all Causes and Actions of Debt and Trespass arising amongst themselves, to the Value of Ten Pounds, without Appeal but that they remit the hearing of all Criminal Matters to the Assizes of New York. And furthermore I do promise and grant unto the 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, and the Obedience of his Royal Highness, his Heirs and Successors, provided they do no way infringe the Privileges above specified. Given under the Great Seal of Great Britain at Fort James, in New York, on 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, 1667. "RICHARD NICOLLS."

"Entered in the office of Record in New York, the Day and Year above written,

"MATTHIAS NICOLLS, Secretary."

The patentees were men of strong character and great enterprise, and the most of them were deeply religious. Mention of their antecedents and traits is necessary to a proper appreciation of their worth as founders of communities and of their influence in their own day and upon their descendants.

William Gouling was one of the Massachusetts Bay Baptists who were banished from that colony on account of their religion. He became a permanent settler, and was one of the founders of the old Baptist Church at Middletown.

Samuel Spicer had previously resided at Gravesend, Long Island. He was a member of the Society of Friends, and had been severely dealt with by Governor Stuyvesant for non-conformity to the established religion.

Richard Giffons, who is also mentioned as "Sergeant Gylblings," does not appear as prominently as his fellows, but was among the early settlers.

Richard Stout was head of one of the first five families who settled on the Indian purchase in 1664. He had previously lived a number of years on Long Island.

James Graver became a permanent settler, and built the first iron works in New Jersey, as will appear in another chapter.

Captain John Bowne, a leader in the project of purchasing from the Indian sachems the three Necks of Newswind, Navarunswick and Potapeck, was one of the company who sailed from Gravesend, Long Island, in December, 1663. He was one of the patentees under the Monmouth grant, and his was one of the first five families who made a permanent settlement on the tract. The place where he located is in the present township of Hopedel, though in the old records he is mentioned as one of the settlers of Middletown—a name which was applied to a large and somewhat vaguely defined region. Until Captain Bowne's death, in the early part of 1684, he seems to have been the most prominent citizen of the

county, esteemed for his integrity and ability. He was a deputy to the first Assembly in Governor Carteret's time, which met May 26, 1668, the members of the Lower House being then called "burgesses." He was deputy again in 1675; in the first Legislature under the twenty-four proprietors, in 1683, he was a member and the Speaker, and he acted until the December following. He held other positions of trust. March 12, 1677, a commission was issued to him as president of the court to hold a term at Middletown. In December, 1683, shortly after his last illness, he was appointed major of the militia of Monmouth county. He died in January, 1683-84, leaving two sons, Obadiah and John, the latter of whom was also a prominent man in the province, and a candidate for the office of Speaker of Assembly under Lord Cornbury's administration.

John Tilton, when he first came from England, located at Lynn, Massachusetts. His wife was a Baptist, and in December, 1642, she was indicted for "holding that the Baptism of infants is no ordinance of God." They left Massachusetts with Lady Deborah Moody and other Baptists and settled at Gravesend, Long Island, where again they were made to suffer. In 1678 Tilton was fined by the Dutch authorities for allowing a Quaker woman to stop at his house. In September, 1662, he was fined for "permitting Quakers to quake at his house." In October of the same year himself and wife were summoned before Governor Stuyvesant and Council, charged with having entertained Quakers and frequently attending their conventions, and they were ordered to leave the province under pain of corporal punishment. They came to Monmouth among the settlers of 1665.

William Reape was a Long Island settler and a Quaker, who had been arrested and imprisoned by the Dutch Governor, Peter Stuyvesant, who was a mild persecutor of Quakers for the reason that his instructions from the States General required him to discountenance all form of religion but that prescribed by the Synod of Dordrecht. Soon after his liberation Reape went to Newport, Rhode Island, where he engaged in mercantile business, and he was living there when he became interested in the Monmouth patent. He was one of the settlers who came to the Navesink Indian purchase in 1665.

Nicholas Davies (or Davis) was living in the Massachusetts Bay Colony when the Quakers began preaching there, and he became a member of their society, for which offense he was indicted in April, 1659, and in July of the same year he was sentenced to death. Mary Dyer, whose son Henry was an early Monmouth county settler, William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson were sentenced at the same time, and were hung on Boston. Davies' sentence was commuted to banishment, and he removed

to Newport, Rhode Island, where he was living when he became a partner in the Monmouth patent. He was drowned about 1672.

The Rev. Obadiah Holmes, of whom more elsewhere in this volume, was living in 1630 at Salem, Massachusetts, where he was engaged with Lawrence Southwick and Ananias Conklin, descendants of both of whom became settlers on the Monmouth purchase.

Although he never settled on his Monmouth lands, he made occasional visits there, one of which was upon the organization of the Baptist Church at Middletown, which was the first of that denomination in New Jersey and the third or fourth in America. Two of his sons, Obadiah and Jonathan, became settlers in Monmouth.

Acting under the authority conferred upon them, the patentees and their associates began the establishment of settlements at Middletown and Shrewsbury. Later the same year (1665) many settlers came from Long Island and Rhode Island, and during the following four years the number of families in the present territory of the county of Monmouth had increased to more than one hundred, reaching the limit which had been set by the settlers at their general assembly in 1668. The landowners comprised in the settlements, who were for the greater number actual residents and heads of families, were named as follows:

From Massachusetts Bay.—George Allen, William Gifford, John Jenkins, Richard Sadler, Edward Wharton.

From Rhode Island.—John Allen, Christopher Almy, Job Almy, Stephen Arnold, James Ashton, Benjamin Borden, Richard Borden, Francis Brindley, Nicholas Brown, Abraham Brown, Henry Bull, Robert Carr, George Chute, Walter Clarke, Thomas Clifton, William Coddington, Joshua Coggeshall, John Coggeshall, Edward Cole, Jacob Cole, Joseph Coleman, John Cook, Nicholas Davis, Richard Davis, William Devell, Benjamin Devell, Thomas Dingus, Roger Ellis and son, Peter Easton, Gideon Freeborn, Amias Gamutt, Zachary Gamutt, Daniel Guld, John Hayens, Robert Hazard, Samuel Holliman, Obadiah Holmes, Jonathan Holmes, George Hulet, Richard James, William James, William Layton, James Leonard, Henry Lippett, Mark Lucey (or Lucker), Lewis Mattux, Edward Pattison, Thomas Potter, William Reape, Richard Richardson, William Shaberly, Samuel Shaddock, Thomas Shaddock, William Shaddock, William Shearman, John Sheum, Edward Smith, John Smith, Edward Tarrt, Robert Taylor, John Throckmorton, Job Throckmorton, Edward Thurston, Ezekim Wardell, George Webb, Bartholomew West, Robert West, Robert West, Jr., Thomas Winterton, Samuel Woolley.

From Long Island.—John Bowne, Gerrard Bowne, James Bowne, William Bowne, William Compton, John Conklin (earlier from Salem, Mass.), Thomas Cox, John Cox, Richard Gibbons, William Gooding,

James Grover, James Grover, Jr., William Lawrence, Bartholomew Lippencott, Richard Lippencott, Richard Moor, Thomas Moor, John Ruckman, Nathaniel Sylvester, Benjamin Spicer, Samuel Spicer, John Stout, Richard Stout, John Tilton, Peter Tilton, Nathaniel Tompkins, John Townsend, John Wall, Walter Wall, Thomas Wansick, Thomas Whitlock.

Previous residence unknown except where mentioned.—John Bird, Joseph Boyer, William Cheeseman, Edward Crème, Daniel Estell, Ralph Gouldsmith, John Hall, John Hance (Westchester, N. Y.), John Haundell, Thomas Hart, John Hawes, James Heard, Richard Hartshorn (England), Tobias Handson, John Horabin, Joseph Huet, Randall Huet, Randall Huet, Jr., John Jobs, Robert Jones (New York), Gabriel Kirk, Edmund Lafetra, Francis Masters, George Mount, William Newman, Anthony Page, Joseph Parker, Peter Parker, Henry Percy, Bartholomew Shangungue, Richard Sissell, Robert Story, John Tomson, Marmaduke Ward, John Wilson, John Wood, Thomas Wright.

July 8, 1670, at an assembly held at Portland Point, the restriction as to the number of landowners was so set aside as to admit William Bowne, Thomas Whitlock, John Wilson, John Ruckman, Walter Wall, John Smith, Richard Richardson, John Horabin, James Bowne, Jonathan Holmes, Christopher Almy, Eliakim Wardell, Bartholomew West, John Hance, James Ashton, Edward Pattison, William Shaddock, Thomas Winceton, Edward Tartt, Benjamin Burden (Borden), and two years later (in May, 1672), Richard Lippincott and Nicholas Browne were also admitted.

Of those mentioned in the foregoing list, the following named owners of shares in the Indian purchase (some being also original grantees under the Monmouth patent), did not become settlers, viz.: Henry Ball, Robert Carr, Walter Clarke (patentee), William Coblington, Joshua Coggeshall, John Coggeshall, Nicholas Davis (patentee), Zachary Gauntt, Daniel Gould, Edward Thurston and Obadiah Holmes (patentee), all of Rhode Island; Nathaniel Sylvester (patentee), of Long Island; and John Jenkins and Edward Wharton, of Massachusetts Bay. Robert Carr sold his share to Giles Slocum, of Newport, Rhode Island, and to his son, John Slocum, who became a settler. Zachariah Gauntt sold his share to his brother, Amias, who also became a permanent settler.

Mention is to be made of some of the early purchasers under the Monmouth patent who were intimately associated with the patentees in the formative days of the settlements.

Edward Smith, whose name appears as a purchaser of lands within the Monmouth patent, was one of those who were indicted at Plymouth with Rev. Obadiah Holmes and John Hazell, in October, 1650, as before mentioned.

John Hance, one of the original settlers of Shrewsbury, was elected clerk and overseer at a court held at Portland Point, December 28, 1682. He held various positions in the county, among which was Justice of the Peace, a deputy to the Assembly in 1688, but refused to take the oath of allegiance and would not yield the claims of his people under the Monmouth patent and submit to the laws and government of the proprietors when they rose against those claims, in consequence of which he was rejected as a member, as was also Jonathan Holmes, Edward Tarrt and Thomas Warrington at the same session, for the same reasons. Hance was re-elected a deputy in 1680 and at other times.

William Shattock, a native of Boston, about 1650, joined the Quakers in the Massachusetts Bay colony, and for this offense was whipped and banished. He removed to Rhode Island and thence to New Jersey in or about 1665, settling on lands of the Monmouth patent. A few years afterward he moved to Burlington. His daughter Hannah married Restore Lippincott, son of Richard Lippincott.

Samuel Shattock (or Shaddock), a settler on the Navesink purchase, was a Massachusetts Quaker, who removed thence to Rhode Island before his settlement in New Jersey.

John and Job Throckmorton, ancestors of the numerous Throckmortons of the present time in Monmouth county, were settlers between 1665 and 1667. They were sons of John Throckmorton, who, with Thomas James, William Arnold, Edward Cole and Ezekiel Holliman (or more properly, Holman), came from England in the same ship with Roger Williams, and all of whom are mentioned by Williams as his friends and associates in an account written by him in 1638. John Throckmorton was among the first settlers at Providence, Rhode Island, and was afterward in Westchester, New York, with Ann Hutelinska. After she was killed by the Indians he still held his lands in Westchester and on Long Island, but returned to Providence, where he spent most of his time and held his citizenship.

John Smith came to the Monmouth grant tract with the early settlers, and was the first "schoolmaster" of Middletown. He was the same person who, with three others, accompanied Roger Williams on his first exploring journey to Rhode Island. Edward Smith, who was also a settler in Monmouth, left Massachusetts Bay with John Smith, the teacher, in the cause of the persecution against them as Baptists.

Richard Hartsburne came to New Jersey in September, 1666, and located in Middletown. Sandy Hook was first held under a grant to him in 1667. He was a Quaker, and an account of his country written by him and circulated in England induced considerable emigration. A letter from

him, dated November 12, 1675, is one of a collection printed in 1676, a *fac simile* of which is in the New Jersey Historical Society Library. In 1684 he was appointed one of Deputy-Governor Laurie's Council. In the succeeding year he was elected to the General Assembly from Middletown; was chosen Speaker in 1686, and held that position at other times. March, 1698, he became one of Governor Basse's Council. He still continued to hold his seat as a member of the Assembly, and filled both positions until the surrender of the government to the crown.

Eliakim Wardell, one of the associate patentees of Monmouth, had lived near Hampton, New Hampshire, where he and his wife were imprisoned, whipped and banished because of their Quaker principles. They removed to Rhode Island, and thence to New Jersey, where he became one of the early settlers on the Monmouth Patent, and was the first Sheriff of the county in 1683.

Christopher Almy, who was at one time Deputy Governor of Rhode Island, came from that colony to settle on the Monmouth lands, in 1665 or 1666. He became one of the associate patentees, and remained an inhabitant of Monmouth County for several years, during which time he ran a sloop between Wakake Landing and the Rhode Island ports. He finally left New Jersey and returned to Rhode Island.

No colonies ever founded had more auspicious beginning. Their members were no mere adventurers, but men of character and enterprise, who sought civil and religious liberty as earnestly as they did opportunity for the advancement of their personal fortunes. They were ambitious of no greater freedom than was assured them under authority of the Duke of York, and their local enactments were made in the same liberal spirit which was expressed in the grant under which they began the establishment of local government. But these salutary conditions were not long to endure, and soon was to begin a long period of disquietude which finally led to revolt.

June 24, 1664, the Duke of York had disposed of his interest in the territory lying between the Hudson and Delaware rivers to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. This was before the issuance of the proclamation of Governor Nicolls, who was unaware of the transaction until the arrival of Philip Carteret, a brother of Sir George Carteret, late in the summer of the same year. Philip Carteret at once gave proclamation of his commission as Governor, under the new Lords Proprietors, and of the "Concession and Agreement of the Lords Proprietors of the Province of New Jersey, to and with all and every, the Adventurers, and all such as shall Settle and Plant there." By the terms of the latter document, the title derived by the settlers under the grant of Governor Nicolls was absolutely

ignored, and they were required to take out new patents under the proprietors, whom they were to acknowledge as landlords, and to whom they were to pay stipulated quit rents. It is to be remarked that Governor Carteret himself became a land purchaser at Elizabeth Town, under the associates who derived their rights from Governor Nicolls, and in the controversies which arose he repeatedly acknowledged the validity of their title, but finally allied himself with the proprietors, and caused his former fellow associates great inconvenience.

The controversy is of succinct statement. The associates regarded their titles as good and secure, predicated upon the grant made by Governor Nicolls, acting under authority of his commission from the Duke of York, of date April 2, 1664, and phrased as follows:

"I do hereby constitute and appoint him, the said Richard Nicolls, Esq., to be my Deputy Governor within the Lands, Islands and Places aforesaid, to perform and execute all and every the Powers which are by the said Letters Patent granted unto Me, to be executed by my Deputy, Agent or Assign."

The contention of the associates was that the authority committed to Governor Nicolls had not been revoked and that his acts under it were binding and of full force.

The Lords Proprietors, on the contrary, held that the Duke of York had alienated the lands "several months" (June 24) prior to the issuance of the "pretended" grants made by Governor Nicolls, and that when Nicolls executed that instrument the lands in the province of Jersey belonged to them (Berkeley and Carteret) and not to the Duke of York, and that all grants made by Nicolls were void and of no effect.

In Monmouth County the controversy was from the beginning aggressive on either side, and its history is of commanding interest. Governor Carteret had made strenuous effort to make the lands of the province profitable to his masters, the Lords Proprietors, and to this end he had sent his agents to Massachusetts Bay and other colonies to induce immigration, with the result of bringing in many new settlers. These all came to Monmouth County, where the anti-proprietary sentiment was strongly pronounced, in greater number fell into sympathy with the people into whose midst they came, and considered the claims of the Lords Proprietors of little importance except in a purely governmental way. In fact they acquiesced, but they regarded the Nicoll's grant and conveyance made under it as all sufficient foundation for their own land titles.

In their effort to ensure avoidance of quit rent payment to the Lords Proprietors, the Monmouth patentees and those holding under them, were

pealed to Governor Nicolls, hoping that he would afford them assurance of the validity of the grant which he had made to them in his capacity as deputy and representative of the Duke of York. In reply to their letters written in July and August, 1667, Governor Nicolls replied (August 10) in terms which, while smoothly phrased, indicated that they need expect no support from him—that they were to be regarded in no wise differently from other settlers, and would be required to make submission to the proprietary government and to make payment of quit-rent as demanded by Berkeley and Carteret.

The disputes as to land titles now come to be interwoven with the State history of the province. In May, 1668, the first assembly under the proprietors convened in Elizabeth Town. James Grover, from Middletown, and John Bowne, from Shrewsbury, appeared as delegates and took the oath of office. They do not appear of record as having been chosen by their towns (which subsequently repudiated them), but they sat in the assembly sessions, and voted for the tax levies made, and this fact militated against the patentees and inhabitants at a later day, when the land disputes came before the authorities.

At the Middletown town meeting, October 28, 1668, it was voted that "taking into consideration the liberties and privileges granted by patent * * * that this following proviso shall be presented to the Governor and Council * * * that noe law or act or command which is or may be made, acted or commanded, may any way be forceable against the liberties and privileges of your patent. * * * That if the Governor and Council please not to admit of the proviso in the oath, engagement or submission, that then the deputies shall refuse either to engage, promise or subscribe."

This determined action was tantamount to rebellion, and it was accompanied by action yet more insubordinate and significant. The assembly had at its initial meeting laid a tax of five pounds upon each town, which payment was refused by Middletown and Shrewsbury for the reason as given that they were tax exempt for seven years under the provisions of the Nicolls patent.

This act of defiance moved the assembly, in the session of November of the same year, to appoint Luke Watson and Samuel Moore to collect the tax, by distraint if necessary, and to "demand the positive resolution of the inhabitants, or the major part of them, of the said towns whether or no they will submit to the government of this province, under the Right Honorable John Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, Knight and Baronet, the absolute Lords Proprietors of the same, according to

His Royal Highness, the Duke of York's grant, upon which the General Assembly will proceed accordingly."

So far from being intimidated by this positive procedure, the malcontents became even more recalcitrant. Their antagonism was not all covert, but they held a town meeting and inscribed upon the records unmistakable provisions for their conduct in evading service by the tax collectors, and made rule that "if any one being an inhabitant shall come or fall into any trouble about anything concerning the premises above specified, or shall be called by virtue of any writ or warrant to appear before any governor or court upon the same account: if such appearance or such assistance, that every such inhabitant shall have his time and expenses discharged by the town, and his domestic business go forward all the time of his absence."

On the same day, and by action of the same town meeting, James Ashton, Jonathan Holmes, Richard Gibbons, Richard Spout, William Lawrence and Edmund Tarrt are ordered to make answer to the Governor's representatives, in behalf of the town; the clerk is instructed to receive the laws from the governor's representatives (servants), Watson and Moore before named, and upon receiving the same to declare that the town receives them for its own security only; and it is ordered "that no inhabitant shall be seized upon or carried by violence out of the town, until the town sees further." And at the same time the following spirited declaration was entered upon the town book by the town clerk:

"For as much as Luke Watson and Samuel Moore, the Governor's messengers, doe command us to send and assist you in taking dstraint of goods from the inhabitants of Middleton, to discharge levies levied upon them, Wee wee declare: That wee owe Captain Phillip Carteret to be our Governour, whose lawfull, good and just commands wee shall and will obey, in all things not for wrath, but for Conscience' sake towards God, the liberties and privileges of our pattennt only maintained in full and ample manner; but for as much as the Governour has sent yee to take a dstraint of goods from a people that as yet are not submitted to him (if the act of the General Assembly did not hold forth soe much, we would not say so), though the same people will be ready to yield true submission to him, their Governour, in all things good and lawfull, the liberties and privileges of their pattennt only maintained; wee say, for as much as he hath sent yee to take dstraint of their goods, as in our conscience wee judge not to be just, for how can anything be due from a man or people who are not submitted? Wee shall be passe'd hereunto refusing either aide or assistance to yee in the dstraynt."

These defiant acts and utterances were met with warrants by the Governor commanding the publication of tax collector's lists, and the

Shrewsbury and Middletown, and a prohibition by the president of the Council, providing that "no person in these towns shall have authority to bear any civil or military office until he has taken the oath of allegiance to the King and of fidelity to the Lords Proprietors, under penalty of being proceeded against as a mutineer against the authority of the government, and as disturbers of the public peace."

May 17, of the same year (1688), at a town meeting held in Middletown, a voluminous and circumstantial answer was made to the demands of the Lords Proprietors. This historic document, which has become famous as "the Monmouth Declaration of Independence," is as follows:

"In a legall towne-meeting, the major part being present, it was this day putt to the vote concerning answering the Demand of Luke Watson and Samuel Moore, who were authorized by the General Assembly to demand our positive resolution of submission to the government of the absolute Lords Proprietors, as sayeth the Act bearing date the seventh of November, it was unanimously resolved that this following act shall be our positive solution, and shall be presented to the General Assembly, viz:

"That of the oath of allegiance to our Sovereign Lord, the King, and fidelity to the Lords Proprietors' interest, bee the submission intended in the act, this is our result: that as true loyal subjects to the King, we are ready at all demands either to engage, swear or subscribe all true allegiance to his Royal Majesty of England, as in duty bound, either before the Governour, or any other minister of justice authorized by him to administer the same, without any equivocation or mentall reservation, as true loiall subjects ought to doe; and this wee will performe absolutely.

"As to the Lords Proprietors' interest, it being a new, unheard thing to us, and soe obscure to us that at present we are ignorant what it is; yet as men not void of judgment, knowing right well that all oaths, engagements or subscriptions ought to be administered in truth, in righteousness and in judgment, upon which consideration wee are not willing to swear to (wee know not what), yet by what hath been presented and come to our hands from the Governour at several times, viz: an order or law in the year 1666, prohibiting any from selling wine to the Indians, under great penalty, though it seems now that above the quantity of two gallons may be tolerated by law. 2d. Warrants coming to our hands, not in His Majesties name, but in the Lords Proprietors' name, being such a name as wee simple creatures never heard of before. 3d. An account that our Deputies gave us, being returned from the General Assembly held in November last, who informed us that the honoured Governour told them (speaking concerning their patent) that notwithstanding your patent, said hee, yet new Lords must now have new lawes, and further they declared to us that the Governour told them that Governour Nicolls could not give away his master's land, and further said that when your patent was in granting, that Captain James Bullen, my Secretary,

putt in his caveat, and soe put a stop to it, Captain Butler being of the same. 4th. An order coming from the Governour and Council bearing date the first of March, 68, prohibiting the townes of Middleburgh, Shrewslury from electing any officer, or any officer from executing office, upon a penalty of being proceeded against as mutineers. 5th. An act of the General Assembly, styling (the Right Honorable J. J. Berkley and Sir George Carteret) the absolute Lords proprietors.

"By all wch, wee conceive: that the Lords Proprietors have not only: the absolute sovereignty: from wch all laws must be gotten: but alsoe the absolute propriety: from wch all lands must be had: (wee say) if this bee the interest soe specified in the Governour's late order: and intended in the oath: and in parte the submission demanded by the Act.

"This is our result: wee have received a pattent from His Royal highness the Duke of York's Deputy: owning us: nott only: to have purchased our lands from the Chief Proprietors of the countrey: but alsoe empowering us to give prudentiall lawes to ourselves: both for our own safety: and our well being:; and should wee submit to interest soe farre: as by either engaging: swearing or subscribing, to the lawes of the government under the Lords proprietors how contrary and prejudiciall to our present safety, as witness a law made the last General Assembly: giving liberty to sell wine to the Indians: wch Liberty tends merely to our destruction, many sad former experiences have we had among us witnessing the same: it being a Liberty soe contrary to the lawes of New York from whence our pattent had its originall: and besides, our pattent giving us such liberty as giving lawes to ourselves, how are wee bound to take lawes from the government of the Lords Proprietors (crimnalls and apicads excepted) by wch it is manifest: that neither the Lords proprietors: nor the Generall Assembly can in the leaste breake our liberties and privileges: but we ourselves will be found to bee self violaters of them in submitting by swearing to such an interest: as wee are not bound to: besides at present noe provision being made by the Lords proprietors' government for the conservation of the liberties and privileges of our pattent, they are liable to bee infringed upon by such acts wch are resolved by the major vote of the Generall Assembly: then how should we submit by swearing to the lawes of the government: and nott bee guilty of self violation of our pattent ourselves.

"And forasmuch as they are styled the absolute Lords proprietors from hence, it absolutely granted and necessarily followeth that all such inhabitants as lives upon this propriety: are absolute tenants to the Lords proprietors: and by virtue of this their submission: by oath to their interests are irrecoverably involved to pay such Lords rents: as well as to the interests to wch they have sworne: and should we submit to the interest: farre as by swearing thereunto: having a propriety of lands: nott only purchased from the Chief Proprietors of the countrey: but alsoe granted into us by the Deputy to His Royal highness the Duke of Yorke (wch appears under hand and seal of the said Duke)

beneath the wisdom of the owners of such a patten: and herein wee should appear to bee self-violators of our patten ourselves: and for as much as the Lords Proprietors rents from such inhabitants as lives upon the propriety appears upon the concessions: viz. a half penny an acre at least: should wee submit so farre to the interest by swearing: whose acknowledgements by virtue of patten to his Royall Highness: have their dependency upon such payment as others his majesties subjects, doe in the government of New Yorke to his Royall Highness: it would be an act, as wee conceive, wch would be a dishonor to him that gave it.

"Herein wee should appear to be self-violators of our patten ourselves: but for as much as there is an assignment made by his Royall Highness to the Lords proprietors of such a tract of land in wch our patten may bee comprehended: we looke at ourselves to be (notoriously) responsible to the Lords Proprietors in all such acknowledgments as others his majesties subjects doe: in the government of New Yorke to his Royall Highness: (butt alsoe) to transmitt all criminalls arising amongst our selves: and such appeals as are proper to bee transmitted to the trial of Lords Proprietors' government: These: and no other being the same injunctions wch once we were subordinate to the government of New Yorke nott any way now Nullified: altered: or changed as wee conceive: butt only transferred by virtue of assignment to the sayd Lords proprietors and their government: notwithstanding for the future benefit and tranquillity: and for the establishment of peace in the province: wee shall be willing to submit to the Lords Proprietors' interest according to the late order provid'd that some secure way could be projected or some provision made by the Lords Proprietors' government wch might secure us from destroying by weakening this our interest wch we so highly prize indeed is the very foundation of our livelyhood: if noe secure way or course can be thought of or projected to secure our owne interest: we are at present resolved not to entangle ourselves into any other interest appertaining to any man: but shall (by the assistance of God) Stick to our patten: the liberties and privileges thereof wch is our interest: wch once was committed to us: nott to betray: like treacherous men: who for filthy lucre's sake have been ready to betray themselves and others but to deale faithfully with it being a trust committed to us: and in soe doing wee conceive: we need not feare what any man: or power: can doe unto us: and for as much as att present wee conceive: that upon this our interest there hath been lately an inroad made upon it: by virtue of an order coming from the Governor and Counsell: and by commission: published in our towne: prohibiting any officer that hath bin constituted by virtue of patten to execute any office till they had sworn to the Lords proprietors' interest upon penalty of being proceeded against as mutineers: (to salve wch), wee shall make our addresses unto the highest authority in the country for remedy: and this is our positive resolution in answer to the Act: desiring further that this our answer may be presented to the general assembly to prevent misinformation."

In the absence of the assembly journal for the period between 1678 and 1675, we are without information as to the manner in which the spirited protest was received, or what was the effect produced by it. In the Middletown Book of 1671 there appears a copy of a letter addressed to the Governor, from which it would appear that the inhabitants of that place persisted in their denial of the property rights of the proprietors. The inference is, from this document, that the town acknowledged the existing authority in its political powers and continued to send delegates to the assembly. In this connection it is proper to note that the inhabitants did not at any time resend their order forbidding their delegates to take the assembly oath, unless with the modification previously referred to. For this reason the delegates were at times (and presumably at all times) inhibited from acting in the assembly when present. In the letter to the Governor, as shown in the Middletown Book, it is stated that in November, 1668, our deputies (Jonathan Holmes and Edward Partt) "were not suffered to act," and Leaning and Spicer make mention in the Assembly minutes, referring to the same session, that "the deputies for Middletown and Shrewsbury, refusing to take or subscribe to the oaths of allegiance and fidelity but with provisos, and not submitting to the laws and government, were dismissed."

In 1669 Berkeley was ousted from his proprietorship. The burden of the conduct of provincial affairs devolved upon Governor Carteret, who became involved in difficulties and, in 1672, went to England to consult with the authorities. During his absence the Dutch had again taken possession of the country, but their rule was to be of short duration, retrocession to Great Britain being made under the Treaty of 1674. This act gave rise to the question whether the title returned to the proprietors or to the King. To avoid all difficulty, the King recognized the claim of Carteret, arrested all magistrates who would not submit to his own jurisdiction in Jersey. But, before making this conveyance, the Duke included the province in a commission given to Sir Edmund Andros, Governor of New York, who refused to recognize the authority, as Governor, of Philip Carteret, arrested all magistrates who would not submit to his new jurisdiction, and finally, on April 30, 1680, carried Carteret himself prisoner to New York. The Duke was finally prevailed upon to acknowledge the claims of the proprietors, and in 1681 the government of Andros came to an end.

In May, 1672, James Grover, John Boone, Richard Hartsorn, Jonathan Holmes, of the patentees, and James Ashton and John Plater, of the associates, for themselves and for their fellows, petitioned Governor Carteret for confirmation of their titles and rights under the charter.

grant. His response was not as satisfying as they had desired, but it mollified them to some degree for the time being. In effect it gave them authority to dispose of their lands; gave assurance that no ministerial power or clergyman should be imposed upon them so as to enforce any that were contrary minded to contribute to their maintenance; legitimatizing their local courts within certain bounds; permitting appeals from local to higher courts; permitting the people to present two candidates for each civil and military office to the Governor, who should commission one of the two nominees; and to have liberty to make peculiar prudential laws and constitutions amongst themselves according to the tenor of the patent.

In December of the same year, however, the Lords Proprietors published their declaration which contained the provision that "no person or persons whatsoever shall be counted a freeholder of the said province, nor have any vote in electing, nor be capable of being elected for any office of trust, either civil or military, until he doth actually hold his or their lands by patent from us, the Lords Proprietors."

Following after this declaration, in May of the following year (1673) John Bowne and James Grover, representing the people of the Navesink settlements, petitioned the Governor and Council to withhold decision as to the rights of the patentees under the Nicolls grant until they could be heard by the proprietors. This petition was sent to England, and was replied to by Sir George Carteret, who maintained the declaration of the Lords Proprietors, but made a concession of five hundred acres of land each to reimburse "such of them who were pretended patentees, and laid out money in purchasing land from the Indians." A further complication arose by the repossession of the country by the Dutch. The Dutch governor, Colve, confirmed to the settlers their property rights, and this, with a subsequent proclamation to the same effect, made by Sir Edmund Andros, the succeeding English governor of New York, renewed the confidence of the settlers in the validity of the Nicolls grant. The patentees, however, accepted the five hundred acre grants made by the Lords Proprietors, and warrants were given for the same.

The controversy had now reached an acute stage, and the conduct of the inhabitants holding under the Nicolls grant was so hostile toward the proprietors that the events of the time came to be known as the "Provincial Revolt." Disturbances occurred in all the counties of Essex, Middlesex and Monmouth. The people of that last named were particularly antagonistic, as is evidenced by the declaration of the General Assembly, in session at Elizabeth Town, October 10, 1677: "We find by constant experience for several years past that the town of Shrewsbury hath been deficient, if not negligent and careless, in sending of their deputies, or in

reading such as will not conform to the order of the Council, and that the deputies, whereby the said Assembly is weakened and the business is hindered." The disturbances of this period primarily grew out of an original controversy with reference to the proprietary title to and control of the land, but into them have entered political disputes between the two parties as to the rival claims of Andrew Hamilton and Jeremiah Blanding, of whom asserted himself to be the rightful governor of the province. The merits of the latter question are foreign to the subject now under consideration.

In 1677 the King's Council took cognizance of the questions submitted: 1. Whether the grants made by Colonel Nicolls are good against the assigns of Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret; and 2. Whether the grant from the Indians be sufficient to any planter without a grant from the King or his assigns.

Stripped of its quaint phraseology and orthography, the decision of these issues was to the effect that the Nicolls grants were void. The authority of Governor Nicolls could last no longer than His Majesty's interest, and the fact of Nicolls having or having not notice of the Duke's grant to Berkeley and Carteret "makes no difference in the law," but the want of notice made it equitable that the present proprietors should confirm such grants to the people who will submit to the concessions and make payment of quit rent to the present proprietors, who, in default of such payment, were empowered to look up on them as disseizers and treat them as such.

This brought up again the supplementary five hundred acre grants made by the proprietors to recompense original purchasers from the Indians, and the record of the Governor and Council of East Jersey, of date May 17-18, 1683, has it that "the patentees accepted of the same of the five hundred acre tracts and petitioned to have same laid out. Warrants were granted for the same. Some were surveyed and patented, particularly that of Richard Hartshorne, which appeared to be a full conclusion of that affair, unless it was made to appear that such petition and procedure not by consent or approbation of the town."

On May 18, Richard Hartshorne, John Bewne and Joseph Carter appeared before the Governor and Council. The official record sets forth that "we inquired into the truth of these petitions and addresses, and the submission and resignation of their pretended rights to the said Patent Proprietors. And they consented and agreed that they were made, but avowed that the same was done for fear. It was answered that the same objection may ever be made, but as an evidence to the contrary, the petitioners themselves demonstrated that the patentees had consented to the same."

grace and favor granted them five hundred acres of land apiece, they returned a letter of acknowledgement and thanks. And their associates, in compliance therewith, all patented their land according to the concessions, none excepted, and continued ever after satisfied therewith."

To this, in part, Bowne and his colleagues interposed the objection that the five hundred acre grants were to be exempt from quit-rent, but this the Governor and Council would not accede to, and the matter thus ended, without definite result, and this appears to have been the last conference between the Monmouth patentees and the Governor and Council.

In 1684 the new proprietors (twenty-four in number) instructed Deputy Governor Laurie to call to his aid five other persons in New Jersey, and to this commission was committed the task of ending "all controversies and differences with the men of Neversinks and Elizabeth Town, or any other planters or persons whatsoever, concerning any pretended titles or claims to land in said province," and this authorization contained the declaration that "we will not enter into any treaty on this side with any of those people who claim by Colonel Nicolls' patent nor with any others that challenge land by any patents from the late Governor Carteret, as being an affront to the government there, and of evil consequence to make things to be put off by delays, and thereby hinder the settlement of our affairs in the province." The efforts of these commissioners were futile, and the difficulties continued until the more momentous scenes of the Revolutionary struggle distracted the attention of the people.

The closing chapter of the land controversy comprehends the events growing out of the purchases of the Berkeley interest by Fenwick and Byllinge, and that of William Penn and his associates. These transactions and their effect were, in part, the theme of the Hon. Anthony L. Keasbey, of Newark, who, in an address delivered before the Historical Society of New Jersey, on the bi-centennial anniversary of the purchase of East Jersey by the twelve proprietors, said:

"On the 1st of February, 1682, the deed was made and delivered, and twelve land speculators, headed by William Penn, became the sole owners in fee of all this fair domain, and from them must be traced the title of every lot and parcel of land which changes owners in East Jersey. And the direct successors of Penn and his eleven associates—still an organized body with active managing officers—own every acre of land which they have not sold; and every purchaser who wants to buy can now make his bargain with them, as purchasers did two hundred years ago."

In the Elizabeth Town settlement, the controversy assumed a phase somewhat different from that in Monmouth County.

On his return from England, Governor Carteret bore with him instructions to enforce the claims of Sir George Carteret, in the following explicit language:

"For such as pretend to a right of propriety to land and government within our Province, by virtue of any patents from Governor Oglethorpe and Nicolls, as they ignorantly assert, we utterly disown any such thing. But if such persons as have not already received patents of their land from us shall not within one year after notice to them given of this our pleasure therein desire and accept patents of the said land, we do hereby order our Governor and Council to dispose of such lands and tenements in whole or part, for our best advantage to any other persons."

At a town meeting held in Elizabeth Town, March 11, 1675, the settlers sought to avoid the threatened confiscation of their lands by proffering an annual payment of twenty pounds to the Lords Proprietors for a township tract of eight miles square to be forever confirmed by charter to themselves and their heirs, who were to enjoy "all such privileges as any other towns in the Province have or shall have."

This proffer was treated with undisguised contempt, the only answer by the Governor and his Council being the return of the petition containing the proposals of the people, with an endorsement to the effect that "there can not be granted any variation or alteration from the proclamation," and giving notice that the surveyor would perform his duty in redistribution of the lands.

Under stress of this despotic authority, from which there was no appeal, the outraged settlers reluctantly submitted and, one after another, made application for new surveys and warrants, which were granted them. At the same time, the associates had no intention of abandoning their claims under the Nicolls grant, and a long controversy ensued which was complicated by a new survey and purchase of certain lands which had been previously conveyed by the Indians. No judicial investigation of the matters in dispute, however, was made until 1695. The affairs of the province were settled in England in favor of the proprietors, who were therefore encouraged to bring into court their cause against the associates, feeling confident that the judgment would be in their favor, and that the settlers would be obliged to make payment of quit rent arrearages from 1670 or be dispossessed of their holdings, now become valuable through improvements.

The case in question was that known as the Fullerton case. Three brothers of that name—Thomas, Robert and James—who came to 1684, made settlement upon a tract of land on Cedar Creek, which was covered

by the people of Elizabeth Town under the Nicolls grant, and had been subsequently acquired by Governor Laurie from the Indians in the transaction above mentioned. Jeffrey Jones, one of the associates, had derived from Laurie title to land upon which had previously settled James Fullerton, whom he ousted in 1693. Fullerton brought an action of trespass and ejectment, and the case came to trial in the court of common pleas at Perth Amboy, in May of 1695. A special verdict was agreed upon, but the jury rendered a general verdict in favor of Jones. The court, however, sustained the special verdict, and Jones appealed to the King in Council. At the hearing of the case at Kensington, William Nicoll, an eminent lawyer of New York, appeared in behalf of Jones. The committee of the privy council, consisting of Lord Chief Justice Holt, Sir Henry Goodrich and Philip Williamson, gave it as their opinion that the judgment should be reversed, and their conclusion was concurred in by the King in Council. This was a *cause celebre*, inasmuch as the case was one involving the property rights of all associates, and its conclusion was thus subsequently stated by Mr. Nicoll:

"The sole dispute was, Whether Col. Richard Nicolls, as Governor under the King of England in those parts, might not grant License to any of the Subjects of England to purchase Lands from the native Pagans? and if, upon such License and Purchase, the English Subjects should gain a property to the Lands so bought? all which was resolved in the Affirmative, and the Judgment given to the Contrary accordingly reversed."

The result of this cause was of momentous importance. In effect, the judgment of the King and his Council confirmed beyond question the validity of the title under which the patentees and their associates held their lands. This at once beget in them a deeper respect, and even a degree of affection for the sovereign, and emboldened them in their opposition to the proprietary rule.

But this was, as soon became apparent, no final settlement of the difficulty. In 1702 the proprietors made surrender to the crown of their right of jurisdiction, but this worked no adjustment of the contested titles in the Elizabeth Town grant. Some twelve years later, under the reign of George I. the proprietors instituted proceedings to again test the validity of the Nicolls grant, and for many years the associates and settlers holding under title derived from them were subject to great annoyance and much expense, besides being involved in considerable disorder. In various instances persons obtained from the proprietors patents to lands which were claimed by the associates as their common holdings under the Nicolls grant, but the latter named were unable to obtain redress in the local

courts, or before the Governor and Council, at times because of the bias of the ruling officials, and again for want of record evidence. It was while these and similar proceedings were being had that the old books disappeared, these containing the proceedings of the various town meetings for a period of fifty years beginning with the settlement, and with them the records of the various surveys. Statement of this fact is extant in a paper of date November 18, 1729, bearing the signatures and seals of one hundred and eleven of the associates, reciting that "it so happened that the sd Books wherein sd Surveys or the greater Number of them were Entered by Some One or more Designing Person or Persons were Craftily and Maliciously Stole and (as there is no Small reason to believe) were burnt or otherwise destroyed, So that the benefit thereby intended to the parties aforesd and their Assigns became Wholly frustrate and Void."

In 1744 three hundred and four proprietors, freeholders and inhabitants of a tract of land called Elizabeth Town petitioned the crown (in the reign of George II), reciting their rights under the Nicolls grant, and protesting their inability to procure impartial justice in the local and provincial courts. The preparation of this paper was committed to Stephen Crane and Matthias Halfield. The petition was read in King's Council, July 19, same year, and was referred to the Committee of Council for Plantation Affairs, and by that body, in turn, to the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, and here it is lost sight of— an early instance of that convenient "pigeon-holing" process now common in legislative bodies.

An important chapter of the litigation of this period appears in relation to the famous "Bill in Chancery" of 1745, presumably prepared by James Alexander, who, with Joseph Murray, represented the proprietors. Alexander had served as Surveyor General of New Jersey, and then stood at the head of the New York bar, while his colleague was also one of the first most lawyers in the land. The book was published July 21, 1747, and was a double columned folio of one hundred and twenty four pages, with maps, and an appendix of forty pages. Aside from its value as bearing upon the litigious history of the times, it is remarkable as an early specimen of American typography, and for the unique phraseology of its title, which was as follows:

"A Bill in the Chancery of New Jersey, at the Suit of John Hall of Stair, and others, Proprietors of the Eastern Division of New Jersey, Against Benjamin Bond, and some other Persons of Elizabeth Town, distinguished by the name of Clinker Foot Right Men. With Three large Maps, done from Copper Plates. To which is added: The Petitioners of the Council of Proprietors of East New Jersey, and Mr. Nicoll's

Speeches to the General Assembly, concerning the Riots committed in New-Jersey, and The Pretences of the Rioters and their Seducers. These Papers will give a better Light into the History and Constitution of New-Jersey, than anything hitherto published, the Matters whereof have been chiefly collected from Records. Published by Subscription. Printed by James Parker, in New York, 1747; and a few Copies are to be sold by him and Benjamin Franklin, in Philadelphia: Price bound, and Maps coloured, Three Pounds: plain and stitche only, Fifty Shillings. Proclamation Money."

The "Answer to the Bill in Chancery" appeared in a volume of forty-eight folio pages, and bore the following title:

"An answer to a Bill in the Chancery of New Jersey. At the Suit of John Earl of Stair, and others, commonly called Proprietors of the Eastern Division of New Jersey, Against Benjamin Bond, and others claiming under the original Proprietors and Associates of Elizabeth Town. To which is added: Nothing either of The Publications of the Council of Proprietors of East New-Jersey, or of The Pretences of the Rioters, and their Seducers Except so far As the Persons meant by Rioters, pretend Title Against The Parties to the above Answer: But a great Deal of the Controversy, Though much less of the History and Constitutions of New Jersey, than the said Bill. Audi alteram partem. Published by Subscription. New York: Printed and Sold by James Parker, at the New York Printing Office, in Beaver-Street. 1752."

This answer was prepared by William Livingston and William Smith, Jr., who were counsel for the four hundred and forty-nine freeholders and inhabitants whose names it contained. Livingston was a law pupil of Alexander, and although not then thirty years of age he had already attained a high position at the bar of New York. Smith was also a brilliant man, then almost twenty three years of age. He was even then assisting in the preparation of the first digest of the colonial laws of New York, and he subsequently wrote a history of the province.

The "Answer to the Bill in Chancery" was read in town meeting August 27, 1751. Lewis Morris was Governor of the province at the time. He was clothed with chancery powers (irregularly, as asserted by some), and he was a large property holder under proprietary title. For this reason he was viewed with distrust by the associates, but he was preferred for adjudicating the case, his death occurring before it was called. His successor, Jonathan Belcher, became a resident of Elizabeth Town before the "Answer" was framed, and he was so closely identified with the people in their resistance to the proprietors that his sense of propriety would not allow him to sit in the case. The French and Revolutionary wars soon

followed, and in the awakening of new issues the law of real property litigation was finally lost to sight.

Recurring to the "Bill in Chancery" and the "Answer" thereto, it remains to be said, with reference to the "Rioters" therein mentioned, that at various times, and particularly in 1747, people holding land titles under the Nicolls grant became deeply enraged by their inability to procure justice in the local and provincial courts, and in their embittered feeling they frequently undertook the defense of their rights, expelling proprietary tenants *vi et armis* from lands covered by the Nicolls grant. An instance is afforded by an affidavit made by Solomon Boyle, May 13, 1747, in which it is recited that the house of one Dalrymple was broken into by persons armed with clubs, who forcibly expelled him, with his wife and children, from the premises.

The interest of Lord Berkeley in the Jersey province was vested in John Fenwick and Edward Byllinge, who purchased it March 18, 1673, paying therefor one thousand pounds sterling. Both of the new owners were members of the Society of Friends, or Quakers, who sought to found an asylum for their oppressed brethren. Fenwick received the conveyance in trust for Edward Byllinge, and a dispute as to the terms having arisen, William Penn was called in as an arbitrator. He gave one-tenth of the province and a considerable sum of money to Fenwick, and the remainder of the territory was adjudged to be the property of Byllinge. Contentions as to territorial limits and gubernatorial jurisdiction soon arose, and by an "Indenture Quintipartite," executed July 1, 1676, the province was divided into two parts, known, respectively, as East Jersey, which was left to Carteret, and West Jersey, which went to Berkeley's successors. The division line was designated as one straightly drawn from the most northerly point of the Duke of York's grant "unto the most southwardly point of the east side of Little Egg Harbor." Uncertainty with regard to the point on the Delaware river intended by the Duke of York to be the northernmost boundary of his grant gave rise to dispute not only between the respective proprietors of East Jersey and West Jersey, but also between the provinces of New Jersey and New York. George Kent's run a division line in 1687, which was accepted by the following year by Robert Barclay and Daniel Coxe, respectively Governor of East Jersey and West Jersey, but was not adopted by the proprietors. This line formed the southwestern boundary of Monmouth county, and is yet the southwestern boundary of Ocean county, with the exception that, in 1891, Little Egg Harbor became a part of the latter named county. The proprietors subsequently, in 1743, remeasured this line and found it

which bore farther westwardly, but the original line has been retained as a boundary by two different counties in the State.

There is no more overshadowing name in the early history of Western (and now Southern) New Jersey than that of John Fenwick—a soldier, a lawyer, a preacher, a man of many parts. A victim to persecution, yet his name is held to the present day in reverence, and that, too, in places where the once mighty name of his great persecutor, Governor Andros, has been forgotten.

Fenwick was born at Stanton, Northumberland, England, in 1648, and was a lawyer by profession. When the civil war broke out, he threw in his lot with the Parliamentary forces and became a captain in a cavalry regiment. After peace was restored he resumed the even tenor of professional life until he embraced the principles of the Society of Friends, and then his life troubles commenced. He seems to have suffered imprisonment for his religious views, and to have been molested even in the prosecution of his business. His condition, however, was no more than that of other members of the Society. Wherever they appeared they were made to feel the brunt of the law, and, as most of the early brethren were also preachers of the Word, it was an easy matter for the law to reach them.

The hope of the Quakers, as they were even then called, lay across the sea, but the news of the reception of the early missionaries in Boston, in 1656, showed that the Puritanism of New England was as bitterly opposed to them as was the Puritanism of old England and, a year later, it seems that the Dutch Dictator in New Netherland was equally emphatic in his opposition. After the "Glorious Restoration" of King Charles in 1660, the Quakers in England fared a little better, but the Privy Council was an uncertain body, and there was no telling how soon an era of persecution should begin. So the dream came of founding a settlement across the sea for the Society, such as the Puritans had founded in New England, only it should be a settlement where religious toleration should prevail in the widest sense—a sense unknown in Massachusetts and Connecticut, or even in Rhode Island.

When, in 1665, Lord Berkeley offered his West Jersey possessions for sale, Fenwick saw an opportunity for putting his theories into practice, and, with Edward Billinge, he formed what would now be called a syndicate, and acquired possession of the territory. The agreement was that Fenwick was to have one-tenth of the land, and he selected, as per deed, what is now the counties of Salem and Cumberland. So far as we can see he had little or no money to invest in the enterprise, but his influence in the Society was great, his own honesty of method and purpose were

fully recognized, and he sold portions of his land readily to his fellow-members and to intending colonists.

In 1675 the first colony reached the Delaware and included Fenwick, John Pledger, Samuel Nicolson, James Nevil, Edward, Robert and Samuel Waile, Robert Windham and Richard Hancock and their families, all people of excellent character. Fenwick's wife never crossed the Atlantic, but he brought with him three daughters. Elizabeth and her husband, John Adams, Anne, who soon after married Samuel Hedge, and Priscilla, who became the wife of Edward Champney. The party landed in December, 1675, at a place now called Salem Creek, and some three miles inland selected a site for a village, to which they gave the name of New Salem. It was an unfortunate selection, as may be judged from the popular name the place received of "Swamp Town." Fenwick lost no time in making his preliminary arrangements. He held a council with the Indian chiefs who had any claim to the lands, and entered into a treaty with them, thereby securing the friendship of the red men, and he issued a proclamation ordaining that within the limits of his patent the most complete civil and religious liberty should be guaranteed to all settlers. Richard Hancock, the surveyor of the colony, at once laid out the town of New Salem into lots, and there Fenwick built himself a house. To his daughter, Mrs. Adams, he gave a tract of two thousand acres of land, and to Priscilla, then Mrs. Champney, was given a similar stretch of territory. To Elizabeth, who seems to have been his favorite, he gave a tract on her marriage to Samuel Hedge, and the property was long known as Hedgefield.

Having thus set his house in order, Fenwick proceeded to govern according to his light, but soon found that the bed of authority was not one of roses, and perplexities and troubles of all sorts gradually encompassed him. By order of Governor Andros, Fenwick was arrested in his own house in the middle of the night, charged with infringing upon the dignity and prerogatives of that high and mighty individual, and carried to New York, where he suffered imprisonment for a time. Soon after his release he disposed of his territory and governing rights to William Penn, after reserving one hundred and fifty thousand acres for himself and family. By this act the whole of West Jersey passed under one government, and, although Fenwick was elected a member of its Assembly, he seems to have taken little interest in public affairs. His spirit appears to have been crushed by the treatment he received at the hands of Andros, and he retired to the home of his daughter Anne Hedge, and there he died, in 1683.

In February, 1682, East Jersey was purchased by William Penn.

eleven other Quakers for three thousand four hundred pounds. The first Governor under the new proprietors was Robert Barclay, a Scotchman, and one of the twelve purchasers. But the number of proprietors, the frequent sub-divisions and transfers of shares, and various other difficulties in the way of good government, soon involved the province in trouble, and in 1702 all the proprietors surrendered the rights of government to the Crown.

In the Cape May region, the early settlers made payment for their lands to the Indians as well as to the proprietors (as was universally done throughout the province) and some were so careful as to make payment to the Indians even after they had derived proper proprietary title.

About 1690, and probably prior to that year, John Townsend settled near the present site of Ocean View, where he cleared land and built a cabin and a mill. His wife, Phoebe, was the first white woman buried in Upper township, Cape May county. Townsend was an Englishman who was banished from New York for harboring Quakers. His descendants are now very numerous.

Edward Billinge, one of the original proprietors, died in 1687, and his interest was purchased by Daniel Coxe, of London, England, who had already become a large proprietary owner. In 1691 John Worlidge and John Budd came from Burlington and laid a number of proprietary rights commencing at Cohansey, in Cumberland county, and going down to Cape May. They set off ninety thousand acres of land to Daniel Coxe, and this was the first proprietary survey made in the county. Daniel Coxe, who was physician to King Charles II and subsequently to Queen Anne, was exact in his dealings with the Indians (from whom he made purchase after he had obtained proprietary rights from the Crown) and liberal with those who purchased lands from him, and he was never involved in any dispute with his associates as to the location of his surveys. Notwithstanding the vastness of his American possessions (which included large tracts in the Carolinas) and the fact that he was nominally governor of the province (1687-1701) he never visited the country. He finally became involved in difficulties with his agents and servants, and determined upon making sale of his interests in Jersey. Accordingly, for a consideration of nine thousand pounds sterling, he made conveyance of nearly all his holdings and his governmental rights to the West Jersey Society, comprising forty eight members, devising a portion to his son, Colonel Daniel Coxe, who came to Burlington in 1709. But few land titles had been made under the Coxe proprietorship, and the West Jersey Society accomplished the real settlement of the region through its sales, which extended over a period of sixty four years.

In 1713 David Jamison made a map of the county of Cape May, showing the Coxe surveys. From the same map and from a deed executed by Lewis Morris in 1706, it appears that a tract of three hundred acres described as Egg Island, near the mouth of Maurice river, was laid off to Thomas Budd among the first surveys. Of this place Dr. Beesley wrote in 1857 that "Since this survey was made, the attrition of the waters has destroyed almost every vestige of it, scarcely enough remaining to mark the spot of its former magnitude."

In 1620, in the Cape May region, a tract of land sixteen miles square was purchased from nine Indian chiefs by Godyn and Bloemart, two directors of the Dutch West India Company, and this is supposed to have been the first real estate transaction in what is now Cape May county.

Some Swedish settlers occupied a portion of the Cape May county between 1638 and 1654, and Swedish agents made a land purchase about 1641. The Dutch, however, regained their supremacy, and the Swedes were absorbed by the English soon after the coming of the latter. Under the English proprietary rule, Daniel Coxe became the owner of a large portion of the territory, and the later titles were derived from him or through his assigns, the West Jersey Society.

CHAPTER VI.

COLONIAL GOVERNORS—SWEDISH, DUTCH AND ENGLISH.

The first white man who really exercised the authority of a ruling power over New Jersey was Peter Minuit, one of the most picturesque characters that the history of the New Netherland brings before us. He had one quality which few of his contemporaries and few of his official successors possessed, and that was honesty. Even the doughty Stuyvesant was not above reproach in this regard, if we may credit some of the stories which have come down to us, such as his deal with the ferry men on the North river. But, so far as record or traditions go, Peter Minuit never soiled his hands or laid his reputation open to attack by appropriating what was not his own to his own uses. Whatever he wanted he paid for; like most of the Dutchmen associated with him, he drove a hard bargain, but when one was settled he met its requirements like a just man. He it was, for instance, who negotiated with the Indians for the sale of Manhattan Island, and settled with the redskins for acquiring that piece of property in exchange for goods worth somewhere about twenty-five dollars. He seems to have beat the red men down to the last bead—but when the bargain was concluded he was careful to see to it that even the last bead was handed over to the keeping of its new owners.

Peter Minuit was born in Wesel, Prussia, in 1580. He seems to have resided there until he had almost attained middle life, and to have reached the dignity of solid, sedate and successful citizenship, as is amply testified by the fact that he was chosen a lay officer in the local church. About 1620 he removed to Holland and engaged in business. He also by this move extended his reputation for business prudence, probity and success, and so in 1625, when the directors of the West India Company in Amsterdam desired to send out to their New Netherland possessions a man in whom they could repose implicit confidence, they selected Minuit. So he accepted the appointment, receiving almost unlimited governing powers, and was in fact the first real governor of the territory. He certainly ruled well. He laid the beginning of New Amsterdam, built a trading port

there, extended its trading facilities, sent every ship that came back to Holland loaded with peltries and with a valuable stock of the Indians in good humor, and entered into a trading treaty with the latter, the colony which helped along the business and promoted good feeling. Under him the population and the trade of the place steadily increased. The directors in the homeland kept constantly asking for more, which he responded to as far as possible. His success brought him even more orders. We need not go into details, which practically have little concern for us, but we are concerned with the result—the recall of Minuit in 1614 to the company—for that led to his work in New Jersey and on the coast of Delaware Bay.

Reaching Holland after an exciting voyage, and after being almost detained a prisoner in Plymouth, England, Minuit tried to meet his traders and be reinstated in his position (a position which even then had not been filled) but he failed in both of these purposes. Disgusted with his treatment, he offered his services to the Swedish government, then smitten with the colonizing fever, and found immediate response. The charter of the Swedish West India Company, originally issued in 1623, was renewed, and in 1637 Minuit sailed away at the head of an expedition bound for the Delaware. This expedition purchased from the Indians the land from Cape Henlopen to the Falls in Trenton, built Fort Christina, near the present city of Wilmington, and had trading posts at Swedesborough and other places on the Jersey shore. The Dutch in New Amsterdam protested against this movement and against Minuit's gubernatorial authority, but he kept in the even tenor of his way, and under him the Swedish possessions slowly but steadily increased in power, credit and population, unmolested by any outside influence. New Sweden was a successful colony, envied in many respects, even by New Amsterdam, and affairs went well with it until Minuit's death in Fort Christina, in 1641.

Even at the sacrifice of a little of that continuity which should be a principle of historical writing, we may here follow the story of the government of New Sweden after its founder and mainstay had passed away. Minuit was succeeded as governor by Peter Hollander. He seems to have been an enterprising sort of gentleman, liberal in his ideas, and an expansionist as far as territory was concerned, for he added considerable territory at least, to the dominions of New Sweden. But his reign was short, for some eighteen months, and Colonel Jean Print, then assuming command, had maintained his high and honorable conception of his duty (1641-1651). These were not years of peace and quiet, for the claims and pretensions of the Dutch and the English were

erable annoyance; but Printz was a statesman as well as a soldier, and under him New Sweden advanced with rapid strides in all material things. He welcomed many boatloads of new arrivals from Sweden; he held his own family well with the Indians, built trading posts wherever he felt the necessity of trade demanded it, and practically controlled the traffic on the Delaware River by his fortifications at its mouth. He won a monopoly of the Indian trade of the region, and sent to Sweden many rich cargoes of furs; but the trouble was, the more liberal the dividend the more anxious did the home authorities become for more. His greatest trouble was to keep within due limits the Dutch claims upon his bailiwick, and that duty kept him busy for some years. But the Dutch saw that he meant business from the time he tore down a placard bearing the arms of the States General on some land which had been bought by the authorities in New Amsterdam from the red men. Printz claimed that the land belonged to New Sweden, and trampled the emblem of Dutch sovereignty contemptuously under foot. Peter Stuyvesant, in 1648, even had to bow under the effects of his ire, for in that year he repulsed a force of Dutchmen that attempted to build a trading port on the Schuylkill, and he zealously watched the advances of even the individual Dutch traders in his domains, and burned or harried their posts without mercy. Even in the territory on the Schuylkill, which the Dutch claimed by right of purchase, he had a fortification erected, and there announced his defiance of their claims and his contempt for their authority. Even Stuyvesant found himself no match for such a man, and was glad in 1651 to journey from New Amsterdam to seek an audience with him, and to negotiate a treaty of peace and alliance, and to acknowledge the integrity of New Sweden. This treaty continued in full force until 1654, when Printz, for some reason not now very clear, returned to Sweden and gave up his colonial aspirations.

John Claesson Rising, a clerk in a commercial college at Stockholm was sent over in 1654 as Colonel Printz's successor, but the wily Stuyvesant, who had been simply watching his opportunity, made short work of the question of sovereignty with him. Rising started in on his role as a ruler with considerable vim, and would have none but Swedes on guard. He ignored the Printz-Stuyvesant treaty, expelled the Dutch from Fort Casimir, forced the Dutch colonists who desired to remain in New Sweden to take an oath of allegiance to his government; denied the English any rights at all in his territory, even the right of settlement, and concluded a new treaty with the Indians, whom he relied upon as his most effective aids should he ever be required to measure his strength with either Dutch or English. All this was more than Stuyvesant could stand, so he organ-

ized an expedition in August, 1655, wended his way to New Sweden, and in a most summary fashion wiped it out, added this territory to that of the then High Mightinesses, required all who remained to take an oath of allegiance to the Dutch regime, and compelled those who did not to return to Europe. Rising returned to Stockholm with his aspirations of greatness shattered, and whatever notions he may have had of his own ability as a ruler sadly broken and shaken. A man who loses an empire is never regarded as an ornamental character, and although he offered heroically to lead a new expedition to the Delaware, and promised faithfully on paper to recover what had been lost, the Swedish government refused to listen to him seriously, and so, bit by bit, he sank back into the obscurity out of which he was never worthy of being lifted, and we hear of him no more. New Sweden, too, passes from view as a geographical entity, and henceforth becomes simply a theme for diplomatic discussion between Holland and Sweden. But the settlers remained, and their descendants even to the present day remain, and the Swedish element has won for itself a grand name all along the Delaware for its share in the work of upbuilding the nation, in fighting for its liberty and its integrity, and in aiding in all pertaining to its development in agriculture and commerce.

But we must return to the Dutch who, even in spite of the treaty of 1654, never fully gave up their claim that New Sweden was an integral part of the New Netherland.

We do not find that Wouter Van Twiller, who succeeded Peter Minuit as director of New Netherland, even bothered his head about New Jersey. He seemed to concentrate his thoughts in the opposite channel, and to have tried to extend his territory rather in the other direction, seemingly more anxious to acquire what is now Connecticut and make New Netherland sovereign over all that country and up to the limit of the soil of the Plymouth colony. But Van Twiller as a ruler was a failure. He was a merchant rather than a statesman, and his main business in America was to add to his personal wealth. That he accomplished, and many a rich piece of farming land became his personal possession, and he waxed rich. Still, the colony increased in wealth and importance under his rule, although his government was carried on upon the lines of a merchant rather than those of a legislator. Had he been permitted to remain, he might have added to the colonial wealth as well as to the Van Twiller private purse, and extended his operations into New Jersey, which must have seemed at times an inviting field for his energy, as he surveyed the land-state from the fort at New Amsterdam. It may be he intended to go in some day in that direction, and would have done so had he been permitted

to bring his plans and meditations and schemes to full fruition in his own way.

But envious people regarded Van Twiller's growing personal wealth with jealousy, and he was relieved of his power by their "High Mightinesses" in Holland, who, in 1638, sent William Kieft to rule in his stead. In estimating the value of Van Twiller's character and work in New Netherland, modern historians invariably color their views, sometimes unconsciously, from the pages of Washington Irving's "Knickerbocker," where the doughty Governor is handed down to posterity in a full-length picture, as it were, as "Walter the Doubter." But while the genius of Irving has thus, as it were, forced his view of Van Twiller, intended only as a caricature, into the pages of history, it should not be accepted above its historic worth, the worth of any piece of caricature, written or pictorial.

There seems no doubt that Van Twiller was an able administrator, a man of considerable energy and firmness, and that his administration greatly added to the extent and value of the West India Company's property in New Netherland, while his own investments, however brought about, showed that he fully believed in its continued prosperity.

Under Van Twiller's successor, William Kieft, who held the reins of government from March 28, 1638, until May 11, 1647, New Jersey came a little more to the front. Kieft seems to have been an irascible, domineering individual, with a limited amount of brains and an unlimited allowance of self-assurance—a sort of pepper-box dressed up in the clothes of authority. It is, of course, possible that our notions of his personality have been twisted by Washington Irving's caricature; but a study of Kieft's official acts prompts the belief that Irving did not depart very far from historic truth when he wrote in his veracious history the following lines regarding this product of the Dutch Colonial Service, "William the Testy."

"He was a brisk, waspish, little old gentleman, who had dried and withered away, partly through the natural process of years and partly from being parched and burnt up by his fiery soul, which blazed like a vehement rushlight in his bosom, constantly inciting him to most valorous broils, altercations and misadventures. * * * His visage was broad and his features sharp; his nose turned up with the most petulant curl; his cheeks were scorched into a dusky red—doubtless in consequence of the neighborhood of two fierce little gray eyes, through which his torrid soul beamed with tropical fervor. The corners of his mouth were modeled into a kind of fretwork, not a little resembling the wrinkled proboscis of an irritable pug dog; in a word, he was one of the most positive, restless, ugly little men that ever put himself in a passion about nothing."

That, rightly or wrongly, is the ideal of William Kieft which we are forced by the genius of Diedrich Knickerbocker, backed up by all the veriti-

able history and evidence which have come down to us, to accept as a true presentment of the successor of "Walter the Doubter." At least, of what we do know of certain history brings him before us as a sort of *quint bouffe* hero with a touch of villainy running through all his actions. Before coming to America his career was clouded by scandalism—so much so that he was hanged in cage in his native Holland. His ill fame had preceded him to New Netherland, and when he landed at New Amsterdam on March 28, 1638, after his voyage across the Atlantic on board "The Herring," he was received with marked coldness. Possibly that did not worry him very much. His purpose was to win a fortune rather than to make friends. However, he turned his authority to some use, for he built a stone church inside the fort, laid out Pearl street for suburban residences of a high class, interested himself in the cultivation of orchards and gardens, instituted two grand county fairs, and by the liberal land policy—not only offering free passage from Holland, but giving an emigrant practically free of cost a patent for as much land as he and his family could cultivate, and requiring only an oath of fidelity to the States General to enable foreigners to hold land and acquire the status of citizenship—he rapidly promoted new settlements, singly or in groups in his domains. Still, his first thought was to make money for himself. He established a distillery or brewery on Staten Island, owned and conducted by deputy, a stone tavern on the shore of the East River, and lost no opportunity of adding to his private fortune.

When Kieft, as a result of a petition from the colonists denouncing his venality, his arrogance, his tyranny and his needless Indian wars, was summoned to return to Holland, he carried with him on the ship among his personal property, something like one hundred thousand dollars, the practical results of his statesmanship. The vessel, "The Princess," was hailed with ironical salutes as she weighed anchor and started on her voyage with this precious personage on board, and the people did not even try to conceal their joy over his departure. The ship was wrecked on the English coast, however, and Kieft and his money went to the bottom.

While there is no clear evidence on the point, it seems likely that Kieft visited some portions of his Jersey domain, and it is certain that he was most zealous in his denunciation of the efforts of the Swedes to build up a new Sweden on territory which he held belonged to the States General. He was the more particularly wrought at this movement because its leader and governor was one who had held his own high position in New Amsterdam, Peter Minuit. In fact, on being apprised of the gathering strength of the Swedish colony, Kieft wrote Minuit in a long letter

with his wrongdoings, and telling him, in effect, that as an ex-Governor of New Amsterdam he ought to have known better. But Minuit paid no attention to such complaints, and kept on the even tenor of his way; and Kieft, finding that the opposition governor did not heed his just reproaches, resolved to bestow no more thought upon him, but to let him go on his own evil and discourteous way.

On May 11, 1647, Peter (Petrus) Stuyvesant landed in New Amsterdam and assumed the reins of government, vice Kieft, then crossing the high sea with his boodle and disgrace. Like that of his predecessor, we find it difficult to estimate this man's character correctly, for at the very mention of his name there arises before us Irving's masterpiece of caricature Peter the Headstrong. Stuyvesant's notions as to the Divine authority of rulers, his contempt for the people generally, his arrogance, his irascibility, his tyrannical spirit, his interfering, contentious disposition, his narrow-mindedness and his coarseness, soon made him as unpopular as ever Kieft had been; and it was not long before he had quarrels of all sorts on his hands, both with the church and the State, with patrons as well as with the citizens who dwelt within the shadow of the Stadt Huys. He was even summoned to Holland to give an account of his policy, but he declined to go. In 1653 New Amsterdam got a new charter, giving it a large measure of self-government, but Stuyvesant would have none of it, and although it became the law, it remained practically in abeyance for many years. By and by, when the people began to understand his character rightly, to appreciate his courage, his solicitude for the welfare of the population, his profound respect for authority, his clear judgment and simplicity of heart, they got along better with him, and fought his peculiarities without in the least forgetting the respect due to a fairly honest gentleman of mediæval nations, who meant well toward them all in his heart of hearts, and who, in spite of his notions as to the source of government, was in many ways a staunch supporter of liberty and progress. Under him New Netherland prospered exceedingly, and if in his dealings with the English he threw in a principality in a boundary dispute, he fairly preserved peace, cultivated as carefully as he could and as circumstances permitted, the good graces of the aborigines and the Britons, and proved a strong and fairly progressive executive.

We have already recorded Stuyvesant's dealings with what he regarded as his southern domain, and the upstart province of New Sweden, which, when occasion offered, he crushed out of existence by the horrible arbitrament of war. When the victory was fully accomplished, Peter at once brought the arts of the statesman into play. He made the change of government fall as lightly as possible on the Swedish subjects who re-

more of a law, acknowledged by contract, by taking the oaths of oath of allegiance, and when he returned in triumph to New Amsterdam he left behind as vice-director Johannes Paul Jaquet. Under Stuyvesant several large tracts of land in New Jersey were bought from the Indians so as to be opened up to settlement, notably one at Bergen, but the scheme of colonization did not mature quickly, and Stuyvesant and his council paid little attention to New Jersey, being too busy elsewhere. Still, Gardinier thinks that there was even then a road more or less lined with the houses of settlers between the colonies on the Hudson and those on the Delaware.

In 1654 the English government in Maryland had claim to the shores of the Delaware. Agents were sent to the various settlements to enforce this claim by argument and threat, and there was talk of submitting the dispute to arbitration, but Stuyvesant would have none of it, and, after making a show of force, Maryland abandoned its claims and left the Delaware in peace.

But a much more aggressive foe had to be reckoned with. In 1630 the New Haven commonwealth, in pursuance of its policy of colonial expansion which was destined to disturb so often the redoubtable Peter's peace of mind, especially in connection with Long Island, had bought land from the red men on both shores of the Delaware, intending to use it for the purpose of the settlement of several colonies. The territory was declared to be under the jurisdiction of the commonwealth, and in 1641 a colony was dispatched so as to enter upon possession and perfect the declaration. They were blocked upon as interlopers by the Swedes, as well as by the Dutch. Kieft, then Governor of New Amsterdam, was not a man to stand much trifling, so as soon as he heard of this movement, he sent two ships to the scene, with quite an army, which attacked the settlers, burned their houses and carried away all the world's prisoners. This practically ended the authority of New Haven in that direction, although it did not abandon hope. It tried to attempt to win by negotiation, but it failed to retain by its own strength. But the negotiations failed. "In 1649," writes Professor de Landers, "Governor Barentsen of New Haven, made another appeal to the commonwealth of the Netherlands of New England, for help, but the latter's resources were not adequate to entering a quarrel of that magnitude, and the cause was abandoned. Sensing that any further delay would only result in the settlement of the purchase without the consent of New Haven, and since the latter was not the claimant of New Haven, Governor Barentsen decided to give up the scheme as a whole, from which New Haven received a considerable sum of money, however, for another expedition to the New Netherlands, to be undertaken

1651, but for some reason or other the ship containing the settlers put into the harbor of New York, and Stuyvesant, on learning of their business, seized the vessel, confiscated its papers, and ordered the adventurers to return at once to Connecticut, or otherwise he would ship them to Holland. That was the last effort Stuyvesant seems to have made to preserve his territory to the south of the Hudson. His hands were getting full of trouble in other directions. In November, 1683, we find that the people of Jamaica, on Long Island, held a public meeting to protest against Stuyvesant's misgovernment and oppression. Connecticut had won a foothold on Long Island and held it with grim determination. In the eastern section the rule of Connecticut was practically supreme, and even in the western end the people as a whole would have welcomed any relief at that time from the Governor and his Council; and although Peter foamed and waxed indignant, sent remonstrances and appeals to Holland, and threatened to build a fort at Oyster Bay to overcome the English, he did nothing very effective. In fact, to his sorrow, he found he was receiving no adequate support from the United Provinces, or even much in the way of practical aid from his subjects in New Netherland. Long Island had virtually passed from his grasp and into that of Connecticut, when, by the issuance of a patent on March 12, 1663 King Charles II conveyed to his brother, the Duke of York, all of New Netherland, and the question of the possession of Long Island assumed a new phase. The charter gave to the Duke or his appointees all legislative and judicial power over the vast territory, from the western bank of the Connecticut River to the eastern shore of the Delaware, including practically New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware, subject only to appeal to the crown. When the grant was made it looked on the face of it like a worthless compliment; but the Duke and his advisers and associates seemed fully to understand the current train of events, and to appreciate the importance of the gift, and they at once set to work to realize on it as a valuable asset. In January, 1664, Captain John Scott, of Gravesend, who had formerly been an officer under Charles I, but had left England in the Cromwellian time (banished, some said, for cutting the girths of the Protector's horses, and fined five hundred pounds), and who probably inspired the grant by speaking of its probabilities, returned to Long Island from a visit to England. He had evidently been intrusted with very high power by the Duke of York and his advisers, but, desiring to fortify himself in all possible ways before proceeding to put his mission into effect, with that in view he secured the appointment of Magistrate over Long Island from Governor Winthrop, of Connecticut. Armed with this document, Scott crossed the sound to Long Island, and with one hundred and fifty followers boldly

proclaimed Charles II as King. He raised the English flag in Brooklyn and thrashed a boy for refusing to doff his hat to the emblem. This was on January 11. Then he passed in quick succession through the other Dutch towns.

By this time Stuyvesant had recovered from his astonishment at the doings in Brooklyn, and sent a commission to interview Scott and learn what the trouble was. On January 14 they met at Jamaica, and Scott



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plainly told them that Stuyvesant had no standing in the case, that the entire New Netherland territory belonged to the Duke of York, and he meant to hold it. A truce was, however, patched up, and on March 3,

Stuyvesant yielded in the stress of circumstances so much that he proceeded in solemn state to Jamaica, and there in a personal interview discussed the whole matter with the wild and victorious Scott. It was arranged that the English towns on Long Island were to remain under the flag unfolded by Scott without any interference for twelve months, until the respective home governments had time to settle the destiny of the provinces. Stuyvesant could readily force no better terms. His treasury was empty, the government from which he got his warrant paid a deaf ear to his remonstrances and appeals for aid, the people were restless and discontented, and even the Dutch seemed ready to revolt, while the English settlers openly defied him, and defied with impunity. In his despair Stuyvesant, as many a greater tyrant before and since has done, bethought of asking the advice and counsel of the people, a proceeding he would never have tolerated for a moment earlier in his career. So he called a General Assembly of delegates from the different towns to consider the condition of affairs, and it met on April 10, 1664, in the City Hall of New Amsterdam. Nothing practical came of the meeting, however, but the territory between the Hudson and the Delaware was not represented in this fateful gathering, a fact which speaks eloquently of what small account it was in the body politic at the time. So things drifted along, the English steadily advancing on the Dutch territory, not only on Long Island, but on the Hudson, until at the end of August, 1664, an English fleet under Colonel Richard Nicolls passed in through the Narrows and took possession of the harbor; and on September 8 Stuyvesant was forced to sign the capitulation by which his authority passed into the hands of the English, and the New Netherland was transferred into the possession of the Duke of York. Peter Stuyvesant retired to his bouwerie in high dudgeon, but helpless in his peril, and the rule of the Dutch for a time passed away.

We propose now to cease dealing here with historical data concerning New Jersey; that will be sufficiently done in other sections of this work. What we desire to do in the remainder of this chapter is to rapidly review the personal traits of the more prominent of the men who ruled in New Jersey. From time to time these rulers ceased to be appointed, and received their honors at the hands of their fellow citizens. Governor Nicolls does not seem, although nominally ruler over the territory, to have exercised much if any authority, and the same may be said of his immediate successors. It seems that as soon as the Duke of York obtained his charter for New Amsterdam he at once began to make it be of some practical value. So he made a sale of what is now New Jersey to Sir George Carteret and Lord John Berkeley, and these "Lords Proprietors of the Province of New Jersey."

as they called themselves, lost no time, in their turn, in putting together a purchase in such order as to yield some return. So they drew up a set of "Concessions and Agreements" for the government and protection of intending settlers, and then threw open their territory to colonists. The latter they styled "adventurers," and among other things it provided for absolute freedom of conscience in all matters pertaining to religion. That was the rock on which New Jersey was founded. To the other contents of this "Concession and Agreements" document we will again return.

Neither of these Lords Proprietors ever saw their vast domains in America—vast because, in addition to New Jersey, they held proprietary rights in Carolina. But as soon as possible they sent over a party of emigrants, designated Philip Carteret (a brother of Sir George and who was in charge of the expedition) as Governor of New Jersey, and he with his companions settled at Elizabeth, where a colony had already established itself, and so the modern story of New Jersey formally begins. Governor Nicolls, anxious of the sale and the setting up of the separate government of Nova Caesarea, or New Jersey, had been planning for colonizing the territory himself—had in fact issued a patent to the first settlers at Elizabeth—and was disposed to look upon Philip Carteret and his associate "adventurers" as a gang of land pirates. But the documentary evidence which the latter brought, and advices from home, convinced him that he had no jurisdiction over that part of the territory he had won, and so he abandoned all pretense of interest in it. Carteret, it is said, found four families making up the settlement at Elizabeth. But he hardly had time to get rid of his "sea legs" than he found a request from Connecticut asking that permission be given for the establishment of a colony from Milford on the banks of the Passaic. The request was readily granted, and led to the foundation of Newark. In fact, much of New Jersey's early population—its true pioneers—was made up of people who sought but freedom of worship. In its territory Quaker and Episcopalian, Puritan and Presbyterian, Baptist and anti-Baptist, might dwell together in peace and harmony and in the enjoyment of the fullest degree of personal liberty. In this respect New Jersey was the land of religious freedom and toleration, which New England emphatically was not, and New York was, so not, only in a less conspicuous degree.

Carteret certainly developed the qualities of a good entrepreneur, and seems to have lost no opportunity of advertising in the colonies, and even in the Netherland, the advantages of settlement within his bar. He was a lassy man all through his long tenure of official life, and his slaves seemed to accompany him all through. It was not until 1683 that he was able to call together the first skeleton meeting of the legislature. Some

of the earlier settlements, such as those at Shrewslury and Middletown, refused to recognize his authority. Organized by them, and under the leadership of James Carteret, a natural son of Sir George, who had been sent over here to be out of the way, an opposition government of New Jersey was set up in 1672. It was the work of a genuine "adventurer," but the times were favorable to it, and the legislature it set up claimed to be the real law-making body of the province. James Carteret declared himself Governor, but could show no written authority, yet so seriously was the business of the Colony interrupted that Philip Carteret went to London in order to explain matters and have a clear understanding of the situation. This was all arranged to his satisfaction, and Philip returned to America and assumed all his administrative prerogatives. In 1703 Lord Berkeley sold his interest in the province for some five thousand dollars to John Fenwick and Edward Byllinge, noted Quakers, and this led to the great incursion of the Society of Friends into West Jersey, the first settlement being made on the bank of a creek to which Fenwick gave the name of Salem. When Governor Colve and his *opera bouffe* government took possession of New York, and turned it back to New Netherland, Carteret found himself out of office, Colve claiming New Jersey along with the rest. But that farce did not last long. The Dutch abandoned New Amsterdam forever, and Carteret resumed his vocation of ruling all New Jersey until (in 1676) the province was divided into two parts, East Jersey and West Jersey, and he received a new appointment as Governor of the former half.

The commission of Edmund Andros seemed to make him the supreme representative of the Duke of York wherever the lands of the latter's patent extended. So Andros, on assuming the office of Governor of New York in 1674, claimed among other matters to be the supreme authority in New Jersey. Being backed up in his notions by whatever military and naval force there was, it proved an easy matter to sustain any claim he chose to make, and he not only enforced his claim but placed Carteret under arrest. The firmness of the legislature, however, defeated Andros' purpose. Then it was seen, even in England, that he had exceeded the spirit if not the letter of his commission. Sir George Carteret died in 1679, but his affairs were managed by his widow (Lady Elizabeth, after whom the town of Elizabeth was named) for her son, and she peremptorily ordered that no orders from Andros in East Jersey, at any rate, should hold good, and soon after Andros received direct instructions from his own royal master to leave New Jersey alone.

The division of New Jersey into East and West lasted for some twenty-six years, from 1676 until 1702. Succeeding Carteret in the Gov-

ernership of the eastern division were Robert Barclay, 1682-90; Thomas Rudyard, 1682-83; Gawen Laurie, 1638-86; Lord Niel Campbell, 1686-87; Andrew Hamilton, 1687-88; Edmund Andros, 1688-89; John Latham (rejected), 1690; Colonel Joseph Dudley (rejected), 1691; Andrew Hamilton, 1692-97; Jeremiah Basse, 1698-99; Andrew Boype, 1699; Andrew Hamilton, 1699-1702.

This group forms for the student of colonial history a most interesting theme for consideration and study. Carteret retired in 1682, and died a year or two later. When Sir George Carteret died, East Jersey was sold to a syndicate consisting of William Penn, Robert West, Thomas Rudyard, Samuel Groome, Thomas Hart, Ambrose Riggs, John Hayward, Hugh Hartshorne, Clement Plumsted, Thomas Cooper and Thomas Wilcox. Rudyard seems to have been the executive head of this syndicate. They did not last long, for in February, 1682, a new syndicate took possession. This was headed by the Earl of Perth, and included John Drummond, Robert Barclay, David Barclay, Robert Gordon, Arent Sennans, Gawen Laurie, Edward Byllinge, James Braine, William Gibson, James Barker, Robert Turner and Thomas Warne. The number was soon afterward increased to twenty-four.

Robert Barclay, who became nominally Governor in 1682, by vote of his Associate Proprietors, never saw America. He was the proprietor of the estate of Ury in Scotland, a leader in the Society of Friends, and author of the once famous "Apology for the Quakers." However, although personally he was not acquainted with the territory of which he was the nominal head, his influence upon its destinies was very great. He used it for colonizing purposes, and through him large colonies of Quakers were induced to settle in New Jersey. When chosen as Governor, the appointment was for life, but he was empowered to rule by deputy, and did so until the close of his honorable career in 1699. To American readers the name of "Barclay of Urie" will be familiar through the stirring poem which John G. Whittier wrote under that title, the hero being the father of the titular governor.

Gawen Laurie, also one of the Proprietors, was appointed by Barclay as Deputy Governor, and came over to America and entered upon the discharge of his duties with zeal and discretion. A staunch Quaker, he was essentially a man of peace, and successfully administered affairs for some three years. He settled many colonies of Friends in his domain, and satisfied both those over whom he ruled and those whose servant he was, the other proprietors. In 1687 he was succeeded by Lord Niel Campbell, brother of the ninth Earl of Argyle, whose appointment was based mainly on the fact that he had got mixed up in a political scrape in his own land.

and for his personal safety it was necessary that he should get out of the way of the then ruling powers. His Lordship came over and surveyed the territory intrusted to his ruling energies, but does not seem to have done much more. He was called on urgent business to England, the trouble which caused his exile having blown over, and he departed hurriedly, leaving as his representative a man much better fitted for the position—Andrew Hamilton.

Hamilton was a native of Scotland, and is said to have been engaged in business in Edinburgh when the Proprietors selected him as one of their American representatives. There is not much that has been made clear to us regarding his career prior to crossing the Atlantic, but he seems to have enjoyed the full confidence of Barclay and his associates in the great syndicate. He was the main adviser of Lord Niel Campbell during that aristocratic gentleman's short stay, and became a member of Council. Lord Niel, on his departure, vested the authority of the Governorship in Hamilton, and he continued to exercise it until 1688, when Sir Edmund Andros, having been appointed Governor of all of the American settlements from the St. Lawrence to Maryland (with the exception of Pennsylvania) assumed control of the whole of New Jersey. That high-handed official was taught a much needed lesson when he was arrested by the people of Boston, pelted with mud and stones, and in 1690 was summarily shipped back to England. He returned to America two years later as Governor of Virginia, but his experiences in New England apparently had a good effect upon his character, for it would seem that—as colonial governors went—he there proved a most praiseworthy executive. While he was in power, however, in the north, Hamilton virtually continued to administer affairs in his old territory. When Andros met his coup in Boston, Hamilton could not understand his own position very clearly, and went to England to lay the entire situation before the Proprietors. His journey was a long one; his vessel was captured by the French, and he did not reach London until May, 1690. It was nearly two years later before he returned to New Jersey, but he had with him authority to act as executive over both divisions. He held his double office until 1697, when the English Parliament, in a fit of jealousy against the Scotch merchants of that time, passed a law that no one not an English born subject of the King should serve in any public office, and to this law Hamilton was compelled to bow and retire. Jeremiah Basse, who succeeded to the New Jersey appointment, proved too meddling and incapable to be endured for any length of time, and in 1699 Andrew Bowne was appointed Governor of East Jersey, an appointment which he held only a few months. Hamilton was then re-appointed, and served as Governor over both di-

visions until the two were united, and the person, Edward Byllinge, was the first of the royal Governors of New Jersey. The year of the appointment of Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania, at the suggestion of William Penn, and held that office at the time of his death, April 1703.

Hamilton was in many ways one of the most advanced statesmen of the colonies of his time. As an executive he won the approval and confidence of those over whom he ruled, and he was a staunch advocate of a union among the colonies, and that, too, at a time when the idea of such a union being possible was laughed at. But there were others in New Jersey who advocated a union, and to the credit of Governor Coxe, of West Jersey, it should be said that he not only advocated a union but wrote his views in a work which he published in London. Hamilton organized a postal system for the Colonies, and although it was somewhat in the nature of a monopoly, still it was the beginning of a colonial service, and probably the first real and practical step taken to weld the scattered Colonies of Great Britain in North America into one nation.

The government of West Jersey was administered as follows: Edward Byllinge, 1677-87; Samuel Jennings, Deputy, 1677-84; Thomas Oliver, Deputy, 1684-85; John Skene, Deputy, 1685-87; Daniel Coxe, 1687-90; Edward Hullock, Deputy, 1690; West Jersey Society of Proprietors, 1691; Andrew Hamilton, 1692-97; Jeremiah Basse, 1697-99; Andrew Hamilton, 1699-1702.

Like Barclay, the titular Governor of East Jersey, Byllinge never saw the province of which he was the designated ruler. He was a Quaker and bought the territory along with John Fenwick for the purpose of establishing colonies of Friends. Fenwick and he did not agree so much as to details, and Penn, who was called upon to arbitrate between them, assigned nine tenths of the entire territory to Byllinge. Soon afterward he fell into financial straits and his property was placed in the hands of trustees. Much of the land passed to others, including a syndicate of twenty-four, but Byllinge managed to retain enough interest in the territory to retain a seat among the twenty-four, and was by them named as Governor, an office he continued to hold until his death in 1687.

Byllinge ruled by deputy, but seems to have kept a watchful eye on what was being done in the province. His earliest deputy, Samuel Jennings, was one of the most noted local preachers among the Society of Friends. Byllinge appointed him Deputy Governor in 1677, and he proved so capable and popular that the local assembly elected him Governor in 1683. Byllinge denied that the Provincial Assembly had any right to do so, and to prove the correctness of his view he ordered the members

Jennings from office as soon as he saw no other way of settling the controversy. Jennings meekly accepted the order of removal, and went to Pennsylvania. Afterward, however, he became a power for good in the political history of West Jersey. The deputies who succeeded him, Thomas Oliver and John Skene, seem to have kept within the bounds of Byllinge's notions, but the briefness of their tenures shows that they were neither of them very brilliant administrators. How could they be in such circumstances?

In Daniel Coxe, who succeeded Byllinge in the Governorship on the death of the latter named, West Jersey had a ruler who lived within its limits and was personally known to many of its people. He was born in England, and was a noted physician in London for many years, his patients including many of the most noted attendants at court. He invested his wealth largely in land in America, and in receiving his appointment seems to have made up his mind to have his home where he was appointed to rule. His views on his office were explicitly set forth in a letter which he transmitted to his fellow Proprietors shortly after he entered upon his duties.

In 1691 Governor Coxe turned over the government to the West Jersey Society of Proprietors and returned to private life, although his son continued to keep the family name prominent in the Province in various ways. The Proprietors placed the government in the hands of Andrew Hamilton, the wisest thing they could do.

In 1702 the government of the two Jerseys was taken over by the Crown, and Lord Cornbury became Governor-in-Chief of New York and New Jersey. Readers of the history of Colonial America must be acquainted with the disgraceful story of this man—a libertine, a swindler, a liar of the most reckless type, and who seems to have had in his entire make-up no single redeeming quality except that of being nominally a devoted churchman, that is, one who was zealous in making the law to further the material interest of the body to which he nominally belonged, for, of course, such a man cared nothing about religion for religion's sake. He was too much abased in sin to be fit to wait even upon a door-keeper in the house of the Lord, yet he was wont to boast of how many churches he had caused to be erected. A profligate at home, a disgrace to society there, he was given his Colonial appointment in the hope of recruiting his character and his fortunes. The first was gone beyond any possibility of recovery; he does not seem even to have attempted the task. To the second he zealously applied his energies, and "give! give!" was his constant cry to the legislature of New York and afterward to that of New Jersey. But they did not always respond, and his rule was one long continued orgie

of sins, slander, swindle and blackmail, and ended in his removal in 1708 in answer to many and indignant protests. As soon as he was removed from office, he was arrested and lodged in jail by his creditors. After some time is said he reformed, succeeded his father as Earl of Clarendon, paid off his debts, and sat in solemn judgment in the House of Lords as a hereditary peer of Parliament.

Cornbury was succeeded in the governorship of the two provinces by Lord Lovelace, but he only held the office for a few months.

Governor Hunter, a scion of an old Scottish family, entered upon the duties of the dual governorship June 11, 1710. Like all of his predecessors and contemporaries, he had accepted the office with a view of adding to his private fortune, but unlike most of them he had a conscience that prevented him from seeking to increase his wealth by means which were in direct variance to the welfare of the community over which he was appointed to rule. After all in a year's experience in America, he saw that the development of the territory under his rule could only be hastened by adding to its population through encouraging and facilitating immigration, and having conceived a scheme about the manufacture of naval stores by which he might enrich himself and afford employment to many workers, he proceeded to develop the resources of the country and increase his own wealth by the introduction of some three thousand German laborers from the Palatinate. These people were settled in five villages on the banks of the Hudson River, and were to produce tar and turpentine. Their passage money was to be repaid out of their earnings, and on the same terms they were to be supplied at first with the necessaries of life. As might be expected, the scheme was a failure. The immigrants were virtually contract slaves, and were so dissatisfied with their lot that they refused to work, and when at length he washed his hands of the whole scheme, and left the immigrants to ship for themselves, "but not outside of the Province," the Governor was very seriously crippled financially. His greatest claim to remembrance is his establishing a complete Court of Chancery in New York, and although he doubtless saw in such a court a rich harvest of fees and opportunities for patronage, the good accomplished by a tribunal of that description, especially in a developing Colony where new and intricate questions were daily demanding decision—decisions which were for all time to rank as precedents—should not be ignored. In many ways Governor Hunter was a model ruler. In questions of religion he was extremely tolerant, and he believed in every man being permitted to worship as he thought best. He indulged in no wild cat schemes, unless his importation of workers from the Palatinate be so regarded, and encouraged no extravagant out-

lay of public money. He understood the art of managing men, and was on equally good terms with all the parties in the colony. Very popular he was not and never could be, for he represented a sovereign power in the person of the King, while all around him in New York and New Jersey was slowly but surely developing the theory that the source of all power, even the power to name governors and judges, should be the people concerned; still, he preserved intact the supremacy of his royal master, and maintained peace or the appearance of harmony in the province, although he foresaw very clearly that a struggle between Britain and the American colonies was certain, sooner or later. "The Colonies were then infants at their mother's breasts," he wrote in 1711 to Lord Bolingbroke, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs: "but such as would wean themselves when they came of age."

When Robert Hunter retired from the colony in 1710, he was given an address lauding the administration of his affairs, and the opinion was expressed that he had "governed well and wisely, like a prudent magistrate, like an affectionate parent." This praise seems to have been thoroughly well deserved, and even American writers acknowledge that his official record was not only an able but a clean one. He was possessed of more than ordinary talent, was a warm friend of such men as Addison, St. John, Steele, Shaftsbury, and especially of Dean Swift, who appears to have entertained for him as undoubted sentiments of respect and friendship as he entertained for any man. "Hunter," wrote George Foster in his uncompleted life of the Dean of St. Patrick's, "was among the most scholarly and entertaining of his (Swift's) correspondents; some of Swift's own best letters were written to his friend, and the judgment he had formed of him may be taken from the fact that when all the world were giving to himself the authorship of Shaftsbury's (anonymously printed) 'Letter of Enthusiasm,' Swift believed Hunter to have written it." General Hunter died at Jamaica in 1734, while holding the office of Governor of that island.

Governor Hunter's successor in New York was also a Scotchman — William Burnet. This amiable man was the son of the famous Bishop Burnet, whose "History of Our Own Times" is one of the classics of English literature. William Burnet was educated at Cambridge and admitted to the practice of law. He appears to have been fairly successful in that profession, but lost all his means in the South Sea bubble, and, finding himself ruined, looked around so that he might use his great family influence to secure for him a colonial appointment, a most natural and common proceeding at that time. His success was quick and brilliant. On the 21st of September, 1720, he found himself in New York as its Governor,

and as Governor of New Jersey. His administration was as able and as honest as that of his predecessor, and he made himself immensely popular by his prohibition of trade between the Indians and the merchants in Canada, and he even built a fort at his personal expense to help in protecting the trade of the colony over which he ruled. The home government, however, refused to endorse Burnet's course in this instance, but that setback only added to his personal popularity. He lost it all, however, by the policy he adopted toward the Court of Chancery. Briefly stated, he wanted to make that body independent of public sentiment and above public interference, while colonial opinion was that all judges and all courts should be subject to the contract of the people, directly or through their elected representatives. Things reached such a pass that the Assembly threatened to declare all acts and decrees of the Court of Chancery as null and void, and reduced all its fees as a preliminary step in that direction. The crisis between the Governor and the people was ended, greatly to the former's relief, in 1728, when he was transferred to the Governorship of Massachusetts. He had not much time to make a name for himself in the old Bay State, for he died at Boston in 1729.

John Montgomerie, the next Governor, was a soldier of brilliant parts and many amiable qualities, but he only held the office for some three months, dying July 1, 1731. William Cosby, the last of the dual governors of New York and New Jersey, arrived on August 1, 1732. This miserable charlatan drew his salary, quarreled with Assemblies, courts and all in any position of authority, aired his self-conceit, and gabbled about prerogatives until he became the most hated man in the province. He died in office, March 7, 1739.

Cosby was succeeded by Jean Hamilton, the son of Governor Andrew Hamilton, who, as, in turn, President of the Council, assumed the executive authority. Hamilton continued to act as Governor until the summer of 1738, when Lewis Morris became Governor of the Province of New Jersey, he having been one of the leaders in the movement which dissolved the political tie which had for over thirty years bound the two provinces. Morris was the foremost lawyer of his time, was Chief Justice of New Jersey for several years, an able statesman and public-spirited citizen. He was bitterly opposed to the office of Lord Cornbury, and presented an petition to Queen Anne the petition, asking for the removal of that scoundrel. He continued to act as Governor of New Jersey, rendering the Province many rare services in his ten years' term.

Jonathan Belcher succeeded to the governorship in the fall of 1739. He had previously been Governor of Massachusetts, but was removed in consequence of the emanation of a proclamation in the papers

trouble between the local legislature and the royal governors which for years was the leading feature of colonial official annals. He seems to have been fairly successful in New Jersey, and maintained his authority peacefully and with much personal popularity until his death at Elizabeth Town, August 31, 1757.

His successor, Sir Francis Bernard, by a curious coincidence, was Governor of New Jersey from 1758 to 1760, and then received the appointment of Governor of Massachusetts, where he is credited with laying by his offensive acts done more to force the Revolution than any other man. Thomas Boone, his successor in New Jersey, only held the office for about a year, and was then transferred to South Carolina. Josiah Hardy, who followed Boone, held the office of Governor of New Jersey for two years (1761-63) and was removed because, in contravention of his instructions, he issued commissions to judges under tenure of good behavior instead of during the royal pleasure. After him came Franklin, whose story is fully dwelt upon in another and more stirring chapter of this work, and who was the last of the Governors chosen by the will of a King or a cabinet. When he was ignominiously thrust from the scene, the Governor of New Jersey received his appointment at the hands of the Sovereign People.

CHAPTER VII.

NEW JERSEY IN THE REVOLUTION.

Outside of that of the Commander in Chief, the revered Father of his Country, there is no personality so practically as the theme of a character sketch among all the men brought into prominence during the period of the American Revolution than that of William Franklin, the last of the Royal Governors of New Jersey. We say this not because he was a man of genius, of great force of character, of profound learning or the possessor of any of those qualities which marked out Washington, Greene, Mercer, Hamilton, Livingston, Maxwell, Putnam and Knox as undoubted leaders of men, nor because he possessed a title of that common sense and homely honest wisdom, that sturdy self-reliance, that untiring industry, that keen perception, that creative power, that natural inspiration, which won temporary fame for his father, and have made the name of Benjamin Franklin regarded throughout the world as that of the most typical of all Americans — typical of its diplomacy, its literature, its science, its commercialism and its thoroughly practical ways of meeting all difficulties and surmounting all obstacles in individual or national life.

But it is much easier to say what William Franklin was not, than to describe what he was. Of course, he owed his start in life to the influence of his father, and there seems no doubt that he received his most memorable appointment, that of Governor of New Jersey, in 1763, as a means of retaining the sympathies and support of that factious in the measures then being framed for taxing the American Colonies according to the wishes of Parliament, and without regard to the views of the people most concerned. In this, if such was the motive, the British authorities most signally erred as they erred in matters of national importance. Their cautious but political course exhibited in this personal matter never caused Benjamin Franklin to waver from the appointed line of duty, the line so clearly marked out by patriotism and the voice of his country. But it developed William Franklin into a confirmed Tory, and estranged father

and son, an estrangement that continued unsoftened until long after the contest was over and the son was an exile from his native land.

As Governor of New Jersey, William Franklin failed to exhibit any of the qualities of statesman; he never seemed to estimate correctly the strength of the current with which he was struggling, he did not appear to understand the sentiment of the people over whose destinies he presided or to appreciate the trend of the popular movement which he even vainly tried with puny efforts, it seems to us, to suppress. He was not himself a man of his word, and he judged others by his own calibre. A man of personal honesty, of warm friendship, of high ambitions, he lacked stability of character, that degree of resolution which makes a man respected by his public opponents, respected even when clearly in the wrong, when pursuing an unpopular policy. He was for a time regarded as a somewhat brilliant ruler, yet when the end came and he was ignominiously sent to Connecticut—because his word could not be trusted—there was probably not one man in New Jersey who in his heart felt any sentiment of regret.

William Franklin was born in Philadelphia in 1720, and was an illegitimate son of Benjamin Franklin, who appears to have had his weaknesses like less gifted men. When the child was about a year old, his father, who had married and set up a home, took him there, superintended his education, and treated him in all respects as a father should treat a son. As he grew up, William developed a taste for reading, and in many ways became the close associate and confidant of his father. He saw a little of life, too, for he obtained a commission in the Pennsylvania Militia, served on the Canadian frontier in the campaigns popularly known as King George's War, and acquitted himself so creditably that he received a commission as captain. For a short time thereafter he was Comptroller of the General Post Office, and Clerk to the Provincial Assembly. In 1757 he accompanied his father to England as his secretary, was admitted a member of the bar in London the following year, and seems to have become quite a social favorite. That was the experience which finally cost him his citizenship in his native land. When he landed in England he was in full accord with his father's political views, but as his friendships extended he became noted for his ultra British perversity, and became in fact a Tory of the Tories. It seemed a bit of good politics under all the circumstances to utilize him in America. So Lord Bute thought, when he became acquainted with the young man, and he recommended his employment to Lord Fairfax, with the result that in 1762 William Franklin was gazetted as Governor of New Jersey.

He reached his post in the following year. His reception, however,

was by no means a hearty one, and it was not long before it was evident that his appointment did not realize its expectations. He aped all the possible dignity of a real royal Governor, but the cloud on his birth was mercilessly and openly discussed, and he was publicly branded as a place hunter and a time-server because he had left the Colonies a Whig and returned a Tory with, it was alleged, the Governorship as the medium of exchange. However that may be, there was henceforth no paltering or equivocation in his political views from the time he took up the reins of government in New Jersey. He was then a Tory and devoted to the cause of King George. He was steadfast in his loyalty all through the Revolution, and after it was over he went to England, where his loyalty won him an appropriation and pension, and there he lived until the end of his long journey, in 1813. He had become estranged from his father when the time came for the parting of the ways, and the estrangement was never wholly healed, although when the conflict was over a reconciliation was patched up, and their friendly relations, to a certain extent, resumed. But from that time their lives were widely apart.

Such was the man into whose hands was delivered the executive power of the Colony at the very time when events were shaping themselves to develop the greatest crisis in its history—the crisis upon which it entered as a Crown Colony, and out of which it emerged as a free and independent sovereign State. That crisis, however, was not fully perceived in 1763 on either side of the Atlantic. There was no trouble apparently in the Colonies beyond the usual and constant struggle of the popular assemblies with the royal representatives, but that trouble, men said, was chronic; it had existed from the beginning of the system and would continue to the end. Boston had in 1760 its first trouble with the mother country, New York had led the way in opposing the appointment of judicial officers during “the King’s pleasure,” but the gravity of such occurrences was hardly estimated, and their effect seemed temporary. The French war, which had carried off so many of the bravest spirits in the Colonies, was just over and a treaty of peace had been signed, and with the news of that consummation came the hope that the frontier of the settlements would henceforth be safe, and that the red-hands might press forward into the apparently boundless territory which stretched away beyond, with no opposition except that of the wilderness. But long before the year 1763 was out, came that terrible native outbreak under Pontiac which ravaged the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, and did waste the entire north-western frontier in the ringleaders and hardships more terrible than had ever before been experienced. The story of that war, as told by Parkman, forms one of the most thrilling episodes in

American history. But even that war, brutal and far-reaching as it was, did not arouse excitement all through the Colonies. New York managed to keep clear of it, thanks to the influence of Sir William Johnston, which prevented the Six Nations from entering into any active share in Pontiac's conspiracy, and New Jersey knew nothing of it except from rumor. The enforcement of the navigation laws interfered with trade in the coast towns, but did not concern in the least the farmer on his fields, and even George Washington, in his retirement, wrote that year to a friend in England that affairs were so quiet in the Colonies that there was nothing to write about.

But in 1763 events were shaping themselves steadily to bring to the front, by the foremost of issues, the theory of separation from the Mother Country, and that, too, in the Mother Country itself. September 22, George Grenville, then at the head of the Whig ministry in England, after consultation with Lord North, directed one of his associates in the Cabinet to have the proper officials prepare "the draft of a bill to be presented to Parliament for extending the stamp duties to the Colonies." The measure was prepared, accepted by Grenville, and on March 22, 1765, the bill was passed in Parliament. The provisions were to become effective in the following October. The news did not reach America until early in May, and with it came, unspoken, the decree of separation. While the act was pending, while its provisions were under discussion, warning enough had been sent across the sea from the Colonies as to the temper of the colonists and their position in the matter, but Grenville—the real originator of the independence of the colonies—was obstinate and foolish, his associates were hardly competent to act as country "squires," and the ministry which succeeded was, as a contemporary said, "a collection of blind cats." As a result of the strong opposition, the Stamp Act was repealed in 1766, but with a rider in the shape of a resolution declaring the full authority of Parliament over the Colonies, and in 1767 Charles Townsend introduced the Tea Act, and this, with such measures as the Mutiny Act, showed that Parliament, or the Ministry at its head, was determined on making the Colonies a source of supply to the British Treasury, and stripping the colonists of every real vestige of political power. Grenville, in office or out of it, was fully informed of the crisis which his Stamp Act had aroused in America, but he had no thought except that all opposition could and should be ruthlessly crushed out. He went to his grave, in 1770, with that notion firmly impressed on his mind, and so was spared the pain of seeing the outcome of his taxation policy in the immortal Declaration of 1776 and the birth of a New Nation.

It was at the beginning of the crisis that William Franklin assumed

the Governorship of New Jersey. Had he inherited any of the practical wisdom of his father he would have understood the people among whom his lot was cast a little better than he did, as it was, he proved. Under them even those who, on the banks of the Thames, concerted measures for humiliating and plundering the colonists. A word of warning from him might have proved of great service in making the English government appreciate and weigh the sentiment of the colonists, but the warning was never given, seemingly because he saw no occasion for it. He had no toleration with rebellion, had no conception of the true outcome of the popular discontent but submission, and seemed to be so top-heavy in his own ideas of his personal greatness and the invulnerability of the regime he represented, that he was disposed to treat with scant courtesy even such protests as reached him in due form and after the usual process prescribed by law. Had he acted differently he would have left a more loveable memory in American history. It is not likely, however, that his position one way or other would have swayed events to any great extent. The march of progress was on; a link in the unimpeachable chain of human events was being forged, and the inexorable finger of destiny kept pointing at the anvil until a treaty of peace was signed in 1783, and the colonies were declared free, independent, sovereign states, soon afterward to be welded into a nation.

But in 1763, when William Franklin assumed his Governorship, the hold of Great Britain upon the entire North American continent seemed stronger than ever it had been. The long struggle with France, with its wonderful story of intrigue, defeat, disaster, victory, renounce, perseverance, trickery and deceit, was over, and Britain was mistress of the continent. France had ceded Canada, Nova Scotia and Cape Breton to the conqueror, and Louisiana to Spain, so she was bereft of all the possessions for the retention and extension of which she had so long struggled, and to which she had devoted so vast a store of her national resources, in blood and treasure and founded her aspirations for colonial greatness. For the development of a "New France" across the sea. The territory which she ceded to Spain was at the time an unexplored country, but it gave her even then the supremacy of the Gulf of Mexico, of the known course of the Mississippi, and of a territory east of which was intruded by white men except a few missionaries, and a handful of pioneers. Over that territory, or most of it, the realm of the *Le Tellé* was. Vast, rich and extensive as the Spanish possessions were, they proved of little practical value to that country, even then, in its decline. Britain was mistress, although her actual settlements were confined practically to a strip along

the seaboard and the St. Lawrence. Georgia, the Carolinas and Virginia touched the eastern bank of the Mississippi, the opposite bank belonged to Spain, and Spain even claimed and exercised sovereignty over the entire river. Florida, ceded to Great Britain in 1763 by Spain, was regarded simply as one vast and useless swamp. The northern boundary of Virginia and the western boundary of Pennsylvania were practically on the frontier, although to the north of the one as far as Lake Superior and west of the other to the Mississippi extended an empire whose extent and resources and opportunities were supposed to be vast but were practically unknown. Roughly speaking, in what is now the United States the Mississippi formed a dividing line between the Spanish and the British territory when the peace of 1763 had eliminated the power of France. To Spain, its vast empire, whose western boundary was unknown, was but a negligible quantity and returned nothing substantial; it was hardly even used to any extent for colonizing. In the British portion it may be said that all west of latitude 82 degrees was almost equally unknown, but along the coast were thriving towns and settlements and colonies and commonwealths, and from them colonizing parties and individual settlers were constantly setting forth, pressing yearly further and further west, fighting the red men and clearing the way for the teeming population which within a century was to build up in that territory great and prosperous cities and convert hunting grounds and deserts into fertile fields and thriving villages.

In the final struggle with France, the American colonies rendered splendid service to the Mother Country, and while the crown provided the colonial troops with arms, ammunition and provisions, the pay and clothing of the quota of men demanded from each Colony, as well as the expense of levying and drilling, were borne by their respective Colonies. William Pitt, the greatest of the premiers of Great Britain, to whose energy the termination of the French empire in America was due, promised that such charges would be refunded by Parliament, but the promise was never fulfilled.

But a wave of loyalty was then passing over the Colonies, and little was thought of the expense in view of the benefit to be secured by the success of the campaign against France. New Jersey was especially enthusiastic. Her quota to the fighting forces should have been 500 men, but its extent was on the surface at least left to her own volition, and her Assembly responded by raising double that number, and maintaining that strength in 1758, 1759 and 1760, and in the two years following 600 men, besides a company of veterans which was retained for garrison duty. She paid a bounty of twelve pounds for recruits, built suitable barracks at

Burlington, Freeton, New Brunswick, Perth Amboy and Elizabeth, and carried on her share in the campaign at a cost to her treasury of something like two hundred thousand pounds. What a change within three or four years, when Governor Dinwiddie was praying for assistance from the Colonies in a previous campaign, and met with a faltering and unwilling and disheartening response. Even in the details of this story, lay a significant lesson for the future Government and the Royal Governors, yet it passed unheeded.

But the French war was one in which the Colonists had a greater interest than they imagined. Not one of the single Colonies in 1760 was in complete accord with the mother country. There was in each some matter of policy or an impost which aroused and maintained a feeling of unrest and defiance. But, situated as they were, with Indians constantly reddening their frontiers and making forays on the older settlements; with the French blocking progress on the west and holding the St. Lawrence and all to the north of it, ready and alert to take every advantage to extend and strengthen its hold; with the carrying trade, the means of communication and of commerce with the outer world, practically in the hands of the mother country; with jealousy and even dislike marking the intercourse, such as it was, between the scattered Colonies—Colonies, seemingly, without any prospect of a community of interest—the only general feeling that existed, that of opposition to the policy of the mother country, not, it should be remarked, of opposition to the mother country itself, would never have culminated in open resistance and a demand for separation. Parkman, in his volumes on "Montcalm and Wolfe," brings this out with unmistakable clearness when he says (Vol. I., Page 5) "If by diplomacy or war she (France) had preserved but the half, or less than half, of her American possessions, then a barrier would have been set to the spread of the English-speaking races, there would have been no Revolutionary War, and for a long time, at least, no independence."

The French war, too, proved an excellent training school for many of those who were afterward to practice the art of war in the holy cause of independence. There Washington and others became veteran soldiers, and there New Jersey's revolutionary hero, William Maxwell, prepared himself for the splendid service he rendered his country and his country's wealth when the time came to throw down the gamut, and deeds superseded words, resolutions and piousness in the struggle with Great Britain.

When the French war terminated, as has been said, a wave of loyalty spread over the country, which it would have been well for her had Britain taken advantage of with any degree of statesmanship. The splendid deeds which the Colonies had rendered in the subjugation of France's New

World Empire, its splendid fighting force, its freely voted supplies, estimated at £3,500,000, its privateers, which sailed on every sea and wiped out the commerce of France, practically turned the fortunes of the war, and gave Great Britain her first real claim to the sovereignty of the seas, all demanded recognition, substantial recognition, and the recognition asked in America was simply the right to manage local affairs and taxation.

But in Britain this loyalty, this service, this sacrifice, were all speedily forgotten; the wealth of the Colonies had been made apparent by the sacrifices the colonists had so freely made, and the predominant idea among the statesmen in London was that America should be made to reconp the British Treasury for the outlay expended in the war, not alone this war in America but the war anywhere; that the American Colonies, in fact, should help pay the debts of the mother country. It was the old dream of getting gold from America, the dream which inspired the Spaniards to fit out the little fleet of Columbus, which aroused the cupidity of Pizarro, the fierceness of Cortez, and which had animated DeSoto and most of the early discoverers. It was gold in the mines, in the temples, in the homes, on the persons of the people, they sought; gold was their ultimate, their real, and their sole object in crossing the sea, and some of them obtained it by fair means, but most of them by foul. America, to British statesman, was still a hunting place for gold, and they sought to obtain it, not by arms or direct spoliation; not by means of vulgar robbery and heartless murder as in Peru; but by the more genteel and modern method of stamps and taxes.

It was at the flood-tide of this wave of loyalty that William Franklin appeared in New Jersey, armed with his commission as Governor, and settled down at Trenton. The prevailing sentiment of loyalty in a great degree was emphasized by the news of the Indian outbreak under Pontiac, which Parkman has so graphically detailed in two of his monumental volumes on early American history. The extent of this outbreak—"conspiracy," Parkman has called it—the reckless bravery of the Indians, the influence, audacity and skill of their leader, and the rumors of massacre, burnings and cruelties, created more alarm than any previous rising, all the more so because it was unexpected. With the passing of the French regime it was not anticipated that the Indians would dare attempt any movement in force against the Colonies.

The general alarm excited even New Jersey, although it had no exposed frontier like that of New York and of Pennsylvania, and Governor Franklin ordered the local militia to be in readiness. So far as the Province itself was concerned, the Indians gave little actual trouble, although,

as a memorial to the Governor from the Assembly in 1764 said, "We neither they (the Indians) had actually any design upon this Province or not, their hostilities in the neighborhood of our frontier, and, in one doubtful instance, over the line, were inducements to place a frontier guard of two hundred men for the winter past." The real battleground of the conspiracy, however, was to be on the remote frontier of the settlements, and to aid him in the work of suppression, General Amherst, commanding the forces, asked for troops from the Colonies, the number from New Jersey being fixed at 600. Governor Franklin in a message to the Assembly recommended that this quota be raised, but the legislature only agreed to furnish 200 men for local defence, contributing £10,000 for their support and equipment.

The trouble seems to have been the old colonial jealousy. It was thought by the New Jersey legislators, and not alone by them, that the trouble, while most visible along Lake Erie and the Ohio River, and although mainly menacing New York and Pennsylvania, was one in which the entire English population was concerned, and there was a feeling that New England was being permitted to escape what was felt to be its share of the burden and the sacrifice. In time the quota was agreed to, but only after a wrangle between the Governor and the Assembly in which the Council, virtually the Governor, used the executive power of veto and prerogative.

It does not seem that Franklin's behavior in this crisis added to his personal popularity. It was felt that he was simply an alien; that he was in the colony but not of it. At the same time the proceedings appeared to increase his own notions of his personal importance and magnify his ideas of the substantial nature of the power which he represented and the supremacy of his own prerogatives over the wishes and policies of the representatives chosen by the people and forming the General Assembly. He had one advantage—his position, his powers, his prerogatives were clear cut and distinct, and he had the authority of the home government and Parliament behind him, as well as the somewhat doubtful wisdom of the Lords of Trade, while the powers of the Assembly were at best ill defined, and so muddled by parliamentary interference and gubernatorial weakness, or avarice, or impotency or craftiness, or all combined, as to be but little understood, or, even when understood, of but little value against the exercise of the executive power. On one point only was the voice of the Assembly potent, and that was in regard to the raising of money. The law that faced Franklin, as it faced all the Governors since the days of Carteret, declared illegal the imposition of "any tax, custom, subsidy, tollage, assessment or any duty whosoever upon any color or pretence,

how specious soever" without the consent of the General Assembly. Parliament by an act of 1698, had practically nullified this, but the nullification was but little heeded, and even Franklin had to go through the formality of asking the consent of the Assembly for the money necessary to raise and equip the 600 troops which the Province sent to the frontier to aid in the overthrow of Pontiac and his confederated braves.

It was on this point, however,—the question of taxation without consent,—that the great crisis was to arise, and it became acute very soon after the power of Pontiac's outbreak was broken at Bloody Bridge. It is not proposed here to follow in detail all the measures and discussions in London on the subject of taxation in America, or even to follow up the story of the reception which the news of all that silly statesmanship met with the colonies. Such details belong to general rather than to local history. Suffice it to say here, that the infamous Stamp Act was passed with practical unanimity in both houses of Parliament, in spite of the strong protest (protests, rather), uttered on behalf of the Colonies by Benjamin Franklin. The result was the meeting of the first Colonial Congress, at New York, October 7, 1765. Then followed a Declaration of Rights, the voluntary or compulsory resignation of the stamp agents, the destruction of the stamped paper sent over, wherever it could be seized, and the development of a determined opposition to the measure. Without admitting it, the Colonies in 1765 were practically in a condition of open rebellion, although the only active tangible rebels were the Sons of Liberty, an association mainly composed of the young and ardent spirits of the time. As a result of this opposition the Stamp Act was repealed. But Parliament, led by successive ministries, still held to the theory that it had a right to levy taxes in America or in any British Colony. The news of the repeal of the Stamp Act caused great rejoicing throughout the Colonies, but the joy was shortlived. British troops, or troops in the pay of Britain, began to flock into the country, and their maintenance was in itself a grievous and burdensome tax. While the presence of the soldiery was regarded as a threat, a manifestation of force, to which the colonists were unaccustomed, the system of billeting the troops upon the people was repugnant to all inflicted with the presence of the military, and again the crisis became acute. Great Britain continued to dispatch her soldiers across the sea, however, in spite of remonstrances and protests, and the crisis continued even although by 1773 all the taxes were withdrawn excepting one on tea. That impost was in itself a trifling one, and possibly had it been imposed earlier it might have been permitted to become operative. But the principle was now at stake, and the people, aroused by the presence of the military and the threat implied, determined to resist

even that picaresque impost. Then followed the incident now known as "the Boston Tea Party," when, on December 16, a party of Boston citizens disguised as Indians threw a cargo of the taxed tea into Boston Harbor. There was also a somewhat similar tea party in New York Harbor, and a cargo of tea was seized in Charleston and permitted to go to waste, while yet another cargo, at Philadelphia, was saved only by the skipper returning with it to sea.

Such acts were those of open rebellion, but even then the idea of separation from the mother country does not seem to have been general, and many good patriots hoped that events would so shape themselves that the discontent would be allayed. But Britain's lawmakers stumbled on Hindly, and a bill which passed Parliament in 1774 forbidding any vessel to enter Boston Harbor for trading purposes—a poor punishment for the tea party—virtually decided the matter and forced the issue. A second Colonial Congress was called, which met in Philadelphia in September, 1774. Massachusetts was then in open rebellion, and was promised aid from her sister Colonies. Then came General Gage upon the scene with ten thousand troops and instructions to crush out whatever looked like rebellion. The Bay State responded by raising an army of twelve thousand men, and the struggle was on.

We must now turn to New Jersey and follow its part in these momentous occurrences in more detail, not only because it is our immediate province, but because in many respects it assumed a prominence in them and in the subsequent armed resistance which at times made her in reality the very keystone of the arch which liberty was then erecting. The battle of Trenton made the Union a possibility, and retrieved the disaster at Brooklyn with its subsequent loss of New York.

The organization known as the Sons of Liberty had been extended to New Jersey, and its members soon proved that they were as watchful of the rights and interests of the people as were their brethren in New York or Connecticut. They bent their energies to rendering the provisions of the Stamp Act of no avail, and it was through their instrumentality that William Cox, who was appointed as stamp officer for New Jersey was induced "voluntarily" to resign. Most of those who were appointed to aid in the distribution, to sell the stamped papers, followed suit, while those who did not were severely punished. Every means were employed to prevent the circulation of the stamps, and every attempt to make them available was frustrated by the vigilance of these enthusiastic devotees of liberty. In Salem, for instance, as soon as it was learned that John Hanon had applied for an appointment to cooperate with their distribution, he was waited upon, signed, and the appointment

agreed to withdraw. All this took place before one of the obnoxious stamps had reached this side of the Atlantic, but it was a wise and salutary proceeding, for had the traffic once been permitted it would have been stopped only with difficulty and attendant confusion; besides, the precedent would have been established, and victory in the question at issue would have remained with Britain.

But, as a result of the agitation and preparation, of appeal by voice or by letter, when early in October, 1765, the "Royal Charlotte," convoyed by a war vessel, sailed up the Delaware, the news that she had on board the consignment of stamps for New Jersey, Maryland and Pennsylvania sent every flag to half-mast, while the bells in most of the churches were tolled as for a funeral. The stamps were never used; and it was with a sigh of relief that Hughes, the agent in Philadelphia to whom they had been consigned, saw them safe on a war vessel. An adverse fate met the stamps everywhere. New England threw them into the sea or burned them. New York seized them and locked them up; all over the country, the bells on the churches on November 1, the day the stamp duties became legal, sounded a muffled peal, and from New Hampshire to Georgia flags were half masted—a sign of mourning for the departure of liberty—and not a few newspapers suspended publication. For once the Colonies were united, for once they showed that they had learned the value of unity and fully realized that their only hope for liberty lay in united action. "Join or die," became one of the mottoes of the incipient nation.

There was, however, a spirit of wisdom in all this determined opposition to the circulation of the stamps. The impost, however unpopular and however opposed, was still one of the laws of the land, and without strict compliance with its mandates the legal business of the Colonies could not legally be carried on. A deed without the prescribed stamp, for instance, had no standing before a court of law, neither had a will any force, or an agreement any validity. But even in the comparatively few cases where the lawyers were willing to fulfill all possible legal requirements, their clients refused to pay for the stamps, and so the legal machinery was, in many instances, brought to a complete standstill. Meetings of the members of the New Jersey bar were held to consider the advisability of discontinuing practice altogether until the matter of the Stamp Act was settled one way or another. Such a step might have meant confusion and distrust everywhere, and introduced what would nowadays be called a spirit of anarchy. So the lawyers decided to continue business, to use no stamps, and abide the results. But the opposi-

tion to the Stamp Act was so determined that the English captain who had the stamps for New Jersey in charge did not dare land them.

The New Jersey Legislature, however, was the central figure in the opposition. A communication from the Massachusetts House of Representatives suggesting a meeting of Representatives from all the Colonies at New York in October, 1765, was laid before the New Jersey Assembly on June 20, 1765, the last day of its session. The members had then mostly returned to their homes, others were preparing impatiently to be released from attendance, and amid the hubbub which seems inseparable from the last days of the session of every American legislature, Governor Franklin seems to have had no difficulty in procuring the passage of a resolution in which it was stated that the Assembly "unanimously, after deliberate consideration," decided against taking any part in the proposed Congress. It seems that Robert Ogden, the Speaker, was at first inclined to the opinion that the Colony should send Representatives, but that he changed his mind on some "advice" being given him, but as to the nature of the "advice" or the name of the adviser history is silent. The news of the cavalier treatment accorded to the Massachusetts proposals, however, aroused such hearty and outspoken denunciation that it caused the Speaker to disregard his advice and reconvene the Assembly, with the result that the invitation was accepted, and Ogden, Hendrick Fisher and Joseph Burden were selected to represent New Jersey in the proposed Congress. Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware, South Carolina, Maryland and New York were the other Colonies represented at this momentous gathering, and while Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia and New Hampshire, for various reasons, did not send delegates, their people soon showed that they fully appreciated what was said and accomplished by those who were present. By the majority of those who were present, Memorials were drawn up addressed to the King and to Parliament, protesting against taxation except by consent, and upholding the power of the Colonial Legislatures—a sort of Declaration of Rights. What was done at this Congress in that way had little effect, no effect at all, in fact, in Great Britain, and it is questionable if it had any real influence in America so far as its resolutions and the words of its memorials went. These things were therefore conclusions. They have reiterated the sentiments of the people. But the practical accomplishment—the real step forward which the Congress contributed to the story of freedom, was taken just before the close and as the members were about to separate, although important as was the accomplishment, its accomplishment passed generally unnoticed at the time. At the conclusion of the discussion the point arose whether the memorials should be signed jointly

Congress and sent direct to London as expressive of the voice of a united people, or be forwarded to the different local Legislatures, and then debated over afresh and, if satisfactory, forwarded by each to London. By an almost unanimous vote the Congress determined to act as a unit, and so the first practical step to the formation of the United States was taken.

The most determined opponent of all this was Robert Ogden, Speaker of the New Jersey Assembly. He contended that the opposition to the stamps was but a form of treason, upheld the supremacy of Parliament, and as a last resource declined to sign the memorials, advocating their being sent to the various Assemblies for consideration and final action, thus practically shelving them. There is little doubt of his patriotism and sterling integrity, but his opposition to the methods adopted, temporarily, at least, placed him in a dubious light before his fellow-colonists. They burned him in effigy, denounced him as a traitor and all manner of villain, and public excitement grew so intense that he was forced to resign his seat and retire for a time to private life. Afterward, however, as chairman of the Elizabethtown Committee of Safety, in 1776, he fully vindicated his claim to be a patriot.

When the Congress terminated its sittings, Governor Franklin at once called a meeting of Assembly, hoping thus to be able, so far as New Jersey was concerned, to nullify the action of the delegates in New York by a vote at Trenton condemning the proceedings. That call seemed to arouse the people as they had never been aroused before, and the doings of the Congress were endorsed at every cross-roads throughout the Colony. Ogden declining to face the music, a new Speaker was chosen in Courtlandt Skinner, who, when the crisis became one of deeds and the time for words was past, threw his lot with the loyalists, raised three battalions of loyal volunteers, and died in England in 1799, an exile from his native land but honored with the rank of brigadier general and comforted with a pension. The report of Messrs. Fisher and Borden justifying the proceedings at New York was adopted, and Speaker Skinner, John Johnson, John Lawrence and David Cooper were appointed a committee to correspond on affairs in the Colony with its agent in London,—Joseph Sherwood. The Assembly then passed on its own account a series of resolutions re-echoing those of the New York Congress.

In June, 1766, Governor Franklin announced to the Assembly the repeal of the Stamp Act, but even in this announcement his duplicity was too evident to be permitted to pass without notice, and it was evident that he had utterly lost whatever degree of confidence—never very much—the people had entertained of his wisdom and his patriotism.

But remonstrances, while they had removed for the time the Stamp Act, had not fixed the status of the colonists or determined the question of the right of Parliament to tax, as it pleased, or removed any of the imposts except the stamp duties, and these, after all, were simply held in abeyance. In 1768 the Assembly of New Jersey adopted a petition to the King in which it was said:

"One of the rights and privileges vested in the people of this Colony is the privilege of being exempted from any taxations but such as are imposed on them by themselves, or by their representatives, and this they esteem so invaluable that they are persuaded no other can exist without it. * * * Penetrated by these sentiments, this, your people, with the utmost concern and anxiety observe that duties have lately been imposed upon them by Parliament for the sole and express purpose of raising a revenue. This is a taxation upon them from which they conceive they ought to be protected by the acknowledged principles of the constitution; that freemen cannot be taxed but by themselves or their representatives; and that they are represented in Parliament they not only cannot allow, but are convinced from their local circumstances they never can be. Very far is it from our intention to deny our subordination to that august body, or our dependence upon the people of Great Britain; in these connections and in the settlement of our liberties under the auspicious influence of your royal house we know our happiness consists, and therefore to confirm these connections and to strengthen this sentiment is at once our interest, our duty and delight."

Such, there is no question, were the real views of the people of New Jersey at this juncture, and such it may be admitted were the views of the people throughout the country. At the same time it must be confessed that even then the war was on, although neither side was aware of it, or would have admitted it. But we know now that a commercial war is as much a conflict between two States as is one in which arms are matched. Great Britain had no intention of receding from her position, the Colonies were determined to uphold theirs; Great Britain continued to impose taxes on her exports to the United States, and to lay obnoxious restrictions on American shipping, restrictions calculated to suppress American commerce and retain the Atlantic carrying trade in British hands. So a popular edict of non importation went forth. New Jersey had at that time no foreign trade, but her Assembly passed resolutions thanking its own merchants and traders and those of New York and Pennsylvania "for their disinterested and public spirited conduct in withholding their importations of British merchandise until certain Acts of Parliament levying restrictions on American commerce for the express purpose of raising a revenue in America be repealed.

This was a most effective measure, inasmuch as its operation was felt by the merchants of Britain more than by those in America, and by the latter it was carried out so loyally that in 1770 all the taxes were repealed excepting one on tea. This again led to confusion. Merchants in New York and Rhode Island at once declared the non-importation plan abandoned on all goods with the exception of tea, and hurried large orders to London. This aroused a general feeling of indignation, nowhere more intense than in New Jersey, where such conduct was denounced at public meetings in Elizabethtown and elsewhere. Indeed, at New Brunswick the agents of some of those merchants, while attempting to sell their goods, were rather roughly handled. Practically the trouble was over so far as New Jersey was concerned, for the amount of tea then needed to supply the wants of the people there would not at that time have yielded annually in taxation enough to clothe and maintain a single red-coated soldier. So from 1770 the opposition which undoubtedly not only existed but steadily grew in intensity against the Home Government, was one of sentiment—that is to say, it was inspired solely by patriotism, by a profound belief that the freedom of the Colony, of all the Colonies, was in danger. They were not, apparently, so watchful of their own interests as were their co-patriots in Massachusetts, nor was it possible for them to be, for they were then pretty far removed from the centre of political life, and, being mainly an agricultural people, living on their own farms, they had less interest in following the daily unfolding of affairs which of necessity on account of its geographical position made Boston become the watch-tower of the Revolution. Besides, the Colony had a full share of troubles of its own. With the close of the French war a momentary stringency had shown itself, the result of a false "boom" which had been caused by the exigencies of those times. An unwarranted increase in the value of farm lands, a temporary rise in the value of produce of all kinds, a plentiful circulation of money—to a considerable extent bounty money—in the hands of people not accustomed to a plethora of readily available wealth, led to extravagance and speculation, with the result that when the excitement of the war and its results had died out, the inevitable shrinkage took place, land and produce settled down to their old values or even less, money was scarce, payments could not be met, and, as usual, foreclosure, law suits, distress and discontent followed. As seems inevitable in such circumstances, the laws did not prove elastic enough to meet particular cases of distress, lawyers were denounced as fattening on the exorbitant fees which they wring from their hapless clients, and judges were denounced for no other reason than, as in duty bound, they carried

out the laws of the Colony. The popular discontent was concentrated against the entire legal machinery of the Province, and in several places it broke out into open riot. At Trenton the judges were even prevented by force from executing their duties, where were similar attacks upon the judiciary. The worst feature of the trouble was that, in most cases, the rioters escaped any punishment simply because the sympathies of the people were with them and their lawlessness.

Had a strong man been in the Governor's chair in this emergency, he might have accomplished much for the Province, and even for the cause of his royal master. Viewing with a full view of the history of the country, it must be said that even the strongest man could not have done a finger-flicking, indignantly pointing at separation and independence, that was, in fact, one of the developments of historical progress that was bound to come, one way or another, sooner or later. But Franklin might have changed much of the story, and made New Jersey, at the parting of the ways, less eager to leave the old beaten track, though a different road falls as it was, for that, to independence, and which seemed as far as the eye could see, to be as rough and toilsome as the one on which they stood. Had a patriotic man been Governor, he might have aided the cause of freedom by telling the exact truth to his royal master, although the case of Governor Hibel his son of Massachusetts, shows of how little avail his moralistic patriotism proved in stemming the progress of events on either side of the Hudson. It was probably the most heroic man in New England.

But if we read the story of New Jersey aright, if we try to understand what the feelings of the people of that time, then set free toward Franklin were, to see the attempt rather than the failure of the many states of the continent, they do not mature with opportunity, and although he sought the breath of popular favor, it proved feeble and fleeting. He had a glowing, fiery spark of patriotism, or love of country, in his heart, it is true, even though the glaucous of the reflected light might not have been bright enough to lighten his path. He was a puppet of New Jersey, a marionette of men, and his only mistress, his only love, his only adviser, his sensible, with the Assembly, as we have seen, ignorant as to what the scope of his borrowed glory should be, and in exile, remained a patriot in his heart and refused to let his own Franklin force, or the judgment, or rather the will of the people, to the end of his career.

It has been stated that Governor Franklin rose to the occasion.

of the Province, that he developed its silk industry, that he urged the Assembly to provide bounties for agricultural enterprises, and the like. There is no doubt that he did attempt something in that direction, but his attempts proved of little avail. There is little use in improving the attic of a house when it is afire in the basement. The only real tangible service he performed was in permitting the Assembly in 1772 to increase its membership from twenty to thirty. The act authorizing this change, after it had passed the Assembly, received the royal assent on the Governor's recommendation. His course in this instance did much to remove the unpleasantness created by the squabble over Treasurer Stephen Skinner's bonds. The house of that official in Perth Amboy had been entered by thieves, and the funds of the division of the Province in which he held office (East Jersey) were stolen from an iron chest, £6,000 in all. The robbers were not discovered, although diligent search was instituted and, after two years or so, when there appeared to be no sign of the recovery of the money, the Assembly took a hand in the matter, decided that the Treasurer had kept the cash or securities in a careless manner, and declined to release him from the loss. The matter remained in abeyance for two years longer and then, in September, 1772, it again became an issue. Skinner remonstrated against the theory that he should be held responsible for the money, but the Assembly not only upheld what had been done, but asked the Governor to compel the Treasurer to recoup the amount. They even suggested a doubt of its having been stolen at all, but that seems to have been merely a bit of political extravagance, for there appears no doubt of Skinner's personal honesty. Franklin declined to take any action, reproaching the Assembly, very properly, with the fact that for some four years it had itself done nothing in the matter. Thereupon the Assembly asked him to remove Skinner from office. This he refused to do, and a criminal prosecution was talked of but dropped. The Treasurer himself desired a legal determination of his liability, and at length, to bring the matter to an issue, he resigned, handing over all the funds then in his possession. The Assembly directed his successor to institute suit for recovery of the contents of the iron box, but the matter ended there. Greater issues came up for consideration, and Skinner, retaining his British loyalty, forfeited all his estate and possessions by confiscation and so passes from view.

From 1770 until 1774 it may be said that New Jersey was rather a passive factor in the events which led up to the famous "Boston Tea Party" of December 16, 1773, and to the similar destruction of tea in New York harbor in April following. The efforts of the British Ministry

were concentrated upon Massachusetts, and such measures as the Boston Port bill, which prohibited all trading with that city, the repeal of the Massachusetts Charter, the removal of the State capital from Boston to Salem, the deportation act, and the military display under General Gage, were all directed against that Colony with the idea that if the spirit of rebellion could be stamped out there, it would die out among the others. Cruel and despotic in its measures against New England, the ministry was disposed to overlook the unrest in the other Colonies, and even attempted to placate some of them, as by the appointment of Lord Botecourt to the Governorship of Virginia. But if New Jersey was passive, she was ready for action when the time came. The doings of the patriots in New England and elsewhere met with her heartiest endorsement: her Sons of Liberty were as active watchmen as were the members of that historic association elsewhere, and her Committee of Correspondence was busy forming and uniting public sentiment and preparing for the final step toward which everything had been tending for a decade or more—separation and independence. The Acts directed against Massachusetts, if successfully put in operation, could be turned against any Colony, and the truth and importance of this was not more clearly understood anywhere than in New Jersey. The great weakness of the British ministry was its blindness to the fact that the Colonies could ever become united into one solid phalanx in support of any object. On this it was undeceived when it was too late.

The Massachusetts Assembly, in regular session at Salem, locked its doors to prevent any action or interference by General Gage: passed a "resolve" asking the other Colonies to send delegates to Philadelphia, on September 1, following, to consider matters, and elected five delegates as its own representatives. New Jersey quickly proved her mettle. During the month of July a number of meetings were held in the various county towns, at which the policy and acts of the British Ministry were openly condemned, and such measures as the closing of the port of Boston and the suspension of the charter of Massachusetts were especially denounced. At these meetings the opinion was very generally expressed that the time for action had come; that there was no further need of any dalliance with a Government that seemed determined to deprive "free-born Englishmen" (as they still called themselves) of their rights, rights which were theirs by inalienable law, by custom, and by practice. At these meetings the existence of legislative assembly was forgotten, or rather ignored, it no longer, as it was constituted, represented the people, and was regarded rather as an appendage of the royal Governor, whose position even

then had become somewhat equivocal for, though he retained the trappings of state, the actual power was daily slipping from his hands. So at these county meetings representatives were appointed to meet in convention and nominate delegates to the Congress in Philadelphia called by Massachusetts. The representatives so chosen—seventy-two in number—met at New Brunswick on July 21, 1774, with Stephen Crane as their presiding officer and Jonathan D. Sergeant as clerk, and elected James Kinsey, William Livingston, John DeHart, Stephen Crane and Richard Smith to the Congress. A Committee of Correspondence was also appointed, comprising William Peartree Smith, John Chetwood, Isaac Ogden, Joseph Borden, Robert Field, Isaac Pearson, Isaac Smith, Samuel Tucker, Abraham Hunt and Hendrick Fisher. Most of these patriots, however, had been actively at work with correspondence duties long before receiving this public appointment.

It cannot be said that New Jersey was more fortunate in its selection of delegates to this Congress than to its predecessor. The men selected were all of superior intelligence, but their ideas of patriotism were somewhat graduated, and they seemingly, when events began to shape themselves, did not approve all that was done by the majority at Philadelphia. In fact, Kinsey refused in 1775 to take the oath of allegiance to the Republic, and both he and DeHart tendered their resignations to the New Jersey Assembly on November 17, 1775, and these were accepted. Smith was also apparently in a state of dubiety as to the current in which affairs were drifting. At first, however, this want of unity was not apparent, and, when the delegates reported the proceedings of Congress to the New Jersey Assembly, that body approved all that was done, only the Quaker members venturing a formal protest against whatever seemed to point to the arbitrament of war. The Assembly instructed its delegates to see to it that each Colony was equally represented in the Congress as to number of representatives, irrespective of its numerical strength, and in particular insisted, as a leading principle, that no decision in Congress should be obligatory upon any one of the Provinces or Colonies or Commonwealths unless its own Representatives voted in favor of it. New Jersey, however, was not the only Colony which insisted on that point, and indeed it may be said that Congress watched such scruples very carefully, fully satisfied that any serious revival of the old provincial jealousies might retard the thorough union which was absolutely necessary if the wishes of the American people were to prevail over the decrees of the British Parliament.

The Assembly had met under unusual difficulties, and its evident sympathy with the doings of Congress gave great pain to Governor Frank-

lin. He had avoided calling it together as long as possible, although often urged to do so. He knew it would not be as amenable to his wishes as it formerly had been; that the changes in its membership had brought it, somewhat at least, he did not understand clearly how far, into touch with the movement which was now so active throughout the Colonies for autonomy, if not for separation. But when, finally, he was compelled to call the Representatives together, he felt bound to open their session with an address that would fully remind those in attendance of the duty they owed, under their oaths, to the King. He warned the delegates against "giving any countenance or encouragement to that destructive mode of procedure which has been unhappily adopted, in part, by some of the inhabitants of this Colony, and has been carried so far in others as totally to subvert their former constitution." He held that each Colony should separately approach the King by petition, on the subject of its grievances, and promised that the matter would be "properly attended to." He did not in the least blink the issue on this occasion, but put it clearly and forcibly before the legislators in words that were worthy of his honored father. He said:

"You have now pointed out to you two roads—one evidently leading to peace, happiness and a restoration of the public tranquility; the other inevitably conducting to anarchy and misery, and all the horrors of civil war. Your wisdom, your prudence, your regard for the true interests of the people, will be best known when you have shown to which road you give the preference. If to the former, you will probably afford satisfaction to the moderate, the sober and discreet part of your constituents. If to the latter, you will perhaps give pleasure to the warm, the rash and inconsiderate among them, who, I would willingly hope, violent as is the temper of the present times, are not even now the majority."

From this it will be seen that Franklin had then become fully aroused to the danger of the crisis, although he evidently had not the slightest doubt that it would end in the complete discomfiture of those who chose as their road that which led to "anarchy and misery."

But that was the road the members of the Assembly determined to follow. In a long and somewhat argumentative reply to the Governor they said:

"We profess ourselves to be the loyal subjects of the King, from whose goodness we hope to be relieved from the present unhappy situation; that we will do all in our power to preserve that excellent form of government under which we at present live, and that we neither intend to usurp the rights of others, nor suffer any vested in us by the constitu-

tion to be wrested out of our hands by any person or persons whatever. We sincerely lament the unhappy differences which at present subsist between Great Britain and her Colonies. We shall heartily rejoice to see the time when they shall subside on principles consistent with the rights and interests of both, which we hope is not far off; and though we cannot conceive how the separate petition of one Colony is more likely to succeed than the petitions of all, yet, in order to show our desire to promote so good a purpose by every proper means, we shall make use of the mode pointed out by your Excellency, in hopes that it will meet that attention which you are pleased to assure us will be paid to the representatives of the people."

On the surface these words seemed pleasant enough, but, when the moment for real action came, another spirit appeared to animate the chamber. The Assembly endorsed all that was done in Congress and supported New England in its opposition to Parliament, and, as a result, Franklin in a subsequent message plainly intimated his full realization of the position of the Assembly and "left others to determine" whether he or the Assembly had "consulted the true interests of the people." The Assembly, in fact, had already passed from his control.

Its position was further emphasized at another meeting of the Assembly which Franklin convened at Burlington on May 15, 1775. By that time, events had developed with remarkable rapidity. The Province of Massachusetts had been declared in a state of rebellion, ten thousand or more British troops had been massed in and around Boston, the skirmish at Lexington had been fought, and the patriots had taught the British troops a hard lesson, a lesson that was to be emphasized still more strongly on June 17, when the patriots were defeated at Bunker Hill—a defeat that was in reality a victory.

But Bunker Hill was a month off when the New Jersey Legislature met at Burlington to receive a message from Franklin asking consideration for the proposals from Lord North and the British Ministry. It was Franklin's last card in his policy of pacification, and he sent a strong appeal to the Assembly, the gist of which was that New Jersey should act as a separate Colony, should raise for the expenses of the empire just whatever amount its assembly thought fit, and leave the disposal of it to Parliament. At the very outset, however, Franklin found himself in trouble. He had some time before written to Lord Dartmouth to the effect that the New Jersey Assembly was "divided" regarding the adoption of the proceedings of the Congress at Philadelphia—one of those lying letters which the royal Governors were wont to send to the home authorities, and which helped to hide from the British powers the real

sentiments and aspirations of the great people. The letter appeared in the usual process in the "Daily Advertiser" and "Courier," New Jersey in time to be read before the Burlington Assembly at its opening session. The authenticity of the letter caused a sensation. The document as appearing in the "Gazette" was copied, entered on the minutes, and a copy sent to the Governor with a request for an explanation. Franklin denied the correctness of the letter, and the subject was referred to a committee with instructions to report fully at the next session. But that was the last of it. The excitement occasioned by this incident, however, proved disastrous to whatever hopes Franklin may have entertained of weaning New Jersey from its sympathy with the Continental cause. The overtures were firmly yet courteously rejected, and the declaration was fully made that "we shall pay a proper respect to and abide by the united voice of the Congress on the present occasion." Even then the wish was expressed that the wrongs inflicted on the Colonies might be redressed. In their address, too, the representatives spoke of their duty and attachment to the King, but it was possibly little more than a figure of speech, and Franklin, realizing his utter defeat, permitted the members to return to their homes without accomplishing anything even in the way of ordinary legislation.

In the meantime, however, the Committee of Correspondence had called a second convention to meet at Trenton on May 23. This meeting was presided over by Hendrick Fisher. It officially styled itself "the Provincial Congress of New Jersey," and assumed full authority over all branches of the colonial government. Its meetings were opened with prayer, "as becomes the representative body of a Christian community." The delegates claimed and professed allegiance to "his sacred majesty's rightful authority and government," but they sent a message to the Continental Congress, then in session at Philadelphia, declaring their hearty concurrence with what was then done "in the common cause of America." They also asked that body for advice "that in this first instance of such an Assembly in the Colonies, with respect to their direction, and anxiously desiring to make their present measures consistent with the plan, they deemed it necessary by a special deputation to request such advice and assistance as the Congress might be disposed to give." This committee—William P. Smith and John Bondurant went to Philadelphia, but Congress, being so preoccupied with the domestic affairs of the Colony not yet really invaded by the British,

However, the Provincial Congress proceeded steadily with its work as best it could. It sent out a grand declaration to the people throughout

the Colony asking that it might be signed, and so be at once an expression of opinion as well as an endorsement of the doings of the members of the Congress. After reciting briefly the British revenue raising policy and the hostilities in Massachusetts, and expressing an ardent wish for reconciliation with Britain "on constitutional grounds," the signators to the pledge "solemnly associate and resolve under the sacred ties of virtue, honor and love to our country, that we will personally, and so far as our influence extends, endeavor to support and carry into execution whatever measures may be recommended by the Continental and our Provincial Congress for defending our constitution and preserving the same inviolate. We do also further associate and agree, as far as shall be consistent with the measures adopted for American freedom, to support the magistrates and the other civil officers in the execution of their duty, agreeable to laws of this Colony, and to observe the direction of our Committee (of Correspondence) acting according to the resolutions of the Continental and Provincial Congresses; firmly determined by all means in our power to guard against those disorders and confusions to which the peculiar circumstances of the times may expose us."

With implicit faith that this pledge would be signed in numbers enough to warrant their claim to acting in behalf of the people, and as their representatives, the Provincial Congress set about to raise an army so as to be ready to assist the Continental Congress, or to defend the soil of New Jersey in the armed conflict which practically was then being waged. Each township was called upon to furnish at least one company of eighty men, the limit of the fighting age was placed between sixteen and fifty years, and a tax of £10,000 was levied to carry on the work. The Congress then adjourned on June 10, with every detail of news from New England showing that the issue between Massachusetts and the mother country had become clear-cut and determined. There was no turning back, the time for negotiations and parley was over, the citizens had been proclaimed rebels, and vigorous military measures had been brought to bear to crush their aspirations. Both sides had already appealed to the God of Battles, and in spite of one or two seeming reverses that appeal had been answered in a manner favorable to the colonists. The skirmish at Lexington reflected no credit on British arms; Ticonderoga had been captured by Ethan Allen "in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress;" these and other events already named pointed to the fact that the long expected crisis had arrived, and that there was to be no voluntary turning back on the part of the Colonists. Britain still hoped that the disaffection could be confined to New England, and there

exerted all its force, so that Boston became an armed camp under the arbitrary authority of General Gage.

Such was the condition of affairs when the New Jersey Congress, unable from this Colony's geographical position to imitate any step in the general policy, adjourned, practically to wait for further developments. These soon began to unfold themselves. There was no mistaking the unanimity with which the Colonies supported the doings of the Continental Congress, or the entire sympathy of every one of the Colonies with New England, which, it was felt, was fighting the battle of them all. New England in this supreme crisis certainly justified the confidence of its neighbors. It accepted the defiance of Gage and his troops, and an army of militia variously estimated at 15,000 to 18,000 was raised to confront the 10,000 or more veterans under the British's commander. It was a motley throng, ill-armed, un drilled, ignorant of the science of war, and with only the crudest ideas of military discipline; but it had fighting and staying qualities, so that even the defeat at Bunker Hill strengthened the cause it aimed to defend. On the day previous to that event, the Continental Congress had appointed George Washington Commander in Chief of the Continental forces, so that there was no longer any ground for the mother country continuing to entertain the cherished dream of profiting by possible disunion. Washington arrived in front of Boston on July 20, and at once proceeded to drill and equip his troops, to mold the raw militia into a well drilled army. He did not accomplish much in the remainder of 1775 except to keep the British cooped up in Boston. However, as he had control of the harbor, it is possible that even Gage underrated the perilous position in which his troops were placed. Then, somehow there remained in the hearts of many a lingering hope that the struggle might even then be averted; that King George, seeing the determination of the colonists, would feel compelled to listen to reason and to redress the grievances which had brought matters to such a pass, and while Washington and Gage watched each other at Boston, a petition was actually sent to the Sovereign again recounting the old, old story of their wrongs and asking for relief.

The petition was sent by Richard Penn, a descendant of the founder of Pennsylvania, but King George refused to receive him or the petition, and his only known answer was a request to Russia to loan him 20,000 men to aid in crushing the impious rebellion. This was the last petition ever sent to England from what is now the United States. While it was pending, Washington did not relax his military and general supervision. He well knew what fate the petition would meet, and that its

only possible effect would be to give the British more time to perfect their measures of repression. All that winter he kept steadily at work, and although he was seemingly accomplishing little, every day saw him tightening his grip on the historic town which had now become the center of the struggle for liberty. In January, 1776, the contemptuous treatment of the petition became known in America, and it also became known that energetic measures had been taken to effectually stamp out the cry for independence. Parliament declared for war, and 55,000 fighting men were ordered across the Atlantic, and to aid that force King George negotiated and secured some 17,000 additional troops, mainly from Hesse Cassel, Germany. There was no mistaking this sort of answer, all hopes of conciliation were abandoned, and Patrick Henry's memorable phrase "Give me liberty, or give me death," became the first watchword of the inchoate nation.

New Jersey's Provincial Congress again assembled on August 5, 1775. If we may judge from its proceedings, the leaders of the Province had by that time abandoned all hope of any peaceful settlement of the trouble, and bent their energies to developing the military strength of the various counties. And here be it observed that it is difficult to account for the notions of some modern historians, chief of whom may be mentioned the late John Fiske, who rather belittles New Jersey's conduct in the supreme moment of the crisis and talks of her half-heartedness in the armed conflict. Certainly New Jersey had a large Quaker population opposed to war upon any grounds, and who consistently disapproved any measures likely to involve the shedding of blood, and these people were outspoken in support of their principles. Then, too, Jersey was an agricultural Province, and military movements across a farm were not calculated to put a farmer in good humor—be the military friends or foes. But as a whole, New Jersey was steadfast in its loyalty to the Continental Congress, in its determined opposition to Britain, and in its zeal to uphold and strengthen every movement which promised deliverance. Its sacrifices were great: it gave unstintingly of its treasure and its manhood; it was for a time the battle ground of the opposing forces, its fields were devastated and its industries paralyzed by the warring hosts, but it never wavered in its devotion to the cause of liberty and to the national Congress.

So the first duty which appealed to this session of the Provincial Congress was to still further develop the military resources in its territory. It organized fifty-four companies of sixty-four minute-men—militia, ready to be called into active service at a moment's notice—apportioned them in ten battalions—one each in Bergen, Essex, Middlesex, Monmouth,

Morris, Somerset, Sussex, Hunterdon, and Burlington counties. The counties between Gloucester and Salem counties, Cape May and Cumberland counties were represented by independent companies; Platenon, Dickerson, and William Livingston were appointed Brigadier Generals, and so the organizing establishment was complete as far as arrangements and orders could make it. The Congress also dealt with the Quaker opposition, deciding that if these people would not themselves fight they should support all the more liberally those who were willing to bear arms, and lend their support in all matters ordered by the Congress, without actually bearing arms.

But while thus exercising control, the Provincial Congress did not forget that, like the Continental Congress, it had no actual legal authority for its existence. It was really only a development of the situation, something like a war measure which circumstances call into being, but has no vital force beyond the necessities of the moment. So it resolved to clothe itself with ample authority from the only legal source open to it—the mandate of the people. The delegates ordered that an election of deputies be held on September 21, in each county, at which five freeholders should be chosen with full power to represent their county at the meeting of the Provincial Congress to be held in Trenton on October 3. They also ordered that “during the present unhappy dispute between Great Britain and America” a fresh election of deputies should be held in September of each year, and that once a year each county should elect a board of freeholders to attend to matters of local government and carry out the instructions of the Provincial Congress. Having thus practically arranged their own demise, the representatives adjourned. But they did not forget that work had to be done during the interval before the new Congress could assemble, and before separating they appointed a Committee of Safety to exercise governmental powers until the newly elected delegates should come together at Trenton. That committee consisted of Hendrick Fisher, Samuel Tucker, Isaac Pearson, John Hart, Jonathan D. Sergeant (Treasurer), Azariah Dunham, Peter Schuck, Elias Kelsey, Joseph Berden, Frederick Frelinghuysen and John Schuyman.

The new Congress was duly elected on the appointed time, and at once became the *de jure* government of the Province. It changed the membership of the Committee of Safety so that, for what reason is not now clearly apparent. Its composition was essentially that of a committee of war. Such business, however, was enough to harass men more experienced in public affairs than were the great majority of those who composed the Congress. Up to that time the Province had practically known nothing of war, had only a vague idea of what it meant and of what it im-

cluded. Show the Jerseymen the foe and they would fight, of that there was no doubt, but the work of raising and maintaining and equipping an armed force was a different matter, a matter that required experience and money. The Jersey Congress honestly followed out the instructions of the Continental body, but its treasury was empty, the drains already made upon the people had begun to tell; the farms then needed the labor of all the men possible, and the scene of hostilities was a long way off, further away than Liverpool is to-day from Sandy Hook. Even when one battalion was asked from New Jersey as its share of the troops needed for the invasion of Canada, it was with difficulty that it was raised and equipped. In fact, it was only through the generosity of individuals that Colonel William Maxwell was enabled to sally forth to join the army of Canadian invasion, too late, however, to take part in that disastrous campaign. Still, the Congress did its best and accomplished much. It assumed all the powers of civil government; tried the disaffected, imposed fines, suspended officials, levied taxes, established a Court of Admiralty, and either directly, or through its Committee of Safety, left little for the still existing government *de jure*, that of Governor Franklin, to attempt.

That official seems to have become dazed during the crisis, and developed into the most supine and helpless of all the contemporary royal Governors, a poor lot, generally. He exhibited neither statesmanship or courage, he made no real effort to meet the great emergency or to maintain the dignity of his position, or apparently to stem the tide of independence which was fast rising on every side. The people treated him with evident contempt, his hands were tied apparently in equal degree by the bonds of the Provincial Congress and the fetters of his royal instructions, and he displayed neither wit nor common sense sufficient to free himself from either. His last attempt was a whining appeal to the royal legislature which he summoned to meet on November 16, 1775. In addressing its members he spoke of the determination of the King to restore order, but hoped that, "unfavorable as the prospects are at present, the time will come when men of sense and friends to peace and good order will see the fatal consequences of the delusions which have led to the measures the people of America are now pursuing, and that we may yet see the public tranquility re-established on the ground of the terms held out by his Majesty and the Parliament." Then he asked the advice of the representatives as to his own personal safety, as well as the safety of the other officers of the crown. As was expected from such a gathering, the Assembly assured the Governor that it was loyal to the sovereign, that it had no idea of independence and separation, "have already expressed our detestation of such opinions,"

their answer rail, and assured the Governor that they did not apprehend any danger as to his safety. But even this Assembly, repelled by the proposition emanating from Lord Dartmouth, one of the royal Ministers, that the Governor's salary should be increased along with those of the other Provincial officials, and new houses erected for the lodging of the chief executive and the meetings of the Legislature, so that the Assembly should accomplish nothing, its support of the Governor was little more than lip service, it could in fact have accomplished little but if tried, and any effort at real legislation it might have attempted would have brought it in open conflict with the real power—the Provincial Congress. For such a conflict it had no heart, and it showed its wisdom in avoiding even seemingly to attempt it indirectly. So it mumbled and mumbled along until December 7, 1775, when it was prorogued and the prorogation still stands.

During that memorable winter of 1775 the Provincial Congress kept on steadily with its work of building up its army, consolidating its resources, computing its strength, and dealing with the sinister elements of disaffection to its authority that maimed it from the start. On February 1, 1776, it elected William Livingston, John Deffau, Richard Smith, John Cooper and Jonathan D. Sergeant as its representatives in the Continental Congress, and its instructions to these delegates declared that the Province was more anxious than ever to uphold the power of the delegates in what had become the central theatre of the drama, in which the drama of independence was being unfolded.

That drama was now rushing on with lightning rapidity, and the winter had barely passed and spring begun, before New Jersey found herself, instead of an isolated land in the midst of a succession of the struggle, the forces of freedom, one of the general scenes in the struggle. The scenes of the armed struggle were no longer to reach her frontier, but the scenes were close at hand, and she was to play a part in the struggle on her own soil throughout the year.

On March 17, 1776, the British army, in the result of Washington's masterly campaign of evicting the British from the city, was compelled to evacuate Boston. Sir William Howe, the British Commander in Chief, entered into with the terms of capitulation, and the British evacuated the city and went away, some thought it to be a secret evacuation, that there was the possibility of a retreat. But where, it was said, the British could go? The American prestige had been increased by the successful campaign, the British could not have been won by Washington's military leadership, and the British could not have been won by the British troops, and the people of New Jersey would have been glad to have met them, and to have met them on their own soil.

Washington instructed the British to retreat to New York City.

forces would be directed against New York, the possession of which included the mastery of the lower Hudson, and in accordance with old-fashioned military ideas the Hudson was the key to the entire situation. So soon as the evacuation of Boston was completed, the American forces were removed to New York, where an elaborate scheme of fortification had been partly prepared and put in readiness by General Lee. The forces arrived on Manhattan Island early in April, the Commander-in-Chief reaching the city on the 14th, and the system of defense was at once extended and strengthened in every way so as to protect the passages of the Hudson. The Continental troops were now in full control; not a single British soldier was in any of the Colonies south of the St. Lawrence, and, while it was felt that much was yet to be accomplished, that the enemy was only gathering up his forces and arranging place for a more protracted and deadly struggle, still, in spite of the discouragement of the Canadian expedition, there was an assurance of victory in all that had been done, and, inspired by what was really one of the most wonderful campaigns of the century—for the siege and capitulation of Boston were really a campaign—the last lingering desire for any connection with Britain was openly abandoned in the Continental Congress. That body on June 7th had presented to it a motion by Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, acting under the instructions of his own State, that “these Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States.” That motion was carried, and Thomas Jefferson was appointed chairman of a committee to draw up a Declaration of Independence. That immortal document with which Jefferson’s name will ever be associated as the author, was even then drafted out and lying in his desk, and it needed but the few corrections and additions suggested by his committee colleagues, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Roger Sherman and Robert R. Livingston, to make it ready for submission to the representatives of the people. In Congress it was thoroughly discussed and further amended in a few unimportant points, and at two o’clock on the afternoon of July 4, 1776, was agreed to and signed by the members. The signatories from New Jersey were Richard Stockton, Rev. Dr. John Witherspoon, Francis Hopkinson, John Hart and Abraham Clark, who had all been elected as representatives to the Congress only a few weeks before.

To render the country this service, to bind New Jersey to separation by their votes, the delegates were acting strictly within their powers and instructions. Yet, somehow, there still lingered in the hearts of a few of the members of the Provincial Congress a hope that connection with England might be resumed. Even in the midst of rejoicing over the victory in New England this idea seemed to possess a few of the delegates, and unfortu-

nately these few occupied positions of such prominence that their views seemed to reflect those of the State. But the masses of the people were anxious for independence and determined to support the Congress in every way. The Provincial body assembled at Burlington on June 10th and was flooded with petitions from all sections of New Jersey asking that a new Constitution be framed and a government be formed as the Continental Congress had recommended. The question of a Constitution was referred to a committee which in due time reported a scheme. This Constitution was adopted on July 2d, but it contained a clause to the effect that, should the King of Great Britain redress the grievances of the Colonies in full, it should become void, and the colony be once more administered solely by English law. But the Declaration of Independence two days later put an effectual stop to all such sentimental paltering, and on July 18th the Congress decided to be known as "the Convention of the State of New Jersey," and declared the State free and independent. It ordered all legal documents to be made out in the name of the People instead of that of the King, and so the bond was forever cast aside.

Meanwhile Governor Franklin continued nominally to rule, although bit by bit the authority had been torn from his hands until none was left, and his voice became simply that of a private citizen. Very likely, had he remained quiet, he would have been altogether forgotten and left to wear out his anguish or chagrin in the solitude of his own chamber. He seems to have drawn his salary regularly, so that much of substantial acknowledgment was awarded him, but that was about all. In a misguided moment, however, he determined to assert himself, and on May 30th he issued a proclamation convening the Legislature. This was more than the Provincial Congress, then in session, would permit. The time had long passed in which to permit of two legislative bodies in the Province, and now it possessed full power and authority to carry its edicts into effect. That power and authority it quickly exhibited. It stopped the Governor's salary, formally declared his authority at an end, spoke of him as "Mr. Franklin," and ordered Colonel Nathaniel Heard, of Middlesex, to proceed to Amboy and arrest him. If he agreed to waive any claim to authority in writing, Heard was to give his parole, permitting him to reside at Princeton or Bordentown, or at Rancocas, where he owned a farm. If Franklin refused this he was to be held as a prisoner and closely guarded. Franklin flatly refused to agree to any such terms, and after placing a guard around his house Colonel Heard reported and asked for instructions. The Provincial Congress, naturally, appeared unable to decide as to what should be done in the matter "of our late Governor," and referred the subject to the Continental Congress, suggesting that he would

"be capable of doing less mischief in Connecticut or Pennsylvania." As a result, Franklin was taken to Burlington and formally examined as to his position by a committee. He refused to answer questions, defied the authority of the Provincial or the Continental Congress, and declared with some show of firmness that he was still Governor. Under these circumstances his fate was sealed. He was ordered under guard to Connecticut, and so he passes from our story. Soon after reaching Connecticut he was paroled by Governor Trumbull and went to England, where he remained until his death, in 1813.

With the occupation of Manhattan Island by Washington's victorious troops, the activity of New Jersey in the War of the Revolution may be said to have really commenced. Up to that time the period had been one of preparation and drill. In February, 1776, Colonel Heard and a force of 300 Jersey militia, mainly from Essex county, had been ordered to Long Island to assist in disarming and dispersing the many Tories there, and acquitted themselves with much success in that arduous and somewhat thankless task. William Alexander, the titular Earl of Stirling, had fortified Elizabethtown, where he commanded the First New Jersey Regiment of regular troops. William Livingston, who had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the New Jersey militia, had established his headquarters at Elizabethtown, and the troops were deployed so that immediate aid could be given the defenders of Manhattan and the Hudson. On June 3d, the Continental Congress ordered that 3,300 militia from New Jersey should be added to the reinforcements being sent to Manhattan, and this force was at once organized, a bounty of three pounds being given to every man who enlisted, and the term of service was fixed to expire on December 1st. Of course all this was working in the dark. There were several places at which the enemy might strike, and many believed that Philadelphia, which from the meeting of Congress had been tacitly regarded as the capital of the "rebel government," would be selected, while others again deemed it likely that an effort would be made further south, so as to divide the Colonies into two, it being the notion of the advisers of Britain in the country that the southern people were much less devoted in their allegiance to the Continental cause than those to the north.

It was Washington's belief, however, that New York would be the next point of attack, and he zealously used the time at his disposal in preparing for it. The city became an armed camp. The heights surrounding Brooklyn were fortified, and a chain of forts covered the Hudson and the East River as far as Hellgate in the latter, and up to the heights overlooking the Harlem and the Hudson on the former. Across on the New Jersey shore, Fort Lee was made as strong as possible, not only, it would

or any considerable number of them would have surrendered to Britain all that had been contended for; they were simply foolish enough to believe that Britain would in reality surrender to them. And so it was that loyalists and others from New York, as soon as Washington's lines had been drawn on Manhattan Island and long even before Howe's forces had taken possession of Staten Island, had begun pouring into New Jersey, in the hope of at least being permitted to remain there in peace, until the storm should blow over. But the sympathies of these people were with the British and they did not hesitate to proclaim their views and strive to win over new adherents to the royal cause, or at least argue patriotism into indifference.

That movement the Provincial Congress could not witness without grave anxiety, nor did it fail to notice that the loyalist force within its own borders seemed to be gradually acquiring coherence and heart. The center of the trouble seemed to be in Monmouth County, but there were serious signs of disaffection in Burlington, Hunterdon and Sussex, and particularly in Bergen, the latter, from its nearness to New York and its strategic position, demanding close attention. Early in 1776 the Provincial Congress began dealing sharply with loyalist sentiment, and reprimanded, or fined, or placed under bonds, many persons in various parts of the State who were openly known to entertain views in opposition to the complete freedom of the Colonies. There appears to be no doubt that a loyalist propaganda was being zealously carried on, especially in Monmouth, and it seems possible that it was hoped by the British in some way to utilize the coast there in order to be useful in landing troops should the military situation require it. At all events, from the time the British fleet sailed from Halifax, there was a noticeable spirit of activity among the loyalists throughout New Jersey. Acts of violence were openly committed the authority of the Congress was flauntingly defied, houses were broken into and their occupants beaten, and, as usual in such times, robberies were frequent. On June 26th Congress sent Colonel Charles Read with two companies of Burlington militia into Monmouth with instructions to arrest several of the more noted and active of the disaffected, and Lieutenant-Colonel Abraham TenEyck and Major Berry were ordered to perform a similar service in Hunterdon and Somerset. On July 1st, Monmouth County was practically in a condition of rebellion, and orders were given for a general disarmament of all persons whose loyalty was questioned. Heroic measures were adopted. Many were haled before Congress and dealt with in summary fashion, a few were imprisoned, several were heavily fined, but in most cases a promise of quietness or of reformation was sufficient to stop proceedings, or at the worst the malcontent was

permitted to reside in some district where his opinions would not be particularly harmful.

On July 16, 1776, Congress ordered 2,000 of the Jersey militia into camp to take the place of men ordered attached to Washington's forces. It was now imperatively necessary that New Jersey should be thoroughly defended, because in the event of any disaster to the Continental forces that State, as we may hereafter speak of it, would become the center of hostilities. Besides, the steady massing of the British troops on Staten Island might mean a descent upon New Jersey as the opening move in the campaign which was about to begin. Indeed, many thought that the plan of General Howe, after his army had fully gathered, was to entrench himself first in New Jersey, then seize or block the Hudson River and work east, and, having the Continental forces thus cooped up on Manhattan Island, to deal leisurely with them there. To a certain extent this was the policy of the British leaders, but the news brought by their spies of the condition of affairs on Long Island seemed to present a chance of ending the war by a single coup, and so the mighty force was directed against that place with results which for a time caused the utmost gloom in the patriot ranks.

Mr. Henry P. Johnston, in his interesting monograph on "The Campaign of 1776," says:

"In William Livingston, her late Governor, New Jersey found a patriot and civil leader of the right stamp for the emergency. Part of the year he acted in a military capacity and directed the movements of the militia in the vicinity of Amboy and Elizabeth. As the Tory element was very considerable here, the State found the same difficulty experienced by New York in raising troops for the army, but she furnished a good proportion. Her three Continental regiments under Colonels Dayton, Maxwell and Wins were in the Canadian army during the present campaign. In the spring and summer the State sent several detachments of militia under Lieutenant Colonels Ward and Cadmus and other officers to assist in fortifying New York. In answer to the last call of Congress, the Legislature voted to raise a brigade of five battalions to be known as 'New Levies' to serve until December 1st, and to each man that would enlist a bounty of three pounds was offered. The command of the brigade was given to Colonel Nathaniel Heigley, of Millsbridge, now promoted to a State brigadier. The colonels were Philip Van Cortlandt, whose regiment was recruited in Bergen, Essex and Hudson counties; David Forman, with four companies from Middlesex and four from Monmouth; Ephraim Martin, with four from Morris and four from Sussex; Philip Johnston, with three from Somerset and four from Hunterdon, and Silas Newcomb, with men from Salem, Gloucester, Burlington and Cumberland."

According to Johnston, the New Jersey troops at the battle of Brooklyn numbered 1,504, under the officers above named as Battalion Chiefs, with Nathaniel Heard as Brigadier General and Peter Gordon as his Brigade Major. Lord Stirling with his regulars (First New Jersey Continentals) had early in the strategic movements been stationed at the Battery on Manhattan Island.

With the arrival of the British forces on Staten Island, emissaries were at once sent throughout New Jersey to gauge the state of public sentiment there, to spread the news that the royal forces were gathering in strength, to wheel the indifferent or doubtful into line for the loyalist cause, and to promote as far as possible a general feeling of dissatisfaction with the Provincial government. These emissaries, mingling with the resident and the refugee Tories, soon made the entire State seem like a hotbed of opposition to the Continental movement, and gave the impression, not only to the British, but also to the Continental leaders, that the position of New Jersey in the crisis had become decidedly doubtful, to say the least. The local patriotic leaders, however, were not dismayed; the records and letters they have left show that they fully understood the hollow-ness of the loyalist sentiment which suddenly found voice when Staten Island became a British camp. They fully appreciated the danger and gravity of the situation, but they knew also that their policy and aims were fully sustained by the great majority of their people. It seems a pity that so many of our modern historical writers should dub New Jersey as disloyal to the cause of liberty, when, in reality, the very opposite was the case. New Jersey, in fact, was for a time the victim of circumstances. Practically, when the British took possession of Staten Island, she was helpless, she had to wait for developments, and every shunter for King George who could escape from Manhattan Island took refuge on her soil. Her military force was trifling, ill-armed, ill-drilled and with but dim ideas of high warfare meant, and her picked men were absent fighting, or ready to fight, under the orders of Washington. Yet, when the fighting did commence, the New Jersey troops rendered as good an account of themselves as did the representatives of any other State in the army of the Colonies.

Jersey could only, under the circumstances, hold her own and await developments from the moment that Howe's army took possession of Staten Island. The wait was not a long one, for as soon as events began to move they hurried along with grim alacrity. On August 22d the British forces began landing on Long Island, on the 27th the disastrous battle of Brooklyn was fought, and on the night of the 20th-30th the Continental troops effected their retreat from Long Island—one of the most extraordinary achievements of the war—and so brought to a close

an episode in the story of the conflict between the English and the patriots. Washington then held New York City, but with a superior and well equipped hostile army getting ready to Long Island, for an immediate engagement, the bay of New York completely in the possession of British vessels, and with the chances of a movement of the naval and military forces any day that would completely hem in on the foresaw from the moment that the battle of Brooklyn was lost that the retention of Manhattan Island was impossible. His idea was that the British would land in force somewhere above Hell Gate, seize the Harlem, and so cut off any chance of retreat into the open country, while their ships would effectually prevent his passage across the Hudson's, and he seek to concentrate his force in New Jersey. Of course there was no chance that he might defeat in battle on Manhattan Island any attack which might be made; but that chance seemed too remote, when he thought of the loss, and Washington never cared to sacrifice his troops needlessly. His caution in this respect, which looks sublime to us at this distance, often exposed him to censure at the hands of some of his officers and of argumentative patriots generally who knew all about the art of war on paper. As he was situated, however, he could only watch and wait, until he could make up his mind as to what the next move of the enemy should be. That soon became evident, for as he saw them steadily mass their troops along the Long Island coast, he was convinced that their main plan was to surround him and force a battle, or rather, as they hoped, a capitulation. Still he determined to hold out at New York as long as possible, and to do all that would add to the efficiency of his own forces, but prevent the enemy from enjoying until the last moment the moral advantage which would certainly result from the abandonment of such an important strategic point. But day after day only showed him the necessity of retreat, and on September 12th he called a council of war, at which evacuation was only determined upon. The movement was at once begun; the military stores were removed across the Harlem River, and the main body of the Continental army took possession of Harlem Heights. Putnam was left in New York City with some 400 men, but his stay was brief. On the 15th the British directed a landing at Kip's Bay, at the foot of what is now East 125th street. The conduct of the Continental troops in this emergency was severely but fairly anticipated event, was such that Washington would have been attracted back to the city by the noise of the firing, and by the immediate retreat of all of Putnam's force, at Long Branch, he ordered that these 400 men with whom I am to defend America! But they were ordered to their business, and a General who knew nothing of the warfare, and military fresh from the workshops and the fields, with little battle experience, had to make a

poor showing, when suddenly brought face to face with the veterans of many wars. After a while all this changed. The British seizure of New York City was quickly effected, and before nightfall their advance lines spread out beyond its then limits to the old village of Bloomingdale, while Washington's forces lay encamped between King's Bridge and Manhattanville.

Then followed several weeks of skirmishing and maneuvering, in all of which the Continental troops held their own pretty well, while their leader showed himself at least the equal of any of the British generals in all the finesse which military tactics had then evolved. But, practically, that brief campaign in and north of Manhattan Island was from the first doomed to have but one ending, and Washington, fully aware of this, was simply playing for time, which at that juncture was his great auxiliary. The point which both sides were attempting to solve was whether the Hudson River, guarded as it was by Fort Washington on the Manhattan side and by Fort Constitution or Fort Lee on the Jersey shore, with Putnam's device of placing obstructions in the stream itself, would bar the passage of the British war vessels, and whether it was possible to throw troops sufficient in rear of the Continental army to intercept its supplies and bar its retreat. On October 9th it was made painfully evident that the Hudson defenses were practically useless so far as the advance of the British fleet was concerned and, that ascertained, Howe prepared to put in operation his final coup and occupy the territory behind Washington's army. But the Patriot leader was too watchful to be caught in such a trap. He opposed the landing of the British at Throgg's Neck long enough to permit the safe removal of his main army and supplies to White Plains, retaining on Manhattan Island only Fort Washington. Howe at once saw that this new disposition meant the destruction of his scheme, and he ventured to force the fighting. The result was the engagement on October 28th, known as the battle of White Plains. That action is generally spoken of as being a drawn battle, but the practical results were in favor of the British, for Washington felt impelled to move his force to North Castle, where he took up a position which was deemed impregnable. At least that was the judgment of Howe's officers, and that General then determined to capture Fort Washington and so have control of the whole of Manhattan Island and of one of the banks of the Hudson. To offset this new move Washington moved part of his force across the Hudson and gave orders to General Greene to evacuate Fort Washington and Fort Lee as soon as possible. It appears to have been his plan to draw the enemy away from New York, and by taking up a strong position near West Point to give battle on his own terms. In fact, it seems that he left his army at

this juncture in search of new headquarters. While the Chief was absent, Greene received orders from Congress to defend Fort Washington to the last extremity, and naturally he was in a quandary between the conflict of orders, so he resolved to consult Washington again. But the British did not give him the opportunity. On November 15th they attacked the fort in force and captured it. While the engagement was on, Washington, who had returned from his reconnoissance, watched its progress from Fort Lee, and is said to have wept as he saw the Hessians mercilessly butcher many of his troops. It was a sad blow to the Continental cause—some fifty patriots killed, one hundred and fifty wounded and three thousand made prisoners, as well as the loss of a great quantity of arms, ammunition and stores. It brought to a close the momentous campaign in which New York City was the center, in a manner that was most disheartening to the Continental cause, although the experience gained, as events turned out, was not without good results. But the campaign, although marked by brilliant leadership, seemed to be one dreary succession of losses. Long Island was captured, Manhattan Island was won, and the British were confident of a speedy cessation of hostilities or an easy triumph over the Continental troops. On the 10th of November Lord Howe sent 5,000 men across the Hudson from Dobbs Ferry, effecting a landing about five miles above Fort Lee, and New Jersey for a time became the seat of war.

With the capture of Fort Washington, the evacuation of Fort Lee without more delay was decided upon, and the removal of its stores was just begun when word was received of the landing of the British, whereupon Washington ordered the place to be at once left to its fate. The British move was skilfully planned with the view of hemming the Continentals between the Hudson and the Hackensack, and although this was frustrated by Washington's activity, the capture of Fort Lee, with its cannon and stores, was rightfully regarded by Lord Cornwallis and his forces as an auspicious opening of a fresh chapter in the war. Besides, Washington's new position between the Hackensack and the Passaic was still a perilous one, although he had no doubt he could meet any move that might be made by the enemy so far as manuevering was concerned. His great fear, however, was the immediate massing of the British forces on the new battle ground, and his main object in lingering along the Hackensack was that he might there be joined by reinforcements, for which he was in the most urgent need, and for which he had dispatched messengers in all directions. He had left General Charles Lee at North Castle with 7,000 men, but that capable soldier did not seem disposed to leave his safe quarters and run the risk of passing through what had now, indeed, become "the enemy's country."

Besides, Lee knew that his strength had been sadly diminished by desertions, and there were other reasons—grave reasons—for his delay, most potent of all being, to put the mildest construction upon it, his own garrulous disposition, and his illy-disguised want of respect for his commanding General, whom he considered his inferior in knowledge of military affairs. The force of General Mercer, at Bergen, was also sadly depleted; the terms of enlistment of most of his men had expired or was about to expire, and few of them had any heart to enter upon what promised to be a winter campaign of hardship and distress, no matter how much military glory might be gained. A messenger had been sent to General Schuyler to send what troops he could spare from his force guarding the northern frontier, but no word of encouragement had come from that quarter.

It was under such disheartening circumstances that Washington determined on the famous movement which has been known to American history as his retreat across New Jersey. He knew he could not defend the line of the Hackensack, and it was only a question of a brief time ere he would be hemmed in and unable even to retreat without a battle, and a regular battle he was at that juncture most desirous of avoiding. On November 21, he crossed the Passaic and marched to Newark, and five days later, on the approach of Cornwallis, he retreated upon New Brunswick. The British advance was intended to stop only at Philadelphia, which they had concluded was the rebel capital, and of course it was Washington's purpose to delay that journey as long as possible, even although he could not then accept the wage of battle. On December 1st, Washington crossed the Raritan and zealously pursued his march, until on the 8th he had put the Delaware River between his own forces and those of the enemy, carried over in safety all his troops and stores, and was prepared for a breathing spell. When the British forces arrived on the evening of the same day, they found that every boat had been destroyed or seized and that no available means were at hand for continuing the pursuit. Washington had executed a dangerous movement in a masterly fashion, but many of his troops were disheartened and footsore, desertions, by the way, had been frequent, and his force—the force that with him crossed the Delaware—had dwindled to something less than 3,000 men. Even in that were included a few fresh reinforcements. Speaking of this memorable retreat Thomas F. Gordon wrote,

“The retreat into and through New Jersey was attended with almost every circumstance that could embarrass and depress the spirits. It commenced immediately after the heavy loss at Fort Mifflin. In fourteen days after that event the whole flying camp claimed its discharge,

and other troops, also, whose engagements terminated about that time, daily departed. The two New Jersey regiments, which had been forwarded by General Gates, under General St. Clair, went off to remain the moment they entered their own State. A few officers, without a single private were all of these regiments which St. Clair brought to the Commander-in-Chief. The troops who were with Washington, mostly of the garrison of Fort Lee, were without tents, blankets, shoes or the necessary utensils to cook their provisions. In this situation the General had the address to prolong a march of ninety miles to the space of nineteen days. During his retreat scarce an inhabitant joined him, while numbers daily flocked to the royal army to make their peace and beg protection. On the one side was a well-appointed, well-clad army, dazzling in its brilliancy and imposing by its success; on the other, a few ragged fellows whose tattered raiment but too well justified the sobriquet of 'ragmuffins,' who, with the sneering Tories, reproached them, 'fleeing for their safety.'

On December 2d, General Lee had crossed the Hudson with his force, by that time reduced to something in the neighborhood of 4,000, and landed in New Jersey, but instead of pushing on to join his Chief he conducted his army to Morristown, and there set up his headquarters, with Sullivan as his second in command. On the 13th, while at breakfast at Baskingridge, about three miles from his main force, Lee was taken a prisoner by the British and carried to their camp.

With the crossing of the Delaware, Washington's retreat across New Jersey may be regarded as having ended. The two armies were in sight of each other. Cornwallis was eager that the pursuit should be kept up, but there was no means of transit available, and the river was in one of its angry winter moods, so that extemporized rafts could hardly avail. General Howe peremptorily ordered a halt, saying that within twenty-four hours or so the river would be frozen over so as to permit the entire army and equipment to march over. But his anticipated assistance nature did not provide. So, in accordance with one of Howe's easy-going notions, the campaign was declared over, and the British troops prepared to settle down for the winter. About 4,000 troops were quartered along the Delaware from Trenton to Bordertown, and the remainder at different points to the Hackensack. The success which had followed his movements thus far, the restlessness in the cause of the Revolution which he found existing throughout New Jersey where he had gone, and perhaps the revelations made to him of the extent and equipment of the patriot armies, had inspired Howe, seemingly, with a contempt for the force now opposed to him across the river, and he regarded the way to Philadelphia as open to his troops as soon as he should be pleased to resume his march. Even Congress seemed to think that Philadelphia was doomed, and he

moved to Baltimore, a movement which threw the City of Brotherly Love into a panic.

But Washington was not idle all this time, and as reinforcements began to arrive in his camp the spirits of his troops revived and confidence in his leadership resumed its sway. One danger of supreme importance threatened him just at this juncture. The time for which many of his troops had enlisted ended with the close of the year, and the indications were that all, or nearly all, who could thus honorably retire would then return to their homes. He never forgot the possibility, too, that Howe might change his plans, cross the Delaware on the ice, even at the trouble of a winter campaign, and so march on to Philadelphia. But every day's delay added to the Continental strength. December 20th Sullivan arrived in camp with the army which had been fortunately bereft of Lee. There were other accessions also, until the force amounted to between 6,000 and 7,000 men.

With this strength Washington determined on a bold stroke while his force remained intact and before the dreaded close of the men's term of service might again weaken it. He had observed how loosely Howe's forces were scattered, and thought that by crushing the center at Trenton he would compel the entire army to retreat upon New York. According to the plans drawn up, the river was to be crossed at three points—one corps under Gates was to attack Burlington, Erwin was to cross directly to Trenton and commence the attack, while Washington, with a third corps, was to cross some few miles north of Trenton and march upon it. Gates did not relish his part of the job, apparently, and left his command to General Cadwalader, but neither the latter nor Erwin was able to cross the river on account of the masses of ice on that eventful Christmas night. But Washington was determined to make the attempt, and got his corps of 2,500 men across, although ten hours were consumed in the operation. The night of December 25th, 1776, was one of those in which winter plays all its pranks, snow, sleet, rain, frost and all sorts of variations, but the Continentals pushed on, and by sunrise on the morning of the 26th one column under Sullivan entered Trenton by one route, while Greene led another in a parallel direction, and Washington with the artillery moved between. The British force, mainly Hessians, consisting of 2,000 men, surrendered, after their leader, Colonel Rahl, and several others had been killed, and Trenton was once more in the patriots' hands. The death of General Rahl, who was a gallant officer, has been described at length in Raum's "History of Trenton." Mortally wounded, and supported by two soldiers, he presented his sword to Washington, and implored him for such humane attentions as the great victor was well dis-

posed to bestow upon him. The fatal shot was said to have been fired by Colonel Frederick Frelinghuysen. General Cadwalader, on the 27th, managed to cross the river and entered Burlington, where the Hessians were also in force, but their leader, Count Donop, did not wait for the Continental troops, and retreated to Princeton, leaving behind his wounded, his guns and his stores. On the 26th Washington, having removed his prisoners into Pennsylvania, returned to Trenton. This victory, slight as it was, had infused new courage into his troops, and most of those whose time was about to expire agreed to remain for six weeks longer.

The British, thus rudely summoned, awoke from their dreams and began concentrating their forces at Princeton, where earthworks had been hastily thrown up. Lord Cornwallis, on January 2d, advanced upon Trenton, but found his progress impeded not alone by the elements but by the sharp fire of a corps of marksmen who, in the shelter of the woods along the route, kept up an incessant attack upon the advancing forces. Cornwallis reached Trenton by sundown, but Washington meanwhile had removed his troops beyond a creek, the Assunpink, and guarded it so well that Cornwallis was obliged to call a halt, and the two armies apparently settled down for the night.

Washington knew he was once more in a critical position, and summoning a council on the night of January 2d, 1777, he laid before its members his plan for escaping from it. He proposed to leave the Delaware as the base of operations, and by executing a silent movement that night get into the rear of the British troops at Princeton, defeat them there, and by another rapid march reach New Brunswick, where their stores and baggage lay. By this movement, if carried out successfully, he would force Cornwallis to retreat, and by taking up a strong position at Morristown he would hold the entire British army in check, and make Philadelphia seem a long way off. The scheme commended itself to the council, and a beginning was at once made. The fires around the camp were renewed, the sentries paced up and down at the bridge and fording place of the creek, but the army passed silently on, marching around Cornwallis's left wing and so on what was called the Quaker Road. To our surprise, just outside of Princeton, they encountered a British force of three regiments marching to strengthen Cornwallis's army, and a sharp action at once followed. The American militia fell back under the galling fire of the British regulars, and it was while trying to rally them that the gallant General Mercer fell mortally wounded. The contest did not last long. Washington with his main force hurried to the scene, and in a few minutes the British troops were utterly routed and fled in different directions, leaving behind two hundred killed and wounded, with three hundred

prisoners were left in the hands of the Continentals. Princeton was soon afterward entered.

At Princeton Washington saw fit to change his plans. His men were tired out and unable to march on New Brunswick with the alacrity which the emergency demanded and, crossing Millstone Creek between Princeton and New Brunswick, he burned the bridges and gained for his troops the rest they so much needed. Then he marched to Morristown and took up the position on the heights which had been the objective point of his entire movement.

No other course was for the moment really open to him. When Cornwallis awoke the next morning after his arrival at Trenton, and found the American forces gone, he at once determined to retreat to New Brunswick and protect it from the attack which he felt certain would be made



WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS AT MORRISTOWN.

upon it for the sake of its stores. His troops entered Princeton just as the Americans left it, and then was seen the rather curious episode of two armies marching away from each other at right angles. Cornwallis reached New Brunswick without further misadventure, and there awaited the progress of events.

But the Continentals now played no waiting game. Putnam, with a fresh force from Philadelphia, took possession of Princeton and held it.

upon the oppressor. Had every citizen been secured in his rights, protected in his property, and paid for supplies, the consequences might have been fatal to the cause of independence. What the earnest commendations of Congress, the zealous exertions of Governor Livingston and the State authorities, and the ardent supplications of Washington could not effect, was produced by the rapine and devastation of the royal forces.

"The whole country became instantly hostile to the invaders. Sufferers of all parties rose as one man to revenge their personal injuries. Those who from age and infirmities were incapable of military service, kept a strict watch upon the movements of the royal army, and communicated information to their countrymen in arm. Those who lately declined all opposition, though called on by the sacred tie of honor pledged to each other in the declaration of independence, cheerfully embodied when they found submission to be unavailing for the security of their estates. This is not to be attributed wholly to the victories of Trenton and Princeton. In the very moment of these actions, or before the results were known, individuals, ignorant of Washington's movements, concerted insurrections to revenge their peculiar injuries. The contest had its source in the unrighteous claim of the British statesmen to appropriate the property of the colonists against their consent. It was reanimated by a new and direct application of the principle of the British army. Men who could not apprehend the consequences of British taxation nor of American independence, could feel the injuries inflicted by insolent and cruel and brutal soldiers. The militia of New Jersey from this time forward generally acquired high reputation; and through a long and tedious war conducted themselves with spirit and discipline. They now scoured the country in every direction, seized on stragglers, in several slight skirmishes behaved unexceptionably well, and collected in such numbers as to threaten the weaker British posts.

"In a few days, indeed, the Americans had overrun the Jerseys. The enemy was forced from Woodbridge; General Maxwell surprised Elizabethtown, and took near one hundred prisoners with a quantity of baggage; Newark was abandoned, and the royal troops were confined to New Brunswick and Amboy. Within four days after the affair at Princeton, between forty and fifty Waldeckers were killed, wounded or taken at Springfield, by an equal number of the same Jersey militia which but a month before had abandoned all opposition. This enterprise was conducted by Colonel Spencer, whose gallantry was rewarded with the command of a regiment.

"On the 20th of January, General Dickinson, with about four hundred militia and fifty Pennsylvania riflemen, defeated near Somerset courthouse, on the Millstone river, a foraging party of the enemy of about equal number, and took forty wagons, upward of one hundred horses, and many cattle and sheep. The General received much praise for his courage and conduct; for, though his troops were raw, he led them through the river middle deep, and charged with so much impetuosity that the enemy, notwithstanding he had three field-pieces, gave way and left the convoy. About a month after this affair, Colonel Neilson, of New Brunswick, with

a detachment of one hundred and fifty militia, surprised and captured Major Stockton (one of the numerous family of that name, who, from his treachery, was called 'Double Dick'), at the head of fifty nine privates, refugees, in British pay.

Matters remained in New Jersey pretty much in *statu quo* until the following June (1777) when Howe essayed again to pass through the state *en route* to Philadelphia. In the previous month Washington had abandoned his position at Morristown and entrenched himself in another, at Middlebrook, near the Raritan River, and about ten miles from New Brunswick. This position commanded the road to Philadelphia, and its effectiveness was such that as soon as it was seen by Howe he realized that either Washington should be removed or he would completely lose the State and be compelled to reach Philadelphia by another route. He also found that by this time public sentiment in the State was unmistakably anti-British, and that his troops were in danger wherever they went, except in large numbers. However, he had a force of 18,000 men in New Brunswick, while he knew that Washington's army did not number more than 8,000, and he calculated that if he could manage to dislodge that leader from his strong position he might easily, by the sheer superiority of his numbers, defeat him in battle. But Washington was too wary to give up the most trifling advantage in such a grim contest and he refused to play into Howe's hand by surrendering a single point in the game of war. So, after some eighteen days of countermarching and maneuvering and the employment of all the recognized military arts to break the determination of Washington to remain on his chosen ground, Howe suddenly retired from the task, and proceeded to remove his entire command hurriedly to Staten Island. But even then Howe did not altogether give up hope. Hearing that Washington had abandoned his position at Middlebrook, and was at a place called Quibbletown, on the Ambly road, he thought by a rapid movement to gain the position which had been vacated and thus secure for himself the vantage ground which had hitherto baffled him. So he recalled the troops from Staten Island on June 25th, and, dividing his army into two divisions, began a rapid march, one division to Metuchen, which Howe commanded in person, and the other going toward Westfield, under Cornwallis. But Washington was too wary, and on the first signs of the return movement fell back on Middlebrook. When Howe was apprised of this he abandoned the attempt, recalled the advanced and returned to Staten Island, leaving New Jersey for a time clear of British troops. The only one who suffered loss of honor from this movement, on the Continental side was Lord Sterling, who was defeated and captured by Cornwallis, and lost three guns and several of his men.

It was not until after the disaster at Brandywine, September 11th, that New Jersey again became the scene of active hostilities on anything like a large scale. Congress had ordered reinforcements from the State, and with the view of checking enlistments Sir Henry Clinton divided a large force into two columns, and, landing one at Fort Lee and the other at Elizabethtown, they marched until they reached the Hackensack and there united. They found, however, such a general obstruction to their progress that no attempt was made to experiment further, and the troops returned to New York, leaving behind eight of their number who had been killed. General Macdougall was in command of the Continental regulars, and General Dickinson of the State Militia, and both were decidedly watchful. But they found their time mainly occupied on the Delaware, for Howe, then in possession of Philadelphia, deemed the possession of that river necessary to the safeguarding of his line of supplies, and for a time that historic stream again played a most prominent part in the military game.

The most exciting of all the moves in this connection, was the expedition of Count Donop to Red Bank, or Fort Mifflin, on the Delaware River, near where is now Camden. It was his object to seize that place and hold it so that it might be an open gateway to foraging or other parties into New Jersey, for the supplying of Howe's army, then at Philadelphia. Its possession was deemed of such importance by the Americans that it had been strongly fortified under the direction of Colonel Christopher Greene, and it was near this place—the precise spot being unknown—that Fort Mifflin was erected by Captain Cornelius Jacobse Mey, in 1623, when he attempted the first settlement of New Jersey.

Count Carl Emil Kurt von Donop was sent out from Philadelphia with four battalions of Hessian veterans, about two thousand men. October 21st they crossed the Delaware at Cooper's Ferry, now Camden, marched to Hadloutfield, and thence to the King's Highway above Woodbury and toward Red Bank. They had intended taking a more direct route, but the Americans had destroyed the bridge over Timber Creek, obliging them to march four miles up stream to a shallow ford, at or near Clement's bridge. A portion of their route to Red Bank still goes by the name of "Hessian Run."

The fact that Colonel Greene was intrusted by Washington with the command of a post that was of "the utmost importance to America," and upon which the whole defence of the Delaware absolutely depended, was a high tribute to the honor, valor and judgment of that officer.

Colonel Greene's force was but four hundred men, not sufficient to defend the entire fort, and he proposed to abandon about two-thirds of

merely a double board fence across the lower third of the front. The pickets also, the sharp-pointed branches of trees, placed the ends of the pickets as in such a position as to take the upper part of the front. The space between the two fences, with bay, and iron and lead balls, and stone missiles were at hand. The cannon were placed in such a position as to be able to fire as fast as the soldiers could reload. The only show of defence was to be made by the upper part of the wall, which was to be called redoubt, so as the attack was made to be in earnest, when the troops were to fall back to the second line of main front below. This was to be defended to the last extremity.

The cannon were to fire in the interior, and then to be reloaded. The cannon were to be spiked, as the main front of the redoubt of the British was to be spiked. The main front of the redoubt of the British was to be spiked. The main front of the redoubt of the British was to be spiked.

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The Hessians cheerfully took to his line as the attack began. It was then that the Hessians were in the attack. The Hessians continued for some time, but during its progress a number of Americans were killed or wounded by the bursting of one of their own cannon. The attack began with a battering ram to be used to make a breach in the works, and the British ships at the same time delivered their heavy broadsides. After a short time the Hessians advanced to the outer entrenchments, and finding they could not force the entry of "Victory!" The answer was given in gallant volleys by the patriots in the inner works. Again and again the Hessian officers led their men to the charge, only to see them mowed down by the British. One Dutchman was conspicuous for his reckless courage, but he fell in the end. Repulsed in front of the redoubt, his men retreated into the inner works, but there they were met by the British, and the Americans, who were now in the inner works, and the Hessians were repulsed.

At the end of the day the Hessians were repulsed, and the British were victorious. The Hessians were repulsed, and the British were victorious. The Hessians were repulsed, and the British were victorious.

Now came a dramatic moment in what was already a remarkably dramatic scene. The French engineer, M. du Plessis Mauduit, heard from among a heap of mingled dead and wounded a voice exclaiming in broken English, "Whoever you are, draw hence." It was the gallant Donop. Mauduit had him conveyed inside the fort, where it was found that his hip was broken, but his injuries were not thought to be fatal. He was succeeded in the command by Mingerode, to whose appeals the troops failed to respond, and they soon began a promiscuous retreat. Some went toward Cooper's Ferry in detached bodies, begging food and shelter of those whom they had previously mistreated. The transportation of the wounded caused much trouble, and as one detachment approached Haddonfield a farmer living near the road was, with his horse and cart, pressed into service to carry those who were unable to walk further. Others retreated by way of Blackwood or Chew's Landing. Near the latter place they were met by a company of farmers' boys, who held them at bay for some time. This detachment had with them a brass cannon, which they are said to have thrown into the creek near Chew's Landing.

Count Donop died three days after receiving his wound. When told that his end was near, he said: "It is finishing a noble career early, but I die the victim of ambition and the avarice of my sovereign." To Colonel Clymer he said: "See in me the vanity of all human pride. I have shone in all the courts of Europe, and now I am dying on the banks of the Delaware, in the house of an obscure Quaker." He was buried in the pathway half way between the old Whitehall house and the lower end of the fort, his feet toward the river. Some one placed at the head of the grave a rough stone upon which were picked in a very crude way the words, "Here lies buried Count Donop." The Hessian slain were buried in the ditch, south of the fort. Those who were not mortally wounded were taken to Philadelphia by Mauduit and exchanged.

The loss in the engagement was as follows: Americans, fourteen killed, twenty two wounded and one taken prisoner; Hessians, eighty-seven killed, one hundred and one wounded and twenty taken prisoner.

While the Hessians were assaulting Fort Mercer, the British fleet, besides firing in the direction of Red Bank, made an attack upon Fort Mifflin, across the river. The latter work was gallantly defended for six days. The British fleet comprised the "Augusta," sixty-four guns; the "Roebuck," forty-four guns; two frigates, each carrying thirty-two guns; the "Merlin," eighteen guns, and several galleys. The "Augusta" went aground, and was set on fire and blew up, and the "Merlin" suffered a similar fate. Commodore Hazelwood, commanding the American gal-

leys, took considerable spoils from the wrecks, including two cannon, one of eighteen pounder and the other a twenty four pounder.

Beginning November 10th, Fort Mifflin, was subjected to a bombardment night and day. Six days later the fort was evacuated, the garrison retreating to Fort Mercer. Meantime Howe sent Cornwallis with reinforcements from New York, to fall upon Fort Mercer. With two thousand men the latter named crossed the Delaware from Chester to Billingsport, on November 18th. Washington had been apprised of this movement, and had previously dispatched troops under General Nathaniel Greene to reinforce the garrison. This force was to be increased by the addition of Glover's brigade, but Generals Greene and Lafayette (the latter not yet recovered from a wound received at Brandywine) crossing to New Jersey, failed to connect with Glover's brigade, and, learning the strength of Cornwallis' army, General Greene went off to Haddonfield. Colonel Greene was therefore ordered to evacuate Fort Mercer, as the British fleet had, after the reduction of Fort Mifflin, gone toward Philadelphia, and he accordingly blew up the works on November 20th.

In recognition of his heroic defense of Fort Mercer, a sword was voted by Congress to Colonel Greene, but he did not live to receive it, and it was given to his son after his death.

Colonel Greene met a pitiful death. May 13th, 1781, near the Croton River, New York, his regiment was surprised by a detachment of Tories consisting of about one hundred cavalry and two hundred infantry, commanded by the notorious Colonel James Delancey. They first attacked Colonel Greene's and Major Flagg's quarters, and killed the Major while in bed. Colonel Greene fell after his single arm had slain a number of his assailants. Being badly wounded in the house, he was carried into the woods and barbarously murdered. Two subalterns and twenty-seven privates were also killed, and a lieutenant and surgeon, with about twenty men, were taken prisoners.

In 1872 the National Government purchased a tract of about one hundred acres along the Delaware River at Red Bank, including the site of the fortifications and the old Whitehall house whose floors are still stained with the blood of wounded patriots and Hessians.

In commemoration of the splendid defense of Fort Mercer, a marble monument was erected, upon which were inscribed the following inscriptions:

Inscription on North Side.—This monument was erected on the 22d Octo. 1829, to transmit to posterity a grateful remembrance of the Patriotism and Gallantry of Lieutenant Colonel Christopher Greene, who,

with 400 men, conquered the Hessian army of 2,000 troops (then in the British service) at Red Bank, on the 22d Octo., 1777. Among the slain was found the commander, Count Donop, whose body lies interred near the spot where he fell.

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



BATTLE MONUMENT.

This shaft has been sadly marred by the chisel and hammer of the relic-hunter and vandal. The dilapidated condition of this tribute to patriotism and valor moves one to wonder that so wealthy a State as New Jersey has so long neglected the work of restoration.

After the abandonment of Forts Mercer and Mifflin, we read of the fortunes of a few foraging parties, but wintry weather soon came on, and the opposing armies were perforce obliged to desist from active operations, and Washington retired with his sorely worn forces to the miserable security of Valley Forge.

With the earliest indications of the return of spring, active movements were begun on both sides, and one of the first was the incursion

of New Jersey on the eastern coast to British troops, and the capture of the forts, posts, and garrisons, and the capture of the towns, which compose the province, and supply the province with the Continental army, the Continental Army, and the Continental Army, were sent to the militia and Colonel Hand and Colonel Hand's Brigade. On learning of this invasion Washington sent a detachment to New Jersey under Colonel Stirling, to the effect of a central force and to the militia of the State, and to the militia of the State, that gallant soldier had pushed his way as far as the Highlands, but only about one hundred militia. The State, it is to be remembered, was at the time practically empty in the British hands, for its position was a pivotal one. By the possession of the province, and their freedom of the sea, and their navy, the British could concentrate an attack upon almost any part of its territory within three days, and in such circumstances military force and the usual thrust of glory went under cover. The militia of New Jersey at this juncture was of an insignificant part in its defense, and practically Colonel Stirling and his regiment formed the chief obstacle to the movements of the British troops within the State. Even Shreve had to yield to superior force after a while and retreat across the Delaware to save his command from loss. General Dickinson, Colonel Hand, Colonel Holme and the other local commanders did their best as occasion offered, with the small forces they commanded, but their best did not amount to much. Even the stores at Bordentown were permitted to be captured without any very stout resistance. But it is needless to follow the details of the story, since fighting is not warfare, and had but little influence on the general effect of the heroic struggle then going on elsewhere by which the future of the country was to be determined, still, every cross road in New Jersey and its tradition of skirmish or raid, surprise or encirclement, and such traditions are keenly cherished and lose nothing of importance in their telling, generation after generation.

Once again, however, before the end, New Jersey was destined to become one of the centres of the struggle. After the failure of Washington's scheme to capture or destroy the British army in Philadelphia under Sir William Howe, by the result of the battle of Germantown on October 26, 1777, a result by which was only brought about by a blunder on the part of one of the Continental generals, the campaign of 1777 was practically ended. The fighting was not until the middle of December that Washington's troops resting and suffering in their quarters at Valley Forge, but even amid all the privations and horrors of that winter, neither the Continental troops were not idle. The arrival of camp on Berrien Street, and of the

best German tacticians of the time, led to a complete development of the discipline and fighting power of the little army. Besides, so long as the position at Valley Forge was maintained, the British were compelled to remain inactive in Philadelphia. They knew that Washington could not be dislodged, and so could do nothing but wait. But they waited in comfort and pleasure-seeking, while the "ragged Continentals" shivered in their miserable huts and were often glad enough to engage in drill for the sake of the warmth engendered by the exertion. Clothing was scarce, shoes were a rare commodity, the elements played havoc with the huts, and the privations endured make up a story which even to-day cannot be read without pain, but from it all the troops seemed to acquire by the spring a more confident sentiment than ever in the righteousness of their cause, and the generalship of their leader, and the certainty of ultimate victory. Toward that end events were tending with a rapidity which at that time was hardly appreciable. The spell of inactivity at Philadelphia, followed by the admitted failure of the whole campaign of 1777, had caused serious discussion and much plain speaking in the English Parliament, and in May, 1778, Sir William Howe resigned his command and sailed for home from Philadelphia to defend himself. The command then fell to Sir Henry Clinton, and the evacuation of Philadelphia was determined upon, so that New York should again become the headquarters of the army. The retreat, for such it was, commenced on May 18th and the long march across New Jersey was begun. As soon as the full extent of the British plans was disclosed to Washington and his troops, they realized that even by their inaction at Valley Forge they had gained a victory, and it was hoped to strike a blow which would at least emphasize the true inwardness of the movement as one of failure and send the army into its new headquarters with a fresh stigma of defeat. So Washington moved his whole army into New Jersey, crossing the Delaware at Coryell's Ferry, and maneuvered in order to secure a position that would block the advance. Clinton, who seems to have been in no humor for an engagement at that time, changed his route on learning of Washington's movement, and diverting to the right, hoped to reach Sandy Hook without trouble, knowing that there he would be safe, as that point could easily be defended, and, besides, the fleet would be in readiness to aid in defence and in transportation.

Washington easily divined this purpose, and appears to have been more intent than ever on bringing about an engagement. He detached a force as an advance guard to penetrate through Clinton's lines, dividing the British army in two and holding it so divided until he could bring up the rest of his own troops. Reluctantly, it seems, he was compelled to place this

advance force under the command of General Lee, who had been exchanged from his captivity.

June 28th, 1778, the date of the battle which followed, is one of the most memorable in American history. The scene was laid in and near the village of Monmouth Court House, or Freehold, as it came to be called.

The British army occupied the village, and its principal force lay westward from it, extending across the road to Englishtown. About 5 o'clock in the morning, bustle in the camp proclaimed an impending movement. This was detected by General Dickinson, who, with a force of 800 hundred men, was posted in observation in front of the British left, and he at once sent information by messenger to Washington and Lee. About 7:30 o'clock Dickinson fell in with a small force of the enemy and a sharp skirmish ensued, this taking place on ground overlooking the morass behind which Washington placed the divisions of Greene and Sterling at a critical moment later in the day.

Before this, about 3 o'clock in the morning, Colonel Grayson, in compliance with orders, had marched the brigades of Scott and Varnum in the direction of the court house, and met Dickinson's men, who were retiring after their encounter with the enemy as previously noted. Grayson advanced one of his regiments and a piece of artillery across a bridged ravine, and on reaching the plateau beyond discovered the British detachment which Dickinson had encountered, and which now retreated.

Not far from the same time, Colonel Butler, acting under orders from General Anthony Wayne, with two hundred men advanced on the British flank and encountered a detachment of the Queen's Rangers, who occupied the ground whereon now stands the commemorative Monmouth Battle Monument. This force of the enemy was driven past the court house and through the village.

Following this, about 10:30 o'clock in the morning, Colonel Butler, about a mile northeast of the court house, near the Middletown road, was charged by a body of about three hundred cavalry, supported by a small infantry force. The cavalry were driven back by a well directed fire, and in their retreat they broke up their infantry support by riding through their ranks pell-mell. At the same time General Lafayette, with a mounted force, pushed eastward from the court house and discovered the location of the enemy.

Immediately after the Dickinson affair, General Lee found what he took to be confirmation of his previous belief that the enemy was marching toward Middletown and that the troops which Dickinson had met were a mere flanking party. The opportunity for delivering a blow against an exposed flank had passed by.

General Lee's troops were placed in position on the ground which had been the scene of the skirmish between Colonel Dickinson and the enemy. Meantime General Clinton, the British commander, had taken alarm at the activity of his enemy, and, disappointed in his expectation of reaching the coast without serious trouble, he turned to give battle, and formed his line rearward. The real battle now began, and here begin the disputations as to Lee's conduct, which have vexed military students from that day to this.

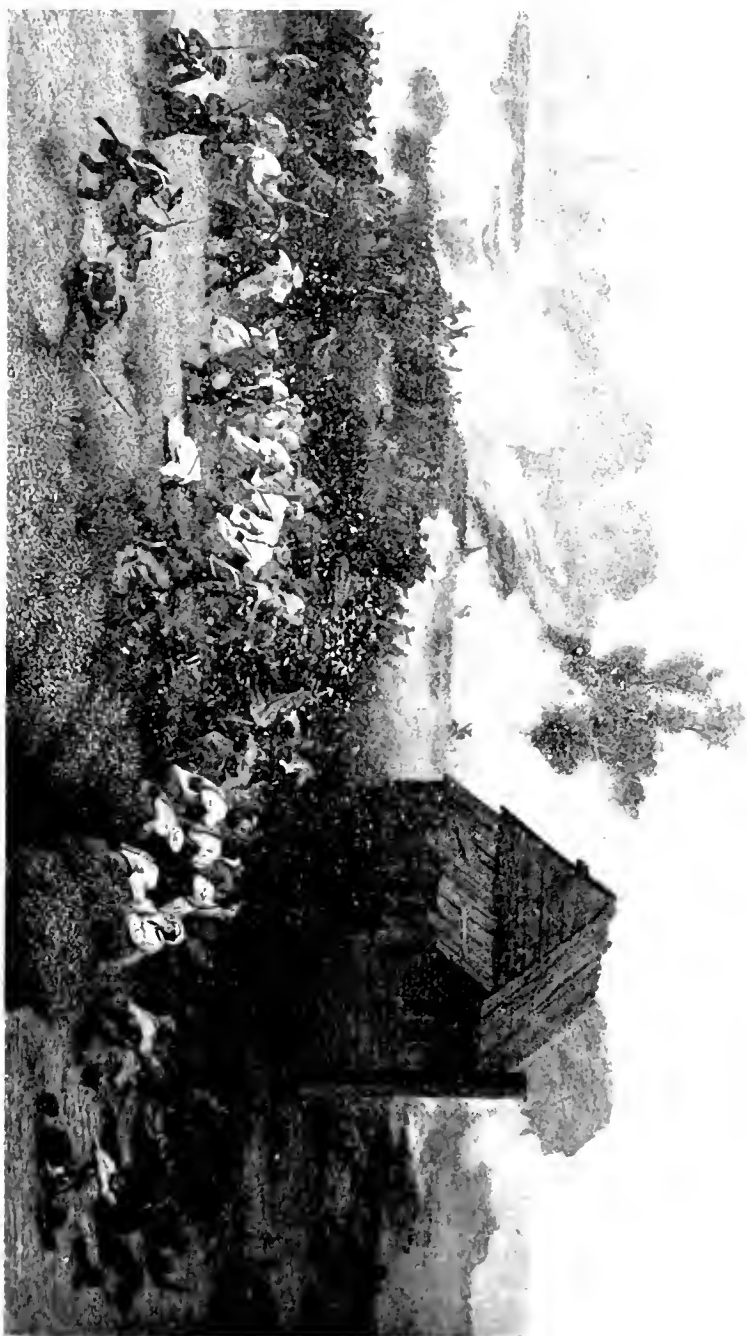
Having completed their formation in the woods to the northeast of the court house, Lee's columns pressed on toward the village. Lafayette had directed Wayne to resist their advance with the regiments of Stewart and Livingston, but these were wholly inadequate and they went into retreat. Whether this retrograde movement was made under orders is a question. However that may be, the other troops also moved rearward. Afterward the commanders of regiments said that they understood that orders for retreat had been given, or that they retreated because neighboring regiments had already retired.

It seems to be beyond cavil, however, that there was no rout, nor more disorder than has frequently characterized the conduct of troops temporarily discomfited, and who immediately afterward gave a good account of themselves. It is also to be said that the men had been in constant action, marching and countermarching, and in battle, some from shortly after midnight and others from before daybreak, and that they were well nigh exhausted for want of food and rest. Again, it is but just to say that, whatever may have been his error of judgment or lack of heart in the movements of the day, Lee gave his best effort to bringing his troops safely away, and was among the last to cross the causeway through the morass which was to afford some measure of safety to the retreating forces. It was here that a part of Maxwell's brigade promptly reformed and presented a battle line to the approaching enemy.

Washington, within hearing of the guns, was informed of the early conduct of the battle. Told that Lee had overtaken the British, and was in a fair way to cut off its rear guard, he sprang into action to make more complete the victory which seemed to be within his grasp, and hurried to the front with his troops.

The coming of the Commander-in-Chief was hailed with joy by the broken regiments of Lee's division. He at once made personal dispositions for the renewal of the battle. Wayne, Varnum, Oswald, Stewart, Ramsey and Livingston were advantageously posted on the high ground near the old Tement Church. Ramsey and Stewart, with two pieces of artillery, were charged with the protection of the left of the line, and Oswald's four

RIYOKU HONMAI BASHI SUTSU



guns, under General Knox, were posted on the right. To Lafayette was committed the formation of a new line. The fresh troops of General Greene and Lord Sterling were also placed in position.

The new battle was now on. The British advanced with intrepid courage, covered by a fierce artillery fire, but were held in check by the well served cannon and incessant small arm volleys of the patriots. Despairing of success in their front attack, they made a desperate attempt to crush the left flank, but were driven back under an enfilading fire from Knox's guns. Then came the grenadiers upon the position held by Wayne, and their repulse was practically the end of the battle. There was considerable firing on both sides, principally with artillery, for some time afterward, but no further attempt was made to dislodge the Americans.

Lee's force at the beginning of the battle was about five thousand men, with twelve pieces of artillery. Of this number, however, Morgan's six hundred riflemen and Dickinson's command of eight hundred men were not brought into action. With the fresh troops brought up by Washington the entire American force amounted to about thirteen thousand men. The British force was somewhat less, and had been depleted by from one thousand to two thousand desertions during the previous operations in New Jersey.

The American loss, according to the original report of General Washington, was eight officers and sixty-one non-commissioned officers and privates killed, and eighteen officers and one hundred and forty-two non-commissioned officers and privates wounded, a total of two hundred and twenty-nine killed and wounded. The missing numbered three hundred and sixty, but many of these afterward returned to the ranks. Of this number fifteen had been taken prisoners.

General Sir Henry Clinton reported four officers and one hundred and eighty-four men killed and missing, and sixteen officers and one hundred and fifty-four men wounded, a total of three hundred and fifty-eight. These figures are not regarded as authentic, as four officers and two hundred and forty-five men were buried by the Americans.

The Washington-Lee episode, on the arrival of the former named on the battlefield, has been variously reported.

Dr. Samuel Forman, of Freehold, heard the story as told by his father, who was one of Washington's guides that day. According to his narrative, Washington met Lee near the Tennent Church parsonage, and asked in astonishment, "What is the meaning of this?" Lee, who was confused and did not clearly understand the question, asked, "Sir?" Washington asked, "What is all that confusion and retreat for?" Lee answered that there was no confusion except what arose from his order

not being properly obeyed. Washington said he knew that the enemy he had encountered was but a small covering party, to which Lee responded that it might be so, but they were stronger than he, and he had not thought it prudent to risk so much. Washington rejoined, "You should not have undertaken it," and rode away. Later in the day Washington asked Lee if he would take command there, and was answered that he had already been given command there. Washington said he should expect him to take proper measures to check the enemy, whereupon Lee answered that his command should be obeyed, and that he (Lee) "would not be the first to leave the field." Washington then rode away.

Weems, in his "Life of Washington," quotes the Commander-in-Chief as asking, "For God's sake, General Lee, what is the cause of this ill timed prudence?" To which Lee replied, "No man, sir, can boast a larger portion of that rascally virtue than your excellency!"

The Marquis de LaFayette, in 1824, in conversation with Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York, said: "This was the only time I ever heard General Washington swear. He called Lee a 'damned poltroon,' and was in a towering rage."

Various persons who claimed to have been witnesses to the scene quoted Washington as using violently profane language. No witness at the court-martial of Lee, however, testified to any profanity, and neither Sparks, Bancroft or Marshall refer to that phase of the incident otherwise than to say, in effect, that Washington spoke in terms of warmth, implying disapprobation of Lee's conduct.

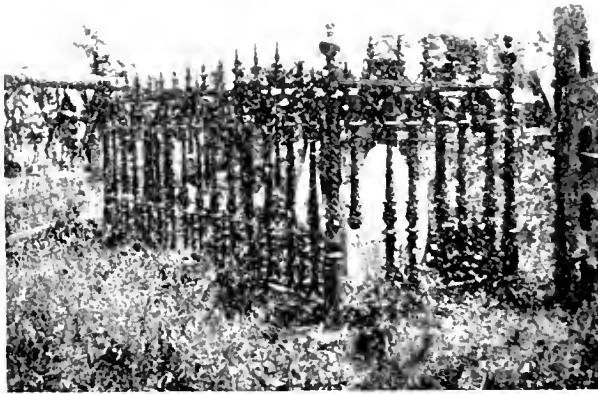
The subsequent trial of General Lee by court martial for disobedience of orders and misbehavior before the enemy resulted in his being sentenced to suspension from any and all command for twelve months, whereupon he retired to Philadelphia, and was never again called into service.

On the evening the battle closed, Washington made his disposition for assuming the offensive, but his troops were obliged to desist on account of the impracticability of moving through the morass and woods in the darkness. He then directed that an assault should be made at dawn by Poor's and Woodford's brigades, and the entire army slept on their arms awaiting the hour.

When morning dawned, however, Clinton and his army had disappeared, and that night went into bivouac beyond Middletown, and on July 5th reached Sandy Hook.

A lonely grave by the side of the road near Vanderburgh is an enduring witness to an incident of the operations above narrated. The divisions of the British Army having in charge the baggage train began its march from Freehold at 3 o'clock in the morning of June 28th, 1778.

and by daylight must have been several miles from that place. Colonel Asher Holmes, with a portion of his regiment, made an attack upon the train, but was repulsed with the loss of one man killed and several wounded. The loss of the enemy was a drummer boy and four soldiers killed. The young American who lost his life was Michael Fields, whose grave is represented in the engraving. The facts as here given were narrated to R. C. Smock by his grandfather, Garret Smock, who took part in the attack.



GRAVE OF MICHAEL FIELDS.

Washington pressed on through New Jersey until he reached a position at Paramus on Saddle River, about seven miles northwest from Hackensack, where he was within easy observation distance of Sir Henry Clinton's forces, and ready to meet any section of that army which should move from Manhattan or Staten Island, where it was then safely quartered, gathering strength apparently for another effort to regain the laurels and the land which it had even then practically lost. The American troops at Paramus also enjoyed that period of rest and recuperation which they had so loyally earned and so greatly needed. The tide of battle, however, had for the time being again rolled away from New Jersey and the Lower Hudson, and in December, 1778, Washington sent his veterans into winter quarters, extending his lines from West Point to the Delaware, his own headquarters being for some weeks at Bound Brook.

The winter was not idly spent by Washington, however. The plans for the campaign of 1779 had been thought out and other emergencies and contingencies had to be provided against, for none knew better than the Commander-in-Chief that in many ways the struggling nation was

long—wars which few even in Congress then rightly understood. It was simply this:—The men in the field, in full duty, those who directed the affairs of state had no objection if Congress was taken up by miserable discussions, party quarrels or place or power or personal glory; the airing of party passions after neglect of war should have been at that juncture the only and supreme duty, the unqualified support of the fighting arm. But the states, as we read the reports of proceedings in Congress and the legislatures and study the now bleared and worn columns of the "Gleaner and the Reapler" we are almost ready to conclude that many of the so-called fathers imagined that the war should be settled by a single general battle, that all of the maneuvering and marching and counter-marching was humbug, and that Washington and the other military leaders were prolonging the contest for their own selfish ends. The elected fathers waited results and they argued while Washington fought. But affairs were really in a sad mess, the affairs of the governing power, that is to say, the public treasury was empty; Congress had no absolute power, no general authority, the money paper money was depreciated, and its buying power was daily becoming less; business in the cities was stagnating, and provisions, even the necessaries of life, had risen in places to exorbitant prices. The condition of the army was a disgrace; Congress, pay was in arrears and rations were meagre and uncertain, while uniform and food was a luxury and new shoes so rare as to be a curiosity. The troops were better off in the winter quarters in New Jersey than they were, certainly, during the memorable days at Valley Forge, but still much, very much, was left undone that might have been done to improve their condition. In particular the depreciation of the currency in which they were paid made their remuneration little more than nominal, so that while the men were serving their country and winning the thanks of unborn generations as heroes, the families of many of them were suffering from actual want.

Early in May (1779) Washington determined to send a force to the frontiers of New York and Pennsylvania with a view to reduce the Indians of the Six Nations, and in that force included a brigade of New Jersey troops which had been stationed during the winter at Philadelphia watching the movements of the British on Staten Island. General Mifflin at once, on receiving orders, forwarded a letter to General Washington which occasioned that leader much solicitude, not for its contents, but from the question which arose as to the convenience of such a movement, with the likelihood of similar results during the winter, which he it remembered the position of the army in Jersey's winter quarters.

worse than those of the other States. We will again let Historian Gordon tell the story of this singular incident.

"General Maxwell replied, in a letter to the Commander-in-Chief, that the officers of the first regiment had delivered to their colonel a remonstrance, addressed to the State Legislature, declaring that unless their complaints on the subjects of pay and subsistence obtained immediate attention, they were at the expiration of three days to be considered as having resigned; and requesting the Legislature, in that event, to appoint other officers. General Maxwell added, This is a step they are extremely unwilling to take; but is such, as I make no doubt, they will take. Nothing but necessity, their not being able to support themselves in time to come, and being loaded with debts contracted in time past, would have induced them to resign at so critical a juncture. They declared, however, their readiness to make every necessary preparation for obeying the marching orders which had been given, and to continue their attention to the regiment until a reasonable time for the appointment of their successors to the regiment should elapse.

"General Washington was much afflicted by this intelligence, and sought in vain by paternal remonstrance to change their determination.

"The condition of these officers seems to have been one of extreme privation. By a resolution of December, 1777, Congress had recommended to the several States to furnish the officers of their respective quotas with certain clothing, at the prices current, when the army was established, in the year 1776, the surplus to be charged to the United States. This resolution seems to have been tardily and imperfectly obeyed, notwithstanding the repeated applications of the soldiery. Their pretensions were probably more strenuously urged in a memorial presented to the Assembly on the 27th of April, 1779, respecting their pay, subsistence and clothing, and were supported by an energetic letter from General Maxwell; all of which were referred to a joint committee of both Houses. That committee reported that provision had been already agreed upon as far as was consistent, previous to an application to Congress; that, if upon such application, no measures are by them adopted in that behalf, it will then be the duty of the State to provide for its quota of troops in the best manner they can devise. This resolution was duly approved, but another offered by the same committee, that the letter of General Maxwell contains indecent and undeserved reflections upon the representatives of the State and that the same be transmitted to Congress with a proper expression of the disapprobation and displeasure of the Legislature, was negatived.

"Moved by the wretchedness of these officers and the troops they commanded, Governor Livingston, Robert Morris and others, during the recess of the Legislature, on the fifteenth of January, requested the treasurer to pay into the hands of Enos Kelsey, commissioner for the purchase of clothing, the sum of seven thousand pounds to be applied in procuring clothes for the officers, agreeably to the resolution of Congress, engaging

to replace that sum in the treasury, provided the Legislature at their next sitting should not direct it to be credited in the accounts of the treasurer. On the 30th of April this direction was given by the House, with orders to the commissioners to draw the further sum of twenty five thousand pounds for the purpose of furnishing to certain officers clothing to the amount of two hundred pounds, as the prices then were, upon their paying the sum it would have cost in the year 1776. Still there were conditions annexed to these grants which rendered them ineffective.

"On the 7th of May the remonstrances of the officers were repeated, stating that they were under marching orders, and in immediate want of a necessary supply. Upon which the House directed the commissioner to furnish two hundred pounds, and to pay to the soldiers of the brigade the sum of forty dollars each. This disbursement removed the obstacle to the march of the brigade. The reason of the delay of the State in supplying her forces would seem to be a desire that some uniform rule to this end should be adopted by Congress, or that the Confederacy should assume the whole duty to itself."

This matter was hardly adjusted before Washington perceived that, with New York as his base, Sir Henry Clinton was about to attempt to obtain a complete mastery of the middle Hudson, including West Point, which was really the key to the entire river. The previous British assaults in that quarter had been to a certain degree successful, and Forts Montgomery and Clinton had fallen into their hands in 1777. But West Point remained impregnable. To offset the loss of these forts others had been laid out at Verplanck's Point and at Stony Point.

As soon as this movement was understood by Washington, he ordered a concentration of his forces at Morristown, and the roads of New Jersey again resounded to the tread of marching men. A large force was sent to West Point, while other battalions were so disposed that every avenue was covered by which West Point might be captured. The British plan began well. The fort at Stony Point and that at Verplanck's Point were captured, but with that comparatively trifling measure of success the invaders had practically to rest content. The position of the American forces was again found to be too strong, too much adapted by nature for defensive operations, that Clinton apparently ceased, or at least postponed his aims against West Point, and according to an expressive phrase of one of his own officers, proceeded "to harry Connecticut." But Washington was too wary, too keenly alive to the importance of the retention of West Point, to relax his grip upon it in the least, and so, while the tide of battle seemingly rolled elsewhere, both armies really had their eyes upon that natural fortress, which still commanded the upper Hudson. Mad Anthony Wayne recovered Stony Point, but Verplanck's Point remained in the hands

of the British, in spite of several gallant efforts to capture it. Its defenses were greatly augmented, and so rendered the retention of Stony Point useless to the Americans, who therefore abandoned it. It was at once occupied by the British again, and its armament and defending force strengthened. Lower down on the Hudson, across the river from Manhattan Island, an attack was made in August on a British garrison stationed at Paulus Hook, in which Major Lee carried off a large party of prisoners. It was a brilliant affair, but one which in reality had no result except to remind the British in New York City that they were by no means secure from attack.

In June, 1780, General Knyphausen, in accordance with instructions, made a raid into New Jersey from New York which promised big results. It had been reported in British circles that the discontent throughout New Jersey had again become so intense that the presence of a strong British force marching through the interior of the State was all that was necessary to cause the local military to desert their colors for those of King George, to impel the people to rise, overturn the Provincial government and shake off forever the alliance with the other Colonies. So to Knyphausen was given the mission to win back to the royal standard so desirable an acquisition. Why such a man was selected for what even under the most favorable circumstances would have been a most delicate task, is utterly beyond comprehension. He had none of the qualities of leadership or statesmanship necessary to win success on such an errand, and his selection, we can only conclude, seems simply one of those many inane things which the British authorities did, and did even at critical times, which are now known to every student of history to have aided the cause of liberty and independence just as much as some of the hard fought battles which the Continental forces won. Knyphausen crossed from Staten Island to Elizabethtown with nearly 5,000 men, and marched to Connecticut Farms (now Union), where a halt was made. By that time it had become apparent to even the dullest mind in the invading force, that the expedition was doomed to failure, but Knyphausen, with the dogged determination of his race, determined to carry out his marching orders and to proceed, his objective point being Morristown Heights, where he thought from the intelligence he received he might easily capture the camp there and thus plant himself in a position of recognized and tested strength. His first brush with the Continentals, an outpost of twelve men, had resulted in his favor, and besides, General Stirling, who had ridden up to ascertain the cause of the trouble, was severely wounded. So the victorious mercenaries passed on in triumph to Springfield. But as they marched, their progress, with every step, seemed to

become more and more dangerous, for, from every clump of trees, shots were fired, while General Maxwell, who had marched to the scene of the trouble with a small body of regulars, quickly gathered to his assistance all the armed farmers he could find, and with this insignificant and heterogeneous force soon compelled the surprised Knyphausen to call a halt. In the skirmish which followed the latter held his ground—his force was about twelve times that of Maxwell, but the New Jersey hero was steadily adding to his numbers, and on the hills beacons were burning and cannons were booming, giving notice to a wide range of country that the enemy was in its midst. Such extensive publicity and delay were certain to defeat the entire movement, the success of which, it had from the beginning been pointed out, depended on the celerity of its execution. But with Maxwell in front contesting every step, a halt had to be called, and then word reached the unfortunate Knyphausen that Washington, at the head of his entire army, was marching from Short Hills to wipe the expedition out of existence. So the retreat was sounded, and with a steadily increasing rush of infuriated patriots pressing on its sides and rear, firing at it from every vantage point, the column made its way back to Staten Island.

During the retreat, however, a sad incident occurred which aroused the people to a degree of resentment which not even the invasion had done. Mrs. Caldwell, the wife of the Rev. James Caldwell—the fighting Presbyterian minister of Elizabethtown, who was absent with the army, being chaplain of the New Jersey brigade, was shot to death at Connecticut Farms, where she was staying. One record says: "On the arrival of the royal troops, Mrs. Caldwell entertained the officers with refreshments, and after they had retired she and a young woman having Mrs. Caldwell's child in her arms, seated themselves on the bed. Upon seeing a British soldier looking at her, Mrs. Caldwell exclaimed, 'Don't attempt to scare me!' when he fired, shooting her through the breast. Soon after, a British officer came, and, throwing his coat over the corpse, carried it to the next house." There are several variations to this story, but they all resolve themselves into this, that the unfortunate woman was murdered by one of Knyphausen's troopers. The contention of the British that the crime was the result of a random shot fired by some of the Jerseymen, can hardly be entertained for a moment, and it is not likely to have been believed even by those who most loudly asserted it.

The fate of this expedition might have warned the British of the danger of further movements in New Jersey, but Sir Henry Clinton determined on yet another effort to make its territory the base of a successful campaign. With an army of some six thousand men, effectively supported by artillery, he started on June 23d, 1780, from Elizabethtown, his first ob-

jective point, as usual with such expeditions, being Morristown. He tried to cover his purpose by a renewed activity at other points, but Washington was watching every move of the British, and, as usual, quickly divined the real purpose of the new campaign. General Greene had been hurried to Springfield with two brigades of regulars to stop Knyphausen had that general persisted in his advance, and was still there gathering and drilling all the militia he could raise, when word came of Sir Henry Clinton's new movement. He then took up a strong position near the town and waited for the arrival of the enemy. He was strengthened by another brigade from headquarters, and Washington was ready to render effective support should it be needed.

As the British army neared Springfield it was closely pressed by Major Lee and Colonel Dayton. At the Rahway they found the bridge defended by American artillery under Colonel Angel, while a second crossing was covered by a regiment under Colonel Shreve. The body of the Continental forces occupied a position in the rear of the town, a position which Sir Henry at once saw was too strong to be carried by force and not likely, at that stage of the game, to be won by finesse. However, he pressed his advance, forced the passage of the Rahway, compelled the defending outposts to retire to their main lines, and entered Springfield in triumph. Even then, however, he saw that his movement was a failure, and, reducing the town to ruins by fire, he retreated to Elizabethtown and from there crossed over to Staten Island, with the militia and farmers sending farewell shots after him during every step of the weary and disheartening march.

It was during this destruction of Springfield that the church which the zeal of the Rev. James Caldwell made historic was burned down. He was present at the battle, and perhaps the fresh memory of the cold-blooded murder of his wife made him on this occasion more of a fighter than a preacher. When at one time in the engagement the supply of gun-wadding threatened to give out, he burst into the Methodist church, and, securing an armful of hymn books, distributed them among the troops, saying, "Put Watts into them, boys!" Caldwell was a brave man. A native of Virginia and a graduate of Princeton, he was for many years minister at Elizabethtown. On the outbreak of hostilities he became noted for his intense patriotism and was appointed chaplain of the New Jersey forces. In 1780 his church and manse were both burned by the British, and it was this bit of malice that forced his wife to move to where she met her untimely end. His own career similarly closed in a tragedy, for he was shot by an American sentry at Elizabethtown, November 24th, 1781. The mur-

derer, Morgan, was delivered over to the civil authorities, tried for the crime and sentenced to death. He was executed at Westfield, January 20th, 1782, and his conduct during his trial and up to the minute that he stepped into eternity gave rise to a suspicion that he was a British spy.

The battle of Springfield practically closed the story of the War of the Rebellion so far as New Jersey was concerned. Armed men still occupied its soil, encampments still held on to their vantage points ready for any emergency, but no operations on a large scale followed Sir Henry Clinton's retreat of June, 1780, until the end of hostilities, when the independence of the Colonies was acknowledged, and the last of the British forces in America sailed out of New York harbor in 1783.

In our survey we have only attempted to present New Jersey's position in the general story of the struggle; to show how much she contributed to the military history of the war. Merely local incidents and tragedies and crimes and wrongs and sufferings have been in the main avoided, but a few are to be briefly told.

The people of Monmouth county bore a splendid part in the struggle, and its soil was the scene of some of its most stirring events. Their coasts made them easy of approach by the enemy, and they paid the penalty of their patriotism in being continually harassed and plundered. At the outset, in their meetings, they supported every reasonable effort toward restoring proper relations between the colonies and the mother country, and, this failing, a majority entered upon the revolution with great spirit.

In November, 1775, the first company formed in the county, under command of Captain Longstreet, marched to Perth Amboy and occupied the barracks which had been vacated by the Forty-seventh British Regiment. This was a company of minute men, and their uniform was an ordinary hunting-frock. These bodies were disbanded in February, 1776, and the men were incorporated in the militia.

June 30, 1776, under a call by Congress, New Jersey was required to furnish three thousand three hundred troops. Monmouth and Middlesex counties were each required to furnish four companies for one of the battalions. Nathaniel Heard, of Middlesex, was colonel, and David Forman and Thomas Hendersen, of Monmouth, were respectively lieutenant-colonel and major.

Under a further call Monmouth county contributed three companies. These were assigned to a battalion of which George Taylor was to be colonel, but he refused to qualify and went over to the enemy, and Samuel Forman was commissioned in his stead; both named were Monmouth county men. In 1778 the militia of Monmouth county was incorporated in the second of the two New Jersey brigades.

The roll of Monmouth county Revolutionary soldiers is a long and honorable one. Daniel Forman, who was a lieutenant-colonel, became a brigadier-general of militia, and subsequently was a colonel in the Continental line; he commanded the State militia in the battle of Germantown.

Colonels of State troops were David Brearley, Samuel Breeze, John Covenhoven, Richard Poole, Samuel Forman, Daniel Hendrickson, Asher Holmes, Elisha Lawrence, Nathaniel Scudder (killed in battle), and John Smeck.

The lieutenant-colonels were Jonathan Forman, Thomas Henderson, Elisha Lawrence, Jr., Joseph Salter, David Rhea, Thomas Sealrook and Auke Wikoff.

An interesting incident of the winter campaign of 1777 was unearthed from New York newspapers of the day and from various family and governmental pension records by Mrs. M. C. Murray Hyde, of New York City, who wrote the narrative for the "New York Times," February 23d, 1896. The narrative which follows is based upon the publication named.

During a period of unusually stormy weather early in February, 1777, an English "victualing ship" was cast ashore near where the village of Seabright now stands. The Monmouth county militia, under command of Colonel Nathaniel Scudder, held a post at Black Point, the confluence of the Shrewsbury and Navesink rivers, from which they kept up a constant observation of Sandy Hook, which was infested by the enemy. Colonel Scudder's militia prepared to take possession of the stranded vessel and her cargo, but Tories conveyed information of their purpose to Lord Howe, who dispatched a force of one hundred and seventy men under Major Gordon and Colonel Morris' regiment of New York royalists to compass their defeat.

Stress of weather held the vessels off coast until daybreak of February 13th, 1777, when under the pilotage of natives they passed up the river to the point where stands the present village of Parkerstown, and Major Gordon's men waded waist-deep to the shore of the Highlands, below the present light-houses. The force at once pushed forward toward the residence of Richard Hartshorne, the advance post of the Monmouth county militia, but through the fault of their guide they pursued a circuitous route, and were unable to effect the surprise they had projected, and were met with stout resistance.

Meantime Colonel Morris moved down the beach to the stranded vessel and captured the small guarding party. The prisoners were put aboard the British ship "Syren," and the cargo was removed to the light-house.

The affair was reported at length by a British officer writing from Amboy, February 16th, 1777, as follows:

"On Monday (Feb. 10th) last a Detachment of 170 men of the 20th Regiment under Major Gordon marched from Richmond, Staten Island, to Collis's Ferry, where they embarked for Sandy Hook, with the intention of cutting off a party of Rebels stationed at the Highlands or Navesink. After being detained on board by hard Gales of Wind and bad weather for three Days, they landed (wading up to their waists) on the Beach at the Highlands, about two miles below the Rebel Posts.

"A little before they marched and surprised the advanced Guard without firing a shot. From thence they proceeded about a mile farther to the house of one Hartshorn, at which they were approaching by two different Ways (the flanking Companies taking to the right) a Guard posted at about 200 yards from the house were first alarmed. These after firing a few shot, together with their Main Body, who at first affected to form and make a stand, being pushed by the Battalion, fled too soon for the Grenadiers and Light Infantry to come up in time enough to cut off their Retreat. Between 30 and 40 escaped. We found several dead Bodies in the Woods, which were buried by the Soldiers. The whole of the Prisoners taken amounting to 72 (amongst which are 2 Captains and 4 Lieutenants) were carried on board the Syren. Many had certificates about them of their having taken the Oaths of Allegiance. Their Stores consisted of 2 or 3 Barrels of Powder, 770 Ball Cartridges, some Salt Provision and 6 or 10 Quarters of fresh Beef, with a light Cart and Team. The 20th left one man killed.

"The next day the Country People who had met the Fugitives reported that many were wounded. The guides were intelligent and behaved very well. Col. Morris' New Levies, with the Marines from on board the Syren, who had been detached to a different Place, picked up some of those who had made their escape from Hartshorn's, together with an Officer and a small Party who had crossed the River from a Rebel Post at Black Point, for the business of Tory Hunting."

Other accounts of the day put the militia loss at twenty five killed and seventy taken prisoners. The government pension records and the records of Monmouth county contain corroborative evidence of the casualties of the battle. Pensions were granted in the cases of Lieutenant John Whittick and Alexander Clark, who were killed, and others were granted in the cases of some who died while imprisoned in the "Old Sugar House" in New York.

The "Sugar House" prison may have been that near Chambers street, or another on Liberty street, in New York City. Jerseymen taken prisoners at various times were incarcerated in one or the other of these, and on board the prison ships anchored in Wallabout Bay. The most noted of these was the "Old Jersey" — an old sixty four gun ship, stripped of all her spars and rigging, leaving her an unsightly, rotten hulk. Her deck and

filthy external appearance perfectly correspond with the death and despair that reigned within.

One who was a prisoner on board wrote: "When I first became an inmate of this abode of suffering, despair and death, there were about four hundred prisoners on board; but in a short time they amounted to twelve hundred, and in proportion to our numbers the mortality increased. All



OLD JERSEY PRISON SHIP.

the most deadly diseases were pressed into service of the king of terrors, but his prime ministers were dysentery, small-pox and yellow fever." Afterward the sick were carried to two hospital ships (one of which was sadly misnamed the "Hope") anchored near each other about two hundred yards east from the "Jersey." These ships remained in the Wallabout until New York was evacuated by the British. The "Jersey" was the receiving ship—the others, truly, were the ships of Death! It has been generally thought that all the prisoners who died met their fate on board the "Jersey."

This is not true; many may have died on board of her who were not reported as sick, but all the men who were placed on the sick-list were removed to the hospital ships, from which they were usually taken, sewed up in a blanket, to their long home.

It is computed that on board these vessels and in the prisons near by more than eleven thousand Americans perished, many of whose names are unknown, and whose sufferings are buried in oblivion! They lingered where no eye of pity witnessed their agony; where no voice administered consolation; no tongue could praise their patriotic devotion, or friendly hand be stretched out for relief; only to pass the weary day and night, unvaried, except by new scenes of painful endurance and new inflictions of hopeless misery. The hope of death was to them the only consolation which their situation afforded.

The people sustained great loss through the depredations of Clinton's army while it was passing across the State, and those of Monmouth coun-

ty suffered in a peculiar degree. Eight farm houses near Freehold were burned—those of Colonel Thomas Henderson, Benjamin Covenhoven, George Walker, Hannah Solomon, Benjamin VanCleve, David Covenhoven and Garret Vanderveer. Four houses below the Monmouth courthouse were burned—those of Matthias Lane, Cornelius Covenhoven, John Antoninus and one Emmons. In numerous instances houses were plundered. The people were so incensed at these outrages that many of them followed the British army in its retreat and fired upon the soldiers from places of concealment. The army committed similar depredations all along their line of march to Sandy Hook.

A large number of Tories of Monmouth county went into British service as members of the New Jersey Royal Volunteers, commonly known as "Skinner's Greens," taking their name from their commander, General Courtland Skinner, and the distinctive color of their uniform. Elisha Lawrence, who had been sheriff of Monmouth, commanded the first battalion.

Monmouth county suffered more seriously than did any other from marauding bands who went by the name of Tory Refugees. Their principal rendezvous was on Staten Island, and they maintained on Sandy Hook a camp which was called Refugees' Town. They found rivals in their dastardly business in a band of desperadoes who came from New York, who particularly infested the pine regions, and hence came to be known as the "Pine Wood Robbers."

Plunder might satisfy the cupidity of these various gangs of scoundrels, but they also revelled in scenes of brutality and even cold blooded murder. The home of Thomas Farr and his wife, an aged couple living near Imhulystown, was attacked and its doors hammered down. Farr was shot through the leg, and while he lay writhing in pain, he was beaten to death. His wife was killed by shooting, and their daughter was wounded but managed to make her escape.

At another time a party of "Skinner's Greens" went to the place of John Burrows, near Middletown Point, burned his mill and store, and killed two men (Pearce and Van Brockle) and mortally wounded another.

In a raid near Shrewslary, seven Refugees killed one Russell, and fired five bullets into his little grandchild. Later, Joseph Murray, a militia man, while visiting his home in Middletown township, was fired upon from ambush and wounded. He grappled with one of his assailants, but was brought to the ground by a shot from another, and was then bayoneted to death.

Perhaps the most enterprising in deeds of cruelty and plundering was the band headed by Jacob Fagan, who a few years later was shot and killed

by some militiamen under the command of Captain Benjamin Dennis. A few days afterward his body was exhumed and hung in chains from a tree on the public road, where it was suspended until the skeleton fell piecemeal to the ground. This was but one of thirteen well authenticated cases where such miscreants were brought to retribution.

Captain Benjamin Dennis had rendered himself particularly obnoxious to the outlaws for the activity with which he had pursued them, and particularly to Fenton, for his part in the killing of Fagan. Dennis was waylaid and murdered by Fenton. His wife, who escaped, had at a previous time been cruelly beaten by Hessian soldiers.

General David Forman went by the name of "Black David," owing to his swarthy complexion, and to distinguish him from a cousin of the same name. To the Refugees he was known as "Devil David," on account of the enterprise which he displayed in hunting them down. They laid many plots for doing away with him, and on one occasion they fired upon him from ambuscade. At the moment, he involuntarily stepped backward, thus escaping the bullet, but his friend, Colonel Nathaniel Scudder, with whom he was conversing, was killed on the spot.

The atrocities committed by the Refugees and Pine Woods Robbers were epitomized by Governor Livingston in a message addressed to the legislature of New Jersey in 1777:

"They have plundered friends as well as foes; effects capable of division they have divided; such as were not, they have destroyed. They have warred on decrepit old age, and upon defenseless youth; they have committed hostilities against the ministers of religion, against public records and private monuments, books of improvement and papers of curiosity, and against arts and sciences. They have butchered the wounded when asking for quarter, mangled the dead while weltering in their blood, and refused to them the rite of sepulture; suffered prisoners to perish for want of sustenance; violated the chastity of women, disfigured private residences of taste and elegance, and, in their rage of impiety and barbarism, profaned edifices dedicated to the worship of Almighty God."

In 1779, so abominable had become the conduct of the lawless bands, that four hundred and thirty-six residents of Monmouth county banded themselves together in a defensive association which enacted and executed sternly retributory measures.

At a later day the State offered rewards for the destruction of these evil-doers, hue and cry was proclaimed, they were hunted down like wild beasts, and soon after the close of the war they had been practically exterminated.

What is now the county of Atlantic was the scene of a bloody conflict in the autumn of 1778. The British, in order to protect their commerce, which had been sadly harassed by American privateers, sent an expedition against Chestnut Neck, in what is now Atlantic county, where Richard Wescott and Elijah Clark had erected a small fort, mounted with a number of cannon furnished by the Colonial authorities. October 5th, the British fleet of nine vessels—the sloops “Zebra,” “Vigilant” and “Nautilus,” two galleys and four other armed boats,—commanded by Captain Henry Collins, of the “Zebra,” appeared off the bar of an inlet about a mile above Brigantine inlet. The vessels carried about three hundred troops.

Nearing the village of Chestnut Neck the next day, the fleet was unable to enter the harbor on account of adverse winds. However, Captain Patrick Ferguson, who commanded the troops, resolved that he would not wait for the passage of the sloops through the inlet. He filled the galleys and armed boats with soldiers and started up the Mullica River in the direction of Chestnut Neck, having been informed that there was there a wharf and storehouse for prize vessels and their goods.

A landing was effected under cover of an artillery fire from the galleys, with the loss of but one man. The militia were driven out of their works into the adjoining woods, and the village, with several sloops and schooners, and smaller craft in the harbor, were burned. Ferguson then went on to the mouth of Bass River, where he burned the salt works, a saw mill and a dozen houses. The following day he returned to the harbor.

Meantime Washington had been informed of the movement, and he ordered Count Pulaski with his Legion—three companies of light infantry, three troops of light horse and a brass field-piece—to the defence of the place. Pulaski arrived on the evening of October 8th.

Lieutenant Gustave Juliet, of the Legion, here perpetrated an act of treachery of which he was abundantly capable. He had a year before deserted from the Hessians to the Legion. The second in command of that body, Lieutenant Colonel de Bosen, despising a renegade, treated him with scant courtesy.

Juliet, seeking revenge, took five of his men ostensibly on a fishing expedition, succeeded in rendering three of them helpless through intoxication, and betrayed the entire party into the hands of the British. On board the enemy's ships he gave an accurate account of Pulaski's force and of its disposition, and also falsely reported that Pulaski had ordered that no quarter should be given any prisoner taken. With this information the British commander prepared to surprise the camp of the Legion.

Before midnight on the 14th, Captain Ferguson, accompanied by the

renegade Juliet, left the fleet with two hundred and fifty British regulars and Jersey loyalists, besides a number of marines. They purposed surprising Pulaski's picket guard of fifty men commanded by Baron de Bosen. The British rowed to Osborn's Island, and landed between three and four o'clock in the morning. Captain Ferguson sent a party to guard the inmates of the home of Richard Osborn, Jr., and Osborn's son Thomas was compelled to serve as a guide.

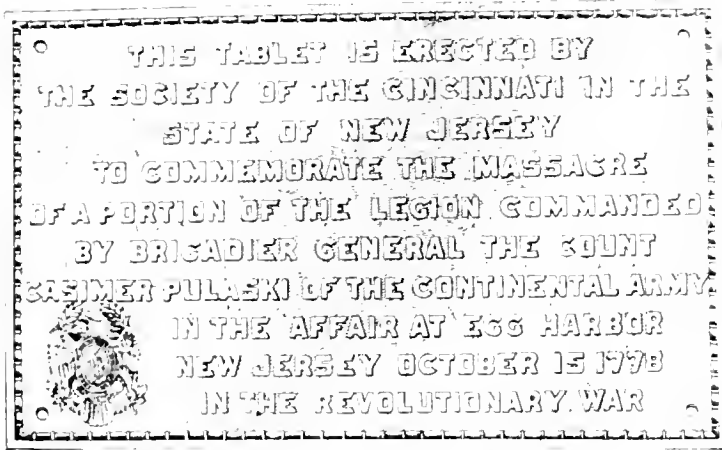
Marching across the island to a bridge over Big Creek, Ferguson left fifty men to guard this point and secure his retreat. Then silently proceeding about a mile over a rough corduroy road, his men came to the uplands, where they found a single sentinel, whom they captured before he could discharge his firelock. This soldier being secured, (and some accounts say he was killed,) the entire command of Ferguson made a rush for the three houses containing the picket guard. Thomas Osborn, the unwilling guide, had meanwhile concealed himself in the meadow grass, and from his hiding place he heard the cries of the men of the Legion as they were being massacred. Awakened by the shouts of the British, they had seized their weapons and prepared to make a defense. De Bosen led his men, and with sword and pistol he fought valiantly. Instantly his body was pierced by bayonets. The men cried for quarter, but their appeals were unheeded. About forty men, including de Bosen and Lieutenant de la Borderie, were overpowered and butchered. Five men only were taken prisoners, and very few escaped.

Notwithstanding the distance, more than a mile, Pulaski heard the firing, and he summoned his men to follow him, while he speeded his horse to the scene of carnage. But the deed had been accomplished, and Pulaski was unable to reach the scene, the enemy having removed the planking from the bridge.

On the appearance of the Americans, Osborn, the unwilling guide, came out of his concealment and told Pulaski of the affair and of his compulsory agency in it. The infuriated soldiers disbelieved him, and flogged him severely.

The British loss in this affair was two soldiers killed and two wounded. The troops were re-embarked. In endeavoring to pass over the bar, the flagship "Zebra" grounded, and was fired in order to keep her from falling into the hands of the Americans. For many years after the war ended, fragments of this wreck were still visible.

The scene of the "Pulaski Massacre" is commemorated by a tablet of which the following is a representation, erected on the site by the Society of the Cincinnati of New Jersey:



Memorial Tablet erected on the site of the Massacre by the Society of the Cincinnati in the State of New Jersey.

Throughout the war Little Egg Harbor was the outfitting point and rendezvous of many American privateers. Regarded by the British as a veritable "nest of rebels," frequent naval expeditions were sent against it. Its people were also harried by "Skinner's Greens" and bands of refugees, who kept them in perpetual disquietude and provoked them to active retaliation.

The burning of the village of Toms River was one of the notable events of the early part of 1782. At that place was a stout fortification called a block-house, but which was rather a stockade. It was of logs set upright in the ground to a height of about seven feet, with apertures for muskets. At each corner was mounted a small brass swivel, such as were used by the privateers in the bows of their whale boats. In March, 1782, Captain Joshua Huddy was in command of the block-house, with twenty-five men of the local militia, and presumably a few men who came to aid him when they learned that an attack was expected.

At the instigation of the board of assiduous loyalists, in New York, an expedition had been dispatched consisting of several whale boats carrying about one hundred and twenty men, under the command of Lieutenant Blanchard. At Sandy Hook these were joined by the British armed brig "Arrogant," under the command of Captain Stewart Ross. The flotilla was kept about the Hook by contrary winds for three days, and entered Cranberry Inlet after night on March 23d, landing the men at Coates' Point, where they were joined by Davenport's band of Refugees.

News of their coming was communicated to Captain Huddy, who made his dispositions for defense. At dawn next morning a signal came in, firing his musket to give notice of the advancing enemy. A demand for

surrender met with an emphatic refusal, and Blanchard's men, outnumbering Huddy's six to one, made an assault. The ammunition of the little garrison was soon exhausted, and the men defended themselves with pikes and bayonets. They were soon overcome, losing seven or nine men (the reports varying), and it is said that some of these were killed after their surrender. The enemy then spiked and threw into the river an iron cannon, burned the salt-houses and all dwellings in the village except two, and took away a number of whale-boats.

Of the prisoners, three were taken to the New York Sugar House Prison, where two of their number were exchanged for Refugees. Captain Huddy, the third, was closely confined until April 8th, when he was put aboard a sloop and placed in irons. Next day he was transferred to the guard-ship at Sandy Hook, and three days later he was taken by a party of Refugees to Gravelly Point, where he was informed that he was to be executed. He was permitted to make his will, and he was then hung. Upon his breast was pinned a slip of paper upon which was written a statement that his death was in retaliation for the killing of Phil White.

White was a Refugee, one of the most execrable of his class. It was charged that Huddy had cut off his arms, broken his legs, put out one of his eyes and told him to run for his life—an allegation which was absolutely baseless.

The corpse of Captain Huddy was taken to Freehold, where assembled about four hundred of the leading people of Monmouth county, who drew up a lengthy address and statement of fact. This was transmitted to Washington, who made demand upon Sir Henry Clinton for the delivery of the notorious Captain Lippincott, who had command of Captain Huddy's executioners. Clinton refused to surrender him, and Washington instituted a reprisal. The lot to suffer death fell upon Captain Charles Asgill, who was taken prisoner at Yorktown, and who was of noble birth and an exemplary man. The courts of Great Britain and France were interested in his behalf, and the execution of the sentence impending over him was deferred until the restoration of peace, when he was released. Captain Huddy, a man of blameless life and an ardent patriot, has long been known in history as the "Hero Martyr of Monmouth." Almost fifty-five years after his death his only surviving child, Martha Piatt, an aged widow, then living in Cincinnati, Ohio, memorialized Congress, asking for relief. The committee of that body to which the claim was referred reported favorably, testifying its high estimation and grateful remembrance of Captain Huddy's services, and granting to his heirs the benefit of existing pension laws, and also giving them an amount equivalent to seven years' pay as a captain of artillery and six hundred acres of the public land.

Captain John Bacon was one of the most cruel and bloodthirsty of the Refugees. One of his most characteristic deeds was performed on the southern end of Barnegat Shoals, on the night of October 25th, 1782. A British cutter from the West Indies, laden with supplies for the British in New York, had grounded there, and Captain Steelman, of Cape May, in the armed galley "Alligator," with about twenty-five men, went to the wreck to watch the crew and to secure the cargo. At night the patriots, wet and tired, built a fire on the beach and went to sleep. Towards morning a Refugee band, under Bacon, surrounded the sleepers and fired upon them, killing Steelman and about twenty of his men. The site of this barbarous slaughter is the southern end of what is now Barnegat City.

Bacon was brought to bay on several occasions by the militia, and sharp skirmishes were of frequent occurrence. His murderous career was ended April 3d, 1783. Captain John Stewart, of Arneytown, and five men united to hunt him, one of the number, Joel Cook, seeking vengeance for the killing of his brother by Bacon's men at a previous time. Bacon was found in a farm house, his rifle between his knees. Summoned to surrender, he jumped to his feet and leveled his gun. Stewart leaped upon Bacon in a muscular encounter, which was ended by Cook driving his bayonet into Bacon's body. The wounded man attempted escape, when he was shot and killed by Stewart.

Cape May was distantly removed from the field of military operations during the Revolutionary war, and her soil witnessed an engagement not once. But her patriotic sons stood guard manfully, and lent efficient aid to the patriot cause, furnishing men and meeting their full share of the expenses of carrying on the war.

At the beginning the population of Cape May county was about two thousand. In the summer of 1775 a battalion of infantry and a company of minute-men were recruited, and among the officers were John Mackey, colonel; and Nicholas Stillwell and Henry Ward, lieutenant colonels. Elijah Hughes was a member of the colonial committee of safety. Events now succeeded rapidly. The secret committee of the continental congress April 17th, 1776, ordered that Thomas Learning be supplied with two hundred pounds of powder (at his own expense) for the militia of Cape May. In 1778 the Cape May companies were assigned to the second brigade of continental troops. In 1780 the last call was made for troops, and the quota of the county (thirteen men) were recruited by Lieutenant Anes Cresse and marched to Monmouth Court House.

The seafaring men acquitted themselves most creditably and usefully as privateersmen and whaliboatmen, who not only harassed the enemy but

aided by watching their vessels and communicating intelligence of their movements to Philadelphia.

It is worthy of note that leading women of the State, during the Revolutionary period, banded together for a noble work somewhat akin to that performed by the Sanitary Commission during the Civil war nearly a century later.

The women of Pennsylvania had formed an organization with the purpose of procuring means for the relief and encouragement of the Continental army. In emulation of this example, a number of ladies of Trenton, "for the purpose of manifesting our zeal in the glorious cause of liberty," formed a similar body, and appointed committees of their sex in every county in the State. The names of some of these women are preserved, and they are recognized as among the most cultured of their day. No record of their accomplishments is extant, but family traditions and diaries serve to indicate that they were not only instrumental in mitigating the sufferings of the ill-fed and clothed patriot soldiers, and in contributing to the necessities of their families, but that they exercised a salutary influence in maintaining good morals and an active patriotic spirit in their communities, and in discouraging vice and excesses in the army camps.

CHAPTER VIII.

SUBSEQUENT WARS.

THE WARS WITH GREAT BRITAIN AND WITH MEXICO.

War was declared by the United States against Great Britain on June 19, 1812. Hostilities had been long impending, and two months before the event named, Governor Aaron Ogden had called upon the State of New Jersey for five thousand men to protect it against possible invasion. These men, then in the prime of manhood, immediate descendants of sires who had won liberty for them, were imbued with patriotic and military spirit, and the force called for was assembled without delay, and placed under the command of General Ludlow.

May 11, 1812, more than a month prior to the formal declaration of war, five companies of infantry and one company of artillery were posted at Navesink Highlands to guard that point for a period of thirty days. The infantry companies were the Freehold Rifle Company, commanded by Captain William Ten Eyck; the Middletown Point Rifle Company, commanded by Lieutenant James Ten Eyck, the Jersey blues, of Trenton; a company from Orange, commanded by Captain Day, and Captain Davis' Rifle Company, of Bloomfield; and the artillery company of Captain Plume's, of Newark. July 14th the companies of Captain Ten Eyck and Lieutenant Ten Eyck were called out for a second tour of duty. The terms of service of all the companies named were brief, averaging less than three months, and, while they were engaged in no active operations, their presence was highly necessary to assure the safety of the Monmouth county coast.

Shortly after the commencement of hostilities, John R. Scull, of Egg Harbor township, in what was then Gloucester but is now Atlantic county, formed a company for the protection of the harbor and it maintained its organization until February 12th, 1815, after the restoration of peace.

Captain Scull made excellent selection of a situation near the river, commanding great Egg Harbor, and here he erected a semi-circular fortification some fifty feet in diameter, with a base of twenty feet, a width of

fifteen feet on the parapet, and a height of six to ten feet. In this work were mounted four-and six-pounder cannon—light calibre in this day of giant ordnance, but sufficient then against wooden vessels. The company stood guard ready for action night and day, but it does not appear that the point was ever attacked. The fortification was preserved, except as impaired by the elements, until about 1885, when it was leveled to give place for modern improvements, and during the work of destruction numerous cannon balls were found on the ground where the patriot artillery had formerly been planted.

In Ocean county a draft was made for troops. It is not to be inferred from the fact of military service being enforced, that there was a dearth of patriotic spirit. The habits of the people of that region, and their peculiar exposure to marauding naval expeditions, naturally inclined them to sea service, to be referred to hereinafter, and for these reasons they strove to evade what was less congenial and less in their own interest. But substitutes were secured on payment of a bounty of fifty dollars. The drafted men were sent to man the fortifications at Sandy Hook.

The long stretch of exposed sea coast of New Jersey was throughout the war a principal objective point of British naval vessels, whose crews committed numerous depredations, which, while annoying, in nowise advantaged their case. On the contrary, every blow they delivered was well repaid, and when the balance was struck, the enemy counted more defeats and losses than did their adversaries.

Off Sandy Hook was a favorite cruising ground for British ships of war which sought to paralyze the commerce of New York City. On frequent occasions they entered the Bay, and at times to their sorrow. There were various instances where small armed British craft were taken by the daring American sailors. Notable among such was the gallant achievement of "Mad Jack Percival," who celebrated the Fourth of July in 1813 by sailing out in a fishing-smack with a party of men garbed as fishermen and attacking the sloop "Eagle," tender to the British man-of-war "Poitiers." The "Eagle," commanded by a midshipman, manned by a crew of eleven men, and armed with a howitzer, was boarded and captured after a brief hand-to-hand fight, and was taken into New York harbor under the very nose of her great consort.

It was lower down the coast, however, from Toms River to Cape May, that the enemy was most aggressive, and where they themselves sustained the greatest damage, while blockading the ports which had been the seat of a thrifty commerce. The blockading squadron comprised many of the largest vessels of the British navy, and was commanded by a splendid officer, Commodore Hardy, who had for his flag-ship the "Ramillies."

seventy-four guns. March 31, 1813, this vessel sent into Barnegat Bay a number of armed ship's boats, which undertook to tow out the lumber schooner "Greyhound," commanded by Captain Jesse Rogers, which was grounded on the bar and was burned. Many American coasting vessels were subsequently destroyed in and near Barnegat Bay. In one instance, the sloops, the "Mara," Captain Joshua Warren, and the "Friendship," Captain Thomas Mills, were chased ashore near Squan Beach by the "Ramillies." Boat crews were sent in to destroy them after they had been abandoned by the American sailors, and one of their men was shot from the beach by Jesse Chadwick, who had been a Revolutionary war soldier. The barges then returned to the flag ship, which tore up the two vessels with her heavy guns.

Late in 1813 several coasters bound for Egg Harbor encountered a British schooner off Cape May. The schooner opened fire and gave chase, and finally overtook the "New Jersey," from May's Landing, with her captain (Burton) and two men. A midshipman and three men were put aboard the prize, which was ordered to follow the British vessel while she continued in chase of the other craft. Neering Egg Harbor, and night approaching, the British schooner abandoned the chase and put about for the Cape. The prize followed slowly, the midshipman being an indifferent seaman, and he was constrained to commit her sailing to Burton, her former master and now a prisoner, under orders to lay his course for the Cape also. Burton designably steered the vessel as to make the mouth of Great Egg Harbor by daybreak, but he feigned ignorance of the place. His captors being confused, he watched his opportunity, and made them prisoners, and brought his recovered vessel into the friendly waters of Souers' Point. The British midshipman was held prisoner for a time, and then returned to his country, but the men of his prize crew remained in New Jersey, and one of their number, an Irishman, enlisted under the flag which he came to tear down.

The spirit of the hardy shoremen of New Jersey may be discerned in two well authenticated incidents of the times. Men from the British flag ship "Ramillies" having killed fifteen head of cattle on Long Beach, belonging to Jeremiah Spragg and John Allen, Commerce Hardy, who was at once a well-dispositioned man and a gallant officer, proffered payment. This was refused by the owners, who averred that such a transaction would be not a whit better than for them to sell food to the enemy. They afterward asked compensation by Congress, which was refused, as was the claim of Captain Rogers, whose vessel had been destroyed as previously narrated.

On another occasion, the British vessel "Polydorus," seventy-four guns,

sent ashore to Cape Island a boat under a flag of truce, with the request that he be allowed to land to procure water for the ship's butts. Captain Humphrey Hughes, commanding a small party of men at the Island, refused the request, whereupon the British commander sent in another boat with notice that unless allowed to land peaceably he would fire upon the village. Captain Hughes, on advice of his officers and residents of the place, gave the desired permission. He was subsequently arrested under a charge of treason, for furnishing supplies to the enemy, and narrowly escaped severe punishment.

December 24, 1814, a treaty of peace between the United States and Great Britain was made at Ghent, by the authorized representatives of the two countries, and it was ratified by the Senate of the United States on February 17th following, and was promulgated by President Madison the next day.

For the war with Mexico, 1846-8, New Jersey was called upon for but three companies of infantry. One of these, organized at Trenton, became Company G, of the Tenth Regiment, United States Infantry, commanded by Colonel R. E. Temple. In April, 1847, this command was embarked on the brig "G. B. Lamar," and proceeded to Brazos Santiago. Throughout the war it remained in the vicinity of Matamoras, performing faithfully all duty to which it was assigned, but taking little part in active campaigning. The regiment was mustered out of service in the fall of 1848.

The company above referred to was commanded by Captain Joseph S. Yard, who after a life of great public usefulness passed his declining days in Farmingdale, Monmouth county. William S. Truax, who was a sergeant at the muster-in of the company, was promoted to the rank of first lieutenant shortly after arrival at Brazos, and was transferred to another regiment. He served in the Civil war of 1861-5, and rose to the rank of colonel.

THE CIVIL WAR.

To one who did not live in that day, no description of the stirring scenes of the Civil War period can convey adequate idea of the tremendous excitement and superheated feeling that were occasioned by the overt act of rebellion which marked the beginning of the great struggle. The war from beginning to end was intensely dramatic, and scarcely a day from the midsummer of 1861 to the spring of 1865 was unmarked by a battle scene of more or less importance at some point between the southern Atlantic coast and the western mountain ranges of Missouri, and in these

scenes the citizen soldiery of New Jersey bore a glorious part. Of the male population of the State of arms-bearing age, numbering 68,806, 88,305 performed military service, and out of the State treasury was paid nearly three millions of dollars for organizing, equipping and putting her troops in the field.

The inspiring patriotism of the young men of the day who bore arms, who endured hardships and privation, who toiled through weary marches, stood the long night watches, and were participants in the hard-fought battle, had its counterpart in the devotion of their mothers, wives and sisters, who while passing years of dreadful agony in fearful suspense, every hour dreading to hear fateful news of their loved ones, gave their dreary watch-hours to picking lint and providing comforts for the wounded and sick.

New Jersey was fortunate in having as executive an unflinching patriot in Governor Olden. Conservative though he was, while holding slavery to be an unmitigated evil, yet deprecating any encroachment upon the system upon ground not clearly permitted by the original compact, he held to the preservation of the Union, and loyally devoted his effort to aid the government by every means in his power. Appealing to the banks for means wherewith to equip troops and provide for the families of volunteers, he was speedily pledged nearly a half million dollars. He also convened the legislature in extraordinary session (April 30), and that body patriotically passed every measure of his recommendation.

Fort Sumter was fired upon April 13, 1861, and the same day President Lincoln made his call for 75,000 men to serve for a period of ninety days. The quota of New Jersey as fixed by the War Department was four regiments of 780 men each, or 3,120 men. Immediately upon receipt of the presidential requisition, April 17th, Governor Olden issued his proclamation directing all organizations and individuals willing to respond, to report within twenty days, and at the same time he notified the government that the force required would be forthcoming. By the terms of Governor Olden's call, the major generals commanding the several military districts of the State, four in number, were each directed to detail one regiment of ten companies, also to organize the reserve militia in their respective districts. These officers were instructed to accept volunteers, and, in the event of failing to secure a sufficient number, to make draft from the reserve militia to supply the deficiency.

The militia system of the State had little existence save in name. It had not been properly fostered or sustained, and was but a motley array of military shreds and patches. Hence it was that, as was not so in many States, there was little immediately available force. The response to the

call of the Governor was the spontaneous uprising of the vigorous youthful manhood of the commonwealth, and within a week the number of volunteers offering was three times what was requisite, and many of those who were unable to enter the ranks from their own State enlisted in New York and Pennsylvania regiments.

The first company received and mustered into the service was the "Olden Guard," a militia organization of Trenton, and April 30th the quota of the State was complete. The four regiments were as follows: First, Colonel Adolphus J. Johnson; Second, Colonel Henry M. Baker; Third, Colonel William Napton; and Fourth, Colonel Matthew Miller. These were formed into the First Brigade, Brigadier General Theodore Runyon commanding.

New Jersey was the first State with a fully organized brigade ready to march, and the command received orders May 2d to proceed to the defence of the National capital. The day following the troops were embarked on propellers on the Delaware and Raritan canal, arriving at Annapolis during the night of the 4th. Four companies of the Second Regiment were left here, by order of General Winfield Scott, to guard the railroad and telegraph between Annapolis Junction and Washington. On the 6th the brigade reached the capital. Its arrival was joyfully hailed by all the loyalists in the city, and a few days later it was honored by a visit from Lincoln, President and Commander-in-Chief, who spoke words of fervent commendation and encouragement.

May 9th and 10th the brigade moved out to Meridian Hill, in the outskirts of the city, and established a camp which was named Camp Monmouth. Large details were made daily to guard the roads in the vicinity, and several hours each day were given to company and battalion drill.

May 24th the brigade crossed the Long Bridge into Virginia, and the men were put to work constructing rifle-pits and redoubts covering the roads leading to Washington, and the most important of these works, in which were mounted several heavy guns, was named Fort Runyon, in honor of the commander of the New Jersey troops. These were said to be the first fortifications thrown up by the Federal troops in the Civil War.

At a later day the brigade was advanced toward Bull Run, and it formed a portion of the reserve force present during the memorable battle on that ground, but, greatly to the chagrin of the men, it was held supinely within close view of the conflict. However, it faithfully performed what duty was devolved upon it, and when came the disastrous closing scene, it stood an effectual barrier between the retreating forces and their pursuers, and so manifest was the soldiery spirit of the well-dressed ranks and so splendid their carriage, that bluff old Ben Wade, who,

from an overlocking height saw the retreating soldiery drift before him, exclaimed, "Give us a brigade of these Jerseymen, and we'll beat the enemy yet!"

July 24th and 25th the regiments of the brigade were ordered to Washington City, where they were honorably mustered out of service, their term of enlistment having expired. The great majority of the men thus discharged almost immediately enlisted in long term regiments, and made honorable records in the following years of arduous campaigning and heroic fighting.

These troops were in greater part from the large cities of the State, and the coast and interior towns were represented by few complete organizations, although many of their young men enlisted individually in the First Brigade or other commands.

In these regiments there were no organized companies from Union or Middlesex counties. Monmouth County was well represented in the Third Regiment, of which James S. Yard, of Freehold, editor of the "Monmouth Democrat," was major.

Soon after the organization of the first three months' troops, the government made call for a force to serve for three years, and the quota of the State was three regiments, which were promptly furnished, and were numbered, respectively, the First, Second and Third. These were formed into the Second New Jersey Brigade, and with the First Brigade, previously mentioned, constituted the reserve division commanded by General Ruyon on the battle of Bull Run. July 25th the gallant Phil Kearny, of New Jersey, recently appointed as Brigadier General of Volunteers, was assigned to the command of the New Jersey troops. A thorough soldier, and one whose magnetic qualities afforded him a splendid popularity with his men, General Kearney brought his brigade to a high state of efficiency. In March, 1862, his brigade distinguished itself in various skirmishes, and the Third Regiment was the first to enter the works at Manassas Junction, which had been precipitately abandoned by the enemy on the approach of the Union forces. The spoils of war were eighty baggage wagons, two hundred tents, large quantities of commissary and hospital supplies, and several locomotive engines. Among the trophies were seven flags, one of which was of white silk, bearing the motto, "Carolinians in the Field; Traitors, Beware!" and another bore the motto, "State Rights; Sic Semper Tyrannis."

The brigade, as a portion of the Army of the Potomac, participated in all the campaigns and many of the great battles in Virginia; and was finally honorably discharged from service in June, 1865, some two months after the ending of the war.

To this brigade Union County contributed Company A, Captain David Hatfield, First Regiment; Company A, Captain James Wilson, Second Regiment; and Company K, Captain John H. Whelan, Third Regiment. Middlesex County contributed to this brigade nearly four full companies, C, E, F and G, of the First Regiment; and Company H of the First Cavalry Regiment. Monmouth county was not represented by any complete organization, but a considerable number of its young men enlisted individually in one or other of the regiments.

July 24, 1861, three days after the disastrous battle of Bull Run, the War Department made requisition upon Governor Olden for five additional regiments to serve for a period of three years, and further calls were made at various times in after years.

The Ninth Regiment, which was organized in the fall of 1861, and took the field December 4, contained two companies from Union County—Company G, Captain John Ritter, and Company K, Captain Elias J. Drake, and in these were many Middlesex County men.

The service of this command was arduous and glorious. It formed a part of General Burnside's famous expedition to North Carolina, which was one of the most unique and thrilling incidents of the Civil War period. The troops were embarked on all descriptions of nondescript ocean-going and inland water craft, hastily assembled, and wholly unfitted for the purpose for which they were brought into use. The fleet encountered a fearful storm off Hatteras Inlet, and several foundered, some going down in collision with other ships of the fleet.

The regiment participated in the famous battle of Roanoke Island, February 8, 1862, where the troops marched (or rather waded) to the conflict through a swamp which the enemy deemed impassable. The only cannon which could be brought into action was a small rifled piece which was dragged through the deep mud and water and tangled underbrush, and was manned during the action, almost entirely by a detail drawn from the Ninth Regiment. The howitzers upon a gunboat which forced itself up the little stream were also manned by infantrymen from the same command.

In this action, in which twelve regiments were engaged, the Union loss was 364 killed and wounded, of whom sixty-two, or one-sixth of the whole number, were of the Ninth. So meritorious was the conduct of the regiment that General Burnside complimented it in general orders, and directed that "Roanoke Island, February 8, 1862," should be emblazoned upon its colors in testimony.

Shortly afterward, on Christmas Eve, the legislature of New Jersey

presented to the regiment a beautiful stand of colors costing \$750,000, accompanying the gift with the following engrossed resolutions:

"Resolved, That the Ninth Regiment of New Jersey Volunteers, by their patient endurance under privation and fatigue, and by their courage at the ever to be-remembered battles of Roanoke and Newberne (a courage evinced by the havoc made in their own unwavering columns better than by the reports of partial journals), have sustained the high reputation which since the days of the Revolution has belonged to the soldiers of New Jersey, and as evidence of our appreciation of that noble of every manly virtue, 'patriotic devotion to country,' the Governor of the State is requested to have prepared and forwarded to said regiment a standard on which shall be inscribed these words: 'Presented by New Jersey to her Ninth Regiment, in remembrance of Roanoke and Newberne.'

"Resolved, That Col. Charles A. Heckman, who so gallantly led his well-ordered men to the conflict, is requested, at the proper time, to report to the clerk of the House of Assembly the names of those who fell, killed, or mortally wounded, on either of the said battle fields; and that the clerk of the House, is, by virtue of this resolution, ordered to enter their names, with the place where they fell, on the minutes of the Assembly of New Jersey, as men who have fallen in defence of the best government of the world.

"Resolved, That New Jersey looks with pride on her soldiers in the field, without exception or distinction, and is prepared to honor them; and while extending congratulations that the occasion has not yet occurred when they have been put to flight by an enemy, entertains entire confidence that such occasion will never be recognized by them.

"Resolved, That New Jersey highly appreciates the disinterested fidelity of Brig. Gen. Philip Kearny in declining preferred promotion rather than separate himself from the command of Jerseymen to him intrusted.

"Resolved, That with the families, relatives, and friends of those members of the Ninth Regiment who, on the 14th day of March, met death, in that form most courted by the true soldier, on the battle field, with their faces to the foe, we most deeply sympathize and sincerely condole.

"Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be forwarded to the generals and colonels commanding the New Jersey troops."

The operations of the regiment were confined to the Carolinas until the autumn of 1863, during which period it took part in various hard-fought battles. Its subsequent service was in Virginia until the summer of 1864, when it was transferred to North Carolina again. On account of its phenomenal service in the swamp regions, it gained for itself the sobriquet of "Jersey Muskrats." Its organization was maintained by the re-enlistment of a majority of the men as veteran volunteers in 1864. It took part in forty-two battles and minor engagements. It went into service with one thousand one hundred and forty-two men and received man-

recruits as its ranks were depleted by battle and disease, and yet only six hundred men were mustered out with the colors at the end of the war. Eight officers were killed in action, and twenty-three were wounded, and the loss of enlisted men was sixty-one killed and four hundred wounded. One hundred and thirty officers and men fell into the hands of the enemy, of whom forty-seven died as prisoners.

In the Eleventh Regiment, which went into service in August, 1862, there were two companies from Union County—Company B, Captain William H. Meeker, and Company D, Captain Luther Martin.

At a critical time, when in 1862 the so-called "peace resolutions" were under discussion, the regiment adopted resolutions condemnatory of all measures tending to a dishonorable peace—an expression of patriotism which at once gave great encouragement to the administration and was a deadly blow against traitors. The regiment participated in all the campaigns in Virginia and in many of their hardest fought battles. At Fredericksburg, with its division, it felt the full weight of "Stonewall" Jackson's charge, and aided in repelling five desperate assaults, sharing in the honor of capturing eight battle flags. In this engagement its casualties were twenty killed and one hundred and thirteen wounded. In congratulating his regiment upon its behavior on this occasion, Colonel McAllister said: "You who went in under the galling picket fire, when the eyes of thousands of our comrades were upon you, and like veterans stood the raging storm of battle, not only holding but gaining ground, deserve my warmest praise." And he added, speaking of the fallen, "We have before us the consoling fact that they died as brave soldiers, fighting for their country, and those of our day and posterity will do them justice."

At Gettysburg, out of two hundred and seventy-five officers and men of the regiment who went into action, eighteen men were killed, one hundred and thirty were wounded, and six were reported missing.

The Fourteenth Regiment had two companies from Union County—Company C, Captain Chauncey Harris, and Company E, Captain James L. Bodwell. This command is referred to at length elsewhere in this chapter.

Company B, Captain John N. Lewis, the only Union County company in the Thirtieth Regiment, went into service September 17, 1862, for a term of nine months. It was assigned to duty among the defensive forces of the National capital, and participated in but one engagement, the desperate battle of Chancellorsville.

The Twenty-eighth Regiment was organized in the summer of 1862 and was mustered into service September 22, for a period of nine months.

Seven of its ten companies and a large part of another company were recruited in Middlesex County, and were as follows:

Company A, which also contained a few men from Warren County, had for its first Captain, B. F. Lloyd, who died in hospital and was succeeded in turn by J. R. Appleby and Wesley Stoney.

Company B was commanded by Captain H. S. Disbrow, a gallant officer, who was for a time commander of the regiment. First Lieutenant J. H. Gulick had seen service with the celebrated Ellsworth Zouaves, and was a most accomplished drill master.

Company C was commanded by Captain Joseph C. Letson, a splendid officer, who, while gallantly leading his men as acting Major, in the battle of Fredericksburg, received a rifle ball through his arm, but refused to go to the rear, and retained his command until the action was over. He was again severely wounded in the battle at Chancellorsville.

Company D was commanded by Captain William H. Dunham. The First Lieutenant, Augustus Hatfield, was for a time acting Regimental Quartermaster.

Company E was commanded by Captain Isaac Inslee, Jr., a most capable officer. Benjamin A. Robbins, the First Lieutenant, was soon commissioned as Regimental Adjutant.

Captain Joseph L. Crowell, commanding Company I, was wounded at Fredericksburg. Sergeant John H. Tyrrell, for his bravery in the battle of Fredericksburg, where he lost a foot, was commissioned as Lieutenant, but was unable to rejoin his company.

Company K, commanded by Captain George Storer, had among its Sergeants, J. T. Bolton, who was promoted to a lieutenancy for conspicuous bravery in the battle of Fredericksburg.

Throughout its service, the regiment formed a part of the Army of the Potomac. The first Colonel was Moses N. Wisewell, who was wounded in the battle of Fredericksburg and incapacitated for further service. He was succeeded by E. A. L. Roberts, and he by John A. Wildrick, who had been a captain in the Second Regiment. Major S. K. Wilson served throughout the term of service of the regiment, which he commanded at times as senior field officer present. William D. Newell was Surgeon, and Benjamin N. Baker was Assistant Surgeon. The Chaplain was the Rev. C. J. Page, a Baptist minister of Piscataway. The regimental loss in the assault on the heights of Fredericksburg was one hundred and sixty-one killed and wounded, and twenty-nine missing, and at Chancellorsville it was thirty killed, wounded and missing.

Monmouth county contributed to the Fifth Regiment one company, Company K, Captain Vincent M. Mount, who resigned and was succeeded

by Edward A. Acton, who was killed in the second battle of Bull Run, August 29, 1862. The regiment went to the front August 29, 1861, and was attached to the Second New Jersey Brigade, in Hooker's Division. It served with the Army of the Potomac throughout the war, and fought in many of the most desperate battles, including those of the bloody Seven Days, the second Bull Run, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, the Wilderness, and the closing operations about Petersburg and on the Boydton Plank Road.

The Fourteenth Regiment was one of five New Jersey regiments which were formed in response to President Lincoln's call for three hundred thousand men, made July 7, 1862. It was organized at Camp Vrendenburgh, near the old Monmouth battle ground at the outskirts of Freehold, and it was mustered into service August 26, 1862. In its first action, that on the Rapidan River, September 15, 1863, it lost sixteen killed and fifty-eight wounded, and its gallant behavior was made the subject of a commendatory order issued by General Morris, the Brigade Commander. It bore a gallant part in the subsequent operations, and was particularly conspicuous in the battle of the Monocacy, under General Lew Wallace, which in all probability saved the Federal capital by so retarding the march of the columns of the enemy as to enable Union troops to reach it before them. The regiment served under General Sheridan in the autumn campaign of 1864, fought in the battles at Cedar Creek and Hatcher's Run, took part in the assault upon Fort Steadman, and its Colonel, William S. Truex, received the surrender of Lieutenant General Ewell, with his staff and troops. It went into service with nine hundred and fifty men and received large numbers of recruits, but so disastrous were battle and disease that the remnant of the regiment honorably discharged at the end of the war was but two hundred and thirty in number. Through its long service by the side of Sheridan's fleet riders it was known as the "Flatfooted Cavalry."

This regiment contained three full companies from Monmouth county, as follows:

Company A was commanded by Captain Austin H. Patterson, who resigned November 16, 1863, to accept a commission as Major of the Thirty-fifth Regiment. He was succeeded by Henry J. Conine, who was killed in the battle of the Monocacy. The third Captain was Charles M. Bartruff, who came up from the ranks, and who at the end of the war bore the brevet rank of Lieutenant Colonel.

Company D went out under the command of Captain James W. Conover, who died at Frederick City, Maryland, August 4, 1864, from wounds received in the battle of the Monocacy on the preceding 9th of July. He

was succeeded by Henry D. Bookstaver. William H. Craig was successively Second Lieutenant and First Lieutenant. While holding the latter rank he was wounded in the battle of Monocacy, and for his gallantry on that occasion was commissioned Captain, but was not mustered in as such and was discharged on account of his wounds, November 8th following.

Company G was commanded by Captain John V. Alstrom, who was promoted to be Major of the Third Cavalry, May 6, 1864, and was succeeded by William W. Conover.

Besides these, there were many Monmouth County men in various other companies in the regiment.

The Fourteenth Regiment had for its Major one of the most brilliant volunteer officers of his day, in the person of Peter Vrendenburgh, Jr., who gloriously fell in battle at a moment when fame had marked him for more signal honors.

He was born in Freehold, Monmouth County, New Jersey, February 12, 1837, eldest son of Judge Peter Vrendenburgh, an accomplished lawyer and one of the most distinguished jurists of the State, who went to his grave heartbroken for loss of his gifted son. The junior Vrendenburgh inherited from his sire a disposition for law, and after diligent reading under the preceptorship of Hon. B. F. Randolph, he was admitted to the bar soon after attaining his majority, and three years later was licensed as a counsellor. He began practice in 1859, at Eatontown, and soon acquired a lucrative business.

In the summer of 1862 he aided in the recruiting of the Fourteenth Regiment, in which he was commissioned Major. At Frederick City, Maryland, he was assigned to duty as Provost Marshal, and in that responsible position he acquitted himself with such excellent judgment and great tact that soldiery, press and people united in commendation of him. September 5, 1863, he was placed on duty as inspector general of the Third Division, Third Corps, and developed such aptitude for duty in that line that three months later he was advanced to the inspector generalship of the Third Corps, a veritable army of twenty seven thousand men. In the reorganization of the army in March, 1864, the Third Corps was discontinued, and Major Vrendenburgh was assigned to duty as inspector general on the staff of General Ricketts, commanding the Third Division, Sixth Corps.

In the routine duties of inspection, upon which greatly depended the efficient condition of the troops as to arms, clothing, camp and garrison equipage and transportation, Major Vrendenburgh devoted conscientious care. At the same time, on the march and battlefield he was a most efficient aide to his General, displaying at all times every quality which marks

the gallant and enterprising officer. In the severe engagement at Cold Harbor he was asked by General Ricketts to lead the division in its assault upon the works of the enemy, and without hesitation he spurred his horse to the charge and surmounted the works in advance of the onrushing troops.

In the famous battle of the Monocacy, July 9, 1864, his conduct was such as to gain the warmest approval of the commanding officer, General Lew Wallace, who in his report mentioned him as an officer of inestimable value; and Major Yard, who visited the battlefield to see to the burial of the dead and the caring for the wounded of the Fourteenth Regiment, wrote that it was said of him, by those who witnessed the engagement, that he exhibited greater courage than any other on the field.

July 17th following, General Ricketts was assigned to the command of the Sixth Corps, and Major Vrendenburgh became inspector general of that command. Some days later, however, the Major asked to be returned to his regiment, in the conviction that its great loss of officers rendered necessary his presence with it, but the request was denied by General Ricketts, who endorsed upon his application a fervent tribute, in which he said, "while appreciating the high military feeling which prompts this application, it can not at present be granted without serious inconvenience; Major Vrendenburgh's admirable fitness for a staff officer, and his distinguished gallantry, to which I am much indebted, induces this refusal."

About a month later Major Vrendenburgh renewed his request, which was granted, and August 25th he assumed command of his regiment as the ranking field officer present. On September 19th following, after a twenty-mile night march, he led his command to the battle at Opequan. For some hours the men lay under a heavy fire from the enemy's batteries six hundred yards distant, replying with their muskets in a desultory way, the troops opposed to them being well concealed in their rifle pits. About noon came an order to assault the works. On the moment Major Vrendenburgh was in the saddle. With his foot in the stirrup he addressed his men in fervid encouragement, then his voice rang out in the order to charge, and the regiment rushed forward. A few yards of ground had been covered, when a shell tore open his throat, and the splendid soldier fell from his horse a corpse.

The untimely death of Major Vrendenburgh was sincerely mourned, not only by the men of his own regiment, but by the entire corps. General Wright, desiring to pay all due honor to his memory, detailed the regimental chaplain, the Rev. F. B. Rose, to convey the remains of the fallen hero to the family home at Freehold. This was impracticable at the moment and temporary interment was made near the battlefield, the bodies

of Lieutenant Green, also of the Fourteenth Regiment, and of Lieutenant Lingham, of the Tenth Vermont Regiment, being laid in the same grave. A few days later the body of Major Vrendenburgh was exhumed and conveyed to Freehold, where funeral services were held in the Baptist Church, September 30th. On this solemn and deeply affecting occasion the great funeral cortege included a large number of soldiers who marched without arms or music. The last resting place of Major Vrendenburgh, an ardent patriot, gallant soldier and irreproachable citizen, is marked by an enduring granite monument in the Freehold cemetery.

Camp Vrendenburgh, near Freehold, was the rendezvous for the recruits assembled for the Twenty-ninth Regiment, nine-months men, which was composed of Monmouth county men, with the exception of Company H, which was practically recruited in Ocean county.

The original field and staff officers were: Colonel, Edwin E. Applegate; Lieutenant Colonel, William R. Taylor; Major, Joseph L. K. Davidson; Adjutant, Edgar Whitaker; Quartermaster, Peter J. Hendricksen; Surgeon, Henry G. Cooke; Assistant Surgeon, Judson C. Shackleton; Chaplain, Lester C. Rogers.

The Monmouth county companies were commanded by the following named captains: A, George H. Green; B, Thomas Robinson; C, Thomas A. Slack; D, Joseph T. Field, who subsequently became Major; E, Joseph T. Lake; F, Robert R. Mount; G, John H. Hyer; I, Jeremiah A. Spader; K, Joseph G. Stanton.

The regiment left its camp of instruction September 28, 1862, and proceeded to Washington, where it was placed on duty as a part of the provisional force organized for the defence of the capital. November 30th it was attached to the Army of the Potomac, and it participated in the battle of Fredericksburg, but sustained only trifling loss, although greatly exposed and subjected to a severe fire. It lost a number of men in the subsequent battle of Chancellorsville. It served during the operations which preceded the battle of Gettysburg, and was mustered out of service at Freehold June 30, 1863.

Monmouth county was numerously represented in various other organizations, and particularly in Company I of the Eleventh Regiment. There were a considerable number of men from that county in the Forty-fourth and Thirty-fifth Regiments, and Company A of the Thirty-eighth Regiment was almost altogether made up from it. The officers of Company A were Captain Thomas J. Swannel and Lieutenants Joseph L. Jones and John Grant.

In the cavalry service, from Monmouth county were recruited

men in companies F, H and I, of the Second Regiment, and companies B and K of the Third Regiment.

The Second Cavalry Regiment took the field in October, 1863, and was assigned to General Stoneman's cavalry division of the Army of the Potomac. In November it was transferred to the Army of the Southwest, and took part in nearly forty battles and skirmishes on and near the lower Mississippi River.

The Third Cavalry Regiment went into service in April, 1864, marching overland to Annapolis, Maryland. It was attached to the cavalry corps of the Army of the Potomac, and bore a part in several engagements in the Wilderness and in the operations about Petersburg. In July it was transferred to General Sheridan's army operating in the Shenandoah Valley. During its term of service it participated in thirty-five battles and skirmishes, including several of the most notable cavalry engagements of the war.

In the artillery arm, Monmouth County men were numerous in Hexamer's Battery A, Bean's Battery B and Woodbury's Battery D, and particularly in the last named.

Battery D went to the front September 20, 1864, and received its guns and equipments at Washington. In the next April it was attached to the Tenth Army Corps, with which it took part in the operations before Petersburg. In November, 1864, it was sent to New York City, in anticipation of the impending riots growing out of the draft and presidential election. When the crisis was passed it returned to the front and again went into position in front of Petersburg, and remained with the Army of the Potomac until the close of the war.

The memory of one of the most gallant sons of Monmouth County is commemorated in the name of Arrowsmith Post, No. 61, Grand Army of the Republic, at Red Bank, and in a massive monument in the cemetery of that city, which, as its inscription records, was "Erected by his numerous friends (including survivors of his old regiment) in token of his distinguished personal worth, patriotic devotion and distinguished bravery." The story of his life is well worth the telling, as showing of what stuff was made the patriot soldier of that day.

George Arrowsmith was a native of New Jersey, born near Harmony meeting house, in Middletown township, Monmouth County, April 18, 1839. His ancestors were English people who settled on Staten Island about 1683. His father, Thomas Arrowsmith, a farmer by occupation, was a man whose educational advantages were extremely limited, but whose native endowments were generous. He was a man of wide general information, and an effective public speaker. He served in the war of

1812 and was subsequently a major of militia. He occupied various public positions in the township and county, was a member of the legislative council in 1835-6, State Treasurer in 1843-5, and a lay judge of the court of errors and appeals of New Jersey, 1852-8. In all these various positions he discharged his duties creditably, and his integrity was never assailed. His last years were embittered by his deep sorrow for the loss of his son, and his own death occurred December 27, 1869, at the age of seventy-two years. His widow was Emma, daughter of Matthias Van Brackle, of

Monmouth County, who, in 1820, represented his district in the State Legislature; she survived the death of her husband a few years.

The children of Thomas and Emma Arrowsmith were nine in number.—Joseph Edgar, a physician of Keyport; John V., of the same village; Eleanor, who became the wife of Daniel Roberts; Cordelia, who died at the age of twenty years; Thomas, who became Quartermaster of the Eighth Pennsylvania Cavalry Regiment, and after the war engaged in teaching; Stephen and Emma, who died young; George—who is the subject of this memoir; and Stephen V., a successful educator.



Yours truly,

George Arrowsmith

George Arrowsmith entered the Middletown Academy, where he had as fellow students a number of young men of unusual promise—Thomas Field, who is now deceased; Thomas Hanlon, who became a doctor of divinity and the president of Pennington Seminary; George C. Beckman, who rendered valuable service as a member of the State Senate, and is well known as a capable lawyer and jurist; J. S. Applegate, who also was State Senator and attained distinction as a lawyer; and Jacob Stout, who became a prominent business man of Atlantic Highlands.

In his early days young Arrowsmith displayed a fondness for military literature; he read with avidity all he could command with relation to Washington and Napoleon, and his first composition was upon the former named of these two great soldiers. In 1854 he entered the freshman class

of Madison University, at Hamilton, New York, and although the youngest student, but sixteen years of age, he took and maintained a high rank both in class work and in the college literary societies. He possessed fine musical ability, and throughout his academic course he sang in the college choir and glee club. In early youth he became a member of the Baptist Church, and he lived a life of Christian uprightness until the end. He was a Democrat in politics, and long before he had attained his majority he was a forceful advocate of his principles in public addresses and through letters printed in the local journals.

In 1859, when twenty years of age, he became a tutor in the Hamilton Grammar School, and at the same time he began a course of law reading under the preceptorship of Hon. Charles Mason, the leading lawyer in the county, and a supreme court judge.

In April, 1861, Mr. Arrowsmith passed a creditable examination and was licensed as a member of the New York bar. He was now well equipped for his profession, his talents had commended him to many influential friends, and he was on the eve of entering upon a career which could not have been but useful to his fellows and highly honorable to himself. But on the instant came the assault upon the Flag of the Union. It was in his eyes a dastardly crime, and his fervent patriotism impelled him to turn aside from the path which he had marked out for himself in order to give his effort to the preservation of the Union.

The ink upon his lawyer's license was scarcely dry when the attack upon Fort Sumter was made. A crowd of excited citizens were gathered about the post office in Hamilton, discussing the affair, and one of the number expressed his wish that the Southern cause might triumph, and asserted that he would fight for it. Arrowsmith heard the remark and with terrible indignation denounced the speaker as a vile traitor, and then made a fervent appeal to his fellows to enlist with him for the defence of the flag. Fifty men responded, and April 29th they organized under the name of the Union Guards, and elected Arrowsmith as their captain. A few days later business in the town was suspended, when the entire populace escorted the volunteers to the train which was to bear them to their rendezvous at Utica. A beautiful silk flag was presented to the company, and revolvers to Captain Arrowsmith and his Lieutenants. Fervently patriotic speeches were made, a minister offered a touching supplication, and parents and friends bade the patriotic youths tearful adieus.

With ranks filled to the maximum number, the Union Guards became Company D of the Twenty-sixth Regiment, New York Volunteers. For two months the regiment was in camp of instruction at Elmira. June 27, 1861, it proceeded to Washington, and went into cantonment on Meridian

Heights. A month later it was in the vicinity of Bull Run, too late (so fault of it or its officers) to participate in the battle, but in ample time to assist in preventing pursuit by the Rebels and in aiding in the restoration of order among the scattered Union troops.

Captain Arrowsmith was, during all this time, devoting his entire effort to increasing the efficiency of his company through persistent drilling. His men appreciated his motive and services, and this they made manifest by presenting him with a sword, military gloves and complete tent furnishings. On various occasions duty required his presence in Washington, and he twice met President Lincoln.

Service now became arduous, and Company D bore a full share in the campaigning toward Richmond—marching, throwing up entrenchments, picketing and skirmishing. At Pohick Church, Captain Arrowsmith, in command of his own and another company, made a reconnaissance some eight miles beyond the lines, and dispersed a cavalry outpost. At Fort Lyon, in February, 1862, he was on duty for a fortnight as judge advocate of a general court martial. Somewhat later he again saw President Lincoln, who reviewed the troops.

In June, 1862, Captain Arrowsmith received a commission as Captain and Assistant Adjutant General, United States Volunteers, issued by Secretary of War Stanton, this promotion being made upon the recommendation of his superior officers, among them General Ricketts, the division commander. He was at once assigned to duty on the staff of General Z. B. Tower, commanding Second Brigade, Second Division, Third Corps, Army of Virginia. In this position he participated in the battles of Cedar Mountain, the Rappahannock, Thoroughfare Gap and the second Bull Run.

In the first named battle, that of Cedar Mountain, August 9, 1862, Captain Arrowsmith acquitted himself most creditably, and gained warm approval from General Tower. In the second Bull Run battle he displayed great bravery and received the sobriquet of "the young lion." General Tower was wounded and Captain Arrowsmith led the two regiments amid a shower of grape and canister. His escape without a wound was almost miraculous. A bullet passed through his hair, another struck his sword scabbard, and a third buried itself in his rolled blanket. Shortly afterward his physical powers were greatly diminished through injuries incurred in the fall of his horse, and General Tower asked for him a leave of absence, stating in his letter to the War Department that Captain Arrowsmith "for the last two months has continued on duty when most officers would have reported sick, and has done active duty when it was very

painful for him to sit upon his horse, so anxious was he to be at his post of duty and danger."

The leave was granted, and the young officer went to Washington for recuperation. Shortly afterward, when new regiments were to be formed, Senator Foote and other prominent men sought to have him accept a colonelcy. This, however, would place his old personal friend, Professor Brown, of Madison University, in a subordinate position under him, and he magnanimously declined. The matter was pleasantly terminated by Brown being commissioned Colonel, with Arrowsmith as Lieutenant Colonel, of the One Hundred and Fifty-seventh Regiment, New York Volunteers, which on September 25, 1862, left New York and a few days later went into encampment at Centreville, Virginia, and became a part of Schurz's Division, Sigel's Corps. There was, however, delay in the acceptance of Captain Arrowsmith's resignation from the Staff Corps, and he did not join his new regiment until about the middle of November, nearly two months after it had taken the field. He was unknown to most of the men, but his reputation as a soldier was familiar to them, and he commanded their respect and admiration almost from his first appearance amongst them.

The arduous campaign in which the regiment now engaged led up to the battle of Chancellorsville, in which the first desperate onslaught fell upon the Eleventh (Howard's) Corps, of which it was a part. This was the first engagement for this regiment, but it acquitted itself most gallantly, and amid all the chaos of the hour its organization was maintained intact, and it only fell back when so ordered. Towards night it made a counter-charge and took some prisoners. The regimental loss in the battle was one hundred and seven men. Throughout the engagement Lieutenant Colonel Arrowsmith bore himself with great intrepidity, and he won for himself the admiration of his men and the commendation of his superiors.

The regiment subsequently marched into Maryland and thence to meet Lee at Gettysburg. Arrowsmith was in frail condition from a recent illness, but he persisted in keeping his saddle. On the first day of the great battle, while marching in the direction of the cannonading on the front of the First Corps, Surgeon Hendrick remarked to him, "You must not go into the fight: you are not strong enough:" but Arrowsmith jested away the friendly advice and remarked, "I have come to feel that the bullet is not moulded which is to kill me." The regiment soon came under fire. In the execution of a maneuver it fell into some confusion, from which it was extricated on the instant by the timely and proper order of Arrowsmith, and of which was said by one of the men, "How glad we were to

hear that voice, for then we knew that our beloved Lieutenant Colonel, who had been ill, was with us."

The Eleventh Corps came into action at an opportune moment, and stayed the tide of battle which had well nigh overwhelmed the First Corps. But the enemy soon brought fresh troops into action, and the regiment, whose movements we note, was in danger of being cut off by a flank attack, which it was ordered to repel. It advanced to within fifty yards of the oncoming column. Arrowsmith was on the right of his regimental line, a superb figure, his voice heard in encouragement above the din of battle. A few moments later, and the gallant soldier fell, struck by a rifle ball full in the forehead. One near by said he never stirred after his fall. His personal effects were secured for his friends, with the exception of a ring and about one hundred and sixty dollars taken by a thieving soldier. The greater part of this sum and the ring were subsequently recovered.

In the desperate engagement in which the splendid soldier came to his death, the regiment was almost annihilated, its loss in killed, wounded and prisoners being three hundred and seven out of an aggregate of about three hundred and fifty who went into action. Of this number one hundred and fourteen were prisoners, so closely were the opposing forces intermingled.

The body of Lieutenant Colonel Arrowsmith was buried on the field. It was afterward exhumed by Dr. Joseph E. Arrowsmith, a brother of the fallen soldier, and conveyed to Middletown, New Jersey, where funeral services took place in the Baptist Church, Sunday, July 20, 1863, in the presence of a large and deeply affected assemblage of friends and neighbors. An impressive sermon was delivered by the Rev. David B. Stout, and an obituary paper was read by the Rev. Dr. Samuel Lockwood.

On Decoration Day, 1891, at Red Bank, New Jersey, Hon. John S. Applegate delivered, at the request of Arrowsmith Post, No. 61, Grand Army of the Republic, an address presenting the life and character of Lieutenant Colonel Arrowsmith, who had been his playmate in boyhood and his roommate at Colgate University. In 1893, with this address as a foundation, Mr. Applegate published a volume of two hundred and fifty-four pages under the title "Reminiscences and Letters of George Arrowsmith," with an appendix containing the funeral discourse delivered by the Rev. David B. Stout, the resolutions of condolence adopted by the Brigade Board of the Monmouth and Ocean Brigade, and by the class of 1859 of Madison University, and other tributes to the memory of the fallen soldier.

From the pages of this volume have been derived the facts presented

in the foregoing narrative, and from it is also taken the following tribute from the pen of the author:

"Thus lived and died Lieutenant Colonel George Arrowsmith at the early age of twenty-four years. While full maturity of character had not been attained, yet there was exhibited a sound and vigorous growth, beautiful in its symmetry, and towering in its aspirations. Though falling in the springtime of life, he did not live in vain. The principle for which he grasped his sword was vindicated. The rebellion was crushed, and constitutional liberty was preserved. It was he, in common with other brave hearts and strong arms, who accomplished this great result. He lived long enough to share in the glorious work and to render brilliantly conspicuous the virtues of his noble character.

"He gave his all to his country, cultivated talents, alluring prospects in civil pursuits, a young life; as a patriot he could have done no more. Of his courage I need not speak. It is attested by heroic deeds on several battle-fields, which are at once his monuments and his eulogies.

"In manhood he was the soul of honor, with an innate contempt for whatever was mean or intriguing. He possessed a high sense of duty which characterized his whole life, a steady purpose to do what he believed to be right. He honored his father and mother, and in the sacred precincts of his own home he was the light and joy of their hearts.

"There was no gulf between him and others of less favored position. He had no snobbish pride or silly vanity. Hence he was the idol of the volunteer soldier. He possessed a dignity in bearing and a gravity in repose, but when approached his genial salutation relieved all uncertainty. He was proud, but it was the honorable pride born of true nobility of character. He was ambitious, but it was the laudable ambition to excel in good works and deeds.

"In conversation and social intercourse he was refined and courteous. A coarse or profane expression never fell from his lips. It was a strong point made in one of the testimonials presented to Governor Morgan recommending his promotion, that he was an officer who never used profane language.

"His knowledge of history and general English literature was extensive. He had a good memory, keen perceptions and a pleasant vein of humor. To these he united gifts of soul that enabled him to bind to his heart all who knew him with bands of steel.

"His patriotism was not the enthusiasm of the hour to be chilled by the first reverse or defeat. It was a settled determination, a firm conviction, that underlying the contest was a great moral principle. Scenes of peril, of exposure, of exertion, he encountered without a murmur. Nor did he entertain a thought of terminating his military career before the end of the war. To the advice of a friend that he should limit his term of service, his reply was that 'as long as the war lasts, I will serve my country.'

"His natural qualities were conspicuously manifested in his army life.

From the patient and painstaking student he became a thorough instructor and tactician in camp. From a genial companion in society he passed as the type of good fellowship by the camp fire. His gentle and sympathetic nature endeared him to the victims of pain and suffering. Favored with a strong physical organization, he could endure hardships without exhaustion. Possessed of great moral pride, he was a lion in danger, and his natural impetuosity made him a thunderbolt in battle.

"It is idle to speculate upon what he might have been had his life been spared. We accept him with admiration and gratitude for what he was. Enlisting as a mere boy, without rank, he was at once unanimously chosen by his fellow volunteers as the commandant of the company. In one year, for merit, he was promoted to the office of Assistant Adjutant-General upon the staff of General Tower, upon the recommendation of the Division Commander, General Ricketts. Without leaving the army, he was elevated to the field office of Lieutenant Colonel by the Governor of New York, who was thus prompted by the fame of the soldier, and was only restrained from appointing him Colonel by his generous refusal to accept the position over a friend. On the eve of Gettysburg his comrades urged his higher promotion, with flattering testimonials from persons of distinguished military rank, but here was ended his rising career. It was an honorable death, and his epitaph is briefly written: a sterling soldier, a true patriot, and a brave man."

Ocean county was unrepresented by any organization under the early calls for troops, but some individuals enlisted in companies recruited elsewhere. In later days, however, it bore a full part and contributed to the ranks of various notable regiments.

April 25, 1861, the board of freeholders made an appropriation of \$2,000 to defray the expense of recruiting and to supply the needs of the families of volunteers suddenly called from their accustomed labors.

Company D, Ninth Regiment, was mustered into service September 23, 1861, and served until July 12, 1865. The first Captain was Thomas W. Middleton, who was wounded during Burnside's campaign in North Carolina, and was succeeded by Edward Kissam, who was discharged in February, 1865, on account of disability, and was succeeded by Amos H. Evans, who commanded the company during the remainder of the war. The First Lieutenants were, in turn, George G. Irons, Charles Huff, who became Captain of Company C, and Joseph C. Bowker. The Second Lieutenants, in turn, were Andrew J. Ellerson, J. Madison Drake and Edward H. Green. The company comprised two hundred and sixteen men from first to last, and of this number twenty nine died, thirty six were transferred to other companies, and twenty-three were discharged for disability.

The board of freeholders expended \$600 in recruiting Company E

of the Fourteenth Regiment. The company went into service August 15, 1862, and was mustered out June 18, 1865. Of its total of one hundred and thirty-five men, twenty-seven died, eighteen were transferred to other companies, and twelve were discharged on account of disability. The first Captain, Ralph B. Gowdy, was succeeded by John C. Patterson, who was promoted in turn to Major, Lieutenant Colonel and Colonel, and was succeeded in the captaincy by Vincent R. Marsh. The First Lieutenants were Samuel C. Bailey, who rose to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel; Jarvis Wanser and Barton Applegate. The Second Lieutenants were Benjamin F. Patterson, Charles H. White, who became Captain of Company G, and William S. Conover. Sergeant James Chaffey became a Lieutenant in Company K, and Sergeant Samuel G. Hill a Lieutenant in Company A.

Company H, Twenty-ninth Regiment, was called into service in August, 1862, and served until June 30, 1863. Its officers were Albert S. Cloke, Captain; Charles L. Kimball, First Lieutenant; and M. Perrine Gravatt, Second Lieutenant. It numbered ninety-nine men, of whom three died, eleven were discharged for disability, and one transferred.

Among other commands in which Ocean county was represented was the famous First Cavalry Regiment.

Owing to its sparse population, and the fact that the naval service was particularly inviting as well as necessitous, Atlantic county contributed no considerable number of troops in one body. It was well represented, however, in the First, Second, Third and Fourth New Jersey Regiments of Volunteers, both in the three months and three years service, and subsequently in the Sixth, Seventh and Tenth Regiments. All these served in the Army of the Potomac.

Beniah L. Stevens, who is now a business man of Atlantic City, who served in the Navy, rendered conspicuous service at a most opportune time. He enlisted in the United States Marine Corps January 13, 1858, and was assigned to the United States ship "Pawnee," Commander H. J. Hartstene, in which he cruised about the Atlantic and Pacific oceans until 1861. On January 9, 1861, he personally hoisted the United States flag over Fort Mifflin. He was engaged in the destruction of the Norfolk Navy Yard (made necessary to keep it from falling into the hands of the Rebels), on April 21st, when he was promoted for gallant services and ordered to the United States steamer "Mississippi."

This ship was one of Farragut's squadron during the blockade of New Orleans, and it was there that Stevens distinguished himself by a remarkable and reckless act of daring, which, for cool conception, has been rarely equalled. On April 24th, during Farragut's attack upon Forts Jackson and St. Philip, the "Mississippi" was in mid-stream protecting the

remainder of the fleet from the Rebel rams. So effective was the old ship's work that the commander of the Confederate ram "Mamassas" determined to sink her, and he made for the Union vessel at full speed. He struck her about midship, and the force of the impact caused the "Mamassas" to keel half over. On the upper deck of the "Mississippi" was Stevens, in command of a six-gun battery, which was exposed to the fire of the Confederates. He saw an opportunity, at great risk, of effectually disabling the Rebel ram, and, without considering the danger to himself, and without orders from his superiors, he sprang to one of his guns, which was somewhat shattered with a sixty-eight pound shell, and, quickly depressing the muzzle, he sighted almost through the enemy's smokestack, and pulled the lanyard. The shell penetrated to the engine room of the ram, where it exploded and wrecked the machinery, rendering the vessel *hors de combat*. The "Mamassas," wrecked and shattered, drifted helplessly down the stream beyond the power of doing further harm. Before Stevens fired the shot he was wounded in the knee by a Rebel minie ball, which caused him to fall, but only for a moment, as he again sprang to his task. His greatest injuries, however, were received from the terrific recoil of the gun, which in his crippled condition he could not avoid. His hurt proved so great that shortly after he was honorably discharged.

Joe Hooker Post, No. 32, Grand Army of the Republic, at Atlantic City, honors the memory of the patriot dead by maintaining a Memorial Hall, which is its own property.

A resident of Cape May county (Mr. W. B. Miller) rendered peculiarly useful service to the government at a most opportune time. A telegraph line connecting Philadelphia and Cape Island had been abandoned by its owners. So early as April 21, 1861, not more than a week after Fort Sumter was fired upon, Mr. Miller suggested to Governor Olden the desirability of reopening the line in order to admit of the War and Navy departments communicating with government vessels off the Capes. Governor Olden was quick to perceive the necessity, and he instructed Mr. Miller to repair the line, which was speedily done, at an expense of nearly eight hundred dollars.

The conditions in the county were peculiar. The moment hostilities began, military companies were formed in various towns, but they were not brought into service. At the general election in 1860 a large majority of the votes cast were for Mr. Lincoln, but at the time the war began the board of freeholders was not in sympathy with the administration, and that body manifested its hostility by refusing to make repairs on the carriage of "Long Tom," a cannon which had been in service during the war of 1812, and also by declining to render any assistance to Captain

West's Cape Island Home Guards. During the summer, Samuel R. Magonagle, editor of the "Ocean Wave," formed a company which was not mustered into the service, but the greater number of its members subsequently enlisted in various commands. In the autumn of 1861 Captain Joseph E. Corson organized the Seaville Rangers (Company B, Atlantic Brigade), which was armed by the State, and rendered efficient duty in guarding the telegraph line and in other ways.

In August, 1861, the board of freeholders appointed a relief committee to care for the families of volunteers, and its members served until May, 1862, when their successors were appointed.

Company A, Seventh Regiment, mustered into service August 23, 1861, was composed largely of men from Cape May county. Among its members was George W. Smith, who at the organization became First Sergeant. He was successively promoted to Sergeant Major, Second Lieutenant of the company, First Lieutenant of Company H, and Captain of Company C. At the battle of Malvern Hill, as the senior officer present, he commanded the regiment. He was wounded in action at Chancellorsville, May 3, 1863, and this caused his resignation January 7, 1864. He returned home and became prominent in civil and military life. He was elected to the City Council, and in 1872 he was Sergeant-at-arms of the New Jersey Senate. In 1875 he organized Company H, Sixth Regiment, New Jersey State Guards, was elected to the captaincy, and was promoted to Major in 1882, and to Lieutenant Colonel in 1885. He resigned in 1887.

The Seventh Regiment participated in the various campaigns of the Army of the Potomac, and suffered great loss at Gettysburg.

The Twelfth Regiment went into service July 7, 1862, and fought at Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, and in various other engagements. Among its officers was J. Howard Willetts, who had been a Captain in the Seventh Regiment; he was Lieutenant Colonel of the Twelfth at its organization, was promoted to the colonelcy February 27, 1863, and resigned December 19, 1864, on account of wounds received in the battle of Chancellorsville. Richard S. Thompson, also of Cape May, was originally Captain of Company F, and was promoted through the various grades to the Lieutenant Colonelcy. He commanded the regiment in the battle of Ream's Station, where he was so severely wounded that he was obliged to retire from service February 17, 1865, having in the meantime, and while on crutches, served as president of a general court martial. Lieutenant Richard H. Townsend, another Cape May soldier, fell in the battle of Gettysburg, shot through the heart. He had been promoted from the Tenth Regiment, and had been with his new command only three days when he met his death.

The Twenty-fifth Regiment, mustered into service September 20, 1862, for a period of nine months, was first assigned to the defence of Washington, and participated in the battle of Fredericksburg and in some minor engagements. Three companies, F, G and I, were principally made up of Cape May County men.

Company F was recruited in greater part in Dennis and Lower townships and Cape Island. Of the commissioned officers, First Lieutenant Nicholas W. Godfrey and Second Lieutenant Henry Y. Willetts were residents of the county. The former named resigned and was succeeded by Willetts, and Reuben Foster succeeded the latter named.

Company G was principally composed of upper Cape May County men, and of men from Tuckahoe, on the Atlantic County side, with a few from Marshallville, then in Cumberland County. The officers were Charles R. Powell, Captain; and Ewing W. Tibbles and Nicholas Corson, First and Second Lieutenants, respectively.

Two-thirds of the members of Company I were from Cape May County, and the remainder from Atlantic County. The First Lieutenant was John F. Tomlin, who was promoted to Captain when Samuel E. Douglass (Second Lieutenant) was promoted to First Lieutenant, and J. Granville Leach (Sergeant Major) became Second Lieutenant. Lieutenant Leach received his promotion for gallant conduct in the battle of Fredericksburg. In 1865 he founded the "Cape May Daily Wave." He afterward removed to Philadelphia, and was elected to the legislature of Pennsylvania. From 1887 to 1891 he was Commissary General of the National Guard of Pennsylvania. He served under President Harrison as appraiser at the port of Philadelphia. For many years he closely followed literary pursuits, and his contributions to "Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography" have been more numerous than those of any other contributor aside from the editorial staff.

The Thirty-eighth Regiment was mustered into service September 30, 1864, and was assigned to a provisional brigade of the Army of the James, and it took part in the operations in front of Petersburg. It was commanded by Colonel William J. Sewell, who afterward twice became United States Senator. In this regiment were many Cape May County men in Companies H and K. In Company K were First Lieutenant Albert E. Hand and Sergeant Samuel E. Douglass, the latter named of whom was promoted to Second Lieutenant.

The First Cavalry Regiment made a splendid record. It was organized under the name of Halstead's Cavalry, in the summer of 1861, and arrived September 1 at Washington City. It was attached, in turn, to the Cavalry Division of the Army of the Potomac, the Military District of

Washington, the Department of the Rappahannock, the Army of Virginia, the defenses of Washington, the Army of the Potomac, and again to the defenses of Washington. In point of service, rapid marches and number of engagements fought, ninety-seven in number, its record is unsurpassable, and is equalled by but few mounted organizations of the war period. It was one of the first regiments to receive uniforms of the regular army pattern, and the novelty of blue cape-overcoats with yellow linings brought them the designation of the "Butterfly Regiment."

In this regiment perhaps every county on the New Jersey coast was represented. Middlesex county contributed nearly all the members of Company H. In Company B were a number of men from Cape May county, one of whom passed through experiences unexampled in the annals of war.

Henry Washington Sawyer, a native of Pennsylvania, at the age of nineteen years came in 1848 to Cape Island, where he engaged in his trade as a carpenter. He was among the first to respond to President Lincoln's call for the first army of seventy-five thousand men, in April, 1861. As there was no probability of a company being organized in Cape May, he went to Trenton and saw Governor Olden, who gave him important letters to Secretary of War Cameron. There were then (April 19) but a handful of soldiers in the national capital, and Sawyer was detailed as one of a company of guards organized to protect the government buildings. Later he became a private in a Pennsylvania regiment, and soon afterward he was appointed Sergeant, and a month later he was commissioned as Second Lieutenant. The term of service of the regiment having expired, he was discharged. February 19, 1862, he was commissioned Second Lieutenant in Company D, First Cavalry Regiment, and he was promoted to First Lieutenant April 7, and to Captain of Company K on October 8.

June 9, 1863, Captain Sawyer commanded his company in the battle of Brandy Station, one of the most desperate cavalry engagements of the war. Well toward its close, he received two pistol bullets—one passed through his thigh, and the other struck his right cheek, passing out at the back of his neck near the spinal column. Despite his wounds, he kept his saddle until his horse was shot under him and fell with him to the ground, his senses leaving him with the concussion. On recovering consciousness, he found himself a prisoner. His wounds were pronounced very dangerous, if not mortal. Recovering sufficiently to admit of his removal, he was conveyed to Richmond, where he was committed to the famous Libby Prison.

July 6th, without preparation, he was called to face an ordeal which

might well appal the stoutest heart. With other captives on the roll of captain, he was called into the presence of General Winder, commandant of the Prison. They entered with hope, anticipating release by exchange, but to their horror were informed that two of their number were to be selected to be shot in retaliation for the execution by General Burnside of two Confederate officers who had been taken while engaged in recruiting within the federal lines.

The little company were formed in a hollow square to witness the lottery of death. The name of each was written on a separate slip of paper, and these slips were placed in a box, the commander giving notice that the first two slips drawn would designate the men to be executed. To those from whom the victims were to be taken was granted permission to select those who should conduct the drawing.

At the suggestion of Captain Sawyer, who maintained a marvelous self-possession, the pitiful task was committed to Chaplain Brown, of the Sixth Maryland Regiment. Amid the most awesome silence the chaplain drew a slip, that bearing the name of Captain Sawyer, and another, bearing that of Captain Flynn, of the Fifty first Indiana Regiment. Testimony to the splendid fortitude of Captain Sawyer is afforded by one of the first rebel journals of the day, the "Richmond Dispatch," which said, "Sawyer heard it with no apparent emotion, remarking that some one had to be drawn, and he could stand it as well as any one else."

The doomed men were at once placed under special guard, and were notified by General Winder that they need not delude themselves with any hope of escape, and that their execution would take place July 14th, eight days hence. Sawyer, however, did not abandon hope, and he asked and received permission to write a letter to his wife, conditioned upon its reading by the prison authorities. This epistle is at once remarkable for its display of cool deliberation in planning for the preservation of his life, courageous resignation in the event of death, unflinching patriotic devotion, and the infinite pathos of his farewell to his loved ones. It is well worthy of preservation to the remotest days of history as illustrative of one of the noblest types of the American soldier:

"Provost Marshal General's Office,
Richmond, Va., July 6th, 1863.

"My Dear Wife: I am under the necessity of informing you that my prospects look dark.

"This morning all the captains now prisoners at the Libby Military Prison drew lots for two to be executed. It fell to my lot. Myself and Captain Flynn, of the Fifty first Indiana Infantry, will be executed for two captains executed by Burnside.

"The Provost Marshal-General, J. H. Winder, assures me that the Secretary of War of the Southern Confederacy will permit yourself and my dear children to visit me before I am executed. You will be permitted to bring an attendant. Captain Whilldin, or Uncle W. W. Ware, or Dan, had better come with you. My situation is hard to be borne, and I cannot think of dying without seeing you and the children. You will be allowed to return without molestation to your home. I am resigned to whatever is in store for me, with the consolation that I die without having committed any crime. I have no trial, no jury, nor am I charged with any crime, but it fell to my lot. You will proceed to Washington. My government will give you transportation for Fortress Monroe, and you will get here by flag of truce, and return in the same way. Bring with you a shirt for me.

"It will be necessary for you to preserve this letter to bring evidence at Washington of my condition. My pay is due me from the 1st of March, which you are entitled to. Captain B—— owes me fifty dollars, money lent to him when he went on a furlough. You will write to him at once, and he will send it to you.

"My dear wife, the fortune of war has put me in this position. If I must die, a sacrifice to my country, with God's will I must submit; only let me see you once more, and I will die becoming a man and an officer; but, for God's sake, do not disappoint me. Write to me as soon as you get this, and go to Captain Whilldin; he will advise you what to do.

"I have done nothing to deserve this penalty. But you must submit to your fate. It will be no disgrace to myself, you or the children; but you may point with pride and say: 'I gave my husband;' my children will have the consolation to say: 'I was made an orphan for my country.'

"God will provide for you; never fear. Oh! It is hard to leave you thus. I wish the ball that passed through my head in the last battle would have done its work; but it was not to be so. My mind is somewhat influenced, for it has come so suddenly on me. Write to me as soon as you get this; leave your letter open, and I will get it. Direct my name and rank, by way of Fortress Monroe.

"Farewell! farewell!! and I hope it is all for the best. I remain yours until death.

"H. W. SAWYER.

"Captain First New Jersey Cavalry."

Sawyer and Flynn were now placed in close confinement in an underground dungeon so damp that their clothing mildewed. Feeble light and foulest air were admitted by a six-inch square hole in the door, outside of which stood a sentinel, who every half-hour, day and night, challenged the prisoners, who were obliged to respond. Owing to these ceaseless calls, and the presence of a multitude of great rats, the miserable men were well nigh totally deprived of sleep.

But although they were unaware of it, deliverance for the captives

was at hand. Sawyer's faithful wife, nerving herself to a heroism akin to that of her noble husband, hastened to Washington and laid before the President the message had been received. She needed to make no plea when she gazed into the pitying, careworn face of the tender-hearted Lincoln. Bidding her take courage, he set to work every agency to save the condemned men, and also procured for the poor woman a safe-conduct which enabled her to visit her husband, who, with his companion, was granted a fifteen-day respite.

Under the direction of the President and the Secretary of War, a son of General Robert E. Lee and a son of General Winder, the Libby Prison commandant, then prisoners in the hands of the federal authorities, were ordered into close confinement, and General Benjamin F. Butler was directed to notify the Confederate government that these men would be executed immediately upon receipt of information of the death of Sawyer and Flynn.

The notice was sufficiently deterrent in terms, but its forcefulness was augmented by the naming of General Butler as the agent of retribution, for his determination in the use of heroic measures was proverbial. The executions were postponed from time to time. After a three weeks incarceration in the noisome dungeon, Sawyer and Flynn were removed to the same quarters with the other prisoners. Meantime the Richmond newspapers clamored for their execution, and they never once felt that their lives were really saved until in March, 1864, nine months after their capture, and eight months after their condemnation to death, when they walked out to freedom, through exchange for the Confederate officers held as hostages for them, and under similar sentence.

Captain Sawyer was honorably mustered out of service, with the brevet rank of Lieutenant Colonel, in September, 1865. He was subsequently offered a lieutenancy in the regular army, which he declined. As a capital guard of 1861 he received a medal of honor from the State of Pennsylvania. For several years he was a member of the City Council of Cape May, and he was at one time Superintendent of the Life Saving Service for the coast of New Jersey, and a member of the New Jersey State Sinking Fund Commission from 1888 to 1891. His death occurred October 16, 1893, and was due to heart failure. He bore in his body to the last one of the balls which he received in battle.

His prison companion, Captain Flynn, who with him was sentenced to death, rapidly declined during his imprisonment, and died about six months after regaining his liberty.

THE NAVAL SERVICE.

It is estimated that not less than three thousand men whose homes were on the New Jersey coast went into the navy, a service for which they were admirably fitted by reason of their salt-water tastes and training. Nor is the fact to be lost sight of that, in Ocean and Cape May counties particularly, many seafaring men, vessel owners and sailors, were throughout the war engaged in the transportation of army supplies, food and clothing for men, forage for animals and ammunition, to the armies along the Maryland, Virginia and Carolina coasts—a service as necessary as was the maintaining of a fighting force, and one fraught with great peril. For these hardy sailors encountered not only the fury of the ocean tempest, but they were endangered by the war craft of the enemy on the sea, by torpedoes in the streams, and by ambuscaders on the shores.

A number of Ocean County sailors rose to distinction in the naval service. Thomas Edwards was acting master of the U. S. Ship "Oneida," from 1861 to 1863, and subsequently commanded the U. S. Ship "Stockdale." William Rogers commanded the U. S. Ship "Pembina," in 1861; the U. S. Ship "Mary Sandford," in 1863, and the "Hetzell," in 1864-5. Jerome B. Rogers was in command of the U. S. Ship "Restless," in 1862, and of the U. S. Ship "Sebago," in 1863-4.

Cape May contributed to the navy a considerable number of experienced sailors who acquitted themselves most honorably, and some of whom rose to important positions. Perhaps the most conspicuous of these was Henry W. Hand.

He was of colonial ancestry, a lineal descendant of Mark Hand, who was a soldier under Oliver Cromwell. He was a son of Christopher S. Hand, and he was born at Green Creek, July 8, 1833. He began the life of a sailor when he was seventeen years of age, and when he was twenty-one years old he was master of a vessel in the merchant marine. His life was full of adventure. At Mobile, Alabama, in 1856, he was arrested and tried for abducting a negro slave, but was acquitted.

An ardent Unionist, and also an Abolitionist, he entered the naval service of the federal government at the beginning of the Rebellion. November 13, 1861, he was made master and assigned to duty on the U. S. Ship "Keystone State," on board which he served as division and watch officer when it made its long cruise in pursuit of the Confederate blockade runner "Nashville." He was on duty with Admiral Dupont's fleet in the operations against and capture of the ports on the South Carolina coast, and he served in the division of sailors and marines placed on shore duty in

connection with the expedition. He was detached from his ship as prize master of the captured Confederate privateer "Dixie." He was subsequently ordered to duty on board the monitor "Passaic," and was placed in command of her turret division. He was transferred, in turn, to the U. S. Ships "Vermont" and "New Hampshire," and was successively executive officer of both these vessels. Incidents of his service were in the blockade of Charleston, South Carolina, and with the naval brigade under General Hatch, in South Carolina, in February, 1865, operating as a diversion to distract attention from General Sherman's march from Savannah to the Atlantic coast.

Captain Hand's service under the government did not terminate with the end of the war. For three years afterward he was watch officer on the U. S. Ship "Lackawanna," engaged in surveying duty in the Pacific Ocean, with headquarters at Honolulu, Sandwich Islands. In 1869 he retired from the sea, and was a teacher in schools in Cape May until 1883, when he withdrew to give his entire attention to editorial work on the "Cape May Wave."

Numerous other Cape May seamen performed meritorious service afloat during the Civil War. Edward D. Springer served as Acting Ensign in the Mississippi Squadron. Eli D. Edmunds was Acting Master's Mate on the U. S. Ship "Crusader," in 1862; Acting Ensign in the Potomac flotilla, in 1863-4, and in 1866 commanded a coast survey steamer. Henry W. Hand, Acting Master, served on the U. S. Ship "Vermont." James Meeray, Jr., Acting Assistant Surgeon, served in the East Gulf Blockading Squadron.

After more than four years of horrible war came the sunshine of peace. The armies of the Union were disbanded, and a multitude of their hosts came back into a world which had become new to them. They were but school-boys or tyro apprentices when they enlisted. They had left their school-books unfinished, their trades unlearned, and they were now too old to begin again at the turned-down page or make a new beginning with tools they had forgotten the use of. Some older ones had left a desirable occupation four years ago, but they came home to find that others had stepped into the work they had begun. Old avenues were closed to them, old ambitions were dead, and they walked as men do in dreams.

To some, by-and-by, came new aspirations, leading them to embark in ventures they would not have dared but for the self-reliance acquired in days of hardships and conflict. They took up the struggle against fate and those who, refusing to do duty for country, had thus far outstripped

them in the race of life, and, despite the odds against them, pushed forward to success and honorable distinction. They led the vanguard of civilization in the unexplored places of the land, building up communities and creating States, planting everywhere the school-house, the church and the printing-press, and leading into channels of thrift and enterprise all who gathered about them. Others passed beyond the confines of their own land, traveling beyond the seas, spreading commerce and invention, to the advancement of their own fortune and to the honor of their country.

Others, broken in body and weary of spirit, stooped their shoulders to the burden nearest them. Poor were they in this world's goods, yet were they rich—rich in a life of noble effort, of heroic deed, of patriotic unselfishness, of broadened manhood, of conscientious citizenship.

Such as these were the sires and exemplars of another noble generation—the splendid young men who more than a third of a century later, marched side by side with the sons of men against whom their fathers had fought, and with them vindicated the honor of a re-united nation and made glorious the one flag floating over it.

THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR.

In a military sense, the State of New Jersey was in admirable condition to enter upon its part in the war with Spain—a gratifying contrast with its unpreparedness at the beginning of the Civil War.

In the preparation for the approaching struggle, the Congress of the United States, on April 22, 1898, passed the act commonly known as the "Hull Bill," provided that all able-bodied male citizens of the United States, and persons of foreign birth who had declared their intention to become citizens of the United States under and in pursuance of the laws thereof, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years, should constitute the national forces, and, with such exceptions and under such conditions as might be prescribed by law, liable to perform duty in the service of the United States. It also declared that in time of war the army should consist of two branches to be designated respectively as the regular army and the volunteer army of the United States.

April 23d, the day after the passage of the above named Act of Congress, President McKinley issued his proclamation calling out a volunteer army of 125,000 men, the same to be apportioned, as far as practicable, among the several States and Territories and the District of Columbia, according to population, and to serve for two years, unless sooner discharged.

April 25th Congress declared an existent state of war between the

United States and Spain, and empowered the President to call into actual service the militia of the several States to such extent as he might deem necessary to carry the Act into effect.

On the same day the Secretary of War addressed Hon. Foster M. Voorhees, Governor of New Jersey, notifying him that the quota of the State, under the Presidential call, was three regiments of infantry.

The following day, April 26th, a conference of the military authorities of the State was held in the executive chambers at Trenton, the Governor being present, and the next morning an order was issued for the calling out of three regiments of the National Guard as the quota of New Jersey under the first call for troops. It was provided that all officers and enlisted men in the National Guard entering the volunteer service should be considered as "absent with leave" during the term of service.

Between April 28th and 30th the prescribed medical examinations of the various commands had been made, and the Governor, through General William S. Stryker, Adjutant General, ordered the mobilization of sufficient State forces to constitute three regiments. These were to report at the State camp ground at Sea Girt, which was constituted a military post under command of Major General Joseph W. Plume, of the New Jersey National Guard. These orders were carried into effect with remarkable celerity. On Monday afternoon, May 2d, at one o'clock, Companies A, C and G, Sixth Regiment, National Guard, and Company E, Seventh Regiment, National Guard, all of which organizations were to be attached to the Third Regiment, marched into camp. At three o'clock the First Regiment, headquarters at Newark, and the Third Regiment, headquarters at Elizabeth, arrived at Sea Girt. At four o'clock the same afternoon the Second Regiment, headquarters at Paterson, reported in camp, and twenty-five minutes thereafter General Plume had the camp colors hoisted and Camp Voorhees was formally established.

Captain William C. Butler, Third Infantry, United States Army, assigned to duty as mustering officer of the New Jersey troops, reported to the Governor, and Company B, First Regiment, was the first company mustered into the service of the United States for the war, May 6th, and the mustering in of the entire three regiments was concluded Sunday, May 15th.

June 11th, General Plume was relieved from command of the military post at Sea Girt, and on the 20th of June he received a commission as Brigadier General of United States Volunteers, and soon afterward reported for duty with the Second Army Corps at Camp Alger, Virginia.

Notwithstanding the State had filled three regiments of troops to the maximum number of officers and men under the first call of the President,

it was now deemed proper by the War Department that nearly a thousand more men should be enlisted for these three regiments. June 13th the recruits so called for began to arrive in camp at Sea Girt, and the next day their medical examination and mustering in began and continued until July 8th. The contingent for the First Regiment left for Camp Alger on July 1st, and on the same day the recruits for the First Battalion of the Third Regiment started for Pompton Lakes, New Jersey. The recruits for the Second Regiment, at Jacksonville, Florida, left Sea Girt on July 7th, and those for the Second and Third Battalions of the Third Regiment at Fort Hancock, Sandy Hook, New Jersey, left July 8th.

June 28th the President called for an additional force of 75,000 volunteers, and under this call the Fourth Regiment was brought into camp, and mustered into service July 18th.

The organization of these regiments having been thus stated, it remains to make a brief narrative of their service, which was an once honorable and useful, despite their disappointment in not seeing actual war service.

May 16th the First Regiment received orders to rendezvous at Camp Alger, near Washington City. It broke camp on the evening of the 19th, fully armed, uniformed and equipped, provided with all the necessary tentage, one hundred thousand rounds of ammunition, ten days' fixed rations and two days' travel rations, and arrived at its destination early the next day, and was assigned to the First Brigade, First Division, Second Army Corps, Colonel Edward A. Campbell commanding the brigade. May 27th the troops were reviewed by Major General Graham, and on the 28th by President McKinley. July 17th Colonel Campbell was relieved of the command of the Brigade by Joseph W. Plume, who had been commissioned as Brigadier General of Volunteers. August 4th the brigade was ordered to be placed in readiness for duty in Porto Rico, but owing to the approaching close of hostilities this order was not carried into effect, and September 3d the regiment returned to camp at Sea Girt to be mustered out of service. On its return to Newark it was received by the Mayor, and received a great ovation from the people of the city.

The First Regiment was purely a Newark organization, and was admirably well drilled and disciplined. Its excellent personnel and the real soldierly character of its officers and men was attested by its phenomenally small sick list, the daily average being but four, or less than one-half of one per cent. It was commanded by Colonel Edward A. Campbell.

The Second Regiment, Colonel Edwin W. Hine commanding, from Paterson and vicinity, was ordered, May 30th, to the national camp at Chickamauga Park, Tennessee. June 1st, while little advanced on its

journey, a second order was received for its transfer to Camp Cuba Libre, at Jacksonville, Florida, where it was assigned to the Seventh Corps, General Fitzhugh Lee commanding. The personnel of this regiment was excellent. No regiment excelled it in drill and discipline as it marched through the streets of Jacksonville, and so it continued, applauded and honored by all. On an unfortunate day, however, fever swept across the camp, many men sickened and a few of them died, and this disaster, so incident to campaigning on southern battlefields, carried much distress to the men themselves and to their families at home. The regiment returned to Paterson on September 26th and was reviewed by the Governor and banqueted by the citizens.

May 25th the Third Regiment broke camp at Sea Girt, and the First Battalion proceeded to Pompton Lakes, Passaic county, New Jersey, and the Second and Third Battalions to Fort Hancock, Sandy Hook.

The service performed by this regiment was at once most unique and of unusual importance. At the outset, it was greatly feared that the harbor of New York and adjacent waters would be entered by a Spanish fleet, and at the same time it was deemed important to closely guard the great powder manufactories at Pompton Lakes.

At the latter named point the First Battalion, under the personal command of Colonel Benjamin A. Lee, rendered diligent service, and many of its men distinguished themselves by their heroism on the occasion of the great powder mill explosion.

The Second and Third Battalions of the Third Regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin P. Holmes and Major Julius C. Shaler, were charged with the safety of Fort Hancock, at the extremity of Sandy Hook. The heavy ordnance at that place was of the most valuable and important description, and the detachment of artillery of the Regular Army in charge of these guns needed this protection. The battalions were, during their term of service, as well disciplined as any organizations in the army, and received the highest praise from every soldier competent to give an intelligent criticism. Had their services been needed before the destruction of the Spanish fleet, there is no doubt whatever that they would have rendered most important and valuable aid in protecting the harbor of New York.

In this regiment were many men from the coast towns, among them Captain Herman O. Bauer, Lieutenant Richard S. White and Lieutenant Simon P. Dey, of Keyport; Adjutant Louis C. Lanch, Captain Charles Morris and Lieutenant William T. Cobb, of Long Branch; Captain Jerome R. Muddell, of Bradley Beach; and Lieutenants John H. Ryan and George E. White, of Asbury Park.

The Fourth Regiment, Colonel Robert G. Smith, was recruited in and about Jersey City, and was a magnificent organization. Its camp was at Middletown, Pennsylvania.

The service performed by the Naval Reserve of New Jersey was invaluable to the government, and the narrative of its accomplishments is of peculiar interest.

This arm of the service comprised two battalions—the Battalion of the East, Commander Washington Irving, of Short Hills, and the Battalion of the West, Commander Charles B. Dahlgren, of Trenton.

May 21st a large detachment of the Battalion of the East was mustered into the service of the United States, and on the 29th was transferred from the U. S. Ship "Portsmouth," at Hoboken, to the U. S. Ship "Badger," at New York City. June 6th the "Badger" sailed for Provincetown, Massachusetts, for duty with the North Atlantic Patrol Squadron. On arrival it went into night patrol service, giving some assistance to the U. S. Ship "San Francisco," ashore at Cape Cod, and then proceeded to the coast of Maine. From June 13th until June 20th the "Badger" was on this duty, with headquarters at Bar Harbor. June 26th the vessel left for Key West, Florida, reaching there July 1st, and on July 4th it arrived in front of Havana, Cuba, where it was assigned to Station No. 6 and took part in the blockade of that port for one week. July 11th the vessel was ordered to Nuevitas for duty with the blockading fleet at that port, where it remained until the 26th of July in active service, preventing many vessels from reaching the harbor. July 26th it captured three vessels flying Spanish flags and the red cross, which reported yellow fever on board. Nearly four hundred soldiers were found on board, but very few sick. A prize crew was put in charge, and under the convoy of the "Badger" these vessels were brought to the blockading squadron before Havana. August 7th the "Badger" sailed from Key West for Guantanamo, and became the flag ship of Commodore Watson for several days. August 18th the "Badger" left for Montauk Point, Long Island, with soldiers of the Thirty-fourth Michigan Volunteer Infantry; it arrived at its destination August 23d, and sailed immediately for Boston. September 26th the "Badger" left Boston for League Island Navy Yard, and on October 7th the detachment of men of the Battalion of the East serving on this steamer was mustered out of service at Hoboken.

The Battalion of the West took charge of the monitor "Montauk" at League Island Navy Yard, Philadelphia, on May 4th. The detachment consisted of seven line officers, two engineer officers, five chief petty officers, twenty-six seamen, sixteen firemen and coal passers and seven mess-

men and cooks, all under command of Lieutenant Commander Harry R. Cohen. The "Montauk" sailed from Philadelphia Navy Yard on May 7th, and anchored under stress of weather that evening inside the Delaware Breakwater. May 9th she proceeded on her way, heading for Montauk Point, and anchored in Virginia Haven, Martha's Vineyard, on account of the heavy fog. She proceeded thence to Portland, Maine, where she arrived May 11th. Several officers and men of this detachment remained on the "Montauk" at Portland harbor during the war; the remainder of the officers and men were discharged, and on their way to New Jersey enrolled themselves for service on the U. S. Ship "Resolute." May 13th the Battalion of the West proceeded to the Navy Yard, New York, to report on board the U. S. Ship "Resolute." May 24th the "Resolute" proceeded to Newport, Rhode Island, and loaded up with dynamite, mines and gunpowder for the fleet off Santiago de Cuba. The vessel joined the rendezvous, reported to Admiral Sampson off Santiago, and immediately began to carry orders for the bombardment of the forts at the entrance to the harbor. The "Resolute" was then sent to Guantanamo Bay, which was the base of supplies, and until June 10th was constantly employed in delivering mines and ammunition between Guantanamo and Santiago. She made one trip to Tampa, Florida, July 10th, for coal, and on July 2d was again with the fleet before Santiago.

The Spanish fleet under Admiral Cervera came out of the harbor that morning, and, engaging the American fleet, steamed to the westward. The "Resolute" was at that time about one and one-half miles out from Morris Castle and a little to the eastward. The first shot fired by the Spanish fleet struck about twenty-five yards on the starboard quarter of the "Resolute," which vessel, pursuant to orders, immediately steamed away to notify Admiral Sampson, on the U. S. Ship "New York." Another shot followed immediately under the stern of the vessel. On reporting to Admiral Sampson he ordered the "Resolute" to proceed to Guantanamo Bay and to notify the U. S. Ships "Massachusetts," "Marblehead" and "Newark" to proceed to the scene of conflict. She notified the U. S. Ship "Harvard" and the transports under her convoy, which immediately put to sea, and then notified the U. S. Ships "Indiana" and "Iowa." The "Resolute" was fired upon by the Socapa Battery at the western entrance of Santiago harbor, one shot passing between the foremast and the smokestack, and the other just over the two forward guns. After this encounter, the vessel steamed westward and saw the complete destruction of the enemy, arriving at the scene of surrender of the "Cristbal Colon" before she struck her flag. The "Resolute" received the prisoners from the "Colon," nineteen officers and four hundred and ninety-two men.

der instructions proceeded to Guantanamo Bay, transferring a portion of the prisoners to the U. S. Ship "St. Paul," and the remainder to the U. S. Ship "Harvard." Having transferred all the ammunition and mines on board the vessel to the U. S. Ship "Vulcan," she proceeded north, and July 15th, arrived off Tompkinsville, Staten Island. At this point she took on stores for the sick and wounded at Santiago and nurses for yellow fever sufferers, and on July 19th left for Santiago.

August 12th the "Resolute" was sent to bombard Manzanillo. The bombardment was opened by the U. S. Ship "Newark," but on the morning of the 13th intelligence was received that the protocol of peace had been signed. Another trip was made north from Guantanamo Bay with the U. S. Marine Battalion, and the vessel was then refitted at the Navy Yard for the United States Evacuation Committee, which it conveyed to Havana and thence to Nuevitas. Yellow fever broke out at this place, and one officer, Lieutenant Frederick H. Pullen, died of fever. The vessel was thoroughly disinfected and proceeded under orders to Quarantine Station, Tompkinsville, Staten Island, and October 25th the Battalion of the West was discharged.

CHAPTER IX.

THE COUNTIES OF THE COAST.

In this chapter we are to deal with the counties of the coast. Their principal cities and towns, as well as those known as sea-coast resorts, are reserved for mention elsewhere.

The counties which may be included in the term "on the Jersey coast" are Union, Middlesex, Monmouth, Ocean, Burlington, Atlantic, Cape May and Cumberland. The claim of the latter named county, as its coast line is altogether on Delaware Bay, might not be allowed in a strict interpretation, but is to be considered out of its relationship to the others.

The great stretch of Jersey territory facing on "the everlasting sea," buffeted, twisted, gnarled at for at least six months in each year by storms of all degrees, a coast line which is famous among seamen for its treachery, and which in summer presents one long line of white, glistening sand, has possibly, within the past forty years, had a more wonderful story of improvement than any similar length of water front in the United States. In 1850, roughly speaking, the entire region was a waste—solitary, solemn, yet grand even in its solitude. In places a little way back from the coast, dense masses of brush bade defiance to wind and weather, and defied the elements by the luxuriance and density of their growth, and won even a beauty of their own by the loveliness of the wild flower which somehow shot up in their midst and imparted a warmth of color which gave a charm even to the wildest bush forest—forest which had flourished and withered and flourished again from the most remote times, and attracted the attention of the first white wanderers who landed on the coast and left behind stories of what they saw. They were full of wild game, too, until the advent of the white man, and even long after, for the Indian, while a "mighty hunter," was innocent of gunpowder and in a perpetual contest with bows and arrows, and even primitive spears, the game had a chance. Here and there, too, there rose red-topped hills further back from the coast—forests of pine, hemlock, spruce, of various kinds, with here and there a veteran which had stood against the storms of a hundred years, and a worthy descendant of that ancient forest which

some assert covered the entire face of the country in times earlier than even tradition tells of; a time that antedated the presence of the red man, and when the inhabitants—if there were any, as it seems there must have been according to ethnological report—belonged to a race which has long disappeared and been forgotten.

Still further back from the coast rise here and there glimpses of hills, but these as a general rule are of little account in any study of the coast, and, even where they are visible to the passing mariner, simply form a background for a picture which in summer is one continuous long line of beauty, and in winter an apparently hopeless scene of woe and desolation. Yet we are told that even in midwinter those who dwell along this coast find much to admire in the way of natural and scenic beauty, and that the sea tempers the wind and softens the cold. Still, at times, the elements break loose and work their will without giving much heed to the precautions of human skill. A storm which can lift an iron pier as easily as though it were a childish toy, which can sweep away a hundred feet of solid embankment "warranted storm proof," which can take up fifty feet of roadway at one swoop and cast it into the sea, is not likely to stand on ceremony with anything that opposes its progress.

The Jersey coast runs on the Atlantic seaboard from Perth Amboy to Cape May, a distance of nearly one hundred and fifty miles, and about forty miles on the Delaware. Until the middle of the past century it was dotted with villages, a very few with manufacturing interests, but all more or less depending upon the sea. The soil, a rich sandy loam in places, was eminently suitable for agriculture and gardening, and a succession of thrifty farms, generally small holdings, formed an almost continuous line a little way back from the actual sandy bar—although that bar was itself a mile wide in places. But the main reliance of the people on the ocean and gulf fronts was the "harvest of the sea." Its oyster interest alone supported a large population, and the coasting trade was an exceedingly important one. But, in spite of their industry and thrift, the people moved along in primitive lines, and experienced many hardships—hardships which came from poverty—and each winter had many a dreary story to tell. The coast was also famous for its game, and many an enthusiastic city sportsman wended his way to points remote from "the haunts of men," but such visitors added little, if anything, to the local wealth. The era of fashionable sporting life and of huge individual fortunes had not arrived, and the city sport was content to share in the shelter of the fisherman's hut, and cooked and ate the product of his skill.

New Jersey became a State on July 2d, 1776, by adopting a constitution which altered but little the form of colonial government, and contained

a provision that the document should not be operative after a possible reconciliation between England and New Jersey. Its counties then in existence were Essex, Monmouth, Bergen, Middlesex, Somerset, Cape May, Burlington, Gloucester, Salem, Morris and Cumberland.

Middlesex, the oldest of all the coast political divisions, was created under the Proprietors in 1682. This really presents but a very small front on the Atlantic, and hence needs little attention in this narrative. An incident of its history was its reduction, in 1688, by the territory which was made Somerset County. The preamble to the act is interesting as showing the reason:

"Forasmuch as the uppermost part of the Raritan river is settled by persons whom, in the husbandry and manuring their land, forced upon quite different ways and methods from other farmers and inhabitants of Middlesex, because of the frequent floods that carry away the fences on the meadows, the only arable land they have, and so by consequence of their interest is divided from the other inhabitants of said county; be it therefore enacted," etc.

Its bounds have been altered at different times, and the present area is about twenty-five miles long, with an average width of fifteen miles. The surface is diversified—the central and southeastern portion fairly level, the southern and southwestern hilly, and the northeastern quite mountainous. The soil of the hills is mostly clay loam, the plain is sandy loam and the mountain valleys are limestone. In 1810 the county had a population of 20,381; in 1830, 23,157; in 1860, 61,754; and in 1900, 79,702; so that its progress in that respect cannot be regarded as wonderful as such increases go. New Brunswick is the county seat.

The political history of Middlesex County is closely related to that of Perth Amboy, which was laid out in 1683 by Samuel Groome, one of the then proprietors. In 1681 the boundaries of the town were extended by Gaven Laurie, the deputy governor, who, from a close examination of the site and surroundings seems to have concluded that it was destined to become the mercantile depot of the new world, the seat of commerce and in time a mighty city. So it would undoubtedly have become had appearances on the surface controlled its destiny, but they did not; they seldom do so in fact. The laws of trade work out their own solution, seemingly independently of the notions of man. On the surface it certainly seemed as though this little town offered a better chance for the movements of commerce than did New York itself, an island and situated further from the open sea. But, somehow, New York secured the trade,

the traffic of the continent poured into it, and to its piers the navies of the world pushed their way, passing Gawen Laurie's harbor without so much as giving it a thought. Laurie, however, was hopeful of the future. He had named the new town Perth, in honor of the leader of the Proprietors, James Drummond, the fourth Earl of Perth. As the town still bears his title it may not be out of place to recall here a little of his personal history. His life reads like a romance; but to him the romance had a good deal of stern tragedy in it.

He was born in 1648, was educated at St. Andrew's University, and succeeded his father in the earldom on the latter's death in 1675. When James II became King, Lord Perth announced that he had become a Roman Catholic, and he won a high place in that sovereign's regard. For a few years he was virtually ruler of Scotland, being not only Lord Chancellor of the Kingdom, but the holder of other executive offices. In Scotland, however, he was decidedly unpopular, on account of his cruel persecution of those who professed Presbyterianism. So when King James was forced to fly from his ancestral kingdom, the mob in Edinburgh rose in their might to retaliate on Perth for the cruelties he had inflicted, and to escape their wrath he was compelled, like his royal master, to fly. The mob, however, plundered his house. Perth tried to reach France, but was captured by some of King William's troops and taken to Sterling Castle, where he was confined as a close prisoner for some four years. On his release, in 1693, he went to France, formed the mimic court which James II maintained there, and received the barren honor of being made a Duke—Duke of Perth. The remainder of his life was passed in exile.

Laurie not only staked out the lots in the new town of Perth—its full title then—but he built several houses, and the Proprietors were so pleased with the outlook that they instructed him to make it the seat of government and to arrange for its incorporation into a city. It seems to have been so incorporated, but its municipal life did not really begin until the charter of 1718 was granted, and then was adopted the seal which has been used to the present day. This bears, dexter, a hunting horn, and above it the legend "*Arte non Impetu*;" and, sinister, a ship at anchor in harbor, and beneath it the legend "*Portus Optimus*." Enclosing these designs is the legend, "*Sigillum Civitatis, Perth, Amboyen Sis.*"

In 1747 the people sought to have the town made the residential seat of Governor Belcher, but he preferred Elizabeth Town, as did not, however, his successors, who made Perth Amboy their seat.

The first County Court of Middlesex County was held at Piscataway, June 16, 1683, with Samuel Dennis as President or Judge. The second court was held in Woodbridge, September 18, 1683, and the records show

that courts were alternately held in these two places until June 28, 1688, when the first session in Perth Amboy was held. Thereafter, and until 1699, the courts alternated between all the three villages named.

The last session of the old County Court was held in September, 1699, at Perth Amboy. In 1703 Lewis Morris and others were constituted "Her Majesty Queen Anne's Justices," under a commission issued by Lord Cornbury.

The "town house" in Perth Amboy, built in 1685, was replaced in 1713 by a court house, which was also used for the sittings of the General Assembly. This building was destroyed by fire about 1765, and was rebuilt. In January, 1778, New Brunswick became the county seat.

Union County can scarcely be called one of the coast divisions of New Jersey, but, as it contains quite an extended water front and has more than one port of entry, it seems hardly fair to ignore it altogether. Its three principal cities are advancing rapidly in wealth and population, Elizabeth having in the census of 1900 credit for 52,130, Plainfield for 15,369 and Rahway for 7,935, and besides, it is impossible to write much of the history of the State without bringing in this old county, for it was, especially in the early days, the scene where most of the real history of the State (outside of mere colony planting) was transacted.

Our interest, so far as the county is concerned, mainly centers in Elizabethtown and the villages on the Kill Von Kull. Sir Richard Nicolls had hardly done much more than consolidate his power on Manhattan and Long Island before he received a petition from residents at Jamaica asking permission to found a fresh colony in some other part of "his majesty's dominions," to which he at once agreed, promising to give "the undertakers all due encouragement in so good a work." So the signers of the petition crossed over to Staten Island and bought from the Indian Sachem there for two coats, two kettles, twenty fathom of trading cloth, two guns, twenty handfuls of powder and a few other things, a tract of land which, according to the deed, covered all the territory between the Hudson and the Delaware rivers in a general way, and more particularly the Achter Kol, or Newark Bay, and its southern estuary. The deed was dated October 28, 1664, and on December 1st following the Governor approved it and the transaction was legally complete.

The new colony grew slowly. In August, 1665, there were only four families. On this point, however, there is much room for conjecture. The tract which passed into the hands of the original patentees was so large that the newcomers spread over it as their time came, but Governor Nicolls, however, had issued a formal patent for the entire township

or colony, and while it was not so generous in its details as that secured from the unsophisticated Indians, it was extensive enough for all practical purposes. It embraced over five hundred thousand acres, and included the whole of the present Union and parts of Morris and Somerset Counties.

In 1665, when the good ship "Philip" arrived in New Port harbor, bearing Philip Carteret and a party of thirty sailors from Old England, together with a copy of a patent showing that the region between the Hudson and the Delaware (to be henceforth known as Nova Cæsarea, or New Jersey) had been sold by the Duke of York to parties represented by Carteret, and that the Duke's servant, Governor Nicolls, had no longer any authority in that part of "his majesty's dominions," there was a flurry of trouble. Nicolls was inclined to be defiant at first, but yielded to the inevitable, and Captain Carteret settled upon the ground to which Governor Nicolls had given a patent, and gave to the territory the name of Elizabeth Town. He acknowledged the validity of the Nicolls patent, and confirmed it, in fact. In 1666 he laid off from the township, by a fresh grant, the ground on which the city of Newark stands and the townships of Woodbridge and Piscataway. He, however, exerted himself to develop Elizabeth Town, fixed upon it as the seat of government of the territory, and there the first General Assembly of New Jersey met, May 26th, 1668. It was a small gathering, but it aroused apparently as much excitement as could one of ten times its size. The Legislature did not continue to meet regularly in Elizabeth Town. It migrated between it and Perth Amboy and Burlington, until it became finally established at Trenton, but most of the public offices of the province were at Elizabeth (it was the provincial capital for twenty-one years) and for a long time it was the largest and most important town in New Jersey.

But even with all its attractions it filled out slowly. Gawen Laurie, writing in 1684, said, "Here wants nothing but people. There is not a poor body in the province or one that wants. Here is abundance of provisions—pork and beef at two pence per pound; fish and fowl plenty; oysters, I think, would serve all England; Indian meal two shillings and sixpence per bushel—it is exceeding good for food every way, and two or three hundred fold increase; cyder, good and plenty for one penny per quart; good drink that is made of water and molasses stands about two shillings per barrel—wholesome like our eight-shilling beer in England; good venison plenty, bought in at eighteen pence per quarter; eggs at three pence per dozen; all things very plenty; land as good as ever I saw, vines, walnuts, peaches, strawberries and many other things in plenty in the woods."

Surely a land equivalent to the old Biblical promise of "flowing with milk and honey."

It was not until 1693 that the township was fully organized, and in 1740 it became a borough. In the war of the Revolution it played, as we have seen in the section of this work dealing with that grand story, a prominent part. Abraham Clark, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, belonged to an Elizabeth family, and was born within a few miles of the town, midway between it and Rahway; and General Elias Dayton, one of the military heroes of the war, was born in the good old town. When all was over, and liberty emerged triumphant from the struggle, Elizabeth Town was about depopulated, but she soon rallied, and when Washington made his memorable journey across New Jersey on his way to New York to be inaugurated as first President of the United States, he was nowhere more enthusiastically received than in this place, itself so full of memories of the war.

After the war there is little in the way of historic interest to detain us in Elizabeth Town. It slowly became quite a manufacturing centre, adopted all modern improvements in the way of gas and water, education and municipal amenities from time to time, and, as it kept up frequent and rapid connection with New York, it became the home of quite a number of wealthy business men from the great city. The port trade slowly increased, and when it was connected by railroad with the remainder of the country, large quantities of coal and iron were shipped from it.

Elizabeth, however, grew too ambitious, and as a result, in the late '70s, it became involved in financial troubles on account of adopting improvements in excess of the ability of its revenue to bear. It has since managed slowly to emerge from that disheartening condition of confusion, and seems again fairly started on successful lines, and in spite of its drawbacks has proven attractive to manufacturers and home makers.

Monmouth, magnificent in its scenery, prolific in its soil, rich in its colonial and revolutionary history, is one of the most famous counties in the State, occupying a position pre-eminently its own, and in which it is without a rival.

The most northern of the seacoast counties, it has a double ocean water frontage. Including its peninsular projection terminating in the point world-famous as Sandy Hook, its northern shores, approximately twenty miles, are washed by the waters of the beautiful Raritan Bay and Sandy Hook Bay, while its eastern shore, somewhat longer, stretches southward along the Atlantic, indented at frequent intervals by sea inlets or by the bay-like mouths of inland streams.

The most important watercourses are Navesink (or North Shrewsbury) River, and the South Shrewsbury River, both tidewater streams. The Navesink has its origin in numerous small streams in the central and northwestern part of the county, several of these uniting to form Swimming River (really the main part of the Navesink), which, at the point where it loses its identity, broadens out into a lake-like expanse bounded on the northeast by the shores pointed by the historic Highlands, and past which it flows to reach Sandy Hook Bay. The Shrewsbury River (more properly the South Shrewsbury) is formed by some small streams flowing into it from the west and south. The stream itself, with an average width of about one and one-half miles, flows almost northerly for a distance of six miles until it unites with the Navesink. It is about this region, peculiarly picturesque, that romance has worked out, upon threads of history and tradition, some of the most entrancing stories of love and adventure.

Three-fourths of the way southward from Sandy Hook, Shark River reaches the ocean. The river itself, an inconsequential stream, is in its lower part practically a narrow ocean inlet which three miles inland expands into what is known as Shark River Pond, a lake-like sheet of mingled ocean and fresh water more than a mile in width at its broadest point.

The Manasquan River, which reaches the ocean at the southeast corner of Monmouth county, forming a portion of its southern boundary, comes from far inland and receives many small affluents. Paralleling the upper part of its main stream are numerous watercourses, and, these, soon deflecting southward, reach the north branch of the Metedeconk River, which enters the sea in Ocean County.

The county is curiously irregular in its geographical outlines. The major part of its acreage is contained within a resemblance to a parallelogram lying east of a line projected southward from the extreme northeast corner of the county on Raritan Bay and terminating at the Ocean County line—an area approximately twenty five miles in length, and fifteen miles in width from the inland point on the line described, eastward to the ocean. The remainder of the territory of the county is comprised in an irregular parallelogram extending southwestwardly from the west side of the first parallelogram, having an approximate length of twenty-three miles, and a width varying from eight to ten miles.

The land surface is uneven, but there are no very great elevations, and, generally speaking, from the standpoint of an agriculturist, but a small proportion of it is impracticable for farming. The geological formation is largely cretaceous, and in the plastic clay beds have been found many organic remains. These have not been restricted to vegetable specimens. Fragmentary remains of great saurians have been found, and, in

a few instances, almost complete skeletons. The best specimens have found their way to the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia, but there are many in the museum of Rutgers College and in the hands of private collectors. In the so-called drift deposits have been found remains of various great animals, such as the reindeer and walrus.

The county has been an extremely interesting field for archaeologists, and, covering this line of research, interesting reports have been made to the Smithsonian Institution and other scientific bodies by Dr. Rau and Dr. Lockwood. Besides the ordinary hunting and domestic implements and utensils of the Indian, there have been frequent finds of fragments of stone implements and pottery, some of which have been ascribed to an earlier age than that of the Indian known to our history.

The story of the peopling of Monmouth county, of the development of its material resources, of the sowing of seed from which sprang the institutions of religion and education, of the foundation laying of the principles of local self-government and law, of the defence of the liberties of the people—all this is told in other chapters devoted to some of these individual topics, and in connection with the local history of the towns and villages which were the scene of momentous events. It is only to be premised here that, from the first settlement, Monmouth county was an asylum for men and women who craved liberty to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience, and that, when they came to occupy the soil, the aboriginal owners were ready sellers, and received what was, in those times and under existing conditions, a reasonable equivalent. It is also to be borne in mind that the immigrants had no idea that they were making land speculations; their prescience did not comprehend the tremendous development which was to follow their coming; their entire expectation for the future was bounded by their immediate ambition—that of home making.

The history of the county as a political division may be said to have been begun in the year 1665, when civil order was provided for under the crown concessions. Under the Nicolls patent the people of the "two towns of Navesink" (Shrewsbury and Middletown) performed the functions of government through a general assembly comprising the patentees, associates and general deputies, which held its sessions at various times at each of the places named, and later at Portland Point. That this body was at once a prototype of the town meeting and board of freeholders of later days, is evident from proceedings had at a session held at Shrewsbury, December 14, 1667, where and when measures were adopted regulating debate in such meetings, and providing for elections to be held by the inhabitants. This body also acted in the capacity of a court.

Political autonomy was recognized November 13, 1675, when the Assembly passed an act with reference to the territory in what afterward became Monmouth county, providing that the "two towns of Nevysink" (Shrewsbury and Middletown) be made a county, which county was designated as the "County of Nevysink," although in a few instances it is referred to as the "County of Middletown."

By act of the Assembly passed in March, 1683, the four counties of Bergen, Essex, Middlesex and Monmouth were created and their bounds were prescribed. By the terms of this enactment Monmouth county was to begin at the western bounds of Middlesex county, and to extend westward, southward and northward "to the extreme bounds of the province." In this connection it is to be noted that Monmouth county received its name at the suggestion of Lewis Morris, Surveyor-General of the province, who thus commemorated his native county, Monmouthshire, in England.

Various later designations of boundary lines were made to remedy the confusion arising from original vague description. In 1709-10 an act was passed defining the boundary line between the counties of Middlesex and Monmouth, and another for the same purpose (including the county of Somerset) was passed in 1713-14, but it does not appear that Monmouth county was materially affected. In 1844 a part of Middlesex county (a portion of the township of Monroe) was attached to Monmouth county. In the following year this territory was restored to Middlesex county, but three years later a small portion of Middlesex county was again detached, to become a part of Millstone township, in Monmouth county. The southern boundary line of Monmouth county was fixed from the first, being the province line established by George Keith, Surveyor-General, in 1687.

In 1693 were formed the three original townships of Monmouth county—Middletown, Shrewsbury and Freehold. Middletown included the presents townships of Raritan, Holmdel and Matawan, and a portion of Atlantic township; Shrewsbury included the present townships of Howell, Wall, Eatontown and Neptune, nearly all of Ocean township, all of Ocean county, and a part of Atlantic county.

Some time about 1730 the township of Upper Freehold was formed out of parts of the townships of Freehold and Shrewsbury, a part of what is now the township of Millstone, in Monmouth county, and a large portion of the present Ocean county.

In 1749 the township of Stafford was created, its territory being detached from Shrewsbury township, south of Barnegat Inlet, and in 1767 the township of Dover was also created out of Shrewsbury township. Both these detachments are now included in Ocean county.

In 1801 Howell township was formed by detachment from Shrewsbury township. At its creation it included, in addition to its present territory, that which afterward (1851) became Wall Township, and a northern portion of Ocean county.

In 1844 the township of Millstone was created out of portions of Freehold and Upper Freehold townships in Monmouth county. The latter detachment necessitated subsequent re-adjustments.

In the same year (1844) the township of Jackson was created out of Freehold, Upper Freehold and Dover townships; this is now comprised in Ocean county, as are the former Monmouth county townships of Plumsted and Union, respectively created in 1845 and 1846.

The township of Atlantic was formed in 1847 out of territory taken from the townships of Freehold, Shrewsbury and Middletown. In 1848 Raritan township was formed by detachment from the township of Middletown, and territory was taken from the township of Freehold to form the townships of Marlborough and Mandapan.

In 1849 Ocean township, which included the present township of Neptune, (created 1879), and the greater part of the present township of Eatontown, (created 1873), was formed out of a part of Shrewsbury township.

In 1857 Matawan and Holmdel townships were formed out of territory taken from Raritan township. In 1867 the township of Lincoln was created, its territory taken from Ocean township, but the act of creation was repealed in the following year.

November 16, 1790, the legislature of New Jersey ceded to the United States its jurisdiction in and over four acres of land at the point of Sandy Hook, on which were situated the lighthouse and other buildings.

By act of the legislature, February 15, 1850, the southern portion of Monmouth county, comprising the greater part of its territory, was detached and created a county under the name of Ocean county.

In 1860 the population of Monmouth county was 66,128, and in 1900 it was returned at 82,057, the increase of 18.7 per cent. being due almost entirely to the increased attractiveness and development of the shore towns.

Burlington county comes next in point of age, dating from 1709, its original limits were reduced in 1710 by the formation of Dutchess county, which made the Assumpink running through the center of its northern boundary. It is the only county in the State which does not touch the ocean, and is the only one which projects a land boundary into Delaware Bay.

a part of its ocean front, when Little Egg Harbor township was annexed to Ocean county, and it was left with only one township that entitles it to a place in a work dealing with the coast—that of Bass River.

Burlington has not flourished during recent years as have many of its neighbors. It and Hunterdon were the two counties in New Jersey that showed a decrease in population in the census figures of 1900. Bass River township felt the same decay; it reported a population of 853 in 1890 and 800 in 1900. It has some manufactures, but most of the people are engaged in agriculture or fishing. New Gretna, the principal village of Burlington county, is a somewhat scattered place, well supplied with schools and churches. The township was first settled in 1713 by John Mathis and two others. Mathis in a short time bought out his associates, and continued to clear his property so as to make it available for farm purposes, and it is said by local antiquaries that most of the old families in the vicinity are descended from him. The future development of Bass River would seem to depend upon the progress of its manufacturing industries. It has ample water power, and for milling purposes is excelled by no place on the coast.

Ocean county, the second of the four seaboard counties, lies immediately south of Monmouth county. Its coast line is longer than that of any other county, reaching more than forty miles from Manasquan Inlet, which separates it from Monmouth county, to Little Egg Harbor Inlet. Its coast line is a long slender thread of sand—upon which, however, are planted many thrifty villages and pleasant resorts—and behind this, separating it from the main land, ebb and flow the waters of Barnegat Bay, the southern portion of which is known as Little Egg Harbor, or Tucker-ton Bay. Trending southeasterly in the northern part of the county is the Metedeconk River, which empties expansively into a considerable body near the northern boundary. The principal stream, however, is Toms River, which rises well westwardly in the northern part of the county, in close proximity to the Monmouth county line, and pursues a southeasterly course to where it reaches Barnegat Bay, expanding in its last few miles into harbor-like width. Many smaller streams throughout the county afford excellent water power for numerous industries.

The county is almost triangular in shape, its apex touching on Little Egg Harbor. Its area is larger than that of any other of the twenty-one counties in the State, yet it is, notwithstanding this fact, the most sparsely populated of them all, Cape May alone excepted. At the time of its creation the county numbered 10,032 inhabitants, and forty years later this had not doubled, being 19,474 in 1900. It lies in the pine belt, in what

geologists designate as the tertiary sand and gravel plain. The county has 7,332 acres of beach land, 72,081 acres under water, 40,400 acres of tide or salt marsh, and 360,171 acres of upland. Of the upland only 17,084 acres are cleared, the remaining 343,080 acres being woodland. This means that less than ten per cent. of the acreage is cleared upland, nearly sixty-five per cent. is uncleared woodland and fifteen per cent. is under water. The northern portion of the county contains considerable fertile farming land. The southern portion is pine barrens, but except in the very swamps is susceptible to cultivation and will bear vegetables and small fruits. The swamps, too, have their value, much of this area having been cleared and put into cranberry bogs, with the result that the county produces more than one-half the total cranberry crop of the State.

The first comers found Indians, and evidences of their villages yet exist in various localities. In 1802, when the last land cession was made to the whites, they reserved the right to hunt, fish and cut basket wood on the unoccupied land which they had sold. One of the Indians, however, Elisha Ashatama, absolutely refused to depart with his tribe, and, while he lived a somewhat vagrant life, he continued to make his home (in so far as he had one) at Tuckerton. He served on the U. S. frigate "Chesapeake" during the war with Great Britain in 1812, and was drowned in the Mullica River during a fit of intoxication, about 1833 or 1834. He was buried in the old Methodist cemetery at Tuckerton.

The earliest comers to this region were undoubtedly fishermen, whose precarious calling and nomadic habits scarcely entitled them to be classed as settlers. The first actual land occupant, as shown by the records, was Henry Jacobs Falkenburg (or Henric Jacobsen Falconbre, as it sometimes appears) a native of Schleswig-Holstein, who acquired a tract of eight hundred acres from the Proprietors, February 7, 1698. He was a useful man, and acted as interpreter between the English and the Indians in their land dealings. He was followed by Edward and Mordecai Andrews, who were Quakers from Oyster Bay, Long Island, where they appear to have been born. Edward Andrews built a grist mill in 1703 at what afterward became the town of Tuckerton, and in 1704 he established a Friends' Meeting, and he built a house of worship for his sect. Jacob Ong also took up land at Egg Harbor in 1698, and between that year and 1710 other settlers were Thomas Ridgway, Richard Osborn, Roger Osborn, John Mathis, Joseph Wilitts, Ivo Belangee, William Birdsall and Robert Allen. About 1720 Jarvis Pharo settled at West Creek, and Thomas Fowles recorded as living at Barnegat in the same year. In 1737 a society of Rogerine (or Quaker) Baptists settled at what is now known as Waretown.

It was not, however, until about 1740 that the real settlement of the county began. In that year numerous tracts of land began to be taken up, as is evidenced by records of purchases from the Proprietors and surveys. Saw mills (the first had been set up by Anthony Woodward and Edward Beakes in 1734) soon became numerous, and to facilitate their operations bridges were erected over various streams. Shortly afterward the salt industry had its commencement, and iron furnaces were established not long before the beginning of the Revolutionary War. About the same time shipbuilding had reached large proportions. The mechanical industries of the region were at their height in 1850 and for some years following. During this period an advertisement calling for one thousand wood-choppers appeared in a Toms River newspaper, and the schooner sailings from the port named were so many as a dozen a week.

Shipbuilding declined and disappeared with the exhaustion of the timber supply, as did the bog iron interests under the competition of richer mineral fields elsewhere, and the people found new channels into which to direct their energies. About 1845 the cranberry had become an important article of food consumption, and gave to the marsh regions of the State a reputation which extended throughout the land. The wild cranberry had come into favor, but its cultivation was not thought of until about the year named, when some small farmers, engaged in draining swamps in order to utilize the land for meadow purposes, conceived the idea of using such tracts as cranberry bogs. John Webb, of Jackson township, in Ocean county, who went by the name of "Old Peg-Leg Webb," gained renown by such a venture, realizing as much as fifty dollars a barrel from Philadelphia merchants who sold them to whalers and other long distance voyagers as an antiscorbutic. Webb's example proved contagious, and the cranberry industry assumed dimensions of a craze, particularly about 1863 and in the two years immediately succeeding. The cultivation of the cranberry is continued on a large scale and with much profit at various points along the coast, the largest plantations in the State being in Ocean county.

At the same time, the oyster and clam trade (among the oldest industries of the county) came to be pursued after a more systematic fashion. For some fifteen years past oyster culture has been the chief business of the residents along Toms River from its mouth to Tuckerton, and all available ground in Barnegat and Tuckerton Bays are staked off and planted with native or Virginia oysters. The clam trade has reached immense proportions, and the shipments from Tuckerton alone will amount to an average of a carload of sixty thousand clams for each day in the year.

Ocean county became a corporate body by act of the legislature, in-

proved February 15, 1850. Prior to that time its political history is contained in that of Monmouth county, of which it is a part, constituting a portion of Shrewsbury when that and Middletown were the only townships in the parent county.

The first township established within the present limits of Ocean county, was the township of Stafford, which was set off from Shrewsbury township by a patent issued by Governor Belcher, under the authority of King George II, March 3, 1749, when it was a part of Monmouth county. Stafford township then included all of the present townships of Stafford, Eagleswood, Union and Ocean, comprising all the territory between Oyster Creek and Little Egg Harbor Inlet. The township is said to have received its name from one who came from Staffordshire, England—James Haywood—whose descendants have been prominent people in the county from that day to this. The original townships of the county are accounted for in the history of Monmouth county.

By the same legislative act which created the county, Brick township was erected, named in honor of Joseph W. Brick, who was prominent in various manufacturing and other enterprises. This was constituted out of territory in old Howell township, of Monmouth county, and Dover township, of Ocean county.

Manchester township was created in 1865, out of territory taken from Dover township, and received its name from William A. Torrey, in honor of his native city in England.

Lacey township, erected in 1871, was named for General John Lacey, a native of Pennsylvania, who was engaged in the reduction of bog iron ore at Forked River as early as 1800.

Eagleswood township was created in 1874, out of lower Stafford township territory.

Some two centuries after he flourished as one of the Proprietors, the memory of Lord Berkeley was commemorated in the name of a new township created in 1875. In the next year (1876) Ocean township was constituted from portions of Lacey and Union townships, and in 1862 Lakewood township was created out of the western portion of Brick township.

The oldest township in what is now Ocean county (Little Egg Harbor) was next to the last to be attached to it, in the year 1801. Little Egg Harbor township was created in 1741, as a portion of Burlington county, of which it remained a part for a century and a half, and until its transfer to Ocean county, as noted.

The first county officers, appointed by the Governor, were: Judge, James Gulick; Prosecutor, John Peterson; Sheriff, Joseph Parker; County

Clerk, John J. Irons; Surrogate, David U. C. Rogers. The first board of freeholders assembled May 10, 1850. Economy was the watchword, and a motion to appropriate \$2,000 for county expenses was defeated, and the reduced amount of \$1,800 was provided. Pending the erection of public buildings, court sessions were held in a Mormon meeting house at the county seat, Toms River.

A Board of Commissioners, consisting of John S. Forman, John W. Cox and Joel Haywood, for Ocean county, and Forman Hendrickson, Charles Parker and Thomas Arrowsmith, for Monmouth county, was appointed to effect a settlement of accounts between the two counties. This was accomplished, and the new county received from that from which it was detached \$3,719.15 on the general account, \$165.07 on surplus land account, and bonds and mortgages (including interest) to the value of \$13,315.30.

May 5, 1850, a court house building committee was appointed, comprising William B. Hill, Edwin Shreve and Samuel M. Oliphant, who subsequently reported, recommending a building similar to the Hudson county court house, but of smaller dimensions and somewhat less ornate. George W. Bennett, Amos Falkenburg and Samuel C. Dunham were added to the committee, and June 13, 1851, the edifice was completed at a total cost of \$0,956.50.

In 1850, the year it was set off from Monmouth county, Ocean county, notwithstanding its sparse population and its want of political importance (returning but one member to the House of Assembly) enjoyed the distinction of furnishing the Governor to the State—Dr. George F. Fort, a Democrat. Three years later, another of its residents, the Rev. Joel Haywood, was the Whig candidate for Governor, and made a brilliant canvass, greatly reducing the party plurality of his opponent, Rodman M. Price. Yet three years later was elected as the first Republican Governor of New Jersey, William A. Newell, whom Ocean county people are wont to regard as almost one of themselves.

Atlantic county was taken out of the territory of the ancient county of Gloucester. Under the proprietary rule, the proprietors, freeholders and inhabitants, as early as 1686 (May 28) assumed legislative and judicial powers in and for the "third and fourth tenths, alias county of Gloucester," and established courts.

Gloucester county, however, was not legally created until 1694, and its boundaries were not definitely established until 1710. It originally extended from the Atlantic Ocean to the Delaware River, and out of it were created the county of Atlantic, in 1837, and the county of Camden, in

1844. The immense area was so divided that, as now constituted, the present Gloucester county approximately equals in extent both the counties taken from it, Atlantic county closely approaching it in size, and Camden county being comparatively small.

In 1834, according to "Gordon's Gazetteer," Atlantic county (as yet undivided) contained 3,075 householders whose ratables did not exceed thirty dollars in value. There were twenty-one fisheries, forty-five grist mills, two cotton and two woolen factories, four carding machines, four blast furnaces, three forges, sixty-three saw mills, seven glass factories and numerous other small industries. May's Landing had about thirty dwellings, Tuckahoe not so many, and the land upon which Atlantic City was not yet, was merely mentioned as "Abscon Beach." There were in the county several academies for teaching the higher education, and primary schools in most neighborhoods. There is mention of many temperance associations "which have almost rendered the immoderate use of ardent spirits infamous." But in the next paragraph the chronicler notes the existence of twenty-nine distilleries as returned by the county assessors.

Atlantic county was created February 3, 1837, and contained but four townships—Galloway, Egg Harbor, Weymouth and Hamilton. These contained, according to the Federal census of 1830, 8,104 of the total number of 28,431 inhabitants of the county. With this as a basis, a Board of Commissioners made an apportionment of the public moneys and values, after making allowance for public debts, and set off the amount of \$17,247.69 to Gloucester county, and \$6,047.75 to Atlantic county.

Atlantic county has for its ocean frontage Brigantine Beach and Abscon Island, together about twenty miles in length, and between these and the mainland of the county are the waters of Great Bay and Little Bay, with their numerous islets. The mainland portion of the county is very nearly square. It is splendidly watered by numerous streams flowing into Great Bay; by Great Egg Harbor River which heads near its west central boundary and courses southeastwardly to the sea; and by numerous affluents of the Tuckahoe River, which forms its southern boundary. Pine forests formerly extended over the greater part of the county, but the same lands now produce large quantities of vegetables and fruits.

In 1860 the population of Atlantic county was 28,836, and this number had increased to 46,402 in 1900, the increase being largely in Atlantic City.

The history of the settlement of Atlantic county is chiefly a record of that of Abscon Island and of various inland towns.

Abscon Island is in all ways similar to the one now included in

northward and southward from it. It extends from Absecon Inlet south-westwardly for a distance of about ten miles to Great Egg Harbor. Its width is greatest at the northern extremity, on Absecon Inlet, where it is not quite two miles, and is least something more than one mile from its southern termination, where it is less than one-half a mile. It is principally made up of sand dunes and meadow lands, and has an elevation of about six feet above high water mark. Its distance from the mainland is five miles, the intervening space being an expanse of bays, sounds and salt marshes.

The Indian occupation has been well established, and the fact has been perpetuated in the name which the island bears. The true Indian etymology was Absegami, meaning "little sea-water," and this has been from time to time corrupted, appearing as Absecam, Absecum, Absecom and finally as Absecon. Dr. Thomas K. Reed, of Atlantic City, whose collection of Indian relics is unsurpassed by that of any private collector in the country, has in his possession fragments of human remains, many arrows, stone knives, stone mills used for cracking corn, and other utensils and implements, taken from in and about the city. These Indians were of the Lenni-Lenape tribe, and they were in possession of the soil until the coming of the English and Scotch from Long Island, in 1645.

The history of the region as told by white men has been carefully studied by Mr. A. M. Heston and rehearsed in his "Hand Book of Atlantic City." This writer shows that it began as early as September 1-2, 1609, when Henry Hudson sailed his Dutch ship, the "Half-Moon," to Absegami and Eyre Haven. The discovery of the inlets above and below Absegami are credited to Captain Cornelius Jacobse Mey, of the ship "Fortuyn," who left New Amsterdam in June, 1614, and cruised down the coast. He called the inlet, now known as Barnegat, by the Dutch name of Barendegat. Absecon Inlet he also called Barendegat, these words being used first, not as a name, but merely as a description of the inlet. On Vanderdonck's Dutch map, made in 1656, it is Barndegat, and in his description of the coast, in one place, he calls Absecon "Bear-gat." Gabriel Thomas, who wrote a "History of New Jersey" in 1698, mentions Great Egg Harbor River, "up which a ship of two or three hundred tons may sail." This country, he adds, "is noted for its good store of horses, cows, sheep, hogs, etc., the lands thereabouts being much improved and built upon." On the map which accompanies his book the Leach or island, the modern name of which is Absecon Beach, is described as having "some woodland and some sandy ground." Some of the "wonderful things" found in this part of the country can be described best in the language of the quaint historian last quoted: "There are, among other various sorts

of frogs," he says, "the bull-frog, which makes a roaring noise, hardly to be distinguished from that well known of the least from which it takes its name. There is another sort of frog that crawls up to the tops of trees, there seeming to imitate the notes of several birds."

Jean Le Barre, a Frenchman, visited the region in 1787, and published an account of his travels, in which he spoke of the exceptional dryness of the atmosphere on Absecon Beach. He added that in all his travels (and he was a great traveler) he had only found one other place in the world, on the seacoast, that could be compared with it in the matter of climate.

The original owner of that portion of Absecon Island upon which Atlantic City was built was Thomas Budd, in 1695. The pleasant relations which existed between the first white settlers and the Indians is made to appear in a pamphlet published by Budd, some years later, wherein he says "the Indians have been very serviceable to us," and he quotes a speech made by an Indian:

"We are your brothers and intend to live like brothers with you. We have no mind to war, for when we have war we are only skin and bones; the meat that we eat doth not do us good; we are always in fear; we have not the benefit of the sun to shine on us; we hide us in holes and corners; we are minded to live in peace. If we intend at any time to make war on you, we will let you know of it, and the reasons why we make war with you; and if you make us satisfaction for the injury done us, for which the war was intended, then we will not make war upon you; and if you intend at any time to make war on us, we would have you let us know of it, and the reason; and then if we do not make satisfaction for the injury done unto you, then you may make war on us, otherwise you ought not to do it. You are our brothers, and we are willing to live like brothers with you; we are willing to have a broad path for you and us to walk in, and if an Indian is asleep in this path, the Englishman shall pass by, and do him no harm; and if an Englishman is asleep in this path, the Indian shall pass him by, and say, 'He is an Englishman, he is asleep; let him alone, he loves to sleep.' It shall be a plain path; there must not be in this path a stump to hurt our feet."

Budd was not an actual settler, nor did the persons to whom he sold become settlers. It was not until about the time of the Revolutionary War that permanent residents came—Daniel Ireland, William Boice and George Stilbs, and it is uncertain how long they remained. Jeremiah Leeds is credited with being the first permanent settler, in 1804. He owned the entire island, farming a portion of it, and leaving other parts for salt works. At a bank dinner held in Atlantic City in January, 1889, Peter Boice, aged about eighty-four years, of Absecon, gave a description of

Absecon Beach as he knew it when a young man of eighteen or twenty years, when he came to help Jeremiah Leeds reap and harvest his grain. "In those days," said he, "the greater portion of the island was sand-hills, duck-ponds, swamps, brier thickets and nesting places for the wild fowl. Many of these wild fowl could be killed with clubs, and it is said that they were so numerous at times in lighting upon trees the branches would break. Very few people had guns in those days, consequently they resorted to other means of capturing game." Another old resident, as quoted by Mr. Heston, said that immense flocks of snipe and ducks settled in the ponds, especially in the vicinity of Arctic and North Carolina avenues. The district between Maryland and South Carolina avenues, from Atlantic to the meadows, was known as "Squawktown," on account of the large number of squawks which nightly roosted there. The land was low and swampy and was covered with an undergrowth of bushes, vines and briers. About 1835 Jeremiah Leeds fired into a flock of these birds at this point and killed forty-eight. Besides quail, rabbits and foxes, there were, at that time, musks, muskrats, loggerheads, terrapins and snakes—black snakes, garter snakes and adders. Strange to say, there were no lizzards or bull-frogs. The frogs made their appearance after the founding of the city.

In 1838 Jeremiah Leeds died and his lands descended to his children: Rubanna Conover, Rachel Steelman, Andrew Leeds, Judith Leeds, afterward Judith Hackett, Chalkley S. Leeds and Robert B. Leeds. The mother of the Leeds progeny at this time kept the old Atlantic House as a tavern for oystermen and traders, near Baltic and Massachusetts avenues.

The county of Cape May comprises the splendid peninsula which is the southern termination of the State, lying between the Atlantic Ocean on the east and Delaware Bay on the west. Its northern boundary is generally marked by Great Egg Harbor and a line projected thence westward. It is nearly thirty-two miles long, and its greatest width is thirteen miles. The soil is alluvial and quite level. Formerly it bore considerable timber, which has all but disappeared. Grasses grow luxuriantly, and pasturage for domestic animals is abundant.

Paralleling the mainland, on the ocean side, is a succession of sandy beaches named Peck's, Ludlam's, Seven Mile, Five Mile, Two Mile and Poverty, upon which stand numerous handsome little villages and private mansions. Between the beaches and the mainland are expanses of ocean water dotted with miniature islands. Oysters, clams and fish abound in these waters. On the Delaware Bay side the land shelves gradually to the water and finds no obstruction short of the Delaware shore.

In point of discovery and occupation by whites, Cape May has a proud distinction of priority as compared with many portions of the State of New Jersey. Cornelius Jacobse Mey, whose name figures so conspicuously in the maritime annals of his times, explored Delaware Bay in 1621, in the interest of the Dutch West India Company, but he does not seem to have had more to do with Cape May than to give it his name, which is preserved euphoniously if not orthographically.

The proprietary rights in the Cape May county have been noted in the chapter on "The Proprietary System." Our only concern in this connection is with the actual settlement. Under this head, it is asserted by Benedict, in his "History of the Baptists," that a church of this denomination was established at Cape May in 1675, in which year came a company of immigrants among whom were two Baptists, George Taylor and Philip Hill. But Dr. Beesley, in his "Early History of Cape May County," finds no evidence that Cape May was positively inhabited until 1685, when Caleb Carman and Jonathan Pine were respectively appointed by the legislature to the positions of Justice of the Peace and Constable.

Other authorities assert that John Townsend and Jacob Spicer, who came from Long Island in 1680, were the earliest permanent white settlers, and that Richard, son of the former named, was the first white child born within the limits of the county.

John Townsend was an Englishman and a Quaker, who for the latter offense (such it was then) was fined and imprisoned in New York, and finally banished. He first located in Monmouth county, whence he came to Cape May county. It is related of him that when he was to build his cabin he traveled a considerable distance to find two other settlers to assist him. While engaged in the work, a number of Indians came, and a rivalry as to physical strength arose between them and the whites, whereupon a wrestling match ensued, in which one of the latter overcame his copper-colored antagonist, and ended the struggle by tossing him into a tree. This feat so impressed the Indians that the whites were thenceforth regarded with respect, if not absolute fear.

Of the early families of Cape May county, none figure so conspicuously as do those of Leaning and Spicer, and these names are associated together for all time. Aaron Leaning and Jacob Spicer (of the second generation, namesakes for their fathers) are here particularly referred to.

Christopher Leanyeng (Leaning) came about 1670 from England to Long Island, where he married Esther Burnett. In 1691 he came to Cape May and took up land. Among his children was a son, Aaron, who embraced the Quaker religion. He acquired considerable property, and was a man of influence, serving as Justice of the Peace, Clerk, and As-

sendlyman. He married Lydia Shaw, and of the marriage were born four children, of whom the eldest was Aaron.

Aaron Leaming (second), born in 1715, became one of the most important figures of his day. He was splendidly educated for the times, and was a man of great force of character. He carried on business affairs upon a large scale, and was prominent in public life, and a member of the assembly for thirty years. He and Jacob Spicer (second) who was a year his junior, were assigned to the task of compiling for the assembly the grants and concessions made to the Lords Proprietors, and the laws of both the Jersey Provinces. This great task they performed with scrupulous care.

Aaron Leaming died August 28, 1780, in the sixty-sixth year of his age. Upon the monument covering his grave in the old family burying ground in Middle township, Cape May county, was chiseled the following inscription:

"Beneath this stone here lies a name
That once had titles, honor, wealth and fame,
How loved, how honored, now avails thee not,
To whom related, or by whom begot;
A heap of dust remains alone of thee,
'Tis all thou art, and all the proud shall be."

It is reasonable to infer that this verse was from his own pen, moved by his own modesty and freedom from personal vanity. Certain it is that his eminently useful and distinguished service in behalf of the people and State would not permit one who had known him to inscribe so belittling a sentiment. For of him Dr. Maurice Beesley wrote: "No man ever received greater honors from the county, and none, perhaps, better deserved them."

Jacob Spicer (second), the colleague of Leaming, was a son of Jacob Spicer, who came to Cape May about 1691, from Gravesend, Long Island. The senior Spicer was of Puritan parentage. The son was liberally educated, became a busy man of affairs and was for some twenty years a member of the assembly. He was scrupulously methodical in noting all his financial transactions, and his journals are a marvel of minute information showing the habits of life of the people about him. He was twice married—first to Judith Hughes, and after her death to Deborah Hand Leaming, widow of Christopher Leaming. In his will he displayed the same great carefulness which marked his everyday life, and this long document of thirty-nine pages is noteworthy as the most elaborate and voluminous testamentary document ever recorded in the State. In

this he made liberal bequests to all the various religious bodies in the neighborhood, and it also contained his complaint that he had been unjustly treated, vilely defamed and grossly abused by the populace. This lengthy paper he directed should be read in public in the Baptist meeting house, and he also provided that a sermon-like address should be printed in pamphlet form and distributed. Upon his tombstone was inscribed:

"If aught that's good and great could save,
Spicer had never seen the grave."

He left four children, among whom was but one son, and in the male line the family is now extinct.

The reproach in which Spicer was held by some of the people, as referred to in his will, was presumably based upon some of his land transactions. For more than sixty years the Coxo lands had been marketed through an agent of the West Jersey Society, and these had been exhausted, save what were known as vacant lands with "natural privileges" in the adjacent sounds and bays. Leaming and Spicer were both desirous of possessing these vacant lands, and they were rivals in their effort in this, no matter how cordially they had been allied together in public affairs, but Spicer drove a successful bargain, and became the owner. Concerning this transaction, Dr. Beesley says:

"It has been handed down that Spicer obtained the grant for the proprietary right in Cape May, of Dr. Johnson, agent of the society at Perth Amboy, at a time when the influence of the wine bottle had usurped the place of reason, or he could not have obtained it for so inconsiderable a sum as three hundred pounds; and that the Doctor, sensible he had betrayed the trust reposed in him, left the society at his death a thousand pounds as a salvo."

Cape May was created a county under the Proprietors, in 1685, when its northern boundary was fixed nearly as at present—a line drawn at the most northerly point of Great Harbor. November 12, 1692, the county was constituted by act of assembly, the bounds were more definitely designated in 1694, when the residents of Egg Harbor were transferred to Gloucester county, and a further adjustment was made in 1700, which did not materially change the boundaries.

The earliest courts under the proprietary government were held in a private house. In 1700 Daniel Coxo, who was then the sole proprietor, and virtual government, erected what is still known as the Court House, a two-story building for the time, on the site of the old building. The Court was held in the "Hall" of the building, and the Court House was

or Cape May Town), and the building was used as a court house and a house of worship.

In 1745 Cape May Court House became the county seat, and Daniel Hand donated one acre of land as a building site. Upon it now stands a modern edifice. The village is situated on the Winslow Junction and Cape May branch of the Atlantic City Railroad, and on the Camden and Cape May branch of the West Jersey and Sea Shore Railroad. The population in 1900 was 900.

In 1800 the population of Cape May county was 11,268, and in 1900 it was 13,201.

Cumberland should almost be considered a coast county. It has for its south frontage the lower Delaware Bay, and its eastern boundaries are the counties of Cape May and Atlantic. Its principal stream is the Maurice River, which at Millville, in the northern part of the county, expands to the proportions of a lake, and which, for the last five miles of its length, is similarly expansive.

The county was the early home of a Puritan colony, and it was made a political division in 1747, receiving its name in honor of the Duke of Cumberland. The population in 1800 was 45,438, and in 1900 it was 51,093. The county seat is Bridgeton, which is the seat of large glass manufactories and fruit and vegetable canning establishments.

CHAPTER X.

RELIGIOUS HISTORY AND CONDITIONS

If there is aught in the history of New Jersey that is so completely established as to be wholly outside the pale of controversy, it is the fact that its early colonists were a deeply religious people. Indeed, had they been less conscientious and less unyielding as religionists, the political structure which they aided in rearing would doubtless have been of other design. It was decreed in a very early day that the country was to be essentially English, and dominated by English thought and policies— the withdrawal of the Dutch fleet and the Dutch Governor settled that matter. Had the Englishmen and Scotchmen then on the ground been time-servers, had they abandoned their meetings and conventicles, they would doubtless have proven as trident in their political conduct, and— would there have been the Revolution? And this suggests another query: Had the Established Church of England utilized the Methodism of Wesley in England, and displayed a conciliatory attitude toward the Presbyterians of Scotland, is it not probable that there would have been an Established Church in America, with Trinity Church standing in the new land for what Canterbury does in the mother country?

A fruitful field for speculation this, but there is sufficient of momentous interest in what did actually occur. And so, it may be repeated that the early colonists— who did not come, as did many of the New Englanders, to found a theocracy— were a deeply religious people, and this is not the less true if, as was the case, with different standards, their conduct was in many instances somewhat at variance with that expected of professed religionists in the present day. But it may well be questioned if humanity, as it goes, is any more successful now than it was then in combating some besetting sin which lies in wait for every one of us.

The early Dutch colonists may be said to have brought their church with them when they settled in New Netherland. To these godly pilgrim wanderers a place of worship was as necessary as a dwelling; and we never find any settlement without also discovering some arrangement there for

divine services, either the setting aside of a sufficient amount for a clergyman's ministrations or for the employment of a teacher and reader, or at least for securing the services of an authorized visitor to the sick, whose duty it also was to read the Scriptures to the people on Sundays. And as this people increased in numbers, and new settlements were formed, and more ministers were needed, they turned to their own youth for their spiritual leaders, and founded their own literary and theological schools.

The first of the Scotch Presbyterians came in 1685 out of their native country, whence they were driven by cruel religious persecution. For refusal to engage in prelatie worship and for their attendance upon conventicles, these poor people were despoiled of their property, thrown into prison, banished and practically sold as slaves. About one hundred men and women were imprisoned in Dunottar Castle, where they were treated with great severity, stinted for food and water, and cramped for want of room. Many were tortured for attempting to escape. Late in the summer these prisoners were marched to the sea-coast, a distance of about sixty-three miles, many with their hands tied behind their backs. They were under sentence of banishment to America, and a number of them were committed to the care of George Scot, laird of Pitlochrie, who had chartered a vessel to convey him to New Jersey, in order to escape the persecution to which he had been subjected for the sake of his religion. The voyagers suffered dreadfully from a virulent fever, and to add to the misery of their condition the master of the vessel, a most inhuman creature, visited upon them all sorts of cruelty, even to throwing down upon them large pieces of timber when they were engaged in worship between decks. Three score of people, among them the laird and his wife, died during the voyage. The survivors disembarked near Perth Amboy, in December, 1685. It is pathetic to read that the vessel which bore these immigrants from their heather-land sank soon after reaching the harbor to which it had conveyed them. And with this goes the story, better authenticated than is usual in traditional narratives, that this same vessel had lain a sunken hulk in the harbor whence they sailed, and was raised to afford them passage. The wonder is that such a craft survived the three months' voyage. It is only to be added that many of the immigrants were obliged by the civil courts to make payment for their enforced passage.

With the particular history of the various denominations in the State at large we are not particularly concerned. The present purpose is to trace the beginnings of religion in the counties on the coast, and this, of necessity, includes some account of a number of individual churches which are recognized as memorial-stones in religious history, testifying to events

as important as were some of those in which figured apostle and saints of old.

The quaint old town of Middletown (and the name, so far as concerns the early days, applies at times to the village and again to the township), was the seat of the first settlements in Monmouth county, and here were set up religious lights which shone out to remote places. It was a heterogeneous population—Quakers, Scotch and Dutch Independents, Presbyterians and Baptists, and those of the Established Church of England.

There has been controversy as to priority in church founding in the historic old village, and even as to the particular shade of faith held by some of the active churchmen of the day. One fact is admitted— that the first minister was John Bowne, but who can say of what sect was he, or what his creed, after reading his "words of advice or council to his children as he lay on his death-bed" January 3, 1683-4:

"There is no way in the whole world for a man to obtain felicity, in this world or in the world to come, but to take heed in the ways of the Lord, and to put his trust in Him, who deals faithfully and truly with all men; for He knocks at the door of your hearts, and calls you to come and buy, without money and without price.

"My desire is, that in all actions of Meem and Tenn you deal not deceitfully, but plane hearted with all men, and remember that your dying Father left it with you for your instruction, that when trust is with your Honor to preserve it. And in all contracts and bargains that you make, violate not your promise, and you will have praise. Let your Mother be your Councillor in all matters of difference, and goe not to Lawyers, but ask her cancell first. If at any time any of you have an advantage of a poor man at law, O pursue it not, but rather forgive him if he hath done you wrongue, and if you do so, you will have the help of the Law of God and of his people. Give not away to youthful jolities and sports, but improve your leisure time in the service of God. Let no good man be dealt churlishly by you, but entertain when they come to your house. But if a vitious, wicked man come, give him meat and drink to refresh him, and let him pass by your doors. It has been many times in my thoughts, that for a man to marry a wife and have children, and never take any care to instruct them, but leave them worse than the Beasts of the Field, that if a man ask concerning the things of God, they know not what it means, O, this is a very sad thing. But if we can season our hearts, so as to desire the Lord to assist us, He will help us, and not fly from us."

One writer (the Rev. Morgan Edwards, in his "History of the Baptists of New Jersey"), is satisfied that John Bowne was the first minister and the donor of the first lot upon which the first meeting house was built, and upon this statement has been founded the assertion that this first

meeting house was built by Baptists for their own use. This last proposition, however, has been called in question by a highly capable and careful local investigator and writer (Mr. James Steen), who shows it to be doubtful, if not absolutely untenable.

Returning to the one incontroverted fact that John Bowne was the first minister, it is to be remembered that the settlement at Middletown was made under the conditions imposed by Governor Nicolls, one of which was that "every township is obliged to pay their minister according to such agreement as they shall make with them and no man to refuse his proportion, the Minister being elected by the Major part of the Householders Inhabitants of the town." The liberality of this concession is remarkable, when it is remembered that the granting authority came from a servant of that monarch who was at once King and Defender of the Faith—the faith being that of the Established Church of England.

In 1684 Peter Watson, a Scotchman living in Perth Amboy, wrote to a friend in Scotland, referring to the several towns in East Jersey: "There are very good, religious people, they go under the name of Independents, but are most like the Presbyterians. * * * The people meet together every Sabbath day and read and pray and sing psalms in their meeting-house."

At this time, Watson must have been familiar with the conditions at Middletown, for he was then negotiating for property in that township (at Matawan) and it is presumable that he had the Middletown meeting-house in mind. And so, from the evidence, and from what we know of the beginnings of a church in a new settlement, it would appear that the early Middletown meeting house was what would be now called a Union Church, such as many Jerseymen yet living have aided in establishing in the western States—a church wherein people of all denominations assembled for worship, ministered to by clergymen of various denominations, until, as the community increased, there came to be a sufficient number of a particular faith to separate from their fellows and set up a church society of their own. And so it doubtless was with the Baptists, Presbyterians, Quakers and Puritans who met together in John Bowne's first meeting house. In all probability, at one time or other—for meetings were held irregularly— all were privileged to hear preachers of their own sect: Morgan, the Dutch dominie; Innes, the Scotch non-juring clergyman; Aschen, a Baptist, and others. Of the old meeting-house itself, it is to be said that, according to neighborhood tradition, it was primarily built for town purposes. It passed into decay, but the spiritual light kindled within its walls survived its fall, to illuminate other neighborhoods and other generations of worshippers.

From out of the old meeting-house came those of all sects — in time erected houses of worship of their own. It is pleasant to know that tradition has faithfully preserved the description of those early church buildings, and of the manner of service which they witnessed.

The early church building was of the utmost plainness, for the people were plain in themselves and in all about them, and there was no market to provide luxuries and adornments. The plain board sides were destitute of paint, inside and out, and it was long before there was either fireplace or stove. For some years the Dutch churches were entirely without seats; in others there were benches of rough hewn planks. The Episcopalians set up a modest altar, which was afterward adorned as means and materials would permit. These people, with a beautiful and time-honored ritual, engaged in the service to which they had been accustomed in the mother country, but with less elaboration for want of music, and that service is substantially the same to-day, saving the slight changes made necessary on account of the altered political conditions growing out of the Revolution. The Dutch were true to the traditions of their native land, and their mode of worship was what they had been accustomed to from their youth. The Quakers sat mute in their meetings until they were moved to speech by the Holy Ghost, and there are those now living who, in their youth, attended their gatherings Sunday after Sunday for weeks without hearing a spoken word.

The Presbyterian Church was impressive in a manner peculiar to itself. The pulpit stood high up, and in front of it was a low platform whereon were seated the elders. The worshippers came well prepared for their religious duties. With them the Sabbath was already well begun. The women devoted Saturday to cooking food for that sacred day where no avoidable labor was to be performed, and Saturday night had been given to religious meditation. At such an hour, too, some member of the family would read a chapter or two from the Scriptures, or from one of those volumes treasured in nearly every Presbyterian home — often the entire family library — Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," Baxter's "Saints' Everlasting Rest," Young's "Night Thoughts," or Doddridge's "Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul."

The Sabbath church service began with a solemn prayer which continued for a quarter of an hour or more, and after this a chapter of the Bible was read and expounded. The singing was most impressive. Only the Psalms were used — it was before the days of hymns — and these were according to the quaint version of Rowse, of which the following (P. 17, xxii) is a beautiful example:

“The Lord’s my Shepherd, I’ll not want,
 He makes me down to lie
 In pastures green; he leadeth me
 To the quiet waters by.

My soul he doth restore again
 And me to walk doth make
 Within the paths of righteousness
 Ev’n for his own name’s sake.

Yea, though I walk in death’s dark vale
 Yet will I fear none ill;
 For thou art with me, and thy rod
 And staff me comfort still.

My table thou hast furnished
 In presence of my foes;
 My head thou dost with oil anoint
 And my cup overflows.

Goodness and mercy all my life
 Shall surely follow me;
 And in God’s house for ever more
 My dwelling-place shall be.”

The Psalm was “given out” by the minister or an elder, two lines at a time. Musical instruments were not tolerated—they were too suggestive of prelatie worship or of sinful amusements—and the Psalms were sung slowly and heartily to some dear old tune brought from the land of Knox, after the home-country fashion, as told of by Burns:

“They chant their artless notes in simple guise,
 They tune their hearts, by far the nobler aim,
 Perhaps *Dundee’s* wild warbling measures rise,
 Or plaintive *Martyrs*, worthy of the name,
 Or noble *Elgin* beats the heav’nward flame,
 • The sweetest far of Scotia’s holy lays.”

The sermon was usually pronouncedly doctrinal, and was of considerable length, often exceeding an hour. In many churches an hour-glass stood upon the pulpit, and, on ordinary occasions, the preacher was expected to finish the “lastly” of his discourse with the running out of the sands, but there were instances when the glass was turned the second and even the third time before the conclusion was reached. If no minister were present, an elder would read a discourse from a volume of sermons by some noted divine of an earlier day, even so ancient a worthy as the martyred Latimer.

After the sermon, another prayer was offered, and another Psalm was sung. On occasion a baptism took place, immediately after the regular service, and, once each month, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered in connection with the service. There was frequently an afternoon service, but very seldom was there one at night, and not then until the days of sconces and tallow dips.

Mrs. Gertrude Lefferts Vanderbilt has written of the mode of worship in the early Dutch churches on Long Island, and families in Monmouth county, New Jersey, preserve similar traditions relating to the churches of their ancestors in the region wherein they now live. Mrs. Vanderbilt writes:

"A board, on which were placed the numbers of the Psalms to be sung during the service, was hung in a conspicuous position, for all the members of the congregation were expected to take part in the singing. These curious old Psalm books had silver corners and clasps. There were also small silver rings on them; through these were cords or long silver chains, by means of which they were hung on the backs of the chairs when chairs were used instead of pews. We look with interest at the quaint four-sided notes printed on the bars, for each Psalm was set to music, and we wonder how they sang in those days, slowly, of course, for there are no short notes. The New Testament and Psalms were bound together, and these were carried to church every Sunday.

"It is probable that many Dutch families own one or more of these books still. Some of them were published at Dordrecht, in 1758, others in Amsterdam, in 1728, and there may be others of a still earlier date. The title page is as follows:

"Het NIEUWE TESTAMENT
ofte alle Boeken
Des Nieuwen Verbonds
onzes HEEREN JESU CHRISTI
door last
van de H. M. Heeren
Staten General
der Vereenigde Nederlanden
en volgens het besluit van de
Synode Nationale gehouden in
de Jaren 1648 en de 1649 tot
Dordrecht 1758.

"Below the date of the copy from which the above was taken is a lion holding a sword, encircled with the motto "Een dracht maakt macht." A picture of a city facing the North Sea finishes the page. Most of the books which have been preserved in the families of the Dutch are of a religious character, and we cannot but feel that they were a religious

people. Although the Psalms only were sung in the churches, they were fond of sacred poetry. In a time-stained book entitled 'Finding the Way to Heaven,' published at Nymegen, in 1752, which seems to have kept its place beside the Dutch Bible, we find an old hymn to which the well-worn volume opens at once, as if to some favorite page:

“Den Hemel zelf,
Dat schoon gewelf,
Daar't dag is zonder nachten:
Is't hoog vertrek darr't Engelen choir,

Al zingend ons verwachten,
O zalig! zalig Zinken!
O zalig to verdrinken!
In't eenwig zalig ligt.”

The Methodists reared their houses of worship somewhat later, but in their primitive temples in New Jersey was Methodism exhibited in all its pristine vigor. The oratory of their preachers was fervently exhortatory. Little stress was laid upon doctrine, but every faculty was called into play to arrest the attention of the sinner and turn him aside from the paths of iniquity. Startling stories are told of some of those early-day pulpites. On one occasion, at a meeting held in the woods, after Freeborn Garretson had delivered a fervent discourse, the Rev. Benjamin Abbott arose and, looking over the congregation with a penetrating gaze, pointed significantly at a man and exclaimed, "Lord, begin the work; Lord, begin the work *now*; Lord, begin the work just *there*!" And the one upon whom he looked and to whom he pointed "fell as suddenly as if he had been shot, and cried for mercy." It is said of the same noted divine that a terrific thunder storm broke while he was preaching in a church building on the coast. His voice was wellnigh overwhelmed by the tremendous noises of nature, when he rose to a supreme effort, and exclaimed in stentorian tones, "Thunder outside, my Lord, while I thunder within!" And the annalist says that "men and women all through the house suddenly fell, as though a frigate had poured a broadside of shot into the congregation."

About 1827 Thomas G. Stewart was junior preacher on the Freehold circuit. Of him it was said that he was a small man, but with such ponderous voice that "he thundered when he preached." His sermon would often affect his congregation to tears. At one time his fervor led him into a protracted exordium wherein he lost his thread of language, and he broke off abruptly with the exclamation "I would not give the grace of God for all the grammar in the world!" and then made a fresh beginning in his discourse. He would pray (as was said by one who heard

him "as if heaven and earth were coming together." At the conclusion, he would make an appeal to the unconverted, and then, not waiting to go down the pulpit stairs, would jump over the front of the pulpit and address himself personally to those who were without the pale of the church.

But the primitive house of worship has passed away and the old-time Christian ministers and laymen have left no descendants of their own kind. Each sect now rears such ornate temple as its means will permit, and frequently anticipates the future by incurring a great debt in its building. In the conduct of worship only the staid Quakers maintain any semblance of the original simplicity, and even they have their regular preaching and their Sunday school. The Presbyterians, who so abhorred anything at all imitative of what they regarded as Catholicism, repeat the Creed, chant the Gloria, read the Psalm antiphonally with the minister, and sing popular hymns led by a grand organ and a salaried choir. In only a few feeble congregations of Covenanters, well back in the remote hill regions, are the old traditions preserved. The followers of Wesley vie with their Presbyterian brethren in making their service elaborate, even to the introduction of vested choirs, and the old-time revival and powerful exhortation remain only in story.

Not long after their coming the Scotch Presbyterians had developed sufficient numerical strength to enter upon the work of rearing a church of their own. A number of this people who had come to America, as previously narrated, had settled (about 1685) near the site of the present village of Matawan, and named their settlement New Aberdeen, but the larger part of the company went further and located about and near a well timbered eminence, to which they gave the name of "Free Hill," about five miles northwest of the present town of Freehold. Here, under the leadership of Godly men, among whom was Walter Ker, an Elder in the Church of Scotland, who had been banished from his native land because of his religion, was founded (in 1692, as near as is ascertained) the "Old Scots Church." For this the claim has been made that it was "the first one settled with the gospel ministry in East Jersey west as well of the Raritan River." It is doubtful if this is entirely accurate, but it is scarcely to be questioned that it was the first regular Presbyterian Church in that region, and "the small beginning of a great, organized American Presbyterianism." Its organization is apparently given in the court records of Monmouth county, as follows:

"The meeting House for Religious Worship belonging to the several dissenters Called ye Presbyterians of ye town of Freehold in ye County of Monmouth in ye Province of New Jersey is Situate within ye King & being

at & upon a pece of Rising ground or little hill Commonly known & Called by the name of free hill In sd town.

"Mr. John Boyd Minister of the sd Presbyterians of ye town of freehold did also Parsonally appear & did desire that he might be admitted to qualify as the law directs in that behalf."

December 27, 1706, this piece of ground, destined to become historic for all time, was the scene of a memorable event, for then and there was held, so far as is established by record evidence, the first meeting of a Presbytery, and when occurred the first Presbyterian ordination in America. The Rev. Francis Makemie, whose memory is revered as "Father of the American Presbyterian Church," was the moderator, and other clergymen present were the Rev. Jedediah Andrews and the Rev. John Hampton, respectively the first pastors of the first Presbyterian Churches in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and Snow Hill, Maryland. The occasion of this Presbyterial assembly was the examination and ordination of the first pastor of the "Old Scots Church," John Boyd, who had come from Glasgow, Scotland, to enter upon the sacred office. It is presumable that, prior to his coming, services were conducted by Elder Ker, who has been previously mentioned.

The memories attaching to the "Old Scots Church" are at once glorious and pathetic. Within little more than a half-century, it had fallen into disuse and decay. Father Boyd died about two years after entering upon his ministry, leaving behind him evidence of a permanent influence for good. He was buried under the eaves of the church, and upon his tomb was laid a brown sandstone slab bearing an inscription in Latin. Nearly one hundred and seventy-five years later (in 1883) the stone was cleansed of the dirt and lichens which covered it, and was planted upright at the head of the grave. This stone was subsequently committed to the custody of the Presbyterian Historical Society and placed in the Presbyterian Building in Philadelphia, and upon the spot whence it was taken the Synod of New Jersey erected a beautiful and enduring monument, rarely significant in conception and execution.

This beautiful structure is of granite brought from Scotland, Ireland and New England, thus commemorating the lands whence came the men who composed the Presbytery of 1706. The undressed base is of Vermont granite, and upon this is imposed second and third bases of fine Irish grey-stone. Reared upon these, of Scotch granite, are four cornered pillars bearing arches which support an ornate central shaft terminating in a shille, the emblem of Scotland.

The various inscriptions are of great significance. Upon the base ap-

PIENTISSIMI DOMINI JOHANNIS
BOYD, CENERES ECCLIAE HUIUS
VINI PASTOR HIC DEPOSITAS
M OPERA QUAEVIVIS STERILIS
CONSUMPTA NON PERDIDIT
QUI ILLI PERNOVERUNT TAE
VIRTUTIBUS INGENITIS DEO TE
MPORE DIGNITATEM ENVS EX
PLOTAVERUNT LECTOR VESTIG
IA ILLVS PERSERVARE ET T
E BEBIM FORE SPERO MOR
TEM OBIIT TRICESIMO DIE
AUGUSTI MILLESIMO SEP
TINGENTESIMO OCTAVO
AETATIS SVAE VICESIMO
NONO

FACSIMILE OF THE ORIGINAL EPIGRAPH

ERECTED
UNDER THE
SUPERVISION OF
THE SYNOD OF NEW JERSEY
IN 1899
TO RECOGNIZE THE GOOD
PROVIDENCE OF GOD IN PLANING
THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
IN THIS COUNTRY
AND TO COMMEMORATE THE
FIRST RECORDED ORDINATION
BY A PRESBYTERY
IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES
THE GENERAL PRESBYTERY
ASSEMBLING IN THE
OLD SCOTS MEETING HOUSE
ON THIS GROUND
DECEMBER 29 1706
ORDAINED JOHN BOYD
WHO DIED AUGUST 30 1708
AND WAS BURIED HERE.

THE ASHES OF THE VENERABLE
MASTER JOHN BOYD,
PASTOR OF THIS CHURCH OF
CALVIN ARE BURIED HERE.
HIS LABOR ALTHOUGH EXPANDED
ON BARREN GROUND HE DID NOT LOSE
THOSE WHO KNEW HIM WELL ALSO
PROVED HIS WORTH AT THAT TIME
DISTINGUISHED FOR HIS VIRTUES
READER FOLLOW PERSEVERINGLY
HIS FOOTSTEPS, AND I HOPE
THOU WILL BE HAPPY. HE DIED
THE THIRTIETH DAY OF AUGUST
ONE THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED
AND EIGHT IN THE TWENTY-NINTH
YEAR OF HIS AGE

pears the words "Religious Liberty"—the legend of the Presbyterian Church of Monmouth county—and on the second base is the inscription:

"To the untiring efforts of the Rev. Allen Henry Brown, which led to the erection of this monument, this tablet is set as a memorial by the Synod of New Jersey."

Enclosed within the columns of the monument are four bronze tablets, one of which is as yet uninscribed. The one in front contains the dedicatory inscription, the one on the west side contains a fac-simile of the original epitaph upon the tombstone of Father Boyd, and that on the east side contains the English translation of the same. These are shown on another page.

Upon each of the four gables on the central column is a representation of one of four historic seals—the seal of the Presbyterian Church North, displaying an open Bible and a serpent upon a cross; the seal of the Presbyterian Church of Monmouth county, displaying a tree, with the legend "Religious Liberty;" the seal of the Scotch-Irish Society of America—an American flag upon which is imposed a shield bearing an open hand, with the legend, "Liberty and Law;" and the seal of the Presbyterian Church South—an anchor surmounted by the sacred letters "I H S" enclosed in a sunburst, and the legend "*Spes Nostra.*"

The monument was unveiled June 14, 1900, by Walter Kerr, of New York City, a lineal descendant of Walter Ker, the founder and first elder of the "Old Scots Church." Distinguished clergymen took part in the impressive ceremonies, and the historian of the Synod, in his account of the event, records that as the shaft appeared to public view for the first time amid great applause, "at the same instant the only rain during the exercises, a few large drops, fell and wet the monument, a token of heaven's benediction upon the auspicious occasion, a Presbyterian baptism."

In the same burying ground are numerous ancient tombstones, several of which bear Scotch names. There are also slight depressions in the ground which point to graves unmarked by memorial stones. The site of the "Old Scots Church" is identified by the outlines of the foundation of the old edifice, and the absence of graves.

After the death of Father Boyd, the Rev. Joseph Morgan became pastor of the "Old Scots Church" and he labored from 1706 to 1720. He was a man of considerable ability, but erratic. He ministered to the Dutch in their own language as well as to the English speaking Presbyterians, and he is more fully spoken of in connection with the Reformed Dutch Church.

In 1730 the Rev. John Tennent came to the pastorate of the "Old Scots Church," which he found in a deplorable condition. He held only

two years, but during this brief period he effected an excellent work in restoring the church to a condition of usefulness. He was a man of great evangelistic power, and, preceding Edwards, Whitefield and Wesley, he has been termed "the Morning Star of the Great Spiritual Awakening." In the first year of his coming the congregation built another house of worship on White Hill, five miles south of the parent edifice. An incident of its founding (given on the authority of the Rev. Frank R. Symmes, in his "History of the Old Tennent Church") is curiously indicative of the tenacity with which the sturdy Scotch people adhered to the literal meaning of the sacred word. At the laying of the corner-stone, those in charge had fixed upon a low spot of ground for the edifice. Whereupon a Godly woman, Janet Rhea, exclaimed, "Wha ever heard o' ganging *down* to the hoose o' the Lord, an' no o' ganging *oof* to the hoose o' the Lord?" And she picked up the stone, and climbed laboriously with it to the summit of the hill, where the building was erected.

Rev. John Tennent conducted services alternately in the two buildings, as did his brother, William Tennent, Jr., who succeeded him. The latter named was a graduate of the school which was founded by his father—the "Log College," ever famous in the educational annals of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. The junior William Tennent, a man of deep piety and wonderful influence, left an ineffaceable mark upon the people of his time, and set in operation influences which are yet discernible. With his name are associated some of the most important events in religious development in the Colony. In 1749 (February 21st) Governor Belcher granted a charter to the Trustees of the Presbyterian Church of Monmouth county, these officers representing several contiguous congregations, of which the Tennent Church was the head, and including those at Shrewsbury and Allentown. In 1760 was adopted a seal of rare significance—an eight-pointed star, upon which was borne a tree enclosed by the words "Religious Liberty"—and this has been declared the oldest known corporate seal of any Presbyterian Church in America. It had long been lost sight of, when it was discovered and re-adopted in 1807 as the seal of the First Presbyterian Church of Freehold, which grew out of the old Tennent Church in 1838.

The "Old Scots Church" had fallen into disuse and decay, and in 1753 the new church (now known as the "Old Tennent Church") was enlarged to forty by sixty feet, double its original size. The pulpit was midway of the building on the north side. The pews were after the fashion of the day, high and narrow, and would seat about five hundred people, while a spacious gallery would seat three hundred more.

In 1777 Mr. Tennent died, after an eminently useful pastorate of

forty-four years, lacking three months, and his remains were buried within the church, under the central aisle. Little more than a year later, the battle of Monmouth raged near by the ground, and a cannon ball struck the parsonage, entering the room which long had been his study.

With the exception of some minor interior alterations, and renewal of a portion of the outside siding, the "Old Tennent Church" remains substantially as it was at the time of the death of Mr. Tennent. The original old communion table is yet in use, and the charter of incorporation of 1749 is carefully preserved.

About 1727 a Presbyterian Church was erected at Shrewsbury, and was supplied first by the Rev. Joseph Morgan, and afterward by the Rev. John Tennent. In 1734 the pastor at Shrews-



TENNENT CHURCH.

bury (the Rev. Samuel Blair) also supplied the churches at Middletown Point, Shark River and Middletown. From all of these churches, including the "Old Sects Church," went out a wide influence, and to them is primarily traceable the extension of Presbyterian influence through a wide range of territory in the coast region of the State.

There are evidences of a church at Cape May, under the pastorate of John Bradnor, in 1714, and there were churches at other points in that region between 1752 and 1758, these including one at Egg Harbor. About 1761 John Brainerd, a man of wonderful activity, took up his abode near Atsion (in Burlington county) whence he traveled to considerable distances, ministering to the Indians, following them over the country, preaching to them, protecting them from temptations to intemperance and from the cupidity of white people, training them to fence in and sow their lands, and often succeeding in settling their disputes. His congregations usually consisted of whites as well as Indians, and after preaching and preaching for the Indians in their own language, he would invariably sermon for the whites in English. The crowded assemblages and the readiness of the people to comply with his exhortations as to creating meeting-

houses and preparing the way for the Gospel ministry, testify how acceptable he was. Bridgeton, Bordentown (with the Indian village of Pennsborough across the Delaware), Timber Creek, Woodbury, Wepink (a Dutch settlement in that part), Salem, Penn's Neck, Cape May, Great Egg Harbor, Manahawkin, Toms River, Cedar Bridge, all these names and others carry us on his rounds over a wide district to be officered so well by one man.

The Revolutionary War practically ended for the time all religious efforts, and churches languished or were irretrievably disrupted. These conditions afflicted all denominations. In 1789 the first General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church was held, when four hundred and nineteen churches reported only one hundred and seventy-seven ministers.

But the inevitable reaction set in, and in 1809 the church was in such condition as to justify the beginning of a monumental work—the establishment of a Theological Seminary. The proposal was made to the General Assembly in the form of an overture from the Presbytery of Philadelphia. The committee to whom the overture was referred recommended that certain plans be submitted to the Presbyteries, and the reports received from them in 1810 led the General Assembly in that year to appoint a committee to prepare a "Plan for a Theological Seminary," to be reported to the next General Assembly. In 1811 the plan reported was adopted. In 1812 the location of the Seminary was fixed temporarily at Princeton, a Board of Directors was elected, and the Rev. Archibald Alexander, D. D., was appointed Professor of Didactic and Polemic Theology. In 1813 the Rev. Samuel Miller was appointed Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Church Government, and the location at Princeton was made permanent.

The Trustees of Princeton College showed their interest in this settlement by allowing the use of its buildings to the Seminary students, and by offering space on the college campus for the erection of any buildings necessary. They also engaged that there should be no Professor of Theology in the college as long as the Seminary remained in Princeton. The classes were held at first in Dr. Alexander's study, and later for a time in the college building.

In 1815 the Assembly determined to erect a hall which should contain both the lecture rooms needed and lodgings for the students. The corner stone of this building, now known as Alexander Hall, was laid in that year, and it was first occupied in the autumn of 1817. It was built upon a tract of land containing seven acres, which had been purchased for the use of the seminary. In 1820 the Assembly authorized the Professors to appoint an assistant teacher of the Oriental Languages of Holy Scrip-

ture; and in the same year they appointed to this office Mr. Charles Hodge, a graduate of the Seminary, and a licentiate of the church. Mr. Hodge accepted the appointment and was ordained. In 1822 he was elected by the General Assembly to the Professorship of Oriental and Biblical Literature.

August 12, 1812, the first seminary session commenced. Three students were present and fourteen were matriculated during the session. In 1822 the Legislature passed an act incorporating the "Trustees of the Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church," and with this incorporation the seminary was constituted as at present. During the ninety years of its existence, five thousand and seventy-three students have been matriculated. Of these, two hundred and eighty six have entered upon foreign missionary work.

The library, which is in the two buildings erected for it in 1843 and 1870 by the late James Lenox, LL. D., of New York, contains 68,400 bound volumes, chiefly theological.

Stuart Hall, an admirable structure, erected by Messrs R. L. and A. Stuart in 1870, affords most ample and complete accommodations in the way of lecture rooms and apartments devoted to other public uses of the institution.

Alexander Hall, long known as the Old Seminary, was the first building erected by the Presbyterian Church in the United States for seminary purposes. It was first occupied by the students in the fall of 1817. It is now a dormitory.

Brown Hall is a memorial of the munificence of Mrs. Isabella Brown, of Baltimore. The corner stone was laid by the Moderator of the General Assembly on the 21st of May, 1864, and it was occupied in the fall of 1865. It is the dormitory of single rooms.

Hodge Hall, built out of money bequeathed by Mrs. Mary Stuart, widow of Mrs. Robert L. Stuart, of New York, was completed during the summer of 1863. The rooms are in suites, each study having a separate connecting bed chamber, or, in the few cases where the study is to be shared by two occupants, a separate sleeping apartment for each.

Here we are to consider the powerful Anabaptist influence, and it is to be premised that the Anabaptists have been too much confounded with the Quakers, or Friends.

December 19, 1645, Governor Kieft, of New Amsterdam, granted a patent "in both the Dutch and English" to Lady Deborah Moody, Sir Henry Moody, Bart., Ensign George Baxter, Sergeant James Hubbard and their associates, for lands in Gravesend Bay, Long Island. It is said

of Lady Moody that she made too long a visit in the city of London. Having a home elsewhere, the law permitted her to be absent from it only for a limited number of days. This law was probably strictly enforced in her case because she was found to be in sympathy with some of the religious sects then growing strong and numerous in the city of London. She left England and came to Massachusetts. There she and her friends were persecuted because they opposed infant baptism. Hoping to find peace with the Dutch they obtained the Gravesend patent. For the promotion of colonization, the Dutch were at this time offering an asylum to the persecuted colonists of New England.

It has been said that Lady Deborah Moody was a Quakeress, and her followers were persecuted members of that sect, but this was not possible, for George Fox did not begin to preach the doctrine of his sect until two years after the granting of the Gravesend patent, and ten years before his persecuted followers began to flee to America. Roger Williams arrived in Salem about 1640, and began to preach against infant baptism. He was an Anabaptist—a follower of the Swiss Anabaptists of the sixteenth century, whose principles had a most powerful influence in the development of the United States, and especially among the people of Rhode Island, New Jersey and the Middle West. Because of the political importance of those principles we quote the following summary of them from a monograph on "The Anabaptists of the Sixteenth Century," by the Rev. Henry Sweetser Burrage, D. D., published in "Report and Papers of the Third Annual Meeting of the American Society of Church History," December 30-31, 1890:

"1. That the Scriptures are the only authority in matters of faith and practice.

"2. That personal faith in Jesus Christ alone secures salvation; therefore, infant baptism is to be rejected.

"3. That a church is composed of believers who have been baptized on a personal confession of their faith in Jesus Christ.

"4. That each church has the entire control of its affairs without interference on the part of any external power.

"5. That the outward life must be in accordance with such a confession of faith, and to this end it is essential that church discipline should be maintained.

"6. That while the State may properly demand obedience in all things not contrary to the law of God, it has no right to set aside the dictates of conscience, and compel the humblest individual to surrender his religious views, or to inflict punishment in case such surrender is refused. Every human soul is directly responsible to God."

These principles were embodied in the Constitution of the first seven Anabaptist congregations in London in 1646; in the Confession of Faith of one hundred congregations in London and Wales gathered in London in 1689, and adopted by the Baptist Association at Philadelphia on September 25th, 1742. There were many Dutch who held to these doctrines and who were in consequence sternly persecuted by the State church at home, and who doubtless sought refuge in America. The political consequences of these principles were at the foundation of the intense bitterness of all the persecutions of the Anabaptists in their progress from Switzerland down the Rhine to the sea. Robert Barclay's "Concise View of the Chief Principles of the Christian Religion, as professed by the People called Quakers," also embodies the political principles of the Anabaptists, and made them equally hateful to all sects supporting a State church. Upon these principles Roger Williams laid the foundations of the Commonwealth of Rhode Island, and the English of Gravesend had them embodied in the patent which they obtained from Nicolls—the Monmouth Patent.

The Friends, or Quakers, were among the earlier sects to manifest activity in Monmouth county, but they were destined to preserve their identity in less degree than did other sects about them. There is evidence in the journal of George Fox that in 1672 some Friends were building a meeting house in Shrewsbury, but the exact locality remains unknown. George Keith was a leader in this sect, and a preacher, and it was largely through his instrumentality that a meeting house was built at Toppanemus, a little west of the site of the present village of Marlborough.

George Keith was one of the strangest and most erratic of the early preachers in America. He was born at Aberdeen, Scotland, in 1645, and was educated at Mareschal College, with the view of becoming a Presbyterian clergyman. Soon after he was graduated, he renounced Presbyterianism and joined the Society of Friends. He was then induced by the leading Quakers in his native city to emigrate to America, with the view not only of improving his own temporal condition, but also of aiding in the spread of their doctrines in the New World. He arrived at New York in 1684, and for four years was Surveyor of New Jersey, and during this time he was influential among the Friends. In 1689 he removed to Philadelphia, where he conducted a Friends' school, but that occupation was too quiet and monotonous to suit his notion, and he soon gave it up. We next find him traveling through the country like a Quaker Deacon, or trying to win people over to the views of the Society. In New England he engaged in heated controversies with Increase Mather, Cotton Mather and others, and he made considerable conversion, but, so far as

can be made out, few converts. On his return to Philadelphia, being in a belligerent mood, he quarreled with the Quakers there, the quarrel being undoubtedly caused by his own infirm temper, his own sense of the failure of his mission, and to some peculiar innovations he advocated, and which none of the brethren seemed disposed to listen to. Then he went to England and laid his whole case before William Penn, but that leader denounced him as an apostate, and Keith was excommunicated from the Society as completely as the gentle Quakers could excommunicate anybody.

Then Keith founded a religious denomination of his own, which he called the Christian or Baptist Quakers (properly called the Keithians), and in which he had opportunity to ventilate some original views he held on the millennium and concerning the transmigration of souls. The Keithians, however, did not hold long together, and in 1701 the founder was a full-fledged and enthusiastic minister of the Church of England. Here, probably because years had softened the natural contentiousness of his disposition, or the church itself allowed more latitude for individual views on various doctrinal matters, he found a secure foothold. Nay, more—he found an opportunity for repaying the Society of Friends for its summary treatment of him. He was sent as a missionary to Pennsylvania and New Jersey, with the view of converting as many Quakers as possible, and he afterwards was wont to boast that in that expedition some seven hundred Friends were by his instrumentality received into communion with the English Church. It was then that he visited Long Island. Soon after his return to England he was appointed vicar of Edburton, in Essex, and in that beautiful parish his declining years were spent in tranquility.

Keith was a man of decidedly superior cast of intellect, an eloquent and attractive speaker and preacher, an able and ready controversialist, and, but for his choleric disposition, would have lived a life of more than ordinary usefulness, and might even have attained to real power and eminence. He was a voluminous writer, and in the fifty or more volumes, some in bulky quarto, or pamphlets which we know to have come from his pen, we can trace the current of his religious views through all their changes. He appears in them all to have been singularly honest, making no attempt to conceal or belittle his own denominational changes, and he even published retractions of his own published writings. His later works were mainly taken up with what he regarded as the fallaciousness of Quakerism, and he attacked the Society of Friends from every point of view and with even savagery.

At Shrewsbury the trustees of the Friends' Meeting purchased land in 1695, and erected a brick meeting-house which was occupied until 1816.

and in 1817 another edifice was erected on an adjoining lot. When the sect divided in 1827-8, the Hicksites came into possession of the meeting-house and lot, and this branch survives. The other branch became practically extinct.

In what is now Ocean county the Quakers made a firmer footing. A noted figure in the early days was Edward Andrews, an early settler in Turckton. He gave no evidence of being a religious man until about 1704, when he became associated with the Friends, to whom (in 1708) he deeded two acres of land whereon to build a meeting-house and establish a graveyard.

In 1715 the monthly meeting of Little Egg Harbor was established, and from this grew a strong influence. For seventy years no other sect found a lodgment within thirty miles of its church home, and no public house or tavern existed. In 1726 Friends from this community founded a monthly meeting at Cape May. The influential people of those days after Edward Andrews, were his sons Jacob and Peter, Isaac Andrews (another son or nephew of Edward Andrews), and Ann Gauntt. All these were traveling preachers, and Hon. George Sykes has said of the Andrews family that it is generally conceded that no other monthly meeting in New Jersey has produced three more eminent ministers. Ann Gauntt was also a famous preacher, who extended her ministrations to Long Island, and, in later years, her niece, Ann Willits, traveled up and down the Atlantic coast as a preacher.

This excellent people left a permanent influence for good, although they eventually came to practical extinction as a sect.

The Reformed Dutch Church had its beginning in the Reformed Church of Navesink, afterward known as the Dutch Reformed Church of Freehold and Middletown (having congregations at both places), and of which the old Brick Church of Marlborough is the present immediate representative. Some sort of a church organization was formed in 1699, and for some years afterward ministers came from Long Island to preach at stated times. Among those were *Wilhelmus Lopardus*, *Vincentius Antonides* and *Bernardus Freeman*, who filled their appointments at cost or considerable inconvenience and no little danger, on account of miserable roads and the passage across the bay in small boats.

October 19th, 1700, a Dutch church with forty-nine communicants was fully organized, and Joseph Morgan was installed as dominie—the second pastor of a Reformed Church in New Jersey, the first being the Rev. Guillaume Bertholf, who was installed at Hackensack in 1694. Morgan was at the time the pastor of the "Old Scots Church," and his call-

ing to the office of dominie (as the Dutch ministers were called) was owing to his ability to preach in the foreign tongue. The Dutch, being numerically the stronger, and therefore better able to afford him support, were favored with about three-fourths of his time in preaching and visiting. He served for about twenty-nine years, during which time he received one hundred persons into the church, and baptized more than five hundred infants. He was finally dismissed for irregularity of life, but eventually recovered himself.

Mr. Morgan was succeeded by the Rev. Gerardus Haeghoort, who preached to two congregations—those at Freehold and Middletown—on alternate Sundays. During his ministry of four years a house of worship was erected on the site now occupied by the Brick Church. For many years it contained no pews, the people sitting on benches, the women in the centre, and the men against the walls.

The Rev. Reynhard Erickzon served a pastorate of twenty-seven years, and was succeeded by the Rev. Benjamin Du Bois, who was settled pastor for the phenomenal period of sixty-three years, by far the longest pastorate in the history of the Reformed Church in America. During this time (about 1764) a new house of worship was erected on the site of the former building in Middletown, and this was known for many years as the "Red Meeting House," and in 1785 the church at Freehold was repaired and improved. During the pastorate of Mr. Du Bois a controversy arose as to the language in which the services were to be conducted. The Freehold congregation had accepted English with a good grace, but at Middletown opposition was determined and bitter—for some years both elements, foreign and native, were addressed in their own language, but it was long before the foreign tongue was finally silenced.

To this time the clergymen had been foreigners. Morgan was presumably a Welshman, and he was a Presbyterian besides, and had little in sympathy with the Dutch. On the other hand, Haeghoort was a Hollander and Erickzon was a Swede, and these two had little in sympathy with the English speaking people about them. Mr. Du Bois was the first native born minister of the Reformed faith. After him, all his successors were educated in America, and but one was of foreign birth. Their history cannot be minutely followed, but it is to be said that among them were men of great ability and usefulness.

In 1825 the two congregations of Freehold and Middletown, which had maintained one church existence to this time, became two distinct bodies—the First Reformed Church of Freehold, and the Reformed Church of Middletown, this last being now known as the Reformed Church of Holmdel. It is somewhat confusing to now read of the Second Re-

formed Church of Freehold (the only one of its denomination in that village), which was formerly known as the First Reformed Church of the same place, the change having been made to distinguish it from the mother church at the present village of Bralevelt. The congregation in the latter named place, after occupying the old building for more than ninety years, in 1826 erected what is now known as the "Old Brick Church" upon the site of the former edifice, and the first services held within its walls were over the remains of a former revered pastor, the Rev. Benjamin Du Bois. This was under the pastorate of the Rev. Samuel A. Van Vranken.

"The Old Brick Church" is glorious in its memories of a splendid past. It commemorates a church which for the first fifteen years of its existence was the only one of its faith in Monmouth county, and out of which grew eight other independent bodies. In one way it is more eloquently suggestive of the development of what we term Americanism than is any other religious edifice in southern New Jersey. The people who formed the original church came strangers to a strange land. At their coming, all conditions pointed to a new Holland, wherein they should preserve their customs and their mother tongue. But sovereignty passed to an English monarch, and an English and Scotch immigration set in. To the honor of all these peoples be it said, no antagonism arose. Each devoted its efforts to the highest purpose—that of home-making—and, in the close relationship which grew up between them, each was benefitted by loss of something which was distinctively its own, and by gain of something in its stead. The Englishman and the Scotchman were almost unconscious of the changes going on in themselves. But the Hollander was painfully aware of change in himself, for he was casting aside the language he had learned from the lips of his mother, and his children were being reared to say their prayers and sing their hymns in words he could scarcely comprehend. There is much of pathos in the thought, and we may well excuse his oft-time impatience, and honor him the more for his sacrifice.

Dr. Van Vranken was the first pastor in Monmouth County to come as a graduate from the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church in America. This institution was founded in New Brunswick in 1784, and had its origin in a desire to educate young men for the ministry, and obviate the necessity of bringing clergymen from Holland.

The first professor of theology was the Rev. Dr. J. H. Livingston. For many years the infant school was intimately associated with Rutgers College. In 1856 the Peter Hertzog Theological Hall was erected at a cost of \$30,700, furnished for the purpose by Mrs. Ann Hertzog, a member of the Third Reformed Church of Philadelphia, and was named after her deceased husband. In 1873 was erected the James Suydam Hall,

the gift of James Suydam, Esq., of New York, which contains a Museum of Biblical Antiquities and Curiosities, a Historical Museum, Recitation Rooms and a Gymnasium. In 1874 the Gardner A. Sage Library Building was provided by the gentleman for whom it was named, who also made a gift of \$20,000, the income from which is devoted to the purchase of books. The library contains more than 45,000 volumes, 3,000 of which were selected and given by Mrs. Bethune from the library of the Rev. Dr. Bethune. In 1902 the faculty numbered six professors and a number of lecturers, with the Rev. Dr. Samuel M. Woodbridge as President. The number of students in attendance was thirty.

Whatever the controversy, as regards the individuals forming its membership, it appears to be the fact that the Baptist Church of Middletown was the first of its denomination in New Jersey. Its organization is dated from 1668. The claims that John Bowne was the first preacher have been previously mentioned. Morgan Edwards, in his "History of the Baptists," asserts that Bowne gave the lot on which the first meeting-house was built, and Colonel Holmes names Richard Stout, John Stout, James Grover, Jonathan Bowne, Obadiah Holmes, John Ruckman, John Wilson, Walter Wall, John Cox, Jonathan Holmes, George Mount, William Layton, William Compton, James Ashton, John Bowne, Thomas Whitlock and James Grover as those who constituted the original church. That various of the persons named had connection with the church has been questioned.

The term Middletown Church is misleading without explanation. It comprised two congregations in the township of Middletown—one in the village of that name, known as the "Lower Meeting-House," and that at "Baptisttown" (now Holmdel), known as the "Upper Meeting-House." This distinction was maintained until 1836, when the two congregations formed separate church organizations, that worshipping in the "Lower Meeting-House" retaining the name of Middletown Church, and the other being known as the Second Middletown Church.

The first church (Middletown village) was from the beginning the most important of the two bodies. It is believed that James Ashton was ordained as its minister in 1688. He was succeeded by the Rev. John Barrowes, who, among his useful labors, laid the foundation of what became the Baptist Church in Freehold. His successor was the Rev. Abel Morgan, a man of sound learning and excellent judgment. He left to the church his library and sermons, all of which are carefully preserved.

The congregation worshipping in the "Upper Meeting-house" numbered among its constituent members Jonathan and Obadiah Holmes,

grandsons of the Rev. Obadiah Holmes, who was a Baptist minister and one of the Monmouth patentees, though he did not become a resident on that tract. John Bray was a resident and property owner in 1668, the year of the reputed organization of the church. His name does not appear among the constituent members, but in later years he appears as a preacher, and he was a sincere and Godly man. He made a gift of land for church purposes, and upon this was built (as asserted by the Rev. T. S. Griffiths, the church historian) "certainly the first Baptist parsonage in New Jersey, and doubtless the first meeting-house built by Baptists for their own use." In 1738 the church was aided by a bequest of £400 (a large sum then) from Jonathan Holmes, Jr., a great-grandson of Obadiah Holmes, and a minister. In 1800 a new house of worship was completed, and out of this has grown, by successive improvements, the present edifice.

The Baptists appear to have formed a society in what is now Ocean County, at Manahawkin, in August, 1770, under the ministry of the Rev. Benjamin Miller, and this probably grew out of the missionary visits of a travelling preacher, the Rev. Mr. Blackwell. The church organized with nine members, and increased to fifteen, when it was disrupted by the Revolutionary war. It was resuscitated in 1801, with four members. In 1805 a church was formed where is now Burrsville; this was called the Baptist Church of Squam and Dover, and numbered forty-five members in 1807, a godly congregation.

One of the strongest of the early day Baptists was the Rev. Nathaniel Jenkins, who was minister of the Cape May Church in 1712-1730. He was a Welshman by birth, and a man of only fair education but great natural ability. He was a member of the Assembly in 1821, when a bill was introduced providing for the punishment of such as denied the doctrine "of the Trinity, the divinity of Christ, and the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures." The bill, which was designed to fasten the doctrines of the Established Church upon the people, was antagonized by Mr. Jenkins, who said "I believe the doctrines in question as firmly as the promoters of that ill-designed bill, but will never consent to oppose the opposers with law, or with any other weapon save that of argument." This spirited display of independence had its effect. The bill failed, as remarked by Morgan Edwards, "To the great mortification of them who wanted to raise in New Jersey the spirit which so raged in New England."

According to Dr. Morgan Edwards, the first Baptist converts in Cape May county were George Taylor and Philip Hill, in 1675. Taylor conducted services in his own house until his death, in 1702, after which Hill continued to conduct meetings until 1704, when he also died. In

1712 the first church was formally organized, by the Rev. Timothy Brooks, of Cohansey, and of this organization Mr. Edwards says it "may be deemed an original church, having sprang from none other, but having originated in the place where it exists."

The Protestant Episcopal Church of to-day had its origin under the Established Church of England. In the year 1700 Lewis Morris, who was then President of the Council of East New Jersey, in a letter to the Bishop of London, said that about one half the people at Freehold were "Scotch Presbyterians and a sober people;" in Shrewsbury there were about thirty Quakers, and "the rest of the people are generally of no religion." "The youth of the whole Province are very debauched and very ignorant, and the Sabbath day seems to be set apart for rioting and drunkenness." There was not then a Church of England in either West or East Jersey, and, (so wrote Morris), "except in two or three towns there is no place of any public worship of any sort, but the people live very mean—like Indians."

Moved by pious zeal to remove these irreligious conditions, Morris procured the appointment of the Rev. George Keith to come to these (so he deemed them) benighted regions. Keith was supposed to be endowed with peculiar gifts for his mission—for reasons heretofore given. He arrived in 1702, and preached at Perth Amboy, whence he came to Monmouth county. There he attended a yearly Quaker meeting in Freehold township, and was permitted to preach. At times during the years 1703-4 he held services in Freehold and elsewhere.

Mr. Keith returned to England in 1704, and after his departure the Rev. Alexander Innes held services in Shrewsbury, Middletown and Freehold. He donated ten acres of ground upon which stands the church at Middletown, and, during his ministry, Queen Anne made her gift of the communion service which is now sacredly treasured in the Shrewsbury Church. Mr. Innes died about 1713. In the absence of records it is not known who ministered to these congregations from this time until 1733. The church at Shrewsbury and the one in Middletown were one, with two congregations, until 1854, when the property was divided and they became separate bodies.

The first Christ Church edifice was probably erected about 1715, and its successor, the present building, was erected in 1760. It is a frame building, with shingled sides, extremely plain, and will seat about four hundred people. The small steeple is surmounted by an iron crown, and this ornament excited the ire of the patriot soldiers during the Revolutionary war, when they occupied the building as a barracks. Making a target of it, their bullets nicked it in many places, but failed to destroy it. They

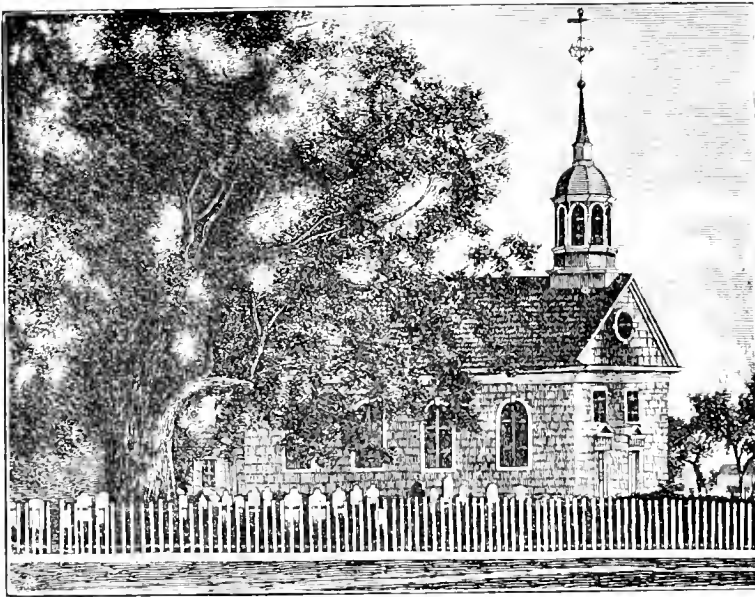
then endeavored to burn the building, but William Parker, a Quaker, smothered the flames with his coat.

The interior of the building is after the old English country church style. The chancel, in the southern end, has an elevation of about four feet above the floor. The chancel chairs were made out of the wood of a giant oak tree which yet stands near the building, and which measures something more than sixteen feet in circumference at a point three feet above the ground. The Bishop's Chair is a beautiful specimen of the wood carver's art. In the southeast corner of the chancel stands a superb memorial to the Rev. Harry Finch, who was for thirty-four years the rector of the church. This is a white marble cross entwined with ivy, imposed upon a black marble base which rests upon a pedestal of white marble. It bears the name of the deceased rector, and the mottoes "*Semper Paratus*" and "*Semper Fidelis*." The pulpit bears two venerable volumes—one a Bible printed in 1717, at Oxford, England, the gift of "Robert Elliston, Gent., Controller of Her Majesty's Customs of New York in America," and bearing the Elliston coat-of-arms with the motto "*Dei Bene Deus*." This is a beautiful specimen of typography, and contains many illustrations designed by Thornhill, and engraved on copper by Du Bose. The other volume is a Book of Common Prayer, printed at Cambridge, England, in 1760, and presented to the church by Governor William Franklin in 1767. A priceless relic which is preserved with religious care is a communion service, consisting of a silver cup and platter, the gift of Queen Anne, in 1708. On either side of the church and near the chancel is a canopied pew, occupied in olden times by the Governor of the province and the rector of the church. Such is the church to-day, save that it was subsequently frescoed and refurnished. At the same time a new altar font and lectern were provided by Mr. George De Hart Gillespie, who had previously placed in rear of the chancel one of the most beautiful cathedral glass windows in the country, in memory of many of his ancestors whose remains repose in the church yard adjoining the sacred edifice.

The Rev. John Forbes was missionary in Monmouth county from 1733 to 1738, and was succeeded by the Rev. John Miln, who labored until 1746. The Rev. Thomas Thompson, who was missionary from 1746 to 1751, kept a diary (printed in 1758) in which he records that he had three churches in Monmouth County immediately in his charge, and he also went as far as Manasquan and Shark River. The Rev. Samuel Cooke, who came to Shrewsbury in 1751, was rector when the present Shrewsbury Church was erected, and in 1766 it was the scene of a meeting of clergy to consider the feasibility of creating an American Episcopate. At the

commencement of the revolution Mr. Cooke joined his fortunes with the royalists, leaving his congregations to become scattered, while he became a chaplain in the British army.

Christ Church of Shrewsbury, the parent Protestant Episcopal Church in Monmouth County, entered upon a new existence in 1788 under the Rev. Henry Waddell, the first rector after the close of the revolutionary war. In 1830 the Rev. Harry Finch became rector, and during a term of service covering nearly thirty-four years the separate parishes of the Navesink, the Highlands, Red Bank and Long Branch were organized from among the people to whom he ministered, and at a later day the parish of Eatontown was formed.



CHRIST CHURCH, SHREWSBURY.

The old graveyard adjoining Christ Church bears mute but eloquent testimony to the lives of a Godly people who were useful in their generation, and whose works do follow them.

Prior to 1774 all New Jersey comprised two Methodist Episcopal circuits, with a traveling preacher in each. In 1779 but one hundred and fifty Methodists were reported in this entire territory. During these years it is presumed that occasional meetings were held at Blue Ball, a hamlet three miles from Freehold. Here was organized the first Methodist Episcopal Church in Monmouth County, for many years known as the Metho-

dist Church of Monmouth, and afterward as Bethesda Methodist Church. This was probably organized about 1780. Among the original members was Honce Richmond, said to have been the first Methodist in all that region, and Job Throckmorton. The latter named made his house a home for preachers, and it is supposed that Bishop Asbury was his guest while passing through the country at intervals after 1782. Bishop Asbury notes in his diary that he preached in Monmouth in 1785, and again in 1791. In 1795 he was at "Enlay's Church," where "the great revival of religion was some years ago."

The date of church building at Blue Ball has never been ascertained. The earlier meetings were said to have been held in a barn owned by Jonathan Crosson. In 1797 a church building was in use, and to it came the Methodists of Freehold, Keyport, Bethany, Cheesquakes and Bennett's Mills—a wide scope of territory. Among the early preachers was Thomas Morrell, who had been a major in the revolutionary army and was wounded in the battles at Germantown and at Long Island. In 1785 Ezekiel Cooper was licensed to preach, and of him it is narrated that he was converted, when thirteen years of age, under the preaching of Freeborn Garretson. The present church edifice was erected in 1849.

Freehold Circuit is first mentioned in the Conference minutes of 1793, when it was separated from Trenton Circuit, and when James Wilson and John Fountain were appointed to the charge. After the division, Freehold Circuit (which probably included all the territory east of Trenton) numbered four hundred and seventy seven members, leaving but one hundred and seventy four members in Trenton Circuit.

Edwin Salter has put on record his belief that Methodist preachers traveled along the Ocean county shore during the revolutionary war, and he names among these Thomas Webb and Barbara Heck, the former named of whom "may be claimed as the founder of Methodism in the United States." The Rev. Benjamin Abbott preached at Toms River in 1778. Tradition points to a Methodist Church at Tuckerton, about 1800, as having been built upon ground donated by one Morgan, a schoolmaster. A church was established at Manahowkin in 1803. In 1809 a church was organized at Good Luck, under the ministry of the Rev. Noah Edwards, and this body purchased a meeting house which had been used by the Universalists. In 1828 the first Methodist Church at Toms River was erected, and the following year one was built at Barnegat.

In southern New Jersey there were at various times some forms of religious expression which were unique, from the standpoint of the ordinary religionist.

In 1737 a society of Quaker Baptists settled where is now Waretown. These were followers of John Rogers (and hence were known as Rogerine Baptists) who were equally opposed to rigid Puritanism and to Established Church ritualism. They held one day to be as sacred as another, and persisted in working on the Sabbath. Some went so far as to take their tools and material to their meeting-house, where, while services were being held, the men would make axe-handles or basket splints, and the women would do their sewing or knitting. It was not unusual at these meetings for members of the congregation to interrupt the preacher with spoken comments, and even contradictions.

Universalism in New Jersey had its origin in a circumstance so strange and romantic that the narrative would be regarded as fiction were it not well authenticated.

In 1766 one Thomas Potter was living at Good Luck, in Ocean county. He was a man of considerable means, but was wholly illiterate, being unable to read or write. Of a deeply religious nature, he had built a meeting-house in which he permitted any traveling preacher (papists excepted) to hold services. While he tolerated all preaching, and was an intent listener, he accepted the entirety of nothing which he heard, but he evolved out of his own thought, based upon such scripture as he had memorized from hearing, a doctrine of his own which was almost identical with what came to be known as universalism.

In 1770 the British brig "Hand-in-Hand," bound for New York, being driven out of her course, put into the mouth of Tomis River in quest of provisions. The supercargo, John Murray, came ashore and fell in with Potter, who at once insisted that he was convinced when he first saw the vessel that it bore some man who came to preach the Gospel as he himself understood it, and that this Murray was he. Murray proved to be a Universalist himself, a preacher in England, who had left his country to escape from his calling, to which he felt impelled by a sense of duty, but which was distasteful to him. He reluctantly yielded to the solicitations of Potter, and delivered a discourse, with the result that he resumed preaching in Potter's meeting house, which thus became the first Universalist Church in America. The property was devised to Murray by Potter by will, May 11th, 1777, and was used by the Universalists until 1809, when it was sold to the Methodists. Two churches of the sect have grown out of it.

Mormon missionaries appeared in 1837 at New Egypt, in Ocean county, where a congregation of fifty members was formed. In 1840 Joseph Smith, the founder of the faith, visited the place and "sealed" a considerable number of converts, William Smith, a brother of Joseph Smith, and John

Taylor, who succeeded the "Prophet" in the leadership of the Church in Utah, at times preached and baptized converts in Toms river and Forked river. Churches were erected at various places, but these finally disappeared, and there is no longer a trace of this peculiar people. It is to be noted in this connection that all the preachers of this faith studiously refrained from any advocacy of polygamy.

There is no well authenticated evidence of Roman Catholic churches until 1853, when one of this faith was organized at Freehold, under the pastorate of the Rev. John Schollard. Other churches are of more recent date.

An efficient agency for good was established in 1817 in the Monmouth County Bible Society. It was during a time when there were but few organized churches or ministers, and certain philanthropic people became impressed with the conviction that an effort should be made to furnish a copy of the Scriptures to families not already provided.

The Society was organized in Freehold, with the Rev. Dr. John T. Woodhull as President and Corlies Lloyd as Secretary. It was made auxiliary to the New Jersey Bible Society—an organization which was unrepresented in southern New Jersey. Funds were secured by gifts from well-disposed people, and Bibles were given to destitute families, to schools and to jails, as far away as Squan Neck.

In course of time the Society ceased to perform an active work, but it was resuscitated in 1827 through the effort of Luther Halsey, Sr., who had been an army officer during the Revolutionary War. A deeply pious man, believing that many families were unprovided with the Scriptures, he visited various portions of the county and found far greater destitution in this respect than he had imagined. As a result of his investigation a meeting of former members of the old society was held. Representation was made of the "deplorable destitution of the Scriptures in the county," and as a result it was resolved that before a year every destitute family in the county should be furnished with a copy.

It is stated by contemporaneous observers that this action on the part of the Monmouth County Bible Society was decidedly the most important that had ever been made in the Bible cause, arousing the religious people of the entire State to an urgent duty. For, one week later, at a session of the Nassau Hall Bible Society in Princeton, the Rev. Job F. Halsey and the Rev. Dr. John T. Woodhull, delegates from the Monmouth County Society, introduced a resolution to the effect that the Nassau Hall Bible Society, with the cooperation of the other Bible Societies of the State, should resolve to supply, within one year, every destitute family in the

State of New Jersey with a Bible, and this, with slight modification, was adopted.

A philosopher has written poetically of the "growth of an idea." He would have delighted in the illustration afforded by the effect of this resolution. Other counties and States followed the example; two years later the American Bible Society resolved to supply all destitute families in the United States; shortly afterward the New Jersey Bible Society determined to supply the natives of the Sandwich Islands with such portions of the Scriptures as had been translated into their tongue, and in 1833 the American Bible Society laid plans looking to supplying the entire accessible population of the globe within a given time.

The necessity for the excellent effort of the Monmouth County Bible Society is evidenced in the fact that, in the first year, that body found in their county (which then included Ocean county) one thousand families destitute of the Bible. The work was prosecuted from time to time with excellent results, which were epitomized in an address delivered by the Rev. Dr. William Keley, of Holmdel, upon the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Society, held in Freehold, on September 11, 1866. To that time the Society had placed in the county of Monmouth 10,151 Bibles and 5,817 Testaments, and, in addition, more than 2,500 Testaments to soldiers in the army, at an aggregate cost of more than five thousand dollars, while it had contributed far more than that sum to the American Bible Society for its general work. Certainly the speaker was justified in saying "No one can tell this day how much the Monmouth County Bible Society has done to raise the standard of intelligence and morals in the county."

The anniversary occasion practically marked the end of local necessity. Well supported churches and Sunday schools and the era of cheap printing has well nigh provided for all at home. But there remained the lately liberated slaves, the Indians and peoples beyond the seas, and to liberally aiding to supply the wants of these the effort of this beneficent organization was thenceforth devoted.

CHAPTER XI.

EDUCATION AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Information concerning educational conditions during the early Colonial times is exceedingly meagre. It is probable, however, that the first organized school in the State was in the town of Bergen, now a part of Jersey City, in 1662. The school was maintained out of a tax levy, and, ten years after its establishment, litigation arose out of the refusal of some to make payment, their refusal being based upon the assertion that the school was too far distant to admit of their children attending it. The courts, however, decided against them. The first teacher was probably Steenhuyzen Englebart, who was a preacher as well as a schoolmaster, and he used the school building for church purposes on Sunday. On the ground which was occupied by this pioneer school now stands Public School No. 11, of Jersey City, with its twenty-four teachers and its accommodations for a thousand pupils.

In 1682, in various settlements, a share of the common lands was set apart for school purposes, and the local annals of Middlesex county refer to schools held intermittently. The first school established in West Jersey, of which there is any record, was at Burlington, in 1683. The income derived from the revenues of an island in the Delaware, opposite the town, was set apart to defray the expenses of the school. The fund thus established is still in existence, and the income is appropriated for public school purposes.

In 1693 the proprietary authorities enacted that the inhabitants might meet and choose three men to make a rate and establish the salary of a schoolmaster for as long as they should think proper.

In 1769, in the reign of George III, the School Trustees of Woodbridge were incorporated by royal charter, and the phraseology of this document is noticeable, proving as it does for "the maintenance of a *free* school." Of fully as much interest is the scant reference found with relation to the interest taken by the people in educational enterprises. In

Woodbridge they were peculiarly active, for there, in 1765, four years prior to the granting of the charter referred to, a proposition to devote a portion of the school land money for "ye Schooling of Poor People's children" was brought to vote. It was defeated at the election, but in 1789 an almost similar measure was enacted, and, with it, a provision that the amount of tax assessed upon dogs should also be devoted to that particular purpose. In 1793 the famous Woodbridge Academy was built, the funds being provided by popular subscription.

The great difference between the school of the Colonial period and its modern successor was that in the former moral and religious training were the most important features, while in our day secular education in the public schools takes precedence of all else.

The old-time schoolmaster was little better than an inferior assistant to the minister, "the minister's man," as the kaleyard novelists and the Scotch story-tellers call him. It is impossible to estimate very clearly the value of his school in the way of secular training. That it was the means of instilling into the minds and hearts of several generations a knowledge of God and His commandments, a reverence for the Scriptures and all things sacred, and won for the people of New Jersey most deservedly a reputation for being a God-fearing, honest, moral and reliable race, is certain; but it certainly failed to make the mass educated, which, in modern times we would interpret as what was most to be desired in any system of education. The letters and manuscripts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries which have come down to us show equally a sovereign contempt for spelling and capitalization; grammar was an unknown quantity, and punctuation a mystery beyond human ken. We question if, say in 1750, an ordinary boy could be found who would be able to define the boundaries of the Province in which he lived, or who could repeat the names of a dozen men outside of his own circle of acquaintances, or tell the whereabouts of a dozen places in the country apart from the section in which his own days were spent. Of history he knew nothing beyond a few bare facts concerning Holland or England or Scotland, which came to him more in the form of traditions than as actual incidents. He took his notions of civil government from his church, and the minister was his guide, philosopher and friend, at once his spiritual and his secular director, his prayer-book and his encyclopedia. As he advanced in life, his leading idea about government was that it was good when it interfered the least with his movements and cost the smallest amount in taxes.

Even when the Revolutionary struggle was fought and won, it is impossible to say that education—secular education—had advanced much beyond the 1750 stage. The children at school plodded on much as before,

wrestling with moral and religious questions, but the political upheaval had taught the people much more. The agitation and discussion prior to the outbreak of hostilities had brought to their knowledge ancient and modern history, an understanding of the principles of government and a full realization of the drift of human progress. It brought them face to face with the rest of the world, and showed what had to be accomplished, so that they might hold their own in the national struggle for existence which set in as soon as peace was declared and independence was acknowledged, in 1784.

In 1817 the Legislature created a school fund, the income from which was to be devoted exclusively to school purposes. This fund was placed under the control of the Governor, the Vice-President of the Council, the Speaker of the Assembly, the Attorney-General and the Secretary of State. Certain United States bonds, bank stocks and other securities were set apart from the fund. In 1871 the moneys received from the sale and rental of lands under water owned by the State were made a part of the fund. By an amendment to the State Constitution the principal of the fund must be kept invested and the income devoted exclusively to the support of free public schools. The principal of the fund now amounts to \$3,090,682.62, and \$200,000 of the income is appropriated annually for the support of public schools. The school tax in 1901 was .00256, and the appropriation from the State fund, as a part of the tax for the current year, was thirty-five per cent. of the tax, or over \$800,000, so that the actual State tax for school purposes paid by each taxpayer was reduced from \$2.56 to \$1.67 on each \$1,000 of ratables. The State fund is derived from the taxes on corporations, there being no tax on the people for State purposes, so that the appropriation of \$800,000 from this fund is an actual saving, to that amount, to the people of the State.

In 1820 the Legislature authorized the several townships to levy a tax for the education of "such poor children as are paupers, belonging to the said township, and the children of such poor parents, resident in said township, as are or shall be, in the judgment of said committee, unable to pay for schooling the same." This law remained in force for some years, being amended from time to time, and in such a manner as to provide for free schools for such time as the moneys received from the school fund and from local taxation would permit, and allowing tuition fees for the remainder of the year.

In 1829 the Legislature first began to make annual appropriations for the support of common schools. In that year \$20,000 were apportioned to the several counties in proportion to the amount of taxes paid by the inhabitants. This act also provided for the election of school commit-

tees in each township. In 1838 the inhabitants of each township were recommended to raise, by taxation or otherwise, money for school purposes. This act also authorized the trustees to use the State appropriation exclusively for the education of the poor. The most important change made from the old law was the provision that the public money, which had been paid to the trustees of the districts, should now be paid to the several schools in the township, whether they were public, private or parochial. This change was made in obedience to the demands of the religious denominations in the State. Schools had been established by churches and meetings in all parts of the commonwealth, and the friends of these demanded, and finally obtained, part of the annual appropriation from the public treasury. The money was therefore distributed among all schools in proportion to the number of children taught.

The Constitution adopted in 1844 declared that it should not be competent for the Legislature to borrow, appropriate or use the school fund, or any part thereof, under any pretense whatever, for any other purpose than for the support of public schools for the equal benefit of all the people. The general school law was amended in 1846 so as to require every township to raise for school purposes a sum of money at least equal to its portion of the State appropriation. In 1851 the annual appropriation was increased to \$40,000. The act of that year provided also that the public money should be apportioned to the counties in the ratio of their population, and to the townships in proportion to the number of children between the ages of five and eighteen years. In 1866 the State Board of Education was established, and the distribution of public money to private and parochial schools was discontinued, and the State appropriation was reserved for the public schools. In 1867 the school law was remodeled, the best features of the old system were retained, and important new provisions were adopted, and subsequent legislation has constantly followed in the same line of general advancement.

THE PRESENT SCHOOL SYSTEM.

The present school system is remarkably complete, and scarcely admits of improvement. At its head is a State Board of Education, appointed by the Governor and confirmed by the Senate. The Board is composed of two members from each Congressional District, who shall not belong to the same political party. The term of office is five years. The members serve without compensation, but are paid the actual expenses incurred by them in the discharge of their official duties.

The board appoints the County Superintendents of Schools, makes

rules for the holding of teachers' institutes, the examination of teachers and for carrying into effect the school laws of the State. It has the control and management of the State Normal School, the School for the Deaf, the Farmum Preparatory School, and the Manual Training and Industrial School for Colored Youth.

The State Superintendent of Public Instruction is appointed by the Governor and confirmed by the Senate. His term of office is three years. He has general supervision over the schools, and, by law, is made a court of limited jurisdiction, having the power to investigate and decide, subject to appeal to the State Board of Education, all disputes that arise under the school laws, and may enforce his decision by withholding all school moneys from the district until his decision is obeyed. He is, *ex-officio*, the Secretary of the State Board of Examiners and of all local Boards of Examiners.

The County Superintendents have supervision over the schools of their respective counties, apportion the school moneys, license teachers, and, together with the local boards of education, prescribe the courses of study for their respective counties.

The entire State is divided into school districts, each city, town and township constituting a separate district. There are two classes of districts, viz., municipalities divided into wards and municipalities not divided into wards. The first class includes the cities and large towns. In these districts members of the Board of Education may be appointed by the Mayor or elected by the people. The amount of money to be appropriated locally for the support of schools is determined by the Board of School Estimate, consisting of the Mayor, two members of the financial board in the municipality, and two members of the Board of Education. The second class includes the townships and small boroughs. In these districts the members of the Boards of Education are elected and all appropriations are made by direct vote of the people. By the law, Boards of Education are made bodies corporate, and are not a part of the municipal government.

The Legislature passed a law in 1881 providing that whenever a school district established a manual training school or added manual training to the course of study, the State would appropriate each year an amount equal to the sum raised in the district for that purpose; provided, that the total appropriation by the State to a district should not exceed \$5,000. Under this law two cities have established manual training schools and twenty-four districts have added manual training to their courses of study. The total amount appropriated by the State in 1900 for manual training was \$46,000.

The State gives to each school annually ten dollars, provided such

school raises a like sum, to be used for the purchase of apparatus or to maintain a library for the use of the pupils.

Legislation making the kindergarten an integral part of the public school system was secured in March, 1900, and 15,066 was the first official record of the kindergarten enrollment in the New Jersey schools. Said enrollment has, in addition to offsetting the usual increase in the number enrolled in primary grades, also reduced it 5,513 below that of the preceding school year, thus showing that many pupils rightfully belonging to the kindergarten had been attending in the primary grades.

For the year ending June 1, 1901, the number of school houses in the State was 1,875, and the number of class rooms was 6,408, providing accommodations for 310,328 pupils. The value of school property was \$15,034,471, an increase of \$1,860,371 over the previous year.

There were employed in the public schools 907 male teachers, at an average annual salary of \$866, and 6,105 female teachers, at an average annual salary of \$500. Of the 7,102 teachers, 3,415 had a normal training and 409 were college graduates.

There were enrolled in the public schools 322,575 pupils, and in private schools 47,453, making the total number of children in school 370,028, or eighty-one per cent. of the children in the State. The average daily attendance in the public schools was 207,047. The average time the schools were kept open was 186 days.

In addition to the public schools, there are comprised in the State educational establishment various institutions designed for special purposes.

The State Normal School at Trenton was established in 1855. There is, in connection with it, a Model School, which affords to the pupils in the Normal School an opportunity for practice teaching. The number of pupils enrolled in the Normal School was 639, and the number in the Model School was 568. The law requires that each graduate of the Normal School shall pledge himself to teach in the State for at least two years after graduation. This pledge is more than fulfilled; in the year 1900, 1,181 graduates of the school were teaching in the State. The total expenses of the school that year amounted to \$74,708.

The School for the Deaf, in Trenton, was established in 1882. Prior to that date the deaf children were educated at the expense of the State in institutions in New York and Pennsylvania. The number of pupils was 155, and the cost of maintenance was \$38,003.

The Farnum Preparatory School, an adjunct of the State Normal School, is located at Beverly. It was built by Paul Farnum and presented by him to the State. In his will he gave the school an endowment of

\$20,000. The number of pupils enrolled was 140, and the cost of maintenance was \$5,780.

The Manual Training School and Industrial School for Colored Youth, at Bordentown, was established in 1894, and was under the care of a separate Board of Trustees. In 1900 it was placed under the care of the State Board of Education. In 1900 there were enrolled 118 pupils, and the cost of maintenance was \$5,354.

Outside the technicalities of public school instruction, the friends of education—teachers and laymen, men and women—have so widely extended the sphere of usefulness of the educational system that it is difficult to say where, in this day, the influence of the school room finds its bounds.

Perhaps the most important innovation was the establishment of public school libraries. Education does not consist merely in knowledge of facts derived from text-books. Long ago was asked the question, "What is Truth?" and, humanly speaking, it remains as yet unanswered. The question includes another, "What is Knowledge?" This, too, remains unanswered, but we reach toward an answer daily—listening for it in the voice of the speaker, searching for it on the page of the writer, and looking for it in every manifestation of the works of the Creator.

Realizing all this—that the true end of school education is but to lead the searcher after knowledge into the broad fields of investigation—the thought came to some that if school does no more than to lead children to become good methodical readers, lovers of good literature, then it will have fulfilled a high mission. For it is only in good books that the child meets and associates with the great and noble men and women of all ages, and, as he studies the character and deeds of such, his own life must take on some of their noble qualities. Such is the decision of the most eminent educators. And Carlyle says, "No sadder proof can be given by a man of his own littleness than disbelief in great men."

And so the school library was established. In many districts it is the only collection of books practically open to the entire population. In all it is, in quality, superior to the ordinary public library, with its superabundance of "the latest" literary abortion—stories of mawkish sensationalism and distorted historical facts, padded out to booklike proportions when their proper setting would be the column rules of a cross-roads newspaper. For it is to be said that the school libraries are made up of really standard works—history, travel, biography and such romance as instills noble principles and begets a taste for real elegance in literary style.

That the school library is not a fad, that it fills a positive want and

meets with hearty appreciation, is evident from the fact that few schools now consider themselves properly equipped without it, and that most of those as yet unsupplied are making strenuous effort to supply the want. In the recent year from which our statistics are drawn, the amount expended in the State for school libraries was \$1,570 more than in the year preceding. During the year cited, the amount contributed for library purposes by the several school districts was \$6,650. Under the provisions of the law, a like amount was contributed by the State, making the library fund \$12,150. In addition, many school districts were holding additional funds in reserve until future State appropriations should become available. The delay is much to be regretted, as the books which such funds would purchase are needed in the school libraries immediately, and the children at present in school should have the use of them.

The chief cause for regret, however, is that the amount appropriated by the State to stimulate this important interest is so meagre. In this respect New Jersey is not as liberal as she can well afford to be, nor as progressive as some other States.

In various places Mothers' Meetings have exerted a healthful influence upon the schools. Mrs. E. C. Grice, a member of the Board of Education of Riverton, was the pioneer in this movement. Through the earnestness of her effort she soon enlisted the sympathy and hearty co-operation of the teachers of the school in the undertaking. In the village named, as elsewhere, there seemed to be no vital connection between the school and the people. One expressed himself thus: "We never hear anything about the school except when called upon to vote money for its support, or when something goes wrong." For some reason people were apt to feel that they would be intruding if they were to visit the schools; that possibly the teachers or pupils or members of the Boards of Education might accuse them of presuming. Others were wholly absorbed in other matters too important, so they thought, to permit them to think of the interests of children, and yet others were wholly indifferent. To combat these erroneous conceptions and to unite all the people of the town for the best interests of the school, these earnest women labored for four years. The experimental stage for them has passed, and their example is finding emulation in similar effort elsewhere.

A sample programme of a Mothers' Meeting suggests the importance and usefulness of such gatherings. The papers read and the topics discussed were "The Physical Condition of Children—Care of the Body, Clothing, Diet, Ventilation, Emergencies;" "Christian Problems—Evils Prevalent in the Celebration of Christmas, the True Christmas Spirit, Gifts that Children Can Make, Christmas Stories;" "How Shall Morals be

Teught. — Influence of Parents, Co-operation with Teachers, "Civility in the Home," "Right and Wrong Punishment," "Need of the Beautiful in the Home, the School and Everywhere, and its Influence on Character, Habits, Usefulness in Later Life and Success in Business."

Growing out of such and similar effort, in many places, much interest has been taken in schools in the matter of school decoration. In some of the larger schools there are now many handsome pictures. In some communities many fine gifts of pictures have been made by citizens. In other places money has been raised by subscription for the purchase of pictures and statuary. In yet other places it is a pleasant custom for the graduating class to leave a framed picture as a memento. All these efforts to make the school house attractive are worthy of the highest praise. The value of pictures in training the aesthetic sense, as well as in deepening the impression made by lessons in literature, history and geography, are beyond measurement.

A beautiful custom in vogue in nearly all schools is the observance of Arbor Day. In many places not only is a suitable programme carried out in the schools, but the practical side of the work is made prominent by the distribution of a large quantity of seeds, vines and shrubs among the children, to be planted at home or on the school grounds. In Orange, through the efforts of the ladies of the Educational Union and the officers of the New Jersey Floricultural Society, some twelve hundred packages of flower seeds, eight hundred packages of vegetable seeds, six hundred vines and flowering plants and twelve hundred chrysanthemums were given to the children, with printed instructions showing how to plant and care for them. During the term frequent reports were made of the progress of the growing plants, and at the close of the season each child was asked to write what he could concerning his experience. The response was very gratifying, showing that the children had taken a genuine interest and that much good had been done. Such work is educational in its best sense, and such training will exert a salutary influence upon the lives and characters of the children. It will also arouse an increased interest in the appearance of the home, the school and the village, fostering civic pride and conducing to good citizenship, and, in all, will certainly tend to earnest emulation in various communities throughout the State.

EDUCATION IN THE COAST COUNTIES

In Monmouth county well established schools were in existence as early as the Revolutionary War period, and probably much earlier. Certain it is that classical schools were carried on in the township of Freehold

in the times first mentioned, and an advertisement of one of this class appears in "Collins' Gazette," dated March 14, 1778. Soon after 1800, an English and classical school was opened in the village of Freehold by the Rev. Andrew Fowler, who was then rector of St. Peter's Protestant Episcopal Church. It is related that shortly afterward Mercy Lerton taught near the village in a log school house which was built by General David Forman, of Revolutionary fame, who maintained the school for his own children and those of the neighborhood. About 1820 James McGregor, spoken of by his pupils (Dr. Robert Laird among them) as "a testy old Scotchman," taught in the village, and his was for many years the only public school in the vicinity.

It is no fancy picture we draw of the school of the early days, and long after the close of the Revolutionary War, for it was in one such that the writer of this made his beginning in education.

The school house was a log building with two windows. A great fireplace, wide enough to take in a cordstick, occupied one-half the width of the room. The seats were rough planks supported by legs let into augur holes at either end, and without backs. At the sides of the building were rough planks resting upon puncheons, and at these stood the pupils over unruled copy books, laboriously tracing with a goose-quill pen the copy set by the master—capitals and small letters, and then such alliterative sentences as "Many Men of Many Minds." It was before the days of "Readers," too, and two or three generations learned to read and spell from the Bible. If the master was an amiable creature, he would turn the children to the plain short word passages in the Gospels. If he was irascible and domineering, he would "give out" a chapter in the pentateuch, and his gorge would increasingly rise as the frightened youngsters stumbled over the unpronounceable names in the old genealogies. But the youth thus taught became admirable readers, and the pulpiteer or rostrum speaker who was taught in such fashion had no difficulty in being clearly understood by his hearers. Indeed, were there no other reason to cling to the Bible, it were valuable before all other books for its splendid influence in the formation of a clear and concise use of the English language, whether in utterance or in writing.

Aside from the Bible, there was no uniformity of text-books in these early schools, each scholar bringing such as the family closet would afford, and, as a consequence, there were rarely two alike. Those were the palmy times of the "Three R's"—"reading", 'riting' and 'rithmetic." He was accounted something of a mathematician who was ready in vulgar fractions, tare and tret, and the double rule of three. If perchance one had a grammar, or a geography, he was viewed by his less favored fellows as one

whose learning would enable him to make a great mark in the world. And the learned despot who ruled in this hall of learning! The typical schoolmaster of the period was a Scotchman or Irishman, who wrote a clerkly hand and had some knowledge of the classics. His post of observation was in the chimney corner, where he sat enjoying a pipe, and apparently immersed in a book, but not so abstracted but that he noted any inattention to study or disposition to horseplay, which brought from him a sharp "draw near," and a volley of blows from his convenient birch (almost a cudgel) when the head or shoulders of the offender were within reach. Similar punishment attended a failure in a lesson, and it was a lucky lad who worried through a day without a castigation more or less severe.

Tender-hearted, after all, in a fashion, was this old-time schoolmaster, and in later years, when old and infirm, he would drag himself to the office or home of him who had been his scholar, whom he regarded with almost paternal affection, and whose punishing, he firmly believed, was the chief instrumentality in forming his character, and in providing him with that mental equipment which enabled him to take an honorable and useful position among men.

In 1847 was founded the Freehold Institute for Boys, under the principalship of Oliver R. Willis. In 1862 Professor Baldwin succeeded to the management, and he introduced a system of military drill and discipline. The institution subsequently passed into the hands of Colonel Charles J. Wright, and has come to be known as the New Jersey Military Academy. During its existence of more than half a century, this school has had as pupils hundreds of young men, many of whom went from it into colleges and universities, or immediately took up preparation for professional or business life, and came to occupy honorable and useful positions in life.

An earlier institution, the Freehold Academy, was founded in 1831, and had for one of its earliest teachers (and perhaps the first) James McBurney. At one time it was conducted by James Shields, who in later years became famed as a Major-General in the Federal army during the Civil War, and at other times enjoyed the rare distinction of representing two States in the United States Senate. This academy occupied a useful place for many years, but finally deteriorated, and was abandoned.

The cause of education in Monmouth county found a most capable and zealous advocate in Dr. Samuel Lockwood, who was at once a chymic, a scientist and a literateur. In 1854 he became pastor of the Reformed Church in Keyport. When he came into the county the schools were in a sadly neglected and inefficient condition. He was anxious to see improvement, and he found those who were of similar desire. Dr. Willis,

the founder of the Freehold Institute; Amos Richardson, principal of the Young Ladies' Seminary; William V. Lawrence, a most capable teacher; and the Rev. A. Millspaugh. For several years these public benefactors maintained a County Teachers' Association, which met semi-annually in a two-day session, with a public evening meeting when were delivered addresses intended to arouse a healthy public interest in education. So devoted was Dr. Lockwood to this purpose that, when it was suggested that the various villages in the county should be visited by some one who would undertake to arrest the attention of the people, he assumed the task of lecturing in each one upon the needs of the schools. So intensely was he in earnest, that inability to pay for the use of a conveyance was no deterrent, and he performed his travel on foot during one of the severest winters ever experienced in the State.

In 1850 Dr. Lockwood was elected School Superintendent of Raritan township, and this was the beginning of his career of higher usefulness. A law requiring that the Board of Freeholders should appoint a Board of Examiners to pass upon the qualifications of teachers and to license such in their discretion, had been long inoperative. In 1865, however, a law was enacted which vested these powers in the State Board of Education in the event of the Board of Freeholders failing to act, and under this stimulus the freeholders appointed Dr. Lockwood and the Rev. A. Millspaugh to the positions of examiners—positions which involved great labor, and wholly without compensation. The teachers in each township were assembled at convenient points, where the work of oral examination was performed. The results were disappointing, but a movement had been made in the right direction, and good results came later.

Meantime, Dr. Lockwood had been an earnest member of the State Teachers' Association, and, largely through the efforts of that body, and under his inspiration, a new school law was enacted in 1867, which, among other provisions, abolished the offices of Township Superintendent and Examiners, and created that of County School Superintendent, with a staff of examiners. His eminent fitness marking him as the one man for the position, Dr. Lockwood was at once appointed County Superintendent, the first in Monmouth county. He had previously served for nine years as Township Superintendent, and for fifteen years he had occupied the pastorate of his church in Keyport, and he resigned the latter position and removed to Freehold in order to give his undivided attention to educational concerns.

Dr. Lockwood discharged the duties of County Superintendent of Schools with rare intelligence and discretion during the long period of twenty seven years, and until his death, which occurred in 1894. During

this time and the preceding years he effected a complete reorganization of agencies for public education in the county, and lived to witness the most gratifying results. During his time the free school had supplanted that maintained under the rate system, and the high school had its birth. The illiterate class of school age had been reduced to two per cent., while the efficiency of teachers had increased fully fifty per cent., and each year the schools graduated a considerable number of pupils whose attainments were far superior to those of the average school teacher when Dr. Lockwood first entered upon his educational work. The county institutes had increased in membership from a paltry score of teachers to a splendid gathering of two hundred, all filled with enthusiasm for their work. School property in the county had increased in value from twenty thousand dollars to nearly four hundred thousand dollars.

In 1878 Dr. Lockwood, debilitated by his great exertions, was induced to visit the Paris Exposition and make a tour of Europe, his expenses being defrayed by the teachers and friends of education in Monmouth county, as a testimonial to his worth. On his return he re-engaged in his work with renewed energy, and abated nothing of his effort until shortly before his death.

It is not the province of the present writer to enter into the history and useful life of Dr. Lockwood in detail. A graduate of the New York University, and a doctor of philosophy, he was a scholar of rare attainments—an accomplished naturalist, and archaeologist, and a member of numerous scientific societies; a divine and teacher of great ability; a forceful writer and pleasant speaker; and, withal, a broad-minded Christian citizen and gentleman. Devoted to duty, as he saw it, his most useful work was that performed in behalf of education, and in his accomplishments in that field he undesignedly builded to himself a more stately and enduring monument than his warmest admirers could rear.

The work begun by Dr. Lockwood was taken up no less conscientiously by Professor John Enright, who succeeded him in the County Superintendency of Schools immediately after his death, and who has served in that capacity without intermission to the present time.

Professor Enright entered the State Normal School at Trenton when he was but seventeen years of age, and at once took high rank in his classes. He finished the prescribed two-years course in three-fourths that time, and after his graduation, when nineteen years of age, was engaged to teach a school in Freehold. He was successful in his calling from the outset, and when a new school building was erected in 1875 he was called to the principalship, and he organized the school, established a course of study, and founded one of the first graded schools in Monmouth county.

In 1891-2 he was President of the State Teachers' Association. For very nearly twenty years preceding his appointment as County Superintendent of Schools he served continuously as a member of the County Board of Examiners—a position which he occupied for a longer period than did any other teacher in the State.

The Asbury Park schools made an excellent showing during the year ending June 30, 1901. A new high school building was erected during that and the following year. Its departments are now those of English, Mathematics, Science, History, Classical Languages, Modern Languages, Drawing, Manual Training and Domestic Arts, Music and Elocution. The teacher in each of these departments is a specialist.

The high school department was last year equipped throughout with new furniture. To the Science Department was added a biological laboratory, furnished with a porcelain sink, six tables sufficiently large to accommodate four students each, and a wall-table supplied with water and gas, and suitable in length for the accommodation of twenty students. This places the work of the Science Department in its four branches of Zoology, Botany, Physics and Chemistry on the upper floor of the building.

The courses of study have been so broadened and modified as to permit considerable freedom in choice of studies. The high school offers the five courses—Classical, Literary, Scientific, Liberal and Commercial. No limit of time is imposed for the completion of the course. The school is able to offer four years of English, four years of Mathematics, including Trigonometry and Advanced Algebra, three years, and possibly next year four years; of Science, four years; of Latin, Greek and German, three years each; two years of French and four years of History; also one year of Social and Political Science; four years of Drawing, and two years of Domestic Science and Art. The Commercial course offers also several years' training in the usual business subjects.

The Reference Library founded for the high school departments in 1899 has grown to a total of 342 volumes. Most of these books are standard reference books, in Grecian, Roman, Mediaeval, Modern-European, English and American History, although the departments of English and Science are well represented.

The manual training rooms are well equipped with all the necessary tools and suitable material, and the work there prepared for the school exhibit at Buffalo, New York, was of an interesting nature, and reflected credit upon the department.

The enrollment in two grades of the kindergarten department has reached 131, with an average daily attendance of thirty to forty pupils.

The institution of Mothers' Meetings in connection with the kindergarten proved a decided help in the work of the school in bringing the home and the school together. The department has been fully equipped with all necessary furniture and materials.

Much interest has been shown on the part of teachers and pupils in decorating and beautifying the school rooms. The Alumni Association has also devoted its energies to this end. The result has been the placing upon the walls of the school rooms more than one hundred dollars worth of pictures, reproductions from masterpieces, etc. Several pieces of statuary have also been placed in the corridor and auditorium. So excellent a beginning in this good work augurs still larger accomplishment in the future.

In 1901 a new school building was erected in Red Bank at a cost of \$60,000. The schools in that city are a model of efficiency, and include a complete high school course and a manual training department. In the year cited, the total enrollment was 1,027, with a daily attendance of 707. A class of twenty-five pupils was graduated—the largest in the history of the school.

In addition, two other school buildings were erected during the year in Monmouth county—a one-room building in Upper Freehold township, costing \$1,000, and a four-room brick structure at Oakhurst, in Ocean township. The latter is one of the most handsome and commodious four-room school structures in the county, and the building cost was \$12,000. There now remains but one place along the coast from Sandy Hook to the Ocean county line with indifferent school accommodations—Neptune City—which recently voted ten thousand dollars for a new school house.

In Monmouth county, during the year ending June 30, 1901, the total number of children enrolled was 17,072, with an average daily attendance of 10,562. The number of teachers employed was seventy-three males and three hundred and three females, and their average monthly salary was \$72.43 and \$50.87, respectively.

A County Teachers' Association was formed at Long Branch in January, 1901. One hundred and seventy teachers attended the first meeting. These meetings are not designed to take the place of the local teachers' circles, held in the different townships, but rather to supplement and support them. If the initial efficiency and enthusiasm exhibited at the first be maintained, these meetings will certainly result advantageously.

OCEAN COUNTY.

There is little available of early educational history in Ocean County. There is evidence, however, that early in the beginning of the Twentieth

settlement schools were established for the education of both sexes, and, even after the establishment of schools under the first public school law, the Society of Friends maintained, at their own expense, schools for the education of their children. At the same time they sent many of their children to Philadelphia and elsewhere for a more finished education than the local schools could afford. For a period of twenty years beginning about 1845, however, there were in the township several select schools, most of them for girls.

The educational history of Little Egg Harbor is quite similar, and schools there were fostered from the beginning. The township has produced an unbroken line of clergymen of much ability, and men who have honored every useful calling in life. A native of Egg Harbor, Jacob Ridgway, founded the Rush Library, of Philadelphia.

In New Egypt, the New Egypt Seminary and Female College was chartered by the Legislature and clothed with full collegiate powers shortly before the beginning of the Civil War. Its history has been most useful, and it has sent out into the learned professions and into business life scores of men who have reflected honor upon their *alma mater*, and many of its female graduates have become accomplished educators or ornaments to society in domestic life. For thirty-seven years this institution was conducted by George D. Horner, A. M., who was succeeded by the Rev. Dr. Wallace, an eminent divine.

In the county, for the year ending June 30th, 1901, the enrollment was 4,682, an increase of 42, and the average daily attendance was 2,716, an increase of 91. The percentage of daily attendance, based on the average enrollment, was 85, a slight increase over that of the previous year. The average salary paid to males per month for teaching was \$51.88, and the average monthly salary paid to female teachers was \$35.57, a slight decrease for the males and a slight increase for the females over the previous year.

There are twenty school districts in Ocean county, sixty-eight public school-houses, four of which were erected during the year; 122 class-rooms, and three private schools. The value of school property was estimated at \$161,050, an increase of \$40,200. During the year, four commodious new school buildings were completed—a six-room frame building at West Point Pleasant, valued at \$6,000; a four-room frame building at Barnegat, costing \$7,000; an eight-room brick building at Toms River, costing \$18,000, and a six-room brick building with assembly-room, at East Lakewood, costing \$19,000.

During the school year the Ocean County Teachers' Association

held eleven divisional meetings and one general meeting, and the Board of Monmouth County united in an annual institute in November, 1860, at Ocean Grove.

ATLANTIC COUNTY.

In 1836 the foundations of education in Atlantic county were laid by Richard Risley, who came from the mainland to the present site of Atlantic City, on Absecon Island, to instruct the children of the Leeds families. The private tutorship (for such it was) resulted in a school for all who desired to attend. Following the advent of the railroad in 1854, various private schools were established, and were taught by Miss Anna M. Gaskill, Edward S. Reed, a Miss Thomas, and others. Arthur Westcott, who afterward became city assessor, taught a private school in a small building erected for the purpose. There were in those days perhaps a half hundred children on the island.

The first public school in Atlantic City was opened about 1858, in the old Ocean House, with Charles S. Varney as the teacher. In the following year the trustees erected the first public school building—a frame edifice. Mr. Varney was succeeded by Alexander L. Bellis, who was a graduate of the State Normal School, and whose innovations in educational and disciplinary methods proved highly efficient, but occasioned much comment and created some antagonism.

About 1863 the school-house became inadequate and the trustees awarded to Richard Souder the contract for erecting a two-story four-room front addition to the old building. Sufficient funds were not forthcoming, and Robert L. Evaral, with great public spirit, completed the work. For many years afterward he served as a school trustee, and his services were invaluable in maintaining and advancing school interests in the early formative days.

In the autumn of 1863 Silas R. Morse, an accomplished teacher, was appointed to the principalship of the schools. He served most acceptably for a period of nine years, and for seven years of this time he had a most capable assistant in his wife, to whom he had been married just prior to his moving to the town.

In 1877 John F. Hall became principal. He was a most excellent teacher, but his school room service was of short duration, as he resigned after two years to engage in journalism.

About 1881 a separate school for colored children was opened, and it was successfully conducted for several years, then to be closed on account of the adverse public sentiment against such schools.

In 1891 Prof. William A. Deremer became principal. He died after he had served only two years, but during this brief period his service was phenomenaally useful. He was an indefatigable worker, and his boundless enthusiasm and rare tact enabled him to bring to his aid the best possible effort on the part of his assistants. He introduced the manual training system, and during his administration large additions were made to several school buildings, and the number of teachers was increased from thirty-five to forty-seven. He also called to his aid his associate teachers, and introduced methods of investigating the condition of the suffering worthy poor, and of relieving their necessities.

In the year 1900 there were in Atlantic City six school buildings containing sixty-eight rooms, and representing a valuation of \$205,000. Since then a new ward school building was completed, and also a high school building, the latter costing \$80,000. The school enrollment was 4,700, an increase of 739 over the previous year. The regular teaching force comprised eighty-one regular grade teachers and six special teachers. Of the regular teachers, ten were engaged in the colored schools, which occupy rooms in the same buildings where white children attend. The separation is continued as far as the seventh grade, after which the two classes are combined. The number of colored children in the advanced grades is necessarily very small.

The curriculum is broadly comprehensive, and includes a post-graduate course. Graduates are fitted to immediately enter the higher institutions of learning. There are five rooms for the manual training course, which is open to all pupils in the grammar grade. A thorough commercial course is maintained, and vocal music is taught as a class study. The sum of two hundred dollars was raised for the support of the school libraries. This, with the additional funds received from the State, was carefully and judiciously expended in the purchase of an additional number of valuable library books. Numerous teachers' meetings have been held during the year, and these have been in charge of special teachers or of the Supervising Principal, and have always been for the special consideration of matters relating to the work of the respective grades. General monthly meetings have been held during the year. At these meetings the chief aim was the study of the writings of noted educators and of their influence upon modern education.

The school was splendidly represented in the Educational Exhibit at Buffalo, New York, and was highly commended by many distinguished educators.

In Atlantic county (outside Atlantic City) the total enrollment during the school year cited was 8,876, and the average daily attendance was 5,501.

The number of teachers employed was 20 males and 155 females, and their average monthly salary respectively was \$50.33 and \$38.97.

Outside of Atlantic City, no new school buildings were erected during the year, but many additions and improvements were made. In Egg Harbor City two new rooms were furnished and steam heat was introduced throughout the building. The pupils of Egg Harbor City, by individual contributions, raised sufficient money to purchase a handsome new piano. Music in this place, as well as in Hammonton and Mays Landing, has been made a part of the regular course of study.

CAPE MAY COUNTY.

During the latter part of the eighteenth century the only schools in the county were such as were taught for short terms at long intervals by itinerant schoolmasters. Aaron Leaming records in 1765 that his children attended school for about a month. At the beginning of the following century there were three teachers of considerable importance who went about the country teaching and "boarding around."

From 1810 to 1820 the teachers of sufficient prominence to be mentioned in the annals of the times were Jacob Spicer (third), Constantine Foster and Joseph Foster. After 1830 schools were fairly well maintained in the principal settlements. In 1840 there were in Dennis Township four schools with 205 scholars—this in a population of 1,350. In the same year there were in Middle Township (population 1,624) five schools with 328 scholars; in Lower Township (population 1,133) there were six schools and 240 scholars; and in Cold Spring, "a thickly settled agricultural neighborhood," there was an academy for both sexes, of which the Rev. Moses Williamson was principal.

Among those who in later years accomplished much for the cause of education were some who afterward became prominent in other fields. Dr. Theophilus T. Price taught for three years beginning in 1848, and was subsequently township superintendent of the public schools of Little Egg Harbor for eight years. Joseph S. Leach was a teacher at Seaville shortly after his coming to the county in 1840, and he followed that occupation until 1855, when he purchased the "Ocean Wave" newspaper. He was subsequently town superintendent of public schools, and he occupied various other responsible positions. In 1860, when the population of the county was 7,130, there were twenty-seven schools, in which were thirty-two teachers and 2,373 scholars. The only academy was at Cold Spring, yet conducted by Mr. Williamson.

For many years and until 1881 the scholarly Dr. Maurice Beesley

was county superintendent of public schools, and he contributed more than did any other of his time to increasing the efficiency of the public educational system in the county. He was succeeded by the Rev. Edward P. Shields, D. D., a highly capable man, who three years later removed to Bristol, Pennsylvania, to enter upon the pastorate of the Presbyterian Church there. His term of pastoral service with the Presbyterian Church at Cape May had extended over a period of thirteen years, and in duration it was only exceeded by that of the Rev. Moses Williamson, at Cold Springs, who served for forty-six years. Mr. Shields was succeeded in the county superintendency of schools by Vincent O. Miller, who served most faithfully and usefully for thirteen years. Aaron Hand became county school superintendent in the year of the retirement of Mr. Shields, and is yet serving in that position. Since 1895 Mr. Hand has been editor and manager of the "Star of the Cape" newspaper.

In the county, during the year ending June 30th, 1901, the total enrollment of pupils was 2,981, and the daily average attendance was 1,727. The number of teachers employed was 30 males and 43 females, and their average monthly salary was \$55.64 and \$34.05 respectively.

Two notable events of the year were the erection of a handsome new school building at Cape May and the creation of the new district of Wildwood. The Cape May building cost \$35,000 exclusive of the furnishings. It contains twelve class-rooms and a large assembly-room, and is equipped with all the latest and best sanitary appliances. At Wildwood another handsome new building was being erected at a cost of about \$7,000. A building is to be erected at Woodbine to supply the necessity for more room in that growing town.

In the year 1901 the number of private schools in the State, each having twenty-five pupils or more, was 303, of which 155 were sectarian and 148 were non-sectarian. The total number was sixty-three less than in the previous year, and the decrease is ascribed to the increased efficiency of the public schools.

THE HIGHER EDUCATION.

To this point our concern has been with elementary and secondary educational institutions. The former comprises the ordinary public school grammar course, which occupies the attention of the pupil, say from his sixth to his fourteenth year. Secondary education is that of academical scope, occupying the pupil (approximately) from his fourteenth to his eighteenth year, and fitting him for entrance to college. Among secondary in-

structional institutions are now included the public high school, which in all of the cities of New Jersey, and in most of the towns and larger villages, affords a curriculum and methods of training which supply every need of the industrious student who seeks to enter upon the higher education.

The term higher education is that which designates the *ultima thule* of class and lecture room instruction. The seeker after knowledge here attainable has, in his first educational stage, acquired an elementary knowledge of the ordinary branches—his own language, history and mathematics—but this is necessarily fragmentary and disjointed. In his second stage, his knowledge of letters is broadened, and he is introduced to the study of causation and consequence. But his mental view is as yet kaleidoscopic, and it is the province of the higher education to focus his intellectuality—to afford him a comprehensive view of the results of the vast labors of investigators in all departments of human knowledge in all the ages, to develop his ability to corollate his mental acquisitions, and enable him to intelligently reach out into that illimitable field of a philosophy which comprehends all philosophies.

The mettle of those people of diverse nationalities who came to America two and two and a half centuries ago is nowhere so clearly discerned as in their attitude toward education. Perhaps they had better foundation than have some of their descendants of to-day, for in their early school days the Bible was their reading book. At any rate the religious spirit dominated their lives, and all the colleges of their founding were inspired by religious purpose. Harvard, founded in 1636 by the Puritans, was dedicated to Christ, and its mission was to prepare young men for the Christian ministry, and Yale, with similar motive, was founded in 1700. These were both constituted by Protestant dissenters, while the College of William and Mary, in Virginia, founded in 1692, had for one of its principal objects the providing of suitable instruction for such as intended to take orders in the Established Church. It is to be said of all these, and of others which were established later, that, if they did not directly grow out of ancient English universities, they derived from them their animus, inherited their traditions, adopted their curricula, and took them for an exemplar in all things, save that they were (perhaps unconsciously, in large degree), affected by the new political conditions, and developed a broader and more progressive spirit.

In New Jersey were founded two educational institutions which have, one for more than a century and a half and the other for nearly a century and a third, pursued careers of wonderful usefulness, and have colored the history not only of the commonwealth but of the nation. As in the New England colonies, these were grounded in religious sentiment. The

founders of the College of New Jersey had for their purpose the intellectual and religious instruction of youth, including the training of candidates for the ministry, but, according to the charter, those of every religious profession were to have equal privilege and advantage of education. Rutgers College, founded by Hollanders, was "for the education of youth in the learned languages, liberal and useful arts and sciences, and especially in divinity, preparing them for the ministry and other good offices."

The College of New Jersey (now known as Princeton University) was the fourth collegiate institution in America. It was at the beginning more American in character than were those then existing in the New England colonies, for it did not represent the convictions of any one church or nationality—its founders represented various religious sects and different nationalities, and hence it may be said that, in educational lines, it stood for that Americanism which grew out of the blending of all these diverse (and, in some respects, antagonistic) elements.

The history of the founding of the college is intimately associated with that of Presbyterianism in America. By 1720 the Presbyterian Church on the Atlantic coast and contiguous region had a veritable being, and at various synodical meetings plans were suggested for the establishment of an institution of learning in order to avoid dependence upon schools in the mother country or in New England. Some ministers, unwilling to wait for concerted action, opened private schools in which they taught what would be called an academical course, while at the same time they served as preceptors to some who took up theological studies. Among these were two Presbyterian clergymen who in subsequent years became, in turn, Presidents of the College of New Jersey—Jonathan Dickinson of Elizabethtown, and Aaron Burr of Newark.

In this connection is to be named another Presbyterian minister, William Tennent, who, then residing at Neshaminy, in Pennsylvania, there established a school of liberal learning and of divinity. He himself reared for the purpose a log house about twenty feet long, and not quite so broad, of which George Whitefield said in his journal,—"*It is in contempt called the College.*" From this pioneer place of learning came many who were afterward conspicuous in various relations, but with its history we are not concerned save in so far as it relates to educational beginnings in New Jersey. One of its graduates was Samuel Davies, who became the fourth president of the College of New Jersey, and it is presumable that his successor, Samuel Finley, was another of Tennent's students.

In 1730 the newly formed Presbyterian Synod received and acted upon overtures looking to the establishment of a seminary of learning,

but nothing came of it. Referring to this ending, historians of Princeton University have remarked that, had the Synod founded a college, it is not probable that Princeton would have been selected as its site, and that, had Princeton been selected, the institution, by its official relation to the church, would have had a character and career very different from that of the College of New Jersey.

Soon began a conflict in the church, into which entered the question of Tennent's "Log College." The Synod had pronounced against the licensing by any Presbytery of ministerial candidates having only a private education, while a number of graduates and friends of the "Log College" had formed the Presbytery of New Brunswick, and this body had given ministerial license to one who was a "Log College" student, and had sent him within the bounds of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, which was in violation of the rules of the Synod. The differences in the Synod finally resulted in a rupture, and in 1745 the Synod of New York was created by a union of the Presbyteries of New York, New Brunswick and New Castle, the latter composed entirely of "Log College" men. Tennent died the same year, and with his death expired the hopes of those who had desired that his school should be adopted as the synodical college.

At this juncture four clergymen—Jonathan Dickinson, Aaron Burr and John Pierson, who were graduates of Yale, and Ebenezer Pemberton, a graduate of Harvard—undertook the founding of a college, and with them were associated three laymen, William Smith, Peter Van Brugh Livingston, Jr. and William Peartree Smith. These were all Presbyterians, but they were also broadly American, and, while providing for the education of candidates for the ministry, they regarded this as but one of the functions of the proposed college, and made ample provision for instruction necessary for admission to other professions.

Their first attempt at an organization was abortive. They had entered upon a *terra incognita* when they applied to Governor Morris for a charter, and he had summarily dismissed their petition for reasons which are only to be inferred. No college had received its warrant from such authority—two of them then existing, Harvard and Yale, had been chartered by act of legislature of their respective colonies, and the third, William and Mary, received its charter from the sovereigns whose names it bore. Governor Morris may have held, with these precedents, that he was without authority in the premises. It is also presumable that his zeal as a churchman moved him to refusal, for he had previously denied a charter to a Presbyterian Church on the ground that there was no precedent for so privileging a company of "dissenters."

Governor Morris died the following year, and was succeeded by John

Hamilton, President of the Council. To him the college projectors renewed their application, and he granted them a charter on October 22d, 1746. The act and the document itself were profoundly significant as seen in the light of subsequent events. It is not presumable that the Governor, or those to whom he committed such broad authority as he did, were conscious of how that important charter forecast in some degree that larger liberty which a few years afterward was to shine out in the declaration of the independence of the colonies.

The charter of the College of New Jersey was the first granted to an educational institution by a colonial governor. He was not only the royal representative, but he was also a representative of the Established Church of England, and that which was created by his act was solely under the direction of Presbyterians, who were of the strictest sect of dissenters. Moreover, the board of trustees which he created represented four royal provinces, while his authority as governor extended over but one of them. The charter contained no restrictive clauses, except the provision that no acts for the government of the college should be passed which were repugnant to the laws of Great Britain or of the Province of New Jersey, nor did it provide for any governmental representation in the board of trustees. By its terms it safeguarded liberty of conscience by the provision that no person should be debarred of any of the privileges of the college on account of any speculative principle of religion, and that those of every religious profession should have equal privilege and advantage of education.

This important paper was not recorded, but its substance has been preserved by contemporary annals. In the summer following its granting (August 13, 1747), the "Presbyterian Gazette" printed an advertisement in which were given the names of the seven trustees before mentioned. These had, as provided for by the charter, chosen five others to act with themselves, with equal power and authority, and these were the Rev. Richard Treat and four clerical representatives of the "Log College" interest. Samuel Blair, Gilbert Tennent, William Tennant, Jr., and Samuel Finley.

May 4th, 1747, the college was opened in Elizabethtown, under the presidency of the Rev. Jonathan Dickinson, who was the principal instructor, with the Rev. Caleb Smith as a tutor, and this was the entire organization. October 7th following, Dr. Dickinson died. He was a native of Massachusetts, a graduate of Yale, and an eminent clergyman. He was not twenty-one years old when he became minister of the Presbyterian Church in Elizabethtown, with which he remained for nearly forty years. He was in all things a *bone pastor*. He had read medicine, and he

treated his sick parishioners; he knew something of law, and he aided them in their legal difficulties. He was an accomplished scholar, and a sincere Christian. He had lived to witness the beginning of the college enterprise which he had zealously labored for, and to which he had intended to devote his best effort during the remainder of his life. He had for a few months given instructions to the small first class in the embryo college. But even these were great accomplishments at that infant stage of the institution, and if he were denied part in the greater work which was to follow, his effort had made that work possible, and his example and spirit were to prove a potent stimulus to those who were to follow after him and further advance that enterprise which he had begun.

Meantime, and prior to the death of Dr. Dickinson, Jonathan Belcher had been appointed Governor of the province. Prior to his coming, while Governor of the Massachusetts Colony, he had been actively interested in Harvard College, and when he came to New Jersey he gave his aid to its new school, so recently founded, actively and sincerely. After much correspondence and conference with the trustees of the institution, in course of which various differences were adjusted, Governor Belcher, in the name of the King, on September 14th, 1748, issued a new charter to the College of New Jersey, the document reciting as its purpose the instruction of youth in the learned languages and in the liberal arts and sciences, and providing that those of every denomination should have free and equal liberty and advantage of education, any different sentiments in religion notwithstanding. The original incorporators were renamed, with the exception of Dr. Dickinson, who had died, and the Rev. Samuel Finley. The omission of the latter named was presumably due to the fact that he was unable to serve, inasmuch as he was already burdened with the cares of a church and the conduct of an academy in Maryland, which, in the then existing conditions, were far distant from the field which would claim a share of his attention. The number of the trustees was increased to twenty-three. Of the entire number, twelve were clergymen, and of these six were graduates of Yale, three were graduates of Harvard, and three had been trained at the "Log College" under the elder Tement. Of the lay trustees, one was a graduate of Harvard, and three were graduates of Yale; two others were members of the Society of Friends, and one was a member of the Established Church—all others were Presbyterians. In the face of strong opposition, the Governor of the province was constituted *ex officio* a member of the board of trustees. There is no room for thought that this provision, which was urged by Governor Belcher himself, was intended to impose upon the board any governmental influence except in a helpful way, and his zealous interest was recognized

by the trustees, in 1755, when they addressed him in grateful terms as the founder, patron and benefactor of the college. The first of these terms (founder) was unhappy, for another Governor (Hamilton) had granted a prior charter, and the real founders of the institution were Dr. Dickinson and his associates. But otherwise the tribute to Governor Belcher was well deserved.

Concerning the charter of 1748 it only remains to be said that it is the present warrant for the existence of the present college. It was amended at times, but in each instance the amendment only served to confer greater powers, or to more properly indicate the enlarging scope of the institution. October 22, 1896, the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the grant of the first charter was made the occasion for a sesquicentennial celebration, when the College of New Jersey took the name of Princeton University. The celebration was attended by the President of the United States and the Governor of New Jersey, together with representatives of the Universities and learned societies of the United States and of many from similar institutions in Europe.

Dr. Dickinson was succeeded in the presidency of the college by the Rev. Aaron Burr, and the pupils were removed from Elizabethtown to Newark. November 7th, 1748, the first commencement was held, and its significance was appreciated by all concerned. A procession was formed at the residence of the Governor and moved to a suitable hall. The charter was read, the new Trustees subscribed to the prescribed oaths and declarations, and President Burr was installed. He delivered an oration in Latin, in which he lauded the educational advantages of the mother country and of the New England Colonies, and gladly hailed the dawn of the sun of learning upon the Province of New Jersey. He eulogized the Governor as a generous patron whose friendship was manifested in the liberal provisions of the royal charter, which afforded privileges the most ample consistent with the natural and religious rights of mankind, laying the axe to the root of that anti-Christian bigotry which had been in every age the parent of persecution and the plague of mankind, such bigotry as would have no place in the College of New Jersey. Six questions in philosophy and theology were then debated in Latin by the students. Six young men received the degree of Bachelor of Arts—some, if not all of these, had been under the instruction of the lamented Dr. Dickinson, and among these was Richard Stockton, who was afterward one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

On the same day the Trustees prescribed the standard of future admission to the college, and, for the times, it was one of considerable dignity. The candidate was required to be capable of rendering into Eng-

lish the orations of Cicero and Virgil; and of translating English into Latin, and the Greek Gospels into Latin or English. The curriculum was correspondingly broad—Latin, Greek and mathematics were to be studied throughout the entire course; physical science was represented by natural philosophy and astronomy; logic was based upon text-books and was practiced in discussions; rhetoric was taught in the same manner, and essays and declamations were required. Mental and moral philosophy were prominent studies of the advanced classes.

The college having been organized, its permanent location now became a question of commanding importance. The Trustees were as sagacious business men for their time as are their far removed successors of to-day, and they were intent upon selecting such a place as would be most desirable in point of accessibility and would at the same time most liberally aid them in providing suitable buildings and equipments. Newark was decided against as being too near to New York to satisfy the Trustees who resided in Pennsylvania. In 1750 the Trustees decided upon New Brunswick or Princeton, conditioning their choice between the two upon the financial inducements offered by these two villages, and in May following they named New Brunswick, provided its people should secure to the college one thousand pounds in proclamation money, ten acres of ground for a college campus, and two hundred acres of woodland not farther from the town than three miles. But Princeton was not inactive, and it soon complied with the conditions which had been submitted to New Brunswick, but had not been acted upon, and in September, 1752, the location of the college was fixed in the former named place.

In July, 1754, ground was broken for the college building, which was completed in 1757, under Robert Smith as architect. It was of stone, one hundred and seventy feet long and fifty-four feet wide, with a central projection of four feet to the front and twelve feet rearward. As now, it was of three stories, and was surmounted by a cupola. Its rooms would accommodate one hundred and forty-seven students. The assembly hall was the largest and finest in any college in the country, and contained a gallery in which was set up an organ purchased by voluntary subscription, and full-length portraits of the King and Governor Belcher, the latter surmounted by his coat-of-arms in carved and gilded wood. On the second floor was the library, which contained about twelve hundred volumes, which were the gifts of friends of the college in America and in England. In the lower story were the dining hall and kitchens and steward's apartments. Governor Belcher was one of the most liberal donors to the building fund, and aided the young college in all possible ways. In recognition of his interest and services, the Trustees purposed to name the building in his

honor, but he modestly declined this distinction and requested them to call it Nassau Hall, after his royal master, King William III, who was of the illustrious House of Nassau, and his wish met with compliance. In this building, in the autumn of 1756, with seventy students, President Burr opened the first collegiate session in Princeton, and on that occasion he delivered an appropriate discourse.

The cost of the college building had exceeded the means of the Trustees and their immediate friends, and two clergymen—the Rev. Samuel Davies and the Rev. Gilbert Tennent—had been sent abroad to solicit assistance. They were sanctioned in their mission by the Synod of New York, and Governor Belcher provided them with letters of appeal to his friends in Great Britain. Their efforts were attended with abundant success, and the Trustees were enabled to proceed with the building of the college, and also to provide a residence for the President. The contributions included twelve hundred pounds sterling contributed in London, and five hundred pounds from the west of England and from Ireland. In addition, collections for the college were taken in the Presbyterian churches in Scotland under authority of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and in Ireland under authority of the Synod of Ulster, and three hundred pounds were also contributed to the ministerial educational fund.

The original college building was of such excellent material and so well constructed that its walls survived two disastrous conflagrations (in 1802 and in 1855) which destroyed the interior.

The young college sustained a great loss in the death of President Burr, which occurred in September, 1758, less than a month after the death of its stalwart friend, Governor Belcher. President Burr was but forty-one years of age, and he had been President for the entire eleven years of the existence of the college, excepting the few months of President Dickinson's inaugural administration. He was studious, devout and sagacious. Of him was said by his panegyrist, the Rev. Caleb Smith, that "his arms were open to any good man of any denomination. A sweetness of temper, obliging courtesy and mildness of behavior, added to an engaging candor of sentiment, spread a glory over his reputation, endeared his person to all his acquaintances, recommended his ministry and whole profession to mankind in general, and greatly contributed to his extensive usefulness." The death of Dr. Burr occurred immediately prior to an event which, had he lived to witness it, would have filled his soul with joy, and would seem to have been a fitting close to his nobly useful life. For four days after his passing away occurred (in September, 1757), the first commencement in Princeton, when a class of twenty-two was graduated.

The Trustees met, and seventeen out of the twenty voted to call to

the Presidency of the college the Rev. Jonathan Edwards, then of Stockbridge, Massachusetts, and the father in law of the man who was called to fill Mr. Edwards was reluctant to leave his work among the Indians, and it was only after repeated and most urgent solicitations that he finally complied, and this marks the beginning of a pathetic career. He arrived in Princeton and was installed as President February 16, 1758. A week later he was inoculated for protection against smallpox, and he died March 22d, not much more than a month after his coming. Of no man could it be more truly said that "his works do follow him." His connection with the college was singularly brief, but its influence was of the widest and most enduring. It is said that he only propounded a few questions on divinity subjects to his class, but his comments upon the answers given were so instructive as to be remembered by the students with the greatest satisfaction and wonder. His illustrious name, in itself, gave the college a notable prestige, and, as was remarked by Dr. Maclean, "probably no man connected with this institution has contributed so much to its reputation both at home and abroad."

The ministerial work of Mr. Davies, who was termed as, next to Whitefield, the most eloquent preacher of his age, belongs to ecclesiastical history. He was a determined supporter of the cause of religious liberty, and to him, as much as to any one man, the Presbyterians of Virginia were indebted for the vindication of their rights to worship their God after the manner of their sainted forbears. His career as a college head was conspicuously useful during his brief career of but a year and a half, his death occurring February 4, 1761, when he was but thirty seven years of age. He possessed strong elements of popularity, and the college had consequently greatly increased its number of students. He modified existing modes of correction of offending students, and he popularized the college library by publishing its catalogue, prefacing it with his suggestions to the students as to their reading, and characterizing the library as "the most ornamental and useful furniture of a college, and the most proper and valuable fund with which it can be endowed."

The Rev. Samuel Finley was the unanimous choice of the Trustees as the succeeding President, at an election held May 31, 1761. He was a native of Ireland, of Scotch parentage. He came to America when nineteen years of age and here he was prepared for the ministry. He had been for ten years an active member of the Board of Trustees, and he was entirely conversant with the condition and needs of the college, and he had successfully conducted another school, the Nottingham Academy, in Maryland. During his Presidency of five years (his death occurring July 17, 1766), the college prospered beyond all previous experience. The in-

crease in number of students was constant, and in 1765, the last commencement prior to the death of President Finley, thirty-one students received the first degree in Arts, and eleven were made Masters. The curriculum was broadened, and two additional tutors were employed. Among those serving at this time in that capacity were Samuel Blair and the second Jonathan Edwards, both of whom became college Presidents, the one of the College of New Jersey and the other of Union College. It is to be here remarked that until the succeeding administration there were no professorships.

As a teacher, Mr. Finley was a man of surpassing ability. One of his students (the Rev. Dr. John Woodhull, of Monmouth county), said "his learning was very extensive. Every branch of study appeared to be familiar to him. Among other things he taught Latin, Greek and Hebrew in the senior year. He was greatly beloved and highly respected by the students, and had very little difficulty in governing the college." His death was undoubtedly hastened by his unremitting attention to his college duties. He was the fifth President to pass away during the first twenty years of the existence of the college, and these quickly succeeding events exerted a depressing effect upon the friends of the institution.

After the death of President Finley, the Trustees undertook the task of placing the school upon a complete collegiate footing by the creation of professorships. John Blair, a native of Ireland, who was educated at the "Log College," and became, as was said by Dr. Archibald Alexander, "a theologian not inferior to any man in the Presbyterian Church in his day," was made Professor of Divinity and Morality, and was placed in charge of the college in the capacity of Vice-President. Jonathan Edwards (son of the late President Edwards) who was a tutor in the college, was made Professor of Languages and Logic, and Dr. Hugh Williamson, of Philadelphia, was made Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.

In the meantime, Richard Stockton, a member of the Board of Trustees, who was then in England, was authorized to invite to the Presidency the Rev. Dr. John Witherspoon, of Paisley, Scotland. This call was declined, and the Trustees elected the Rev. Samuel Blair, who was a graduate of the college, in which he had served as tutor for three years. He was a teacher and preacher of great ability, and withal a man of surpassing beauty and strength of character. He accepted the proffered position, but placed his declination in the hands of one of the Trustees, to take effect in the event of Dr. Witherspoon being persuaded to reconsider his determination, in full knowledge of the great desirability of engaging that eminent man should it be at all possible. More urgent appeals were made to the latter named, who finally accepted the call, Mr. Blair's resignation

having been previously given effect as arranged. Dr. Witherspoon arrived in America on August 6, 1768, and on the 17th day of the same month he was installed as the sixth President of the College of New Jersey.

Following a goodly class of men, some of them of great ability and widely influential, Dr. Witherspoon was endowed by nature with those traits of character which shone resplendently in a crucial time. He had held a position of acknowledged eminence in the Scotch Church, and his high reputation brought great prestige to the college. But the institution was hampered for want of means—so much so that it was found expedient to procure and accept the resignation of Mr. Blair as Professor of Divinity and impose his duties upon the new President, who also delivered lectures in other departments, and also taught Hebrew and French to some of the students. It has been said that probably no contemporary teacher in America was more successful in impressing upon the thought of his students the great features of the system of philosophy which he expounded. He also bore a large share of the effort to provide means for the maintenance of the college, and he made several journeys into New England to solicit subscriptions, in which missions his success was gratifying. He secured considerable sums for endowment purposes, increased the teaching force, broadened the curriculum, and succeeded in attracting a larger number of students and from a wider area than ever before. Other large plans he had for adding to the efficiency of the college, but political affairs were rapidly approaching a crisis and were soon to paralyze, on large measure, all educational establishments. Hostile armies were to camp on either side of the college, its campus was to be the scene of carnage, and its halls were to become the barracks of armed men. Treasured mementoes of those days and those scenes are two cannon which were used in the battle at Princeton, and now point over the college grounds. During the months when Princeton was the temporary seat of government, the Congress held its sessions in the library room of the college, and the dormitories were used as committee rooms. In 1783 the commencement exercises were witnessed by Washington, then Commander in Chief of the Revolutionary army, accompanied by a brilliant array of army officers, of foreign ministers, and in this occasion was a portrait of him greatly appreciated at his own expense, by the artist Peale.

A devout Christian, a conscientious minister and teacher, Dr. Witherspoon was also a thoughtful American and patriot. In the midst of the struggle for independence he aided it with his voice and pen, and encouraged the students in their patriotic utterances, and exhorted them to defend their soil and their liberties at one time, and then to abstain from any party rivalry between themselves.

Dr. Witherspoon presided at the commencement in 1794, on September 23d, and he died on November 15th following. He had served with signal usefulness for twenty-six years—a period exceeding the combined years of service of his five predecessors. During his administration had been graduated the largest class of the eighteenth century. Before his coming had been educated within the walls of the College of New Jersey many who had become famous in military life during the Revolutionary war, in congressional and legislative assemblages during the same period, in the learned professions and in business affairs. Considering the numbers and careers of his graduates, upon whom he set the seal of his personality, and whose heart thoughts and motives were in some degree a reflection of his own, the administration of President Witherspoon was surpassingly illustrious. Under him were graduated one who became President of the United States, one who became Vice-President, three who became Judges of the United States Supreme Court, and others—thirteen Governors of States, six delegates to the Continental Congress, twenty United States Senators, twenty-four Representatives, and thirteen college Presidents. Of one so noble, so useful, well may it be said:

"Servant of God, well done!
They serve Him well who serve His creatures."

Dr. Samuel Stanhope Smith, who had been Vice-President for the previous six years, succeeded to the Presidency in 1795. He was a native of Pennsylvania, and he was the first graduate of the college to be called to its headship. One of his first acts was to create the Professorship of Chemistry—the first in any college in the United States—and the first to occupy its chair was John Maclean, a native of Scotland, and a graduate of Glasgow University. Professor Maclean's work attracted wide attention, and it is of interest to know that Benjamin Silliman, who became the first Professor of Chemistry in Yale College, was aided greatly by him in his preparation for the field which he came to fill so worthily.

The college had been greatly impoverished during the Revolutionary War—its treasury was depleted, its buildings were seriously damaged, and its library and apparatus were scattered or destroyed. In this emergency the State made an appropriation of six hundred pounds, proclamation money, annually for a period of three years, to repair the material losses. In 1802 the interior of the college building was completely destroyed by fire. An appeal was made to the people of the United States, and subscriptions amounting to forty thousand dollars were procured for rebuilding and endowment purposes.

During all these years the college had been dominated largely by Presbyterian influences, to which it was indebted in large degree for its support. This led to overtures from the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church looking to the establishment of a theological seminary which should be so intimately associated with the college as to ultimately combine the two institutions in one. The plan was abandoned as inexpedient, but both parties concurred in the conclusion that it would be well to establish the theological seminary in close proximity to the college, in which event the latter would not establish a chair of theology. Thus the college retained its freedom from ecclesiastical authority, and the proposed theological seminary (in 1812) entered upon an independent existence.

President Smith resigned in 1812, after occupying his chair for seventeen years. During this period he had given training to many who became noted in public life—a Vice-President of the United States, two Presidents of the United States, nine United States Senators and twenty-five Representatives, four Cabinet officers, five Ministers to foreign courts, eight Governors of States, thirty-four Judges and Chancellors, and twenty-one Presidents of colleges or college professors.

Dr. Ashbel Green, another graduate of the college, which he had served as Trustee, tutor and professor, was called to the Presidency on the retirement of President Smith. He was an able divine of the Presbyterian faith, and he was greatly instrumental in the establishment of his denomination in America upon a platform of the broadest religious liberty. His son, Dr. Jacob Green, was (in 1818) called to the new chair of Experimental Philosophy, Chemistry and Natural History, and served until the father resigned, on account of ill health, in 1822.

Dr. John H. Rice, a Presbyterian clergyman of Richmond, Virginia, was elected President, but he declined, and the college was temporarily conducted by Vice-President Lindsley, who also declined an election to the headship.

The Rev. James Carnahan, a graduate of the college, was then chosen, and his administration was destined to cover the phenomenal period of thirty-one years (exceeding in duration that of any of his predecessors), and terminating with his resignation in 1853. He was inducted to office in troublous times, when students were few in number, and the Trustees were at variance as to administrative policies. His influence and labors were most salutary, and the history of the college during the years of his service is of rare interest. The curriculum was extended, new chairs were created, and the number of students was materially increased. In the decade beginning in 1820 the number had grown from seventy to two hun-

dred and seventy. In the grand summing up, Dr. Carnahan admitted sixteen hundred and seventy-seven students to the first degree of the arts (an annual average of more than fifty-four), a larger number than had been graduated during the administrations of all his predecessors. Among these were many who came to occupy distinguished positions—eight United States Senators and twenty-six Representatives, four Cabinet members, seventy-three Presidents or Professors in colleges and academies, and a great number of eminent professional men.

Under President Carnahan, several new chairs were established, and the faculty included at various times such accomplished teachers as Professor Maclean, Ancient Languages and Literature; Professor Dod, Mathematics; Professor Vethake, Natural Philosophy; Professor Torrey, Chemistry and Natural History; Professor Howell, Anatomy and Physiology; Professor Hargous, Modern Languages; Mr. Alexander, Adjunct Professor of Ancient Languages and Literature; Joseph Henry, Natural Philosophy; James W. Alexander, Belle Lettres; Stephen Alexander, Astronomy; Arnold Guyot, Geology and Physical Geography, and others. For two years a law class was maintained, but conditions were not favorable to professional schools, and it was discontinued.

Two notable organizations had their founding under Dr. Carnahan's administration—the Philadelphia Society and the Alumni Association, both in 1826. The former named was in its day what the Young Men's Christian Association now is, and it was the first of that character in connection with any college in the United States. The Alumni Association was the first of the College of New Jersey, and its first President was James Madison, of Virginia.

The same period was one of great activity in the work of material betterments. Two dormitories were built—the East College in 1833 and the West College in 1836. These were four stories in height, built of stone, with brick partitions and iron stairways, and cost nearly \$14,000 each. Two of the college societies were provided with halls which were not only well designed for their purpose, but were gems of architectural art. Whig Hall was in Ionic style, modeled in design after the temple of Dionysius, in the city of Zeus, with hexastyle porticos adorned with columns copied after those of an Athenian temple. Clio Hall, the other building, was similar in design.

President Carnahan was succeeded by Dr. John Maclean, a native of Princeton, a graduate of the college, and the son of the first Professor of Chemistry in that institution. After teaching in an academy at Lawrenceville for two years, he became connected with the faculty of his *alma mater*, with which he served uninterruptedly until his election to the Presi-

dency. He entered upon the latter named position in 1854, and his administration covered a period of fourteen years, closing with his resignation in 1868. With his previous service as tutor and professor, his active connection with the college had extended over a full half century.

He entered upon the duties of President at an unpropitious time, and difficulties increased with the following years. In the first year of his Presidency the college building was a second time destroyed (interiorly) by fire. This loss was scarcely repaired when the great financial panic of 1857 swept over the country, and for the time ended all effort toward securing further endowment. Then ensued a long period of financial depression, followed immediately by the beginning of the Civil War. In spite of all these untoward circumstances and discouragements, Dr. Maclean accomplished a magnificent work. With the aid of his colleagues (particularly Dr. Matthew B. Hope and Dr. Lyman H. Atwater) he was able to acquire considerable permanent funds for the college, in the aggregate about \$150,000—an amount probably exceeding all which had been contributed from its founding down to the beginning of his administration, a period of not much less than a century.

In point of number of students the college was greatly benefited. When Dr. Maclean came to the Presidency the number enrolled was two hundred and forty-seven. Notwithstanding the discouraging conditions previously mentioned, this number had been increased to three hundred and fourteen when the Civil War began in 1861. In that year the graduating class would have numbered nearly one hundred, had it not been for the exodus of young men who laid down their books to take a part in the strife then just opening. At that time the college contained students from twenty-six of the thirty-one States of the Union, and more than one third of the whole number were from the South. The war carried away to the field practically all the young men of physical ability of the age of eighteen years, and in 1868, three years after the restoration of peace, the number of students enrolled at the opening session was but one hundred and seventeen.

James McCosh became President in 1868, and he served for twenty years, resigning in 1888. His life history is of really romantic interest, and its telling were worthy the pen of a Walter Scott.

He was a son of Scotland, born near Ayr, the home of the ploughman bard, and there he began his education in a small school. When thirteen years old he entered the University of Glasgow, in which he was a student for five years. He then entered the University of Edinburgh, where he had as tutors the eminent theologians Thomas Chalmers and David Welsh, and the great philosophical teacher, Sir William Hamilton. In 1835, when

twenty-four years of age, he was made a licentiate under the Established Church of Scotland, and the same year he became minister at Arbroath, famous as Fairport in Sir Walter Scott's "Antiquary." In 1838 he was appointed by the crown to a large church in Brechin, and he gathered into his fold congregations to the number of fourteen hundred souls. In 1843 the ecclesiastical-political conditions impelled him to resign his living, and he organized more than eight hundred of his parishioners into a Free Church. Not much later he began work as a writer upon philosophical and metaphysical themes. His writings brought him into notice, and in 1852 he accepted the chair of Logic and Metaphysics in the newly founded Queen's College, in Belfast, Ireland, and this marked the beginning of a more brilliant career as a class-room lecturer and author. The eminent value of his thought is at once evidenced by the glowing encomiums of Chalmers, Guthrie, Hugh Miller, Sir William Hamilton, Dean Mansel, the Duke of Argyll and Mr. Gladstone, and by the criticisms of John Stuart Mill, the rasping comment of Ruskin, and the genial humor of Thackeray.

In 1866 Dr. McCosh made a visit to the United States. Two years later he was called to the Presidency of Princeton College (as it had now generally come to be known), and he entered upon his duties the same year. The conditions at his coming have been, in part, previously referred to in connection with the close of Dr. Maclean's administration. It need only to be here said that the college had not recovered from the war-time paralyzation—the faculty numbered sixteen, and there were two hundred and fifty students, and scholarship and discipline were on a comparatively low plane. The coming of President McCosh wrought an immediate change. Faculty and students sprang into new life through the magnetic stimulus he imparted, and the work of improvement which began immediately continued until his retirement. The printed narrative can not afford adequate idea of the effect of his wonderful personality upon the minds and souls of his associate teachers and the students over whom they were placed—the only story can be told is of those accomplishments which appear in statistics.

At the time of President McCosh's retirement, the faculty had increased from sixteen members to forty-three (many of these being Princeton graduates), and the number of students had been more than doubled. The curriculum was revised and modernized, and the entire corps of teachers and students developed a hitherto unknown mentality and morale. The college acquired such prestige as to command the attention and admiration of the most distinguished men, and such notables as President Grant, the German professors Dörner and Christlieb, the French historian Froude, the Duke of Argyll and Matthew Arnold, were well pleased to be

among its visitors. The utility of the instruction given by Dr. McCosh finds eloquent attestation in the fact that nearly one hundred members of Dr. McCosh's pupils subsequently devoted their efforts to the pursuit of higher education, and that twenty four of their number at one time filled faculty positions under his successor in the college headed by the material improvements made during the administration of Dr. McCosh as mentioned elsewhere.

Dr. Cosh maintained his affectionate interest in the college to the last, but never interfered with its conduct. His eightieth birthday occurred April 1, 1891, and the college and community made him a special visit. He was the most conspicuous and most honored figure at the International Congress of Education held in connection with the World's Exposition in Chicago, in July, 1893, and this may be said to have been his last public appearance. His death occurred November 10th of the following year, and he preserved all his mental faculties to the last.

The successor of Dr. McCosh was the Rev. Dr. Francis Lindley Patton. He was born in Bermuda, of Scotch and English ancestry. He received his literary education in the University of Toronto, Canada, and pursued his theological course in the Princeton New Jersey Theological Seminary, from which he was graduated when twenty two years of age. He was engaged in the ministry until 1870, when he became a member of the faculty of McCormick Seminary, Chicago, Illinois, with which he was connected for nine years, during a portion of the time as presiding and acting as editor of the "Inquirer." From 1881 to 1888 he was a member of the faculty of the Theological Seminary at Princeton, New Jersey, from which he was called in the year last mentioned to the Presidency of Princeton University. As an administrator of college matters President Patton demonstrated unusual ability, a fact quite remarkable when it is considered that his great strength as a scholar and teacher lies in theological lines—pursuits which frequently militate against material objects.

President Patton resigned June 9, 1902, desiring to have larger opportunity for pursuing literary work. He retained, however, his position as Professor of Ethics and the Philosophy of Religion.

His successor was immediately chosen in the person of Dr. Andrew Wilson, a native of Virginia, and a graduate of Princeton in 1886 he received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from Johns Hopkins University, and in 1887 the degree of Doctor of Laws from Wesleyan College, North Carolina. In 1888 he was elected to the Chair of Law and Political Economy in Wesleyan University, and in 1890 became the Professor of Jurisprudence and Political Economy in Princeton University.

sity. He has written several volumes and numerous magazine articles on topics pertaining to political science.

The retirement of President Patton and the inauguration of President Wilson marks the end of one remarkable regime and the beginning of another whose trend is most significant and pregnant with wonderful possibilities. Until this event, the college management had been vested in an unbroken line of theologians inheriting the traditions and firmly founded in the faith of Presbyterianism. They were men of splendid attainments and strong traits of individual character, and the impress they left upon the minds and character of their thousands of students during more than one and one-half centuries was nothing but salutary. But standards had been slowly and surely changing through all these years, and the theological dogma had come to take second place after a vital and active conception of practical Christianity. Christian principles had become identified with and made a part of all that enters into the world's work, whether in education, in political science or in business life. In a way this was to the disparagement of theology and of theological teachers. Yet this disparagement was more apparent than real. Christianity in its more practical manifestations had not brought down the pulpit or degraded the minister—it had brought humanity upward and into closer relations, into deeper sympathy and community of interest and effort, with the minister. And so came about appreciation of the fact that all conscientious workers, of whatever calling, are engaged in the Master's business—that of making men wiser and better—and that all who were capable and conscientious were equally commissioned to engage in that business. And, at the same time, another truth came to be acknowledged—that the scholarship of the world had so broadened that learning was not restricted to those of any one calling, and this was a departure from the old traditions that the clergyman was the one highly educated man in his community, and that he was, because of this, stamped above all others as the guide and instructor of youth. It only remains to be said that in this development of ideas there was a crusade directed against the clergyman—as a matter of fact, save in a very few instances, he was among the leaders in advanced thought and action, as in the case of President Patton, who voluntarily stepped aside to aid in the substitution of a non-clerical for a ministerial teacher in one of the most conservative collegiate institutions in the country, one which had clung longest to the old traditions and manner of conduct.

During the first decade of its existence the College of New Jersey owned neither grounds nor buildings, and the early classes were taught in the residence of the President or in convenient rooms. The present University buildings form a stately group situated upon a beautiful tract of two

hundred and twenty-five acres of ground. The most striking building is old Nassau Hall, dating from 1750, its ivy-clad reddish gray sandstone walls redolent of glorious history. Another old edifice is a stone building erected in 1803, which contains the University offices. The others of the early buildings have been previously mentioned.

The material improvements made under the administration of President McCosh were of immense importance. In 1809 were erected the Halstead Observatory and the Gymnasium. In 1870 a building was erected for academical class room work, through the benefaction of John C. Green, who named it Dickinson Hall, in memory of the first President of the college. In the same year was erected a dormitory building containing fifty-four suites. The funds were donated by members of both schools of the Presbyterian Church, who, to commemorate the reunion of their respective church branches, named it Reunion Hall. The cornerstone was laid by the General Assembly. In 1873 was built the library building, named for Chancellor Green. It was provided for by John C. Green, who had previously created the Elizabeth Fund for the purchase of books. Mr. Green also founded the School of Science in 1873. University Hall, a dormitory building, was erected in 1870, and in the following year was built Witherspoon Hall, for similar purpose, and named for an early President of the college. The Observatory of Instruction was built in 1878, Murray Hall in 1870, and Edwards Hall (dormitories) in 1880, Marquand Chapel in 1881, and the Biological Library (presented by the class of 1877) and the Art Museum in 1887.

Marquand Chapel, the gift of Mr. Henry G. Marquand, of New York, is a beautiful structure of brownstone, in shape of a Greek cross. The mural and window decorations are noteworthy. The St. Gaudens heroic bronze high relief of the late President McCosh, erected by the class of 1870, faces the visitor on entering; by its side are the low relief memorial tablet to Professor Joseph Henry and the bronze tablet to Professor Arnold Guyot, the latter set in a fragment of a Swiss glacial boulder presented by the authorities of his native city, Nendachetel. On the east wall of the southeast corner of the chapel is the memorial tablet to Rev. James Ornabee Murray, first Dean of Princeton University, presented to the University in November, 1901. This tablet consists of rose colored Numidian marble, upon which is a medallion portrait in bas relief of white marble, surrounded by an embossed wreath. The north and south windows are in memory of Frederick Marquand, of the class of 1870, and William Earl Dodge, of the class of 1870. The west window is the gift of Mrs. T. Harrison Garrett, of Baltimore, in memory of her son, Heratio

W. Garrett, of the class of 1895. The daily morning services and Sunday vespers are held in this chapel.

Of more recent date, and most beautiful in construction and decoration is Alexander Hall, the gift of Mrs. Charles B. Alexander. This is used for commencement and class day exercises, public lectures, and other university gatherings of a general character. The auditorium is arranged with sloping floor and high gallery, so that an audience of fifteen hundred may be comparatively near the speaker. The rostrum and President's chair are finished in colored marbles and polychromatic mosaic. Behind the rostrum is a row of mosaic wall pictures illustrative of the Homeric story. A large organ stands in one of the small galleries. The building is constructed of granite and brownstone in the Romanesque style of western France. The front toward the south exhibits a large rose-window beneath a gable roof. Beneath the window is a seated figure of Learning, on one side of which are allegorical figures of Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Poetry, Music and Belles Lettres, and on the other are Oratory, Theology, Law, History, Philosophy and Ethics. There are other sculptures about the rose-window and in the niches around the ambulatory.

After the accession of President Patton to the Presidency, numerous additional buildings were erected.

Albert B. Dod Hall, built in 1890, by Mrs. David Brown, of Princeton, in memory of her brother, Professor Albert Baldwin Dod, of the class of 1822, is in Italian style, the body stone of granite with trimmings of Indiana limestone, while the columns flanking the entrance are of Georgia marble. The small amount of carving over the main entrance is Byzantine. The building has accommodations for one hundred students.

David Brown Hall, a dormitory of fifty suites, is another valuable gift from Mrs. Brown, and was erected in 1891. It is modeled after a Florentine palace in the Italian renaissance style and forms a hollow square of four stories enclosing a courtyard. The first three stories are of granite and the foundation is Pompeian brick.

Blair Hall, a sesquicentennial gift from the late Hon. John Insley Blair, was the first representative of the style of architecture which has since been adopted for the later Princeton dormitories. The style is the Norman, or English collegiate. Blair Hall is built of Indiana limestone, and is one of the largest dormitories on the campus, comprising ninety-eight suites. The square massive central tower is pierced by an archway which, with the terraces and flight of steps, forms the entrance to the campus from the southwest.

Stafford Little Hall, the gift of the Hon. Henry Stafford Little of the class of 1844, is the newest and most complete of the dormitories. It

was erected in 1869, and its seventy-two suites have the advantage of all the conveniences of a thoroughly appointed dormitory building. A second Stafford Little Hall, the gift of the same generous benefactor, is built adjoin the first, thus forming, with Blair Hall at one end and the new Gymnasium at the other, a series of architecturally harmonious buildings marking the western confines of the campus.

University Hall was originally planned as a hotel, but now serves as a dormitory. The main hall on the ground floor is used for concerts, public meetings, dinners, etc.

Two other dormitories are the Upper and Lower Pyne buildings, erected by M. Taylor Pyne, of the class of 1877.

The most important recent building is that built for the University Library, by the Pyne estate of New York City—a splendid edifice in perpendicular Gothic style, in quadrangular form, after the fashion of an Oxford College building. The various book collections (in the main library and in other buildings) aggregate 239,656 volumes, of which 68,496 are contained in the library of the Theological Seminary. The various departments of geology, paleontology, archaeology, biology and ornithology have excellent collections, and the museum of historic art is wonderfully comprehensive.

In 1902 the faculty and instructors of Princeton University numbered 101, and the officers and curators were fifteen. The students numbered 1,354, representing forty-one States and Territories, with four from Great Britain, three from Turkey, and one each from Japan, China, Germany, Holland, Egypt and Canada.

A remarkable fact in the history of Princeton University is that nearly all the Chief Justices and Associate Justices of New Jersey who received collegiate education came out of it, and this serves to indicate how useful the institution has been in preparing men for the most important fields of effort. It is also peculiarly interesting to note that, with one exception, every Chief Justice of the State since the Revolution has been a Presbyterian, and the large majority of the Associate Justices have also been attached to the same denomination, many of them holding the office of Elder.

Yet Princeton, while dominated by a deeply Christian spirit, has never been a denominational school, no creed has ever been taught within its walls, nor has any proselyting effort ever been exerted. Among its faculty and Trustees have been and are adherents of various religious sects, as have been and are many of its alumni, as Meade, McVane, Hobarts and Johns, all Bishops in the Protestant Episcopal Church, and

many more conspicuous examples could be given were it necessary to the subject.

RUTGERS COLLEGE.

The founding of Rutgers College grew out of the urgent necessity for ministers to supply the growing demands of the Reformed Dutch Church. From the coming of the Hollanders until more than a century after New Netherland had come under English control, its ministers were brought from Holland. But the need was far greater than could be met: not more than one-third the number of ministers desired could be thus procured, and at one time, while there were sixty churches, the ministers numbered only seventeen. A *Coetus* was formed, and to this was given power to ordain ministers, under certain restrictions, but this method was unsatisfactory in various respects, and in none more conspicuously than in the want of provision for what was most earnestly desired—a constant succession of liberally educated men for the ministry.

In 1755 an American Classis was organized, and the Rev. Theodorus Frelinghuysen, of Albany, was commissioned to visit Holland for the purpose of procuring means for the establishment of a school of learning. His going was, however, deferred until 1759, and what his encouragement was remained unknown, for he died while on his return voyage and when within sight of his destination.

Meantime, the projectors of the school received overtures from Kings College and from the College of New Jersey, both of which were desirous of absorbing an element which they looked upon as promising of rivalry. These were declined, and an organization was formed (1760) under the name of Queen's College. March 20, 1770, Governor William Franklin granted a charter creating a board of forty trustees, including (*ex-officio*) the Governor, the Chief Justice and the Attorney General of the Province. The document declared that the college should be "for the education of youth in the learned languages, liberal and useful arts and sciences, and especially in divinity, preparing them for the ministry and other good offices," and also provided that there should always be at least one professor or teacher to give instruction in English, and that all the records of the institution should be kept in that language and in no other. This was a long step forward, for in the inception of the enterprise its promoters had considered only the conditions of those of their own age, whose mother tongue alone was familiar and grateful to them. But fifteen years had now intervened, and a younger generation of their own blood were as unfamiliar with Dutch as they themselves were with English, and in their interest, and with conception of the future, all but a few had given their approval of the charter provision as to language.

The Trustees met May 7, 1771, at Hackensack, whose people greatly desired that the college should be there established. But Dr. J. Hardenbergh and Hendrick Fisher made representations as to the greater desirability of New Brunswick, then a place of considerable importance, and reinforced their arguments with one another altogether unanswerable—a liberal subscription—and New Brunswick was declared to be the seat of the new institution.

The exact date of the opening of Queens College is not ascertainable owing to the non-discovery of the early records. Mr. Bradley placed it as prior to 1775, and probably as early as 1772. Dr. John H. Livingston declined the Presidency, and at the outset the teachers were members of the Board of Trustees, but it has been ascertained that Dr. Hardenbergh was acting as President in 1776, as appears from a diploma under his signature, and bearing date of October 5th of that year. No man could have been more active than was he. Although he was at the same time pastor of the church at Raritan, he gave instruction in the Languages, Moral Philosophy and other branches, and he (with the Rev. John Leydt) made personal appeals throughout the neighborhood for endowment funds. The first tutor in the college was Frederick Frelinghuysen (a stepson of Mr. Hardenbergh), who was an accomplished scholar, and subsequently became a man of great prominence. Another early day tutor was John Taylor, who wrote some excellent text-books on natural philosophy. He was also an ardent patriot, and drilled his students in military tactics, and he himself participated in the battles of Princeton and Germantown. Under the instruction of these men thirteen students were graduated prior to 1776, and one of these, Simeon DeWitt, subsequently became United States Surveyor-General and devised the method after which the western public lands were laid out.

In the autumn of 1776 the British army was in possession of New Brunswick, the school was disrupted, and its first building was presumably burned during this time. Subsequent scholastic sessions were held in Millstone and North Branch, and again at New Brunswick in 1778, when commencement exercises were held. In 1785 Dr. Hardenbergh became permanent President, and he served most capably in that position until, his health obliged him to resign, and his death occurred a few months later, in 1790.

The college was impoverished during the Revolutionary War, and it was only after severe struggling that the Trustees were enabled to erect a building in 1790. This was a two-story frame house, without a cupola or belfry, and was built (it is believed) on the same ground upon which the original college building stood—the ground now occupied by the Second

Presbyterian Church. In 1795 the college was closed on account of want of means. A good work had been accomplished, however—more than sixty students had been graduated, ten of whom became ministers in the Reformed Dutch Church, while several others arrived at distinction in public life, in science and literature.

In 1807 the college was revived under the inspiration and through the earnest personal effort of the Rev. Dr. Ira Condict, who became President and served in that capacity until 1816, when he died. His work in connection with the re-establishment and conduct of the college was eminently useful. Through his instrumentality the General Synod agreed to establish a theological professorship, and \$10,000 were subscribed in New York City for the support of the chair, to which was appointed Dr. J. H. Livingston. Dr. Condict taught the most advanced college classes, and the other members of his faculty were his own son, Harrison Condict, as tutor, and Robert Adrian, LL. D., instructor in mathematics. This was the highest approach as yet toward the dignity of college establishment, and the material improvement was commensurate with it. Hon. James Parker procured from the heirs of his father a donation of five acres of ground, to which was added by purchase an adjoining tract of one and one-third acres, and these form the present beautiful campus. Dr. Condict secured upwards of sixty thousand dollars in and near New Brunswick, and this sum was increased by about eleven thousand dollars procured by means of a lottery (a no unusual method for such purposes in those days) under authority of the Legislature. The erection of the college building—a substantial stone edifice—was begun in 1807, and in 1811 its construction was so far advanced as to justify its occupancy.

After the death of Dr. Condict, Dr. Livingston was installed as President, but his interest in his class in theology claimed the larger share of his attention. At the same time the Trustees were unable to procure means for completing the building and to properly support the college, and in 1816 the classes were suspended. During this period forty-one students were graduated.

President Livingston died in 1825, and Dr. John DeWitt proposed the resuscitation of the college. The theological department had been maintained while the college proper was in a quiescent condition. More than \$50,000 were subscribed for the support of the theological department, with the understanding that the three professors should give gratuitous literary instruction. About the same time the college property was transferred to the General Synod, which defrayed a debt incurred by the Trustees. The college was granted free use of certain portions of the building. Dr. Milledoler was made President, and a course of study was provided

for, covering all departments of a ministerial education. A cupola with a bell was added to the building, the library was increased, a mineralogical cabinet was commenced, and a natural history society was formed by the students. The name of the institution was changed to that of Rutgers College, out of gratitude to Colonel Henry Rutgers, who had made a considerable subscription toward the endowment fund. The school now numbered sixty students.

In 1835 the last medical degree was conferred, and the medical school, which had been irregularly maintained, was abandoned. In 1840 President Milledoler resigned and was succeeded by Abraham B. Hasbrouck. Between 1825 and 1840 the number of students graduated was two hundred and fifty-eight, of whom seventy-one were licensed by the Reformed Dutch Church. Many others became conspicuous in public life and in the learned professions. In the class of 1836 alone were Joseph P. Bradley, afterward an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court; Frederick G. Frelinghuysen, who became a United States Senator; William A. Newell, who became Governor of New Jersey, and distinguished himself in connection with the Life Saving Service; Cortlandt Parker, who became one of the most eminent lawyers in the State; and George W. Coakley, who was for years a member of the faculty of the University of New York.

The relations between the College and the Synod were partially sundered in 1840, and larger provision was made for the collegiate work proper. Additional buildings were erected, new professorships were created, and the endowment fund was increased. In 1862 occurred the death of Theodore Frelinghuysen, who had been President for some years, and he was succeeded by the Rev. Dr. William H. Campbell. In 1863 the Rutgers Scientific School was established to meet the demands for more thorough instruction in scientific and practical studies, and the following year the State College of Agriculture (noted in the chapter on "Agriculture") was created by the Legislature and made a part of the Scientific School. In 1865 matters were finally adjusted between the College and the Synod, and the former became independent and non-sectarian.

In 1870 was celebrated the centennial anniversary of the college, and this was made the occasion for a determined effort to place the institution upon a substantial financial foundation. Under the masterly direction of President Campbell nearly \$150,000 was subscribed, and during a few years following various substantial bequests were made to the endowment fund.

Dr. Austin Scott succeeded to the Presidency of the college in 1890. He was graduated from Yale in 1860, took his Master's degree from the University of Michigan in 1870, was made a Doctor of Philosophy at

Leipsic in 1873, and received the degree of Doctor of Laws from Princeton University in 1891.

The old "Queen's College," built in 1808-9, occupies the central position of the group of buildings, and has an air of antiquity which is almost awesome. It contains the splendid Henry Janeway Weston Memorial Collection of books, engravings and curios relating to Napoleon I, deposited in a room fitted for the uses of the students, particularly those pursuing certain elective courses in history. This valuable collection was given by the late Mrs. Katharine Weston, who furnished the room, and at her decease left a sum to provide for its maintenance.

The Fine Arts Building was erected in 1841-2, and was formerly used as the residence of the President. It contains the Thomas L. Janeway Memorial Collection, illustrative of the topography, art and literature of Ancient Greece and Rome. This was the gift of the heirs of Dr. Thomas L. Janeway, of the class of 1863.

Van Nest Hall was erected in 1845, and was named for Abraham Van Nest, Esq., a liberal Trustee, in recognition of his services and gifts to the college. In 1863 it was beautified by the addition of a stone porch, the gift of Mrs. Ann Van Nest Bassing, daughter of Abraham Van Nest, who at the same time refitted the eastern portion of the second story into a handsome hall for the regular and occasional exercises of the students in elocution. During the same year the Trustees added a third story to the original building, creating a large and well-lighted room for the use of the classes in draughting.

The Daniel S. Schanck Observatory, erected in 1865, is a two-story brick building with revolving dome. It contains an equatorial refracting telescope and all other necessary equipments.

The Geological Hall, erected in 1871, contains all necessary philosophical lecture apparatus. The most recent building is the Kirkpatrick Chapel and Library, of brownstone, after French Gothic models of the fourteenth century. The library comprises 42,656 volumes.

Rutgers College comprises two schools, the Classical and the Scientific, whose relations are so close that the facilities of both are open in large part to students of each. In the Classical School the various courses lead on the one hand to the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and on the other to the degree of Bachelor of Letters. In the Scientific School each of the five courses leads to the degree of Bachelor of Science. All courses require four years for their completion.

CHAPTER XII.

BENCH AND BAR.

Whatever the conflict between the English and the Dutch for possession of the territory in which was included what is now New Jersey, and whatever the awkward situations growing out of the claims of rival grantees or proprietors—these are not of great moment with reference to the topic now in hand. The important fact remains that the English system of jurisprudence alone secured a firm and enduring establishment. That exaggerated powers were assumed and exercised by servants of the crown is true, but these conditions were incident to the times.

Under the Dutch rule, local government was of a crude and patriarchal nature. Governor Kieft was a believer in government by proclamation, and soon after his arrival he had the trees and fences in and around New Amsterdam covered with proclamation placards ordaining all sorts of regulations, even prescribing the hour when people should go to bed and when they should arise to pursue their usual vocations. He was quite a fussy tyrant, too, and interfered in all sorts of ways with the private affairs and arrangements of his subjects. His conduct more than once called down the denunciation of Dominie Bogardus in the pulpit, and he retaliated by causing his soldiers to beat their drums and play all sorts of noisy pranks outside the church, so that the good clergyman had to confine himself to moderate language for the sake of being permitted to preach in peace. The Governor was also a court of last resort in all disputes, even the most trifling.

Governor Stuyvesant, who succeeded Kieft, was of more considerate disposition, yet he was jealous of his authority. Under him the rudimentary system of Kings and Queens may be said to have developed, and Flatlands, Newtown, Flushing and Hempstead arose under his administration, but he would not permit them to exercise self-government or even to elect Schepens to be more than figureheads. In short, where the formation of these municipalities to be formed, he made it his business to see that they

his wishes and views were paramount to those of Schepens or people. This the Long Island communities fought against, and on December 11, 1653, delegates from each of the towns met and drew up a protest against Stuyvesant's methods, which they addressed to the Governor and Council and "to the Council of the High and Mighty Lords the States General of the United Provinces." In the course of it they said:

"We acknowledge a paternal government which God and nature has established in the world for the maintenance and preservation of peace and the welfare of men, not only principally in conformity to the laws of nature, but according to the law and precepts of God, to which we consider ourselves obliged by word and therefore submit to it. The Lord our God having invested their High Mightinesses the States General, as his ministers, with the power to promote the welfare of their subjects, as well of those residing within the United Provinces as those on this side of the sea, which we gratefully acknowledge; and having commissioned in the same view some subaltern magistrates and clothed them with authority to promote the same end, as are the Lords Directors of the privileged West India Company, whom we acknowledge as Lords and patrons of this place, next to your Lordships, as being their representatives."

After further homage of this sort the representatives of the village or towns then set forth their complaints. They refer to the arbitrary government set up by Stuyvesant, to the appointment of local officers without an expression of the will of the people, to the putting in force, as occasion arose, obsolete laws, so that good citizens hardly knew when they were not violating some ordinance or proclamation, to the length of time in which honest applications for land patents were kept pending, and to the prompt and easy manner in which large tracts of valuable land were awarded to those favored individuals who had some sort of a "pull," as modern politicians would call it, with the authorities. Therefore, trusting to their "High Mightinesses" to "heal our sickness and pain," the delegates signed the document.

But the Governor had no toleration for such documents, would hardly manage to be civil to the Deputies who presented the paper, and denied that Brooklyn, Flatbush and Flatlands, at any rate, had any right to elect delegates to such meetings. He believed it was an evidence of incipient rebellion and treason, and blamed the English residents as the cause of the whole trouble, and he ordered the delegates to disperse and "not to assemble again on such business," and the citizens meekly obeyed. He went so far in the following year as to refuse to confirm the election of the Gravesend delegates, Baxter and Hubbard, as magistrates of that town, and went there in person to allay the excitement which that arbitrary proceeding occasioned.

Yet, this same Stuyvesant, acting in the name of the Lords States General, issued a patent (September 5, 1661) under which was constituted the first court of law in what is now New Jersey, at Bergen. This document named three judges selected by the Governor; their jurisdiction was restricted to the municipality, and their powers, which were limited to adjudicature between individuals in small affairs, were minutely set forth in about a score of different provisions.

Late in August, 1664, an English fleet under Sir Richard Nicolls took possession of New York, and September 8th the administration of Governor Stuyvesant and the Dutch supremacy came to an end.

When Charles II (March 12, 1663-4) made his royal grant to the Duke of York, conveying to him the territory, he clothed him and his heirs, deputies, agents, commissioners and assigns with all governmental powers "agreeable to the laws, statutes and government of this our realm of England," properly reserving to the crown "the receiving, hearing and determining of the appeal and appeals of all or any person or persons of, in or belonging to the territories or islands aforesaid, in or touching any judgment or sentence to be there made or given." Among the powers specially delegated was that to "make, ordain and establish all manner of orders, laws, directions, instructions, forms and ceremonies of government and magistracy fit and necessary for and concerning the government of the territories and islands aforesaid, so always that the same be not contrary to the laws and statutes of this our realm of England, but as near as may be agreeable therunto."

With this as his warrant, Sir Richard Nicolls, as Deputy Governor, proceeded to establish civil order after the English fashion. He began by changing some of the names of his vast barlwick. The old name of New Netherland was changed to New York, in honor of one title of his royal patron, and Fort Orange became Albany in honor of another. About the same time English names were given to various towns which had hitherto borne names given them by the Dutch.

But, in the line of our narrative, one of the most important early acts of Governor Nicolls (September 30, 1664) was his proclamation offering the conditions under which planters might settle in the new territories, for upon this was based the beginning of social order and of political institutions in New Jersey. By the terms of this document it was provided that "the purchasers are to set out a town and inhabit together," that "the several townships have liberty to make their particular laws, and deciding all small causes within themselves;" and that "every township hath the free choice of all the officers, both civil and military."

In 1665 Governor Nicolls issued a call for an assembly of delegates from the various towns of Long Island. This call contained the following

"In discharge, therefore, of my trust and duty, to settle good and known laws within this Government for the future and receive your best advice and information in a general meeting, I have thought it best to publish unto you that upon the last day of this present February, at Hempstead, upon Long Island, shall be a general meeting which is to consist of deputies chosen by the major part of the freemen only; which is to be understood of all persons rated according to their estates, whether English or Dutch, within your several towns and precincts.

"You are further to impart to the inhabitants from me that I do heartily recommend to them the choice of the most sober, able and discreet persons, without partiality or faction, the fruit and benefit whereof will return to themselves in a full and perfect composure of all controversies and the propagation of true religion amongst us."

To this Assembly was submitted the code known as "The Duke's Laws." The laws, in themselves, were just and equitable. The Indians were protected so far as a sale of their lands required the consent of the Governor. The uttermost toleration was allowed in religious matters. Its legal administration, with a town court, a court of sessions and a court of assizes, seemed adequate for the needs of the Province. There was a Sheriff for the shire, and a Deputy Sheriff for each riding. Each town was to elect a Constable, and eight (afterward reduced to four) Overseers, who were entrusted with the maintenance of good order. They made up the town court, which took notice of all cases of debt or trespass under five pounds, and at which a Justice of the Peace (appointed by the Governor) was to preside when present. The Court of Sessions was composed of the Justice of the Peace in each town in each riding, and had jurisdiction over all criminal cases and over civil cases where the amount was above five pounds. Under suits for less than twenty pounds the judgment of the court was to be final, over that sum there was the right of appeal to the Court of Assizes. It was a jury court, seven jurymen being the number fixed for all cases not capital, and for such twelve were required, and a unanimous verdict was necessary to convict. The death penalty was the fate decreed for those who denied God or His attributes, who were found guilty of treason, or willful murder, or taking life by false testimony, or who engaged in man-stealing, and for several other crimes.

These laws were remarkable for their utility as well as for their broad and tolerant spirit, quite different in that respect from the regulations prevailing over the greater part of New England. Many of the members constituting the Assembly had been banished from New England because of their nonconformity with Puritanism in religion, and others had left that region in order to escape the penalties of fine, imprisonment and whipping which were visited upon some of their fellows. Were it not that

we knew differently, it would be apparent that these men were the authors of this code, which so carefully guarded the personal religious freedom they sought for themselves. But it does not appear that the Assembly had any hand in its framing, and it is rather evident that that body was only called together to give it their formal sanction, which it did. The laws were presumably written by Matthias Nicolls, a nephew of the Governor, and this well grounded assumption reflects great credit upon him, as well as upon his uncle, of neither of whom so much could scarcely be expected when we remember what their own political and religious ideas were, and that they represented a kingly authority in which Church and State were practically one and the same.

"The Duke's Laws" are also worthy of notice in view of the fact that, about the time of their enactment and shortly afterward, there was considerable emigration from Long Island throughout the Jersey Provinces; and it is highly presumable that the emigrants based upon them many of the local regulations which were made for that region. There are traditions pointing to a local court near Hackensack, in Bergen county, in 1677, two years after "The Duke's Laws" were promulgated, but these are discredited by close investigators of judicial history. There is some real evidence of the existence of local courts in the same year, in Monmouth county. Such courts were doubtless the local assemblies which were held under the authority of the Nicolls Patent, and which, for the time, exercised rather broad powers under the provisions of that instrument. There was, however, grave question as to the legitimacy of such bodies, their jurisdiction was limited, and they are soon lost to sight.

But to return to the Province of New Jersey. February 10, 1664-65, Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, the assignees of the Duke of York, in their capacity as "Lords Proprietors of the Province of New Cesarea, or New Jersey," promulgated their "Grants and Concessions"—a document which is regarded as the first Constitution of the Province. It is of peculiar interest in one important particular—it provided for the establishment of a judicial system, and this in a day when Governor Nicolls, of the more populous Province of New York, was getting along without such agencies, questions of dispute being brought before him on petition for his adjudication.

The "Grants and Concessions" were, for the times, and under the circumstances, extremely liberal. To analyze motives is often a miserable task, and sometimes leads to unjust reflections. In the present case a statement of existent conditions may aid us in arriving at a just verdict.

The Province of Jersey, so far as it was inhabited, was occupied by a conglomerate population, in which the Dutch and English elements greatly

preponderated. The former people were of sterling character and their virtues were strongly domestic. Excellent qualities these, but not just such as the Lords Proprietors looked to for such energetic aid in the development of the virgin country as would lead to that high commercial and political importance they had in view. For this they, Englishmen themselves, looked to Englishmen. Yet with the great majority of their fellow-countrymen then on the ground, they were not in full sympathy. The English commonwealth had failed, and the monarchy had been re-established. Very many of the Englishmen then in Jersey had been among the Revolutionists in the mother country, and it was natural that their American landlords, who had been and were steadfast royalists, would cherish toward them a strong antipathy and make their way no smoother than was absolutely necessary for their own interest. But the Lords Proprietors were desirous of attracting emigration, and it was evident that this end would be best accomplished by display of the utmost tolerance in religious affairs and such freedom in political matters as could be afforded without serious impairment of their own authority. Upon these grounds a large emigration was to be expected from the British Isles. And, again, object lessons had been presented to them in the conditions elsewhere upon American soil. Many of the New England colonists had grown restive under the proscriptive Puritanism of New England, and were casting about for a region where perfect tolerance should prevail. To such, Maryland offered peculiar inducements, for there Lord Baltimore, a devout Romanist in religion, had based his government upon the most liberal principles that could be asked—principles which, by legislative act in 1649 (fifteen years prior to this time), had provided that "no person whatsoever professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall be in any way troubled, molested or discountenanced for and in respect of his or her religion, nor in the free exercise thereof, nor in any way compelled to the belief or exercise of any other religion against his or her consent." And so, it is fair to presume, in view of the immigration which soon set in, and of its character (largely Scotch Presbyterians and Quakers) that the "Grants and Concessions" were as potent in peopling the country as were, in a later day, the more material advantages offered by new States in the trans-Mississippi region—cheap lands, low tax rates and liberal property exemptions from sheriff's sale.

Among the provisions of the document under discussion, which has been called by some the "Magna Charta of New Jersey," are the following:

"Item. That no person qualified as aforesaid within the said Province, at any time shall be in any ways molested, punished, disquieted or

called in question for any Difference in opinion or practice in matter of Religious Concernments, who do not actually disturb the civil Peace of the said Province; but that all and every such Person and Persons may from time to time, and at all Times, freely and fully have and enjoy his and their Judgments and Consciences in matters of Religion throughout the said Province, they behaving themselves peaceably and quietly, and not using this Liberty to Licentiousness, nor to the civil Injury or outward disturbance of others; any Law, Statute or Clause contained or to be contained, usage or custom of this Realm of England, to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding.

"Item. * * * We do hereby grant unto the General Assembly of said Province, Power by Act to constitute and appoint such and so many Ministers or Preachers as they shall think fit, and to establish their Maintenance, giving liberty besides to any Person or Persons to keep and maintain what Preachers and Ministers they please.

"That the Inhabitants being Freemen * * * make choice of twelve deputies or representatives from amongst themselves; who being chosen are to join with the said Governor and council for the making of such laws, ordinances and constitution as shall be necessary for the present good and welfare of the said Province."

The charter prescribes that the body of representatives, or the major part of them, shall, with the Governor and Council (therem provided for) be the "General Assembly" of said Province, and among its powers which are enumerated, and include those for taxation and the like, are the following:

"II. To enact and make all such laws, acts and constitutions as shall be necessary for the well government of the said Province, and them to repeal; provided, that the same be consonant to reason, and as near as may be conveniently agreeable to the laws and customs of his Majesty's kingdom of England; provided also, that they be not against the interests of us the Lords Proprietors, our heirs or assigns, nor any of those our concessions, especially that they be not repugnant to the article for liberty of conscience above mentioned. * * *

"III. By act as aforesaid, to constitute all courts, together with the limits, powers and jurisdictions of the same; as also the several offices and number of officers belonging to each court, with their respective salaries, fees and perquisites, their appellations and dignities, with the penalties that shall be due to them, for the breach of their several and respective duties and trusts."

The last two paragraphs quoted are those with which this chapter is concerned—the warrant for the constitution of courts. And to these are related the following:

"The Governor is with his Council before Express'd First, To see that all courts establish'd by the laws of the General Assembly, and all min-

isters and officers, civil and military, do and execute their several duties and offices respectively, according to the laws in force; and to punish them for swerving from the laws, or acting contrary to their trust, as the nature of their offences shall require.

"II. According to the constitution of the General Assembly, to nominate and commissionate, the several judges, members and officers, of courts, whether magistratical or ministerial and all other civil officers, coroners, &c., and their commissions, powers and authority to revoke at pleasure; provided, that they appoint none but such as are freeholders in the Province aforesaid, unless the General Assembly consent.

"III. According to the constitution of the General Assembly, to appoint courts and officers in cases criminal; and to empower them to inflict penalties upon offenders against any of the laws in force in the said Province, as the said laws shall ordain; whether by fine, imprisonment, banishment, corporal punishment, or to the taking away of member or life itself if there be cause for it."

But it does not appear that courts were established under this charter until more than ten years later. As a matter of fact there is no evidence of court establishment in the Province of New Jersey until the creation of that at Newark, in January, 1668, where and when was first set up in Jersey territory a court based upon the fundamental principles of English jurisprudence—one composed of presiding magistrates and a trial jury. The event is of historic importance. There was no royal mandate for the creation of this tribunal, nor was there legislative authority—it was instituted by the people out of their own innate ideas of justice and of such orderly procedure as would at once safeguard the peace of the community, afford protection to person and property, and insure a fair and impartial hearing to those accused of mis-doing, and save them from penalty unless convicted by a sworn jury of their peers. The establishment of this court was public proclamation of those principles of equity which the English speaking race had brought to fullest perfection, and it was an example which found imitation far and wide, marking the beginning of the end of a line of petty judges of a type scarcely less abhorrent to fair-minded men than was Jeffreys himself, who, then polluting the judicial ermine in the mother country, was, by his excesses in authority, unconsciously aiding in the establishment of a better judicial and political order.

The warrant for the historic Newark court is contained in the following excerpt from the records of that town:

"*Item*, the Town hath Agreed that there shall be Two Courts in our Town Yearly, to hear and try all Causes and Actions that shall be Necessary and desired within our Compass and according to our Articles, and that the same shall pass by the Verdict of a Jury of Six men. And one

of the Terms is to be the Last Fourth day of the week commonly called Wednesday, in the month of February, and the other is the Second Wednesday of the next following month of September."

The magistrates chosen at this time—the first in the Province to be so chosen, and to preside over a real court of justice created after the English models—were Mr. Crane and Mr. Treat. They were men of the highest character, respected for all Christian virtues, and held in confidence for their services in the interests of the people, among whom they had been leaders, whether in their older homes on the Connecticut, or in the Passaic country to which they had removed. About the same time the Newark court came into being, a similar tribunal was established at Woodbridge, and these examples were soon followed by other communities, as appears by the records of town meetings. From these it would appear that the magistrates were chosen by election, that great care was exercised in choosing men of character and position, and that they were regarded with deep respect. Their powers were not definitely prescribed, and it is evident that there was little to engage their attention except the settlement of such minor disputes as were apt to arise in a small community where grave crimes were unknown and where individual rights were generally respected. The fees of magistrates and officers were fixed by vote of the people.

The first legislative assembly of the province was convened in 1668, but at neither of its two sessions was any provision made for the establishment of courts, and this matter received no attention until the second assembly convened seven years later. During all this period the local courts were of the same character as that first established in Newark.

The sudden recapture of the country by the Dutch (July 13th, 1673), brought about little more than a temporary change of sovereignty. True, the "Duke's Laws" were suspended, but the council of Dutch commanders answered a petition of the inhabitants of Elizabethtown, Newark and Piscataway by ordering that "all the inhabitants of those towns shall be granted the same privileges and freedom as will be accorded to native born subjects and Dutch towns," and "the above privileges" were at the verbal request of their deputies granted to the towns of Woodbridge, Shrewsbury and Middletown. But these gracious favors did not include "the privileges obtained from their previous patrons." The Shrewsbury magistrates nominated by their assembly were rejected by Governor Tine as "persons whose religion will not suffer them to take any office, or to minister the same to others," and he required other nominations to be made. The conditions were verging on the chaotic, and it is difficult to say what "rights and privileges" should be left to the people, if any were not to be lost. November 18th, of the same year, was proclaimed

gated a code of general laws enacted by the "Schout and Schepens of Achter Kol Assembly," held at Elizabethtown. These laws, on the whole, were mild and unobjectionable, but they cannot be said to have really gone into effect, for within three months the territory of New Netherland and all connected with it reverted to the English crown, which re-established its authority in the person of Sir Edmund Andros, as deputy Governor under the Duke of York, who immediately promulgated again the "Duke's Laws." His action, however, was of little effect, for events were now moving along rapidly toward the establishment of one of the chief civil institutions by the people themselves, and individual prerogative was on the highway toward disappearance.

The first Legislature assembled under authority of the "Grants and Concessions" convened in Elizabeth Town in May, 1668. There are no records extant to convey to us a pen-picture of its members, yet it is not difficult to imagine of what description they were. We of to-day well know many stalwart Jerseymen who a half century ago went to what was then known as a new country beyond the Mississippi. They were mostly farmers, and a few were fishermen. They were men of fair (some of liberal) education, deeply religious, industrious and economical. They went as home-makers, and when they came together in a community they organized the county and village, and to some of these they gave Jersey names. The regulations which they enacted at once reflected the moral code they had accepted for themselves, and prescribed penalties for such crimes as they knew of—there were none among them whom they deemed capable of flagrant misdoing, but, in the development of society and the thickening of population, the vicious grow up side by side with the virtuous, and they sought the future good of their infant community by protecting it against evil which they knew would come to it sooner or later. Of such character and having such purpose as these later emigrants were doubtless those who constituted the first General Assembly of New Jersey, and in such spirit did they enter upon their deliberations and discharge their duties.

Of the six members of the Governor's Council, something is known. Daniel Pierce was said to have been a leader of the Massachusetts emigrants from Newburyport, and was the founder of Woodbridge. He does not appear to have attended any but the initial meeting of the legislature. Robert Bond, Samuel Edsall and William Pardon figured prominently among the Elizabeth Town settlers. The latter named was a pliant tool of Governor Carteret, who made him member of a court appointed to try citizens charged with riot. He was quarrelsome among the people, and to him is ascribed the destruction of some of the legislative records. The

foregoing named were presumably Englishmen. Of the remaining two, Nicholas Verlet had been a grantee at Hobuc (Hoboken) in the time of Governor Stuyvesant. The other, Robert Vanquellin (also known as *Sieur de Prairie*), who was a Surveyor-General, was a Frenchman. He was out of his element among the Elizabeth Town settlers and removed to Woodbridge. The Secretary of the Council was James Bollen, who was also a Justice. He was a close adherent of Governor Carteret, and made himself so obnoxious to the people of Elizabeth Town that he removed to Woodbridge.

The Legislature was in session four days, and during this time it passed four acts, and the first of these was one providing for the upholding of the provincial government. This decreed that any one resisting the authority established by the Lords Proprietors, Justices or any inferior officers, "either in words or actions," should be liable to such fine or corporal punishment "as the court shall judge upon the examination thereof." Two other acts, respectively, (1) required each male inhabitant of sixteen years and upwards to provide himself with a serviceable gun and ammunition for the defence of the colony, and (2) provided for annual meetings of the General Assembly. Members of the Assembly who absented themselves, wilfully or without having sufficient excuse were to be fined forty shillings. An assessment of thirty pounds was laid to defray the expenses of government, and this was to be borne proportionately by the towns whose delegates constituted the Assembly.

The most voluminous of the acts was that relating to crimes and misdemeanors. In reading of this it must be borne in mind, as has been previously suggested, that the lawmakers were providing against such mis-doing as they knew of in the old and thickly populated mother country, else we must imagine an impossibly horrible and immoral condition. Many of these provisions were based upon the Mosaic code, and some were given in its identical verbiage. Thirteen offenses were punishable by death—the mode of which was not prescribed—these being murder, arson, rape, infamous crimes, kidnapping, perjury, incorrigible burglary, invading or seizing a town or a fort, highway robbery, incorrigible thieving, witchcraft, and striking or cursing a parent. In the latter case it would appear that a culprit was practically to be permitted to go scot-free, for it was provided that he could only be punished on complaint of or proof made by the parent, "and not otherwise." With reference to theft, degrees short of incorrigibility were recognized and provided for. A stealer of cattle, beasts or goods was to make treble restitution for the first, second and third offenses (the court also imposing such corporal punishment as it might deem proper), after which he was to be sold into servitude for such time as would be necessary

to work out the amount in which he was mulcted. Without further specification, it is presumable that after this he was considered "incorrigible" and was given over to the hangman. Various misdemeanors were specified, and for these penalties were provided. All unruly persons and disturbers of the peace were to be put in the stocks. For profane swearing, a fine of one shilling was imposed, and this was to be divided between the informer and the country. Drunkenness was characterized as a "beastly vice," for which the fine was one shilling for the first offense, two shillings each for the second and the third, and two shillings and sixpence for each subsequent offense. In default of payment the offender was to suffer corporal punishment.

The marriage rite was also provided for. The act made no reference to the age of the persons marrying, but prescribed that none could marry without the consent of parents, masters or overseers, and then only after the publishing of the banns at some public meeting or in kirk, in the place where the persons lived, or in some particular house, fourteen days before the marriage was to take place. The Governor was privileged to grant license in certain cases. The marriage ceremony could only be performed in some public place, and by none but "approved Ministers" or Justices of the Peace.

Lastly, the Legislature enacted "Concerning taking away of a man's life," that "no man's life shall be taken away under any pretense but by virtue of some law established in this province, that it be proved by the mouth of two or three witnesses."

The Legislature then adjourned, after a session of four days, to November 3 following. It had made some very salutary laws, and had laid out, perhaps, considerable business for the constable, and perchance for the hangman. But all these provisions were to stand inoperative for want of one all important enactment—one constituting courts wherein offenders were to be brought to trial.

The Legislature met pursuant to adjournment. Owing to political disquietude, little business of importance was transacted, although thirteen acts were passed, and among these was one requiring each town to establish an ordinary, or inn, and another requiring horses and cattle to be branded with a distinctive mark for each town.

This second session, as was the first, was of four days' duration, and it was adjourned November 7. Again, as before, no provision had been made for the institution of courts to carry out legislative mandates, and it was destined that no further legislative body was to assemble until November 5, 1675, within a few days of seven years later.

During this time an extraordinary condition of affairs existed. Under

the terms of the "Grants and Concessions" the laws enacted by the first Legislature were limited in their operation to the "space of one year and no more unless contradicted by the Lords Proprietors." Hence, during the long period of seven years (less a few days) in which, owing to the disordered political conditions, there were no legislative assemblages, there was not a single enacted law in force in the province.

In what manner justice was administered during this time is only to be surmised. It is presumable, however, that such petty courts as have been spoken of maintained a *quasi* existence and adjusted small difficulties between individuals. Bearing upon this phase of the question it is known that in 1670 disputes as to the payment of quit-rents sprang up between Governor Carteret and some of the early settlers. In this dilemma, Carteret sought to enforce his claims through the courts at Bergen and Woodbridge. These had, however, exercised the simplest magisterial powers, and were found incapable of affording him the aid he needed. Hence he sought to enlarge their jurisdiction, but in this he utterly failed—whether because the magistrates were not sufficiently subservient, or because they simply proved inefficient, does not appear.

The second Legislature assembled in Elizabeth Town, November 13, 1675, pursuant to the summons of Governor James Carteret, but an adjournment was taken to the 29th day of the same month. Representatives were present from seven towns—Elizabeth Town, Bergen, Newark, Woodbridge, New Piscataqua, Middletown and Shrewsbury. One of the delegates (William Shatlock, from Shrewsbury) refused to take the oath of allegiance to the King and the Lords Proprietors, and was dismissed.

The Legislature was in session until (about) December 9, and it enacted thirty-seven different laws. The last of these, known as the "Act of Oblivion," might with propriety have been the first, for it took cognizance of a long legal interregnum which had existed, and declared an amnesty. This document, in its all-comprehending forgivingness, so well depicts the conditions of the times that it may well be given place here:

"Acts of Oblivion. XXXVII. *Whereas* divers disorders and disturbances have arisen in this Province by reason of some endeavoring and making an alteration of the Government established by the Lords Proprietors thereof, by which means several damages, costs and charges have accrued to divers the inhabitants of the same, and the Lords Proprietors having by their last orders given liberty to such as have received such damages, costs and charges to recover the same by due course of law, whereby many actions, quarrels and other differences may arise among the inhabitants, in general, for prevention whereof, *it is hereby provided*, by this General Assembly, that there shall be an entire washing of all

actions, tending to recover damages, costs and charges for any action, committed or done against any one within this Province, that hath been a party or any way concerned in the endeavouring and making an alteration in the Government here settled by the Lords, any time from the year 1670, until June, 1673, and likewise of all actions tending to recover price for any goods, or labor employed during the same time for the defence of the said Province, excepting such accounts as have been settled and allowed by this Assembly. *And be it further enacted* by the authority aforesaid, that no contract made with any parties, then in rebellion against the government, or any person of that party, to the use and behoof or maintenance of the said difference against this government, or any person belonging to the same, shall be actionable in any court within this Province. And the honoured the Governor and his Council, out of their tender affection to the inhabitants of this Province, is further pleased that it should be enacted, and it is enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all the inhabitants and members of this Province shall be absolutely and freely pardoned of all the offences whatsoever, capital, or other committed or perpetrated at any time from the aforesaid year, 1670, until the first of June in the year 1673. And for the better preserving of peace and unity, it is also enacted by the aforesaid authority, that all reviling speeches, practices, or intents tending to the disturbance of the amity desired and intended, namely all reviling or upbraiding of others with matters of difference whatsoever, remitted and pardoned by the honoured Governor, or abolished by virtue of this act, upon pain of imprisonment during pleasure, fine, banishment, stocking, whipping, any or more of these as upon due examination, all circumstances being first considered, the court of assizes shall judge meet. *Provided*, that whatsoever hath been recovered by law from any person or persons, or imposed by way of fine or otherwise at any court or courts within this Province to this present sessions, shall stand good and not be discharged or made void by this act."

This Legislature also specifically re-enacted the major portion of the laws passed during the session of 1668, and it was the practice for some years afterward for the Legislature to renew existent laws for the ensuing year.

In the session of 1676 (October) was passed an act designating a day of public thanksgiving, of which the following is the text:

"X. Whereas there hath been signal demonstration of God's mercy and favour towards us in this colony, in the preserving and continuing our peace in the midst of wars round about us, together with many other mercies which we are sensible of, which call aloud for our acknowledgement and thanksgiving to the Lord,

"Wherefore be it enacted by this Assembly, that there be a day of publick thanksgiving, set apart throughout the whole Province, to give God the glory and praise thereof, and oblige us to live to his praise, and

in this year always, which day shall be the second Wednesday in November next ensuing."

These are digressions, interesting and timely enough, but we must recur to our proper subject.

The first law enacted by the Legislature of 1675 was one providing for the creation of courts with well defined jurisdiction and clothed with necessary powers, and in this law is contained the first mention of counties, but without designation of their bounds. The preamble recites that "having taken into serious consideration the great Change that hath been occasioned by a Necessity of keeping Courts within this Province, as also the Necessity that Courts of Justice be maintained and upheld amongst us, which said courts may go under the Denomination of County Courts," and enacts that "there be two of the aforesaid Courts kept in the year in each respective County, viz: Bergen and the adjacent Plantations about them, to be a County and to have two Courts in a year, whose sessions shall be the first Tuesday in March and third Tuesday in September; Woodbridge and Piscataqua to be a County and to have two Courts, the first of them the third Tuesday in March and on the second Tuesday in September. The two towns of Nevysink (in what became Monmouth county) to make a County, their sessions to be the last Tuesday in March and first Tuesday in September."

In these courts (County Courts of Sessions) the judges were elected by the people and from themselves. They were clothed with power to try "all causes actionable," which included both civil and criminal cases. There were, however, no laws or rules prescribing their mode of procedure, nor any code of practice. Appeal could be taken from these courts where the judgment amounted to twenty pounds or more, to the "Bench" of "Court of Chancery." This tribunal is not specifically identified, but it is taken to be the "Court of Assize," which was also created by the Legislature during the same session. This was to sit each year in Woodbridge, or elsewhere as the Governor and Council might direct. From the decision of this court appeal might be taken to the Governor and Council, and finally to the Crown. The "Court of Assize" was also one of original jurisdiction.

Somewhat out of the order, it is to be said that the present Justices' courts grew out of enactments by the Legislature, in the establishment of courts for the trial of petty cases. The judges were to be two or three, as the people might deem proper; they were to be elected, and one must be a Justice of the Peace. Sessions were to be held monthly in each town, and jurisdiction extended only to cases involving a sum less than forty shillings.

Such were the courts existing in East Jersey until 1682, in which year the province was divided by act of the Legislature into the four counties of Bergen, Essex, Middlesex and Monmouth. In that year it was decreed that the county court in each county should sit four times each year. The judges were to be the Justices of the Peace. Grand juries were to appear at the sessions of county courts, but the manner of summoning them and the precise nature of their duties were left undefined. This original form of county court was what is now the circuit and common pleas court. It was in 1682, also, that the "Court of Assize" (the supreme court of the province), came to be known as the "Court of Common Right," composed of "twelve members, or six at least." This was to hold quarterly sessions each year in Elizabeth Town, but in 1686 Perth Amboy was made the court town.

In 1682, also, the Legislature provided specifically for trial by a jury of twelve men, "as near as may be peers or equals, and of the neighborhood where the fact arises." In cases capital or criminal, there was to be a grand inquest to first present the offense, and then twelve men of the neighborhood were to try the offender, to whom "reasonable challenges" were to be allowed. At the same session a law was enacted which contained some provisions worth noticing. If a man borrowed an animal of his neighbor, and it was hurt or died, the owner not being with it, the borrower was to make good the loss; if the owner were with it, or it were hired, then the user was not liable. Whoever should afflict the widow or fatherless was to be punished "according to the nature of his transgression. Of the estate of a "murderer," after the payment of debts, one-third was to go to the next of kin of the man slain, and the remainder to the next of kin of the criminal. A man absconding with the wife of a neighbor (without his consent) was to receive ten lashes upon the bare back, and the woman was to receive similar treatment.

The practical operations of the courts thus created may be discerned from the rules laid down by the first County Court of Middlesex county, held at Piscataway, June 10, 1683; prescribing the mode of procedure:

"The First County Court held at Piscataway June ye 10th, 1683.
* * * by act of the Generall Assembly and by virtue of a Comition then published under the seal of the province and signed by Order of Council of Thos. Rudyard bearing date ye 28th of March, 1683.

"The members of the sd Court were as followeth: Mr. Saml Dennis, President or Judge, Mr. Edward Slater, Mr. James Giles, Captn John Bishop, Mr. Saml Hall, Mr. Benjamin Hall, Assistants.

"John Pike Junr of Woodbridge Clerk of the County Court allowed by virtue of a Comition from the Hone Governor & Councill bearing date the 28th day of March Anno Dom, 1683, & allowed by the said Court.

"Jeffery Manning made choyce of and appointed to be Marshall or Cryer of the sd Court.

"June the 10th 1683. Rules or Order for the County Court of Midlx.

"1ly That the Declaration shall be entered at the taking out of the writt: or at least the Declaration to be entered in the Clerks office five days exclusive before the court.

"2ly That the Pleas of the Defendnt be entered two days before the Court: if not the Plaintf not to be deprived of his trial before that Court:

"3ly If the Declaration be not entered five days before the Court, then the defennt desiring it shall have a non suite:

"4ly That to the County Court there shall not be allowed more than one Essoine.

"5ly That in causes wherein the defent is arrested in account of Debt, Detinue trespass for goods actions upon the case Except Slander: If the Debt or damage amount to five pounds Speciall Baile to be given except it be against an heir, executor or administrator:

"6ly That in battery, conspiracy false imprisonment noe spetiall baile of course without spetiall order of the Court:

"7ly Spetiall baile in all cases of causes above mentioned shall be understood double the deats or damages demanded, laide or recovered: Comon baile ten pound.

"8ly that the principle rendring himself at any time after baile put in, and before or on the day of appearance of Scierificias returned in bill or in case there be any action of debt brought upon the bond or recognizance against the baile if the principle shall render himself upon or before process returned served no further proceedings to be against the baile.

"9ly In case the plain of after ishue shall refuse to goe to triall the next Court after the Ishue joyned nor shall discontinue his action on record the defendant moving the Court to proceed may bring on the case by provisoe, and if the plaintf be nonsuited at trial or discontinue his action the defendnt shall be allowed reasonable costs by ye Court."

That courts were operative at this time is evidenced by the records. In 1683 one William Towns, of Woodbridge, for an assault upon a woman, was indicted, convicted and sentenced to receive thirty-nine lashes. In the following year, in the same place, William Ingle was placed in the stocks for "breach of his Majesty's peace;" Matthew Moore, indicted and found guilty of "speaking reproachful words against the authority" was fined three pounds; and, in numerous cases of theft, the culprit was fined in a sum double the value of the property taken. Somewhat later (1720) a negro man named Prince was convicted of the murder of William Clark, and sentenced to death by burning, and the sentence was put in execution only two days later.

Beginning in 1681 the (then) two Provinces of East Jersey and West Jersey conducted separate governments, and this continued until 1702, when the two provinces were united under Queen Anne.

From the first, the edicts of the Proprietors of West Jersey bore the impress of Quaker fairness and leniency. The authorship of the "Concessions," which appealed to and attracted so splendid a class of people as came into the settlements, has been attributed to William Penn, and it were certainly worthy of him. This remarkable paper, a veritable Declaration of Independence, declared that "no man nor number of men upon earth have power or authority to rule over men's consciences in religious matters; therefore it is agreed and ordained that no person or persons whatsoever within the said Province shall at any time hereafter, in any way or upon any pretense whatsoever, be called in question, or in the least punished or hurt, either in person, privilege or estate, for the sake of his opinion, judgment, faith or worship, in matters of religion." The government was vested in Commissioners appointed by the Proprietors, who were to exercise their powers in accordance with the Concessions, and under direction of a major portion of the Proprietors. Among the duties devolved upon them were a supervision of the courts; to provide for the due discharge of their duties by the law officers, whom they were authorized to remove in the event of their failing in their duty. No oath was to be taken by a public officer, but he must give his solemn promise to truly and faithfully discharge his trust, and, in case of violation of this obligation, he incurred fine or punishment, and was to be declared incapable of holding any office in the colony. Not even a witness before a court of justice was required to be sworn; his testimony was received upon his solemn affirmation, and concealment of the truth or false evidence rendered him liable to a fine and inhibited him from ever being accepted as a witness or of ever holding a public office.

The term of office of these Commissioners was to expire on a given date, when, and annually thereafter, until the election of a General Free Assembly, their office should be filled by "ten honest and able men to be elected by the proprietors, freeholders and inhabitants."

The Concessions moreover provided for the election of one hundred persons who should constitute the "general, free and supreme assembly of said Province," which body was empowered to make all laws necessary for the well government of the Province, provided that "the same be as near as may be conveniently, agreeable to the primitive, antient and fundamental laws of the nation of England;" provided also that "they be not against any of those our Concessions." Power was also given to the Assembly to create courts of law, and to define their powers and jurisdiction, and to appoint the judges and officers of the same, and fix their compensation.

The first "General Free Assembly" (as it was termed in the Conces-

sions) convened at Burlington, November 9, 1681, and it continued in session until the 28th day of the same month. Great care was exercised in framing a lengthy paper termed "Fundamentals," or what might properly be called a Bill of Rights. In the preamble the Legislature, speaking for the inhabitants whose representatives they were, declared themselves "a people whom it hath pleased God to bring into the Province of New Jersey and settle us here in safety, that we may be a people to the praise and honor of his name, who hath so dealt with us." In its terms the document was intended to safeguard the rights of the people, and seven of its ten clauses were restrictive of gubernatorial authority.

It is curious to note, in the enactments of this Legislature, various references to courts, while no provision is made for the creation of any such tribunals. The verbiage would lead to the inference that such already existed, presumably with meagre powers. The second of the acts requires the Governor and Commissioners to see that "all courts established or to be established" shall execute their duties properly, and another act declares that no one shall be deprived or condemned of life, limbs, liberty, estate, property, "or any ways hurt," without a "due tryal and judgment passed by the twelve good men and lawful men of the neighborhood first had according to the laws of England." And yet another act makes a curious jury provision, setting forth that there shall be in every court three justices or commissioners, at least, who shall sit with "the twelve men in the neighborhood, and with them to hear all causes, and to assist the said twelve men of the neighborhood in case of law, and that the said justices or commissioners shall pronounce such judgment as they shall receive from and be directed by the said twelve men, in whom only the judgment resides; and in case of their neglect or refusal, that then one of the twelve, by consent of the rest, shall pronounce their own judgment as the justices or commissioners should have done."

The penal code was remarkably lenient, and in this regard it was strangely dissimilar from that of East Jersey, with its many penalties drawn from the harsh Mosaic law, and its prescription of the death penalty for thirteen separate crimes. In West Jersey laws there was actually no death penalty provided, for whatever cause, and during the Quaker regime, but one year short of a quarter-century, there was not a single indictment drawn for murder or arson. Indeed, there was no tribunal in the Province which could take cognizance of a capital offence until 1709, when the court of oyer and terminer was created, its judges being one appointed by the Governor, and two or more justices of the county wherein the crime was committed. In case of conviction, the penalty was designated by the Governor and Council.

Less heinous offenses were treated with mildness, and in all the thirty-six laws enacted by the first Legislature, there is but one specific penalty named, and that was a fine of three pounds for every act of selling strong liquor to an Indian. Perjury was punishable by fine in such amount as the court might decree, and the offender was forever disqualified from being afterward a witness in a court, and from public employment within the Province. Those affronting the public authority were to be fined in the discretion of the court. Personal violence committed upon another was to be punished "according to the nature of the offense," which was to be determined by twelve men of the neighborhood. One guilty of robbery or theft was to "restore fourfold, or be made to work for his theft for so long a time as the nature of the offense shall require, or until restitution be thereby made fourfold."

Exemplification of the latter curious provision is found in the case of one Wilkes, who was indicted September 10, 1686, in the Gloucester county court, for stealing goods from a house in Philadelphia. In these days no indictment would lie for a crime committed outside the State or Province. But no such fine distinctions were made then—the accused was a member of the community in which resided the court, and he must answer. The defendant pleaded guilty, but his plea was ignored and he was tried by a jury, which found him guilty. Being fined in the sum of sixteen pounds, which was not paid, the following sentence was passed:

"Sentence: The bench appoints that said Wilkes shall pay the aforesaid Lins £10 by way of servitude, viz: If he will be bound by indentures to the prosecutor, then to serve him the term of four years, but if he condescend not thereto, then the court award that he should be a servant and so abide for the term of five years. And so be accommodated in the time of his servitude by his master with meat, drink, clothes, washing and lodging according to the customs of the country and fit for such a servant."

Tender mercy was the crowning trait of character of the gentle Quaker, and he strove to make the courts of his country, the guardians of his own security, as forgiving as he was in his personal concerns. And, in this spirit, it was enacted by the same early Legislature, that, except in cases of murder, treason, and felony, all and every person and persons prosecuting or preferring any indictment for any personal matters, injuries or matters criminal, should be master of his or their own process, and have full power to forgive and remit the penalty or punishment inflicted upon the person or persons who have offended against him or themselves, as well before as after judgment and condemnation.

In East Jersey, for several years prior to the surrender of authority by the Proprietors, an acrimonious dispute was carried on between Andrew Hamilton and Jeremiah Basse, rival claimants to the Governorship. This quarrel was complicated, in Monmouth county, with controversies as to the respective merits of land titles derived from the Proprietors, on the one hand, and under the Nicolls Patent, on the other. These led to grave disturbances in which practically all the people became involved (particularly between 1695 and 1702), and during this period the courts were set at defiance and practically abrogated, *vi et armis*.

At Perth Amboy, May 11, 1699, the Court of Common Right, Governor Basse presiding, was invaded by Lewis Morris, who denied the authority of the tribunal. Morris was ordered into custody, but resisted, making an attempt to draw his sword. He was overcome and fined fifty pounds, and, with George Willocks, was committed to the jail in Woodbridge in default of bond, to appear before the court at its October term. Whereupon, before daylight, a mob battered down the jail door and released the prisoners.

On March 3, 1700, a mob collected and prevented the holding of a court at Piscataway, also in Middlesex county, by nailing up the doors of the "Publick Meeting-House" in which sessions were wont to be held.

In Essex county, at Newark, September 12, 1700, William Sandford, the President of the County Court, was pulled off the bench, deprived of his hat and wig, and his sword was taken from him and broken. The other Justices and the Clerk were also abused, and their clothes were torn.

In Monmouth county there were also many disturbances, the most serious of which occurred March 25, 1701. On this occasion, Justices Jedediah Allen and Samuel Denness were attempting to hold court at Middletown, in the presence of Governor Andrew Hamilton, and Lewis Morris and Samuel Leonard, members of his Council. The combined array of executive and judicial authority were set upon by the populace, which took them into custody and held them under an armed guard for four days.

The condition of affairs was such as to move Lewis Morris to write to the Lords of Trade: "New Jersey is still without government, being without law or gospel, having neither Judge nor Priest."

These times are strange to look back upon. There was marvellous turmoil, and out of excess grew greater excesses on the part of large sections of the people. Out of these conditions, it may be now discerned, was gradually developing that spirit which eventually was manifested in open revolution, and made a pathway for liberty. At various times there were outbreaks throughout the eastern part of New Jersey, all with the

Revolutionary War period. Courts were in some instances prevented from exercising their functions by mobs whose principal animosity was directed against the lawyers. It is to be said of this class, in truthfulness, that its members were, for the far greater number, most determined in their opposition to the oppressive acts of the mother country; indeed, they led all other classes in objection and protest, as when they declared against the Stamp Act, and practically abandoned a large portion of their business until that instrument was set aside by Parliamentary repeal. But many of the people cherished bitter hatred against the legal profession, whose members it held culpable for encouraging unnecessary litigation and of exacting exorbitant fees. Some lawyers may have been guilty of all that was charged, but the great majority of them were worthy citizens whose integrity and regard for their fellows were beyond reproach. The fact appears to be that the people were encumbered with debt, and their creditors resorted to the law to enforce their demands, just in themselves, however oppressive upon the debtors. An unreasonable crusade ensued, which finally ended as all such crusades do end—in the vindication of law and of the agents through whom law is made operative.

While, as has been shown, there was wide difference between the criminal codes of the two Provinces, there was marked similarity in legislation affecting material interests. Both began on common ground, provision being made by the proprietors of each, in their first instruments, for the proper recording of deeds.

In 1679, before the creation of the Province of West Jersey, the Legislature had made lands (unentailed) liable for the payment of the debts of the owner, and had specified the manner of procedure. In 1682 (after the separation of the Provinces) the Legislature of East Jersey passed an act providing for the recovery of claims against an absconding debtor by collection out of his personal or real estate, and reciting that summons might be made by service of the writ upon any member of his family, or by leaving it at any of his houses or plantations. In the same year, the same Legislature laid down the important rule that no conveyance of the estate of a married woman should be valid unless she made acknowledgment, in private examination in the court of common right, that the document was executed by her of her own free will, and without threat or compulsion of her husband.

The second Legislature of West Jersey (in 1682) enacted a law, similar to that of 1679, with reference to the liability of real and personal property for debt. In 1683 a law was passed somewhat similar to the East Jersey law of the previous year, providing for the collection of debts owing by an absconding debtor, but containing the more equitable provision

that no attachment should issue until after thirty days' notice, in order that the property to be attached should be equally distributed among the creditors who should within that time make proof of the debts owing to them.

In 1702 the Provinces were united under the Crown, and in the following year Lord Cornbury came as Governor of New Jersey and New York. He made promulgation of his commission in both of the old Jersey Provinces, at Amboy and at Burlington. He made New York his seat of government, but returned to New Jersey in November of the year in which he came, and opened the Legislature, at Perth Amboy. The session continued little more than a month, and the body adjourned December 13. Several bills were passed, but only one received the approval of the Governor—one regulating the purchase of land from the Indians. In fact, the matter with which the members of the Legislature were principally concerned was an endeavor to secure to themselves that freedom of debate and action to which they had been accustomed, and the Governor seemed to be more disposed to assert his own authority than to conciliate the people to whom he came.

Yet Lord Cornbury did perform a useful service in providing for the more orderly administration of justice. He wrought no startling innovations, but he gave to existing courts an added dignity and permanency, and created such tribunals as, in the nature of things, had come to be necessary. In brief, he made of disjointed members a more symmetrical structure.

The work of Lord Cornbury was performed *ex cathedra*—without the assistance of the Legislature, however much he may have been aided by his Council or other advisers—and it was given promulgation in 1704. The courts which he named, and the powers which he defined, are hereinafter described.

Justices' Courts were to have jurisdiction in all cases of debt and trespass to the value of forty shillings, and such causes as might be tried and determined without a jury. The method of procedure was minutely prescribed.

A Court of General Sessions of the Peace was to be held quarterly each year, in every county, at a place designated. This was a court of appeal in which were heard causes coming up from the Justices' Courts where the amount in question exceeded twenty shillings.

A Court of Common Pleas was to be held in every county where was held a General Court of Sessions, immediately after the adjournment of the latter named tribunal. It was clothed with power to hear and determine all actions triable at common law, subject to appeal in cases where the judgment was for ten pounds or more, or where title in land was in

question. The court to which appeal was to be made was not designated—presumably it was the Supreme Court which was created by the same ordinance.

A Supreme ("supream" in the text of the ordinance) Court was to sit alternately at Amboy (in old East Jersey) and in Burlington (in old West Jersey), and it was to hold two sessions each year, of not to exceed five days each. This was the most remarkable and comprehensively useful legal body of its day. It was at once the *summum bonum* of the jurisprudence of the mother country—for it was placed on the same footing with the English courts of Queen's bench, common pleas or exchequer, as to rules of practice—and it was the prototype of the body of the same name of the present day. Indeed, in the language of Judge Field, in his masterly dissertation upon this subject, "If the question were now asked: What is the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of New Jersey, as at present constituted? the only answer that could be given would be, in the language of the ordinance of Lord Cornbury:

"To have Cognizance of all Pleas, civil, criminal and mixt, as fully and amply, to all intents and purposes whatsoever, as the Courts of Queen's Bench, Common Pleas and Exchequer within her Majesty's Kingdom of England, have or ought to have, in and to which Supream Court all and every Person and Persons whatsoever shall and may, if they see meet, commence any Action or Suit being upward of Ten Pounds, and shall or may, by Certiorari, Habeas Corpus, or any other lawful Writ remove out of any of the respective Courts of Sessions of the Peace or Common Pleas, any Information or Indictment there depending, or Judgment thereupon given, or to be given, in any Criminal matter whatsoever, cognizable before, or to be given of them; as also all actions, Pleas or Suits, real personal or mixt, depending in any of the said Courts, and all Judgments thereupon given, or to be given.—Provided always That the Action or Suit depending, or Judgment given, be upwards of the value of Ten Pounds, or that the Action or Suit there depending or determined, be concerning the Right or Title of any Free-hold."

Where so much care was exercised in prescribing the powers of the Supreme Court—the most important body in all the judicial establishment, and one which, in its essential features, was to splendidly survive—it is reason for wonder that the number of judges was not specified, and that no particular persons were named for Chief Justice or for Associate Justices.

Under Lord Cornbury's ordinance were also constituted Circuit Courts. These were to be held once each year in every county, by one of the Justices of the main (Supreme) Court, with two or more Justices of

the Peace of the county in which the session was held. The court terms were of two days only.

In all these courts the right in property of a suitor was not to be determined without the intervention of a jury, except in cases where there was an actual confession of the fact by the parties thereto, or in case of default of appearance.

A section of the ordinance establishing the Circuit Court prescribed a considerable degree of state for the reception of the Justice or Justices going to the holding of a session. Every circumstance of the ceremonial was modeled after English usage. The Sheriff, with as many Justices and other gentlemen on horseback as could be conveniently collected, were to await the Judge at the county line, and they were to escort that dignitary to his lodgings. During his stay within a county, the Judge was to be attended by the same personages, together with the Mayor and Aldermen. Daily, at the opening and closing of Court, he was to be escorted to and from the Court by the Sheriff and Constables. In court the Judge wore (probably beginning in 1702 and continuing until some time after the Revolutionary War) a scarlet robe with deep facings and cuffs of black velvet. He also wore a powdered wig, and this fact led Judge Field to remark that "it is not probable that, like their brethren in England, they considered it necessary to carry *four* of these indispensable articles—the brown scratch wig for the morning, when not in court; the powdered dress wig for dinner; the tie wig with the black eel when sitting on the civil side of the court; and the full-bottomed one for the criminal side."

In May, 1705, the Supreme Court made a rule requiring all persons practicing as counsel at the bar, whether before the Supreme Court or in any of the courts on the circuits, to habit himself in the bar-gown and band commonly worn by barristers at Westminster and on the circuits in England, under penalty of contempt, and this rule was observed until 1791, when it was abrogated on petition from leading counselors setting forth its uselessness and troublesomeness. From the beginning, however, counselors of the Quaker faith were privileged to appear in their own customary garb.

It is not our province to deal with the technicalities of courts and their procedure, but only to write in a manner understandable to the layman. And so it is to be premised that the English judicial system, as established in New Jersey under the Colonial government, survived the downfall of that government, and afforded an altogether adequate foundation for the law establishment of the present day. Indeed, under the Constitution of 1776, when New Jersey became a State, no change was made in the title, jurisdiction or mode of procedure of any of the courts. The

manner of selecting magistrates was, however, necessarily changed. The Colonial Governors had appointed the various Judges and Justices of the Peace, and this power was now divided between the Legislature and the Governor—the Governor named the Justices of the Supreme Court, subject to the sanction of the Senate, and the Legislature chose the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas and the Justices of the Peace.

In 1844 the order of things was somewhat changed under the Constitution adopted that year. The Supreme Court, the Court of Common Pleas and the Justices' Courts remained substantially the same as regards jurisdiction and powers. The choosing of Justices of the Peace was relegated to the people. The Common Pleas Judges were to be elected by the Legislature in joint session, but a subsequent statute vested their appointment in the Governor, subject to approval by the Senate. The most important constitutional change was that with reference to the Court of Chancery. Chancery powers resided in the Colonial Governor from about or prior to 1675, and these had descended to the Governor of the State who, as a consequence, must needs be a lawyer. The Governor was now relieved of what had come to be most burdensome duties in this line, by their devolvement upon a newly created officer, a Chancellor, who was to be nominated by the Governor, subject to confirmation by the Senate. In course of time the Chancellor came to be overburdened, and a Vice Chancellor was created, and at the present time there are five officers known by that title. The Chancellor presides in the Court of Errors and Appeals, his associates in that body being the Justices of the Supreme Court and six Judges who are appointed by the Governor with the consent of the Senate.

The Supreme Court, as now constituted, comprises the Chief Justice and eight Associate Justices. Circuit Courts are held thrice yearly in every county, the Chief Justice or Associate Justice presiding.

At no time, down to the very present, have the statute books of New Jersey been unsusceptible of criticism. There are instances in which that has been done which could have been better done, or which, perhaps, should not have been done at all; and there are other instances where what should have been done has been left undone. There are instances in which the bench has been occupied by those whose ignorance or inattention have militated for the time against the usefulness of their high office. But, in spite of this, it is to be said, in all truthfulness, that the development of law and of courts in New Jersey has been orderly and progressive—that at no time has it suffered by comparison with its sister States, and, in various instances, it has shone brilliantly in the contrast. Indeed, it is held by the legal profession of the State that not a mistake has been made

in the selection of the Chief Justice from the organization of the State in 1776 down to the present time. It is impossible, within the range of these pages, to refer to all to whom honor is due for a splendid share in the work accomplished. All that is practicable is to present a brief account which will serve to indicate the development of legal institutions in the State, and to identify some lawyers and jurists who were peculiarly conspicuous at some important time.

The principal interest centers in the Supreme Court. The first term of that body was held in Burlington November 7, 1764. Roger Mompesson, who was Chief Justice of New York as well as of New Jersey, presided, and by his side sat William Pinhorn, as Associate Justice. Mompesson came to the Provincial bench with high prestige. He was of excellent family; in England he was well regarded as a lawyer, and he had twice sat in Parliament. When he came to New Jersey he bore a flattering letter from William Penn, who regarded him as peculiarly well fitted for the position to which he had been appointed. Despite all this, he disappointed every expectation except, in all probability, that of Lord Cornbury, with whom he was a favorite, and whose interests he subserved at every turn, as a Member of Council, on the bench and personally. His chief concern as a law officer appears to have been to magnify "My Lord," whose relations with the people were exceedingly unpleasant. Mompesson seemed to regard himself as a guardian of the fame of his master, and he procured various indictments—in one instance two against the same individual—for the most trilling offenses of speech in criticism of the Governor's political conduct. "The Governor had dissolved the assembly, but they could get another as good, and if the Governor liked it not, he might go whence he came; the assembly could have done their business well enough, but that the Governor dissolved it, which he was satisfied was because they would not give him money enough." Such utterances were presented as seditious. The Grand Jury ignored these indictments, whereupon the Governor directed the Attorney General to file informations, which he did, and in the identical language of the instruments which had been discredited by the Grand Jury. The trials which followed were after the most summary fashion, and in entire disregard of law and decency. Some of the accused were forced to trial forthwith. In another case, a continuance was granted with the provision that the accused should give security for appearance and to ensure his good behavior and keeping of the peace; and the defendant, failing in compliance, was committed for contempt. In a third case, a trial resulted in acquittal, but before the accused was set at liberty he was obliged to pay the costs of his own prose-

ention. Mompesson resigned, shortly after the removal of Lord Cornbury from the Governorship.

Mompesson was succeeded by Thomas Gordon, a nonentity as a lawyer, and manifestly useless on the bench. He resigned after a few months, and Mompesson again came to the bench, but he gave way the following year (1710) to David Jamison.

Chief Justice Jamison came from New York, where he had been prominent as a lawyer. He was well read in his profession, and was particularly well versed in the Scriptures, from which he quoted freely in charging a jury. He was thoroughly orthodox—according to the standards of his day—and he believed in impeachment of all guilty of any manner of heresy, and particularly those practicing witchcraft, an art which he regarded as of veritable and dangerous existence. His utterance upon such topics was, however, a *brutum fulmen* in the eyes of the lenient Quakers, and in the entire absence of law for the punishment of what were, in his mind, woful offenses. He soon came into disfavor with the people, and out of this resulted a veritable *cause célèbre* in the judicial annals of the Province and of the country. In this affair it would appear that Judge Jamison bore himself with dignity and strict regard to the law. Indeed, the Quakers, famed for their law-abiding disposition, seem to have been those who were in the wrong.

At a term of the Court held in Burlington, in November, 1715, a Quaker summoned to duty as a Grand Jurymen declined to take the oath, objecting his scruples of conscience. In this he was amply sustained by the provisions of a long-existent legislative act privileging men of his class to qualify by affirmation. Against this it was argued by the Crown lawyers that the act of the Legislature had been rendered inoperative by a later act of Parliament. The Chief Justice sustained the Quaker, but the Clerk was obdurate and refused to obey his order to administer the affirmation. This prevented the impaneling of the Grand Jury, and worked an entire estoppage of trial proceedings. The Chief Justice declared the recalcitrant Clerk to be in contempt of court, and he imposed a fine. At the next term of the court of quarter sessions, the Chief Justice was indicted for this act in maintaining the dignity of his court, and in this he was sustained by Governor Hunter, who acquitted himself fully as manfully as did the Chief Justice. The Governor published a temperate address declaring the facts and law in the case, and procured the removal of the question to the Supreme Court, where the indictment against the Chief Justice was quashed on motion of the Attorney General. Immediately following this an order of court was made disbarring Jeremiah

Basse, one of the attorneys who had particularly insisted himself to procure the indictment thus dishonored.

Janison was retained in the Chief Justiceship by Governor Burnet, (who succeeded Hunter) under whom he served for about four years, when he was removed from office. His manner of retirement was in no way a reflection upon his ability or integrity, but was due entirely to the inconvenience to which suitors were subjected owing to his constantly maintaining his residence in New York.

William Trent was Speaker of the Assembly when he was called to the Chief Justiceship in succession to Janison. Although not a trained lawyer, he had served most acceptably as a Judge in Pennsylvania. He died in 1724, only nine months after his coming to the Supreme Bench, and his death was regarded as a public calamity. His name survives in that of the present capital of the State, the site of which he purchased in 1714, and upon which he built his home in 1721. The little hamlet then existing was known as Littleworth, but after his coming it was called Trent's Town, and this was soon changed to Trenton.

Robert L. Hooper was a Member of the Assembly when he was appointed by Governor Burnet to succeed Trent as Chief Justice. He was a man who was held in high esteem, but there is nothing particular of him of record during his three years incumbency of the office. He was succeeded by Thomas Farmer, who, while acting as Chief Justice, also served as a member of the Legislature, a not unusual occurrence in those days. He became demented, and was placed in confinement. His term of service extended from March, 1728, to November, 1729, when Hooper was re-seated in his stead.

In 1738 Robert Morris succeeded Hooper as Chief Justice. He was a son of Lewis Morris, whom he closely resembled in some of his mental characteristics. A young man when he came to the bench, his service covered the long period of twenty-six years. He is regarded as one of the best equipped jurists of the pre-Revolutionary times. He entered upon his duties with a rather ambitious spirit, and introduced some salutary innovations, reducing pleadings to stricter rules, and introducing a stricter regularity and precision in forms of procedure. He was lacking in persistency, however, and eleven years later he visited England, and was absent about five years. When he returned he came as Governor of Pennsylvania, as well as Chief Justice of New Jersey. He tendered his resignation of the latter named position, but it was not accepted, and after two years he resigned the Governorship and gave his entire attention to his judicial duties. This was but for a brief period, however, for three years later he again went to England. During his absence and without regard

to the terms of his commission, which read "during good behavior," William Aynsley was appointed to the office and took his seat, but soon died. Soon afterward, Nathaniel Jones came with a commission as Chief Justice, but (1759) Morris had returned and was on the bench. Jones' commission was read, and a debate ensued as to its validity, David Ogden and Charles Read arguing in favor of Morris, who took no part. Associate Justice Samuel Nevill decided that Morris had first right, and that Jones must seek his remedy in another court. Jones abandoned his case at this point, and Morris held his seat until 1764, when his death occurred, without a moment's warning, while he was dancing in the house of a friend in Shrewsbury.

Samuel Nevill, who was an Associate Justice with Morris, was an Englishman by birth, a man of unsullied character and of pre-eminent ability, and of such American spirit that, as Speaker of the Assembly, he led that body in its antagonism toward the Governor. It was this, presumably, that led Morris to oppose his appointment to the Chief Justiceship as one "unfit to be trusted in the principal seat of justice." Nevill, whose work as a literateur is written of elsewhere in this work, left a splendid monument to his own memory and conferred upon the legal profession in New Jersey a boon for all time, in his two-volume compilation of the Acts of the Assembly from 1702 to 1762.

Morris was succeeded by Charles Read, who served only a few months. His successor was Frederick Smyth. Smyth was the last of the Colonial Supreme Court Justices, his term beginning in 1764 and ending in 1776, when he removed to Philadelphia. He served in troublous times, and, a pronounced loyalist, his pathway was anything but pleasant. At the beginning he became involved in the Stamp Act troubles, but he made his escape from this predicament by holding (on the advice of lawyers at his bar) that he was not chargeable with the delivery of stamps, without which no process were legal, and he closed his court. When the "Gaspee," a British vessel, was burned by Rhode Islanders, Smyth was made one of a committee to investigate the occurrence, and, with his colleagues, he came under sharp condemnation by the Continental Congress, which issued an address declaring that a court (the body referred to) had been established to take colonists to England for trial. He urged that bills of indictment be brought against various citizens for alleged treasonable conduct, but his recommendations went unheeded by the Grand Juries.

The immediately pre-Revolutionary Associate Justices—David Ogden and Richard Stockton—were men of strong and immaculate character. Ogden, an ardent loyalist, was deeply conscientious, an able lawyer and a splendid jurist. But politically he was entirely at variance with the

populace about him. He was so positive of the failure of the Revolution that he drew up a plan for the government of the Colonies after they should have been subdued. This embraced an American Parliament, with a House of Peers composed of barons created from among the inhabitants.

Richard Stockton was one of the ornaments of his time. A splendid scholar, he was also a profound lawyer and an incomparable jurist. One of the most useful acts of his conspicuously useful life was his inducement of the revered Witherspoon to accept the Presidency of the College of New Jersey, and these two great men subsequently sat together in the Continental Congress, and they were the first two of the New Jersey delegates to affix their signatures to the Declaration of Independence.

The Provincial Congress of New Jersey, which convened in Burlington June 10, 1776, provided for the election of Supreme Court Justices by the joint meeting and Richard Stockton was fixed upon for Chief Justice, but he declined. John De Hart was then chosen, and he accepted, but failed to serve. The Associate Justices chosen were Francis Hopkinson and Samuel Tucker—the former named would not serve, and Tucker was the only active Judge. Tucker was no lawyer, but he occupied various important public offices, and was President of the Provincial Congress at the time of the adoption of the Constitution. He accepted British protection papers at a time when his integrity as Provincial Treasurer was in question, and he has gone down into history as a renegade to his country.

But little business was transacted by the Supreme Court during the Revolutionary War—certainly none to claim a place in history—and that needs brief attention. Robert Morris (a son of the former Chief Justice of the same name) was Chief Justice from 1777 to 1779. His associates were Isaac Smith and John Cleves Symmes. Smith was a physician, and without legal education, but he served with credit upon the bench from 1777 to 1803. Symmes served as a Justice only about a year. He saw active military service during the Revolutionary war, and was also a delegate to the Provincial Congress, in which body he served upon the committee which drafted the Constitution. In 1788 he was appointed to a Federal Judgeship—in the Northwest Territory, and it is claimed for him that he made the first settlement between the Miami rivers in Ohio. He was father-in-law of President William Henry Harrison.

David Bearly, a lawyer of Monmouth county, who had served with some distinction in the Continental army, became Chief Justice in 1779 and he resigned after ten years' service. He was a man of great natural ability and uncompromising integrity. He was the first high jurist in the State to maintain and affirm the right of the Supreme Court to construe the Federal Constitution, in face of an almost general conviction on

the part of lawyers that English law principles should prevail, which do not permit a law court to determine the constitutionality of legislative acts. He was a member of the bodies which framed the original Federal and State Constitutions.

James Kinsey, who became Chief Justice in 1789, and sat on the bench for fourteen years, was a capable lawyer and particularly well versed in real estate law. His decisions (largely with reference to the latter department of law) form the first volume of law reports ever published in New Jersey.

Andrew Kirkpatrick was without doubt one of the most brilliant men who ever came to the Supreme Bench. Of Scotch Presbyterian parentage, he was designed by his father for the ministry, and after completing his literary education in Princeton College he devoted six months to the study of divinity. Becoming satisfied that the ministry was not his proper field, he determined to study law, greatly to the disappointment of his father, who, refusing to countenance or aid him in his purpose, actually banished him from the parental home. The young man procured some means through service as a teacher, and entered the office of the distinguished William Paterson, under whom he was prepared for the profession of the law. He began practice in Morristown, but lost his library by fire and removed to New Brunswick. He became an Associate Supreme Court Justice in 1768, and six years later he succeeded Kinsey in the Chief Justiceship, and he was twice reappointed. He was a man of deep legal learning, and he made many enduring additions to legal literature in his decisions. It is quite curious to note that he was, in 1790, the author of a law enacted by the Legislature which forbade the use in any court in the State of any law book, digest or law reports published in Great Britain after the Colonies had declared their independence. Largely through his effort the office of Supreme Court Reporter was created, and he secured the appointment of William S. Pennington, who was an Associate Justice, as the first to serve in that position. His first reports filled two volumes, and were followed by two volumes by Scathard, and eight volumes by Halsted. Justice Kirkpatrick's decisions are contained in all of these, and they occupy all of the two volumes first named.

Chief Justice Kirkpatrick is justly regarded as one of the most accomplished jurists who ever graced the bench, possessing every requisite faculty—a logical and discriminating mind, keen analytical powers, and capability to express his argument and deductions with such clearness that misunderstanding by lawyer or juror were well nigh impossible. One of his decisions (*Arnold vs. Mundy*) has been characterized as a model of research, covering not only close analysis of the immediate law appealed

to, but also diligent inquiry into the relations subsisting between the people of the Colonies and the Lords Proprietors, and between them and the Crown. The cause was exhaustively argued by the most capable lawyers of the day. The question at issue involved fishery rights on all the tide-waters of the State, and its determination is a basic principle of fishery rights in all New Jersey to the present time—that no owner could hold exclusive right to a fishery fronting his land on tide-water; that the land title from the Lords Proprietors could convey fee only to low water mark, and that the people had equal right to the oysters with the owner, notwithstanding the bed was of his planting.

Chief Justice Kirkpatrick served in his high office for the long period of twenty-one years. The Legislature declined to again re-elect him, and this was probably due in some degree to the antagonism of some at the bar, who, in his later official years, deemed him somewhat arbitrary. It is pleasant to record with reference to this, that one of his strongest supporters at this time was one who had some reason for complaint against him—Charles Ewing, who became his successor. Justice Kirkpatrick was a man of unaffected piety, and deeply devoted to furthering religion and education. He was the founder of Princeton Theological Seminary, and he was for many years a Trustee of his *alma mater*, Princeton College.

Serving at various times as Associate Justices with Chief Justice Kirkpatrick were William S. Pennington, William Rossell, Mahlon Dickerson, Samuel L. Southard and Gabriel H. Ford, and all these except Rossell and Ford served at one time or other as Governor.

Justice Pennington descended from that Ephraim Pennington who came to Newark (probably from Connecticut) in 1666. He served with distinction during the Revolutionary War, and was subsequently a Member of the Assembly while he was a law student. In addition to compiling the reports heretofore referred to, he wrote a treatise on practice in the lower courts, an excellent volume which was until within a half century respected as entirely authoritative in the lines upon which it treats. Under appointment by President Madison he succeeded Robert Morris as Judge of the United States District Court of New Jersey, and after his death, his successor in that office was William Rossell, who had also served as an Associate Supreme Court Justice.

Justice Dickerson, also an Associate Justice with Chief Justice Kirkpatrick, served on the State Bench but two years, and while he was a capable judge he made no noticeable record in that position. For a brief time he served as United States District Judge, having succeeded Judge Rossell. He served in the Assembly and in the United States Senate, and

he held the portfolio of the Navy Department under President Andrew Jackson, having previously declined the mission to Russia.

Associate Justice Southard lived a life of rare usefulness. He was graduated from Princeton College when he was little more than seventeen years of age, and in 1811 he entered upon the practice of law in Hunterdon county, New Jersey. In 1815, with Joseph Hopkinson, he appeared before the Assembly to argue the right of Aaron Ogden and Daniel Dod under a State statute with reference to steam navigation between New Jersey and New York, and his effort drew immediate and favorable attention to him. In the following year he was elected to the Assembly, and while serving as a member of that body he was elected an Associate Supreme Court Justice. He served in that position for five years, during which period he was also Reporter. The bench was not to his liking, however, and in 1821 he was elected to the United States Senate. It is interesting to know that the widely famed Missouri Compromise resolutions which were introduced by Henry Clay were drafted by Mr. Southard, who was to present them in the Senate, a course from which he was dissuaded by Mr. Clay, who deemed it most suitable that he himself should give them first presentation in the House of Representatives, of which he was then a member. Mr. Southard, as a member of the joint committee which reported this historic paper, had the strange fortune to meet, as a fellow member of that body, his own father, who was then a Representative in Congress.

The subsequent career of Mr. Southard (the junior, and late Associate Justice), was most brilliant and useful. He became Secretary of the Navy under President Monroe, and was continued in that position by President Adams, and during these years he was also at times Acting Secretary of the two Departments of War and the Treasury. In 1829 he was appointed Attorney General of the State, and in 1832 he was elected Governor. In his first (and only) message to the Legislature he took occasion to express his approval of the celebrated proclamation of President Jackson with reference to the South Carolina nullification measures. In 1832, three months after his election as Governor, he was elected to the United States Senate. He was re-elected to that body in 1838, and in 1841 he was elected to its *pro tempore* Presidency. Shortly afterward President Harrison died and was succeeded in the Chief Magistracy by Vice-President Tyler, and this made Mr. Southard practically Vice-President of the United States. His death occurred a few months later.

Charles Ewing, who succeeded Kirkpatrick in the Chief Justiceship, served about six years, dying in the first year of his second term. He was surprisingly industrious, and gave as careful attention to a petty case as he would to one of great magnitude. One case which he adjudicated

(that of Hendrickson vs. Decow) was one which may be now seen in a humorous light, but was a very serious affair then. It involved property interests claimed by both the bodies into which the Quakers had divided—the Hicksites and the Orthodox Quakers—and the opposing elements were as bitterly antagonistic as that truly Christian people could be, while those not of their faith had very generously taken (in sympathy) one or the other side of the quarrel. The Chancellor, before whom the case had been brought, was incapable of sitting as Judge, having been of counsel for one of the parties to the suit, and he called Chief Justice Ewing and Associate Justice Drake as Advisory Masters in Chancery. The testimony, which filled two large volumes, covered not only all facts pertaining to the tract of land in question and the respective claims of the antagonists, but also the entire history of the Quaker sect—its origin, its institutions, its customs, and all things connected with it. Arguments were made by the most eminent lawyers in the State, a week being consumed in this alone. Chief Justice Ewing confined himself closely to the legal aspects of the case as touching the property at issue, and in so dispassionate a way as to absolutely forbid the idea of his having any other purpose than to apply the law with absolute impartiality. But Judge Drake, a good lawyer and excellent man, ventured upon the *terra incognita* of the logical distinctions between the two elements, and so provoked the antagonism of the Hicksites that they combined with his political opponents and compassed his defeat when he was presented for re-election.

Joseph C. Hornblower came to the Supreme Court as Chief Justice in 1832 and served for two terms. He had begun his professional life in Newark, and was known as a most capable lawyer, and particularly successful in the trial of causes and before a jury. As a jurist he was industrious, and his mental processes were rapid. His decisions from the bench, contained in the various volumes of the New Jersey Reports, were marked by learning, legal acumen and high moral principle. The latter fact was well evidenced in his decision in 1856 that there was no constitutional power in Congress to enact a fugitive slave law, and the reversal of that decision in no wise diminished his conviction of right in the premises. He handed down various decisions, some of which became foundation principles in New Jersey law. In one of these he held that no challenge of a juror could lie because he had formed or expressed an opinion of the case in civil, unless that opinion found expression out of ill will or malice toward the accused—a proposition which would be viewed with contempt in some States where the faintest semblance to an opinion by a talesman acts as a bar against his serving. He had no patience with a plea of mental insanity as affording immunity from punishment to the deliverer of a fatal

blow, and in face of his decision upon this point it were scarcely worth while for one accused to attempt such a plea at all.

Judge Hornblower was a member of the Convention which framed the Constitution of 1844, and he aided largely in the making of that important document. He received from the College of New Jersey the degree of Doctor of Laws, and he was appointed to one of the chairs in the short-lived law school of that institution. One of his daughters became the wife of Associate Justice Joseph P. Bradley, of the United States Supreme Court.

William L. Dayton was the youngest man who ever sat upon the Supreme bench, but his term of service was short, and his judicial career is entirely overshadowed by his brilliant political achievements. He was a native of Somerset county, and a graduate of Princeton College. He read law under the eminent Peter D. Vroom, and began the practice of his profession in Freehold. He became an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court in 1838, when twenty-one years of age, and he left the office in 1841. During this brief period he displayed those qualities which mark the careful and safe Judge, whose mental processes were rather founded upon the application of correct moral principles than upon the technical traditions of the law.

In political life Mr. Dayton made himself known throughout the nation. In 1837, when twenty years old, he was elected to the Legislature, and during his service in that body he contributed materially to the advancement of jurisprudence in the State. As Chairman of the Judiciary Committee he approved and carried forward to enactment the law creating Circuit Courts in the various counties, as drafted by Alexander C. M. Pennington. From the Legislature he went to a seat upon the Supreme bench. Under appointment by Governor Pennington, he succeeded Senator Southard (deceased) in the United States Senate, and when the Legislature assembled he was duly elected to the Senatorship, and served until 1851, acting with the Whig party. During his Senatorial term his conduct was marked by self-possession and discretion, but when the occasion demanded he rose to the necessities of the case, ably confronting the most capable of his opponents. He aided in the formation of the Republican party, and was its Vice-Presidential candidate with General John C. Fremont in 1856. In 1857 he became Attorney General of the State, appointed by Governor William A. Newell, over such distinguished men as Frederick T. Frelinghuysen and Cortlandt Parker. In 1860 President Lincoln appointed him to the mission to France, and in that position, in face of what appeared to be insuperable obstacles, he accomplished splendid results for his country, succeeding in neutralizing to large degree the aid which the

French government felt disposed to afford to the Southern Confederacy. Mr. Dayton died in November, 1864, before the close of the Civil War in America, but when the approaching end was clearly discernible.

A peculiarly interesting character was Associate Justice James S. Nevins, who came to the bench in 1838 and served for fourteen years. He was a man of considerable legal ability, and his honesty was unquestioned, but his disagreements of opinion with his associates were many. He was "a fellow of minute jest," ever good natured, delighting in social companionship, and was the life of the company. At times his quippery was not altogether dignified, and placed him in a position where awkward explanations were necessary.

Among the Associate Justices of this period was Joseph F. Randolph, who handed down a decision involving riparian rights which established a foundation principle in New Jersey law touching that subject. In addition to performing much useful service upon the bench and as a member of Congress, he assisted in the revision of the statutes in 1855, under appointment by the Legislature. He was offered an honorary degree by the College of New Jersey, but for some reason he declined acceptance.

In 1846 Henry W. Green came to the bench, succeeding Chief Justice Hornblower. His services as a jurist reflected honor upon himself and were highly advantageous to the people and to the bar during the long period of fourteen years on the Supreme bench, and nearly a full term afterward as Chancellor. His retirement from the latter position was by resignation necessitated by ill health. He was one of the most capable men who ever graced the high position of Chief Justice—an accomplished lawyer, of really judicial temperament. In charging a jury he was exhaustive in laying down the rules of law, and so precise in their statement that his meaning was incapable of mis-construction. His decisions were models of language and law statement, and have been frequently cited in British as well as in American courts. He gave zealous support to educational and religious institutions, notably to Princeton College and the Princeton Theological Seminary. He was of unassailable personal character, but he was totally destitute of those traits which attract the populace, toward whom he bore himself with a degree of reserve which savored of austerity.

Associate Justice Elias B. D. Ogden came to his office in 1848, and served for two terms. One of his most important decisions was a denial of the right of a State Court to interfere for the release of a prisoner held under the judgment of a Federal Court. He had served as Prosecutor of the Pleas, and he was a member of the State Constitutional Convention in 1844.

Lucas Q. C. Elmer, who became an Associate Justice in 1852, occupied the position for fifteen years. He was honored for his conscientiousness in the discharge of his official duty, for his personal piety, and for his earnest advocacy of charitable and humanitarian projects. He was a writer of no mean ability, and left an enduring piece of work in his volume, "The Constitution and Government of the Province and State of New Jersey, with Biographical Sketches of its Governors from 1776 to 1845." He also wrote a "History of Cumberland County" and a book of legal forms and a digest of the laws of New Jersey. A later edition of the latter work appeared under the title "Nixon's Digest," and contained numerous additions by John T. Nixon, son-in-law of Justice Elmer.

Associate Justice Stacy G. Potts came to his seat in 1852 and served for one term. He was a studious, painstaking man, and he came to be looked upon as a most capable jurist. In other ways he was highly useful to the bench and bar of the State. While serving as Clerk of the Court in Chancery he compiled an excellent work on chancery practice which was for many years a standard text-book on that subject. At a later day, and before coming to the bench, with Peter D. Vroom, Henry W. Green and William L. Dayton, he served on a statute revision commission, and the principal share of the labor devolved upon him.

Daniel Haines came to the bench as an Associate Justice in the same year with Justice Potts, and he served two full terms with entire credit to himself and to the admiration of his colleagues and of the bar. His life was one of rare usefulness in various ways. He was elected Governor in 1843, and again in 1847. He was a commissioner to locate various public institutions, and he was deeply interested and intensely active in all movements for the improvement of prison control. He was a representative from the United States in the International Convention on Prison Discipline and Reform held in 1872 in London, England.

Among the most honored names in the law annals of the State is that of Peter Vredenburg. He was born in Hunterdon county, and was educated at Rutgers College. He became a lawyer and located in Eatontown, in Monmouth county, whence he removed to Freehold. In 1837 he became Prosecutor of the Pleas, and he served in that position for fifteen years, and established a reputation for ability of the highest order. In 1855 he was appointed an Associate Justice by Governor Price, notwithstanding the fact that they were antagonists politically. Under re-appointment by Governor Olden his term of service was extended to fourteen years. He was regarded as an ornament and honor to the bench and bar of the State, and was spoken of as one of those great and pure minds who have given the judiciary of the State an honorable pre-eminence in

the nation. He was remarkable for patience in hearing cases, for his powers of minute analysis, and of correlating established facts and seeming inconsistencies. Justice Aredenburgh was called to mourn the loss of a gifted son who fell on the field of battle during the Civil War, and the great affliction brought further impairment to an enfeebled system, although his death did not occur until 1873.

Edward W. Whelpley, Chief Justice from 1861 to 1864, was of the town of Morris county and was educated at Princeton College. He read law under two masterly preceptors — Amzi Dodd, his uncle, and Amos Armstrong. He practiced his profession with entire success, at first in Newark, and then in Morristown. He was elected to the Assembly in 1848, and was re-elected to a second term, when he became Speaker. In 1858 he was appointed Associate Justice of the Supreme Court in succession to Martin Ryerson, who had resigned, and in 1861 he became Chief Justice, succeeding Henry W. Green, who had become Chancellor. His death occurred in February, 1864, while he was yet in office.

Justice Whelpley was a lawyer of commanding ability—well versed in common law, strong of intellect, thorough and precise. He despised mere technicalities, scorning all methods that were not based upon entire rectitude. He was, perhaps, one of the most consummate orators of his profession—not an oratorical trickster, but a speaker whose smooth flow of language, pleasing voice and naturally graceful gesture commanded at once attention and admiration. On the bench he was regarded by his associates with deep respect, even when he antagonized his colleagues. It was his unique experience—and a similar instance is unknown to have, in two cases before the court of appeals, his opinions sustained by the lay members over the judgment of the law judges. He was a man of high literary attainments and unsullied character, and his death was deeply deplored throughout the State.

Joel Parker became an Associate Justice in 1880, was reappointed in 1887, and died in the second year of the latter term. He was a scrupulously fair and honest Judge—studious as to the law in a case, but restrictive under its technicalities if they were invoked to effect a miscarriage of justice. He was of that old school mould of professional thought which, in seeking to arrive at a just conclusion, began with a consideration of the abstract rightfulness in the matter, and then proceeded, confident in the belief that what is right in itself is capable of maintenance through legal axiom and enactment.

But Mr. Parker was more conspicuous in other fields, in which his services were of paramount usefulness to his fellows and to the State. He was a citizen and public servant of the first order. He was born near

the Monmouth battle ground, and his father, Charles Parker, one of the leading men of his day, instilled in him all manly virtues and love of knowledge. He was educated at Princeton College, and he read law under Henry W. Green, who was subsequently Chief Justice and Chancellor, and then began his law practice in Freehold. In 1847 he was elected to the Assembly and at once became a leader on the Democratic side. In 1851 he was appointed Prosecutor of the Pleas in his native county, and served in that position for five years. He was an Elector on the Democratic ticket in 1860, and he was one of the three in northern States who in the Electoral College cast their votes for Douglas for President. Democrat as he was, he was appointed by Governor Olden, a Republican, to the position of Major-General of a Militia Division comprising five counties. In 1862 he was elected Governor, and his zealous patriotism and executive ability won for him the admiration and confidence of the national administration. In organizing troops for the field he was among the very first of State executives, and when Pennsylvania was invaded by the Confederates his regiments were on the threatened ground even before those which belonged to it. Through his personal efforts, call after call for troops was met with volunteers, while adjoining States were forced to resort to drafting, and he provided for the families of his soldiers, and for the soldiers themselves when they were wounded or sick. He was ineligible for re-election and in 1868 his State delegation in the Democratic national convention voted for him persistently but unsuccessfully for the Presidential nomination. In 1871 he was again elected Governor. In 1875 he was appointed Attorney General, but he soon resigned and resumed his law practice, from which he was called to the bench, as previously narrated.

Chief Justice Mercer Beasley was a native of Trenton, and he was educated at Princeton College. He began reading law under the preceptorship of Samuel L. Southard, and he completed his course under Chancellor Isaac H. Williamson. He entered upon practice in Trenton, and came to be known as a most capable pleader, whose success was conspicuous in the most important courts.

On the death of Chief Justice Whelpley, Mr. Beasley was named to the position thus made vacant, and so early did he manifest his peculiar fitness for the position that he succeeded himself time and again, no matter who the appointing power, or of what political party, so that his service covered the unprecedented period of thirty-three years. His indefatigable industry, deep knowledge of law and capacity for giving it application, were apparent from the outset. In the Court of Errors, in which he first sat, he prepared every reported opinion which was delivered

in his first term. The very first of these was one upon a most important question—whether writs of error were the proper remedy in certain cases—and this involved an exhaustive exposition of the history of such writs *ab initio*. There was a curious contrariety in that which he spoke and that which he wrote. In oral charges to a jury his instructions were couched in simple, direct and well understood terms, while in his written decisions his really learned disquisitions were at times obscured by bad construction, and occasionally disfigured by words of his own coinage. He made an enviable record as a jurist, and there was never a better citizen.

Joseph D. Belle, an Associate Justice with Chief Justice Beasley, came to the bench when thirty-four years of age, one of the youngest men ever elevated to that position. He was born at Motawan, in Monmouth county, where he acquired an academical education. He began his law studies under the preceptorship of William L. Dayton, and completed his reading elsewhere. For two years he practiced in his native town, whence he removed to Freehold. In 1865 he became an Associate Justice, nominated to the position by Governor Parker. His circuit was large and important, comprising the counties of Hudson, Passaic and Bergen. He made an excellent record as a jurist, and one of his decisions, delivered in his first year on the bench—one upon the question of taxation—settled the law in some important particulars. He had been named for the gubernatorial office during his first term, and in his second term he received a unanimous nomination in the Democratic convention. Deeming it beneath the dignity of the judicial position to take part in the campaign, he applied himself solely to the duties of his office. He was elected, however, in 1874, and he acquitted himself as honorably in his later as in his former position. In every position he was a gentleman of unfailing courtesy and urbanity.

David A. Depue was made Associate Justice in 1866. He was of Huguenot descent and was born in Pennsylvania. He was educated at Princeton College, and read law under John M. Sherrard, of Belvidere. When he came to the bench his circuit comprised the counties of Essex and Union, and for more than thirty years he sat on the bench of the former county, which has long been a circuit in itself. He was successfully reappointed until 1894, extending his official service to the unparalleled period of thirty-five years, with the end of his last term in 1901, in which year his merits were fitly crowned by his appointment to the position of Chief Justice, and it was his great distinction to be the first member of the court to be advanced to that high place. Having thus attained the consummation of his desires, he resigned in the fall of that year, on account of failing health. His death occurred in the summer of 1902, profoundly re-

gretted by all who knew him. His record as a jurist and citizen was without a stain, and two great institutions—Princeton University and Rutgers College—testified to his talents and character by conferring upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws.

William S. Gummere became Chief Justice in 1901, succeeding Chief Justice DeJure, resigned. He was born in Trenton, June 24, 1852, a son of the late Barker Gummere, who for many years was one of the acknowledged leaders of the bar of New Jersey. Justice Gummere was educated at the old Trenton Academy and the Lawrenceville School, and was graduated from Princeton College in 1870. He studied law with his father, and upon being admitted to the bar he practiced for a time in the office of G. D. W. Nixon, when that gentleman was Prosecutor of the Pleas for Mercer county. Subsequently Mr. Gummere formed a copartnership with his uncle, the late ex-Governor Parker, in Newark, and after that had been dissolved he was associated with Oscar Keen, of the same city. This continued until the late Edward T. Green was made Judge of the United States District Court, when Mr. Gummere succeeded him as counsel for the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, with offices in Trenton. February 18th, 1895, he was appointed by Governor Werts as a Justice of the Supreme Court, to succeed the late Justice Albett. On January 28, 1901, he was nominated by Governor Voorhees for Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, to take effect on November 16, 1901, and he was confirmed on February 4 following. Chief Justice Gummere took the oath of office on November 16, 1901. In politics he is a Republican. His term will expire in 1908. His circuit comprises Essex county.

William J. Magie, the present Chancellor, a son of the Rev. Dr. David Magie, was born in Elizabeth and was educated at Princeton. He read law in his native town under Francis B. Chetwood, and the two were subsequently associated in practice for several years. From 1865 to 1870 Mr. Magie was Prosecutor of the Pleas for Union county, and from 1875 to 1878 he was a State Senator. In 1880 he was appointed an Associate Justice, and he was serving in this position in his third term when on February, 1897 he was appointed Chief Justice, to succeed Mercer Beasley, deceased. His circuit comprises the counties of Morris, Sussex and Somerset. He has acquitted himself admirably in his high office, and is a man of excellent character and broad information.

As previously said, to give an account of all the eminent men who have occupied the exalted position of Judge, whether on the supreme tribunal or in those courts which come nearer to the people, is not within our province. The endeavor has been to trace the beginnings and development of law in our State, and, where individuals are named, to present such

the typical of their profession, and have dignified people, — the courts being for justices or judges.

Of the lower courts it is to be said that they have been labored over and sidered over by a splendid class of men — men of high character and high ability. — In the same category it is to be included the great mass of the population before these various courts. — The great value of education in affording equipment to benefit and honor, is not at all to be disparaged. — New Jersey has just reason for being proud of its schools, from those of the remote district or village to its great universities. — But education is not imparted that affords fully learned professors and extensive text-book treatises. — It reaches what goes to the making of the student in such inspiration and bolsters of thought as cannot be altogether acquired from these.

And so to point the moral and make the meaning clear, it is to be said that the legal profession of New Jersey has been aided to the attainment of its high mental and moral position, by a professional hierarchy which can only be regarded with admiration and gratitude. — The great active majority of to-day, jurists and lawyers alike, had their training in a school of peculiar dignity and usefulness — the office of the practicing lawyer. Many of those on the bench and at the bar at the present time had for mentors those who in their day read law under the preceptorship of John Witherspoon, Peter D. A. Broom and others of their class, and they, in turn, reached back to Kirkpatrick and Somnard and Living. — Hence and thus have been preserved to the present generation the best traditions of the old times, with its men of courtly mien, of sterling integrity, and of manifested ability to those principles of conduct which mark him who may justly be called to the high duty of promoting the ends of justice among his fellows.

CHAPTER XIII.

PROGRESS OF AGRICULTURE.

New Jersey, from the beginning of her story, has been regarded as mainly an agricultural State. Whatever peculiarities her laws might present in the way of perfect religious toleration, whatever industries might spring from her magnificent coast line, whatever manufacturing developments would assert themselves here and there, it was agriculture that was always regarded as the backbone of the State—the real source of its wealth. The cause of the failure of some of the early colonies was that they paid no attention to this important matter; did not seem to include it even in the slightest degree in their calculations. In the Revolutionary War both armies were anxious to hold New Jersey mainly as a granary, and after the tide of battle rolled away from its plains it was still harried as a splendid foraging territory by the combatants on both sides.

So it continues to-day, in spite of the wonderful growth in numbers of the inhabitants of the cities, and the extraordinary development of manufacturing and railroad industries throughout the entire State. On June 1, 1900, there were 34,640 farms in New Jersey, with a valuation of \$102,7501,010. Of this amount \$69,230,080, or 42.6 per cent., is the value of buildings, and \$93,300,930, or 57.4 per cent., the value of the land and other improvements. In addition there were on the farms implements and machinery valued at \$9,330,030, and live stock worth \$17,612,620. This puts the aggregate value of entire farm property at \$189,533,660.

No. 133 of the Bulletins issued by the Census Bureau at Washington is devoted to the consideration of agriculture in New Jersey, and as its facts and figures are reliable and the report is of quite recent date we cannot do better than quote freely from the valuable and well arranged data therein presented.

North of a line from Trenton to Jersey City the surface of the State is hilly or mountainous. South of this line it is a gently undulating plain, sloping south, east and west to the surrounding waters, which are bordered by extensive marshes. The soil is for the most part a sandy loam, every-

where easily tilled. It grows lighter toward the south, and is most fertile in the river valleys and in the hilly region of the north.

The proximity of the New York and Philadelphia markets renders gardening, dairying and fruit raising especially remunerative, and these industries will be found to furnish a very large percentage of the farm products.

Except for the period from 1886 to 1890 the number of farms has steadily increased, and is now 10,745, or 44.0 per cent. greater than in 1850, and 3,822, or 12.4 per cent. greater than in 1890. The total acreage of farm land, however, has increased but 3.2 per cent. since 1850. It follows, therefore, that there has been a decrease in the average size of farms, and statistics indicate that this decrease has been nearly continuous throughout the period covered.

The area of improved land gradually increased until 1880. The decrease since that date, while less marked than in the New England States treated in this series of bulletins, is the result of the same general conditions, namely, the development of intensive agriculture and the increased attention given dairying, truck farming and fruit growing.

Those lands which are most fertile or most easily tilled have been retained under cultivation and made increasingly productive. As a result, the aggregate income derived from cultivated crops is now greater than it was in 1880, although the acreage under cultivation is somewhat smaller. The less fertile lands have been found to afford greater incomes as permanent pasture than as meadow or plow lands, and the two last decades have shown an increasing acreage of such land reported as unimproved.

In 1890 the total value of farm property was \$189,533,000. Since 1850 it has increased \$54,191,355, and in the last decade, \$7,080,746. Of the latter amount, \$3,328,170, or 47.0 per cent., represents the increase in the value of farms; \$1,951,386, or 27.6 per cent., in that of implements and machinery; and \$1,801,199, or 25.4 per cent., in that of live stock. The value of farm products in 1890 was 50.6 per cent. greater than in 1880. A portion of this increase, and of that noted in the case of implements and machinery, is doubtless the result of a more detailed enumeration in 1900 than heretofore. The only counties in which the number of farms is less than in 1860 are Somerset, Morris and Hunterdon, which show decreases of 3.5 per cent., 4.4 per cent. and 5.8 per cent., respectively. The largest relative increases are in Hudson, Atlantic, Cumberland, Essex and Ocean counties, in the order named.

The total area of farm land in the State in 1860 was 2,840,000 acres, of which 1,977,042 acres were improved. The aggregate was 6.7 per cent. greater than in 1890. The counties showing the largest percentages of im-

crease are: Hudson, 110.5 per cent.; Ocean, 55.0 per cent.; Cumberland, 24.3 per cent.; Camden, 24.0 per cent.; and Passaic, 21.0 per cent. The farm acreage has decreased slightly in Monmouth, Hunterdon, Morris, Somerset and Bergen counties.

The percentage of farm land improved is less than it was in 1860 in all counties except those in which there are marked increase in total farm acreage.

The total value of land and buildings (\$162,591,010) has decreased in all counties along the western boundary, except Camden and Cumberland, where small gains, due to large increases in total acreage, are reported. The value per acre of land and buildings has increased in Atlantic, Bergen, Essex, Morris, Passaic, Somerset and Union counties. Of these counties all but Atlantic are in the northwestern part of the State, and the increased values are doubtless due to the rapid development in special branches of agriculture, stimulated by the proximity of New York City markets. The other counties, in each of which the value of farms has decreased since 1860, also showed decrease for the decade 1880-1890. The farms of these counties, as a rule, are better adapted to general agriculture than to the growing of fruits or vegetables, and are less intensively cultivated than the farms of those counties in which values are increasing.

The value of implements and machinery (\$6,330,030) has increased since 1860 in every county, the largest relative gains being in the counties where dairying and market gardening are the leading branches of agriculture.

The total value of live stock (\$17,612,020) has increased 11.4 per cent., Morris being the only county in which a decrease is reported. Hudson, Essex and Union counties show the largest relative gains.

The average expenditure per farm for labor was \$164 for the State, and ranged from \$78 in Ocean county to \$822 in Hudson county. In the latter named county \$164 was expended for labor for every acre of farm land.

For fertilizers the average expenditure per farm in 1860 varied from \$8 in Sussex county to \$125 in Gloucester county, while the average for the State was \$62. In 1880 the State average was \$60 per farm, and the county average ranged from \$2 in Sussex to \$175 in Hudson.

Between 1860 and 1900 the number of farms operated by owners increased 1,853, or 8.3 per cent. Cash-tenant farms increased 1,850, or 53.6 per cent., and share-tenant farms, 116, or 2.4 per cent. In 1860 58.0 per cent. of all tenants were share-tenants, and in 1900 but 48.8 per cent. This change indicates a growing sentiment on the part of both landlord and tenant in favor of the cash payment system, and greater independence and financial

responsibility on the part of the tenant class as a whole. The greatest relative numbers of share tenants are found on the counties having the least intensively cultivated farms. In Warren and Hunterdon counties 70.7 per cent, and 72.0 per cent, respectively, of all tenants are share tenants, while in Essex and Hudson counties the corresponding percentages are but 28 and 3.6. There are relatively more share tenants among the colored farmers than among white farmers.

No previous census has reported the number of farms operated by "part owners," "owners and tenants," or "managers," but it is believed that the number of farms conducted by the last named class is constantly increasing.

The ownership of 6,768 of the 10,355 rented farms was ascertained by the enumerators. That of 647 was not reported. Titles to the 6,768 farms are vested in 8,680 owners, an average of approximately 11.2 farms to every 100 owners. Of these 8,680 owners or landlords, 7,974 possess one farm each. The remaining 706 hold titles to from 2 to 13 farms each, as follows: 542, 2; 93, 3; 28, 4; 23, 5; 11, 6; 4, 7; 2, 8; 1, 10; 1, 11; and 1, 13.

There are 205 landlords who possess rented farms with a total value per owner of \$25,000 or over. They have, in the aggregate, 119 farms, worth \$8,675,168, an average valuation per owner of \$42,318. Of these landlords, 136 own one rented farm each, while the remaining 69 possess 283 rented farms, or an average of approximately four farms each.

There are 1,003 landlords who possess rented farms with a total value per owner of between \$10,000 and \$25,000. They have 1,397 farms, worth \$13,236,985, an average valuation per owner of \$13,191. Of these landlords, 742 have but one rented farm each, while the remaining 261 possess 655 rented farms, or an average of 2.5 farms each.

The landlords owning rented farms with a valuation of \$25,000 or over constitute one in every 164 farm owners in the State, while those whose rented farms have a valuation of between \$10,000 and \$25,000 per owner constitute one in every 33 farm owners. The latter ratio indicates the relative number of farm owners whose incomes from rented farms are sufficient to support them in comfort, while the former ratio shows the relative number who receive comparatively large incomes from the same source.

Of the 8,680 owners of rented farms, 7,587 reside in New Jersey. They own 8,906 farms, of which 7,161 are located in the same county in which the owner resides. Of the non-resident owners, 1,093 live in the North Atlantic States, 30 in the South Atlantic States, and 10 in the North

Central States, 15 in the Western States, 4 in the South Central States, and 4 in foreign countries.

The value of the farms owned by colored farmers, including implements, machinery and live stock, together with the value of the implements, machinery and live stock upon the farms which other colored farmers operate as tenants, is \$452,895. This amount is doubtless somewhat in excess of the actual wealth of the colored farmers of New Jersey, as it is improbable that the colored tenants own all of the machinery and live stock on the farms which they operate.

Of the 73 farms containing 1,000 acres each or over, 26 are operated by "owners," 2 by "part owners," 24 by "managers," 13 by "cash-tenants," 7 by "share-tenants," and 1 by "owner and tenant."

Farms conducted by owners have the smallest average area, 68.7 acres, and those conducted by managers the largest, 290.7 acres. Many of the farms operated by managers are adjuncts of public institutions, while others are conducted for wealthy individuals in connection with their summer homes. These farms are, as a rule, favorably located and highly improved, and the average values of their several forms of farm property are much larger than for any other class of farms grouped by tenure. The ratio which the gross income of these farms bears to the total value of farm property is, however, smaller than for the other groups. This is due to the high average valuation of the farm property, and to the fact that many of these farms are not cultivated for profit.

The average gross incomes per acre for the various groups classified by area are as follows: Farms under 3 acres, \$77.2; 3 to 9 acres, \$89; 10 to 19 acres, \$35; 20 to 49 acres, \$21; 50 to 99 acres, \$14; 100 to 174 acres, \$11; 175 to 259 acres, \$9; 260 to 499 acres, \$7; 500 to 999 acres, \$6; 1,000 acres and over, \$0.89.

The total value of all live stock on farms, June 1, 1900, was \$17,612,620. Of this amount the value of horses constituted 43.0 per cent.; dairy cows, 33.2 per cent.; other neat cattle, 7.7 per cent.; poultry, 7.4 per cent.; swine, 5.3 per cent.; sheep, 1.1 per cent.; and all other live stock, 2.3 per cent. Colts under one year have a higher average value than horses over two years. This is due to the fact that New Jersey contains several very extensive stock farms devoted exclusively to the breeding and training of horses for track purposes.

No report was secured of the value of live stock not on farms, but it is probable that such animals have higher average value than those on farms. Allowing the same averages, the total value of all live stock in the State, exclusive of poultry and bees not on farms, is approximately \$25,100,000. The number of dairy cows is 4,169 less than that reported

in 1860. The number reported in 1900, however, is exclusive of 7,977 "cows not kept for milk," many of which were doubtless milch cows dry at the time of enumeration. The 39,685 calves reported in 1900 are included with "other neat cattle." It is uncertain whether calves were included under this head in the reports for previous census years. If not, they should be deducted from the total given for 1900 in making comparisons with previous reports. A nearly continuous decrease since 1860 would then be shown in the number of "other neat cattle."

The present census shows 47.0 per cent. more horses than were reported in 1850. The increase has been nearly continuous, but especially marked in the last decade, when it amounted to 8.2 per cent. Mules and asses increased steadily in number from 1850 to 1880, when a decline began. The report for 1900 shows 40.1 per cent. fewer mules and asses than were reported ten years before. The number of sheep has decreased steadily since 1850, and in the last twenty years at a very rapid rate, the present number being less than one-half the number reported in 1860. No regular movement is shown in the number of swine reported at the various decennial periods, but the general tendency since 1850 has been downward. There was a decrease of 21.8 per cent. in the last decade.

In comparing the poultry report for 1900 with that for 1860, it should be borne in mind that in 1900 the enumerators were instructed not to report fowls less than three months old, while in 1860 no such limitation was made. This fact explains, to a great extent, the decrease shown in the number of fowls of all kinds. Compared with the figures for 1860, the present census shows decreases in the number of fowls as follows: Chickens, 33.3 per cent.; geese, 48.4 per cent.; ducks, 64.8 per cent.; and turkeys, 80.0 per cent.

The value of animal products in 1860 was \$15,740,688, or 30.1 per cent. of the value of all farm products and 44.9 per cent. of the gross farm income. Of the above amount 53.6 per cent. represents the value of dairy products; 19.3 per cent. that of animals sold and slaughtered on farms; 26.7 per cent. that of poultry and eggs; and 0.4 per cent. that of wool, honey and wax.

The steady growth of the city population and the increasing popularity of Atlantic coast resorts have largely increased the demand for dairy produce in New Jersey. The present importance of the industry is shown by the fact that in 1860 the proprietors of 5,970 farms, or 17.2 per cent. of the farms of the State, derived their principal income from dairy produce, the total value of which constituted over one half that of all animal products, and 24.1 per cent. of the gross farm income. The production of milk in 1860 was 13,710,102 gallons greater than in 1886, a gain of 21.4 per cent.

The quantity of milk sold was 50,726,011 gallons. The milk sold in 1880 was not separately reported, but since 1870 there has been a gain of 35,253,228 gallons, or 227.8 per cent., the quantity having more than doubled in every county except Atlantic, Middlesex and Union.

Of the \$8,436,800 given as the value of all dairy products in 1890, \$1,205,080, or 15.0 per cent., represents the value of such products consumed on farms, and \$7,170,880, or 85.0 per cent., the amount realized from sales. Of the latter sum, \$6,318,508 was derived from the sale of 50,726,011 gallons of milk; \$818,624 from 3,748,480 pounds of butter; \$31,508 from 35,086 gallons of cream; and \$2,180 from 20,000 pounds of cheese.

In 1870 9,513,835 pounds of butter were made on farms; in 1880, 8,307,218 pounds; and in 1890 but 5,804,303 pounds. This decrease is due principally to the transfer of butter making from the farm to the creamery, and to the increase in the quantity of milk and cream consumed in cities.

Of the \$4,204,120 given as the total value of the products of the poultry industry, 40.1 per cent. represents the value of eggs, and 53.9 per cent. that of poultry raised. The total number of dozens of eggs produced in 1870 was 6,086,142; in 1880, 8,031,571; and in 1890, 11,042,550. The increase in the last decade, amounting to 48.7 per cent., tends to confirm the statement that the reported decrease in the number of chickens is more apparent than real.

The raising of sheep is confined almost entirely to the northwestern part of the State, the five counties of Warren, Hunterdon, Morris, Sussex and Somerset having reported more than three-fourths of the total production of wool in 1890. The clip has decreased almost constantly for more than fifty years, and in 1890 was 60.0 per cent. less than in 1840.

In 1880 160,316 pounds of honey and 3,381 pounds of wax were reported, while in 1890 the production of honey was 174,250 pounds, and of wax, 7,640. In both years the greater portion of the product was reported from Hunterdon, Morris, Sussex and Warren counties.

Vegetables, including potatoes, sweet potatoes and onions, contributed 30.2 per cent. of the total value of crops, cereals, 24.8 per cent.; hay and forage, 10.0 per cent.; fruits, 14.0 per cent.; flowers, plants, nursery products and seeds, 8.4 per cent.; and all others, 2.4 per cent.

The average yield per acre of hay and forage was 1.2 tons, and the average values \$16.22 per ton and \$12.47 per acre. The acreage devoted to hay and forage was 34.3 per cent. of the total acreage in crops, but yielded only 10.0 per cent. of the total receipts. The average values per acre of other crops were as follows: Flowers and plants, \$3,781.25; nur-

scry products, \$100,701; miscellaneous vegetables, \$33,911; vegetable oils, \$58,921; small fruits, \$55,421; potatoes, \$11,451; and land crops, \$32,381; and cereals, \$11,781. The crops yielding the largest average returns were grown on land in a very high state of improvement. The production requires a relatively large amount of labor, and entails large expenditures for fertilizers.

The total area devoted to cereals in 1860 was 538,853 acres; in 1880, 601,357 acres; and in 1870, 773,375 acres. For the period 1870 to 1880 the percentages of decrease in acreage for the principal grains are as follows: Buckwheat, 55.41; oats, 44.71; rye, 35.91; corn, 14.31, and wheat, 11.51. The decrease in the last decade is confined to oats and rye, the other grains having larger acreages in 1860 than in 1880. With the exception of corn, which is a staple crop throughout the State, and wheat, which is grown in all the western counties, cereal production is at present confined almost entirely to the northwestern counties.

The 295,258 acres given as the area devoted to corn in 1860, is exclusive of 24,628 acres of corn, non-saccharine sorghum, and similar crops grown for forage or ensilage.

New Jersey is one of the few Eastern States in which the production of cereals is not rapidly decreasing. While the production of oats, rye, barley and buckwheat is less than in 1840, this loss has been nearly offset by the increased production of corn and wheat, so that the net decrease in total cereal production has been only 326,486 bushels, or 2.1 per cent. The recent increase in the acreage devoted to corn is believed to be closely related to the growth of dairying.

Of the farmers of the State, 23,098, or 60.3 per cent., reported orchard fruits in 1860. The value of orchard products was not reported by the census of 1860, but in 1870 the total value of such products was \$860,000, for 1860 the corresponding value is \$2,504,981, a gain in twenty years of 291.7 per cent.

The most noteworthy changes between 1860 and 1900 are an increase of 38.2 per cent. in the number of apple trees, and a decrease of 37.8 per cent. in the number of peach trees. In 1860 21.7 per cent. of all fruit trees in the State were apple trees, and 73.0 per cent. were peach trees, while in 1900 the corresponding percentages are 32.4 and 48.6, respectively. The number of apple trees increased in every county except Cumberland, the largest relative increases being in Ocean, Union and Salem counties.

The peach growing industry is largely confined to the five northwestern counties of Hunterdon, Sussex, Morris, Somerset and Warren, which reported, in 1860, 74.4 per cent. of all the peach trees in the State. The marked decrease in the number of trees in Hunterdon, Somerset and Cum-

berland counties during the last decade is due largely to the ravages of the yellows. In the aggregate these three counties sustained a loss of 1,549,886 peach trees, or 93.0 per cent. of the total loss of 1,666,961 trees reported for the State. Hunterdon county alone lost 1,026,041 trees. The counties in the extreme northern part of the State and along the southeastern coast report more trees than in 1890.

There has been a large increase in the number of pear trees in almost every county of the State. The gain in most cases is the result of the extensive introduction of Kieffer pears. Burlington, Cumberland, Gloucester, Monmouth and Sussex are the leading pear-growing counties, and report the largest gains for the decade.

The number of cherry trees increased 150.8 per cent., Monmouth being the only county to report a decrease. An increase of 829.0 per cent. in number of plum and prune trees was distributed among all the counties.

Unclassified orchard trees to the number of 17,829 are reported, with a yield of 8,947 bushels of fruit. The value of orchard products includes the value of 28,902 barrels of cider, 6,276 barrels of vinegar, and 14,860 pounds of dried and evaporated fruits.

The quantity of fruit produced in any year is determined largely by the nature of the season. Comparisons between the crop of 1889 and that of 1899 have little significance, because in the former year there was an almost complete failure of all fruits except peaches.

Grapes were grown by 3,604 farmers, who obtained, in 1899, 42,350 cents of fruit from 1,199,859 vines. The total value of the grapes grown, including the value of 123,454 gallons of wine made on farms, was \$81,758. Atlantic and Cumberland are the leading counties in the cultivation of grapes, reporting in 1900 more than one-half of the vines of the State. In these two counties there has been a marked increase since 1890 in the number of vines.

The value of the vegetables grown in 1899, including potatoes, sweet potatoes and onions, was \$8,425,506, of which amount 26.0 per cent. represents the value of potatoes and 14.4 per cent. the value of sweet potatoes. Aside from the land devoted to potatoes, sweet potatoes and onions, 76,897 acres were used in the growing of miscellaneous vegetables. Of this area 15,426 acres were included in family gardens or farms, the vegetable products of which were not reported in detail. Of the 61,471 acres concerning which detailed reports were received, 25,332 were devoted to tomatoes; 11,046 to sweet corn; 6,548 to muskmelons, citrons, etc.; 5,121 to cabbages; 4,040 to watermelons; 2,089 to asparagus; 1,822 to green peas; 1,460 to green beans; 1,314 to cucumbers; and 2,009 to other vegetables.

The total area used in the cultivation of small fruits in 1899 was 25,371 acres, distributed among 10,312 farms. The value of the fruits grown was \$1,406,049, an average of \$136 per farm. Of the total area, 8,746 acres, or 34.5 per cent., were devoted to strawberries. The total production for the State was 13,274,120 quarts, of which about one third was reported by Cumberland county. Next in importance are cranberries, of which 8,356 acres were reported, or 32.9 per cent. of the total area used for small fruits. The raising of cranberries is confined almost entirely to the southern counties, Burlington reporting the largest crop. The total production for the State was 240,221 bushels.

The acreage and production of other berries were as follows: Blackberries and dewberries, 5,254 acres and 3,018,320 quarts; currants, 101 acres and 264,740 quarts; raspberries and Logan berries, 2,240 acres and 2,500,730 quarts; gooseberries, 104 acres and 124,160 quarts; and other berries, 510 acres and 564,160 quarts.

In the raising of flowers and foliage plants New Jersey is surpassed by few States. In 1899 the proprietors of 630 establishments reported flowers and foliage plants grown for the market valued at \$1,953,290. Of these proprietors, 494 made commercial floriculture their principal business, growing, in 1899, flowers and plants worth \$1,893,839 and others products worth \$60,719. They used 3,661 acres of land, valued at \$2,174,865. The value of their buildings, including greenhouses, was \$2,458,240, and in addition they had \$156,429 invested in implements and \$35,912 in live stock, making a total investment of \$4,825,446. Their expenditures for labor in 1899 were \$400,382, and for fertilizers, \$48,334.

The comparatively large area of land under glass, 11,190,251 square feet, is due to the fact that many truck farmers use glass in growing early vegetables for the New York and Philadelphia markets. The 494 commercial florists report 6,195,903 square feet of glass surface, equivalent to 4,646,927 square feet of land under glass. In addition there are 1,651 farmers who report a total area under glass of 6,543,324 square feet.

Nursery products of a total value of \$339,926 were grown upon 142 farms. The proprietors of these farms made the growing of nursery products for market their sole or principal business, and derived therefrom in 1899 a total gross income of \$292,153. They also sold or consumed \$53,175 worth of other products.

The total expenditure for labor on farms in 1899, including the value of board furnished, was \$6,720,030, an average of \$194 per farm. The average was highest on the most intensively cultivated farms, having been \$1,205 for nurseries, \$810 for florists' establishments, \$264 for dairy farms, \$219 for market gardens, \$200 for fruit farms, \$162 for hay and grain

farms, and \$112 for live-stock farms. "Managers" expended on an average, \$641; "owners," \$170; "cash-tenants," \$186; and "share-tenants," \$201 per farm. White farmers expended \$196 per farm, and colored farmers \$56.

Fertilizers purchased in 1899 cost \$2,105,320, an average of \$62 per farm, and an increase since 1860 of 17.8 per cent. The average expenditure was greatest for nurseries and least for live-stock farms, the amounts being \$182 and \$33, respectively. For vegetable farms the average was \$124; for florists' establishments, \$68; for fruit farms, \$57; for dairy farms, \$43; and for hay and grain farms, \$50.

Irrigation was reported on 8 farms in 1899. Of the 73 acres irrigated, 69 acres were devoted to crops, as follows: Hay, 26 acres; vegetables, 26 acres; corn, 13 acres; celery, 6 acres; seeds, 4 acres. The total value of the crops produced was \$8,720, an average of \$126 per acre.

The average value per acre of irrigated land was \$155. The total capital invested in irrigation plants was \$2,831, and the average cost of irrigating was \$36 per acre.

THE COAST COUNTIES.

The soil of Monmouth county, in a high state of cultivation, produces equal with the best counties in the State. Manure, a mineral fertilizer, abounds, and was extensively used years ago, and advanced the agricultural productions to a high standard which has not been lowered. Grain, grass, fruits and vegetables grow luxuriantly. The nature of the soil is especially adapted to growing potatoes, and thousands of barrels are shipped annually to New York and other markets. Among the vegetables, asparagus is an important crop—near the northern coast large areas are planted, and the returns range from \$200 to \$500 per acre in favorable seasons. Tomatoes are largely grown, both for shipping and canning. The nature of the soil produces a superior quality, which commands the highest price.

The canning business is carried on quite extensively; at Freehold one firm uses the product of 1,400 acres, chiefly peas and Lima Beans.

This county also leads in the growing of the Kieffer and other varieties of pears, yielding beautiful returns when intelligently handled. Dairying is increasing, the summer resorts consuming large quantities of milk.

In Ocean county, during the past two decades—more interest has been taken in agricultural pursuits than formerly. Corn is the leading cereal crop, being used for feeding domestic animals and poultry. In the vicinity

of Toms River and Island Heights, Manahawkin and New Egypt, are excellent farming lands, and dairying as well as general farming is followed.

Small fruits and berries, with the usual field and garden vegetables, are extensively grown. Clearings in the natural pine forest, which afford protection, and a warm, dry soil, give special advantages for growing early crops. Cranberries are produced to some extent, and huckleberries grow in profusion and are a market crop of much value.

Atlantic City has proven a great stimulus to the agricultural interests of Atlantic county, creating such a demand for small fruits, vegetables and poultry products that thousands of acres have been cleared, which are occupied by a thrifty and industrious population, and parts of the once so called sandy desert now afford a comfortable livelihood for willing workers.

Dairying, almost unknown in this county a few decades ago, is increasing, but is unable to supply the demands in the summer season, and the popular resorts continue to receive milk from more distant points. Poultry raising is also increasing.

Grape culture has for years been extensively followed, and many thousand gallons of excellent wine are made annually, beside the large quantity of grapes sold. Here, also, berries of different varieties flourish. Strawberries lead, yet raspberries and blackberries are grown in large quantities for the home and city markets. The cranberry, in some localities, is a staple crop. Apples and pears, with proper cultivation, thrive well. Potatoes, both white and sweet, are extensively grown, the sweets being a leading crop. Tomatoes are grown to supply the several large canning establishments within the county.

The soil of Cape May county is mostly sand and sandy loam, and, where the latter is found, agriculture has, during recent years, made commendable advancement. Grain crops are not grown extensively, but forage crops, as crimson clover, cow peas and the pullets, do well, and are grown for dairy and soiling purposes. Much of the soil is well adapted to market gardening crops, and the nearby markets and excellent transportation facilities to Philadelphia and other cities afford encouragement for greater agricultural enterprise.

In these and contiguous counties are large tracts of land still uncleared, or covered with brushwood, and which are adapted to tillage and capable of producing large crops of small fruits and market garden vegetables. The wood on them is mainly oak, with some pitch pine and yellow pine, and hence they are called oak lands to distinguish them from the more sandy

lands and tracts on which the pitch pine grows almost exclusively. The latter are known as pine lands. The soils of these tracts are sandy and not naturally so rich and fertile as the more heavy clay soils of the limestone, the red shale and the marl districts of the State, but they are not so sandy and so coarse-grained as to be non-productive, as is the case with some of the pine land areas. The latter are often deficient in plant-food and are deservedly characterized as "Pine Barrens," and are too poor for farm purposes. The growth of the wood (oak and pine), as well as chemical analyses, shows that the oak land soils contain the elements of plant production. They are not so well suited to pasturage or to continuous cropping as naturally rich virgin soils, hence they are better fitted for raising vegetables, melons, sweet potatoes, small fruits, peaches and pears, than wheat, corn, hay and other farm staples. The eminent superiority of this kind of farming in New Jersey over the old routine of wheat, hay, corn and potatoes is so well known that it is useless to do more than refer to the fact. The profitable farming is now in raising those crops which can be produced on these South Jersey soils. The success at Hammon-ton, Egg Harbor City, Vineland and other places is notable, and equally good results are to be had at a hundred or more places as well situated as they are. These lands are sold at a merely nominal figure, and the settler saves in capital and interest account. They are easily cleared of brush-wood or standing timber, and the wood is salable in all this part of the State at remunerative prices, often producing a larger return than the original cost of the land. The soil is easily cultivated, and throughout most of the year it is possible to work it. The long working season and the short and mild winter favors the arrangement of work so that all is done with the least outlay for help.

STATE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE.

By an act of the State legislature, in 1864, the income from the land-scrip for the maintenance "of a college to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts" was directed to be paid to the trustees of Rutgers College, for the salaries of teachers in that branch of the college designated in the act as the State Agricultural College. The annual income to the college from this source is \$5,800, and, in order to meet the further requirements of the law, which provided for forty free scholarships to students from the various counties of the State, the institution was enlarged, additional professors appointed, and a farm of one hundred acres bought and maintained.

In 1888 the trustees of the college offered ten extra scholarships, and

in 1860 a further act of the legislature provided for an additional scholarship to each Assembly district. These scholarships are now all filled, and there have been but few vacancies since the provisions of the act were accepted by the college. More than eight hundred students have been in attendance at the institution, of whom more than two hundred and fifty have graduated, the remaining number having attended for shorter or longer periods.

In 1860 an act providing for the more complete endowment and support of the Colleges for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanic arts was passed by Congress. By the provisions of this act the sum of \$15,000 was appropriated for the year ending June 30, 1860, and an increase of the amount by \$1,000 until the annual appropriation shall be \$25,000. This addition to the funds of the Agricultural College was very grateful, since the early appropriation of less than \$7,000 had not been supplemented by any appropriations by the State government, as has been the policy in most of the States of the Union.

In 1861 the regular course in agriculture was thoroughly revised, and the various departments more completely equipped. In 1862 college extension in agriculture was begun. This feature of the college work seems to meet a well defined want, and promises to be of great usefulness. Several courses of lectures have been given by the Professors of Agriculture, Botany and Entomology, and the attendance and interest in the work are growing.

The aim of the State Agricultural College is to meet the present pressing demands on the part of the farmers for a broader education and a more detailed knowledge of the principles which govern their business, while, at the same time, maintaining its high standard as a scientific institution.

An Agricultural Experiment Station is maintained in connection with the State Agricultural College. The buildings comprise a laboratory, green-houses and dairy house, and are well equipped for the lines of work carried on, with ample accommodations for offices and laboratories of the Chemist, Botanist, Entomologist, Biologist, Geologist and other specialists who may be engaged in experimental work.

Five acres of land are used in field experiments with fruits and vegetables, and two acres in experiments with plant diseases. These acres were transferred by the college authorities to the authorities of the Station in 1865, no compensation being paid. In addition, the college authorities transferred to the Station the remainder of the farm (about 85 acres) in April, 1866. This land is used for experiments in dairy farming. The business of the farm is kept as a separate account, and the income is sufficient to pay running expenses and contribute to the cost of experiments.

The Stations own but little live stock. They make use, however, of the college herd of about thirty-five cows in their experimental work in dairy farming. Permanent herds are maintained, though individual animals are purchased from time to time for use in special experiments.

The collection of specimens in the botanical division consists of a nearly complete set of the vascular plants of the State, represented by seven thousand specimens; a catalogued mycological herbarium of about forty thousand specimens, and a set of the weeds of the world, with the seeds of several hundred kinds arranged in cases. The collection in the division of entomology is in two parts—a systematic and an economic series. In the systematic series are more than four thousand species, represented by at least twenty-five thousand specimens. The economic series is very complete, and represents all of the usual injurious insects occurring in the State, in all stages, with specimens of the injury caused by them. Each subject studied is illustrated as far as possible or necessary by microscopic slides, and of these between two thousand five hundred and two thousand six hundred have been accumulated. The division has also nearly nine hundred lantern slides, illustrating a great range of subjects in economic entomology. Station workers have access to the college museum, which is very well supplied with mineralogical specimens. The library contains two thousand eight hundred and fifty-five works on agriculture and related sciences, besides all of the leading American and foreign scientific journals.

AGRICULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS.

The oldest State farmers' organizations are the State Board of Agriculture and the State Grange, both organized in 1873, and the State Horticultural Society, organized two years later. These societies are mutually helpful. The purposes and work of the Grange are well known, and its comprehensive efficiency as a farmer's organization is acknowledged. Local farmers' clubs existed, however, in different parts of the State as early as 1840.

The State Board of Agriculture is organized as a representative body. The members of all agricultural and horticultural societies, farmers' clubs, granges of the Patrons of Husbandry and other agricultural associations, constitute the membership.

Its investigations include facts relating to the various soils of the State, their chemical and mechanical condition, their productiveness and susceptibility of improvement; the best natural and artificial fertilizers, their adaptability to crops; the best methods of rearing, improving and fattening stock, including the prevention and eradication of all forms of

disease among them; the examination of new implements, and process of working the soil and the best method of drainage; the economy of farm management as applied to market gardening, farming and forestry; the proper laying out of a farm into pasture, meadow, tilled land and woods; the location, construction and economy of farm buildings and fences; the methods and principles of beautifying rural homes, and the consideration of what legislation may be needed to secure the interests of farmers.

It seeks to maintain communication with all societies, associations and clubs organized for the above purpose in the State, to gather from them the results of their observations and experiments, and to furnish them in return with results obtained from other societies, or digested material drawn from a comparison of the whole of the results together.

It makes its investigations and results useful to the entire State by printing and distributing, as widely as possible, its reports and papers, and the results of experiments conducted under its advice in various parts of the State.

The State Weather Service, as established and now in operation under the laws of New Jersey by an act, entitled "An Act to Establish a Weather Service in New Jersey," approved June 19, 1899, and amended April 7, 1902, and appropriating therefor one thousand dollars annually, is an organization of voluntary observers, co-operating with the United States Weather Bureau and the State Experiment Station, the National Bureau detailing an experienced meteorologist, who is the director, and supervises the work carried on, in a commodious office furnished by the State Experiment Station. Here all the records are kept, with the various data received from the outlying stations, which are carefully verified and summarized and issued in the form of a weekly weather crop bulletin and monthly and annual meteorological reports. Copies of these reports are mailed to all co-operating observers, the various State weather services in other States, to the public libraries, and to members of the agricultural societies and granges of the State.

Each meteorological station is furnished with standard self-registering instruments, consisting of a maximum thermometer, minimum thermometer, rain and snow gauge, barometer and instrument shelter, and the necessary forms, stationery, etc., for use in recording the readings of these instruments. The stations now reporting to the central office are as follows: Meteorological stations, 57; display and dissemination stations, 66; and crop correspondents, 123.

CHAPTER XIV.

ROADS AND RAILROADS.

The trail of the savage, from the coast to the hills, and from stream to stream, is identical with the line of present railways which extend over various portions of the State.

For many years the white settlements were immediately upon the coast, or on streams reaching to them, and travel and transportation of merchandise was in large degree by water craft. As early as in 1668 Christopher Almy sailed a sloop from Shrewsbury river to Rhode Island ports, carrying passengers as well as goods.

As population extended inland, land travel became necessary, and the shortest path over meadow and through forest was pursued. There were no vehicles for many years, and officials and traders rode on horseback. Merchandise was carried by pack horses, or by Indians or negro slaves accompanied by an overseer. Early paths in the country were one from Elizabeth Point to the site of the present city of New Brunswick, and thence to the Delaware River where is now the city of Trenton; the Minisink Path, from the Navesink Highlands to the Raritan River, three miles above Perth Amboy, and thence to Minisink Island; the Burlington Path, from the present site of Burlington, by way of Freehold, to the Minisink Path, near Middletown; and a branch forking between Freehold and Middletown, and thence to Tinton Falls.

The people of Monmouth county were among the beginners in road making. As early as in 1668 a road was designated with great particularity by a general assembly which convened at Portland Point (the Highlands) and this enactment is worthy of notice. It prescribed "another highway in Shrewsbury, on Navarunksink, the breadth of the said highway to be two rods and not under; the breadth over it left at the discretion of the townsmen; likewise, that those fences which are now made, which shall be found standing in the highway, are to remain in that place. This highway to be understood and meant the common passage highway and street which goes from one end of the town to the other."

In 1682 the Proprietors' Assembly passed "An Act for making and settling Highways, Passages, Landings, Bridges and Ferries within this Province," and appointing commissioners for the purpose. For Monmouth the commissioners were the surveyor general, Colonel Lewis Morris, Captain John Bowne, Richard Hartsborne, James Hance, Joseph Parker and Lewis Morris, Jr. In 1686, John Throckmorton, John Sloenn and Nicholas Brown were appointed commissioners in place of Colonel Lewis Morris, John Bowne and Joseph Parker.

The designation of the direction to be taken by these roads is curiously suggestive. There were no surveyors with theodolite and chain, nor any memorial stones, but natural objects or established residences were taken to mark the course. Thus: "From Shrewsbury Falls to Swimming River Bridge, as the road now lieth, 1. two white oaks girdled on the south side of the same, at John Buckman's mill; then by stakes to the barn near his house." Another highway begins at "the pond by Richard Gardner's meadow, by marked trees to the grave." A road from Egg Harbor to Cold Spring (1700) was laid out by Shangar Hand and William Golden, and is described at beginning "at a bush near the water's edge on Great Egg Harbor River, and from said bush along William Golden's fence to the gate post . . . by a line of marked trees . . . to the old going-over at John Shaw's," etc.

In many cases the establishment of roads was merely nominal. Many were abandoned, and it was half a century before public conveyances were put to use on any of them. Such a highway would in modern times hardly be deemed worthy of being called a road, and probably it was simply a development of an Indian trail widened enough to permit a wagon to pass, and levelled where it was absolutely necessary that leveling should be done to prevent a horse or an ox from breaking its neck. We have no actual description of this primitive road; possibly it differed in no respect from the other roads which then served as the means for internal communication in the country. The fact that it elicited no comment, that it was neither better nor worse than its neighbors, however, enables us to form an idea of what it was like from the description we have of others. It was not straight. If a clump of trees stood in what ought to have been its course, it was easier to direct the road around the obstruction than to cut the trees down. No part of the road was hardened, and where a gully crossed it the hole was filled in by a tree or by a number of branches being thrown into it and loose earth piled on top. In summer, the growth of weed and fern which spread over it from the humid bank on either side prevented it from becoming a bed of sand. In other seasons it was a bed of mud, especially in the spring time, when the snows were melting and the rivulets and creeks were



KLAYPORT AND KLANSBURG ROAD, BEFORE IMPROVEMENT.



KLAYPORT AND KEANSBURG ROAD, AFTER IMPROVEMENT.

bursting with the waters rushing from their sources in the high ground farther inland, and when nature was throwing off the passiveness of winter and preparing to adorn hill and dale, field and meadow, in her own beautiful and unaided way. Should a loaded wain once get stuck, it had to remain fast until a dozen men could be gathered to give it a fresh start; and sometimes that operation itself lasted an hour or two. No stage coaches in the earlier days ever ran over such a road; none were needed. The stolid passenger, incumbered by baggage, passed along as well as he could, regardless of mud, or flower, or creeping thing, with rifle ready to unslung at a moment's notice should a wild animal cross his path, or the savage glare of an angry Indian dart on him from some thicket. If he had to use a wagon, the solid sturdy Dutch wain, innocent of springs and an adept in the art of yielding, was the only vehicle at command. The road really belonged to everybody, and so, of course, belonged to nobody. When an accident happened through a fissure caused by rain, or the action of frost and ice, or if a tree fell across the track, those who essayed to repair the effects of the accident tried to remedy the trouble while on the spot; otherwise nothing was done. It was, part of the way, a steep and toilsome ascent for man and beast, and the descent, in places, for horses or wagons, was even more dangerous.

In 1707 there were in operation vehicles of some sort between Burlington and Perth Amboy. This service was fortnightly, and was extended sometimes to make a merchandise-carrying line between Philadelphia and New York. Soon after 1710 the privilege under which the line was operated seems to have been withdrawn, and competition was established. In 1732-33 a weekly goods-carrying service between Burlington and Perth Amboy was in operation. In 1750 a line was opened between Philadelphia and New York by way of Perth Amboy, by "stage wagon and stage boat," five to seven days being consumed in the journey. The next year witnessed a wonderful improvement—the "stage boat" between Perth Amboy and New York was fitted with "a fine commodious cabin and a tea table." Until this time the "stage wagon" was an ordinary Jersey wagon without springs, with a canvas top, and the mails were carried on horse-back. About 1760 the English stage coach, swung on heavy leather thoroughbraces, drawn by six horses, came into vogue. This reduced the time between Philadelphia and New York to two days in summer, and three days in winter. Such speed was regarded as phenomenal, and the stage went by the name of the "Flying Dutchman."

As population increased and dispersed into the interior, everywhere forming settlements and creating marts of trade principally for farm products, the necessity for practicable highways became more urgent, and the

legislature made attempts to procure means for road improvement by aid of a lottery. About 1804 various turnpike roads were chartered, extending into the region on both sides of Raritan Bay. Monmouth county, notwithstanding its proximity to the metropolis, was somewhat laggard in these enterprises, turnpike road companies not being incorporated until 1857. Among these were that between Red Bank and Shrewsbury, which proved highly advantageous, and that from Shrewsbury to Tinton Falls and Colt's Neck. Considerable money was expended for gravel and earth in the making of these roads, yet they were awkward and uncomfortable for the traveler. In winter he was caught in snowdrifts, and in spring and autumn his wagon floundered in mud hub-deep.

Plank roads came into favor about 1847, and many were constructed from then until 1856. Among those constructed were the road between Freehold and Keyport, by way of Matawan; that between Freehold and Howell, built mainly for the carriage of marl; and that from Middletown to Fort Monmouth. Plank roads proved costly and unprofitable and were soon abandoned.

Indispensable to modern commerce as are railroads and natural or artificial navigable waters (which are considered elsewhere in this chapter) the country road is, in its place, of not less importance. The latter is to the former what the river is to the harbor and the ocean. It reaches the door of every farmer, gardener and orchardist, and over it must be conveyed every product that reaches either the small market in the village near by, or that greater one where hundreds of thousands are to be fed.

It is only of recent years that intelligent care has been given to the making and keeping-up of the country road. Even now the matter is woe-folly neglected in some of the most fertile agricultural regions in the country—where the soil is so deep that in the rainy season the wheel of the farm wagon sinks into the ruts until the hub drags along the road surface. In such regions the old fashion of "working the road" yet prevails. For one or two days each year the adjacent property holders are called out by the road commissioner, and for a few hours perform an inefficient job, filling up a few ruts, or drawing down an upheaval by means of a scraper, devoting the greater part of the day to sitting in the fence corner, discussing politics and crop prospects.

As in various other matters, the State of New Jersey—little, but well versed in domestic economy—has proven a capable schoolmaster to others in the science of roadmaking. One of the most important enactments of the General Assembly was the State Aid Road Law of 1895. Its operations have not only fully justified the every expectation of its framers and supporters, but it has received the highest encomiums, unexpectedly and from

the highest possible authority. Attestation of this is discerned in the fact that the annual report of the State Commissioner of Public Roads is each year in such great demand that the supply authorized by law is wholly inadequate. Requests for this important document come from the officers of the Engineer Corps of the United States Army for the use of those building roads in our new possessions, from the many road improvement associations, from municipalities, from Senators and Representatives in Congress, from members of the different legislatures of the United States, from engineers in all sections of the country, from the geological survey boards of the different States, from numerous libraries, from citizens of every rank and condition, and from foreign countries.

The law to which reference is made, provided for the improvement of public roads under the authority of the board of chosen freeholders in each county. The board was to cause all necessary surveys to be made and specifications to be prepared—the specifications to be for the construction of a macadamized road, or a telford or other stone road, or a road constructed of gravel, oyster shells or other good materials, in such manner that the same, of whatever materials constructed, would, with reasonable repairs thereto, be firm, smooth and convenient for travel at all seasons of the year. It was also provided that bids for material and work should be prepared and submitted to the board; that on approval they should be transmitted to the State commissioner of public roads, who should make a personal examination of the character of the soil upon which it was proposed to construct the road, and if, after consideration of the specifications and facts, he should be of the opinion that the road prescribed would, with reasonable repairs thereto, be firm, smooth and convenient for travel at all seasons of the year, and if he should also be of the opinion that one third of the cost of constructing the road or section of road, together with one third of the cost of constructing all other roads and sections of roads under specifications previously approved by him, would not in any one year exceed the State road appropriation, then he should approve the specifications, but otherwise he should reject them.

The law safeguarded personal property rights by providing for due notice of meetings of the board, when abutting property holders should be heard with reference to assessments upon lands benefited. Restriction as to tax rate was made under a provision that the estimated amounts of contracts awarded in any one year, together with the estimated cost of roads already constructed, should not exceed one fourth of one per cent. of the ratables of the county as reported in the preceding year. One third of the cost of all roads constructed in the State was to be paid for out of the State treasury, unless the aggregate estimates exceeded the State fund,

(\$150,000), in which event it was to be apportioned among the counties of the State in proportion to the cost of roads constructed therein for such year.

In 1807 an act was passed providing for the acquirement of turnpike roads for free public use, whenever the owners of two-thirds of the land fronting on any turnpike toll-road prayed that said road might be acquired for free public use, and where they were willing to pay ten per cent. of the entire cost of such road, when the Governor was to appoint five commissioners to estimate and determine the fair and just value of said road; after having arrived at such value, if the State Road Commissioner ratified the same, the board was to purchase, the State paying one-third of the cost and the county paying the balance, fifty-seven per cent. There are now probably not more than fifty miles of toll roads in the State of New Jersey, and these are principally in the three counties of Burlington, Camden and Gloucester.

For the better preservation of the roads, a law was enacted in 1806 authorizing township road committees, in their judgment, to pass an ordinance allowing a rebate of taxes for township or road purposes to all owners or possessors of wagons and carts used in said township for transportation of goods, wares, merchandise, produce, passengers, and for general farm, freight and express purposes, having tires of not less than four inches in width; *provided*, the said rebate should not exceed one dollar for each wheel in use in any one year.

In the State of New Jersey there are twenty thousand miles of roads independent of city streets. This would make about one thousand miles to each county intending to avail itself of the State aid bounty. Under the present State appropriation there can be built on an average not more than one hundred miles per year. This, if all the counties were building alike, would allow but five miles per year to each county. With this, and the operations for the year ending October 31, 1901, as a basis, the extent of the work accomplished in the various counties may be readily discerned.

Middlesex county had 66.51 miles completed, with 3.93 miles in course of construction. The estimates made for the following year were for fifty miles—an amount considerably in excess of what can be provided.

Monmouth county had 37.26 miles completed. In the year noted, but 1.71 miles had been built—a piece of road leading out of Lakewood. But the county had devoted its energies and means to buying up the toll pikes. Twenty miles were thus acquired which had been toll roads for more than thirty years, involving an outlay of \$20,000, entirely independent of State aid. In 1901 there were 17.45 miles of road in course of construction.



EGG HARBOR AND GREEN BANK ROAD, BEFORE IMPROVEMENT.



EGG HARBOR AND GREEN BANK ROAD, AFTER IMPROVEMENT.

In Ocean county no roads had been completed, and ten miles were in course of construction.

Atlantic county, with thirty miles of gravel roads and three miles of stone roads built by State aid, with the thriving and rapidly growing cities of Hammonton, Egg Harbor and Atlantic City within her borders, does not hesitate to build each year, with incomparable gravel, long stretches of beautiful roads through her pine districts, connecting all the important towns within and without her borders, causing many settlements to follow in their wake. Nineteen miles are now in course of construction.

It was not until in 1901 that Cape May, the last county before New Jersey merges her borders into the bay and ocean, inaugurated a system of road improvement by beginning the construction of a beautiful boulevard of gravel, twelve miles long, from the famous seaside resort of Cape May to Cape May Court House, and 1.80 miles of an avenue through the southern section of rapidly growing Ocean City.

Cumberland, one of the last counties to apply for State aid, came forward last year as a candidate for ten miles of improved roads through the whole length of Landis township, to and by the thriving cities of Vineland and Millville, making another link in the through line between Camden and Cape May.

The important matter of material and cost is worthy of consideration. Trap rock seems to be regarded as first in order of durability, and this material is altogether used in Middlesex county, where it is particularly plentiful. In Monmouth county there is one stone road (between Keyport and the Middlesex county line), and the others are of gravel. The latter are equal to any in the State. Gravel is also the material used in the remaining counties on the seaboard—Ocean, Atlantic and Cape May, in all of which it is of the most superior quality for road making.

The average cost of road per mile in the State at large is about \$3,750. In the interior counties, where stone is used, the cost is as high as \$5,350 in some instances. In the coast counties where the elements have been doing during countless ages what cannot be done by stone crushers, it is much less. Monmouth county, where, out of four roads considered, one was of stone and three were of gravel, the cost was upwards of \$2,700 per mile. In Ocean county, where the material was gravel, the cost was something less than \$1,000 per mile. In Atlantic county, where the material was also gravel, the cost was about \$1,000 per mile, and in Cape May county, where the material was the same, but where nature had already practically made the roads, the cost was about \$300 a mile.

The law limits the road expenditures in any one year to an amount that would be one-fourth of one per cent. (.25 on \$100) of the ratables.

But few counties, if any, have expended up to the limit. Taking a farmer whose assessed valuation is \$4,000, the building of merely seven miles of permanent road would have increased his tax just about \$4.52 and that \$4.52 would represent a permanent improvement. This is an inside estimate, but in no instance would the tax exceed eight dollars on a valuation of \$4,000.

That the results justify the outlay appears evident in view of the fact that while in the State 665 miles of road have already been built, appropriations have been asked for 491.73 miles additional, and that the counties now having the largest mileage of improved roads are asking for the largest additional construction. In 1902, 100 miles of road were to be put in course of construction, at a cost of \$450,000, and one-third of this would consume the State appropriation of \$150,000 for that year.

It is true that what are known as the really rural counties are not so enterprising in this respect as are those in which are the large manufacturing industries, or those on the coast whose prosperity depends so much on presenting every possible advantage to attract the summer visitor. Of these rural counties it has been said "They have a large area, with a relatively small population. They are away from the immediate influence of the large cities. There is small prospect of growth in population, and therefore they cannot hope to enjoy the luxuries that are perfectly feasible for counties more favorably located."

These arguments have some force, but it is more apparent than real. In no State in the Union can road improvement add so largely to the population as in New Jersey, for the largest part of its territory is situated within short distances of the greatest cities in the Union. The State, in all parts, has frequent and rapid communication with them by steam roads, while trolley lines are projected and built in all directions. This is highly conducive to a yet greater development of its manufacturing interests, and this tends to augment the demand upon the agricultural and gardening regions for food supplies, which can in no way so enhance the fortunes of their owners as by adding to their facilities for marketing their products. Many experiments have been made in Monmouth and other counties to determine the amount of tractive force required to move a vehicle along level roads of varying degrees of hardness and smoothness, and constructed of different materials. A summary of these experiments prove that the amount of force a horse will have to exert in pulling a load of one ton of two thousand pounds is from forty to fifty-eight pounds over a macadam road, and as much as one hundred and twenty-five to two hundred and sixty-eight pounds over a dirt road.

There is also a moral side to this question, as affecting social and

educational interests. Road improvement tends to make the rural districts—the most enjoyable spot on earth for a home, and in which to rear a family—more pleasant and more profitable to live in. Their people would be enabled to comfortably reach the town, not only to market, but to attend church, and to enjoy the advantages of the library, the lecture and the concert. Thus making rural domestic life more charming, we would be spared that large exodus of old families that has worked so woeful a transition in many parts of the country, and more particularly in New England. Then we shall have really founded, as we should, homes in which our descendants will delight to dwell, and when they will cherish as does the English manorial gentleman his old ancestral home with its fragrant memories and its inspiring traditions.

CANALS.

In 1804 a canal project was set on foot, with the intention of establishing direct water communication between New York and Philadelphia, but the New Jersey and Pennsylvania authorities were unable to come to an agreement, and the charter lapsed. In 1830 the Delaware and Raritan Canal Company was chartered, and a canal was completed in 1834, at a cost of \$2,830,000. The canal touched New Brunswick, Somerville and Bound Brook. It is worthy of notice that the steam propeller "Hercules" passed up the canal to New Brunswick, and this vessel was the first of its class to enter an American canal. The "Hercules" was of iron, built at Glasgow, Scotland, on the order of Governor Stockton. She was little larger than an ordinary tug-boat of the present time, and her crew of nine men were regarded as daring, if not foolhardy, in crossing the ocean in so insignificant a vessel.

In 1824 the Morris Canal and Banking Company secured a charter to build a canal from the Delaware River near Easton to Newark, and in 1828 an extension to the Hudson River was authorized. The route was from Jersey City to Phillipsburg, a distance of one hundred and one miles. The State of New Jersey holds the option of buying the canal in the year 1923. Failing in this, the charter of the company will expire in 1973, and the canal will revert to the State.

THE BEGINNING OF RAILROADS.

Meanwhile, antedating canal traffic, and even the building of plank roads, the railroad had been projected. On February 8, 1815, occurred the ratification of the treaty of peace between the United States and Great

Britain, making the end of a two years' war. Two days prior thereto, the Legislature of the State of New Jersey, without a dissenting voice, granted a charter of incorporation to a company authorized to "erect" a railroad from the Delaware River, near Trenton, to the River Raritan, at or near New Brunswick, and this is notable as being the first railroad charter granted in the United States. The inception of the project was in the brain of that accomplished mechanic and eminent scientist, John Stevens.

The charter possesses a peculiar interest, for in it lay the germ of all which has entered into similar instruments since that time. The plan of organization, as to stockholders and directors (commissioners) was identical with that of to-day. The limitation of land for trackage was fixed at four rods in width, which was relatively more liberal than is deemed necessary at the present time. The road was to be made of either iron or wood "for the running of the wheels," but it was provided that the "middle path" of the road was to be of some hard substance, stone, gravel or wood, and these provisions would lead to the inference that steam power was not immediately contemplated—that animals should be utilized in the drawing of "the wagons or carriages employed on the road." Yet it is also to be inferred that Stevens had in view the substitution of steam power as soon as the experiments in which he was engaged should justify its employment. In one way, the charter more carefully guarded the rights of individuals than is possible under the existent broad construction of the right of eminent domain, for the road could not be laid out through any burying ground, place of public worship, dwelling nor outbuilding, of the value of three hundred dollars, without consent of the owner. The charter also laid the foundation for the railroad commission, of recent growth but now existing in nearly every State, in its provision for the appointment by the Governor of three individuals to fix charges for the transportation of passengers and of all descriptions of merchandise. The road thus chartered was not built, but the project was seen to lead to mighty undertakings.

Railroad building projects lay dormant for many years. In the meantime the Union line of wagons and stage coaches between New York and Philadelphia had developed a trade which taxed its resources and rendered it arrogant in its dealings. Competition and swifter service were demanded, and the Camden & Amboy Railroad Company came into being. An organization was effected April 28, 1830, a road was built, and the first steam locomotive engine in New Jersey made a trial trip at Bordentown, November 12, 1831. The engine, the "John Bull," weighed but ten tons, and the tender was a flat car bearing a whiskey barrel to serve as a water tank. Two four-wheeled coaches were attached, and a short journey was

made. Among the invited passengers of distinction was Madame Murat, a lady of Bordentown, wife of Prince Murat, and a marital niece of Napoleon Bonaparte.

In 1831, February 9, a charter was granted to the Elizabethtown & Somerville Railroad Company, and the road was completed in 1833, when certain branches were authorized.

The New Jersey Railroad Company was chartered March 7, 1832, despite the strenuous opposition of the Camden & Amboy Railway Company. Horse cars were operated between Newark and New York until December 3, 1835, when the first steam engine, the "Newark," came into the town for which it was named. A month later the road was completed to New Brunswick, and January 2, 1836, a train of thirteen cars reached the town, drawn by the engine "New Brunswick." It was a gala occasion, and the passengers bore banners inscribed with the names of the counties and towns along the line of the road.

In 1838 a railroad was completed between Bordentown and Trenton, and the following year it was completed to New Brunswick, practically following the route of the original road projected in 1815.

The Monmouth County Agricultural Railroad Company, incorporated April 5, 1867, was authorized to build a road from Freehold by way of Matawan to Keyport. In 1875, when two-thirds of the work had been done, the bridges had been built, and nearly all the cross-ties were on the ground, the company bankrupted and its affairs were placed in the hands of a receiver who sold the road to James P. Lowrey, who resuscitated the enterprise under the name of the Freehold & New York Railroad. Building was recommenced May 25, 1877, and on the second day of July trains were put on the road between Freehold and the Junction at Matawan. Work on the remainder of the route was not resumed until 1879, and the road was completed in August, 1880. It is now operated by the Central Railroad of New Jersey.

The first railroad constructed within the county of Monmouth was that connecting Freehold and Jamesburg, the latter being the nearest point of connection with the old Camden & Amboy Railroad. In 1845 a stage line was opened between the two villages, and so great a traffic was developed that a railroad appeared to be feasible, and measures were taken looking to incorporation. An act of incorporation was put on passage in the New Jersey legislature, but was defeated, January 2, 1846, by a vote of twenty-eight to twenty-seven. February 21 following, the same bill, under the management of Hon. John A. Morford, then Senator from Monmouth county, was passed in the senate without an opposing vote, but it was defeated in the house of assembly, March 1, some of the Monmouth county

members and all of those from Middlesex county voting against it. The opposition was ostensibly because of antagonism to the Camden & Amboy Railroad, but in large measure it was due to the objection of the people of Hightstown, who desired the road to terminate at that point.

The people of Freehold were greatly incensed at the defeat of the act of incorporation, and at an indignation meeting a committee of citizens was appointed to visit Trenton and endeavor to influence the legislature to reconsider the bill. This delegation was composed of the leading business men of the village and wealthy farmers from the central portion of the county, and almost equalled in numbers the legislators themselves. Large delegations from Hightstown and Middletown Point were also present, and through their objections the bill of incorporation was again defeated.

A further attempt in 1851 was successful, and March 21 a bill was passed for the incorporation of the Freehold & Jamesburg Agricultural Railroad Company. By May 26 the commissioners had received building subscriptions to the amount of \$30,000, and \$10,000 more was secured somewhat later. This seemed to be the limit of the capability of the projectors of the road, and they applied to the Camden & Amboy Railroad Company, which pledged the needed assistance in the event of necessary legislation being procured. In 1852 the legislature gave the necessary authority, and June 20, 1852, the stockholders met in Jamesburg and elected a board of directors, which organized by choosing William A. Davis as president, and John P. Stockton as secretary and treasurer, and William Cook as chief engineer. The preliminary survey was begun September 8, 1851, grading began October 10, and track laying commenced April 1, 1853, beginning at Jamesburg. June 10 the first locomotive engine put in operation in Monmouth county was placed on the track; July 5 a train of passenger cars ran to within three miles of Freehold, and on July 18 regular passenger service was established between the termini of the road, eleven and one-half miles apart. The first rolling stock was provided by the Camden & Amboy Railroad Company, and February 12, 1855, the building company purchased an engine and three coaches. The cost of the road was \$220,000, and \$60,000 of this amount was represented by a debt over and above the amount of stock subscription payments. The Squankum Railroad & Marl Company was incorporated March 22, 1860, and a road was built from Freehold to Farmingdale. The Farmingdale & Squan Village Railroad Company was incorporated April 3, 1867, and built a road to Squan Village, thus completing a line of railroad from Jamesburg to the sea coast. April 24, 1870, the three companies named were merged into one bearing the name of the parent corporation, the Freehold & Jamesburg Agricultural Railroad Com-

pany. The consolidated lines are now operated by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company.

The Long Branch & Sea-Shore Railroad Company was incorporated under an act of the legislature, March 20, 1863, with a capital stock of \$300,000, which might be increased to \$800,000. The road was to be constructed from a point on Sandy Hook, at or near the Horse Shoe, running through Long Branch to Toms River and thence to Tuckerton. At Sandy Hook the track was located two miles north of the southern boundary line of the seven-mile purchase made by the federal government for military purposes, and the War Department removed the rails, rendering the road useless for connection with New York. In this extremity, Hon. William A. Newell, at the time a member of congress from New Jersey, presented the matter to President Lincoln, who endorsed upon a coast survey chart of Sandy Hook Point the following autographic permit, followed by his signature: "Permission is hereby given to the Long Branch & Sea-Shore Railroad Company to build a track on the government land covered with the dotted lines upon this map, unless revoked by congress or otherwise." This was June 10, 1864, and the season was then too far advanced to restore the road and reap any profit during the summer months. In April following, President Lincoln was assassinated, and the permission which he had given was revoked by Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War. The road was subsequently completed, and in 1870 it was consolidated with the New Jersey Southern Railroad, and the road was extended to the Manasquan river, and afterward to Pemberton. The southern extension of the line is operated by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. For many years connection with New York was made from the northern terminus at Sandy Hook by a line of palatial steamers, but much of the passenger traffic was directed to the all-rail route from Long Branch when the New York & Long Branch Railroad was completed.

The New York & Long Branch Railroad Company was incorporated April 8, 1868, and a road was constructed from South Amboy to Long Branch, by way of Matawan and Red Bank. In 1869 the road was extended northward to Elizabethport.

The earliest railroad built on the New Jersey coast proper was that between Manchester and the south side of Toms River, about the year 1840, by the senior William Ferrey. It was of primitive construction, made of longitudinal wood bearers faced with strap iron, and was only designed for use in transporting charcoal from the kiln to the stream, there to be loaded upon vessels. An attempt was made to use a locomotive engine, then a great novelty, but the light strap iron curled up and broke from its fasten-

ings under the great weight of the machine, and this experiment was abandoned, and the cars were drawn by mules.

Until well into the fifties, Toms River was the most important port on the southern New Jersey coast in a commercial way. Shipbuilding there was then at its height, and all points of trade and enterprise then open were readily reached by water. Sea traffic, however, came to be too circuitous and dilatory for mails and commercial communication with New York, and private expresses were established by way of Manahawkin to Freehold, from which point there was a ready outlet to New York. In December, 1852, a stage line carrying mail and passengers was established between Toms River and Freehold, making daily trips, and a connecting stage line made tri-weekly trips to Tuckerton.

In 1856, at the end of a bitter contest with the Camden & Amboy Railroad Company, which antagonized every proposed line which it looked upon as at all inimical to its own interests, leading business men secured from the legislature a charter for the Raritan & Delaware Bay Railroad Company. The road was soon put in course of construction, and in 1860 it was completed to Tuckerton. For some years past it has been operated as the New Jersey Southern Branch of the Central Railroad of New Jersey.

The Camden & Atlantic Railroad (now a portion of the Philadelphia & Reading system) grew out of the effort of Samuel Richards, a glass manufacturer, who sought at once a sea outlet for his product from the vicinity of Philadelphia, and to bring sand from the shore to his factories. Atlantic City had its founding in the building of this road, the construction of which was begun in 1852.

The work was not accomplished without arduous labor, and there were serious misgivings as to the practicability of the enterprise. Many questioned if the soft meadows would sustain the great weight of track and loaded trains. In April of 1854, a fearful storm raged for a week, annihilating many miles of graded roadbed, and scattering ties and working implements for miles along the coast. This was the same storm in which was wrecked the steamer "Powhatan," at Long Beach, resulting in the loss of more than three hundred human lives. To many the raven-like creaking of the doubters—"never more"—seemed to find verification in the disaster, but the road builders speedily repaired the damage, and on July 1st of the same year the pioneer excursion train entered the new city. It was drawn by an engine bearing a local name—the "Mammoth"—and it comprised nine cars bearing six hundred people who were stockholders, merchants and public men of Philadelphia, Camden and New York. A banquet was spread in the new United States Hotel, where spirited addresses were made in which the proud future of Atlantic City

was glowingly portrayed, but fervor and imagination fell far short of depicting what the place really came to in subsequent years. This event was splendidly celebrated a quarter-century later by the surviving actors in that initial scene. The cost of building this road was \$1,274,030, and the enterprise was carried forward to success upon an original capital stock of about one-fourth this amount.

In 1876 Samuel Richards and others withdrew from the Camden & Atlantic Railroad and organized a company for the construction and equipment of a narrow gauge railroad from Atlantic City to Camden, a distance of fifty-four miles. The population of Atlantic City was then about three thousand. Work was begun in March, 1877, and in ninety days the road was completed. Across the meadows the cross ties were laid on timbers to serve as a foundation until gravel could be filled in. On July 7th the first trial trip was made by a train from Camden, which carried the directors and officers of the company and a number of invited guests. The original intention was to make it of extreme narrow gauge (three feet), but this was changed to three and one-half feet. The original estimated cost was \$700,000, this including the equipment—and all was provided within these figures. In 1878 the road passed into the hands of a receiver, and in 1883 it was purchased by the Philadelphia & Reading Railroad Company, which changed the road to standard gauge and laid a second track.

In 1886 the West Jersey & Atlantic Railroad Company was organized, General William J. Sewell being the moving spirit in the enterprise. A line of thirty-four and one-half miles was built between Atlantic City and Newfield, on the Cape May line, and traffic was opened June 16, 1886. The company was inconvenienced for want of suitable terminal facilities at Atlantic City, but finally succeeded in securing necessary privileges on Atlantic Avenue, together with street car rights. In 1897 the West Jersey road and certain branches of the Pennsylvania system in South Jersey were reorganized under the West Jersey & Seashore Railroad Company.

In Cape May County, until 1863, travel was either by stage or by water. In the summer season, steamers came from New York at intervals of two days, and there was usually a daily steamer from Philadelphia. At other seasons of the year, travel by water was uncertain. The stage coaches ran by way of Bridgeton and Tuckahoe to Philadelphia, and these carried the mails as well as passengers. The fare between Philadelphia and Cape May was \$3.50.

Prior to 1857 various railroads had been proposed, but nothing definite was accomplished until that year, when the Cape May & Atlantic

Railroad was projected. Public meetings were held and committees were appointed to confer with the officials of existing companies whose lines could be readily reached. As a result, the council of Cape Island subscribed ten thousand dollars to the building fund, and in 1863 a line was opened between Cape May and Millville. In 1879 the road became a part of the West Jersey Railroad, and at a later day it was included in the great Pennsylvania system. As result of the building of this road, Cape May City and numerous villages in its vicinity were rendered more accessible to the pleasure-seeking public, and the city entered upon a new era of prosperity.

All the various railways in the State are now controlled by seven large trunk lines, which are operated either as owners or under lease. These trunk line companies, with their mileage in the State, are as follows: The Pennsylvania Railroad Company, 404.53; Philadelphia & Reading Railroad Company, 224.49; the Central Railroad Company of New Jersey, 300; the Morris & Essex Railroad Company, 176.21; the Erie Railroad Company, 141.93; the Lehigh Valley Railroad Company, 109.79; and the New York, Susquehanna & Western Railroad Company, 213.42. These companies operate in the aggregate 1,058.19 miles of road.

A larger portion of the working population of the State is employed on the railroads than in any other single occupation of industry, and the service, notwithstanding its dangers, is more generally sought after than any other form of employment.

The aggregate number of persons employed on the railroads, whose duties are performed within the limits of the State of New Jersey, is 32,405. The average number of days employed per employee for all classes is 305, and the average number of hours worked per day is 10.7.

The aggregate amount paid in wages is \$18,964,086; the average wages per day is \$1.83, and the average yearly earnings, \$557.47.

The casualties among employees while on duty, as reported by five of the companies, were seventy-two killed and 974 injured. The Lehigh Valley and the New York, Susquehanna & Western roads did not report the number killed and injured. The trainmen and trackmen are the classes of employees among which the greater majority of casualties have occurred, particularly those having a fatal termination.

CHAPTER XV.

MANUFACTURES.

The ambition which led the American colonists into other fields of industry than those of producing grain and meats for their own consumption, and the attempt of the mother country to throttle that ambition at its birth, was one of the causes underlying the Revolutionary war. The world seemed to be in conspiracy against permitting the people of the colonies to be aught else than a community of self-expatriates who should esteem it a privilege to be permitted to merely maintain an animal existence. Even so staunch a friend of America as was William Pitt frowned upon the idea of permitting its people to lessen in any degree their servile dependence upon the mother country, and declared that they had no right to make so much as a horse shoe nail, but should be compelled to purchase all products of skilled labor in the British markets; and, to compel acquiescence in such doctrine, taxes were imposed by parliament which were virtually in prohibition of American manufactures.

Nevertheless, American manufactures had made their beginnings, and in those beginnings New Jersey was a prime leader. Its first industries were the making of lumber and salt, and the digging of iron ore and the building of furnaces for its working, and in these, for a time, it was the most central and supremely important producing centre in all America. Unwittingly, in the development of these interests, the people of the little and lightly regarded colony were arming themselves for the conflict which was to win for themselves political liberty and afford them acknowledged pre-eminence in manufacturing and commercial affairs. From their forests were builded the vessels which barassed the commerce of an arrogant crown; in their rude furnaces were cast the guns which thundered at Monmouth and at Yorktown, and the cannon balls which swept those glorious fields; in Trenton were welded the swords which flashed in battle and pointed the way to victory, and even the miserable salt from their marshes was a boon to the illy provisioned patriot army. Had the industries of New Jersey been blotted out at the close of the Revolutionary war, even then

They were worthy an honorable place in history for sake of their great accomplishments.

But the arts of peace came before those of war. A saw-mill was set up in Woodbridge in 1682, and by 1708 there were nearly five hundred in the State. In 1683 a town lot in Amboy was given to Miles Foster by the Proprietors as a reward for building the first ship in that place, and this is believed to have been the first built in the Province. In 1678 the Quakers from Yorkshire and London who settled Salem and Burlington introduced the manufacture of cloth, serges, druggets and crepes, and plushes and linen goods were made about the same time. In 1667 tanning was introduced; in 1668 the first tannery in Newark was established, and the first japanned leather in America was made in that town. In 1728 the second paper mill in the country (the first being in Roxboro, Pennsylvania), was built at Elizabeth Town, and was owned by Samuel Bradford, the government printer for New Jersey and New York. In 1748 a glass factory was established at Freensburg by German workmen, brought over at considerable expense, but the proprietor was soon ruined by the workmen deserting him to become land-owners. In 1767 "Wistar's Glass Works" were in operation about three miles from Alloways town, in Salem county. In 1753, sixteen years before Watts in England began his experimentation with steam, Josiah Hornblower, of Belleville, had set up a steam engine, the first in America.

After the ending of the Revolutionary war, New Jersey workmen and students set an example in mechanical ability and inventive genius that provoked the wonder and conquered the admiration of the world.

The Legislature chartered in 1791 a "Society for the Establishment of Useful Manufactures," with a capital of \$200,000, divided into shares of \$500 each. This company had the exclusive privilege of carrying on all kinds of manufacturing at the falls of the Passaic. It was under the patronage of Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury. In 1792 the association founded the town of Paterson, and in the following year the first yarn was spun there. The first factory was completed in 1794, and in that year calico goods were first printed in New Jersey.

John Stevens, at Hoboken, in 1802-4, built the first steamboats propelled by single or double screws, and in 1806 he designed and built the "Phoenix," the first sea-going steamboat. This vessel was sailed from New York to Philadelphia by his son, Robert L. Stevens, then twenty years of age, who inherited the genius of his sire, and became distinguished for his inventions in vessel and marine engine construction. In 1818 the Nail Works at Speedwell produced the machinery for the "Savannah," the first steamship to cross the Atlantic, and in 1825 the first steam locomotive en-

gine for passenger purposes was constructed in Hoboken. At Paterson the Rogers Machine Works were established in 1831 for the manufacture of machinery for cotton, woolen and flax factories. Later, in 1838, at Speedwell, Alfred Vail and Samuel F. B. Morse made the first successful experiments with the electro-magnetic telegraph based upon the investigations of Professor Henry, of Princeton College.

The iron industry in Monmouth county had its beginning soon after 1660, with James Grover, one of the original Monmouth patentees. He soon learned of the existence of iron ore in his lands, near what is now Tinton Falls, then known as the Falls of Shewsbury, and he brought thither James and Henry Leonard, who had been iron workers in the Plymouth colony, and began the first iron mining in New Jersey, and set up a furnace, and from these mines and this furnace was produced much of the material for iron work in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania during the early colonial period. In 1667 these lands and works were purchased by Lewis Morris, who was the proprietor during his active life, and who devised them to his namesake nephew, Lewis Morris, during whose time the iron industry appears to have been abandoned. At the beginning, the early iron industries were of so great public importance that for seven years (1676-1683) they were exempted from taxation, "excepting in extraordinary cases, as war or the like," by a vote of the provincial assembly. It is recorded that in 1680 seventy negroes and many white servants were employed by Mr. Morris.

The ore was found in wet meadows and swamps, and was known as "bog ore," a chemical product, being a hydrous peroxide of iron containing forty per cent. of metallic iron. Some of the ore was found in large sheets two to six inches in thickness, and some in fine particles known as "shot ore." In quality it was most superior, being free from the slag and stone which characterizes mine ore. Large quantities of these peculiar formations were found in various regions from Monmouth county southward, and particularly abounded on the western tributaries of Atsion, or Little Egg Harbor River, in Atlantic county, extending from near the sources of those streams southwest to the site of the present Egg Harbor City. In many instances the ore fields were worked by tenants who bargained for the use of the land only for the purpose of removing the surface ore, reversion to the grantor being provided for when the mineral should come to be exhausted.

As late as 1830 there were fourteen bog iron furnaces and cupolas and as many forges in active operation in New Jersey. During this period these industries formed the nucleus for thriving settlements, and the product of the works was highly serviceable in many channels. The narra-

tive is deeply interesting, and is, without, somewhat pathetic, when it is extended to the fate which befell these enterprises and the communities based upon them.

The furnaces were of rude construction as viewed from the present day, but were then regarded as the acme of mechanical ingenuity, necessity and possibility. The works at Weymouth, on Great Egg Harbor River, six miles above Mays Landing, established in 1800 by Joseph Bell, Charles Shoemaker and their two associates, Ashbridge and Duberson, were presumably a vast improvement upon those of Grover, at Limer Falls, in Monmouth county, which antedated these one and one quarter centuries.

The Weymouth furnace, a superior type of those of the day, was built of stone quarried in the vicinity. It was twenty-five to thirty feet square at the base, and rose to a height of twenty-five to thirty feet, sloping on all sides, and terminating about fifteen feet square, with a circular orifice about eight feet in diameter. It was lined interiorly with the best obtainable quality of stone, in order to withstand heat. Men used wheelbarrows to convey the materials up an incline to the summit, where the dumpers were kept busy charging the furnace. Every few minutes so large baskets of charcoal, with a quantity of mineral, were thrown in, and when this was sufficiently settled the operation was repeated. The blast was maintained by a great bellows driven by water power which forced the air through pipes of iron and leather into the furnace at a point just above the molten metal. The forge trip hammers were operated by water power. With two of these, two men were able to produce each week one ton of malleable iron, and by a later process the quantity was increased to one ton per diem.

The product of these works was put into cannon and cannon balls for the war of 1812, and some of the former are yet standing as hitching posts in Philadelphia. In later days stoves and other household articles were made from metal from the same works, and yet later (in 1840) Samuel Richards, proprietor at the time, produced a great quantity of water piping which was marketed in Mobile, Alabama, two years later. The forge was accidentally burned down in 1802, and the foundry was similarly destroyed three years afterward. The New Jersey iron interests were now in decadence, and the works were not re-established. This marked the beginning of the end of Weymouth as a prosperous manufacturing place, and it is now a village of about fifty inhabitants, its only evidence of mechanical industry a paper mill.

Batsto, at the head of navigation of Mullica, or Little Egg Harbor River, and the adjacent village of Pleasant Mills, were once important

manufacturing plants, and even less than a half a century ago they provided employment and homes for a thousand people, now reduced to one-fifth that number.

The first iron furnace in Batsto was put in operation in 1766, by Joseph Ball, a Philadelphia Quaker, who paid \$275,000 for lands there and developed the iron interests. Iron cannon, cannon balls and shell for use by the patriot army were cast in the foundry, which became so important to the revolutionists that a British naval expedition was sent against it, and the battle of Sweetwater resulted. William Richards, who served as a colonel under Washington, after peace was restored came to Batsto as manager for Joseph Ball, who was his nephew. He developed the iron industry to large proportions, and after his death was succeeded by his son Jesse, a man of wonderful energy. The town now boasted glass and pottery works, and a large ship-building and lumber business. In 1848 the iron industry was abandoned, and Jesse Richards died six years later. B. W. Richards preserves as a relic, in his business office in Philadelphia, the old iron plate bearing the inscription, "1766-1786-1826," the dates of the original building of the furnace, and of its two rebuildings. This plate was for years a conspicuous mark on the last stone furnace, and was taken away for preservation when the works were finally dismantled.

The village was destroyed by fire in 1874, and two years later Joseph Wharton, of Philadelphia, purchased the Batsto estate of one hundred square miles. He vastly improved the property, and his great residential mansion is one of the most beautiful and most elaborately appointed in the State.

Pleasant Mills, across the stream from Batsto, was formerly the seat of a great cotton mill, which was destroyed by fire. Since 1861 the paper mills have been the principal industry of the village. Reminiscent of the historic past is the old Aylesford mansion, yet standing, which was the home of Kate Aylesford, the heroine of Charles Peterson's novel founded upon local events during the revolutionary period. She was married in Philadelphia to Major Gordon, who commanded the patriot troops at the battle of Sweetwater, and the ceremony was performed in the presence of the great Washington.

On South River, three miles from Mays Landing, was Walker's Forge, a great establishment in its day, where were said to have been cast the first iron water pipes used in Philadelphia, supplanting the log aqueducts previously used.

Other early iron works existed at Aetna and Ingers II, on the Tuckahoe river and at May's Landing, Old Gloucester, Atsion, Washington and Martha, in Burlington county. In 1775, Thomas Mayberry manufactured

sheet iron at Mount Holly, and in the same year Congress ordered from his factory five tons of sheet iron to make camp kettles for the army. In 1707 a nail factory was in operation in Burlington.

For many years after the ending of the Revolutionary war, iron was the basis of one of the chiefest industries of Ocean county. In 1780 a furnace, subsequently known as the Federal Furnace, was set up by Caleb Evans and David Wright, on the present site of the village of Lakelhurst, and shortly afterward another furnace was established there by John W. Godfrey, of Philadelphia, who was succeeded by J. Holmes and G. Jones. In 1800, John Lacey built the Ferrago Forge, and the following year John Lippencott built one at Burrsville, and another, the Stafford Forge, somewhat later. The Burrsville Forge was subsequently purchased by Barzillai Burr and John Butcher, and for a time was known as Butcher's Forge. Washington Furnace (now Lakewood) was set up in 1814 by Jesse Richards, with whom was associated William Irwin. This furnace afterward became the property of Joseph W. Brick, and came to be known as the Bergen Iron Works. Other early iron works were the Pemberton Forge, at New Mills, by John Lacey; the Lisbon Forge, by John Earle; the Mary Ann Forge, by Benjamin Jones; the Union Forge, by S. Jones and J. Biddle; the Speedwell Furnace, by Benjamin Randolph, of Philadelphia; the Martha Furnace, by one Potts; and the Hanover Furnace by Joseph Ridgway.

It is said on good authority that during the early days of the iron industry much of the water pipe used in the city of New York was manufactured at the Bergen Iron Works and at Burrsville, and it was conveyed by wagon to the coast, and thence by water. After a time the local ore fields were exhausted, and iron ore was brought by vessel to the New Jersey furnaces, where it was worked and from whence it was returned a manufactured product. The development of the northern New Jersey and the Pennsylvania iron mines gradually drove the bog iron furnaces out of existence, and by 1805 they had practically disappeared.

At the coming of the whites, the Indians of the Lenni-Lenape tribe were found wearing ornaments of copper made from metal which they said came from the highlands of the Baritan valley. An act passed by the West Jersey Assembly of 1683, with reference to counterfeiting, affords ground for the suspicion that copper from this region was then used for making imitations of the Spanish and New England base coins then in general circulation. There is no authentic record, however, of the use of copper until after 1748. In that year crude ore was plowed up near New Brunswick. The land upon which it was found was leased by Elias Boudinot, who in 1751 sank a shaft and reached a large body of ore. Many tons of the metal

were exported to England and it was put to many uses for domestic purposes.

The copper discovery also led to the founding of mints. May 23, 1780, Walter Mould, Thomas Goalsby and Albion Cox made proposals to the General Assembly for "striking a Copper Coin" for the State of New Jersey, and a committee to whom the project was referred recommended that they should be granted the privilege of coining copper coins to the value of ten thousand pounds or less, money value, the State to receive one-eleventh as seigniorage. Two days later, William Leddle applied for a like privilege, offering a seigniorage of one-ninth, and expressing his willingness to accept paper money of the State in exchange for his issue.

No action was taken upon the proposal of Leddle, and June 1, 1780, the General Assembly passed an act authorizing Mould and his associates to coin copper coins, subject to one-tenth seigniorage, and affording them protection in their enterprise by a provision forbidding coinage by any person without legislative authority.

The justices of the supreme court were charged with the duty of designing suitable figures and inscriptions upon the coin. The design which they adopted was evidently modeled somewhat after the coat-of-arms of the State. The obverse bore the head of a horse, and beneath it a plow, with the legend "Nova Caesarea," and the date. Upon the reverse was displayed a shield, and the inscription "E. Pluribus Unum." These coins were known as "horse head coppers," and were presumably made in Morristown and Elizabethtown. Their coinage was begun in 1786 and came to an end in 1788, when the federal government established a system of coinage.

The New Brunswick ore fields were exhausted prior to the war of 1812, thus ending a long profitable industry, and one which had been regarded as a permanent source of wealth.

Copper mines at Menlo Park, on the line between the townships of Raritan and Woodbridge, in Middlesex county, were worked at intervals until about 1827, and again in 1882, during the latter period by Mr. Edison, but without satisfactory results.

Among the earliest industries along and adjacent to the lower part of the New Jersey coast, was salt making, and the manufacture was carried on after the most primitive methods. In some localities, spots were selected on the salt meadows which through their dearth of vegetation indicated an unusual salt impregnation of the soil. Here holes were dug, into which seced the highly charged saline water, which was dipped out and boiled until only a deposit of salt remained. Another process was that of admitting water from the bay into long shallow trenches on the meadows,

sluice gates were then closed, and the water was evaporated under the heat of the sun. At the Toms River works operated under the Continental Congress, the water was pumped from the bay into the evaporating vats by windmill power. Five hundred to eight hundred bushels of salt per annum was considered a satisfactory yield.

Various salt works were set in operation about twenty years prior to the Revolutionary war, but they were of little consequence, their inferior product being regarded with contempt in comparison with the article brought from abroad by British vessels. With the beginning of the war period, however, the New Jersey salt fields came to be of prime importance, the salt being needed by the patriot army for food use and for the making of gunpowder. To meet these wants, salt works were established by the Continental Congress, and by the State of Pennsylvania, on the north bank and at the mouth of Toms River. The sum of six thousand pounds, continental money, was expended by Congress in this enterprise, and the Pennsylvania Council of Safety paid Thomas Savadge the sum of four hundred pounds to aid him in a similar project. There were also numerous private works, among them those of Samuel Brown at Forked River, the Newton works at Warctown, two or three at Barnegat, those of Garret Rapelyea on Upper Barnegat Bay, and others at Little Egg Harbor, on both banks of the Squan, at its mouth, and on Shark River.

These works were so important that the British became intent upon their destruction soon after hostilities began, and the Continental Congress, in conjunction with the authorities of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, were equally determined upon their maintenance, but their defense mainly rested upon the New Jersey militia. In 1777, Colonel John Morris, of the New Jersey Royal Volunteers, a tory organization, led an expedition against the works at Toms River, but his purpose was not effected. About April 4, 1778, Captain Robertson, with a force of one hundred and thirty five men, burned the works built by Congress, and a day or two later destroyed the works at Squan Inlet. The force then landed at Shark River, where they set fire to two salt works, but before the work of destruction was completed they were frightened away by a small force of mounted patriot militia, and in their haste to escape two of their boats were sunk. The government works and those belonging to Savadge were almost immediately rebuilt and the last named were sold to John Thompson for fifteen thousand pounds, continental money. During the war period, the works near Townsend Inlet were kept in operation, this being due to their inaccessibility by the British soldiery, notwithstanding the fact that their owner, Dr. Harris, had incurred the bitter ill-will of the Crown authorities on account of his

making gunpowder for the patriot army, and that reward was offered for his apprehension and for the destruction of his works.

With the close of the war and the restoration of peace, the salt industry practically disappeared, the imported article being much cheaper than the domestic product, and of greatly superior quality. Works were re-established, however, at various points, in 1812, when the war with Great Britain closed the ports on the New Jersey coast to foreign salt. One of the most important salt works of this period was that established on Absecon Island, by Zadock Bowen. This was destroyed by a stormtide in 1825 and was rebuilt by Hosea Frambes, and was operated with reasonable success until about 1850, when the industry was finally abandoned.

For several years after the close of the Revolutionary war, large quantities of lumber and cordwood were cut along the southern portions of the coast, and transported to New York in schooners, the principal shipping points being Egg Harbor, Barnegat and Toms River. At the first, cedar was the wood principally used, and was industriously worked until the supply was practically exhausted. The pine forests were next attacked, and miles upon miles of splendid yellow pine trees two to three feet in diameter were cut down and put into cordwood. Much of this work was carried on by large operators who bought up large tracts of pine lands.

Some time prior to 1840, lumber and cordwood shipments diminished greatly, the wood coming to be largely used for the manufacture of charcoal for use in local forges and for shipment to the ironworkers in Pennsylvania. Some of the charcoal kilns were of immense capacity. After a time, many charcoal burners conceived the idea that the process of manufacture could be cheapened by burning the wood on the ground where it was cut, instead of wagoning it to the kilns. This plan proved terribly destructive to the pine forests, large tracts of which caught fire, resulting in the killing of vast numbers of splendid trees.

Within the past third of a century, New Jersey has become a manufacturing State of the first rank, and its mechanical products extend to almost every department of industry. There is good reason for this, situated as it is between two great cities—New York and Philadelphia—and the two great commercial waterways—the Hudson and the Delaware— with the terminus of the immense trans-continental railroad system on our eastern frontier, gridironed by the tracks of six trunk lines and their numerous branches, with ocean liners plying between our shores and European seaports, New Jersey is geographically and commercially the best situated State of the Union.

According to the United States Census of 1860 there were only five States, viz., New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Illinois and Ohio, whose yearly product of manufactured goods exceeded in value that of New Jersey. In the production of silk goods New Jersey was far ahead of all other States. In clay products, including pottery, it was also first, in glass, leather, and leather products and jewelry it ranked second, Pennsylvania only producing more glass and Massachusetts more leather goods and jewelry.

The natural products of the State form the basis of some of its most important industries. The neighborhood of Woodbridge, Perth Amboy and South Amboy, in Middlesex county, in the upper Raritan Bay region, and the upper part of Monmouth county, are remarkably rich in clay beds of great commercial value, comprising potter's clay and fire-clay, and micaceous sands useful in the manufacture of clay products. These have been classified, and fine distinctions are made by geologists and practical workmen in clay. Eleven distinct strata have been enumerated, comprising red shale drift, yellow sand and gravel, clay and sand, black pipe-clay, sandy clay, light blue and red clay, alum clay, two adjoining strata of fire-clay of different quality, red or spotted clay and red sandy clay.

From these are produced all descriptions and qualities of clay products—common and fancy for building purposes, drain tile, roofing tile, sewer pipe, garden border edging, fire brick for stove linings, for grate checks, and for retorts and crucibles for refiners, jewelers and dentists; as well as architectural terra cotta, enamelled floor and wainscot tiling, porcelain ware, granite ware, and white and yellow ware.

It is surmised that the aboriginal clay products, fine specimens of which are to be found in all pretentious museums, were made from material taken from these fields. Common brick for building purposes was made in early colonial days. In 1700 the first clay ware of tolerable quality in America was made in the vicinity of Norwich, Connecticut. The first known pottery in New Jersey was established in 1800 at what was then known as Old Bridge, now Herbertsville, in Ocean county. Fire brick was first made at Woodbridge in 1825, on the site which afterward became famous as the location of the great Salamander Works, incorporated in 1870. In 1820 pottery works were also established at Perth Amboy. At the latter named place was first made in America hollow brick for building purposes, which did not come into general use until 1878.

The American Pottery Company of Jersey City began the manufacture of decorated ware in 1820, and this was probably the first article of its class made in the United States. Middlesex county now produces about ninety per cent. of the best quality of architectural terra cotta used in the

country. The earthenware and pottery goods made from the clay in this region is fully equal in quality, design and workmanship to the best English majolica goods. The New Jersey buildings on the Centennial Exposition grounds in Philadelphia, in 1876, and on the Columbian Exposition grounds in Chicago, in 1893, were constructed in large part and interiorly adorned with the products of Middlesex county clay working establishments, and were viewed with admiring interest by architects and builders from all quarters of the globe.

The larger brick and terra cotta industries of the State are restricted to those in the vicinity designated, with the exception of the plants near Trenton and Camden, and a few smaller establishments elsewhere.

In 1901 the amount invested in these industries was \$7,203,307—a slight increase over the previous year. The number of establishments was sixty (a few were unreported); material was used to the value of \$1,439,882, and the value of the finished product was \$4,350,258. The number of workmen employed was 4,971, and the wages paid amounted to \$1,879,461, an average per capita of \$402.37.

Sand suitable for glass manufacturing purposes, of superior quality and apparently inexhaustible quantity, is found in nearly all the counties in the State. The first glass making establishments were in the woods, remote from transportation facilities save by water, and many of these were closed when railroads came into operation. The greater number of glass manufacturers are now located in Cumberland, Gloucester and Salem counties. The products of the works include glass for all domestic and mechanical purposes, stained and leaded glass for decorative purposes, and aventurine, an opaque reddish brown glass filled with gold spangles, a reproduction of the spangled glass of the ancient Venetians, used for table tops, jewel boxes and other decorative purposes.

The number of glass factories reporting was twenty-one, employing capital amounting to \$4,219,943. The value of material used was \$1,429,334, and that of the finished product was \$5,068,301. The number of persons employed was 5,433, and the amount paid in wages was \$2,721,121—an average per capita of \$500.85 for a ten-months working year, the factories being closed down during the months of July and August.

The canning industry is one of much importance, and particularly is this the case in the southern portion of the State. Considering that region to be, as it is, one of the most productive fruit-growing sections of the country, it does not appear that the industry is being carried on to anything near the limit offered by the supply of material, and that there is here a good opportunity for the investment of capital in a safe and profitable business. The number of canneries in operation in 1900 was forty-

name, eleven of these handled both fruit and vegetables, and thirty-seven put up vegetables only.

Eleven establishments were operated by corporations or stock companies with an aggregate of 202 stockholders, and thirty-eight were owned by private firms or partnerships with a total of sixty-six partners. The total amount of capital invested in the industry was \$807,404; of this \$485,500 is controlled by corporations or stock companies, and \$711,514 by private firms or partnerships. The average investment per stockholder was \$648.70; the average for each member of the private firms was \$10,780.50. The total number of persons employed is 6,428, of whom 4,933 were females and 2,305 males. The total amount paid in wages was \$286,322, and the selling value of the industry product for the year 1900 was \$1,480,751. In eighteen establishments the number of persons employed was less than 100; nineteen others employ between 100 and 200, and eleven furnished work for from 220 to 600. The number of days during which the forty-nine establishments were operated ranged from eleven to three hundred and eight, the average for each plant being ninety-six days. Thirty-two establishments, or sixty-six and two-thirds per cent. of the total number, worked from eleven to sixty days during the season, the average for each of these being thirty-seven days, which, considering the perishable nature of the goods handled, may be accepted as a fair average for the entire industry. The average earnings of the men and women employed is \$44.00, and the daily wages calculated on the basis of thirty-seven days' work is \$1.19.

Salem, Cumberland and Burlington counties have, between them, thirty-two of the forty-nine canneries, the number located in each being respectively seventeen, eight and seven. Hunterdon and Monmouth have four each; Cape May, three; Gloucester and Mercer, two each, and one each in Union and Ocean counties. The list of vegetables and fruits that were canned includes every variety grown on our soil that is placed upon the market in that form.

Omitting the oyster and fishing industries, which are considered under their own proper headings, the industries of the State, so far as based upon local natural products, have been disposed of, and we turn to a general consideration of manufactures, with the Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor and Industries as a basis.

In the year 1900 reports were received from 1,075 manufacturing establishments, sixty-three less than in the previous year. This deficiency is accounted for in part. Eight establishments were moved outside the State, mostly to New York and Pennsylvania, these being for the

manufacture of metal goods, carpets, glass, hats, photo paper, clothing, steel castings and knit goods. One firm, manufacturers of glass, gave as the reason for leaving the State that it wanted to escape from the annoyance of labor agitation; all the others report having moved because of the superior advantages offered by the localities to which they have gone. The business carried on by one firm engaged in the production of drop forgings, one silk mill, one silk dye house and three manufactories, six establishments in all, have gone into receivers' hands for various reasons, the principal one being bad business management and low prices. The last mentioned cause is the one assigned for the failure by three shoe firms.

Fifteen firms report themselves as having gone out of business, the establishments formerly owned by them being now permanently closed. Of these, four were manufacturers of shoes, two of silk goods (one of which was the oldest of the large silk mills in Paterson), one silk dye house, one manufactory of silk mull supplies, one iron foundry and one jewelry works. One manufactory each of artificial flowers, steamer chairs and shirts, with a steam laundry and an iron mine were among the places that closed.

Of the 1,675 establishments, 852 are owned by private firms and 824 by corporations. The number of partners comprised in the private firms is 1,459, of whom 1,360 are males, 60 females, 7 special and 23 representing estates as trustees.

The stockholders who own the establishments controlled by corporations are 37,660 in number; these are divided into 23,548 males, 12,001 females and 1,151 banks, who sold stock as trustees for the estates of minors.

The aggregate number of partners and stockholders who own the 1,675 establishments is 39,140. In private firms the average number of partners to each establishment is 1.7; among the corporations the average number of stockholders per establishment managed in that way is 45.8.

The capital invested by all the establishments reporting is \$263,074,031. Of the total, \$15,320,217 is owned by private firms, the average investment of individual partners being \$31,060; the corporations control \$248,044,814, the average holding of each stockholder being \$5,801.

Seventeen and one-tenth per cent. of the total capital invested is under private management and 82.9 per cent. under corporate management. As compared with the year 1869 corporation control of industry has increased two per cent., the figures for that year having been corporation, 19.1, and private management, 80.9 per cent.

Notwithstanding the number of establishments embraced in the tables

is sixty-three less than appeared in last year's presentation, all these important items show a very large increase. One hundred and nineteen new plants, large and small, for the manufacture of a wide variety of articles, were either opened or advanced toward completion during the year; the increase is greatest in the machinery and metal lines. Besides the new plants, the buildings of thirty-four establishments have been enlarged, and their facilities for doing work otherwise greatly improved. Scarcely a factory in the State was run below its full capacity, and a large proportion of them found it necessary to erect new buildings, enlarge old ones, and otherwise extend their facilities for turning out work.

The cost of material used was \$242,885,017, and the selling value of the product of goods made was \$407,505,280, the latter item showing an increase of \$72,120,310 over the previous year.

Wonderful prosperity, surely! But long arrays of general statistics are not necessarily an index to the real condition of the individual, upon whom, after all, rests not only the commercial activity but the moral interests of society and of the State.

It is pleasing to note a considerable decrease in the number who did not have steady work throughout the year 1900, as shown by a comparison with the percentage of idleness for 1898 and 1899. The percentage of the number employed in all industries in 1898 who failed to find steady employment throughout the year was 17.8; in 1899 it was 11.4, and in 1900, the year for which this report was made, the percentage was only 5.2.

Small as this percentage of idleness was, it would be less if the manufacture of brick and terra cotta and glass were left out of the calculations. These industries, as is well known, have their seasons when almost all work is suspended, as is brick making during the winter and glass during the months of July and August.

The aggregate amount paid in wages by all industries in the 1,075 establishments (excluding salaried employees) was \$77,118,002, an increase of \$1,030,021 when the establishments were sixty-three less in number, and the average annual earnings per capita were \$437.51, against \$438.53 in the previous year. The average number of days work performed during the year was 288.20, less by 1.18 days than in the previous year, and the falling off was unquestionably due to strikes. The average length of the working day was 9.64 hours.

Returning to the wage account, it is seen that the average yearly earnings were under \$400 in various industries where the operatives were mostly women, and the comparatively few men receiving this wage were principally quarrymen. Among those receiving under \$500 were those engaged in manufacturing agricultural implements, brick and terra cotta,

chemical products, brass goods, high explosives, lime and cement, metal goods, saddlery, wooden goods, and miners, printers and bookbinders. Among those receiving under \$600 were skilled laborers in artisans' tools, boilers, carriages and wagons, electrical appliances, foundry (iron), glass (window and bottle), hats (felt), ink and mucilage, jewelry, machinery, pottery, roofing (iron and stone) saddles and harness, sashes, blinds and doors, silver goods, smelting and refining (gold, silver and copper), steel and iron (bar), steel and iron (structural), steel and iron (forging), typewriter and typewriter supplies and window shades. The fortunate ones who received more than six hundred dollars were those occupied in breweries, range and heater factories, in oil refining, ship-building and in making varnish and wire cloth.

The total number of male employes was 140,983. These, classified according to wage rates, shows 10.60 per cent. who are paid under \$5 per week; 4.28 per cent. who were paid more than \$5, but under \$6 per week; 5.47 per cent. who were paid more than \$6 but less than \$7 per week; 9.84 per cent. who were paid more than \$7 but less than \$8 per week; 9.17 per cent. who received more than \$8 but less than \$9 per week; 13.17 per cent. who were paid more than \$9 but less than \$10 per week; 14.13 per cent. who were paid more than \$10 but less than \$12 per week; 14.77 per cent. who were paid more than \$12 but under \$15 per week; 15.90 per cent. who were paid more than \$15 but under \$20 per week; and 5.07 per cent. who received more than \$20 per week.

The female operatives numbered 40,613. A similar classification shows 38.00 per cent. who were paid less than \$5 per week; 18.60 per cent. who were paid more than \$5, but under \$6 per week; 14.43 per cent. who were paid more than \$6, but under \$7 per week; 6.50 per cent. who were paid more than \$7, but less than \$8 per week; 6.04 per cent. who were paid more than \$8, but less than \$9 per week; 4.87 per cent. who were paid more than \$9, but under \$10 per week; 4.32 per cent. who were paid more than \$10, but under \$12 per week; 2.28 per cent. who were paid more than \$12 but under \$15 per week; and 3.0 per cent. who were paid more than \$15, but less than \$20 per week, and .05 per cent. who received more than \$20 per week.

Of the total number of 40,613 female operatives, 41,434 have been classified under fifty-one different forms of factory labor, leaving 5,181 unclassified. In those occupations long recognized as peculiarly adapted to women (artificial flowers, clothing, straw goods, textile products, and silk, cotton and woollen manufacturing), the percentage of female operatives is very high ranging from fifty to ninety per cent. But it is curious to note the considerable number of women in other lines of work which have

been until recently monopolized by men. Female operatives in bicycle works were 17.3 per cent.; in wood and paper boxes, 18.7 per cent.; in chemical products, 16.2 per cent.; in cigars and tobacco, 67.4 per cent.; in graphite products, 51.3 per cent.; in jewelry, 27.3 per cent.; in leather goods, 45.8 per cent.; in metal goods, 21.4 per cent.; in metal novelties, 25.5 per cent.; in musical instruments, 11.1 per cent.; in paints, 9.7 per cent.; in pottery, 17.7 per cent.; in printing and bookbinding, 32.0 per cent.; in rubber goods, 17.6 per cent.; in saddlery and harness hardware, 3.8 per cent.; in scientific instruments, 16.8 per cent.; in shoes, 34.1 per cent.; in soap and tall w., 10.0 per cent.; in trunk hardware, 22.2 per cent.; in watch cases, 25.3 per cent.; and in wire cloth, 15.5 per cent.

The radical changes in the processes of manufacturing that have taken place within the past decade has opened the way for the employment of female labor in many lines of industry that were formerly closed to them. Hard and disagreeable work, which required the strength and endurance that only men possess, is being made a thing of the past by the introduction of new machinery and methods, under which deftness of touch and intelligent perception on the part of the operative takes the place of importance formerly held by the more rugged qualities peculiar to men. There is, therefore, every indication that these changes will open still wider fields for the introduction of female labor. And these conditions offer a fertile field for speculation for the social economist and moralist who is satisfied that already the foundations of society have been undermined by neglect of the marriage relation through the reduced ability of the more poorly paid male wage-earner to provide for a home, and through the more independent status of the female wage-earner who, deriving her livelihood through her own effort, would rather bear the ills she has than to fly to those she fears may come in company with one of her own station who cannot much exceed her in wage-earning capacity.

The very elaborate report to which reference has been made also shows the average cost of living in the month of June, 1901, as compared with the same month in previous years. Reports were received from various centres of population in twenty-one counties of the State, on a uniform list of necessary articles of food. The average cost of the entire bill of goods throughout the State was \$26.12 for 1898, \$25.20 for 1899, \$25.35 for 1900, and \$26.74 for 1901. A steady but very small increase is thus shown to have taken place each year since 1899.

Localizing the industries of the State, it is to be said that on and near its northern tidal waters are many great factories engaged in various lines of manufacture whose product is to be found in all the markets of the world reached by American commerce. In addition to brick, pottery and

terra cotta, these products comprise every form of iron and steel work, from mammoth locomotive and stationary engines to wire and needles; silk, woollen and worsted goods; all articles manufactured from leather and from rubber; wool and felt hats for men and women; every description of article in jewelry and celluloid; sugar and tobacco; and countless chemical products, with refined oils and by-products from petroleum.

Paterson is one of the most famous manufacturing cities in the United States, made so by its important natural advantages, being so situated that the full force of the Passaic Falls has been largely utilized in the development of water-power, by which numerous silk mills and other large industrial establishments have been operated. The great number of firms engaged in the production of silk goods has given Paterson the name of the "Lyons of America." In this city, with Jersey City and West Hoboken, there were in the year 1900 one hundred and fifty silk mills, representing a value of twenty-two and one-half million dollars, employing twenty-five thousand operatives, and annually distributing nearly ten million dollars in wages. There are also two locomotive works—the Cook Locomotive and Machine Company and the Rogers Locomotive Works. The first-named company turned out in the year 1900 one hundred and twenty locomotives, which were sold for \$1,508,008. The Rogers works have been doing little or nothing for the past year, owing to the retirement of the old management, but are now about to resume operations under the control of new men.

Twelve large machine shops produce silk-working and other special machinery, and one devotes itself entirely to that required for making rope and twine. There are numbers of combined machine shops and foundries. Steam engine and boiler works, jute machinery, iron and brass castings, files and rasps of a superior quality, and a great variety of other metal products are turned out by Paterson establishments.

In the textile industries, outside of silk, Paterson has several mills engaged in the production of white wear for men and women, in which nearly fifteen hundred hands are employed. There are also a large dye-house for dyeing and finishing cotton goods; one manufactory of carriages and wagons, four of paper boxes, one of carpets and rugs and one of food products, making a list that is fairly representative of the main industries of the city.

Passaic is one of the most prosperous manufacturing cities in New Jersey. A fine water-power is furnished by the Dundee Water Power System. Many factories are located here, the woollen industry being especially well developed.

In Jersey City are located large refineries of the American Sugar Com-

pany, the immense works of the Lorillard Tobacco Company, six great establishments engaged in the manufacture of soaps and perfumery, and extensive rubber mills and factories.

Newark has the largest population and the greatest diversity of industries of any city in New Jersey. In 1890 it was the twelfth manufacturing city in the Union, and it was claimed to be the leader in variety of articles made in its factories. It is the largest jewelry manufacturing center in the State, with its sixty-five manufactories, representing a value of three million dollars and affording employment to twenty-seven hundred operatives. It is also the principal seat of the leather interest. The shoe industry alone is represented by forty-eight manufactories, with a capital of nearly three million dollars, and employing five thousand workmen. Here the celluloid industry had its beginning, and here are three extensive celluloid plants under one management, with a capital of two million dollars, and employing seven hundred men.

The brewing of malt liquors is another industry for which Newark is famous. There are now thirty-two breweries in the State, having an invested capital of \$17,195,800; 1,800 men are employed, and \$1,368,075 was paid in wages; their joint product was 1,983,241 barrels of lager beer, ale, porter and other malt liquors, the selling value of which was \$11,091,010. Sixteen of these establishments are in Newark.

In Newark and the adjoining village of Orange are fifty factories for making wool and felt hats, representing a capital of two million dollars, and employing more than five thousand operatives.

Elizabethport is famous the world over as being the seat of the great Singer Sewing Company, with buildings occupying more than fifteen acres of ground, in which an army of five thousand operatives are employed. Also located here are the extensive yards of the Nixon Shipbuilding Company, numerous stove factories, and foundries and shops producing all classes of wood and metal working machinery.

In the coast region there are but few manufacturing centers of importance. The towns are for the greater number residential settlements or summer resorts, and those which possess industries are generally restricted to fishing, oyster culture and packing and boat building. At points inland and not far distant the industries are principally brick making, and fruit and vegetable canning and drying.

The industry last named— that of canning— is of peculiar local interest, and with it is indissolubly connected the name of Harrison W. Crosby, for many years a resident of Jamesburg, Middlesex county, where he died, July 13, 1892. His son, Benjamin D. Crosby, is the present editor and proprietor of the "Fuckerton (Ocean county) Beacon."

Harrison W. Crosby was steward of Lafayette College, at Easton, Pennsylvania, and while serving in that position he conceived the idea of preserving tomatoes in hermetically sealed cans. The art of so treating meats had been practiced for some years, originating in France. In 1847 Mr. Crosby began his experiments with tomatoes, and in the following year he had attained so high a degree of perfection in his methods that he was emboldened to send out samples, and he received high testimonials, among them one from the purveyor to Queen Victoria. In 1849 the "New York Tribune," which made agricultural concerns one of its important features, and was regarded throughout the country as the highest authority upon such subjects, in an editorial paragraph said, "Whatever the secret of their preparation, we are bound to acknowledge that their preservation has not impaired the flavor of the tomatoes. They taste as they would have tasted when plucked from the vines."

Mr. Crosby prosecuted the canning business (which was extended to include all manner of fruits and vegetables) for many years in Middlesex county, New Jersey, and he lived to see it become one of the important industries of the State. A cannery in Newark prepared the fruits and vegetables for Dr. Elisha Kane's Arctic Expedition in 1850.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE COMMERCE OF THE SEA.

It is beyond doubt that the early settlement of the lower portions of the New Jersey coast was due to the belief that it would prove a profitable field for whalers. With others, David Pieterse de Vries, an enterprising man, and the first resident patron owner of Cape May, planned for the colonization of the shores of the Delaware, and among their other projects was the establishment of whale and seal fisheries. De Vries notes in his journal (March 29, 1633), "Our people have caught seven whales; we could have done more if we had good harpoons, for they had struck seventeen fish and only saved seven." He soon abandoned whaling as unprofitable, and returned to Holland.

The whaling period extended from the middle of the seventeenth century to the early part of the eighteenth century. As early as 1658 it is noted that in the vicinity of Cape May there were fourteen skilled pilots who led the whalers. Beginning in 1685 the records of the courts show contention as to the ownership of carcasses which had been harpooned and broken away to be afterward taken by others. In the Burlington Court, July 4, 1685, in the case of Caleb Carman and John Carman against Eyan Davis, it appears that the defendant brought in a whale which he asserted he had purchased from an Indian. A witness, Edward Pynde, "saying to ye s'd fish sayth it was a whale fish and yt hee saw an Iron (with warp therent) in ye s'd whale fish which Iron & Warp ye s'd depon't knowing them to belong to sd Caleb Carman & Company," and more to the same purport and in similar quaint phraseology. Caleb Carman, afterward indicted for unlawful whale taking, "pleads not guilty & refers himself to God and ye Countrey," and on trial he was acquitted. In 1678 a number of persons named were licensed to take "whales or like great fish" from Barnegat to the eastern end of the province (presumably Sandy Hook), turning over to the Governor one twentieth of the oil taken.

In 1661 the whaling interest at Cape May had become quite important, and many whalers came from Connecticut and Long Island. October

3, 1663, the assembly passed a bill providing that "Whereas the whaling in Delaware Bay has been in so great a measure invaded by strangers and foreigners that the greatest part of oyl and bone received and got by that employ hath been exported out of the province to the great detriment thereof: Be it enacted that any one killing a whale or whales in Delaware Bay or on its shores, to pay the value of one-tenth of the oyl and bone to the Governor of the Province."

In 1666 Governor Andrew Hamilton appointed George Taylor his agent to collect the portion of the "oyl" and bone due him. In 1698 Gabriel Thomas says in his "History of West Jersey:" "The commodities of Cape May County are oyl and whalebone, of which they make prodigious quantities every year, having mightily advanced that great fishery, taking great numbers of whales yearly."

The whaling industry appears to have been reasonably profitable until the opening of the Revolutionary war. The "Boston News Letter" of March 17-24, 1718, says "whale men catch'd six whales at Cape May and twelve at Egg Harbor." The "Pennsylvania Gazette" of March 13-19, 1720, reports a whale about fifty feet long as having come ashore dead twenty miles from Cape May. The same paper (March 11-18, 1735), reported two whales killed at Cape May. The last record of whaling prior to the beginning of the war was made February 28, 1775, when Aaron Leaming, of Seven-mile Beach, gave a thirty-day lease to whalers.

The whale became rare prior to the year 1800, and the industry was finally abandoned about 1815. In 1803 an immense specimen came ashore at Absecon Inlet and was towed inside. Claim to it was laid by one Inman, from Great Swamp, who identified it by finding a part of his broken harpoon in the carcass, and his ownership was established in the courts, benefiting him to the extent of more than four thousand dollars. In 1844 a dead whale landed on Point-of-Beach, in Absecon Inlet, and portions of its skeleton were washed into view during a storm in 1868. In 1887 a grampus whale twelve feet long and weighing twelve hundred pounds was captured at the Lower end of Atlantic City.

October 8, 1801, a giant fishback or porqual whale came ashore dead at Ocean City. It measured sixty-eight feet in length, fifteen feet across the flukes, and thirteen feet across the jaws. The skeleton is the largest of its kind in the world. March 26, 1805, another of the same species was taken on Brigantine Beach. The latest recorded whale found on the New Jersey coast was one measuring thirty feet, which was washed ashore near the Brigantine Life Saving Station, May 4, 1900.

The use of the oyster came to us from the savages, and this edible was one which they were loath to abandon when they came to be dis-



WHALE ASHORE AT OCEAN CITY.

possessed of their lands contiguous to the New Jersey coast. For as late as 1802, when the last of them ceded their lands to the State, and were removed to the Oneida Reservation in New York, they reserved the right to return each summer to the Jersey shore to hunt and fish on unoccupied lands. There they roasted oysters and clams, which they dried in the sun, and carried back to their reservation on strings of bark.

The earlier chronicler displayed the spirit of the true "promoter" in exploiting the resources of the new country, and the contributions of the water were glowingly described. In 1631 mention is made of "oysters, some a foot long, containing pearls." One writer—William Wood, in a little volume entitled "New England's Prospects," printed in London—dropped in a verse:

"The luscious lobster, with the crab-fish raw,
The brinish oyster, mussel, periwigge,
And tortoise sought by the Indian Squaw,
Which to the flatts dance many a winter's jigge,
To dive for cockles and to dig for clams,
Whereby her lazy husband's guts she crammis."

In 1681 Sir George Carteret, in enumerating the advantages which he considers attractive to immigrants, mentions oysters "in great plenty and easy to take." At a somewhat later day oyster shells were utilized in the manufacture of lime.

In the early days wonderfully prolific natural seeding oyster beds were found at the mouth of the rivers and creeks emptying into salt water bays and inlets, the most prolific of these being in Raritan Bay, Barnegat Bay, Little Egg Harbor and Maurice Cove. But, after a time, there was occasion for fear that the oyster was in course of extermination, and in 1710 the General Assembly of the Province passed the first oyster protective measure of record. It was recited in the preamble that the oyster beds are "wasted and destroyed by strangers and others at unseasonable times of the year, the preservation of which will tend to great benefit of the poor people and others inhabiting this province." It was therefore enacted that no person should rake or gather up oysters or shells from May 10th to September 1st; and that non-residents should not gather them up at any time to take away with them, under a penalty of forfeiting their vessels and equipments. Commissioners were appointed to execute the provisions of the law, and were authorized to inspect oyster boats and to seize any which might be under suspicion. The fees of the officers were one-half of the forfeitures, while the remainder went to the provincial treasury.

February 11, 1775, the Assembly of New Jersey enacted a new law

for the preservation of the oyster, and this is the last enactment upon the subject while New Jersey was a colony of Great Britain. Forty shillings was the forfeit for violation of the law, and twenty six shillings and eight pence of this amount was to be paid to the informer. Burning oyster shells for lime was also an offense, for which the penalty was a fine of two pounds. The purposes of this provision was to ensure the return of the shells to the water, for the preservation of the oyster beds.

In subsequent years there were more stringent enactments for the protection of the oyster beds, and it was a standing bit of humor with members of the New Jersey legislature that all legislation with reference to oysters, clams and fish originated in Ocean county—a tacit recognition of the supremacy of that region in these industries.

During very many years continued effort was made to foster the oyster industry through legislation designed to protect the oyster fields against a too close depollution which would lead to extermination. The fields were threatened by two classes of enemy—those who lived in their immediate neighborhood and derived their livelihood from marketing oysters, many of whom, intent only upon immediate gain, were regardless of the future; and those who came from a distance to poach upon property in which they had no rightful interest.

The State had long ago asserted its claim to oyster-bearing grounds, and this claim had been sustained by the highest legal tribunal. Based upon this, protective legislation was further perfected in 1869 by the passage of an Act of the Legislature "For the better regulation of the taking, planting and cultivating of oysters on lands lying under the tidal waters of the Delaware Bay and Maurice River Cove, in the State of New Jersey," and under this Act a State Oyster Commission was created. The particular protection of this field was made necessary by its proximity to Delaware, many of whose oystermen were regarded as perniciously enterprising. The planting bottoms known as Maurice Cove contain about thirty thousand acres, of which about one half is occupied, but larger additions to "staked-up" or leased grounds are made each year. The law provides for a rental of twenty five cents per acre for the planted grounds, and a tax of two dollars per ton on boats employed in the business. These taxes produce and command a revenue of nearly fourteen thousand dollars, which is expended in employing boats to police the Cove, and in the prosecution of unauthorized dredgers. The total annual product of this region amounts to at least three million dollars.

The Act above referred to is only operative in the Delaware Bay waters of New Jersey. Elsewhere in the State legislation is in a chaotic condition. In the summer of 1902 a State Commission for the investigation of

the oyster industry was engaged in preparing a report, with recommendations as to protective oyster legislation for the Atlantic coast region.

Oyster planting and culture may now be regarded as a science, so much have observation and experimentation been practiced. The necessity for planting was discovered so long ago as in 1810, when it was begun at Bergen Point, in New York Bay. A quarter of a century later the planting of native oysters came into vogue in Raritan Bay, first at Keyport, and afterwards in the vicinity of Perth Amboy, and thence extended to the southern oyster fields. In later years the natural supply of seed oysters proved too small to meet the demand, and supplies were drawn from the Chesapeake and the small bays and rivers on the coasts of Delaware and Maryland. The consumption is annually increasing, and it is shown by statistics that very nearly fifty per cent. of plant oysters are brought from outside the State, at an annual cost of more than three hundred thousand dollars.

The importance of the oyster industry may be discerned in the fact that it is the most extensive and remunerative of all fishery pursuits, being in value three times greater than cod fishing. The system of culture begins with the preservation of the natural oyster beds, or the construction of new beds. To advance this end, legislation affords its aid through the operations of the "Rough Cull Law," which makes it obligatory on the oystermen engaged in catching "plants" to roughly cull them as they are brought on deck, and to throw the old shells and refuse overboard at once. The importance of this cannot be overestimated, and its beneficial effects during the past two years have practically demonstrated its value. Under its enforcement the natural beds are steadily and rapidly improving, instead of deteriorating, as heretofore they had been steadily doing.

The oyster begins to spawn in April or May—in the former month in southern and in the latter month in northern waters. The spawn floats away as a whitish or grayish cloud. If the floating spawn meets with the milt the egg is fertilized and a young oyster is produced. The discharge by the parent oysters of the spawn and milt is not a continuous process, but continues for two or three weeks, until the supply is exhausted. If the spawn does not meet the milt it soon dies and falls to the bottom. If all the conditions are favorable, within forty-eight hours of their discharge the eggs rise to the surface, or near it, where, in the warmer surface water, they hatch into a free swimming animacule. In this condition they swim about for a short time and then slowly sink to the bottom. Here, if suitable bottom is found—that is, one with *clean* shells, stones, sticks or other substances—the young oyster at once fastens to them and commences to grow a shell. It is absolutely necessary that the object,

whatever it may be, to which the young oyster seeks to attach itself, must be clean—that is, free from slime and mud. If it is not the young oyster will be unable to secure a lodgment, and will surely die. These young or seed oysters are taken and thrown upon the planting ground, there to lie for three to four years and grow to marketable size.

The actual labor of planting ceases about the end of May, but the beds are as closely watched as is a land crop of grain. A warm equable season, with smooth waters, is propitious. Storms and freshets, particularly in July and August, have a serious effect, covering the beds with mud and smothering the young oysters. A natural enemy of the oyster, which can in no way be guarded against, is the borer. Man, too, in various localities, works injury and sometimes utter destruction by polluting the waters with deleterious substances from manufactories and chemical works.

Oyster gathering usually begins in September. At the present time (August, 1902) oysters may lawfully be taken at any time, but restrictions were looked for by the enactment of a closed season law during the following session of the legislature. This is effected by "tonging" from small boats, which put their gatherings aboard a sloop anchored conveniently near. Another method (practiced by sloops and other craft) is to cast a dredge overboard, and cruise backward and forward, gathering the oysters and drawing them inboard, in some instances by hand-hauling, and in others by means of a winlass. In some of the more extensive fields, steam dredges are operated. The total annual product on the coast line is estimated by the oyster commission at five hundred thousand dollars.

The statistics of the oyster industry on the Atlantic coast of New Jersey are based upon a not too recent report—but the only one available—that for the year 1896. The oyster acreage then in use was somewhat more than 5,000 acres, but this has necessarily been somewhat increased, yet not greatly. About one half of this acreage was in the neighborhood of Keyport (2,700 acres). Tuckerton was credited with 528 acres and Abscon with 300 acres. Other points were: Shrewsbury, 232 acres; Barnegat, 200 acres; Great Bay and Egg Harbor, 155 acres; Eagle Bay, 184 acres; Lake's Bay, 100 acres; Ludlams, 69 acres; Great Sound, 60 acres; and Fenning and Townsends, 110 acres. The Bureau of Labor and Statistics (1901) reported 3,154 persons as engaged in oyster dredging and packing. This includes the clamming industry, which is a principal feature longshore in the neighborhood of Tuckerton.

Dependent upon the oyster industry are hundreds of men engaged in boat building, sail making and turning fish-offal into fertilizers, to say nothing of the many others engaged in clerical and other capacities.

The Jersey coast waters are rich in edible fish. Those inhabiting the

rivers have been protected by legislation which is made reasonably effective through a Board of Fish and Game Commissioners, and this body has been particularly useful in lessening the number of cases of law infraction, particularly with reference to Sunday and night shooting in Barnegat Bay, a region which affords peculiar temptations to sportsmen.

The same Board some years ago entered upon the work of stocking the inland waters with fish from the great lakes—white bass, calico bass, wall-eyed pike and channel cat-fish. The results have been quite gratifying, and there is every prospect that all the lakes in the State—some one hundred and forty in number—will before many years contain a good supply of all these various species.

SHIP BUILDING.

Veritable "hearts of oak" were the vessels of an olden time! Built under the very eye of him who was to command, he had seen every piece of material entering into the construction, and he could well say that he knew

"What master laid thy keel,
Who made each mast, each sail, each rope,
What anvils rang, what hammers beat,
In what a forge and what a heat,
Were shaped the anchors of thy hope."

When builded they were mastered and manned by such old-time sailors as Dibdin told of in verse, and whom Marryat and Cooper painted in graphic story. Their crew weighed anchor by pushing the capstan-bars to the chanty of the old country man-of-war-man of a century ago, and when once it was at the cathead the sailors sprang to bowline and sheet-rope, one after another, until every stitch of canvas was fully set. No machine work aided in propulsion or sailing. The old sea-dog who was in command was at once master, executive officer and navigator. He read the skies as readily as he did his compass, and his stentorian voice rang out from hour to hour in directions to send aloft studding-sails, sky-scrapers and moonrakers when breezes were light, or to shorten sail and send down the upper spars on indication of gale or tempest.

But alas! for the romance of the sea—the old skipper and the old sailor and the old ship have vanished into the past, and with them, too, the literature that inspired and delighted generation after generation. For who can weave a romance or write a song out of a great floating machine shop, and out of the quiet life of the well-groomed gentleman who increases or reduces speed, and who clothes his garments, by his finger's pressure upon a button?

The pioneer settlers along the New Jersey coast fashioned their first water craft in the same manner as did the savages whom they came to supplant, making dug-out canoes by barning out one side of a great log and shaping it to the rude semblance of a boat. In a later day they built such vessels as could be made by the most ordinary worker with saw and axe, giving little attention to symmetry of form or even ease of propulsion, but only to buoyancy. Of such were the sail scow, used in transporting salt hay from the marshes to the farm, and the garvey, which was used in gathering and bringing to shore oysters and clams.

Prosaic, certainly, were the uses of these water craft with their burden of oysters, fish and marsh hay. Yet there were occasional pleasure boats to be seen, or one with something of decoration when it was called into service to convey a high official or a gentleman of importance on a public errand or a visit of ceremony. Such an incident was witnessed at New Burnswick, on the Fourth of July, 1791, when Governor Paterson came up the Raritan river in a barge decorated with flowers and laurels, with twelve men dressed in white as oarsmen, and it was commemorated by Moses Guest, a poet of the time, in the following exuberant verse:

“On Raritan’s smooth-gliding stream we view —
With pleasure view—the man whom we admire,
On this auspicious day with laurel crowned;
How gracefully the honored barge moves on!
See Neptune’s sons, all clad in white,
Timing their oars to the melodious flutes,
Not Cleopatra’s barge
When she, full armed with each bewitching charm,
A tyrant bound in the sweet chains of love,
More elegant or pleasing could appear,
Nor did contain a jewel of such worth;
Not freighted with a proud, intriguing queen,
She nobly bears New Jersey’s favorite son,
Our guardian chief, our friend, a Paterson!”

With the development of the fishing and lumber industries, the latter through the introduction of the saw mill, vessels of larger build came into vogue, first of the sloop and later of the schooner type, but of limited size, for many years not exceeding thirty tons. The first authentic record of ship-building occurs in 1682, at Perth Amboy, where Miles Foster was granted a town lot by the Proprietors as a reward for building the first sloop in this place. In 1694 the Assembly passed an act for the encouragement of ship-building, and forbade the exportation of timber except to Great Britain. There is evidence of ship-building at Cape May as early as 1688.

when a vessel was on the stocks there, but nothing appears to indicate its dimensions or style of rig. Work upon it was suspended at the death of the owner, James Budd, and although whalemens agreed to saw plank for its completion the promise was unfulfilled. In all the settlements on the shores of the counties of Middlesex and Monmouth, and well up their rivers, were many ship carpenters who built vessels out of the splendid and abundant forest timber at their very doors.

The beginning of iron mining led to the building of what was called the Durham boat, which differed from the scow in being larger, flat-bottomed and rounded at bow and stern, and was used for transporting ore to Philadelphia. It was in these two classes of boats that Washington made his famous passage across the Delaware river.

Before the days of steamboats, what were known as market sloops were sailed between the Raritan Bay ports and New York. These vessels carried what produce the farmers had to sell, such as hay, potatoes, apples and cider; also may a pail of butter made by the farmers' wives, in oak pails of ten to fifteen pounds, the handle of which had their initials carved upon it. Some of this butter was equal to the creamery productions of the present day, and was eagerly sought for by the city purchasers.

The market or sailing day was quite a lively time. The landing was crowded with the wagons and carts of the farmers bringing their products for shipment, and the stores did a thriving business. Many people availed themselves of these vessels to visit the city. The time of sailing was always at night, at such hour as wind and tide favored. The accommodations on these boats were very small. There were only four berths on each side of the main cabin, and as many in the after cabin for women. It was expected to make the trip in the night, and to arrive at the dock in the morning, but on many occasions the sloops had not accomplished more than half the distance when morning came.

In the later colonial days large numbers of open boats designed for fishing purposes were built at various coast points from Raritan Bay to Cape May and were known as whale-boats. During the Revolutionary war, craft of this description but of larger build came into vogue, and nearly every coast neighborhood where was an inland stream had its association of men who owned and manned such a vessel. The boat was usually about thirty feet in length, pointed at bow and stern to facilitate readiness of movement by avoidance of turning, and with high gunwales in order to admit of carrying large loads. The material was cedar, and the boat was so light that a few men could conveniently carry it into the woods for concealment. The necessity for thus ensuring its safety lay in the fact that, particularly in Raritan Bay, the British armed boats kept the

coast industriously patrolled. The crew of the whaleboat usually consisted of fifteen men, selected for their physical strength, endurance and courage. They were trained to row noiselessly, and were able to drive their boat at a speed of twelve miles an hour. Each man was armed with a cutlass and pistols. The command was vested in one who was at once helmsman aboard the boat and captain ashore. Many daring feats were performed by such crews.

In 1778 a crew of thirteen men whose homes were near Middletown Point (now Matawan) in Monmouth county, launched their boat about midnight on June 14th, and in dense darkness, with every indication of an impending storm, rowed to Staten Island, and thence to a point near where is now Fort Hamilton. Two men were left in charge of the boat, and the remainder of the party went over to Flatbush, and to the residence of Mayor Matthews, who was absent, and thus escaped capture. However, they took four of his negro slaves. The crew then captured Major Montcrieffe, of the British army, and a Mr. Bache. With their six prisoners they returned to their boat, and rowed back to their rendezvous, where they arrived by daylight, having traveled more than fifty miles.

In May, 1778, Captain Peter Anderson, in an armed boat manned by sixteen men, captured and brought into Toms River the British sloop "Hazard," laden with beef and pork.

Captain Baker Hendricks and Luther Baldwin (March 15, 1781) with a small whale boat crew went to Staten Island, where they surprised "a sloop armed with two three pounders, two blunderbusses, and manned with five hands," and as the vessel was aground stripped her of arms, sails, rigging, cable, anchor and long boat.

January 3, 1782, William Green and Joseph Edwards, with the whale boat "Unity" recaptured the merchant vessel "Betsy," which had been taken by a British cruiser.

Such instances could be multiplied, but these suffice to indicate the usefulness of the whale-boats to the patriot cause, and the constant alarm and fear which they occasioned in the British camps.

Prior to the Revolutionary war the forks of Egg Harbor was a chief place of maritime industry. One who visited Tuckerton in 1823 is quoted in "Watson's Annals" as saying that in the time of his grandfather the river was filled with wasted vessels. It was a place rich in money. As farming was but little attended to, taverns and boarding houses were filled with comers and goers. Hundreds of men were engaged in the swamps cutting cedar, and saw mills were numerous, always cutting cedar and pine boards. Many shipyards were there, where vessels were built and loaded out to the West Indies, New York, Philadelphia and the southern and

eastern cities received their chief supplies of shingles, boards and iron from this place. The trade in iron castings was very great. The numerous workmen, all without dependence on the soil, required constant supplies of beef, pork, flour, groceries, etc., from abroad. Even the women wore more imported apparel than in any other country places. Merchants from New York and Philadelphia went there occasionally in such numbers that the inns and boarding-houses could not contain them, and they had to be distributed among private houses. On such occasions they would club and have a general dance, and other like entertainments. The vessels from New York and New England on trading voyages were numerous before the Revolution. The inlet was formerly the best on the coast, and many vessels destined for Philadelphia, in the winter, because of the ice in the Delaware, made into Egg Harbor River, and there sold out their cargoes to traders from New York and Philadelphia.

Many of the vessels built on the coast, sloops and schooners, which were engaged in peaceable commerce prior to the Revolutionary war, were transformed into privateers when the struggle for liberty began, and others were hurriedly constructed for a similar purpose. In both instances, as a rule, the builder and commander was the same person. In some cases, doubtless, the desire for gain was the more powerful incentive, but the greater number of the seamen who engaged in these undertakings were as worthy of praise as were their fellows in the regular service. As a matter of fact, these privateers were invaluable to the embryo American government, which was destitute of means for the creation of a regular navy. In the necessity of the case, through the British occupation of New York and the strict surveillance of the adjacent waters maintained by the British fleet, the privateersmen of the New Jersey coast were a most efficient marine force, and they continually harassed British commerce, bringing their prizes into Toms River and Little Egg Harbor, and from these ports the captured merchandise was wagoned into the interior for use by the patriot army and for sale to the people. In these undertakings the privateersmen displayed the greatest daring and superb courage, and many of their deeds were worthy the glowing pen of a Marryat or a Cooper. Full record of their achievements is not within the province of this work, and the instances narrated hereafter are simply given by way of illustration.

Little Egg Harbor was called by the British "a nest of rebel pirates." At one time as many as thirty American privateer sloops were there or near by, laying in wait for prizes. On August 29, 1778, the eight-gun sloop "Susannah," of Egg Harbor, commanded by Captain Stoeker, with thirty-five men, attacked the British ten-gun sloop "Emerald." The "Emerald" suffered the loss of her commander and several of her crew, but

succeeded in covering the safe retreat of two merchant convoy vessels, and then effected her own escape. One man was killed and several were wounded on the "Susannah."

This and other daring feats brought down upon Egg Harbor a fleet of twenty British vessels in October following. The ships were unable to cross the bar, and sent inshore a number of their boats, and effected the burning of the fort and shipping at Chestnut Neck, as related elsewhere in this work.

The privateersmen were in nowise discouraged by this event, but rather redoubled their efforts. Six weeks later a vessel commanded by Captain Stevens captured the British schooner "Two Friends," of six guns and twelve swivels, manned by a crew of twenty-two men.

April 25, 1779, Captain Taylor, commanding the schooner "Mars," boarded and captured a British packet mounting fourteen guns, and bringing a large mail from England. He fell in with a fleet of twenty-three sail convoyed by two war vessels, which gave him chase and recaptured his prize. The "Mars," however, escaped.

June 23, 1779, an open sailing boat, the "Skunk," of Egg Harbor, mounting two guns and having a crew of twelve men, captured her nineteenth prize, a vessel laden with a valuable cargo. This same daring little vessel, under Captain Snell, on one occasion bore down on what appeared to be a large merchantman, and discharged into her a gun. In an instant the strange ship opened her ports, revealing herself as a seventy-four gun man of war. She discharged a broadside, and, in the language of John Golden, who was aboard the "Skunk," "the water flew around us like ten thousand whale spouts." The sails and rigging of the boat were badly cut up, but by dint of hard rowing she escaped, and, marvelously, without loss of life.

The brig "Fame," commanded by Captain William Treca, of Egg Harbor, was among the vessels of that time which were fitted out to protect the home coast and to prey upon British commerce. The vessel effected numerous captures, and brought into port several of greater size and value than herself. February 22, 1781, she had returned from such a successful expedition, and lay at anchor in Great Egg Harbor, all but four of her crew of thirty-two men being aboard. The men were gleefully celebrating their achievement, when a sudden gale arose, capsizing the vessel, and twenty of the number came to death by drowning or exposure to the intense cold. Captain Treca was ashore at the time of this disaster, and lived to acquit himself gallantly in various daring enterprises, and to capture many valuable prizes. On one occasion he was run down by two British frigates, both of which passed immediately over his vessel. The

sinking sailors grasped the rigging of the passing ships, but their hands were hacked at by the cutlasses of their foes, and they went to their deaths in the sea. Treen and a boy escaped, but only to be confined in the dreadful New Jersey prison ship.

During the war with Great Britain in 1812, another generation of privateersmen came out from the same and adjacent ports, in home built vessels, and worked great injury to the enemy. These hardy sailors were curiously resourceful in time of necessity. On returning to port, in order to escape the eye of the British commander off the shore, they would fasten pine tree branches into their rigging, and thus lose themselves to sight against the foliage of the forest.

After the Revolutionary war a better class of vessels came to be constructed for the coasting and West Indies trades. Tuckerton, then a port of entry, was one of the principal shipbuilding points, and there probably originated the brig, which became a favorite build. The first large vessel of this rig there built was the "Loranier," which was fitted out for the foreign trade by the Shrouds family, and sailed by Captain Hammond, who was a son-in-law of the senior Joseph Shrouds. Ebenezer Tucker, the Bartletts, the Pharos and other maritime men of Tuckerton, built many vessels in these times and made shipbuilding the principal industry of the place. Many vessels, but nearly all for the coasting trade, were also constructed at Waretown, Forked River, Barnegat and Toms River, under the Falkenburgs, Birdsalls, Holmes, Gulicks, Grants, Jeffreys and Rogers, and other early builders. The size of vessels was gradually increased from three hundred to eight hundred tons, costing from \$6,000 to \$7,000.

At Mays Landing not less than one hundred vessels were built from native forests and local iron foundries during the half century beginning with 1830. There were two shipyards, and in one year four ships of no inconsiderable size were built. The hulk of one of these, the "Weymouth," built by Richard S. Colwell, about 1870, now lies in the river at Catawba, a few miles below the spot where she was built. One of the last ships built at Weymouth was the barkentine "Jennie Sweeney," yet owned and sailed by Captain S. S. Hudson, who was the builder.

Ship building at Red Bank began in so early a day that dates are not of record. Esek White and others ran the sloop "Fair Play" in the New York trade in 1800. In 1832 Charles G. Allen built the "Catherine Allen," a schooner of thirty tons, the "Mary Emma," of seventy tons, in 1835, and the "Margaret Klutz," of forty five tons, in 1837. Vessels were also built by John Pintard and Joseph Parker about 1833. In 1845 William Rensen built two schooners, the "Henry Rensen," of one hundred and forty tons, and the "Sarah Elizabeth," of eighty tons, and these vessels

were run in the interests of his milling and mercantile enterprises. In 1837 James P. Albairé began running the steambot "Isis" in the New York traffic, and prior to 1850 Thomas Hunt sailed the steambot "Confidence." In 1852 the Red Bank Steamboat Company built the "Thomas Hunt," and later the "Thomas Haight" and the "Alice Price," while the Middletown and Shrewsbury Transportation Company built the steamboats "Golden Gate" and "Ocean Wave." These companies retired from business four years later.

About 1808, at Eatontown, Joseph Parker built a schooner, the "Eatontown," of thirty tons, at a place well inshore. When finished it was drawn by oxen and horses a distance of one mile to the stream, three days being consumed in the labor, which was witnessed by great throngs of people who were attracted by the novel sight.

Vessel building was one of the first industries at Keyport. In 1831 John Cottrell began his yards on Brown's Point, and the business was continued by his son after his death. Shortly afterward shipyards were established by B. C. Ferry, first at Brown's Point and then at Lockport, where the business was afterwards carried on by his widow. At one time he had on the stocks three first class ferry boats and two steamboats.

In 1832 the sloop "New Jersey," of fifty tons, was built at Compton's Creek, eight miles below Keyport, and sailed in the New York trade under command of James Hopping. About the same time the Keyport Dock Company built a number of sloops and other vessels for the same trade, and added others as business increased. In 1839 the same company built the steamship "Wave," and in 1851 another steamship, the "Minnie Cornell," which carried passengers as well as freight. In 1846 the Clingman Dock Company built the "Golden Rule" sloop and other vessels. In 1865 the Farmers' Transportation Company was organized, and the steamer "Holmdel" was built.

New Brunswick, which was considered the head of navigation on the Raritan River, was from the earliest day of water traffic, and for many years, a building place for small coasting vessels.

By 1860 wooden shipbuilding had practically ceased, owing to the exhaustion of suitable timber, and the substitution of iron for wooden hull construction.

In 1896 there were in the entire State of New Jersey, according to the report of the State Board of Labor and Industries, only twelve shipbuilding yards, employing an aggregate number of 520 men. These were mostly located in Camden and Elizabeth. In the latter named town are the yards of the Crescent Shipbuilding Company (Lewin Nixson and), though not as large as some other shipbuilding plants in the country, their

reputation for good work and promptness in carrying out contracts is of the very best. It was here the "Banner" and "Annapolis," both fine gunboats, were built, and the wonderful submarine torpedo boat "Holland" was also constructed at this yard. More than one hundred craft, large and small, have been launched within ten years. The Crescent Company have recently completed one monitor and several torpedo boats and destroyers. About 500 men are at present employed in the yard. Three shipbuilding yards were in Perth Amboy engaged in boat building, and employing in all about 400 people. In the coast region proper there was preserved only a faint suggestion of one of its earliest as well as one of its most important industries, in the existence of a single shipbuilding yard—one at Keyport, employing only ten people. At various points, however, there are individuals who build a small style of pleasure craft and fishing boats, but on so unimportant a scale as to make no appearance in statistical works.

To Cape May shipbuilders belong the honor of designing and putting to practical use the famous centre board, which made American yachts the superior of every pleasure craft afloat, and enabled them for during a period of forty years to bear off the honors in every international yacht race.

It was deemed a notable achievement when the lee-board was designed. This was a heavy board, or two thicknesses of board laid together, attached to the side of the vessel, made fast at one end, and the other end lowered by tackle into the water as necessity might demand for preserving an equilibrium. The device was awkward and inefficient. In 1811 what is now known as the centre-board was designed by Jacobus Swain and his two sons, Henry and Joshua Swain. They retained, however, the name of lee-board, and under this name they were granted letters patent April 10, 1811. Unfortunately, the inventors reaped little benefit from their device, for their application covered only a lee-board to be built through the keel, and this was evaded by other makers who built the lee-board between the keel and a keelson.

Joseph Francis, of Toms River, was perhaps the most notable boat builder of his day. In 1830 he built a row boat, which was subsequently presented to the Czar of Russia, and on its being put in the water at Cowes it was pronounced by British sailors to be the handsomest and swiftest of its class afloat. He afterward designed and built a wooden life boat patterned somewhat after the whale boat, but which afforded buoyancy and immunity against capsizing by masses of cork permanently fixed in the bow and stern, and by air chambers laid along the gunwales and under the thwart. In 1843 he built the first corrugated metal life-boat, and

he formed a company for its manufacture in Brooklyn, and gave his attention to this business during the remainder of his life. In 1844 he invented his life car, which had its first and successful practical test at the wreck of the "Ayrshire." The two last named inventions were fittingly recognized by various European governments and by benevolent and commercial organizations at home and abroad, while the Congress of the United States struck in his honor and presented to him the most massive gold medal ever awarded by that body to any individual. This medal was presented to the Smithsonian Institution by the venerable inventor shortly before his death.

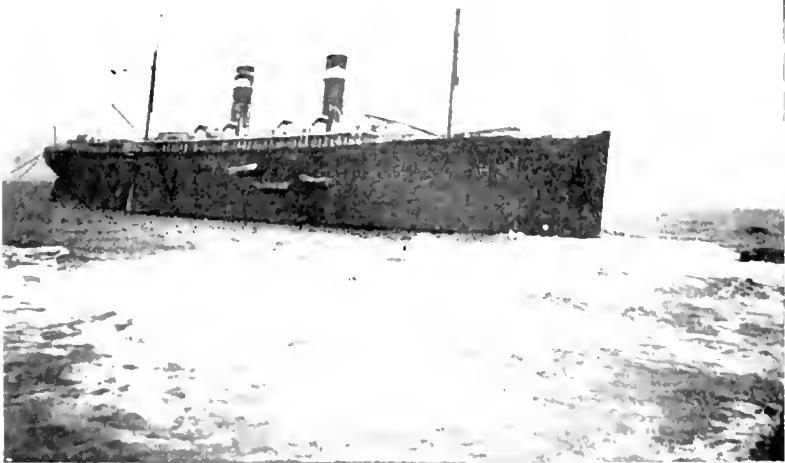
CHAPTER XVII.

THE WRECKS OFF THE COAST.

The Atlantic coast of New Jersey has ever been famous in maritime annals as the most dangerous and fatal on American waters to shipping and seafaring men, even surpassing in this respect the reefs of Florida.

Its general direction is from the northeast to the southwest, a distance of 127½ statute miles from the north point of Sandy Hook to the southern extremity of Cape May. Along the greater part of this ocean front, the shore shelves gradually at a rate of descent of about six feet to the mile. At a distance varying between three hundred and eight hundred feet from the visible beach, the depth of water rarely exceeds two feet. Hence, a vessel driven inland by stress of weather, must inevitably be stranded far from land, from which it is separated by an intervening stretch of water too shallow to float any but the lightest of boats ordinarily carried by ships. During the winter months, particularly, fierce northeasterly winds rage for long intervals, and are often accompanied by that thick heavy weather which is so deceiving to the sailor, obscuring landmarks by day and the glare of the lighthouse by night. These are the perilous conditions that confront a great proportion of the immense commerce, domestic and foreign, which seeks the metropolitan harbor of the United States.

Small cause for wonder is there, then, that the New Jersey shores, long known as "the graveyard of the sea," are strewn with the relics of ships scattered along the shore, embedded in the sands and lodged far up the inlets, whither they have been borne by wind and tide. Statistics fail to convey an adequate idea of the aggregate of sea disasters. Such statements as exist, with reference to the earlier years, are certainly inexact in some particulars, and more probably understate rather than overstate the facts. Jacob W. Morris, of Long Branch, estimated that prior to the year 1875 fifteen wrecks occurred annually between Sandy Hook and Seaside Beach. Dr. Reed, of Atlantic City, reported sixty four vessels as having come on shore on the ten mile stretch of Absecon Beach between



VESSELS ASHORE NEAR OCEAN GROVE — THE SHIP "WINDWARD"
AND THE STEAMER "ST. PAUL."

1847 and 1856. In 1878 the Rev. Mr. Brown, of Point Pleasant, made a list of one hundred and twenty five vessels wrecked in the preceding forty years on the twenty-four miles of coast between Manasquan Beach and Parnegat, and stated that this did not include all the disasters in that region. According to Hon. William A. Newell, in his speech before Congress, August 3, 1848, there were known to have been wrecked on the coast of New Jersey, between Sandy Hook and Little Egg Harbor, between April 12, 1836, and July 31, 1848, 25 ships, 48 brigs, 73 schooners, 8 barges, 2 sloops and 2 pilot boats, an aggregate of 158 vessels, and the disasters had been more numerous in the last year than in the preceding years, presumably owing to the greater number of vessels afloat. As to the sacrifice of life, Mr. Newell was unable to form an accurate opinion, but as an indication of the fearful mortality he referred to the facts that during a severe storm in the spring of 1846 fifty-five dead bodies were thrown on the shore at one time, and that, when the ill-fated "Mexico" was lost, nearly all of the sixty people on board came to their death by drowning or from the intensely cold weather. Mr. Heston says that between September, 1847, and January, 1856, sixty-four vessels came ashore on Absecon Beach and five vessels were there wrecked one single night.

At Harvey Cedars, a well known fishing resort just above the Life Saving Station of that name, the current sets in strongly toward the shore, and has not only wooed many a vessel to its last resting place on the sands, but has brought in many strange bits of wreckage, which tell their own story of disaster. These have been gathered by Davis White, the proprietor of a hotel in the vicinity, and piled up in a conglomerate heap beyond the reach of the storm tides that sometimes sweep across the beach with resistless force. Immense spars, all sorts of rigging, blocks, anchors, chains, sails, etc., are piled up on one side, while on the other part of the heap can be found all sorts of articles, from a medicine chest to a child's cradle. The carved figure of a Norwegian maiden, the figure-head of a foreign vessel wrecked here several years ago, stands out in bold relief. It is life size, and the carving is especially fine. Relic hunters without number have made all sorts of alluring offers for it, but Mr. White refuses to part with it. The longshoremen say the figure-head is "lucky" and if it is taken away from the beach disaster will surely follow.

The time will never come when shipwrecks attended by loss of life and destruction of property will be unknown. But disasters at sea have become relatively less numerous, and have been less costly in life and treasure during recent years, and particularly in the last quarter century. Iron hulls and steam propulsion more safely defy the elements than did the old sailing ship; the lighthouse service appears perfect, and the storm sig-

al service has amply proven its worth in affording warning to mariners and in enabling them to avoid dangerous coasts; and to these excellent cautionary advantages are to be added the salutary operations of the Life-Saving Service, whose beneficent effort serves to mitigate the evils of disaster.

Among the shore dwellers along the coast, and especially upon that portion stretching away from Little Egg Harbor to Cape May, were those who formed a peculiar class, and, indeed, these constituted nearly the entire population. They were fishermen. Their toils were arduous, fraught with much danger, and were poorly rewarded. Far removed from the marts of trade, they subsisted principally upon fish which they took, and such hard bread and few other articles of food as constituted the diet of sailors upon the smallest and most meagerly provisioned vessels. Their clothing was of the coarsest, women often wearing the same as men, and was worn so long as the garments could be held together by dint of patching and darning.

To these miserably conditioned people a shipwreck was as a merciful dispensation of Providence. The food and dress stuffs cast ashore came to them as unlooked for fortune, providing them with unheard of luxuries for their tables and persons. At times, too, they saved from the seas some rich article of silverware, china or furniture, which was curiously put in place in their hovel-like dwellings, but which delighted their eyes, even though they were unaware of its use. Hence it followed, what with their necessities and their curiosity, that they were kept in continual wonderment as to what new treasure would come to them from that world of which they knew nothing. Perhaps there was some foundation for the story told of the fisherman's child who was taught to pray: "God Bless him, pap, and all us poor, miserable sinners, and send a ship ashore before me rain!" Or that other, which averred that in the cupola of the first church erected in the neighborhood of Assecon Beach was stationed a look-out post during the hour of service to acquaint the congregation of a vessel drifting in, in order that the Barnegat and Brigantine Beach people should not be distressed in reaching the scene of disaster, and appropriating the contents of what the waves would wash in. It is due to these people, however, to acknowledge that as a rule their humane feelings moved them to the rescue of life before they attempted the saving of merchandise. There were, however, such noble accomplishments during all of the years prior to the establishment of the Life-Saving Service, and in some instances the rescuer came to his death while engaged in his mission of mercy.

It was not long until the fishermen became shipwreckers, and many made more of a business of wrecking than they did of fishing. These

conditions were early recognized by the provincial government. In 1690 Andrew Hamilton, Governor of the Province of East and West Jersey, appointed agents, whom he authorized "to look after wrecks which might come on shore, and to Dispose of the same according to his Desires and to account to me for the same." The share coming to the wrecker was pitifully small. He took desperate chances in his contest with the elements, and in contact with the flotsam and wreckage which the tempestuous waves hurled against him. Did his life pay the penalty of his daring there were none save his fellows, as poor as himself, to succor his widow and orphans. And so, and it was to be expected, the law became practically imperative. The spoils of the seas were in greater part appropriated by the wrecker, and in this he was justified by the practice of the times.

Despite their poverty and necessities, the wreckers as a rule kept within the pale of the unwritten law which governed their calling, and contented themselves with the goods which came ashore, or which they brought from the wrecked vessel after its abandonment by the captain and crew. But the life was demoralizing. Familiarity with scenes of destruction and death were dulling to the sensibilities, begetting contempt for human life and a rapacious desire for plunder. There were instances where the wreckers became lost to all sense of honor, even between themselves. In the winter of 1830 the ship "George Cannon," from Liverpool, laden with dry goods and hardware, came ashore on Absecon Beach. The shore people scented the prey and came in throngs, eager for the spoils, and cupidity reigned unrestrained. Neighbor robbed neighbor. Boxes of goods were buried in holes made in the hills, and while the hider was gone in quest of more plunder, another would dig them out and take them to other places of concealment. The night was bitterly cold, and two men perished in such undertakings.

Such occasional scenes were an inspiration for the sensational newspaper writer and lurid novelist of the period, who improved the occasion to the utmost. According to their telling, cold blooded deceit was practiced to bring ashore vessels for sake of gain. False lights were displayed by night and false hails were given by day to lure to wreck the mariner who had wandered away to an unfamiliar coast. Even then, the annalist averred that it was to be said, in justice, that the treacherous wrecker at times permitted his humane instincts to prevail, and hastened to save those whose lives he had brought into peril before seeking the flotsam upon which he was at heart intent. But then followed the relation of scenes of shocking inhumanity and lawlessness—the despoilment of corpses, without regard to sex, and to the point of utter nakedness. Passengers and sailors were frequently made to give up the money and valuables upon

their persons. In some extreme cases, where resistance to the act of robbery was attempted, the unfortunate cast-away was subjected to personal violence, even to the extremity of murder.

Such charges as these were of frequent repetition, particularly between 1830 and 1835, and at intervals thereafter. In 1832 a pirate, Panda by name, attempted a horrible crime on the high seas. Having captured the brig "Mexican," of Salem, Massachusetts, he drove the crew between decks and battened down the hatches. After removing to his own craft treasure amounting to twenty thousand dollars, he fired the captured vessel and sailed away. Providentially, one of the sailors left in this miserable plight found his way to the deck and removed the hatches, releasing his fellows, who put out the fire and brought their vessel safely into port. The news of this affair and a description of the pirate ship went to all parts of the globe, and two years afterward she was captured by a British man-of-war off the African coast. Seven of the pirates were brought to trial in Boston, where they were fully identified by some of those whom they thought they had burned to death, and their execution speedily followed.

This affair had excited the public imagination and indignation to the utmost, and for some years nearly every disaster on the coast was magnified into a crime perpetrated by shore-dwelling pirates. One case was that of the schooner "Henry Franklin," cast ashore on Barnegat Beach, on the night of March 17th, 1834, and another was that of the "James Fisher," which was stranded near Barnegat Inlet, on October 12th following. A number of persons were indicted for stealing merchandise from one or the other of these vessels, and six men were convicted and sentenced to fine and imprisonment. There was no charge of decoying the vessels ashore and the convictions were for stealing and plundering. But newspapers and novelists made the most of the case, and "New Jersey Land Pirates" became a familiar term.

Charges finally became so specific that in 1840 a committee of the New Jersey Legislature was appointed, pursuant to a resolution reciting an allegation that at the time of the distressing wreck of the "John Minturn" and other vessels, February 15th of that year, on the coast of New Jersey, some persons on shore neglected and refused to render relief and assistance to the perishing passengers and seamen, and that some plundered the bodies of the dead of valuables, and exacted money for the delivery of the bodies.

The committee assembled in Freehold, and thence went to the shore, which was traversed for a distance of twenty-one miles, from a point near Sandy Hook to a point four miles south of Squan Inlet. Investigation was made of the many wrecks which occurred on the date designated, and

thirty-six witnesses, shore dwellers and shipwrecked people, were privately examined under oath. Through this evidence it was shown that in the case of the ship "Pioneer," stranded eleven miles south of Sandy Hook, the crew were rescued by shore dwellers and received humane treatment. The schooner "Register" was stranded one mile farther south. The cargo lay scattered along the beach for two miles, and there was no evidence that any portion of it was illegally taken. One passenger was drowned, but there was absence of suspicion that his person was robbed. The schooner "Arkansas" was stranded four miles yet farther south. One boy was drowned in the cabin, but all others on board were rescued. To the south, the seven people on the brig "Antares" were saved. The "New Jersey" and the "Lotty" went ashore eight miles north of Squan Inlet. All but one on board these vessels were saved, and there was no suspicion that property was improperly appropriated. The schooner "Alabama" ran ashore immediately south of Squan Inlet and went to pieces during the night. Her plight was not discovered until morning, when she was going to pieces rapidly, and all on board perished, notwithstanding every effort was made to reach her with a boat from the shore. In the case of the "John Minturn," laden with a valuable cargo and having fifty-one souls on board, the shore people labored all day to reach the wreck, but with little success on account of the heavy sea, and many sailors and passengers were lost.

In summing up, the committee found that forty-five dead bodies had come ashore that dreadful night on the short stretch of coast which came under its investigation. It reported no evidence that money was exacted for the delivery of bodies. It believed the charges of wholesale plundering to be utterly untrue, but stated that it was to be expected that some unrobbing occurred, as the evidence showed. The amount taken was estimated at about \$300, a trifle, when it is said that the vessel cargoes were worth \$84,000. The committee further said the charge in public journals that people on shore had been in the habit of raising false lights to decoy vessels ashore was disproved as far as it could be by testimony.

The Revolutionary war period was marked by numerous disastrous wrecks, but accounts of these are necessarily meager.

So late as in 1855 were to be seen in Amboy Bay the remains of an old ship, the "Caledonia," once commanded by Captain Drummond. It is presumed that it was abandoned as unseaworthy in 1715, and that a storm broke it from its moorings, and drifted it to wreckage. Relics from this vessel have been preserved in the belief that it brought immigrants from Scotland as early as 1685, and it is known that it brought Scotch

families over in about 1715, and among them were undoubtedly some who became connected with the Old Scots Church near Freehold.

Shortly before the Revolutionary war the ship "Ellis," bound from Liverpool to New York, was stranded at Absecon Inlet. She was loaded with tea, and among her passengers was a British official charged with the enforcement of the obnoxious stamp act, which was so important a factor in inciting the colonies to revolt against the crown.

The ship "York," Captain Gibson, bound from Barbadoes to New York, was wrecked on Absecon Beach, January 4, 1750. The crew and a portion of the cargo were saved.

The French sloop "Mary Magdelene," Captain Durycu, was lost on Absecon Beach in a severe storm, March 10th, 1753. The captain, four white men and a negro were lost, and two men were saved by a whale-boat.

The British ship "Faithful Steward" came ashore September 9, 1765, on Absecon Beach, and a number of passengers were drowned by the swamping of the ship's boat. The vessel carried a quantity of stamp act paper.

The sloop "Sally," Captain Pike, outward bound from New York, was lost, near Barnegat, September 3, 1769. Six men were lost and their bodies were brought ashore and buried.

The British transport "Mermaid," with troops from Halifax to New York, struck and bilged at Egg Harbor, March 31, 1770. Boats from the shore rescued forty-two out of the one hundred and eighty-seven men aboard. The lost included thirteen women and seven children.

The British brigantine "Delight," twelve guns, Captain Dawson, bound from Tortula to New York, went ashore at Peck's Beach, in a fog, June 3, 1770. The American militia took possession of the vessel, and sent the crew to Philadelphia under guard. Many years later, during a very low tide, a cannon thrown overboard was found by Uriah Smith and brought to land.

Among the most noted wrecks on the coast was that of the brig "Perseverance," which for many years furnished theme for novelist and poet. The vessel was sailing from Havre, France, to New York, and was laden with a cargo valued at \$400,000, and in December, 1815, was spoken by a passing ship and informed that she was but two hundred miles distant from Sandy Hook. The captain of the "Perseverance," in his anxiety to reach port, despite a wind amounting to a gale, spread all his canvass and drove his ship on, and at three o'clock in the morning she went ashore on Peck's Beach, off Beasley's Point. The long boat was put overboard, but it was held to the vessel by its tackle and was capsized, and the eight people it contained were drowned. The remainder of the passengers and

crew, nine in number, took to the rigging of the vessel. From daybreak until noon the shore people endeavored to reach the wreck with boats, but ineffectually. Four of the shipwrecked people succumbed to exhaustion and fell into the sea and were drowned, and Captain Snow perished in his endeavor to swim ashore. Four poor wretches were finally dragged to land, and with them was brought the body of a young French girl, the only female on board. She was daintily clad, and wore costly jewels. Dr. Maurice Beasley, who witnessed the sad scene, said "She was the concentration of all the graces of the female form. Her body was interred in the Golden family burying ground near Beasley's Point, where three days later was also buried her uncle, Mr. Cologne, who died from exhaustion. The Seven-mile Beach was strewn with the cargo of the ill-fated vessel, consisting of silks, satins, china and other rich merchandise.

Subsequent to the Revolutionary war and prior to the effective establishment of the Life Saving Service in 1871, there were many wrecks, some of the most notable of which are given below.

The British ship "Guatamozin," sailing from China with a cargo of tea and silks, went ashore on Seven-mile Beach, near Townsend's Inlet, in February, 1809. Near by was a hut temporarily occupied by three hunters, Humphrey Swain, Nathaniel Stites and Zebulon Stites, who assembled some farmers from the mainland and effected the rescue of the shipwrecked crew. The ship cargo was entirely lost, and this disaster was the costliest shipwreck upon the Cape May coast in many years.

About 1850 Captain Caleb Grant, of Toms River, during a voyage from Charleston to New York, encountered a hurricane. He discovered an English vessel flying a signal of distress and instantly went to her relief. Finding that she could not be boarded by the use of small boats, he boldly decided to drive his vessel upon the disabled craft "bow on." To the surprise of his own crew he was successful and rescued a large number of persons. As a token of the appreciation in which this act of bravery was held by the British Government, Captain Grant was presented, through the British Minister, with a magnificent gold watch, suitably inscribed with a record of his heroic deed.

The schooner "Manhattan" was cast ashore on Long Beach, above Little Egg Harbor, in a severe storm, April 16, 1854, and all on board except one sailor were lost.

The ship "Powhatan," with three hundred and eleven English immigrants, was wrecked April 16, 1854, in a violent storm, on Long Beach, two miles above Little Egg Harbor, and all on board perished. Many bodies were washed on shore and were buried near the beach.

The ship "Mortimer Livingston," bound from Havre to New York,

came ashore on Lullam's Beach, January 24, 1863. All the three hundred passengers on board were saved except two who were drowned by the capsizing of a boat.

In June, 1860, about three o'clock in the morning, as Captain Shepard S. Hudson, from Mays Landing, of the schooner "R. G. Porter," was running before a gale off Absecon Beach, he was startled by appalling cries of distress from drowning men, struggling in the waves all around him. The United States steam revenue cutter "Walker" had been sunk a few minutes previously by collision with the schooner "Fanny." Captain Hudson, with great labor and risk to his own vessel, remained until he had rescued fifty-one out of seventy-one persons.

On Great Egg Harbor bar are the partially submerged remains of the "Angela Brewer," which went ashore in 1864. No lives were lost. Among those on board was the captain's wife, who was a skillful navigator, and part owner of the vessel.

The ship "Electric," from Hamburg to New York, was wrecked on Peck's Beach, December 19, 1867. The ship and cargo were lost, but all lives were saved. In the same storm the Russian bark "Johanna Lang" was stranded, and eighteen men and women were safely landed from her.

The schooner "Alice M. Ridgway," Captain Thomas McKean, Jr., sailing from Cape May to Philadelphia, was stranded near Fishing creek, March 20, 1868, and all on board were lost.

The ship "Electric," from Hamburg to New York, was wrecked on the coast of Cape May, December 21, 1868, and all the three hundred and sixty-three passengers on board were saved.

A famous Cape May pilot of the early days was Captain Mathew Hand, who on one occasion saved from shipwreck Captain Decature. According to the account given in the "Pennsylvania Gazette," of February 6, 1788, "Captain Decature got safely into Hereford Inlet after a passage of seventy-two days from Demarara, with the sloop "Nancy." He had been on the coast since the previous Christmas, and had been blown off fifteen times. His mate and all of the crew had been washed overboard, and another man had an arm broken. Captain Decature had despaired of reaching land, his vessel being in a very leaky condition and his provisions being exhausted, when Captain Hand fortunately fell in with him."

One of the life-saving heroes, before the days of an organized life-saving service, was Judge Richard C. Holmes, of Cape May county, who was, in the days when he was incapacitated for personal effort in braving the elements, the inventor of an admirable life-boat. One of his noblest and most successful feats, undertaken at the imminent risk of his own life,

was told in a volume published in 1852, but neither date nor name of vessel are given. The following is a condensation from the narrative contained in the work cited:

On a dark and stormy night, Captain Holmes heard signals of distress from seaward, and he aroused a number of men to man his surf boat. It was so dark and the weather was so thick that nothing could be seen, but the crew of the boat pulled steadily on, guided only by the compass, and by the low and distant booming of the gun. After an hour or two the sound of the gun seemed to come nearer, and at length could be faintly seen the flash beaming out for an instant before the report, in the midst of the driving rain and flying spray which filled the dark air before them.

Encouraged by this the oarsmen pulled at their oars with new energy and soon came in sight of the hull of the distressed vessel, which now began to rise before them, a black and unshapely mass, scarcely distinguishable from the surrounding darkness and gloom. The boat was to the leeward of the vessel, but so great was the commotion of the sea that it was not safe to approach even near enough to communicate with the people on board.

Captain Holmes gave up the attempt, and fell back again, intending to go around the windward side of the ship, hoping to be able to communicate with the crew from that quarter. In the meantime daylight began to appear and the position of the ship could be seen more distinctly. She lay upon a shoal, held partly by her anchor, which the crew had let go before she struck. Thus confined she had been knocked down by the seas, and now lay thumping violently at every rising and falling of the surge, and in danger every moment of falling to pieces. She was covered with human beings, who were seen clinging to her in every part, each separate group forming a sad and frightful spectacle of distress and terror.

He succeeded in bringing the surf boat so near to the ship on the windward side, as to hail the crew, whom he directed to drop a line from the end of the main yard to leeward. The crew heard this order and complied, when he ordered the surf boat to be pulled away from the ship again, intending to drop leeward once more, and board the vessel by means of the line, but the boat was swept so far away that it was an hour before the oarsmen could get her back so as to approach the line. It seemed then extremely dangerous to approach it, as the end of it was flying hither and thither. The boat, however, approached the line, and Captain Holmes, when he saw it within reach, sprang forward to the bows, and after a moment's contest between an instinctive shrinking from the gigantic lash which was brandished so furiously over his head, and his efforts to reach it, at length succeeded in seizing it. He grasped it by both hands with

all his force, and the next instant the boat was swept away from beneath him by the retreating billows.

The intrepid adventurer, when he found that the boat had surged from beneath him and left him suspended in the air over the raging and foaming billows, felt that all danger was over. To mount the rope, hand over-hand, till he gained the yardarm, to clamber up the yard to the mast, and then descend to the deck by the shrouds—all this was done in a moment, and Captain Holmes stood upon the deck, entirely overcome by the appalling spectacle of terror and distress that met his view.

The crew gathered around the stranger, whom they looked upon at once as their deliverer. He informed them that the ship was grounded on a narrow reef, and that there was deeper water between them and the shore, and he counselled them to cut loose from the anchor, presuming that the shocks of the seas would drive the ship over the bar, and that then she would drift rapidly in upon the shore, where, when she would strike upon the beach, means could be found to get the passengers to the land.

This plan was decided upon. The cable was cut away, the ship was beaten over the bar, awakening, as she dashed along, new shrieks from the terrified passengers at the violence of the commotions. Once in the deep water she moved on more smoothly, but was driven at a fearful rate toward the land. The surf boat accompanied her, hovering as near to her all the way as was consistent with safety.

After much difficulty the seamen succeeded, with the help of the surf boat, in getting a line from the ship to the shore by means of which one party on the land and another on board the vessel could draw the surf boat to and fro. In this way the passengers and crew were safely landed. When all lives were thus saved, sails and spars were brought on shore, and then, under Captain Holmes's directions, a great tent was constructed on the sand, which, though rude in form, was sufficient in size to shelter all the company. When all were assembled the number of passengers saved were found to be one hundred and twenty-one. They were German emigrants of the better class, and they gathered around their intrepid deliverer with such overwhelming manifestations of admiration and gratitude as wholly unmanned him. They had saved money and jewels and such other valuables as could be carried about the person, to a large amount, and they brought everything to him, pressing him most earnestly and with many tears to take it all for having saved them from such imminent and apparently certain destruction. He was deeply moved by these expressions of gratitude, but he would receive no reward.

When the tent was completed and the company were comfortably

sheltered, the boat was passed to and fro again through the surf to bring provisions on shore. A party of seamen remained on board for this purpose, loading the boat at the ship and drawing it out again when unloaded on the shore. The company assembled under the tent dried their clothes by fires built for the purpose and then made a rude breakfast from the provisions brought from the ship; and when thus in some degree rested and refreshed, they were all conveyed safely in boats to the mainland.

A most distressing shipwreck was that of the ship "Catherine Jackson," wrecked on Squan Beach, in a year not now identified. It was before the organization of a life saving service, and before life saving appliances were in use. The narrative which follows is substantially as it was subsequently given by Captain Samuel P. Curtis, of Squan, who was the hero of the occasion, and who was hailed as saviour by the three hundred and seventy people whom he safely landed with loss of not a single life:

"I went to the beach, as was my usual custom, about three o'clock in the morning, and saw a ship ashore. I got my crew and launched my boat, against the persuasions and protests of many friends on shore, as the sea was so rough that there was danger of drowning all hands. I said, 'They must all drown on board the ship unless some one goes to them,' and I asked my men if they were willing to go. They said, 'We'll do as you do.' Then I said, 'Well, strip yourselves and we'll go to the ship.' The sea was then so rough as to cover all but the highest sandhills, and from one of these we shoved off our boat, and in about ten minutes reached the ill-fated ship.

"I got up in the mizzen rigging and asked, 'Where is the captain of this ship?' 'I am the captain. My God, we must all be drowned!' I said, 'There is no such letters in the book. We will cut her masts away, and she will right up on her feet.' He contended that she would not do it and I contended that she would. He then said, 'Do as you please. I place the ship in your hands.'

"Then I ordered his men to cut away the main and fore lanyard, all but the fore and main backstays. Then, after lashing a man to the fifetail of the mainmast, and another to that of the foremast, I ordered them to cut the mast as the sea left them; as it came on they were submerged. They succeeded in cutting off the masts, which fell after the backstays were cut.

"After she went overboard she came up on her bottom on the second or third sea and swung head inshore, so high out of water that the sea did not break over her stern.

"Then I shoved off the booby hatches and let the passengers out of the hold, who were standing in water two or three feet deep, and the children locked in the windward banks. Then I told the captain I must leave

him as my boat would not live alongside the ship, and that I did not wish to imperil my crew, and that I would be back as soon as the tide fell. The captain wanted to go on shore with me, but I told him he had better stay aboard and take care of his ship and passengers.

"When we landed we found that a boat's crew had attempted and failed to board the bark "Esperanza," which lay ashore about half a mile south from where the "Catherine Jackson" lay. One of the underwriters' agents said to me, 'You are so smart you had better take your crew and their boat and board her.' I said, 'Perhaps they will not let me have her.' I then asked the captain, who gave his consent, saying, 'We can't board her.'

"We then took their boat and boarded the "Esperanza." And, although the sea was very rough, we brought the captain, crew and all hands safely to shore.

"As the tide had fallen, I and my crew went back to the "Catherine Jackson," on board of which were three hundred and seventy anxious souls. There were no life-saving crews or apparatus at that time, yet by sun-down on that memorable day every soul from the ill-fated ship was safely landed on shore."

Below are briefly narrated the circumstances attending a number of wrecks which have occurred since the establishment of the Life Saving Service.

A dreadful disaster was that of the capsizing of the yacht "A. B. Thompson," in Atlantic City Inlet, July 18, 1874. The lost were Daniel O. Sharpless and wife, with their daughter, Caroline, Master Alfred Sharpless and Miss Anna Roberts. Mrs. Edward Bettle and a Mr. Clarke were saved.

The steamship "South Carolina," from Charleston to New York, went ashore at Barnegat Inlet, December 22, 1874. All on board, forty-six souls, were saved.

The "Margaret and Lucy" three-master, Captain Benjamin Wick, sailing from New York to Charleston, was stranded near Toms River March 2, 1877. The vessel went to pieces so suddenly during the night that all on board perished, and their bodies were picked up during the two days following, on Squan Beach, twelve miles distant.

The bark "Bethany," Captain Walter J. Bendell, from Hong Kong to New York, was wrecked March 9, 1877, on Two-mile Beach. The crew of eleven men were saved, with a portion of the cargo of tea, silks and china, valued at \$600,000. The vessel was a total loss.

The steamship "Rasland," sailing from Antwerp to New York, on the night of March 17, 1877, struck on the wreck of the sunken "Adonis," at Long Branch, opposite the cottage of General U. S. Grant, and went

to pieces. The two hundred and four people on board were all saved by the Life Saving crew and citizens.

Among the annals of sea adventure and escape, one incident of occurrence on the New Jersey coast is of thrilling interest.

On the morning of January 23, 1878, the seventy ton schooner "Twilight" was storm-caught, torn from her anchorage in the inlet off Rum Point and driven out to sea. The only soul on board was a fifteen year old lad, Adolphus Parker. The boy clung desperately to the wheel, its holding taxing his strength to the utmost as the rudder was beaten backward and forth by the fierce hammering of the waves. In passing out of the inlet the vessel struck the ground and then veered northward. The little hero made endeavor to steer her ashore on Brigantine Beach, but his effort was in vain. Then he dropped the kedge anchor, the only one he could reach, which failed to hold. The life saving crew discovered his plight, but their boat could not make its way through the raging surf. The little sailor kept his post at the wheel throughout that day in sight of hundreds of people on shore who, aware of his peril, anxiously watched the craft they were unable to reach. All the following night, too, he kept his weary watch, still at the wheel, and holding his vessel head to the wind. With the dawn of morning he went below for food, and on the instant was almost run down by a passing vessel. Before he could explain his predicament and ask for aid the stranger was far beyond his call.

The weather continued thick, but the boy's endurance remained and he headed his craft landward. Before nightfall he again saw the shore and made gallant endeavor to steer toward the inlet out of which he had been driven, but was unable to complete his task. He finally beached the ship at Shell Gut Inlet, near Little Egg Harbor life saving station, by whose crew he was brought ashore, while the "Twilight" went to pieces. When young Parker was rescued he was physically collapsed, and his hands were bruised and bleeding from his long struggle with the wheel. It was several months before he recovered from the exhaustion of his dreadful ordeal.

In the dreadful storm of February 3, 1880, which is referred to in another chapter in connection with the award of Life Saving Service Medals of Honor, the three-masted schooner "Stephen Harding," loaded with lumber, bound from Florida to New York, struck one mile north of Station No. 2 (Captain J. W. Edwards, Keeper) at two o'clock in the morning. A line was sent aboard, and all were safely landed—Captain Harding and his wife, the crew of six men, and a young man named William Ray, who had been picked up at sea, the sole survivor of the crew of the "Kate Newman," sunk in collision with another vessel.

About the same time the brig "Castalia," loaded with cotton, and bound from Galveston to New York, went ashore three quarters of a mile from Station No. 3, Captain A. H. West. In three and one half hours all aboard the vessel, the captain and his wife, and a crew of ten men, were safely landed.

At five o'clock the same morning, the schooner "Light Boat," bound from Norfolk to New York, went ashore, and this crew were rescued by the men of Life Saving Station No. 5, Captain W. S. Green, Keeper.

The same night when occurred the before mentioned disasters, the schooner "George Taulane," bound from Virginia to New York, manned by a crew of six men, was driven ashore two miles south of Station No. 11, Captain Britton C. Miller, Station Keeper, with his men, proceeded toward the wreck and were met by the crew of Station No. 12, Captain William P. Chadwick, who came with their gun and other apparatus. The united crews now engaged in a struggle which taxed their courage and physical endurance to the utmost. The vessel was four hundred yards from the beach, and the seas were breaking so high that the men were forced into the rigging. Several shots were discharged from the line-carrying gun, but fell short, and the life savers took to the water in an ineffectual effort to put a line aboard the vessel, sustaining bruises from the floating wreckage which, in some instances, were hurtful for months afterward. The schooner rolled and drifted along the coast and the life savers followed, traveling in all about three miles, dragging their heavy equipment with them, through treacherous sand and deep lagoons. A vantage point was finally reached, communication with the vessel was established, and all its crew were brought to land save two men who had become benumbed by the cold and had fallen out of the rigging to die by drowning.

Near Ocean City is to be seen a portion of the hull of the brigantine "Zetland," bound from Turk's Island to Philadelphia, which was stranded November 2, 1881. The captain had died at sea, and the vessel was lost through the ignorance of the crew, none of whom understood navigation. No lives were lost.

The Spanish brig "Panchito" went ashore near Ocean City, February 13, 1888. The thirteen people on board were saved. The ship was loaded with logwood, and pieces of the timber are afloat on the coast to the present day.

The bark "Geestemande" went ashore September 12, 1886, opposite the lower part of Atlantic City. No lives were lost.

The Spanish steamer "Viscaya" and the schooner "Cornelius Hargrave" came in collision October 30, 1890, off Barnegat, and both vessels

went down. Fifty-nine of the ninety-three men on board the "Viscaya" were lost. Ten of the crew of the "Hargrave" were saved.

The sloop "Sallie and Eliza" was capsized in a heavy sea, August 20, 1892, near Ocean City. The owner, Captain Hackett, was swept overboard and drowned. The only other occupant of the vessel was rescued by Captain J. S. Willets, of the Ocean City Life Saving Station, with a volunteer crew, and the feat is recalled as one of the bravest and most daring known in the annals of the coast.

The ship "Francis" caught fire and was burned on the bar opposite Little Egg Harbor Inlet, May 8, 1897. The crew of twenty-five men were saved.

The steamer "Antilla," bound from the Bahamas to New York, ran ashore in a fog December 24, 1900, on the Great Egg Harbor bar. The people on board were taken off by the Life Saving crew and the vessel was afterward floated.

December 4, 1900, the schooner "Oliver Seofield" became water-logged in a storm off Chadwick, in Ocean county. The surfmen immediately went out with beach apparatus and upon arriving abreast of her fired a line over her. Her main and mizzen masts had already gone by the board, and the foremast fell about the time the line was placed aboard. The cargo of lumber was washed off, and much debris surrounded the wreck, which lay about two hundred yards from the beach. The hawser was finally set up and three men were hauled ashore in the buoy. By this time the Mantoloking crew arrived and assisted in the rescue. While the fourth man was being taken ashore the whip parted, having been chafed off by the wreckage, and he had to be hauled back to the wreck. The broken part was then sent off by the sound part, and the fourth man was landed. This left the master and mate aboard, and the whip having parted again in landing the last man, the broken part was once more started off by the sound part. It was caught and held fast in the wreckage, however, and no further use could be made of it. The hawser was now hauled taut, and the master and mate made their way along it, hand over hand. The surfmen waded out with the lines, which they passed around the two men, while those on the beach hauled in. All were finally landed in safety, but several of the life-savers had been more or less injured by being knocked down by the seas or struck by the floating debris. The shipwrecked men were served with hot coffee at the station, and the keeper gave them dry clothes from the stores of the Women's National Relief Association box. They were succored at the station two days. The vessel was a total loss.

January 20, 1901, the schooner "A. J. Coleman" was stranded off

Atlantic City during a storm, having sprung a leak which compelled the master to run for a harbor. The crew hoisted a signal of distress and then took to the rigging. After a hard struggle the surfmen reached the wreck and took the crew of four men from the rigging into the surf-boat. This was accomplished, however, by work involving great peril, as the deck load of lumber was being washed off the schooner by the heavy sea and the masts were tottering. Within ten minutes after the rescue was made the masts fell, and within half an hour not a vestige of the wreck remained on the bar. The rescued crew were taken to the station, where they were furnished with food and dry clothing from the stores of the Women's National Relief Association.

March 11, 1901, the schooner "Nathaniel T. Parker" went ashore at Long Beach, about three o'clock in the morning. She was discovered by the life saving patrol about fifteen minutes later, and surfmen reached the scene with their beach apparatus at 4:30 a. m. Assisted by the crew from Bonds Stations, the surfmen fired across the schooner a line, which her crew failed to find. They fired a second line, and then the schooner's crew found the first line and hauled off the whip. The crew of twelve men on the schooner were safely landed in the breeches buoy. Afterwards, the surf becoming smooth, a wrecking vessel took the crew back to their vessel and released her on the 19th instant.

The British schooner "Mola" went ashore at Chadwick some days later. Surfmen from both Chadwick and Toms River station reached the wreck at 4:45 a. m., the Chadwick crew having their beach apparatus. They threw a heaving line on board, set up the gear, safely landed the crew of eight men in the breeches buoy, and took them to the Chadwick station, where the keeper supplied them with food and dry clothes from the stores of the Women's National Relief Association. At low water the surfmen went aboard the wreck and carried to the station the personal effects of the crew. A wrecking company floated the schooner on May 9th and towed her to New York for repairs.

The Italian bark "Bianca Aspasia" stranded at Ship Bottom about midnight on May 23, 1901. The night was very dark and there was a rough sea. Surfmen quickly dragged their beach apparatus to the scene and, assisted by the crew from Long Beach Station, fired a line across the vessel, but her crew were unable to find it. They fired another, and the crew on board hauled off the whip line, but they made it fast improperly and the surfmen could not set up the gear. As daylight was then breaking the keeper launched the surf-boat, boarded the wreck and, after making five trips, safely landed the crew of fifteen men and their clothing. The crew was succored at the station for three days and the master for six days.

Wreckers stripped the bark of her sails and rigging, but the hull and cargo became a total loss.

The barkentine "Antilla," of Boston, Captain James Reed, bound from Montevideo to New York, went ashore on Long Beach, March 28, 1902. All on board were saved by the Life Saving Crew and the affair is worthy of narration as illustrative of the operations of the splendid service of the present time.

The weather had been thick and foggy from the evening previous to the disaster, and the life savers at Long Beach station doubled the night patrol and kept up flaring fires. The vessel struck about five o'clock in the morning, and pounded hard on the strand, while the heavy breakers covered her almost continually. The commander sent up blue rockets, the call for immediate assistance, which was answered from on shore almost on the instant. Within a quarter of an hour the life saving crew had brought their apparatus to the beach opposite the wreck, which was two hundred yards off the shore. The sea was running too high to risk a life boat, and after several ineffectual attempts a line fired from the mortar found lodgment across the bows of the vessel, and a cable was hauled aboard. The breeches buoy was attached and set in operation, making eighteen trips, each time bringing a man ashore. This was not accomplished without great peril, the buoy in each passage being overwhelmed by the breakers, and all but drowning the occupant. Several of the sailors needed restoratives, and one was finally resuscitated after it appeared that life was extinct. At the life saving station all the shipwrecked men were provided with dry clothing and were abundantly fed.

While the record of foreign wrecks upon the coast is appalling, it is to be noted that the people of that region have also been great sufferers. In 1888 Mr. Heston, in his "Hand Book of Atlantic City," asserted that during the preceding fifty years no less than fifty vessels hailing from Atlantic City alone, an average of one a year, had left port under fair skies never to return, vessels and crews having been swallowed up in some storm or having otherwise perished at sea. About the same number of vessels from that county had also been wrecked somewhere on the coast, but the greater number of the men aboard were saved. During the period covered two hundred and fifty-three lives were lost, and about two million dollars in property.

From the earliest times of its history, vague stories of smuggling and piracy have been rife concerning Sandy Hook. A good proportion of such stories was either fabulous or was founded on such slim foundation of fact that the foundation itself has disappeared. In its early ante resort

days it must have been a wild and deserted place, its storms even more terrible than now, and the imaginations of the few visitors were quickened by the wind and desolation, the solemn stillness that prevailed, except for the low moaning of the sea in times of placidity, or its terrible howling when the Atlantic, roused to fury, seemed to break in all its anger on the sandy bar. Little wonder that popular imagination and innate human superstition associated the dunes and creeks and bays and points with tales of strange, weird doings, and that such stories gathered in importance and weirdness and tragedy as they sped on from mouth to mouth. Such stories have become too vague to be regarded as history, but it is a pity that some of them had not been preserved. Many of the exploits of Heyler and Mariner, the patriot freebooters, were performed in these waters.

There is a story of one known as Bennett, who settled at a place which came to be known as Bennett's Neck, about a mile below Barnegat. But if this man had a piratical record, it was prior to his coming. It was said that, while a young man, he was bound apprentice to a seafaring man who joined Captain Kidd, taking his apprentice with him; and that when Kidd and some of his followers were brought to trial, Bennett, who was among them, was acquitted, and came to the New Jersey coast, where he lived an honest life.

Tradition also pointed suspiciously to Jonas Tow, another resident of Barnegat, but the only incriminating circumstance was the fact that he was possessor of a collection of articles which were remarkably curious in the eyes of his neighbors, who could only account for their possession by him in the supposition that he had been a plunderer on the high seas.

But, regarding the times as they were, it is not too much to surmise that to the New Jersey coast came as settlers some who had been guilty of what tradition charges. Nor is it any the less credible that some such came to live useful lives and left honorable descendants. After all, it is only recently that the law of *meum et tuum* came to be properly regarded, and Raleigh and Hawkins and others who laid the foundations of the maritime importance of Great Britain, were they now living, would be classed as "pirates," and nations of the earth would proclaim "hue and cry" against them.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE LIFE SAVING SERVICE.

To no man comes such noble mission as that of imperilling his own life in saving that of another. From the earliest days of letters, historians have delighted in narrating the achievements of the soldier on the field of battle, and poets have been inspired to the loftiest heights in singing his praises. But the saver of human life, not its destroyer, is he who merits the greater praise. His deeds are not undertaken in the hot blood which quickens the step to the charge, nor under the eye of a leader of men whose approbation is prized as was the knight-making sword-stroke of the monarch in days of old, nor do they lead to those high places in civil and military life to which the gallant soldier is so often called. On the contrary, his effort is exerted in a hazardous undertaking in face of the most dreadful forces of nature, the tempest and the storm, frequently in the darkest hours of the night, and with no witnesses save his few companions on an errand of mercy which they may not accomplish and in which they may be doomed to sudden death, and with no record of their supreme devotion save that brief mention made in a formal official paper which never comes before the public eye.

The peculiar dangers of the New Jersey coast, owing to its contour and currents, have been previously described in this work in the preceding chapter. The horrors of shipwreck upon such a shore, the heroic effort of those who essay the work of rescue, and the dreadful dangers which they encounter, are beyond description. Shortly after the French steamer "L'Amérique" went ashore at Seabright, in 1877, the wreck was viewed by the gifted painter Bierstadt. He saw it in weather like to that at the time of the disaster, and he listened to the narratives of gallant men who had struggled nobly in the merciful work of rescue and of those whom they had saved. Yet he confessed his inability to portray the scene on canvass. It defied his art. The raging storm, the howling wind, the blinding snow, the seething foam, the strange dim lights on the doomed vessel, the answering signals on shore, the wild shrieks of the imperilled passen-

gers and crew, men, women and children, and the seemingly hopeless struggle of the life-saving crew against the elements—all this made up a scene not to be delineated by painter nor described by poet. Yet in such dreadful picture, of which the mind may form feeble conception, the central figure was the life-saver.

To residents and hardy sailors of the New Jersey coast is due the great distinction of being the authors of the present United States Life-Saving Service, so beneficent in its operations, and whose annals are adorned with countless thrilling narratives of splendid effort and unparalleled courage. As in all undertakings essayed in behalf of humanity, it had its foundation in urgent necessity, and its development was slow and laborious. Long before there was organized effort, shore dwellers who were accustomed to the sea, moved by humane purposes, at the risk of their lives, on many occasions manned their own frail boats and took many human beings from vessels stranded and breaking up within sight of their dwellings.

At a later day, fishermen who were also engaged in the wrecking business constructed strong whale-boats for the latter purpose. As a rule, in case of shipwreck, their first care was to bring off imperilled passengers and crew, leaving to a later time the cargo saving, which was to bring them reward, and of which they were often deprived, the elements of nature completing the destruction of vessel and merchandise almost as soon as their life-saving mission had been accomplished. Yet later, companies of wreckers were formed at various coast points, and larger vessels were built for their purposes.

Among the old-time wreckers whose names are honorably preserved in association with splendid feats of courage in saving human life from tempest and wreck were Thomas Bond, Edwin Dennis, John H. Brown, J. W. Schilleger, John Maxson, Selah Strong, John Allen, Samuel P. Curtis, John Chadwick, John J. Cook, A. Topping, J. L. Sandford, C. A. Ludlow, John Jones and John M. Brown. John M. Brown received the gold medal of the Life-Saving Association "for his humane and Christian efforts in saving the crews and passengers" of the "Cornelius Grinnell," the "New York" and other vessels. From the ship first named were saved in mid-winter five hundred persons, and from the latter named three hundred and fifty people.

Another, James Green, was not only a noted life-saver but he reared sons who became as conspicuously useful as was he himself. A half-century ago he was a wreckmaster, and he was instrumental in saving many human lives, as well as much property. His son, Captain Charles H. Green, who resided on the paternal estate, witnessed many shipwrecks, and (long before the organization of the governmental life-saving service) he

became impressed with the great necessity for organized effort, and he formed from among his neighbors a volunteer crew at Green's Pond, now Lake Takaneesee, which separates West End from Elberon. Space forbids telling of all the scores of notable rescues made by Captain Green and his men, but one is deserving of special mention, not only in recognition of the act itself, but because of the fact that it was acknowledged in the best way of the first gold medal of the Life Saving Benevolent Association of America on the New Jersey Coast, and that the name of his wife was coupled with his own in the inscription. It is believed that in the latter particular the award stands alone in the history of the organization.

The ship "Adonis" was cast ashore March 7th, 1850, off Long Branch, in front of the spot where the United States Life Saving Station now stands. In spite of the raging surf, after a desperate struggle, Captain Charles H. Green and a volunteer crew succeeded in landing all who were aboard, without the loss of a single life. The life savers were encouraged in their mission by the presence of Mrs. Green, who took the shipwrecked men to her home and provided them with food, dry clothing and all that would aid in their restoration and add to their comfort. For this noble achievement the Life Saving Benevolent Association of America presented to Captain and Mrs. Green a massive medal containing sixty dollars worth of fine gold. Upon the obverse it bore a most artistic alto-relievo representation of a ship engulfed in high rolling waves, and the name of the Association. Upon the reverse is beautifully inscribed the following: "Presented to Charles H. Green and Annie H., his wife, as an acknowledgment of the rescue of the crew of the ship "Adonis," wrecked at Long Branch, March, 1850."

When the United States Life Saving Service was instituted, Captain Green was placed in charge of the Life Saving Station and crew, and he rendered splendid service in that capacity until his death, which occurred in 1871. His brother, Walter S. Green, was also an early volunteer life saver, and subsequently became captain of a life saving crew under the national establishment.

The efforts of the gallant men above named and of others engaged in similar humane missions were recognized by the Life Saving and Benevolent Association, the American Shipwreck Association and the Board of Underwriters, which at various times provided crude equipment for the life-savers and otherwise aided them in their work. These bodies also lent their influence to secure the legislation necessary to the establishment of the Life Saving Service.

In May, 1851, under authority of the act of March 3, 1851, the Sec-

retary of the Treasury appointed a board of officers of high rank to investigate and make a detailed report as to the condition and needs of the Light-House Establishment, to guide legislation in extending and improving it. In the report of this board, under date of January 30, 1852, the matter of relief for the shipwrecked was discussed. It was advised that surf-boats and life-boats be furnished to certain light-house stations, and the means of readily providing crews for them in time of need be supplied. In accordance with the recommendation of the report the act of August 31, 1852, placed the light-house system in charge of the Light-House Board.

On February 25, 1847, during the second session of the Twenty-eighth Congress, while the light-house bill was under consideration, Mr. Robert McClelland, of Michigan, chairman of the Committee on Commerce, had moved an amendment "For furnishing the light-houses on the Atlantic coast with means of rendering assistance to shipwrecked mariners, \$5,000; the same to be under the control and direction of the Secretary of the Treasury." The amendment was enacted into law March 3, 1847 (9 Stat., p. 170), in the exact terms in which it was introduced, and was the first appropriation made for rendering assistance to the shipwrecked from the shore.

In a report from the Superintendent of the Light-House Establishment, dated December 17, 1847, showing what had been done under the light-house act of March 3, 1847, it was stated that the \$5,000 appropriation had not been used. The item remaining unexpended was carried forward as an unexpended balance available for the next fiscal year. The second appropriation for life-saving purposes was that of \$10,000 in the act of August 14, 1848, referred to hereinafter in connection with the labors of Hon. William A. Newell for the establishment of an efficient life-saving service.

For many years the immediate origin of the present Life Saving Service was a subject of controversy, owing to conflicting claims set up by the friends of various persons who had been connected more or less prominently with it at different times. But in the year 1900 the matter was set at rest through the medium of an exhaustive paper read before the Monmouth County Historical Association, at Matawan, New Jersey, by Hon. William A. Newell, of Allentown, New Jersey, some time a member of Congress, Governor of New Jersey, and Governor of Washington Territory. This paper was prepared at the solicitation of the president of the society, and Mr. Newell gave it the utmost care, refraining from all statements and conclusions save such as were capable of verification by congressional records and other contemporaneous evidence. This paper has been freely drawn upon for this narrative.

August 13, 1836, Mr. Newell witnessed the wrecking of the Austrian

brig "Terasto" (which erroneously appears in history as the "Count Perasto"), near the Mansion House, on Long Beach, then in Monmouth county, but now in Ocean county. The captain of the vessel and thirteen of the crew were drowned. Their bodies came ashore, and were buried at public expense in the Baptist Church cemetery in Manahawkin, New Jersey, where their graves are yet discernable. The wreck occurred at midnight, on a sandbar three hundred yards from the shore, and the crew had met their deaths in endeavoring to swim through the raging surf. Mr. Newell conceived the idea that the unfortunate men could have been saved by means of a rope with which to drag them to land, and with the thought occurred to him the necessity for a projectile to carry a line from the shore to a vessel. He at once instituted a series of experiments for the carrying of a light line by arrow, by rocket and by a shot from a shortened blunderbuss, and all with a degree of encouragement, which culminated in the successful use of a mortar or carronade discharging a ball with a line attached.

In 1840 Mr. Newell was elected to Congress from the second district of New Jersey, which then included the Atlantic coast region from Sandy Hook Bay to Little Egg Harbor. On January 3, 1848, he offered a resolution instructing the committee on commerce to enquire "whether any plan can be devised whereby dangerous navigation along the coast of New Jersey, between Sandy Hook and Little Egg Harbor, may be furnished with additional safeguards to life and property from shipwreck, and that they report by bill or otherwise."

In this resolution lay the germ of the United States Life Saving Service is now constituted—a system which to the present time has neither counterpart nor parallel upon any other shores in the world, save under the Danish government, in all other countries such service being inadequately provided by private organizations. The present American system, as Mr. Newell remarked with pardonable pride, in his historical address before referred to, "has become and will remain one of the chief features of our governmental system, with its three hundred rescue stations, manned by two thousand brave and skilful wreckers, and for which the government annually appropriates two millions of dollars."

Mr. Newell's resolution was ignored by the committee, notwithstanding the fact that several of its members were from maritime States, and should reasonably have been expected to appreciate the value of his suggestion and to lend their sympathy and assistance to him in an effort at once philanthropic and economic. Yet he persisted, making personal appeals to men of great distinction in both houses of congress, among them being John Quincy Adams, Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun,

Stephen A. Douglas, Thomas H. Benton and Thaddeus Stevens, but without avail, his views being regarded as chimerical, and as tending to useless and extravagant expense. He endeavored to attach his resolution as an amendment to various appropriation bills in the house, but without success. Toward the close of the second session, however (August 9, 1848), the senate light-house bill came before the house, and he offered an amendment thereto "for providing surf-boats, rockets, carronades and other necessary apparatus for the better preservation of life and property from shipwreck along the coast of New Jersey, between Sandy Hook and Little Egg Harbor, \$10,000 to be expended under the supervision of such officer as may be designated by the Secretary of the Treasury for that purpose." Mr. Newell made a brief appeal for his amendment, and it was adopted by unanimous vote. His plans were soon so magnificently vindicated that at the second session of the same congress an additional appropriation was made for the Life Saving Service, and stations were established from Little Egg Harbor to Cape May, and also upon the Atlantic shore of Long Island, and in 1850 the service was still farther extended southward to Florida. From that day to the present the service has had a permanent existence, and, except in the formative days, it has been amply provided for out of the public treasury.

The life-saving apparatus provided for in the first appropriation bill was placed at eight convenient locations along the coast. Meantime Joseph Francis, a resident of Toms River, a noted boat builder whose shops were in Brooklyn, on Long Island, had perfected his corrugated metal life-boat and a life-car, which proved most valuable adjuncts to the Newell apparatus, as was almost immediately apparent. The Francis apparatus had been approved by such philanthropic and other organizations as the Life Saving and Benevolent Association, the American Shipwreck Society and the Board of Underwriters, and was, on the occasion hereafter mentioned, first put into experimental use under government authority.

January 12, 1850, the Scottish brig "Ayrshire," having aboard two hundred and one English and Irish immigrants, bilged and lost her masts on Absecon Beach. There was a terrible foaming surf and a blinding snow storm at the time. For the first time the Newell apparatus was used, and with entire success. The wreck was unreachable by boat owing to the high sea, and the life-saving apparatus was put to use by a volunteer crew of sturdy fishermen who impressed a yoke of oxen to transport it to the spot. A ball fired from the mortar took a line aboard, and to it was bent a hawser which was made fast to a mast stump on the vessel. The closed Francis life-car was carried by its rings on the hawser, and in three minutes the first car load was safely drawn ashore through the roaring surf.

This was repeated as rapidly as the car could be operated and the surf would permit, but so serious were the difficulties that the work of rescue extended over portions of two days, one hundred and twenty people being landed on the first day, and the remaining number on the second day. But one of the passengers perished, and he was a man who, not being allowed to enter the already crowded car with his children, mounted its top and was washed away in passing through the waves. Dr. Robert Laird witnessed the heroic rescue and was deputized to present the gold medal of the Life Saving Association to John Moxson, who shot over the vessel the first line for the saving of human lives at sea. By curious fortune, many years afterward, the ball fired at the "Ayrshire" was found in a fragment of her wreckage, and is now preserved in the National Museum in Washington, where is also to be seen the Francis life car which proved so servicable on the same thrilling occasion, and which, when it was retired from service in 1878, had been the means of saving one thousand four hundred and ninety-three lives.

The original equipment of the life-saving stations comprised galvanized surf boats with separate air chambers, rockets, rocket line and hawsers, housed in a substantial frame building. The use of the mortar followed almost immediately, and that of the breeches buoy a few years later, and with these two additions the paraphernalia is now substantially what it was at the founding of the service.

In the germinal condition of the Life Saving Service, which had its being in face of almost insuperable opposition, no provision could be made for an effective organization, and the equipment was left uncared for by any responsible custodian. As a consequence, nearly all movable property was converted to private uses, and that which remained was suffered to go to decay from want of attention. Dreadful shipwrecks occurred in view of stations which existed only in name, and which were powerless to render assistance. In this emergency, in December, 1854, congress passed a bill authorizing the appointment of superintendents for New Jersey and Long Island, and keepers for the various stations. In 1861 President Lincoln appointed Mr. Newell as superintendent for the New Jersey District, and during his four years term of service he made quarterly visits of inspection to all stations. In 1864 he was again elected to congress, and gave his zealous attention to the improvement of the service, and laid the foundation for subsequent favorable legislation. To this time, the life savers had performed their arduous and dangerous duties without compensation or reward. In 1868, Hon. Charles Haight, member of congress from the Monmouth district, ably aided by Senator John P. Stockton, in the senate, endeavored to re-establish the life-saving service upon a more perfect system, but failed. A similar effort made by Mr. Haight in 1871 was also ineffectual. Hon.

S. S. Cox, then a member of Congress from New York, subsequently became interested and made a splendid appeal, and the same year succeeded in procuring the needed legislation. Under the provisions of the act, the service was attached to the revenue cutter division of the Treasury Department, of which S. L. Kimball was chief, and out of the \$100,000 appropriated for life-saving purposes new stations were built and old ones were repaired and enlarged, for the housing of the crew, with their boats and apparatus. A code of signals was also adopted, and nautical regulations for the management of boats and life-saving apparatus were formulated and published.

The first and most important movement after Mr. Kimball took charge was a resolute effort to make the service non-partisan—to find the most efficient men and make it known that appointments and tenure would depend upon professional fitness, and not upon party application or political favor. After ten years of struggle, during which period Congress was repeatedly urged, he also secured the enactment of a law placing the establishment upon a non-partisan basis, May 1, 1882, (antecedating all other civil service reform legislation in this direction), providing that the appointment of district superintendents, inspectors, and keepers and crews of life-saving stations should be made solely with reference to their fitness, and without reference to their political or party affiliations.

Another of the earliest steps taken to promote efficiency was the establishment of the patrol system. Under this arrangement the beaches within the scope of the stations are patrolled every night, from sunset to dawn, and also during the daytime in thick weather. By this means, wrecks or vessels in distress are discovered within a brief time, and aid is promptly furnished.

In 1878 the Life-Saving Service was organized by act of Congress into a separate bureau, distinct from the Revenue Cutter Service, and since that time has been so conducted.

The law provides that the stations on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts shall be opened and manned for active service from the 1st day of September in each year until the 1st day of the succeeding May. The time during which the stations are manned is designated the "active season."

The number of men composing the crew of a station is determined by the number of oars required to put the largest boat belonging to it. There are some five-oared boats in the Atlantic stations, but at all of them there is at least one of six oars. Six men, therefore, make up the regular crews of these stations, but a seventh man is added on the 1st of December, so that during the most rigorous portion of the season a man may be left ashore to assist in the launching and beaching of the boat and to see that the station is properly prepared for the comfortable reception of his comrades and the

rescued people they bring with them on their return from a wreck; also to aid in doing the extra work that severe weather necessitates.

At the opening of the active season the men assemble at their respective stations and establish themselves for a residence of eight months. They arrange for their housekeeping, usually by forming a mess, taking turns by weeks in catering and cooking, although at some of the stations they engage board of the keeper at a rate approved by the General Superintendent. These preliminaries being settled, the keeper organizes his crew by arranging and numbering them in their ascertained order of merit. These numbers are changed by promotion as vacancies occur, or by such re-arrangement from time to time as proficiency in drill and performance of duty may dictate. Whenever the keeper is absent, Surfman No. 1 assumes command and exercises his functions.

The rank of his men being fixed, the keeper assigns to each his quarters and prepares station bills for the day watch, night patrol, boat and apparatus drill, care of the premises, etc. For every week day a regular routine of duties is appointed. For Monday, it is drill and practice with the beach-apparatus and overhauling and examining the boats and all apparatus and gear; for Tuesday, practice with the boats; for Wednesday, practice with the international code of signals; for Thursday, practice with the beach apparatus; for Friday, practice in the method adopted for restoring the apparently drowned; and for Saturday, cleaning house.

For practice with the beach apparatus there is provided near each station a suitable drill ground, prepared by erecting a spar, called a wreck-pole, to represent the mast of a stranded vessel, seventy-five yards distant (over the water if possible) from the place where the men operate, which represents the shore.

If in one month after the opening of the active season a crew can not accomplish the rescue within five minutes, it is considered that they have been remiss in drilling, or that there are some stupid men among them. They are cautioned that if upon the next visit of the inspector a marked improvement is not shown, some decisive action will be taken to secure it. This usually produces the desired effect. In many of the districts a spirited rivalry exists between the stations for excellence in this drill.

How well this purpose is fulfilled has been repeatedly illustrated on occasions of rescue, but never better than in the memorable storm of February 3, 1886, which wrought general ruin and devastation upon the coast of New Jersey and strewn her shores with wrecks. In the very height of that terrible tempest, at the dead of night, the crews of three separate stations rescued without mishap the people on four different vessels by means of the apparatus, set up and worked in almost utter darkness, the

lanterns of the surfmen being so thickly coated with sleet that they emitted only glimmers of light so feeble that the lines and implements could not be seen. These and the other rescues achieved in that storm excited such public admiration that the State Legislature unanimously passed resolutions commending the skill and bravery of the station crew.

A code of signals, understood by all seafaring men, is used at every life-saving station, flags being the medium of communication in daytime, and torches or rockets at night. Among the most important phrases signalled at night are: "You are seen; assistance will be given as soon as possible," indicated by a red light or rocket; "Do not attempt to land in your own boats; it is impossible," indicated by a blue light; and "This is best place to land," indicated by two torches. There are also numerous signals conveying instructions for use of boats, hawsers and other life-saving appliances.

The life-saving station equipment includes the surf-boat, often called the life-boat, specially designed for the service; a life-car, carrying six to eight persons; a breeches buoy, which conveys one person, and a piece of life-saving ordnance with its appurtenances. The first gun used was of cast iron, weighing 288 pounds, throwing a spherical ball to a distance of 420 yards. This was succeeded by the Parrott gun, weighing 266 pounds, and having a range of 470 yards. In 1878 this gave place to a bronze gun constructed by Lieutenant D. A. Lyle, of the United States Ordnance Department. The Lyle gun weighs 185 pounds, and has a range of 605 yards, or nearly a half-mile, and surpasses in mobility and effect all other life saving ordnance.

On arriving within range of a wreck, the gun is fired, discharging a projectile to which is attached a light line, by means of which the crew of the vessel haul inboard a strong hawser. The hawser supports by means of rings the life car, or the breeches buoy, as necessity may demand. The life-car is a covered boat, made of corrugated galvanized iron, furnished with rings at each end, into which hauling lines are bent, whereby the car is hauled back and forth on the water between the wreck and the shore without the use of any apparatus. It is supplied, however, with buoys, one near each end, by which it can be suspended from a hawser and passed along upon it like the breeches buoy, if found necessary, as is sometimes the case where the shore is abrupt. The cover of the boat is conical, and is provided with a hatch, which fastens either inside or outside, through which entrance and exit are effected. Near each end it is perforated with a group of small holes, like the holes in a grater, punched outward, to supply air for breathing, without admitting much if any water. It is capable of containing six or seven persons, and is very useful in land

ing sick people and valuables, as they are protected from getting wet. On the first occasion of its use it saved two hundred and one persons.

The New Jersey coast was known as the Fourth Life Saving District until 1800, when it was designated as the Fifth. It is under the charge of a district superintendent who is disbursing officer and paymaster for the district, and is also *ex officio* inspector of customs. He conducts the general business of the district, looks after the needs of the stations, makes requisition on the General Superintendent for station supplies, repairs, etc., and upon receipt of authority sees that these are furnished. He visits the stations at least once a quarter, and on these occasions pays off the crews and makes such other disbursements as are authorized. As inspector of customs he looks after the interests of the Government in reference to dutiable property wrecked within his jurisdiction, and sees that the keepers of stations perform their duties in respect thereto. His compensation ranges from \$1,000 to \$1,850 per annum, and is designed to be proportionate to the extent of his duties and to the degree of fiscal responsibility incumbent upon him.

In the Fifth Life Saving District are forty-two life saving stations, at an average distance of three miles apart, at points where wrecks are liable to occur periodically, and in many instances at desolate and otherwise uninhabited points. The stations are located as follows:

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| 1. Sandy Hook, | 22. Bonds, |
| 2. Spermaceti Cove, | 23. Little Egg Harbor, |
| 3. Seabright, | 24. Little Beach, |
| 4. Monmouth Beach, | 25. Brigantine, |
| 5. Long Branch, | 26. South Brigantine, |
| 6. Deal, | 27. Atlantic City, |
| 7. Shark River, | 28. Absecon, |
| 8. Spring Lake, | 29. Great Egg Harbor, |
| 9. Squan Beach, | 30. Ocean City, |
| 10. Bayhead, | 31. Peck's Beach, |
| 11. Mammaloking, | 32. Corson's Inlet, |
| 12. Chadwick, | 33. Sea Isle City, |
| 13. Toms River, | 34. Townsend's Inlet, |
| 14. Island Beach, | 35. Avalon, |
| 15. Cedar Creek, | 36. Tatham's, |
| 16. Forked River, | 37. Hereford Inlet, |
| 17. Barnegat, | 38. Holly Beach, |
| 18. Loveladies Island, | 39. Turtle Gut, |
| 19. Harvey Cedars, | 40. Cold Spring, |
| 20. Ship Bottom, | 41. Cape May, |
| 21. Long Beach, | 42. Bay Shore, |

Each station is in charge of a keeper who has direct control of all

his affairs, and the position held by this officer will be recognized as one of the most important in the Service. He is, therefore, selected with the greatest care. The indispensable qualifications for appointment are that he shall be of good character and habits, not less than twenty-one nor more than forty-five years of age; have sufficient education to be able to transact the station business; be able-bodied, physically sound, and a master of boat-craft and surfing. He keeps a daily log or journal, a weekly transcript of which he sends through the district superintendent to the General Superintendent, who is thus kept advised of all that transpires. Immediately after the occurrence of a wreck he furnishes a complete report of every detail of interest concerning the disaster, and from time to time various other reports are required of him. His compensation is not to exceed \$700 per annum.

The crews are selected by the keepers from able-bodied and experienced seamen residing in the vicinity of the respective stations. A surfman, upon original entry, must not be over forty-five years of age, and must undergo a stringent examination as to physical condition, character for courage and endurance, and seamanlike qualifications, and it is all but impossible for an unfit or unworthy man to secure entrance to the service. His compensation is fifty dollars per month during the active season, and three dollars for each occasion of service at other times. He cannot be discharged from the Service without good and sufficient reason. For well-proven neglect of patrol duty, or for disobedience or insubordination at a wreck, the keeper may instantly dismiss him; in all other cases special authority must first be obtained from the General Superintendent.

In case a keeper or surfman becomes disabled by injury received or disease contracted in the line of duty, he is entitled to receive his full pay during the continuance of the disability, if it does not exceed one year, and upon the recommendation of the General Superintendent the Secretary of the Treasury may extend the time for a second year, or a part thereof, but no longer in any case. If any keeper or surfman loses his life by reason of injury or disease incurred in the line of his duty, his widow or children under sixteen years of age may receive for two years the pay that the deceased would have if alive and in the Service. If the widow remarries or a child survives at the age of sixteen, the amount that would have been paid to the one or the other is paid to the remaining beneficiaries, if any.

The labors of the life-savers do not end with landing those imperiled. After rescue the shipwrecked people are taken to the station and provided with the very comfort it affords. They find hot coffee and dry clothing awaiting them, with cots for those who need rest and sleep. If any are sick or

mained, as is frequently the case, they are nursed and cared for until sufficiently recovered to safely leave; in the meantime medical aid is called in if practicable. For wounds and ailments requiring only simple and well-known remedies, recourse is had to the medicine chest, which is stocked with restoratives and medicines that can be safely used according to a handbook of directions. Dry clothing is provided from a supply constantly kept on hand at each station by the Woman's National Relief Association, an organization established to afford relief to sufferers from disasters of every kind. Libraries are provided by the Seaman's Friend Society and by benevolent individuals. Several newspaper publishers send their papers regularly to many of the stations. The food is prepared by the station keepers or the messes, who are reimbursed by the recipients if they are financially able, and otherwise by the government. In one year there were thus provided for eight men from the sloop "Eagle Wing," at Spermaceti Cove; five men from the sloop "Aji," at Cedar Creek; four men from the schooner "Sudie Wayman," at Atlantic City; two men from a fishing boat at Deal; twenty men from the ship "County of Edinburgh," at Bayhead; three men from the yacht "Edith," at Corson's Inlet; and eight men from the ship "Ivydene," at Sandy Hook. In the year ending July 1, 1900, sixty-four people were thus succored.

Occasionally unfortunate victims of the sea who are to all appearances dead are brought to the shore. In such cases the life-saving crews attempt their restoration, according to methods for restoring the apparently drowned, in which they have been thoroughly drilled. During a given period, in one hundred and eighteen attempts at resuscitation, sixty were successful, very nearly fifty per cent. In some of the successful instances, after the patient was taken from the water, several hours elapsed before natural respiration was induced. Success has followed even after reputable physicians had pronounced the patient actually dead. In the saving of property, the work of the service is conspicuously useful. This is accomplished by getting vessels afloat when stranded, a task in which the surfmen are particularly expert; in extricating them from dangerous situations; in pumping them out when leaking; in rammng lines between wrecked vessels and tugs when it can not be done with ordinary boats; in rendering assistance in various ways, and in warning off vessels standing into danger. In the majority of casualties the surfmen succeed in saving the vessels and cargoes without any other aid than that afforded by the ship's crew. When this is impracticable, they act in conjunction with the revenue cutters— which are equipped for rendering assistance in such cases—if these vessels are available, or assist, when necessary, when other relief appears.

The men are granted leave of absence once in two weeks, to enable

them to visit their families, and during the remainder of the time they are kept closely confined to their stations and to the shore beats assigned them to patrol. This fact suggested the desirability of providing for religious services at the stations at designated times, and the first organized effort to make provision for them originated with the Christian Endeavor Societies of Asbury Park.

The headquarters of the superintendent of the Life Saving District are at Point Pleasant, on the Manasquan river. His office contains a museum of all sorts of relics taken from wrecked vessels or washed ashore by the waves, all of which have been sent here by the life-savers finding them. The collection, comprising several hundred articles, is regarded as the largest and most varied in the country, and is of priceless value, representing almost every nation floating an ocean-going craft.

Some of the largest and most remarkable specimens are kept on the first floor of the Havens Building, and for the convenience of the thousands of lovers of curiosities who visit the rooms, an electric light is kept burning night and day all the year. The museum is the personal property of its collector, Superintendent Havens, but it is of so great value that it should be purchased by the government and made a permanent exhibit, placed beyond the possibility of dispersion.

The first district superintendent was William A. Ware, of Cape May City, who was a sea captain of considerable note, and rendered efficient service during a term of about three years. In 1875 he was succeeded by John G. W. Havens, of Ocean county, the present superintendent, who during the long period of twenty-seven years has accomplished very much toward increasing the efficiency of the service, and has made many notable rescues.

A Life Saving Medal of Honor was provided for by act of Congress, in 1870, to be bestowed upon such persons as had performed conspicuous service in life saving on the ocean and inland waters, and it has been bestowed upon various members of the Life Saving Service of the Fourth (now Fifth) District, and upon others whose conspicuous effort has merited this great distinction.

February 3, 1880, was a date marked by many unusually severe disasters along the New Jersey and New York coasts, where met two distinct storms, the one coming from the northwest and the other from the southwest. The disturbances began with snow and sleet and ended with rain. The wind was a veritable hurricane, attaining a velocity of eighty-four miles an hour, and so tempestuous a surf was seldom known. During a period of twelve hours there were five wrecks ashore within the field of four consecutive life saving stations, and another a few miles beyond, and

all imperilled lives with the exception of two were saved. During the year which witnessed this destructive storm, there were forty-nine wrecks on the New Jersey coast. But two lives were lost out of two hundred and seventy-three persons in imminent jeopardy and nearly one-half the money value of the wrecked vessels and their cargoes was saved.

An hour after midnight, during this dreadful storm, the schooner "E. C. Babcock," laden with wood, was driven ashore one hundred yards from the beach, near Station No. 4. She was immediately discovered by Patrolman John Van Brunt. In response to the alarm, the Station Keeper, Captain Charles H. Valentine, who was ill at the time, repaired to the scene, and in ten minutes less than two hours the eight people on board the vessel were safely landed.

After accomplishing this rescue, Captain Valentine and his crew re-loaded their cart, and reached their station at five o'clock in the morning. They had barely breakfasted and cleaned their equipment when the Spanish brig "Augustina," bound from Havana to New York, manned by eight sailors, came ashore near by. The mortar was fired at the vessel, but the line broke. Surfman Garrett H. White went into the water, following a receding breaker, and by a wonderful effort succeeded in throwing a line aboard. The Spanish sailors failed to understand the directions shouted to them by the life-savers, and several of them plunged into the water. Members of the Life Saving crew plunged in and rescued them, after tremendous struggles, and at the imminent risk of their lives, and several of their number suffered severe bruises from contact with the floating cargo and wreckage from the "E. C. Babcock," which had been borne down upon them by the tempestuous waves and driving wind.

For their splendid behavior in these two instances, the gold Life Saving Service Medal of Honor was awarded to Captain Charles H. Valentine, and silver medals were bestowed upon Surfmen Garrett H. White, Nelson Lockwood, Benjamin C. Potter, William H. Ferguson and John Van Brunt.

On the night of December 4, 1886, the schooner "D. H. Ingraham" stranded and burned off Hereford Inlet. The crew of five men were rescued by the Life Saving Crew of the station adjoining the scene, and the gold medal of the Life Saving Service was bestowed upon the Keeper, Captain Christopher Ludlum, and silver medals upon Surfmen Jason Buck, Henry W. Hildreth, Willard F. Ware, Somers C. Godfrey, Smith S. Hand and Providence S. Ludlum.

August 18, 1876, the Atlantic City Life Guard effected the rescue of the crew of the schooner "Flora Curtis," and for their heroic services upon

this occasion the gold medal of the Life Saving Service was awarded to Michael J. Bradford, and silver medals to Jesse B. Bean and E. Owens.

The beneficent work performed by the Life Saving Service may be measured in some degree, but so inadequately as to fail to afford an accurate idea of its magnitude, owing to the meagreness of statistics prior to its establishment. Almost from its beginning, and even in its infancy, the system attracted the admiring attention of the world. The rescue of the passengers and crew of the "Ayrshire" has been previously described. During the same dreadful storm in which that vessel came to destruction the Life Service saved ninety other souls on the New Jersey coast, besides many more lives and much property of which no record is to be found.

According to the official report for 1877, covering the first six years of the fully organized Life Saving Service, there were three hundred and thirty-two disasters on the waters of the Fourth (now Fifth) District, and, of the six thousand, three hundred and twenty-seven souls imperilled, but fifty-five were lost, and many of these came to their deaths through their own recklessness or through disregarding the instructions of those who were intent upon saving them. The wrecked vessels were valued at \$4,780,025 and their cargoes at \$2,288,775, a total valuation of \$7,075,025. Of this amount, property to the value of \$5,788,820 was saved, and the loss was \$1,286,886. The number of stranded vessels floated off or otherwise aided by life station crews was three hundred and ninety-three. In this heroic service of life saving, eight men of the Life Service nobly died in the line of duty. In 1890 the disasters were sixty-two, the number of lives imperilled was three hundred and fourteen, and of these not a soul was lost. The value of the vessels was \$303,780, and of the cargoes \$130,525, a total of \$503,305, and of this aggregate the loss was but \$23,410. In 1901 the number of disasters was eighty-two, and six of the vessels were totally lost. The number of persons on board wrecked vessels was three hundred and forty-six, and of this number but two were lost. The value of property, vessels and cargo, was \$400,235, and of this amount property to the value of \$265,305 was saved.

Aside from the immediate personal danger incurred at the actual scene of the wreck, the life saving crew, in many instances, performed remarkably arduous labor and endured the severest exposures in reaching the spot where their service was needed. On occasion, they were obliged to travel distances of ten and even twenty miles, in part by boat, and in part by land, dragging the carts containing their apparatus and arriving at their destination in such exhausted physical condition that only the most supreme courage and devotion could inspire them to their final humane effort. A volume would be needed to relate these achievements, and but one may be

Here cited as illustrative of the work accomplished every year. Other instances are given with less particularity in the chapter on "Wrecks off the Coast."

The French steamer "L. Amerique," 3,033 tons, Captain Alfred Ponzolz, bound from Havre to New York, was cast ashore at three o'clock in the morning of January 11, 1877. The vessel was valued at \$200,000 and the cargo at \$400,000. She struck the sand about one hundred and fifty yards from the shore, off Seabright, about one and one-half miles from Life Saving Station No. 3, and about three-quarters of a mile from Station No. 4. The darkness was intense, there was a fierce beating rain, a boiling surf bore immense ice cakes, and the beach was walled with an ice barrier more than three feet in height. Fifteen minutes after the ship struck, the crew of Station No. 4 were on their way to the scene, dragging their boat and apparatus. While these preparations were being made, the crew of the vessel began to drop a boat from the davits. The life-savers on shore shouted their warning that the frail craft could not live in such a sea, but their protestations were disregarded. The boat put off with twelve sailors, and was capsized before it was halfway to the shore. Four of the heroic life-savers dashed into the waters, filled with surging ice cakes, and brought ashore four of the drowning men, and then made a second dash, rescuing as many more. The drowning men were so exhausted as to be utterly helpless, and their saviors, with almost superhuman effort, dragged them ashore and over the formidable ice barrier which fringed the beach. The others of the boat's crew were drowned, and the vigilance of the life-saving patrol is attested by the fact that the bodies of three of the number were discovered and brought ashore at Station No. 1, later the same day. Meantime, while the crew of Station 3 were engaged as has been described, the crew of Station No. 4 were bringing up their mortar and its accessories and this necessitated two trips with a drageart. At five o'clock the gun was in position. At the first shot, the line-attaching wire broke loose from the projectile. The second shot landed the line between the main and mizzen masts, and the hawser and hauling lines were sent aboard the vessel, with a bottle containing directions for their use, which the Frenchmen failed to comprehend, involving some delay. The life-car was finally attached, and by noon all souls aboard the vessel had been safely landed, numbering fifty-four passengers, among whom were several women and children, and the crew numbering forty-six men.

It is pleasant to record that the eminent services of the Hon. William A. Newell, in the founding of the Life Saving Service, found proper recognition during his lifetime. Mr. Newell had in his possession a copy of

the "Revised Regulations for the Government of the Life Saving Service of the United States," bearing upon the fly-leaf the autograph inscription, "To Honorable William A. Newell, the Father of the Life Saving Service of the United States, with the regards of S. L. Kimball, Gen. Supt., L. S. S."

William D. O'Connor, Assistant General Superintendent of the Life Saving Service, in Johnson's Encyclopedia, Vol. 4, page 815, pays this tribute to Mr. Newell's work: "In 1848, following some grievous distress, the Honorable William A. Newell, of New Jersey, secured an appropriation of ten thousand dollars with which eight buildings were erected on the coast of New Jersey and equipped with boats and other life-saving appliances." He had also possession of letters from Hon. Thomas E. Ewing, of Ohio; from Dr. Robert Laird, of Manasquan, N. J., ex-State Senator and member of the Constitutional Convention, and from Hon. James A. Bradley, founder of Asbury Park, as well as of resolutions presented by the State Board of Pilot Commissioners of New Jersey, and from the Legislature of New Jersey, all of which recognize his instrumentality in originating the United States Life Saving Service, and commending him for his zeal in its behalf. In 1890 the Legislature of New Jersey, by unanimous vote, adopted resolutions recognizing his instrumentality in originating the service, and requesting congress to make suitable recognition thereof. In substance, the resolutions were also adopted by the Legislature of Washington, and their recommendation was urged by the representatives of that State in congress.

During the decadence of the Life Saving Service, and prior to its more adequate re-establishment, occurred the dreadful wreck of the packet ship "New Era," November 13, 1854. The vessel was bound from Bremerhaven, Germany, to New York, and went ashore near Great Pond, now Asbury Park. It bore 484 immigrants, of whom more than three hundred perished. A large number were buried upon the seashore near that place, and Hon. James A. Bradley erected a granite monument upon which he placed a placard bearing the following inscription, which is soon to be cut into the stone:

"Near this spot the large packet ship 'New Era' was wrecked in 1854. Over three hundred persons lost their lives. This monument is erected to commemorate the zeal and energy of Governor William A. Newell, of New Jersey, who as Congressman succeeded in getting a law passed establishing the United States Life Saving Service. Also to commemorate the fidelity of the Life Saving Crews whose efficiency renders such a disaster at this day almost impossible."

The United States Volunteer Life Saving Corps maintains life-saving stations on New Jersey shores from Hoboken by Bergen Point to Newark and Elizabeth, and thence along the Atlantic coast to Cape May, and to Camden and Trenton on the Delaware. These crews are on duty during the summer months, when the sea shore resorts are thronged with visitors, at all the watering places and at hotels frequented for boating and bathing. They are provided with metallic buoys, air-chambered cork life-preservers and long life-lines, and also with chests containing such medicines as are needed for the restoration of persons recovered from the surf in condition of exhaustion or apparently drowned. Life-boats are provided at particularly dangerous points where there is no life-saving station under the national establishment. Various yacht clubs and crews of coasting craft have been enrolled as members of the corps. A medal of honor is awarded to life-savers for heroic rescues. The organization is maintained by the contributions of humanely disposed people.

The number of life-saving stations in the Department of New Jersey is 155, and the number of members enrolled is 935. The Department trustees are J. Wesley Jones, James Wentworth White, Charles W. Disbrow, Frederick Leopold and William Disbrow, and the officers of the board are J. Wesley Jones, President and General Superintendent, and James Wentworth White, Treasurer. The general offices of the Corps are in the Pulitzer Building, New York City. The supplies distributed in the Department since 1890 amount in value to \$2,800.40. In the year 1901, \$1,152.05 was expended in the maintenance of the service, and of this amount a very moderate portion was contributed by citizens of the State. In the course of eight years 3,474 persons have been rescued from drowning. During the same period sixty Honor Medals were awarded for heroic rescues of drowning persons on the waters of New Jersey, and among these the following awards were made in 1901:

Edward H. Martin, of Fort Hancock, Sandy Hook, for rescue of Miss Alma Simpson, who fell from the long dock at the place named, May 2, 1900.

Lawrence C. Fuller, of Philadelphia, for rescue of Leopold VanDurk, at Atlantic City, June 9, 1900. Van Durk was swimming to the rescue of a friend when he became exhausted and was on the point of drowning.

Captain Heinrich Wilhelm Engelbart, of the steamship "Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse," for rescuing one hundred visitors at the time of the great Hoboken fire, June 30, 1900.

C. B. Simmons, of New York, for rescue of Peter J. Poppinger, Jr., at Sealight, August 5, 1900.

Edward H. Berke, of Atlantic City, for rescue of Johnson Willetts, who was tossed over by a heavy sea and lost consciousness from exhaustion, at the place named, July 2, 1901.

Jury Castro, of Atlantic City, for rescue of Mary Edwards, of Philadelphia, at the former named place, July 2, 1901.

Captain Clark, of Young's Pier, Atlantic City, for rescue of William Thompson, of Philadelphia, at the place first named, July 14, 1901.

Jacob Johansen, for rescue of four seamen from a sailing vessel, at Bayome, August 2, 1901.

Albert Boyer and Howard Woodruff, of Atlantic City, for rescue of Richard Adams, at that place, August 3, 1901.

E. Edward Meissner, of Hoboken, for rescue of Emil Mader, at that place, August 29, 1901.

Thomas Murphy, of West Hoboken, for rescue of Dan Murphy, at White Star Line Dock, in that place, November 16, 1901.

A special notable event was the presentation of medals to Frank Rademacher and Philip Heckel, of Hoboken, for gallant rescues from the fearful fire which swept away so completely every vestige of what had been the North German Lloyd (Bremen) Company's great piers at Jersey City, June 30, 1900. At the time of the fire, the members of the Valencia Boat Club were absent attending the annual regatta. Rademacher and Heckel were in a boat belonging to the Club, and drew up to the Club's float. Rademacher, seeing that the clubhouse was threatened, broke down the doors and dragged the valuable boats to safety and rescued other property. Then, seeing the terrified people jumping into the water, from the "Bremen" and the "Maine," blinded by the smoke and bewildered by the suddenness of the danger, he rowed out and picked up two women stewardesses of the "Maine," the only women he saw in the water. He then busied himself in other rescues, and in all he saved the lives of more than two score people. Heckel saved at least ten men by swimming out to the water and bearing them to the float on his back.

December 14, 1900, in Jersey City, the two heroes were specially honored, in presence of the Valencia Boat Club, which also made suitable recognition of their gallant behavior. Rademacher was credited with having saved one hundred and twenty people from drowning during his career, and for this extraordinary record he was awarded a gold medal of honor, the highest gift bestowed by the United States Volunteer Life Saving Corps. Colonel Jones, the President, in presenting the medal, reminded the recipient that only one similar to it had been presented by the Corps, and that was given to Mayor Van Wyck, of New York, for saving the lives of four young women. One gold medal is given each year to the person who rescues the most lives, but in view of the unusual record of one hundred and twenty rescues, Mr. Rademacher was given a medal of special honor. But eighteen years of age, he was the youngest man who ever received this rare distinction. His gallant achievement

is best told in his own modest way, when demand was made upon him by the admiring yachtsmen who had assembled to do him honor. He said:

"I brought in seven on that first load and saw that my boat was too small. I called her the "Terror." When I landed my first load on the float I went for a larger boat and found the "Elsie," a round-bottom shell, moored in the slip. I rowed out and before I got to the end of the Thingvalla dock my boat was full; there were fifteen on this load, and I landed them on a tug. When I landed these I went into the slip, alongside the "Bremen," and it seemed to swarm with people.

"The smoke was blinding and the fire was so hot that I could not go far into that slip after that, but that one trip so many men got into my boat that I couldn't row it, and two big Germans, one an officer of the "Bremen," helped me. I took them out to a lighter and then had to prowl about, the smoke was so thick. The others I landed on the Valencia Club's float on the bath bridge."

Heckel, a man thirty-one years of age, was presented with a silver medal, and engraved resolutions of thanks adopted by the Valencia Boat Club.

The noble organization whose work has been so beneficent owes its origin primarily to a number of gentlemen of Brooklyn, who in 1870 formed a Humane Benevolent Association to reward heroic service in the rescue of persons from drowning in the immediate vicinity, and the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, Father Sylvester Malone and others made notable speeches on the occasion of memorable presentation of medals. No attempt was made to organize life-saving crews or to provide life-saving equipments, and the Association lapsed. In 1890 the United States Volunteer Life Saving Corps (Inland Waters) was organized by act of incorporation. Its system of organized life-saving was first developed in the State of New York, the legislature aiding it by two small appropriations to extend it over its numerous lakes, rivers and sounds. In 1890 the Department of New Jersey was established by members of crews who had been connected with the service in the State of New York, and who arranged with the board to establish crews on the New Jersey coast. In 1898 the chief organizer and instructor of the Corps, Captain Davis Dalton, the most celebrated swimmer in the world, visited all the noted watering places and other important points on the rivers and in the harbors of New Jersey, and organized and instructed crews of life-savers who from the first have rendered noble and efficient service, increasing in numbers and usefulness in each succeeding year.

Colonel J. Wesley Jones, the founder and managing director of the United States Volunteer Life Saving Corps, has lived a most useful and eventful life. In his student days he witnessed the riot in Alton, Illinois, in

which Lovejoy came to his death for anti-slavery sentiments expressed in his newspaper, and he was twice mobbed himself, while yet under age, for making anti-slavery speeches. In 1850, as captain of cavalry, he commanded one hundred and fifty men to protect emigration on the plains to California, and at one time he received six arrow wounds in a battle with Indians. During the civil war he performed conspicuous service at the national capital, and in command of cavalry in the field. He was severely wounded while pursuing General Jubal Early, after the battle of Gettysburg, and lay in the hospital for several months. Being disabled for field service, he accepted a position in the New York Custom Service. A lawyer by profession, he retired from business pursuits some years ago to devote his entire attention to the life-saving service which he had established and which, despite his advanced age, nearly eighty years, he conducts with skill, energy, and hearty enthusiasm.

At Atlantic City a Life Guard Service is maintained, under municipal authority, entirely distinct from the governmental establishment. This has for its purpose the saving of life during the summer season, when the waters are frequented by thousands of bathers, among whom are always many who are recklessly venturesome. The Life Guard comprises a captain and thirty-three guardsmen, who are on duty from June 15 to September 15. All these men are experienced boatmen and expert swimmers, and many lives have been saved through their noble effort. Their equipment consists of sixteen boats and fifty life buoys, placed at convenient intervals along the beach.

CHAPTER XIX.

LIGHT HOUSES AND BEACONS.

"Whatever mood may rule the sky,
One solitary, constant star
Burns in the darkness here on high
To warn the ships afar.

"Glad the farewell they take of me,
Bound outward on the fields of foam;
And glad the welcome when they see
My light that leads them home!"

—*Frank Dempster Sherman.*

The present magnificent lighthouse system on the New Jersey coast is peculiarly conspicuous in the history of the lighthouse service, and for several interesting reasons—early origin, the considerable number and great importance of lights on a comparatively short coast line, and their unusual altitude in various instances.

The foundations of the system were laid in the necessity for providing for the safety of shore property during a state of war. In 1746 the British and French nations were in fierce hostility, and each had aloft a large and well appointed navy to prey upon the commerce and colonies of its enemy. In that year the people of New York, and more particularly the merchants, were in great fear that French war vessels would enter the harbor and destroy the city. Among other preparations for defense, the authorities of the city addressed to the council of New Jersey, in session at Perth Amboy, a communication urging the establishment of a beacon at the Highlands of Navesink to give warning of the approach of hostile vessels. The council promptly acceded to the request, and John Hamilton, the President of that body, issued instructions to the Colonel of the Monmouth county militia, requiring that a "Proper Beacon be Erected upon the said Highlands of Neversink." The beacon was not to be fired except under the direction of a field officer of the regiment, and upon occasions of emergency. It was expected that the flame would be

visible in New York, and this was to be the signal calling troops to the defense of the city, and among them the militia of Bergen and Essex counties. It does not appear that the precaution served any good purpose, for a month after its establishment a beacon was lighted, presumably by accident, without attracting attention in New York, and confidence in the efficiency of the system was destroyed. During the revolutionary war, however, beacons at this and other points were of frequent service in assembling the militia to defend threatened places in their vicinity.

Long prior to this, however, an attempt had been made to establish a lighthouse at Sandy Hook. In 1670-80 Sir Edmund Andros, Governor of New York, had suggested to Philip Carteret, Governor of East Jersey, the desirability of erecting "sea marks for shipping upon Sandy Point," as Sandy Hook was then known, and he also urged the purchase of land for that purpose. He met with no favorable response, and the project was destined to be dormant until nearly a century later.

In 1761 the merchants of New York undertook the establishment of a lighthouse on Sandy Hook, and sought to purchase four acres of land for the purpose, but the owner, Isick Hartshorne, demanded seven hundred and fifty pounds sterling for the tract, a sum which was considered unreasonable, and the plan was again delayed. May 8, same year, at the solicitation of the New York merchants, the assembly of New York authorized a lottery for procuring a sum not exceeding three thousand pounds sterling with which to purchase land and erect a beacon. The matter was placed in charge of a committee consisting of Messrs. Cruger, Livingston, Lispenard and Bayard, all merchants of New York, and twelve months later this body reported that something more than twenty six hundred pounds had been realized. Out of this money was purchased a tract of land on Sandy Hook, and this transaction was recognized by the crown authorities, in a legislative act, May 22, 1762, forbidding trespass on the land designated and making violation thereof actionable in the New York courts.

The money derived from the lottery being insufficient for completing the lighthouse, the assembly of New York authorized a second lottery for a like sum of three thousand pounds sterling, and the drawing took place June 13, 1763. In 1764 was completed a stone edifice one hundred and six feet in height from the ground surface to the lantern, and this lighthouse is believed to be the second in the American colonies, having been antedated by but one, that at Brant Point, near Nantucket, Massachusetts, in 1756. The Sandy Hook lighthouse is referred to by Smith, in his "History of New Jersey," published in 1765, who notes that "at the Highlands of Navesink the New York merchants have lately erected a commodious lighthouse for the security of navigation." It also appears

on a "chart of the bar of Sandy Hook and entrance of Hudson's River," made from surveys by Lieutenant Hills, and published in London in 1784, and the "New York Magazine" of August, 1760, gives such description as to identify the site with that upon which stands the present structure. The location was originally five hundred feet from the northern extremity of Sandy Hook, but, by a natural process of land prolongation, about one hundred years later the point had extended itself seven-eighths of a mile to the northward. In the last twenty-five years this point has shown little change.

The first lamps were of copper, enclosed in a lantern or ordinary glass. March 4, 1776, the provincial congress decided to darken the beacon for the discomfiture of a British fleet which was then expected, and Major Malcom, to whom the task was entrusted, brought away the glass and oil, and it does not appear that a light was again displayed until after the end of the war.

With the re-organization of the colonies as States, Sandy Hook came within the territory of New Jersey, and that State, by act of council, ceded to the United States jurisdiction in and over a four acre tract of land in Monmouth county, upon which stood the lighthouse. February 26, 1806, the Federal Government acquired the property by purchase, and subsequently secured additional land, extending its holdings southward to the mouth of Young's Creek.

The history of Sandy Hook is replete with interest. The land was purchased from the Indians by Richard Hartshorne, in 1678, and remained in the possession of his descendants until it became the property of the Federal Government. During the Revolutionary war it was fortified by the British, and was garrisoned by regular troops or by their refugee allies. General David Forman, with a party of Monmouth county militia and two pieces of artillery, attempted an attack upon it at one time, but his guns were too light to be effective against a British war vessel off the Point, and he was obliged to withdraw.

In 1783 the place was the scene of a most melancholy event. The British man-of-war "Assistance" had been in the vicinity, and a portion of its crew deserted. A party came ashore from the vessel to recover them, comprising James Champion, who was a lieutenant of marines, three midshipmen, eight other young gentlemen, and a common sailor, all under command of Hamilton Douglass Haliburton, son of the Earl of Morton, and heir of an ancient family of Pitcurr, in Scotland. This party lost their way in a blinding snowstorm, and all were frozen to death. They were buried in one grave, and over this was afterward erected a monument upon which was inscribed the circumstances attending their death, and the

pathetic sentence: "To his dear memory, and that of his unfortunate companions, this monumental stone is erected by his unhappy mother, Katherine, Countess Dowager of Morton."

It is related in the "Historical Collections of New Jersey" that about 1808 this memorial, which should have commanded the respect of all except mere barbarians, was destroyed by some sailors from a French war vessel.

Sandy Hook was in former years the scene of many a dreadful disaster, and its shores have been strewn with the corpses of miserable wretches sent suddenly to their doom, and with the debris of ships from every clime. Numerous stories of piracy have been woven into the history of the region, and with many of these is associated the name of Captain Kidd. Indeed, tradition tells of him and of others who lawlessly sailed the main under the skull and cross-bones flag, boarding peaceful merchant vessels, despoiling men, women and children, and then sending them blindfolded over the plank from the end of which they went to a watery grave. The narrative was continued with the assumption that the pirates came ashore near Sandy Hook to conceal their illgotten treasures, and the occasional finding of articles of jewelry and coin upon the strand has appeared to some to be ample confirmation of the story, which, in its principle features, has been told in association with nearly all the harbors and landing places between Cape May and Raritan Bay. It is only a few years since an alleged pirate hoard was looked for in the region last named, with such result as to lead to the conviction that these treasures and the pot of gold which lies under the end of the rainbow are of similar origin and have similar existence. But such trifling articles as the sea sands have afforded, and upon which have in some cases been founded great expectations, are more plausibly accounted for by the supposition that they came from vessels which had met with disaster, and were swept ashore by the ever restless ocean.

The lighthouse system on the New Jersey coast, lies in the Third and Fourth Lighthouse districts, Shrewsbury River being the dividing line. On this stretch of coast from Sandy Hook on the north to Cape May on the south, are maintained fifteen lighthouses and beacons and three lightships. Its management is vested in the United States Lighthouse Board, composed of the Secretary of the Treasury as President, two naval officers, two officers of the Corps of Engineers, two civilians of high scientific attainments, an additional naval officer as naval secretary, and an additional engineer officer as engineer secretary. The immediate superintendence is committed to a district inspector, who is a commander in the United States navy, assigned to shore duty for a term of three years. A district

engineer is charged with the proper maintenance of buildings and equipment. Each lighthouse is in charge of a keeper, who maintains the light in accordance with minute and inflexible regulations. The keeper must be a man familiar with the sea and with ships, and is required to pass a rigid civil service examination. He is provided with comfortable residential quarters for his family. In most cases his wife or some of his children become as familiar with the duties of keepership, and there are numerous instances where the light has been long and perfectly maintained by some member of his family during his disability from illness or accident.

The coast lights are of several orders, classified according to their focal power. Those of the first order are used on important headlands; those of the second and third order are used on shore points of less importance, and the remainder, to the seventh order, are used as interior or harbor lights. The Highland light is electric, and at the other stations in the district, and on the lightships, the illuminant is oil. Fish oil was used until 1812, when sperm came into use, with something after the fashion of the later argand lamp. Lard oil and Colza oil, the latter a vegetable product, were the illuminants after 1861. Experiments were made with petroleum as early as 1855, and it came into general use in 1880.



LIGHT HOUSE AND LIFE SAVING STATION NEAR ATLANTIC CITY.

Two beacons are established on Sandy Hook Bay, and two on Raritan Bay. These beacons were provided for by act of Congress approved August 31, 1852, but were not actually established until 1856. Conover Beacon, near the beach, on the south shore of Sandy Hook Bay, has a tower fifty-five feet in height, at an elevation of sixty feet above sea level, and gives a fixed white light of the third order, visible from a distance of thirteen

nautical miles. Chapel Hill Beacon, an inland back station range, has a tower forty feet in height, with a total elevation of two hundred and twenty-four feet above sea level, and gives a second order fixed white light visible from a distance of twenty-one nautical miles. The beacons at Point Comfort and Waakaek are used as range lights from inside the bar to Southwest Spit. The Point Comfort Beacon, situated near the beach on the bay side in Raritan Bay, shows a fixed white light of the third order from an elevation of forty-five feet above sea level, visible from a distance of twelve nautical miles. The Waakaek Beacon, on the beach of the same name, has a tower height of sixty-eight feet and a total elevation of seventy-six feet above sea level. It gives a white fixed light of the second order, visible from a distance of fourteen nautical miles.

The Atlantic coast line extending from Sandy Hook to Delaware Bay is given by the United States Coast Survey as having a length of 110 $\frac{1}{2}$ nautical miles, or 127 $\frac{7}{8}$ statute miles, and includes eleven light stations of vast importance. Three of these, those at the Highlands of Navesink, at Absecon and at Barnegat, are among the most notable in the lighthouse service of the United States. The Highland Light, with an elevation of 248 feet above sea level, exceeds in range all on the Atlantic coast, and is exceeded in America by but two, those at Cape Mendocino and at Cape Blanco, on the Pacific coast, the former having an altitude of 423 feet, and the latter an altitude of 256 feet. The lights at Absecon and Barnegat, also on the New Jersey coast, with altitudes of 167 and 165 feet, respectively, are only inferior on the Atlantic coast to that at Block Island, which has an altitude of 204 feet.

In approaching the harbor of New York, the first lights discernible from the sea are those of the lightship "Sandy Hook," which is moored in deep water, nearly six and one-half nautical miles outward from Sandy Hook. The first lightship was put in commission in 1823 and it has since been replaced from time to time by more modern and more substantial vessels. The present ship carries two forty-five feet masts, from each of which is displayed a black cage-work as a day-mark, and at night a fixed red light which is visible from a distance of twelve nautical miles. She is also provided with a fog bell.

The "Scotland" lightship, put in commission in 1871, is moored two and three-quarter miles from the Sandy Hook main light, at the entrance to New York Bay. She carries two forty-five feet masts, each bearing a circular cage day mark, and at night a fixed white light visible from a distance of twelve nautical miles. She is also provided with a fog bell.

The northernmost and easternmost of the light houses on the New Jersey coast is the East Beacon on the north point of Sandy Hook. It gives

a fixed white electric light, from an elevation of forty-eight feet above sea level, visible on shipdeck from a distance of eleven nautical miles. The light was established in 1842, was rebuilt in 1856, and again in 1867, and in 1886 was replaced with an iron structure. It is provided with a powerful steam fog-siren giving blasts of six seconds at intervals of forty seconds. One-half mile due south of the East Beacon, on the bay side of Sandy Hook, is the West Beacon, displaying a fixed white light of the sixth order from an elevation of forty-five feet above sea level, and visible from a distance of eleven nautical miles. This light was also established in 1842.

The Sandy Hook light house, previously mentioned, is located nearly a mile to the south of Sandy Hook point. What was practically a new edifice was erected in 1857. The tower is of brick, rising to a height of seventy-seven feet. The lantern, which is ninety feet above sea level, gives a fixed white light of the third order, and is visible from shipdeck from a distance of fifteen nautical miles.

The twin light towers known as the Highland Lights are situated on the famous promontory of Navesink, a few miles southward from the entrance to New York harbor. July 26, 1820, the Federal government purchased from Nimrod Woodward the tract of land upon which the lights were established. The two towers were erected in 1828, and were rebuilt in 1840, and again in 1862. They stand two hundred and twenty-eight feet apart, and are connected by the keeper's dwelling. They are of red sandstone, the north tower octagonal and the south tower square. Their height is fifty-three feet from base to lantern, and the land elevation gives the lantern an altitude of two hundred and forty-eight feet above sea level. The light is fixed white, of the first order, and has a range of twenty-two nautical miles. While the name of the "Twin Lights" is preserved, it is now a misnomer, the lantern in the north tower having been discontinued in the year 1900, when the present magnificent apparatus was placed in the south tower. This affords illumination equivalent to 195,000,000 candle-power, as compared with the 60,000 candle-power light which it displaced. It is an electric arc light flashing at intervals of five seconds. It was of French construction, and was placed on exhibition at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago, where it attracted much attention. It was purchased for its present use by Captain W. S. Schley, U. S. N., then chairman of the Light House Board, and since promoted to the grade of Admiral for gallant conduct during the Spanish-American war. In the summer of 1902 the United States Naval Board selected a site near the north beacon tower whereon to erect a wireless telegraph station—the first land station established by the Navy Department.

Sea Girt Light near the beach village from which it takes its name, is

immediately southward from Sea Girt Inlet, and nearly sixteen miles almost due south from the Highland Lights. It gives a red flash light of the second order at intervals of six seconds. This light was established in 1860.

The Barnegat lighthouse is located on the south side of Barnegat Inlet, at the north side of Long Beach, thirty-eight and one-half nautical miles from the Highland Lights. It was first established in 1834, but the structure became untenable on account of the encroachments of the sea, and the present tower was erected in 1858. It displays a white flash-light of the first order at intervals of ten seconds, visible from a sea distance of twenty-two nautical miles.

Little Egg Harbor lighthouse is located on Short Beach, near the entrance to Little Egg Harbor, and is twenty and one-half miles southwest from Barnegat lighthouse. It was established in 1848, was discontinued in 1859, and was re-established in 1867. It displays a white light of the fourth order, with flashes at one minute intervals, visible from a distance of twelve nautical miles.

Absecon lighthouse is located on the south side of Absecon Inlet, just northeast of Atlantic City, and is twelve nautical miles from Little Egg Harbor lighthouse. It was erected in 1857, and is a fine brick structure, the lower half of its height painted in black, and the upper half in orange. The height from base to lantern is one hundred and fifty-nine feet, giving a total height above sea level of one hundred and sixty-seven feet. It displays a fixed white light of the first order, visible from a distance of nineteen nautical miles.

Ludlam's Beach lighthouse is situated at Sea Isle City, about twenty nautical miles southwest of Absecon lighthouse and was erected in 1885. The lantern has an elevation of thirty-six feet above sea level, and gives a white light of the fourth order, flashing every quarter minute, visible from a distance of eleven and one-quarter nautical miles.

Hereford Inlet lighthouse, established in 1874, is situated on the northern extremity of Five-mile Beach, and is ten and three quarters nautical miles north of Cape May lighthouse. The height of the tower is forty-nine and one-half feet, and the elevation of the lantern is fifty seven feet above sea level. The light is a fixed red, of the fourth order, and is visible from a distance of thirteen nautical miles.

The Cape May lighthouse is situated on the northeastern side of the entrance to Delaware Bay. It was established in 1823, the next lighthouse erected on the New Jersey coast after that at Sandy Hook, and it was rebuilt in 1859. The height of the tower is one hundred and forty five feet, and the elevation of the light is one hundred and fifty two feet above sea level. Its lens is of the first order, giving white flash-light at inter-

vals of thirty seconds, visible from a distance of eighteen nautical miles.

Guiding the way of the mariner to Delaware Bay is the Five Fathom light-ship, located near the shoal known as the Five-fathom Bank, seventeen and three-quarter miles from Cape May lighthouse. The vessel was first moored here in 1839, and she was refitted in 1855. She bears two white lights, one on each side of her masts, at heights of forty and forty-five feet, respectively, which are visible from a distance of eleven nautical miles. She is also provided with a twelve-inch steam fog syren, giving a blast of four seconds during each half minute.

And so these sentinels of the sea stand, silent, yet impressive and commanding, ever pointing the way to the safe and quiet harbor. Among all the hosts who are called to the service of the government in its various departments, perhaps none is charged with duties of such moment, and of such universal usefulness, as is the lighthouse keeper. The soldier and the statesman protect the national honor and the person and property of the citizen, and their acts are performed in the gaze of the world. But the quiet man who trims and lights the shore and harbor lights, and watches them through the long night watches lest they fade out, stands his vigils for all humanity, asking no questions as to the nationality or purpose of him whom he directs to safety. Nor is there, in all the annals of the service, an instance where he has failed in his duty. On the contrary, on many occasions, he has faithfully performed his tasks when his life was going out in the effort, and dying at his post at the very moment when came the relief which was too late to be of avail.

CHAPTER XX.

A CHAPTER OF LITERARY HISTORY.

Until well toward the beginning of the Revolutionary war, American literature—or what then passed for such—was in greater measure confined to Massachusetts, and the men of letters in the colony affected little else than dogmatic disquisitions upon theological and metaphysical topics. Somewhat later newspapers appeared in Philadelphia and New York. They were noticeable for their paucity of what is now considered news, that is to say, intelligence of current events, their columns being devoted to dreary essays upon abstruse or unimportant subjects, apparently written for the purpose of exploiting the classical knowledge of the author.

The practical Jersey character afforded no encouragement to such writers, nor do such seem to have presented themselves. But, hitherto laggard in literary affairs, that character was profoundly affected by the mental stimulation which marked the controversial period preceding the actual struggle between the mother country and the colonies, and henceforth the Jerseys were to be a fertile field for essayists and pamphleteers, who exerted a potent influence during the Revolutionary war and in the following formative days of the new government. The most remarkable scholarly essayist of the war time was John Witherspoon, a noted divine, president of the College of New Jersey, a member of the State constitutional convention and of the continental congress. His brilliant erudition was displayed in numerous newspapers and pamphlet publications in the discussion of religious and political topics, and he was eloquent in the pulpit and upon the rostrum. He made his college a nursery of patriotism—a hotbed of rebellion, the tories called it—and his voice was an inspiration in the councils of the new nation.

An essayist and poet, Francis Hopkinson was one of the graces of his time. One of the first graduates of the University of Pennsylvania and a ripe scholar, he became one of the foremost lawyers. He entered upon political life under the patronage of Lord North, and turned aside from what would appear a pathway to high preferment under the crown, to

east his lot with his liberty seeking countrymen. He was favored in social position through his marriage with Ann Borden, a descendant of Joseph Borden, the founder of the town of Bordentown, New Jersey. He was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and afterward was an associate supreme court justice of New Jersey. In 1775 appeared "The First Book of the American Chronicles," which, affecting the quaint style of the Chronicles of scripture, dealt with the condition and grievances of the colonies. This was attributed to his pen, but he never avowed its authorship. In the previous year, during the session of Congress, was printed in pamphlet form "A Pretty Story," a lightly veiled and somewhat humorous narrative of the differences between Great Britain and its rebel colonies, which was undoubtedly his production and is presumably the first work of fiction written and printed in the region. A recent bibliographer says of this that he has been able to trace but one copy. In "A Pretty Story," England is represented as a nobleman possessed of a valuable farm, and as the parent of a number of children for government over whom he had entered into various compacts. The fortunes of the American colonists under these arrangements are vividly portrayed. Hopkinson's pen was active during the entire war period. Among his stirring political tracts were "A Letter to Lord Howe," "A Political Catechism," which served as a sequel to his "Pretty Story," and "Beasts and the Bats," and several of these were caustic satires upon the home Tories. He was less industrious as a versifier, and while his verse was of less literary merit than his prose, it was remarkably pointed and became widely popular. His "Camp Ballad," containing the stanza

"On heaven and Washington placing reliance,
We'll meet the bold Briton and bid him defiance;
Our cause we'll support, for 'tis just and 'tis glorious;
When men fight for freedom they must be victorious"—

was in rhythm and sentiment alike to the "Star Spangled Banner" of later days and was sung in every patriotic camp.

Hopkinson's "Battle of the Kegs" is now his most widely known piece of verse, and has been recited by schoolboys in every generation from the day it was written. This was founded upon the incident of the powder-filled kegs which were set afloat in the Delaware river, occasioning great consternation among the British vessels at Philadelphia. Not far from a century later the stanzas were parodied by a writer who witnessed, during the Civil war, a mock Union gunboat run past the rebel batteries at Vicksburg, creating such dismay that the enemy blew up their best iron-clad, fearing its capture.

While Thomas Paine does not figure as a local literateur, much of his most effective political writing was performed within the State, and is to a degree illustrative of conditions therein and of the sentiments of its people. He participated in Washington's campaign in the Jerseys, and he was at Perth Amboy, Bergen and Fort Lee. He was in Newark when he began writing the first of the sixteen numbers of "The Crisis," upon which he worked at every bivouac and camping ground, and which he presumably completed while in Trenton. These papers are not only remarkable for their stench and inspiring patriotic fervor and appeal, but for the light they throw upon the miserable condition of the patriot army, but half-clad, poorly provisioned, without medicine chests, paid in a currency which would purchase little if anything for the subsistence of the soldiers' families, and hinting at the indignities to which many of those families were subjected by hireling soldiers and tory marauders in the absence of their natural protectors. It is pitiful to reflect that the gifted author, who advantaged the cause of liberty far more than did some of high rank wearing a sword, passed the evening of his life in poverty and hopelessness, neglected by the nation he had served so well, and that his memory is more generally held in execration because of his "Age of Reason" than in honor and gratitude for his "Common Sense" and "Crisis." Even the plea made for him by Washington himself—"Can nothing be done for poor Paine? Must the merits and services of 'Common Sense' be unrewarded by this country?"—made by letter to Madison, went disregarded. True, he blackened his own memory by his personal excesses, but such faults have been frequently condoned in soldier, statesman or author who has borne a useful part in less momentous scenes than those in which poor Paine figured.

The Revolutionary period presented no more interesting literary celebrity than Philip Freneau, whose name has been given to a pleasant little hamlet in Monmouth county, and whose memory is treasured as one who was "the popular poet of the days of the Revolution; who cheered the hearts of the people by his rhymes in behalf of the good cause and in opposition to its foes while patriots were struggling for independence," whose patriotic verse was perhaps more directly effective than were the tracts of Thomas Paine.

He was born January 2, 1752, in New York City, where, in Trinity churchyard, repose the remains of his father and grandfather, the latter a French Huguenot. He was of a sickly disposition, and after completing a four years' course in Princeton College, he was honorably graduated when nineteen years of age, in class companionship with James Madison and others who became illustrious in public life and letters. He displayed

proficiency in verse at the early age of seventeen years, when he wrote "The Poetical History of the Prophet Jonah," and during his student days he produced many compositions in varied metrical form on classical and historical themes. At his graduation from college, he and a classmate, Hugh H. Brackenridge, who was afterward a noted jurist and author, recited together "A Poem on the Rising Glory of America," in blank verse, which they had written jointly, and Freneau's stanzas appear on the first pages of the edition of his poems published in 1805.

In 1775 Freneau contributed patriotic verse to various journals. In the following year he made a voyage to the West Indies, and during this time he wrote some of his most masterly poems, among them "The House of Night," and "Beauties of Vera Cruz." In 1779 he became a leading writer on the "United States Magazine," of which Mr. Brackenridge, his close friend and former college classmate, was editor. The following year he undertook another voyage, but the vessel in which he sailed was captured by a British cruiser, and he was confined for a time on a prison hulk in New York harbor. His experiences while so restricted of his liberty were afterward narrated in one of his most effective poems, "The British Prison-ship." He subsequently became an industrious contributor to the "Freeman's Journal," published in Philadelphia, his verse being principally upon patriotic themes, and during the same period he made an interesting addition to Revolutionary war literature in his translation from the French of the "Travels of M. Mlle Robin," who, as chaplain to Count Rochambeau, had accompanied the French allies from Newport to Yorktown.

In 1786 the first collection of Freneau's poems, written chiefly during the Revolutionary war times, was published in Philadelphia, and the little volume was so favorably received that in 1788 a second volume came from the press under the title of "The Miscellaneous Works of Mr. Philip Freneau, Containing his Essays and Additional Poems." This work, following the custom then existing, was published by subscription, and among the patrons were DeWitt Clinton, Edward Livingston and other distinguished men.

In 1791 Freneau was called to the editorial chair of the "New York Daily Advertiser," but soon resigned to take charge of the Philadelphia "National Gazette," at the same time occupying the position of translating clerk under Thomas Jefferson, then Secretary of State of the recently formed government. His sympathies being with the French revolutionists, he became an active supporter of Genet, the Minister from France who endeavored to entangle the United States in the foreign complications then at their height. This led to his turning his pen against Washington,

whom he had warmly championed, and his journal soon passed out of existence.

Soon afterward Freneau took up his residence in Mount Pleasant, in Monmouth county, on an estate derived from his father, and there he passed the greater part of the remainder of his life. At his coming he was not forty-five years of age, and his mental powers had not reached the zenith. He printed a prospectus, July 4, 1794, in which he proposed the establishment of a newspaper to be called "The Monmouth Gazette and East Jersey Intelligencer," provided five hundred subscribers could be obtained, but it does not appear that his plans were carried to fulfillment. However, May 2, 1795, he issued the initial number of "The New Jersey Chronicle," at Mount Pleasant, and this was the first newspaper printed in Monmouth county. It was certainly a curiosity of typography, eight pages of seven by eight inches, printed by Freneau himself from an odd assortment of various sizes of type. In the same year he printed in the same office a volume of "Poems written between the years 1768 and 1794, by Philip Freneau, of New Jersey." It was a really handsome specimen of typography, and is much in demand by bibliographers. About 1885 a copy was advertised for sale by a bookseller in London, England, the price being given at three pounds and ten shillings, and about the same time a collector in Washington placed a value of thirty-five dollars upon a copy.

At the expiration of the first year the newspaper was discontinued on account of lack of patronage. In 1797 Freneau edited and assisted in the printing of "The Time-Piece and Literary Companion," a periodical of miscellaneous literature printed in New York City, three times a week. In 1799 he produced from a Philadelphia press a small volume, "Letters on Various Subjects, etc.," under the pen name of "Robert Slender, O. S. M." In 1800 he published at Philadelphia in his next volumes his fourth collection, "Poems Published During the American Revolution." The list of subscribers to this work is headed with the names of James Madison, who was then President, and Thomas Jefferson, who had but just retired from the presidency. The names of the following named residents of Monmouth county also appeared on the subscription list: Monmouth, Hon. James Cox; Freehold, John Quay and David Cook; Middletown, John Patterson, Captain Hendrick Hendrickson, James Mott, Colonel Garrett Stillwell, Captain Isaac VanDorn, Captain Denise Hendrickson and Brigadier-General Richard Pool; Middletown Point, Cornelius P. Vanderhoof, Dr. William Reynolds, Captain John Hall; near Middletown Point, John Van Pelt, Peter Johnson, William Walton; Allentown, Richard Stout.

In 1815 Freneau published in New York two small volumes entitled

"A Collection of Poems on American Affairs and a Variety of Other Subjects, etc.," and in various of these he gave vent to his hatred of Great Britain, the events of the war with that nation in 1812 having served to rekindle the flame of passion which began to burn in him with the commencement of the Revolutionary struggle. His verses in celebration of the naval victories of Hull, Porter, Macdonough and others displayed much dramatic force and were excellent pieces of descriptive sea literature. A collection of his poems were reprinted in New York in 1865 and was prefaced by a memoir of the poet from the pen of Evert A. Duyckinck, and an edition was also printed in London, England. The late Dr. John W. Francis had previously written the story of his life for the "Cyclopedia of American Literature," and he quoted appreciatively a remark made to him by Jeffrey, the Scotch reviewer, that "the time would arrive when Freneau's poetry, like that of Hudibras, would command a commentator like Grey."

Freneau was described by his contemporaries as somewhat below the ordinary height of man; thin, yet muscular; with a firm step, though somewhat inclined to stoop. His forehead had more than ordinary elevation; his eyes were a dark gray, and lay deep in their sockets. Various efforts were made to paint his portrait and, on one occasion, the artist, Rembrandt Peale, sought him for the purpose, sent by a number of leading gentlemen, of Philadelphia. He was inexorable in his refusal to sit, and the only representation of him in existence is a portrait made after his death, painted from recollection and description of his appearance. He was free from all ambitious displays, and his habitual expression was pensive. He was the foe of all shams, frivolities and injustices. In a poem written in 1795, "On Emigration to America," he broke into a protest against the foul blot of slavery, mourning that

"The African complains,
And mourns his yet unbroken chains."

When, in coming into possession of the patrimonial estate, he found himself the owner of a number of slaves, he treated them with kindness and manumitted them prior to the abolition of slavery by legislative enactment, and also charged himself with the care of those of their number who were too aged or infirm to care for themselves.

The latter years of his life were passed about two miles from Freehold. December 18, 1833, when he had nearly completed his eightieth year, he came to his death by miring in a bog meadow which lay between the village and his home, which he attempted to walk across by night during a severe snow storm.

Philip Freneau was married when he was about thirty years of age to Eleanor Forman, a daughter of Samuel Forman, and four daughters were born of this marriage. His wife was of a poetic temperament, and for years prior to her marriage she corresponded in verse with him who became her husband. She survived him some seventeen years, and her remains were laid to rest by his side, a short distance in the rear of their old home at Mount Pleasant, and a monument to the memory of the poet has been erected upon the spot which covers their ashes.

The first original source of information pertaining to the Province of Jersey is found in the invaluable compilations made by Aaron Leaming and Jacob Spicer, by virtue of an act of the legislature of New Jersey, and which were printed in Philadelphia in 1758. These papers embodied the grants and concessions made by the first English Lords Proprietors, together with other official documents, legislative enactments and miscellaneous records, beginning with the grant of King Charles I, in 1664, and coming down to the surrender by the Proprietaries to Queen Anne, in 1702.

Leaming and Spicer were both admirably well qualified for their important task. Leaming entered the Assembly in 1740 and, with two or three short intermissions, was a member of that body for about thirty years. Splendidly educated, he was a man of great industry and excellent judgment, and his manuscript was a model of clearness and beauty. Spicer, but a year his junior, was a man of good practical education. He was a member of the Assembly with Leaming, his intimate friend, for about twenty years. The two were men of large business affairs in the Cape May region. They separately made minute entries of their transactions and careful record of events, and their diaries afford the earliest and most authentic information with reference to the people in the southern part of the Province, their industries and their modes of living. This material has been preserved through the effort of local investigators and of the New Jersey Historical Society.

Daniel Coxe, who, as one of the grantees of West Jersey and an associate supreme court justice, is written of elsewhere in this work, made a substantial contribution to the early literature of the Province. His work was an unpretentious pamphlet, comprising but a few pages, but it was pregnant with mighty political thoughts.

Coxe's pamphlet was designed to attract immigrants to the lands covered by his patent. Its descriptions afford a curious revelation of the ignorance of the best informed men of that day with reference to the geography of the region described. An instance of this appears in Coxe's statement that there was easy communication between the Mississippi river and the South Sea, which lay between America and China, by means of

several large rivers and lakes, "with the exception of about half a day's land carriage."

But the great interest in the pamphlet lies in the plan of the author for a union between the several American Colonies for purposes of mutual protection and defense. His proposal was that all the North American Colonies should unite in a common union, to be presided over by an officer who was to be known as a Lieutenant Governor or Supreme Governor. A general council was to be formed, and its members were to be two delegates from each Colony, who were to be chosen by the Legislature thereof. This council was to be convened, whenever necessary, by the Supreme Governor, and to it was committed all measures and preparations necessary for the mutual defense, and for offensive operations against the common enemy, by means of an armed force and means for its support. The acts and proceedings of this council were to be subject to the veto of the Supreme Governor, who was, however, inhibited from taking any aggressive action without the consent of the council. This plan was almost identically that which was afterward proposed by Benjamin Franklin and known as the "Albany Plan of Union."

In 1705 Samuel Smith published a "History of the Colony of Nova Caesarea, or New Jersey from Its First Settlement to the Year 1721," which was printed in Woodbridge, from the press of James Parker. It is worthy of note that Samuel J. Smith, who was a grandson of Samuel Smith, the author of this work, was a poet of no mean order, and editions of his works, edited by a relative, were published in 1830 in Philadelphia and Boston.

George Chalmers, in 1780, published "Political Annals of the Present United Colonies," which was followed two years later by another work entitled "Introduction to the Revolt of the Colonies." A supplement printed from the manuscript of the author appeared in the "New York Historical Society's Collections."

The period between 1830 and 1845 was marked by the accomplishments of a number of capable writers who placed in preservable form a large fund of historical matter, in large part drawn from original sources, and which belongs to the permanent literature of the State. In various instances some of these writers were similarly engaged at about the same time their works, however, appearing at different dates, rendering it difficult to refer to them in altogether correct chronological order. Special interest attaches to the work of Nicholas Murray and William A. Whitehead, and in view of the patriotic enthusiasm which they displayed in their self-appointed tasks, it is a fact worthy of note that the one was an Irishman by birth, and the other was of English parentage.

About 1833 Nicholas Murray, a young Presbyterian minister residing in Elizabethtown, began the delivery before his congregation of a series of historical discourses concerning their church. His narratives necessarily included many events and incidents pertaining to the community at large, during the Colonial and Revolutionary war periods. As his interest in his theme deepened, and his fund of information became more copious, he amplified his discourses and writings into a published volume, "Notes of History and Biography Concerning Elizabeth-Town, Its Eminent Men, Churches and Ministers," the best local history of its time, comprising 106 pages, and imprinted "Elizabeth-Town, 1844."

Mr. Murray was reared a Roman Catholic, but became a Protestant when about twenty years of age. After entering the ministry he became an earnest opponent of the church of his youth, and antagonized it with his pen, yet was so liberal withal that he subscribed out of his private means to the building of a Catholic church in Elizabeth. In 1852 he published a volume, "Romanism at Home," and, in later years, "Parish and Other Pencilings," "Men and Things As I Saw Them in Europe," "The Happy Home," and "Preachers and Preaching." He died in 1861, and late the same year was published a volume entitled "A Dying Legacy to the People of My Beloved Charge," containing a number of his undelivered discourses.

Before this, William A. Whitehead, at Perth Amboy, was industriously gathering historical material, and he was peculiarly favored in having access to the valuable papers of James Parker. In 1840 he began the publication of his sketches of the men, manners and customs of East Jersey, under the title "Glimpses of the Past," in the "Newark Daily Advertiser." He subsequently carefully edited these chapters and published them in a volume, with illustrations (after his own pencil drawings, really works of art), of scenes in and about Perth Amboy.

In 1834 Thomas F. Gordon published at Trenton a "History of New Jersey From Its Discovery by Europeans to the Adoption of the Federal Constitution." This volume contained an appendix, "A State Gazetteer," the first local compilation of annals known. This was followed in 1837 by "The New Jersey Register," compiled by Joseph C. Potts, and which was published by William D'Hart, at Trenton.

Perhaps the most important work of this period was "Historical Collections of the State of New Jersey," by John W. Barber and Henry Howe, a volume of 519 pages, published at Newark, in 1844. The compilers were young men who had produced similar works in some of the eastern States. Gordon's "Gazetteer" was taken as the basis for its geographical and statistical data, and much use was made of newspaper files. It was

illustrated with wood cuts, quite creditable for the times. Thrown together much after scrap-book fashion, it was marked by many imperfections, and yet it contained much of value.

In 1848 the "Civil and Political History of New Jersey," a volume of 500 pages, was published by E. S. Mulford, at Camden, and it was re-published in Philadelphia in 1851.

The pre-eminent position occupied by New Jersey in the field of literature, and notably in the departments of Colonial and Revolutionary annals, is largely due to the splendid work performed by the New Jersey Historical Society. Indeed, history worthy the name did not exist until it was brought into being through the stimulus and encouragement afforded by the scholarly and patriotic men who, through pride in the achievements of their illustrious ancestors, devoted their effort to the preservation of records and traditions, many of which were rapidly disappearing.

In 1841 the New York Historical Society began the publication of what are known as the "New York Colonial Documents," a collection of historical matter with reference to the New Netherlands. Daniel Haines, then Governor of New Jersey, was led by this example to recommend to the Legislature, in his annual message, a similar publication in his own State. In many important matters the New York annals related intimately to the Jersey colonies, and in so far are now of equal value in either State. But shortly prior to the Revolutionary war, and throughout that struggle, New York and New Jersey were absolutely separate fields, and the history of the latter was unique in various phases of its resistance to crown oppression and in the splendid results of battles fought upon its soil. To rescue this history from oblivion was the purpose of Governor Haines and those who sought to aid in the enterprise.

The recommendation of Governor Haines was referred to a committee which made an admirable and comprehensive report prepared by the pen of William A. Whitehead. Miserable parsimony governed the assembly, and the measure was lost, to be annually renewed, and as often defeated, for many years afterward.

January 13, 1845, a number of gentlemen met in Trenton with the purpose of organizing a historical society. Peter D. Vroom, then but recently retired from the gubernatorial chair, presided, and the Rev. Eli F. Coley served as secretary. On February 27 following, the New Jersey Historical Society was organized, to be located at Newark. Its roll of members contained but a score of names, but each was that of a man of distinction. The first volume of published proceedings was issued in 1845, the year of organization, and comprised 62 pages. In succeeding years the annual volumes assumed the dimensions of a considerable work, and their

contents were remarkable for their great value. In a way, the word "Proceedings" which forms the caption is a misnomer, inasmuch as but few pages are given to the narrative of routine business, almost the entire space being occupied with original papers and addresses upon topics of historic worth, based upon documents and narratives of unassailable authenticity. The first series, from 1845 to 1860, comprised ten volumes; the second series, from 1867 to 1895, comprised thirteen volumes; and of the third series have been issued four volumes, from 1896 to 1900. This work was most usefully supplemented in early years by another entitled "Collections of the New Jersey Historical Society," comprising papers of vast importance relating to the Colonial period. The first volume was prepared by William A. Whitehead, before the Historical Society was organized, and was published in 1846. The seventh volume, with a separate supplemental volume, was published in 1872. The great value of the "Collections" consisted in the way it prepared for that monumental work, "New Jersey Archives," printed under legislative authority, at a later day.

The library of the Society is a veritable mine of invaluable material and is of first importance to investigator or writer when dealing with the history of New Jersey, even to its remotest parts and its most humble interests. It is within truth to say that in few instances is it possible for a county, town, church or old civic or military society to find in its own possession so much matter pertaining to its own history as is possessed by this library. It contains some 15,000 bound volumes, many thousand pamphlets and many ancient newspaper files. Among its most important possessions are one hundred and sixty-four bound volumes of "New Jersey Pamphlets," containing more than one thousand titles, comprising tracts and other ephemeral publications of Colonial, Revolutionary and later days, touching upon every topic which in their time commanded the attention of the people. It also contains among other priceless manuscripts, the journals of the Provincial Congress in Revolutionary times, and the journals of the convention which framed the first constitution of New Jersey, and many maps and portraits pertaining to the same days. In its museum may be traced every step in the pathway to liberty, beginning with the odious "stamps" issued by the crown, and continuing with relics from every hard fought battlefield on New Jersey soil.

A splendid achievement of the New Jersey Historical Society was in formulating and effecting the enactment of legislation authorizing the compilation and publication of the "New Jersey Archives," being a series of documents relating the Colonial history of what is now the State of New Jersey, and kindred matter. The first eight volumes of the first series were edited by W. A. Whitehead, of the remaining thirteen volumes,

five volumes were edited by Frederick W. Ricord and William Nelson, five volumes were edited by William Nelson, and three volumes were edited by Frederick W. Ricord. Volume I, of the second series (1901) was begun by General William S. Stryker, who died before the completion of his task, which was taken up and finished by Mr. Nelson. A second volume, comprising newspaper extracts for the year 1778, is now in preparation, edited by Mr. Francis B. Lee.

The Presidents of the Society which has performed so useful a work are worthy of more extended mention than can be made in this narrative. The first, whose period of service covered nearly a score of years, was Joseph C. Hornblower, the distinguished jurist who became Chief Justice of the State; he was a son of that Josiah Hornblower who set up the first steam engine in America. The second President was Richard S. Field,



WILLIAM A. WHITEHEAD.

another great jurist. Succeeding him in the presidency were in order, John Rutherford, who was a State Senator; that scholarly divine, the Rev. Ravaud Kearny Rodgers, D. D.; Henry W. Green, a former Chief Justice of the State, and afterward Chancellor; the Rev. Samuel M. Hamill, D. D., a noted divine and educator; the Hon. John Clement, a fine jurist and the author of a notable work, "Sketches of the First Emigrant Settlers in Newton Township, Old Gloucester County, West Jersey;" and the present President, Samuel H. Pennington, M. D., LL. D., a capable man of affairs, a brilliant scholar and an earnest friend of education.

For nearly two score years William Adee Whitehead was recognized as the potential spirit of the Society, and he was its corresponding secretary from the time of its organization until his death. His initial work, "Glimpses of the Past," has been previously referred to. The first twenty volumes of the Society proceedings are adorned with his papers upon historical events and persons. Among these may be named, as indicating the lines of his investigation, "William Franklin, Governor, 1763-1776;" "Thomas Boone, Governor, 1760-61;" "Robbery of the Treasury of East Jersey in 1768;" "The Facilities for Traveling, and the Transportation of

Mails and Merchandise before the Revolution;" "The Origin, Practice and Prohibition of Female Suffrage in New Jersey;" "The Circumstances Leading to the Establishment in 1709 of the Northern Boundary Line Between New Jersey and New York;" "Answer and Explanation Concerning Certain Documents with Reference to the Title of New York to Staten Island;" and "The Resting Place of the Remains of Christopher Columbus." To the monumental work thus but partially mentioned, are to be added more than six hundred articles and letters printed in newspapers between the years 1837 and 1882. His "History of East Jersey Under the Proprietary Governments from the Settlement of the Province Until the Surrender to the Crown in 1702," formed the first volume of the "New Jersey Archives." In 1852 he edited the papers of Lewis Morris, Governor of the Province of New Jersey. In 1859 he published a volume of 428 pages, "Contributions to the Early History of Perth Amboy and Adjoining Country, with Sketches of Men and Events in New Jersey During the Provincial Era." He subsequently performed the great task of editing an "Analytical Index to the Colonial Documents of New Jersey in the State Paper Offices of England," compiled by Henry Stevens. In 1864 he was collaborator with Samuel H. Congar in writing "The Records of the Town of Newark, New Jersey, from its Settlement in 1666 to its Incorporation as a City in 1836." His last work, and one of paramount importance to the student of history, was one involving immense labor and close application, in editing and publishing seven volumes of the "New Jersey Archives." The seventh volume appeared in 1883, another was ready for the press, and yet another was in course of preparation when increasing infirmity compelled him to cease from the labors in which he had delighted through many years. A voyage to Europe failed to reinvigorate him, and he died at his summer residence in Perth Amboy, August 8, 1884.

An eloquent tribute to his memory was paid by Samuel Trenchard Prime, in a memorial address delivered before the New Jersey Historical Society, May 29, 1885. He was named as one of the most exemplary of men. His habit of mind was accuracy, particularly with reference to statistics, and he accepted no statement as correct unless he knew it to be unassailable. He devoted the greater part of his life to historical research for the sake of truth, practically without compensation, and certainly without the public recognition his unselfish labors deserved.

William A. Whitehead was born February 10, 1810, at Perth Amboy, New Jersey. He was educated in his native town, and when eighteen years of age went to Key West, Florida, where he remained for nearly ten years, during which time he made a survey and map of the town, was Collector of the Port before he attained his majority, and afterward served

as Alderman and Mayor. From 1838 to 1843 he was engaged in business in New York City. In 1843 he removed to Newark, and for many years afterward was engaged in railroad and insurance affairs. In 1871 he became connected with the American Trust Company, with which he remained until 1879, when he resigned his position as treasurer, and devoted his attention exclusively to historical and literary pursuits during the brief remainder of his life. The Newark Library Association, with its building and book treasures, remains a conspicuous monument to his zeal for literature, his public spirit and his energy. Its conception and successful establishment was pre-eminently due to him. He was the first secretary of the Association, and for thirty-three years prior to his death he was President of its board. His wife was formerly Miss Margaret Elizabeth Parker, a daughter of James Parker, of Perth Amboy.

Frederick William Ricord, who collaborated with William Nelson in the "New Jersey Archives," was a man of splendid literary attainments, and a fine linguist. In 1852 he published "A History of Rome," and in 1853 "The Youth's Grammar." He made a number of excellent translations from the French, among them Victor Cousin's "Life of Madame de Longueville," in 1854, and Voltaire's "The Henriade," in 1859. In 1879 he published "English Songs from Foreign Tongues," and in 1885 "The Self-Tormenter," from the Latin of Terentius, and "More English Songs." In the two volumes last named were contained translations from fourteen different languages and dialects. When in his seventy-eighth year, Mr. Ricord completed a metrical translation of Terence's "Phormio." He contributed numerous articles to encyclopedias from time to time, and very many historical and biographical sketches to magazines, newspapers and local histories. During his later years he was ably assisted in his literary labors by his daughter, Miss Sophia B. Ricord.

Mr. Ricord was born October 7, 1819. His parents were Dr. Jean Baptiste and Elizabeth (Stryker) Ricord, both of whom were highly educated and possessed of excellent literary ability. Dr. Ricord, who was a medical graduate, was the author of "An Improved French Grammar," and of several treatises on natural history, and was a contributor to various scientific and literary journals. His wife was the author of "Philosophy of the Mind," and of a dramatic poem, "Zamba, or the Insurrection," and was a contributor to various magazines and journals. She was founder of the Newark Orphan Asylum in 1848, and was its first directress until the time of her death in 1865.

Frederick W. Ricord, son of these talented parents, was educated at Hobart and Rutgers Colleges. He read law but did not engage in the profession, preferring educational work. From 1852 to 1860 he was a

member of the Newark Board of Education, and during the last three years of that term he was President of the body. He was State Superintendent of Public Schools from 1860 to 1863, Sheriff of Essex county from 1865 to 1877, Mayor of Newark from 1870 to 1873, and Associate Judge of the various courts of Essex county from 1875 to 1879. He was Treasurer and Librarian of the New Jersey Historical Association until his death, which occurred August 13, 1897.

General William S. Stryker, who died before the completion of his editorial work on the "New Jersey Archives," performed splendid service to the State in the compilation of the "Register of Officers and Men of New Jersey in the Revolutionary War," the first work of its class published in the United States, and in the compilation of the "Register of Officers and Men of New Jersey in the Civil War." During his time he wrote many valuable monographs on historical subjects, among the most important of which are to be named: "The Reed Controversy," "Trenton One Hundred Years Ago," "The Massacre Near Old Tappan," "The Princeton Surprise," "Washington's Reception by the People of New Jersey in 1780," "Capture of the Block House at Toms River," "The Battle of Trenton," "The Heroes of the Revolution," "A Study of George Washington," "Lee's Conduct at the Battle of Monmouth," and "The Battles of Trenton and Princeton." In preparing for the two papers last named General Stryker made an exhaustive search among the military archives of Germany for facts concerning the Hessian contingent, and with much success, and these monographs received warm encomiums from historians throughout the country. Of interest with reference to a later day, his article in the "Century War Paper Series" on "The Swamp Angel," used in the siege of Charleston, was a valuable contribution to the literature of the Civil war period.



GEN. WILLIAM S. STRYKER.

For thirty years prior to his death, General Stryker was engaged in compiling material to form a large volume of records of the Colonial Provincial wars, the whiskey insurrection of 1794, the War of 1812, the Mexican war and the Spanish American war. This work, which is in

lieved to be the most exhaustive of its class ever issued by any State in the Union, is to have early publication. Other works from the pen of General Stryker which were not quite completed at the time of his death were a comprehensive "Account of the Battle of Monmouth," and another on "The Battle of Red Bank." He had edited for the "New Jersey Archives" a volume of newspaper extracts relating to the Revolution in New Jersey, and had supervised the printing of about one-half the book when ill health obliged him to lay the work aside.

William S. Stryker was born in Trenton, New Jersey, June 6, 1838, and he there died October 29, 1906. He was of Dutch descent, and his ancestors were early settlers in New Amsterdam, and others of a later generation were prominent during the Revolutionary war. His grandfather fought in the battle of Springfield, and his great-grandfather in the battle of Monmouth. Colonel Nathaniel Scudder and Lieutenant-Colonel William Scudder, brothers of his great-grandmother, also fought at Monmouth, and the former named was the only member of the old Continental Congress who was killed in action during the war.

William S. Stryker was graduated from Princeton University when twenty years of age, and entered upon the study of law in Trenton. The opening of the rebellion turned him aside from the profession upon which he was about to enter, and April 16, 1861, he enlisted as a private soldier and aided in organizing the Fourteenth Regiment, New Jersey Volunteers. In 1863 he served upon the staff of General Quincy A. Gilmore, with the rank of Major, and participated in the operations against the defenses of Charleston, South Carolina. He was incapacitated for field service by reason of ill health, and he was attached to the army pay department and placed in charge of the disbursing corps in the Columbus (Ohio) district. He was brevetted Lieutenant-Colonel by the President "for meritorious service," and resigned June 30, 1866, the war having ended. Returning home he was admitted to the bar, and became connected with various financial institutions in an official capacity. April 12, 1867, he was appointed Adjutant General of the State, with the rank of Brigadier-General, and served in that position until his death. He was brevetted Major-General in the National Guard of New Jersey, in February, 1874, in recognition of long and meritorious service. His studious interest in American history and his notable contributions to historical literature gave him wide acquaintance with investigators and writers, among whom he was held as an honored associate. He was a member of numerous State historical societies, a Fellow of the American Geographical Society and of the Royal Historical Society of London, a member of the American Historical Association, and President of the New Jersey Society of the Cincinnati. In

1899 he received from Princeton University the degree of doctor of laws.

William Nelson, surviving editor of the "New Jersey Archives," became a member of the New Jersey Historical Society in 1872. He was its Recording Secretary for ten years from 1880 to 1890, and since then he has continuously been its Corresponding Secretary. During all these years he has devoted much of his attention to historical and literary subjects, and he has collected a fine library of about ten thousand volumes, one third of the number relating to New Jersey. This splendid collection is assembled in his residence, and escaped the great conflagration which early in the year 1902 destroyed the business portion of Paterson and swept away his excellent law library.

In addition to his arduous labors in connection with editing the "New Jersey Archives," Mr. Nelson has written some fifty monographs on historical, literary and legal topics, and their importance warranted the naming of those written prior to 1894 in the Report of the American Historical Association for that year. Among the most important of his papers written for and read before the New Jersey Historical Society were "Joseph Coertson Hornblower, Chief Justice of New Jersey, 1832-1846;" "Clifford Stanley Sims—Soldier, Statesman, Jurist;" and "List of Early New Jersey Newspapers." He is an acknowledged authority upon aboriginal history, and he made a notable addition thereto in his "The Indians of New Jersey: Their Origin and Development, Manners and Customs, Language and Religion; with Some Notices of Indian Place Names," an octavo volume of 170 pages, published at Paterson, in 1894. This is conceded to be the most authentic publication extant upon the subjects of which it treats, and has been made the basis for all subsequent works in those lines. Of particular historical value was his address delivered May 10, 1895, before the New Jersey Historical Society, upon the occasion of the semi-centennial anniversary of its founding. This splendid effort, summarizing the history of the Society, was printed in a handsome volume which also embraced appendices containing minute references to its bibliography, all the work of this busy and careful writer. Among his papers of wide interest to the legal profession were "Summary of the Law of New Jersey in Relation to Public Bridges," and "Fees of Justices and Constables in Criminal Cases." In 1869 he drafted a supplement to the city charter of Paterson, which materially altered and broadened its provisions with reference to the powers of the board of education, and in 1871 he drew up a new charter for the city, on broad and novel lines, which has proven so salutary in effect that it has been retained in greater part to the present time. He is also the author of some one hundred important

laws now embraced in the statutes of the State, principally relating to State, county and city administration. In recognition of his great usefulness as a literateur, Princeton University in 1896 conferred upon him the honorary degree of Master of Arts.

Mr. Nelson is a native of New Jersey, born in Newark, February 10, 1847. His education was limited to that afforded by the high school of that city, and his extensive literary knowledge has been wholly self-acquired. In his earlier years he was at various times engaged as a newspaper reporter and a school teacher. While pursuing these occupations he was also a law student, beginning his reading when fifteen years of age, but his occupations deferred his admission to the bar until 1878, since which time he has practiced his profession in Paterson. He had barely attained his majority when he was elected a member of the board of education in the same city, and during a three-year term of service he was instrumental in reorganizing the public school system and in advancing it to a far higher state of efficiency. In 1871 he was elected clerk of the county board of chosen freeholders, and he served in that position until 1894, by successive re-elections, which were usually without opposition. From 1877 to 1887 he was also clerk of the Paterson district court. He has always been an active Republican, attending nearly all national and other conventions of his party, and until 1890 rendering efficient service in campaigning before the people. He is a member of the Washington Association of New Jersey, of the Revolutionary Memorial Society of New Jersey, and of various other historical, literary and benevolent societies.

To this ample fund of general history has been added much valuable information contributed by local annalists, who at various times have written of counties, towns, churches and the like, and few of these writers but have rescued from the past, through family traditions or private papers which had hitherto escaped without appreciation of their value, some important fragment of history. Such discoverers are worthy of commendation, and those who follow them are to be encouraged. History is constantly making, and it is due to posterity that its events should be written from time to time by its makers, and by those familiar with its incidents. Such labor is onerous. The intense commercial activity of the present day militates against the annalist, but that very fact only serves to emphasize the necessity for his effort.

Great honor is due the memory of Dr. Maurice Bersley, who, through current journals, made various valuable contributions to the historical literature of New Jersey, preserving to us the important facts per-

taining to the development of the coast region, and presenting withal the impressive personality of men of strong character who figured conspicuously and usefully in a stirring period. He was contemporary with many of these, and he was of mature years and receptive discerning mind at so early a date that he was enabled to derive much valuable information from actors in the scenes of Colonial and Revolutionary times, and from family annals which have long ago disappeared. He also made industrious compilations from the diaries of Aaron Leaning and James Spicer, which he communicated to the New Jersey Historical Society.

The most important work from the pen of Dr. Beasley was his "Sketch of the Early History of Cape May County," published in 1857, a volume of only fifty pages, but invaluable to the annalist of to-day, and one which is increasingly valuable with each succeeding year. He was a valued member of the New Jersey Historical Society, whose archives contain many erudite papers from his pen. One of the number, "Researches into the Origin of the Barred Juniper Forests of Dennis Creek," remains to this time the standard and undisputed authority upon that subject.

Dr. Beasley was born in Dennisville, Cape May county, New Jersey, May 10, 1804, son of Thomas H. Beasley. His grandfather, Jonathan Beasley, a patriotic soldier during the Revolutionary war, died in battle. Dr. Beasley's literary education was self-acquired, and he became a physician under the preceptorship of Dr. Theophilus Beasley, of Salem. His practice extended over a period of fifty-four years, and all his professional life except the first year was passed in Dennisville. From 1840 to 1842 he served in the Legislature, and for two years following in the legislative council, and was actively interested in directing salutary legislation of the public institutions for the cure of the insane. In 1860 he was appointed superintendent of public instruction for Cape May county, and he served efficiently in that capacity for thirteen years, and until ruling health compelled him to resign. He died June 13, 1882, aged seventy-eight years.

Students of the story of the present day owe to Judge George C. Taylor, of Freehold, a debt of gratitude for the large fund of justly-earned materials made available for their use, and the value of his labors can be deeply appreciated the further a student in all time to come, the more years past he has led, all students of Monmouth county, among whom he has been the most industrious and persistent. Of a noble Monmouth county ancestry, he was born, educated, and attained eminence in the legal profession and in public station and scenes in which cluster the most sacred and thrilling associations in civil and military affairs in Colonial and Revolutionary times. From early youth

mind was deeply permeated with a reverence for the sturdy men of old, many of whom he knew when he was a youth and they were of venerable age, and he made it his mission to preserve the narratives of their lives, and to trace their influence upon their descendants. At the same time his judicial temperament and habits enabled him to weigh carefully the men whose lives he traced, and to measure the effect of their acts, "nothing extenuating, nor setting down aught in malice," and the story he has told, in its essential facts, and in his statements and conclusions, are regarded, as they ever will be, with the weight that attaches to as nearly unassailable accuracy as can be arrived at by any human being.

Prior to 1877 he began to contribute to the "Monmouth Democrat" a series of historical sketches relating to Monmouth county, beginning with the days when it practically comprised the entire New Jersey coast region. These papers related to the result of his researches into the history of the townships and townships of the county, and covered all phases of Colonial and Revolutionary history, events in many instances being rescued from oblivion through his deep delving into treasures of narrative where the immediate custodians of the facts, either by recollection of knowledge conveyed to them orally by their ancestors, or by inheritance of valuable family records, were unaware of the great value of that which he discovered in their keeping. A notable instance of his careful research is one deserving of national gratitude—that of discovering the missing link in the genealogy of Abraham Lincoln, and of tracing the ancestry of the martyr President to New Jersey, and of establishing his relationship with two of the best families of Monmouth county, the Bownes and the Salters, and his lineal descent from the famous Baptist clergyman of Rhode Island, the Rev. Obadiah Holmes.

In 1887 the published papers of Judge Beckman were presented in a volume entitled "Old Times in Monmouth: Historical Reminiscences of Old Monmouth County, New Jersey; a Series of Historical Sketches Relating to Old Monmouth County, Now Monmouth and Ocean." This volume also contains other papers of a similar nature from the pen of Edwin Salter, whose name appears first on the title page; and an appendix containing "The History and Centennial of the Battle of Monmouth," by James S. Yard.

Judge Beckman subsequently contributed to the "Freehold Transcript" a series of articles on the "Early Dutch Settlers of Monmouth County, New Jersey." Aside from being an account of the most famous and useful of the Dutch colonists, and of their descendants to the present generation, these papers contained a remarkably vivid picture of the social life and customs of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods. These papers

were placed in book form in 1901, and the volume was embellished with many excellent reproductions of old church edifices and homes of the same early days, after photographs taken by Mrs. L. H. S. Conover. In loyal recollection of the ancestry of the people thus commemorated, the work is bound in the cover known as that of the old Netherlands House of Orange.

Both volumes named were printed in extremely limited editions, that of "Early Dutch Settlers" numbering only one hundred and thirty five copies. They were printed from the same type in which they originally appeared in the newspapers from which they were taken, the printer having from week to week made up pages of two newspaper columns width, and printing the sheets, which were laid aside until the series was completed, when they were bound up, without any topical connection. Both works are quite rare and highly treasured, and extreme prices have been refused by persons having copies in possession. It is to be regretted that the authors did not realize the value of their work and procure publication in the usual book form. With better mechanical execution and properly indexed (an irksome labor which was not at all attempted) these works should have commanded a large general sale, nor have been restricted to a small local market.

While not affecting to pose as a literateur, Judge Beckman has exhibited a decided taste and ability for letters, and during his public career many of his utterances at the bar and in legislative assemblies found preservation in printed pamphlets. As chairman of the joint committee on the State library, in 1881, appointed by President of the Senate (afterward Vice President of the United States) Garret A. Hobart, he rendered signal service to the commonwealth by giving proper direction to the management of the State library, and laying its foundations as a depository for literature of permanent historical value, such as files of old newspapers and volumes of local history. This however, forms but a part of Judge Beckman's long and useful official life, which is more fully referred to elsewhere in this work. He has also at various times delivered addresses upon historical topics.

Edwin Salter was an industrious member of the New Jersey Historical Society, and was particularly well informed with reference to the history of Monmouth county and the genealogy of its old families. He was the author of the greater part of the matter contained in the published volume, "Old Times in Monmouth." Death overtook him when he was preparing connected historical work, and his abundant material, in part in readiness for the printer, was edited and published in the interests of his family.

by E. Gardner, of Bayonne, New Jersey, in 1889, under the title "History of Monmouth and Ocean Counties."

Mr. Salter was born February 6, 1824, in Morris County, New Jersey, and descended from the Bowne, Lawrence and Hartshorne families. He made his home at Forked River, New Jersey, served in the State Legislature, and for some years occupied a position in the Treasury Department in Washington City.

James S. Yard, the author of the exhaustive article on "The Battle and Centennial of Monmouth," and of a "Memoir of Governor Joel Parker," an admirable paper of permanent value, was one of the leading journalists of the State, and had been a publisher for more than a half century, and from 1854 until the time of his death he was editor and publisher of the "Monmouth Democrat," of Freehold. He was industrious in collecting historical matter, and during many years he devoted much space in his newspaper to contributions from well known local historians and to articles from his own pen, on topics pertaining to Colonial and Revolutionary times. His press gave to the public, through his journal and afterward in book form, the papers of Judge George C. Beckman and Mr. Edwin Salter. He also printed in the "Democrat," and afterward in pamphlet form, "The Old Middletown (Monmouth county) Town Book," containing the records from 1667 to 1664. The records were notable as being the first under the proprietary government in Monmouth county, and as containing the first protest against the conflicting grants of King Charles II, and the first formal assertion of the rights of actual settlers upon the ground.

James S. Yard was born in Trenton, New Jersey, April 20, 1820, and died in Freehold, April 30, 1900. He was connected with the State militia for several years prior to the Civil war and during that struggle he rendered valuable service in raising troops and rose to the rank of brevet Lieutenant Colonel. He occupied many important civil positions, serving as postmaster, as a member of the board of chosen freeholders, as commissioner of railroad taxation under Governor Parker, and as deputy Quartermaster General under Governor McClellan. He was active in all concerns for the advancement of the interests of his community and of the State.

Dr. J. E. Stillwell, now a resident of New York city, has for some years past made interesting historical contributions to the press, particularly to the "Monmouth Democrat," and these have been placed in pamphlet form for better preservation. Among these papers were "Quaker Records of Shrewsbury," "The First Families of Old Monmouth—The Sal-

te Family," "The Town of Old Middletown," and "The Burial Grounds of Old Monmouth."

"Woodbridge and Vicinity, the Story of a New Jersey Township," was the title of a volume from the pen of the Rev. Joseph W. Dally, printed in New Brunswick, in 1873. This work, embracing the history of Woodbridge, Piscataway, Metuchen and contiguous places, from the earliest times, was based upon early manuscript records of the town and its churches, and presented the development of its civil and religious institutions, and a graphic picture of social life in Colonial and Revolutionary times.

Mrs. Mary Crawford Murray Hyde, of New York City, has for several years past been an industrious student of the history of New Jersey, and particularly of Monmouth county.

She descended from two prominent Colonial families of that region—Murray and Morris—and her parents were the Hon. George Crawford and Mary C. (Cooper) Murray. She inherited a rich store of historical works which had been gathered and carefully preserved by her grandparents and parents. Her great-grandfather, William Murray, and his son, William, were original subscribers for a number of works published about the beginning of the nineteenth century, among which were Ramsay's "History of the Revolution," Jefferson's "Notes on Virginia," and they also purchased Gordon's "History of New Jersey,"



Mrs. M. C. MURRAY HYDE.

Howe & Barber's "Historical Collections of New Jersey," and many others. Mary Crawford, wife of William W. Murray, inherited from her father, George Crawford, the rare Collinsville, "The Legacies of Washington," subscribed for by her grandfather, Richard Crawford, and other works. Mrs. Hyde also received large numbers of valuable volumes through her father, and through his sister, Lavina M. Hoagland. Her husband, Dr. Ovid A. Hyde, similarly inherited equally valuable works. All this material, besides various English and Scotch historical works relating to families which emigrated to Monmouth county, and many old newspapers, pamphlets, maps and manuscript diaries and

letters, have been diligently studied by Mrs. Hyde, and she has founded upon them numerous valuable papers, which she has read before historical societies and which have been published in various journals. Among these were the following:

"Battle of the Navesink," in the "New York Times," February 23, 1893, from an account found in "The New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury" of February, 1777, confirming pension records and family traditions, being the first written account of this battle.

"Jersey at German town," in the "New York Times," May 2, 1896, based upon an unpublished letter written by Colonel Asher Holmes to his wife.

"July Fourth, 1781," in the "New York Times," from old newspapers.

"Morristown, New Jersey, as Winter Quarters for the Army of the Revolution," read before the New York City Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, April, 1897.

"Captain Joshua Huddy and the Fall of the North Ministry," in the "Spirit of '76," November, 1898.

"Captain Joshua Huddy," read before the Historical Association of Monmouth County, New Jersey.

"Treaty of Alliance and Commerce with France," in the "Spirit of '76," December, 1897, and in January and March, 1898, being three papers, "The Treaty of 1778," "First Anniversary, 1779," and "Anniversary Celebration of 1783," written by request.

"Steve Seabrook's Curse," a story based upon a tradition, in "Spirit of '76," August, 1898.

"The Queen's Birthday," celebrated January 18, 1780, in New York, especially in honor of the Hessian troops quartered there after the battle on Monmouth, in "Spirit of '76," January, 1899.

"James Rivington," a sketch in the "Spirit of '76," March, 1899.

"Retreat after the Battle of Monmouth," Traditions, etc. (containing some errors due to misinformation), in the "Spirit of '76," August, 1899.

"Liberty of Conscience," in the "Spirit of '76," November, 1899.

"The Evacuation of Philadelphia," read before the Historical Association of Monmouth County, New Jersey, in Old Tement Church, Monmouth County, New Jersey, June 28, 1901, and presented to the Society with a copy of a report of the "State of the Forces Under the Command of His Excellency, General Sir Henry Clinton, Camp Navesink, New Jersey, July 3, 1778," obtained by Mrs. Hyde from the Public Records Office in London, England.

"Middletown, 1830-1840," a paper read before the Monmouth Historical Association, November, 1901, from Family Diaries.

Mrs. Hyde's latest work is the excellent chapter on "Early Families," which appears in this volume.

The most unique of all publications along the coast of New Jersey is "Heston's Hand Book of Atlantic City," a literary gem and a beautiful piece of typography and illustration. This has been issued for the first time sixteen years past by Alfred M. Heston, an author who has given his attention to historical and antiquarian studies, and who is recognized as the most accomplished historian and statistician of Atlantic County. The "Hand Book" is much more than its title would indicate. It does not confine itself to the mission of the ordinary guide book which portrays the advantages of a pleasure or health resort, which is little more than an advertising medium for its places of entertainment. The "Hand Book" is a full and accurate local directory, containing all information useful to the sojourner during his immediate stay, but this is a small portion of its contents. It is also, in its various issues, an epitome of the history of the city and its vicinage, covering all events of note from the original white occupation down to the present time, together with traditions of the Indian, Colonial and Revolutionary periods, all narrated with the facile grace of a finished writer of genuine poetic temperament. Much of the contents of these annual volumes has been derived from original sources through laborious investigation, and appears here in print for the first time, a fresh store of valuable information being presented in each succeeding volume. In 1901 Mr. Heston published a forty-page booklet entitled "Three Hundred Years of New Jersey History," an historical calendar exhibiting the correct dates and admirably condensed and clear statements of important incidents in the history of Atlantic City and county, and memorable events in the history of New Jersey during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Mr. Heston published in 1883 an exhaustive history of the "Heston Family in America." Excepting the copies owned by members of the family, this book is now out of print, and it is highly valued by those having it in possession. Other works from the pen of Mr. Heston are "Outing by the Sea" and "Atlantic City, Queen of the Coast."

Mr. Heston's literary tastes and ability have led him into various other interesting fields of research, and he has contributed numerous papers to the New Jersey State Historical Society, and to other similar bodies in which he holds membership. He read before the Monmouth County Historical Association, at its meeting in Red Bank, July 26, 1900, a paper which was a careful study and a vivid piece of word painting, being a true account of the gallant "Defence of Fort Mercer by Colonel Christopher Greene" and his band of four hundred patriots against an assault of two thousand Hessians under Count Donop, on October 22, 1777. This excellent paper was requested for publication, and it was placed in our

pamphlet form, containing, in addition to the text, a portrait of Colonel Greener never before published, a map of the "Operations of the British and Rebel Army" reproduced from a Tory print of Revolutionary days, and an engraving representing the mutilated and neglected monument to the memory of the patriot soldiers who fell in the battle, erected October 22, 1829. The pamphlet gained a wide distribution, and copies are to be found in the archives of many historical associations.

An indefatigable worker, Mr. Heston is now engaged in collecting material for a "History of Atlantic City and County" from the earliest settlements about the middle of the seventeenth century to the present time, which will comprise the most complete history and sketch-book of Atlantic City and the adjacent coast region that has ever been given to the public. Its publication will be in 1904, commemorating the semi-centennial anniversary of the founding of Atlantic City.



A. M. HESTON

Mr. Heston's life has been one of industry and usefulness. For seventeen years after completing his education in the Central High School in Philadelphia, he was engaged in journalism. He was for a time city editor of the "West Jersey Press," of Camden, New Jersey. In 1878-9 he edited the "Salem Standard," and in the latter year he purchased the "Bridgeton Chronicle" which he conducted until early in 1884. He then removed to Atlantic City, and bought the "Review." Three years later he closed his connection with this paper, and after resting for a year he purchased the "Atlantic Journal," which he conducted until 1890, when he abandoned newspaper work as an avocation.

In 1890 Mr. Heston was elected comptroller of Atlantic City, and he was twice re-elected, his last term of office beginning January 1, 1902. Coincident almost with his first election was his appointment by the Supreme Court of New Jersey to the position of commissioner of the sinking fund of Atlantic City, and he discharged the duties of that important trust with such eminent success that in 1902 he was reappointed for a second term of five years. He has afforded useful service to the community

in various capacities. He was the principal organizer of the Atlantic City Hospital, and has been a member of the board of governors from its founding, and is now its secretary. He is also secretary of the Public Library Trustees, and has been a member of the board from its original organization. He has always been an active and useful member of the Republican party. In 1860-62 he was clerk to the committee on manufactures in the House of Representatives. He was married in 1875 to Miss Abbie L. Mitchell, of Camden, New Jersey, and three daughters were born of this marriage.

Mr. Heston is descended from Zelulon and Dorothy (Hutchinson) Heston, both of whom came from England. Zelulon Heston landed at Barnstable, Massachusetts, whence he was driven out by the Puritans because of his being a Quaker. His wife came as a child with her father, John Hutchinson, son of Thomas Hutchinson, of Hutchinson Manor, England. The pair settled in Trenton, New Jersey, at the close of the seventeenth century, and in 1707 removed to Pennsylvania. One of their descendants was Isaac Heston, who lived near Valley Forge, where he witnessed the sufferings of the patriot army, which so filled him with horror that he quieted his antipathy to war, and became a "fighting Quaker," marching with Washington to Monmouth, where he was severely wounded. From this illustrious ancestor, Alfred M. Heston, a great-grandson, derives his membership in the New Jersey Society of Sons of the Revolution. Three other descendants of Zelulon Heston were prominent officers of the Revolutionary army—Colonel Edward Heston, founder of Hestonville, now a part of Philadelphia; Colonel Thomas Heston, founder of the Heston Glass Works, near Glassboro, New Jersey; and General John Lacey, who enjoyed the intimate friendship of General Anthony Wayne, upon whose staff he served.

The "Daily Union History of Atlantic City and County," published by John E. Hall, in 1900, is a beautiful printed volume of more than five hundred pages. It contains a comprehensive account of the founding of that region, and depicts the rise of the various towns in a spirited manner, tracing every line of development and portraying the splendid work accomplished down to the date when publication was made. An admirable genealogical and biographical appendix serves well in identifying the families and individuals who were instrumental in making the waste places one of the garden spots of America. The value of the work is enhanced by numerous maps and illustrations specially prepared for its pages.

The author has been a resident of Atlantic City for a full quarter of a century, and during that period he has been actively identified with every movement tending to its advancement in moral and material ways. He is

a native of Maine, born in Peru, in 1857, and his education was completed at Bowdoin College, with the class of 1878. For about ten years prior to leaving college and afterward, he was engaged in educational work. Shortly before attaining his majority he removed to Atlantic City, where for two years he served usefully and acceptably as principal of the high school. In 1879 he purchased the "Atlantic Times-Democrat," and in 1888 he began the publication of the "Evening Union" as a daily edition of the former named paper. After twenty-two years' service as editor and publisher, he recently retired, having sold the plant to the Evening Union Printing Company.



J. F. HALL.

Soon after entering upon journalistic work, Mr. Hall had come to be recognized as a writer and editor of great ability and as among the ablest of his profession in the State. His marked personality was deeply impressed upon his pages, and none other influence was more potent in advancing the highest interests of his city and county. His interest in educational concerns has been fervent, abiding and intelligent, and for three years he occupied the important position of president of the board of education, during a period when the efficiency of the school system was greatly advanced. His esthetic tastes moved him to give his aid

to the Forestry Association of New Jersey, and he was a persistent advocate of its purposes through the columns of his newspaper and in public addresses. Among his utterances under this head was an address delivered at Jamesburg, New Jersey, on Arbor Day, in 1898, which was widely distributed in pamphlet form. Mr. Hall is also an active and deeply interested member of the Citizens' League, an association of representative citizens and taxpayers of Atlantic City and county, whose object is to preserve a pure ballot box, clean elections, aid in the election of men of ability and integrity, and to promote public interests in all commendable ways.

Mr. Hall has never been a political aspirant, but in 1898 he was brought forward as the Democratic candidate for congress against John H. Gardner,

who was candidate for the fourth successive term. In this hopeless contest, Mr. Hall's personal popularity enabled him to reduce the majority of his successful opponent to 6,668, as against 9,741 and 17,440 in the two previous elections.

Mrs. Mary Townsend Rush, of Ocean City, is one of the most industrious writers on the coast, and her work has been widely circulated and generously commended. In 1893 she published "The Ocean City Guide Book and Directory," a finely illustrated volume containing a succinct history of the city from its founding to the year in which the narrative was written, together with an account of the notable shipwrecks which occurred off the shore from time to time. The work met with such favor that a second edition was printed within a few days after the appearance of the first. Mrs. Rush has also for some years been a highly appreciated contributor of short stories, verses and news letters to various leading magazines and newspapers in New York and Philadelphia. She is now engaged upon a romance founded on the traditions of the Jersey coast. She continues to act as reporter for metropolitan journals and to carry on an extensive advertising agency, besides tracing family lines of descent and title to property in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, in the interest of non-resident heirs. She is author of the excellent chapter "Along the Strand," in this work, descriptive of the shells and marine vegetation of the coast.



MRS. MARY T. RUSH.

Mrs. Rush is descended from a long line of authors and patriots. Among the immediate members of her family in the maternal line who remained in England and Ireland were Dr. John Moore, a novelist and writer of travels, his son Sir John Moore, the famous British General, and Thomas Moore, the Irish poet. She is descended in direct line from Captain Samuel Moore, of the Newtown (Long Island) militia, who was one of those appointed to choose delegates to the assembly in New York, in 1683, which adopted the charter of liberties, and from Captain John Moore, who fought in the French and Indian wars. Her maternal grandfather

was Samuel Moore, an officer in the war with Great Britain, and who was an editor, and his wife descended from the immediate family of Captain James Lawrence, who commanded the United States frigate "Chesapeake." Mrs. Rush was born in Easton, Pennsylvania, a daughter of Edward and Martha (Moore) Townsend, the former named a clergyman, and a Virginian by birth, and his wife a native of Long Island. Mrs. Rush completed her education at Gilbert's Academy, Chester, Pennsylvania. She was married to Jerome S. Rush, of the old Philadelphia family of that name. A son born of this marriage died in infancy.

William H. Fischer, of Toms River, contributed to the "Cyclopedia of Biography of Ocean County," published in 1899, a number of important historical chapters, the only purely local narrative extant covering the history of that region from the original occupation by the whites down to the



WILLIAM H. FISCHER.

year of publication. The work is highly creditable, and involved persistent and systematic research. The chapters written by Mr. Fischer are those on "Its Physical Features," "Its Political Divisions," "Its Discoverers," "Its Indian Inhabitants," "Its Early Settlers," "Its Early History," "Its Colonial Growth," "Its Revolutionary Struggles," a most excellent narrative; "Its Industrial Development," "Its History as a County," "Its Political History," "Its Venturesome Sons," and others.

Among other contributors are the Rev. J. T. Irwin, on "The Baptist Church of Toms River;" Prof. George D. Horner, "Historical Sketch of New Egypt;" the Rev. A. H. Dashiell, D. D., "Township of

Lakewood;" Dr. Theophilus T. Price, "History of Little Egg Harbor," and "The First Settlers."

Mr. Fischer has also made his journal, "The New Jersey Courier," the medium for the preservation of much valuable local history. He is a native of New Jersey, born at Bass River, Burlington county, August 30, 1867. His parents were John and Susan McCullough (Adams) Fischer, the father being a German who came to the United States as a young man, and the mother being descended from some of the earliest settlers of Little

egg Harbor and Bass River townships, in Ocean county. In 1871 the parents removed to Toms River, and the son was there educated in the public schools. He learned printing in the office of "The New Jersey Courier," at Toms River, and in 1861 he and Charles T. Patterson became the owners of the paper. His partner died April 18, 1866, since which time Mr. Fischer has been sole owner and editor. He was elected clerk of the Ocean county board of freeholders in 1895, and was re-elected in 1898. He served as calendar clerk of the New Jersey Senate in the session of 1897 and 1898.

After the publication of the small volume by Dr. Maurice Beasley, no work touching the history of the lower part of the New Jersey coast region appeared until Mr. Lewis Townsend Stevens published his "History of Cape May County," in 1897. This was a well made octavo volume of 486 pages, and was printed in a printing house in Cape May City. Its writing necessitated long and painstaking labor on the part of the author, who delved industriously into public records as well as into various old and, in some cases, almost illegible manuscript diaries and memoirs. The result has been a well arranged narrative, and the work has found cordial recognition by librarians and persons engaged in historical research as a comprehensive and accurate narrative, dealing with all the details of the development of the Cape May region from the earliest days. The chapters on "The Pioneers and Whaling," "The Settlers and their New Homes," "Life Early in the Eighteenth Century," "Maritime Tendencies and Cattle Raising," "Ancient Towns and Lanes" and "The Religious Controversies," are particularly valuable, while the local color, and vivid portraiture of the habits and customs of the people, are given in extracts from the quantity of written journals of those old worthies, Jacob Spitzer and Aaron Leaning. The author, Mr. Stevens, brought to his work a genuine enthusiasm born out of his loyalty to an honored ancestry native to the soil. He takes a deep interest in historical and genealogical matters, and is constantly accumulating material these lines for future use.



LEWIS T. STEVENS.

Mr. Stevens was born in West Cape May, August 22, 1808, son of William T. Stevens. His great-grandfather, Joshua Townsend, was a member of the New Jersey Legislative Council from 1831 to 1834, a member of the Assembly, 1810-21, 1822-23 and 1827-30, and was first lieutenant of the Cape May Volunteer Company in the War of 1812, serving on the Delaware Bay. Another great-grandfather, Daniel Stevens, while commanding the ship "Pennsylvania" in the War of 1812, had his vessel captured from him by the British. Of his great-great grandfathers, John Hooper, of South Carolina, was a patriot soldier in the Revolutionary war, and was a brother of William Hooper, a signer of the Declaration of Independence; others were William Smith, a captain of the Gloucester County Company of the New Jersey troops in the Revolution; Henry Stevens, a captain in the coast guards in the Revolution, and Henry Young Townsend, captain of the Fourth Company of the Cape May Regiment of the patriot army in the Revolution, who fought with his regiment in the battle of Germantown in 1777. The latter named was also a member of the New Jersey Assembly in 1780, and sheriff of Cape May county from 1774 to 1777. He was also elected a member of the Assembly in 1777, but did not serve because of being in the field.

Mr. Stevens was educated in the public schools of Cape May City, and at Princeton University. When twelve years of age he began to learn the trade of a printer, working at the ease ten hours a day for a year before entering college, and devoting his evenings to writing news matter for leading New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore newspapers, and paid his way through college with the proceeds of similar work. In 1802-3 he was engaged in journalistic work in New York City, in the evenings attending the Metropolis Law School. He was admitted to the New Jersey bar in 1808 as an attorney, and in 1802 as counsellor. In 1804 and 1806 he taught in the public schools. He served Cape May City as a member of the city council from 1802 to 1805, and during the latter year was president of the body, being the youngest man who ever sat in the body, or presided over it. In 1808 he was receiver of taxes of the city, and he has served as a member of the board of health for ten years. He is a referee in bankruptcy, a master in chancery and a commissioner of Pennsylvania in New Jersey. In 1807 he published for the city the "Charter and Ordinances of Cape May," compiled by himself.

Mr. Stevens was married on April 11, 1804, to Grace Anna Merwin, a descendant of the Thealls, Lewises and Deans, of Orange county, New York. Two sons were born of this marriage, Hobart Merwin, October 17, 1806, and George Mortimer, June 14, 1800. Politically Mr. Stevens is a Repub-

he has been chairman of several conventions. He is a member of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Dr. Theophilus Townsend Price, of Tuckerton, in 1877 wrote the descriptive and historical chapters of the "New Jersey Coast Atlas," published by Woolman and Rose. He has during many years, beginning prior to 1850, contributed to the press many articles and pieces of verse, and he has delivered many public addresses and lectures, principally upon historical and educational themes. In other ways his life has been one of much usefulness. He was born in Town Bank, Cape May county, May 21, 1828, a son of John and Kezia (Swain) Price. In his young manhood he was a school teacher, and he afterward became a physician. He was for many years township school superintendent; he was postmaster under Presidents Lincoln and Johnson; and for seventeen years he was United States marine hospital surgeon at Tuckerton, and during this term he annually examined almost one hundred and fifty applicants for admission to the life-saving service. He was prominent in the establishment of railroads and banks. He organized and for fifteen years conducted a union Sunday school in a destitute neighborhood, and he was active in Baptist Church work. He is a member of many historical, religious, educational and benevolent associations.

In 1885 an historical and biographical work of nine hundred octavo pages, of Monmouth county, New Jersey, was published by Franklin Ellis, who was assisted by numerous contributors in various portions of the county. This work has a fixed place in historical compilations, saving the investigators, in many instances, the labor of delving afresh into widely scattered and often illegible original documents.

The works relating to the history of early churches are many and of great interest, and invaluable to the student, not alone with reference to the progress of religion, but to social conditions and the development of society. Reference is hereinafter made to only such as are distinctively representative of bodies which were of peculiar historic importance in their founding and in their relation to the community during the earliest days.

The Rev. Abraham Messler, D. D., for more than a half century pastor of the First Reformed Church of Somerville, published in 1872 "Fifty Memorial Sermons, with a History of the Reformed Churches of Somerset County." He had previously (in 1830) written "Fruits of Early Piety," which was published by the American Sunday School Union, and was extensively circulated. In 1853 he contributed about one hundred and fifty papers to the "Christian Intelligencer" under the title of "The Christian Ministry, the Reformers before the Reformation, the Confession of Faith."

etc., and for more than five years he wrote the principal editorials in the same paper. In 1878 he wrote "A Centennial History of Somerset County," and in 1899 "First Things in Old Somerset, including Sketches of Washington Rock, Chimney Rock, and a List of the Freeholders in 1790."

The history of the Brick Church of Marlborough, also known as the Reformed Church of the Navesink, was written and published in 1877, by the Rev. Theodore W. Wells, then the pastor of the church, in a volume entitled "Brick Church Memorial, 1666-1877; the Days of Old and Their Commemoration." Until 1826 there was no other church of its denomination in Monmouth County. Many of the facts concerning the parent church and those which took their being from it, are given with great particularity in this work.

The Old Scots Church, as it was first designated, which subsequently became known as the Fennent Church, near Freehold, in its original membership and for many subsequent years, was an important factor in the history of Monmouth County. A narrative of its founding and growth was written in 1895, by the Rev. Henry Goodwin Smith, and published in the "Freehold Transcript," under the title "History of the Old Scots Church of Freehold, New Jersey, 1685-1732."

The same historic church was written of in 1897, by the Rev. Frank R. Symmes, the fifteenth pastor, in a volume of 144 pages entitled "History of the Old Fennent Church." The narrative is exhaustive, and includes biographical sketches of all the various pastors, and contains numerous engravings, among which are views of the original and succeeding church edifices, and of the burying ground and of its ancient gravestones. In the appendix are given the text of the original deed to the church property, the royal charter granted to the first members, and the early records of baptisms and deaths. The work is an interesting addition to local history, and will be ever valuable for purposes of reference.

The history of Presbyterianism in New Jersey has received many valuable contributions through the investigations of the Rev. Allen H. Brown of Atlantic City. In 1850 he printed in the "Woodbury Constitution" a series of seven letters containing many interesting facts with reference to the Rev. John Branmer, to whom he subsequently collaborated with Professor George Macloskie in the publication of "The Journal of John Branmer, for the years 1761 and 1762." Other monographs by Mr. Brown were: "An Outline History of the Presbyterian Church in West (or South) Jersey from 1700 to 1865," "Character and Employments of the Early Settlers on the coast of New Jersey," and "Fifty Years Progress on the Coast of New Jersey." In 1888 he wrote "Historical Sketch of the Synod of New Jersey for the Quarter of a Century from 1861 to 1886," which was pub-

ished by the Synod of New Jersey. He also produced many other papers of permanent historical value. His wife, who was Miss Martha A. Dodge, of Amherst, Massachusetts, was a woman of much literary ability, and a volume of verse from her pen, "Spring Flowers and Autumn Leaves," published in 1878, gave evidence of real poetic talent.

Notwithstanding the early coming of the Germans many years elapsed before their local history came to be written. The most exhaustive work pertaining to them is a volume of 607 pages, illustrated, published by T. F. Chambers, at Dover, in 1895, under the title "Early Germans of New Jersey; Their History, Churches and Genealogy."

The institution of courts in New Jersey and the development of the judicial system have been written of in amplitude by capable writers from the earliest day. In this connection it is interesting to note that the first printed book bearing a Jersey imprim was an edition of the "Session Laws of the Provincial Assembly," enacted at Perth Amboy in 1723, and printed there in that year by William Bradford, who brought a press from Philadelphia for the purpose. In 1728 William Keimer brought a printing press to Burlington for a similar purpose. In 1752 Samuel Neville, then second judge of the supreme court, published the first volume of "Laws of the Province," and the second volume appeared in 1761. These were printed at Woodbridge, by James Parker, Printer to the King.

William Griffith, the eminent lawyer of Burlington, gave a succinct account of the origin, history, jurisdiction and practice of courts in New Jersey, through the medium of his "Annual Law Register of the United States," in 1822.

In 1849 was published in New York, and appeared in the publications of the New Jersey Historical Society, a valuable monograph on "Provincial Courts of New Jersey, with Sketches of the Bench and Bar," from the pen of Judge Richard S. Field. This was but one of his many contributions to the "New Jersey Collections," and his numerous other papers and addresses delivered upon special occasions are valuable additions to the legal literature of the State and nation, and contain much material of permanent interest to the general student, as well as to the historian and antiquary.

Judge Field was a native of New Jersey, born in Whitehill, Burlington county, December 31, 1803. He was graduated from the New Jersey College when eighteen years of age, and three years later was admitted to the bar, having studied law under the preceptorship of his maternal uncle, the eminent jurist, Richard Stockton, for whom he was named. He was for several years a member of the State legislature, and he was attorney general from 1838 to 1841. He was a member of the convention which framed the

State constitution in 1844. In 1861 he was appointed by Governor Olden to fill the unexpired term of John R. Thompson in the Senate of the United States. In 1853 he was appointed by President Lincoln to the position of district United States judge for the district of New Jersey, and he served until April, 1870, when he was stricken with paralysis, from which he died May 25 following. He was a profound lawyer, and in his judicial life was characterized as a "wise, upright, fearless and merciful judge." He was deeply interested in educational concerns. He was chosen president of the first board of trustees of the State Normal School at its institution in 1855, and he was primarily the founder of the Law School connected with Princeton University and for several years served as its presiding law professor. He was deeply interested in the New Jersey Historical Society, and was serving as its president when his death occurred. His was a well rounded character, and no man left a deeper impress upon the history of the State.

An ample and exhaustive "Judicial and Civil History of New Jersey" was written in 1897, by John Whitehead, of Morristown. This important work begins with the discovery of Jersey and its first occupation by the whites, and covers the entire range of its civil and judicial development, including the origin and history of its legislative bodies and its various courts. It has been written with great care, and will ever prove invaluable to the student in legal and political lines. A biographical appendix contains brief sketches of lawyers and jurists from the institution of courts to the year in which the work was published. Mr. Whitehead has been a deep and life-long student of history and philology, and he has made valuable contributions to literature along these lines and in that of his profession.

Mr. Whitehead was born in Jersey, Ohio, in 1816. Early left an orphan, he came under the affectionate care of his uncle, Hon. Asa Whitehead, of Newark, a distinguished member of the New Jersey bar, who aided him in acquiring an academical education and was his law preceptor. On attaining his majority he was admitted to the bar, and entered upon practice, for a few years in association with his uncle and afterward alone. In 1856 he was appointed United States circuit court commissioner for the district of New Jersey, and he has served continuously in that position until the present time (1902), and enjoys the distinction of being, in period of service, the oldest United States commissioner now in office. With no taste for political life, Mr. Whitehead has devoted his leisure to literary and educational affairs. In 1845 he became a member of the public school committee of Newark, and he was secretary and treasurer of the succeeding body, the board of education, from 1851 to 1875. Removing to Clinton, he was elected township school superintendent, and he served in that position for four years. In 1861 he removed to Morristown, where he performed a

noble work in effecting the establishment of the public library, and in personally supervising the collection of its thousands of books. He was school examiner for Essex county from the time the position was created by act of the legislature until it was abrogated by the same authority. He was for many years secretary of the State Society of Teachers and Friends of Education, and as representative of that body he visited different portions of the State, addressing meetings, and stimulating the people to a deeper interest in educational matters. He also became a member of the American Association for the Advancement of Education, composed of the most distinguished educators and advocates of education in the country. In 1891 he was elected president of the New Jersey Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, and in 1893 he was elected a vice-president of the national body of the same order.

The history of medicine in its earlier days was well written by Stephen Wickes, M. D., in a volume published at Newark, in 1879, under the title "History of Medicine in New Jersey and of its Medical Men from the Settlement of the Province to A. D. 1800." Dr. Wickes also wrote "History of the Oranges in Essex county, New Jersey, 1666-1800," which was published in 1892, after his death. He was born in Jamaica, Long Island, March 17, 1813, and was educated at Union College, Schenectady, New York. He made his home in Orange, New Jersey, and there practiced his profession. He was a valued member of the New Jersey Historical Society, and succeeded Mr. Whitehead as corresponding secretary. He was methodical and precise in the discharge of his duties. Courteous in his manners, he was in his later years a striking figure, with his white hair and long snow-white beard, and he habitually wore a dress suit.

Outside the special fields of authorship written of in the preceding pages, many valuable additions to the literature of the State have been made from time to time by graceful and forceful writers. Without attempt to trace the voluminous bibliography of the State in its entirety, reference is made to a number of volumes which will aid the student in investigating the most important topics which may claim his attention.

Dr. Samuel Lockwood, who came to the pastorate of the Reformed Church in Freeport in 1854, was an accomplished naturalist, and made some interesting discoveries with reference to the fossil fauna of Monmouth county. Among others, he unearthed from the cretaceous clay a relic of a larger reptile than was before known to the scientific world, which received the designation of *Ornithotarsus immanis*. He subsequently made careful studies of the process of propagation in the sea horse, and

his paper upon this subject was printed in the "American Naturalist," and won for him the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the New York University. His researches led the Lyceum of Natural History of New York (now the Academy of Sciences) to request him to make a study of the *Limulus*, or King Crab, and he established the fact that this crustaceous animal is a higher form of the perplexing trilobite. His paper elucidating his researches and conclusions was printed in the "American Naturalist" in 1870, and it was translated into German by Professor Dorlu, of the University of Jena. It also received high commendation from Milne de Edwards, the eminent French zoologist, and was reviewed in most complimentary manner by Dr. Owen, the accomplished comparative anatomist, in a paper read before the Linnaean Society of London, England. Dr. Lockwood's "Manual on the Oyster," published (1883) in the "Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor and Industry of the State of New Jersey," is the most exhaustive treatise upon that subject which has yet been produced. Dr. Lockwood made many valuable contributions to botanical, zoological and microscopical literature, and to that admirable work, "Standard Natural History." He was a zealous friend of education, and the public school establishment of the State owes much to his intelligent effort.

The Rev. William Aikman, during the period beginning in 1851 and ending in 1892, wrote a number of excellent volumes and made various notable contributions to leading journals, his titles numbering thirty in all. Among his most important works were: "The Church's Piety," New York, 1864; "The Power of the Sea," published by the Seamen's Friend Society, 1864; "Life at Home," 1870, revised and republished in various editions, and also published in London, England, in 1873; "Draper's Conflict Between Science and Religion," a review article in "The New York Tribune," 1875, and published in book form in Detroit, Michigan; "Jehovah and Elohim in Genesis," in "Methodist Quarterly Review," 1878; "The Altar in the House," American Tract Society, 1880; "Heavenly Recognition," American Tract Society, 1882; and "Talks on Married Life and Things Adjacent," New York, 1883.

Dr. Aikman was born in New York City, August 12, 1824. He completed his literary education in New York University, from which he was graduated in 1846, and was honor man of his class and English salutatorian, and he was graduated from Union Theological Seminary in 1849. In 1860 he received from New York University the degree of doctor of divinity. He was ordained in the ministry by the Presbytery of Newark in 1849. He was pastor of the Sixth Presbyterian Church, Newark, 1849 to 1857. He was afterward pastor of churches in Delaware, Michigan, and New York until 1881. From 1883 to 1894 he was pastor of the First Pres-

byterian Church in Atlantic City, New Jersey, and since that time he has been living in pleasant retirement in that city.

The pastorate of Dr. Aikman in Wilmington, Delaware, which covered the three years previous to the civil war, the five years of the war and the four years of reconstruction, was full of incident and interest. Hanover Church was one of the two largest churches of any denomination in Delaware, then a slave state. Dr. Aikman was perhaps the most pronounced and influential minister as an anti-slavery and Union man in the State of Delaware. The first public meeting in behalf of the United States Sanitary Commission was held in his church, which was also the gathering place of meetings in behalf of refugees, and for the promotion of the cause of the Union.

Dr. Aikman was one of two commissioners appointed by the Governor of Delaware to go to the front in 1864 to look after the welfare of the soldiers of the State. Under this commission and under authority from the Sanitary Commission and the Young Men's Christian Commission, Dr. Aikman organized a temporary hospital in a large church in Fredericksburg, Virginia, in which he cared for soldiers, sick and wounded during the desperate battles of the Wilderness and Spotsylvania Court House, and until the city was vacated by the United States troops on the change of base by General Grant in his campaign against Petersburg and Richmond.

Dr. Aikman has been prominent and influential in his denomination. He was moderator of the Synod of Pennsylvania when, in 1863, it met in Washington, and as moderator he presented the Synod to President Lincoln when that body was received at the White House by the President.

Mrs. Sara L. Oberholtzer, an accomplished writer, now living in Philadelphia, was for many years a resident of Longport, near Atlantic City, where she performed much of her best literary work, including a number of her best poems, "The New Year on the Coast," "The Lunar Rainbow," "The Sentinel Sunflower," "Polysophonia Elongata," "On the Beach" and "The Longport Ribbon." Her published works are: "Violet Lee, and Other Poems," 1873; "Come for Arbutus and Other Wild Bloom," 1882; "Hope's Heart Bells," a novel, 1883; "Daisies of Verse," 1886; and "Souvenirs of Occasions," 1894. Her versatile abilities have also been well displayed in hymn and song compositions, printed in various collections, and in a score of pamphlets touching upon the education of youth and kindred topics. She has devoted much of her time to the institution of school savings banks in the United States and Canada, and has been personally instrumental in placing this excellent system of thrift teaching in about four hundred public schools.

In 1884 Mrs. Oberholtzer organized the Agassiz Microscopical So-

ciety in Longport, Atlantic county, and was its President for five years. The society erected a hall for its summer meetings, which were attended by a cultured and somewhat learned class of people interested in the natural products of the sea and the shore. No regular sessions have been held since Mrs. Oberholtzer removed to Philadelphia.

Mrs. Oberholtzer is a native of Pennsylvania, born in Chester county, May 20, 1841. Her parents were Paxson and Ann (Lewis) Vickers, people of education and position, who were Quakers and active abolitionists. In 1862 she became the wife of John Oberholtzer. Born of the marriage were two sons, one of whom, Dr. Ellis P. Oberholtzer, is a well known literateur of Philadelphia.

Another lady author of Atlantic City was Mrs. Rachel Rhodes, whose husband was one of the first aldermen in that city. She wrote a novel, "Zuleika," which had a large sale, and also a volume of poems. Her death occurred in 1874.

"The Story of an Old Farm, or Life in New Jersey in the Eighteenth Century," is a delightful volume of 743 pages, cleverly illustrated, presenting vivid pictures of domestic life in the times written of, with many reminiscences pertaining to Middlesex County. It is from the pen of Andrew D. Mellick.

Henry Morford was the author of various works which met with much favor during the days immediately following the Civil war period. The most delightful was "Over Sea," a narrative of travel in Great Britain and on the continent, and others were "Rhymes of Twenty Years," and "Paris and Half Europe." Mr. Morford founded the "New Jersey Standard," of Matawan, and he conducted that journal for several years. He subsequently was connected with the "New York Atlas" in an editorial capacity. He was a native of New Jersey, born in 1844, and his death occurred in 1881.

A work of unique character appeared in 1893 entitled "The New Jersey Scrap Book of Women Writers." This was a collection of writings in prose and verse by female writers of New Jersey who were not book-makers, and hence were not popularly recognized as authors. Some three hundred individuals were represented, and their contributions ranged over the widest field, including essays upon scientific and social topics, historical narratives, biographies of notably useful women of the State, and religious, sentimental and humorous stories and poems. The contents were collected and arranged by Margaret Tufts Yardley, of East Orange, chairman of the literature committee of the board of lady managers appointed by Governor Leon Abbett, under legislative authority, to represent the industrial and literary work of New Jersey women at the World's Columbian

Exposition in Chicago, in 1893. The "Scrap Book" was beautifully printed in two volumes in Newark.

As this "Chapter of Literary History" was approaching completion, occurred the death of Thomas Dunn English, in Newark, April 2, 1902. He was one of the most widely known of New Jersey authors, and his literary activity extended over the long period of more than two-thirds of a century. When but sixteen years of age he began writing for Philadelphia journals, and while so engaged he came in friendly and sympathetic contact with Edgar Allan Poe. In 1843 N. P. Willis and George P. Morris revived "The New York Mirror," and urged Dunn to write a poem for publication in its columns. After frequent solicitations he finally complied, and penned the sentimental verses, "Ben Bolt," which were given a musical setting and came into popular favor. The song had been forgotten save by those of a former generation, when Dr. Maurier introduced it in his novel "Trilby," and it again became a favorite in concert hall and parlor. Dr. Dunn is known more widely for the authorship of this ballad than for all others of his works, but he never regarded it with much favor. Its writing was, however, his real introduction to the public, and from that time his pen claimed the greater part of his attention. An edition of his poems was printed in 1855, but this he suppressed. In 1860 was published "Ambrose Peck, or the Peer and the Painter," in 1882 "American Ballads," and in 1886 "Jacob Schuyler's Millions" and "Battle Lyrics." His poems numbered more than one thousand, and many of them were published in the "New York Independent" and "New York Ledger," and in these journals and others also appeared many essays and stories from his pen. He was also the writer of some fifty plays for the stage, nearly all of them now forgotten, and but one among them, "The Mormons," which is yet occasionally produced. His was a remarkably fertile brain, and he threw off work with great rapidity and apparently little effort. "The Mormons" was written in three days and nights. His poem "Kallimachis," of six hundred lines, was written in a day, and so well that it was printed without revision. In a single evening he wrote three poems, "The Logan Grazier," of one hundred lines, "The Canoe Voyage," somewhat longer, and "The Wyoming Hunter," equally long. In another single evening he produced for "Harper's Weekly" a long poem, "The Sack of Deerfield," which was remarkable for its peculiar versification and resonant rhythm.

In the region of which this work principally treats, Dr. English is held in particular regard, if not with genuine affection, for his verses descriptive of the Battle of Monmouth, which have been recited by thousands of school-boys. It is this piece of work which has, more widely than all others, preserved the story of Captain Molly, who, after her husband had been killed

while serving one of Knox's guns, rushed to the piece, exclaiming, "I will avenge his death," and, her feet almost touching the body of her loved one, seized the rammer, drove home the charge, and continued her work until the battle was over. As Dunn told the story,

"As we turned our flanks and centre in the path of death to enter,
 One of Knox's brass six-pouuders lost its Irish cannonier,
 And his wife, who 'mid the slaughter had been bearing pails of water
 For the gun and for the gunners, over his body shed a tear,
 'Move the piece!' but there they found her, loading, firing that six-pouuder,
 And she bravely, till we won, worked the gun.

* * * * *

Though like tigers fierce they fought us, to such zeal had Molly brought us,
 That though struck with heat and thirsting, yet of drink we felt no lack;
 There she stood, amid the clamor, swiftly handling sponge and rammer,
 While we swept with wrath condign on their line."

Dr. Dunn was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, June 29, 1819. He was graduated in medicine when twenty years of age, and three years later he completed a course of legal studies and was admitted to the bar, but never engaged in the practice of law, devoting himself to the first of his professions. He resided in Virginia until 1856, when he removed to Fort Lee, New York, where he remained until 1878. He then made his residence in Newark, New Jersey, and there spent the remainder of his life, and performed much of the best of his literary work. He was elected as a Democrat to the New Jersey legislature in 1863, and he was re-elected the following year, and during that session he was the leader of his party in that body. In 1866 he was elected to Congress, and he was re-elected for a second term. In 1876 he received the degree of Doctor of Laws from William and Mary College. He was of a most lovable disposition, a delightful conversationalist, and, on occasion, a forceful and eloquent public speaker.

It is not within the field of this narrative to present the history of the newspaper press farther than it is related to the beginning of literature in the State.

At Woodbridge, in Middlesex county, appeared in 1758 the "New American Magazine," which is notable as being the first periodical of any description published in New Jersey, and as one of the earliest monthly magazines on the American continent. The word "New" in its title was to distinguish it from another "American Magazine" in Philadelphia. It was a monthly publication of forty pages, devoted to literary subjects, and accompanying each of the early numbers was a "History of America and

Traveler's Diary," paged separately, in order to form a distinct volume in itself when completed. The magazine was edited by Samuel Neville, of Perth Amboy, who wrote under the pen name of "Sylvanus Americannus." The publisher was James Parker, who also printed the legislative proceedings and various public documents. His was the first permanent printing press set up in Jersey, and from it went out the first literary impulse in the province. Yet its establishment was but one-half a century after Lord Cornbury had received his instructions from the crown setting forth that "forasmuch as great inconvenience may arise by the liberty of printing, you are to provide by all necessary orders that no person keep any press for printing, nor that any book, pamphlet or other matters whatsoever be printed without your especial leave and license first obtained." True, Parker was yet "Printer to the King." But the spirit of the times had practically annulled the prohibition, and Neville and Parker led the way for the absolute freedom of the press. Parker's press was destroyed by Tories during the Revolutionary war.

The first newspaper in New Jersey was the "New Jersey Gazette," established in Burlington in December, 1777, by Isaac Collins. He was a Quaker, and therefore a non-combatant, but he was at heart a patriot, and through his press he performed noble service in upholding the cause of American liberty. His columns presented a curious contrariety of sentiment. True to his religious faith, he sought to promote, even in those ill-conditioned times, a feeling of friendliness between the opposing elements in the community. But side by side with his peaceful utterances were the virulent satires of "Hortensius," who won for himself the admiring applause of patriots and provoked the bitter hatred of Tories. The author of these much commended and much denounced articles was Governor William Livingston, the successor of Governor William Franklin, and it was to him that the establishment of the paper was due. It is not to be inferred that his pen was only capable of such productions as have been mentioned, for he was a scholar and a man of dignity. He was, however, a sagacious politician, and he adapted himself readily to what he considered the necessities of the moment. The "New Jersey Gazette" ceased publication in 1786.

Collins's press produced, for its day, a stupendous work. This was a quarto Bible, in 1791. It contained, in addition to the Old and New Testaments, the Apocrypha, a Concordance, and many pages of "Practical Observations on the Old and New Testaments, illustrating the chapters, a very few excepted, in their order, by the Rev. Mr. Ostervald, Professor of Divinity, and one of the Ministers of the Church in Neuchâtel, in Switzerland." These "Observations" were produced from an English

edition. The Bible is also remarkable for its preface, which begins in the following language:

"As the dedication of the English translation of the Bible to King James the First, of England, seems to be wholly unnecessary for the purposes of edification, and perhaps on some accounts improper to be contained in an American edition, the editor has been advised by some judicious friends to omit it, and to prefix this edition with a short account of the translations of the Old and New Testaments from the original Hebrew and Greek in which they were written."

Following this are several pages containing the history of the various translations and of the different versions which had been printed up to that time.

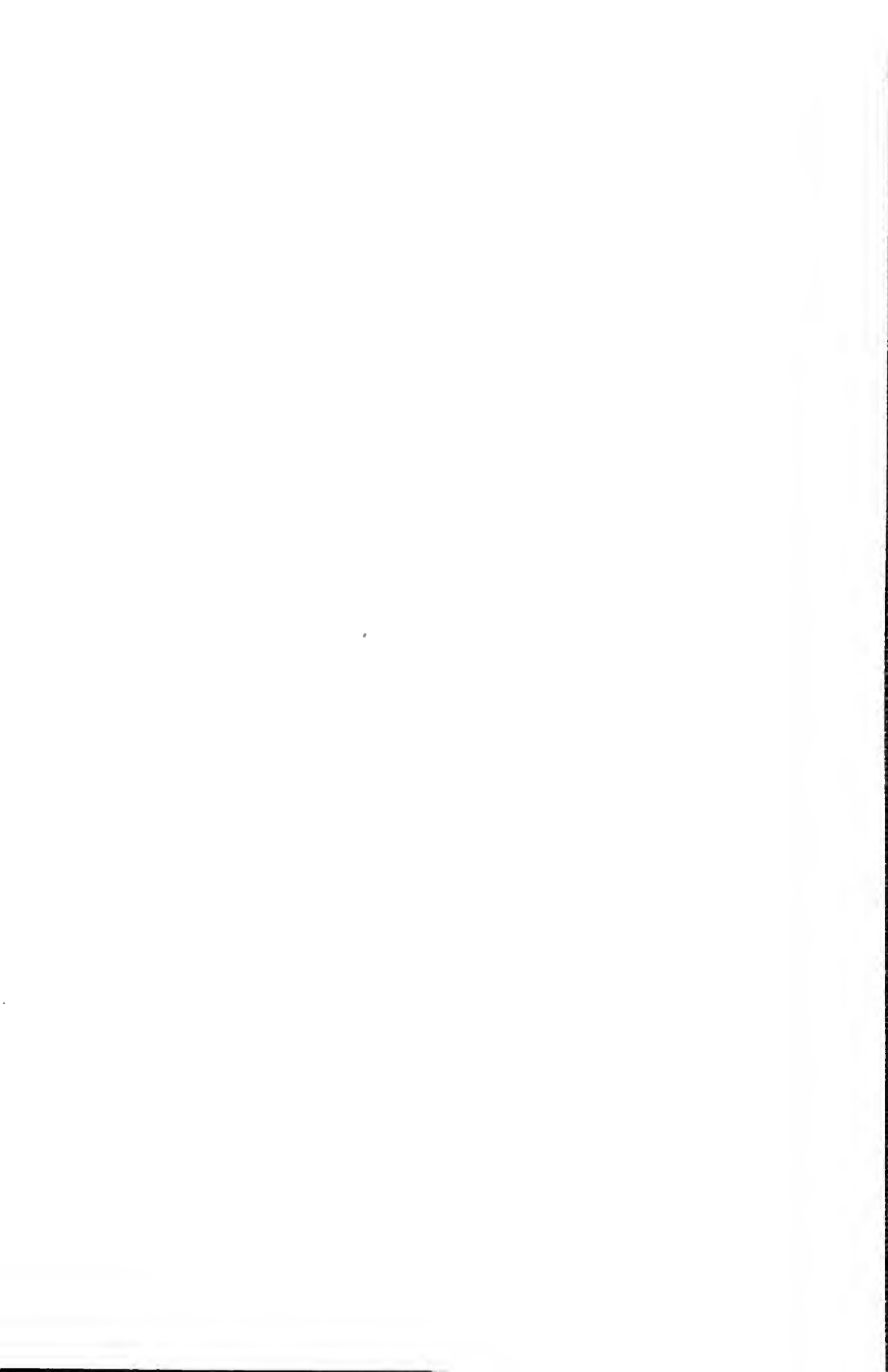
In 1770, preceding Collins's "New Jersey Gazette" by a year, Hugh Gaîne printed a newspaper in Newark for a few weeks, but this was a journal representing a town outside the State, the "New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury." Newark, however, subsequently became a field for various local newspaper enterprises, among them the "Centinel of Freedom," in 1796, which, under the editorial management of Aaron Pennington, was a bitter opponent of the Federal party and a valiant exponent of the Jeffersonian policies.

Shepard Kollock in 1779 began the publication of the "New Jersey Journal" at Chatham, which was then an obscure point beyond the reach of the British troops, and during the remainder of the war it gave able support to the patriotic cause. This ancient sheet is perpetuated in the "New York Journal" of the present day, at Elizabeth, to which place it was removed in 1785, after having a brief location in New Brunswick.

After the removal of Kollock's newspaper from New Brunswick, Abraham Blauvelt (in 1786) began the publication of the "New Brunswick Gazette." From this period newspapers multiplied rapidly, and the record of their establishment has been placed in accessible form through the arduous effort of various members of the New Jersey Historical Society.



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